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THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Essex Archaeological Society was founded in 1852.

Its objects are:

- (1) To promote the study of the archaeology and history of the County of Essex.
- (2) To collect and publish the results of such studies in annual issues of *Transactions* and other publications.
- (3) To make researches, undertake excavations and field surveys, and assist in the preservation and recording of ancient monuments, earthworks, historic buildings, documents, and objects of archaeological interest and importance.
- (4) To provide library facilities for members and approved students.

Publications

The articles in its *Transactions* range over the whole field of local history. Back numbers and offprints are available; list and prices on application to the librarian. Libraries requiring complete runs can often be assisted.

Excavations

The Society is closely involved with excavations in the County. Details of current projects, on which help is usually welcome, are given in the Newsletter.

The Library

The library is housed at the Hollytrees, High Street, Colchester, and is extensive. It aims to include all books on local history, and has many runs of publications by kindred Societies. Full details of hours, etc., can be obtained from the Hon. Librarian.

Membership

Family and Affiliated Societies, £4. Institutional, £5.

Ordinary Members, £3.50.

Students, £2.

Application should be made to the Hon. Secretary.

Articles for Publication are welcome and should be set out to conform with the Notes for Contributors, of which offprints are available. They should be sent to the Hon. Editor.

A list of officers, with addresses, will be found on the inside back cover.

Cover by Barbara Wells, L.S.I.A.

Affiliated Societies in Essex

Chigwell Local History Society; The Essex Society for Family History; The Friends of Historic Essex; Ingatestone and Fryerning Historical and Archaeological Society; Saffron Walden Antiquarian Society; Saffron Walden Museum Society; Waltham Abbey Historical Society; West Essex Archaeological Group; Woodford and District Historical Society; Clavering Local History Group; AWRE Foulness Archaeological Society; Eton House School Archaeological Society, Thorpe Bay; Billericay Archaeological and Historical Society.

ESSEX
ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

THE TRANSACTIONS OF
THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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Editorial

Few, if any, countries are as rich as Britain in the number of their local historians and in the range of research workers, who, in addition to their own studies, give generously of their skill to help others. The lives of the great and the humble can be assessed through the written or remembered records of their actions and the material evidence of their habitations. Pen, camera, cassette, printing press, trowel, microscope, all are instruments in the understanding of the patchwork which begins with a flint on the shingle of Clacton, and ends (though it never really ends) in shared memories in the cottage parlour and personal keepsakes in the dusty trunk in the attic. Few counties too are as potentially rich as ours in the extent of such historical resources both above and below ground.

Research into this history is in itself a satisfying personal recreation, but it is also a recreation of material which can easily be sterilised in the notebook of the researcher. It is to further and propagate this work that this Society exists.

To this end we maintain a library, and this year's news of the generous grant from the Pilgrim Trust, and an equally generous offer of help from the County Council towards its professional cataloguing, is a welcome promise that its treasury of accumulated knowledge can be more readily made available to our membership.

To this end too we publish this journal, and our newsletter, so that our studies may be available not only to those who live in this tiny section of the earth's surface which we call Essex, but also to those who, throughout the world, find interest and inspiration in the results of our activities.

The Publications Committee has been giving thought to further development, seeking a greater degree of participation in their production and hoping that in due course we can all benefit by sharing in a united enterprise.

In future we plan to publish, in addition to the main articles and shorter notes, sections which will enable every member to contribute—with however modest an offering—towards our late-20th-century record of archaeology and history in Essex.

The following sections, with the names and addresses of those who have kindly agreed to collate them, have initially been proposed:

Archaeological Research and
Excavation
Church Archaeology

Miss Christine Couchman
c/o County Archaeological
Section, County Planning
Department, County Hall, Chelmsford

Aerial Reconnaissance
Historical Research

Miss Nancy Briggs
c/o County Record Office,
County Hall, Chelmsford

Personal History, Genealogy, etc.

Mrs. Jo-Ann Buck
Lindons, Alton Drive, Colchester

Industrial Archaeology

Mr. J. Booker
c/o County Record Office,
County Hall, Chelmsford

Essex Museums, News and Accessions

Mr. D. J. Jones
Chelmsford and Essex Museum
Oaklands Park, Chelmsford

Architecture: Vernacular, Restoration, etc.

Mr. M. Wadhams
c/o County Planning Department,
County Hall, Chelmsford

Suggestions or offers of help for further sections will be welcome, and intended contributions should be sent to the Section Editor as soon as they are written, and will be put together about September.

Members can also increase their participation in the Society's work by helping to compile lists of the vast resource of press-cuttings, printed ephemera, photographs and related material in the Society's library, as well, of course, as keeping a watchful and recording eye on historical or archaeological happenings in the area where they live.

No one can be complacent about our role as the chief publisher of Essex archaeology and history in a period of rapid change. A recent survey has shown that, considering archaeological excavations alone, out of the 158 excavations conducted since 1939 over 70 reports, some of them major ones, are now in preparation. New threats are also developing. The first is the irresponsible use of mine detectors for 'treasure hunting' which enjoys a high degree of public sympathy and profits from the ambiguity of the law. Though in itself having a useful potential, a growing list of ancient monuments, scheduled or otherwise, pitted with holes, indicates that the majority of the practitioners of the hobby are prompted by little other than financial incentives.

This underlines the second, and less obvious, threat, popularly stimulated in every sphere as the 'antique boom'. Again it seems harmless, indeed laudable, for what better than that the material objects of our culture should be sought out and preserved. Unfortunately the picture is not so simple. Dealers and collectors, who have long recognised that reliable provenance enhances the value of an oil painting, seem unable to appreciate that the same applies to humbler things. Even a bottle, dug from a rubbish tip, has something to tell us about distribution and consumption. So, day by day, the story of Britain is being destroyed by adulation, an adulation blind to the real value of the beloved.

We record, with honour and regret, the death of Leonard Dansie, formerly Alderman and Mayor of Colchester and for a quarter of a century Chairman of the Museum and Muniments Committee, and of M. R. (Rex) Hull, whose name is synonymous with Colchester. Both were Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. Dansie was a loyal supporter of this Society, and our debt to him is great. The celebrations marking the 1900th anniversary of the foundation of the *Colonia* blossomed under his encouragement and our activities profited continually from his wise guidance.

We plan to pay a suitable tribute to Rex Hull in the 1978 volume, and it is good to know that his life's work, a corpus of Romano-British brooches, will be published at about the same time.

Our membership now stands at 420 (May, 1977) and grows steadily. Undoubtedly this journal is read by many who are not members, and from them we would ask some positive gratitude. Support is survival.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ESSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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Braintree: Excavations and Research, 1971–76

Compiled by P. J. DRURY

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Introduction

The town of Braintree developed following the grant of a market charter to the Bishop of London, in whose manor it lay, in 1200. The site of this 'new town' was close to that of a Romano-British 'small town'; both owed their prosperity to the roads, largely Roman in origin, which converge on the ridge between the rivers Blackwater and Brain.

During the Roman period, there were many 'small towns'—large, superficially amorphous settlements of more than 8 ha—in the territory of the Trinovantes (Fig. 1). In recent years excavations have taken place within some of these settlements, particularly at Chelmsford (Drury, 1975), Wickford and, under the auspices of the Essex Archaeological Society, at Kelvedon, Heybridge, Great Dunmow, and Braintree. The information thus gained has been used by W. J. Rodwell in his preliminary study of the Trinovantian towns in their setting (Rodwell, 1975). However, before a detailed synthesis of the evidence can be undertaken, it is necessary to publish in detail both the recent excavations and the results of past observation and recording in each settlement.

and our own excavations, has enabled us to describe the form of the Roman settlement with some confidence, and to comment on the development of the medieval town. However, since relatively little of the information recorded in the past was included in the *Gazetteer in the Victoria County History* (III, 1963), and some entries therein are erroneous, a comprehensive gazetteer is included in this paper. Previously published evidence is reviewed, and other information published as fully as is reasonable. In this connection, the substantial number of items known to have been deposited in Colchester and Braintree Museums, but which cannot now be traced, is most regrettable.

The subsoil in Braintree is generally a variably sandy clay (usually called 'brickearth'), overlying clay-bound gravel. These form part of the glacial moraine deposits common to much of north Essex. The vicinity of modern Braintree seems to have been attractive to prehistoric settlement; there is Mesolithic and Bronze Age material recorded, the latter in appreciable quantity, as well as the finds of Iron Age and later date, with which we are concerned here (pp. 86-120 below).

A series of maps (facing page 138), with ancient features and find-spots overprinted in colour, serves to locate all the sites mentioned. Figure 2 shows the Roman roads and sites in the vicinity of the town, Fig. 3 the Romano-British 'small town', and Fig. 4 the town centre, with the excavated areas marked. The Harvard system of references is used where possible throughout, notes and a common bibliography appearing at the end.

Figure 1 was drawn (and kindly loaned) by W. J. Rodwell; Figs. 5-10 and 21-28 were drawn by Miss T. McCormick; Figs. 11-19, 32, 47 and 48 by Miss A. Rotheram; the Samian ware (Figs. 19 and 20) by Mrs. Kirsty Rodwell; Figs. 33-34 by Miss C. Simpson; Figs. 37-41, 44-46 and 50 by Miss L. Allason-Jones and Miss I. Thompson, and the remainder by the authors.

We are grateful to Warwick Rodwell for his comments on a draft of this paper; any remaining errors are the responsibility of the authors.

The Excavations

I. EXCAVATIONS AT 51-57 RAYNE ROAD (SITE E) by G. D. Pratt

Early in 1973, the properties 29-63 Rayne Road, Braintree, were acquired by Clearbrook Property Holdings Limited for redevelopment. Soon afterwards, trial trenching using a JCB3c excavator was undertaken by P. J. Drury, in order to estimate the archaeological potential of the site. Trenches 1-3 were cut to the east of the central access road (Site D) and Trench 4 was dug next to the then still-standing properties west of the access road (Fig. 4). It was clear that ancient features and levels survived on the road frontage only to the west of the access road; elsewhere, with the exception of the bottom of a ditch, extensive levelling and disturbance had removed all features. During July and August 1974, after the demolition of 51-57 Rayne Road, an area excavation was therefore undertaken by the writer, on behalf of the Essex Archaeological Society and the Department of the Environment, in the western part of the site.

An area of 609 m² was stripped adjacent to the road frontage, using a Drott Tractor-shovel. Even in the southern part of this area there was no stratification and few features; a small trench (Fig. 4, E1) further south proved sterile. On the road frontage stratified levels survived up to 0.5 m in thickness above the natural soil, whose surface was *c.* 10-15 cm above that of the present road. Thus it is clear that Rayne Road has here been eroded, probably during the medieval period; the eastern part of Site D has been lowered almost to road level.

The natural soil consists of an orange 'brickearth' 1.10-1.50 m thick, containing some flint: it overlies a mixture of bright orange clayey sand and gravel. The upper 0.40-0.70 m of the 'brickearth' tended to be clayey, in contrast to the lower levels which were more sandy and rather crumbly in texture.

Features were numbered 1–62 and layers 1–28; suffixes a, b, etc., represent separate but associated features, and layers within brackets, e.g. (L3), are layers recognised within features, (L1) being the final deposit in each case.

Our thanks are due to Clearbrook Property Holdings for permission to excavate, and for their interest in the work, which was financed by grants from the Department of the Environment. Braintree College of Further Education kindly provided accommodation for the excavators. Thanks are also due to the permanent excavation staff, Miss T. McCormick (planning), Miss J. Gabb and P. Hawley; and to the following specialists for their reports or assistance: L. Biek and Miss J. Bayley, Ancient Monuments Laboratory (technological materials and pigments); C. B. Burgess (bronze bracelet); Miss S. A. Butcher (brooches); Miss Dorothy Charlesworth (glass); Miss R. Luff and S. Cracknell (animal bones); Mrs. Elizabeth Healey (flints); F. Jenkins (pipeclay figurine); Mrs. C. A. Keepax, Ancient Monuments Laboratory (charcoal); Dr. W. H. Manning (iron objects); Martyn Owen, the Geological Museum (stone); Dr. D. P. S. Peacock (amphorae); Dr. Richard Reece (coins), W. J. Rodwell (Samian ware), and Dr. R. F. Tylecote (bloomery iron), and to Paul Drury who reported on the tile, advised on the coarse pottery, and provided help and encouragement in many other ways.

Description of the Excavated Features

Phase I (Fig. 5)

Layer 2 was a buried soil extant over the entire area south of the road ditch, F43 (Fig. 6, S1 and S3). On the west it was up to 0.20–0.25 m thick, decreasing to 0.15 m towards the east. The upper level, 0.10–0.15 m thick (L2, i), was grey clay loam, stony with charcoal specks and brickearth-coloured mottles; it contained much abraded Roman tile and pottery, and sherds of abraded 'Belgic' coarse wares. The lower level (L2, ii), a grey-orange loamy clay, very stony towards the bottom and with clay loam mottles, contained no finds, and was probably an unploughed subsoil. The upper level, however, seems to have been ploughed and its relationship to the ditch F43 deserves comment. Sections S1 and S3 (Fig. 6) show the ditch cutting L2; this, together with the abraded 'Belgic' sherds found within the soil, suggests that it was pre-Roman in origin. However, the Romano-British sherds in the plough-soil suggest that it continued in use into the Roman period. A slight bank, either a hedge bank or a remnant of ditch upcast, survived on the south side of the ditch; this presumably indicates the minimum area left unploughed after the ditch was dug, although the actual limit of ploughing to the south of this feature could not be defined in excavation. Layer 2 was extensively removed by machine towards the end of the excavation, but no features were found in the underlying natural brickearth.

A thin sterile buried soil, L28, 1–7 cm thick, was present in the north-west corner of the site; it comprised a pale orange, leached, rather soft sandy brickearth with only a little iron panning. On the north it had been disturbed prior to the deposit of L23; towards the north-east it was absent where deturfing had preceded the deposit of L13. If this was a remnant of the lower level of a soil similar to L2, as seems likely, the majority of the pre-existing soil must have been removed from the berm when the road was built, perhaps to form the agger. A small pit, F51, 0.20 m deep with a sterile fill of light grey silt with some cleaner orange brickearth mottles, was cut through L28.

The earliest undoubted Roman feature on the site was the ditch, F43, c. 1.70 m wide and 0.70–0.90 m deep, with a weathered profile; it ran east–west across the site. The upcast from the ditch did not survive; indeed, much of the primary filling of grey silt with brickearth mottles and darker grey charcoally silt patches was probably derived from it. There was no evidence of cleaning out. The upper fill was sterile, being the clean orange brickearth upcast from F43a, a recut which ran parallel to the original ditch. The recut was 1.50 m wide on the east increasing to 2.20 m on the west and 0.80–1.0 m deep, with a U-shaped profile. Its primary fill was less than

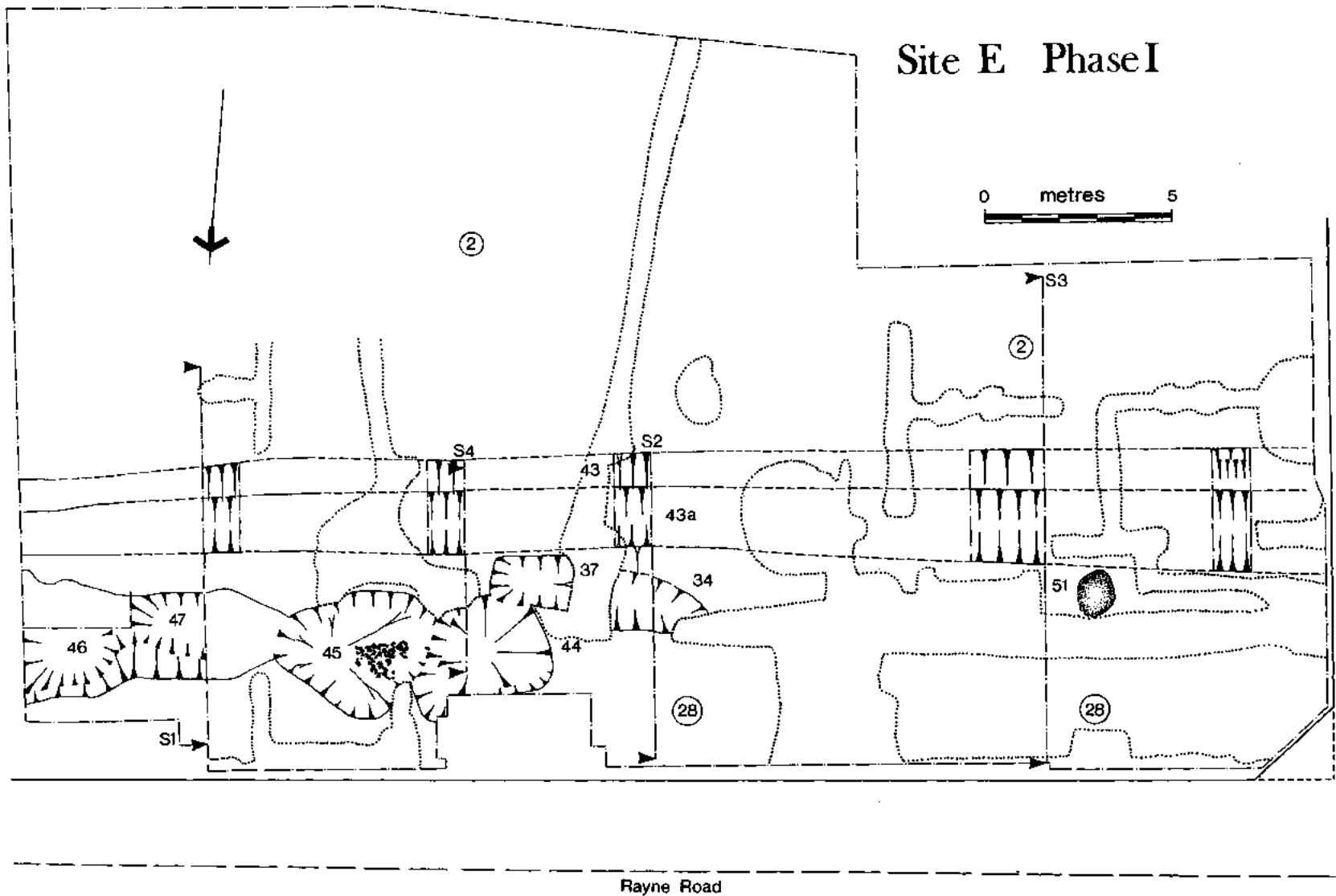


Fig. 5 Braintree: Site E, Phase I.

10 cm of very clayey silt with green staining. This small amount of silt suggests that it was cleaned out at least once. The upper fill was a dirty, fairly silty brickearth with patches and lenses of clean orange brickearth. However, in the eastern part of the ditch, the upper fill was much cleaner, contained less silty material and had subsided only 0.10–0.15 m, compared to 0.20–0.25 m elsewhere. This appears to have been a deliberate filling of the ditch prior to the laying of the gravel floor, L13, at the start of Phase II. Elsewhere the upper fill was probably a combination of natural and deliberate action. Four 1 m lengths and one 2 m length of both ditches were excavated and soil-marks planned where they were evident. The two ditches contained quantities of tile, pottery and animal bone.

In Trench 1, Site D, a truncated ditch was found which is probably to be equated with F43 (Fig. 4). It survived to a depth of 0.40 m, being filled with grey silt which yielded no finds in the small section examined. Ground-level in the area of the trench seems to have been substantially reduced during the past two centuries; to the west, post-medieval excavations for clay and gravel would have removed all trace of F43 in Trenches D2 and 3.

Features 34, 37, 44, 45, 46 and 47 appeared north of the road ditches, towards the eastern part of the site; they were 0.25 m, 0.40 m, 0.40 m, 0.43 m, 0.60 m, and 0.78 m deep respectively. The bottom of these pits coincided with the interface between the upper clayey brickearth and the lower more sandy variety. Features 46 and 47 were deeper than the rest, reflecting the fact that the thickness of the upper brickearth increased from 0.40 m near F37 to 0.60–0.70 m in their vicinity. All had a primary fill of 0.10–0.15 m of slightly dirty, pale silt. Other than features 37 and 34, all had a deliberate upper fill of green-brown slightly loamy sand; F44 also contained some clay and gravel. Feature 37 lacked this upper fill and F34 had slightly loamy brickearth-derived silt in its place. The significance of this will be discussed under Phase II below.

These six features were clearly pits dug for the clayey brickearth, necessary for the construction and maintenance of timber-framed buildings with wattle-and-daub infilling. Features 44 and 45 each had a shallow side to the south but a near-vertical face 0.40 m high—probably a working face—on the north. A number of flint cobbles were found on the bottom of F45, sealed by its lower fill. The pits were generally sealed by L13, deposited at the start of Phase II. However, since their fillings merged it is not clear whether they represent intermittent clay diggings during Phase I or a single spate of activity.

Dating evidence. Unfortunately the sigillata from the original ditch (listed below, p. 38) was not very helpful for dating, but F43, whether it was the original ditch or an enlargement on its exact line should have been open by *c.* A.D. 60, and probably stayed in use until the 2nd century. A fragment of form 18 from pit 16, stamped OFCHRE and dated *c.* A.D. 50–65 may well have come from the original road ditch, since F16 was cut through it.

The recut road ditch, with Antonine sigillata in its lower fill and late Antonine sigillata in its upper fill, was probably dug in the first quarter of the 2nd century and was open until the last years of that century. There is scant evidence from the clay pits but the lack of pre-2nd-century coarse pottery would be consistent with a date similar to that of the recut ditch. However, the pits could have been dug at any time during the late 1st or 2nd century.

Phase II (Fig. 7)

At the start of Phase II, after deturfing and the deliberate back-filling of part of the road ditch and the silted clay pits, Building A was constructed on a gravel platform, L13. This layer was generally a 5–10 cm thickness of small gravel in a loamy sand matrix; it extended to the limit of excavation on the north and east and became much thinner to the south and west, where it terminated in an indistinct edge. The south edge was probably blurred by later ploughing but the western limit appeared genuine. Probably contemporary with L13 was a small area of flint metalling in the subsidence hollow above F37; L23 also seemed to be contemporary with L13, merging with it. It was laid directly on top of the buried soil in the western part of the site, and

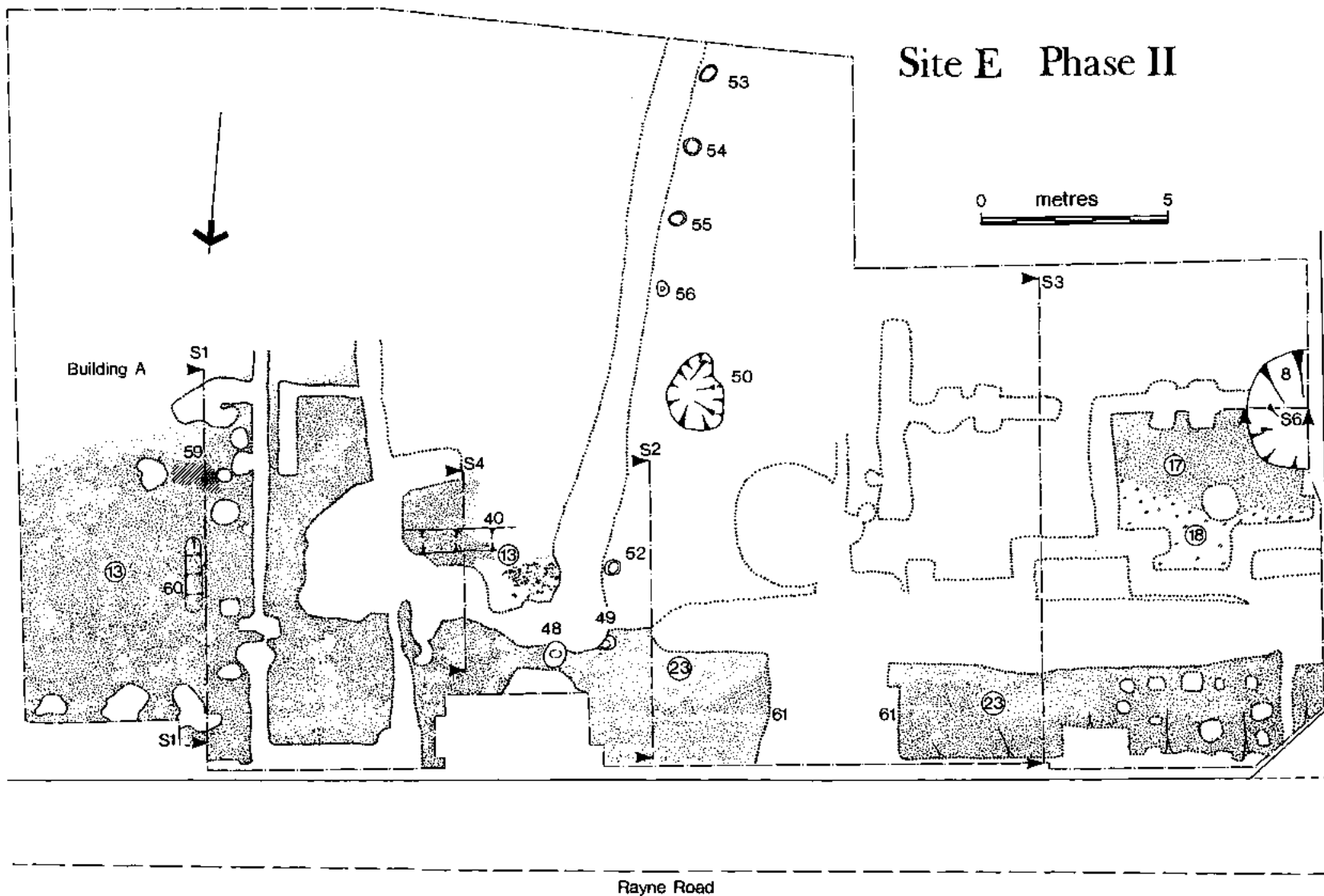


Fig. 7 Braintree: Site E, Phase II.

comprised 8–12 cm of gravel in a loamy sand matrix, having much clean sand and brickearth in its lower levels. Along the northern limit it had a fairly compact surface, and had been laid with a camber on top of a slight bank, *c.* 0.10 m high, formed from the buried soil. A slight east–west depression, almost devoid of gravel, was apparent in L23; it was 0.15–0.20 m wide and 8 m long (F61).

At this time or slightly later a fence was erected, probably to define the western edge of the plot occupied by Building A. Post-holes 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55 and 56 survived to depths of 0.20 m, 0.28 m, 0.17 m, 0.15 m, 0.16 m, 0.18 m and 0.14 m respectively. They were spaced approximately at 2 m intervals, with a gap of *c.* 8 m between F52 and F56.

Features associated with the gravel platform were a small hearth F59, consisting of an area of burnt gravel with the natural soil burnt red to a depth of 1–2 cm beneath, and slots F40 and F60. Feature 40 was a linear depression, 4–5 cm deep in the gravel L13, not deliberately dug but apparently due to a ground-laid cill compressing the underlying fill of the road ditch, F.43. Feature 60 was a deliberate trench cut through L13, 8–12 cm deep. Its south end was clear but subsidence of the gravel platform generally had obliterated the north end, although its length was probably *c.* 2 m.

Feature 8 was contemporary with the use of Building A, and was probably dug soon after its construction; it was a large flat-bottomed pit, *c.* 1 m deep with fairly steep sides. It had a lower fill (L2) of dirty, slightly loamy, clay with loamy silt patches (Fig. 6, S6). The upper fills were deposited in subsequent phases and will be described below. Feature 8 was cut through the natural brickearth and bottomed on the underlying sand and gravel mixture. The sides showed little or no sign of weathering. The pit may well have been timber lined, the dirty clay lower fill probably being the remains of collapsed packing. Associated with F8 was L18—5–30 cm of almost sterile dirty clay with loam pockets—which lay in the hollow of the backfilled road ditch; it was thicker near F8, and almost certainly upcast from it. Layer 18 was sealed by L17, an area of well-trodden clayey gravel metallage, which ran up to the edge of the pit, and was probably associated with its use. It may have been derived from the final upcast from the pit.

Feature 50 was a pit which, like F8, lay to the west of the plot boundary. It was 0.4 m deep, with a lower fill of grey brickearth-derived silt and an upper fill of similar material with much gravel and charcoal. It had a shallow profile and may well have been dug as a clay pit. The gravel in the top may have been the remnant of an extensive spread deposited in Phase III. Towards the end of Phase II, L16 (5–10 cm of gravel-free brickearth-derived silt with some brickearth patches and containing substantial quantities of domestic debris) was deposited in the subsidence hollow above the backfilled road ditch west of the plot boundary.

Feature 34, one of the partly silted Phase I clay pits, was not sealed by L13, but was filled with slightly loamy brickearth-derived silt during this phase.

Dating evidence. The sigillata from this phase (listed below, pp. 39–40) would appear to confirm a date in the last quarter of the 2nd century for the start of Phase II, i.e. the construction of Building A. However, as Warwick Rodwell points out (below, p. 42), the sigillata alone cannot give a close date for the end of this phase. Thus, one must rely on the fairly worn coin of Geta (p. 16) deposited on the reflooring layer 20 (Phase IIa) to suggest a date of *c.* A.D. 225 (certainly no later than *c.* A.D. 240) for the end of Phase II. This is confirmed by the presence of good non-residual groups of sigillata deposited during Phase II (Layer 16 and Feature 8, lower fill; p. 40, below). However, some of the reflooring in Building A may have taken place towards the end of Phase II, i.e. *c.* A.D. 215.

Phase IIa (Fig. 8)

In this phase Building A continued in use while a compound or enclosure was formed in the western area of the site. It was defined by two ditches; F4, which ran parallel to the road, and F41 which supplemented or replaced the earlier fence and approximately followed its alignment. A gap of *c.* 1 m was apparent between the butt ends of the two ditches. Feature 4 was 0.50 m deep and

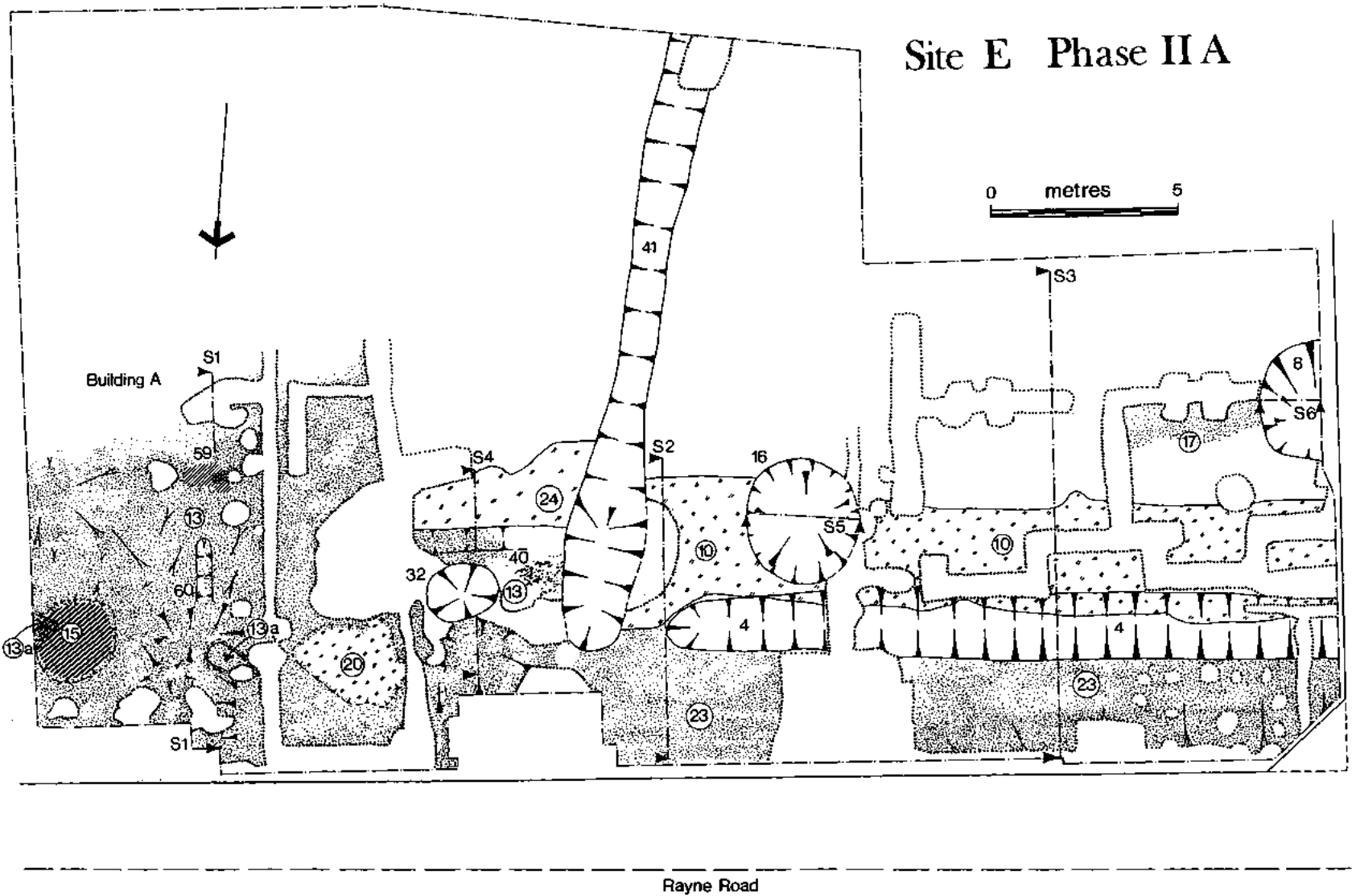


Fig. 8 Braintree: Site E, Phase IIa.

1.50–2.00 m wide, with a fairly weathered profile. It had a primary fill of dirty loamy brickearth which, due to its even thickness on the sides and bottom, gave the impression that the ditch had been cleaned out at least once. Layer 10, 0.10–0.20 m of sterile clean orange brickearth, was clearly the upcast from the ditch, which was deliberately levelled when the compound went out of use at the end of Phase IIa (Fig. 6, S3). Apart from defining the northern limit of the enclosure, F4 would have helped to drain the road, and may well have been dug with this intention, despite an interval during Phase II in which no ditch existed here.

Feature 41 was 0.30 m deep and 1.10 m wide over most of its length, but 0.40–0.50 m deep and 2.0 m wide at its terminal. The filling of the southern section was loamy brickearth-derived silt, with a more silty brickearth-mottled primary fill. The north end had a similar lower fill but the upper filling, probably part of L14, was loamy sand with some oyster shell and brickearth patches, deposited at the end of Phase IIa. It is apparent, therefore, that the north end of the ditch was cleaned out and consequently widened during this phase. In contrast, the southern section showed no sign of having been cleaned and may well have been allowed to silt after a short interval.

Layer 24, 0.15–0.20 m of clean orange, slightly gravelly brickearth, lay to the east of F41 and sealed L13, which here had subsided into the backfilled road ditch. It ran up to the south side of the timber impression F40, and its north edge suggests the line of a wall or partition of Building A. Layer 24 was probably upcast from the ditch 41, or the recutting of its north end; it survived in the subsidence hollow of the earlier road ditches. However, it may have been the continuation of L10 (upcast from F4) although dissimilar in character. No relationship existed between the two ditches, although the recut of F41 cut through the upcast from F4; yet on the evidence of the plan it seems probable that they were broadly contemporary. However, whereas F41 was mostly allowed to silt, F4 was probably kept clear during much of this phase. The upper fill of dark clay-loam was visually indistinguishable from the filling of the post holes of the Phase II fence. It seems probable, therefore, that this feature continued in use alongside F41 during Phase IIa.

Feature 16, a pit just over 3.0 m in diameter, *c.* 1.20 m deep and steep-sided, was dug through the upcast of F4 during Phase IIa. It was almost certainly timber lined, since its lower fill, of dirty brickearth with lenses of grey charcoally silty clay, also appeared on the sides in a number of patches, up to 0.15 m thick, presumably the remains of packing (Fig. 6, S5). Feature 16, which was dug after F4, probably replaced or supplemented F8.

In the eastern area a small pit, F32 (*c.* 0.25 m deep) was dug, cutting L13, apparently inside Building A. However, as it contained sherds of apparently later date, particularly Fig. 22, No. 39, it may have been dug early in Phase III. It had a lower fill of dirty brickearth with patches of black clay-loam. The upper fill, of dark clay-loam, was indistinguishable from material sealing the flint metalling of L13, the latter having subsided into F37. Indeed, the gravel platform, L13, subsided into all the back-filled clay pits, probably soon after the construction of Building A. Over F46, the floor was made up with L15, a mixture of brickearth and gravel with some sand (0.15–0.25 m thick) partly surfaced with gravel L13A. Over F47, where L13 had subsided *c.* 30 cm, the level was built up with about 10 cm of clean brown sand, L21, surfaced with patches of the gravel L13A (see Fig. 6, S1). Subsidence over F45 was made up with L21, 1–4 cm thick, surfaced with clean brickearth, L20. The subsidence over F44 and the eastern end of F43 and F43A was not made up, although the level dropped 0.10–0.15 m. Towards the end of Phase IIa, L5 (5–10 cm of black clay-loam) was deposited over L10, and similar material was deposited in F4 as (L2), and in F8.

The end of this phase was marked by the demise of the compound, the clay upcast from the ditch, L10, being levelled into the partly filled ditch, F4 (Fig. 6).

Dating evidence:

F8 (L1), 0.30 m deep

Coins

Postumus, 259–268, RIC 64; unworn.

Valerian I, 253–259, RIC as 137; slightly worn.

As discussed previously (p. 8) Phase IIa began *c.* 220-235; on the basis of the above coins and, to a larger extent, the pottery (below, pp. 47-49), this phase ended *c.* 260-275. Features 41; F4 (L3); F16 (L1, 2, 3, 4); L15 and L20 all contained Samian of Antonine date but, as Warwick Rodwell points out below, this is not helpful as dating evidence.

Phase III (Figs. 9, 10)

Towards the start of Phase III, Building A was demolished and its irregular platform covered with clean brown slightly loamy sand, L14, which also filled the butt end of F41. Sand (L22) was also laid along the north of the site, partly covering the gravel, L23.

Building B was then erected in the western part of the site. Post-holes 13, 14, 35, 22, 21, 23 and 20 (0.22 m, 0.24 m, 0.20 m, 0.10 m, 0.11 m, 0.12 m, and 0.19 m deep respectively) appeared to define the eastern wall of the building and all were filled with L7, a floor occupation deposit. Features 10, 15 and 9 (0.24 m, 0.25 m and 0.38 m deep respectively) all cut L5 (Phase IIa) and were filled with disturbed L5 material. Timber slots 11 (0.38 m deep) and 12 (0.25 m deep) were filled with material indistinguishable from L5. Patches of a brickearth and gravel floor survived as Layers 4 and 9b, 3-5 cm thick, and partly covered by L9, a re-flooring in brickearth with much gravel along the inside of the eastern wall. Layer 6 was a gravel metalling, 5 cm thick, which survived in two places in the western part of the building.

Early in the life of this building, a thick (0.10-0.15 m) level of chalky boulder clay, F33, was laid over the original floor, where it had subsided into the backfilled pit, F16. The chalky boulder clay was lightly burnt on its western edge. Another patch of chalky boulder clay, F62, 3-5 cm thick, occurred between post-holes 9 and 15. A deposit (L7, some 3-5 cm thick), consisting of black clay loam with much charcoal and brickearth (fired and unfired), was found sealing L9, L9b and F33 in the eastern part of the building. To the south and east of Building B was a fence or structure represented by features 17, 26, 25, 24, 19, 18 and 58 (0.32 m, 0.17 m, 0.17 m, 0.07 m, 0.04 m, 0.12 m, and 0.12 m deep respectively), partly following the line of the back-filled ditch, F41. Feature 17 was a slot filled with black clay-loam, much charcoal and fired clay, apparently representing the position of a former timber, flanked and underlain by grey loamy brickearth packing, 5-7 cm thick. The remaining features, all post-holes, were filled with a material similar to the upper filling of F17. Feature 28, to the south-east, was 10 cm deep and had a similar fill.

On the eastern part of the site, L11, consisting of 3-8 cm of black silty clay-loam with a little charcoal and fired clay (similar to L7) was deposited over the sand make-up, L14.

The significance of these deposits will be discussed below (pp. 64-65).

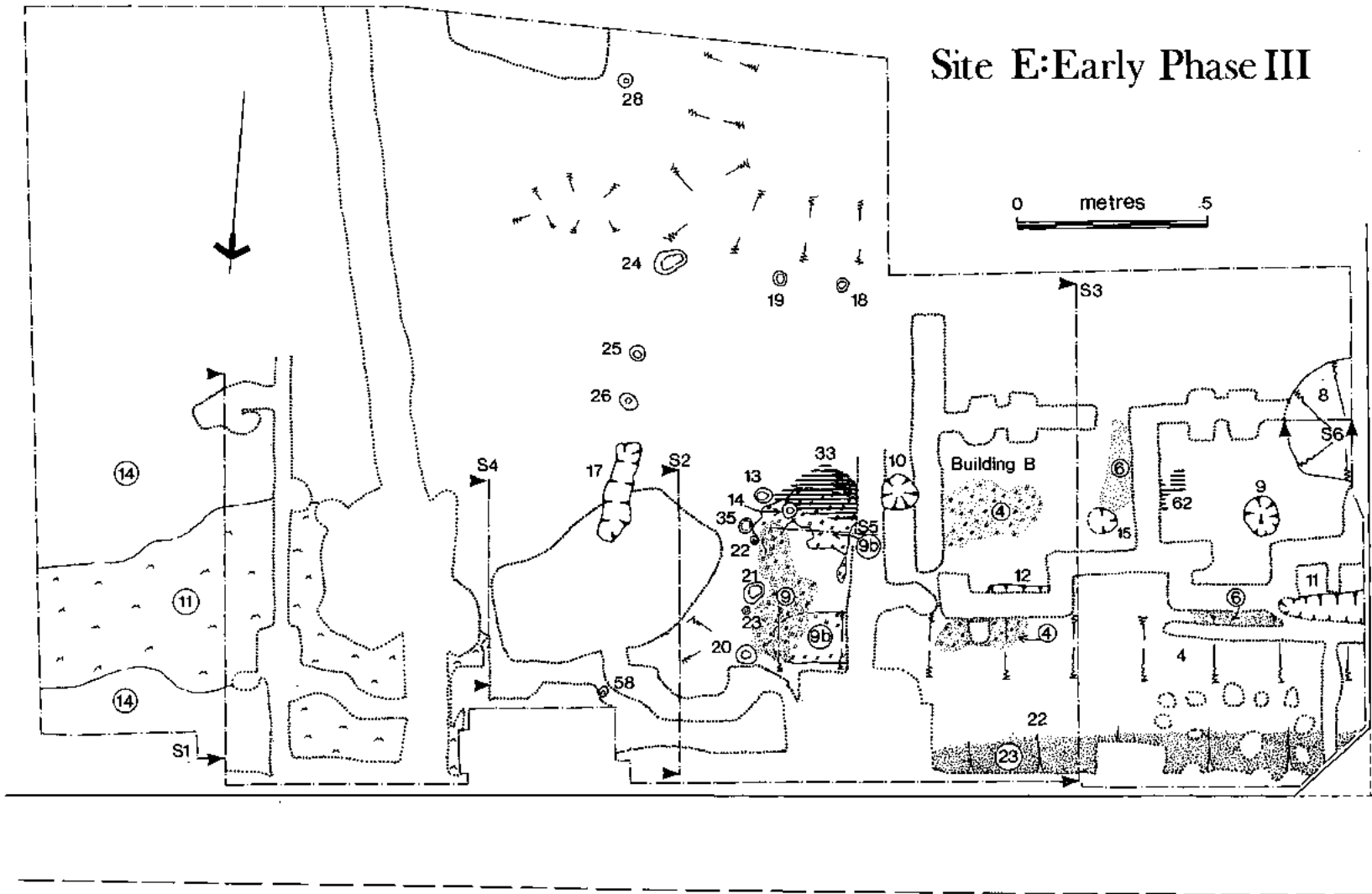
Dating evidence for the early part of Phase III is as follows:

L4 (Surface)	<i>Coins</i> Gallienus, 260-268, RIC 282; very worn.
L6 (Surface)	Claudius II, 268-270, As RIC 34; slightly worn. Tetricus III, 270-273, RIC 270; fairly worn.
L11	Barbarous Radiate, 270-290; slightly worn.

The original floor-levels in Building B, Layers 4 and 6, appear to have been in use before the end of the 3rd century and certainly by the first decade of the 4th century. Layer 11 was probably deposited at this time.

Some time after the deposition of L11, and after levelling with 3-5 cm of brickearth, L12, the area east of Building B was extensively metalled with 6-10 cm of gravel and tile in a clay loam matrix, L3. This was greatly disturbed by post-medieval features, ploughing and gardening, and it is likely that its southern and eastern limits were thus affected. To the west, L3 was extant up to Building B and merged with its clay and gravel floor L9, whilst to the north, it existed up to the limit of excavation. Layer 3 had a fairly loose loamy surface, due either to a great deal of use or to disturbance (Fig. 10).

Site E: Early Phase III



Rayne Road

Fig. 9 Braintree: Site E, Early Phase III.

Site E: Phase III Onwards

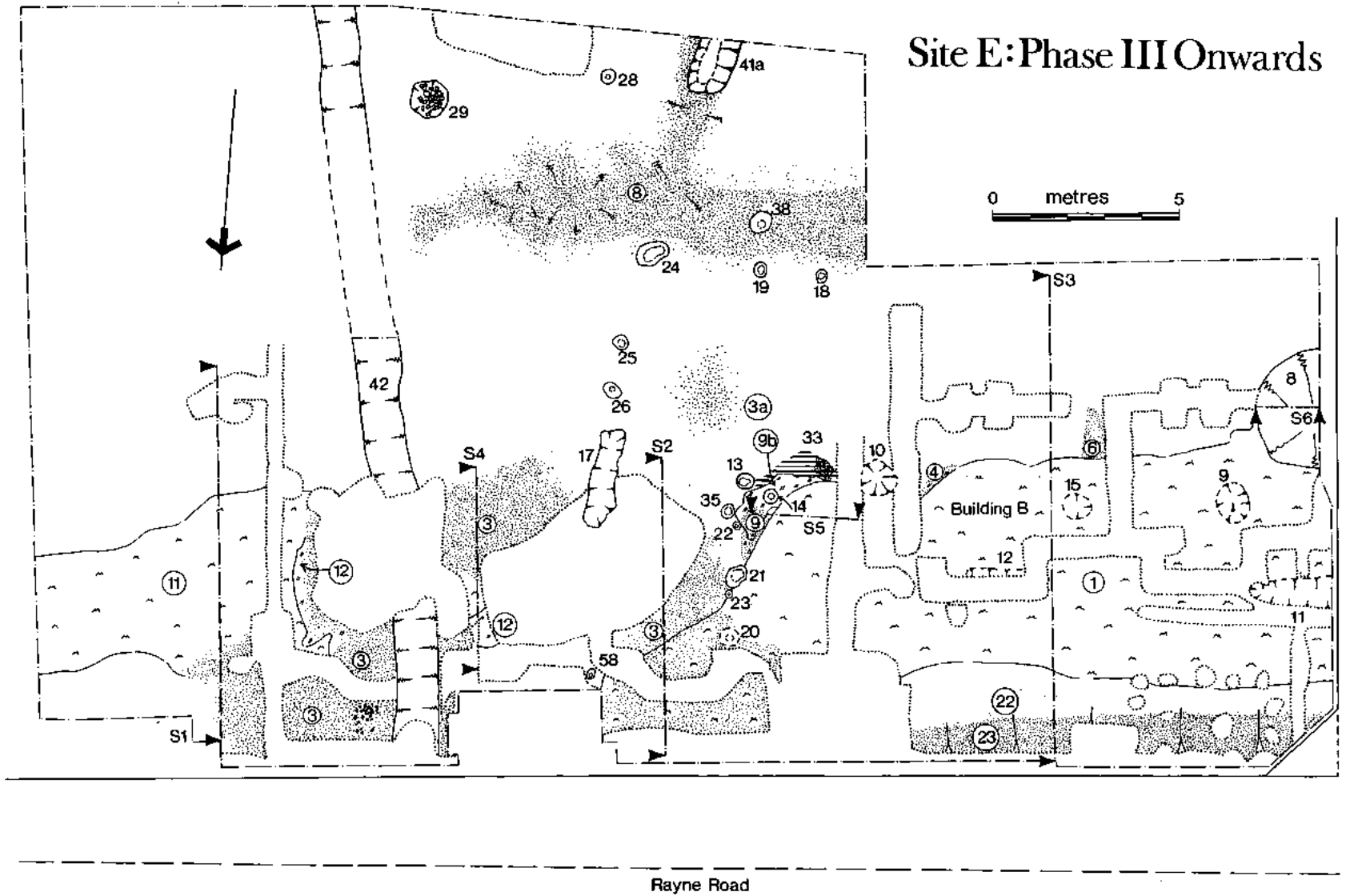


Fig. 10 Braintree: Site E, Phase III onwards.

Layer 8, 4–7 cm of gravel and flints containing some large stones and tile, and with a good unbroken surface, was deposited south of the enclosure fence, probably at the same time as L3. Apart from an area which had subsided into the back-filled F41, L8 survived only in a linear hollow, some 1.75 m wide, and all its limits appeared to be disturbed by ploughing. To the west this hollow was 0.10 m deep whereas to the east, where it ended, it was 0.15–0.18 m deep; here L8 had a slightly dished surface. Therefore, it seems likely that early in Phase III a track, running east–west along the back of the enclosure fence, had resulted in a slight hollow-way. This was probably superseded by the deposition of an extensive area of gravel, of which L3 and L8 are remnants. This would have lain south and east of Building B and may have run up to the road. It should also be noted that the gravelly level surviving in the top levels of F50 (see Phase II), shown as L3a on Fig. 10, may be indicative of a spread of gravel within the enclosed area, elsewhere removed by ploughing.

Features 41a and 38 were cut through L8 later in this phase. Feature 41a (0.45 m deep) was a slot filled with dark grey, slightly clayey loam with gravel, from which a timber appeared to have been removed, with grey loam packing and a lower fill of charcoally clay loam. Feature 38 was a post-hole 15 cm deep, filled with slightly loamy brickearth and charcoal mottles.

Towards the end of Phase III, L1, 5–15 cm of black slightly clayey loam containing much domestic debris, fired clay, smithing slag, iron objects and charcoal, accumulated within Building B. This deposit spread outside the building and partly sealed L3; it also accumulated in the subsidence hollows of features 4 and 8 and its northern limit may represent the north wall of Building B. No Roman features cut L1.

Feature 29 was a shallow pit, 0.15 m deep, containing a bed of large, well-packed flints sealed by 3–10 cm of chalky boulder clay, charcoal and fired clay. Some of the flints were burnt, but not *in situ*. The only possibly associated finds were four fused Roman coins of uncertain date found at a level some 0.10–0.12 m above the bottom of the medieval plough-soil, L2.

Dating evidence for the final Roman occupation of the site is as follows:

	<i>Coins</i>
L3	Claudius II, 268–270, as RIC 79; very worn. Barbarous Radiate, 270–290; very worn. House of Constantine, 330–345, HK copy as 87; very worn. House of Constantine, 330–345, HK copy as 87; slightly worn.
F11	Constantinopolis, 330–335, HK 86; fairly worn.
F8 (L1)	House of Constantine, 337–341, HK as 252; slightly worn. Constantius II, 337–341, HK 251; unworn.
L1 (Upper levels)	Magnentius, 350–353, CK copy as 49; fairly worn. House of Constantine, 345–348, HK as 137; very worn. House of Constantine, 330–360; slightly worn. House of Constantine, 350–360, CK copy as 25; fairly worn. House of Constantine, 320–324, RK 7 as Lon. 275; fairly worn. Urbs Roma, 330–345, HK 503; slightly worn. Urbs Roma, 330–335, HK 65; slightly worn. Constans, 337–341, HK 588; unworn.

Constantius II, 337-341, HK 126; unworn.
 Crispus, 320-324, RIC 7 Lon. 275; unworn.
 Crispus, 320-324, RIC 7 Lon. 211; slightly worn.
 Constantine I, 320-324, as RIC 7 Lon. 267;
 worn.

(For earlier coins from L1 see pp. 16-17, below.)

Layer 3, the metalling east of Building B, was deposited during the first quarter of the 4th century, probably *c.* 320. The dating evidence suggests that it continued in use whilst L1 was being deposited (i.e. *c.* 340 until at least *c.* 360-370) and the pottery evidence is consistent with such a terminal date (see pp. 45-46, below). Later Roman material was confined to a coin of the House of Theodosius (388-402) and a late Roman buckle (p. 19), the former from the medieval ditch, F42, and the latter unstratified.

Post-Roman Activity (Fig. 10)

The only post-Roman feature of any interest was F42. It was a ditch 0.45 m deep and 1.20 m wide, filled with a fairly gravelly grey clay-loam, containing 13th-century pottery and peg-tile in its lower silt, and small abraded Roman sherds in all levels. It was an agricultural field ditch, probably 13th century or earlier in origin and possibly open until much later, since the upper levels must have been removed by ploughing. The difference in alignment between this and the Romano-British plot boundary ditch, F41, is quite marked.

Post-Roman use of the site appears to have been agricultural until the construction of houses *c.* 1910. The foundations of these, as well as gardening and ploughing, had disturbed the upper Roman levels to a great extent. The survival of up to 0.80 m of stratigraphy along the northern end of the excavated area seems to have been due largely to its having been within the headland of the field in the medieval and post-medieval periods.

The Finds

I. THE COINS by Richard Reece

Judging solely from the coin list there would seem to be the possibility of Roman occupation from somewhere in the later 2nd century onwards. The very worn coins of Domitian and Trajan could still be in circulation after the year 200, so it is the less-worn coins of Marcus Aurelius that are of more use in beginning the coin-using history of the site. The only remarkable detail in the list is the concentration in the early- to mid-3rd century, a period badly represented on nearly all other British sites. These coins were all deposited in Phase III contexts and it is almost impossible that the general losses in Phase III, dating after *c.* 275, should contain so many coins of before 259, and so few after that date. This strongly suggests that some of these coins found in Phase III contexts are part of a scattered hoard or other deposit disturbed and redeposited in the later 3rd century. If these coins do not come from a scattered hoard, but are in fact redeposited single losses, then there is a need for some unusual activity on the site in the early 3rd century to explain them. At present the only obvious parallel is with coins from the cemetery in Cirencester.

So far as the terminal date of the occupation is concerned, the coins of the House of Constantine would probably supply the site until the 350s and the Magnentius follows this. However, coins of the House of Valentinian (364-78) are absent. It thus seems that the joint evidence of pottery (pp. 45-46) and coins suggests very little activity on the site after the middle of the 4th century. The only later coin is of the House of Theodosius (388-402), which may be explained as a casual loss in the vicinity, it having been found in a medieval field ditch, F42.

COIN LIST

1 Domitian	81-96	Sestertius rev. illegible	Unstratified
1 Trajan	98-117	Sestertius rev. illegible	Unstratified
1 Faustina I	140-160	As rev. illegible	Unstratified
2 Marcus Aurelius	161-180	As RIC 898	L8, Mid-late Phase III
	161-180	RIC 1006	Upper levels of L1, Late Phase III
1 Commodus	180-192	Sestertius rev. illegible	Unstratified
1 Caracalla	196-211	RIC 149	F4 (L1), Phase III
1 Geta	200-202	RIC 9a plated	L20, Late Phase IIa
1 Julia Mamaea	222-235	RIC 351	Upper levels of L1, Late Phase III
1 Elagabalus	218-222	RIC 23	L1 (5-10 cm), Phase III
1 Severus Alexander	222-235	RIC 27	L1 (5-10 cm), Phase III
1 Gordian III	238-244	RIC 86	L1 (5-10 cm), Phase III
2 Valerian I	253-259	RIC 98	F8 (L1, 30 cm), Early Phase III
	253-259	RIC as 137	Upper Levels of L1, Late Phase III
1	Mid 3rd c.	Corroded	L2, Disturbed levels
3	2nd-3rd c.	Corroded	F29, ? Phase III
1 Gallienus	260-268	RIC (sole reign) 282	Surface of L4, Early Phase III
2 Claudius II	268-270	As RIC 34	Surface of L6, Early Phase III
	268-270	As RIC 79	L3, Mid-Late Phase III
1 Postumus	259-268	RIC 64	F8 (L1, 30 cm), Early Phase III
1 Tetricus I	270-273	RIC 102	Unstratified
2 Tetricus II	270-273	Rev. uncertain	L1, Phase III
	270-273	RIC 270	Surface of L6, Early Phase III
3 Barbarous Radiates	270-290	Rev. from Sacrificial Implements	L11, Early Phase III
	270-290	Rev. from Sacrificial Implements	L3, Mid-Late Phase III
	270-290	Rev. from Spes	L1 (5-10 cm), Phase III
1 Carausius	286-293	As RIC 878	Unstratified
1 Constantine I	320-324	As RIC 7 Lon. 267	L1, Phase III
2 Crispus	320-324	RIC 7 Lon. 211	L1 (5-10 cm), Phase III
	320-324	RIC 7 Lon. 275	L1, Phase III

2 Constantius II	337-341	HK 126	L1 (0-5 cm), Late Phase III
	337-341	HK 251	F8 (L1), Phase III
1 Constans	337-341	HK 588	L1 (0-5 cm), Late Phase III
2 Constantinopolis	330-335	HK 59	Unstratified
	330-335	HK 86	F11, Phase III
2 Urbs Roma	330-335	HK 65	L1 (5-10 cm), Phase III
	330-345	HK 503	L1, Phase III
8 House of Constantine	320-324	RIC 7 as Lon. 275	L1, Phase III
	330-345	HK copy as 87	Surface of L3, Mid-Late Phase III
	330-345	HK copy as 87	F42 (30 cm), Medieval Field Ditch
	330-345	HK copy as 87	L3, Mid-Late Phase III
	345-348	HK as 137	L1, Phase III
	337-341	HK as 252	F8 (L1), Phase III
	350-360	CK copy as 25	L1, Phase III
1 Magnentius	330-360	Rev. uncertain	L1, Phase III
	350-353	CK copy as 49	L1, Phase III
	388-402	CK as 394	F42, Medieval Field Ditch
1 House of Theodosius			
1	3rd-4th c.	Corroded and illegible	Unstratified

II. OBJECTS OF NON-FERROUS METAL, BONE, FIRED CLAY AND STONE

A. Objects of Bronze

- Fig. 11.1 Fibula, originally with a six-turn spring, now broken. Miss S. A. Butcher has kindly identified it as an example of *Camulodunum* Type IV, usually found in deposits dated c. A.D. 50-100. From L13: II, c. 190-230.
- Fig. 11.2 Bracelet, of unusual hollow form; the decoration is curiously asymmetrical, with a grooved helical decoration over most of its length, cross-hatching at one end and four parallel grooves at the other. From the upper levels of L1: Late III, c. 330-370. The general form and appearance of this object suggests the possibility of its belonging to the Bronze Age, but since close parallels are lacking no further comment can usefully be made at present.
- Fig. 11.3 Bracelet, formed of three strands of bronze wire. L1: Late III, c. 330-370. A short length of a similar bracelet came from L5: IIa-III, c. 260-300.
- Fig. 11.4 Part of a bracelet similar to 3 but formed of two strands of wire; part of the hook fastening survives at one end. Upper levels of L1: Late III, c. 330-370.
- Fig. 11.5 Part of a ribbon-strip bracelet decorated with dot-in-circle motifs in groups of five, interspersed with punched notches; the hook fastening remains on the intact end. L1: III, c. 330-370. A common late Roman type.
- Fig. 11.6 Oval-section rod, partly twisted, broken at both ends. It is not clear whether it is part of an object, for example a handle, or whether it was 'work in progress'—a rod being twisted in order to make (for example) a bracelet. L1: III, c. 330-370.
- Fig. 11.7 Segment of a ribbon-strip bracelet, undecorated, half-round in section. L1: Early III, c. 290-330.

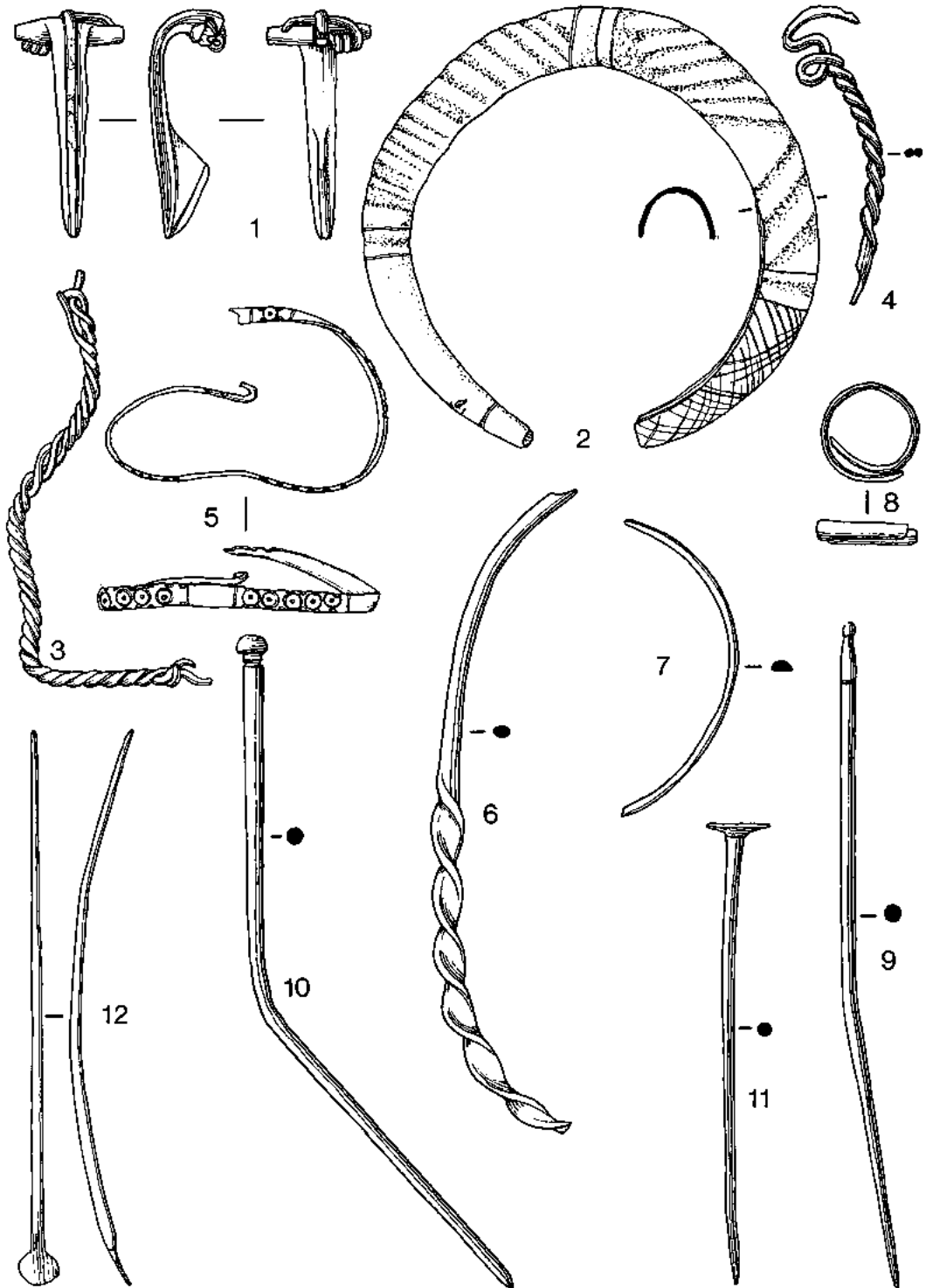


Fig. 11 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Bronze, 1-12. Scale 1:1.

- Fig. 11.8 A small finger-ring (probably for a child), apparently formed from part of a plain ribbon-strip bracelet. Unstratified. For similar examples from Shakenoak, see Brodrick, Hands, and Walker (1971), Fig. 50, Nos. 111-113, all later 3rd century. A similar ring, 5 × 15 mm in section, came from L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.
- Fig. 11.9 Pin, broken at tip, with a small roughly formed head and a groove near the top of the shank. F34: IIa, *c.* 230-275.
- Fig. 11.10 Pin with a large, slightly flattened, grooved head. L14: Late IIa, *c.* 260-275.
- Fig. 11.11 Thin pin or (probably) nail with flat undecorated head. F4 (L3): IIa, *c.* 230-275.
- Fig. 11.12 Ligula with flat scoop and undecorated handle. L11: Early III, *c.* 280-330.
- Fig. 12.13 Tweezers and probe joined by a small split-ring. The tweezers are of the usual type; the probe has a loop for attachment to the ring, a forked end, and retains traces of tinning or silvering. F4 (L2): Early III, *c.* 280-330.
- Fig. 12.14 Stud with large undecorated head and shank of square section. Unstratified.
- Fig. 12.15 Undecorated stud with domed head, shank broken off. One of three examples from L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.
- Fig. 12.16 Garter hook formed in thin sheet bronze; fastened by a rivet to leather, a fragment of which survives between the two pieces of metal. These objects have recently been discussed by Brown (1976), who illustrates one plain example similar to ours (Fig. 3.2, No. 19) and two with incised decoration (Fig. 3.2, Nos. 18, 20) from Cirencester. He suggests a date-range between the 7th and 11th centuries. Our example is from disturbed levels of L2, and thus seems likely to have been introduced during medieval agricultural activity.
- Fig. 12.17 Bronze plate, originally rectangular with central rivet towards one end; unknown use. L5: IIa/III, *c.* 260-300. Many fragments of bronze sheet offcuts and binding were found.
- Fig. 12.18 Fragmentary buckle decorated with two confronted but debased dolphins' heads; unstratified. It is part of a late Romano-British buckle of Hawkes and Dunning (1961), Type 1A, and finds a close parallel in an example recently published from Portchester (Cunliffe, 1975, Fig. 110, No. 13). These buckles seem to have been manufactured during the last three decades of the 4th century, and possibly during the early 5th (Hawkes, 1974, 387). The fact that the dolphins' heads are executed in such a stylised manner may suggest that this example belongs relatively late in the evolution of the type. No signs of wear are discernible. (P.J.D.)
- Fig. 12.19 Key handle with suspension loop; two parallel grooves run around the base. Shank broken away completely. For a similar example from Wroxeter, see Atkinson, 1942, 210 (No. 11). Unstratified.
- Fig. 12.20 Rim of bronze vessel; inside shows signs of tinning or silvering and horizontal lines. The remains of solder under the rim may indicate where the handle was attached. Upper levels of L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.
- Fig. 12.21 Bronze ring, uncertain use. Unstratified.

B. Objects of Silver

- Fig. 12.22 An object, almost certainly the applied plate of a disc brooch, in base silver. It has a raised border of pellets; within the central field alternating designs radiate from a circle. The back is much corroded. Miss S. A. Butcher notes that similar borders of pellets or beads are common but the central design in this example is somewhat unusual; possibly 2nd century in date. F16 (L1): IIa/III, *c.* 260-300.

Not illustrated: Length of thin wire, 10 cm long, 2 mm thick and of varying, often rectangular section. F32 (L1): IIa, *c.* 230-275. Probably part of a simple bracelet.

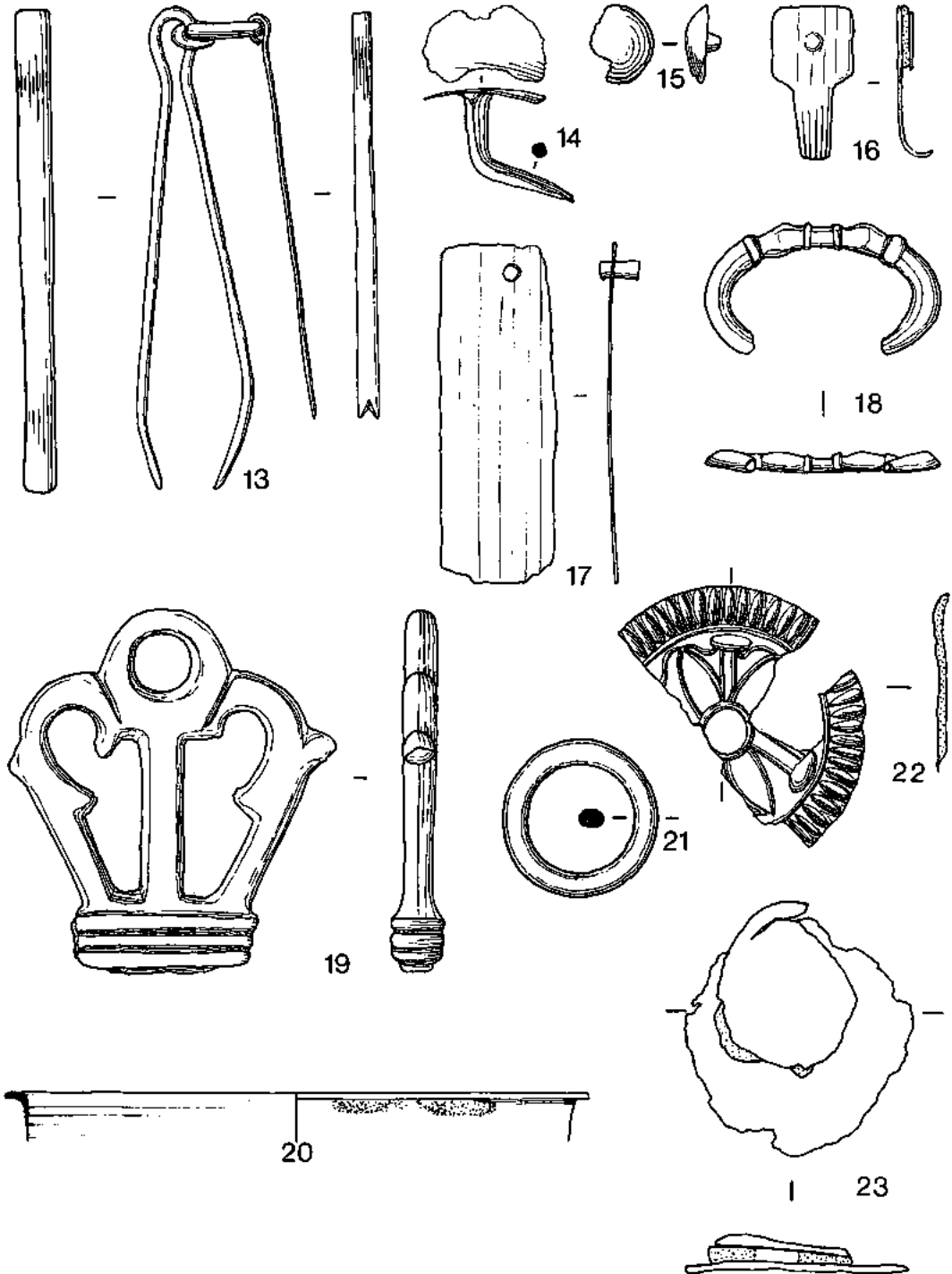


Fig. 12 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Bronze (13-21, Scale 1:1, except 20, Scale 1:2), Silver (22, Scale 1:1), Lead (23, Scale 1:2).

C. Objects of Lead

- Fig. 12.23 Irregular lump of lead with sherds of a softish buff fabric, probably part of the base of a flagon, attached. This appears to represent a repair to a small hole, effected by filling it with molten lead. It is not clear which side was within the vessel but the upper face as drawn shows signs of being smoothed whereas the other face has an irregular surface. L14: IIa/III, c. 260-300. Lead waste occurred in L15 (IIa) and L1, Late III.

D. Objects of Bone and Antler

- Fig. 13.24 Large needle or bodkin with elongated eye and flat head; point missing. L5: IIa/III, c. 260-300.
- Fig. 13.25 Pin with plain shaft and large egg-shaped head. F8 (L1): Early III, c. 280-330.
- Fig. 13.26 Similar pin, broader rather flattened head, plain shaft mostly broken off. L1: Late III, c. 330-370.
- Fig. 13.27 Smaller pin with roughly faceted head; the shank is vaguely octagonal, becoming circular near the break. Possibly an unfinished rough-out. L5: IIa/III, c. 260-300.
- Fig. 13.28 Plaque, for inlaying (probably into wood), with two chamfered and two sawn edges. Undecorated, but shows bone grain. L5: IIa/III, c. 260-300.
- Fig. 13.29 Tapered knife-handle, roughly faceted; hole for tang (6 mm square and 25 mm deep) shown in broken line. Possibly unfinished. F16 (L1): IIa/III, c. 260-300.
- Fig. 13.30 Tool made from tip of antler of red deer.¹ The cut end shows clear saw-marks; the narrow end has a sawn slot, and the mouth, now very smooth, shows signs of having been worked with a knife. From F16 (L1): IIa/III, c. 260-300.
- It was probably used for making fishing nets, similar objects being illustrated by Monro (1890), Fig. 13.15, p. 134, there dated to the Neolithic and the Iron Age. However, Acland (*Proc. Dorset Antiq. Soc.* XXVIII, p. xxxii) mentions a similar tool being used in Cornwall at the beginning of this century. An object of similar shape and material, also with a groove cut in the head, was found at Porchester (Cunliffe, 1975, Fig. 120.125), the principal difference being that it was roughly faceted. It, too, seems likely to be a netting needle, rather than an unfinished late Roman pendant or ornament as Janet Webster suggests (in Cunliffe, 1975, 225) (L. Allason-Jones).
- Fig. 13.31 Point of a red deer antler, sawn from a branch. The point is worn smooth, apparently in use, although possibly by the animal rubbing its antlers against trees. If the latter is the case, the object would seem to be a stage in the manufacture of a tool similar to 14.30; but it has the look and 'feel' of a tool in its own right. F16 (L1): IIa/III, c. 260-300.

Feature 16 (L4) also produced a sawn offcut of antler 25 mm in diameter and 60 mm long, whilst from L10 (also IIa/III) came a large antler with the first tine sawn off, and from L7 (III) a small offcut. Evidently some manufacture of antler objects was undertaken on the site in the late 3rd century.

- Fig. 13.32, 33 Two examples of the fused central and fourth tarsal bones of *bos* deliberately pierced, approximately through the centre; 32 came from F16 (L1), 33 from F8 (L1), c. 270-300. They seem to have been intended for use as spindle whorls.
- Fig. 13.34 Worked bone object, probably an unfinished pin. One end was broken in antiquity—it seems probable that the head broke off during manufacture. From F4 (L2): Late IIa, c. 260-275.

The point of another rough-out for a pin was found in L11. From these it is clear that the basic shape was achieved using a knife; compare the rough-outs for pins made from antler, found at Chalk, Kent (Johnston, 1972, Fig. 17.3, 4, and pp. 137-9).

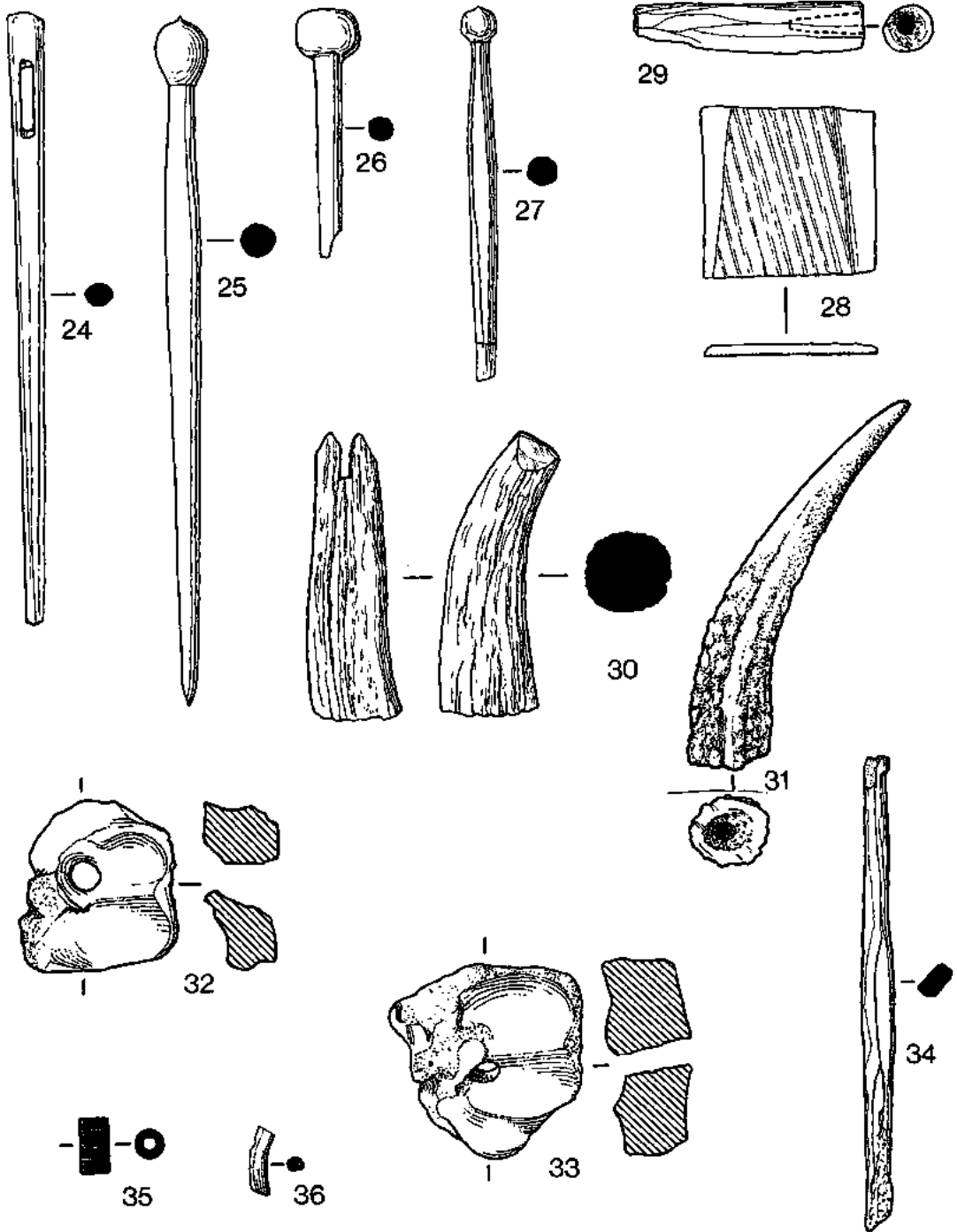


Fig. 13 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Bone and Antler (24-28, Scale 1:1; 29-34, Scale 1:2), Jet (35, Scale 1:1) and Shale (36, Scale 1:1).

E. Objects of Jet and Shale

Fig. 13.35 Jet bead, decorated with three incised lines. L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.

Fig. 13.36 Fragment of shale bracelet, ovoid in section with rough surface. L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.

F. Objects of Clay

Fig. 14.37 Pipeclay figurine. Frank Jenkins comments that it is a fragment of the '*dea nutrix*' type portraying a dignified matron seated on a high-backed basket chair, in the act of suckling either one or two infants. Statuettes of this type were made in central Gaul, chiefly in the valley of the Allier. They were mass-produced in moulds as an off-shoot of the Samian industry and date from *c.* A.D. 150-190. The figurines were moulded in two halves; this is part of the back half showing the neck and the top of the basket chair. Two other examples have been recorded from Essex, at Arkesden, five miles SSW. of Great Chesterford. Residual in L11: Early III, *c.* 280-330. For the significance of these objects see Green, M. J., 1976, 20-21.

The 'Lamp Chimney' by P. J. Drury

Fig. 14.38 Two pottery fragments, in an identical light brown, slightly sandy fabric with black surfaces; from F16 (L1): IIa/III, *c.* 260-300. One appears to be the base of a jar or similar vessel, except that three oval holes were cut in the bottom before firing; the other is from the body of the vessel, at a point where the wall was concave. It is the central panel between two apertures formed with a knife after the vessel had been thrown but before it had hardened, the clay being ridged on the inside.

A fragmentary late-4th-century 'Lamp Chimney' from the 'Temple of Abandinus' at Godmanchester² suggests the reconstruction shown; both objects have corrugated walls, through the hollows of which apertures were cut. However, whilst the Godmanchester example had at least three rows of apertures, the Braintree specimen is much smaller and probably had only one or two rows. Both were wheel-thrown in the manner of a pot and subsequently inverted, the 'base' (unfortunately missing from the Godmanchester example) becoming the top and the 'rim' the bottom. A number of similar, but more simple, objects have been found at Eccles (Kent) among kiln debris dated not later than *c.* A.D. 65 (Detsicas, 1974). They are basically coarse pots with three triangular apertures cut through the sides and a circular one cut through the 'base'; the poor finish of the latter confirms that, in use, they were intended to stand on the 'rim'. Comparable objects have been found in London (Watling Street) and Southwark (Lowther, 1976, 48, with refs.).

The Braintree example should probably be seen as a rather more elaborate version of the Eccles type; it has much more the air of an inverted pot than the specimen from Godmanchester. The lower part of a similar, but finer example is known from the temple site in Chelmsford,³ in a context provisionally dated *c.* A.D. 65-75. It is in a fine buff fabric, with traces of white slip, the base ring ('rim' as thrown) being decorated on the top (as used) and sides with fine punch-marks. Both this and the well-known example of 2nd-century date from the Triangular Temple at Verulamium (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936, p. 190 and Fig. 32) were clearly intended to be seen at close quarters. The fragment from the Custom House site in London (Tatton-Brown, 1974, Fig. 31.275, pp. 168-9) is also in a relatively fine fabric with orange-buff surfaces, and seems to belong to the same class. Detsicas has suggested that the Eccles objects may have been candle-covers, to shade the flame from draught, and this seems a valid explanation for the whole group; most are too small to comfortably cover lamps.

The fact that, where the top survives, it is generally open or pierced, would agree with this attribution. However, the relatively small size of the openings, especially in the Eccles examples,

would permit little light to escape. It is tempting, therefore, to suggest a ritual rather than a purely utilitarian function, a suggestion perhaps reinforced by the fact that three of the seven known findspots are temple sites. The objects from the temples, and the wharf at the Custom House site in London, are, however, all more elaborate than the Braintree, Southwark, London (Watling Street) or Eccles examples; perhaps the latter were intended for domestic use in a household shrine. Wheeler's suggestion that they could have been used to shelter burning incense should also be borne in mind.

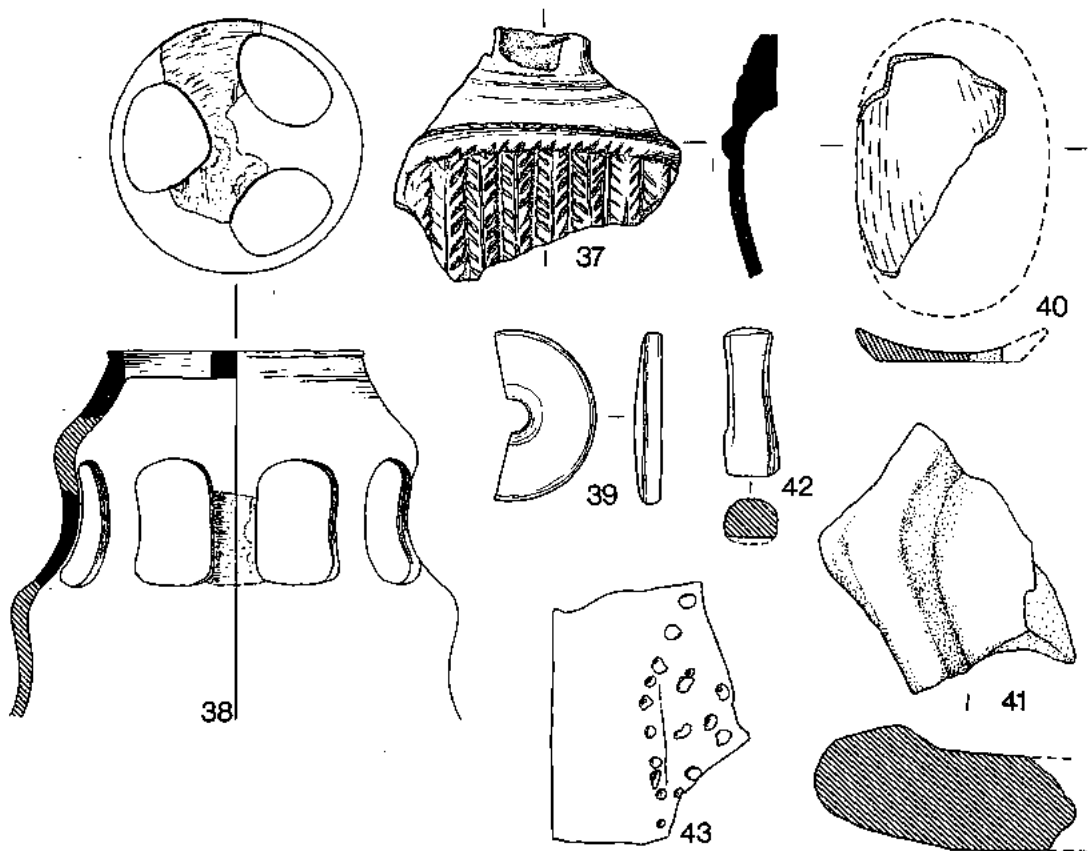


Fig. 14 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Fired Clay (37, 39, Scale 2:3; 38, Scale 1:3), Stone (40–42, Scale 1:3) and Tile (43, Scale: 1:3).

Lowther (1972) clearly distinguished objects of this class from chimney-pots and roof ventilators of similar form, despite the fact that at the time, the only published example of the former group was that from Verulamium.⁴ Objects of both types are generally divided by raised bands into zones which are pierced by openings; Wheeler suggested that the form was based on the classical lighthouse. However, the 'candle-covers' (Lowther Group A) are always of pottery and are clearly designed to be seen at close quarters; the chimney-pots and finials (Lowther Group B) are always in a tile fabric, generally hand-made and coarsely modelled, with a closed top surmounted by a knob. The latter group, not so far associated with religious sites, is described (with a gazetteer) in a posthumous article by Lowther (1976) which includes a discussion of the Continental parallels for, and interpretations of, objects of this general form.⁵

Fig. 14.39 Spindle-whorl made from a sherd of a late Nene Valley vessel in a buff fabric with brown slip-coat. One side is slightly burnt. L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.

G. Objects of Stone

- Fig. 14.40 Fragment of an ovoid palette of Purbeck Marble (identified by Martyn Owen, the Geological Museum). The base is rough sawn, the upper surface dished and fairly smooth. There are traces of red pigment adhering (see below, pp. 62-63). F4 (L2): Late IIa, *c.* 260-275.

Fig. 14.41 Part of a shallow mortar. Martyn Owen reports that

It is basically a rather pure siliceous sandstone with areas of reddening due to the action of heat. There are no really distinctive features present and consequently I would not like to attempt a provenance for it.

Fragments of such stone are relatively common in the area and seem to be glacial erratics; in view of this, and the lack of sharp mouldings and 'finish', one might reasonably suggest that the object is of local manufacture. From F43 (L1): Early I, *c.* 60-120. Roman stone mortars are not common. Fragmentary examples from Chichester (Down, 1974, Fig. 8.17, no. 50), and Colchester (Dunnett, 1971, Fig. 15.44, p. 35), the latter of sandstone with two lugs on the rim, the former with one lug surviving, perhaps indicate the prototype from which our example was derived. Both were relatively shallow, but a deeper bowl or mortar of Purbeck Marble was found at Latimer (Branigan, 1971, Fig. 26.6, p. 101).

Fig. 14.42 Fragment of a hone, broken at both ends and ovoid in section. The flat side is unworn, the other sides smooth but irregular due to heavy use. L11: Early III, *c.* 280-330. The object was submitted to Martyn Owen and G. E. Strong of the Geological Museum, who reported as follows:

Description: Near light olive-grey (5Y 5/2—Geol. Soc. America Rock Color Chart, 1970), sub-greywacke-type very fine to fine-grained sandstone, composed of dominant angular to subangular quartz grains with similar sized mica flakes, and interstitial recrystallised microcrystalline sericite, quartz and chlorite. The detrital quartz grains have recrystallised at grain boundaries to give a patchy quartzitic texture. There is minor albite, biotite, and opaque minerals including leucoxene.

Provenance: Flysch sequence, possibly Welsh or Lake District Lower Palaeozoic greywackes, or even European peri-Alpine flysch (Tertiary).

Querns: Several fragments of querns of Rhenish Lava, of the usual type (cf. Frere, 1972, Fig. 59) were found, none worthy of illustration. Fragments of upper stones came from F4 (L2), L5, and F16 (L1), all IIa/III, *c.* 260-300, and from L1 and another Phase III context, *c.* 330-370. A fragment of a lower stone, with radial tooling on the grinding surface and edge, came from F41 (L1): Late IIa, *c.* 260-275. Fragments of Rhenish Lava, probably from querns, came from F43 (L2) (I, pre *c.* 120-130); L13, L16 (II); L15, F8 (L1), (IIa); and L1 (III).

A fragment of a lower stone of Millstone Grit came from F8 (L1). Early III, *c.* 290-330; a fragment of an upper stone 4 cm thick came from the surface of L3: Late III, *c.* 290. The latter was examined by Martyn Owen who reports:

This fragment is of a rather coarse-grained pebbly rock with a pinkish tinge; a fair amount of felspar is visible. It is probably from the Millstone Grit of the Pennines area and bears a resemblance to specimens in our collections from Darley Dale, Derbyshire.

Other Stone: A roughly shaped piece of sandstone (probably a glacial erratic) of maximum dimensions 20 × 15 × 4 cm may have been used as a respond for a post in Building A. It came from L13: II, *c.* 190-230. A fragment of chalk was found in F32 (L1) (Phase IIa) and two fragments in L1 (Phase III).

H. The Flint by Elizabeth Healey

A flint hammerstone and thirteen flakes were recovered from the site. All the flakes have been utilised or retouched and include one scraper with short, minimal or nibbling edge retouch, and a notched flake. It is hoped to include a fuller report on these, and two flakes from site C (below, (p. 77) in a forthcoming paper on the flints from recent excavations in the area.

III. IRON AND IRONWORKING

Debris and raw material connected with ironworking was relatively abundant in Phase II as well as in Phase III contexts, which suggests that smithing was undertaken very close to the excavated site in Phase II, as well as on it later. On the other hand, the small amount of slag and furnace lining recovered from Phase I contexts is normal on sites within Trinovantian small towns, and need not imply any adjacent ironworking activity. In this section, the objects and debris connected with ironworking will be described.

Some 870 iron objects were found, mostly nails;⁶ a sample of the latter, and all other objects (186 in all) were X-rayed by the staff of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory. The objects (other than minor scraps of metal) and a sample of the nails were subsequently submitted to Dr. W. H. Manning, who reports on them the significant material below.

The objects were distributed in the phases as follows:

	<i>Nails (incl. fragments)</i>	<i>Other objects and fragments</i>
Phase I	1 (0.15%)	3 (1.5%)
Phase II	17 (2%)	—
Phase IIa	78 (13%)	28 (15%)
Phase III	585 (85%)	155 (83.5%)
	<hr/> 681 nails	<hr/> 186 objects

A. THE IRON OBJECTS by W. H. Manning

The ironwork from this site was in an advanced state of corrosion and many of the descriptions and drawings are based on X-ray photographs. As a group it is typical of the scrap metal found on Roman sites of this type.

Fig. 15.1 (F43: Early Phase I, c. 60–120) Open lamp. Length 10.0 cm. Height of walls 1.5 cm. The body of the lamp is complete. At the back of the rim is a short, broken projection which is almost certainly the remains of the rod to which the hanger, by means of which it was suspended, was attached. Although commonly identified as lamp-holders, there is little doubt that these objects are themselves lamps of the same general type as the Scottish 'crusie'. Lamps of this general type are not uncommon and a long list of comparable examples is given in Neal, 1974, 161, Fig. 69, No. 346.

Fig. 15.2 Horseshoe. Length 8.9 cm (L3: Late Phase III). Fragment of horseshoe with two countersunk nail-holes and part of a third. There is no sign of a calkin. Neither this nor the three following horseshoes are complete and this together with their condition makes it unprofitable to discuss them in detail. Although two are from disturbed contexts, there is no reason to doubt their Roman date. In the three examples where the outer edge is complete it is clear that they were of the straight, rather than the wavy-edged type. Horseshoes probably dating from shortly before the Roman conquest are known from Camulodunum (Hawkes and Hull, 1947, 342, Fig. 64, 2 and 3), and a large group of 4th-century date are published from Maiden Castle

(Wheeler, 1943, 291, pl. XXXB). Other examples come from Fishbourne (Cunliffe, 1971, II, 134, Fig. 60.54), Portchester Castle (Cunliffe, 1975, 235, Fig. 125, 182 and 183), Dray's Ditches, Bedfordshire (information from the excavator, James Dyer), Thornborough, Bucks. (information from the excavator, Anthony Johnson) and from a Neronian context in the fortress at Usk, Gwent.

- Fig. 15.3 Horseshoe. Length 8.8 cm (L3: Later Phase III). Fragment of horseshoe with two nail-holes, now rectangular in shape but probably originally circular with rectangular countersinkings.
- Fig. 15.4 Horseshoe. Length 7.0 cm (Disturbance in upper levels of F8). Fragment of horseshoe, tapering to its end which is slightly thickened. The outer edge has two rectangular indentations which are probably the remains of nail-holes.
- Fig. 15.5 Horseshoe (?). Length 7.4 cm (Disturbance in upper levels of F8). Curving and slightly tapering fragment with a countersunk rectangular nail-hole. Probably a fragment of a horseshoe.
- Fig. 15.6 Hipposandal. Length 10.2 cm (F8, L1: Phase IIa). Heel of hipposandal with rear hook, now flattened. The line of the rear hook is continued by parallel grooves. The angle made by the upturned heel was obviously a source of weakness and broken heels of this type are fairly common finds. Several from Verulamium are published by the writer in Frere, 1972, 172, Fig. 63, Nos. 29 and 30, where references to others are given. It is usually impossible to tell from what type of hipposandal the heel has come.
- Fig. 15.7 Hipposandal. Length 8.1 cm (Lower levels of L1; Phase III). Heel of hipposandal with the rear hook.
- Fig. 15.8 Hipposandal. Length 8.5 cm (From a disturbed context). Fragment of the heel of a hipposandal with the rear hook.
- Fig. 15.9 Hipposandal. Length 5.2 cm (L1: Phase III). Fragment of the heel of a hipposandal with the rear hook.
- Fig. 15.10 Ladle. Length 10.1 cm (L1: Phase III). Part of the handle and bowl of a ladle. Roman ladles usually have an iron handle which suggests that we are here dealing with a fragment of such a handle and not a tang. In a number of cases this handle ends in a small flesh hook, e.g. from Great Chesterford, Essex (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge), and Lower Hacheston, Suffolk (Ipswich Museum). Examples comparable with the present one are known from Charterhouse, Somerset (Bristol City Museum), Silchester (Reading Museum), and Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk (Norwich Museum). Others are known which vary slightly from this design, usually by the addition of a shoulder between the bowl and handle.⁷
- Fig. 15.11 Knife. Length 11.0 cm (F4 (L2): Phase IIa/III). Socketed knives although less common than those with tangs, are not uncommon. Too little of the blade remains in the present example for meaningful parallels to be drawn.
- Fig. 15.12 Knife. Length 14.1 cm (F8 (L1), Phase IIa). Knife (?) with parallel back and edge, and the remains of a socket. A number of knives are known with blades of this general form but they are tanged (e.g. from Rotherly, Dorset; Pitt-Rivers, 1888, 132, pl. CIV, 5 and 6), Caerwent, Gwent (Newport Museum), Hod Hill (British Museum) and others. The use of a socket in this example is probably merely a minor variation but in view of its condition these parallels cannot be regarded as definitive.
- Fig. 15.13 Candlestick. Length 9.7 cm (L12: Late Phase III). 'L'-shaped socketed candlestick with a spike for driving into a beam or wall. Candlesticks of this type are not common but a number are known from Silchester, Hants (Reading Museum).
- Fig. 16.14 Bucket Handle Mount. Length 11.1 cm (F16 (L1): Phase IIa). Iron strip tapering at one end with a large hole at the other end below which is a nail-hole. Probably the

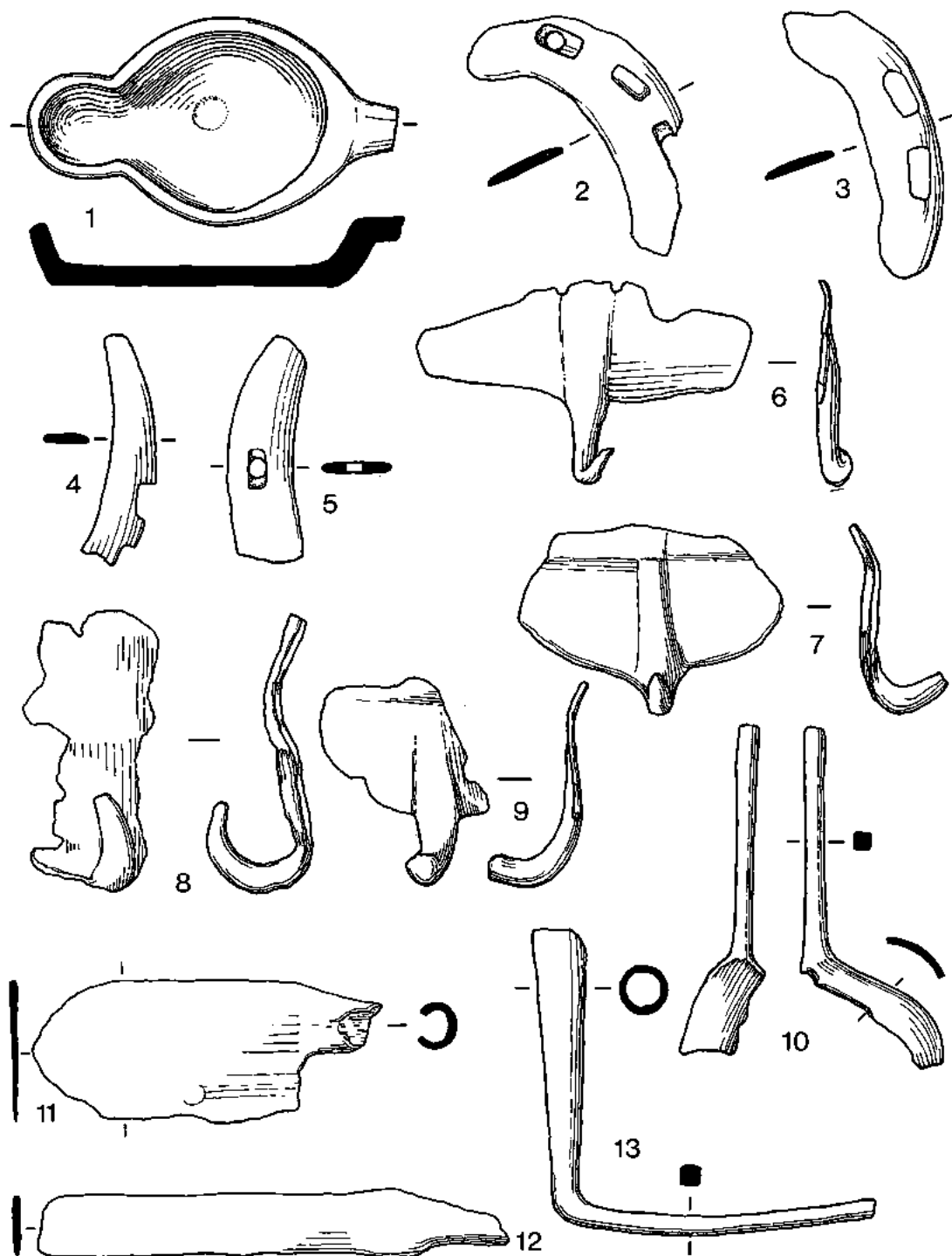


Fig. 15 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Iron, 1-13. Scale 1:2.

mount for a bucket handle of the general type seen in Frere, 1972, 178, Fig. 66, No. 53. A closer parallel of very similar form comes from Portchester Castle (Cunliffe, 1975, 237, Fig. 127, 205).

- Fig. 16.15 Padlock Bolt. Length 16.6 cm (L7: Phase III). The bolt and remains of the spring of a barb-spring padlock. Most of the barbs and part of the stopridge and of the loop are missing. In use the bolt was pushed into the padlock case with the loop passing over a bar on the case. Similar pieces come from Caistor-by-Norwich (Norwich Museum) and Silchester (Reading Museum). Large examples such as those from Great Chesterford (R. C. Neville in *Arch. Journal* 13 (1856) 7, pl. 2, 24) and Silchester (*Arch.* 57 (1901) 247, fig. 5) usually have two loops.
- Fig. 16.16 Key. Length 14.1 cm (L5: Early Phase III). 'L'-shaped lift key with a rolled end to the handle, narrow shank and four teeth on the bit. A good example of a very common type which may have two, three or four teeth on the bit. Those with two teeth are the commonest. For the general type cf. *London in Roman Times* (1946) 73, pl. XXX, 3. There are examples in most of the major collections.
- Fig. 16.17 Key. Length 10.6 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa/III). 'L'-shaped lift key with three teeth. The end of the handle is lost.
- Fig. 16.18 Padlock Key. Length 8.4 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa). Barb-spring padlock key with an unusually narrow handle. The handle is now bent and has lost its end. It may be compared with more complete examples from Verulamium (Frere, 1972, 184, Fig. 68, Nos. 80 and 81) and with the other examples cited there.
- Fig. 16.19 Padlock Key (?). Length 7.0 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa/III). Strip broken at one end and with the other end turned through a right-angle and widened. Although this end is also broken it appears to have had a central hole. It is probably part of a key for a barb-spring padlock.
- Fig. 16.20 Key (?). Length 9.1 cm (Upper levels of L1: Phase III). Strip with rolled end, probably the end of the handle of a key for a barb-spring padlock or tumbler lift key.
- Fig. 16.21 Key (?). Length 13.8 cm (F4 (L2): Phase IIa/III). Strip tapering slightly towards one end which is rolled into a loop. Probably the handle of a key for a barb-spring padlock or a lift key.
- Fig. 16.22 Bit Head (?). Length 13.4 cm (F4 (L1): Phase III). Tapering pyramidal head with the beginning of a round-sectioned stem. Probably the head of a bit. Pyramidal heads of this type are common on carpenters' bits with examples coming from Newstead (Curle, 1911, 281, pl. LIX, 12), London (Guildhall Museum), Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk (Norwich Museum), Silchester, Hants (Reading Museum), etc.
- Fig. 16.23 Auger (?). Length 13.4 cm (F41 (L2): Phase IIa). Trapezoidal block with a small flat head; the other end is broken. Probably the head of a large tool, possibly an auger. If this identification is correct it will have been used with a wooden cross-handle. No exact parallel can be quoted but augers are known with lanceolate heads, which is a basically similar type often used as an alternative to the pyramidal head on bits. Examples from Brampton, Cumb. (W. H. Manning in *Cum. and West.* 66 (1966) 15, No. 11), and Newstead (Curle, 1911, 281, pl. LIX, 14).
- Fig. 16.24 Spud (?) or Pitchfork Tip. Length 13.0 cm (F46 (L1): Phase I). Socketed implement. It is uncertain if the end of the blade is complete; if it is the implement is probably a spud of the type used for weeding or the metal tip of a wooden pitchfork tine, rather than a ferrule. Examples of this type of tool come from the Lockleys Villa (*Antiq. Journ.* 18 (1938) 356, Fig. 3.8), Verulamium (Verulamium Museum), Caistor-by-Norwich (Norwich Museum), Silchester (Reading Museum), etc.
- Fig. 16.25 Socket. Length 11.9 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa). Fragment of a socketed tool or ferrule.
- Fig. 16.26 Hook (?). Length 4.7 cm (Upper levels of L1: Late Phase III). Fragment of curved, tapering bar, perhaps the tip of a strong hook.

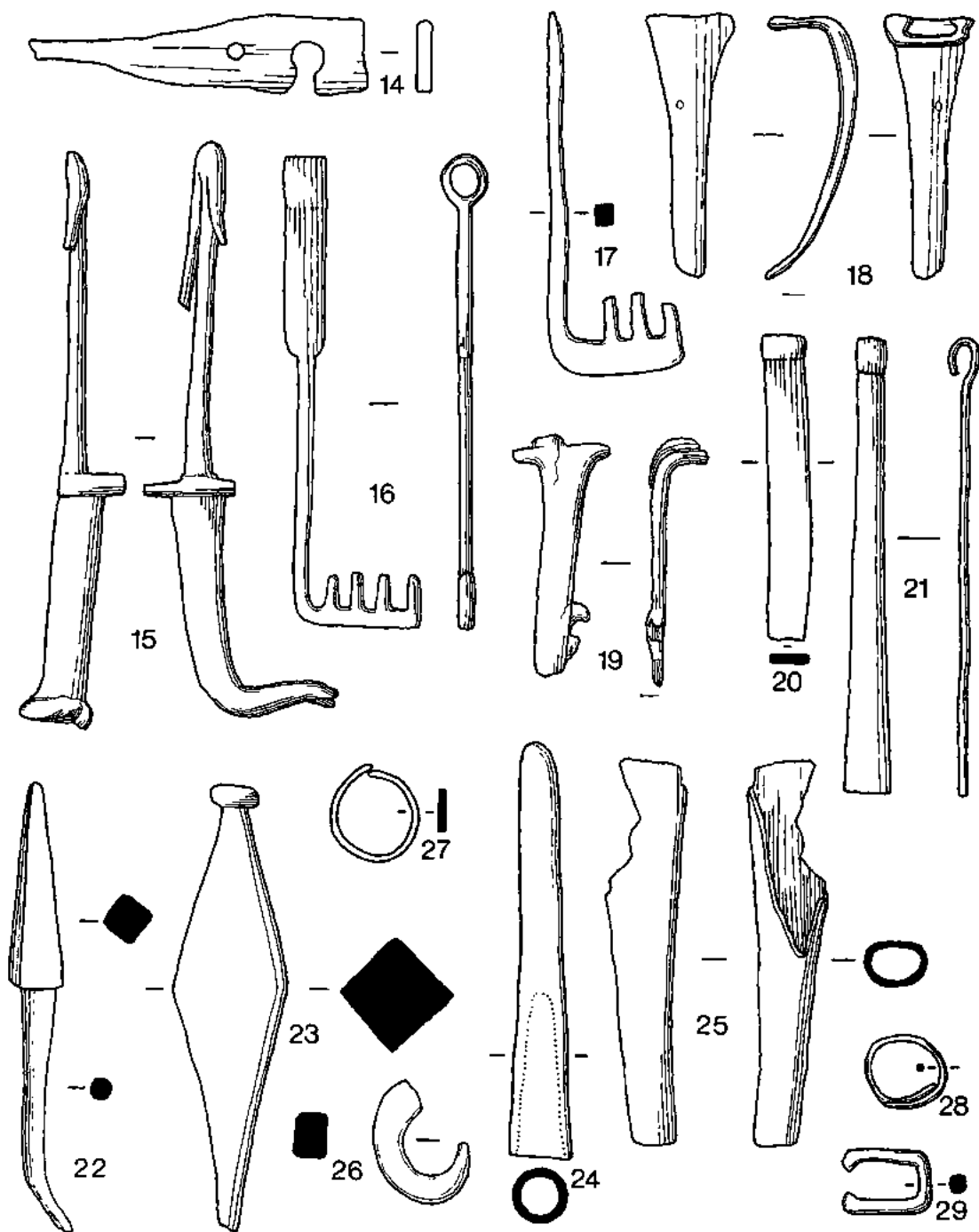


Fig. 16 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Iron, 14-29. Scale 1:2.

- Fig. 16.27 Collar. Diameter 3.3 cm (L5: Early Phase III). Collar formed of a strip with its ends overlapped. Probably the binding around the handle of a tool or implement intended to prevent its being split by the insertion of a tang. An example still in place around the tang of a mason's trowel is in the Guildhall Museum, London.
- Fig. 16.28 Binding. Diameter 3.2 cm (L1: Phase III). Ring formed of thick wire. Possibly a binding.
- Fig. 16.29 Ferrule. Length 2.8 cm (L14: Phase IIa). Rectangular binding, probably a ferrule. It may be compared with an example from Verulamium (Frere, 1972, 188, Fig. 69, No. 123) and other examples quoted there.
- Fig. 17.30 Fragment. Length 10.5 cm (From a disturbed context). Fragment of curving bar with a carefully shaped plate projecting from one side into which a nail has been driven. X-rays indicate that this nail did not completely penetrate the metal. Probably a fragment of binding made for a specific purpose.
- Fig. 17.31 Wall Hook. Length 13.8 cm (F4 (L2): Phase IIa/IIIa). 'U'-shaped wall hook, with tapering stem. The hook terminates in a pointed knob. A common type. An example from the Brampton Hoard is published in *Cumb. & West.* 66 (1966) 30, No. 40, and other examples are given there.
- Fig. 17.32 Drop-Hinge Staple. Length 8.2 cm (F16 (L1): Phase IIa). 'L'-shaped staple probably for a drop-hinge. These are common finds and similar ones are listed in Frere, 1972, 180, Fig. 66, No. 58.
- Fig. 17.33 Drop-Hinge Staple. Length 5.0 cm (L1: Phase III). 'L'-shaped staple, possibly for a small drop-hinge.
- Fig. 17.34 Drop-Hinge. Length 18.3 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa). Fragment of bar, tapering at one end, with two nail holes in it. Probably one side of a 'U'-shaped drop-hinge of the type seen in Frere, 1972, 180, Fig. 66, No. 59.
- Fig. 17.35 Drop-Hinge (?). Length 14.0 cm (F4 (L2): Phase IIa/III). Bar with a marked taper at one end and broken at the other. It has a nail hole through it set in a long rectangular countersinking. Possibly a fragment of a 'U'-shaped drop-hinge.
- Fig. 17.36 Dog. Length 10.6 cm (L16: Phase II). Iron dog for joining timbers. Such pieces are common finds and may vary considerably in size. Examples are given in Frere, 1972, 184, Fig. 68, Nos. 84 and 85.
- Fig. 17.37 Dog. Length 6.1 cm (L16: Phase II). 'U'-shaped dog for joining timbers.
- Fig. 17.38 Staple or Holdfast. Length 5.0 cm (L19: Phase II). Staple or holdfast with 'U'-shaped head; both stem and head are broken. It may be compared with a pair of holdfasts from the Brampton Hoard (*Cumb. and West.* 66 (1966), 34, Nos. 48 and 49).
- Fig. 17.39 Split-spike Loop. Length 7.6 cm (L1: Phase III). Split-spike loop with one arm broken. A very common type. Other examples are given in Frere, 1972, 184, Fig. 68, 90-94.
- Fig. 17.40 Split-spike Loop. Length 6.0 cm (L1: Phase III).
- Fig. 17.41 Nail. Length 9.0 cm (L1: Phase III). Type I nail. This is the commonest of all Roman nail types. The classification is the writer's in Frere, 1972, 186, where the type is discussed in some detail.
- Fig. 17.42 Nail. Length 5.1 cm (F16 (L1): Phase IIa). Type I nail; the tip and head are damaged.
- Fig. 17.43 Nails. Length 2.3 cm (L1: Phase III). Bent nails of Type I.
- Fig. 17.44 Nail. Length 3.8 cm (F41 (L2): Phase IIa). Head of Type I nail.
- Fig. 17.45 Nail. Length 2.3 cm (From a disturbed context). Head of a Type I nail.
- Fig. 17.46 Looped Bar (two views shown). Length 9.7 cm (F4 (L1): Phase III). Bar bent into a loop at its centre. Both ends are broken. Probably the rim of a bucket or similar vessel with the loop being for the attachment of a handle. An example of this type comes from Portchester Castle (Cunliffe, 1975, 208, Fig. 128, 208). A possible alternative

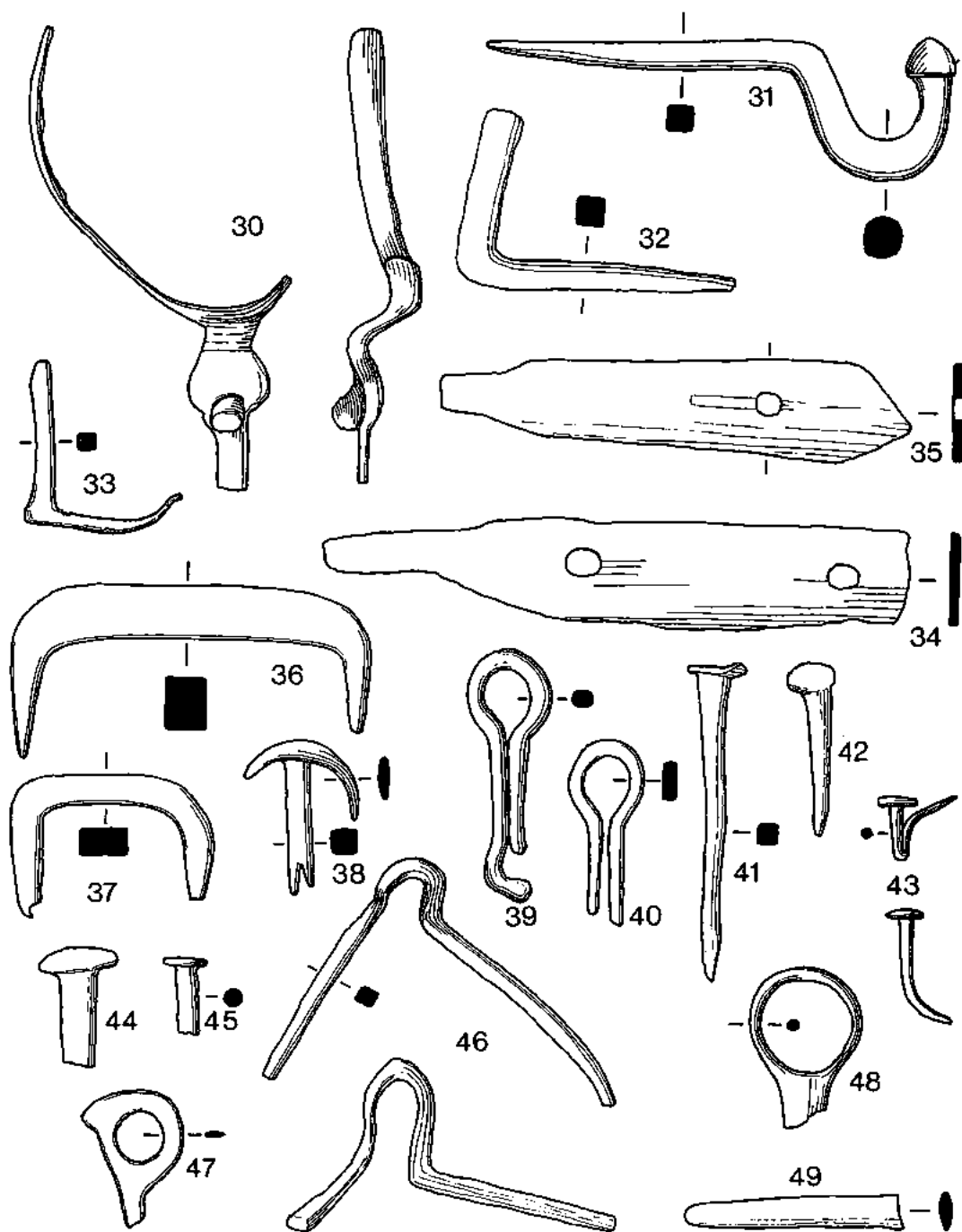


Fig. 17 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Iron, 30-49. Scale 1:2.

