TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"HOPE ON"

"HOPE EVER"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLV 1985

PART I

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

WOOLHOPE

NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

HEREFORDSHIRE

"Hope On"

"Hope Ever"

ESTABLISHED 1851

VOLUME XLV 1985

PART I

Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF OFFICERS

1985-86

President - - -	Mr. C. E. ATTFIELD
President-elect - -	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
Vice-presidents - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN Mrs. M. TONKIN Dr. Mrs. A. D. BRIAN Mrs. M. M. VOSS

Central Committee

Mrs. M. JACKSON-DOOLEY, Mrs. V. E. PERRY, Mr. H. J. POWELL, Revd. R. W. SMITH (*to retire* 1986); Mr. G. CHARNOCK, Mr. C. H. I. HOMES, Mr. R. A. PAGE, Mr. R. C. PERRY (*to retire* 1987); Mr. B. BUTCHER, Mr. J. G. HILLABY, Mr. R. E. KAY, Mrs. J. E. O'DONNELL (*to retire* 1988).

Hon. Secretary - - - - -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK (Died March 1985)
Hon. Assistant Secretary - - -	Mrs. M. TONKIN
Hon. Treasurer - - - - -	Mr. D. C. HAMER
Hon. Auditor - - - - -	Mr. H. S. BERISFORD
Hon. Librarian - - - - -	Mr. B. J. WHITEHOUSE
Hon. Assistant Librarian - - -	Mr. J. G. HILLABY
Hon. Field Secretary - - - -	Mr. & Mrs. E. H. WARD (*jointly*)
Hon. Editor - - - - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
Hon. Assistant Editors - - -	Mr. R. E. KAY (*Archaeology*) Mr. F. M. KENDRICK (*Natural History*)

SECTIONAL RECORDERS

Archaeology - - -	Mr. R. SHOESMITH
Botany and Geology - -	Mr. F. M. KENDRICK
Buildings - - - -	Mr. J. W. TONKIN
Deserted Medieval Villages -	Mrs. R. E. SKELTON
Entomology - - -	Mrs. W. M. PRYCE

Industrial Archaeology -	Mr. C. H. I. HOMES
Mammals - - - -	Dr. W. H. D. WINCE
Ornithology - - -	Mrs. B. HARDING

Address of Hon. Secretary:	*Address of Hon. Asst. Secretary:*	*Address of Hon. Editor*
	Mrs. M. TONKIN Chy an Whyloryon Wigmore Leominster HR6 9UD	Mr. J. W. TONKIN Chy an Whyloryon Wigmore Leominster HR6 9UD

Articles intended for inclusion in future issues of the Woolhope Club *Transactions* should be submitted to the editor whose address is given under LIST OF OFFICERS. *Notes for Contributors* to the *Transactions* will be sent on request.

Proceedings, 1985

SPRING MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 12 January: Mr. J. W. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Buildings, Industrial Archaeology, Mammals and Ornithology, and the Archaeological Research Section and Natural History Section gave their reports for 1984 which are printed in vol. XLIV (1984) pp. 431-462.

SECOND MEETING: 9 February. Cancelled due to heavy snow.

THIRD MEETING: 9 March: Mr. J. W. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Mrs. R. Skelton, B.A. gave an illustrated talk on 'An Archaeological Field Survey in the Golden valley.' This survey was carried out for a whole year in 1984 by a team financed by the Manpower Services Commission and the written report is lodged with the Hereford-Worcester Archaeological Unit. The three parishes of Peterchurch, Turnastone and Vowchurch were walked field by field and records were made of the land-use, boundaries, evidence of ridge and furrow, watercourses, settlement patterns and artefacts found. Experts were called in to identify the pottery finds.

SPRING ANNUAL MEETING: 30 March: Mr. J. W. Tonkin, president, in the chair.

Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Ward were appointed joint Field Secretaries and thanks were expressed to Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Voss for their seven years work.

The assistant-secretary reported that the club now had 863 members.

Mr. Tonkin reported briefly on the varied activities of the club during the year and gave his address 'The Goods and Chattels of our Forefathers, 1660-1760.' which is printed on pp. 13-35.

Mr. C. E. Attfield was installed as president for 1985-86.

FIELD MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 27 April: WELSH NEWTON AREA

At Llanrothal Church with its roofless nave and now declared redundant, members were able to see the 13th-century windows, a chancel arch *c.* 1300, a pulpit and communion rails *c.* 1630, a chandelier partly 15th and partly 19th century, a cross and

candlesticks made of 17th-century Italian wood and tombstones to the Barry family of Tregate.

Tregate Castle was visited by the kind permission of the owners Mr. and Mrs. Hopson. It stands on a commanding position above the river Monnow and the present house is built on a corner of the castle mound and contains architectural features dating from the 14th to the 18th centuries. During the Civil War it was lived in by the Barry family and in 1660 purchased by Martin Boothby. Through marriage it again came into possession of the Barrys and remained in their hands until 1805, after which it was owned and occupied by various families, but since 1969 it has been occupied by the present owners. A private museum has been established on the top floor of a wing.

After a picnic tea members travelled to Welsh Newton Common and walked to a private wood with the permission of the owner, Mrs. Probyn, to see a beech tree which is said to be the largest in Herefordshire. At 5 ft. from the ground on 23 May 1929 the girth measured 17 ft. 1 in.; on 27 August 1937, 17 ft. 5 ins.; on 24 May 1951, 18 ft. 3½ ins. and today, thirty-four years later, 21 ft. 9 ins.

The last visit was to Welsh Newton Church which dates mainly from the 13th century but of special interest were the 14th-century stone screen with ballflower ornament lit by a dormer window in the south wall, the 16th-century barrel ceiling of the nave and a tomb to a Knight Templar or Hospitaller. A chantry was founded here as late as 1547. In the churchyard was seen the grave of John Kemble, the Catholic priest, who was executed in 1679.

SECOND MEETING: 16 May: DEERFOLD AREA AT WIGMORE

This meeting was arranged and led by Mrs. Tonkin as a follow-up to her presidential address which is printed in the *Transactions,* vol. XLIV (1984) pp. 283-300. The whole day was spent studying the Wigmore Inclosure Act and Award, 1810-28, which enclosed 793 acres in the Deerfold township of the parish of Wigmore. In the morning the first walk was from the Cross of the Tree via the Mistletoe Oak to Dickendale.

After a picnic lunch, a visit was made to Lingen Castle which is a motte and bailey type probably dating from the 12th century. The church which was rebuilt in 1890-1 but containing a 13th-century font and piscina and pews *c.*1500 said to have come from the nunnery church at Limebrook, was also visited.

The party returned to Deerfold and walked to Goldway Pool over 900 ft. above sea-level to see the pool which never runs dry and was according to the award a 'public watering-place.' This was followed by a walk along Limebrook Road and around Grove Head to the Lingen-Wigmore turnpike road.

After tea members walked down Crookmullen Road to the site of the Pig and Whistle where a typical enclosure house with modern additions was seen. Some continued the walk along this road to a junction near Chapel Farm, whilst others returned to the coach and were taken around the northern perimeter of the enclosure. Throughout the day a number of features were pointed out and the false oxlip and asarabacca were seen.

THIRD MEETING: 15 June: FOREST OF DEAN AREA

This meeting was arranged and led by Mr. I. Standing as a follow-up to his talk to the club on 27 October 1984 on 'Old Mines and Furnaces of Dean.'

At Guns Mill members saw the remains of a 17th-century blast furnace which from 1743-1879 was used as a paper mill. Some time was spent at the Dean Heritage Trust Museum. So far archaeological excavations have not proved the site to be one of the forges built *c.*1612-3. From *c.*1838-67 Samuel Hewlett had an iron foundry on the site and since that time it has been a turnery, a flour mill, a leather board mill, a sawmill and a car scrapyard. After seeing a short film members either toured the museum, walked on Bradley Hill to see charcoal being made or along by the Soudley Ponds.

After lunch the party travelled to Lydney Park, now the home of Viscount Bledisloe, where the museum in the house was seen, and then members walked to the Roman temple which is within an Iron Age hill fort and to the Roman iron-ore mine, the only authentic Roman iron-ore mine in Britain.

Tea was taken in the Royal Forest Hotel at Coleford which was the home of David Mushet, 1811-43, and Robert F. Mushet, 1812-74, both being connected with the iron industry. The final visit was to the remains of the Whitecliff furnace dated 1806 which it is hoped will develop as a museum of Dean iron and steel.

FOURTH MEETING: 6 July: SOUTH SHROPSHIRE AREA

This meeting was the president's choice. Members walked in the Carding Mill valley near Church Stretton where the National Trust owns some 5,000 acres. Here could be seen the hard grey shale of pre-Cambrian times with only a thin layer of acid soil. The mill which worked from 1812-1900 has disappeared but some remains of the carding-mill buildings were noted.

After lunch the ruinous Acton Burnell Castle which is a fortified, embattled manor house was visited. It was built of red sandstone by Robert Burnell between 1284 and 1293. He was bishop of Bath and Wells. The church close by seems to be slightly earlier than the castle and is unusual in being almost completely of one build, clearly the work of the lord of the castle. Other features seen were the fine chancel roof of 1571, the nave roof of 1598, a brass to Sir Nicholas Burnell, 1382, a fine alabaster tomb of Richard Lee, 1591, and medieval tiles in the north transept.

Pitchford Hall was visited by kind permission of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. Colthurst. This house is a fine, timber-framed building built *c.*1560-70 by Adam Otley, a wool merchant of Shrewsbury. Several 16th-century tomb slabs of the Pitchford family were seen in the church and in the grounds members visited the pitch well and the timber-framed summerhouse in the branches of a tree which is probably late 18th century.

FIFTH MEETING: 15 August: PENDOCK AREA

Members were welcomed at Priors Court, Pendock, by the owner Mr. Philipson-Stow, who in giving a brief history explained that Pendock was probably a pre-Saxon

village. After the Reformation it was held by the Throckmortons and from them to Thomas Bartlett, John Nanfan, John Martin and in 1832 to Samuel Beale. He settled it on his grandson W. S. Symonds whose daughter Hyacinth married Sir Joseph Hooker, the botanist. In 1929 Priors Court was purchased by the present owner's father. Members were shown the ground-floor rooms of the late 17th-century, brick house with later additions and containing an earlier stone fireplace.

The party walked to Pendock Church passing through a deserted medieval village site. In the churchyard members saw the graves of the Revd. W. S. Symonds, who was rector of Pendock and a founder member of the club, and Hyacinth Hooker. In the church the nave dates from *c.*1170, the linenfold panelled benches from the 16th century, the font is probably Saxon, and the rare 18th-century chamber organ is said to be associated with Sir Edward Elgar.

After tea members walked past the granary dated 1765 to another deserted medieval village site where Roman sherds have been found and from where could be seen the only surviving piece of common land in the village. The last visit was to a complete cider-mill which was used until about twenty-five years ago.

SIXTH MEETING: 14 September: TEWKESBURY AREA

This meeting was arranged and led by Mr. Hillaby. In Tewkesbury visits were made to the Baptist Church where he explained that the Baptists had been in the town since 1655 and that often their buildings are found away from the main streets. The present building has been restored recently but dates from the 17th century. Two 15th and 16th-century cottages were also seen.

After lunch the party travelled to Deerhurst to see Odda's Chapel consisting of a nave and chancel dating from the mid-11th century. It is part of the adjoining house and was discovered in the late 19th century.

Members walked to the nearby parish church of St. Mary which dates from *c.*750 where were seen the Saxon font with Celtic ornamentation, the 14th and 15th-century stained glass to St. Catherine and St. Alphage, fine brasses to the Cassey family and the Puritan arrangement of the altar and pews in the choir. Outside at the east end the remains of the apse and Angel were noted.

After tea a visit was made to Tewkesbury Abbey which was built by Benedictine monks during the Norman period and now has 14th-century windows and chapels at the east end with the choir rising above. The stained glass of the east window and clerestory windows dating from *c.*1340 was studied. Thirty-three members climbed to the top of the abbey tower from where the town plan and burgage plots were clearly visible.

FAMILY DAY: 13 July: CROFT CASTLE AREA

Thirteen adults and children met at Croft Castle from where Mr. Tonkin took the party up to the Iron Age hill fort of Croft Ambrey where he pointed out the defences and huts as well as the area which could be seen as they walked around the defences.

After a picnic lunch he pointed out the architectural features of Croft Church and then walked through the Fishpool valley where he referred to various plants, trees and animal habitats.

SPECIAL MEETING: 29 August: MUCH MARCLE AREA

This meeting was arranged and led by Dr. Brian. The object was to visit an ancient woodland. Hall Wood near Much Marcle was considered to be a good example and had been surveyed for Herefordshire/Radnorshire Nature Trust under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission.

Ancient woodlands have only been identified since the 1960s and much of the work is due to Oliver Rackham. Often these woodlands are mentioned about 1600-1700. Stumps of trees will be seen as the woods have never been replanted or the soil disturbed, management has been done by coppicing every ten to twenty years; from the produce, poles were used for hurdles, the bark for tanning and timber for buildings. Pollarded trees were often found on banks and other indicators to look for in an old wood are; small-leaved limes, wild service trees, aspen, wood anemone, sorrel, bluebells and orchids.

Hall Wood is divided into two parts, Big Hall Wood and Little Hall Wood, by a bank and a ditch. Members walked through the middle of Big and back between Big and Little Woods where the path was much wider and where the bank and ditch were clearly visible. In this wood thirty-two species of trees and 112 species of plants have been identified. On the walk the wild service tree, small-leaved limes, pollarded oaks and an area which had been coppiced were seen.

After a picnic tea in the garden of Colonel and Mrs. Johnson, the party travelled to the Butterfly farm at Newent to see the exhibition of butterflies and moths, live insects and snails and a house where exotic butterflies and some British ones were seen in flight.

CHICHESTER VISIT: 4-11 September

Fifty-two members spent a week based at Bishop Otter College, Chichester. En route a visit was made to Snelsmore Common, a SSI site of heathland, woodland and valley bog where many plants and heathers were in flower. At South Harting Church a fine Elizabethan roof and many family memorials were seen. Uppark, a National Trust property, built of red brick *c.*1690 for Lord Grey of Werke, and housing a collection of pictures and furniture was also visited. After the evening meal Mr. Perry outlined the week's programme and Mr. Tonkin gave a brief account of the area and the buildings to be seen.

On Thursday the first visit was to Boxgrove to the parish church dating from the late 12th and early 13th centuries which was once the church of the Benedictine priory founded in 1105. Remains of the monastic buildings were seen to the north and in the church of particular interest was Lord de la Warr's chantry of 1532. In Amberley village houses built of stone, brick, flint, tile and timber-framing were seen as well as

the Norman church. The rest of the morning was spent at the Amberley Chalk Pits Museum, a thirty-six-acre industrial museum established in the chalk pit which had quarried lime from the 1840s until 1960.

After lunch the first visit was to the National Trust property, Petworth House, which was built 1688-96 by the Duke of Somerset, and contains good furniture and paintings by famous artists. The grounds were laid out by Capability Brown in 1752 and the stable block dates from 1700. The last visit of the day was to the Cowdray ruins, a pleasant walk across the causeway from the town of Midhurst. The great Tudor house was built between 1520 and 1542, was devasted by fire in 1793 and has never been restored. In the evening most of the party went to the Chichester Theatre to see 'The Philanthropist.'

The first stop on Friday morning was at Bosham, one of the oldest villages in Sussex, and a walk along the waterfront to the Saxon church which is one of the best in England. Next visited was Fishbourne Palace, the largest Roman residence yet found in Britain. It was discovered in 1960 when digging a trench for a water main. There are three phases of development covering A.D. 43 to A.D. 290. Many mosaics were seen. Members were taken on a guided tour of Chichester Cathedral which was dedicated in 1108, the see having moved from Selsey to Chichester. Architectural and art treasures spanning 900 years were seen and these included works by Graham Sutherland, John Piper and the most recent Anglo-German tapestry.

The afternoon was spent at Arundell first visiting Arundell Castle, the seat of the Dukes of Norfolk. The castle dates from the 11th century with additions in the 18th century and between 1890 and 1903. The Fitzalan Chapel in the grounds is the private, Catholic, chapel of the family. It is a good example of Perpendicular Gothic architecture, restored in 1886 to plans by Buckler, and contains tombs dating from the 15th to the 20th centuries. Members also visited the Arundell Wildfowl Trust consisting of fifty-five acres of ponds, reed beds, water meadows, scrapes and woods.

Saturday morning was spent in two villages. At Alfriston the first visit was to the Clergy House, the first property to be bought by the National Trust in 1896. It is a 14th-century house with a hall and two cross-wings which was partly rebuilt in the 17th century. The 14th-century, cruciform parish church dedicated to St. Andrew was also seen. At the village of Wilmington members could see the Wilmington Long Man cut out in the chalk hillside. Wilmington Priory was founded in the 11th century by the Benedictines and in the 14th-century buildings which survive the Sussex Archaeological Trust has created an agricultural museum of the 18th and 19th centuries. The implements seen were mainly from Sussex. Lunch was taken at Michelham Priory also owned by the Sussex Archaeological Trust. This was an Augustinian priory founded in 1229. The house is now a museum but also seen were the moat and gatehouse dating from *c.*1400, the great barn and the watermill. The latter part of the afternoon was spent in the town of Lewes where visits were made to the castle, one of the oldest in England, the Barbican House and Anne of Cleeves House as well as a walk around the streets. After the evening meal the party went to Singleton where Mrs. M. Hallam gave a general talk on Sussex and the Weald and Downland Museum.

Sunday morning was free but many members went to church services. After lunch a member of the Chichester Rotary Club took the party on a guided tour of the city. The rest of the afternoon was spent at West Dean Gardens which is a thirty-five-acre Edwardian garden developed by the Edward James Foundation.

On Monday morning the party was off early to Portsmouth. The first visit was to see the *Mary Rose* which sank in 1545 and was raised in 1982. The remains of the ship are now housed in a large hall and are being sprayed in a temperature just above freezing point for twelve years. In the exhibition hall many artefacts from the wreck were on display. The next visit was to *H.M.S. Victory* which is berthed close by. She was launched in 1765, was Lord Nelson's flagship, and has been restored to the appearance she bore at Trafalgar.

In the afternoon Parham House and gardens were visited. The house was built in 1577 for Sir Thomas Palmer and has a long gallery, 158 feet long. Fallow deer were grazing in the park and the ice house could be seen on the hillside. At Steyning, once an important port, the party visited the church of St. Andrew, the best late Norman church in Sussex. The final stop was at Sompting Church, the only remaining English example of a church with a Saxon tower with four gables known as a 'Rhenish Helm.' It was remodelled by the Knights Templars who acquired it in 1154 and it passed to the Knights Hospitallers in 1324. After the evening meal members went to Singleton where Mr. K. Leslie gave a talk on the Sussex Iron Industry.

On Tuesday members were off early to Brighton to see the Royal Pavilion which was begun by the then Prince of Wales in 1787, transformed by Nash in the 'Indian' style, 1815-22, and decorated inside in the 'Chinese taste.' At present it is being restored and much of the original furniture has been returned from Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle. The party then travelled to the Woods Mill Nature Reserve to see a wildlife and countryside museum housed in the 18th-century mill and to wander around a fifteen-acre site of woodland, meadowland and marshland. After a picnic lunch practically everyone climbed up to the top of Cissbury Ring, an Iron Age hill fort, of eighty-two acres with ramparts twenty feet high. The last visit of the day was to the village of Shipley to see the Kings Mill, the only remaining smock mill in West Sussex, which was built in 1879 and restored in memory of Hilaire Belloc who owned it and lived nearby from 1906 to 1953. Also visited was the parish church which is mainly early Norman and was once a possession of the Knights Templars.

On the return journey on Wednesday the morning was spent in the village of Singleton firstly to see the church which dates from Saxon times and then to the Weald and Downland open-air museum which was founded in 1967 as a centre for representative examples of vernacular buildings from the south-east of England. So far twenty-five buildings have been rescued and reerected and many more are in storage. The last visit of the week was to Abingdon where time only permitted a visit to the Abbey which was founded in 675, and the almshouses area behind St. Helen's Church; Long Alley or Christs Alley, 1446; Twitty's, 1707 and Brick Alley, 1718. At tea-time at the Bridge Restaurant Mr. and Mrs. Perry were thanked for all their hard work in arranging such an enjoyable weeek which had been enhanced by fine weather.

AUTUMN MEETINGS

FIRST MEETING: 5 October: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

Miss C. Hutchison, B.A. gave an illustrated talk on 'Grandmontine Sites and Craswall.' She explained that almost everything that had been written on Craswall is printed in the club's *Transactions* from Lilwall's excavations, 1904-08, to Cecil Wright's field survey of 1962 when he proved Dr. Rose Graham and Sir Alfred Clapham's paper of the 1920s to be wrong. Miss Hutchison said that she had used Mr. Kay's work and plans of Craswall which he produced in the 1950s, and it is now shown that his reconstruction of the site was almost exact. She said that the Order of Grandmont was founded by St. Stephen in 1124 and was suppressed in France in 1772 where there were 115 cells. There were only three in England of which Craswall was one, the other two being Alberbury in Shropshire and Grosmont near Whitby in Yorkshire. The monks cum hermits lived a life of extreme poverty and solitude, their buildings were very small and often found in wooded places. Craswall was founded by Walter de Lacy *c.*1225 and was confiscated by the Crown in 1441.

SECOND MEETING: 26 October: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

Mr. R. Shoesmith, M.I.F.A. gave an illustrated talk on 'The Life and Work of Alfred Watkins.' He explained that Alfred Watkins, 1844-1935, was the third of ten children of Charles and Ann Watkins. He was born at the Imperial Inn in Widemarsh Street, Hereford, married Marion Cross from Middlesex in 1886 and had two children, a son and a daughter who is still alive aged ninety-five. Alfred's father acquired the Hereford Brewery in 1870 and the iron foundry which became flour mills in 1876. Alfred worked for his father and at the flour mill he introduced the dynamo and electric light and in 1890 he produced a new brown loaf called the vagus loaf. Also in 1890 in a little building by the flour mill he invented and manufactured the light meter, and in 1910 as a member of the Royal Photographic Society he was given the rare award of the progress medal. He was also a beekeeper and played a part in the community as a county councillor, alderman and magistrate. In 1925 he published *Old Straight Tracks* and in 1930 *Old Standing Crosses of Herefordshire.* Much of his photographic work and writings are in the club's *Transactions* and he was the president in 1919. Recently a way between Widemarsh Street and the new Tesco Stores has been named Watkins Passage and it is understood that a plaque is to be placed on the Imperial Hotel where he was born.

THIRD MEETING: 16 November: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

The Sectional Recorders for Archaeology, Botany, Buildings, Industrial Archaeology and Ornithology, and the Archaeological Research Section and the Natural History Section gave their reports for 1985 which are printed on pp. 312-23.

WINTER ANNUAL MEETING: 7 December: Mr. C. E. Attfield, president, in the chair.

Officers for 1986 were appointed. The accounts for the year ending 31 December 1984 were presented and adopted. These are printed on p. 10.

Mr. G. W. Kemp, M.I.Mech.E. gave an illustrated talk on 'The Annunciation and the Lily Crucifixion.' He traced the symbolism of the Annunciation from the 5th century referring to a variety of interpretations from Rome, Cologne and Greece. In the early period Mary and Gabriel are standing each side of an open portico, much later one was kneeling, an angel with rays descending to Mary's ear, the hands of Gabriel holding a Latin scroll and later an open book. The Lily or Lilypot at first was merely a flower representing early spring. The Lily Crucifixion developed unique to England where so far only fourteen examples covering the 14th to 16th centuries are known. Illustrations for Herefordshire are on a brass dated 1424 in the south transept of Hereford Cathedral, the east window in Kingsland Church, a fresco at Brinsop, a misericord at Leintwardine Church and the Rudhall tomb at Ross.

It is with regret that one records the death of Mr. F. M. Kendrick in March 1985, who had given so much loyal service to the club since 1948, mainly in the capacity of secretary and president.

Miss Verena Brown who died in February 1985 in her will left £500 to the club. As she had been a keen amateur archaeologist the committee decided to use this legacy towards publishing the report on the Kenchester Excavations as it was thought that that would have been her wish.

The club is grateful to three friends of Miss Rose Gough, who died in December 1984, who in remembrance of her having enjoyed being a member of the club, have given to the club's library three volumes *English Country Houses* by Hussey.

The Clothworkers' Company has given the club a copy of the *Golden Ram* in return for Mr. Cohen's paper on apprentices and salmon.

An exhibition on various aspects of the club's activities was staged as part of Family History Day on 17 August and on 24-25 October as part of the Herefordshire and Radnorshire Nature Trust's exhibition.

The club is grateful to the Hereford City Council for the further improvements made by it to the Woolhope Room.

WOOLHOPE NATURALISTS' FIELD CLUB

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1984

RECEIPTS

1983 £	1983 £		£	£
		Interest on Investments		
33		3½% War Loan ...	32.64	
		Hereford and Worcester ...		
94		County Council Loan ...	87.60	
—		Nat Savings Investment ...	1,113.69	
1,715	1,842	Bank Deposit Interest ...	621.76	1,855.69
		Subscriptions		
2,105		General	2,184.98	
40		Archaeological R. Section	67.50	
59	2,204	Natural History Section ...	59.00	2,311.48
	116	Sale of Publications ...		294.47
	475	Grants & Donations ...		100.00
	31	Royalties		2.57
	273	Field Meetings (Net) ...		—
	217	Income Tax Refund ...		252.40
		Bank Balances 1st January		
		Current Accounts		
147		General	172.46	
792		Subscription	300.15	
19		Natural History Section ...	23.58	
104		Archaeological R. Sect. ...	107.96	
1		Field Meetings	77.24	
		Deposit Accounts		
4,523		Subscriptions	4,310.08	
10,000		Group Deposit	12,000.00	
631		G. Marshall Fund ...	659.45	
187		Natural History Sect. ...	199.15	
387		Field Meetings	651.42	
51		Archaeological R. Sect. ...	54.51	
—	16,842			18,556.00
		Cash in Hand		
	—	Archaeological R. Sect. ...		6.00
	22,000			23,378.61

PAYMENTS

1983 £	1983 £		£	£
51		Insurance	50.80	
178		Printing and Stationery	34.20	
2,420		Printing and Binding	5,785.30	
10		Expenses of Meetings	83.30	
291		Postage and Telephones	545.67	
73		Subscriptions and Donations ...	75.50	
330		Honoraria	330.00	
30		Archaeological Research Section Expenses	52.70	
55		Natural History Section Expenses	39.48	
—	3,438	Field Meetings (Net)	240.86	7,237.81
		Bank Balance 31st December		
		Current Accounts		
173		General	2.508.51 OD	
300		Subscription	282.13	
24		Natural History Section ...	43.10	
108		Archaeological Research Sect. ...	125.76	
77		Field Meetings	26.44	
		Deposit Accounts		
4,310		Subscription	3,789.71	
12,000		Group Deposit	—	
659		G. Marshall Fund	597.19	
199		Natural History Section ...	212.14	
55		Archaeological Research Sect.	58.13	
651		Field Meetings	398.02	
—	18,556	Nat Savings Investment ...	13,113.69	16,137.80
		Cash in Hand		
	6	Archaeological Research Sect.		3.00
	22,000			23,378.61

Note—The Club owns £932.70 3½% War Stock and has Deposit Loans with the Hereford and Worcester County Council amounting to £1,040.

Auditor's Certificate

I have audited the above Receipts and Payments Account and certify it to be in accordance with the Books, Bank Statements and Vouchers of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club.

(*Signed*) H. S. BERISFORD, F.C.A.,
Honorary Auditor,

OBITUARIES

FRANK MOFFATT KENDRICK. 1911 - 1985

F. M. Kendrick was a field naturalist, his interests being very much those of the founders of the club. His first enthusiasm was trees, wild flowers, mosses and fungi of Herefordshire. He found however, to understand their distribution, he needed to know about the rocks producing the soils in which the various plants grew. He came for several years to Birmingham University Extra Mural classes in geology where I was tutor so I came to know him as a very keen student of the natural sciences. Thus emerged his second enthusiasm, geology. These two interests influenced his work for the club of which he became a member in 1948.

In 1950, when plans were being made to celebrate the club's centenary with a volume of essays on Herefordshire, he was asked to write the chapter on the botany of the county.

In 1957 he was elected President. It was the custom then for the secretary, F. C. Morgan, to take a newly elected president aside and tell him that at the end of his year of office the club would expect him to give them a presidential address involving some original research. He chose the Botany of Dinmore Hill, and had just to do it. His address is a careful study of the trees and wild flowers in relation to the geology there.

In 1959 he was elected Hon. Sec. succeeding F. C. Morgan, and the next year Sectional Recorder of Botany and Geology, a position he retained for 25 years, each year giving his report on finds of rare plants and fossils.

In 1966 he was again President and his address is a masterly survey of Herefordshire trees used for timber framed houses and farm vehicles, and Herefordshire rocks used for building, paving, tiling and lime mortar. He was again elected Hon. Sec. in 1974 and continued to serve until his death. On one occasion he was asked to revue the work of the club since its inception which he did and then tried to see its role in the future, and he made a very profound remark which reflects his work for the club, and is a fitting remembrance of him - 'the recording of detailed accurate observation will always add to the total of our knowledge.'

B.B.C.

In 1980 he was elected President for a third time, becoming the third person in the 130 year history of the club to hold this office three times. His presidential address was on the botanical work of Thomas Andrew Knight. Little known is the fact that he was for two years Head Boy at Ledbury Grammar School and during the Second World War he saw service as a naval officer.

J.W.T.

WINIFRED LEEDS, F.R.P.S.L. 1883 - 1984

After a childhood in East Anglia and student days at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, and abroad, Mrs. Leeds married and came to Herefordshire in 1921, when her husband was appointed Headmaster of Ross Grammar School.

There can be few people who have combined the role of mother of a family and headmaster's wife with a life of such varied and successful self-directed research.

She was herself a naturally brilliant and sympathetic teacher, as many of her old pupils have testified. She had the first-rate teacher's gift of bringing the past to life, and many in this county and beyond will remember her public lectures and informal talks, as well as her occasional broadcasts and television appearances.

Winifred has told me how, one day, she heard a girl who had been caught in her working clothes on some formal occasion, exclaiming 'and me in my dishabels!'. Mrs. Leeds' keen ear, and her knowledge of French and Anglo-Norman, caught the echoes of 'en déshabille'. So Herefordians were speaking a form of Norman French 'without knowing it'.

Such discoveries led to much original, valuable and self-directed research, and is preserved for us in her book *Herefordshire Speech* (recently republished by Arch Books).

This same enquiring and self-directed research made her an expert on local folklore and customs, and on the history of Ross and her adopted county. Her abilities in this field are widely known and appreciated, but another of Winifred's fields of study may be less well known.

I heard her say once that she wondered, when young, why people paid so much attention to 'a lot of little dirty bits of paper', but in her hands these 'little bits of paper' became an extremely valuable stamp collection. Her expertise in philately, and particularly her outstanding collection of Herefordshire Postal History, earned her the respect of the Royal Philatelic Society of London, whose members elected her a Fellow.

Winifred Leeds not only recorded history but she made it. In 1954 she became one of the first three women to be admitted to membership of the Woolhope Club, hitherto an all-male preserve, and later, the first woman to sit on the Committee. In 1959 she became the first woman President, and our Club has gone from strength to strength ever since.

The Woolhope Club honours the memory of one of its most distinguished members. Would that there were more such!

M.S.

Presidential Address

The Goods and Chattels of our Forefathers, 1660-1760

By J. W. TONKIN

VERY useful sources for the study of houses and social history are the wills, and, even more, the inventories filed with them, which are to be found among ecclesiastical probate records. They are an excellent source of information on the agriculture of the period, but that aspect will not be covered in this paper.

As early as 1261 the Council of Lambeth included an ordinance to the effect that no executor should administer the goods of a dead person without producing a faithful inventory of them to the ecclesiastical court. Probate administration remained as a duty of the church until 11 January 1858,[1] when England and Wales were divided into civil probate districts and the ecclesiastical courts were closed. The new district probate registry for the area which included Herefordshire was at Gloucester.

From December 1529[2] until 1858 the law of England and Wales required that an inventory and valuation should be made of the goods and chattels of all deceased persons if their estimated value was more than £5. This was to be carried out by two or more 'honest and skilful persons.'

PROBATE DOCUMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS

The inventory contains a list of personal and household goods including the deceased's tools of his trade or items in his shop or workshop where such places are applicable, and in the case of farmers stock, grain in the ground and in the barn, other produce and implements. Inventories were normally headed by one of a small group of standard statements of which the most common is 'A true and perfect inventory of all the goods, cattles and chattels of ( ) late of ( ) in the county of ( ), (profession or trade), deceased taken and apprized on ( )th day of (month), (year) by ( ), ( ) and ( ). For a typical example see Appendix 1.

Variations are found on this formula. Sometimes it begins simply 'A true inventory,' on other occasions 'An inventory of all and singular the goods' etc., and even 'An inventory taken this nth day' etc.

At the end of the inventory the apprizers (or 'appraisers' or 'prizers') signed or made their marks if they could not write. As stated in the Act there were at least two of these gentlemen and sometimes as many as five.

In length inventories vary from a scrap of paper measuring a few inches each way to several sheets of paper, occasionally parchment, depending upon the wealth of the deceased and the amount of detail included. This varies considerably and tends to get less in the later inventories.

A 'will' is a written statement setting out the wishes of a person in regard to his real property, that is property in land, whereas a 'testament' applies to personalty, i.e. personal possessions, viz. goods, chattels, debts, credits, animals and produce of the farm or business owned by the deceased.

When a person died without leaving a will he was classed as intestate and an application had to be made to a probate court for letters of administration. Usually this was done by the next of kin, but occasionally a friend of the deceased was appointed as an administrator and with two or three other persons administered the goods of the deceased. This included making an inventory and this is filed with the administration in the same way as if it had been a normal will and testament.

Of these probate documents it is the inventories which contain most information about the rooms of a house and their contents.

As early as 1357 a statute had been passed to repress the 'Outrageous and grievous fines and sums of money taken by the ministers of bishops and other ordinaries of holy church for the probate of testaments.'[3] This was followed by another statute of 1416 to limit bishops' fees for probate,[4] but still the abuse continued. In 1529 fees which the ecclesiastical courts could charge for probate were fixed on a graduated scale from three shillings and fourpence up to ten shillings according to the value of the deceased person's property, but with an exemption when the goods were worth less than ten marks (about £7).[5]

Archbishop Whitgift's table of fees in 1597 confirms the 1529 figures but 'Fees allowed to be taken as settled by a jury, Nov. 19, 1734' vary from 7s. for an administration under £5 to £2 5s. for one above £40.[6]

As a modern comparison it is worth mentioning that probate fees under the regulations of 1958 vary from 15s. for an estate valued at under £500 to £60 for one between £120,000 and £200,000 with an additional £10 for every £100,000 above that figure.

Until 1837 the lower age limits for the making of a will, for which an inventory would then be compiled, were twelve for a girl and fourteen for a boy,[7] but after that both sexes could not legally leave possessions until they were of full age, at that time twenty-one.

LIMITS OF THE DIOCESE

The diocese of Hereford extends along the Marches from Lea in north Gloucestershire through Herefordshire and includes Shropshire south and west of the Severn as well as Discoed, Michaelchurch-on-Arrow, Old Radnor and Presteigne in Radnorshire, Church Stoke, Hyssington and Snead in Montgomeryshire, both areas now part of Powys, and Dixton in Gwent. Until 1920 it also included Knighton, New Radnor and Norton in Radnorshire, and Buttington and Montgomery in Montgomeryshire, again now part of Powys, as well as Monmouth in Gwent.[8] It also includes Tenbury Wells and Bockleton in Worcestershire though until 1920 it included eighteen other parishes and chapelries in the north-west of that county. In 1852 eight parishes in the south-west

of Herefordshire viz. Clodock (including Craswall, Llanveynoe and Longtown), Dulas, Ewyas Harold, Llancillo, Michaelchurch Escley, Rowlstone, St. Margarets and Walterstone, were transferred to the diocese from St. David's.[9] Acton Beauchamp and Mathon in the east of the county are in the diocese of Worcester.

PROBATE COURTS AND HEREFORDSHIRE PARISHES

This paper is concerned only with the inventories for parishes in the old county of Herefordshire. There were 233 ecclesiastical parishes in the county of which 188 were under the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Courts, i.e. the Courts of the Archdeacons of Hereford and Ludlow. The Court of the Dean of Hereford was responsible for thirty-two parishes, mainly fairly close to the city and including the six in Hereford itself. The Court of the Archdeacon of Brecon in the diocese of St. David's dealt with the eight parishes in the south-west of the county while Acton Beauchamp and Mathon came under the Archdeaconry and diocese of Worcester. The remaining three parishes of Bullingham, Little Hereford and Moreton-on-Lugg were peculiars which were outside the jurisdiction of the bishop or dean and had their own courts and records.

In the event of somebody owning property in more than one diocese the will had to be proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

PRESENT LOCATION AND SURVIVAL

As a result of the early legislation the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury and York had required valuations for those in the above category and these exist from 1383 and 1389 for dioceses in the Provinces of Canterbury and York respectively, though in each case there are big gaps in those remaining.

Some dioceses are fortunate in what has survived, Lincoln, for example, having inventories preserved back to about 1520.

Almost all the inventories for the diocese of Hereford which were with the wills proved before 1662 appear to have been lost. The same applies for the period pre-1660 to those for the diocese of St. David's, which until 1852 included the Herefordshire parishes mentioned above, though there are copies for the period 1570-1589.

After about 1760 in the Hereford Diocese the inventories give virtually no detail, the last one being 1771, but in St. David's detail continues up to about 1815.

Wills and inventories for the deanery of Hereford have been lost for the period before 1668, even later than the diocese, and only one, 1661, for the Worcester Archdeaconry survives from before 1665. The last one for the deanery of Hereford is dated 1766 and for Worcester 1762. Those for the peculiars of Bullingham, Little Hereford and Moreton-on-Lugg begin and end at 1675 and 1858, 1662 and 1858 and 1668 and 1854 respectively.

Wills proved at Canterbury are now at the Public Record Office, those for the parishes which were in St. David's Diocese are at the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, those for Acton Beauchamp and Mathon are at Worcester County Records Office and the remainder are at the Hereford County Records Office.

After 1858 the District Probate Office was at Gloucester and the Hereford Diocesan and Deanery records were moved there, where they stayed until the second World War when they were moved to the National Library of Wales for safe keeping during the war. There they remained until they were taken to London in 1974 for indexing by the British Records Association. They finally came back to Hereford in 1976 to the Hereford Records Office.

The writer has worked on these in all four of the above repositories, having transcribed just over 3,000, i.e. 20% of those that exist for Herefordshire. See Table 1.

APPRISERS AND THE VALUE OF ESTATES

The 'honest and skilful persons' who were called on to be apprisers in many cases tended to mark down values, people then, as now, never having been willing taxpayers either to church or state. They were reputable and responsible neighbours of the deceased person, but it is clear from the inventories that sometimes they were barely literate and not really competent or qualified to assess the value of the goods.

It is difficult to translate into modern terms the values given in the inventories, but it would seem fair to multiply them by about 300, perhaps rather more for the very early ones. A skilled tradesman in 1683 was earning 7s. a week. Most of the amounts are in our modern, Arabic numerals in £ s. d., but some, even late in the 17th century, are still in Roman numerals, giving many of the values in shillings and pence only and the totals (not always absolutely correct) in £ s. d.

The great variation in the value of personal estate is very clear from Tables 2, 3 and 4. Well over half of the inventories are valued at under £30 while only about one in forty is over £500. However, as this latter figure probably represents at least £150,000 by modern standards this is not surprising. An interesting feature of these tables is that they show that Hereford city had the greatest extremes of wealth, over half its inventories being valued at under £20, but 6% at over £500. In a rural area a similar contrast is found in the Grimsworth Hundred where 50% are under £20, but 5% are over £500.

Table 4 shows that the wealthiest inventory of all was that of a Hereford dyer whose estate in modern terms was valued at over three-quarters of a million pounds, while the lowest, from Canon Frome, was the equivalent of about £40. Of the towns Kington and Ross seem to have been the poorest and not surprisingly Ewyas Lacy and Huntington, both in the west of the county, the poorest of the rural areas with Wigmore, also in the west, not a long way behind.

Use of the above tables in conjuction with the text shows the great differences in wealth and influence of the different parts of the county and the location of the wealthiest houses and the poorest would not be difficult to work out from a tour of the area today. Things have not changed much; good soil and good locations remain the same.

COVERAGE

Those whose goods were valued at less than £5 were not compelled to make a will, and although some did, a few being valued in shillings only, this means that a large

proportion of those who died have left us little record of their possessions, and probably had very little of which to leave a record. About eight to ten percent seem to have left wills for which inventories remain, virtually all of these being in English, but a very few early ones are in Latin.

Some give a really complete picture of the house room by room and of the farm or shop or workshop. This paper deals only with the houses and it is hoped to follow it up with one about the farming, tradesmen and shopkeepers. One conclusion which can be drawn from them is that houses were much more simply furnished in the 17th and 18th centuries than they are today.

WHAT THE INVENTORIES SHOW (See Appendices 2, 3 & 4)

Very rarely is a house actually named in an inventory or the accompanying will, but occasionally it is possible to make an 'enlightened guess' at the building concerned. At the time everybody dealing with the estate knew where the deceased had lived, so why bother to write it down.

It is often possible to deduce from the inventory the lay-out of the house, for the apprisers tended to follow from room to room through the house. Medieval open halls with no rooms above them and service and parlour cross-wings are often fairly obvious and sometimes it is possible to infer that the house was a long-house with people and cattle under the same roof. They give no clue as to materials, but from the list of rooms, knowledge of local building materials and date one can usually work out the probable appearance of the house and buildings concerned.

Apart from a picture of the house some other aspects of the life of the time show up very well. Most inventories give the trade or profession of the deceased and if they do not it is frequently given in the will. Where it is not actually stated the social standing and means of livelihood can often be deduced from the inventory.

The social structure shows up well and it is quite clear that status in local society did not ncecessarily depend on wealth, for many of those described as 'Gent.' were not at all well off, some of them being quite poor.

Obviously a lot of money was on loan. This was in the days before banking as we know it and although nobody is actually described as a money-lender it is evident that quite a number of people were lending money. It is never stated that interest was to be paid and usury was still very much frowned upon, but almost certainly the borrower was paying back at quite a high rate of interest.

Both men and women were making wills, some women being quite wealthy. Both sexes were owning property and leaving it, and it is interesting to see that 'marriage-portions' were often reserved to the widow after her husband's death. One is left with the impression that widows and sometimes elderly spinsters were in many cases quite powerful people.

The wealthier areas of the county are easily identified from the inventories but above all is the wealth of the city of Hereford. The farms in the river valleys tended to be really affluent, while the poorest areas were in the hilly parts of the south-west and west of Herefordshire.

The urban areas of Bromyard, Kington, Ledbury, Leominster and Ross stand out as being wealthier than the surrounding rural areas. The now 'decayed' boroughs of Longtown, Pembridge, Weobley and Wigmore show as centres in their own areas as does the wealth of the important villages of Much Marcle and Wellington.

OCCUPATIONS. Table 5.

Altogether 118 different occupations or stations in life are mentioned. The latter classification includes such descriptions as 'Esquire', 'Gent.' and 'Mr.'.

As would be expected in a rural county over a third of the inventories are those of farmers, 1123 being described as yeomen, husbandmen, or farmers, though only nine of them were actually called by the last term. There were 320 labourers and at the opposite end of the social scale 183 gentry, 181 being referred to as gentlemen, one as a knight and one dame. The building trade totalled forty-seven, twenty-five carpenters, twenty masons and two freemasons. Thirty-three were the inventories of clerks, i.e. men in Holy Orders, thirty-two of tailors and there were eighteen from the medical professions, one doctor of physic, two barber surgeons, seven apothecaries and eight barbers.

Not unexpectedly in Hereford there were thirteen millers and three millwrights. Fourteen people were clearly money-lenders, though not specified as such, and there were eleven coopers. Occupations which were each represented by one person only were china-shop keeper, cider bottler, potter and sexton.

HOUSE SIZES. Table 6.

Rather over a quarter of the inventories (about 27%) list the rooms and the biggest house which appears in any of these inventories was Eaton in Leominster parish, the home of Wallop Brabazon, with thirty-two rooms. There was one of twenty-four rooms in Broxash Hundred at Buckhill (Buckenhill) in the Norton township of Bromyard. Altogether there were 131 houses of ten or more rooms, 104 of six rooms and 109 of five rooms. Thirteen houses appear to have been of one room only and sixty-one of two rooms; when one realises that on the whole the inventories which survive are those of the wealthier people it is clear how poorly housed many people were by our standards today. The smallest houses were in the south-west of the county in the Ewyas Lacy Hundred. These house sizes reflect the national pattern very well and it seems true to describe Herefordshire as a good representative county in this respect. Probably the majority of the houses are still there, but with additions and alterations.

Ground-floor Rooms and Cellars. Tables 7, 8 and 9.

Altogether twenty-seven different rooms are mentioned downstairs, the kitchen, parlour and hall being the most common, while dining room and drawing room are each mentioned only once. Kitchens occur in 135 houses, a few of them probably being external, ninety-two have a hall which in many cases was probably used as a kitchen as well, 110 have a parlour and twenty-seven a ground-floor chamber.

The hall was still the main room of the house and many of them must still have been open from ground to ridge at the beginning of the period, i.e. early 17th century, and there is evidence from two inventories and their accompanying wills of a house in Weobley having its hall divided to give two floors. Many of the halls in the inventories must have been the lower floors of earlier open halls divided in this way into two or four rooms, perhaps sometimes five. In the hall the meals would be taken by the master and his family with the workers from the farm and servants, if any, some of them living in the house almost as members of the family. This medieval tradition continued until very late and has not entirely died out even today.

The usual furniture in the hall was a tableboard (i.e. a trestle table), forms, stools and chairs, sometimes a table and in one case each, a round table and a drawing table, presumably a table with leaves which could be drawn out. Only once is a chest mentioned in a hall, two had a 'looking glass', and only five had andirons, though there is plenty of pewter and brass ware.

The parlour, occasionally still called a solar, was the private room for the family where they could retire for privacy or to entertain special guests. In them was the best furniture in the house. Six of them had window curtains, but it is clear that shutters were the normal way of covering the window, and the slots for these still survive in a few houses. Turkey-work chairs and leather chairs are each mentioned on three occasions and were obviously a sign of wealth; one even had eighteen Turkey-work chairs. Ten of them had a bedstead, the parlour doubling as a guest room in such cases, and no doubt as an extra bedroom in some families. Seven parlours had either chests or coffers in them, in most cases more than one.

In ten houses there were little parlours, usually approached through the parlour and very much a private family room. Perhaps it is significant that the greatest number of leather chairs is found in a little parlour.

Besides the use of a parlour as a bedroom, twenty-seven houses had a ground-floor chamber, furnished with a bed and related furniture just as a normal chamber upstairs would have been. Obviously this was a fairly common occurrence and no doubt rooms classified as a little parlour on some occasions, would be referred to as a chamber on others.

Kitchens must have varied from the big farm-house kitchen to little rooms with a big hearth and oven purely used for cooking, a few of which still survive in use today. In total 135 are mentioned and in them was plenty of pewter and brass, some trind and quite a lot of ironware. Trind or treen was the name given to wooden ware, plates, dishes, platters and other wooden utensils. Most of them have a fire shovel and tongs, for the big, open hearth was still in use for cooking as well as for warming the kitchen, or living room as it must have been in many cases.

Buttery and pantry were the names given in medieval times to the service rooms in bigger houses, and traditionally they were across the through entrance passage from the hall. Strictly speaking in the wealthier cases the 'buttery' was the wet pantry or serving room where beer, ale, cider and any other liquid to be drunk was kept after leaving the

cellar and before serving, while the pantry was where food was brought from the kitchen before being taken across to the hall to be eaten. However, these terms were not always used strictly in the above meanings and the term 'buttery' seems to have had a fairly general use in this area as a room where food was brought before serving and in many cases where it was stored. There were fifty-six butteries and twelve pantries mentioned in the sample of inventories. The term dairy seems to have had much the same meaning as it has today and it is not surprising that only three of the forty-three mentioned were in towns and that there was more 'trind' in them than in any other room.

These were the rooms in which the 'household provision' was kept. This term seems never to get more specific, but presumably includes all the food for everyday use and ingredients for the normal household cooking. Bacon is sometimes mentioned as an item, but on other occasions is no doubt included in the general term.

The most common place for a cellar was below the parlour. There were probably two reasons for this; one was that because of the excavation below the parlour would have a plank floor and was consequently warmer and more comfortable, while the other was that the master of the house was above the contents of his cellar and could quickly become aware if anybody was tampering with them. Fifty-three houses had cellars, and whilst most of these would have been below ground, a few would have been on the ground-floor. Where a house was close to a stream, or on low, damp ground cellars in the normal position would get flooded quite frequently, and consequently they were built above ground, usually adjacent to the parlour. In the cellars were kept cider, beer and perry in hogsheads, large barrels containing fifty-four gallons, or in pipes, long barrels lying horizontally rather than standing vertically and holding 105 gallons. In cellars and butteries a tram is often mentioned. This was the stand on which the pipe or the hogshead was stood. Occasionally there is mention of a hogshead in a dairy. A few houses had two cellars under the cross-wing, the second usually referred to as the little cellar, and again, hogsheads were mentioned in these.

First-floor Rooms and above. Tables 7, 8 and 9.

Perhaps a little surprisingly a slightly greater variety of rooms is mentioned above stairs than below, but this does include the third storey where it existed. The chambers over the parlour, hall and kitchen were the most common, and at the other extreme chest chamber, passage chamber, porch chamber and boughting room occurred only once each. The last named was the room in which the flour was sieved to separate it from the husks and bran. Chambers over the parlour occur in 107 houses, ninety-two have a chamber over the hall and ninety-one a chamber over the kitchen. Twenty-nine chambers were over a shop, all but one of these being in a town and thirty-two were over a buttery.

As would be expected the most common piece of furniture in the chamber was a bedstead, about a third of them being equipped with curtain and vallance, i.e. being four-post beds. The term 'bed' occurs almost as frequently and when taken with flockbed, featherbed and chaffbed is mentioned rather more often than bedstead. It

signifies a mattress; 'flock' is shredded wool waste, feather is self explanatory and chaff sometimes would be the husks of grain, but probably more frequently chopped hay or straw. Also mentioned is the 'trucklebed' or 'trundlebed', a low bed which could be pushed under a normal bedstead when not in use.

Sheets are only mentioned on three occasions, but coverlets are often met with. Bolsters are fairly common, pillows are not as frequently mentioned and sometimes these have a 'pillow-beer', i.e. a pillow case. 'Ruggs', a thick woollen bed-covering, occur in a significant number of cases, but blankets are much more common.

Chests, boxes and coffers are common in chambers and it is difficult to determine where, or even if, a strict dividing line was drawn between the three terms. Chest of drawers has a more specific meaning, but is only mentioned three times. Presses, again apparently for storage, are found nine times, and it seems unclear as to the exact distinction between these and the other forms, whereas trunks, presumably of leather rather than wood and easily moveable, occur on fourteen occasions, and in some of these cases there were as many as four in one room.

Chairs are mentioned in a number of inventories, while stools are much less frequently listed, being assessed in only seven instances. Tables and tableboards are valued in only about 10% of cases, leaving the impression that they were not much used in chambers and it is probably of some importance that they are found mainly in chambers over the hall and parlour, the two biggest rooms and those most likely to be used by the more important members of the household.

Similarly window curtains are rare and are found only in these more important rooms, as are fire shovels, tongs and andirons, presumably indicating that apart from these few rooms of the more important members of the household chambers were unheated. Mirrors also are found only in these rooms.

The cockloft or attics was used as a store and also often contained the servants' chamber or chambers, particularly those of the men servants. Thus the only chaffbeds mentioned are in a cockloft, but also six of the eight spinning wheels are up in the attics as are three of the four tubs found in upstairs rooms, a kip, wool, flax, linen yarn and coarse cloth. The only close stool listed is also in an attic.

The only hops mentioned are over the entry and in a chamber over a parlour, the places today where hop-treading holes can still be found.

CONCLUSION

The Tables show the number of inventories analysed for each area and town, and also certain details which can be learned from them and seem significant. They also suggest certain questions. Why in a county which produced the 'Lemster ore' are there not more clothworkers' inventories, or are they partially hidden among the weavers? Why are there so few tylers, especially as thatchers do not feature at all?

The variety of occupations is what could be expected with the yeomen and husbandmen reflecting the rural area.

Of over 3,000 inventories which were analysed over 27% were for houses of five or six rooms and almost 24% had four or seven rooms; thus over half were of a reasonable size, but as stated earlier on the whole these were the houses of the better off.

The 'Value of Personal Estate' shows clearly the comparative wealth and poverty of various areas mentioned above. Hereford has the biggest percentage in the over £500 category, but it also has a very high total in the two lowest categories, i.e. below £20. These total over half of the sample analysed for the city, viz. 52% whereas for the remainder of the county the figure is 44%. At the other end of the scale of wealth whilst over 6% of the Hereford city inventories are valued at over £500 only slightly under 2.5% of those for the other parts of the county reach that figure.

The lists of 'Items mentioned in inventories' especially that showing only items mentioned on five or more occasions shows the comparative lack of variety compared with today. Utility was the important criterion for most possessions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My most sincere thanks are due to the staff of the National Library of Wales, the Public Record Office, the Worcester County Records Office and most especially the Hereford County Records Office for their help and courtesy over a long period.

Finally, and above all, to my wife for all her patience with me over the years and for typing this paper.

REFERENCES

1 Court of Probate Act (1857).
2 21 Henry VIII, c.5 (1529).
3 31 Edward III, st.1,c.4 (1357).
4 3 Henry V, st.2,c.8 (1416).
5 21 Henry VIII, c.6 (1529).
6 Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law* (1809), vol. 2, 266.
7 1 Victoria, c.26 (1837).
8 4 & 5 George V, c.88 (1914).
9 Orders in Council, 15 May 1852.
10 *Op. cit.* in note 2.

TABLES

1. Number of Inventories analysed in each Hundred and Town.
2. Value of Personal Estate analysed by Hundred and Town.
3. Value of Personal Estate as a percentage of the totals in each Hundred and Town.
4. Highest and lowest value inventories in each Hundred and Town.
5. Trades, Professions and Stations in Life mentioned five or more times in the sample of inventories.
6. House sizes analysed by Hundred and Town.
7. Rooms mentioned in houses.
8. Items mentioned in inventories.
9. Items mentioned five or more times in certain rooms in four representative areas.

TABLE 1.

NUMBER OF INVENTORIES ANALYSED IN EACH HUNDRED AND TOWN

Hundreds:	Broxash	260
	Ewyas Lacy	178
	Greytree	214
	Grimsworth	188
	Huntington	100
	Radlow	289
	Stretford	311
	Webtree	244
	Wigmore	160
	Wolphy	190
	Wormelow	258
Towns:	Bromyard	59
	Hereford	210
	Kington	70
	Ledbury	68
	Leominster	173
	Ross	55
Total:		3027

TABLE 2. VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE

Hundred or Town	Under £10	£10 — £20	£20 — £30	£30 — £40	£40 — £50	£50 — £60	£60 — £70	£70 — £80	£80 — £90	£90 — £100	£100 — £150	£150 — £200	£200 — £300	£300 — £400	£400 — £500	Over £500	Total
Broxash	51	63	11	21	8	13	6	3	7	3	40	7	16	4	2	5	260
Ewyas Lacy	43	33	16	18	15	6	4	2	4	5	14	6	8	3		1	178
Greytree	36	53	14	13	14	4	8	7	3	10	19	10	14	3		6	214
Grimsworth	43	51	13	12	4	6	8	4	3	4	8	7	5	6	5	9	188
Huntington	30	22	14	10	4	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	4	1	1	1	100
Radlow	40	61	26	20	12	10	9	11	7	9	22	13	26	8	4	11	289
Stretford	63	81	21	29	9	11	14	7	9	8	20	5	12	8	6	8	311
Webtree	63	56	19	17	8	11	5	10	6	4	9	9	11	4	6	6	244
Wigmore	34	36	19	12	2	5	6	6	5	2	15	6	6	3	1	2	160
Wolphy	37	46	14	17	3	9	3	8	7	1	18	8	12	1	2	4	190
Wormelow	60	50	26	19	10	14	6	9	3	4	17	9	18	5	2	6	258
Bromyard	12	20	4	3	1		1		1	1	6	1	2	3	2	2	59
Kington	16	20	12	1	1		1	3	1	3	5	2	4	1			70
Ledbury	14	11	4	5	2			2	1	2	9	8	5		4	1	68
Leominster	28	43	17	20	7	6	4	4	3	3	6	11	11	4		6	173
Ross	7	18	3	7	2	3	2	2	1		5	1	2			2	55
Hereford	56	54	8	17	6	2	7	5	8	4	12	3	11	2	2	13	210
Total	633	718	241	241	108	102	86	84	71	64	227	109	167	56	37	83	3027

TABLE 3. VALUE OF PERSONAL ESTATE AS A PERCENTAGE

Hundred or Town	Under £10	£10 — £20	£20 — £30	£30 — £40	£40 — £50	£50 — £60	£60 — £70	£70 — £80	£80 — £90	£90 — £100	£100 — £150	£150 — £200	£200 — £300	£300 — £400	£400 — £500	Over £500	Total
Broxash	19.6	24.2	4.2	8.1	3.1	5.0	2.3	1.2	2.7	1.2	15.4	2.7	6.2	1.5	0.7	1.9	260
Ewyas Lacy	24.2	18.5	9.0	10.1	8.4	3.4	2.2	1.1	2.2	2.8	7.9	3.4	4.5	1.7		0.6	178
Greytree	16.8	24.7	6.5	6.1	6.5	1.9	3.7	3.3	1.4	4.7	8.9	4.7	6.5	1.4		2.8	214
Grimsworth	22.9	27.1	6.9	6.4	2.1	3.2	4.3	2.1	1.6	2.1	4.3	3.7	2.7	3.2	2.7	4.8	188
Huntington	30.0	22.0	14.0	10.0	4.0	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	100
Radlow	13.9	21.1	9.0	6.9	4.2	3.5	3.1	3.8	2.4	3.1	7.6	4.5	9.0	2.8	1.4	3.8	289
Stretford	20.3	26.0	6.8	9.3	2.9	3.5	4.5	2.3	2.9	2.6	6.4	1.6	3.9	2.6	1.9	2.6	311
Webtree	25.8	23.0	7.8	6.9	3.3	4.5	2.0	4.1	2.5	1.6	3.7	3.7	4.5	1.6	2.5	2.5	244
Wigmore	21.2	22.5	11.9	7.5	1.2	3.1	3.8	3.8	3.1	1.2	9.4	3.8	3.8	1.9	0.6	1.2	160
Wolphy	19.5	24.2	7.4	8.9	1.6	4.7	1.6	4.2	3.7	0.5	9.5	4.2	6.3	0.5	1.1	2.1	190
Wormelow	23.2	19.4	10.1	7.4	3.9	5.4	2.3	3.5	1.2	1.6	6.6	3.5	7.0	1.9	0.8	2.3	258
Bromyard	20.3	33.9	6.8	5.1	1.7		1.7		1.7	1.7	10.7	1.7	3.4	5.1	3.4	3.4	59
Kington	22.9	28.6	17.1	1.4	1.4		1.4	4.3	1.4	4.3	7.1	2.9	5.7	1.4			70
Ledbury	20.6	16.2	5.9	7.4	2.9			2.9	1.4	2.9	14.7	11.8	7.4		5.9	1.4	68
Leominster	16.2	24.9	9.8	11.6	4.0	3.5	2.3	2.3	1.7	1.7	3.5	6.4	6.4	2.3		3.5	173
Ross	12.7	32.7	5.5	12.7	3.6	5.5	3.6	3.6	1.8		9.1	1.8	3.6			3.6	55
Hereford	26.7	25.7	3.8	8.1	2.9	1.0	3.3	2.4	3.8	1.9	5.6	1.4	5.2	1.0	1.0	6.2	210
Total	20.9	23.7	8.0	8.0	3.6	3.4	2.8	2.8	2.3	2.1	7.5	3.6	5.5	1.9	1.2	2.7	3027

TABLE 4.

HIGHEST AND LOWEST VALUED INVENTORY IN EACH HUNDRED AND TOWN

Broxash	£1,356	18	6	Bodenham	1692	10	6	Much Cowarne	18c
Ewyas Lacy	£342	16	0	Clodock	1710	£1 12	6	Craswall	1749
Greytree	£1,059	16	6	Linton	1726	15	0	Linton	1747
Grimsworth	£933	10	8	Norton Canon	1707	£1 12	4	Breinton	1679
Huntington	£474	16	8	Winforton	1682	£1 11	0	Eardisley	1747
Radlow	£930	14	0	Castle Frome	1723	2	9	Canon Frome	1685
Stretford	£1,262	14	0	Kinnersley	1757	16	2	Pembridge	1701
Webtree	£1,174	14	11½	Vowchurch	1694	10	4	Kenderchurch	1674
Wigmore	£862	5	2¼	Wigmore	1731	£1 3	0	Elton	1673
Wolphy	£1,678	16	8	Stoke Prior	1700	£1 16	0	Eye	1672
Wormelow	£1,523	12	4	Langarron	1672	14	0	Garway	1737
Bromyard	£742	11	9	widow	1707	£1 19	6	mason	1667
Kington	£394	0	6	yeoman	1662	18	10	widow	1726
Ledbury	£1,317	7	3	mercer	1716	£3 2	6	cordwainer	1710
Leominster	£1,719	13	2	mercer	1722	£1 0	0	of Warton	1712
Ross	£866	1	5	barber chirugeon	1721	10	0	tanner	1697
Hereford	£2,739	6	0	dyer (All Saints)	1695	£1 10	3	widow of late vicar of Clifford (St. Peter's)	1750

TABLE 5.

TRADES, PROFESSIONS AND STATIONS IN LIFE MENTIONED FIVE OR MORE TIMES IN THE SAMPLE OF INVENTORIES

Esquire	10	Cooper	11
Gentleman	181	Cordwainer	13
Mr.	7	Corviser	18
Yeoman	755	Dyer	10
Husbandman	259	Glazier	5
Farmer	9	Glover	24
Labourer	320	Innholder/keeper	33
Widower	5	Mason	20
Batchelor	15	Mercer	10
Widow	444	Miller	13
Wife	7	Milner	7
Spinster	93	Moneylender	14
Apothecary	7	Shoemaker	31
Barber	8	Tailor	32
Blacksmith	37	Tanner	27
Butcher	21	Tradesman	11
Carpenter	32	Tyler	6
Clerk	33	Weaver	39
Clothworker	7		

TABLE 6.

HOUSE SIZES

No. of Rooms	None Spec.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	More than 32	No total given	Total
Broxash	191	0	6	6	7	11	7	10	5	1	2	2	1	1	0	2	0	1	2						1										6	260
Ewyas Lacy	170	0	2	0	2	2	1	1																												178
Greytree	151	0	3	3	12	4	6	3	8	3	2	3	1	1		1		1		1															13	214
Grimsworth	128	0	2	3	6	6	7	9	3	2	1	1	3	5		1																			9	188
Huntington	81	1	1	8	1	1	0	1	3	2																									1	100
Radlow	170	1	4	12	17	19	12	11	6	8	6	3	1	2	1			1				1													15	289
Stretford	229	2	8	4	4	15	13	1	5	4	2	1	2		2	2																			15	311
Webtree	188	0	10	7	5	7	5	6	2	1	4	2	1						1		1														6	244
Wigmore	141	0	1	3	2	1	0	2	0	1	3		1					2																	3	160
Wolphy	143	3	2	4	4	6	6	6	2	3	2	2																							5	190
Wormelow	200	3	2	5	10	7	5	8	4	3	1	2	1		1			1																	5	258
Bromyard	31	0	1	3	1	2	8	4	3	2	1		2																						1	59
Kington	49	2	0	3	1	1	4	2	0	2	1	1	1	1																					2	70
Ledbury	37	0	1	0	5	5	2	3	5	4	1	2	1	1																					0	68
Leominster	109	0	7	5	4	8	6	12	2	4		1	2																						10	173
Ross	19	0	4	3	2	4	7	4	2	0	1	2	1																						5	55
Hereford	95	1	7	4	10	10	15	10	10	7	10		4	3	6	1	1			2															15	210
Total	2132	13	61	73	93	109	104	93	60	47	37	21	23	15	10	7	2	5	3	3	1	1		1											111	3027
% Age	70.4	0.4	2.0	2.4	3.1	3.6	3.4	3.1	2.0	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.03		-0.03											0.03	3.7	

TABLE 7. ROOMS MENTIONED IN HOUSES

	Rural	*Market Towns*	*City*	*Urban Total*	*Total*
Ground Floor					
Hall	63	17	12	29	92
Dining Room	2		2	2	4
Parlour	73	21	16	37	110
Little Parlour	6	1	3	4	10
Old Parlour	1				1
Drawing Room	1				1
Inner Room	4	1		1	5
Little Room	2	1		1	3
Middle Room	1	1		1	2
New Room	1				1
Study	2	2		2	4
Chamber	21	1	5	6	27
Closet	1	1		1	2
Kitchen	77	34	24	58	135
Next the Kitchen			1	1	1
Buttery	35	13	8	21	56
Dairy	40	3		3	43
Old Dairy	1				1
Pantry	7	4	1	5	12
Bakehouse	11	6	3	9	20
Bouting House	2				2
Shop	2	19	7	26	28
Workshop		4	2	6	6
Cellar	23	16	14	30	53
Little Cellar	1				1
Upper Floors					
Chamber over Hall	62	18	12	30	92
Little Room over Hall	3				3
Little Chamber	8	1		1	9
Chamber over Parlour	66	23	18	41	107
Chamber over Little Parlour	2	1	3	4	6
Inner Chamber	4		3	3	7
Middle Chamber	5	1	4	5	10
New Chamber	3	2		2	5
Old Chamber	3	1		1	4
Porch Chamber	1				1
Chamber over Entry	7	1	1	2	9
Passage Chamber	1				1
Gallery Head	1		2	2	3
Stairs Head Chamber	13	7	4	11	24
Chest Chamber	1				1

Chamber over Kitchen	55	16	20	36	91
Chamber over Pantry	4	1		1	5
Chamber over Buttery	23	5	4	9	32
Chamber over Dairy	24	1		1	25
Chamber over Cellar	1	3		3	4
Chamber over Bakehouse	5	1	1	2	7
Chamber over Back Kitchen	1	3	2	5	6
Chamber over Shop	1	16	12	28	29
Boughting Room	1				1
Maids' Chamber	9	2	1	3	12
Servants' Chamber	12	2	2	4	16
Store Chamber	1		3	3	4
Cockloft/Garrett	19	19	22	41	60

TABLE 8.

ITEMS MENTIONED IN INVENTORIES IN DOWNSTAIRS ROOMS

Andirons	Cobbetts	Ironware	Skeele
Bed Covering	Copper	Ironwork	Stool
Bedstead	Coverlet	Kips	Table
Bellows	Cupboard	Lantern	Tableboard
Bench	Cupboard Cloth	Leather Chairs	Tapping Tubb
Blanket	Desk	Looking Glass	Tongs
Bolster	Drawing Table	Pewter	Trams
Brass	Feather Bed	Pipe	Trind
Brass Andirons	Fire Shovel	Round Table	Truckell Bedstead
Candlestick	Form	Rug	Trunk
Carpet	Furnace	Runletts	Tubbs
Chairs	Glass Case	Safe	Turkey Work Chairs
Chest	Hogsheads	Screen	Warming Pan
Child's Chair	Iron Grate	Set of Curtains	Window Curtains

ITEMS MENTIONED IN INVENTORIES IN UPSTAIRS ROOMS

Andirons	Clock	Forms	Sheets
Bed	Close Stool	Hanging Press	Stool
Bedstead	Coarse Cloth	Hops	Table
Blanket	Coffer	Iron Grate	Tableboard
Bolster	Coverlet	Kips	Tablecloth
Box	Cupboard	Linnen Yarn	Tongs
Carpet	Curtains and Vallance	Looking Glass	Trunk
Chaff Bed	Desk	Pillow Beers	Tub
Chairs	Featherbed	Pillows	Wheel (Spinning)
Cheese	Fire Shovel	Press	Window Curtains
Chest	Flax	Rug	Wool
Chest of Drawers	Flock Bed	Screen	

TABLE 9.
ITEMS MENTIONED FIVE OR MORE TIMES IN CERTAIN ROOMS IN FOUR REPRESENTATIVE AREAS

Wealthy Rural Hundred	Stretford	a
Poor Rural Hundred	Huntington	b
Market Town	Ledbury	c
City	Hereford	d

Downstairs	Hall	Parlour	Buttery
Tableboard and Frame	a c d	a c	
Tableboard	a b	d	
Table	a	a d	
Oval Table		d	
Bench	a	a	
Chairs	a b c d	a c d	
Forms	a c d		
Settle	a d		
Stool	a b		
Joint Stool	c d	d	
Cupboard	a d	a b d	a d
Chest		a	
Coffer		a	
Leather Chairs		d	
Andirons	a c d	d	
Fire Shovel	a	d	
Tongs	a d		
Pot Hooks	a		
Pot Links	a		
Spit	a		
Frying Pan	a		
Iron Pot	a		
Brass Pot	a c		
Brass	a		
Pewter	a		
Jack	d		
Brass Candlestick	a		
Pewter Dishes	a d		d
Pewter Plates	d		
Pewter Flagon	d		
Warming Pan	d		
Bed		a d	
Bedstead		a b d	
Featherbed		a d	

Bolster		a d				
Curtains and Vallance		d				
Looking Glass		d				
Blankets		d				
Bed Coverings		d				
Rug		a				
Carpets		d				
Pictures		d				
Barrels				a		d
Hogsheads				a		
Half Hogsheads				a		
Trind	b			a		

Upstairs	Chamber over Hall	Chamber over Parlour	Cocklofts
Bed	a d	a c d	a c d
Bedstead	a d	a d	c d
Featherbed	a c d	d	
Flockbed			c
Truckle Bed	a		d
Bolster	c d	a d	d
Bed Coverings		d	
Blankets	a c d	d	d
Pillows		d	
Sheets			d
Curtains and Vallance	d	d	
Rug	d		
Looking Glass		d	
Table		d	d
Chairs		a d	d
Chest	d	a d	
Coffer	d	a	
Cushions		d	
Tongs		d	

TABLE 9.
ITEMS MENTIONED FIVE OR MORE TIMES IN CERTAIN ROOMS IN FOUR REPRESENTATIVE AREAS

Wealthy Rural Hundred	Stretford	a
Poor Rural Hundred	Huntington	b
Market Town	Ledbury	c
City	Hereford	d

Downstairs	Hall	Parlour	Buttery
Tableboard and Frame	a c d	a c	
Tableboard	a b	d	
Table	a	a d	
Oval Table		d	
Bench	a	a	
Chairs	a b c d	a c d	
Forms	a c d		
Settle	a d		
Stool	a b		
Joint Stool	c d	d	
Cupboard	a d	a b d	a **d**
Chest		a	
Coffer		a	
Leather Chairs		d	
Andirons	a c d	d	
Fire Shovel	a	d	
Tongs	a d		
Pot Hooks	a		
Pot Links	a		
Spit	a		
Frying Pan	a		
Iron Pot	a		
Brass Pot	a c		
Brass	a		
Pewter	a		
Jack	d		
Brass Candlestick	a		
Pewter Dishes	a d		d
Pewter Plates	d		
Pewter Flagon	d		
Warming Pan	d		
Bed		a d	
Bedstead		a b d	
Featherbed		a d	

Bolster	a d		
Curtains and Vallance	d		
Looking Glass	d		
Blankets	d		
Bed Coverings	d		
Rug	a		
Carpets	d		
Pictures	d		
Barrels		a	d
Hogsheads		a	
Half Hogsheads		a	
Trind	b	a	

Upstairs	Chamber over Hall	Chamber over Parlour	Cocklofts
Bed	a d	a c d	a c d
Bedstead	a d	a d	c d
Featherbed	a c d	d	
Flockbed			c
Truckle Bed	a		d
Bolster	c d	a d	d
Bed Coverings		d	
Blankets	a c d	d	d
Pillows		d	
Sheets			d
Curtains and Vallance	d	d	
Rug	d		
Looking Glass		d	
Table		d	d
Chairs		a d	d
Chest	d	a d	
Coffer	d	a	
Cushions		d	
Tongs		d	

APPENDIX 1. Thomas Harper, yeoman, Almeley, 27 Oct. 1671

October the Twenty seventh 1671 x x x x

A true and perfect Inventory of all the goodes Cattells and Chattells of Thomas Harper late of Upcott in the Parish of Almeley in the Dioces of Hereford yeoman deceased taken & prized by us whose names be subscribed the daye yeare of our Lord God first above written Anno regni domini nostri Caroli secundi Dei gratia Regis nunc Angliae &c Vicesimo Tertio x x x x x x

	li s d
Inprimis the Decedents wearing aparrell	5-0-0
Item in the Hall one Table without a frame Twoe fourmes 2 Chayres & 2 benches, ~~little table~~	0-3-4
Item in the Parlor, Tableboard with a frame 2 ffoormes 2 benches, little side table, standing Cubbord, Chayres, Coffer, standing bedsteed with a ffether bedd, blanketts, rugge and Curtaines	3-0-0
In the Little Chamber 2 Chests, Chayre [illegible] one blanketts, Coverlead, little peece of Mellde Cloath	[illegible]-10-0
In the Middle Chamber, standing bedsteed with a ffeather bed, blanketts, old rugge, Benche with [illegible]	[illegible]-10-0
In the Cellar over the Middle Chamber standing bedsteed with a ffeather bed, blanketts, [illegible] chest, 2 old coffers, old box, little [illegible] of Iron, paire of Trestles & other Lumber	2-10-0
In the Chamber at the Staires head, old Trunk with some other Lumber	0-5-0
In the Chamber over the Parlor, old Coffer, fourme, desk, little coffer, three shelves & some other Lumber	0-10-0
In the Chamber over the Hall, [illegible] with other Lumber	0-15-0
In the Chamber over the Ox house, Ropes, old Coffer, small parcell of Hemp	0-13-4
In the Chamber over the Kitchen 2 Truckle bedsteads, ffeather bed, 2 blanketts, Canvas and one old coffer	1-10-0
In the Kitchen, little ffurnace, 2 brass potts, 2 brass pans, 3 Kettles, [illegible], Warming pan, spitt, dripping pan, [illegible]	6-0-0
Vessells & all other [illegible] in the house, Thirteen pewter dishes of all sorts, fflagon, pewter Cupps	1-10-0
Cheese & Butter in the House	2-10-0
[illegible] payre of Sheetes of all sorts and other linen of all sorts	[illegible]-0-0
Six Oxen price	18-0-0
Five Kyne price	15-0-0
Three Two yeare old beasts	6-0-0
[illegible] yeare old beasts	3-0-0
[illegible] Calves	3-0-0
One fatt Bull & 2 fatt Cowes	[illegible]
Twoe Mares & 3 Colts	[illegible]
One Hundred & forty sheepe of all sorts	[illegible]
Swine Geese & Poultry of all sorts	[illegible]-10-0
Corne growing on the ground being a [illegible]	8-0-0
Corne of all sorts in the Barne	15-0-0
Hay, strawe & fodder	6-0-0
Teames, ploughs, wheeles & all the implements of husbandrie	10-0-0
One Cyder Mill & little Quirne	2-0-0
Goods forgotten or omitted if any there be	0-10-0
Tot	[illegible] 06 08

Prised heere by

[illegible] Harper
John Rowland sr.
Thomas [illegible]
Roger Smith
John Richardson

Exhibitum fuit huiusmodi Inventarium vicesimo octavo die mensis Novembris Anno domini 1671o per Margeriam Harper viduam relictam dicti defuncti et Admin[illegible] et pro vero et pleno Inventario et sub protestatione tamen de addendo &c [illegible]

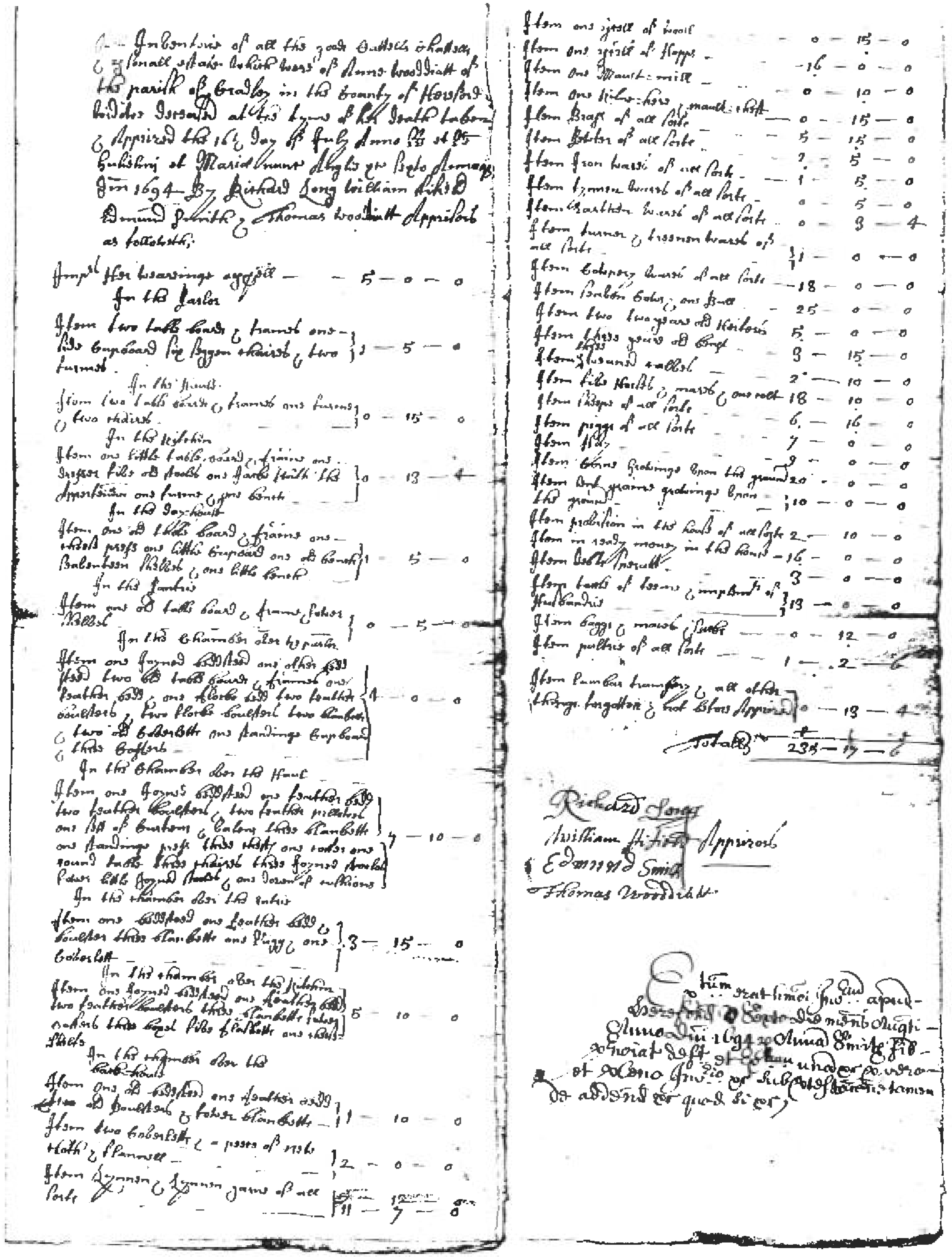
APPENDIX 2. Richard Matthews, corviser, All Saints, Hereford, 28 Jan. 1685

An Inventary of all and singular the Goodes Creditts and Chattells of Richard Mathews late of the parish of All Saintes within the Citty of Hereford Corviser deceased, taken and prized the Twenty eighth day of January Anno Domini 1685 By Francis Trapp, Stephen Phillipps, and John Sandford

	li s d
Inprimis All his wearing Apparell	04=00=00
In the white Chamber	
Item, one ffether bedd: boulster and pillow with a Coverlidd: blankett Curtaines, and Vallons a bedd-steed. cord & Matt	03=00=00
Item one Coffer Two payer of Sheetes, Two dozen of Napkins ffower Short Table-Clothes, Six Towells, ffive Matted Chaires one box and one payer of Iron Andirons with brasses	02=10=00
Item In the forestreet Chamber Two old Bedds, one Trundle Bedd-steed. Two Chaires, Two Coffers, one deske, one Wainscott presse, one Joynt stoole, one sett of old Curtains and one old Coverlidd.	02=00=00
Item In the Cockloft over the fforestreet Chamber One old flock bedd. and an old Beddsteed, cord and Matt, one old Coverlid and blankett, and one old Coffer	00=10=00
Item In the Hall. Nine dishes of pewter one dozen of pewter plates one Candlesticke, one pewter Bason and one fflagon. one pewter pann. Three porringers, one Mustard pott one Warming pann, Nine Spoones one payer of Iron Andirons one old Chaire, & a Table bord & forme	01=13=00
Item In the Kitching Two Brass potts, Two Kettles one Skellett, one payer of Andirons, one fire shovell and tongs one ffrying pan, one Iron dripping pann one Tinning dripping pann, Two dishes of pewter, one payer of Iron Cobbirons one Iron Jack one pewter Chamber pott Two spitts, and certaine vessells of wooden & earthen ware with one small side-boord, and the hangings in the Chimney	01=06=08
Item In the back Roomes one old Bedd, stead and cord and a Matt, ffive empty Hogsheads ffower old Barrells, Three brewing vessells one old disher Two hanging Shelves, and severall other Trumpery	01=04=00
Item In the Shopp. The Shooes, Bootes, and Pumpes, The Leather Tanned, and dressed, with all the Lasts & other Implem[ents] and one small presse	16=00=00
Item In the Seller Three small Barrells, Three Trams, and some Trumpery and Lumber	00=06=08
Item In the Shopp Booke. Good debts, and desperate owing to the deceased	05=00=00
Summa totalis	37=10=04

Francis Trapp
Stephen Phillips
John Sandford senr

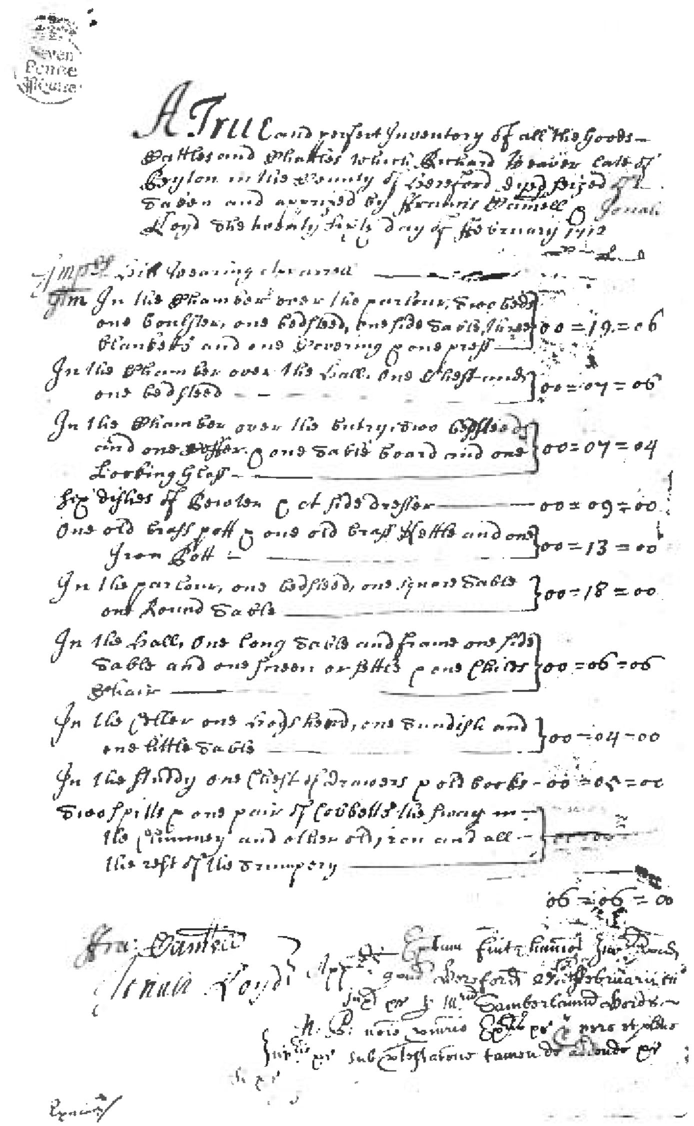
Exhibitum fuit huiusmodi [illegible] Februarij Anno Domini 1685 [illegible] Mathews [illegible] relict [illegible] pro vero et pleno Inventario et sub protestatione [illegible]


An Inventorie of all the goods Cattells chattells & personall estate which were of Anne Wooddiatt of the parish of Cradley in the County of Hereford widdow deceased at the tyme of her death taken & Appraised the 16th Day of July Anno Rs et Rne Gulielmi et Mariae nunc Angliae &c Sexto Annoque Dni 1694 By Richard Long William ... Edmund Smith & Thomas Wooddiatt Appraisors as followeth;

Impr^l Her wearinge apparell — — 5 — 0 — 0

Richard Long
William ...
Edmund Smith } Appraisors
Thomas Wooddiatt

APPENDIX 4. Richard Weaver, Byton, 26 February 1712


A True and perfect Inventory of all the Goods Cattles and Chattles which Richard Weaver Late of Byton in the County of Hereford Dyed Seized of Taken and apprized by Herbert Wancell & Jonah Lloyd the twenty sixth day of February 1712

Imp^s his wearing apparell

Item In the Chamber over the parlour, two beds one bolster, one bedsted, one side table, three blankets and one coverlid & one press } 00 = 19 = 06

In the Chamber over the hall. one Chest and one bedsted } 00 = 07 = 06

In the Chamber over the buttery two bedsteds and one Coffer & one table board and one Looking Glass } 00 = 07 = 04

Six dishes of pewter & a side dresser — 00 = 09 = 00

One old brass pott & one old brass kettle and one Iron Pott } 00 = 13 = 00

In the parlour, one bedsted, one square table one Round table } 00 = 18 = 00

In the hall, one long table and frame one side table and one screen or settle & one Childs Chair } 00 = 06 = 06

In the Cellar one hogshead, one tundish and one little table } 00 = 04 = 00

In the study one Chest of drawers & old books — 00 = 05 = 00

two spitts & one pair of Cobbotts the firing in the Chimney and other old iron and all the rest of the trumpery

06 = 06 = 00

Her: Wancell
Jonah Lloyd } Appr^s

An Iron Age and Roman Settlement Outside Kenchester, (*Magnis*), Herefordshire Excavations 1977-1979

By
TONY WILMOTT and SEBASTIAN P.Q. RAHTZ, with a report on the pottery by R S TOMBER[1]

Summary

The excavation of a gravel extraction site between Kenchester and Stretton Sugwas revealed a complex sequence of occupation from the Iron Age to the Roman period, which could to some extent be compared with the nearby hill fort of Credenhill and Roman small town of Magnis.

The site history could be broadly divided into four periods which were in some cases subdivided according to phases of activity. Period 1 consisted of the first Iron Age settlement other than hill forts yet found in Herefordshire. The earliest Romanised phase began c.A.D. 70, and was succeeded by a period which featured the recutting of a stream, the construction of a stone tower granary and a long, dual-purpose, timber-framed house. This 2nd-century phase is interpreted as a corn producing and milling establishment with possible official connections, and millstones found suggest that a water mill may have been involved. The settlement was destroyed by fire in the late 2nd-early 3rd century. It was supplanted in Period 3 by a different type of settlement centred on a winged-corridor villa building. The economy of this phase was based on corn production and iron working. In the early 4th century Period 4 saw a remodelling of the villa buildings, and some wealth was indicated. In the late 4th- early 5th century, evidence of routeways through the site suggested the focus of the settlement had changed. The villa building was replaced by what had been a working farm structure, and it now appears that occupation continued during a period of dereliction. No subsequent activity other than agriculture and stone robbing was attested.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS OF MICROFICHE

Sheet 1

1. Frames 1-12. Text part III The Pottery. Romano-British Fabric Types. (fabric descriptions). Follows on from p. 102.
2. Frames 13-59. Text part III The Pottery. Romano-British Form Types. (Form descriptions and drawings on 18 Figs.) Follows on from p. 106.
3. Frames 60-72. Text part III The Pottery. Samian Ware from Kenchester by B. M. Dickinson and B. R. Hartley.
4. Frames 73-76. Text part IV Other Finds. Roman coin list and identifications by G. C. Boon M.A., F.S.A.
5. Frames 77-78. Text part IV Other Finds. Animal footprints on tile by B. Levitan.
6. Frames 79-88. Text part IV Other Finds. Fired Clay by R. S. Tomber.

Sheet 2

7. Frames 1-14. Text part IV Other Finds. Animal Bone by B. A. Noddle and T. C. O'Connor.
8. Frames 15-24. Text part IV Other Finds. Human Bone by R. F. Everton.
9. Frames 25-30. Text part IV Other Finds. Mollusca by M. Robinson M.A.

NOTE ON THE FIGURES

Though most of the figures will be found in the body of the text of this report, comprehension depends on the outsize
Period plans, FIGS. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 18, 21, which are included as double-sided loose sheets bound in the back of this volume.

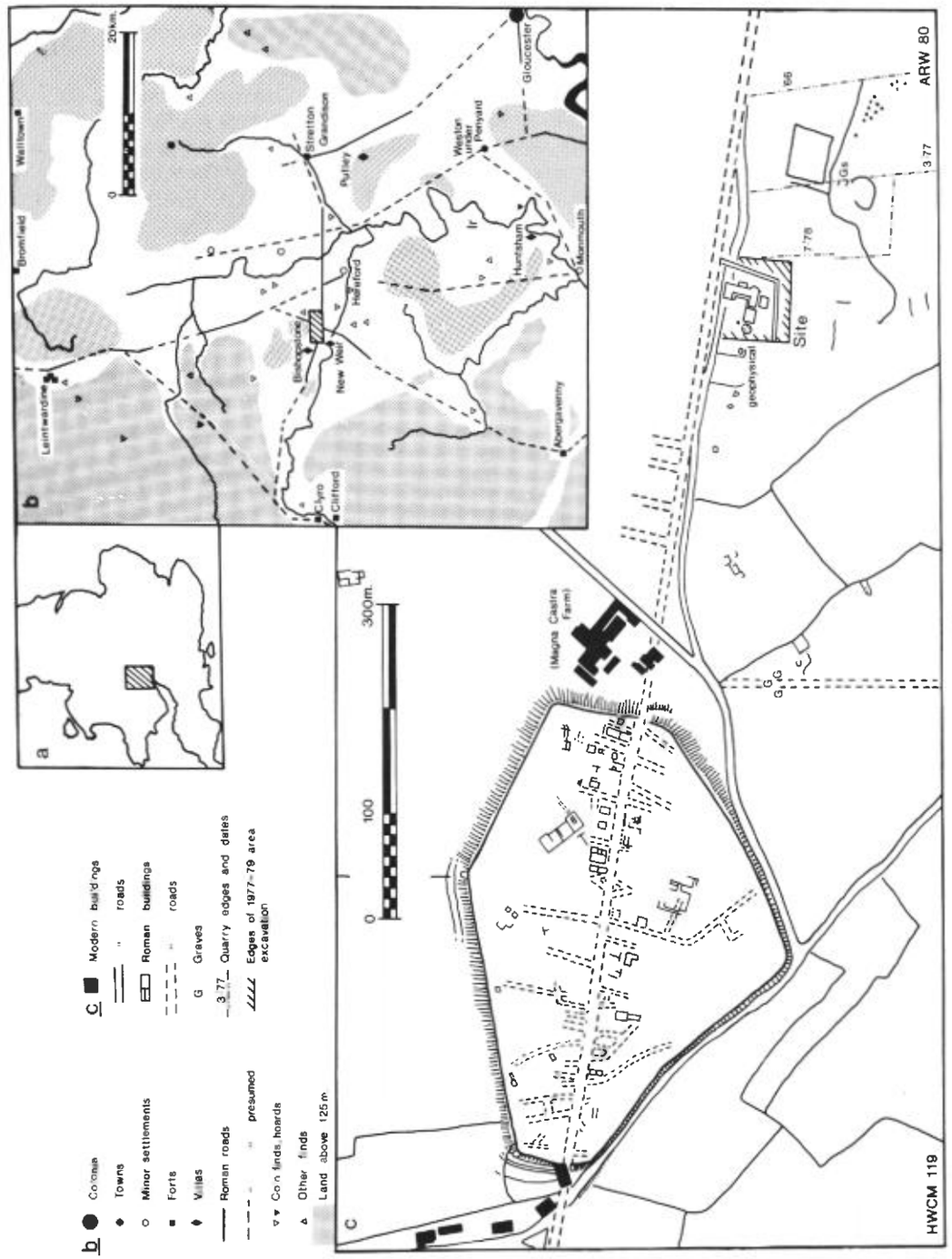


FIG. 1
Kenchester 1977-79. Site location plan and relationship with *Magnis*

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Geology, Topography and Natural Resources

The site of the 1977-79 excavations lies seven miles to the west of the city of Hereford. (SO 448427: FIG. 1) in the western part of the Herefordshire basin. It lies 300 m. east of the east gate of the Romano-British town site of *Magnis* (Kenchester) on a long ridge defined to the south by the valley of the river Wye and to the north by that of the Yazor Brook (Shoesmith, 1980 fig. 1). Immediately north of this brook the land rises steadily to the site of the Iron Age hill fort at Credenhill.

The Herefordshire basin forms an area of rolling countryside based on the underlying Old Red Sandstone formations which dip from steep slopes against the Malvern Hills to the north and the Black Mountains to the west. The region stretches southwards to the river Severn, and is crossed by the wide flood plain of the Wye and its two major tributaries the Lugg and Monnow (Earp and Hains, 1971, 5). Figure 1b shows that land above 125 m. lay chiefly to the west and north. This includes the small range of hills immediately to the north which includes Garnons Hill, Credenhill and the Wormsley Ridge. The Wye glaciation (Grindley, 1954, 21; Earp and Hains, 1971, 6) produced morainic and outwash gravels extending from Stretton Sugwas to Kington Grange. The present site lies upon these gravels which include those exploited by BCA. The glacial gravel overlies boulder clay, which has been found as high as 200 m. OD on Credenhill (Stanford, 1970, 91), and which includes a high proportion of Silurian erratic rocks.

All of the most important settlements of the area are sited on the gravels where water is available in wells (Richardson, 1935, 16). The soils in most of the Herefordshire area of the Bromyard group which, though fertile, have poor water-bearing properties. Water running off these soils causes the rapid silting of surface ditches and streams. The soils developing over the gravels are only slightly lighter, (West Mids. Group, 1946, 76; Burnham, 1964) and the phenomena of wetness and rapid silting were noted archaeologically on the site. These soils are capable of use in arable and mixed farming as well as the growing of fruit and hops.

Locally available resources were exploited for the provision of building materials. Gravel was extracted from the glacial deposits, and the Psammosteus limestone which occurs on the tops of the northern hills was used in the building of masonry structures. The more usual building stone, however, was the local sandstone which was used both for walling and for the manufacture of roof tiles. Sandstones for both purposes have until recently been quarried on Garnons Hill (Clarke, 1950, 32). The erratic stone from the boulder clay was also utilised, mainly in the form of foundations made of river pebbles. In view of the fact that roof tiles were imported from the south, it is unlikely that Bull's suggestion (1882) that the area around Sugwas Pool was a Roman brick clay pit is the case. Rather more unusual natural resources were also used, in the shape of tufa from calcareous springs in the Wye valley, found for instance at Moccas.

2. The Archaeological Background

This topic has been discussed in a recent volume of these *Transactions* by one of the authors (Wilmott, 1980), and it would therefore be superfluous to repeat the material to any great extent. Most of the points of detail relevant to the present site are discussed in the discussion and synthesis sections of this report.

The Herefordshire area was intensively settled in the Iron Age, the evidence for this having been derived entirely, before the excavation of the present site, from the study of the hill forts. Most of this work has been undertaken by Dr. S. C. Stanford (1970, 1976, 1981), who has shown long sequences of occupation on all sites, together with evidence for internal planning. The most relevant work to the present site is Dr. Stanford's excavation of the large univallate hill fort at Credenhill. This fort lies only 1.5 km. north of the site, and is interpreted as having some influence on the site during the Iron Age. This hill fort appears to have been occupied until A.D. 70 (Stanford, 1970).

In the Roman period, the site lay on the Roman road from Stretton Grandison to Clyro, which appears from aerial photography to have lain in the field to the north of the site (FIG. 1; Baker, 1966; Margary 1973, route 63a). This road runs along the ridge between the Wye and the Yazor Brook (Shoesmith, 1980, fig. 1), and forms the main street of the Romano-British small town of *Magnis* (Kenchester). The east gate of the town in its later, defended phase lies only 300m. west of the 1977-79 excavations. The pre-defences ribbon development appears on aerial photographs and is shown in FIG. 1. The town was the site of excavations in the early part of this century (Jack and Hayter, 1916; 1926), and the defences were explored between 1956 and 1963 (Webster, 1956; Heys and Thomas, 1958: 1963). The town and its environs have recently been subject to a reconsideration by Wilmott (1980). Several extra-mural sites within walking distance of the town are now known and have most recently been catalogued by Mr. R. Shoesmith (1980), one being interpreted as a villa, possibly tenanted by a merchant with trading concerns on the river Wye.

That the river played a major part in local communications cannot be doubted. It was one of the main factors which conspired to orient trade southwards. Two Roman roads also run to the south from *Magnis* as against only one to the north. Though partly due to the hills to the north, a contributory factor would be the fact that the area to the south including the cities of Gloucester and Cirencester would be more attractive for the importation of goods than would areas to the north. Definite evidence of southward trade was recovered, in the shape of Forest of Dean iron ore and quernstones, tiles and pottery from Gloucester and Cirencester as well as Cotswold oolitic limestone for fine architectural stonework.

3. Excavation Methodology

The site was identified in 1961 from aerial photographs by A. Baker (1965) on which it was seen as a concentric square building interpreted (Lewis, 1966, 22) as a Romano-Celtic temple. The presence of a number of enclosures and other features in

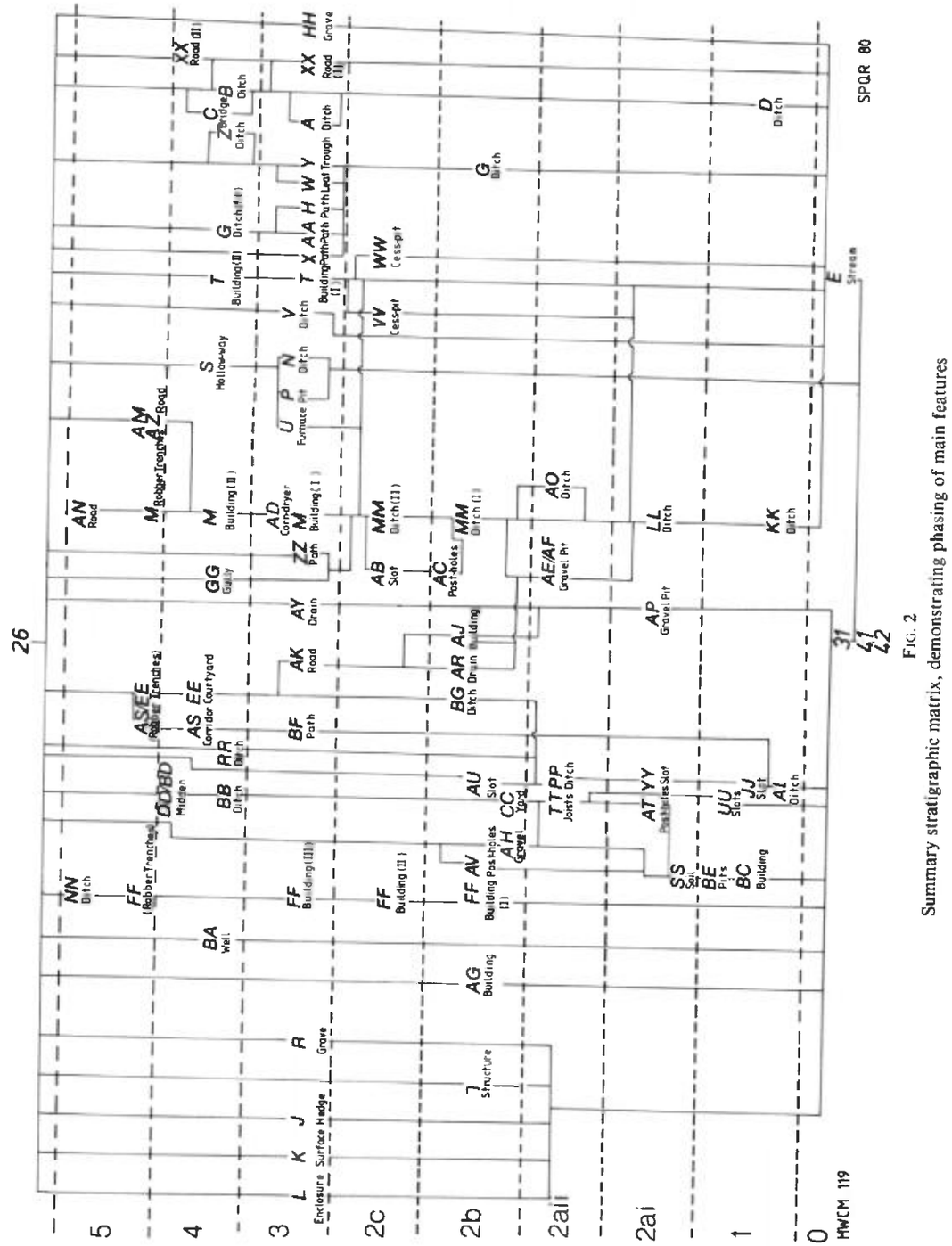


FIG. 2 Summary stratigraphic matrix, demonstrating phasing of main features

the immediate vicinity was also noted on these photographs (FIG. 1). That substantial structures existed on the site was confirmed by resistivity and magnetic surveys carried out by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory in 1975 and 1977 (Clark, 1975; Bartlett, 1977). Records were filed in the records of Hereford and Worcester County Council Department of Archaeology as HWCM Site 119.

The site was situated on land owned by Sir Charles Clore and farmed by the tenant farmer Mr. T. B. Dew. Until 1977 the site had been utilised for arable farming, but in that year the advancing gravel extraction operations of Blue Circle Agregates Ltd. at their Stretton Sugwas quarry, now run by ARC Ltd., encroached on the boundaries of the site and necessitated its excavation. The writers are grateful to all those with an interest in the land who showed the utmost co-operation at all stages.

There were four periods of excavation:

1. Trial excavation March-April 1977 which established the nature of the stratigraphy.
2. Area excavation 1977 (14 weeks, July-November).
3. Area excavation 1978 (18 weeks March-August), in which the main settlement was investigated in an area of 2,500 sq. m.
4. Machine trenching March 1979, which checked certain unexcavated areas and sampled the area to the south of the site.

Trial and area excavation revealed a high quality of deposit survival with only the very latest material disturbed by ploughing. There was no evidence of any activity other than ploughing and stone robbing after the Roman period.

The excavation and post-excavation work were financed in two ways: grants from the Department of the Environment administered by Hereford and Worcester County Council, and grants from the Manpower Services Commission to pay the wages and expenses of a Job Creation Programme workforce. Administrative and secretarial expenses were borne by Hereford and Worcester County Council Department of Archaeology, who provided accommodation and facilities for post-excavation. Details of finance and manning are given as Archive 301-303.

The excavation methodology and the site recording system are discussed in Archive 301. In summary, the site was excavated and recorded in a grid based on 10 m. square areas. Area excavation was stratigraphic and total, and recording was based on the *pro forma* cards devised by Sue Hirst (Hirst, 1976). Each 10 m. area was allocated an alphabetical designation (Appendix II for list) within which contexts were labelled in a numerical sequence. Major features which extended into several grids, such as buildings and major ditches, were also alphabetically listed. In the report Building M etc. are interpretive terms indicating the grouping of large numbers of individual contexts which formed parts of larger stratigraphic units. To this extent only, the site descriptions are interpretive. Context designations consist of the grid prefix followed by their number within the grid as AA63, M54, AD88 etc.

The question of the publication of archaeological reports has come under considerable scrutiny in the 1970s and remains a subject of debate at the time of writing. The present report is designed to adhere closely to the principles of publication laid

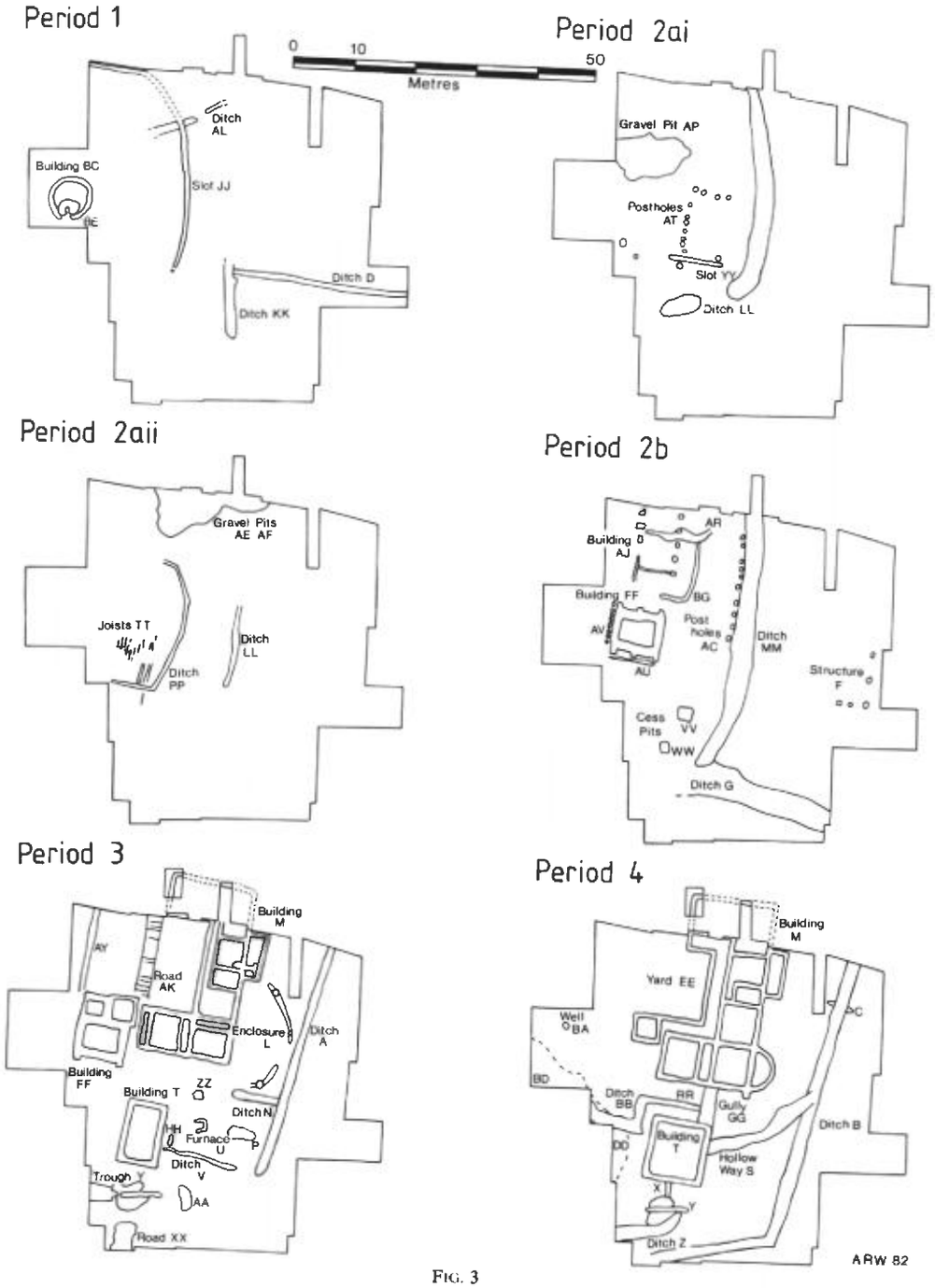


FIG. 3
Summary period plans

down in the Frere report (Department of the Environment, 1975), and subsequent directives on the subject of archaeological publication issued by the Department of Environment. These have proposed that, in most cases, only Level IV (summary and synthesis) should be published in traditional form, while Level III (detailed supporting data) should be available by request only. It is this principle that is adopted by the present writers. The Kenchester Level III was, therefore written from the beginning as a full archive report with no preconceived limit on either length or detail. It subsumes the original site record and, save for a re-examination of the finds themselves removes the need for any reader to return to the field records. On completion of the archive a summary of the main components of the excavation was prepared, and it is this that appears below as the Level IV report. It is intended as a synthesis of the results of the excavation and a guide for the specialist on what he may find relating to his subject in the archive.

The full archive can be consulted at Hereford and Worcester Council Department of Archaeology, Loves Grove, Worcester, which will also supply microfiche copies, or at the National Monuments Record, Fortress House, 23 Saville Row, London W1X 2HE. Reference is made throughout this report to archive sections which should be consulted for full backing data. The following report is intended as an exposition of the excavators' interpretation of the evidence, with only a summary presentation of the evidence itself.

While the excavation was directed in its first year by P. A. Rahtz, his appointment to the chair of Archaeology at the University of York in 1978 obliged him to retire from the project, which was completed by the authors. They are responsible for the work as follows:

Sebastian Rahtz: Sections I, II, IV.

Roberta Tomber: Section III.

Tony Wilmott: Sections I, II, IV.

This publication was edited from the archive by Tony Wilmott, who is also responsible for the discussions and synthesis.

II. THE EXCAVATION

1. Stratigraphy and Dating

The details of stratification are discussed in Archive sections relating to grid units of excavation and to Major Features (1-63; 200-274). A summary is presented in FIGS. 2-3 and Table I. The phasing of major features in the final interpretation is summarised in the matrix at FIG. 2. Many of the more complex relationships appear in the sections FIGS. 10, 11, 16 and 19, while phasing is summarised in FIG. 3. Drawn sections are only included in the published report where they help to clarify the verbal description of a particular stratigraphic or constructional crux, and are located on the period plans relevant to the points which they are intended to illustrate. Only context numbers mentioned in the text and on the plans are included on the sections. Fully annotated

versions of the sections can be found deposited with the full archive report. Table I shows the reliability of the interpretation: the major features are listed in alphabetical order with the following information.

Period: Based on stratigraphy, coin and pottery dating.

Relationships: A summary of relationships with other major features.

Basis of Period-phasing:
1. Stratigraphy and datable finds.
2. Stratigraphy only; finds are residual.
3. Stratigraphically undertermined and without relevant finds; period-phasing argued from external evidence.

Dating: Indicates whether or not the features contain datable pottery or coins (sometimes residual).

Matrix and table are necessarily a simplified summary not including miscellaneous soil layers (which do not normally, however, play an important part in the interpretation of this site). They are intended to indicate the extent to which interpretation of periods is based on stratigraphy or datable finds, and supplement the sections in summarising relationships.

SUMMARY OF STRATIFICATION

TABLE I

Feature	Period	Relationships	Basis of Period Phasing	Dating
Ditch A	3	Cuts D,E, ? N; cut by B	1	Yes
Ditch B	4	Cuts A,D,E,G,XX; covered by XX (secondary)	1	Yes
Bridge C	4	Associated with A or B	4	No
Ditch D	1	Cuts E, cut by A,B,E,P; cut by KK?	4	No
Stream E	0	Cut by A,B,D,G,P,T,V,HH,KK,LL, MM,PP,UU,VV,WW,XX		
Structure F	2b	None	3	Yes
Ditch G	2b,2c,3	Cuts E,KK; cut by B,T,W,Y,Z covered by H,X,AA; associated with MM		
Path H	2c	above G	2	No
Hedge J	3	None	4	No
Surface K	3	Cut by M (tertiary phase)	4	No
Enclosure L	3	None	4	Yes
Building M	3 & 4	Cuts JJ,LL,MM,PP,AB,AC, AE/AF,AL,AT,BG Cut by NN,AM; covered by AN associated with AD	2	Yes

Ditch N	3	? cut by A, cut by S	3	Yes
Pit P	3	Cut by S	4	Yes
Grave R	3	None	4	No
Hollow-way S	4	Cuts N,P; over U	2	No
Building T	3 & 4	Cuts JJ,LL,MM,PP,WW (secondary phase cuts V)	2	Yes
Furnace U	3	Cuts MM; under S	2	Yes
Ditch V	3	Cuts KK,MM; cut by T (secondary phase)	4	Yes
Leat W	3	Cuts G; associated with Y	2	Yes
Path X	3	Over G; associated with T & Y	2	No
Trough Y	3 & 4	Cuts G; associated with W & Z	1	Yes
Ditch Z	4	Cuts G; associated with Y	2	No
Path AA	3	over G	2	Yes
Ditch BB	4	Cuts CC,PP,TT,AH,AT covered by RR; associated with RR	1	Yes
Yard CC	2b	Over SS,AT,TT; cut by BB associated with FF	1	Yes
Midden DD	4	Over BB; associated with BD	1	Yes
Courtyard EE	4	Over AE/AF,AJ,AK,AP,AR,BG associated with FF (tertiary) and AS	1	Yes
Building FF	2bc,2c,3	Cuts AP (in secondary phase); Cut by NN; associated with EE (in tertiary phase)	1	Yes
Gully GG	4	Cuts MM,YY; associated with RR	2	Yes
Grave HH	3	None (*NB* Tesserae in fill)	4	No
Slot JJ	1	Cut by M,T,PP,RR,YY,AE/AF,BG	1	Yes
Ditch KK	1	Cut by G,V,LL; ? cuts D	2	No
Ditch LL	2a i	Cuts KK; cut by M,T,MM,VV,AE/AF		Yes
Ditch MM	2b	Cuts LL,AE/AF; cut by M,T,V,GG below ZZ	1	Yes
Ditch NN	5	Cuts M,FF	2	Yes
Ditch PP	2a ii	Cuts JJ,YY; cut by M,T,BB,RR,BG	2	Yes
Drain RR	4	Cuts JJ,PP,YY,AT; associated with BB	2	Yes
Soil SS	2a i	Covers BC,BE; cut by M,AJ,AT,AU, AV; covered by CC,AH	1	Yes
Joists TT	2a ii	Cuts SS,AT; cut by A,U,BB covered by CC	1	Yes
Slots UU	1	below TT	4	No
Cess-pit VV	2b-2c	Cuts LL	4	No
Cess-pit WW	2b-2c	Cut by T	4	Yes
Road XX	3 & 4	Primary phase cut by B Secondary phase covers B	2	No
Slot YY	2a i	Cuts JJ, cut by PP,RR; associated with AT	2	No
Path ZZ	3	Over MM	2	No

Slot AB	2c	Cuts AC; cut by M; associated with MM	2	Yes
Post-holes AC	2b	Cut by M,AB	2	Yes
Corn-dryer AD	3	Associated with M phase II i	2	Yes
Gravel Pit AE)		Cuts JJ,LL		
Gravel Pit AF)	2a ii	Cut by M,MM,AJ,AR,BG	1	Yes
Structure AG	2b	None	4	(Yes: destruction)
Gravel AH	2b	Over SS,TT,AT,BC associated with CC,FF	2	Yes
Building AJ	2b	Cuts SS,AE/AF,AP; below AK,EE associated with AR	1	(Yes: destruction)
Path AK	2c/3	Over destruction of AJ sealed by EE	2	No
Ditch AL	1	Below EE/AS,BF; cut by JJ,AP,BG	1	Yes
Ruts AM	5	Cuts M,AS; associated with AZ	2	No
Road AN	5	Over M (robbing trenches)	2	Yes
Ditch AO	2a ii	Cuts LL, cut by M,MM	2	No
Gravel Pit AP	2a i	Cut by AY; below AJ & FF (secondary)	1	Yes
Drain AR	2b	Cuts AE/AF; below AK; associated with AJ	1	Yes
Corridor AS	4	Over AE/AF,BF; cut by AM; associated with MEE	1	Yes
Post-holes AT	2a i	Cuts SS, cut by M,TT	1	Yes
Slot AU	2b	Cuts SS,TT; associated with FF	2	No
Post-holes AV	2b	Cuts SS,BC; associated with FF	2	No
Drain AY	3	Cuts AP	3	Yes
Road AZ	5	Associated with AM	4	Yes
Well BA	4	None	3	Yes
Building BC	1	Under SS,BD; cut by BE	1	Yes
Midden BD	4	Over BC; associated with DD	3	Yes
Pits BE	1	Cuts BC; under SS,BD	1	Yes
Path BF	3	Over AL; under AS	2	Yes
Ditch BG	2b	Cuts JJ,LL,PP,AE/AF; cut by M,EE,FF (tertiary); under EE; associated with FF (primary)	2	Yes

2. Period O: The Geology and Natural Soils

The geology of the Herefordshire basin is discussed above in Part I. The upper levels of the peri-glacial deposits in the immediate area of the site consisted of a hard, compact dark-red gravel with heavy ferrugination (Context 42). The weathered surface of this (Context 41) was a 0.10-0.20 m. band of softer gravel with green, red and brown speckling. In the course of Stream E this gravel was coated with a white limey deposit (Context 32). The subsoil developing over the gravel was a light brown leached soil with

iron flecks and manganese nodules in varying concentrations which imparted a reddish tinge to the soil. Stream E: Across the south of the excavated area was the course of a broad stream (FIG. 4). Most of the archaeologically recorded stream phases pre-dated the earliest human activity on the site during the Iron Age and the silts of the stream formed the subsoil to the south of the site. The descriptions of these stream phases are detailed in Archive 204. It ran from the north turning to run eastwards as it entered the excavated area. A suggested original southern edge is shown on the plan (FIG. 4), as are a successive series of early banks (KK53, KK54). The silt within the banks formed a characteristic subsoil; a red-orange clayey silt with a high manganese concentration (Dr. Susan Limbrey suggested that this was the result of water action washing out clay from the original subsoil material giving a higher concentration of minerals). Subsequent stream phases were more limited; flow was largely on the south side of the excavated area and seems to have involved a faster water flow producing sands and water lain, laminated gravels. Pit AW was a natural hollow on the west side of the site, which may have remained open and been utilised in Period I.

3. Period I: The Iron Age

A. DESCRIPTION

Features of this period are shown in FIG. 5 and are described below. The largest concentration of features constituted Building BC. This concentration of penannular trench and post holes resolved itself into two phases (FIG. 6). Phase I consisted of a ring of post holes of which seven survived. Only five (LL53, LL54, LL55, LL56, LL57) had signs of packing stones and in no cases were post pipes recorded. The spacing of these features was irregular as were their shapes and sizes. A patch of hard clay (LL88) was identified with this phase as, like the post holes, it was cut by the penannular trench (PL. II). Phase II consisted of the penannular trench itself, which had a shallow 'U'-shaped profile 0.65 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep. There were no signs of post sockets in the bottom or fill of this trench.

Succeeding these features were a pair of shallow pits (Pits BE; Archive 272) which post-dated the filling of the penannular trench. The lower fills of these pits were Iron Age in date, but the upper layers were contaminated with material from the later Midden BD.

Ditches: Three substantial ditches belonged stratigraphically to the period of earliest occupation on the site. Ditch D ran straight over a length of 30 m. on the east side of the site. It has a 'V'-shaped profile 0.40 m. deep and 0.80 m. wide, and contained no finds.

At the west end of Ditch D was a layer of rough pebbles (U76, FIG. 11a, not on plan) traced for 1 metre on the north side. Ditch KK (Archive 232) may have cut Ditch D (the relationship was obscured by later walls). This feature ran north-south and was traced over a length of 13 m. before opening into Stream E to the south. The profile was 'V'-shaped 0.60 m. in depth and 1.60 m. wide, the bottom flattening out to the south. A third ditch, Ditch AL (Archive 255) consisted of two parts separated by a 2 m. gap and curving northwards. Its profile was 'U'-shaped and its maximum size was

1.50 m. wide and 0.50 m. deep. The enclosure of which it seemed to form an entrance was not traced elsewhere. Slot JJ (Archive 231) ran in a gentle curve at a distance of 16 m. from the eastern edge of Building BC. The slot had a 'V'-shaped profile 0.50 m. wide, and was 0.40 m. deep.

The sequence of activity in Stream E in Period I was hard to relate to other features and is discussed in detail in Archive 204. Its silt was backed up in Ditch KK indicating that insufficient water ran down the ditch to scour an outlet into the stream. The stream was probably quite fast, depositing a little silt most of which consisted of coarse gravel. At an earlier phase its northern edge was marked by two slots and a post hole (Slots UU; Archive 240 Z149/EE70, EE102, EE103). The southern group of features discussed below were cut into stream silt accumulated at a later date than UU, when the stream had condensed itself into a channel on the south side of the site. The only evidence for human occupation in the silts of the stream consisted of finds of bone debris and charcoal.

Other Features: There were a number of isolated rough pits east of Slot JJ (W210, AA79, BB156, BB158) and a group of features south of the south end of this slot, including a pit (Z144), a small post hole (Z146), an indeterminate linear feature (Z148) and two rectangular features. The western of the two (EE73) was not well preserved, but consisted of the south end of a flat-bottomed sub-rectangular trench, while the eastern (Z145) was fully excavated. This was a feature with a flat bottom and vertical sides 4.50 m. x 100 m. and 0.60 m. deep. At the south end was a row of three stake holes (Z151, 152, 153). Further slots and post holes existed to the north and west (AC81, MM60, MM66, ZG54).

B. FINDS AND DATING

Pottery

Although dating for Period I lacks precision, the pottery suggests a date in the middle or later Iron Age. It is advanced that occupation fell approximately between the mid-3rd century B.C. and the 1st century B.C. and detailed support for this conclusion is presented in pp. 110-20.

Other Finds

There were no very diagnostic finds from features of this period. A number of flints in the penannular ditch of Building BC were almost certainly residual. There was also a spindle whorl and a quantity of furnace lining (though no hearth or furnace was identified), and daub. Animal bone was plentiful but was not separately analysed (Archive 118).

C: INTERPRETATION

The interpretation of this phase is difficult owing to the fact that many of its features were cut away by those of later periods. The striking absence of any Iron Age pottery, either stratified or residual, to the south of Stream E or west of Ditch KK must demonstrate that these features were the external boundaries of the settlement. The fact

that the later silts of Stream E accumulated in the open southern end of Ditch KK clearly shows that these features were not only open at the same time but were also physically linked as a boundary. Ditch D lay outside the main boundary and may have been a field ditch.

Within the major ditch and stream, Ditch AR and Slot JJ may have been area divisions. It is possible to link Slot JJ to feature AC81 on the northern edge of the excavation on stratigraphic grounds (FIG. 5). As the fill of Slot JJ contained similar pottery to the features of Building BC it is possible that it formed an associated palisade slot. A reconstruction could thus postulate Building BC to the west of a circular or polygonal palisade within a major ditched enclosure. The position of Building BC to the extreme west of the excavated area, however, might indicate that yet more evidence for Iron Age occupation lay further to the west. It seems doubtful that Ditch KK was dug simply to define an area containing only one small hut. Finds gave some evidence of cattle, iron working and weaving but otherwise no economic evidence was forthcoming.

4. PERIOD I: DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS

Ditched enclosures with palisades surrounding circular huts have been recognised as common features of the British Iron Age since the excavation of Little Woodbury (Bersu, 1940) and occur in all parts of the country (Cunliffe, 1974, 165-7; Megaw and Simpson, 1979, 372-3). Kenchester Period I appears to fall into this category. Building BC was a post-built circular hut originally constructed of posts placed in individual holes in the first phase and either contiguous posts or split timbers in a penannular trench in the second phase. These are typical methods of Iron Age construction (Harding, 1973, 52; 1974, 37-46; Cunliffe, 1974, 161; Megaw and Simpson, 1979, 384-6). Some closely parallel buildings have recently been found at Whitton, Glamorgan (Jarret and Wrathmell, 1981, 67-74) where penannular wall-trench construction was found in seven out of eight round houses. Like in these Whitton examples the problem posed by Building BC is that the wall line survives without any certain evidence for internal supports for the roof; a situation different from the frequent Iron Age pattern where rings of posts form the roof supports with flimsy wall traces outside, and concentric with, these rings (Musson, 1970, 269; Guilbert, 1981). During the excavation of Building BC such traces were deliberately sought without success. The depth of the penannular trench was comparable with those at Whitton, which are not considered to have held walls of any great height. Given the absence of any other roof supports it is clear that the walls alone would have to retain a large, conical, probably thatched roof. Such conical roofs are structurally cohesive, and it is only the weight of the roof, rather than its constructional support that is of concern in building the walls (Jarrett and Wrathmell, 1981, 71-3). However low the walls, this would mean that they would have to be of considerable strength. A wall built of split timbers contiguously placed in a trench would certainly be adequate. Kenchester Building BC is identical in diameter to

Whitton house B2 (ibid, 72). If the roof pitch of 50° needed for thatching and the 1 m. wall height postulated at Whitton are accepted the dimensions of Building BC in reconstruction would be as follows:-

Diameter	9.50 m.
Area	70.90 sq. m.
Height	6.60 m.
Rafter length	7.30 m.
Roof area	108.90 m.

(Jarrett and Wrathmell, 1981, Table 1)

The Period I Iron Age phase presents new evidence for the Herefordshire Iron Age, as it is the first settlement of this date to have been found in the area other than hill forts. Dr. S. C. Stanford's contention that a political Iron Age unit existed in Herefordshire which was characterised by types of hill-fort construction, the existence of exclusively rectangular hut types and the distribution of Malvern pottery, has recently been questioned (Hogg, 1973, 14-21; Wilmott 1980, 119-20; Crickmore, forthcoming). Of some significance in Stanford's work is the fact that on the three major hill forts of Credenhill, Croft Ambrey and Midsummer Hill there appeared to be evidence for a pattern of rectangular houses laid out regularly in streets (Stanford, 1970, 108; 1974, 105). This shows some elements of planning in the laying out of hill-fort

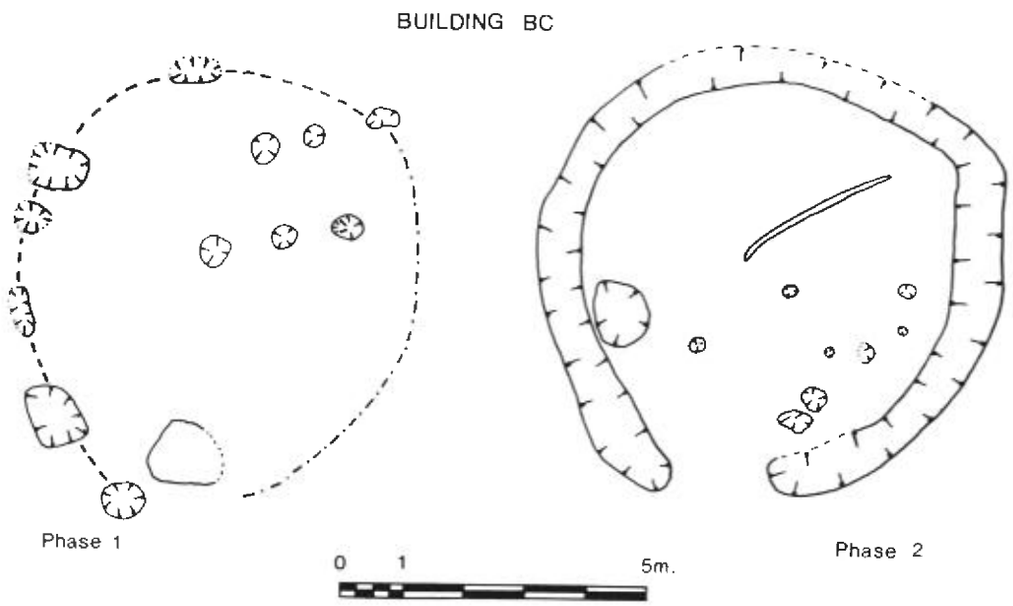


FIG. 6
Phase plans of Iron Age Building BC

interiors paralleled in the excavation of Danebury, Hants. (Cunliffe, 1974, 258), and Moel y Gaer, Clwyd (Guilbert, 1975). There is, however, no certainty, in view of the sample excavated, that all the huts were rectangular or that this type of planning covered the entire hill-fort interior (Guilbert, 1975, 209) nor were all of the structures proved to be dwellings. An area of planning including very similar rectangular four post structures found at Danebury, Hants (Cunliffe 1981, 250) is interpreted as a planned zone of storage structures. Stanford's suggested population of 4,800 for Credenhill can therefore be seen as unreliable and probably an overestimate. It is, however, likely that such a large hill fort would contain a substantial population, which would require widespread clearance in the lowland area for the provision of food. It is in this context that the present site should be seen. It is probable that the hill fort was the market for the produce of the present site. The presence of the circular hut on this site would appear to confirm Hogg's (1973, 15) suggestion that the Herefordshire area fits into an Iron Age culture widespread throughout Wessex and the Welsh Marches, where mixed dwelling types prevailed. It is possible that the rectangular structures on Credenhill had their form determined by function, or were a feature of internal planning, rather than a distinct local cultural feature. It is also possible that, even on Credenhill some huts may have been round as at Moel y Gaer (Guilbert, 1975, 204).

The dating of Period I, especially in its relationship with Credenhill is somewhat problematic. The pottery date of the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. must suggest that at some point in the life of the hill-fort (*c.*375 B.C.-*c.* A.D. 75; Stanford, 1970) the two sites were occupied contemporarily. Ceramic evidence, however, would indicate that the Iron Age phase in the present site petered out long before the Roman Conquest and the desertion date of Credenhill attested by the presence of pre-Flavian Roman pottery (Stanford, 1970, 120). It is necessary to conclude that the site was unoccupied during the 1st century A.D. as no Iron Age pottery from the site, even residual material, postdated the 1st century B.C.

5. PERIOD 2ai

A. DESCRIPTION

Features of this period shown in FIG. 7 and are described below.

Boundary

The site boundary in this phase was represented by Ditch LL (Archive 233). This ditch ran north-south for *c.*30 m., it then kinked quite sharply at the southern end and stopped, resuming its course after a gap of 13 m. in a shallow sweep to the west. Within the gap a subsidiary section of ditch was set back slightly to the north. In the eastern of the two breaks in the ditch thus formed was a slot 3 m. long (Z106, recut as Z108) running approximately east-west. Cut by this slot was a shallow depression (Archive 23 FIG. 1, Z150). The bottom 0.50-.060 m. of the ditch was filled with clean material of a weathered but water lain appearance. Above this, in the south end of the eastern ditch, was a layer of charcoal 0.04 m. thick (U89c, FIG. 11a), succeeded for the rest of the depth of the ditch by a layer of buff clay with few finds and a uniform consistency, predicating a fairly rapid silting (U89a, FIG. 11a).

Within the 400 sq. m. excavated was a large concentration of features, Post holes AT (Archive 262). These post holes varied considerably in width, from 1 m.-0.40 m., but the average diameter was 0.70 m. Six post holes had post pipes to accommodate posts of up to 0.25 m. diameter. The main group was bounded to the west by a closely set line of post holes, at each end of which was a double feature. West of this line was a further curving line of post holes and a slot (GG128, GG129, GG133, GG134, GG143, GG144). Four of the post holes had post pipes representing posts of 0.25 m. diameter and the group enclosed an area approximately 10 sq. m. within which lay an isolated pit (GG132). Slot YY (Archive 244) lay to the south of post holes AT and ran east-west. It was 0.55 m. wide and 0.35 m. deep with a V-shaped profile and a deeper central slot.

North of post holes AT was an irregular pit Gravel Pit AP (Archive 259) measuring 13 m. x 7 m. with a depth of 2 m. The filling of AP exhibited reverse stratification to the natural deposits with topsoil material at the bottom and red gravel at the top.

Other Features

Several other features lay among Post holes AT. These were a shallow pit (A174) a patch of pebbles (AA103), two slots (BB150, BB153) one of which (BB150) contained a burnt timber, and two small holes (BB151 and BB155).

The only features east of Ditch LL were a pair of isolated ploughmarks cut into natural clay (AF62). Within Ditch LL north of Post holes AT was a group of pits (W193, W205, W207, W209) with a patch of stones (W208). W193 and W209 were burnt and contained some slag.

Between the abandonment of the structures of Period I and the appearance of Period 2a structures there accumulated a 0.20 m. thick layer of green-grey clay-silt (Soils SS; Archive 239) which, although only surviving in substantial patches, appears to have covered the whole area within Ditch LL (GG92, AA79a: FIG. 10) and which did not extend east of this ditch. Merging with, and lying above this horizon was a layer of darker stony clay which appears to have accumulated at the same time as the occupation of Period 2ai features (FIG. 10a, 11a). This upper layer also only survived in the form of large patches (W204, AA/BB63, AA/BB129, AA/BB137, AA/BB163, FF75, AC79, AD110, AE156); further layers which overlay soils SS were identified to the south of the enclosure. These were a layer of charcoal (FF73) and a patch of stones (AA60) which overlay one of the Post holes AT (AA128). On the west side of Ditch LL over Soil SS was a patch of dark gritty soil (W186b, W189). This material lay near the group of small pits noted above, and sealed W193. The material was topped by a thin layer of velvety silt (W186a) which is of some importance in the interpretation of later features (FIG. 10). A discussion of this layer can be found below.

B. DATING AND FINDS

Coins and Pottery

These are discussed further below pp. 122-4. The only coin from features of this period was an intrusive Carausian coin in the top fill of Pit AP. Analysis of pottery gave a general *terminus post quem* of *c.* A.D. 70-90 for the beginning of this period.

Other Finds

For details see Archive 100-121 and Part V below. Finds include daub (Ditch LL, Soils SS, Post holes AT) and Furnace lining (Ditch LL, Soils SS: probably residual in small quantities from Period I), mostly unrecognisable iron objects, worked horn core and oyster shell.

C. INTERPRETATION

The features of Period 2ai were all cut into the greenish clay Soil SS which sealed the pre-Roman features. This settlement phase was defined by Ditch LL with its double, southward facing 'entrance'. There was no indication of any bank associated with the ditch which, if projected into a circular enclosure must have encircled a considerable area. The excavation of Ditch LL on the same line as Ditch KK and Stream E demonstrates continuity in the boundary line, and is the only feature to suggest continuity of occupation from Period I. Bad drainage consequent on the silting of Stream E, and the probable continuation of a residual water-flow may be related to the rapid silting of Ditch LL, and could explain the waterlain appearance of many layers of silting within the ditch.

Post holes AT cannot be convincingly interpreted as structural foundations. If the main north-south row can be interpreted as a wall line the northern and southern walls would have to be represented by post holes to the east and possibly by Slot YY. This would give the northern wall a curiously bowed shape, and no eastern wall could be suggested. It is possible that the 'building' was an open-sided barn or storehouse, but it is equally possible that the north-south line was part of an internal fence.

There is not sufficient evidence to suggest the character of occupation in Period 2ai. The clayey soil which sealed features of Period I is not indicative of any intensive occupation in the excavated area as it was almost totally free of finds. Period 2ai also showed no main focus to be associated with the substantial Ditch LL. It is probable that in this period the focus of settlement lay further to the west and north, the present site representing only a peripheral area. It is possible that the definite green tinge of the buried Soil SS was due to the constant or frequent presence of livestock.

If the double gap in Ditch LL was an entrance one would expect some kind of roadway into the settlement. Though no metalling or worn route was observed, there is a significant absence of features in front of and congesting such an entrance. The line of Slot YY, and Post holes GG133 and GG134 seems to lead positively from the entrance as if flanking an established path. It is not impossible that Post holes AT and Slot YY represented a structure built against the entrance.

Though the excavation of Gravel Pit AP took place during this phase its sequence of backfilling is better considered with Periods 2aii and 2b (below pp. 57, 64).

6. Period 2aii

A. Description

Features of this phase are shown in fig. 8.

The site boundary was still marked by Ditch LL which was backfilled by weathering and silting, leaving a broad, shallow, 'U'-profile ditch 0.25 m. deep and 1 m. wide, which appears to have been re-cut in the top (Ditch AO Archive 258); this ditch was only traced over a length of 14 m. (see plan) with an apparent butt end at the south (U86; fig. 11a). At the northern end a stretch of it was filled with red gravel (W128, W170; fig. 10). Over the filled subsidiary section of Ditch LL on the south side was a layer of fine sandy salt (Z80, not on plan) over a small patch of burning in the top of the ditch (Z128). Above this were two patches of redeposited natural gravel which became thicker to the west (Z79/EE59; Z71/EE4).

A smaller area within the main enclosure of Ditch LL was delineated by a polygonal enclosure ditch (Ditch PP Archive 235) 0.75 m. wide. This ditch ran east-west on the south side for 7 m. turned to run north-west for 10 m. made a slight turn of 15° to run north-south for 6 m. finally turning 55° to run north of west for 3 m. The profile was generally 'U'-shaped (fig. 10, BB149), but on the south side was better preserved, retaining a deeper central square slot 0.20 m. wide, with stake holes (FF77a and b) in the bottom.

The only features contained within this polygonal enclosure were a small burnt patch to the north-west (GG136) and a series of shallow slots filled with charcoal (Joists TT; Archive 239). All these slots were aligned north-south except for one which ran across the others at right angles. The two easternmost slots of the main group had 'hooked'' southern ends, possibly indicating other east-west members. The slots were cut into two groups by the later Period 4 ditch, Ditch BB. The southern group of four were better defined and the slots were longer and straighter than the northern group. The width of the slots was 0.20 m.-0.30 m. and they averaged 0.04 m. deep. They were mostly set 0.30 m.-.040 m. apart, but the pattern was not uniform. An area of 7 m. x 8 m. was covered by these features. Over the fill of the three westernmost slots was an oval patch of burnt clay (GG111).

On the north edge of the excavated area, cutting the fill of Ditch LL were two large, joined pits Gravel Pits AE and AF (Archives 249-250). These had a joint length of 19 m. and a minimum width of 10 m. (Continuing beyond the northern limit of excavation). The maximum depth below contemporary ground level was 1.52 m. There were no major additions to the basic occupation surfaces between Periods 2ai and 2aii.

B: Finds and Dating

Pottery and Coins

There were no coins in Period 2aii Features. For Period 2a in general the most secure dating from pottery is provided by the Samian ware and imported mortaria, Fabrics 2-4. Samian wares give a date in the final half of the second century A.D., while mortaria fabrics date A.D. 80-150 (Hartley, Archive 108). This evidence indicates a *terminus post quem* of the late 1st-early 2nd century for Joists TT, Slot YY, Post holes AT and probably Soil SS. The dating for the latter feature is, however, problematic and could be marginally earlier. Though Ditch PP contained Samian ware dated A.D. 140-70 (p. 134) in its upper fill, this material was badly sealed during the following period and the Samian ware may have been intrusive. While Ditch LL conforms in most respects to the Period 2a assemblage type it is poorly dated. North Gaulish ware, Fabric 2 (A.D. 80-135) may however suggest a date within the expected range for period 2ai (above p. 123) (Anderson, 1980, 34). The mainly Antonine Malvernian ware (Type 61: Peacock 1967, 16) occurs in the later silts of Ditch LL. A general date range *c.* A.D. 80 to the mid-2nd century A.D. is indicated.

Other finds

There were few general finds from this period, the bottom fills of the gravel pits were fairly sterile. Most finds consisted of building materials, such as daub, tile and brick, food remains such as oyster shell and a few undiagnostic iron objects.

C. Interpretation

Stratigraphically this phase was very closely defined, but once again the impression gained from the features of Period 2aii is of a peripheral area of a settlement. Like in earlier periods this is indicated by the lack of a major focus within the area of excavation. Ditch PP itself appears to represent a series of sleeper beams laid in the bottom of a ditch and held in place with stakes. The sleeper beams were represented by the straight stretches of ditch which made up the polygonal enclosure. If this was a fenced area it might have been expected to define some activity but no evidence for this survived. The slots Joists TT are interpreted as the foundation slots for the joists of a timber floor. If these joists extend as far south as Z100 then Ditch PP cuts the joists; if Z100 is not interpreted as part of the pattern then Ditch PP might enclose them, the evidence however is very flimsy. No structural elements were found in association with the joists but it is possible that some of the contemporary patches of burnt material were associated with their burning.

The large double pit AE/AF appears to have been dug for the extraction of gravel to form the surfaces of Period 2b. The fact that the backfill of Gravel Pit AP consisted of a series of deposits in the reverse order of natural stratification has been mentioned briefly above. In the absence of evidence for the spread of material from the removal of strata above the gravel in AE/AF it is suggested that this material was dumped into Pit AP. It is further possible that the dumps of mixed gravelly material and brown silt (e.g. EE59) to the south of Ditch PP are associated with gravel pits to the west of the excavated area.

7. Period 2b

A. Description

Features of this phase are shown in plan in FIG. 9 and discussed below.

Boundaries

In Period 2b the east side of the settlement was bounded by a large ditch (Ditch MM; Archive 234; PL. III) which ran north-south over a length of 38 m. before running out beyond the excavated area to the north. The ditch made a slight east-south-east turn to run for a further 12 m. and joined Ditch G. The ditch had a sharp 'V'-shaped profile (for most complete sections FIGS. 11a, b, 10), an average width of 3.50 m. and an average depth of 1.40 m. On the west side of the ditch, overlying the thin velvety silt material (W186a) mentioned under Period 2ai (above p. 54) was a deposit of mixed redeposited material (FIGS. 10, 11b; W155, W151). Post holes AC are phased with Period 2b (FIG. 11b) but are filled and sealed with this redeposited material (for further consideration of this sequence see below, p. 67).

Across the south side of the site ran a wider, flat-bottomed, water-bearing ditch, Ditch G (Archive 206; PL. VI) acting as a canalisation of the natural and more diffuse Stream E. This ditch utilised as its bottom a natural level of cobbles within the silt of Stream E which had originally been laid down by the action of the stream before human occupation (FIG. 16b, DD61c). The ditch was 4.5 m. wide and 0.60 m. deep. Within the silt in the eastern part was an infant burial (Z141 and Z142). After the ditch had become heavily silted the strongest flow of water had scoured a channel on the north side (for details see Archive 206: FIG. 16b).

Buildings

There were two principal structures within the enclosure formed by Ditches G and MM. Building FF was constructed of stone with walls 1.5 m. thick consisting of faced blocks enclosing a rubble core over foundations of three layers of pitched stones (FIG. 10; GG66b). The building was rectangular, measuring 5.5 m. x 7.6 m. externally with three buttresses on both the northern and southern sides. Along the west side was a row of nine post holes (Post holes AV; Archive 264) with no traces of posts, and along the south side, 1 m. from the main wall, lay Slot AV (Archive 263) which was 8 m. long and 0.50 m. wide with a flat bottom and vertical sides. In places the slot was deeper on the north side. Within and outside the building was a thick layer of red gravel laid to produce a resilient hard surface. The southern area Yard CC (Archive 225) and the ones to west, north and east Gravel AH (Archive 252) are shown in plan. Inside the building was a set of fifteen shallow post holes in three rows of four and one of three. Outside the north-east corner was an area of cream mortar with a dump of stones on top of it (GG84). A wedge of brown sand (hachures on plan) formed a ramp against the north-east corner of the building, which led from the mortar spread.

To the north of Building FF lay a timber structure, Building AJ (Archive 253). The building was defined originally by its destruction deposit (PL. V) and only later by the recognition of a set of slots and post holes. The northern end of the structure lay out-

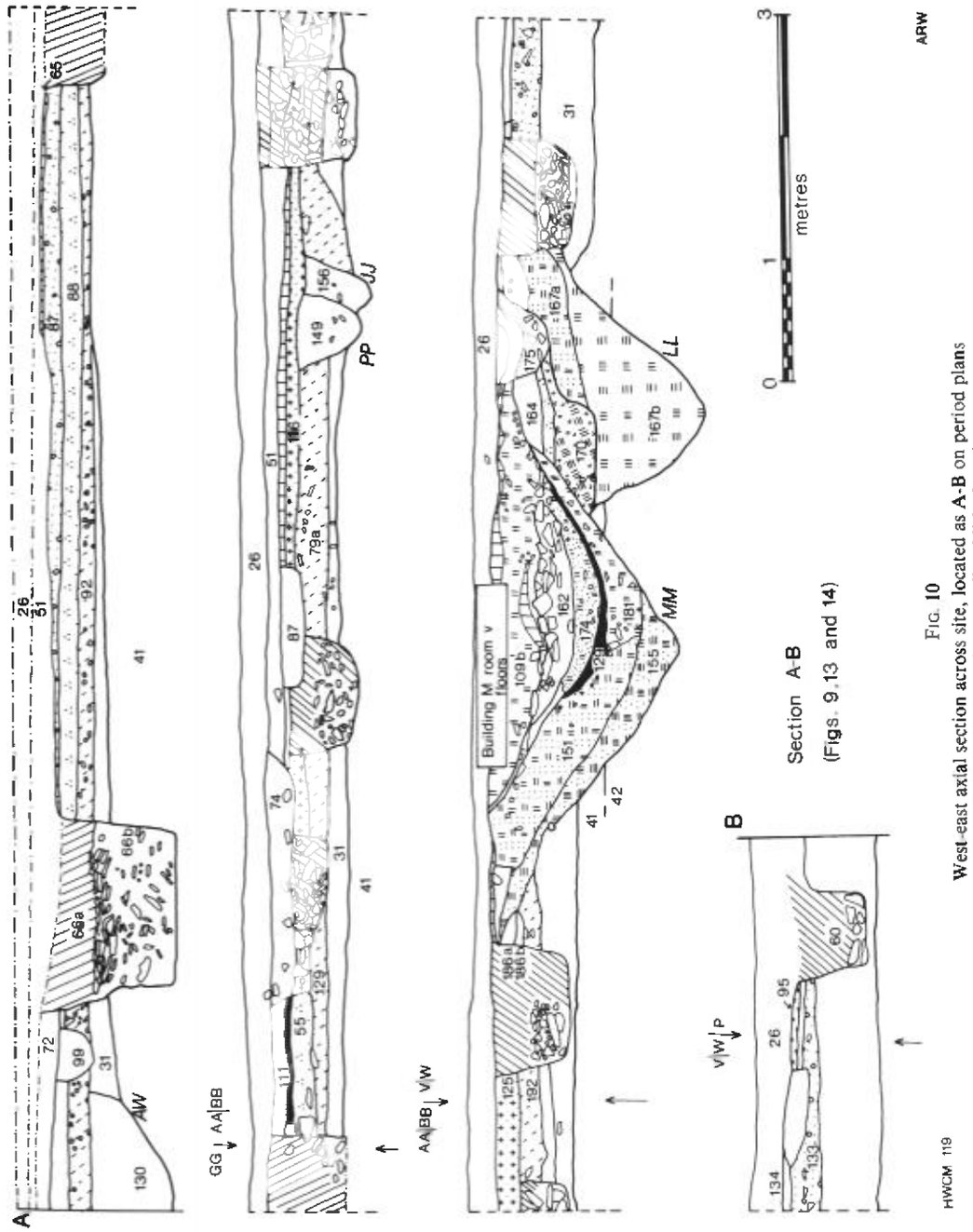


FIG. 10
West-east axial section across site, located as A-B on period plans
FIGS. 9, 13, 14 and key to all published sections

AA Major feature designations.