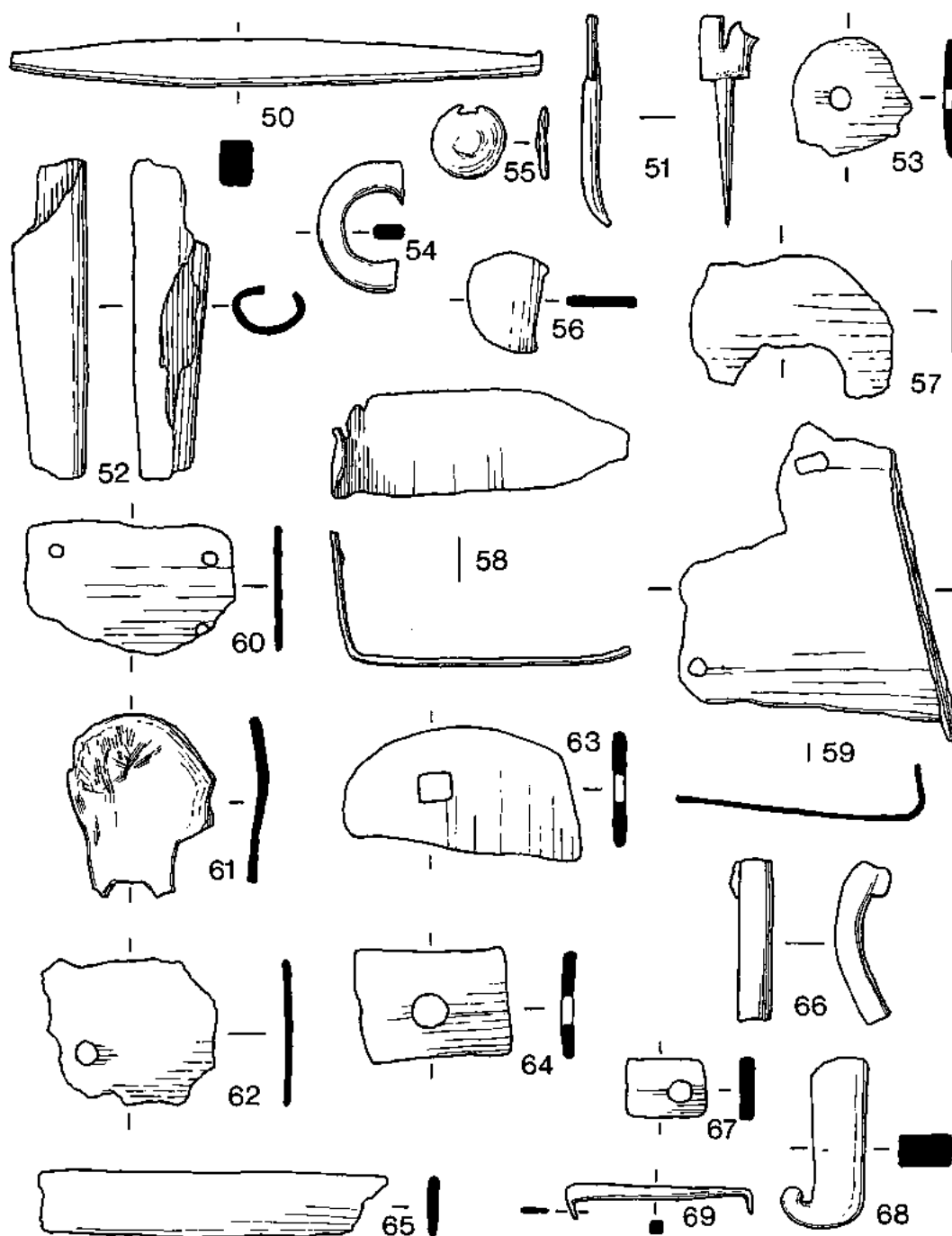


Fig. 18 Braintree: Site E. Objects of Iron, 50-69. Scale 1:2.

would be part of a bucket handle with a central loop for a rope of the type seen in a complete example from the Gadebridge Park Villa (Neal, 1974, 187, No. 673, Fig. 79), but it should be noted that bucket handles usually have a circular cross-section.

- Fig. 17.47 Fragment. Length 4.1 cm (F33: Phase III). Ring with fragment of projecting bar on one side and the possible remains of a second.
- Fig. 17.48 Fragment. Length 6.3 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa/III). Ring with the remains of an integral strip on one side. It is probably the end of a handled implement of some kind.
- Fig. 17.49 Fragment. Length 6.7 cm (L5, Early Phase III). Fragment of tapering strip with a rounded end. The other end is broken.
- Fig. 18.50 Fragment. Length 16.0 cm (From a disturbed context). Rectangular bar tapering to its ends which are probably broken.
- Fig. 18.51 Object of uncertain use. Length 6.7 cm (From a disturbed context). Tanged object with spatulate head. X-rays indicate that the head is split to give the appearance of a claw, but it is impossible to be completely certain if this was intentional. If it was it *may* have been a small claw for extracting light nails or tacks.
- Fig. 18.52 Fragment. Length 9.5 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa). Fragment of a socketed implement.
- Fig. 18.53 Washer (?). Diameter *c.* 3.5 cm (L1: Phase III). Perforated disc or washer.
- Fig. 18.54 Ring (?). Diameter 4.2 cm (From a disturbed context). Semi-circular strip, probably half of a wide ring.
- Fig. 18.55 Disc. Length 2.5 cm (L3: Late Phase III).
- Fig. 18.56 Disc. Length 2.9 cm (L1: Phase III). Fragment of disc.
- Fig. 18.57 Fragment. Length 6.3 cm (L1: Phase III). Curving fragment, of uncertain function.
- Fig. 18.58 Binding. Length 9.4 cm (L3: Phase III Late). Fragment of binding. The narrowing at one end appears to be original and as it thickens at this point it may originally have ended in a spike. The other end is broken.
- Fig. 18.59 Fragment. Length 9.8 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa/III). Fragment of sheet iron with one side bent through a right-angle. The holes in it are probably the effects of corrosion.
- Fig. 18.60 Fragment. Length 6.9 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa/III). Fragment of plate with three nail holes.
- Fig. 18.61 Fragment. Length 5.5 cm (L7: Phase III). Fragment of plate.
- Fig. 18.62 Fragment. Length 5.0 cm (L1: Phase III). Fragment of sheet with a nail (?) hole.
- Fig. 18.63 Fragment. Length *c.* 7.5 cm (Upper level of L1, Late Phase III). Fragment of binding (?) with square nail hole.
- Fig. 18.64 Fragment. Length 4.7 cm (L1: Phase III). Fragment of strip (?) with a nail hole.
- Fig. 18.65 Fragment. Length 8.2 cm (L1: Phase III). Fragment of strip.
- Fig. 18.66 Fragment. Length 5.0 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa). Fragment of bar curved at one end and broken at both ends.
- Fig. 18.67 Fragment. Length 2.6 cm (F8 (L1): Phase IIa). Fragment of bar with a nail (?) hole through it.
- Fig. 18.68 Fragment. Length 6.2 cm (L11: Phase III). Fragment of bar with a curved end.
- Fig. 18.69 Fragment. Length 5.7 cm (F4 (L2): Phase IIa/III). Tapering fragment bent at its ends. The larger end is broken. Possibly no more than a nail.

B. Bloomery Iron by R. F. Tylecote, Department of Metallurgy, University of Newcastle

Three fragments of corroded metallic iron were noticed among the slag (in 751080, 81–83). Two of them are reported on here. Both pieces (from L16, Phase II) were covered in a very thick layer of rust or scale. The weight of 751081 was 165 g on receipt while 751080A was 89 g. Before sectioning for microexamination the main part of the scale was detached after which the larger one

weighed 96 g and the smaller, 63 g. The surfaces adjoining the metal were highly magnetic. The outer surface of the scale from the large piece was not magnetic; that from the smaller piece was, however.

Small pieces were cut from the ends of each piece across the length. It was clear that this was across the direction of forging in both cases as the few slag fibres had been cut end-on.

The grain structure of the large piece (81) was coarse and equiaxed. Most of it was 100 per cent ferrite but near one end there was an area of widmanstatten ferrite and pearlite although the latter only represented a carbon content of about 0.1 per cent. The pearlite was resolvable at X500 and showed a slight degree of spheroidisation. The slag content was low for bloomery iron but the lack of homogeneity suggests that there is little doubt about its bloomery origin. The hardness of the ferrite was 93 HV5 and the ferrite and pearlite gave a maximum of 121 HV5. This shows clearly that it has a low phosphorus content.

The mainly ferrite grain structure of the small piece was much finer than the above but again it was equiaxed and contained little slag. There were some oxide-filled cracks. Again there was a nearly widmanstatten area at one end in which the ferrite was very fine. The carbon content was no more than 0.1 per cent and the pearlite showed the same form as that in the larger piece. The hardness was very much higher. This was 160 HV5 in the ferrite, and varied from 136 to 160 in the 0.1 per cent carbon region. This is most likely due to a higher phosphorus content in the ferrite. This element stabilises the ferrite and the carbon favours the low phosphorus regions.

General Conclusions

These two pieces are well-oxidised bloomery iron but not from the same source. The smaller of the two has come from a high phosphorus ore while the larger one has come from a low phosphorus ore. Otherwise their history has been much the same. The mainly magnetic scale is from a corrosion process and not from smithing. The larger piece has been heated to a high temperature (about 1000-1200°C) and fairly rapidly cooled to about 800°C and then cooled more slowly to room temperature. The small one has not been heated to such a high temperature and may have been smithed on the way down and then slow cooled like the larger.

I suspect that they have been cut off larger bars while hot, and discarded.

C. Slag and Hearth Lining by Justine Bayley and Leo Biek, Ancient Monuments Laboratory

All the material which visually appeared to be slag, iron-bearing rock, or fired clay with possible technological associations was examined.

Slag included the usual range of smithing waste, from agglomerates of slag dribbles (AM 751078/9), through cindery bun-shaped smithing hearth bottoms (751080) to fuel-ash slag or vitrified clay conglomerates with little iron (751082-4).

The *fired clay* was mostly domestic or other non-metallurgical debris but included two groups of significantly different material:

- (a) a few pieces, only, of chalky clay—presumably from the local Boulder Clay;
- (b) amounting to about one fifth (by volume) of the total fired clay examined, and consisting of hard-fired clay on one, roughly flat, surface and a glassy layer on the other.

Specimens in Group (a) were variable in shape and size and microscopical examination showed that they really differed from the 'domestic' material only in containing a larger number of larger chalk fragments, and in having larger and flatter surfaces fired to higher and (usually) more oxidising temperatures. There was no evidence of any metallurgical connection (751075).

Specimens in Group (b) are of great interest. They vary slightly in thickness from 15-20 mm and a typical section shows a continuous transition from a 'white' skin on a black glassy layer (5-10 mm) through a vesicular purple-red core of vitrified clay to an orangey-red, and finally orange, more lightly fired clay.

The overwhelming first impression, in isolation, would be that this material represented furnace lining from iron smelting. But in the absence of any features in the ground, and particularly as only two small fragments of 'tap'-slag-like material were found, one is forced to conclude that such 'furnace lining' can also arise from smithing hearths.

Apart from the possibly slightly more slender dimensions, there are two microscopical factors that could possibly come to be diagnostically significant. First, the dense, fayalite-type of crystalline texture of the 'tap-slag' lumps was found to have surfaces carrying dribble agglomerates typical of smithing residues, and had a uniform and random well-developed internal structure—indicative of slow cooling of an aggregate, rather than the rapid and highly directional cooling deduced from the smaller dendritic crystals in true tap slag. Secondly, one of the micro-vesicles of the vitrified surface of the 'furnace lining' was found open, and to contain a globule of slaggy material. From its general appearance and highly magnetic reaction this would seem to be molten hammerscale (Tylecote 1963, 254, Fig. 26D), produced only in smithing.

The *iron-bearing rocks* (751085/6) were pieces of unburnt 'box stone'. Such material has been used in smelting but is very variable and in the present case unlikely to represent useful 'ore'.

The total weight of all types of slag recovered was *c.* 10 kg and that of fired clay lining was *c.* 1 kg.

The distribution was approximately as follows:

	<i>Slag</i>	<i>Lining</i>
Late Phase I, <i>c.</i> A.D. 120–190 (Recut Road Ditch)	1 kg	50 g (6%)
Phase II, <i>c.</i> A.D. 190–230 (Mostly from occupation L16)	1 kg	475 g (58%)
Phase IIa to Early Phase III, <i>c.</i> A.D. 260–300 (Pre-Building B)	3 kg	150 g (18%)
Phase III (except L1), <i>c.</i> A.D. 300+ (Associated with Building B)	2 kg	100 g (12%)
Phase III, <i>c.</i> A.D. 340+ (Deposited in L1)	3 kg	50 g (6%)
Total from all phases	10 kg	825 g

D. The Charcoal by Carole A. Keepax, Ancient Monuments Laboratory

Six samples of charcoal fragments were identified as follows:

L5 (Phase IIa/III)	One fragment each of oak wood (<i>Quercus</i> sp.) and hazel (<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.) twig.
L5 (Phase IIa/III)	One fragment each of oak wood and hazel twig, and a few fragments cf. common maple (<i>Acer</i> sp.) twig.
L5 (Phase IIa/III)	One fragment of oak twig.
L9b (Phase III)	A few fragments of hazel twig.
F13 (Phase III)	Fragments of cf. poplar (<i>Populus</i> sp.) and oak from 'branch' size or larger timbers.
L1/5 (Phase III)	A few fragments of oak from a fairly large timber.

N.B. 'Twig' includes all material up to 5 cm diameter.

'Branch' includes material up to about 15 cm diameter.

The samples from Layer 9b and Feature 13 were deposited adjacent to the suggested smith's hearth, Feature 33.

IV. THE GLASS

The majority of the glass was badly fragmented, only seven items being capable of meaningful illustration. We are grateful to Warwick Rodwell for his comments on the illustrated material, which have been incorporated in the descriptions which follow.

Fig. 19.1 Base of a tall square bottle, probably Isings (1957) form 50B, with a single circle moulded in relief; natural green glass. L18: Early II, *c.* 190-210.

Fig. 19.2 Another, with two concentric circles moulded in relief; natural green glass. L1: Late III, *c.* 330-370.

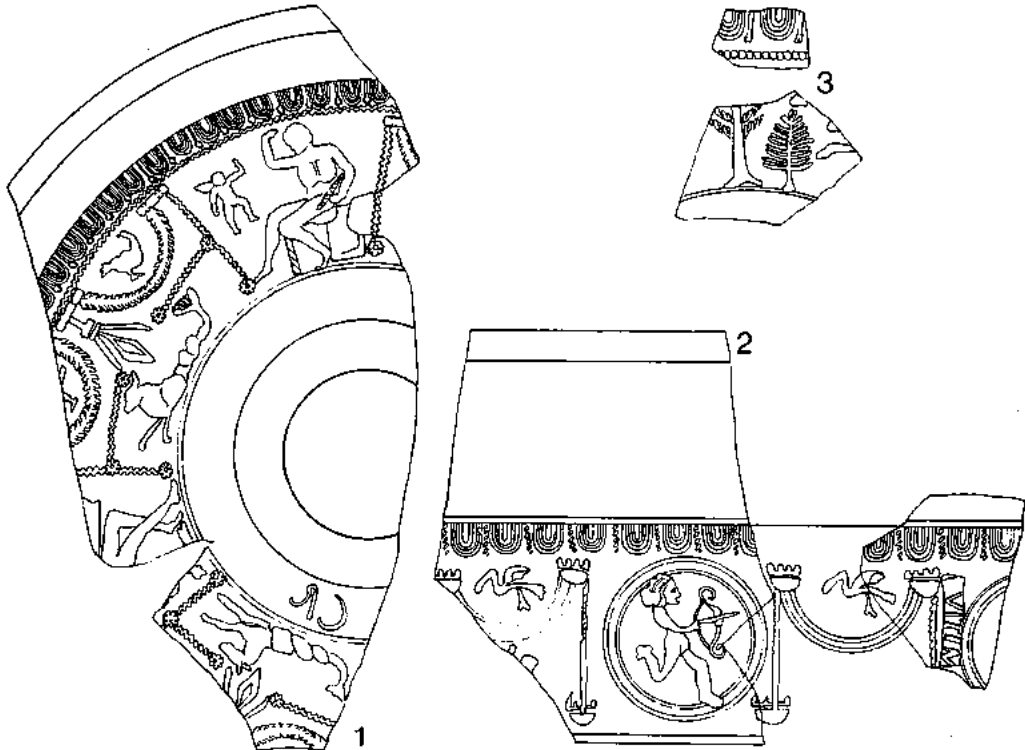
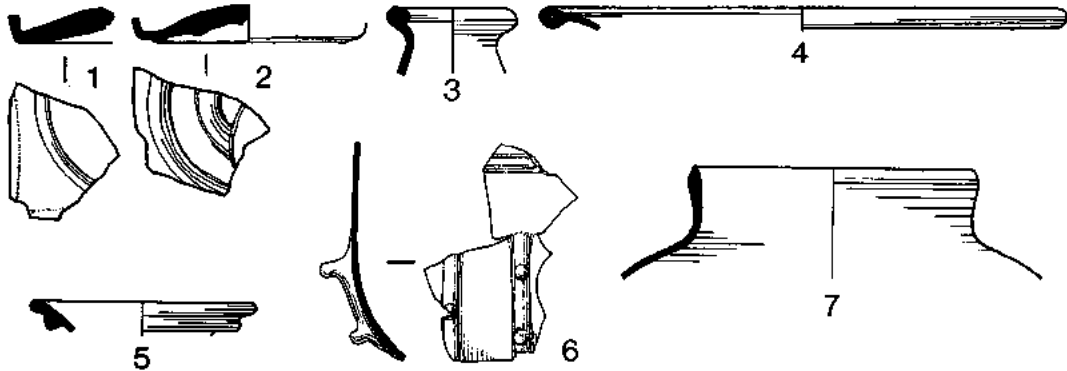


Fig. 19 Braintree: Site E. Glass, 1-7, Scale 1:1; Decorated Terra Sigillata, 1-3, Scale 1:1.

- Fig. 19.3 Rim of bottle, again probably of the tall form Isings (1957) 50B; natural green glass. L1: Late III, *c.* 330–370. Typical of two from L1; another came from F8 (L2). Fragments of bottle necks and bases appeared in L1, L2, L5, L16, and F8, and two handles, one with a central groove, were found in F8 and F4 (L2). Even allowing for the fact that some of the fragments may be incorrectly ascribed to this form, the number of examples represented on a site substantially unoccupied before *c.* 190 is surprising, in view of the accepted dating of the type. Harden and Price (in Cunliffe, 1971, II, 361) concur with Isings (1957, 63–9) and Charlesworth (1966, 26 ff.) in accepting that the bulk of these vessels were produced in the period 70–130, although production began in the Claudian period and may have continued into the middle or late 2nd century. However, since it is a robust form, examples could have been brought to the site in Phase II, although the fragments in Phase III contexts seem certain to be residual.
- Fig. 19.4 Outcurved tubular rim of a shallow dish, probably Isings (1957) form 97, rather pale green. Dated examples of this type quoted by Isings are late 2nd to early 3rd century. L16: II, *c.* 190–230.
- Fig. 19.5 Flat-topped rim of a wide-mouthed cylindrical bottle, Isings (1957) form 102, in a white, slightly opaque glass; decorated with fine incised lines. This seems to be a 4th-century type, which would accord with its context here. F11: Late III, *c.* 330–370.
- Fig. 19.6 Almost certainly part of the bowl of a goblet once supported on a beaded stem, Isings (1957) form 86. It is in a very fine clear glass, and has vertical ribs decorated alternately with single and paired raised bosses. Towards the rim, unfortunately missing, there are two narrow bands of finely incised horizontal lines. Such fine vessels are uncommon on Romano-British sites of this type. Most dated examples belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but this one is probably later. Miss Dorothy Charlesworth notes two parallels for this form of decoration, from Neuville-le-Pollet in Morin-Jean, *La Verrerie en Gaule sous l'empire roman* (1913), p. 228, fig. 310, and from Köln in O. Doppelfeld, *Römisches und Frankisches Glas in Köln*, No. 96. He dated the piece 2nd to 3rd century. L1: Late III, *c.* 330–370.
- Fig. 19.7 Fragment of a bulbous jar with rounded rim, Isings (1957) form 94, in natural green glass; the rim is usually more everted than in this example, but a close parallel may be cited at Verulamium, from a 4th-century context (Charlesworth in Frere, 1972, Fig. 76.27 and p. 205). However, the form was produced over a long period. L16: II, *c.* 190–230.

Unidentifiable small plain blown fragments formed the majority of the glass and appeared in all phases except I.

Four fragments of window glass, 3–5 mm thick, rough on one side and smooth on the other, were found in L17, L15, F4 (L2) and L1.

V. THE TERRA SIGILLATA by W. J. Rodwell

(Abbreviations: S.G., C.G., and E.G. are used for South, Central and East Gaulish respectively throughout.)

CATALOGUE

Phase I

Several small, unidentifiable, 2nd-century sherds intruded into the buried soil, L2.

F43, L2—road ditch

Form 18, S.G., pre-Flavian.

F43a, L1 and L2—road ditch recut fills

Form 18/31, C.G., mid-2nd century.

Form 37, C.G. bowl, circa one-third complete; partly burnt; well-worn foot-ring and worn internally through abrasion. The vessel bears the retrograde mould signature CR (Fig. 20.4) below the decoration, showing that it is the work of Criciro v of Lezoux. Date: *c.* A.D. 145-170.⁸For a small selection of Criciro's panelled bowls, see Stanfield and Simpson 1958, pl. 117. The figuretypes⁹ on the Braintree vessel are: Jupiter with thunderbolt, 0.3; Apollo seated to right, 0.83; small cupid, 0.408; pair of sea monsters approximating to 0.42 and 0.48a; pair of birds in festoons, not closely identifiable (Fig. 19.1).

Several unidentifiable 2nd-century sherds, one burnt.

F43a, L2—recut road ditch

Form 33, C.G., Antonine.

F43a, L1—uppermost fill of recut road ditch

Form 18/31, C.G., early 2nd century.

Form 31, C.G., late Antonine.

F44 and F45—clay pits

Several sherds of form 18/31R, mended with lead rivets, C.G., first half of 2nd century.

Phase II*L13 and associated deposits*

Various small sherds of 1st- and 2nd-century date.

Form 15/17 or 18, S.G., pre-Flavian.

Form 46, C.G., 2nd century.

Form 18/31, C.G., probably Hadrianic.

Form 33, base with worn foot-ring, stamped BORILLIOF. The work of Borillus i of Lezoux; die 5b. Date: *c.* A.D. 150-180 (Fig. 20.5).

Form 33, unstamped base, E.G., late 2nd or early 3rd century.

L18

Form 33 (2 exx.), C.G., Antonine; one is probably late Antonine.

Form 30, burnt black, Antonine.

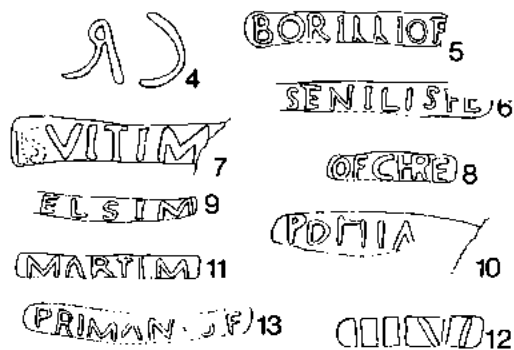


Fig. 20 Braintree: Site E. Stamps on Terra Sigillata, 4-13. Scale 1:1.

L16

A large collection which includes some S.G. ware; amongst the later pieces are the following:

Forms 31, 31R, 33 and 38, C.G., Antonine.

Forms 31 and 38, E.G., Antonine (possibly late).

Form 35 cup, virtually complete, without barbotine leaves on rim. Badly burnt, well-worn foot-ring; C.G., closely similar to an example from Pudding Pan Rock (c. A.D. 170+). Sherds of this vessel were also found in L10 (see below).

Foot-ring fragment, possibly form 38 and almost certainly of Colchester manufacture.

Form 33 (2 exx.), burnt black; Antonine.

Form 31R, slightly burnt; Antonine.

Form 79 (several sherds), burnt black; late Antonine.

L16, upper levels

Forms 18/31R or 31R, 31, 33, 36 and 30, all C.G. and probably Antonine.

Two sherds, burnt black, 2nd century.

Phase II/IIa*F8*

The sigillata comprises a good late 2nd or early 3rd century group:

Form 45, a large mortarium with lion's head spout intact; C.G., Antonine (probably late).

Forms 31, 38 and 79, C.G., Antonine.

Forms 31 and 45, E.G., Antonine. Another form 31 rim may be E.G. or, more probably, Colchester ware.

Form 33 base with some foot-ring wear, burnt, stamped SENILISFE. A product of Senilis iv of Colchester; die 1a. Date: c. A.D. 160–200 (Fig. 20.6).

Fragment of form 30 decorated bowl; other sherds of the same vessel were found in later deposits in this feature. The decorative scheme comprises medallions and festoons in alternation; part of the potter's namestamp survives and reads [PRI]MITIVSI retrograde (a plain-ware stamp impressed in the mould); a product of Primitius of Rheinzabern. Date: late 2nd or early 3rd century. The exterior of the vessel shows some abrasion. The archer in the medallion is similar to, but smaller than 0.272. For parallels to the general scheme, as well as the individual motifs, see 'Primitivus I'¹⁰ (Figs. 19.2 and 20.7).

Phase IIa

Most of the sigillata found in levels of this phase is probably residual and hence only the latest pieces are listed.

Subsidence fill in F37

Sherds of the 1st and 2nd centuries, including form 38, E.G., Antonine (worn).

F41

Form 18/31, part base, stamped]M, C.G., early 2nd century.

Form 38, E.G., late Antonine.

Pedestal foot of vase, probably Déchelette form 72 (cf. Ludowici type Vg), E.G., Antonine.

F4, L3

Form 32 platter, circa one-quarter complete, E.G., late Antonine.

F16, layers 2, 3, 4

A mixed collection of 2nd-century sherds, but it includes form 18, stamped OFCHRE; a product of Chrestus of La Graufesenque, die 3a (Fig. 20.8). Date: c. A.D. 50–65.

F16, L1

Forms 31, 33, 38 and 45, C. and E.G., Antonine.

L15

A few 2nd-century crumbs.

L20

Form 31, C.G., Antonine.

Form 33, E.G., Antonine.

Phase III

A large quantity of sigillata, dating from the pre-Flavian period onwards, was found in features of this period; it is presumably all residual and only the following items are of intrinsic interest:

F4, L2

Form 37, decorated fragment, E.G., burnt. Date: late 2nd or early 3rd century. Another fragment of this vessel was found in L1 (Fig. 19.3).

L5

Form 33 base with worn foot-ring, stamped *CELSIM*, with the first part of the die not impressed properly. A product of Celsus ii of Lezoux, die 2b. Date: *c.* A.D. 155-185 (Fig. 20.9).

Form 31, part base and a fragment of rim, showing traces of burning; incomplete and poorly impressed stamp reading *POTIN* [*TINVS*]. A product of Potentinus iv of Rheinzabern, die 1b. Date: late 2nd or early 3rd century. The paste is soft and yellowish in colour; the surfaces are orange and without a gloss; in general the vessel is very poorly made and is quite indistinguishable from some Colchester products (Fig. 20.10).

F4, L1

Form 33 base, heavily burnt, and with worn foot-ring; stamped *MARTIM*. A product of Martius iv of Lezoux, die 1b. Date: *c.* A.D. 160-200 (Fig. 20.11).

Form 38, half complete, possibly unstamped, E.G., late Antonine. The flange has been cut off deliberately and the interior of the base is heavily worn; the fractures are blackened through lying in burnt material.

L1 and unstratified

Form 46 base, heavily abraded; the fabric is very micaceous and is probably Central Gaulish. It bears an illiterate stamp, for which Mr. B. R. Hartley knows no parallel; Antonine (Fig. 20.12).

Form 31 basal fragment, stamped *PRIMANVSF*. A product of Primanus iv of Rheinzabern, die 2a. Date: Late 2nd or early 3rd century (Fig. 20.13).

Discussion

In all, the Samian pottery from this site comprises some 600 sherds, the majority of which are very small. Decorated ware is minimal and comprises no more than a dozen fragmentary vessels, all of Antonine date. A handful of South Gaulish, pre-Flavian sherds (including one potter's stamp) is of particular interest, although but a single sherd is meaningfully stratified (F43, L2). The pre-Flavian occupation which gave rise to the early sherds was probably on an adjacent site.

Sigillata of the Flavian, Trajanic and Hadrianic periods is very sparse and leaves little room for doubt that there was no significant occupation on the site until the Antonine period. This further highlights the interest of the small group of early sherds and at least prompts the question as to whether a Neronian military phase, for which Braintree is well suited, awaits detection.

The recut road ditches were certainly open in the later Antonine period and their sealing with layer 13 (beginning Phase II) is unlikely to be before the final quarter of the 2nd century. Other

layers of the same period all contain distinctively late 2nd- to early 3rd-century pieces; these layers also contain burnt sherds, most particularly layer 16. In consideration of the burnt late Antonine sigillata, including many sherds from later layers, it would seem likely that a fairly fierce fire consumed at least part of the settlement at Braintree, sometime during the currency of the pottery vessels in question. It has been pointed out elsewhere (Rodwell, 1975, 93 and Fig. 5), that the series of 'late Antonine' fires in central and eastern Essex may be related to an historical event, rather than a series of wholly independent accidents. Braintree is the most recent addition to the list with, as yet, the smallest collection of burnt pottery. Doubtless further excavation will augment the number of finds and perhaps locate the burnt structures themselves. While the date of manufacture of the (burnt) sigillata may be assigned to the period of *c.* A.D. 170–200, the fire itself could easily have taken place at any time within the first half of the 3rd century, and the upper date limit is a problem no more confined to Braintree than it is to each of the other sites where a burning of this period has been noted.

Both the date to which the East Gaulish Samian factories continued in production and the extent to which Samian pottery in general survived in use for long periods remain major uncertainties, but it is likely that at least some of the sherds from Phase IIa levels are in context. On the other hand, many are clearly residual and in any case none can be used as reliable dating evidence. One group of sherds from the pit F8 (Phase II/IIa) might be regarded as a meaningful assemblage, including one possible and one certain example of Colchester ware. It may be noted that the vessel stamped by Senilis iv of Colchester is burnt and is paralleled in the fire deposit at Billericay.

VI. THE COARSE POTTERY by P. J. Drury and G. D. Pratt

'Belgic' Coarse Ware

No pre-Belgic pottery was found, and only about 30 sherds of 'Belgic' coarse ware, mostly abraded. Of these, twelve were found in the top 5 cm of buried soil L2, and the remainder were residual in Romano-British contexts. Most were more than 8 mm thick, in soft, coarsely granulated fabrics, black-flecked and containing much grog but usually little grit or sand. In colour they ranged from black to orange-grey, with grey/orange/red/brown surfaces. The following indicate the range of forms:

Fig. 21.1 Rim of large jar in soft orange-red, coarsely granulated fabric containing some coarse grit; traces of burnishing. Residual in L26, late Phase I.

Fig. 21.2 Pedestal base in soft dark grey fabric, black-flecked. Residual in F42.

Fig. 21.3 Fragment of a pedestal base, in a grey, rather granular fabric with substantial black and light grey flecks; orange-brown surfaces with black patches. Hand-made and rather abraded; possibly luted onto body of vessel, on evidence of break. From trial excavations (D), trench 4, buried soil. A similar fragment came from L26, late Phase I.

An unstratified sherd had coarse vertical combing on the exterior. A wide date-range is implied, but the sherds are too small for detailed discussion to be meaningful.

First Century Material

Fig. 21.4 Flagon rim in light grey fabric with black flecks, orange-brown surfaces, slightly 'soapy' feel. *Cam* f136, there pre-Flavian (*c.* 43–61). From L26, late Phase I.

Fig. 21.5 Fine grey fabric, black flecks, black burnished surface on outside, reddish-brown surface inside. *Cam* f246 or variant. From L2, 0.5 cm.

Fig. 21.6 Hard grey slightly granular fabric with brown sub-surface, light grey surfaces. From F43A (L1), late Phase I.

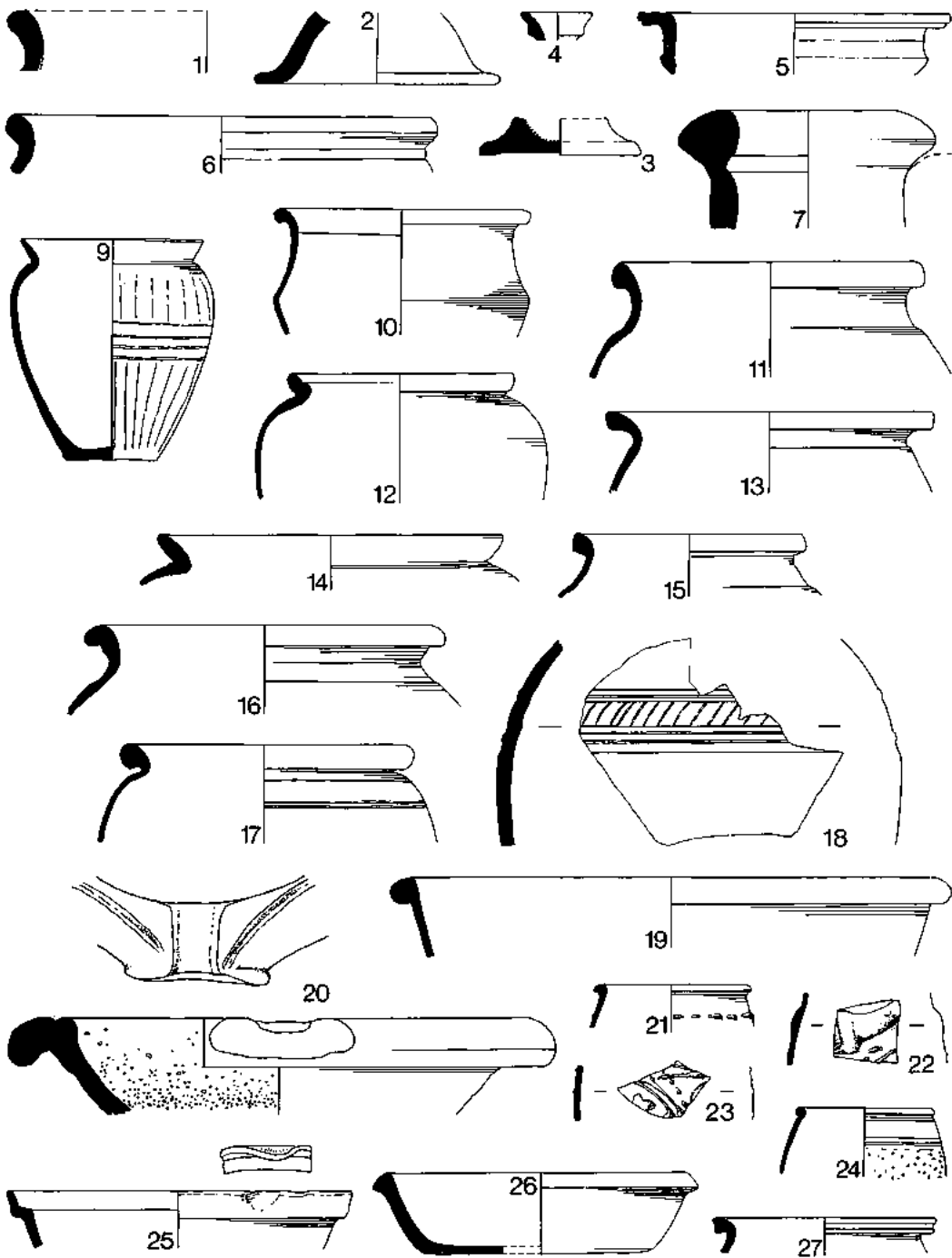


Fig. 21 Braintree: Site E. Pottery 1-7, 9-27. Scale 1:4.

Amphorae

Spanish

A number of sherds were found, typified by 21.7 below, suggesting that they are Spanish products of 1st and 2nd century date; all could be from vessels of the common globular form, Dressel 20. They occurred in the following contexts:

- Phase II: L16A
- Phase IIa: L15
- Phase III: L1, L3, L11, L14, F4 (L2), F11
- Medieval: F42

The following are illustrated:

- Fig. 21.7 Rim in hard buff sandy ware with a grey core, typical of South Spanish wares. Layer 14, Phase IIa/III.
- Fig. 28.8 Fragment of a handle in a similar fabric, stamped in large, raised letters]EVPHEM[. Callender (1965, cat no. 596) reconstructs the full reading as EVPHEM[I and notes several examples from Rome, without any details as to likely form or date. The name Euphemus is not a common one in the western Empire, and presumably in this case denotes an estate owner of Greek origin. From F4 (L2); late IIa.

Amphorae from unknown sources

A number of sherds in a fine pink to orange-brown fabric, with fine white flecks, fairly micaceous and containing light streaks, were found; some retained traces of a cream slip. Two were found in Phase III contexts (L11 and L1), and four were unstratified. Samples were submitted to Dr. D. P. S. Peacock, but unfortunately he was unable to identify them. Similar sherds have been found at Rawreth, Essex, also in a 4th-century context.¹¹ It is hoped that further work may identify their source.

The Romano-British Coarse Pottery: Introduction and Discussion

A considerable quantity of coarse pottery was found; the majority was highly fragmentary, as one might expect from the nature of the features and levels. In such circumstances, the amount of residual pottery in each layer is likely to be considerable, a conclusion supported by the distribution of the sigillata (above, p. 42). Therefore, in selecting sherds for publication care has been taken to exclude obviously abraded or unduly small items, unless of specific interest. None the less, it is likely that some items included are residual, but not obviously so. It should also be borne in mind that the nature of the levels is such that a degree of contamination by burrowing animals, etc., is probable, although this would not necessarily be obvious during the excavation. Despite such reservations, however, the material is of considerable interest, since it is the first to be published from a controlled excavation in Braintree.

The products of the Much and Little Hadham (Herts.) kilns are in evidence;¹² vessels in the distinctive hard red ware include flagons (e.g. 103A, decorated with a female mask), beakers or flasks with 'Romano-Saxon' decoration (83, 136), and the three-handled jar, 51. It seems worth while to note that of the four sherds with 'Romano-Saxon' decoration, two came from contexts dated c. 260–300, one from a context dated c. 280–330, and one from a context dated c. 340+. A second group of vessels seems also to originate from this source; they are identifiable by their uniform fine grey fabric, and the burnished line within a reserved zone inside the flanged-rim bowl 123. The plain or flanged-rim bowls, 72, 76, 100, 101, 102, 122, 126, 127, 130 and 146, are all in essentially the same fabric.

A group of often rather elaborate vessels in a soft red fabric with a grey core, probably once slip-coated, was present—Nos. 129, 131, 142, 143, 147 and 148. It is likely that they are also

products of the Hadham area. The forms often copy sigillata—at Braintree Drag. ff. 36, 37 and 45—and in general appearance have some affinity with Oxfordshire red slip-coated wares.

The presence of Black-burnished Category I ware (for which see Farrar, 1973)—Nos. 70, 71, 75 in levels of *c.* 260-300, and 103 in levels of *c.* 280-330—points to the trade in coarse pottery from more distant sources. The illustrated examples are all bowls, either plain or flanged-rim types, but fragments of the other common form, the everted-rim latticed jar, were present.

Nos. 67 and 140, whose fabric is typical of a similarly small proportion of the unillustrated material, may be products of the kilns at Rettendon, dated by the excavator to the 4th century (Tildersley, 1971). Although No. 67 was found in levels dated *c.* 260-300, the majority of the sherds occurred in later levels. Similar flint-tempered fabrics were, however, produced elsewhere during the 4th century, for example at Chelmsford and Sandon.¹³

The only shell-tempered pottery found was of late Roman type; twelve sherds were present, one unstratified piece being the rim of a jar as Frere, 1972, No. 1283 (Fig. 139, p. 363), too small to be worth illustration. The remainder were from L1 (4 sherds), above L3 (2 sherds), and Layer 9B (3 sherds, probably intrusive from L1 above since L9B belongs to the first quarter of the 4th century); two sherds were unstratified. The small quantity of this ware present suggests that it was still rare when occupation ceased. Evidence from London suggests that it was introduced during the late 4th century, and was used well into the 5th century (Clark, 1972). At Shakenoak (Oxon.), it occurred on Site A in Period IIIb levels, dated *c.* 350-430, and on site C in levels dated *c.* 365-90 (Brodrick, Hands and Walker, 1973, 70). At Verulamium two unusual coarse shell-tempered jars appear surprisingly early, in the filling of the cellar, dated *c.* A.D. 310-15 (Frere, 1972, Fig. 134.1159, 1160; p. 351), but the earliest occurrence of a vessel comparable to the type under discussion is in a context dated *c.* 360-70 (Frere, 1972, Fig. 136.1209, 1210, 1212; p. 355). In Chelmsford, the ware was absent from a pit on site T, containing coins down to the House of Constantine, 350-60, but it is common in later contexts.¹⁴ On this evidence therefore, one might suggest that it appeared in the south-east from *c.* 360-70 onwards, although the evidence from Braintree (L9B) and Verulamium might suggest the occurrence of this or a similar ware as a rarity during the early 4th century.

Three vessels—55, 66 and 107—form a distinctive group, sharing a common fabric and finish; 28 is closely similar, and may be compared with group O of the Mucking kiln products (Rodwell, 1973, 31). No. 66 resembles group K of the products of the Mucking kilns, and the form is sufficiently rare at Colchester for it not to be included in the type series established there. Rodwell (1973, 26), however, points to a parallel for the type in Colchester Kiln 24, dated *c.* 220 (Hull, 1963, Fig. 86.23; p. 151-55). Jars with roller-stamped decoration, as our 55, and with rims as our 107 were produced there in kilns 27 and 28, dated by Hull to *c.* 300. All three kilns produced jars of *R. Col.* f268, with a groove on the shoulder, as our No. 64 (Hull, 1963, Fig. 93, 14-16), but the form is the most common in Colchester, and had a long life.

Most of the fine slip-coated beaker sherds were small, and frequently abraded; many were certainly residual in their contexts, and few were capable of meaningful illustration. There is a little Lezoux ware, of which 45 is probably typical, and rather more so-called Rhenish ware,¹⁵ e.g. 44. The former is in a remarkably late context (*c.* A.D. 260-300), and could be an heirloom survival. The majority of the remaining colour-coated sherds were probably made at Colchester. The thick white Nene Valley wares with brown slip-coat are present only in small quantities, in the late levels. The jar 87, and the plain bowl 133A, from Period III levels, are figured; there were no recognisable fragments of the flanged-rim bowls in this fabric which are commonly found in very late Roman contexts in central Essex.

The majority of the mortaria were undoubtedly made at Colchester; these are in 'buff' fabrics with crushed flint trituration grits. Fragments of Northamptonshire products with black ironstone grits occurred in Features 4 and 8, dated *c.* 260-300, although the only illustrable piece, 144, was unstratified. This is *R. Col.* f503, there dated 'late third or fourth century (?)', but typical of 3rd-century contexts in Chelmsford. White ware mortaria from the Oxfordshire

kilns were relatively common, sherds being present in Layer 16 (Phase II); F16 (L1) (late Phase IIa to early Phase III); F11 and Layers 1, 3, 5 and 11 (Phase III). The sole illustrable sherd was 25.80 from F16 (L1), of a type dated before A.D. 300 (Young, 1973, Fig. 2) which accords with its context at Braintree (c. A.D. 260–300). It is possible that the sherd from L16 (c. A.D. 190–230) is intrusive. However, there are no red colour-coated Oxfordshire mortaria, and indeed no obvious examples of this ware at all. Competition with the makers of the inferior Hadham wares noted above may be responsible for this.

Two mortaria seem to be of local origin; No. 43, and a fragment of another in a grey fabric tempered with much sand, and having large rounded white or pinkish quartzite grits (from L3, A.D. 340+). Finally, two large sherds of a mortarium of unknown source, in a thick coarse sandy brick-red fabric, with a thick grey core, cream slip externally, and large mixed trituration grits (of quartzite, red and grey flint) were found in F4 (c. A.D. 260–300). Another fragment was unstratified.

The pottery from the site is particularly interesting in view of the fact that occupation apparently ceased c. 360–70. There is little Nene Valley thick white ware, no Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware, and very little shell-tempered ware. Only a small proportion of the grey coarse wares were in the flint-tempered fabrics commonly found in 'late-fourth century' groups elsewhere in central Essex, although we may be at the limit of the distribution of this ware. In the absence of late-fourth century groups from Braintree, it is not possible to say with certainty whether the wares are absent or largely absent from the site under discussion because of its terminal date, or for economic or geographical reasons unconnected with date. However, one might suggest that the former is more likely, on the grounds that the evidence from Braintree seems to be confirmed to some extent by evidence from elsewhere (see p. 127, below); certainly Oxfordshire red slip-coated wares and late Nene Valley dishes and bowls are known from other sites in the town.

CATALOGUE

Phase I: Pottery from the Primary Silt of the Recut Road Ditch, F43A (L2), unless otherwise noted

Jars

- Fig. 21.9 Brown, rather coarse fabric, with light grey core and light/dark grey surfaces; decorated with vertical and horizontal burnished lines.
 Fig. 21.10 Fine soft brown fabric with black surfaces, burnished externally.
 Fig. 21.11 Orange-brown sandy fabric, grey surfaces.
 Fig. 21.12 Hard grey sandy fabric. From F34 (clay pit).

Late Phase I: Pottery from the Upper Fill of the Recut Road Ditch, F43A (L1), dated c. A.D. 160–200

Jars

- Fig. 21.13 Coarse dark grey sandy fabric, some sooting on exterior.
 Fig. 21.14 Hard brown sandy fabric with dark grey core and surfaces.
 Fig. 21.15 Soft beige-grey fabric with some black flecks, black surfaces.
 Fig. 21.16 Grey sand and grog-tempered fabric with brown sub-surface.
 Fig. 21.17 Hard grey sandy fabric; the exterior, which is sooted, is decorated with three fine grooves.
 Fig. 21.18 Hard grey sandy fabric, lightly burnished exterior.

Bowls

- Fig. 21.19 Hard grey fabric, brown cortex, black burnished surfaces, partly eroded.

Mortarium

Fig. 21.20 Fairly soft buff fabric containing a little sand; grey and white flint grits. A Colchester product.

Phase II: Pottery from Occupation Layer (L16) associated with Building A, dated c. A.D. 190-230

Slip-coated wares

Nos. 21-24 are in fabrics typical of Colchester products.

Fig. 21.21 Beaker with barbotine decoration, in hard orange paste with orange-brown slip-coat.

Fig. 21.22 Beaker with barbotine hound, in hard light orange paste with brown slip-coat.

Fig. 21.23 Similar to 22, dark brown slip-coat.

Fig. 21.24 Rough-cast beaker, fabric similar to 21.

Fig. 21.25 Bowl in orange fabric, slightly reduced core, traces of micaceous coating. Much of a pinched spout remains.

Fig. 21.26 Bowl in orange to light grey fabric, abraded; slight traces of mica coating survive.

Fig. 21.27 Jar in orange paste with cream slip-coat; burnt and discoloured externally.

Flask

Fig. 22.28 Hard grey fabric, once burnished. Similar to products of the Mucking kilns, Group O, esp. 88 (Rodwell, 1973, 31, and Fig. 9), produced during the 3rd century and probably later.

Bowls

Fig. 22.29 Black fabric, brown sub-surface, burnished surfaces. The splay of the wall suggests that this might be an earlier 2nd-century item residual in this context.

Fig. 22.30 Hard grey fabric, exterior roughly burnished.

Fig. 22.31 Dark grey sandy fabric, burnished surfaces with a faint lattice pattern on the outside.

Fig. 22.32 Fine grey fabric, reddish-brown sub-surface, highly burnished dark grey surface.

Mortarium

Fig. 22.33 Rather soft buff ware containing a little coarse sand; grey and white flint grits. From L13, platform of Building A. A fragment of a similar vessel, in a light orange but otherwise comparable fabric, came from L16; both are Colchester products.

Phase IIa: Pottery from Layers dated c. A.D. 230-275

Slip-coated ware

Fig. 22.34 Rough-cast beaker in fine orange-brown paste with dark brown coating. F37 (L2). A Colchester product, probably of Antonine date.

Folded beaker

Fig. 22.35 Hard grey sandy fabric with orange-brown core; upper and lower zones burnished. Decorated with two incised parallel lines. Pit F16 (L3).

Jars

Fig. 22.36 Fine grey fabric, dark surfaces. F41 (L2).

Fig. 22.37 Hard grey sandy fabric, exterior slightly sooted. F32 (L2).

Fig. 22.38 Grey sandy fabric, orange-brown core. L20.

Fig. 22.39 Hard grey fabric, dark grey surfaces. F32 (L2). The form of this vessel suggests a 4th-century date; see above, p. 10.

Fig. 22.40 Brown sandy fabric with reddish-grey surfaces. F37 (L2).

Fig. 22.41 Hard grey fabric, brown core; exterior decorated with tooled lines and a burnished wavy line. F4 (L3).

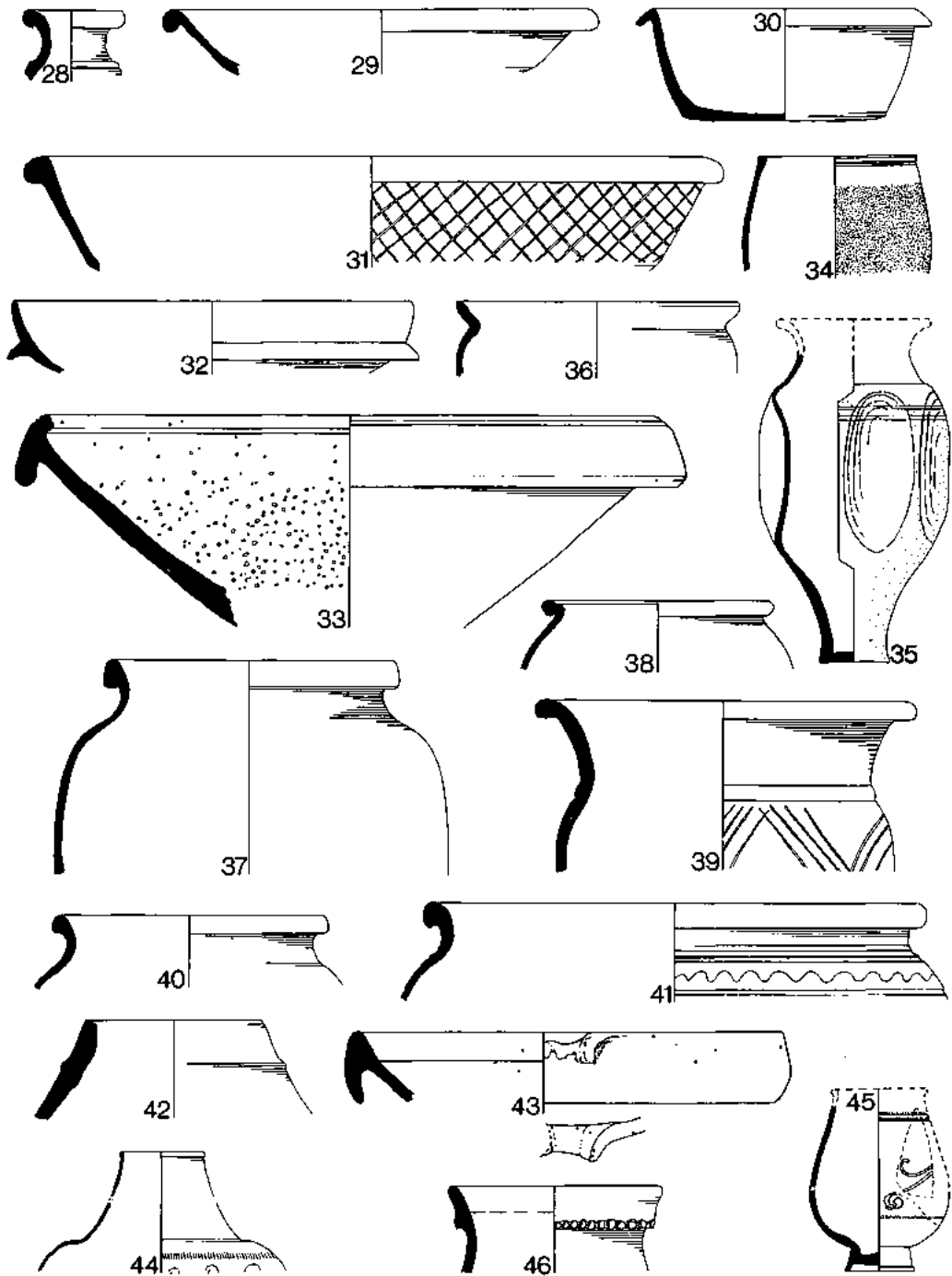


Fig. 22 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, 28-46. Scale 1:4.

Narrow-necked jar

Fig. 22.42 Sandy grey fabric with orange-brown sub-surface and internal surface. The rim appears to have become detached before or during firing; a waster? L20.

Mortarium

Fig. 22.43 Brownish-buff sandy fabric; grey, white, black and red flint grits. F4 (L3); L10; fragments from F8 and F17 (L2) probably belong to this vessel.

Late Phase IIa/Early Phase III; Pottery dated c. A.D. 260-300*Slip-coated wares*

Fig. 22.44 'Rhenish' ware folded beaker in fine hard grey paste with reddish-brown core and lustrous dark brown slip-coat; decorated with bands of rouletting. F4 (L2).

Fig. 22.45 Beaker in fine hard orange-red paste with lustrous chocolate-brown slip over barbotine and rouletted decoration. The fabric and form suggest that it is a Lezoux product. F16.

Fig. 22.46 Jar in coarse orange-red fabric with cream slip-coat; frilled rim. F4.

Fig. 23.47 'Castor Box' in a hard orange-buff paste with orange-brown coating, dark in patches on the lid. F4. Probably a Colchester product, although certainty is impossible.

Folded Beakers

Fig. 23.48 Grey fabric with brown sub-surface and black surfaces. The exterior is burnished above and below the folded zone. F4.

Fig. 23.49 Fine hard grey fabric with brownish-grey surfaces. F41.

Fig. 23.50 Light grey fabric, dark grey surfaces; wide rouletted zone on body. F4.

Jars

Fig. 23.51 Hard orange fabric, probably slip-coated, the exterior burnished vertically. The three small applied handles seem to be purely decorative; the rim is frilled. A Hadham product. F8.

Fig. 23.52 Grey fabric, brown sub-surface, dark grey surfaces; comb-stabbed cordon on shoulder. L14.

Fig. 23.53 Hard fine grey fabric, light grey burnished rim and shoulder, lattice pattern below. Soot evident on the inside. F8.

Fig. 23.54 Grey fabric, brown sub-surface, dark grey surfaces; exterior burnished between rouletted bands. F4.

Fig. 23.55 Hard dark grey fabric, largely burnished exterior, decorated with roller-stamped bands. F4.

Fig. 23.56 Hard grey fabric. F4.

Fig. 23.57 Grey, finely sand-tempered fabric with brown core; sooted on rim. F37. Probably not later than the 2nd century, and thus residual in this context.

Fig. 23.58 Grey sandy fabric, black surfaces. F4.

Fig. 23.59 Light grey fabric, brown sub-surface, black surfaces; some sooting on outside. F37 (L1).

Fig. 23.60 Hard dark grey fabric with brown sub-surface, burnished on rim and exterior. F4.

Fig. 23.61 Dark grey sandy fabric, brown core; rilled shoulder. F4.

Fig. 24.62 Hard grey sandy fabric; dark grey surfaces, partly burnished. Small patch of sooting on exterior. F8.

Fig. 24.63 Brown fabric with dark grey surfaces; exterior burnished. F4.

Fig. 24.64 Hard grey fabric, partly orange core. F4.

Fig. 24.65 Light grey fabric with beige-grey surfaces. F4.

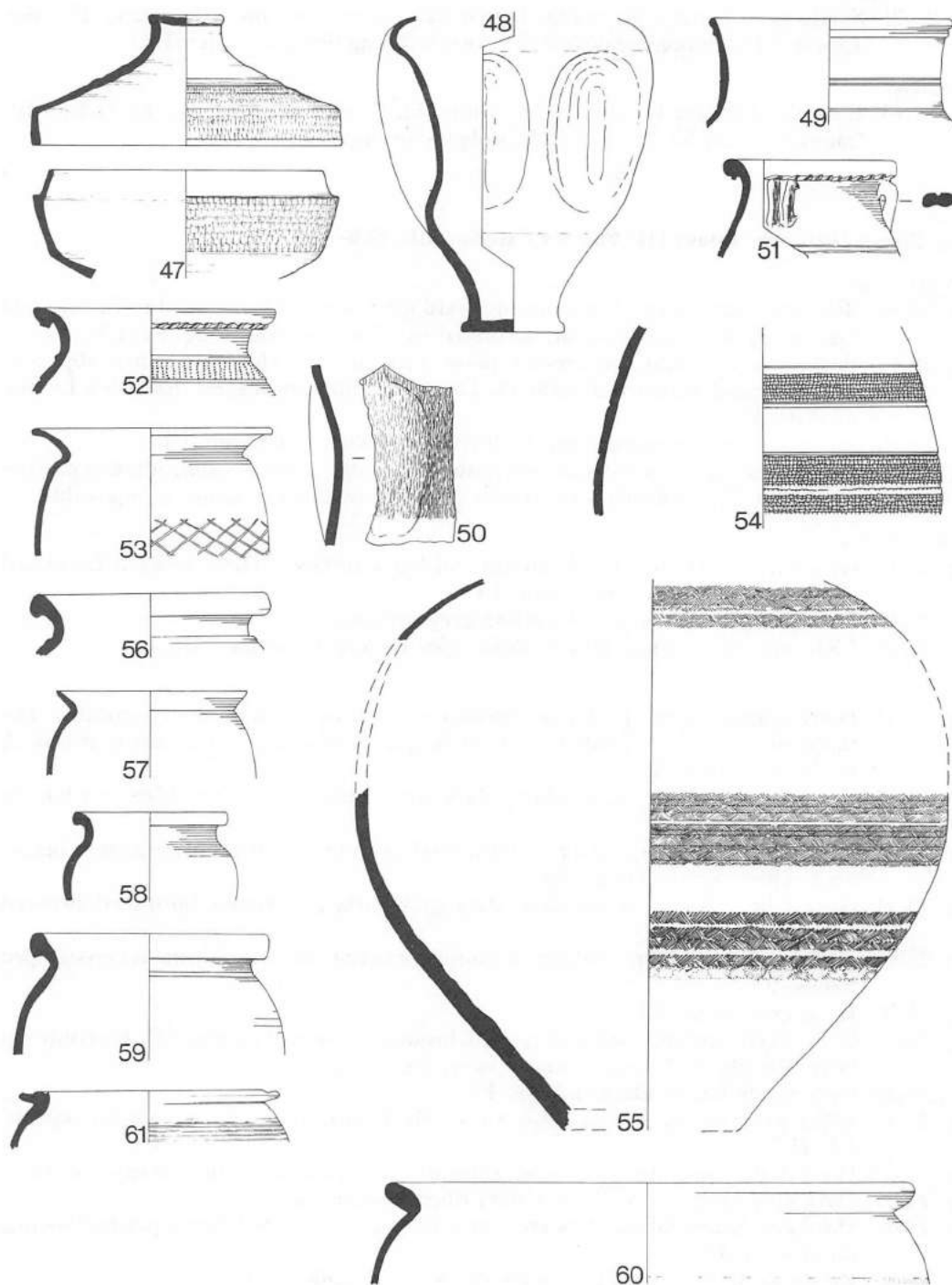


Fig. 23 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, 47-61. Scale 1:4.

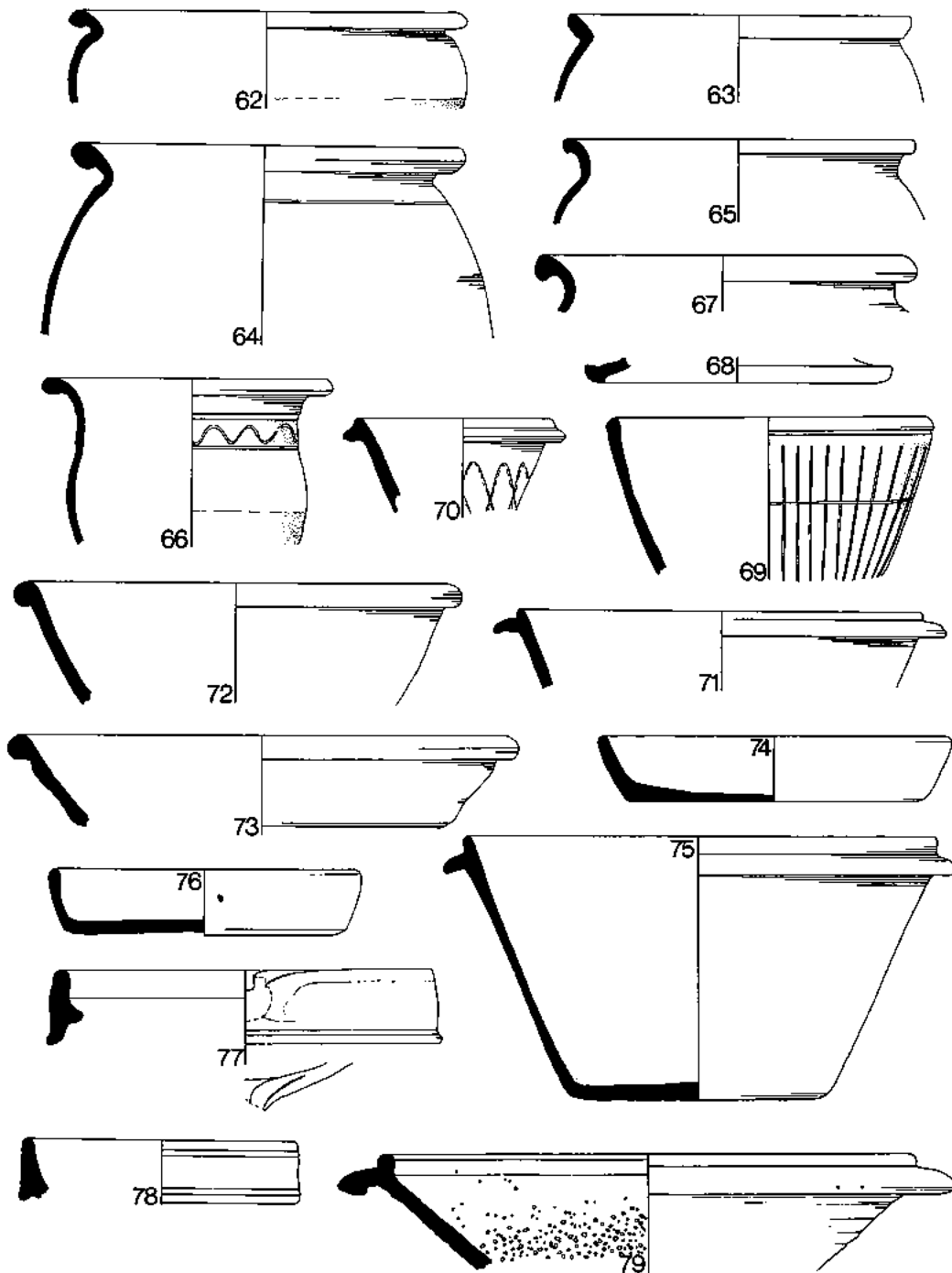


Fig. 24 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, 62-79, Scale 1:4.

- Fig. 24.66 Fabric as 55, upper part burnished externally, save for a reserved zone decorated with a burnished wavy line. F16. cf. Mucking type K—see p. 45 above.
- Fig. 24.67 Hard grey fabric containing much crushed flint; brown core. Similar to the products of the kilns at Rettendon; see p. 45 above. F41.

Lid

- Fig. 24.68 Light grey sandy fabric, black surfaces. F37 (L1).

Bowls

- Fig. 24.69 Hard light grey fabric, rather darker surfaces; burnished inside, decorated with burnished lines outside. F37 (L1).
- Fig. 24.70 BB1, burnt and sooted exterior. F8. Similar vessels in BB1 came from L2, F4 subsidence levels (both Phase III), and late Phase III levels.
- Fig. 24.71 BB1, burnt light grey in colour; surfaces abraded. L14.
- Fig. 24.72 Hard grey fabric with black-burnished surfaces. F41.
- Fig. 24.73 Hard, basically dark grey, fabric but very patchy in appearance; burnished surfaces. F4.
- Fig. 24.74 Hard dark grey fabric with burnished surfaces. F16 (L1).
- Fig. 24.75 BB1, exterior mostly light grey in colour, probably due to burning. F16 (L1).
- Fig. 24.76 Fabric similar to 25.72, but with a brownish tinge. F8.

Mortaria

- Fig. 24.77 Fairly soft buff ware. L14. Probably a Colchester product.
- Fig. 24.78 Soft cream ware containing a little coarse sand. L14.
- Fig. 24.79 Hard buff ware containing coarse sand; grey, white, and red-brown flint grits. F4 (L2); another fragment from L1.
- Fig. 25.80 Hard cream ware, pinkish core and patches where burnt; pink and white rounded translucent grits. A product of the Oxfordshire kilns, similar to Young, 1973, Fig. 2.6, dated to before A.D. 300. From F16 (L1).

Miscellaneous

- Fig. 28.81 A small body sherd in a fine light grey fabric, rather soft. The stylised head of a bull has been formed by the application of pre-formed segments. The rather economical style is reminiscent of that of the Colchester face urns, e.g. Hull, 1963, Fig. 71.18. Such urns are generally in buff ware but a few grey examples are known (e.g. Jos. Coll. 919, in Colchester Museum); these vessels seem to belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Hull, 1963, 133). In style and subject, the piece has a distinctly 'Celtic' feel, but the Mount Bures and Colchester fire dogs (figured in *Arch. Camb.* 1912, 104, and Hawkes and Hull (1947), 342 respectively) are more than three centuries earlier, and at present there seem to be no comparable items of intermediate date. From L14.
- Fig. 25.82 Unusually tall, thin, beaker base in a hard grey fabric with brown core and dark grey surfaces; burnished externally. F8.
- Fig. 28.83 Sherd in a fine orange fabric, once burnished externally, with tooled decoration in the 'Romano-Saxon' style. A product of the Hadham (Herts.) kilns. From F8 (L1); for another sherd from this context see 28.136 below.

Early Phase III: Pottery from Layers dated c. A.D. 280–330*Slip-coated Wares*

- Fig. 25.84 Folded beaker in light grey paste; orange sub-surface, dark brown lustrous coating. L11. Probably a Colchester product.

- Fig. 25.85 Fragment of beaker in a hard light-grey paste with a very dark brown slip-coat (probably burnt); hound *en barbotine*. L9b. This may be a Colchester or a Nene Valley product, on the evidence of the fabric.
- Fig. 25.86 Flagon neck in light orange sandy fabric with reduced core; buff slip-coat. L22.
- Fig. 25.87 Hard buff fabric with pinkish core; light to dark brown slip-coat. A product of the Nene Valley; the jar forms are rarely found so far from their source. L11.

Beakers

- Fig. 25.88 Folded beaker in light grey fabric, neck and shoulders burnished; decorated with four combed lines. L11.
- Fig. 25.89 Hard brownish-grey fabric, decorated externally with combed band. L9.

Flask

- Fig. 25.90 Orange sandy fabric; burnished lines. L11.

Jars

- Fig. 25.91 Hard fine grey fabric with brown core. Rim burnished; exterior decorated with applied and burnished ring, thin burnished horizontal and vertical lines, incised lines and stabbing. Subsidence levels over F8.
- Fig. 25.92 Grey sandy fabric with brown sub-surface, rilled shoulder; context as 91. A similar vessel came from L3 (late Phase III).
- Fig. 25.93 Light grey fabric. L5.
- Fig. 25.94 Hard grey fabric, rilled shoulder. L5.
- Fig. 25.95 Hard grey fabric. L5.
- Fig. 25.96 Hard dark grey sandy fabric with black surfaces. Subsidence filling over F8.
- Fig. 25.97 Hard light grey granular fabric with some grits and small voids; some surface lacunae. L11.
- Fig. 25.98 Hard reddish-brown sandy fabric, grey surfaces, burnished externally. Context as 91.

Lid

- Fig. 25.99 Light orange-brown sandy fabric with some grey patches (burnt after breakage). L5.

Bowls

- Fig. 25.100 Hard grey fabric, burnished surfaces, similar to 101. From L9b; examples also from F8 (L1) and L5. Presumably copies of the Samian form Drag. 33.
- Fig. 25.101 Hard grey fabric with brown sub-surface; dark grey surfaces, once burnished. L5.
- Fig. 25.102 Hard light-brown fabric with grey core, black burnished surfaces, similar to 100 and 101. From L5.
- Fig. 25.103 BB1, Brown-grey fabric, black surfaces. Part of an applied handle survived; probably one of a pair, restored after Frere, 1972, Fig. 120.731. The handled form is rare in Essex, but Hull, 1958, Fig. 5A, 13, 'Late Antonine', from Colchester, may be another. Subsidence layers over F8.

Miscellaneous

- 103A (*Not illustrated*) Sherd bearing part of the border around a female face, applied to a flagon neck in a fine orange fabric typical of Hadham (Herts.) products. From F11.

Phase III: Pottery from Layers dated c. A.D. 300-360/70

(From L1, area of Building B, unless otherwise noted.)

Slip-coated Wares

- Fig. 25.104 Beaker in light brown paste with greyish core, very dark brown slip-coat; white painted decoration above a tooled line. Probably a Colchester product.

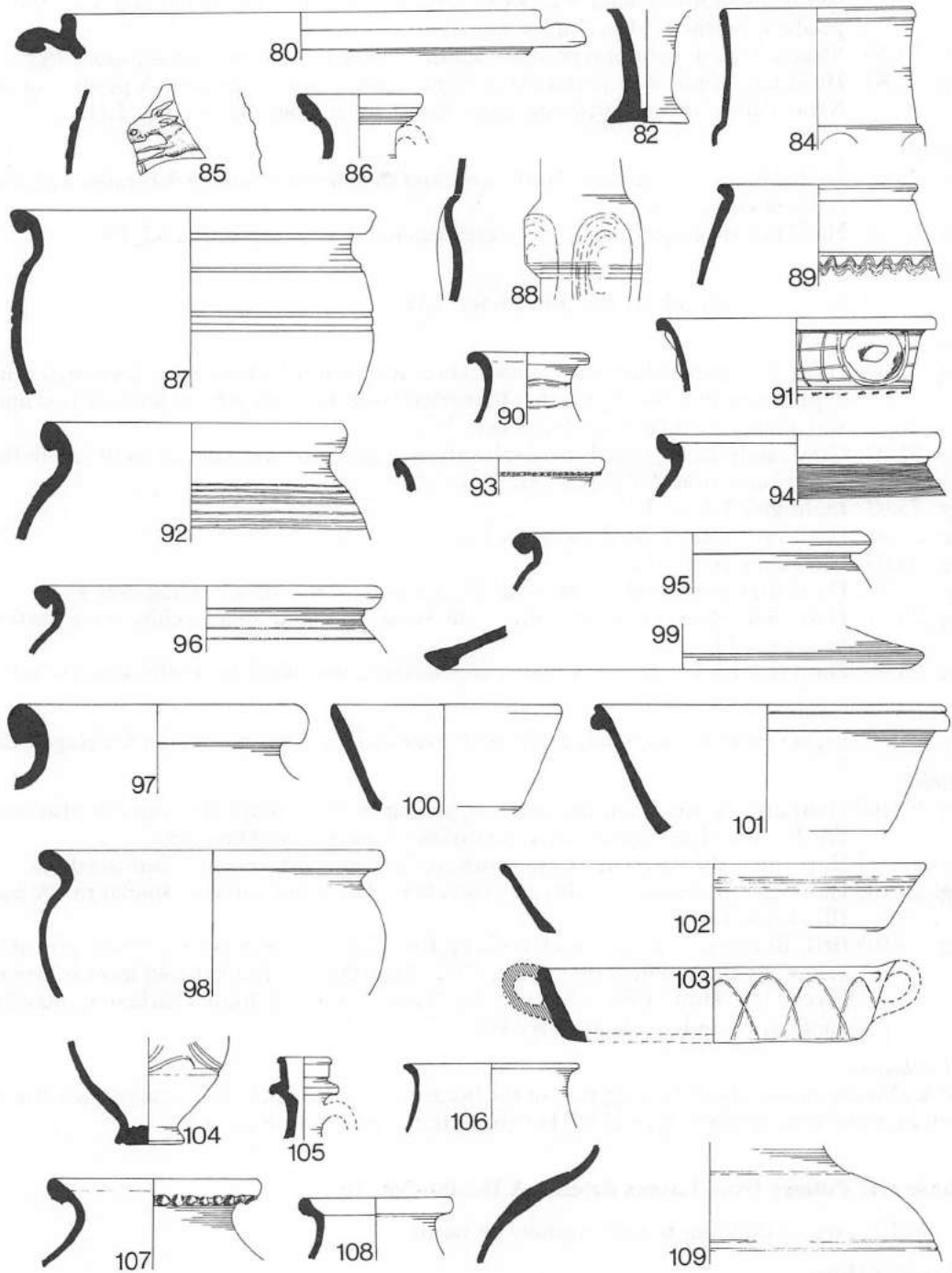


Fig. 25 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, 80, 82, 84-109. Scale 1:4.

Fig. 25.105 Flagon neck in hard orange fabric with dark brown slip-coat. Neck has internal stopper-shoulder.

Beaker

Fig. 25.106 Light brown fabric with light grey surfaces, burnished on exterior and rim.

Jars

Fig. 25.107 Grey fabric with dark grey surfaces, as 55 and 66; burnished on exterior and rim. From F20; others from L16 (Phase II); F4 (L3), L15 (Phase IIa/III); L5, L11 (Early Phase III).

Fig. 25.108 Hard grey fabric with brown sub-surface; grey surfaces, burnished on rim and exterior. Subsidence levels over F4, cf. Mucking Type H (Rodwell, 1973, 26), there made only in Kiln II, in the early to mid-3rd century; residual in this context?

Fig. 25.109 Hard fine light grey fabric; the exterior is burnished and decorated with three incised lines. Rather abraded and thus probably residual.

Fig. 26.110 Grey fabric with brown sub-surface; black surfaces, burnished on rim and exterior. Context as 108.

Fig. 26.111 Hard grey fabric, surfaces burnished externally, context as 108.

Fig. 26.112 Hard grey fabric with light brown core; grey surfaces, upper part of exterior burnished.

Fig. 26.113 Hard dark grey fabric, brown core; rim and exterior burnished. Context as 104.

Fig. 26.114 Hard grey sandy fabric.

Fig. 26.115 Hard fine beige fabric, dark grey exterior surface, lighter interior surface.

Fig. 26.116 Hard grey fabric with darker core and surfaces.

Fig. 26.117 Orange-brown fabric with grey surfaces, burnished on rim and exterior.

Fig. 26.118 Red-brown sandy fabric with black surfaces, burnished on rim and exterior. F4 (L1).

Fig. 26.119 Storage jar in rather granular fabric; traces of burnishing on rim and exterior.

Fig. 26.120 Hard grey fabric with brown core; exterior mostly burnished. Subsidence filling over F4.

Bowls

Fig. 26.121 Large bowl in light brown, slightly granular, grog-tempered fabric with a dark brown core; some surface lacunae. Stabbed decoration.

Fig. 26.122 Fabric as 123, poorly burnished inside.

Fig. 26.123 Light grey fabric with black burnished surfaces; decorated inside with a burnished wavy line within a reserved zone. Subsidence filling over F4.

Fig. 26.124 Hard grey fabric with light grey core, rim and exterior burnished. Subsidence over F4.

Fig. 26.125 Light grey fabric with burnished surfaces. F11, within Building B.

Fig. 26.126 Grey fabric with burnished surfaces, similar to 123. This form seems unlikely to belong to the 4th century.

Fig. 26.127 Fabric as 123.

Fig. 26.128 Brown fabric with light grey core and black, poorly burnished surfaces. Subsidence over F4.

Fig. 26.129 Fine grey fabric containing dark flecks; orange-brown surfaces. The exterior surface is blackened, and spalled below the grooves. The shape is modelled on the Samian forms, Drag. 30 or 37; the fabric is similar to some examples of 'London ware' of 2nd century date, superficial differences being due to the fact that this vessel is burnt. Undoubtedly residual.

Fig. 26.130 Fabric as 123; similar examples from Early Phase III contexts, F4 (L2) and L11.

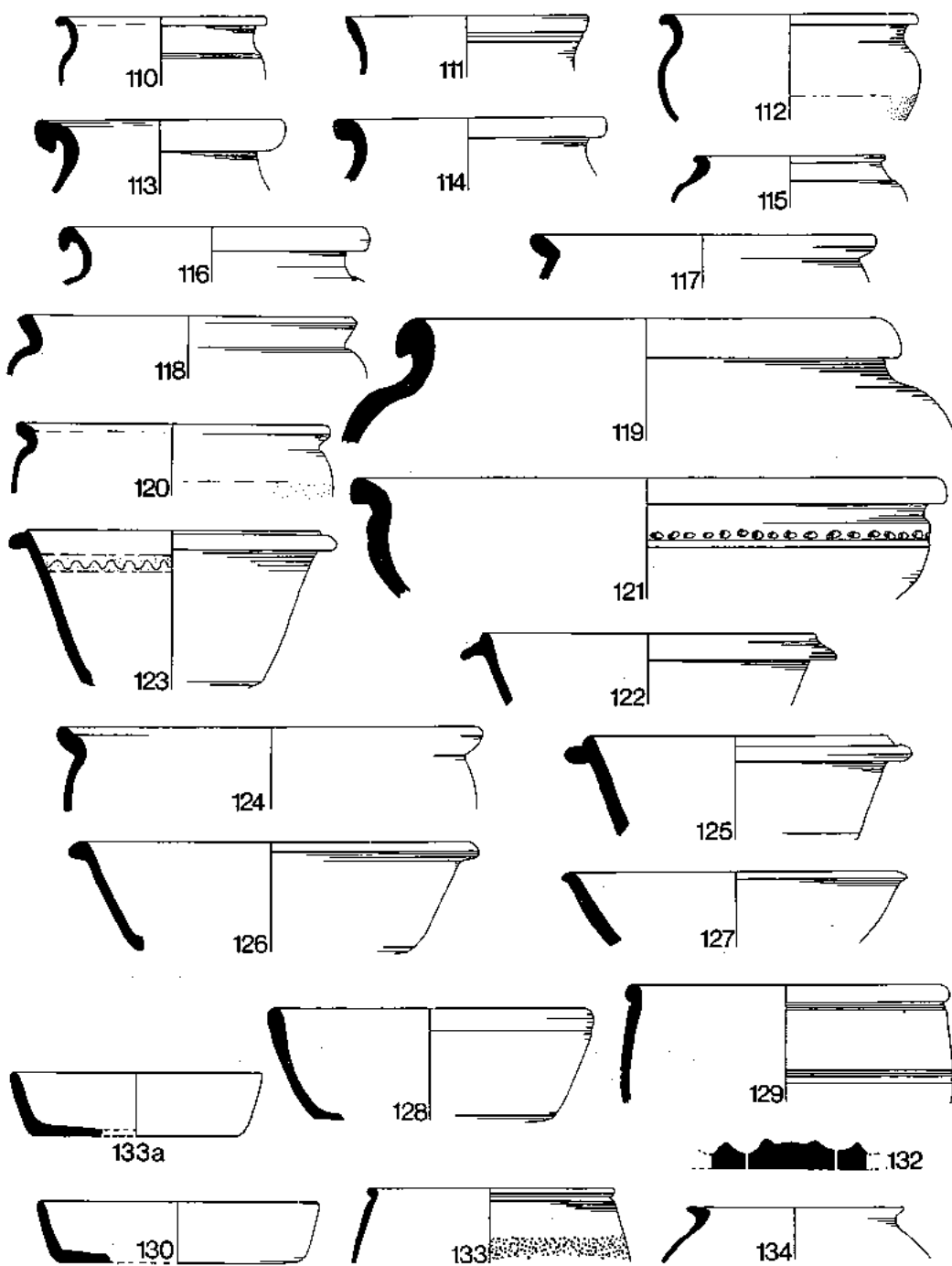


Fig. 26 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, 110-130, 132-134. Scale 1:4.

Mortarium

Fig. 28.131 Soft, underfired, smooth fabric, light grey core with orange-brown surfaces. A circular spout emerges through the mouth of a rather crude applied lion's head, copying the sigillata form, Drag. f. 45. A few fine red grits survive. L11.

Miscellaneous

Fig. 26.132 Base of cheese press in hard brown sandy fabric with grey core; burnt patchily dark brown after breakage. Four regular squarish holes were pierced from inside before firing. *R. Col.* f199, there not uncommon. However, these objects are rare in late contexts; probably residual.

Late Phase III: Pottery from Layers dated A.D. 330-360/70*Slip-coated Ware*

Fig. 26.133 Rough-cast cornice-rim beaker in fine buff paste with dark brown slip coating; an Antonine form, certainly residual. L3.

Fig. 26.133a Plain bowl in hard off-white fabric with reddish-brown flecks; light to dark brown slip coat. L3. A late Nene Valley product, mid-4th century and later at Leicester (Kenyon, 1948, Fig. 32.2, p. 120-22).

Fig. 26.134 Sandy dark grey fabric with reddish-grey surfaces. Not a medieval fabric. L3.

Bowl

Fig. 27.135 Sandy light grey-brown fabric with dark grey core. L3.

Miscellaneous

Fig. 28.136 Sherd, probably of a small flask, in a hard orange fabric burnished externally; decorated with tooled lines and a dimple. L3. 'Romano-Saxon' decoration on a product of the Hadham kilns. Romano-Saxon decoration on vessels in similar orange fabrics is found throughout East Anglia, but the poor quality of many examples suggests a source other than Hadham; examples from Burgh Castle are illustrated in Johnson, 1976, Fig. 4. Two similar fragments, each bearing a single dimple, came from the Phase IIa/III filling of F8, and from L11.

Unstratified Pottery of Intrinsic Interest*Beaker*

Fig. 27.137 Fine grey paste, dark burnished exterior surface.

Jars

Fig. 27.138 Fine light grey fabric with combed decoration. The rim is missing but the broken top of the shoulder has been chipped and ground to form a substitute.

Fig. 27.139 Light grey granular fabric, grey surface; decorated with comb stabbing and combed wavy lines. Chelmsford parallels (unpublished) suggest a 1st-century date.

Fig. 27.140 Hard coarse grey fabric, tempered with crushed flint, similar to 24.67 above.

Bowls

Fig. 27.141 Hard orange-buff fabric with light brown slip-coat.

Fig. 27.142 Fairly soft reddish-brown fabric, grey and orange 'sandwich' core, surfaces burnished, possibly once slip-coated.

Fig. 28.143 Sherd of bowl copying Samian, Drag. f. 37, with stamped ovolo and part of another stamped design. Fabric similar to 142, but the core is wholly grey. A similar, although better quality (or better preserved) vessel was found in a votive pit at 22 Crouch Street, Colchester (Hull, 1958, Fig. 111, 4, p. 247), and another is known from Much Hadham (unpublished information from B. Parr, per W. J. Rodwell).

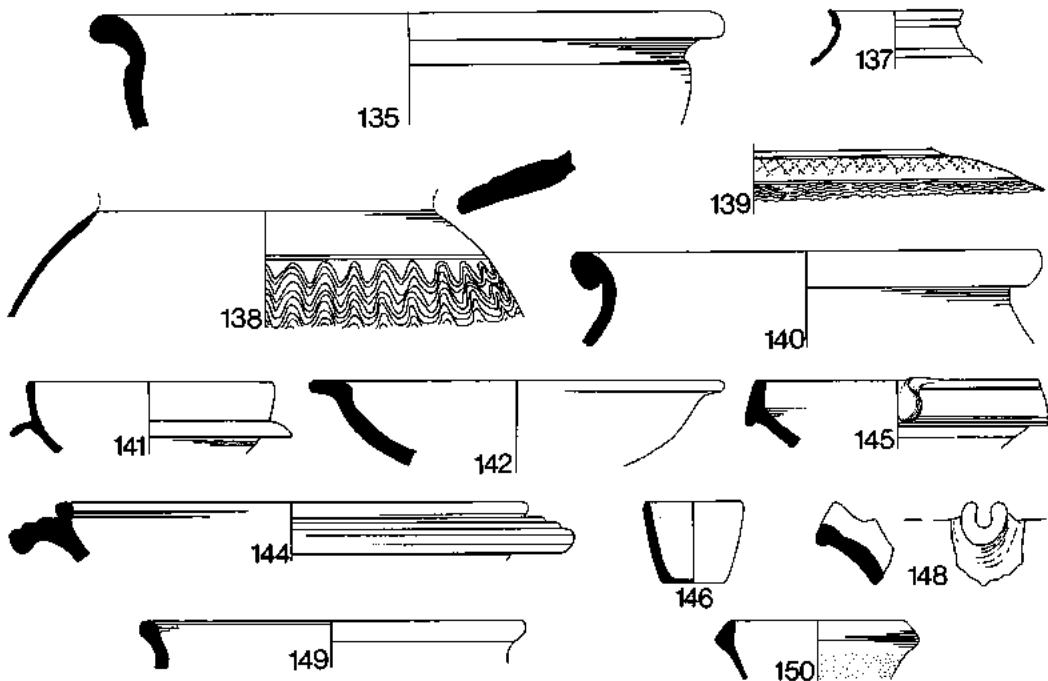


Fig. 27 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, 135, 137-142, 144-146, 148-150. Scale 1:4.

Mortaria

Fig. 27.144 Hard fine buff fabric, slightly greyish core; no grits survive, but the rim form is typical of Northamptonshire products. For contexts of fragments of other Northamptonshire mortaria, see p. 45 above.

Fig. 27.145 Hard buff, finely granulated ware; no grits visible. Exceptionally small. Probably a Colchester product.

Miscellaneous

Fig. 27.146 Miniature vessel in hard grey-brown fabric with black burnished surfaces, spalled externally.

Fig. 28.147 Part of the handle and rim of a cup-neck flagon, in a fine orange fabric similar to 142/3, but consistently orange.

Fig. 27.148 Spout, fabric as 147; the form of the vessel from which it came is uncertain.

Medieval Pottery

The lower levels of the medieval ditch, F42, produced:

Fig. 27.149 Brown sandy fabric, dark brown surfaces; also seven body sherds in a closely similar fabric. These are probably of 12th- to early 13th-century date, cf. Huggins, 1973, Fig. 9.142. A few sherds of medieval and later pottery were found unstratified, or intrusive in earlier levels; these included a sherd of a Hedingham ware jug, green glazed over applied vertical ribs, from L13. In addition:

Fig. 27.150 Jug neck in a soft orange fabric with a white slip-painted band below the rim; probably 14th century. These sherds are probably derived from agricultural activity on the site.

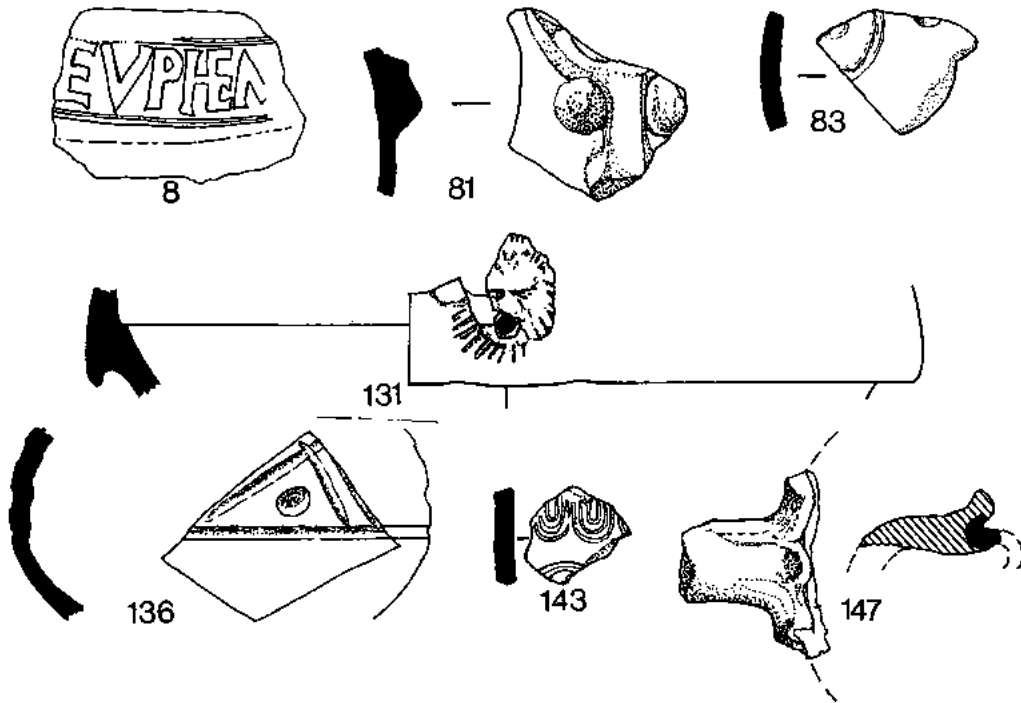


Fig. 28 Braintree: Site E. Pottery, Nos. 8, 81, 83, 131, 136, 143, 147. Scale 1:2.

VII. THE TILE by P. J. Drury

1. Romano-British

Tegulae occurred in all phases; the flanges were mostly as wide as they were high, the top edge of the flange generally sloping acutely inwards. A few flanges in Phase III contexts tended to be taller in relation to their width, but only in three angular examples from the uppermost levels did height:width approach 3:2. In general, the sequence agrees with that observed in Chelmsford, where low, broad flanges, common in the 1st century, give way to square and, during the 4th century, to tall, narrow, flanges.

Some tiles had rough semi-circles scored in the upper faces, near the bottom. A tegula fragment from F17, L2 (Phase III), had a 7 mm diameter hole pushed through from the upper face before firing; similar tegulae with nail-holes have been noted previously at Colchester, Witham, and Mill Green. At the latter, they seem to have been associated with a roof with a pitch of about 40°.¹⁶ A tegula fragment from Phase III had a greyish-buff (? underfired) fabric, as did two imbrex fragments.

Imbrices were rare in relation to tegulae. Fragments from F8 were remarkable for being only 7-8 mm thick.

Bonding tiles c. 30 mm and c. 50 mm thick occurred in Phase I-III contexts; other examples c. 25 mm and 40 mm thick occurred in Phase III. In contrast to the typical hard red sandy fabric, fragments of bonding tiles from Phase III contexts occurred in a soft, (modern) brick-like fabric. A fragment c. 30 mm thick bore the imprint of part of a hobnail boot (Fig. 14.43); it came from L3.

Box-flue tiles were comparatively rare; plain fragments came from Phase I and III contexts, combed fragments from Phase II and III contexts.

Many of the tile fragments—none was more than about 150 mm square—had clearly been broken during firing, and others were distorted. It seems likely that all were wasters, brought to the site for hearths and similar purposes, or as hardcore. This suggestion is borne out by the low proportion of the less adaptable imbrices to tegulae, and the fact that none of the tiles bore any traces of mortar. A tile kiln discovered on Bradford's Farm, Coggeshall Road (site 38C, below, p. 103), may be the source of some of the material. There were no mortared tiles, lumps of *opus signinum*, or building stone; the significance of this is discussed below, p. 125.

2. Medieval

Several fragments of peg tiles 10–12 mm thick, cast in a mould coated with much white sand, were found in disturbed levels. A similar fragment from F42 (medieval ditch) might be part of a matching ridge tile, although the possibility of its being a fragment of an imbrex cannot be ruled out.

VIII. THE ANIMAL BONES by Rosemary M. Luff, Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge

The animal bone consisted of 527 identified, and 80 non-identified mammalian fragments. The latter proportion was comprised of very small pieces of bone, probably the result of the smashing of whole long bones to extract the marrow. Most of the bone was in good condition. Unfortunately, it was mainly fragmentary, making relevant measurements impossible.

It is difficult to draw definite conclusions from such a small amount of material. In order to make a simple analysis possible, the assumption has been made that the bones are a representative sample of the whole set.

The material available was already divided into four periods:

- Phase I: Conquest to *c.* A.D. 190
- Phase II: *c.* A.D. 190–220/235
- Phase IIa: *c.* A.D. 220/235–260/275
- Phase III: *c.* A.D. 260/275–360/370; the large group from Phase III, L1, is treated separately.

In order to estimate the relative importance of the domesticates in the food refuse, the Minimum Number of Animals was calculated (Table 1). Most parts of the skeleton of each species were present, suggesting that there were no preferences for special joints. For comparative purposes, the number of bone fragments per species was calculated (Table 2). This gave approximately the same results as the MNA method, but the significance of this is questionable in view of the small number of fragments available. None the less, it does show that at least two thirds of the bones present were from cattle.

Bos predominates throughout all the phases but is especially prominent in Phase IIa; next in order of prominence come sheep, horse and pig. The cattle and sheep teeth of all phases are only slightly worn, indicating that the animals were about 3 to 5 years old, and 2 years old respectively. All four horse incisors (from different levels) are from animals over 20 years old: this suggests that the horse was being used as a draught animal.

Immature Animals

Phase II (*c.* A.D. 190–220/35), only 3 immature animals occurred:

- (a) Pig; left mandible, aged 17 to 22 months (Duerst) (M1, M2 present; M3 emerging).
- (b) Cattle; left mandible, aged just less than 34 months (Duerst) (D3, M1, M2 present; M3 just emerging).
- (c) Cattle; metapodial with distal epiphysis missing.

TABLE 1. Minimum Number of Animals

	Horse	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Red Deer	Dog	Roe Deer	Chicken
Phase I	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	—
Phase II	—	6 + 2I	2	2 + 1I	1	1	—	—
Phase IIa	8	27 + 5I	16 + 3I	6 + 1♂ + 1♀	—	1	1	1
Phase III	1	9	8 + 1I	4	—	1I	—	2
Phase III, L1	3	10 + 2I	6 + 3I	3 + 1I 1♀ + 1♂	—	—	—	—

Note: Sheep refers to Sheep/Goat; I = Immature animal; ♀ + ♂ included in adult total.

TABLE 2. Number of Bone Fragments per Species

	Horse	Cattle	Sheep	Pig	Red Deer	Dog	Roe Deer	Chicken
Phase I	—	22	3	—	—	—	—	—
Phase II	—	21	8	4	—	1	—	—
Phase IIa	15	180	50	6	3	2	1	3
Phase III	1	51	10	4	4	1	—	4
Phase III, L1	14	91	22	13	—	—	—	—

Total number of fragments = 527.

The bird remains were those of the domestic fowl and compare in size to those of the modern pullet.

Phase IIa (c. A.D. 220/35-260/75)

- 2 cattle; distal epiphysis metapodial missing, young.
- 2 cattle; R. mandible, 18 to 34 months (D2, D3, D1, M1 present; M2 emerging).
- Cattle; L. mandible, 18 to 34 months (D3, M1 present; M2 just emerging).
- sheep; L. mandible, 2 years (P3 just emerging; D3 lost).
- sheep; R. mandible, 2 years, just under (D2, D3, M1, M2 present).
- sheep; metacarpal, distal epiphysis missing. Young.

Phase III (c. A.D. 260/75-360/70)

- sheep; R. mandible, 2 years, just under (D3, M1, M2 present).
- dog; phalanx I, proximal epiphysis missing.

Phase III, L1

- pig; L. mandible, 17 to 22 months (M1, M2 present; M3 just emerging).
- sheep; deciduous tooth 3.
- cattle; R. mandible, 6 to 13 months (D2, D3, M1 present).
- cattle; R. mandible, 34 months (M1, M2, M3 just emerging).
- sheep; L. mandible, 2 years (M1, M2 present; M3 just emerging), just over.
- sheep; R. mandible, 2 years, just under (D3, M1).

Sexing was only possible with the pig, the canines being used.

Although no long bone measurements were undertaken the impression gained was that the cattle and sheep bones were slightly larger than those from the preceding pre-Roman period.

The presence of Red Deer was noted by antler fragments, some of which were worked (Phases II and III). Since antler fragments were the main remains of the animal the red deer was obviously not important as a food animal. A shed antler with the first tine sawn off occurred in Phase III and appeared larger than those of present day red deer.

Sixteen horn cores and 7 horn core fragments were identified (12 coming from phase IIa). There appeared to be three distinct types, two perhaps belonging to male and female while the third could represent a different breed. Very few skull fragments were found and the horn cores could signify some form of industry. Two fused central and fourth tarsals of cattle had holes drilled through the centre, perhaps for use as spindle whorls (both phase IIa); these and other fragments of worked bone are discussed above, p. 21.

Butchery marks were present on a dozen bones and appear to have been made by a chopper. Two cattle mandibles had been pierced by a sharp pointed instrument (Phase III), and some bones (a dozen from Phase III) had been gnawed by dogs.

The only pathological condition observed was recession of the alveolar bone in a cow mandible (Phase IIa).

Bones from the medieval ditch, F42

Evidence of a horse was provided by the vertebrae (cervical and thoracic) and fragments of ribs. Dog was indicated by part of a hind leg and there was also the remains of a sheep's tibia.

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IX. MOLLUSCA

Oyster shells were found in the following contexts:

Phase IIa: F4 (L3), F16 (L2, 3, 4), F32 (L1, 2), F37 (L1, 2), L15.

Phase IIa/III: F4 (L2), F16 (L1).

Phase III: F33, L7.

The majority (over 75 per cent) came from Phase IIa deposits. No other species was represented.

X. PIGMENTS by Justine Bayley, Ancient Monuments Laboratory

A Purbeck Marble palette (14.40, p. 25 above) and a greyware pot base containing pigment from the same context (F4, L2) were examined.

The palette had traces of red colouring patchily all over its smooth upper surface. The broken edges were also coloured in places. The colour was not completely uniform, but appeared different shades depending on the thickness of the deposit and the local variations in the underlying stone colour. On a Munsell soil colour chart the colour was in the range 10R4/6 to 10R4/8—described as 'red'.

The pigment in the pot also varied in colour, the exposed surfaces appearing slightly paler than fresh breaks, obtained where the pigment was more massive. The Munsell colour was in the range 10R4/2 to 10R2.5/2, described as 'dusky red' through to 'very dusky red'.

Both the colours are almost certainly due to iron compounds, either natural 'earths' or material that has been roasted to enhance its hue or brilliance.

Discussion

The ancient ploughsoil, L2, probably developed in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. However, the modest quantity of 'Belgic' pottery found in it, presumably derived from manuring, suggests that the site was some distance from contemporary settlement. There is evidence that cultivation continued after the construction of the Braughing-Colchester road, probably until the end of Phase I, *c.* A.D. 190. The aceramic feature 51 should be either pre-conquest or early Roman in date. In the absence of any other pre-Roman features within the excavated area, the latter seems most likely; it may have been connected with the setting-out of the road.

The successive ditches (F43 and F43a) seem to have been intended to drain and define the road enclosure. Feature 43 was probably dug when the road was built, in the early years of the Roman period; it was apparently enlarged by scouring. Feature 43a was dug in the first quarter of the second century, after the original ditch had been allowed to silt; it was open until the last years of that century. The clay pits probably belong to the period after the road ditch was recut; this use of the site, and the amount of pottery found in the ditches, is entirely consistent with its lying just outside the contemporary settlement.

In Phase II (*c.* A.D. 190-230) occupation began with the construction of Building A after the filling of the road ditch and clay pits. Its remains are typical of those of several structures dated to the second and third centuries recorded in Chelmsford and elsewhere in Essex (Drury, 1975, 165). It seems probable that fully framed structures were erected on a platform of gravel which subsequently formed the floor. Unfortunately, few details of the plans of such buildings can usually be recovered in excavation.

However, it seems likely that the slot F60 represents a wall added within the building. Feature 40 appears to be the impression left by a load-bearing wall, possibly the outer south wall, since the clay upcast (L24) was deposited only against its south side (in Phase IIa, Fig. 8). This wall probably extended across the gravel platform with a partition, indicated by F60, running up to it. The outer wall may have returned northwards just to the east of F48, suggesting a structure somewhat larger than 13 m wide by 6 m deep. It is not clear whether the area to the south, containing the hearth F59, was inside or outside Building A, since the south edge of the gravel metalling had probably been made irregular by plough damage. Access to this area may have been provided by the gap between the supposed west wall and the fence; features 48 and 49 suggest an entrance here. On the evidence of the lack of tile recovered from the site (pp. 59-60, above) the building was probably thatched.

The western plot boundary was demarcated in this phase by a fence, in Phase IIa by a ditch, and in Phase III again by a fence; in all phases it followed a line some 8-9° east of north. The plot to the east of the boundary was more than 16 m wide. Feature 8, which was not necessarily connected with Building A, appeared to have been open during Phase II; there is some evidence that it was lined with clay, or timber packed with clay, which would have sealed the permeable sand and gravel deposits exposed in the bottom.

The gravel L23 was possibly laid towards the end of Phase I, but since it merged with the gravel platform of Building A it is safer to assume that they were contemporary. Whilst clearly not the edge of the main carriageway, it could have been laid during the remetalling of the latter. The slight slope against the limit of excavation may have been the south edge of a side-walk. The sole evidence for buildings in the western plot in this phase was the nebulous slot F61, which could

conceivably indicate the north wall of a building *c.* 8 m wide but of unknown depth. No trace of any related floor level survived unless L23 was utilised as such; its southern limit was cut away by the ditch F4 at the start of Phase IIa, by which time any building here must have been demolished.

The construction of a compound in Phase IIa (*c.* A.D. 230–275) was accompanied by the digging of a large pit, F16, within it. This, like F8, was probably lined; the pits were partially in contemporary use, and certainly went out of use at the same time, towards the end of Phase IIa. Neither pit contained residues which might have given a clue to their use, although both contained debris from bone and antler working. The compound may have been constructed solely for some commercial purpose connected with these pits, or as an agricultural enclosure which provided a convenient site for them. Any associated structures either lay beyond the limit of excavation, or had been present within the site but had left no trace. Building A appears to have continued in use, the floor being repaired after subsidence into earlier features, and the pit 32 perhaps being dug inside.

At the beginning of Phase III (*c.* A.D. 275–360/70) Building A was destroyed and the compound ditch and bank levelled; Building B was then erected on the western part of the site. Although its western extremity lay beyond the limit of excavation, it is clear that it must have been more than 16 m long; assuming that post-holes 10, 15 and 9 represent the back wall, it was *c.* 4.5 m deep. The excavated part was divided into four bays, 4 to 5 m wide. The front wall, presumably supported on ground-laid timbers (on sand L22), was indicated only by a junction of layers. The dissimilarity between the construction of the north and south walls suggests that the building was open to the south, the roof being supported by posts on that side. The south side faced an area or yard, probably enclosed by a fence to the east. Such a layout would explain why the late Roman deposit (L1) and the floor level (L4) extended some 1–1.5 m beyond the line of the south wall of the building.

It must be stated, however, that post-Roman ploughing had reduced the area to the south of the building to at least 10–15 cm below Phase III ground level; hence any shallow features would not have survived there. It is just possible, therefore, that Building B was *c.* 9 m wide, its *centre-line* being indicated by the post-holes 10, 15 and 9. Whichever suggestion is correct, it is likely that the timber-slots 11 and 12 were internal features unconnected with the structure.

The area of gravel (L6) south of post-hole F15 would have formed the paving of the yard: its regular eastern edge may define the position of some free-standing structure, for example, a timber screen or bin, against which the metallurgy was deposited.

Examination of the iron-working debris (pp. 35–36) revealed no evidence for smelting. The amount of slag recovered (some 10 kg) is relatively small, but much material is likely to have been removed for use elsewhere (e.g. as metallurgy), or by post-Roman ploughing. Intensive iron-working was clearly undertaken in the vicinity of the site during Phase II, judging from the iron slag and the fragments of bloomery iron deposited in the upper fills of features 4, 8 and 16, and in Layer 5. Indeed, even the amount found in Phase I contexts may suggest smithing activity at no great distance. However, in Phase III, this activity seems to have been centred on Building B. The post-holes at the east end contained much charcoal and fired clay, as did those of the structure or fence east and south of the building. Feature 33 seems to be the levelled remains of a smithing hearth, its siting under the line of the wall-plate tending to confirm the suggestion that Building B was open on the south side. Perhaps significantly, L7, containing much charcoal and fired clay, was restricted to the eastern bay of the building and partly sealed the north edge of F33. Feature 62 may have been the remains of another smithing hearth in the western half of the building.

Although F29 appeared to be *c.* 0.10 m above the undisturbed Roman level, its solid construction may have prevented its destruction by medieval ploughing, for its form suggests that it was the base for another hearth. The post-holes in this area and L8 itself also contained much charcoal, fired clay and slag, and F41a may suggest a building here.

Recent excavation in the *vicus* outside the Roman fort at Manchester has produced evidence of iron-working on a considerable scale, the hearths being associated with buildings and other

features (Jones, 1974, esp. Ch. IV). Building D at Manchester was constructed towards the end of the second century, parallel to the road and approximately 2.5 m from it. It was *c.* 12.5 m by 5 m overall, with a clay floor, the roof being supported on six pairs of substantial posts. The excavators reconstruct the building as being open on all sides. It was certainly open between posts on the long side facing away from the road, since a hearth was sited directly under the line of the wall plate, but the opposite (front) wall could have been lightly infilled without any sign of this appearing in the archaeological record. The area onto which the building opened was sporadically metallated. An earlier building (C i/ii, of mid-2nd century date) was of similar form, *c.* 2.5 m wide and more than 11 m long, although this was laid out in the usual way, at right angles to the road. Structural evidence was rather scant, but it was apparently open along one side and walled on the other; it contained three smithing hearths. The similarity between those structures and Building B is clear, as is the similarity between the siting of Manchester Building D and our Building B within their respective plots. Manchester Building D also provides a parallel for the siting of hearths under the line of the wall plate of a building; in both cases it seems probable that the hearths were wholly sheltered from rain by the eaves. Some hearths at Manchester were of simple clay construction, similar to our F33 (although generally perforated), whilst others overlay a foundation of packed stones similar to our F29 (Jones, 1974, 148).

Contemporary with Building B was a hollow, probably to be interpreted as a track, running east-west across the back of the fenced enclosure; it seems to have provided access to the adjacent plot. Later in Phase III, some time after *c.* 330-340, the area outside the building, including the probable track, seems to have been metallated (L3). This was largely disturbed but may have been, in part, a platform for a structure similar to Building A but leaving no other trace.

The dating evidence suggests that L3 continued in use while L1 was being deposited, from *c.* 340 until at least 360-370. Layer 1, whilst not a consolidated floor surface, was largely confined to the area of Building B and thus seems to represent an accumulation of debris including much slag, charcoal and iron scrap during the life of the structure, rather than a subsequent deposit.

The finds post-dating the main occupation—a Theodosian coin of 388-402 and a late Roman buckle—were both found in post-Roman contexts; none the less, it seems likely that they originated in the immediate vicinity. They are probably best regarded as casual losses alongside the main road.

Medieval and later activity on the site, down to the 19th century, seems to have been almost wholly agricultural. The earliest pottery from the field ditch F42 (Fig. 27.149) belongs to the 12th, or at latest the early 13th century, suggesting that cultivation had begun by that time. However, the garter-hook, probably of 7th-11th-century date (Fig. 12.16), suggests that it may have begun earlier, unless the object is to be regarded as a casual loss. Occasional use of the site for non-agricultural purposes in the medieval period is suggested by the articulated rib-cage of a horse, found in the ditch F42; the remains are consistent with its having been dressed and roasted, doubtless at some festival!

II. EXCAVATIONS AT 13-17 BANK STREET (SITE C) by S. R. Bassett

Standing buildings on the Bank Street frontage of the site dated principally from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and were underlain by extensive cellars partly of 17th-century date. In order to assess the potential of the area to the rear, a trench of *c.* 50 m² (shown on Fig. 4) was excavated in June and July 1971, recent levels being removed mechanically. The results, although not without interest, did not justify further work.

The excavation was financed by grants from the Department of the Environment and Braintree Urban District Council, and conducted under the auspices of the Essex Archaeological Society. Our thanks are due to the Chelmsford Star Co-operative Society and their architects, Stanley Bragg and Partners, for permission to excavate; to Messrs. Budgen and Company for

allowing the restriction of their rear access, and to the excavators: T. Appleton, P. Hawley, Miss W. E. Knappett, Miss J. Secker, P. Sewter and E. Sinker.

A comprehensive report, including full details of the post-medieval features, has been deposited with the finds in Colchester Museum.

Description of the Excavated Features

For descriptions of layers and key to sections see Appendix, pp. 79–80.

Period O

An old ploughsoil, 1, sporadically covered by a thin turf line, 2, overlay the natural brickearth. Layer 1 contained Romano-British pottery and a sherd of 11th- to 12th-century date; it was removed only from the unstippled area shown on Fig. 29.

Period I (Fig. 29)

A rectangular pit, F1, was dug, 1.20 m deep but truncated by later features, the upcast being spread to the west; its profile (Fig. 30, S1) suggests a timber lining, doubtless removed before the clay 3a was deposited.¹⁷ Layer 3b probably accumulated as a result of the collapse and weathering of the sides. Subsequent filling, concentrated at the north end, was with loamy clay 4, followed by charcoal 8. An apparently curved timber-slot, F2, bounded an area of gravel metalling 6, perhaps the floor of a building (Structure I) which lay largely outside the excavation. Metalling 5 (recognisable only in section) was deposited between F1 and F2, probably intermittently; elsewhere, the turf, 2, remained. Later in the period, F2 was filled with 5, which also covered the metalling 6. Dating evidence was scant, but to judge from the pottery from the site as a whole (below, pp. 72–74), occupation may have begun in the later 12th century; it had certainly begun by the early 13th.

Period II (Fig. 29)

A palisaded fence or just possibly the wall of a building (F4 and F5; Structure II) was constructed on a north-west to south-east alignment. It contained an entrance flanked by a substantial post set in F4. The position of this entrance suggests that the structure was not erected until after the filling of the north end of F1. The north side of the entrance had been destroyed by later features. To the west of F5, part of a layer of gravel metalling, 11, had survived extensive later disturbance. Feature 3, whose filling (10) was very moist, may be the edge of a well or deep pit largely beyond the limit of excavation.¹⁸ To the east of F4 and F5, the metalling 5 was thickened and similar material (9) used to fill the hollow surviving above F1; later the post-hole F6 was cut through it. There was little dating evidence for this period.

Period III (Fig. 29)

Features 4, 5, and 6 were filled following the demolition of Structure II. The pit F8 was dug, 0.50 m deep; it was truncated on the south and east by later features but generally resembled F1. Post-holes 7 and 11 were broadly contemporary. Subsequently, metalling 15 was laid; it survived only in patches.¹⁹ On this was deposited, or accumulated, a layer of clay and gravel, 16, containing much occupation debris and some charcoal (the latter especially towards the south-east). It contained pottery of 13th- and 14th-century date, and was cut by the gully F9.

Period IV (Fig. 31)

The timbers were removed from F7 and F11. These features, and F8 and F9, were filled and a ditch F12 dug on a north-south alignment; its north terminal, probably flanking an entrance,

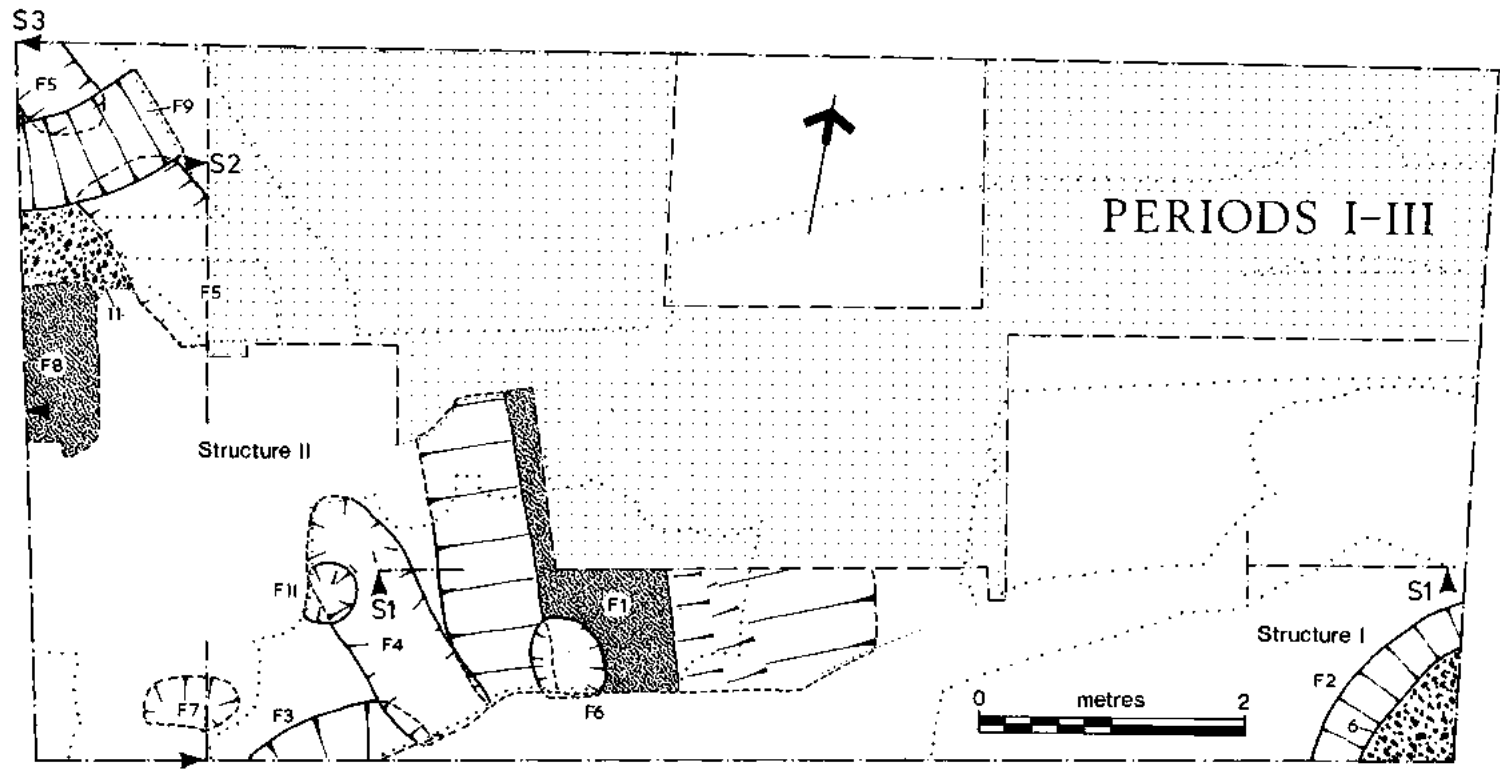


Fig. 29 Braintree: Site C, Periods I-III.

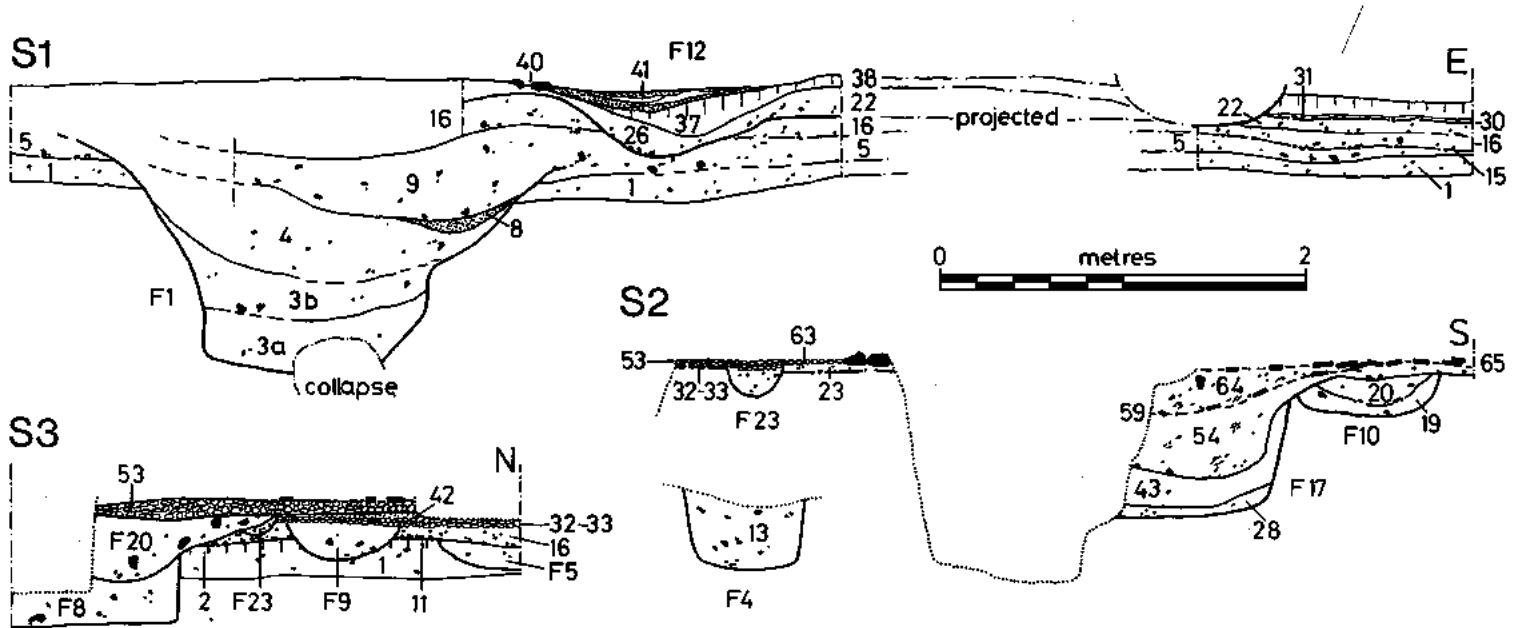


Fig. 30 Braintree: Site C, Sections. Levels later than Period VI are omitted.

clearly lay within the site but had been destroyed by later features. Part of the upcast (22) formed a low bank on the east side, the remainder being spread to either side. The ditch F22, on a complementary alignment, seems to be contemporary. The relationship of the four posts represented by F13-16 with the ditch F12 is uncertain, but they probably represent fences constructed either contemporaneously or as the silt 26 began to accumulate in it. The slot F21, whose alignment is complementary to that of the ditch, cut F13, one of this series.

Another rectangular pit, F17, was dug, the silt (28) within it suggesting that it had contained standing water. The material derived from its excavation was used to fill F8; thus there was possibly some continuity of function between the two. The residue of the upcast (25) was spread in the immediate vicinity, overlying that from F12. The shallow F10 may have been associated with F17, since both were filled at the end of Period V.

The north-west corner of the site was levelled, the area concerned being defined on the south by the slot F23. North of this, flint cobbles (32) were laid evidently as a floor, charcoally silt, 33, later filling its interstices (Structure III); to the south, 22 remained exposed. To the east of F12, gravel metalling 30 was laid; it was eventually covered by loamy debris 31. Layers 31 and 33 produced pottery of 14th- to 15th-century date, whilst features 8, 9 and 11, filled at the beginning of the Period, contained 13th- and 14th-century material, as did the upcast 22.

Period V (Fig. 31)

The profile of the top of the primary silt of F12 suggests that the ditch was shallowly recut at this time, the silt 37 subsequently forming. To the south of F21, the loam 38 probably developed naturally towards the end of the period; it was covered with sparse gravel metalling 39. The silt 37 contained pottery of the 15th century, and 40 pottery sherds of the 16th century. The shallow pit F20 may have been dug in this phase.

Period VI onwards

Structure III was demolished soon after a layer of mortar (42) had been deposited on its floor. The ditch F12 was levelled with 40 and 41, marking the final abandonment of this boundary. Features 10, 17, 20, 21 and 22 were filled. F40 and mortar spread +2, as well as the presence of mortar and unmortared flint in F20, seem to suggest that some masonry structure in the area was being built or altered. An east-west fence supported on timber posts, whose line is shown on Fig. 31, was established and clayey deposit 54, similar to the filling of F20-22, was spread to the south of it. This was metalled with peg tile fragments 59 to within 1-1.5 m of the fence, the remaining area being covered with dark soil 60. The subsidence hollow which subsequently formed above F17 was made up with 64, and covered with more tile, 65.

To the north of the fence, a thick layer of gravel metalling (53) was laid. A latrine-house with brick foundations was subsequently built to the south of the fence at the east end of the site, and a complex sequence of drains (including a brick culvert), and yard surfaces of 17th- to 19th-century date were encountered. A substantial amount of 17th-century pottery, including stoneware, was found in F20 and L54. In the 19th century, the fence was replaced by a brick wall, shown on the Tithe Map, 1841.

The Finds by P. J. Drury except where noted

I. COINS AND JETTONS by D. L. Jones

1. Worn halfpenny, probably of Edward I (1272-1307). Rev: plain cross with three pellets in each quarter, legend/TAS/LO (CIVITAS LONDON). *English Hammered Coins* Type VIA with unbarred A. From a post-medieval context.

S3

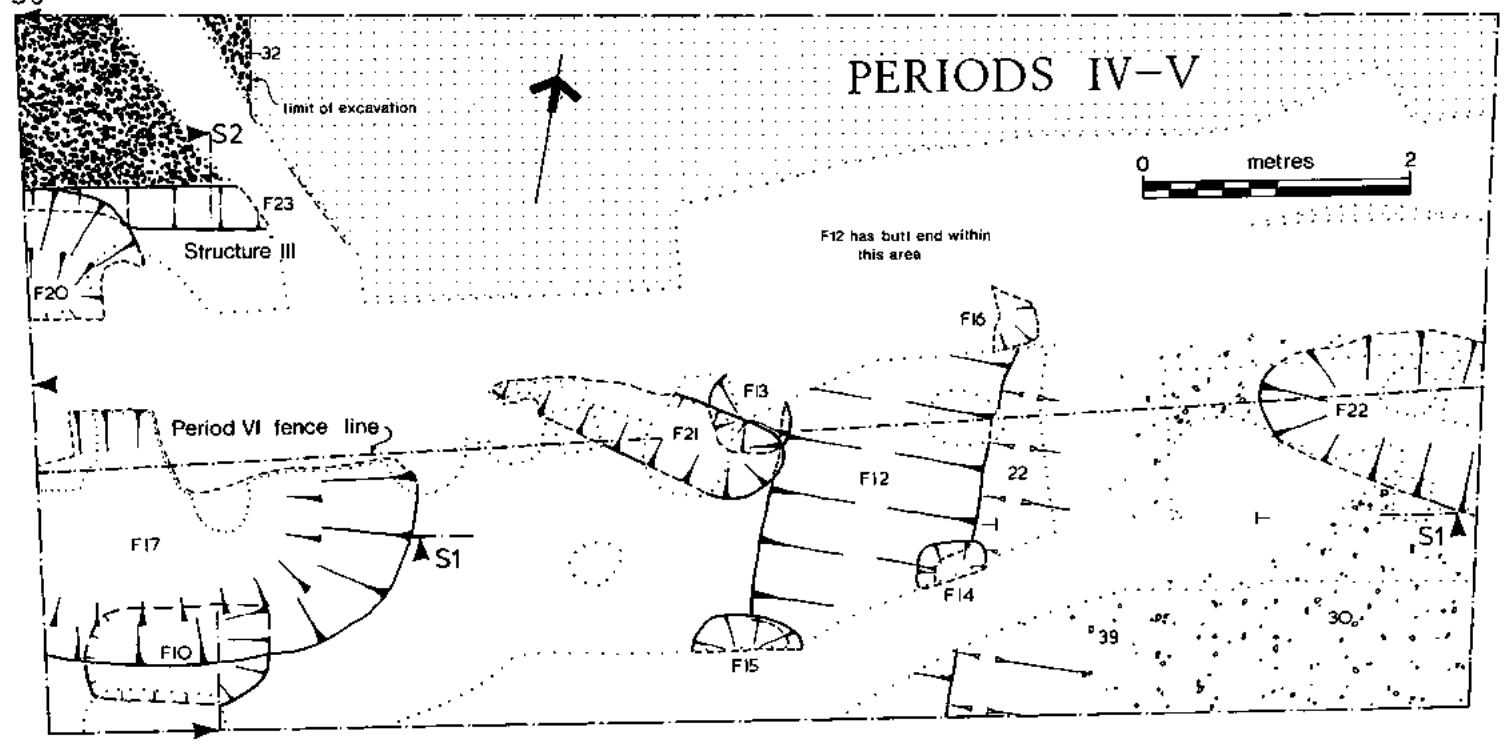


Fig. 31 Braintree: Site C, Periods IV-V. The Period VI fence line is shown in broken line; Layer 30 metalling is shown by solid symbols, Layer 39 metalling by open symbols.

2. Late Nuremberg jetton, 24 mm, normal type (Reichsapfel in trilobe, three crowns and three lys), garbled Lombardic legend (BAOI or similar repeated). Late 16th century; from L54.
 3. Similar jetton, 24 mm, obv. legend includes HANS SCHVLTES, remainder garbled; c. 1600; unstratified.

II. OBJECTS OF COPPER ALLOY

- Fig. 32.1 Rowel, cast with flat back; the face retains much of its original gilding. From L16.
 Fig. 32.2 Fitting, the prongs of which have apparently been clenched over; probably from a shoe. From L54.
 Fig. 32.3 Bell, the body partly crushed at the base, fabricated from bronze sheet. From L59.
 Fig. 32.4 Button. The face and back are formed of separate sheets of metal, the face plate being larger and hammered over the edge of the back plate. Both plates have die-stamped decoration and there are traces of the attachment of the shank visible on the back plate. Unstratified; but probably a Birmingham product of the 18th or early 19th century.

Not illustrated: Fragments, probably offcuts of sheet, from L38 and L54; fragments of a thin-walled cast vessel, probably a skillet, from L47 and L53.

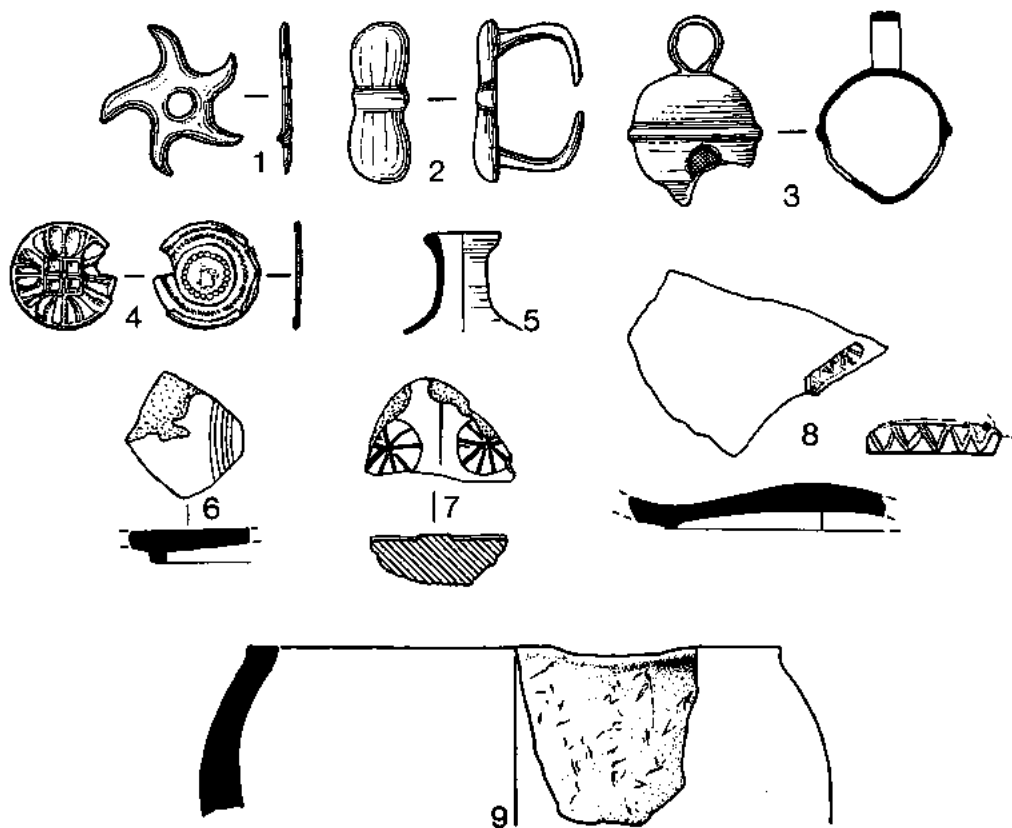


Fig. 32 Braintree: Site C. Objects of Bronze (1-4, Scale 1:1), Glass (5, Scale 1:2), Pottery (6, Scale 1:2) and Burnt Clay (7, Scale 1:2); Site B. Pottery (8, Scale 1:2, stamp 1:1); Site J. Pottery (9, Scale 1:2).

III. OBJECTS OF IRON

Nails occurred in Period I and later contexts; part of a knife was found in L54.

IV. THE GLASS

A fragment of a very fine clear glass vessel, and the neck of a bottle in light green iridescent metal (Fig. 32.5) were found in a 15th-century context. Fragments of post-medieval window glass came from L54 and later contexts.

V. THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY by Miss C. M. Simpson

Period III Contexts

- Fig. 33.1 Brown sandy fabric with grey surfaces, containing some crushed shell; Late 12th to 13th century. From L16.
- Fig. 33.2 Body sherds from a decorated Oxford jug. Lower body has reddish-brown painted lattice design; upper body also has a raised strip and incised herring-bone design. Splashes of glaze, very sparse towards the base, appearing brown on the paint, yellowish elsewhere. Surfaces are hard, buff-pink and sandy, with a light grey core. Late 13th to early 14th century. From L16 and a Period VI post-hole.
- Fig. 33.3 Hard brown fabric; 14th century. From F5, fill 14 (Period II/III).
- Fig. 33.4 Gritty greyware, with thin wash around rim and burning on exterior; 13th century. From L16.
- Fig. 33.5 Sandy fabric with brown core and dark grey surfaces; 13th to 14th century.²⁰ From L17.
- Fig. 33.6 Sandy greyware; 13th century. From L24 (Period III/IV).

Period IV Contexts

- Fig. 33.7 Hard grey fabric; 14th century. From F13, fill 29.

Period V Contexts

- Fig. 33.8 Hard pimpley greyware; 13th to 14th century. From L38.
- Fig. 33.9 Jug rim, with splashes of glaze on exterior; sandy orange fabric with thin grey-brown wash; 15th century. From L38.
- Fig. 33.10 Coarse fabric with many small flint grits, grey-brown; shows burning on exterior; 12th to early 13th century. From L38.
- Fig. 33.11 Hard, smooth, light grey fabric; 13th or 14th century. From L38.
- Fig. 33.12 Fragments of two-handled colander, with two rows of draining-holes through the upper body; the fabric is orange, sandy, with all-over glaze. Probably 15th to 16th century. From F12, fills 37 and 40.

Period VI Contexts

- Fig. 33.13 Fabric containing many small grits; probably 13th century but possibly earlier, ? pre 1250. From F21, fill 45.
- Fig. 33.14 Sandy fabric, greyish-pink in colour; ? 14th century; from F12, fill 40.

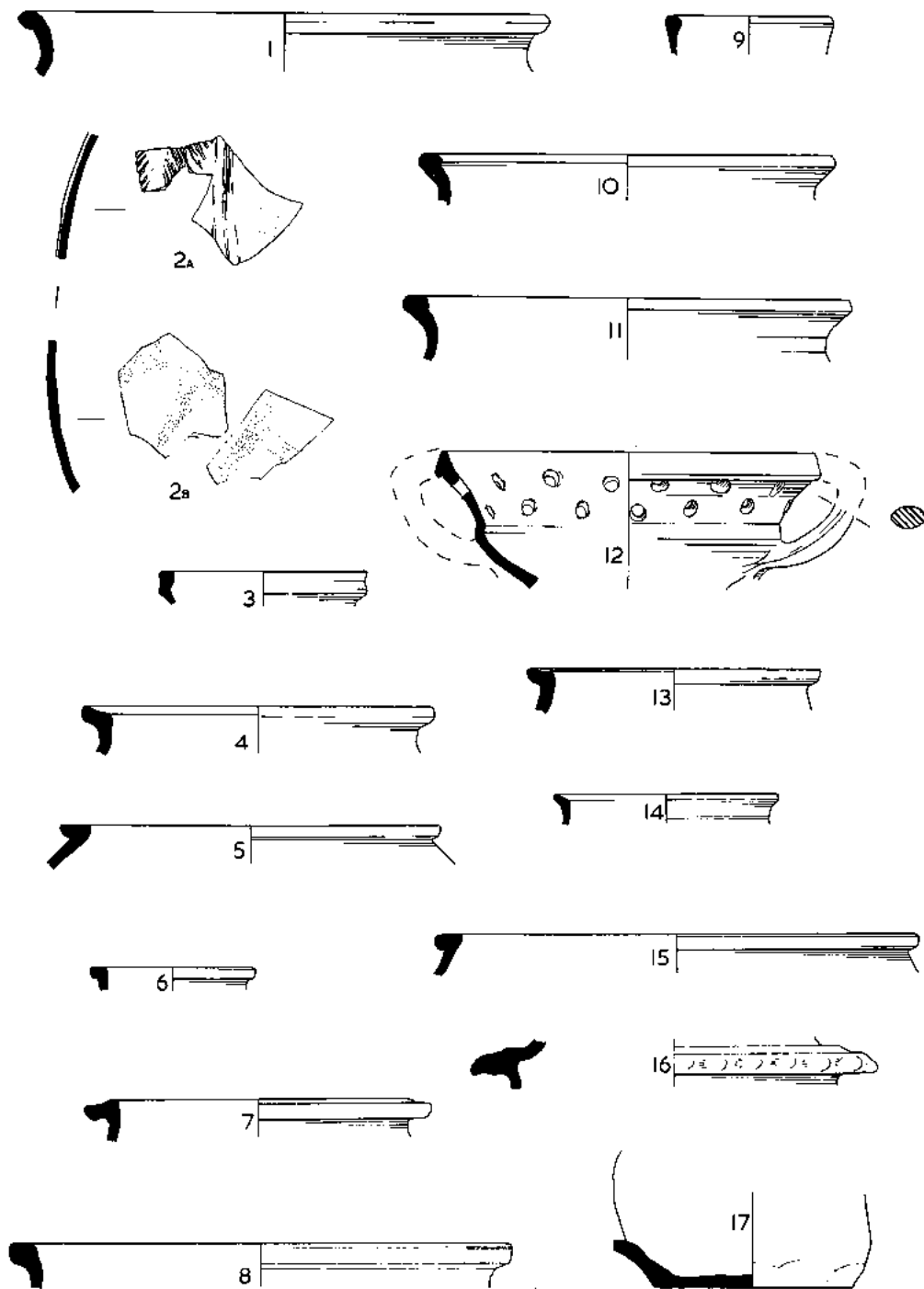


Fig. 33 Braintree: Site C. Pottery 1-17. Scale 1:4.

- Fig. 33.15 Grey-brown slightly pimply fabric; probably 13th but possibly early 14th century. From L54 in F17.
- Fig. 33.16 Lid, with finger-tipping on edge and splashes of glaze on top and inside; ? 15th century. From L54 in F17.
- Fig. 33.17 Sherd of small pitcher with basal spout; hard smooth orange fabric with partial glaze near spout; 16th century. From L54 in F17.
- Fig. 34.18 Everted rim sherd of cooking pot; coarse grey fabric with small grits, apparently vesiculated; 11th or early 12th century. From a Period VI post-hole.
- Fig. 34.19 Pimply orange ware; possibly 14th century. From L54.
- Fig. 34.20 Pimply greyware with brown core; probably 13th century. From L54.
- Fig. 34.21 Base of ? jug, knife-trimmed, with accentuated wheel-marks; soft, fine micaceous fabric, pink-brown in colour, with glazing on interior and exterior; 14th or 15th century. From L60.
- Fig. 34.22 Coarse, dark grey fabric; 13th century. From L60.
- Fig. 34.23 Rim, or possibly foot-ring, of chafing dish; hard orange ware with splashes of glaze under exterior of rim; 15th century or possibly later. From L60.
- Fig. 34.24 Hard, sandy, orange earthenware; rilled body with 'all-over exterior and partial interior brown glaze; 17th century. From L54.
- Fig. 34.25 Hard, smooth, unglazed earthenware; typical of the 16th and 17th centuries. From L59.
- Fig. 34.26 Pedestal base in hard, smooth, orange fabric; partially glazed (glaze thickest on exterior body and underside of base); probably 17th century. From L54.
- Fig. 34.27 Hard, sandy, orange, unglazed fabric; 15th century or later. From L54.
- Fig. 34.28 Smooth, sandy, orange earthenware, knife-trimmed base, glazed on interior of base only; 17th century. From L54.
- Fig. 34.29 Coarse, orange, sandy fabric with all-over interior glaze and thin brown exterior slip; 16th or possibly 17th century. From L54.
- Fig. 34.30 Grey, pimply fabric, unglazed; 14th century. From L54.

Residual Material from Later Contexts

- Fig. 34.31 Rim and handle of jug, orange fabric and all-over glaze; 16th century.
- Fig. 34.32 Hard, grey-brown fabric, ? 13th century.
- Fig. 34.33 Hard, pimply, grey fabric, 13th or 14th century.
- Fig. 34.34 Ladle with handle missing; smooth, hard, orange fabric; 16th or 17th century.
- Fig. 34.35 Orange, sandy fabric with partial interior glaze; probably 15th century, but possibly later.
- Fig. 34.36 Rim of jug with small spout; fabric is of 'early medieval' type, with many small grits and a distinctive grey core with light brown surfaces; probably late 12th or early 13th century.
- Fig. 34.37 Coarse, brown fabric containing small grits; possibly 13th century.
- Fig. 34.38 Light grey core with hard, light brown surfaces, containing small round grits; late 12th or ? early 13th century.
- Fig. 34.39 Coarse greyware, apparently burnt; 13th century.
- Fig. 34.40 Hard, grey fabric with splashes of glaze on interior; 14th century.

NOTE: The dating of this material is largely based on the study of stratified material from excavations by S. R. Bassett at Harwich, Maldon and Pleshey (the publication of which is in hand), together with material from published sites, for example that of King John's Hunting Lodge at Writtle (Rahtz, 1969); discussion of the dating evidence would be premature at this stage.

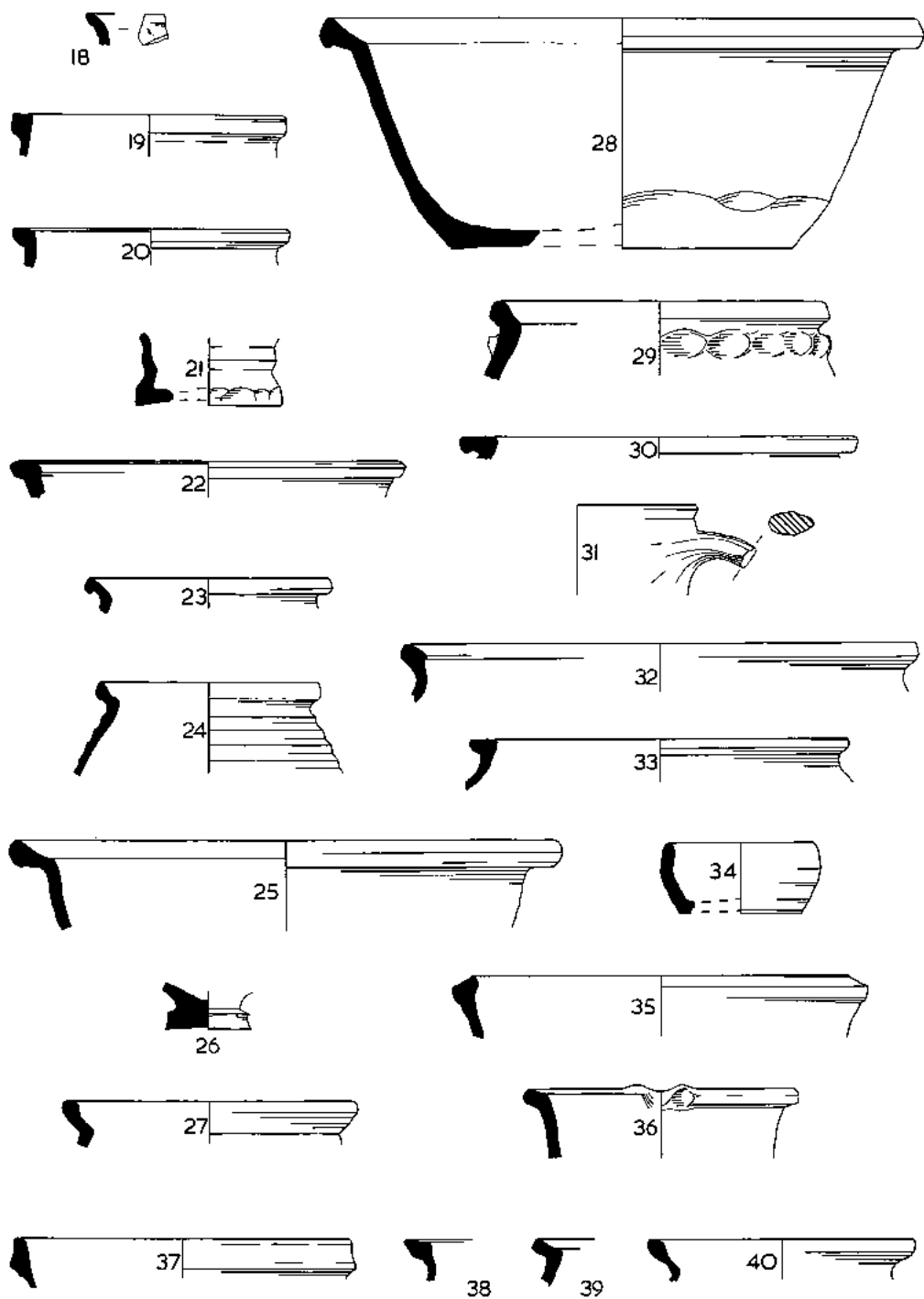


Fig. 34 Braintree: Site C. Pottery 18-40. Scale 1:4.

VI. THE ROMAN AND EARLIER POTTERY

Belgic

Fig. 35.41 Fabric similar to 42 below; much abraded. From Layer 4.

Fig. 35.42 Shoulder of jar in an orange-brown, rather granular fabric, grey core, black flecked; exterior burnished. A slight pattern is detectable in the burnishing, forming a horizontal band. From Layer 53.

Fig. 32.6 Copy of a Gallo-Belgic *Terra Nigra* platter, similar fabric to 35.41, but more fully reduced, with a dark brown surface. Once burnished but now abraded; decorated internally with five concentric burnished lines. From F5 (L14). At Camulodunum these copies are mostly post-conquest (Hawkes and Hull, 1947, 222), but the fabric of this example does not suggest a late date.

Five plain body sherds in similar 'Belgic' fabrics were found in other residual contexts.

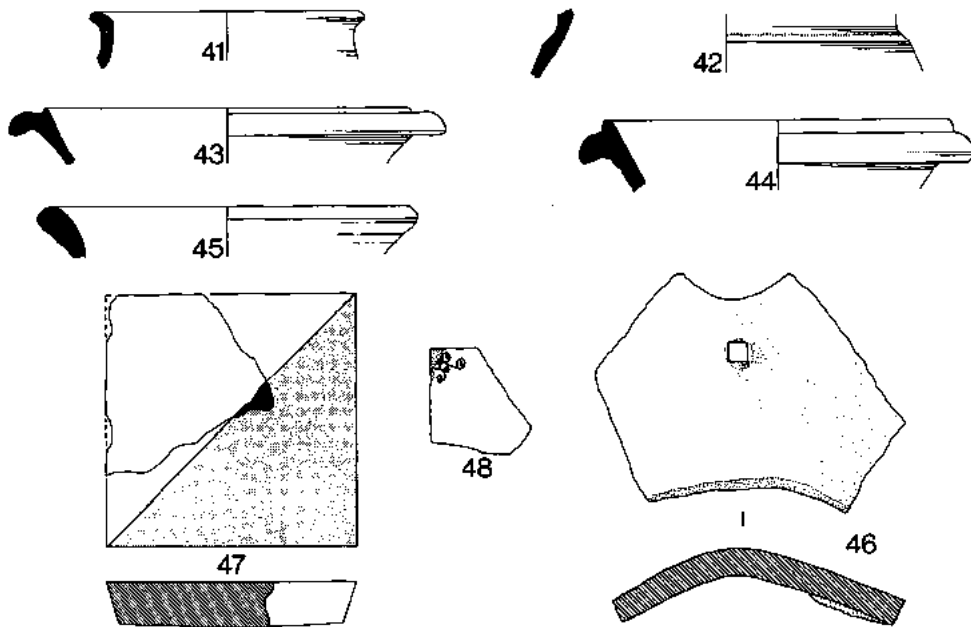


Fig. 35 Braintree: Site C. Pottery 41-45, Scale 1:4; Tile 46-48, Scale 1:4.

Terra Sigillata by W. J. Rodwell

The following forms were present, all residual in post-Roman contexts; f27, S.G., Flavian,²¹ probably late; f31, C.G., 2nd century; f33, C.G., Antonine; f35, S.G., Late Flavian, burnt; f36, S.G., probably Flavian; f37, C.G., Hadrianic/early Antonine; f37, Les Martres de Veyre, c. A.D. 100-130; f37, possibly S.G., 1st century, heavily burnt.

Some ten other fragments were found, too small for classification, including one possibly of an E.G. f18/31, burnt, probably of mid-2nd-century date.

Romano-British Coarse Wares

Some 200 sherds of rather abraded Romano-British coarse pottery were found in residual contexts. The material ranged in date from 1st century to the end of the Roman period with a slight quantitative dominance of late over early types. It included two sherds of Hadham ware, a

sherd of a Spanish amphora (buff, sandy fabric) and coarsely sand-tempered late-Roman grey wares. The majority is relatively small and abraded. The following are illustrated:

- Fig. 35.43 Oxfordshire colour-coat bowl, in an orange-red micaceous fabric with traces of the deep red slip coat remaining. Most of the interior is spalled. Late 4th century or later.
- Fig. 35.44 Flanged rim bowl in a near-white fabric with greyish core, covered with a deep brown slip coat. A Nene Valley product. The form appears at Verulamium in the 4th century, cf. Frere, 1972, nos. 1194, 1206, 1225-6, all from 4th-century levels, mostly late. It is largely 4th century at Leicester (Kenyon, 1948, 121). Several body sherds in a similar fabric were also present.
- Fig. 35.45 Rim of a large jar in a hard light grey fabric with a texture similar to a fine-grained sandstone; the surfaces were once black but are now mostly abraded. Eleven sherds in a similar fabric were found, mostly 12/17 mm thick; one had vertical combing, another the remains of a white slip coat. The sherds may all be from the same vessel; the fabric is similar to that of the products of the Alice Holt Forest Kilns, near Farnham (Surrey), but not the same.²² Probably 4th century in date.

VII. CLAY PIPES

Two unstratified bowls were found, one of *c.* 1640-70, the other *c.* 1660-80; dating based on Oswald, 1975. Stem fragments were found in L54 and later contexts.

VIII. STONE OBJECTS

Part of a worn upper stone of a Rhenish lava quern, maximum thickness 35 mm, Romano-British, was residual in L16; another fragment came from F1, L4. Two flint flakes were found in medieval contexts (above, p. 26).

IX. IRON SLAG

A small amount of smithing slag was found, similar to that from Site E, and thus probably residual material of Romano-British date.

X. THE BUILDING MATERIALS

Romano-British Tile

An appreciable quantity of residual fragments of tegulae, imbrices and bonding tiles, and one fragment of combed box-flue tile were found; none was mortared.

Medieval Roof Tiles

Peg tile fragments, 12-15 mm thick, from tiles 170-180 mm wide, with two round holes, were ubiquitous from the early part of Period III onwards. One from F16 had a square hole and one from L64 bore traces of glaze. A fragment of a hip tile with the point cut away before firing, perhaps to accommodate a finial (Fig. 35.46) came from F20.

Medieval and Later Bricks

a. 230 × 110 × 52 mm, in a red sandy, poorly levigated fabric; moulded in the usual way. A complete example from a modern disturbance; fragments from L64.

b. 217 × 112 × 50 mm, sandy, open texture, usually overfired to a purple colour, moulded in the usual way. A complete example from a post-medieval context, fragments from Features 17 (Layers 43, 54); 20 (L44); 21 (L45); also L25, L64.

- c. Soft, coarse, red bricks, containing large pebbles, the surfaces straw marked, used flat as paviors, *c.* 42 mm thick, more than 100 mm wide. Fragments from F17 (L54) and later contexts.
- d. Very hard-fired bricks, yellowish-khaki fabric streaked with grey, 35 × 60 mm, more than 90 mm long, worn on one long side from use as paviors set on edge.²³ From L54; another fragment unstratified.

Floor and Wall Tiles

a. A floor tile fragment (Fig. 35.47) 22–24 mm thick, in a hard fabric with little obvious tempering, brick-red in colour, with a grey reduced core. The edges are sharply undercut, and the base retains a sandy surface from the mould. Half of the surface was covered with a pinkish-cream slip, painted on, and the other half left plain; the whole was then covered with a rather thick lead glaze, producing brownish-yellow and brown surface colours respectively. From the drawing, it is clear that the tile was *c.* 130–135 mm (5¼ in.) square. The surviving fragment is heavily worn. Unstratified.

There are some 400 exactly similar tiles extant in Bardfield Saling Church, some 8 km north-west of Braintree.²⁴ They are reset mostly in the nave floor, and since no other designs survive, it is likely that they were used alone, probably shortly before the completion of the church; the chancel was dedicated in 1380. (Morant, 1768, ii, 521 f.; RCHM, i, 11). Floors paved with plain-colour quarries or diagonally divided tiles laid in simple geometric patterns seem to have first become popular in the area during the last quarter of the 14th century. A geometric pavement of plain tiles appears to have been laid in the nave of the chapel of Pleshey Castle *c.* 1380–97, and similar tiles from the same source have been tentatively connected with a reconstruction of the reredorter of Chelmsford Dominican Priory *c.* 1380–85 (Drury, 1977, 105–108).

Simple geometric pavements (e.g. Crummy, 1974, photo p. 30) were popular throughout the 15th century, during which period very few decorated tiles were produced in the county and Flemish imports accounted for an increasing share of the market for plain tiles. Diagonally divided Flemish tiles, *c.* 230 mm square were used at Pleshey *c.* 1450–60 (Drury, 1977, 115; 117) and tiles of this order of size, either imported (*brode Holand tyle*—Keen, 1971, 148) or local copies seem to have been the norm from the middle of the century or earlier.²⁵ The most probable date for the Bardfield/Braintree tiles, which seem to have been produced locally (no others *exactly* similar are known) thus seems to be *c.* 1375–1450. If the suggested date for their use at Bardfield Saling is correct, a date in the earlier part of this range seems likely; perhaps coincidentally, this is the period when the area of the town fronting Bank Street attained its present layout.

- b. Fragment of plain quarry, soft red sandy fabric, cast in a sanded mould, smooth unworn top surface, 29 mm thick, no sign of glaze, unstratified. Probably a late or post-medieval *pamment*.²⁶
- c. Fragment of a delftware wall tile, probably 18th century. English, hard whitish-buff body, slightly greyish glaze, blue line decoration in corner. (Fig. 35.48). Unstratified.

Burnt Clay

Fragments of burnt chalky boulder clay, incorporating much vegetable material, probably from oven structures, were found in F17 (L43), and Layers 17, 22, 24 and 41. An unusual fragment (Fig. 32.7) in a red sandy fabric with chalk inclusions, apparently similar to the foregoing, was found in L38. The surface, brown/buff in colour, has been impressed with a rather shallowly cut rosette stamp apparently set in a plain panel. Similar, although much bolder, stamps were used on floor tiles at Chelmsford Dominican Priory²⁷ but since the fabric of this object is relatively soft, and the surface is unglazed and unworn, it is clearly not part of a floor tile.

Discussion

The significance of the Romano-British material will be discussed below, pp. 124-127. In the early medieval period, the site was cultivated; there is no pottery earlier than the 11th century, and the amount of 12th century material suggests that, until the latter part of the century at least, it was derived from manuring rather than proximity to dwellings. However, by the early 13th century at latest, cultivation had ceased, and there appeared features doubtless associated with buildings on or near the present road frontages, but none the less arranged on rather haphazard alignments. The small area excavated makes interpretation of these difficult, but at least one earth-fast timber building with a gravel-metalled floor (Structure I and possibly Structure II) can be suggested, the latter seemingly aligned in relation to Rayne Road.

In Period IV, major changes occurred, particularly the division of the site by the ditch F12. The line of this can, or could until recently, be traced to the north and south in extant property boundaries which form part of a readily discernible planned layout on the west side of Bank Street (Fig. 4, facing page 138). This will be discussed later (p. 132); suffice it to say here that evidence from this excavation suggests that the changes took place in the late 14th century or a little later—say c. 1400. However, occupation of the 'back land' to the west continued thereafter, as Structure III indicates.

Little subsequent activity is discernible until the plot was divided in the 17th century, and major building work in flint and brick probably undertaken. It is presumably to this period that the older part of the frontage cellars—the earliest element in the frontage buildings standing in 1971—related. Whilst the area to the south of the Phase VI fence probably remained private, the metalled area to the north seems to have become part of a lane giving access from Rayne Road to a number of properties in this area. It is shown thus on the first edition Ordnance Survey 1:2500 plan, 1875.

APPENDIX

Descriptions of the archaeological layers, and key to Sections

1. Green slightly loamy clay-brickearth.
2. Brown clayey loam with some pebbles.
3. Dirty orange to light grey-green clay-brickearth (3a cleaner and more orange than 3b). *Fill of F1.*
4. Light grey-green loamy clay with much inmixed brickearth; slightly gravelly; probably a series of tips not separable in excavation. *Fill of F1.*
5. Grey-green very gravelly clay with some limited but obvious gravel lenses; also *Fill of F2.*
6. Thin but even spread of small and medium gravel.
8. Thick but limited charcoal deposit. *Fill of F1.*
9. Differentially deep mixture of light brown to green loamy clay with patches and smears of cleanish orange clay and some gravel. *Fill of F1.*
10. Grey-brown slightly loamy clay, very wet; chalk- and charcoal-flecked and containing much RB tile. *Fill of F3.*
11. Thick gravel spread.
12. Light orange-brown clay with charcoal and chalk flecks. *Fill of F6.*
13. Dark grey clayey loam, slightly sandy; contains patches of dirty orange clayey brickearth and is charcoal-flecked. *Fill of F4.*
14. Greenish-brown silty clay-loam with some pebbles; charcoal-flecked. *Fill of F5.*
15. Sparse gravel in discontinuous patches.
16. Brownish loamy clay and gravel, with a varying charcoal content. *Fill of F7.*
18. Light brown clay-loam, charcoal-flecked. *Fill of F11.*

19. Grey-brown clay-loam with streaks of cleanish orange clay; pebbly. *Fill of F10.*
20. Dirty pebbly orange clay. *Fill of F10.*
21. Mixture of grey-green chalky clay and cleanish orange clay; some pebble. *Fill of F8.*
22. Mixture of very much dirty orange clay and some green-brown loamy clay; a few pebbles.
25. Dirty orange clay-brickearth.
26. Grey-brown slightly loamy clay; charcoal-flecked. *Fill of F12.*
27. Greenish-brown, slightly silty clay-loam with a few small pebbles; charcoal-flecked. *Fill of F9.*
28. Dark brown clayey silt. *Fill of F17.*
29. Medium brown clayey loam with some gravel; charcoal-flecked. *Fill of F13.*
30. Gravel spread.
31. Thin loamy debris; slightly sandy charcoally loam, occupation debris on 30.
32. Sizeable closely packed flint pebbles; no matrix.
33. Black loamy sand, containing very much charcoal and flecks of crushed chalk.
34. Dark brown clayey loam with some roof tile fragments. *Fill of F16.*
35. Dark brown clay-loam, charcoally. *Fill of F14.*
36. Dark charcoally clay with smears of dirty orange clay; contains chalk flecks. *Fill of F15.*
37. Green-brown loamy clay with some innixed cleanish chalky clay. *Fill of ? recut of F12.*
38. Dark brown clayey loam, containing some charcoal.
39. Very sparse gravel spread, much innixed with the top of 38.
40. Tip of unmortared flint nodules, some chalk lumps, and many fragments of peg tile in a gravelly clay matrix.
41. Interleaving charcoal and clay spreads, with lumps of mortar and chalk and fragments of fired clay.
42. Differentially deep spread of buff sandy mortar.
43. Cleanish orange clay-brickearth with some pockets of clay-loam and pebbles. *Fill of F17.*
44. Mixture of much dirty orange clay and some loam. Its lowest part was mortary and contained some unmortared flint nodules. *Fill of F20.*
45. Mixture of brown clay-loam and cleanish orange clay. *Fill of F21.*
46. As 45 above, but quite pebbly. *Fill of F22.*
53. Thick deposit of medium pebbles in a brown sandy loam matrix.
54. Brown clay-loam, noticeably charcoally; containing many fragments of building material.
59. Deliberately laid surface of large peg tile fragments.
60. Brown slightly clayey loam with some gravel, especially towards the base.
64. Dark brown clayey loam with much small gravel. *Fill of sinkage over F17.*
65. Scatter of horizontally laid peg tile fragments.

III. OBSERVATION OF BUILDING WORKS AT THE REAR OF 3 BANK STREET (SITE B) by P. J. Drury

In April 1971, the writer was asked²⁸ to inspect a well which had been exposed during the early stages of the construction of a rear extension to 'Hannays', 3 Bank Street. By the time of the visit, the excavation of the foundation trenches had revealed a number of features, which are shown on Fig. 36; the site is shown on Fig. 4 in relation to the town centre.

Features 1-3 were filled with greenish-grey clayey silt, and were covered only by relatively modern levels. Features 2 and 3 produced Flavian pottery, and it seems likely that the three features were broadly contemporary, having been filled during the late first century A.D.; the date of the stamped platter (see below) is consistent with this dating. They may have been pits which had been allowed to silt up more or less naturally, in a similar manner to the Phase I pits on site E, but in the absence of excavation, certainty is impossible. These were the only features

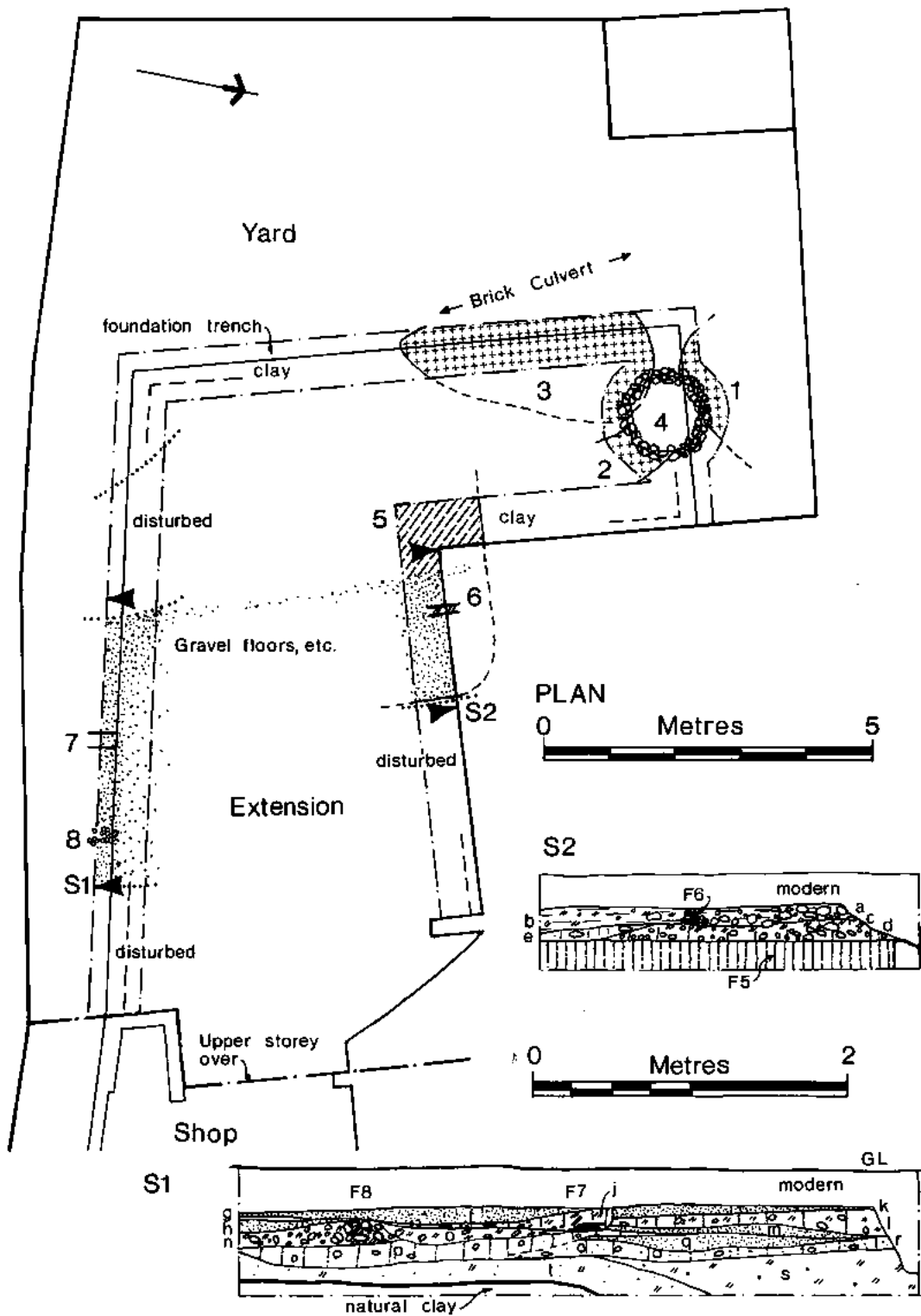


Fig. 36 Braintree: Site B, Plan and Sections.

which could be definitely identified as Romano-British, although the pit or ditch which is apparent in the base of section 1 may also be of this period. An old leached soil, *t*, flecked with charcoal, appears to continue into the feature,²⁹ whose main filling is the dark brown charcoal-flecked clay *s*.

The upper levels in S1 clearly relate to a sequence of structures whose west wall passes through the section. The lowest level, *p* (dark grey-brown, very pebbly loam containing oyster shell and charcoal flecks), with its less clayey extension to the west, *r*, is not certainly a floor level, but the diminished thickness of *r* to the west, and the relationship of the gravel metalling, *q*, to *r*, strongly suggests the former presence of a timber cill below F7. The flint and clay foundation, *8*, lies on *p*; layer *n* may be the corresponding floor, or conceivably a return cut obliquely. To the west, presumably on the outside, is the slightly pebbly brown clay, *o*, and beyond it, cut by F7, gravel metalling, *m*, pebbly clayey loam, *l*, and gravel metalling, *k*. Cut through this sequence is the peg tile foundation, *7*, covered by a destruction layer, *j* (tile fragments in loamy clay); it is possible that the return trench of F7 has been cut obliquely by the section. The destruction layer was finally covered by gravel metalling, *f*. Subsequently, the earlier strata seem to have been deliberately levelled, and covered by modern make-up and concrete paving.

The foundation trench for the north wall of the extension also indicated a sequence of building levels; however, save for the fact that the metalling layers died out at approximately the same distance from the back of the extant building, there was little correlation between the two. The levels in this northern section, S2, covered a pit filled with dark silty material, probably a medieval cess-pit (F5). The lack of subsidence in the overlying levels suggests that they are considerably later in date, probably post-medieval. The lowest floor, *d*, consisted of coarse gravel in a dark brown clayey loam matrix; it was capped with clayey loam containing charcoal, *c*, perhaps an occupation level. It is likely that the cill of a timber building stood on the edge of layer *d*, in the same general position as the thin red brick wall 6, which seems to be related to the coarse gravel and flint layer *a*. Two external levels were present, perhaps corresponding to these two phases; the lower, *e*, consisted of ashy loam containing tile and brick fragments and much pebble; the upper, *b*, consisted of a mixture of clean orange clay and clayey loam, with some tile and brick fragments and charcoal.

There were extensive modern disturbances in the areas observed, and this, together with the shallow nature of the excavation for the extension floor, precluded the recovery of plans of the structures observed in section. However, it seems reasonable to assume, in the light of the fact that the main building is *c.* 11.7 m deep from the Bank Street frontage, that they represent either the back of a wing extending to the rear of the medieval and later building which must have formerly occupied the site,³⁰ or the back of outbuildings to the rear of such a structure. There was no evidence to suggest the former presence of a kitchen in the vicinity. The date of the levels in S1 is unknown, but there is little reason to doubt that the lower layers are medieval, whilst the upper ones, and probably all those in S2 above F5, are post-medieval.

The well, 4, which was unfilled when located and had thus probably been in use until fairly recent times, had walls 0.25 m thick, built of small flints in brown lime mortar. It is probably of late- or post-medieval date. The remains of a post-medieval brick culvert, similar to that encountered on site C, were observed to the west of the west wall of the extension, much disturbed by modern features.

THE POTTERY

Prehistoric

A single sherd in a hard grey fabric with brown surfaces (the exterior burnished), tempered with fine crushed burnt flint, was found in layer *t*, in S1. It probably belongs to the Early pre-Roman Iron Age.

Terra Nigra by Valerie Rigby

Fig. 32.8 A potter's mark placed centrally on the upper surface of a platter similar in form to the imported terra nigra (TN) platter *Camulodunum* 16, with a shallow moulded foot-ring. Light blue sandy core, with black flecks; dark blue-grey micaceous surfaces. From F2.

No other stamps from this die have been identified. It is one of the simplest non-literate marks used, comprising a sequence of five V-motifs without a border or any other embellishments. The die-cutter clearly made no attempt to create the impression of a name.

Surprisingly few marks of this type have been found in Britain. It may have been introduced by way of imported stamped wares for there is an example on a TN platter from Colchester, but the mark is so simple that no actual prototype should have been necessary. Examples on cups and platters in locally made coarse wares have been identified at Wanborough in Wiltshire and at Colchester; none is closely dated. Judging by the number of stamped finds from both areas there must have been flourishing centres producing stamped cups and platters there in the 1st century A.D.

Few, if any, platters of *Cam.* form 16 in TN were imported before the Conquest and importation continued until c. A.D. 71 at least. Close copies were being made before the end of the Claudian period and continued to be produced well into the Flavian period.

Romano-British

Feature 3 produced several sherds in grey and grey with brown core wares. A sherd of a narrow-necked jar in a grey micaceous sandy fabric with a brown core was found near by; it has a broad cordon below a narrow one, high on the shoulder (*Cam* f231 or similar). All are probably Flavian.

A small number of grey body sherds were unstratified, and one came from the buried soil in S1.

Medieval

A few sherds were recovered, presumably derived from the medieval levels during the contractor's excavations. They comprised (a) a sherd in hard grey sandy ware, brown sub-surface with patchy cream slip and light green glaze over vertical combing (similar to Rahtz, 1969, Fig. 53.26, 30, but combed before slipping); (b) a ribbed jug handle with part of the rim attached, in a light grey, coarsely sand-tempered ware; orange surfaces, flecked with clear glaze; (c) a sagging base in a grey sandy ware with a brown exterior surface. All are 13th to early 14th century in date.

IV. TRIAL EXCAVATIONS (SITE J) NORTH OF MILL LANE

by M. R. Petchey

M. R. Petchey and D. G. Buckley (for Essex County Council) trial-trenched this site (shown on Fig. 2) in January 1976, in an attempt to locate the exact position of the Bishop of London's palace, whose general location has long been known (Newcourt, 1710, ii, 86). Kenworthy discussed the site in two articles (1893 and 1911) and published a sketch-map showing its location (Kenworthy, 1911). Certain discrepancies between the accounts and the sketch-map pointed to the possibility that the map might be inaccurate.

The area trial-trenched was being considered for housing development by Braintree District Council, to whom we are grateful for permission to excavate. The work was undertaken to discover whether the suggested layout might be arranged to avoid destroying the palace. However, no traces of the palace, or of any intensive occupation of the site in antiquity, were

discovered. It is probable therefore that Kenworthy's sketch map, although not his text, can be trusted.

The Finds

Apart from some body-sherds of early medieval date, most of which came from a general build-up of soil behind the western field boundary, and a fragment of Romano-British bonding tile, the only find was a rim sherd of a late Saxon globular jar.

The rim is upright and flat, in a coarse grass-tempered black fabric with buff vesiculated surfaces; it is probably hand made. (Fig. 32.9).

Although hand-made globular jars are often taken as an indication of early pagan Saxon settlement (Myres, 1969, 27), the form is also found in Ipswich ware (Hurst, 1957, 29-60, especially Fig. 2, p. 37) and the best parallel for this sherd is an Ipswich ware rim from Sedgeford, Norfolk, of 10th-century date. The Sedgeford rim is illustrated in Hurst, 1957, Fig. 2.4, p. 37; his date for the Sedgeford material is corrected in Addyman, 1972, 298.

V. MINOR EXCAVATIONS, SITES F, G AND H by P. J. Drury

Trial trenching, using a JCB 3c excavator, was undertaken on the following sites:

Site F The site to the rear of the Corn Exchange was examined following the demolition of the outbuildings in November 1973. The natural ballast and clay was found to be covered by an average of 0.20 m of recent building debris; neither finds nor features of pre-18th-century date were encountered in the single trench excavated. It seems likely that extensive terracing took place before the construction of the Exchange in the 19th century; the High Street frontage is extensively cellared (Fig. 4).

Site G Two trenches were excavated across the site of the former cattle market (now Tesco's supermarket), also in November 1973. Trench 1 revealed features connected with 18th- and 19th-century buildings on the site, cut into an average depth of 0.50-0.80 m topsoil and subsoil overlying the natural brickearth and gravel. In trench 2, similar conditions prevailed, except that the only recent structures encountered were associated with the Cattle Market. The sole ancient feature discovered was a ditch, c. 1.50 m wide, and 0.45 m deep below the top of the subsoil. It was filled with a homogeneous, fine greyish-buff sandy silt containing some pebbles; this seems to be a buried former ploughsoil. The buried soil and topsoil were 0.60 m thick at this point. Nothing was found in the feature to suggest its date, but the appearance of the filling and indeed the very absence of finds, would be consistent with an early medieval or earlier date. Its non-appearance in trench 1 may be due to the amount of disturbance found in the relevant area. At the south end of trench 2 the topsoil and subsoil were c. 1.10 m thick, because of the formation of a positive lynchet above the south boundary of the site.

The absence of medieval buildings or features and the great depth of soil encountered are consistent with this field having been the Fairfield. Examination of contractor's excavations on the site of the former buildings on the New Street frontage suggested that these, of early 17th-century date, were probably the first buildings on the site (Fig. 4).

Site H This area of allotments was trenched in January 1974, prior to the construction of a new Primary School. An average of 0.30 m of topsoil covered the natural brickearth, here thinly capping ballast. No ancient features or finds were encountered (Fig. 2).

Acknowledgements. We are grateful to the following site owners and architects for permission to excavate: Mr. D. J. Sibley, and Mr. G. D. Locke of Hutchinson, Locke and Monk (Site F); Tesco Limited, and Inskip and Wilczynski (Site G), the Education Department, Essex County Council (Site H).

VI. TRIAL EXCAVATIONS, SITE K by P. J. Drury

Following the demolition of 112-130 Rayne Road (a 19th-century laundry and some cottages), two trenches were cut at right angles to the road in May 1976. The site had been seriously disturbed by the former (partly cellared) building, the construction of which had been preceded by extensive levelling. The frontage had generally been reduced to the level of Rayne Road, which runs in a slight hollow, as it does further east—see p. 3 above.

In trench I, on the site of the laundry, a brown-grey, charcoal-flecked clayey subsoil was exposed at a depth of 0.30 m, over a length of 4 m; the remainder of the trench revealed deep disturbance. The subsoil (F1) contained Romano-British pottery, concentrated in a patch 14-16 m north of Rayne Road, at the spot marked 29 on Fig. 3. Trench II, 11 m west of Peel Crescent, revealed clayey gravel at 0.30 m, and negligible modern disturbance; other trial holes were equally barren. However, the cellars of 126 and 128 Rayne Road had cut through a feature (F2) 0.90 m deep and clearly truncated by 19th-century levelling. It was filled with a slightly pebbly grey silt, rather loose, and containing patches of iron pan. Romano-British material and some tile fragments probably of medieval or later date were found in the filling. The feature was probably a post-medieval roadside gravel pit, dug through, and partly backfilled with, Romano-British strata then extant; its extent westwards and southwards was not defined.

The Finds

F1 (SUBSOIL)

Terra Sigillata by W. J. Rodwell

f33, C.G., rim sherd, Hadrianic or Antonine.

f33, C.G., rim and half base stamped *senf*, abraded. Insufficient of the name-stamp survives for a certain identification, but the fragment fits die IIa of *SENNIVS* of Lezoux; the full reading would be *SENNIVS F*: c. A.D. 140-165.

Coarse Pottery

Coarse abraded 'Belgic' sherd with vegetable and black grog tempering, hand-made, grey with orange-red surfaces; sherd in hand-made, sand-tempered fabric, perhaps contemporary; c. 25 sherds of Romano-British pottery, including 1st-century wares (black-grogged sherds including the rim of a sub-Belgic platter, *Cam* f24A, and an everted rim jar sherd in a soft brown fabric with black burnished surfaces), and a range of grey sand-tempered wares of 2nd to 3rd or 4th-century date.

F2 (GRAVEL PIT)

Tegula and other tile fragments (see above); few sherds of Romano-British coarse pottery, including plain and bead-rim bowls, mostly 2nd century.

Discussion

Sufficient material has survived in two secondary contexts to show that the site was occupied in the Roman period, although virtually all the evidence for the nature of that occupation was probably destroyed in the 19th century or earlier. Agricultural activity in the Late pre-Roman Iron Age is suggested by the abraded (probably early) 'Belgic' sherds. The presence in the subsoil

of much of a Samian cup (f33) suggests the possibility of burials in the area in the 2nd century, but in general, the sample of Romano-British material was too small to date activity on the site within the period as a whole. For material from this general vicinity, see sites 29/29a in the Gazetteer (below, pp. 100–101).

Consent to excavate was granted by Braintree District Council, the owners of the site, who also provided a JCB to undertake the work, free of charge. Arrangements were made by M. R. Petchey of Essex County Council.

An Archaeological Gazetteer of Braintree by P. J. Drury

The purpose of this gazetteer is to place the Romano-British and Medieval features found in excavation in their proper context, and to form the basis, with the excavated evidence, for a discussion of the origins, form and development of settlement in the area from the Iron Age onwards. In general, therefore, only finds of Iron Age and later date are included, despite the fact that there is a considerable amount of earlier material from the area, some of it of particular interest. It is hoped to publish this in a separate paper in the future. In general, material later than the 14th century is also omitted. The following abbreviations are used:

CM	Colchester Museum
Top. File	Topographical File in Colchester Museum
BM	Braintree Museum
PEM	Passmore Edwards Museum, Newham.

The numbered sites are shown on Figs. 2, 3, and 4.

London Road Area

Discoveries of Romano-British material have been concentrated in this area, from the New Cottage Hospital northwards.

1. NEW COTTAGE HOSPITAL

Sherds found during the construction of the New Cottage Hospital, London Road, in 1921 were given to Braintree Museum by Lady Courtauld. There are a small number of jar rims of 1st- to 4th-century date, a perforated base, part of a thin-walled carinated beaker, *Cam.* f120B, and:

Fig. 37.1 Soft red ware with dark brown exterior, much abraded. The impressed decoration suggests an affinity with 'Romano-Saxon' styles; presumably 4th century.³¹ Compare Rodwell, 1970, Fig. 5K, p. 270; Myres, 1956, Fig. 5 (Group G).

2. NEAR THE RAILWAY BRIDGE

The Kenworthy Collection (CM), includes:

Fig. 37.2 Light grey fabric, containing a few black flecks; almost black, once-burnished surfaces. From 'London Road, South-East Nov. 09'.

Fig. 37.3 Probably the base of a folded beaker; thick, hard, grey-brown sandy fabric, black burnished surfaces. From 'South side London Road, Ry Bridge'.
These vessels belong to the late 3rd or 4th century.

Fig. 37.4 Lid in polished brown ware; not now traceable but drawn in CM files.

Not illustrated: Sherd of a narrow-necked jar in a brown granular fabric, black surfaces; 1st century. From 'London Road S.E. 09'.

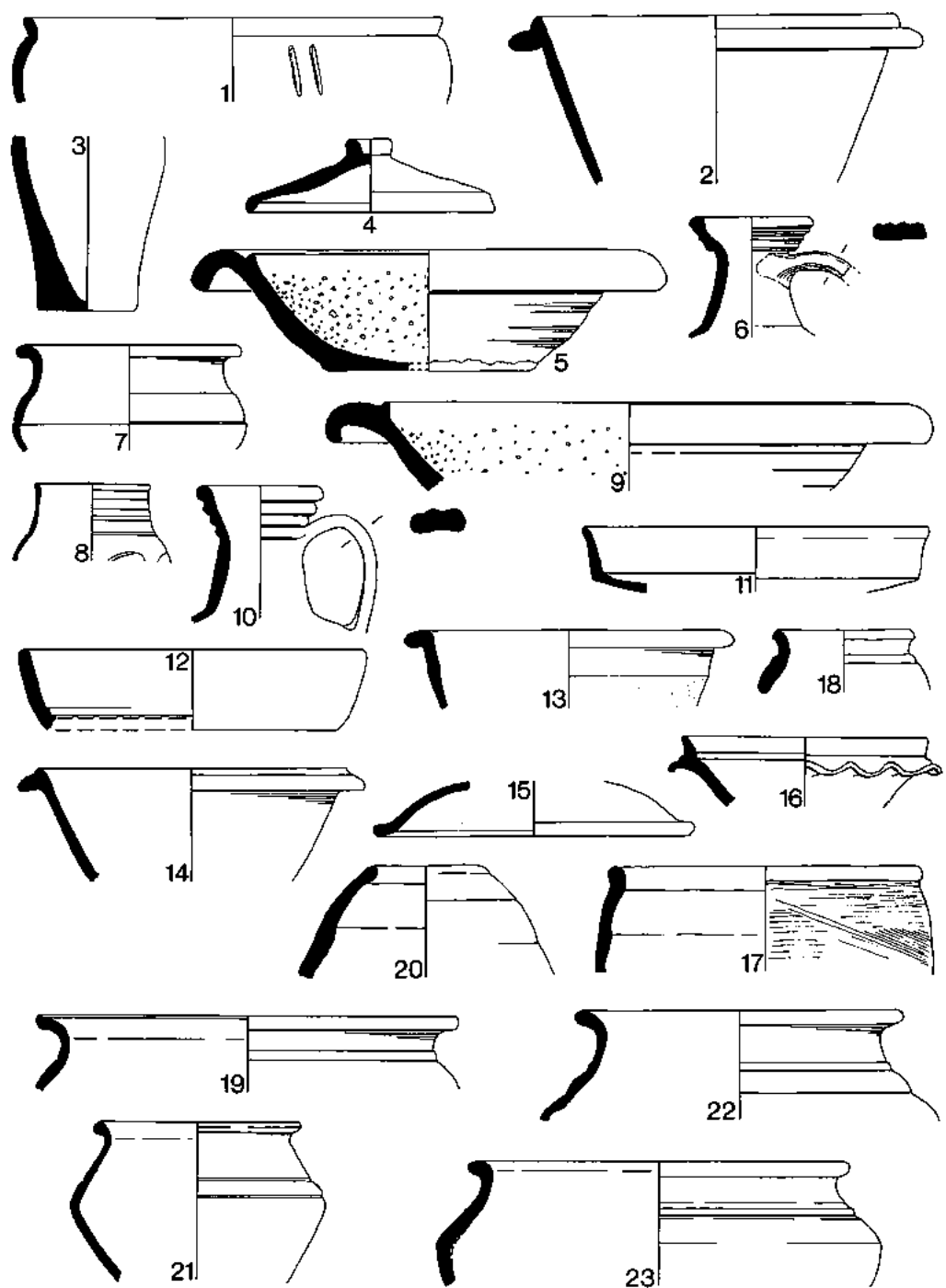


Fig. 37 Braintree: Pottery from Site 1 (1), Site 2 (2-4), Site 3 (5-7), Site 4 (8-23). Scale 1:4.

3. SITE OF 3-5 LONDON ROAD

In the Kenworthy Collection (CM) are three vessels found in June/July 1909, 'at the N.E. end' or 'on the E. side' of London Road. Nos. 3-5 appear to have been built at this time, the excavation of their foundations providing the most likely context for the discovery. The material is as follows:

- Fig. 37.5 Mortarium, hard pink fabric, much very fine sand tempering (some bright red flecks), cream surfaces; grey flint grits. Heavily soot encrusted inside. 'Ld. Rd. N.E. End, 7/09'.
- Fig. 37.6 Flagon, buff fabric. 'Ld. Rd. East, 6/09'.
- Fig. 37.7 Orange-red, rather sandy fabric, light brown surfaces once burnished. 'Ld. Rd. East, 6/09'.

4. LONDON ROAD, WEST SIDE

The majority of the provenanced items in the Kenworthy Collection (CM) came from 'London Road' between 1902 and 1910, when nos. 3-5 at the north-east end (above), and nos 2-40, covering the whole of the west side north of the railway bridge were built. Most of the east side was developed by the mid-19th century. The majority of the material is of 1st- and 2nd-century date. Kenworthy (1911a) mentions coins of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian from this area.

Fine Ware

- Fig. 37.8 Folded beaker, very hard red fabric, dark purple-grey 'metallic' coat; probably late 2nd century.

Mortaria

- Fig. 37.9 Fairly soft buff fabric; sparse grey, white and red flint grits.

Not illustrated: Small vessel, soft buff fabric containing a little sand; stamped PN[, much worn.

Flagon

- Fig. 37.10 Fine buff ware.

Platters and Dishes

- Fig. 37.11 Hard grey fabric with black flecks, black-burnished surfaces.

- Fig. 37.12 Brown, rather sandy fabric, black-burnished surfaces.

- Fig. 37.13 Hard grey fabric, fine sand tempering, micaceous. Found 'with samian; with Late-Keltic & other finds of refuse in Hollows. Ld Rd./09'.

- Fig. 37.14 Very hard, rather sandy grey ware, brown core, burnished surfaces.

Lid

- Fig. 37.15 Hard, fine grey fabric; dark grey, well-burnished surfaces.

Tazza

- Fig. 37.16 Hard orange sandy fabric, buff surfaces.

Jars

- Fig. 37.17 Grey fabric, rather sandy, with many black flecks, micaceous. Almost certainly hand-made; grey and brown patchy surface, exterior lightly 'wiped', perhaps with a coarse cloth. One of the few vessels which could be early Belgic; cf. Rodwell, 1976, 224-34.

- Fig. 37.18 Rather soft brown sandy fabric, light brown surfaces; looks hand-made.
 Fig. 37.19 Fabric as 17, wheel-thrown, burnished externally.
 Fig. 37.20 Fabric as 17, but rather less sandy, light brown surfaces; the rim is complete as drawn.
 Fig. 37.21 Hard brown fabric, grey core and surfaces, exterior burnished.
 Fig. 37.22 Rather soft brown micaceous ware, black surfaces. Found 'London Road '09 with bronze fibula and samian'.
 Fig. 37.23 Brownish-grey, slightly sandy fabric containing a few black flecks; black burnished exterior, flaking interior.
 Fig. 38.24 Brown, rather granular fabric, grey core, brownish-grey exterior surface; the complete upper part of the vessel was found in 'Black soil 4ft'.
 Fig. 38.25 Grey, rather sandy and granular fabric, largely black surfaces, burnished externally.
 Fig. 38.26 Hard grey sandy fabric.
 Fig. 38.27 Hard brown fabric, fine sand tempering, grey core and surfaces. Found with 13.

Not illustrated: Sherd of a hand-made jar, grey-brown 'Belgic' fabric with large black grains, black burnished surfaces; sherd of a large jar with horizontal rilling, similar fabric, much grog tempering, wheel-thrown; sherds of a horizontally rilled storage jar, very granular brown fabric, dark grey surfaces, from a 'pit grave, 7/09'; sherd of grey beaker decorated with barbotine dots; rims similar to Fig. 23.57; much fragmentary material, predominantly but not wholly of 1st- and 2nd-century date.

Spindle Whorl

- Fig. 38.28 Spindle whorl formed from potsherd in a coarse brown slightly sandy fabric, lacunae in exterior surface; 1st century. The hole has not been fully pierced; the object was presumably discarded during manufacture.

Terra Sigillata by W. J. Rodwell

Drag. f45, E.G., Antonine, the foot-ring much worn; f36, C.G., first half of 2nd century, once mended with lead rivets; (both CM 2001:1910), and the following stamped vessels (CM 2001:1910):

SEDATVS of Lezoux; Reading SIDATIM

One-third of cup, form 27 (not seen by W.J.R.), Antonine.

May, 1930, p. 228; *VCH* III, p. 55

HELIUS of South Gaul, die IIA; Reading HELIM

Cup, form 27, half complete; Exhibits dovetail rivet-holes from a former mend. Flavian-Trajanic.

May 1930, pp. 209, 238, No. 26; *VCH* III, p. 55

Other Material

Fragment of a quern of Hertfordshire conglomerate.

A small collection of pottery at the PEM consists largely of 1st- and 2nd-century items, with several storage jars, and what may be the base of 37.10. There is also a small everted-rim beaker in red ware.

5. 34 LONDON ROAD

In 1924, Mr. Brown of Ridgemont, London Road, gave 'a number of fragments of Roman wares found in donor's garden', which adjoined Hunnable's gravel pit, to CM (4931:24). The only item now traceable is a bone pin 90 mm long, with a simple rounded head.

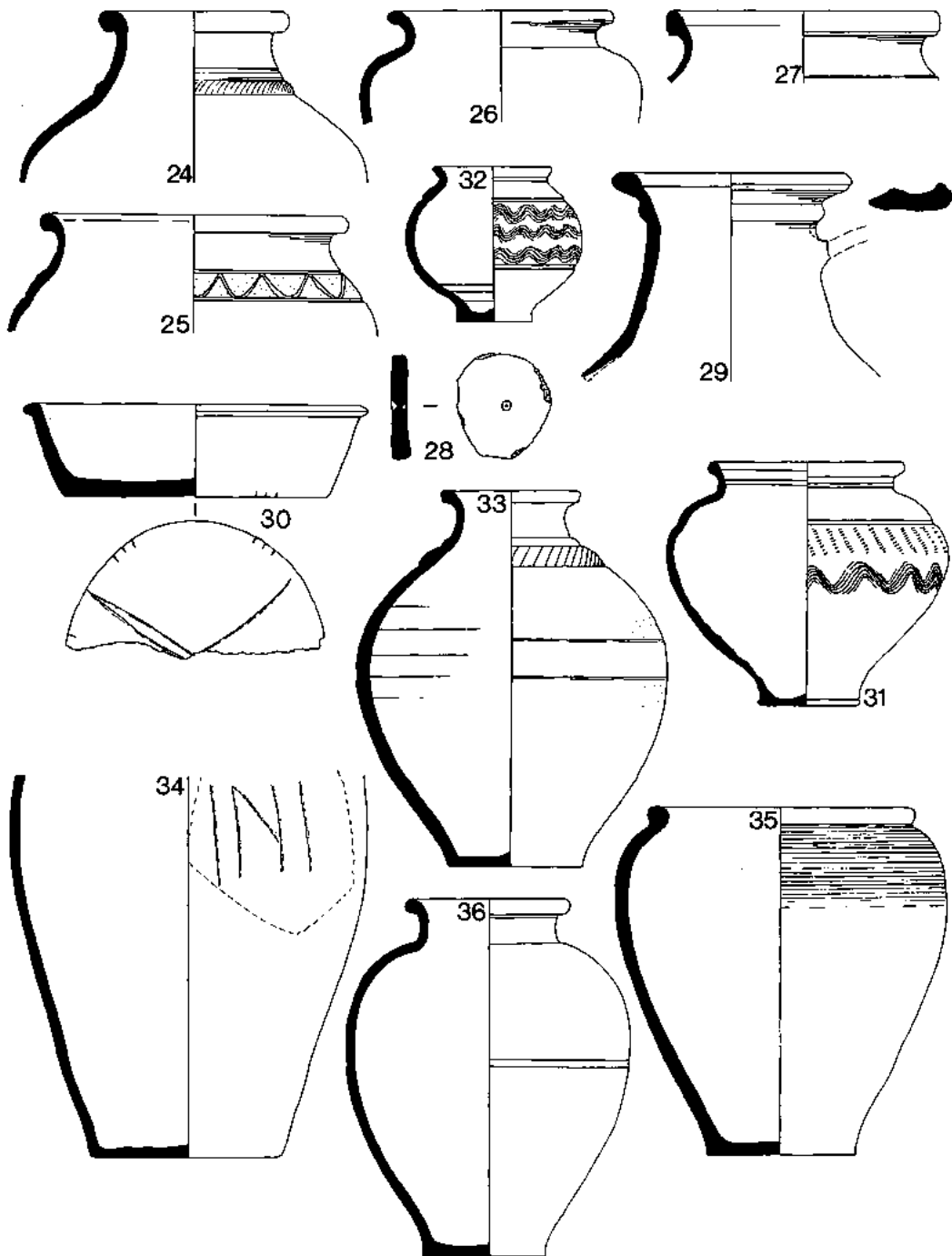


Fig. 38 Braintree: Pottery from Site 4 (24-28), Site 5 (29), Site 6 (30), Site 8 (31-33), Site 9 (34), Site 10 (35-36). Scale 1:4.

The Kenworthy Collection (CM) includes a flagon neck:

- Fig. 38.29 Fabric as 37.5; there is a prominent depression above the handle, shown in broken line. From 'Mr. Wile's plot', identified by Mr. L. H. Joscelyne as 34 London Road, once known as Ridgement.

6. 10 LONDON ROAD

During the construction of this house for G. Hunnable in 1909, Kenworthy found:

- Fig. 38.30 Dish in hard grey fabric, black-burnished surfaces; simple graffiti cut on the base after firing. The site is mentioned in Benton, 1923.

7. CLARE ROAD, ADJOINING 10 LONDON ROAD

Eight pots, probably representing cremation burials, were found under the footpath of Clare Road, adjoining the return frontage of 10 London Road, c. 1945-55, in laying a gas main. The foreman concerned mentioned the matter to W. J. Rodwell in 1970, but the vessels are now lost.

8. CLARE ROAD

A number of Roman pots were found in making up Clare Road in 1920; they were subsequently given to Braintree Museum by H. J. Challis and W. Sams. It is now impossible to identify the vessels with certainty, but the following are probably intended, and may be a single burial group:

Not illustrated: Samian dish, f36, with fairly elaborate barbotine decoration on the lip, S.G., Flavian. BM 882:69a.

- Fig. 38.31 Jar, fine dark grey fabric with light grey burnished surfaces; decorated with combed wavy lines and comb stabbing. BM 882:69f.

- Fig. 38.32 Beaker, fine dark grey fabric, black burnished surfaces, combed decoration. BM 882:69b.

- Fig. 38.33 Jar, slightly sandy brown-grey fabric, partly burnished externally, burnished decoration on shoulder. BM 882:69c.

The Samian dish is little worn, and suggests a Flavian date for the group as a whole. The four vessels are also marked 220:1960, which tends to confirm their association, but there is no corresponding reference in the accession register. In March 1923, two cinerary urns were found '3 ft. deep on the Clare College Estate' in laying a new main sewer, close to Hunnable's gravel pit, in which a 'Saxon urn' had been discovered a few months before. One urn was complete save for a small fracture where struck by the pick, the other was shattered in excavation.³²

9. 8 CLARE ROAD

Three vessels were found in the rear garden of the then new bungalow, 'The Paws', 8 Clare Road, in 1954; they are now in Braintree Museum.³³ They comprise:

- Fig. 38.34 The lower part of a tall jar in a grey fabric, with black flecks and orange-brown surface, with many *lucunae*; soft and 'soapy' to the touch. The top of the vessel seems to have been ploughed off; a graffiti cut on the side after firing reads JINI, presumably the end of a personal name. It was clearly a burial urn, probably of mid-1st-century date.

Not illustrated: Small grey flask, similar to 41.78 below, probably 2nd century. Cream colour-coated flagon in a grey fabric, the neck missing. It has a pear-shaped body with the remains of single handle, attached below a prominent cordon on the shoulder. Similar (except in the placing of the handle below rather than on the cordon) to *Ospringe*, 238 (Whiting *et al.*, 1931), in a grave

with TS ff31, 33, Hadrianic–Antonine. Although said to be a group, it is clear that at least two burials are represented; 38.34 belongs to the mid-1st century and the others to the 2nd century.

10. HUNNABLE'S GRAVEL PIT

The only contemporary description of the discoveries at this site is Benton 1923. The note runs as follows:

About four years ago, Mr. F. A. Hunnable, of 'Selbannuh', London Road, Braintree, began digging for gravel in the field behind his house, and within the past three years fragments of pottery have, from time to time, been thrown up by the diggers; other fragments were also met with when the house was built in 1907. During March of last year an early form of cooking-pot (height 8 in.), of a rather coarse brownish ware, with bead rim, and a broad band of fine grooves on the shoulder, was found in a pit filled with black earth. . . . The foot of a pedestalled urn, and portions of a 'Belgic' platter with flat base-ring, were also found with the pot. Shortly afterwards the men came across a V-shaped trench containing a good deal of fragmentary pottery. Mr. George Morris, B.Sc., of Saffron Walden, and I visited the site on 12 April 1922, and discovered that this trench, which extended some distance, was about 1 ft. below the surface soil, and had a total depth of about 40 in., and a width ranging from 6½ ft. at mouth to 2 ft. at base. It was filled with disturbed gravel mixed with a certain amount of humus; and fragments of charcoal occurred here and there at the bottom of the trench, and were also associated with the pottery. In spite of rain we were able . . . to do a little excavating, and brought to light among other pottery fragments—all of which were apparently of pre-Claudian date—portions of a large pot, with a broad shallow cordon on the shoulder.

A detailed report was intended, but did not appear.

From this account it is clear that the pit referred to is the one in the triangular piece of land west of London Road and north of the railway line. Much confusion has been caused by the subsequent identification of this site with Hunnable's *later* pit about 1 km to the west (*VCH*, III, 55). A small housing estate was built in the pit c. 1971. One suspects that the following note in Kenworthy's hand, on a box containing two iron knives, also refers to the ditch:

Knives—Iron—? Anglo-Saxon-Burial ground in an obliterated British Entrenchment—facing southward and on the North side of London Road adjoining the town, where are found many ancient relics.
JWK 2/2/09.

Unfortunately, there are no other 'relics' which can be associated with this note, and the map shows that Kenworthy's sense of orientation was not all that it might have been. However, if both references are to the same feature, an alignment roughly parallel to London Road might be a reasonable inference.

Much material from Hunnable's pit is extant in Colchester Museum, some vessels and groups being noted specifically as having come from the 'ancient ditch'. However, since the latter includes the vessel noted by Benton as having come from a pit filled with black earth, it is clear that such attributions are not reliable. There is thus no dating evidence for the ditch itself, except Benton's description of the pottery it contained.

The knives found by Kenworthy are illustrated below, Fig. 47.132–3. They are rather corroded, the blades having suffered to the extent that it is difficult to be certain of their original form, but they clearly had a straight back, and 133 almost certainly had a more or less parallel cutting edge. Both have long tangs, with long iron ferrules remaining. Vera Evison (pers. comm.) comments that there are Saxon knives with similar long tangs, but she knows of no parallel for the long iron ferrules. The knives could be Roman or Medieval as easily as Saxon, but the fact that they accompanied inhumations, and that no other, richer, grave goods were noted, suggests a middle or late Saxon date for the burials. Their significance is discussed below, p. 127.

Roman burials were certainly found in 1923, as the following vessels show:

Fig. 38.35 (CM 4420:23) Bead-rim cooking pot in a light grey-brown granular fabric with dark brown surfaces with some *lucunae*; complete. This is the pot referred to by Benton.

Fig. 38.36 (CM 4422:23) Soft grey fabric, eroded surfaces; slightly distorted in manufacture or firing. The groove around the widest point is of irregular depth. A cremation urn, retaining its filling of burnt bone. Another urn (CM 4423:23) cannot now be traced.

Figure 38.35 is *Cam* f260A, of which two examples were found in Period III (c. 43/44-48); later it was replaced by 260B, with an everted rim (Hawkes and Hull, 1947, 270). Neither appear in the Colonia (Hull, 1958, 283). A similar vessel occurred in a Phase IIa context on Site S at Chelmsford, dated c. 49-53/55.³⁴ A date between the conquest and A.D. 55-60 thus seems reasonable for this example. Fig. 38.36 is *R. Col.* f280, which there begins under Hadrian, appears in graves from c. 150, and is most numerous c. 200-50, although it continues to the end of the Roman period (Hull, 1958, 285). The rounded full profile and the fabric of this example suggests a date in the second half of the 2nd century.

Two vessels were found together:

Fig. 39.37 (CM 4543:23) Jar in hard grey ware, lightly burnished surfaces. *Cam* f219, not later than Period III/IV, c. 43/44-61.

Fig. 39.38 (CM 4544:23) Sub-Belgic platter, variant of *Cam* f26A but completely lacking a foot-ring; soft brown fabric, greyish core, black/brown, mostly burnished surfaces. Notwithstanding the date of 39.37 at Camulodunum, the group may belong anywhere in the third quarter of the 1st century on the evidence of parallels from Chelmsford; sub-Belgic platters and a variant of *Cam* f219 occur there in a pit filled c. A.D. 78.³⁵ The jar is, after all, in a good Roman fabric (for a photograph see *CMR* 1924, Pl. IV).

A small group of pottery was found 'in a small pit near the ancient ditch' (evidently not the pit referred to by Benton) and given to Colchester Museum by Councillor Grant (*not illustrated*): CM 4425:25 Base of a very large jar in a hard grey, slightly sandy fabric; the exterior is decorated with vertical burnished lines and the lower part is burnished; also part of the base of a large brown jar, a storage jar, and a storage jar rim as Fig. 40.65, all probably late 2nd or 3rd century.

The remaining mass of material falls into three groups:

a. CM 4545:23 'Fragments of two large pots and other vessels', presented by G. Hunnab. Of these only the following is now traceable, marked with its accession number:

Fig. 39.39 Hard brown-grey sandy fabric, black flecks; dark grey surface burnished externally. *Cam* f218; the ware is hard and Roman (despite the black flecks, which seem to occur later at Braintree than elsewhere), suggesting a date in the latter part of the 1st century. At Colchester, the lattice decoration on the neck suggests a date of c. 70-140 (Hull, 1958, 283).

b. CM 4421:23, stated to be from the ditch. This is divided into two groups, one of which consists largely of platters and shallow bowls, mostly of *R. Col.* ff38, 39, of late 1st- and 2nd-century date, but includes six flanged-rim bowls; three with slight upstands as Fig. 22.31 (2 in BB1), the remainder similar to Fig. 26.125, but not necessarily later than the 3rd century. There are also a few fragments of latticed jars. Other items of interest are:

Fig. 39.40 Sub-belgic platter, hard brown fabric, black surfaces, burnished internally; also (*not illustrated*), a basal sherd with foot-ring from a similar vessel. This is *Cam* f23A, there post-conquest, ? to 65; the fabric of this example is more Roman than native. The base sherd is the only one which corresponds to Benton's description.

Fig. 39.41 Sub-Belgic platter, hard dark grey Roman fabric, burnished surfaces.

Fig. 39.42 Fine hard brown fabric; cordon decorated with vertical burnished strokes.

Fig. 39.43 Hard fine dark grey fabric, light grey-brown sub-surface, dark grey burnished surfaces.

Figs. 39.44, 45, 46 Unusual vessels in a hard grey sandy fabric with dark grey surfaces.

Fig. 39.47 Hard grey-brown fabric, grey surfaces, similar to 39.41; stab-marks on shoulder.

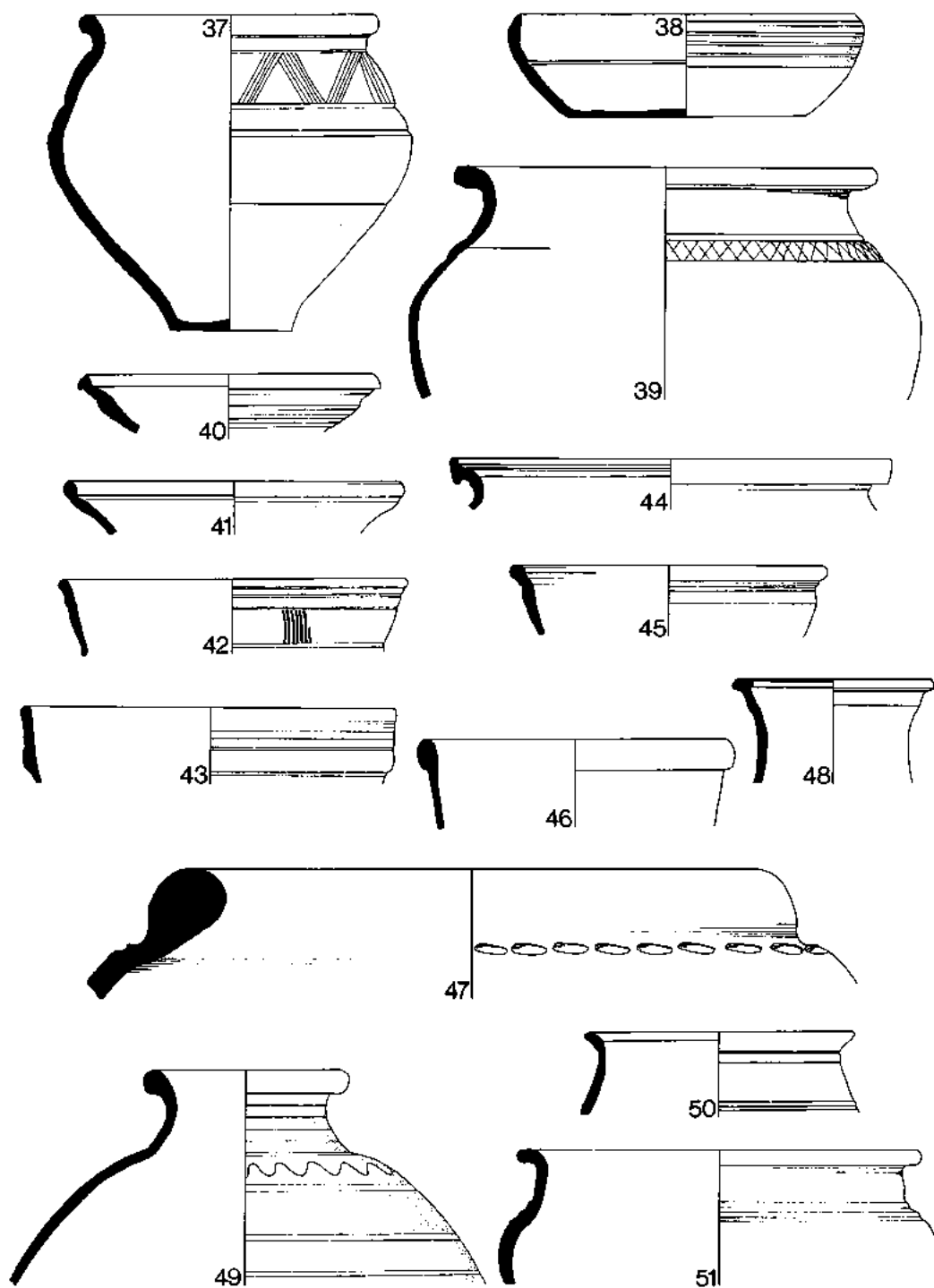


Fig. 39 Braintree: Pottery: Site 10, 37-51. Scale 1:4.

Not illustrated: Fragments of at least two similar vessels.

Fig. 39.48 Jug rim, fine orange micaceous ware, green speckled glaze externally; Heddingham ware, 13th century.

c. CM 4421:23 ('per Rev. Benton') perhaps sorted from b. above, since it is devoid of platters. The group includes about one third (in fragments) of a large narrow-necked jar, perhaps Benton's 'large pot' from the ditch:

Fig. 39.49 Hard grey finely sand-tempered fabric, rather abraded, surfaces partially burnished. It is *R. Col.* f281, there not earlier than the 2nd century and more likely to be of the 3rd century or later.

The remainder consists of 1st- to 3rd/4th-century material, mostly small and abraded, including a lid similar to 46.123 (below) but without grooves; three lines have been cut on the rim after firing, cf. 38.30. Also:

Fig. 39.50 Dark grey slightly sandy fabric, brownish burnished exterior; presumably a butt-beaker.

Fig. 39.51 Fine grey fabric, fine black flecks, brown sub-surface, dark grey surfaces, exterior once burnished; 1st century.

Fig. 40.52 Dark grey fabric, containing fine sand and fine vegetable tempering; the rim, particularly, looks wheel-turned and thus the bowl may be an unusual 1st-century type.

Fig. 40.53 Coarsely hand-made jar in a black fabric, vegetable tempered with lightly burnished dark brown exterior surface, and orange-brown interior surface.

Of these two latter, the first may be, and the second certainly is, of Saxon date. With the exception of the sherd from Site F, these are the only vessels of this period known from Braintree. There is also the rim of a 13th-century cooking pot in grey ware.

Another group, CM 4424:23, no longer traceable, was noted as 'fragments of a small carinated beaker and other wares'. On 31 December 1925, Edgar Bond forwarded two urns (one large, one small), 'pieces of a third pot with a moulded edge', 5 nails 'mixed and rusted onto the burnt bones' and a number of sherds all from 'the gravel pit on the Clare Estate'. They had been found in the early spring of the same year, with others, but are not now traceable (accessioned as CM 4961:24, once in 'crypt—large case'; described in a letter to the Curator, in CM files). The pedestal foot noted by Benton was probably Birchall, 1965, No. 183, noted by Hull in 4421:23 but, like the iron-working slag also noted in the accession register, it is not now traceable.

Two small groups stored with 4421:23, and presumably part of it, deserve note:

a. A large number of fragments of a TS bowl, f18/31R, Hadrianic, broken in excavation. In an envelope marked 'Braintree No. 8 Gravel pit' and dated 1923. Perhaps from a burial.

b. A small group of Neronian pottery, inc. TS f28, S.G., pre-Flavian; part of a ribbed buff flagon handle; sherds of a flagon in an orange fabric with buff exterior; sherds of coarse jars and storage jars. From 'No. 6 site'. No reference to the meaning of '6' and '8' has been found.

11. 13 GRENVILLE ROAD

In the words of Benton (1923):

In 1921 Mr. J. Boyton discovered in the garden at the back of his house, which is situated about 250 yds north-east of the present site, four or five more or less perfect pots, but unfortunately these were totally destroyed to make up a path.

Mr. L. H. Joscelyne has identified this house as 13 Grenville Road. The vessels were presumably from burials.

12. COLLEGE ROAD CEMETERY

The lower half of a large jar in a rather gritty grey fabric, probably 2nd century, was found c. 1972–3, some 1.5 m deep in the rear garden of 14 College Road (TL 7532 2297). It was brought to our notice by the finder and has subsequently been deposited in Colchester Museum. A small flagon in CM, unaccessioned, is accompanied by a note 'From the Roman Cemetery, College Road. Pres. by Mr. F. C. C. Brand per Alf. Hills. 11 September 1925'. It is:

Fig. 40.54 Fine dark grey fabric, cream slip, turned base; 2nd century.

Mr. Hills gave three other vessels to CM in 1925, recorded simply as 'From Braintree'. It seems likely, however, that they are from the same site; unfortunately they cannot now be traced, but sketches by M. R. Hull survive in CM Top. File. They were described as follows:

- 5032:25 Small olla of greyish-brown ware with recurved rim (close to *Cam* f264—P.J.D.)
- 5033:25 Vase of light grey Belgic ware, mouth wanting, double cordon at junction of neck with shoulder, beaded base with circular groove under (close to *R. Col.* f282—P.J.D.)
- 5034:25 A similar vase with the upper portion strongly offset on the shoulder.

The evidence seems to suggest a small cemetery here, west of London Road.

High Street

13. ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

Among the Kenworthy Collection (CM) is a fragment of a medium-sized storage jar in a coarse brown fabric with many lacunae, 1st century, found in the churchyard in 1884; also

Fig. 40.55 Large flanged-rim bowl, hard, brown, slightly sandy micaceous fabric, grey lightly burnished surfaces; 3rd to 4th century.

Cunnington had a silver coin of Honorius in his possession in 1838, 'lately found' in the churchyard. (Cunnington, 1839, 114). His assertion that the latter was 'surrounded on three sides by a foss' presumably stems from the fact that St. Michael's Lane and St. Michael's Road seem to be hollow lanes, coupled with the inevitable rise in the level of the churchyard due to burials. There are undoubtedly fragments of Roman tile in the fabric of the church (RCHM, ii, 27), the earliest parts of which seem to belong to the 12th century (below, p. 134), but Cunnington's 'Roman tiles' are, as he indeed suspected, medieval floor tiles.³⁶ Kenworthy (1893, 255) stated that Roman bricks, flue tiles, roof tiles, and broken pottery had been found near the church. Mr. W. J. Rodwell found sherds of Roman pottery in the churchyard in 1974 (pers. comm.).

13A. ST. MICHAEL'S LANE

A piece of iron rod bent almost to a circle 60 mm in diameter was found by Kenworthy 'with British bones under Church Lane S. School'. Its antiquity is dubious. The Sunday School was on the north side of St. Michael's Lane. Whether human or food bones were meant is unclear; either would be explicable as medieval in this position.

14. WEST'S WAREHOUSE, SANDPIT LANE/HIGH STREET

The Kenworthy Collection contains the following:

Fig. 40.56 Grey fabric, black flecks, brown sub-surface, dark grey surfaces, burnished externally; *Cam* f220, found 1890.

Fig. 40.57 Hard black fabric, burnished externally; combed decoration. *Cam* f68; found 1894.

These two vessels seem to belong to the mid-1st century A.D.

15. HIGH STREET, OLD POST OFFICE SITE

Kenworthy collected a quantity of material when 80-82 High Street, now the Trustee Savings Bank, was rebuilt, 1895-8. It comprises:

Terra Sigillata by W. J. Rodwell

f33, E.G., Antonine; f37, C.G., Antonine, decorated; and the following stamped vessels:

SUOBNEDO of Lezoux; Reading JNEDOFE

Dish, form 31 (not seen by W.J.R.); probably Antonine.

May, 1930, p. 230; *VCH* III, p. 55 (where the stamp is restored as AVNEDO FE).

PATERNIANUS of Rheinzabern (Die VA); Reading PATERNIAF

Bowl, form 38 (not seen by W.J.R.); Antonine.

May, 1930, p. 221; *VCH* III, p. 55.

C SILVIUS PATRICIUS of La Graufesenque, Die VIII A; Reading JILVI.PA.

Dish, form 18 (not seen by W.J.R.); Flavian.

May, 1930, p. 210 (where incorrectly attributed to Maldon); *VCH* III, p. 55.

Coarse Pottery

Fig. 40.58 Fine grey fabric, black burnished exterior.

Fig. 40.59 Rather coarse and granular grey fabric.

Fig. 40.60 Platter, fine grey fabric, brown surfaces, thin micaceous coat.

Fig. 40.61 Hard grey fabric, lower part burnished; graffito scratched on side after firing; 'Found in refuse pit'.

Fig. 40.62 Thick grey sandy fabric, brownish core, found 'under PO, with R. coins &c'. A curious vessel, whose thick walls and poor finish suggest some industrial function. Similar pots in buff ware have been found associated with pottery kilns at Colchester, and were thought to have been made for the potter's own use,³⁷ but there is no sign of wasters among the material from this site.

The remaining material included vessels similar to Figs. 24.72, 25.97 and 26.114, and one as 21.9 but cross-hatched. They belong mostly to the 2nd and 3rd century, but some vessels are probably of slightly later date, and some, e.g. 40.58, are of the 1st century. Coins, and a 'fragment of olive-green ware' noted in the Top. File cannot now be traced. A rim sherd of a 2nd- to 3rd-century grey jar, *R. Col.* f277A, is in PEM, Stratford. Kenworthy (1911a) mentions a coin of Commodus.

16. 45 HIGH STREET

In the Kenworthy Collection is a sherd of a 13th/14th-century bowl:

Fig. 40.63 Hard greyish-brown sandy fabric; found under the cellar floor of the then London and County Bank, spring 1907.

17. HIGH STREET not otherwise provenanced

In the Kenworthy Collection (CM) is a rimsherd of a 1st-century bowl, *Cam* f266A or 267B, in a hard grey fabric with black flecks, black surfaces, exterior burnished (Fig. 40.64). Kenworthy (1911a) noted that when the High Street was being 'opened for laying new pipes a year or two ago, a bracelet of twisted bronze' was found. A fragment of such a bracelet, of three strands of wire each 0.55 mm in diameter, is in CM (921:05); a hook survives on one terminal.

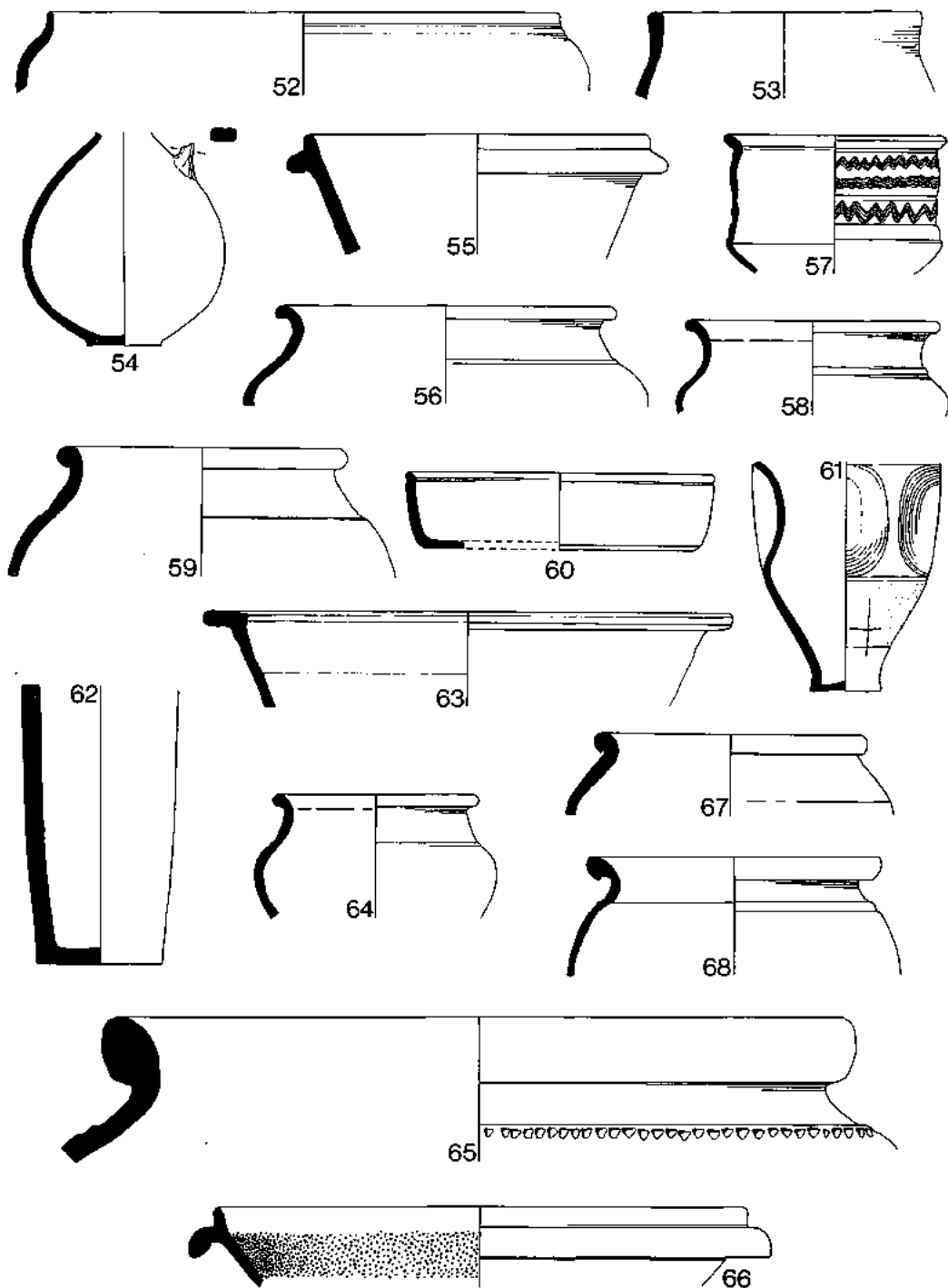


Fig. 40 Braintree: Pottery: Site 10 (52-53), Site 12 (54), Site 13 (55), Site 14 (56-57), Site 15 (58-62), Site 16 (63), Site 17 (64), Site 27 (65), Site 30 (66-68). Scale 1:4.

18. BANK STREET not otherwise provenanced

A corroded iron ring (30 mm in diameter) found by Kenworthy in 1892 'with Romano-British remains 2 ft. below Bank Street, Braintree, in the old Roman Road' (CM 3200:15) is quite undatable.

19. 50 BANK STREET

Cunnington (1833, ch. I) records a coin of Constantine the Great from the Cock Inn, now 50 Bank Street (Information from Mr. L. H. Joscelyne).

20. EXCAVATIONS AT REAR OF 13-17 BANK STREET

See above, pp. 65-80.

21. OBSERVATION AT REAR OF 3 BANK STREET

See above, pp. 80-83.

22. LLOYDS BANK, 8 BANK STREET

When the bank was rebuilt in 1957, the greater part of a globular Spanish amphora, *Cam* f187, was found, together with the lowest part of a large coarse storage jar in a black fabric, and a few fragments of a plain jar. The material belongs to the later first century; perhaps from burial(s)? It remains at the bank. The natural soil was stated by the architect to lie at a depth of 4-5 ft., the made ground above being much turned over, and containing no remains of previous occupation except much broken brick. No other pottery was found, and the only features noticed were two wells, not earlier than the 18th century (*VCH* III, 56; CM, Top. File). This is hardly surprising since the new building line approximately corresponds with that of the backs of the former main buildings on the Bank Street frontage (Fig. 4); the 'made ground' was presumably garden soil and intercutting pits.

23. 5-7 THE CAUSEWAY

A vessel presumed to be Roman, from the Co-operative Society's site, is said to be in Colchester Museum, but cannot be traced (CM, Top. File). The redevelopment of the premises, 5-7 The Causeway, was observed in 1969, but nothing of antiquity was noticed; 19th-century disturbance was, however, severe. (Observation by P.J.D.)

Rayne Road Area

Rayne Road follows for much of its length the line of the Roman Road from Braughing.

24. MRS. TABOR'S GARDEN, RAYNE ROAD

In February 1828, a gardener employed by Mrs. J. Tabor found about 3000 Roman coins 'a few yards from the road which separates Braintree and Bocking', i.e. Rayne Road or Coggeshall Road (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1828 (1), 163-4). Cunnington (1833, 8) states that the coins were found in a vase in a garden in the occupation of Mr. Cartwright, near the Horse and Groom public house (Fig. 4); the vase contained 'near a peck'. Mrs. Tabor collected some 2,200 and small quantities were secured by Cunnington and many other persons. Those probably included T. C. Neale of Springfield, who exhibited 33 silver coins and a small brass of Postumus 'found in an urn at Braintree' to Chelmsford Philosophical Society on 2 February 1836, although this could refer to a separate discovery.³⁸

The emperors and empresses mentioned in accounts of the Tabor hoard are Valerian, Mariniana, Gallienus, Salonina, Postumus, Marius, Victorinus, 'Tetricus', Claudius II, Quintillus, and Quietus. The coin of Mariniana was of silver, with reverse CONSECratio. A date of deposition soon after 270-3 seems to be indicated; for a discussion of the significance of hoards ending with coins of the Tetrici, see Robertson, 1974, 30-33. By the time of the Tithe Award of 1843, Mrs. Tabor did not rank among the occupiers of property in Braintree or Bocking, and it is thus impossible to locate the find spot more precisely.

According to Cunnington (1833), Mrs. Tabor possessed in addition two grave groups, also from her garden on the 'borders of Braintree and Bocking'. He illustrates one as his frontispiece: an urn probably of *Cam* f221, 13 in. 'over', which contained burnt bones, an iron nail, and a small flask, probably *Cam* f281 (the rim being missing), with a groove on the shoulder. It had a capacity of 'a pint and a half at least'. A date in the 2nd century seems probable for the grave. The other group was similar, though the urn was smaller and the accessory vessel larger; both were too broken for Cunnington to illustrate.

25. SALVATION ARMY CITADEL

Cunnington (1833, 8) records a brass 'medallion' of Antoninus Pius (so defaced that the legend could not be read) from 'the Yard before the old Meeting-House' (now the Salvation Army Citadel; information from Mr. L. H. Joscelyne).

26. SANDPIT ROAD/RAYNE ROAD

Romano-British material was found during sewer laying in Sandpit Road in 1906 (*Essex County Standard*, 5 May 1906); the material included a coin of Lucilla. The label on the base of a jar (Kenworthy Collection, CM) in a hard dark brown sandy fabric with dark grey surfaces, probably of 2nd-century date, states 'End of Sandpit Lane and Rayne Road Braintree Oct. 1905— with coins of Vespasian [69-79], Titus [79-81], Domitian [81-96], Commodus [180-92]'.

27. METHODIST CHURCH, RAYNE ROAD

A bronze coin of Constantine the Great, found behind the Wesleyan Chapel, West Street [*sic*], was given to CM in 1937 by Alfred Hills. The Wesleyan Chapel is now the Methodist Church, Rayne Road.

28. EXCAVATIONS, SITE OF 29-61 RAYNE ROAD

See above, pp. 3-65.

29. TRIAL EXCAVATIONS, SITE OF 112-130 RAYNE ROAD

See above, pp. 85-86.

29A. ENNIS'S COTTAGES, RAYNE ROAD

Among the Kenworthy Collection are several sherds from this site, which Mr. L. H. Joscelyne believes formed part of the area, including Site 29, now in course of comprehensive redevelopment by the local authority. The material comprises:

Fig. 40.65 Storage jar in a dark grey-black to brown granular fabric, the exterior largely black with many surface lacunae; stabbed decoration on shoulder.

Not illustrated: Fragment of vessel similar to Fig. 27.139 but with simple diagonal comb stabbing, brown fabric.

Both vessels are probably of late 1st- or early 2nd-century date. A hard grey ware base, probably 3rd century, and several joining sherds of a large grey storage jar of 1st- to 2nd-century date are in the PEM, Stratford.

30. RAYNE ROAD

Kenworthy collected much material from the foundation trenches of new houses in Rayne Road between 1906 and 1909. The area concerned must be largely on the south side, where Nos. 51-165 were built at this time. Nos. 51-57 covered most of Site E (1974); the western limit is Hunnable Road, beyond which the houses belong to the 1920s. The material comprises:

Fig. 40.66 Rim of an Oxfordshire mortarium, pinkish-red fabric with grey core, white slip coat, pinkish rounded quartzite grits.

Fig. 40.67 Coarse brown sandy fabric, greyish surfaces.

Fig. 40.68 Hard grey-brown sandy fabric.

Not illustrated: Base of 3rd- to 4th-century flagon, chocolate brown coat on base and lower 3 cm of body, very dark brown-grey above; BBI bowl as Fig. 25.103 but lacking handle; jars similar to Fig. 25.93, 107; bowl similar to Fig. 21.26 but thinner, with a thin concave wall; folded beaker fragments, probably 3rd century. Most of the material belongs to the late 2nd, 3rd, and 4th centuries although there are a few earlier sherds. A few 2nd-century sherds from Rayne Road, including hooked jar rims, are in PEM, Stratford.

Small finds comprised a micaceous sandstone hone, 10 cm long, similar to Fig. 14.38 (CM 2001.10); a bead of opaque blue glass, 13 mm in diameter, 10 mm thick (CM 3200.15); the much corroded head of a 3rd- to 4th-century divided brooch (identified by M. R. Hull), found 1906, and a bone handle inlaid with jet (Fig. 48.5). An accompanying note indicates that the latter was found 'in Rayne Road with Roman and British remains—such as coins, bones, broken pottery—in Autumn 1907'. A rough bone handle from 'Rayne Road' looks post-medieval; four nails 'taken out of a kitchen midden in a hole or a large pit under the Roman Street 5 ft. deep at Rayne Road opposite the Horse and Groom Inn' are undatable. Kenworthy (1911a) notes a coin of Lucilla, wife of Lucius Verus, from 'Rayne Road'.

31. ST. MICHAEL'S HOSPITAL

A fragment of *Cam* f68 (Claudio-Flavian, copy of Drag. f29), found in 1894, presumably by Kenworthy, is noted in the Top. File at CM but cannot now be traced.

32-33. ROSEMARY AVENUE (96-98)

Burials were found during the construction of the existing housing estate here in 1946-7; maps in CM show two sites:

32. A single urn was stated to have been found here *c.* 1946. It is probably this vessel, now in Braintree Museum:

Fig. 41.69 Hard fine grey fabric, upper part burnished (BM 202:67); loaned to CM in 1952 with another very similar vessel (neck missing), and subsequently returned.

33. A number of Roman pottery vessels were found here in 1947; there were about nine graves, all in a relatively small space. They were disturbed by a machine laying a sewer. The vessels were with the County Engineer, Braintree, in 1947.

A letter from the Deputy Surveyor, Braintree and Bocking UDC, in CM, refers to 'the *pot* found in the field at Panfield Lane'. It was found in a sewer trench, and the contractor's agent was known to have carried out 'private digging'. Hull suggested that the vessel should be loaned to Colchester Museum.

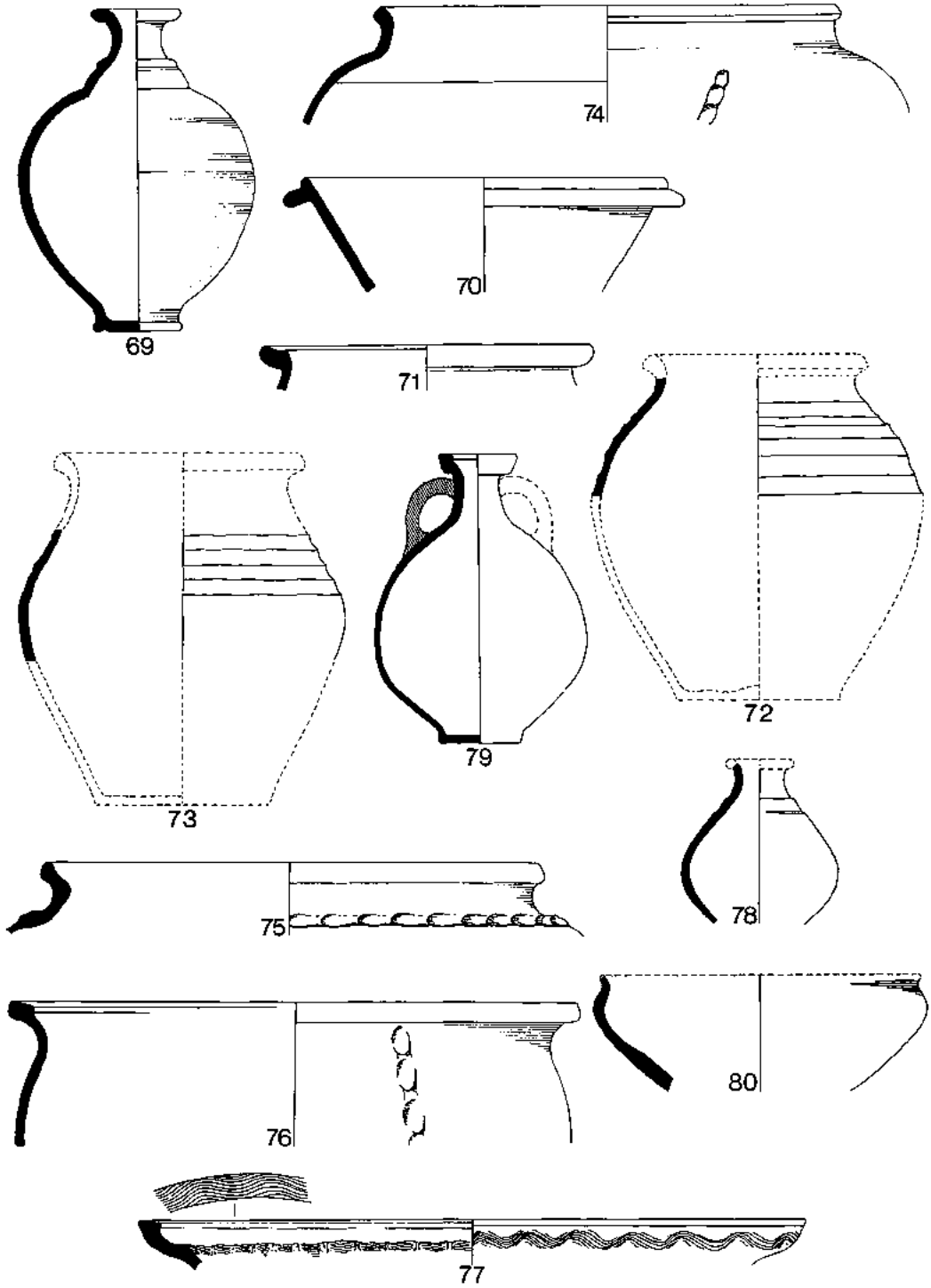


Fig. 41 Braintree: Pottery: Site 32 (69), Site 42 (70-77), Site 43 (78-79), Site 44 (80). Scale 1:4.