V|W|P Indicates junction between two grids and grid prefixes for use on each side of arrow

Robber trenches and walls of Building M.

Building FF.

Mortar floors.

Burnt layer with heavy charcoal matrix.

Layer heavily contaminated with burning.

Buff clay.

Grey clay.

Clay with much gravel.

Gravel with much clay.

Clay with pebbles.

Yellow clay.

Redeposited red gravel.

Buried soil SS.

Red-brown sandy silt.

Horizontally laminated sandy silt.

Dark red silt.

Laminated sands.

Sand.

Disturbed yellow clay.

Silt.

Rubble and silt.

Gritty silt with burning (and stones).

Pebbles.

Angular rubble.

Figs. 9 and 14 Indicates period plans on which section is located.

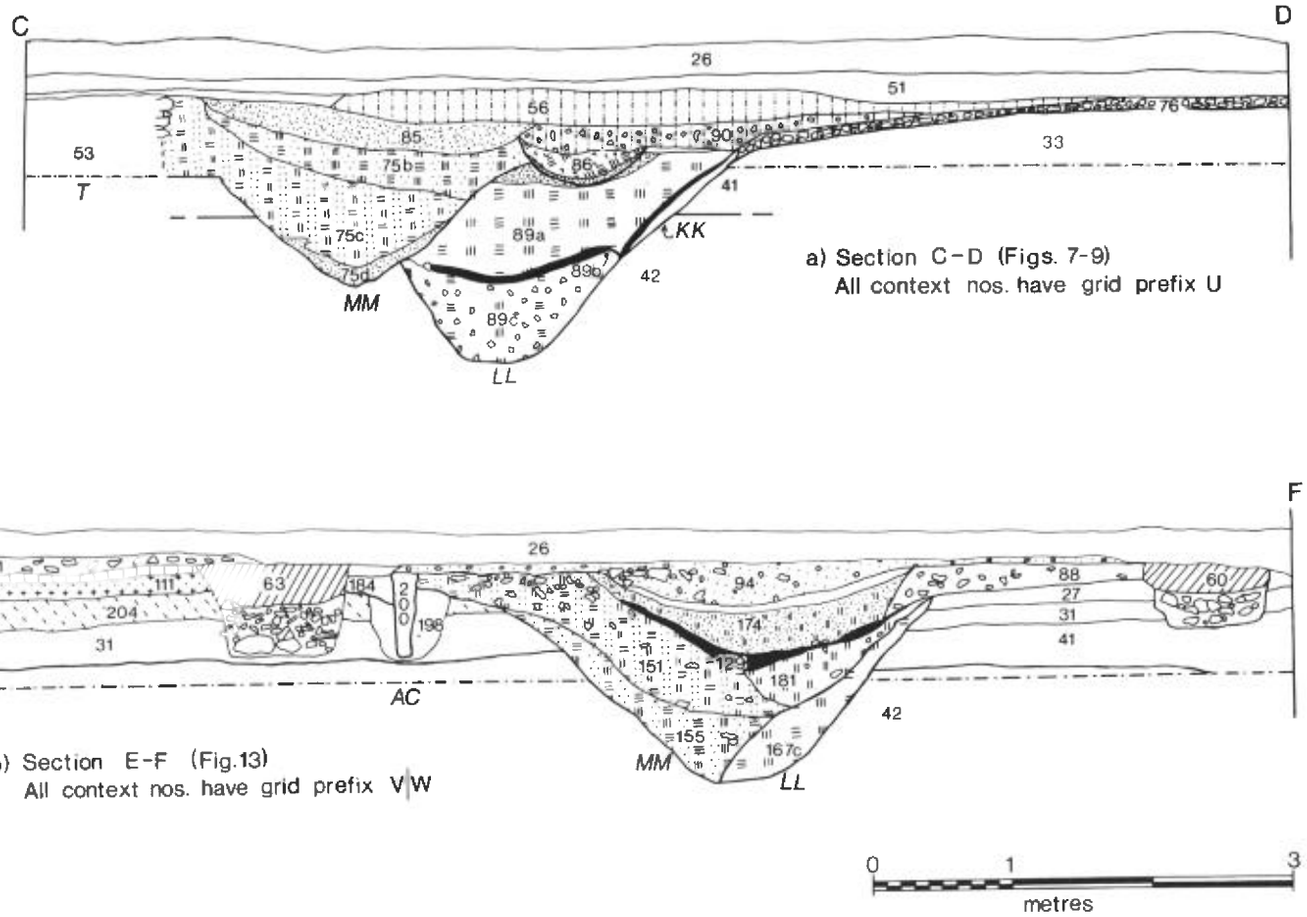


FIG. 11

West-east sections located as C-D and E-F on period plans FIGS. 7, 8, 9, 13

side the area of excavation. The building as excavated measured 11 m. long and 6 m. wide. The sides were formed by two rows of four large post holes 1.50 m. apart with an average diameter of 0.70 m. The south-eastern post hole appeared to have been double. Between the post holes on the eastern side ran a line of burnt daub forming a ridge in a shallow (0.15 m.) slot 0.10 m. wide. This was traced for a distance of 2.5 m. south of the southernmost post hole. Between the two southern post holes lay a similar post hole, and the three were connected by a timber slot 0.30 m. in width. To the south of the south-western post hole a further timber slot continued the wall line southwards for 2 m. Both eastern and western wall lines were cut away by subsequent additions to Building FF. Material from the destruction of the building in Period 2c (below p. 68) provided evidence that a room existed south of the east-west partition slot. The floor of this may be represented by the mortar observed to the north of Building FF in this phase.

All of the post holes of Building AJ were vertical sided and flat-bottomed and traces of post pipes 0.50 m. in diameter were noted in most of them. In a number of them were large nails (Archive 113; below p. 167 FIG. 44). On the east side was a subsidiary structure indicated by four sets of two stake holes and one single stake hole, each 0.10 m. in diameter. On the western side of the structure was a further set of post holes aligned north-south parallel with the building's long axis. These lay 1.50 m. from the building and were irregularly spaced 1.50 m.-3 m. apart. One of these post holes (AC70) was sealed by a patch of stones (AC59).

On the east and south sides of Building AJ a number of broken millstones were found (Archive 101, ST64-70; below pp. 150-6, FIG. 9, PL. V).

Two ditches were associated with Building AJ. In the north part a rough drain (Drain AR; Archive 260) ran eastwards between two of the post holes apparently beginning on the west side of the building and widening outside the east wall to join the residual hollow in the silted top of Gravel Pit AE/AF (AE159 on plan); the fill was not analysed but was identified macroscopically as light green cess. Inside Building AJ, two post holes flanked the drain. Joining this ditch from the south was a further feature Ditch BG (Archive 274). This ran parallel to the east wall of the building at a distance of 3.50 m. from the main wall. Inside the southern cell of Building AJ this ditch turned westwards and was traced 2.50 m. inside the building. It was into the top of this almost totally silted ditch that painted plaster fell in the destruction of Building AJ.

There is some evidence for a second timber structure (Structure AG, Archive 251) 15-20 m. west of Building AJ, found in trial trenches. A thick layer of soot and charcoal similar to that produced by the destruction of Building AJ (Period 2c) was sealed by the layer of red gravel (ZC52, Period 3). Associated features included post holes (ZC54, ZG57) a slot (ZG55) a cess pit (ZC55) and a layer of cobbles (ZG56). To the south of these features a ditch (ZG56) 2.50 m. wide may have belonged to this period.

Features east of Ditch MM

Immediately to the east of Ditch MM were two isolated pits (W173, W176). Further east was an anomalous set of pits or post holes, Structure F, (Archive 205) consisting of three in a north-south line and two more aligned east-west at a right-angle; in the central post hole of the north-south line (J62) were traces of a deeper post setting but there was no other evidence for posts. Three other pits of varying sizes (J52, J58, J61) lay in the same area.

Other features within the main enclosure

In the angle formed by Ditch MM and Ditch G were two large pits Cess Pits VV and WW (Archives 241, 242). VV appeared to be slightly later than WW. Contemporary with or earlier than VV was a layer of dark brown gritty soil (Z66) which covered a layer of gritty red silt (Z61). This partly filled WW, leaving it open as a shallow pit. This latter layer also covered a small pit (Z113, Z115). Between the two pits was a spread of rubble (Z58) and the pits Z127 and Z113/115. Below this rubble was a layer of dark brown sooty silt with charcoal, bones and pottery (Z114). One metre north-west of Z127 was a small patch of gravel (Z129) above a patch of charcoal (Z154). East of cess pit VV was a small pit 0.35 m. deep (Z107) while to the north-west was an isolated post hole AA170 not included with Post holes AT as it cut Slot YY (see Period 2ai). Over the top of the west end of Slot YY was a layer of gravelly silt (FF64).

Further north, between Building FF and Ditch MM were two small pits (W182, W183) of which one (W183) contained slag debris. Nearby was a small patch of stones on top of the filled Ditch PP (BB154), while to the north, between Ditch BG and Ditch MM was a small pit (W206) and two small post pads AD118 and AD119, consisting of flat stones sunk in shallow holes.

No substantial changes in the build-up of soil could be dated to Period 2b. On the west side of Ditch MM in the region of W206 were traces of a layer of greenish-brown silt (W202) notionally equated with a similar area east of Ditch BG. Between Building FF and Ditch MM traces of a yellow-brown silty clay (AA117) were found but could not be related reliably to other features. A patch of unrelated brown silt (AA62) is shown on plan nearby. In the top of the filled gravel pit AE/AF were layers of dumped black clayey silt (AD86a) and red cess-speckled clay (AD86) which extended further than the pit (AE159) on the plan.

B. FINDS AND DATING

Coins and Pottery

There were no coins from features of Period 2b. Samian ware provides a *terminus post quem* in the early Antonine, or more generally Antonine period for the silts of Ditch MM, Post holes AD, Gravel Pit AF, Gravel AH and Drain AR. This accords with the Antonine date indicated by Caerleon mortaria and Imported mortaria, Fabrics 3 and 4, A.D. 80-150 (Hartley, Archive 108) in Ditch G, and in Gravel AH. Although Ditch BG was stratified above the Period 2a Ditch PP, it need not be dated to post-A.D. 170.

Other Finds

The range of finds in Period 2b increased considerably from Period 2aii. Building materials included stone roof slate, tufa, daub (in large quantities on the Period 2c

destruction layers of Building AJ) and nails, both ordinary and very large structural examples (Archive 113; Part IV, p. 167. FIG. 44). Other finds included iron tools, slag, oyster shell, furnace lining, and the remarkable group of millstones in Building AJ (Archive 101; Part IV, pp. 150-6 FIGS. 35-38). The lead tank (Archive 115, Part IV, p. 171, FIG. 47) was of considerable interest, and domestic artefacts included a twisted copper alloy bracelet, and a bone counter.

C. INTERPRETATION

This phase is the first in which there is any indication of a central focus to the settlement. It was also the first in which most features were well defined and complete enough to reconstruct buildings with any confidence. The function of the structures, the nature of this phase, and external parallels will be considered in the discussion and synthesis of Period 2 (below pp. 70-4).

There is a clear sequence in the excavation of gravel pits and the laying out of occupation surfaces with the materials derived from them. Firstly Gravel Pit AP was dug, and its spoil was spread in order to begin the surfaces. Gravel Pit AE/AF was then dug and its unusable spoil dumped into AP. This was then sealed by Gravel AH which, with Yard CC, were laid with material from AE/AF. This pit was then allowed to silt up and was used as a cess pit and dump for organic waste.

The eastern boundary, Ditch MM was cut on the same line as Ditches KK and LL (Sections; FIGS. 11, 10, PL. III). The western side was lined with squared posts set in Post holes AC. It appears that these post holes revetted an upcast bank. The evidence for this is reviewed below, where the action of pushing the bank back into the ditch is phased with Period 2c. Such an arrangement would require some provision whereby the posts at the front would be tied back into the bank, and it is possible that some of the isolated post holes near Ditch MM were part of such a structure. It is further conceivable that a footway across the ditch was provided, possibly with foundations in post holes W182 and W183 to the east and W173 and W176 to the west. Such an arrangement would require a gate in the bank and palisade, but the levelling of the bank in Period 2c and the disturbance of this area by the foundations of Building M in Period 3 left no evidence in support of this idea. The excavation of Ditch G to the south served a double purpose, providing a southern boundary and canalising an existing, but due to rapid silting, a failing, running water supply.

The buildings are best interpreted by postulating two phases of construction. Building FF was clearly a stone built structure of considerable strength. The thick walls and buttresses imply some height and the post holes in the internal gravel surfaces suggest provision for a raised floor. An interpretation of this structure as a granary is discussed extensively below. It is possible that Post holes AV and Slot AU held the southern and eastern walls of a timber predecessor to Building FF.

The construction of Building AJ repays some close examination. Ditch BG runs through the southern cell of Building AJ and then round the eastern side. It was already silted up when painted plaster fell into the ditch during the Period 2c destruction of the building (below, pp. 158-61). It is unlikely that such a drain would be dug in the floor of

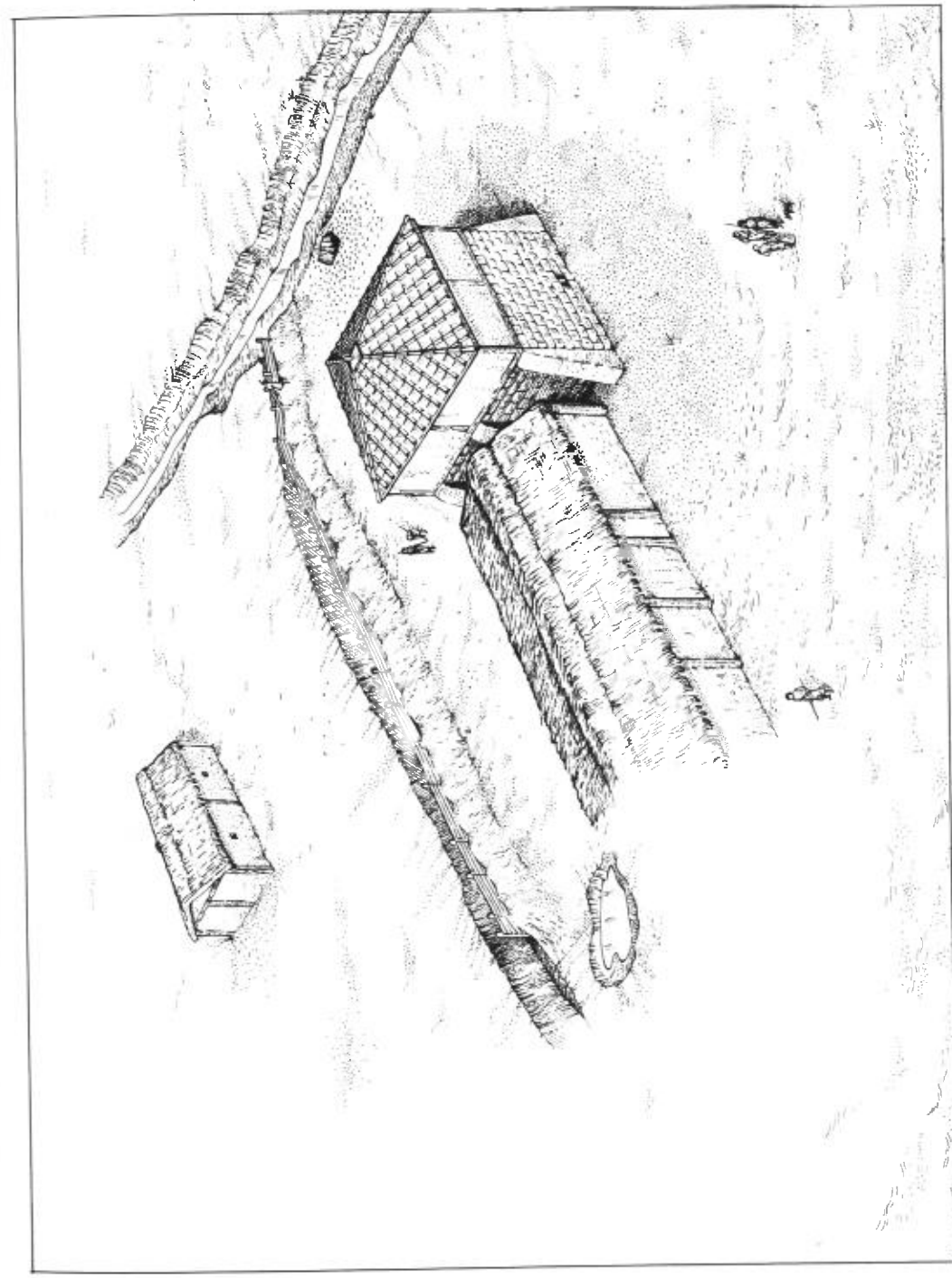


FIG. 12
Conjectural reconstruction of the site in Period 2b. Drawn by John Pearson

a newly-built structure with painted walls and a mortar floor, it is therefore suggested that the drain predated the southern cell of the building. The close relationship of the ditch to the layout of Building AJ does, however suggest contemporaneity; it is thus proposed that the southern cell of the building was a later addition built over an earlier eaves-drip trench. The opposed post holes which formed the principal structural feature of the building must each have held more than one timber, this would explain the large nails found in all of these features. (For discussion see below, pp. 71-2). The construction of the northern cell of the building is relatively easy to reconstruct. It is possible that the posts supported a wall-plate. As the posts were paired across the width of the building it is unlikely that only rafters were used to hold up the roof, paired posts would act as rigid members to stop the roof spreading. These trusses would probably include tie-beams at wall-plate level, though it is not possible to deduce whether there was a loft in the roof space, or whether the structure was open up to the ridge of the roof. The ridge of daub on the eastern side of the building shows that wall infill comprising wattle and daub set in shallow trenches was employed between the posts (FIG. 12), and the presence of fallen panels of daub in the Period 2c destruction debris of the building confirms this. Because of later truncation, the southern cell of the building can only be tenuously interpreted. No post holes survive, though the daub ridge is continued down the east side. To the south-west, and also between the posts of the partition wall there are timber slots implying the presence of sleeper beams as the foundations for these walls, though the presence of the ground-fast posts in the partition wall, connected by the slot would indicate that the sleeper beam was not a structural element associated with timber-framing.

The stake holes to the east of the building may have held supports for a light roofed verandah. Though ceramic roof tiles were found, they did not occur in sufficient quantities to have been used as roofing for this large structure, and were probably used in the roofing of Building FF. The thick and extensive layer of soft soot to the east of Building AJ (PL. V) seems to have comprised burnt thatch.

Ditch BG ran northwards to the residual hollow in the top of Gravel Pit AE/AF. Drain AR, which also drained into this hollow carried cess from inside Building AJ. The posts which flanked this drain inside the building can be interpreted as supporting an animal stall with central drain leading to the outside. The southern cell of Building AJ, with its mortar floor and painted walls must be interpreted as living quarters, though no structural indications other than its wall line survived. If this is interpreted as a secondary addition, however it would appear that the discharge of cess from the northern cell continued, as some backing-up of cess from the pit into the end of Ditch BG continued at the same time as the external part of the ditch was becoming silted.

Two post holes to the east of the building included stone post pads. The fact that these post holes were different from any others on the site suggest that some form of two-post structure existed.

There were a large number of cess pits associated with this period. The presence of charcoal, various pits and cobble spreads around Cess Pits VV and WW suggest a focus of activity around these pits.

8. PERIOD 2c

A. DESCRIPTION

Features of this period are shown in plan in FIG. 13.

Boundaries

The western boundary of the site was still Ditch MM (Archive 234). Layers phased with Period 2c provided the evidence for the nature of the western boundary in Period 2b. In the bottom of and slumped up the western side of the ditch, extending over the western edge was a thick, homogenous layer of redeposited mixed material. This filled and sealed the first phase of Post holes AC (see above; posts and excavation of holes phased with Period 2b) and a secondary row of post holes was dug through this ditch fill (FIG. 11b, W200); this section shows W151, the redeposited ditch fill sealing the first phase of post holes AC (W198) and cut by the secondary phase represented by (W200). This series of post holes were in turn replaced by a timber slot (Slot AB, Archive 246) which was traced over a lengh of 17.50 m. 0.12 m. deep and 0.33 m. wide with an apparent butt end to the north. There were no post holes associated with this slot, but it is possible that the slot functioned with the second phase of post holes AC as the slot fill butted against the fills of these post holes (W184; FIGS. 10, 11b). A layer of charcoal (W120) was traced along the bank of Ditch MM, but no direct relationship between the slot and this material was established. The ditch itself was shallower and with a gentler slope on the sides, compared to the Period 2b version. On the east side of the ditch yellow clay was dumped on top of the dumped material on the west side. Both filling layers were sealed by burnt material (Sections; FIG. 10: yellow clay W181, burning W129). Further south (FIG. 11a) no burning was observed.

The southern boundary ditch of Period 2b, Ditch G (Archive 206) remained open, but in a silted condition. A number of small features may have been associated with this ditch. East of the junction with Ditch MM were two shallow pits or pools (T53, T55) and a small pile of pebbles and sand (T54). North-west of T55 was a small stake hole (T58) visible only in a section face (Archive 17, FIG. 2). From the north edge of the ditch, east of Ditch MM was a shallow slot leading to a small pit 0.50 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep (T63, U63); the fill of this pit was a very fine black silt with much charcoal. South of the ditch in the south-east corner of the excavated area were two shallow hollows filled with stone (L51 and L52) which could be only tentatively assigned to this period. Further west on the south side of the ditch were a set of irregular pits (Y55, Y82, Y86, Y89). It is difficult to phase the succession of silts and pools in Ditch G accurately, and given the dating evidence (below) from the upper silts of Ditch G it is probable that these later pools continued in use while Ditch G was becoming completely silted into Period 3.

Buildings

No new structures were built but Building FF was extended with an addition to the western part of the north side (PL. IV) obscuring two of the buttresses. The walls of this extension had different types of foundations *viz.* trenches packed with cobbles, in the matrix of which was included quantities of painted wall plaster. The new walls were not

of such massive construction as the earlier phase, though at 0.80 m. thick they were quite substantial. A stone superstructure is indicated by the remaining ashlar blocks laid on the cobble foundations. The new chamber measured 2.90 m. x 2.30 m. and was floored with the earlier double layer of red gravel. It seems probable that the white mortar floor observed inside the area of this room was a feature of the southern cell of Building AJ.

Building AJ (Archive 253) was destroyed by fire at the end of this period. Wall plaster in the southern cell collapsed into the top of Ditch BG, and millstones were left in the debris. The destruction of the east side of the building produced an enormous quantity of burnt material (AD 75) in a broad north-south band extending 2.50 m. east of the building (PL. V). The west side collapsed eastwards and the wall dividing the north and south cells appeared to be robbed by a wide shallow trench (AC61) though stakes were burnt *in situ* north of this. Two fallen wall panels of burnt daub flanked a length of burnt post represented by a slot filled with charcoal, and within the eastern mass of charcoal (AC67) were patches of daub (AC53). The internal post-holes in the northern cell of the building (AD65, AD74, AD76, AC87, AC88, AC89) were not filled with burnt material, and in many cases their place in the sequence was uncertain due to a lack of stratigraphic relationships.

Structure AG (Archive 251) was also destroyed by fire at this time, resulting in another thick layer of soot, visually very similar to that from AJ (AD75). This is shown on plan as ZG and ZC52.

Features within boundary ditches

On the north side of Ditch G; Cesspits VV and WW remained partially open, and a group of shallow pits (Z96, Z123, Z132, Z133) and thin layer of charcoal (Z110) were found in this area. Two isolated post holes between Building FF and Ditch MM (AA108, W168) had no obvious function. Further north a shallow trench (BB152) a layer of burnt stones with straight, parallel edges (BB160) and a shallow east-west slot (W203) were found. A shallow slot also occured in the upper fill of the Period 2b cesspit over Gravel Pit AE/AF (AE161).

Features outside boundary ditches

Close to the east side of Ditch MM at the north end was an isolated post hole (AE149/AE153); further south a group of gravel patches accumulated. A patch of pebbles in a gritty soil matrix (P57d, P58, R70, R73) was succeeded by a layer of flat stones in a silt matrix (P57c, P67, R80).

Miscellaneous soil layers

The major horizon in Period 2c was the spread of burnt material from the destruction of Building AJ. This layer decreased in intensity as it spread from its point of origin, but was recognizable up to the edge of Ditch G to the south, as well as up to, and into, Ditch MM (FIGS. 10, 11a; AA116, W125, W129, W111). It did not extend beyond the site boundaries of this phase to any great extent. Due to later disturbances the layer was not traced continuously but its characteristic black, greasy clayey soil could be reconstructed to cover the whole site east of Building AJ.

B. DATING AND FINDS

Coins and pottery

There were no coins in Period 2c layers. Period 2c finds reflect the pottery and objects in use on the Period 2b settlement and thus their examination can only suggest the final terminal date of this period, i.e. the date of the fire and the limited post-fire reconstruction. It has been seen that occupation was initiated in the early Antonine Period, i.e. in the second quarter of the 2nd century. Antonine-late Antonine Samian was found in Yard CC, Ditch MM, Building AJ (destruction layers) and Pits BE (p. 139). The presence of burnished intersecting are decoration on BB1 (Ditch G, Yard CC, Building FF and Building AJ) might suggest that features carried on into the later Antonine Period (Gillam, 1976, 68). While BB1 flanged bowls (Type 89) suggest a late 2nd-early 3rd-century date (Gillam 1976, 70, 72 and Fig 3, 43) in Ditch G and Yard CC. In Ditch G additional support exists to suggest that silting continued into the 3rd century, coming from the presence of Dressel 14 amphora, Type 126, which dates into the 3rd century (Riley, in press, 161), and BB1 sherds decorated with burnished right-angled cross-hatching (Gillam, 1976, 63).

To summarise this it would appear that both the burning of Building AJ and the addition to Building FF after the fire share a *terminus post quem* in the late Antonine Period, reaching into the early-3rd century.

Other finds

Most of the finds in Period 2c are from destruction layers and therefore their period of use lies in Period 2b. (Stone roof tile, building stone, stamped tile, millstones (above pp. 150-6), crucible, lead tank, copper alloy bracelet, and a bone counter). Building stone in the form of tufa and sandstone was found in Ditch G and the destruction layers produced structural evidence for Building AJ especially in the form of daub and large nails (above p. 167). Small finds included two copper alloy brooches.

C. INTERPRETATION

The destruction of Building AJ spread a large amount of burnt material over most of the site providing an important stratigraphic horizon applicable to all areas. The large deposit of redeposited material in the west side of Ditch MM is interpreted as a pushed back bank of upcast. It would appear that the posts founded in Post holes AC in their first phase were withdrawn and dismantled before the upcast was pushed back into the ditch, as the bank material both filled and sealed the holes. It is, however, clear from the addition of new posts that this well defined boundary continued in use and was still unmistakably marked.

The holes and silts of Ditch G are slightly more difficult to interpret, but it seems likely that those with 'Y' grid prefixes were sumps associated with drainage, or the maintenance of water flow.

The main event of Period 2c was the destruction of Building AJ. It is clear from the stratigraphic position of burnt material in Ditch MM and from the presence of

painted plaster derived from the collapse of Building AJ in the foundations of the Building FF secondary extension, that the fire occurred after the pushing back of the upcast into Ditch MM, and before the extension of Building FF. The main spread of burnt material was to the east of Building AJ. It is possible that the intense soot adjacent to the building was fallen burnt thatch. The western and eastern walls were also collapsed to the east. It is possible to conclude from this that during the fire the wind blew from west to east, this would not be surprising as it was observed during excavation that this was the prevailing wind direction. The various small features around Cess Pits VV and WW may represent continued activity associated with these pits. It is possible that the extension of Building FF was designed as a new dwelling room built to replace the structure destroyed in the fire.

9. Period 2: Discussion and Synthesis

Period-phases 2ai-2c reflect subdivisions of the basic Period 2 and represent individual phases of activity within this period. The dating evidence suggests that Period 2 lasted from the late-1st century to the late-2nd century. Period 2ai was the earliest phase associated with Roman Pottery and the earliest material was dated to *c.*A.D. 70-90. The latest material from well sealed deposits of this phase was dated *c.*A.D. 130-40. The latest pottery from well sealed and stratigraphically reliable contexts relating to the Period 2c fire was dated to the late Antonine period providing a *terminus post quem* for the fire. It would appear, therefore, that Romanised occupation of some kind began in the late 1st-early 2nd century, while preparation and construction work for the main complex of Period 2b attested by the gravel extraction operations, was initiated around the middle of the 2nd century. The destruction of this complex by fire took place after *c.*A.D. 180 but possibly not before the close of the century (see Period 3 below). The final event was the construction of the extension to Building FF which post-dated the fire but is otherwise not closely dated.

In view of the Period I ceramic evidence it is necessary to conclude that the very close way in which Ditch LL followed the line of Ditch KK was coincidence. It may be that it was found that the silt of KK was easier to cut into than the natural gravel, and the same may be true of the silts of Stream E. The size of the boundary ditch compared with the meagre evidence for internal structures indicates, to an even greater extent than Period I that the area excavated was the peripheral area of a far larger settlement. If this is so, Period 2b represents a major change, in that structures which can be regarded as the main features of the settlement fell within the area of excavation. It should be noted, however, that the existence of Structure AG to the west indicates that the full extent of the area of occupation was not recovered even in this phase.

The mechanics whereby the gravel pits of Period 2aii prepared the way for Period 2b have already been examined. The plan and structures of Period 2b are of considerable interest. A reconstruction drawing of this phase is given at Fig. 12. This is based on the structural evidence summarised in the discussion of Periods 2b and 2c (above pp. 58-70). Building FF had foundations considerably wider than necessary to support stone walls to a single storey. The massive foundations and paired buttresses which are

a feature of this structure imply considerable height, and three storeys are thus postulated in the reconstruction. This sort of height would not be beyond Roman skill, nor indeed would it have been unusual. The turrets on Hadrian's Wall may have reached this height on less substantial foundation (Breeze and Dobson, 1876, 36), while a corner room in the villa at Gadebridge (Neal, 1974) has been reconstructed as a three-storey structure. Several features point to an interpretation of this structure as a granary. Disproportionately thick walls and paired, well-bonded buttresses are features encountered in military granaries (Gentry, 1976, 15-7) and are intended to counter the enormous lateral thrust exerted by grain stored to considerable height. The fifteen post holes in the floor probably supported a raised floor. This again is a well known feature of military granaries, and the use of timber floor supports in stone built structure is known at Pumpsaint, Carmarthen and Corbridge, Northumberland (Gentry, 1976, 9). Raising the floor ensures a free flow of air beneath, providing that stone walls are fitted with louvred openings. The use of hard red gravel as a surface both inside and outside the building would discourage the attentions of burrowing rodents. This feature is attested both in military contexts (Gentry, 1976, 10) and in villa and civilian granary building where Black (1981, 162-5) has recently proposed a classification of granaries based on the use of impervious flooring. In this classification he includes a thick-walled, buttressed room at the villa of Pitney (Gloucs.) which had already been postulated as a tower granary by Morris (1979, 37). This type of granary, though described by Pliny (*Natural History*, 18-73: 300), does not seem to have been common in Britain. An example from Gorhambury, Herts, however, seems to be a good parallel for the Kenchester building. This structure (Goodburn, 1978, 445) measured 6 m. x 6.5 m. and featured thick walls with two pairs of opposed buttresses. The Gorhambury building superseded a nine-post timber granary of a type well known in Roman Britain (Morris, 1979, 32) and it is possible that any timber predecessor to Building FF was of this type. Both the Gorhambury structure and Building FF were dated to the early-middle 2nd century. A combination of acid soils, and the eventual re-use of Building FF militated against the preservation of any grain and it was thus impossible to state precisely what was being cultivated. It has been suggested above that Building FF was tile roofed. This would mean that some of the tiles used would have been those bearing the RPG stamp (below pp. 164-7).

Building AJ was a rectangular structure divided into living accommodation and byre/storehouse, though the dwelling room with its plastered and painted walls appears to have been an addition. Examples of similar arrangements are difficult to find, though aisled buildings often combine domestic and agrestic functions (Hadman, 1978, 187-97). Most aisled buildings of this type are later in date, though there are 2nd-century examples e.g. at Exning, Suffolk (Richmond, 1969, 65). Evidence for rectangular buildings in general agricultural contexts, however, is not lacking, and in several cases there is evidence for their use as animal housing. The stall with a drain running across the width of the building is paralleled at Rapsley, Surrey (Morris, 1979, 126, Fig. 33d) though a more usual arrangement occurs at Catsgore, Somerset (Morris, 1979, 125, Fig. 34a) where a row of stalls share a common, longitudinally placed drain.

Though grinding stones were attested in all periods on this site, it is significant that in Periods 2b-c all such stones were of the mechanically driven type (below pp. 150-6). In preceding and later periods this type of stone did not occur and all stones were hand-driven querns. All of the Period 2b-c millstones were found within the northern cell of Building AJ, and in its environs (millstones *in situ* in PLS. IV and V). There was no sign of any power source within Building AJ to suggest that it was a mill and it must be concluded that the millstones were in store. The fact that most millstones showed signs of use, however was an indication that a mill existed somewhere close at hand. Vitruvius (*De Architectura,* X: V, i) specified water power as the driving force for mechanical mills. It is clear, however, that where mechanical millstones occur away from convenient water supplies, animal or human power must have been used (Moritz, 1958, 100). At Kenchester there is no need to invoke such a solution as, suggestively, Ditch G was recut to a square section with a firm, hard base at the same time as the millstones appear on the site.

There is considerable evidence for the use of watermills in Britain in the Roman Period. The mills themselves have been found at Ickham and Otford, Kent and at Fullerton, Hants, (Young, 1975, 191) as well as at Chesters and Willowford Bridge on Hadrian's Wall (Simpson, 1979). Spindles from watermills have been found at Silchester (Manning, 1974) and Great Chesterford (Richmond, 1963, 171). In London, on the Walbrook stream, millstones have been postulated as evidence for the existence of 1st-2nd-century watermills (Marsden, 1980, 88) and independent finds of powered millstones have been made on many sites in villas, for example at Whitton (Welfare, 1980), Winterton (Stead, 1976, 230) and Chew Valley Lake (Rahtz and Greenfield, 1977, 201, Fig 96). A mill structure would not necessarily leave substantial traces; the 2nd-century building at Ickham left only three or four piles in the stream bed (Young, 1975, 190). Though no mill structure was found at Kenchester this may have been because time precluded the total excavation of the stream. The presence of a recut stream, a granary building and millstones could be presented as one of the more convincing *prima facie* cases for the existence of a watermill yet found in Britain.

Ditched and banked enclosures reminiscent of Ditch MM have been found in several purely agricultural establishments e.g. at Bays Meadow, Droitwich (Barfield, 1976, 43), Whitton, Glamorgan (Jarret and Wrathmell, 1981) and at Chilgrove, Sussex (Down, 1979, 81). This does not necessarily indicate a defensive function and is probably more concerned with the definition of a property boundary.

The change in focus on the site between Period 2a, and Period 2b suggests that Period 2a, as a peripheral area of the site was more akin to Period I than to Period 2b. This being the case, it might be expected that signs of continuity would be found between Periods I and 2a. The buried Soil SS, however, which lay stratigraphically between the features of the two periods had much in common with the naturally developing subsoil, and was not indicative of any occupation. It is likely that the approximate 100-year gap between Periods I and 2a demonstrated by pottery evidence is correct for this interface, and this would explain the lack of occupation evidence in the silts of Stream E after an initial flurry of activity. The coincidence of boundary

between the two phases would therefore appear to be mere coincidence. It seems that Period 2a was contemporary with the desertion of Credenhill, and it is that phase which might have showed some evidence of the relationship between this event, and the town of *Magnis.* The area of the settlement excavated gave very little help in the analysis of these aspects, however, and the rôle of the site at this crucial phase must remain a field for conjecture.

Aerial photography (Baker, 1966) has shown a ribbon development stretching from *Magnis* as far as the present site. This development has been interpreted as one of the earliest phases in the history of the town. If a fort was sited at *Magnis* (Wilmott, 1980, 120) this may have been part of an extra-mural *vicus;* without a fort it would possibly have been a development of roadside traders based on the main east-west road. In either case it is likely that the site in Period 2a formed part of this development. The dimensions of Ditch LL are perhaps too substantial to be interpreted as a property boundary within such a development, and the possibility remains that the two settlements were considered as separate.

By the mid-late 2nd century the town was defended with earthworks (Heys and Thomas, 1961, 160-1). A change in focus within the town from the crossing of through-routes to a planned intramural crossroad also appears to have occurred (Wilmott, 1980, 123-4). Although earthwork defences do not formalise the limits of a town as do stone walls, it has been suggested that *Magnis* was hereafter limited to its walled area (Wilmott, 1980, 124). Though the Period 2b phase would thus have been separate from the town, there is no doubt that the two sites, lying as they do only 300 m. apart would have been intimately connected economically. The granary, combined with the evidence for a watermill gives evidence for a predominantly arable economy producing grain on an organised scale. The millstones suggest that the produce of the site took the form of flour rather than of raw grain. Flour remains fresh for only two months (Moritz, 1967, 14; Bennion, 1967, 14) suggesting that a milling operation would be sited close to the consumer (Welfare, 1981, 225). While noting that villa mills may have produced supplies for their own estates, Welfare (1981, 225) proposes that large millstones found for example at Caerleon (Lee, 1862, 27) and Caerwent (Ashby *et al,* 1910) show that large centres of population had their own mills. The hand-milling area at Gatcombe (Morris, 1979, 133) probably did not supply a wider area than the villa estate. The Ickham mill is interpreted (Young, 1975, 191) as a military facility because of finds of military objects, and its proximity to Richborough. It seems likely that the consumers of the flour from a Kenchester mill would have been the inhabitants of the town of *Magnis* and the *raison d'etre* for its siting would be the stream. It is probable that a mill sited so near to the market centre would have been used by farmers in the surrounding countryside and not merely for the produce of the land attached to the present site. As there is no evidence until Period 3 of any interest in the land to the south, the site in this period may have been a purely service establishment. A more controversial point relates to whether such a mill would be privately or officially run. The importance of the facility might suggest the latter. Of considerable interest in this context are the tiles stamped RPG which appear during this phase, and which are interpreted as part of the

roofing for Building FF. These tiles are discussed below (pp. 164-7). The die is identical to some of those from St. Oswalds Priory, Gloucester and RPG (*Res Publica Glevensum*) is the stamp of the *Glevum* civic authority (Heighway & Parker, 1982, 62). Though historical conclusions can be only tentatively suggested from such evidence there is a possibility that the *colonia* played a *rôle* in the establishment of an official food production centre. Whether such a *rôle* was concerned with organisation, or merely with the supply of building materials in the normal course of trade cannot be decided. It is also possible that the tiles formed ballast in a boat plying up the Severn and the Wye and that they were reused on landing. The recent suggestion that the Dobunni might have been given the land around *Magnis* as compensation for the establishment of the territorium of the *colonia,* however, might suggest that, as well as the land itself, the *colonia* gave material help in the establishment of services.

The destruction of the Period 2b buildings by fire compares with evidence of a late-2nd-century fire in *Magnis*. The dating for the latter horizon is not, however, firm, and it is not possible to associate these conflagrations. Though some post-fire renovation took place in Period 2c, in the shape of new additions to Building FF, the fire appears to have ended the effective Period 2 occupation, leaving the site to change character and function in Period 3.

10. Period 3

A. Description

Features of this period are shown in plan on Fig. 14.

Boundaries

On the south side of the site Ditch G was almost totally silted up, and the broad, shallow residual hollow was crossed in two places. At the east end was Path M (Archive 207, Pl. VI), consisting of stones, most of which showed signs of wear, trodden into the south bank and bottom of the hollow. A hipposandal was found nearby. Path AA (Archive 233) to the west consisted of a series of stone-filled hollows linked with irregular stone spreads. Still further to the west the nature of the top of the ditch was changed with the creation of Trough Y and Leat W (below).

On the east side the area of the settlement of Period 2 was substantially increased by the changing of the boundary line from Ditch MM to Ditch A. Ditch A (Archive 200) lay 11 m. east of Ditch MM. It was largely cut away by the later Ditch B, but was traced as a survival in the west edge of Ditch B for a length of 3.50 m. There was no evidence as to whether it followed the same course as the later ditch by turning westwards to form a southern boundary, nor was a satisfactory parallel established to the west.

Buildings

Three stone buildings were in use in this period. Two were new additions and Building FF continued in use. Building FF was again extended on its north side adding a new cell to the north-east corner. The west wall of this extension was butted onto the

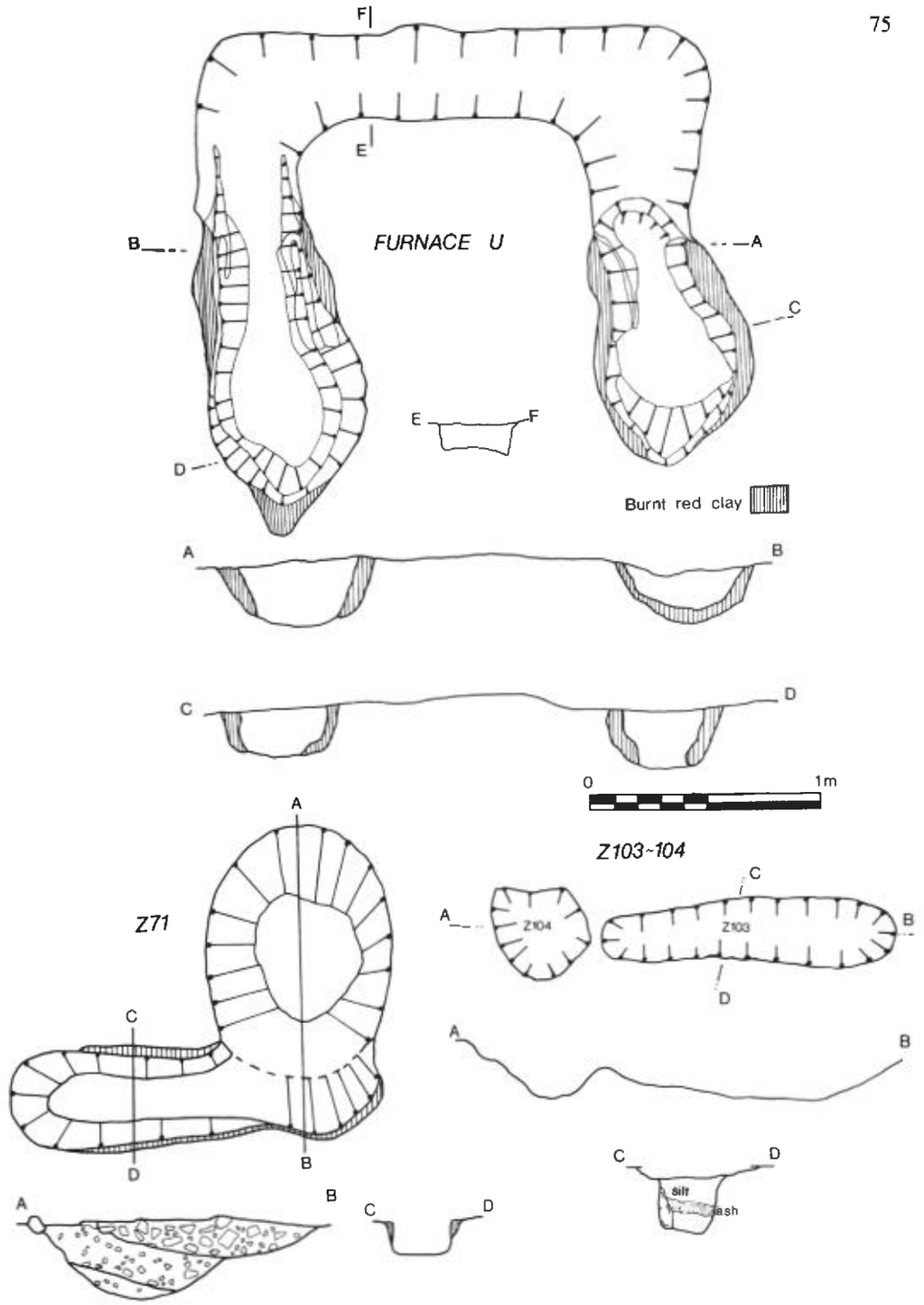


Fig. 15
Ironworking furnaces; a, Furnace U: b,c, furnaces inside Building T

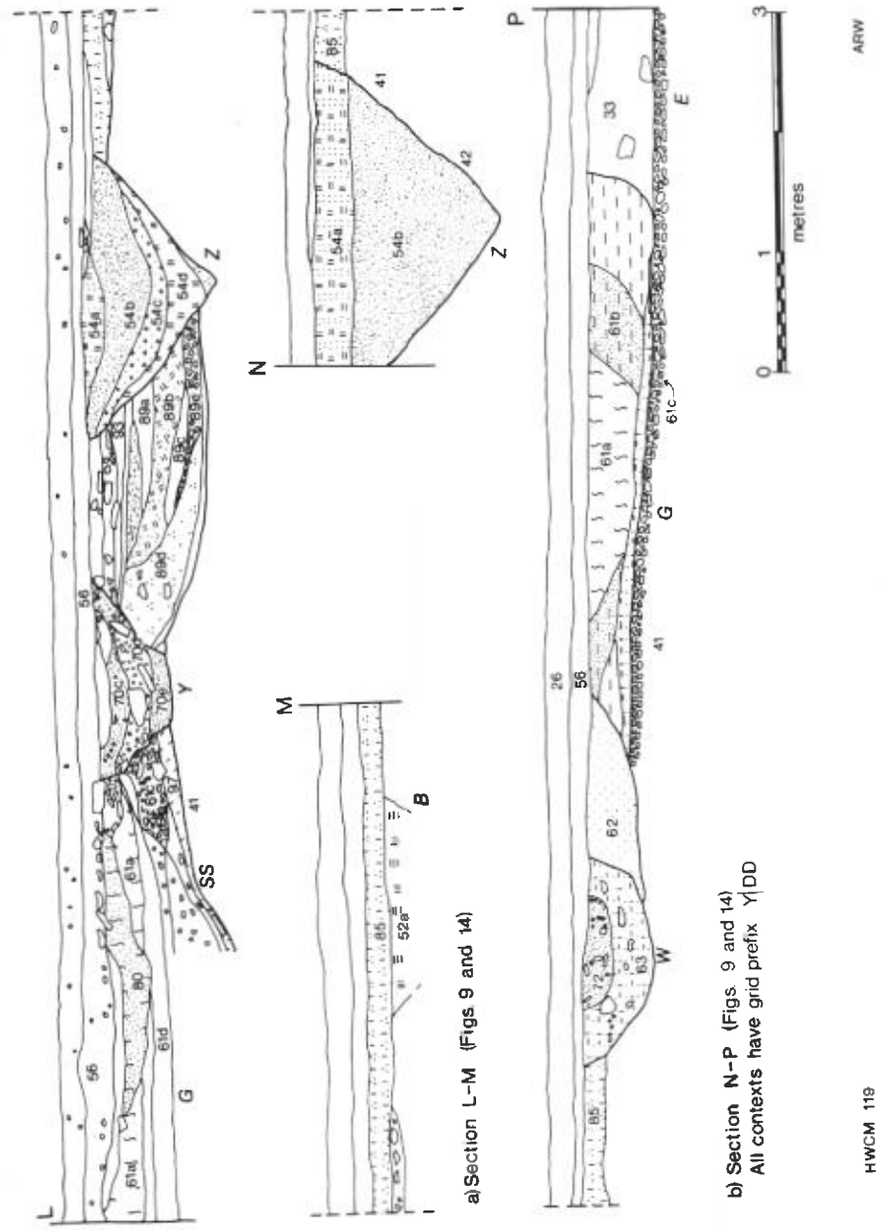
Period 2c extension, the north wall of which was thickened with a further stretch of cobble foundations shallower than the original. This new extension was built of stone blocks on a foundation of cobbles set in clay, a form of construction also characteristic of Building M (below). It was set at a slight angle to the alignment of the earlier phases of the structure. Flooring of mortar was laid, and the cell measured 3.50 m. square internally. Within the main granary structure a mortar floor was laid over the early post-sockets. Patches of rubble (GG85, AC57) were probably associated with building operations.

To the south of Building FF was a rectangular building constructed on foundations of deep, closely-packed river cobbles (Building T: Archive 216); there is no evidence for any superstructure except the presence of mortar on top of the cobbles of the west wall, which may suggest stone walls. The single room measured 5 m. x 9 m. internally. It had no floor but the natural ground surface and was used for iron working. Three small furnaces containing oxidised clay linings and iron slag (FIG. 15) were found associated with a number of pits including one large rectangular pit with a stone lining. In the north-west corner of the building a pit was associated with a gully which ran southwards from it. The top of the earlier Cess Pit WW was filled with cobbles (Z69) in order to make the ground firm for the construction of the south-west corner of the building.

The main addition in Period 3 was a winged building, Building M (Archive 211), of which the north wing was not totally excavated as it lay in a public bridleway to the north of the site and outside the main area of threat. Three phases of this building were identified in Period 3. The chief criterion for these sub-phases which are summarised in FIG. 23 was the construction and abandonment of 'T'-shaped corn dryer, Corn Dryer AD (Archive 245, PL. IX) situated in Room XIV which was itself an addition to the original plan.

The central range and the north-south axis of Building M was built over Ditch MM. By the time this construction took place the ditch had almost completely silted up. (The top of silting when Building M was constructed is shown in the published sections as follows: FIG. 11a, top of U75b; FIGS. 10, 11b, top of W174; FIGS. 19a, b; AE113). Where walls crossed the ditch (PLS. VII and IX) foundations were of large, rough-cut stones set in clay. Between the walls, after the foundations had been laid, the residual hollow in the top of Ditch MM was backfilled with a mixture of yellow clay, gravel and mortar, rubble and builders' debris (FIG. 11b, W94, W174; FIG. 10, W162, W109b: FIGS. 19a, b; AE124). A number of other small features were interpreted as being associated with the construction of Building M. At the west end of the south wing were three rough pits or post holes with a fourth pit outside the walls (BB146, 143, 147, 168). These holes were stratigraphically associated with the construction phase of the building. In Area V a number of working features, mostly burnt pits (V157, V106, W117a, W172), were similarly associated.

The *walls* of Building M were founded on trenches packed with cobbles in yellow clay, with a superstructure of ashlar-faced blocks around a rubble core, offset slightly inwards after the first course — the surviving facing blocks are shown in plan. The *floors*



a) Section L–M (Figs 9 and 14)

b) Section N–P (Figs. 9 and 14)
All contexts have grid prefix Y|DD

HWCM 119

FIG. 16
Sections located as L-M and N-P on period plans FIGS. 9, 14

of the building were well preserved in this period and the nature of most Period 3 floor surfaces is noted in FIG. 14.

The central range of the building was altered on a number of occasions. The south wing remained the same, and there was little evidence of any alterations in the north wing. The original plan (FIG. 22a) was added to by the provision of an annexe, Room XIV. No facing stones of the walls of this room survived, but the cobble foundations were deeper than the originals and were butted against the eastern exterior wall foundations. In these phases the combined room XI/XII was floored with white mortar through which the stoke-hole of Corn Dryer AD was cut. The flue of this oven was broken through the eastern wall and lined with clay laid over the original foundations. The wall was refaced around the flue, and the mortars in the original wall and the flue-facing were distinctly different. Burning on the bottom of the flue showed that the oven had been used, and there was a great deal of sooty residue in the flue. The oven appears to have been roofed with red clay mounted on a wooden framework, and this collapsed back into the flue when the oven fell out of use. The next development was the abandonment of the corn dryer and the division of rooms XI and XII with a stone wall which cut the debris in the stoke-hole of the oven. A butt joint of this wall survived at the western end. In room XI an *opus signinum* floor was laid, while room XII retained its original mortar floor. Room XIII included a circular, stone-lined setting with an area of hard trampled clay around it (AE142). In this was found one of the two oolitic limestone column bases from the site (FIG. 40; finds report No. 16).

Area V was floored with yellow clay overlying the top fills of Ditch MM. A mortar floor on top of this survived in places (W78 and W119), while in the north-east corner of the room the clay floor was worn away. The basic clay floor was extensively worn and patched. W69 was a red clay and charcoal patch on the east side and a further burnt clay patch (W126) covered two small burnt pits on the south side (W161 and W180) of which the former contained large quantities of calcined sheep bone.

An approach to the centre of the west side of the central range was indicated by a path of small pebbles tightly packed in gritty soil (Path BF: Archive 273).

Features north of Building FF and west of Building M

North of Building FF and west of Building M was a shallow ditch with a 'V'-shaped profile running north from the north-west corner of Building FF, Drain AY (Archive 267). From the north-east corner of Building FF, Road AK (Archive 254) ran northwards. It consisted of two longitudinal slots and a series of latitudinal timber stains on top of the Period 2c burnt material from Building AJ. This sealed the burning almost immediately after the Period 2c fire. Over the burning of Building AG, to the west was a layer of red gravel (ZC, ZG51).

Between Building M and Road AK the ground surface was a stony buff clay (AD79, AE150) preceded in places by a clay surface (AD74). On the west side of AK, at the south end was a patch of tile and stone (AD90), while at the north end were a pair of tiles on edge (AD93). Off the north-east corner of Building FF, at the south edge of AK was a patch of orange-red clay.

Features east of Building M

A semicircular shallow ditch, Enclosure L (Archive 210) associated with several larger post holes set at intervals along its length ran from the south-east corner of the Building M annexe (Room XIV) to the south-east corner of the main building, with entrances against the building and also to the east. Within this enclosure was a collection of amorphous root holes (Hedge J, Archive 208), and a series of flagstone surfaces (Surface K, Archive 209) set on gravel with dark silt in the interstices. Around this concentration of flat stones were more general areas of rubble. Several isolated post holes were also found within this enclosure (R79, R78, R56).

Features south of Building M

South of the western end of Building M's south wing was a circular patch of red gravel (AA52). In general the area between Building T and Building M was covered with clayey soil containing small stones (AA53, AA114) overlying the Period 2c ground surfaces which were heavily stained with burning (AA63). Some gravelly mortar was laid down (AA131) on the south side of Room VI. Over Ditch MM, south of Building M a crossing (Path ZZ: Archive 245) was made by placing a series of large flat stones and gravel on top of the Period 2c silt (V135). At a later date the area was repaved with cobbling (V131, V132).

Features east of Building T

Between Building T and Ditch A was a dense group of features, including a large, double-flued furnace (Furnace U: Archive 217: FIG. 15). In the area south of the furnace was an oval depression (U85). Around the furnace were a deep, subrectangular pit (Pit P: Archive 213), a shallow slot between this and the furnace (U79), three hard-packed stone standings (U73, U87, U83), a post hole (U77) and a patch of tile and mortar (U78). Between Ditch A and Building T lay an east-west ditch (Ditch V: Archive 218). To the north, a shorter east-west ditch (Ditch N: Archive 212) separated this area from Enclosure L. This ditch was filled from west to east in a series of tips, largely comprising builders' rubble. It predated Ditch A, which cut it, causing slumping (P70) into Ditch A. Between Ditch A and Building M, the area which had not been included in the settlement in previous phases, all features were founded on or cut into the natural clay subsoil and a trodden and disturbed layer was accumulated on the top of this (N27). A large number of root holes existed along the west side of Ditch A (P70, N70, N62, N63, N68, M62), an isolated post hole lay near Ditch N (P68) and a long east-west alignment of staining lay to the south of the area (U71, N64).

Two graves were tentatively assigned to this period, but were not well stratified. Grave HH (Archive 230; PL. XI) could not date from an earlier period than Period 3 as tesserae were found in its fill. It is highly unlikely that this was a Period 4 inhumation as the grave would then be inside a building. The grave was aligned north-south and lay outside Building T. Grave R was aligned east-west and the skeleton was that of a middle-aged man. (For details of human remains see Archive 119 and microfiche 2, 15-24). In neither grave were there traces of coffins or grave goods.

South of Building T

From beyond the southern boundary of the site, a road composed of thick cobbling with a central drainage ditch (Road XX; Archive 243) approached the site, leading to a series of features dug into the top of the silted Ditch G. A trough (Trough Y; Archive 221, PL. X) whose square section and straight sides predicated a timber lining, was surrounded by semicircular standings of heavy cobbles with some building rubble on the north and south sides. Leading to this trough was Leat W (Archive 219), which was frequently recut within the Ditch G silts, and was itself silted with material of a similar character (Section FIG. 16a). Between this complex and Building T were two post holes (Z78, Z75/83).

Field Ditches

A series of field ditches (ZB56, ZC102, ZC103, ZC104, ZD51) averaging 0.80 m. wide and 0.50 m. deep were located to the south of the excavated area and were traced in mechanical test trenches (FIG. 1). Of the very few abraded potsherds found in these field ditches none pre-dated Period 3 or post-dated the Roman period.

B. FINDS AND DATING

Coins and Pottery

There were three coins in the features of Period 3 which, when correlated with pottery dates were found to be residual. Period 3 would appear to continue immediately on from Period 2c. Dating is somewhat problematic but a general *terminus post quem* in the first-half of the 3rd century can be suggested for most features by the presence of burnished obtuse angled cross-hatching on BBI (Gillam 1976, 63). Some features may be earlier (Ditch A; Building MI, walls; Building T, walls; Building FF, tertiary floors, this is uncertain given the dating of Yard CC in Period 2c; and Path BF; see p. 69), but this may only be due to lack of evidence. More precisely dated features include the robber trenches of Building FF (Oxfordshire white ware mortaria, Type 136, *c.*A.D. 180-240, microfiche), Ditch N and therefore its associated features (Lower Germany mortaria, Fabric 1, Type 134, A.D. 170-240, p. 00) and features associated with Building T (coin dating to A.D. 271). Of the pottery which can be closely dated, the latest evidence comes from an Oxfordshire white ware mortarium (Type 143, A.D. 240-300, microfiche). This vessel came from the badly-sealed destruction layer of Building AJ and might therefore be intrusive from Period 4. It is possible that other features contain late-3rd or 4th-century BBI but this cannot be stated with precision. A long occupation sequence is suggested, generally falling between *c.* A.D. 200-300.

Other Finds

Ordinary agricultural and building types of object continued including stone and ceramic roof tile (Building T and Trough Y), daub (Building T), slag, iron tools and fittings. Building stone includes a finely-tooled oolite column base (below p. 158, No. 16). The roof tile included for the first time on the site the LHS stamp from the Cirencester region (below pp. 162-4). In the Trough Y area were hand querns and furnace lining was ubiquitous on the site, with a centre of distribution around Building T and Furnace U.

Tesserae were also widely found in features of this period, though no pavements were found *in situ*. There was a large increase in the number of objects of domestic and toilet use, as well as articles of personal adornment including shale bracelets, stone counters, copper alloy pins, worked bone, including pins, needles and decorative mounts. There were also many iron tools and implements.

C. INTERPRETATION

The interpretation of the features of Period 3 is largely completed when contexts have been resolved into groupings representing structures and an assessment of their internal and external surfaces. This process has been completed above, and a synthesis of the period including the analysis of external parallels to all structures and activities is presented with syntheses of Periods 4 and 5 as section 12 of this report. It remains to interpret some of the less self-explanatory structures.

Road AK directly overlay soot from the period 2c fire. Its interpretation as a wooden path is directly related to this. The soot was sealed well and did not weather or wash out, but the surfaces above were clearly not laid until Period 4. The road consisted of two side beam slots, one on each side of the block of soot (PL. V) which was crossed by vestigial traces of cross-beams. These are interpreted as the traces of joists supporting planks laid as a roadway. The timber traces were too shallow for a building, and there were no floor traces above the soot. The path ran directly to Building FF and a subsidiary offshoot of small pebble metalling, Path BF led to the middle of the frontage of Building M. The same methods of construction were used for all of the stone structures, and despite extensive later robbing it appears likely that all were entirely stone built. Most of the foundations were substantial, especially these placed in the earlier ditches. Large quantities of rubble and roof-tile contrast with an almost total paucity of daub. Tile seems to have been the roofing medium for Building M. There was no evidence of tiles for Building T, which might thus have been thatched. Signs of some sophistication in Building M appear in the presence of tufa as a building material, some painted plaster, and floors of tesserae and *opus signium*.

The chief function of Building T appears to have been connected with metalworking. The iron-working furnaces and the large stone-lined pit, possibly used to quench hot iron suggest a smithing industry. Furnace U operated outside and was associated with Pit P, in which furnace debris was deposited. It appears that the outside metalworking area around the furnace was delineated by Ditches V and N.

There is no doubt about the phasing of Enclosure L, Hedge J and Surface K with Period 3. J and L seemed to be set around Surface K, which did not extend beyond the enclosure to the east, or beyond the root holes which constituted J. It is possible that this represents a garden or terraced area enclosed with a fence set in Enclosure L and a hedge represented by J. The subsoil was disturbed extensively within the enclosure predicating the sort of spade cultivation activity seen in areas of Roman garden at Warwick Square, London (Marsden, 1980, 66) and at Fishbourne, Sussex (Cunliffe, 1971, 123-6).

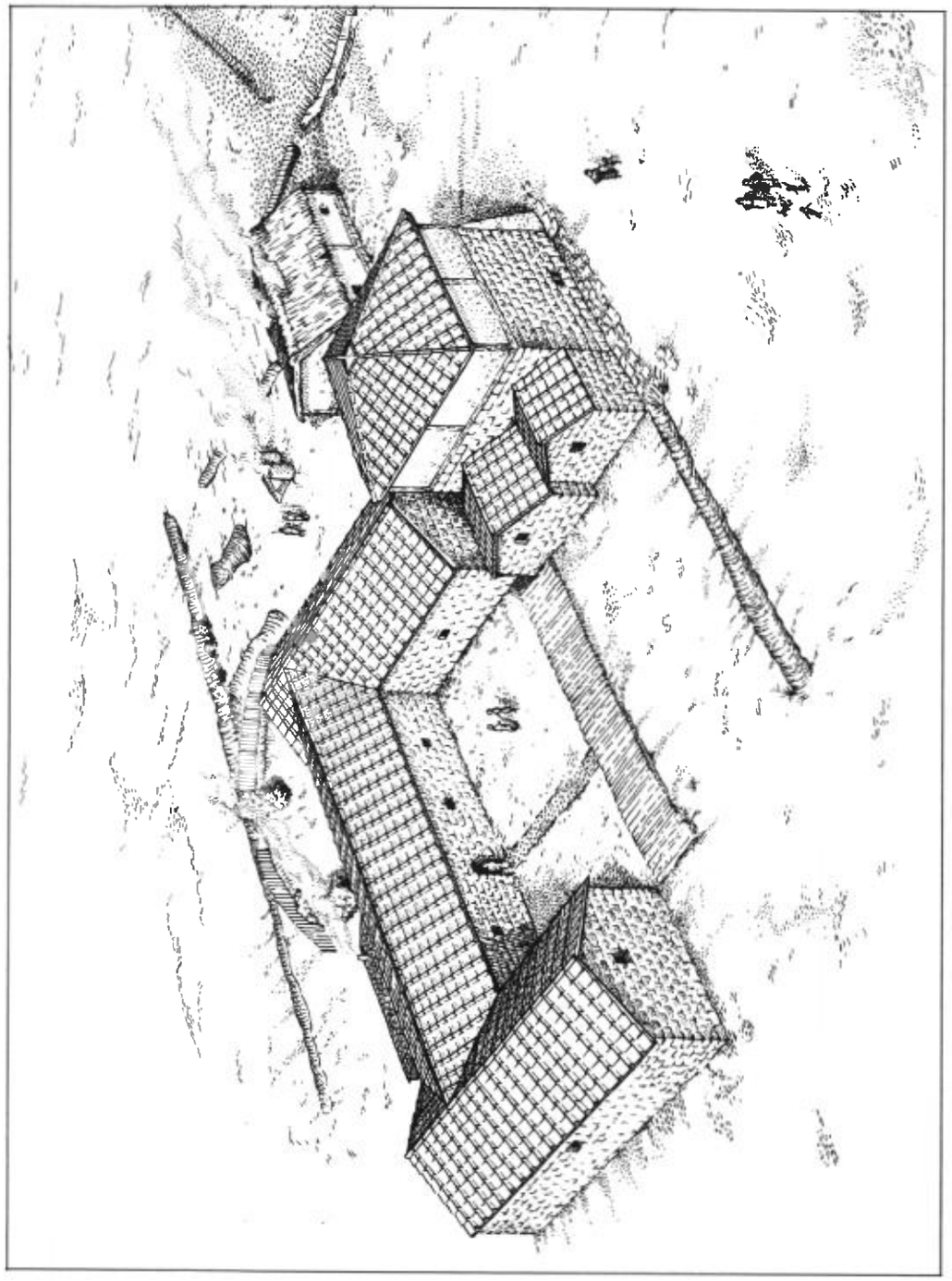


FIG. 17 Conjectural reconstruction of the site in Period 3. Drawn by John Pearson

Road XX provided a new means of access to the site from a direction not attested in any other period. It is this which notionally connects the field ditches to the south with Period 3. Trough Y and Leat W seem to have been attempts to ensure a continued water supply on the site after the silting of Ditch G.

11. PERIOD 4

A. DESCRIPTION

The features of this Period are shown in FIG. 18.

Boundary

The eastern north-south boundary ditch of Period 3, Ditch A, was replaced by a deeper and wider ditch, Ditch B (Archive 201) which followed the same course. The ditch had a width of 2-2.5 m., and an average depth of 1 m. with a 'V'-shaped profile. It followed the line of Ditch A further southwards and turned through 65° to run south of east-west, cutting Road XX. The turn of the ditch coincides with the cut through the silts of Ditch G (PL. VI). Beyond Road XX the course of the ditch was not clear, though it may be identified with ditches JJ25/52 and PP25/52. Ditch MM56 may be the western return of this ditch, finds and fill were similar. This correlation, however, was not secure. At three points around the boundary line the ditch was modified for access. Road XX (Archive 243), the primary phase of which was cut by Ditch B, was renewed by backfilling part of the ditch with stones. To the north-east were a pair of shallow, broad slots set on each side of the ditch (Bridge C; Archive 202). To the south-west of Building T, after Ditch B had become substantially silted up, stones were laid across the ditch in the bottom of a shallow, flat-bottomed feature. (Hollow Way S, Archive 215). There were a number of small pits and root holes in association with Ditch B, three shallow depressions on the east side (K58, K59, K60), three irregular pits further east (J53, K54, J39, J60) and a number of small pits or holes (K52, K55, K57, N52, M58, M59, M60, M61, T56). On the west side of the ditch were an isolated post hole to the north (K53) and two pits cutting the edge (N60 and N66). In the top fill of the ditch west of the turn was a patch of stones (see plan).

Buildings

The three stone buildings of Period 3 continued in use, but in altered forms. Building M (Archive 211) was the most drastically altered structure.

There was no evidence for reconstruction in the north wing, though a mosaic pavement laid in one room is allocated to Period 4.

The south wing underwent a radical change with the shifting of all areas to the south by 1.50 m. This was achieved by the removal of the earlier northern and southern walls in their entirety and the construction of new ones very slightly offset to the west. A buttress was added to the south-east corner, and a semicircular apse added to the east end (Room I). The line of the Period 3 wall between rooms V and VIII became the new

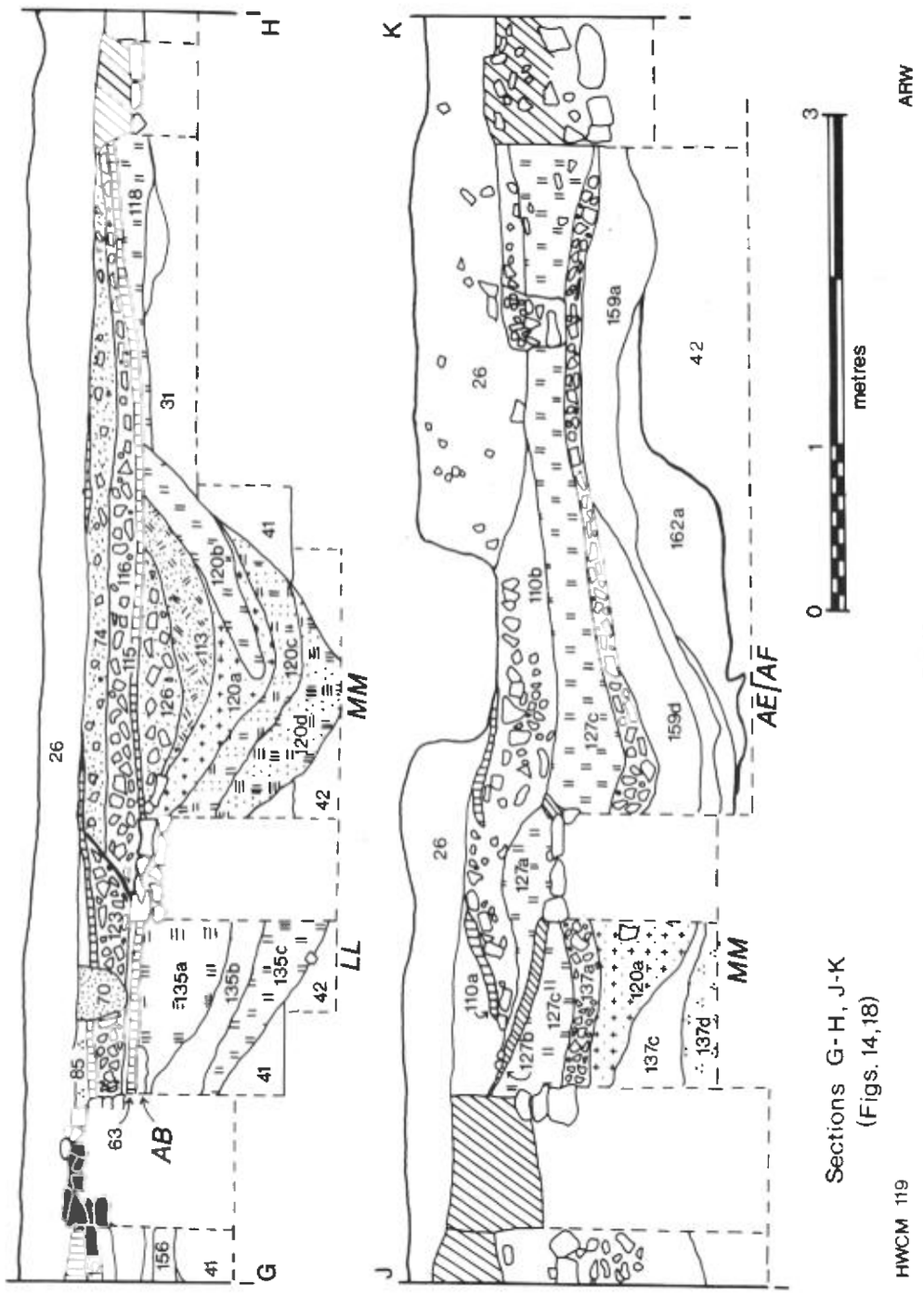


FIG. 19
West-east sections located as G-H and J-K on period plans FIGS. 14, 18

northern wall to the wing, while in room VII the subsidiary wall at the west end went out of use and the wall between rooms VI and VII was replaced by a new one slightly to the west. The foundation of the new walls, as far as can be determined, was different from that of Period 3 in that they had no cobble foundations, but consisted of large sandstone blocks (PL. VII for contrast in styles). Over Ditch MM large boulders were put in to strengthen the foundations (V150; PLS. VI, VIII). Where stone robbers completely emptied a wall trench it is interpreted as indicating a wall with reusable blocks as foundations, and is attributed to Period 4.

Room I was floored with yellow clay (W95, for surviving extent see plan) laid over the Period 3 Surface K and two small burnt pits were cut into it (W134). This clay was later covered with pebbly soil. In Room V the razed early south wall was covered with smoothed rubble and mortar demolition debris (W160) over which was spread yellow clay. A cream mortar floor (W75) was bedded on this clay and formed the foundation for a small mosaic fragment (W72). Subsequently this area had a complex series of floors which are described in detail in Archive 211. Of note is the way in which floor surfaces and pits alternated, and the fact that at least five separate flooring operations, very probably more, demonstrably post-dated the mosaic.

The flooring of the rest of the south wing was not changed, consisting largely of beaten or trodden earth. A patch of yellow clay was noted in the centre of Room VII.

The central range of the building was also very drastically altered. In Rooms VIII and X the eastern wall of the Period 3 north-south corridor was removed and robbed out (FIG. 19a) and the dividing wall between the rooms was extended to meet the western exterior wall of the range. This wall was bonded in to the east, but was butted against the exterior wall. In Room XIII yellow clay floor make-up was laid over the footings of the razed wall and was at least partly covered with a mortar floor (see plan for remaining extent: FIG. 19b). Room XII was very complicated, and was essentially an L-shaped room. West of Rooms X and XI the Period 3 corridor remained intact. Unlike the wall between Rooms XII and XIII, the wall between XI and XII was not extended to cut off the corridor which thus became part of Room XII. The line of the corridor wall was, however, retained in Room XII by two column bases placed along it. Rubble from demolition was placed as a surface over the extended area (AE116) and tip lines indicate that further, different rubble was brought in to complete the job (AE123, AE74: see section FIG. 19a). As in Room V yellow clay (AE93) and mortar (AE68) was laid on the floor. Several tesserae were found bedded on the mortar floor around the two column bases. Again like Room V, Room XII experienced several complex floor repair and pit digging operations after the laying of mosaic. Gravel was used to patch the floor (AE85), and AE70 constituted a pit which contained a complete 4th-century flagon and which was sealed by a plug of mortar and flat stones in order to effect a further floor repair.

The *opus signium* floor in Room XI was replaced by cream mortar laid on rubble which was used to compensate for considerable subsidence. The mortar was similar to that used as mosaic bedding in Rooms XII and V. Room X was enlarged to the south by the removal of the earlier northern wall of the south wing. The flooring did not

survive, though to the south there was a layer of stone and dark soil (W116) below a clay bedding layer (W84) which might suggest a similar sequence to those in Rooms XII, XIII and V.

A new wall was erected running around the whole frontage of Building M except for the western ends of the wings, forming a corridor (AS; Archive 261) 1.5 m. wide. The wall consisted of ashlar blocks laid on very shallow cobble foundations. The wall butted against the north-east corner of Building FF extending the corridor southwards between the two buildings. The entrance into this corridor lay in its open end between the corridor wall and the south wall of the north wing of Building M. This entrance was later blocked by a shallowly founded wall which butted onto the earlier walls. A new entrance attested by a heavily-worn threshold was pierced through in the northern interior angle at the corridor walls. The floor of the corridor consisted of coarse cream mortar (W110, BB112, AD69, AE64, AE81) which was patched with gravel (BB82, BB119, BB121, BB75, AE80) and sandstone rubble (AE80).

North of Building FF and between the wings of Building M lay Courtyard EE (Archive 227). This was constructed over Road AK. Sandstone rubble (AD70, AD71, AD72) was roughly laid to make up hollows in the ground. This was covered with a series of surfaces; firstly flat, crushed stone roofing slate (AD53, AD68) and secondly red gravel (AD54) which was heavily patched with mortar (BB112, AD52, AD53, AD56, AD65, AD89, AE67) and stone (BB75, BB84, AD52, AD66, AE84). An area of heavily-worn large sandstone blocks (AD60) lay bedded in these surfaces. It may be that these represented an access route from the north along the line of Road AK in Period 3.

A number of small features were also associated with Building M. Outside the north-east corner was a large shallow hollow (AF69) whose function was not determined. South of this was a group of rubbish pits (AF59, AF63, AF64). Near the south-east corner were two shallow, flat-bottomed features filled with burnt clay and stones.

Building T (Archive 214) was altered also. The eastern wall was demolished and covered with fine rubble (Z97). The Period 3 rectangular structure was expanded into a square. On the west side a buttress was added and an eaves-drip gully was laid along the west side. The Period 3 furnaces were filled in and no further internal features were added. Outside the north-east corner was a dump of pebbly soil laid against the wall (V80) and a dump of stones (AA59/U57). West of the building was a group of post holes (EE62, EE63, EE64, EE65), two rough, shallow pits (EE58, EE65) and a slot running parallel to the eaves-drip (EE140, EE67). The west wall of the building was covered in mortar with traces of stone superstructures.

Building FF (Archive 228) was reduced to a single cell which joined the new wall of Corridor AS. Within the room, over the mortar floor was a layer of rubble and silt (GG55, BB66) while similar rubble was found in the angle between this room and Courtyard EE. (BB91). On the south side of the structure a grit floor or exterior surface (GG63) covered the mortar floor of Period 3 and a mortar patch on Gravel AH (BB111). The grit layer also overlay robber trenches associated with the demolition of the main room and north-western cell of Building FF.

Other features

South of Building FF and west of Building T, Ditch BB (Archive 224), a broad (2 m.), 'V'-profile ditch 0.40 m.-0.50 m. deep was cut through Yard CC to run east-west. The ditch turned in a dog-leg around the north-west corner of Building T, running east-west between Building M and T as a flat-bottomed, stone-lined drain (Drain RR: Archive 237), 0.80 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep. The flow was east-west running from a broad, shallow gully and sump between Building M and Building T (Gully GG; Archive 229). This drain was later abandoned and Ditch BB filled with black silt with a high proportion of finds, probably resulting from refuse disposal (FF51a, GG60). The lining of Drain RR was removed and it was covered with a sequence of pebble surfaces (AA61, AA64, AA65, AA78, FF65). On the south side of Ditch BB was a row of massive boulders (FF57) and a patch of stones on top of the fill (FF55), while on the north side was a patch of large stones extending over the edge of the ditch (GG62, GG91). Over all of the latter features was a widespread layer of dark silt filled with pottery, and probably consisting of rubbish (Midden DD/BD; Archive 226 and 248).

South of Building T the Trough Y/Leat W complex underwent several changes; the cobbled area around the trough was expanded on both sides (see Archive 221 for details) and joined to Building T by a small stone path (Path X; Archive 220). A 'V'-shaped ditch (Ditch Z; Archive 222, PL. IX) 1.10 m. deep was cut across the south side, destroying the connection between the trough and the cobbled road to the south which was also cut by Ditch B (FIG. 16b). Various layers of silt accumulated between the layers of cobbles around Trough Y (Y93) and the constant resurfacing (FIG. 16) seemed to indicate a steady, long period of use for the feature.

Trough Y could not have provided all of the water in this phase, as a well (Well BA: Archive 269) was dug to the west of the occupied zone. The well, shown with its construction cone in plan, was stone lined and was 0.80 m. in diameter.

Two ditches (ZB53 and ZC58) and a massive post hole (MM61) found in mechanical trenches west of the area excavation could not be readily interpreted. The principal addition to the general soil accumulation in this period consisted of an occupation layer of dark, gritty soil within the area enclosed by Ditch B, found over most of the area between the ditch and the buildings (M67, N54, N55, N61, N65, N67, P54, P59, P74, P75, P76, U27b).

B. DATING AND FINDS

Coins and Pottery

There were fourteen coins in features of Period 4. Six were residual, dated A.D. 251-75, seven were dated *c.* A.D. 326-50, and one A.D. 351-75. Of the second group, four were found in the construction pit of Well BA, though there were no other significant groups.

Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware (Types 92, 99, 100, 119, microfiche), Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated mortaria (Type 140, microfiche) and body

sherds of Oxfordshire white colour-coated mortaria (Young, 1977, 120-2) provide the dating for this period. They suggest a general date range of *c.* A.D. 240 or 270-440 + for most features (Ditch B, Hollow way S, Trough Y, Ditch BB, Courtyard EE, Midden DD, and Period 4 features of Building M, with the date for Midden BD being slightly earlier than *c.* A.D. 300). A very small quantity of pottery was recovered from Well BA, but the latest coin from its construction pit was dated A.D. 341-6. There is no stratigraphic evidence that the well construction was contemporary with the major reconstruction of Building M. The general *terminus post quem* for Period 4 of *c.* A.D. 240-70 combined with evidence in Period 3 suggest a date for the beginning of Period 4 of *c.* A.D. 300. The problem of the end of Period 4 and of occupation on site is intimately connected with the dating of Hollow way S, the stratigraphic significance of which is noted below (p. 90). Though pottery from this feature gives it a date within the general range of Period 4, a number of coins provide a different picture. The Hollow way was worn through P27a which sealed layer P59. In layer P59 were three coins of A.D. 269-71 (CO10), A.D. 341-6 (CO8) and A.D. 367-75 (CO7). The latter is the latest stratified coin on the site and was in slightly worn condition. The upper fill of Ditch B, which is also cut by Hollow way S produced a coin dated A.D. 337-41, also in slightly worn condition (CO4). These coins give a *terminus post quem c.* A.D. 375 for the wearing of the Hollow way, and a probability that it lasted in use until the early-5th century or later. The *terminus post quem* derived from coins for the construction of Well BA, of A.D. 341-6 might indicate that the well too lasted in use for a long time.

Other Finds

Building materials in Period 4 included stone roof tile (Ditch BB and Courtyard EE), a considerable amount of tufa (Ditch B, Ditch BB, Building FF), daub, ceramic roof tile, and lead flashing. Tesserae were found in large quantities. Three hand querns were found, two near Trough Y, while furnace lining and slag were found, probably residually from Period 3. There were a large number of iron-building aids and tools and a few whetstones. Personal and toilet objects were more frequent than in Period 3, including shale bracelets, *ligulae,* brooches, stone counters, bone needles and pins and a piece of carved bone inlay.

C. INTERPRETATION

Like Period 3, of which Period 4 was a modification, the major aspect of interpretation is the resolution of contexts into buildings and exterior surfaces. There are some aspects of internal phasing in this period which are interpretive, however, and the functions of other structures are not clear. It seems likely that Building M was largely still stone walled and roofed with ceramic tile. Collapsed material in Corridor AS, however, suggests that this part of the building was roofed with stone tiles. The shallow foundations of the exterior walls of Corridor AS were not adequate to support stone walls, and it is likely that the wall supported dwarf columns on which the roof was built, leaning against the wall of Building M. The area between the wings of Building M appears to have been formalised in the laying out of Courtyard EE. The extension of

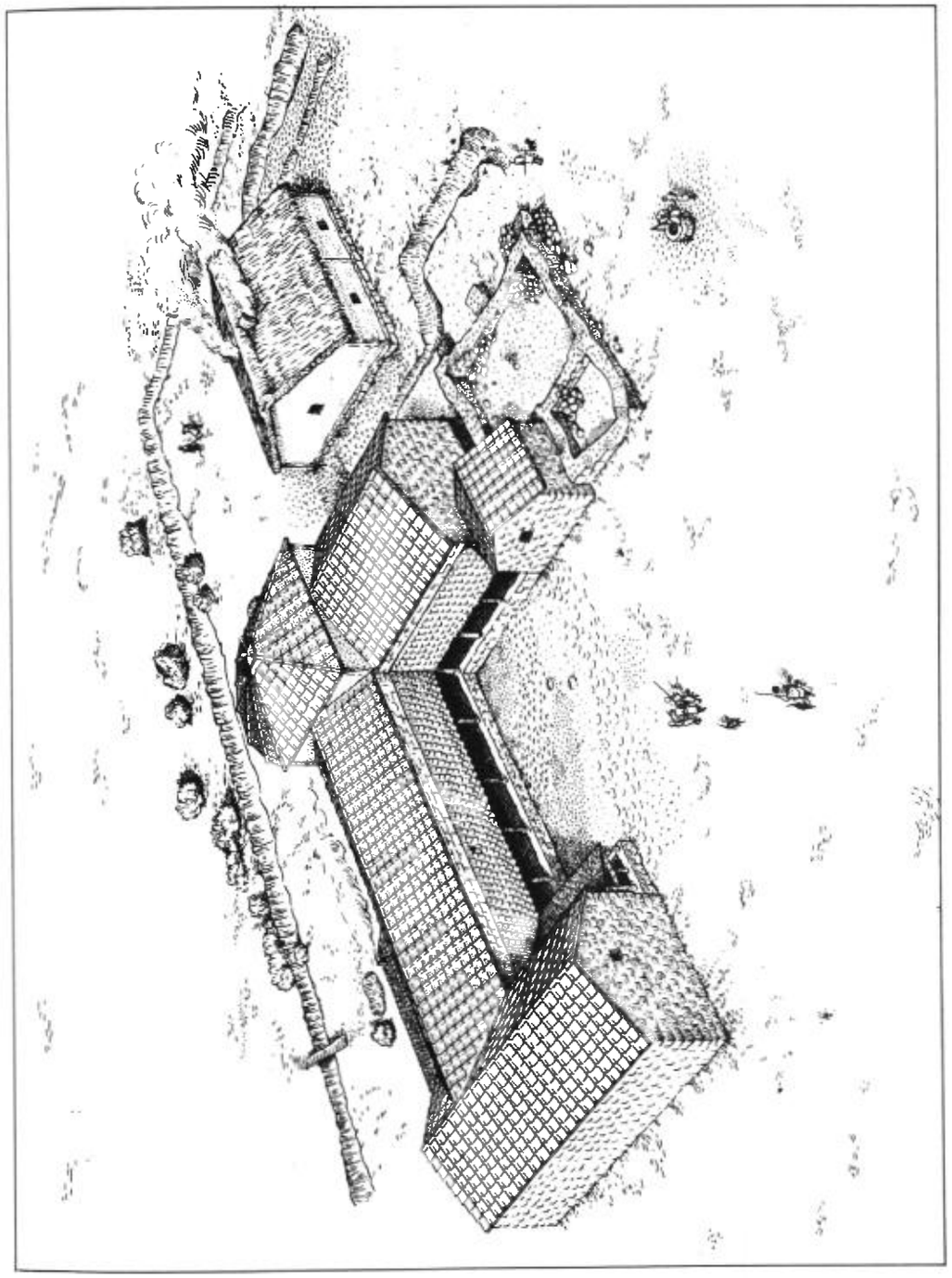


FIG 20 Conjectural reconstruction of the site early in Period 4. Drawn by John Pearson

the corridor wall to butt against what remained of Building FF ensured that the working area to the south was hidden from the courtyard. Building M was quite elaborate in this period. The floors of several rooms were covered with mosaic. The buttress on the south of the south wing may imply that Room V was of two storeys. The apse may have been roofed with a tufa semi-dome; tufa was found extensively in Period 4, including voussoirs. (Below p. 158, FIG. 41).

Ditch BB and Drain RR appeared to have functioned with Gully GG in draining and consolidating a damp area. After this complex fell out of use, further consolidation took place involving the laying of a sequence of pebble surfaces. Though Trough Y continued in use, water supplies seem to have been inadequate and Well BA was excavated. It is possible that Ditch Z represented a final attempt to find water in the old stream area. Bridge C, interpreted as a beam and plank crossing over Ditch B was the only original crossing of this ditch.

There is considerable evidence for the process of dereliction in Period 4, but unfortunately the dating of this is not secure. Long sequences of floor repairs followed from the laying of mosaics in Building M Rooms V and XII. In Room XI several RPG stamped tiles were used in floor repairs post-dating the Period 4 mortar floor. These represent the largest single group of these tiles, which appeared in Period 2b and seem to have been used as the roofing of Building FF. Their use in Building M in Period 4 follows their total absence in Period 3 features. It is concluded that they were reused after the destruction of the main room of Building FF in Period 4. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that tiles were made with the same die as those from Period 2b features.

The extremely late date of Hollow way S has been demonstrated above under finds and dating. It is significant that the hollow way was worn through one element of the sub-topsoil accumulation which built up after all activity on the main part of the site had ceased (P27a). The fact that such a route was worn at all suggests heavy use over a long time, and it would appear from numismatic evidence that the hollow way began use in the later 4th century. The way led directly to Building T, shunning Building M while Path X which led across Ditch B from the south also led to Building T. It would appear that towards the end of Period 4 Building T, which was probably thatched, became the major focus of the settlement, possibly after Building M fell out of use.

12. Period 5: Post Roman Robbing

A. Description

Most of the walls of Building M and FF were robbed with trenches which followed the walls closely; the cobble foundations or packed rubble footings were not removed, and in places several courses of the main walls survived (notably the northern part of the central range of Building M). Associated with the robber trenches of the walls were large areas of rubble and stone roof-tile in Corridor AS, and across the robbed walls of Building M (W92, BB100, AE51a, AE51b, AE83, AE87, AE94, AN52, AD102) and patches of either burning or timber stains in Room XII (AE76, AE96). In Room V

patches of dark soil formed in hollows (W68, W74) and the mosaic was much disturbed, to produce a large quantity of tesserae mixed up in gritty soil (W71). Rubble (W64) covered the robber trench of the walls between Rooms V and VII.

Over the secondary extension of Building FF and extending northwards was a layer of broken stone in a gritty soil matrix (GG72, AC54). Over Building T was a layer of broken stone and mortar on the north side (Z63) and a similar layer to the south in a stony clay matrix (Z62) topped by a gritty soil (Z52).

Trough Y went out of use, filling slowly. Ditch Z also silted completely with dumps of stone on top (Y53, Y79, Y83), while a layer of stony yellow-brown clay-silt accumulated over the top of the ditch (Y90), over the area south of the trough (Y78), over the area to the north of the trough (Y56), and over Ditch G (Y71), see FIG. 19.

Cutting the rubble over the central range of Building M was a rough road. This consisted of heavily rutted rubble over Building M (Ruts AM: Archive 256) and of rough cobbling outside the limits of the building (Road AZ; Archive 258). Over these road phases were a series of road surfaces culminating in the presently used bridle-path, whose construction consists of very tightly packed compact cobbles with distinct ruts. (Road AD; Archive 257). On the south side of this road was a deep ditch which effectively cut all stratigraphic relationships, and which was modern in date.

Running from south-west to north-east across the site was a broad, shallow, flat-bottomed ditch (Ditch NN: Archive 235). Plough scars were found in floors of Building M (W139) on stones associated originally with Ditch BB (FF57: Period 4) and Building T (Period 4). A number of small features were interpreted as belonging to this period. In the clay surface of the north wing of Building M was the east edge of a feature (AD10a). In Room VII was a group of features associated with cess (BB87, BB89), irregular pits (BB85, BB96) disturbed soil (BB86) and a slot (BB88). South of the south wing of Building M was an isolated post hole (AA139) and a gully (BB106). Cut in the top of Hollow way S was a small pit (U54) in which was found a bronze ring with incised decoration on the bezel. Cut into the west edge of Ditch B was a square pit (P53), and in the southern part of the site were a stake hole (T51) and a void (T52).

Soil accumulations above Trough Y have been noted above. East of Building T were a layer of light buff gritty soil (U57) over Hollow way S, and a dark, gritty grey layer below this. Over the whole site was a layer of 'disturbed' soil mostly a light brown clay-silt of uniform appearance. This sealed most structures and was not an occupation layer. This was a gradual accumulation of sub-ploughsoil material. Its accumulation was contemporary with the wearing of Hollow way S, but continued (as P27a) after the way had fallen out of use. The accumulation was still going on when the cobble road AN was laid.

B. Dating and Finds

Coins and Pottery

All twenty-eight coins in Period 5 features were residual Roman coins. In pottery, little dating evidence was recovered from Period 5, but those features which could be

dated provided the same dates as Period 4 and this was generally based on the same fabric types (p. 127). All of this material should, however, be seen as residual from the Period 4 occupation and no date or dates for robbing could be established with confidence. There was little medieval pottery and it was not possible to distinguish relative dates for Period 5 features. There was only one distinctive 13th-15th-century medieval sherd in Period 5 features. Eight separate medieval and post-medieval fabrics were found in topsoil, none of which indicated post-Roman activity in any other form than stone robbing.

Other Finds

Many of the coins and fine items on the site were found residually in Period 5 destruction layers or in topsoil, including the majority of coins and brooches. There were no medieval or post-medieval finds except in the fill of the modern roadside ditch, where finds included clay pipes, bicycle parts and a toy plastic rhinoceros. Topsoil included many *'imbrex'* shaped brick pipes with the word 'drain' incised in them representing modern agricultural land drains.

C. INTERPRETATION

Not much interpretation was possible for the limited features of this period. Ditch NN may have been a medieval or later field ditch. The road sequence to the north of the site was significant, however. It has already been suggested that the Roman road may have run to the north of the Building M north wing, and that the modern road follows its course. The rutted road AZ and AM had much rubble dropped on its surface around the ruts implying that stone or rubble was being loaded into carts. The road may thus have been associated with stone robbing. It is this road rather than the Roman road which lies slightly to the north (FIG. 1) that the modern track follows.

12. PERIODS 3-5: DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS

Period 3 represents the initiation of a new phase of settlement, entirely different in character to those which preceded it. Period 4 is a phase of elaboration of the basic Period 3 scheme, while Period 5 is the destruction phase of this plan. Dating indicates that Period 3 began in the early-3rd century with the Period 4 alteration occuring after *c.* A.D. 300. By the late-4th century the focus of the settlement seems to have moved from the main dwelling house to a structure which had previously been an outbuilding.

The great change in Period 3 from the site as it had been in Period 2b suggests a change in ownership. Nowhere is this more marked than in the change in boundary lines. Apart, however, from the obvious hiatus caused by a total reconstruction there appears to have been no time-lapse between Periods 2c and 3. The exclusively grain oriented Period 2b settlement was replaced by a more conventional establishment with a distinctly more mixed economy including grain production and iron working. There is no evidence for the continuation of any similar milling or 'official' function to that postulated in Period 2b. There were no millstones comparable to those of Period 2, and

FIG. 22
Phased outline plans of Building M

Ditch G appears to have been totally unmaintained, as it silted up quite swiftly. The possibility exists that the site passed from official to private hands.

The settlement of Period 3 is identified as one of the most familiar types of settlement in rural Roman Britain; the villa based on a dwelling house of 'winged-corridor' plan. This type of plan has most recently been discussed by Dr. D. J. Smith (1978). In this paper the debasement of the winged-corridor villa plan on the fringes of the British lowland zone is suggested, examples being quoted from Yorkshire, Glamorgan, and also at Huntsham, Herefordshire (Location see FIG. 1; plan FIG. 23). The only feature of debasement in Building M, however, is the lack of any division between Room X and the corridor, a feature paralleled in the villa at Rudston, Yorks (J R S, 1964, 156; FIG. 23). Other than this the house has a far greater affinity with the houses of the lowland zone despite the fact that, apart from the houses at Whitton and Llantwit Major on the South Glamorgan coast, this is now the furthest west villa of this plan in Britain (Smith, 1978, Fig. 37). The outline plans of Building M at FIG. 22 can be compared with those of other villas at FIGS. 23 and 24. Phase 1 of the building (FIG. 22a) was built in Period 3 as a range of rooms fronted by a corridor flanked by wing rooms and

corridors. This demonstrates the classic form of this type of house (Richmond, 1969, 55), and is closely paralleled by houses at Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts. (Haverfield and MacDonald, 1924, Fig 57: FIG. 23) and elsewhere. The projecting wings on Building M, however, are long, and are closer in general layout to those at Ditchley, Oxon. (Radford, 1936: Percival, 1976, 102: FIG. 23) which, in its first phase, was planned without a corridor. The axial approach to the building represented by Path BF, and the central main room is also very typical of this type of structure (Smith, 1978, 120). The 3rd-century date of the building shows that this house was not innovatory (Neal, 1974, 88), and mirrored a well established trend in building plans. This was one of the smaller and less rich houses, a fact reflected by the insertion of Corn Dryer AD (FIG. 22b) into the main central room. The fact that only the hearth of the oven was placed in this room might indicate that the feature served both to dry corn and to heat the room. The presence of a small furnace as well as the functional part of the oven suggests that room XIV was a working area. The way in which the corn dryer was cut through the outer wall and lined with clay is paralleled in outbuildings at Atworth, Wilts. (Morris, 1979, 12). AD was a corn dryer of the common 'T'-shaped form (Morris, 1979, 5-22) and the proximity of the bar of the 'T' to the exterior wall may suggest that the flue was cut through the wall. This places the oven into Morris' (1979, 14) third reconstruction type.

In Period 4 (FIG. 22d) the final alterations to the building seem to reflect the presence of more wealth adding further pretension to the house plan. Mosaic was attested in all parts of the structure. The apsidal end added to Room V is paralleled by similar apses in villas at Frampton, Dorset (Smith, 1978, Fig 41), and Lullingstone, Kent (Meates, 1979, Fig 6), town houses like Middleborough, Colchester (Crummy, 1984; FIG. 24) and Norfolk Street, Leicester (Current Arch, 1981, 315), and other villas including Littlecote, Wilts. (Smith, 1978, 134; Current Arch, 1981a, 268; FIG. 23) where there were three apses. Though there is at the time of writing some controversy over the status of the room at Littlecote (Current Arch, 1982, 350), these rooms are usually interpreted as main dining rooms or *triclinia* whether for everyday or 'ritual' meals. It has been suggested above that the apsidal room was of more than one storey, evidence for which is the buttress on the south side. It is also possible that the apse was roofed by a tufa semi-dome, an idea which may be supported by the room at Littlecote where the pattern of the mosaic suggested matching semi-domes (Smith, 1978, 134). This is reconstructed in FIG. 20. As at Kenchester, most of these apsidal structures are 4th century in date (Smith, 1978, 136). Also during Period 4 a new corridor, probably taking the form of a semi-open verandah was built around almost the whole of the building frontage, and the courtyard area was formalised. This new corridor is paralleled by the addition of a corridor which ran all round the building at Ditchley (Radford, 1936; Percival, 1976, 102; FIG. 23). A similar corridor at Gadebridge, Herts. (Neal, 1974, 94) was an original part of the layout of the Antonine phase and, like Building M had an entrance in one of the wings (FIG. 23). Continuation of the wealth attested in the layout of the Period 4 building is not indicated by the later patching of mosaics with gravel and the excavation of pits and hearths through these mosaics, but though Period 4 showed some increase in sophistication, this was not great and some of the architectural styles

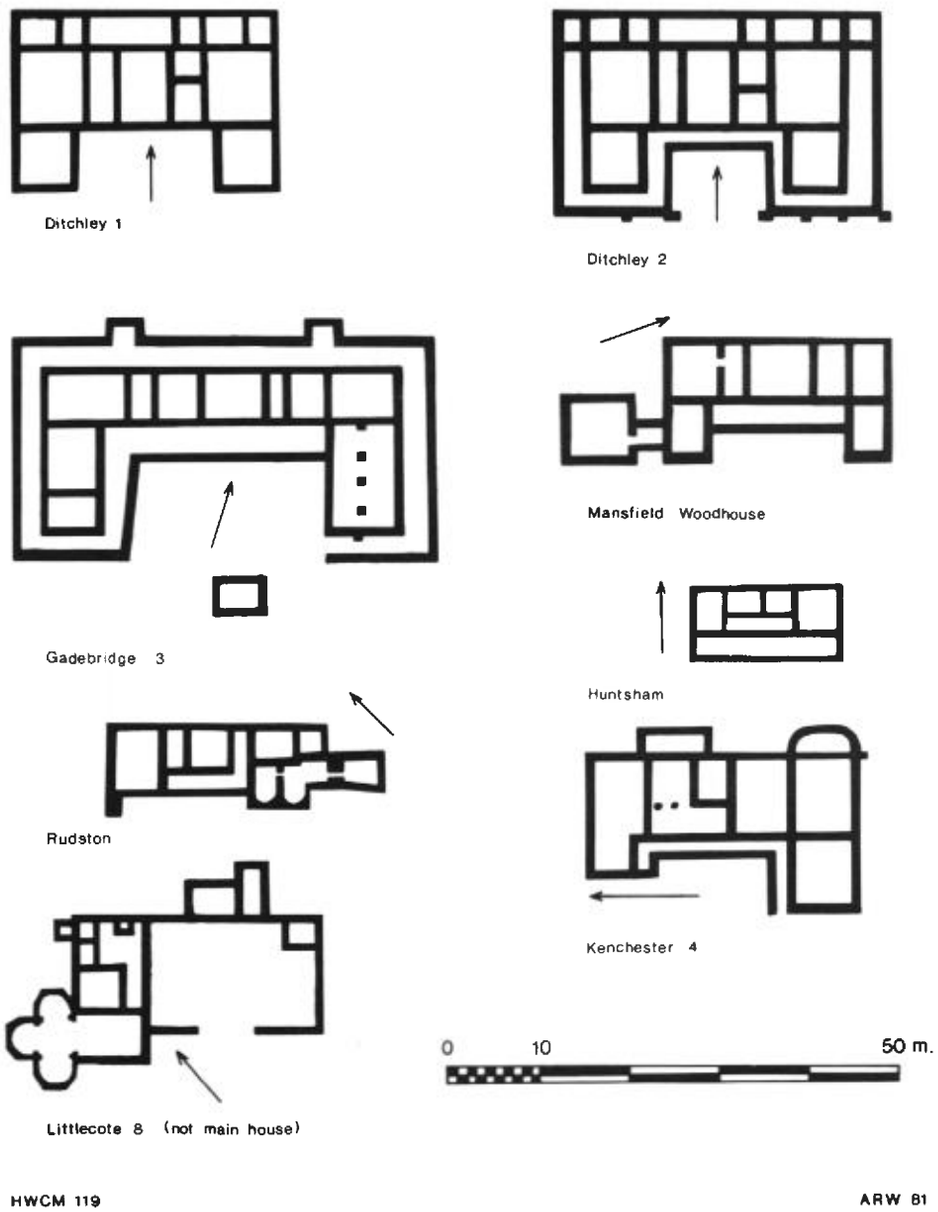


FIG. 23
Comparative outline plans of villa house buildings

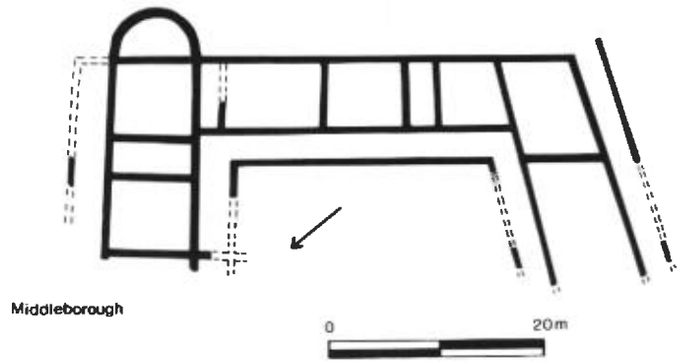


FIG. 24
Comparative outline plan of town house building

used must have been poor imitations of more impressive establishments. The relative poverty of the villa even in its richest phase is reflected by the failure to provide hypocaust systems or a bath-house, though it is possible that the latter facility may have existed near the unexcavated north wing.

The type of ditched enclosure within which Period 3-4 at Kenchester operated is well paralleled elsewhere (above pp. 81-3), but it might be noted that many of the North Oxfordshire villas which, like Kenchester, lay in the territory of the Dobunni, were found to be built inside such enclosures. These villas included that of Ditchley, already proposed as a parallel to Building M in several respects (Percival, 1976, 102).

It is now necessary to examine the evidence for the economic and industrial activity taking place in Periods 3-4. These activities formed the context within which the various changes in prosperity in the main house should be seen. The presence of Corn Dryer AD shows that grain production continued in importance, and it is likely that Building FF continued in use as a granary. The building was floored with mortar in Period 3 and Black (1981) has shown that such floors were not inappropriate for granary structures.

Though slag, and some small bowl furnaces were found in earlier periods, large scale ironworking is only attested in Period 3. During this Period Building T and the Furnace U area between Ditches N and V seem to have been devoted to this activity. Although it seems likely that smithing would have occurred inside and smelting outside, the furnaces in both areas were of smelting types. It is, of course possible that raised smithing furnaces also existed on site (Manning, 1976a, 76), but if so these left no archaeological traces. All of the furnaces were sunk into the ground, and all had sloping channels leading out of the bowls. This is true too of the small furnace found in Room XIV of Building M adjacent to the Corn Dryer. All of these furnaces would have had to be worked by forced draught from bellows (Manning, 1976b, Fig 1A), though no tuyeres (Cleere, 1963, 49) were found on the site. The normal operation of a sunken

bowl furnace (Cleere, 1972, 19-20) would not provide for slag-tapping, though it appears that the channels leading from the bowls in the Kenchester furnaces may have served this purpose. There was no evidence of any superstructure which might qualify these as shaft furnaces (Cleere, 1972, 16-7). The pattern of colours in the clay lining of Furnace U (FIG. 15) which is the result of firing at high temperatures is paralleled in smelting furnaces on many sites e.g. Bardown, Sussex (Cleere, 1970, 19) and Weston-under-Penyard (*Ariconium*), Herefordshire (Bridgewater, 1966, Fig 6). Kenchester is not very far from the iron ore mines in the Forest of Dean. Extensive southward river communication and trade has been deduced from finds in *Magnis* and its environs (Wilmott, 1979; 1980, 127) and has been seen in the use of Cotswold limestone, pottery and tiles from Gloucester, and Forest of Dean millstones on the present site. It is possible that iron ore was imported to Kenchester from the Forest of Dean. It appears that the smelting industry which is particularly noted at *Ariconium* was situated at some distance from the ore mines, particularly in South Herefordshire and at sites along the Wye Valley, the river being the most convenient route for transport (Hart, 1971, 3). It may be that the industry at Kenchester is an aspect of this phenomenon which has, however, never been satisfactorily explained. An alternative explanation would be that the site was a local centre for the recycling and remaking of iron tools, though the necessity for such a large smelting furnace as U for this purpose could be disputed. Though iron working is a feature found on a large number of agricultural and villa sites (Morris, 1979, 69), the Kenchester evidence suggests a more intensive industry than the domestic iron working usually found. Other evidence for the economy of Period 3 is difficult to provide. The initiation of a route southwards in Road XX indicates that the area to the south began to be of interest, and may be related to the appearance of field boundaries immediately south of the excavation.

The mixed agricultural and industrial economy of Period 3 disappears from the archaeological record in Period 4. Though Building T was extended, no more iron working seems to have occurred in it, and at the same time the old granary Building FF, was demolished. It appears from the elaboration of Building M that this did not detract from the wealth of the establishment, and that, on the contrary the villa became richer. It is possible that this moderate increase in wealth was not connected with activity on site, but with some commercial enterprise which leaves no archaeological trace, such as land ownership in the nearby town of *Magnis*.

The most recent discussion and summary of the relationship between villas and neighbouring towns is that by Salway (1981, 586), who quotes the present site as a 'suburban' villa from which it would be possible to be involved both with the affairs of the town and the countryside. As in periods 2b-2c the presence of the town of *Magnis* only 300 m. to the west would have a profound influence on the economy of the settlement. In the absence of other substantial settlements it is certain that *Magnis* would have been the market centre for a wide area of productive agricultural land. Those villas and farms whose economies were producing a surplus for exchange would require such a centre for the export of produce and as a centre from which it would be possible to obtain luxuries which could not be locally produced (Rivet, 1955, 31). Like many

other towns in Roman Britain (Todd, 1970, 71) it seems that *Magnis* was the centre of a group of villas clustered about it; apart from the present site, villas existed at Bishopstone and the New Weir (Shoesmith, 1980), and all lay within 3 km. of the town. The economic evidence from Period 3 would suggest that surplus was being produced in grain and iron. It may be that the siting of the period 3 iron working outside the town but close to it was deliberate, paralleling Water Newton (*Durobrivae*) where such industries as pottery and metalwork were situated outside the main urban area, in the suburbs (Wild, n.d, 10). Excavations in the town area, however, also produced evidence for the working of iron (Jack and Hayter, 1918). The presence of iron working both in the town and in its extramural area confirms that the processing of Forest of Dean iron ore was of importance generally in the regional economy (Crickmore, forthcoming).

The increase in prosperity in the 4th century is paralleled by a similar increase in *Magnis,* a fact which may support the above proposal that interests in the town were instrumental in promoting the wealth of the present site. This idea, together with the proximity of the town and the villa raises the whole question of relative status, a question which could not adequately be resolved without extensive work inside the town itself. Large houses like the one found inside the walls of *Magnis* (Wilmott, 1980, Building II), which combine an urban situation with a 'villa', often winged-corridor plan, have been variously interpreted. Two basic theories have emerged; the structures might be the town residences of landowners with country estates, used for the administration of commercial concerns in the town (Rivet, 1964, 103) or Romanised farming establishments situated inside the town. Possibly, in the case of the *civitas* capitals, these would have been centres for the farming of plots in large *territoria* (Wacher, 1974, 282-3). The latter explanation is compatible with the observation that villas are often situated at a distance from *civitas* capitals (i.e. beyond the *territorium*). There is no such evidence at Kenchester, where villas are sited close to the town area. It is possible that little difference existed between the dwellers in the town and those in the countryside, people both in the town and in its immediate hinterland would be concerned both with the affairs of the town and the country. This would be a logical state of affairs in such a market town. Land would be farmed and commercial affairs prosecuted by those inside and outside the town walls. This shows that the walls themselves, which were erected during the Period 3-4 occupation on the extramural site (Heys and Thomas, 1959; 1963; Webster, 1957; Wilmott, 1980), were intended to define an official and administrative entity, and not an urban area whose inhabitants followed a way of life different from that of those excluded by the walls. If this was the case economic conditions prevalent at the time might dictate the end of emphasis on industry and agriculture, and its replacement with commercial activity which might have brought greater rewards.

The symptoms of decay noted towards the end of the 4th century on the site are typical of many contemporary villas (Frere, 1974, 403). These comprise the excavation of pits and hearths through mosaic floors and the replacement or repair of such floors with gravel spreads. For the present site a fairly long period of decay is indicated by the number of floor alterations attested. It is likely that the change of focus demonstrated

by the paths leading to Building T took place after this period of decay, when Building M ceased to be tenable. A similar pattern, where late occupation is present in an outbuilding after the main structure had fallen into disuse occurs at Godmanchester, Hunts. (Green, 1978, 116). The wearing of Hollow way S through sub-topsoil layers post-dating *c.* A.D. 375 is good evidence for late occupation in Building T, possibly extending well into the 5th century. It is unfortunate that no estimate can be made as to how long it would take to wear such a hollow path, it can, however, be concluded that the 'sub-Roman' occupation on the site was centred on the post-A.D. 346 Well BC and Building T. Unlike the Stream E—Trough Y complex the well still contained water during excavation, indicating that a failure of the water supply was not the reason for the final desertion of the site. No indication of the date or of the reason for this occurrence was forthcoming, nor could the late period be related in any way to the later strengthening of the defences of the town (Wilmott, 1980, 129). The lack of evidence from other villas and farms in the area precludes any comparison of desertion dates or patterns of decay. It remains to be seen whether the pattern recovered on the present site is regionally typical.

III. POTTERY

R. S. TOMBER

General Introduction[2]

Pottery of Iron Age, Romano-British, Medieval and post-Medieval date was recovered and the emphasis which they have received in the publication corresponds to the importance of each phase. As Kenchester provides the first known evidence for lowland Iron Age occupation in the Welsh Marches it has been extensively discussed and comparisons drawn with hill forts in the immediate vicinity and lowland sites from the general West Midlands-Cotswolds area. A perusal of the literature on Romano-British sites in this area revealed the lack of fully published assemblages. In most cases only a small amount of the pottery has been illustrated and discussed: e.g. the villa at Huntsham (Bridgewater, 1963), industrial workings at the town of *Ariconium* (Weston-under-Penyard) (Bridgewater, 1966), military occupation at *Bravonium* (Leintwardine) (Stanford, 1959, 1969), and the nearby civil town of *Magnis* (Kenchester) (Heys and Thomas, 1959, 1963; Jack and Hayter, 1926; Webster 1957). It was felt that the publication of an extensive corpus from Kenchester would provide a useful framework for further pottery studies in the area. Therefore, a large proportion of this publication has been devoted to the Romano-British pottery. The most useful contribution resulting from the study of the Kenchester Romano-British pottery was the compilation of this corpus. Pottery aided dating and typological development of forms could be seen throughout the occupation sequence, but it did little to further more functional interpretation of the site. Since the small amount of known Medieval and post-Medieval pottery types recovered were from unstratified deposits they have not been discussed; a description of these pottery types can be found in the archive.

Presentation is based on the main methods of classification, namely the identification of form and fabric types. The report is divided into the following sections: 1) fabric types; 2) form types; 3) description and discussion of the assemblage by site period; and 4) information on wares studied by specialists. Section 3 consists primarily of tabulated information: complementary discussion of the Romano-British assemblage is brief, summarizing the most salient points from these tables, but is more comprehensive for the Iron Age. The main dating evidence for the Romano-British period is in the excavation text and is only outlined here; procedure is reversed for the Iron Age. Explanations of methods are provided in introductions to the individual sections.

At this point it is appropriate to discuss one aspect of methodology in greater detail. The processing and interpretation of the Romano-British pottery was largely determined by the on-site policy towards finds which was established in the first season. This allowed for the retention of sherds if 1) they came from a deposit thought to be well sealed or of significance to site interpretation; 2) were of a fabric or form type not previously recorded; or 3) could provide useful dating evidence or were unusual in some sense, being of intrinsic interest. Pottery not adhering to the above criteria was frequently discarded (especially body sherds), as were large quantities from unstratified layers. A list of every ceramic context, indicating whether or not the total assemblage was kept, is in the archive.

This policy limited inferences which could be drawn, as quantified information was not necessarily representative of the original excavated assemblage. A sherd count was employed in order to provide a general record of the quantity retained and, from a practical viewpoint, to ensure that all pottery could be accounted for in the future. Sherd count was chosen in preference to weight for two reasons. Firstly, the two methods have been shown to produce relatively comparable results, except in the cases of certain types such as amphorae (Jefferies in Hinchliffe and Green, 1985, 74), and secondly, given the resources available, this was the most efficient method. Despite the limitation placed on interpretation, it was considered useful to attempt general comparisons of the different fabric and form types present for each Romano-British phase, based on the sherd count. The reader must be aware that these comparisons are somewhat subjective, only reflecting the material that was available for post-excavation analysis.

All Iron Age pottery was kept and therefore quantified weight data was gathered. An additional discussion of methods is included in the Section 3 Period 1 discussion to clarify those aspects restricted to the Iron Age pottery.

1. Fabric Types

INTRODUCTION

Some of the pottery belonged to known ware groups (e.g. Oxfordshire colour-coated wares) which could be readily classified, or was studied by specialists (i.e. samian, amphorae and mortaria). Remaining wares were provisionally sub-divided into

fabric groups based on the macroscopic identification of inclusions. This was done using gross definitions of ware types (e.g. 'coarse oxidized wares') as a basis for initial separation. These groups were subsequently tested by thin section analysis. The majority of this work was performed by Hilary Howard with some additional analysis being done by Elaine Morris; their reports are in the archive and are referred to here. Results from thin section analysis were used for fabric classification unless microscopic criteria for separation could not be recognised macroscopically. The majority of wares in the Kenchester assemblage contained sedimentary inclusions and a precise geological source area cannot be suggested. In these cases microscopic definition of fabrics relied primarily on textural differences in quartz size (Howard, Archive 108). This resulted in some overlap of fabric types when separating them macroscopically and a certain level of ambiguity was involved in the recognition of some groups (e.g. in distinguishing between Severn Valley and Fine oxidized wares).

PRESENTATION

Several fabric types, without a known source, were represented by only a few sherds and did not contribute to the interpretation of the site or assemblage. They have not been published but are described in the archive. All other fabrics are listed on pages 127-8 and in microfiche, with the amount of detail given varying according to how well-known the ware is. Fabric types are organized by period (Iron Age and Romano-British) and within this are divided into Fine and Coarse Wares. Romano-British Coarse wares are further sub-divided and additional categories defined: Reduced Coarse wares; Oxidized Coarse wares; Amphorae; Mortaria, British sources; and Mortaria, Continental sources.

Only inclusions which could be seen macroscopically have been considered significant for the published fabric definition, unless results from thin section helped to clarify the description. Groups defined by thin section are indicated by an asterisk (*). Fabric abbreviations employed in other parts of the report are given after the full name.

Characteristics of colour, hardness and feel follow the guidelines suggested by Peacock (1977, 30). Both free descriptive terms and Munsell Soil values (Munsell, 1975) have been employed for colour reference, although in the case of commonly known fabrics only the former has been used. Textural description is based on the following parameters (Orton in Blurton, 1977, 28):

smooth: flat or slightly curved; no visible irregularities finely irregular: small, closely spaced irregularities irregular: larger, more widely spaced irregularities hackly: large and generally angular irregularities laminated: 'stepped' effect

A general indication of the quantity and distribution of each fabric is also given here. Quantity is based on the sherd count and follows these guidelines:

rare:	less than 15 sherds
sparse:	less than 50 sherds
moderate:	50-200 sherds

common: 200-500 sherds
abundant: 500-1600 sherds

When describing the quantity of Iron Age fabrics both sherd count and weight are included.

In addition to fabric description, a cross-index to form types is provided. Ambiguity in fabric classification resulted in uncertainty when defining the range of forms in certain fabrics. This is indicated by a query before the vessel type number (e.g. ?100). Finally, a discussion of source area and function is included where relevant.

CONTENTS OF FABRIC TYPES

N.B. *The Romano-British fabric descriptions appear as microfiche section 1, sheet 1, frames 1-12.*

IRON AGE FABRIC TYPES

FINE WARES

**White ware with limestone*

Description: A hard, wheelmade fabric, buff-yellow (10YR 8/3-6/3) in colour. The surface is eroded and powdery with a finely irregular fracture. In the hand specimen rare fragments of small limestone or voids (less than *c.* 1.0 mm.) are visible, as are numerous red or brown-yellow inclusions (to *c.* 1.0 mm.) which appear argillaceous. Examination in thin section shows these red inclusions to be a highly stained and altered mineral which could be serpentine, although their decomposed state does not allow positive identification.

Source Area: Positive identification of serpentine would enable a source on the Lizard Peninsula to be suggested (Fleet and Hill, 1912, 61 ff.), if this has a British source. However, all that can be stated at present is that the fabric is 'unlikely to be of local origin' (Howard, Archive 108).

Distribution: Period 1. Rare (19 grammes).

Form Types: Carinated vessels: 1

COARSE WARES

Malvernian ware or Group A

Description: A coarse, handmade fabric, containing igneous and metamorphic rock and mineral fragments which frequently measure from *c.* 1.0-3.0 mm. The fabric is normally reduced black, dark grey or brown-grey and may have smoothed

surfaces. It belongs to the Group A Malvernian category (Peacock, 1968, 415-21). Romano-British forms were produced in the same fabric, being both handmade and wheelmade, and these are described with the Romano-British fabrics.

Source Area: Malvern Hills. See FIG. 28.

Distribution: Periods 1, 2b, 3 and 4. Moderate (620 grammes).

Form Types: Cooking pots: 4, 7

**Palaeozoic limestone tempered ware or Group BI*

Description: A coarse, handmade fabric, normally reduced black. Abundant inclusions of what is probably Palaeozoic limestone, measuring from *c.* 1.0-3.0 mm., are visible. It belongs to the Group BI category (Peacock, 1968, 421-2).

Source Area: Originally a source in the Malvern district was suggested for this fabric type (Peacock, 1968, 422). Further work, including extensive plotting of its distribution, may indicate a geological origin in the Woolhope or May Hill areas (Morris, 1981b, 153). See FIG. 28.

Distribution: Periods 1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common (1578 grammes).

Form Types: Cooking pots: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Jars: 9
Decorated sherds: 11

**Mudstone or Group D*

Description: A soft, handmade fabric, reduced black (2.5Y 3/0), sometimes with a brown (7.5YR 4/4) mottled surface. The surface is rough while fresh fracture reveals an irregular break. Characteristic of the fabric is its vesicular appearance. The most diagnostic inclusion is moderate amounts of mudstone, sometimes leached out and producing a void, measuring from *c.* 0.4-2.0 mm. In the hand specimen these inclusions are similar to clay-like fragments. The fabric has been designated Group D (Morris, 1982, 15-6).

Source Area: An origin in the Martley area of east Herefordshire has been suggested (Morris). See FIG. 28.

Distribution: Period 1. Rare (5 grammes).

Form Types: Represented by undecorated body sherds. Forms normally found in this fabric are the 'sauce-pan' cooking pots seen in Groups A-C (Peacock, 1968, Figs. 3 and 4) and are described by Morris, 1982, 17).

**Coarse reduced quartz ware (Coarse quartz)*

Description: A hard, and friable, handmade fabric which is reduced black (2.5Y 4/0-3/0) and occasionally has brown-buff (5YR 5/6) surfaces. A rough surface and hackly break is typical of the group. The coarse fabric contains abundant well sorted sub-angular quartz inclusions which frequently measure to *c.* 1.5 mm.

Source Area: Similarities in decoration between this fabric and Groups A, BI, and D suggest that it shares a general West Midlands source area.

Distribution: Periods 1, 2a and 2c. Rare (91 grammes).

Form Types: Cooking pots: 5

**Fine reduced quartz ware (Fine quartz)*

Description: A soft, handmade fabric which is reduced grey-black (7.5YR 3/0). It has a wiped surface with a soapy feel and when broken produces a finely irregular fracture. In the hand specimen rare sandstone (to *c.* 4.0 mm.) can be seen, while poorly sorted angular and sub-angular quartz grains, less then 1.0 mm., are identified in thin section.

Source Area: In thin section this fabric is similar to coarse reduced quartz ware, in range of inclusions and clay matrix. While two sources may be represented by these separate groups it is possible that they are derived from a single geological deposit with variations resulting from different clay preparation techniques

(Howard, Archive 108). As for the coarse quartz group, decoration style would indicate a source in the West Midlands.

Distribution: Period 2c. Rare (14 grammes).
Form Types: Cooking pots: 7

Droitwich briquetage

Description: A soft, handmade fabric, oxidized orange or orange-red (2.5YR 5/6). Surfaces are rough, although the exterior shows finger wiping, and the break is irregular. The distinguishing feature of the fabric are poorly sorted natural inclusions of clay and marl (to *c.* 6.0 mm.). In addition, it contains abundant, well sorted, sub-rounded to sub-angular quartz grains. It belongs to Fabric 1 produced at Droitwich (Morris, 1981b, 153).
Source Area: Droitwich. See FIG. 28.
Function: Container for transporting salt from its source area (Rheim 1961). Sometimes referred to as 'VCP'—Very Coarse Pottery (Gelling and Stanford, 1965, 77).
Distribution: One sherd in Period 1 (4 grammes).
Form Types: Containers: 10

**Stony VCP briquetage (Stony VCP)*

Description: A hard and friable handmade fabric, oxidized light orange or orange-pink (5YR 7/6-6/6; 5YR 7/8). Surfaces are abrasive and the fracture irregular. In the hand specimen the fabric is sandy, containing angular poorly sorted rock fragments up to *c.* 6.0 mm. Thin section shows these rocks to be micro-granite-granophyres. The Kenchester sherd is distinguished from other examples by its lack of rhyolite and fine, micaceous sandstone, but a similar fabric has also been identified at the Breiddin hill fort, Powys. (Morris, pers. comm., See FIG. 28).
Source Area: Shropshire-Cheshire basin (Morris, 1981b, 154). See FIG. 28.
Function: Container for transporting salt from its source area (Gelling and Stanford, 1965, 77-81; Morris, 1981b, 154). Sometimes referred to as 'VCP'—Very Coarse Pottery (Gelling and Stanford, 1965, 77).
Distribution: One sherd in Period 2a (3 grammes).
Form Types: Containers: 10

2. Form Types

INTRODUCTION

Identification of form types was a major part of pottery classification. The ranges of forms produced in each fabric were isolated and subsequently compared. In this way it was possible to recognize relationships between different production centres. For example, the similarities between Black-burnished ware, Category 1 (hereafter BB1) and grey ware (Williams 1977, 177) and BB1 and Malvernian wares (Peacock, 1967, 18) were made apparent. While many other examples from the assemblage could be cited to illustrate this point, the most striking correlation are those seen between Severn Valley ware (hereafter SVW) and Fine oxidized ware and SVW and Grey ware (see Table 2). The Romano-British vessel catalogue (Microfiche - 1-18) was designed to emphasize similarities in form between different fabrics by compiling a single corpus for all fabrics (excluding samian ware).

Given the dearth of published groups for this area, the catalogue is extensively illustrated. Special consideration has been given to forms occurring in Severn Valley fabric in order to stress the diversity of forms not normally included in the range of 'Severn Valley' ware (Webster, 1976).

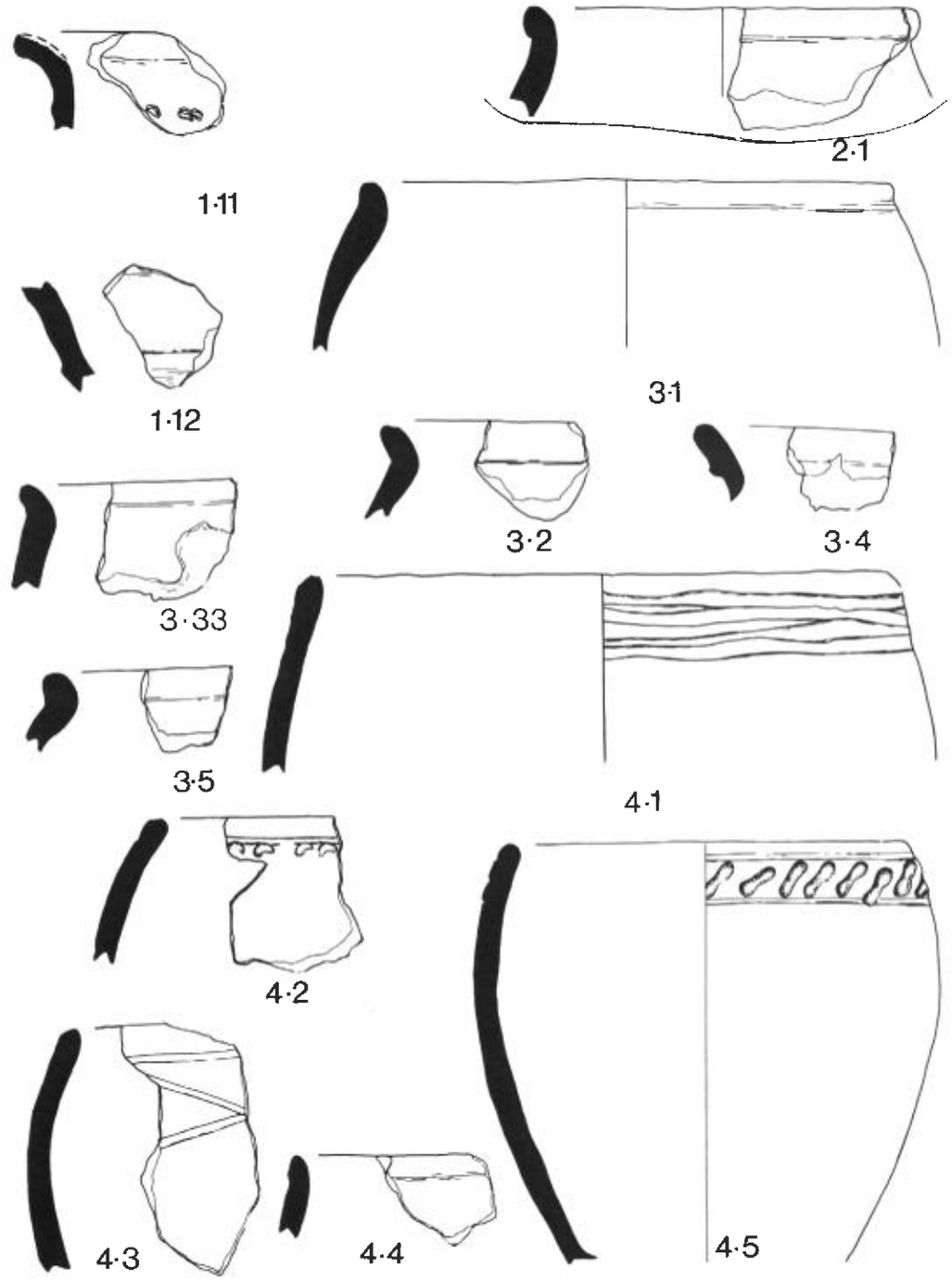


FIG. 25
Iron Age pottery forms 1.11-4.5 (½)

PRESENTATION

The illustrations were chosen to include diameter, decoration and rim variations within each form and fabric type. Decorative motifs which only occurred on isolated body sherds have not been published but are described in the archive. Additional variations for some Romano-British coarse ware form types can also be found in the archive. All Iron Age form types are illustrated, although not every undecorated rim was drawn.

Pottery types for which a well established corpus exists (e.g. Oxfordshire wares) are not illustrated but referenced to the appropriate publication. Other cases where sherds were not illustrated include forms represented by only body sherds and fragmentary rims.

The corpus has been divided into two sections to distinguish between Iron Age (Types 1-11) and Romano-British (Types 12-147) forms. Within each period forms are ordered from closed to open vessel types. The following categories were recognised within the Romano-British assemblage: 1) flagons and jugs, 2) beakers, 3) tankards, 4) jars, 5) bowls and dishes, 6) lids, 7) miscellaneous vessel types and re-worked sherds, 8) amphorae, and 9) mortaria. It should be stressed that the writer, rather than Mrs. K. F. Hartley, is responsible for the mortarium form type series and form descriptions which follow (Types 128-148), although Mrs. Hartley has kindly provided additional comments.

Each illustration was given a separate reference within form type (e.g. 3.1, 3.2 etc.). In cases where a single vessel was represented by unjoined sherds, such as a rim and a base, this has been noted as, e.g. 33.11, 33.12. Pie diagrams were used on all illustrations of Romano-British types to indicate the percentage of the rim that was present. On Iron Age vessels, pie diagrams were omitted and the extent of the sherd drawn if it was less than one-quarter of the total vessel.

The text includes a description of each vessel type and the fabric(s) in which it occurs. Form types are also cross-indexed with fabric descriptions in Section 1. When it was not possible to make a clear distinction between fabric types this is indicated in the following manner: e.g. SVW/Fine oxidized ware. In addition, the site distribution and dating of individual forms, if firm evidence exists, is given. An attempt has been made to describe the overall frequency of each type; general frequency by site period is given on Tables 3-7. In the vessel corpus, these general parameters have been used:

rare:	*c.* 6 vessels or less
moderate:	*c.* 7-14 vessels
common:	*c.* 15 or more vessels

N.B. *Romano-British form types appear as microfiche section 2, sheet 1, frames 13-59.*

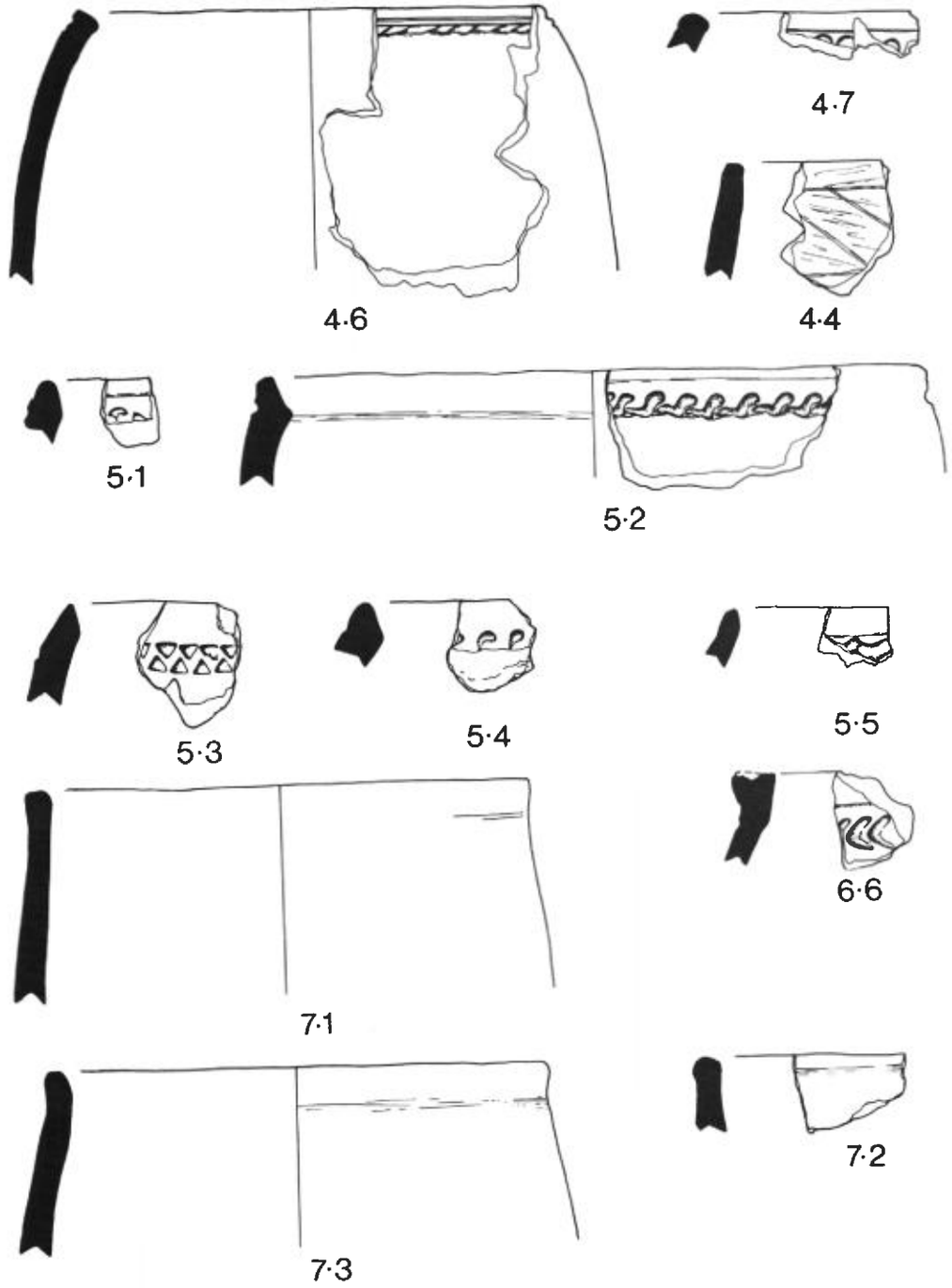


FIG. 26
Iron Age pottery forms 4.6-7.3 (½)

CORPUS OF FORM TYPES

IRON AGE FORM TYPES

Type

1 (FIG. 25) Carinated vessel with over-turned rim.
1.11-1.12 White ware with limstone. One vessel in Period 1. It is not certain whether this vessel was decorated or if the protruding clay on the neck is due to erosion of the original wall thickness.

2 (FIG. 25) Cooking pot with bead rim and narrow neck.
2.1 Group BI. One vessel in Period 3.

3 (FIG. 25) Cooking pot with bead rim. Distinguished from Type 2 by having a wide neck.
3.1-3.5 Group BI. Periods 1, 2a, 2c and 3. Moderate.

4 (FIG. 26) 'Sauce-pan' cooking pot with plain rim.
4.1-4.5 Group A. Periods 1 and 3. Rare.
4.6-4.7 Group BI. Period 3. Rare.

5 (FIG. 26) Similar to Type 4 but with an internal bevel, of varying degree, on the rim.
5.1 Group BI. One veseel in Period 1.
5.2-5.5 Coarse reduced quartz ware. Periods 1, 2a and 2c. Rare.

6 (FIG. 26) 'Sauce-pan' cooking pot with a flat rim, possibly from the same vessel as Type 11.
6.1 Group BI. One vessel in Period 2a.

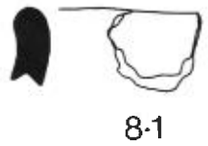
7 (FIG. 26) Cooking pot with near vertical or sinuous walls and plain rim, somewhat square in section.
7.1 Group A. One vessel in Periods 2b and 4.
7.2-7.3 Group BI. Periods 1, 4 and 5. Rare.
7.4 Fine reduced quartz ware. One vessel in Period 2c.

8 (FIG. 27) Similar to Type 7 but with a longer or more pronounced neck or a slightly everted rim.
8.1-8.4 Group BI. Periods 1 and 2a. Rare.

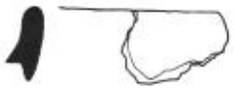
9 (FIG. 27) Large jar with thick, everted or out-turned rim.
9.1-9.2 Group BI. Periods 3 and 4. Rare. Vessels of this type are frequently burnished with vertical lines (see Dunning, 1976, Fig. 15, 9-10). The surface on the Kenchester profile is abraded and may have been decorated originally.

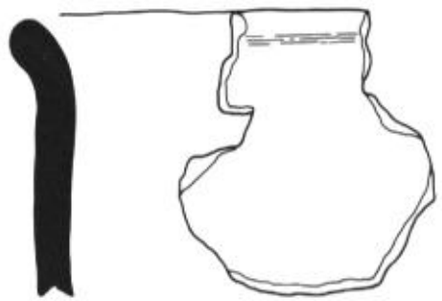
10 Cylindrical salt container vessel (Rheim, 1961) with walls splaying out from the base.
10.1 Droitwich briquetage. Not illustrated. See Gelling and Stanford, 1965, Fig. 4. One body sherd in Period 1.
10.2 Stony VCP briquetage. Not illustrated. See Smith, 1979, Fig. 14. One body sherd in Period 2a.

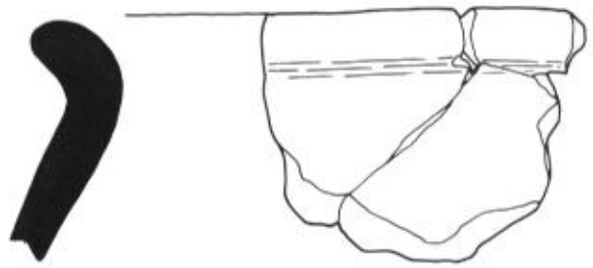
11 (FIG. 27) Body sherd decorated with chevrons, possibly from the same vessel as Type 6.1.
11.1 Group BI. One sherd in Period 1.


8·1


8·2


8·3


8·4


9·1


9·2


11

FIG. 27
Iron Age pottery forms 8.1-11 (½)

3. Description and Discussion

IRON AGE

Method

All Iron Age pottery was kept and quantified by both weight (to the nearest gramme) and sherd count. Weight was used to compare the quantity of different fabrics. However, as the individual fabrics have varying densities (e.g. Group BI is porous and relatively light) these figures should be treated with care. Unless otherwise indicated, percentages in the text refer to weight.

Some difficulty was encountered when classifying the handmade Malvernian fabric (Group A), as both Iron Age and Romano-British forms were produced in it, the latter occurring through the Antonine period (Peacock, 1967, 16). The greatest problem was found when classifying undecorated body sherds since it was not possible to allocate these to a particular date. Therefore, undiagnostic sherds were excluded from weight calculations unless they belonged stratigraphically to Period 1. The reader should be aware, therefore, that the quantity of Group A classified as Iron Age may be marginally undervalued.[3]

The first century BC Dressel 1 amphora (Type 122) is included with the Romano-British section of the publication. Because of its date of production it is also discussed here, but has not been considered in weight calculations or illustrations. Sherds were treated in this manner for several reasons:

1) it is not certain that the Dressel 1 amphora was associated with Period 1 occupation (see p. 115);
2) it is a ware of different type and tradition from other Iron Age fabrics;
3) it is not known whether all sherds were kept.

In addition to weight quantification, the approximate ratio of decorated to undecorated vessels was useful and was calculated by minimum number of vessels. Minimum vessel calculation has been shown to be an effective method of quantification when dealing with small groups of handmade pottery (Millett, 1979, 77-8). Rims and decorated body sherds were used for determining minimum vessel numbers. As undecorated vessels predominated, inclusion of undecorated body sherds would only have served to increase the ratio rather than altering general conclusions. Throughout the text, references to individual vessels are restricted to decorated ones. In other cases, only a general form class (e.g. Type 8) is given.

Approximately 50% of all Iron Age pottery came from Period 1 contexts (undisturbed Iron Age occupation) with the remainder from Romano-British (Period 2 and later) ones. Given the large amount of 'residual' Iron Age pottery the two groups (primary/residual) were initially treated as two separate assemblages. This was done to determine whether distinctions, in date or type, could be identified between the two. If so, it would then be possible to suggest differences in occupation between the area represented by undisturbed Iron Age activity and that disturbed by subsequent Roman occupation. Individual Period 1 feature groups were also examined separately.

Presentation

Description and discussion of the Iron Age pottery is presented as follows: Sources; Dating; Period 1, Individual Features and Summary; Period 2 and later; and, General Site and Comparative discussion. The text is supplemented by illustrations. A location map (FIG. 28) indicating the likely source areas for those Iron Age fabrics which can be named, and all Iron Age sites mentioned in the text, is included. A single point has been estimated for pottery source areas which cover a wide region (e.g. Group D). Relative proportions of each fabric, except Dressel 1, are shown in FIG. 29 by individual group. These pie diagrmas are based on weight and scaled according to absolute quantity. Finally, FIG. 30 quantifies the occurrence of all Iron Age form types. Fabric is given and, where applicable, specific period and major feature. Features from which only body sherds were recovered are not tabulated. The number of vessels in each form type has been determined from minimum vessels. Only those types belonging to the stamped and linear tooled tradition (see below) have been noted as decorated or undecorated.

Sources

Eight fabric types (excluding Dressel 1) were identified. Five of these, accounting for *c.* 99% of all Iron Age pottery, belong to the regional tradition of stamped and linear tooled pottery (Peacock, 1968, 414). Fabric types in this tradition include Group A (Malvernian), Group BI (Palaeozoic limestone), Group D (Mudstone), Coarse reduced quartz and Fine reduced quartz wares.

As the comparison between FIGS. 28 and 29 indicates, the quantity of each pottery type reaching Kenchester can be correlated to distance from source area. Group BI is the commonest of these fabrics, comprising 67.6% of all Iron Age pottery. This was the nearest pottery source for Kenchester (*c.* 18 kms. to the south-east) if it originated from the Woolhope area (Morris, 1981b, 153). Group A wares follow in quantity (26.6%) and their source in the Malvern Hills (Peacock, 1968, 419) is *c.* 32 kms. east of Kenchester. Group D, with a probable source *c.* 34 kms. to the north-east in Herefordshire (Morris, 1982, 16-7) is represented by only 0.2%. While no specific source can be suggested for the Coarse and Fine reduced quartz fabrics (comprising 3.9% and 0.6%, respectively) they, too, are probably from this general area.

Briquetage salt containers (Riehm, 1961) are commonly found in association with pottery of the stamped and linear tooled tradition (Morris, 1981a). At Kenchester briquetage from two different and distant sources was identified (Morris, 1981b, 143-54). Droitwich briquetage (0.17%) indicates supply from *c.* 50 kms. to the north-east, while Stony VCP briquetage (0.13%) represents the furthest known source area from Kenchester, *c.* 120 kms. to the north in the Shropshire-Cheshire basin.

If the White ware with limestone (0.8%) was British in origin, it may represent the most distant but unnamed source. A local source is not postulated (Howard, Archive 108) but a precise area cannot be suggested.