34-37. BRADFORD STREET, BOCKING

34. The Kenworthy Collection includes a sherd from a large bowl in grey ware, with combed decoration, 'excavated' from a 'Romano-British pit, Bradford Street, Bocking, March 1899, at Dr. Scott's Surgery'. The sherd is probably 13th century, from a large bowl of the type represented at the Mile End potteries (Drury and Petchey, 1975, Figs. 6.30, 7.36).
35. Mr. A. Hills observed, during the laying of a water main, a bed of small stones and grey mortar laid on a stretch of clay, which here penetrates the gravel. Above it were three successive road surfaces, the upper two being modern. The concrete bed may have been part of the Roman road.³⁹
36. A 1st Brass of M. Aurelius (?) was found just under the surface, opposite the end of Convent Lane, in 1956 (CM, maps and Top. File).
37. A sestertius of Trajan, from Bocking (exact site unknown) was purchased by CM in 1944 (23.44, *CMR*, 1944-47).

Sites North-East of the Town**38. BRADFORD'S FARM ESTATE, COGGESHALL ROAD**

The record maps in CM mark discoveries of Roman pottery:

- A. In 1961 by J. Rayner at TL 7692 2374. A press-cutting dated 8.8.61 in Braintree Museum, of a letter from Mr. T. Rayner, Holdeness, High Garrett, states that during the summer holiday, schoolgirls had unearthed 'upwards of 40 lbs of Romano-British pottery' on a field which was part of Gt. Bradfords Farm, but unfortunately 'no complete vessels' were found. M. R. Hull inspected the site, and was presumably responsible for the map entry.
- B. In 1970 by D. T-D. Clarke at TL 7671 2365.
- C. During the construction of a housing estate, in the winter of 1966, the remains of a Roman tile kiln, itself built of tiles, were observed by Mrs. E. E. Sellers in a contractor's trench at *c.* TL 767 236. The remains survived some 4 ft. high; it must therefore have been built in a pit. It was not possible to recover further details of the structure, but vitrified tiles and burnt clay were abundant. A collection of the wasters in Braintree Museum includes a bonding tile 265 mm wide by 32 mm thick and a fragment 40 mm thick, a badly distorted tegula, and lumps of burnt clay.
- D. Roof and 'hypocaust' (presumably box-flue) tiles were found in the same area by Mr. E. Lindsey, in 1960 (CM map gives TL 7683 2388); these may be from the same site.
- E. The scatter extended to the north-west between the 125 ft. and 150 ft. contours, at *c.* 767 239 (CM, map).
- F. In July 1975, Miss C. Couchman (for Essex County Council Planning Dept., Archaeology Section) found, in the same area, a depression in the subsoil containing layers and lenses of clay, brickearth, sand and organic material, also Roman tile. The feature was revealed by a pipe trench on the Fairview Housing Estate. More pottery has been found in this area at the time of writing, associated with part of the mortar floor of a timber building, pits possibly connected with tile manufacture, and various ditches.

It is certain that there was a tiler here although dating evidence is lacking; whether it was associated with a villa or farm is unclear, but see below, p. 123. Observation for Essex County Council is continuing, and it is anticipated that a fuller report of this site will be published in due course (E.C.C. Archaeological Record, Site 73/75).

39-40. HATCHES FARM

39. Romano-British tile was found in the area of TL 779 240 by Mr. J. P. Smallwood in 1955; there was, however, none in the area to the north-west where the Ordnance Survey had previously marked a building (CM, map).
40. Excavations by Major J. G. S. Brinson for the Roman Essex Society in 1949 were reported briefly in the *Archaeological Newsletter*, 2.9 (1950), 147-8, as follows:

Fragments of tegulae, imbrices, box-flue tiles and inch square red brick tesserae, together with numerous sherds of pottery on the surface of a freshly ploughed field at Hatches Farm suggested the presence of a villa site. To confirm this, members of the Society spent a week in cutting trial trenches across the thickest part of the surface scatter, but no traces of a structure were located. Instead at a depth of eighteen inches, a gravel-paved area was encountered, bounded on one side by a shallow ditch and on the other side by a pond containing decayed vegetable matter. A bronze harness mount was recovered from the pond, and quantities of 3rd/4th-century coarse pottery sherds from the paved area and ditch, chiefly comprising platters, bowls and cooking pots. TS forms were rare, the notable exception being a late type of lion-headed mortarium, Dragendorff form 45.

The drawing (Fig. 42) is based on records made by the late Major Brinson and subsequently passed to the writer. The gravel paving is described on the section as 'hard gravel dirt clay'; its thickness and relationship to the ditch suggest that it was natural, although it may well have had a trodden surface. Above it was a layer of soil containing tegulae, imbrices, bonding tiles and box-flue tiles; the same material apparently filled the shallow ditch. The peat layer in the bottom of the pond contained a wooden stake and worked stone; two similar fragments of stone were apparently found in a near-by stream-bed. It seems probable that a substantial masonry building remains to be found in the immediate vicinity, but further interpretation of these features would be mere speculation. For fish-ponds at the villa at Shakenoak, Oxon., see Brodribb, Hands and Walker 1973; however, the feature could equally well be a retting pit, as was suggested by Brinson (to Mr. J. W. Anstee at the time of excavation). It has proved impossible to trace any of the material found in the excavations,⁴⁰ but Mr. Anstee has kindly provided a copy of drawings of the pottery, which he prepared for Brinson in 1951. It is reproduced here as Fig. 43. Unfortunately, the accompanying descriptions and provenances of the material cannot now be traced; however, it was apparently divided into groups A to F according to fabric. Group F was presumably red ware, no. 42 being a red colour-coated Oxfordshire mortarium (cf. Young 1973, Fig. 2.13, 16) and no. 43 is a form known in Hadham ware. In addition to the Drag. f45 noted by Brinson, forms 27 and 35 or 36 were also found (information from Mr. Anstee). These, and some of the illustrated vessels (e.g. no. 18), suggest a 2nd century or earlier origin for the site, although the majority of the material found seems to be, as Brinson suggested, of 3rd- and 4th-century date (cf. Site E, above, pp. 44-59). No. 47 may well be the rim of a 'Belgic' storage jar.

Sites South-East of the Town**41. EARTHWORKS—COGGESHALL ROAD**

The earliest description of the earthwork at Mount House is that given in Cunnington, 1833 (148-9), and repeated in a slightly different form in Cunnington, 1834, 172. The former runs as follows:

We have a bank . . . at Braintree which evidently formed part of (Stane Street); it commences at the Bird in Hand on the Coggeshall road and reached all the way to the entrance of the town, a distance of more than a quarter of a mile, having a ditch all along the south side of it which may be seen in

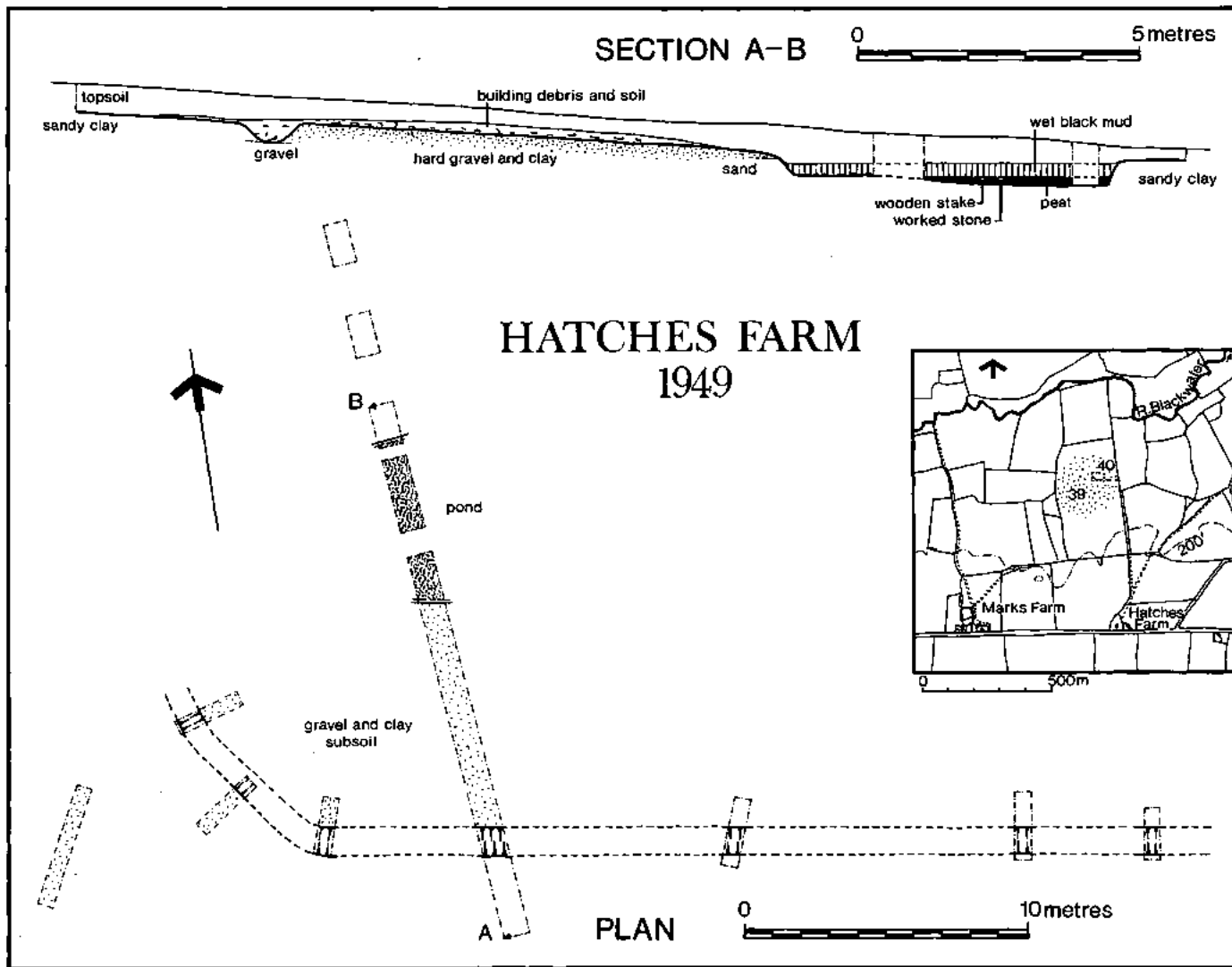


Fig. 42 Plan, Section, and location map of excavations undertaken north of Hatches Farm (Site 40) by the late Major J. G. S. Brinson in 1949.

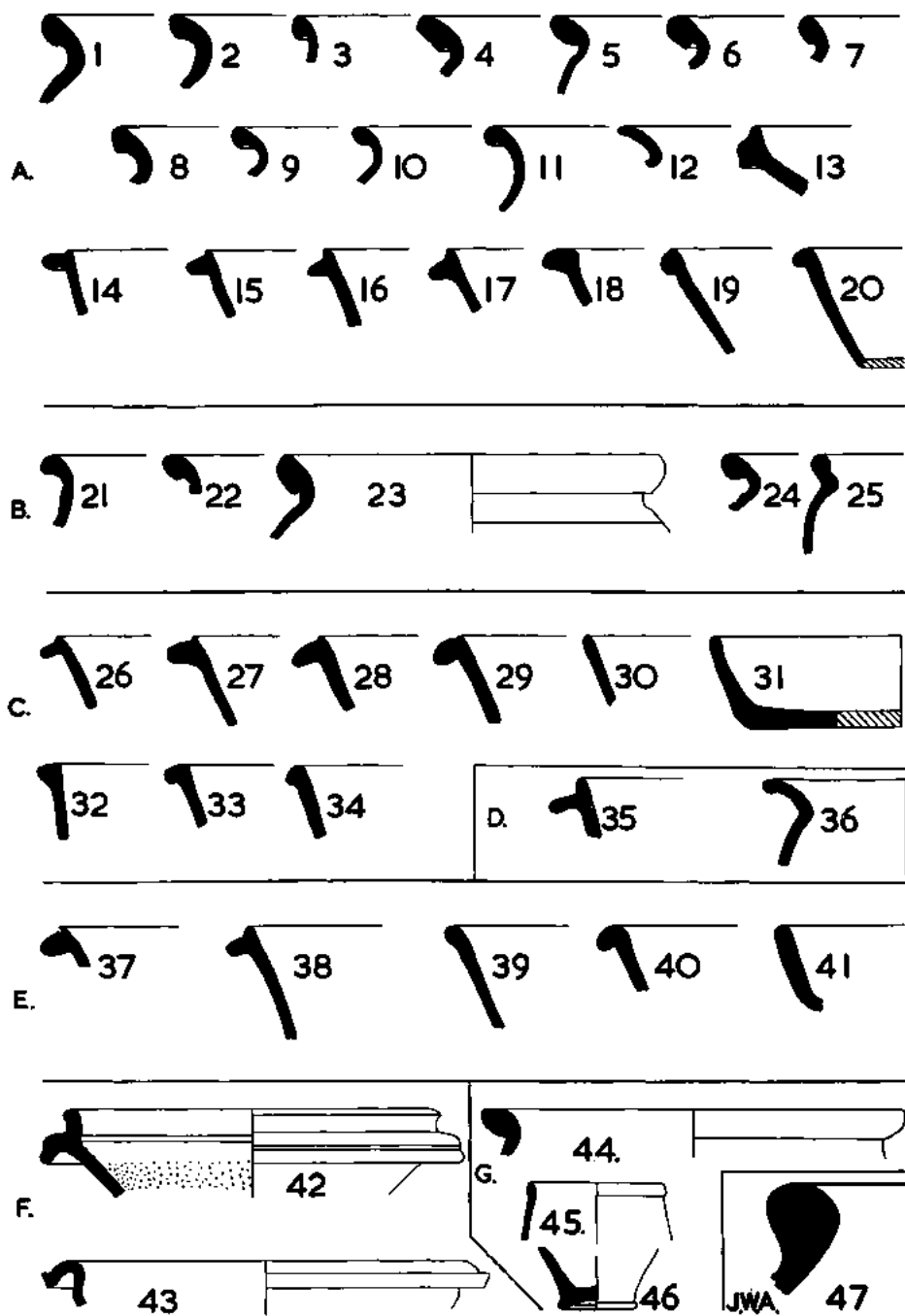


Fig. 43 Romano-British pottery from Hatches Farm, Braintree (Site 40), 1949. Scale 1:4. Drawn by Mr. J. W. Anstee; reproduced from a photograph by the Department of the Environment.

various places by the side of the road but by walking in the fields, at the back of the houses, much more of it will be apparent: this ditch begins near the barn standing in a field belonging to the poor, on the Cressing Road, and reaches all the way to the front of a row of houses belonging to J. W. Boyton the carpenter and in the principal of which he resides; indeed the ditch is so extensive there that all the houses are built in it; and there is moreover nearby midway of the distance I have mentioned a deep ditch on the north side of the road or bank against the field which adjoins Dead Lane, where a section of the bank taken nearly opposite the middle of the field would be something in this form:

[A sketch showing the road bank 24 yds wide, a south ditch 3 yds wide, and a north ditch 5 yds wide, in a very schematic manner.]

Besides which there was an ancient artificial Mount on the south side of this bank which I am satisfied had some connection with it; I should think it was 10 ft. high, the principal part of which has been removed in the course of the last two years; but portions of it still remain, and form part of the ornamental grounds of the 'Mount House' recently rebuilt by the Rev. Mr. Scale.

Though Cunnington thought that the bank was built as a foundation for Stane Street, Fig. 49 suggests that the road was in fact aligned upon it, and therefore later. The 1:500 Ordnance Survey map, 1875, shows the 'Mount'⁴¹ as a bank, curving southwards, some 75 m long (shown on Fig. 3); although its form, then as now, probably owes something to the Rev. Mr. Scale's landscape gardening, it seems unlikely that the elongated shape was entirely his creation. The western section of this bank survives more or less in the form shown; a wide ditch is visible in the builder's yard on its north side.⁴² The eastern part was levelled c. 1968 when a doctor's surgery was built.

The ditch, like the bank, curves towards the present road, and is clearly the continuation of the ditch on the south side of that road, in which the houses stood. The Roman road probably ran on a counterscarp bank of the original earthwork, duly levelled for the purpose. The ditch on the north side of the road may, as Cunnington thought, be connected with the Roman road but the section adjoining Dead Lane, which was partly water-filled as late as the mid-19th century,⁴³ may be a remnant of a second ditch related to the earthwork. It shows clearly on the Tithe map of c. 1843 at A, part of which is reproduced as Plate I (facing p. 108).

A rather different description is given in Cunnington, 1839 (p. 115):

And there is evidently within a few hundred yards of the church-yard the site of a camp occupying a space of four acres; it consists of a rampart and foss in the shape of a horse-shoe, hollowed out in the middle; and attached to it was a high mound affording an extensive view, in which camp are found to this day Roman potsherds.

Further east, all sign of the earthwork has been obliterated by post-1833 buildings, until, at the junction with Cressing Road, the remains of the ditch and (inner, southern) bank are visible south of the car park on the east side of the King's Head Inn.

The line here drifts southwards away from Coggeshall Road, the bank being surmounted by a 19th-century brick wall; there is a total difference in level of about 1 m between top of bank and bottom of ditch. The ditch here must have been deeper in the mid-19th century; it appears water-filled on the Tithe map (Plate I, B). This spot is just to the west of the site of the barn on the land of the Braintree poor, noted by Cunnington as the end of the feature.

The line of the eastern arm of the earthwork seems to be mirrored by Cressing Road, which in 1843 ran within a very wide enclosure. Cunnington, 1833, 152, continues:⁴⁴

The ditch to the south of the road or bank terminated very near the Cressing Road . . . that road . . . appearing a raised bank in many places, so much so as to be almost dangerous, and to have been as it were dug out to a depth of 10 ft. or more in other places.

There is thus the likelihood that the earthwork continued to the south, following approximately the line of Coggeshall Road, which ran in a smooth curve as far as the top of Chapel Hill. The distance along the line described, from Mount House to Chapel Hill, is about 1.5 km.

Cunnington (1833, 152) refers to another possible earthwork, in tentative terms:

If the ground had not before been gone over by gentlemen who were infinitely better judges than myself I should upon an attentive examination as I could give the subject have been inclined to think that the field at the back of the town called the Cherry garden, and belonging to Mr. Scale, shows remains if not of a Norman, of an ancient encampment; it having a ditch or fosse around three sides of it, namely to the south, the west, and the north, the latter being the one south of the bank or road before mentioned, and in which Boyton's row of houses stand; the Mount standing at the north-east corner of this supposed camp, and commanding an extensive prospect.

The field is clearly enough identifiable, bounded by Coggeshall Road to the north, the backs of the Drury Lane properties on the west, and School Walk on the south. The appearance of an earthwork may have been due to a combination of road ditches and hedge-banks; the plan outlined would not fit any known type of Roman or later earthwork and topographical evidence (p. 122) indicates that it could hardly be earlier.⁴⁵ Cunnington also proposed an earthwork around the churchyard, on evidence still clearly visible and explicable in other ways (p. 96).

Coller (1861, 411) noted that:

The wanderer on his morning walk may still trace a huge artificial bank from the spot where stands the Baptist Chapel to the point at which the Crossing road branches off to Coggeshall; and in other parts around the town the natural course of the land appears to have undergone changes at the hands of Roman engineers.

The latter is vague, but see London Road, above (p. 92).

Chalkey Gould, writing in *VCH* I, 1903 (284–5) stated succinctly:

An embankment with a fosse stands on the south side of Stane Street. Cottages occupy part of the fosse, the rampart is in the grounds of Mount House, and there is no doubt that we have here part of one side of a large, otherwise destroyed camp.

The Coggeshall Road earthwork thus seems to have consisted of a ditch, with a bank on the south largely levelled by the mid-19th century, and probably a counter-scarp bank on the north along which the Roman road ran. The scale of the earthwork seems to have been relatively large; the surviving section is *c.* 3 m high. The explanation of the mound, and the survival of the adjacent part of the bank (the remainder having been levelled before the 19th century) is uncertain. The Bishop of London, on whose manor the site lies, would hardly build an adulterine castle, but the description is redolent of a small motte and bailey of the period of the Anarchy.

Mrs. M. A. Cotton (1960, 68) has noted 'Skitt's Hill Camp' as an unexcavated hill fort, giving a grid reference 52/758 227, approximately that of 'The Maizes' (site 43), but no other information.⁴⁶

42. LAKE AND ELLIOTT'S FOUNDRY, CHAPEL HILL

Pottery found by Kenworthy when the foundry was built in 1906 included:⁴⁷

Fig. 41.70 Flanged-rim bowl in a hard grey sandy fabric, lightly burnished internally, probably 4th century; another (*Cam* f305) in a fine hard grey fabric with lightly burnished surfaces.

Not illustrated: Sherd of a grey ware jar with stabbed shoulder, 2nd to 3rd century; base of a large hand-made pot in a brown sandy fabric with a grey core, containing some black flecks, probably indicative of vegetable tempering. This is very similar to the commonest fabric, H, at the 3rd- to 1st-century B.C. site at Little Waltham; but it may be as late as the end of the 1st century B.C.⁴⁸

A note on a base/body sherd of a 2nd- to 3rd-century grey jar from London Road in the Kenworthy Collection states 'One of the many of this shape as at Chapel Hill ground'. Kenworthy (1911a) also mentioned that 'fragments of very thick early coarse pottery have been found near the foundry'. There is also:

Fig. 41.71 Grey cupped rim, fine fabric, probably 3rd century, from 'Chapel Hill' (Kenworthy Collection).

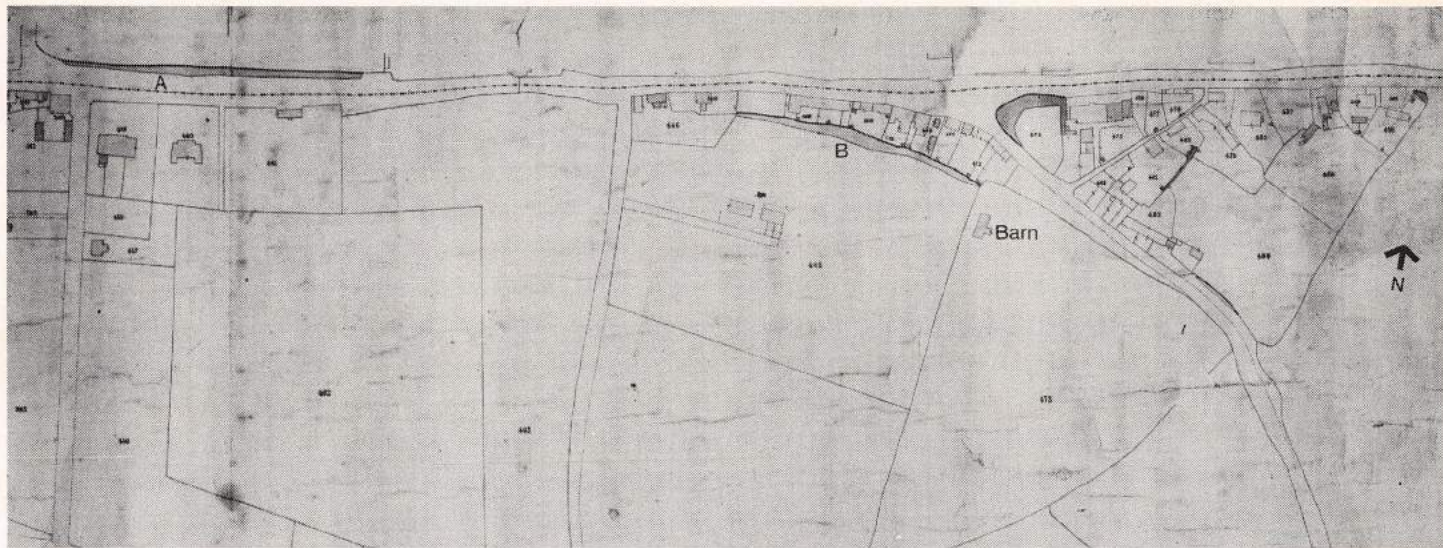


PLATE I

(Photo: Essex Record Office)

Extract from the Tithe map of Braintree, showing the north-east corner of the Coggeshall Road Earthwork *c.* 1840. For explanation, see p. 107.

[Facing page 108]

The earliest medieval sherd is part of a Thetford ware jar, of the type produced in the Carr Street kilns at Ipswich during the 10th to 12th centuries (Hurst, 1957, Fig. 1.10, 11). It is:

- Fig. 41.72 Hard grey fabric containing much fine sand, dark-medium grey surfaces. Five girth grooves survive on the exterior. From 'Chapel Hill' (Kenworthy).
 Fig. 41.73 A similar vessel, but with a more pronounced carination; unprovenanced, Kenworthy Collection, included here for comparison. The fabric is similar to 41.72, but softer and brownish; a third fragment was slightly underfired, and brown in colour. These latter fabrics are closer to the 'Early Medieval' wares of East Anglia than true Thetford ware (see Rigold, 1964, 100, and refs. cited). A date in the 11th or 12th century seems likely.

There is some later medieval material, in particular:

- Fig. 41.74 Hard grey sandy fabric, applied strips (CM 511.57); 13th century.
 Fig. 41.75 Hard brownish-grey sandy fabric, grey surfaces. 'Foundry/05', Kenworthy Collection, late 12th to early 13th century.
 Fig. 41.76 Hard grey sandy fabric; strip formed largely by pressing the wall of the vessel outwards from the interior (CM 511.57); late 12th to early 13th century.
 Fig. 41.77 Unusual bowl rim, hard grey sandy fabric, black surfaces (CM 511.57).

Sherds of a Heddingham ware jug were also included in the small collection of medieval pottery (511.57) given to CM by Mrs. S. A. Warner in 1957. It was found during the extension of the foundry in 1910-11. Kenworthy showed that the foundry included the site of the medieval chapel (below), and this pottery should be derived from occupation around it and the manor of Great Rayne, held by the Bishops of London. Such occupation must have begun by the 12th century, on the evidence of the Thetford ware. Cunnington (1833, II, 22) noted that the site of the burial ground at the chapel had 'lately' been excavated for gravel, a 'great quantity of human bones' being exposed in the process.

Kenworthy (1911, 87, 91) notes skeletons in the Albion works area, and in 1937, a skull, found *c.* 1900 in digging foundations for houses on Chapel Hill, was given to CM (759.37; *CMR*, 1937-44, 22). There was apparently no sign of a coffin. The site, curiously, should lie to the east of Chapel Hill; there are no houses of that date on the west side. The Chapel and other medieval buildings in the area are discussed below, pp. 134-135. A photograph (probably early 20th century) in the Essex Record Office shows masonry from the Chapel used to form an ornamental screen in the garden of Blandford House, London Road.

43. MILL COTTAGES

On 4 September 1903, three Belgic cremation urns were discovered by Silas Parmenter in digging the foundations of Mill Cottages, Mill Hill. The vessels are now in Colchester Museum (759-61:04); they were published locally in 1904⁴⁹ and included by Birchall (1965) in her reconsideration of the Aylesford-Swarling culture (Nos. 193, 197, 207). One was drawn to represent *Cam* f252 (pl. LXXXI). The pedestal base of a fourth vessel was apparently found with CM 759 and 60, but not retained.⁵⁰ Kenworthy noted a scatter of animal bones and Roman domestic pottery on the site, and in 1906 pottery was found in an old gravel pit adjoining the garden of No. 11.⁵¹ There was at least one Roman cremation burial, for Kenworthy⁵² found 'in the black top mould about 3 ft. deep' the base of a large coarse grey jar, maximum diameter 30 cm, containing burnt bones, also:

- Fig. 41.78 A small flask in a fine dark bluish-grey fabric, with grey surfaces once burnished.
 Fig. 41.79 A small two-handled jug, which was found 'by the side of the urn'. It is in a hard, sandy, light orange-brown fabric.

The group belongs to the 2nd century, probably the latter part of that century. The following stamped Samian bowl (CM 2001.10) described by W. J. Rodwell (now untraceable but certainly in CM), seems to have come from the same site:

VERANUS of ? Central Gaul: Reading OF. VERIAN

Completed dish form 18/31, Trajanic.

A label notes that it was found at the foot of Chapel Hill, March 1906, with burial urns.

VCH III, p. 55 (where incorrectly attributed to the High St.)

44. SKITT'S HILL

In 1899, Kenworthy published an account of the features and stratification revealed by brickearth digging in the valley of the River Brain, south-east of Skitts Hill (noted also in VCH I, 270). He felt that timber and organic material in a bed of alluvium—the 'relic bed'—were to be interpreted as the remains of 'fascine dwellings' of Neolithic date. However, in notes added to the article, F. W. Reader disagreed with Kenworthy's conclusions. In 1900, Reader was able to excavate part of the 'relic bed'; its position in the alluvial sequence was clarified, and Reader concluded that the stratum was probably laid down in the early Iron Age (Reader, 1906, 146). Reader's section shows the 'relic-bed' to have filled a hollow in alluvial strata some 8 ft. thick above the primary river ballast. It consisted of two layers, the lower being white sand, with a quantity of black vegetable remains and wood, and the upper being sandy clay mixed with wood. Above this, Reader shows 'alluvial brickearth', capped by a thin surface soil. Kenworthy divided this upper level as follows:

I. 'Pre-Roman' level, of sandy clay and clayey earth with selected pebbles, 2 ft. deep, containing fragments of 'Early and Late Celtic pottery, *thin, gritty, wheel-turned and kiln dried*', also friable bones of ox and horse.

II. 'Romano-British' level, of brickearth and valley silt, 3 ft. deep, containing tegulae and flue tiles, fragments of coarse and fine pottery and oyster shells but no organic material.

III. 'Modern and Medieval' level, of topsoil and brickearth, 1 ft. 6 in. deep, containing glazed pottery and iron horseshoes.

Reader and Kenworthy were not observing exactly the same spot, so that the latter's distinctions may be valid; there are, however, problems in relating these observations to the surviving finds in PEM.

Significant finds from the 'relic-bed' were few, but included the rim of a Middle Bronze Age urn, found by Reader. Kenworthy had a few sherds of similar vessels from this context (including one, in PEM, thick grey fabric, black flecks, found '1882 by Mr. Bowtell'). There was also:

Fig. 41.80 Jar in grey-brown fabric containing some white, probably flint, grits; dark burnished surface. Found by Kenworthy, with flint flakes, 6 ft. 6 in. deep and 'a few feet from the river side of the cutting . . . Dec. 1900'. The vessel compares with examples from Linton, Cambs. (Fell, 1952, Fig. 4.21-4), and Darmsden, Suff. (Cunliffe, 1968, Fig. 2.11, 12, 15), and thus falls into Cunliffe's Darmsden-Linton group, ascribed to the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C. (Op. cit. and Cunliffe, 1974, 39-40, and Fig. A11.) A date before the middle of the 3rd century B.C. is indicated by the absence from Little Waltham of bowls of this form, or *fine vessels* in flint tempered fabrics (excavations by P.J.D., in course of publication).

Not illustrated: Red deer antlers clearly cut with a metal (almost certainly iron) saw; a hone, which implies the use of metal tools; many flints of Mesolithic and later date including a knife, perhaps Bronze Age, and a barbed and tanged arrowhead; organic remains, including bones of ox, red and roe deer, goat, pig, and dog; the frontal bone of a human skull; plant and wood remains in quantity.

Reader felt that the few substantial pieces of timber in his section were the result of natural deposition. Impact damage, caused to timber being carried by a river in flood, can remove branches and splinter ends in a manner suggestive of human activity, as Reader pointed out. The nature of the deposit may suggest a gradual accumulation of material in an abandoned meander or similar feature. In times of flood, considerable quantities of organic material, trees, etc., would be deposited in such a feature, especially if there was an obstruction such as a fallen tree, against which such material could accumulate. This may be the explanation of Kenworthy's 'platforms'. The remaining material from the site, in PEM, includes no LPRIA pottery; the material which corresponds to Kenworthy's description of the contents of Layer III, some of which was marked by him 'Late Celtic', belongs to the 12th century A.D. (see below).

Roman material is scarce, comprising:

Fig. 44.81 Fine hard light grey fabric, black burnished surfaces; unusually well-moulded rim.

Not illustrated: Two much-abraded grey storage jar sherds, 2nd to 3rd century; fragment of a late Roman tegula, much abraded, with a small narrow flange; Kenworthy also mentions flue tiles. However, unmarked material from this site may be included in the general Kenworthy Collection (CM and PEM).

The pottery in the 'relic-bed' suggests that it was exposed in the Early Iron Age, and possibly but not necessarily later, since later Iron Age material is absent from the site as a whole. It is difficult to decide whether Kenworthy's account of the levels above the relic-bed and the finds they contained (above) is a rationalisation or an accurate record. Taking Kenworthy's statements at face value, early medieval pottery was stratified immediately above the 'relic-bed', in material whose erosion from the valley slope was probably accelerated by agriculture, to judge from its overall thickness. If Kenworthy was correct, this process must have begun in the early medieval period; but, in view of the presence of small amounts of Roman pottery, consistent with agricultural activity in the vicinity of a known site (perhaps 42 above, or on the valley slope above the site), it would seem prudent to suggest that the process began in the Roman period. The absence of Roman material from the 'relic-bed' suggests that by the beginning of the Roman period, the organic deposit had already been sealed by natural erosion.

The presence of Roman sherds in Kenworthy's level II would not be surprising, since any traces of Roman occupation on the valley slope would have been eroded as time went on. The level also produced, at a depth of 3 ft. 6 in., the base of a large pot in a crumbly black fabric with brown surfaces, similar to the Bronze Age material noted. This could well have reached the spot concerned as a result of erosion or levelling on the hillside.

The quantity of early medieval pottery present suggests a settlement in the immediate vicinity; its location is suggested by some particularly fresh sherds from 'the valley slope leading to the plateau at Skitt's Hill, 40-50 yds. from the pit'. They comprised:

Fig. 44.82 Grey sandy fabric, brown surfaces, once containing a small amount of shell tempering, now leached out; also several sherds of similar vessels, including part of a sagging base, all lacking shell tempering.

More or less abraded sherds from the brick-earth pit were as follows:

Fig. 44.83 Grey sandy fabric.

Fig. 44.84 Fabric as 82.

Fig. 44.85 Fabric as 83.

Fig. 44.86 Very sandy dark brown fabric with greyish core.

Not illustrated: Rims as Fig. 33.1 (but finger-pressed on top of rim), 4, 10 and 11.

Taken as a whole this material should belong to the 12th century, being closely comparable in form to the group from features under the bloomery forge at Waltham Abbey—Huggins, 1973, Figs. 7 and 8. However, the lack of shell-tempered vessels is curious—perhaps Kenworthy discarded them as obviously medieval.

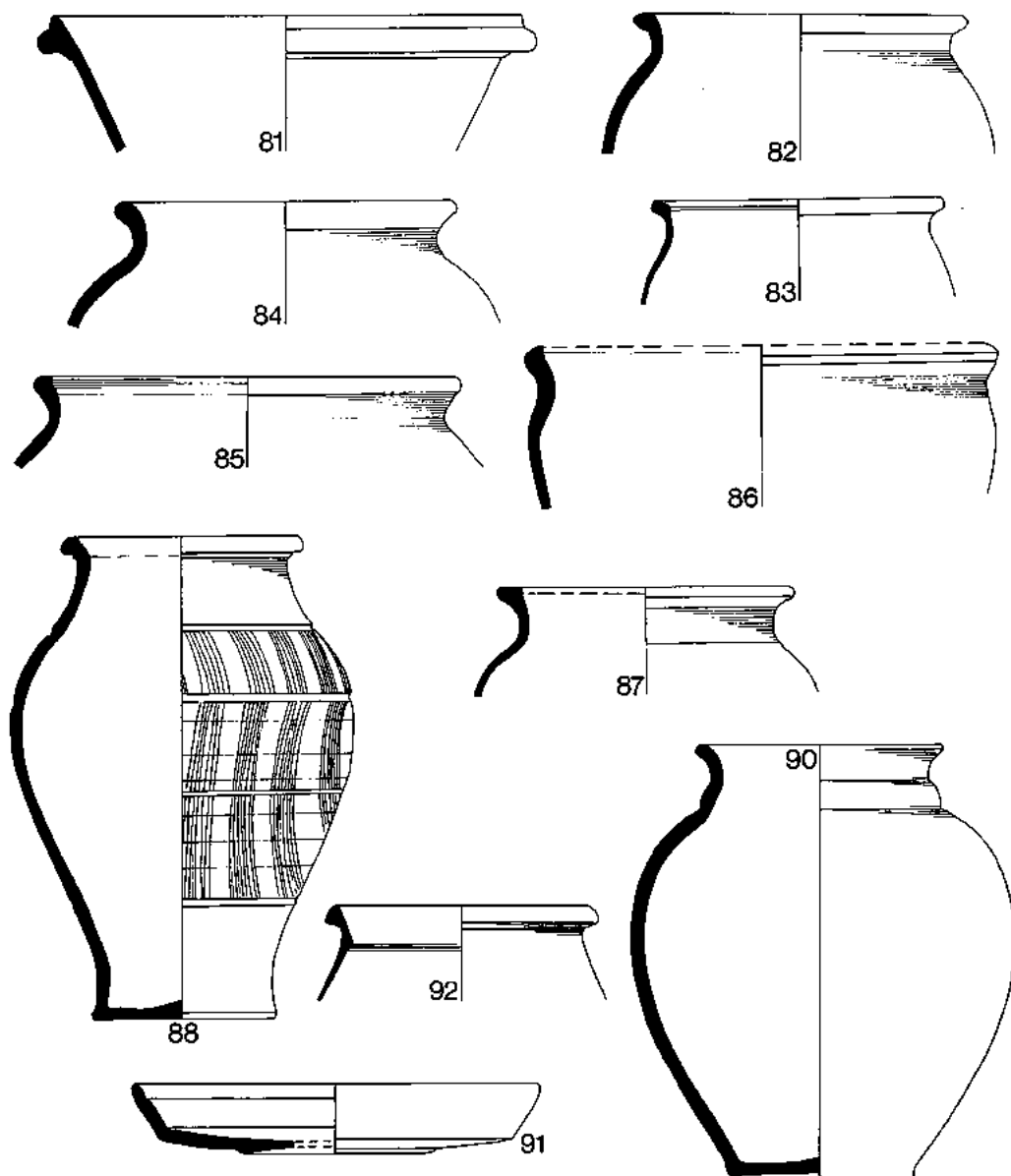


Fig. 44 Braintree: Pottery: Site 44 (81-86), Site 47 (87), Site 48 (88 and 90), and the Kenworthy Collection (91-92). Scale 1:4.

45. ALBERT ROAD

In 1899, an oolite coffin was found in developing Roach Pond Field, 90 yards south of Stane Street and 20 yards east of the centre of Albert Road. The interment lay E.-W. and was accompanied by beads, a small glass vessel, and a small jet ornament. Charred remains and fragments of Roman tile were found outside the coffin. It was clearly a rich late Roman burial.⁵³

46. MOUNT ROAD

Half a quern of conglomerate was collected by Chas. Smith before 1880 from the garden of Fred. Knight (CM Top. File). According to the Register of Electors, 1889, Knight had a dwelling-house in Mount Road.

47. COGGESHALL ROAD

Kenworthy had the rim of a 13th-century cooking pot:

Fig. 44.87 Hard grey sandy fabric. 'From Rayner, Coggeshall Road, found in loam, summer '98'.

Reader (1910) discusses at length a bone object of unknown date and function from Coggeshall Road. It was found by Kenworthy, 'at the side of the big tank (? the water tower—P.J.D.) in Coggeshall Road; there was Roman pottery in the same opening'. Possibly both references are to the same site.

48. THE MAIZES

A butt-beaker in Braintree Museum has 'Found in the Maizes, Braintree, 1843.I.C.' carved on the bottom; I.C. was presumably John Cunnington. The vessel was in the possession of his family until recent times, being illustrated in Cunnington and Warner, 1906. It is:

Fig. 44.88 Hard black slightly sandy fabric, burnished exterior, decorated with burnished lines; complete save for a little damage to the rim.

'The Maizes' is identified by the 1925 O.S. 6-in. map as the land to the west of the houses in Station Road, until recently used as allotment gardens. In 1968, a new telephone exchange was built on the site, and extensive terracing undertaken. A letter from F. Paine of New Street to the Trustees of Braintree Museum [*sic*], 2.12.68, in connection with the acquisition of some land drainage pipes from the site, notes that 'the workmen (said) that they had discovered an old Saxon burial ground.'

In 1912, Kenworthy found a large jar of *Cam* f218 containing burnt bones, 'near Hoppet Bridge' which lies just SW. of the Maizes.⁵⁴ It was deposited in CM (2449.12; provenance given in Top. File), but is not now traceable. The vessel is in a 'polished brown fabric with black flecks'; the lip is missing. The preceding entry in the register, 2448:1912, refers to a large cordoned urn, also collected from Braintree by Kenworthy and given at the same time; it may well be from the same site. It is illustrated:

Fig. 44.90 Grey fabric, flecked with black grog, brown sub-surface, brown-grey, lightly burnished surfaces.

The vessels are 'Belgic' rather than Roman in style; a date in the early to mid-1st century A.D. seems likely. Together with Paine's statement, they may point to the former existence of a substantial cemetery adjacent to the presumed road from Black Notley.

49. BLACK NOTLEY, NOTLEY PLACE

In 1753, a group of objects was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Gustavus Bender, who stated that they had been found in gravel-digging in a field belonging to William Rayment, within about ¼ mile of Braintree and about 10 rods from the road.⁵⁵ The objects included Samian ware, a fluted patera handle with a ram's head terminal, another bronze vessel crushed by a pickaxe, two glass vessels, and two fragments of a vessel of ash-coloured clay with brown glaze thereon. They are clearly the grave-goods from a rich Roman cremation burial of 1st-century date. The site cannot be identified with certainty, but the only gravel pit shown on the Tithe Map of Black Notley (Essex Record Office, D/CT 256A, c. 1840) is that indicated as the site of this find on Fig. 49 (east of road I).

50. MR. REVELL'S HOUSE

In digging the foundations of a house rebuilt by Mr. Revell in 1833, a coin showing 'the busts of two emperors, one on each side . . .' was found. Cunnington thought the coin to be of the joint emperors Aurelius and Lucius, the letters . . . RELIVS . . . being 'obvious' on one side and . . . RVS on the other. At the same time, middle brass coins of Claudius and Vespasian were found; these two remained with Revell, but Cunnington acquired the other (Cunnington, 1833, 8). It has not been possible to identify a house belonging to Revell in Braintree, but one Revell occupied Troys Farm, Black Notley (TL 766 208) c. 1840.⁵⁶

51. FIELD EAST OF LONDON ROAD

Kenworthy (1911a, 40) recorded that a Roman burial, accompanied by a Samian bowl, had been found during drainage operations in 1910 'in the field close to the south side of the railway cutting, near London Road'; subsequent discussion makes it clear that the field was to the east of London Road. The vessel may be the complete f36 noted as unprovenanced (below, p. 115).

52. PANFIELD LANE

Kenworthy noted (1911a, 40) that the soles of many Roman sandals had been found 'at the top of Panfield Lane, where the pipes were laid on for the Union House (now St. Michael's Hospital) not long since'. The location is too imprecise to map. The soles came from a deep hole filled with black unctuous earth, with a great mixture of seeds and refuse; they ranged from large to child size; 'some had the heads of large iron nails in rows' and all were worn out.

53. PUBLIC GARDENS, BRADFORD STREET

A denarius of Trajan, A.D. 103 (as Mattingley, 1966, Pl. 14, No. 19), found here, was identified by Chelmsford Museum in 1975.

Unverified Sites

Three sites are marked on the record maps in CM, all to the north of Hunnable's *recent* gravel pit and quite possibly plotted in relation to it. If so, they are presumably wrongly sited, since the pit which produced archaeological material is now known to have been the one near London Road (above, p. 92). The reference for all three finds is 'G. T. Scott, Braintree', of whom no one consulted seems otherwise to have heard. The sites are as follows:

- TL 735 234: (N. bank of R. Brain) 'British copy of Phillip of Macedon stater, also bronze dross';
- TL 7487 2318: (Near saw-mill, Rayne Road) 'Silver coin of Trajan';
- TL 7439 2292: (Junction of Rayne Road and Rayne Lodge Chase) 'Charcoal, Roman tile, floor brick'.

The Kenworthy Collection

Material found in Braintree but not otherwise provenanced.

Coins

Cunnington (1833, 15–21) stated that he had collected or seen coins of 24 Emperors from Agrippa to Honorius; apart from those in the 1828 hoard, and the above-mentioned, he lists coins of Claudius I, Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Aurelian, Crispus, Constantine II, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.

The Kenworthy collection (3200:1915) contained many Roman and later coins, not now identifiable in CM; he noted (Kenworthy, 1911a) coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina and Septimius Severus in addition to those mentioned under specific sites. A *sestertius* of Hadrian was purchased by CM in 1926 (5293:26). A worn second brass of Nerva was given to CM, 1948-50, by Mrs. Tuttle, 358 Coggeshall Road, Braintree (*CMR* 1948-50, 22; find spot not given).

Pre-Conquest coins are as follows:

Gallo-Belgic C	Gold stater, Evans B7, found in 1887; <i>Num. Chron.</i> XIII, 1933.
Cunobelinus	Gold Stater, Mack 201, Allen's BIGA type, found 1928. Sold by Messrs. Glendinning in 1939, from the collection of Gilbert C. Drabble (Allen 1975, 13). AE, Mack 229, CM 35:56. AE, Mack 230, CM 3200:15, Kenworthy Collection.
Roman	Piece of <i>Aes Grave</i> of c. 200 B.C. in the Kenworthy Collection (CM 3805:19) said by him to have been found in Braintree. <i>Obv.</i> : Heads of Janus, with mark of the <i>As</i> above; <i>Rev.</i> : galley below the word ROMA.
Dubious	'British copy of Philip of Macedon stater' at TL 735 234 (see above).

Fibulae and Other Bronze Objects

- Fig. 48.1 Fibula with spring pin missing, *Cam* Type III, decorated with zig-zag pattern on bow; cf. *Cam*, Pl. LXXXIX, Nos. 6, 8. (M. R. Hull, C.M. files); CM 3200:15.
- Fig. 48.2 Fibula, spring and pin missing, 'Aucissa' type (*Cam* XVII A), decorated with zig-zag pattern on bow (M. R. Hull, CM, files); CM 3200:15. Also a plain fibula pin.
- Fig. 48.3 Bronze nail cleaner.
- Fig. 48.4 Bronze pin, large head, shank cut short.

Terra Sigillata (CM, mostly 2001:1910) by W. J. Rodwell

- f18, S.G., probably Neronian but possibly early Flavian.
- f18, S.G., Flavian, mended with rivets.
- f18/31 or 31, C.G., first half of 2nd century.
- f35, rim, S.G., late 1st century.
- f36, S.G., rim fragment of a very large example, Flavian-Trajanic.
- f36, C.G., late 2nd century; a small example, half the vessel present.
- f36, C.G., 2nd century; complete, and thus probably from a burial.
- f37, S.G., Flavian.

Stamp: HELENIUS of Rheinabern; Reading HELENIMA
Cup form 33.

This may well have come from Braintree, rather than Colchester, as assumed by May (1930), pp. 209, 238, No. 25. He cites an example, from Braintree, in *C.I.L.* XIII, 985. A confusion seems likely as there is only one stamp of Helenius in Colchester Museum. Late Antonine.

Uncertain stamp, reading J.T.IVI retrograde. Small fragment of a dish of uncertain form. Not seen by W.J.R. but drawn by M. R. Hull. Possibly a stamp of one of the several potters called Martinus.

Gallo-Belgic Wares

- Fig. 44.91 *Cam* f13, in a hard greyish-white fabric, with remains of black surface—*Terra Nigra*.
- Fig. 44.92 *Cam* f13, butt beaker in hard cream ware with pinkish core.
- Neither is necessarily pre-conquest.

Mortaria

- Fig. 45.93 Buff ware; a few small grey and white flint grits remain. A Colchester product.
 Fig. 45.94 Very sandy buff fabric; grey, white and red, rather large, flint grits. A Colchester product.
 Fig. 45.95 Hard buff ware; black, white and grey flint grits.

Native and Roman Bowls

- Fig. 45.96 Blue-grey fabric, brown sub-surface, traces of highly polished black surfaces.
 Fig. 45.97 Orange fabric, rather soft, reddish surfaces, white slip decoration.
 Fig. 45.98 Pinkish-red, rather sandy fabric, once burnished; decorated with a circular stamp, the body being supported during the process by a finger pressed on the inside.
 Fig. 45.99 Hard light grey fabric, dark grey surfaces, comb-stabbed pattern.
 Fig. 45.100 Hard brown fabric, black surfaces, burnished externally; combed pattern.
 Fig. 45.101 Hard near-black fabric tempered with fine sand; remains of ? burnt food and soot adhering.

'London Ware'

- Fig. 45.102 Bowl copying Drag. f37 in a brown-red micaceous fabric, burnished externally; stamped and combed decoration.

Exactly similar vessels are known from Chelmsford (excavations by the writer) and Nazeingbury (information from P. J. Huggins). The dating is probably similar to that of two vessels from Verulamium, undoubtedly from the same source; one is from a context dated *c.* 130–50 (Frere, 1972, Fig. 119.696), the other from a pit of *c.* 120–60 (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936, Fig. 31.35).

- Fig. 45.103 Part of a bowl in a fine grey fabric, copying Drag. f30. Drawn by M. R. Hull.
 Fig. 45.104 Small beaker in a hard light grey fabric with black-burnished surfaces. Drawn by M. R. Hull.

Native and Roman Jars

- Fig. 45.105 Rather soft red fabric, grey core.
 Fig. 45.106 Brown fabric, black flecked, the exterior burnished a dark brownish-grey.
 Fig. 45.107 Soft dark brown fabric, black flecked, brown sub-surface; almost black, burnished exterior.
 Fig. 45.108 Dark grey fabric, black flecked, burnished externally.
 Fig. 45.109 Thin, hard, dark grey ware, black surfaces, burnished exterior.
 Fig. 45.110 Fairly soft brown fabric, greyish core, red abraded surfaces.
 Fig. 45.111 Hard, orange-brown fabric, grey surfaces, burnished externally.
 Fig. 45.112 Hard light grey fabric, partly burnished exterior.
 Fig. 45.113 Rather granular dark grey fabric.
 Fig. 45.114 Soft grey slightly granular fabric, brown sub-surface, black surfaces burnished externally.
 Fig. 45.115 Grey, rather sandy fabric, brown sub-surface, dark brown surfaces, burnished externally.
 Fig. 45.116 Hard grey fabric, brown sub-surface, grey surfaces, burnished externally.
 Fig. 46.117 Hard, dark grey, slightly granular fabric, burnished exterior; burnt light brown after breakage.
 Fig. 46.118 Grey granular fabric, black flecked, brownish-red surfaces, exterior lightly burnished.

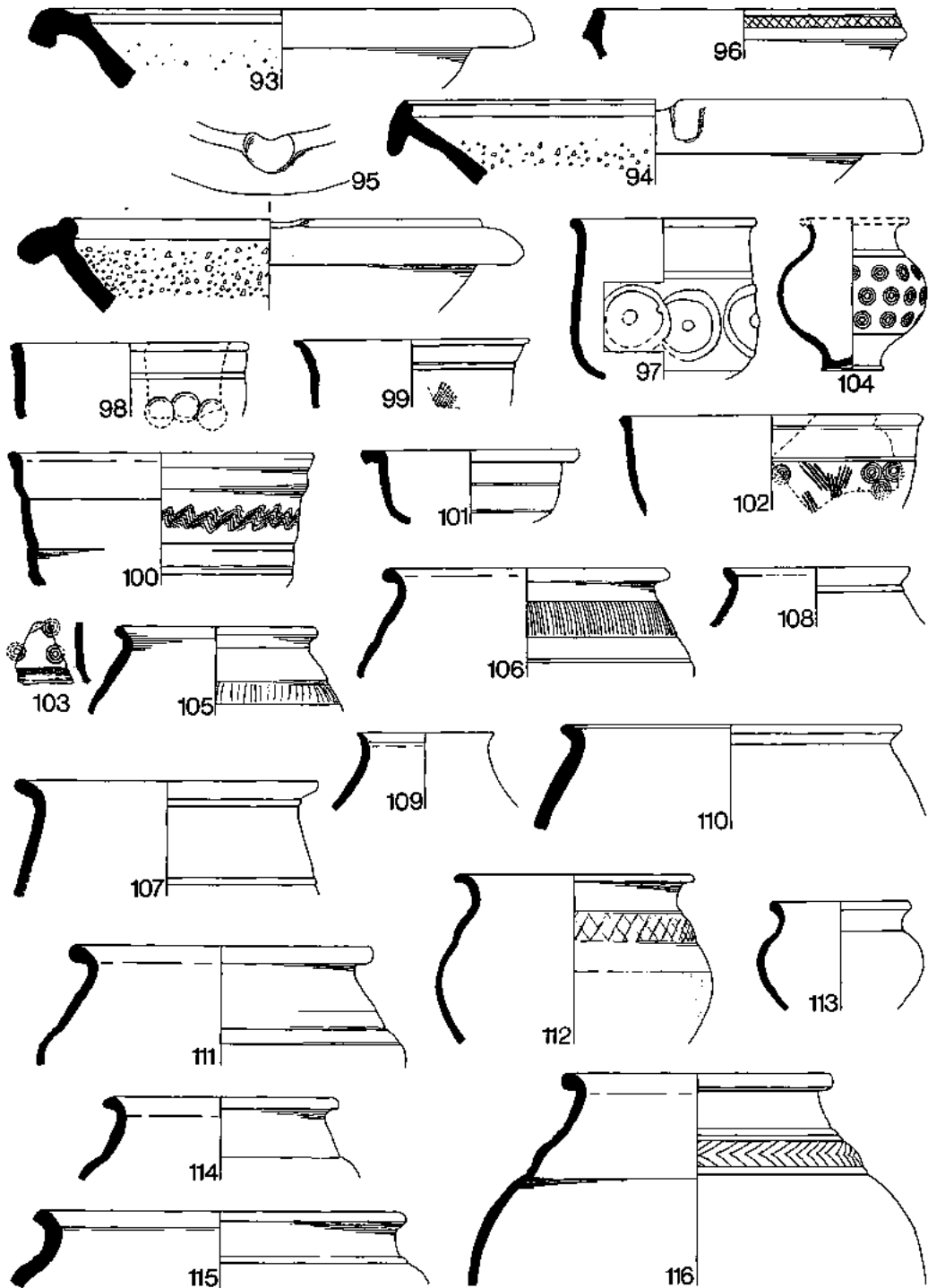


Fig. 45 Braintree: Pottery from the Kenworthy Collection, 93-116. Scale 1:4.

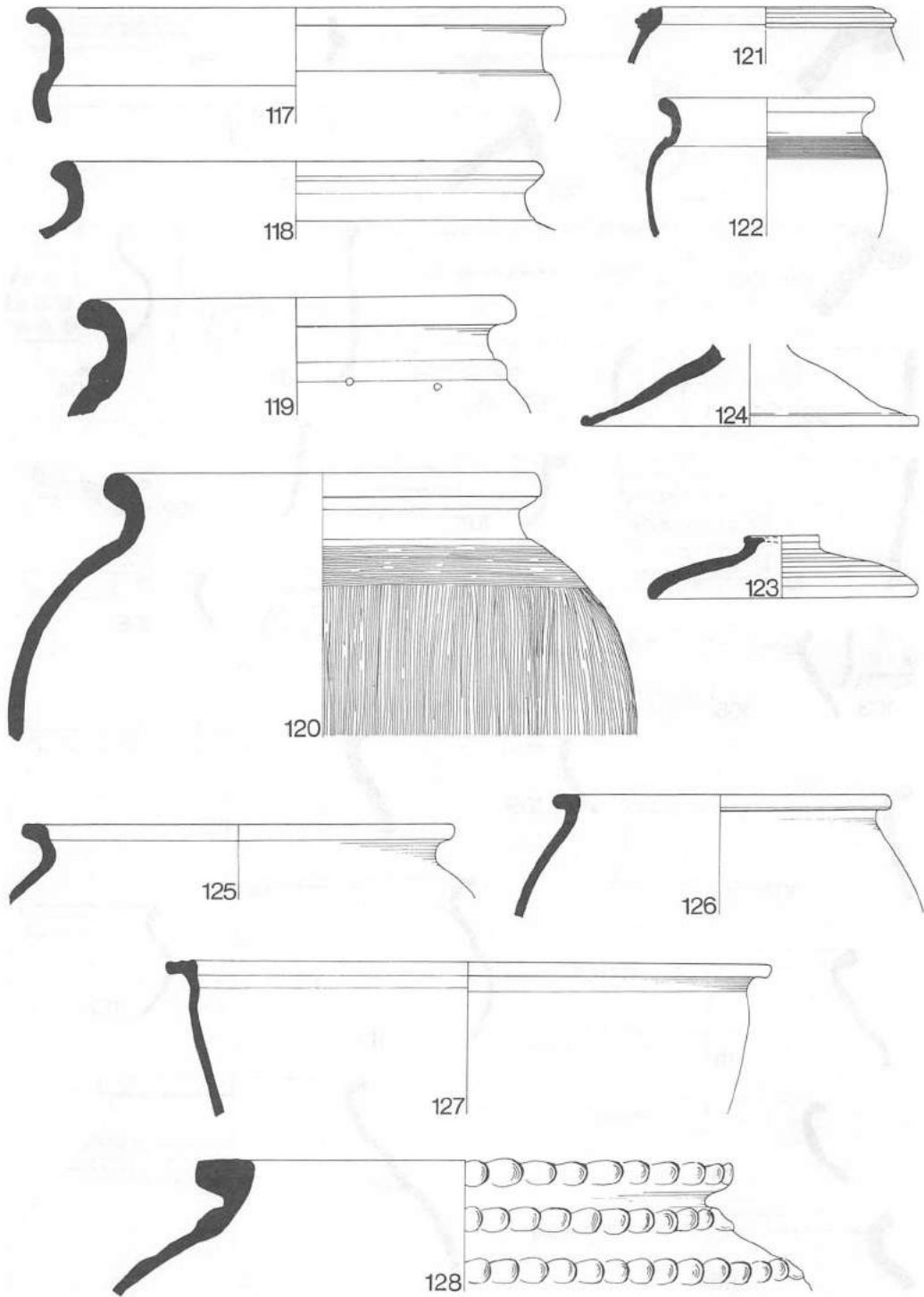


Fig. 46 Braintree: Pottery from the Kenworthy Collection, 117-128. Scale 1:4.

- Fig. 46.119 Brown granular fabric, greyish core, dark brown surfaces. Two holes bored through the shoulder after firing.
- Fig. 46.120 Orange-brown, rather granular, flaking fabric, surface dark in patches; lightly combed.
- Fig. 46.121 Grey sandy fabric, light grey surfaces.
- Fig. 46.122 Hard, very dark grey fabric, black surfaces.

Native and Roman Lids

- Fig. 46.123 Fine grey fabric, brownish-black surfaces; fine grooves on exterior.
- Fig. 46.124 Hard black fabric, traces of burnishing internally; exterior partially oxidised brown.

Notable among the considerable quantity of other material are:

- a. About half of a tall pedestal urn in a hard, grey, rather sandy ware, black flecked, burnished exterior, wheel-thrown; maximum diameter *c.* 20 cm. The pedestal is missing and the top appears to have been ploughed off; undoubtedly from a burial.
- b. Fragment of a London ware bowl copying Drag. f37, fine brown fabric, black surfaces, with groups of incised vertical lines.
- c. A single sherd of 1st-century shell-tempered jar.

There is much more material of the 1st and 2nd centuries than of the 3rd and 4th. A relatively small quantity of Kenworthy's material is in PEM; it is mostly of the 3rd and 4th centuries but none is worthy of illustration.

Medieval Material

The following forms are not elsewhere represented in this report:

- Fig. 46.125 Hard grey sandy fabric, brown surfaces. Late 12th to early 13th century.
- Fig. 46.126 Hard grey sandy fabric. Late 13th to 14th century.
- Fig. 46.127 Hard grey-brown sandy fabric, dark grey exterior, dark brown interior. Similar to Danbury E1 (Drury and Pratt, 1975, Fig. 59), *c.* 1275/85-1325/35.
- Fig. 46.128 Hard, near-black coarsely sand-tempered fabric; orange brown surface, applied finger-pressed strips. A large storage jar, similar to Drury and Pratt, 1975, Fig. 60, A14; probably belonging to the second half of the 13th century.

Kenworthy retained sandy medieval wares in the belief that they were of Iron Age date; many such sherds in the collection are marked 'EIA', 'Late-Celtic', etc. This presumably explains the lack of fine, glazed and shell-tempered wares, and almost anything later than the mid-14th century. The iron arrowhead, Fig. 47.131 is certainly medieval, probably 13th or 14th century; the barbs would probably have been much longer, but the object is badly corroded—compare Drewett, 1975, Fig. 28.347, from Hadleigh Castle.

Other Unprovenanced Pottery

CM 4712:24. A small carinated bowl, 'found at Braintree', was given to Colchester Museum by Mr. Alfred Hills, but is not now traceable.

In 1941, a Samian platter of f32, resembling *Oswald and Price*, LXIII, 1 and 4, but with a solid base, was found in Braintree (CM, Top. File).

A cast of a Roman lamp is in CM (157:29). The original is in dark buff ware, no handle, the disc crudely rosetted.

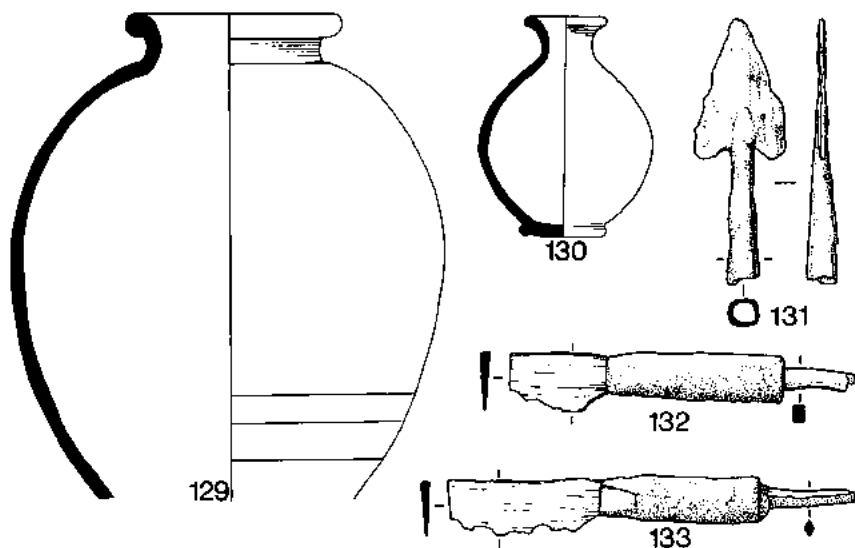


Fig. 47 Braintree: Pottery from the Kenworthy Collection, 129–130. Scale 1:4.
Objects of Iron, 131–133. Scale 1:2.

Two vessels in Braintree Museum are worthy of note:

Fig. 47.129 Coarse grey sandy fabric, brown surfaces; complete to the level drawn (BM 289:67).

Fig. 47.130 Hard fine grey fabric, burnished surfaces (BM 202:67).

Both are presumably from burials, probably in the Clare Road area (above, p. 91–92).

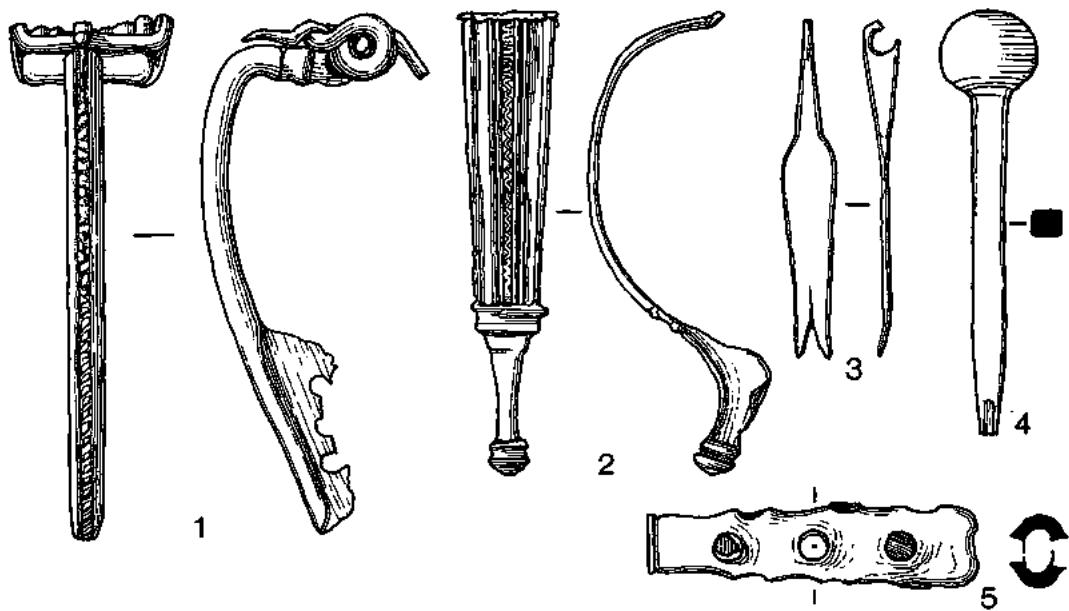


Fig. 48 Braintree: Objects of Bronze (1–4), and Bone with Jet Inlay (5). Scale 1:1.

Discussion

I. THE ROMANO-BRITISH 'SMALL TOWN' AND ITS IRON AGE ANTECEDENTS by P. J. Drury

The pre-Roman Period; the Evolution of the Landscape

Evidence for early pre-Roman Iron Age settlement in the Braintree area is sparse; a vessel of fifth- to third-century B.C. date has been recorded from Skitts Hill (44), and a single sherd of the third to first centuries B.C. from Chapel Hill (42). The principal settlements of this period clearly await discovery. However, there is more evidence of settlement in the late pre-Roman Iron Age, and elements dating from this period seem to form part of the modern landscape. The evolution of the landscape will therefore be considered at the outset.

Many land boundaries shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map share a common alignment, based on the River Brain south and south-east of the town. These are plotted on Fig. 49 in relation to the natural features of the landscape; related boundaries and roads, and relevant boundaries destroyed since *c.* 1840 are also indicated. It will be seen that the alignment of these features tends to be relatively consistent over a large area, regardless of the local course of the river. This suggests either the deliberate planning of the system of which they form part, or, perhaps more likely, the orderly growth of rectilinear enclosures from an original nucleus. These features are largely confined to the valley slopes (i.e. below the 225 ft. contour).

It will be seen that an enclosure at A—perhaps no more than a field—of which three sides survive and which forms part of this system, appears to have been cut diagonally by the present Little Waltham–Braintree road, indicating that the latter post-dates the field-system. This road is Roman in origin, following an almost straight course from Little Waltham to Q on Fig. 49. The south end of the road, at Little Waltham, was excavated in 1971–2; it was shown to be of early Roman origin, although close dating evidence was lacking.⁵⁷ There it also cuts across a field system, related to the Chelmer valley and rather better preserved than that at Braintree. One component field ditch, examined in excavation, cut across a mid-third to first century B.C. Iron Age settlement, but the latest pottery in its filling was of Claudio-Neronian date. The road from Chelmsford northwards along the valley belongs to this pattern, the line being maintained during the Roman period. The conclusion reached at Waltham was that the field-system, which still forms the basis of land division in the area, was established at some time during the century before the Roman conquest. The most likely context for the construction of the Waltham–Braintree road, clearly of military character, seems to be the aftermath of the Boudiccan revolt.

Although an archaeological date for the field-system at Braintree is lacking, its relationship to the Waltham–Braintree road and its general similarity to that at Waltham suggest that they should belong to the same period. This is not to imply, however, that every boundary shown on Fig. 49, or noted at Little Waltham, is a survival from this early period. Fields are constantly divided and thrown together, and for this reason some of the boundaries shown are probably of fairly recent origin. So long as cultivation is continuous, however, the alignment of the majority of field boundaries in a rectilinear system tends not to change dramatically. By plotting these boundaries, therefore, we are probably indicating areas in which cultivation has been more or less continuous since the end of the pre-Roman Iron Age.

Two roads seem to form part of this system, one on either side of the Brain. That to the east (II) begins at C and seems to be continued by the roads and footpaths which survive anachronistically within modern Braintree almost to D. The other (I) runs northwards from B, apparently linking up with New Street (for this name see below, p. 133) and thus meeting route II at D; it may continue to the north-west, approximately on the line of Panfield Lane (III). The

Colchester—Braughing road seems to cut across the early field-system where the latter survives to the west of the town; the road should thus post-date that system, although the evidence is not as clear-cut as it is in the case of the Waltham—Braintree Road. The alignment of the Colchester—Braughing road (marked IV west of the town and V east of it) warrants close scrutiny. The section involved seems to be based on a sight-line between E and F, both on high ground. The road follows the logical course—a straight line between these points—from F eastwards to G, and from E westwards to H. At the latter, however, its course and that of the earthwork adjoining Coggeshall Road (41) have converged; the line of the earthwork continues unchecked, whilst that of the road is deflected northwards as far as J, where the earthwork turns to the south. The road also turns southwards slightly, to meet route I at K. The obvious conclusion is that the earthwork, like the field-system, pre-dates the road, the course of the latter having been adjusted to take account of it.

West of the junction, the line of the partially excavated section of route IV, if continued eastwards, would meet route I at the junction D, whilst to the west, Rayne Road is known from excavation to closely follow the line of its Roman predecessor; there is a small change of alignment between the two sections. Rayne Road continues westwards to L, where it turns slightly to the south, returning to the 'ideal' alignment at the crossing of the Brain. The deviation to the north at L is probably due to misalignment after the river crossing; but it is clear that the road aligns on what must have been a pre-existing junction at D (between I and II), rather than the west end of route V (K).

It should be remembered, however, that the foregoing is based on the assumption that the modern road closely follows the line of its Roman predecessor. However, the fact that it runs in a series of relatively straight lengths, with the points at which the direction changes being clearly obvious, strongly supports this view. Excavation on the frontage of one of these sections (Site E) confirmed that it was of Roman origin, and also suggested—as might be expected—that the sinuous length of Rayne Road immediately west of the town centre is of post-Roman origin.

An attempt must now be made to explain the alignment of the Little Waltham—Braintree—Gosfield road (VI—VII) in the town area. The overall alignment from M to N is again consistent, and indeed would pass through the junction D. The section north of the town (VII) seems to begin, not surprisingly, at the junction of routes I and V, returning to the sighted alignment at O; the subsequent diversion to the west at P is clearly to cross the bottom of the Blackwater valley by the shortest possible route. So far as route VI is concerned, it seems likely that London Road follows the course of its Roman predecessor, not only because of its series of distinct straight alignments, but also because of its relationship to the findspots of Romano-British material within the 'small town'. The evidence from site 17, of Roman material being found under the High Street, suggests that the latter does not follow the line of the Roman road, and it is therefore suggested that the road joined route I at D; this point will be discussed further below (p. 132) in connection with the town centre. Further south, the road appears to take a logical course to Q. The reason for the displacement of much of this section to the west of the sight-line may lie in the fact that such a course avoids steep slopes, but the possibility of its being connected with the siting of a fort or a pre-existing settlement should not be overlooked.

A tentative sequence has thus been established. The field-system based on the Brain valley, with its contemporary routes I and II, appears to be the primary component of the layout; the Coggeshall Road earthwork may be contemporary, or of slightly earlier or later origin, but both pre-date the Colchester—Braughing road. The latest element, perhaps to be dated soon after A.D. 60, is the Waltham—Braintree—Gosfield road, its course relating to an already established road pattern.

Certain other patterns of fields have been shown on Fig. 49. Those to the west of, and based on, routes VI and VII are of unknown date but could be Romano-British in origin. A few enclosures were laid out at Little Waltham alongside the Waltham—Braintree road early in the Roman period, but these were not extensive. However, the boundaries east of E, to the north and

south of route V, are of more interest, since their alignment is that of a Romano-British ditch excavated at 40. Since the alignment is also that of the relevant section of route V, it is probable that the origins of the pattern lie in the early Roman period. Sites 39 and 40 clearly indicate the existence of a farm or villa in the middle of the area concerned, whilst site 38 must indicate another to the west. Between them, the line north of E is suggestive of an estate boundary: in the area around 38 there exists another pattern of boundaries based on the alignment of route V, but undated archaeologically. Taken together these features may suggest the existence of a number of Romano-British estates disposed along the south side of the Blackwater valley.

The evidence for the form and extent of the earthwork adjoining the Coggeshall Road has been set out above (pp. 104-107), and its relationship to the Roman road pattern has been established. Its continuation to the south-east appears to be marked by the line of Cressing Road, the curve of which is consistent as far as Chapel Hill, where it meets route II. The surviving western section also turns southwards, and although modern development covers the area beyond, it should be noted that Fairfield Road runs largely in a hollow, with a distinct scarp about 1 m high on the east side; this, together with its alignment, suggests that Fairfield Road might approximately follow the line of a continuation of the earthwork to the south-west (shown dotted on Figs. 2 and 49). The picture which emerges is that of an oval enclosure on the north side of the Brain; in view of the scale of the surrounding earthworks, it can hardly be other than defensive. Industrial development and the railway have so altered the landscape immediately north of the river that any earthworks which may have existed on that side have long since been obliterated. However, it is possible that the river formed the south side of the enclosure. Its total area was *c.* 50-65 ha, depending upon the arrangements which prevailed on the south side.

The relationship between route II and this enclosure suggests the location of two entrances, near the south-east and north-west corners. Site 42 lies in the vicinity of the probable south-east entrance; the few finds suggest a Roman farm here, possibly with earlier origins. Near by is the cemetery (43), clearly important in the pre-Roman period, but used (in connection with the farm?) at least until the late 2nd century. To the south-west of the enclosure lay another cemetery, 48; this appears to have gone out of use by the early Roman period. Within the defences, a single Roman burial (45), a fragment of an unspecified quern (46), and unspecified 'Roman potsherds' (Cunnington, 1839) are the only recorded finds. It is clear that the settlement within the defended area, if one existed, has yet to be found; it may well lie in the eastern (and as yet undeveloped) section, where an ample supply of water would be assured from the spring marked on Fig. 49. However, the locations of the cemeteries may be related to occupation within the enclosure. There was probably a farm or minor settlement outside the enclosure to the west; see below, p. 126.

Such indirect dating evidence as is available thus points to the enclosure being of late pre-Roman Iron Age date; its relatively large size, its form, and its position support this view, being quite inconsistent with earlier Iron Age and Roman military sites. It seems to be a Belgic *oppidum*, closely comparable in form to that at Wheathampstead (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936). On the assumption that the River Lea formed its north side, Wheathampstead was *c.* 65 ha. in extent, but if there were defences on that side, the area would be between 45 and 60 ha.; thus in size it is similar to the Braintree enclosure.

In shape, too, Wheathampstead and Braintree are comparable, being basically oval, twice as long as they are wide. The principal differences seem to be that whereas at Wheathampstead the longitudinal axis is almost at right-angles to the river, at Braintree it is parallel; also the defences at Wheathampstead seem to be on a larger scale, at least in part, than do those at Braintree. The areas enclosed by the earthworks at Dyke Hills, Dorchester, and the Sheepen Dyke at Camulodunum also compare closely with that of the Braintree enclosure (Rodwell, 1976, Fig. 47), but all are small in comparison with the ultimate extent of the Camulodunum dykes and similar works. At this stage it seems inappropriate to draw further parallels, in view of our limited knowledge of the Braintree site.

The Romano-British 'Small Town'

It is clear from past finds that the Romano-British 'small town' was concentrated along routes IV and VI, west and south-west respectively of the junction D. This conclusion is supported by the lack of occupation on site G, or of any recorded finds elsewhere along routes I, II, III, V or VII in the immediate vicinity of the junction. The tendency for Trinovantian small towns to develop along only one or two of the available routes radiating from a junction has been noted elsewhere; to the example of Braintree, one may add Great Dunmow, Heybridge, and Wickford (Rodwell, 1975, Fig. 2). It is clear that the road junction was not a significant focal point in the settlement; indeed judging purely on the evidence of the plan, a focal point appears to be lacking.

In these settlements, the buildings generally appear to have been sited on or near the road frontages, in plots divided by fences, or (hedge?) banks and ditches; both were used in the excavated area at Rayne Road. There at least, the plots were more than 16 m wide, the buildings within them being set with their longitudinal axes parallel to the road. This picture contrasts with Chelmsford (*Caesaromagus*), where strip houses within narrow plots closely packed together on the frontages appear to be the norm.⁵⁸ However, such buildings may exist elsewhere in the settlement at Braintree, since the Rayne Road area was developed late, and may have always been peripheral to a commercial centre in London Road.

If our understanding of the layout of the settlement at Great Dunmow⁵⁹ is correct, the plots on the north side of the Colchester-Braughing road were 100–110 m deep, defined at the rear by ditches. A similar plot depth in Braintree would not be at variance with the available evidence. Indeed, a line 105 m north-west of, and parallel to, route VI would pass diagonally through Hunnable's Gravel Pit, and provide an explanation for the ditch observed there (9). The description of the ditch suggests that it was backfilled deliberately, but no inference can be drawn from this; the profile seems too slack for the feature to be military. On the basis of recorded finds, and assuming occupation traces to a depth of *c.* 105 m from the relevant road frontages, a total settlement area of *c.* 23 ha. (57 ac.) is indicated. However, the value of such estimates for comparison of these 'small towns' is much reduced by our general lack of knowledge of the density of development within them; present evidence, as noted above, suggests that this varied considerably.

The 100–110 m deep plots in the centre of the settlement at Great Dunmow contained small animal pens towards the rear. At Chelmsford, however, the plots on the west side of the London-Colchester Road, where the depth is known, were only *c.* 50 m deep, and the presence of 'agricultural' features has yet to be generally attested. It may be that these factors are pointers towards the division of Trinovantian 'small towns' into those where the inhabitants lived by craft or trade alone, and those in which such activities were combined with what amounts to a smallholding; although if so, there would probably have been some 'smallholdings' on the periphery of the former. These are indeed known to exist at Chelmsford.

The area suggested for the town is of course a maximum, and there is some evidence to suggest the sequence of development. From the gazetteer, it is clear that there is a considerable quantity of pottery dating from the 1st century A.D. from the London Road area, along route IV, from site 1 in the south-west to site 14 in the north-east. Further, the material from site 15 begins rather later, in the 2nd century, although too much reliance should not be placed on this negative evidence, in view of the circumstances of the find. Early material is also present at sites 20 and 21 around the junction, but the emphasis in the Rayne Road area, along route IV, appears to be on the later material, despite early finds from sites 29 and 31. The evidence of Kenworthy's collections from this area (site 30) is confirmed by the more reliable evidence from the excavation of site E. Until the close of the 2nd century, the only features on the site were the recut and maintained road ditch, and clay pits between it and the edge of the road proper. Both the pits and (especially) the road ditches contained appreciable amounts of refuse; if such a situation

prevailed generally, the relatively small quantity of early material from this area (west of site 26) could have come from similar deposits. However, the very presence of this refuse may imply sporadic settlement in the area before the end of the 2nd century. The expansion of the settlement to include site 28 accords well enough with the general view of increasing prosperity during the 2nd century. Material of 2nd-, 3rd- and 4th-century date is also in evidence from sites flanking route VI, so that the settlement of the route IV frontage need not imply a shift from the former area. Site E was occupied by successive buildings through the 3rd and much of the 4th century, but occupation apparently ceased *c.* 360-375, on the evidence of the coins and pottery. However, there is nothing to suggest that occupation in the area of route VI declined in the late 4th century. Red colour-coated Oxfordshire wares, absent from site 28, were present at site 20, and there is a coin of Honorius from site 13.

In summary, therefore, the area from the road junction south-westwards along route VI was probably occupied throughout the Roman period. The settlement appears to have expanded westwards along route IV during the second century, probably into an area already sporadically developed, reaching site 28 towards the end of the century. There is evidence that a contraction towards the original nucleus occurred in the later 4th century, site 28 being abandoned *c.* 360-375.

The only structures to have been excavated are those on site 28, where the form of Building A accords well with that of others from 'small towns' in the area, an apparently fully framed structure being set on a pre-laid 'floor' of gravel. In phase III, the industrial buildings were apparently of mixed construction, some timbers being set into post-holes and some into ground-laid cills. This need not suggest a decline in standards of construction, but merely reflect the function of the buildings, although the east wall, with timbers set in post-holes, may indeed represent a reconstruction. As yet little is known of industrial buildings in Trinovantian small towns, but the fact that the excavated structures can be closely paralleled by buildings constructed for similar purposes as far away as Manchester (above, pp. 64-65) suggests that they may belong to a standard type.

The objects found on the site—the window and table glass, the palette of Purbeck Marble, the manicure set and the fine pottery—clearly indicate a reasonable standard of living, and one should not conclude that structures like Building A were small or flimsy merely because they were timber framed and have left little trace in the ground. A large and well-constructed timber building, with a potential life of many centuries, may be merely placed on the ground; a poorly built structure, not properly framed, generally needs to have its timbers set into the ground to ensure stability, thus leaving much more definite evidence of its former existence and plan (see Drury, 1975, 165).

There is as yet no evidence of masonry structures, and indeed powerful negative evidence against their ever having been present. In Chelmsford, where two are known—the *mansio* and the temple—debris from them—in the form of *opus signinum*, fragments of mortared tile, sooted box-flue tile, and tesseræ—appears in virtually every site excavated, used as hardcore along with much undistinguished tile. Much tile has indeed been found in Braintree, most of it apparently waste fragments similar to the products of the kiln on site 38; but none has mortar adhering, nor is there any other debris from a masonry building, nor any imported building stone. This is in contrast to Heybridge, where no masonry buildings are as yet known, but the characteristic debris is found casually and in excavation⁶⁰ as it is at Chelmsford, pointing to their former existence *somewhere in the settlement*. The conclusion is, therefore, that it is highly unlikely that there were masonry structures in the small town at Braintree. This renders the former existence of a *mansio* rather unlikely, if the Chelmsford (Drury, 1975, 170-1) and Godmanchester (Green, 1975, 196-201) examples are typical of *mansiones* in the south-east. A temple or shrine is to be expected, perhaps similar to the small timber shrine known at Dunmow, but there is no reason why timber-framed Romano-Celtic temples should not have existed in the area.

The finds from the excavations, particularly those from site E, have been described in some

detail, with considerable assistance from specialists in the various fields concerned. No apology is made for this, since it is only by such treatment that evidence of trade patterns, the organisation of trade, and the economy of the area generally will eventually emerge. For example, Tylecote's identification of bloomery iron (above, pp. 34–35) suggests that raw iron reached this area (where there is no local smeltable ore) in the form of lightly smithed bars. But the two bar fragments were from different sources; was this the result of being supplied from stock bought by a merchant from different sources and sold indiscriminately, or was iron from specific sources preferred for particular uses, as (for example) Swedish iron was preferred for steelmaking in the post-medieval period in Britain (Barraclough, 1976, esp. 76–7)? We need to know much more about ironworking and the trade in iron and iron objects in this area.

Detailed analysis of the faunal remains has also raised interesting questions. Whilst the majority of the bones from site E came from relatively young domestic animals, as one might expect since most doubtless arrived on the site as food, the complete absence of wild animals or birds from the diet at first seems surprising (deer being represented only by a few antlers probably collected); but if future results show a similar pattern, this may be seen to confirm our suspicions that the countryside was by this period intensively farmed. Another significant result of the study is that where age could be judged, the horses were more than 20 years old, suggesting that they were used almost exclusively as working animals; who subsequently ate these aged creatures is debatable, but one suspects from the small proportion of horse bones present that they were used as dog food. The number of horseshoes amongst the ironwork reinforces one's impression of the importance of the horse in the rural economy. The possibility of learning much more about the animals themselves, of being able to distinguish breeds and to gain an insight into contemporary breeding practice, is suggested by the observable differences in the horn cores recovered; as more metrical information becomes available, these differences should become clearer.

On present evidence, the principal cemetery area, at least in the 1st and 2nd centuries, appears to have been in the backland between the two main roads (sites 8–12). This suggests a link road between routes IV and VI, perhaps following the line of the surviving field boundary shown on Fig. 3, itself on the alignment of the Brain valley field-system. Burials in the backland are evidenced elsewhere, for example at Dunmow, where what may have been a family cremation cemetery was in use throughout the late 1st and 2nd centuries. Probable cremation burials in the more conventional position on the edge of the settlement are suggested at sites 22, 23 and 51, and distant from the town at sites 48, 32 and 33, although these latter may relate to adjacent occupation sites as yet undiscovered. All are cremation burials; the local soil is generally hostile to bone, and this, together with the common lack of associated grave goods, may account for the lack of known inhumations; but equally, the inhumation cemeteries may lie in areas as yet unexplored. The only inhumation known is that from Mount Road (site 45), clearly important but sadly ill-recorded. However, it seems unlikely to relate to the small town.

Pre-conquest material from the small town area is restricted to a few sherds derived from the buried soil on sites 20, 28 and 29, a small number from old collections probably derived from a similar source, and a modest quantity of pottery from the London Road area. With the exception of the latter, the pre-conquest sherds are all abraded, and this, together with their contexts, suggests that they are derived from the manuring of arable land, doubtless close to contemporary settlements. The amount of Belgic pottery from the London Road area suggests no more than a farm or minor settlement; major settlement on the site of the Romano-British small town seems to be a post-conquest development, a point underlined by the fact that its plan relates to Roman roads. The extensive area over which 1st-century material is found suggests rapid development during a relatively short period, which in turn points to movement from a near-by site. If our dating of road VI is correct (above, p. 121), the settlement should have developed post *c.* 60–65; most of the pottery can be paralleled in contexts of *c.* 60 elsewhere, and of the small quantity of pre-Flavian Samian, only one sherd is closely datable, that stamped by Chrestus, *c.* 50–65. A fort

is inherently likely in the post-Boudiccan period at this important crossroads, but as yet there is no evidence for its site save for that provided by the scatter of sigillata from site 28, and the Neronian material from site 9, noted by Warwick Rodwell above.

Rodwell has also drawn attention to the evidence provided by the sigillata for a 'late Antonine' fire having affected at least part of the settlement at Braintree, possibly at the same time as a number of other major fires occurred in settlements in south and east Essex. On the evidence of the town defences at Chelmsford, this fire should pre-date *c.* 220, and it has been suggested that it occurred *c.* 196-7 (Drury, 1975, 170-2); but as Rodwell has pointed out, the evidence from Braintree could accommodate a date as late as the end of the first half of the 3rd century. There is no evidence, however, of the fire having affected the excavated site 28, a conclusion underlined by the dating of Phase II, *c.* 190-220/35. Similarly, there is no positive indication of the reason for the abandonment of the site; it may be a reflection of the worsening economic conditions of the period, or merely indicative of a local change in land use. More specifically, however, the dating evidence would fit the *barbarica conspiratio* of 367 and the two years of anarchy which followed. Until evidence is forthcoming from a wider range of sites in the area, such a suggestion is mere speculation. However, it is known that elsewhere these events caused an upheaval in local trade and industry, particularly in the pottery industry (Frere, 1967, 357) and it is precisely such changes which have been suggested by the comparison of the pottery from site 28 with that from late 4th-century contexts elsewhere. The fact that the activity on site 28 at this period was primarily commercial may also be significant.

It is during the reorganisation in the aftermath of these events that town garrisons seem likely to have been introduced, either of regular troops or local militia. Late Roman military or official belt fittings have been found in the Colonia at Colchester, at the strategic sites of Bradwell and Mucking, and also in or near the small towns of Braintree (p. 19), Kelvedon, and Gestingthorpe, where some may have been manufactured. The buckle from site 28 is, however, typologically late in the Type 1 series, and should perhaps be regarded as a casual loss some time after the abandonment of the site. The Theodosian coin must be in the same category, and such losses are indeed to be expected in an area adjoining a major road, on the periphery of the contemporary settlement.

Saxon occupation is ill-attested, either on the site of the Romano-British town, or in the area generally. There are one or two sherds of relevant pottery and an unverified reference to the finding of a 'Saxon urn' in *c.* 1922 at site 8 (above, p. 91). The most interesting reference is to the discovery of burials in that area in 1909; they seem to have been accompanied only by iron knives. Sonia Hawkes (1973), in her discussion of the cemetery at Polhill, Kent, points to the existence of Saxon cemeteries intermediate between the overtly pagan early sites, and Christian graveyards around churches sited within the settlements which they served. These intermediate sites seem to have come into use mainly after the Conversion, i.e. in the mid-7th century, and probably continued in use until about the middle of the 8th century. Although perhaps nominally Christian, they tend to occupy 'pagan' positions on high ground at some distance from contemporary settlement. Grave goods are scarce, consisting mostly of weapons, and pottery is rare, although the occasional vessel is found, e.g. Polhill grave 94.

The cemetery found in 1909 was probably of this type; it was sited towards the top of the north slope of the Brain valley, a fine commanding position, and could well have related to a settlement in the vicinity of St. Michael's Church. The fact that the burials were found in a Roman ditch, and that, to judge from the lack of contemporary interest in the find, perhaps only two graves were identified, is interesting. It seems possible that the acidic sand which forms the natural in this area had dissolved the bones of any inhumations within it, whilst those in the probably less acidic ditch-fillings survived, a phenomenon observed during the excavation of the Saxon cemeteries at Mucking (Jones *et al.*, 1968, 217, and pers. observation). The fugitive body silhouettes of unaccompanied burials, or those accompanied only by badly corroded iron, would hardly have aroused the interest of the workmen.

II. THE MEDIEVAL TOWN AND ITS ORIGINS

by S. R. Bassett and P. J. Drury

Introduction: the Period Before 1199

What little is known of the early history of Braintree was much misused by antiquaries of the 18th and later centuries, and the legacy of their confusion is still apparent in most recent accounts of the town, with the clear exception of contributions by J. H. Round. Accordingly, the present paper is an attempt to reassert what seems to be the acceptable historical evidence for the origins of Braintree, to comment upon it, particularly in the light of archaeological and topographic evidence, and hopefully to establish some more valid framework for future research.

Archaeological evidence for the period before the 12th century is scant; the Saxon material from site 9 has been discussed above. It seems possible that it points to the existence in the London Road area of a settlement which subsequently expanded northwards into the area of the present town. The earliest pottery so far known from the town area (site C) is of 11th- to 12th-century date, and much of this is in an agricultural context. The most likely area for the centre of any such early settlement, around St. Michael's Church, has unfortunately not yet been sampled, but it is worth remembering that the pottery from site 9 included material of 13th century as well as of Saxon date, but nothing later.

In respect of the place-name evidence, Reaney (1935, 452) suggested that Rayne may be derived from the Celtic name for the river Brain. Braintree seems to be a combination of a personal name with OE. *treo(w)*, 'tree' (Reaney, 1935, 415-6). Reaney's survey of Essex place-names is now in need of thorough revision, but it is unlikely that much light will thereby be thrown on the pre-conquest settlement of *Raines*.

In the earlier documentary sources, it is often difficult to determine to which area or settlement the names of Braintree and Rayne (in any of their forms) refer. The present village of Rayne lies on Stane Street, some 4 km west of Braintree, and has its own parochial church. However, the *Raines* of Domesday Book seems to refer to an area which also included much, at least, of what was to become the medieval parish of Braintree. By 1204, the western part of *Raines* was called *Parva* (Reaney, 1935, 452); the earliest reference to the eastern part as *Magna* is in 1248 (Reaney, 1935, 415). The name Braintree first appears in Domesday Book, as *Branchetreu*, but merely in respect of thirty acres of land held by three free men, entered as an encroachment on the royal demesne. Their location is uncertain, although both Morant and Round (1903, 570, n. 19) have suggested that they should be identified with (part of) *Sandpit Leet*, which is first recorded as 'an appendix to the Honour of Clare, and part of the Duchy of Lancaster, but not in itself a manor' (Morant, 1768, ii, 397). Morant's view could be correct, for one suspects that it was based on unacknowledged documentary evidence: his statement that the Leet 'lies on the north-west side of the town, beginning at a pond, adjoining the road leading from Bocking to Raine, called Sandpit pond; and thence extends itself on the right-hand by the Boar's Head so far as the houses go on that side' has the sound of a direct quotation from a now untraceable document. If it is sufficiently late for Raine to imply Little Rayne, as seems likely, then the road from Bocking to Raine should be Rayne Road. A pond which formerly existed in the south-west angle between Sandpit Road and Rayne Road was mentioned by Kenworthy (1911a, 38) as possibly being the sandpit from which the name was derived. The Boar's Head may be the inn of that name listed in the 1845 Tithe Award; it lay on the north-west side of London Road, some 30 m south-west of its junction with Sandpit Road. No other inn of that name is recorded in Braintree.

If these assumptions are correct, Sandpit Road and the High Street must have formed the east and south-east boundaries of the Leet, and Rayne Road probably the north boundary. The name Sandpit Road seems to be of some antiquity, at least if it is to be identified with the *Sandpytte Lane* mentioned in the Court Rolls of 1336 (Reaney, 1935, 416). From a Duchy of

Lancaster terrier (P.R.O., D.L. 43, bundle 2, No. 6) the Leet is known to have included (in 1574) 57.5 ac. of arable and pasture, and thirteen tenements of which nine were of one rood or less; this agrees with a position on the periphery of the town. Much of the land remained in the hands of Clare College (to whom it was presumably given by the Clare family) until the 1920s (above, p. 91). Hence Sandpit Leet and thus, if Morant and Round are correct, the Domesday *Branchetreu* can be reasonably identified with the area immediately to the west and south-west of the present town centre—the area in which early medieval settlement has already been suggested. However, there is a clear need for further research into the exact location of the Leet, its relationship to the other estates in the area, and the date by which it was absorbed into the town of Braintree, both territorially and in its jurisdiction.

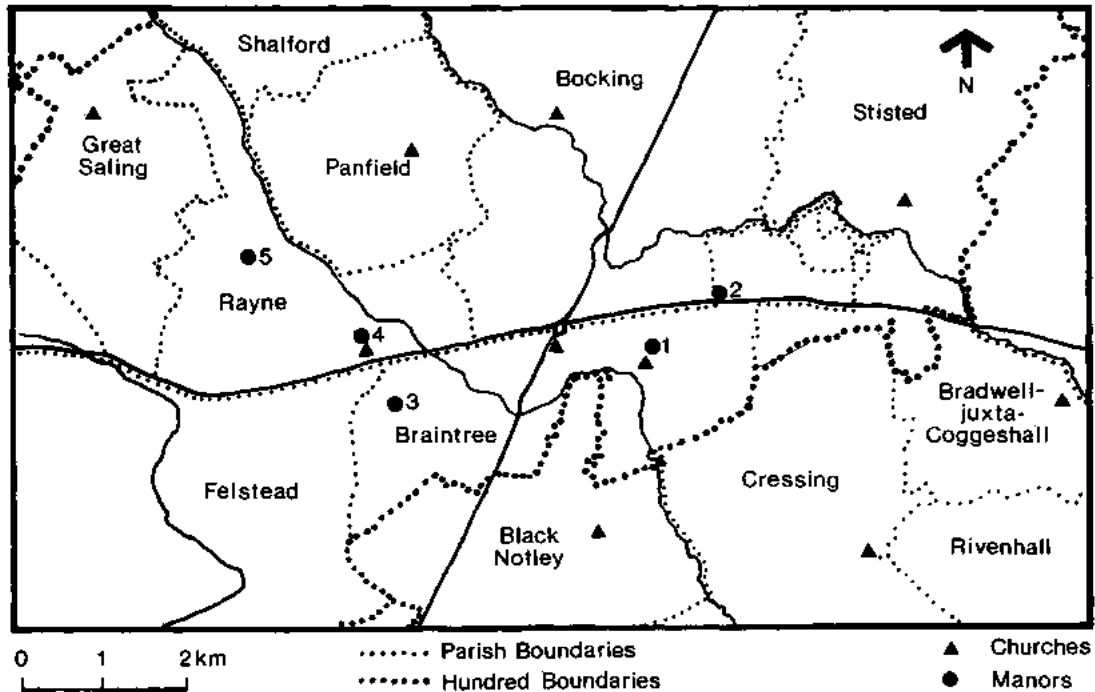


Fig. 50 Plan showing the boundaries of the parishes of Braintree and Rayne in relation to adjacent parishes, manors and principal roads. Based upon the Ordnance Survey 1 in to 1 mile map, 1904 edition.

By the time of the market grant in 1199, the name *Branktre* appears to have applied to a larger area, since there is nothing to suggest that the market was held elsewhere than in the obvious market-place from the first (below, p. 131). This lies to the east of the area identified with Sandpit Leet (Fig. 4). The settlement which developed around the new market-place retained the name *Bran(e)k(e)tre(e)*, which gradually became used for the whole parish, including the episcopal estate; although as late as the 16th century there are references to *Branktree* alias *Magna Reyne* (1521; *Feet of Fines*, IV, 146) and *Magna Rayne* alias *Brayntrey* (1533; *Feet of Fines*, IV, 192).

Rayne is twice mentioned in extant Anglo-Saxon wills. In one dated to the period 975-1016, Aelfhelm bequeaths to his wife 'the two hides at Wilbraham [Cambs.] and at Rayne [*aet Hraegenan*] and whatever pertains to it'.⁶¹ The will of Aethelric,⁶² dated to or to before 995, includes 'And I grant the estate to the west at Rayne⁶³ to St. Pauls for the Bishop [of London] . . . and I grant in

addition 2 hides for which Eadric pays a yearly rent of half a pound and one . . .⁶⁴ The greater part of the episcopal estate after 1086 seems to have lain in the east of what is now Braintree parish. The ownership in 1086 of the area to the west (later mostly within the manor of Naylinghurst) is unclear, but this bequest seems to suggest that some part of it may have been included in the episcopal estate.

Domesday Book contains five separate entries for *Raines*,⁶⁵ the lands being held by William, Bishop of London (4 hides and 45 acres),⁶⁶ Hugh de Montfort (the manor of Rayne Hall, 2 hides less 20 acres), Roger 'de Ramis' (the manor of Old Hall, two entries totalling 2 hides and 20 acres),⁶⁷ and Hamo Dapifer (unidentified, half a hide, but see below).⁶⁸ The manors of Rayne Hall and Old Hall, which later became the parish of Little Rayne, lay in the western part of *Raines*, and need no further mention.⁶⁹ According to Morant, the land in Great Rayne not forming part of Sandpit Leet or the episcopal estate became divided between two manors, Naylinghurst⁷⁰ and Marks.⁷¹ The latter lies in the north-east corner of the parish, north of Stane Street, and forms a salient into Bocking and Stisted, to which on morphological grounds it could once have belonged (Fig. 50).

It is likely that further research could do much to clarify the history of these various divisions of land, not least in respect of the relationship of each to the Domesday estates, which is at present wholly obscure. The key to those relationships may perhaps be found in the genealogy of the Clare family. Aubrey de Vere (d. 1141), father of the first Earl of Oxford, was married to Alice de Clare, grand-daughter of the Richard fitz Gilbert who is mentioned in the *Branchetreu* entries in Domesday Book; while Hamo Dapifer's land passed to Mabel, wife of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and thence by marriage to the Clare family.

Reaney (1935, 417) interprets Naylinghurst as 'wood of *Naegl's* people'. Recently Dodgson (1966, 15) has argued that such place-names in *-inga-* belong to a secondary phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement in south-east England and may represent 'a folk with every appearance of self-conscious identity, a legal and recognised social and territorial unit, capable of complex social organisation developed beyond the single-settlement pattern'. The same is said to apply to *-ingas* place-names, of which Bocking is a probable example. The name *Naylinghurst*, however, does not indicate the specific location of any settlement of the migration period, and the earliest material known from the present site is of mid-13th-century date.⁷²

A tongue of land some 200 ha. in extent, part of Black Notley parish and consequently in Witham Hundred, intrudes into the south side of Braintree parish, extending northwards to the River Brain (Fig. 50). In connection with this, it may be worth noting that the land in *Raines* held of Hamo Dapifer by Ralf was alone entered in Domesday Book under Witham rather than Hinckford Hundred. The previous entry concerned land (half a hide and 30 acres) in *Nutlea* (i.e. Notley, although its exact location is unknown) which was also held of Hamo Dapifer by the same Ralf. It thus seems possible that the portion of Black Notley parish which intrudes into Braintree should be equated with the half hide in *Raines* entered under Witham Hundred, its subsequent exclusion from Braintree parish being likely if it was continuous with Ralf's holding in *Nutlea*.

The Medieval Town

The charter of 1199 to William de Ste. Mere Eglise, Bishop of London, granting a weekly market and an annual fair on St. Matthew's Day (Hardy, 1837, 51), enabled him to establish a 'new town' on his estate. The logical site for a new market would be near the junction of the principal Roman roads, which remain in use to the present day; the actual location chosen was not to the west of the junction, the area of the Romano-British small town, but to the east.

The topography of the present town is highly informative in this respect, despite the fact that the earliest detailed maps are of mid-19th-century date. The probable pattern of Roman roads near

the junction has already been discussed (above, pp. 121-122); these are shown in red on Fig. 4, against the modern pattern of roads and boundaries, supplemented in the case of redeveloped areas by those shown on the O.S. 1:500 plan of 1851. To the east of the north-south road (New Street to Bank Street), a rectangular block of land is discernible, bounded on the north by Coggeshall Road, on the south by Market Street, and on the east by the grounds of Mount House. In the centre is a trapezoidal market-place, now built over in the usual fashion, leaving open only narrow lanes and courts, including Drury Lane on the east side and Swan Side on the north. When the property divisions present in 1851 are taken into account, it will be seen that the land on the east side of the market-place was once divided into five plots, each with a frontage of c. 13 m; on the south side there are four of the same width. The 16th-century rear wing of the Swan Inn (RCHM, ii, 33) corresponds to the same dimension. A plot of equal width to the east would leave an entrance in the north-east corner of the market-place the same width as that in the south-east, whilst a plot of similar size to the west of the 'Swan' seems equally probable.

The plots on the north and south sides are c. 60 m deep, whilst the most shallow of those on the east has the same dimension; the width of the market-place at the south end is also c. 60 m. Why the market-place should be trapezoidal and not rectangular, with four plots on the south and three on the north, is not clear. The layout seems to be original, however, since the stall layout, fossilised in the middle rows, is clearly related. It is conceivable that the original intention was to create a market-place in the form almost of a triangle, extending northwards as far as Coggeshall Road, the plots on the north side thus indicating a change of plan.

There can be no doubt, however, that the market-place and the plots around it were deliberately planned. It seems logical to connect this layout with the grant of the market charter in 1199, since there is no sign of any earlier market-place. However, since archaeological dating evidence for the layout is as yet lacking, the connection cannot be regarded as certain. It may be relevant to consider, however, that in Chelmsford, established as a 'new town' by the same bishop at the same time, the plots also had equal frontage widths (c. 12 m); and that the market place took the form of an elongated, triangular High Street, this form being dictated by the site, a spur between two rivers. The church was placed across the base of the triangle, in a visually dominant position. This is in contrast to Braintree, where the church is distant from the market-place, probably due, as will be seen (pp. 134-135), to its being founded to serve the pre-1199 community. The equivalent layout at Braintree would have involved the extension of the market-place north to Coggeshall Road and the siting of the church where the White Hart Hotel now stands.

It seems probable that the laying out of the market-place caused the diversion of the Roman road from the south-east (II), since the lane and footpath marking its line to the east of the town centre is aligned on the junction D, whereas the west section of this route, School Lane, appears to have been deflected to enter the south-east corner of the market-place. This road provided an almost direct link between the Bishop of London's manor at Chapel Hill and the town; the equivalent street in Chelmsford is New Street, but such an appellation was clearly not appropriate here. The *Fairfield* apparently lay south of Market Street (a back lane behind the plots south of the market-place) and east of New Street; it is commemorated in the present name Fairfield Road. Trial trenching (above, p. 84) confirmed that the site was open until the 18th century, when the eastern part was built upon; the remainder formed the Cattle Market until c. 1970.

To the west of Bank Street, both topographical and archaeological evidence is available to suggest the development of the area. However, the excavated area of site C was small, and distant from any road frontage; it would thus be unwise to draw definite conclusions concerning the intensity of activity in the area during the medieval period from the results obtained. None the less, it seems worth while to include an analysis of the relationship between the number of separate vessels represented by pottery sherds found on the site in any context, irrespective of periodisation, and their presumed dates of manufacture.

probable date of manufacture	number of vessels	percentage of total analysed
11th or 12th century	7	2
12th century	33	8
12th or 13th century	39	10
13th century	87	21
13th or 14th century	101	26
14th century	77	19
14th or 15th century	55	14
	Total 399	100%

If the sole assumption is allowed that the material had initially been deposited on or near the site (since any introduced soils seem unlikely to have been brought any great distance) then the figures are of some interest. They suggest a distribution increasing rapidly during the 13th and early 14th centuries (that is, during site C Periods I and II); and it is tempting to see this trend as a reflection of prosperity in the vicinity of the site, and to relate the prosperity to the fortunes of the market which is presumed to have lain a little to the east from the beginning of the 13th century onwards. But the sample is far too small for such conclusions to be independently valid. Nevertheless, there is a distinct possibility that the presence on the site of sherds from many vessels of 12th-century date indicates that agricultural usage had given way to occupation in the vicinity before the establishment of the market.

The alignments of the early features are not consistent, and little can be said of the layout of the area from such a small excavation. However, the alignment of one possible structure (II) seems to relate to that of Rayne Road to the north. This might be seen as supporting the inherently probable assumption that the latter had assumed its post-Roman course in this area by the 13th century.

Whatever the layout of the area west of Bank Street in the early medieval period, the excavation showed that a boundary ditch (F12) was dug on a north-south alignment towards the end of the 14th or early in the 15th century. This ditch formed part of a continuous boundary, which until recently largely survived on the ground (Fig. 4). The strip of land between this boundary and Bank Street, *c.* 42 m deep, appears to have been divided into thirteen plots each with a frontage of *c.* 10 m (33 ft.); some plots may have been sub-divided from the start. Virtually all of these divisions survived into the mid-19th century, and many survive today. Of the five buildings listed by the RCHM (ii, 1921, 32) in this block, three were considered to be of 15th-century origin. A lane *c.* 3 m (10 ft.) wide appears to have been provided towards the middle of the block to give access to the backland, the latter being divided into three principal areas. This is clearly another instance of deliberate and regular planning, in this case of town expansion. The displacement of the frontage of these plots westwards at the south end, opposite the market-place, may well be due to the market-place by then having extended itself to the west, perhaps as a result of the erection of permanent buildings over the eastern part. The obvious encroachment of the southernmost plot southwards suggests that the area to the south-west of the market-place was not built up until some time after the redevelopment of the Bank Street area.

The planned block must have cut across the road from the south-west, if this survived on its presumed original course, and across the land which fronted it. The road appears to have been diverted into the south-west corner of the market-place; its substantial width at the junction seems to be deliberate, perhaps intended to create an extension to the market area.

The new town was clearly not an unsuccessful venture. Yet it may have had no special prosperity before the English cloth industry began to grow substantially in the middle years of the 14th century. The apparent absence of early burgages to the west of its market tends to support this, although that area could have lain at the eastern limit of Sandpit Leet and thus, for a long while, beyond the Bishop of London's jurisdiction.⁷³ Although relatively little is yet known of

Braintree's economic or social character before the 15th century, it is certain that cloth-making was already well established as the town's chief industry.⁷⁴ The prosperity of neighbouring cloth centres by the beginning of that century is well known; Coggeshall and Halstead spring to mind. So evidence of urban expansion in Braintree at about that time seems wholly acceptable. It is not clear, however, if the appearance of new burgages may not reflect the town's earlier inability to attract newcomers. But there may have been a more immediate factor, such as the need for quick replenishment of a burgess population severely reduced by plague; or perhaps merely the acquisition (at a time of urban growth) of land to the west of Bank Street which had formerly lain beyond the manorial boundary.⁷⁵ Yet whatever the cause, the town clearly prospered thereafter.

In 1619, Robert, Lord Riche, lord of the manor of Braintree (Morant, 1748, ii, 395) purchased from John Lawrence, for the sum of £80, a parcel of land '*being the one syde or halfe of the neue markett streete in Brainektree . . . aforesayd lying on the west syde thereof and conteyning in breadth from the penthouses of the sayd John Lawrence unto the chanell of the sayd streete fower and twenty feete extending in length from the upper end of the same streete unto a neue erected tenem^t of the sayde John Lawrence now in the occupation of Christopher Harwood or of his assignees*'. Lawrence reserved a right of access to a pump '*newly made & sett in ye sayd streete*' by him, and to a gutter '*to convey ye wast water from the pompe to the chanell in the mydst of the sayd new streete*'.⁷⁶ Lawrence's house, of 15th-century origin, survives in much-altered form at the junction of New Street with Great Square (RCHM, ii, 30, Mon. 18); the adjustment of the later rear wing to suit the new frontage line can be seen on Fig. 4.

It seems clear from this documentary evidence, and from the topography, that the new market area was created by doubling the width of an existing lane through the acquisition of an adjoining plot. The frontages on the west, and on the east to the south of Market Street,⁷⁷ seem to have been developed soon afterwards, and are still largely lined with early 17th-century buildings (RCHM, ii, 33-4). Observation following the demolition of two such structures on site G suggested that they were the first buildings on the site.

Like the original market-place and Bank Street, New Street was subsequently built upon, a middle-row building of 19th-century date (2 New Street) still surviving. The market was eventually moved to its present site, further east. The realignment and redevelopment of the area to the north of the original market-place was probably stimulated by the development of the opposite frontage (of Bank Street), but since no consistent pattern is detectable in the plot boundaries (pre-1957) it seems unlikely that it formed part of the planned scheme.

Two extant 15th-century buildings in the High Street (RCHM, ii, 29-30, Mons. 14, 18) suggest that it was developed in its present form before the end of the medieval period. There is, however, no consistency in the plot-widths on its frontages, and many awkward layouts have arisen from the need to fit the buildings and plots into the two triangular-shaped areas of land available. The discovery of inhumations in the southern area, immediately north of St. Michael's Lane (site 13A), might suggest that the lane, which provides rear access to the properties on the south side of the High Street, was laid out in part over an area which once formed part of the churchyard. The pattern seems to suggest piecemeal development, perhaps outwards from the market-place; some overall control was clearly exercised in the division of the land, but there was no closely ordered layout as at Bank Street.

It remains, therefore, to suggest the following tentative model for the post-Roman development of Braintree. A settlement seems to have developed along the (Roman) road from Little Waltham, on part of the site of the Romano-British small town. Since this was within Sandpit Leet, it is probably to be equated with the Domesday *Branchetreu*, and seems likely to have had its origins by the middle Saxon period; by the 12th century it may have extended as far as Site C, in the present town. Within this area, buildings may well have been rather thinly scattered. The early emphasis here would explain the anomalous siting of the church, on (or beyond) the periphery of the 13th-century town. The layout of the market-place in or soon after 1199, to the north-east of this area, probably resulted in a gradual shift of the earlier settlement to the north-east, reflected by the increase of activity on the formerly peripheral site C and the lack of material later than the 13th

century from site 9. However, it seems unlikely that the settlement around the church disappeared entirely; the Boar's Head Inn was noted as being of 15th-century date by the RCHM (ii, 30, Mon. 23), as was another building south-west of the church (*ibid.*, Mon. 25).

The late-14th-/early-15th-century development of Bank Street was probably in response to the demand for space around the market, and may have helped to consolidate the town. Thereafter, expansion seems to have occurred along the High Street during the 15th and 16th centuries, and into New Street early in the 17th century. By the mid-19th century, there was extensive ribbon development along all the roads radiating from the centre, and the development of the area to the east and south-east of the town centre had begun. Whilst burgage tenure is attested by a charter granted to the Bishop of London in 1200, to the effect that those taking up building plots on his demesne at Chelmsford and Braintree should hold them with free customs pertaining (Hardy, 1837, 51a), the town has never achieved independent borough status. However, by 1565, a select vestry, known as 'The Company of the Four and Twenty', 'The Headboroughs', or 'The Governours of the Town', was in control of town affairs, and remained so until 1716, when it was replaced by an open vestry (Emmison, 1970, vi).

The Churches and Chapels: the Manorial Site at Chapel Hill

The Royal Commission (ii, 1921, 27) suggested that the nave and chancel of St. Michael's Church are basically of 12th-century date, almost certainly rebuilt *c.* 1240 when the north and south aisles and the tower were added. This would accord with the earlier suggestion that the church pre-dates 1199, for a relatively small church, much extended soon after the establishment of the town, is exactly what one would expect in those circumstances. The Commission's view seems broadly correct; Chancellor's opinion (1913) that the oldest surviving work should be dated *c.* 1272–1307 hardly seems tenable. The association between churches and Roman sites in Essex is well known, but as yet few such sites have been explored and the nature of the relationship is generally uncertain. In this instance the association is perhaps coincidental, but the finding of a silver coin of Honorius in the churchyard—such coins are extremely rare in Britain—raises the possibility that there may have been a more specific reason for the foundation of the church on this site.

The church of (Little) Rayne has every appearance of having been in existence by the end of the 12th century. Morant (1768, ii, 405) states that 'Robert de Welles and Harvey de Reynes endowed this church with manse and glebe in 1199, as appears from the original deed still extant'.⁷⁸ The date is not unreasonable, since it is known that Robert de Welles held the manor of Rayne Hall in 1194–5,⁷⁹ and that Hervicus de Reynes was probably his contemporary.⁸⁰ Morant also claims that Robert had founded the church a little earlier, but it seems that he had no evidence of this and was merely guessing.

Unfortunately, the nave and chancel were completely rebuilt in brick in 1840, only the tower of *c.* 1510 remaining from the previous structure (RCHM, i, 218). However, drawings of the old church before its demolition, preserved in the nave, and a print of 1816 from the *Antiquarian Itinerary* make it clear that the nave arcades of the previous structure were of 11th-century date (rectangular piers with inset attached corner-shafts and foliate capitals). Indeed, there are reasons for suggesting that the arcades may have been inserted into an earlier structure, to facilitate the addition of aisles. However, this is not the place to pursue such speculations; it is envisaged that the evidence will be published in detail elsewhere.

The third ecclesiastical site in *Raines* was at Chapel Hill, adjoining the manor house of the Bishops of London. This latter was referred to by Newcourt (1710, ii, 86), and in the late 19th century Kenworthy (1893) stated that its site was marked by 'the broken ground, with moats or fishponds,⁸¹ in an orchard on the west side of the road crossing Chapel Hill, and near to the top of the hill'. In a later account (Kenworthy, 1911) he indicated the site on a sketch map, on the

west side of Mill Lane in the grounds of Parsonage Farm. The former position of the Parsonage or Rectory, which remained on this site until at least the late 18th century, is also shown. Morant refers to the Bishop's Palace having been 'near the *present* Parsonage' (our italics), and Newcourt (1710, ii, 87) referred to it similarly.⁸²

To the south of the Manor House and Parsonage lay a chapel, whose remains, according to Kenworthy (1893, 270-71; 1911, 89), survived into the mid-19th century; they were painted by James Sargeant in 1849. The painting gave 'a view of the part of the chapel then standing, shewing the west end with a triplet of three equal lancet lights surmounted by a triangle all moulded with stone, the body of the wall of flint rubble—a high pitched gable and angle buttresses. All this has now [1893] disappeared except a foot of the foundation.' He also remarks that the tracery of a perpendicular window of three lights had been taken recently from the spot, and that the chapel had been 'abandoned to ruin after being secularised by being turned into cottages and the burial ground into a garden; [human] bones are every day dug up in the soil'. The building, on architectural grounds, must have originated in the 13th century or earlier; Newcourt (1710, ii, 86) stated that it was 'now made into two or three poor tenements'. The reference to the finding of skeletal material, when taken with Cunnington's record of burials being found earlier during gravel digging (p. 109), suggests that a substantial cemetery once existed.

The chapel is almost certainly to be equated with the free chapel of St. John the Baptist in Great Raynes, first mentioned when Bishop Sudbury collated Wm. de Kelley to it⁸³ in 1364. It was still in use in 1511, when Johan Byrde of Braintree provided in his will a bequest 'to the reparacion and sustentacion of Seynt John's Chapell in Branktree' (Malden, 1895).

The Bishops of London held an estate at Braintree from the late 10th century, and perhaps earlier; by the mid-11th century, there was clearly a substantial peasant population. Moreover, the archaeological evidence is consistent with this estate having been centred on the Chapel Hill site from the beginning, since it has produced grass-tempered ware (probably of 10th-century date—see above, p. 84) and Thetford ware (10th- to 12th-century date) as well as later medieval pottery. It corresponds with the site of a Romano-British settlement (probably a farm with a small cemetery adjoining). Taking into account the evidence for continuity of cultivation in the Brain valley (p. 121), almost unbroken occupation from the Roman period is a possibility, but is by no means proven.

An important and populous estate within the Bishop's own see would almost certainly have been provided with a church at an early date, and logic suggests that this would have been sited in or near to the settlement (and incidentally again on a Roman site). There is thus every reason to suggest, as Newcourt did (1710, ii, 87), that the site of the early church and later chapel are the same, especially in view of the fact that *de novo* chapels very rarely had burial rights. That this early church became the parish church of Great Rayne when *Raines* evolved into two distinct parishes is suggested by the location of the Parsonage House near by. At the time of Domesday, the community centred on Chapel Hill was clearly much more important than that at Braintree, and if the parishes evolved before the foundation of the market in 1199, as seems probable, it would have been logical for the church at Chapel Hill to become the parish church and that at Braintree a chapel subservient to it. However, as the market town began to develop in the early 13th century, the roles were probably reversed, St. Michael's becoming the parish church, and the church at Chapel Hill becoming a chapel. The Parsonage, however, does not seem to have moved to its present site adjoining St. Michael's until the 19th century.

Conclusions

The Braintree area has probably been a focus of settlement from the Bronze Age onwards. With the aid of observations made by antiquaries and others in the past, and a modest amount of excavation, it is now possible to describe tentatively the extent, nature and development of the

Late pre-Roman Iron Age, Romano-British and Medieval settlements. Much, however, remains to be learnt, both by excavation and by documentary and architectural studies. It is hoped that this paper will provide a starting point for future work, and that its conclusions will be amplified, and inevitably corrected, as further information becomes available.

Redevelopment in the town during the next decade will undoubtedly provide many opportunities for archaeological excavation; it therefore seems worth while to suggest areas and problems of particular importance:

1. The defences of the probable Iron Age *oppidum* should be examined, and the remaining section near the town centre conserved; every attempt should be made to locate contemporary occupation within it, especially in the eastern part, the development of which is likely in the near future.
2. The excavations at Rayne Road suggest that the archaeological evidence for the Roman settlement is in many areas so mutilated as to make excavation almost pointless; moreover, much of it lies under housing areas to the west of the town centre, where, apart from a possible Inner Relief Road, little redevelopment is envisaged in the foreseeable future. The very scarcity of sites in this area makes the survivors that much more valuable, and every effort should be made to investigate any which become available. A major problem is whether there was a fort at Braintree; if so, the London Road area seems to be the most likely location. The late Roman cemeteries are as yet unknown, and the settlement should have had a temple or shrine.
3. The Chapel Hill area is of considerable importance, despite the fact that much of its archaeology was probably destroyed by 19th and early 20th century industrial development. The sites of the Bishop's Palace, Parsonage, and Parsonage Farm should survive, and the chapel/church may not have been wholly destroyed; but equally important is the Saxon/early medieval village which must once have existed here, and its relationship to its Iron Age and Roman predecessors. The site is also adjacent to the suggested south-east entrance of the *oppidum*.
4. The churches are of particular importance, for they should reflect the changing fortunes of the settlements with which they were associated, quite apart from their intrinsic interest. The site on Chapel Hill has been mentioned; St. Michael's probably retains much of its archaeology intact, despite heavy Victorian restoration. Any opportunity for the investigation of this Church or churchyard—and indeed the church at Rayne, which appears to stand in a well-defined oval enclosure—should be seized.
5. Within the medieval town, it is important to determine whether the present layout of the market-place area can reasonably be equated with an origin *c.* 1199. Our knowledge of the form of the early medieval buildings in the town is essentially nil; the plots east of the market-place, in recent times not commercial, offer the best possibility of finding an uncellared frontage suitable for excavation, in order to shed light on both problems.
6. Investigation of the western part of the medieval town is equally necessary, particularly in the area around St. Michael's Church, and, indeed, the area of the Roman town to the south, where the only Saxon material from the town has been found. It is only by building up evidence from a substantial number of sites that the development of the town can be accurately plotted in the early medieval period.

In Braintree, the opportunity exists to examine the development of a sequence of settlements from the Iron Age onwards, to explore their relationship to one another spatially and chronologically, and to investigate that of the whole sequence to the surrounding countryside. The stratification of Braintree is essentially horizontal rather than vertical, but none the less interesting for that. Indeed, since features of so many periods, from the pre-Roman Iron Age onwards, still form part of the landscape, their study and elucidation are surely important not only academically but in providing information which will assist in planning the future of the town.

In the study of a town like Braintree, it is important to ascertain the extent of settlement in the various periods involved; and in this context negative evidence can be almost as useful as positive. The most effective way to examine a substantial number of sites (the potential of which is unknown) prior to redevelopment is by extensive trenching using a mechanical excavator; excavation can then follow where appropriate, in the least disturbed areas if only partial rescue can be undertaken. By 'trenching' is meant, in this context, the removal of topsoil, etc., to the *top* of the archaeological levels, not digging through them indiscriminately to the immense detriment of any subsequent excavation. In an area where much has already been destroyed, the potential of many sites is unknown, and the remains of most ancient structures are extremely nebulous, observation of building work is totally inadequate; nothing more definite than potsherds will be found, and it will then be too late to undertake controlled excavation. The gazetteer is a catalogue of lost opportunities; we cannot, in this case, afford to lose many more.

It is well known that plot boundaries are often the most ancient surviving features of a town, for short of comprehensive redevelopment (not always a modern prerogative, as Bank Street and New Street show), they are almost impossible to eradicate. It follows that the dating of the origin of those boundaries by excavation can be of immense value in the understanding of the layout and development of a town. At first sight, the results of the excavation of site C seemed of little use; their value was only clear when the excavated features were seen in relation to the existing layout of the area. Recently, the emphasis in urban archaeology has rightly been on the excavation of frontage sites. However, it would seem probable that the parallel investigation, on a relatively small scale, of significant or representative boundaries could do much to elucidate the development of smaller towns, and above all do so relatively cheaply.

NOTES

Site E

1. Kindly identified by Mr. S. Cracknell.
2. Found by Mr. H. J. M. Green during recent excavations; for the site see Green, 1975, 201. I am grateful to Mr. Green for making a drawing of the object available for study.
3. Found in excavations by the writer, currently being prepared for publication. For the site see Drury, 1972, 16.
4. In the Chalk paper, the fragments from N. Newbald (Yorks.) are said to be of this class, whereas the primary publication (*Antiq. Journ.* XX (1940), 282) states that they are in tile fabric; on this and other published evidence the fragments seem to belong to the 'chimney-pot and ventilator' class, in which they are included in Lowther, 1976. Only examination of the fragments will resolve the point finally.
5. I am grateful to Mr. F. H. Thompson, who has edited the paper, for making available the galley proofs. He has been kind enough to incorporate the examples listed here in the gazetteer, and comments on the group in his editorial note. The Custom House site example is included in the Gazetteer under Group B.
6. These were in too poor a state to make analysis of length, etc., worth while.
7. A complete iron ladle with flesh-hook was found in a late Roman grave at Kelvedon by Mrs. K. A. Rodwell in 1973. (Site noted in *Britannia* V (1974), 442) P.J.D.
8. Mr. B. R. Hartley has kindly provided details of the potters, their name-stamps and dates from his forthcoming work, *Index of Potters' Stamps on Samian Ware*.
9. References are to F. Oswald, *Index of Figure-types on Terra Sigillata* (1936-7).
10. H. Ricken, *Die Bilderschusseln der Römischen Töpfer von Rheinabern* (Ludowici Kat VI (1948), Taf. 190-92).
11. In excavations by P.J.D. in 1968; interim report in *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (3rd Series) II (1970), 339-41; final report in preparation.
12. Unfortunately unpublished; information from Mr. B. Barr and Mr. W. J. Rodwell.
13. Although only on a small scale. The kiln was found in excavations by P.J.D. which are at present being prepared for publication. (Noted in *Britannia* IV (1973), 302.)

14. Kevin Greene has suggested that none of this ware actually comes from the Rhineland. (Inf. from W. J. Rodwell.)
15. Excavations by P. J. Drury at present being prepared for publication.
16. *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (3rd Series) II (1970), 335.

Site C

17. The collapse shown on section E-E was due to an underlying early 19th-century tunnel containing a sewer pipe.
18. This feature was filled before the timbers were removed from F4, but otherwise its relationship to F1 and F4 is uncertain.
19. More easily visible in section than in excavation, hence it does not appear on Fig. 29.
20. This is a normal cooking-pot form at Danbury, c. 1275/85-1325/35 (Drury and Pratt, 1975, 128). Experience in Chelmsford suggests that it was current in the later 13th and during at least the first half of the 14th century in hard grey sandy ware—P.J.D.
21. S.G., C.G., E.G. = South, Central and Eastern Gaulish respectively.
22. The opinion of Miss R. Jefferies and M. Lyne, who are studying these potteries and their products. The latter definitely reached Chelmsford, Great Dunmow and Heybridge, where they have been found in excavation by the writer.
23. Mr. E. W. Holden informs me that similar small bricks often occur in 14th- to 16th-century contexts in Sussex and have been noted at Aberystwyth Castle. In Essex they are extant at Prittlewell Priory (used on edge as paviers, as at Braintree) and they are known to occur in Hertfordshire. (Inf. from G. H. Musgrove, *per* D. G. Macleod.) A Flemish source is commonly suggested, but L. Harley considers them to be of East Anglian origin, on the evidence of the clay. (Inf. from D. G. Macleod.)
24. I am grateful to the Rev. R. J. Pope for his assistance in making these tiles available for study. For a note on the church see this volume, p. 275.
25. One of the results of the *Census of Medieval Tiles in Essex* in progress at the time of writing.
26. For the term and their use at Great Dunmow in 1543, see *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.) XXIII (1942), 175; 300 'paving tiles' purchased by the Churchwardens at Heybridge for 6s. 8d. in 1518/19 were probably of a similar type. (*ibid.*, XXII, 32.)
27. Found by Mrs. E. E. Sellers during the excavation of the priory church in 1970-71. I am grateful to her for making these available for examination.

Site B

28. By Mrs. S. Harper, the owner, through the late Maj. J. G. S. Brinson. Thanks are due to Mrs. Harper for her assistance, to Steven Bassett for drawing the sections in the field, Messrs. Bland and Ridgwell for supplying a plan of the works and Miss V. Rigby for reporting on the *Terra Nigra*.
29. Two sherds, one prehistoric and one Roman, were recovered from layer *t*.
30. The present building seems to be of early-18th-century date, somewhat altered later.

Gazetteer

31. Drawn by W. J. Rodwell in 1972 but since lost.
32. Press-cutting from an unknown newspaper (probably national) in CM; also noted in *Westminster Gazette*, 19.3.1923, where the location is given as 'A building estate on the old turnpike road leading to Bury St. Edmunds'.
33. Identified from a sketch by M. R. Hull in the CM Top. File.
34. Unpublished excavations by P.J.D.; for context see Drury, 1975, 159. Similar vessels occur in Pit 20 at Richborough (Bushe-Fox, 1928, No. 136, p. 99) with Claudian coins.
35. Pit 205, Site S; See Drury, 1975, 162.
36. They are illustrated in Cunnington, 1839, 114; the design is a common one, Danbury (Drury and Pratt, 1975) or Penn (Bucks.) being the most likely sources.
37. Hull, 1963, fig. 72.12 and p. 133; also fig. 99.2 and footnote, p. 168, from Kilns 15-31, c. A.D. 175-210, and Kiln 32, c. A.D. 250, respectively.
38. The Society's papers are now in Chelmsford Museum; we are grateful to the curator, Mr. D. L. Jones, for making them available for consultation.
39. *Journal of Roman Studies* XIX (1929), 199; *English Historical Review* XXXIII (1918), 289, in Haverfield's paper on possible centuriation around Colchester.

40. Mr. Dixon-Smith of Marks Farm is stated to have had pottery from the site (CM map) but no longer has any relevant material (pers. comm.).
41. *Mount* need not imply an earthwork of motte form, for Cunnington (1833, 153) refers to the 'outer wall or mound' of Chipping Hill Camp, Witham.
42. RCHM *Essex II*, 35; Monument 76, unclassified earthwork; mentioned in *VCH I*, 284; also in *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Assn. III* (1848).
43. It is shown on a 1:500 plan prepared in 1851 by the Ordnance Survey for Braintree Board of Health, now in the Technical Services Department, Braintree District Council. We are grateful to Mr. Weever of that Department for his assistance in making the map available.
44. Neither this description, nor that of the enclosure west of Mount House, appear in Cunnington 1834.
45. Miller Christy, 'On Roman Roads in Essex', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. (N.S.) XV* (1920), 204, notes that (Stane Street) 'passes through a Roman camp or station, occupying the highest ground in the vicinity. The earthwork is now incomplete, only its west side remaining . . . not mapped . . . no doubt as to its Roman origin. (n. 5: It encloses the remains of a mount, now largely destroyed, and extended, it is said, to about four acres.) Within it is the Braintree Water Tower, a very prominent object'. Christy clearly had access to Cunnington, 1833, but had evidently misunderstood the description; the water-tower is outside Cunnington's enclosure, to the west.
46. Mrs. Cotton, in correspondence with the writer, could shed no further light on this reference.
47. This is all that has a specific provenance, but much else was probably found, since Kenworthy (1893, 255) stated that material similar to that found in the vicinity of St. Michael's was found in the area of the old chapel.
48. Report on excavations by the writer, 1970-71, forthcoming in the C.B.A. *Research Reports* series.
49. 'Notes on the Discovery of Ancient Vessels on a Roman site at Braintree', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. (N.S.) IX* (1909), 195; also noted in *Essex Naturalist XIII*, 110; *The Antiquary* (1909), 55.
50. Noted in CM Accession Register.
51. According to the Ordnance Survey, the material was given to Kenworthy by the husband of Mrs. E. Scott, who still resided at 11 Mill Hill in 1950.
52. The evidence for the association and location of these vessels comes largely from notes preserved with them in CM. They are not individually accessioned, presumably belonging to 2001:1910.
53. The find is summarised in *VCH III*, 56; for the primary publication see *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. (N.S.) VII*, 401. The present location of the finds is unknown.
54. Noted on O.S. map *The Iron Age in Southern Britain*, 55.
55. *VCH III*, 163, and refs cited, esp. *Mins. Soc. Ant. VII*, 89.
56. E.R.O., Tithe Map and Award, D/CT 256A, B.

Discussion

57. Excavations by P. J. Drury for Chelmsford Excavation Committee. For an Interim report, see Drury, 1973; final report forthcoming.
58. For a recent interim report on the excavations at Chelmsford see Drury, 1975. The excavations of 1970-75 are currently being prepared for publication.
59. Excavations were undertaken at Great Dunmow by the writer during 1970-72, and will be published in due course. For notes see *Britannia II* (1971), 272; *III* (1972), 331-2; *IV* (1973), 304.
60. Excavations by the writer in 1972 are currently being prepared for publication; for an interim note see *Britannia IV* (1973), 304-5.
61. D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills XIII* (pp. 31-4): BM MS. Stowe Charter 36.
62. *Ibid.* XVI (1) (pp. 42-3); the English translation follows Whitelock's from the Canterbury manuscript (Christchurch MSS., *The Red Book of Canterbury*, No. 20).
63. *landes aet Raegene be westan*. In the alternative version, the Cambridge MS. (Cambridge University Library, MS. FF2, 33, f. 50), the word *strete* is added after *be westan*, which would alter the translation to 'to the west of the high-road at Rayne'. As Whitelock suggests (note, 147) the *strete* would be the Roman road from Little Waltham to Long Melford, which roughly bisects the medieval parish of Great Rayne (Braintree).
64. Unlikely to be the Edric who held land 'as a manor and one hide' at Raines in the Confessor's time (part of the 1086 manor of Old Hall); *vide* f. 83 and *VCH I*, 543a and n. 1.

65. ff. 10, 53b, 55, 82b, 83 respectively.
66. Four hides and 30 acres had been his in the Confessor's time, and the remaining 15 acres were given to him by William I.
67. Two separate entries (ff. 82b, 83), since an amalgamation of two earlier manors. Old Hall was also in the medieval parish of Little Rayne (TL 718 242), to the north of Rayne Hall.
68. Held of Hamo Dapifer by Ralf de Marci. Of Hamo Morant states that he 'left his inheritance to Mabel, eldest daughter and coheir of Robert Fitz-Hamon, his brother, who was married to Robert Earl of Gloucester . . . from whom, by marriage, it became incorporated into the Clare family, wherein it continued, till the honours of Gloucester and Clare were united to the Duchy of Lancaster', (vol. ii, 423).
69. They have been discussed in some detail by Round, loc. cit., 1921, and in 'Rayne Church', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc. (N.S.) XVI* (1923), 54-5.
70. At TL 736 223; 'anciently holden of the Earls of Oxford, as of their honour of Hedingham Castle by the service of a knight's fee'. Morant says further that Stephen de Haia held it of them about the reigns of Richard I and John and until 30 Henry III (1246); Simon de Rennes until 53 Henry III (1269); and then probably Robert and Walter de Rennes.
71. *supra*, n. 25. Morant assumed that the manor had passed to the family of de Merk (or Mark) by 1254.
72. See 'A Group of Mid-Thirteenth Century Pottery from Naylinghurst, Braintree', *Archaeological Notes*, below, p. 267.
73. Morant's account of the Leet boundary, even if quoted from an earlier source, may refer only to its late or immediately post-medieval course; above, p. 128.
74. A detailed study of Braintree's medieval documentation must await the *VCH* volume devoted to Hinckford hundred. There are, however, several references to the town in royal records, of which the two earliest can be mentioned: In 1229 Henry III made a grant of protection for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. James at *Branketre* (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 13, Henry III, m. 3); but nothing further is known of this house. There is a reference in 1235 to two shops in the town (*de ij shopis in Branketre*; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1234-7, 191). For the earliest evidence of the cloth trade at Braintree see *The Red Paper Book of Colchester*, transcribed and translated by W. G. Benham, 1902 (esp. p. 59), and *VCH II*, esp. pp. 330, 380-81.
75. In any case, archaeological and topographical evidence of urban expansion at about the turn of the 14th century makes an interesting contribution to continuing debate of the concept of a crisis in 14th-century society. See, for instance, Bridbury, 1962, for the argument that many towns entered a period of increasing prosperity during the last decades of the 14th century, as actual levels of production and income were maintained despite the severe urban mortality in 1348, 1361, etc.
76. Deed in Essex Record Office, D/DA T 24.
77. At the time of writing, the building on the corner of Market Street and New Street is derelict (RCHM ii, 33, Mon. 49). It is of early-17th-century origin, and has recently been recorded by M. C. Wadhams for Essex County Council.
78. The original deed was one formerly in possession of James Fillol, of Old Hall, Esq. (p. 394). Round (1921), however, has suggested that it is doubtful if Morant ever saw the deed himself. It cannot now be traced, and no transcript is known.
79. From a plea of 6 Richard I, when he was impleaded by Henry de *Ramesi* for a knight's fee in *Ramesi*; but Round: 'As this knight's fee was obviously at Rayne, we must boldly emendate [the second] *Ramesi* and read *Raines*' (loc. cit., 1921, 273, n. 4).
80. He and Gervase de Welles (lord of the manor of Rayne Hall from about the end of 1174) are both mentioned in a list of names of those holding knight's fees *de constabularia* of Dover castle (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, 706, 718).
81. The Bishops' manor-house is known to have had at least one fishpond, from a direction of 1242 to its keeper to supply Ralf de Neketon with eight bream from its fishstew (*vivarium de Rehnes*): *Cal. Close Rolls* (1237-42), 386.
82. The name Parsonage Broome also occurs. (*t. James I, Chancery Proceedings*). Newcourt claims that 'the Rectory was of old a sinecure, in the Collation of the Bishops of London, and the vicarage in the gift of the Rector; and in the Year 1416, the Prior and Convent of the Monastery, or House of the Salvation of the Mother of God, near London, of the Order of the Carthusians, commonly called the Charter-House, having gotten the Right of Patronage of this Church of Great Raines, alias Braintree

which probably was but little before given them by Richard Clifford, Bishop of London' (p. 87); probably given c. 1409 (Archbishops' Registry, Wald. P. Cliff).

83. *Rot. Cur.* 5 Henry V.; Fowler, 1922, 107.

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Work Undertaken by Essex County Council Archaeology Section, 1974–76

Edited by CHRISTINE COUCHMAN

Foreword by A. G. Booth, County Planner

Since June 1974, Essex County Council Planning Department's Archaeology Section has become increasingly active in the field. Besides large excavations, there is now a significant corpus of new material from small excavations, watching briefs and chance discoveries. The following is a compendium of reports on this work, undertaken by members of the Section, or reported to them. It is hoped to make publication of such a compendium an annual event. Larger excavations undertaken by the Section, to be published separately, are listed on page 182.

References (e.g. TL 90.47) relate to the County Archaeological Record. Sites are arranged in chronological order. Where more than one period is represented, the site is reported under the major period-present. Members of the Archaeology Section who have contributed to this Report include: J. D. Hedges (Archaeology Officer), D. G. Buckley (Assistant Archaeology Officer), Miss C. Couchman, Miss L. Savory (who has now left the Section), M. R. Petchey, M. R. Eddy and K. R. Bohannon (referred to below by initials only). The Section records its gratitude to the specialists quoted for their reports.

TM 01.123 East Mersea, Cudmore Grove TM 067 146 (JH)

A concentration of worked flint indicating mesolithic and/or neolithic industrial activity was discovered during a survey of the County Council's country park.

Most of the flint is dark grey, some pale grey and some light brown; generally slightly translucent. It is of very poor quality, with many inclusions and irregular fractures. The degree of patination varies considerably, from heavy to non-existent. Many pieces have areas of cortex. Pieces collected:

One broken and unfinished pointed implement, quite heavily patinated. Fig. 1.1

One end-scraper. Fig. 1.2

One flake with utilised end. Fig. 1.5

22 cores. Two illustrated. Fig. 1.3, 4

70 waste flakes, one showing slight heat crazing.

Also found:

Roman

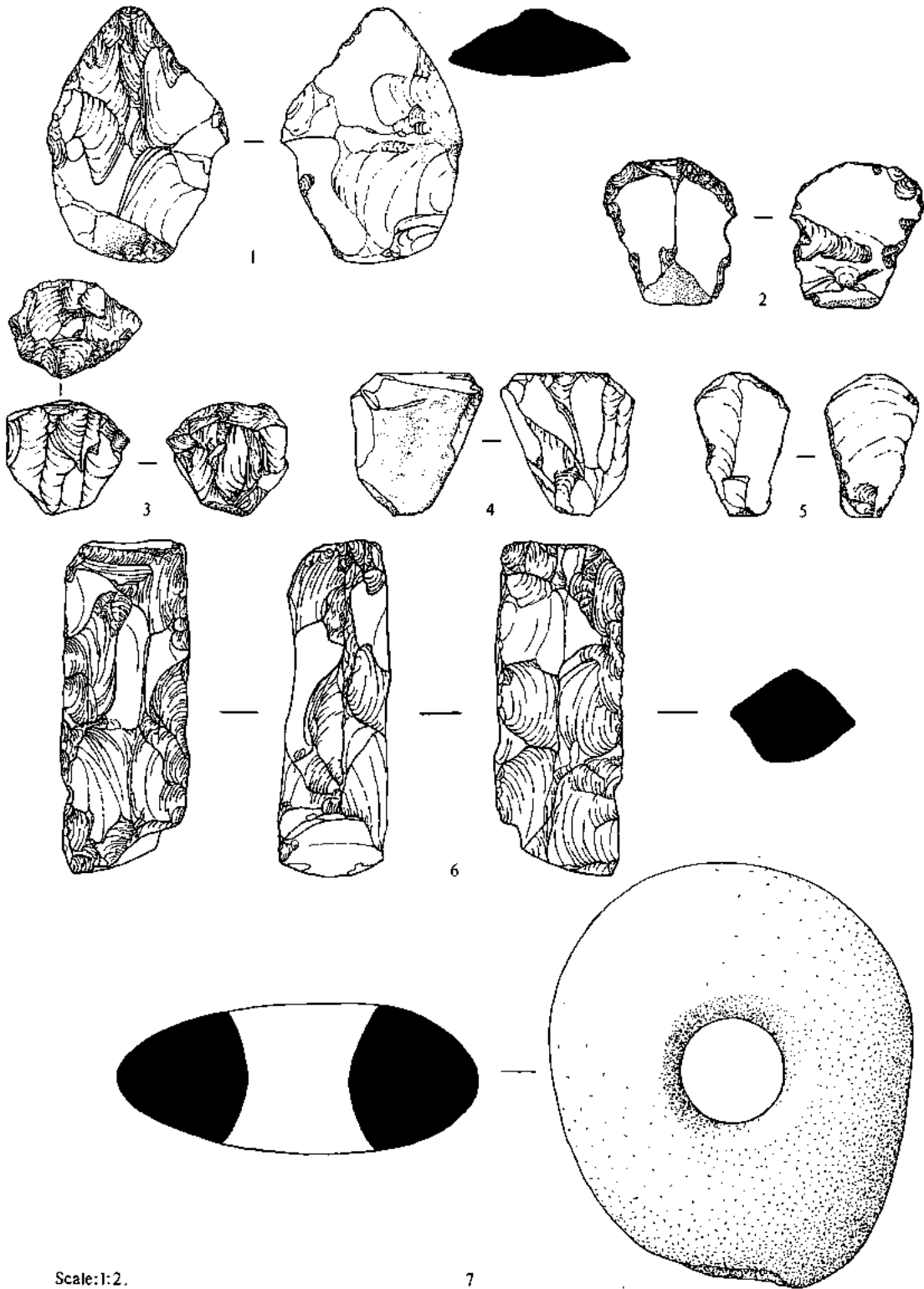
One fragment pale green glass, of a globular moulded vessel.

One handle of a Spanish globular amphora.

Post-medieval

One horizontal-mounted handle of a large red ware bowl with light greenish-brown glaze, c. 1650–1750. Part of a clay pipe bowl with basket-work decoration, 19th century.

Colchester and Essex Museum, 1977.



Scale:1:2.

7

Fig. 1 1-5: TM 01.123 Cudmore Grove, East Mersea; 6: Tiptree; 7: TL 51.130 Great Canfield.

Tiptree, exact findspot unknown (CC)

A flint implement (Fig. 1.6) was lent by Mr. R. Bradley of Pleshey.

It is part of a medium-sized pick or chisel, with the chisel end missing. The butt end is flat. Probably, but not certainly, neolithic (Sturge Coll. vol. I, nos. 166 and 301). Information from Dr. J. J. Wymer.

Private possession.

TL 51.130 Great Canfield TL 593 178 (CC)

Mr. Bradley also lent a quartzite 'pebble macehead' (Roe, 1968, 146) (Fig. 1.7). Such objects frequently have marks of battering on the ends, as if they had been used as hammer-stones; this one has slight traces of wear both at the unbroken end, and on the broken end — which may have been chipped in use.

In south-eastern England, pebble maceheads have been found in late mesolithic contexts (Rankine and Dimbleby, 1960, 251, fig. 6.5; 252; 259), though some are probably neolithic.

Private possession.

TL 70.06 Little Baddow TL 748 070 (CC)

Two bronze looped socketed axeheads (Fig. 2) were turned up by a potato harvesting machine on Phillows Farm in December 1974 (*Essex Weekly News*, 3 Jan. 1975). Mr. Magnay, manager of Co-Partnership Farms Ltd., kindly lent them for study.

Both are of south-eastern type, dating from mid-8th to mid-7th century B.C., although the form probably originates slightly earlier. (Butler, 1963, 84). Both show signs of wear, and are presumably part or all of a small personal hoard.

1. Length: 10 cm. Has quite large casting flashes. The mould was slightly offset in casting, so that the two halves are not quite square to each other. Internally there are two slightly raised

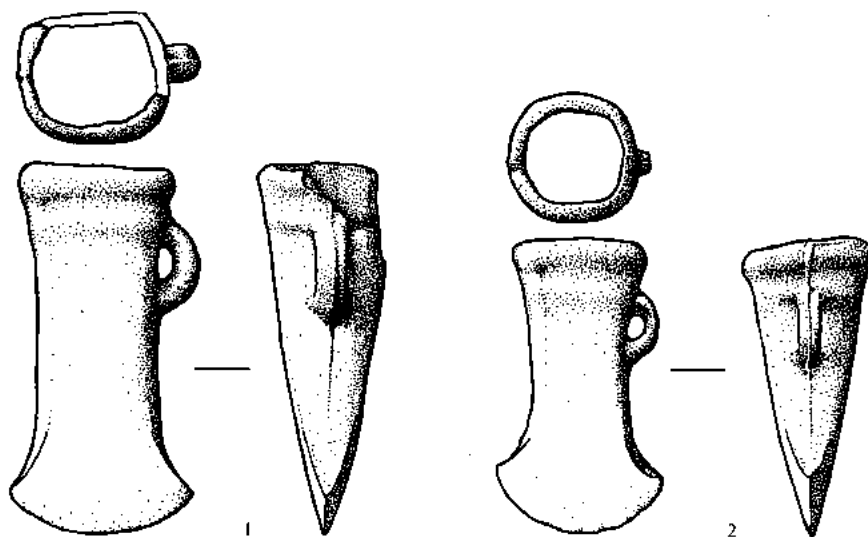


Fig. 2 TL 70.06 Little Baddow. Scale 1:2.

ribs running down the centre of each of the two broad faces. The blade has been slightly dented by use.

2. Length: 8 cm. Has a prominent casting flash on the opposite side to the loop, and a casting fault in the collar on one broad side. Internally there are four slightly raised ribs, two to each broad side, running down from the collar and converging slightly towards the blade. There is a cut mark made in antiquity below the loop, and the blade is 'frilled' by use.

1—Retained by Co-Partnership Farms; 2—Chelmsford and Essex Museum (accn. no. 1976, 90).

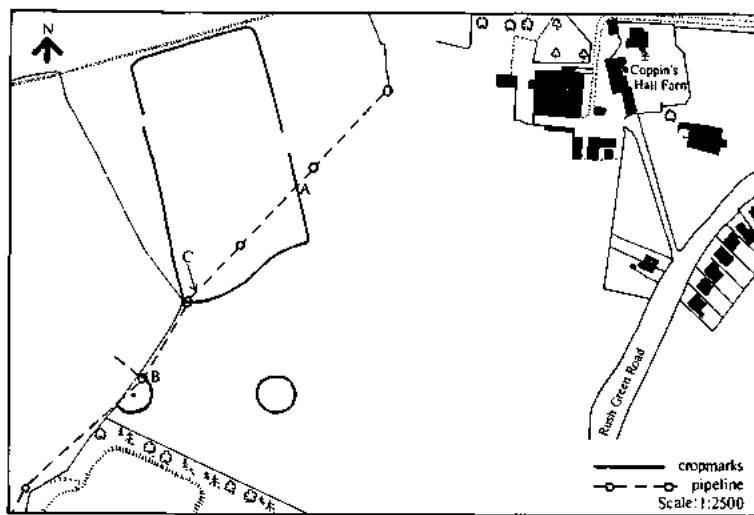


Fig. 3 TM 11.67 Rush Green, Clacton.

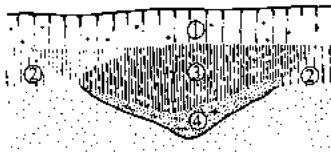
TM 11.67 Clacton, Rush Green TM 156 154 (CC, LS, DB)

Several archaeological features at Rush Green are known from aerial photographs taken by Cdr. R. H. Farrands. When Tendring District Council laid a sewer through two of these cropmark sites, the line of the trench was observed.

The two features affected were a ring-ditch and sub-rectangular enclosure (Fig. 3). A second ring-ditch is visible on aerial photographs to the east of the first. It was possible to record an arc of the ring-ditch in plan after topsoil stripping, and to excavate a section across it. The section recorded across the sub-rectangular enclosure was observed in the side of the machine-cut trench.

The geology of this part of Rush Green is composed of terrace sands and gravels. The ditches observed were cut in clean orange sand; ice-wedge formations also observed on the aerial photographs were visible in the sides of the machine-cut trench. These were filled with mixed dirty sand, gravel and silt. Some 150 metres south-west of the ring-ditch, where the pipe trench had cut through a 19th-century gravel working (see TM 11.73 below), the sand subsoil gives way to gravel with little sand admixture.

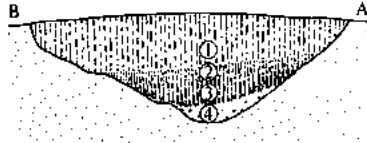
The ring-ditch (B on Figs. 3 and 4) had an outside diameter of about 19.5 m, and the bottom of the ditch was 0.8 m below the machine-stripped surface. The machine trench cut across rather less than half the area enclosed by the ring-ditch, and at this point ran along the line of a modern field ditch. That part of the area within the ring-ditch which could be observed between topsoil stripping and the digging of the trench contained no features. The aerial photograph of the ring-ditch shows only one internal feature, a central pit, south-east of the line of the pipe trench.



a. Rectangular enclosure ditch section exposed on south side of pipe trench.

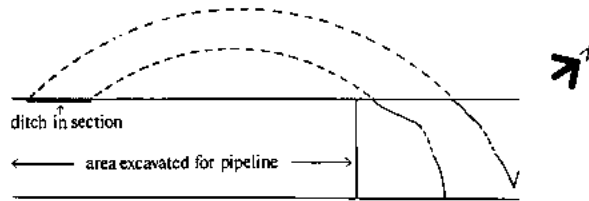
Keys.

- ① Mid brown soil with scatter of gravel.
 - ② Leached creamy-buff fine clay silt.
 - ③ Buff clay silt, occasional charcoal flecks in upper part.
 - ④ Primary silt: dirty sandy mixture with iron concretions.
- Natural: orange sand.

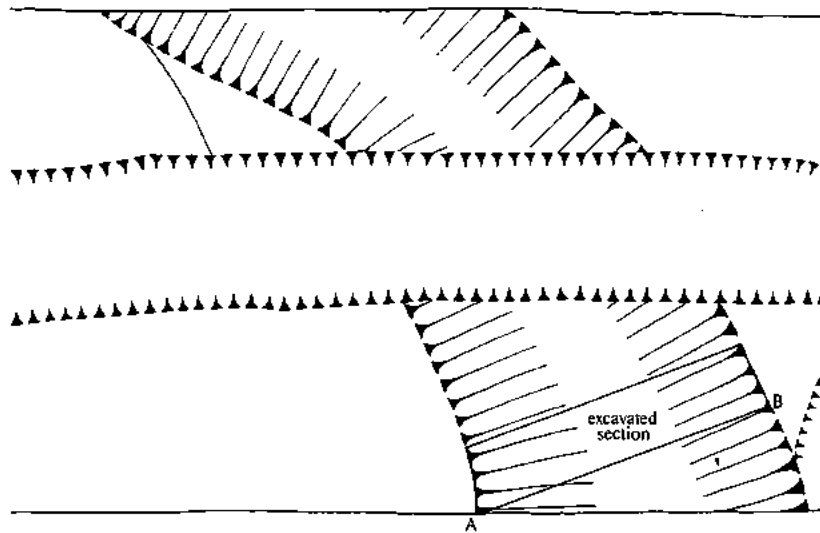


b. Ring ditch section.

- ① Soft smooth brown-grey silt, much stained by rootlets, some iron staining, occasional gravel pebbles.
- ② Soft smooth buff-grey silt, some iron staining, occasional gravel pebbles.
- ③ Smooth hard grey silt, some iron staining, base very gravelly.
- ④ Primary silt: very hard orange sand and gravel, a few lenses of grey silt.



c. Plan showing relationship of ring ditch section to plan revealed by topsoil stripping prior to excavation for pipeline.



d. Plan of ring ditch segment cut by modern field ditch.

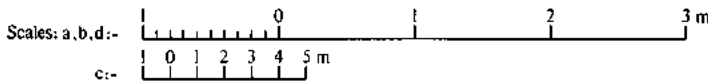


Fig. 4 TM 11.67 Rush Green, Clacton.

Found in the excavated section:

- i. Small flint scraper: flake, grey-brown slightly translucent flint, sub D-shaped, with patches of cortex along one straight edge, and retouch along curved edge.
- ii. Pottery fragment, body-sherd, hand-made, close-textured, light orange-buff, fairly heavily flint gritted; ? Bronze Age.

The south-west corner of the sub-rectangular enclosure was not seen in the side of the pipe-trench; the trench had been backfilled between visits, beyond the point where it would have cut it. A section across the eastern arm of the ditch was, however, observed and recorded (Figs. 3 and 4a). The bottom of the enclosure ditch was 0.95 m below the modern field surface. In this ditch fill was found a small flint flake, brown translucent flint, no patina, patches of cortex along striking edge, retouch on one, possibly both other edges.

Only one man-made feature was observed in the side of the pipe-trench within the area of the sub-rectangular enclosure (Fig. 3, C). This was a broad shallow feature, with the bottom 0.6 m below the stripped surface; possibly to be interpreted as an east-west ditch from the way it cut obliquely across the pipe-trench. It was filled with buff-grey silt, darker at the top. This had not appeared on the aerial photographs. There is nothing to show whether or not it was connected with the sub-rectangular enclosure.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

TM 11.96 St. Osyth TM 118 161 (LS, CC)

Routine gravel pit inspection followed topsoil stripping, in compliance with an archaeological clause on a mineral consent. The topsoil had been roughly stripped to a depth of 50-60 cm, and the gravel subsoil was visible in areas, though generally there was considerable machine trample.

A small ditch was found near the east end of the area, detected first as a slight hollow depressed by the machines running over it (Fig. 5). Sample areas along the length were trowel cleaned, and a section cut (Fig. 6). At this depth (i.e. junction of topsoil with gravel overburden) it was a fairly constant 80-90 cm wide. In section, it was 34 cm deep, though about 60 cm (topsoil depth) would have to be added to this to obtain the original depth. It was filled with a uniform light brown silt, cheesy textured and stone-free. Two lenses of yellow sand were apparent, having silted in from the west side; these may possibly indicate a recut. The ditch has the appearance of a linear land division, and probably extended to both NE. and SW. across the area of surviving parkland.

Several small sherds of pottery were recovered from the top few centimetres of ditch fill, including a small sherd of Roman grey ware, much abraded; a small sherd of a fine, black, wheel-thrown, carinated jar of Belgic type; 4 sherds of coarse flint-gritted pottery, orange externally, with a black core.

A further sherd of Belgic type pottery—a wheel-thrown vessel, finely gritted, black externally, buff internally, with random scratch-marks on the outer surface—was found on the surface near the west end of the area stripped.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

TQ 68.40 Langdon Hills TQ 677 862 (DB, JH)

This site was visited following a report that machine disturbance had been noticed in the woods in the vicinity of the possible Iron Age hillfort.

Examination of the site produced no new archaeological evidence, it being in an area apparently disturbed by earlier piecemeal gravel working. General observation around the

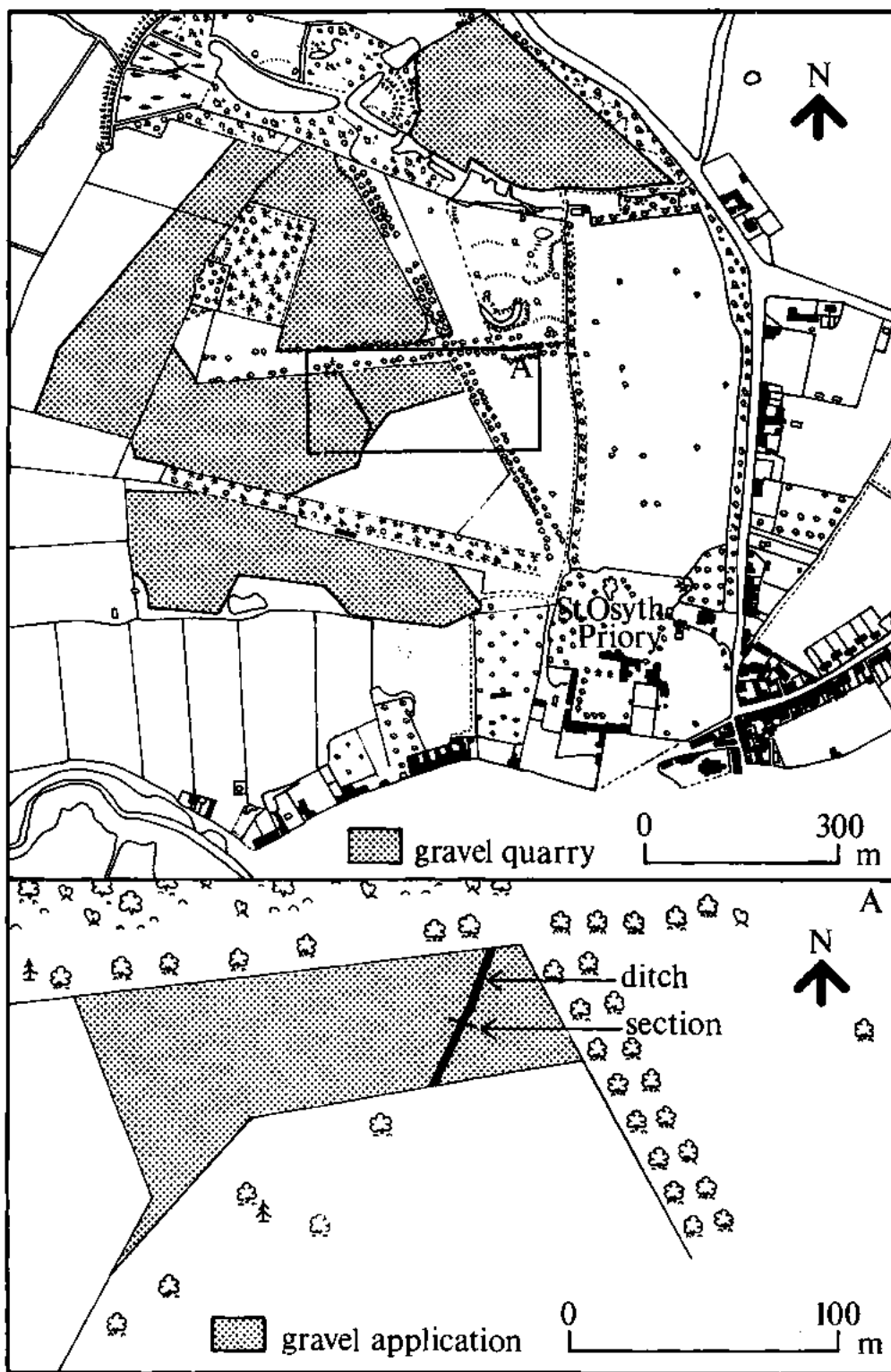
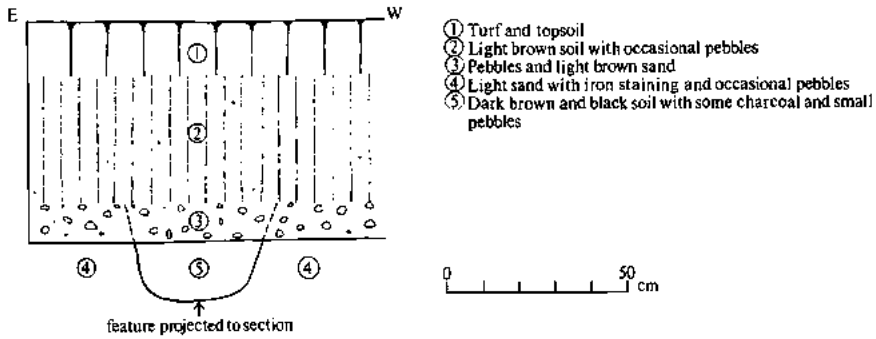
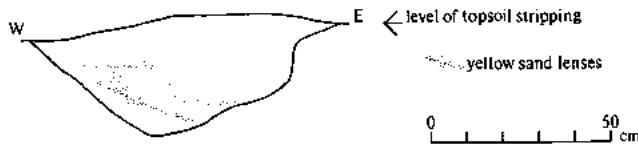


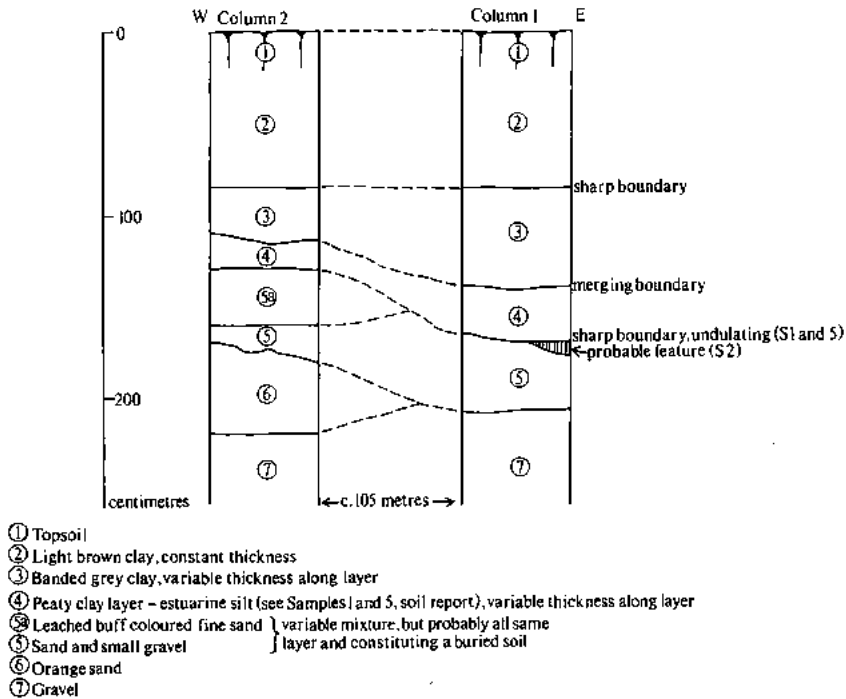
Fig. 5 TM 11.96 St. Osyth.



Canewdon: cremation pit section.



St. Osyth: ditch section in quarry.



East Tilbury, Ferris Aggregates pit: section columns.

Fig. 6 TQ 89.23 Canewdon; TM 11.96 St. Osyth; TQ 67.81 East Tilbury.

hillfort area produced an impression of remaining lengths of banks and ditches, despite the extensive gravel working. This site would well repay an intensive contour survey, and trial excavation of one of the lines of probable bank and ditch.

A small quantity of sherds of Iron Age flint-gritted pottery was found. Some were coarse-gritted, some fine-gritted, with a colour range from buff-orange to grey to brown-black; one body sherd was burnished. There were four thin rim-sherds, fine flint-gritted, with rounded or slightly flattened tops, one with diagonal slash decoration on top; these rims may be upright or slightly flared. Also one finer fabric rim-herd: light grey, slightly chalky fabric, slightly vesicular, with a darker grey burnished surface; platter, imitation *terra nigra*.

These sherds were found in the same location as the earlier finds made by Barnard and Hoares (Hoares, 1971, 57-8), who observed pottery eroding out of the remains of the former ground surface left upstanding in the areas not disturbed for gravel.

Thurrock Museum.

TQ 89.23 Canewdon: Butts Hill TQ 899 948 (Figs. 6 and 7) (DB)

While digging foundation trenches for a bird hide near his pond at Canewdon, Mr. H. Fisher exposed a small circular pit containing dark soil and fragments of calcined bone. Aware of previous archaeological finds from the area (*V.C.H. III*, 61), he reported his find, which was subsequently excavated.

The original narrow trench was enlarged in its south-west corner around the feature to give a metre square (Fig. 7). Turf and topsoil (layer 1) and an underlying light brown soil with occasional pebbles (layer 2) covered the feature to a depth of 0.5 m. The top of the feature was disturbed, but appeared cut from the top of a layer of pebbles and light brown sand (layer 3), and through this on to an underlying light sand with iron staining and only occasional small pebbles (layer 4). The pebbles, layer 3, are natural, while layer 2 appears to be a subsequent build-up showing no signs of disturbance in the immediately adjacent foundation trench section (Fig. 6).

The feature was a small circular pit of diameter 0.35 m and a depth of 0.25 m from the top of layer 3. The fill was a mixture of dark brown and black soil with some charcoal and small pebbles (layer 5). A small quantity of well-calcined bone was present, mainly long bone shaft fragments. It is probably human, but no evidence of the sex and age of the individual is available (examined by Dr. C. Keepax of the Department of the Environment, Ancient Monuments Laboratory). A small piece of daub and a small flake of struck flint came from the pit fill.

No evidence is available for the dating of the pit. Its close proximity to earlier finds of pottery in the vicinity of the pond may relate it to them, but a satisfactory date for this pottery has never been established (*V.C.H. III*, 61).

A small struck flake came from the top of layer 4, and a small sherd, undatable, with a soft dark brown fabric, from layer 2.

TQ 67.81 East Tilbury: Ferris Aggregates Pit TQ 692 784 (DB, CC)

This gravel pit was visited following provisions attached to the gravel working consent.

No cropmarks are recorded for the area of this pit. However, the gravel face section, which was approximately a quarter mile in length, proved to be of archaeological interest. Two sketch sections were drawn (Fig. 6 and Fig. 8 showing their approximate location).

It is considered that the layer sequence represented by the two sketch section columns is fairly representative of the full length of the pit face, though layer thickness was variable (Fig. 6).

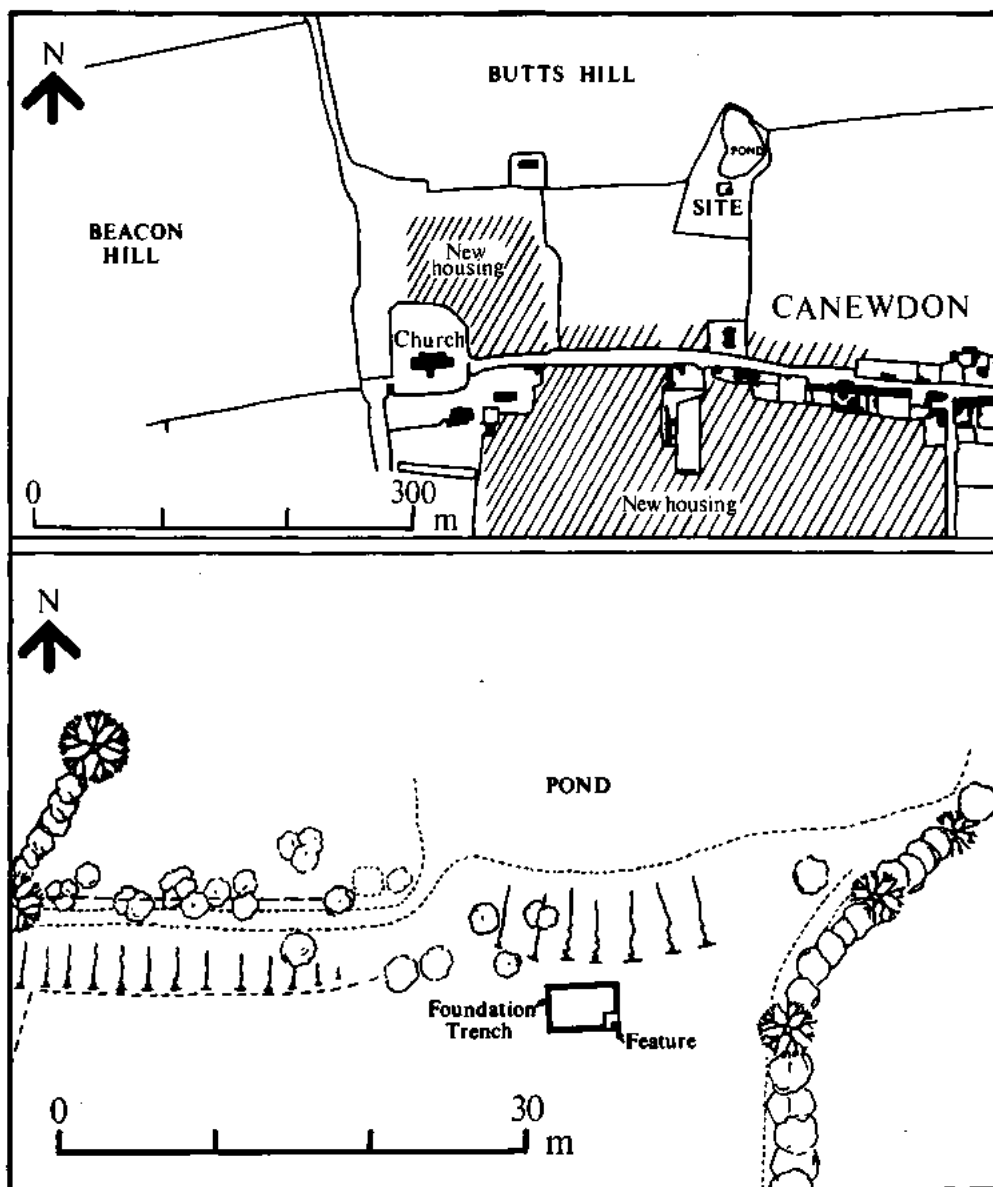


Fig. 7 TQ 89.23 Butts Hill, Canewdon.

The point of special interest appeared to be the junction of layer 4 with layers 5 and 5a. There were indications of features cut into layer 5, and it is considered that this represents a buried soil of unknown date. If this is correct, then layer 4, with peat, is perhaps to be seen as the product of initial shallow water inundation. With further submergence, the resultant sediments were pure clay, layers 2 and 3.

A ditch cut from layer 2 into layer 3 had not showed up on aerial photographs. This feature may relate to an initial drainage of this area. Remains of wood were present in the fill.

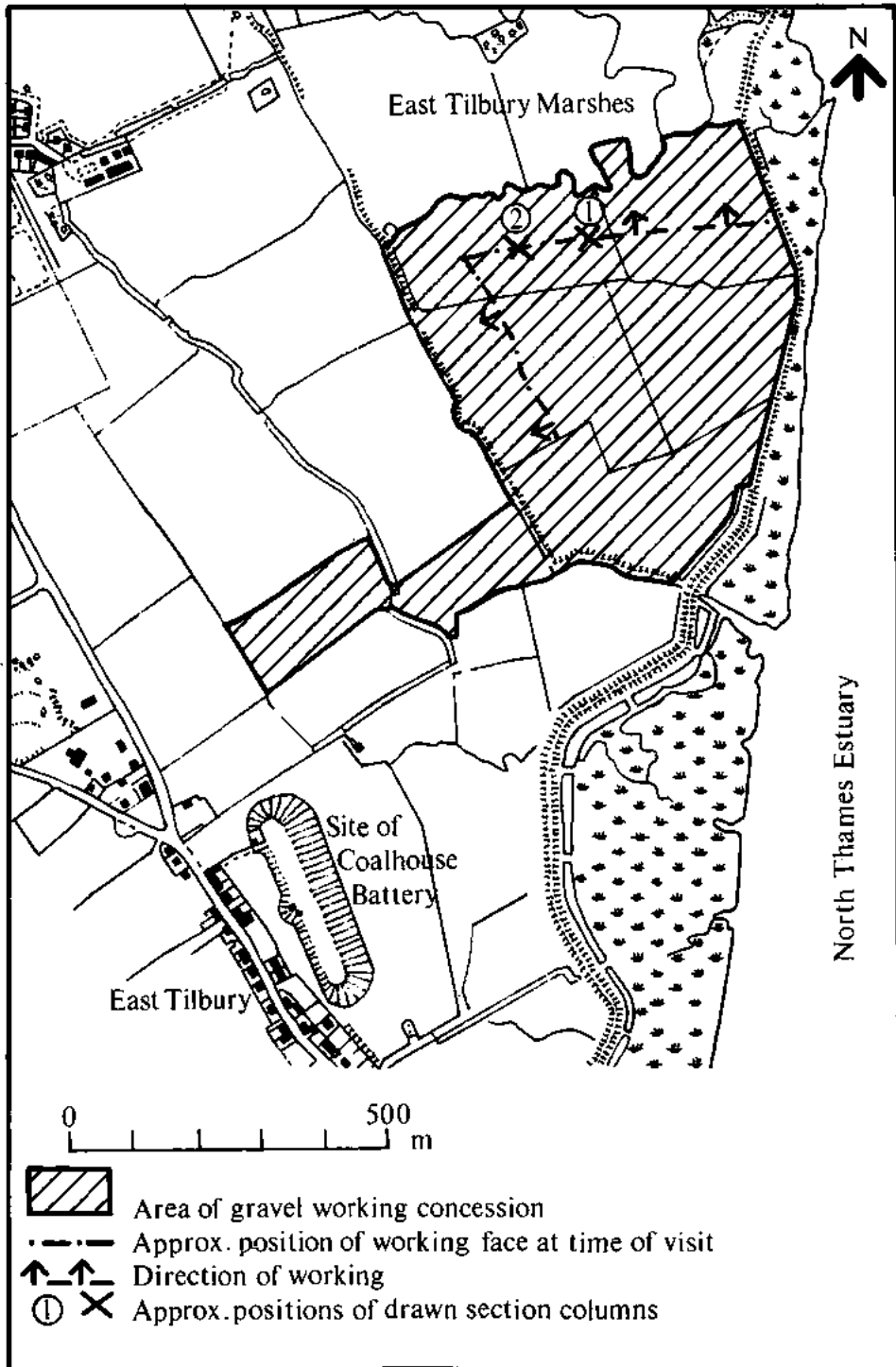


Fig. 8 TQ 62.81 Ferris Aggregates Pit, East Tilbury.

*Report on soil samples by R. Allen, Soil Survey of England and Wales**Sample 1* (section column 1, layer 4/5 junction).

Grey estuarine silty clay with charcoal and abundant root channels, post-dating the charcoal. Root channels lined with iron oxides and sulphur compounds (jarrosite).

Evidence of submergence of an occupation layer.

Sample 2 (section column 1, feature cut into layer 5).

Dark grey loamy sand with charcoal.

Sample 3 (section column 1, layer 5).

Very porous grey fine sand with root channels and occasional small flints; partially indurated.

Darker horizon similar.

Sample 4 (section column 2, feature cut from layer 2 into layer 3).

Indeterminate piece of wood coated with jarrosite.

Sample 5 (section column 1, layer 4/5 junction)

Estuarine silty clay with fine roots and jarrosite overlying 2 cm of sandy clay loam with charcoal, this overlying fine sand horizon with small flints and roots.

This report, although based upon poor samples, and these only loosely tied to the sketch sections taken on site visits, would on the evidence of sample 1 seem to confirm the presence of a submerged occupation layer at some depth below the overburden of this pit. This would repay further study, and a date would certainly be desirable.

TM 00.21 Bradwell-on-Sea TM 013 093 (K.B)

Roman and post-medieval building materials were found on the seaward side of the sea wall on the south bank of the Blackwater Estuary. Most of the finds are considerably water-worn and have marine growths.

Roman

Four pieces of tegula.

One piece of comb-decorated box-flue tile.

One sherd of buff-grey ware flanged bowl, mid- to late 2nd century A.D.

Post-medieval

One rim and neck sherd of bellarmine jug, c. 1600.

One body sherd of large vessel, red fabric with light brown glaze, not closely datable within the period 18th to 19th century.

One rim and body sherd of small deep dish with flat everted rim, cream ware with cream glaze, late 19th to early 20th century.

Private possession.

TM 22.05 Little Oakley TM 212 283 (CC)

Observation of a field-drain trench in the field to the east of the track to Little Oakley Church produced a sherd of Roman pottery and a tegula fragment in the upcast, though there were no features visible in the trench sides. Later field-walking in the field west of the track by Mr. M. Baker of Little Oakley resulted in the discovery of more Roman pottery, a scatter of septaria and few pieces of tile.

Roman

One piece of comb-decorated box-flue tile.

Two tegular fragments.

One sherd of samian, *Drag.* f. 31, East Gaulish, mid- to late 2nd century.

One sherd roulette-decorated pottery, orange fabric with traces of red colour-coating externally.

One sherd of buff-grey cooking pot—second half of 2nd century A.D.

Late-post-medieval

One handle fragment of fine, hard, slightly sandy red ware.

Two sherds large vessels in red fabric glazed internally, one with dark brown.

One fragment stoneware, grey glaze internally, smooth brown glaze externally.

One white ware dish fragment with dark blue underglaze transfer design of stylised fruits and flowers twined around rouletted band. Late 19th century.

Undated

Fine sandstone or quartzite pebble used as a whetstone.

There was a scatter of flint flakes, in poor quality brown translucent flint, over the whole area.

Thanks are due to Mr. Simon Ellis for commenting on the samian in this and the notes on TL 61.97 and TQ 99.46.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

TL 43.41 Arkesden, Chardwell Farm TL 466 347 (JH)

This site was visited following notification from Mr. Castleton, the owner, that he had some 10 lb. of Roman pottery, red tesserae and tile, collected from the surface of one of his fields. This field has a heavy scatter of flint nodules, stone, mortar and general building rubble, and was clearly the site of a previously unrecorded Roman building of some substance. Most of the finds have not been examined in detail, and remain in private possession; a few are in Saffron Walden Museum.

TL 51.76 Great Canfield TL 575 175 (CC)

A number of surface finds have been made in the course of farming by Mr. J. Perry. These were made available through the good offices of Mr. W. Nunn. They include an enamelled bronze brooch (Fig. 9.2), found at the above grid reference, dated by M. R. Hull (*in litt.*, 27.2.75) to the second quarter of the 2nd century A.D. It is his Type 149.B, and no. 9877 in his catalogue supplement (Hull, forthcoming). There is also an incomplete bronze spatula from Great Canfield (Fig. 9.3) and two Roman bronze coins, both illegible but one probably 2nd century A.D. (examined by Mr. D. T-D. Clarke); exact findspots unknown.

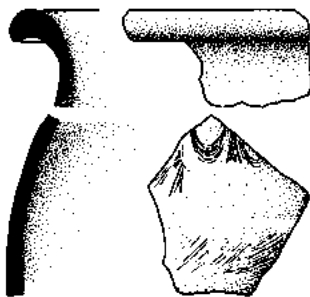
Private possession.

TL 54.33 and 41. Great Chesterford TL 500 437 (Fig. 10) (CC)

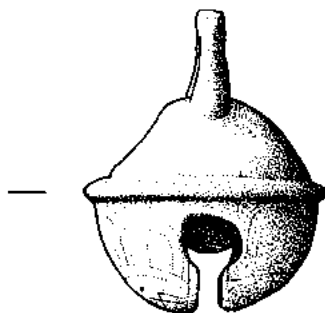
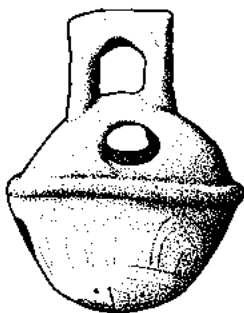
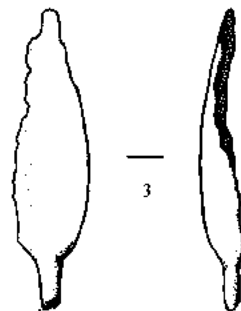
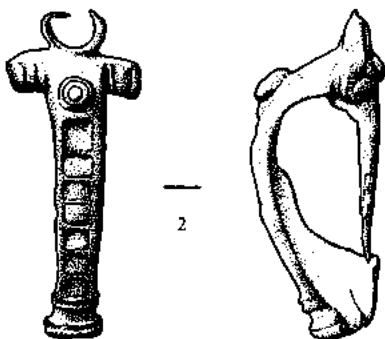
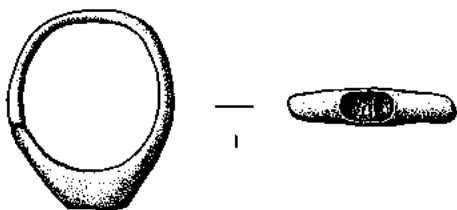
The Cambridge office of the Eastern Electricity Board, in compliance with a condition made by the County Highways Department, gave notice of works due to take place in connection with the M11 motorway to the north of Great Chesterford. A watching brief was carried out on behalf of the Department of the Environment.

Trenching for underground cables

Most of this was outside the scheduled area. The natural subsoil appears to be sandy gravel, as observed in the south-west part of the length of trench running south-west to north-east outside the scheduled area. It was found that at the northern end of the trench (A on Fig. 10) there was a



Bocking Church Street. Scale: 1:2.



↑
Great Canfield. Scale: 1:1.

Fig. 9

large area of mortar covering the bottom of the trench, rising in part to 0.45 m below the ground surface, and dipping down to trench floor level at the south-eastern end. At this south-east end, pipes already covered the floor of the trench when the inspection was made, but this point appeared to be the true edge of the mortar. In the south-west arm of the trench, the mortar was edged with a band of hoggin, and another band of hoggin crossed the mortar in the south-east arm. It appears possible that these might be wall foundations, though it is difficult to offer an interpretation for such features observed in a 0.60 m wide trench.

Further south-west, there was a feature crossing the trench at an angle, containing dirty soil with gravel, pebbles, chalk and mortar flecks. This was cut down from a high level in the section, and was thought to be modern.

Other soil changes observed in the trench were recorded, though it was not possible to suggest their significance, if any. The truncated base of an old railway embankment was observed, in line with the remains still visible on the ground to the north, and to its east a small trench filled with large loosely packed flints with very little earth around them, thought to be a drainage channel connected with the railway.

Several quite large sherds of Roman pottery were picked up from the trench spoil (point B on Fig. 10), including a late 3rd to 4th century A.D. greyware cooking pot rim.

South of the track, within the scheduled area, the trench was *c.* 4.60 m long, up to 1 m deep in the centre of that length. Beneath the topsoil was an intermittent thin layer of hoggin, dipping down at intervals into a creamy-coloured sand. There were a few thin lines of white grits, probably water-laid. There was nothing which could be identified as an archaeological feature along this length.

Holes for telegraph poles

The position of these on Fig. 10 is very approximate; they were not dug at the exact points shown on the E.E.B.'s plan. A short length of trench was also excavated for supports (F on Fig. 10).

At points C and D on Fig. 10, there was no obvious disturbance below the topsoil. However, at E there was evidence of disturbance to nearly 2 m depth; at two levels in the side there were thin lines of small stones. The natural here is a sandy gravel. F, the trench for supports, went well down into the natural, which is sand at this point. At its northern end, there was a spread of mortar at a depth of *c.* 1 m. This was also found in the small (1 m square) trench excavated by hand just to the east of the machine-cut trench.

In view of the small size of the holes, and the limited time available, no interpretation can be attempted. However, it appears that the archaeological levels extend, though not apparently continuously, across the scheduled area into the land to its north.

Saffron Walden Museum

TL 61.97 Chignall St. James TL 662 108 (CC, LS)

During the summer of 1975, a clear cropmark of a Roman villa was discovered from the air by a crop-spraying contractor and identified by Mrs. I. McMaster (McMaster, 1975, 7-8; see also Going, 1976, 12-13). The site was subsequently field-walked. The area was covered with building rubble; fragments of tegulae and imbrices, pieces of shelly limestone and sandstone and a piece of green slate, mortar, opus signinum, red tesserae, a comb-decorated box-flue tile fragment, a sherd of coarse sandy grey ware and two sherds of samian, were picked up. The sherds of samian are both *Drag.* f. 33, one probably La Graufesenque (South Gaul) and late 1st century, the other post-100 A.D., and probably Les Martres-de-Veyre (Central Gaul).

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

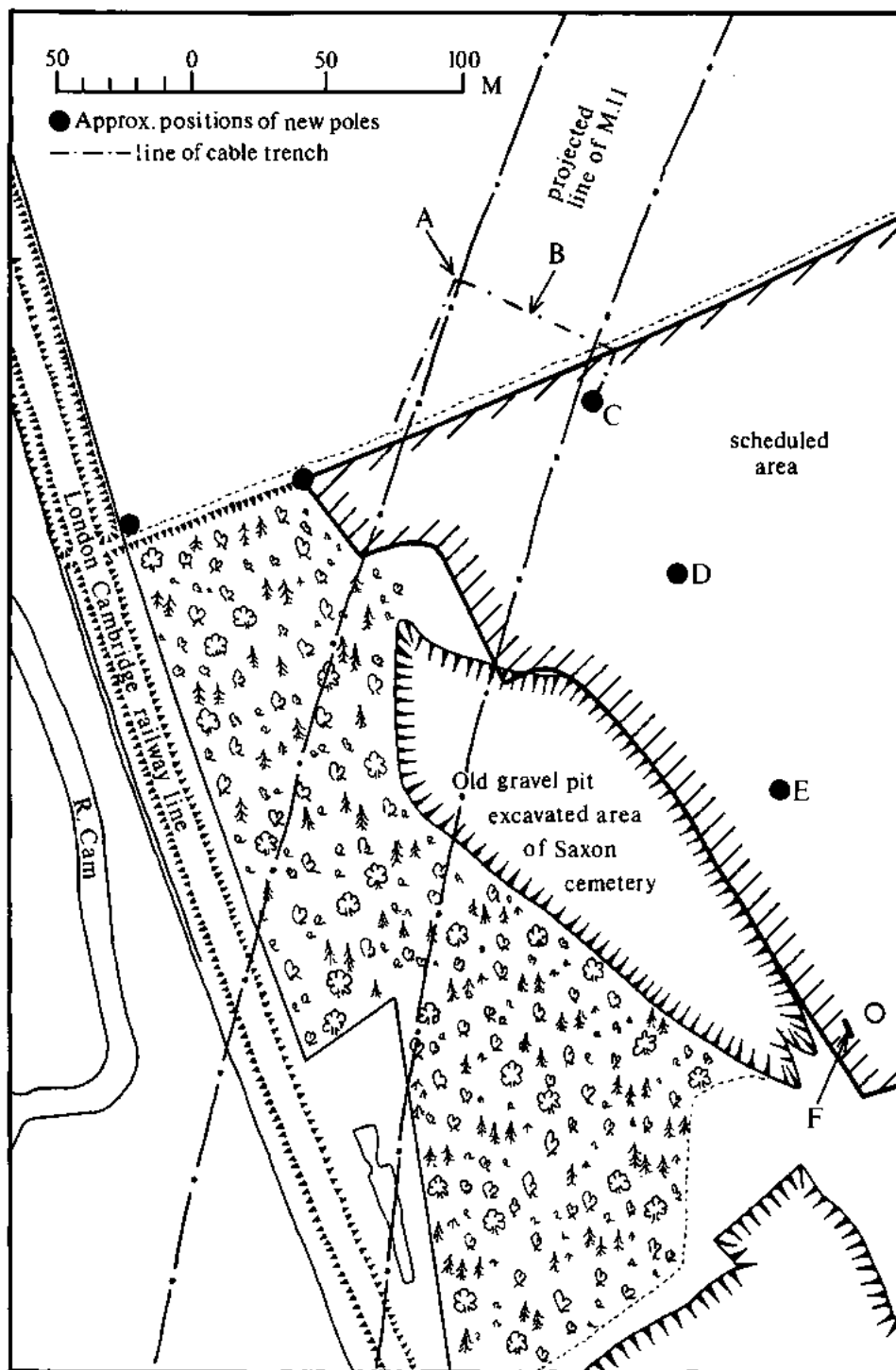


Fig. 10 TL 54.33 and 41 Great Chesterford.

TL 62.55 Great Dunmow (MP, DB, ME)*TL 624 218, Church of England Primary School*

Notification was received that a new extension to the Dunmow Church of England Primary School had produced large quantities of Roman pottery and some coins (collected from spoil-heaps by children from the school and presumably kept by them).

Little could be learnt from inspection of the footing trenches; indeed a large part of the area had been disturbed by gravel working. However, a quantity of pottery was collected from the spoil heap. This consisted mostly of Roman coarse wares, grey, buff and orange, with one piece of black burnished ware and one piece of finer burnished grey ware. There were also:

One sherd of colour-coated beaker, with orange fabric, brown colour-coating internally, black externally with rough-cast surface.

Three sherds, early to mid-2nd-century beakers, one buff-orange, one also buff-orange fabric with black coating burnished externally, one brown fabric with dark grey surfaces burnished externally.

Two cooking-pot rim sherds, probably mid-2nd century.

One dish rim sherd, plain rounded upright rim.

There were also several medieval sherds, including a late 12th- to early 13th-century cooking-pot rim in a hard, sandy, buff-grey, micaceous fabric, and a 14th-century rim sherd of a neckless vessel with a rim of rounded triangular section in brown sandy micaceous fabric with black burnished internal and external surfaces.

This site falls within the known area for the Roman settlement at Dunmow.

Saffron Walden Museum.

TL 627 215, 3 New Street Fields

Romano-British pottery was reported in association with an area of hard-packed gravel. The landowner, Mr. P. Brazier, had cleared most of the area of the excavation prior to inspection, removing the topsoil down to the upper gravel surface. On the southern, downhill, side of the site was a depression filled by light brown silty loam from which a few sherds of Roman pottery had been recovered. A section through this loam up against the gravel revealed three apparent surfaces in the gravel.

As little is known about this part of Great Dunmow, much of the area being removed in the last century by gravel working and industrial construction, a one-day excavation was organised. The opened area was roughly straightened off and the exposed surfaces cleaned up. Two sections cut into the loam-filled trench to the south produced a mixture of sherds of Romano-British and 19th-century pottery, clay pipes, bricks and glass.

Two cuts into the hard-packed area revealed that it was an upstanding remnant of a formerly quarried area.

Although informative in respect of Roman Dunmow, the operation was most useful in that the garden of Apiary Cottage must be the only portion of this hillside unaffected by quarrying and as such takes on considerable importance to our understanding of Great Dunmow.

TL 71.40 Boreham, Great Holts Pit TL 753 117 (DB and N. Sieveking)

An archaeological inspection was made of a new extension to the RMC Sand and Gravel Pit, since Roman cremation burials had been found at Great Holts Farm in about 1900. (*V.C.H. III*, 51).

Some three acres had been mechanically stripped of topsoil, exposing a varied subsoil of gravels, sands and clays. Archaeological remains were confined to one relatively small area, where a number of fragmented tegulae were located, lying upon an area of baked clay.

The tegulae occurred principally in two strikingly different fabrics: a smooth, almost chalky, light orange fabric, and a darker brown-orange, very sandy fabric. The only surviving flange in the first fabric had a very square edge, whereas the flanges of the sandy tiles were thinner, and tapered to a narrow rounded top. The body of some of the sandy tiles was also thinner than of the smooth ones, and one was possibly a waster.

Examination produced no good explanation of the baking of the clay, nor any confirmation that the tiles, almost certainly complete before mechanical stripping, were part of a structure. The baked clay was a rich red-brown in colour, contrasting markedly with the dark yellowish-brown natural clay of the general vicinity. It covered an area some 2 m east-west by 1 m north-south, with two apparent foci, giving it a roughly figure-of-eight shape. The surface examined was approximately 0.4 m below the present-day land surface, while the baked clay varied in thickness from a maximum of 0.3 m towards its eastern end, down to 0.05 m to the west. To the west, however, there was clear evidence of burning with charcoal mixed with the clay. Despite being covered by standing water for two weeks, the deposit remained practically impervious. The tiles appeared to be confined to the thicker area of burning. The baked clay area was only 14 m west of a small stream and just above the level of its flood plain. Examination of the stripped slope to the west produced only a thin scatter of abraded Romano-British sherds, and no evidence for occupation of that immediate area. The original burials were some 300 m to the north, and it would seem likely that the baked clay area and finds are only an outlier to the original settlement.

The pottery comprises a small number of coarse grey-buff and grey-brown wares, some very coarse, with one black-surfaced flanged bowl rim and one orange fabric triangular bowl rim. None was closely datable within the Roman period.

Acknowledgement is made to RMC Sand and Gravel and to Mr. Gillam of RMC for their co-operation.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

TL 72.24 Braintree, Bovingdon and Fennes Estate TL 753 260 (DB)

The Demonstration Farms Project is an experiment undertaken by the Countryside Commission to discover acceptable means of countering the worst effects of some modern agricultural practices, and to offer farmers a chance to see what can be achieved by alternative methods. In Essex the Commission have enlisted the help of Mr. John Tabor and his son, of Braintree. Part of the preparation comprises a detailed hedgerow and woodland survey, documentary and archaeological study.

In the course of field-walking in this connection a Romano-British site was discovered in the arable fields to the north-west of Bocking Church Street, in what was formerly the open field area to that settlement. A very heavy pottery scatter in the north-east corner of the field hints at the presence of a small Romano-British building. Finds include:

A tegula fragment with the flange at *c.* 38° from the horizontal instead of the usual *c.* 90°—for the gable-end of a roof?

Sherds of assorted grey, buff-grey and buff-orange wares, of storage jars, cooking pots and bowls, including two cordoned shoulder sherds of jars and one of a bowl, also one body sherd of a flagon in pinkish-cream fabric.

Decorated sherds included one in a buff-orange fabric with black surface, with a decoration of groups of three short vertical lines; and one in buff-orange fabric with lines of comb-stabbed decoration. There were also several sherds of a jar of a thin grey fabric, chalky

and slightly vesicular with a dark grey filler; this had an upright neck and somewhat flaring rim, and fine scratched swag decoration on the shoulder and similar fine diagonal scratch-marks around the girth (Fig. 9).

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

TL 72.26 Stisted, Braintree Road TL 794 234 (CC)

The Anglian Water Authority reported the finding of a Roman pot when digging a trench in a field parallel to the A120, the line of the Roman road from Braintree to Colchester. This was a large buff-grey urn, complete when found except for the rim; the shoulder was decorated with a line of stab-marks. It appeared to have been buried upright and the rim presumably has been ploughed away. The contents had not been kept but there were no fragments of cremated bone in the earth still adhering to the inside of the pot. None the less, from its provenance beside a road just outside a Roman town, and its upright position, it is likely that it represents the site of a Roman cemetery.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

TL 72.75 Braintree, Fairview Estate TL 768 239 (CC, MP)

Construction works at the Fairview estate have been observed at intervals over much of the time covered by this Report, since Roman finds were made when the older estate, nearer the main road, was built. On one such visit, in the side of a water-main trench a feature was found which can probably be best described as a large Roman puddle: a shallow depression, some 11 m long and 1.5 m below the present surface at its greatest depth, filled with layers of grey silt and very dark organic material, and containing several large pieces of tegula.

More recently, Mr. T. Turner of Braintree has found evidence for a Roman building and two kilns near by in building works for an extension to Great Bradfords School (*Braintree and Witham Times*, 6 May, 1976, 40) and it is clear that the 'Roman puddle' is on the edge of this complex.

TL 81.52 Wickham Bishops TL 836 121 (DB and N. Sieveking)

Following notification by Eastern Gas, a watching brief was kept on the digging of a connecting pipe trench from an existing main to a new gas installation. This ground disturbance was within an area in which a late Iron Age settlement (*V.C.H.T.S.*, 537), a 1st century B.C. cremation group (O.S. Iron Age map, 55; *Col. Mus. Rep.*, 1918, 8), and a coin of Vespasian (*V.C.H. III*, 200) had been discovered.

The pipe trench ran some 30 m westwards from the new installation box across the field (Field No. 5700). This is pasture, and it was possible to trace a very slight double depression running north-south across the field immediately west of Mope Lane, parallel to the existing hedge-line. This, cut by the pipeline, proved to be a double ditch (Figs. 11 and 12). The ground slopes gently away west of Ditch 1, and rises gently east of Mope Lane.

The ditches were cut into a varied subsoil with light brown clay below Ditch 1, and sand and gravel below Ditch 2. The ditch fills were primarily clay with varying quantities of pebbles. No interpretation was possible regarding the relationship of the two ditches to each other, nor was the wide flat profile of Ditch 2 explained. It is probable that any bank would be on the eastward, uphill, side, but the present hedge-line in this position was not substantial. A cut through the

bank showed undisturbed natural within it some 0.4 m above the level of the field surface, but no buried soil horizon, and this level could relate to an original sloping ground surface.

Although the ditches are not especially deep (a little over 1 m each), and do not suggest a substantial defence, there is the advantage of the slope. At this spot there is a commanding view over the valley and river to the west. The only find was a quern fragment of probable Romano-British date from Ditch 2, layer 2, insufficient to give a proper date to the feature. It is a fragment of black lava quern, an upper stone, of 19 cm diameter, maximum thickness at rim 4 cm with round central hole. This grinding surface is dressed with shallow grooves running radially, and smoothed by wear. The proximity of the Iron Age settlement suggests that an Iron Age or Roman date might be appropriate.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

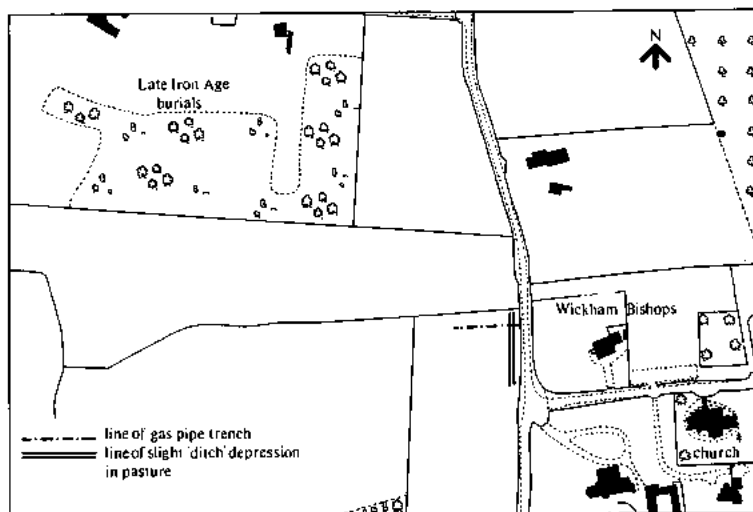


Fig. 11 TL 81.52 Wickham Bishops.

TQ 99.46 Burnham-on-Crouch, Redward Farm TQ 984 987 (CC)

The area of a red-hill was field-walked following a condition on a planning application. Sherds of Roman pottery were found, including the usual range of grey, buff-grey and orange coarse wares. There were also three sherds of samian, two small and indeterminate, one *Drag. f. 18/31* with the very end of a stamp surviving, all 2nd century, two certainly Lezoux, the third possibly Les Martres-des-Veyre.

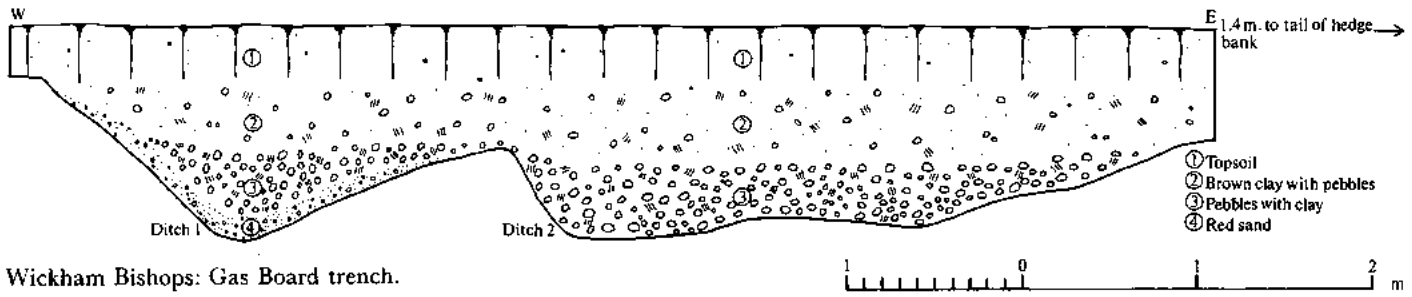
There were also post-medieval tile fragments and many pieces of clinker.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

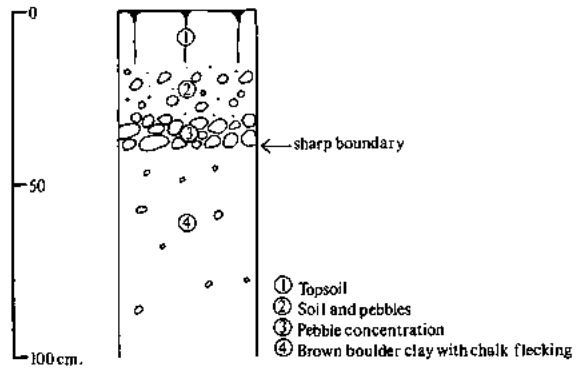
TM 12.39 Beaumont-cum-Moze, Landermere TM 191 245 (CC, MP)

A routine site visit was made to the site of two earth mounds originally recorded by Colchester Museum. One remains in the corner of a field, c. 3.5 m high and c. 33 m in diameter. The other has been almost ploughed flat, and in the area it had covered were found a scatter of brick fragments, small lumps of sandstone, burnt daub, slag, worked flints and pieces of pottery.

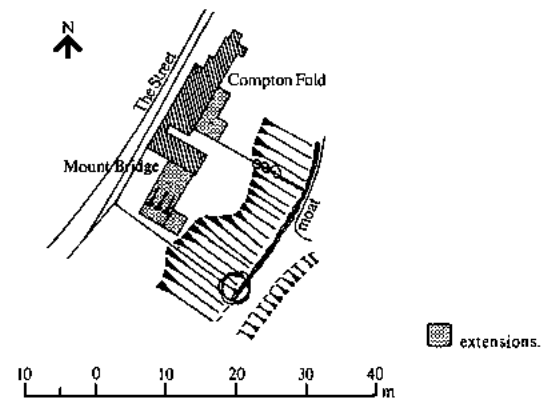
The pottery comprises a number of medieval body and rim sherds, all abraded. All are in a fine grey fabric with no inclusions, though of varying shades of grey. The majority of rims are



Wickham Bishops: Gas Board trench.



Pleshey: cable trench; section column at point C on Fig. 19.



Pleshey, Compton Fold and Mount Bridge: watching briefs on extensions.

Fig. 12

everted, slightly thickened and squared, though one is almost cavetto. In this they are typical of the pottery of North Essex in the 12th to 13th centuries: their finer fabric suggests the latter as more appropriate.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

TL 51.121 Great Canfield, Old Fitzjohns TL 582 179 (CC, MP)

Parts of several vessels were recovered by Mr. W. Nunn from the dredging of a pond, and lent for study.

The pond has a stream running through it; and it appears probable that it was originally excavated as a fishpond to serve Fitzjohns. Finds:

- i. Base of a jug with thumb-pressed indents at 90° intervals. Fine, red, slightly micaceous fabric with darker surfaces, decorated with white slip in a linear pattern. *c.* 1400-1500.
- ii. Part of body of jug, including plain strap handle, in purple-red fabric with decayed green-brown glaze over white slip decoration on upper part of body and handle. *c.* 1375-1500.
- iii. Part of a base of cylindrical vessel, in sandy red fabric with large inclusions. The form suggests an early modern sagger, but the vessel has clearly not been refired. Date uncertain.

Private possession.

Several medieval metal objects were found in Great Canfield by Mr. Perry. These include a bronze stirrup-shaped finger-ring with a mounting for a single stone (Fig. 9.1) (parallel in the *British Museum's Guide to Medieval Antiquities*, 1924, 138, fig. 81, and 309, dated to the 13th century). Mr. Perry also found a cast brass or bronze pack-horse bell (Fig. 9.4). A very similar bell was found at Northolt Manor, Middlesex, in a context dating to the mid- to late 14th century (Hurst, 1961, 290, fig. 76, no. 27). Another such bell was found at Aveley (*Panorama*, No. 11, 19-20); although the design is slightly different, it displays the same initials: W.G.

Other finds include a Charles II farthing and a bronze 18th-century token.

None closely provenanced. Private possession.

TL 52.96 Broxted, Brick End TL 572 259 (MP)

Archaeological features were noticed by Mr. E. W. Broe of Broxted, when excavating for a fishpond. They proved to be three pits, filled with dirty clay, cut into yellow boulder clay. They contained bone and charcoal, and were dated by the presence of 13th-century pottery, including:

1. Everted rim of cooking pot, grey with red surfaces. Longitudinal fingernail impressions along rim. 1150-1225.
2. Rim of bowl, thickened and rounded to form a circular section. Reddish fabric with fire-blackened exterior. 1200-1300.

Saffron Walden Museum.

TL 53.10 Saffron Walden (MP, DB)

TL 541 387

A watching brief was held on the construction of a shaft (shaft II) for a new sewer being tunnelled beneath the inner bailey of Saffron Walden Castle. The shaft was 3 m in diameter, centre 12 m from the perimeter wall separating the bailey from the street, but the entire working

area was stripped of topsoil before operations began. The northern edge of the bailey ditch showed quite clearly against natural chalk, running, as expected, parallel to Church Street and 5.6 m from the perimeter wall (Fig. 13). The fill was lumpy chalk, with a primary weathering of light brown powdery chalk approximately 0.3 m wide. The shaft itself did not impinge on the ditch, and no features were observed in its construction. There was one other feature in the area cleared: a shallow post-hole 0.7 m wide, containing bricks forming a post-pad. The bricks were 9 in. × 4 in. × 2 in., unfrogged. This must relate to a temporary structure of post-medieval date. No building is shown on maps of 1758 and subsequent dates.

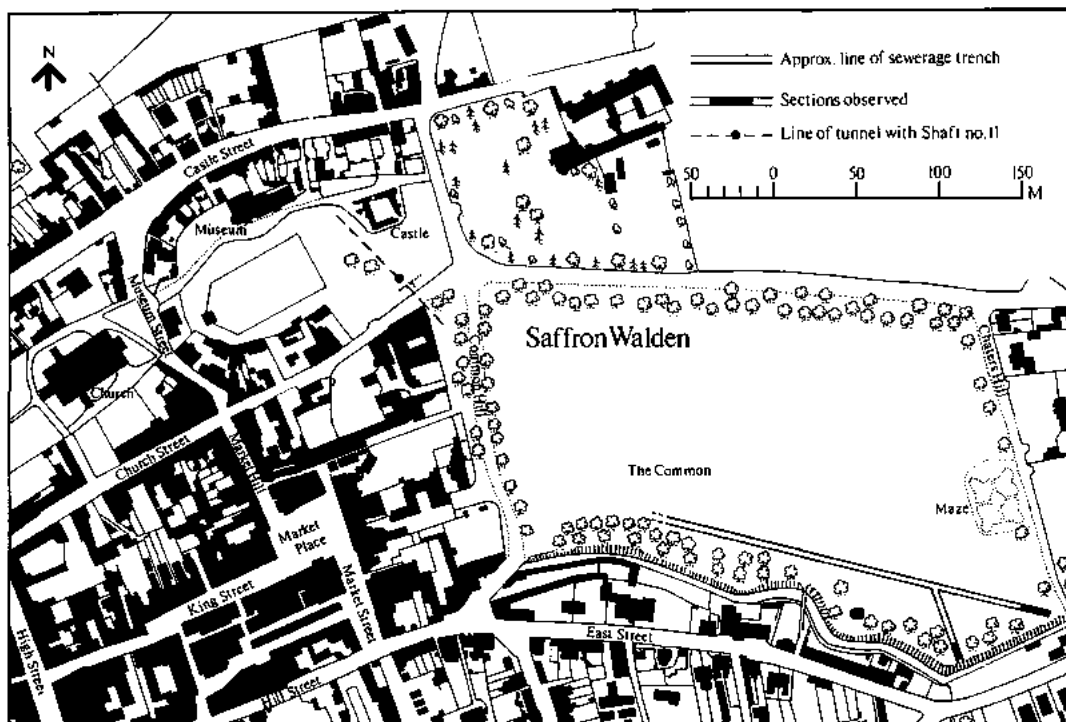


Fig. 13 TL 53.10 Saffron Walden.

TL 542 385 (centred)

A length of the new sewerage trench was cut across the south-east side of the Common as part of the same operation as the above. It was only possible to see the eastern end of this trench; no archaeological features were observed, but geological sketch sections were made (kept on the County Archaeological Record).

TL 53.123 Wicken Bonhunt TL 500 333 (MP)

Excavation of the foundation trenches for two new houses was observed by Mr. J. Monk. The nature of the construction trenches made the recording of any structures impossible.

Slag: Two lumps of slag and one of cuprous waste.

Stone: One fragment of a quern of Rhenish lava.

Flints: Three flints, comprising two waste flakes (with cortex remaining) and one blade with end retouch.

Pottery: The bulk of the finds were pottery, ranging from Saxo-Norman to 15th-century wares. Notable among the body sherds was one of Stamford ware, and two or three sherds of an East Anglian red-ware jug of the 15th century with a white slip decoration and partial green glaze.

Illustrated (Fig. 14A):

1. Rim of cooking pot, wheel-turned in friable black grass-tempered fabric with vesicular surfaces. ? 850-1050.
2. Rim of St. Neots ware bowl. 1000-1100.
3. Thumb-pressed rim of cooking pot in grey sandy fabric with quartzite inclusions, red surfaces, fire-blackened on exterior. 1100-1200.
4. Thumb-pressed rim of similar vessel in similar fabric to 3, with grey surfaces. 1100-1200.
5. Everted rim of cooking pot in grey fabric with red surfaces, few inclusions. 1200-1300.
6. Inturned rim of bowl in hard grey fabric with red surfaces, some small grit inclusions. 1200-1300.
7. Rim of similar vessel in similar fabric. 1200-1300.
8. Rim of cooking pot, square and everted with slight internal bevel in hard grey fabric with quartzite inclusions and pimply grey surfaces. 1200-1325.
9. Flat-topped rim of cooking pot with no neck, in hard fine buff-grey sandy fabric. 1300-1400.

The finds suggest that this part of the village was occupied by one or more cottages, from the late Saxon period up to the 14th century at least, and that small-scale bronze working was practised.

It is suggested that Wicken Bonhunt is a shrunken village. In 1086 at Domesday there were nine villeins, eleven bordars and three serfs, making twenty-three households (*V.C.H. I*, 557). By 1327 there were only nine tax-paying families (E.R.O. T/A 454/1), and 200 years later, in 1525, there were still only thirteen (E.R.O. T/A 427/1/6), ten fewer than at Domesday. The recorded site, and another to the west along the village street where the earthworks of toft boundaries are still visible, are the physical record of this shrinking.

Saffron Walden Museum.

TQ 58.24 Aveley Manor TQ 569 801 (CG, DB, MP)

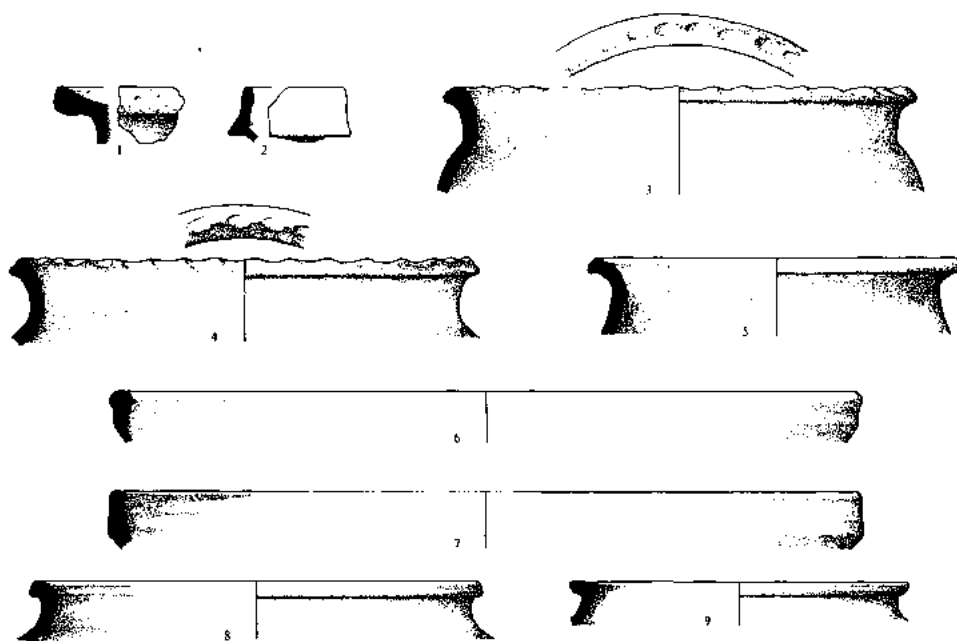
A routine site inspection. The moat surrounds a sub-triangular area, of which the south-east side and part of the north side still survive as a ditch, broad at the south corner but narrowing towards the north side. The west side is represented by a clear depression in pasture.

There were badger sets in the interior and the south side of the moat. Stone and cobbling were visible just below the surface in the entrance to the sett in the interior, and pottery, bone and oyster shells were lying outside the entrance to the hole in the side of the moat.

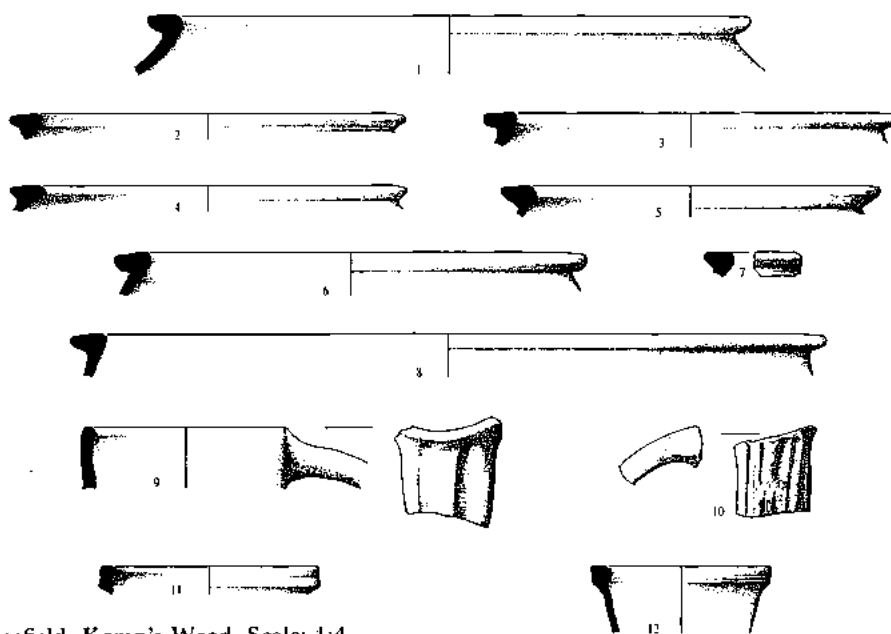
The pottery comprises a number of body and base sherds of medieval pottery. Four are in a sub-St. Neots shell-gritted fabric, but the degree of shell-gritting and vesiculation varies. Of the other three, two have evidence of glaze. All are blackened on the exterior from use. The group probably ranges from 1150-1250.

This site has recently been scheduled as an ancient monument.

Thurrock Museum.



A. Wicken Bonhunt. Scale: 1:4.



B. Gosfield. Kemp's Wood. Scale: 1:4.

Fig. 14 A: TL 53.123; B: TL 72.33.

TL 60.28 Writtle, All Saints' Church TL 678 061 (CC, LS)

Excavations were carried out in the chancel by Bakers of Danbury for the purpose of consolidating the foundations following a fire in May 1974. Trenches were dug beside four of the pillars, and the floor of the sanctuary was excavated to a depth of about 0.7 m (Figs. 15 and 16).

The pillar foundations are of roughly coursed rubble and mortar construction (flint, septaria and some red brick). At least one (Section A-B) had been partly faced with roughly squared limestone blocks. The foundations had been originally faced with a hard grey plaster, in one case (A-B) to above present ground level. There were varying amounts of Victorian patching and reconstruction.

H. The chancel arch was rebuilt in the Victorian period, the foundation being of yellow bricks.

A-B. A trench, on almost the exact line of the 1974 workmen's trench (but extending beyond it to the south) had removed any facing stones and plaster there may have been on the west side of the foundation here. This excavation had continued around, and destroyed part of, the foundation of pillar J. The fill was light brown-yellow mortary soil, of a crumbly texture. It contained pieces of the plaster facing of the pillar foundations, small pieces of stone, flint and red brick, some small fragments of human bone and a coffin nail bearing wood impressions, and wall plaster including one small piece painted with black and red lines. There was also a broken and worn late-14th-century floor-tile, bearing traces of creamy white slip under a colourless glaze. The front of a modern wooden dais had been fitted round the pillar to the right of the section. Beneath and running behind this were three red bricks, one of which was set in a red-brown sandy mortar. The remains of the sandstone corner moulding of the sanctuary step were visible running across the front of the pillar on the left, where it had been broken through by the trench; this step had been set in a very thin layer of tar. Beneath the pillar foundation was a layer found also beneath the pillar at F-G and under the sanctuary floor: of a mid-brown-yellow sandy mortar and earth. Cutting into this, and overlaid by the pillar foundation, was a pit whose size could not be determined, as investigation was limited to the workmen's trenches. This contained a fine dark sandy soil.

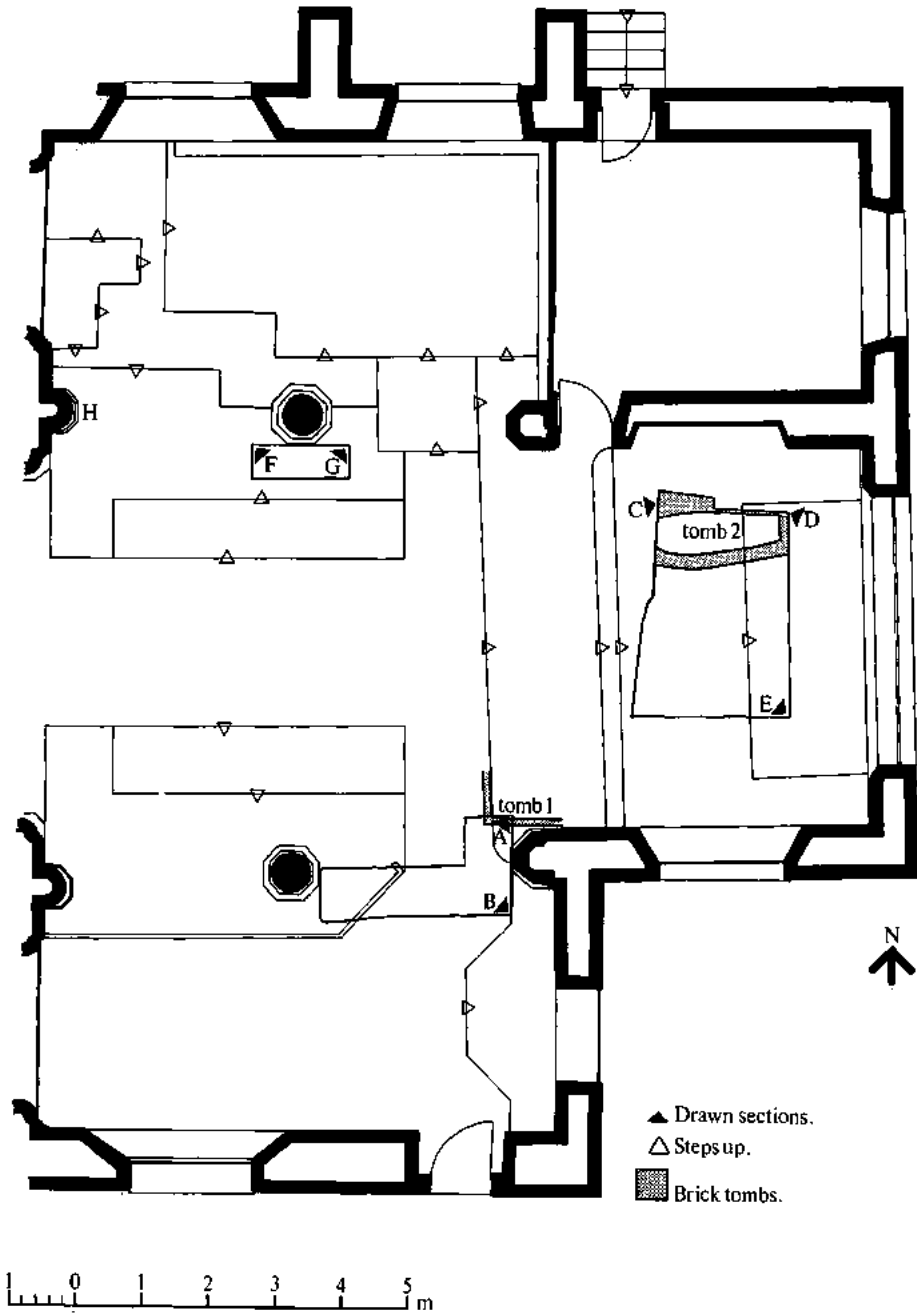
F-G. This appeared to be of similar construction to A-B, though square facing blocks, if present, were totally hidden by the plaster facing. The top part of the foundation had been patched with yellow Victorian bricks and concrete. The level of the floor here had been made up using many pieces of carved stone, some Roman brick, and part of a 14th-century Purbeck stone mortar (Fig. 17A) (report, Dr. G. C. Dunning).

C-D. This cut through a disturbed burial under a grave slab, and touched the top of Brick Tomb 2.

D-E. This section ran along the edge of a concrete platform, topped with a thin layer of tar. The platform, raised on a bed of flint and stone rubble above a layer of much-broken slate slabs, had ridden over several tomb slabs. It had served the purpose of slightly raising the altar, and has since been removed. Lenses of dark brown organic soil and bones throughout the section attested disturbed burials, as did several small pieces of coffin wood (one fragment held two coffin nails). Right under the altar plinth, and placed roughly centrally, was an undisturbed burial in a cavity; the soil beneath this was very loose.

Tomb 1. This red-brick built tomb had been placed beside the pillar at A-B. The fine dark brown soil above and within it was very loose, and had been partly dug away, so that the line of the tomb walls could be followed under the sanctuary floor. It consisted of a single line of red bricks set lengthways, each measuring 17 × 11 × 6.5 cm.

Tomb 2. On the north side of the sanctuary. It was also built of red bricks, 23 × 10 × 7 cm, set radially; the north wall of this tomb also had a line of bricks set lengthways, on



Plan reproduced by permission of Purcell, Miller and Tritton, architects, Norwich.

Fig. 15 All Saints' Church, Writtle: excavations in the chancel.

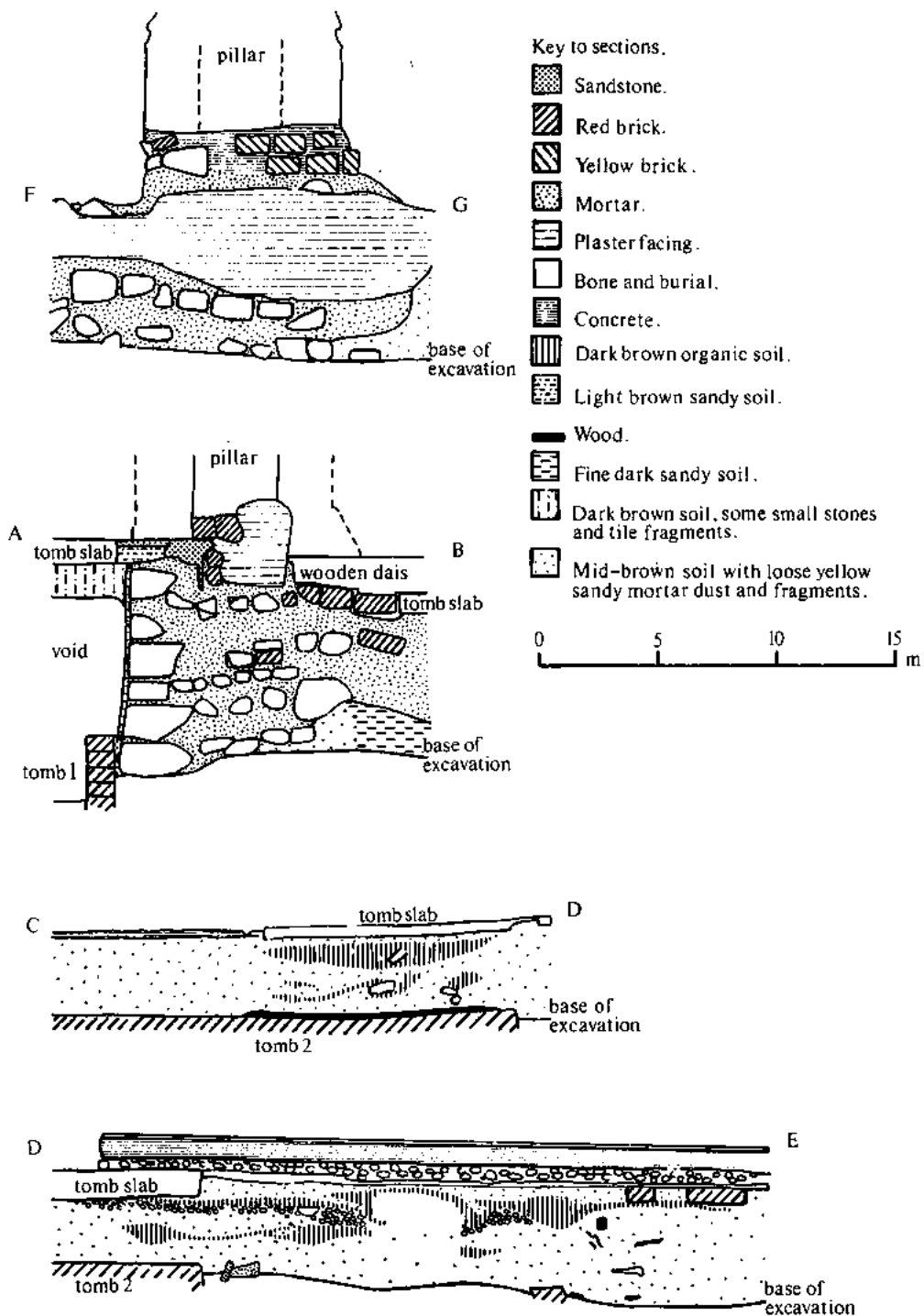
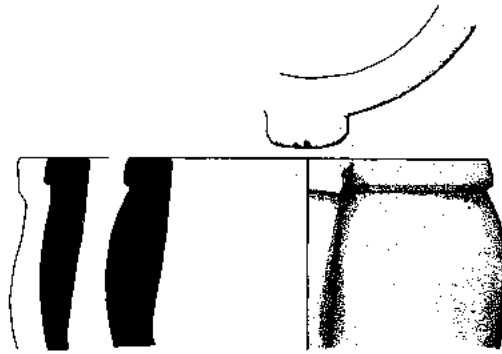
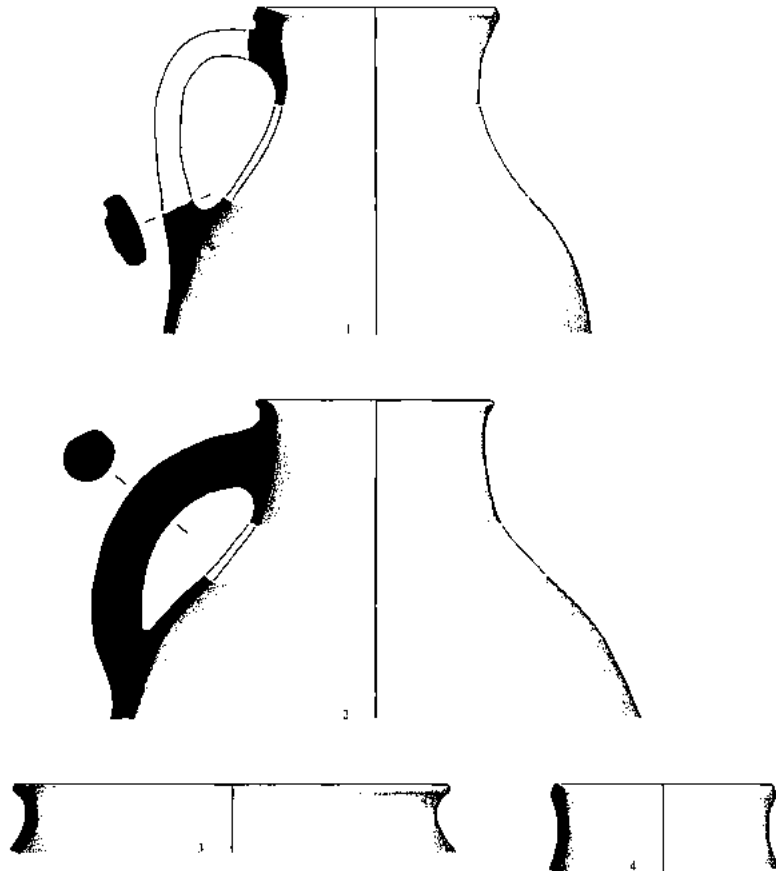


Fig. 16 TL 60.28 All Saints' Church, Writtle.