It is possible that the Italian Dressel 1 amphora sherds (Gale, Archive 108) were also part of the Iron Age assemblage (see p. 115). Its British distribution has usually

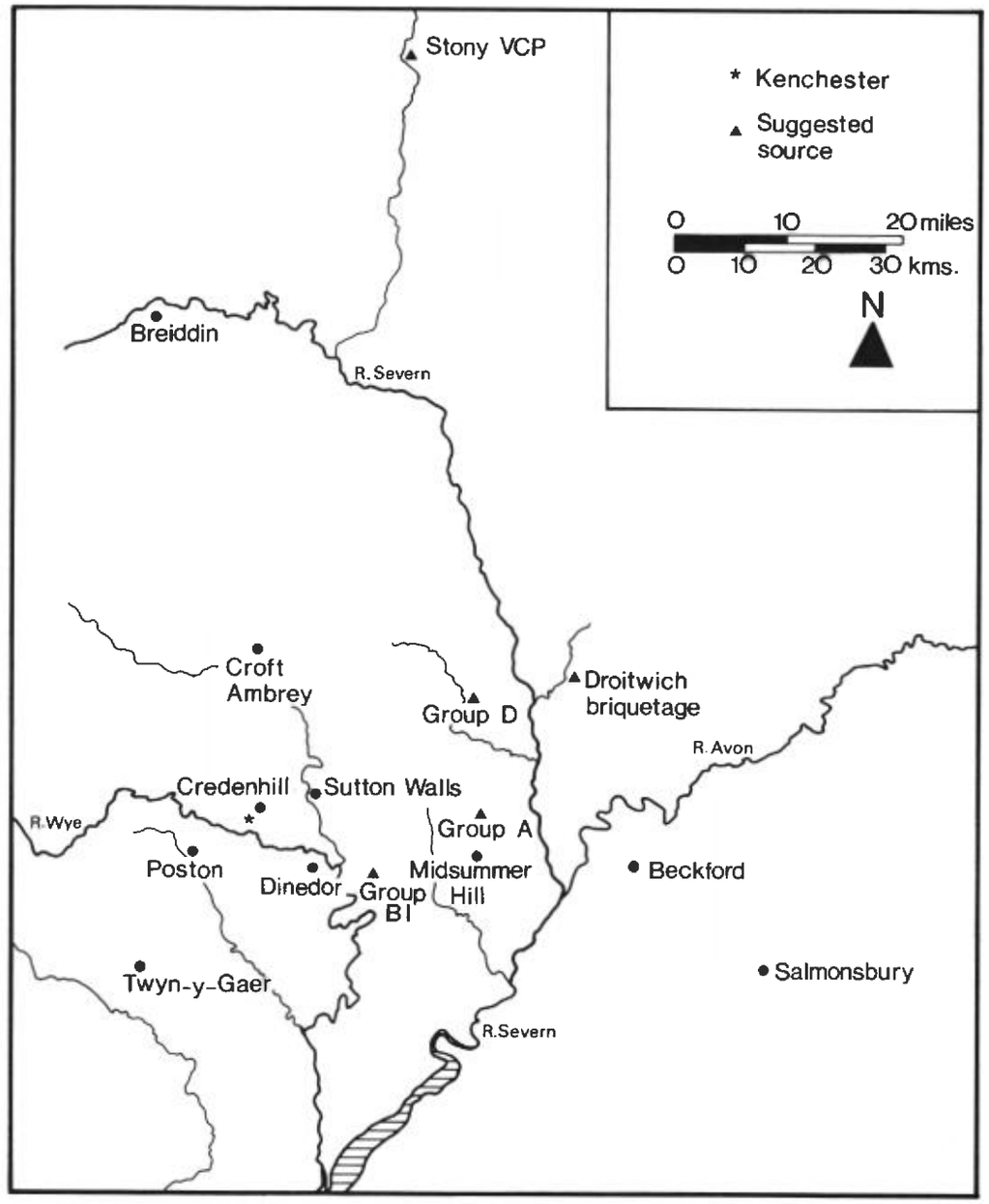


FIG. 28
Iron Age sites and likely sources for named fabrics

been restricted to the south (Williams, 1981, 125). Recently it has been identified in Roman levels at Cirencester (Williams, pers. comm.) and its presence at Kenchester is, therefore, not completely anomalous.

To summarize, we can see from FIG. 28 that the majority of Iron Age pottery comes from the area roughly bounded by the rivers Wye and Severn. If we assume that Coarse and Fine reduced quartz wares came from this same area, less than 1% of the pottery (excluding Dressel 1) would have come from further afield. Fabrics for which a source area is known are, without exception, non-local and there is no evidence to suggest that the unnamed sources diverge from this. This complies with the recognised pattern of pottery supply and production for other sites west of the Severn river and in the northern Welsh Marches (Morris, pers. comm.). Fabric Groups A, BI, D and Droitwich briquetage are all typical of sites in the Welsh Marches/West Midlands/ Cotswolds (Morris, 1981a and b i Peacock, 1968, Fig. 2). Even Stony VCP briquetage, representing the furthest known source, conforms to the previously identified distribution. It has also been found in association with both Droitwich briquetage and stamped and linear tooled pottery at Twyn-y-Gaer, Croft Ambrey, Credenhill and Midsummer Hill (Morris, 1981b).

Dating

Dating for the Iron Age pottery is imprecise due to the lack of associated absolute dating evidence. Assessment of the Iron Age in southern Britain, taking C14 evidence into consideration, suggests that a re-evaluation of the chronology will be necessary:

> Our accepted chronology for 'Iron Age' sites and material must be extended by at least another 300 or 400 years, with the consequent readjustments for later periods of the Iron Age also. When the chronology of the first millenium BC is eventually re-established, many of our traditional ceramic phases will appear both earlier and longer... (Champion and Champion, 1981, 37).

This same trend is indicated for the Welsh Marches, even though much of the chronology and subsequent phasing relies upon a single C14 date of the mid-5th century B.C. from Midsummer Hill (Stanford, 1981, 57). From this evidence the stamped and tooled tradition of fabric Group D can be assigned an initial absolute date in the mid-5th century B.C. at Midsummer Hill and in fabric Groups BI and D, by structural correlation, at Croft Ambrey (Stanford, 1981, 167). Present evidence suggests that the use of these fabric types and the Droitwich salt containers continued throughout the entire Iron Age sequence (*ibid.*)

If aspects of form and distribution are considered in addition to fabric, it is possible to refine their application as chronological indicators. By doing so, a date in the middle to later Iron Age can be suggested for Kenchester. Although only a small amount of Iron Age pottery was recovered (2334 grammes) the following evidence can be invoked to support this conclusion.

Near to its source, in east Herefordshire-west Worcestershire, Group D pottery appears to be common throughout its entire period of production; i.e. from the mid-5th

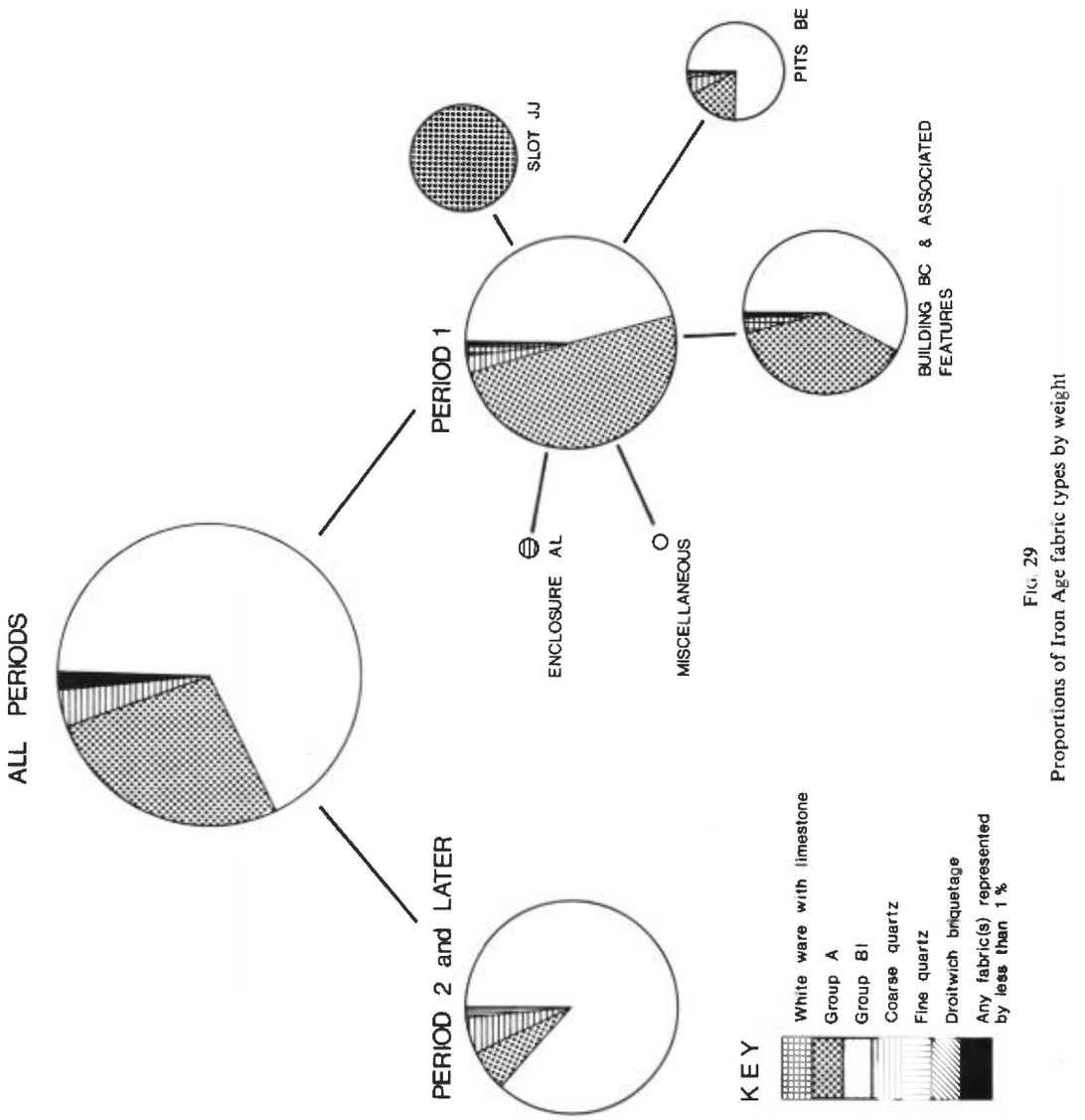


FIG. 29
Proportions of Iron Age fabric types by weight

century B.C. through the latest Iron Age but not into the Romano-British period. In more extended areas of Group D distribution, to the north and west (encompassing Kenchester), Group BI predominated through the middle Iron Age. In these areas the use of Group BI was not replaced by Group D until the later Iron Age (Morris, 1982, 18-22). At Kenchester, the small amount of Group D (0.2%) in contrast to Group BI (67.6%) might initially indicate occupation in the middle Iron Age.

While Group A constituted only 26.6% of the total assemblage, the linear tooled motif was identified amongst its types. Evidence from Croft Ambrey and Midsummer Hill suggests that linear tooling first appeared in approximately the mid-3rd century B.C. (Stanford, 1981, 167). An initial date in the early-2nd to early-1st century B.C. is proposed for Stony VCP briquetage (Stanford, 1981, 149). Both these types suggest that Kenchester was occupied in the middle to later Iron Age.

This date range is supported if we examine the ratio of decorated to undecorated vessels. Stanford (1981, 163) has noted that during the 5th century B.C. decorated wares predominated over plain ones. At Kenchester *c.* 57% of all vessels belonging to the stamped and tooled fabric tradition are undecorated, which concurs with a post-5th-century date for Kenchester. A similar ratio of decorated to undecorated vessels is seen on other sites dating to the middle or later Iron Age and would appear to be typical of this period (Morris, pers. comm.).

Although poorly supported, it is appropriate to present evidence for occupation in the latest pre-Roman Iron Age (*c.* 50 B.C.-A.D. 50). From Period 1 deposits, the only possible indication that occupation continued into the latest pre-Roman Iron Age came from the White ware with limestone fabric. This Type 1 vessel was found in two post holes: one was indirectly associated with the roundhouse Building BC (LL 83a) and the other (which formed part of the first post built phase of Building BC (LL 85a) was cut, but not sealed, by the Phase 2 ring ditch of Building BC. However, as parallels could not be found in the Welsh Marches/West Midlands or southern Britain it provided no firm dating evidence.

Dressel 1 amphora was identified only in Roman contexts. This amphora (Type 122) is characteristic of 1st century B.C. deposits in Britain (Gale, Archive 108) and could have originally been associated with Period 1 occupation. If so, this would extend the date of this phase into the latest pre-Roman Iron Age. Given the peripheral location of Kenchester within the normal distribution area of Dressel 1, one might expect it to represent the very latest date in the Dressel 1 sequence. However, as the secondary trade and long use of amphorae has been stressed (e.g. Callender, 1965, xx; Grace, 1961, 4), and it does not occur in Period 1, it is unwise to rely upon these sherds for dating.

The remaining evidence for possible latest pre-Roman Iron Age occupation is problematic and comes from Group BI form types: jars with everted or out-turned rims (Type 9) and large wide-mouthed vessels with reeded rims (see Kenyon, 1953, Fig. 18, 5 and Fig. 19). These forms are diagnostic of sites with phases dating to the latest pre-Roman Iron Age, such as Poston (Anthony, 1958), Beckford (Rees, pers. comm.) and seemingly Sutton Walls (Kenyon, 1953), although the date range is based on now out-

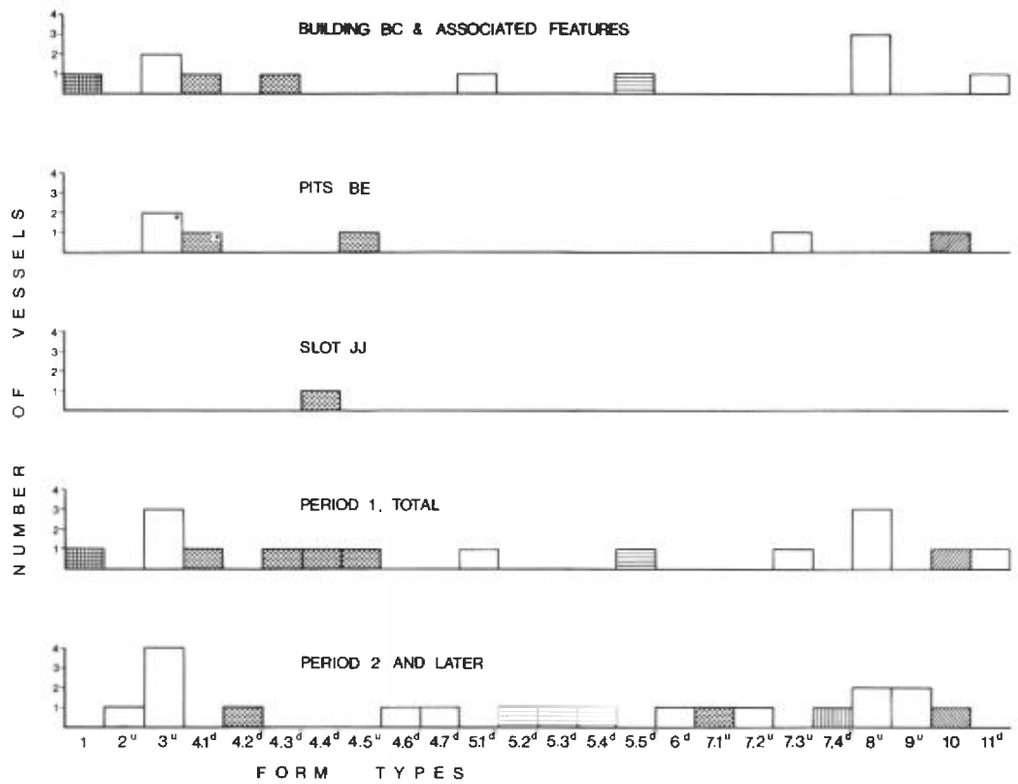


FIG. 30
Iron Age vessel types

dated arguments. The evidence from these sites is difficult to interpret but the forms would seem to first appear in latest pre-Roman Iron Age deposits at Poston (Morris, pers. comm.) and in an Iron Age—Romano-British 'transition' phase at Beckford (Rees, pers. comm.). These same forms are also found in association with Romano-British pottery at Poston, Beckford and Sutton Walls (*ibid.*). Only the jar (Type 9) was found at Kenchester, represented by rims from two vessels in Romano-British contexts.

Given the above evidence, we must consider whether these latest pre-Roman Iron Age Group BI forms were produced, as opposed to used, in the Romano-British period. Resolution of this problem awaits conclusions from larger assemblages, but a tentative suggestion can be made from the Kenchester material. A large proportion (*c.* 65%) of the Kenchester Group BI fabric was recovered from Roman features. Similarly large amounts of 'residual' material could be identified amongst the Coarse reduced quartz (*c.* 68%—3 vessels) and Fine reduced quartz (100%—1 vessel) wares. In these cases the vessels were decorated and there is no suggestion that stamped and tooled types were produced during the Roman period. Therefore, the high proportion of Group BI material from Roman contexts need not argue for its production into the Romano-British period.

Negative evidence is perhaps the strongest argument against occupation in the latest pre-Roman Iron Age. This comes not only from the rarity of jars (Type 9) and absence of reeded rim vessels in Group BI, but also the lack of reduced and oxidized wheelmade wares in a variety of fabrics which have been identified at sites with latest pre-Roman Iron Age occupation, such as Poston, Salmonsbury (Morris, pers. comm.) and Beckford (Rees, pers. comm.).

Closer examination of the Poston assemblage serves to emphasize the importance of this negative evidence. The ratio of Groups BI and A, at Poston, are similar to those from Kenchester, with Group D being absent. Unlike Kenchester, the BI fabric jar and reeded rim vessel types are common and a micaceous wheelmade ware can also be identified (Morris, pers. comm.). The lack of Group D at Poston might be attributed to occupation after its production had ceased, i.e. in the latest pre-Roman Iron Age, and this argument is complemented by the wheelmade ware. In contrast, we might suggest that at Kenchester the low proportion of Group D, viewed in conjuction with the *negative evidence,* refutes a latest pre-Roman Iron Age date and places it earlier in the sequence.

To reiterate the most salient points, the predominance of Group BI, the small amount of Group D and the presence of linear tooled decoration and Stony VCP briquetage all argue for a date in the middle or later Iron Age. This evidence, together with the rarity of late indicators (certain Group BI forms and wheelmade fabrics), suggests that occupation at Kenchester fell within the period from approximately the mid-3rd century B.C. into, perhaps, the 1st century B.C.

Period 1

Building BC and Associated Features (FIGS. 29 and 30)

The roundhouse and associated post holes and pits produced 633 grammes of pottery. The majority, 57.5%, belongs to Group BI, with 38.4% to Group A, 3% to White ware with limestone, 0.6% to Group D, and 0.5% to Coarse reduced quartz ware (FIG. 29).

FIG. 30 tabulates the vessel types present in each fabric. From this it can be seen that Group BI vessels comprise just over half of the total number, with the greater amount (*c.* 71%) being undecorated. If one considers all rims from fabrics in the stamped and linear tooled tradition, there is an equal number of decorated to undecorated vessels.

The predominance of Group BI, lack of Group D and identification of the linear tooled decoration conform to dating evidence suggested for the total Iron Age assemblage.

Pits BE (FIGS. 29 and 30)

247 grammes of pottery were recovered from pits overlying the roundhouse. Group BI accounts for 76%, with 16.2% of Group A, 5.7% of Coarse reduced quartz ware, 1.6% of Droitwich briquetage and 0.5% of Group D (FIG. 46).

The five vessels, in the stamped and tooled tradition, are indicated on FIG. 30. Two of these join sherds from Building BC (Types 3 and 4.1). Considering all five rim sherds, 80% are undecorated. The small assemblage from Pits BE is comparable to that from Building BC.

Enclosure AL and Slot JJ (FIGS. 29 and 30).

Enclosure AL produced body sherds of Coarse reduced quartz ware (12 grammes). A single Group A stamped vessel (Type 4.4) accounted for the 261 grammes of pottery from Slot JJ.

Miscellaneous (FIG. 29)

Eight grammes of Group BI pottery came from a single context (GG127a) which could not be stratigraphically related to other Period 1 deposits.

Summary (FIGS. 29 and 30)

A total of 1161 grammes of pottery were recovered from Period 1 features. With the exception of the Fine reduced quartz ware, Stony VCP briquetage and Dressel 1, all Iron Age fabrics found at Kenchester are represented. Group BI is the most common fabric (48.2%), closely followed by Group A (46.9%) (FIG. 30). If one considers the number of vessels represented by each of these fabrics, approximately twice as many are found in Group BI than in Group A. Equality in weight and disparity in vessel numbers is explained by the majority of weight in Group A coming from two vessels (Types 4.1 and 4.4). The remaining fabric types are represented by only small quantities (FIG. 29: 2.5% of Coarse reduced quartz ware; 1.6% of White ware with limestone; and 0.4% each of Group D and Droitwich briquetage). Approximately 78% of all Group BI vessels are undecorated with *c.* 57% of the total fabrics in the stamped and linear tooled tradition being plain (FIG. 30).

Viewing Period 1 by both individual features groups and as a whole, it would appear to date to the middle or later Iron Age. Vessel joins noted between Period 1 features (between Building BC and its associated features and between Building BC and Pits BE) suggest that the features were in-filled within a relatively short time period.

Period 2 and later

1173 grammes of Iron Age pottery were found in Romano-British features. Fabric types which were not represented in Period 1 include Fine reduced quartz ware, Stony VCP briquetage and Dressel 1. White ware with limestone, Droitwich briquetage and Group D are absent from these contexts.

As in Period 1, Group BI predominates, comprising 86.7%. Group A is less well represented, accounting for only 6.5%, with 5.3% of Coarse reduced quartz ware, 1.2% of Fine reduced quartz ware, and 0.3% of Stony VCP briquetage (FIG. 29). Dressel 1 (not included in FIG. 29, see Tables 2, 8 and 9) is found in Periods 2-6 but as already discussed (p. 115), there is some doubt with which phase of occupation it is associated.

FIG. 30 shows that vessel types follow the same general pattern exhibited in Period 1. The vast majority are Group BI fabric, and of the thirteen vessels *c.* 77% are, as in Period 1, undecorated. When the total fabrics in the stamped and linear tooled tradition are considered *c.* 57% are, again, undecorated.

Similarities between the two groups are seen in both the predominance of the Group BI fabric and in the proportion of decorated to undecorated vessels. Both factors suggest that the two 'assemblages' are of a similar type and date. Differences between the Iron Age pottery from Period 1 and Period 2 onwards are the lesser amount of Group A (FIG. 29), the addition of vessel Type 9 in the BI fabric and the presence of Dressel 1. These dissimilarities are difficult to assess and Dressel 1 should probably be excluded from discussion (p. 113). The lesser proportion of Group A would not be explained by confusion between Romano-British and Iron Age sherds (p. 110), but the two heavy vessels from Period 1 may account for the difference. The only evidence that the two assemblages are different comes from form Type 9 and given the sparseness of its occurrence it adds little to interpretation; thus the similarities between the groups are more significant than the differences.

General Site and Comparative Discussion

As already noted, the fabric types represented at Kenchester are compatible with those normally found in the Welsh Marches/West Midlands/Cotswolds area. It is significant that although Kenchester has provided the first evidence for lowland, or non-hillfort, occupation in the Welsh Marches it conforms well to the previously identified pattern covering a wide geographical area.

Within the immediate vicinity of Kenchester, we can compare it with the excavated hill forts, of which Croft Ambrey, Sutton Walls, Dinedor, Poston and Credenhill are the nearest examples. Given its immediate proximity, Credenhill is of special interest

and assemblages were compared. Interpretation of the Credenhill ceramic material is problematic since only a small amount of pottery was recovered (262.5 grammes). Group BI was absent while Group D accounted for *c.* 73% of the Credenhill material; the remainder belonging to only linear tooled Group A (Morris, 1982, 27). This forms a sharp contrast to Kenchester where Group BI predominates. If Group D is diagnostic of a later Iron Age date in this area (*ibid.*) its high occurrence at Credenhill, together with the absence of Group BI, could suggest a slightly later date for Credenhill ceramics than those from Kenchester. However, the possibility that differences are related to functional rather than chronological factors should be considered.

Turning to the hill forts further from Kenchester, a variety of assemblage types can be noted but only general parallels drawn. At Dinedor *c.* 40% of the pottery belonged to Group D (Morris, 1981b, 152), precluding comparison between the sites. Poston has already been discussed (p. 117) and attention drawn to the dissimilarities between it and Kenchester. The relationship between Kenchester and Sutton Walls is more difficult to determine. The most recent catalogue states that Group A is common and BI abundant (Peacock, 1968, 427). Further work on pottery from other sites has shown that some vesicular sherds thought to belong to the BI fabric are instead Group D (Morris, 1982). Therefore, until additional fabric analysis on the Sutton Walls material is available, it is unwise to compare it with Kenchester. The best parallel can be found at Croft Ambrey where Group BI predominated (49.3%), followed by 32.7% of Group A, 11.2% of Group D and the remainder of a handmade fabric absent at Kenchester (Morris, pers. comm.).

While it is difficult to find exact parallels for the Kenchester assemblage amongst excavated sites in the Welsh Marches, they all share the same general range of fabric and form types. Kenchester can be easily assimilated into the previously known ceramic traditions in the Welsh Marches during this period, despite its non-hill-fort status.

ROMANO-BRITISH

Introduction

A description and discussion of each Romano-British site period is included here. Specific major features are mentioned in rare instances but the main emphasis has been given to general trends by site period as a whole. This was necessary as many of the major features, e.g. the villa Building M, produced small amounts of generally undiagnostic pottery. In addition, the proportion of residual pottery frequently appeared great and the dating of some individual features was shown, by their stratigraphic positions, to be unreliable.

The text for this section is intended to supplement the tabulated information (Tables 2-7) and it stresses the most significant aspects of the assemblages. Summary dating evidence is given for each period; a more detailed discussion is with the excavation text. Information in this section relating to samian, amphorae and mortaria is based on specialist reports.

Due to the paucity of published information on pottery from this area the material has only infrequently been compared to other sites. It will suffice to note that no great differences between Kenchester and its surrounding sites could be discerned.

Tables

Two different methods of presentation have been used to tabulate the assemblages. Firstly, Table 2 illustrates the presence and absence of each fabric by site period and indicates source areas represented at Kenchester. An attempt has been made to isolate residuality for pottery types which have a more finite life (e.g. Imported mortaria, Fabric 2, A.D. 80-150, Hartley, Archive 108). This was not done for coarse wares unless it was certain that all sherds came from a single vessel and residuality could be accurately determined (i.e. Sandy reduced ware, Carbonate ware and SVW, allied type). Whenever possible residuality was identified by the major feature(s) in which the fabric occurred rather than by site period in general. Positive recognition of residual amphorae was problematic for all periods due to its documented secondary trade and use (see p. 142). On Tables 2 and 7 residual amphorae have been calculated from accepted dates for production and use.

Secondly, Tables 3-7 provide a record of all form types in each period (excepting Period 6) and indicate in which fabric(s) they occur. Some notation follows each entry in order to indicate what was felt, by the writer, to be the significant components of the assemblage. Therefore, while the tabulations are objective, notation is purposefully subjective. The following key has been used for these tables:

UD *Uncommon but considered diagnostic:* Any form with this notation was represented by more than one vessel. A query in conjuction with 'UD' relates not to quantity but to how diagnostic the form is. Forms considered uncommon but diagnostic are not necessarily discussed in the text but the most significant ones are.

C *Common:* This indicates that the form was present in at least moderate quantities, as defined in Section 2 (*c.* 7 or more vessels). Not all common vessels are discussed in the text, but those considered most frequent and typical are mentioned.

TL *Rare in a given period but typical of a later one.*

R *Residual:* This was determined in the same way as described for Table 2.

r *Residual but occurring for the first time or for the first time in a new fabric.*

1 *One vessel:* This notation was not always used. For example, vessel types indicated as 'NR' (see below) were not quantified.

* *Vessel of Special Interest:* Additional comments on vessel types with an asterisk can be found in the form corpus (Microfiche, Section 2).

NR *Not Relevant:* This is the most subjective coding. It was used if the form did not contribute to interpretation or if it could be residual. It was never employed for types which occurred in quantity. No form appearing for the

first time (or for the first time in a new fabric) was listed as 'NR', although it was not necessarily significant to interpretation.

? *Any uncertainty.*

Some combinations of the above groups were also used. For example, 'CR' refers to common but residual. Joining of any two symbols should be self-explanatory.

Period 2

Period 2 was sub-divided into three phases (Periods 2a, 2b, 2c). The assemblages from these three phases are tabulated separately (Tables 2-7) but are discussed together. Twenty-four contexts could not be assigned to a particular phase within Period 2. These contexts were poorly sealed and the small amount of total pottery (*c.* 100 sherds) did not aid interpretation. Therefore, while they have been included in overall quantification, Period '2' contexts are only specifically mentioned in the case of samian ware (Section 4). Further detail on these contexts is in the archive.

The function of the first phase of Romano-British occupation (Period 2a) is unclear, but Periods 2b and 2c have been interpreted as a milling complex and granary. It is suggested that during Period 2b the granary may have been under 'official' control (p. 74).

Phases within Period 2 share a general *terminus post quem* from the late-1st century through to the late Antonine period with some features in Period 2c apparently being in-filled during the 3rd century (p. 69). The chronological sequence derived from Periods 2a-2c forms a close progression, with some overlapping in dates. To envisage three discrete occupation sequences from this would be too rigid a reconstruction of the period. This is demonstrated by continuity of fabric and form between the three phases, as can be seen from Tables 2-7.

Examination of both forms and sources does little to support or counter the premise that Period 2b was an official establishment. Although it must be stressed that an 'official' nature need not be reflected in ceramics, there is nothing atypical about the assemblage for this area and date and nothing to suggest that Period 2b differs from the earlier Period 2a. The bulk of the pottery in Period 2 is from, presumably, local or regional sources and exhibits no general characteristics atypical of Roman assemblages of this date.

Viewing Period 2 chronologically, a slight diversification of fabric and form types can be seen from the earliest to latest phases (Tables 2-7). However, the assemblages from Periods 2a and 2b were too small for contrasts between form occurrences to be significant (less than 450 sherds in each period). The greater number of forms identified in Period 2c may merely reflect the larger quantity of pottery (over 800 sherds).

Despite differences in size, the assemblages are very similar. In all cases reduced wares are more common than oxidized ones, comprising *c.* 60-70% of all coarse wares. Likewise, in each phase, Grey ware is the most common coarse ware fabric (*c.* 40-50%), followed by SVW (*c.* 30%) and lastly BBI (*c.* 7-15%). Similarities between form types in different fabrics could be noted, especially between Grey ware and SVW and Grey

ware and BBI (Tables 3-4). While Imported mortaria, Fabrics 2-4, do not appear in quantity they, too, are a typical 'marker' of Period 2.

Although Period 2a produced only a limited amount of pottery, most of the coarse fabric types which occur with any regularity in later site periods are present (Table 2). Diagnostic sherds are not common but some typical forms can be identified.

Included amongst these is the Grey ware beaker (Type 31). Occurring first in Period 2a, it is typical of all Period 2 phases. Its association with mid-2nd-century material in this area (cf. at *Bravonium* (Leintwardine), Stanford, 1959, 32; Fig. 5, 8) would indicate a longer use-life for this form at Kenchester than in other regions of Britain. For instance, at Jewry Wall it was assigned a *terminus post quem* of *c.* A.D. 120 (Kenyon, 1948, 107, Fig. 27). The decoration on Kenchester vessels is also different from that found on other sites. In nearby areas, e.g. Worcester, this beaker type is normally rusticated. At Kenchester rustication is rare (found only on body sherds) and the beaker would normally appear to be rouletted. This rouletted decoration is typical of the Kenchester Grey ware fabric and appears on other Grey ware form types in addition to the beaker. Tables 3, 4 and 5 illustrate that beaker Type 31, together with jar Type 53 and bowl Type 69 form the most typical suite of Grey ware forms in Period 2.

The decoration on BBI forms in Period 2a is somewhat unclear. The one example of a plain rim dish (Type 104) is abraded, while the flat rim dish (Type 109) may be decorated with burnished acute cross-hatching. The burnished acute cross-hatching is present, but only positively identified on body sherds.

The possibility of the Period 2a boundary Ditch LL being pre-Antonine is presented elsewhere. While an Antonine date must be accepted, two vessels found in the ditch are unusual and may be earlier. These include a necked bowl (Type 69, also occurring in other fabrics in this period) in Carbonate ware. This fabric would appear to be a precursor to more standardized Romano-British grey wares. A distinctive handled jar (Type 116) also occurs, in Sandy reduced ware.

In Period 2b fewer Grey ware rim sherds were found than in 2a but the same typical forms can be identified. The most common decoration, as in Period 2a, is rouletting but rare examples of burnished acute cross-hatching are also noted. SVW body sherds occur regularly but few diagnostic ones are present. It is, presumably, increased absolute quantity of BBI (57 sherds as opposed to 19) that allows for the identification of additional form types (Tables 4 and 5).

Period 2c is again similar to both 2a and 2b. The most divergent addition is tankards (Types 37 and 38). Grey ware sherds decorated with burnished acute cross-hatching, while present in Period 2b, are more typical of Period 2c. This decoration was most likely associated with the jar Type 53, which, as Table 4 shows, is commoner in Period 2c. The burnished intersecting arc pattern is seen for the first time on BBI during Period 2c (Type 107 and body sherds). However, BBI sherds from earlier contexts were abraded and could have originally been decorated in this manner.

Of the features in-filled during Period 2c, the boundary Ditch G contained some unusual elements. Setting it apart from other features are several semi-complete vessels. These include an Imported mortaria, Fabric 3 (Type 131), a White ware flagon (Type 25) and a Dressel 14 amphora (Type 126). This evidence, together with a suggested date later than most 2c features (p. 69), accords with its interpretation as a slow-filling ditch used for refuse when its function as a boundary was outlived.

Pottery sources identified throughout all phases of Period 2 are relatively constant (Table 2) and are basically in keeping with normal pottery distribution for this area. If we consider additional sources of pottery of Antonine date (i.e. residual in contexts of Period 3 and later), this conclusion is unaltered (see p. 144 for a discussion of Antonine mortaria). Any pottery types atypical to the Kenchester area are poorly represented in quantity.

Arguments which might be raised in support of the official nature of Period 2b are similarities to the *colonia* at *Glevum* (Gloucester) and the military centre of *Isca* (Caerleon). 'Caerleon' mortaria are not restricted to military sites but supplied to a variety of types of sites, including *Magnis* (Kenchester). Thus, the presence of this type at Kenchester should not be invoked to support 'official' contact. *Glevum* 'RPG' stamped tiles, found in association with Period 2b and also in later contexts at Kenchester (p. 167), are outside their expected distribution area. This divergence from normal distribution patterns is interpreted elsewhere (p. 74) as suggesting that the relationship between the two sites might be of special significance. However, it should be noted that in addition to the 'RPG' tiles, two Kenchester fabric types (Sandy oxidized ware; and Grog tempered ware, Fabric 1, found in Periods 4 and 6) are paralleled in 2nd century deposits in Gloucester (Ireland, 1983, 98-101). As *Glevum* (Gloucester) would seem to have been the central point for mortaria distribution from Oxfordshire and the continent (pp. 144-5), parallels between Gloucester and Kenchester need not necessarily afford surprise.

Period 3

Period 3 saw continued use of some Period 2c features (e.g. Building FF) but also marked the construction of the villa (Building M) and a relocation of boundary ditches. The change in site character, to villa occupation, and the alteration of boundaries suggests either a reorganization of the site or an abandonment between Periods 2 and 3. The former interpretation is supported by the continuous dates indicated for Periods 2 and 3. A long period of occupation is attested to for Period 3 by the structural revisions that took place (especially in Buildings M and T and Trough Y). This accounts for the wide date range suggested by the pottery which appears to range from the late-2nd century to *c.* A.D. 300 (p. 80).

Continuity is also evidenced by the pottery sources represented, although many were residual in this period. As can be seen from Table 1, some new sources were identified but, once again, residual ones are present. The only discontinuity between Periods 2 and 3 which might be considered significant is the lack of 3rd-century fabric parallels between *Glevum* (Gloucester) and Kenchester. However, neither of the 2nd-century fabrics (Sandy oxidized ware and Grog tempered ware, Fabric 1) are known to have been produced at *Glevum,* but merely occurring there. Both fabrics are uncommon at Kenchester and this break is not indicative of changing source patterns. A 3rd, or most likely 4th-century 'Gloucestershire' mortarium (Type 141, found in Period 6) may indicate fabric parallels between the two areas at this time.

Tables 3-7 show that form types also support continuity between the two periods, although many could be residual. A feature of the assemblage is the combination of types continuing from Period 2 together with those which become typical in Period 4. The heterogeneous nature of the pottery may suggest a transitional phase when types of different date were in use. This is well illustrated by the occurrence of certain, possibly residual, BBI forms such as globular jars (Type 53) and flat rim bowls or dishes (Type III). These are found in association with later forms, including the more typologically developed jars (Types 58 and 59, many fragmentary and difficult to identify) and flange bowls (Types 89, 90 and 91).

Over 1,000 sherds were retained from Period 3. The most common type is BBI (376 sherds), rivalled only by SVW (248 sherds). This increase in BBI is matched by a corresponding decrease in Grey ware (182 sherds). Stabilisation of Grey ware forms (Tables 3-6) would suggest that it is residual during Period 3. With the exception of Central Gaulish samian ware, all other fabric types are represented by less than 25 sherds.

Less than eighteen SVW vessels were assigned to types identified in Period 2. While tankards (Types 37 and 38) were previously noted, Period 3 examples include some with plain rims. These have a somewhat greater splay to the wall and may be of later date (Webster, 1976, 30-1 and Fig. 7, 38-44). A similar number of vessels occur in forms which become typical of Period 4, most notably narrow-mouthed jars (Table 4). Period 3 also marked a diversification in SVW bowl forms, as shown in Table 5, and this trend continues in Period 4.

Period 3 saw the introduction of wheelmade Malvernian wares, found in association with handmade ones. There is some evidence for concurrent production of handmade and wheelmade Malvernian wares (cf. Type 31 in Grey ware) during the late-1st or 2nd century (Peacock, 1967, 26). It is uncertain whether both were produced during the 3rd century. Period 3 provides the first example of handmade fabrics which are grey in colour (Type 58), setting them apart from the more typical handmade fabric. It is suggested that these grey vessels were first made in the 3rd century when the 'tubby' cooking pots (Type 61) and dishes (Types 107 and 108) had ceased production. Some similarities in form type (cf. Type 58) between the two fabrics might also suggest that they were both in production.

Period 4

This second phase of villa occupation followed on immediately from Period 3 and can be ceramically dated to *c.* A.D. 240/270-400 + (p. 88). Table 2 indicates source areas present, though many are represented by residual types. The Oxfordshire area shows diversification, with not only white ware mortaria being found in greater

quantity (mostly residual, see Table 7), but red and brown colour-coated mortaria (Type 140) and white colour-coated mortaria being present. In addition, Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated table wares (Types 92, 99, ?100, 119) are also identifiable. Although none of the Oxfordshire wares are abundant, *together* they constitute a group typical of Period 4. The New Forest source is represented for the first time. While Kenchester is outside its normal distribution area (Fulford, 1975, Figs. 44-54), only one sherd (Type 92) was identified. The first occurrence of Coarse oxidized ware may be of chronological significance but a tile in this same fabric was identified from Period 2c.

Nearly 2,000 sherds were retained from Period 4. This is the first assemblage in which oxidized coarse wares predominate over reduced ones. SVW is the most prolific (584 sherds), followed by BBI (436 sherds). Of the remaining fabrics only Grey ware, Central Gaulish samian ware and the combined total of all amphora fabrics each produced over 100 sherds. Oxfordshire white ware mortaria and possibly Fine oxidized wares (identification difficult) are represented by *c.* 50 sherds, with other fabrics evidence by *c.* 25 sherds or less.

Some of the SVW forms identified in earlier periods occur rarely and are not considered relevant. Tables 3-6 indicate that a number of forms first noted in Period 5 are common in Period 4, especially narrow-mouthed globular jars. There is also a distinct increase in wide-mouthed jars. The addition of many Type 39 tankards is also diagnostic, and they are found in association with tankard Type 38, which may be residual. It is these tankards, together with jar Types 48, 62 and 65, which are the SVW forms most common to Period 4. Many other forms, which occur in lesser quantity are considered typical, and they are shown on Tables 3-6.

Finer table wares would seem more diverse than in the preceding periods. They are found in SVW, Fine oxidized ware, White ware, Sandy oxidized ware and, as already noted, Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware.

The BBI assemblage is similar to Period 3 (Tables 4-6). Large quantities of residual types can be noted (especially Types 53 and 111). Later forms (Types 58, 59, 90 and 91) appear in greater quantity than in Period 3, as does the plain rim dish (Type 104).

Although one example of a sherd re-worked as a 'counter' (Type 120) was recorded from Period 3, five of the total eight are from Period 4. This clustering accords with other classes of 'object' finds which are most prolific in Period 4.

Midden DD and certain layers of Courtyard EE (AD 71, AD 72) contained considerable amounts of residual BBI and Grey ware. This may suggest a clearing of the site associated with the reorganization of Building M. However, the mixed assemblage from Courtyard EE may have resulted from imprecise layer definition as most contexts laid down by the burning of Building AJ in Period 2c were not sealed until Period 4. A noticeable amount of residual material, including at least five vessels of Oxfordshire white ware mortaria (Table 7) was also contained in layers within refuse Ditch BB. Identification of residual material was biased towards better dated pottery. While it appears that there is a greater amount of residual pottery amongst, for example, BBI or Oxfordshire white ware mortaria than SVW, this may be due to less precise dating of SVW.

Period 5

Period 5 consisted primarily of the robbing of Period 4 features. Some new features were identified and those containing pottery include Building M features, Ditch NN, Ruts AM and Roads AN and AZ. Assemblages were compared to determine whether the pottery from robbing activity was different to those from the new features. Pottery groups are too small to provide useful comparative data but there is nothing to indicate dissimilarities.

Only a limited quantity of pottery was available (less than 350 sherds). Dating is similar to that for Period 4 (p. 125) and no new sources are represented (Table 2). Only new form types or forms occurring for the first time in a new fabric are considered relevant on Tables 3-7.

Period 6

This period consists of all unstratified and topsoil pottery. Source areas represented are shown on Table 2. Only those form types (or specific fabrics within a form type) which did not occur in earlier deposits are indicated on Tables 3-7. The others can be determined from the form corpus.

	Period 2a	*Period 2b*	*Period 2c*	*Period 3*	*Period 4*	*Period 5*	*Period 6*
CONTINENTAL SOURCES							
Gaul							
South Gaulish samian ware	R	R	R	R	R	R	
Central Gaulish samian ware	X	X	X	X	R	R	R
East Gaulish samian ware		X	X	R	R		R
North Gaulish ware, Fabric 1				R		R	
North Gaulish ware, Fabric 2	?R	R					
Central Gaul Rhenish ware				U	R		R
Imported mortaria, Fabric 1				R	R	R	
Imported mortaria, Fabric 2	X		R		R	R	R
Imported mortaria, Fabric 3	X	X	R		R		
Imported mortaria, Fabric 4	X	X		R	R		
Germany							
Trier Rhenish ware					R	R	R
Lower Germany mortaria, Fabric 1				X	R		R
Lower Germany mortaria, Fabric 2					R		
Lower Germany mortaria, Fabric 3					?R	R	
Italy							
Dressel 1 amphorae	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Dressel 2-4 amphorae				R	R		
Spain							
Southern Spanish amphorae		R		R	R	R	R
Dressel 20 amphorae	X	X	X	X	R	R	R
Dressel 14 amphorae			X				
Unassigned source							
Unassigned amphorae				?R	?R		

BRITISH SOURCES							
Southern and Southwest							
New Forest 'Parchment' ware					X		
Black-burnished ware, Category 1	X	X	X	X	X	X	R
Verulamium region mortaria			R				
'Caerleon' mortaria		X	U?R	R	R	R	
Oxfordshire							
Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware					X	X	R
Oxfordshire white ware mortaria	X		X	X	X	X	R
Oxfordshire white colour-coated mortaria					X	X	R
Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated mortaria					X		R
Midlands							
Nene Valley colour-coated ware				X	R		R
Malvernian ware, handmade	X	X	X	X	X	X	R
Malvernian ware, wheelmade				X	X		R
West Midlands mortaria, Fabric 1			UR	R	R	UR	R
West Midlands mortaria, Fabric 2				UR	R		
Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria					UR		R
'Gloucestershire' mortaria							R
Unspecified source, probably regional							
Miscellaneous colour-coated wares			X				R
Grey ware	X	X	X	X	X	X	R
Sandy reduced ware	X	R					
Carbonate ware	X		R				
Severn Valley ware	X	X	X	X	X	X	R
Severn Valley ware, allied type		X	R				
Fine oxidized ware	X	X	X	X	X	X	R
Sandy oxidized ware		X	X	X	X	X	R
Grog compered ware, Fabric 1					X		R
Grog tempered ware, Fabric 2			X		X		
Coarse oxidized ware					X	X	R
Unspecified source, probably not local							
Miscellaneous white wares	X	X	X	X	X	X	R

KEY

X Present ?R Present and possibly residual

R Present but residual U Fabric identification uncertain

Table 2: Distribution of Romano-British Pottery Sources by Site Period

	Form Type	*Period 2a*	*Period 2b*	*Period 2c*	*Period 3*	*Period 4*	*Period 5*	*Period 6*
FLAGONS AND JUGS	12					SVW 1		
	13			White ware 1		White ware NR		
	14		Grey ware 1	Grey ware 1	Grey ware NR	White ware 1?r SVW 1?r Grey ware NR		
	15			Sandy ox 1				
	16							?Oxford CC 1r Oxford CC/SVW 1r
	17					Sandy ox 1		
	18					White ware 1		
	19					Sandy ox 1		
	20				White ware 1			
	21							White ware 1r
	22					White ware 1		
	23					White ware 1		
	24							Grey ware 1r
	25			White ware 1				
	26		SVW 1		SVW ?UD	SVW NR		
	27		Grey ware 1					
BEAKERS	28	Grey ware 1			SVW 1	Sandy ox 1 SVW ?NR		Oxford CC r Fine ox 1r Misc CC 1r
	29							
	30					Trier 1r	Trier NR	CG Rhenish 1r
	31	Grey ware UD Fine ox 1	Grey ware UD	Grey ware C	Grey ware NR Fine ox NR	Grey ware CR	Grey ware NR	
	32				BBI 1			
	33		NG, Fab 2, 1r					
	34				NG, Fab 1, 1r			Misc CC 1r
	35			Misc CC 1 Fine ox 1				
TANKARDS	36					BBI 1*		
	37			Grey ware 1* SVW UD	SVW 1 Grey ware NR	SVW NR		
	38			SVW UD	SVW UD	SVW C?R	SVW NR	
	39					SVW C		

KEY (see also page 121)

UD Uncommon but considered diagnostic

C Common (*c.* 7 or more vessels)

TL Rare in this period but typical later

R Residual

r Residual but occurring for the first time

1 One vessel present

* Vessel of special Interest

NR Not relevant

? Uncertainty

Table 3: Summary of Romano-British Flagon, Jug, Beaker and Tankard Forms by Site Period

Form Type	Period 2a	Period 2b	Period 2c	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6
40					SVW UD		
41			Grey ware 1	SVW 1			
42			SVW 1 TL	SVW 1 TL	SVW C		
43				SVW TL	SVW C Fine ox/SVW 1	Fine ox 1 SVW NR	
44			SVW 1	SVW 1			
45	Grey ware UD SVW 1		Grey ware UD SVW UD	SVW ?UD Grey ware 1?NR	Grey ware NR SVW NR	SVW NR	
46				SVW TL	SVW C	SVW NR	Fine ox 1r
47				SVW TL	SVW C		Fine ox/SVW 1r
48				SVW TL	Grey ware 1* SVW C	SVW NR	
49					SVW UD		
50					SVW 1		
51				SVW 1 TL	SVW UD		
52		Grey ware 1	Grey ware UD	BBI UD Grey ware NR	BBI UD-C Grey ware NR	BBI NR	
53	Grey ware UD	BBI UD Grey ware UD	BBI C Grey ware C	BBI C?R Grey ware C?R	BBI CR Grey ware CR	BBI NR Grey ware NR	
54		BBI 1	BBI 1	BBI NR	BBI NR	BBI NR	
55			BBI UD Grey ware 1	BBI NR	BBI NR Grey ware NR	Grey ware NR	
56				BBI 1	Grey ware 1r		
57					Grog, Fab 2, 1		
58				BBI C Malv, HM UD Malv, WM 1	BBI C Malv, WM UD	BBI NR	
59				BBI UD, TL Malv, HM 1	BBI C Malv, HM ?UD	SVW 1 BBI NR	
60	Grey ware UD	Grey ware UD	Grey ware UD	Grey ware NR	Grey ware NR	Grey ware NR	
61	Malv, HM UD	Malv, HM UD		Malv, HM NR	Malv, HM NR	Malv, HM NR	
62					SVW C	SVW NR	
63					SVW UD Fine ox 1	Fine ox NR Fine ox/SVW NR	
64							SVW 1r
65				SVW TL	SVW C Fine ox/SVW 1	SVW NR	
66					SVW 1		
67							SVW 1r

KEY (see also page 121)

UD	Uncommon but considered diagnostic	r	Residual but occurring for the first time
C	Common (*c.* 7 or more vessels)	1	One vessel present
TL	Rare in this period but typical later	*	Vessel of special interest
R	Residual	NR	Not relevant
		?	Uncertainty

TABLE 4: Summary of Romano-British Jar Forms by Site Period

Form Type	Period 2a	Period 2b	Period 2c	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6
68	SVW UD		Grey ware 1	Grey ware NR SVW NR	Grey ware NR SVW NR	Grey ware NR	
69	Grey ware UD Carbonate 1 SVW UD	Grey ware UD	Grey ware C SVW UD Carbonate NR	Grey ware NR	Grey ware NR		
70					SVW UD		
71			Fine ox 1	Fine ox NR	Fine ox/SVW 1 ?r		
72		SVW, allied 1	SVW, allied NR	SVW 1	SVW NR		
73		Grey ware 1					
74				SVW 1 TL	SVW UD		
75					SVW UD		
76				SVW 1 TL	SVW C		
77				Fine ox 1	SVW UD		
78							SVW 1r
79					SVW UD	SVW NR	
80				SVW 1	SVW NR		
81				SVW UD			
82					Grey ware 1* SVW UD	SVW NR	
83			SVW 1	SVW NR			
84		Grey ware 1			SVW 1		
85					SVW 1		
86		BBI 1		BBI NR			
87				BBI 1r	BBI NR		
88				BBI 1	BBI CR	BBI NR	
89			BBI TL	BBI UD	BBI CR		
90				BBI 1 TL	BBI C		
91				BBI 1 TL	BBI C		
92					Oxford CC UD New Forest 1 Fine ox/SVW 1	Oxford CC NR	
93				SVW 1			
94					SVW 1		
95		White ware 1	Fine ox 1		Fine ox UD		
96			SVW 1	SVW 1	SVW NR	SVW NR	Oxford CC 1r
97					SVW UD Fine ox 1		
98			?Fine ox 1	SVW 1 Fine ox 1	Grey ware 1?r		
99	Grey ware 1			SVW 1	Oxford CC 1 Fine ox 1	Oxford CC/ SVW NR	
100					Oxford CC/SVW 1		

KEY (see also page 121)

UD	Uncommon but considered diagonostic	r	Residual but occurring for the first time
C	Common (*c.* 7 or more vessels)	1	One vessel present
TL	Rare in this period but typical later	*	Vessel of special interest
R	Residual	NR	Not relevant
		?	Uncertainty

Table 5: Summary of Romano-British Bowl Forms by Site Period

	Form Type	Period 2a	Period 2b	Period 2c	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6
DISHES	101		SVW 1	SVW 1	SVW 1	SVW UD		Fine ox/ SVW 1r
	102			SVW 1		Grey ware 1r		
	103			BBI 1		BBI NR	BBI NR	
	104	BBI 1		BBI 1	BBI C	BBI C	BBI NR	Grey ware 1r
	105					BBI 1*		
	106					Grey ware 1 SVW 1		
	107			BBI 1		BBI 1 Malv, HM 1?r		
	108			Malv, HM 1	Malv, HM NR	Malv, HM NR		
	109	BBI 1		BBI 1	BBI UD?R	BBI NR		
	110							BBI r
BOWL DISH	111		BBI UD Grey ware 1	BBI UD	BBI C?R	BBI CR	BBI NR	
LIDS	112		Grey ware 1	Grog, Fab 2, 1 Grey ware NR	SVW 1	Malv, HM 1 Fine ox/ SVW ?r SVW ?NR Grog, Fab 2, NR	SVW NR	
	113	Grey ware 1		Grey ware 1		SVW ?UD Grey ware NR		BBI 1r*
	114					SVW UD		
MISCELLANEOUS AND RE-WORKED SHERDS	115					Coarse ox 1	Coarse ox NR	
	116	Sandy red 1	Sandy red NR					
	117		Grey ware 1				SVW ?1	
	118				NV CC 1	NV CC NR		
	119					Oxford CC UD		
	120				SVW 1	CC samian 1 UD	CG samian NR	
						BBI 1 UD	SVW NR	
						SVW UD		
	121					Fine ox 1 UD	SVW 1	

KEY (see also page 121)

UD	Uncommon but considered diagnostic
C	Common (*c.* 7 or more vessels)
TL	Rare in this period but typical later
R	Residual
r	Residual but occurring for the first time
1	One vessel present
*	Vessel of special interest
NR	Not relevant
?	Uncertainty

Table 6: Summary of Romano-British Dish, Bowl/Dish, Lid, Miscellaneous and Re-worked Sherd Forms by Site period

	Form Type	Period 2a	Period 2b	Period 2c	Period 3	Period 4	Period 5	Period 6
AMPHORAE	122	D 1, r	D 1, NR	D 1, NR	D 1, NR	D 1, NR	D 1, NR	
	123				D 2-4, r	D 2-4, NR		
	124				C 186c r	C 186c NR	C 186c NR	
	125	D 20, UD	D 20, UD	D 20, UD	D 20, UD	D 20, CR	D 20, NR	
	126			D 14, 1*				
	127				Unassign 1?r			
MORTARIA	128			Verulamium 1r	WM, Fab 1, 1r	WM, Fab 2, r		
						Man 1r*		
						WM, Fab 1, NR		
	129				WM, Fab 1, 1r			WM, Fab 1, 1r*
	130				Oxford ww 1?r	Oxford ww NR		Man 1r*
	131	Impt 2, 1 Impt 3, 1	Imp 3, UD	Impt 2, UD, R Impt 3, UD, R		Impt 3, NR	Impt 2, NR	
	132	Impt 4, 1	Impt 4, UD		Impt 4, NR	Impt 4, NR		
	133					Caerleon 1r		
	134				LG, Fab 1, 1	LG, Fab 1, NR		
	135							Oxford ww 1r
	136				Oxford ww UD	Oxford ww NR	Oxford ww NR	
	137					Oxford ww r		
	138					Man 1r*		
	139					Oxford ww r LG, Fab 2, 1r	LG, Fab 3,	
						LG, Fab 3, 1?r	NR	
	140					Oxford red cc UD		
	141							Glos. 1r*
	142					Oxford ww 1r		
	143				Oxford ww 1	Oxford ww 1	Oxford white cc 1r	
							Oxford ww NR	
	144					Oxford ww 1r		
	145					Oxford ww 1r	Oxford ww NR	
	146					Oxford ww 1		Oxford white cc r
	147							Oxford red cc 1r
	148				WM, Fab 2, 1r*			

NOTE: Unless indicated as '1' (one vessel) quantity of amphorae are based on sherd count as defined in Section 1 (pp. 101-2).

KEY (see also page 121)

UD	Uncommon but considered diagnostic	R	Residual	*	Vessel of special interest
C	Common (*c.* 7 or more vessels)	r	Residual but occurring for the first time	NR	Not relevant
TL	Rare in this period but typical later	1	One vessel present	?	Uncertainty

Table 7: Summary of Romano-British Amphora and Mortarium Forms by Site Period

4. Information on Wares Studies by Specialists

SAMIAN WARE

Studied by Brenda M. Dickinson, B.A. and B. R. Hartley, M.A., F.S.A.

The full samian report can be found in the archive and as Microfiche Section 3, Sheet 1, Frames 60-72. Three classes of information were considered useful to site interpretation or of general interest and are published. Details of sherds A) used for dating; B) of special interest and C) potters' stamps, are given below. In some cases, classes A and C overlap with each other and they are cross-referenced. The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

D.	Déchelette 1904
O.	Oswald 1936-37
R.	Rogers 1974
S. & S.	Stanfield and Simpson 1958
S.G.	South Gaulish
C.G.	Central Gaulish
E.G.	East Gaulish

A. *Sherds Used for Dating* (FIG. 31)

This section includes sherds used for dating together with others of similar date range. They are ordered by major feature within site period and individual contexts follow the description. Unless too fragmentary, all decorated sherds are illustrated.

Period 2a

Ditch PP

1. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G. The large, chevron festoon (R. F40?), 'buds' (partial impressions of the leaf *ibid.* J178) and pygmy (not in D. or O.) were all used at Lezoux by members of the Cerialis ii-Cinnamus ii group. The figure is on a signed bowl of Paullus iv at Canterbury. *c.* A.D. 140-70. (BB 149a)

Soil SS

2. (Not illustrated). Two fragments, C.G. First half of the 2nd century. (GG 97)

3. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31, stamped by Medetus of Les Martes-de-Veyre and Lezoux. This stamp has only been recorded at the former and was probably not used at Lezoux. It appears in the material from the London Second Fire, and once, on form 29. *c.* A.D. 110-25. See Section C for details (GG 97; and GG 70, Gravel pit AH, Period 2b; and probably GG 92, Period 2, not belonging to a particular phase).

Joists TT

4. (Not illustrated). Form 30 or 37 rim, C.G., probably Les Martres-de-Veyre. First half of the 2nd century, nearer the middle. (FF 63c)

Period 2b

Ditch MM

5. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G. The zone of beaded circles was used at Lezoux by one of the Hadrianic-Antonine Secundini (Secundinus iii). *c.* A.D. 125-45. (V/W 153)

6. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31R, slightly burnt, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (V/W 153)

7. (Not illustrated). Two fragments from a cup of form 27, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AE 120d)

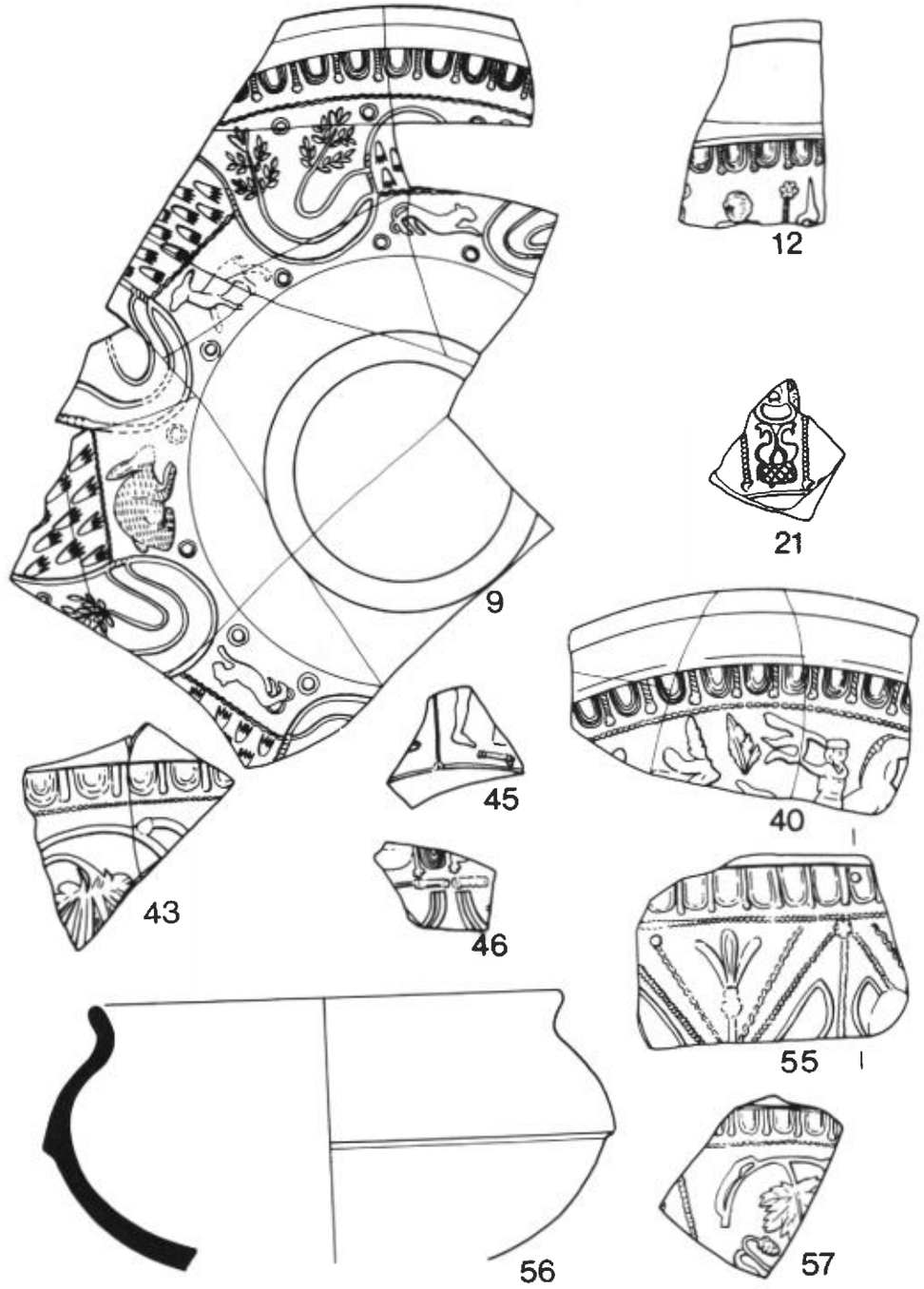


FIG. 31
Decorated samian ware nos. 9-57 (½)

Post holes AC

8. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G., with panelled decoration. The single-bordered ovolo (R. B28), festoon (*ibid.* F41) and hare (D. 950A) are all on a stamped bowl of Quintilianus i from London (Bethnal Green Mus.: S. & S., pl. 68, 4). *c.* A.D. 125-45. (V/W 178b)

Gravel pit AF

9. (Not illustrated). Form 27 (3), C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AD 86a)

10. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31 or 31, C.G. Hadrianic or Antonine. (AD 86a)

11. Many joining fragments from a bowl of form 37, C.G., with a winding scroll horizontally divided in the lower parts. The ovolo (R. B59?) was used at Les Martres-de-Veyre and Lezoux by mould-makers for Medetus and Ranto. For bowls with the leopard (D. 799), stag (0. 1763) and leaf (R. H96), cf. S. & S., pl. 32, 374 and 386. The hare is not in D. or O., nor have we seen it before on bowls connected with Ranto. The pointed leaf-tips are on a bowl at Corbridge by one of these potters. The fabric is a Lezoux one rather than from Les Martres. *c.* A.D. 125-40. (AD 86a)

12. Form 37, C.G., with panelled decoration. The rosette-tongued ovolo and seven-beaded rosette (R. C280) were used at Lezoux by Attianus ii and Drusus ii. The figures (D. 637 and 331?) are recorded for Drusus and Attianus respectively. *c.* A.D. 125-45. (AD 86a)

13. (Not illustrated). Form 30 or 37 rim, with an ovolo almost certainly used by Sissus ii of Lezoux, whose work appears in Hadrianic and early-Antonine contexts. *c.* A.D. 130-50. (AD 86a; and AD 74, Building AJ, Period 2c)

14. (Not illustrated). Many joining fragments from a dish of form 18/31, stamped by Roppus ii of Les Martres-de-Veyre. This has been recorded, burnt, at Castleford, where it probably comes from a pottery shop destroyed in the 140s. It has also been noted in the Saalburg Erdkastell. A range *c.* A.D. 110-45 is likely. See Section C for details. (AD 86a)

Gravel AH

15. (Not illustrated). Form 30 or 37 footring, C.G. Antonine. (GG 70)

16. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31 or 31, E.G. Probably Antonine. (GG 70)

Drain AR

17. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G., in hard, overfired fabric. A freestyle scene, probably with a crouching leopard (D. 805) used at Lezoux in the Antonine period. (AC 62a)

18. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AD 95a)

Period 2c

Yard CC

19. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G., with an acanthus leaf of the general type R. K20 etc. as a filler in a freestyle scene with unidentifiable animals. It recalls a bowl by one of the Cerialis ii-Cinnamus ii group with a rim-stamp of Sennius (S. & S., pl. 166, 4). Antonine. (GG 109)

Building FF

20. (Not illustrated). A wall fragment from a bowl with a slightly offset band in place of a bead-lip. This is almost certainly Stanfield's unusual form 43 (Stanfield, 1929, 139), approximating to Dragendorff form 34. The fabric could be either Central or East Gaulish. Probably Antonine. (GG 75)

Ditch MM

21. Form 37, C.G., with a composite motif (R. Q2) used at Lezoux by Cinnamus ii (cf. S. & S., pl. 158, 20). *c.* A.D. 150-80. (V/W 151)

22. (Not illustrated). Form Curle 11, 38 etc., flange, C.G. Probably Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (V/W 151)

23. (Not illustrated). Form 27?, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (V/W 151)

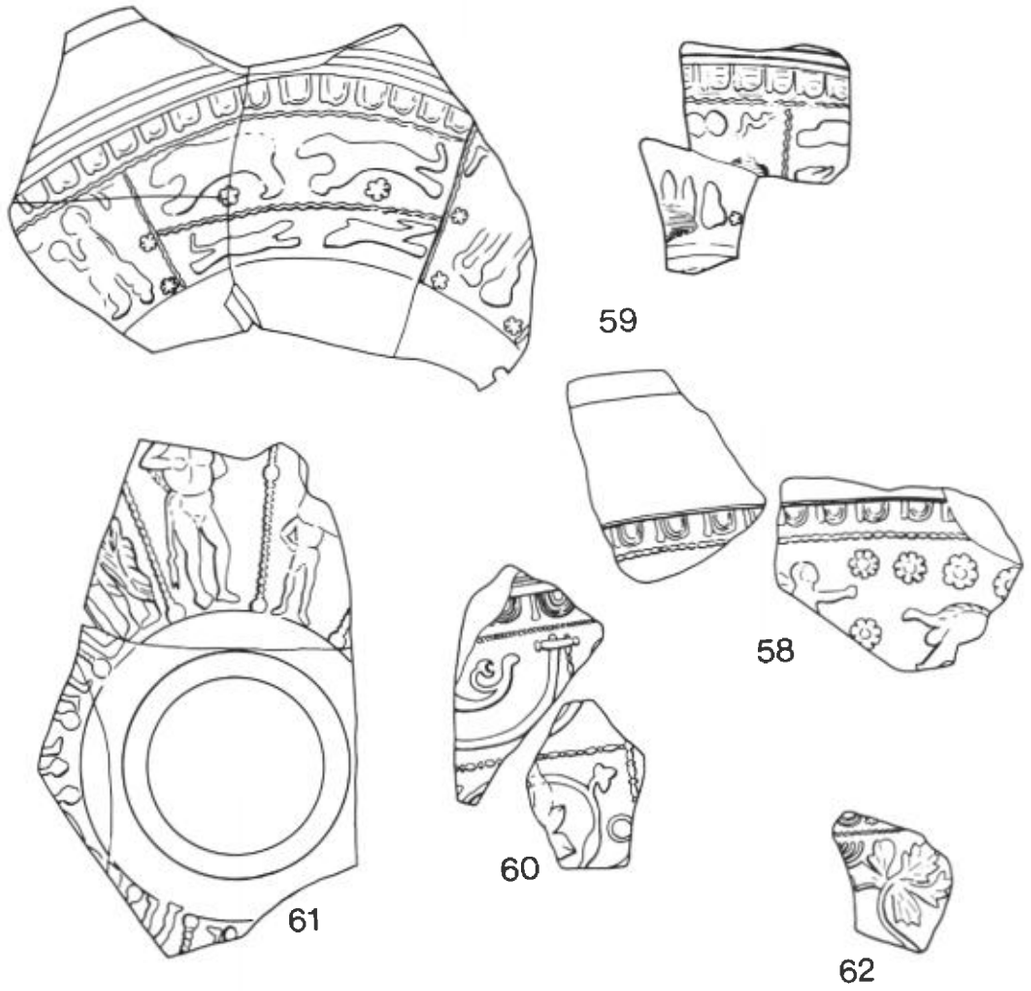


FIG. 32
Decorated samian ware nos. 58-65 (½)

24. (Not illustrated). Form Curle 11, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (V/W 151)

25. (Not illustrated). Form 30 or 37 rim, C.G. Antonine. (AE 120b)

26. (Not illustrated). Form 27, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (V/W 129)

Slot AB

27. (Not illustrated). C.G. scrap, probably Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AE 121a)

28. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31R, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (W 184a)

29. (Not illustrated). Form 27, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (W 184a)

Building AJ

30. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31 or 31, C.G. Antonine. (V/W 111)

31. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G., with a winding scroll. The small, corded circle was used at Lezoux by some members of the Paternus v group. Antonine. (V/W 111)

32. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31 or 31(2), C.G. Antonine. (AC 64)

33. (Not illustrated). Form 31, E.G. (perhaps from La Madeleine). Hadrianic-Antonine. (AC 64)

34. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31R(?), C.G., in the pale fabric and brown glaze produced at Lezoux in the Hadrianic and early-Antonine periods by Quintilianus i and others. (AD 81)

35. (Not illustrated). Form 27(2), C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AD 75)

36. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31R, C.G. Early- to mid-Antonine. (AD 75)

37. (Not illustrated). Form 33, stamped by Muxtullus of Lezoux. It is one of his earlier ones, and was used on forms 18/31R, 27 and 42. It occurs in an early-Antonine pottery shop at Castleford and in a mid-Antonine pit at Alcester. *c.* A.D. 140-60. See Section C for details. (AD 75; and AD 72, Courtyard EE, Period 4)

38. (Not illustrated). Form 18/31R, C.G. Hadrianic-Antonine. (AC 67)

39. (Not illustrated). Form 33 (3, one very thin-walled), C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AC 67)

40. Six fragments, most joining, from a bowl of form 37, with freestyle decoration. The ovolo (R. B231), stag (D. 852), horseman (D. 156, but with a cloak) and corn-stook (R. N15) were all used at Lezoux by Cinnamus ii, *c.* A.D. 150-80. (AC 67; and AC 63, Courtyard EE, Period 4; AD 51, Period 6)

41. (Not illustrated). Form 31, C.G. Antonine. (AD 74)

42. (Not illustrated). Form 37 (base), C.G. Antonine. (AD 74)

43. Two joining fragments from a bowl of form 37, with scroll decoration. The ovolo (R. B144) and leaf (*ibid.* H51?) were used at Lezoux by the Cerialis ii-Cinnamus ii group. *c.* A.D. 140-70. (AD 74; and AD 88, Building AJ, Period 3)

44. (Not illustrated). Form 27, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AD 74)

45. A small fragment of form 37, C.G., with a panel with the Neptune (D. 14), astragalus and a border of medium, elliptical beads. The astragalus is only partly impressed. It is probably the one used at Lezoux by Advocisus, whom the other details would fit. The bowl shows signs of careless moulding in several places. Antonine. (AE 152)

46. Form 37, C.G., with a rosette-tongued ovolo used on a bowl from Walton-le-Dale, unstamped, but almost certainly by Sacer i. He also used zones of double festoons, as here. *c.* A.D. 125-45. (AE 152)

47. (Not illustrated). Forms 18/31 or 31 (4), C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AE 152)

48. (Not illustrated). Form 27, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AE 152)

49. (Not illustrated). Form 36, C.G. Hadrianic or early-Antonine. (AE 152)

Pits BE

50. (Not illustrated). Form 31 or 31R, C.G. Mid- to late-Antonine. (LL 59a)

51. (Not illustrated). Form 33, stamped by Velox of Central Gaul. To judge by the distribution of his stamps, he worked at Lezoux. His forms include 18/31R, 31 and, perhaps, 38 or 44, and his stamps occur at Bishopton and Newstead. *c.* A.D. 140-70. See Section C for details. (LL 59a)

52. (Not illustrated). Form 31, with a high kick, stamped by Priscus iii of Lezoux, where the stamp is known. Priscus was associated with Clemens ii in the manufacture of decorated moulds. His work appears in the Pudding Pan Rock wreck and in a group of samian of *c.* A.D. 170 at Tac, but there is one example from Castlecary, on the Antonine Wall. *c.* A.D. 160-90. See Section C for details. (LL 59a; and GG 61a, Ditch BB, Period 4)

Period 3

Building M

53. (Not illustrated). Large and small fragments, most joining, giving the greater part of a cup of form 33, stamped by So(i)ell(i)us of Central Gaul, presumably Lezoux. The reading of this stamp is clearer on other examples, but the name is less certain, as variant spellings are known. His work appears at Catterick and Wallsend, and, although he concentrated on form 33, he occasionally produced forms 27, 31R and 38. *c.* A.D. 150-80. See Section C for details. (AE 142b)

Building FF

54. (Not illustrated). Form 37, C.G., grooved for mending. The surviving motifs (probably part of a leafy scroll) are too fragmentary for identification. Antonine. (GG 89)

B. *Sherds of Special Interest* (FIGS. 31 and 32)

Site period and individual context follows each sherd description. All sherds are illustrated.

55. Form 37, C.G., a large fragment with two holes bored for rivets. The single-bordered ovolo (R. B77) is an uncommon one. It appears on a bowl from the Castleford Pottery Shop of *c.* A.D. 140-50, in a style associated with such potters as Attianus ii and Drusus ii. Since Attianus rarely used saltire panels, and then only with beaded diagonals, this piece might be by Drusus. Although the saltires are much wider than his usual ones, he is known to have used such panels in series (on an unpublished bowl from Gloucester), and he is almost certainly the author of a bowl from Utrecht with zig-zag diagonals in the saltire (S. & S., pl. 89, 13). Alternatively, this piece may be by another, anonymous potter. Probably *c.* A.D. 125-50. (Period 4: U 57)

56. Form 81, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. This is one of the early variants of the form made by potters such as Agedillus ii. Trajanic or Hadrianic. (Period 2, not belonging to a particular phase: Z 58 and Z 66)

57. Form 37, C.G. The single-bordered ovolo (R. B28) was used by many potters, including Drusus ii and Geminus iii. The vine-scroll (*ibid.* M2) has been assigned to Drusus (Rogers quoting a bowl from Carlisle (May 1917, pl. IV, 47) which is, however, not certainly by Drusus). However, despite these uncertainties, the bowl is by a Hadrianic-Antonine potter of Lezoux and may be dated *c.* A.D. 125-45. (Period 6: AA 51)

58. Two fragments from a bowl of form 37, E.G., with freestyle decoration. All the details were used at Blickweiler, by an anonymous mould-maker. They are: Cupid (Knoor & Sprater 1927, Taf. 73, 12), boar (*ibid.*, Taf. 78, 25), ovolo (*ibid.*, Taf. 82, 30) and rosette (*ibid.*, Taf. 81, 38). For bowls with these motifs, see Taf. 50, 2 & 7; 52, 1. Probably Antonine. (Period 6: AC 51)

59. Six large fragments, one riveted, most joining, of a panelled bowl of form 37. The poor standard of workmanship, the cable borders and the absence of a closing ridge below the decoration are typical of 2nd-century Montans ware. The scheme is probably a simple alternation of broad and narrow panels, the former divided horizontally. Some, or all, of the punches for the figure-types may have been made by taking impressions from bowls made at La Graufesenque. The satyr and dog to right certainly resemble types used at La Graufesenque (Hermet, 1934, pl. 19, 87 and 26, 25) but are twenty per cent smaller than their counterparts there, which is accounted for by shrinkage in firing the mould and poinçon. On the same principle, the hare is probably derived from Hermet, pl. 26, 63 and the boar from pl. 27, 42. The dog to left does not correspond to any of the La Graufesenque types. Most of the motifs have not been recorded on stamped bowls, but appear in decoration which clearly belongs to Montans. The dog, hare and ovolo are on bowls from Wilderspool, where late Montans ware is relatively common. The dog is also on a stamped bowl of Malcio at Lectoure, the hare on a stamped bowl of Felicio at Wroxeter and the rosette on one of Chresimus at York. For the dating of late Montans ware, see Hartley 1972b, 42-5. *c.* A.D. 110-45. (Period 4: AD 62a, AD 72; and Period 5: AE 51b)

60. Two fragments of form 30, C.G. A panelled bowl, with the T-tongued ovolo (R. B206) with beaded border below and other borders of astragali used at Lezoux by some members of the Paternus v group, particularly Laxtucissa. He used the vine-scroll (R. M5, with an extra outer leaf omitted by him) on some bowls (none stamped so far). The plant in the single festoon was also used by him. *c.* A.D. 155-85. (Period 4: AD 72)

61. Form 37, S.G., with panelled decoration. The couple in the broad panel (Hermet 1934, pl. 20, 137-8) appear on bowls in a style associated with Mascuus of La Graufesenque (cf. Knorr 1905, Taf. XIV, 4, at Cannstatt). Neither of the other figures, a man (?) with a cloak and a gladiator (?) has been identified in D. or O. In view of the connections, a date *c.* A.D. 90-110 is likely. The footring is rather unusual for South Gaul, being very shallow and only slightly turned-out. The laying-out line in the decoration is also unusual for La Graufesenque, being more normally associated with Butrio at Lezoux. (Period 2b: AD 86a)

62. Form 37, C.G. The fragment of rosette-tongued ovolo with delicate zig-zag border below suggests a connection with potters such as Sissus ii, X-5, etc. The leaf (R. H86) is on a bowl from Shenstone probably by Sissus, and the striated cornucopia appears on bowls in the style of X-5 (cf. S. & S., pl. 67, 12). *c.* A.D. 125-50. (Period 3: AD 88)

63. Form 30, C.G. The ovolo (R. B74) is an uncommon one, used at Lezoux in the Antonine period and perhaps earlier. It is attributed to several potters, including Cinnamus ii, who used the Apollo (D.52) and similar beaded borders. Whether by him or not, the piece belongs to the mid- to late-Antonine period. (Period 4: GG 61a)

64. A C.G. sherd, burnt, neatly trimmed as a counter. 2nd-century. (Period 4: W116; cross-reference to form Type 120)

65. C.G. fragment, trimmed for use as a counter. Probably Antonine. (Period 5: AF 58a; cross-reference to form Type 120)

C. *Potters' Stamps* (in alphabetical order)

Potter	*Die*	*Form*	*Reading*	*Origin*	*Date*	*Site Period: Context*
Capitolinus	1a	31(Sa)	CAPITOAVVVS	Rheinzabern	late 2nd-or 3rd-century	4: FF 51
Celsus i	3b	27	OfCEL	La Graufesenque	*c.* AD 70-90	4: AC 58
Cerialis ii	4a	27	CER·I·[AL·M]	Lezoux	*c.* AD 140-165	3: AC 60a
Cintusmus i	1a	31	CI[NTVSMIX]	Lezoux	*c.* AD 155-180	4: K 51b
Cintusmus i	2b	33	[CIN]TVSMIM	Lezoux	*c.* AD 160-180	6: AF 51
Clemens ii	1a	33	[C]LEMENTS	Lezoux	*c.* AD 160-190	4: GG 72
Mammius	8d	27	[·]AMMI	Lezoux	*c.* AD 150-160	4: AD 71
Medetus	3a	18/31	(MƎ o E] TI·M	Les Martres-de-Veyre	*c.* AD 110-125	2a: GG 97; 2b: GG 70; 2, not belonging to a particular phase: probably GG 92 See also Section A, No. 3
Muxtullus	1b	33	MVXTVLLIM	Lezoux	*c.* AD 140-160	2c: AD 75; 4: AD 72 See also Section A, No. 37
Muxtullus	1b	33	MVXTVLLIM	Lezoux	*c.* AD 140-160	6: AC 51
Pecullaris i	5a	31	ƎCVLIAR·F	Lezoux	*c.* AD 140-170	4: V/W142a
Priscus ii	4b	31	PRISCI·[M]	Lezoux	*c.* AD 160-190	2c: LL 59a; 4: GG 61a See also Section A, No. 52
Quintus v	5a	53	[QVI]NTIM	Lezoux	*c.* AD 160-190	6: AA 51
Roppus ii	1a	18/31	ROPPVSFE	Les Martres-de-Veyre	*c.* AD 110-145	2b: AD 86a See also Section A, No. 14
Ruffus ii	3a	27	RVFVS[VSVE]	Lezoux	*c.* AD 140-160	3: AD 88
Saceantro	1a	27	[SA] CIIANTRO	Les Martres-de-Veyre	*c.* AD 100-125	2b: AD 86a
Secundillus	1a	18/31 or 31	[SECV]NDILLIM	?Lezoux	Early-to mid-Antonine	4: AC 63
So(l)ell(i)us	2a	33	SOIIANIIM	?Lezoux	*c.* AD 150-180	3: AE 142b See also Section A, No. 53
Velox	2b	33	VEL[OXF]	?Lezoux	*c.* AD 140-170	2c: LL 59a See also Section A, No. 51
Viducus ii	5b	27	[VIDV]CVSF	Les Martres-de-Veyre	*c.* AD 105-125	2c: AD 74
Viducus ii	5b	27	[VIDVC]VSF	Les Martres-de-Veyre	*c.* AD 105-125	4: AD 79
Unidentified	—	27	]NOV	Central Gaul	Hadrianic or early-Antonine	3: AC 60a

AMPHORAE

All amphorae were classified and subsquently weighed and counted by Fiona Gale. The text of her report has been integrated into the relevant sections of the publication; the full report is in the archive. Percentages of individual amphora types by both weight and sherd count, as compiled by Fiona Gale, are on Tables 8 and 9.

Table 8 PERCENTAGES OF AMPHORA TYPES BY WEIGHT (total weight: 53012.5 grammes)

Type	*Weight (in grammes)*	*Percentage*
Dressel 20	41,501.2	78.30%
Southern Spanish	502.5	0.95%
Camulodunum 186c	557.4	1.05%
Dressel 14	2,050.0	3.90%
Dressel 2-4	4,920.0	9.30%
Dressel 1[4]	3,171.4	6.00%
Unassigned	310.0	0.50%

Table 9 PERCENTAGES OF AMPHORA TYPES BY SHERD COUNT (total number of sherds: 303)

Type	*Number of sherds*	*Percentage*
Dressel 20	195	64.40%
Southern Spanish	14	4.60%
Camulodunum 186c	13	4.30%
Dressel 14	17	5.60%
Dressel 2-4	24	7.90%
Dressel 1[4]	22	7.30%
Unassigned	18	5.90%

MORTARIA

Katharine F. Hartley, F.S.A.[5]

The coarse ware mortaria from this excavation span a period from the late 1st century to some point in the 4th century, probably in its second half. There are at least thirty (possibly thirty-two) mortaria from sources other than the Oxford potteries, all but one earlier than A.D. 260. Sixteen of this number are almost certainly imports, thirteen probably from Gaul and three from Lower Germany. Approximately thirty-eight Oxford mortaria are involved, dated within the period A.D. 140-400, and thus they outnumber those of all periods from all other sources. FIG. 33 illustrates the importance of these mortaria source areas for different chronological horizons.

The largest British source apart from the Oxford potteries was, as one would expect, the west midland workshops in the immediate vicinity of Wroxeter which was active *c.* A.D. 110-60. During the Antonine period a number of different sources were

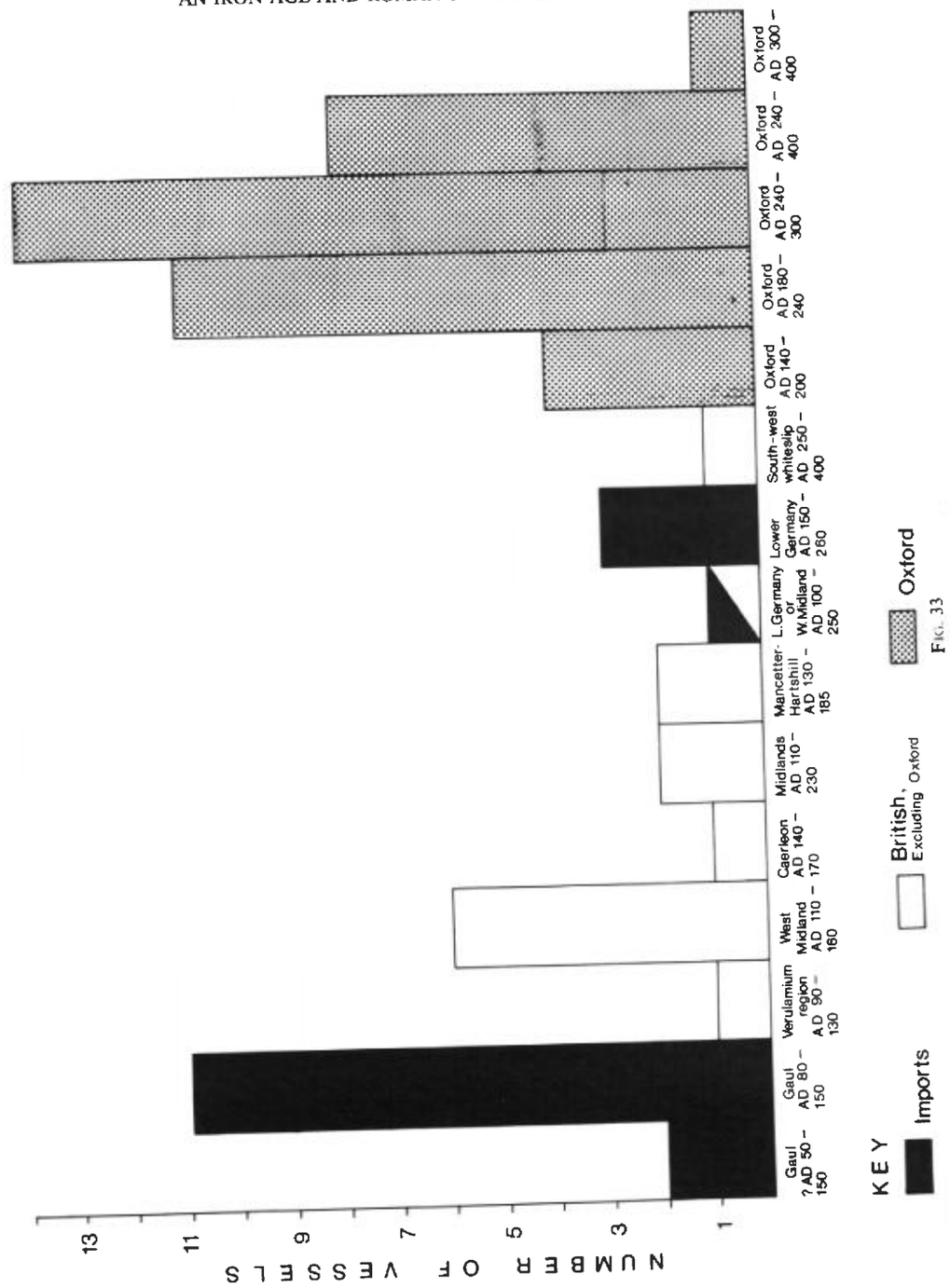


FIG. 33 Sources of coarse ware mortaria

involved, including the potteries at Mancetter and Hartshill, Warks., imports from Lower Germany, the Oxford workshops and one presumed to be at Caerleon. Kenchester was not in the primary marketing area of the Caerleon workshop and Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria were never sold in this area or in south-west England in quantity. The Wroxeter workshops were the obvious local suppliers and considering their limited period of production their products form a quite substantial proportion of the 2nd-century supplies. Moreover, their products could well have come direct from the workshops to marketing outlets in Kenchester. Five stamped mortaria from previous excavations in the town, one from Caerleon, one from the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries and three from the Wroxeter potteries reflect the same balance. Details of unstamped mortaria are, unfortunately, not to hand but none of the imported types present in this sample was ever stamped.

The marked absence of the solely Flavian and Neronian-Flavian forms, Hartley Groups I and II (Hartley, 1977) leaves little evidence of occupation before the Flavian-Trajanic period.[6] These mortaria, which were probably imported, were certainly dispersed primarily by sea and they are always present at Flavian settlements which later obtained Bushe-Fox forms 26-30 mortaria (Imported mortaria, Fabrics 2-4, Types 131 and 132) in quantity in the period A.D. 80-150. The eleven vessels in this latter category (Bushe-Fox, 1913) include at least three basic variants of the forms (in two distinct size groups) which could have chronological significance though the evidence for close dating is still lacking. Nor has any production site been located for them but their distribution points to dispersal by sea traffic and they do have certain characteristics which suggest a continental origin. They could even be later products of the potteries which produced Hartley Group I mortaria but this is entirely conjectural. For Kenchester, the immediate source for any mortaria delivered by sea would, of course, be Gloucester.

Mortaria made in the Oxford potteries had already found a market in Kenchester even in the Antonine period but the trade really developed after A.D. 180 when the town soon became virtually dependent on this source. Again, Kenchester would surely obtain its Oxford mortaria from Gloucester but the method of transport used to get mortaria from the workshops to south-west England is far from clear; it may have been either solely road transport or possibly a mixture of road and river transport (Young, 1977, 234 and elsewhere). It might be worth considering whether, after A.D. 240 when Oxford's marketing in this area, the Marches and south Wales was soaring, it was then worth transporting the pottery downstream to London and shipping it with other goods along the south coast.

The reason for the growing importance of the Oxford workshops in the Kenchester area after A.D. 180 or even earlier remains obscure but it is clear that when the Bushe-Fox form 26-30 ceased to be imported, the west midland workshop would be near its end, may indeed have closed; it is equally clear that the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries did not take their place though they could well have done so. The 'Caerleon' workshop was a small concern and seems to have marketed its surplus mainly in Somerset and Avon. It may be that the middlemen who marketed the Oxford products were functioning in precisely the area where the imports had been sold in quantity, while those involved with the Mancetter-Hartshill products sold the bulk of their mortaria in areas where Bushe-Fox types 26-30 and the German imports (Lower Germany, Fabrics 1-3) had never been important and they may well have been unaware of the changing situation. Moreover, they had a wide and established market and had no need for new ones. Another factor could be that although the Mancetter mortaria are far superior to the Oxford ones from a utilitarian viewpoint, the Oxford potteries were marketing other types of coarse ware which probably had more appeal than the equivalent Mancetter products; this might also result in Oxford mortaria being cheaper than the Mancetter-Hartshill ones.

The single mortarium from the Brockley Hill and nearby workshops in the Verulamium region underlines their insignificance at Kenchester. But this is also normal for sites like Exeter, Chichester and Cirencester whose mortaria were largely supplied by sea or coastal traffic before A.D. 150. The Verulamium region mortaria which are found in south-west England and south Wales could, in fact, have come by sea but the general distribution of these mortaria throughout Britain clearly shows that, despite their large market in London and its pre-eminence as a port, the middlemen handling their products dispersed them mainly by land.

The mortaria from these excavations are from extramural settlement but they no doubt reflect the suppliers to the town. The extramural inhabitants no doubt got supplies from the town markets but a small provincial town like *Magnis* presents a very different type of market from such important ones as Cirencester, Chichester and Gloucester and the mortaria in this small sample raise some interesting problems of supply and transport. Local workshops such as the one at Wroxeter could well have marketed products directly at Kenchester but for all other supplies the town would almost certainly be dependent on what was available at Gloucester, the nearest town of consequence to the east.

IV THE OTHER FINDS

Edited from, and with contributions by C. Beardsmore, G.C. Boon, D. Charlesworth, A. Clarke, A. David, T. Darvill, R. Everton, F. Gale, H. Howard, B. Levitan, D. Mackreth, B. Noddle, T. O'Connor, A. Parker, M. Robinson, F. Shotton and D. Williams.

1. Methodology

Though all finds were recovered from the site, a screening process was operated whereby not all objects were retained after initial cleaning, examination, and documentation. The process of selection for analysis was determined in a largely non-random fashion, i.e. according to the relative stratigraphic importance of the context as decided by the directors and site supervisors; this largely precludes quantitative analysis except in cases where all objects of a particular class were kept (e.g. painted wall plaster and coins). The details of on-site and post-excavation procedures are explained in Archive 302. The reports on individual classes of material include two basic sections.

(i) Description, including typology and dating
(ii) Discussion, both spatial and temporal in the context of the site.

The printed finds report presented here consists basically of a brief summary or index to the detailed material contained in the archive reports. There are slightly longer sections on illustrated finds which have been extracted from the bulk of the material because they reflect significant activities, provide dating evidence, or add essential details to structural analyses. Appendix II lists specialists and their reports which are stored for retrieval in the archive. While their work may not be directly quoted, the authors wish to express their gratitude to these scholars.

2. Datable Small Finds

a. The coins (Archive 100: Identification and notes on the coins by Mr. G. C. Boon)

Where coins are found in significant stratigraphic contexts they are mentioned under the finds and dating section of the relevant period discussion above. Of forty-six coins found in excavation three were unstratified and only sixteen occurred in the major features, the rest having been derived from topsoil layers. Table 2 shows the type of dating possible from numismatic evidence only. The most significant groups were those from the construction pit of Well BA (above p. 87), and the group which related Ditch B and Hollow way S (above p. 90). *A full descriptive catalogue is presented on Microfiche, Section 4, Sheet 1, Frames 73-6.*

In general most coins were from Periods 3-5 and dated to the 3rd and early 4th century. The relatively large number (nine) of Carausian coins was of particular interest.

Mr. Boon notes the following coin as being of exceptional intrinsic significance.

1. (CO25) "VICTORIA AUGG, Victory holding two wreaths, Constans, Siscia *L.R.B.C.* i, 789 mm * 515 * *c.* A.D. 341-6. Very slightly worn to slightly worn.

This coin, which is finely patinated, is a great rarity among Romano-British site finds. Only two, for instance, are recorded among the many thousands of 4th-century coins listed in the Richborough reports. A counterfeit of a similar type, but with the Victory holding only one wreath and a palm in place of the other (*L.R.B.C.* i, 787) was found at Segontium (Boon, 1976, 73, no 697, pl 5); Mr. P. J. Casey refers to one of the same type as the above, but likewise counterfeit, from Wroxeter. These types were struck only at Siscia and Aquileia. (PL. XII).

(*L.R.B.C:* Hill, Kent and Carson, 1960).

b. The brooches

(FIG. 34) (Archive 113: Type 1: Identification and report on the brooches by Mr. D. F. Mackreth).

The following is an extract from Mr. Mackreth's report.

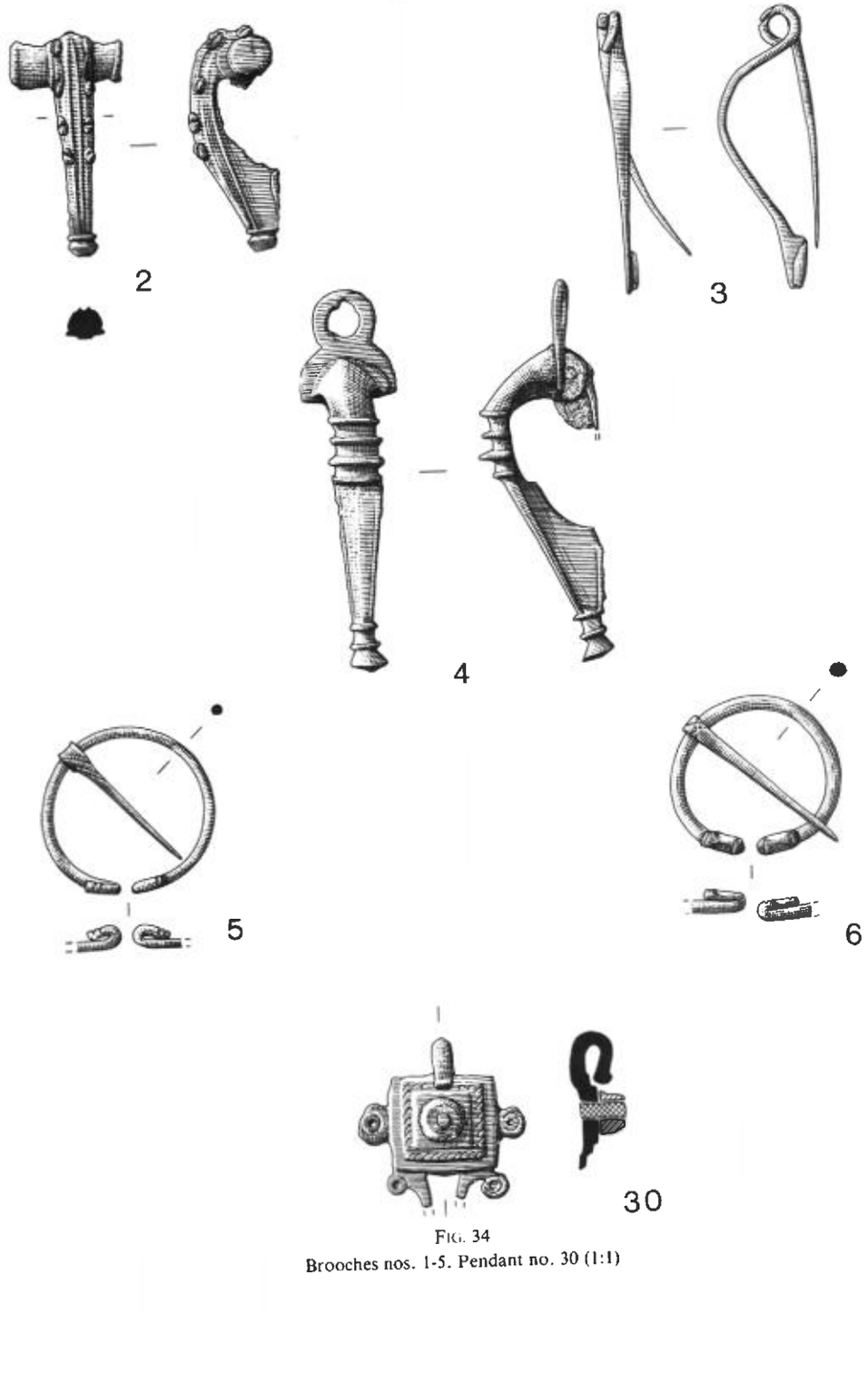


FIG. 34
Brooches nos. 1-5. Pendant no. 30 (1:1)

Colchester Derivatives

2. (CA 33) The spring is held in the Polden Hill manner: each wing has a pierced plate at its end in which the axis bar through the coils of the spring is held by a rearward hook behind the head of the brooch. Each wing is short and has, at the end, a triple moulding the raised central element of which is beaded. The head of the bow is humped over the wing and its junction with these is marked by a curved moulding which, in profile, rises from the wing. The upper half of the bow has four vertical mouldings, each stopped at the bottom by a grooved horizontal lenticular boss; the outer pair are shorter than the inner pair which has a series of punched dots between. On the head are two more grooved lenticular bosses arranged to match those at the ends of the vertical elements. The bow to each side has a bordering ridge and the foot has a knob with a cross-moulding above. The return of the catch-plate has a groove across its top. The brooch is tinned or silvered and shows signs of having been carefully finished.

The basic form of the brooch is of a common type to be found throughout the Severn valley and there are many outliers. In the present case no precise parallel is known to the writer although the use of vertical mouldings and lenticular bosses is well evidenced on decorated variants of the plain type cf. Shakenoak Farm, Wilcote, Oxon. (Brodribb, Hands and Walker, 1971, 118-9, Fig. 47, 70) where it dates between the middle of the 2nd and the middle of the 3rd centuries (*ibid.*, period 3B, 110, nos 70 and 14-5). A more elaborate example of the same variant comes from Alcester (excavations C. M. Mahany: to be published). In another variant the lenticular bosses became dominant and have tendency to be arranged down the length of the bow as saltire across the width. Few have been published (*cf.* Hume, 1863, 72, pl. IV, 4) and the dating is not established. The common plain form without a foot knob had evolved by *c.* A.D. 75 (Hobley, 1969, 107, Fig 19.1: for date, period II, Hobley, 1973, 13-5). It is presumed that the appearance of the foot knob is later and an example from Wall, Staffs. (Gould, 1967, 17, Fig 7, 7), is dated to the early 2nd century as in another from Shakenoak Farm (Brodribb, Hands and Walker, 1968, 95, Fig 27, 7: for date *ibid.*, period AI, 16-8), and a third from Verulamium, is dated A.D. 115-30 (Frere, 1972, 114, Fig 29, 10). On balance, the date of the present example would seem to be late 1st century into the 2nd with a strong probability that it was no longer made by the middle of the later century.

Brooch from the North side of robber trench BB69. Unstratified in Building M.

Nauheim Derivative

3. (CA16) Only one coil of the spring survives, the pin now being separate. The bow has a rectangular section, tapers to a pointed foot and, in profile, has a recurve at the beginning of the very small catch-plate.

The simplicity of the form can lead to the over-particularisation of the fine detail which, in a brooch type cheap to make, will be misplaced. In the present case, the recurve in the bow's profile and the small size of the catch-plate may be significant: while most of the Nauheim Derivatives found at Saalburg and Zugmantel display these features (Bohme, 1972, nos 49-315), it should be noted that, there, the section of the

bow is different and the bow tends to have an angle near the top of the profile. Nevertheless, even though these two characteristics are not at all common in the collection of brooches from Britain, this brooch may possibly have continental affinities. The large numbers of Nauheim derivatives from Saalburg and Zugmantel show that the individual types represented there were in use at the end of the 1st century and into the 2nd (Bohme, 1972, 9), however, it is not wise to transfer this dating across the Channel: the initial dates of these two forts occur at an arbitrary point in the *floruit* of all the earliest brooches represented there, and there can be no guarantee that whatever may have happened on the continent, the same sequence took place here. A reasonably close parallel, though with a slacker profile, comes from Richborough where its contact was dated to A.D. 80-90 (Bushe-Fox, 1949, 108, Pl XXV, 3); but one with a circular section and with a recurved profile from Chicester comes from a context dated to *c.* A.D. 43-60 (Down, 1974, 144, Fig 8.15.12: for date, 107). The native types of Nauheim Derivative clearly run into the last quarter of the 1st century as is shown by the number found in the construction deposits of the palace at Fishbourne (Cunliffe, 1971, 100 nos 1-9, 11-20 Figs 36-7). The point here is that the dating of up to *c.* A.D. 75 and beyond may be accepted as it is clear that the Nauheim Derivative was the common brooch type in and around Chichester where elsewhere the Colchester Derivative enjoyed at least an equal share in the market if not more. A specimen from Newstead (Curle, 1911, 318) shows that some at least should be expected to have lasted in use until A.D. 80 at least, if not beyond (Frere, 1974, 123).

Brooch residual in the fill of Ditch BB (FF51a).

Trumpet

4. (CA12) The spring with its internal chord is sought between two lugs behind the head of the bow which were pierced to take the axis bar through the coils of the spring. The head is a plate with a pierced loop rising from it and with a rounded step around the top of the slightly expanded upper bow which also has a central arris. On the crest of the bow are four cross-mouldings, each separated from the next by a flute, the third moulding down is a little larger than the others. Beneath the central ornament the lower bow tapers to a foot finished with three cross-mouldings. The lower bow has a medial flat face and a groove down each side.

The slope of the head and the mouldings on the bow place this specimen neatly in a small group of brooches whose distribution at present is essentially in the upper Severn Valley and north into Cheshire and the Pennines. Although the trumpet had evolved by A.D. 75, and the single dated example of the variant known to the writer is perhaps a better indication of the *floruit* of the group: from Wroxeter, it is dated *c.* A.D. 110-30 (Bushe-Fox, 1913, 26, Fig 9, 8).

Brooch residual in topsoil (DD26).

Pennannulars

5. (CA2) The ring has a circular section and each terminal is raised at right-angles to the plane of the ring and laid back along the ring and each has two cross-cuts near the outer end. The pin is made from sheet bronze.

6. (CA15) The ring has a circular section and is more robust than in the previous specimen. The terminals are formed in the same way but each has a cross-cut at each end with, between, a concave surface on either side. The pin may be made from sheet bronze and on the wrap-round in a crudely executed saltire with a groove below. The pin end has been shaped to seat on the ring.

CA2 belongs to Fowler's type D1 and is dated by her to the 1st century through to and into the 3rd century (Fowler, 1960, 152, 176). The particular type is very easy to make and would have been very cheap which should have resulted in a long *floruit*. It is well established that by the middle of the 1st century (Frere and St. Joseph, 1974, 46, Fig 24, 15-5: for date, 38-9. Webster, 1961, 97, Fig 7, 21-2: for date, Webster, 1970, 187 and Webster, forthcoming) and it occurs in later contexts, but it is hard to tell by what time it had ceased to be even a survival in use and became part of the residual material of a site.

As for CA15, belonging to Fowler's type D2 and given a date range of 1st to 4th centuries, it is clear that there is probably no dating significance in whether or not the ring is decorated as both plain or decorated are to be found in the middle of the 1st century (decorated; Brailsford, 1962, 12, Fig 11, E15: for date, Richmond, 1968, 117-9. Plain: Wheeler, 1943, 264, Fig 86, 8).

CA2: Brooch from P27b. Period 4 sub-topsoil accumulation.
CA15: Brooch from Y61b. Period 2b silting of Ditch G.

3. Finds Denoting Major Activity

a. MILLSTONES

(FIGS. 35-38) (Archive 101, Type 3: Group 1. By T. Wilmott)

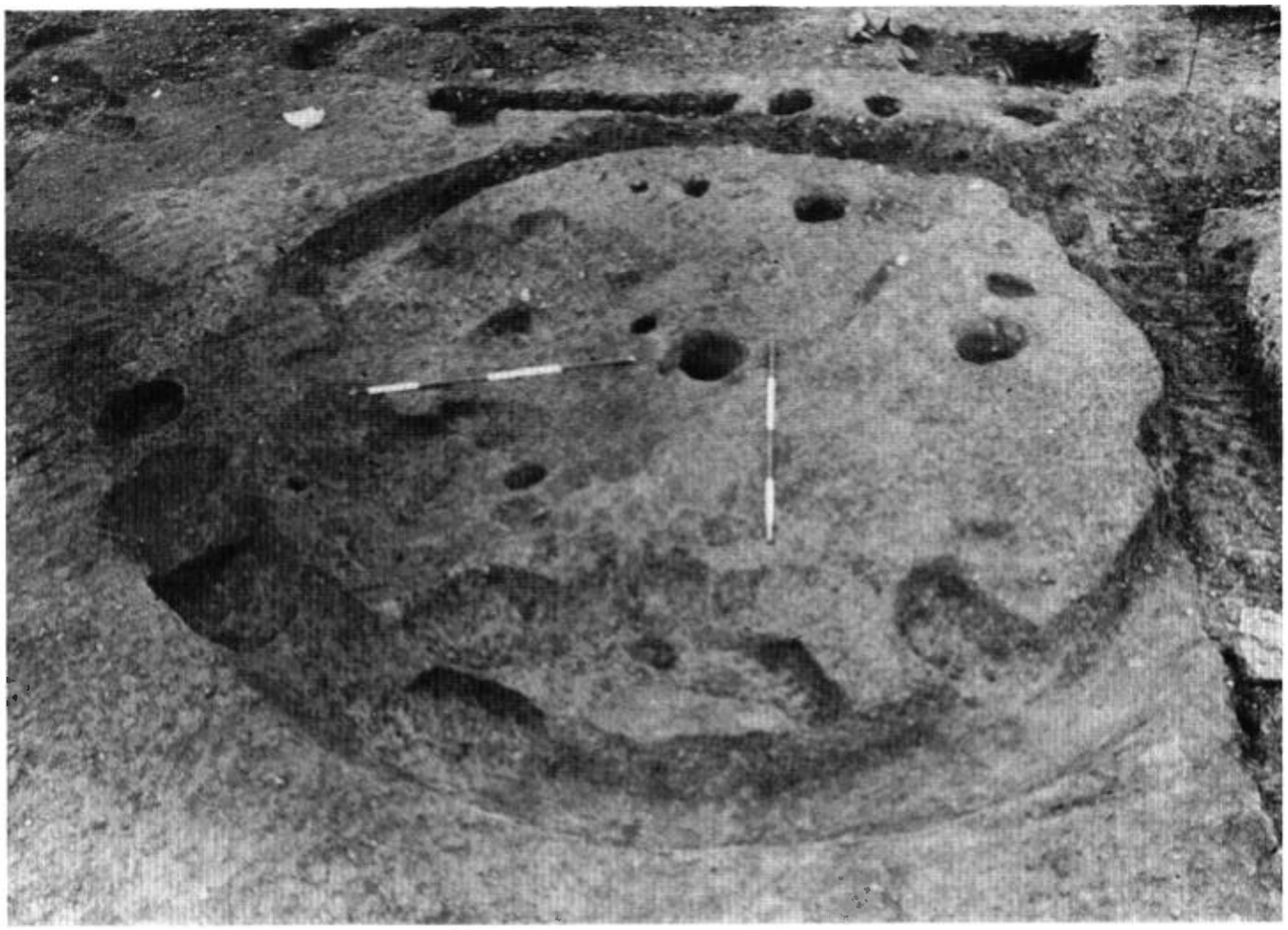
Within the general category of stone objects (Archive 101), type 3 comprises grinding stones. These stones can be divided into two categories:

Querns: stones used in a domestic apparatus operated by hand.
Millstones: stones used in mechanical mills worked by animal or water power.

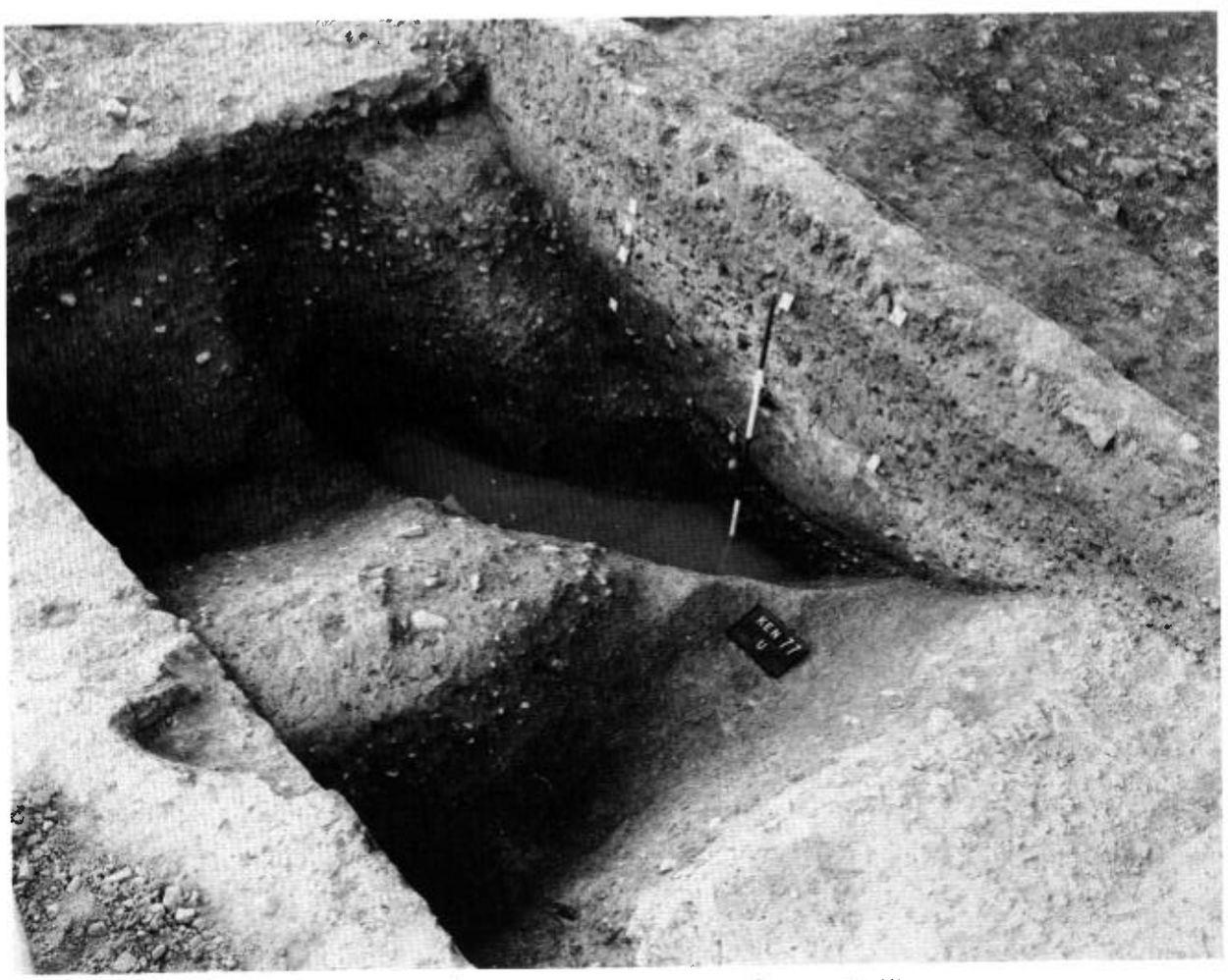
The former type of stone is not included in the following discussion as querns were found distributed widely on site in Periods 3-5 and did not appear to be of significance in showing anything more than the sort of domestic grinding activity to be expected on a farmstead. The group of millstones, however, showed sufficient similarity typologically, and in terms of spatial and temporal distribution to be of considerable importance. The interpretation which led from the study of these stones is discussed above (pp. 73-4). It is necessary here to describe the objects, and in particular those features which lead to these conclusions.

7. (ST64) Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate: fragments of upper and lower stones 0.76 m. diameter. The grinding surface of the upper stone was tooled with fine radiating grooves, and the top surface included an outer rim. The stone was too

1 - Mrs. Winifred Leeds, F.R.P.S.L., 1883-1984
(Copyright: John R. Simmons)



II - Ring-ditch and post holes of Building BC



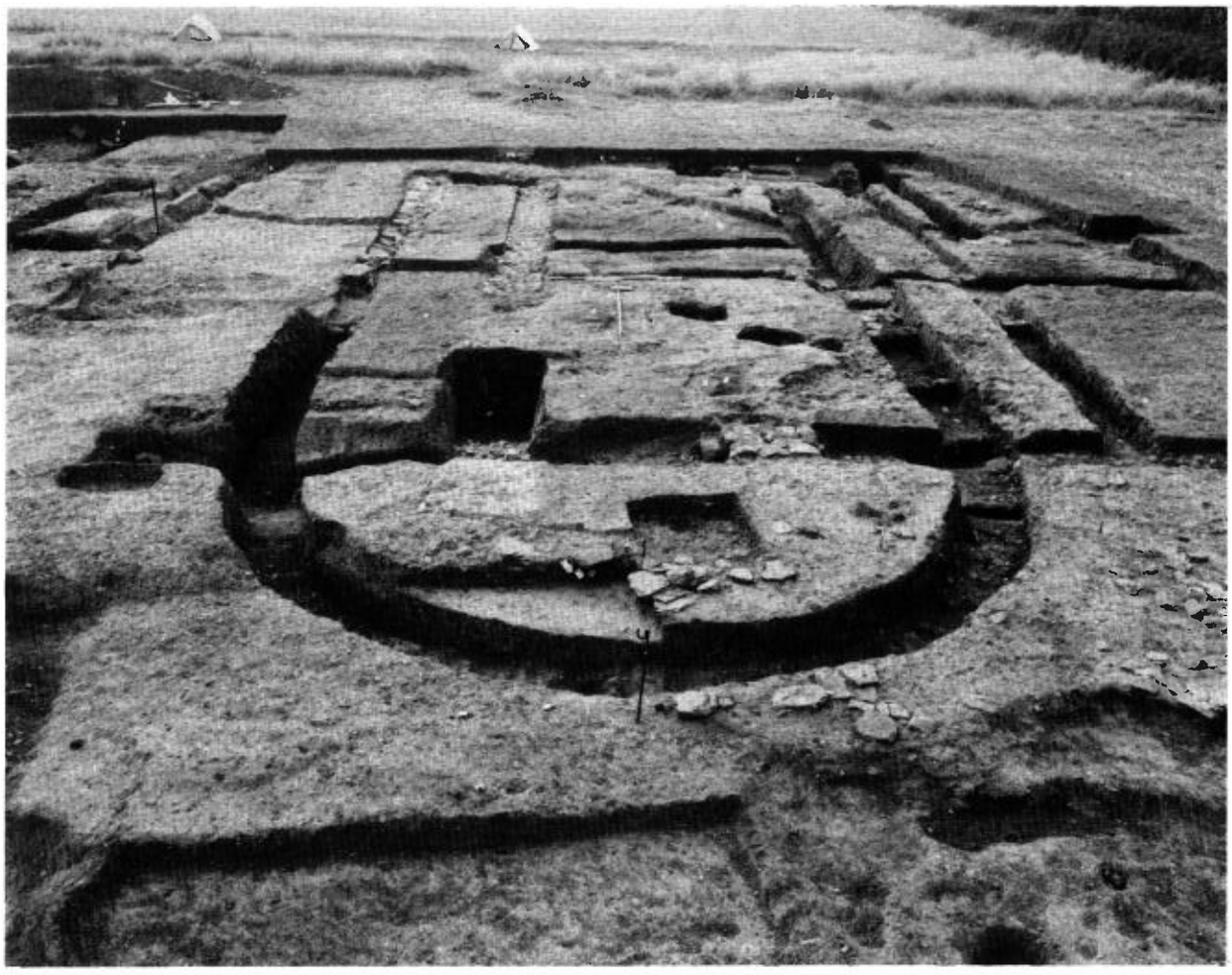
III - Intersection of Ditches KK, LL, MM at section C-D (Fig. 11)

IV - Northern end of Building FF

V - Burnt layer relating to Period 2c burning of Building AJ looking north. Note millstones

VI - Intersection of Ditches B and G from the south-east

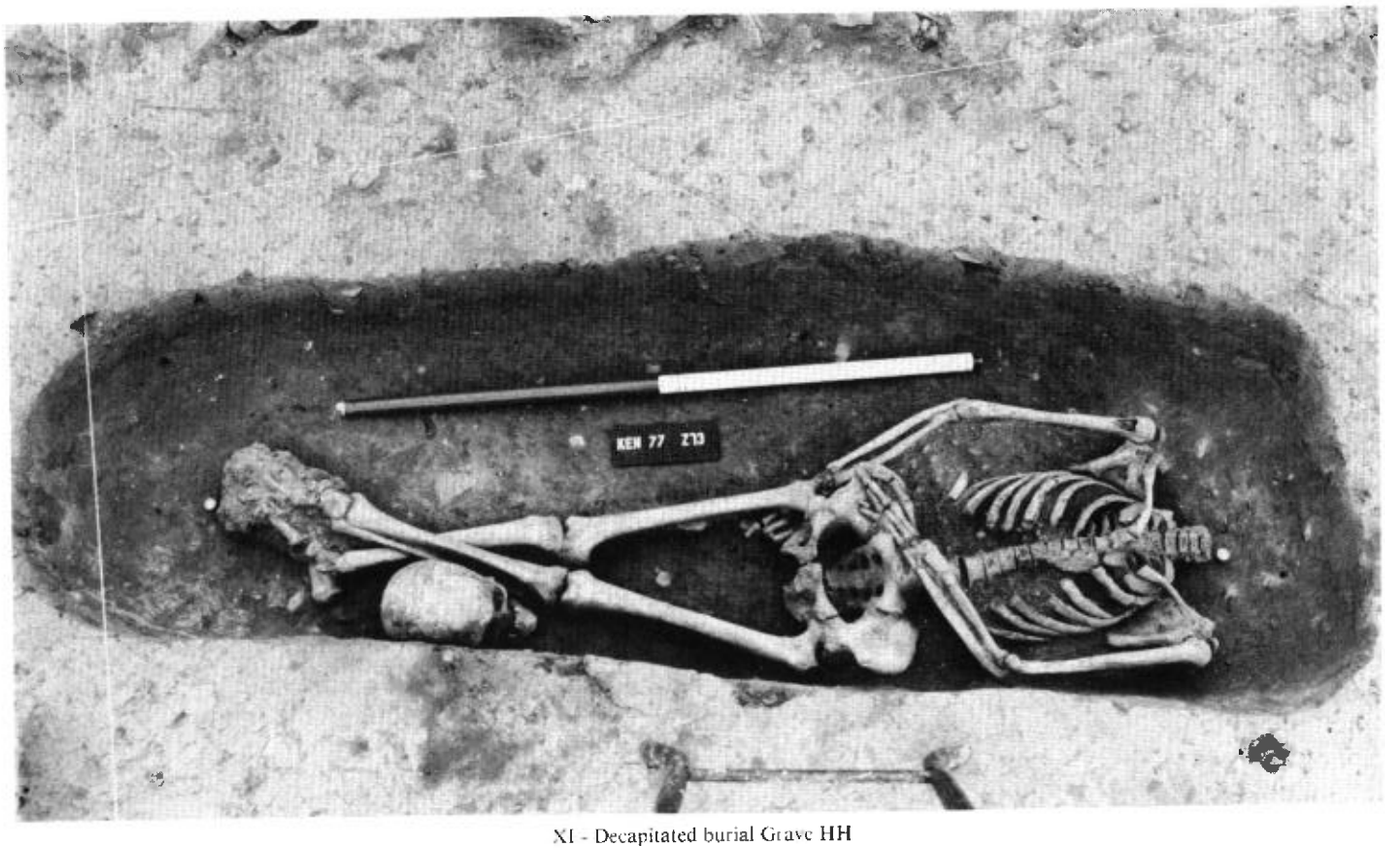
VII - Position of Ditches LL, MM beneath Building M



VIII - Building **M** south wing from the east

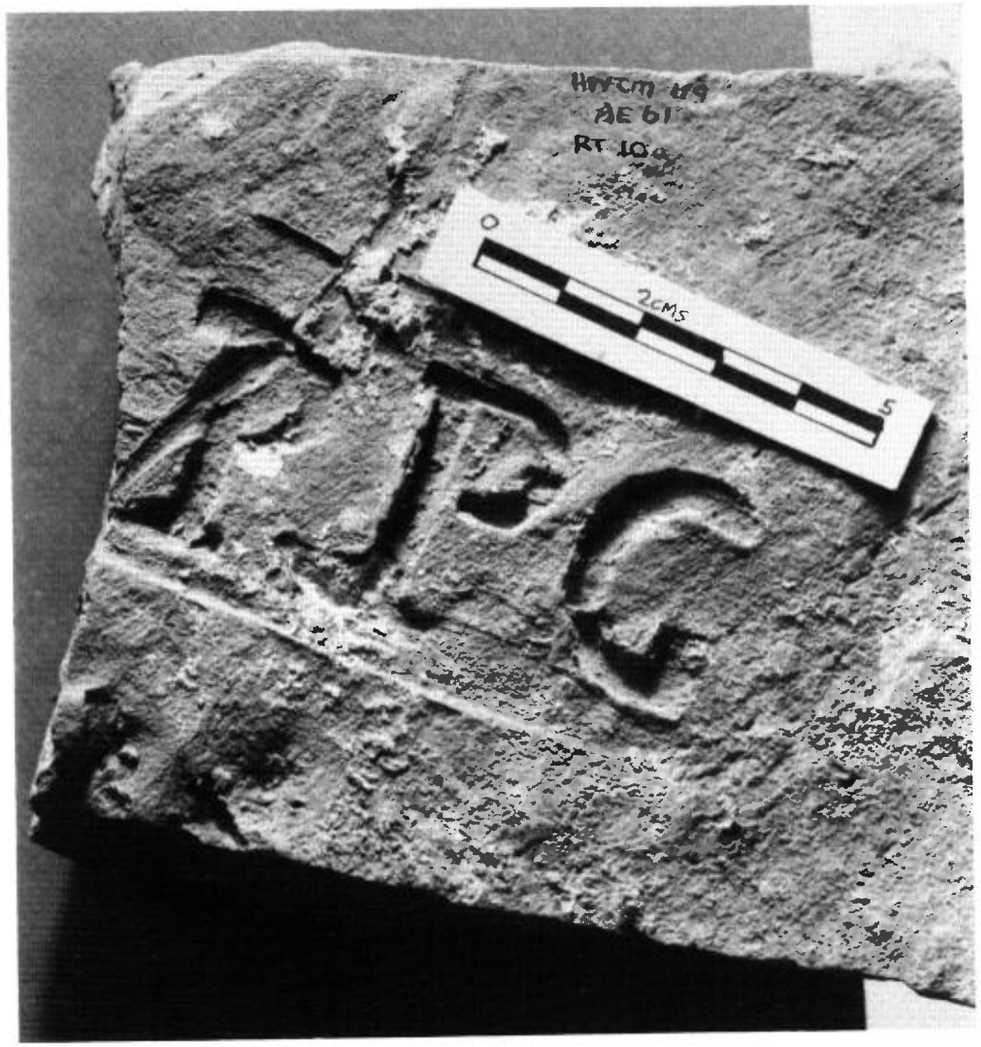
IX - Corn dryer **AD** from south-east

X - Trough Y and associated cobbling

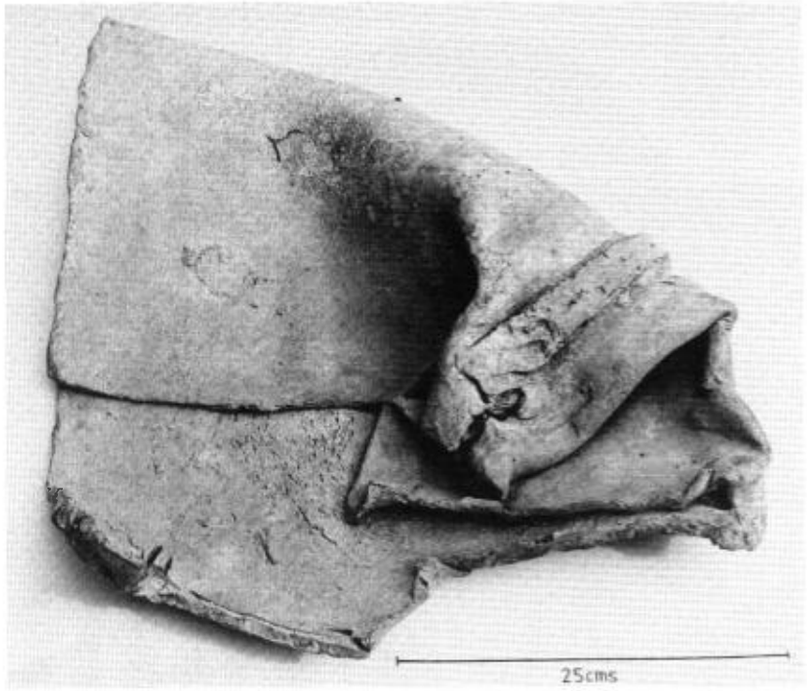


XI - Decapitated burial Grave HH

XII - Coin 1. Constans *Victoria Augg.*

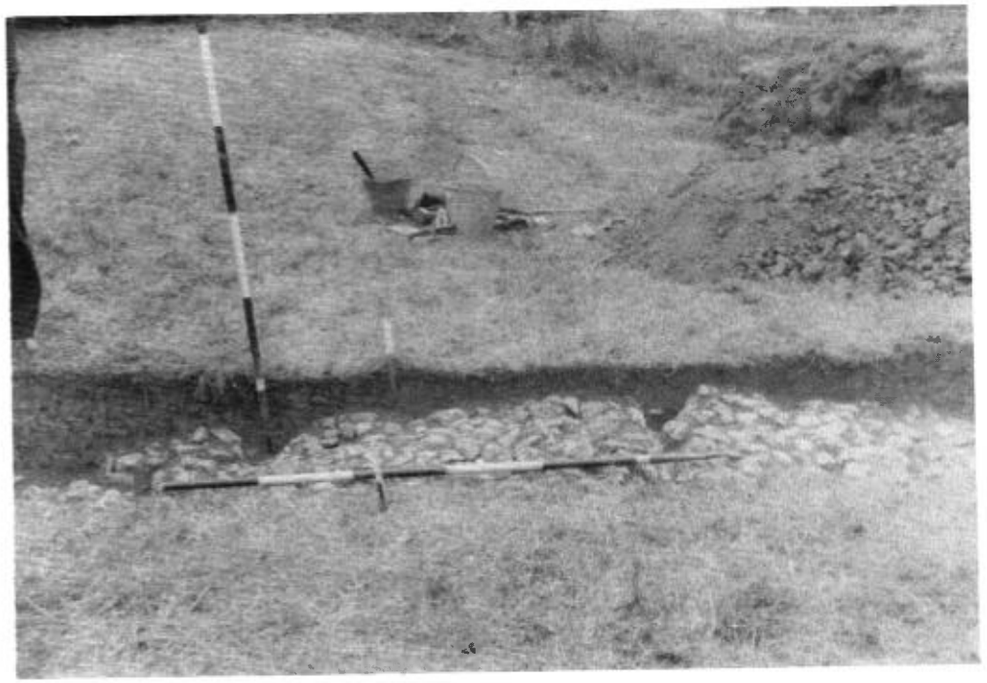


XIII - R P G stamped tile



XIV - Lead tank no. 32, top

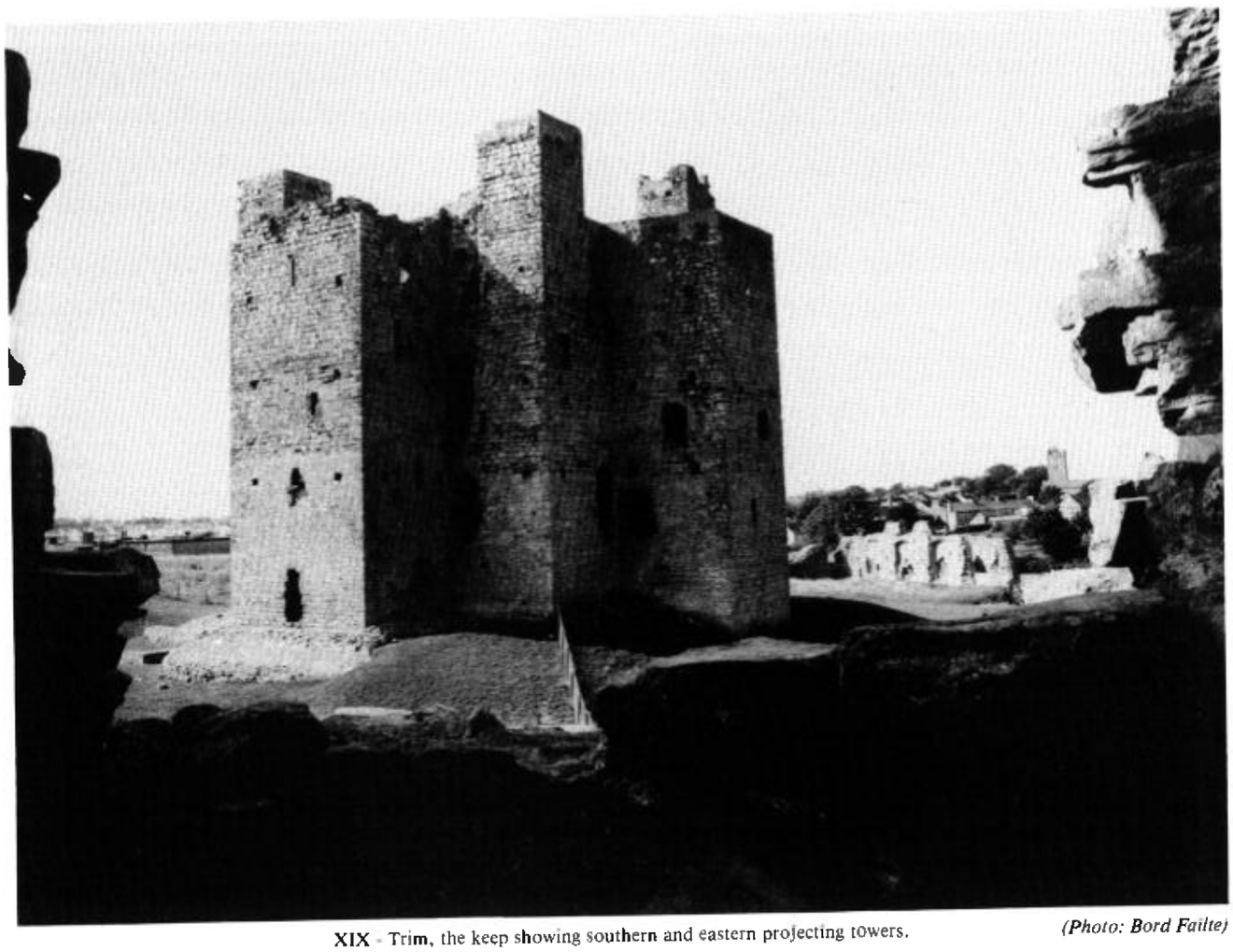
XV - Lead tank no. 32, bottom



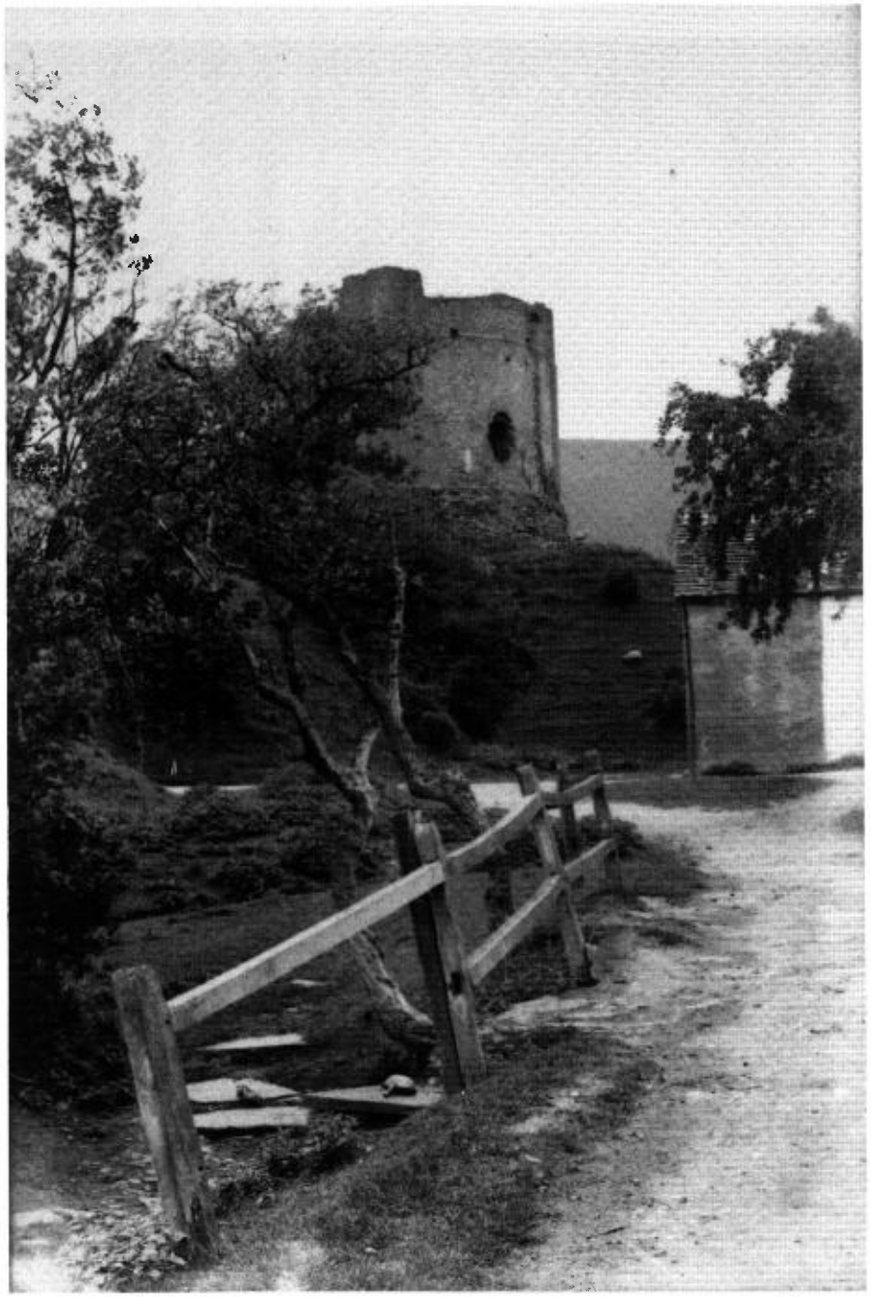
XVI - Looking north showing wheel ruts and agger

XVII - Looking east

XVIII - Trim Castle. General view from the east. In the foreground Sheep Gate, one of the minor gateways through the town walls, which were built in 1393. Top left, across the Boyne, the keep. The northern projecting tower has been destroyed but the other three remain. On the right, the great gatehouse. *(Photo: Bord Failte)*



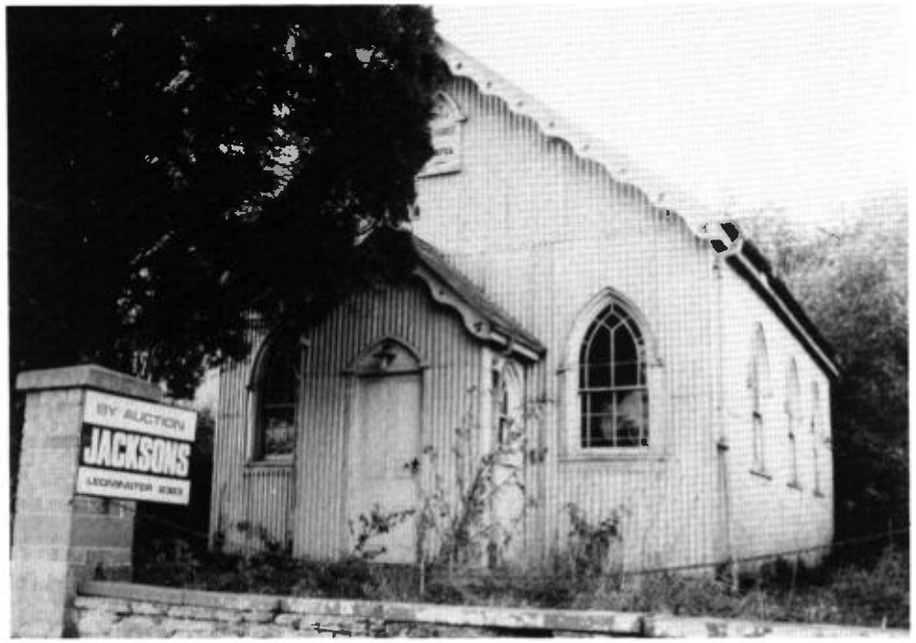
XIX - Trim, the keep showing southern and eastern projecting towers. *(Photo: Bord Failte)*



XX - Longtown Castle. Walter de Lacy's great round keep showing the semi-circular projections or lobes. Longtown had three, one being used for a spiral stairway. At Caldicot and Usk there was only one. *(Alfred Watkins, F.R.P.S. c.1920)*

XXI - Twitchen Methodist Chapel from the south in 1983

XXII - Wigmore Methodist Chapel from the west in 1983



XXIII - Aymestrey Methodist Chapel from the west in 1983

XXIV - Springfield, home of J. W. R. Hall 1835-60. House demolished 1982.
(By courtesy Fred Druce, Esq.)

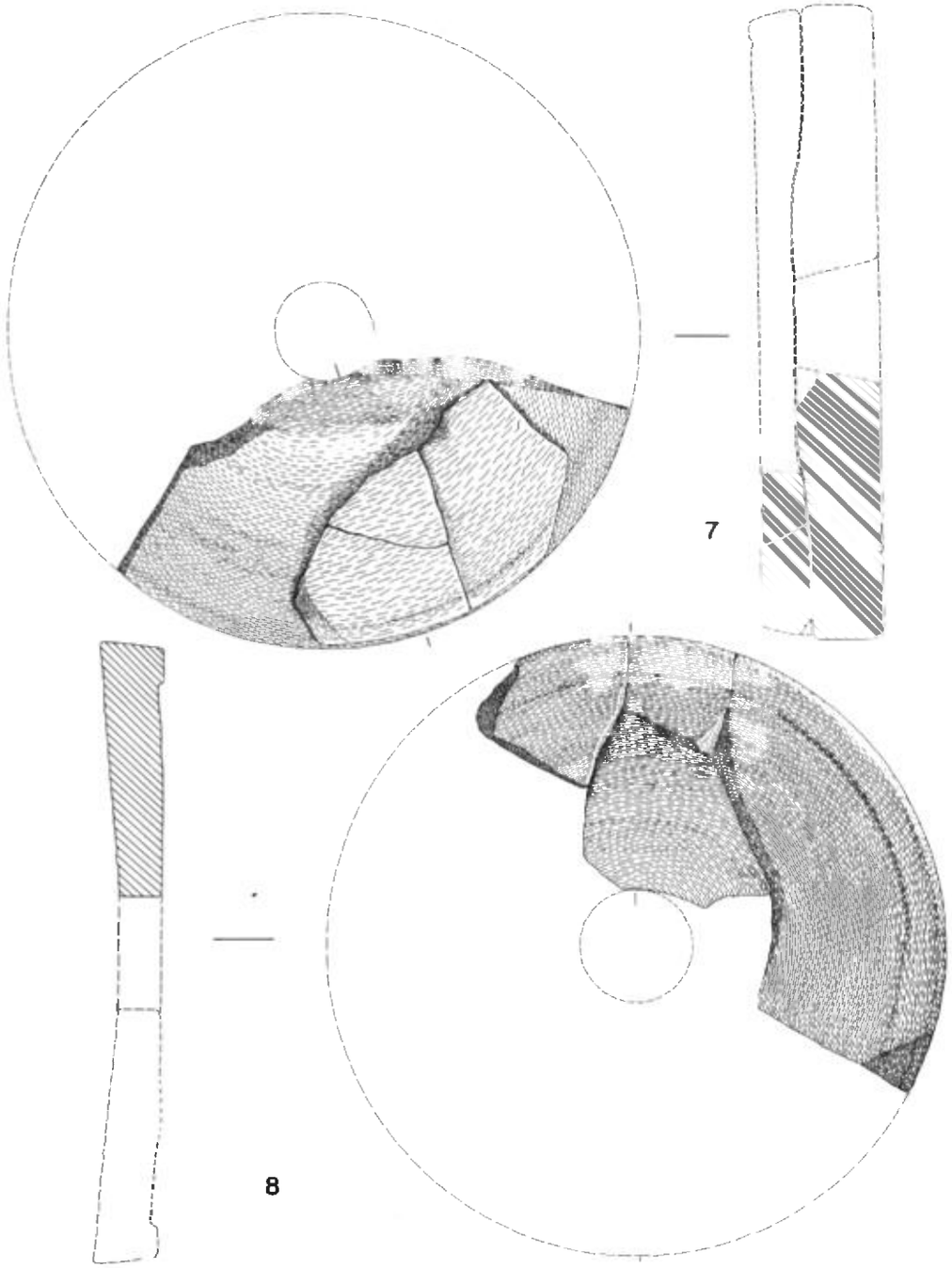


FIG. 35
Millstones nos. 7-8 (⅛)

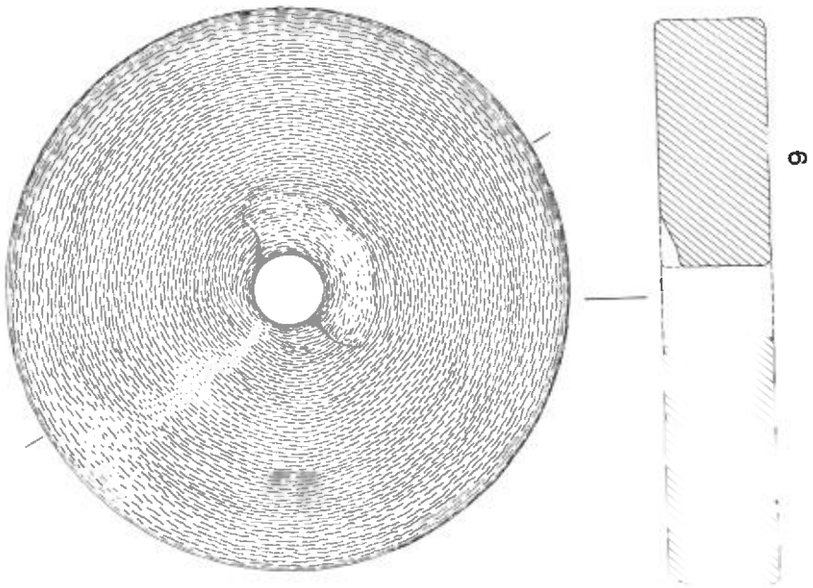


FIG. 36
Millstones nos. 9-10 (⅛)

fragmentary for any assessment of the shape of the centre hole. The lower stone was broken around a central hole whose shape and diameter (60 mm.) could be extrapolated (FIG. 35). The convexity of the grinding surface as well as the position in which these stones were found confirm this as a bottom stone. The base was flat.

8. (ST65) Upper stone similar to that of no. 7 above and measuring 0.72 m. in diameter. The grinding surface was finely tooled, but worn to a concave shape. The upper side had a raised rim. The stone was broken around the centre hole, though the shape of this hole could not be determined by the fragment of the edge which survived.

9. (ST66) Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate: complete lower stone flat on upper and lower sides with a circular central hole. The stone measured 0.65 m. in diameter and the central hole 40 mm. The stone is 65 mm. thick.

10. (ST67) Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate: upper stone with concave, worn grinding face. The surviving part of the central hole indicates a dovetailed pattern (reconstructed) with both hole and dovetails cut all the way through the stone. The stone has a diameter of 0.72 m.

11. (ST68) Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate: lower stone measuring 0.74 m. diameter with circular central hole 30 mm. wide. The upper face is worn smooth with striations caused by grinding, the lower face is roughly tooled or quarry finished (face illustrated).

12. (ST69) Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate: an upper stone with a slight concavity on the lower, grinding face. The upper side has a raised rim. The central hole, like that of ST67 (no. 10 above) has a hole with dovetailed slots flanking it in the shape of a bow-tie. Similarly to ST67 this hole too is cut through the whole thickness of the stone.

13. (ST70) Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate: ? upper stone 0.70 m. in diameter. Though the top has a distinct concavity it seems that the flat lower side was the grinding surface as it includes some radial grooving. The upper face has a raised rim.

Discussion

The Lower Old Red Sandstone Conglomerate from which the millstones were quarried is quite distinct from the Forest of Dean conglomerate commonly found in later querns and generally distributed in the area by trade. It is possible that this stone was quarried in the immediate vicinity of the site, though it may have been imported from anywhere within the surrounding Old Red Sandstone area including the Forest of Dean.