A. All Saints' Church, Writtle: stone mortar from near F-G. Scale: 1:8.



B. Hullbridge. Kingsmans Farm Road. Scale: 1:4.

Fig. 17 A: TL 60.28; B: TQ 89.80.

the outer side of the tomb wall. It had had a timber lid, traces of which remained in the section. In the earth on top of this tomb was a fragment of green glazed 17th-century pottery, probably made in the Harlow area (report, I. G. Robertson).

A number of carved fragments of limestone were removed from the make-up of the floor by the builders. One was an octagonal attached shaft base from the inside of a window of the Perpendicular style, and dated to the second half of the 14th century (report, C. A. Hewett).

The floor make-up contained three items—the floor tile, the mortar and the attached shaft base—dating from the 14th century. The north and south aisles, the north and south chapels and the north vestry are of 14th-century date (*R.C.H.M.* 2, 271-274). Windows in the north chapel and north vestry were both altered in the 15th century; there is an early-16th-century window in the upper storey of the north vestry. The chancel-arcades were reconstructed also in the 15th century, and it was possibly at the time of these alterations that the 14th-century fragments were deposited in the floor. It is possible also that they were from the Victorian restoration; there is evidence of Victorian alteration of several 14th-century windows, in the south chapel, and in both north and south aisles, and of Victorian work in the chancel.

Floor tile fragment by P. J. Drury

A single fragment, from a tile more than 107 mm square; 21 mm thick. Fabric orange-red with lighter and darker red inclusions, core reduced to a light grey colour. The very worn surface retains traces of a cream slip under a plain glaze; the edges of the tile are undercut and the base smooth, with a bloom of plain glaze probably due to volatilisation of lead within the kiln.

The fragment, although superficially similar to products of the Tyler Hill factory (Kent), compares very closely with one of two groups of tile wasters—Group B—found by Mrs. E. Sellers at the medieval pottery at Mill Green, Ingatestone, and presumed to have been made near by. Such tiles, 130 mm square, were used extensively at Pleshey Castle and have been noted at the Dominican Priory, Chelmsford; on present evidence they seem to be of late-14th-century date (Drury, forthcoming).

The writer is grateful to the Vicar of Writtle, Rev. J. Porter, and to Bakers of Danbury, for their ready assistance and interest, and to Messrs. Purcell, Miller and Tritton, architects, for permission to use their plan of the chancel.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

TL 61.12 Pleshey

TL 633 144. New swimming pool, Ladystiles (Fig. 18) (MP, CC)

Ladystiles is a comparatively recently built house on O.S. parcel 3049. The owner constructed a swimming pool in his garden during the summer and autumn of 1975.

After topsoil stripping, a very clear horizon was visible, distinguished by a quantity of fired clay; however, it contained Victorian pottery. Two sondages showed that there was no other clear horizon until natural chalky boulder clay was reached at a depth of 0.7 m. Light brown clay, containing a little material of all periods from the medieval to the modern, continued down to that level.

The excavation of the pool itself was also observed, and this profile was confirmed. A possible pit was revealed in section, cutting 0.75 m below the natural horizon. No finds came from it.

The site was farmland until recently. It lies well away from medieval street frontages, and the observations suggest that, despite its proximity to the original site of the church, it was always a backland or yard area. The pool site was too far from the town defences to argue an area deliberately kept clear in their immediate rear.

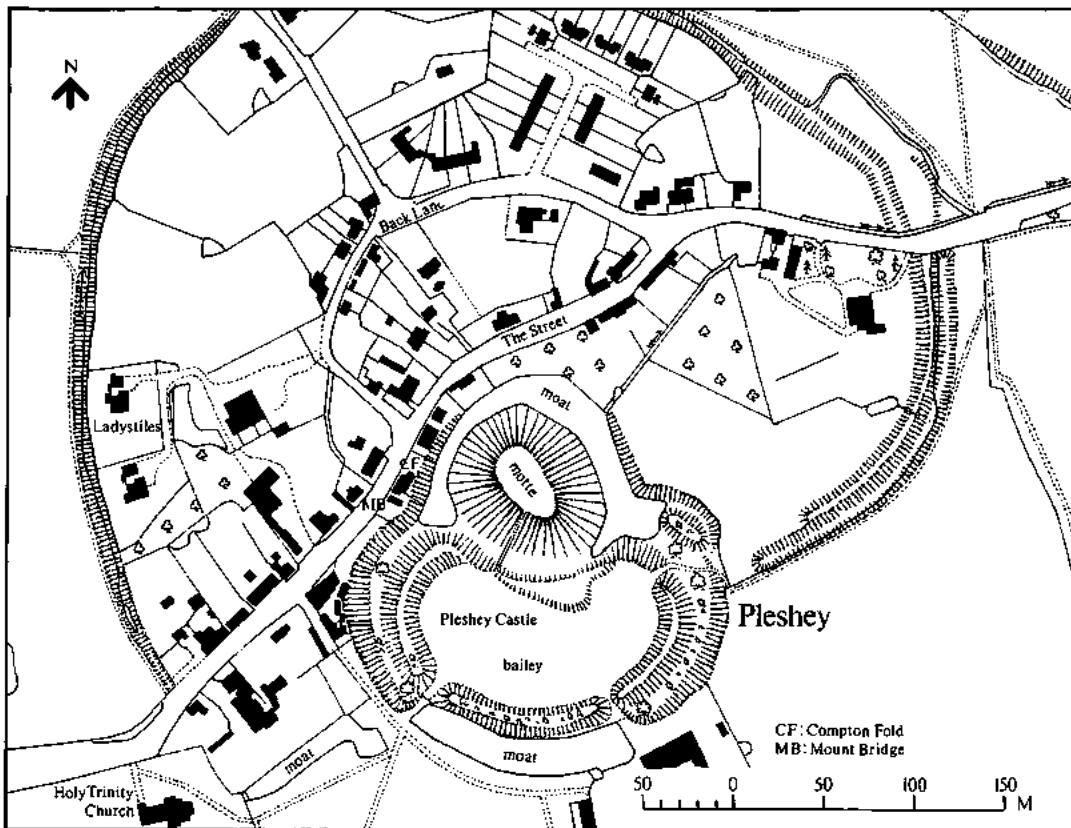


Fig. 18 TL 61.12 Pleshey.

TL 664 143 Cable trench (Figs. 12 and 19) (DB)

At the instigation of the County Archaeological Section, the Electricity Council provided an Amenity Scheme Grant for the undergrounding of an unsightly transformer post in order to enhance the amenity value of the approach to Pleshey Castle. The works were carried out by the Eastern Electricity Board.

Fig. 19 shows the line of the main ground disturbance in the area of the present main entrance to the Castle upper bailey. This entrance is visible in Gough's drawings of the earthworks (Gough, 1803, pl. VI, 158) and is considered to be the principal later medieval entrance to the Castle (Rahtz, 1960, 8). Observation in this area might also provide some clues to the form of the original link between the bank and ditch of the town bailey and that of the Castle. Although the moat to the House of Retreat is a probable remodelling of the town defences, the original line is uncertain.

Observations (see Fig. 19):

Point A. An area excavation 4 m × 5 m for the new installation box, excavated to a depth of 0.6 m. This was dug throughout its depth into brick and building debris of comparatively modern date.

Point B. The cable trench was 0.8 m deep. At a depth of 0.5 m, some 20 cm thick, overlying the clay subsoil, was a mixed layer of dark soil and pebbles containing tile and brick, and a

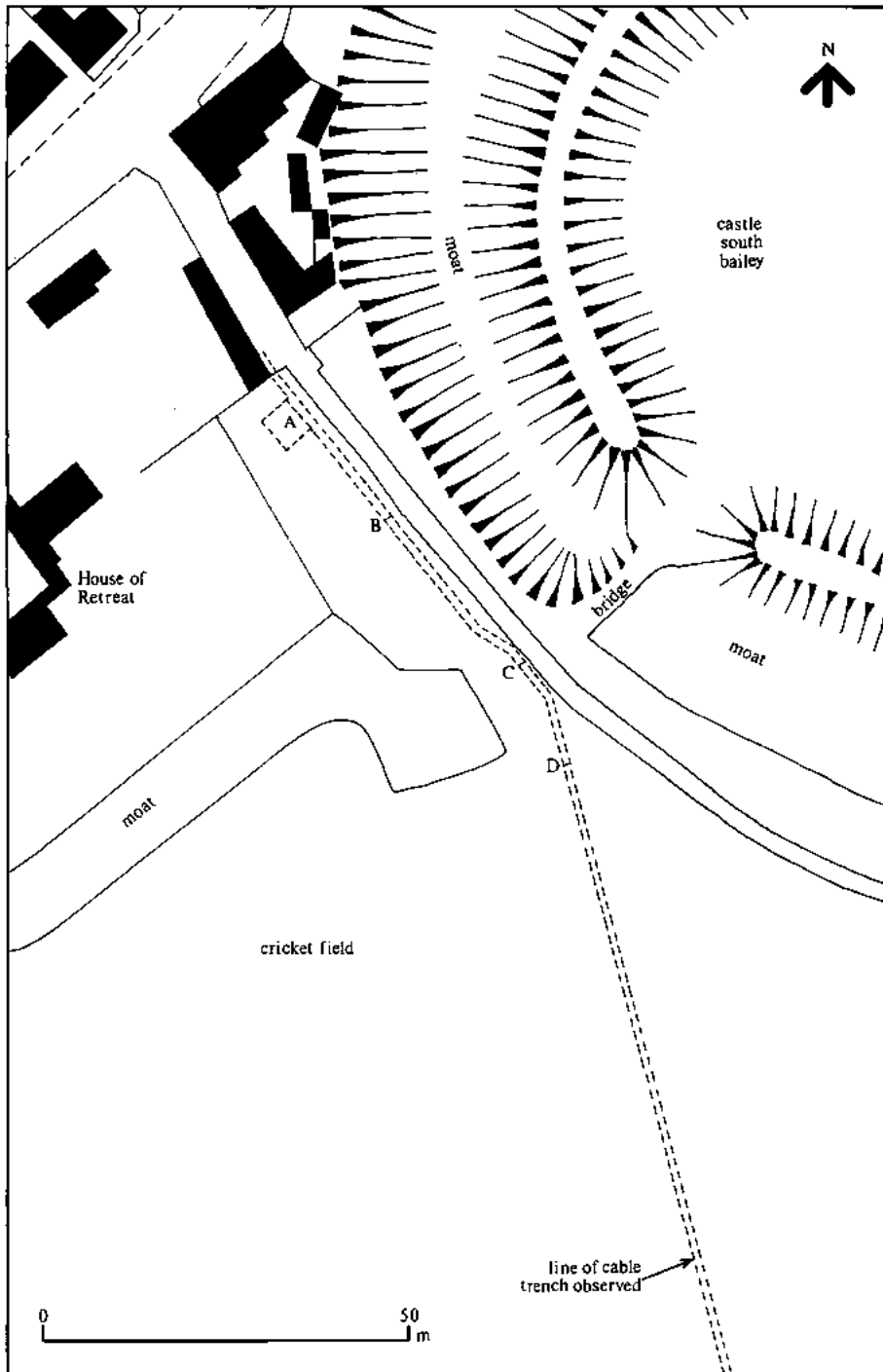


Fig. 19 TL 61.12 Pleshey.

number of pottery sherds (see below). A general 12th- to 13th-century date is indicated, although one sherd shows later medieval disturbance. This layer thinned northwards along the trench towards point A.

Point C (Figs. 19 and 12). The cable trench was 0.8 m deep. The section shows a compacted layer directly overlying the clay subsoil (brown boulder clay with chalk flecking) with a sharp boundary at 40 cm. Tile fragments were mixed with the pebbles and it would appear to be a prepared surface. The purpose of this level and its relationship to the mixed layer observed at B could not be established from the trench.

Point D. The cable trench was 1 m deep, cut well into the clay subsoil. At this point, 9.0 m south of C, the layer of pebbles terminated at a shallow feature excavated slightly into the clay subsoil at a depth of 60 cm. Beyond this for about 4 m the 'topsoil' layer was slightly deeper, giving way to a straightforward section of shallow topsoil directly overlying the clay subsoil.

No features, other than modern land drains, were observed beyond D, nor were there any finds. Along the whole length of the observed cable trench there appeared to be natural clay subsoil with no indications of a backfilled moat or buried surface below the base of any former bank. The maximum depth of the trench, however, was only 1.0 m and it is possible that a former moat backfilled with clay might not have been obvious in section. There was evidence for early medieval occupation of the area, and more extensive excavation at a future date could be useful.

Brick and pottery (derived from the mixed layer in the Section at B).

Brick: One piece of Great Brick $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches ($19 \times 13 \times 4$ cm) of which the only complete dimension is the depth of 4 cm. Red surface, thick grey core. Bricks of $13 \times 9 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ inches ($33 \times 23 \times 3.25$ cm) are known from Pleshey Castle (Rahtz, 1960, 14) dated by the excavator to c. 1180. The bridge of c. 1400 used bricks of at least $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 2 in. thick, so this brick can be assigned to the earlier phases of occupation.

Pottery: (i) Rim of cooking pot in hard sandy fabric, paralleled by a cooking pot from the 1959/60 excavations on the Castle (Rahtz, 1960, fig. 16, No. 4) and there dated to the 12th century.

(ii) Body sherd in dark brown gritty fabric and possibly contemporary with (i).

(iii) Body sherd in fine brick-red fabric, perhaps of the later medieval period.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

TL 665 145 Extensions to Mount Bridge and Compton Fold (Figs. 12 and 18) (CC, DB, ME)

The foundations of the Compton Fold extension, the first to be excavated, exposed a light yellow chalky clay, uniform except in the southern trench, where a small hollow within the clay was filled with very dark, soft, charcoal-rich soil with a large quantity of pieces of slag. There were also two small fragments of a thin bronze tube or edge-binding, and one sherd of applied, green-glazed pottery, of 14th-century date (probably second half). This feature extended about half-way across the excavated trenches. The clay around the feature was not scorched, so the fill appears to have been dumped rather than burnt *in situ*.

Observation of the Mount Bridge extension made it clear that the chalky clay observed in the Compton Fold trenches was deliberate filling of a large ditch, for the edge of this ditch, cut in natural orange-yellow clay, appeared in two of the trenches at Mount Bridge. This would appear to be the western castle bailey ditch, postulated by Rahtz (1960, 8), and would presumably follow the line of Back Lane. It was at least 19.5 m wide, since the other edge was not observed in any of the Compton Fold trenches.

TL 70.120 Great Baddow TL 728 051 (CC)

When a major drainage scheme was undertaken to replace the original brick culvert running down the High Street, a watching brief was held. Apart from the culvert, the only archaeological feature visible was a large midden, cut by the trench where it crossed the front lawn of the Vineyards. The midden was over 2 m deep and 4 m or more across. The fill was waterlogged, and a fragment of leather and one of wood were recovered. There were also some oyster and mussel shells and an animal bone fragment (possibly pelvis of horse or cow); and a couple of sherds of pottery, one a rim sherd of a bowl in a fine pinky buff fabric, with the interior below the rim covered with a pimply brown glaze; mid-17th to mid-18th century. The state of the site made any further investigation difficult.

Chelmsford and Essex Museum.

TL 72.33 Gosfield, Kemp's Wood TL 767 290 (MP)

A kiln site was reported several years ago by Mrs. E. Sellers, immediately to the north of Kemp's Wood. Half a mile to the south-west are Pot Field and Kiln Field, and a further 100 yards beyond Hogg's Farm another Kiln Field and a Shed Ley. In the same area are Park Hall Wood and Bovington Wood, remnants of medieval woodland, containing lime and hornbeam, which would have been cut for faggots to fire the kilns. Hornbeam in particular burns very fiercely.

A routine site visit after ploughing showed that the site of the kiln was marked by fired clay and charcoal, and many sherds of pottery. The site has apparently been ploughed for some years, but this is the first published group from it.

There were three identifiable fabrics:

- A. Hard, buff-coloured, fading to light grey, prominent quartzite inclusions, one or two fragments of grog.
- B. Hard, grey-black with prominent quartzite inclusions.
- C. Hard grey-black fine fabric, slightly micaceous, pimply surface.

The pottery (Fig. 14B)

1. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter 32 cm; fabric A.
2. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter 21 cm; fabric A.
3. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter 22 cm; fabric A.
4. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter 21 cm; fabric A.
5. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter 20 cm; fabric B.
6. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter 31 cm; fabric B.
7. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter ?; fabric B.
8. Cooking pot; flat topped triangular rim; diameter ?40 cm; fabric B.
9. Plain, slightly thickened, jug rim; the handle has three large ribs; fabric B.
10. Handle of jug, with ribbed decoration; fabric B.
11. Rim of jug; fabric A.
12. Jug with squared rim; fabric C.

Fabrics A and B are almost certainly the same; they have similar inclusions and texture and the colour differences are probably due merely to differences in firing. Fabric C, represented by only one sherd, may be a foreign introduction to the site. Though any judgements are based on only a small sample, the kiln seems to be specialising in one form of cooking pot, with a flat-

topped rim, and no neck, and to judge from the rim diameters, to be manufacturing them in standard sizes; 21 cm (c. 8 in.) and 32 cm (c. 12 in.). This concentration on one major product has been observed at other small Essex kiln sites (Drury and Petchey, 1975).

The cooking pot form is found at Writtle in Period II, c. 1306–1425 (Rahtz, 1969, 97; 99, fig. 54, nos. 32 and 33), in a fabric described in terms very similar to those used here. It falls into the Essex 14th-century style of cooking pot, cf. the kiln sites at Danbury (Drury and Pratt, 1975) and Great Horkesley (Drury and Petchey, 1975, 55, fig. 13, and 57).

The kiln forms the southern limit of the Hedingham group, and it might be expected that its products would be found in Braintree, which, only three miles away, must have formed its major market. Indeed, both the cooking-pot style and the jug-rim form (Fig. 14B, 1–8, 11, 12) have been found in excavations at 13–17 Bank Street (Drury *et al.*, forthcoming), in a context dated 1300–1400 on pottery evidence.

Saffron Walden Museum.

TL 72.17 Bocking, Fennes Farm TL 762 274 (ME)

As part of the archaeological involvement in the Demonstration Farm Project (see TL 72.24, above), the Section was asked to comment on a series of banks and hollows in the field immediately south of Fennes Farm house.

The site lies on a well-drained ridge overlooking a dried-up, though still marshy, water-course. It comprised a group of six hollows, the largest of which measured 20 m by 10 m with slight embankments around some. Infilling had been taking place in some of the depressions, whilst an enclosure for young trees had been placed over the western edge of the largest hollow.

As no finds were recovered in walking the field, little can be said of either its date or function, although on the latter point the Tithe map of 1803 records the field's name as Hob's Croft, which lends weight to the interpretation of the features as medieval/post-medieval settlement.

TQ 79.10 Rawreth, Chichester Hall TQ 779 927

The Hall is a much-altered building with a probably 17th-century core, surrounded by a rectangular water-filled medieval moat. During extensions and alterations to the Hall, evidence was found of two earlier structures; also some of the filling of a well was removed.

Seventeenth-century pottery was found in the well, including a sherd of Metropolitan ware. Medieval finds were made in digging footings alongside the Hall. These include (Fig. 20):

1. Spout and part of rim of a jug in orange-red, fine, slightly micaceous fabric with grey core, with patches of brown-green glaze. The spout is constructed as a crude human face, the spout itself being a nose, two indentations on either side of it are eyes and a slashed fringe a beard. 1350–1450.
2. Bronze purse-mount, ? medieval.

Prittlewell Priory Museum, Southend.

TQ 89.80 Hullbridge, Kingsmans Farm Road TQ 822 956

Mr. G. Tann discovered on his property an area of burning associated with animal bones and an iron implement, also a scatter of pottery fragments not directly connected with the area of burning. He kindly lent the finds to the Section for recording.

Pottery (Fig. 17B)

1. Jug fragments; grey with small flint grits, black surfaces. 13th century.
2. Handle and rim, and other fragments of jug; red with flint grits. 13th century.
3. Rim of cooking vessel, with slight flange for lid; fabric red with small grits. 13th century.
4. Rim of jug. Fabric fine, hard, grey with red-brown surface; green glaze starts to appear below neck. 14th century.

Not illustrated

5. Body of jar in black fabric with red outer surface, white slip decoration; green glaze on upper body. 14th century.
6. Body of jar, similar decoration and glaze to 5, but fabric slightly less good. 14th century.

Most of the remaining body sherds are also 13th and 14th century; some are earlier—? late 12th century.

Other objects

7. Fragment of iron ?knife-blade, indeterminate date.
8. Flake of grey-brown flint, with hinge fracture.
9. Tooth of horse or cow.

Private possession.

TL 90.47 Tollesbury, Decoy Farm TL 955 087 (JH)

The site of a previously unrecorded red hill was found in a recently ploughed field through routine field-walking. There were no earthworks, but sherds collected from the field surface proved to be of probable medieval date.

A minimum of six vessels was represented, in various similar hard sandy fabrics. Although probably medieval, some Romano-British and medieval coarse pottery in the region can be easily confused when, as here, no rims or bases were present.

There was also one fragment of briquetage.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

TM 11.73 Clacton, Rush Green TM 156 153 (CC, DB, KB)

During the course of the laying of a sewer trench at Rush Green, reported above, an old gravel working containing mainly late-19th-century rubbish was discovered. Some of the finds were recovered by members of the Section.

1. Glass wine bottle, globular shape, 25.5 cm long, pale blue-green colour. Mid- to late 19th century.
2. Stoneware ginger beer bottle, 18 cm tall, 6.5 cm diameter, hand-glazed, short neck. *c.* 1860.
3. Stoneware ginger beer bottle, 18 cm tall, 6.5 cm diameter, short neck, hand glazed in same glaze as Rockingham brown ware of this period—late 19th century. Trade mark impressed:



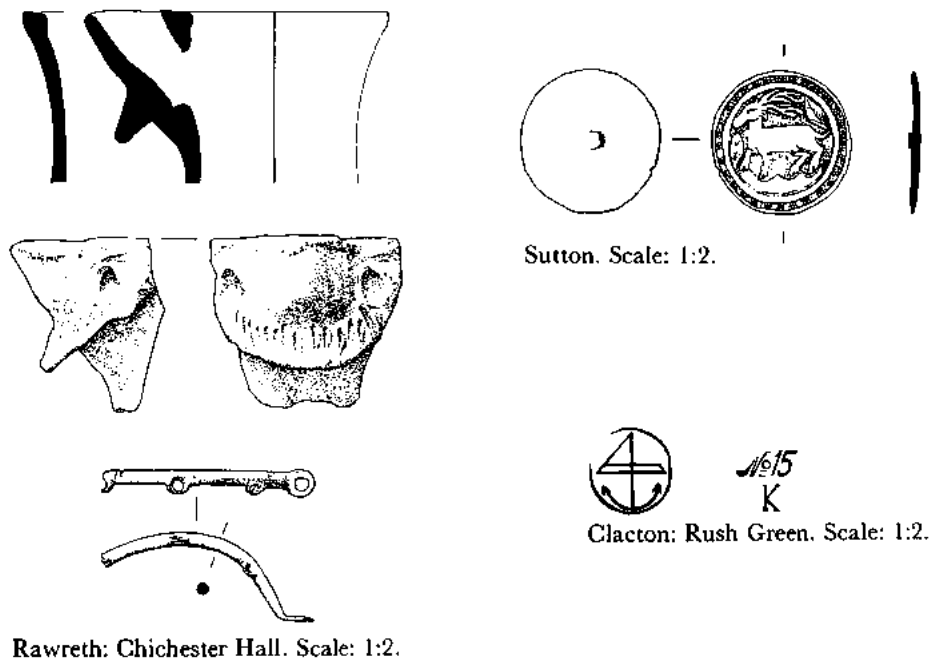


Fig. 20

4. Stoneware wine bottle, 30.5 cm tall, 7.5 cm diameter, short neck, 4 cm high with very small pouring hole, 1.25 cm diameter. Impressed trade mark as illustrated (Fig. 20). Late 19th century.
5. Stoneware ink bottle, 18 cm tall, 9 cm diameter, very dark brown glaze, short neck with pouring lip; made by Bourne of Denby. Late 19th century to 1930s.
6. Stoneware ink bottle; fine deep brown flecked glaze, same glaze as Rockingham brown glaze of this period—late 19th century. Made by Skey of Tamworth.

Private possession.

TQ 68.01 West Horndon, Old Thorndon Hall TQ 624 898 (DB)

Advice was asked on the archaeological aspects of the County Council's Country Park at Thorndon. Part of the grounds of Old Thorndon Hall come within the Park.

The Hall is first recorded in 1414. It continued on the same site with additions and rebuilding until 1763, when it was pulled down by Robert Edward, 9th Lord Petre, and a new hall built on a new site a mile and a half to the north (Ward and Marshall, 1972). A map by John Walker, dated 1598 (Fig. 21) shows the state of Old Thorndon Hall shortly after the completion of remodelling in the 16th century by Sir John Petre. To the east of the mansion stood a bakehouse; further east were the stable houses and barns with a paled enclosure north of the stables. North of the house was a formal garden, with a banqueting house in its north-west corner. To the west was the orchard, and to the south a grass courtyard between the mansion and the gatehouse. Beyond this was the parish church of West Horndon, which was demolished about 1734 having 'grown ruinous' (Morant, I, 1768, 215). To the north and west of the Hall grounds lay the great park incorporating the lake in Ponde Wood which also supplied water to the mill.

OLD THORNDON HALL WEST HORNDON, ESSEX.

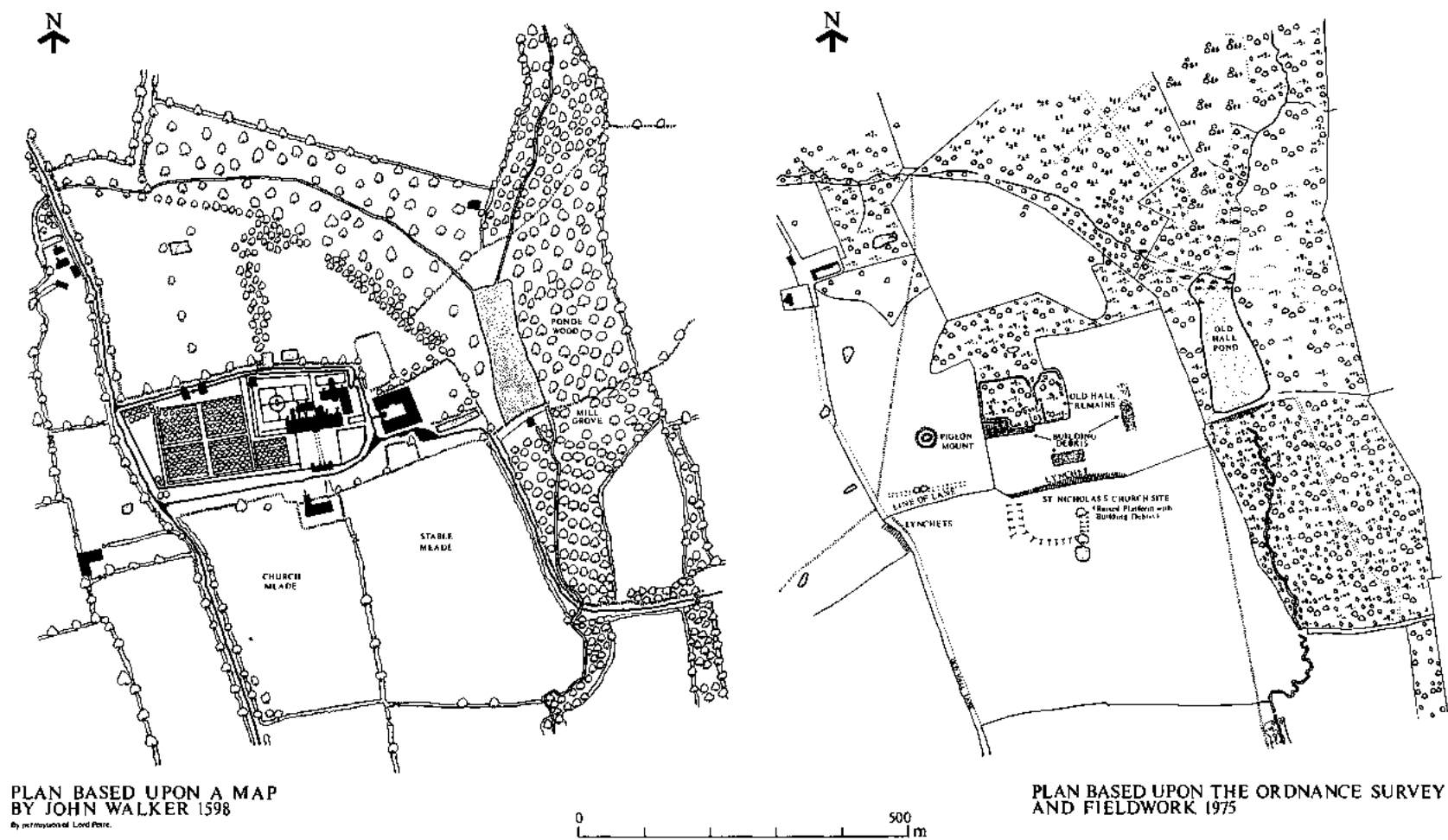


Fig. 21 TQ 68.01 Old Thorndon Hall, West Horndon.

The 1975 map (Fig. 21) shows that none of these buildings survives, but the present farmed and wooded landscape contains many features of that of 1598. Boundaries and trackways are part of the present field-pattern. The foundations of the old Hall exist in woodland, and can be traced in part (especially since excavation by Marshall in 1957–9 exposed some of them). In the field south of Old Hall Wood, building debris from the gatehouse and stable block is clearly visible on the newly ploughed field. The site of St. Nicholas' Church is also partly ploughed, with brick, tile, bone and masonry visible on the surface. This area is quite clearly raised and surrounded by a former ditch. Old Hall Pond still exists in the Thorndon Country Park, but remains of the mill are not recognisable.

The stream flowing into the north-west corner of Old Hall Pond was formerly below ground, at least in part, and remains of the brickwork of the culvert are visible with the stream still running in its surviving lengths. The stream was formerly dammed in places, producing small ponds, while in the wood around are earthworks of the former menagerie. There are still numerous introduced trees in the woods from former garden layouts. On the basis of the Walker map, Pigeon Mount would seem to be a post-1598 feature of landscape gardening.

TQ 88.06 Sutton TQ 887 892

A gilt-bronze stud or button (Fig. 20) was found by Frank Marcsik, of Park School, Rayleigh, and handed to the Section for identification. The British Museum reported that the stud appears to date to the end of the medieval or possibly the early post-medieval period (16th or 17th century), although the simple depiction of the stag and border make certainty impossible.

Private possession.

TL 91.40 Tollesbury, Shinglehead Point TL 991 105 (JH)

During routine field-walking, a large amount of animal bone, pieces of brick and tile, and pottery was observed on Shinglehead Point. Pieces of pottery of widely differing dates were recovered. It is not considered that these represent the remains of sites in the immediate neighbourhood, since the long-shore currents and to a lesser extent the flow of the River Blackwater deposit material from elsewhere.

1. Imitation butt beaker body sherd, in very thin patchy dark brown/black fabric with black outer surface. Vertical comb impressions roughly imitate rouletting on girth. Roman.
2. Part of neck and shoulder of stoneware jar. 1650–1750.
3. Orange fabric body sherd, black glazed internally and externally. 1650–1800.
4. Thin body sherd of dark orange fabric, pale yellow-green glaze internally. Post-medieval.
5. Sherds of two orange ware Victorian garden urns.

Colchester and Essex Museum.

Excavations to be published separately

- TL 70.43 Danbury hillfort TL 779 051
 TQ 69.13 Ingrave church site TQ 622 930
 TL 68.36 Orsett causewayed camp TL 651 808
 TQ 89.46 Latchingdon: St. Michael's Church TQ 888 987

- TL 80.43 Woodham Walter cropmark site TL 812 081
 TL 53.10 Saffron Walden: Abbey Lane TL 534 383
 TQ 68.80 Orsett: Grey Goose Farm cropmark site TQ 625 810
 TQ 68.03 Orsett: Orsett Cock rectangular enclosure TQ 654 813
 TL 72.64 Braintree: Blyth Meadow TL 768 232
 TL 72.36 Braintree: Chapel Hill TL 758 232
 TQ 69.24 Billericay: Buckenham Field TQ 676 934

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Aardenburg Ware from Manningtree, Essex, and Finds of Aardenburg Ware and Other Pottery Imported from the Low Countries Found in England and Wales

by G. C. DUNNING

A fragment of Aardenburg ware (Fig. 1.3) was found on the site of Manningtree church in 1974, during trial excavations by Warwick Rodwell, described elsewhere in this volume (below, p. 276). The sherd is made of dense fabric, fired very hard: in fracture the core is mostly dark grey with a thinner light red tone towards the outer surface; the inside is matt grey. The fabric contains micaceous specks and numerous stone inclusions, mostly rounded grains up to 2 mm across, opaque white and apparently quartzite, also smaller angular particles of another stone. The wall is rather thick, 5–7 mm, for the size of the pot; the inner surface shows faint but well-defined rilling marks.

The fragment is from the upper part of the body of a jug. It is covered with a thin, dark green glaze which thins out below towards the bulge of the vessel. The under-glaze decoration is made by a roller-stamp, which impressed the surface in a continuous spiral band. The pattern consists of vertical, closely set notched lines. The upper lines are 12 mm long, which gives the width of the roller-stamp. Lower down the lines are shorter, where the stamp did not make a complete impression on the more curved surface. At the lower margin the sherd reaches nearly to the bulge of the jug, which had a diameter of about 21.8 cm (8.6 in.).

Discussion

All the features of the jug from Manningtree are characteristic of Aardenburg ware. The type site of Aardenburg, in the province of Zeeland, south Holland, has been intensively excavated by Mr. J. A. Trimpe Burger on behalf of the State Service for Archaeological Investigations during the past fifteen years. The medieval town reached its greatest prosperity during the 13th and 14th centuries due to the rapid development of the cloth industry and the corresponding export trade. The pottery assigned to this period was carried by the wool trade across the North Sea to England, and eastwards to north Germany and Denmark; the limits of the distribution are at Bergen, on the west coast of Norway, and across the Baltic Sea to Kalmar Castle, in south-east Sweden.¹

The main types of Aardenburg pottery have been fully described and illustrated by Mr. Trimpe Burger.² The decoration on the glazed jugs is distinctive, and broadly in three techniques: narrow applied strips and groups of scales in panel designs; rouletted patterns in great variety and

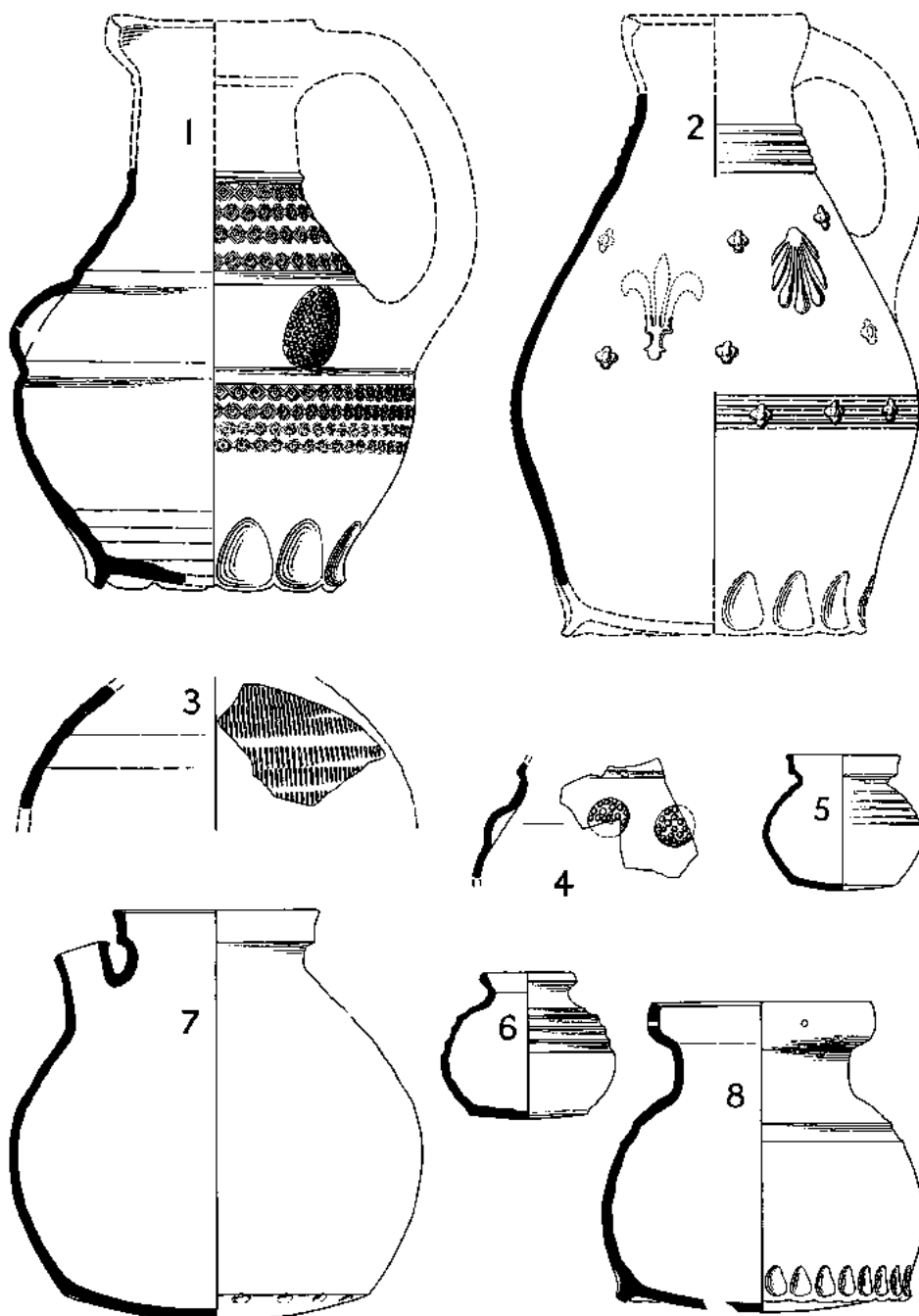


Fig. 1 Decorated jugs of Aardenburg ware and other Dutch pottery found in England. 1, Norwich; 2, Knaresborough Castle, Yorkshire; 3, Manningtree, Essex; 4, Criccieth Castle, Caernarvonshire; 5, Colchester; 6, Ford Castle, Northumberland; 7, Queen Victoria Street, London; 8, Queen Victoria Street, London. Scale 1:4.

complexity, made by a roller-stamp; and individual stamps also in great variety and sometimes large in size (up to 5 cm long). The three styles of decoration may be used singly or together on the same vessel. All three techniques are well represented among the finds of this ware in England and Wales.

Although no kilns producing decorated jugs as described above have yet been found at Aardenburg, the massive finds there make it reasonably certain that the industry was in the locality. This is supported by the discovery of a pottery kiln and wasters near the south-west side of the town.³ The pots are either plain, or have simple decoration of incised lines or applied slip in lines and rosettes. The group is dated to the middle or second half of the 14th century and evidently represents a late stage of the local ceramic industry.

The form of jug to which the Manningtree sherd belonged is given by a complete example at Aardenburg, also decorated with bands of stamped lines precisely like those on the sherd, and running in a continuous spiral round the upper part of the body down to the bulge.⁴ This jug is illustrated inset on Fig. 2.

In addition to the glazed and decorated jugs, plain domestic pottery in grey or brown fabric reached England from the Low Countries in the late 13th and 14th centuries. These vessels are of four types, namely: handled cooking-pots with tripod feet as found at Aardenburg and at other sites in the Netherlands (examples are from Boston, London and Southampton, pp. 191, 190); cooking-pots, two with collared-rims, at Colchester, Ford Castle and Newcastle upon Tyne (pp. 188, 193); a bell-mouthed jar, at London (p. 192); and a pitcher with tubular spout, at London (p. 192).

These forms are included here to show that coarser kitchen wares were also imported at this time, though in lesser amount than the fine-quality jugs. The four types are described in the list (p. 188 ff.), where the relevant parallels abroad are quoted. The pots are given a different symbol on the distribution map (Fig. 2). In England their incidence is largely coextensive with that of Aardenburg ware, but also extends further in the northern counties, as far as Northumberland.

Distribution (Fig. 2)

Imported Aardenburg ware has been found at sixteen sites in Britain, of which fifteen are in England and one in North Wales; details are given under counties in the list (p. 188). The total includes three sites (Dover and Stonar, Kent, and Michelham Priory, Sussex) where the pottery is analogous in fabric, glaze and to some extent in form and decoration to Aardenburg ware, but not certainly from this source.⁵ In any case, it appears to originate from south Holland rather than Flanders and so is included here on general grounds. The decoration on this group of pottery is discussed further in Appendix I (p. 194).

With regard to dating, at seven of the sites in England (King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Stonar, Dover Castle, Dover (Snargate Street), Pevensey and Michelham Priory) the decorated jugs were found in contexts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Finer precision within these date brackets has sometimes been achieved, and points to the main importation of Aardenburg ware as before the turn of the two centuries rather than after. This result is in close agreement with the period assigned independently to Aardenburg ware on the Continent.

The sixteen sites for the decorated jugs in Britain are plotted on the distribution map (Fig. 2). Analysis of the pattern clearly shows that two-thirds of the find-spots are located in the south-eastern sector of the country between Norfolk and Dorset. The main incidence is thus markedly coastal, and only two sites are even a few miles inland. The major finds are at the ports; namely King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Norwich, Dunwich, Manningtree, London, Stonar, Dover, and Pevensey. The finds of contemporary coarse wares overlap and augment this list by the addition of Boston, Colchester, London and Southampton. With one exception the other sites are marginal to the main occurrence, and extend the range into Northern England by finds of jugs at Anlaby and Knaresborough Castle in Yorkshire, and by coarse wares at Newcastle upon Tyne and Ford Castle

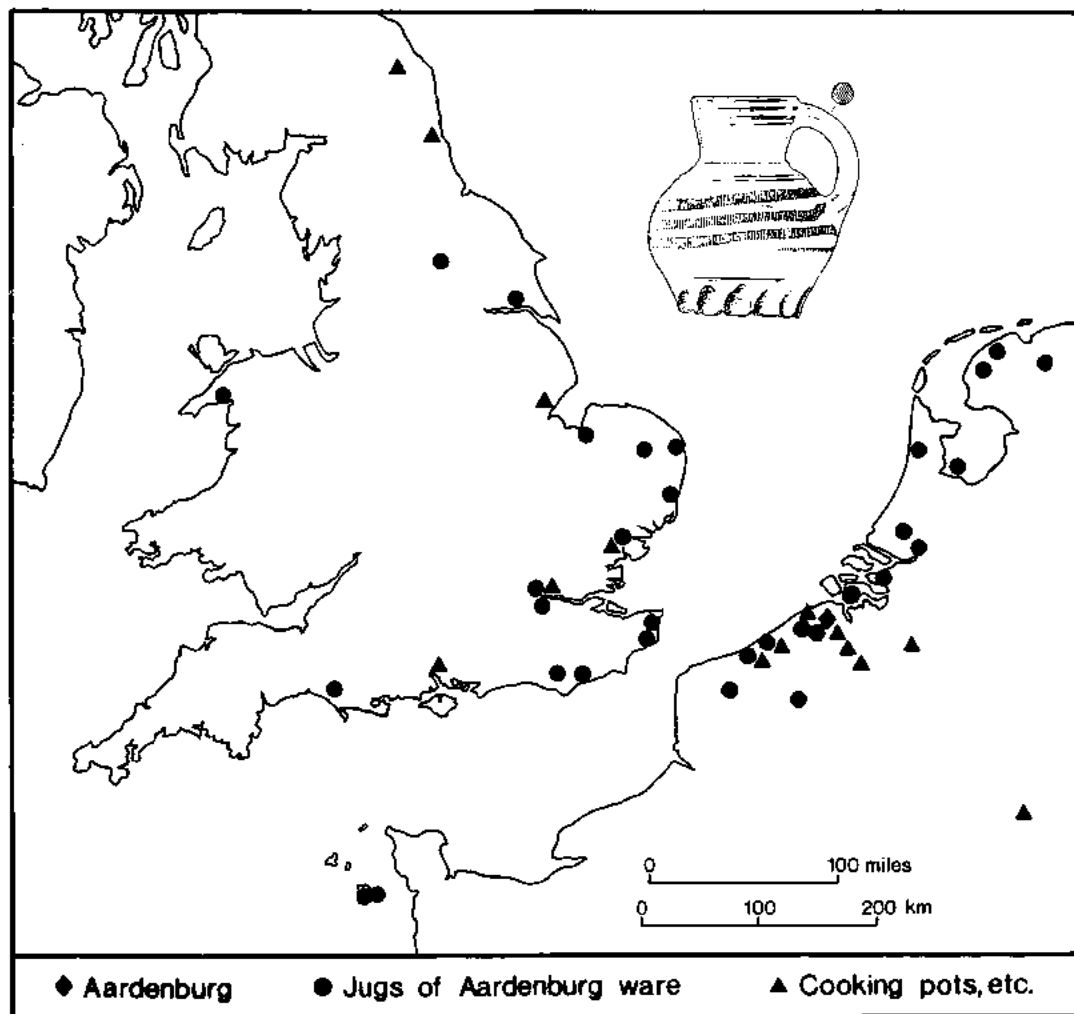


Fig. 2 Distribution map of Aardenburg ware, cooking-pots and other types of Dutch pottery in England and Wales and on the Continent.

in Northumberland. In the south the pattern is extended west of Southampton Water by the single find at Toller Porcorum, Dorset.

In addition, the sea trade down the English Channel carried Aardenburg ware to the Channel Islands, where it has been found at two sites, Mount Orgueil Castle and St. Helier, both in Jersey.⁶

It remains to consider the find-spot in North Wales. The sherd of a jug with pushed-out bosses decorated with 'raspberry' stamps found at Criccieth Castle is isolated and remote from the localities in England. A special explanation seems to be required in this instance. Evidence is as yet slight that trade by sea at this time from the Low Countries extended so far round the western coasts of Britain. The excavations at Plymouth and Bristol have produced ample pottery imported from Normandy and Saintonge in the late 13th century, but none from Holland. Likewise, in excavations at several sites in Dublin in recent years, a considerable amount of pottery imported from both of the above regions of France has been found, and also from Ham Green, near Bristol,

and other sources in England.⁷ However, Dr. B. O'Riordain reports that Andenne ware from the kilns in southern Belgium has also been found at Dublin. Hitherto, Andenne ware is known only from London and a few other sites in eastern England, though an early tripod-pitcher at Southampton demonstrates that trade from the Low Countries extended at least so far westwards to ports along the English Channel.⁸ The possibility that the Aardenburg ware found at Criccieth Castle reached there in the course of maritime trade is thus quite likely, but certainty on this point must depend on further finds along the western seaboard of Britain. In view of the paucity of archaeological evidence, a cause other than trade may be sought for the presence of Aardenburg ware in North Wales. A brief summary of the history of the castle provides a suitable context and an alternative.

Criccieth Castle is a native castle, first mentioned in 1239, again in 1259, and it was held by the Welsh princes until 1282.⁹ After the final conquest of Wales by Edward I in that year, the king visited the castle on several occasions in 1283 and 1284. In the latter year the king appointed William de Leyburn as the first Constable of Criccieth Castle, and he held this position until 1293 or soon after. In 1297 Leyburn is described by the title of 'Admiral of the Sea of the King of England', and two years later he served in the campaigns in Scotland.

In the Edwardian period several improvements were made to the structure of the castle, notably to the Inner Gatehouse, the Cistern Tower, and the Leyburn Tower in the western angle of the Outer Ward. The sherd of Aardenburg ware was found in the eastern part of the Outer Ward, on the south side. The only other imported pottery on the site are fragments of two jugs of Saintonge ware, one of painted polychrome ware and the other a green-glazed base with a device incised on the underside before firing, presumably as a potter's mark.¹⁰

The Saintonge pottery at Criccieth Castle is explicable in the wider context of such finds, both in Wales and in Ireland, carried along by the wine trade of Gascony.¹¹ However, as noted already, sea trade does not explain the other exotic find at the castle. For this some personal connection between England and this site must be evoked, such as the visits by Edward I or the time when William de Leyburn was Constable of the castle. The independent dating of Aardenburg ware suits either of these alternative contexts. If this solution of an archaeological problem is valid, then the jug is closely dated to the last two decades of the 13th century. Finally, such a link with the travels of the élite of the complex society of medieval times has already been advanced to account for the long-distance occurrence of pottery in Britain, brought by sea from the Near East and Syria by returning Crusaders.¹²

List of Aardenburg Ware and Other Pottery from the Low Countries Found in England and Wales

ENGLAND

Dorset

Toller Porcorum, Woolcombe Farm. Medieval farm excavated by Mr. G. V. D. Rybot.¹³ The pottery ranges from the 12th century down to the 14th. One sherd of Aardenburg ware in light red fabric with thin yellowish-green glaze on both surfaces. Decorated with overlapping applied scales, coloured white and green alternately. Such patterns are frequent at Aardenburg.¹⁴

Essex

Colchester, found in Ipswich Road when digging an air-raid shelter in 1942 (in the Colchester and Essex Museum, no. 119.42). Small cooking-pot in grey sandy fabric with sparse grits (Fig. 1.5). It has a collared rim, zone of faint girth-grooves on upper part of the body, and shallow sagging base with sharp basal angle. Collared-rim pottery in the Low Countries is discussed on p. 192.

Manningtree, site of Manningtree Church in the High Street. In the Colchester and Essex Museum. Present report, p. 277 and Fig. 1.3.

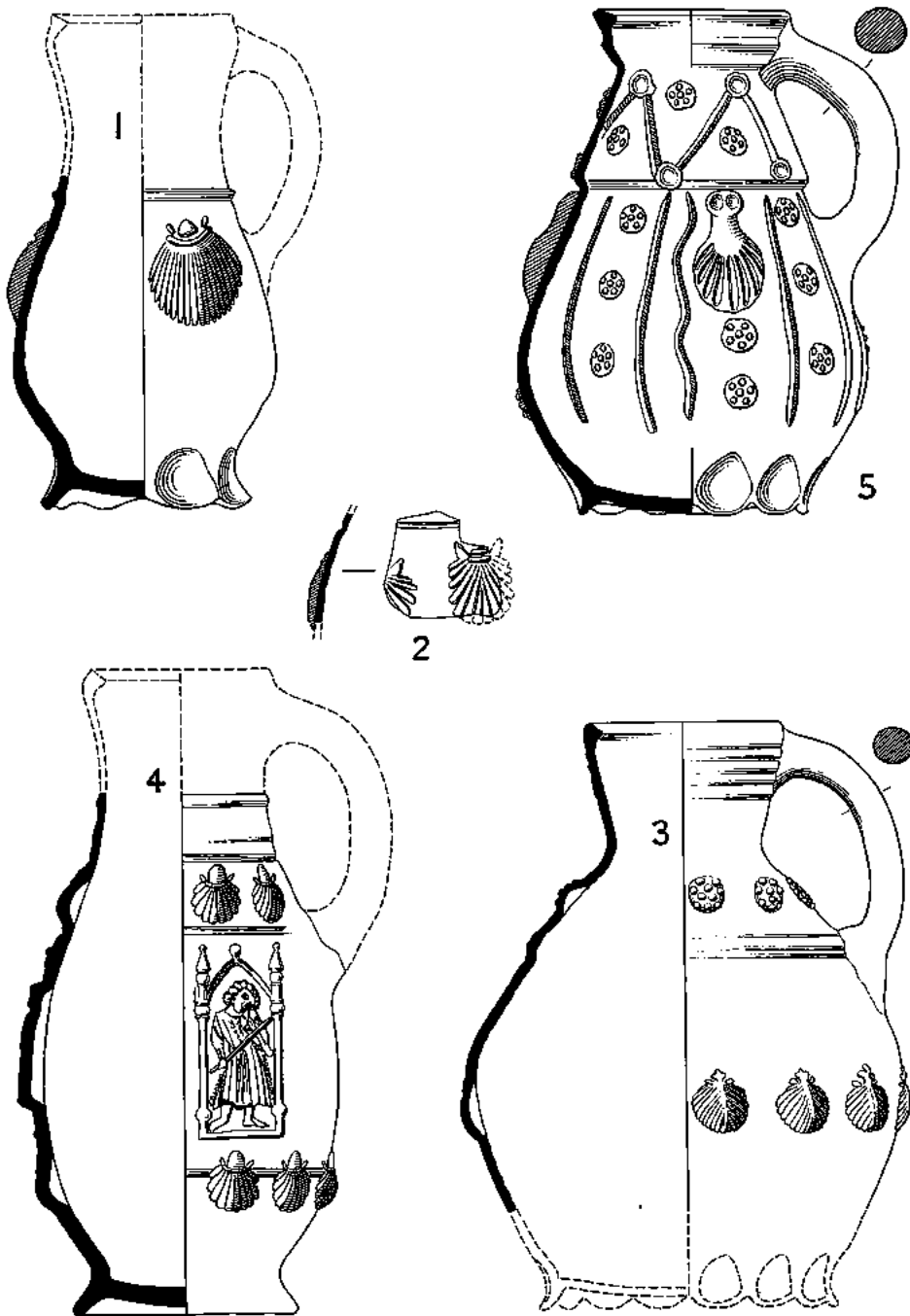


Fig. 3 Jugs of Aardenburg ware decorated with scallop-shell stamps in Holland and Belgium. 1, Ferwerd, Friesland; 2, Dorregeest, North Holland; 3, Wieringermeer; 4, Welsrijp, Friesland; 5, Bruges, East Flanders. Scale 1:4.

Hampshire

Southampton, site west of the Bargate. In lower part of rampart of town defences, probably not earlier than middle of 14th century. Upper part of cooking-pot in orange-red fabric. Patchy internal amber-green glaze, also splashed on outside. Two angular handles attached to rim and above bulge.¹⁵

The complete form with three feet occurs at Aardenburg,¹⁶ one of the sources for this type. It has also been found at other sites in Holland and in Flanders, e.g. at Amsterdam, Ghent (in the Bijloke Museum, Ghent), and at Lampernisse.¹⁷ Similar pots, made in imitation of bronze cauldrons, are known in unglazed grey-black ware in extreme northern France.¹⁸

Kent

Dover Castle. Excavations in 1964–8 produced Aardenburg ware at two places within the Inner Bailey; the garderobe fill of the bastion next north of Arthur's Gate, and in pit-group Q on the north-east side of the Keep.¹⁹ Both deposits are about the same date in the late 13th century down to c. 1300 or soon after.

The eight jugs are of two different forms; the first is ovoid or biconical, and the second is squatter in shape with a well-defined neck. Pushed-out bosses with 'raspberry' stamps are on two jugs of the first form; jugs of the other form are plain. In addition, the upper part of a full-bodied jug has a band of incised zigzags above a large boss with a scallop-shell stamp.

Only a few instances of scallop-shell stamps are known on jugs of Aardenburg ware, and most if not all of them were made by different stamps. In view of the copying of Dutch jugs with this stamp in the London region (Appendix II), examples found in the Netherlands are mentioned here and some illustrated. That from Ferwerd, Friesland, has realistic large stamps of the shell (Fig. 3.1; in the Friesch Museum, Leeuwarden), and comparable but smaller stamps are on the sherd from Dorregeest, north Holland (Fig. 3.2). A sherd from Middelburg, Zeeland, has a row of more stylised stamps (in the Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg). On these jugs the stamps are in a single row on the upper part of the body. On a jug of more full-bodied form from one of the occupation sites in the Wieringermeer, the scallop-shells, smaller in size, are in a row below the bulge, and combined with a row of 'raspberry' stamps on bosses at a higher level (Fig. 3.3).²⁰ The most decorative jug in this style is from Welsrijp, Friesland (Fig. 3.4 and Pl. I.2; in the Friesch Museum, Leeuwarden).²¹ The fabric is fine light red, with thick brown glaze on the body nearly to the base. The decoration is zonal and two stamps are used, both on bosses pushed out from the inside. The design is bordered above and below by a row of small scallop-shells. The central feature is a large stamp, 10.6 cm (4.15 in.) high and 4.9 cm (1.95 in.) wide, repeated eight times. It depicts a fiddler standing inside a crocketed and pinnacled arch; the stamp is finely modelled, with careful attention to the details of the arch, the dress of the musician and his instrument. The player's face and his attitude are full of expression, and the folds of his clothes sway to the rhythm of the music.

In other countries, jugs of Aardenburg ware decorated with scallop-shells are known in Belgium, France, England and Sweden. In Belgium the only find is at Bruges (Fig. 3.5; in the Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges). The fabric is light red, with pale green glaze. In form the jug is pear-shaped, with large thumb-marks round the base. The decoration is in two zones defined by ridged strips in white slip; the upper zone has a chevron, and the lower has straight and wavy strips in vertical lines. The stamped motifs are coloured light red. Circular stamps with six pellets are in both zones; in the upper they are in the spaces of the chevron, and in the lower are in vertical rows and also below the large but rather unnatural scallop-shells. The colour values on this jug are well seen on the photograph (Pl. I.3).

At Saint-Omer in northern France, the jug has the same association of scallop-shells with pellet stamps, arranged in three zones.²² In England the two finds are at Dover Castle, mentioned already, and at Knaresborough Castle, Yorkshire (see p. 193 and Fig. 1.2). On this jug three stamps are used; a scallop-shell, a fleur-de-lis and a rosette. Finally, the jug from Kalmar Castle, in south-east Sweden, has a row of large scallop-shells below a wide band of rouletted pattern.²³

PLATE I



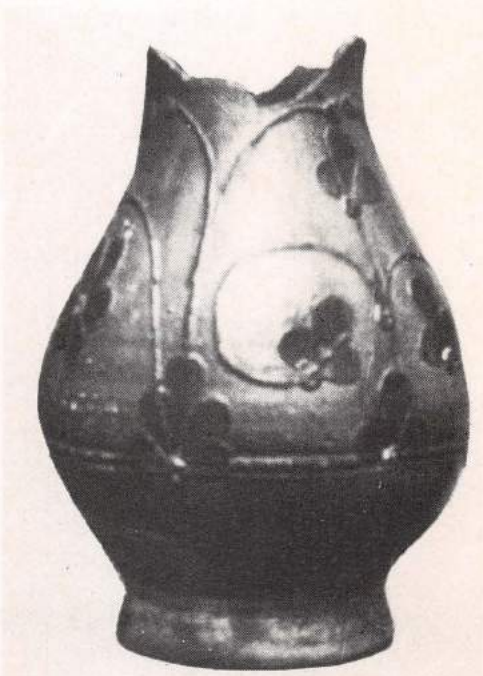
1



3



2



4

Aardenburg ware and scroll-decorated ware from England, Holland, Belgium and France. 1, Stonar, East Kent; 2, Welsrijp, Friesland; 3, Bruges, East Flanders; 4, Lille, Nord. Scale 1:3

Dover, medieval garderobe in Snargate Street excavated in 1945. Four jugs found in association with Tyler Hill ware, a dish of Cornish origin, and polychrome ware imported from Saintonge. The assemblage is dated to the end of the 13th century.²⁴

Three small jugs are of the same type, one plain and the other two decorated with arcades of applied strips on the upper part of the body; in the spaces are rosettes of four petals. As well, one of the decorated jugs has a human mask applied on the front of the neck. All the jugs are in light red fabric, with thin greenish-yellow glaze.

The fourth vessel is part of a larger jug with similar arcading in dark brown slip. At the end of the arcade is part of a rosette, and in the upper space is a large disc; both are dark brown, and have a central ring-and-dot stamp.

Whilst these jugs from Dover are closely related in fabric, glaze, technique and style of decoration to Aardenburg pottery, no close parallels have been published there. However, jugs of precisely this class are from two sites in the adjacent coastal region of Belgium; the hamlet of Mariakerke, near Ostend,²⁵ and the Abbaye des Dunes, Coxyde (in the Abbey site-museum). Another, larger, example is at Lille, Nord, in the adjoining part of France (Pl. I.4; in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille).²⁶ All three jugs are similarly decorated with arcades or scroll patterns, combined with rosettes and floral motifs in brown slip. A source in common for the jugs found in south-east England, in Western Flanders, and in northern France is evident; it is most likely to be located near Aardenburg. The scroll patterns and floral motifs on Aardenburg ware, and the influence of these on pottery in Normandy and in England, is discussed further in Appendix I.

Stonar, near Sandwich. The site of this outport of London, within the southern loop of the river Stour, has now been largely destroyed by a gravel pit. The port reached the height of its economic prosperity during the second half of the 13th century and the early part of the 14th. The trade connections between Stonar and the Continent in this period are amply shown by the pottery imported from a range of sources in France, the Low Countries, and the Lower Rhineland.²⁷ The earlier finds at Stonar were collected by the late Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing, who visited the site from about 1935 to 1960; this material is now in Deal Castle Museum. Excavations in advance of quarrying from 1969 to 1971, directed by Mr. Nigel Macpherson-Grant, produced a street bordered by two rows of houses, another street possibly bordered by warehouses, wells, and large quantities of imported pottery and small finds.²⁸

Aardenburg ware is represented by numerous green-glazed sherds of jugs. The decoration includes rouletting, individual stamps of fleurs-de-lis, scallop-shells and birds, and bosses with 'raspberry' stamps. In addition, one sherd has part of an arcade and a rosette, as on the jugs from Dover. A selection of the decorative motifs is illustrated on Pl. I.1.

Lincolnshire

Dominican Friary, Boston. Excavation beneath the undercroft of the Refectory revealed well-stratified monastic levels. One of the lower deposits contained several pots and an English jetton of the sterling series, probably lost in the 1310s or 1320s.²⁹ Among the imports from this layer is the upper part of a two-handled cooking-pot in brick-red fabric with patchy yellow glaze.

London

Aardenburg ware has been found in excavating the *Custom House site* in the City of London.³⁰ A few sherds of jugs with scale patterns and lines of slip were found, but these are too small for the patterns to be recognised. The site also produced the lower part and base of a jug with large thumb-marks, which is also Aardenburg ware. Part of a handled cooking-pot is comparable with those found at Boston and Southampton. The assemblage is referred to the early 14th century.³¹

It is surprising that so little Aardenburg ware has been found in the many excavations in London, in view of the considerable amount from Stonar, the Kentish outport of London.

In addition, two domestic pots found in London, both of types not represented elsewhere in England, must be mentioned.

Queen Victoria Street, 1872 (in the Museum of London).³² Light red fabric with greenish-brown glaze. Globular pitcher with collared rim and tubular spout attached to upper part of body (Fig. 1.7). Sagging base with sharp basal angle. The base is lightly thumb-marked under the angle, and thus belongs to group 1 as studied by Mr. J. G. Hurst.³³ An almost identical pot is from Baarland, Zuid-Beveland, Zeeland; a pitcher of the same form in light brown fabric, with tubular spout and handle on the opposite side of the rim, and thumb-marks under the base as on the example from London.³⁴

40–66 Queen Victoria Street; site of the Bank of London and South America (in the Museum of London, no. ER 121). Found in association with fragments of a large cooking-pot in coarse brownish-grey sandy fabric with much white shell. The cooking-pot has a flanged rim with wavy line incised on the top, of mid- to late-13th-century date.

The imported jar (Fig. 1.8) is in grey ware with darker grey surface. It is glazed internally, also on the rim and neck outside; the glaze is thick dark green. In form the pot is squat and globular, with bell mouth and incurved neck. Holes made before firing through the rim were for securing a cover. Broad, shallow girth-groove on side below the neck. Wide base, slightly sagging, with continuous thumb-marks round the edge.

The form is paralleled by a small jug of yellow-glazed Andenne ware found at Flostoy, near Namur (in the Musée Archéologique, Namur). It contained a hoard of 730 copper and silver coins of the late 13th century, the latest being a coin of Esterlin d'Enguerand II, Bishop of Cambrai, 1274–1290. The bell-mouthed rim occurs widely in the Low Countries. In southern Belgium, one may be mentioned at Arlon, province of Luxembourg, but the form and fabric of the pot are different.³⁵ At Lampernisse, western Flanders, is a closer parallel in red fabric, partially green-glazed. A rod handle attached to the rim shows that the sherd is probably from a cooking-pot; it is referred to the early 14th century.³⁶

Southwark. Excavations at Toppings Wharf produced the lower part of an imported jug, apparently Aardenburg ware. On the bulge is part of the decoration of applied red strips; the base has irregular thumb-marks.³⁷

Norfolk

*Great Yarmouth, site of the Crown Hotel, King Street.*³⁸ Greater part of large ovoid jug in dark grey fabric, with buff outer and red inner surfaces. Upper part of outside has a thin white slip, covered by mottled light green glaze down to below the bulge. Vertical panel decoration defined by applied rouletted strips, enclosing rows of pushed-out bosses with 'raspberry' stamps of seven pellets round a central pellet. The associated pottery is referred to the late 13th and early 14th centuries.

Another find of Aardenburg ware is from the *South Denes Power Station* site at Great Yarmouth (in Norwich Castle Museum, reg. no. 150.955).

King's Lynn. The excavations by the King's Lynn Archaeological Survey in 1963–1970 produced Aardenburg ware on some of the sites examined. The finds are comparatively small in amount, about half a dozen sherds, some with rouletted decoration. They were in contexts of the late 13th century.³⁹

Norwich, site of the old Corn Hall, Exchange Street (Fig. 1.1; in Norwich Castle Museum, reg. no. 84.965).⁴⁰ Greater part of jug, pear-shaped in form, with large and emphatic thumb-marks on the base. Brick-red fabric, grey in the core. White slip on outside, under green glaze. On upper part of body and below the bulge are two wide bands of diamond-shaped rouletting. Between these is a row of large pushed-out bosses, covered by small pellets. Identical complex rouletting and similar oval bosses are at Aardenburg.⁴¹

Northumberland

Ford Castle, near Wooler. Found in the filling of the moat (in the Department of Medieval Antiquities, British Museum).⁴² Small cooking-pot in grey sandy fabric (Fig. 1.6). It has an everted rim with slope on outside, wide zone of emphatic girth-grooves above the bulge, and a shallow sagging base, rather irregularly trimmed.

Newcastle upon Tyne. Excavations of the south curtain wall of the castle, directed by Miss Barbara Harbottle in 1960–62. Found in deep bank of clay containing medieval and later pottery. Collared rim of cooking-pot or perhaps of tubular-spouted pitcher, in grey sandy fabric with darker grey matt surface.⁴³

Suffolk

Dunwich. The medieval town and port of Dunwich has been partially excavated and chance finds made from time to time. In 1935–9 Mr. N. E. S. Norris partly excavated the Grey Friars Monastery. A mound called Temple Hill, identified as a look-out post or beacon, was sectioned by Mr. H. E. P. Spencer in 1935.⁴⁴ The associated pottery is of 13th- to 14th-century date. Finds from a pit found in 1960 include a face-jug and another jug with detached arms and hands bridging the neck, both in Scarborough ware, cooking-pots, and half of a fish dish (in Ipswich Museum). In 1970 Mr. S. E. West sectioned the town defences; pottery from the rampart suggests a 13th-century date, but with earlier features were imported Pingsdorf and Andenne wares.

In the Dunwich Museum and Muniment Room is a sherd from a jug of Aardenburg ware in orange-red fabric with dark green glaze. It is decorated with rows of pushed-out bosses with 'raspberry' stamps of five pellets round a central pellet. The sherd was found in Dunwich, exact site not recorded.

Sussex

Michelham Priory, near Hailsham. Excavations in 1964 and in 1971–5 produced pottery from the kilns at Rye, and sherds of imported ware. These are pieces of a jug in red ware with green glaze. White slip decoration of lines or tendrils, and a large rosette with a central pellet in brown. The sherd belongs to the same group as the jugs from Dover and Stonar discussed above (pp. 190–191). The assemblage of finds from Michelham Priory is assigned to the late 13th and early 14th centuries.⁴⁵

Pevensy. Excavations by Mr. A. J. F. Dullely to the east of Pevensy Castle on the site of the port and quayside in 1962–6 produced a range of pottery imported from sources in England and on the Continent.⁴⁶ Aardenburg ware is represented by sherds in brick-red fabric with green glaze, from different jugs. One sherd has plain pushed-out bosses, and another has bosses stamped by a 'raspberry' of seven pellets; also part of a thumb-pressed base. The contexts date the sherds to the late 13th or early 14th century.

At *Pevensy Castle* was found part of a jug decorated with a large scallop-shell, but this is a copy of the Aardenburg style made in the London region (see p. 197).

Yorkshire

Anlaby, near Hull. Moated site excavated by Dr. M. W. Thompson in 1954.⁴⁷ Sherds in reddish fabric with speckled yellowish glaze. One has two pushed-out bosses stamped with pellets; and the other has a rosette and a herring-bone pattern, possibly part of a scallop-shell stamp. The finds include polychrome and green-glazed jugs imported from Saintonge, which confirm the documentary evidence for an early-14th-century date.

Knaresborough Castle, near Harrogate. Greater part of a jug (Fig. 1.2) found in filling of the northern subterranean sally port.⁴⁸ The jug is biconical, in light red fabric with thick, dark green glaze. The zone of decoration, on the upper part of the body, is limited above by a series of cordons and below by girth-grooves on the bulge. Three stamps are used; a scallop-shell, a fleur-de-lis, and small rosettes in the spaces between the large stamps and also in a row on the bulge.

WALES

Caernarvonshire

Criccieth Castle, Criccieth. Found during excavation of the site by H.M. Office of Works. The sherd was found in the Outer Ward, east end, on the south side⁴⁹ (Fig. 1.4; in the National Museum of Wales, acc. no. 40.220/361). Grey fabric, light red inside surface, outside with thin white slip under bright green mottled glaze. The sherd is from upper part of body of a jug, immediately below the neck. Decorated with row of pushed-out bosses stamped with closely set pellets. The sherd is not closely datable from its find-spot, but probably late or end of 13th century like polychrome and green-glazed Saintonge wares also found in the Outer Ward near the Leyburn Tower.

CHANNEL ISLANDS

Jersey

Mount Orgueil Castle. Excavations by Mr. K. J. Barton for the Société Jersiaise in 1974.⁵⁰ A few sherds of glazed Aardenburg ware decorated with rouletting were found in 13th-century levels.

St. Helier. Sherds of Aardenburg ware found by Mrs. M. Finlayson. Information from Mr. K. J. Barton.

Appendix I**Scroll-Decorated Jugs**

That scroll-decorated jugs were made at Aardenburg is suggested by sherds found there with applied curved strips, but these are too small for certainty. However, reliable evidence is furnished by a jug found some years ago at Starremburg manor-house, near Rotterdam (Fig. 4.1, 2).⁵¹ The jug is in the usual light red fabric, with yellow glaze toning to mottled light green over the white slip decoration. The pattern consists of two symmetrical foliage designs with reversed paired scrolls. Between these on the front of the jug and also laterally are vertical panels filled with sloping lines; the lines bordering the panels are coloured black. The base of the jug has the large thumb-marks so frequent on Aardenburg ware.

The only close parallels for the decoration on the Starremburg jug are at Leicester and Coventry, in the Midlands.⁵² These finds are well inland, and beyond the distribution of imported Aardenburg ware as known at present. Even so, a close stylistic relationship is evident in the decoration on these jugs and that on the Starremburg jug. It is not easy to decide whether the style originated in Holland and was copied in England, or the reverse. However, in view of the number of jugs with curvilinear and foliage decoration abroad, as mentioned above, it seems most likely that this style in the Midlands is derived from the more numerous examples on the Continent. The style was in fact also copied in Upper Normandy. This is shown by two jugs found at Rouen (in the Musée des Antiquités de la Seine Maritime, Rouen), which the fabric shows to be local products and not imports. The first (Fig. 4.3) is in white fabric with dark green glaze on the inside and outside. The decoration is symmetrical and represents a very stylised tree or foliage design, with the stem and leaves of overlapping scales. The other (Fig. 4.4) is a miniature jug with tripod feet in whitish-buff fabric. An overall dark red slip forms the background of the decoration, which is in white slip under a yellow glaze.⁵³ It consists of three linked spirals ending in clusters of leaves, similar to those on the first jug. The design on this small jug is unique at Rouen, where linear and geometric patterns predominate, though in form and the tripod feet it is matched by several larger jugs found there.

Appendix II**Copies of the Aardenburg Style of Decoration on English Jugs**

In the report on the medieval pottery kilns at Winksley, near Ripon, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Mrs. Jean Le Patourel discussed the dominant decorative motif on the jugs made there.⁵⁴ As she demonstrated convincingly, the complex wedge-shaped stamps used at Winksley are not derived from the motifs in this technique elsewhere in England; the only relevant parallels are at Aardenburg. Mrs. Le Patourel therefore

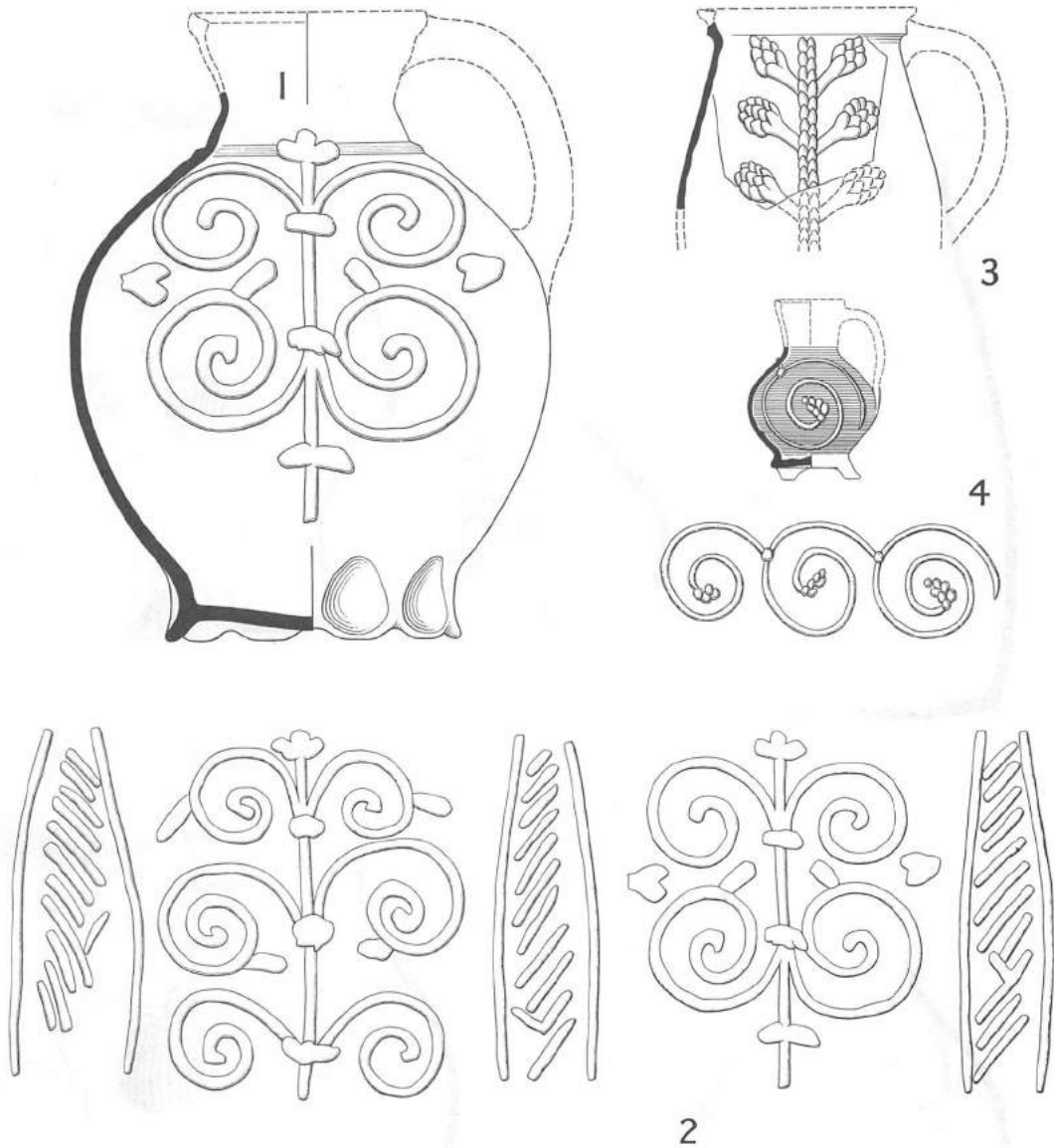


Fig. 4 Scroll and floral patterns on jugs. 1, Starremburg, near Rotterdam; 2, development of design on 1; 3, Rouen; 4, Rouen. Scale 1, 3 and 4, 1:4, 2, 1:5.

deduced that, in view of the close economic links by trade between the coastal regions of the Netherlands and the ports of Yorkshire, the local potters copied the Aardenburg styles of rouletting and used them to decorate the wide-bodied jugs produced at Winksley and other kilns in the hinterland of Yorkshire.

In southern England a comparable but independent copying of the stamps on jugs of Aardenburg ware occurred in the London region. The motifs are individual large stamps of the fleur-de-lis and scallop-shell. These are used together on jugs made in East Surrey and marketed to the City of London. The selection of the two forms of stamps by the Surrey potters exactly reflects the analogues for them and their placing on the jugs in the Netherlands.

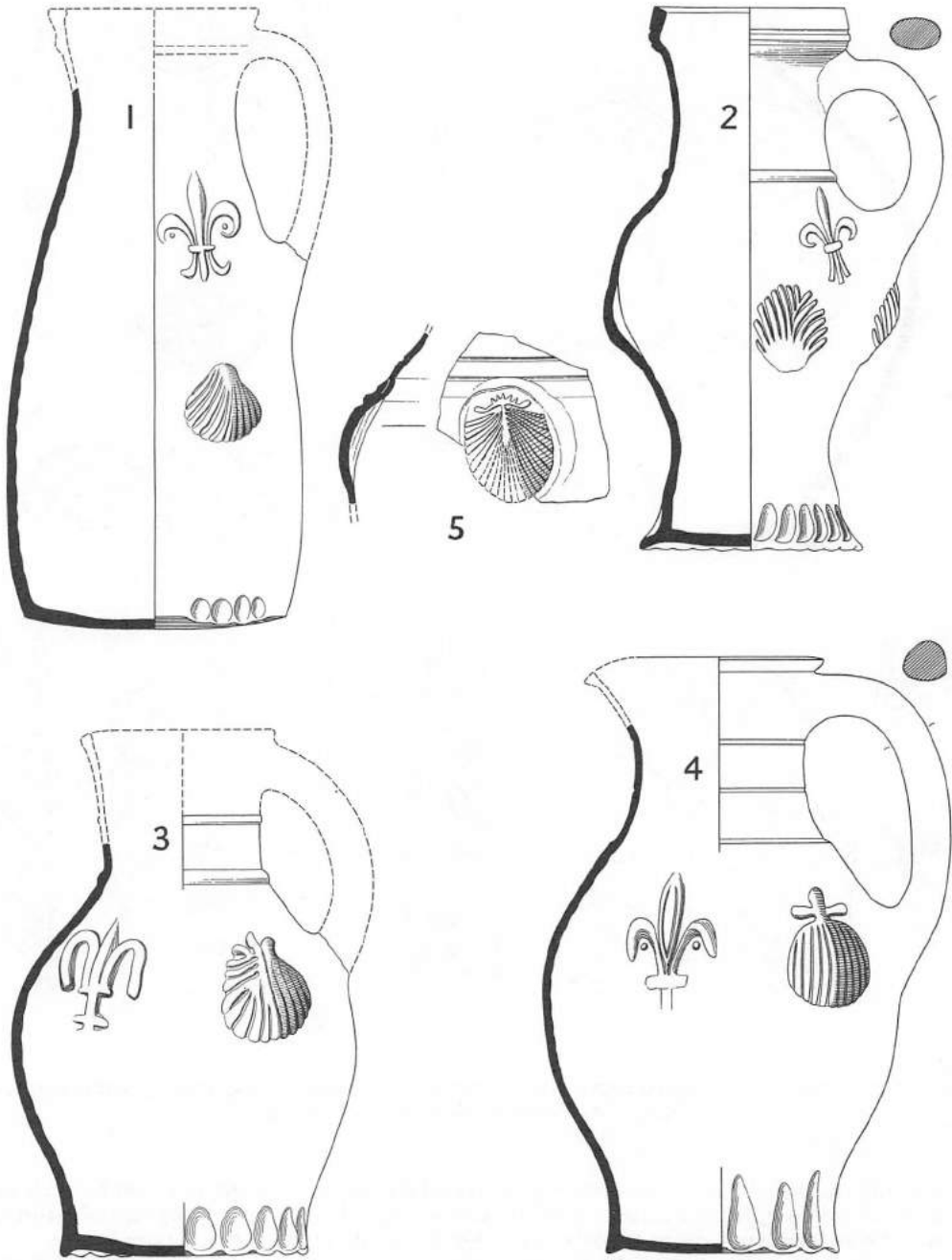


Fig. 5 Jugs decorated with scallop-shell stamps, copying Aardenburg ware. 1, Hatton Garden, London; 2, Mincing Lane, London; 3, Coleman Street, London; 4, London; 5, Pevensey Castle, Sussex. Scale 1:4.

On Aardenburg ware the fleur-de-lis is less frequent than the scallop-shell. It is known on a sherd from Stonar (Pl. I.1, middle row) and on the jug from Knaresborough Castle (Fig. 1.2). Usually the scallop-shell is repeated as a single row on the upper or lower part of the jug (Fig. 3.3), but on the Welsrijp jug it is duplicated in two rows, above and below the main zone of the decoration (Fig. 3.4 and Pl. I.2). The jug from Knaresborough Castle is in fact the only certain example on which the fleur-de-lis and scallop-shell stamps are found together on the same pot.

Six jugs decorated with fleur-de-lis and scallop-shell stamps are known from London; four are in the Museum of London, and two in the British Museum. The fabric is uniformly sandy, grey or buff in the core and buff or light brown on the outside. On most the glaze is rather thin and mottled or streaky green; on one jug it is thicker and streaky dark green. Four of the jugs found in London are illustrated in Fig. 5 to show the different forms and varieties of the stamps. No. 1 is conical with the bulge low down on the profile. No. 2 is the most sophisticated in form, with a tall neck, globular body and retracted base; probably it copies a metal form. Nos. 3 and 4 are more full-bodied in shape. All the jugs have thumb-pressed bases; the impressions vary in size and emphasis.

On five of the jugs the two stamps are used together on the same pot. On nos. 1 and 2 they occur separately in two rows, with the fleur-de-lis above the scallop-shell; while on nos. 3 and 4 the stamps alternate in a single row. The exception to these remarks is more elaborately decorated. On this jug the two stamps are arranged as on nos. 1 and 2, but in the upper row the fleurs-de-lis alternate with a third stamp, an heraldic shield of three chevrons, the arms of the De Clare family. The London jugs stamped with this shield formed the subject of a study by James and Dorothy Thorn.⁵⁵

It will be observed that the details and quality of the fleur-de-lis and scallop-shell stamps vary from pot to pot, showing that a number of different stamps of both motifs were used by the potters. Only on no. 2 and the jug already published does the same scallop-shell stamp, and possibly that of the fleur-de-lis, appear to have been used on two different jugs.

It remains to mention Fig. 5.5. The sherd was found at Pevensey Castle in superficial excavations by Mr. Harold Sands in 1910 (in the Department of Medieval Antiquities, British Museum). The sandy fabric is grey in the core and light brownish-red on the surfaces; the glaze is speckled medium green. It is from the upper part of a jug, and has a girth-groove above a flat cordon. The large scallop-shell stamp is on a boss pressed out from the inside.

Mr. John Cherry agrees with me that this jug is an import to Pevensey Castle from the London region. It is therefore identified as made in East Surrey, like the other jugs found in London described above. There is ample evidence that pottery from the East Surrey kilns reached sites in the coastal parts of East Kent in the late 13th and 14th centuries. In Kent the site farthest in this direction is Stonar, near Sandwich. An extension of this coastal trade to East Sussex accounts for the finding of East Surrey wares at Pevensey, where sherds from this source have already been published.

It has often been remarked that in medieval times trade flowed freely round and across the North Sea, to and from England and the adjacent countries on the Continent and in Scandinavia. One result of these close contacts was that the pottery of one country was influenced by that of another, either in copying the forms or the styles of decoration, or both. The distinctive fleur-de-lis and scallop-shell motifs used as stamps, and the complex rouletted patterns also typical of Aardenburg ware, both of which were copied in different regions of England, are a vivid demonstration of this process.

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to Mr. P. J. Drury for bringing the Manningtree sherd to my notice, and thus initiating a general study of Aardenburg ware found in Britain. For facilities to make drawings and for information I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum; the Museum of London; the National Museum of Wales; the Colchester and Essex Museum; and the Castle Museum, Norwich; also to Mr. John Cherry, Mr. J. G. Hurst, Mr. J. M. Lewis and Mr. K. J. Barton. On the Continent my thanks are due to the directors and curators of the following museums for similar facilities: Musée des Antiquités de la Seine Maritime, Rouen; Bijloke Museum, Ghent; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; and the Friesch Museum, Leeuwarden; also to Dr. J. G. N. Renaud and Mr. J. A. Trimpe Burger.

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Postscript

Another East Surrey jug from London, decorated with stamps (cf. p. 197 above) has recently been noticed in Saffron Walden Museum, Essex. It was found during excavations in Cheapside in 1907, and was presented to the Museum in 1909 by J. J. Greene (Accn. no. 212, 1909). It is complete save for the rim, and in shape resembles Fig. 5.2, bearing stamps in two rows, the upper being of fleurs-de-lys and the lower of scallop shells, under a mottled green glaze which stops short of the base.

P.J.D.

Excavations at Aldersbrook Manor, Essex, 1972–73

by J. P. CAMP

SUMMARY: Rescue excavations were undertaken on the line of the Roding Valley Trunk Sewer to discover the extent of structures in that area. A number of estate walls were found, together with a fine collection of ceramics of the late 17th and 18th centuries.

The Site

The Manor of Aldersbrook lies in the parish of Little Ilford some 9 kilometres due north of Greenwich, London. Most of the lands of the Manor now lie within the City of London Cemetery (Fig. 1, A). Both Wanstead Park, to the north, and Romford Road show evidence¹ of the Roman period, but none was found in the area excavated.

History

The early history of the Manor House and the Farm House, some 300 metres to the west, is discussed by Chown² and it is known that in 1630 both the Manor House and Farm House were in existence.³ In 1693 John Lethieullier purchased the estate, and in 1701 Smart Lethieullier was born at the Manor House, the estate passing to him in 1737. He was an antiquarian and wrote with affection of Aldersbrook; it is recorded⁴ that he built a 'hermitage' to house his antiquities. The excavated finds relate to the latter part of the occupancy of the Lethieullier family. In 1786 the Manor House was disposed of by his heir, Sir Edward Hulse, to Sir James Tylney Long of Wanstead Park, and was demolished soon afterwards.⁵ The Farm House was demolished shortly after 1854 when the City of London Corporation acquired much of the land for the City of London Cemetery, and also gained rights over Wanstead Flats eventually leading to the preservation of Epping Forest.⁶

A number of maps of the Manor exist. The map, surveyed in 1723 by Adam Holt for John Lethieullier,⁷ shows the Great Pond, the Warren House (Farm House) and the Mansion House. The second map, surveyed in 1725,⁸ shows much greater detail and suggests that extensive garden and boundary walls had been constructed. A 1748 survey⁹ by John Noble for Smart Lethieullier (Fig. 1, B) shows rebuilt boundary walls with the addition of a Terrace, the 'Great Canal' (a vast ornamental lake), and the 'Fish Pond'. The last map, surveyed in 1816 by John Doyley,¹⁰ is notable for its omission of the 'Great Canal' and 'Fish Pond'.

The Excavations

In December 1972 field walking on the line of the Roding Valley Trunk Sewer (Fig. 1, A) revealed a scatter of domestic rubbish, sufficient to warrant an exploratory excavation. Ten trenches were set out as shown on Figure 2.

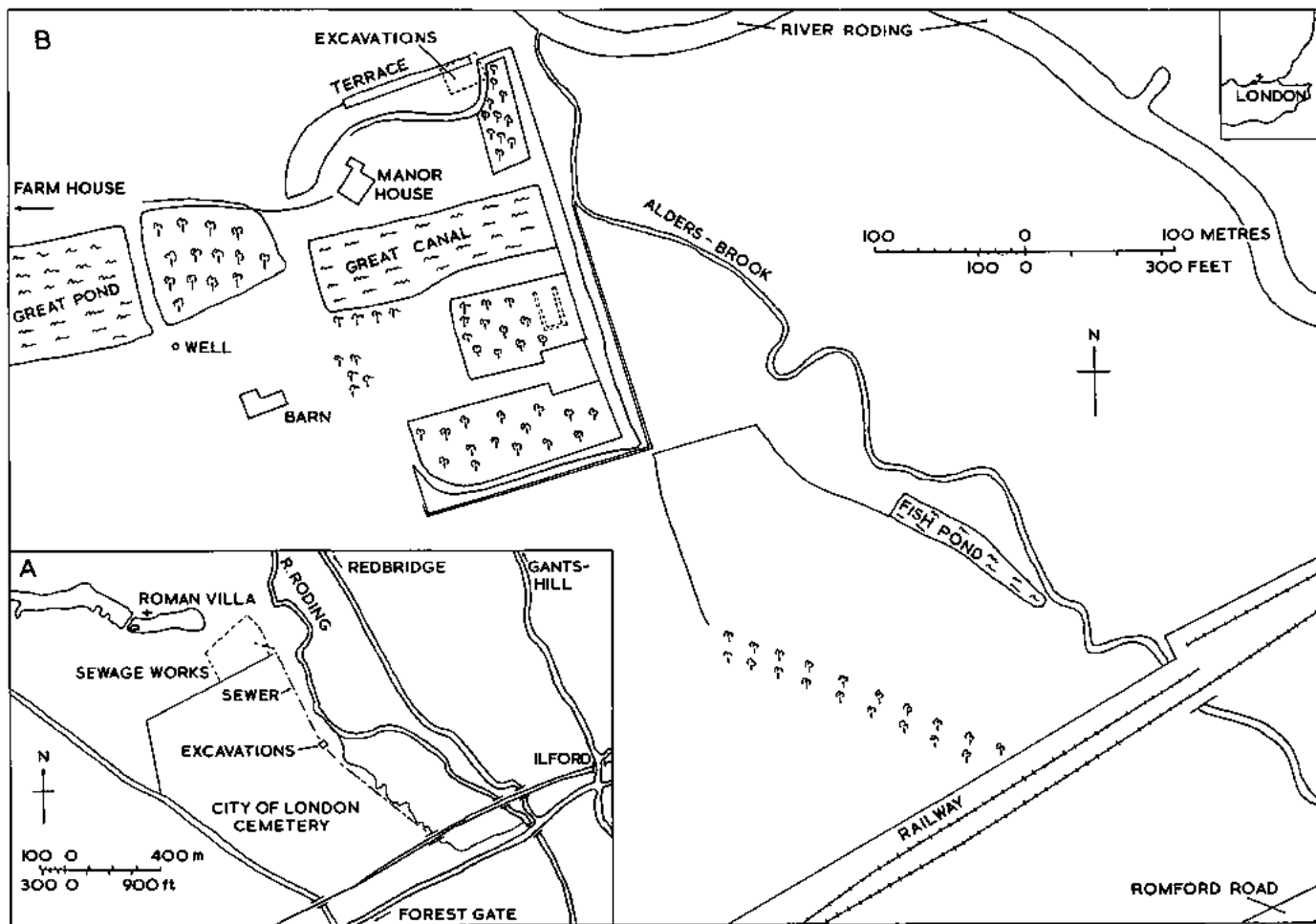


Fig. 1 Excavations at Aldersbrook Manor. Area plans.

The Excavated Features

The most interesting feature discovered was a large recut ditch about 3.50 m wide (Figs. 2 and 3, Trench 4). This ditch had been infilled with various soils and domestic rubbish. In all a length of 6 m of ditch was excavated and its depth established as 1.50 m. The density of pottery (Appendix 1) in the ditch decreased eastwards. The finds, including clay pipes, suggest that the ditch was finally infilled well after the construction of the wall in Trench 1; the surveys suggest the wall was built between 1723 and 1728. The refuse was possibly tipped over the wall into the ditch from the Manor House kitchens or resulted from household clearance when the Lethieullier occupation ended, when garden alterations might be expected.

Estate walls, represented by brickwork or robber trenches, are shown in plan on Fig. 2 and in section on Fig. 3. It is suggested that the wall found in Trenches 7 and 8, and turning in Trench 5, is the Terrace wall shown on the 1748 survey (Fig. 1, B) and that there was a cross-wall linking it with another parallel wall of the Terrace, found in Trenches 9 and 10. An earlier(?) wall is visible in Trench 2 and another in Trench 6.

The sewer trench (Fig. 1, A) revealed the strata to the south of the excavation as heavy gravels and London clay, changing to silt and sandy clay deposits at the Fish Pond. To the north-east of the Great Canal it revealed two walls 11 m apart, 1 m wide and 1.75–2 m deep, running parallel to each other and to the northern edge of the Great Canal, suggesting a terraced walk or walled bank to the Canal.

Fieldwork confirmed the continued existence of the Great Canal, the Fish Pond and the Great Pond. The latter has now been drained with a new Crematorium being built on it. The site of the Manor House is now under recent burials.

Conclusions

The excavations confirmed the existence of the Terrace shown on the 1748 survey, indicated its structure and revealed earlier and minor garden walls. The ditch yielded a group of late 17th- and 18th-century ceramics being rubbish from the Lethieullier occupation.

The finds and a more detailed account of the excavations are available for study at the Passmore Edwards Museum, London E.15.

The Finds by Miss P. M. Wilkinson

APPENDIX 1: CERAMICS

The material (Figs. 4 and 5) comprises a wide selection of late 17th- and 18th-century fabrics and represents the general refuse of this period. It all derives from the fill of ditch in Trench 4 (Figs. 2 and 3). Included in this material are fragments of Chinese porcelain dating principally to the first half of the 18th century. Of similar date are a Westerwald chamber-pot and a fragment of delftware, a probable product of the Lambeth kilns. Material from the latter part of the 18th century includes porcelain from Lowestoft and Worcester and a variety of bowls, plates and jugs in stoneware and creamware. The coarse-wares are typical of the local fabrics of this period and show the general range of kitchen equipment. The assistance of J. G. Ayers, who examined the Chinese porcelain, and R. J. Charleston, who examined the English porcelain, stonewares and creamwares, is gratefully acknowledged.

A. Chinese Porcelain

- Fig. 4.1 Base fragment of cup with underglaze blue decoration internally in a tondo and externally; late 17th or early 18th century.
- Fig. 4.2 Base fragment of plate with polychrome flower design in green, red and gold; Famille Verte, 1710–25.
- Fig. 4.3 Rim fragments of plate with underglaze blue decoration of flowers; 1725–45.

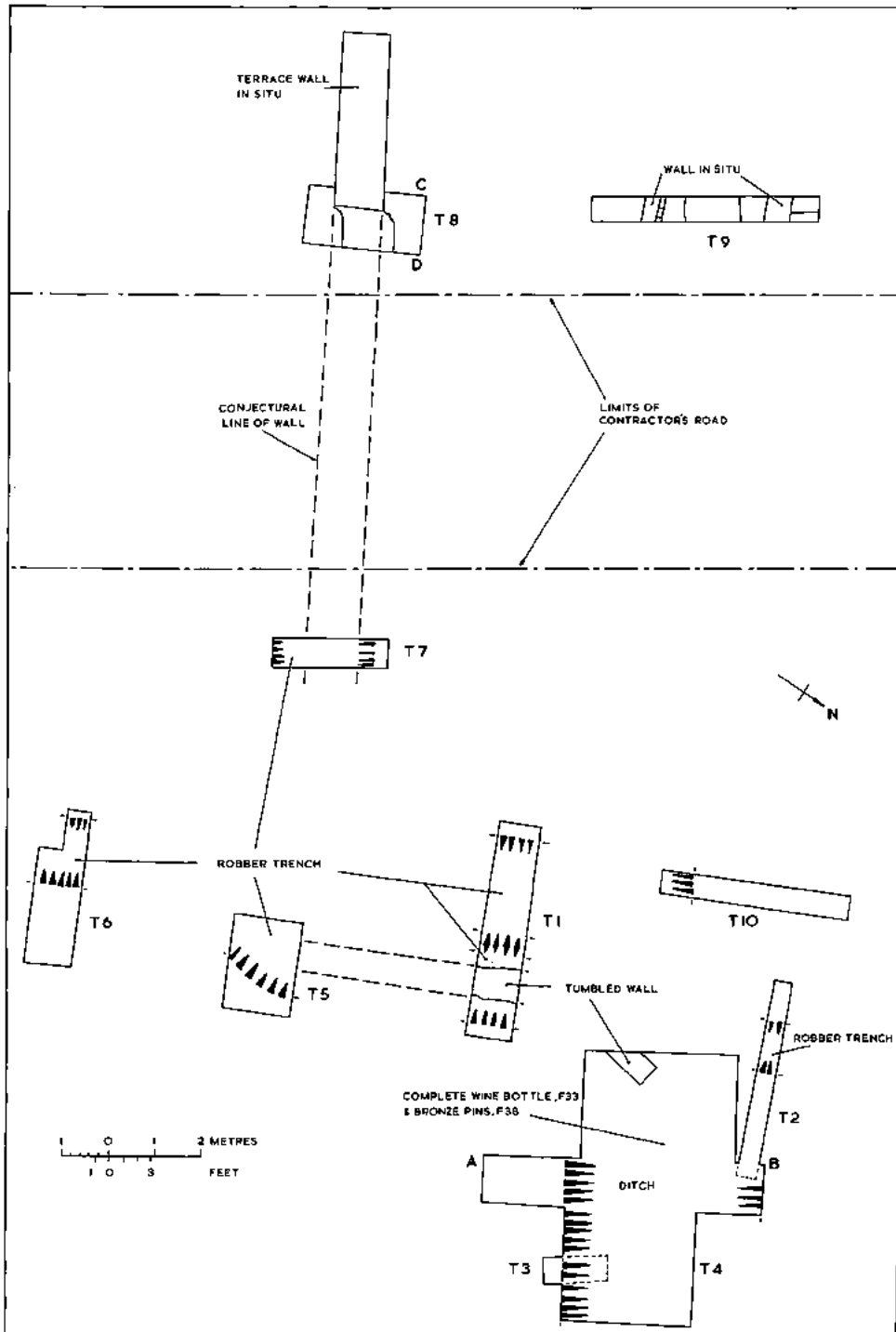


Fig. 2 Excavations at Aldersbrook Manor. Site plan.

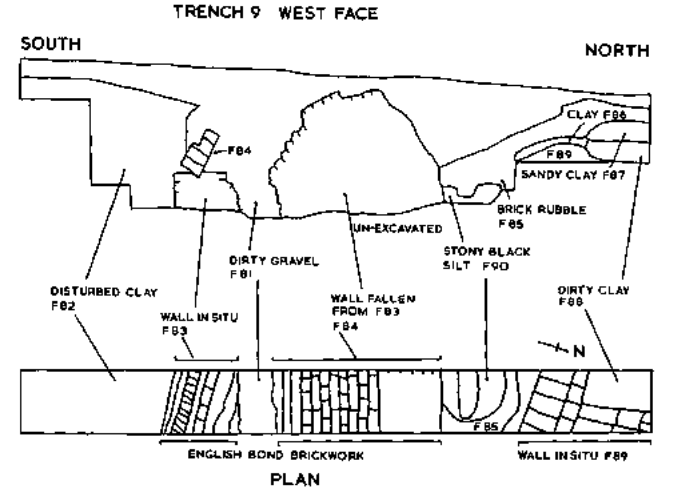
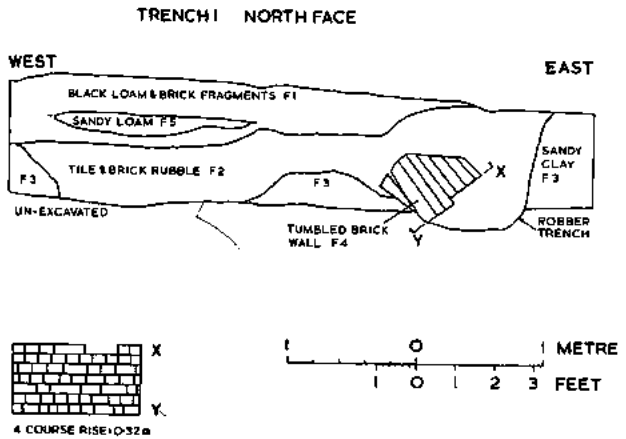
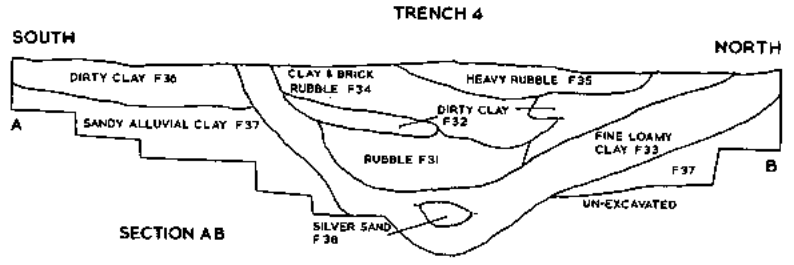
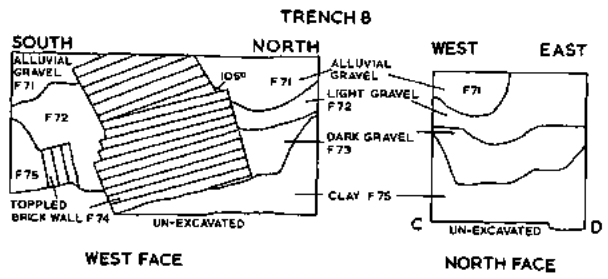


Fig. 3 Excavations at Aldersbrook Manor, Sections.

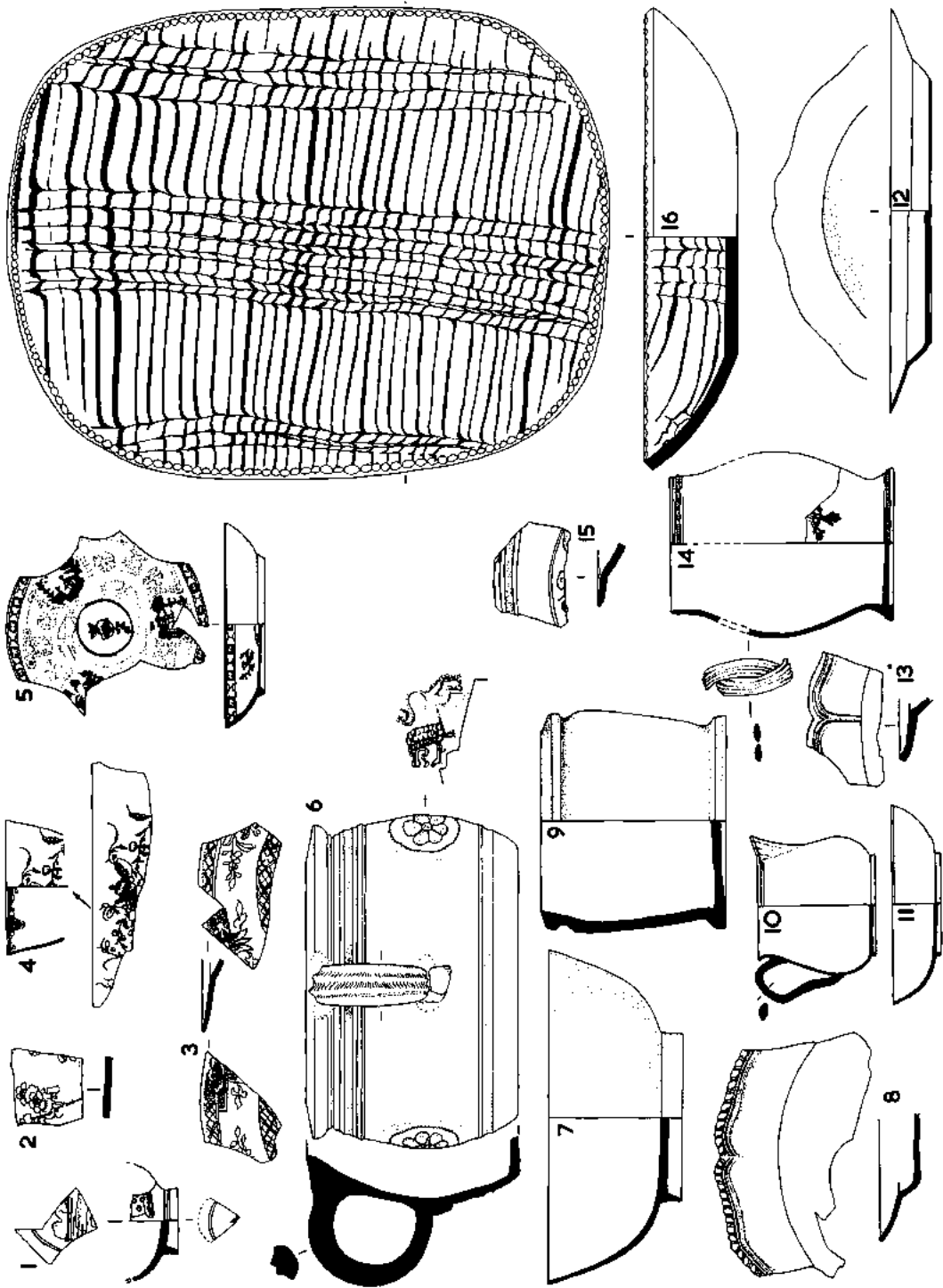


Fig. 4 Excavations at Aldersbrook Manor. Pottery. Scale 1:4.

B. English Porcelain

- Fig. 4.4 Rim of cup with underglaze blue decoration of flowers and tendrils; Worcester, 1765 or a little later.
- Fig. 4.5 Saucer with press-moulded flower pattern and underglaze blue decoration of a flower in a central tondo and three Chinese scenes; Lowestoft, after 1765, probably of the 1770s.

C. Stoneware

- Fig. 4.6 Westerwald chamber-pot in grey fabric with slight diagonal rouletting on outer surface and decorations consisting of blue lion and flower designs and a blue band below the rim and at the base.¹¹
- Fig. 4.7 Bowl in grey/white salt-glazed stoneware; c. 1750.
- Fig. 4.8 Fragment of plate in white salt-glazed stoneware with moulded pattern around scalloped edge; 1780 or later.
- Fig. 4.9 Straight-sided jar grooved at base and rim in cream fabric with buff and brown exterior, orange/buff interior.

D. Creamware

- Fig. 4.10 Jug with globular body, fluted spout and fine ridge below rim; 1780 or a little later.
- Fig. 4.11 Saucer in pale cream fabric; 1780 or a little later.
- Fig. 4.12 Plate with scalloped edge; c. 1760.
- Fig. 4.13 Fragment of plate with scalloped edge and moulded ridged decoration; 1780 or a little later.
- Fig. 4.14 Jug fragments in creamy yellow fabric with moulded decorative band at rim and base and a fragmentary raised leaf design; the handle is formed from two plaited bands. This is probably a product of the Leeds kilns; 1780 or a little later.

E. Earthenware

- Fig. 4.15 Rim of delftware plate, tin-glazed with a blue-on-white decoration. A probable product of the Lambeth kilns; first half of the 18th century.
- Fig. 4.16 Rectangular dish in combed slipware with scalloped edge, in a pink fabric with chocolate and cream slip decoration. Possibly produced at Bristol; late 17th to 18th century.
- Fig. 5.17 Jar in orange/red fabric with olive green glaze internally and externally; two lug handles moulded into rim; double groove at level of handle attachment.
- Fig. 5.18 Bowl in fine pink/beige fabric with brown lead-glaze interior; two lug handles with double groove around body at this level; internally throwing grooves are very distinct.
- Fig. 5.19 Deep bowl in orange/red fabric with brown lead-glaze internally and externally. Two lug handles attached with thumbing on left-hand side of handle only.
- Fig. 5.20 Smaller version of No. 19 with high-gloss glaze and no thumbing at handle attachments.
- Fig. 5.21 Large vessel in dull red fabric with green/brown lead glaze. Band of pie-crust decoration below rim; at handle level a combed wavy line decoration with two grooves superimposed. Lug handle with thumbing on upper surface.
- Fig. 5.22 Chamber-pot in pale pink/beige fabric with pale green/brown lead-glaze internally.
- Fig. 5.23 Shallow bowl with lip in orange/red fabric with yellow/brown lead-glaze internally. Fragments of at least ten similar vessels were found.

APPENDIX 2: GLASS

A large quantity of glass-bottle fragments was recovered, principally from the ditch in Trench 4. These include one complete bottle, 8.3 cm diameter and 21.3 cm high, with an elongated neck and body and a moderate kick, this compares with bottles dated c. 1700–1750 by Hume.¹² The range of shapes covers the 18th century, diameters being between 8 and 12.5 cm, the majority dating to the

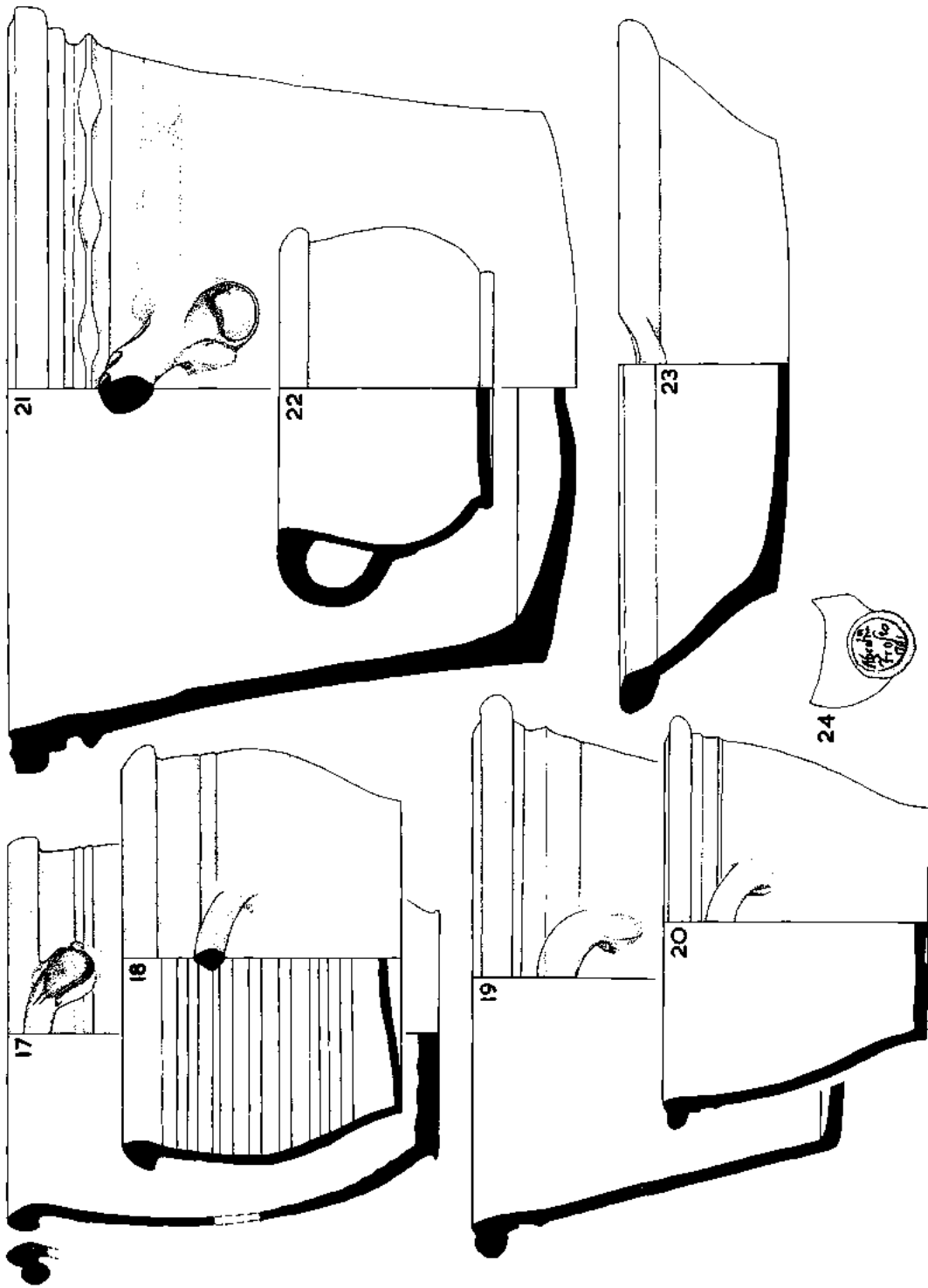


Fig. 5 Excavations at Aldersbrook Manor. Pottery. Scale 1:4.

latter half of that century¹³ and including a number of octagonal bottles, one of which measured 10 cm across the flats. Amongst this material was a bottle seal of Abraham Frost (?s) dated 1701 (Fig. 5.24); efforts to identify the owner of this seal have been unsuccessful.

APPENDIX 3: MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

Hereunder are discussed other finds, all from the ditch fill in Trench 4. There were five clay pipes, one confirming that the ditch was not finally filled until at least c. 1780.¹⁴ A few bronze objects were found including buttons, and 20 pins, 20–30 mm in length with rounded heads. Animal bones and mollusca have not been analysed.

Acknowledgements

The excavations, directed by J. P. Camp on behalf of the Passmore Edwards Museum, London E.15, in association with the M11 Excavation Committee, were carried out by members of the West Essex Archaeological Group.