Several features of these stones identified them as from a powered mill. Firstly, with an average diameter of 0.75 m. and a thickness of 0.15 m. the stones were far too large and heavy to have been hand operated. All of the lower stones identified were pierced with central holes, while the two upper stones whose centre holes survived showed dovetailed apertures on each side of the centre hole. Most such items have dovetails cut only half way through the thickness (Moritz, 1958, 127), but those with

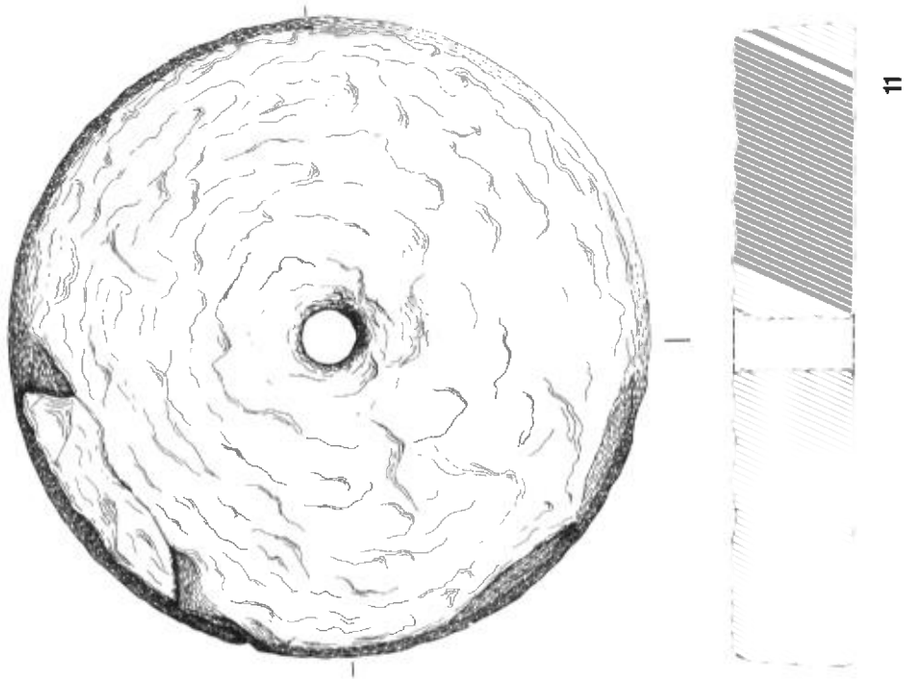
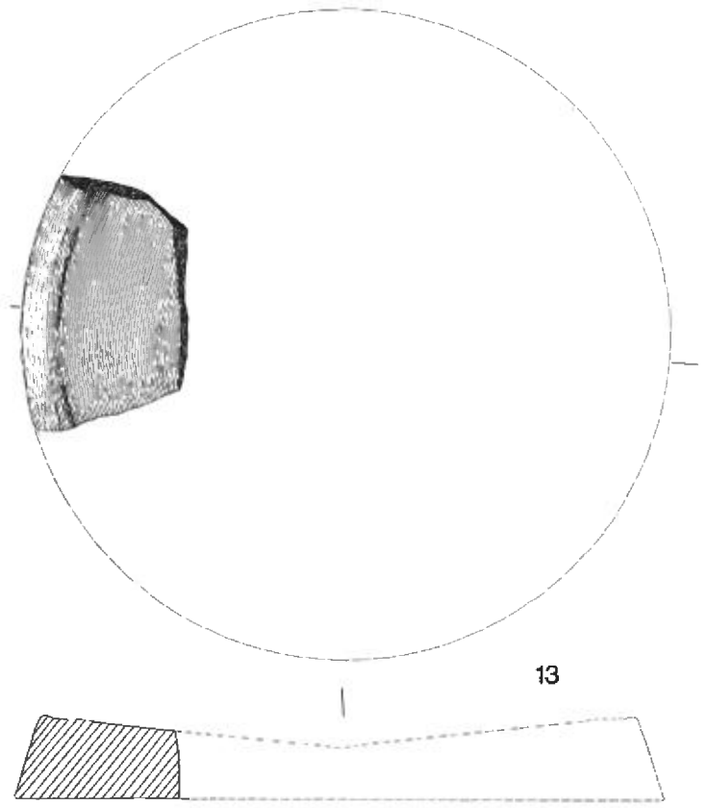


FIG. 37
Millstones nos. 11-12 (⅛)



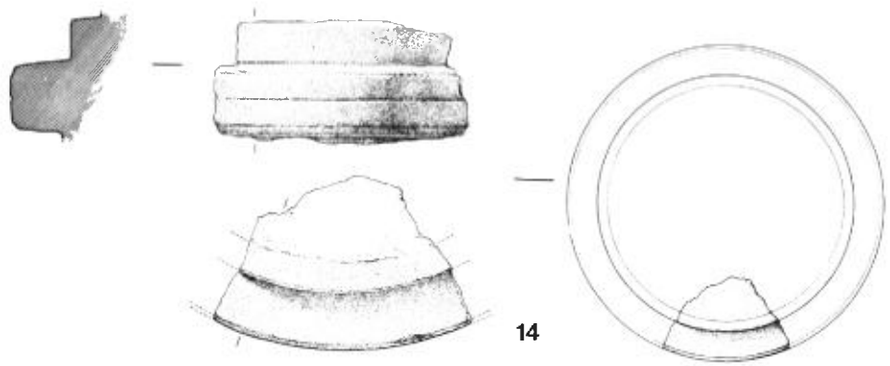


FIG. 38
Millstone no. 13 and oolitic limestone column base fragment no. 14.
(Millstone and column reconstruction, ⅛; column frag. ¼)

holes all the way through like the present examples are also known from Britain e.g. at Winterton, Lincs. (Stead, 1976, 230) and Brough-on-Noe, Derbys. (Jones *et al*, 1966, 100). The mechanics of the Roman powered mill are well known; from an original power source, energy was transmitted to a turning cog-wheel. The teeth of the cog engaged with those on a drum-shaped cog attached to an axle. The axle passed through a hole in the static lower stone, and terminated in a double dovetailed iron, which was inserted into a corresponding hole in the upper stone, causing this stone to be turned by the axle (Moritz, 1958, 122-3). Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, X: V, i) specifies water power as the basis for the operation of such mills, though where sites are not close to water supplies hand, or animal operated variants would have been needed (Moritz, 1958, 127). There is much evidence for water-powered mills in Britain including water-mill structures on Hadrians Wall (Simpson, 1979) hub-cores on the North Tyne and at Lincoln (Richmond, 1963, 181) and mill spindles at Silchester, and Great Chesterford (Manning, 1974). Several mechanical millstones have been found on a number of sites e.g. Whitton, Glamorgan (Welfare, 1981) Chew Valley Lake, Somerset (Rahtz and Greenfield, 1977, p. 201, Fig 96 nos 10, 11) and in London in direct association with a watercourse (Marsden, 1980, 72). The most significant find of millstones in recent years has been that associated with the 2nd and 4th-century mills at Ickham, Kent (Young, 1975, 190). It is argued above that the Kenchester stones, which are clearly in store in Building AJ and not in their working positions, combined with the granary Building FF and the recut Ditch G present a good case for the existence of a watermill nearby.

4. Building Materials

a. Mosaics and Tesserae

(Fig. 39)

Mosaic pavements survived in three places, of which two substantial pieces are shown in Fig. 39. W72 is from the south wing of Building M, and AN53 from the north wing. Both utilise a white background with blue stripes of 30 mm. width, joined by a blue triangle. In AN53, the red and yellow whorls indicate the start of a guilloche pattern. No reconstruction has been possible as the pieces are so small.

In addition to the mosaic fragments found *in situ* a total of 9,135 tesserae were recovered. Their distribution covered most areas of the site, but were concentrated near the areas of surviving pavement. These tesserae yield a theoretical floor area of 2.72 sq. m. of pavement. Their colour proportions are similar to those exhibited by AN53 but include other colours (viz. green, buff, light brown and orange) in small proportions. The average tessera size was 141 sq. mm. with a mean deviation of 3 mm. The majority (75.3 1) fall into the size range 12-15 mm. (length of side) indicating, together with the fifteen colour elements distinguished, a degree of sophistication paralleling that in the nearby Roman town. Tesserae were found in contexts from Period 2b onwards (for further discussion of tesserae from the site see Rahtz, forthcoming).

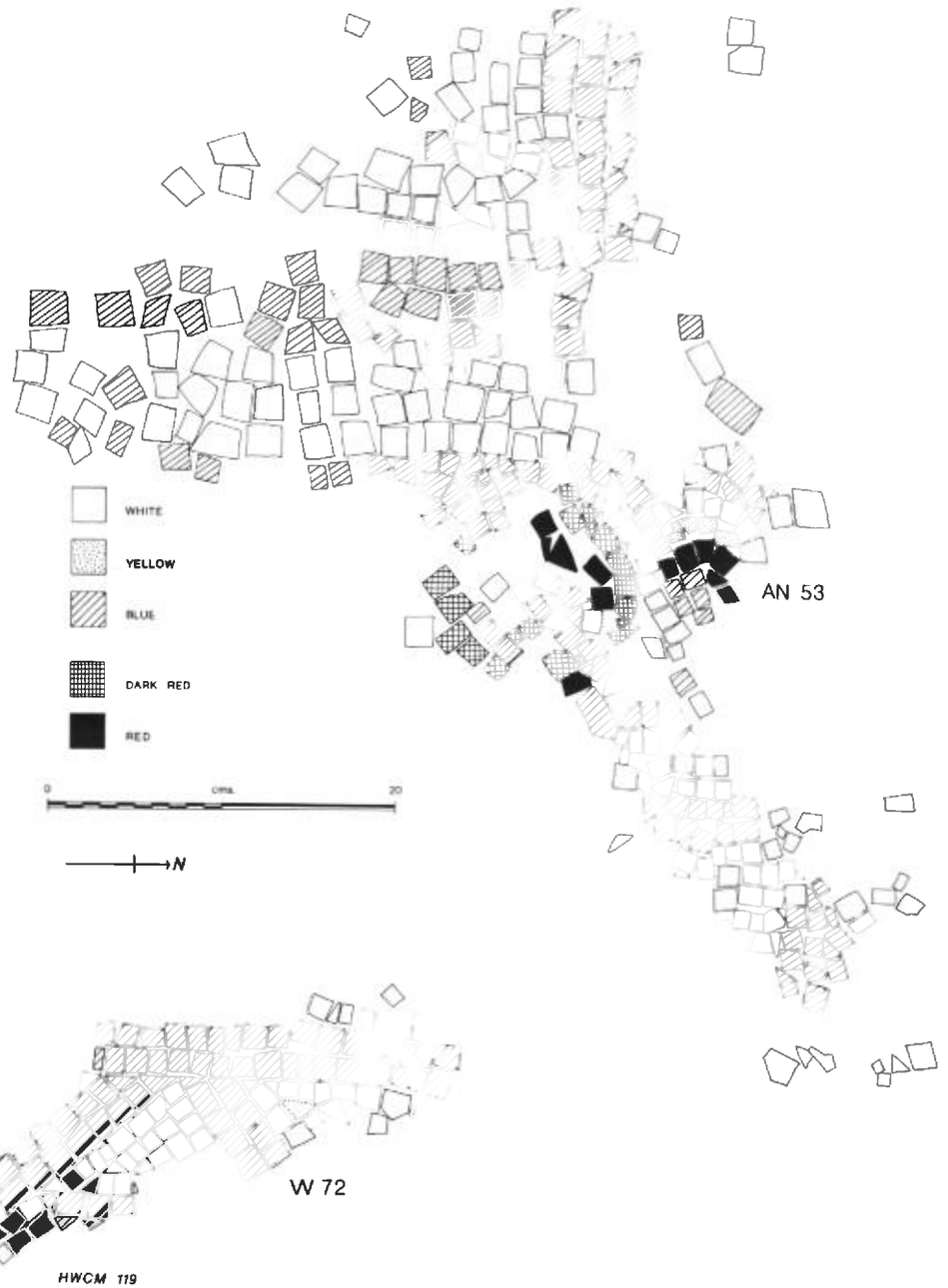


Fig. 39
Fragments of mosaic from Building M in Period 4 (¼)

b. TURNED COLUMNS

(FIGS. 38, 40) (Archive 101, Type 2: by T. Wilmott and S. P. Q. Rahtz).

14. (ST3) Oolitic limestone column base with projected shaft diameter of 260 mm. A complete fragment in the same material, and of similar dimensions is now built onto a wall in Credenhill village (Wilmott, 1979a, 96: Bull, 1882) and is thought to have been from the town of *Magnis*.

15. (ST44) Oolitic limestone, column base, complete, with a shaft diameter of 150 mm.

16. (ST54) Oolitic limestone; column base, complete with a shaft diameter of 175 mm. and a square basal dowel hole.

Nos. 15 and 16 are a type of turned stone column not uncommon in southern Britain (Blagg, 1981, 177). Comparable columns have been found at Shakenoak, Oxon. (Brodribb, Hands and Walker, 1971, Fig 18 no 18; 1973, Fig 21 nos 68-9) Dover, Kent (Blagg, 1981, 177) Caerwent, Gwent (Ashby, 1905, 295, Pl. 57; 1911, 418, Fig 9). Silchester (Fox, 1894, 202 Pl. 19; 186, 238, Fig 3) and Chilgrove, Sussex (Down, 1979, 168, Fig 62).

Except for the last all of these were made in oolitic limestone. The closest source of this material to Kenchester is in the Cotswolds from where other fine worked stone in the Kenchester area has been shown to originate (Wilmott, 1979b, 217).

Nos. 14 and 16 were found in interior features of Building M in Period 3 and no. 15 in demolition debris of Period 5 within the building. The function of the columns is not clear; suggested functions elsewhere include bases for statues or side tables (Down, 1979, 168) or as roof supports placed on dwarf walls (Blagg, 1981, 177).

c. TUFA VOUSSOIRS

(FIG. 41) (Archive 101: Type 2 by S. P. Q. Rahtz)

17. (ST12) Worn tufa voussoir. The inner side has mortar demonstrating that the postulated arch was mortared together. There are also traces of painted plaster on the outer surface showing that the structure was painted. From P64a, Period 5 robber trench fill of Building M (there is an uncatalogued example of a similar voussoir from sub-topsoil layer GG51 also in Period 5).

Tufa is a locally available material which grows in calcaereous springs in the Wye Valley e.g. at Moccas.

d. PAINTED PLASTER

(FIG. 42) (Archive 109: Part 1 by S. P. Q. Rahtz)

Painted plaster was found in small quantities over the east half of the site but was concentrated around the north-east corner of Building FF. All plaster was retained and was catalogued according to a backing-mortar type series, a colour-type series, and a

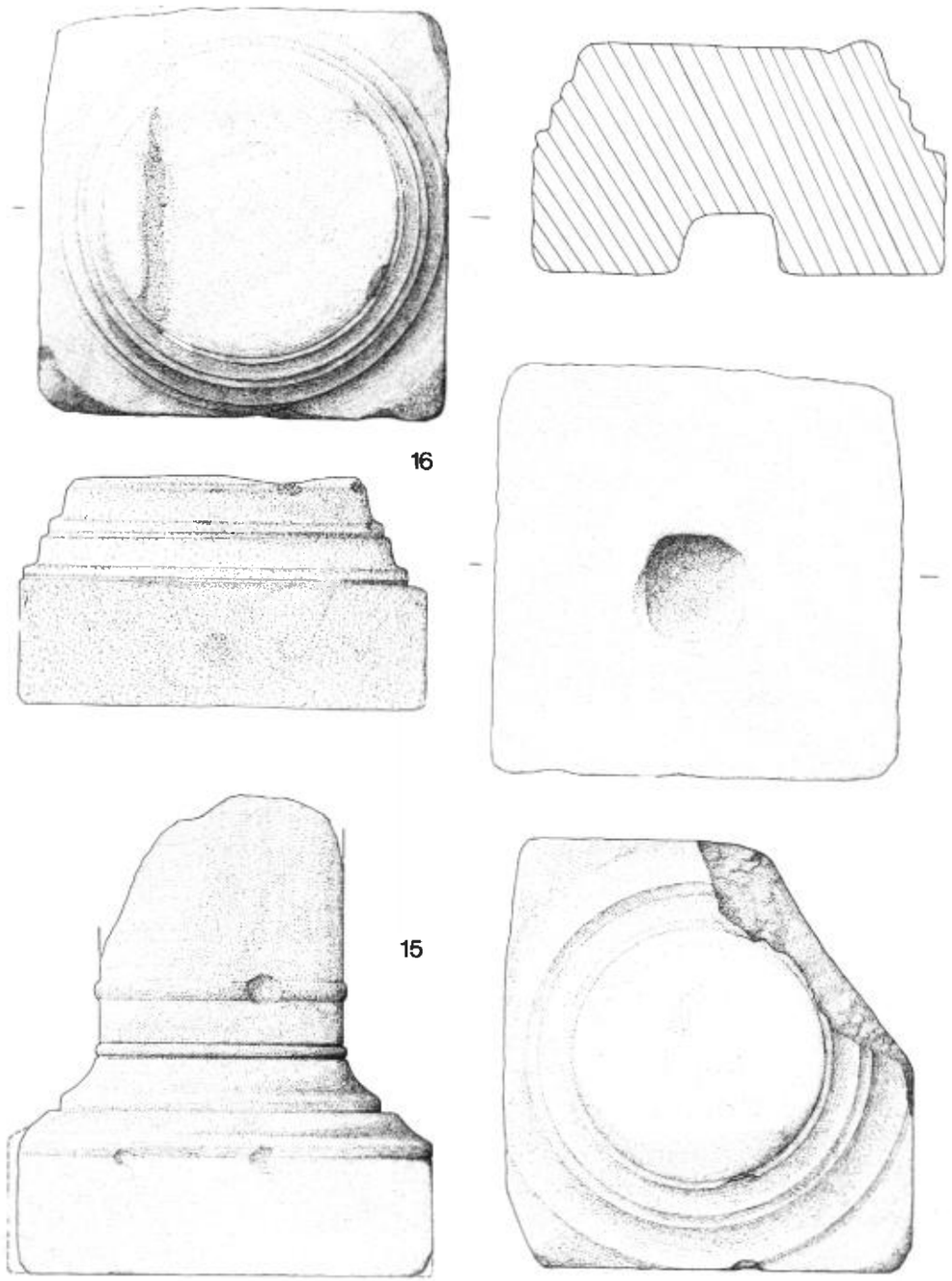


FIG. 40
Oolitic limestone column bases nos. 15-16 (¼)

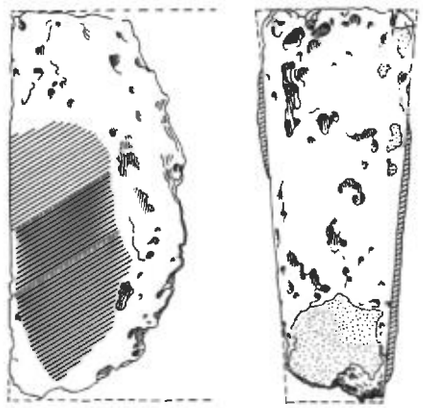


FIG. 41
Painted tufa voussoir no. 17 (½)

pattern-type series. Pieces with more than one colour were catalogued individually and unpatterned pieces were catalogued by the total area of each colour recurring in each context.

A total of 1.2285 sq. m. of painted plaster was recovered, 28.03% being polychrome with 71.97% of fragments in one colour only. 67.03% of the total was from the group between Buildings FF and AJ. 25.29% of the plaster was a light cream background colour; 15.43% of weak red probably comes from a dado, though no reconstruction was attempted except in one place where a sheet of intact plaster 270 x 600 mm. had fallen. This is illustrated in FIG. 42 in reconstruction. A foliate motif with red stem and drooping green leaves is shown against cream background with a multi-coloured stripe to the left.

It is not certain which walls were painted; it is probable, however, that the southern end of Building AJ constituted living quarters and was the room from which the plaster fell (above p. 00).

Structural mortar and stucco rendering were found extensively in Period 2b onwards but were not systematically kept and catalogued. A total of six mortar-types was distinguished. The catalogued collection of samples is too small to admit of strong conclusions but it is suggested that the mortar of Building M (predominantly brick-tempered) can be distinguished from the pebble-tempered mortar of Building T.

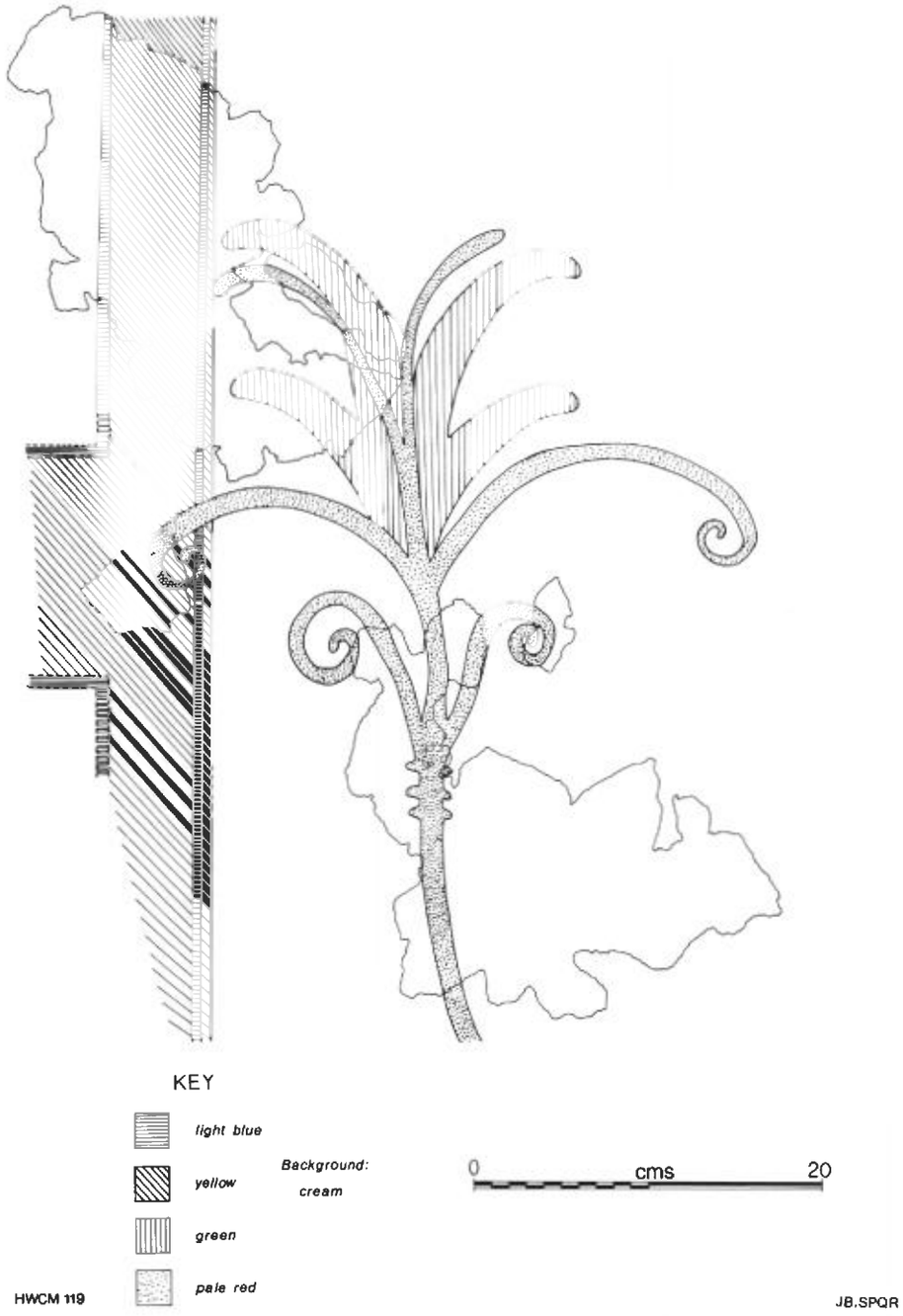


FIG. 42
Painted plaster motif from southern cell Building AJ in Period 2b (¼)

e. TILE AND BRICK

(Archive 104-6. Fabrics by R. S. Tomber; Animal Prints by B. Levitan, see Microfiche Section 5, Sheet 1, Frames 77-8; Stamps by T. Darvill and A. J. Parker).

A total of fifty-four pieces of roof tile, tile and brick were catalogued and this material was found in all periods from 2b onwards. Seven tiles featured footprints of cat and dog. There was one modern brick stamp and four Roman tiles had mortar keying patterns.

A NOTE ON THE LHS STAMPED TILES FROM KENCHESTER by T. C. Darvill, B.A.

Introduction

Among the Roman ceramic tile fragments recovered during the excavation were three fragments bearing complete or distinctive parts of the well known maker's stamp comprising the letters LHS. This was of particular interest as the main distribution of tiles stamped in this way is around Cirencester, with outliers along Ermine Street to the south of the town even as far as Old Sarum and Silchester. (Darvill, 1979; McWhirr and Viner, 1978).

A detailed study of LHS tiles has shown that two principal fabric groups can be isolated (Darvill, 1979). Fabric 1 is the most frequent and can be traced through petrological and chemical analysis to an origin in the vicinity of Minety in north Wiltshire. The second group cannot be assigned to a specific source and has so far only been found in Cirencester itself. A microscopic examination of the Kenchester tile fragments suggested that they were all very similar to specimens belonging to fabric group 1 noted above.

The tiles and the stamps

Little firm comment regarding the typology of the LHS tiles from Kenchester can be made because of their broken condition. The thickness and lack of curvature is suggestive of *Pila* or *Tegula* ascription.

Rubbings were made of each stamp present for comparison with other known LHS stamps. The stamp used on the Kenchester tiles has not been recognised at any other sites, and has been designated LHS(h) (Darvill, 1979, Appendix I). The form of the letters, their general shape, and their proportions are consistent with other LHS stamps however. It is possible that BR 2 and BR 4 (Archive 104) are parts of the same tile, indeed the same stamp, so that a minimum of two stamps should be thought of. No conclusive reading of the stamp can be provided at present, although it is probable that the letters represent the initials of the marker or brickyard owner.

Petrological examination

Samples were removed from each of the LHS stamped tile fragments to allow detailed examination of the fabric in thin section under a conventional petrological microscope. Macroscopically tile T6 stood apart because it had been fired at a higher temperature than BR2 and BR4, and had reached a semi-vitrified state in a partly reducing atmosphere thus giving it a blue/grey colour.

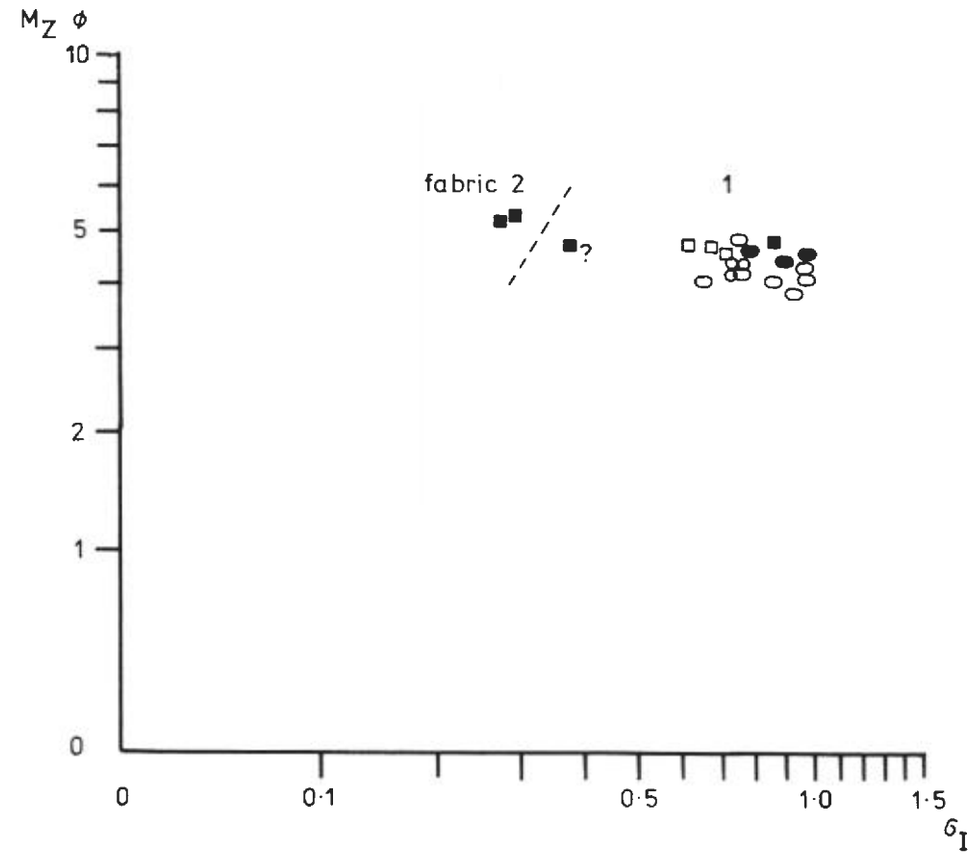


FIG. 43

Scattergram showing the results of textural analysis of quartz grains (mean grain size Mz; standard deviation 6I in Ø units) in various LHS stamped tiles and brick and clay samples from Minety, Wilts.

Under the microscope all three samples proved identical, each with an anisotropic groundmass, obscured in places by ferrous staining. Non-plastic inclusions consisted entirely of grains natural to the clay. A little mica was present but the field of view was dominated by sub-angular quartz grains showing undulose extinction and ranging from 0.01 mm. up to 0.4, across. There were very occasional small grains of plagioclase felspar, although these were too small to allow their exact composition to be determined. Small fragments of non-opaque iron ore were also present in the matrix along with a few voids betraying air bubbles in the clay after wedging or the presence of calcareous matter which burnt out during firing. Macroscopically, yellow streaks were visible in the matrix. All these characteristics are typical of LHS fabric 1.

To confirm fabric ascription and to allow comparison with other LHS tiles textural analysis was undertaken on the Kenchester samples. Figure 43 shows a scattergram plotting mean quartz grain size (MZ) against deviation (61) prepared according to methods described elsewhere (Darvill, 1979, 315). Samples from a number of sites are plotted, and clearly show the distinction between the two fabric groups and the close match between the Kenchester samples and those of fabric group 1.

Discussion

The LHS stamped tiles from Kenchester provide interesting additions to the twenty-six examples previously recorded, and considerably extends the known distribution of fabric 1 products. An elongated linear spread over 180 km. long, with Ermine Street and Margary's Road 610 and 63a (1973) as the main south-east to north-west axis, now emerges. The kiln complex at Minety (McWhirr, 1979, 181), which appears to be the source of LHS fabric 1 tiles, lies near Ermine Street and approximately central to the axis of this distribution. It can be suggested that the economic benefits accruing from use of arterial routeways accounts for the long distance movement of these tiles. Present evidence suggests that each stamped tile represents a much larger number of tiles delivered to a site and that it simply acted as a conveyer of whatever meaning attached to the stamp itself. Why tiles should be moved long distances when sources nearer to most sites could have supplied similar products is far from clear. The economic law of supply and demand at times of shortage may be one possibility, but the high quality of the Minety bricks might also be considered as an incentive for the movement of those tiles considered in this report.

RPG/PPG TILE STAMPS FROM KENCHESTER

by Dr. A. J. Parker
(PL. XIII)

Thirteen pieces of tile stamped RPG/PPG were found at Kenchester, either all or almost all made by the same die which reads RPG and is known from stamps at St. Oswalds, Gloucester. One was very fragmentary.

Of the twelve examples seven are definitely from the same die, two are most probably from that die, two may well be from the same die but a positive match is impossible. One is closely similar to the others but could have been made by a different die.

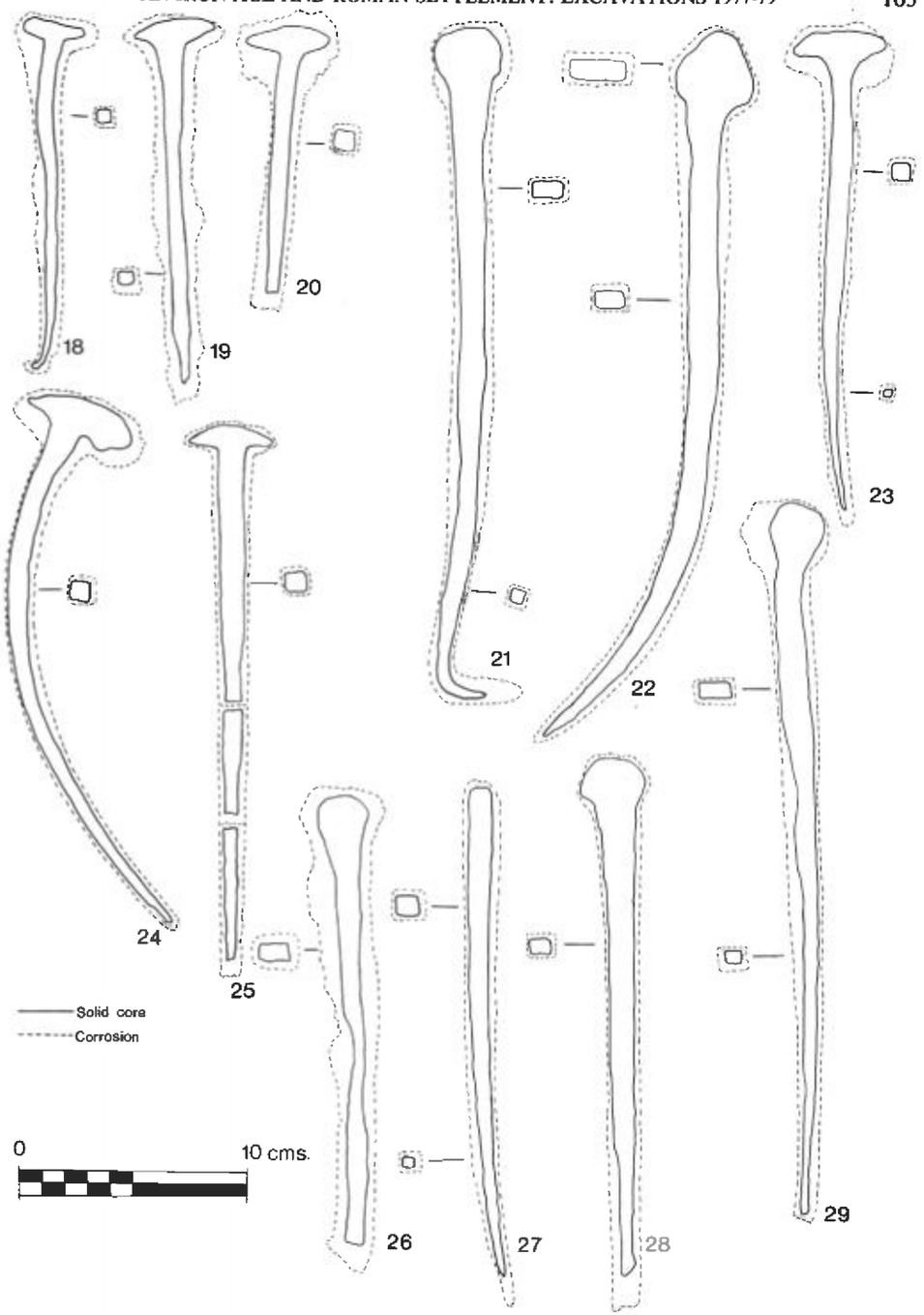


FIG. 44
Large iron nails nos. 18-29 from post holes of Building AJ, Period 2b (⅓)

The stamp really should read RPG; photographs show clearly that the tail of the R has 'filled up', whether by accident or by design. In one example (RT13) the tail of the R is complete, but the impression is not very good, so close argument is impossible.

Stamps made with the die were found at St. Oswalds, Gloucester; the die is No B VII in my classification of RPG stamps. Available evidence indicates that all RPG stamps were made in the 2nd century A.D.

Origin

The fact that all or almost all of the Kenchester tiles were marked with the same stamp can be interpreted in two ways; either they were made in Gloucester and conveyed to Kenchester in a single load, or they were made at, or near, Kenchester and stamped with a stamp brought from Gloucester. The fact that the stamp was broken and allowed partly to 'fill-up' during use might support the second alternative; most RPG stamps (on the basis of known examples) were kept in good condition and discarded before breaks appeared, though there are one or two exceptions to this.

The different fabric types do not affect the interpretation; RPG tiles from St. Oswalds and other Gloucester sites show at least two varieties of clay and low temper, but the evidence strongly suggests that they were normally made at or very close to St. Oswalds. However, it will be interesting to have an analytical comparison between Kenchester and Gloucester finds.

FIG. 45
Location of iron nails in post holes of Building AJ

The finds at Kenchester change the known distribution of RPG tiles; the great majority have been found in Gloucester and its eastern suburbs, and the rest come from villas at Highfold (8 km. SSE of Gloucester) and Frocester (15 km. SSW of Gloucester). The Kenchester group is thus unusual in several ways, not least in its uniformity. While this evidently raises a variety of historical questions it would be unwise to base conclusions on the tiles alone.

f. LARGE NAILS

(FIG. 44) (Archive 113: Type 5 by T. Wilmott)

A group of twelve nails were identified by virtue of their size and their distribution within the main structural post holes of Building AJ (FIG. 45). Several factors (Archive 253) led to the interpretation of material within these holes as the rotted bases of posts left *in situ,* thus the nails were in their original positions, and had not been removed from the wood. While nos. 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, and 27-29 were driven in straight, nos. 22 and 24 were severely bent. Comparison with Rhodes' (forthcoming) range of nail extraction curves suggests that no. 29 was reused after having been withdrawn and straightened. Nos. 18 and 21 were clenched back against the timber giving a thickness of post for no. 18 of 0.14 m. and for no. 21 of 0.25 m. These dimensions did not necessarily represent the maximum thickness of posts, but the posts cannot have been much larger. Where more than one nail was found in any post hole they were generally each hammered in different directions.

5. SUMMARIES OF OTHER FINDS

Edited by S. P. Q. Rahtz

a. STONE

(Archive 101: Note on stone axe by Prof. F. W. Shotton. Report by S. P. Q. Rahtz).

A total of eighty-three items were kept including the architectural fragments and querns described above. In addition there were nine fragments of shale bracelet and eight flints. Most were of Roman date with the exception of a sharpening stone, a spindle whorl and three flint implements from Period 1 and an isolated Neolithic hand axe from topsoil deposits.

b. FIRED CLAY

(Archive 103 by R. S. Tomber) Microfiche Section 6, Sheet 1, Frames 79-88.

Fired clay was kept from a total of forty contexts, including daub, furnace lining, crucible and moulds. The highest concentration of daub was from Period 2c found in association with the destruction of Building AJ. Of particular note is the presence of two crucible fragments and a piece of furnace lining from contexts associated with Building BC.

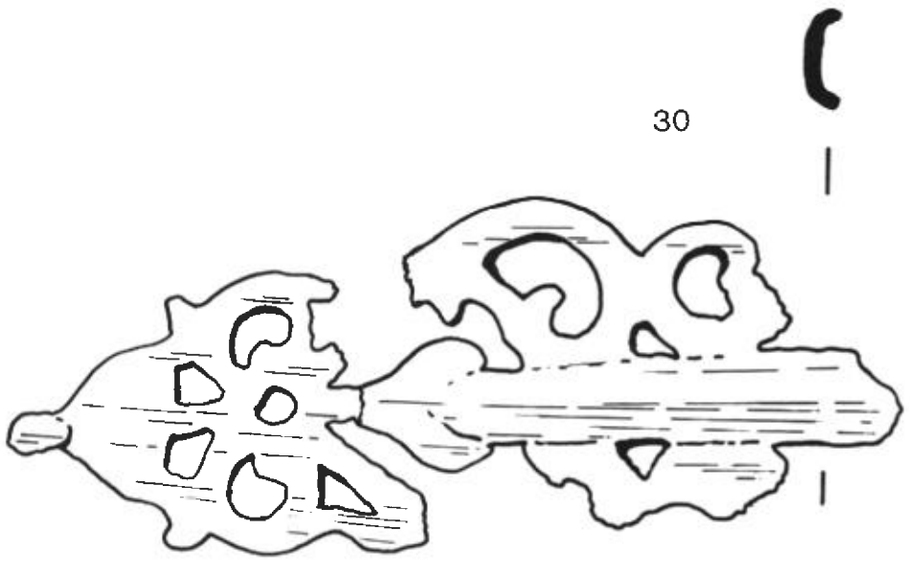


FIG. 46
Copper alloy mount no. 30 (1:1)

c. CLAY PIPE

(Archive 107: Identficiations by C. Beardsmore, B.A.)

Two pieces of clay pipe were kept, both dated to the late 17th century; both were found in topsoil.

d. GLASS

(Archive 110/111/112: Report by the late D. Charlesworth)

Fragments of 60-70 vessels were found, but few types could be identified. There were no coloured glass vessels, but a quantity of colourless or nearly colourless fragments, a few of good quality, the majority of thin metal with bubbles and striations. Of particular note were a number of square bottles, a blue green bath-flask, a carinated beaker, a stemmed vessel, fragments of beaker, a fragment of base and three beads, one turquoise, and two dark blue glass. These pieces are described in detail in the archive by Miss Charlesworth. Glass was distributed throughout the site from Period 2b onwards.

e. IRON

(Archive 113: Report by S. P. Q. Rahtz)

A total of 138 items, including the groups of nails reported on above, were kept for analysis. These included ten keys, fifteen domestic objects, (knives etc.) and eighty of agricultural use (e.g. a hipposandal) and of building use (e.g. clamps, holdfasts). The distribution of agricultural and building types covers the whole site from Period 2a onwards. There is a very marked concentration of nails around the timber structures of Periods 2aii-2c, with very few nails being represented in Periods 3 and 4. Domestic objects were mostly dated to Period 4 with one Period 3 outlier.

f. COPPER ALLOY

(Archive 114: Report by S. P. Q. Rahtz with specialist reports by D. F. Mackreth) (FIGS. 34, 46)

Including the brooches reported on above a total of fifty-five objects were recovered. These included personal and toilet objects, leather or wood fittings, household objects, harness fittings and key. These objects were concentrated in Period 4, but occur sporadically on all parts of the site from Period 2a onwards. Two objects are worthy of note and are illustrated.

30. (CA46) Report on pendant by D. F. Mackreth.

It is not clear which way up the object should be viewed: the hook was either for fastening to something else or was used for hanging another object from the plate. It will be described as though the latter condition was normal. The main part consists of a square plate with a double stepped raised platform in the middle. The lower step has a series of diagonal punch marks. Rivetted through the top of the plate is a circular boss with a sunken ring on top which contains traces of discoloured enamel. On either side of the plate is a projecting boss which has a stamped ring-and-dot ornament. Below the plate is a hook curving up the front and with a small moulding at its end. Above, there is the broken remains of what was almost certainly a pierced triangle which has, to either side of its junction with the main plate, a rounded boss, again with the ring-and-dot decoration.

Although not a brooch, the details of the design strongly recall a continental family of such which was commonly imported into Britain. The characteristics which link the two are the applied boss, the stepped platform with the punch marks, the protruding plates with their ornament, and the pierced figure on one side. The dating of the brooches is 2nd century with no good evidence that they were made in the 3rd. The object was from the destruction levels of Building AJ (AD72) and therefore dated to the mid-late 2nd century (FIG. 34).

31. (CA34) Openwork mount of complex design in two parts. The front was rounded but the back of most of the mount was flat. The stem of the mount was hollowed out, and in the end of the stem was a round hole. The hole is the only possible part of the decoration through which a nail or rivet could have been passed. The anomalous feature is the hollow in the rear of the stem. It seems possible that this might have been

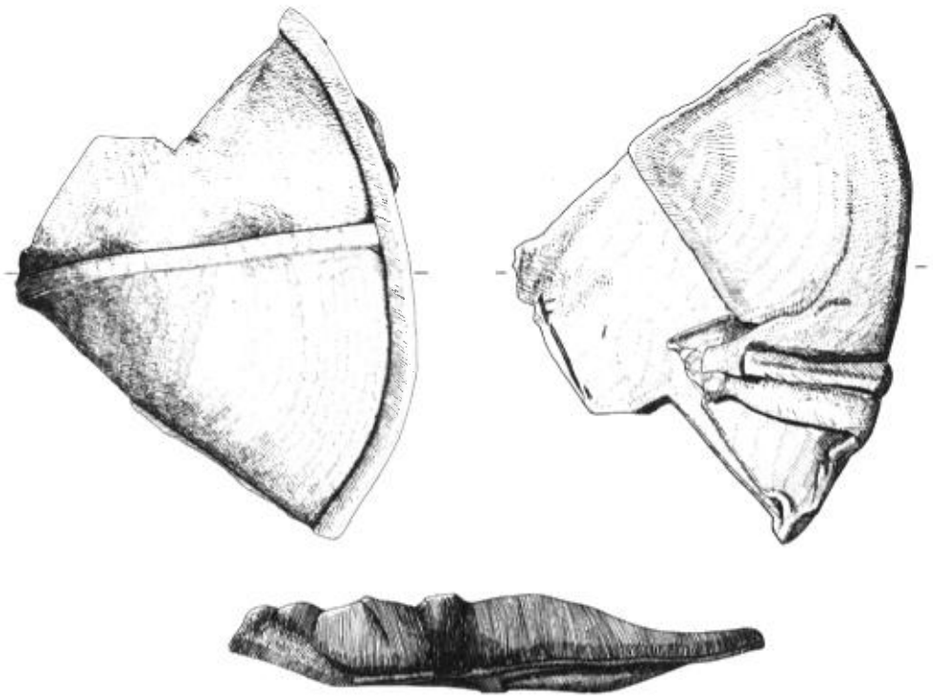


FIG. 47
Fragment of lead tank no. 32 (⅛)

one of a pair of identical objects placed back to back around the top of a wooden rod or stick and rivetted together. Similar openwork objects in military contexts tend to date to the late 3rd-4th century (Cunliffe, 1968, pl 38 no 122; Philp, 1981, 163). The mount was from pit AF59, tenuously dated to Period 3 (FIG. 46).

g. OTHER METAL

(Archive 115 by T. Wilmott and S. P. Q. Rahtz) FIG. 47, PLS. XIV and XV

A total of eight objects was found, six lead, one silver and one of lead and iron. One of these objects is of particular interest.

32. (OM7) The surviving fragment (60 x 47 cms.) of a circular lead tank. This part has been cut deeply on the quadrant edges. A brace, separately welded on extends up the side up to 28 cms. from the outside edge. At 30 cms. from the outside edge the top is rough and may have been cut away. The braced side has been twisted sideways and bent flat, with the bottom.

A brace 2.5 cms. wide by 1 cm. thick is offset 7 cms. from the side brace and goes across the bottom on a radial line. The centre of the tank does not survive, so it is not possible to say whether or not there was another brace at 45 degrees to this one. A reinforcing strip goes round the outer circumference on the bottom, protruding outwards 0.5 cm. and downwards 0.6 cm. Width of 2.8 cms.

The bottom outside is unmarked, but has a slight dent on the line of the brace. The outer side has some slight nicks and scratches of no apparent significance. On the inside bottom there is a patch of scoring and pitting. Generally speaking the surface overall is smooth but apparently unpolished.

The total surviving circumference is 68 cms. and the surviving radius is 44.5 cms.

Reconstruction

Diameter (outer)	92 cms.	
Diameter (inner)	89.4 cms.	
Circumference	290 cms.	
Proportion of circumference surviving 24%		
Inside area	6,364 sq. cms.	
Total Capacity	203,657 cu. cms.	1/5th of cubic metre

This tank is associated with the use of Period 2b, being found outside Building AJ within the burnt debris resulting from the destruction of this structure. Its function is unclear.

Lead tanks have been recently described by C. J. Guy (1981). The Kenchester tank falls outside the main areas of distribution in eastern England, the nearest examples being from Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire (Guy, 1981, 271). Most of the tanks are 4th century in date and are decorated with Christian motifs. As it is not decorated, however, it was probably used in some industrial purpose. C. J. Guy points out that the construction of this early tank is identical to that of the later Christian examples, except that the base is made in two pieces rather than one.

h. SLAG

(Archive 116: Report by S. P. Q. Rahtz)

Slag occurred in significant distributions in Periods 1 and 3, associated with Building BC in the earlier and with Furnace U and Building T in the later phase. So far as can be determined the majority of the slag was from ironworking.

j. ANIMAL BONE

(Archive 118: Report on Animal bone by Miss B. A. Noddle, and on bird bone by T. C. O'Connor). Microfiche Section 7, Sheet 2, Frames 1-14.

A great deal of animal bone was discarded on site and thus the sample analysed was non-scientific. A number of conclusions can still be made though without the full collection of excavated bone they will necessarily be fairly fragile.

A total of 78.5 kg. of animal bone was analysed and results are given in table 00.

The high proportion of cattle bones on a fragment count is lessened with the count of minimum numbers of individuals is taken, but they remain the most common animal.

There is an abnormally high proportion of mature animals with virtual absence of newborn animals. This fact may suggest either that young animals were exported or that breeding did not take place on the site. Most types of animal found on the site were smaller than average for a Roman site, possibly reflecting the position of Kenchester away from the mass areas of pastoral farming in Roman times. Red deer were larger than modern animals. Among the horse bones may be noted an apparent mule radius, one of the first bones of such an animal to be found in Roman Britain (Armitage and Chapman, 1979). This radius had definite donkey characteristics but the size of the bone, 295 mm. in length would indicate a mule as the most likely source. Mules were of course widely used in the Roman world, the Roman veterinary surgeon being known as a *mulomedicus* (Walker, 1977).

The sample of bird bones was small but was of predominantly domestic fowl. Also included were goose, raven, sparrow, and herring gull, straying far from the coast.

No analysis of distribution chronologically or spatially was possible.

k. HUMAN BONE

(Archive 119: Report on Skeletal remains by Dr. R. F. Everton) Microfiche Section 8, Sheet 2, Frames 15-24. (PL. XI).

Four adult graves were found on the site together with two infant burials and two isolated pieces of human bone. Two were stratigraphically isolated from the main site and were found in the edge of the B C A quarry while two were associated with Period 3.

Age and pathology are discussed in the archive. There was some evidence for burial practice. Grave Beta (Archive 56) included nails disposed around the skeleton in positions suggesting a wooden coffin. Further encrustations of hobnails found near the feet showed that shoes were worn by the deceased. Graves Gamma and HH (PL. XI) were decapitated *post mortem* and neither contained any grave goods. The skeleton in grave Gamma was laid on its side in a narrow grave with the head next to the legs. Grave HH contained a skeleton laid supine with arms crossed one above and one below the pelvis. The legs were crossed and the skull placed next to the crossing in the edge of the grave cut. In the case of Grave HH there was no injury to the cervical spine, in complete contrast to the decapitated skeleton from Sutton Walls (Cornwall, 1953), where sword cuts were described cutting into and through the vertebrae. The finding of skulls removed from the shoulders after death without obvious injury to the neck is not uncommon, and may be a ritual possibly intended to allow the spirit to leave the body (Matthews, 1979, 312) or as an aspect of the celtic head cult (Marsh and West, 1981; Ross, 1967, 94-121). Similar examples have been found in Dunstable, Beds. (Matthews, 1979) and at Bradley Hill (Everton, 1979) and Narbury Camp (Everton, 1978). In the large group of twelve such burials from Dunstable the decapitated skeletons were among those which had been carefully laid out, and in most cases the head was placed beside or between the legs.

l. BONE OBJECTS

(Archive 120: Report by S. P. Q. Rahtz)

A total of thirty-five items was recorded; these included twenty-two needles or pins, two counter, three knife handles and eight pieces of worked horn-core. In addition there were two pieces of finely-worked bone inlay and a polished tusk pendant.

Apart from the horn core which occurred in Periods 2a-2c bone objects were concentrated in Building M in periods 3 and 4.

m. MOLLUSCA

(Archive 121: Identifications by M. Robinson M.A.) Microfiche Section 9, Sheet 2, Frames 25-30.

Mollusca were noted in forty-four contexts from all periods mostly oyster (*ostrea edulis*) which was present as food remains. In Stream E *bithynia tentoculata* and *pisidium amnium* demonstrated the period of clear water flow in the stream while the species *limnia sp* and *Ceepea sp* were recovered from contexts which represented the more marshy phases.

REFERENCES

1 The final draft of this report was completed in May 1982.
2 The discussion which follows is based on the Level III archive report (Archive Section 108) and if further details are desired, including a record of all pottery by individual context, it should be consulted.
3 If all undiagnostic Group A sherds were included in weight calculations, Group A would still only comprise 35% of the total Iron Age assemblage. This is a difference of *c.* 10%.
4 Although Dressel 1 is represented by diagnostic sherds, most of the material is body sherds and could possibly be Dressel 2-4.
5 Oxfordshire mortaria were examined by both Mrs. K. F. Hartley and Dr. C. J. Young.
6 The only possible contenders for a solely Flavian or Neronian-Flavian date are two sherds of Imported mortaria, Fabric 1—and Fabric 4, both of which are too fragmentary for close dating.

The Club is much indebted to English Heritage for the grant and to Miss Verena Brown's legacy towards publishing this report.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the following people for their help in the excavation of the site and the preparation of this report.

Organisation and facilities; Brian Davison, Paul Gosling and Tony Fleming of the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments; Jan Roberts (County Archaeological Officer) and John Sawle of the Hereford and Worcester County Council Archaeology Department. Access to the site was given by the tenant farmer, Mr. T. B. Dew, and Mr. V. Bennetts of Blue Circle Aggregates Ltd. Advice during the excavation was given by Mr. Philip Barker of the University of Birmingham Extra-Mural Dept., and by Mr. Ron Shoesmith of the City of Hereford Archaeological Unit, who also provided facilities in Bewell House, Hereford, during the 1977 season.

The excavation was directed by Professor Philip Rahtz (1977) and the authors (1978-9) with on site supervision by Lorna Watts (Assistant Director 1977), Anthony Hirst, Mark Horton and Peter Wilson (1977), Patrick Blackman, Paul Bullivant and Cameron Moffet (1978). The work was chiefly done by a team employed under the Job Creation Scheme. These personnel were provided by the Manpower Services Commission, and we must thank the staff both of the Commission and of the Hereford Job Centre. Of these teams special mention should be made of James Bailey (draughtsman), Julie Dawson (admin.) and Fiona Howard (Finds Assistant). Numerous British and American volunteers took part in the work, enormous help being rendered by Leighton and Beth Bishop (Finds Assistants 1977).

Help during post-excavation work was offered by Tim Allen, Ann Anderson, Dr. Philip Armitage, Paul Booth, Barry Burnham, Julie Crickmore, Dr. Hugh Chapman, Stephen Greep, Chris Guy, Dr. Mark Hassall, Peter Johnson, Bryn Walters and Dr. Chris Young.

Drawings in the report were done by James Bailey (Finds, nos. 7-17), Nick Griffiths (Small finds, nos. 2-6, 30). A particular note should be made of John Pearson who drew the reconstructions, FIGS. 12, 17, 20).

Typing was undertaken by Mrs. E. Green, Miss S. Pope and Mrs. B. Wilmott. Drafts of the text have been read by, and invaluable criticisms made by Drs. S. Esmonde-Cleary and D. Smith.

The contribution of those who provided reports on aspects of the Finds is clear from the report. The names of these specialists as well as the nature of their contributions are listed in Appendix I. All are to be thanked by the authors.

R. S. Tomber wishes to thank all those who provided specialist reports or allowed access to information as yet unpublished. Additional thanks must go to Mrs. K. F. Hartley who provided mortaria drawings and FIG. 33 as well as her report. Mortaria drawings were prepared for publication by Jane Timby, B.A. who is also responsible for the drawings of pottery types 8.4, 9.1, 120 and 121. The remaining drawings of Iron Age pottery were done by Ros Styles. The manuscript of the pottery report was typed by Mrs. A. Hamlin. Professor P. Rahtz and Dr. C. Young read and made comments on the level 3 pottery report, and discussions were held with Dr. D. F. Williams. Special thanks are due to Elaine Morris for invaluable comments and criticism on all sections relating to the Iron Age. Gill Andrews and Patrick Blackman also commented on the pottery report and gave generously of their time for discussion.

The main debt of the writers is to Professor Philip Rahtz who provided encouragement and advice at all stages of excavation and post-excavation work.

ABBREVIATIONS

*Archive 108	Tomber, R.S., 'The Pottery.' In Rahtz, S.P.Q., Tomber, R., Wilmott, A., 1980. *Iron Age and Roman Settlement Outside Kenchester, Herefords. and Worcs.: Excavations 1977-78. The Archive Report.*
BAR.	British Archaeological Reports.
Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.	Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, A.C., (1980).	*A Guide to Roman Fine Wares Vorda Research Series* 1.
Anthony, I.E., (1958).	*The Iron Age Camp at Poston.*
Armitage, P., and Chapman, H., (1979).	'Roman Mules', *London Archaeologist,* 3, 339-47.
Ashby, T., *et al,* (1910).	'Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire on the site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum 1908', *Archaeologia,* 62, 1-20.
Baker, A., (1966).	'Aerial Reconnaissance over the Romano-British Town of Magna (Kenchester)', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVIII, 192-5.
Baker, A., (1970).	'Results in Herefordshire from Aerial Reconnaissance in 1969', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XL, 45-8.
Barfield, L., (1976).	'Excavations at Bays Meadow, Droitwich', *West Midlands Archaeol. News-sheet,* 19, 42-4.
Bartlett, A., (1977).	*Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 6/77.*
Bennion, E.B., (1967).	*Breadmaking: its principles and practices.*

Bersu, G., (1940). 'Excavations at Little Woodbury pt 1', *Proc. Prehist Soc.*, 6, 30-111.

Black, E.W., (1981). 'An additional Classification of Granaries in Roman Britain', *Britannia,* XII, 163-7.

Blagg, T.F.C., (1981). 'The Column Capital', in Philip (1981), 177-8.

Bohme, A., (1972). 'Die Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel', *Saalburg Jahrbuch,* 29.

Boon, G.C., (1966). 'Legionary ware at Caerleon ?', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 115, 45-60.

Boon, G.C., (1976). 'Segontium fifty years on: II The Coins', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 125, 40-6.

Brailsford, J.W., (1962). *Antiquities from Hod Hill in the Durden Collection.*

Breeze, D., and Dobson, B., (1976). *Hadrians Wall.*

Bridgewater, N.P., (1963). 'The Huntsham Romano-British Villa, First Report', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVII, 179-91.

Bridgewater, N.P., (1966). 'Romano-British Ironworking near Ariconium', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVIII, 124-35.

Brodribb, A.C.C., Hands, A.R., and Walker, D.R., (1971). *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm near Wilcote, Oxfordshire, Part II: Sites B and H.*

Bull, M.G., (1882). 'Credenhill, Magna-Castra and the Roman Towns and Stations in Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* X, 236-61.

Burnham, C.P., (1964). 'The Soils of Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVIII, 27-35.

Bushe-Fox, J.P., (1913). *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town of Wroxeter, Shropshire in 1912 Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.,* 1.

Callendar, M.H., (1965). *Roman Amphorae.*

Champion, T.C., and Champion, S.T., (1981). 'The Iron Age in Hampshire' *in* S.J. Shennon and R.T. Schadla-Hall (eds.), *The Archaeology of Hampshire from the Paleolithic to the Industrial Revolution, Hampshire Fld. Club and Archaeol. Soc. Monograph,* 1, 37-45.

Clark, A.J., (1975). *Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 32/75.*

Clarke, B.B., (1950). 'The Geology of Garnons Hill', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXIII, 97-111.

Cleere, H.F., (1963). 'A Note on Roman Bloomery Tuyeres', *Sussex Arch. Coll.,* 101, 48-53.

Cleere, H.F., (1970). *The Romano-British Industrial Site at Bardown, Wadhurst: An Interim report on Excavations 1960-68, Sussex Archaeol. Soc. Occasional Paper 1.*

Cleere, H.F., (1972). 'The Classification of Early Iron Smelting Furnaces', *Antiq. J.,* 52, 8-23.

Cleere, H.F., (1976). 'Ironworking' in *ed.* D. Strong and D. Brown, *Roman Crafts,* 127-41.

Cleere, H.F., (1979). 'Editorial: The Publication of Archaeological Data', *CBA Newsletter and Calendar* III/6.

Crickmore, J., (forthcoming). *Romano-British Urban Settlement in the West Midlands,* BAR.

Crummy, P., (1984). *Excavations at Lion Walk, Balkerne Lane and Middleborough, Colchester.* Colchester Archaeol. Reports 3.

Cunliffe, B.W., (1968). *Fifth Report on the Excavations at Richborough, Kent, Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.* 23.

Cunliffe, B.W., (1971). *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-1969, Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.,* 26.

Cunliffe, B.W., (1974). *Iron Age Communities in Britain.*

Cunliffe, B.W., (1981). 'Danebury, Hampshire, Third Interim Report on the Excavation 1976-80', *Antiq. J.,* 61, 238-54.

Curle, J., (1911). *A Roman Frontier Post and its People, the fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose.*

Current Archaeology, (1981a). 'Littlecote', *Curr. Archaeol.,* 80 (December 1981), 264-8.

Current Archaeology, (1981b). 'Leicester', *Curr. Archaeol.,* 81 (March, 1981), 314-7.

Dannell, G.B., (1971). 'The Samian Pottery' in Cunliffe (1971), 260-316.

Darvill, T., (1979). 'Petrological Study of the LHS and TPF Stamped Tiles from the Cotswold Region', *in* A. McWhirr (ed.), *Roman Brick and tile: Studies in Manufacture, distribution and use in the Western Empire',* BAR S68, 97-190.

Déchelette, J., (1904). *Les vases ceramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine.*

Department of Environment, (1975). *Principles of Publication in Rescue Archaeology.* (The Frere Report).

Dickinson, B.M., and Hartley, B.R., (Archive 108). *Samian Ware from Kenchester, 1977-79* (Archive report on excavations, 1980).

Down, A., (1979). *Chichester Excavations 4: The Roman Villas at Chilgrove and Upmarden.*

Dunning, G.C., (1976). 'Salmonsbury, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire', *in* D.W. Harding (ed.) *Hillforts, Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland,* 75-118.

Earp, J.R., and Hains, B.A., (1971). *The Welsh Borderland.*

Everton, R.F., (1978). 'The Skeletons from Norbury Camp'. (Forthcoming).

Everton, R.F., (1979). 'The Romano-British Cemetery at Bradley Hill'. (Forthcoming).

Fleet, J.S., and Hill, J.B., (1912). *The Geology of the Lizard and Meneage,* (Geol. Soc. Memoir 1912).

Frere, (1972). *Verulamium Excavations Vol. 1., Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.,* 28.

Frere, S.S., (1974). *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain* (2nd. edn. 1975).

Frere, S.S., and St. Joseph, J.K., (1974). 'The Roman Fortress at Longthorpe', *Britannia,* V, 1-129.

Fulford, M.G., (1975). *New Forest Pottery: Manufacture and Distribution with a corpus of the Pottery Types,* BAR 17.

Gale, F.E., (Archive 108). 'Kenchester Amphorae', (Archive Report on Excavations, 1980).

Gelling, P.S., and Stanford, S.C., (1965). 'Dark Age Pottery or Iron Age Ovens?', *Trans. Birmingham Warwickshire Archaeol. Soc.,* 82, 77-91.

Gentry, A.P., (1976). *Military Stone-built Granaries,* BAR 32.

Gillam, J.P., (1976). 'Coarse fumed ware in Northern Britain', *Glasgow Archaeol. Jour.,* 4, 57-80.

Goodburn, R., (1978). 'Roman Britain in 1977', *Britannia,* IX, 445.

Grace, V.P., (1961). *'Amphoras and the Ancient Ware Trade', Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book 6.*

Green, H.J.M., (1978). 'A Villa Estate at Godmanchester', *in* M. Todd (ed.) *Studies in the Romano-British Villa,* 103-16.

Greene, K., (1978). 'Imported Fine Wares in Britain to A.D. 250: A Guide to Identification', in Arthur, P. and Marsh, G. (eds.) *Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain,* BAR 59, 15-30.

Grindley, M.E., (1954). 'The Wye Glacier', *in* Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club (eds.) *Herefordshire,* 36-48.

Guilbert, G.C., (1975). 'Planned Hillfort Interiors', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.,* 41, 203-22.

Guilbert, G.C., (1981). 'Double Ring Roundhouses, Probable and Possible in Prehistoric Britain', *Curr. Archaeol.* 47, 299-317.

Guy, C.J., (1981). 'Roman Circular Lead Tanks in Britain', *Britannia,* XII, 211-7.

Hadman, J., (1978). 'Aisled Buildings in Roman Britain' *in* M. Todd (ed.) *Studies in the Romano-British Villa.*

Harding, D., (1973). 'Round and Rectangular: Iron Age Houses. British and Foreign' *in* C. and S. Hawkes (eds.) *Greeks Celts and Romans,* 40-63.

Harding, D., (1974). *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain.*

Hartley, B.R., (1972a). *Notes on the Roman Pottery Industry in the Nene Valley, Peterborough Museum Soc. Occ. Paper 2.*

Hartley, B.R., (1972b). 'The Roman Occupations of Scotland', *Britannia,* 3, 1-55.

Hartley, K.F., (1977). 'Two Major Potteries in the 1st century AD', *in* J. Dore and K. Greene (eds.), *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond: Papers Presented to John Gillam,* BAR S30, 5-17.

Hartley, K.F., (Archive 108). 'The Kenchester Mortaria', (Archive Report on Excavations).

Haupf, D., (Forthcoming). *In* K. Hartley (Archive 108).

Haverfield, F., and McDonald, G., (1924). *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (Rev. G. McDonald 1924).

Heighway, C.M., and Parker, A.J., (1982). 'The Roman Tilery at St. Oswalds Priory, Gloucester', *Britannia,* 13, 25-78.

Heighway, C.M., (Forthcoming). *Excavations at the North and East Gates of Gloucester.*

Hermet, F., (1934). *La Graufesenque (Condatomago).*

Heyes, F.G., and Thomas, M.J., (1959). 'Excavations on the Defences of the Romano-British Town at Kenchester, 1956-8', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVI, 100-16.

Heys, F.G., and Thomas, M.J., (1963). 'Excavations on the Defences of the Romano-British Town at Kenchester' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XXXVII, 149-78.

Hill, P.V., Kent, J.P.C., and Carson, R.A.G., (1960). *Late Roman Bronze Coinage.*

Hirst, S.M., (1976). *Recording on Excavations 1: The Written Record.*

Hobley, B., (1969). 'A Neronian-Vespasianic Military Site at "The Lunt", Baginton, Warwickshire', *Trans. Birmingham Warwickshire Archaeol. Soc.,* 83 (1966-1967), 65-129.

Hobley, B., (1973). 'Excavations at "The Lunt" Roman Military Site, Baginton, Warwickshire, 1968-71, 2nd. Interim Report,' *Trans Birmingham Warwickshire Archaeol. Soc.,* 85 (1971-73), 7-92.

Hogg, A.H.A., (1973). 'Hill Forts and Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club,* XLI, 14-21.

Howard, H., (Archive 108). 'The Petrology of the Kenchester Roman and Iron Age Pottery' (in Archive report on Excavations 1980).

Hume, A., (1863). *Ancient Moels; or, some account of the antiquities found near Dove Point on the Sea Coast of Cheshire.*

Ireland, C., (1983). 'The Roman Pottery', *in* C. M. Heighway (ed.), *The East and North Gates of Gloucester and Associated sites; Excavations 1974-1981,* Western Archaeological Trust Monograph No. 4, 93-161.

Jack, G.M., and Hayter, A.G., (1916). *Excavations on the site of the Romano-British Town of Magna, Kenchester, Herefordshire 1912-1913,* (Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club).

Jack, G.H., and Hayter, A.G., (1926). *Excavations on the site of the Romano-British town of Magna, Kenchester, Herefordshire Vol. II 1924-25,* (Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club).

Jarrett, M.G., (1969). *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (2nd end. 1969).

Jarrett, M.G., and Wrathmell, S., (1981). *Whitton, An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan.*

Jeffries, J., (1985). A note on Pottery Quantification *in* J. Hinchcliffe and C.J.S. Green, *Excavation at Brancaster 1974 and 1977 East Anglian Archaeology Monograph,* 73-4.

Jones, D., (1980). *Excavation at Billingsgate Buildings, Lower Thames Street, London, 1974, Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc. Special Paper* 4.

Jones, G.D.B., *et al,* (1966). G.D.B. Jones, F.H. Thompson and J.P. Wild, 'Manchester University Excavations at Brough-on-Noe (*Navio*), 1966' *Derbys. Archaeol. J.,* 86, 99-102.

J.R.S., (1964). 'Roman Britain in 1963', *J. Roman Stud.,* 53, 130-1.

Kenyon, K.M., (1948). *Excavation at the Jewry Wall Site. Leicester Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.,* XV.

Kenyon, K.M. (1953). 'Excavations at Sutton Walls, Herefordshire. 1948-1951', *Archaeol. J.,* 110, 1-87.

Knorr, R., (1905). *Die verzierten Terra sigillata-Gefusse von Canstatt und Köngen-Grinario.*

Knorr, R., and Sprater, Fr., (1927). *Die Westpfälzischen Sigillata - Topferien Von Bluchweiler und Eschaweiler Hof.*

Lee, J.E., (1862). *Isca Silurum.*

Lewis, M.J.T., (1966). *The Temples of Roman Britain.*

McWhirr, A., and Viner, V., (1978). 'The Production and Distribution of Tiles in Roman Britain with particular reference to the Cirencester region', *Britannia,* IX, 357-77.

McWhirr, A.D., (1979). 'Tile Kilns in Roman Britain' *in* McWhirr, A.D. (ed.) *'Roman Brick and Tile: Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire'* BAR S68, 97-190.

Manning, W.H., (1964]. 'A Mill Pivot from Silchester', *Antiq. J.,* XLIV, 38.

Manning, W.H., (1976a). 'Blacksmithing, *in* D. Strong and D. Brown (eds.), *Roman Crafts,* (1978).

Manning, W.H., (1976b). *Catalogue of Romano-British Ironwork in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

Margary, I.D., (1973). *'Roman Roads in Britain',* (3rd edn. 1973).

Marsden, P., (1980). *Roman London.*

Marsh, G.D., and West, B., (1981). 'Skullduggery in Roman London', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.,* 32, 00-00.

Matthews, L. (1979). 'Dunstable' *Curr. Archaeol.,* 69, 307-13.

Mattingly, H., and Sydenham, E.A., (1923). *The Roman Imperial Coinage.*

May, T., (1917). *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle.*

Meates, G.W., (1979). *The Lullingstone Roman Villa: Vol. 1 - The Site.*

Megaw, J.V.S., and Simpson, D.D.A., (1979). *An Introduction to British Prehistory.*

Millett, M., (1979). 'How Much Pottery' *in* M. Millett (ed.), *Pottery and the Archaeologist. Inst. Archaeol. Occasional Paper 4,* 77-80.

Morris, E.L., (1981a). 'Ceramic Exchange in Western Britain: A Preliminary View', *in* H. Howard and E.L. Morris (eds.), *Production and Distribution: a Ceramic Viewpoint Bristol Archaeol. Reports,* S120, 67-81.

Morris, E.L., (1981b). 'Petrological Report on the Beaker and Iron Age Ceramics from Midsummer Hill' *in* S.C. Stanford, 151-5.

Morris, E.L., (1979). 'Iron Age Pottery from Western Britain, another Petrological study', *in* I. Freestone, C. Johns and T. Potter. (eds.), *Current Research in Ceramics: Thin Section Studies British Museum Occasional Paper 32,* 15-27.

Morris, E.L., (Archive 108). 'Kenchester Iron Age Ceramic Material'. (In Archive Report on Excavations 1980).

Moritz, L.A., (1958). *Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity.*

Musson, C., (1970). 'House Plans and Prehistory', *Curr. Archaeol.* 21, 267-83.

Neal, D.S., (1974). *'The Excavation of the Roman Villa in Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead 1963-8' Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.,* 31.

Neal, D.S., (1978). 'The Growth and Decline of Villas in the Venilamium Area', *in* M. Todd (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa,* 33-58.

Orton, C.R., (1977). 'Roman Pottery' *in* T.R. Blurton, 'Excavations at Angel Court Walbrook 1974', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.,* 28, 30-53.

Oswald, F., (1936-7). *Index of Figure Types on Terra Sigillata ("Samian Ware").*

Peacock, D.P.S., (1967). 'Romano-British Pottery production in the Malvern district of Worcestershire.' *Trans. Worcestershire Archaeol. Soc.,* 1 (third Series 1967), 15-28.

Peacock, D.P.S., (1968). 'A petrological study of certain Iron Age Pottery from Western England', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.,* 34, 414-26.

Peacock, D.P.S., (1971). 'Roman amphorae in pre-Roman Britain', *in* M. Jesson, and D. Hill (eds.), *The Iron Age and its Hillforts.*

Peacock, D.P.S., (1977). 'Ceramics in Roman and Medieval archaeology' *in* D.P.S. Peacock (ed.), *Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterization and Trade in Roman and Later Ceramics,* 21-34.

Peacock, D., (1979). 'An Ethnoarchaeological Approach to the Study of Roman Bricks and Tile', *in* McWhirr A.D. (ed.). *Roman*

Brick and Tile: Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire, BAR 9.
Percival, J., (1976). *The Roman Villa.*
Philip, B., (1968). 'The Roman Villa and Belgic Farmstead' *in Excavations at Faversham, 1965*, 62-85
Philip, B., (1981). *The Excavation of the Roman Forts of the Classics Britannia at Dover 1970-1977.*
Radford, C.A.R., (1936). 'The Roman Villa at Ditchley, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, 24-69.
Rahtz, P.A., (1979). *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations 1960-62*, BAR 65.
Rahtz, P.A., and Greenfield, E., (1977). *Excavations at Chew Valley Lane, Somerset: Dept of Environment Archaeol. Reps.*, 8.
Rahtz, S.P.Q., (Forthcoming). 'The Kenchester Tesserae', *Bulletin Association Internationale pour L'Etude de la Mosaïque Antique.*
Rhodes, M., (Forthcoming). 'The Iron Nails *in* A. R. Wilmott 'Excavations in the Walbrook Valley 1933-60', *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.*
Richardson, L., (1935). *Wells and Springs of Herefordshire.*
Richmond, I.A., (1963). *'Roman Britain'.*
Richmond, I.A., (1968). *Hod Hill Vol. 2, Excavations carried out 1951-1958 for the Trustees of the Bristol Museum.*
Richmond, I.A., (1969). 'The Plans of Roman Villas in Britain', *in* A.L.F. Rivet (ed.), *The Roman Villa in Britain*, 49-70.
Riehm, K., (1961). 'Prehistoric Salt Boiling', *Antiquity*, 35, 181-91.
Riley, J.A., (1979). The Coarse Pottery from Benghazi *in* J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Sidi Khrelish, Benghazi (Berenici) 11*, 91-467.
Rogers, G.B., (1974). 'Poteries Sigilée de la Gaule Centrale' *Gallia Suppl.*, 28.
Ross, A., (1967). *Pagan Celtic Britain.*
Salway, P., (1981). *Roman Britain.*
Shoesmith, R., (1977). 'Archaeology 1977' *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLII, 194-7.
Shoesmith, R., (1980). 'The Roman Building at New Weir, Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIII, 134-54.
Simpson, G., (1976). *Watermills and Military works on Hadrians Wall, Excavations in Northumberland 1907-1913.*
Smith, C., (1979). *Fisherwick—the Reconstruction of an Iron Age Landscape*, BAR 61.
Smith, D.J., (1978). 'Regional Aspects of the Winged Corridor Villa in Britain', *in* M. Todd (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, 117-48.
Solley, T.W.J., (1979). 'Romano-British Side-Tables and Chip-carving', *Britannia*, X, 169-78.
Stanfield, J.A., (1929). 'Unusual forms of Terra Sigillata' *Archaeol. J.*, 86, 113-51.
Stanfield J.A., and Simpson, G., (1958). *Central Gaulish Potters.*
Stanford, S.C., (1959). 'Excavations at the Roman Camp of Bravonium (Leintwardine)', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVI, 87-99.
Stanford, S.C., (1959). 'The Roman Forts at Leintwardine and Buckton', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX, 222-36.
Stanford, S.C., (1970). 'Credenhill Camp, Herefordshire: an Iron Age Hill Fort Capital', *Archaeol. J.*, 127, 82-129.
Stanford, S.C., (1971). 'Invention Adoption and Imposition—The Evidence of the Hill-Forts', *in* M. Jesson and D. Hill (eds.), *The Iron Age and its Hill Forts*, 41-53.
Stanford, S.C., (1972). 'Welsh Border Hill Forts', *in* C. Thomas (ed.), *The Iron Age in the Irish Sea Province*, 25-36.
Stanford, S.C., (1974). *Croft Ambrey.*
Stanford, S.C., (1981). *Midsummer Hill: An Iron Age Hill-fort on the Malverns.*
Stead, I.M., (1976). *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa 1958-1967 Dept. Environment Archaeol. Rep.* 9.

Terise, J.R., (1968). *Les Céramiques sigillées gallo-Romaines des Martres-de-Veyre (Puy-de-Dome)* Gallia Suppl. 19.
Tomber, R.S., (1980). *A petrological assessment of Severn Valley Ware: Kilns and selected distribution.* M.Sc. dissertation University of Southampton.
Walker, R.E., (1973). 'Roman Veterinary Medicine', *in* J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art.*
Webster, G., (1957). 'Excavations on the defences of the Romano-British Town at Kenchester, 1956 interim report', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXV, 138-45.
Webster, P.V., (1976). 'Severn Valley Ware: a preliminary Study,' *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 94, 18-46.
Welfare, A., (1981). 'The Milling Stone', *in* Jarret and Wrathmell, 219-25.
West Mids. Group, (1946). West Midlands Group on Post-war Reconstruction and Planning, *English County, A Planning Survey of Herefordshire.*
Wheeler, R.E.M., (1943). *Maiden Castle, Dorset Rep. Res. Comm. Antiqs.*, 21.
Wheeler, R.E.M., and Wheeler, T.V., (1928). 'The Roman Amphitheatre at Caerleon', *Archaeologia*, 78, 111-218.
Wild, J.P., (n.d.). *The Romans in the Nene Valley* (undated).
Williams, D.F., (1977). 'The Roman British Black-Burnished industry: an essay on characterization by heavy mineral analysis', *in* D.P.S. Peacock (ed.). *Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterization and Trade in Roman and Later Ceramics*, 163-220.
Williams, D.F., (1981). 'The Roman amphorae trade with late iron age Britain', *in* H. Howard and E.L. Morris (eds.), *Production and Distribution: A Ceramic Viewpoint*, Bristol *Archive Reports*, S120, 123-32.
Williams, D.F., and Peacock, D.P.S., (1983). 'The importation of olive-oil into iron age and Roman Britain', *Produccion y comercio del Aceite en la Antiguedad.*
Wilmott, A.R., (1979a). 'A Roman-British Stone Head from Kenchester (*Magnis*), Herefordshire' *Antiquity*, 53 no. 209.
Wilmott, A.R., (1979b) *Kenchester a Reconsideration*, M.A. dissertation, University of Birmingham (1979).
Wilmott, A.R., (1980). 'Kenchester A Reconsideration', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIII, 117-131.
Wilson, D.R., (1974). 'Roman Britain 1973', *Britannia*, 5, 396-460.
Young, C., (1975). 'Excavations at Ickham: *Archaeol. Cantiana* XCI, 190-1.
Young, C., (1977). *The Roman Pottery Industry of the Oxford Region*, BAR 43.

APPENDIX I

List of Finds Specialists

C. Beardsmore, B.A.	Commandery Museum, Worcester	Clay Pipe	Archive 107
G. C. Boon, M.A., F.S.A.	Museum of Wales, Cardiff	Coins	Archive 100
D. Charlesworth	Dept. of the Environment	Glass	Archive 110/111/112
T. Darvill, B.A.	Dept. Archaeology, University of Southampton	Brick and Tile: Thin-section analysis and stamps	Archive 104/105/106
B. Dickinson, B.A.	University of Leeds	Samian Ware	Archive 108
Dr. R. F. Everton, M.B., B.S.	Lawrence Weston, Bristol	Human Bone	Archive 119
F. Gale	Dept. of Archaeology, University of Southampton	Amphorae	Archive 108
J. Greig	Dept. Archaeology, University of Birmingham	Organic Remains	Archive 117
B. Hartley, M.A., F.S.A.	Dept. Archaeology, University of Leeds	Samian Ware	Archive 108
Mrs. Katherine F. Hartley, M.A., F.S.A.	Dept. Archaeology, University of Leeds	Mortaria	Archive 108
Hilary Howard, M.A., D.Phil.	Dept. Archaeology, University of Southampton	Pottery Thin-Section Analysis	Archive 108
B. Levitan, B.Sc.	C.R.A.A.G.S., Bristol	Animal Footprints	
D. F. Mackreth	Nene Valley Research Committee	Brooches	Archive 114
E. Morris, B.A., Dip. Arch., D.Phil.	Dept. Archaeology, University of Southampton	Pottery Thin-Sections	Archive 108
B. Noddle	Dept. Archaeology, University of Cardiff	Animal Bone	Archive 118
T. C. O'Connor	Dept. Archaeology, University of Cardiff	Bird Bone	Archive 118
Dr. A. J. Parker	Dept. Classics and Archaeology, University of Bristol	Brick and Tile: Stamps	Archive 104/105/106
M. Robinson, M.A.	Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit	Mollusca	Archive 101
Professor F. W. Shotton	Dept. Geology, University of Birmingham	Stone Axe	Archive 101
Dr. C. Young, M.A., D.Phil.	Dept. of the Environment	Oxford Mortaria	Archive 108
Dr. C. Young, M.A., D.Phil.	Dept. of Archaeology, University of of Southampton	Pottery Thin-Section Analysis	Archive 108

APPENDIX II: FORMAT OF ARCHIVE REPORT

(A) GRID SECTIONS

Section No	*Grid*	*Section No*	*Grid*	*Section No*	*Grid*
1	A	31	HH	61	Trench
2	B	32	JJ	62	Trench F
3	C	33	KK	63	Trench G
4	D	34	LL		
5	E	35	MM		
6	F	36	NN		
7	G	37	PP		
8	H	38	RR		
9	J	39	SS		
10	K	40	TT		
11	L	41	AB		
12	M	42	AC		
13	N	43	AD		
14	P	44	AE		
15	R	45	AF		
16	S	46	AG		
17	T	47	AH		
18	U	48	AK		
19	V	49	AL		
20	W	50	AM		
21	X	51	AN		
22	Y	52	AO		
23	Z	53	AP		
24	AA	54	AS		
25	BB	55	*Rescue work at Magnis*		
26	CC	56	Rescue work at quarry		
27	DD	57	Trench ZA		
28	EE	58	Trench ZB		
29	FF	59	Trench ZC		
30	GG	60	Trench ZD		

(B) THE FINDS

Section No.	*Material*	*Site Code*	*Section No.*	*Material*	*Site Code*
100	Coins	CO	110	Glass Vessel	GLV
101	Stone	ST	111	Window Glass	GLW
102	Tesserae	TES	112	Glass Bed	GLB
103	Fired Clay	FC	113	Iron	IR
104	Roof Tile	RT	114	Copper Alloy	CA
105	Brick	BR	115	Other Metal	OM
106	Tile	T	116	Slag	SL
107	Clay Pipe	CP	117	Organic	ORG
108	Pottery	P	118	Animal Bone	AB
109	Plaster & Mortar	MOR	119	Human Bone	HB
			120	Bone Objects	BO
			121	Mollusca	MOL

(C) THE MAJOR FEATURES

Section No.	*Feature*		*Section No.*	*Feature*		*Section No.*	*Feature*	
200	Ditch	A	218	Ditch	V	236	Ditch	
201	Ditch	B	219	Leat	W	237	Drain	PP
202	Bridge	C	220	Path	X	238	Soil	SS
203	Ditch	D	221	Trough	Y	239	Joists	TT
204	Stream	E	222	Ditch	Z	240	Slots	UU
205	Structure	F	223	Path	AA	241	Cesspit	VV
206	Ditch	G	224	Ditch	BB	242	Cesspit	WW
207	Path	H	225	Yard	CC	243	Road	XX
208	Hedge	J	226	Midden	DD	244	Slot	YY
209	Surface	K	227	Courtyard	EE	245	Path	ZZ
210	Enclosure	L	228	Building	FF	246	Slot	AB
211	Building	M	229	Gully	GG	247	Post holes	AC
212	Ditch	N	230	Grave	HH	248	Corndryer	AD
213	Sump Pit	P	231	Slot	JJ	249	Gravel Pit	AE
214	Grave	R	232	Ditch	KK	250	Gravel Pit	AF
215	Hollow Way	S	233	Ditch	LL	251	Burnt Structure	AG
216	Building	T	234	Ditch	MM	252	Gravel	AH
217	Furnace	U	235	Ditch	NN	253	Building	AJ
						254	Road	AK
						255	Ditch	AL
						256	Ruts	AM
						257	Road	AN
						258	Ditch	AO

Section No.	*Feature*		*Section No.*	*Feature*	
259	Gravel Pit	AP	265	'Pit'	AW
260	Cess Drain	AR	266	—	AX
261	Corridor	AS	267	Ditch	AY
262	Post holes	AT	268	Road	AZ
263	Slot	AU	269	Well	BA
264	Post holes	AV	270	Building	BC
			271	Midden	BD
			272	Pits	BE
			273	Path	BF
			274	Ditch	BG

(D) GENERAL

Section No.	*Contents*
300	Site Situation
301	Excavation Methodology
302	Finds Methodology
303	Post-excavation and Archive Methodology
304	Period O Description
305	Period 1 Description
306	Period 2a Description
307	Period 2b Description
308	Period 2c Description
309	Period 3 Description
310	Period 4 Description
311	Period 5 Description
312	Stratigraphic Matrix
313	Personnel and Contributors
314	Bibliography
315	Appendix - Documents relating to the site

Authorship of Archives

Sebastian Rahtz: Archives 29, 100-107, 109-121, 228, 301-303, 313-315
Roberta Tomber: Archives 108
Anthony Wilmott: Archives 1-28, 30-63, 200-228, 229-274, 300, 312
Sebastian Rahtz and Anthony Wilmott: Archives 304-311.

An Ancient Track in the Golden Valley

By MARY THOMAS

REPORT on an excavation at Mantooth, Vowchurch.

Previous investigations of the track, which runs north-westwards from Abbey Dore to Peterchurch and beyond, have shown that a continuous well-metalled road existed on the west side of the river Dore. A Roman dating has been accepted by many for the stretch in the old station yard at Abbey Dore. This was excavated by G. H. Jack in 1909 and he claims to have found a portion of a Roman horse-shoe and Roman nails on the road surface. North of Bacton the evidence was slender and the need for a route in Roman times very unclear.

During recent years there have been several new developments in the area.

1) The reporting, by J. K. St. Joseph, of a Roman fort at Clifford[1] (SO 249467).
2) The discovery of a horse-shoe, on the track north of Abbey Dore, which has been dated by the British Museum as 4th-6th century.[2]
3) The retrieval of Romano-British pottery at Penlan (SO 342378) in 1984.

When, thanks to Mr. C. Davies, we were offered the opportunity of sectioning a suitable stretch of the track at Mantooth, Vowchurch, the Archaeological Research Section of the Woolhope Club decided to carry out a small excavation in order to compare the track at Vowchurch with the Abbey Dore stretch. The aim of this study, is to report on our findings and to bring together some thoughts, discoveries and speculations made, over the years, regarding the track in the Golden Valley.

The Antonine Itinerary, a road list attributable to the early 3rd century, gives the following route for journey XII:

Isca Silurum (Caerleon)
Burrium (Usk)
Gobannium (Abergavenny)
Magnum (Kenchester)
Bravonium (Leintwardine)
Viroconium (Wroxeter)

Most of this route is fairly clear but the uncertain link between Abergavenny and Kenchester is still open to conjecture. The Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (1956 reprint) favours a route via Longtown, Bacton and Kerry's Gate. In 1967 the Archaeological Research Section made a careful study of this alignment and were not convinced of a Roman dating. Dr. Michael Jarrett's excavation at Longtown[3] in 1965 (SO 322295) revealed no Roman material and, in the absence of any dating evidence a route to Abergavenny, via Abbey Dore and Pontrilas is just as viable. This in fact, is the route favoured by Dr. I. D. Margary.

Perhaps the Golden Valley road is not part of the Itinerary at all. If it is Roman in origin where is it heading?

The newly-discovered Clifford fort has not been excavated but R. Kay (*Herefordshire Archaeological News* 42) suggests that, because of its large size (16 acres) and its proximity to the Clyro fort, it could well belong to the early campaigning period and could have been replaced by Clyro which holds a more prominent and commanding position. The recent discovery of a fort at Monmouth (*Blestium*) provides further possibilities of a military link between these forts though future excavations will have to show whether they are contemporary.

The road does not have the solidity of a major military advance route but might pass, by Roman standards, as a hurriedly constructed track, using material which was to hand, for transport of supplies to a more temporary base. If this were so the Golden Valley road could pre-date the Stone Street to Kenchester branch making a junction rather than a right-angle bend or a cross-roads at Bacton. The stretch from Bacton to Longtown could then be later in origin.

Both Margary and Taylor stress the wide diversity of dimension and construction observed in the many roads they have investigated and described. These vary from massive thorough-fares, twenty to thirty feet wide and several feet thick, to quite insubstantial tracks sometimes only ten to twelve feet wide and with just one well-laid layer of stone. The main characteristic feature is the agger thrown up from the flanking ditches but Margary accepts that in some places metalling is merely laid upon the unprepared ground surface. Where, in a wet area, there is little or no agger and the subsoil is of clay the road can sink under its own weight and appear as a shallow hollow-way.

Buchanan points out that the very excellence of the Roman Road can sometimes lead to its decay. In low-lying areas, where culverts were built beneath the roads, later neglect allowed these to become blocked creating ponds beside the tracks which undermined the metalling and eventually destroyed the roads.

TRACING THE ALIGNMENT

Much of the track is clearly traceable and is still in use at least as a footpath, but one or two additions have been made. If the line of the lane to Newcourt, at Bacton, is projected to the south of the B4347 road, stones are visible in the stream bed and in the bank of a small tributary of the river Dore (SO 380323).

The meadow in which the present excavation took place is crossed by several banks and depressions. Some are mapped and some may be old water-courses, possibly of Rowland Vaughan dating, but one which runs northwards diagonally across the meadow has a typically 'Roman look' with characteristic agger and ditches faintly visible. When this was probed we were able to locate the wheel ruts at a similar gauge and depth to those in the excavated portion. As the lower portion of the meadow was reached, silting had covered the track too deeply for a probe to be effective but we were able to examine stones at a depth of 18 to 24 ins. in the bank of a ditch which is associated with the railway construction. These can be seen 40 ft. south of the hedge boundary (SO 367348) and are at the same depth below the present surface as the road in the old station yard at Abbey Dore which is also in the valley bottom at about the

same distance from the river. The tithe map (1840) shows this route to be in use until the building of the railway which caused a new track - west of the line to be formed. This map also shows a substantial road branching off towards Madley. This presumably fell into disuse when the railway came. It is not clear why there are two changes of alignment here forming a double bend. If the road is following the bend in the river this is not a typically Roman feature.

Matthew Hale[4] describes the lane running south-eastwards, from Fairfield cross-roads at Peterchurch. When probed, this lane follows exactly the depth, dimensions and wheel ruts found at Mantooth.

THE EXCAVATION

A trench 20 ft. by 4 ft. was laid out across what is now a shallow hollow way. At this point the track is running south-east-north-west having followed a fairly straight alignment from the B4347 at Bacton to a point about 100 ft. beyond the trench. Here a change of alignment takes it diagonally across the field. Mr. Davies remembers a row of pear trees lining the east side of the track near the farm and this is shown as an orchard on the tithe map. In the region of the excavation there is a bank on the north-east side of the track. This is too wide to have been just a hedge bank but could have been a row of substantial trees.

Our permission to excavate was limited to this stretch of the track and to a week-end duration. The south-west end of the trench was bounded by a fence and the modern approach track to the farm. We left an option open for extending to the north-east if necessary but, in fact, this end of the trench had suffered interference either by the insertion of a fence post or possibly by tree roots and the metalling, together with any evidence of a ditch, had been disturbed.

Turf and topsoil were removed to a depth of 12 ins. at both ends of the trench but the stone surface lay as little as 4 ins. below the turf in the centre. When fully exposed the roadway was 12 ft. wide, the centre being some 8 to 10 ins. higher than the edges. The metalling was mainly of nodules of local cornstone found in bands on the slopes of the valley and sometimes referred to as Golden Valley 'marble' because of the effect achieved by polishing. These were interspersed with more angular sandstone fragments probably used for repairs. The stones were larger towards the western end and more carefully packed to form a rough kerb. Wheel ruts, 4 ft. 8 ins. apart, averaged 9 ins. across and were roughly 6 ins. deep. As can be seen on the plan and section the ruts are positioned towards the righthand (east) side of the road when looking towards Vowchurch and their angle shows that our trench was not cut quite at right-angles to the track. (PLS. XVI & XVII).

As time was limited it was decided that only the southern half of the trench could be removed to obtain a section through the road. It soon became obvious that the foundations were not very robust. In places the surface was laid upon the vestiges of an earlier one but there were also places where clay and silt had accumulated in the hollows and more stone had been thrown on top and trodden in by traffic. The upper surface certainly did not seal the lower layer in its entirety.

The east end of the trench must be discounted because of the interference but, at the west end, the lower surface seemed to be spilling into a rather ill-defined ditch, (See Section) the fill of which was rather more stony and crumbly than the really hard red marl below it.

THE FINDS

A scatter of pottery fragments from above and below the upper surface and from the south ditch proved to be mainly 18th and 19th century or later. Several pieces of a wide shallow bowl in a powdery red fabric with an internal brown slip could be attributed to the late 17th century.

Bone, glass and charcoal were also found.

METAL

Two fragments of unidentifiable nails and a small donkey bit were retrieved from the south ditch.

CONCLUSIONS

The stretch of road in the old station yard at Abbey Dore which was cleared in 1958 was, unfortunately, not reported. It was, however, kept open for twenty years and fenced around. This area has now been levelled and nothing remains to be seen. G. H. Jack excavated in the same region in 1909 and his report[5] leaves little doubt that this is the same road.

'The road surface is of unworked nodular limestone, hand-pitched on virgin soil. Stones vary from three to twelve inches and there is no kerb. The overall width is 12 ft. 9 ins. with ruts to a depth of 4 to 6 ins. running slightly to the right hand side of the road.'

We now have a good many pointers to a Roman dating but other possibilities must not be ignored. I am grateful to R. E. Kay for his helpful discussion throughout the excavations and for the following neat summary of the alternative suggestions made during the week-end.

1. Roman (early) — behind one of the many forward frontiers during campaigns against the Silures.
2. Roman (later) — after general pacification of this portion of the province.
3. Norman and Medieval - the need for communication in a fertile valley after the formation of castles, villages, manorial and monastic estates.
4. Tudor and Jacobean - agricultural and general land improvement - e.g. Rowland Vaughan's 'waterworks' and the need for supporting communication.
5. 17th-19th Century - The growth of lime burning for agricultural use and for the making of mortar etc. created a need for metalled roadways to carry heavily laden traffic.

Ruth Richardson has supplied the following interesting research into the origins of the name of the farm.

THE MEANING OF MANTOOTH

The modern spelling of the name of the farmhouse is 'Mantooth', and it is pronounced as an English name. In fact it is an interesting example of the anglicisation of a Welsh name, a process that has taken place in relatively recent times. The 1840 tithe map for Abbey Dore gives the name as 'Mantulth', which preserved something of the original pronunciation. The 1832 first edition of the Ordnance Survey Map gives 'Maentwlch'. Welsh names are invariably descriptive. The first element 'maen' is relatively common and means 'rock or stone'. The second element 'twlch' is far less common. The National Library of Wales, Department of Manuscripts and Records, whose assistance is very gratefully acknowledged, provided the following information: 'The earliest occurrence of the word 'twlch' is in the old Welsh poem "Y Goddoddin," which deals with events in the 6th century. Line 857 reads "bu bwlch bu twlch tand". The word has been taken to mean 'cottage' and cognate with the Irish 'tolc', which in turn has been borrowed into Welsh in the form 'twlch' 'cot'. Therefore, it would seem that the original meaning of 'Mantooth' was 'stone cottage', which describes the appearance of the house.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Archaeological Research Section is grateful to Mr. C. Davies of Mantooth for permission to carry out this excavation. Thanks are due to Mike Hemming for his excellent photography, to Terry Richardson for help with surveying the site and to members of the research section and the Ewyas Harold WEA group who did the 'digging', measuring and discussing.

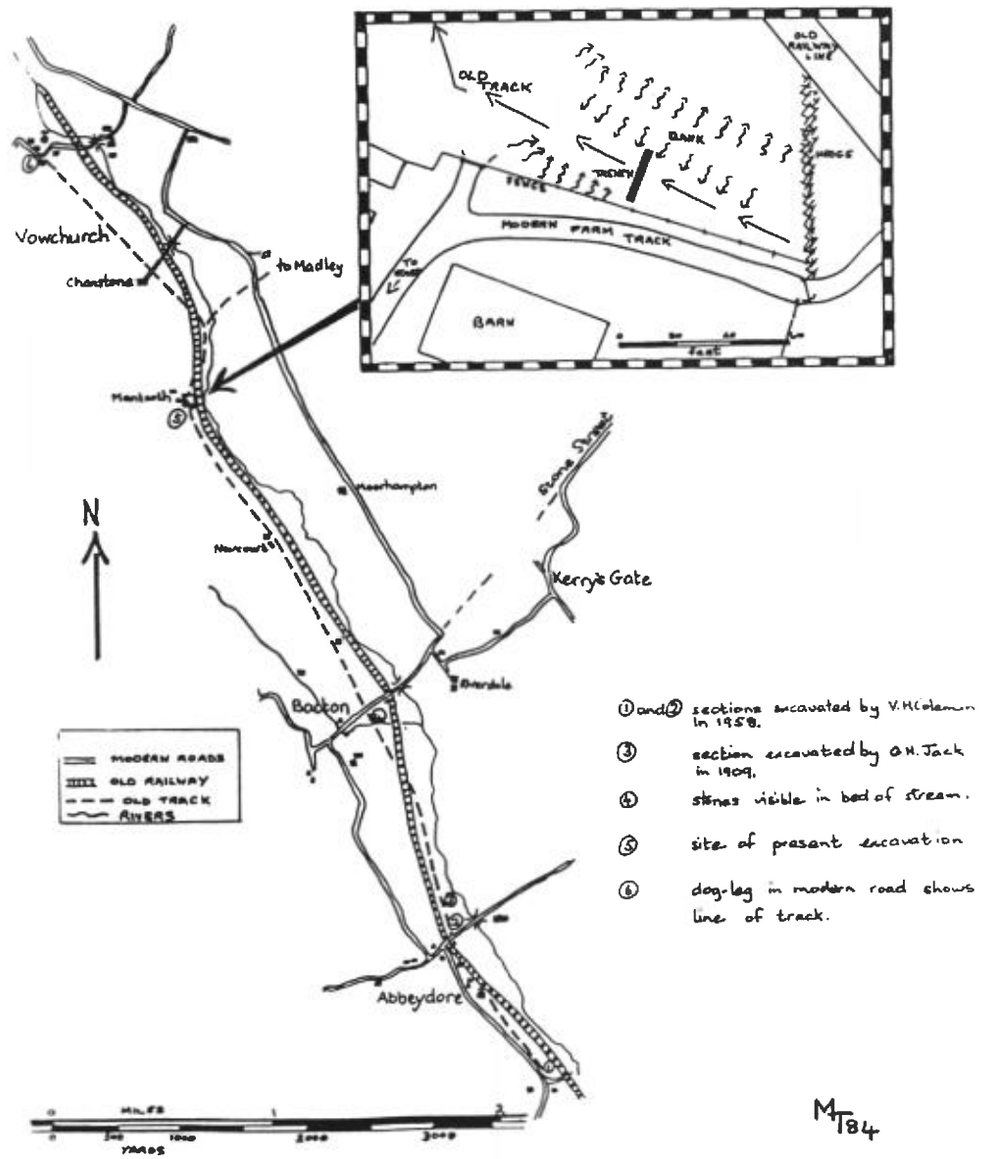
REFERENCES

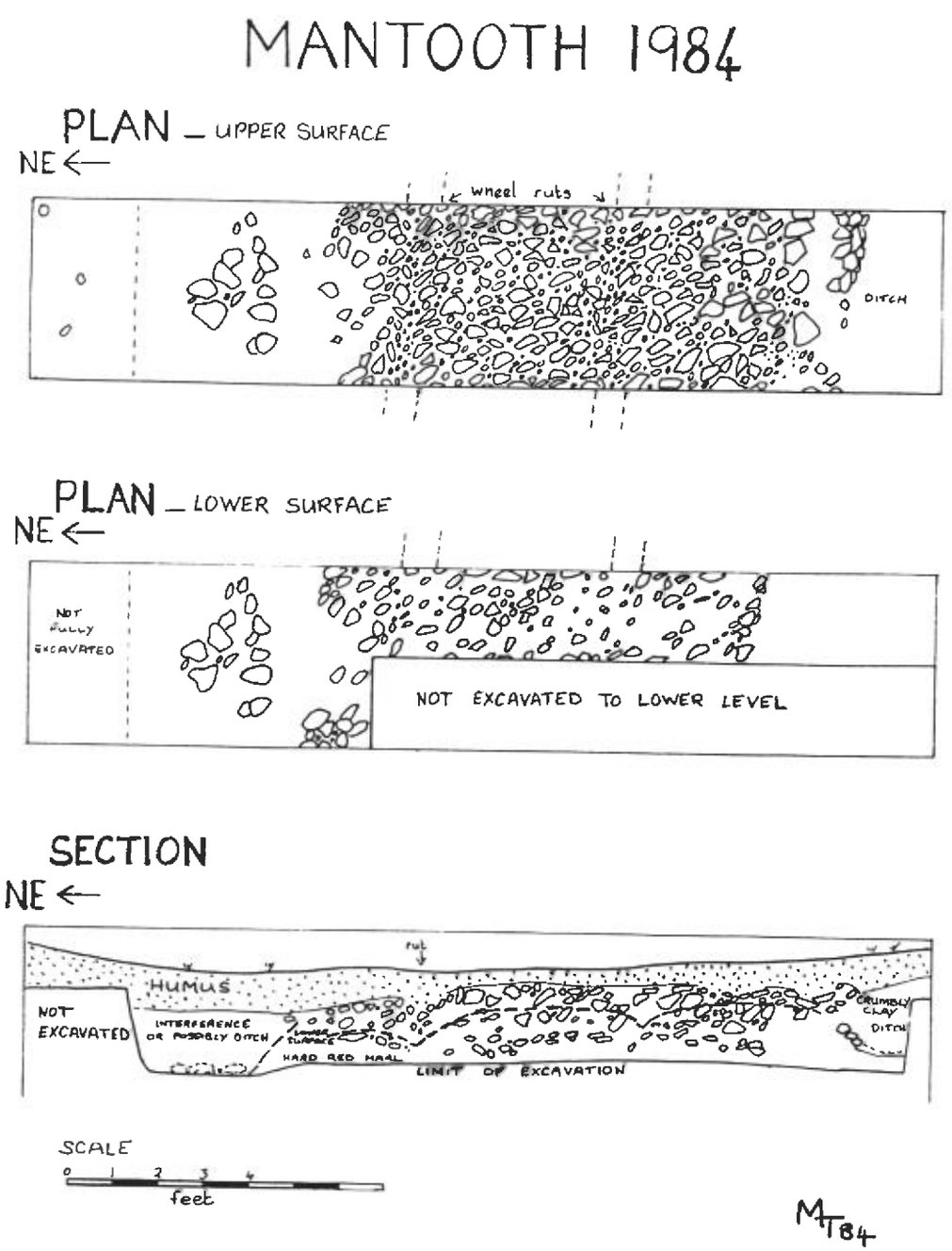
[1] J. K. St. Joseph, 'Roman Fort at Clifford', *J. Roman Stud.*, LXIII (1973), 238 R. E. Kay, *Herefordshire Archaeological News*, no. 42.
[2] P. J. Leach, 'Archaeological Report, 1969', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXIX (1969), 479. British Museum SO 3830. Hereford Museum 9197.
[3] D. M. Wilson, and D. G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1965', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 10 (1966), 199.
[4] M. Hale, *Herefordshire Archaeological News*, no. 7.
[5] G. H. Jack, 'Roman Herefordshire', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XX (1909), 70.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (1967).
C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (1979).
R. A. Buchanan, *Industrial Archaeology* (1974).

MAP AND PLAN OF EXCAVATION SITE





Hereford Gold: Irish, Welsh and English Land
Part 2
The Clients of the Jewish Community at Hereford 1179-1253: Four Case Studies

By JOE HILLABY

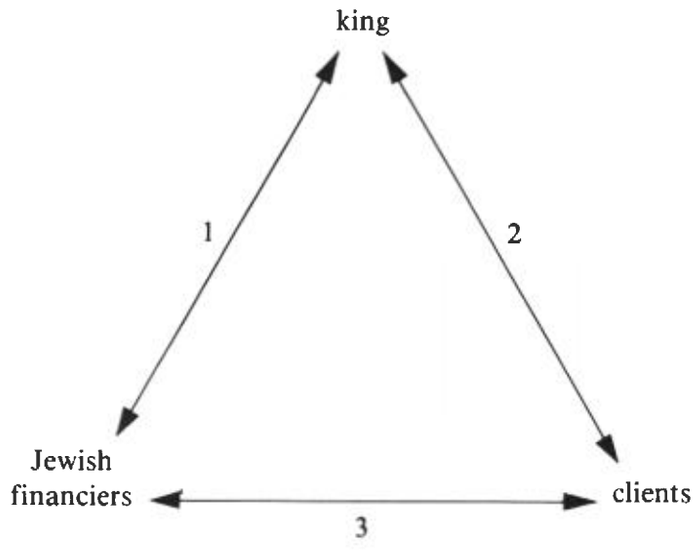
INTRODUCTION

THE first Jewish settlement at Hereford was founded by 1179. It remained small and isolated for thirty years. Like the other English Jewries it suffered deeply and was virtually extinguished in the later years of John's reign but under the council of regency, acting on behalf of the young Henry III, there was a remarkable revival. From 1218 the Hereford Jewry flourished for more than a decade. This prosperity was due above all to the acumen and influence of one man, Hamo of Hereford, who was one of the wealthiest Jews in the country. His contribution to the tallage of 1223—£70—was by far the largest; the renowned Aaron of York paid only £43. At his death in 1231 Hamo's heirs had to pay the usual fine to the king of one third of the total value of the estate. This amounted to £4,000—a fine exceeded only by the £4,666 levied on the estate of Leo of York in 1244.

Control of the family business passed to his sons, first Ursell, until 1241, and then Moses, until 1253. They found it increasingly difficult to sustain their financial interests. Because they had to pay the fine, £1,000 down and the remainder in annual instalments, at the same time as the king was granting pardons to their clients on interest and even on principal, their cash-flow problems became acute, a fact recognised by the king in 1233 when he released them from tallage contributions. Royal pardons created further problems as other clients naturally became reluctant to meet their obligations. The consequence was a catastrophic decline in the family's fortunes. When Moses died in 1253 his son and widow lost even the family house. Hamo's wealth and business were gone, irretrievably, and the family sank into obscurity.

How can the golden years between 1218 and 1231 be explained? The English Jewry enjoyed a period of general and widespread prosperity during the minority of Henry III but this in itself does not account for Hamo's particular success, or how he was able to establish such a commanding position. Hereford's sphere of influence as an administrative centre was not large. It was defined by those of Bristol to the south, Gloucester and Worcester to the east and Shrewsbury to the north. Although there was no Jewry at Shrewsbury, few of the clients of Hamo and his family came from that county. In comparison with other shires, Hereford was not especially prosperous. What, therefore, is the explanation of Hamo's extraordinary personal wealth, which made him the rival of the great financiers of London and York, capital cities of the south and north?

The Jewish magnates operated within a triangle of relationships: between king and Jews; Jews and their clients; and between clients and the king:



Most of the work on the English medieval Jewry has concentrated on the first of these relationships, that between king and Jews, which was of paramount importance, for royal policy shaped the lives of both individuals and communities. Indeed, any weakness, or even apparent weakness, on the part of the crown or its agents could lead to disaster for the Jews, as the massacres of 1190 showed. Even John found a firm hand necessary when in 1203 he warned the mayor of London that 'the Jews are under the king's protection ... throughout the rest of the realm they are well used ... therefore we will require their blood at (your) hands'.[109] Royal policy, financial and administrative, thus provided the context in which the Jews lived in medieval England.

Relations between the king and the Jews' clients have recently been examined by Dr. Sharon Lieberman but, as V. D. Lipman has pointed out, 'very little study has been made of the kinds of people who borrowed money from the Jews or of how much they borrowed and why'. The reason is that even when records are available, of which the Day Book of the Norwich *archa* is an outstanding example, it is 'very difficult to identify borrowers, even broadly, by their social class or as townsmen or villagers'.[110]

Hereford is fortunate in having a document which 'unquestionably ranks first in importance' in the records of the Exchequer of the Jews.[111] This 1244 list of those who had borrowed money from Hamo and his family (Part 1, Table 8) provides the basis for a classification of their clientele (Part 1, Table 10). This can be augmented by entries from the Close and Patent Rolls (Part 1, Table 13). From these sources it is evident that the family business was, for the most part, with a small number of local barons—the de Lacys, the de Cliffords and John of Monmouth (Part 1, Table 11).

Only the Marshals, John and Gilbert, (Part 1, Table 8) (Nos. 19, 28 and 39 were not truly local, although Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, held Goodrich and the lordship of Striguil (Chepstow).

What follows is an attempt, by a series of case studies, to place the members of these local families in the political and military context of their times. As a fourth case study, William fitz Warin (Part 1, Table 8, No. 41) is taken to represent the second category of the clients of Hamo's family, the local knights. From these studies, it should be possible to establish, not only who was borrowing from the Hereford community, and how much, but why.

1. THE DE LACYS

The de Lacys were the most important of all the clients of Hamo and his family. Their loans represent one half of the total sum of £2,597-13-0 outstanding to Hamo's family in 1244 (Part 1, Table 10).

The foundations of Lacy power in the southern march had been laid by Walter I, a member of the household of William fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford in the years immediately following the conquest. When fitz Osbern's son, Roger de Breteuil, forfeited his lands as a penalty for revolt in 1075, the de Lacys were the major beneficiaries, for king William granted them the right to hold of the crown those lands which they had previously held as mesne tenants of the earls. Thus Walter became one of the most important tenants-in-chief in the southern march, assuming many of the responsibilities which had previously belonged to the earls. Indeed, it was whilst supervising the construction of the spire of St. Peter's Church at the eastern end of fitz Osbern's great market place at Hereford that he fell to his death in 1085. In the Domesday survey of the following year his son, Roger, is shown with 14 demesne and 50 tenants' manors in Herefordshire. In addition he had considerable holdings outside the county, of which the most important were the 18 Shropshire manors which he held as a tenant of the Montgomerys.[112]

The Irish Connection

By 1189, when Walter II de Lacy succeeded to the estates of his father, Hugh II, there had been a significant shift in the basis of de Lacy power, from England and Normandy to Ireland. They still had large estates in England, based on the honour of Weobley, with its castles at Weobley, Ludlow and Ewias Lacy (Longtown), and lands in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Berkshire. For these English manors he was assessed at 51¼ knights' fees in the scutages of 1190, 1194 and 1201 but in Ireland he had even more extensive lands. Henry II had granted to his father the whole of the former kingdom of Meath, one of the 'Historic Fifths' of Ireland, a liberty which extended from Drogheda in the east to Lough Ree in the west. Today it is represented by the counties of Meath and Westmeath, southern Longford and north-west Offaly. Although this branch of the family retained important estates in Normandy, from the time of Hugh II the family's principal interest was in Ireland. Indeed, Matthew Paris referred to Walter II as 'the most distinguished of all the nobles of Ireland'. In 1205 the

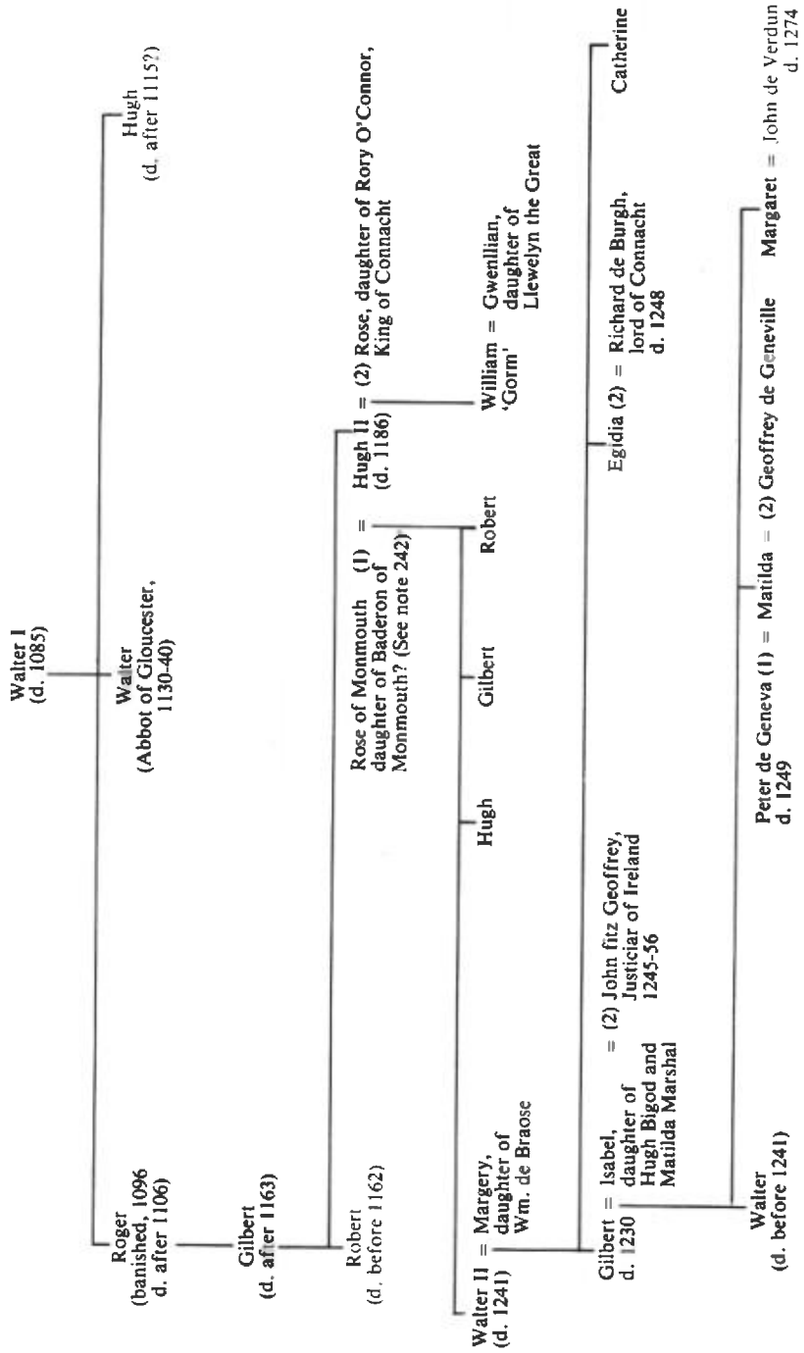


FIG. 5
The Lacy family of Herefordshire, 1066-1241

family's Irish interests were extended even further when Walter II's younger brother, Hugh III, was belted earl of Ulster by king John.[113]

These Irish lands provided the family with much wealth and both Hugh II and his son, Walter II, have come down as great benefactors of the church. The Augustinian priory of Llanthony in the vale of Ewias was completely rebuilt in its present form with generous endowments from their Irish estates; a work that was completed by the canons in two stages between *c.* 1180 and *c.* 1220. Walter II was the founder of the small Grandmontine priory at Craswall. He had been with the king on the Poitou expedition of 1214 when John stayed at Grandmont for a short time and the words used by prior Gerard Itier to describe Grandmont itself, 'stern and very cold, infertile and rocky, misty and exposed to the winds' where 'the mountain abounds in great stones for building, in streams and sand, but there is scarcely any timber for building' and 'the land ... scarcely ever suffices to provide necessaries for the soil is so infertile, sterile and barren', might well be thought equally applicable to the site Walter gave to the order 1,200 feet up in the Black Mountains[114].

For the 'well being of the souls of myself, my wife Margaret and my son Gilbert', he made wide-ranging grants, in three charters, to the corrector, three clerks and ten lay brethren of St. Mary at Craswall. They were to receive the ninth sheaf of all grain from his English and Welsh manors, and 600 acres in the 'New Forest', between the Monnow and Leth (Llynfi?) as far as Talgarth. Later they were given 204 acres in 'my wood of Hamme', Holme Lacy, together with all the demesne and the manor house there, and the ninth sheaf of wheat, oats, barley, peas and beans from each of his Irish manors, one messuage in each of those manors and one burgage in each of his Irish towns.[115] To his wife's foundation, the nunnery of Aconbury, he gave 30 acres of woodland at Holme Lacy,[116] and when, in 1232, Bishop Hugh Foliot founded a hospital 'to the honour of the Lord and St. Katherine the Virgin' at Ledbury, Walter de Lacy endowed it with the tithes and rights of presentation to the churches of Weston Beggard and Yarkhill.[117] In Ireland he founded the Cistercian abbey of Beaubec (Beybeg) as a daughter house of Beaubec in Normandy; later it became a cell of the Savignac abbey of Furness. He was also a benefactor of the Augustinian abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin and of two of his father's foundations, the Benedictine house on the demesne manor at Fore in Westmeath and the house of Augustinian canons, St. Mary's, at Kells.[118]

The roots of Walter de Lacy's indebtedness are to be found in Ireland, for his vast estates there brought him not only wealth but also much trouble and expense and for long periods he had to devote most of his energies to the protection of his Irish inheritance. The status of the English king in Ireland was ambiguous. When Henry II granted Meath to Walter's father in 1172 it was with 'all liberties and free customs which Henry himself had or could have there'.[119] His rights were thus almost royal, with absolute administrative and jurisdictional control—even to the exclusion of royal officials. In this respect his lordship was similar, but not identical, to that of the Welsh marcher lordship.[120]

Beyond lay only the amorphous authority of prince John, who had been made lord of Ireland by his father, Henry II, in 1177. Such power as John had, outside a small

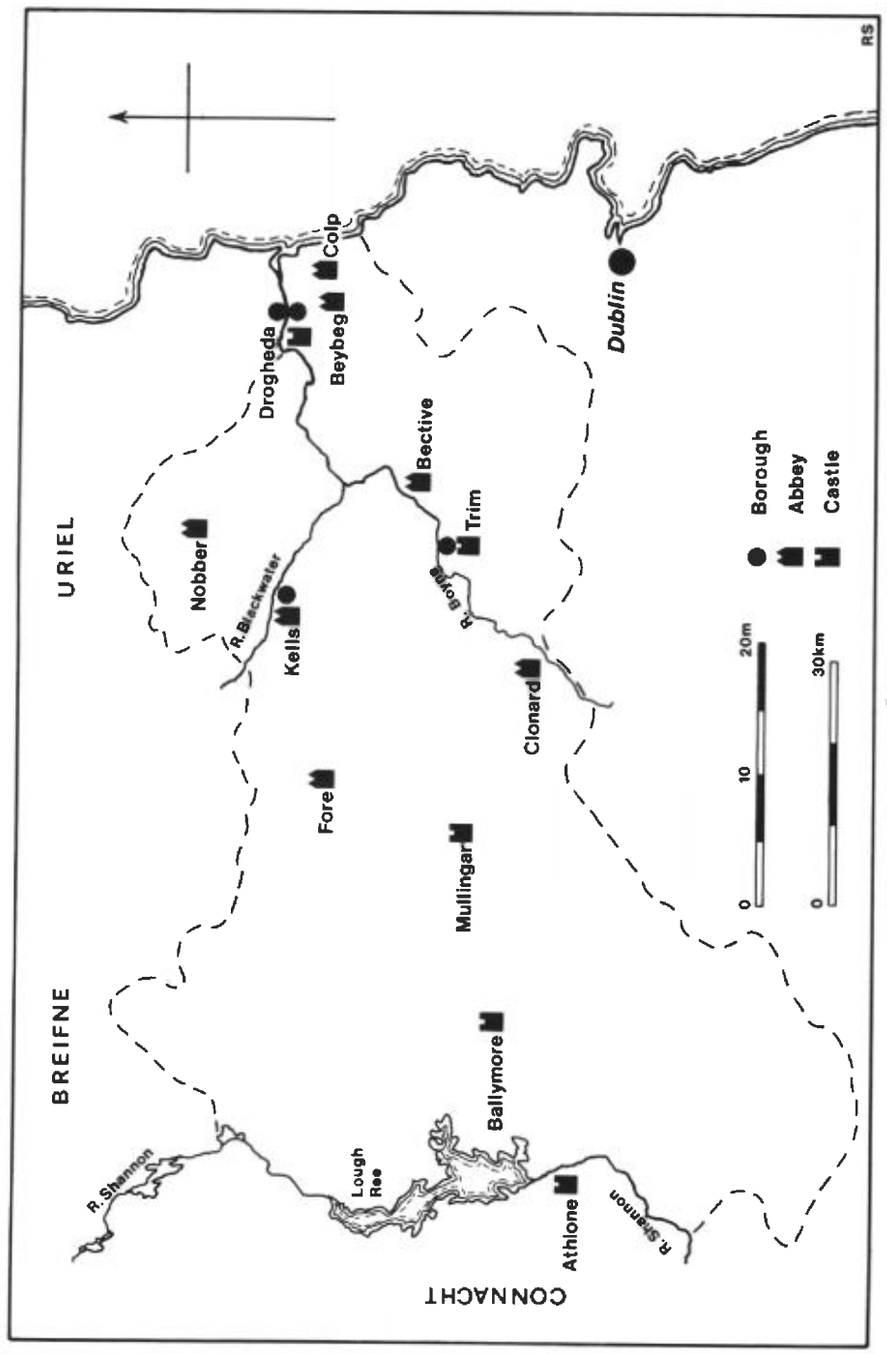


FIG. 6
The Lordship of Meath, 1198-1241

number of places on the east coast, was exercised on his behalf by a royal justiciar. Relations with John were thus bound to be difficult. In addition, Walter had to ensure the security of his lands in a country where his fellow Norman lords and their tenants-in-chief 'varied their usual amusement of fighting the Irish with furious feuds amongst themselves or with the king's representative, the justiciar'.

His difficulties were compounded by the personal legacy of fear and mistrust left behind by his father. Henry II's policy in Ireland had always been governed by the need to prevent any one of the Anglo-Norman lords from establishing predominant power; and possibly an independent state. Thus, during his visit to Ireland in 1172, when he granted the lordship of Meath to Hugh de Lacy, he also appointed him justiciar and constable of Dublin to counterbalance the power established in the early stages of the invasion by Strongbow, Richard de Clare, second earl of Pembroke and Striguil. After Strongbow's death in 1176, the situation changed dramatically, for the threat now came from Hugh who had consolidated his position in Meath. His second marriage, contracted without Henry II's licence, to Rose, daughter of Rory O'Connor, king of Connacht and last high king of Ireland, did nothing to allay the king's fears that de Lacy might now establish an independent Anglo-Norman state in Ireland. William of Newburgh gives us a clear insight into the king's fears when he tells us how Hugh 'so extended his boundaries and prospered and increased so much in magnitude of wealth and power that he now became formidable, not only to his enemies, but even to his associates ... for he treated even these as enemies, if by chance they were not obedient, and he now appeared to affect the kingdom of Ireland for himself rather than for the king of England; so much so indeed that (as report states) he provided himself with a royal diadem'. Certainly, when John was in Ireland in 1185 he complained to his father that Hugh de Lacy would not allow the Irish to pay tribute to him. Indeed, he was described in the annals of Loch Cé as 'king of Meath and Breifne and Uriel, and it was to him that the tribute of Connacht was paid'. Hugh met his death whilst inspecting work on his castle at Durrow in 1186. A young Irishman, Gilla-gan-inathair O'Mee, who had concealed an axe beneath his cloak, struck off his head with one blow and in the confusion managed to effect his escape. The news of this transaction, it is reported, 'gave excessive joy' to Henry II.[121]

It was ten years before his body, which had been held by the Irish, was buried at Bective Abbey, although his head had been placed in St. Thomas', Dublin, where his first wife, Rose of Monmouth, was buried. In 1205 St. Thomas' made good its claim to Hugh's body, which was then re-interred; hence Walter's lavish endowments. His example was followed, as the abbey's register shows, by a number of his vassals.[122]

Walter de Lacy had to wait for four years, until 1189, to come into his English and Norman inheritance. Yet within five years he had been outlawed and his lands had been taken back into royal hands. Like his father, he found it extremely difficult to sustain his position in Ireland without falling foul of the crown. On three occasions developments in Ireland caused a severe crisis in his relations with his feudal overlord: with Richard I between 1194 and 1198; with John from 1210 to 1214; and with Henry III's justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, in 1224.

John's rebellion of 1193-4 against his brother, Richard I, led to a confused situation in Ireland, where he held his lordship independently of the English crown. On his return to England in 1194 Richard asked his court for judgement against John, for rebellion and for allying with the French king whilst he himself had been held to ransom in Germany. It was whilst the king was besieging John's castle at Nottingham that Walter de Lacy's petition for the return of his Irish lands was met, not by John, but by Richard, who confirmed to Walter all the grants in Ireland made to his father by Henry II.[123] Walter, in alliance with John de Courci, immediately descended on Meath and took prisoner John's justiciar, Peter Pipard, and many of his knights. He was fully in control of his lordship by 30 June, for on that day he granted his burgesses of Drogheda, the principal stronghold of Meath, a borough charter which conferred upon them the 'customs of Breteuil'.[124] What Walter had not bargained for was Richard's reconciliation with John, against whom he had now technically committed treason, for John's lordship of Ireland was held not of the English king, but of the pope. Walter's conduct evidently antagonised both the brothers, for the Pipe Rolls show that action was taken against his English estates about Michaelmas, 1194.

De Lacy went into exile and it was another four years before he was able to come to terms with the crown for the return of his lands. The Herefordshire Pipe Roll for 1198 records that 'the king's good will and seizen of his lands' cost Walter 3,000 marks (£2,066-13-4). £866-13-4 was paid immediately (£200 into the English and £666-13-4 into the Norman Exchequer). The remaining £1,200 was to be met at the rate of £200 per annum at the English Exchequer. One of John's ways of maintaining control over his barons was to keep them in debt to the crown.[125] In this instance, Richard, in his anxiety for money, anticipated his brother.

De Lacy's relations with king John

John succeeded to the English throne in 1199. He was obliged, for the moment, to ignore the humiliation he had experienced in Ireland at Walter's hands. The latter's estates at Lassy, Campeaux and elsewhere in Calvados were situated in a highly strategic position so de Lacy assistance was vital to John if he was to succeed in his conflict with the French king. At the same time, he sought to ensure Walter's good conduct. Between September 1199 and March 1201 de Lacy was kept in the king's entourage in France and at home—at Rouen, Caen, Falaise, Feckenham, Lincoln and Nottingham—as the witness lists of royal charters show. Further, John retained two of the most important de Lacy strongholds—Ludlow and Drogheda. Only in 1206 was the former restored for a fine of 400 marks, to be paid at 100 marks a year. Drogheda was still in John's hands at his death in 1216.[126] In addition, in November 1200 John arranged Walter's marriage to Margaret, daughter of his then favourite, William de Braose, lord of Brecon, Builth, Radnor, Abergavenny and (from 1203) Gower, the man who had treacherously murdered many of the neighbouring Welsh lords of Gwent in his castle at Abergavenny in 1175. In the year following Walter's marriage, John handed over to Braose in return for a fine of 5,000 marks, the lordship of Limerick, which had formerly belonged to William's uncle, Philip (FIG. 6). The royal purpose may well have been to create a counterbalance to de Lacy's Meath lordship but by 1204 even John

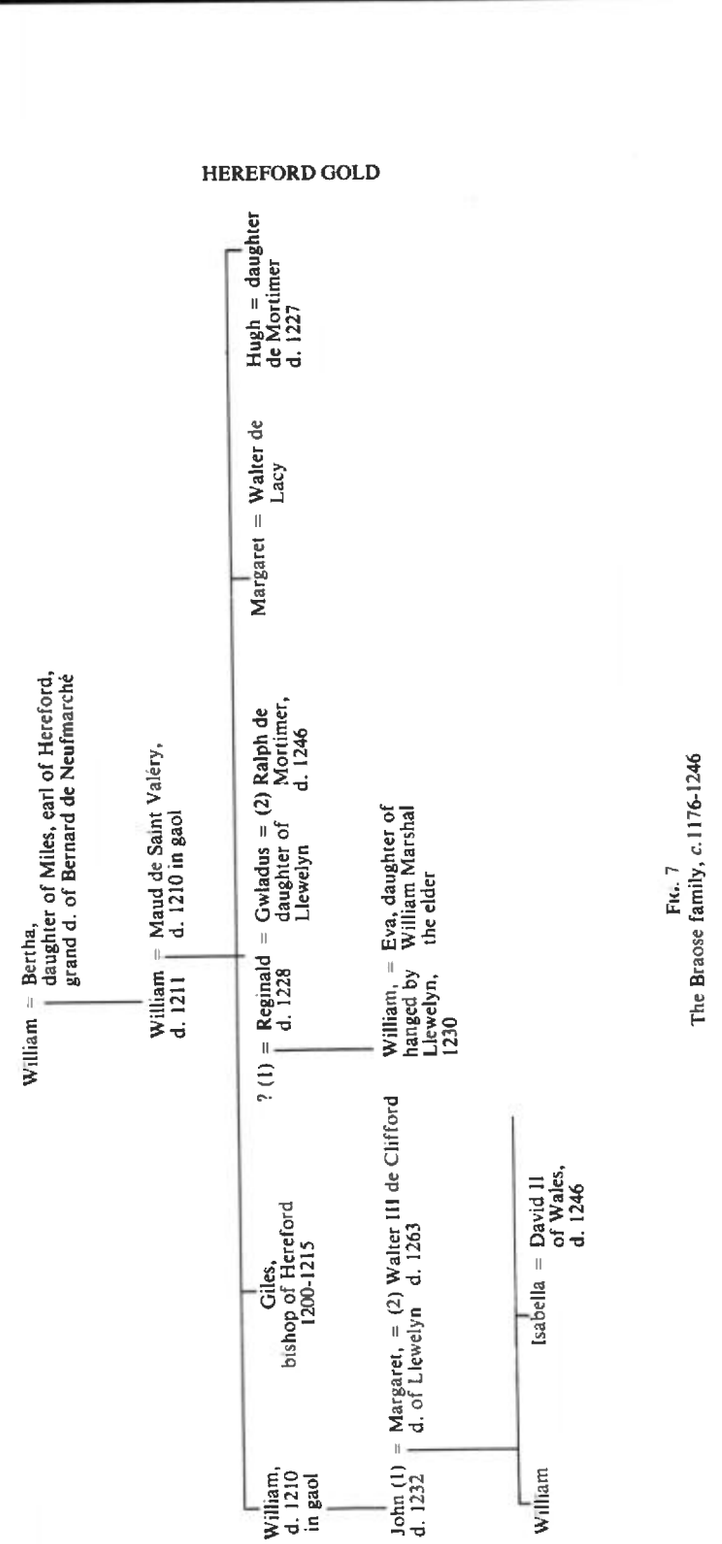


FIG. 7
The Braose family, *c.*1176-1246

seems to have been convinced of Walter's reliability, for he was allowed to return to Ireland 'in the king's service' and a series of royal charters for that year shows him closely associated with the royal justiciar in the government of the land.[127]

As a result, de Lacy was in no way involved in the catastrophe of the final loss of Normandy when, on 24 June 1204, Peter de Preaux admitted the French king Philip Augustus into Rouen and, a few days later, John's last strongholds, Verneuil and Arques, also surrendered. The loss of the duchy presented the Anglo-Norman barons with the gravest dilemma they had yet faced. Should they retain their English or their Norman estates? Given the intense hostility of the English to the French king, a compromise, such as that attempted by William Marshall, to retain his lands under both monarchs, was not an option open to them. Clearly, for most their loyalty followed their major holding. Thus it was that within a year Philip Augustus granted away most of the de Lacy lands in Normandy to André Propensée, *maire* of Falaise.[128]

The loss of Normandy had a profound impact on Irish history, for the great Anglo-Irish lords, having forfeited their Norman inheritance, were determined to secure compensation by more intensive exploitation of their Irish estates—a policy which, by 1210, led to a severe crisis in their relations with the English king.[129]

Walter's father had completed the first stage in this process of exploitation. Conquest was followed by pacification through sub-infeudation, the granting of land in return for military and other services, and the building of castles. Indeed, at Hugh II's death in 1186, the annalist of Loch Cé tells us, Meath 'from the Shannon to the sea was full of castles and foreigners'. In the words of Giraldus Cambrensis, 'within a brief period he settled the country and reduced it to a peaceful condition ... Having made agreements on which they (the Irish) could agree ... (Hugh) hemmed them in by castles ... and compelled them to obey the laws'. Thus Hugh was 'the first to succeed in drawing profit from that which had brought others nothing but trouble'.[130]

The next stage was to develop the economic resources of the lordship. Again techniques were used which had proved successful a century earlier in England. There was, however, one major difference. The society of pre-Norman Ireland was pastoral. Thus the parallel was with Wales, not with pre-Conquest England, and it was with their Welsh experience behind them that the de Lacys, the Marshals and the de Braose lords were able to realise rapidly the potential of a country 'not, by medieval standards, poor but ... economically underdeveloped'.[131] The end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century thus witnessed the intensive manorialisation of demesne lands in the lordships of Meath, Leinster and Limerick. Large numbers of peasants, accustomed to the production of grain, were brought over from their estates in Wales, the marches and England. This is clearly shown by surname evidence.[132]

From the Pipe Roll of the Dublin Exchequer from 1211-12, when the de Lacy estates were in the king's hands, we can see how far this process had gone. It presents 'a striking contrast between the grain renders of the Norman lordships and the cattle of the Irish lands' and clearly demonstrates that by 1212 the demesne lands of the de Lacys were 'intensively manorialised and producing huge quantities of surplus grain for export'. The accounts for Meath refer to a yield of some 20,000 bushels of wheat,

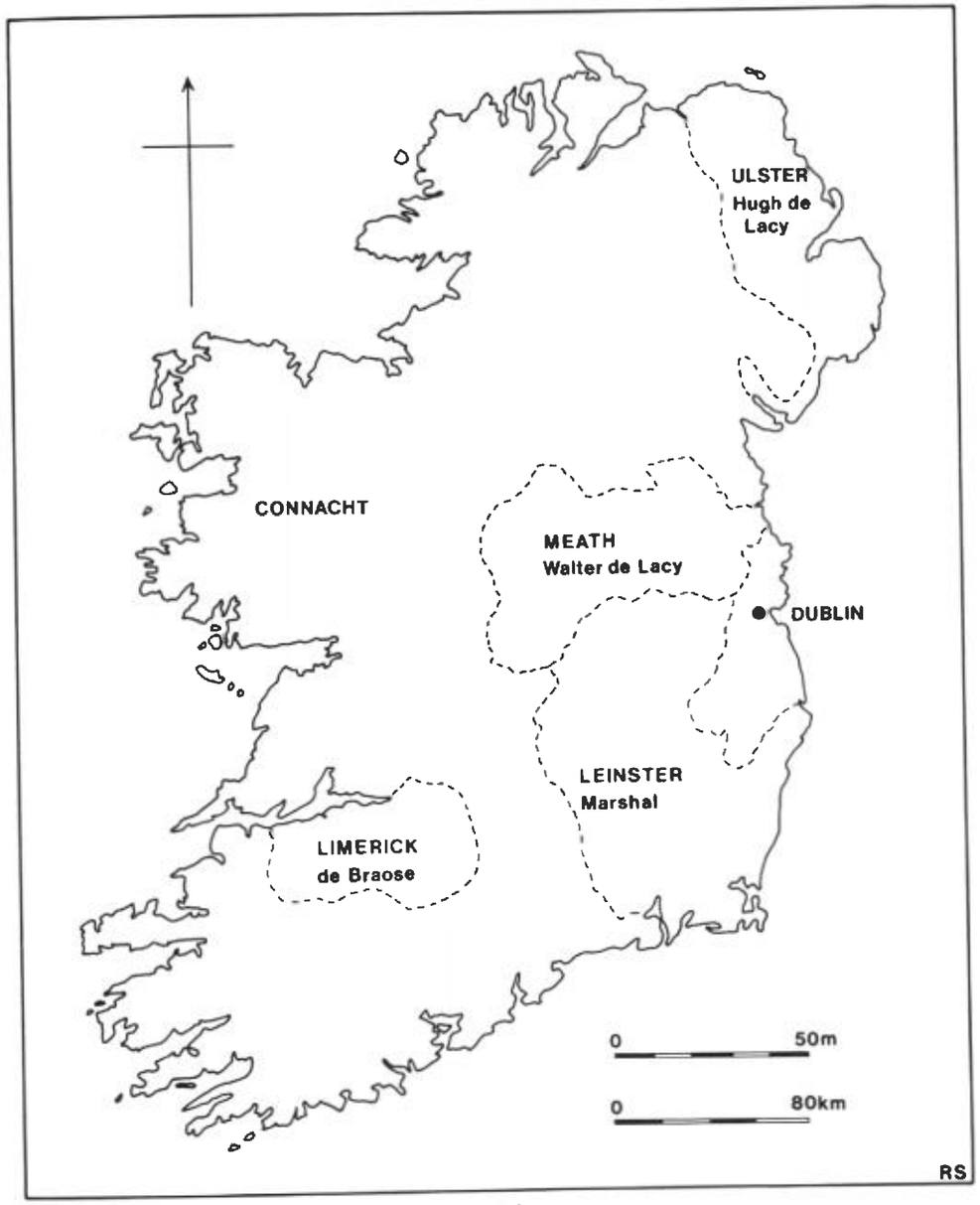
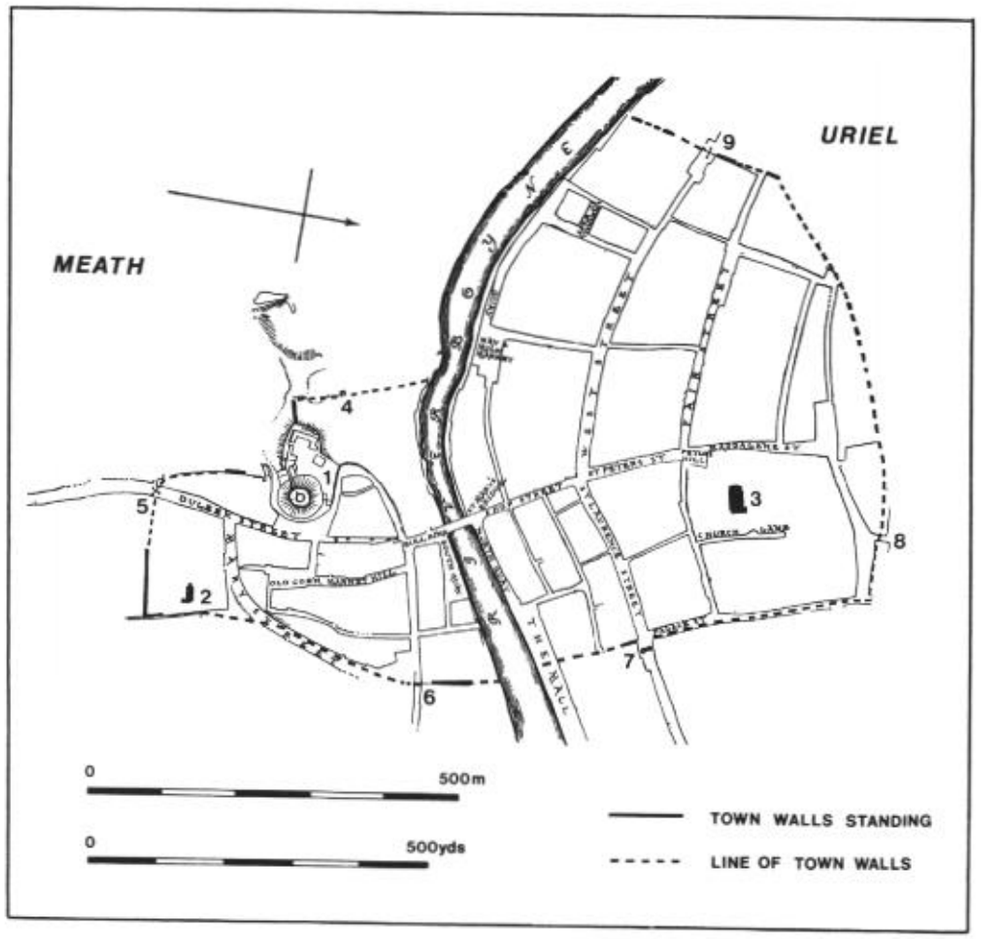


Fig. 8
The Anglo-Norman Lordships, 1205



The two Droghedas: towards Meath and towards Uriel

Drogheda towards Meath		Drogheda towards Uriel	
1	Castle	3	St Peter's parish church
2	St Mary's parish church	7	St Laurence Gate
4	Butter Gate	8	Sundays Gate
5	Duleek Gate	9	West Gate
6	Dublin Gate		

Based, with permission, on *Archaeol.J.*, 88 (1931), 358

FIG. 9
The two Droghedas: towards Meath and towards Uriel

30,000 bushels of oats, large quantities of stock and, above all, cattle. They also show that the lordship was well provided with oxen, the plough beast of the time, and that extensive capital investment had taken place to permit the full exploitation of the natural resources of the lordship—new granges, mills, fish ponds, limekilns and bridges to facilitate the transport of agricultural produce to the ports.[133]

The expansion of towns and trade matched the rapid development of arable farming. The earliest urban settlement in Meath was at Drogheda. Close to the mouth of the Boyne, which, with its tributaries, provided the principal lines of communication for the lordship, it was the natural hub for trade. In 1172 Henry II had granted Dublin 'all the liberties and free customs which the men of Bristol have'. John gave a similar charter to Cork about 1188. On his arrival in Ireland in 1194, one of Walter de Lacy's first acts was to confer on his town of Drogheda, 'on the side of Meath', a charter with the 'customs of Breteuil', in the Hereford form as they had been given to many Welsh towns earlier in the century. By 1199 Walter had conferred the same Breteuil customs on the ancient ecclesiastical centre of Kells and on Trim, with its great castle at the head of navigation on the Boyne.[134] Subsequently, they were granted by de Lacy and others to many other places, some of which never developed beyond their original rural condition, remaining, in the terminology of the historical-geographer, mere 'rural boroughs', villages where some of the inhabitants had the privileges of townsmen. The number of such 'boroughs' is clearly reflected in Walter's grant to Craswall of one burgage in each of his Irish boroughs as well as one messuage in each of his Irish manors for such burgess status was one of the principal means of attracting English and Welsh settlers to Ireland.[135] A Dublin rental of the last years of the 12th century tells its own story (Table 14).

Royal charters provide further evidence of Walter de Lacy's intensive exploitation of his Irish estates. In 1204 he persuaded John to grant him eight-day fairs at his boroughs of Trim and Kells and his important seigneurial manor of Ballymore Lough Sewdy, halfway between Athlone and Mullingar in Westmeath. In 1208 he had a royal licence to erect a mill on the Boyne at the bridge at Drogheda and a royal charter of 1215 refers, significantly, to 'all Walter de Lacy's ships' (FIG. 9).[136]

This economic activity was one of the key factors behind the breakdown in relations between John and his greater Irish lords, but in 1204 Walter de Lacy was still high in royal favour, for John, employing his father's tactics, was now using the de Lacys to counter the rising power of their former ally, John de Courci. Throughout that year, Walter remained closely associated with the royal justiciar in the government of Ireland and, in alliance with his brother, Hugh III, he defeated John de Courci and seized his Ulster lands. Shortly afterwards, these, with the earldom of Ulster, were given by John to Hugh but by 1207 relations between the king and the de Lacys had begun to deteriorate seriously. Warren has argued that John's policy during this period was to establish a stable regime in Ireland, based on an even-handed treatment of the Anglo-Norman and Irish aristocracy. This would give a balance of power that would safeguard royal interests. Warren further argues that John 'appreciated that the colonizing of Irish land' now being pursued by Walter de Lacy, William Marshal and

TABLE 14 Marcher and Welsh Surnames in the late 12th-century Dublin rental

Herefordshire			**Shropshire**		
Hereford	10		Shrewsbury	12	
Weobley	5		Ludlow	8	
Leominster	3		Wenlock	1	
Wigmore	2				21
Ledbury	1		**Wales**		
		21	Cardiff	36	
Gloucestershire			Haverford	11	
City and shire	28		Chepstow	8	
St Briavels	5		Cardigan	7	
Tewkesbury	2		Brecon	3	
		35	Kidwelly	3	
Worcestershire			Kenfig	3	
City and shire	28		Swansea	2	
Evesham	2		Monmouth	2	
Pershore	1		Carmarthen	2	
Droitwich	1		Newport	1	
		32			78

Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland, ed. J. T. Gilbert, RS 53 (1870), 3-48.

others was a seriously destabilising factor 'which could determine the fate of his (Irish) lordship'.[137]

No doubt personal factors also played an important role when, in 1207 Walter de Lacy's father-in-law, William de Braose, quarrelled with John and forfeited the lordship of Limerick. The following year, de Lacy and Marshal prudently decided to accept new and more restrictive charters from John for their lordships of Meath and Leinster. This merely postponed the conflict which was triggered off by de Braose who, using his son-in-law's castle at Weobley as his base, fired the town of Leominster, then sought refuge in Ireland, first with William Marshal and after with Walter de Lacy. When John landed at the head of a formidable army in 1210, all opposition collapsed. Walter sent his knights, William Parvus, Richard de Tuyt, Richard de Futipo, Richard de Capella and Hugh Heese, to treat with him at Dublin, saying that 'Walter salutes the king as his liege lord, of whom he holds all he possesses; and prays the king to relax his ire and suffer him to approach his presence; Walter ... places all his castles and lands in the hand of the king, as his lord, to retain or restore as he pleases'. John was not prepared to relent and Walter, with his brother, Hugh, fled into exile. William de Braose did likewise but his wife, Maud, and son, William, were handed over to John by the Scots. The chroniclers are unanimous in recording their deaths by starvation in one of John's dungeons. It was three years before Walter was able to come to terms with the king.[138]

During the period of general reconciliation following John's surrender of the realm to the pope, Walter was allowed to return to England. On 29 July 1213 the sheriff of Herefordshire, Engelard de Cigogné, was ordered to restore all de Lacy's English lands, except Ludlow, once four hostages for his good behaviour—his son, Gilbert, Miles and John Pitchard and William Furches—had been handed over.[139] Walter accompanied the king on the Poitou expedition in 1214 and may well have been with John when he spent two days at Grandmont on 1 and 2 April.[140] The next year, terms were agreed with the king for the return of his Irish lands. Walter had to pay a fine of 4,000 marks, of which 1,000 marks were to be paid into the Irish exchequer immediately, but the king was to retain the castle of Drogheda and that part of the town 'to the side of Meath' for a specified term. Walter's son, Gilbert, was to remain the king's hostage until the money was paid. The convention was confirmed on 27 July when John wrote to Walter's knights and free tenants in Meath, telling them that he had received their lord back into his full grace and had restored his land, and ordering them to 'be intentive to him as they were when the king took Walter's land into his hands'.[141]

The ten years from 1213, when he returned from his second period of exile, to 1223, the year of Henry III's 'partial' coming of age, must have been amongst the most fruitful of Walter's career. The Barnwell annalist spoke for most Englishmen when he said of John 'he was a pillager of his subjects ... they forsook him and, ultimately, little mourned his death'.[142] De Lacy, too, had been plundered by John but in the last desperate and isolated months of his life he was one of that small group, drawn predominantly from the Welsh march and Ireland, that stood by him and, after his death, served his young son and heir with equal loyalty through the early and difficult years of his reign.

Anxious to curb the growing power of the de Braose brothers, Giles and Reginald, John re-established de Lacy in the southern march. Ludlow Castle was returned to him in April 1215 and the next year he was granted the shrievalty of the county and custody of the royal castle at Hereford. After the death of Giles de Braose, his brother-in-law and the leader of the anti-royalist party in the county, he was appointed guardian of the see during the vacancy. In addition John accorded him the privilege of hunting in the royal Forest of Dean.[143]

Heads of most of the other great families of the southern march showed equal loyalty to John and later to his son in their times of difficulty. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke and lord of Striguil, John of Monmouth, Walter II de Clifford and his son Walter III, Roger I de Clifford of Tenbury and Hugh and Robert de Mortimer were as steadfast. But this loyalty was in no way disinterested. It was a natural response to the loose alliance which had been formed between the baronial opposition to John and the Welsh princes led by Llewelyn. By mid-May Bishop Giles de Braose was in open conflict with John and had sent his brother, Reginald, to join Llewelyn and the Welsh princes in a campaign to wrest the Braose castles from their royal custodians. To cement the alliance, Reginald was married to Llewelyn's daughter, the dark-eyed Gwladus (FIG. 7). The threat that such an alliance could present to the marcher lords was made clear in May 1215 when Llewelyn and his allies used the occasion of the barons' seizure of London to take Shrewsbury. It was in an attempt to forestall such an onslaught that Walter de Lacy, John of Monmouth, Hugh de Mortimer and Walter de Clifford had gathered together a large force in support of the king at Gloucester the previous month.[144]

The peace between king and barons at Runnymede in June 1215 was 'made only to be broken' and when war was resumed the alliances, between dissidents and Welsh on the one hand and John and the marcher lords on the other, were re-established. This, it has been pointed out, was a situation which 'was to repeat itself more than once in the constitutional conflicts of the century'. A close link also existed between Welsh and Irish affairs. The Irish lordships of Walter de Lacy, William Marshal, the de Braoses and others ensured this. Walter's half-brother, William 'Gorm' de Lacy, exemplifies well the closeness of such links, for his mother was the daughter of the Connacht king, Rory O'Connor, whilst his wife, Gwenllian, was another daughter of Llewelyn the great.[145]

In 1212, when John faced serious difficulties with the English baronage, William Marshal and the barons of Ireland publicly pledged their loyalty to him. What price did John pay? Warren has 'little doubt that it was a free hand in Ireland. A free hand to exploit their Irish lordships with the utmost efficiency, and if necessary ruthlessness—with no interference from the justiciar in Dublin, and no political nonsense about concern for the welfare of the Irish'. This bargain 'paid off handsomely: after John's unexpected death the barons of Ireland (and of the marches—with William Marshal as *rector regni,* at their head) found themselves governing England'.[146] What has not been emphasised are the close links between Ireland and the Welsh march at this time and the crucial position of William Marshal and Walter de Lacy in both. De Lacy's return from exile in 1213 was almost certainly part of John's accord with the Irish baronage.

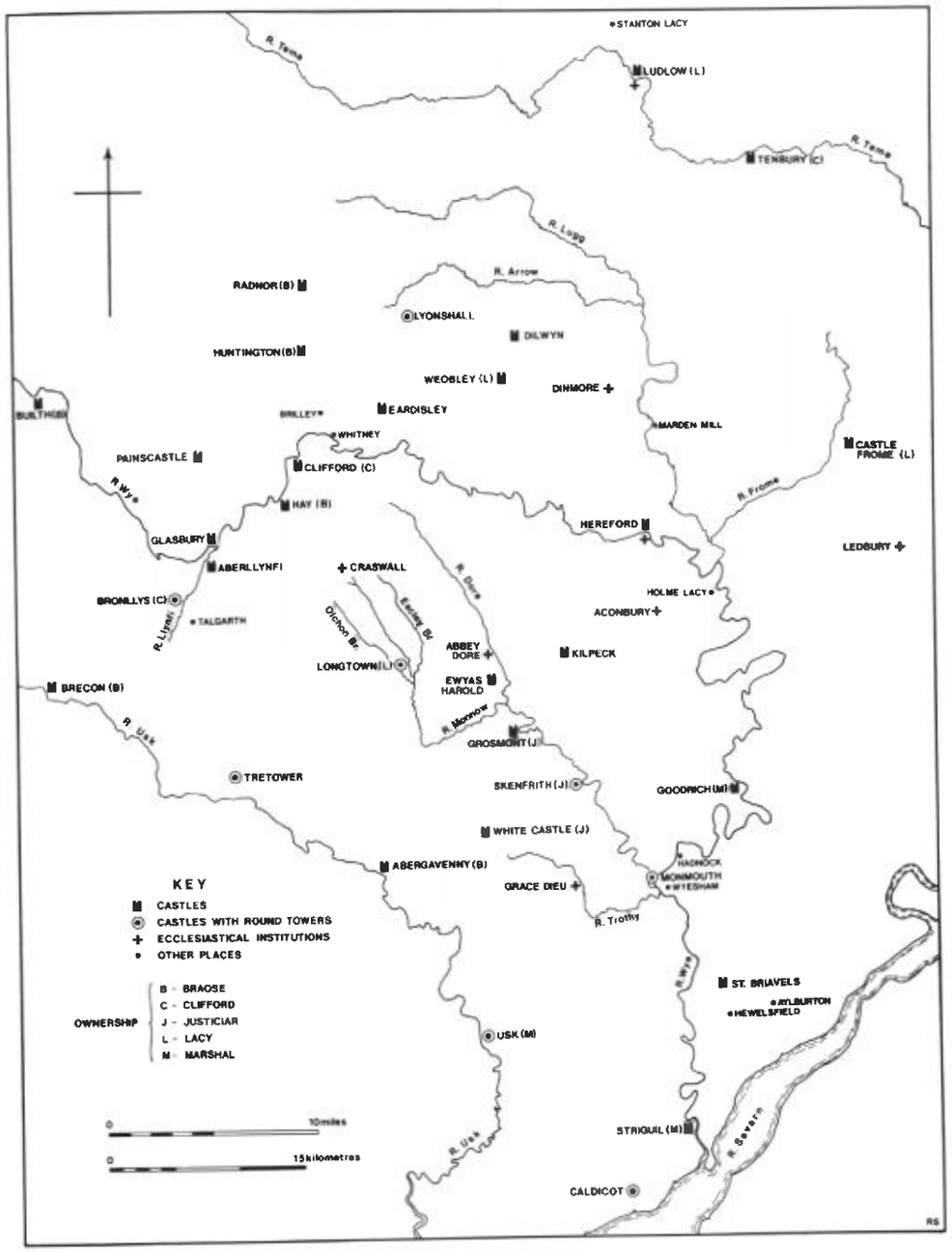


FIG. 10
The southern march in the early 13th century: places mentioned in the text

After his return Walter spent most of his time in the marches but was with John in the autumn of 1216 when he ravaged the eastern counties. On 9 October, after being well feasted by the burgesses of Lynn, the king suddenly developed the illness from which he died ten days later. He seems to have had prevision that death was at hand, for, in one of the last formal acts of his reign, he sought to expiate the crime that had ranked so high with all the chroniclers—the deaths, by starvation, of Walter de Lacy's mother-in-law, Maud de Braose, and William, her son. 'In contemplation of our Lord'. John granted de Lacy's wife 'three carucates of land to be assarted and cultivated in our forest of Aconbury for the establishment of a house of nuns who are to pray for the repose of the soul of her father, William de Braose, her mother Maud, and her brother William'.[147]

John died at the bishop of Lincoln's castle at Newark on 18 October 1216. Prominent amongst the lay executors of his will were the lords of the southern march—Walter de Lacy, William Marshal and John of Monmouth.[148] John's nine-year-old heir was hurriedly crowned at Gloucester on 28 October by a small group of loyalists led by William Marshal. The first meeting of the new royal council with William Marshal as *rector regni,* regent, took place at Bristol Castle on 11 November and comprised the full strength of the loyalist leadership at the time. Ten of the 24 laymen present had strong interests in the southern march—William and John Marshal, Walter de Lacy, John of Monmouth, Walter II de Clifford, Roger I de Clifford of Tenbury, William Cantelupe, Hugh and Robert de Mortimer and Walter Beauchamp. The first six were also amongst those responsible for the re-issue, with some omissions, of Magna Carta. Two of the articles omitted related to the Jews: number 10, which forbade the charging of interest during the minority of a debtor's heirs; and number 11, which safeguarded the widow's dower. Publication of these, and other, articles 'weighty and doubtful' was 'deferred till we shall have taken counsel more fully'.[149] The marchers played a prominent part in the campaign against the dissident barons and their French allies. A letter of February 1217, sent to boost the morale of the beleaguered men of Rye, makes it clear that military support for the young king came predominantly from the Welsh march.[150]

Hamo and the marcher lords during the minority of Henry III

The political circumstances of the end of John's and the beginning of Henry III's reign explain how it was that Hamo established his Hereford business. It was the members of the loyalist group who provided the mainstay of his trade. In 1244 Walter de Lacy, John Marshal, nephew of William Marshal, and John of Monmouth all owed more than £100 to Hamo's heirs on debts which they had contracted many years earlier. Relatives and friends were drawn into this circle of Hamo's clients. Gilbert of Frome was a close relative and active lieutenant of Walter de Lacy; Gilbert, fourth earl of Pembroke, who owed Hamo's family £138 in 1244, was the third son of William Marshal and succeeded to the family's English, Welsh and Irish estates in 1234; Roger II de Clifford, who owed £400, was the son of Roger I whom he succeeded at Tenbury in 1231 (Part 1, Table 10).

The Close Rolls shed further light on Hamo's relationships with this compact group of marcher and Irish lords (Part 1, Table 13). In 1233, some ten years after he had succeeded his father Walter II in the barony, Walter III de Clifford was Hamo's debtor to the tune of 1,000 marks. The same table shows that Roger II, of the Tenbury branch, was already in debt, in 1230, to a consortium headed by Hamo of Hereford but with Aaron of York and David and Copin of Oxford as the other members. The amount of Roger's debt is not recorded in the Close Rolls but the membership of the consortium included three of the Jewish 'magnates' of the period. The sum involved must have been substantial.

Some members of the group were borrowing from Jews early in the century. The Fine and Oblate Rolls show king John, as early as 1204, granting Pepelin, son of Elias, and Josce, son of Leo, a writ for the repayment of a debt of £10 with interest against Walter II's brother, Gilbert de Lacy. A year earlier Walter I de Clifford stood as one of the guarantors for a loan of £50 made by a Northampton Jew to William de Braose.[151]

When and how were the links forged between Hamo and this group of marcher lords? No direct evidence is yet available to show when Hamo established himself at Hereford but there can be little doubt that it was after John's death, when the council of regency formulated its protectionist policy towards the Jews, for the Jewish community at Hereford appears to have suffered as much as any from John's 'captivity of the English Jewry' in 1210. In the return to a writ of 1219 reference is made to those Hereford Jews 'who died and those who emigrated overseas' at that time. Some continuity there may have been, probably in the person of Elias of Hereford, but the community was certainly very much depleted in August 1216 when Walter de Lacy assumed the government of the county.[152]

Although Thomas de Anesy rendered the sheriff's accounts at the Exchequer each Michaelmas, a range of evidence shows de Lacy exercising the royal authority throughout Herefordshire. Indeed, after the death of Giles de Braose, he also acted as guardian of the diocese until a royal writ was sent on 11 December 1216, commanding that the temporalities be handed over to Braose's successor, Hugh de Mapenore. De Lacy's prime responsibility was for the maintenance of the young king's authority throughout the county and for its defence against the continuing Welsh menace. The Pipe Rolls show that work on the defences of Hereford Castle continued even after peace was restored to England in September 1217.[153] Indeed, one of John's letters patent makes a nice distinction between the Welsh threat and that of the dissident barons supported by the power and person of Louis of France. It allows that 'if Louis should come and besiege Hereford castle so that the siege could not be raised without the intervention of an army—in that case Walter de Lacy need not venture his person within the said castle ... but only to see that it be garrisoned by those who might be trusted ... to defend it without loss of the king's honour and advantage'.[154]

By autumn 1217 the civil war was ended and by March 1218 the fear of a Welsh attack had passed. De Lacy was sent to escort 'Llewelyn, prince of North Wales', who, having extracted the peace terms he desired from the council of regency, was to meet the young king at Worcester and do homage at Woodstock.[155] Internal peace established, the council, of which de Lacy was a prominent member, now had the opportunity to consider much-needed measures to revive the economy. One was to reassure

those members of England's Jewish communities who had survived the tribulations of John's reign and to encourage the return of others—all the more necessary because of the rising tide of anti-Semitism associated with the preparations for the crusade preached by the pope in 1215. These measures were so successful that there was an influx of Jews from abroad, principally from France. The wardens of the Cinque Ports, who had created difficulties for some of these immigrants, were ordered to present no impediments, apart from taking sureties that the newcomers would, in due course, register themselves with the Justices of the Jews.[156]

At Hereford, it was Walter de Lacy who, as sheriff, was responsible for implementing the new policy towards the Jews. He was to 'make known throughout his bailiwick that they had been granted the king's firm peace'. He was to protect them against any 'gravamen or molestation' from the general populace and was to resist any attempt on the part of the recently-appointed bishop, Hugh de Mapenore, to implead them for debt in his ecclesiastical courts, for such jurisdiction belonged to the king alone. These were all privileges originally accorded by John's charter of 1201, which the council of regency now reconfirmed. Quite new, however, was the council's decision that the Jews residing in the town were to have their own 'community'. This represents a profound change in the status of the Hereford Jewry. Not only could it have its own *archa,* or chest, but also the power to negotiate the purchase from the crown such privileges as the continued use of tallies and dispensation from wearing the 'badge of shame'.[157]

For Jews throughout the realm the regency offered the promise of a new beginning and, given the political and military situation of the time, Hereford was an ideal base for financial activity. This opportunity Hamo seized. We know nothing of his origins, but the financial resources at his disposal, as indicated by the 1221, 1223 and 1226 tallage rolls (Part 1, Table 5), make it clear that he was a wealthy man before he came to Hereford for, however favourable the economic and political climate, such a fortune could not have been amassed in Hereford in a few years. He may have come from the continent in the recent wave of immigration. The name would suggest northern France, unless it is a corrupt form of the Hebrew, *Haim* or *Hayyim,* meaning 'life' but this was normally rendered Hagin in England. On the other hand it may be that he came from London and was a member of the wealthy Crespin family for there is much evidence that he and his sons had close relations with the Crespins over a long period. This would explain the financial resources at his disposal: of the London community, Benedict Crespin, also called Benedict *Episcopus,* made the largest contribution to the 1221 and 1223 tallages (Part 1, Table 5). Twenty years later, he and his brother Jacob were still prominent in the London community for they were sent as its representatives to the Worcester 'parliament'.[158]

As sheriff of the county and custodian of Hereford Castle, Walter de Lacy played a crucial part in the success of Hamo's Hereford venture. Without de Lacy's active support Hamo could not have established himself as he did in the city. Certainly, the large sums he could make available to the marcher lords gave him considerable leverage. Walter de Lacy was in serious financial difficulty at the time. When he negotiated

his 'convention' with John in 1215 to pay 4,000 marks for the return of his Irish lands, 1,000 marks had to be paid immediately and money was still outstanding from the 3,000 mark fine levied by Richard I in 1194. The place to find such funds was the Jewish money market. It is highly likely, therefore, that Hamo's decision to establish himself at Hereford was due to Walter de Lacy.

Other such associations between Jewish financiers and members of the higher aristocracy are on record. On the continent Jews were often described as 'belonging' to a noble patron. Thus in 1200 William Marshal had been granted by John, as duke of Normandy, a Jew 'of Chambay' originally brought to France by Stephen de Pertico.[159] Even in England, where all Jews were said to be the 'property' of the crown, one such example can be found for, in 1255, Henry III presented Abraham, father-in-law of Hamo's son, Leo, and one of the wealthiest English Jews of his day, to his brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall, whom he permitted to have a special *archa,* or chest, at Wallingford, the *caput* of his honour, for the administration of Abraham's bonds.[160] A chest at Hereford was just as important for Walter and Hamo, to provide a local repository for the records of their financial transactions.

Although the English Jewry had been ravaged in the later part of John's reign, de Lacy knew well a number of the flourishing communities across the channel. Connections had been severed with the Jewries of Normandy, already in serious decline by the time the duchy fell into the hands of the French king,[161] but were maintained with those important Jewries in the Angevin lands of Poitou and Saintonge, including la Rochelle.[162] It was here that de Lacy landed with John for the Poitevin expedition in 1214.[163]

One of the largest, and certainly culturally the most important Jewish community north of the Alps was at Narbonne. During the 12th and 13th centuries it enjoyed a period of exceptional stability and prosperity. Within the city there were two separate Jewries, the Grand Jewry, under the protection of the count, and the Little Jewry, within the archbishop's jurisdiction. In 1217 the Jewish population of Narbonne amounted to about 1,000 souls. It had established itself, at an early date, as a major Hebrew cultural centre with the famous rabbinic schools, the *Vielles Ecoles,* corresponding to the Hebrew *Yeshiva,* and the *Ecoles Inférieures,* corresponding to the Hebrew *Yeshiva le talmudim.* Such was their reputation that some authorities have suggested that the European rabbinate originated here. Certainly, the Saragossan rabbi, Sheshet ben Isaac Beneviste, called the schools of Narbonne, by a play with the Hebrew *Nev Birinah,* 'the lighthouse of science'.[164]

This was the city to which de Lacy was sent in April 1214 to buy horses.[165] It must have made a profound impression on him. Founded in 118 B.C., described by Martial as *pulcherrima,* it had been, with Lyons, the most populous town of Roman Gaul. In the 12th century it was still famed for the opulence of its citizens, based on their Mediterranean trade. The presence of the two Jewries, safely behind the ramparts facing the river Aude, the one clustering in the streets to the north and east of the *Palais des Vicomtes* and the other by the *Palais Archiépiscopal* and St. Just's cathedral, was clear testimony to the unwavering support given by the counts of Narbonne to the

Jews within their domain. The achievements and reputation of the Narbonne schools gave equally clear testimony to the Jews' intellectual capacity. For the visitor from the north all this provided a remarkable insight into the benefits that could accrue, to both Christian and Hebrew, from such a harmonious relationship.

Only sixteen months after his visit to Narbonne, Walter de Lacy was sheriff of Herefordshire, an office he held until 1223. During those seven years a similarly harmonious relationship was established between Hamo, whose wealth and status made him the natural head of the Jewish community at Hereford, and de Lacy who, as king's representative, was especially charged with the well-being of that community. It is said that the Jews, in arranging their settlement in Hereford, explicitly stated that in times of danger they should be allowed to shelter in the castle. This reflects the authority Hamo had.[166] The meetings in the castle between these two, the one soldier and great landowner, the other financier, scholar, connoisseur and bibliophile, must have been remarkable occasions. Both were invested with much power, yet both were vulnerable. Outwardly their power rested on land and the sword for one and gold and the pen for the other, but in reality for both it rested, ultimately, on the authority of the crown. Of the two, the power of de Lacy proved to be the most short-lived, for when he died he was blind, without male heirs and his inheritance was wasted.

With the Welsh de Lacy's relations were far from harmonious. William Marshal the younger succeeded his father, the regent, as earl of Pembroke and lord of Striguil in 1219. A deep personal antagonism developed rapidly between him and the Welsh prince, Llewelyn, posing grave problems for those trying to maintain peace on the march. There was open conflict between the two in 1220; and in 1223, when Llewelyn attacked the castles at Kinnersley, Whittington and Builth, war broke out between English and Welsh. Hubert de Burgh, the able but self-seeking justiciar, assembled an army at Hereford which quickly brought Llewelyn to terms. Under the guise of a concern for national security, he sought to enhance his own position in the march by the establishment of a stronghold at New Montgomery.

Peace, apparently, firmly re-established the services of de Lacy and his fellow marchers were no longer indispensable. After seven years' tenure of the shrievalty he was suddenly replaced, on 15 November, by a royal officer, Ralf fitz Nicholas. This was not an isolated incident, for the next month thirteen other shires were placed in new hands and the custody of twenty-five castles previously in baronial hands was transferred. Linked to the declaration of the king's partial coming of age, these actions reflected de Burgh's desire to re-establish royal authority over local government.[167]

Ireland, 1216-25

All this was quickly overshadowed by events in Ireland. Responsibility for the southern march since 1216 had meant that Walter's visits to Ireland had been few and brief. In the autumn of 1220 he made a short visit to his Irish estates which had been in the custody of his half-brother, William 'Gorm' Lacy, for the last five years.[168] Since the death of John the council of regency, under pressure from de Lacy, had been commanding Geoffrey de Marisco, the Irish justiciar, to hand back the castle and town

of Drogheda which had been retained by the king throughout his reign. Now de Lacy finally agreed that it should remain in royal hands, in return for which he was to receive £20 per annum and the tallage of the town.[169] Drogheda being thus lost, his task on his return was to ensure the security of Meath by the completion of the great stone keep at Trim, now the effective centre of his lordship. According to the Annals of Loch Cé, he launched an attack on Breifne where, to intimidate enemies and hearten friends, he 'performed a great hosting, to the crannog of O'Reilly ... obtaining hostages and great power'. He was in Ireland again for part of 1221 and returned briefly in 1222.[170]

This was not enough to counteract the years of neglect which his Irish interests had suffered since 1210. When his exiled brother, Hugh, returned to Ireland in 1223, attempting to re-establish his position in Ulster by force of arms, Walter could not restrain William 'Gorm' and many of his own vassals from rising in support. The best he could do was to accept the council's proposal that Ludlow and Trim castles should be handed over to the crown for two years as surety for his good conduct and that he should accompany William Marshal the younger in the campaign against Hugh, William 'Gorm' and his own men of Meath. In May 1225 Walter had to submit to the judgement of the royal court, that he pay 3,000 marks for 'seizin of the lands of his knights and free tenants in Ireland ... because they went against the king in Hugh de Lacy's war'. Technically, much of this money was recoverable from those of his men who had risen in revolt but Walter obtained little.[171]

De Lacy debts

After 1225 Walter de Lacy avoided further conflict with the crown and thus additional fines. Yet in 1234-5 £2,747-1-10, more than half of the total, was outstanding on the fines of 1215 and 1225 and a writ of 1238 refers to 'the great debt' which Walter still owed to the king. When he died in 1241 he was beset by debts. The Fine Rolls show that at this time he owed Jewish moneylenders £955-13-4, of which £725 was due to the heirs of Hamo, £150-13-4 to David of Oxford, £40 to Blanche of Hereford and £40 to Cuntessa of Hereford. Larger sums were due to the crown.[172]

It has been suggested that such debts were often forgiven, in whole or in part.[173] This was certainly not the case here for Henry III acted promptly and firmly to secure his interests. In May 1241 a writ of *fieri facias* was directed to Geoffrey, archdeacon of Dublin, to attach de Lacy's 'corn, stock and other chattels in order to discharge his debts to the king'. In June the Justiciar was ordered 'not to permit Walter's chattels to be administered until his debts to the king are paid' and was informed that 'the king has written to Walter's executor, the bishop of Meath, not to dispose of those chattels without deducting the king's debts'. In September 1242 Margaret de Lacy was allowed to have her dower, one third part of her late husband's goods and chattels, so long as 'the king retains two parts of them in payment of Walter's debts to the king'.[174]

Henry III was just as anxious to ensure that Walter's granddaughters, Matilda and Margaret, and their husbands, Peter de Geneva and John de Verdun, (FIG. 5), met their obligations to Walter's Jewish creditors. In 1245 each couple had to find half the £955-13-4 still owing. Without such pressure it would have been difficult for Moses,

now head of the family business, to make his annual payments to 'the works of the church of Westminster', the great building project so close to the king's heart. As late as September 1249, the Irish justiciar was ordered 'to inquire how much remains due' but Matilda de Lacy was 'until further orders ... to have peace touching demands for debts'.[175]

From a range of contemporary records it has been possible to trace the stages in the process by which Walter's inheritance was wasted. Political offences in Ireland during the period 1198-1225 had cost Walter a total of 10,500 marks (£7,000):

i 1198 3,100 marks for 'ravages committed upon the territory of the king in Ireland', 1194
and 400 marks for the return of Ludlow Castle in 1206
ii 1215 4,000 marks for 'harbouring and sustaining' William de Braose in Ireland, 1209-10
iii 1225 3,000 marks when his men of Meath 'went against the king in Hugh de Lacy's war', 1223.

The Pipe Rolls of 1198-1209 show that, although annual payments towards the first fine were regularly maintained, de Lacy still owed the Exchequer £74-13-4 when, thirteen years after his return from his first period of exile, he had to go into exile once again (Table 15).

For the second and third fines no such regular payments were sustained. Indeed, the fluctuations in the size and frequency of payments demanded by John and Henry III reflect nicely the fluctuations in the power relationship between de Lacy and the crown in the years 1215-41. When the crown was under serious political or military pressure, especially in Ireland, Wales or the marches, demands for payment were modified or even temporarily withdrawn. The original agreement with John in 1215 was that the fine should be paid quickly, payments being made at the Dublin Exchequer: 1,000 marks at Michaelmas and the remainder in two equal parts at Easter and Michaelmas 1216.[176] The first sum was received, for the king ordered his Justiciar to deposit it in the church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, but the deepening political crisis in England persuaded John to deal more leniently with de Lacy, whose assistance was indispensable on the southern march. On 12 April he commanded the justiciar to reduce payments for that year to £500 each term and to 'allow de Lacy, in relief of his debt, whatever has been taken from his (Irish) lands since the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June 1215) when the agreement was made'. Six weeks before the Michaelmas payment was due, fresh orders came to Dublin that Walter was 'to have peace touching this fine ... so long as he shall be on the king's service in England and hold the custody of the king's castle at Hereford'.[177]

Walter's circumstances were transformed by the establishment of the regency. As he was one of its leading members, it is hardly surprising that, eight months after John's death, the council authorised 'a respite regarding the debts which he (Walter) owes'.[178] It is not known when repayment of the 1215 fine was recommenced, for there are few early records of the Dublin Exchequer.

TABLE 15 Walter de Lacy's 3,100 mark fine of 1198
Exchequer receipts, 1198-1212

Year	*Payment Due*	*Payment Made* £ s d	*Balance* £ s d
		(1st period of exile, 1194-8)	
1198			2,066 13 4
		200 0 0	1,866 13 4
		666 13 4	1,200 0 0
1199	£200	133 6 8	1,066 13 4
1200	"	133 6 8	933 6 8
1201	200 marks (£133-6-8)	113 6 8	820 0 0
1202	"	18 0 0	802 0 0
1203	"	66 13 4	735 6 8
		156 0 0*	579 6 8
1204	"	28 0 0	551 6 8
		39 0 0	512 6 8
		10 6 8	502 0 0
1205	"	127 6 8	374 13 4
1206	"	100 0 0	274 13 4
1207	100 marks (£66-13-4)	66 13 4	208 0 0
1208	"	66 13 4	141 6 8
1209	"	66 13 4	74 13 4
1210	"		74 13 4
1211	"		74 13 4
1212	"		74 13 4
		(2nd period of exile, 1210-13)	

*original reads £56-0-0, clearly a clerical error

Pipe Rolls, 1198-1212

One would have anticipated a harsher regime with the end of the regency, yet shortly after the imposition of the third fine Henry III granted a six-month respite on the 250 mark payment due at Michaelmas, 1225. Little seems to have been paid subsequently, for three years later the king presented de Lacy with an ultimatum relating to the 1225 fine *and* the residue of that of 1215. If Walter did not pay the prescribed sums of 500 marks annually at Dublin, the justiciar was to take into the king's hands the castle of Trim and so much of Walter's Irish lands as were worth 500 marks a year.[179] Once again Henry relented, accepting an annual payment of 400 marks, further reduced—to 200 marks—in 1230. The following year, whilst Henry was at Hereford in October, de Lacy persuaded him to grant yet another respite—on the half-yearly payment due Michaelmas 1231. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the records of the Irish Exchequer show £2,747-1-10 (4,120 marks) outstanding in 1234-5; nothing had been paid off the 1225 fine and only 1,780 marks of the 3,000 due on the 1215 fine.[180] Thus between 1216 and 1234 de Lacy had been repaying his fine at an average of about 100 marks a year. Little is known of his financial relations with the crown during the last years of his life.

De Lacy income

How serious a drain were these payments, averaging 250 marks a year between 1198 and 1209 and 100 marks a year between 1216 and 1234? Baronial incomes have been examined by Painter. He showed that knights' fees cannot be taken as a reliable indicator of income but he was able to establish from the Pipe Rolls the annual income of 54 barons in the period 1160-1220. However, as these figures do not take irregular feudal revenues into account, he accepts that they are 'too low for the holders of numerous knights' fees'. Further, prices within the selected time span are not comparable for the years 1180-1220 were one of the three great inflationary periods of recorded English history, when prices of corn, livestock etc. doubled or trebled. Differences of real income *within* the period will, therefore, be great. Yet, as he says, the figures 'are the best that can be obtained'. The highest income (in 1210) was £800 whilst 20 barons enjoyed less than £100 *per annum*. The average income of the 54 was £202 and the median only £115.[181] Distribution is shown in FIG. 11.

How far does what we know of Walter de Lacy's annual income fit into this picture? The Norman exchequer roll for the last year of Walter's first period of exile, 1198, shows that the profits from his lands were £759-8-5.[182] As no other sum appears in the Pipe Rolls it has been argued, convincingly, that this must represent the revenue from all his lands, Irish and English as well as Norman. However, the Norman Exchequer dealt not in sterling but in Angevin currency and it has been estimated that the latter was worth only about a quarter of the former.[183] In this case we have evidence of an income of some £200 *per annum* for de Lacy at the end of the 12th century. This squares well with the known value of his English estates. There he obtained his revenue from two main sources—demesne land and manors which he rented out. The total value of demesne in Herefordshire with rents was £47 in 1186. The profits of the Gloucestershire and Wiltshire estates fluctuated considerably but a total annual yield of £91-6-0 from the English estates during Walter's minority has been put forward.[184] If one

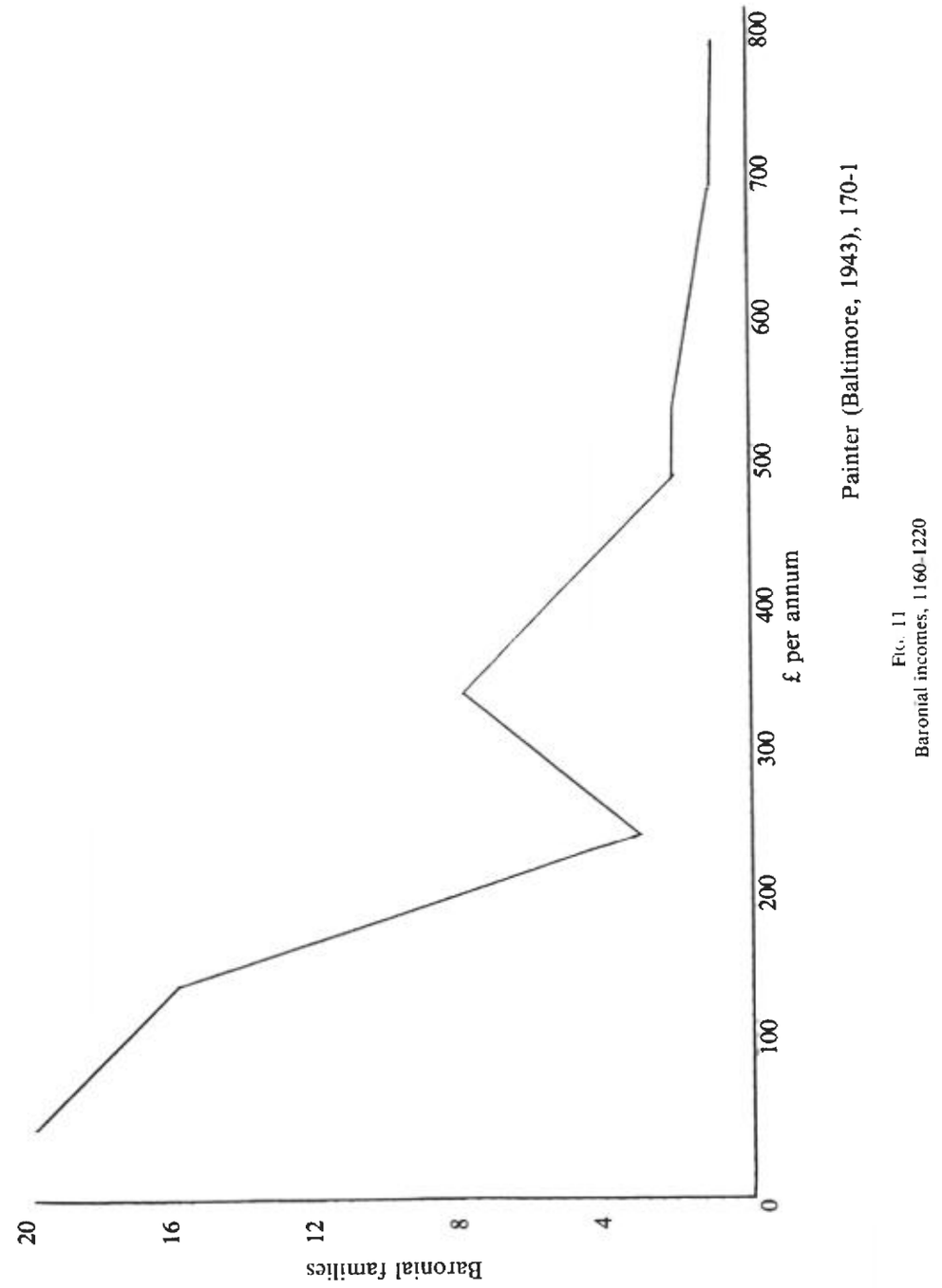


FIG. 11
Baronial incomes, 1160-1220. Painter (Baltimore, 1943), 170-1

accepts a similar valuation at that time, for the Irish estates the overall figure of £200 *per annum* seems quite realistic, for the Norman estates were not large. The strain of an annual payment of 250 marks on such an income must have been considerable and this is forcefully illustrated by the marriage contract of Walter de Lacy and Margaret de Braose, in which her father insisted that his son-in-law 'swore not ... to give, sell or mortgage any part of his land to anyone, whereby the heirs of his wife ... might suffer decrease of their inheritance, unless it should be done by consent of' Walter de Braose.[185]

A later valuation of the Irish estates is to be found in the Irish Pipe Rolls for 1211-12, in the detailed accounts of William Petit, royal steward of the lordship of Meath whilst it was in royal hands. Profits from the Lacy demesne manors totalled £239-11-0½, but this does not include the manor of Trim, accounted for elsewhere at £60 for half a year, nor Drogheda on the side of Meath. For Drogheda 'on both sides of the water', that is for Bertram de Verdun's and Hugh de Lacy's boroughs on either side of the Boyne, the farm is given as £26-18-8 (FIG. 9). The 1211-12 Pipe Roll thus indicates an annual income from the lordship of Meath well in excess of £300.[186] Inflation may account in part for this enhanced figure, but equally important was the introduction by the Anglo-Norman lords into an economy, previously based on cattle grazing, of the most advanced agricultural methods of the age; peasants organised in manors, using the three-field crop rotation; spring as well as winter sowing of wheat, oats, beans and peas; and pigs. The consequent expansion of the economy is well attested by the rapid development of annual fairs, weekly markets and prosperous boroughs and seaports.

De Lacy expenditure: castles

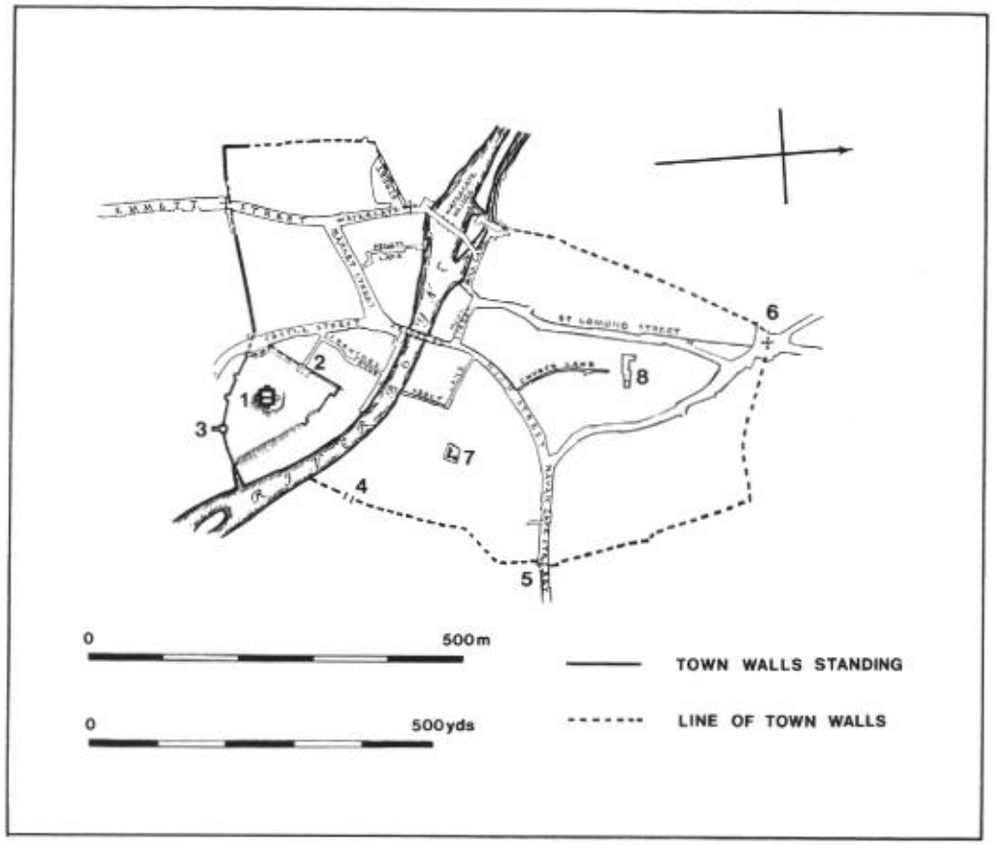
In comparison with this income of over £300 *per annum* from his Irish estates and some £100 or more from his English lands, the average payment of £66-13-4 *per annum* made to the crown during the period 1216-34 seems small. But against such an annual income one has to set expenditure incurred in the maintenance of his Irish estates. The Irish Pipe Rolls shows that William Petit's expenditure in the Meath lordship for 1211-12 totalled £273-13-1 and exceeded income by £34-2-0½. Almost all of this was spent on the building and maintenance of castles. Precise details are given. He paid £129-12-0 for what the annals particularly describe as a stone tower at Athlone—to command the passage of the Shannon on the boundary between Meath and Connacht. Apparently, the money was not well spent, for this stone tower, built on an artificial mount, fell down the following year, killing the justiciar's assistant, Richard de Tuit, and eight other Englishmen.[187] £51 was provided for works at the castle at Trim, whilst smaller sums went for work at minor castles, £16-8-9 at Nobber, £6-10-0 at Incheleffer, and £4-16-4 at Kilmore. The accounts of Clones Castle give some idea of the cost of garrisoning a small castle for one year—£6-10-0 for conveying the garrison, £4-10-3 for stores and necessaries, £6 for 12 marchers who remained there 30 days at 3d. a day, and £5-6-8 'for servants who went against the soldiers that deserted'. In another entry, where William Trom renders account for the manor of Trim, the 'allowances' for the castle of Trim are given as 6s. a day, that is £108-10-0 *per annum*.[188]

The Pipe Roll thus provides a clear picture of the kind of charges Walter de Lacy had to meet in garrisoning the castles of his Irish lordship. But what of construction costs? The stone tower of Athlone, referred to in the 1211-12 accounts, was small by comparison with the stone keep and perimeter defences which he erected at Trim, the centre of his lordship. Trim is the largest castle in Ireland (PLS. XVIII & XIX). In design it followed that long line of tower keeps which, beginning with the Tower of London and Colchester, constructed immediately after the Conquest, ended with Dover, 1180-90, the last major English example. Trim is not only the last major British example, it also represents a significant modification of the type, for its square keep has square towers projecting from all four sides. The addition of these towers, which rise over 76 feet, makes Trim a 20-sided figure. There are only two other castles of similar design: one at Warkworth in Northumberland, erected 200 years later, probably on earlier foundations; the other at Castle Rushen in the Isle of Man, which belonged to John de Courcy's brother-in-law, 1187-1228.

The precise dates of the construction of this de Lacy castle are still in debate. For Orpen 'it may be ascribed with much probability to about 1220', the date given by the annals of Innisfallen. Orpen points out that king John found the accommodation too small to hold his court there in 1210, for all his writs are signed at the nearby 'mead of Trim'. Despite this, in 1936, Leask was of the opinion that, on architectural grounds, 'the keep may be reasonably assigned to 1190-1200' whilst 'the curtain wall, the five remaining mural towers and one of the two gates, the western gate, appear to belong to about 1220'. The two ranges of buildings which stood to the north of this gate were perhaps the 'hall, rooms and chambers' occupied by Walter de Lacy when he was assisting William Marshal the younger in the campaign against his brother, Hugh, and his half-brother, William 'Gorm' in 1224 and thus of a similar date to the curtain wall (FIG. 12).[189]

More recently Leask has revised his estimate of the date of construction of the keep and has suggested that 'some time around 1212 cannot be very wide of the mark'. Indeed, the references, in the Irish Pipe Roll to payments made at Michaelmas, 1212, include '£51 for the works at Trim castle' and £2-8-3d. for '193 horses and as many men for one day at the fortification of the castle'. These may well represent the beginning of work on the new keep. Even if the decision to rebuild was a royal one, taken by John after his visit to Trim in 1210, the work would have been far from complete when de Lacy returned from exile in 1213. It is suggestive that, whereas John insisted on retaining the castle of Drogheda in his own hands in 1213, he made no such provision for what became the much more powerful stronghold at Trim.

The chronology of the new work at Trim is important. If Leask is correct in his revised dating of the keep, Walter de Lacy had not only to meet the fine of 4,000 marks imposed on his return from exile, but had at the same time to meet the construction costs of the most formidable castle ever to be built in Ireland. This did not deter him from embarking upon a second building campaign to provide Trim with perimeter defences of the most up-to-date design in the early 1220s but, as we have seen, in the relaxed political atmosphere of the early years of the regency, he was able to view his debts to the crown with greater equanimity.[190]



Trim castle and borough

Castle	Borough
1 Keep	4 Sheep Gate
2 Gateway	5 Navan Gate
3 Tower and barbican	6 Athboy Gate
	7 St Mary's abbey, the Yellow Tower
	8 St Patrick's parish church

Based, with permission, on *Archaeol.J.*, 88 (1931), 365

FIG. 12
Trim Castle and Borough

It is not easy to estimate the cost of building the keep, curtain wall and ancillary structures at Trim. The castle at Dover is similar in a number of respects, but does not provide an altogether satisfactory comparison. It is earlier—built at the beginning of the period of the great inflation—yet constructed to a higher standard and considerably larger. Each side measured some 120 feet, whilst de Lacy's keep was only 65 feet across the main structure and 110 feet across the projecting towers. At Trim, as at Dover, the perimeter defences were added later but even with a curtain wall some 1,500 feet in length and five D-shaped towers, enclosing an area of more than three acres, those at Trim are considerably less substantial.

Thus, whilst de Lacy's costs at Trim would not have rivalled the royal expenditure at Dover, which even by 1190 totalled almost £7,000, they must certainly be thought of in thousands rather than hundreds of pounds and must, therefore, have been of the same order as the fines imposed upon him in 1198, 1215 and 1225.[191] Expenditure of this magnitude could not have been met out of current income. If one accepts the chronology proposed above, most of these costs were incurred at the very time Walter enjoyed a close relationship with Hamo and the Jewish community at Hereford. It is interesting to note that of the expenditure of Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, on the royal castle at Dover in 1220-21, £604 was met by a loan from the Jew, Isaac of Norwich.[192]

Longtown Castle has been held to be a late 12th-century structure. This ascription was based on the character of the beaded rosettes or roundels, late Romanesque in style, carved on the dressed stone voussoirs of one of the ground-floor windows.[193] By demonstrating that these are 're-used pieces', Richard Hartley has shown that the building was constructed 'after 1200'.[194] This round keep must be the work of Walter de Lacy unless, which is most unlikely, it was built by John fitz Geoffrey after he acquired Ewias Lacy in 1234.[195]

Should it be assigned to the period before de Lacy went into exile for the second time, in 1209, or to that after his return in 1213? For most of the earlier period he was fully engaged in the affairs of his Irish lordship; on his return, however, he regained Ludlow Castle and fully re-established himself in the southern march. From August 1215 to November 1223 his principal responsibility, as sheriff of Herefordshire, was to secure the county against Welsh attack. Longtown was not only the centre of his exposed Ewias lordship but, situated where the Monnow, Olchon and Escley valleys come together under the brow of the Black Mountains, it was of vital strategic importance for the whole shire. The foundation of Craswall a few miles up the Monnow from Longtown further emphasises Walter's interests in the area at this time. In November 1223 he lost the shrievalty and the next year the revolt of his men of Meath forced his return to Ireland. These events point to the latest date for the commencement of the works at Longtown being 1223. This castle, with those at Hay, Monmouth, St. Briavels and Abergavenny, was at the centre of royal operations against Richard Marshal and Llewelyn in 1233 and was visited by Henry III on his journey from Hay to Abergavenny in the first days of September.[196]

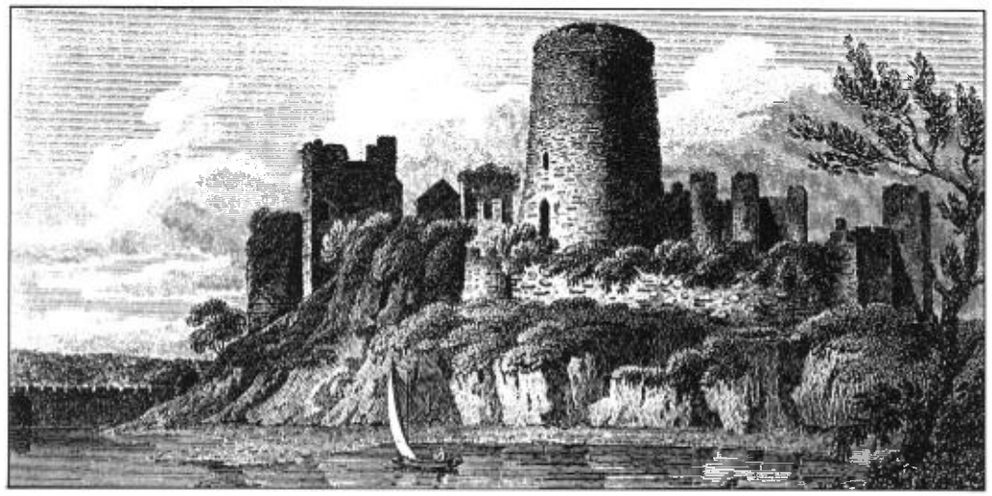


FIG. 13
Pembroke Castle from the north. In the centre is William Marshal the elder's great round keep or *donjon*, built soon after his marriage in 1189 to Isabella, heiress of Strongbow, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke. It guarded the short sea-crossing to Ireland. On left part of the, later, town wall

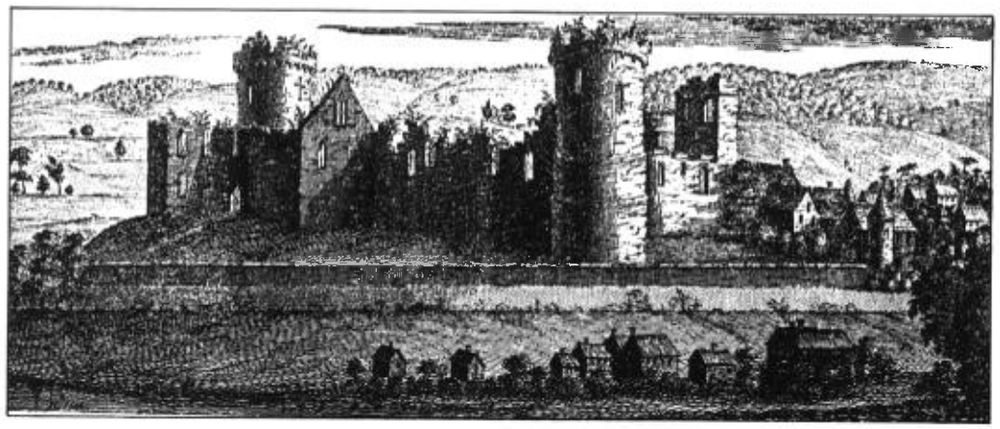


FIG. 14
Usk Castle from the west, S. & N. Buck, 1732. In centre/right is William Marshal the elder's Garrison Tower, believed to have been built between 1212 and 1219. On the right the town clusters around its market place by the eastern gate of the castle

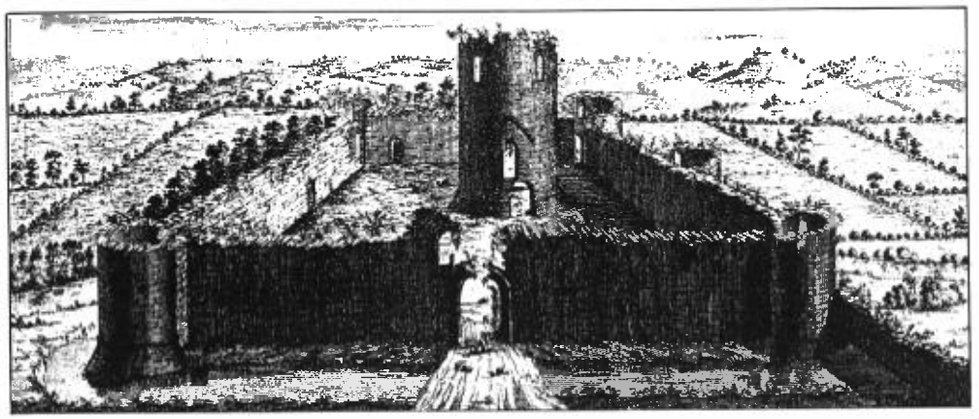


FIG. 15
Skenfrith Castle from the north, S. & N. Buck, 1732. Within the walls of the bailey Hubert de Burgh's round tower, erected 'most probably between 1219 and 1232, the last four years ... being the most likely'. Compare with plan (Fig. 17)

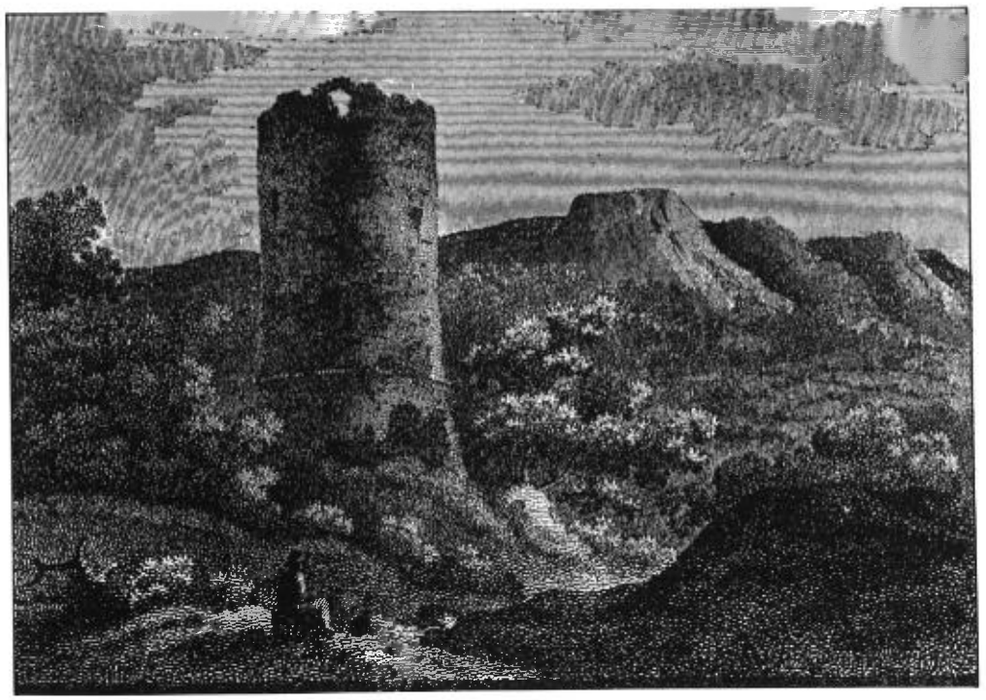


FIG. 16
Bronllys round keep, from Theophilus Jones, *History of the county of Brecknock* (1859). Built by Walter III de Clifford ? In design of wall stairs and use of roll and moulded stringcourses it is very similar to Tretower, 1233-45

However, if one accepts these dates for Longtown, the great rectangular keep at Trim, at least in its design and early building stages, must pre-date Walter's second period of exile. The last major British example of its type, it represents the end of a tradition a century and a half old. Longtown belongs to a different world—a world to which the later works at Trim, the perimeter defences with their D-shaped towers, dated by Leask as 'about 1220', also belong.

What is the relationship of Longtown to the other round keeps of Wales and the southern march? Inspired by French examples, the great keep at Pembroke was the first of those circular towers or *donjons* that were to characterise castle-building in the early years of the reign of Henry III. It was the work of William Marshal the elder, constructed soon after his marriage in 1189 to Isabella, heiress of Strongbow, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke and conqueror of Leinster. Because its purpose was to guard the short sea crossing between Wales and Ireland, so vital to the Anglo-Norman lords, Walter de Lacy must have been well acquainted with it. The Garrison Tower at Usk is held to have also been the work of William Marshal and to have been built between 1212 and 1219.[197]

Longtown belongs to the second generation of round keeps, as do Caldicot and Skenfrith, the latter being the work of Hubert de Burgh 1219-32. They are characterised by semi-circular projections or buttresses, of which Skenfrith and Caldicot each has one whilst Longtown has three. (PL. XX). One of these buttresses was used at Longtown, and at Skenfrith, to accommodate a spiral staircase.[198] Longtown was copied by at least one of de Lacy's tenants. At Lyonshall, where they held a knight's fee of the de Lacy honour of Weobley, a member of the d'Ebroicis family, possibly Stephen, a firm supporter of king John and a benefactor of Kings Pyon, later Wormsley, Priory, rebuilt their castle on this circular plan. The remains of the keep, which stand about five feet above ground level on a low platform, show that in external diameter, 37 feet, it was much smaller than Longtown which, at 45 feet, in no way rivalled Pembroke's 53 feet. A construction date of about 1227, when Stephen d'Ebroicis was granted a 'weekly market on Friday at the manor of Lenhal and a yearly fair there on the vigil, feast and morrow of SS Simon and Jude' (28 October), would fit well in the chronology proposed above for Longtown. The northern, outer, enclosure at Lyonshall, still marked off to east and west by a wet moat, may well have been the market area and is in some ways parallel to the village enclosure lying to the south of the bailey at Longtown. Stephen was also one of Hamo's clients. In the Fine Rolls for 1245 there is a reference to money 'due from Walter d'Ebroicis' on his father's debt to Hamo.[199]

Little more can be said about Walter de Lacy's English castle-building. Although Ludlow, which was in king John's hands for most of his reign, was much more formidable in terms of structure and site, Weobley remained, at least in name, the head of the honour. Nothing can now be seen above ground of the structure of Weobley Castle but Leland, in the reign of Henry VIII, described it as 'a fayr castel of my Lord Ferrars', but 'somewhat in decay'.[200] Fortunately, there is an early, if somewhat diagrammatic plan, obtained by Silas Taylor in 1655, which shows a keep with round corner

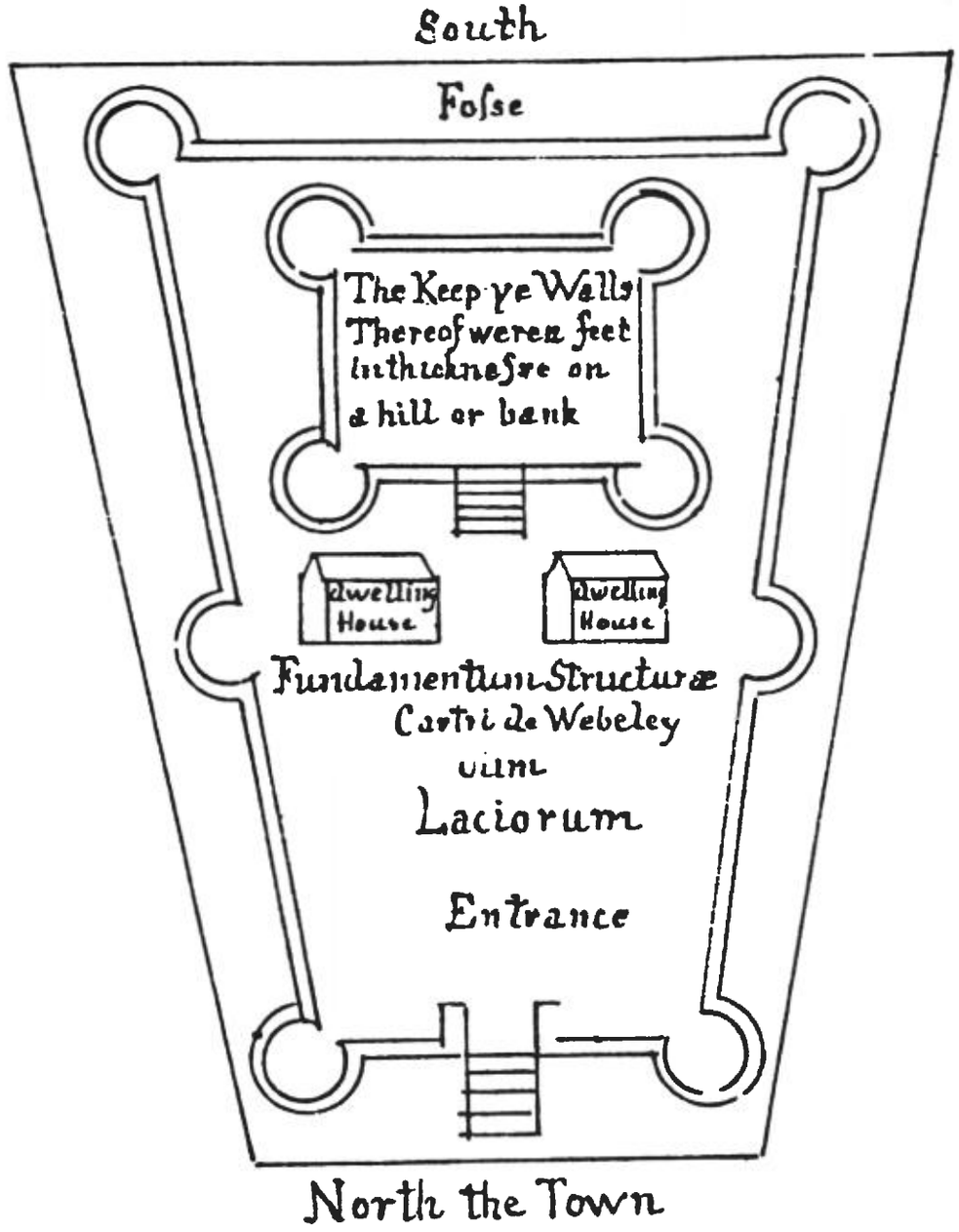


FIG. 17
Plan of Weobley Castle, Silas Taylor, 1655 based on BL. MS. Harley 6726 f.209

towers, surrounded by a curtain wall with round towers at its four corners and two D-shaped towers in the middle of the eastern and western perimeter wall (FIG. 17).[201] These round towers, it has been suggested, 'seem to indicate that the former masonry castle was of the 13th century'.[202] One doubts that the Irish political interests of the de Verdons, Walter's successors at Weobley, would have been served by such a building programme. Certainly Weobley's perimeter defences were similar to those of Skenfrith (FIG. 15) and Trim. At Ludlow the only major work of the 13th century is the semi-circular Mortimer's tower which overlooks the Teme at the south-western extremity of the outer bailey. Of Castle Frome less can be said. The first documented use of the term 'Castle' at this site is in 1249, since when it has remained in regular use.[203]

To summarise, in addition to his works at Trim Walter de Lacy had to finance the construction of the round keep at Longtown as well as works at his other marcher castles, to bring them up to the new standards now required in the light of continental experience. All this was at a time when finance was readily available from the Jewish community at Hereford.

De Lacy expenditure: litigation

Royal fines and the cost of castle building were the main items of extraordinary expenditure that Walter de Lacy had to meet but there were others, for which it is difficult to provide a satisfactory estimate, of which litigation is the most notable. One example must suffice.

This was a six-year legal confrontation. It involved a series of expensive appeals to Rome, between Margaret and Walter de Lacy and the powerful Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, over the affiliation of the nunnery founded by Margaret at Aconbury on the land given to her by king John. The original charter of 1216 spoke of 'three carucates of land in our forest of Aconbury'. Two years later John Marshal, nephew of the regent, chief justice of the forests, (and one of the creditors of Hamo's family in the 1244 list), was commanded 'to take ... the sheriffs of Hereford and Gloucester and 12 prudent knights of the county of Gloucester and in the faith which you hold us, assess reasonably for Margaret wife of Walter de Lacy, three carucates of land in Aconbury, that is to say a carucate of six times 20 acres, by our perch of 24 feet'.[204]

The council's instructions betoken a healthy concern about the conflict of interests experienced by the sheriff of Hereford, one of their number. Not only was his wife the beneficiary, but he was the lord of the adjacent manor—Holme Lacy. The Gloucestershire contingent was despatched to ensure impartiality and a postscript was added to the instructions to the chief justice of the forests. He was to 'guard carefully the land remaining and enquire diligently about any deforestation' which had already taken place. Nevertheless, a later charter of Henry III confirms to the nuns 'all of the forest of Aconbury except Athelstan's wood', an area immediately to the east of Little Birch (FIG. 18).[205]

It was a number of years before the nuns were installed. Without consulting her husband or her diocesan, Margaret seems to have left much of the business in the hands

FIG. 18
Aconbury Priory and the manor of Holme Lacy, A. Bryant, 1832-4. The priory was situated just off what was then the road from Hereford south to Ross by way of Little Dewchurch and Hoarwithy. The road is marked by a broken line. The manor of Holme Lacy and later the priory lands were carved from the natural woodlands to the south-east of the city. Much of this, including Athelstan's wood, has been converted to conifer plantation in recent years. According to Robinson, *Mansions of Herefordshire* (1872), 139, Holme Lacy house stands 'as tradition asserts' upon the site originally occupied by Walter de Lacy's manor house granted, by his second charter, to the monks of Craswall

of the Knights Hospitallers, probably in the person of the preceptor of the commandery at Dinmore. When she brought some women to the house, now completed, they were professed and clothed by the Hospitallers. Margaret, 'in her simplicity' as she later wrote to the pope, believed that, according to her wish, they professed the Augustinian rule, for this was the rule they observed in their divine service. However, in April 1233, she learned to her horror that they were Hospitallers and as such 'they were bound to go to other places and cross the seas and that her purpose would be frustrated'. She appealed directly to the pope who empowered the nuns to leave the Hospitallers and live by the Augustinian rule.

The Hospitallers, quickly roused to action, pointed out that anyone who had taken the cross was prohibited from joining another order. Margaret appealed to Rome a second time. As a compromise, it was suggested that the older women be left at Aconbury, 'to take care of the poor and sick of the hospital', whilst the remainder were to be placed in other, presumably Augustinian, houses. Again the Hospitallers' response was rapid; they obtained papal letters empowering the prior of St. Albans to judge the matter. Margaret de Lacy answered by refusing to travel outside the diocese in pursuit of her cause. As a result the prior proposed to fine her £630 for contumacy and to place the nunnery in the possession of the Hospitallers. Further appeals to Rome in 1234 led to the case being re-opened before the bishop of Coventry, by which time Margaret had decided that she had better seek the assistance of her husband. Even so, the conflict continued.

In 1236 Walter and Margaret appealed jointly to Rome in their efforts to reverse the decision about the convent at Aconbury, 'about which there has been much litigation for four years and an expenditure of 600 marks'. The bishop of St. Asaphs, the abbot of Dore and the penitentiary of Hereford were appointed in April 'to revoke what had been done ... to relax any sentences of excommunication, collect all papal letters obtained on either side and remit the matter to the pope ordering the parties to appear personally or by proctors to receive sentence'. Walter de Lacy must have exercised considerable pressure at Rome for this cut right across the Hospitallers' right to freedom from attendance at any court which was more than two days' journey from their English headquarters at Clerkenwell Priory.

The conflict had a serious impact on the nunnery: for six years the election of a prioress had been postponed; the nuns were now divided into two factions; and the Hospitaller priest appointed to hear confessions and minister the sacraments was accused of 'ill conduct'. Only in August 1237 was the matter finally resolved—in favour of the de Lacys—when the papal legate received instructions from Rome 'to free the sisters of the monastery of Cornbury ... from the observation of the order of the Hospitallers and to allow them to profess the rule of St. Augustine, the Hospitallers having for five years put difficulties in the way of their doing this'. Walter's efforts at Rome had eventually enabled Margaret to have her way, but the cost of her 'simplicity' was far in excess of the 600 marks referred to in the appeal eighteen months earlier. The Hospitallers, with their international organisation and their powerful connections in Rome, were formidable opponents.[206]

Pressure from Jewish creditors

Some years before this costly victory, de Lacy faced a severe financial crisis. During the minority and the years immediately following, he had successfully reduced or postponed payment of the annual sums due to the exchequer. By 1232 circumstances had changed; Henry III's own dire need for cash meant a far stricter regime for all who owed him money, but especially for the Jews. De Lacy was thus subjected to persistent pressure from his Jewish creditors, principally Ursell of Hereford and his brothers, and David of Oxford, who were being squeezed by the king.

Royal pressure on Walter's Jewish creditors took a number of forms. Tallages on the Jews increased steeply after 1232. More particularly, after Hamo's death, his family was hard pressed to meet the terms of the relief imposed by the king; 1,000 of the 6,000 marks had to be paid immediately; the remainder at the rate of 300 marks each year. That was not all. A number of substantial debts due to the family were pardoned by paper adjustments of the total due to the crown.[207] Thus Ursell, obliged to exert whatever pressure he could on the de Lacys, his major clients, brought a number of actions in the courts to obtain either repayment of these loans or the right to distrain the lands on which they had been secured.

As a result of this breach with Hamo's family, Walter was forced to look for financial assistance elsewhere. In August 1234, he made William de Lucy of Charlecote, in Warwickshire, steward of his English lands and constable of Ludlow Castle. It was to this newly-appointed steward that Walter turned for assistance. William de Lucy agreed to redeem all his Jewish debts—except the two largest, those due to Hamo's heirs and David of Oxford to whom about £1,000 was owing. William's loan, which amounted to £322, was to be paid at the rate of £80 *per annum*. In case of default Walter bound himself and his heirs 'to abide by such ecclesiastical censure and ... penance ... as the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Salisbury and Bath should impose on them that were debtors to those signed with the cross, the said William de Lucy being so signed'. There was no reference to interest in the agreement but this was evidently, a straightforward moneylending transaction, for William de Lucy had been involved in such activity as early as 1228.[208]

The cash placed at de Lacy's disposal came from a fortune acquired in the royal service which William had inherited from his brother, Stephen, in 1230. Amongst other offices, Stephen de Lucy had, from 1227 to 1228, held in custody the see of Durham, one of the richest in the country, and with it the castle and county palatine. From this and other sources Stephen built up, in Sir William Dugdale's phrase, 'a great personal estate' of which his brother soon became the principal beneficiary.[209]

Family problems

Walter was also bedevilled by family problems. He had had three children by Margaret de Braose, whom he had married in 1200. His only son, Gilbert, was one of the hostages demanded by John after Walter's return from his second period of exile in 1213. On attaining his majority, Gilbert was granted his father's Herefordshire lands. This must have been by 1228, for in that year there is a release to Gilbert of the lands

of Stephen Devereux (d'Ebroicis) that were part of his fee. He married Isabel, daughter of Hugh Bigod and Matilda Marshal. A number of Gilbert's charters relating to his Herefordshire lands are to be found in the dean and chapter records. In September 1228, along with such other local dignitaries as John de Balun and Walter Baskerville, he was summoned to New Montgomery for service under the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, in the disastrous Kerry campaign. By this time Gilbert was himself in debt to the Jews, for eighteen months later, in May 1230, the king pardoned the interest on these debts whilst he was on the royal service in France. Apparently it was there that he died, for in December Walter was given possession of 'all the lands of his son, now dead, which were of his grant'.[210]

This was a double blow. Walter lost both his only son, whom he was evidently grooming to take care of the family's English lands, and the old Lacy honour of Ewias (Longtown), which had been granted as a dower to Isabel Bigod on her marriage to Gilbert. Isabel subsequently married John fitz Geoffrey, a man high in Henry III's favour and justiciar of Ireland 1245-56, and in 1234 their claim to Ewias Lacy was upheld.[211]

This was not all. Gilbert left three children, two daughters and a son, Walter. In 1238 this young boy was formally recognised by Walter as his heir, but he died before his grandfather. Thus, on the latter's death in 1241, the estates passed out of de Lacy hands when they were divided between his two granddaughters, Matilda and Margaret, married respectively to Peter de Geneva and John de Verdun.[212]

The death of his son, Gilbert, in 1230 obliged Walter to call upon the services of the de Lacys at Cressage in Shropshire, his kinsmen but rather shadowy figures. Gilbert de Lacy II of Cressage is the Gilbert of (Castle) Frome of the 1244 list (Table 8, No. 45) and it is only through his relationship with Walter that his enormous loan of £600 can be explained for these de Lacys were only minor landowners. According to Eyton, Gilbert II was the grandson of Hugh II de Lacy's brother, Almaric. With only one knight's fee held of the Lacy honour of Weobley at Frome and a small estate at Cressage and Harnage, it would have been impossible for him to find adequate guarantees for a loan of such magnitude without the support of someone of the status of Walter de Lacy.[213] Apart from a note, indicating some sort of fortification, in the Balliol Domesday, the first reference to a castle at Frome is in 1242-3 and this may well have been the fruit of their association. Subsequent references to the castle are to be found in 1249, 1268 and 1271. In 1291 it was, briefly, *From' Castelli Regis,* by which date the title had become firmly established.[214]

Some of Gilbert of Frome's 1244 debt of £600 was inherited from his father, Gilbert of Cressage, for on the latter's death in 1233 his lands were in mortgage to Ursell for money borrowed from Hamo. In 1234 Ursell brought proceedings to distrain some of Gilbert of Frome's lands for these debts, but it was proved to the court's satisfaction that the Harnage estate had been 'given' to the abbot and monks of the neighbouring Cistercian abbey at Buildwas. As the building campaign of this small house had been completed by 1200 it had money available for such investments from the profits of its wool trade. At the personal request of the archbishop of Canterbury Henry III inter

vened in these proceedings and ordered Ursell to leave the abbot in peaceful possession of Harnage, which was declared to be 'free in perpetuity of mortgage for the said debt'. The 'gift' of Harnage to Buildwas represented an unredeemed mortgage raised by Gilbert of Cressage with the monks, who had thus augmented their estates with adjacent lands.

The monks' interest in Harnage may well have related to its quarries, an important source of stone roofing slate. Their earliest documented use is at Harley in 1367 but they were found in archaeological contexts at Pride Hill and Castle Gates, Shrewsbury. In the 16th century they were used at the Grammar School, the Drapers' Hall and other major buildings in that town. The monks were also granted 'free passage through his (Gilbert's) land ... to the Severn to wash their sheep, in going, returning, and pasturing them, until the washing be completed'.[215]

In 1253 another such transaction came to light when the abbot of Buildwas appeared with a claim upon Cressage itself—no doubt a further mortgage, this time raised by Gilbert of Frome. When the latter died in 1249, the inheritance of his son, Adam, was still deeply encumbered by debts to Hamo's heirs. Adam was the ward of Walter de Lacy's granddaughter, Matilda, and she persuaded Henry III that Moses should receive neither principal nor interest until Adam came of age.[216] Such were the difficulties that beset Hamo's heirs in their attempts to secure the return of money lent to the de Lacys.

Alienation of Land: Holme Lacy, Stanton Lacy, lands in the Forest of Dean.

Walter's financial difficulties became so acute that, on a number of occasions, he was forced into the sale of some of his English estates. This was evidently an option considered as early as 1200 for, as part of the marriage contract to Margaret de Braose he had to promise not to 'give, sell or mortgage' any of his lands without his father-in-law's consent.[217] De Braose's death in 1211 released Walter from his covenant and by the reign of Henry III he was divesting himself of lands in the southern march by all three means. This can be seen most clearly at Holme Lacy but at least two of those who obtained control of Lacy lands there also acquired Lacy assets elsewhere—estates at Weobley, Stanton Lacy, Aylburton and Hewelsfield, a fulling mill at Ludlow and an itinerant forge in the Forest of Dean.

The principal elements in the strange story of the manor of Holme Lacy between 1066 and 1256 were established by H. M. Colvin thirty-five years ago. *Hamme,* as it was then called, was one of those Herefordshire episcopal estates which, in the words of the Domesday scribe, had been 'unjustly held' by king Harold. After the conquest *Hamme,* with other manors, was returned to the see for 'the sustenance of the canons'. It is, therefore, ironic that, not long after, the bishops should have allowed it to pass from their hands once again. The de Lacys managed, by the exercise of aristocratic pressure, to establish their rights in the manor which thus became Holme Lacy. Yet early in the 13th century Walter de Lacy was granting it away, in parcels of varying size, to a number of different parties. Even stranger, these were subsequently 'prevailed upon' by bishops Ralph Maidstone (1234-39) and Peter Aquablanca (1240-68) to part

with the lands. The two bishops were thus able to 'undo the work of their predecessors' and once more the manor was restored 'to those for whose support it had originally been reserved'.[218]

The break-up of the manor had already begun before de Lacy granted '202 acres of land in my wood of Hamme' to Craswall Priory. His charter, usually held to have been granted about 1225 but probably earlier, describes this gift as 'all the land which extends in length from *Ferneleg* to *le Ebroc* by the road which is called Ridgeway and in breadth from the Ridgeway to *Hathinehale*, by the one side the land of Peter Undergod, and from the lands of the nuns of Aconbury to the land of the lord William fitz Warin just as the great highway divides the said lands ...'.[219] Peter Undergod and William fitz Warin were therefore established on de Lacy lands before that date.

Although they came from very different social backgrounds, both were close to the de Lacy family and both founded hospitals locally, Undergod at Ludlow and fitz Warin at Hereford. Their inspiration was, no doubt, Margaret de Lacy's foundation at Aconbury which had the care of the poor and the sick as its primary function, although it later became for the most part a finishing school for the daughters of the local aristocracy. Strangely neither Undergod nor fitz Warin chose to use their lands at Holme Lacy as part of the endowment of their respective institutions. It is almost as if they anticipated the difficulties the monks of Craswall and others were to experience at the hands of Walter's Jewish creditors.

Peter Undergod ended his days as warden of the hospital he had founded 'at my own cost near the bridge over the river Teme at Ludlow, in honour of the Holy Trinity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist'.[220] He was, however, of very humble origins. He had made a fortune as a merchant at Ludlow, but lacked the right in law, basic to all burgesses, to make a will and devise his property as he wished, a right which, as a bondsman, he had to purchase by a special licence from his lord, Walter de Lacy.[221] Some of the endowments of St. John's Hospital were purchased from the de Lacys. The foundation charter refers to 'all my fulling mill with watercourse, with all the suits of all men of Ludlow who have cloth to full ... with all liberties and easements pertaining to the said mill in ways, roads, waters and pools in all places within the town of Ludlow ... which I bought of Gilbert, son of Walter de Lacy'.

The Hundred Rolls refer to eight virgates of land at Akes, now Rock in Stanton Lacy, as being 'of the eleemosynary grant of Walter de Lacy' which Eyton tersely describes as 'not quite the whole truth'.[222] As there is no reference to such a gift of land from Walter de Lacy in the foundation charter, these eight virgates must have come into the hospital's possession subsequently. At the foundation, Peter Undergod certainly had given some land he had bought in Akes to the hospital, but the amount is not specified. Was this rounded off by the acquisition from Gilbert or Walter de Lacy of further land there? In 1246 Hamo's son, Moses, tried to distrain certain of the hospital's lands for debts due from Walter de Lacy's heirs but the action was barred by the sheriff of Shropshire on the king's instructions.[223] Was this, one wonders, another of those apparent benefactions which were in reality transfers of land made under

pressure of debt? Certainly Undergod established himself on Lacy lands elsewhere for his name is associated with that of Gilbert de Lacy in a dispute with Nicholas le Petit over a carucate of land at Weobley.[224]

William fitz Warin appears in the 1244 list of the clients of Hamo's family (Part 1, Table 8, No. 41). His career will be looked at later, but his acquisitions from Walter de Lacy must be examined now. Fitz Warin's original intention is explained in one of his charters 'unexpectedly met with' by Matthew Gibson whilst 'searching after the Antiquities of this Parish' and published by him in 1727 in one of the appendices to his *View of the Ancient and Present State of the Churches of Door, Holme Lacy and Hempsted*. In that charter fitz Warin granted, 'for the safety of his soul and that of his wife, Agnes,' all his land with the wood at Holme Lacy to establish there a Premonstratensian abbey dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. A second charter referred to by Gibson describes endowments including 'the whole Manor of *Albriston* and *Huldesfeld*, with all the Rents, Homages and Services appertaining to the said Manour', which he 'and his Heirs would warrant and defend to the said abbot and convent against all men and women for evermore'.[225]

By 1224-5 fitz Warin had abandoned these plans. Instead he had begun to build a hospital at Hereford, for the Charter Rolls show that in that year he received five oaks from the nearby forest of Trivel as a royal gift to help him in his pious works. The dedication was to remain the same. Fitz Warin's foundation was for lepers whilst Undergod's was for the poor and aged but there was a notable similarity in terms of site. Both were in towns by important bridging points on the vital route along the Welsh march from Chepstow to Chester. A royal charter confirming fitz Warin's gifts to St. Thomas' Hospital, Hereford, indicates that it lay 'between the land of Alexander the Lorimer and the Waye' (river Wye) on land 'purchased from Hugh, son of Ailmund'. This riverside site was south of Wye Bridge in St. Martin's parish for a deodand of 1221 refers to 'the lepers across the Wye'. Further references to the site occur in 1320 in the will of John de Aquablanca, dean of Hereford, who left 12d. each to 'the lepers across the Wye and towards Yezeyne' and in 1338 in the legacy of Thomas de la Barre, citizen of Hereford, 'to the houses of the sick beyond the Wye and on Yene'. The land immediately upstream of Wye Bridge is liable to serious flooding so fitz Warin's leper hospital must have been on the other side of the road, not far from where the Saracen's Head now stands.[226]

The principal endowment of the leper house was what the Charter Rolls call the manor of *'Ailbricton* and *Huwaldesfeld'*, the lands mentioned in Gibson's second charter. It has been assumed that it lay in Herefordshire, but the estates in question are in fact Aylburton and Hewelsfield then within the bounds of the Forest of Dean. A chapel had been established at Hewelsfield by 1158-9 and another at Aylburton, not long after. They are recorded as a de Lacy manor in the Pipe Rolls for 1166-7 and 1175-6 but subsequently came into the hands of William fitz Warin and Philip de Colevill, de Lacy's steward before the appointment of de Lucy in 1234. The value of these vills was in part related to the working of iron, for they were not deforested until 1298, and then only temporarily. When the council of regency tried in 1217 to control

the activity of private forges in Dean because of the devastating effect they had on the woodland the first exception they made, in 1219, was 'the itinerant forge' which William fitz Warin 'had of Walter de Lacy'. By this date, therefore, Walter de Lacy had already divested himself of assets in the Forest.[227]

The other endowments of St. Thomas' Hospital were not of de Lacy origin. Marden Mill, granted by fitz Warin in frankalmoin to 'the hospital by the bridge of Wye in Hereford saving 2s payable to the king at Michaelmas' had been given to him by king John. A piece of land at Eign Gate, Hereford, came from Henry III. On this fitz Warin built a mill to serve the hospital and the poor of the neighbourhood 'above the water which is called Senewell'. The sheriff and a jury of citizens were to ensure that fitz Warin and the prior of the hospital gave adequate guarantees to make good any damage that their works might cause to the adjacent town wall.[228]

The land with the wood at *Hamme* acquired by fitz Warin from de Lacy and originally intended for the proposed Holme Lacy abbey was granted not to his hospital by Wye Bridge but to the Premonstratensian canons of Lavendon. This was an abbey only a short distance from fitz Warin's manor house at Ravenstone in Buckinghamshire. The land was returned to the cathedral under strange circumstances. Fitz Warin died about 1237. Amicia, his granddaughter and heiress, had married William de Lucy the younger, son of Walter de Lacy's steward. The Lucys, father and son, came to an agreement with Bishop Aquablanca whereby if they could 'by exchange or any other means deliver the land of Holme Lacy, which was William fitz Warin's, from the abbot and convent of Lavendon', it would be given to the cathedral in free alms. The deed recording the transfer of land from Lavendon to the see of Hereford for £100 is countersigned by two of the Justices of the Exchequer of the Jews, a sure indication that the transfer was part of a settlement of Jewish debts. Whose debts it is not clear, possibly those of de Lucy the younger, as the heir of William fitz Warin. Moses' loan, due for repayment in 1233-4 had not been met but, according to the 1244 list, only £33-6-8 was outstanding on that account. There may, therefore, have been other loans, contracted by de Lucy the younger on his own account, for it is known that by 1260 he was deeply indebted to Elias le Blund of London; or the transaction might have been part of a complex deal undertaken by de Lucy the elder to placate some of the more insistent of Walter de Lacy's creditors.[229]

The largest transfer of land at Holme Lacy had been to the Grandmontine house at Craswall: firstly 204 acres of wood; all the demesne and the manor house somewhat later. Rose Graham has suggested that de Lacy founded the house about 1225. It may well have been founded earlier, between the peace made with Llewelyn in 1218 and de Lacy's loss of the shrievalty in 1223, because Walter was embroiled in Irish affairs after that date.[230] By 1233, despite a royal charter given only two years earlier confirming them in possession of all their lands, the Craswall brethren found themselves in serious difficulties with de Lacy's creditors, Ursell in particular, and had to resort to Henry III for relief. In January 1234, the king granted that 'they shall not be destrained for their lands at Holme Lacy which they have of the gift of Walter de Lacy on account of any of the debts of the said Walter owed to the Jewry, but if necessary he shall be destrained by other of his lands'.[231]

Ursell never got full satisfaction. After his death and that of Walter de Lacy, his brother Moses had to meet part, at least, of the fine of £3,000 to inherit the family estate or, as the crown described it, 'the debts of Hamo'. This led to further pressure on the corrector and brethren at Craswall and in 1242 Henry had to intervene yet again on their behalf. He repeated his earlier prohibition and, to prevent any further difficulties, ordered that it be now enrolled by the Justices of the Jews.[232] The long history of action against the Holme Lacy estates of the Craswall monks suggests very strongly that, although 'given' to Craswall, they had been used as security for the large loans Walter had negotiated with Hamo. Undoubtedly it was this persistent harassment by de Lacy's creditors which persuaded Reginald, the corrector, to sell the priory's lands at Holme Lacy to Peter de Aquablanca in 1253 for 500 marks. Bishop Peter was well able to look after himself.[233]

The last years

All the evidence indicates that Hamo's death in 1231 created serious problems for de Lacy. The firm relationship of confidence built up between Hamo and Walter over more than a decade had now been lost. It would have taken time, even under the most favourable circumstances, for Ursell, young and inexperienced in dealing with such a powerful figure, to establish an effective working relationship but circumstances were far from favourable. Ursell had to find 1,000 marks of the vast 6,000 mark relief immediately and subsequent annual payments of 300 marks a year. In addition, he faced serious loss of income, occasioned by the royal practice of giving, not only pardons from interest, but also respite from repayment of the principal to those in the service of the crown at home and abroad. Worse, he had to cope with the pardoning of the debts themselves, such as the 1,000 marks owed by Walter de Clifford in 1233, which was justified by the expedient of deducting it from the 5,000 marks still due to the king. Indeed, the severity of Ursell's plight was recognised by the crown, for he was freed from liability for tallage until he had completed payment of the relief.[234]

Inevitably, the de Lacys felt the full consequences of Ursell's financial difficulties. In March 1232 'certain Jews' sought possession of one of the most valuable of Walter's English manors, Britford in Wiltshire, which in 1186-7 had yielded an annual income of £37-19-10. This action was frustrated when the king ordered the sheriff of the county to ensure that de Lacy had unimpeached possession of Britford. Indeed, eleven months earlier in April 1231, it had already been used as security when Walter borrowed money from the London merchant, Richard fitz John. This was to be repaid in Irish wool, twelve sacks according to Irish weight, to be delivered to fitz John's messenger at the port of Drogheda before the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, 24 June. Whilst Walter was responsible for the cost of transport to Bristol, risk of loss en route was to be born by fitz John. If the latter incurred any other cost or expense through Walter's neglect he could retain the manor until he got full satisfaction. Fitz John sought additional security, a clear indication of how low Walter's credit had fallen—his seneschal, Simon de Clifford, and one of his knights, Henry de Bradelye, had to bind themselves by affidavit as guarantors.[235]

Shortly afterwards Ursell, probably with royal assistance, managed to establish terms for the repayment of his money. Unfortunately for him, Walter was once more called away on the royal service to Ireland and used the occasion to persuade the king, whilst he was at Ledbury on 15 December 1233, that, though the terms should stand, the first repayment should be postponed to the following Whitsun and meanwhile the payment of interest should cease. Reference here is to the 1,000 marks (£666-13-4). As this debt appears in the 1244 list (Part 1, Table 8, No. 22), 'due 200 marks yearly, upon mortgage, the first term being Michaelmas, 1233' it is clear that Ursell never received a penny.[236]

Walter managed to satisfy his other Jewish creditors for the moment by his arrangement with William de Lucy of Charlecote appointed steward in 1234, but by 1238 he was being pursued again. In the spring of that year he had to send John the Butler, his groom (*vadlettus*) to the royal court at Marlborough to petition for the restoration of his manor of Weobley, which had been destrained by his creditors. A week or so later his bailiff, Adam de Kyuesac, was sent to the court, now at Gloucester for Easter, on a similar mission in relation to the manors of Ludlow and Stanton Lacy. There is no record of the final outcome of these cases, but the Close Rolls show that in 1240 he was again hard pressed by his creditors. When Aaron of York, very evidently impatient of repeated delay, brought an action in the royal courts on 22 September for the recovery of 140 marks due at Michaelmas from William de Lucy, as Walter's agent, the crown once again granted a postponement, but only until the meeting of the Exchequer of the Jews at Martinmas (11 November) 1240. By 19 December a further action had been brought, by Aaron, son of Abraham, Elias le Blund, Aaron le Blund and Samuel, his son, and Samuel l'Evesk, all of London, and David of Oxford. Henry III, whose patience was now exhausted, commanded the barons of the Exchequer to brook no further delay. Walter's possessions were to be destrained.[237]

By 1237 he had to face a much more formidable opponent than his Jewish creditors. Amongst the Miscellenea of the Exchequer are details of an action brought by Warin de Munchensi, described by Matthew Paris as one of 'the noblest and wisest barons of England and zealous defender of the peace and liberty of the realm', against Walter de Lacy and others for lands etc. in Shropshire, Herefordshire and elsewhere. The suit was complex and was pursued for at least five years. It is of great interest because Munchensi had evidently bought up a number of the gages Walter had given to his Jewish creditors and was now seeking to gain possession of those lands through the courts.

Amongst those who had to defend estates they had acquired from de Lacy were William fitz Warin (one carucate), Peter Undergod (one carucate), Walter de Lucy (the two carucates of the manor of Ludlow which had been granted him with the stewardship in 1234) and the prior of Craswall (three carucates and one mill, clearly the Holme Lacy lands). There are others. 'Walterkin' de Lacy was called as a witness by William de Fenes to warrant his father, Gilbert de Lacy's charter for one carucate in Downton, Stanton Lacy, now claimed by Munchensi. Another carucate was claimed from Henry

de Bradelye, one of Walter's knights. By 1238 Walter de Lacy had 'rendered' his castle of Ludlow and William de Lucy the two carucates of demesne land there to Munchensi. As in so many other cases, there is no record of the final outcome but it is known that de Lacy's granddaughters ultimately inherited both castle and demesne at Ludlow. Possibly settlement was achieved out of court, for Munchensi seems to have acquired a vast fortune by such means as this. According to Matthew Paris, he left 200,000 marks at his death in 1225.[238]

Walter's health had deteriorated since December 1237, when he had been unable to fulfil his responsibilities in Ireland owing to infirmity. Now he was blind. Within two months of his English lands being distrained, he was dead. As soon as the king heard the news, he ordered the sheriffs of Herefordshire and Shropshire to take possession of the dead man's lands to secure the crown's financial interests.[239] As we have seen, Henry III, ignoring de Lacy's signal loyalty to his father and himself in the dark days of 1216-7, was not prepared to forgo the 'great debts' which Walter owed him and it was many years before Walter's heirs secured their full inheritance.

The last words come from the chroniclers, for they present a contrast which sums up Walter de Lacy's career. The Englishman Matthew Paris tells us that, when Walter de Lacy died, he 'left only his wasted inheritance to his (grand)daughters' but to the annalist of Clonmacnoise, Walter was 'the bountifullest foreigner in steeds, attire and gold that ever came to Erin'.[240]

2. JOHN OF MONMOUTH

John of Monmouth was another member of that small circle of marcher lords who supported king John and his son when almost everyone else had deserted them.[241] In all but the Irish dimension, his career was curiously parallel to that of Walter de Lacy, to whom he was related. It is most probable that de Lacy's mother, Rose of Monmouth, was John's aunt—the daughter of his grandfather, Baderon of Monmouth, by his wife, Rohesia or Rose—not his grandmother as some have suggested (FIG. 5).[242] John was the ward of Walter's father-in-law, William de Braose, but had come of age by 1205, when his honour of Monmouth was assessed at 15 knights' fees. This relationship brought him under suspicion at the time of de Braose's revolt in 1208 when he had to hand over his young sons, John and Philip, as hostages for his good conduct. Three years later he purchased the king's goodwill at the considerable cost of 1,000 marks, six war horses and ten hunters, but the fine may well have been pardoned, for there is no reference to it in the Pipe Rolls in 1212, 1214 or 1218. The king stayed with John of Monmouth during his visits to the southern march in 1213 and 1214, yet some suspicion remained for he was still holding another son, William, as hostage in 1213.[243]

His loyalty was no more disinterested than that of de Lacy, the de Cliffords and Hugh de Mortimer, for when the baronial opposition allied with the Welsh, they had little option but to side with the king. He was part of the marcher force which went to the king's defence at Gloucester in April 1215. John of Monmouth and the de Cliffords were with the king on his ill-fated East Anglian campaign in 1216 and at his side when he died at Newark on 18 October. Monmouth, with William Marshal and Walter de

Lacy, was one of those men, named as executors by John in his will, 'without whose counsel, even in good health, he would do nothing'. These three with Walter and Roger de Clifford and Hugh de Mortimer, were among the few nobles present when John was buried, according to the terms of his will, 'in the church of the Blessed Virgin and St Wulfstan at Worcester' and with the same group at the coronation of his son in the abbey church of Gloucester on the 28th.[244]

For the next thirty-two years John of Monmouth served the crown with unswerving loyalty, playing a major role, as soldier and diplomat, in relations between Henry III and the Welsh princes. He helped to bring about the settlement with Llewelyn at Worcester in March 1218, negotiated with him again at Shrewsbury in 1226 and was appointed sheriff of Herefordshire in 1231. A humiliating defeat at the hands of the rebellious Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke, in 1233 did not unduly diminish royal confidence in him, for in 1238 he was commanded to 'provide for the sufficient defence of the march'. In 1241-2 he was appointed bailiff of South Wales with custody of Cardigan, Carmarthen and other castles and was one of those chosen to arbitrate in the dispute with Llewelyn's successor, David II. Subsequently he held the post of warden of the southern march. Until 1248, when he was succeeded by his son, John, he was fully occupied in its defence.[245]

An important element in John's power was the strategic position of the caput of his honour, the castle of Monmouth, at the confluence of the Monnow and the Wye. This he sought to strengthen. To the early rectangular keep, possibly begun by William fitz Osbern, the gatehouse and chapel, he added a circular keep. His model was William Marshal's Great Keep at Pembroke, which it must have rivalled, for as late as 1611 it was admiringly described by the antiquary John Speed, no mean authority in such matters, as 'a Tower of great height and strength'. John of Monmouth may well have embarked on his building campaign soon after he came into his inheritance, for the Pipe Rolls for Michaelmas 1207 record the payment of a fine by him *'pro mercato removendo'*, possibly a reference to the movement of the market place from the inner to the outer bailey, now Agincourt Square—in preparation for this work?[246]

The exact relationship of this keep to those erected by William Marshal, at Pembroke and Usk, and by Walter de Lacy at Longtown cannot now be established, for all trace has gone. During the Civil War, when the parliamentary forces seized the town, the castle was mined in numerous places by men from the Forest but it was only on 30 March 1647 that Col. Robert Kyrle 'gave orders for the slighting of the garrison' and 'townsmen and soldiers began to pull down the Round Tower of the Castle, and to demolish the works'. It resisted even these attempts, for it was only on 22 December that 'about twelve o'clock, the Tower in the Castle of Monmouth fell down, upon one side,' whilst the townsmen were at service.[247] Upon the site, and with materials from its ruin, the first duke of Beaufort built the present Castle House, completed in 1673. Thus the only evidence we now have of John of Monmouth's great work is John Speed's sketch in his plan of Monmouth of 1611. (FIG. 19).

His ambitions extended well beyond his lordship. Through his close links with king John from 1212, and with the council of regency after his death, he was able to

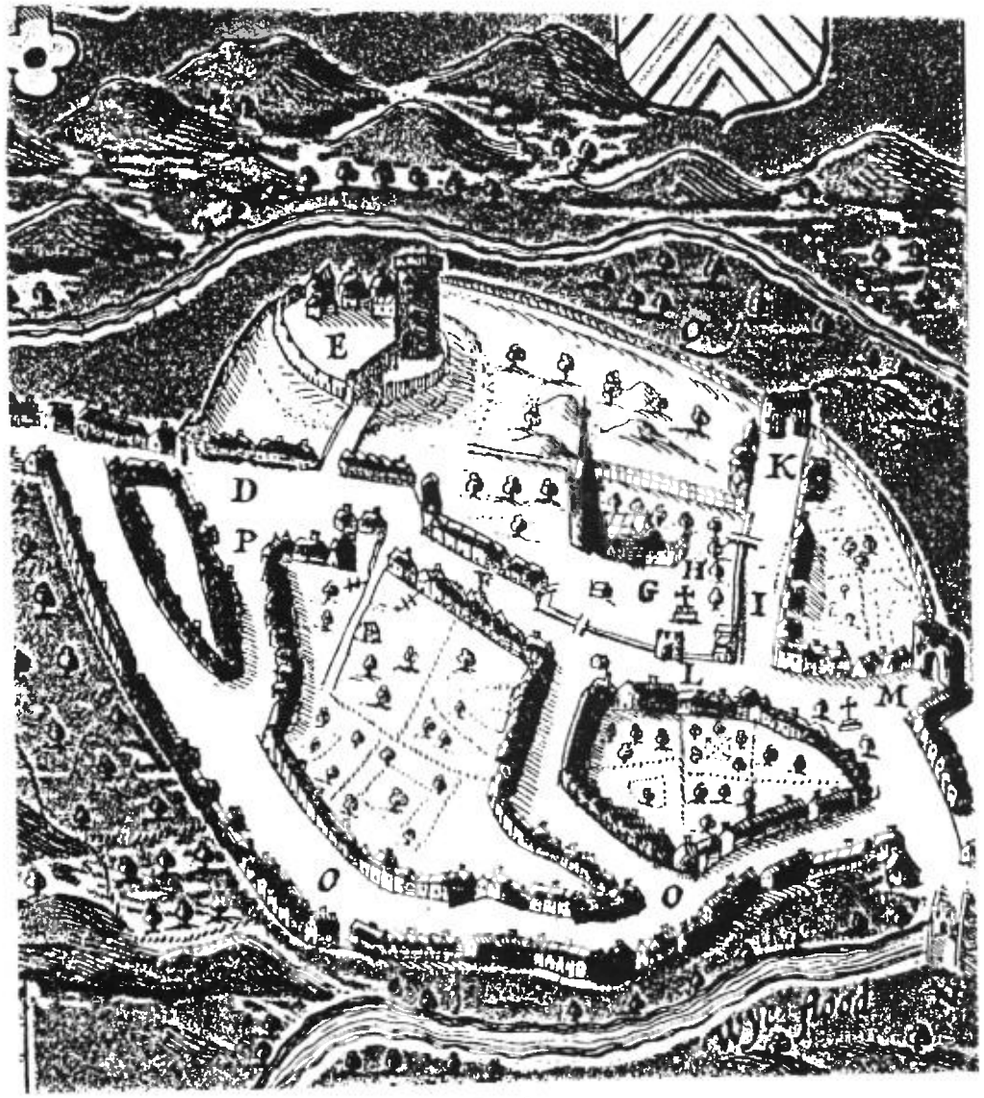


FIG. 19
Monmouth Castle from John Speed's plan of 1611, showing the great round keep built by John of Monmouth and destroyed in 1647. Castle House now stands on the site

establish himself to the east in the Forest of Dean and to the north-west in the lands beyond the Monnow valley, where the 'three castles of the justiciar', Skenfrith, Grosmont and White Castle, were held by Hubert de Burgh from 1219 to 1233. Further north and west lay the Lacy honour, Ewias, with its castle at Longtown; beyond, the honour of Clifford.

In 1215 John granted him permission 'to enclose a certain wood of his called *Hodenach* (Hadnock) to make a park ... which wood is in the forest (of Dean)' and appointed him constable of the castle of St. Briavels and forester, or warden, of Dean. These posts he held until January 1224 when, like Walter de Lacy in his office of sheriff of Hereford, he was replaced as part of Hubert de Burgh's policy of re-establishing the young king's authority in local government.[248]

In 1229 John of Monmouth approached Henry III about the purchase of the royal forest of Treville and was offered either what was described as 'the whole forest' for 9,000 marks or all but 900 *librates* of the land for 6,000 marks. This was merely a bargaining position on the part of the king, for in January 1230 he granted John 'all of the royal forest of Treville with all things pertaining ... quit in perpetuity of all waste, regard and view of foresters, verderers etc' and 'free of all suit of shire and hundred'. The price was 6,000 marks.[249]

In fact, John of Monmouth received only half the forest, for a survey of 1213 shows that the monks of Dore already held almost half of the total area of 2,013 acres. From Richard I they had bought 300 acres for 300 marks in 1198. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, the abbot had bribed a member of the court to support him in his allegation that the land was valueless and was a danger to surrounding villages as it provided a safe haven for robbers. The monks subsequently augmented their holding by gift and purchase. John, renowned for 'haunting woods and streams and greatly delighting in the pleasures of them', repossessed their land at Treville during the Interdict. In March 1211 and on his journeys between Hereford and Monmouth in November 1213 and December 1214 he stopped at Kilpeck to hunt in Treville forest but when he came to terms with the pope he had to return their lands to the monks. Dore's possessions in Treville are described in a charter of confirmation of 1227 as lying 'between the water called Dore and the Trivelbroc'.

What John of Monmouth purchased was therefore the remaining 1,000 acres of the former royal forest. Relations with the monks were not easy and ultimately the dispute over boundaries had to be settled by a perambulation ordered by the crown in 1251.[250]

Economic factors played an important part in John of Monmouth's decision to buy this land. Some ten years earlier Walter Map had completed his *Speculum Ecclesiae,* with its violent attacks on the life of the monks of Dore. These included the statement that the abbey got 'a splendid tract of fertile land as flat as a threshing floor with excellent timber, which, when cut down and sold in Hereford for building purposes, brought back the 300 marks more than three times over'. John of Monmouth's agreement with Henry III was for 6,000 marks and this was to be met by biennial payments, 500 marks at each Easter and Michaelmas exchequer until the sum was fully paid. Even

if we accept Giraldus' story as wholly true and take account of the inflationary forces at work since 1198, his investment, certainly in the short term, seems very doubtful. £666-13-4 a year, given the general level of baronial income, represented a massive drain on John's resources unless he could realise the assets of the forest quickly. Although he was given the right to assart, till, impark, and do what he will with the said forest, John did not meet these commitments. The 1230 Pipe Rolls show that in the first year he paid only £371-7-0, just over half what was due.[251] The outbreak of war with Llewelyn in 1231, for the moment, tempered the king's demands. First Chepstow Castle was committed to John of Monmouth's custody, and then in October the county and castle of Hereford. The fine was now dramatically reduced to a payment of 200 marks a year and on 1 October he was pardoned the Michaelmas instalment of 100 marks 'to sustain him in the royal service in the parts of Wales'.[252]

The relief provided by hostilities was very welcome, for John of Monmouth was already in debt. It was usual for loans to be repaid over a year and the 1244 list (Part 1, Table 8), showing loans of £30 and £35 from Ursell, due for repayment at Easter and Michaelmas 1231, indicate that he was borrowing immediately after his purchase of Treville. The next year there were further loans: £9 from Ursell and Manasser *Episcopus,* due for repayment on the feast of St. Ethelbert (2 May) 1232; £24 from Ursell, due at the feast of St. Bartholomew (24 August); and lastly £60 from Ursell, with repayment to be spread over four years, 'to wit, £15 yearly at two terms, Michaelmas and the Annunciation, beginning with Michaelmas 1232'. One further loan is recorded, five marks 'made on Tuesday before the feast of SS Simon and Jude (28 October)' 1233. This was two years after Hamo's death, when Ursell was struggling to readjust the family business to its new circumstances, and the large loans apparently made to Walter de Lacy and John the Marshal in that year almost certainly represent the recycling of earlier transactions. Thus John of Monmouth had to turn to the London money market and borrowed from Aaron, son of Abraham, one of the most substantial Jewish magnates of the day and one of the London representatives at the Worcester parliament, 1241.[253]

The winter of 1233-4 was disastrous for John of Monmouth. Richard Marshal, who had succeeded as third earl of Pembroke in 1231, fell foul of Henry III and his foreign mercenaries. In league with the Welsh, he attacked on the Usk and the Wye. With 'Owain ap Gruffydd he gathered a mighty host, attacked Monmouth and burned it and made a slaughter of the king's men who were there defending it' but did not take the castle. The land around was devastated 'so that the whole of the atmosphere in that part of the country was tainted by the number of dead foreigners who lay about in the roads and other places'. On John of Monmouth's return, he too was defeated by Richard Marshal, near Trelleck. Although he saved his life by flight, his lands were so harried that, according to Roger of Wendover, he was made 'a poor man and a beggar, instead of a rich man as he had been'. The small Cistercian abbey of Grace Dieu, which John of Monmouth had founded, 1217-26, on the banks of the Trothy, three and a half miles due west of Monmouth, was utterly destroyed by the Welsh who claimed that the land on which it stood was theirs. Despite these adversities John remained one of Henry

III's principal agents in the southern march and received considerable royal support in refounding Grace Dieu on a new site. John enjoyed the sweet taste of revenge in 1241 when Henry III granted him custody of the Marshal castles of Chepstow, Usk, Caerleon, Cardigan and Carmarthen on the death of Richard's brother and successor, Gilbert, the fourth earl.[254]

Three years later Henry III, lulled into a false sense of security by his easy victory over Llewelyn's successor, David II, in 1241, took almost a year to respond to David's attack of June 1244. John of Monmouth, from recruiting 2,000 Welshmen for the royal campaigns in Gascony, had to turn to the serious business of war. As warden, the defence of the southern march rested on his shoulders. In July 1244 the constable of St. Briavels had been ordered to provide him with 6,000 crossbow quarrels (about a quarter of St. Briavels' production in a good year) for the munitioning of the royal castles in his custody. Twelve months later 'war was (being) waged on both sides with ruthless severity'. John pressed his advantage and the Close Rolls show that in October 1245 Henry III ordered the Justices of the Exchequer of the Jews to pardon his debt of £160 to Moses, son of Hamo—clearly a reference to the five loans totalling £161-6-8 in the 1244 list.[255]

John died in 1248 and was buried in St. Mary's Priory Church at Monmouth (FIG. 20). He was succeeded by John II, his son by his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Walter Mucegros. A much lesser man than his father, John II suffered badly at the hands of Henry III on account of his father's debts. In 1253 there is an 'acknowledgement by Aaron, son of Abraham, in favour of John of Monmouth and his ancestors and heirs, of quittance as to him and his heirs and their sons of all debts etc from the creation of the world to Pentecost of that year', but this seems in fact to represent the tightening of the screw by the crown to establish control of the strategically important lordship of Monmouth. On 13 September 1256 John II granted 'to Edward the king's son and heir, the castle and honour of Monmouth and all his lands and tenements in fee simple'. In return for this lordship, valued at 15 knights' fees, he received 'a grant by Edward ... for his life (sic) of other lands in exchange'. These 'other lands' were at Langford and Grimstead (Wiltshire) and at Piddle Bardolfston (Dorset), valued in total at 1⅓ knights' fees![256]

The full nature of this transaction becomes clear when we read that 'on the day of his death' in 1257 'John of Monmouth, who sometimes held the honour (of Monmouth) was bound at the exchequer' for debts of over £1,777. Prince Edward had used these debts to the crown as a means of securing for himself the strategically important Monmouth lands. This was not an isolated incident. On other occasions Edward was to manipulate 'the fluidity in the land market' to the crown's advantage. In 1947 Powicke drew attention to 'a remarkable series of transactions, whose significance has not been fully realised,' illustrating 'Edward's awareness of contemporary tendencies and readiness to make use of them' when 'again and again ... as a landholder with capital to spare rather than as a king ... he came to the aid of an impoverished landowner and in return secured an immediate interest in his lands subject to a tenancy for life'.[257]

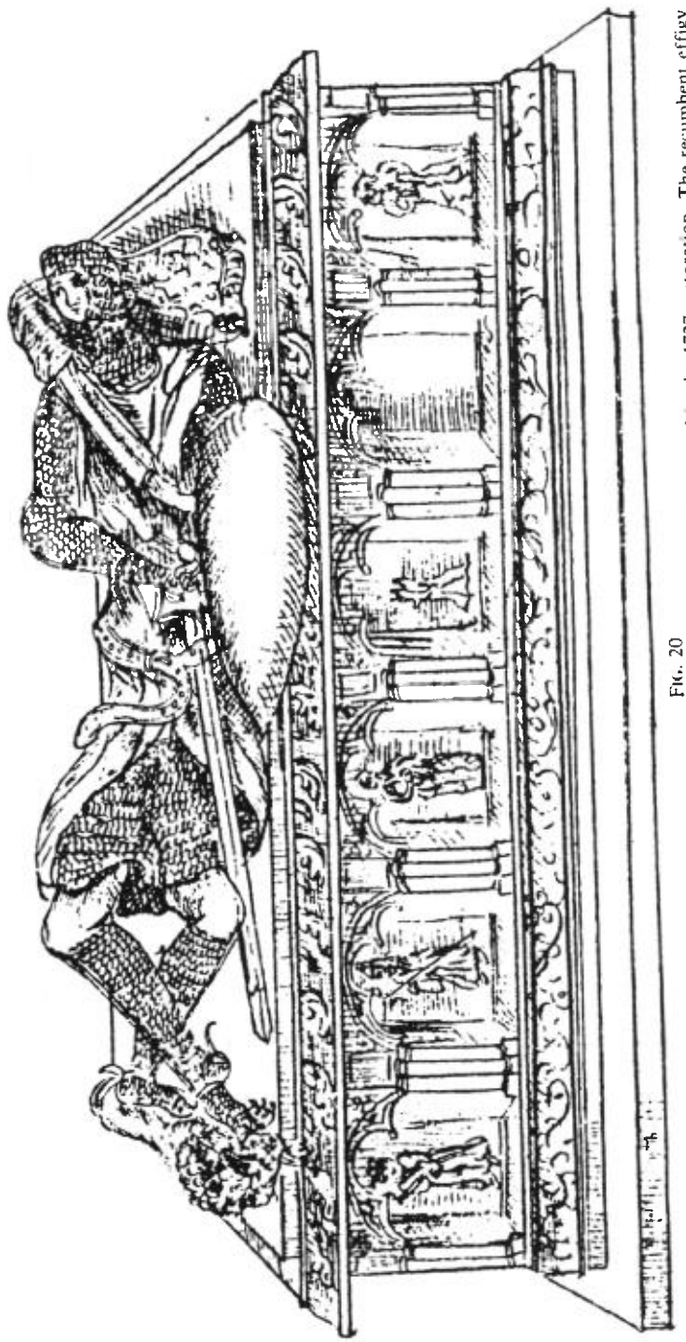


FIG. 20
John of Monmouth's tomb in the priory church at Monmouth, Thomas Dineley, 1684. It disappeared in the 1737 restoration. The recumbent effigy with head on cushion, wearing complete mail armour, long surcoat, shield on left side, sword belt and sword, and with the right hand on the hilt is remarkably similar to that of Roger II de Clifford at Abbey Dore.

It was in this way that the honour of Monmouth was joined to Abergavenny and 'the castles of the justiciar'—Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle—to become an integral part of the lands of the duchy of Lancaster when, in 1267, they were transferred from prince Edward to his younger brother, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster.

3. THE CLIFFORD FAMILY

The Cliffords rivalled the de Lacys as clients of Hamo and his family. According to the 1244 list (Part 1, Table 10), Roger II de Clifford owed the six members of the family consortium £400, to be repaid over ten years. In addition the Close Rolls (Part 1, Table 13) show that in July 1233 Walter III de Clifford was in debt to Hamo for 1,000 marks (£666-13-4) whilst in June 1230 Roger I de Clifford owed an unspecified sum to a group of four Jewish magnates—Hamo of Hereford, Aaron of York, David of Oxford and Copin of Oxford. The membership of the group clearly indicates that the sum involved was large.[258]

The Cliffords were also members of that closely-knit southern marcher group which acted so vigorously in the political crisis of 1215-17. Nevertheless when they felt their interests threatened, they were capable of violent action in the face of royal authority. Walter III had a notoriously unbridled temper. Matthew Paris recounts, with evident relish, how in 1250 he obliged one of Henry III's messengers to eat the unwelcome royal letter which he had sought to deliver and was not mollified until the messenger had consumed the wax impression of the royal seal as well.[259] Roger II was the leading spirit in the seizure of Bishop Peter Aquablanca during the early days of de Montfort's revolt in 1263. According to the papal account, 'the bishop gave himself up to Roger de Clifford who took him to one of his castles and imprisoned him there for 12 weeks and more. On his getting out he was forced to give remission to the above persons for what they had done and in fear of further imprisonment gave a quittance in writing under the seal of the bishop and chapter and his oath'. Roger, excommunicated by the pope, had thrice to 'receive discipline' as a barefooted and bareheaded penitent in Hereford Cathedral, but was nimble enough to change sides in 1264 when, with John Giffard, he was appointed royalist commander in the counties of Hereford, Gloucester and Worcester. He and Roger Leyburn were the architects of the daring plan which wrested prince Edward from Simon de Montfort's control at Hereford in May 1265.[260]

Although, geographically, part of the lordship of Clifford was in Herefordshire, politically it was wholly outside the county, for the writ of the sheriff had no authority there. As marcher lords, the Cliffords were answerable directly to the king. In the first half of the 12th century their lordship had extended much further west, into central Wales. Although in 1166 they had lost cantref Bychan, with its castle at Llandovery, to the lord Rhys, they still retained control of cantref Selys from their castle at Bronllys on the river Llynfi.[261]

The castle at Clifford was rebuilt in the early 13th century. There can be little doubt that this was the work of Walter III. The plan is in a number of respects strik-

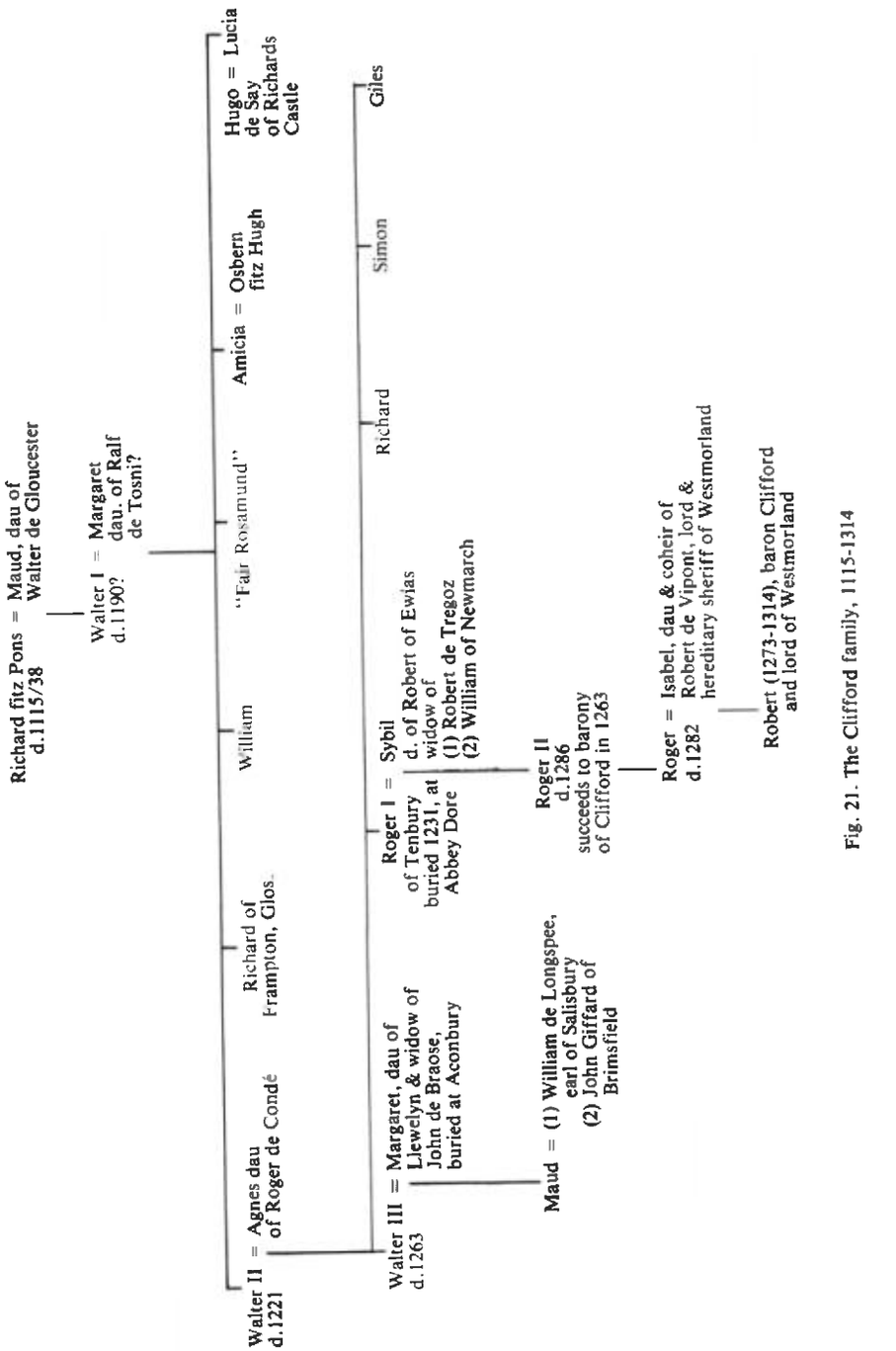


Fig. 21. The Clifford family, 1115-1314

ingly similar to that of White Castle, Llantilio Crosseny, one of the three castles of the justiciar, dramatically reconstructed by Hubert de Burgh before 1232. Both have gateways flanked by semi-circular towers facing a large outer ward. At White Castle four other semi-circular towers protect the inner ward. The original plan at Clifford must have been much the same although on the north side of the inner ward, facing the Wye, the foundations of the (later) hall are now to be found. At both Clifford and Llantilio that part of the inner ward furthest from the gatehouse is protected by a smaller crescent-shaped platform or hornwork. The difference in size of the two castles (Clifford is considerably smaller) nicely reflects the relationship of Walter III to Hubert de Burgh.[262] At Bronllys the Cliffords used the round keep form which became so popular in the Brecon region. On the basis of two ogee-headed windows on the second floor a late 13th-century date has been suggested—'a period much later than is usually assumed to buildings of this type'. It is possible that these ogee-headed windows are in fact later insertions. Certainly the roll-moulded stringcourse and the design of the wall stairs are very similar to those at Tretower, ten miles to the south, and firmly dated between 1233 and 1245. Such a date for Bronllys would establish it as the work of Walter III de Clifford.[263]

His father, Walter II, served twice as sheriff of Herefordshire, under Richard I in 1198 and under John in 1205, when he succeeded Hubert de Burgh who had held the county from 1200 to 1204. In 1208, on the occasion of the revolt of William de Braose, his second cousin, he was replaced by Gerard d'Athée, one of John's mercenaries, a ruthless adventurer from Touraine, who also held the county of Gloucester. Walter II found it necessary to offer a fine of 1,000 marks for the king's goodwill in relation to the 'creative accounting' in which he had indulged as sheriff. Subsequently, he took little part in public life, the Clifford interest now being guarded by his sons, Walter and Roger.[264]

Walter III succeeded to the barony in 1221 but, with his brother, Roger I, he had for some years been a member of the political grouping which had formed around Hubert de Burgh. At Runnymede in June 1215, de Burgh was appointed justiciar and two months later John conferred the county and castle of Hereford upon the young Walter, 'at the petition of our faithful Hubert de Burgh'. A remarkable report on the state of the county in the spring of 1216 makes quite clear just how important the support of the marcher barons was to John. 'The whole of the county', Walter de Clifford tells the king, 'besides the (marcher) barons and their men, was with the bishop (Giles de Braose) ... and bore arms against the king or sent armed men ... But after the bishop came to the king's peace, all have been and still are faithful in the king's service except Walter de Stokes and Robert de Evereus and Richard Tirel, who are with Reginald de Braose ... He has learned for certain ... that all the Welsh of the whole of Wales and their confederates are ready to descend upon Walter and the king's land at the end of the truce ... (18 April 1216). Therefore requests the king to send back with all haste Walter's barons who are with the king ...'[265]

In August 1216 Walter de Lacy, now restored to favour, replaced Walter de Clifford as sheriff but this in no way diminished the family's support for John's heir, Henry III. Close to the council of regency, he received a number of marks of favour. In

1221 he was granted the manor of Dymock and his lordship lives on through the local place-names Clifford's Mesne, Okle Clifford and Clifford Manor. After the end of the civil war Walter III was frequently in the royal service in Wales and occasionally abroad. Thus in 1228 he had custody of the great fortresses of Cardigan and Carmarthen when they were wrested from William Marshal the younger of Henry III. As late as December 1232 his relations with the king were good, for the latter made him a present of a pair of hind from the Forest of Dean, but early in August 1233 he was in open revolt.[266]

What were the reasons for this? Sir John Lloyd, the only historian to examine this affair, linked it with the rising of Richard Marshal, third earl of Pembroke, and the baronial party, outraged by Henry III's harsh treatment of his former justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, and the consequent rise to power of certain of the king's 'low-born' advisers, especially the Poitevins, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and his nephew or son, Peter de Rivaux, the new treasurer. The chronology does not fully support such an interpretation. Precise dating is not possible, but such as we have suggests Walter's revolt took place shortly prior to that of Richard Marshal and was independent of it. Indeed, Walter III quickly changed sides and before the end of the year 1233 he had rejoined the ranks of his companions of 1215-17, active in the royal campaign against the rebels and their Welsh allies.[267]

The king declared Richard Marshal, that 'young knight, eminent in arms, of great wisdom, renown and praise', a traitor only on 14 August and then moved from Gloucester to besiege his castle at Usk on 6 September. Yet Walter's lands were in the royal keeping well before 23 August when Henry III ordered the sheriff of Shropshire, 'notwithstanding the king's order concerning the seizing of the lands of Walter Clifford, to allow Catherine de Lacy to hold in peace the lands which she holds of the said Walter'. Furthermore, Richard Marshal's immediate reaction to the diffidation of 14 August was an alliance with Llewelyn, hardly an action to endear him to the other marcher barons. It was this alliance which led to the attack on Monmouth on 25 November and the defeat of the royal army under John of Monmouth in early January 1234. If Walter de Clifford's revolt was not an ill-considered and precipitate action in support of Richard Marshal, what lay behind it? One does not have to look far—on 4 July Henry III had ordered him to pay Ursell and his brothers, without delay, the 1,000 marks which he had borrowed from their father and 100 marks, plus interest, due to Aaron of York. In the case of Walter's default the sheriff was to seize the pledges named in the chirograph and hand them over to Hamo's heirs.[268]

The weakness of Walter III's military position makes it clear that this was action taken in the heat of the moment. His castles at Bronllys and Clifford were extremely vulnerable because the Braose strongholds of Huntington, Brecon and Hay were in royal hands. A few miles from Clifford and Glasbury William fitz Warin, now sheriff of Herefordshire, held the newly-rebuilt Painscastle. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Walter's castles had fallen even before Henry III arrived at Hay on 31 August. Bronllys was handed over to the custody of Henry de Nafford, Clifford to Henry de Turbeville, and Glasbury to William fitz Warin. The last flicker of revolt

occurred on 26 September when Hugh de Kinnersley, one of Clifford's knights, having 'seized by force his own castle of Aberllynfi ... fortified it against the king'. Evidently Henry III or one of his advisers admired Hugh's pluck, for he was nominated sheriff some years later.[269]

Despite Hugh's bravura, his lord sought reconciliation with the king at Shrewsbury in the middle of September when all his lands and possessions were restored, with the exception of Clifford Castle, which was retained until March 1234. He then joined the royal campaign against Richard Marshal and Llewelyn and was with the king at Hereford early in December when he persuaded Henry III to postpone until the following Easter payment of the 60 marks he owed Bonamicus and Cresses, Jews of Canterbury. He evidently pressed the king further, for the whole debt was pardoned three days later. Walter was not a man to be trifled with. In May 1234 the 1,000 marks due to Ursell and his brothers was also cancelled. This sum the Justices of the Jews were ordered to deduct from the 6,000-mark fine imposed after Hamo's death in 1231. Henry III's military and political difficulties made Walter's wholehearted support an adequate justification for such a concession.[270]

Yet this was not the end of Walter's financial difficulties. In 1235, so strong was the pressure from a number of Jews for the repayment of their loans, that Walter de Clifford had to come to an arrangement with Walter de Kirkeham, dean of St. Martin's, London. In return for £71 in hand and the payment of £155-13-4 owing to the Jews, Kirkeham was to have Walter de Clifford's manor of 'Middleton' (Milton, Oxfordshire) for thirteen years.[271]

After the death of John de Braose, mangled by his horse in 1232, Walter married his widow, Margaret, one of Llewelyn's daughters. This marriage was more than a mere political alliance, for Henry III had given in to pressure from Llewelyn that Margaret's hand should not be disposed of against her will. She was to outlive him and she left her heart, with 15 marks for its proper burial, to the priory of Aconbury. He became one of the elder statesmen of the southern march and on his death in 1263, as he had no male heir, the honour of Clifford passed to his nephew, Roger II.[272]

This branch of the family enjoyed mixed fortunes. They had not come empty-handed from their co-operation with king John. Early in 1214 Roger I, Walter II's younger son, was provided with a suitable heiress, Sybil, widow of Robert de Tregoz, lord of Ewias Harold, but he had to pay for her, and pay well—a fine of £1,000. For both the king and the Clifford family, this was an arrangement of evident advantage. For the Cliffords, their power was now extended fifteen miles south and west to the southern end of the Golden Valley—but only for the lifetime of Roger, for Sybil already had a son by Robert de Tregoz and he would inherit Ewias Harold on her death. For the king, the barony and its important castle were now in hands he could fully trust. A decade later Roger was appointed to the constableship of St. Briavels and the wardenship of the Forest of Dean as successor to John of Monmouth. He held these offices under the patronage of Hubert de Burgh, now virtually supreme at court and rapidly establishing an overwhelming presence in the southern march, and retained them until his death in 1231 when he was buried at Abbey Dore, where what is believed to be his effigy, in full chain mail with shield, sword and belt, can still be seen.[273]

His son, Roger II, inherited no substantial patrimony but considerable debts to Hamo, Aaron of York and David and Copin of Oxford. The £400 against his name in the 1244 list clearly represents a renegotiation of part of these debts. Certainly, he was given a very long term for repayment in 1244—ten years. This probably expressed desperation rather than confidence on the part of Hamo's family. We do not know the reason for these financial difficulties, unless it was the £1,000 fine his father had paid for Sybil, his Ewias heiress. Roger II held the manor of Severn Stoke, near Upton, granted to his father by William Marshal the younger in 1229, and about 1236 he is found holding half a knight's fee of his uncle, Walter III, as mesne lord, at Tenbury. Here he endowed a chantry to the Virgin, in the parish church. He also held land at Bridge Sollers and had a hunting lodge at Wyesham, not far from John of Monmouth at Hadnock.[274]

His energetic support of the king during the crisis of 1264-5 and, in particular, his conduct at the battle of Evesham earned him warm recognition: estates in the midlands; cancellation of his outstanding debts of £399-17-0; and marriage for his son, Roger, to the daughter and heiress of Robert de Vipont, thus establishing the great barony of Clifford in Westmorland and the north-west. He also received the estates of Walter III de Baskerville, who had been attainted for his adherence to the baronial party: Eardisley, Orcop, Greensted (Essex), Combe Baskerville (Gloucestershire) and the dower lands of Baskerville's mother in Orcop, Yazor and Stretton Sugwas. After his death, these estates were returned to the Baskervilles in 1286. Roger dabbled in Jewish bonds and property and even granted tenements he owned in the Jewry to the city of London. Nevertheless, before he died he was once more in debt to the crown.[275]

4. WILLIAM FITZ WARIN

Like Roger I de Clifford, William fitz Warin obtained a barony by marriage, but his career is more typical of that second group of clients of Hamo's family, the knights, most of whom found their principal role within the local administration, carrying out a wide range of judicial, fiscal and military duties for the crown. On this account his career is worthy of examination in some detail.

Fitz Warin was born into one of the lesser baronial families of Shropshire, lords of Whittington Castle, Alberbury and lands in other counties. He was the second son of Fulk II fitz Warin. His eldest brother, Fulk III, was the hero of the partly historical, partly legendary Anglo-Norman romance, *The History of Fulk fitz Warin*. In 1201, when king John refused to recognise his claim to Whittington, Fulk III formally renounced his oath of fealty and, with William and his other brothers, he led thirty-seven followers into the 'greenwood'. There, in the manner of the later Robin Hood, they outwitted all attempts at arrest and inflicted signal humiliations upon those sent against them. These escapades form the heart of the *History*. The most fabulous tells of the rescue of the imprisoned William from under the king's nose in the palace at Westminster by one of Fulk's men, John de Rampaigne, himself disguised as a Greek merchant and his companions as sailors. Whatever the truth of such matters, Fulk, William and their followers were pardoned by the king in November 1203 when Whittington was returned to Fulk.[276]

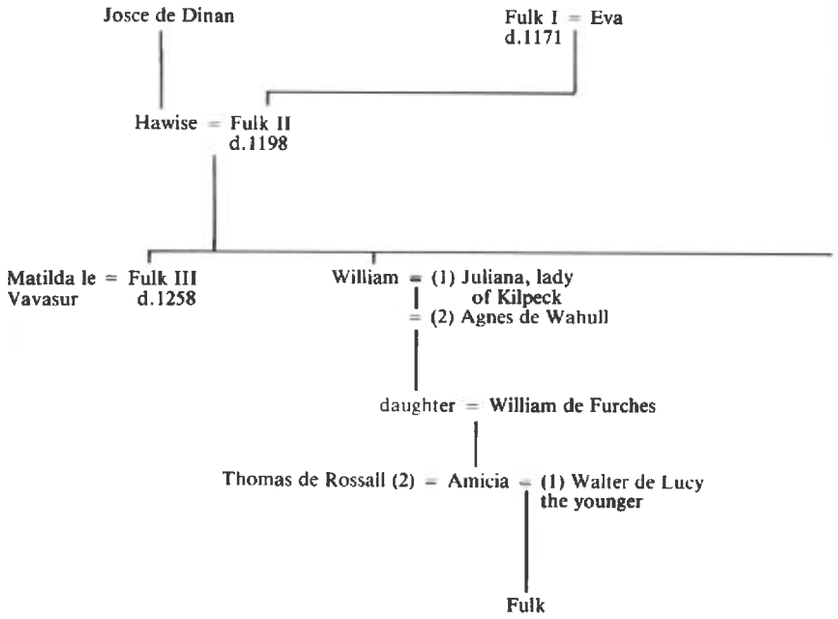


Fig. 22. The fitz Warin family, 1171-1253

As a younger son, William had no patrimony and sought a career in the royal service, the route by which his family had risen to prominence. He quickly found favour. In 1205 he was granted lands at Dilwyn valued at £12-10-0 and two years later the hand of Juliana, widow of John of Kilpeck. On the death of her husband in 1205, this unfortunate lady had compounded with the king for a fine of 50 marks and a palfrey to have her dower and the freedom to marry whomsoever she wished 'so long as it was not one who was at enmity with the king'. She tried to keep John to his bargain but received a terse note from him urging her to marry fitz Warin forthwith. The honour of Kilpeck, with its church, small borough and its castle commanding much of south Herefordshire, was assessed at 1½ knights' fees and with it went the bailiffship of the Forest, or Hay, of Hereford. These were not his for long as Juliana died in 1209 and custody of John of Kilpeck's heir was granted to William de Cantilupe. In September 1215 fitz Warin was given the mill on the royal manor of Marden, valued at 40s in the Pipe Rolls.[277]

The real prize came, however, in 1218 when, for a nominal fine of 50 marks, he received the hand of Agnes, widow of Robert de Basingham and heiress to half the barony of Wahull, with 15¼ knights' fees in Bedfordshire and 13¼ in Northampton. In 1223 fitz Warin began rebuilding the family manor house at Ravenstone, near Olney, for which he was granted ten trunks from the royal forest of Salcey. Only a few miles away was the Augustinian abbey of Lavendon, of which his proposed house of canons at Holme Lacy was to have been a cell.[278]

The richness of this prize indicates a powerful patron, or patrons, within the council of regency. His relationship with Walter de Lacy has been noted. In addition he had served William Longspee, earl of Salisbury and natural son of Henry II, as his deputy in the shrievalty of Lincolnshire in 1217. He was active in Herefordshire affairs from 1218 to 1225. It is evident that he had come to the attention of the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, who had regained possession of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle in 1219 and had yet greater ambitions in South Wales. With his family background, early experience and local knowledge, fitz Warin would be a most capable local agent.[279]

In 1225 he was an itinerant justice in Bedfordshire and, with Walter Mucegros, another of Hamo's clients, was a collector of the tax of a fortieth in Herefordshire. The next year he served on circuits in Nottingham and Derby, Warwick and Leicester, Worcester and Gloucester; in January 1227 in Hereford, Salop, Stafford and Oxford. Later that year he was appointed custodian of the great St. Botolph's fair 'in place of Thomas Muleton sick', and in the autumn was on circuit in Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham, Cambridge, Huntingdon and Rutland. He served again in Gloucestershire in 1228.[280]

Fitz Warin's career became increasingly linked with that of the justiciar who was strengthening his hold on the southern march. In 1227 de Burgh had received 'all Irchenfeld with the fees, homages, services and advowsons of church and the hundred of Wurmelawe, the wood of Acornebiri and Eystoneswud (Athelstan's wood) quit of the forest and the advowson of the priory of Acornebiri'. The following April he was

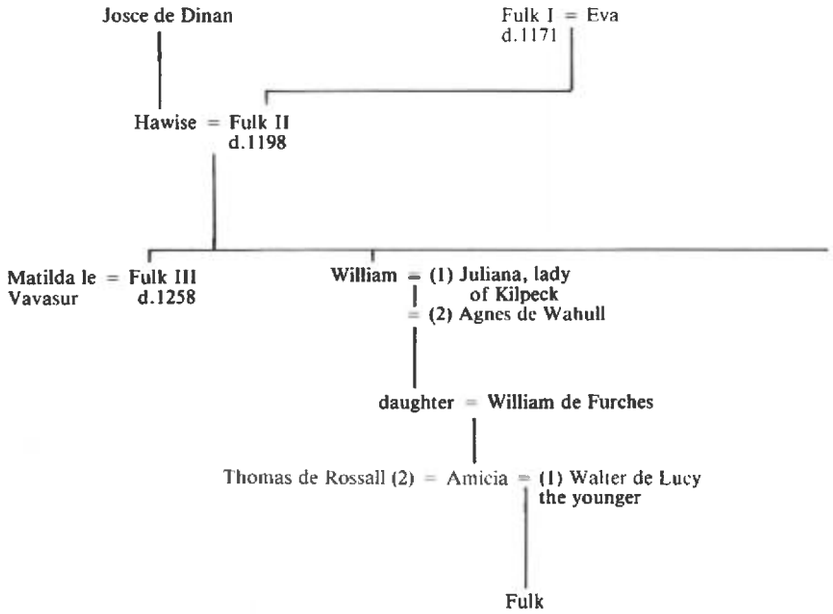


Fig. 22. The fitz Warin family, 1171-1253

As a younger son, William had no patrimony and sought a career in the royal service, the route by which his family had risen to prominence. He quickly found favour. In 1205 he was granted lands at Dilwyn valued at £12-10-0 and two years later the hand of Juliana, widow of John of Kilpeck. On the death of her husband in 1205, this unfortunate lady had compounded with the king for a fine of 50 marks and a palfrey to have her dower and the freedom to marry whomsoever she wished 'so long as it was not one who was at enmity with the king'. She tried to keep John to his bargain but received a terse note from him urging her to marry fitz Warin forthwith. The honour of Kilpeck, with its church, small borough and its castle commanding much of south Herefordshire, was assessed at 1½ knights' fees and with it went the bailiffship of the Forest, or Hay, of Hereford. These were not his for long as Juliana died in 1209 and custody of John of Kilpeck's heir was granted to William de Cantilupe. In September 1215 fitz Warin was given the mill on the royal manor of Marden, valued at 40s in the Pipe Rolls.[277]

The real prize came, however, in 1218 when, for a nominal fine of 50 marks, he received the hand of Agnes, widow of Robert de Basingham and heiress to half the barony of Wahull, with 15¼ knights' fees in Bedfordshire and 13¼ in Northampton. In 1223 fitz Warin began rebuilding the family manor house at Ravenstone, near Olney, for which he was granted ten trunks from the royal forest of Salcey. Only a few miles away was the Augustinian abbey of Lavendon, of which his proposed house of canons at Holme Lacy was to have been a cell.[278]

The richness of this prize indicates a powerful patron, or patrons, within the council of regency. His relationship with Walter de Lacy has been noted. In addition he had served William Longspee, earl of Salisbury and natural son of Henry II, as his deputy in the shrievalty of Lincolnshire in 1217. He was active in Herefordshire affairs from 1218 to 1225. It is evident that he had come to the attention of the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, who had regained possession of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle in 1219 and had yet greater ambitions in South Wales. With his family background, early experience and local knowledge, fitz Warin would be a most capable local agent.[279]

In 1225 he was an itinerant justice in Bedfordshire and, with Walter Mucegros, another of Hamo's clients, was a collector of the tax of a fortieth in Herefordshire. The next year he served on circuits in Nottingham and Derby, Warwick and Leicester, Worcester and Gloucester; in January 1227 in Hereford, Salop, Stafford and Oxford. Later that year he was appointed custodian of the great St. Botolph's fair 'in place of Thomas Muleton sick', and in the autumn was on circuit in Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham, Cambridge, Huntingdon and Rutland. He served again in Gloucestershire in 1228.[280]

Fitz Warin's career became increasingly linked with that of the justiciar who was strengthening his hold on the southern march. In 1227 de Burgh had received 'all Irchenfeld with the fees, homages, services and advowsons of church and the hundred of Wurmelawe, the wood of Acornebiri and Eystoneswud (Athelstan's wood) quit of the forest and the advowson of the priory of Acornebiri'. The following April he was

made justiciar for life and given a number of important castles, including (New) Montgomery which he had had built on a site commanding the upper reaches of the Severn at the culmination of his Welsh campaign of 1223. His ambition, to carve out a new marcher lordship based on this castle and its borough, threatened Llewelyn's commote of Kerry to the south-west and led to a humiliating confrontation with the Welsh prince in 1228 when the king and justiciar had to come in person to relieve Montgomery, closely invested by the Welsh.[281]

In February 1229 fitz Warin was appointed sheriff of Worcestershire; he had lands in the county at Wyre Piddle and Moor, Hadzor and Upton. In the months immediately preceding, he had received further marks of the royal favour: the confirmation of his Dilwyn estates, now valued at two knights' fees; a pardon for an unauthorised market at Presteigne; and five hinds for the park at Ravenstone, from the royal forest of Rockingham. Fitz Warin had been responsible for amending the defences of Rockingham Castle in 1226 and it was in such a military capacity that the justiciar was increasingly to use him. Hubert de Burgh had sufficient confidence in his capacity as a military commander and engineer to appoint him constable of Montgomery Castle, with an especial brief to make sure that it was impregnable when the Welsh renewed their attacks. Large sums were made available and specialised materials were sent from Shrewsbury and elsewhere. An attempt was made to clarify the boundary between de Burgh's marcher lordship of Montgomery and Llewelyn's commote of Kerry by a perambulation carried out by fitz Warin and Henry de Audley, the newly-appointed sheriff of Shropshire. With fitz Warin at Montgomery were John of Monmouth, Walter Clifford, Walter de Lacy's son, Gilbert, Ralph de Mortimer and the man who was to replace Hubert de Burgh as justiciar—Stephen Segrave.[282]

Despite the dismal failure of the Kerry expedition, the twenty-one-year-old king continued to bestow lands and honours upon de Burgh: in 1229 the royal castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen; the de Braose lordship of Gower and the wardship of the young Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, with his marcher lands of Morgannwg in 1230; and finally the wardship of the heir to the de Braose lands, which included Brecon and Radnor, in May 1231. He was now paramount in South Wales. Such concentration of power inevitably led to a violent reaction from Llewelyn. De Burgh's execution of Welsh prisoners at Montgomery provided the excuse. Llewelyn descended on the Braose towns of Brecon, Radnor and Hay and burned them to the ground. Caerleon suffered a similar fate and then he took Neath, Kidwelly and the great royal castle at Cardigan. The response of king and justiciar was again weak, limited and defensive. They halted their army at Painscastle from 30 July to 22 September, wasting valuable time rebuilding Maud's castle. This was no way of chastening the Welsh and a humiliating truce was signed in November.[283]

Fitz Warin, the professional administrator, was now a soldier of the first rank in the march. After Llewelyn had launched his attack, he was called upon, with such great marcher barons as Ralph de Mortimer, Walter de Lacy, Walter III de Clifford and John fitz Alan, to co-ordinate the defence and in November, with Walter de Lacy, John of Monmouth, Walter de Clifford and William de Stuteville, he was one of the commissioners of the truce.[284]

De Burgh's poor showing in this campaign fatally weakened his political position and in July 1232 he was brought down by a palace revolution led by Peter de Rivaux and his patron, the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, who had been Henry III's personal guardian until he came of age in 1227. Peter des Rivaux was given de Burgh's castles in Gwent and the lordships of Carmarthen and Cardigan. More importantly, he controlled the exchequer and for a short time held twenty-one shires including Hereford where on 7 July he took the place of John of Monmouth, who was evidently regarded as too favourably disposed to the displaced justiciar. This was only a short-term holding action until the king's Poitevin advisers could find a suitable replacement. William fitz Warin seems to have had no compunction about working for those who had toppled his former master and on 18 September he succeeded Peter de Rivaux as sheriff of Herefordshire.[285]

On 11 December, whilst Henry III was staying at Leominster Priory, fitz Warin was confirmed in the custody of the county and with it 'the castle of Painscastle and the hundred of Wormelow', for which he was to receive 'the profit of the county and those things which pertain to the said castellanies ... besides this he shall take at the Exchequer in time of peace 100 marks, in time of truce £100 and in time of war £200'. This mandate was sent to the barons of the exchequer but when he arrived in Hereford four days later Henry III had changed his mind. The necessary funds would be found closer at hand. 'Ursell, Leo, Moses and Abraham, sons and heirs of Hamo of Hereford, Jew' were ordered 'to pay William fitz Warin 100 marks wherein the king is bound to him for the custody of the castles of Hereford and Painscastle, for the present year, to wit half at Easter and half at Michaelmas'. These payments would be deducted from 'the fine of 6,000 marks which they made with the king and whereof they pay him 300 marks yearly'. This was not their only contribution to the defence of the march. The preceding year Henry III had called upon Hamo for a loan of 200 marks. It was only in August 1233 that Ursell and his brothers were given credit for that sum 'lent to the king, in his army of Painscastle' against the fine which they had made 'for having Hamo's debts and chattels'.[286]

Fitz Warin spent most of the following year securing the defences of his county. The specification of Painscastle in his writ of appointment indicated his particular responsibility. Now that Llewelyn held the former Braose fortress at Builth, Painscastle, 'splendidly rebuilt in stone and lime', was of vital importance in securing the county against the Welsh: hence its new name, 'Maugre Llewelyn'. Much of fitz Warin's energy was devoted to the completion of the works carried out there until late September 1231 by de Burgh and then by John of Monmouth, fitz Warin's predecessor in the shrievalty. An army of workmen had been on the site, recruited from as far as Berkshire and Lincolnshire. On the last day of 1232 fitz Warin had been ordered 'to cause watch-towers to be made and the well to be made deeper'. In May he had to ensure that a clearing (*trenchea*) was made through the woods of Eardisley (*Erdelegh*), Brilley (*Brumlegh*) and Whitney (*Witteneye*), so that 'it may be safe to travel back and forth between Hereford and Painscastle'.[287]

In July he was free to supervise the repair of a 'break in Hereford castle', which had lately fallen down, but this was the last month of peace. In August Walter III de

Clifford rose in open revolt and operations had to be mounted against his castles. These fell quickly and fitz Warin was given the custody of Glasbury, but the king was now bent on action against Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke. On 3 September fitz Warin received instructions 'to cause the tumbrel (the windlass used for bending siege engines) that is in Painscastle to be carried under safe convoy immediately upon sight hereof to Usk', the Marshal castle to which siege was laid on 6 September. On the 11th Henry was at Hereford and highly dissatisfied with his accommodation. Even though the county was on a war-footing, and Llewelyn was in league with the formidable Richard Marshal, fitz Warin received instructions 'to cause a fair and becoming chapel of the length of 85 feet to be made at the end of the oriel in the king's chamber in Hereford castle and to cause it to be wainscotted for which purpose Hugh de Kilpec shall cause him to have timber in his bailiwick by the king's order'.[288]

Despite, probably because of, the generous flow of men and materials for the defence of the march, fitz Warin was not receiving his agreed stipend. Although, as sheriff, he was invested with full authority over the small Jewish community at Hereford, Ursell had not paid him the first half-yearly sum of 50 marks at Easter, as the king had demanded the previous December. Instead, on 1 July 1233 fitz Warin was sent a writ to pay himself 50 marks out of county funds. This in no way solved his cash-flow problems. A further writ on the 13th, this time to 'Nicholas le Seculer and his fellows, assessors and collectors' of the royal tax of a fortieth in Herefordshire, appears to have been equally unfruitful. It was only with a Welsh war imminent and the king himself present in Hereford that fitz Warin was able to secure payment of his salary. On 23 August, some five weeks before his second biennial instalment was due, Nicholas le Seculer was told to pay fitz Warin £50 out of the money he had already collected, forthwith.[289]

This incident illustrates well the difficulties which sheriffs frequently encountered in conducting the king's business during periods of financial stress. Indeed, the 50 marks recorded as still due to Ursell and Manasser Episcopus in the 1244 list may well have been borrowed by fitz Warin in connection with his duties as sheriff. It was due for repayment '25 marks at Michaelmas (29 September) in the 17th year (1233) and 25 marks at (the feast of) the Annunciation (25 March) following'.[290] The normal period for a loan was one year and Walter had been appointed to the shrievalty on 18 September 1232.