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Thanks are also given to I. G. Robertson, Curator of the Passmore Edwards Museum, and his staff for their assistance, especially to Miss P. M. Wilkinson, who compiled the finds report, and Miss H. Wilmott, who drew the finds.

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3. *ut supra*.
4. Anon., 1818, 169.
5. Lysons, 1795–6, *London*, iv, 152.
6. *Essex*, vi, 167; and Fisher, 1887, 360–62.
7. E.R.O., D/DSa/150.
8. E.R.O.
9. E.R.O. T/M. 133.
10. E.R.O. D/DCz/P2A and B.
11. For a similar vessel see Amis, 1968, ii, 29, No. 30.
12. Hume, 1969, 67.
13. Compare with Sutermeister, 1968, figs. 43–4.
14. Atkinson and Oswald, 1969, fig. 2.

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John Doreward of Bocking Speaker in 1399 and 1413

by J. S. ROSKELL

In the medieval period, when the Speaker for the Commons in Parliament was invariably a representative of some county and not of a city or borough, Essex happened to elect more 'knights of the shire' who became Speakers than did any other county. There are six of them in all: Sir John de Gildesburgh of Wennington, Speaker in the two parliaments of 1380; John Doreward of Bocking, in 1399 and 1413; Richard Baynard of Messing, in 1421; Sir John Tyrell of East Horndon, in 1431 and 1437; Thomas Thorpe of Great Ilford, in 1453; and John Green of Widdington, in 1460.¹ Of these, John Doreward had not the most exciting career. Nevertheless, he was of some considerable importance in Essex in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and far from being an insignificant figure at the centre of royal government at Westminster.

That Doreward was of some standing in Essex might be supposed from a mere catalogue of his estates in the county. The conjecture is confirmed by his election to represent Essex six times in less than twenty years: he was one of the two knights of the shire in the parliaments of January 1395, January 1397, October 1399, January 1404, May 1413, and April 1414.² Within the limits of this period only his friend, Sir William Coggeshall, sat for the county on so many occasions. Doreward was never sheriff in Essex, except for a few weeks before Richard II's deposition in 1399. Nor was he ever the king's escheator in the county. But he was a J.P. there, save for a year or two now and then, between 1386 and his death in 1420. Moreover, being also perhaps a lawyer, he was greatly in demand with a number of the noble families and local gentlemen of Essex as a feoffee-to-uses and in such-like capacities.

In the fourteenth century, whenever there was enmity between England and France (which was oftener the case than not), the Crown sequestrated the estates of those English monastic establishments that were dependent upon French abbeys, an action which was felt to be additionally justified at the end of the century, when there was a schism in the Papacy and England and France each obeyed a different pope. The treatment suffered by these 'alien priories' was a source of concern to the English clergy. This was at least partly because Wyclifite criticisms of the value of the monastic life were being used by some of the gentry to support a more general policy of ecclesiastical disendowment, a policy which was ostensibly designed to profit the Crown but which might be turned to their own private financial advantage. It was evidently fear of the effects of this development which resulted in Doreward being elected as Speaker in 1399, that is, during the parliament which met immediately after Richard II's deposition and Henry IV's accession. For then the clergy, prompted by Archbishop Arundel, found Sir John Cheyne, who was the Commons' first choice for the Speakership, objectionable as a Lollard and anti-clerical. Doreward himself was not above profiting from the royal sequestration of alien priory lands, as is shown by his acceptance of the estates of Mersea priory (by a grant for life) immediately after his first Speakership. But otherwise he was entirely 'reliable' from the ecclesiastical point of view. He had already been Steward of the great franchise

of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in the early 1390s, was a founder of several chantries (to the benefit of more than one Essex monastery), and he had connections with Canterbury, with Christchurch priory as well as with Archbishop Arundel himself. He was also *persona grata* with the new King. Indeed, for the first half of Henry IV's reign (down to 1406), Doreward was a member of the Royal Council, one of a small group of commoners who in this capacity were acceptable to king and parliament alike. He was evidently a man of considerable ability. So far as we know (for there are gaps in the list of the early Speakers), he was the first Commons' Speaker who was not a knight by rank at the time of his election to the office.

Doreward, now no longer a royal councillor, was again made Speaker in Henry V's first parliament in 1413. But he was once more the Commons' second choice and only acted for the last week of a single session. This was after the Commons had expressed dissatisfaction at the attitude of William Stourton, their first Speaker in this parliament, which had been one of subservience to the king.

To the parliamentary historian, it is the contrast between the circumstances which brought about Doreward's two elections to the Speakership which make him chiefly memorable. In 1399 the Commons gave in to pressure from outside when objection was taken to the person of their Speaker; whereas in 1413 it was the Commons themselves who took exception to their Speaker, because in the conduct of his office he had given way to pressure from above. Doreward's election in Henry IV's first parliament suggests a rather subservient attitude on the part of the Commons; his election in Henry V's first parliament suggests that, in the meantime, the Commons had acquired some measure of independence.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the family of Doreward of Bocking, mainly as the result of a succession of suitable marriages, had come into possession of a considerable number of estates in Essex and East Anglia. These were for the most part situated in the eastern districts of Essex. John Doreward's lands, as inherited from his father (William Doreward) and augmented as a result of his own two marriages as well as by purchase, were comprised of the manors of Southall (in Great Dunmow) and Leaden Roding in west Essex; Rawreth in the south-east of the county; then, within easy reach of Doreward's Hall at Bocking and in a rough circle round Colchester, the lands which had come into possession of the family through the Speaker's mother (Joan, daughter and heir of John Oliver), namely, the manors of Olivers in Stanway and Trumpingtons in Great Tey, *plus* Stanway itself; the manors of Park Hall and Morells in Gosfield, and estates in Stisted, Braintree, Fordham, Copford, Bergholt, and Tendring; and, up in the north of the county, the manor of Great Yeldham (held of the honour of Clare and comprising three knights' fees) and the manors of Oldhall and Grapnels (in Great Yeldham). In 1410 Doreward and his son came to hold the manor of Wickhambrook in west Suffolk, where Doreward already had an estate at Haverhill, and in 1412 he and his second wife (Isabel), as a result of a quitclaim by a son of hers by her first marriage, entered into possession of the manor of Alfreton in Great Dunmow (Essex) and of the manors of Old Hall in West Tofts (for Isabel's life only) and Old Hall in Marham (Norfolk).³ What Doreward's estates were worth is not known. But in 1436 (sixteen years after his death) his son and heir's estates were assessed at £255 a year. Doreward senior's holdings were probably worth more than this, including, as they did for the last twenty years of his life, the estates of West Mersea priory. In 1436 Doreward junior stood as high as fifth among Essex proprietors below baronial rank.⁴

John Doreward's first wife, and the mother of his son John, was Katherine, daughter of Sir William Walcot. She was still alive in March 1397.⁵ His second wife (to whom he was married by 1399) was Isabel, daughter of John Baynard of Messing, widow of Walter Bygod (by whom she had had three daughters and at least one son, William Bygod); she was a kinswoman (almost certainly aunt) of Richard Baynard of Messing, knight of the shire for Essex in 1406, 1414, 1421 (when he was Speaker), 1423, 1427, and 1433.⁶

Although John Doreward had interests outside of Essex and wider vistas still were opened up in his career when he was a member of the King's Council in the first half of Henry IV's reign,

his main concerns were as an influential member of the land-owning society of the county in which was concentrated the bulk of his numerous landed estates. How considerable was his local standing is sufficiently well attested not only by his election to parliament for Essex on altogether six occasions but also by the way in which his services as a feoffee-to-uses were so very much sought after by members of both the local nobility and the squirearchy of Essex. As early as June 1384 he was a feoffee of Sir William Coggeshall at Great Sampford. In May 1394 he was one of Coggeshall's attorneys-general who were ordered to appear (in Coggeshall's absence overseas) before arbiters appointed to deal with a complaint that Coggeshall had profited by the Earl of Oxford's 'maintenance' in a suit at common law. Two years later (in June 1396) Doreward was again acting for Coggeshall, this time as his agent in a conveyance of the manor of East Tilbury to John, Lord Cobham. The association of the two men continued when Doreward's son John married Coggeshall's eldest daughter, Blanche. The connection was an important one for Doreward: on two occasions (in 1397 and 1414) he was shire-knight with Sir William; on two more (in 1395 and 1399) with Coggeshall's uncle, Thomas Coggeshall; and at another time (in 1413) with Coggeshall's son-in-law, John Tyrell of Herons.⁷

Another important local attachment of Doreward's was to the FitzWalter family of Woodham Walter. He was their tenant in his manor of Stanways, and from this tie probably arose his connection with Baroness Joan de Mohun of Dunster, for her daughter Philippa had married the Walter Lord FitzWalter who died in Spain in 1386 while serving with John of Gaunt. In November and December 1389 Doreward was party to certain of Joan's transactions, presumably occasioned by Philippa's second marriage, her marriage to Sir John Golafre of Oxfordshire, a knight of Richard II's Chamber of the Household. And Doreward stood surety for the Baroness Joan on 30 January 1391 when she was granted (at the Exchequer) exercise of the royal rights of wardship in certain Devon and Somerset estates. Sometime between 1406 and 1409 he was also one of the feoffees of the widow of the Walter Lord FitzWalter who was summoned to parliament between 1390 and his death in 1406: Joan, the only daughter of John, Lord Devereux, and a granddaughter of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who now became the wife of Hugh, Lord Burnell, and died in May 1409.⁸

The evidence for John Doreward's connection with Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Edward III's youngest son, whose lands in Essex in right of his wife (Eleanor de Bohun) gave him a great interest in the county, is not abundant. But some sort of bond between the two men there certainly was: on 4 February 1395, when Doreward was for the first time representing Essex in parliament, he was made one of the Duke's attorneys when Gloucester went to rejoin Richard II's army in Ireland. And when, on 27 July 1397, less than two months before the Duke was, on the King's orders, murdered at Calais, he and his Duchess conveyed the manor of South Farnbridge to the support of the new collegiate chapel in their castle of Pleshy. Doreward was a witness to the deed. He continued to have relations with the family after the Duke's death. In August 1400 he stood surety for the late Duke's mother-in-law (who was also mother-in-law to Henry IV), namely Joan, the dowager Countess of Hereford, when she acquired the custody and marriage of a royal ward (the heir of Sir Ingelram Bruyn), and he was still one of her feoffees not long before she died in 1419. Doreward had also been feoffee to her daughter, Eleanor, the Duke of Gloucester's widow, at the time of her death in 1399; in October 1400 he was still one of her feoffees in a moiety of the manor of Wethersfield (Essex) and in two-thirds of the manor of Arnold (Notts.), both of them De Bohun manors, and he remained a feoffee of Wethersfield and Arnold until their incorporation in the Duchy of Lancaster in 1417. This connection with the De Bohun family probably accounts for Doreward's membership, early in 1410, of the committee of feoffees of Sir William Bouchier (later Count of Eu), the second husband of Anne, the eldest daughter and eventual heir of Thomas of Woodstock, in the manors of Little Easton near Great Dunmow (Essex) and Bildeston (Suffolk) during the formulation of a settlement of these estates. In 1416 Bouchier was one of Doreward's own feoffees in the manor of Park Hall in Gosfield.⁹

In the meantime, in February 1395, Doreward had figured among the feoffees of John de la Mare, a Londoner, in a group of Essex manors which had descended to de la Mare as heir-general to his family's share of the Orreby inheritance which had formerly been in the possession of Mary, the widow of John, Lord Roos of Helmsley, and a half-sister of the Earl of Northumberland, who had died childless in 1394.¹⁰ In 1404, Doreward was also a feoffee, in Little Hockley (Essex), to Sir John Wroth, knight of the shire for Middlesex in 1397, 1401, 1404, and 1406.¹¹ Lastly, in the closing stages of his career, from June 1415 onwards, he was a feoffee of Henry IV's youngest son, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in favour of whom nearly eleven years earlier (during the Coventry parliament of October 1404) he had surrendered his royal grant of income from the fee-farm of Colchester.¹²

In the early years of Richard II's reign there was a John Doreward of Rivenhall (Essex) who, though probably a member of the same family, is not to be identified with John Doreward of Bocking, the son of William Doreward.¹³ There must be some doubt, therefore, whether it was Doreward of Rivenhall or Doreward of Bocking who stood surety in Chancery for the Master and Scholars of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, when, in August 1380 and pending a dispute with the Crown, they received a temporary royal grant of some tenements in the town.¹⁴ But it was certainly John Doreward of Bocking who, on 23 February 1381, was one of a group of feoffees who received a royal licence to grant in mortmain certain small properties in Burnham and Great Dunmow to the house of Austin canons in Great Dunmow. The FitzWalters were patrons of this monastery, and Doreward was probably then acting as a feoffee of the Lord FitzWalter who died in Spain in 1386.¹⁵

For the early years of Richard II's reign not a great deal remains to be told of John Doreward. There are certainly no signs that he made much advance politically: he was without doubt of mature age before, in 1395, he was first elected to parliament for his county, but such references to his early career as survive are mainly of a local character. What, however, they suggest is a steady accumulation of landed property and the pursuit of 'acquaintance' and reputation in Essex among the county's leading families, especially among the gentry of which he himself was to become a very prominent member.

Essex was profoundly disturbed in the spring of 1381 by the great social upheaval contained in the Peasants' Revolt. It is not known how far, if at all, Doreward and his estates were affected by the rising. But on 5 July 1381, when the young king was himself at Chelmsford, Doreward was included in a royal commission authorised to find recompense for the damage done by the rebels at Cressing Temple and Witham. In January 1383, when an Essex man (of Kirby-le-Soken), imprisoned in the Fleet prison in London as a rebel and for refusing to pay taxes, was set free, Doreward stood surety for his future good behaviour. He was also appointed on 6 December 1384 as a member of a royal commission set up to inquire into the situation in the manor of Langdon Hall (Essex) which, previously, had been seized for the Crown by John Ewell, the royal escheator for Essex; Ewell's execution by the rebels in 1381 had been procured by one Richard Palmer, who had then forcibly put himself in possession.¹⁶

It was not until 18 February 1386 that Doreward was included for the first time in the Essex commission of the peace.¹⁷ He may very well at that time have had close connections with Richard II's personal friend and supporter, Robert de Vere, Earl of Essex and recently created Marquess of Dublin, who was among the foremost of Essex landowners. He was a tenant of De Vere and his co-feoffee in the Coggeshall lands, and it was expressly on De Vere's recommendation that, on 8 May 1386, Doreward's interest in fee-tail in the manor of Rawreth (Essex) was ratified under the Great Seal. But after the appointment, in November following, of the parliamentary commission which virtually took the royal administration out of the hands of the king and his party, Doreward was confirmed by it, in July 1387, in his office of J.P. in Essex.¹⁸

Of Doreward's reactions to the political upsets of the next two critical years, we have no notice. Robert de Vere suffered forfeiture for treason during 'the Merciless Parliament' of 1388, but Doreward was perhaps already also connected with the Duke of Gloucester, the chief of the

Lords Appellant who brought De Vere down. All we learn of Doreward at this time, in fact, is of his standing surety in Chancery in November 1387 for Thomas Swinbourne, keeper of Roxburgh Castle in the East March towards Scotland, when the latter shipped cloth for his retainers' liveries to Newcastle upon Tyne without paying customs; of his participation in some private business of his friend, Sir William Coggeshall; and of his again standing surety in Chancery on 20 November 1388, this time for a former Speaker, Sir John Gildesburgh (an Essex notable who had ties with the Duke of Gloucester), when Gildesburgh and a London rector acquired, at the Exchequer, the custody of the rectory of Hornchurch (Essex) and all else that belonged, in Essex, Kent and London, to the hospital of Montjeux in Savoy, which, because of its adherence to the anti-pope (Clement VII), had incurred sequestration of its English possessions.

It was just after Richard II's recovery of personal control of government that, on 18 May 1389, Doreward shared (with Robert Newport of Hertfordshire) a grant of the custody of two Essex manors (Barnston and Beaumont) forfeited by Sir James Berners, one of the knights of the King's Chamber, who had been successfully impeached for treason and executed during 'the Merciless Parliament' of 1388. (The rent fixed by the Exchequer for this property was £34-odd a year.¹⁹) Then, on 10 July following, Doreward and Newport, having formed a syndicate with fourteen other men of Essex and Herts. and obtained the assent of the Council, paid 700 marks for the manor of Sacombe (Herts.), an estate forfeited by Sir John Holt, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, in pursuance of another adverse judgement of 'the Merciless Parliament'. After the reversal of the acts of this parliament in the Shrewsbury parliament of January 1398, Holt was given back his estates, restitution of Sacombe being specifically ordered on 22 May 1398. Clearly, however, the grantees had enjoyed an undisturbed possession for some nine years.²⁰

No particular political significance need be attached to the grant of Justice Holt's forfeited manor of Sacombe in 1389. Certainly, it would be unwise to assume from it that Doreward was then personally in favour with the newly re-established royalist party. That the reverse was the case is, indeed, quite likely: at any rate, Doreward was not among the Essex J.P.s appointed on 15 July 1389; nor was he included in the next Commission of the Peace appointed on 10 November following. He did, however, find a place on the Essex bench when fresh commissions were next issued on 28 June 1390, and this appointment was confirmed on 24 December later that year. Doreward was, in fact, to remain a J.P. until the summer of 1397 when, perhaps more significantly, he was once again dropped from the commission.²¹

In the meantime, however, Doreward had not been without his connections at Court, even among Richard II's personal friends: we have already noticed his connection in December 1389 and January 1391 with Baroness De Mohun who had been among the ladies banished from the Royal Household early in 1388, just before the proscriptions of 'the Merciless Parliament'.²² Certainly, Doreward had some considerable influence outside the limits of his own county. How long he had occupied the office is not known, but already by November 1390 he was acting as steward of the great franchise of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. He was still holding that office in July 1393 and perhaps even as late as April 1396, at which time he entered into a recognisance with the man who had been his deputy at Bury in 1393, Edmund Lakingheath.²³ However, none other than Sir John Bushy, one of the most important of Richard II's supporters, had replaced him by November 1397.

Although a J.P. in Essex continuously from June 1390 until July 1397 and knight of the shire in the consecutive parliaments of January 1395 and January 1397, Doreward served on very few local commissions of royal appointment in that period: in July 1391, however, he was a member of an inquiry into the effects of the construction of some fishing weirs on a sandbank on Mersea Island; in June 1394, he was made one of a commission of oyer and terminer appointed when the constable of Colchester Castle complained of the result of the escape of an ex-receiver of the Duke of Gloucester, a misfortune which had involved the constable in paying off his prisoner's arrears (amounting to 400 marks); and on 9 April 1397 he was appointed a justice of gaol delivery at Colchester with authority to enquire into escapes of felons in Essex generally.²⁴ It may have been

his connection with the Duke of Gloucester, who, never forgiven by Richard II for his share in the proceedings of 'the Merciless Parliament', was murdered on his orders at Calais in September 1397, which had been behind Doreward's dismissal as J.P. in July 1397. Nor was he reappointed when new commissions were issued on 12 November 1397, despite the fact that on 28 August he had lent the king 100 marks (in return for a royal letter patent promising repayment shortly after Easter 1398). But he was still in circulation. On 22 November 1397, he was made a royal commissioner of oyer and terminer following a complaint by a probable kinsman (Walter Doreward) of trouble with his bondsmen at Great Bromley over their refusal to perform customary services. A month later, on 20 December, he had been put on the large Essex commission (to which were appointed most of the important local magnates and gentry) ordered to secure the consent of the county, along with Hertfordshire, to a joint communal fine of £2000 which was to be paid to the king in return for a remission of the ancient farm of the two shires and a pardon for all their people's treasons and risings before 1 October 1397. The Essex commissioners had also been ordered to assess and levy the fine in their county, and the then two knights of the shire were to take to Shrewsbury (where parliament was due to meet at the end of January 1398) their personal report to the king and an authority to consent to his orders regarding the payment of the fine.²⁵

Doreward's participation in negotiating his county's share in this famous 'crooked pardon' of Richard II's period of absolute rule, a pardon to which seventeen counties of southern England in all were subjected, not to mention his ties with Thomas of Woodstock and the De Bohun family in these years, is likely to have predisposed him to welcome the outcome of the events of 1399 when Richard II was deposed in favour of Henry IV. This seems the more probable when it is realised that he had already formed an additional connection with another important victim of Richard II's tyranny, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, whose banishment and deprivation the king had procured in the purge of September 1397.

John Doreward was of the type of pious layman particularly acceptable to the prelates of the English Church at a time when the Lollard heresy was seeking to popularise its appeal to the gentry by the promotion of political schemes for ecclesiastical disendowment, especially at the expense of the 'possessioners' among the monastic clergy. In July 1392 he had been party to a royally licensed grant in mortmain of a small estate at Little Maldon to the Premonstratensian abbey of Beeleigh. This was by no means important or unusual in itself: in fact, Doreward may only have been acting with his two cograntors on behalf of someone else. But this was not all. He had his own close association (as we have seen) with one of the greatest of English monasteries, the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. He had links also with the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, into whose confraternity he was to be received in 1401.

Moreover, Doreward's home village of Bocking was the centre of a deanery comprising seven parishes in Essex and Suffolk in which the Archbishop of Canterbury (because of his landed possessions in the area) exercised extensive powers of direct ecclesiastical jurisdiction.²⁶ In 1362 Doreward's father had founded a chantry in Bocking parish church, and in June 1393 Doreward himself began a series of transactions the aim of which was to found there a chantry of his own. The prior and monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, held a manor in Bocking out of which (by royal licence purchased by Doreward on 20 June 1393) they granted him 100 acres and £3 in rents (held of the Crown in chief) in exchange for a messuage, 112 acres, and a shilling rent in Bocking and at Stisted (not held in chief); in addition, however, the priory was to grant Doreward a garden and £7 in rents at Bocking in exchange for £9 in rents from his manor of Leaden Roding, and it was Doreward's intention, assisted by a second royal licence, to amortise this last acquisition at Bocking to the support of the chaplain who was to serve in his chantry (dedicated to the Blessed Virgin) in Bocking church. These two royal licences together cost Doreward £20 at the Hanaper (fee-office) of the Chancery. Later, between November 1393 and February 1394, by a series of fines in the Court of Common Pleas and other contingent conveyances relating to Doreward's interest in the manor of Leaden Roding, the foundation of

the chantry moved a stage nearer its completion. Party to some of these deeds were, of course, Doreward's feoffees in the manor of Leaden Roding; they included Bishop Braybroke of London, Aubrey (de Vere), Earl of Oxford, and Sir Thomas Erpingham, Henry IV's future chamberlain. There may have been difficulties, and it looks as though the plan to exchange Doreward's rents from Leaden Roding for the priory's garden and rent at Bocking broke down, and that, sometime between May 1394 and May 1395, Doreward purchased the Bocking rent outright for the large sum of 650 marks (£433 6s. 8d.), the cost of the priory's recent separate acquisition in the city of London, 'The Crown' in Eastcheap. However this may be, it was not until Lady Day 1397 that the deed for the foundation of the chantry (a tripartite indenture) was executed at Bocking and the chantry properly established. Those specifically for whom prayers were to be offered by the chantry-chaplain included, in addition to members of Doreward's own family, Richard II, Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury, the prior and chapter of Christchurch, Canterbury, and Baroness FitzWalter (the dowager who was soon to become the wife of Edward, the elder son of Edmund, Duke of York, and a cousin of the king). In view of the rapid rise of Doreward's fortunes under Henry IV, with whom Arundel had returned from exile and whose accession he did so much to accomplish, the archbishop's inclusion in the bede-roll of the chantry is perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the deed.²⁷

The chantry at Bocking was not the only foundation of this kind for which Doreward was personally responsible. On 13 November 1400 the prior of the Augustinian house of the canons of St. Botolph at Colchester secured a royal licence enabling Doreward to grant it in mortmain some lands and rents there and at Great Tey for the maintenance of a chantry-chaplain in the priory church. On 2 June 1407, in exchange for a release of 200 marks due to him for his previous services on the King's Council, Doreward secured a royal licence to found in the parish church at Stanway, by the grant of a house on the glebe near the graveyard and £7 rent from the manor and his other lands in the place, another chantry of one chaplain. At the same time he received a licence to augment the income of the chaplain of a chantry at Bergholt Sackville by amortising £2 in rents from some of his lands in Colchester, Stanway, Fordham, and Bergholt, as well as to convey his manor of Tendring (although not its advowson) as a gift to the Benedictine abbey of St. John in Colchester. This last grant did not, however, take effect, Doreward's son eventually (in 1440) using the manor of Tendring to endow a *maison dieu* (or hospital) at Bocking instead.²⁸ Doreward's good works of this kind were conventional enough, but the number of his endowments for pious uses is unusual, and he himself can only have been regarded as entirely 'reliable' in matters of religious faith and practice at a time when, under the impulse of Wyclifism, many well-to-do laymen were actively critical of Church life and doctrine.

That Doreward was thought to be in sympathy with the Revolution of 1399 (whereby Richard II was succeeded by Henry IV) would appear to be indicated by the fact that on 22 August 1399 (shortly after Richard had surrendered to Henry and the royal administration was functioning under the latter's orders) he was appointed as sheriff of Essex and Herts.²⁹ Moreover, on 15 September, he was made deputy at Colchester to the Chief Butler of England.³⁰ These, of course, were interim appointments, only two among many used to keep the royal administration running until the political situation had become stabilised. And, in fact, Doreward's term as sheriff ended on 30 September³¹ (the date of Richard's deposition), and his deputy-butlership only lasted until 14 October following (the morrow of Henry's coronation).

In the meantime, in response to writs issued at Chester on 19 August summoning in Richard II's name the parliament which, meeting as an assembly of the estates of the realm, was to witness his deposition and Henry IV's accession, the elections to parliament had been held country-wide, by the sheriffs of course. Evidently, Doreward had used his own appointment as sheriff to his personal advantage in at least one respect, for he was one of the two knights of the shire elected for Essex. Such action was illegal, sheriffs in office being prohibited by statute (and, indeed, by the terms of the writs of summons) from being elected to parliament. But the times were out of joint, and it was only to be expected that normal practice would here and there be in

abeyance. After the prelates and lords personally summoned and those elected to parliament had assisted at Richard's deposition and recognised his successor on 30 September 1399, they met again on 6 October, and then what was now the first parliament of Henry IV was prorogued to the day after his coronation, which took place on 13 October. Already the Commons had elected Sir John Cheyne, knight of the shire for Gloucestershire, as their Speaker, and on parliament's reassembly on 14 October he was presented to the king and accepted. On the very next day, however, he sought to be discharged on the grounds of ill-health. This reason was most probably a formal one merely, for already Archbishop Arundel had openly expressed in Convocation his objection to Sir John Cheyne as a renegade clerk and enemy of the Church; and it was probably pressure from the primate (and not ill-health at all) which resulted in Cheyne's exoneration from the Speakership. The Commons' second choice for the office—John Doreward himself, who was then presented and accepted as Speaker forthwith—can only have been agreeable to Arundel personally and, as one whose opinions were orthodox and 'safe', to the lords spiritual in general.³² Whatever the effect of Doreward's substitution for Cheyne, the threatened attack on ecclesiastical privileges which was evidently dreaded by the clergy, came to nothing. It may also be noted that this parliament of 1399 resulted in the annulment of the measures of Richard II's last parliament (1397–8) and consequently in a restoration of the estates forfeited at that time, a special concession being made in the case of Archbishop Arundel in that he was allowed damages from his supplanter in the primacy (Roger Walden). What particular part in the session was played by Doreward is not known.

A short time before Henry IV's first parliament ended on 19 November 1399, something was done to alleviate the effects of the long sequestration, on account of Anglo-French hostility and the Great Schism, of the property of the alien priories (the English dependencies of French monasteries), a policy which had inevitably resulted in the impoverishment of many of them, especially those whose temporalities had been farmed out by the Exchequer to lay lessees. Sir John Cheyne, whom Doreward had replaced as Speaker, had been a profiteer on a considerable scale from such seizures of alien priory lands. But Doreward himself, whatever his reputation as an endower of chantries and despite links with the 'possessioners', was not above receiving rewards for his services to the Crown in the form of custody of alien priory estates, a practice against which Archbishop Arundel was to make bitter complaint later on, at the Coventry parliament of 1404. In fact, on 24 November 1399, only five days after Doreward's Speakership ended with the dissolution of Henry IV's first parliament, he was granted the custody of the alien priory of Mersea in Essex, a dependency of the Norman abbey of St. Ouen at Rouen, the estates of which priory he was to rent from the Exchequer for 140 marks (£93 6s. 8d.) per annum as from the previous Michaelmas and for as long as the war with France lasted. (His recent fellow-knight of the shire, Thomas Coggeshall, and Thomas Godstone, who had been serving as a parliamentary burgess for Colchester, stood surety for him in this transaction.) Doreward had not long to wait before he secured a firmer hold of these estates: on 14 May 1400 he procured a royal patent licensing the abbey of St. Ouen to grant the priory and manor of Mersea to him and his second wife (Isabel), the grant, which was made for Doreward's life, being shared with Henry Twiloe who, the non-resident bishop of the Irish diocese of Enachdune, was to discharge the customary spiritual obligations of the priory. And, on 29 May, the transfer of the priory and its property, including livestock, was sanctioned. Only another three weeks had gone by when, on 20 June, the abbey of St. Ouen accepted an indenture of conveyance in return for a promise on the part of the lessees to maintain the fabric, divine services and customs of the priory, and to draw up before three years had elapsed a new roll of its tenants recording their names, rents, and duties, a copy of which (in Latin) was to be sent to St. Ouen before a further two years had passed. A royal confirmation of these arrangements was procured on 27 June 1400. However, short of a year later, namely on 28 March 1401, this royal confirmation was itself ratified with an additional and an important concession: the yearly farm of 140 marks referred to in Doreward's original grant of 24 November 1399 was now entirely waived, as was also the ancient *apport* (or

rent) customarily due from the priory to the Crown in peace-time, so 'ironing out' the effects of any accidental failure to mention, in the grants and licences made up-to-date, Doreward's first grant, the value of the priory, the abbey of St. Ouen's tenure of the priory by ancient royal grant (Edward the Confessor's), and the abbey's adherence to the anti-Pope (Benedict XIII). Doreward had no difficulty in retaining possession of the priory of Mersea when, in the parliament of 1402, Henry IV approved a petition from the Commons asking that the estates of the non-conventual alien priories should all be made subject to an Act of Resumption, except (the petition itself provided) those of which grants or leases had been made by the Crown (or of which releases had been made by the parent-houses) to laymen during the last three reigns. Henry IV had agreed to consult his Council on this matter, and in the middle of January 1403 certain alien priors and lay *occupatores* were summoned to negotiate either with the Treasurer of the Exchequer or the Council. By this time Bishop Twiloe had dropped out of the reckoning so far as Mersea priory was concerned and, in the list of those required to treat, Doreward and his wife alone figure as occupiers. On 25 January 1403 Doreward duly appeared before a select group of the Council (the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and John Scarle). However, bringing acceptable evidences of his *purchasing* with the abbey of St. Ouen, he was dismissed without more ado. In fact, Doreward had no difficulty in retaining control of Mersea priory until his death; and his widow then continued to hold the lease until, on Easter Monday 1423, she surrendered it in favour of Archbishop Chichele and his nephew, William Chichele, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who together granted it (in free alms) to their new collegiate foundation at Higham Ferrers (Northants.), the archbishop's birthplace.³³

When, on 24 November 1399, John Doreward had been first given the right to farm the priory of Mersea, he was already a member of Henry IV's Council. He had been appointed, in fact, on 1 November 1399, that is, while he was still Speaker, and he is known to have been present at Council meetings as early as on 4 and 8 December following. Hardly surprisingly, he profited from this promotion by much more than simply his acquisition of Mersea priory and its estates. Indeed, from the beginning of his tenure of office as councillor, he received the large annual fee of 100 marks. But every now and then, he obtained additional grants intended to cover special expenses incurred in his work as a member of the Council: for example, on 9 November 1401, he was awarded £40 for all his travel and costs when sent at different times to the king on important business on the Council's behalf. He was a continual member of the Council until the important change in its composition which occurred on 22 May 1406, during the long parliament of that year. In the meantime, he was among those councillors (including seven commoners) nominated by Henry IV in the parliament of January 1404, to which Doreward himself was once more elected for Essex; and, certainly, he was still *consiliarius regis* on 27 October 1405, when the Exchequer was authorised to pay him £40 in part-payment of a reward for his attendance as such. He did not serve again in this capacity following his dismissal in 1406.³⁴

Not long after his first appointment as a member of the Council at the beginning of the reign, namely on 10 December 1399, Doreward (described as 'king's esquire') was granted an annuity of £35 payable from the fee-farm of the borough of Colchester as from 13 September 1399; the grant was made for life or else until some other provision was made for 'his estate'. This sum of £35 a year was, in fact, the whole fee-farm for which the borough was then liable in the Exchequer (that is, the old farm of £42 minus the £7 of which the town was currently acquitted by the Treasurer and Barons). Doreward already had interests of his own in Colchester, and they were to multiply as time went on: he had tenements in the borough; on 11 November 1400 the Royal Council agreed that he should be granted the advowson and patronage of the hospital of St. Cross there (not worth more than £5 a year), which had formerly been dependent upon his manor of Stanway; two days later, on 13 November, he received the royal licence to found his chantry in the priory of St. Botolph; and he and his son very probably were the John Doreward senior and John Doreward junior who, described as of Stisted (where John senior had an estate), were admitted to the freedom of the borough, as members of the weavers' guild.³⁵ Doreward

retained the £35 fee-farm of Colchester until, on 22 October 1404 (during the Coventry parliament and in anticipation of its Act of Resumption), he surrendered it in favour of Humphrey, the youngest of the king's sons, in exchange for a patent exempting him for life from jury service, from appointment as sheriff, justice of the peace, commissioner of array and collector of parliamentary subsidies, from even election as knight of the shire, and from service in other royal offices, against his will. (The grant of the fee-farm was made to Humphrey in tail male, and he was given the castle of Colchester and the hundred of Tendring as well.³⁶)

Since the beginning of Henry IV's reign, Doreward's services to the Crown in local administration had been of no special importance, although this was presumably because he had been kept busy as a member of the Royal Council. He was not appointed to the first commission of the peace for Essex issued in Henry IV's name (dated 24 October 1399), but after his Speakership he was made a J.P. once more on 28 November 1399, and his commission was subsequently renewed on several occasions, so that he acted in this office continuously (notwithstanding his exemption of October 1404) until December 1411.³⁷ He was often made a commissioner of array in the county in the early years of the reign: on 18 December 1399, on 14 July 1402, on 28 August, 8 September, 5 November, and 25 November 1403 and on 2 July 1405.³⁸ Meanwhile, on 11 May 1402, he had been appointed to the Essex commission in a nationwide investigation into unrest, with authority to arrest those who were spreading false rumours about Henry IV's constitutional and political intentions, and on 5 August 1404 he had been put on a royal commission of inquiry into treasons and felonies committed since the middle of the previous January in Essex and Herts.

This last commission was presumably intended to deal with those conspiracies which had been disturbing the region during the previous twelve months. The object of the plots had been the restoration (with French help) of the former king, Richard of Bordeaux, who had been dead for four years but was believed in some quarters to be still alive in Scotland. Essex, clearly, had been the centre of this unrest: privy to it had been the dowager Countess of Oxford (the mother of Robert de Vere, Richard's close personal friend who had died in exile in 1392), Bishop Despenser of Norwich, and the abbots of St. John's at Colchester, St. Osyth's at Chiche, and Byleigh; and it was said that a monk of Colchester had, at one of the many secret interviews afterwards confessed to have taken place, threatened the life of Henry IV and the lives of some Essex notables conspicuously faithful to him, including John Doreward. The plot had collapsed by mid-summer 1404, and the investigation was opened at Colchester on 25 August. Doreward, although appointed one of the commissioners of inquiry, was not present, however.³⁹ Presumably he was at Court.

Doreward's membership of the Royal Council inevitably involved him in business which frequently kept him away from Essex. It was doubtless on the same account that, on 25 February 1400, he had been included in a commission of inquiry into encroachments on royal rights in Gloucestershire by the abbots of Cirencester. From time to time during his membership of the Council he also acted on commissions appointed to hear and determine appeals against judgements given in the Court of the Constable and Marshal and the Court of Admiralty, courts which were tribunals exercising, in a sense, a conciliar jurisdiction.⁴⁰ It was probably as a member of the Royal Council, too, that he acted as one of the arbiters in a dispute over the facilities for trading in fish and with foreigners at Great Yarmouth claimed by the men of Lowestoft, the final agreement concerning which dispute was confirmed (after consultation with the Council) in February 1401. It was soon after this, namely on 5 March, that Doreward played a prominent part in the presentation to Henry IV of an 'advice' from his councillors regarding a petition made by the Commons in the parliament that was then in session, a petition which, as it raised the question of the manner, terms and duration of their appointment, they were suspicious of. Doreward was, in fact, acting as his fellow-councillors' messenger, and they asked the king to accept his explanation of their 'advice'. Doreward's services as an intermediary between Henry IV and his Council were employed on other occasions, for example, when the king's personal

leadership of military campaigns against the Welsh (under Owen Glendower) and other rebels separated them. And it is interesting to note too that, on 20 July 1401, Henry IV sent him from the priory of Selbourne (Hants) with a letter under the signet, along with other confidential instructions, regarding the summoning of a Great Council for mid-August, a meeting to which between four and eight knights from every county were to be summoned. Doreward was himself one of those to be summoned from Essex. (This was not the only Great Council to which he was specially summoned in the first half of the reign.⁴¹) On 4 April 1402 he was also one of twelve members of the Council who were party to an undertaking for the repayment (before Easter) of a loan of £2,500 made to the Crown by John Hende (a London draper), it being understood that the loan would be met by preferential assignments on the London customs. Doreward himself occasionally became a royal creditor, for example, in June 1401 in the sum of £100; and in October 1402 he was one of four notables living in Essex and Herts. who were then asked for a loan for the support of the royal garrisons in south Wales.⁴²

Again, it was probably as a member of the Royal Council that during the parliament of September–November 1402, Doreward was put on a committee appointed to investigate certain allegations which had been made against the civic authorities of London by one of their fellow citizens, one John Cavendish. (The committee, which included the two Chief Justices and other royal councillors, was to certify the Chancellor of the outcome of the enquiry.) Doreward was not himself a knight of the shire in that parliament. In fact, after the first parliament of the reign he did not serve again in that capacity during the rest of the reign, except in January 1404, when Henry IV nominated him in parliament as a member of his Council, which was then charged with remedying all complaints made during the session.⁴³ Another commission to come his way, once more probably by reason of his membership of the Council, was that of 23 August 1405, when, together with his fellow-councillor, Sir John Cheyne (the man whom he had replaced as Speaker in 1399), he was appointed at Worcester to negotiate for the submission of the inhabitants of Usk and Caerleon and other Welsh border lordships who had been an embarrassment to the government during the Glendower rebellion, provide for the administration of those areas, and report personally to the king.⁴⁴ This was one of his last commissions as a royal councillor, because in May 1406, when the Council was reconstituted during parliament, he was not reappointed.

Doreward's nearly seven years' membership of the Council had stood him well, personally. For one thing, it can only have made his employment as a *feoffee-to-uses* even more attractive than before to members of the local nobility in Essex. It also brought him into touch with some of the circle of Henry IV's close friends and supporters: for example, at the end of February 1400 Doreward was one of the sureties for Sir Thomas Erpingham, an old retainer of the king and now his Chamberlain and the Warden of the Cinque Ports, when Erpingham was granted the farm of Framlingham Castle and other estates in East Anglia during the minority of Thomas Mowbray, the Earl Marshal; and he was again Erpingham's surety when, on 12 November 1403, Erpingham was given the right to farm (at 370 marks a year) the castle and lordship of Clare and all the other Mortimer estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, during the minority of Edmund, Earl of March. We have already seen something of Doreward's connection with Henry IV's mother-in-law, Joan, dowager Countess of Hereford, and of his continuance in service as one of the *feoffees* of the king's first wife's sister, Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, who had died in 1399, shortly before his accession. In June 1402 he had been a mainpernor for the 'king's knight' and recently appointed chief usher of the hall of the Royal Household, Sir John de Strange, when the latter was granted a royal wardship in Suffolk.

Doreward's royal councillorship had been, of course, more directly profitable in simple financial terms, at any rate at first. His grant of an annual fee of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), expressly for his services in the Council, was a handsome salary, especially as augmented by occasional *regarda* and the £35 a year from the Colchester fee-farm which he enjoyed from 1399 to October 1404. Moreover, his allowance to retain the alien priory of Mersea early in 1404, when

the whole question of such grants was under review, proved a source of no great embarrassment to his fellow-councillors, with whom the matter rested, and could only have been gratifying to him personally. Such gains were, however, needed to offset those inevitable postponements of payment of official stipends which arose out of the system of reimbursement by Exchequer assignments on future royal revenues, and most of Doreward's payments as councillor were of that sort. In May 1405, for example, he was restoring to the Exchequer bad tallies, meaning assignments of money he had been unable to collect. Admittedly, the tallies were worth no more than £18-odd, and here he was perhaps quite content to have nothing better than fresh assignments. But, over a year after his dismissal from the Council, namely on 2 June 1407, he was still owed 200 marks (two years' salary) for his services as councillor, and then he was compelled (as we have seen) to forego payment of this considerable sum merely in return for a free licence to found his chantry at Stanway. And a very hard bargain it was at that!⁴⁵

After Doreward's failure to be reappointed to the Council in May 1406, he virtually drops out of sight for the rest of Henry IV's reign, save for occasional local transactions of a private character to which he was party, and apart from his membership of the Commission of the Peace in Essex, to which he continued to be appointed (by patents of 3 March 1406, 13 February 1407 and 16 June 1410) until he was retired on the reconstitution of the bench in December 1411. And this was so despite the fact that Archbishop Arundel was Chancellor for three years from January 1407 and then again from January 1412 until the end of the reign in March 1413. It is conceivable (though unlikely) that Doreward represented Essex in the parliament of January 1410, for which the Essex returns are lost. Otherwise, he did not act as knight of the shire in any parliament of Henry IV after January 1404. When, on 22 October 1404, he surrendered his grant of the fee-farm of Colchester, he had in fact secured an exemption for life from appointment to royal commissions and offices against his will and from service in parliament as a knight of the shire. And, not long before he was left out of the Commission of the Peace for Essex in December 1411, namely on 11 November, he renewed his patent of exemption from royal service, the scope of the grant, moreover, being now extended to exclude him for life not only from election as a knight of the shire for any county, but also from summonses to great councils and other council meetings, from service as justice of the peace and commissioner of array, from service in arms, and from distraint to knighthood. It was also on the very same day that he took out yet another patent, one allowing his manors in Essex and Norfolk, and his houses there and in London and elsewhere, for a period of seven years, freedom from billeting and the exemption of his livestock and produce from seizure by royal purveyors.⁴⁶ Whether there was any special point in this concession is not known.

At the beginning of Henry V's reign in March 1413, when new commissions of the peace were issued, Doreward was not reappointed to the local bench. But, in spite of his exemption by patent, he was again elected to sit as knight of the shire for Essex in the first parliament of the new reign. This parliament met on 15 May 1413, and three days later the Commons' Speaker, William Stourton, was presented to the king who accepted him. On 22 May, when next Stourton appeared before the king in the Upper House it was to make certain verbal requests which, however, at the king's instance but without the Commons' necessary approval, he there and then agreed to put into writing. On 25 May the Commons objected, and it was now Doreward whom they chose to act as their spokesman in this regard. In that complaint the Commons were successful, but they evidently carried their dissatisfaction with Stourton's conduct still further, for on 3 June, saying that Stourton was ill in bed and unable to continue, they presented Doreward as their proper Speaker with the intention that he should take Stourton's place, and the king accepted the fresh election. Thus was repeated the circumstance of 1399, but with an important difference, meaning that Doreward became Speaker by a substitution, only now the initiative had lain with the Commons. As it fell out, this parliament lasted for only another six days after Doreward's election, being dissolved on 9 June. It may be, as J. H. Round once suggested, that Doreward was chosen because, at a time when the Lollards were once more

bestirring themselves politically, he was acceptable on personal grounds to Archbishop Arundel.⁴⁷ But this reason seems very doubtful, if only because of the primate's long hostility to Henry V (when the latter was Prince of Wales) and his dismissal from the Chancellorship immediately after Henry IV's death. Perhaps, after registering their objection to Stourton's subservience, the Commons simply wished to stabilise their position by appointing a tried man of affairs who had been free from embroilment in recent upsets on the political stage, from which he had been virtually absent for the last seven years. However this may be, Doreward ended Henry V's first parliament as he had ended Henry IV's first parliament, occupying the office of Speaker.

A year later, Doreward was re-elected as knight of the shire for Essex (possibly, although the returns to the three parliaments of 1415-16 have been lost, for the last time). He was now returned to the parliament which met at Leicester on 30 April 1414, being on this occasion accompanied by his old friend, Sir William Coggeshall. He was not, however, to be re-elected Speaker.

In the meantime, Doreward had been moved to renew his interest in local government in Essex, being appointed on 24 September 1413 to inquire into allegations of wastes committed during the last two reigns in the alien priory of Benstede and, on 16 November 1413, once again included in the local Commission of the Peace. He was, in fact, to be reappointed a J.P. for Essex down to his death seven years later (by patents of 12 December 1414, 3 February 1416, 12 December 1417, and 21 April 1419). On 29 May 1415, with Henry V's resumption of the French war in prospect, he was made a commissioner of array in the county.⁴⁸ Then, in the following month, when the king's youngest brother, Humphrey, who was now Duke of Gloucester, was making his preparations for the impending campaign in Normandy, Doreward was made one of his feoffees in an important group of his lands.

A year or so later, Doreward was at variance with Bishop Beaufort of Winchester, who had been Chancellor of England ever since the beginning of Henry V's reign. The bishop, in his capacity as executor to his elder brother John, the late Earl of Somerset, enjoyed the wardship of the FitzWalter estates, the manor of Lexden (Essex) among them. Between Lexden and Doreward's manor of Stanway was a clearing in the woods to which Doreward laid claim, only for Beaufort to dispute his title. It was on 14 May 1416 that Doreward entered into a recognisance in Chancery in a sum of £200, undertaking to abide by the award of the bishop and his counsel, and later in the year (on 22 October) he renewed the undertaking in spite of the appointment on 28 July of a royal commission of inquiry into the claims of the parties, the terms of which indicate that rights of common of pasture were also in dispute.⁴⁹ There is little more to relate of Doreward's career. Sometime before his death in 1420, however, he lent £100 to Henry V on the security of certain jewels, a loan for the repayment of only half of which his widow (as executrix) was forced to compound with the Treasurer of the Exchequer, and after almost another six years had passed (payment being made on this basis on 17 July 1426).

Doreward had made his will on 1 February 1418. Its contents, which suggest a moderate affluence, demonstrate a considerable interest on Doreward's part in local churches, especially churches in places where he had property of his own and, even more especially, in the churches where he had already founded chantries. To the fabric fund of the church at Bocking he left £20; and he made small gifts to the churches at Goldham, Gosfield, Stanway, Rothing, and Rawreth. Bequests of 5 marks each he left to the Franciscan friaries at Ipswich and Colchester, the Dominican houses at Sudbury and Chelmsford, the Augustinians of Clare, the Carmelites of Maldon, and the nunneries of Hengham and Wykes. To the nuns of Stratford-at-Bower went 10 marks. A sum of £50 he left to be divided among the prisoners in the gaols at Colchester, Hertford, and Stortford, the prisons in London (namely Newgate, Fleet and Ludgate) and the prisons of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and among the poor and sick in Essex, especially those living in the vills where he himself had lands. £40 he bequeathed for the repair of roads between Coggeshall and Colchester. The same amount was to be distributed among such of his servants as did not enjoy a retaining-fee given them for life. His three daughters, including Joan,

Lady Waldegrave, received bequests amounting in value to nearly £100. To his son and heir, John, went all his armour, the stock at Bocking (worth £100), and jewels worth £100. £120 was to be equally divided among the six executors whom he had appointed along with his wife, Isabel; and, together, they were to have the disposal of the remainder of his personalty. The will also made elaborate provision for the succession to his estates, with special safeguards for the entails, his wife's life-interests, and his chantries.⁵⁰

Doreward died on 12 November 1420 and was buried at Bocking. Only ten days later, writs were sued out from the Chancery, authorising enquiries about his lands and addressed to the royal escheators in Essex, Norfolk, Middlesex, and London. On 26 December following, the escheator for Essex was ordered to give livery of seisin to John, his son and heir, of all save the dower estates of the widow, orders to assign which were issued on 10 March 1421. An agreement between the heir and the widow (the heir's stepmother), regarding the manor of Leaden Roding, suggests that the testamentary grant of it in tail male to his daughter, Lady Waldegrave, was in process of being defeated.⁵¹ Doreward's widow, Isabel, died shortly before 20 October 1426. John, the heir, was never a knight of the shire, but he was the Duchy of Lancaster steward for the honour of Clare in 1417-18, the sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1425-6 and 1432-3, and a J.P. in Essex from 1429 to 1435. It was his son John, the Speaker's grandson, a member of Lincoln's Inn, who was knight of the shire for Essex in 1453-4.⁵²

NOTES

The following abbreviations have been used: *CCR*, *Calendar of Close Rolls*; *CFR*, *Calendar of Fine Rolls*; *CPR*, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*; *PPC*, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas; PRO, Public Record Office; *Rot. Parl.*, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*; R.S., Rolls Series.

1. For a detailed discussion of the early development of the office of Speaker and brief accounts of all of those knights of the shire for Essex who became Speakers in the medieval period, see J. S. Roskell, *The Commons and their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376-1523* (Manchester, 1965).
2. *Official Return of Members of Parliament*. i. 249, 252, 258, 265, 278, 281.
3. *CCR*, 1422-9, 159; Somerset House, Register Marche, fo. 50; *CPR*, 1385-9, 111 (Southall); *ibid.*, 1391-6, 285; *CCR*, 1392-6, 238, 254, 258; *ibid.*, 1419-22, 137; Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (London, 1768), ii. 472 (Leaden Roding); *CPR*, 1385-9, 150; Morant, *op. cit.*, i. 284 (Rawreth); *CPR*, 1391-6, 285; Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 384; *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, XIII. 73 (Bocking); Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 192 (Olivers); *ibid.*, 207 (Trumpingtons); *ibid.*, 190; *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vii. 274 (Stanway); Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 379 (Park Hall in Gosfield); *ibid.*, 380 (Morells in Gosfield); *ibid.*, 299; *CCR*, 1402-5, 145 (Great Yeldham); *CCR*, 1392-6, 489; *ibid.*, 1402-5, 145 (Old Hall and Grapnels in Great Yeldham); *ibid.*, 1409-13, 115 (Wickhambrook); *ibid.*, 335; *ibid.*, 1422-9, 294; Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 425 (Alfreton in Great Dunmow, Old Hall in West Tofts, and Old Hall in Marham [in Norfolk]). John Doreward's maternal grandfather, John Oliver, had been M.P. for Essex in 1368 and sheriff of Essex and Herts. in 1366-8.
4. *English Historical Review*, xlix. 533.
5. British Museum, Harleian MS. no. 1408, fo. 177; *CPR*, 1385-9, 150; *Coll. Topogr. et Geneal.*, vii. 277.
6. *CPR*, 1422-9, 399; Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 384-5, 425; *CCR*, 1409-13, 335-6.
7. *CPR*, 1381-5, 433; *CCR*, 1392-6, 212; *ibid.*, 515; *ibid.*, 1405-9, 500; *ibid.*, 1419-22, 137; Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 384-5 (Morant was wrong to make the son of John Doreward Speaker in 1413). For Sir William Coggeshall, see J. S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422*, 169-70. Sir William Coggeshall was M.P. for Essex in no fewer than ten parliaments between 1391 and 1422, and he was sheriff of Essex and Herts. in 1391-2, 1404-5, and 1411-12.
8. *CCR*, 1389-92, 83, 97; *CFR*, 1383-91, 348; *CCR*, 1405-9, 446. Between Golafré's death in 1396 and October 1404, Philippa de Mohun married (as her third husband) Edward, Duke of York, who was killed at Agincourt in 1415.
9. *CPR*, 1391-6, 533; R. Gough, *The History and Antiquities of Pleshy*, App., 80; *CFR*, 1399-1405, 74; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, iii. C.3007; *CPR*, 1399-1401, 366; *ibid.*, 1416-22, 105; *CCR*, 1419-22, 75, 202; *CPR*, 1408-13, 158; Morant, *op. cit.*, ii. 379.
10. *CCR*, 1392-6, 398.
11. *ibid.*, 1402-5, 510.
12. *CPR*, 1413-16, 338.
13. It was John Doreward of Rivenhall (with which place the Speaker never had any connection) who was party to a conveyance of a message in Coggeshall to the abbey of Coggeshall in April 1380. A Robert Doreward of Rivenhall attested one of John Doreward the Speaker's deeds in 1412. (*CPR*, 1377-81, 482; *CCR*, 1409-13, 417).
14. *CFR*, 1377-82, 213.
15. *CPR*, 1377-81, 601. (Certainly one of Doreward's co-folees, Richard Upston, was then parson of Shimpling [Suffolk], a benefice in FitzWalter patronage.)
16. *CPR*, 1381-5, 76, 507; *CCR*, 1381-5, 248.
17. *CPR*, 1385-9, 82.
18. *ibid.*, 150 (cf. Morant. *Essex*, i. 284); 385.

19. *CFR*, 1383-91, 261, 285.
20. *CPR*, 1388-92, 80; *CCR*, 1396-9, 276.
21. *CPR*, 1388-92, 341, 344.
22. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. T. H. Riley (R.S.), ii, 173.
23. *CCR*, 1388-92, 268, 374; *ibid.*, 1392-6, 507; *CPR*, 1388-92, 485; *ibid.*, 1391-6, 305.
24. *CPR*, 1388-92, 517; *ibid.*, 1391-6, 433; *ibid.*, 1396-9, 157.
25. *ibid.*, 1396-9, 179, 309, 311.
26. *ibid.*, 1391-6, 129; British Museum, Arundel MS. no. 68, fo. 57. I. D. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* i, 64n.
27. *CPR*, 1391-6, 285; *CCR*, 1392-6, 238, 254, 258; *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. J. B. Sheppard (R.S.), iii, 52; *The Register of Henry Chichele*, ed. E. F. Jacob, i, 162; *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxxix, 68.
28. *CPR*, 1399-1401, 378; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 330, 331; *ibid.*, 1436-41, 446; Morant, *op. cit.*, i, 470.
29. PRO, Lists and Indexes, IX, *List of Sheriffs*, 44.
30. *CPR*, 1396-99, 590.
31. In Michaelmas term 1399, Doreward duly made appearance in the Exchequer as ex-sheriff, but (understandably) *nihil tulit*. (K.R. Memoranda Rolls, Exchequer, PRO, E. 159/176).
32. *Rot. Parl.* iii, 424b.
33. *CFR*, 1399-1405, 28; *CPR*, 1399-1401, 284, 293, 308 480; *PPC*, i, 194, 199 (*Rot. Parl.*, iii, 491, 499); *CPR* 1416-22, 441; *CCR*, 1422-29, 300 et seq.; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, viii, 1425; *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 319a.
34. *PPC*, i, 100-1, 144, 146, 155, 168, 222; F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in the Middle Ages*, 150, 154, 399, 413; *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 530a; *Privy Seal* warrants for issue. PRO, E 404/16/72; 17/280; Exchequer, Issue Rolls, PRO, E 403/569, mems. 2, 21; *ibid.*, E 403/571, mem. 8; E 403/573, mems. 9, 13; E 403/576, mem. 13; E 403/585, mem. 2.
35. *CPR*, 1399-1401, 154, 372, 378; *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, ed. W. G. Benham 21-2, 92.
36. *CPR*, 1401-5, 467; *The Oath Book of Colchester*, *op. cit.*, 21-2.
37. *CPR*, 1399-1401, 559; *ibid.*, 1401-5, 517; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 491; *ibid.*, 1408-13, 481.
38. *ibid.*, 1399-1401, 212; *ibid.*, 1401-5, 114, 288, 290, 358; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 62.
39. *ibid.*, 1401-5, 129, 436; J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry IV*, i, 427. Doreward was again being threatened by one Thomas Tailor of Colchester in December 1404, and the latter had then to find sureties undertaking to appear before the Royal Council when required. (*CCR*, 1402-5, 476.)
40. *CPR*, 1399-1401, 218; *ibid.*, 416, 438, 502, 519; *ibid.*, 1401-5, 118, 190, 315; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 95; *ibid.*, 1408-13, 34.
41. *ibid.*, 1399-1401, 428; *English Historical Review*, lxxix (1964), A. L. Brown, *The Commons and the Council in the Reign of Henry IV*, 2-5, 29; *PPC*, i, 155; ii, 86, 99. (On 17 November 1401 Doreward was granted a *regardum* of £40 over and above his councillor's fees, as a recompense for his costs when sent to the king at different times in this year on the Council's behalf [PRO, E 403/571, mem. 8].)
42. *CCR*, 1399-1402, 563; Issue Roll, PRO, E 403/569, mem. 21; *PPC*, ii, 74.
43. *Rot. Parl.*, iii, 519b, 530a.
44. *CPR*, 1405-8, 64.
45. *CFR*, 1399-1405, 47, 233; *CPR*, 1401-5, 104; *ibid.*, 1405-8, 330.
46. *CPR*, 1405-8, 491; *ibid.*, 1408-13, 481, 346, 348.
47. *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 4-5; J. H. Round (in *E.H.R.*, xxix, 717 et seq.) did not make it clear that Doreward was not the Commons' first choice as Speaker, and that he was only Speaker for the last of the nearly four weeks of session.
48. *CPR*, 1413-6, 118, 409, 418; *ibid.*, 1416-22, 452.
49. *ibid.*, 1413-16, 338; *ibid.*, 1416-22, 78; *CCR*, 1413-9, 351, 366.
50. Issue Roll, PRO, E 403/675, mem. 10; Somerset House, *Register Marche*, fo. 50.
51. Morant, *op. cit.*, i, 284; ii, 384; *CFR*, 1413-22, 335; *CCR*, 1419-22, 104, 137.
52. *CFR*, 1422-30, 136; *Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, xliii, 316; Lincoln's Inn, *Black Book*.

Incorporation and Politics in Sixteenth-Century Thaxted

by ROBERT TITTLER*

Introduction

It has generally been assumed by historians of local government that the early modern period witnessed the erosion of seigneurial domination over the boroughs of the realm, and that the central government fostered the emergence of local independence at the expense of the essentially feudal land-owning class. The purpose of this royal policy, as the argument goes, was to secure greater social control over the centres of population. Toward that end, it eliminated the intermediate authorities between town and crown by bestowing large measures of self-government on the towns themselves, and worked to assure the loyalty of 'small knots of reliable men' in each town.¹ By the mid-16th century the charter of incorporation had become recognised as an effective means of bringing these aims about, and one finds a sudden and prolonged revival of that practice from about 1540.²

Though there is much to recommend this traditional view in the broad outlines of 16th-century urban history, close examination of the boroughs incorporated in this period suggests two important shortcomings. On the one hand it assumes a much more uniform incidence of borough incorporation than the evidence will support, while on the other it considerably overestimates the degree of consistency within the central government itself in support of this alleged policy. Nowhere are these shortcomings more evident than in the experience of the borough of Thaxted. In the following pages, I shall describe the attempts of this interesting borough to gain its independence, and place the ensuing saga of its experience in the perspective of government policy under the Tudors. At the same time, moreover, it will be possible to fill some of the gaps in what little has become known of Thaxted since its heyday in the later Middle Ages.³

It is one of the ironies of local history that the sources often reveal more of the distant past than of somewhat more recent eras. In the case of Thaxted, this is explained by the relatively greater economic activity of the 14th century, when it became the centre of a thriving cutlery industry, than at virtually any time since. In that century, moreover, the identity of the borough itself may be said to have emerged from the shadow of the manor of which it was still administratively and legally a part. Traditional agricultural activities became rivalled by newly viable industry and commerce, labour services on the lord's demesne were commuted to cash payments, strangers trickled in and settled down, and the construction of new houses and shops filled in many open spaces, first around the parish church, and then along the lanes to the north, south, and south-east. Yet although the lord of the manor granted some basic burghal liberties for the first time, the essential structure of manorial government remained intact. The lord of the Manor of Thaxted maintained his rights over the sub-manors or parcels of Spencer's Fee and Horham

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Hall, held the leet court, view of frankpledge, and court baron for the whole, and—when the burghers came to elect their own bailiff—the lord maintained his authority over that official as he was entitled to do.⁴

By the middle of the following century, however, this expansion seems to have reached its natural limits, and the tide of growth began to ebb. By the opening of the 16th century the agricultural interests of the manor began to regain their pride of place and, though some cutlers continued their craft,⁵ many leading burgesses drifted away to the more vital towns of the surrounding area: Maldon, Bishop's Stortford, Saffron Walden, and probably Sudbury and Colchester as well.⁶ At about the same time, the diverse parcels of the Manor of Thaxted were reunited for the first time in centuries under a single lord, when Henry VIII sanctioned the grant of the whole to his Under-Treasurer, Sir John Cutts, by letters patent of 1515.⁷ Despite the continued uncertainty of manorial boundaries, this reunification brought a new degree of administrative unity to the whole. Yet the decline continued. By 1587 a deponent in a court case acknowledged that for the better part of a half-century the volume of trade in the market had been too meagre to yield regular profits, and by 1593 we are told that the rents gained by burghal tenure were only half what they had been in 1405–7.⁸ Although the paucity of documentation and the distance of four centuries allows us no more than speculation at the causes for this decline, it seems reasonable to include in any such conjectures the factor of regional rivalry from other market centres and, at least in part, the absence of liberties and commercial facilities associated with a greater degree of burghal autonomy than Thaxted and a good many boroughs like it had managed to acquire by *c.* 1500.⁹

Already beset by economic decline, Thaxted was ill-prepared for the difficult decades of the mid-16th century. Marked by the dissolution of religious institutions, the devaluation of the coinage, successive slumps in the markets for English woollen cloth, and a greatly accelerated rate of inflation, the mid-century recession was most keenly felt in the towns and boroughs of the land.¹⁰ Not only did many urban centres find it more difficult to maintain the normal civic functions of alms-giving, education, and public works, but the competition among rivals for a stagnating regional trade proved a severe test in many parts of the realm. With its high concentration of market towns of roughly the same size, the area within about a twenty-five mile radius of Thaxted was particularly threatened, and Thaxted itself was hardly unique—if perhaps less viable to begin with—at this time. When Saffron Walden secured a charter of incorporation to fortify its authority in 1549,¹¹ the burgesses of Thaxted must have taken notice, but when Maldon followed suit five years later,¹² they were spurred to action.

When the third John Cutts died at the age of 28 in May 1555, leaving the lordship of the manor and borough of Thaxted to his ten-year-old son and namesake, and leaving the boy himself a ward of the crown,¹³ their chance had come at last, and Thaxted's burgesses petitioned for a charter of incorporation. In this quest they seem to have been led by their elected bailiff, Philip Sturgis, a leading townsman named John Broke, as well as by other burgesses of note, but also by Sir Edward Waldegrave, a leading Essex Catholic and influential privy councillor.¹⁴ Waldegrave made his home in Borley, Essex, adjacent to the Suffolk border, and already had extensive interests in Thaxted.¹⁵ In addition, he had previously helped the neighbouring wool town of Sudbury gain its incorporation in 1554, and clearly envisioned himself as somewhat of a magnate in the area which extended for several miles on either side of the shire boundary.¹⁶ To what extent he acted in this case as a direct rival to the Cutts interests cannot be judged with any certainty, but he can hardly have been unaware of the consequences of his aid. With that help, however, Thaxted's first charter of any kind passed under the great seal on 21 March 1556, and the Corporation of the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonality of the Borough of Thaxted became a reality.¹⁷ As it happened, Great Dunmow, not seven miles to the south, had accomplished the same five weeks before.¹⁸

In addition to the conventional 'five points' of incorporation—the right to sue and be sued as a corporate entity, to hold a common seal, to issue by-laws, to hold lands in mortmain, and to endure as a perpetual body corporate—the charter described a basic governing structure of 24 capital

burgesses, including the mayor (as the former bailiff now became known) as the chief officer, and two bailiffs (to confuse matters even more) as his assistants. The mayor had the right to appoint the town clerk, two serjeants-at-mace, and the town constable, and gained jurisdiction over the borough court. He presided over its meetings, which were held every three weeks, and enjoyed the right to distrain goods and to imprison or fine offenders. Beyond these provisions of government, the Corporation was to enjoy a broad and conventional jurisdiction over its economic life: two fairs, and Friday market with a court of pie powder, rights to all tolls, fines, profits and other receipts issuing from either market or fair, and exemption for borough inhabitants from a variety of tolls and customs throughout the realm.

Several of these rather commonplace aspects of incorporation were undoubtedly little more than sanctions for existing practice, but two rather more novel clauses in particular lend some insight into the problems facing the town at this time, and suggest the means whereby the burgesses hoped to arrive at a remedy. By the first of these, the Corporation gained leave to establish what appears to have been its first grammar school and to refund its alms house, and the cost of both was to be defrayed by the sale or rental of town lands. In itself, this proviso was not unusual, but where most towns gaining incorporation already held lands, and merely used incorporation to sanction the rental or sale of them as in mortmain, Thaxted held few, and its charter licensed all 'bodies corporate or politic' as well as all citizens to alienate lands to the new corporation, up to £40 value, so long as they were not held in chief. This precise formula is nearly unique among the 44 charters of borough incorporation granted between 1540 and 1558. In the second case, Thaxted's charter bore the conventional clause prohibiting non-freemen from practising any craft within the town without permission of the mayor, but the penalty for such a transgression in Thaxted was set at the unusually high mark of 100 shillings. Reading between the lines, one senses here a potential source of revenue as well as a mere deterrent to undue competition, and one indeed begins to recognise as well the threadbare nature of Thaxted's resources.

From the point of view of the lordship of Thaxted, the incorporation represented both a formal sanction for certain burghal rights which had long been permitted, and an actual transfer of several additional aspects of jurisdiction to a new set of governors. While the hand of the lordship itself remained somewhat in abeyance during the minority and wardship of the fourth John Cutts, the burgesses enjoyed the perfect opportunity to put their new powers into effect, and to compile precedents against such a time as Cutts came of age. They rapidly embarked upon two practices which proved particularly controversial. First, when the charter had obligated them to pay the foedary of the Exchequer 20 shillings a year for the right to collect market and fair profits, they somehow arranged to pay only half this sum during the wardship of the young Cutts.¹⁹ Secondly, they immediately and harshly enforced their rights to prohibit and fine non-freemen from carrying out their enterprise within the corporate limits. Several of Cutts' tenants dwelling outside these limits were fined for refusing to become freemen while carrying on such activities, and most of these were subsequently imprisoned for refusing to pay their fines.²⁰ Such abrasive actions were unlikely to have been met with calm acquiescence, and several challenges to the Corporation's assertiveness came even before Cutts assumed his lordship.²¹

On 20 February 1556 Dame Sybil Cutts received the wardship of her son, and an annuity of £30 from the manor and borough of Thaxted.²² When these lands had been surveyed in 1529 they were assessed at £150 15s. 1d., and constituted about 35 per cent of the family's combined holdings, mostly in Essex and Cambridgeshire.²³ Although this was something short of a fortune in that inflationary age, it was a tidy nest-egg, and well worth defending. As one might expect, such a comfortably endowed widow was not long destined to remain single, and by 1560 we find the wardship being transferred to the joint tenure of Sybil and her new husband, John Hutton, with the annuity raised to £40.²⁴ However one may question his motives for matrimony, Hutton was no stranger; he had been an executor to Cutts' will,²⁵ and had obviously been close to the family. Once married, he was quick to defend the family fortunes, and joined Sybil and their bailiff, Ralph Turner, in the vigorous pursuit of the lordship's lost perquisites.

The events preceding the first of several suits toward that end suggest something of the tone of interpersonal relations in Thaxted following incorporation.²⁶ Two copy-holders of the manor, William Key and Christopher Kent, came to sell their grain in the market-place, as no doubt they had done nearly all their adult lives. Now they were restrained from doing so until they would agree to become freemen, and to pay the necessary fine for such denization. Both refused, claiming that their status as Cutts' tenants gave them immunity from the freemen's provisions, that the sale of grain did not constitute the practise of a craft, and, somewhat less convincingly, that they dwelled outside the corporate limits. Their pleas having fallen upon deaf ears, they were fined the statutory 100 shillings each and, refusing out of principle to pay, were imprisoned. Although they succeeded in suing for a writ of *certiorari* out of the Chancery,²⁷ and thus in having their case removed to Westminster, the mayor and his brethren evidently continued to pursue the same policy against other tenants of the manor during the hearing of *Key and Kent v. Adams*.

Eventually, after the case had been referred by the Lord Keeper to the Court of Wards, an injunction was issued which compelled the Corporation to free all whom it had imprisoned in this manner without fining them further, and demanded of its officers a bond for their compliance.²⁸

This seems not to have deterred the burgesses, however, for it was shortly alleged in a second suit (*Hutton and Cutts v. Bultell, Mayor of Thaxted*) that, although some prisoners had been freed without further penalty, one Thomas Moore had been charged at his release for his food, drink, and fees, and others were still imprisoned or had been imprisoned since. It was also alleged that John Bultell, George Pigott, and Thomas Raynor, successive mayors, had used their authority to throw down shops and houses on Cutts' land, and had used the ground for their market.²⁹ In the end, this case was decided in the Common Pleas, where the justices upheld the plaintiff's allegation. The mayor, by then a merchant named Robert Woodward, was ordered to release a total of ten prisoners who had refused to pay their freeman's fines before participating in the activities of the town market, and to pay Cutts' bailiff, Ralph Turner, for the use of the lord's land.³⁰

In still a third case, Turner brought another plea against Bultell and Pigott for allegedly misappropriating alms money for their own use, and for taking and selling, also for their own use, implements from the parish church. Again charges of pulling down buildings on Cutts' land and depriving the ward of his rightful inheritance were included.³¹

Finally, Hutton and Dame Sybil Cutts brought suit in 1562 in the Court of Wards against Bultell and a host of other burgesses over what began as a disputed authority to license a local tavern. John Broke of Thaxted was accused in the manor court of keeping a tavern without a license from the authorities of the manor, and was accordingly fined ten pounds: a large sum indeed for such an offence. As Broke had previously been singled out by Cutts' supporters as one of the chief movers in obtaining the incorporation, one may well suspect some degree of vindictiveness in that decision. Nevertheless, when Ralph Turner and his underbailiff, Andrew Netherstreet, went to collect the fine, Broke refused to pay. In consequence, they distrained some of his goods. When Bultell, the town clerk Richard Emery, and several other chief burgesses heard of this, they allegedly roused their fellow townsmen to an armed confrontation: as the bill of complaint described it, 'the common sorte of the inhabitants of the towne were easilie broughte to work some frantick feate, seeing their Mayor and hedd officers so Rasshelie bent . . .'. The plaintiff claimed that more than forty men responded to the call, armed themselves, and forcibly repossessed the distrained goods on Broke's behalf.³² For their part, Bultell and his fellows claimed that Broke had duly procured a licence from the corporation, the rightful issuing body, that the lord's bailiff had acted illegally in his prosecution and distraint, and that even then he had ignored a writ of replevin for the goods which Broke had secured. Under those circumstances, the defendants could hardly have failed to come to Broke's aid, but they denied having repossessed his goods with more than six men, or in the riotous manner alleged.³³

These cases amount to what one might well refer to as 'round one' of the battle for the jurisdiction over the borough of Thaxted. In so far as record of their outcome has survived at all

for our scrutiny, it appears that the Corporation was enjoined to refrain from its severe interpretation of those clauses giving it the power to fine and imprison non-freemen carrying out commercial activity, and to release those who had been imprisoned for that offence. Thus, in the view of the courts, the full and literal force of the charter was blunted so that conflict could be avoided and so that some degree of equity might be obtained. On the other hand, the fundamental authority bestowed by that document survived intact. The broad attacks which had been launched alongside the more specific allegations, to the effect that the incorporation had undermined Cutts' inheritance and that it had resulted in less money paid into the Exchequer, seem not to have been taken up by the courts. Significantly, no record of an appeal to any of these cases by the Corporation has been found.

The other dimension to this litigation, the nature of political relations within the town, is unfortunately more obscure. The cases themselves reflect a clear polarity. On the one side stood those tenants of Cutts, led at first by Turner, who were largely occupied in husbandry around the borough's outlying lands, and who relied on the borough market to sell their produce and purchase essentials. On the other stood the apparent majority of burgesses, who were primarily—though not exclusively—engaged in manufacturing or commercial pursuits, and who had sought to secure the charter to begin with. Unless the experience of Thaxted was atypical in this respect of other such communities, alliances within and between neighbouring families no doubt played a fundamental role in sustaining this polarity, and the distinct interests of the two groups no doubt went well back in the borough's development. On the other hand, it would be misleading to exaggerate the political or social uniformity of either group, or to overestimate the difference in the social status or life styles of their respective adherents.

For one, both camps experienced constant internal bickering and even defections. Pigott and Bultell were at one point quite willing to shift blame to Thomas Raynor for an alleged misuse of corporate authority,³⁴ while Raynor was also sued by Robert Perye,³⁵ a fellow chief burgess and, presumably, co-petitioner for incorporation.³⁶ In the other camp, Ralph Turner, a veritable terrier in defence of the lordship in the years immediately following incorporation, came to a spirited and litigious parting of the ways with Cutts over the keepership of Thaxted Park just after the latter had come into his majority.³⁷ Secondly, there seems to be little to choose between the relative wealth or social status of individual husbandmen and burgesses, and occupational division of labour itself was not as marked as one might imagine. Bultell, though a burgess and a 'burgher', still sowed his grain;³⁸ Raynor was accused of wrongfully possessing a large number of cattle, though the possession itself was not in doubt;³⁹ and even husbandmen like Key and Kent seem to have carried on commercial activity in the town.⁴⁰ Numerous copy-holders of the manor had also been burgesses, and a few had even served as mayors.⁴¹

In May 1566 John Cutts came of age, gained his patrimony, and began to look out for his own interests.⁴² Oddly enough, he was slow to press for a retrieval of his lost perquisites. Explanations for this lethargy may lie in any one of three factors. To some extent this may reflect the distraction of other interests, and particularly Cutts' involvement in Cambridgeshire. Though an Exchequer residence certificate shows him dwelling at Horham Hall in Thaxted in November 1570,⁴³ he had been cited in 1566 as residing principally at Childersley, Cambridgeshire, as indeed his father had done,⁴⁴ and he seems to have continued to regard this as his principal residence for the remainder of his active years.⁴⁵ His political interests evidently followed accordingly. We find him holding several important posts in Cambridgeshire, and even Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire, but he seems to have undertaken little activity of this nature in Essex.⁴⁶ Another explanation may lie in the difficulties he seems to have experienced in administering even those Thaxted holdings which were not in dispute with the Corporation. Thus, within a few years of gaining his majority we find him as the defendant in a protracted, costly, and ultimately victorious suit brought by his erstwhile bailiff Turner.⁴⁷ Finally, he seems to have experienced financial difficulties which may have sufficed to make long litigation for control of such an unprosperous borough somewhat less than attractive. He paid a large sum in

suing for his livery at the Court of Wards,⁴⁸ borrowed another large sum from Turner a year or two later, and when he lost his suit against the latter—part of which had concerned his alleged failure to repay the loan—he was dunned heavily again.⁴⁹

Yet the differences between Cutts and the Corporation were by no means forgotten in these years of apparent calm. Cutts considered it necessary to obtain a royal confirmation of his holdings in Thaxted in 1572,⁵⁰ and in 1580 there was an interesting, if ultimately abortive, attempt to arrange a compromise settlement between the two parties in the form of an indenture.⁵¹ The document itself, of which a full draft survives, indicates that the conflict of interest remained virtually unchanged since incorporation. In its preamble we find candid acknowledgement of the difficulties which had ensued over the use of waste ground in the borough, and the franchises, customs, usages, and freedoms claimed by the burgesses. The document essentially called for Cutts to recognise the claims of the Corporation in return for a few rather token concessions. Cutts would permit the use of waste ground, streets, shops, pastures, and other areas within the borough limits, and the breaking of ground for the construction of market stalls and shops. He would honour the Corporation's by-laws, refrain from bringing any of the burgesses before his leet court or court baron, and hold those courts no more than three times yearly. In return, the burgesses would agree to pay a lump sum of 40 marks for Cutts' goodwill, and 20s. thereafter. They were to permit Cutts and his successors in the male line to become freemen of the borough without fee, and to grant them four votes each in borough elections. They would also surrender their charter for a new one in which the provisions of the indenture would be included, but only on the condition that Cutts would aid them in this attempt, and also try to secure for them a parliamentary franchise.

In retrospect, this seems to have been a reasonable compromise. Cutts would have vindicated his honour, and regained his influence and prestige in the borough. The burgesses would have assured the recognition of their corporate authority, and perhaps have gained a parliamentary franchise in the bargain. Yet somehow, it appears not to have gone through. We find no formal enrolment of the indenture or record of the anticipated new charter—though the historian of Essex alludes vaguely to an Elizabethan confirmation⁵²—and certainly no sign of enfranchisement. However these negotiations broke down, they seem to have left a trace of bitterness along with the unresolved problems with which they had tried to cope. This is particularly evident in the great court case of 1587.

The Exchequer case of *Cutts v. The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonality of the Borough of Thaxted* (1587, ff.)⁵³ was nothing less than the ultimate confrontation between the jurisdiction of the lordship, defined by the family's Henrician patent and its subsequent confirmations, and the rights of the Corporation as granted in its charter of 1556. In view of the virtual inevitability of such a final reckoning following the failure to arrive at a compromise in 1580, it is somewhat difficult to understand why Cutts took a further seven years to initiate his action. Though his original bill of complaint seems not to have survived, nothing in the extensive surviving records of the case suggests a reason for the delay or, for that matter, a particular event which might have precipitated such a course just then. Even Professor Everitt's suggestion, that litigation over borough jurisdiction increased markedly with the growing prosperity of English market towns in the 1580s,⁵⁴ seems hardly applicable to the modest stakes afforded by control of Elizabethan Thaxted. Most likely, the answer lies again in Cutts' career and in his financial position, and it may just be possible to suggest, on the basis of the final chapter in this story, that he merely sought to resolve the status of the lordship to make it more readily marketable. For our purposes, it is a fascinating test case for the status of borough incorporation before the courts at Westminster.

As is demonstrated by the interrogatories to be administered to witnesses on Cutts' behalf,⁵⁵ the plaintiff's bill bore down directly on the fact of incorporation itself, and on the ways in which, in Cutts' eyes, it had violated both the letter of his family's patents and the precedents of pre-corporative practice. Since 1556 the Corporation had taken profits from the fairs and markets,

assumed the use of waste ground and other parcels of the lord's 'soil' within the borough, and harassed tenants of the manor with freeman's fines and other devices until some had actually felt compelled to move away altogether. The burgesses had assumed the right to elect their mayor where that function had been fulfilled by the pledges of the lord's view of frankpledge, and the mayor himself had held his own leet instead of attending that held by the lord in a ceremonial fashion as he had done. As the chief officer of the Corporation he had also made by-laws, punished offenders, and fined and imprisoned on his own authority, all in usurpation of Cutts' established rights.

For their part the burgesses denied some details of Cutts' allegations—they had not collected regular market profits, for the market had not yielded any,⁵⁶ and the waste grounds of the borough had always been used in common⁵⁷—and they entered a few charges of their own—the lord's steward had abused some of the burgesses⁵⁸—but by and large, they rested their case on the charter. In addition, they could point to the 31 years in which it had been implemented.

Yet if the issues seem to us clear-cut and, indeed fundamental, the case was by no means considered in haste. Once Cutts' bill had been entered at the Exchequer and the defendants had answered it, the court struck a commission to take depositions for both sides in Thaxted itself. In the course of the extensive testimony which ensued we read the accumulated grievances of Thaxted yeomen, husbandmen, artisans and others, some petty, some touching, some dramatic, for a period of four decades and more. Yet even this proved insufficient, for when the commission reported back to the Exchequer in Easter Term, 1587, both sides demanded the parade of still further witnesses.⁵⁹ The publication of the depositions already taken, and upon which the case would largely be determined, was postponed to Trinity Term.⁶⁰ On 5 July permission was granted for publication to proceed, and a hearing before the barons of the Court was set for Michaelmas Term.⁶¹ On 16 November the case was finally heard, with attornies of both sides present, and a decree was ordered to be drawn in consultation with these representatives.⁶²

A week later the awaited decree came forth.⁶³ It was immediately clear that Cutts had won a complete victory: though the incorporation itself was not revoked, the vast majority of the borough's liberties and perquisites were effectively cancelled and returned to Cutts' purview. He regained the right to hold and enjoy all markets, courts, and fairs, with a full receipt of all tolls, profits, and fines. The power of the Corporation to make by-laws of their own design was placed under the supervisory authority of the justices of the assize, and all men who had paid their freeman's fines under duress were to have their payments refunded. Finally, and perhaps most damaging to the dignity as well as the coffers of the Corporation, the five chief officers of that body were ordered to pay Cutts £60 in compensation for his deprived profits, 'wrongfully enjoyed' by the burgesses. Not only was this a severe penalty, but in its assessment of individuals to repay the plaintiff, it pointedly ignored perhaps the most fundamental attribute of corporate status: the right to act as a legal entity. So wounding was this last part of the decree that the defendants, stunned though they were by the effect of the whole, protested immediately, and in this, at least, they were successful. Five days later the Court allowed the £60 to be defrayed by the Corporation.⁶⁴

Given the apparent finality of the decree of 23 November one would assume that Cutts and his heirs continued in full and uninterrupted possession of the prize, and that the borough itself had suffered a death blow to any further hopes for corporate independence. Oddly enough, neither expectation is borne out by the course of events. Having established in principle the superiority of his jurisdiction, thus rationalising virtually all of his claims for the lordship, Cutts seems to have been anxious to regain some degree of amity in his relations with the burgesses, and made some significant concessions toward that end. In May 1589 the two parties completed an agreement whereby the borough could hold its own mayor's court, so long as Cutts received the profits, and could continue to hold its market and fairs with retention of half the profits.⁶⁵ This largesse no doubt cost the burgesses some stiff payment, but may perhaps have restored sufficient self-confidence and integrity to prevent a large-scale exodus in the wake of the court

decision. Having seen this conciliation through, Cutts seems to have lost interest in the borough and began to consider withdrawing his control. From 1599, when he alienated it from his family holdings, it passed with some rapidity from Thomas Kemp,⁶⁶ a minor member of the local gentry, to John Wiseman,⁶⁷ until coming to rest with the family of Sir William Smith, descendant of the Elizabethan humanist and statesman Sir Thomas Smith.⁶⁸

Just as Cutts moved beyond the situation decreed by the Exchequer in 1587, so did the borough regain some of its lost status, though this took somewhat longer. With the rapid changes in the control of the lordship in the years following 1599, and a possibly more compliant administration in the reign of James I, a new generation of burgesses found an opportunity for advancement not unlike that which had appeared during John Cutts' minority under Mary Tudor. In 1616 they sought a second charter from the crown which would restore and confirm most of the original grant, and which even conferred some important new privileges: a grant of a court of quarter sessions to replace the old mayor's court, and immunities from several aspects of shire jurisdiction. Yet despite this boldness, the political lessons of 1587 had not been lost on the collective memory of the Corporation, and when the manorial lord and his assignee, Wiseman and Smith, objected to some of the clauses of the desired charter, the Corporation concluded two agreements with them, in the form of indentures, which safeguarded some of the perquisites of lordship and calmed their fears.⁶⁹ In return, Wiseman and Smith recognised the new charter, which was sealed and dated 5 April 1617.⁷⁰ This arrangement seems to have worked. The charter was received and apparently implemented for some years. In the end, however, the borough proved simply too frail to survive as a viable political or economic community. When it was challenged with *Quo Warranto* proceedings in the reign of James II, it lacked the resources to respond, and its corporate status came to an end. When the House of Commons caused the municipal corporations of the realm to be surveyed in preparation for the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, Thaxted was not included.⁷¹

Conclusion

Just as its prosperity in the latter half of the 14th century ran counter to the usual experience of small urban centres following the Black Death, so did Thaxted's political experience prove exceptional in the latter half of the 16th century. While the central government under the Tudors *did* in most cases support the emergence of borough independence from seigniorial control, the burgesses of Thaxted were less fortunate. While this example is presented as an exception rather than as a denial of the general rule, it does suggest that the government of the Tudors was not entirely as consistent in pursuit of borough independence as has been assumed, and that the courts were quite capable of expressing a contrary voice to policy emanating from other offices at Westminster.

NOTES

1. Cf. for example, Colby, 1890, 633–53; Weinbaum, 1936, *passim*, and 1943, introduction; Stone, 1947, 103–20; Clark and Slack, 1972, introduction, and 21–2.
2. By making a few necessary corrections in the basic list in Weinbaum, 1936, 132–6, I count 13 borough incorporations between 1485 and 1540, and 44 between 1540 and 1558. This is described in Tittler, 1977.
3. See the scholarly treatment of Newton, 1960.
4. *Ibid.*, 4–5, 22; King, 1869, 25–43, especially p. 30.
5. George Kinge of Thaxted, age 60, identified himself as a cutler in the 1587 case of *Cutts v. Thaxted*; Public Record Office (P.R.O.) E.134/29 Eliz., Easter 16, 5v.
6. These impressions emerge clearly in the depositions taken of witnesses in a variety of mid-century court cases involving the borough. Robert Woodward, for example, was a former mayor of the town, but had moved on to Bishop's Stortford by 1587; *ibid.*, 2v.
7. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, II, i, 165; confirmation of the same was granted by letters patent of 5 July 1572; Essex Record Office (E.R.O.) D/DU 205/190.
8. Deposition of Robert Woodward in *Cutts v. Thaxted*, P.R.O. E.134/29 Eliz., Easter 16, 2v.; Newton, 1960, 27–8.
9. This point is well made for the borough of Maldon in Petchey, 1969, 32–3, 51–3, 146–50, 158, *et passim*.

10. The most succinct recent account is Jones, 1973, especially chapter 5.
11. P.R.O., C.66/816/m.3 (18 February 1549).
12. P.R.O., C.66/868/m.13 (18 June 1554) and C.66/885/m.32 (25 February 1555).
13. *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (C.P.R.), *Philip and Mary*, III, 225–6; P.R.O., WARDS 9/103/16v. For a genealogical chart of the Cutts family, cf. King, 1869, facing p. 42.
14. The petition itself has not survived, but the role of its instigators emerges in the cases of *Key and Kent v. Adams* (c. 1560–61), P.R.O., C.3/bundle 108/4 (especially plaintiff's bill) and *Turner v. Bultell*, C.3/bundle 181/101 (cf. plaintiff's bill again).
15. *C.P.R.*, *Mary*, I, 227.
16. *D.N.B.*, Doyle, 21–31.
17. P.R.O., C.66/902/m.6.
18. P.R.O., C.66/903/m.3.
19. Cf. deposition of John Goulding, former mayor, in *Hutton and Sybil Cutts v. Bultell et al.* (1562), E.R.O., D/DHu T30/5; T30/2, p. 1.
20. *Ibid.*; *Key and Kent v. Adams*, P.R.O., C.3/bundle 108/4; *Hutton v. Bultell, Raynor, and Pigott*, E.R.O., D/DHu T30/2; and final decree in same case, dated 7 July, 7 Elizabeth, in the Court of Common Pleas, E.R.O., D/DHu T30/12.
21. The docket books of the Court of Wards alone lists five apparently distinct cases involving the Corporation of Thaxted and the Cutts interest between 1 and 6 Elizabeth, though several of these were heard elsewhere as well. Cf. P.R.O., WARDS 9/296 (unpaginated).
22. *C.P.R.*, *Philip and Mary*, III, 225–6; WARDS 9/103/16v.
23. P.R.O., WARDS 9/129/90v–92r.
24. P.R.O., WARDS 9/103/410.
25. The will is reprinted in King 1869, 35–6.
26. The following is based on *Key and Kent v. Adams* (c. 1560–61), P.R.O., C.3/bundle 108/4.
27. P.R.O., C.33/25/105 and C.33/26/105 (21 November, 1561).
28. Noted in E.R.O., D/DHu T30/2, p. 1, and T30/8.
29. E.R.O., D/DHu T30/8 and T30/2.
30. E.R.O., D/DHu T30/12 (copy of Common Pleas decree, 7 July, 7 Elizabeth).
31. P.R.O., C.3/bundle 181/101.
32. E.R.O., D/DHu T30/1.
33. E.R.O., D/DHu T30/3.
34. P.R.O., C.3/181/101, cf. the third answer of Pigott and Bultell to the bill of complaint.
35. *Perye v. Raynor*, P.R.O., C.3/bundle 144/101 (c. 1562–3).
36. This assumes, as I think one may, that those named in the charter as the first officers of the Corporation were in fact the petitioners or their allies; P.R.O., C.66/902/m.6.
37. *Turner v. Cutts*, P.R.O., C.3/bundle 181/16 (c. 1568–71).
38. *Hutton v. Bultell et al.*, E.R.O., D/DHu T30/2 (May 1563), cf. Hutton's bill of complaint, and D/DHu T30/12 (decree of July 1565).
39. *Perye v. Raynor*, P.R.O., C.3/bundle 144/101 (c. 1562–3).
40. Cf. above, p. 227.
41. *Cutts v. Thaxted*, P.R.O., E.134/29 Eliz., Easter 16 (1587), cf. testimony of John Broke, sheet 5r., John Sweetinge, 5v., and John Gray, 6r., etc.
42. P.R.O., WARDS 9/105/73v–74 (16 May 1566): *C.P.R.*, *Eliz.*, III, 525.
43. P.R.O., E.115/79/34 (22 November 1570).
44. P.R.O., WARDS 9/105/73–4; *C.P.R.*, *Mary*, I, 457.
45. Cf. subsequent Exchequer certificates of residence for 1586, E.115/442/110 and E.115/95/8; and 1589, E.115/78/46.
46. Matthews, 1948, 59.
47. P.R.O., C.3/bundle 181/16.
48. Cutts paid the sum of £216 10s. 8d.; P.R.O., WARDS 9/105/73–4.
49. P.R.O., C.3/bundle 181/16, cf. Turner's bill; decree of 12 February, 1572, C.33/43/210; decree of 25 June 1572, C.33/43/356.
50. E.R.O., D/DU 205/190 (5 July 1572).
51. E.R.O., D/DHu T30/15 (12 December 1580).
52. Morant, 1768, II, 441. This is probably the confirmation of 1 Elizabeth mentioned in a marginal note on a copy of the borough charter, made in presumed preparation of a court case; E.R.O., D/DHu T30/4, p. 3.
53. P.R.O., E.134/29 Eliz., Easter 16.
54. Everitt, 1967, 467–592.
55. P.R.O., E.134/29 Eliz., Easter 16, sheet 1.
56. *Ibid.*, testimony of Robert Woodward, 2v.
57. *Ibid.*, testimony of John Broke, 5r., George Kinge, 5v., and John Harte, E.133/bundle 5/718.
58. P.R.O., E.134/29 Eliz., Easter 16, testimony of George Kinge, 5v., and John Gray, 6r.
59. P.R.O., E.123/13/45 (20 May, 29 Elizabeth) and E.123/13/46 (22 May, 29 Elizabeth).
60. *Ibid.*
61. P.R.O., E.123/12/256.
62. P.R.O., E.123/13/124.
63. P.R.O., E.123/12/312–313v (23 November 1588).
64. P.R.O., E.123/12/336v.
65. P.R.O., E.124/15/109–112.
66. King, 1869, 30–31.
67. P.R.O., E.124/14/212–3.

68. King, 1869, 31.
 69. E.R.O., D/DHu T32/1 (3 March, 14 James I) and D/DHu T32/2 (29 May, 15 James I); I am indebted to Mr. K. C. Newton for bringing both of these documents to my attention.
 70. E.R.O., D/DSh 03 (5 April, 14 James I).
 71. *Report from the Commissioners*, 1835.

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*Archaeological Notes**

Some Unrecorded Archaeological Discoveries in Essex, 1946–75

by WARWICK RODWELL

This paper records a miscellaneous series of excavations and archaeological discoveries, made at various times since World War II, which have, for a variety of reasons, failed to receive adequate mention in print. The first group of discoveries noted below relates to investigations undertaken by the former Roman Essex Society; this body was founded in 1946 and was responsible for excavations on a series of sites, until its demise in the early 1950s. The Society's surviving papers are in the Essex Archaeological Society's Library, but not all its excavated material and site records were deposited in safe custody, so that much has become dispersed over the last two decades and cannot now be located. Some finds were deposited in Chelmsford Museum. Only one of the Society's excavations—that undertaken in conjunction with Colchester Museum at Gosbecks Farm—was published in detail,¹ although notes on others appeared in the *Archaeological Newsletter* from time to time and summaries were included in the *Gazetteer of the Victoria County History: Essex* iii (1963).

Our late President, Major J. G. S. Brinson, was the virtual founder of the Roman Essex Society and retained custody of some of the site records and finds derived from its excavations.² In accordance with Brinson's wish, it was the present writer's task to sort and disperse the archaeological portion of his estate.³ Sites with which he was connected will be listed first. Mrs. Kirsty Rodwell has kindly illustrated the finds.

THE ROMAN ESSEX SOCIETY'S PROJECTS c. 1946–52

Bradwell-on-Sea

The section cut through the west defence of the Roman fort of *Othona* in 1947 was partly published in *VCH Essex* iii, 52–5. The finds were given to W.J.R. by J.G.S.B. in 1972, for publication; the site drawings and a photograph were found subsequently. All have been deposited in Colchester Museum.⁴ The attempted section through the west ditch failed to define either edge properly, or to establish the profile. The drawn section (Fig. 1) would seem to indicate that the ditch was at least 25 ft. (7.6 m) wide and several fillings were definable; the centre probably lay near point 'C', the lowest point on the present ground surface.

Although excavation in a very limited area was taken to a depth of 13 ft. (4 m), the bottom of the ditch was not found, and may not in fact have been reached. The lowest-level finds, indicated by crosses on Fig. 1, were at depths of up to 9 ft. These finds included Romano-British pottery, a piece of dressed stone and a human mandible.

Between the ditch lip and the wall lay a berm c. 36 ft. (11 m) wide. The wall itself was constructed of flints and Kentish Ragstone set in hard mortar. On the west face the lowest course of squared facing stones survived above a triple offset of tiles. The lowest of these appeared to mark

* The Society acknowledges with gratitude a grant from the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, Department of the Environment, towards the publication of some of the following papers.

contemporary ground level. The east face of the wall was probably carried up vertically, without offsets, giving a wall width of 13 ft. 4 in. (4.06 m). Below ground, the foundation consisted of two layers, set in a trench 14 ft. 6 in. (4.42 m) wide, cut to a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. (1.07 m) below the surface of the natural. The lower layer comprised a bed of gravel aggregate (hoggin) which apparently filled the interstices of a timber-framed raft structure. The upper positions of the principal north-south members are shown on the section at A and B. The upper part of the foundations consisted of mortared septaria rubble.

East of the wall the base of the internal rampart was found, directly overlying, and merging into, the natural clay-with-gravel. The rampart material was undoubtedly derived from the digging of the ditch.

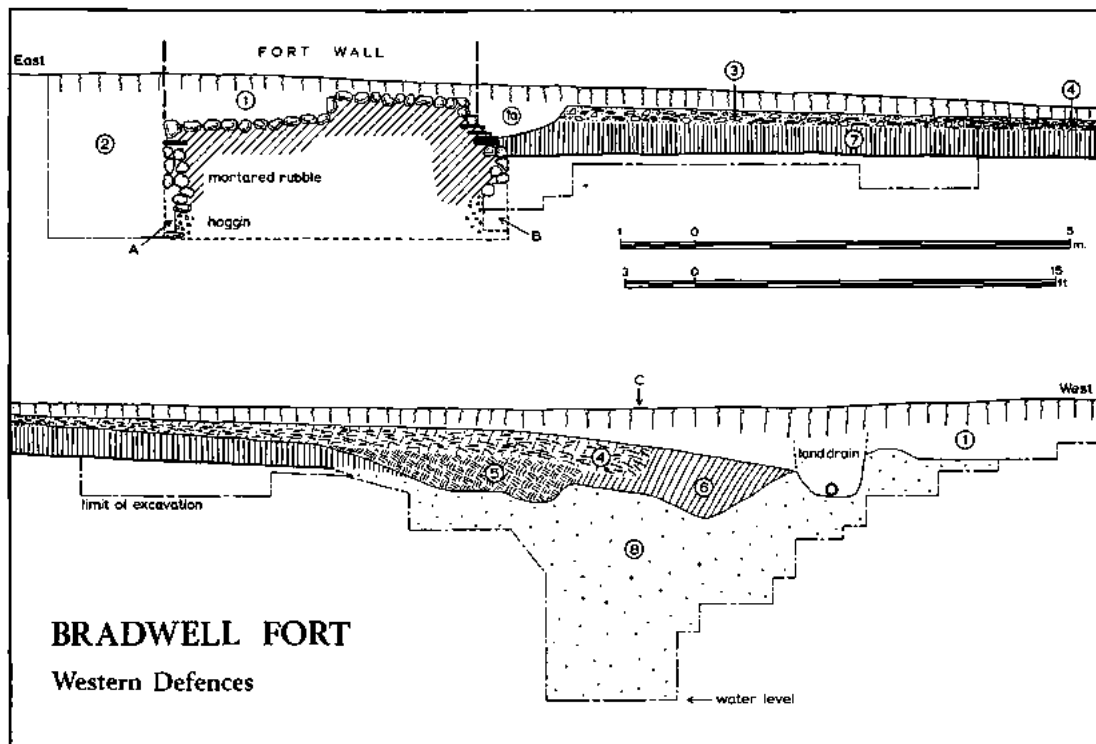


Fig. 1 Bradwell fort: section through the western defences 1947 (drawn by K. A. Rodwell, after J. G. S. Brinson).

THE STRATIGRAPHY (Fig. 1)

Layer 1: Ploughsoil.

Layer 1a: 19th-century excavation trench to expose wall.

Layer 2: base of rampart of clay and gravel; no clear distinction between rampart and underlying natural.

Layer 3: rubble debris from the demolition of the fort wall.

Layer 4: midden of oyster shells; contained medieval pottery.

Layer 5: ?ditch, evidently cut into earlier layers; contained medieval midden material.

Layer 6: shallow V-shaped feature, presumably a ditch; contained middle Saxon pottery.

Layer 7: Roman-period occupation soil on the berm.

Layer 8: stiff clay filling of fort ditch; contained Roman pottery.

THE FINDS

Most of the finds appear to survive, apart from the prolific oyster shells and animal bones from layers 4 and 5.

Prehistoric Pottery

A single body sherd in hard, grey fabric with brown surfaces, containing very coarse flint tempering. Probably Early Pre-Roman Iron Age (layer 8).

Romano-British Pottery

Six sherds including: one in a fabric which suggests a first-century date; one straight-sided pie dish, 3rd to 4th century; one flanged bowl, 3rd century, and one flint-tempered sherd of the general type made at Rettendon and elsewhere in the 4th century (see p. 253) (mainly layer 8).

Anglo-Saxon Pottery

Four sherds, probably from different vessels, of hard, black, vegetable-tempered fabric. The largest piece includes a rim; the others are formless (layer 6).

Fig. 6.105 Cooking pot rim, with dark grey interior and black exterior, very uneven and crudely burnished. The marks left by vegetable tempering are scarcely discernible on the exterior but are abundant on the interior, which prompts the suggestion that burnishing did not take place until after the tempering had been burned out of the fabric. This implies firing in two stages. The sherds are not closely datable but are more likely to be Middle Saxon than earlier.

Middle Saxon Pottery

Ipswich ware is represented by two vessels of similar fabric: of one there is only a furrowed body sherd, but the other includes a large segment of rim (layer 6).

Fig. 6.106 Cooking pot with everted rim and lightly furrowed shoulder; there is internal blackening and traces of surface deposits. Very hard, dark brown to grey, sandy fabric with medium grey surfaces. Sand grains are prolific throughout and protrude through the cortex giving the vessel a typically rough texture.

Ipswich ware has been found at four other sites in Essex, of which only one (Wicken Bonhunt) has been prolific. It has also been observed there that burnished grass-tempered ware appears to be approximately contemporary with Ipswich ware.⁵

The finding of hand-made Anglo-Saxon pottery and Ipswich ware together in a stratified context is of some interest and amplifies Hurst's recent discussion of the date of the introduction of the latter pottery type to East Anglia.⁶ He suggested that Ipswich ware was in use in the area by the mid-7th century, being the successor to local hand-made wares. If this is the case then the layer 2 deposit at Bradwell should belong to the transitional period and thus probably not post-date the 7th century. It has already been noted that layer 2 was associated with the demolition of the western wall of the Roman fort; and it is hardly deniable that such a wall would not be demolished unless it constituted an obstruction or the rubble was needed for other building works, or both. Bearing in mind the fact that the excavated section lay just to the north of the Anglo-Saxon church of St. Peter Ad Murum, and that the wall here must have been demolished to allow the church to be free-standing (and as such it was certainly designed and constructed), it would seem inescapable that demolition must have taken place in or by c. 654 (and here I accept that the existing church is probably the structure erected by St. Cedd). Although it would be unwise to place too much weight on such a small sample of material, it would nevertheless seem reasonable to suggest that the demolition of the fort wall, the building of the church, the deposition of Brinson's layer 2, and the discarding of the hand-made and Ipswich ware sherds all belong to one phase of activity at Bradwell around the middle of the 7th century.

Medieval Pottery by P. J. Drury

Some 30, generally slightly abraded, medieval sherds were found in layer 2.

Stamford Ware

A single, small sherd in a hard, off-white, fine fabric with a plain yellow lustrous glaze, finely crazed. Yellow-glazed Stamford ware is now known to have been produced, and distantly traded, as late as the early 13th century; the quality of this sherd suggests a date relatively late in the known range.⁷

Heddingham Ware

Two 13th-century jugs are represented: one by six sherds largely from the base (*c.* 20 cm in dia., not thumb-marked) in a fine brownish fabric, grey core, sporadic green glaze externally; the other by two body sherds, one with an applied vertical strip, in a fine brownish-buff fabric with a thin plain glaze speckled green.⁸

Other Glazed Wares

Sherds of several jugs of 13th- to early 14th-century date, in hard red/grey sandy fabrics, mostly cream-slipped and green glazed. One has vertical combing under a green glaze, another a brown vertical strip applied over a cream slip, all under a green glaze. The jug illustrated (Fig. 6.107) is in a reddish-brown sandy fabric, with a single glaze spot on the interior, below the rim. The handle is stabbed, and decorated with two finger-pressed applied strips. Much of the body was probably glazed externally.

Unglazed Jugs

These include a fragment of an oval-section handle in hard, grey sandy ware with deep, wide slits in the upper surface, probably 13th century; and a sherd in a thin, hard, dark red, finely sand-tempered fabric similar to Writtle Group J,⁹ with a horizontal line painted on the exterior in cream slip; unglazed. Almost certainly not earlier than the mid-14th century; late Phase II (*c.* 1360 to *c.* 1425) at Writtle.

Cooking Pots

Sherds of a sagging base in a hard, grey sand- and shell-tempered fabric; body sherd of another pot, similar fabric, brown surfaces, both early 13th century. The remainder are in hard, grey sandy fabrics: the rim illustrated (Fig. 6.108), with a brown exterior surface, belongs to the early to mid-13th century. Of the five other square-rimmed vessels present, three are similar to Danbury A2, A3,¹⁰ the lack of a vertical neck being typical of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, whilst the remainder are intermediate in form between these and Fig. 6.108. There is also the rim of a large bowl similar to Danbury E1¹¹ and Chelmsford Priory Fig. 12.6,¹² late 13th to early 14th century; and several sagging-base sherds.

Post-Medieval Pottery

A single sherd in a fine red fabric with brown 'teapot' glaze, probably 17th to 18th century, was found in layer 4, but is presumably intrusive. A small everted-rim sherd in a hard, off-white sandy fabric was found on the surface, north of the chapel, in 1971.¹³ The fabric compares closely with that of 'Tudor Green' vessels from Chelmsford, which are often only partly glazed; 15th to early 16th century in date;¹⁴ Fig. 6.109.

Taken as a whole, the material from layer 2 seems to have been deposited in the ditch between *c.* 1200 and *c.* 1350. The absence of Saxo-Norman coarse wares seems to preclude a date much before the beginning of the 13th century, whilst if deposition had continued later than the mid-14th century, one would expect more red fabrics, represented here by a single slip-decorated sherd. The material suggests contemporary occupation in the immediate vicinity, whilst the relatively high proportion of fine ware, including Stamford ware, which is uncommon in the

county,¹⁵ suggests a prosperous establishment. There is a clear contrast between this collection and the pre-1300 material from Red Hill XII on Canvey Island, probably associated with sheep-rearing on the marshes.¹⁶

Surface Finds by P. J. Drury and W. J. Rodwell

A small group of pottery was collected by Miss L. M. C. Babb in March 1967, from the surface of the then ploughed field north of St. Peter's Chapel, on the line of the fort wall (Chelmsford Museum B18838-49). With the exception of the two abraded, brown/grey sandy sherds, the material is all freshly broken and may be from a single disturbed deposit. It comprises:

Fine Wares (not illustrated)

- 18838 Base of a bowl with footring in Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware; copy of sigillata form 38.
- 18848 Sherd of an Oxfordshire mortarium in a hard, red fabric, cream slip-coated, with pink and white rounded trituration grits.¹⁷
- 18840 Base/body sherd of a thick-walled dish in late Nene Valley off-white ware with brown/red flecks and brown colour-coat, burnt externally.
- 18847 Body sherd of Hadham red ware.

Coarse Wares

A body sherd (18846) of a jar in late Roman shell-tempered ware;¹⁸ various sherds of jars, storage jars, and a flanged-rim bowl in late-Roman, hard, grey sandy fabrics.

The shell-tempered sherd, and indeed the collection as a whole, is probably not earlier than c. A.D. 360-70.¹⁹

Two pieces of information imparted by J.G.S.B. to W.J.R. are worthy of note. First, that some years after the 1947 excavation, part of the fort wall near the north-west corner was claimed to constitute an obstruction to agricultural activity (this part of the site is under plough) and was bulldozed out, despite its being scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts. Secondly, local intelligence reports that when a land-mine fell into the mud, about a quarter of a mile east of the fort during World War II, the crater thus formed was inspected at low tide and was found to contain a solid mass of Roman masonry. This appears to have been too far east to be associated with the fallen east wall and it has been suggested that it may have been part of Roman harbour works. A scatter of Romano-British pottery and tile has also been observed in the fields to the west of the fort where a civilian settlement may well have lain.

Braintree

A small excavation was undertaken by the Society on a Romano-British site north-east of the town (1949). Some records relating to this work have been located and the site is published elsewhere in this volume (p. 104; Site 40).

Chelmsford

J.G.S.B. held some of the finds and records relating to the Society's excavations on the *mansio* baths (1947-9) and finds from the Rothesay Avenue Roman cemetery (1954); see VCH iii, 63-71. All have been transferred to Chelmsford Museum and the results of these investigations are being published elsewhere.²⁰

Chesterford, Great

The excavations of 1947-9 were summarised in VCH iii, 72-88, and by 1954 the full report was in an advanced state of preparation, for intended publication by H.M.S.O. The work was then held up and not resumed until 1972 when J.G.S.B. enlisted the assistance of the present writer,

but the death of the excavator again brought the report to a halt. The records and finds are now with W.J.R. and will appear posthumously, in a memorial volume to J.G.S.B. Originally, the bulk of the finds were deposited in Chelmsford Museum, but were transferred to Cambridge University Museum in 1971. The site records and remaining finds will also be deposited there.

Two items of particular interest have recently been noted amongst the excavated finds: first, that there are fragments of briquetage vessels (presumably salt transportation containers) from Iron Age levels;²¹ and secondly, there are sherds of Anglo-Saxon 'grass-tempered' pottery from within the Roman town-wall circuit.

Laver, Little

Records relating to the Society's excavation here in 1946 have not all been located: VCH iii, 153. Some of the finds described in the VCH account were with J.G.S.B., but the whole collection has now been assembled in Chelmsford Museum. None of the finds has been published, hence the surviving material is described below.

FINDS COLLECTED c. 1906

The context of the finds noted in VCH iii is not known, but the date range indicates that they were from more than one archaeological feature; the fact that four or five vessels are complete strongly suggests that they derive from a cemetery. Two vessels certainly belong to the 1st century, while the remainder are of late Roman date and are almost certainly attributable to the 4th century. A portion of human skull retained with this collection provides virtual confirmation of the suggested cemetery.

- Fig. 2.7 A large butt beaker of *Camulodunum* form 113; virtually complete, but broken into a few large fragments; now restored. Hard, cream-buff fabric, well made and burnished externally and inside the lip; probably a British-Belgic product rather than a Gallo-Belgic import. First half of 1st century A.D. (ChM, B18001).
- Fig. 2.8 Small, necked bowl of *Camulodunum* form 221B; virtually complete, now restored. Hard, fairly coarse, brown-grey fabric, with random vegetable markings on the surface. The fabric is one of the commonest of the mid-1st century (e.g. at Kelvedon), and to this date the vessel should be assigned (ChM, B18002).
- Fig. 2.9 Squat, wide-mouthed bowl; complete, but broken and restored. Fine, soft, orange-red fabric with traces of a former dark red, burnished external surface. The present poor state of the fabric is evidently due to adverse soil conditions; Hadham ware, almost certainly of 4th-century date (ChM, B18003).
- Fig. 2.10 Small, pear-shaped flagon, handleless, but with pouring spout; complete and unbroken apart from a missing section of rim. A small oval hole in the body of the vessel is not an ancient perforation, but is evidently the result of a misplaced fork tine. Fairly hard, cream fabric, showing external iron-staining; late Roman in date, and probably of the 4th century (ChM, B18004).
- Fig. 2.11 Fragments of a small beaker, fully restored and painted black with red scrolls. The fabric appears to be a dark grey ware, which was presumably slip-coated and painted, although the original colours cannot now be determined. The drawing herewith follows the reconstruction which, in outline at least, is probably not to be doubted. 4th century (ChM, B18005).
- Fig. 11.140 Iron cleaver with split socket; probably of late Roman date. This object may well have accompanied a burial, but evidence is lacking. Although it is more usual to find the common tanged knife with late Roman burials, other items of kitchen equipment are not unknown (e.g. a ladle in a grave at Kelvedon; unpublished) (ChM, B18008).
- Fig. 11.137 Red-deer antler fragment, sawn off and hollowed out to receive the tang of a metal object, such as a knife. The antler was evidently intended to be a handle and

although it can be held comfortably, the three remaining tines must have constituted inconvenient protuberances. Perhaps the object was ornamental rather than intended for functional use. There is, however, no doubt that the 'handle' is complete and intended to be of this shape, since its entire surface has been pared down to remove the natural roughness and then well polished. The ends of the tines are rounded.

Figs. 2.12, 13, 14 Bases of two pedestalled jars (of the type surmounted by a pear-shaped body) and the ringed neck of a bulbous flagon, all in a soft, orange-red fabric, which has suffered from surface erosion in the soil. The vessels are of Hadham ware and formerly exhibited the characteristic red burnished surface. 4th century.

Not illustrated: Two sherds of terra sigillata, forms Drag. 31 and 46; Central Gaulish, Antonine. Denarius of Antoninus Pius: obv. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XXIII head to right; rev. PACI AVG COS IIII figure standing to left. M. & S. 301; A.D. 159-60 (ChM, B18009).

THE 1946 EXCAVATION

A single trench was cut and the results obtained were briefly reported in VCH iii; basically a ditch of slack V-shaped profile was located and a 6 ft. length of the filling cleared. The ditch was 7½ ft. wide by 2 ft. deep, cut into Boulder clay. A section drawing shows three symmetrical layers of filling, all truncated by the modern ploughsoil. They represent three successive ditch profiles which were cut directly one above another.

Apparently, the uppermost filling contained medieval and Tudor pottery; the middle filling is reported as containing worn Roman sherds, including colour-coated wares, while the lowest filling yielded only prehistoric and early Roman pottery. Substantial portions of two vessels of mid-1st century date are associated with the initial filling of the ditch; the first recut would appear to be later Roman and the second recut medieval. Although the excavation at Little Laver was on a modest scale, and nothing can be said regarding the layout of the settlement, it is nevertheless of interest to note that the results have added another example (to the steadily growing body of evidence) of the persistence of Roman-period features, in the Essex landscape, into modern times. The following pottery is derived from the two earlier ditch fillings:

Not illustrated: One sherd of flint-gritted pottery of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age; various grog-tempered sherds of the Belgic Iron Age and sherds of vessels in Roman or Romanising fabrics of the mid and later 1st century; basal sherd of a platter of South Gaulish sigillata, of Neronian or early Flavian date; one large tessera made of red brick.

Fig. 2.15 Jar with internally thickened rim; grey fabric heavily tempered with crushed shell; probably hand made.

Fig. 2.16 Jar with lid-seating on rim; similar fabric. The forms and fabric can be matched precisely with pottery which is found prolifically at sites along the North Thames bank (e.g. Canvey Island). Vessels, particularly of the lid-seated type, are found in central Essex, but in greatly diminished numbers; they belong to the middle years of the 1st century and are often characterised by graffiti on the shoulders.²²

Fig. 2.17 Lugged-rim jar in hard, brown, sandy fabric with black surfaces; very sparse traces of crushed shell tempering; slightly unusual in that the upstanding bead is flat-topped. Second half of 1st century.

Fig. 2.18 Hemispherical bowl with flanged rim; fairly fine, dark grey fabric, possibly once slipped and burnished. Late 1st century.

Fig. 2.19 Many sherds, now restored to a complete vessel, of a platter of *Camulodunum* form 28C; very fine, light grey fabric, probably once burnished. Native copy of a Gallo-Belgic vessel, of around the middle of the 1st century; probably not stamped (ChM, B18006).