The incident also illustrates the importance to the king of the Jewish communities in his county towns. Their reserves of ready cash, at the king's disposal through the court of the Exchequer of the Jews, provided him with a flexible, albeit limited, system of credit. But Henry III's demands on Hamo's heirs had caused his source of credit in Hereford to dry up, at least temporarily; a situation which the king had recognised by 4 July when he ordered Walter III de Clifford to repay the 1,000 marks due to Ursell and his brothers. This must have been thought of in terms of a pump-priming exercise to re-establish the king's credit facilities at Hereford.

This time Henry III, who had already put pressure on one of Ursell's other major creditors, Walter de Lacy, (see page 238 above), totally misjudged his man. At this

stage de Clifford was not prepared to borrow from others to pay Ursell. The violence of his reaction, coupled with the military and political crisis brought about by Henry III's insensitivity to Richard Marshal's grievances, meant that de Clifford had to be bought off in May 1234 by the cancellation of his 1,000 mark debt. This in turn threatened the very existence of Ursell's business at Hereford, in which the king now had a considerable financial interest—the 5,000 marks still due from the fine on Hamo's estate.

In December 1233 the king had agreed at Ledbury to Walter de Lacy's request that the first repayment due on the 1,000 marks he had borrowed from Ursell should be postponed from Michaelmas 1233 until Whitsun 1234 but, as the 1244 list shows, Hamo's heirs never received a penny of that money. Evidently, what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander: Walter de Lacy took his cue from the king's generous treatment of Walter de Clifford.

The war did not go well for the king. Llewelyn failed to take Brecon, but burned Clun and Oswestry and 'subdued the valley of the Teme'. At Martinmas Henry III was forced to withdraw from Grosmont and after Christmas John of Monmouth was defeated overwhelmingly by Richard Marshal. In January Llewelyn took Shrewsbury and the earl of Pembroke's supporters penetrated deep into Herefordshire. In March 1234, two days after a truce had been established, fitz Warin was ordered by the king to give recompense to John de Balun of Much Marcle for the 'grain and other chattels taken away by Hugh de Nafford and other supporters of Richard Marshal from his land'.[291]

This truce with the Welsh and the death in Ireland of Richard, earl of Pembroke, prepared the ground for another palace revolution. This time the prime movers were the bishop of London and the newly-appointed archbishop of Canterbury. On 16 May Peter des Rivaux, the treasurer, and a few days later Stephen Segrave, the justiciar, were dismissed. On 22 May William fitz Warin was replaced by Amaury de St. Amand, one of the stewards of the royal household, who held the shrievalty until 1240.[292] Fitz Warin had allowed himself to become too closely associated with the king's 'foreigners of Poitou' who had, in the words of Roger of Wendover, 'oppressed the kingdom and the king's subjects to the subversion of their laws and liberties'.

However, such were William's skills and experience in Welsh affairs that his advice and expertise continued to be called upon in the conduct of relations with Llewelyn. The truce of Middle, negotiated by the archbishop in June 1234 to run for two years in the first instance, was subsequently renewed each year and in 1236 William and his brother, Fulk III, were appointed *dictators,* standing arbitrators, of the truce. Two years later, when a serious crisis developed because Llewelyn's son, David, had received the homage of the lords of North Wales without Henry III's consent, William and Fulk III were called to advise the royal council at Oxford.[293] Thus fitz Warin also ended his days as an elder statesman.

Yet after his death, as with Walter de Lacy and John of Monmouth, action was taken against his heirs for the recovery of the money he had not repaid. The 1244 list showed his 50-mark loan of 1232 still outstanding. Nine years later Moses brought an

action 'against Thomas de Rossall and Amicia, his wife, touching a plea, that they pay him £20, with interest, which they owe him upon (security of) lands late of William fitz Warin, grandfather of the said Amicia, whose heir she is, the lands they hold being gages for 50 marks which the said William owed to Ursell, Moses' brother, by chirograph whereof Moses has administration by livery of the king'. Neither Amicia nor her new husband—she had previously been married to William de Lucy the younger, son of Walter de Lacy's steward—appeared before the court to answer the charge. Both were ordered to be present at a later hearing.[294] There is no further record of the case. As Moses died in that year, 1253, it is possible that Sarah, his wife, and Jacob, his son, did not have the resources to pursue the matter any further.

CONCLUSION

In Part 1 it was shown that Hamo and his family were not averse to lending quite small sums, even less than £1, to villagers or townsmen who were thus the most numerous of his clientele (Part 1, Tables 8, 9, 10). But in terms of cash borrowed it was the great manorial landowners who furnished the family with the largest part, possibly up to 90%, of its trade (Part 1, Table 11). In Part 2 the purposes and circumstances which lay behind these large loans to such families as the de Lacys, de Cliffords and de Monmouths have been explored.

Cecil Roth, writing in his *Short History of the Jewish People,* fifty years ago suggested that 'for the two characteristic occupations of the Middle Ages—fighting and building (the Jew's) aid was indispensable'.[295] This was so in the late 12th and early 13th century but our case studies show that there was another important factor contributing to baronial indebtedness—the financial difficulties of the crown. Due to a combination of rampant inflation and ever-growing administrative and military expenditure, the resources at its disposal were quite inadequate. John and Henry III were forced by political circumstances to bring in much-needed additional revenue by a range of short-term expedients. Heavy fines and reliefs levied on the baronage were among these.[296] Under these circumstances, when they were hard pressed by the crown, Walter de Lacy, John of Monmouth and the de Cliffords looked to Hamo and later his family for the cash they needed. How far was Hereford typical? To what extent was the trade in loans of other Jewish communities dominated by a baronial clientele?

Comparison can be made with the Jewries of Cambridge and Norwich for which records are available covering the same periods as the 1244 list. A record of the debts registered in the Cambridge *archa* between 1223-4 and 1239-40 and transmitted to the Justices of the Jews is amongst the Exchequer records at the Public Record Office.[297] It gives details of some 250 chirographs. The tallage returns for 1221, 1223 and 1226 indicate that the Cambridge community was only half as wealthy as that at Hereford (Part 1, Table 6). However, as the list shows that some of the richest members of the English Jewry—Aaron and Leo of York and Jacob Crespin of London—were conducting business through the Cambridge chest at this time, the contents can be taken to represent a fair cross-section of the trade in loans within the district. Over the sixteen years there are only two chirographs recording large loans and both were for the benefit

of the Benedictine monks of Saffron Walden, sixteen miles to the south. In 1190 it had been raised to abbey status and the monks were rebuilding their church. Audley End stands on the site. In 1238 the monks borrowed £400 from Aaron of York and another £400 from Leo of York. Within the range £25-£55 there are only six loans. Almost all of the remainder are for very small amounts, usually a few marks. Six of the clients, Robert Hastings of Landwade (£36), William Bray of Offord (£15), Robert of Hockley (£12), Robert fitz Everard of Brune (£4 and one quarter of grain), William Flambard of Bonhunt (£6) and Ralph of Cotele (£4) are described as 'knights'. Nicholas 'le Vavasur' borrowed £20 and a number of clergy and tradesmen, including William de Stradsett, 'orfevre' (20s), are mentioned but there is not one reference to a major secular manorial landowner.

An analysis of the records of the Norwich Jewry provides a similar result. In the four rolls of the Day Book in the Westminster Abbey Muniments are recorded all the transactions carried out at the Norwich *archa* over a period of two and a half years, from 4 April 1225 to 21 October 1227.[298] Comparison with Hereford is more just, for the tallage rolls of the 1220s show the two communities were comparable in wealth and in Isaac, son of Jurnet, the Norwich Jewry had a magnate similar in stature to Hamo (Part 1, Fig. 4). Isaac's name does not appear on the tallage rolls of the 1220s, probably because he still had such a large amount outstanding on the fine of 10,000 marks he had made with John at Bristol in 1211 to save his life. This he had engaged to pay at the rate of one mark a day and the council of regency kept him to his undertaking. Certainly in 1231, and again in 1233 with Ursell and his brothers, he was exempted from tallage.[299] His transactions recorded in the Day Book give a measure of his wealth. They amounted to £3,668 as compared to £240 for the next person, his son Moses. We can, therefore, fully expect Isaac of Norwich to attract a similar clientele to Hamo—if he so desired and if there was a demand.

The Norwich Day Book provides as reliable a profile as it is now possible to obtain of the trade in loans of a major provincial Jewry. Some 325 transactions are listed, usually with the name of creditor and debtor, the amount, date, and details of repayment. From this information it is evident that most of the loans were for small amounts. Only about a third of the loans are referred to in £s as opposed to marks or shillings and of these twelve are between £50 and £100 and only five in excess of £100. On close examination it is evident that a number of these seventeen entries relate to the renegotiation of earlier transactions. Thus Ranulf of Ho's loan from Isaac appears again in the rolls on three subsequent occasions in different disguises, as does that of Giles de Wechesham (Waxham, Norfolk). In consequence, the number of such larger loans should probably be six between £50 and £100 and four at over £100.

Loans in the latter category were made to three individuals. Giles de Wechesham, with lands at Waxham, Thurton and Martingford in Norfolk and Wortham in Suffolk, owed Isaac £110, a loan which was later reduced, first to £95 and then £80, before rising again to £105. Robert le Gris of Thurton borrowed £200 from Isaac. The two other loans in this category are of more interest. On 23 June 1226 Hubert de Vaux (Vallibus) borrowed 200 marks (£133-13-4), not from Isaac of Norwich but from Aaron

of York, for which he agreed to pay an annual interest of £12, just under 10%. It is difficult to decide whether the other entry, on 23 February 1227, represents a second loan of 200 marks from Aaron on the same terms or merely a renewal of the loan of the preceding June, but this is not especially important. What is highly significant is that, in marked contrast to what was found at Hereford, only two entries out of some 350 in the Day Book refer to a member of the baronage, for Hubert was the son of Robert II de Vaux, one of the principal barons of Cumberland.

The career of Hubert's father exemplifies starkly the long-term implications of one of John's financial expedients and links the working of the Norwich and Hereford *archa*. Although Robert II had lands in Somerset, Sussex and probably Norfolk, his barony, with its *caput* at Gilsland, where Cumberland meets Northumberland on the Roman wall, was comparatively poor but his uncle, Robert I, had been wealthy enough to found the house of Augustinian canons at Lanercost in 1165-9 and had been a notable sheriff of his county. The circumstances under which John established his hold over Robert II were unusual, even by the standards of that king. In 1210 Robert had to pay John five prime palfreys for 'keeping quiet about (Robert's affair with) the wife of Henry Pinel' and 750 marks for 'goodwill', to be paid by Michaelmas of that year. Robert could only raise 400 marks so he was thrown into gaol and John seized his lands. The following year Robert offered 2,000 marks for the king's grace, of which he paid 1,000 marks down and offered the king hostages and the reversion of his lands should he fail to pay the remainder. He seems to have been saved by John's political difficulties, for in 1214 the king accepted Robert's offer to undertake, *gratis,* additional military duties to meet this debt. Not altogether surprisingly, in January 1216 when things turned even worse for John, Robert joined the barons in revolt.[300]

After John's death he was accepted back into the royal service, but the council of regency was not prepared to cancel his debts to the royal exchequer. In November 1221 he sought to buy time by undertaking to go on crusade, thus securing his lands against distraint for debt for three years. He does not seem to have gone, for further letters of protection were issued to him sixteen months later 'whilst in the royal service'. At the end of June 1223 he was sent to take charge of Cardigan and Carmarthen castles which William Marshal the younger had just wrested from Llewelyn, and in the May following he was in Ireland with William Marshal and Walter de Lacy in the campaign against Hugh de Lacy and Walter's tenants of Meath. His service in Ireland, and letters of protection, came to an end about June 1226 when he was ordered to hand over the castles of Carrickfergus, Antrim and Rath to Walter de Lacy as custodian for his brother Hugh, earl of Ulster. We hear nothing further of Robert until he joined Henry III's expedition to Brittany, when he was on one of the 230 boats that sailed out of Portsmouth harbour in May 1230.[301]

It was in June 1226 and February 1227 that his son, Hubert, negotiated the loan or loans, through the Norwich chest, with Aaron of York. This could only have been a palliative, for two years later Robert, 'with the assent of Hubert his son and heir', leased for sixteen years to Walter Mauclerc, bishop of Carlisle, all his lands in Cumberland, with his fief of Coupland, on the north bank of Wast Water, in return for a

yearly rent of 80 marks. As he had already received 500 marks, 200 in hand and 300 paid to his Jewish debtors, he would receive no further rent until the lease was in its seventh year. Further, he had to agree that he would make good any charges resulting from encumbrances on the land 'to Christian or Jew'. Mauclerc had the forethought to get this agreement formally confirmed in the royal courts.[302]

The Breton expedition was short-lived and soon after Robert's return his financial difficulties came to a head. This was due to Ursell, who must have been very persuasive when he explained his financial difficulties, either to the king when he was in Hereford or to the Justices of the Jews in London, for in 1233 he was given considerable help by the crown to assist him in his efforts to get his father's business back onto a sound financial footing. In March, with Isaac of Norwich, he was given exemption from tallage payments. With his partner, Benedict Crespin of London, he was given leave to take possession of de Vaux's Cumbrian estates. Pressure was put on Walter de Lacy to make formal arrangements for the liquidation of his debts and Walter de Clifford was sent the peremptory notice to repay, forthwith, the 4,000 marks he owed. However, except for the remission of tallage, in all these matters the crown was obliged to go back on its attempts to help Ursell. Walter de Clifford was pardoned his debt of 1,000 marks; Walter de Lacy was permitted to postpone his payments to Ursell and was relieved of all interest whilst 'on the royal service in Ireland'.[303]

In the case of de Vaux's Cumbrian estates, the bishop of Carlisle immediately resorted to the courts with his royal charter of 1228, as a result of which Ursell and his partner lost their security. In June 1233 Robert had to agree to make payments of 100 marks a year to Ursell and Benedict who withdrew from his lands and eventually de Vaux had to sign a second agreement, to which his son Hubert was a witness, to pay a fine of 700 marks to the bishop for 'the disseisin made by him' of Gilsland. This he was obliged to meet by foregoing rents on the estates to the sixteenth and final year of the lease.[304] These events of 1233-4 illustrate well the delicate and shifting balance in the triangle of relationships between king, the Jews and their clients.

There is other evidence which throws light on the clientele of the Norwich community. Sometime after 24 June 1239, a list of Isaac's debts, paid in full or in part, was sent from the Norwich chest to the Justices of the Jews.[305] Although the Hereford list of 1244 is different in character as it relates to debts which had *not* been paid, the two lists do provide the best means available for comparing the clientele, and size of loans, of the two magnates. The Norwich list gives details of chirographs and tallies, without dates, totalling £3,668. The Hereford list (Part 1, Table 8) totalled some £2,600. The difference between the two lists, in terms of loans to individual clients amounting to more than £100, is startling—at Norwich £1,378 (37.5%), at Hereford £2,159 (83%). Further, only three of Isaac's chirographs recorded individual debts of £200 or over—William de Gyney (£400), Baudewyn fitz Waukelin of Roky (£256) and Peter fitz Peter of Nerford (£200). It is interesting that amongst the smaller loans is one of £30 in the name of William fitz Warin.

Apart from his loan of £604 in 1220-1 to Hubert de Burgh to help him meet the building costs at Dover Castle, a matter in which Isaac may well have had no choice,

the evidence makes it clear that, in relation to large loans in general, and loans to the baronage in particular, Isaac was following a much more cautious policy than Hamo and his family. Given his experiences at the hands of John, and with the major part of that king's fine of 2,000 marks still debited against his account at the exchequer, he had good reason. On the other hand, it does seem that a more relaxed view was taken of these matters by the London and York magnates.[306]

Whatever the case in London and York, the verdict that 'the whole course of Anglo-Jewish history in the 13th century is based on this fact that Jews dealt predominantly with the lower ranges of the agricultural community' cannot be sustained in relation to the Hereford community in the first half of that century.[307]

What marked Hereford off from such other Jewish centres as Cambridge and Norwich was its position on the Welsh march. With the end of the civil war in September 1217, the country as a whole returned to normality, but Hereford and the march were on a war footing for much of the time between September 1217 and the truce of Middle in July 1234. Despite the occasional closure of its markets to those who might succour the Welsh, Llewelyn was good for business in Hereford.[308]

John visited the city nine times in the last ten years of his reign. His son's visits were almost as frequent for it was the nerve centre of the southern march.[309] The city thrived on the widespread royal and baronial building activity. The more intensive exploitation of the land to the south and west of the Wye, by the conversion to arable and pasture of the royal forests of Haywood, Treville and Aconbury, a process initiated by the Cistercians of Dore, greatly benefitted the economy of that city. St. Ethelbert's shrine and his well down Mill Street, which would be eclipsed in less than a century by the cult of Hereford's own St. Thomas, continued to attract pilgrims from a hinterland which now extended deep into Wales.[310] The new affluence of the city was reflected in the first gothic addition to the cathedral, an eastern lady chapel with its own crypt, situated beyond the transitional retrochoir.

The civic authorities now began to replace the earlier town defences with stone walls, an operation which took some forty years to complete. In 1223 Walter de Lacy had had to rely on brushwood and thorn to strengthen the city's defences, but on his arrival in October 1224 Henry III granted 'the burgesses' the right to levy for three years 'an aid for enclosing their town, in the form which the burgesses of Salop have'. This early murage grant was the first of a series which continued until the late 15th century, but the earliest recorded grants were to two other marcher towns, Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth in June, 1220.[311]

The city's walls were its last, not its first line of defence, for the largest concentration of castles in Britain was to be found in the southern march and the early 13th century, when new concepts in military architecture swept through the region, witnessed intense activity in this field. The financial burden of such works was acute, for the quadrumvirate of Walter de Lacy, the two Cliffords and John of Monmouth was, with Hugh de Mortimer, 'the only compact body of barons that remained consistently loyal' and 'who supplied through their knightly vassals and Welsh mercenaries a large part of the military force that John relied on during the baronial revolt'.[312]

Through de Lacy and the Marshals, lords respectively of Meath and Leinster, the southern march was closely linked during John's reign and the minority of his son with the equally volatile politics of Ireland. In Ireland, Wales and the marches conflict was about the large-scale expropriation of land by the Norman barons and their followers. The Welsh burned the Cistercian monastery of Grace Dieu, founded by John of Monmouth on the west bank of the Trothy only three miles from Monmouth, because it had been built on Welsh land. When it was rebuilt, a new site on the east bank was chosen.[313] Walter de Lacy's father and the young Richard Marshal were both murdered because they were held to be thieves of Irish land. It was rents from the de Lacys' Irish lands that paid for the rebuilding of Llanthony Prima.

The combination of the military and political circumstances of the march, of Wales and of Ireland and the long-term effects of the heavy fines and reliefs imposed by John explain Hamo's success at Hereford, but many questions remain unresolved. Notable omissions from the list of Hamo's clients are the Mortimers, Hugh and Ralph, who were so frequently associated with the quadrumvirate in the government of the southern march. Were they borrowing? If so, where? If not, why not? What of the barons of the middle march—the fitz Alans, le Stranges, Corbets and others?[314] As there was no Jewry to which they could turn in Salop or Cheshire, did they look to the Jewish magnates of London, Oxford and Winchester or did they have other sources of credit? What of Ireland? Money for Strongbow's Irish expedition of 1170 had been lent by Josce, the Jew of Gloucester. After 1216 Hamo occupied a similar position in relation to Walter de Lacy as lord of Meath, but certainly by 1232 there is evidence of an Irish Jewry. In that year Henry III placed Peter de Rivaux in charge of the Irish exchequer and made him guardian or warden of the Irish Jewry, *custodiam Judaismi Hibernie.*[315] The subsequent silence on the subject may be due to the poverty of the records of the Irish exchequer, but this is merely conjecture.

It has been said that 'there was one indispensable function for which medieval society made no provision. The financier, or banker, or moneylender (the terms are in fact synonymous) is equally necessary in any age in which a monetary economy prevails'.[316] By the second quarter of the 13th century this was no longer the case. The church's ban on usury was now breaking down. The example set by the king in his lucrative trade in Jewish debts was being followed by others, clerical and lay, noble and base. More flexible means of raising cash and obtaining credit were becoming available. In almost all cases, although usury was masked, land remained the ultimate security. Robert de Vaux raised money from the bishop of Carlisle; Gilbert of Frome from the abbot of Buildwas; and Walter III de Clifford from Walter de Kirkeham, dean of St. Martin's, London. In 1231 Walter de Lacy turned to Richard fitz John, the London merchant and in 1234 to William de Lucy de Charlecote, the man he made his steward and to whom he turned over Ludlow Castle.

It was not, therefore, merely royal fines and the pardoning of interest and capital that destroyed the business of Hamo's heirs and many other Jewish provincial magnates. Although the Italians were not yet established in the market, other Gentiles were. When the Hereford Jewry rose once more into prominence after the turmoil of the

Barons' Wars, it was dominated, as in the times of Hamo, by one man. Aaron le Blund was the wealthiest Jew of his day, but his fortune was derived from 'the lower ranges of the agricultural community'.

ABBREVIATIONS (Additional to Part 1)

BT (Hergest)	*Brut y Tywysogyon, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (1955).
CDI	*Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland preserved in HM Public Record Office, 1171-1251*, ed. H. S. Sweetman (PRO, 1875).
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

REFERENCES (Numbering continued from Part 1)

109 *PR*, 1203, 33.

110 Sharon T. Lieberman, 'English royal policy towards the Jews' debtors, 1227-90' (unpublished University of London Ph. D. thesis, 1983); Lipman (1967), 93, 187-225; also Lipman (1968), 74.

111 *EJ*, 1, XVI.

112 For de Lacy family generally see W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (1966) which deals with both Weobley and Pontefract branches of the family. In the case of the former the terminal point is the death of Hugh II de Lacy in 1186 although some reference is made to his son Walter II. Eyton 5, (1858), 252-79 is also of considerable value but in some matters can now be seen to be not altogether accurate.

113 For the background to the history of the de Lacy family in Ireland see G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, 4 vols. (1911-20, reprinted 1968); E. Curtis, *A History of Medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513* (2nd. ed. 1938, reprinted 1968); A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (1968); Michael Dolley, *Anglo-Norman Ireland, c. 1100-1318* (Dublin, 1972); Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland* (Dublin, 1981).

114 *Monasticon*, 6, 136; E. W. Lovegrove, 'Llanthony Priory', *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 97 (1943), 64-77, 213-29; *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*, ed. Eric St. John Brooks (Dublin, 1953).

115 *Monasticon*, 6, 1035-6 reads *'decem fratribus capellanis ... et tribus fratribus clericis'* but Carole Hutchison has pointed out that this phrase from Dugdale's copy of Walter de Lacy's charter has 'caused considerable confusion. D. Seward thought it might represent a copyist's error as it is inconceivable that choir monks should have outnumbered lay brethren. In fact, it is clear from the various custumals that the choir brothers (who only began to be ordained to the priesthood in the late 12th century) were referred to as *'clerici* or clercs'. The *'conversi* or convers' were officially styled *'fratribus capellanis'* because, unlike any other religious order, the Grandmontines permitted, indeed expected them to take their seats in choir and recite the offices along with their more literate but in all respects equal colleagues. I therefore don't believe there is a copyist's error reproduced in Dugdale ... it should translate three clerks and 10 lay brethren. These clerks may or may not have been priests.' For a general introduction to the English Grandmontines see Rose Graham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its houses in England' in *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (1929).

116 H. M. Colvin, 'Holme Lacy: An Episcopal Manor' in *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer & A. J. Taylor (1950) quoting the Aconbury cartulary (PRO, Aug. Office, Misc. Books, 55) f.65.

117 *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W. W. Capes (1908), 68-72 and J. Hillaby, *Book of Ledbury: A Study in Interpretation* (1982), 61-3.

118 *PR*, 1340, 52-3; *CDI*, Nos. 2293, 2295, 2302; *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, RS 94 (1889), 11; A. Gwynn & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland* (1970), 104, 106, 122, 128, 172, 181; *PR*, 1340, 52-4. Hugh de Lacy also founded the Augustinian priory of St. John, Clonard and made the house at Colp a cell of Llanthony Prima. St. Mary's, Kells was a refoundation. See FIG. 6.

119 *Calendar of the Germanston Register*, ed. J. Mills & M. J. McEnery (Dublin, 1916), 177.

120 Discussed by A. J. Otway-Ruthven in 'The Constitutional Position of the Great Lordships of South Wales', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 5S, 8 (1958), 1-20.

121 *Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica. The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. A. B. Scott & F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), 105, 183, 317, 338; *Church Historians of England*, 4(ii), trans. Rev. J. Stevenson (1856), 525-6; *Annals of Loch Cé*, ed. W. M. Hennessy, RS 54 (1871), *sa* 1185 & 1186; *Annals of Ulster*, ed. W. M. Hennessy & B. MacCarthy, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1887-1901), *sa* 1186; *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. & trans. John O'Donovan, 3 (Dublin, 1851), 73-5.

122 Gilbert (1889), 348-51, 10-11.

123 J. Painter, *William Marshal* (Baltimore, 1933), 106-7 quoting the text of *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Mayer, 3 vols. (Paris, 1891-1901) records the refusal at the same time of William Marshal to do homage to Richard for his Irish lands for he considered his fealty for those lands to be due to John as lord of Ireland and quite distinct from his loyalty to the English king.

124 Otway-Ruthven (1968), 73; *PR*, 1340, 525.

125 W. L. Warren, *King John* (1961), 184.

126 *ChR*, 1199-1201, 24, 67, 69, 79, 84, 90; *CDI*, No. 1289; *CR*, 1206, 71; *CDI*, No. 1289; *CR*, 1206, 71.

127 *ChR*, 1200, 80; *CDI*, Nos. 165, 170, 199, 201, 205, 206, 209.

128 Wightman (1966), 220.

129 W. L. Warren, 'The Historian as Private Eye', *Historical Studies*, 9 (1974), 13-4. For Henry II's and John's policy in Ireland see also W. L. Warren, 'The Interpretation of Twelfth-century Irish History', *Historical Studies*, 7 (1969), 1-19 and W. L. Warren, 'King John and Ireland' in *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages, Essays in Honour of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven*, ed. James Lydon (Dublin, 1981), 26-42.

130 Orpen, 2 (1968), 75-90; *Annals of Loch Cé, sa* 1186; *Expugnatio* (1978), 191.

131 Warren (1981), 35.

132 J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Character of Norman Settlement in Ireland', *Historical Studies*, 5 (1965), 75-84 and Otway-Ruthven (1968), 114-6; *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, RS 53 (1870), 3-48.

133 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-1212', ed. Oliver Davies & David B. Quinn, *Ulster J. Archaeol.*, 4 Supplement (July 1941); Warren (1981), 36.

134 *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, RS 53 (1870), 1; *Chartae, privilegia et immunitates* (1889), 10; Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *Na Buirgéisí*, 1 (Dublin, 1964); Geoffrey Martin, 'Plantation Boroughs in Medieval Ireland', *Historical Studies*, 13 (Belfast, 1981); B. J. Graham, 'The Towns of Medieval Ireland' in *The Development of Irish Towns*, ed. R. A. Butlin (1977).

135 See map and diagram illustrating the lineage of English, Welsh and Irish boroughs that derived their 'laws or customs', through Hereford, from Breteuil in J. Hillaby, 'The Norman New Town of Hereford: Its Street Pattern and its European Context', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1983), 181-95; also B. J. Graham, 'Anglo-Norman Settlement in County Meath', *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, Section C, 75 (1975), 223-49.

136 *ChR*, 120, 136-7; *PR*, 1208, 84; *CR*, 1215, 224.

137 *ChR*, 1204, 139; Warren (1981), 36.

138 Kate Norgate, *John Lackland* (1902), Note 1 'John and the de Braoses', 187-8 for the quarrel; *CDI*, No. 402 for Walter de Lacy's submission.

139 *CR*, 1213, 134, 147; *PR*, 1213, 99; *FR*, 1213, 480, 487.

140 'Itinerary of King John, etc' in *PR* (1199-1216).

141 *PR*, 1215, 181; *CDI*, Nos. 541, 542, 544, 596, 612, 628, 631, 632.

142 *Memorials of Walter de Coventry*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 58 (1872), 232.

143 *PR*, 1215, 132; 1216, 193-4; *CR*, 1216, 283.

144 *PR*, 1215, 134.

145 Sir John Lloyd, *History of Wales*, 2 (3rd. ed. 1939), 643, 766.

146 Warren (1974), 11-8.

147 *CR*, 1216, 291; *PR*, 1216, 199.

148 Warren (1961), 255.

149 *Statutes of the Realm*, Charter of Liberties, 14-6.

150 *PR*, 1217, 108-9.

151 *FR*, 1204, 203; *PR*, 1203, 30.

152 Richardson (1960), 291, *'Nec de Catallis Iudeorum nec illis qui mortui sunt nec de illis qui mare transfretaverunt nichil scimus.'*

153 *PpR*, 1218, 90; 1219, 165; *PR*, 1216, 11.

154 *PR*, 1216, 194.

155 *PR*, 1218, 142, 149.

156 *PR*, 1218, 180.

157 *PR*, 1218, 157; Rymer, I (1816), 151; also Part 1, 367-8. For John's 1201 Charter, *ChR*, 1201, 93 and 1249, 347.

158 *CR*, 1233, 231; *CR*, 1246, 395; *EJ*, 1, 62. In the 1244 list (Table 8) in the case of two of the major loans (no. 11, 200 marks to John le Marshal and no. 17, £666-13-4 to Walter de Lacy) the wax, that is the deed recording the loan, was delivered by Benedict Crespin, *EJ*, 1, 66. Also Part 1.

159 *ChR*, 1200, 75.

160 *PR*, 1255, 396; Richardson (1960), 17; Roth (1941), 272. Aaron son of Vives was given by Henry III to his son Edmund Crouchback in 1270, *ChR*, 1281, 252. His 'special relationship' with the earl of Lancaster brought him into serious trouble with the rest of the London Jewry who tried to arraign him before 'the chapter of the Jewry' for divulging their secrets, Richardson (1960), 130 n4.

161 Richardson (1960), 'The Norman Jewry', 201-12.

162 *PR*, 1214, 14, 112, 152, 161; 1227, 358; 1228, 380.

163 *PR*, 1214, 112.

164 A. Grabois, 'Les Ecoles de Narbonne au XIIIe Siècle' in *Juifs et Judaisme de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1977), 141-57; J. Regné, *Etude sur la condition des Juifs de Narbonne de Ve au XIVe siècle* (Narbonne, 1912).

165 *PR,* 1214, 113.
166 Parkes (1983), 151, n6.
167 *PR,* 1224, 414, 419; Kate Norgate, *The Minority of Henry III* (1912), 191-215, 280-6, 290-2 and M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (1953), 19-25.
168 *PR,* 1216, 128, 131; 1217, 26, 77; *Annals of Clonmacnoise,* ed. D. Murphy (Dublin, 1896), 228. William was probably nicknamed 'Gorm' from the dark almost blue-black colour of his hair.
169 *CDI,* Nos. 743, 791, 808, 811, 835, 914. The 1220 agreement is in *CR,* 1220, 427. He was also given 20 marks a year compensation for the loss of Beathach Castle, granted by John to the archbishop of Dublin.
170 *Annals of Loch Cé, sa* 1220; *CR,* 1222, 501.
171 *CR,* 1223, 549; 1224, 590, 591; *PR,* 1224, 432, 435, 440, 483; *CR,* 1226, 39; *CDI,* No. 1229. Also Orpen, 3 (1968), 37-48 and Otway-Ruthven (1968), 90-2. Hugh de Lacy allied with Llewelyn.
172 *FR,* 1245, 445-6; *CDI,* No. 2452. For Blanche & Cuntessa see Part 1, Fig. 3.
173 S. Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), 189.
174 *CDI,* Nos. 2511, 2519, 2582.
175 *FR,* 1245, 445-6; *CDI,* No. 3009.
176 *FR,* 1215, 563, 601-2.
177 *CDI,* Nos. 656, 682, 718.
178 *PR,* 1217, 78.
179 *CR,* 1228, 26-7; *CDI,* Nos. 1329; *CR,* 1228, 80-1; *CDI,* No. 1857; *CR,* 1231, 565.
180 *CR,* 1228, 80-1; *CDI,* Nos. 1857, 1902, 1925; *CR,* 1231, 565.
181 Painter (1943), 170-90; Michael Prestwich discussing the wealth of the nobility in *The Three Edwards* (1980), 142-3 records that 'in 1314 the Earl of Gloucester enjoyed an income of about £6,000 a year. Thomas of Lancaster ... was probably in receipt of about £11,000 annually. Under Edward III Henry, Duke of Lancaster, received over £8,000 a year from his lands in England and Wales'. But 'most magnates did not enjoy such large revenues ... The grants made by ... Edward III to the earls created in 1337 suggest an income of 1,000 marks or perhaps £1,000 was considered sufficient to maintain the status of an earl'.
182 *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae,* ed. T. Stapleton, 2 (1848), lxx.
183 Richardson (1960), 204 quoting L. Delisle in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* 10, 187-96.
184 Wightman (1966), 205.
185 *ChR,* 1200, 80.
186 Davies & Quinn (1941), 21-3, 43, 9.
187 *Annals of Loch Cé; Annals of Clonmacnoise; Annals of the Four Masters, sa* 1210; G. H. Orpen, 'Athlone Castle: Its Early History', *J. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ir.* (1907), 257-76.
188 Davies & Quinn (1941), 23-7, 45.
189 Orpen, 2 (1968), 248; H. G. Leask, 'Irish Castles, 1180-1310', *Archaeol. J.,* 93 (1936), 143-99; *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses* (Dundalk, 1973), 30-4.'
190 H. G. Leask, 'Trim Castle', *Archaeol. J.,* 117 (1960), 179-82; 'The Castle of Trim', *Ir. Sword,* 5 (Winter, 1961), 94-7.
191 It is also known that the crown spent £380 building a keep at Wark, Northumberland, in 1158-61 and over £400 for the octagonal keep at Chilham, Kent in 1171-4 but both were relatively small castles, built before the onset of the great inflation. For the more elaborate works at Orford, Suffolk, 1165-73 Henry II spent £1,413. Colvin, 2 (1963), 629-37, 852-3, 613, 769-71. The cost of castle building in the late 12th and early 13th century is also discussed by Derek Renn in *Norman Castles in Britain* (1968), 21-26. His table comparing expenditure on six 'royal castles built entirely in the course of a few years whose expenses we can analyse season by season' does not, however, take account of the great inflation of the period.
192 Colvin, 2 (1963), 633 n6.
193 RCHM, *Herefordshire,* 1 (1931), 183-4 followed by R. Allen Brown, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *Eng. Hist. Rev.,* 74 (April 1959), 267; and D. F. Renn, 'The Round Keeps of the Brecon Region', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 110 (1961), 133-4, 137. A. H. A. Hogg & D. J. Cathcart King, 'Masonry Castles in Wales and the Marches', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 116 (1967), 71-132 gave a 13th-century date for the masonry at Longtown.
194 Richard Hartley's work at Longtown is referred to in J. K. Knight, 'Usk Castle and its Affinities' in *Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation,* ed. M. R. Apted, R. Gilyard Beer and A. D. Saunders (1977), 151.
195 John fitz Geoffrey's father, Geoffrey fitz Peter, had been appointed justiciar by Richard I in 1198 and held the office until his death in 1213. The son followed in his father's footsteps as an administrator but his interests at this time were in the north where he had been warden of the northern forests and sheriff of Yorkshire. F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward,* 1 (1947), 154.
196 *CR,* 1233, 257, 258, 264, 265; 1234, 414, 547, 558.
197 Peter Curnow, 'The Wakefield Tower, Tower of London', *Chateau Gaillard: Etudes de Castellogie médiévale,* 8 (Caen, 1977), 87; D. J. Cathcart King, 'Pembroke Castle', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 127 (1978), 75-121 and 'Pembroke Castle', *Chateau Gaillard,* 8, 159-67; Knight (1977), 139-53; Renn (1961) following B.

H. St. J. O'Neill in *A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology,* ed. V. E. Nash-Williams (1949) includes in his list of round keep the *turrim giganteam* at Caerleon, mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis in the *Itinerary through Wales.* However the context makes it clear that it was a Roman monument to which he referred: 'This city was ... handsomely built of masonry, with courses of bricks, by the Romans. Many vestiges of its former splendour may yet be seen; immense palaces ... a tower of prodigious size, remarkable hot baths, relics of temples, and theatres, all inclosed within fine walls, parts of which remain standing'.
198 O. E. Craster, 'Skenfrith castle: when was it built?', *Archaeol. Cambrensis,* 116 (1967), 133-47 who points out that four of the masons' marks found on the early 13th-century work at Llanthony Priory also occur at Skenfrith; Renn (1961), fig. 3.
199 RCHM, *Herefordshire,* 3 (1934), 142-3; *PR,* 1209, 91; *Book of Fees,* 1 (PRO, 1920), 803; *Monasticon,* 6, 399-400; *ChR,* 1227, 43; *FR,* 1245, 442.
200 John Leland, *Itinerary in England and Wales, 1535-43,* ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1964, Reprint), 3, 69 and 4, 166.
201 BL, Harleian MS 6726, f209.
202 RCHM, *Herefordshire,* 3 (1934), 196-8.
203 John de Verdun married one of Walter's granddaughters (FIG. 5). He received Westmeath, or the lordship of Loughsewdy as it came to be known, as well as a half share of Walter's English lands. See Orpen, 2 (1968), 118-22. *Book of Fees,* 1 (1920), 808 and 817.
204 *PR,* 1216, 199; 1218, 162-3; *CR,* 1218, 368. The perch of 24 feet is called the woodland measure.
205 *Monasticon,* 6, 489-90.
206 *Calendars of entries in the papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal letters,* 1 (PRO, 1893), ed. W. H. Bliss, 136, 141, 152-3, 163.
207 Page 250 and note 270 below.
208 William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire,* 1 (1730), 502; *CR,* 1228, 107. See note 294 below.
209 *CR,* 1228, 32, 34, 63-4, 66, 96-7; *LR,* 1227, 16, 19; 1228, 65, 78; 1230, 164.
210 *FR,* 1215, 562-4; *PR,* 1215, 149; 1216, 191; *CR,* 1228, 32; HDCR, Nos. 3230, 3234-6; *CR,* 1228, 115; 1230, 410, 464.
211 *PR,* 1234, 42. For John fitz Geoffrey see Orpen 3 (1968), 230-1 and note 195 above.
212 *PR,* 1238, 220; 1241, 261, 263; 1244, 421; 1246, 479; Burke (1866), 310.
213 *ChR,* 1232, 171; Eyton, 6 (1858), 73-7, 310-4; Wightman (1966), 258-9.
214 *'In vill' de Froma Castri iiij or hyde pro feodo militis quas Gilibertus de Lacy tenet de heredibus W de Lacy de honore de Webbel' de veteri feffamento',* 1242, *Book of Fees,* 1 (1920), 808-17; *FR,* 1249, 61; Eyton, 6 (1858), 312-3; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica, 1291,* ed. T. Astle, S. Ayscough & J. Cayley (Record Commission, 1802); *Herefordshire Domesday,* ed. V. H. Galbraith & J. Tait, Pipe Roll Soc. NS, 25 (1950), 44.
215 *Monasticon,* 5, 356; *ChR,* 1232, 171; *CR,* 1234, 430-1; *VCH, Shropshire,* 2 (1973), 50-2; 8 (1968), 74-5; J. B. Lawson, 'Harnage Slates ...', *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.,* LXIV (1985), 116.
216 *FR,* 1249, 61.
217 *ChR,* 1200, 80.
218 Colvin (1950), 15-40.
219 *Monasticon,* 6, 1035; Bannister (1917), item 60.
220 Peter Undergod's foundation charter for the hospital of St. John the Baptist, Ludlow, is published in *The Register of Charles Bothe,* ed. A. T. Bannister (Cantilupe Soc., 1921), 185-7. The copy in *Monasticon,* 7, 681, which is from another souce, is translated and commented upon in Eyton, 5, 296-9. The witness list attached to the translation in *Extracts from the Cathedral Registers, 1275-1535* trans. E. N. Dew is incorrect and seems to have been mistakenly transposed from the *Inspeximus* of Hereford Cathedral lands and liberties of 1241, *CR,* 1241, 257. See also the confirmation, 'recently found built up in the wall of an old house in Ludlow and ... destined for the Ludlow museum', published by H. T. Weyman in *Trans. Shropshire Archaeol. Soc.,* 3S 4 (1909), xviii. See also D. Lloyd, *Broad Street, its houses and residents through eight centuries* (1979), 10 & Fig. 18b which shows a moulded capital of the hospital arch seen from a first-floor room of the adjacent house.
221 Bannister (1917), item 42.
222 *Rotuli hundredorum,* 2, ed. W. Illingworth (Record Commission, 1818), 69, 72, 80; Eyton, 5 (1858), 25-6.
223 *CR,* 1246, 440.
224 *PR,* 1229, 289.
225 *Monasticon,* 6, 935-6.
226 *CR,* 1226, 16; *ChR,* 1226, 34. The deodand is printed in *Rolls of Justices in Eyre, Lincolnshire, 1218-19 and Worcestershire, 1221,* ed. D. M. Stenton, Selden Soc., 53 (1934), 647. Membrane 17 of this roll, although now placed in a Worcester context, clearly relates only to Herefordshire. Capes (1908), 187; *Ancient Deeds,* 6 (PRO, 1915), C 6735.
227 Bannister (1917), items 60, 59, 34; *PpR,* 1166-7, 144; 1175-6, 127; Wightman (1966), 206 quoting Llanthony Cartulary, PRO MS C115, A1, IV, 11; Cyril Hart, 'Metes and Bounds of the Forest of Dean',

Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc., 66 (1945), 183-7 quoting PRO E32/31 m5 (Perambulation of Dean Forest, 1282); *CR*, 1217, 334-5; 1219, 433.

228 *ChR*, 1227, 33-4; *PpR*, 1218, 90; 1219, 165; Cannon (1918), 216; *CR*, 1226, 100.

229 *CR*, 1237, 539, 579; 1239, 155-6; Dugdale, 1 (1730), 502-3; Colvin (1950), 28-9.

230 *Graham (1929), 226;* above 212-5.

231 *Monasticon*, 6, 1035-6, No. 2; *CR*, 1234, 367.

232 Above Part 1, 389; *CR*, 1242, 505.

233 Graham (1929), 231; Capes (1908), 106-7; Bannister (1917), item 39; *Register of Thomas Cantilupe*, ed. R. G. Griffiths (Cantilupe Soc., 1906), 128-31.

234 Above Part 1, 390.

235 *CR*, 1232, 38; *CDI*, No. 1875.

236 *CR*, 1233, 352; *EJ*, 1, 66.

237 *CR*, 1238, 122, 123; *CR*, 1240, 226, 258.

238 I am much obliged to Mr. Michael Faraday for drawing my attention to this material. PRO E163/1/10.

239 *CR*, 1237, 11; *FR*, 1241, 37; above 215.

240 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57, 4 (1872), 174; *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (1898), *sa* 1240.

241 For John of Monmouth see K. Kissack, *Medieval Monmouth* (1974), 24-7; *Dictionary of National Biography* and E. Foss, *Judges of England*, 2 (1848), 410-1.

242 *Register of St. Thomas, Dublin* (1889), 7, 13, 45, 420. Wightman (1966), 206 and Kissack (1974), 28 n31 suggest that Walter's father, Hugh II de Lacy, marrried Rose the widow, rather than Rose the daughter, of Baderon of Monmouth. This does not seem possible. Walter II de Lacy came of age in 1189 and Baderon of Monmouth did not die until about 1176. Yet the Rose who married Baderon between 1138 and 1148 was widowed at the earliest twenty-two years later. The Rose who was Hugh de Lacy's first wife had four children by him.

243 *Book of Fees*, 1 (1920), 99; *PR*, 1208, 87; *PpR*, 1211, 233; 'Itinerary of King John', *PR* (1199-1216); *PR*, 1213, 103.

244 *PR*, 1215, 134; Painter (1933), 189; Warren (1961), 255; *ChR*, 1232, 155. John's will is one of the most prized possessions of Worcester cathedral library.

245 *CR*, 1218, 378-9; *PR*, 1218, 143; 1226, 56, 59; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, RS 84, 3 (1889), 30; *PR*, 1238, 235; 1241, 254, 265; 1242, 276, 292; *CR*, 1240, 240.

246 Above 208. Speed's sketch of the round tower at Monmouth Castle is to be found in his plan of Monmouth in the *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611); *PpR*, 1207, 158.

247 Charles Heath, *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of ... the Town of Monmouth* (1804), 35 quoting from 'a curious Diary, in the year 1647, kept by an Usher of the Free School'. The original diary of More Pye has been lost. Keith Kissack, *Monmouth: The Making of a County Town* (1975), 39 n53.

248 Cyril Hart, *Royal Forest* (1966), 36 n158; *PR*, 1215, 153; 1216, 185; 1224, 419; above 214 and note 167.

249 *PR*, 1229, 317; *CR*, 1230, 283, 296; *ChR*, 1230, 14.

250 For Dore see D. H. Williams, 'Abbey Dore', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 2ii (1966), 65-104 and *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (1976), 1-57; *PpR*, 1199, 216 shows monks of Dore and Hospitallers assarting in the forest of Treville; 'Itinerary of King John', *PR* (1199-1216); *CR*, 1213, 156 provides the survey; *ChR*, 1227, 2; *CR*, 1251, 546.

251 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, RS 21, 4 (1873), 186-208. The principal sections relating to Abbey Dore at this time are available in A. T. Bannister, *History of Ewias Harold* (1902), 44-7; *PpR*, 1230, 222-3. On baronial income, above 218 and FIG. 11.

252 *CR*, 1231, 492, 493; *PR*, 1231, 435; *CR*, 1231, 601, 565.

253 *EJ*, 1, 66-8; *CR*, 1241, 354.

254 *BT (Hergest), sa* 1233. A full description of these events, based on Roger of Wendover's account is to be found in Kissack (1974), 25-6. *PR*, 1241, 254 and 276.

255 Lloyd, 2 (1939), 694-706; *CR*, 1242, 76; 1244, 209; 1245, 345.

256 *PR*, 1245, 28; *EJ*, 1, 116; *PR*, 1256, 500, 545.

257 *IPM*, 41 H3, Nos. 20, 101; *PR*, 1270, 418-9; *LR*, 1269, 116; A. J. Roderick & W. Rees, 'The Accounts of the Ministers for the Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont, Whitecastle (and Monmouth)', *S. Wales & Monmouthshire Record Soc. Publications*, 4 (1957), 6-29; Powicke 2 (1947), 704.

258 *EJ*, 1, 68, 102; *CR*, 1233, 314; 1230, 415.

259 *Chronica Majora*, 5, 95. This self indulgence cost Walter 1,000 marks.

260 *Calendar of ... papal registers*, 1, 411, 620; Capes (1908), 142-4; F. Noble, 'Herefordshire and Simon de Montfort: 1265', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1965), 111-8; HDCR, No. 1100.

261 Lloyd, 2 (1939), 511.

262 RCHM, *Herefordshire*, 1 (1931), 39-40; *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* (1924), 151 and (1928), lxvii-lxviii refer to Dr. Oscar Trumper's excavations and (1952), 27-8 and (1953), 82-4 refer to Air Commodore Douglas Iron's excavations of the outer gate or barbican.

263 D. J. Cathcart King, 'The Castles of Breconshire', *Brycheiniog*, 7 (1961), 76; Renn (1961), 138; Hogg & King (1967), 93. Richard Haslam writing more than a decade later, using Welsh Office records: 'the castle was first fortified by Richard fitz Pons of Clifford soon after the Norman Conquest of Brycheiniog in 1091-3, and the tower was probably built by his descendant Walter de Clifford II (III) between 1221 and 1263', *Powys* (1979), 302-3. See also P. E. Curnow, 'The Wakefield Tower, Tower of London' in Apted *et al* (1977), 175 n20.

264 *List of Sheriffs* (1898), 59; *PpR*, 1208, 191.

265 *PR*, 1215, 153; above 208-10. *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (1935), 1.10 Walter Clifford, Junior, to King John.

266 *PR*, 1226, 76, 82-3; 1228, 184; *CR*, 1231, 11; 1232, 171; *LR*, 1228, 78, 84; 1229, 141, 149.

267 Lloyd, 2 (1939), 678-80. It is alluded to in *VCH, Herefordshire*, 1 (1908), 363 where it incorrectly states that Walter de Clifford was driven into exile and that he only 'obtained restitution of his lands in 1235'.

268 *CR*, 1233, 251; above Part 1, 390; *CR*, 1233, 314.

269 *PR*, 1230, 336, 339; 1234, 52; *LR*, 1232, 190; *PR*, 1233, 25; *CR*, 1233, 232, 257, 273; *List of Sheriffs* (1898), 59. Hugh seems in fact to have been acting on his own account in response to what he considered Henry III's unjustified action of granting Aberllynfi, merely on the basis of Hugh's relationship to Walter de Clifford, to the royal crossbowman, Inge.

270 *PR*, 1233, 25; 1234, 41; *CR*, 1233, 267, 268, 350, 351; 1234, 434.

271 *ChR*, 1236, 217-8.

272 G. E. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, 3 (1913), 290; *FR*, 1286, 225.

273 *FR*, 1214, 528; *PR*, 1216, 32; 1224, 428; *CR*, 1228, 31, 76; 1229, 257, 260-1; 1231, 495, 565.

274 *VCH, Worcestershire*, 4 (1924), 193, 317; HDCR, No. 1100, 1592; Hart (1966), 25.

275 F. Noble (1965), 111-6; B. Coplestone-Crow (1979), 30-1; Roger II de Clifford is the subject of an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

276 The text of the life, with translation, was edited by Thomas Wright as *The History of Fulk Fitz Warine: An Outlawed Baron in the Reign of King John* (Warton Club, 1855) and more recently as *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, edited by E. J. Hathaway, P. T. Ricketts, C. A. Robson & A. D. Wilshere for the Anglo-Norman Text Society, 26-8 (1975). For Fulk also see Eyton, 7 (18), 67-79 and 11 (18), 33-9. The family has been the subject of a recent study, Janet Meisel, *Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf and Fitz Warin Families, 1066-1272* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1980) but this tells us very little about William fitz Warin. Also see S. Painter, *King John* (1949), 48-54.

277 *CR*, 1205, 25, 28; *Book of Fees*, 1 (1920), 100; *PpR*, 1205, 274; 1206, 66; 1207, 159; 1209, 621; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall, RS 99 (1896), 86, 497. This William Cantelupe (d. 1239) was the grandfather of St. Thomas. *CR*, 1217, 306, 317, 320; *ChR*, 1227, 55; *PpR*, 1230, 222. A short account of William fitz Warin's career is given in Foss, 2 (1848), 337-8. For the honour of Wahull, W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, 1 (1923), 64-5.

278 *CR*, 1215, 228; *ChR*, 1277, 33-4; PpR, 1218, 90; 1219, 165, 166; 1230, 216, 217; *FR*, 1218, 3, 7, 19; *Book of Fees*, 1 (1920), 460, 495, 500; *CR*, 1223, 564.

279 *List of Sheriffs*, (1898), 78; *CR*, 1218, 380; above 235; *CR*, 1219, 386.

280 *CR*, 1225, 77; *PR*, 1225, 562; *CR*, 1226, 140, 151, 154; 1227, 171, 180, 205, 208, 213; *PR*, 1227, 156, 126; 1228, 183.

281 *ChR*, 1227, 58; 1228, 74; *PR*, 1227, 145; 1228, 186; *BT (Hergest), sa* 1228; Wendover, 2 (1849), 509-11; Lloyd, 2 (1939), 667-9.

282 *PR*, 1229, 238; *Book of Fees*, 1 (1920), 36, 960, 961; *ChR*, 1227, 55; *CR*, 1228, 139. HE was also given permission in 1229 to enclose 'with a low hedge and ditch so that beasts of the chase may have free ingress and egress' 2½ acres of the wood of Erneresden, formerly in the royal forest of Salcey. This he gave to the canons of Lavendon, *CR*, 1229, 183; *CR*, 1226, 129, 130; 1229, 180, 155, 164, 254; *ChR*, 1229, 102.

283 *CR*, 1229, 100; *ChR*, 1229, 102; *PR*, 1229, 276; 1230, 412; 1231, 434; *Chronica Majora*, 3, 202.

284 *CR*, 1231, 601; *PR*, 1231, 453.

285 Powicke, 2 (1947), 624-5; Powicke (1953), 50-2; *PR*, 1232, 501.

286 *PR*, 1232, 4: *LR*, 1232, 190; 1233, 214-5, 227.

287 *CR*, 1233, 221, 268, 269; *LR*, 1232, 190, 193.

288 *PR*, 1233, 25; *LR*, 1233, 222, 230; *CR*, 1234, 367.

289 *LR*, 1233, 222, 229; *CR*, 1234, 494.

290 *EJ*, 1, 66.

291 *BT (Hergest), sa* 1233; above 243; *CR*, 1234, 390.

292 Powicke, 1 (1947), 131-8; Powicke (1953), 53-9; *PR*, 1234, 55; *CR*, 1234, 494.

293 *CR*, 1234, 553; 1236, 369-70; 1238, 124.

294 *EJ*, 1, 123. There is some confusion about the relationship of fitz Warin to the Lucys. Dugdale 1, (1730), 503 says of Sir William Lucy the younger 'I find nothing memorable but his marriage, which was with a great heir, viz Amicia daughter and heir to William de Furches and heir also to William fitz Warin, by whom he had issue Fouk de Lucy'. Amicia was thus the granddaughter of William fitz Warin. It is interesting that her own son, and ten of his lineage, took the name Fulk, evidently form from the more famous fitz Warin of the

Romance. By July 1251 Amicia's first husband was dead, for a document of that month referred to Amicia 'who was the wife of William Lucy', *CDI*, No. 3179.

On the other hand C. J. Robinson, *Mansions and Manors* (1873), 30 suggested that 'Sir Roger Furches left Purnell his daughter and heiress, who about 1240 married William Lucy and their manor of Bodenham Furches remained with their descendants until it was sold by Sir Thomas Lucy - Shakespeare's "Justice Shallow" - to Sir Thomas Coningsby in 1583'. J. Duncumb, *Herefordshire*, 2 (1812), 34 is even more confused and contradictory in his genealogy of the Furches and Lucy families.

295 Cecil Roth, *Short History of the Jewish People* (1948), 206.

296 Part 1, 389, 413 and note 107; for examples of John's policy see Warren (1961), 181-91; Painter (1943), 60-4; J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (1965), 107 and J. C. Holt, *The Northerners* (961), 177-8.

297 Printed in Stokes (1913), 252-75.

298 Westminster Abbey Muniments 6686-7, 6693 and 9012. These are printed in Lipman (1967), 187-225.

299 Lipman (1967), 103-8 describes the career of Isaac of Norwich; *PR*, 1231, 453; 1233, 12. At Isaac's death £4,919-7-10 was still owing on the fine levied in 1211.

300 On the de Vaux family see Sanders (1960) and *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Archaeol. Soc.*, NS 11 (1911), 46 and 51; *PpR*, 1210, 139; 1211, 156-7; *CR*, 1216, 246.

301 *PR*, 1221, 320; 1223, 369, 373-4; 1224, 441; 1225, 519; 1226, 47; 1230, 362.

302 *ChR*, 1228, 69 and 76. The bishop seems to have raised his terms, for the earlier agreement excluded the fief of Coupland. In the later agreement it was included but there was no increase in the rent de Vaux received.

303 *PR*, 1233, 12; *CR*, 1233, 231, 314, 352.

304 *CR*, 1233, 242; 1234, 401; *ChR*, 1234, 189.

305 Westminster Abbey Muniments 6692, printed in Lipman (1967), 245-52.

306 Their association with members of Hamo's family (Part 1, Table 13) may refer to bonds on difficult debts bought up at discount but there are examples in the Close and Patent Rolls as well as the records of the Exchequer of the Jews and the Cambridge and Norwich *archae* of such loans by London, York and Oxford magnates.

307 P. Elman, 'Jewish Finance in Thirteenth-century England', *TrJHSE*, 16 (1952), 95-6.

308 *CR*, 1231, 537. At first the burgesses ignored the prohibition. The market was forbidden on 27 July immediately after Henry III's departure for Wales. On 3 August the sheriff was ordered to take the town into the royal hands because the markets had been held contrary to the royal prohibition. He was also to ensure that the townsmen paid 'the money owing to the king without delay'. The burgesses did not hold out and shortly afterwards the king 'returned the government of the city into the hands of the townsmen', *CR*, 1231, 538, 545.

309 November 18-22, 1207; April 24-8, June 26, 1208; March 9, 16, 17, November 12-8, 1211; November 15-8, 1212; November 25-7, 1213; December 21-3 and 26-7, 1214; 24-31 July 1216. During the crisis of 1233 Henry III was at Hereford 20-9 August, 12-3 September and for most of the time from 2 November to 12 December.

310 A deed of 1250 refers to land 'lying between the bakehouse of the chapter and the highway and extending from the cemetery on the eastern side to the road leading to the fountain of the blessed Ethelbert', HDCR, 1497. This is the earliest record I have encountered of the well.

311 *CR*, 1223, 564; *PR*, 1224, 473; 1220, 238, 239; H. L. Turner, *Town Defences in England and Wales* (1971), Appendix C, 'The Distribution of Murage Grants, 1220-1490', 238-43. On city's wall see R. Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations, 2, Excavations on and close to the defences*, (1982). The murage tolls which were granted to the burgesses of Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth in 1220 are of considerable interest because the Hereford grant makes it clear that the same tolls were to be levied at Hereford: 'Each cart or handcart from outside the county bringing goods for sale was to pay 1d and those from within the county ½d; every horse load, or seam, of goods for sale, ¼d; every horse or mare, bull or cow, ½d; every 5 sheep, goats or pigs, ½d & *pro rata:* each ship bringing in goods on the Severn, 4d'. It is interesting to compare these with the tolls introduced in this county by the Ledbury Turnpike Act of 1721 (7 George I, c23), Hillaby (1982), 114-5. The Hereford tolls are specified in *PR*, 1228, 228 and 1230, 343. Eve de Braose was granted murage two years later for her town of Hay 'in the form that the citizens of Hereford have', *PR*, 1232, 477.

312 S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (1949), 278.

313 Above 243; Williams (1976), 66-7.

314 Meisel (1980) discusses the debts of the Corbets, the Pantulfs and William fitz Warin's brother Fulk III who owed the crown over £1,000 in 1222 and the Jews £108.

315 *ChR*, 1232, 166-7, 'Peter (de Rivaux) shall have for life the custody of the Jewry of Ireland, and all the Jews of Ireland shall be intendant and accountable to him as their keeper in all things belonging to the king.' *CR*, 1232, 102. As late as 1283 an Aaron of Ireland was charged with coin clipping, Rigg (1901), 121, 127.

316 Roth (1936), 204, 314; Richardson (1960), 58 refers to 'the impression of widespread and international lending by Christian merchants' even in the 12th century. For the 14th century see R. B. Pugh, 'Some Medieval Moneylenders', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 274-7.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am most grateful to Ron Shoesmith for drawing FIGS. 6, 8, 10.

Dr. Martin Dunne of Ludlow 1740-1814

By J. D. BLAINEY

'ON Sunday November 26th 1775, I catch'd cold by attending evening service in a church newly whitewashed. Immediately, I was sensible of the effect, being seized with a universal shivering though for many days suffered only slightly from a cold in my head. Having a good natural consitution and great animal spirits I disregarded many alarming symptoms. But on the 15th of the month following, the stitch in my side and between my shoulders became very violent, my respirations with difficulty performed and I coughed without intermission. Dr. Dunne was called in and he immediately ordered me to lose eight or nine ounces of blood which for the space of a few hours in some degree relieved me.'

This is the opening passage of a remarkable forty-six-page account of the long illness and treatment of Miss Heighway from 1775 to 1794, which has been preserved among the many papers, medical histories, letters and books left by Dr. Martin Dunne, B.M. (Oxon.) who was a medical practitioner in Ludlow from 1770 to his death in 1814.

Miss Heighway's long case history was written in a legible and well educated hand in an exercise book and provides much interesting information on late-18th-century Ludlow society as well as on the details of her medical history and treatment. Thus after two years of suffering, she described the onset of alarming new symptoms in spite of her treatment with repeated bleeding blistering and purgation. 'I was taken with a most extraordinary spasm when I became totally rigid and insensible during the continuance of the paroxysm which lasted from five to ten minutes and sometimes considerably longer. A strange sensation in the back part of my neck along the whole of the spine with a convulsive motion of my head indicated their approach. I then suffered excruciating pain in all my limbs resembling two forces pulling them in contrary directions and let my position be what it would at the time, the spasm would force me flat on the floor extended 'as a corpse with the last friendly offices properly performed.' These bizarre attacks continued for several years and included agonising spasm of the jaws which became so tightly clenched that only liquid nourishment could be taken through a gap caused by a broken tooth. Many pages of detailed description of the attacks follow and include notes of the episodes of excessive talkativeness from which Miss Heighway suffered at the same time as her jaws were clenched. In one of these episodes 'I gave my opinion of every individual of my acquaintance with many pertinent remarks ... Every sentiment of my soul was exposed to view whether in favour or disfavour of myself. I had also described the entire history of England from the conquest to the present day with many relevant anecdotes of each reign ... Dr. Dunne informed me that he had rarely heard such good sense spoken.'

The apparent failure of all conventional treatment after several years encouraged Dr. Dunne to suggest the use of electrical methods in 1779. The treatment was described by the patient as follows:- 'I was then put to sit on an insulated stool and a

piece of flannel applied to each side of my face and sparks drawn through by means of a brass rod. In about five or six minutes the muscles of my face somewhat relaxed. "The attacks however continued for the next ten years and were treated by Dr. Dunne on innumerable occasions with electricity and bleeding. A note in the Doctor's handwriting observed that she had been bled nearly seven pints in one three-week period so that it is perhaps not surprising that fatigue and breathlessness were prominent features of the illness. Although most of the treatment was carried out in her home in Ludlow, one occasion occurred while she was with friends seventeen miles away and although the doctor attended her there, he was unable to stay to watch the effect of treatment as he had to return to Ludlow in the late winter evening.

In spite of all these problems, Miss Heighway seems to have enjoyed to the full the social life of Ludlow, attending balls and entertaining her friends. In 1790, after a prolonged bout of illness she writes 'An engagement of a very pleasant nature having been long determined, I was unwilling to forgo the promised pleasure and therefore repeatedly that day drank freely of mulled port wine. My spirits were exilerated and I performed the important task of dressing for the assembly with great glee. Soon after arriving, I danced two dances and then went to supper.' The remission was short lived and Dr. Dunne was soon back with his electrical treatment, on this occasion for acute spasm of the fingers and toes which became so tightly clenched as to produce wheals in the skin. Similar chest spasm was relieved by a more sophisticated electrical method described by the patient again. 'The electricity was administered in a very gentle manner by conducting this subtle fluid from between my shoulders, where it was made to pass through the contracted part of my lungs to my left side, with an insulated rod connected by a chain to the conductor of the machine and then drawing it off by means of a brass rod held in the hand of an assistant. Within a short time this perfectly removed the spasm and all difficulty in breathing.' The final notes on this remarkable lady were made in 1794 by Dr. Dunne himself and suggest that he recognised the hysterical nature of her symptoms as she made a complete recovery and led a normal life after many years of illness.

A second almost equally detailed case report concerns a twenty-two year old, Miss Gough, who on 23 December 1780 suffered from hysterical fits with total inability to swallow and agonising pain in the head. The attacks were precipitated by the sound of bells and during them, she became totally rigid, able to support her weight on a single limb for many minutes or standing rigid with her arms pointing to Heaven for many hours. Her voice during the attacks was louder and higher in pitch than normal and her whole body totally insensitive to pain. There are many pages of description of the nature of the vivid hallucinations suffered by the patient, who thought herself surrounded by savages who were about to cut off her fingers and toes and to put out her eyes. She also described finding herself at the gates of Heaven where she became overcome by the Celestial Glory and unconcious for many hours. She was also treated by Dr. Dunne with electricity with apparent benefit and a later note in 1806 reported that she had had a further series of fits after a coach accident and following her sixth pregnancy but again, these were rapidly improved with electrical treatment.

These two patients were clearly suffering from hysterical symptoms presenting as some sort of organic disease and would be clearly identified in modern medical practice. It is interesting that electrical treatment, although of a somewhat different kind, is still used in such patients although the bleeding, purging and blistering is no longer fashionable.

The remaining twelve medical case reports in the Gatley collection are brief and are all written by Dr. Dunne himself, often with short comments. They describe patients with various muscular and rheumatic conditions who were benefitted by his electrical treatment, although two who did not respond are of special interest. The first concerned a young man with St. Vitus dance (rheumatic fever with chorea) whose muscular movements were greatly increased by the galvanic stimulus. The second was a lady with paralysis from the chest downwards resulting from a displaced spinal vertebra from scrofula (tuberculosis of the spine). Dr. Dunne observed that the paralysed muscles in her legs were totally unresponsive to very strong electrical stimuli produced by '40 turns of the machine and discharge from the Leyden vial.' The non-paralysed upper limbs showed a greatly increased sensitivity to small electric shocks accompanied by severe pain. This remarkable description is certainly one of the earliest accounts of the effect of electrical stimulation following spinal cord injury and together with the other case reports and records establishes Dr. Dunne as a highly original and accurate observer.

The electrical treatment used extensively by the doctor from 1775 onwards had become popular by the time of his death, but the earlier cases described must be among the first recorded in Britain. Electrotheraphy had been suggested and used in Italy by Galvani around 1760 but there are few records of its use in England until the early years of the 19th century. The electric charge was at first produced by rubbing a glass or metal rod with flannel or fur as described by Miss Heighway. The Leyden jar, the earliest form of condenser was first used about 1740 and detailed studies were carried out by Benjamin Franklin between 1750 and 1770. A very substantial shock can be produced from the discharge as, for example, in an experiment carried out in Paris to entertain king Louis XV when a line of Carthusian monks 300 yards long twitched and jumped simultaneously when connected together by a wire and given a shock from a Leyden jar. Dr. Dunne mentioned his 'Leyden vial' in 1785 and also the electrifying machine, which would have consisted of a rotating glass cylinder turned rapidly by hand and in contact with a leather pad connected to the Leyden jar. A letter to Dr. Dunne from a visiting relation, Margaret Mapleton, in 1806 thanks the doctor for 'the delightful excursions into Shropshire ... There is nothing that I should not be glad to see there again except that frightful electrifying machine that used to occupy after breakfast your parlour table.'

The Gatley collection includes more than 500 letters between Dr. Dunne and his family and circle which provide more information and details of his life. The Dunne family were of considerable importance in Herefordshire, the family estate at Gatley Park near Aymestrey having been purchased by Philip Dunne of Welsh Newton in 1678. The estate was left at his death to his youngest son Thomas, the two older sons

being left the sum of one shilling each in his will. Both the son and grandson of this first Thomas Dunne were also named Thomas and the latter was Martin Dunne's father. Martin was born at Gatley Park in 1740 and a younger brother Thomas was born two years later. The boys' mother died in 1744 when Martin was only four and there is little information on his early years. In 1755, his father purchased the property 36 and 37 Broad Street, in Ludlow and Martin was to live there for the rest of his life. This property was part of the 'Fayre House' which included 35 Broad Street, and had been built by Edmund Walter in 1560 shortly before his appointment as chief justice of South Wales. The house was described by Thomas Churchyard, the Shrewsbury poet in 1587 and was later owned by Sir Francis Lloyd of Maesyfelin, Cardiganshire from whom it was bought by Thomas Dunne. In 1757, a liberty was granted to Thomas Dunne by the Ludlow authorities to 'raise up before his freehold house a terrace walk as high as his outward doorstep with railings and palisade to be used as a common footpath, for a fine of £2.2.0 and a rent of 5 shillings annually.'[1] This terrace is still a landmark at the lower end of Broad Street immediately above the Broad Gate and features in pictures by Samuel Scott in 1760 and later in 1815 by an unknown artist.

Martin went to Brasenose College, Oxford in 1760 where he matriculated on 26 March. His name was removed from the college books in February 1763 but he was readmitted in July of that year. He again left Oxford in 1764 without obtaining his degree but was readmitted to Oriel College on 9 March 1765 to the B.A. course. There is no obvious explanation of the somewhat erratic attendance as the university records offer no evidence of misconduct or any disciplinary measures. In 1766, his father agreed to pay £60 per year from the rents of Gatley Park to Martin provided that his conduct was satisfactory, a matter to be decided by two independent gentlemen chosen by Thomas Dunne himself. Martin obtained a degree in law B.C.L. in December 1768 and in medicine on 14 July 1770. His medical studies would appear to have been mainly theoretical as although there were several excellent medical teachers in Oxford at that date, there is no evidence that Martin attended them or the Ratcliffe Infirmary.

Shortly after Martin had obtained his medical degree, his father died in Ludlow without leaving a will and letters of administration were granted to the newly-qualified doctor. There was obviously a serious financial crisis in the family as both Gatley Park and 35 Broad Street, Ludlow were leased to tenants. In 1776, Martin wrote to his younger brother, Thomas to remind him that their father had been unable to afford to maintain both young men at Oxford and that he, Martin, had given up a part of his own allowance to maintain his brother and that he had also raised a loan of £2,000 to settle the family affairs after the death of their father and in order to establish Thomas as vicar of Martley in Worcestershire. Although this living was in the possession of the Dunne family through their mother, expenses in installing the Reverend Thomas had been heavy and Martin complains that six years later, neither the debt nor any interest on the loan had been paid.

In spite of these problems, Dr. Martin had become established in practice in Ludlow from 36 Broad Street where he lived in some style. The house was large, with two parlours, seven bedrooms, stables and other offices. By 1780, he had ordered a new

chaise from a London cousin with the family crest on the back and on the winkles of the bridles of the horses. He had acquired a substantial library of over 600 books listed in detail in his note books and including many works of classical medical writers as well as those of his contemporaries. There was also a substantial collection of sermons and works by Goldsmith, Johnson, Swift and others, together with numerous medical and religious pamphlets, poems and essays. These books and papers included works in Greek, Latin, French typical of the educated gentlemen of his age: many of them are still in the Gatley Park library.

Apart from the medical case histories already described, there is little information regarding Dr. Dunne's medical practice and it seems probable that many papers were destroyed after his death in 1814. He was the first physician to the Ludlow dispensary, founded in 1781 with an initial subscription income of £661 and expenses of £521 in its first year, during which it treated 392 patients. The doctor had a regular pew in the parish church of St. Lawrence and was trustee for several estates of widows and minors in Ludlow.

The younger brother, the Rev. Thomas died at Martley in 1786 at the early age of forty-two, leaving a widow and two children, Thomas aged four and Charles aged two, and it is from the relationship of Dr. Martin to these two that much of the information regarding the doctor is to be gained. In 1780, he wrote to his widowed sister-in-law assuming full responsibility for the education and upbringing of the two boys and also complaining that she was demanding more financial support than had been agreed at the time of her husband's death. They remained with their mother until they were aged fifteen and thirteen respectively, when she received a letter from Dr. Dunne as follows:- 'Your children are now arriving at an age the most critical and consequently will require much attention. Since that is a point I think myself most qualified to undertake, I shall voluntarily undertake the task though I seriously feel the weight of it... I shall take your children under my inspection and care during their future holidays. You must see them at Ludlow and will therefore contrive to come here a part of that time. I mention a part as your being here the whole would materially interfere with my intended plan and cannot therefore be permitted. A week therefore or a fortnight of the Christmas Holy days I shall expect you at Ludlow, the remainder I shall reserve to myself nor shall I suffer it to be encroached upon. I shall of course, make it a point to be at home during the holidays and will dedicate the whole of my time to them and their interest ... No deviation on any account will be permitted from my determined plan and therefore I expect none will be attempted. You will perhaps think me very plain upon the subject.'

The following year the unfortunate mother wrote to her two sons at school in Macclesfield that she had just parted from Uncle Martin in tears as he had forbidden her to spend Christmas at Ludlow since he wished to spend every evening preparing his nephews for confirmation which would be impossible if their mother is present. She 'will be allowed to come to Ludlow in February and stay as long as she wishes to do so'. Mrs. Dunne continues, rather surprisingly under the circumstances to express to her sons her great gratitude for the generosity and care from Uncle Martin to herself and the boys.

There are regular letters from Dr. Dunne to the boys at school over the next few years, with long homilies on their behaviour and the conduct that he expects of a christian and a gentleman. Thus, in 1800, he wrote to Thomas then aged eighteen to complain that his nephew's writing is too feminine and unmanly and chides the young man for complaining of 'the exquisite tortures of toothache' which 'had it come from the pen of a timid nervous girl would be excused ... but such wailings are unbecoming to one who wears the stamp of a man.' Shortly after this, Thomas is severely reprimanded for a jaunt taken in Holy Week from his studies to visit a girl friend and is accused of deception 'a crime of the deepest dire and such as generally proceeds from a dastardly and depraved mind. The consequence of hypocracy is generally the leading of the criminal into still greater crime.' Thomas unwisely confessed to his Uncle 'that he had an attachment to Miss Broome not as deep as to carry to matrimony but beyond friendship.' The doctor, who remained a bachelor all his life replied angrily 'her cunning was such as to lead you or any other schoolboy into her trap. On being charged with her improper conduct her reply to you was that it was natural for young boys to flirt with young girls sooner or later and did not think that her flirtation would do any harm.' This letter continued at length and was followed by several more expanding on the evils of deception together with the strictest instructions to Thomas to have nothing further to do with the young lady.

There were unfortunately many other causes of complaint by Uncle Martin. On one occasion, he found Charles with 'a large bundle around his neck which seems to me exceedingly disgusting. He had concealed under his neck handkerchief a wad or pad or stiffener. This fashion that is folly, which surrounds the whole neck with a band as thick as the palm of the hand had its origin in a young man with a hereditary glandular disease and fools in the metropolis seem to have the same malady which spread with great virulence. You will know my mortal antipathy to such fashion which is perfectly disgusting to my feelings.' A week later a further letter continued at length on the same theme and positively forbade the young men to wear 'the square toe, the slipper, the pantaloon or half knee breeches whether immoderately long or short ... People who lead fashion are foolish noblemen or noblemen's fools, journeymen, tradesmen and people of no worth.' Dr. Dunne, seems also to have complained about his nephew's behaviour to Ludlow friends and neighbours as there is a letter from Admiral Vashon to the young Dunnes urging them to obey their uncle's instructions.

The letters continued at length for the next ten years between Dr. Dunne and his nephews, in particular with the older, Thomas. Fortunately for posterity, the doctor kept copies of many of his letters sent to the young men, especially when they were particularly indignant over some deviation of behaviour. Thomas went to Balliol College, Oxford in 1801 and was joined there by his brother in 1803, the former studying medicine and the latter divinity. There are many letters of complaint from uncle that they are too extravagant, are keeping bad company and neglecting their studies and repeated threats that if they do not mend their ways, their allowances will be cut. It must be remembered that Dr. Dunne was paying for the entire education of both nephews and their support so he may have had some justification for his attitude.

Rather surprisingly, the doctor approves of both nephews taking dancing lessons as these were necessary 'for the proper conduct of a gentleman.'

Thomas travelled to Edinburgh in 1805 to attend the medical school and hospital, then at the height of their fame. He sent to Dr. Dunne long and interesting accounts of his journey by stage coach and accounts of the medical fraternity and the patients that he was seeing in the city. Charles also obtained his degree and was ordained and installed as vicar of Earl's Croome in Worcestershire, also in the gift of the Dunne family. Fortunately, Charles also, was a prolific letter writer and diarist and corresponded almost weekly with his brother and frequently with Uncle Martin, as well as paying the latter many visits, the details of which are also recorded.

In 1808, Thomas moved to London to continue his medical studies at the Middlesex Hospital, and his weekly letters to Dr. Dunne provide much interesting material on contemporary medicine. He described seeing patients with hydrophobia, various heart diseases, venereal disease and many other problems connected with his lectures and demonstrations. After the rabies letter, Dr. Dunne wrote in reply that he hoped his nephew 'would pay particular attention to avoid the ideas of some of the mad doctors of today, the poison of whom is perhaps not less dangerous to the public although not so violent as that of mad dogs.' It is clear that Dr. Dunne has a very poor opinion of London medical practice and is constantly urging his nephew to leave the city and to settle in some good proper medical work. He also complains of Thomas's extravagance and appeals for money and in particular, of the company that the young medical student is keeping, 'Your behaviour has completely deprived me of my reason and had it not been for the immediate aid of an all merciful God, might have terminated my existence in this world.' He advised Thomas to read the sermons to Mr. Gisburne and fulminated against the writings of Dr. Paley whose 'thoughts are based upon the principles, or lack of them, upon which the French revolution was based.'

Dr. Dunne's annoyance with his nephew finally reached a peak in July 1810 after many letters of protest and after Thomas had spent nine years as a medical student and still appeared to be in no haste to sit for his degree, or to leave London. He wrote on 23 July, from Ludlow 'You say in commencement of your letter that you did not understand that I wished for particulars of your expenditure of your last remittance. If there was any meaning to words, it was impossible for you to misunderstand my letter. Your duty lay in endeavouring to make up in constant study and application to your medical studies for the time you have so shamefully mis-spent. If you will please to recall that my promises and your expectations were founded upon certain conditions, viz that you would follow my advice and directions implicity and without deviation, particularly with regard to dress and moral conduct. But your constant practice has been to follow the fashion of the world and to act in direct violation of the conditions laid down for your observation. I shall now require you to copy out the sermons of Mr. Gisburne each Sunday and transmit them to Ludlow on the Monday post, starting with the sermon on "Living after the flesh". The next week I shall expect you to transcribe in your own hand the 20th or last sermon on "Moral conduct required of christians". On your obiedience to the following commands, for I will not call it requests as you

have ever made it an unvarying maxim to disregard every request I have made to you, will depend whether I allow you £200 or £100 per year until you take your degree and are able to provide for yourself.' This letter, a copy of which was kept by Dr. Dunne continues in the same manner for several pages with accusations of ingratitude, false behaviour and indolence on the part of his nephew, whom it must be remembered was then aged twenty-eight and totally dependent upon his uncle financially. Thomas therefore meekly copied out the sermons weekly for the following twelve months, although he does complain on one occasion that the sermon on 'the sinfulness of man and the mercy of God' took him twelve hours on two successive Sundays and that he is suffering from severe headaches which are interfering with his medical studies.

Thomas Dunne obtained his medical degree and licence to practice in January 1811 and announced to his uncle his wish to remain in London to gain further experience and his hopes of an appointment as assistant physician at the Middlesex Hospital and at the Foundling Hospital, at both of which places he had obtained the support of the senior physicians. He also wished to take the examination for the membership of the College of Physicians of London. Dr. Dunne in Ludlow, however, strongly disapproved of all these suggestions and repeatedly threatens to cut off all financial support, finally and reluctantly agreeing to a three-month extension of the allowance. In May 1811, Thomas acquired his first private patient and wrote at some length to his uncle to describe the case and, tactfully to ask for advice, the three months being almost expired and the young man clearly in considerable financial difficulty. No reply came from Ludlow for two months, so Thomas wrote that he is determined to stay in London. The reply from Ludlow, dated 7 July 1811 is quoted in full:-

'Sir, I received your letter informing me of your intentions. Pursue them! It is clear that the powers of earth and hell have been ransacked to aid the combination that has been formed against me. Be it so! I have acted my part and am satisfied that there is a power who saith "to Me belongeth vengeance, I will repay". To that Power I refer my cause for execution knowing assuredly that He will execute with strict justice and effect. The great God is a merciful God and we know that we have a Redeemer who will make intercession for those who with a trully penitent heart and lively faith turn to Him for succour. Adieu. M. Dunne, Ludlow.'

This is the final letter from Dr. Dunne to his nephew and it appeared as though the breach and the latter's expectations of the Gatley estate were ended for good. Thomas was penniless and went to live with his brother at Earl's Croome for three months from August 1812, writing to his uncle that he 'is overwhelmed with affliction that my conduct should be a cause of misery to you. I did not intend any injury and therefore let me beg that I may not stand convicted in your mind of an offence of which, Heaven knows, I am innocent.' Friends and neighbours in Ludlow, including Admiral Vashon and Dr. Babbington also urge Dr. Dunne to be forgiving, but the doctor wrote at the foot of one of these letters that all commerce between his nephews and himself is now at an end. 'This is my last word in the matter.'

A closer examination of the equally voluminous correspondence between the two brothers is revealing as it sheds much light on Dr. Dunne in this period from 1805 to

1814. Charles wrote regularly to his brother and was also in closer communication with Ludlow, visiting Dr. Dunne there regularly until 1812, when matters became too difficult. In 1809, he wrote to Thomas 'my uncle and I hit it off famously well, we have never had the smallest dispute about anything, nor I think it likely that we shall, as I give in to him in everything. He is very unwell with his old complaint, the gravel, and does not venture now but very seldom even in his gig, and is much worried lest a stone is forming in his bladder.' Several months later, Dr. Dunne complained to Charles about his brother's behaviour in London and objecting strongly to the suggestion that he might become a military surgeon, the main reason being that it would result in Thomas being away from Ludlow more than the doctor would wish. It is evident that Dr. Dunne was already planning that his nephew should succeed him in Ludlow, although Charles repeatedly urged his brother not to contemplate such a move, and at that time to avoid even visiting Ludlow since 'he is now so odd in his notions that he thinks it a vice even to visit one's friends. He would not allow me to go out anywhere last week and was much displeased because I went very early to Gatley and returned by breakfast time.' By 1810, Charles wrote to his brother that the 'old gentleman is now suffering from loss of memory and the pleasing ideas that used to accompany me on my journey to Ludlow are now vanished and duty only is the motive, which I am sorry to say, leads me on now. I do not doubt that I could have had as sincere an affection for my uncle as I have for you if his conduct had been equally endearing and friendly. But no! I shall always respect him but more I cannot do.'

The increasing irascibility was also evident in the doctor's own letters and those from Ludlow neighbours. In 1810, when he was nearly seventy, he accused his servants, one of whom had been with him for twenty years, of conspiring to prevent the doctor from choosing his friends and of stealing beer and ale from the cellar. Both servants were dismissed and Dr. Dunne was furious because local residents, including Mr. Alban, the Vicar of Ludlow parish church, gave them accommodation and then employed them or arranged for them to have good posts. The doctor was apparently dissuaded by his lawyer from attempting to prosecute the servants as they were totally innocent of any charge. Mr. Alban attempted reconciliation as he wrote that he had grafted a dessert apple much appreciated by the doctor for his use and that he had never designedly offended or given cause for breaking relations of many years standing. Dr. Dunne was not to be appeased and wrote in reply 'Dr. Dunne has given up the dispensary and having ample cause for breaking off all connections with Mr. Alban will give directions that his subscription to Clergymen's widows will be paid at Mr. Willings bank when called for.' There were also angry letters from the doctor to various tenants at Gatley who had felled trees or attempted to enclose land on the estate. This was in marked contrast to the rather relaxed agreement to such practices in previous years when Dr. Dunne was acting in his capacity of Lord of the Manor of Leinthall Earls at the Courts Baron of the Manor.

A further source of friction arose with the nephews in 1812, when Dr. Dunne dictated to his agent, Smith, a letter to Charles as follows:- 'although his health has been restored as best as may be expected for his age, he wishes to leave family affairs in

harmony. He had re-examined his brother's will naming Dr. Dunne as executor from 26 years earlier and discovered that he should have terminated the Trust when his nephews were 24 and had not done so. He therefore requests that the brothers will inform him of any claim that they may have on their father's will. He further asks for accounts of all moneys given to the nephews over the years.' Smith also told Charles on delivering this odd letter that Dr. Dunne was sending his lawyer to Earl's Croome to examine the deeds of the property and other matters. Both nephews protested that they had regarded Uncle Martin as a father and had naturally not kept full accounts of all expenditure since their childhood. The matter was not resolved and from 1812 until very shortly before Martin Dunn's death in 1814, there was no communication between him and the nephews.

While these troubles were in progress, another long correspondence was taking place between Martin Dunne and a cousin on his mother's side, Lieutenant Cecil R.N., of Ludford Park, Ludlow. This young man, who had a slightly chequered earlier history, had entered the Navy with a commission financed largely by Dr. Dunne and with the influence of Admiral Vashon, the close neighbour of the doctor's in Ludlow. The letters opened with one of extreme gratitude from Cecil to his benefactor, written in 1810 from Plymouth. He was ordered with his ship, the *Tonnant* to Cadiz, from where an interesting series of letters were sent to Dr. Dunne describing the storms off the Portuguese coast, the wrecking of Spanish and French ships and the casualties in the fall of the city in the campaign against Napoleon's armies in the Peninsular war. There were vivid accounts of an attack by a 26-oar gunboat commanded by Cecil up the river Tagus and of the destruction of a French prison ship with more than 200 prisoners burned to death, and in several of the letters Cecil enlarged upon the cruelties of war and his desire to return to civilian life and to live with Dr. Dunne in Ludlow.

September 1810 saw Cecil back in London attempting to gain promotion from the Commander-in-chief, the Duke of York and he wrote to Dr. Dunne to express his frustrations at the difficulties and delays of such activities. He also mentioned that he had bought many of the books recommended by the doctor, including the sermons of Mr. Gisburne already described as prescribed reading for Thomas Dunne. On 8 September, he wrote 'I see your constant remembrance of me and your wish to perpetuate the principles I wished to obtain, but which until I made your valuable acquaintance I had no opportunity of imbiding ... I am sorry to find that great jealousies have arisen in Ludlow on account of your fatherly kindness to me but I beg you to keep the secret and to burn this letter after reading it.' He continued that he would willingly accept hospitality at Ludlow on half pay and will return all loans made from the goodness of Dr. Dunne, or in the event of the latter's death, to Thomas Dunne. A few weeks later, Cecil is writing to commiserate with the doctor over the servant problem already referred to and over the quarrel with the nephews. He wrote 'it is hard indeed at your time of life and having lived so long among people whose fortunes you have assisted to find ingratitude and desertion' Cecil continued at some length to extol the virtues of 'being called to a higher life' and concluded this flowery and somewhat tactless letter 'I think then with humble though honest joy to what heights of glory you may attain.'

The interview with the Commander-in-chief of the Navy proved unsuccessful and Cecil was ordered to rejoin his ship without delay. After a brief trip to Ludlow in October 1810 to stay with Dr. Dunne, he returned to the *Tonnant* and to the naval war with Napoleon. He continued to write regularly expressing his deepest gratitude for all the doctor's kindnesses and his forceful condemnation of the behaviour of the nephews. There are hints in the letters from Lisbon that Cecil has been given substantial, though rather vague, promises for the future by Dr. Dunne at this time, possibly even the opportunity of inheriting the Gatley estates. Thus in March, 1811 he wrote 'though not yet fully acquainted with your exact intentions I know you too well not be to satisfied with what you think best for me.' At this time however, the doctor was apparently becoming disillusioned with his young cousin and after a period of silence, he wrote angrily to Cecil, as usual keeping a copy of the letter, accusing the latter of impudently cashing a draft for £40 without warning and of trying to supplant the nephews in the doctor's affections. 'I had made to you offers as probably you will not have opportunity of rejecting a second time, which were rejected and the promises of the great preferred to my humble offers. My offers were not only rejected but my fidelity was impeached without the most distant cause for such suspicions ... I find it now proper to undeceive you and to inform you that it is my determined resolution to withdrew myself as much as possible from a world in which little else but the basest ingratitude has been my portion throughout the greater part of my life and to limit my future connections entirely within my domestic circle ... Our hands are so full of business at present that we scarce know which way to turn. You wish to consult me with respect to your future, but my situation in life does not render me capable of giving you proper advice. You will therefore consult those friends who you previously consulted.' This diatribe was dated February 1811 and included at the bottom was a note from the doctor that he had given Cecil over £200 between May 1810 and April 1811.

Cecil was extremely upset at this sudden rejection and change of tone in his patron's letters and wrote back repeatedly with explanations and excuses for his conduct. This appeared to be partly successful as he was back in Ludlow on leave in May 1811. A week later, he wrote to express his joy at finding the doctor in good health and spirits and to hope that his enemies will no longer disturb his peace of mind. Unfortunately, Cecil also continued to ask for more money to aid his long delayed promotion and to furnish adequately living quarters for a shore station. These requests were brusquely refused by Dr. Dunne and by 1813, the relationship was at an end. Cecil was posted to the West Indies, and there are several interesting letters on the appalling conditions of the natives there and the very high death rate from 'yellow jack' in Panama and Cathargena. He took his leave of Dr. Dunne with sorrow and distress. The final letter in October 1813 is labelled in Dr. Dunne's own hand 'Cecil's last letter ... important as it again acknowledges pecuniary favours to the last.'

During this eventful period of 1809 to 1813 other events connected with nephew Thomas were causing the doctor serious concern although they are not referred to in the letters except in a guarded way between Thomas and Charles. In 1809, Thomas became deeply attracted to the daughter of a wealthy neighbour, Colonel Smith of Bircher Hall. Neither the girl's father nor Dr. Dunne approved of the liason, particu-

larly as by that date, Thomas had not yet obtained his medical degree and was still in London as a student. Anne Smith wrote to Thomas in October, 1809 that she was dismayed that he wished for an engagement as she lacked the courage to press her parents and felt that all hope of marriage must be abandoned if they refused. A mutual friend of the couple, Sir John Cotterell, of Garnons, Hereford was asked to intercede for the young people but was apparently unsuccessful. Charles' diary indicates that Thomas and Anne met at intervals during the next four years but that opposition remained resolute on the part of both her parents and Dr. Dunne, and in 1813, Anne wrote to Sir John Cotterell to request him to inform Thomas Dunne that all relationships must be severed between them as a result. This letter was promptly sent to London, where Thomas was then practicing still apparently without much financial support. In October, 1813, Dr. Thomas Dunne writes back to Anne, via Garnons, that 'Colonel Smith's objections are now unfounded owing to the generous settlement and handsome allowance to be made by Uncle Martin and that he hopes that he still has her affections. 'It is not clear whether this was wishful thinking on Thomas' part as there is no hint of any such agreement on the part of Dr. Dunne and the relationships with both nephews were still very strained. However, the assertions of Dr. Thomas Dunne seem to have convinced Anne's parents as he was a guest at Bircher in the summer of 1814 and several letters passed between the couple before their marriage in 1815, some six months after Dr. Martin Dunne's death and when Thomas had inherited the Gatley estates.

The last two years of the doctor's life were made increasingly difficult by ill health and by his temperament, but there were also other problems. He had befriended yet another young man, Smith, his agent for the estate, whom the nephews and Ludlow neighbours seem to have thoroughly disliked and distrusted. Dr. Dunne made a gift of £6000 to Smith in 1814, so there was perhaps justification in the allegations by Charles to his brother that the agent was attempting to supplant the nephews in Uncle's affections and was responsible for some at least of the ill feeling in the family. By August, 1814, Dr. Martin was seriously ill and wrote to a relative of his mother's family, a Mrs. Beaver, expressing fully his thoughts on a future life in the next world and his acceptance of his existence in this human world. He also sent money for Mrs. Beaver and her daughter to travel to Ludlow and hoped that they would stay for a prolonged period. She replied that 'although I am unable to take up my abode in Ludlow as suggested, both I and my daughter will come for six weeks or more ... I am too full of gratitude for Dr. Dunne's kindness and too full of emotion to write more at present.'

The Rev. Charles Dunne's diary indicate that 'a Mrs. Beaver' did in fact arrive at Broad Street in October, 1814 to find the doctor very seriously ill and immediately set about the task of reconciling him to his nephews and especially to persuade him to leave a will, a matter that the doctor's own correspondence and notes make clear that he had avoided for the previous four years. Mrs. Beaver wrote to Charles and Dr. Thomas Dunne and was instrumental in arranging for them both to come to Ludlow and to settle all their differences shortly before Dr. Martin died in his seventy-fourth year on

18 December, 1814. He was buried at Aymestrey, the chief mourners being the two nephews and the pall bearers included Admiral Vashon, Mr. Davies of Croft Castle, Dr. Babbington and Dr. Thorpe of Ludlow. A memorial tablet in Aymestrey Church records some of the earlier members of the Dunne family and concludes with the name of Dr. Martin Dunne of Ludlow, 1740-1814.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my thanks to Miss Sue Hubbard, M.A., Dip. Ed., at the Hereford record office for introducing me to Dr. Dunne and for much help and advice, also to Captain Thomas Dunne of Gatley Park for his interest and encouragement and to Mr. David Lloyd and Dr. Dennis Smith for assistance with the Ludlow records and contemporary medical works.

REFERENCE

1 D., Lloyd, *Broad Street, its houses and residents through eight centuries,* Ludlow Research Paper No. 3, (1979).

Five Leominster Historians

By NORMAN C. REEVES

1. JOHN LODGE, 1756-1830

JOHN Lodge was born at Deepdale in the parish of Hubberholme in Yorkshire in 1756. He was the son of John Lodge, gent. He was baptised at St. Michael's, Hubberholme 21 November 1756. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, 10 May 1777, and graduated B.A. in 1782. He was admitted deacon 15 April 1780, and priest, 16 December, 1780, and was appointed curate of St. Nicholas, Hereford, 10 April 1780. He was instituted rector of Coddington in 1781, but did not sign registers there till 1794. Previous to this, curates had functioned for him. Joseph Taylor (1781-3), D. Williams (1783-94) George Pritchett (- 1795). In 1801 he became vicar of Bosbury where he functioned regularly till he died in 1830.

Meanwhile, however, he had been admitted to the perpetual curacy of Kimbolton and Middleton on the Hill in 1784 (15 May). Up to 1784, from 1760 Sir John Dutton Colt, bart M.A. is recorded to have been perpetual curate of the combined parishes. Although he is also recorded as having resigned in 1784, he went on filling up the registers as curate up to 1808. He died in 1809.

John Lodge seldom appears in the registers of Kimbolton and Middleton. In 1784 (May 4) he married Sir John's daughter, Ann Colt, by licence. Their son was born 21 February 1785, but Ann died and was buried on February 24. Little John Lodge died aged five and was buried 23 March, 1789.

There is a memorial to wife and son in the priory church, Leominster, which is inscribed as follows:-

'In caemetario sub australi hujus aedis parte depositae sunt reliquiae
Annae Lodge.
Fil T.D. Colt Baronetti et J. Lodge.
Cler. 'Uxoris lectissimae, charissimae, optimae. Si aetas si forma destenda sit Si corporis animique dotes, luctui nullus erit modus Puerperio decesset 21 Februarii 1785 Annum Aetatis agens 22 dum
Relicto filiolo Johanne Puero tam jocundo tam venusto Tam felice indole preedito, Ut nihil supra.
Sed heu! ereptns fuit tenera aetate
Nempe 22 do die Martii 1789
Et eodem tumulo
Que mater sua sepulta jacet -:
Abi Lector et tecum reputa
Quam vanae spec sint quam fluxa Hominum gaudia'

Translation

In the graveyard under the south part of this church are deposited the remains of ANNE LODGE daughter of T.D. Colt bart. and the choicest, dearest, best wife of John Lodge, Clerk.
If time and space were enlarged, if qualities of body and mind allowed, my sorrow would know no bounds. She died in childbirth 21 February, 1785 in the 22nd year of her age, leaving a little son, John, who was as cheerful as he was pretty and endowed with so happy a nature that none could be better.

But alas! he was snatched away at a tender age on 22 March 1789, and lies buried in the same grave as his mother.
Go reader, and consider how vain our hopes are, how fleeting human joys!

A year or so after Anne's death, John Lodge married (9 October 1786) the widow of Thomas Ward, Esther. Thomas Ward, born in 1727, was a son of John and Sarah Ward, the grandparents of Mr. Kemble and Sarah Siddons. He died in 1784. According to his epitaph he had talents rarely equalled, was a good Christian, and a tender and affectionate husband.

Esther, née Spencer, was already forty-four when she married the thirty-year old John Lodge. He hoped, no doubt, that she would mother his little son. Sadly, the child died in 1789, five years old. When John Lodge married Esther in 1786, the licence speaks of him as 'Clerk of the parish of St. John the Baptist, Hereford'. The couple were married in Leominster by the Rev. Jonathan Williams, the curate and master of Queen Mary's Grammar School. Why the perpetual curate of Kimbolton and rector of Coddington[1] should be described as 'Clerk of the parish of St. John the Baptist' is puzzling.

It would seem that Lodge was living in Leominster, for he was made a capital burgess in 1780 and served as such till 1807—twenty-seven years. In 1793, the year in which his *Sketches towards a Topographical History of the County of Hereford* was published, he was bailiff of the town.

In 1799 he was chaplain to the sheriff of the county of Hereford, Sir Henry Tempest, bart. As such he preached a sermon before the justices of assize in Hereford Cathedral. In this sermon he deprecates the speculations of the philosophers, who by casting doubt upon the truths of revealed religion, destroy the hopes of the poor and afflicted of society and 'spread discontent' misery and ruin throughout the world. He also regrets the popularity of novels, 'with their bewitching thoughts of infidelity and vice which intoxicate the heads and corrupt the hearts of thousands of our young people'. He condemns 'the midnight orgies of the great, their total defiance of all expense and violation of all decency in the headlong pursuit of pleasure'. 'There is amongst all orders and degrees of men a most gross and shameful neglect of the public worship of God and particularly of the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper.'

This picture of society seems all too familiar to us today, though it is now nearly two hundred years old.

By the time Lodge preached his sermon he was duly performing his duty as rector of Coddington.

As rector of Coddington he appears to have been under employed, for he applied for and acquired the post of master of the Grammar School in nearby Ledbury. He was licensed by the bishop of Hereford on 20 March 1800. He presumably occupied this post until his successor William Humphreys was appointed in 1822.

He was appointed to the vicarage of Bosbury in 1801, and continued in that office until his death in 1830.

Along with the offices above-mentioned, John Lodge continued to style himself perpetual curate of Kimbolton and Middleton. In 1822 he nominated and appointed one Thomas Jones to perform the office of curate there, and promised to allow him £32 p.a. and surplice fees for his stipend. Jones was not to reside at the Glebe House, but in Leominster.

One wonders how he combined his duties as a capital burgess of Leominster with his teaching and pastoral work in distant parishes. He probably rode backwards and forwards to Leominster on horseback, and possibly lived there for some of his time, at least until the death of his wife in 1805. In 1807 he resigned his post as capital burgess, writing to the corporation to say he was unable to attend their meetings owing to his distant residence.

The inscription on his memorial in the Morton Chantry of Bosbury Church reads as follows:-

'John Lodge AM, Vicar of Bosbury and of Hill in Gloucestershire.
Died the 23rd July 1830 in the 73rd year of his age.
Sir John Dutton Colt, Bart, caused this tablet to be placed here to perpetuate the memory of departed worth'.

His Will

The terms of John Lodge's will make it clear that his nearest relative was a nephew, Christopher Beverley, a solicitor of London, to whom he left all his books and pamphlets and some silver table ware. He seems to have feared that this nephew might resent being left so little of his estate, for he warns him that if Beverley should bring any Bill or charge against his executors for business transacted on his account, his bequest was to be revoked; it was to be considered as part of the residue of his estate.

He left his faithful servant Sarah Peirce all his linen and wearing apparel, his Tent-bed and beddend and the bedclothes and furniture connected with them.

He left his manuscript sermons to his friend, The Rev. Geoffrey Hebden of Evesbatch, and added a few tablespoons, candlesticks etc. To his friends the Rev. Joseph Higgins of Eastnor, and Geoffrey Hebden, again, all the rest of his household goods and chattels, and all the residue of his personal estate, money and effects, upon trust, that they should collect all money due to him, and sell and convert into money such part of his residuary estate, pay all his just debts and funeral expenses. This done, they were to hand the rest to his friend Sir John Dutton Colt of Hill Court, Gloucestershire.

His executors were the two clergymen the Rev. Jos. Higgins and the Rev. Geoffrey Hebden.

It is obvious that he remained throughout his later life on the warmest terms with the relatives of his first wife, Anne Colt. It was appropriate that his chief legatee should raise a memorial to him in Bosbury Church.

His Topographical History of Herefordshire, 1793

This, the first book ever to be printed in Kington, and dedicated to John, Lord Viscount Bateman, is properly entitled *Introductory Sketches towards a Topographical History of the County of Hereford,* for it was intended as a basis for more detailed studies of the county's history. The author invites the nobility, gentry and clergy of Herefordshire to send to him at Leominster answers to a list of queries which he prints in the book, by which he expects to obtain the information for a serious work. He suggests to his fellow clergy that they should undertake to write the histories of their parishes. He clearly had in view something in the line of Duncumb's history, the first part of which appeared in 1806. It may have been prompted by Lodge's appeal. Duncumb's history, though continued by others, after his death, has never been completed.

Lodge's 'Sketches' is a slim volume of 210 pages of which about 50% is concerned with the geography, products and customs of Herefordshire. He gives twelve pages to the Roman Conquest of the Silures and forty-three more to the period from 410 A.D. to the reign of Charles I. Of these forty-three pages he devotes twelve to the story of St. Ethelbert, which seems a little out of proportion, though it strikes me as a very sober account.

I find it odd that a historian so familiar with Leominster could state that William de Braios 'set the town of Leominster on fire which, together with the Church, was burnt entirely to the ground'. Other friends of John Lodge in Leominster were John Price, a school-master, whose *History of Leominster* appeared in 1795, and Jonathan Williams, whose *Leominster Guide* appeared in 1808. Price expresses his debt to a 'Gentleman of Leominster, whose name he is not authorised to mention, for a variety of very useful information, but likewise for the better arrangement of the greatest part of the present work.

In his *History of Hereford* 1796 he is more explicit: 'Many passages have been taken with permission from some valuable documents collected by the Rev. John Lodge, to whom the Editor acknowledges himself under very great obligations'. He writes of 'John Lodge', with whom he has the honour to be intimately acquainted. (Preface).

2. JOHN PRICE, 1772-1801

John Price, the first historian of Leominster, was, he tells us, a native of the town, and chose it as his subject from love of the town, though he knew more of other places. In his preface to *An Historical and Topographical Account of Leominster and its Vicinity,* he apologises for its deficiencies by remarking that 'it is the first production which to his knowledge, has been published concerning any particular part of the County of Hereford.'

John Price, living in Leominster in 1793, is described in a Directory of that year, as French master. In his *Hereford Journal* Obituary of 15 April 1801, he is described as Linguist and Author of Histories. I have found no evidence of his education. It seems likely that he received some of it at Queen Mary's Grammar School, Leominster, but as no records of the pupils of the school survive, and Price does not mention it himself this can only be a surmise. Where he obtained his linguistic knowledge also remains a mystery. As he was not a graduate of one of the old universities, it is in vain that one

consults their records. He may have attended one of the academies conducted by the nonconformists, which flourished at the period, because non-Anglicans were debarred from the universities. This seems a likely possibility as these institutions, unlike the universities, specialised in the useful modern languages in which Price was a specialist, French and Italian. As a teacher of French, he may have been employed, perhaps on a part-time basis, at the schools of Leominster and Hereford. Indeed one gets the impression, from his familiarity with Ludlow, Hereford and Worcester that he was a peripatetic teacher. In her 'Memoirs', Mary Sneade (1780-1858), daughter of the Rev. Samuel Sneade, Vicar of Bedstone, near Ludlow, makes an interesting reference to John Price, who gave private lessons to herself and her sister. They had the advantage of a French and Italian teacher who had been abroad ... the excellent son of a poor mother. His name was Price but they called him Mons. Jean Pris. He walked across the lovely landscape every fortnight and spent 2 happy days at Bedstone. When the lesson was over ... their father and Price discoursed on the Politics of the day and with wisdom and moderation pointed out the faults which had led to Revolution in America and France ...[2]

John Price's publications began in 1795, possibly with his play, *The Seaman's Return* or *The Unexpected Marriage,* which he describes as an 'Operatic Farce'. It was published by H. Procter of Ludlow. The play was performed by 'Their Majesties' Servants, of the Worcester, Shrewsbury, Ludlow and Wolverhampton theatres'. Price says it was written to serve as a vehicle for the musical compositions of a friend, and admits that it owes much to a comedy much admired in Germany. In the same year, 1795, Price published his *History of Leominster,* which he dedicated to Lord Bateman, just as John Lodge had done two years before, when he dedicated his *Sketches towards a Topographical History of Herefordshire* to the same patron. Price's own 'History' seems to have been a response to Lodge's appeal to local historians to record the stories of the places they knew well. John Price knew Lodge well, and acknowledged his debt to him in his two Herefordshire histories.[3] In 1796 he followed his Leominster book with his *History of Hereford.* In the year 1797 he published the second edition of *The Ludlow Guide* which ran into four editions.

About this time Price migrated to Worcester where in 1799 he published his *Worcester Guide.* Chambers, in his *Biographical Illustrations of Worcestershire* remarks that, 'Price's acquaintance with the various departments of polite literature was accurate and extensive, (he taught Latin, French, Spanish and Italian). He had pedestrinated (sic) through France, Italy etc., and is represented as being a little active man. His manners were affable and his conduct marked with integrity.' Price also wrote in 1797 *The Englishman's Manual, containing a liberal view of the Constitution Laws, Government of England, designed as an Introduction to the knowledge of these important studies.*

John Price's book on Leominster is slight as a history. Indeed his second chapter is headed 'Sketches towards the History of the Town and its Vicinity' and occupies only forty of the book's 272 pages. His other chapters deal with the Town, the Priory, the Church, with its tombs and inscriptions, and a few local places. It says a little about

other religious denominations, and, most usefully, gives translations of charters and other documents relative to the town's history.

The *Worcester Guide* became the source for many subsequent historians of Worcester, who did not always acknowledge their debt. He died in Worcester on 5 April 1801 in his 29th year.

Obituary in Hereford Journal of 15 April 1801

On Sunday sennight died at Worcester in the 29th year of his age. Mr. John Price, Linguist and Author of the Histories of Hereford and Leominster, the Worcester and Ludlow Guides etc. etc. His integrity of conduct and affability of manners will make his loss deeply felt by all who knew him. He was diffident in assertion, but decisive in application; and to these qualities of the head, he added the milder virtues of the heart. His remains were attended to St. Oswald's burying ground on Thursday evening, in grand procession, by the members of the most ancient and honourable Order of Freemansonry (of which he was a distinguished member) and after the usual funeral service was finished, the Master delivered a most eloquent and impressive oration on the value of the Masonic institution, and on the qualifications and virtues of the deceased member.

3. REV. JONATHAN WILLIAMS, A.M. 1754-1829

The author of the *Leominster Guide,* the second history of Leominster, was born in Rhayader, Radnorshire, where his father, David Williams, founded Y Siop Goch (The Red Shop) in South Street. David Williams was a native of Llananno and probably of yeoman stock. A staunch member of the Rhayader Church, he was church warden in 1779 and 1780, when the walls of the churchyard were repaired, the alleys reflagged and the whole church re-seated. Circa 1749, he married Catherine, daughter of John Evans, a Rhayader clockmaker. David and Catherine Williams had six sons and one daughter. Two sons died in infancy. The eldest son followed his father in the mercery business. All three other sons graduated in Oxford, and later became clergymen. The third son, Henry, who graduated in 1778, died a bachelor. He left, besides some family bequests, the interest from £100 to effect repairs to Rhayader Church, and funds enough to create a lectureship for that church. He appointed his older brother, Jonathan to be the first paid lecturer. On Jonathan's death, his youngest brother John was to succeed him.[4]

The *Alumni Oxoniensis* states that Jonathan matriculated from Pembroke College on 23 February 1770, aged sixteen. He graduated in 1774 (B.A.), 1776 (M.A.). Where he served his first curacy, I have not discovered, but he became a curate at the Leominster Priory Church in 1784, and was appointed master of Queen Mary's Grammar School in 1786. Curates, and sometimes vicars, were accustomed to supplement their meagre incomes by taking on this extra rôle. In 1787 he put a lengthy advertisement in the *Hereford Journal* offering tuition to 'Young Gentlemen designed for the University or the superior lines of business'. He had made the vicarage available for boarders.

In 1796, aged forty-two, Jonathan married Miss Joanna Hughes of Leominster. She was twenty-six. They lived in South Street where their daughters Joanna and Bridget were born. In 1799 Williams was appointed perpetual curate of Eyton. He found it

convenient to continue to live in Leominster, where Copper Hall became his residence.[5] His wife died in 1819 and he in 1829.

By the time Williams began his *Leominster Guide,* Price's history was out of print, but Williams thought he could improve upon it. He deplored Price's pre-occupation with boring charters and sepulchral inscriptions to which he had devoted valuable space. Williams says he admires the Horatian School which blends the 'util' with the 'dulce'. He certainly wrote to entertain. He is not accurate as a historian, but is interesting as a character. He is too opinionated to be impartial. An historian without some bias is uninteresting as Hilaire Belloc pointed out. Williams's familarity with the Classical writers is evident. In imitation of the Roman historians, he has put into the mouth of Owen Glyndwr a speech urging his soldiers to fight valiantly in defence of their relatives, homes and liberty.

Williams acknowledges his debt to Price and Duncumb, but found other sources in Llhwyd's *Archaeologia,* Rowland's *Mona Antiquita* and King's *Munimenta Antiquita,* works scarcely known to moderns.

Oliver, in the notes I have quoted, claims that Williams spoke little if any Welsh. This may be true, but that he knew and read his country's language seems evident in his writings. He writes on page X of the Preface to his 'Guide' that it would be impossible 'to develope the antiquities of Herefordshire without a competent knowledge of the language and customs of its Celtic inhabitants.' On page XI he describes Welsh as 'a language, which for its antiquity, copiousness and energy of expression, ranks the first in Europe, and the second in the world: the study of which it is not permitted to a British antiquary to neglect without detriment'.

In his book *Druopaedia - A New and Interesting View of the Druidical System of Education,* published in Leominster by Francis Went in 1823, he makes great use of his knowledge of etymology (knowledge, in my opinion, of very doubtful validity) and claims that 'the British tongue is second only to the Hebrew in point of antiquity.' It amazes the reader that Williams could write so much about the Druids and their customs, considering the fact that these, no doubt clever, people left no literature.

Williams's chief claim to fame however, is his *History of Radnorshire* which was not published in his life-time. He could not obtain sufficient support in the way of subscribers. As a sensitive man, he was bitter and disappointed. There is no mention of the Ms. of this, his life's work, in his will. The *History of Radnorshire* first appeared in print in an abridged form in *Archaeologia Cambrensis.* R. Mason of Tenby reprinted this version as a volume in 1859. In 1905 *A general History of the County of Radnor, compiled from the MS of the late Rev. Jon. Williams A.M. and other sources* was published by Edwin Davies of Brecon. This is a fine folio volume which is profusely illustrated.

Williams's elder daughter, Joanna married John Jones, a celebrated lawyer of Cefnfaes, Rhayader.

Jonathan Williams is buried with his wife Joanne in the churchyard of Eyton.

4. THE REV. GEORGE FYLER TOWNSEND, 1815-1900

If the *Dictionary of National Biography* is a reliable gauge of a man's importance, George Fyler Townsend, the author of *The Town and Borough of Leominster* is less important than his father, the Rev. George Townsend, a prebendary of Durham, who has a lengthy mention in that work, while his son has none. As I shall show, considering the respective achievements of father and son, this seems unreasonable.

George Townsend, the father, the son of a Dissenting minister, became an Anglican clergyman and distinguished himself by publishing an anti-Catholic polemic in 1825 entitled *The Accusations of History against the Church of Rome.* The struggle for Catholic Emancipation was then at its height, and Townsend's Cambridge college of Trinity had already begun to supply converts to Catholicism in the person of Kenelm Henry Digby. Ambrose Phillips followed in 1826, and George Spencer in 1830. Townsend's book in defence of the Church of England was thus timely, and it gained for him a prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral. He held it and the perpetual curacy of St. Margaret's Durham, until his death in 1857. Besides by his controversial writing, he further distinguished himself by undertaking a journey to Rome with the object of converting the Pope (Pius the Ninth).

It was therefore natural that his son, George Fyler Townsend, should begin his clerical career, after graduation at Trinity and ordination, by writing and preaching at the parish church of Lyth, Westmorland, *A Warning against Purgatory.* The printed version of this sermon provoked in the same year, 1838, an immediate response from an able Catholic controversialist, the Rev. Nicholas Rigby, the priest of Oglethorpe, near Whitby, Yorkshire. His sermon *A Sermon on Purgatory* appeared in print shortly afterwards.

This first blast of the trumpet, was followed in 1839 by a volume directed against another Catholic spokesman, a Mr. O'Connell.[6] This polemic was entitled *The Church of England, a better teacher of the Catholic Faith than the Church of Rome.*

It appears that about this time, perhaps as a result of his scholarly writings, he became chaplain to the duke of Northumberland and to the first bishop of Tasmania, Francis Russell Nixon, with whom he voyaged to that island. In 1844 appeared *The Diocese of Tasmania, An Account of a Voyage,* for which George Fyler Townsend wrote the introduction.

Previous to this, however, (in 1842) he had published his two volumes *The Churchman's Year,* and had been appointed to the vicarage of Brantingham, Yorkshire. While there he wrote *The Christian Pilgrimage from the Cradle to the Grave, being an explanation of the services of the Church of England* (1847).

In 1857 he arranged to exchange parishes with the Rev. T. Westmorland, vicar of Leominster. While at Leominster, he was active as ever. He employed his literary and scholarly talents in research for lectures on a wide range of subjects, including a history of Leominster and a *Guide to the Shrewsbury and Hereford Railway.* He established the 'Lectures for the Working Classes' given in the then new Town Hall. One he gave was, typically, 'Reformers before the Reformation'. His friend, the vicar of Monkland,

the Rev. Sir Henry Williams Baker, delivered one on 'Saint Bernard of Clairvaux'. He got Baker, a fellow Trinitarian, to baptise his son, Stephen Chapman Fyler. It may be that his friendship with Baker, an outstanding Tractarian, helped to modify his anti-Catholic bias, for from his Leominster period he eschewed inter-church religious controversy.

Leominster owed much to Townsend during his almost four-year stay in the town. It was then that the National School was built and opened, a new burial ground acquired and regular week-day soirées for church-people established. His pastorate, however, was soured to some extent by a violent clash with another combative personality, the Rev. John Venn of Hereford, who openly and powerfully supported the Railwaymen's Mission, and its lay founder, Mr. G. Onions, an Anglican lay missionary. This man had been very successful in converting many of the rough navvies who were then engaged in building the railway from their drunken and evil ways. Though thus converted, however, they did not mix willingly with the respectable church-people, so a separate hall was built for their meetings, with the whole-hearted support of John Venn, who preached to them there.

Townsend strongly resented the interference of the Hereford vicar in the affairs of his parish, and blamed Onions for detaching from the priory church large numbers of his congregation. In a letter to the *Hereford Times* he asserted that Mr. Onions led a flock 'who refuse our sacraments, oppose our schools, assume to themselves all parochial functions, independently of the Bishop, or of their lawfully appointed ministers, so that as far as they are concerned, the parish church and its ministrations are perfectly useless.' The affair of the two vicars occupied the correspondence columns of the paper for many weeks early in 1859. In the same year Mr. Townsend clashed with the eminent Quaker, Mr. J. Southall. The nonconformists sought to hire the hall of the Corn Exchange for certain meetings on Sundays. Townsend resisted this. Southall pointed out with evident reason that 'The purpose to which a building is put alone constitutes a desecration of the Sabbath'.

It seems to me likely that these controversies shortened Townsend's stay in Leominster for he again arranged an exchange of parishes, this time with the incumbent of a church in London, the Rev. A. G. Edouart of St. Michael's, Burleigh St. Strand. This move seems to have surprised his parishioners for he announced it at an entertainment he gave to the choir and parishioners at the end of January 1862. He had not then completed his history. In a letter to the *Hereford Times* of 1 February, a writer appeals to his friends not to allow the occasion to pass without some acknowledgement of the services this respected and popular vicar had performed for the town. This resulted in a presentation being made to the Vicar and Mrs. Townsend. The *Hereford Times* in its report of this event describes the Vicar as 'a gentleman of scholastic attainments, devoutly attached to the doctrines of the Church of England as expounded by the most orthodox members.' He had established also 'a strong claim to be ranked as a genial, warm-hearted English gentleman.' In spite of his conflicts with the Dissenters, they respected him. The Benefit Societies, the Oddfellows and the local branch of the Hereford Friendly Society had found him a warm friend.[7]

George Fyler Townsend had at least four children by his wife Georgina, who was ten years younger than he. Three of the children, George, Georgina and Mabel, were still living, unmarried, at the vicarage in Burleigh Street in 1881.

St. Michael's was initially a chapel in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. It was built 1831-3 by the Church Building Commissioners, and designed by James Savage in a style he called 14th-century Gothic. It had galleries on the north, south and west, supported on cast-iron girders. It was demolished in 1906 and the site is now occupied by part of the Grand Palace Hotel. The vicarage of St. Michael's was designed by William Butterfield and built in 1859-60. It is a conspicuous building of four stories, now used as the rectory of St. Paul's Covent Garden.

Townsend's *Town and Borough of Leominster* was intended to supersede and replace Jonathan Williams's *Leominster Guide* of 1808. The writer of the *Hereford Times* account of the presentation in February 1862 names it, in advance of its publication, 'The New Leominster Guide'. The work testifies to a painstaking study of the surviving records of the priory, the church and the town. The author points out the errors of previous historians but does not entirely avoid some of his own. His ascriptions of the story of the 'Holy Maid' to Archbishop Cranmer is one example. He devotes seventeen pages of his book to the Civil War, which amounts to 8% of the space devoted to general history. His interest in this period is further revealed by a volume published in 1874: *The Siege of Colchester: An Incident of the Civil War, A.D. 1648.*

When incumbent of St. Michael's Burleigh St., Townsend applied his literary talents to the translation of Aesop's Fables from the Greek, and the preparation of a revised edition of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments.* Both of these works ran into various editions between 1866 and 1892.

His work at St. Michael's must have permitted him time for travelling, for he returned to his earlier flair for writing guide-books. Among these were *An English Guide to the Cathedrals of Valetta and Citta Vecchia* (1869); *An English Guide to Malta* (1869); both printed in Malta; and *A Cruise in the Bosphorus and in the Marmosa and Aegian Seas,* which was printed in London in 1875.

In 1890, for his final writing, he returned to a religious theme with his *Jehovah—Jesus. The Divine Appearances under the Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian Dispensations.*

His literary services to the Church of England were acknowledged when the archbishop of Canterbury[8] conferred upon him in 1876 the degree of D.C.L.

Doctor G. F. Townsend retired to Hastings in 1894 and died there in January 1900.

5. FRANK GAINSFORD BLACKLOCK, (1862-)

The author of that well-known bulky volume entitled *The Suppressed Benedictine Minster of Leominster and other institutions of Leominster* was the son of George

Blacklock, the first manager of the Orphans Printing Press, established at 10-12 Broad Street, Leominster in 1873.

George Blacklock is described in *The Story of the Orphan Homes* as 'a practical man who has had 25 years experience and was previously at the Maida Hill Industrial School for Boys near London.' The Orphans Homes had been set up by the philanthropic Quakers of Leominster, foremost of whom was Henry Stanley Newman, to provide a home for boys and girls from the big towns who had lost one or both of their parents. A small beginning had been made in August 1869. By Christmas 1870 there were eighteen children in the house, nine boys and nine girls, half of whom came from London. When in 1871 the numbers had increased to thirty-one, it became necessary to build a special home for them. Generous gifts enabled the promoters to build the fine Orphans' Home in Ryelands Road.

The problem then presented itself of finding employment for the children when they left school. (They attended the British School in the Bargates). A party of promoters went to Germany to study similar homes there, and to see how they provided for their charges. In Hamburg they saw a home which ran a printing house in which the boys could learn the craft. They returned to Leominster and proceeded to found a similar institution there. Thus arose the Orphans Printing Press.

Our historian Frank Gainsford must then have arrived in Leominster as a boy of ten or eleven. He probably obtained his secondary education at the Grange House Academy, a private school which had replaced Queen Mary's Grammar School. From his father he learnt the business of printing. By 1895 father and son were booksellers and stationers at 10 South Street. A Mr. Charles Edwards had replaced George Blacklock as manager of the Orphans Press.

Frank was very intelligent and scholarly. Both he and his father contributed to the cultural life of the town. In 1884, the Leominster Literary and Social Club, of which they were members, decided to form a Parliamentary Debating Society and local House of Commons. George Blacklock became its secretary. Frank Gainsford was elected Premier and the Quaker and Liberal Mr. Southall, Leader of the Opposition. The debates of this society must have proved very educative to Frank.

The Blacklock family lived for some years at the Moat House in Bridge Street, and so in the centre of the historic town, and near their workplace. Frank took a keen interest in Leominster's history, and was fascinated by the priory church, which was the cause of the town's development. Year after year, he collected material for his history by observant perambulation of the area and a study of any documents he could lay his hands on. He was a parishioner of Augustine G. Edouart, who had the church restored by Sir George Gilbert Scott; he started by restoring to use the Norman nave of the church. Frank took a lively interest in the work and the discoveries made while it was in progress.

George Blacklock died in 1893. Four years later, Frank Gainsford was received into the Catholic Church by Fr. Rogers of St. Ethelbert's. In 1904 he was confirmed by Bishop Hedley, taking as his new name, Benedict. It seems that his study of the

Benedictine monks had drawn him to the religion they professed. Round about 1900 he issued three historical works *Edfride the Monk* a transcription of a poem which Blacklock and others thought had been composed by a Leominster monk. It is a legend about the foundation of the Leominster religious community. It was probably written in the 16th or 17th century. Blacklock's Mortimer Press at 10 South Street brought out a more ambitious work in *A Concise Guide to Leominster* which was soon succeeded by his chief work, *The Suppressed Benedictine Minster.* All three were issued about the turn of the century.

The larger work was issued in parts, the pages of which were small because the author and illustrator had only a small press. The result was that when the 300 or so pages were bound together they formed a very unwieldy volume. Mr. Blacklock's book contains much material overlooked by earlier writers, and has proved a valuable source of detailed information. It is written by an enthusiast who manages to communicate his enthusiasm.

The last reference to 'Blacklock and Son, Booksellers, Stationers and Circulating Library' occurs in a 1905 Directory, when their shop was at 31 West Street.

After that our author disappeared. I have found no mention of his death. He seems to have left Leominster. He may have emigrated. He had a relative, once well-known in Leominster, probably his brother, who in 1896 was curate of St. Luke's, Kingston, Ontario. This was the Rev. Henry Blacklock. It is possible that Frank Gainsford found a home in Canada.

REFERENCES

1 Instituted rector of Coddington 1781.
2 Quoted by David Lloyd and Peter Klein in their *Ludlow* (1984).
3 Lodge gave him the material he had collected.
4 Information derived from notes by R.C.B. Oliver on Williams *History of Radnorshire.*
5 When Mr. & Mrs. Towers were living at Copper Hall in South Street in 1979 they discovered in an attic a Ms. list of subscribers to Jon. Williams' *History of Radnorshire.* This is now held in the Leominster Museum.
6 Possibly Daniel O'Connell 'the Liberator.'
7 G. F. Townsend, *The Town and Borough of Leominster,* 43.
8 A. C. Tait (1811-82), Archbishop of Canterbury 1868-82.

Chapels for Sale

By R. SHOESMITH

THE announcement in late 1983, that three former Methodist chapels—two in north Herefordshire and one just in Shropshire—were for sale by auction created some interest in local newspapers.[1] The sale was on the instructions of the Knighton and Leintwardine Methodist Circuit and the three chapels were at Aymestrey, Wigmore and Twitchen. The buildings are all of different character—Twitchen of stone, Wigmore of brick and Aymestrey of timber and corrugated iron—and together they provide an outline history of Primitive Methodism on the Herefordshire/Shropshire border.

All three chapels originally belonged to the Primitive Methodist Church which was formed by secession from the Methodist movement in 1810. The leaders were Hugh Bourne (1772-1852) and William Clowes (1780-1851).[2] The former was born on a farmstead near Stoke-on-Trent and, after acquiring an extensive education, formed a society and built a chapel near Tunstall in 1800. He then started to hold 'Camp Meetings'—an idea imported from America—revival meetings in the open air. These were condemned by the Methodist powers and as a result Bourne, together with William Clowes, a potter, formed their own church. The Primitive Methodists flourished, particularly in rural areas and with the very poor—by 1850 they were more than 100,000 strong and had over 500 travelling preachers.[3]

The effect of Primitive Methodism in the Herefordshire/Shropshire border can be best appreciated by considering the list of the 19th-century chapels in the Leintwardine Circuit with their building or opening dates. At the end of the 19th century the Circuit comprised:

Twitchen	1833
Leintwardine	1841
Bucknell	1849
Birtley	1851
Wigmore	1854 (new building 1863)
Lingen	1855/6
*Aston-on-Clun	1862
Adforton	1863
Crook Mullen	1865
Mocktree	1865
Walford	1867
Adley Moor	1882
Aymestrey	1884
*Brand Hill	1885

and rented premises in Clungunford
(*transferred to Craven Arms Circuit in 1912)

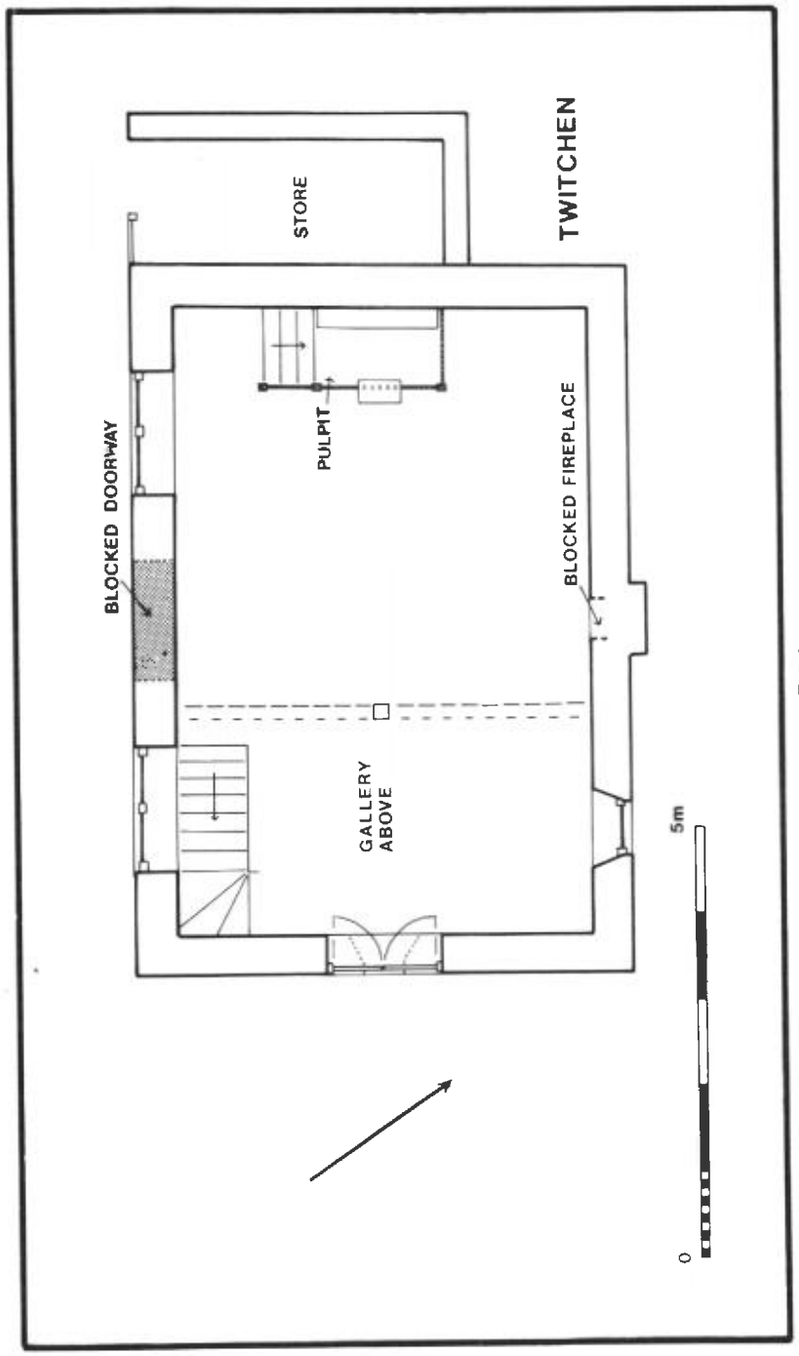


FIG. 1
Primitive Methodist Chapel at Twitchen, Salop, built in 1833

The peak of Primitive Methodism in this area in the 1860s was such that the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of the Leintwardine Primitive Methodist Circuit held on the 1 June 1864 record:[4]

> 'That this Meeting records its unfeigned thanks to the Almighty God for the general prosperity of this Circuit'.

Internal union in Methodism was finally achieved in 1932. The United Methodist Church (itself a union of three smaller bodies) and the Primitive Methodist Church were eager for union but the more powerful parent body of Wesleyan Methodists were more doubtful and only joined by a single vote. Hereafter the Methodist Church was one and in the Herefordshire/Shropshire border the Leintwardine Methodist Circuit came into being. The decline in Church membership after the second world war (Methodist Church—1939; 800,000 members; 1974, 550,000 members) inevitably had to lead to a loss of chapels, and the 100 or more years of religious history of Methodism in Aymestrey, Wigmore and Twitchen finally came to an end in 1983.

TWITCHEN (FIG. 1, PL XXI)

Twitchen is some 3 km. west of Clungunford and 1 km. north-east of Hopton Castle, on the western side of the river Clun and just over the Herefordshire boundary in southern Shropshire. It is a scattered village with no definite centre and the chapel lies on the western side, approached from the village road (B4367) by an unmade track (NGR: SO370794). It is built on a sloping hillside with attractive views to the south, and has grounds of approximately 0.25 acre.

Twitchen must have been one of the earliest of the Primitive Methodist chapels in the area. The only deed is a conveyance from Mr. Thomas Pugh and Mr. Thomas Bird to Mr. John Jackes and others[5] which is dated 24 June 1833. The date of building is recorded in the Methodist records as 1833, when John Garbutt was superintendent. It cost £155 to build and at that time there were twenty members of the Society in the area (the total population being estimated at 100). The chapel could accommodate 150 in seats (40 pews and 110 free). Some impression of the popularity of the speakers at the Sunday services can be obtained from the figures of average attendances between the years 1853 and 1903 (the last year these figures are available). Comparative numbers for Wigmore and Aymestrey are also shown.

YEAR	TWITCHEN	WIGMORE	AYMESTREY
1853	120	—	—
1855	100	60-70	—
1857	100	50	—
1859	100	40-50	—
1862	100	40	—
1864	100	80-100*	—
1867	100	60	—
1874	50	50	—
1883	40	100	—
1885	40	100	100**
1893	20	100	100
1903	20	100	110

(*new church built) (**opened 1884)

There are few records of repairs but in 1865, a new door was constructed and the building was repaired at a total cost of £10 14s. 9½d.[6]

Twitchen Chapel is built of stone and has a tiled roof. It is quite small, measuring 7.3 m. by 4.9 m. internally but has a gallery at the eastern end which is 2.7 m. deep. The south face, of well-coursed sandstone, contains two round-headed windows with Y tracery symmetrically arranged around a blocked doorway. The east and west walls are rendered and against the east wall is a modern brick and timber lean-to. The west wall has an inserted double door with a single-light window above which illuminates the gallery. The north wall is of roughly-coursed stone with a central chimney stack, belonging to a blocked fireplace, and a high single-light window towards the east which also illuminates the gallery. Internally the building is panelled with matchboarding on the south, east and west sides up to the level of the gallery. The floor is of wood and a base and outlet for a stove has been constructed into the blocked southern doorway. The west wall, which contains the pulpit, has low matchboarding and the remainder of the walls are rendered. The pulpit, which was still in place at the time of the survey was approached by four stairs from the south. The bible (AV) was published in 1857. The gallery is approached by a narrow flight of stairs which curves around the south-eastern corner, partly blocking the eastern window in the south wall—it may therefore have been inserted. It has three levels with a simple rail along the front and one central timber support. It is evident that the building suffered an extensive restoration—presumably the one recorded in 1865—from an early Methodist design, with the doorway centrally placed on the long side, to a more traditional pattern.

One still feels some surprise that this small building, in a remote part of southern Shropshire, could seat 150 when necessary and regularly in the 1850s and 60s had a congregation of 100 or more.

The building was put up for auction with outline planning consent for conversion into a residential dwelling.

WIGMORE (FIG. 2, PL. XXII)

Wigmore, some 15 km. to the north-west of Leominster, is an attractive village built around a short main street with the important castle site some distance to the north-west. The chapel, standing on the eastern side of the village road (A4110), is a detached building in large grounds (NGR SO414689). This was not, however, the beginning of Primitive Methodism in Wigmore.

At one of the earliest Quarterly Meetings, on 7 September 1853, it was recorded:

> 'That we purchase the Independent Chapel at Wigmore for the sum of £95 and that Mr Middleton take measures for the securing of the same'[7]

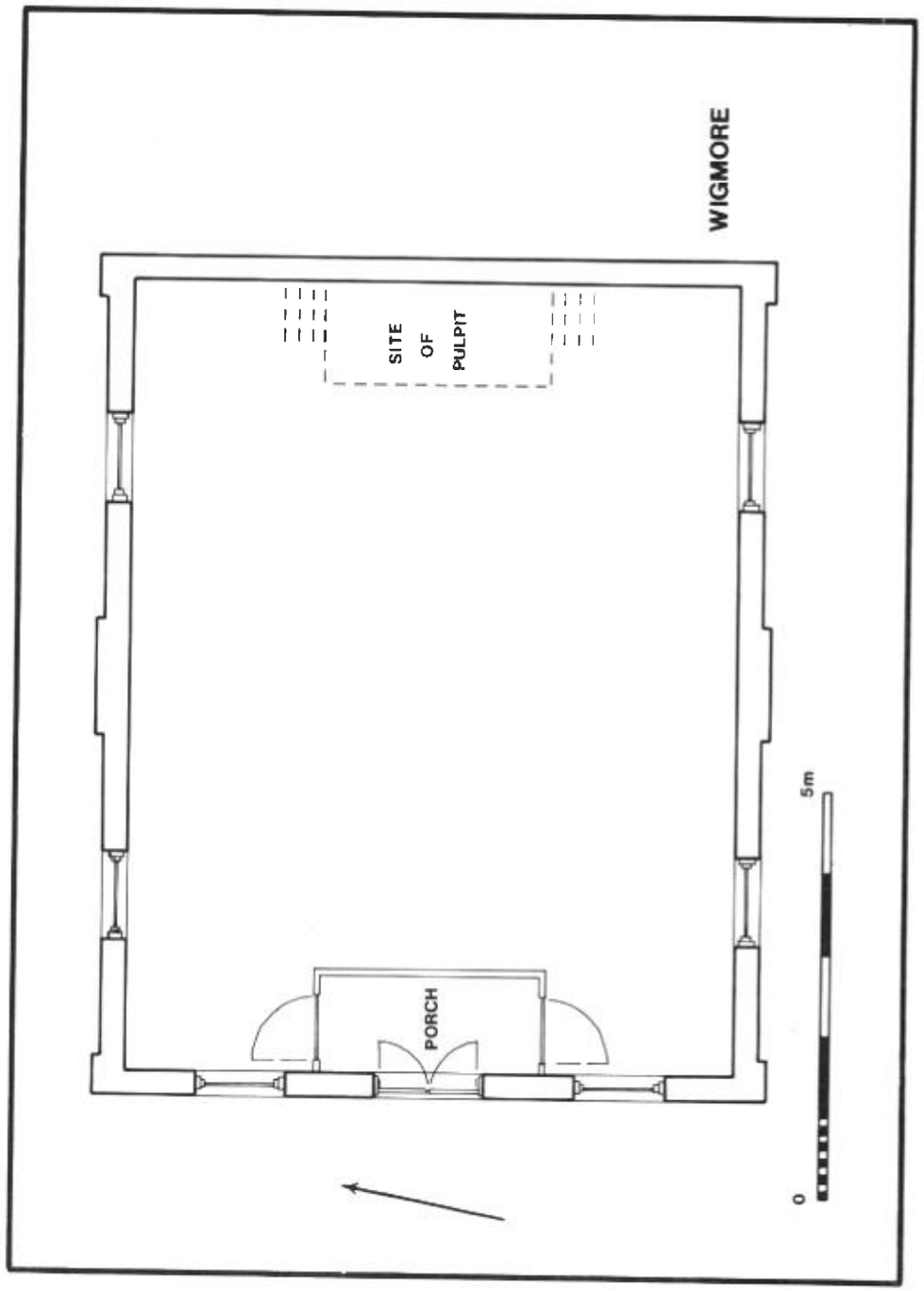


FIG. 2
Primitive Methodist Chapel at Wigmore, built in 1863 to replace a smaller building

At the same meeting trustees were appointed and the chapel was eventually opened by the Society on 22 January 1854 having cost £104 12s. 5d. The chapel had been built by the Independents in 1847 and could accommodate eighty seating (36 in pews and 44 free). Although there were only twenty members in Wigmore, out of a total population of some 400, the attendance at the old Independents' chapel varied between forty and seventy on Sundays—sufficient for the Circuit to consider obtaining a new, larger building. Thus in December 1862 the minute book records:

'That the Trustees of Wigmore old chapel have the Power to sell it and apply the money to the erection of a new one'[8]

The Trustees of the Primitive Methodist Connection purchased a plot of land from James Beavan Esq., centrally in the village, for their new chapel[9] and construction started in 1863. The total cost of the new building was £406 0s. 11½d. and the profit from the sale of the old chapel was £40 0s. 0d. The new church had accommodation for 140 (54 in pews and 86 free)[10] and after the first year or two was usually three-quarters full. The old chapel lost its religious use but still stands in Little Market Street off Castle Street and is used as a workshop.[11]

The new chapel was built of brick with sandstone quoins and dressings and a slate roof. It is the largest of the three chapels recorded in this article being 9.7 m. by 7.5 m. internally, with windows on three sides. The west wall, facing the road, contains a double doorway with a two-centred window as a fanlight. Windows with intersecting glazing bars preserve the symmetry in the brick face with a foundation plaque centrally in the gable and small finials. The gateway leading into the grounds from the road, and the wrought iron railings, emphasise this symmetry. The north and south walls are identical, each having two windows matching those in the west wall and shallow buttresses centrally and at each corner. The east wall is completely blank. When the building was visited in late 1983 the interior had been gutted with most of the wooden floorboards raised and all the fittings removed. The walls were plastered and the rectangular room had a flat plaster ceiling. The original position of the pulpit, against the east wall, could be seen—it was approached by steps from both sides. The doorway was screened from the church by an internal timber porch.

The Primitive Methodist Chapel at Wigmore is now a listed building and this should ensure that the facade and setting are preserved. Planning permission had been granted, prior to the sale by auction, for conversion to a single dwelling. The scheme included the construction of a two-storey semicircular eastern extension and insertion of a first floor and central chimney stack. (Editor's Note. This has been done, but the extension has been built square-ended not semicircular).

AYMESTREY (FIG. 3, PL. XXIII)

Aymestrey, the next village southwards from Wigmore on the A4110, stands on the southern bank of the river Lugg. The small Primitive Methodist chapel is on the western side of the village road on the southern outskirts of the village and is approached by a short length of unmade road. The building almost fills the small plot of land in which it is built.

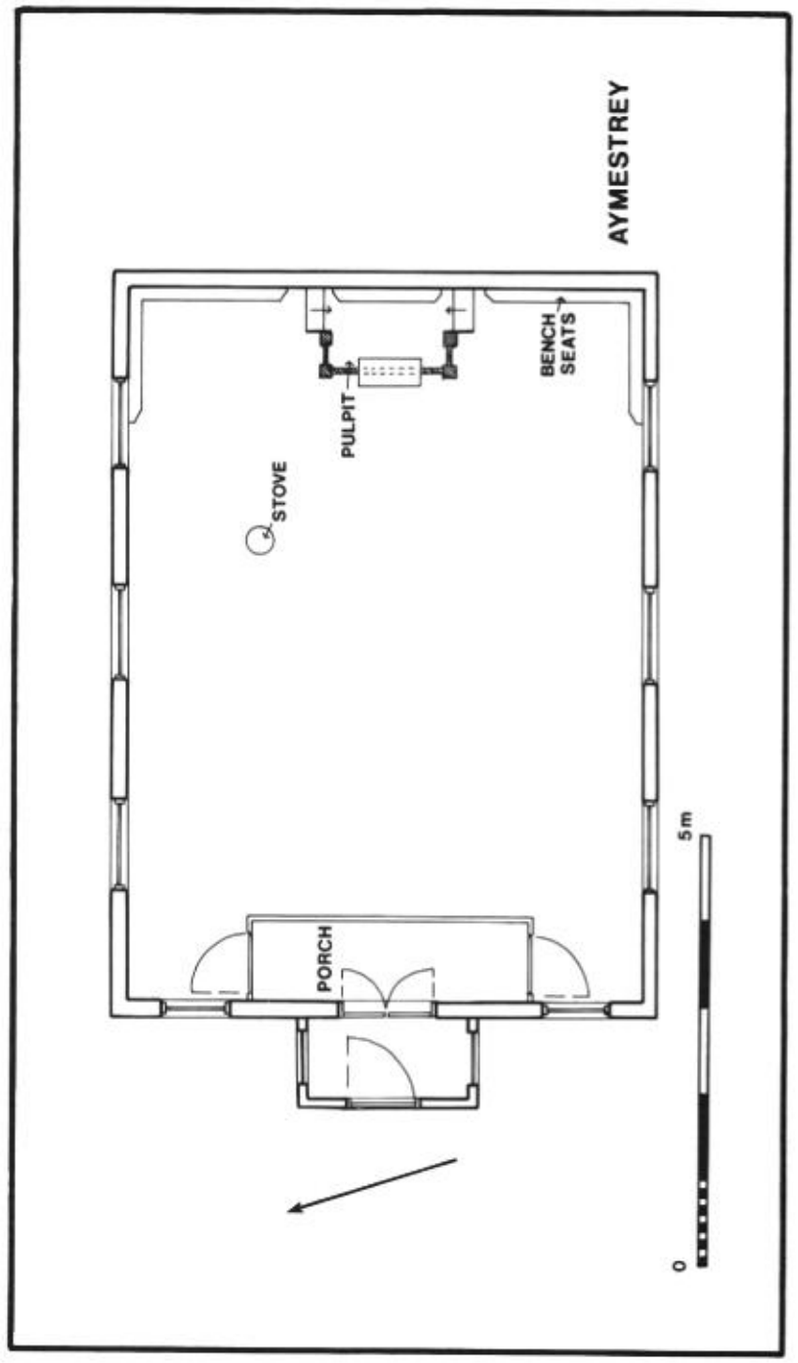


Fig. 3
Primitive Methodist Iron Chapel at Aymestrey, built in 1884

Aymestrey Chapel was built towards the end of the Primitive Methodist revival in north Herefordshire and there seems to have been some reluctance from the Circuit when it was suggested that a chapel was required.

In 1883 it was agreed:

'That permission be given to the friends at Aymestrey to take steps towards the erection of a Chapel if they deem it desirable to do so'[12]

A committee was set up and late in 1884 the Quarterly Meeting agreed that:

'Application to the District Building Committee for sanction to buy land and build an Iron Chapel at Aymestrey be approved.'[13]

The application was approved and in March 1885 Brother Rees, Lucton was appointed Class Leader at Aymestrey with instructions to 'do his best to form a Church at once.'[14]

The chapel was in fact built by the end of 1884 with 40 lettable and 80 free seats and although there were only eight members it was a successful foundation and averaged 100 people at Sunday services. The site had been bought on the 29 August 1884 from Mr Charles Godwin[15] and the total cost of the building was £258 13s. 5d.

Aymestrey Chapel has a corrugated iron skin with the internal walls, ceiling and floor being of timber. It is 8.2 m. long and 6 m. wide internally with the pulpit at the eastern end. The western wall has two two-centred windows, with alternate red and blue glass framing the clear glass centres, symmetrically arranged around a small external porch. The north and south sides each have three windows to the same design as those on the west but with clear glass. The east wall is completely blank. A low stone wall with brick pillars and a wrought iron gate led into the grounds from the lane.

An internal porch allows access to right and left and the building is heated by an off-centre 'turtle' stove. The simple pine pulpit with panels was still in place, together with the bible inscribed 'Presented by A. S. Newman, Dec 21st 1884', when the chapel was visited.

This 'tin tabernacle' was the most difficult building of the three to sell as it was not practicable to convert it to a house. The prospectus could only suggest that it was suitable for a variety of storage/light workshop uses, subject to planning approval.

CONCLUSIONS

All over the country churches and chapels are closing their doors to their dwindling congregations for the last time. Buildings become vacant, some are demolished and others are found alternative uses such as dwellings or workshops. In Herefordshire, with a few notable exceptions,[16] the parish churches have continued in use but the smaller, less-noticed chapels of the 19th-century Methodist revival have gradually disappeared with no record being made. This article is an attempt to redress the balance and to encourage others to take an interest in these buildings which were an important part of 19th-century village life. It was at these chapels that the working man was encouraged, after conversion, to share his experience with others, to preach, to become educated and to lead in Chapel affairs.[17]

I would like to thank Cllr. 'Dick' Vowles for his help during the survey, the Rev. D. A. Pigott for providing details of the various deeds, the staff of the Hereford Record Office for help with the Primitive Methodist documents deposited with them and to Katherine Crooks who typed this text.

REFERENCES

1 *The Hereford Times,* (28 Oct 1983), 37.
2 P. Sangster, *A History of the Free Churches* (1983) 143-3.
3 R. E. Davies, *Methodism* (1976), 115-7.
4 Minutes of the Leintwardine Primitive Methodist Circuit, Hereford Record Office, K76/10.
5 Schedule of deeds provided by Rev. D. A. Pigott.
6 Annual reports of the Leintwardine Primitive Methodist Circuit, Hereford Record Office, K76/34.
7 *Op. cit.* in note 4, K76/11.
8 *Op. cit.* in note 4, K76/10.
9 *Op. cit.* in note 5.
10 *Op. cit.* in note 6.
11 Information J. W. Tonkin.
12 *Op. cit.* in note 4, K76/12.
13 *Op. cit.* in note 12.
14 *Op. cit.* in note 12.
15 *Op. cit.* in note 5.
16 R. Shoesmith, Redundant Churches: Herefordshire, in Rahtz, P. A., The Crisis in Church Archaeology, *Research Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture,* University of Birmingham (1973), 35-7.
17 *Op. cit.* in note 2, 146-7.

The Forgotten Man of Ross - James Wallace Richard Hall 1799-1860

By HEATHER HURLEY

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Herefordshire market town of Ross began to change and improve in the early 19th century, an ambitious and energetic young lawyer arrived on the scene. His name was James Wallace Richard Hall and he was to spend his entire adulthood working as a solicitor, banker and public servant in Ross. This kind, generous and liberal thinking man became a counsellor and advisor whose activities and undertakings were to benefit the people of Ross, increase the town's trade and improve its amenities.

In the 1820s the inhabitants of Ross were mainly employed in supplying the needs of the local farming communities, there was some trade and commerce, which eventually led to the opening of the railway in 1855 bringing the town into direct communication with the 'Metropolis'. Old and dilapidated buildings were being pulled down, and an Act passed during the reign of George IV 'for paving, cleansing, draining, lighting, watching, regulating and improving the town of Ross, and for disposing of certain common and waste lands and rights of common within the parish of Ross, in the county of Hereford. (29th May 1830)' would enhance the town for the growing population. The poor were helped by charities bequeathed by former benefactors, the most notable being John Kyrle, 'The Man of Ross', whose influence in the 17th century can be appreciated today.

EARLY LIFE

The Hall family was associated with Ross from the time of Thomas Hall who was buried in St. Mary's churchyard in 1776. His son, the Rev. John Hall, became a naval chaplain serving for a short time on the ships *Monarch* and *Romny* before being appointed at Haslar Hospital, Gosport in 1799, the same year his only son, James Wallace Richard Hall, was born. John Hall retired to Herefordshire and lived at Wallace Cottage (now The Old Cedars) at Much Birch, where his son James joined him.

At the time of writing no record has been found of James Hall's education, but at the age of twenty-one he was admitted to the Roll of Trinity, and by 1821 was a practising solicitor in Hereford. The following year he was made a Freeman of the City, but it was in Ross from 1823 that Hall devoted his skill and energy. In 1830 his solicitor's practice there had developed into a partnership called Hall and Humphry in New Street, but he continued to run his business in Hereford until 1832. Although now married, James Hall was still living at Wallace Cottage, but after the death of his father in 1829, and his mother Mary in 1833, he moved to his wife's family home in Ross.

FAMILY MAN

While carving out a career for himself in Ross, James Wallace Richard Hall had married Mary Bonella Bernard, a daughter of the widowed Mrs. Bernard from Springfield, Ross, whose late husband had owned property in Jamaica. The Hall's family life was full of sorrow, five of their seven children died in infancy, a son, John, died aged twenty-four at sea, but their daughter Mary Sarah, born in 1827 became a local personality by living to the remarkable age of 105. After a tragic life the delicate Mary Bonella died of consumption while convalescing at Torquay in 1838.

A few years later the now well established and successful Wallace Hall married Fanny Elizabeth Mary Clifford on 11 May 1841, the daughter of M. M. Clifford, Esq., of Over Ross. With his second wife Hall continued to reside at Springfield, where their three children were born. The only surviving son, born in 1842, was William Henry Hall who became a Captain in the Royal Navy.

By a settlement provided by his first marriage Wallace Hall acquired a considerable amount of property in Much Birch, where he kept a long and close relationship with the parish church. The Much Birch Tithe Map of 1842 shows that Hall owned Pool Spring, Treberva, Wallace Cottage, many acres of land and several cottages. Although owning freehold lands in Ross, it was not till 1852 that he eventually purchased Springfield from the Bernard family.

In 1854 Hall's second wife, Fanny, died and was buried at Foy Church. The early death of his wives and children must have affected the middle aged Wallace Hall, but he continued his legal, business and public service with 'zealous and self-denying labour' for the good of the town and neighbourhood.

PUBLIC SERVANT

Ross began to benefit from Wallace Hall's generosity from 1825, when the young twenty-six year old helped to found the Ross Dispensary, and over a period of thirty-five years he served as treasurer and honorary secretary, a fact acknowledged by the *Hereford Times* of 28 July 1860:

'It was mainly through him that the Dispensary in Ross was first established and from that day to this it owed its existence to his unwearied zeal and presence. His last act on its behalf being to raise a sum of money by holding subscriptions sufficient and more than sufficient to purchase the commercial premises in which they were then assembled, and which would now secure the permanence of the Dispensary. In this latter effort he had been materially assisted by his amenable daughter, Miss Hall, and the Governors felt that she deserved their warmest thanks.'

From 1835 Hall became a member of the British and Foreign School Committee, a newly-established school with aims to educate children from different backgrounds and denominations. The same year Hall as a 'chief landowner' at Much Birch became very involved with the rebuilding of its church. He administered the contracts and legal formalities as reported by the Minute and Account Book in 1835:

'the periods of payment to be settled by Mr. J. W. Hall in drawing the contracts and the workmen to be paid up at such periods as the constructor himself receives his instalments.'

While the old church was being pulled down and the new one constructed, an outbuilding at Wallace Cottage was probably used as a temporary place of worship. The accounts show donations made by Hall towards the new church, so it is not surprising to learn from the *Ross Gazette* of 10 March, 1932:

'Another memorial to Mr. Hall is to be found in the stained glass east window of Much Birch church, which was inserted in memory of him and other members of the Hall family who had long associations with the parish of Much Birch.'

The 1850s became an active period for this energetic and ambitious Victorian, he was a trustee of Baker's Charity, treasurer of Webbe's Hospital, vice-chairman of the Union Workhouse, and a churchwarden at Ross Church. It was at this time that the 'handsome gates' donated by Hall were erected at the entrance to the new graveyard at Ross.

During the mid-19th century Ross was troubled with unlawful behaviour, and there was a growing concern to protect its inhabitants, so Wallace Hall as one of its solicitors in the town would have been kept occupied. But it was around this time that he expanded his interests into banking by forming the Forest of Dean Bank in New Street. Now in his forties and early fifties Hall has become Clerk to the Magistrates, Clerk to the Committee of Taxes for the Hundred of Wormelow and Greytree, Secretary to the Wormelow Association for the Prosecution of Felons, Solicitor to the Magistrate of Harewood End Division, Solicitor and Director of the Hereford, Ross, Gloucester Railway Company and a Director of the Hoarwithy Bridge Company.

By 1851 his Ross practice took on a new partner, Henry Minett, formerly articled to Hall, and this partnership of solicitors became the forerunners of Burt, Evans & Shawcross, a firm still in practice today. Many of Wallace Hall's public appointments and commitments were carried on by Henry Minett.

It was mainly due to the efforts of Wallace Hall that a successful meeting was held at Ross in 1849 which led to the formation of the Hereford, Ross, Gloucester Railway Company. Hall acted as solicitor to the company and an entry in the Minute Book dated 29 May 1852 reports:

'Mr. Hall was instructed to take all necessary steps for the arrangement of Financial Compensation in all cases of land purchases under negotiation by him on behalf of the Company.'

He later became a Director, and the Railway Company's Account Book lists J. W. R. Hall's payments as the first deposit in December 1850. 'Festivities in Ross' were held on 1 June 1855 to celebrate the opening of the Hereford, Ross, Gloucester Railway. Crowds gathered at the gaily decorated station to greet the arrival of the first train. The *Hereford Journal* of 6 June continues:

'Among the first to arrive at the station was J. W. R. Hall and Charles Richardson, Esqrs., the former one of the indefatigable Directors (to whose unceasing exertions the

event of the day may in a great measure be contributed), the latter the resident engineer of the line. The trains having deposited and received their passengers, proceeded on their way. The decorations of the interior of the station were the striking feature of the place. Flags of every description were suspended from the iron girders of the roof, the most conspicuous being the Union Jack and French tricolor, and long may they float side by side. Over the doors of the various offices were hung the crests of the Directors and gentlemen who were mainly instrumental in getting the Bill passed through Parliament.'

'By an arrangement kindly made for them (the children) by J. W. R. Hall, Esq., they were allowed to occupy the platform at the station, thus securing them a good sight of the coming train, on the arrival of which a number of the girls stepped forward and presented to the directors bouquets of flowers. After cheering most vociferously, as they witnessed the arrival and departure of the train, they dispersed.'

After these 'festivities' in Ross, Hall travelled to Hereford where he attended the dinner held at the Green Dragon Hotel. In his speech the Chairman said: 'and last, though certainly not least, there was a gentleman who, in forethought, activity, energy and ability in all matters of business, was second to no one, in fact was a host in himself—Mr. Wallace Hall of Ross, (hear, hear and applause).' (*Hereford Times* 2 June 1855).

The celebrations in Ross ended with a public tea at the Town Hall and a ball at the Swan Hotel. A dinner at the Royal Oak for the railway navvies was paid for by Wallace Hall.

DEATH

After the excitement of the opening of the railway, Hall continued with many of his public duties. However, the following year, he wrote a long and detailed will bequeathing the Springfield and Much Birch estates to his children Mary Sarah, William Henry and James. He also arranged for some small legacies to be left to his servants but surprisingly Ross did not benefit from his will. The Hereford, Ross, Gloucester Railway Company meetings were regularly attended by Wallace Hall until his sudden death on the evening of Sunday 1 July 1860.

In spite of his request for a funeral 'which I direct to be as plain as possible' his impressive funeral was held in Ross on Saturday the 7 July when the mortal remains of James Wallace Richard Hall were conveyed through the town to the churchyard of St. Mary's. Shops were closed and blinds lowered as the inhabitants of the town thronged the funeral route to pay their last respects to their departed counsellor, advisor and benefactor. The following descriptive report of this occasion appeared in the *Hereford Times* the next week:- 'there are few but will remember the long and mournful procession which descended the hill leading from Springfields into Ross, on Saturday last, the 7th of July. The following was the order of the procession:- first, the members of the following societies: The Foresters; the Barell Friendly Society; Odd Fellows, (London Order); Archenfield Friendly Society; Ross Farmers and country gentlemen; the Directors of the railways; and the personal friends of the deceased; the hearse, the

bearers, two mourning coaches; carriages of gentlemen resident in the neighbourhood. The demeanour and bearing of those who attended showed they had come to pay their last sad token of respect to departed merit, and all felt that a blank had been created and a niche made void which would not be filled very readily.'

The *Hereford Journal* of the same week also added:

'It is many years since anything like such a testimony of respect has been paid to a departed townsman and neighbour, if indeed there is any equal to it in magnitude in the recollection of the eldest person in the parish. By the poor his loss will be well felt and his most intimate friends will lose in him a safe counsellor and advisor. The general public will lose one who has always been ready to promote any undertaking for the good of the town and neighbourhood, as many of our instances will show. It has been determined that a public subscription be entered into for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory over the vault in the burial ground in which his remains were entered. The various banks in the town have opened subscription lists for the purpose'.

It was Mr. H. R. Luckes who took on the task of collecting subscriptions for a monument to be erected in memory of James Wallace Richard Hall. A letter from Mr. Luckes to the Directors of the Railway Company was recorded on 4 December 1860 in the Railway Company Minutes: 'on behalf of the subscriptions to a memorial to be erected as a mark of respect to J. W. R. Hall Esq., deceased, formerly a Director of this Company, we are applying for permission for the Board to erect an Obelisk or Pillar with Water Fountain on a piece of vacant ground belonging to this Company at the junction of the roads leading to the Ross Railway Station.'

Permission was given and a drinking fountain made of Bath stone with a granite trough was built. The design incorporated a pillar, tower and spire topped with an iron weather vane, the whole reaching to a height of approximiately twenty-two feet. Ornamental iron work decorated the spire where gas lamps facing the north and south were fitted to light the way from the town to the station. Above the trough was a white marble tablet bearing the following lettering in lead:

'Erected
to the Memory of
James Wallace Richard Hall Esq.
Springfields, Ross
July 1 1860
In testimony of his many public services'

In the church at Much Birch a stained glass window was inserted in Wallace Hall's honour, also one of the four engraved brass plaques erected to the memory of the Hall family, bears the following inscription:

'the central division of the East window of this church was erected in memory of J. W. R. Hall died July 1 1860 buried at Ross'

After Hall's death in 1860 the Springfield property came into the ownership of his son William Henry, who sold the estate in 1878. William Henry joined the Royal Navy and after becoming a Captain his untimely death was reported in the *Ross Gazette* of 14

March 1895: 'with much regret we record the death of Captain William Henry Hall, R.N., which occurred after a short illness on Sunday morning last. Captain Hall was well known in Ross, being a son of the late J. Wallace R. Hall, Esq., of Springfield, and brother of Miss Hall of Alton Cottage, Ross, towards whom, as well as the sons and daughter of the deceased officer, much sympathy is extended in their sad bereavement. Early on Sunday morning, Captain William Henry Hall, R.N., passed away under singularly distressing circumstances, at the Edinburgh Hotel, Pembroke Dock.'

Miss Mary Sarah Hall continued to live her long life until she died in 1932 at the age of 105. Her interesting obituary in the *Ross Gazette* of 10 March 1932 includes:

'Miss Hall was not actually a native of Ross, but she had lived in the town practically all her long life. She was born at Wallace Cottage, Much Birch. Her father was Mr. James Wallace Richard Hall, a well-known Herefordshire gentleman, a solicitor and banker of Ross.'

She was buried in her father's vault marked by a modest gravestone, sited near the gates her father had donated to the new churchyard in 1857.

POSTSCRIPT

Alas, this once well known banker, solicitor and benefactor to the town of Ross, is now almost forgotten. In 1984 Wallace Hall's grave lies untended, his churchyard gates unmarked, the plaques at Much Birch stand neglected in the tower vestry, Springfield (PL. XXIV) was demolished in 1984, the railway closed in 1964, and the drinking fountain erected so enthusiastically by public subscription was dismantled in 1980 to make way for a mini roundabout. Although the *Ross Gazette* of 28 February 1980 reported:

'The rebuilding would take place on a site in the vicinity to be agreed by the local councils after the road works had been completed.'

At the time of writing the carefully numbered stones, the granite trough and the wrought iron of the James Wallace Richard Hall monumnet have been placed beside the Ross Swimming Pool, all surrounded by a security fence. Efforts are being made by the Ross Civic Society to have this monument re-erected on a suitable site.

Since 1984 the Hall family plaques at Much Birch Church have been restored and re-erected, the churchyard gates at Ross have at long last been commemorated with a plaque provided by the Mayor's Project of 1985/6, and a group of old people's homes has been named Wallace Hall Row.

SOURCES

Appointment of Clerk to Hundred of Wormelow 1845, H.R.O. C19/1.
Conveyance of Springfield, 1852, H.R.O. B85/8.
Hereford City Minute Book, H.R.O. HLM/A8.
H. Hurley, 'River Crossing at Hoarwithy', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club* XLIV (1983), 215-26.
Much Birch Parish Registers.

Much Birch Tithe Map, 1842.
Ross Improvement Act, 1830, H.R.O. B85/11.
Ross Parish Minute & Order Book, H.R.O. L78/11, L78/12.
Will of J. W. R. Hall, 1856, H.R.O. B85/8.
M. Acheson, 'Much Birch Mans Memorial', *Church in Birch,* Sept 1983.
Burt, Evans & Shawcross, Genealogical Table.
Census 1801-51, Population Tables, West Midlands Division.
F. Druce, *a Good Plain Country Town* (1980).
Freemen of the City of Hereford 1822.
W. Goode, *Ross Endowed Charities* (1866).
Hereford Journal, 6 June 1855, 11 July 1860.
Hereford, Ross, Gloucester Railway, Minutes of Committee, P.R.O. Rail 302 Vols. 1, 2, 4.
Hereford Times, 2 June 1855, 7 July 1860, 14 July 1860, 28 July 1860.
H. Hurley, 'Forgotten Man of Ross', *Ross-on-Wye Civic Society Newsletter,* No. 21, August 1983.
Kelly's Directory of Herefordshire, (1891).
Lascelles Directory of Herefordshire, (1851).
Law Society, Records & Statistical Dept.
List of Chaplains in the Royal Navy 1626-1816, P.R.O. Admiralty Papers.
M. Morris, *Book of Ross-on-Wye,* (1980).
Much Birch Church, Hall family memorials.
Much Birch Parish, Minutes & Accounts of the Building, 1835.
Much Birch Parish, Terrier & Inventory.
Pigot's Directory of Herefordshire, (1830) & (1835).
Robson's Directory of Herefordshire, (1840).
Ross Gazette, 10 March 1895, 10 March 1932, 28 February 1980.
Ross Church gravestones.
Slater's Directory of Herefordshire, (1859).
W. I. History of Ross, 1954.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the following for their assistance: the staff of the Hereford Records Office, Hereford Reference Library, Ross-on-Wye Library, also Jon Hurley, Rev. P. Newby and Richard Andrews of A. W. Ursell Ltd.

Reports of Sectional Recorders
Archaeology, 1985

By R. SHOESMITH

THE CITY OF HEREFORD ARCHAEOLOGY COMMITTEE

EACH year the archaeology unit starts up new projects whilst those of previous years are taken through the various post-excavation stages to final publication. Nineteen eighty-five has been no exception to this pattern with new and interesting projects both in the city and in the county area. Publication work has been very successful and the third volume of the Hereford report is now in print. This volume deals with the finds and includes six microfiche, a total of over 550 pages of drawings and typescript. The full three volume set, which has taken some six years to produce, concludes the report on the excavations in Hereford during the period 1965 to 1976.

The report on the excavations associated with the Port Wall and Priory at Chepstow has been revised and shortened in accordance with the editor's request and is now ready for publication. A volume of plans and photographs dealing with survey work at Goodrich Castle between 1982 and 1985 has been prepared for the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission. This report deals principally with repair and consolidation works in three main areas of the castle: the south-west and south-east towers and the first-floor rooms above the gatehouse and chapel. A copy is available for consultation in the archaeology unit office in the Town Hall basement. Two reports which are now in progress and are scheduled for completion in 1986, are intended for the *Transactions*. They are a report on the survey and excavation work at Urishay Chapel near Peterchurch and a discussion of our present knowledge concerning the city and county gaols in Hereford.

A large scale restoration project took place at Coningsby Hospital during 1984 and the Archaeology Committee was very concerned about the extent of the work which included the total replacement of the east window and the bell-cote of the chapel, both without any archaeological recording. The Committee received little satisfaction from the Department of the Environment and the director eventually wrote an article for *Rescue News* commenting on the uncertainties in the legislation which allowed this type of project to be undertaken without considering all alternatives and without proper recording.[1]

The Maylord Street development took another step forward early in 1985 with the bulk excavation for the large underground car park straddling the line of Maylord Street. A watching brief for the duration of the excavations was jointly funded by Norwich Union and the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission. Six sections, cut across the line of Maylord Street, provided much of the information about the site and its development adding to the knowledge gained from the 1984 excavation.[2]

The sections confirmed that throughout the 11th to 13th centuries Maylord Street was considerably wider, at least in its central portion, than the modern road. At the

widest point it was probably in excess of 12 m.—certainly plenty of room to allow market stalls in the centre. At all levels there were quantities of animal bone indicating the probable industrial nature of the area.

Although a firm correlation between the various sections was difficult, it is suggested that there were three distinct road surfaces throughout the 200-year period. The earliest surface was the most consistent and appeared to have been systematically laid at one time. On most sections it appeared as a thin, but very hard and compact layer of rounded pebbles set directly on the subsoil with little or no disturbance underneath. There was usually a substantial layer of dirty soil or silt above this surface which acted as a make-up layer for the second road surface but may have been caused by a gradual build-up of material on top of the original road.

The second surface was much more patchy, varying between a pebble layer, a layer of pink gravel and, in places, several thin surfaces separated by black silt. In the central part of the site there was little build-up between the first and second road surfaces.

The third road surface, which continued for the full width of the earlier ones, only survived in parts due to more recent disturbances. It consisted of a layer of relatively clean gravel in the central area becoming compacted clay with stones towards the east.

The two westernmost sections continued well to the south of both medieval and modern Maylord Street, and in both cases traces of timber post holes or beam slots were seen associated with each of the three road surfaces. These indicated that timber buildings had been constructed and regularly renewed on the southern side of the street. This confirmed the observations made during the 1984 excavation and extended the area with such buildings well to the west of the excavated site.

The watching brief provided valuable additional information and evidence to that gained in the 1984 excavation, especially concerning the early use of Maylord Street and the areas to the south. Throughout the whole area examined there was no indication of any stone-built buildings before perhaps the 16th century, and no trace of the Jewish settlement. The areas where archaeological levels were absent were substantial, and it may be there or to the south or east of the car-park excavation, that the remains of the documented stone buildings of the medieval Jewry may be found as the development extends into these areas in 1986.

The Area of Archaeological Importance (Hereford) Designation Order came into force on 30 September 1984. The effects of the designation are that notice is required of any proposed flooding and tipping operations and any operations in the area which will disturb the ground (subject to certain exceptions set out in section 35 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979); the Investigating Authority will then be empowered to enter, investigate and if necessary to excavate the site of operations covered by the notice, and to investigate in advance of operations any site which may have been compulsorily purchased for any purpose. Certain other powers of entry to the site of operations are given. There are also restrictions on the use of metal detectors in any place situated in an area of archaeological importance. Failure to observe the requirements is an offence.

The Secretary of State appointed the City of Hereford Archaeology Committee as Investigating Authority and during the twelve months since the Order came into force there have been some forty-six notices received. This has resulted in a considerable increase in the number of watching briefs and has led to the formation of an excavation project funded by the Manpower Services Commission.

The project, which started in September and will continue for twelve months, involves a team of thirteen people with James Symonds, an archaeology graduate from Sheffield, as supervisor. The first major scheme is an excavation in Wye Street on the south bank of the river where the late 17th-century coal wharf has been exposed and levels underneath are now being examined. A regularly updated news-sheet is available at the site. The team has also been involved in watching briefs at the Classic Cinema (the site of St. Guthlac's monastery), and at the rear of 31 Eign Gate (on the line of the Saxon defences of the city). In the grounds of the Bishop's Palace the team helped with the excavation of a new services trench, recording features which have provided much information about the landscaping of the garden and the potential of this large area for further archaeological research.

Other watching briefs have taken place in front of the Methodist Chapel in Bridge Street, at 21A King Street, at 13 Commercial Street, at 2 Castle Street and at a site in Wall Street on the site of the 12th-century defensive rampart. The unit also provided help with the survey of the old Essex Arms in Widemarsh Street which it is proposed to move to a new site within the central area redevelopment.

For the first time since its foundation the unit has been officially involved in projects in the area of the Cathedral. A new services trench around the west face of the Cathedral exposed masonry and foundations associated with the 12th-century west face which collapsed in 1786. The trench was recorded in detail and architectural fragments retrieved. The removal of one of the south-west buttress pinnacles on the central tower of the Cathedral has provided much interesting information about the construction of this 14th-century tower and its various rebuilds. The pinnacle was unsafe and will be rebuilt during the next few months using new stone where necessary. The knowledge that has been gained from this relatively small exercise will soon be reinforced when the elevation of the north face of the tower will be recorded. This face has been scaffolded for several years and restoration to the stonework should start once the recording work has been completed.

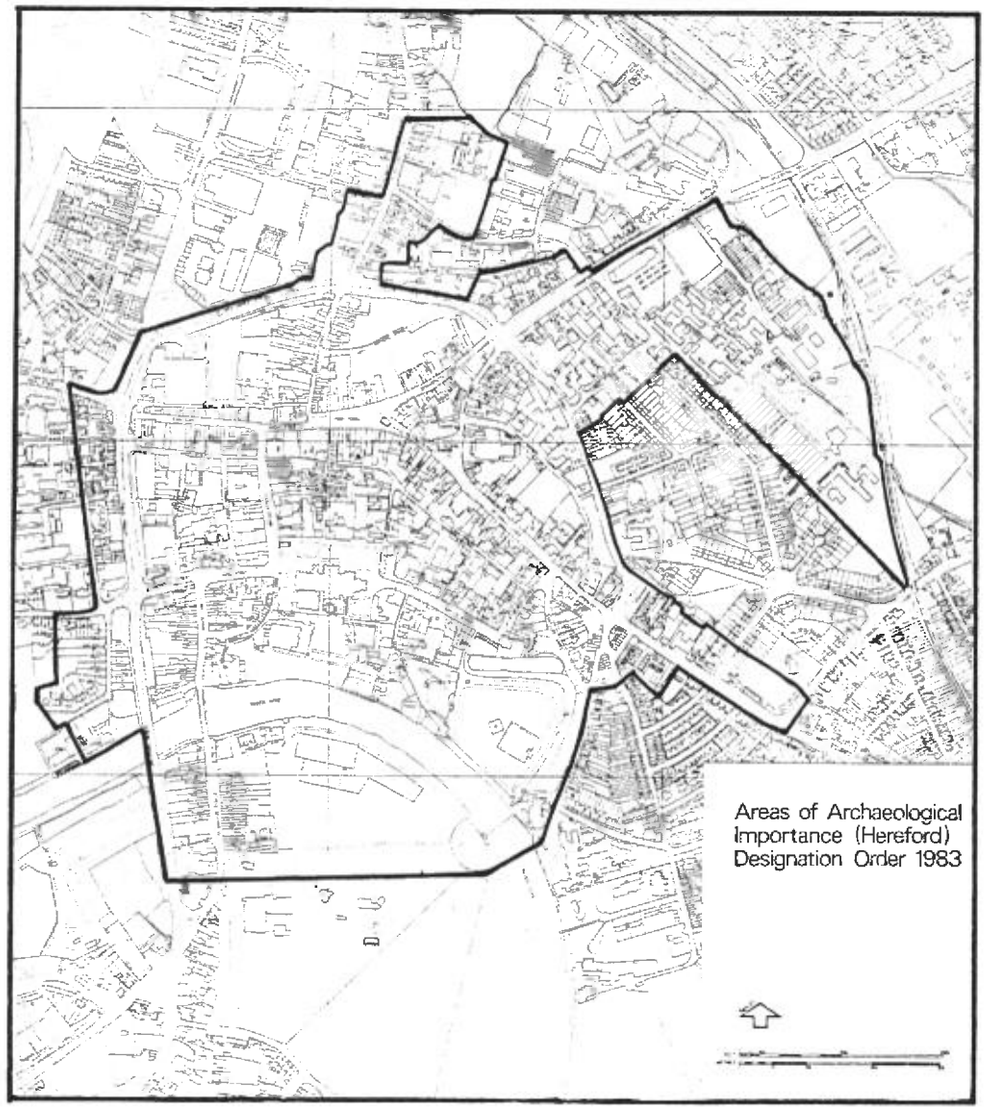
In the county area, apart from recording work and a small excavation in the courtyard at Goodrich Castle, the unit has provided advice at the old church of St. Bartholomew at Richard's Castle. This church has now been vested in the Redundant Churches Fund and restoration work is under way. One of the main objects of interest is the possible crypt underneath the chancel. This chamber, which could be of 12th-century date, was used for burial and eventually filled and blocked off during the 19th century, but indications of subsidence in the chancel walls may mean that it has to be emptied and examined.

At Craswall Priory the archaeological unit, in association with the Craswall Grandmontine Society, organised a week-long clearance programme on behalf of the Historic

Buildings and Monuments Commission. This unique site, which apart from some clearance and recording work in the early 1960s,[3] has hardly been touched since Lilwall's excavations early this century[4] and is suffering badly from the Black Mountains' climate. It is hoped that the HBMC will give serious consideration to a consolidation programme now that the full extent of the surviving masonry is apparent.

REFERENCES

1 R. Shoesmith, 'Repairs to Listed Buildings.....', *Rescue News 35*, (Autumn 1984), 6.
2 R. Shoesmith, 'Archaeology 1984', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XLIV (1984), 431-7.
3 C. F. Wright, 'Craswall Priory—Report of a Field Survey made in 1962', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XXXVIII, (1964), 76-81.
4 'Ruins of Craswall Priory', *Trans. Woolhope Natur. Fld. Club*, XVIII (1904), 267-74, and 'Craswall Priory Excavations', XX (1908), 36-50.



Botany, 1985

By F. M. KENDRICK

DURING the year the following report was received from Graham Sprackling of Ewyas Harold.

Tragopogon pratensis. Jack-go-to-bed-at-noon, Goat's-beard
This plant was seen growing in a garden hedge in the village.

Tragopogon porrifolius. Purple Goat's-beard, Salsify
For two years in succession this was seen growing in a cottage garden at The Forge, Holme Lacy, where it suddenly appeared. As the last remaining plant was to be destroyed the owner gave permission for it to be dug up and so it was transplanted at Ewyas Harold where it thrives.

Buildings, 1985

By J. W. TONKIN

THIS year the Old Buildings Recording Group worked in the Radlow Hundred and in this extensive area will need to spend the 1986 session there as well. As in the past we are again indebted to the University of Birmingham and the W.E.A. for encouraging this work.

Two week-end schools with the writer as tutor were based at Ross.

In the notes below information in the R.C.H.M. Inventory has not been repeated, though sometimes the two need to be read together.

AYMESTREY

UPPER LYE. SO 394657

A four-bay barn behind the farmhouse (R.C.H.M. 28) appears to be of the first half of the 18th century and is of the late upper base-cruck type with two side-purlins and a ridge-purlin. The tiles vary from 18 ins. by 17 ins. at the top to 24 ins. by 14 ins. at the eaves. It has carpenters' assembly marks 4 ins. long and some punched marks about ⅔ in. which implies a rebuilding.

BODENHAM

VICARAGE COTTAGE. SO 530510

This seems to have started as a single-bay cottage built probably in the 16th century, which was added to in the 17th. The carpenters' assembly marks are about 4 ins. long and the beams have 4 in. chamfers. There is sufficient weathering on one side of the internal partition to show that for a time it was exposed. There was further renovation in 1847 which is probably when it was heightened. The principals look very much as if they are reused crucks.

GARWAY

OLDFIELD. SO 452240

An L-shaped house of which one wing appears to be 17th century, with an added 18th-century wing possibly replacing something earlier. The barn across the yard is buttressed on the gable which has a conspicuous owl-hole and bears the date 1741. The addition and the barn are probably the work of Guy's Hospital which bought Oldfield as part of the duke of Chandos estate in 1731.

TENNERSFIELD. SO 453229

A big double-pile farmhouse with attics and one of the chimneys corbelled in the Black Mountains/Brecon fashion. The chimneys are capped and it looks as though the house was probably built in the first two decades of the 18th-century.

HOPE MANSELL

STREET. SO 624199 (R.C.H.M. 4—stable only)

An interesting complex of buildings comprising the old house of *c.* 1600, the cider house, the present house of the early 19th-century and the barn which bears the date, 1808, on the north gable. The barn has four butt-purlin, tie-beam trusses with the purlins jointed at the truss and short, deep carpenters' assembly marks. It looks as though the roof may well have been raised in 1808, rather than being a completely new structure of that date. The stable described in the R.C.H.M. Inventory is the earlier house of *c.* 1600.

WALFORD

WALFORD HOUSE HOTEL. SO 594213

An interesting building of two storeys with cellar and attics. The central part of this house is of three bays of three storeys with a modillioned eaves cornice along two of the bays and this appears to be the original house. The two-storied addition to the west probably came next as service rooms to the earlier house and extends back towards the north forming a wing which wraps itself around part of the back of the original block. The eastern bay of the central part has no modillioned cornice and seems to be later, but probably replaced a previously existing structure. It seems likely that in its present form it is contemporary with the north-eastern wing parallel to the road. Probably the central block is *c.* 1700, the western wing a couple of generations later and the north-eastern wing nearest the road about a couple of generations after that.

During the year 17 planning applications were received. As usual most were for comparatively minor alterations and additions.

The club's objection to the proposed demolition of the St. Charles Almshouses was upheld and it is hoped that some suitable use will now be found for these.

As in the past my thanks are due to a number of people especially the members of the Old Buildings Recording Group and those owners and occupiers who have allowed me to wander round their buildings.

Industrial Archaeology, 1985

By C. H. I. HOMES

MISCELLANEOUS UNDERGROUND STRUCTURES

LAST year I spoke about Ice Houses and mentioned that there are many other structures often called ice houses for lack of a better name. I call these, 'Miscellaneous underground structures'. In the county I have discovered twenty types, not counting ones on industrial sites. None of these were built or used as ice houses.

Most of them are flush with, or below ground level. They can be round or rectangular in shape, large or small, with domed or arched roofs, or unroofed. The walls can be rock stone, brick, concrete or timber and in some cases are up to twenty feet deep.

The small rectangular ones with rock walls are often medieval cellars and can be found under a house, or at the site of a demolished house. They should not be confused with the bacon chambers found under the kitchen floors of cottages and farmhouses for the storage of salted bacon. They are covered by a large stone floor slab. Neither should they be confused with the ash pit or purgatory found under the hearth stone, into which the ashes were swept daily to be carried out each spring.

If these structures are situated outside but close to the house they are soft water tanks into which rain water from the roofs is piped to be pumped out for washing or laundry use. Access for cleaning is through a manhole covered with a stone slab. Also they can be pig swill vaults, usually sited close to the kitchen door and covered with lift-up flaps like cellar flaps into which all the kitchen scraps were thrown, to be ladled out and fed to the pigs.

Out in the gardens of the larger houses one finds steps leading down to root houses providing frost-proof storage for root crops. Also in the gardens one finds various unroofed pits of different sizes and shapes. These are abandoned lily ponds, goldfish ponds, swimming baths, privy pits and cold baths. The last are filled from a spring and will have steps leading down into the water. They are often situated in a grotto or sometimes in the cellar of the house. Eighteenth-century doctors believed that if one bathed in cold spring water daily one lived to a ripe old age.

Outside the garden one finds septic tanks and cess pits. The latter had to be cleared out at regular intervals. In towns they are often found under the floor of the basement kitchen or under the pavement in front of the house.

Other structures are often connected with the water supply. A high, long, narrow chamber with steps down to it often contains the remains of a waterwheel and pump, to pump water up to the house. Today the wheel has usually been replaced by a hydraulic ram or a new ram and its chamber built nearby. The earlier wheel chambers usually have steps down to them as the wheel needed weekly lubrication. In the later ram chambers access was by a manhole as they would work for ten years or more without attention.

Water was brought to the wheel from a nearby lake or stream by a culvert large enough for one to crawl through; tail water was taken from the wheel by a similar culvert to lower ground. Similar culverts often lead from the cellars of large houses to the ha-ha below the garden. These are drains but are often called secret passages.

Large structures on higher ground, roofed or unroofed, are reservoirs for water pumped up from below, or catchment reservoirs with water from several small springs piped into them, thus providing enough water for the house.

Near the buildings, long, narrow, deep, open-top pits with walls of timber, stone or brick are saw-pits for the pit sawing of timber.

Another type of structure is short horizontal arched-roof tunnels six to seven feet wide driven into the hillside. They are often ventilated to the surface at the far end and used as a cool store for dairy produce or as a game larder.

Under many large farm buildings and leading off the cellars of many houses one finds pairs of long tunnels parallel with each other. These are often associated with the cider industry. I think they are for the storage of drink of some sort but the length of some of them makes me wonder.

The situation of most of these structures means that they are often discovered by accident, i.e. heavy vehicles crashing through the roof or when excavating trenches for foundations or drains.

If any of you hear of the discovery or know the whereabouts of any of these, please let me know and I will come and look at them, as it's only by a detailed examination that one can guess at the original use. All too often one does not hear about them until they have been filled in or concreted over.

Ornithology, 1985

By BERYL HARDING

THIS year has been wet, cool and comparatively sunless for many weeks of the spring and summer adversely affecting the breeding of many birds.

Brambling numbers were very low last winter as many remained on the continent feeding on the huge beech mast crop. This year's crop has been poor both here and there so those that visit us this winter will have to forage for such weed seeds as are available at field edges, or come to our bird-tables in the company of chaffinches.

In 1985 the Nature Trust mounted a Peregrine Watch near Cymyoy. The female tried twice to raise a brood but gave up each time, presumably because the clutch was infertile.

Nest Box Scheme of the H. & R. Nature Trust

Last January not all the 1984 returns had been received. These are now printed in full in the Annual Report of the Trust for 1984.

The figures show that recording took place on thirty-nine sites and some statistics show:

Total number of boxes used	721 in 1984	681 in 1983
Number of boxes erected	1191 in 1984	1044 in 1983
Percentage of boxes used	60.62	65.2

Clutch sizes from the Herefordshire sites only for three species:-

	1984	*1983*
Pied Flycatcher	6.20	6.20
Blue Tit	8.70	10.80
Great Tit	7.86	8.08

From the results it can be seen also that pied flycatchers show an upward trend in occupying nest boxes, from 271 to 362. Other species gave variable results for occupation and for the number of fledglings but, on the whole, the figures for 1984 show a decrease on those for 1983. This is probably related to the very dry April and associated ground conditions, followed by a cold May—particularly at the end of the month when many great and blue tit broods were lost.

Llanwarne Notes—1985

With the coming of the January snows the flock of thirty or more siskins continued to feed amid the alders by the Gamber stream. The apples and hedge fruits, hitherto ignored, provided welcome food for flocks of fieldfares and redwing. Up to forty collared doves were roosting together in the holly trees. Such numbers had not been observed before, implying an increased population as well as the good sense of collective roosting. By February garden birds required abundant feeding and even the nuthatch and greater spotted woodpecker were prepared to come to the bird tables.

Huge flocks of starlings would clear any remaining food within seconds as they returned towards their evening roosts.

Flocks of curlew were calling by March 20 as they returned to their breeding grounds among the rolling fields. By April 3 chiffchaffs and willow warblers arrived—the former not remaining. Fewer willow warblers raised young this year. By April 25 blackcaps, cuckoo, yellow wagtails and spotted flycatchers had returned and the winter flocks of larks, linnets, green and goldfinches had separated for breeding.

The cold, wet spring continued to affect migrants adversely. A wood warbler survey for the B.T.O. from May 15 to June 10 in local woods gave negative results, although other warblers were seen. By June 2 more swifts than usual arrived but did not appear to nest. For most of the damp summer very large feeding flocks of swallows, swifts and martins gathered in the afternoons until dusk swirling and diving after the myriad insects. Quail were heard calling in June and the partridge raised young. House martins did not take up all their original nest sites, some raised second broods after the failure of their first. Others raised a late brood as the damp weather provided the continuance of abundant insect food. Some were still feeding nestlings in early October—would the young ever be ready for their migration flight in time?

The magpie population is increasing greatly with heavy predation of smaller young birds and fledglings, even while still in the nest. The little owls bred successfully again with three young and the tawny owls have remained after their five year absence. The barn owls moved their nest site, due to nearby disturbance and clearance of grass cover in an adjacent field, but raised one of two young successfully. An adult and juvenile buzzard have remained since 1984 and kestrels are seen.

At Broomy Pool five pairs of tufted duck bred last year but only one pair succeeded this year in competition with a pair of Canada geese that appeared by March 12 and subsequently raised two young. Coot, moorhen and mallard were also successful, the pair of mute swans built a nest but failed to hatch their eggs. Since farm effluent outwash into streams is forbidden watercress has grown in parts of the Gamber. The increased fish population has brought back the heron after four years and also kingfishers.

City of Hereford, Conservation Area Advisory Committee: Report of the Club's Representative, 1985

By JOE HILLABY

Bewell House. Internal alterations including double fire doors to offices. H/27801/LB of 5 February 1985.

The proposals included the removal of one of the original doors on the ground floor. It was suggested that it should be re-used in the opening between the hall and the reception area which would give purpose and interest to an otherwise bland entrance, as well as preserving one of the original elements of the building.

Proposal to resite War Memorial at Priory Place junction. H/P/27982/W/CON of 25 June 1985.

Members did not consider the proposed site to be satisfactory as it was not in the public eye. It was therefore suggested that the memorial be re-sited at the junction of Grandstand Road and Priory Place where it would be less liable to vandalism.

'Essex Arms', Lower Widemarsh Street. H/28029/E/LB of 20 August 1985.

Demolition of north (stone) end and removal of remainder (half-timbered sections) and re-erection on a new site.

The Studio, Brewers Passage, off Commercial Street. H/28030/E/LBC and H/P/28031/E. Demolition of Studio and re-erection of Essex Arms.

These applications were considered together and, amongst others, the following points were made:

1 A proper survey should be carried out before any demolition or removal is permitted so that the extent of the structure worthy of attention should be established. In particular the roof structure should be recorded.
2 Mr. Whitehead undertook to visit the building adjacent to Gaffers for which permission to demolish is sought, and to write to the Planning Department with comments about the existing structure.
3 The committee asked that a measured survey of the existing building should be prepared both in plan section and elevation, and that a measured drawing defining the extent of re-building on the site be provided with any application for planning permission.
4 The committee considered it important that the removal of this building and the re-erection on a different site should not set a precedent for the treatment of historic buildings in the centre of the City. It was considered that the transportation of the half-timbered section as a whole would be a better way of conserving the

structure than the piecemeal dismantling and re-erection. The committee recommended that a careful record of what was done to the structure should be kept and placed with the City Archives.
5 The committee would be glad to see this application with fuller details.

26 and 27 Church Street. To form three door openings in party wall. H/28036/W/LB of 20 August 1985.

The committee believed it important that the applicant look at the nature of the party wall between 26 and 27. The principle should be established that any timber-framing should be retained as far as possible, and any doors should be put between the posts of the framing. Changes to the frame should be recorded. Some members of the committee thought that the cellar, being in stonework, might be medieval and that it should not be changed. More appropriate methods should be proposed for putting lintels into the stonework. On inspection it transpired that the wall *between* the cellars was of brick and where the doors were to go was of poor, infilling brick. On the ground floor the position of the vertical studs had been established and these would not be removed.

Land to the rear of 24-42 Widemarsh Street, 9-15 High Town, 1-27 Commercial Street, and White Lion, Maylord Car Park (all off Maylord Street), Dalton and Brewers Passages at ground floor level, 7 Commercial Street and Gomond Street.

The application related to revised proposals for the Sector 'C' development area. The failure to attract a department store had led to a drastic revision of the original plans. The footway through the centre of the site to the service vehicle and 'bus lane running parallel to Blue School Street had now been abandoned in favour of an 'atrium' (sic). The committee expressed concern that when this arcade was closed outside shopping hours pedestrians would be forced to use the service bays to the east and west to get to Blue School Street. It was suggested that a virtue should, therefore, be made of necessity and that these service bays should be opened-up to become multi-functional. The backs of the properties in Widemarsh Street, High Town and Commercial Street could then be leased for shopping and recreational purposes.

The Sack Warehouse site, Wye Street. Renovation of existing sack warehouse to provide a craft centre and 3, 1 bedroom 2 person studio units plus erection of 3, 2 bedroom 3 person town houses. H/P/28058/E of 3 September 1985.

The committee welcomed the application but recommended that the proposals should not be permitted in their present form. Any proposals should incorporate the timber-framed walls and the roof trusses and should state with great precision how the brickwork of the warehouse, some of the oldest in the city, is to be dealt with. In particular the application should indicate how much repointing would be undertaken and what mortar would be used.

4 St John Street. Internal and external alterations and extensions to form porch and lounge. H/P/28078/E and H/28079/E/LB of 17 September 1985.

The committee recommended that the extension to the dining room should not be approved in its current form. It was suggested that it should be redesigned with arch-headed windows as on the adjacent kitchen proposals. Concern was expressed at the treatment of the window frames in the St. John Street facade when they were boarded up. It was hoped that nail damage in the window frames would be made good with great care.

32 Church Street. Extension to shop to provide additional floor. H/P/28097/W of 1 October 1985.

The committee welcomed this infill in Church Street but had reservations about the design of the elevation onto the 'driving way'.

33-35 Bridge Street. Alterations to provide additional office and improved reception area. H/28119/W/LB of 15 and 29 October 1985.

The proposals included plans to block up and use the central coach entrance, which retains its original 17th-century timberwork and wooden gates, as additional office accommodation. It was recommended that the application be refused.

34 Castle Street. Alterations to roof, re-roofing and formation of additional second-floor accommodation. H/P/28158/E and H/P/28159/E/LB of 29 October 1985.

After a site inspection of this building which has a most interesting and complex building history it was recommended that the applicant should be encouraged to reconsider the re-roofing plans so that they related more closely to the structure of the existing building.

Matters arising from 1983-84 Report

Romanesque tympanum, St. Giles Hospital, St. Owen Street.

On 6 August the committee noted that no action had been taken to arrest the rapid deterioration of this important monument despite undertakings given and the visit of a D o E inspector. The convenor was asked to raise the matter again.

Bewell House. Original windows and frames.

On 6 August it was reported to the committee that those original windows which had been retained in the cellars of Bewell House for re-instatement had been thrown into the City Refuse Tip by the new builders, Messrs. Bayliss. In view of the written undertakings given by Messrs. Tesco it was asked that this action should be brought to the attention of the Chief Executive and Town Clerk.

Lands off Broadlands Lane.

The County Council granted itself planning permission for building development on the land which it owned off Broadlands Lane. The CAAC request for properly constructed views to assess the impact of the proposed development on the Tupsley Ridge as seen from the Lugg Bridge was ignored.

Manse of the Friends' Meeting House, 21a King Street.

Work on this house in 1985 revealed that it was a large timber-framed building with a late Georgian brick facade. The details of the building were carefully photographed and recorded by the Conservation Officer of the Hereford City Council. A full report will be published in the *Transactions*.

Other matters

National Westminster Bank, 11-12 Broad Street.

The committee noted with deep regret the destruction of the Banking Hall, the finest in the city. As the bank was not a listed building, internal alterations, even of so drastic a nature, were not subject to planning regulations. Some of the plaster casts of Herefordshire tokens which embellished the old Banking Hall have now been replaced.

The 1985 award in the CAAC's annual competition 'to promote development, on whatever scale, within the City of Hereford Conservation Areas which improves or enhances the character of that area' was made to the City Council for its refurbishment of 43-55 Widemarsh Street. The award was made, on behalf of the CAAC, by the Dean of Hereford, the Very Reverend Peter Haynes and was accepted on behalf of the Council by the Mayor, the Right Worshipful Councillor Stephen Stroucken.

Archaeological Research Section, 1985

By M. T. HEMMING

MEMBERSHIP of the section stands at fifty-four this year. Seven field meetings were organised, with an additional two meetings organised by the Natural History Section to which our members were invited. Two editions of *Herefordshire Archaeological News* have been produced, one in January and one in August. Although membership has increased this has not, however, increased the number of people attending field meetings, which remained at eight to twelve members. The faithful few enjoyed the following visits and are grateful to the leaders and organiser who planned the meetings.

In March members met at Kings Caple Church and the castle motte was examined and a search made for signs of a bailey. Recent bulldozing of part of the western bank had revealed a well, showing that the bank was formerly very much more acute. The name Castleditch field to the south of the area is also significant. The area near Fawley station, formerly called Uddingsmere, was examined for Welsh/Saxon boundary banks but these were thought possibly to be old watercourses. Note was made of a short length of bank carefully marked with boundary stones, now almost buried. Southwards down the railway line the query Roman road was picked up again (which by the church was known as Caple Street) and followed eastwards to Mutlow. Here ruins of a substantial 60 foot long building were examined. This was thought to have always been a barn and the only trace of a house known to have existed between the mid-15th and mid-17th centuries was possibly the depression behind the barn which may have been a cellar. Nothing was found to suggest that any banks or ramparts had existed round the Mutlow Hill. (SO578290). Interest was expressed in the theory that if as the name suggests, it had been a meeting place, its situation on the border of Welsh Archenfield and English Greytree Hundred may have been used for the peaceable settlement of disputes as described in the Ordinance of the Dunsaetae circa 930. (Notes supplied by Mrs. E. Taylor).

In April the Stretton Grandison area was visited. Members walked north from the church and then east through Homend Bank Wood to try and trace the earthworks of a reputed camp. Little positive evidence could be found. The walk continued to the site of St. Catherine's Well and through the woods to the former blacksmith's shop below Moor Court Farm. During the afternoon New House Farm and its environs were examined. To the south-east of the house are the remains of one arm of a homestead moat; this is still holding water. The remaining arms can now only be traced as crop marks. The track running past the moat is on the site of an ancient road.

June found members in the Leintwardine area. A walk was made in a westerly direction along the summit of Tatteridge Hill and then north to Hollybush cottage, now ruinous and then back to the road. No trace of any earthworks were seen except disused field boundaries and scarping from the Birmingham aquaduct. The day continued with a visit to the summit of Church Hill, where were seen the grass-covered mounds and

hollows of bygone quarrying activities. There are no surface remains of the church which is reputed to have occupied the summit. Members then walked along a green lane over Mocktree towards Fiddlers Elbow. This is a reputed Roman road, there are, however, no distinquishing features. The day concluded with a visit to Leintwardine parish church.

July found us in the Brecon area. After meeting at Bronllys Castle members proceeded to Llanddewi, where the church and the remains of the fortified residence of the bishop of St. David's were visited. Our journey then continued to the Roman auxilary fort at Aberyscir. The fort which covers an area of approximately seven acres was probably founded in A.D. 75 and was for a time garrisoned by a Spanish cavalry regiment. The next port of call was Twyn-y-Gaer, Penpont, where we made our way to the summit (1203 ft.) to view the hill fort and various earthworks. The last visit of the day was to the known course of the Roman road 'Sarn Helen' on Mynydd Illtyd Common.

In September under the leadership of Mr. B. Walters, members visited the Forest of Dean area. We were shown the location of a recently discovered Mesolithic/Neolithic/Bronze Age/Roman site, covering approximately fifty acres at 'The Park' Great Howle Farm. At Lower Lydbrook a visit was made to a possible Roman site situated on the hillside above the township. A journey was then made to Coleford where we visited the excavations on the site of a Roman smelting furnace at High Nash. A preliminary report on the finds at 'The Park' is included in *A.R.S. News* no. 44.

In October with the guidance of Mr. G. Charnock, a most enjoyable day was spent in the Lower Maescoed area of Hereford. Meeting at Dulas we made our way to Newton, stopping at various points of interest. From Newton a journey was made on foot, viewing the exterior of Cwarelau Farm and the adjacent stone quarries, thence to Lower Newton Farm and Gwyrlodydd. Also visited during the day were the parish churches at Newton and St. Margarets. The latter is well known for its rood screen and loft, built circa 1520.

In November Milton Hill and Little Mountain will be visited.

Natural History Section, 1985

By BERYL HARDING

MEMBERSHIP is sixty-six this year. One indoor meeting was held and eight field meetings were planned—unfortunately the last two had to be cancelled. Again, our gratitude is extended to the leaders who give us their time and expertise thus making the field meetings so enjoyable.

April 13. A geological field trip was led by Dr. Chris Fletcher to the Forest of Dean area. We started at the Prospect Cliffs at Ross where the oldest rocks of the day were seen—Old Red Sandstone bluffs formed by the Wye when it flowed at a higher level. Dramatic tumbled layers of current bedding are visible from the roadside showing coloured strata of sandstone. Some in near-horizontal bedding of slow-moving sediments and others with thick-grained conglomerates deposited as stormwash in the desert wadis of the period, now showing honeycomb weathering.

We continued through the Dean area following exposures and quarries showing younger rocks above these sandstones and puddingstones to the Carboniferous limestones formed in the warm shallow areas and the various Coal Measure deposits of the deltas of that time. Weighty samples were collected plus fossils, pieces of lignified bark and petrified ripple marks.

April 15. The Annual General Meeting took place at the Woolhope Room. The Rev. R. Smith resigned as chairman and was succeeded by Dr. A. Brian. A talk with slides was given by Dr. Wince on the West Indies.

May 5. At the invitation of Miss G. Bulmer we were able to visit the various family orchards at Little Breinton. One is now owned by the National Trust but maintained by the Bulmer family. The object of the expedition was to visit orchards of various apple and pear varieties where spraying had ceased some fifteen years ago. For the first five years pests were rampant but then equilibrium was restored and natural predators keep most of the pests under control now. Mr. Jonathan Cooter also led the expedition to identify the beetles found. It was a very cold, windy day with few insects flying, most were in bark crevices and not easily shaken out of the trees.

The National Trust part of the orchards was planted 60-70 years ago. Uncleared nettle patches provide shelter for early aphids which, in turn, lead to a population build-up of ladybirds which can then prey on other pests in the orchard. Four species of ladybird beetle were found, also spiders and lacewings which keep down the pests. Various springtails, beetles, bugs and weevils were found which feed on leaves or on moulds and algae in the bark. Also found were pollinators such as solitary bees and the Blossom Beetle. One parasite still occurs occasionally which, in its larval form, feeds into the flower pistil causing infertility and non-fruiting.

May 18. Members were invited to join the Botanical Society in Hedgerow Dating at Bodenham, led by Dr. Robert Cameron. Members of the Archaeological Section also

joined us. Armed with record sheets, the party divided into groups to count species on the basis of the Hooper formula of 100 years per woody species per thirty metres of hedge—which is really more realistic in eastern England than the west.

Following a footpath alongside field boundaries between the Isle of Rhea and Bowley Town and returning down Bowley Lane, the average counts ranged from:-

a) *3.5 species* with no hazel, field maple or dogwood. These were 19th-century enclosure hedges but richer than average for that date due to seeding from nearby older hedges.
b) *5 species* with little hazel, mostly hawthorn, elder and some holly. This hedge was probably a pre-1612 hedge between two of Bowley's open fields, Litherfield and Quarrelstone Field. It was thinner than one would expect but with adjacent grazing hedges can eventually become patchy with no ground flora, whereas those flanking routeways are richer.
c) *7 species* with mostly hazel, maple and holly. These were the oldest hedges found and the preponderance of hazel indicates a woodland origin. This section flanked a lane where the Knight Hospitallers of Dinmore owned five houses in 1505 and Bowley Lane itself which is a continuation of a Roman road.

Afternoon work continued by 17th-century Dudales Hope Farm, beside a parish boundary and woodland—which would imply good results. However, the old hedge line and ditch had fallen into disrepair, been patchily replanted and then bounded by a wire fence. The counts averaged *3 species* (hazel, hawthorn and much sycamore). Perhaps a good hedge had never been made with reliance on the bank as a boundary, or people may have had rights to collect wood along the edge of the parish boundary.

In eastern England and Worcestershire hedges are virtually hawthorn and elder whereas those in Herefordshire are comparatively richer. To the west a differing climate gives hazel scrub with hawthorn scrub to the east but both will produce hawthorn scrub as a result of post-grazing pressures.

June 29. An expedition was led by Joe Hillaby in the Doward area covering aspects of its history, past land-use and natural history. The Archaeological Section was again invited to join us. In good weather we walked from the valley between the Dowards in the area of Crease and Whitehead Limestone—a loose oolitic limestone with iron pockets which gave rise to the iron industry and the limestone workings of the past. Kilns were usually constructed in pairs. Some of these were visited and a small quarry, now a S.S.S.I. because of its flora. Prior to the railway, coal was brought by river and then by muleback to these upper kilns—costing 2s. a ton at the pithead and 9s. at the kilns.

Other quarries visited had helleborines, orchids, red milkwort and rock rose with red valerian escapees. Woolhope botanists had identified 600 floral species by 1881 and a further 110 by 1905 but the whole area is now under threat from over-visiting and forestry policy and needs conservation. The huge Doward Quarry escaped use as a rubbish tip and is now owned by the Nature Trust but is still fairly bare awaiting colonisation by limestone flora. From the White Rocks Reserve where mellilot, rock

rose, kidney vetch, hop trefoil and black medick were seen we descended along green lanes flanked by old coppice boundaries, through woods with huge coppiced beech stools and ventilation shafts from the haematite mines below which honeycomb the area.

Descending to the Ferry Inn the New Weir was visited after lunch. Pre-historic and Roman iron workings are known to be nearby. In 1542 the old weir was replaced but frost damage caused its collapse in the 17th century. It was again rebuilt with a landing stage and roadway to the new ironworks and a lock along the opposite bank. Part of the ironworks foundations, the weir base and slip road were visible despite the increased river height from recent rainfall.

July 14. A visit was made to Queen's Wood, Dymock, to identify butterflies and day-flying moths. This was led by Dr. Michael Harper. It was a dull, damp day and we anticipated poor results. However, not being distracted by too many flying butterflies we were better able to look through the foliage for larvae—finding several species of the leaf-mining moth and the leaf-spinning Tortrix moths. On the sandy soil the Alder Buckthorn thrives and the Yellow Brimstone larvae (*Gonepteryx rhamni*) could be easily found on bushes ravaged by their feeding. Their aggressive defence posture was surpassed by that of the Puss Moth larvae (*Cerura vinula*) with their cryptic camouflage and the ability to rear up and fling forward two long flagellae.

Alongside sheltered rides were seen the bright green Leaf-Mining Moth and the Bracken Moth—the only natural controllers of bracken. So also were seen the Ringlet, Speckled Wood, Meadow Brown, Small Skipper and Marbled White butterflies. The bonus was the sight of White Admirals (*Limenitis camilla*) on several occasions, high amid the oak trees and descending to feed on bramble and honeysuckle. It is the only butterfly that glides from upper levels.

The number of butterfly species found in Hereford used to be fifty, now forty-two can be found but only thirty are common.

August 17. Miss Estelle Davies led an expedition to compare the ecology of walls and ditches. We met at Abbey Dore and examined the north wall-base of the ruined nave. Built in 1147, the shady north side has been exposed for more than 900 years and the south-facing inside wall for more than 400 years since the destruction at the Dissolution.

Made of local sandstone and limestone a habitat for hundreds of species has formed. Lichens, secreting acid, initiate the breakdown of mortar. Algae and mosses can colonise smooth, wetter places. Once initial weathering has occurred insects can burrow and nest and their debris and excrement enrich the loose mix allowing seeds to colonise and accelerate mortar breakdown. Small mammals can then use the enlarged niches, as shown by one hole with a rabbit bone and stoat droppings. Different species of ants and spiders were found and many snails at the damp base. Different types of snails occur in the limestone patches. Climbers like Ivy and Cleavers made a thick cover and Pennywort, Pellitory and Greater Celandine grew on the south facing wall with

different lichens. On the shaded sacristy wall different Spleenworts, Hart's Tongue Fern, Wall Lettuce and Herb Robert grew well.

By comparison the shaded northern side of the nave wall showed far less abundance, despite the 500 years of extra exposure. Grey and black lichens grew with algae in the damp patches. Hart's Tongue at the base of the wall showed zonation into drought-resistant polypodies higher up.

The ditches looked at were part of the old millstream belonging to the abbey. Now slow-flowing and overgrown they provided a rich habitat for plants not averse to having their roots in waterlogged soil and subject to seasonal changes of water flow and depth. Tall patches of Hemlock grew on the sunnier banks.

A further visit to Miss Bulmer's orchards to see the fruiting results had to be cancelled, so too was the woodland walk to be led by Mrs. Jackson-Dooley.

October 13. We were invited to join the Archaeological Section on a visit to the Maescoeds led by Mr. Charnock. In beautiful weather we followed some of the old routeways from farms to commonland and quarries, and old irrigation channels of the Dulas valley. The origin of these routes and the general history of the area was discussed.

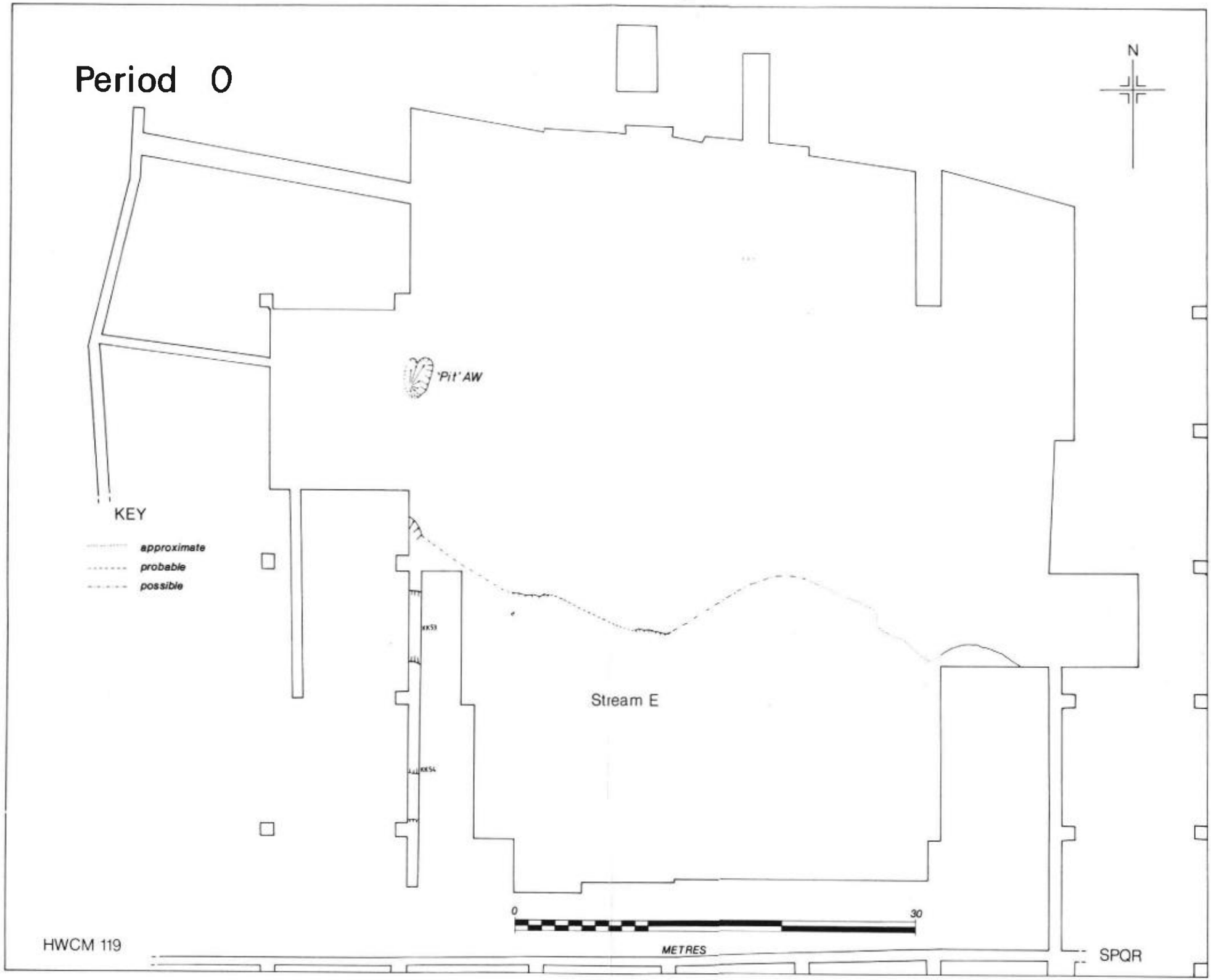


FIG. 4
Site plan. Period O

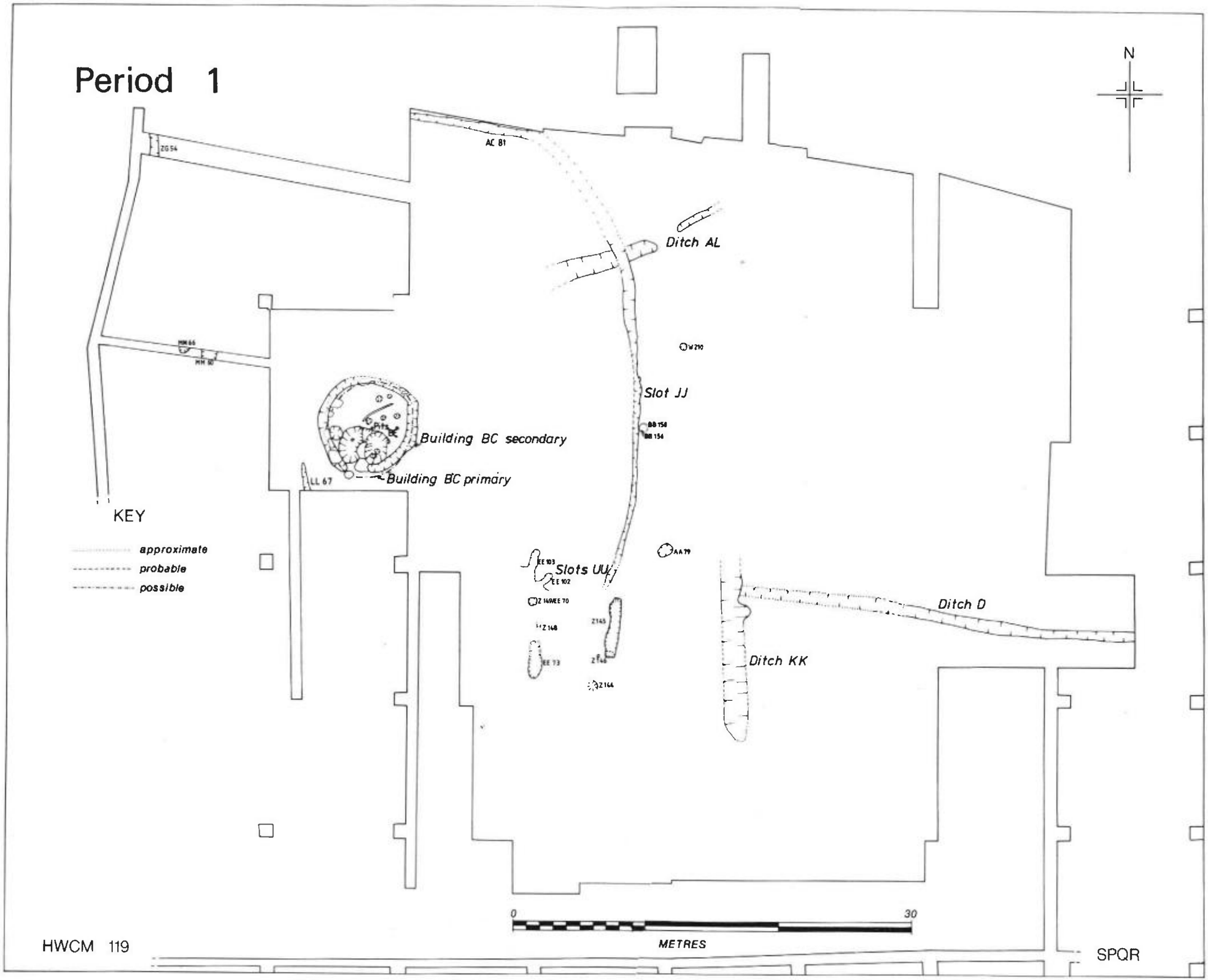


FIG. 5
Site plan. Period 1

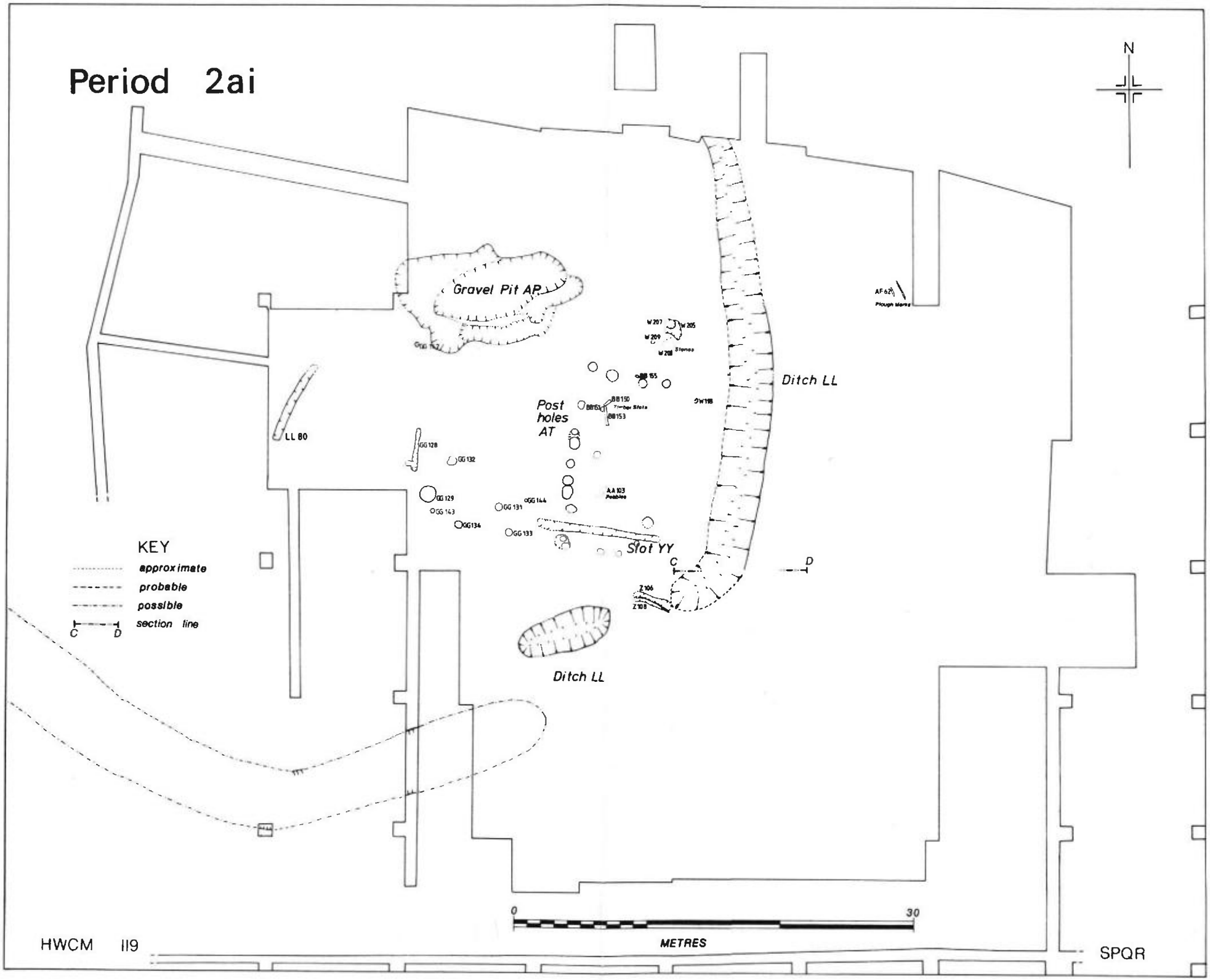


FIG. 7
Site plan. Period 2ai

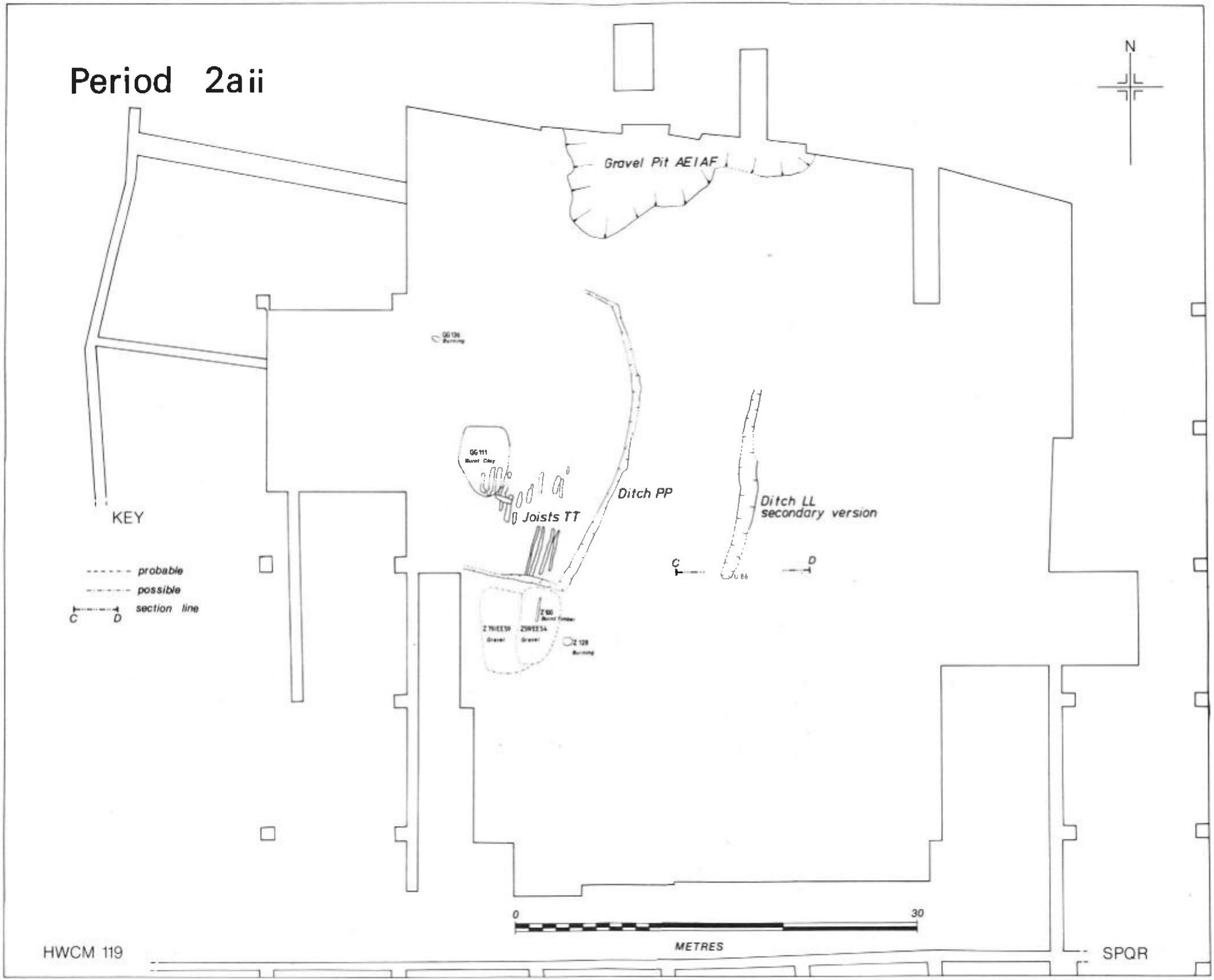


FIG. 8
Site plan. Period 2aii

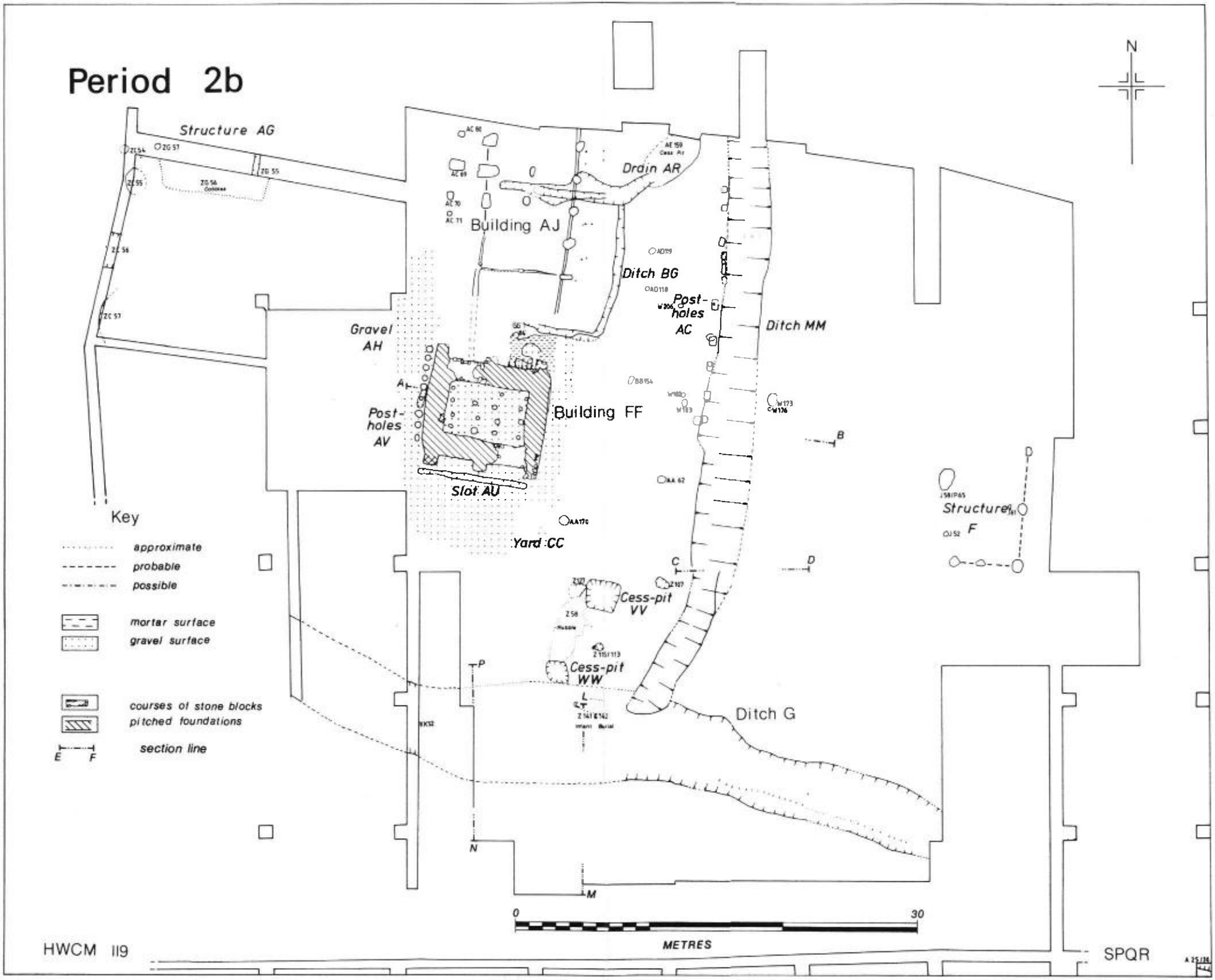


FIG. 9
Site plan. Period 2b

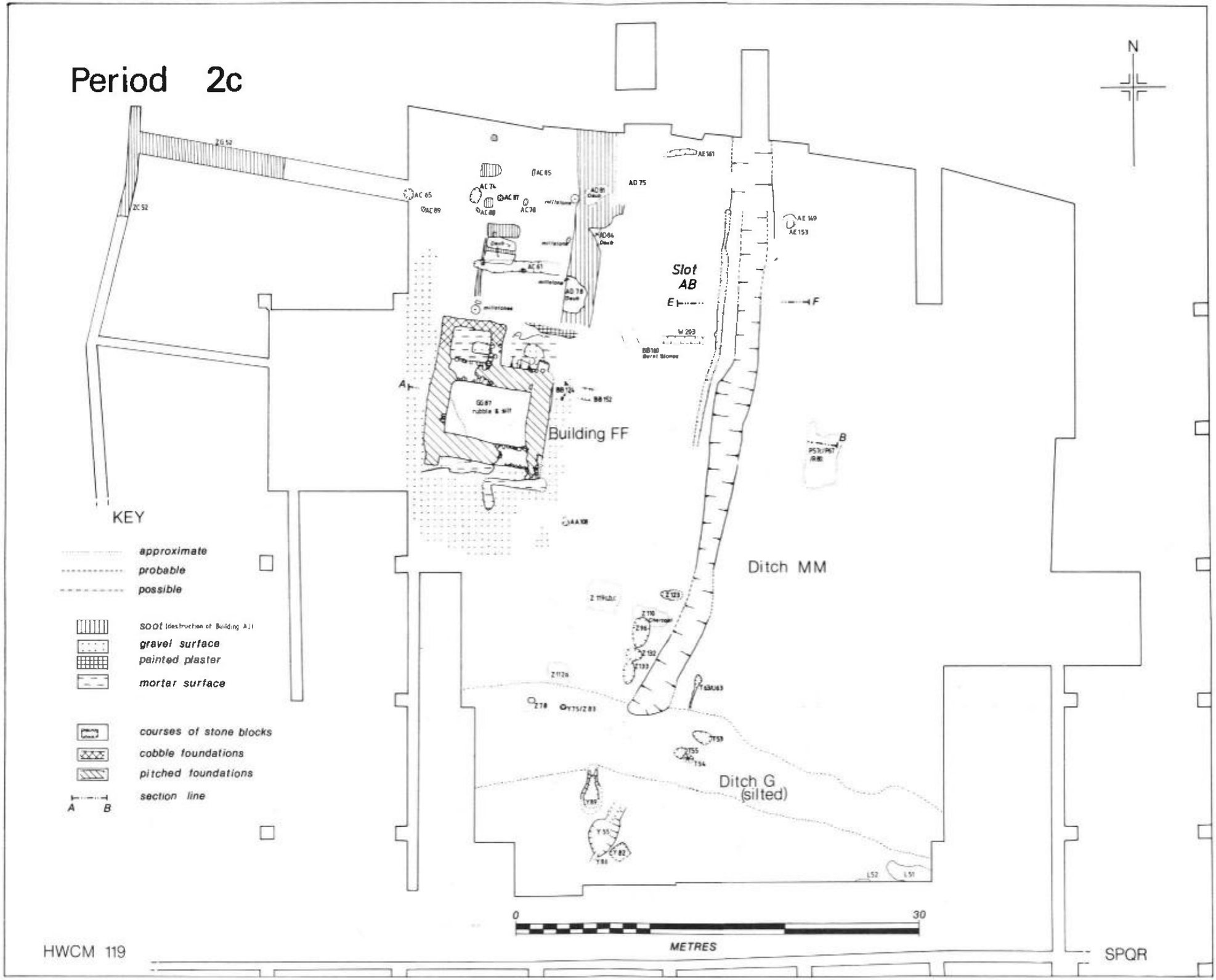


FIG. 13
Site plan. Period 2c

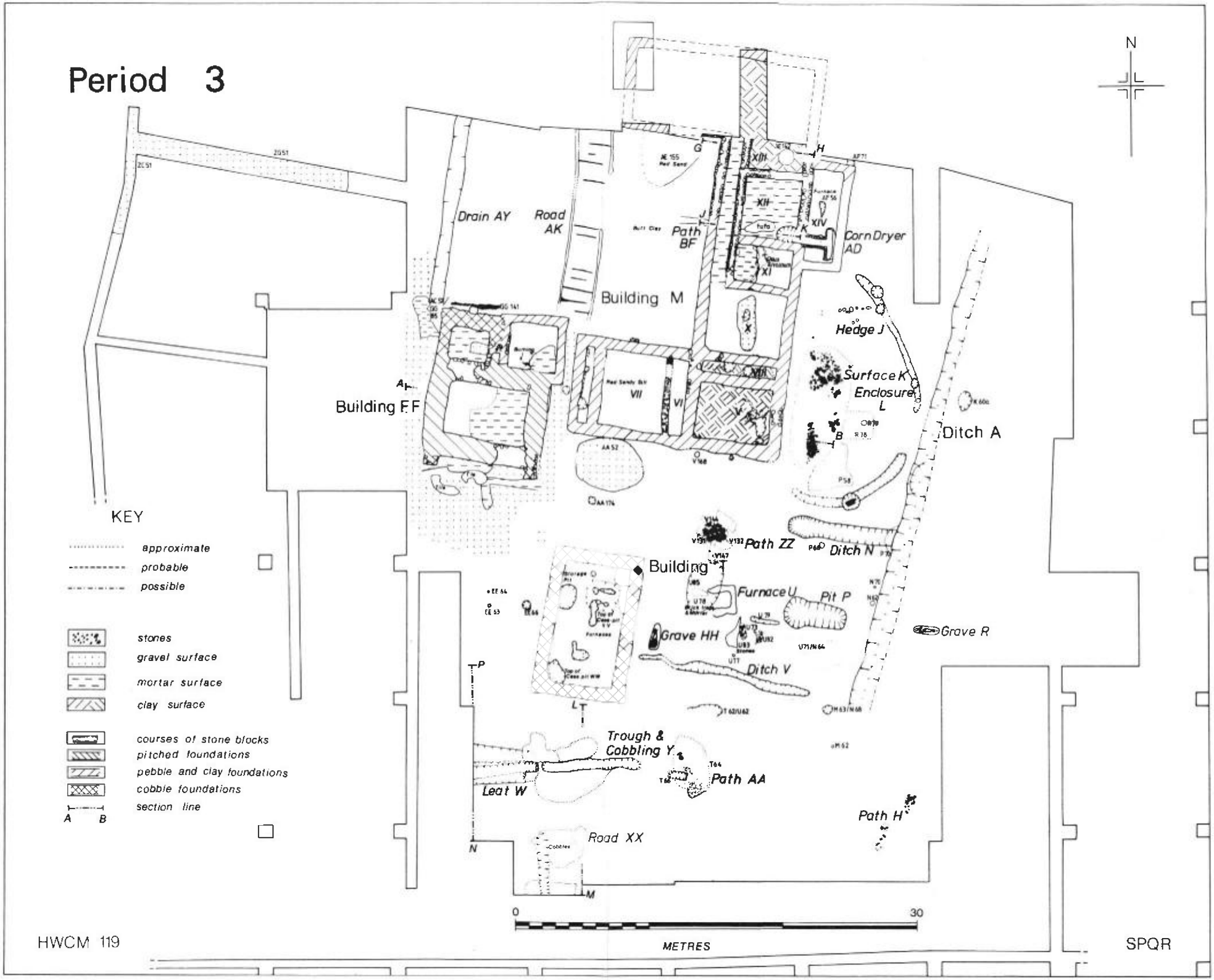


FIG. 14
Site plan. Period 3

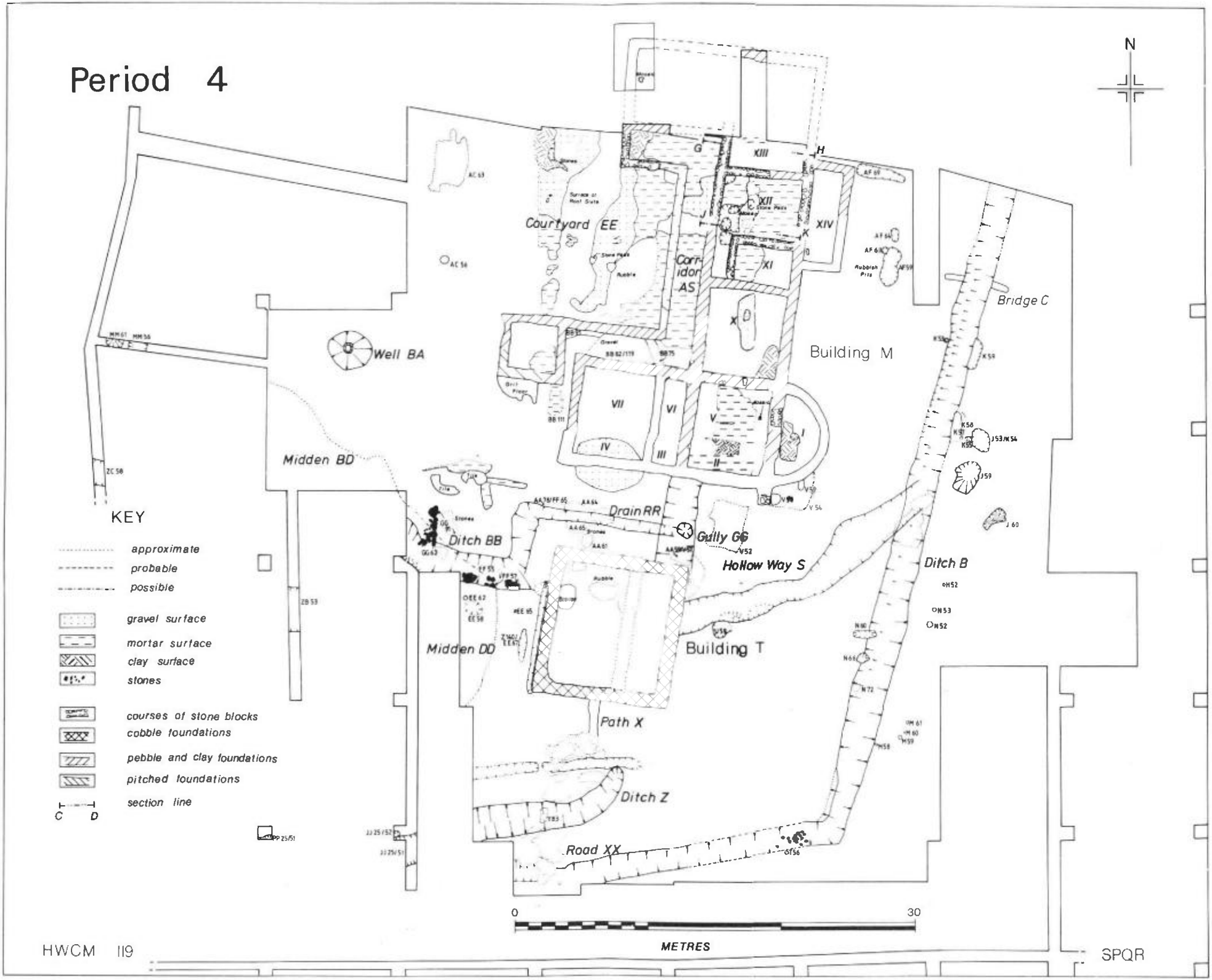


FIG. 18
Site plan. Period 4

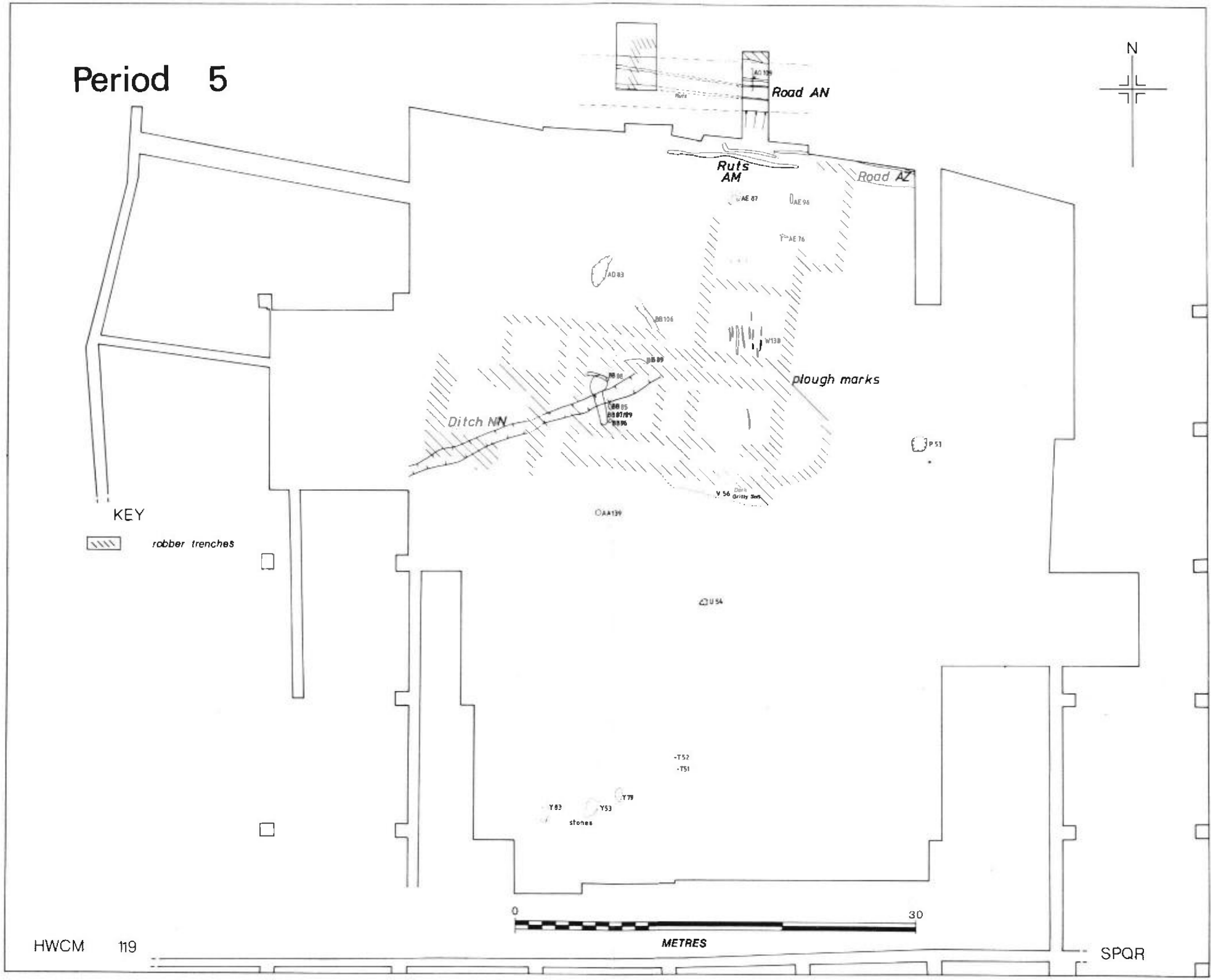


FIG. 21
Site plan, Period 5

ORPHANS PRESS LTD., LEOMINSTER, HEREFORDSHIRE. TEL: 2460.

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION 1

TEXT SECTION III: THE POTTERY

ROMANO-BRITISH FABRIC TYPES

ROMANO-BRITISH FABRIC TYPES

FINE WARES

South Gaulish Samian Ware (SG samian)

Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5. Sparse.

Central Gaulish Samian Ware (CG samian)

Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Common.

East Gaulish Samian Ware (EG samian)

Distribution: Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 6. Sparse.

North Gaulish Ware, Fabric 1 (NG.Fab 1)

Description: A fine wheelmade, iron-rich fabric, red with reduced core and dark colour coat (Anderson 1980, 29). The Kenchester examples have a matt colour-coat.
Source Area: Forêt de Compiégne in NE France or possibly Jaulges-Villiers-Vineux near the River Yonne (ibid)
Distribution: Periods 3 and 5. Rare.
Form Types: Beakers: 34

North Gaulish Ware, Fabric 2 (NG.Fab 2)

Description: A fine wheelmade fabric, pale orange to buff in colour with small ironstone inclusions. Frequently covered with a matt brown and orange colour-coat (Anderson 1980, 33).
Source Area: Argonne area of NE Gaul (ibid)
Distribution: Periods 2a and 2b. Rare.
Form Types: Beakers: 33

Central Gaul Rhenish Ware (CG Rhenish)

Description: A very fine wheelmade fabric. Orange or red with a dark glossy colour coat (Greene 1978, 18).
Distribution: Periods 4, 6 and possibly 3. Rare.
Form Types: Beakers: 30

Trier Rhenish Ware- 'Moselkeramik' (Trier)

Description: A very fine wheelmade fabric, with a sandwich of dark red and grey layers and a fine dark glossy colour-coat (Greene 1978, 18)
Distribution: Periods 4, 5, 6. Rare.

Form Types: Beakers: 30

Nene Valley Colour-Coated Ware (NV CC)

Description: A moderately fine wheelmade fabric. White in colour with small quartz and ironstone inclusions (Anderson 1980, 38). The Kenchester examples are covered with a matt brown or orange colour coat.
Distribution: Periods 3, 4, 6. Rare.
Form Types: Miscellaneous: 118

Oxfordshire Red and Brown Colour-Coated Ware (Oxford CC)

Description: An oxidized, sandy and micaceous wheelmade ware with a matt colour-coat (Young 1977, 123). This same fabric was used for the production of mortaria, and is cross-indexed with the mortaria fabrics.
Distribution: Periods 4, 5, 6. Sparse.
Form Types: Flagons: 16
Beakers: 28
Bowls: 92, 96, 99, ?100
Miscellaneous: 119

Miscellaneous Colour-Coated Wares (Misc CC)

Description: A variety of wheelmade colour-coated wares which could not be assigned to a known industry are included in this group. Fabric descriptions of illustrated sherds are given in the form corpus and a discussion of all types is in the archive. Only rim sherds have been published.
Distribution: Periods 2c and 6. Rare.
Form Types: Beakers: 29, 34, 35

New Forest 'Parchment' Ware (New Forest)

Description: A sandy, wheelmade white fabric belonging to New Forest Fabric 2a (Fulford 1975, 26). The Kenchester example is decorated with red paint.
Distribution: One sherd in Period 4.
Form Types: Bowls: 92

Miscellaneous White Wares (White Ware)

Description: A variety of wheelmade white wares which could not be assigned to a known industry are included in this group. Descriptions of illustrated sherds are given in the form corpus while a description of all fabrics is in the archive.
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Moderate.
Form Types: Flagons and jugs: 13, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25
Bowls: 95

REDUCED COARSE WARES

Black Burnished Ware Category 1 (BB1)

Description: A very sandy handmade fabric, normally reduced black. It belongs to Black-burnished ware Category 1 (Williams 1977, 173). A well burnished surface is typical.
Source Area: Wareham- Poole harbour area of Dorset (Williams 1977, 182)
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Abundant
Form Types: Beakers: 32
Tankards: 36
Jars: 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59
Bowls and dishes: 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111
Lids: 113
Re-worked sherds: 120

*Malvernian Ware, Handmade and Wheelmade (Malv, HM and WM)

Description: This fabric is the same as Group A described with the Iron Age fabrics (Peacock 1967, 15, 18). It is cross indexed here to illustrate the Romano-British forms in which it occurs. During the Iron Age the fabric is always handmade; Romano-British examples are both handmade and wheelmade and the former are frequently burnished. Handmade sherds are identical to Iron Age ones in texture and are normally the same colour, although jars and lids (Forms 58 and 112 respectively) are consistently reduced a light grey colour. Wheelmade sherds may be as coarse as handmade ones, but greater variability is seen and in some cases the inclusions do not exceed c. 1.0mm. With rare exceptions the vessels are grey or grey-brown and frequently have a rust-coloured core.
Distribution: HM: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Moderate.
WM: Periods 3, 4, 6. Sparse.
Form Types: HM: Jars: 58, 59, 61

	Dishes:	107, 108
	Lids:	112
WM:	Jars:	58

*Grey Ware

Description: The majority of these hard, wheelmade sherds are reduced light-grey to grey or grey green (5Y 7/1-6/1; 2.5Y 7/0-4/0). In most cases the surfaces have been eroded and are powdery, but the better preserved sherds are smooth, occassionally with a black (2.5YR 3/0) surface. Generally the finely irregular or occassionally irregular fracture exhibits few visible inclusions in a fine, sometimes micaceous, fabric. Infrequently large quartz grains or clay pellets can be seen. Thin section analysis defines the major inclusions as being abundant angular and sub angular quartz grains measuring c. 0.1-0.5mm; and in some samples, sandstone. Microscopic examination showed some oxidized sherds to belong to this group. As they could not be readily distinguished macroscopically, and forms belonged to the Servern Valley repertoire, they were included in the latter group. The two fabrics were homogenous in many respects and this treatment was justifiable. In one case (Jars, Type 60), the oxidised fabric could be recognised. As the form belongs to the grey ware tradition it was classified as grey ware.

Source Area: Undiagnostic inclusions in the fabric do not allow a geological source area to be named. However Dymock, Herefords. (Peacock 1967, Fig 2) is known to have produced rouletted grey wares (Waters pers. comm.), and it is possible that some of the grey wares are from here. Following the argument given below for Severn Valley ware, more than one production centre is probably represented by this fabric.

Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Abundant.

Form Types:		
	Flagons and Jugs:	14, 24, 27
	Beakers:	28, 31
	Tankards:	37
	Jars:	41, 45, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56, 60
	Bowls and dishes:	68, 69, 73, 82, 84, 98, 99, 102, 104, 106, 111
	Lids:	112, 113
	Miscellaneous:	117

*Sandy Reduced Ware (Sandy Red)

Description: A very hard wheelmade fabric which is reduced: the interior being grey-brown (10YR 4/1), with a grey (7.5YR 5/0) core. a wiped black (7.5YR 3/0) exterior surface and a buff-brown (7.5YR 5/4) lens. The surface is rough with a granular and hackly fracture. he fabric is characterised by abundant poorly sorted, rounded, quartz grains, measuring c. 0.5-2.0mm.

Distribution: Periods 2a and 2b. Rare.

Form Types: Miscellaneous: 116

*Carbonate ware

Description: A hard wheelmade fabric which normally has smooth, somewhat vesicular black (2.5Y 3/0) surfaces and a grey (2.5Y 4/0) core. The only major visible inclusion in the irregular fracture are rounded carbonate fragments to c. 1.0mm.

Distribution: Periods 2a and 2c. Rare.

Form Types: Bowls: 69

OXIDISED COARSE WARES

*Severn Valley Ware (SVW)

Description: A fairly fine wheelmade fabric, normally buff-orange, orange or red in colour and sometimes with a reduced core. Reduced examples occur, but are less frequent than oxidized ones (Webster 1976, 18) Only rare Kenchester examples are partially burnished, but this was probably typical of many vessels prior to deposition. Occasionally sherds have a white or cream (10YR 8/2),red (10R 5/8), brown(5YR 4/3) or black (2.5YR 3/0) colour-coat. In thin section abundant fine quartz inclusions (c. 0.5-1.0mm), angular or sub-angular in shape,are the diagnostic features of this fabric, together with rare sandstone inclusions.

Source Area: Petrological work on Severn Valley ware, both from kiln and occupation sites (including Kenchester), shows that the typical fabric of this ware falls within

the quartz size parameters noted above (Tomber, unpublished). Therefore, despite the homogeneity in fabric, there is no need to assume that all this ware originates from the same kiln. Instead, Kenchester was supplied by a variety of centres, as are the other sites which have been examined (Tomber, unpublished). It was classified as one fabric as the distinctions could not be recognised macroscopically.

Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Abundant.
Form Types:
- Flagons and jugs: 12, 14, ?16, 26
- Beakers: 28
- Tankards: 37, 38, 39
- Jars: 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67
- Bowls and dishes: 68, 69, 70, ?71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, ?92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, ?100, 101, 102, 106
- Lids: 112, 113, 114
- Miscellaneous: 117
- Re-worked sherds: 120, 121

*Severn Valley Ware, Allied Type (SVW, Allied)

Description: A hard and dense wheelmade fabric which is oxidized orange (5YR 6/8) throughout. The surfaces are slightly rough due to small protruding angular quartz grains while the laminated fracture reveals mica, rare grains of sandstone (to 3.0mm) and distinctive iron staining. It is allied to SVW in both fabric and form.

Distribution: Periods 2b and 2c. Sparse.
Form Types: Bowls: 72

*Fine Oxidized Ware (Fine Ox)

Description: A soft, or occasionally hard, wheelmade fabric which is buff to orange or orange-red (5YR 7/6-6/6; 5YR 6/8; 2.5 YR6/8-5/8) throughout. Surfaces are smooth and powdery with a smooth or finely irregular fracture. No visible inclusions can be seen in this fine, intensely micaceous fabric. It is sometimes covered with a white (10YR 8/2), red or orange (10R 6/8-5/8; 10R 5/6) or black (7.5YR 3/0) colour-coat. Thin section shows abundant quartz

grains less than c. 0.05mm.

Source Area: It was difficult to distinguish this fabric from SVW, but some overlapping in form types between the two might suggest that they share a general source area

Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Moderate.
Form Types:
- Beakers: 28, 31, 35
- Jars: 43, 46, ?47, 63, ?65
- Bowls and dishes: 71, 76, ?92, 95, 97, 98, 99, ?101
- Lids: ?112
- Re-worked sherds: 120

*Sandy Oxidized Ware (Sandy Ox)

Description: A hard wheelmade fabric which is normally oxidized buff-orange to orange- red (5YR 6/8; 2.5YR 6/8-5/8)and sometimes has a grey (7.5YR 6/0-5/0) core. Rough surfaces are frequently covered with a white or cream (2.5Y 8/2) colour coat. Abundant well sorted, rounded and sub-angular, quartz grains measuring from c.0.2-0.5mm are contained in the finely irregular fabric, as are small fragments of iron ore. This fabric compares well to Type Fabric 15 found at Gloucester (Ireland 1983, 98, 101)

Distribution: Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Sparse.
Form Types:
- Flagons: 15, 17,19
- Beakers: 28

*Grog Tempered Ware, Fabric 1 (Grog, Fab 1)

Description: A hard, dense, handmade fabric which is normally buff or buff-orange (7.5YR 7/4; 5YR 7/6) and frquently has a grey-black (7.5YR 4/0-3/0) core. The surfaces have a powdery feel and the fracture if finely irregular or irregular. The distinguishing features of this ware are a moderate amount of grog fragments measuring c. 1.0-2.0mm. Thin section analysis shows carbonate to be another diagnostic feature of the group. The fabric compares well to that described as Type Fabric 2 at Gloucester (Ireland 1983, 100).

Distribution: Periods 4 and 6. Rare.
Form Types: Large jars, sometimes with burnished acute cross-hatching. Represented by body sherds only and not assignable to a form type.

*Grog Tempered Ware, Fabric 2 (Grog, Fab 2)

Description: A hard, slightly micaceous, wheelmade fabric which is oxidized orange (2.5YR 6/8-5/8) throughout. It has rough surfaces and an irregular fracture. The fabric is similar to Grog Tempered Ware, Fabric 1 in having grog inclusions of the same size range. It is distinguished by abundant angular and sub-angular quartz grains which are moderately well sorted, measuring to c. 1.Ømm, and rare fragments of limestone.
Distribution: Periods 2c and 4. Rare.
Form Types: Jars: 57
Lids: 112

*Coarse Oxidized Ware (Coarse Ox)

Description: A hard wheelmade fabric which is orange or orange-red (2.5YR 5/6) with harsh, orange-buff surfaces (5YR 6/6). The irregular fracture shows mica, abundant clay pellets, sub-angular and angular quartz grains and rare sandstone and quartzite inclusions (to c. 1.Ømm). These same inclusions protrude through the surface. The fabric equates to Kenchester Tile Type F and the vessel is probably a product of a tile kiln.
Distribution: Periods 4, 5, 6. Rare. A tile in this fabric first occurs in Period 2c.
Form Types: Miscellaneous: 115

AMPHORAE

Dressel 1 (D1)

Description: A hard wheelmade fabric with visible inclusions of varying description. See Peacock 1971,164.
Source Area/ Function: An Italian amphora, probably used for the transport of wine (Gale, Archive 1Ø8).
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Sparse.
Form Types: 122

Dressel 2-4 (D2-4)

Description: A hard, coarse, wheelmade fabric. Red-orange in colour, it contains abundant quartz inclusions.
Source Area/ Function: An Italian amphora, probably used for the transport of wine (Gale, Archive 1Ø8)
Distribution: Periods 3 and 4. Sparse.
Form Types: 123

Southern Spanish, including Camulodunum 186c (C186c)

Description: A moderately soft, fine wheelmade buff fabric.
Source Area/ Function: Probably from the coastal regions of Spain (Gale Archive 1Ø8, and used for the transportation of garum and other marine products (Peacock 1971, 171)
Distribution: Periods 2b, 3, 4, 5, 6. Sparse.
Form Types: 124; only 13 of the 27 sherds could be assigned to this form type.

Dressel 2Ø (D2Ø)

Description: A hard, buff or buff-brown to grey, wheelmade fabric. Gritty with abundant quartz and some rock inclusions and a tendency to laminate (Jones 198Ø, 4Ø).
Source Area/ Function: Guadalquivir valley of Spain, used for the transportation of olive oil (Gale, Archive 1Ø8).
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Moderate.
Form Types: 125

Dressel 14 (D14)

Description: A hard wheelmade ware, buff-orange to orange-red in colour. The gritty fabric contains large inclusions of quartz and probably rocks.
Source Area: Probably Spanish, although a precise origin is not known (Gale, Archive 1Ø8).
Distribution: Period 2c. Sparse.
Form Types: 126

Unassigned Amphorae (Unassign)

Description: A small percentage of the total amphora assemblage belonged to unassigned types. Only the fabric of a single vessel (Period 3) represented by diagnostic sherds is described here, although the other types are tabulated (Tables 8,9). A very hard, wheelmade buff-brown fabric; containing moderate amounts of, primarily, quartz.
Distribution: Period 3. Sparse.
Form Types: 127

MORTARIA: BRITISH SOURCES

Oxfordshire White Ware (Oxford WW)

Description: A sandy white or off white wheelmade fabric with translucent, multicoloured quartz trituration grits (Young 1977, 56).
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2c, 3, 4, 5, 6. Moderate
Form Types: 130, 135, 136, 137, 138, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146

Oxfordshire White Colour-Coated Ware (Oxford White CC)

Description: This fabric is identical to that described for Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware, but is distinguished by having a white colour-coat. Trituration grits are the same as those described for Oxfordshire white ware (Young 1977, 117).
Distribution: Periods 4, 5, 6. Rare.
Form Types: 143,146.

Oxfordshire Red and Brown Colour Coated Ware (Oxford red CC)

Description: This fabric is identical to that described for Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware, and is cross-indexed here. Trituration grits are as for Oxfordshire white ware (Young 1977, 123).
Distribution: Periods 4 and 6. Rare.
Form Types: 140, 147

Verulamium Region (Verulamium)

Description: A hard and granular wheelmade fabric packed with quartz inclusions. Greyish or brownish cream in colour, the core is sometimes pink or occasionally grey or black. Trituration grit is largely composed of flint with some quartz and occasional red-brown material (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Kilns are known at Bricket Wood, Brockley Hill, Radlett and Verulamium (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Period 2c. Rare.
Form Types: 128

West Midlands, Fabric 1 (WM.Fab 1)

Description: A wheelmade fabric, normally hard, and ranging in colour from white or cream to buff-cream, frequently with a pink core. Abundant quartz and black or red-brown inclusions of varying size are visible in the fabric. Trituration grit is of a similar nature although large haematite fragments can occasionally be identified in addition (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Made in the vicinity of Wroxeter although no kilns have as yet been located (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Periods 3, 4, 6 and probably 2c, 5. Sparse.
Form Types: 128,129

West Midlands, Fabric 2 (WM.Fab 2)

Description: A soapy, smooth and hard wheelmade fabric. It is fine textured and creamy buff in colour with a greyish or pink core. Rare quartz and red-brown inclusions can be seen in the fabric, while white quartz and black trituration grits survive (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Made in the vicinity of Wroxeter, though no kilns have yet been located.
Distribution: Period 4 and possibly 3. Sparse.
Form Types: 128,?148

Mancetter-Hartshill (Man)

Description: A fine textured white, cream or pale-buff wheelmade fabric. Early 2nd century examples are often soft fired but 3rd-4th century ones can be very hard. The fabric ranges from being almost inclusionless to containing a moderate amount of red-brown and quartz inclusions. The trituration grit used after c.AD 150 consists of blackish and/or red-brown refired pottery; before this date it can be much more variable (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Warwickshire (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Period 6 and probably 4. Sparse.
Form Types: ?128, 130, ?137

'Caerleon' (Caerleon)

Description: A soft wheelmade fabric, red-brown in colour. No visible inclusions can be seen in the fine textured fabric; trituration grits are of white quartz. A red-brown colour-coat can be seen on some examples but it deteriorates rapidly in adverse soil conditions (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Made in the vicinity of Caerleon,

Caerwent and the Bristol Channel (Boon 1966)
Distribution: Periods 2b, 3, 4, 5, and probably 2c. Rare.
Form Types: 133

'Gloucestershire' (Glos)

Description: A hard wheelmade fabric, orange-brown with a thick grey core and a cream or white slip. The fabric is coarse and sandy with occasional red-brown inclusions. Trituration consists of transparent white and pinkish quartz,with opaque red-brown and black particles (both possibly ironstone, (K. Hartley, pers. comm).
Source Area: This and generally similar fabrics are commonly found in Gloucestershire, Somerset and Avon with a smaller number in the surrounding area including south Wales (Hartley, pers comm) A source area in Gloucestershire is likely, though N Wiltshire is not impossible.
Distribution: Period 6. Rare.
Form Types: 141

MORTARIA: CONTINENTAL SOURCES

Imported Mortaria, Fabric 1 (Impt 1)

Description: A soft wheelmade fabric, pinkish brown in colour. The fabric is very fine textured, with occasional quartz, gold mica and red-brown or black inclusions. Trituration grit,which was probably also liberally spread on the flange and sometimes on the base, is mostly of quartz with some gold mica and rare black calcareous material (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Possibly Gaul (Hartley, Archive 108)
Distribution: Periods 3, 4, 5. Rare.
Form Types: Sherds too fragmentary to assign to form type.

Imported Mortaria, Fabric 2 (Impt 2)

Description: A very hard wheelmade ware, pale brown in colour and often with a pink core. The fine textured fabric contains some small red-brown, quartz and calcareous inclusions, while trituration grit is

largely of flint, quartz, and occasional red-brown material (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Possibly Gaul (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2c, 4, 5, 6. Rare.
Form Types: 131
Related in form to Imported Mortaria, Fabrics 3 and 4 (Hartley, Archive 108).

Imported Mortaria, Fabric 3 (Impt 3)

Description: A soft, fine textured wheelmade ware, buff in colour. The fabric has abundant small black or brown iron-rich inclusions and rare calcareous inclusions. Trituration grit is primarily flint with lesser amounts of quartz and rare red-brown material (Hartley, Archive 108), possibly naturally occurring in the clay.
Source Area: Possibly Gaul (Hartley, Archive 108)
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 4. Sparse.
Form Types: 131
Related in form to imported mortaria Fabrics 2 and 4 (Hartley, Archive 108)

Imported Mortaria, Fabric 4 (Impt 4)

Description: This fabric resembles Imported Mortaria Fabric 3, but there is a distinct difference in colour and in size and nature of the inclusions. It is a soft slightly sandy, wheelmade ware; cream to greyish-cream in colour. The fabric is fine textured with tiny black, quartz, red-brown and calcareous inclusions. Trituration grit is similar but also includes flint (Hartley, Archive 108).
Source Area: Possibly Gaul (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Periods 2a, 2b, 3, 4. Sparse.
Form Types: 132
Related in form to Imported Mortaria, Fabrics 3 and 4 (Hartley, Archive 108).

Lower Germany,Fabric 1 (LG. Fab 1)

Description: A very hard, creamy-buff wheelmade ware with a pink core changing to grey in the flange and base. The fine-textured clay contains abundant flint and soft red-brown inclusions. Trituration grit is composed of large black and red-brown fragments and in the Kenchester example they are flattened from use (Hartley, Archive 108).

Source Area: The fabric and form of the single vessel from Kenchester is typical of the products of the workshop of Verecundus excavated at Soller,Kr Duren in lower Germany (Haupt, Forthcoming).
Distribution: Periods 3, 4, 6. Rare.
Form Types: 134

Lower Germany, Fabric 2 (LG, Fab 2)

Description: A very hard wheelmade ware with a buff colour-coat. The slightly sandy fabric contains intermittent, poorly sorted, quartz, black, and red-brown inclusions. Abundant trituration grit is composed of multi-coloured quartz (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Period 4. Rare.
Form Types: 139

Lower Germany, Fabric 3 (LG, Fab 3)

Description: A very hard wheelmade ware, brownish-buff in colour with a pink core. Intermittent quartz and rare red-brown inclusions are visible while the trituration grit was probably all quartz (Hartley, Archive 108).
Distribution: Periods 4 and 5. Rare.
Form Types: 139

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION 2

TEXT SECTION III: THE POTTERY

ROMANO-BRITISH FORM TYPES

MICROFICHE FIGURES, SECTION 2
INDEX TO ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. F1	Flagons and jugs	Types 12-15, 17-27
Fig. F2	Beakers Tankards	Types 28-35 Types 36-38
Fig. F3	Tankards Jars	Types 39 Types 40-47
Fig. F4	Jars	Types 48-52
Fig. F5	Jars	Types 53-55
Fig. F6	Jars	Types 56, 58
Fig. F7	Jars	Types 59-61
Fig. F8	Jars	Types 62-65
Fig. F9	Jars Bowls and dishes	Types 66-67 Types 68-69
Fig. F10	Bowls and dishes	Types 70-76
Fig. F11	Bowls and dishes	Types 77-89
Fig. F12	Bowls and dishes	Types 90-94, 96-99
Fig. F13	Bowls and dishes	Types 101-109
Fig. F14	Dishes Lids Miscellaneous Amphorae	Types 111 Types 112-114 Types 116-117, 120-121 Types 126-127
Fig. F15	Mortaria	Types 128-131
Fig. F16	Coarse ware mortaria stamps	Types 129, 130, 133
Fig. F17	Mortaria	Types 131-133
Fig. F18	Mortaria	Types 134, 137, 139, 141

ROMANO-BRITISH FORM TYPES

Flagons and Jugs

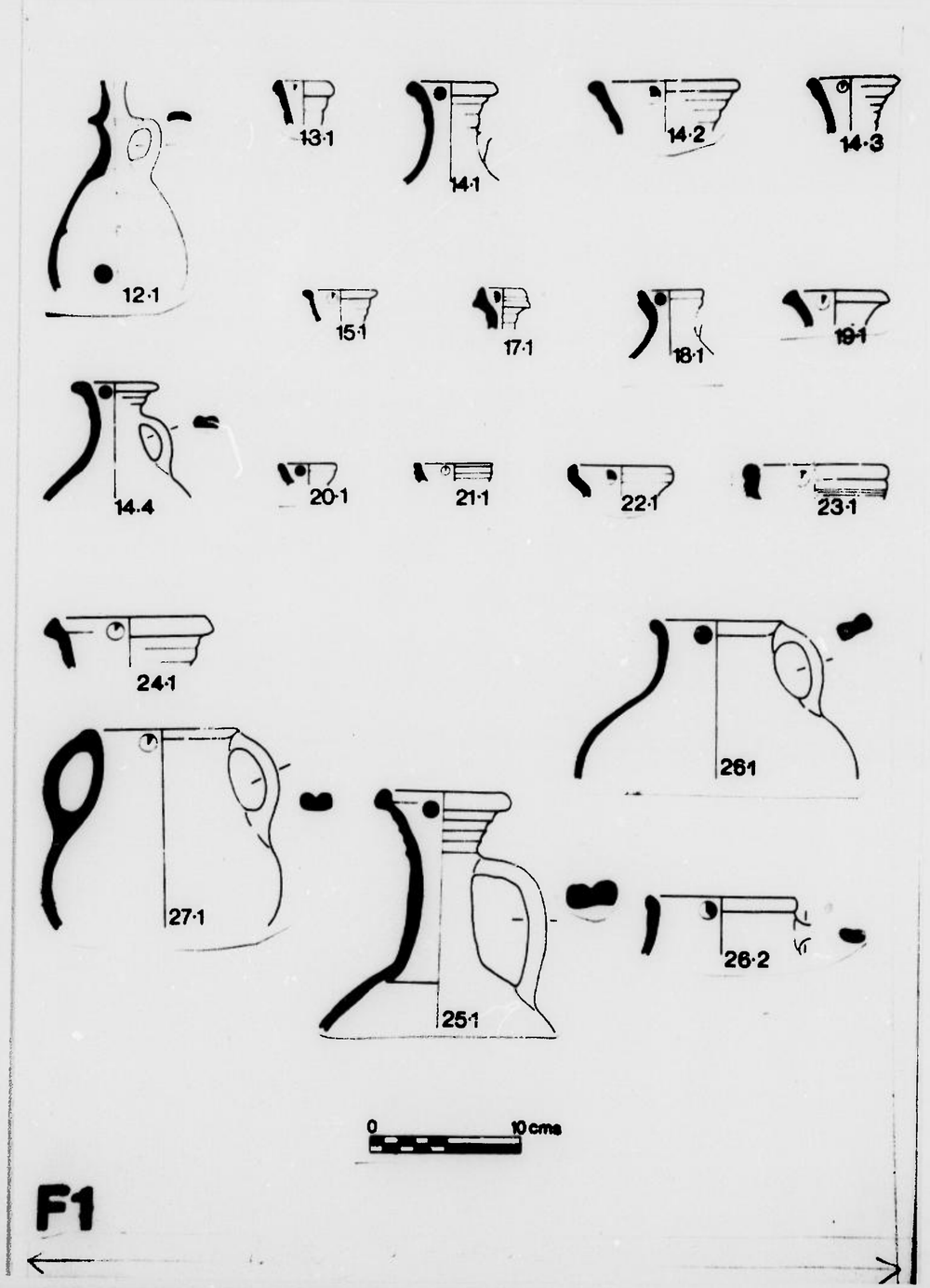
12 (Fig.F1) Flagon with disc halfway down tall neck.
12.1 SW with brown-red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 4. Similar to Oxfordshire Form C 8, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 148).

13 (Fig.F1) Flagon with ring neck.
13.1 White ware. A soft, wheelmade fabric which has slightly rough, cream (10YR 8/3) coloured powdery surfaces. The finely irregular fracture shows a fine, sandy fabric containing a moderate amount of small quartz grains and occasional fragments of iron, all less than c. 1.0 mm. Periods 2c, 4 and 6. Rare.

14 (Fig.F1) Flagon or large flagon with ring neck and out-turned rim.
14.1 White ware. A soft, wheelmade fabric which has off-white (10YR 8/2) powdery surfaces and a cream (10YR 8/3) core. The finely irregular fracture shows an extremely fine, micaceous fabric. The only other visible inclusions are small fragments of iron ore or iron staining and what are probably rare sandstone fragments. One vessel in Period 4.
14.2-14.3 Grey ware. Periods 2b, 2c, 3 and 4. Rare.
14.4 SW. One vessel in Period 4.

15 (Fig.F1) Flagon with ring neck and prominent bead rim.
15.1 Sandy oxidized ware with white colour-coat. One vessel in Period 2c.

16 'Flagon with wide disc rim' (Young 1977, 148).
16.1 Oxford CC. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 4, AD 240-350 (Young 1977, 148 and Fig. 53). One vessel in Period 6. Both fabric and form identification of this vessel are problematic (Young, pers. comm.).
16.2 Oxford CC/SW. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 6.



F1

Type

17 (Fig. F1) Flagon with disc below the rim and ring neck.
17.1 Sandy oxidized ware. One vessel in Period 4.

18 (Fig. F1) Flagon with grooved rim.
18.1 White ware. The fabric is the same as that described for Form 14.1. One vessel in Period 4.

19 (Fig. F1) Flagon with plain neck and out-turned rim.
19.1 Sandy oxidized ware with white colour-coat. One vessel in Period 4.

20 (Fig. F1) Open-cup flagon with bead rim.
20.1 White ware. A very hard, wheelmade fabric with slightly rough surfaces, off-white (10YR 8/2) in colour. The fine, slightly micaceous fabric is similar to that described for Form 13.1 but is distinguished by containing an abundance of small, well-sorted quartz grains (less than c. 1.0 mm.). One vessel in Period 3.

21 (Fig. F1) Open-cup flagon with a small bead rim and a horizontal groove on the cup.
21.1 White ware. A very hard, wheelmade fabric, off-white in colour (2.5YR 8/2). Surfaces are smooth and a finely irregular sandy fracture shows abundant iron staining and moderate amounts of quartz (less than c. 1.0 mm.). One vessel in Period 6.

22 (Fig. F1) Open-cup flagon with plain in-turned rim and horizontal incising on the cup.
22.1 White ware. A soft, wheelmade fabric, sandy and cream-pink (7.5YR 8/4) in colour. Surfaces are slightly rough and an irregular fracture shows moderate amounts of sub-angular quartz and iron ore (to c. 1.0 mm.). One vessel in Period 4.

23 (Fig. F1) Large open-cup flagon with prominent bead rim and horizontal incising on the cup.
23.1 White ware. The fabric is similar to that described for Type 22.1, differing by being cream (7.5YR 7/4) in colour. One vessel in Period 4.

24 (Fig. F1) Large flagon with ring neck and out-turned rim.
24.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 6.

25 (Fig. F1) Large flagon or jug with ridged neck and bead rim.
25.1 White ware. A hard, wheelmade fabric with a friable texture and abrasive surfaces. In colour the vessel is off-white (10YR 7/2) with cream (10YR 8/3) surfaces. A hackly fracture shows densely packed, rounded quartz grains (to c. 1.0 mm.). One vessel in Period 2c.

Type

26 (Fig. F1) Single-handled globular jug with bead rim. The handle is joined directly to or beneath the rim. While it is not possible to be certain that all examples have only a single handle, similarities in rim type would suggest that all vessels equate to 26.1.
26.1-26.2 SVW. Periods 2b, 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

27 (Fig. F1) Double-handled globular jug with out-turned rim.
27.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2b.

Beakers

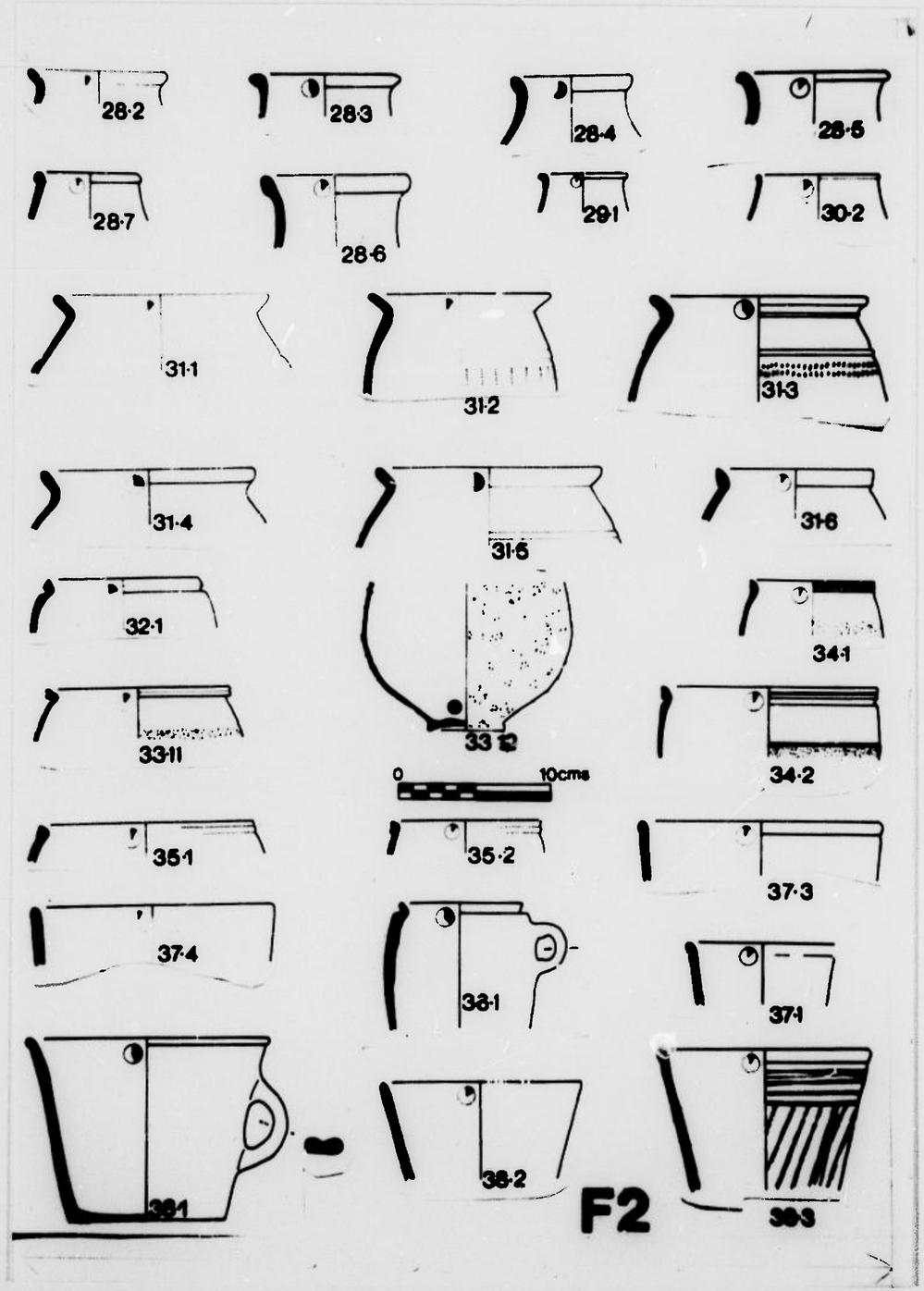
28 (Fig. F1) Beakers which are similar in proportion to jug Type 26 but apparently without handles.
28.1 Oxford CC. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 22, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 152 and Fig. 55). Period 6. Rare.
28.2 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2a.
28.3-28.5 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.
28.6 Fine oxidized ware. One vessel in Period 6.
28.7 Sandy oxidized ware. One vessel in Period 4.

29 (Fig. F2) Beaker, possibly of bulbous shape, with out-turned rim.
29.1 Misc CC. A very hard, wheelmade fabric, oxidized buff-orange (7.5YR 7/6) with a light grey-green (5Y 6/2) core. Smooth surfaces are covered with a matt brown (5YR 3/2) colour-coat. A finely irregular fracture shows abundant, poorly sorted, sub-angular fine quartz grains and occasional iron ore and clay pellets (all less than c. 1.0 mm.). One vessel in Period 6.

30 (Fig. F2) Thin walled beaker with bead rim, probably bulbous in shape.
30.1 Central Gaul Rhenish ware. Not illustrated. c. AD 150-200 (Greene 1978, 19). One vessel in Period 6.
30.2 Trier Rhenish ware. Probably from the later second to the mid-third century AD (Ibid.). Periods 4, 5 and 6. Rare.

31 (Fig. F2) Globular or ovoid beaker with sharply everted rim
31.1-31.5 Grey ware. Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
31.6 Fine oxidized ware with red colour-coat. One vessel in Periods 2a and 3.

32 (Fig. F2) Beaker with near vertical sides and bead rim.
32.1 BBI. One vessel, with abraded surfaces, in Period 3.



F2

Type

33 (Fig. F2) Bag shaped roughcast beaker with grooved cornice rim.
33.11-33.12 North Gaulish ware, Fabric 2. c. AD 80-135 (Anderson 1980, 34). One vessel in Period 2b.

34 (Fig. F2) Beaker similar to Type 33 but with slenderer proportions.
34.1 North Gaulish ware, Fabric 1. c. AD 80-135 (Anderson 1980, 31). One vessel in Period 3.
34.2 Misc CC. A soft, wheelmade fabric, oxidized buff-orange (7.5YR 7/6) with a grey (7.5YR 5/0) core. Smooth surfaces are covered with a matt brown (5YR 3/1) colour-coat. The finely irregular fracture shows a very fine fabric containing mica and rare small fragments of iron ore. One vessel in Period 6.

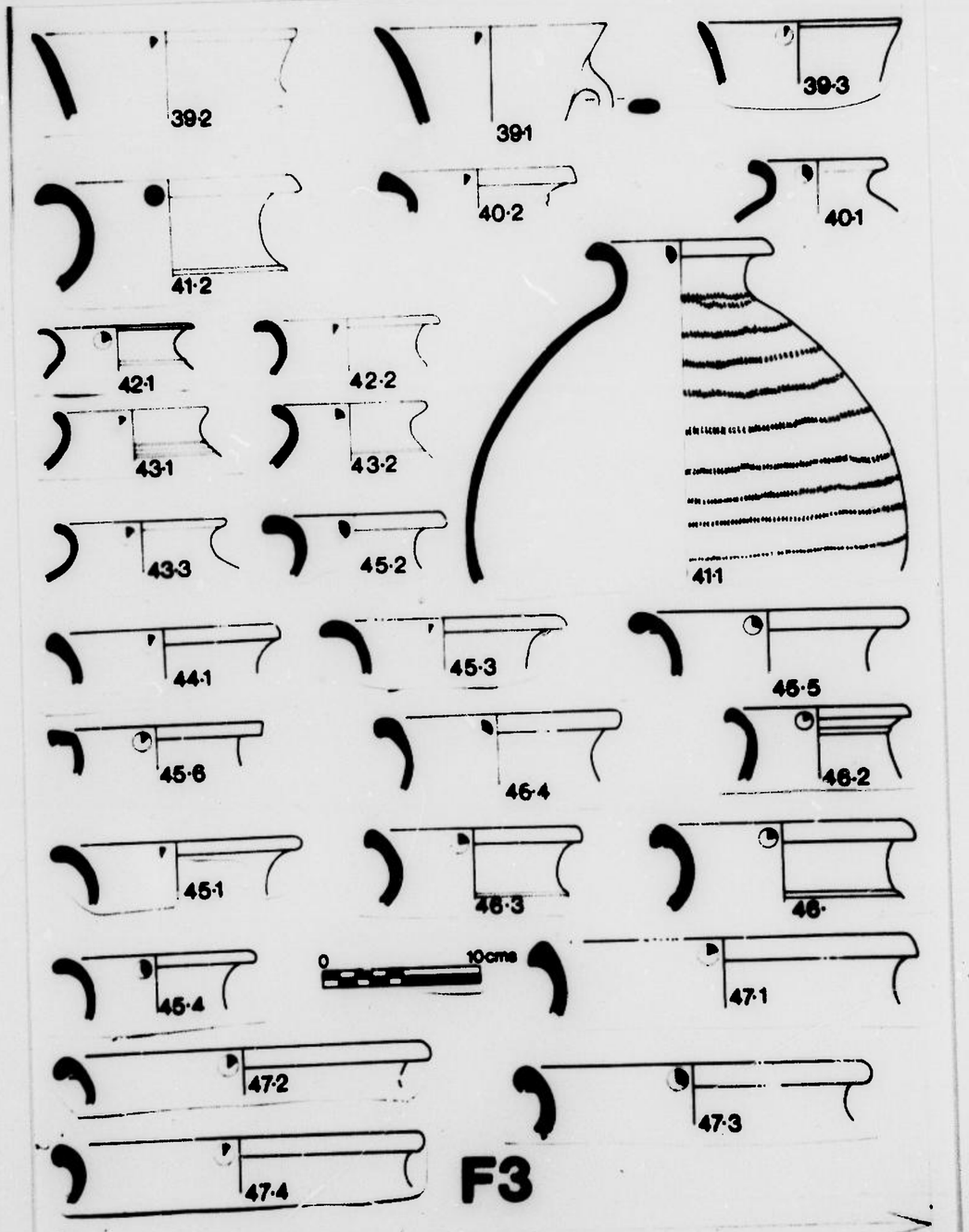
35 (Fig. F2) Bag shaped beaker with poorly defined cornice rim.
35.1 Misc CC. A soft, wheelmade fabric, oxidized buff-orange (5YR 7/8) in colour. The eroded, powdery surfaces have spots of matt colour-coat still adhering: on the exterior it is brown (5YR 4/3) and pink-orange (10R 6/8) on the interior. The finely irregular fracture shows a moderately fine, micaceous fabric containing quartz, clay pellets and iron ore, occasionally to c. 1.0 mm. One vessel in Period 2c.
35.2 Fine oxidized ware with red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 2c.

Tankards

36 (Fig. F2) Tankard with near vertical sides and bead rim with distinct shoulder groove.
36.1 BBI. One vessel in Period 4. Tankards are normally found in grey wares rather than BBI (Gillam 1976, 66) but this example is definitely BBI fabric.

37 (Fig. F2) Tankard whose walls are near vertical or slightly curving in toward the base. Plain or bead rims.
37.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2c.
37.2 Grey ware. Not illustrated. Vessel with plain rim. One vessel in Period 3.
37.1 and 37.2 are examples of a typical SVW form occurring in a reduced fabric.
37.3-37.4 SVW. Periods 2c, 3 and 4. Rare.

38 (Fig. F2) Tankard whose walls curve in towards the base at a greater angle than Type 37. Plain or bead rims.
38.1-38.3 SVW. Periods 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common. Examples with a plain rim are slightly narrower in proportion. They do not occur until Period 3 and could be later in date. Examples with plain rimsare rare.



Type

39 (Fig. F3) Tankard with bead or plain rim, slightly out-turned. The body is narrower than Types 37 and 38.
39.1-39.3 SVW. Periods 4 and 6. Common. Examples with plain rims are rare.

Jars

Types 40-51 are all narrow-mouthed and of globular shape.

40 (Fig. F3) Jar with short neck and somewhat square, out-turned rim.
40.1-40.2 SVW. Period 4. Rare.

41 (Fig. F3) Jar with medium length neck and turned-over rim with a bevel on the external rim surface.
41.1 Grey ware. Periods 2c and 6. Rare.
41.2 SVW. One vessel in Period 3.

42 (Fig. F3) Jar with over-turned rim, normally with thin walls.
42.1-42.2 SVW. Periods 2c, 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

43 (Fig. F3) Jar with gently everted rim.
43.1-43.3 SVW. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
43.4 Fine oxidized ware. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 5.
43.5 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Not illustrated. Periods 4 and 6. Rare.

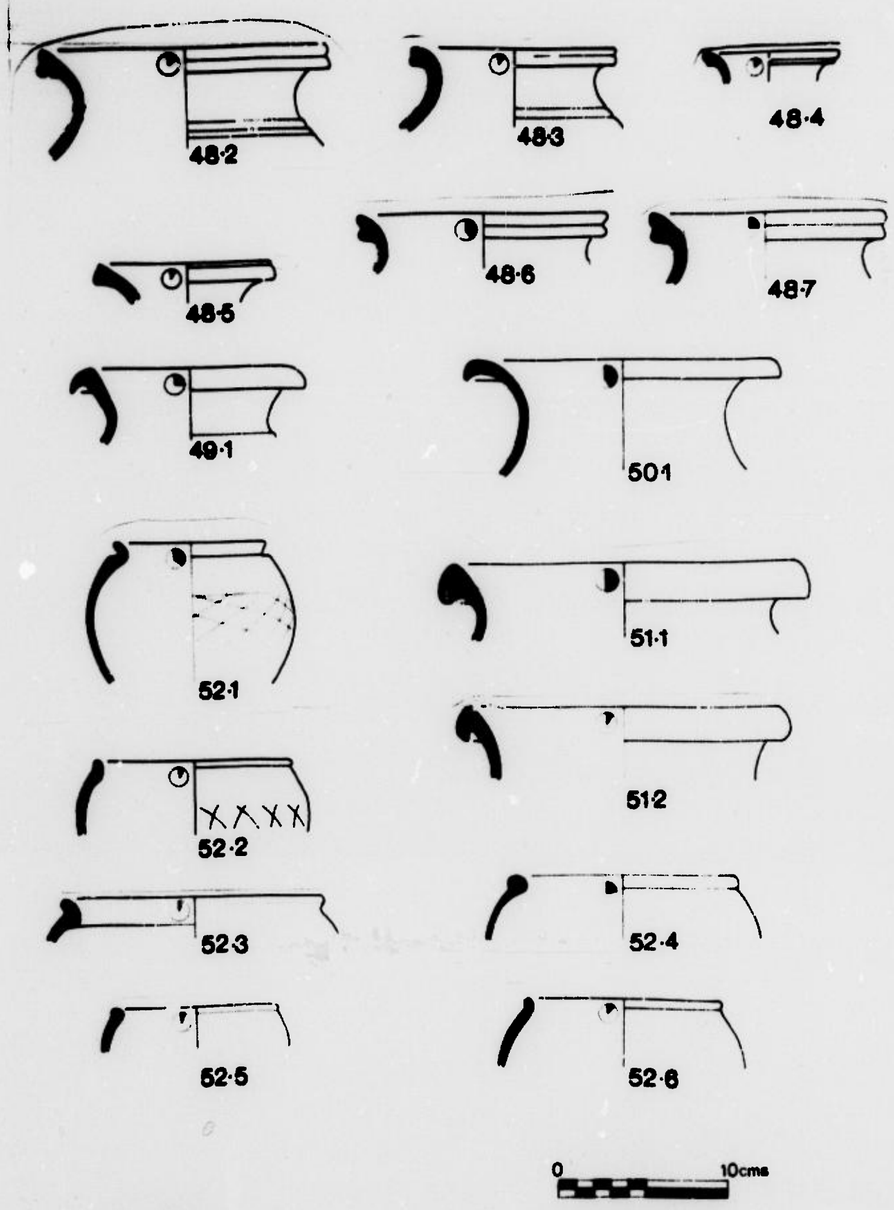
44 (Fig. F3) Jar with slightly out-turned rim.
44.1 SVW. Periods 2c, 3 and 6. Rare.

45 (Fig. F3) Jar with over-turned rim. Distinguished from Type 42 by generally having thicker walls and a larger rim diameter.
45.1-45.3 Grey ware. Periods 2a, 2c, 3 and 4. Moderate.
45.4-45.6 SVW. Periods 2a, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Moderate.

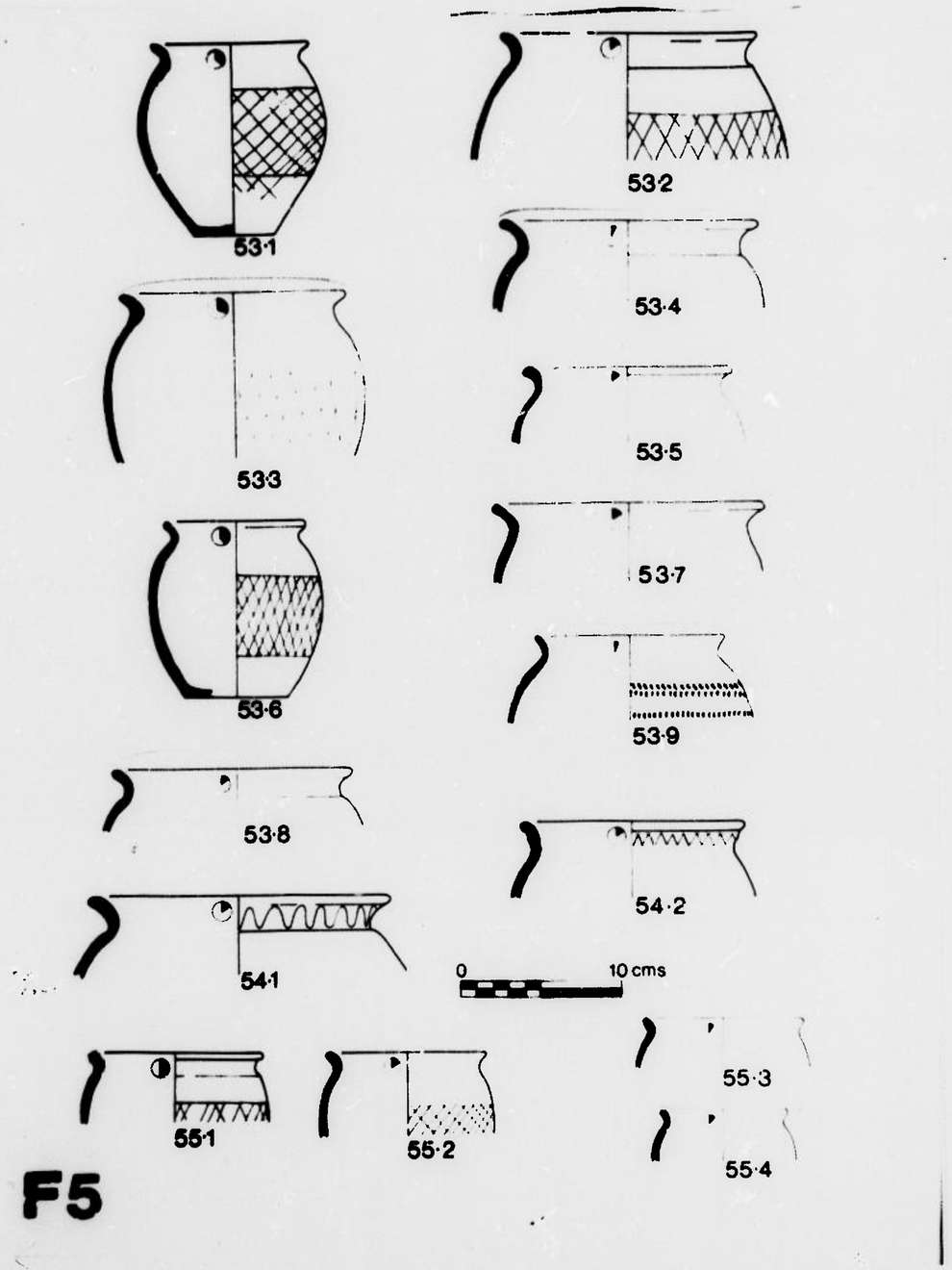
46 (Fig. F3) Jar with slightly out-turned, dropped or undercut, bead rim.
46.1-46.4 SVW. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
46.5 Fine oxidized ware. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 6.

47 (Fig. F3) Similar to Type 46 but always with a larger diameter. Some fragmentary rim sherds may belong to Type 62.
47.1-47.4 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.
47.5 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 6.

48 (Fig. F4) Jar with grooved rim.
48.1 Grey ware. Not illustrated. Periods 4 and 6. Rare. These vessels provide examples of a typical SVW form occurring in a reduced fabric.
48.2-48.7 SVW. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.


48·2
48·3
48·4
48·5
48·6
48·7
49·1
50·1
51·1
52·1
52·2
51·2
52·3
52·4
52·5
52·6
0
10cms

F4


53·1
53·2
53·4
53·3
53·5
53·7
53·6
53·9
53·8
54·2
54·1
0
10 cms
55·1
55·2
55·3
55·4

F5

Type

49 (Fig.F4) Jar with out-turned undercut rim, with a rim diameter up to c. 21 cms.
49.1 SVW. Period 4. Rare.

50 (Fig.F4) Jar with over-turned rim, thin walls and large diameter.
50.1 SVW. One vessel in Period 4.

51 (Fig.F4) Jar with heavy, squat rim, undercut. Some examples have a diameter up to 34 cm.
51.1-51.2 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

52 (Fig.F4) Narrow-mouthed spheroid jar with bead rim.
52.1-52.3 BBI. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
52.4-52.6 Grey ware. Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

53 (Fig.F5) Narrow-mouthed globular jar with short neck and slightly everted rim. Some fragmentary rim sherds may belong to Type 56.
53.1-53.4 BBI. Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
53.5-53.9 Grey ware. Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.

54 (Fig.F5) Similar to Type 53 but always with a wavy burnished line on the neck.
54.1-54.2 BBI. Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Moderate.

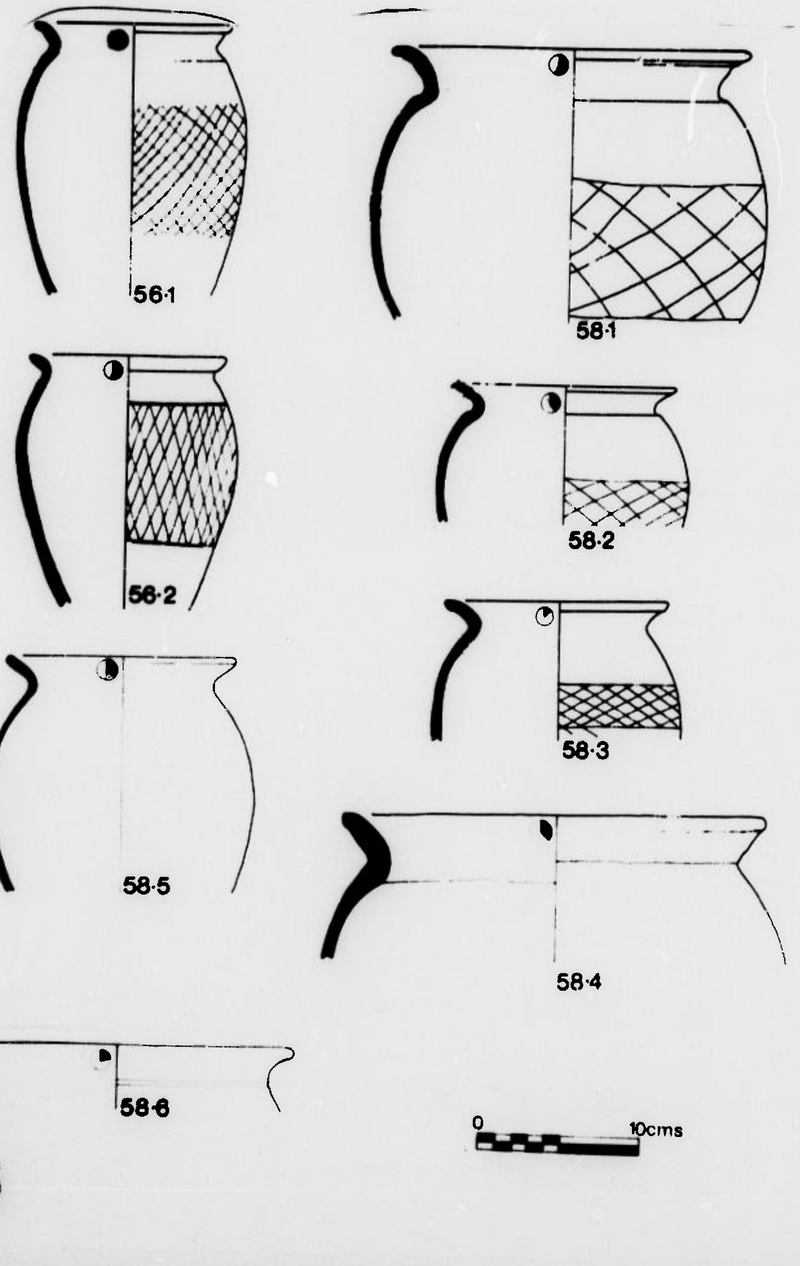
55 (Fig.F5) Similar to Type 53 but generally with a smaller diameter and rim, and less globular in shape.
55.1-55.2 BBI. Periods 2c, 3 and 4. Moderate.
55.3 55.4 Grey ware. Periods 2c, 4, 5 and 6. Rare.

56 Narrow-mouthed jar of ovoid shape with everted rim.
56.1 BBI. One vessel in Period 3.
56.2 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 4.

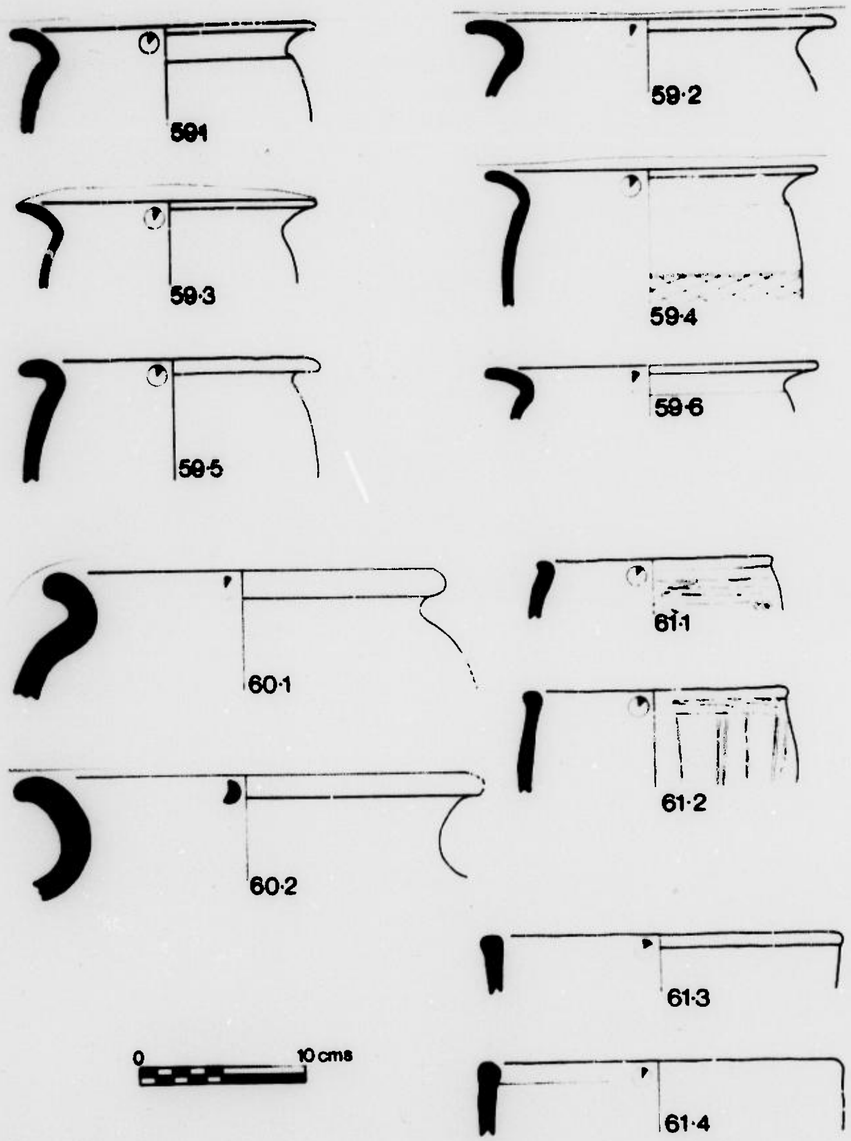
57 (Fig.F6) Jar of indeterminate shape with gently everted rim.
57.1 Grog tempered ware, Fabric 2. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 4.

58 (Fig.F6) Wide-mouthed jar with everted rim. Differentiated from Type 53 by having a more pronounced and sharply everted rim and a maximum girth less globular in relation to the rim diameter.
58.1-58.3 BBI. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
58.4 Malvernian ware, handmade. Period 3. Rare.
58.5-58.6 Malvernian ware, wheelmade. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

59 (Fig.F7) Wide-mouthed jar with over-turned rim. Rim diameter exceeds the maximum girth of the vessel.
59.1-59.4 BBI. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
59.5 Malvernian ware, handmade. Periods 3 and 4. Rare.
59.6 SVW. One vessel in Period 5.



F6



F7

Type

60 (Fig. f7) Wide-mouthed globular storage jar with everted or out-turned rim.
60.1 Grey ware. Period 2c. Rare.
60.2 Grey ware fabric in oxidized state. One vessel in Periods 2c and 3.

Body sherds of this form type, including a rouletted example, from Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4 and 5.

61 (Fig.f7) Class of cooking jars referred to as 'tubby cooking pots', normally bag shaped. For illustrations of complete profiles see Peacock 1967, Fig.1.
61.1-61.4 Malvernian ware, handmade. Periods 2a, 2b, 3, 4 and 5. Moderate. Many of the Kenchester examples have abraded surfaces and it is possible that they were originally decorated.

62 (Fig. f8) Wide-mouthed globular jar with neck of varying length and out-turned undercut rim. Maximum girth exceeds the rim diameter. Some fragmentary rim sherds may belong to Type 47.
62.1-62.4 SVW. Periods 4, 5 and 6. Common.

63 (Fig. f8) Wide-mouthed globular jar with short neck and over-turned rim. Maximum girth exceeds the rim diameter.
63.1 SVW. Not illustrated. Period 4. Rare.
63.2 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Periods 5 and 6. Rare.
63.3-63.4 Fine oxidized ware. Periods 4 and 5. Rare.

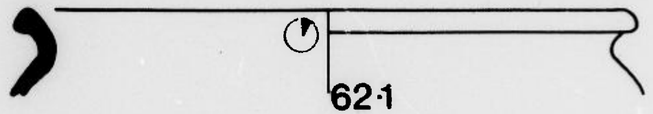
Types 64-66 are all wide-mouthed jars in which the rim diameter exceeds the maximum girth of the vessel.

64 (Fig.f8) Jar with thick out-turned and undercut bead rim.
64.1 SVW. One vessel in Period 6.

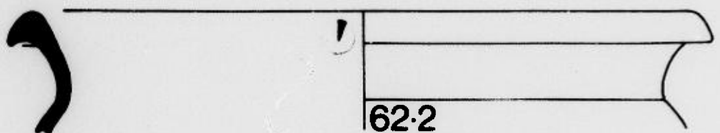
65 (Fig.f8) Jar with out-turned, undercut rim, sometimes beaded and with a long neck.
65.1-65.5 SVW. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
65.6 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 4.

66 (Fig.f9) Jar with long neck and over-turned rim.
66.1 SVW. One vessel in Period 4.

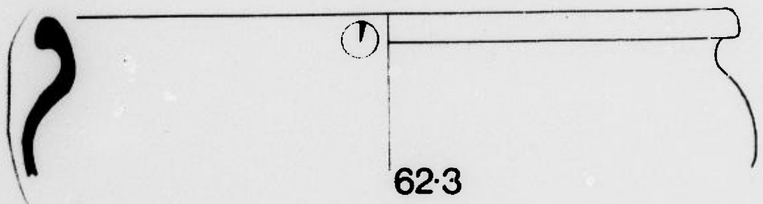
67 (Fig.f9) Wide-mouthed jar or bowl with over-turned rim.
67.1 SVW. One vessel in Period 6.



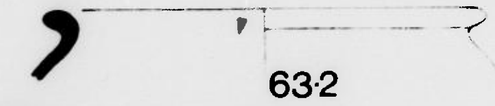
62·1



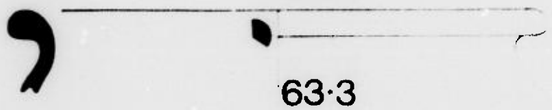
62·2



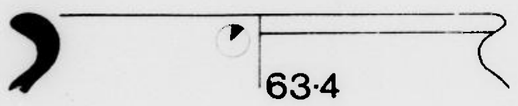
62·3



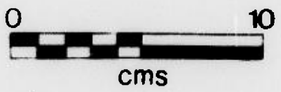
63·2

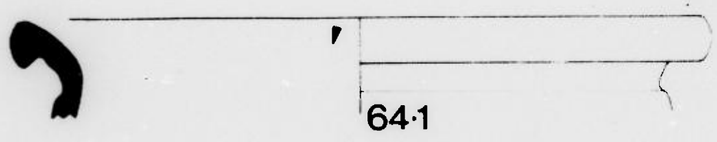


63·3

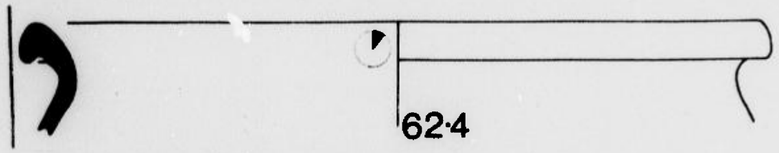


63·4

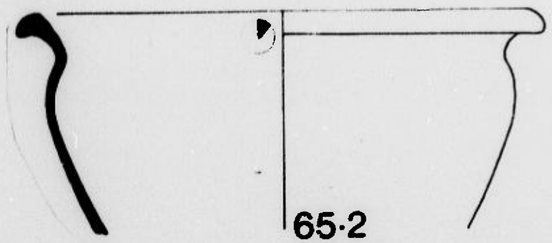




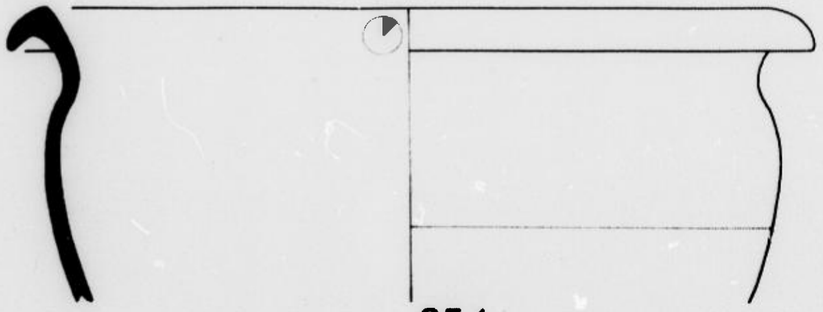
64·1



62·4

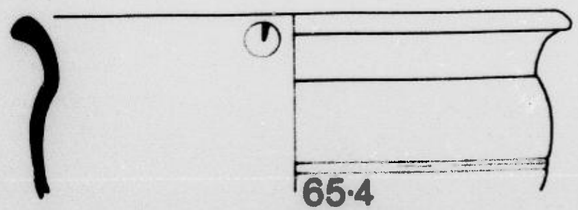


65·2

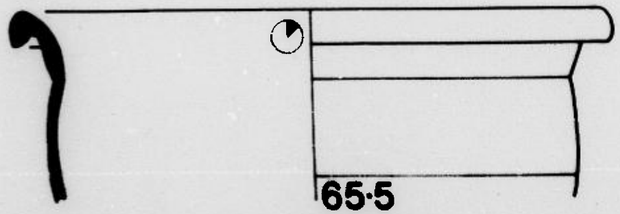


65·1

65·3

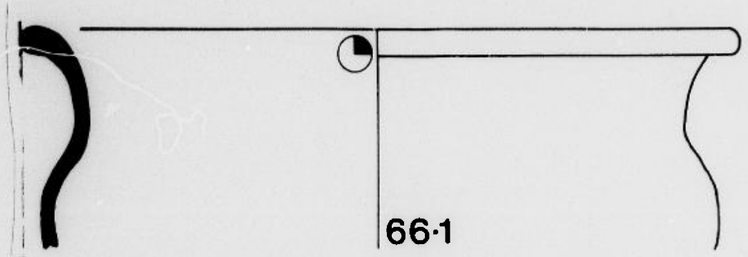


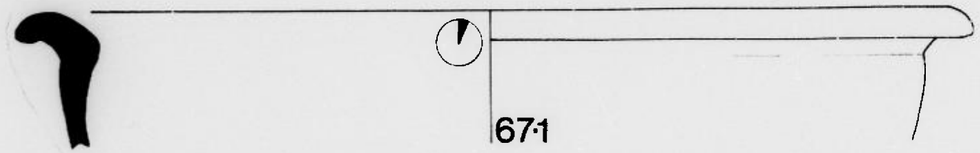
65·4

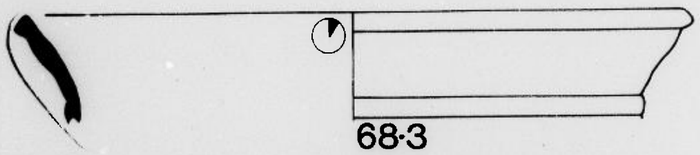


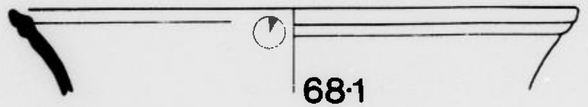
65·5

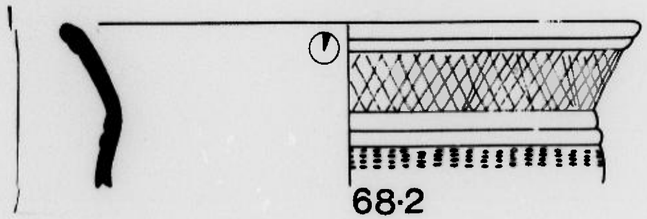
F8

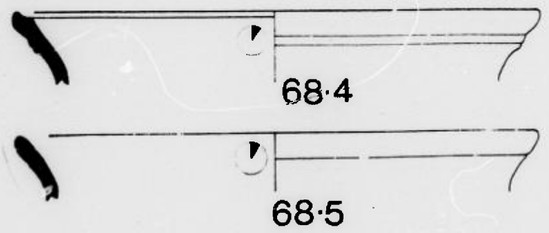

66·1


67·1

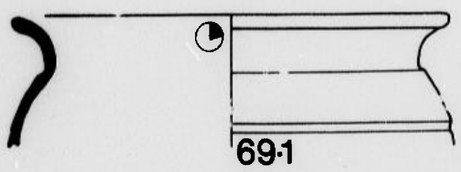

68·3

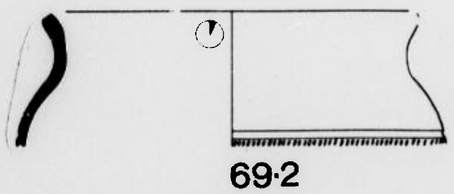

68·1

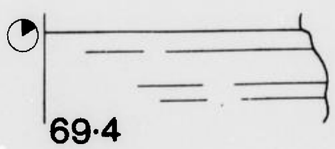

68·2

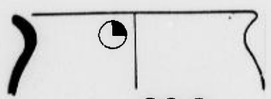

68·4

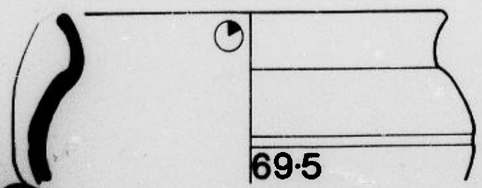
68·5

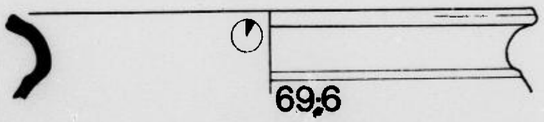

69·1

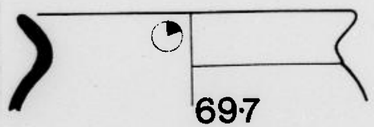

69·2


69·4


69·3

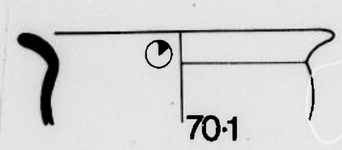

69·5

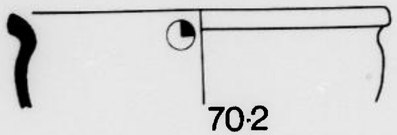

69·6

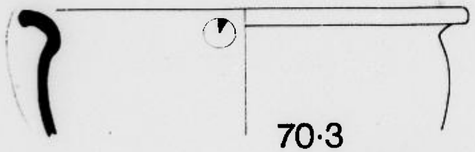

69·7

0 10cms

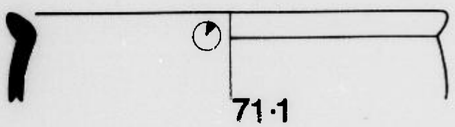
F9

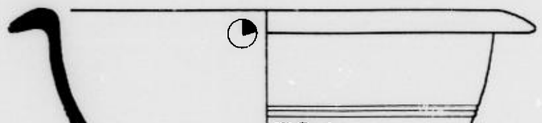

70·1

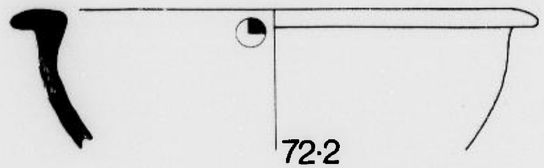

70·2

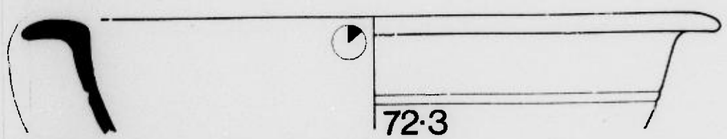

70·3

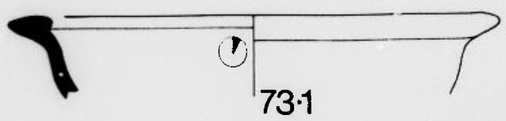

70·4


71·1

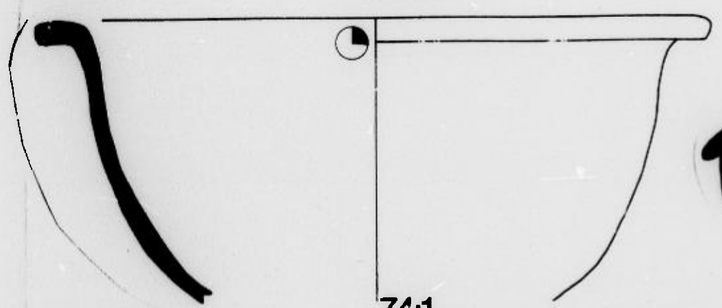

72·1

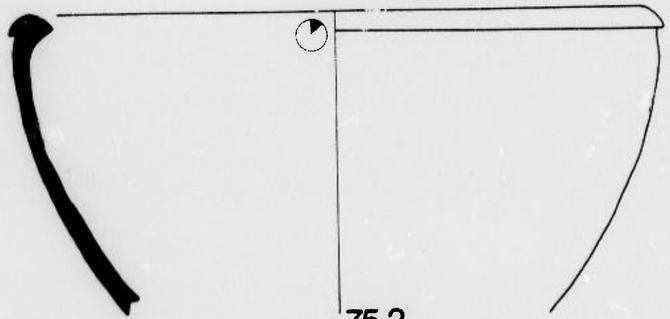

72·2

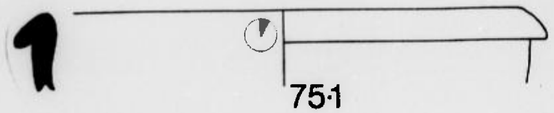

72·3

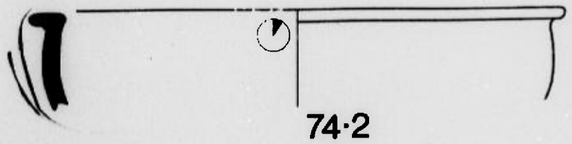

73·1

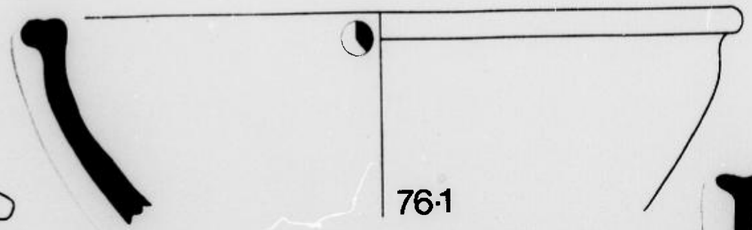
0 10cms

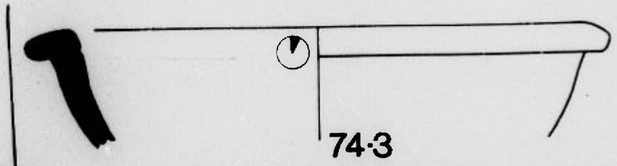

74·1

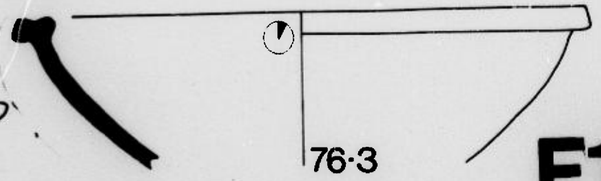

75·2

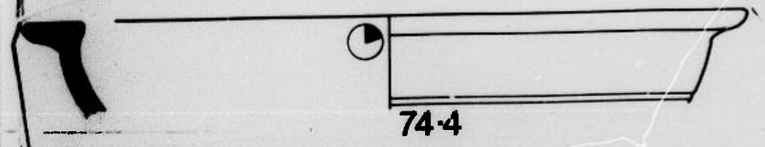

75·1


74·2

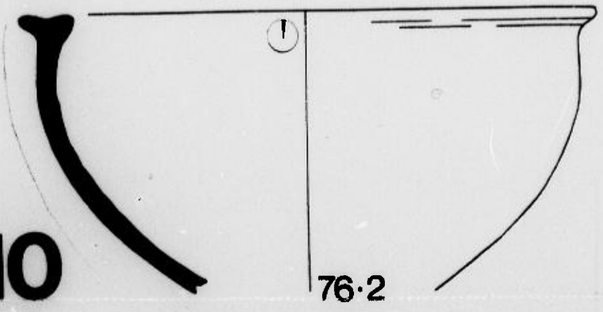

76·1


74·3


76·3


74·4

F10


76·2

Type

Bowls and Dishes

68 (Fig. F9) Necked bowls, of globular shape, with tall neck and gently everted rim.
68.1-68.2 Grey ware. Periods 2c, 3, 4 and 5. Rare.
68.3-68.5 SVW. Periods 2a, 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

69 (Fig. F9) Necked bowl with an upright or gently everted rim.
69.1-69.3 Grey ware. Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4 and 6. Common.
69.4 Carbonate ware. One vessel in Periods 2a and 2c.
69.5-69.7 SVW. Periods 2a and 2c. Moderate.

70 (Fig. F10) Necked bowl with short neck and everted or out-turned rim.
70.1-70.4 SVW. Periods 4 and 6. Moderate.

71 (Fig. F10) Bowl with sharply everted rim.
71.1 Fine oxidized ware, normally with red colour-coat. Periods 2c and 3. Rare.
71.2 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 4.

72 (Fig. F10) Deep bowl with flat rim. The rim is slightly dropped and the form is distinguished from other flat rim bowls by generally having thinner walls.
72.1-72.2 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Rare.
72.3 SVW, allied. One vessel in Periods 2b and 2c.

73 (Fig. F10) Deep bowl with flat rim and an internal groove below the rim.
73.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2b.

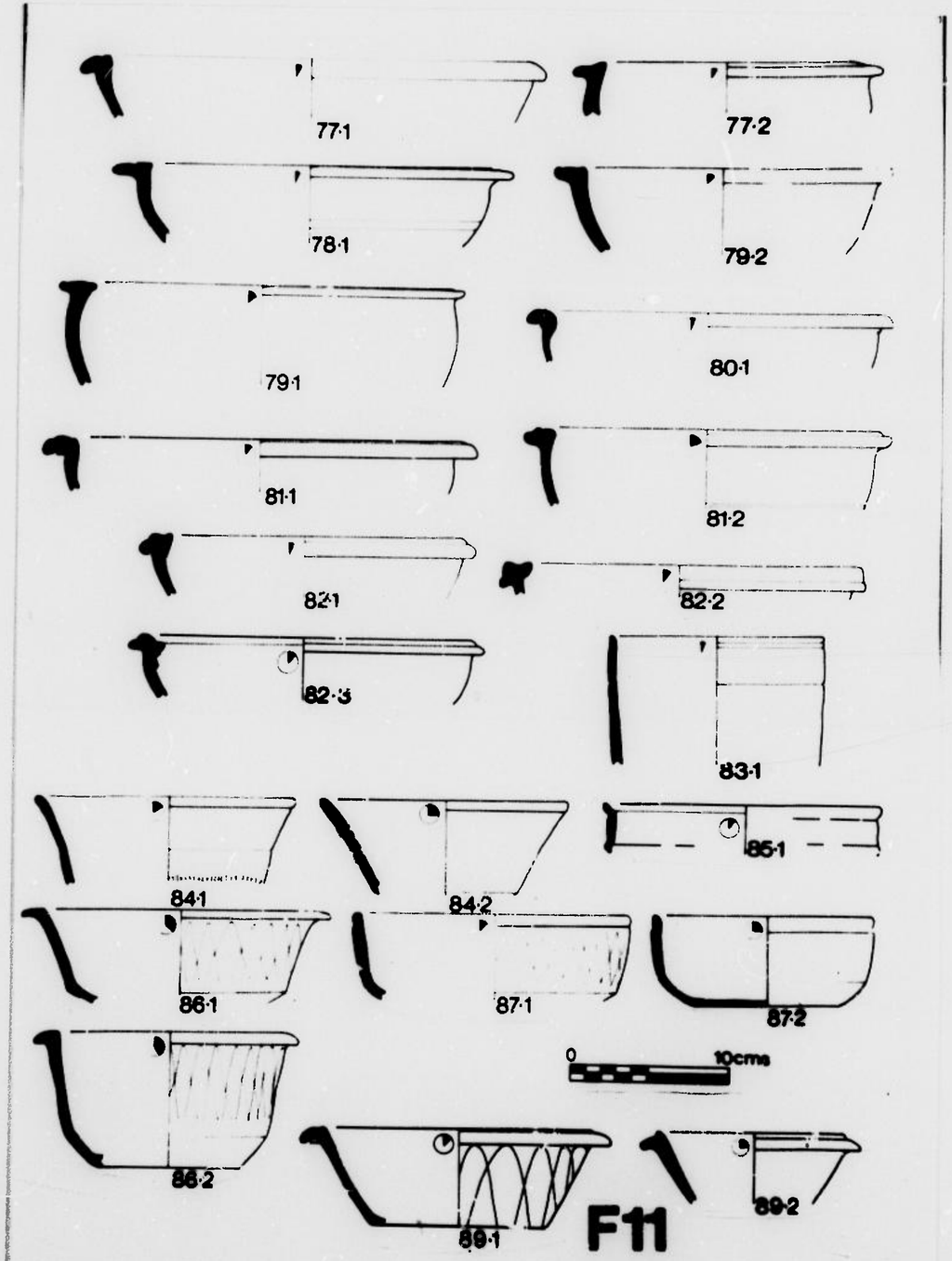
74 (Fig. F10) Deep bowls with flat rims of varying shape, with each rim variation represented by 1-2 vessels.
74.1-74.4 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Rare.

75 (Fig. F10) Deep bowl with rim pressed towards vessel wall, with a rim diameter up to 28 cm.
75.1-75.2 SVW. Periods 4 and 6. Rare.

76 (Fig. F10) Deep bowl with flat, grooved rim.
76.1-76.3 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

77 (Fig. F11) Similar to Type 76 but the rim is dropped, with a diameter range up to 30 cm.
77.1 SVW. Period 4. Rare.
77.2 Fine oxidized ware. One vessel in Period 3.

78 (Fig. F11) Deep bowl with a grooved rim, forming a faint flange.
78.1 SVW. One vessel in Period 6.



Type

79 (Fig. F11) Deep bowl with two evenly spaced grooves on the flat rim.
79.1-79.2 SVW. Periods 4 and 5. Rare.

80 (Fig. F11) Deep bowl with two closely spaced grooves on the rim.
80.1 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Rare.

81 (Fig. F11) Deep bowl with reeded rim.
81.1-81.2 SVW. Periods 3 and 6. Moderate.

82 (Fig. F11) Deep bowl with reeded rim. Distinguished from Type 81 by having more pronounced reeding.
82.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 4. This vessel is an example of a typical SVW form occurring in a reduced fabric.
82.2-82.3 SVW. Periods 4, 5 and 6. Rare.

83 (Fig. F11) Vessel with tall vertical sides, belonging to a carinated bowl. (See Webster 1976, Fig. 9, Nos. 59-60).
83.1 SVW. One vessel in Periods 2c and 3.

84 (Fig. F11) Carinated bowl with splayed walls.
84.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2c.
84.2 SVW with red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 4. This would appear to be copying samian form 33.

85 (Fig. F11) Vessel with a carination fairly high on the wall.
85.1 SVW. One vessel in Period 5.

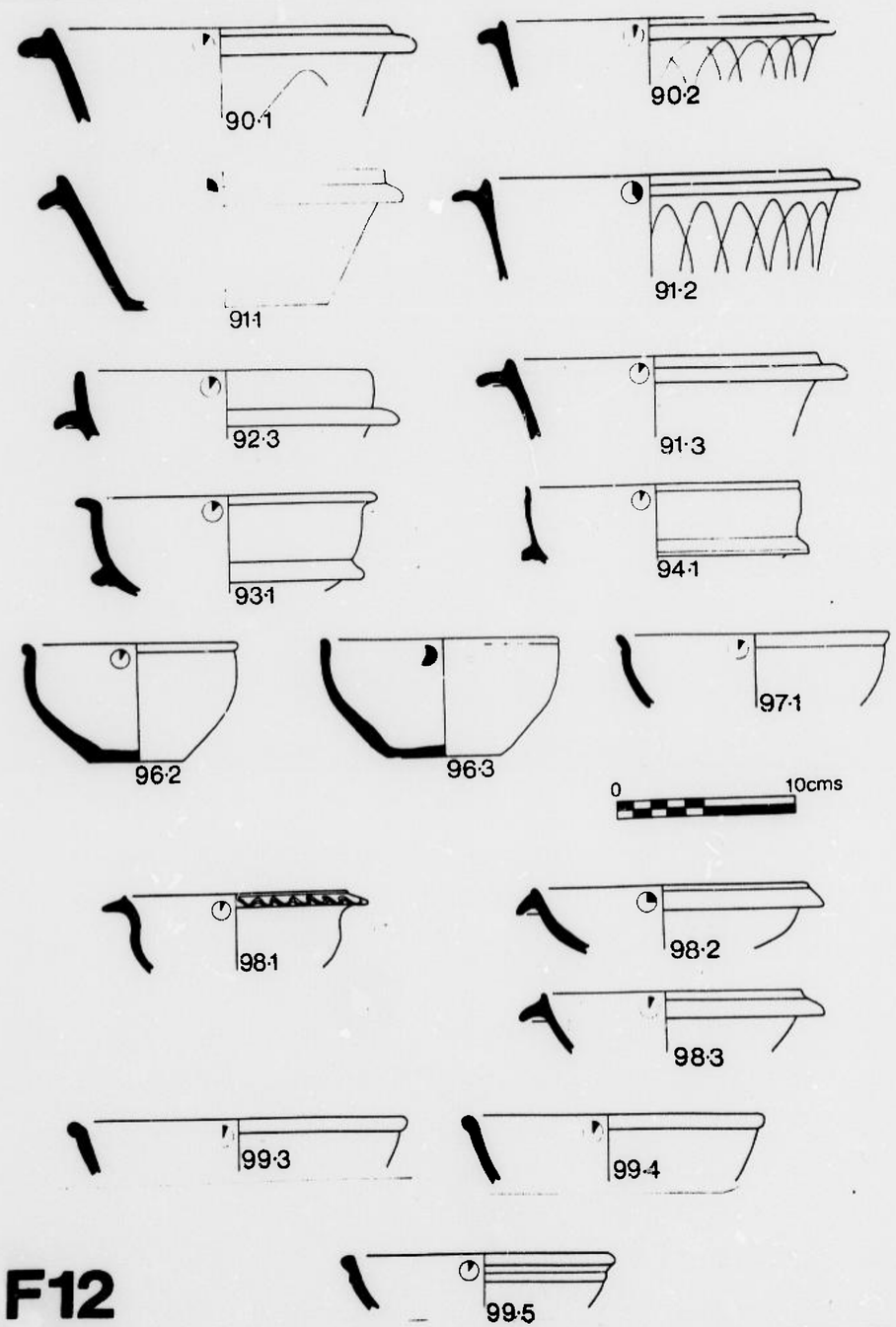
86 (Fig. F11) Flat rim bowl with chamfer.
86.1-86.2 BBI. Periods 2b and 3. Rare.

87 (Fig. F11) Bead rim bowl with chamfer.
87.1-87.2 BBI. Periods 3 and 4. Rare. The undecorated example is unusual (Gillam 1976, 70). It has a well-preserved surface and was not originally decorated.

88 (Fig. F11) Bowl with grooved rim. Distinguished from other forms with this rim type by having sides which are angled rather than curved.
88.1 BBI. Not illustrated. See Gillam 1976, Fig. 3, 42. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common. Vessels are normally decorated with burnished intersecting arcs although rare examples are undecorated.

89 (Fig. F11) Flange rim bowl with flange only slightly down the vessel wall.
89.1-89.2 BBI. Periods 2c, 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

90 (Fig. F12) Similar to Type 89 but the flange is further down the vessel wall.
90.1-90.2 BBI. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Common.



F12

Type

91 (Fig. F12) Similar to Type 90 but the flange is further down the vessel wall.
91.1-91.3 BBI. Periods 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.

92 (Fig. F12) Bowl copying Dr. 38.
92.1 Oxford CC. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 51, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 160 and Fig. 59). Periods 4, 5 and 6. Rare.
92.2 New Forest 'Parchment' ware. Not illustrated. New Forest Form 86, c. AD 320-370 (Fulford 1975, 70 and Fig. 23). One vessel in Period 4. Decorated with red paint.
92.3 Fine oxidized ware/SVW with red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 4.

93 (Fig. F12) Similar to Type 92 but with an over-turned rim and shorter flange.
93.1 SVW with red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 3.

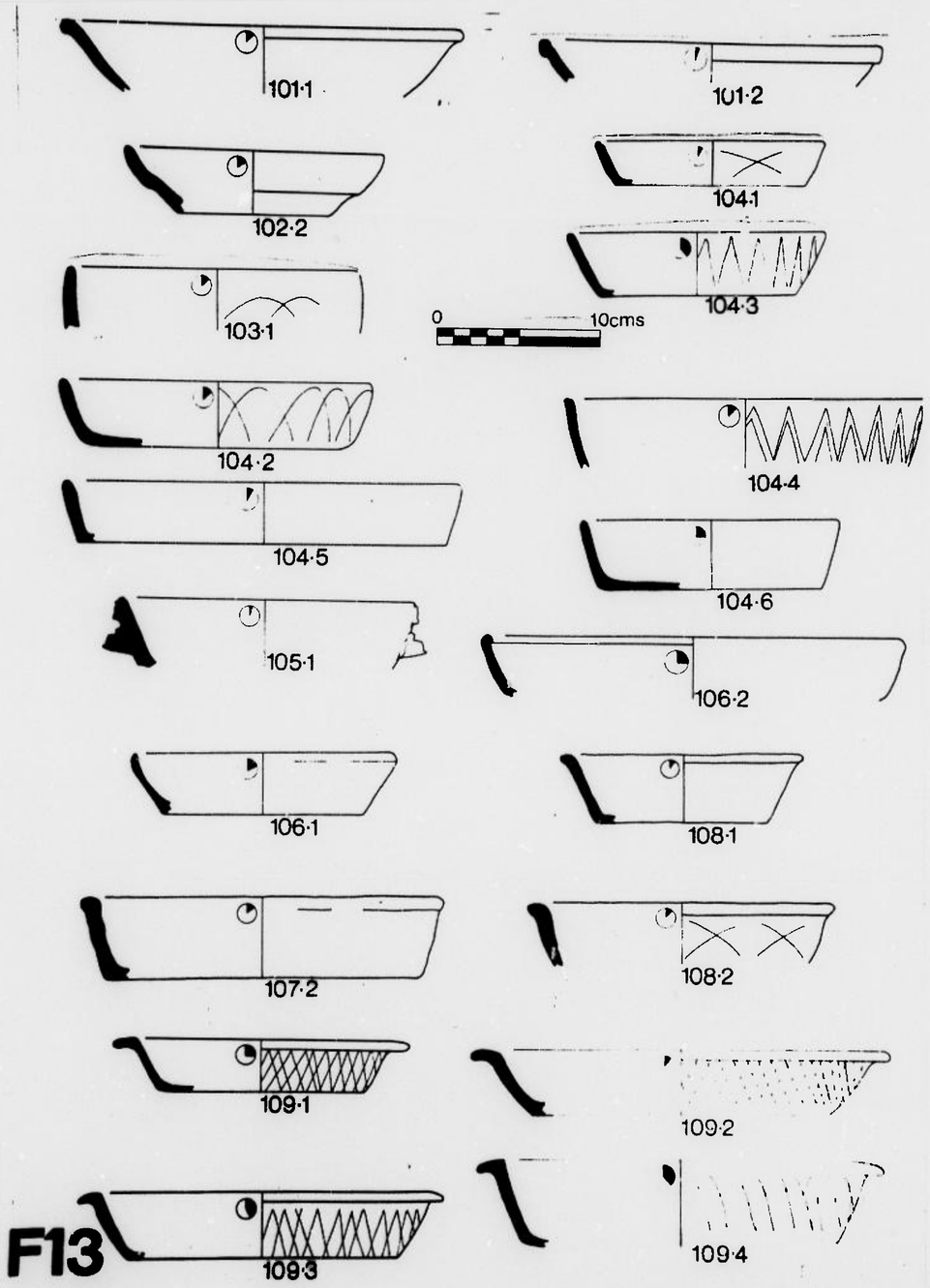
94 (Fig. F12) Similar to Types 92 and 93 but with a bead rim and a groove on the flange.
94.1 SVW with red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 4.

95 Flanges too fragmentary to be assigned to Types 92 or 93. None illustrated.
95.1 White ware. Fabric as described for Type 14.1. This particular sherd is white (no Munsell value). One vessel in Period 2b. The vessel may be a shallow bowl.
95.2 Fine oxidized ware with red slip. Periods 2c and 4. Rare.

96 (Fig. F12) 'Hemispherical bowl with bead rim' (Young 1977, 160).
96.1 Oxford CC. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 55, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 160 and Fig. 60). One vessel in Period 6.
96.2-96.3 SVW. Periods 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Moderate.

97 (Fig. F12) Similar to Type 96 but the bead is sharply angled away from the vessel and the walls are slightly more curved. Rim diameters range from 12-18 cm.
97.1 SVW. Periods 4 and 6. Rare.
97.2 Fine Oxidized ware. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 4.

98 (Fig. F12) Shallow bowl with flange rim.
98.1 Grey ware. Periods 4 and 6. Rare. Undecorated vessels are also present.
98.2-98.3 SVW. Periods 3 and 6. Rare.
98.4 Fine oxidized ware. Not illustrated. Period 3 and probably Period 2c. Rare.



Type

99 (Fig. F12) Shallow bowl with bead rim.
- 99.1 Oxford CC. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 45, AD 270-400+ (Young 1977, 158 and Fig. 58). One vessel in Period 4.
- 99.2 Oxford CC/SVW. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 5.
- 99.3 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2a.
- 99.4 SVW. Periods 3 and 6. Rare.
- 99.5 Fine oxidized ware with red slip. One vessel in Period 4.

100 Similar to Type 99 but with a larger bead rim.
- 100.1 Oxford CC/SVW. Not illustrated. See Oxfordshire Form C 46. If it is of the Oxfordshire fabric, dated later than AD 340-400+ (Young 1977, 158 and Fig. 58). One vessel in Period 4.

101 (Fig. F13) Shallow dish or platter with bead rim.
- 101.1-101.2 SVW, normally with brown or, sometimes, red colour-coat. Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4 and 6. Moderate.
- 101.3 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 6.

102 (Fig. F13) Segmental dish.
- 102.1 Grey ware. Not illustrated. One vessel in Period 4.
- 102.2 SVW. One vessel in Period 2c.

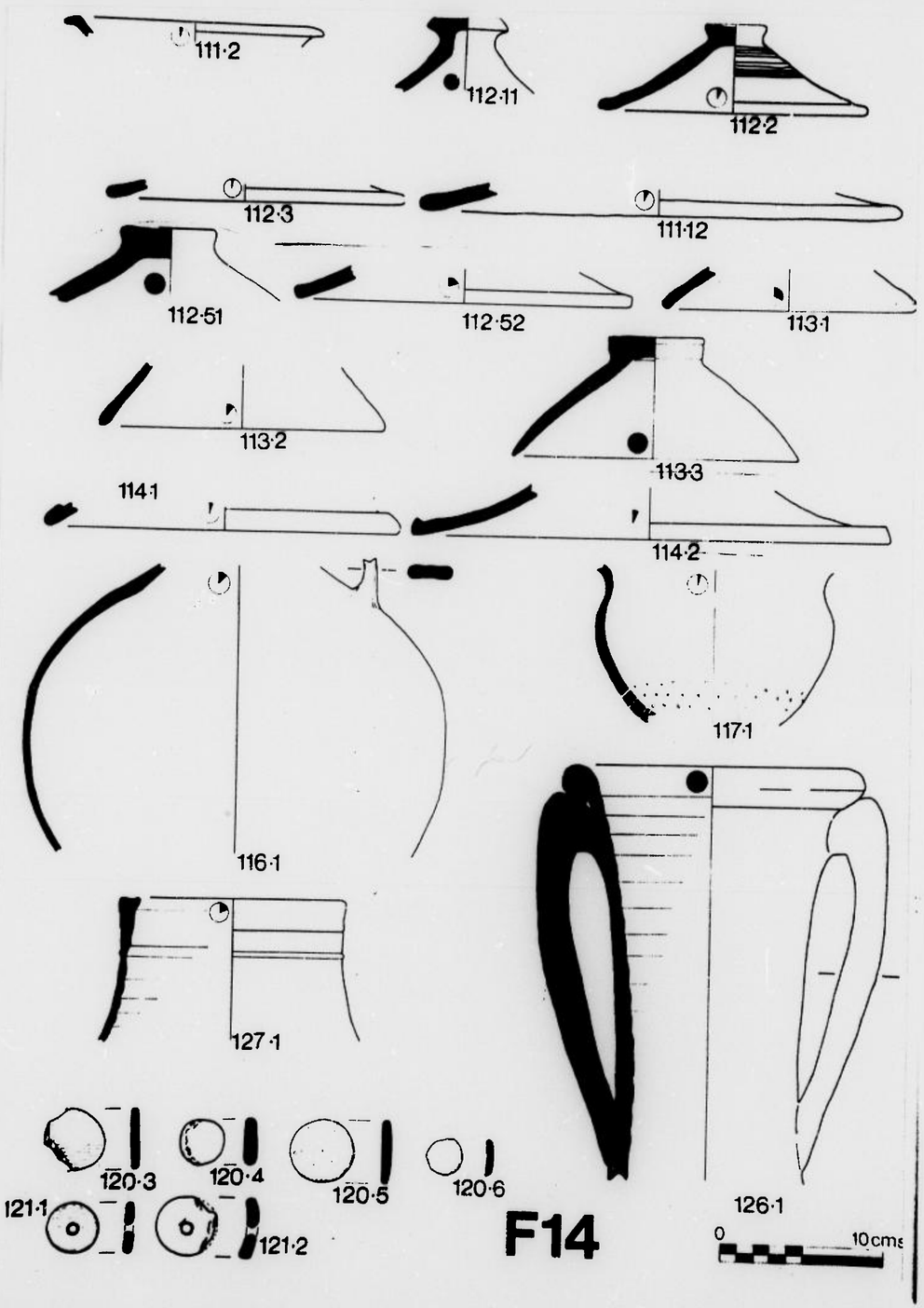
103 (Fig. F13) Plain rim dish with straight sides.
- 103.1 BBI. Periods 2c, 4, 5 and 6. Moderate. Undecorated examples are also present.

104 (Fig. F13) Plain rim dish with splayed sides.
- 104.1-104.5 BBI. Periods 2a, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
- 104.6 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 6.

105 (Fig. F13) Plain rim dish with handle.
- 105.1 BBI. One vessel in Period 4. The surface of this vessel is slightly abraded and it may have been originally decorated. Attention is drawn to it as few published examples can be noted.

106 (Fig. F13) Dish with in-turned rim lip.
- 106.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 4.
- 106.2 SVW with red colour-coat. One vessel in Period 4.

107 (Fig. F13) Dish with bead rim.
- 107.1 BBI. Not illustrated. See Gillam 1976, Fig. 5, 68-74. Periods 2c, 4 and 6. Rare. Vessels are either undecorated or decorated with burnished intersecting arcs.
- 107.2 Malvernian ware, handmade. One vessel in Period 4.



F14

Type

108 (Fig. F13) Dishes with slightly out-turned rim.
108.1-108.2 Malvernian ware, handmade. Periods 2c, 3 and 4. Rare.

109 (Fig. F13) Flat rim dish.
109.1-109.4 BBI. Periods 2a, 2c, 3 and 4. Moderate.

110 Oval 'fish' dish with plain rim. These vessels are represented by very fragmentary sherds and could be mis-identified. They may belong to Type 104.
110.1 BBI. Not illustrated. See Gillam 1976, Fig. 6, 85. Period 6. Rare. Decorated with burnished intersecting arcs.

111 (Fig. F16) Flat rim bowl or dish. Rims too fragmentary to assign to bowl or dish category.
111.1 BBI. Not illustrated. Examples are plain or decorated with burnished cross-hatching, intersecting arcs or inverted chevrons. Periods 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Common.
111.2 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2b.

Lids

112 (Fig. F14) Lid with plain or slightly beaded rim curving gently upwards towards the handle.
112.11-112.12 Malvernian ware, handmade. Periods 4 and 6, probably one vessel.
112.2 Grey ware. One vessel in Periods 2b and 2c.
112.3 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 5. Rare.
112.4 Fine oxidized ware/SVW. Not illustrated. Period 4. Rare.
112.51-112.52 Grog tempered ware, Fabric 2. Periods 2c and 4, probably one vessel.

113 (Fig. F14) Lid with plain rim curving steeply upward towards the handle.
113.1 BBI. One vessel in Period 6. Attention is drawn to this vessel as there are few published examples of BBI lids.
113.2 Grey ware. Periods 2a, 2c and 4. Rare.
113.3 SVW. Period 4. Rare.

114 (Fig. F14) Lid with rim which is grooved on the external surface.
114.1-114.2 SVW. Periods 4 and 6. Rare.

Type

Miscellaneous vessel types and re-worked sherds

115 Cylindrical vessel with round perforations on the walls.
115.1 Coarse oxidized ware. Not illustrated. Periods 4, 5 and 6, probably one vessel.

116 (Fig. F14) Handled spheroid vessel, probably jar.
116.1 Sandy reduced ware. One vessel in Periods 2a and 2b.

117 (Fig. F14) Colander.
117.1 Grey ware. One vessel in Period 2b.
117.2 SVW. Not illustrated. Rare body sherds in Periods 5 and 6.

118 Castor box or its lid.
118.1 Nene Valley colour-coated ware. Not illustrated. See Hartley 1972a, Fig. 4, 17-18. Represented by rouletted body sherds of one vessel in Periods 3 and 4.

119 Body sherds decorated en barbotine with the 'hunt cup' motif.
119.1 Oxford CC. Not illustrated. Rare body sherds in Periods 4 and 6.

120 (Fig. F14) Sherds trimmed as 'counters'.
120.1-120.2 Central Gaulish samian ware. See page and Fig. for descriptions and illustrations. Periods 4 and 5. Two examples.
120.3 BBI. One example in Period 4.
120.4-120.5 SVW. Periods 3, 4 and 5. Four examples.
120.6 Fine oxidized ware. One example in Period 4.

121 (Fig. F14) Sherds trimmed as 'spindle whorls'.
121.1-121.2 SVW. Periods 5 and 6. Two examples.

Amphorae

Unless otherwise indicated the quantity of amphorae is based on sherd count rather than number of vessels.

122 Dressel 1 type amphora, probably used for the transportation of Italian wine (Gale, Archive 108). A long cylindrical body with spike base and double handles, normally ovoid in section. Characteristic of first century BC deposits in Britain (Gale, Archive 108).
122.1 Not illustrated. See Peacock 1971, Fig. 35, 1-2. Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Sparse.

Type

123 Dressel 2-4 type amphora, probably used for the transportation of Italian wine (Gale, Archive 108). A cylindrical body, bead rim and two double-rod handles. Very late first century BC to c. mid-second century AD (Peacock 1971, 171).
123.1 Not illustrated. See Peacock 1971, Fig. 35, 3. Periods 3 and 4. Sparse.

124 Camulodunum 186c type amphora, used for the transportation of Spanish garum and marine products (Peacock 1971, 171). Cylindrical body with sagging base before the hollow spike. Over-turned rim and double handles. Very late-first century BC to early-second century AD (Peacock 1971, 171)
124.1 Not illustrated. See Wheeler 1928, Fig. 23, 78. Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Rare.

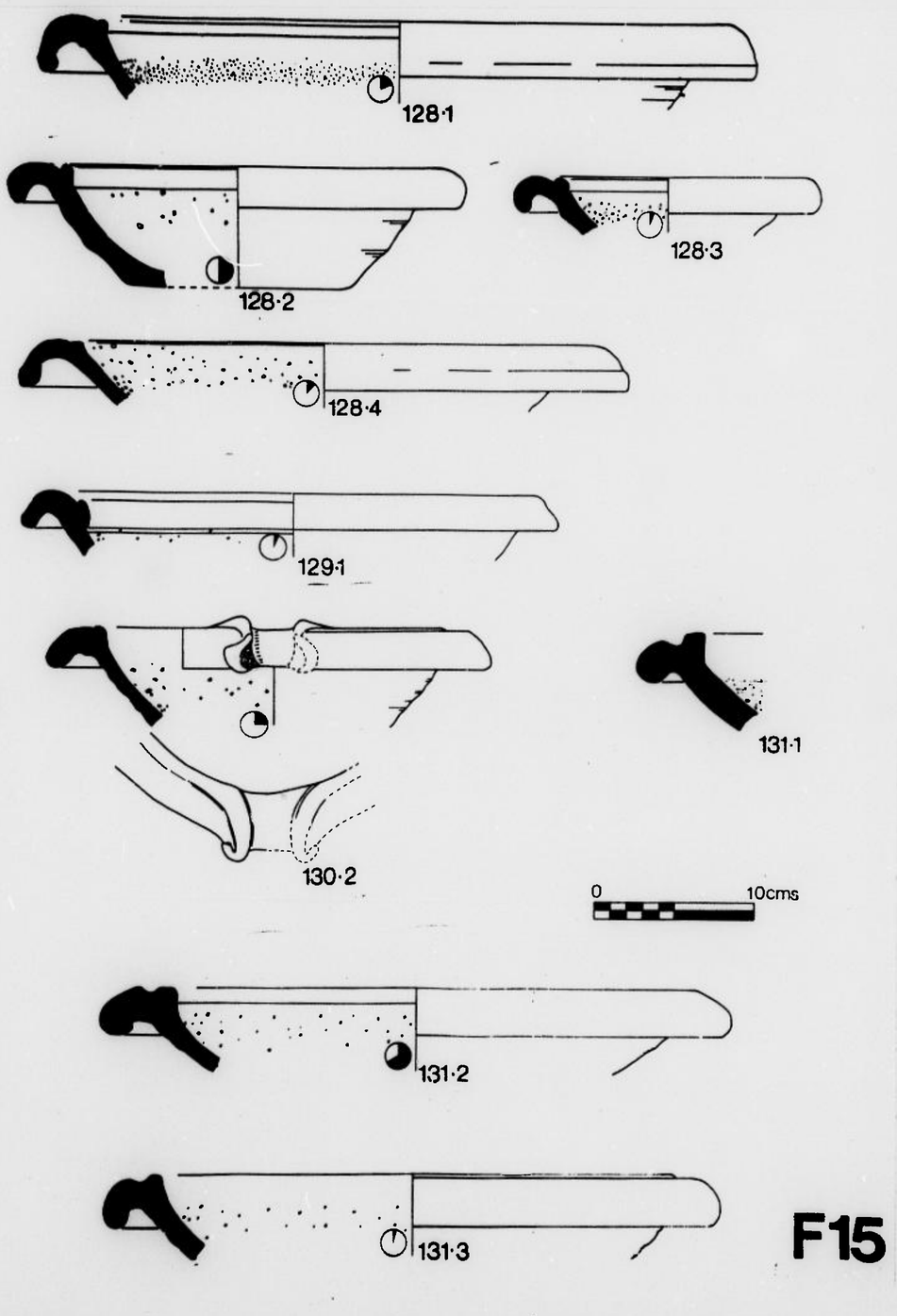
125 Dressel 20 type amphora, used for the transportation of Spanish olive oil (Gale, Archive 108). Globular shape with short neck and thick double handles. Typical of first and second century AD deposits but continuing into the third (Williams and Peacock, forthcoming).
125.1 Not illustrated. See Jones 1980, Fig. 18. Periods 2a, 2b, 2c, 3, 4, 5 and 6. Moderate.

126 (Fig. F14) Dressel 14 type amphora with long cylindrical body, pointed hollow base, knobbed rim and double handles. Early-first century AD to third century AD (Riley, in press, 161).
126.1 One vessel in Period 2c. This is the first Dressel 14 to be identified in Britain (Gale, Archive 108).

127 (Fig. F14) Amphora of unassigned type with thin walls flaring out from a small, flat rim.
127.1 One vessel in Period 3.

Mortaria

128 (Fig. F15) Mortarium with a roll-rim and internal bead which is lower than the highest point of the rim.
128.1 Verulamium. AD 90-130 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 2c.
128.2 West Midlands, Fabric 1. AD 110-160 (Hartley, Archive 108). Periods 3 and 4. Rare.
128.3 West Midlands, Fabric 2. AD 110-160 (Hartley, Archive 108). Period 4, possibly one vessel.
128.4 ?Mancetter-Hartshill. ?AD 110-140. One vessel in Period 4. An unusual form for Mancetter, this may be a product of the east Midlands, upper or lower Nene Valley. If so it would be dated c. AD 130-170 (Hartley, Archive 108).



F15

Type

129 (Figs F15 & F16) Mortarium similar to Type 128 but the bead is distinctly elongated.

129.1 West Midlands, Fabric 1. AD 110-160 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 3.

129.2 West Midlands, Fabric 1. AD 110-160. This stamp (Period 6) most likely belongs to a form similar to Type 129.1. A fragmentary stamp of an illiterate potter, probably working at Wroxeter (Hartley, Archive 108). (See Fig. F16 for stamp).

130 (Figs F15 & F16) Mortarium with bead-and-roll rim. The bead forms the highest point of the rim.

130.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 3, AD 140-200 (Young 1977, 68, 70 and Fig. 18). Periods 3, 4 and 6. Rare.

130.2 Mancetter-Hartshill. c. AD 155-185 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 6. A faint and incompletely impressed stamp of Iunius (Hartley, Archive 108). (See Fig. F16 for stamp).

131 (Figs. F15 & F17) Mortarium with a bead rim and flange. The bead may form the highest point of the rim but does not always. Distinguished by having a short flange which is undercut. This form equates to Bushe-Fox (1913), Types 26-30 (Hartley, Archive 108).

131.1-131.2 Imported mortaria, Fabric 2. AD 80-150 (Hartley, Archive 108). Periods 2a, 2c, 5 and 6. Rare.

131.3-131.5 Imported mortaria, Fabric 3. AD 80-150 (Hartley, Archive 108). Periods 2a, 2b, 2c and 4. Rare.

132 (Fig. F17) Mortarium similar to Type 131 but distinguished by having a more delicate rim.

132.1-132.3 Imported mortaria, Fabric 4. AD 80-150 (Hartley, Archive 108). Periods 2a, 2b, 3 and 4. Moderate.

133 (Figs F16 & F17) Mortarium with upstanding rim and gently curving flange which is grooved on the exterior.

133.1 'Caerleon'. Probably AD 140-170 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 4. Stamped. (See Fig F16 for stamp).

134 (Fig. F18) Mortarium with small upstanding rim and thick straight flange.

134.1 Lower Germany, Fabric 1. AD 170-240 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Periods 3, 4 and 6.

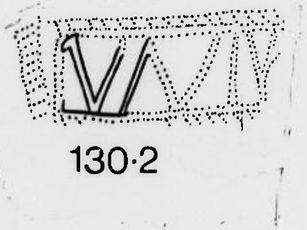
135 'Mortarium with upright rim and downward-pointing flange...' (Young 1977, 70).

135.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 10, AD 180-240 (Young 1977, 70 and Fig. 20). One vessel in Period 6.

136 A variant of Type 135, with the 'flange hooked back to almost join the body' (Young 1977, 70).

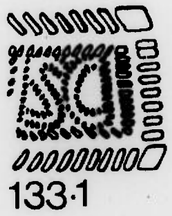
136.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 11, AD ?180-240 (Young 1977, 70 and Fig. 20). Periods 3, 4, 5 and 6. Rare.

129·2



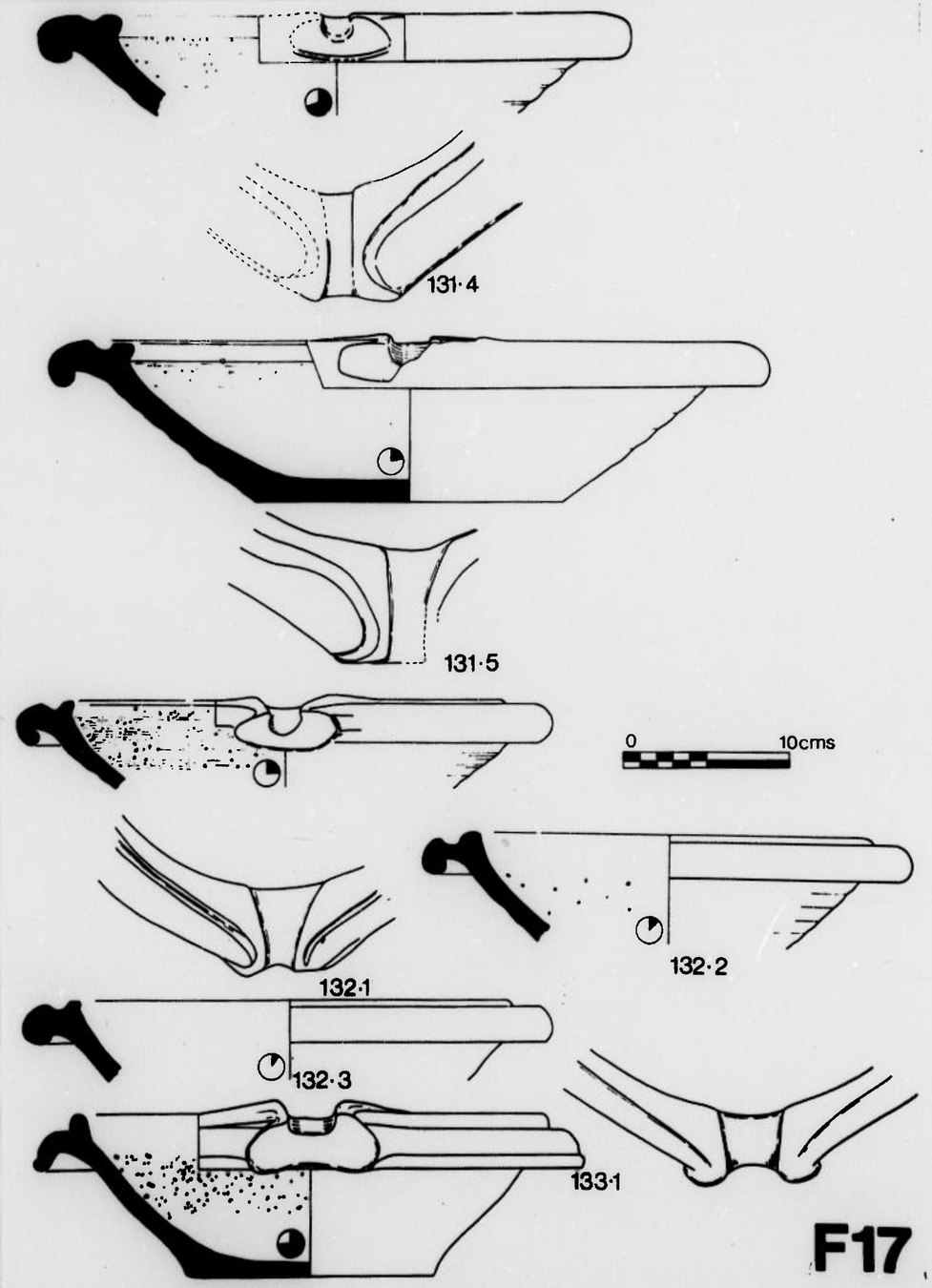
130·2

0 5 cms



133·1

F16



Type

137 (Fig. F18) 'Mortarium with upstanding rim and a stubby downward-projecting flange...' (Young 1977, 70).
137.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 12, AD ?180-240. (Young 1977, 70 and Fig. 20). Period 4. Rare.
137.2 ?Mancetter-Hartshill. AD ?190-230. One vessel in Period 4. An unusual form for Mancetter, this may be a product of the east Midlands, upper or lower Nene Valley. If so it would be dated c. AD 160-240 (Hartley, Archive 108).

138 'Wall-sided mortarium, frequently grooved at top of rim and sometimes also on wall' (Young 1977, 72).
138.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 14, AD 180-240 (Young 1977, 72 and Fig. 20). Period 4. Rare.

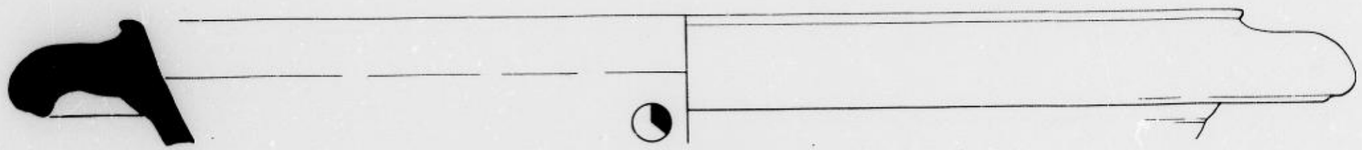
139 (Fig. F18) Similar to Type 138 but with a heavier wall.
139.1 Lower Germany, Fabric 2. AD 150-260 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 4.
139.2 Lower Germany, Fabric 3. AD 150-260 (Hartley, Archive 108). Not illustrated. One vessel in Periods 4 and 5.

140 'Mortaria copying samian form 45' (Young 1977, 173).
140.1 Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 97, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 173 and Fig. 67). Periods 4 and 6. Rare.

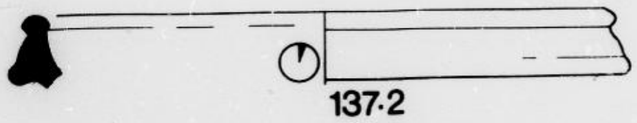
141 (Fig. F18) Mortarium with bead rim and short, outward-pointing flange.
141.1 'Gloucestershire'. probably AD 250-400, with a fourth century date most likely. An unusual form (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 6.

142 'Mortarium with upstanding rim, wide, flat, flange hooked under at tip and spout formed by turning the rim out across the flange' (Young 1977, 72).
142.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 17, AD 240-300 (Young 1977, 72 and Fig. 21). Periods 4 and 6. Rare.

143 Similar to Type 142, 'but with closed hook...' (Young 1977, 72).
143.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 18, AD 240-300 (Young 1977, 76 and Fig. 21). Periods 3, 4 and 5. Rare.
143.2 Oxfordshire white colour-coated ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form WC 5, AD 240-300 (Young 1977, 122 and Fig. 38). One vessel in Period 5.

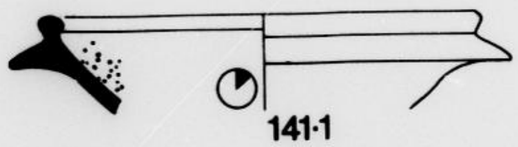


134·1



137·2

139·1



141·1

0 10cms

F18

Type

144 'Mortarium with upstanding rim, sometimes grooved, and wide, thick, unbent flange' (Young 1977, 76).
144.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 19, AD 240-300. (Young 1977, 76 and Fig. 22). Period 4, probably one vessel.

145 'Mortarium with downward-pointing angular flange, hooked sharply back' (Young 1977, 76).
145.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 21, AD 240-300 (Young 1977, 76 and Fig. 22). Periods 4, 5 and 6. Rare.

146 'Mortarium with upstanding rim and squat flange folded quite close to body. The spout was formed by squashing the rim down over the flange' (Young 1977, 76).
146.1 Oxfordshire white ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form M 22, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 76 and Fig. 23). Periods 4 and 6. Rare.
146.2 Oxfordshire white colour-coated ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form WC 7, AD 240-400+ (Young 1977, 122 and Fig. 38). Period 6. Rare.

147 'Mortarium with upright rim and angular flange...' (Young 1977, 174). The spout was formed as on Type 146.
147.1 Oxfordshire red and brown colour-coated ware. Not illustrated. Oxfordshire Form C 100, AD 300-400+ (Young 1977, 174 and Fig. 67). One vessel in Period 6.

148 Mortarium spout of unusual form, too fragmentary for identification (Hartley, Archive 108).
148.1 ?West Midlands, Fabric 2. Not illustrated. Dated before AD 150 (Hartley, Archive 108). One vessel in Period 3. The fabric is heavily tempered and although it could belong to West Midlands, Fabric 2, it could well be a German import (Hartley, Archive 108).

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION 3

TEXT SECTION III: THE POTTERY

THE SAMIAN WARE

SAMIAN WARE FROM KENCHESTER 1977-79

B.M. Dickinson and B.R. Hartley

Samian sherds which were used for dating, as well as unusual sherds are not included here. They are published in section III.4 of the volume-printed report.

K51a
i) Form 30 or 37 rim, CG. Antonine.
ii) Form 31, CG. Mid-to late-Antonine.
iii) Form 38, EG with plain lip. Late second- or third- century.

K51d
i) Form 31R, CG, with rivet hole. Mid- or late-Antonine.

M57a
i) Form 38 or 44, CG. Antonine.
ii) Form 31, CG. Mid- or late-Antonine.

M57c
i)Form 18-18/31, SG. Flavian.

N56a
i) Form 38 or 44, CG, probably from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Early- or mid-Antonine.
ii) Form 79 etc. R base, CG, with a very narrow band of rouletting almost obliterated by the circle. Mid- to late-Antonine.

N63a
i) Form 33, CG, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. The piece is clumsily made and finished. The external groove half way up the wall is faint and uneven, and an internal moulding on the base may have been intended. Probably Hadrianic-Antonine.
ii) Form 30, with a panel containing a leafy frond (R.U140), used at Lezoux by members of the Quintilianus i and Paternus v groups, but likely here to be Antonine, and probably later than AD 155.

N65
i) Form 18/31, SG. Flavian-Trajanic
ii) Form 37, CG, with panels with an Apollo (0.84) and a double festoon. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

P52a
i) Two joining fragments (one slightly burnt) of form 36, CG. Late-Antonine.
ii) Form 79, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.
iii) Form 33, EG. Antonine or early-third century.

P52b
i) Form 31, EG, with a deep, flattened bead lip. Late second- or third-century.

P55a
i) Two joining fragments of form 37, slightly burnt, in the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre. All the details were used there by the potter X-2 and all of them appear on a bowl in his style from Alchester (S.& S., pl.6,61). The warriors with shields do not appear to be in either D. or O. The kilted figure is 0.174 and

the ram's-horn motif in the basal wreath is R.G376. The striated motifs are perhaps R.G369 with one half only impressed. c.AD 100-120.

P58 i) Fragment of form 30 or 37, CG, with single-bordered ovolo (R.B28) used at both Les Martres-de-Veyre and Lezoux, by potters such as X-2, Drusus i and members of the Quintilianus i group. The sharp zig-zag border perhaps favours the former, though as the sherd is heavily burnt, the origin remains unsettled. First half of the second-century.

P59 i) Form 30 or 37 rim, CG. Mid-to late-Antonine.

P60a i) Form 31 rim, CG. Antonine.
ii) Form 18/31 (R?), CG. Hadrianic or Antonine.

P60b i) Form Curle 15, CG. Probably early-Antonine rather than Hadrianic.
ii) Form 33 (3, one burnt), all CG. Mid- or late-Antonine.
iii) Form 31R, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.
iv) CG scrap, with a fragment of graffito]INC or]NIC Antonine.

P60c i) Form 33, CG. Antonine.

P60m i) Form 38 rim, CG. Antonine.

P64a i) Form 36 flange, CG. Hadrianic or Antonine.

P64b i) Form 33, CG. Slightly burnt. Hadrianic or Antonine.

P70a i) Bowl fragment (form 38, Curle 11 etc), CG. Hadrianic or Antonine.

R51a i) Form 38, CG. Antonine.

R54b i) Form 31, CG. Mid- or late-Antonine.

R54c i) Form 31, CG. Antonine.

T27b i) Form 18/31. EG(?). Probably Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

T61a i) Form 18/31 or 31 (joins Y61a), two sherds from the dish in T61c (ii). In the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre and early-Antonine to judge by the form.
ii) Form 31, CG, slightly burnt. Antonine.

T61c i) Form 29, SG, a small fragment from the lower zone, with a winding scroll. c. AD 70-85.
ii) See T61a (i) above.
iii) Form 37, in the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre.

The panel has a lion (D.766), serpent on a rock (D.960bis) and a plant (R.L19), all of which were used by mould- makers supplying Donnaucus. c. AD 100-125.
iv) Form 27, SG. Flavian.

T64a/b i) Three large fragments from a dish of form 18/31R-31R, CG. The form is on the boundary of the ranges. Mid-Antonine.

U55a i) Form 37, CG, in the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre. Probably Hadrianic.
ii) Form 31, CG. Antonine.

U56 i) Form 33, CG. Antonine.

U58 i) Form 37, CG, in overfired fabric. The rosette-tongued ovolo was used at Lezoux by Attianus ii. It appears, together with a beaded border, on a stamped bowl of his from Fishbourne (Dannell 1971, 81) c. AD 125-145.
ii) Form 33, CG. Hadrianic or Antonine.

V/W51 i) Form 18/31R, CG. Early- to mid-Antonine.
ii) Form 31, CG. Antonine.
iii) Form 30, with a small fragment of leafy scroll (S. & S.,pl. 101, 10) used at Lezoux by Censorinus ii. This will belong to him or to one of his associates, rather than earlier users of the scroll. c. AD 160-190.
iv) Fragment from a jar with 'cut-glass' decoration, CG. Such jars appear in Antonine Scotland, presumably before AD 165. Second half of the second-century.

V/W55a i) Form 37, panelled, CG. The ovolos (R.B103) and composite plant (ibid.Q6) were used at Lezoux by Advocisus.The fragmentary figure is probably Vulcan (D.39) c. AD 160-190.

V/W60a i) Form 18/31 or 31, CG. Hadrianic.
ii) Form 79, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.
iii) Form 37, burnt, CG (?). The double medallion may contain a Cupid. Antonine.

V/W87a i) Base fragment from an enclosed vessel (Déchelette 72 etc), burnt, CG. Antonine.
ii) Form 37 rim, CG, with a fragment of ovolo. Hadrianic or Antonine.

V/W108a i) Form 37, CG. All the details were used at Les Martres-de-Veyre by mould makers in the styles once assigned to Ioenalis i. The draped figure (D.330), dancer (D.210), basal wreath of trilobed motifs (R. G170), chevrons (ibid.G324), rosette (ibid.C229), leafy spray (ibid.J176, cornucopia (ibid.U224) and finely-beaded borders are on a bowl from Les Martres-

de-Veyre which could well be from the same mould as the Kenchester piece (Terrisse 1968, pl XXXIX, 506). A leaf (R.J103) is on a bowl from London (GH: S. & S., pl. 36,418). There are also stylistic connections with the Rosette Potter c. AD 100-120.

V/W109 i) Form 31, CG. Antonine.

V/W111 i) A fragment and a flake from a dish of form 18/31, from Les Martres-de Veyre. Trajanic or Hadrianic.

V/W129 i) Form 33, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or Hadrianic.

V/W142a i) CG scrap. Hadrianic-Antonine.
ii) Form 30 or 37 rim. CG. Hadrianic-Antonine.

V/W148 i) Form 37. CG with panelled decoration. The dog (D. 938), wreath (composed of the motif R.G164), eight beaded rosette (ibid C281) and wavy-line borders are all on a stamped bowl of Quintilianus i from Dorchester, Dorset (S. & S., pl. 68,3) c. AD 125-145.

V/W162 i) Form 27, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

V/W 174 i) Form 18/31, CG. Hadrianic.
ii) Form 18/31R, CG. Hadrianic-Antonine.

Y27a i) A base fragment from a thin walled gritted mortarium, CG. This is probably a variant of form 45, and there is no external fluting on the lower wall. c. AD 170-200.

Y61a i) Form 29, SG. A fragment from the lower zone, with a tapering leaf of the kind used at La Graufesenque by Mercato(r) i, and on bowls stamped by such potters as Patricius i c. AD 70-85.
ii) Two fragments from the dish in T61a (i), qv.

Y70b i) Form 79 etc. CG. This fragment seems to be from an outsize dish, to judge from the slight curvature of the offset. Antonine.

Y70c i) Form 33, EG, apparently never stamped. Late-second or more probably, third-century.

Y70g i) Form 30, SG, perhaps Neronian, but more probably early-Flavian. The ovolo cannot be identified.

Z26 i) Form 31R, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.

Z55a i) Form 18/31, CG. Probably Antonine.

Z78a i) Form 27, SG, with another fragment in Z112a. Flavian-Trajanic.

Z80 i) SG flake. First-century.

Z102a i) Form 18/31R, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or early-Hadrianic.

Z112a i) Z78a.

Z127a i) Dish fragment (form 15/17R or 18R?), burnt, SG.
Z127a Flavian or Flavian-Trajanic.

AA/BB51 i) Form 37, CG, with blurred, unidentified decoration. Probably Hadrianic.
ii) Forms 30 or 37 rim (2) and 31 (3), all CG and mid- to late-Antonine.
iii) Form 33 (3, one burnt), CG. Antonine.
iv) Form 37, with an ovolo (R B231) used at Lezoux, chiefly by Cinnamus ii and Sacer i. It is impossible to be sure whether this is Hadrianic or Antonine.
v) Form 37, CG, with eroded decoration. A rivet-hole is in the rim. Probably Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
vi) A fragment of form 37, with a small, single-bordered ovolo used on a stamped bowl of Servus iv from Boutae. The thick, wavy-line border and large striated spindle are typical of this Lezoux potter's work. c. AD 160-190.

AA/BB53 i)Form 36, flange, perhaps from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or Hadrianic?
ii) Form 27, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

AA/BB66a i) A small scrap of form 37, CG, with a beaded panel-border. Hadrianic or Antonine.

AA/BB100 i) Form 42, CG, with a rim as on form Curle 15. Hadrianic.

AA/BB104 i) Form 33, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
ii) Form 30 or 37, CG, with no ridge below the decoration. Hadrianic or Antonine.
iii) Form 37? (no surviving decoration), CG. Second-century.

AA/BB107 i) Form 27, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

AA/BB116 i) Forms 27 and 30 or 37 rim, both probably from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or Hadrianic.

FF51a i) Forms 27 and 35, CG. Early-Antonine.
ii) Form Curle 15, CG. Antonine.
iii) Forms 31 (3), 33 and 38 or 44, CG. All mid- or late-Antonine.
iv) Form 37, with a double festoon containing a sea-horse (D.35) used at Lezoux by several potters in the period c. AD 160-190.

v) A heavy concave base. EG(?). Probably late second-century.

FF52a i) A small fragment of form 37, presumably with scroll decoration. The leaf (R.H21) was used at Lezoux by several potters, mainly in the Antonine period.

GG26 i) (Joining GG51) Form 30. CG. The athlete (D.377) was used at Lezoux by several Antonine potters, including Albucius ii (S. & S., pl.122,120). c. AD 150-180.

GG51 i) See GG26.
ii)Form 37, CG, perhaps with freestyle decoration, with an unidentified bear and an athlete (D.403) used at Lezoux in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods. The piece is probably Antonine.

GG55 i) CG fragment. Not dateable within the second-century.

GG56a i) Form 31R, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.

GG60 i) Form 31, CG. Antonine.
ii) Form 31 (2, one burnt), CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.
iii) A large fragment from the base of a gritted samian mortarium, CG. c. AD 170-200.

GG61a i) Form 31 (2), CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.

GG62 i) Form 30 base, burnt, CG. Hadrianic or Antonine.

GG72 i) CG ware of the mid- to late-Antonine period, with forms 31 (4), 31R (2), 33 and 79 or Ludowici Tg.
ii) Form 32 etc, EG. Late second or third-century.
iii) Form 37, CG, with traces of a trifid ornament. The piece is grooved for mending. Antonine.

GG72a i) Form 18/31 and 33a (two sherds from a cup with a broad shallow groove above the external junction of base and wall) CG. Hadrianic.
ii) Dish or bowl fragment, CG. Second-century.

LL76a i) Form 37 base, perhaps with traces of a cursive signature, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or early-Hadrianic.

SS5/51 i) Form 31, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.

AC51 i) Form 38, without bead-lip, EG. Perhaps Trier ware, and belonging to the base in AC60a (iii).
ii) Form 37, CG, with panelled decoration. The ovolo (R B12), mask (D.696), double medallion, double festoon and beaded borders are all on a stamped bowl of Divitxtus i at Cirencester. c. AD 150-180.

iii) Form 37, with ovolo (R.B147) and zig-zag border used at Lezoux by Servus iv c. AD 160-190.

AC52a i) Form 31, CG. Antonine.
ii)Form 45(?), CG. Late-Antonine (?).

AC53 i) Three fragments from a cup of form 33, CG. Antonine.

AC54 i) Form Curle 11, burnt, CG. An unusually small example of the form. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
ii) Three fragments from a dish of form 31R, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.
iii) Form 31 (Sa), EG (Rheinzabern?). Late-second or third-century.
iv) Form 37, CG, with a freestyle scene. The head of a leopard (smaller than D.799) and a boar (partly mis-impressed in the mould, but probably either O.1643 or 1696H) are the only surviving details. The piece cannot be assigned to a potter. It belongs to the Hadrianic or Antonine period, probably the latter.

AC56a i) A large fragment from a dish or bowl, CG. Antonine.

AC60a i)Form 27, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
ii) Forms 31 (3), 33 (2), 33 or 46, 38 flange (with AC63) and a scrap. All CG and Antonine.
iii) The base of a large dish or bowl, EG, perhaps belonging to AC51 qv.
iv) Two fragments from a dish (Form Curle 15 or 23?), with a twelve(?)-petalled rosette. Rosettes of this kind are virtually impossible to match, even when complete, because variations in the depth of the impressions alter their appearance. They were used extensively at Lezoux in the Antonine period.

AC63 i) Forms 33 and 38 flange (with AC60a), CG. Antonine.
ii) Form 31, EG. Antonine (?).

AC67 i) Form 18/31, CG. Hadrianic.

AD52 i) A group of EG ware, almost certainly from the third-century, with forms 30 and 37 rim, 36 and 45.

AD53 i) Form 81 rim, CG. Early-Antonine.
ii)Form 38 flange and several scraps, CG and probably all Antonine.
iii) Form 79 or Ludowici Tg, CG. Mid- or Late-Antonine.

AD71 i)Form 27, SG. Flavian-Trajanic.
ii)Form 27, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
iii) Forms 18/31 or 31, 18/31R or 31R (2), two fragments of bead-lip, and one from a cup foot-ring. All CG and Hadrianic or Antonine.
iv) Form 18/31 or 31-31R, CG. Mid-Antonine.
v) Form 31, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.

vi) Forms 31 (2, one grooved for repair) 33, 38, 38? (flange),38 or 44, and two joining fragments of a dish or bowl (with frost-pitting). All CG and Antonine;
vii) Form 37, with ovolo (R.B231) and horseman (D.156), as on AC63 (iii), but from a different bowl. Presumably the work of Cinnamus ii. c. AD 150-180.
viii) Form 37 rim, with an ovolo (R.B12), used at Lezoux in the later Hadrianic and Antonine periods by several potters.

AD72 i) Form 27 (2), CG. Hadrianic or early Antonine.
ii) CG ware, mostly from the Antonine period (apart from forms 18/31R?, and a large fragment from a dish or bowl, which may be Hadrianic). The forms include 18/31 or 31, 30 or 37 (footring), 33 (at least 2), 35/36 and 38 (3 or4).

AD79 i) Form 27, CG. Hadrianic.
ii) Form 37, CG, with panelled decoration. The large, single festoon, bear (D.820), rosette (R .C53) and vegetation formed by impressions of a large leaf were all used at Lezoux by the Cinnamus ii-Cerialis ii group. The bear is on a signed bowl of Cerialis at Godmanchester. c. AD 140-170.

AD86a i) Form 18/31, CG. Hadrianic.
ii) Form 27, CG. Hadrianic.

AD88 i) Form 29, SG, with no decoration surviving. Neronian or early-Flavian.
ii) Forms 27 and 37 (rim), CG. Hadrianic or early - Antonine.
iii) Forms 18/31 or 31 and 27, perhaps EG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
iv) Form 33, CG. Antonine.
v) Form 79 or Ludowici Tg, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.
vi) An EG scrap. Antonine?
vii) Form 37, CG. This piece is from a mould made at Les Martres-de-Veyre, where the small trilobed motif in the basal wreath was used. The acanthus leaf (R.K2) often appears in partial impressions as here, on moulds used by Ioenalis i, and the fine beads below the main decoration are also characteristic of the style associated with him. However, the pale fabric and dull brown glaze suggest the possibility of origin at Lezoux. This would not be impossible, since moulds from Les Martres-de-Veyre were sometimes used there. c. AD 100-125.
viii) Form 37, CG. The ovolo (R.B185) was used at Les Martres-de-Veyre, and the piece was certainly made there. Trajanic or Hadrianic.

AE26 i) Form 37, CG. The ovolo and zig-zag lines were used at Lezoux by Arcanus. Whether by him or not, this piece should fall c. AD 125-145.

AE64 i) Form 37 base, CG. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.
ii) Form 37, CG, with ovolo (R.B144) and partly impressed leaves used at Lezoux by members of the Cerialis ii-Cinnamus ii group. c. AD 140-170.

AE65a i) SG scrap. Flavian or early-Trajanic.
ii) Form Curle 23, CG, perhaps from Les Martres-de-Veyre in view of the good glaze. The dish has strap-handles which do not normally occur on this form, though they are not uncommon on the cup of the same service (normally classified under form 42). Hadrianic.
iii) Form 30 or 37, CG, with a fragment of ovolo (probably R.B144, used by the Cerialis ii-Cinnamus ii group). c. AD 140-170.

AE120b i) Form 18/31, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or early-Hadrianic.

AE130a i) Form 33, CG. Antonine.

AE137 i) Form 18/31, probably from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or early-Hadrianic.

AE137d i) Form 27, SG. Flavian-Trajanic.

AE146a i) Form 30 or 37 (base), SG. Flavian or Trajanic.
ii) Form 18/31R, CG. Probably Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

AE158 i) Form 27 (2), SG. Flavian-Trajanic.
ii) Form 18/31, from Les Martres-de-Veyre. Trajanic or early Hadrianic.

AE159a i) Form 27, CG. Probably Hadrianic.

AF58a i) Forms 31 and 33, CG. Mid- to late-Antonine.

AF66 i) Two joining fragments of form 18/31, SG. Flavian-Trajanic.

AG51c i) Form 31R, CG, with rivet holes. Mid- to late-Antonine.

AN52 i) Two fragments of form 37, CG, with wide and narrow panels. The ovolo (R.B37), column (ibid.Q50), cup (ibid U62) and leaf-cross (ibid.L6) were all used at Les Martres-de-Veyre by Ignocatus (cf. S. & S., pl. 17,218). c. AD 100-120.

AN 54a i) Form 38 or 44, CG. Antonine.

AO101a i) Form 37, with a panel with a tripod (R.Q21) used at both Les Martres-de-Veyre and Lezoux. This piece comes

from the latter. Cf S. & S., pl. 154,19, by a potter related to X-6, etc. Hadrianic-Antonine.

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION 4

TEXT SECTION: OTHER FINDS

COIN IDENTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION

By

G.C. Boon M.A., F.S.A.
(Director, Museum of Wales, Cardiff)

Abbreviations

RIC Mattingly and Sydenham 1923

L RBC Hill, Kent and Carson 1960

Description No. (CO No.)

1. (23) TRAJAN, dupondius, SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI-ARAB. ADQUIS. RIC. 467; Hill (Hill 1970) no. 623, c A.D.

   II4 slightly worn.

2. (27) HADRIAN, dupondius, fairly early issue, very much worn.

3. (44) ANTONINE, dupondius, TR.P. XVIII, A.D. 154-5: LIBERTAS (COS IIII). RIC. 932. Worn to much worn.

4. (2) M.AURELIUS, denarius (mule): obv: M.ANTONINUS AUG IMP II, head bare R., c A.D. 163-5; rev. of Verus, PROV DEOR TR P II COS II, cf. RIC. 482-5, c. A.D. 162-3, from a cracked die. Worn. This coin is worthy of remark.

5. (11) SEPT. SEVERUS, denarius, P M TR P XIII COS III P P, Jupiter standing L., RIC. 196. Slightly worn to worn.

The following coins are Antoniniani:

6. (41) GALLIENUS, Sole Reign A.D. 260-8. IOVI PROPUGNAT, mm. XI, Rome, RIC. 214. Slightly worn.

7. (48) Do. ORIENS AUG, Rome, RIC. 253. Slightly worn to worn.

8. (39) CLAUDIUS II, A.D. 268-9. VICTORIA AUG, mm. H, Rome RIC. 105. Slightly worn to worn (?).

9. (30) Do. SPES AUG, Siscia, RIC.191. Very slightly worn to worn.

10. (18) QUINTILLUS, A.D. 269-270, for CLAUDIUS, Consecratio (eagle) type, cf. RIC. 266 - the usual small counterfeit. Very slightly worn?

11. (28) VICTORINUS, A.D. 269-71, in Gaul, COMES AUG, Trier, as RIC. 106 type. Very slightly worn to slightly worn.

12. (10) Do., SALUS AUG, Trier, as RIC. 122.

13. (38) TETRICUS I, A.D. 271-4, in Gaul. COMES AUG, Cologne, as RIC. 56. Very slightly worn (surface gone?).

14. (24) Do., PAX AUG, Cologne, RIC. 100-2. Slightly worn to worn.

15-16 (34,43) ILLEGIBLE 'RADIATES'.

17 (3) COUNTERFEIT, Literate, in the name of Tetricus Junior, 15mm., edges chipped. Unworn.

18-19 (21,9) Do., MINIMS, 12 and 10mm.

The following are of Carasius, A.D., 286-93:

20. (42) PAX AUG, vertical sceptre, London, RIC. 101mm. BE/MLXXI. Before A.D. 291. Very slightly worn.

21-22 (29,15) Do., London, RIC. 98, mms. SF/MLXXI, FO/ML. After A.D. 291? Slightly worn, defaced; unworn.

23. (22) Do., 'C' mint, RIC. 255, mm. SC/C. Very slightly worn.

24. (16) ADVENTUS AUG, with D and N reversed, as also the rev.type, the emperor here riding to R. instead of the usual L., cloak flying, L. hand raised; nothing in field. Obv., type 2c. 4.56g, 180°. Slightly worn. This coin is worthy of remark.

25. (40) MONETA AUG, RIC. 855. Very slightly worn?

26-27 (36,1) Uncertain Pax types, very slightly worn and worn, the latter a late London issue.

28. (20) Uncertain type, overstruck. Very slightly to slightly worn.

The following are reduced folles, catalogued by Reverse Type:

29. (33) SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Constantine II Caesar, London, RIC. 117, mm. SP/PLN, c. A.D. 317. Very slightly worn.

30. (37) VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Helm. Head R., c. A.D. 320. Worn?

31. (17) BEATA TRANQUILLITAS. Constantine II Caesar, perhaps Trier mint, c. A.D. 321-3. Worn.

32. (32) BEAT TRANQUILLITAS. Constantine I, London, RIC. 264, mm. PLON, c. A.D. 323-4. Slightly worn.

33. (31) D N CONSTANTINI MAX AUG/VOT XX. Ticinum, RIC. 140, mm. TT, c. A.D. 320-1. Slightly worn to worn.

34. (47) CONSTANTINOPOLIS, Victory on prow, Lyon, RIC. 241, mm. PLC, c. A.D. 330-1. Very slightly worn to slightly worn.

35. (46) GLORIA EXERCITUS (two standards), Constantine II Caesar, Lyon, RIC. 244, mm. PLC, A.D. 330-1. Very slightly worn to slightly worn.

36. (45) Do. (one standard), Constans-Caesar, Arles, RIC. 397, mm. ✱/SCONST, c. A.D.336. Slightly worn.

37-38 (6,4) Do., Caesar busts? Worn defaced.

39. (19) DIVO CONSTANTINO, quadriga, uncertain mint, c. 337-41. Slightly worn.

40. (5) GLORIA EXERCITUS (one standard), Constans, Trier, LRBC. i, 133, mm. M/TRP, c. A.D. 337-41. Very slightly worn.

41. (13) Do., also Constans, Lyon, LRBC. i, 251, mm. Y/PLG, c. A.D. 337-41. Rather thin. Slightly worn, chipped.

42. (12) Do., counterfeit, 11 mm., "TRS".

43. (25) VICTORIA AUGG, Victory holding two wreaths. Constans, Siscia, LRBC. i, 789, mm ✱/⌜SIS✱ c. A.D. 341-6. Very slightly worn to slightly worn.

This coin, which is finely patinated, is a great rarity among Romano-British site finds. Only two, for example, are recorded among the many thousands of fourth-century coins listed in the Richborough reports. A counterfeit of a similar type, but with the Victory holding only one wreath, and a palm in place of the other (LRBC.i, 787), was found at Segontium (Boon, (1976), 73 no. 697, pl. 5); Mr. P.J. Casey refers to one of the same type as the above but likewise counterfeit from Wroxeter. These types were struck only at Siscia and Aquileia.

44. (49) VICTORIAE DD AUGGQ NN, Constans, Trier, LRBC.i,149, mm. D/TRS, c. A.D. 341-6. Unworn to very slightly worn.

45. (8) Do., also Constans. Uncertain mint. Slightly worn.

The following are bronze nummi:

46. (26) GLORIA ROMANORUM, Valens, Lyon, RIC. 106, mm. OF/I/LVGVS, c. A.D. 364-7. Worn.

47. (7) SECURITAS REIPUBLICAE, Valentinian I, Arles, RIC. 18a, mm. OF/III/CON, c. A.D. 367-75. Slightly worn.

48. (14) Do., Valens, Arles, RIC. 17a, mm OF/II/CON, c. A.D. 367-75. Slightly worn to worn.

---

49. (35) ILLEGIBLE, probably fourth century.

MICROFICHE SECTION 5

ANIMAL FOOTPRINTS ON TILES

by

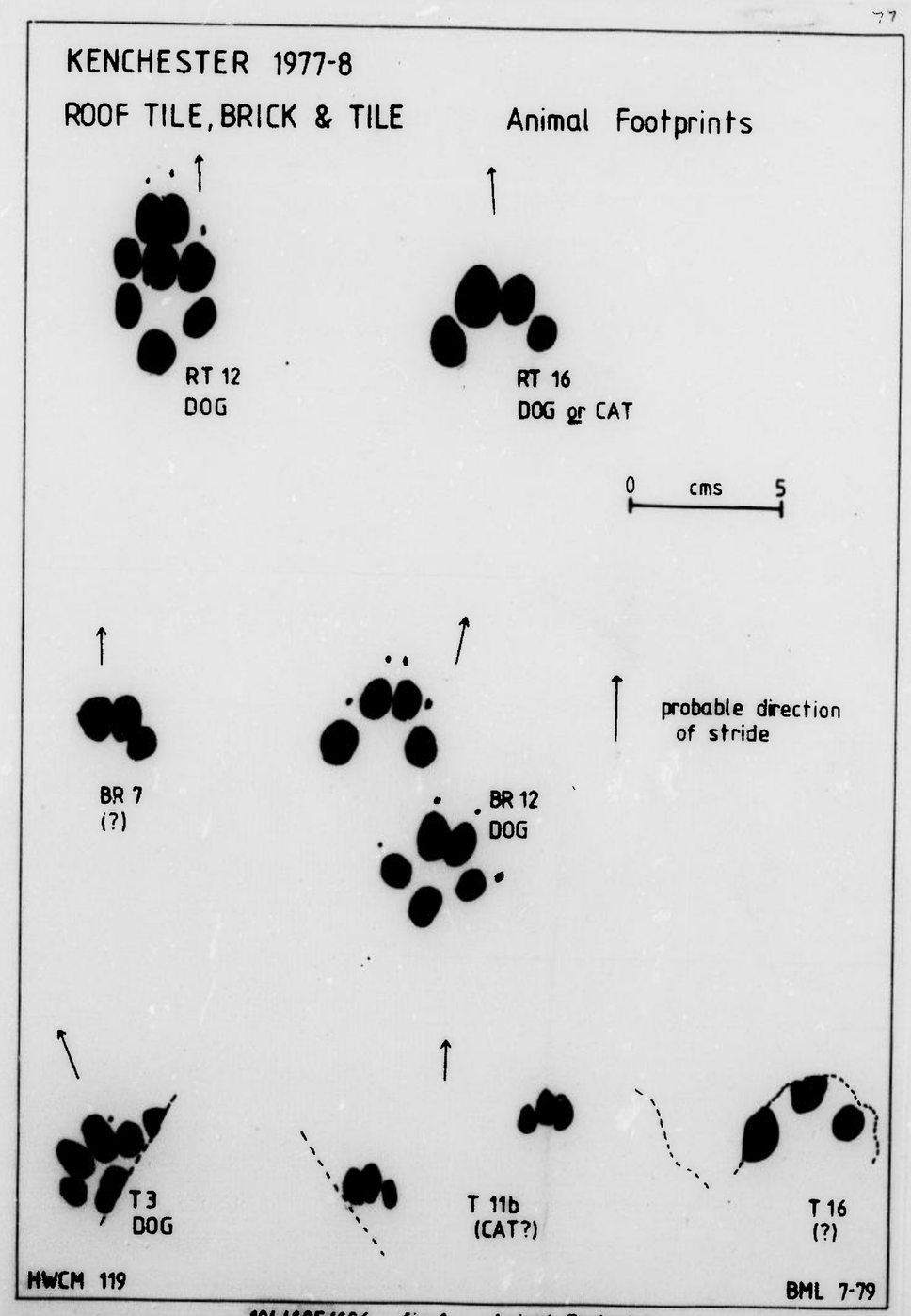
B.M. Levitan B.Sc (C.R.A.A.G.S.)

Seven pieces of roof tiles, brick amd tile had whole or fragmentary animal footprints. All are shown, with the probable identification of animal and the probable direction of stride shown. Two, BR 7 and T I6, are impossible to identify. The others are mostly dogs: the exception is RT I6 which is possibly of a cat or polecat. It is rather small to be a dog and the toes do not radiate out enough for such an animal, so there are two possibilities:

I) Firstly, it is a cat. In favour of this are the lack of clay-marks, the small size and the fairly parallel arrangement of the toes.

2) Secondly, it may be a polecat (domesticated by the Romans, who used these animals as modern-day ferrets are used). In favour of this are the small size of the unwebbed feet and the wide lateral spacing of the toes (see below).

The problem with either interpretation is the presence of only three toes. Assuming that the smallest digit did not impress, we have still to find the fifth digit on both prints. On the left-hand print, this digit may be on the portion of the tile that is broken (dotted lines on the illlustration). If it is a cat, the rightmost digit of the right-hand print must be lost because its small size did not impress. There is, however, a slight impression on the tile further to the right which could be a fifth digit of a ferret/polecat. In this case, a slightly roughened area below the right-hand print may be made by hair. The opposing wide-spaced digit on the left-hand print would again be on the portion of the tile that is broken-off. This evidence is, however, tenuous and it is safest to take the print as that of a cat.



104/105/106 fig 1 Animal Footprints

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION

TEXT SECTION: OTHER FINDS

FIRED CLAY

by

R. S. Tomber

1. DESCRIPTION

A) Summary of Types

Type	Number of Contexts*	FC Nos.
1	11	4,12,17,19,22b,27a-b,28,36, 37,38
2	5	16,21a-d,22a,30a-b,31,32a-b, 33,34
3	20	1,2a-b,3,5,6a-b,7,8,9,10,11, 13,14a-b,15,18a-b,20,23,24, 25,29,39
4	3	35,40,41a-b
5	1	42

* Given the nature of the recording system for fired clay; more than one fragment of fired clay was fequently assigned one number, and the unstable state of the objects; they were liable to break into fragments of a greater number than originally collected, it was felt more significant to record the number of contexts in which a certain type occurred rather than the actual number of fragments collected. A total of weights by type can be found in part 2 below.

B) TYPE 1

Daub

This category is defined as fired clay. It is differentiated from pottery by the fact that it is not a vessel or container of any type. Used for industrial or building purposes it may be distinguished from brick and ceramic tile by the fact that it is not mass produced in a uniform manner.

Two samples (FC 37, 38) were thin sectioned as a basis of comparison to determine whether sample FC 38 was briquetage. Analysis concluded that both samples were daub. Results of thin section analysis are found in Archive 108: Section 2b (Morris).

C) TYPE 2

Daub showing structural evidence

Type 2 was differentiated from Type 1 in order to determine if there was any significant distribution of daub with structural features. Two kinds of Type 2 were noted. Samples occurred with both timber or other organic impressions and examples which were harder fired and a more uniform shape, normally rectangular. Samples were also burnt on occasion.

D) TYPE 3

Furnace Lining

Type 3 consists of fired clay (Type 1) which adheres to slag and is therefore interpreted as the lining or bowl of a furnace structure. M st examples are found in conjunction with what is though to be iron slag, although no scientific analysis has been done on this material. One example (FC 3) may indicate remnants of bronze slag.

E) TYPE 4

Crucible

Crucibles are a type of vessel used for metalworking. They are discussed with fired clay rather than pottery as their function is more compatible with the above material than with that of pottery.

F) TYPE 5

Mould

One example of what is thought to be a mould for some type of metal object was collected. Interpretation is uncertain; this object may be part of a crucible. In fabric it is similar to pottery Fabric 23 (Archive 108: 2a).

2. DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS

Each individual type is discussed separately, with the exception of Types 1 and 2 which are analysed together. Distinction between the two types is noted in brackets after each context. The said types are presented both by (1) distribution of type by site period and major feature and (2) weight of type by site period and Major Feature.

Uncatalogued examples are included in distribution tables. These contexts are placed in brackets. The total weight does not include uncatalogued examples. Contexts in which fired clay occur represent the absolute minimum of total contexts found on site. The small sample of contexts noted within this category of finds suggests that discarded objects were not always noted on the site record cards.

TYPES 1 and 2

Site Period	Major Feature	Contexts	Weight (grammes)
1	Building BC & associated	LL 60a (1) LL 83a (1), LL 85a(1)	127
		Period 1 Total:	127
2a	Ditch LL	U 81c (1) AE 135b (2)	600
	Soil SS	W 192 (1,2)	128
	Joists TT	FF 63b (2)	22
	Postholes AT	W 179a (1)	2
		Period 2a Total:	752
2b	Building FF	(GG 93)	
2c	Slot AB Building AJ	W 184a (1) (AA 73) AD 75 (2)	1 2470
		Period 2c Total	2471
3	Building T Miscellaneous	Z 69c (1) (R 78)	45
		Period 3 Total:	45
4	Building M, Phase III	AE 70c (1) AE 85 (1)	72
	Building T Courtyard EE	(Z 82a) AD 72 (2)	210
	Miscellaneous	P 64d (1) (GG 72)	76
		Period 4 Total:	358
5	Miscellaneous	(Z 62)	
		Total Weight:	3753

Types 1 and 2 are found in every site period. They are least represented in Period 2b where only one uncatalogued example is noted. Therefore it is not certain whether absence in Period 2b is of interpretive significance.

Distribution of Types 1 and 2 in comparison to each other is not significant. Types 1 and 2 are found together in all periods with the exception of Period 1 and Period 2b, the latter of which is poorely represented. Distribution of Type 2 is not found to be limited to a certain type of feature, i.e. buildings, pits, etc. The lack of Type 2 in Period 1 is considered irrelevant given the small sample available.

Concentration of Types 1 and 2 in conjunction with building structures (Features M, T, FF, TT, AB, AJ, AT and BC) and living surfaces (Courtyard EE) indicates that the majority of collected daub is found in its original context, being used to consolidate building activity.

Those examples recorded from Ditch LL and Soil SS, as well as those from miscellaneous contexts, may represent debris no longer associated with its original function.

The largest quantity of daub (2470 grammes) from one context comes from site Period 2c, in association with Building AJ. This weight also represents the largest quantity coming from any single site period. These examples are of Type 2, containing numerous organic impressions. This, together with any lack of evidence towards a stone structure, supports the theory that Building AJ was made of wattle and daub.

Type 3: Furnace Lining

Site Period	Major Feature	Contexts	Weight (grammes)
1	Building BC	LL 60a	191
		Period 1 Total	191
2a	Ditch LL	(?V/W 128) (AE 135a) (AE 135b)	
2a	Soil SS	W 186b	121
		Period 2a Total	121
2b	Ditch G	T 61c	28
2b	Slot AB	V/W 184a	3
		Period 2b Total	31
2	Miscellaneous	J 58a, Z 81a	34
		Period 2 Total	34
3	Building M (Furnace)	AF 56a	61
3	Ditch N	P 60c	1
3	Sump P	N 63a (U 74a)	49
3	Building T	(AA/BB 69a)	
3	Furnace U	U 81b, (U 81g), Z 77a	115
3	Ditch V	(U 72a)	
3	Trough Y	Y 72a	74
3	Path AA	T 64a/b	345
3	Grave HH	Z 73a	102
		Period 3 Total	747
4	Ditch B	N 56b	348
4	Building M	(AE 72a)	
4	Building M (hearth)	(?W 134)	
4	Holloway S	U 55a	51
4	Building T	U 80	38
4	Furnace U (associated)	V 143	816
4	Miscellaneous	Z 52	58
		Period 4 Total	1311
5	Ditch NN	(BB 74a)	
		Total weight	2525

In Period 1 furnace lining is found in association with Building BC. Occurrence of this suggests that Building BC can be interpreted as a domestic structure with some home industry taking place in the same place.

During Period 2 furnace lining is noted in phases 2a, 2b and 2. In no case is it associated with metal working activity. It is possible that it reflects metal-working from other areas of the site; conversely it may be residual from Period 1.

Scientific analysis of slag is necessary in order to compare the technology of the slag in Periods 1 and 2.

The lack of furnace lining in Period 2 is compatible with the interpretation of this period of the site. If one accepts the interpretation of Period 2 as an agricultural industry the absence of furnace lining is not surprising.

A large quantity of furnace lining (747 grammes) is found in Period 3. Structural evidence of metal working is present in this period, and finds from Building M, Building T and Furnace U support their existence. A large amount of furnace lining (345 grammes) is noted from Path AA; its presence is not associated with metal working activity. However, although well represented in weight, only two fragments are counted.

Period 4 boasts the largest quantity of furnace lining in a single period on site (1311 grammes). Of the total quantity, most of it comes from a layer interpreted as being a dumping layer for Furnace U (V 143, 816 grammes). Other features associated with metal working in which furnace lining is found include Buildings M and T. Similarly, finds not associated with industrial activity include Ditch B and Holloway S.

During Period 5, one example of discarded furnace lining is noted from Ditch NN.

In general, most examples of furnace lining are found where they would be expected; in associated with features interpreted as metal working furnaces or in nearby areas. Concentrations of materials are clustered in Grid U and the environs of Buildings M and T.

Type 4: Crucible

Site Period	Major Feature	Contexts	Weight (grammes)
1	Building BC and assoc.	LL 51	3
1	Pits BE	LL 59b, LL 69a	28
		Total weight	31

All examples of crucibles come from site Period 1. This may suggest that metal working activity during other periods of the site was either (1) of a larger scale making such technology inadequate, or (2) of a different, but unspecified, nature.

The presence of crucibles in Period 1 lends further evidence towards a diversified life-style during the "Iron Age" at Kenchester.

Type 5: Mould

Site Period	Major Feature	Contexts	Weight (grammes)
2c	Building AJ	AD 75	3
		Total weight:	3

Interpretation of this"mould" is somewhat uncertain. It may be part of a crucible. If it is a mould it would have been used for forming a small object, circular in shape. Presence in Building AJ is incongruous to the nature of the site during Period 2c; it is also difficult to accept due to the lack of any furnace lining from this period. The possibility exists that this object is residual from Period 1.

KENCHESTER 1977-8
Fired Clay (FC)

41b

Type 4 Crucible

42

Type 5 Mould

0 5 10cms

HWCM 119

RST 9-79

103 figure 1

KENCHESTER 1977 - 79

MICROFICHE SECTION

TEXT SECTION: OTHER FINDS

ANIMAL BONE

Report on the Animal Bone by B.A. Noddle
Report on the Animal Bone by T.C. O'Connor

1) Editorial Note

The animal and bird bones were submitted for examination to Miss Noddle with no allowance either for periodisation or for the fact that much animal bone was discarded on site. The reports in parts 2 and 3 below accordingly deal with a non-scientific sample from all periods of the site taken together. A list of contexts from which animal bone was submitted is given in table 1 but a detailed list of bone per context is not included. Table 2 lists contexts from which bone was discarded, with rough details where these were noted on context cards. This situation must be borne in mind when reading the reports below. Given a broadly continuous occupation on the site from period 1 to period 4, the conclusions are broadly valid but those based on quantification of individual species must not be relied upon.

2) Animal Bone Report by B.A. Noddle

A total of 78.5 kg. of animal bone was presented for analysis of which 80% by weight proved to be identifiable, comprising 1509 frags. Following identification the material was assigned to minimum numbers of individuals for which purpose it was assumed that there were different individuals in each archaeological layer. This may not be so but to assume the contrary produces greater error. All rib was considered unidentifiable.

Where possible the individuals were aged; age groups newborn, juvenile, immature and mature. Groups other than chronological ages are employed because it is unlikely that this early stock matured at the same rate as modern stock for which aging data has been assessed. The precise criteria used have been set out elsewhere (Noddle, 1976) but the stages for modern animals would be newborn - under 3 months, juvenile 3-18 months, immature 18 months to three years, and mature older than 4 years.

An anatomical analysis was carried out into the major parts of the body represented in the material. This gives some idea of the utilisation of the animal and to some extent the events occurring after the bones were discarded. All complete adult bones and commonly occurring mature bones ends and teeth were measured. These measurements were carried out mainly according to the recommendations of Van Driesch (1976) except that distal metapodials were measured at the epiphyseal junction and mid shaft length was taken at the level of the nutriant foramen.

The bone appeared to be well preserved particularly in the case of horse and cattle, but the smaller bones of sheep and pig were more fragmented. This may reflect cooking differences as it does today. The beef is usually boned out before cooking while lamb and pork are frequently cooked on the bone with resulting greater fragmentation into pieces which are either lost or too small to identify. It is for this reason that calculation of minimum numbers of individuals is made.

Results

Proportions of species both fragment counts and minimum numbers of individuals are set out in table 3. Whichever method of assessment is used, the most numerous animal was cattle, but the proportion is much reduced for individuals. Horse and sheep are equal as far as fragment numbers are concerned, but sheep is much more numerous as an individual. Pig and horse are more or less equal as individuals, pig less with regard to fragments. There were a fair number of dogs and cats, which were represented by three individuals one of which was large enough to have been the wild form, Felis sylvestris. Hunting does not seem to have been of little importance as there was only 14 red deer, 1 roe deer, and two pigs large enough to be wild.

The sheep bones included a burial, half burn in layer V/W166a. This was considered as an individual, but the 51 identified fragments recovered were not included in the fragment count as it was thought that this would distort the evidence.

The fragment count at Kenchester are quite typical of the Romanised site, although horse and dog are on the high side (King 1978).

The age range of individuals is set out in table 4. The high proportion of mature animals is most atypical of any archeological assemblage of animal bone. There is a virtual absence of newborn animals which comprise nearly 20% of the bones on the majority of sites. The number of juveniles is also low, even in the case of pig which is normally killed young. The largest proportion of animals is normally the immature group, and this would be the best age of slaughter if meat (and hide) were the prime consideration. The utilisation of mainly mature animals here might be used as an argument that the maximum economic return was being got from the livestock in that they were only slaughtered after contributing the maximum in offspring, wool, labour etc. according to species, but the absence of young animals suggests that animal breeding was not in fact being carried out on site, or that animals were taken away and consumed elsewhere. Even at the prosperous villa at Frocester (Noddle 1980) there were the average number of young animals (Editors Note: This problem may be explained by a disproportionate disposal of the bones of young animals after excavation but since site recovery was adequate and complete contexts were discarded, the points made above may still stand).

The anatomical analysis, displayed in table 5, gives a variety of information. The mandible carries very little meat and is often removed at the site of slaughter, though the pig is an exception to this. The numbers of mandibles here suggest that some slaughter waste at least is present. Vertebrae are extremely low. Since the bone was well preserved it appears that these bones were preferentially destroyed. These axial bones carry the choicest meat on the carcass. Upper fore and hind limb bones, also carrying good meat, are about equally represented except in the case of the sheep, but the main reason for the high proportion of hind limb bones here is due to the number of tibiae,

an exceptionally durable bone. Carpals and tarsals are recorded separately for several reasons. Where there is a structure sufficiently strong to support it the easiest way of hanging up beef carcass for dismembering is by the achilles tendon of the hock so that a number of beef hocks may well indicate a preparatory site. It is noticeable that there are more such bones from cattle than from horse. Carpal and tarsal bones in the sheep, particularly the former are very small and tend to get lost when bone is redeposited from its first site of discard. Metapodials are waste bone from the point of view of food, but they are preferred raw material for bone working, at least those of the larger animals. Despite the high proportion present from cattle, most of those from these animals were metatarsals and it is suggested that the metacarpals were removed to work on an unexcavated part of the site. There is a very small number of the phalanges considering the large number of these in the body. It is suggested that these were removed with the hide, a practise still carried out among slaughtermen and it is possible that these would be found in a tannery. Loose teeth are an indication of the amount of wear and tear that the bone deposit has suffered in the soil; upper jaws are more fragile than lower, and horse and pig teeth more durable than those of cattle or sheep. The overall impression is of a high degree of disturbance in the middens.

There are three ways in which bones give information about the type of animal present on an archaeological site. The first is absolute size, and the second is proportion of bone and sometimes non-metric characters. The third is the shape of the horncore in those animals which possess them. The absolute size of an animal is dependent on three factors, its genetic potential, which is probably not realised because of the second factor, the state of nutrition, and the third is the sex of the animal. The last is not entirely clearcut, as although entire males are usually easy to distinguish, geldings and females are often difficult to differentiate. There is considerable evidence that livestock on Romanised sites are larger than those on Celtic sites due to larger stock and improved husbandry, but these are usually present on sites in less peripheral areas than Herefordshire.

The measurements of the cattle bone are set out in table 6. The majority of animals are very small, although there are one or two larger measurements for each bone; however, these animals are nowhere near the size of 4th century stock at Frocester or Tripontium (Noddle 1980, 1973b). As this is now an area of good grazing today, the reason for the small size might be genetic, although most of what is now pasture may have been wooded. The genetic reason is borne out by the nature of the horn cores. These are very small, curved and oval in shape (Pl. 1) and are typical of the small Iron Age Celtic Ox as opposed to the longer horned Romanised animal (Armitage and Clutton Brock, 1976). However there is a possibility that larger horn cores were selected for working and were removed from the site of excavation. When the least and greatest diameters of the horn cores are plotted as a scatter diagram it is clear that they were all the same basic shape. However when length along the outer curvature was plotted against basal circumference the result was not so clear cut, so that there is some possibility of cross breeding. The small size is emphasised by the estimated body weights. A typical 4th C. site would have more animals over 200kg. (The modern Frieian cow weighs about 450kg.). Sheep were also small. A somewhat larger animal was found in V/W 166a and this appears to be an immature ram. The two horn core bases found were strongly oval in cross-section. The scapula had relatively long necks in proportion to their width. Both these characters are typical of the short tailed primitive Soay sheep which was typical of the Iron Age (Noddle, 1978, Pitt-Rivers, 1898). Of the ten individual goats only three could be aged, one newborn and two immature. All the animals seemed to be male. This is rather tenuous evidence for the ritual use of the goat as at Uley (Levitan, 1978). The dimensions of the sheep bones are set out in table 7.

Pig bone measurements are set out in table 8; there are very few of them. What there was indicated that the animals were again very small. Also the bones were very slender suggesting that intensive husbandy was carried out rather than confinement in sties. Age in pigs differs from that at Frocester.

A much larger number of measurements was obtained from the horse bones (table 9). On the whole one size range of animal was represented but there were two exceptions neither of which could be measured satisfactorily. One of them had a femur the circumference of which was 150mm. which represents something larger than the fair sized pony indicated by most of the bones. There was also a group of very small incisor teeth which are thought to have come from a donkey. In layer Y/DD 70b came a radius which had definite donkey characteristics but the size of the bone, 295mm. in length would indicate a mule as the most likely source. Mules were of course widely used in the Roman world, the Roman vetinary surgeon being known as a mulomedicus (Walker 1977; Editors Note: Miss Noddle points out that this is the first mule bone recorded in Roman Britain. However the skull of a mule has recently been found in London so in fact the Kenchester example is the second (pers. comm. Dr. P. Armitage: Armitage and Chapman forthcoming). This bone is illustrated (Pl. 2). All the horse mandibles had canine teeth and were thus all male. There were the remains of three skulls but only one mandible in M 57b (M 1005, M 1006).

Most of the dogs present were represented by their mandibles which had cramped teeth indicating a poor standard of nutrition as puppies. Most of these mandibles come from medium sized dogs about the size of a spaniel. However there were 2 different ypes of dog also present, a much larger one about alsatian size, represented by a few bone ends, and a much smaller lap dog type represented by a bowed radius. The dog bone measurements are set out in table 10.

Only two red deer bones could be measured (table 11). These two measurements both indicate an animal more massive than the present day deer of the Scottish Highlands. The larger woodland living form seems to have died out between Roman and Medieval times except in some remote parts of Wales.

Very few of the bones were abnormal or pathological. A number of the bovine bones (3rd molars) lacked the posterior pillar, a common finding that only varies in the proportion affected. Here it was 3 out of 26, or about 10%. The reason for this abnormality is unknown but the high proportions found elsewhere may indicate close in-breeding. There were a pair of abnormal dog tibiae in layer T 61c. One appeared to have a healed fracture and the other had perhaps suffered from a torn inteosseous ligament. There was also a metatarsal bone with arthritic changes at the proximal joint which could have come from the same animal.

Bird Bone Identified by T.C. O'Connor

(Editors Note: It seems likely that the bird bone sample was greatly affected by the policy of discarding on site).

Only 13 fragments of bird bone were identified. Neither poultry or wildfowl made a significant part in the diet. The identified fragments comprised 8 domestic fowl (Gallus), one domestic goose (Anser), 2 or Raven (Corvus Corax), one small songbird (c.f. sparrow) and one of Herring Gull (Larus Argentatus). The last is of interest since the bird would seem to have strayed far from the coast.

4) Distribution

Since the detailed analyses above do not give individual identifications per context, no spatial or temporal distribution analysis has been attempted. It is clear from tables 1 and 2 that animal bone occurs in very many contexts in all grids with the exception of C, H, CC and AN, and in all periods. It is not possible to differentiate the Iron Age from Roman.

Archive 118 Table 1 Summary of Contexts with Analysed Animal Bone

K	51	AA	51	Ditch Alpha
K	51b	AA	66a	
K	51c	AA/BB	79a	
K	51d	BB	83a	
L	57a	AA	98a	
L	64	BB	104	
M	25/52	BB	107a	
M	56b	BB	115	
M	56c	AA	129	
M	57a	BB	141b	
M	57b (AB 1 and 2)	BB	149a	
M	57c	BB	149b	
M	57d	BB	157a	
M	57e	BB	162	
M	66b	DD	61a	
N	56a	EE	52a	
N	56b	EE	53	
N	56c	EE	57	
N	63a	EE	59	
N	66a	EE	61	
P	51a	EE	68	
P	52a	GG	25/51	
P	52b	GG	92	
P	59	GG	109	
P	60c	GG	124a	
P	60z	KK	25/52	
R	54a	LL	59b	
R	54b	LL	59c	
R	55a	LL	60a	
T	61a	LL	60b	
T	61b	LL	80a	
T	61c	LL	81a	
T	61f	LL	85a	
T	61h	SS	5/51	
T	64a	SS	5/52	
T	64b	SS	25/26	
U	75c	AD	5/51	
U	87b (AB 3)	AD	5/52	
U	87c (AB 4)	AD	25/26	
U	89a	AD	25/51	
V	55a	AD	88	
W	111	AD	104a	
W	121	AD	105	
W	155a	AD	112a	
V	161a	AD	116a	
W	179a	AE	25/26	
W	182a	AE	60	
V/W	184a	AE	68	
W	192	AE	70c	
W	202	AE	88a	
W	204	AE	111	
W	207a	AE	120b	
Y	61a	AE	135b	
Y	70a	AE	136b	
Y	70c	AE	137c	
Y	70d	AE	142b	
		AE	142c	
		AE	152	
		AE	153a	
		AE	157	
		AE	158	
		AE	166a	

Table 3 Proportions of Species

Animal	No. Fragments	%	Minimum no. Individuals	%
Cattle	781	54	108	31
Sheep	*248	17	91	26
Goat	10	1	10	3
Pig	87	6	49	14
Horse	261	18	51	15
Dog	42	3	24	7
Red Deer	21	1	14	4
Roe Deer	1	1	1	1
Cat	7	1	3	1
Total	1458		351	

*The sheep bones included 51 identifiable fragments from a burial. This has been excluded from the fragment count above but has been included as an individual.

Table 4 Age Range of Individual Animals

Data Expressed as %

Animal	Newborn	Juvenile	Immature	Mature	Total Aged
Cattle	-	4	30	66	52
Sheep	3	13	31	46	32
Pig	-	19	28	53	21
Horse	-	-	10	90	20

The terms used for the age ranges are explained in the text.

Table 5 Anatomical Analysis

Data Expressed as %

Anatomical part	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Horse
Mandible	8	8	10	4
Vertebrae	8	2	1	9
Upper Fore Limb	16	13	22	10
Upper Hind Limb	11	31	14	16
Carpals and Tarsals	9	1	6	3
Metapodials	16	17	3	7
Phalanges	5	1	1	5
Loose Teeth	18	20	37	35

Table 6 Dimensions of Cattle Bone. Expressed as mm.

a) Whole Bones

Bone	Length	Proximal Width	Distal Width	Mid-Shaft Width
Humerus	200	-	74	43
Radius	255	65	58	36
Metacarpal	165	50	46	28
	167	53	51	29
	170	57	51	34
	175	49	46	27
	180	60	53	33
	198	56	59	39
	200	55	50	30
Metatarsal	200	38	43	23

b) Small Bones Bone ends, Teeth

Lower 3rd molar length	31,32(2) 33(3) 34(5) 35(5) 36(5) 37, 38, 39(2)
Scapula Minimum width neck	36 41(2) 42, 43(4) 44, 45(2) 46, 48, 50(2) 52, 53
Humerus. Width distal condyles	67, 69, 71(2) 73 74
Radius Priximal width	65, 66, 77, 78
Distal Width	57, 66, 71
Metacarpal Proximal Width	46(2) 47(2) 48(3) 49(2) 50(3) 51(2) 53, 55(2)
Distal Width	43, 44, 46(4) 50, 51(3) 53(2) 59

Table 6 continued

1st Phalanx Length		48(2) 49, 50, 51(2) 54, 55(3) 56, 57(2) 58(5) 59(2) 61, 63
Tibia Distal Width		48, 49(2) 50, 52, 53, 55
Astragalus*.	Maximum Length	54(3) 55(2) 56(2) 57(2) 58(3) 59(4) 60(2) 61(2) 62, 63
Metatarsal*.	Proximal Width	37(2) 38(3) 39, 40(5) 41, 42(3) 43, 44
	Distal Width	43(2) 44(3) 46

Horn Core Basal Circumference	Length	Outer Curvature	Minimum Basal Diameter	Maximum Basal Diameter
95	80		25	34
100	90		28	39
105	95		25	34
108	108		26	35
110	80	x	24	37
120	120		32	38
120	120		32	43
130	140		34	45
135	160		38	45
			22	31
			22	32
			22	38
			25	34
			27	34
			29	40
			32	38
			32	48
			33	46
			34	37
			34	47
			36	46
			37	44
			43	63

Estimated weight (method of Noddle, 1973) in Kg. 140(2) 149 157(2) 158 164 165 167(2) 174 176 177 184 186 187 189 196(2) 199(2)

The figure in brackets indicates the number of bones with the same dimension. * indicates that the bone measured may not be full grown.

Table 7 Dimensions of Sheep Bone Expressed as mm.

a) Whole Bones

Bone	Length	Proximal Width	Distal Width	Mid-Shaft Width
Radius	152	20	25	16
Metacarpal	106	20	23	11

b) Small Bones, End of Bones, Teeth

Lower 3rd molar length. 19 21(5)

Humerus. Width distal condyles 22, 23, 24 25(2) 27 28

Radius Proximal Width 24, 27 30 (goat)

Metacarpal. Proximal Width 17, 18, 19, 20(3) 20

1st Phalanx Length x 32 + 33(2) +

Tibia. Distal Width 20 21 22(4) 23 24

Metatarsal Proximal Width 17 18 19(5) 19 + 21

Horn core Minimal basal diameter maximum basal diameter

22 26

18 31

Scapula. Shape of neck. Distance between base of spine and glenoid fossa

minimum shaft width

Ratio 109 113 118

Footnotes as table 6

+ indicates measurement taken from burial layer V/W 166a

Table 8 Dimensions of Pig Bone

Lower 3rd molar. Length 31 33 34

Scapula. Minimum Shaft Width 22

Astragalus. Maximum length 42

Footnotes as table 6

Table 9 Dimensions of Horse Bone

a) Whole Bones

Bone	Length	Proximal Width	Distal Width	Mid-shaft Width
Radius	295	70	53	32 (male)
	320	72	63	39
Metacarpal	215	46	46	31

Table 9 continued...

	Length	Proximal Width	Distal Width	Mid-Shaft Width
	225	51	48	35
	243	44	39	26
1st Phalanx	70	47	41	
	82	54	45	
	88	-	-	
Tibia	330	86	65	40

b) Bone Ends

Radius. Distal Width 65 74

Metacarpal Proximal Width 46 48 49

Distal Width 42 46 49

Metatarsal Proximal Width 49

3rd Phalanx Maximum Width 70

Femur. Midshaft Circumference 150

Footnotes as Table 6

Table 10 Dimensions of Dog Bones

Upper carnassial tooth. Length 17 22

Lower " " " 17 20(2) 22(2) 23 24 25(2)

Humerus Distal Width 24

Radius Length 84, 155

Distal Width 30

Tibia Length 180

Table 11 Dimensions of Red Deer Bones

Metacarpal Proximal Width 34

Tibia Distal Width 49

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION

TEXT SECTION: OTHER FINDS

HUMAN BONE

Skeletal Analysis by Dr. R.F.Everton M.B, B.S.

I) Description and Distribution of Graves

Four adult graves were found on the site, two in the excavated area and two in the area of quarrying which was surveyed in Easter 1977. In addition there were two concentrations of infant bones, one occurrence of unarticulated ? human bone and an isolated infant tibia.

Graves

i) Grave Beta

The skeleton was buried in a coffin (whose nails remained in places), with no associated finds save iron studs from boots or sandals. The skeleton was aligned roughly East to West, with the head facing north. The skeleton is discussed as HB 2 in part 2.

ii) Grave Gamma

There was no sign of a coffin or of any associated finds (but note that the lower limbs were destroyed in quarrying). The skeleton was aligned West to East possibly on its side in a narrow grave, and was decapitated with the head next to the legs. When received for analysis, there were no surviving cervical vertebrae with the head (see below part 2 Comments) but the excavation records note the presence of 2-3 vertebra with the skull. The arms are crossed. The skeleton is discussed as HB I in part 2.

iii) Grave R

This complete burial was found initially in the north-south mechanical trial trench on the east side of the site and was then excavated fully in Grid N. It was on the east side of Ditch B, the site period 4 eastern boundary. The skeleton was supine, aligned east to west, with head facing north and arms by the side. There are no indications of a coffin or of grave goods. The skeleton is discussed as HB 3 in part 2.

iv) Grave HH

The second decapitated burial on the site was found in the excavation

of Building T. The position is stratigraphically vague but tessarae found in the fill of the grave indicate a date of site period 3 or later. No grave goods or signs of a coffin were found. The skeleton is aligned south-north (non-Christian?) with crossed legs, arms crossed on stomach and decapitated head next to legs on the west side. The skeleton is discussed as HB 6 in part 2.

Infant Burials

Both infant burials were found near Building T, though they are both dated stratigraphically to the period preceding the construction of the building.

HB 4 (in Z I42a) consists of the remains of an infant skeleton, with no associated finds. The bones are discussed in part 2.

HB 5 (in Z 80) consists of a few infant bones in a layer of sandy silt, dated to site period 2b on the south side of Grid Z. The position is not shown on plan. The bones are discussed in II9 2.

Unarticulate ? Human Bone

HB 7 Three fragments of probable human bone, including a skull fragment, were found in a layer of sandy silt within Building M (W I25).

HB 8 Single newborn tibia from a late context outside Building M (N 6I).

General Distribution

The distribution of burials is not illustrated as the sample is so small. Given the postulated four centuries of occupation on the site, it is certain that the normal cemetery was not found in excavation 1977-9; it may lie either further to the east, where Graves Beta and Gamma were found (now destroyed by the gravel quarry) or to the west near the town. Burials were found in older excavation in the north west corner of the field.

The oddest burial is Grave HH, in its isolated position, alignment and decapitation. No solution suggests itself.

2) Analysis of Skeletal Remains by R.F. Everton, M.B., B.S.

a) Methodology

Four human skeletons were submitted for examination. Two, HB 3 and HB 6, were fairly complete, although the skull of HB 6 had been placed beside the legs, on the left side of the grave. The other two burials were incomplete and the fragmentary skull at the lower end of the right femur, which was itself missing.

Age and Sex

The criteria used for ageing the skeletons were those of Genoves (1969a) and Brothwell (1963), and, for the determination of sex, Genoves (1969b).

Measurements and Indices

Where appropriate, these were taken, as suggested by Hrdlicka (1948), and Ashley Montague (1951).

Stature

Stature was estimated using the formula of Trotter and Gleser (1968), for whites.

b) Analysis

HB 1 (Grave Gamma)

This skeleton was incomplete, the whole of the right leg and foot and left tibia and foot were missing, the vertebrae and ribs were fragmentary. The comminuted skull had been placed at the level of the middle of the right femur, which was missing. There was no complete long bone but the left humerus was a stouter bone than the right.

Sex

The general appearance of the bones and the surviving features of the skull were feminine.

Age

Attrition of the teeth gave an age of over 35 years.

Stature

Due to the fragmentary nature of the bones, it was not possible to estimate the stature.

Pathology

There was a slight "mushrooming" of the distal end of the left ulna, due to osteoarthrosis, probably secondary to injury. There was a well healed fracture of a clavicle, it was not possible to determine right or left, and may have occurred at the same time as the wrist injury.

Dental Pathology

The attrition of the anterior teeth was quite severe and was probably secondary to the loss of a large number of molars before death. The wear of the surviving left upper first molar gave an age of about 35 years but is more likely to indicate the age when the left lower molars were lost; the severe wear of the anterior teeth would indicate a greater age. The right lower second molar crown was severely damaged by caries with abcess formation. The right lower canine had cervical caries. The four lower and four upper molars, missing before death, were most likely to have been lost as a result of caries.

HB2 (Grave Beta)

This skeleton consisted of the badly eroded fragments of long bones and a few fragments of skull.

Sex

The surviving fragments of the shafts of the long bones and the narrow sciatic notch were indicative of male sex.

Age

Fused epiphyses showed that the skeleton was adult.

Stature

It was not possible to estimate stature due to the fragmentary nature of the bones.

Pathology

No pathological conditions were noted in the surviving bones.

HB 3 (N51)

This skeleton, of a male of 30-35 years of age, was relatively complete; some of the bones, notably the vertebrae, ribs and pelvis, had suffered severe damage by P.M. erosion. The skeleton was extended and supine, with the feet together, the right arm was lying across the body and the left arm was acutely flexed at the elbow. The skull was fragmentary as was the right femur and both tibiae.

The left humerus was missing although both left radius and ulna were present.

Stature

Estimated from the left femur, was 1.683 M (5ft 6¼).

Pathology

Only one lumbar vertebra shows evidence of osteitis of the posterior joints. The cervical vertebrae were unaffected.

Dental Pathology

Only two teeth were affected by caries, the right upper second premolar and first molar, in which the crowns were almost completely destroyed by the caries, leading to abcesses which had discharged buccally.

No other teeth were affected by caries. The lower incisors and canines showed a minimal degree of enamel displasia, suggesting illnesses as a child.

There were lateral squatting facets on the distal surfaces of both tibiae which indicates the frequent adoption of the squatting posture.

HB 4 (Z 142a)

This consists of a collection of fragmentary infant bones:

i) Fragment of skull, including the left supra-orbital ridge; possibly female

ii) Two fragments of right mandible with no teeth; symphysis unfused and so perinatal

iii) Left humerus L = 62mm
distal width = 14.8mm

iv) Left radius L = 50.8mm
distal width L = 63mm

v) Right tibia distal width = 11.2mm

vi) Fibula L = 52mm

vii) Fragments of Ulna

viii) Complete ilium (right) with wide shallow notch and therefore probably female

ix) Various fragments of ribs and vertebrae

x) First metatarsal

The skeleton is probably that of a female infant, at about the time of birth.

HB 5 (Z 80)

This was an incomplete and fragmentary skeleton of a peri-natal infant, consisting of the right humerus, radius and ulna only.

HB 6 (Z 73a)

The most complete skeleton was of a female of about 45 years or more, whose pelvis showed the signs of multiple pregnancy (Ullrick 1975). The skeleton was extended and lay supine, with the left leg crossing the right at the level of the middle of the tibia. At this level, the complete skull had been placed, set carefully on its base, with the face pointing towards the head end. Careful examination of the cervical vertebrae failed to show any signs of damage or injury, which might explain the position of the head.

The estimate of the height was 1.598m (5ft 3in), derived from the maximum lengths of the femur, tibia and humerus and was a mean of the estimations for right and left sides (which differed by only .31mm).

Pathology

There was a moderate degree of osteo-arthrosis of the apophyseal joints of the lumbar vertebrae and to a lesser degree, of the cervical vertebrae. There was also some osteo-arthrosis of the head of the right first metatarsal and phalanges.

There were also two small osteomata on the left occipital bone.

The fusion of the intermediate and distal phalanges of one finger was a congenital condition.

Dental Pathology

Twelve teeth had been lost before death, most likely as a result of caries, although there was no evidence of caries or dental abcesses in the surviving teeth. There was some calculus but no recession of the alveolar margins, showing a reasonably good state of oral hygiene. There was a small enamel pearl on the lingual surface of the left upper second molar, just distal to the bifurcation of the roots.

Hypodontia

The left upper and lower third molars were both congenitally absent, it was not possible to be sure that the right third molars were also missing, due to P.M. damage to both maxilla and mandible at that level.

Comments

These burials showed remarkable differences in their state of preservation; two were fairly well preserved whilst the other two were badly eroded post-mortem, a situation which must reflect the conditions

of each burial. There was little of significance in the skeletons themselves, the expected osteo-arthrosis in the more elderly and the fracture of the clavicle in HB 1 were the only noteworthy conditions. The explanation of the placing of the skulls of HB 1 and HB 6 by the legs, although obviously deliberate, was not apparent. In the case of HB 6, there was no injury to the cervical spine, in complete contrast to the decapitated skeletons from Sutton Walls (Cornwall 1953), where sword/axe cuts were described slicing into and through the cervical vertebrae. There were no surviving cervical vertebrae in HB 1, so no comment is possible. The finding of skulls removed from their normal position, without obvious injury to the neck is not uncommon; movement due to water or animal action can be ruled out here as there was no disturbance of the post-cranial skeleton. One similar example was noted in the RB cemetry at Bradley Hill near Somerton (Everton 1979), and another, possibly also RB, at Norbury Camp, (Everton 1978), where the skull as well as the complete right arm and both feet were missing, with no obvious injury to the bones to suggest mutilation. In all these cases, no completely satisfactory explanation can be postulated. In the case of the two skeletons from Kenchester, it must be assumed that, for some, as yet unknown reason, the heads were placed by the legs some time after death.

Table I Summary of Burials

No.	Age	Sex	Stature	Comment
HBI	35 years	Female (?)	?	Fracture of Clavicle. OAL wrist. Skull at level of R. thigh.
HB2	Adult	Male (?)	?	Fragmentary. No skull.
HB3	30 to 35 years	Male	I.683 M.	Complete. Extended burial
HB4	Perinatal	Female (?)		
HB5	Perinatal	?	-	Right upper limb only.
HB6	Over 45 years	Female	I.598 M.	Complete. Head by legs. Some vertebral spondylosis. Osteoma of Parietal. Multiple pregnancies. O.A.R. Hallux

Table 2 Condition of Teeth

No.	Sex	Age	Lost AM		Lost PM		Caries		Abcesses		Hypodont		Other Conditions
			Up	Low	Up	Low	Up	Low	Up	Low	Up	Low	
HBI	(F)	35	4	4	4	2	3	I	0	I	-	-	.....
HB2	M	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No skull or teeth.
HB3	M	30-35	0	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	-	-	Enam. Dyspl 321/123.
HB4	(F)	Perinatal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
HB5	(?)	Perinatal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
HB6	F	Over 45	4	7	6	I	0	0	0	0	$\lfloor\overline{8}$ ($\overline{8}\rfloor$)	$\lceil\overline{8}$ ($\overline{8}\rceil$)	Enamel Pearl $\lfloor\overline{I}$

( ) Denotes uncertainty. F = Female M = Male

KENCHESTER 1977-79

MICROFICHE SECTION 9

TEXT SECTION IV: OTHER FINDS

THE MOLLUSCA

By M.Robinson, M.A.

I) Distribution and Discussion

Mollusca were kept from 15 contexts and were recorded but discarded from a further 44 contexts. The latter are listed in table I, the former detailed on the Object Record Form (Part 3) and identified in Part 2.

Uncatalogued Contexts

These cannot be dealt with in any detail as the context records do not have any note of type of quantity (with two exceptions). It is likely that most are oysters (ostrea edulis, as MOL 13,14,15); all but two contexts are Roman (Period 2a: 3 examples, period 2b: 7 examples, period 2C: 5 examples, period 3: 5 examples, period 4: 12 contexts, period 5 and topsoil: 9 examples) with the expected highest concentration in period 4 when the site is most prosperous. The two remaining contexts, LL 59a and T 61f, are both in period I where the Roman-introduced oyster is not to be expected (though not impossible as an isolated import). The context is the bottom of Stream E/ top of Ditch G and may have been disturbed by water flow (see Archive 204).

Catalogued Contexts

The catalogued Mollusca are mostly from the Easter 1977 trial excavation, save for nos. 13,14 and 15. The latter are from Roman contexts (respectively 3,2c and 2a) and are the expected ostrea edulis. The other contexts fall into three groups:

(a) Those with ceepea sp. and limnia sp. mollusca, whose habitat is marshy or terrestrial. In this group are included the contexts from period 5 or topsoil (MOL 4,5,9).

(b) Those with bithynia tentaculata and pisidium amnium, whose habitat is flowing water. Contexts in this group are both layers of Stream E.

While it is possible for terrestrial molluscs to stray into flowing water (note the discus rotundatus in B 25/31), it is not possible for bithynia tentaculata and pisidium amnium to begin amphibious moonlighting.

These contexts are therefore good evidence for a stage of Stream E where there was a good water-flow. The limnia sp. and ceepea sp. correspond to a more idle and marshy phase (see Archive 204 for a more detailed discussion of Stream E). Figure I shows positions of contexts of groups (a) amd (b), together with the north edge of stream (e) as seen in excavation. All contexts fall within the area of the stream.

(c) Those with the edible snail helix aspersa, introduced to Britain by the Romans. Both these contexts are in Ditch Alpha, dating this feature to a Roman period.

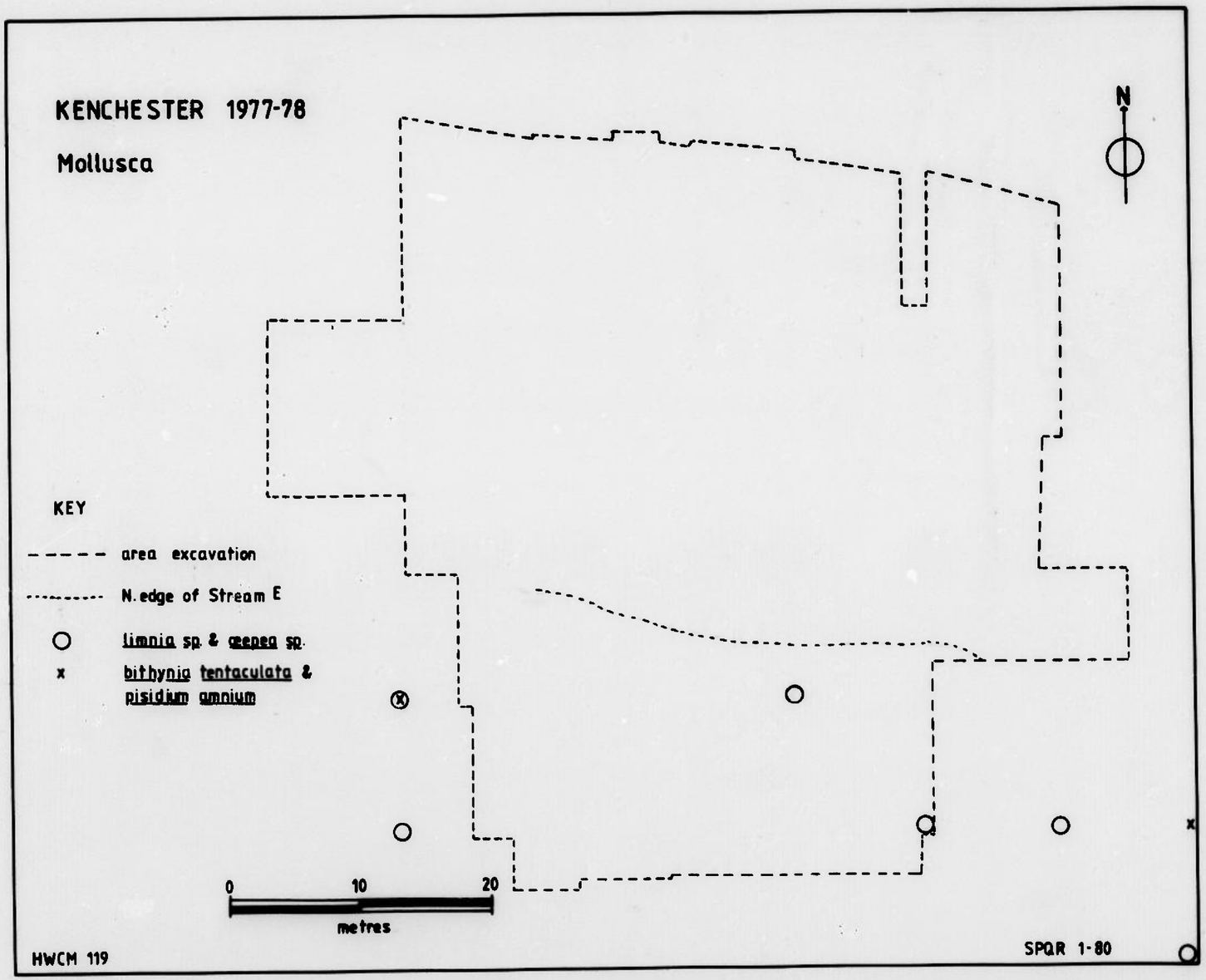
2) Identifications

The following notes are form a verbal report by Mark Robinson, M.A. (Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit):

MOL No.	Context	Identification	Habitat
I	B 25/3I	Pisidium ammium (smashed) Discus rotundatus	Clean flowing water Terrestrial Shade
2	G 25/26	Unidentifiable (fragmentary condition)	
3	G 25/5I	Limnia sp. Ceepea sp.	Marsh or aquatic Terrestrial or marsh
4	JJ 27/27a	? Ceepea sp. (fragmentary)	Terrestrial or marsh
5	KK 25/26	Ceepea sp. (fragmentary)	Terrestrial or marsh
6	KK 25/5I	Bithynia tentaculata Pisichium Anium Limnia sp.	Flowing water Clean andflowing water Marsh or aquatic
7	M 25/3I	Ceepea sp.	Terrestrial or marsh
8	PP 25/52	Unidentifiable (fragmentary)	
9	U 25/5I	Ceepea sp.	Terrestrial or marsh
I0	Alpha 28	Ceepea sp. Helix aspersa	Terrestrial or marsh Terrestrial or marsh
II	Alpha u/s	Helix aspersa (fragmentary)	Terrestrial
I2	A 25/3I	Ceepea sp. Limnia sp.	Terrestrial or marsh Marsh or aquatic
I3	AE I30a	Ostrea edulis	Edible oyster
I4	W I29	Ostrea edulis	Edible oyster
I5	AE I57	Ostrea edulis	Edible oyster

KENCHESTER 1977-78

Mollusca



HWCM 119

SPQR 1-80