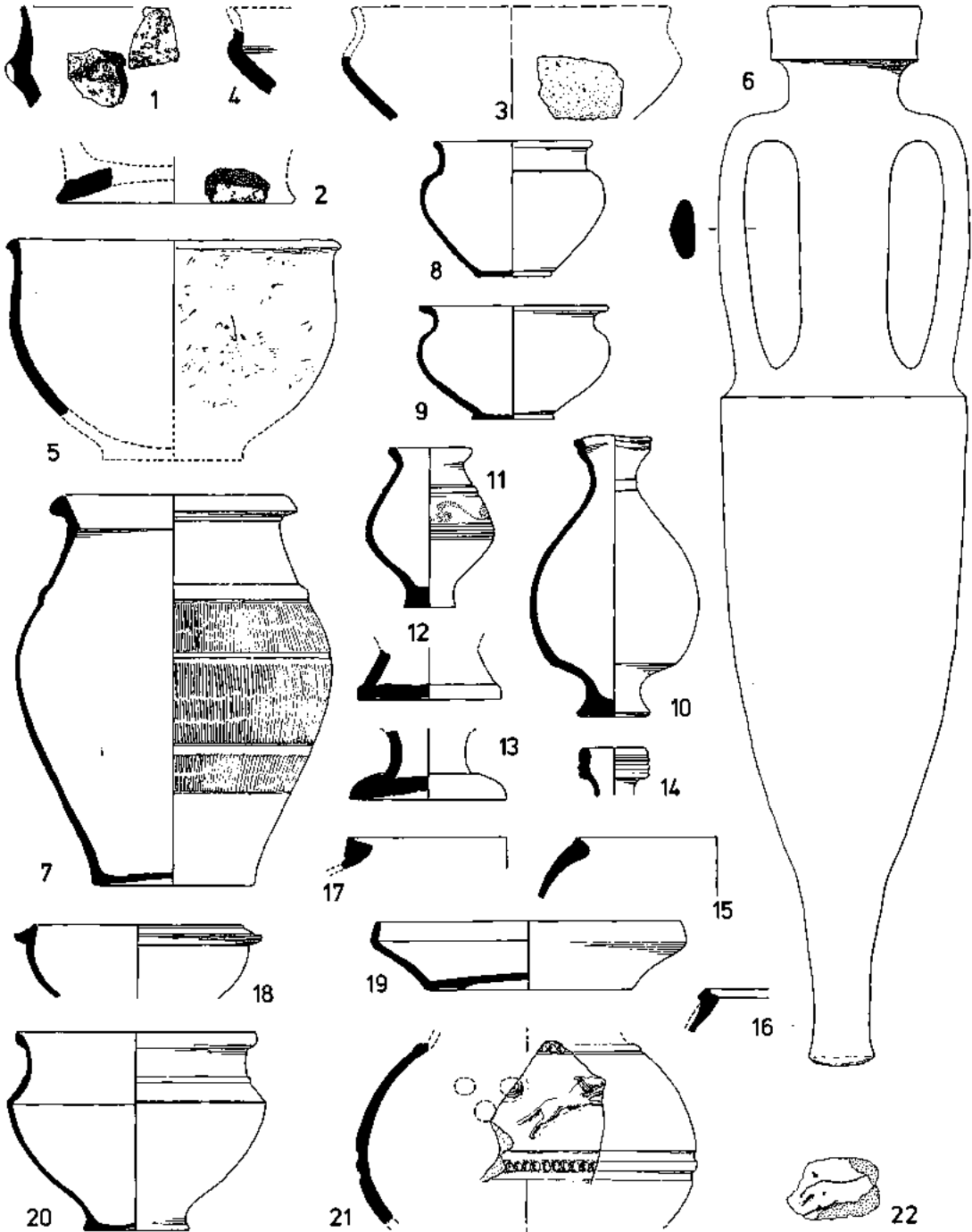


Fig. 2 *Early Iron Age pottery*: 1-4, Southchurch and South Benfleet; 5, Woodham Walter. *Amphora*: 6, Thaxted area. *Belgic and Roman pottery*: 7-20, Little Laver; 21, Great Dunmow; 22, South Benfleet. Scale 1:4, except 6, 1:8.

Fig. 2.20 Many sherds, now restored to a half-vessel, of a carinated bowl with rolled rim and cordoned neck; very fine, medium grey fabric, apparently once slipped and burnished externally. The type is *Camulodunum* form 227 and is datable to the mid or later 1st century (ChM, B18007).

Rivenhall

The Society's excavations on the villa (1950-2) were briefly reported in VCH iii, 171-4. In 1972 J.G.S.B. gave the finds and records to W.J.R. for inclusion with the report on recent work (now deposited in Colchester Museum).²³

Waltham, Little

Part of the Roman cemetery here was excavated in 1948 by the Society: VCH iii, 197. The results are being published along with recent work; the finds and records are now in Chelmsford Museum.²⁴

OTHER MATERIAL COLLECTED BY J. G. S. BRINSON

Dunmow, Great

Roman pottery collected during the development of Highfields will be published with recent excavations in Westbury House fields near by (finds now in Saffron Walden Museum).²⁵ The pottery is possibly derived from burial deposits and one piece which is of particular importance deserves mention, since it is relevant to other material published here: see below, Sandon, p. 253, and South Benfleet, p. 259; Figs. 2.21 and 12D; Plate IB. Single sherd of a jar, with freshly fractured edges; fine, hard, orange-red fabric with a grey core. The exterior was coated with a slip, similar in colour to that of the fabric, and was burnished. Before burnishing, the vessel was decorated with two horizontal rows of stabbing (apparently using a wooden instrument) and in the zone between, animals and groups of bosses were formed in relief. The technique employed was to hold a mould against the outer surface of the newly thrown vessel and to press from the inside, with the fingers. There is no doubt that this is one of the more exotic vessels produced in the late Roman factory at Much and Little Hadham, Hertfordshire. It is clearly from the same workshop as the Chelmsford 'lion' jar (Fig. 12A; Plate IA);²⁶ similar wasters are known from Clinton's Farm, Little Hadham (Fig. 12F, G).²⁷ The animal depicted on the Dunmow pot is a running dog, for which there is at present no published parallel on Hadham ware. Date: probably 4th century.

Easter, High

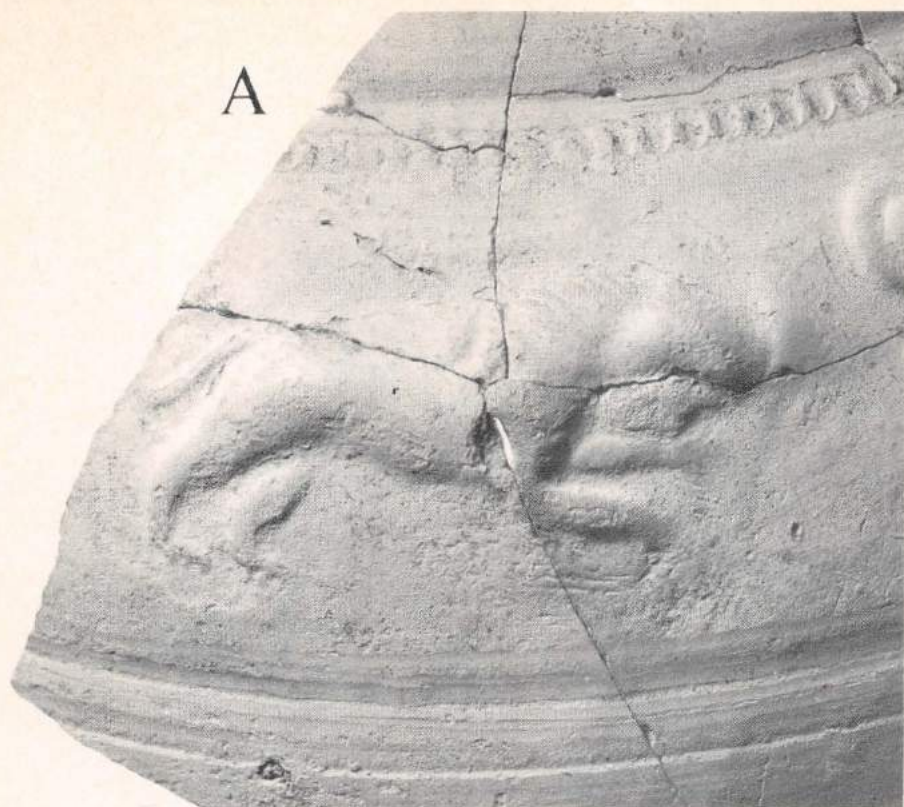
Finds collected from the Stagden Cross Roman site, by J.G.S.B. and D. E. Bircher were noted in VCH iii, 126-7. Further sherds from J.G.S.B.'s collection have now been deposited in Colchester Museum; they include the base of a 4th-century pedestalled jar of Hadham ware (cf. Little Laver above).

A new site is indicated by a find from the Post Office garden (TL 62201485), communicated to J.G.S.B. by D. E. Bircher: a sherd from the base of a late Belgic bowl, with a small foot-ring. The fabric is grey-brown with grog and shell tempering; dark grey surfaces (Colchester Museum).

Pleshey

Two coins were acquired by J.G.S.B., found in the field opposite the church (TL 662145 area): one is a very worn Georgian halfpenny; the other a worn but legible bronze of Maximianus (A.D. 286-310), reverse type: *Genio Populi Romani* (Chelmsford Museum).

PLATE I



Relief-moulded Hadham ware: A, Chelmsford; B, Great Dunmow. Scale approx. full size.
(Photos. Gordon Ager)

Roding, Leaden

Unlocated finds have been reported previously: VCH iii, 174, but a Roman coin acquired by J.G.S.B. came from a field between the Rectory and the river (TL 585132 area). It is a very worn *as*, probably of the 2nd century (Chelmsford Museum).

Woodham Walter

J. M. Bull collected Iron Age pottery from the gravel quarry at TL 817082 in 1934 and deposited this in Colchester Museum (CM 600-1.35). Other pottery recovered in the same year by Bull was given to J.G.S.B.;²⁸ it is clearly a selective collection. It includes the rim of a mid-1st-century cordoned bowl, a few Romano-British coarse wares and the following:

Iron Age Pottery

Fig. 2.5 Rim of a cooking pot of fairly fine, dark grey fabric, tempered with a very small amount of chopped vegetable material. The vessel exterior is heavily burnt and may once have been burnished. It was noted as having been found at a depth of 15 ft. (in a well?). A second sherd, which may be part of the same vessel is certainly burnished. Middle Pre-Roman Iron Age; *c.* 3rd to 2nd centuries B.C.²⁹

*Roman Pottery**Terra Sigillata*

South Gaulish, form 27, late Flavian.

Central Gaulish, forms Curle 11, 18/31, 18/31R, 27 (3 exx.), 31, 33 (2 exx.), 36, 38 and 42, all of early or mid-2nd-century date.

*Potters' Stamps*³⁰

Three examples, all on bases of form 33.

Fig. 5.67 Cocuro of Central Gaul—stamp reading *cocvro.f*, die 1a; heavily abraded, burnt, and with the base apparently cut down to make a counter; *c.* A.D. 140-170.

Fig. 5.68 Iustus ii of Lezoux—stamp reading *ivstima*, die 2b; *c.* A.D. 160-190. Locally, this die occurs at Shoebury, Wickford and Mucking.

Fig. 5.69 Paulus iv of Lezoux—stamp reading *paulum*, die 5a; *c.* A.D. 135-165. Locally, this die occurs at Great Dunmow.

Mortarium

Quadrant-section rim and part of spout of late 1st or early 2nd century, non-local vessel; the bordered name-stamp is smudged beyond recognition. Probably a product of the Verulamium region.

Fired Clay

Fig. 6.112 Fragment of an irregular block of fired clay, of fairly hard, cream fabric. The full thickness averages 2.7 cm; all edges are broken; in the centre of the block is a circular depression, 2.5 cm diameter, through the bottom of which run four small holes. The inside face of the depression is rough and sandy, apparently resulting from the moulding process by which the object was made; there are traces of two more circular depressions above the surviving one, and there was also possibly one either side of it. Part of the prefabricated floor of a malt kiln. Date uncertain; probably post-medieval.³¹

Flint

A barbed and tanged flint arrowhead was found by J. Baker in March 1951, near Lodge Farm (at TL 817060). It was drawn in outline by J.G.S.B. (Fig. 10.132); it is uncommonly long in proportion to its width. Probably Bronze Age.

Writtle by P. J. Drury

In 1887, the discovery of fragments of Roman pottery 'in a boulder clay pit on Sturgeons Farm, Writtle', was recorded by Henry Corder.³² The site lies to the north-west of the farm and is centred on TL 659072. The pits were filled some years ago, but their outlines are just discernible on the surface of the field. Material from the field collected in 1975-6 by Mrs. G. Maddison of Sturgeon's Farm³³ includes pottery ranging from Belgic to 4th-century types, including a plain bowl in BB1 fabric, Hadham ware, sherds of Northamptonshire mortaria (black ironstone grits), and late Roman shell-tempered ware. Fragments of box-flue tiles and tegulae have also been found. The site is probably that of a farm, located on the north side of the valley of a tributary of Roxwell Brook.

Sturgeon's Farm (TL 662069) retains substantial evidence of a moat. The construction of a new cowshed south-east of the house early in 1976 revealed a single cooking-pot rim, probably of 12th-century date.³⁴ J.G.S.B. had a small collection of pottery from the gravel pit south-west of Sturgeon's Farm (TL 660066) which has been confused with the boulder-clay pit referred to above.³⁵ The collection comprises a sherd of Early Iron Age coarse flint-gritted ware, and two sherds of 12th- to 13th-century date; all are abraded and could well have reached the site during agricultural operations.

MISCELLANEOUS SITES AND FINDS**Bardfield Saling** TL 68682650

In 1972 W.J.R. was shown Romano-British and medieval pottery found in excavating the floors of 'Arundels' the house immediately east of the churchyard (inf. from Dr. Twinn). In 1975 P. J. Drury was shown two medieval floor tiles found at the same time. One is probably a product of the near-by Stebbing kiln; the other is probably a Flemish product of the late 14th or 15th centuries. They will be published in the forthcoming *Census of Medieval Tiles in Essex*.

Barking TQ 441840

Various Roman finds have been reported in the vicinity of Barking Abbey: VCH iii, 46; to these may be added a silver denarius of Vespasian found many years ago in the garden of the Church School-House (private possession, seen by W.J.R. 1965).

Barling TQ 95098850

In 1964 W.J.R. was shown a few sherds of Romano-British coarse pottery, found in a ploughed field north of Millhead Villas. A visit revealed further sherds (Southend Museum) and a scatter of post-Medieval rubble from a demolished building.

Bradwell Juxta Coggeshall TL 81802214

A drainage gully was excavated in 1972 around the bases of the east, west and south walls of the church and it was evident that the superstructure is entirely of one build with the foundations; a few sherds of medieval pottery were found, together with Roman and medieval brick. In VCH iii, 52, it is stated that the great quantity of brick used in this 12th-century church is of the contemporary 'Coggeshall Abbey' type; most is, but there are also many pieces of Roman tile incorporated, including tegulae and hypocaust flue tiles.

Canewdon TQ 918943

In 1938 H. J. D. Bennett saw the remains of three tall, buff amphorae which were found and smashed during gravel digging. Presumably they constitute the only evidence for an unrecorded rich Belgic burial. Other Iron Age burials and finds are known, but ill-recorded, in the area.

Canfield, Little TL 58682096

In 1975 W.J.R. observed that a few sherds of Romano-British pottery and tile had been thrown up in grave digging immediately east of the chancel of the church. There is Roman brick and tile on the surface of the ploughed field east of the church, and a great quantity of post-Medieval building rubble immediately west of the church.

Chrishall TL 44953905

In 1975 W.J.R. observed Romano-British pottery in the ploughsoil (Saffron Walden Museum).

Coggeshall

In 1972 W.J.R. was shown a sestertius of Hadrian, found a few years previously during the rebuilding of Barclays Bank, High Street (private possession).

Copford TL 935226

Mr. H. J. D. Bennett found sherds of Romano-British pottery when a water-main trench was excavated c. 1969 alongside the path leading to the south door of the church. A probable villa site is known some distance north of the church and hall (VCH iii, 123), but it remains uncertain whether the foundations reported beside the hall are Roman or later.

Dunmow, Great TL 62952297

VCH iii, 125, records Belgic and Roman remains from sites near the church; in 1975 W.J.R. noted sherds of 1st-century pottery on flower-beds on the south side of the churchyard. There is also Roman brick scattered throughout the fabric of the church, in small quantities.

Feering TL 86492107

In 1971 H. J. D. Bennett and W.J.R. found 14th-century pottery in the bed of the Blackwater, on the site of Feeringbury mill, where the remains of extensive timber structures were also showing in the banks. A fine polished-bone spindle-whorl, or pierced counter, had previously been found on the site by Mr. Bennett (the object and pottery are now in Colchester Museum). The roundel (Fig. 11.138) is of familiar medieval type, but cannot be dated closely; the polished face is decorated with a series of concentric grooves and a circle of engraved ring-and-dot ornament. Diameter 5.3 cm. Col. Mus. 116.1972.

Ham, West c. TQ 401842

In 1968 W.J.R. was shown a bronze coin of Victorinus (A.D. 265-70) in good condition; it was found some years previously in West Ham Park.

Obverse: IMP C VICTORINVS PF AVG radiate bust to right.

Reverse: PAX AVG with Pax standing to left (private possession).

Hedingham, Castle TL 786347

In a letter of 11.10.1960 from G. W. Ridyard to J. G. S. Brinson, it was noted that Roman pottery and tiles were found in a ploughed field during inspection in 1950. The farmer also reported much tile in the bank forming the northern boundary of the field. This site was intended to be included in VCH iii, but was somehow omitted.

Maldon TL 83830724

In 1964 W.J.R. observed that the mound marked by the Ordnance Survey as a tumulus, south of Beeleigh Abbey, was suffering from heavy ploughing due to the recent removal of the hedgerow immediately to the north; the mound was previously in the corner of a field and less vulnerable to agricultural depredation. Surface finds included: two sherds, probably from a single Bronze Age vessel, one flint-gritted sherd of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age, and one Romano-British greyware rim (Chelmsford Museum). The mound was trenched by Mr. I. G. Robertson in 1966 for the (then) Ministry of Works and Chelmsford Museum (unpublished). In that year cropmarks were evident in the field to the north.

Messing TL 891196

The Roman masonry building recorded in VCH iii, 162, as 'unlocated' is described by local informants as a bath-house. When discovered in 1932, much of a tile-built wall was broken up. A cart-load (literally, described to W.J.R. in 1970 by an eye-witness) of bonding tiles was taken to Prested Hall, Feering, and built into an inglenook fireplace, which is still extant. There are no records of the various 'excavations' undertaken on the site of the building.

Prittlewell c. TQ 874868

In 1973 W.J.R. was shown two Roman bronze coins (in private possession) found at Roots Hall, probably during the digging of brickearth earlier in the century; VCH iii, 167:

Claudius II, Rome mint. Obverse: radiate bust to right, IMP C CLAVDIUS AVG

Reverse: Claudius to left, holding branch and sceptre, PM TRP II COS PP.

Constans, Trier mint. Obverse: diademed and draped bust to right, CONSTANS PF AVG

Reverse: Constans standing on a galley, holding Victory, FEL TEMP REPARATIO.

Rainham

In 1968 W.J.R. was shown a dupondius of Antonius Pius (in private possession) which had recently been found on Rainham rubbish tip; it had been brought from elsewhere in the locality, along with soil.

Obverse: Laureate bust to right, ANTONINVS PIVS PFL AVG

Reverse: WORD ? (PIE)TATI AVG. S.C.

Rayleigh TQ 80699082

The vessel recorded as 'Roman' (VCH iii, 169) and found on the site of the Post Office in 1940 is post-medieval. It was drawn by W.J.R. in 1969 (Fig. 6.110) and is a small bottle in a very sandy, medium brown fabric. 15th to 16th centuries.

Rayleigh c. TQ 809912

In 1970 workmen who had been engaged in the building of Uplands Estate, some ten years previously, gave W.J.R. two sherds of pottery. One is the handle of a cream flagon of 1st- or 2nd-century date; the other is a frilled rim of a jar of very fine grey fabric, burnished externally (Fig. 5.66); probably 3rd century (Southend Museum). The sherds were found, together with many others which were not retained, in large patches of black soil which were revealed when topsoil scraping took place in preparation for the construction of roads. The site, which was probably that of a Romano-British farmstead, has been entirely submerged beneath a housing estate.

Romford area TQ 5289

In 1971 W.J.R. was shown a bronze coin of Constantine I found at Gidea Park: two soldiers and standards type; mint of Nicomedia (SMN).

Shoebury, South TQ 92588486

In 1963 a follis of Maximian was found in the garden of 56 St. Andrew's Road (private possession, seen by W.J.R. and the British Museum).

Obverse: laureate bust, DN MAXIMIANO PFS AVG

Reverse: Genius standing, holding patera and cornucopiae, GENIO POP ROM. Mint uncertain; A.D. 307-8.

In 1964 a sestertius of Julia Mamaea was found in an adjacent garden.

Obverse: IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA

Reverse: Fecunditas, a child before her, FECVNDITAS AVGVSTAE

Southchurch TQ 59111862

In laying out the garden of a new house at 66 Willingale Way, Thorpe Bay, in 1972, Mr. M. D. Astor collected nearly 50 sherds of Early Iron Age flint-gritted pottery from the topsoil and subsoil. The pottery is all very coarse in texture except for one sherd (see below); charcoal, burnt earth and a piece of green slag apparently derived from bronze working were associated (the collection is now in Southend Museum). Three sherds are illustrable.

Fig. 2.1 Two fragments, not adjoining, of the rim and shoulder of a situlate jar with a thin, tapering rim and a raised and finger-tipped shoulder (hardly a cordon). Dark grey fabric with light brown exterior containing much coarse flint grit (up to 3 mm dia.) which protrudes through the surfaces. Probably 6th to 5th centuries B.C. Cf. Thundridge: *Herts. Archaeol.*, ii (1970), 13, fig. IV.1.

Fig. 2.2 Fragment of a pedestalled jar or bowl of fairly hard, light reddish-brown fabric containing much crushed calcined flint. Base diameter not certain, but not less than c. 14 cm. Pedestalled vessels of the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age are notably rare in Essex and a 5th- to 3rd-century date is probably to be expected.

Fig. 2.3 Sherd of the lower wall of a carinated bowl of hard, dark grey ware containing much finely crushed flint (mostly less than 1 mm. dia.). The exterior shows signs of a thin slip coating of similar colour to the paste. This is paralleled by other vessels in the 'Darmsden-Linton' style in the area: cf., for example, a sherd from South Benfleet (p. 259). Probably 5th to 3rd centuries.

Stebbing TL 648269

In 1970 Mr. H. J. D. Bennett informed W.J.R. of the discovery, some years previously, of a Roman burial during agricultural operations. Enquiries by Mr. P. J. Drury and the writer located the dispersed finds, which comprised two Republican denarii, a bronze box, a silver-gilt bow brooch and glass and pottery vessels. Field examination in 1972 resulted in the recovery of further sherds of pottery and glass. The whole collection clearly represents one or more rich pre-Flavian burials. In 1975, Mr. C. J. Going undertook a study of the material and the events surrounding the discoveries; it is anticipated that he will publish a full report in due course.

NOTES

1. M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (1958), 259-70.
2. Obituary: *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* v (1973), 3-5.
3. I wish to record my sincere gratitude to Mrs. Sybil Brinson for her patience and help in sorting the archaeological material in J.G.S.B.'s estate.
4. See also *Colchester Museum Report, 1947-8*, 31.
5. R. Bradley and B. Hooper, 'Trial Excavation on a Saxon Site at Wicken Bonhunt, Essex, 1970-71', *Essex J.* ix (1974), 38-56. Several vessels closely similar to the Bradwell piece are illustrated.
6. J. G. Hurst, 'Middle Saxon Pottery (Ipswich ware)' in J. N. L. Myres and B. Green, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk* (1973). The interest of the Bradwell sherds was noted by G. Knocker in *Proc. Suff. Inst. Archaeol.* xxvii (1956), fig. 10.1; and by Hurst in *Proc. Cambs. Antiq. Soc.* I (1956), 34.
7. The opinion of Mr. J. G. Hurst, who was kind enough to examine the sherd; decorated yellow-glazed jugs of early 13th-century date have been found in London.
8. Excavations and research on the Heddingham potteries by Mrs. E. E. Sellers is in progress; see notes in *Med. Archaeol.*, esp. xvi (1972), 205.

9. P. A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955-57*. London, Society for Medieval Archaeology (1969), 74.
10. P. J. Drury and G. D. Pratt, 'A late 13th and Early 14th century Tile Factory at Danbury, Essex', *Med. Archaeol.* **xix** (1975), 127 and fig. 57.
11. Drury and Pratt, 1975, op. cit., 127 and fig. 59.
12. P. J. Drury, 'Chelmsford Dominican Priory: The Excavation of the Reredorter, 1973', *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* **vi** (1974), 63-4.
13. By Mr. H. J. D. Bennett, who kindly made it available for examination.
14. See Rahtz, 1969, op. cit. (n. 9), 94.
15. In his paper 'Saxo-Norman Pottery in East Anglia' (*Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, **li** (1958), 37-65), J. G. Hurst could point to only one unverified find-spot in Essex, the 'Paille Ditches', probably the earthworks in Saffron Walden generally known as the 'Battle Ditches' (for which see *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (3rd series) **i** (1962), 141-56). Sherds have since been found by S. R. Bassett at Maldon (*Med. Archaeol.* **xvii** (1973), 140-41), Colchester, largely in 12th-century contexts (inf. from P. J. Crummy), Waltham Abbey (*Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* **v** (1973), 156-61), Hadleigh (*Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assn.* **xxxviii** (1975), 116) where it could easily have been in use when the castle was built c. 1230 (see n. 7 above), and Wicken Bonhunt village (in building works—inf. from M. R. Petchey).
16. See W. J. Rodwell, 'The Excavation of a Red Hill on Canvey Island', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (3rd series) **ii** (1966), 16-17, 28-32.
17. C. Young, 'The Pottery Industry of the Oxford region', *Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery*, C.B.A. Research Report 10 (1973), 110.
18. W. J. R. found another two sherds in the same area in 1971.
19. For discussion of the dating of these late wares see p. 45-6.
20. P. J. Drury, *Chelmsford Excavations ii* (forthcoming).
21. W. J. Rodwell, 'Coinage, Oppida and the Rise of Belgic Power in South-Eastern Britain', in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds.), *Oppida and the Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*, B.A.R. Supp. 11 (1976), 298-301.
22. M. U. Jones, 'Potters' Graffiti from Mucking, Essex', *Antiq. J.* **liii** (1972), 335-8.
23. W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall 1950-75: Investigations on the Roman Villa, Church and Village* (forthcoming).
24. P. J. Drury, *Chelmsford Excavations I: Excavations at Little Waltham, 1970-1* (forthcoming).
25. By P. J. Drury (in preparation).
26. *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* **iv** (1972), 19, fig. 5.
27. E. Herts. Archaeol. Soc. *Newsletter* 31 (1972), figs. h and i. Mr. G. Moody kindly made the sherds available for study.
28. The site lies immediately east of that investigated by the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council's Planning Dept. in 1976.
29. Cf. Little Waltham, where this vessel type and fabric (Fabric H) have been discussed (Note 24).
30. I am indebted to Mr. B. R. Hartley for providing details of the dies and their dating.
31. Kindly identified by Mr. P. J. Drury.
32. *Essex Natur.* **i** (1887), 92.
33. To whom I am grateful for bringing the material to my attention. The farm now forms part of the estate attached to Writtle Agricultural College.
34. Similar to an example from Waltham Abbey: *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* **v** (1973), 160, fig. 7.83.
35. In VCH: *Essex iii* (1963), 203. The material has been deposited in Chelmsford Museum.
36. Briefly reported in *Essex Natur.* **xxviii** (1951), 278-9; see also *Med. Archaeol.* **xix** (1975), 149-55.

A Flint Arrowhead from Wickford

by P. J. DRURY and ELIZABETH HEALEY

In June 1974 a flint arrowhead was found by Mr. M. Judd in the topsoil of his rear garden at 53 Wick Lane, Wickford (TQ 753932). The surrounding area was searched but nothing further was found. Mrs. Elizabeth Healey comments on the flint (Fig. 10.131) as follows: 'Barbed and tanged arrowhead (damaged) of light brown flint with lighter brown and dark grey mottling. Flaked all over both faces except for a small area of the original flake-surface on one face. The tip and straight sides have been damaged and both barbs truncated; these were probably originally short. The tang has also been damaged on one side, but is broad and square-ended in form. The arrowhead is likely to be of Bronze Age date.'

A Late Bronze Age Socketed Axe from Pleshey

by C. R. COUCHMAN, B.A.

In December 1974, in a field to the north of Pleshey town enclosure (TL 664148), a socketed bronze axe was picked up during potato harvesting operations by Mr. R. Spearman of Pleshey. It was identified by Mr. P. J. Drury, who drew it and brought it to the writer's attention. It remains in the possession of Mr. Spearman.

The axe is undecorated, and looped, with the loop placed low, suspended from the lower moulding of a very deep, double-moulded collar. The mouth is sub-circular, the section sub-rectangular, the profile slightly waisted and the blade slightly expanded (Fig. 10.136).

It is of South-Eastern type,¹ a form common in southern and eastern England and found both in hoards² and as stray finds³ (though some of these are probably originally from hoards). It is a component of the carp's tongue complex, dating from the mid-8th to mid-7th century B.C.⁴

NOTES

1. Butler, J. J. 'Bronze Age Connections Across the North Sea', *Palaeohistoria* IX (1963), 84.
2. e.g. Phillips, W. E. 'A Late Bronze Age Hoard from Beddlestead, Chelsham', *Proc. Croydon Natural History Society* XIII (1967), 246-50.
3. e.g. Clough, T. H. McK. 'A Late Bronze Age Socketed Axe from Horsford, Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* 35 (1973), 491-3.
4. Burgess, C. B. 'The Later Bronze Age in the British Isles and North-Western France' *Arch. J.* CXXV (1969), p. 17 and Appendix V.

Trial Trenching at Bradwell-Juxta-Coggeshall

by WARWICK RODWELL

In 1969 Planning Permission was granted for the extraction of gravel over an area of 64 acres on the southern terrace of the river Blackwater, just west of Curd Hall, Coggeshall (area around TL 826217). The site straddles the boundary between that parish and Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall. Little is known of the archaeology of this area, which has remained undisturbed agricultural land. A Roman coin was found close by and a burial of uncertain date, contained in a bronze vessel, was reported in the 16th century.¹ In 1971 the writer was shown two lumps of puddingstone—one was apparently worked—which had been found adjacent to the area scheduled for extraction;² and in 1972 saw a Neolithic flint axe (in private possession) which had recently been found by the footpath, south of the Blackwater in, or immediately adjacent to, the area under consideration.³

Field walking in 1970 and a search of the available air photographic cover were largely negative, but could not be regarded as definitive. Hence, trial trenching using a JCB mechanical excavator was undertaken in September 1971.⁴ Although one complete field and parts of three others lay within the area with planning consent, excavation had to be limited to the northern and southern ends of the site on account of standing crops. The field closest to the Blackwater (centred on 830220) was thoroughly trenched without positive results. A broken, Mesolithic-Neolithic blade of brown-grey flint was found in the topsoil (Fig. 10.133). At the southern end of

the site lay a shallow depression, at the head of a dry valley; here, trenching parallel to, and on both the east and west sides of, an extant hedgerow revealed a complex geological formation of gravel, brickearth and chalky boulder clay, into which was cut one massive archaeological feature (82592160). It appeared to be a ditch, running east-west, some 10 m wide, flat bottomed and 1.5 m deep. The filling was of cleanish brickearth which contained flecks of charcoal, fired clay and waste material probably derived from bronze smelting, and fragments of Early Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery. The sherds, which are hand made and tempered with crushed flint, are too small to enable anything to be said of the forms, and little of the dating, of the vessels represented. Both fine and coarse wares are present and the fabrics are consistent with those current in the region in the 5th to 3rd centuries B.C. From the surface of the Iron Age feature came a much abraded sherd of a jar, formerly shell-tempered, but now vesiculated; probably 1st century A.D. In the same context, a worked flint was also found: Fig. 10.134; half of a nodule of black and white mottled flint knapped to produce one reasonably flat face. At the broader end five small flakes have been detached from the cortex. The result is a crude, round-nosed scraper which can be held comfortably in the hand. There is some secondary damage to the implement.

If the feature is of Iron Age date—and there is no evidence to suggest otherwise—it is difficult to suggest its interpretation as a quarry pit or the like, and it is better seen as part of a major linear earthwork.⁵

NOTES

1. VCH: *Essex* iii (1963), 90.
2. Shown by the farm manager, Mr. R. Tivey of Kelvedon Hall Farm. The puddingstones were found at c. TL 825215 and 831216.
3. In the vicinity of TL 831222.
4. The work was undertaken by the writer, assisted by Mr. H. J. D. Bennett, for the Essex Archaeological Society; the investigation was sponsored by the Department of the Environment as an adjunct to the current excavations at Kelvedon. Excavation was arranged by Mr. P. J. Drury, with the consent of Hall Aggregates Ltd. and the farmer, T. J. Harvey & Son.
5. The site has not yet been destroyed and large-scale excavation should be undertaken to elucidate its true nature.

A Dressel I Amphora from the Thaxted Area (and notes on amphorae from Sandon and Marks Tey)

by WARWICK RODWELL

In 1972 the writer's attention was drawn to an amphora at Prested Hall Cottage, Feering.¹ Examination showed it to be a complete and remarkably fine example of a Dressel IB amphora; a sample of the fabric taken from the foot was confirmed by Dr. D. P. S. Peacock as being his Fabric I.²

Fig. 2.6 The amphora stands to a height of 1.24 m; the fabric is pink with white flecks; presumably it was originally coated with white slip but it is now covered with brown dis-temper. The vessel has been broken and mended on two occasions; the second breakage occurred about ten years ago and the first was probably also in modern times. The repairs were effected with plaster of Paris and cement and it was not possible to record the internal profile, even of the upper parts of the amphora. Throughout the earlier part of this century the vessel resided at Colne Priory, Earls Colne. It was believed that it was found somewhere on the Priory estate during the 19th century, but no details

could be ascertained. There can be little doubt that such a vessel could only have been derived from a rich Belgic grave of the latter part of the 1st century B.C.³ It is now known, however, that H. H. Carwardine, who resided at the Priory, came into possession in c. 1835 of a complete Dressel I amphora, which had apparently been found in Thaxted parish in 1782. The link has been established by Mr. C. J. Going and the discovery is discussed in his forthcoming paper on amphora finds from north-west Essex.

Two further points of relevance to this subject may be recorded here. First, the pair of complete Dressel I amphorae noted by Peacock as coming from Danbury⁴ are in fact from Sandon (TL 756048) and are undoubtedly the indicators of an otherwise unrecorded Welwyn-type burial.⁵ Second, it was reported to the writer that, about eight years ago, when the A12 bypass was being constructed at Marks Tey (TL 2391) the workmen found and smashed a group of 'tall red pots, about four feet high'. They answered the description of amphorae and were presumably derived from a rich burial.⁶ There is no guarantee that the vessels were of Dressel I type but the colour description and height might indicate that they were; it comes as no surprise to hear that a potential Welwyn-type burial may have been found at Marks Tey,⁷ since the immediate locality has already yielded one, if not two, hoards of gold staters.⁸ An important Belgic settlement may await discovery and could be the reason for the convergence of the two major Roman (and almost certainly pre-Roman) routes at Marks Tey.

NOTES

1. By Mrs. M. Carrick. The amphora was studied by permission of Mrs. E. Sherwood and drawn by Mrs. K. A. Rodwell.
2. D. P. S. Peacock, 'Roman Amphorae in Pre-Roman Britain', in M. Jesson and D. Hill (eds.), *The Iron Age and its Hillforts* (1971).
3. Discussed in W. J. Rodwell, 'Coinage, Oppida and the Rise of Belgic Power in South-Eastern Britain', in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds.), *The Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*, B.A.R. Supp. 11 (1976), 237-43.
4. Peacock, *op. cit.*, 184.
5. Reports are confused and the one from which I originally quoted (Rodwell, *op. cit.*, note 3) implied that the vessels came from a gravel pit. This is incorrect and M. R. Hull's (unpublished) MSS. prepared for VCH: *Essex iii* (in Colchester Museum) set out the true account. The amphorae were in private possession and were brought to Hull's attention in 1949. A letter dated 19.2.1862 stated that they had been found in setting up gate-posts. The amphorae were found close together, somewhat inclined, and contained 'ashes' and soil. Other fragments of pottery were also found but not retained.
6. Information from Mr. H. J. D. Bennett, who spoke to the workmen involved. There was no archaeological recording undertaken when the bypass was constructed at Marks Tey; nor is it possible to give a precise location of the discovery.
7. Noted in Rodwell, *op. cit.*, 1976, 319 (note 3).
8. See D. F. Allen, 'The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Reappraisal', in S. S. Frere (ed.), *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (1961), Appendix III. Allen noted the hoard found in 1843, which included staters of Dubnovellaunos and Addedomaros (which could be roughly contemporary with a later Welwyn-type burial), and admitted the possibility of a second hoard, found in 1807. Research by M. R. Hull for VCH: *Essex iii*, however, left little room for doubt that there were two separate hoards.

Roman Pottery from Goldhanger

by W. J. and K. A. RODWELL

In 1968 the writers noticed four boxes of terra sigillata in Chelmsford Museum, containing many hundreds of sherds of both plain and decorated wares. There were c. 60 potters' stamps and sherds of c. 90 decorated bowls amongst the collection, which was almost entirely confined to the

1st century A.D. Although the majority of the pottery was of Claudio-Neronian date, a few sherds were attributable to the Antonine period. On account of the bulk, the quality, the date, and the pristine condition of the pottery, together with the repetition of individual potter's works, it seemed feasible that the collection was derived from an early Roman dump. The boxes were marked 'Goldhanger 1966' but there were no accompanying records.¹ After extensive enquiries, it was established that the collection had been acquired following the death of Mr. E. Crawshay Frost, of 32 Fish Street, Goldhanger (TL 90410861).

While studying the general sigillata collection in Chelmsford Museum, we noted several sherds of Claudio-Neronian vessels, found in the garden of 32 Fish Street in 1966 and given by the new owner Mrs. L. J. Trollope.² In February 1969 a thorough search of the garden and surrounding area was undertaken and a trial trench was cut in the vegetable plot in the south-west corner of the garden.³ More Claudio-Neronian sigillata was found, together with a very few sherds of coarse pottery, at various places: in the garden; in the ditch which formed its western boundary; and on the eastern extremity of the ploughed field beyond that ditch. The trial trench showed that the sigillata occurred only in the topsoil and was stratified above modern building debris; no archaeological features were found.

Frost, it seems, was a notable eccentric who came to the district *c.* 1918, and much was learned about him from local inhabitants. He claimed that there was a Roman fort at Goldhanger, based on his finds of pottery; he uncovered a sunken boat in Goldhanger creek, which he announced as Roman; he collected various timbers from the marshes which he also thought to be Roman in date;⁴ and he built a fireplace-surround in the front room of house No. 32A entirely from Romano-British coarse pottery (none of any intrinsic value). Frost is known to have concealed antiquities in drains and wells in his garden, from whence some items were apparently recovered after his death.

Further information on Frost's character and activities in the City was kindly provided by Mr. N. Cook in 1970 (then Director of the Guildhall Museum, London). It appears that Frost toured the building sites in the City and acquired pottery and other Roman antiquities from workmen, often paying very high prices for articles of little worth. He did, however, have an important collection of Roman finger-rings and other metal objects from London, the present whereabouts of which is unknown.

It is known, however, that Frost was present at the redevelopment of the Bucklersbury House site, and one of the decorated sherds in his 'Goldhanger' collection is almost certainly part of the same bowl as sherds recovered from that site by Professor W. F. Grimes. After several years of investigation into the 'Goldhanger problem' and a careful consideration of all the evidence, there would appear to be little reasonable doubt that all the finds of Roman pottery from the vicinity of 32 Fish Street were imported from London and scattered there by Frost in the early 1960s.⁵ There is no doubt that Claudio-Neronian sigillata, and the occasional fragment of other pottery, will continue to be found at Goldhanger for years to come. For this reason, a fairly full account has been provided here; had this dangerous hoax not been discovered when it was, Goldhanger would undoubtedly soon have appeared in the archaeological literature as a probable military supply base similar to that at Fingringhoe.⁶

NOTES

1. Thanks are due to the then (1968) Borough Librarian and Curator, Mr. E. O. Reed and to the then Museum Assistant (now Curator), Mr. D. L. Jones, for every facility to study the collection. Neither knew how the museum came into possession of the Goldhanger material, but a member of the cleaning staff remembered the pottery being brought in by the previous Museum Assistant, Mr. I. G. Robertson, in 1966.
2. Acc. No. B.18834-7. It was noted that one of these sherds fitted another in the Frost Collection.
3. Thanks are due to Mrs. Trollope for allowing the search and excavation in her garden.
4. These were (in 1969) stacked in the back garden of 30 Fish Street. They probably derive from 17th-century or later sea-walls or similar structures.
5. The sigillata itself is of considerable interest and will be published elsewhere.
6. VCH: *Essex* iii (1963), 131. The site at Goldhanger is eminently suitable for a similar base on the Blackwater.

'Rettendon' Ware Kiln-Debris and Other Material from Sandon

by P. J. DRURY

In February 1957, Romano-British pottery and other material found in 'rubbish pits' exposed in Lavender's gravel pit, Sandon (centred on TL 752043) was shown to the curator of Chelmsford Museum by Mrs. Noble, then pottery mistress at the near-by Sandon Secondary Modern School. A few items had been submitted in December 1956, and in the following August, potsherds and an iron knife with a twisted handle terminating in a loop 'from Sandon' were submitted, but the finder was unrecorded. In 1971, a collection of material from the site, largely consisting of coarse pottery, which had remained at the school (now Sandon Comprehensive), was donated to the museum, and further material was donated through the efforts of Mrs. Butts in 1976. By that time the 'metal knives, coin (MILI . . . rev.)', mentioned in the museum log had presumably been lost.¹ The surviving material divides into two groups—late Roman kiln products and debris, and a range of pottery, etc., dating from the 1st century onwards.

The Kiln Groups

About one-third of the collection consists of sherds in a coarse, grey fabric, heavily tempered with coarse sand or sand and crushed flint. Several sherds are clearly kiln wasters, and fragments of kiln structure are also present.

A. Vessels with sand and flint tempering. The fabric is light to dark grey, heavily tempered with coarse sand and crushed flint, producing a surface rough to the touch. Many sherds are underfired, four are badly distorted, two have bases spalled during firing, and three are severely vitrified. Only jars are present, the majority having a form of cavetto rim; the range is represented by Fig. 3.23–28, of which 24 and 28 were visibly distorted. The remaining forms are each represented by a single example (Fig. 3.29, 30, 31; the latter with stabbed decoration on the shoulder). A sherd of a large storage jar is also extant.

B. Vessels with coarse sand tempering. The fabric is similar to that of Group A, save for the omission of crushed flint; the forms are more varied, and only Fig. 3.32 is an obvious waster.

Fig. 3.32 Body sherds of a bowl which have split from the base during firing; burnished internally.

Fig. 3.33 Bowl with a heavy bulbous flange, burnished internally; two examples.

Fig. 3.34 Flanged-rim bowl.

Fig. 3.35–37 Jars with undercut rims.

Fig. 3.38 Everted-rim jar.

Fig. 3.39 Jar with bifid rim, poorly fired and blown.

Fig. 3.40 Large storage jar, decorated with stabbed holes on the shoulder.

Fired Clay Fragments

A substantial quantity of fired clay survives. Virtually all is reduced to a uniform grey colour, similar to that of the pottery. Several fragments probably came from the walls of a kiln, each having one smooth curved face. The majority, however, are fragments of plates 1.0–1.5 cm thick, very heavily grass-marked on one side, the other side being either smooth, rough or also grass-marked. They are probably the remains of kiln furniture; almost identical items at Rettendon² were thought to be fragments of temporary kiln roofs. Their presence, together with the degree of reduction of all the material, strongly suggests that it is derived from a pottery kiln rather than a domestic oven or similar structure.

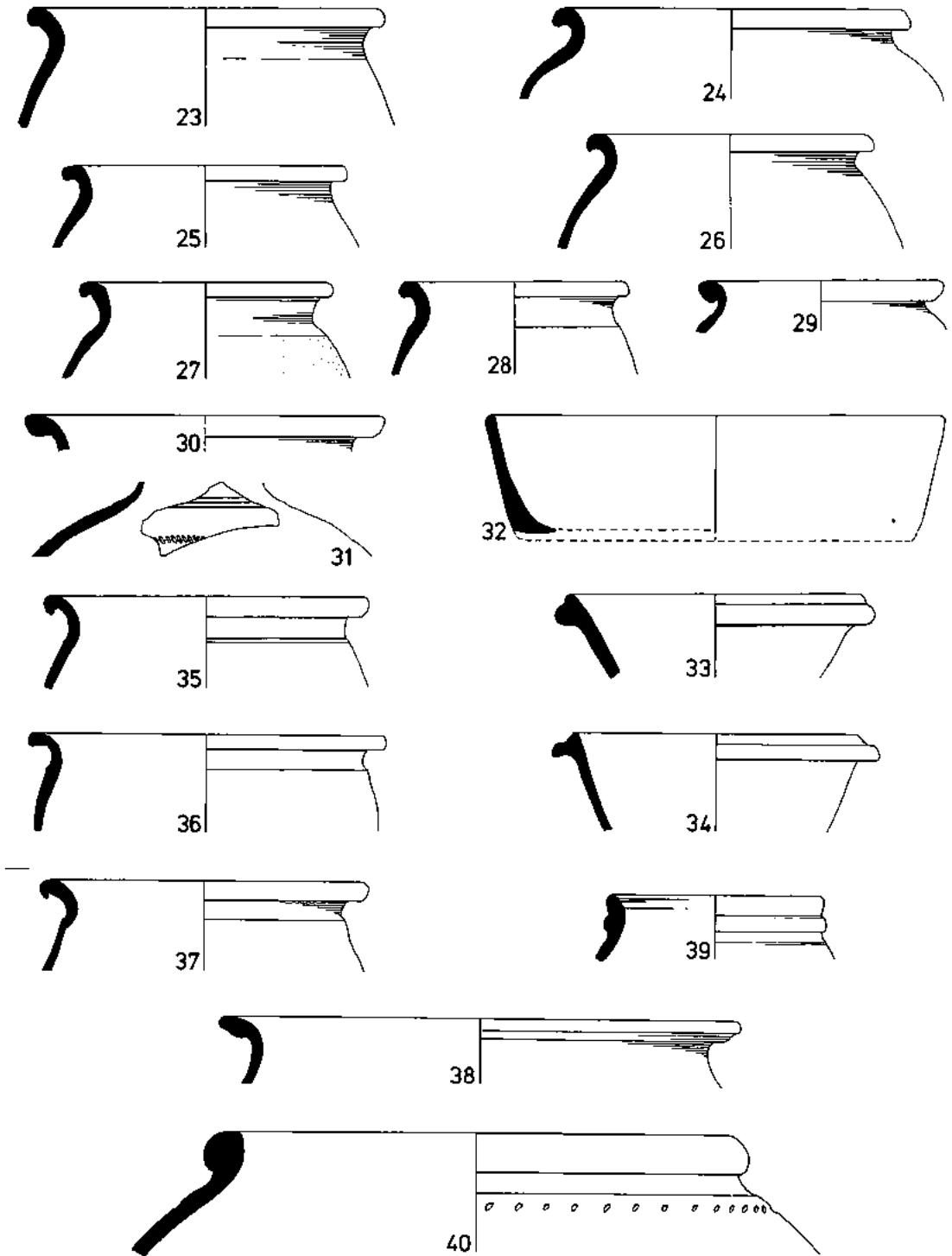


Fig. 3 *Romano-British pottery*: 23-40, Sandon kiln group. Scale 1:4.

The Other Material

The earliest sherds are in a black-flecked, grey to brown, 'Belgic' fabric and include fragments of storage jars with vertical combed patterns. Other early material comprises the rim of a shell-tempered ledged-rim jar (as Gun Hill, Fig. 16.99),³ sherds in a soft brown fabric with black surfaces (including a colander sherd) typical of the later 1st century in Chelmsford,⁴ and a sherd of a buff ring-neck flagon. The remaining material is as follows:

Jars

- Fig. 4.41 Hard reddish-brown sandy fabric, grey surfaces and core, burnished externally, late 1st to early 2nd century.
- Fig. 4.42 Fine grey fabric, burnished externally; probably 1st half of the 2nd century.
- Fig. 4.43–47 Brown, heavily sand-tempered fabric with grey surfaces. This might be another locally manufactured fabric, but none of the sherds present are wasters. Fig. 4.47 is burnished on the neck and shoulder. Probably late 2nd to 3rd century in date.
- Fig. 4.48 Grey, finely sand-tempered fabric; probably late 2nd century.
- Fig. 4.49, 50 Fine grey fabric, brown sub-surface, burnished exterior, some grog tempering present, also surface lacunae; 2nd or 3rd century.
- Fig. 4.51 Hard, light grey sandy fabric, dark grey burnished surface relieved by light grey reserved bands.

Bowls

- Fig. 4.52 Sub-Belgic platter in a fine grey fabric with occasional grey flecks, almost black surfaces; later 1st century.
- Fig. 4.53 Fairly soft, dark grey sandy fabric; late 1st to early 2nd century.
- Fig. 4.54 Brown sandy fabric; burnished grey surfaces with latticed decoration.
- Fig. 4.55 Fine grey fabric, black burnished surfaces; another vessel of similar form, but in a fabric close to that of Fig. 4.43–47 above, is also present.
- Fig. 4.56 Fine grey fabric; 3rd or 4th century.

Late Nene Valley Colour-coated Wares

- Fig. 4.57–60 Four vessels in a hard, off-white fabric with a few dark red inclusions; the core is often pink. Fig. 4.59, 60 have a good mottled brown slip-coat; the others are abraded, the coat having been almost entirely removed. Fourth century; cf. Braintree, above, pp. 45–6.
- Fig. 4.61 Plain bowl in off-white fabric; the colour-coat has become dark grey through burning. The vessel is very crudely made; four holes 30–35 mm apart have been bored through the base of the wall after firing. Late 4th century or later.

A Relief-moulded Vessel by W. J. Rodwell

- Fig. 5.62 Two decorated body sherds and part of the base of a thin-walled vessel in a soft, reddish-brown fabric with black surfaces; the exterior is well burnished and the base is chipped and abraded. The vessel was evidently underfired but too little survives to indicate whether it could be classed as a waster. The decorated sherds derive from the girth of the pot; they constitute parts of one or more relief-moulded animals (see p. 242). The creature in question is almost certainly a rather crudely formed lion (Fig. 12C) and compares favourably with a similar animal moulded on a coarse greyware jar, which was found amongst kiln debris at Chelmsford (Fig. 12B).⁵

It is impossible to suggest a factory origin for the Sandon vessel since it is clear that relief-moulded pottery derived from, or copying, the products of the Hadham kilns was being produced at various places in Essex in the 4th century.⁶ The Sandon sherds are probably best interpreted as part of a small flask (as suggested in Fig. 5.62); it may be compared to a similar vessel in an orange-burnished fabric (indistinguishable from Hadham ware) from Burgh Castle in Suffolk (Fig. 12E).⁷

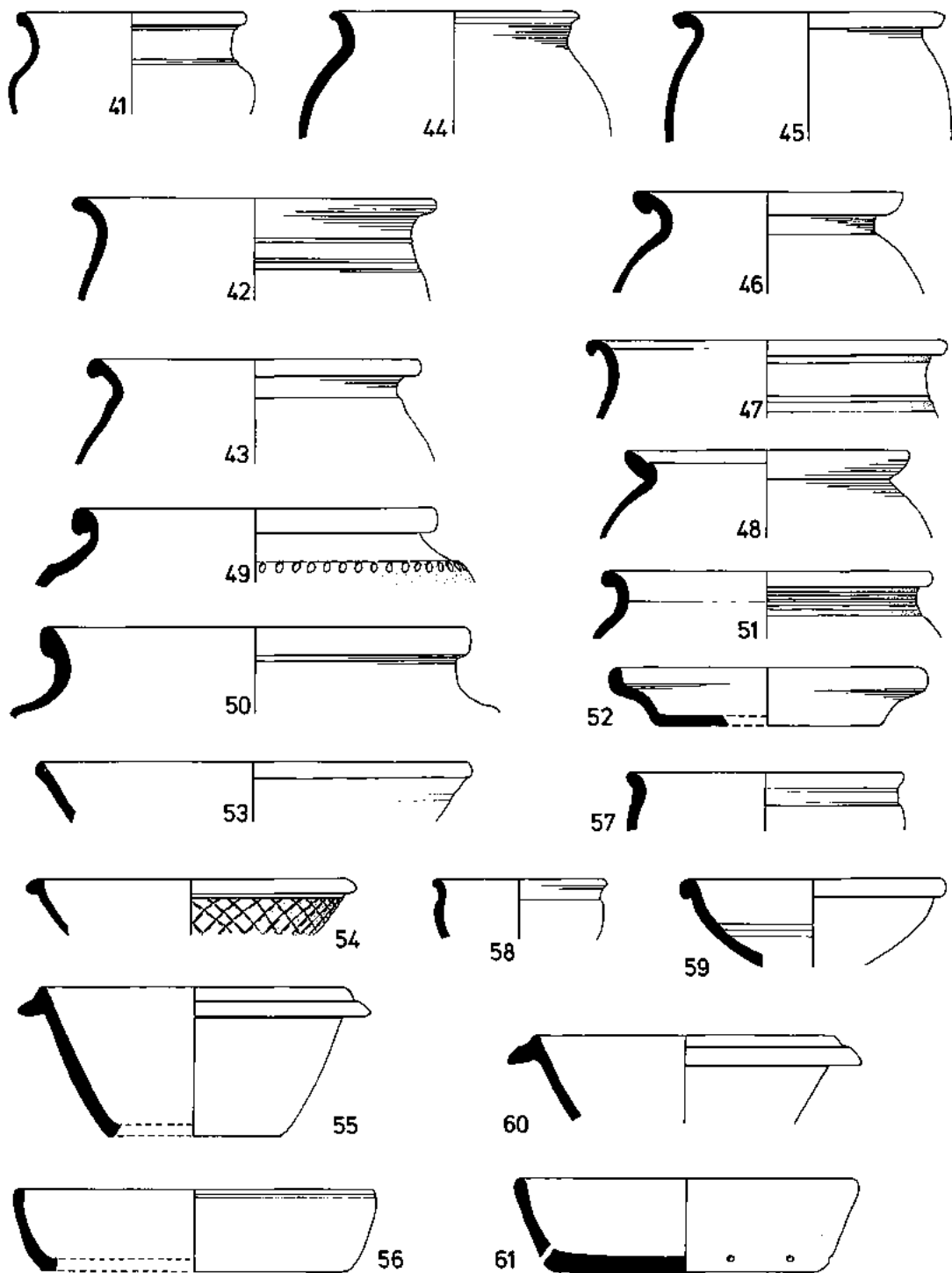


Fig. 4 *Romano-British pottery: 41-61, Sandon. Scale 1:4.*

Mortaria

- Fig. 4.63 Hard, fine red fabric, grey core, deep red slip-coat; fine pink and white quartzite trituration grits. An Oxfordshire product, this ware seems to occur only in later 4th-century contexts in this area; cf. Braintree, above, p. 46.
- Fig. 4.64 Hard, fine off-white fabric with traces of a thin orange-brown slip; rounded pink and white quartzite trituration grits. An Oxfordshire product,⁸ the form is mid-3rd century or later, but the orange slip suggests a late date.⁹
- Fig. 4.65 Rather sandy fabric, coarse angular grey and white flint grits. A Colchester product, early 3rd century; cf. an example from Kiln 24,¹⁰ dated c. 210–40, and others from Kiln 25,¹¹ perhaps only slightly later in date.

Not illustrated: Fragments of Oxfordshire mortaria in a buff fabric with a pinkish core; fragments of Colchester products in buff ware; base sherds of a Northamptonshire mortarium in hard off-white ware with angular black ironstone grits; sherds of a mortarium, possibly of local manufacture, in a brownish-grey sandy fabric with large grey and white flint grits.

Terra Sigillata

A single fragment, f33, C.G., Antonine.¹²

Other Material

Amphora fragments in a fine, red sand-tempered fabric with cream streaks and flecks; sherd of red Hadham ware; sherds of an enclosed vessel in a bright orange-red fabric with greyish-brown slip-coat; sherd of a large grey jar with bands of plain rouletting; very abraded rim sherd of a late Roman hooked-rim jar in shell-tempered fabric; iron nails and a fragmentary knife; fragment of a quern in millstone grit; fragments of a combed box-flue tile and a tegula.

Discussion

The fabrics of the pottery produced at Sandon are closely paralleled by those made at Rettendon, some 8 km to the south. There, the flint-tempered fabric (Sandon A) predominated, although a few vessels were produced in the sandy fabric (Sandon B). The normal jar form at Rettendon¹³ (e.g. Fig. 5.2–4, 11, 12) is similar to Sandon Fig. 3.30, there represented by a single fragment. The normal Sandon jar form with an outcurved, almost cavetto, rim does not occur at Rettendon, although Fig. 6.14, 27, 28 are approaching it in shape. Sharply undercut rims, as Sandon Fig. 3.20, are also absent from Rettendon. The narrow-necked jar, Sandon Fig. 3.31, finds a possible parallel in Rettendon Fig. 8.3. Sandon forms in Fabric B are less easily paralleled at Rettendon save for Fig. 3.32, similar to Rettendon Fig. 7.38. Flanged-rim bowls were also produced at Rettendon, although not exactly similar to the Sandon types.

Two kilns opening from a single stokepit were excavated in Chelmsford in 1972; they were clearly in operation only for a short period in the first half of the 4th century (probably early in that period) and did not form part of a larger complex. These too produced vessels in both sand and flint-tempered fabrics, including flint-tempered jars as Sandon Fig. 3.29, although rather better finished.¹⁴

It is now clear that the distinctive flint-tempered fabric was in use at Little Waltham towards the close of the 3rd century,¹⁵ and that the site excavated by R. Bazett and G. Spencer at Waltham which yielded much flint-tempered ware was largely abandoned by the end of that century.¹⁶ Tildesley notes the presence of Rettendon ware at several sites in 4th-century contexts.¹⁷ At site E in Braintree the ware was not common, probably because the site lies on the northern limit of its distribution. It first appears there in levels dated c. 260–300, although the majority occurred in the later contexts, occupation ceasing c. 360–70.¹⁸ Production is thus attested over at least a century. Warwick Rodwell has recently suggested that in the Thurrock area, professional itinerant potters moved around the countryside, constructing kilns and producing virtually

identical pottery wherever it was required in sufficient quantity.¹⁹ The recognition, to date, of three sources of the flint-tempered pottery found over a wide area of southern central Essex, together with the isolated nature of the Chelmsford kilns, seems to suggest that the production of 'Rettendon' ware was naturally organised. At present, the full range of forms and their chronological significance is not clear. It is therefore impossible to suggest a date within the known production period for the Sandon material, or indeed to decide, if the suggested model is correct, whether it represents one or two periods of production, the latter being the case with Mucking types at Orsett.

The nature of the site at Sandon is uncertain. It lies on glacial gravel, immediately east of the valley of a tributary of Sandon Brook, in an area where many chance finds of Roman and earlier material have been made in gravel-digging.²⁰ It was most probably a farm with timber buildings, the remains of which would not have been noticed during its destruction. The kilns at Orsett also seem to have been set up in the environs of a farm.²¹ The range of non-kiln material suggests an origin in the 1st century A.D. Unless the collection is unduly biased, the quantity of late Roman fine wares seems to suggest that the site was at its most prosperous in the 4th century. The late shell-tempered pottery, and the red Oxfordshire colour-coated ware suggest that occupation continued until the end of that century or later.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Miss J. F. Macaulay for bringing this material to my attention, and to the Curator, Mr. D. L. Jones for access to the Museum records and for permission to publish the collections, now accessioned as 1976.614.
2. J. M. Tildesley, 'Roman Pottery Kilns at Rettendon', *Essex J.* vi (1971), 35-50, Fig. 4.5
3. P. J. Drury and W. J. Rodwell, 'Excavations at Gun Hill, West Tilbury', *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* v (1973), 48-101.
4. On the evidence of excavations presently being prepared for publication.
5. Not yet published in detail; see discussion below.
6. To date, kiln sites have only been proven at Chelmsford (note 5) and Inworth (unpublished excavation by the writer); Colchester is suspected as another source.
7. J. S. Johnson, *The Roman forts of the Saxon Shore* (1976), fig. 4.
8. See C. Young, 'The pottery industry of the Oxford region', in A. P. Detsicas (ed.), *Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery* (C.B.A. Research Report 10, 1973), 105-15. This vessel is close to Fig. 2.17.
9. Close to Young, *ibid.*, fig. 2.11; see also p. 109 for the late use of orange-slip.
10. M. R. Hull, *Roman Pottery Kilns of Colchester* (Soc. of Ant. Res. Rept. XXI, 1963), fig. 87.7.
11. *ibid.*, fig. 89.16-17. Hull dates Kiln 25 to the mid-4th century; I am grateful to W. J. Rodwell for suggesting that a reappraisal is needed.
12. I am grateful to W. J. Rodwell for this identification.
13. Tildesley, 1971, *op. cit.* (note 2), 43-5.
14. Found during the excavation of Site S by the writer; report in preparation. Noted in *Britannia* iv (1972), 302.
15. It occurred in a well (F339) whose filling was dated by coins to the close of the century. The well was excavated in 1970-71 by the writer; report forthcoming.
16. The coins on which the dating of the site depended were incorrectly identified; none is later than c. 270-90. See R. Bazett and S. Chapman, 'Roman Occupation at Shopfield, Little Waltham', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (3rd series) ii (1966), 47-59, esp. p. 52 (coins), p. 54 and fig. 4 (flint-tempered pottery). The site is reconsidered in the forthcoming report on the excavations at Little Waltham, 1971-2.
17. Tildesley, 1971, *op. cit.* (note 2), 49.
18. P. J. Drury and G. D. Pratt 'The Coarse Pottery from Site E', in 'Braintree: Excavations and Research, 1971-6'; this volume, p. 45.
19. W. J. Rodwell, 'The Orsett "Cock" Cropmark site', *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* vi (1974), 13-39, esp. 35.
20. Victoria County History: *Essex* iii (1963), Danbury (p. 124); Sandon (p. 177).
21. Rodwell, 1974, *op. cit.* (note 19).

Roman and Medieval Finds from South Benfleet

by WARWICK RODWELL

In July–August 1971, excavations for the foundations of the new bridge over Benfleet Creek (linking Canvey Island and South Benfleet; TQ 765863) disturbed a hitherto unknown ‘red hill’ and a Roman and medieval settlement site. No archaeological recording was undertaken and the great quantity of pottery found by various persons was dispersed: some was taken into Southend Museum,¹ and some is held by the Benfleet Historical Society in the Dutch Cottage Museum, Canvey Island.² Information from members of the above Society indicates that the finds were made mainly in (or more likely on the surface of) the blue London Clay, at a depth of 2–3 m below present ground-level. The brown alluvial clay which formed the overburden was said to be sterile of finds. The material which was excavated for the bridge foundations was spread over the triangular piece of land immediately to the south-west. Although some of the finds are certainly from a ‘red hill’ there is no record that one of these distinctive sites was actually encountered in the works; this being the case, one must be presumed to lie in the immediate vicinity, to provide the source of salting debris. The finds seen by the writer are listed as follows:

Salting debris

Fragments of briquetage vessels and hearth structure and pieces of green vitreous slag; nothing was capable of illustration and the material is comparable to that found on the ‘red hills’ on Canvey Island.³

Tile

Several pieces of tegula, imbrex and Roman brick; one tegula was pierced with a small hole for nail fixing. Post-medieval tile was also present.

Bone

Many animal bones were found, mainly cattle, but also including dog.

Metal

Fig. 11.139 A small bronze bow-brooch with the pin missing; a Colchester brooch of *Camulodunum* Type IV. Date: mid to late 1st century.

Prehistoric Pottery

Two sherds of Early Pre-Roman Iron Age pottery were found: one was the base angle of a heavily flint-gritted vessel, now burnt reddish-brown to black; the other, Fig. 2.4, a sherd of a carinated bowl of soft, black fabric containing finely crushed flint and tempering; heavily abraded; rim diameter would have been 18–20 cm. This belongs to Cunliffe’s ‘Darmsden-Linton’ style, of 5th- to 3rd-century date.⁴

Roman Pottery

Amphorae: fragments of a Spanish globular amphora (probably Dressel 20) from a layer of burnt material. A small body sherd from a cylindrical amphora in Peacock’s Dressel 1, Fabric I.⁵ This fabric does not occur exclusively in Dressel 1 vessels and could possibly relate to a Koan type, although the former is perhaps more likely. Fragments of Dressel 1B amphorae are now known certainly from other coastal sites in Essex and there can be little doubt that British salt workers were able to consume best Italian wine in the latter part of the Iron Age.⁶

Terra Sigillata: fragments of forms 31, 31R and 33, Central Gaulish, Antonine; 31R and 37, East Gaulish, late Antonine; fragment of a flagon with two grooves on the shoulder, slipped only on the outer surface, Central Gaulish, 2nd century.

- Fig. 5.70 Form 18, basal sherd, with unworn foot-ring, stamped by Cosius Iucundus of La Graufesenque.⁷ Stamped OFC]O.IV, die 1a, c. A.D. 75–95. Other examples of this die have been found at Chelmsford and Fingringhoe.
- Fig. 5.71 Form 31, dish 3/4 complete, with medium wear and graffito 'III' on foot-ring, stamped by Victor of East Gaul. Stamped VICTORIM, die 1e, Antonine.
- Fig. 11.142 Form 37 decorated sherd of East Gaulish ware, burnt. Vessel is in the style of B. F. Atto of Rheinabern.⁸ Date: Antonine, probably late. The sherd shows a double-bordered arcade used in the lowest part of the decoration, as in Ludowici, Taf. 39.12; above (left) part of a lion or a bear facing right, as on Ludowici, Taf. 39.18; above (right) part of a lion running to right. The figure-types⁹ are Oswald 1600 and Oswald 1391 respectively. Unpublished examples of the work of B. F. Atto are also known from Canvey Island (Leigh Beck).

Coarse Pottery

A very large quantity was recovered including: the common 1st-century wares normally found on 'red hills' in the area; fragments of poppy-head beakers; cream flagons, cream slipped flagons (with red core); various sherds of colour-coated wares, including some of the latest Nene Valley products; sherds of Hadham ware; and one fragment of flint-tempered pottery of the type produced at Rettendon and elsewhere in the 4th century (see also p. 253). Additionally, the following are considered worthy of illustration.

- Fig. 5.72 Cooking pot with lid-seated rim; native type, common in southern Essex and north Kent. Dark grey, sandy fabric, decorated with oblique slashing on the shoulder; soot encrusted. Probably second half of 1st century.
- Fig. 5.73 Hand-made jar in dark grey fabric, tempered with crushed shell. Rim diameter 14 cm. Native, 1st century.
- Fig. 5.74 Jar rim in medium grey fabric with light brown exterior; tempered with coarse sand, grog and a little crushed flint. Rim diameter 18 cm. Native, 1st century.
- Fig. 5.75 Rim and shoulder of a large jar in medium grey fabric, heavily tempered with crushed shell; now largely vesiculated at the surfaces, which are medium reddish-brown. The deeply impressed lunettes on the shoulder were probably executed with a bone implement. 1st century, probably mid to late.
- Fig. 5.76 Rim of a beaker in fine, medium grey ware, probably once burnished on the exterior. Later 1st or 2nd century.
- Fig. 5.77 Clubbed rim of a small bowl in hard, grey ware, slip-dipped; finely burnished on the shoulder and inside the rim. Rim diameter 18 cm. 1st century.
- Fig. 5.78 Pie-dish rim in medium grey ware, with dark grey, well-burnished surfaces. Rim diameter 24 cm. 1st or 2nd century.
- Fig. 5.79 Everted-rim jar in medium brown fabric with dark grey surfaces. Probably 2nd century.
- Fig. 5.80 Everted-rim jar in reddish-brown fabric with slipped and burnished exterior. Rim diameter 22 cm. Probably 2nd century.
- Fig. 5.81 Lid-seated jar rim in medium grey fabric with soot stained exterior. 2nd century. Rim diameter 14 cm.
- Fig. 5.82 Flanged and beaded rim of hemispherical bowl in medium grey ware; dark grey burnished surfaces. Rim diameter 19 cm. Probably 2nd century.
- Fig. 5.83 Pie dish rim with incipient flange; hard medium grey fabric with well-burnished, black surfaces; soot encrusted. Rim diameter 20 cm. Late 2nd to early 3rd centuries.

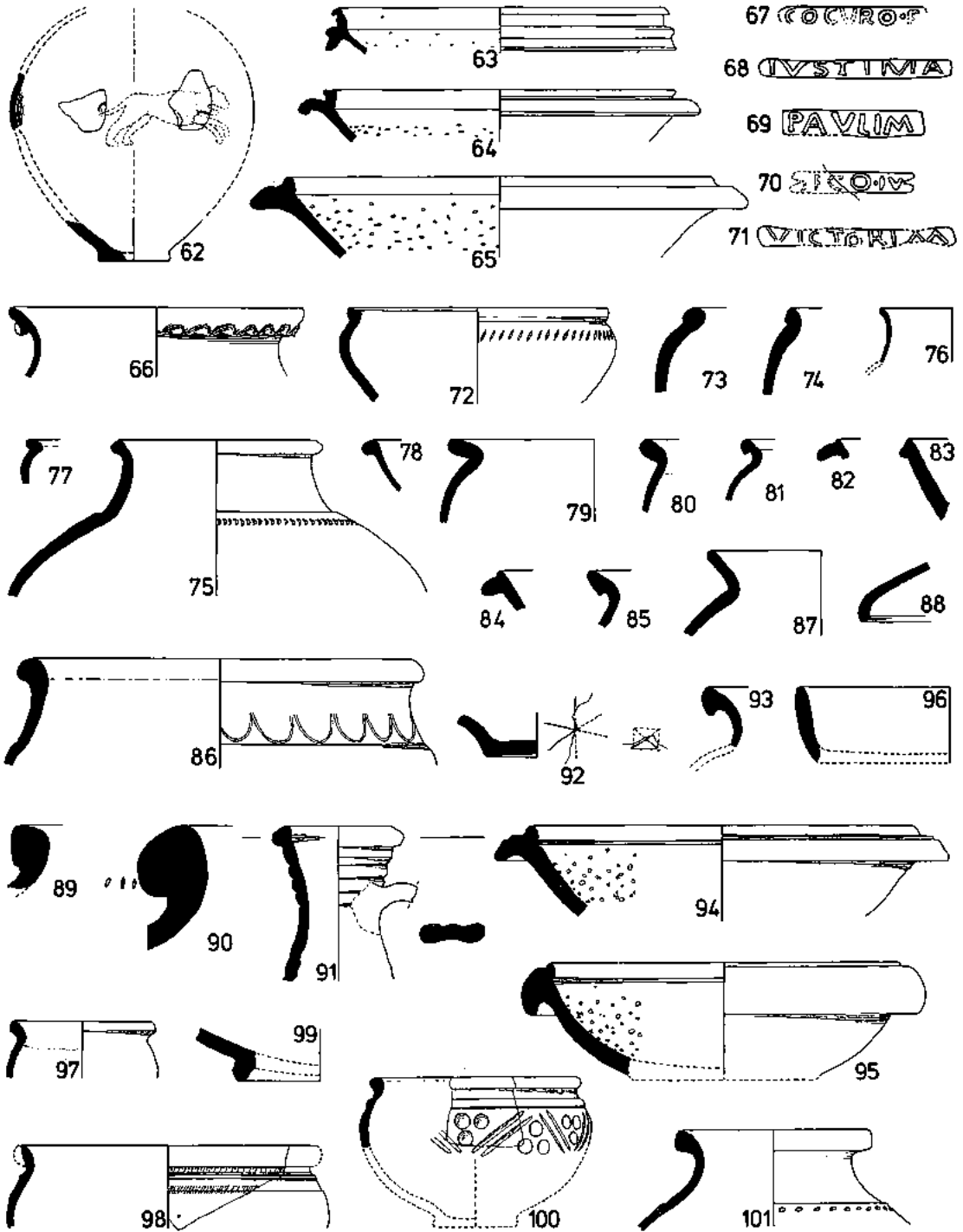


Fig. 5 *Romano-British pottery*: 62-5, Sandon; 66, Rayleigh; 72-100, South Benfleet; 101, Boreham. Scale 1:4. *Potters' stamps (sigillata)*: 67-9, Woodham Walter; 70-71, South Benfleet. Scale 1:1.

- Fig. 5.84 Flanged pie dish in medium grey fabric with well-burnished black surfaces. 3rd century.
- Fig. 5.85 Jar with undercut rim, in hard, medium grey ware tempered with coarse sand; dark grey surfaces. Possibly a product of the Thurrock kilns;¹⁰ cf. Mucking type J; 3rd to 4th centuries.
- Fig. 5.86 Wide-mouthed bowl in hard, medium grey ware with burnished rim and shoulder-cordon. Wavy line burnished on neck; cf. products of Mucking kilns. 3rd to 4th centuries.
- Fig. 5.87 Everted-rim jar of Black Burnished ware, Category 1; now burnt brown. Probably 3rd century.
- Fig. 5.88 Lid in fine, hard, brick-red fabric. The exterior is very well burnished, but the burnishing lines are clearly visible; the vessel was probably slip-dipped; now burnt. This may be a product of the Hadham kilns and is probably of 3rd or 4th century date. Diameter 24 cm.
- Fig. 5.89 Rim of large storage jar in very coarse, grey ware. Not likely to be before 3rd century. Rim diameter 18 cm.
- Fig. 5.90 Rim of large storage jar in medium grey fabric. There are three notches cut on the face of the rim, presumably an identifying mark (cf. a similarly marked sherd of sigillata, above). Rim diameter 42 cm. Undatable.
- Fig. 5.91 Neck of a single-handled flagon in sandy white fabric. Potentially a product of the Colchester kilns; the rim was distorted in firing. Probably 2nd or 3rd century.
- Fig. 5.92 Half-base of jar or bowl, formerly of grey ware but now burnt red. Inside there is the graffito of a six-armed cross, and beneath the base the letter 'X'. Undatable.
- Fig. 5.93 Undercut-rim jar of medium grey fabric, now vesiculated but formerly shell tempered; light brown surfaces. Rim diameter 22 cm. Later 4th or 5th century (see also p. 45).
- Fig. 5.94 Mortarium, probably of cream fabric with a cream slip, but now burnt orange, with pale grey surfaces. Large flint trituration grits; the vessel appears to be unused. Origin uncertain; possibly from the Verulamium region? 2nd or 3rd century.
- Fig. 5.95 Mortarium in greyish-cream fabric with flint trituration grits. A 2nd-century Colchester product.
- Fig. 5.96 Straight-sided pie-dish in cream fabric with deep brown colour-coating, slightly burnt. A 4th-century Nene Valley product.
- Fig. 5.97 Beaker rim in fine, medium brown fabric with an orange-brown slip. Probably Oxfordshire ware of the 3rd century.
- Fig. 5.98 Bowl in fine red fabric, with a grey core coated with an orange-red slip; decorated with rouletting below the rim and a single dot remains from a former white painted pattern. Oxfordshire ware; 4th century.
- Fig. 5.99 Foot-ring of a dish copying sigillata form 31R; now burnt brown and abraded, but almost certainly originally red-slipped Oxfordshire ware. Late 3rd or 4th century.
- Fig. 5.100 Rim of a Romano-Saxon bowl, somewhat irregular in manufacture. Hard, medium grey ware containing large sand grains; black, highly burnished exterior. Decorated with groups of impressed dimples and pairs of oblique slashes, in zig-zag formation. Possibly a product of the Hadham kilns; 4th century (Southend Museum Collection).
- Fig. 2.22 Body sherd from a jar or bowl decorated with a running animal moulded in relief, in similar technique to the Dunmow piece (see p. 242). The sherd is badly burnt, flaked and abraded, but there can be little doubt that it was an orange-slipped and burnished vessel from the Hadham kilns, and closely related to the Dunmow dog (Fig. 12D) and the Chelmsford lion (Fig. 12A). The animal portrayed on the Benfleet sherd is probably also a lion (Fig. 12H); the die has not been matched exactly but it is closely similar to the Burgh Castle vessel (Fig. 12E).¹¹ The opportunity is taken to

publish, for comparison, a sherd found on the foreshore at Leigh Beck, Canvey Island (Fig. 12J) (now in Southend Museum, together with the Benfleet lion). This is of a very fine, light grey fabric, now heavily abraded; any former slip-coating has been entirely removed. The animal, probably a lion, is relief-moulded, and of generally similar size to that on the Benfleet sherd.¹²

Medieval Pottery

There were many sherds of 13th- and 14th-century jugs and cooking pots, similar to those found on sites on Canvey Island.¹³

Fig. 6.111 Rim and part of pricked handle of a jug in fine grey ware, surfaces fired brown, cream slip on the exterior, the handle and inside the neck. Later 14th century.

NOTES

1. Acc. No. Arch. 81. I am indebted to Mr. D. G. Macleod, Keeper of Archaeology for making it available for study. Only a few of the more important items from the Museum's collection are included here.
2. Miss P. Adams, then Secretary of the Society kindly loaned the finds for study and provided much information relating to their discovery.
3. *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.* (3rd series), ii (1966), 14f.
4. B. W. Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (1974).
5. D. P. S. Peacock, 'Roman Amphorae in Pre-Roman Britain', in M. Jesson and D. Hill (eds.), *The Iron Age and Its Hillforts* (1971). I am grateful to Dr. Peacock for examining and reporting on this sherd.
6. Discussed in W. J. Rodwell, 'Coinage, Oppida and the Rise of Belgic Power in South-Eastern Britain', in B. Cunliffe and T. Rowley (eds.), *The Beginnings of Urbanisation in Barbarian Europe*, B.A.R. Supp. 11 (1976), 237-41.
7. Details of the dies and dating kindly provided by Mr. B. R. Hartley. Apart from the decorated sherd, the sigillata listed is all in Southend Museum.
8. H. Ricken, *Die Bilderschüssel der Römischen Topfer von Rheinzabern*, W. Ludowici, Katalog VI (1948).
9. F. Oswald, *Index of Figure Types on Terra Sigillata* (1937).
10. M. U. Jones and W. J. Rodwell, 'The Romano-British Pottery kilns at Mucking' *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* v (1973), 13f.
11. J. S. Johnson, *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (1976, fig. 4). I am grateful to Dr. Johnson for the opportunity to study the Romano-Saxon and related pottery from Burgh Castle. Mrs. K. A. Rodwell kindly prepared the illustrations of the animals published here, Fig. 12.
12. The Canvey sherd is Cat. No. LB/476 (Rodwell Collection). It is hoped to publish a fuller study of relief-moulded pottery elsewhere.
13. See note 3, op. cit.

A Trial Excavation at Boreham, 1971

by WARWICK RODWELL

In July 1971, the opportunity arose to investigate a site in the centre of Boreham village, on the south side of Church Road, due south of the parish church. A plot with a frontage of 19 m and a north-south depth of 100 m became available following the demolition of the Church of England Primary School which had occupied the site since its erection in the 19th century (TL 75630955).¹ The street frontage here was previously occupied by buildings and gardens, according to the Chapman and André map of 1777. Additionally, the whole area around the church is known to abound with Roman remains, some of which were noted in VCH: *Essex* iii, 51, and other observations were made by Mr. D. S. Saunders in the 1960s.²

A JCB mechanical excavator was used to cut three trenches which together provided a section of approximately two-thirds of the total length of the site. It was found that the northern half of the site (nearest the church) had been terraced for the building of the school, resulting in

the destruction of any archaeological features which may once have existed; overlying the natural gravel was up to 0.5 m of Victorian rubble and soil. The fact that this contained Roman tile and pottery sherds suggested that earlier features had been destroyed in levelling. The southern half of the site sloped towards boggy ground, where the brickearth subsoil was overlain by up to one metre of riverine silt. Two east-west boundary ditches crossed the site and were of medieval or later date; they still appear on recent maps. The silt layer contained a few fragments of Roman tile and pottery and on the surface of the brickearth a small flint blade was found, probably of Mesolithic or Neolithic date.

Fig. 10.135 A flake of brown-grey flint. The flake is unretouched and has no definite indications of utilisation. It measures $31 \times 16 \times 5$ mm and has a small area of cortex at each end; there are six flake beds (all truncated) on the dorsal face, suggesting that it had been struck from a regularly worked core (Report by Mrs. Elizabeth Healey).

Amongst the rubble from the school was found a brick which is of some interest. Fig. 6.113: moulded brick in fairly soft, orange-red fabric, measuring $22.5 \times 11.0 \times 7.0$ cm. Impressed in the frog is the name W GLOVER BOREHAM (6.113a) and on one stretcher face is the post-firing graffito, A MARSH NOV 1891 (6.113b). This has been competently laid out between guide-lines and deeply cut with an instrument which produced a V-shaped incision.

Although the trial trenching was largely negative due to the destruction of road-frontage features in the 19th century, the results tend to confirm the general suspicion that the Roman occupation of Boreham was largely on the higher ground to the north of the school site. Here, several major opportunities have been lost in recent years to excavate in advance of housing development.

Other Finds from Boreham Village

Church: large quantities of Roman brick are incorporated in the quoins and other parts of the Norman church; these materials have clearly been derived from a substantial Roman masonry building.

Churchyard: tile and pottery spanning the entire Roman period have been turned up in the churchyard at various times (VCH: *Essex* iii, 51; also noted by D. S. Saunders, 1960-61).

New Burial Ground: this lies adjacent to the excavation, on the west (TL 75600955), where, in 1963, much Roman pottery and tile was found close to the road frontage during grave digging (observed by D. S. Saunders).

The Old Rectory: in 1960 D. S. Saunders observed Roman tile and tesserae in the garden (adjoining the burial ground on the west; TL 75580954).

The Chase: a Roman coin was reported from the garden of house No. 4 (TL 75350964 noted at Chelmsford Museum).

Church Road: in 1966 Mr. I. G. Robertson collected a small group of pottery from builders' trenches on a development site, just to the east of the excavation³ (TL 75660956). This includes a sherd of an unglazed jug in reddish-brown fabric, c. 15th century, and the rim and neck of a Romano-British jar: Fig. 5.101. Hard, medium grey fabric with a fairly fine texture; surfaces fired medium to dark brown; rim distorted in firing. The exterior has been slip-dipped and burnished down to the shoulder line; below this is a row of stabbing. 3rd to 4th century.

Old Hall: during pea-picking in 1966 D. S. Saunders noted a scatter of Roman pottery and tesserae in the field south of Old Hall (TL 75950945); this is 350 m south-east of the church.

Although the nature of the Roman occupation at Boreham has still to be defined, it may be observed that the evidence—topographical and archaeological—is entirely consistent with its provisional interpretation as a villa, the main house of which may very well lie under the churchyard.

NOTES

1. The investigation was undertaken by the writer, assisted by Mrs. K. A. Rodwell and Mr. P. J. Drury, for the Essex Archaeological Society; it was sponsored by the then Ministry of Public Building and Works (now Department of the Environment). Thanks are due to Mr. B. J. Patience and Brickey Building Co. Ltd. for permission to excavate. The finds have been deposited in Chelmsford Museum.
2. MSS. in Chelmsford Museum.
3. Chelmsford Museum Acc. Nos. P24297 and B18833. In the same museum there is also a small collection of pottery from an unspecified site in Boreham: it includes part of a combed flue tile, Antonine *sigillata* and coarse wares of the 3rd to 4th centuries. Amongst the latter there are sherds of Rettendon-type ware and Hadham ware.

Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery from Canvey Island

by WARWICK RODWELL

Amongst the large collection of Iron Age, Romano-British and medieval pottery recovered by the writer from the Thames foreshore (off Thorney Bay: TQ 795820) where a settlement site was being exposed in the mud in the early 1960s, there are three sherds of particular importance.¹

- Fig. 6.102 Bowl rim in hard, brown fabric, with the surfaces fired reddish-brown to grey; the finish is smooth and soapy to the feel, but it is not overtly burnished. The rim is beaded and the neck is accentuated by four neatly defined flat-bottomed grooves; on the shoulder—probably a rounded carination—is a small group of vertical burnished lines. The vessel belongs to a class of squat bowls which are widespread in eastern England, in 5th-century contexts; the form and emphasis on horizontal linear ornament find many parallels: e.g. Sancton, Yorks., vessels 63 and 2339;² Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk, Urn N14.³ In fabric, the vessel is somewhat similar to an unpublished sherd from Great Stambidge (Southend Museum) while the decorative treatment is exactly comparable to an early 5th-century bowl from Rivenhall;⁴ German parallels are also readily observable.⁵ A 5th-century date would not appear to be in doubt for the Canvey bowl and there is a strong probability that it should be assigned to the first half of that century.
- Fig. 6.103 Cooking pot with outward flared rim in a hard, black, very coarse fabric, heavily tempered with chopped vegetable material; surfaces fired red to brown. The form of the rim is suggestive of Myres' third class of plain domestic wares⁶ and although the extant sherd does not bear a lug, there is every possibility that it was originally a lugged, and perhaps pedestalled, vessel. The profile is reminiscent of such a vessel from Filford, Berks.,⁷ and of Urn K6a from Caistor-by-Norwich.⁸ A 5th-century date is again probable.
- Fig. 6.104 Cooking pot with upright rim in a hard, coarse, black fabric, heavily tempered with chopped vegetable material. The form is a common one amongst plain domestic wares and many parallels could be cited; it is closely comparable to a vessel from a 5th-century context at Rivenhall.⁹

The importance of these sherds is that they establish, for the first time, the presence of early Anglo-Saxon settlers on Canvey Island; this in itself is not a remarkable fact since it is now becoming clear that settlement of this date, on a modest scale, took place around the coastal fringes of Essex. Although these sherds constitute a welcome addition to the small corpus of

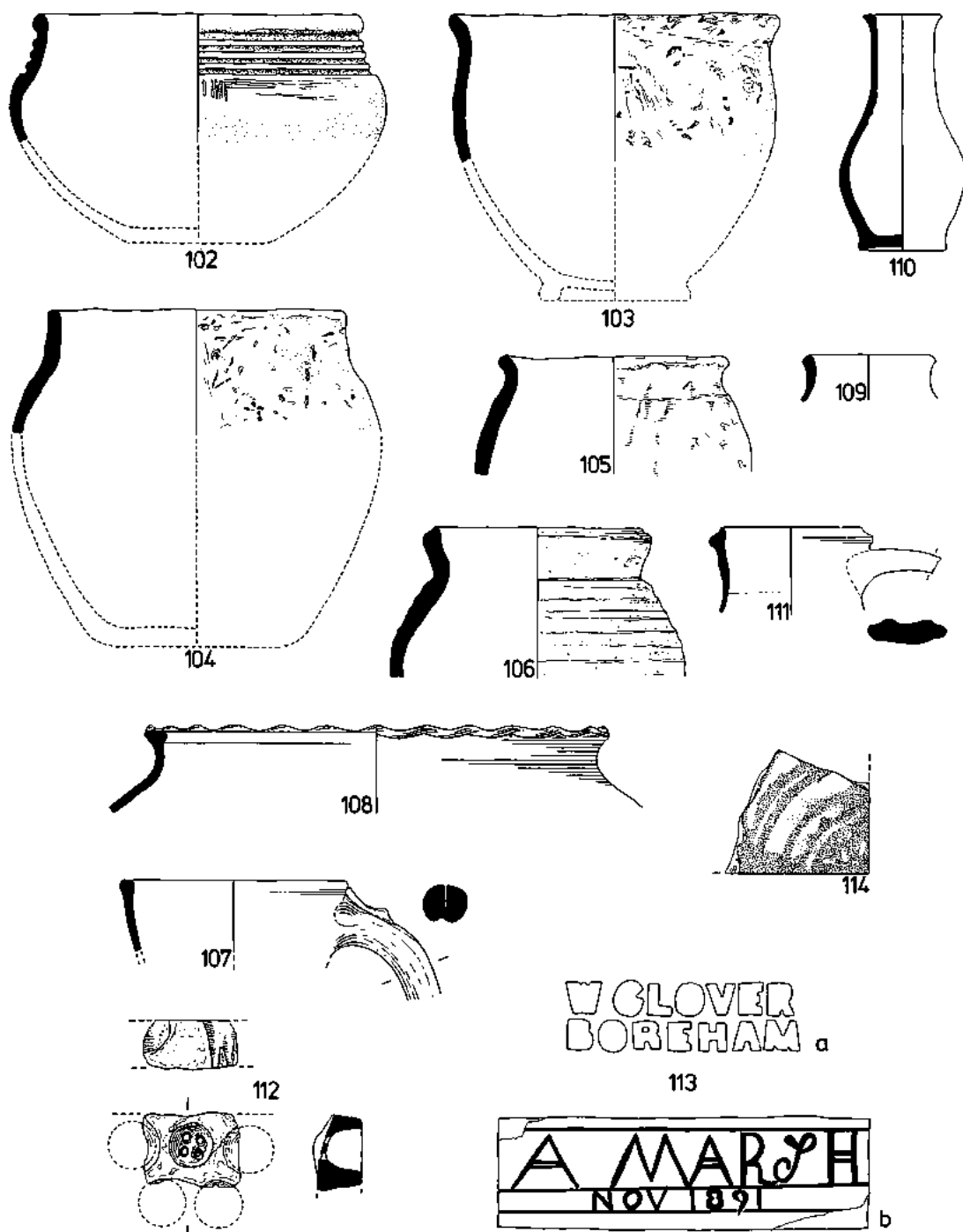


Fig. 6 *Anglo-Saxon pottery*: 102-4, Canvey Island; 105-6, Bradwell-on-Sea. *Medieval and later pottery*: 107-9, Bradwell-on-Sea; 110, Rayleigh; 111, South Benfleet. *Malt-kiln flooring*: 112, Woodham Walter. *Brick*: 113a, b, Boreham. *Floor Tile*: 114, Brightlingsea. Scale 1:4.

material from the county (excluding Mucking), they are of equal value for the light they shed on the problems concerning the inundation of Canvey Island by tidal waters. While it is undeniable that water-level was rising in relation to land-level in the Roman period, it is now evident that the Island was not liable to submergence by high tides in the early years of the Anglo-Saxon era as has generally been assumed in the past. It may be noted that there is but little pottery from Canvey which may be attributed to the 4th century and particularly the latter part of that century. This is very marked in the collections from the prolific site at Leigh Beck, but from Thorney Bay there are a small number of sherds of late Oxfordshire wares and other vessels which should probably be attributed to the latter part of the 4th century, or later. Some of these could well be contemporary with the early Anglo-Saxon remains; in general terms, there is no reason to propose a significant break in the occupation of the Thorney Bay site from the middle or late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the early Anglo-Saxon period. Precise dating of early Saxon pottery such as that from Thorney Bay is both impossible and controversial: on present evidence it would seem reasonable to assign the occupation to the first half of the 5th century.

NOTES

1. Found in 1963; they are now in Southend Museum; Rodwell Coll. Cat. Nos. TB/404 323 and 824.
2. J. N. L. Myres and W. H. Southern, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire* (1973), fig. 21.
3. J. N. L. Myres and B. Green, *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk* (1973), fig. 4.
4. W. J. and K. A. Rodwell, 'The Roman Villa at Rivenhall, Essex: An Interim Report', *Britannia* iv (1973), 126, fig. 71.
5. E.g. cf. A. Genrich, *Formenkreise und Stammesgruppen in Schleswig-Holstein* (1954), Taf. 49.4.
6. J. N. L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (1969), fig. 12.
7. *ibid.*, No. 2043.
8. Myres and Green, *op. cit.*, fig. 32.
9. Note 4, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.3.

A Group of Mid-Thirteenth-Century Pottery from Naylinghurst, Braintree

by P. J. DRURY

The Site

The manor of Naylinghurst¹ lies in the extreme west of Braintree parish, close to the village of Rayne (Fig. 50, p. 129). The existing house is timber framed, the earliest part dating from the late 16th or 17th century.² It lies in the north-west corner of a partly moated enclosure c. 0.6 ha. in extent; the farm buildings, mostly demolished, lay to the north (Fig. 7). The moat now defines the west side of the enclosure, and seems to have been enlarged to form a pond at the north-west corner. Its return eastwards from the south-west corner, although dry, is clearly visible. The southern arm terminates after c. 35 m, a ditch thereafter continuing the alignment. On the east side there is no more than a slight difference in level between the enclosure and the adjacent field, an examination of the latter suggesting that there had never been a moat on that side.

Excavations by the owners (Mr. and Mrs. Dawes)³ in 1974, on the line of the ditch, at X on Fig. 7, located grey silty soil containing much charcoal, animal bone, shell (oyster and whelk) and medieval pottery, below a post-medieval filling and make-up in a former field gateway. The deposit seems to fill a ditch c. 2.5 m wide, and has been cut through by a post-medieval land drain.

According to Morant,⁴ the manor was held of the Earls of Oxford as of the honor of Hedingham Castle. Stephen de Haia held it *temp.* Richard I (1190–9) until 1245/6, whence it came into the hands of Simon de Rennes, who held it until 1268–9. Robert and Walter de Rennes were probably his successors; subsequently it came into the hands of Roger de Naylinghurst and remained in that family into the 14th century.

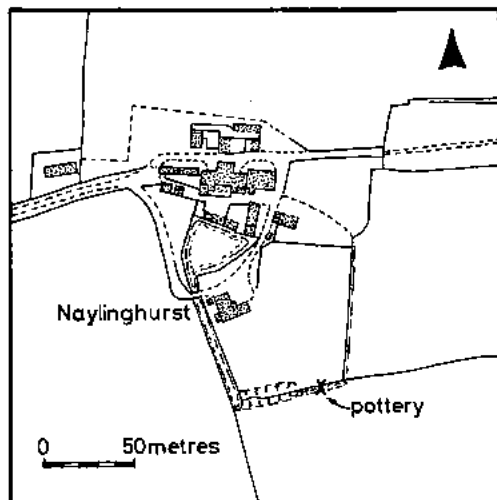


Fig. 7 Naylinghurst, Braintree; site plan.

The Pottery

Hedingham Ware Jugs

Fig. 8.115 Much of the upper part of a very large jug or pitcher, in a fine-grained, orange, rather micaceous fabric, glazed externally. The glaze is deep green, streaked almost black towards the top, becoming thinner lower on the pot; towards the bottom of the surviving fragment there are patches of clear glaze over the orange fabric. This suggests that the lead oxide (to produce the glaze) and the copper compound (to produce the green colour) were applied in separate operations. The surface shows small pits which seem to be the centres of reaction between lead and silica. The fabric, glaze and finish are typical of the products of the 13th-century kilns at Starling's Hill, Sible Hedingham, where examples of elaborately decorated jugs are known from recent work by Mrs. E. E. Sellers.⁵ This vessel is decorated with finely finger-pressed applied strips, occasionally twisted together, and pellets; the beginning of a handle or other applied feature (e.g. support for a spout) survives. Mrs. Sellers suggests that this vessel belongs to the 1250s or earlier; the use of finger-pressed applied strips is unusual.

Fig. 8.116 A jug sherd in a similar fabric and finish to 115 above, decorated with close-set vertical strips and a stamped ring-and-dot motif on the neck. A similar form is illustrated by a Hedingham vessel from Horningsea, Cambs.;⁶ comparable fragments were found at Writtle (Fig. 52.15) in a Period IA context (i.e. early in the period 1211 to c. 1306).⁷

Fig. 8.117 Two sherds, probably from the same vessel, in a fine micaceous fabric similar to that of 115 and 116 but grey in colour save for the exterior surface, which is orange-brown. The larger sherd (117a) is decorated with thin, probably painted, bands of orange-buff clay, and the smaller (117b) probably with close-set vertical strips of

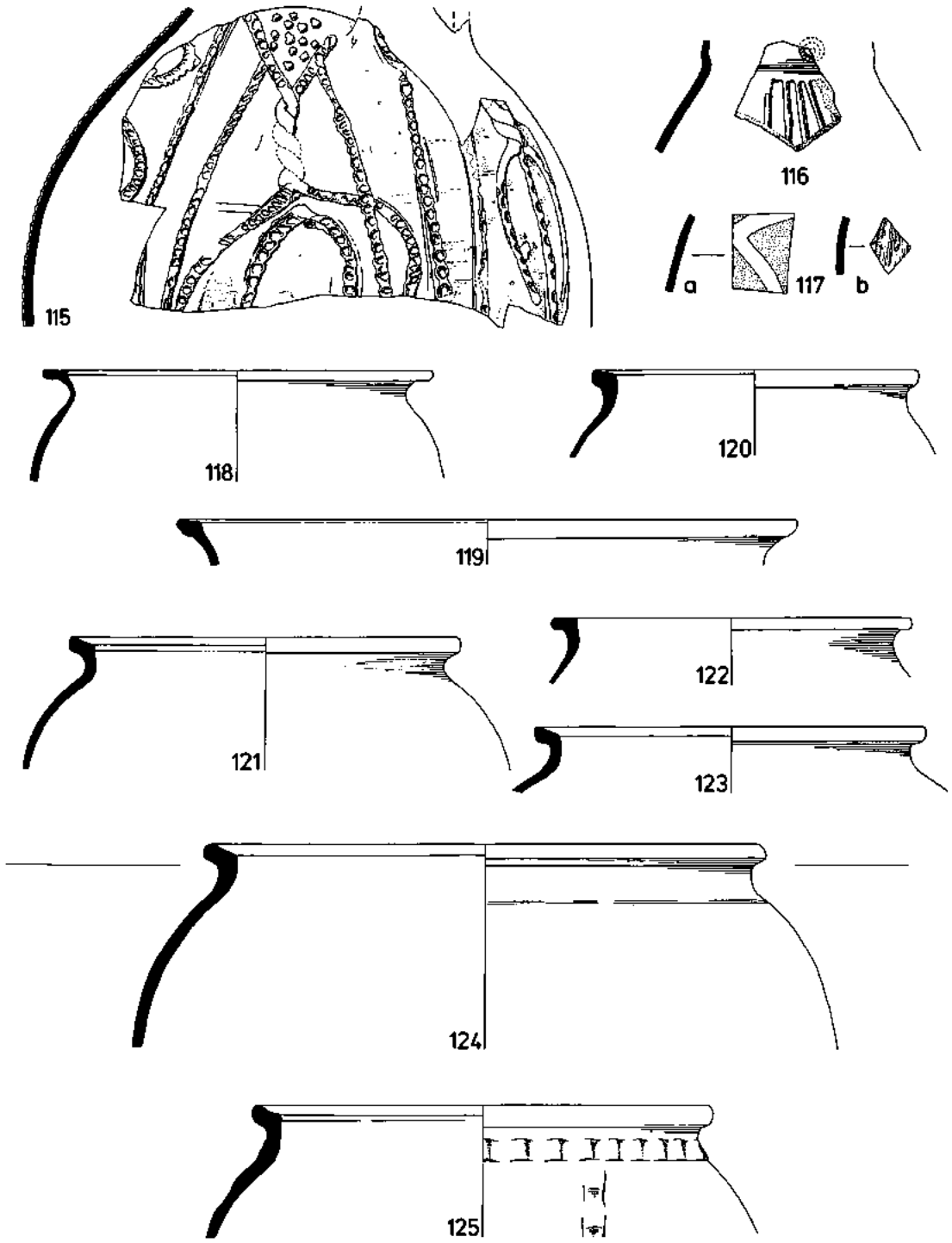


Fig. 8 Medieval pottery: 115-25, Naylinghurst, Braintree. Scale 1:4.

similar material; in both cases they are under a plain glaze. The surface of the glaze is characteristically pitted (cf. 115 above) and there can be little doubt that this is also a Hedingham product.

Cooking Pots

Fig. 8.118 Thin, hard fabric as 8.125.

Fig. 8.119, 120 Hard, brown sand-tempered fabric; also a similar vessel in a hard, grey sandy fabric.

Fig. 8.121 Hard, brown sandy fabric, greyish-buff surfaces.

Fig. 8.122 Brown sandy fabric; another example in a fabric as 8.125.

Fig. 8.123 Hard, grey sandy fabric; another example with black surfaces.

Fig. 8.124 Hard, grey fabric, coarse sand tempering, brown core.

Fig. 8.125 Hard, grey fabric, coarse sand tempering similar to 8.124; applied strip.

Fig. 9.126 Hard, finely sand-tempered, light grey fabric (two examples).

Fig. 9.127 Hard, brown sandy fabric, grey core and surfaces.

Fig. 9.128 Hard, grey sandy fabric, black surfaces.

Not illustrated: Many body sherds in similar fabrics, some with applied strips; sherds of sagging bases.

The complete absence of shell-tempered wares seems to preclude a date before *c.* 1220–30, for such wares were present, albeit in small quantity, in the earliest phase of occupation at King John's Palace, Writtle, which began *c.* 1211.⁸ The vessels 8.118 and 8.119 have outward-flaring rims typical of 12th- to 13th-century contexts elsewhere, for example at Waltham Abbey, *c.* 1150–1250;⁹ since they are in fabrics almost identical to those of others in the group, there is no reason to regard them as residual. The majority of the vessels have a well-defined vertical neck, a form typical of the early to mid-13th century. The form was being made at Mile End early in the century,¹⁰ and is to be seen at Writtle in Period 1A¹¹ perhaps corresponding to the first half of the century. Three examples of the typologically later form, in which the body is beginning to flare outwards below the rim, were present (9.126–128); they may be compared with Hadleigh Castle

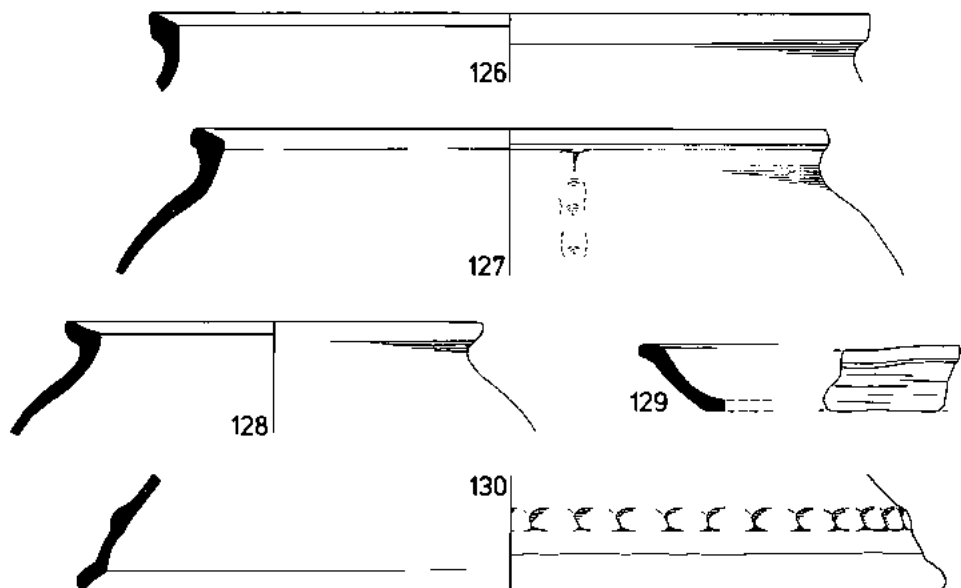


Fig. 9 *Medieval Pottery*: 126–30, Naylinghurst, Braintree. Scale 1:4.

Group E, there dated *c.* 1230–60.¹² The ultimate development of this form, in which the body flares out sharply below the rim, with no intervening neck, is totally absent; at the Danbury tile factory, in operation from *c.* 1275/85 onwards,¹³ virtually all the ‘cooking pots’ were of this latter type. The probable date-range for these vessels thus seems to lie between *c.* 1230 and 1260. Several are likely to be Hedingham products.¹⁴

Dish

Fig. 9.129 Hard, grey sandy fabric. The interior has a substantial layer of black material, reminiscent of carbonised food, adhering to it. There is no sign of curvature in the sherd (*c.* 70 mm long) which appears to be hand made; the exterior is partly knife-trimmed. It probably belongs to a sub-oval dish similar to Writtle Fig. 52.17,¹⁵ there thought to be residual in Period IIA.

Curfew

Fig. 9.130 Hard, grey sandy fabric; decorated externally with a horizontal applied strip. The interior is slightly soot-stained. In size, shape and decoration it closely resembles the curfew (fire-cover) from the (probably mid-) 13th-century kilns at Laverstock, Wilts.¹⁶

Iron Object

Fig. 11.141 Barrel-padlock key, badly corroded; similar to Writtle, fig. 47.45–6; the former is from a Period I (13th century) context.¹⁷

Discussion

From the foregoing, it is clear that the material belongs to the mid-13th century; the date-range suggested for the cooking pots, *c.* 1230–60, would suit the collection as a whole. The absence of glazed wares other than Hedingham products seems unusual, although the collection is relatively small. It is clearly domestic refuse, probably deposited over a number of years, suggesting that the contemporary kitchen lay close at hand. It is tempting to suggest that the modest enclosure ditch into which this material was thrown was the predecessor of a moat begun, perhaps, in the mid- to late 13th century, but never completed; however, such a hypothesis would need to be tested by excavation.

NOTES

1. For the name, and the early development of Braintree parish, see p. 130.
2. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments report (*Essex* ii, 1921) suggests 17th century; only the main block aligned north–south is shown on the 1:2500 O.S. map of 1897.
3. I am grateful to Mrs. Dawes for her assistance, and to Mrs. D. T-D. Clarke for bringing the material to my attention.
4. P. Morant, *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (1768) ii, 395.
5. For a note on the work see *Med. Archaeol.* xvi (1972), 205; I am grateful to Mrs. Sellers for her comments on the material.
6. B. Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery* (2nd. ed., 1972), no. 33.
7. P. A. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge, Writtle, Essex, 1955–7* (Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1969), 95–6.
8. Rahtz, 1969, *op. cit.* 94–5, 106, Fabric Group A.
9. P. J. and R. M. Huggins, ‘Excavation of Monastic Forge and Saxo-Norman Enclosure, Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1972–3’, *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* v (1973), Fig. 9 and 163–6.
10. P. J. Drury and M. R. Petchey, ‘Medieval Potteries at Mile End and Great Horkesley, near Colchester’, *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* vii (1975), Fig. 6. 23–6 (Phase I); Fig. 10, 52–5 (Phase II).
11. Rahtz, 1969, *op. cit.* (note 7), Fig. 52.11, 12, 16.
12. P. L. Dröwett, ‘Excavations at Hadleigh Castle, Essex, 1971–2’, *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, xxxviii (1975), 114–5.
13. P. J. Drury and G. D. Pratt, ‘A late 13th and early 14th century Tile Factory at Danbury, Essex’, *Med. Archaeol.* xix (1975), Fig. 57 (p. 129), A1–A8.
14. The opinion of Mrs. E. E. Sellers.
15. Rahtz, 1969, *op. cit.* (note 7), 95–6.
16. J. W. G. Musty *et al.*, ‘The Medieval Pottery Kilns at Laverstock, near Salisbury, Wiltshire’, *Archaeologia* cii (1969); Curfew is Fig. 23.195, discussed p. 138–9.
17. Rahtz, 1969, *op. cit.* (note 7), 85.

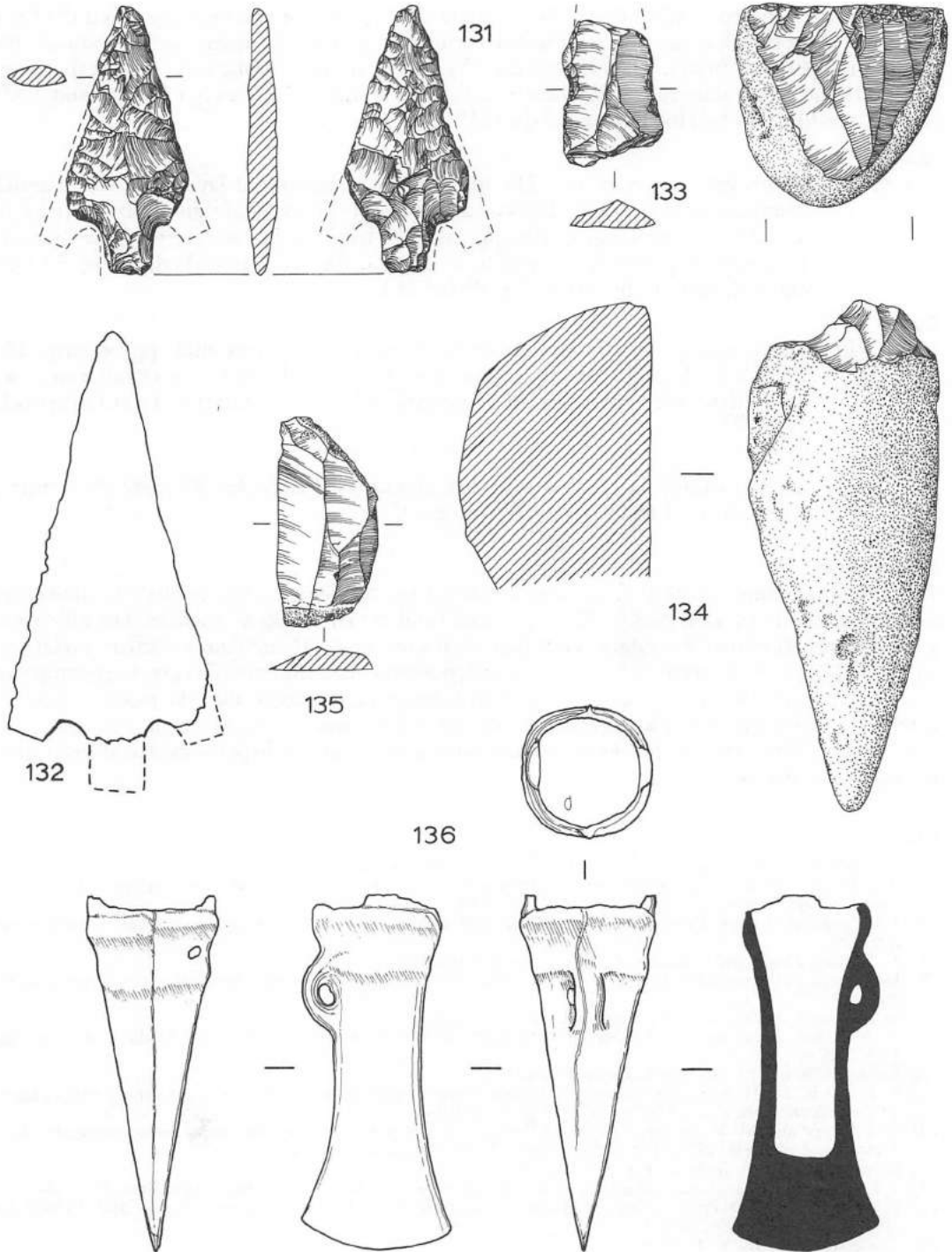


Fig. 10 *Flints*: 131, Wickford; 132, Woodham Walter; 133-4, Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall; 135, Borcham. Scale 1:1. *Bronze Axe-head*: 136, Pleshey. Scale 1:2.

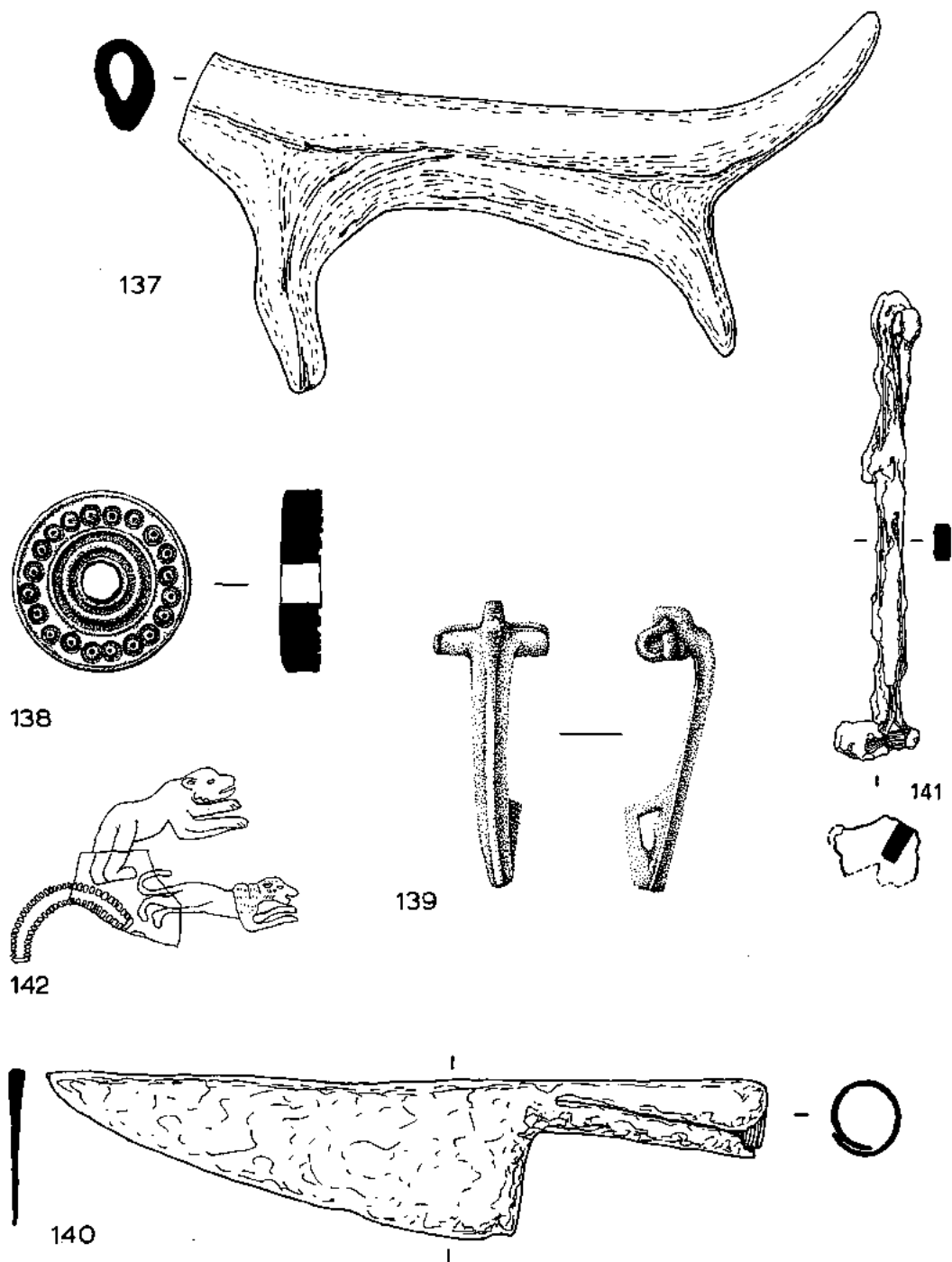


Fig. 11 *Antler:* 137, Little Laver. *Bone:* 138, Feering. *Bronze:* 139, South Benfleet. *Iron:* 140, Little Laver; 141, Naylinghurst. *Sigillata:* 142, South Benfleet. Scale 1:2, except 139, 1:1.

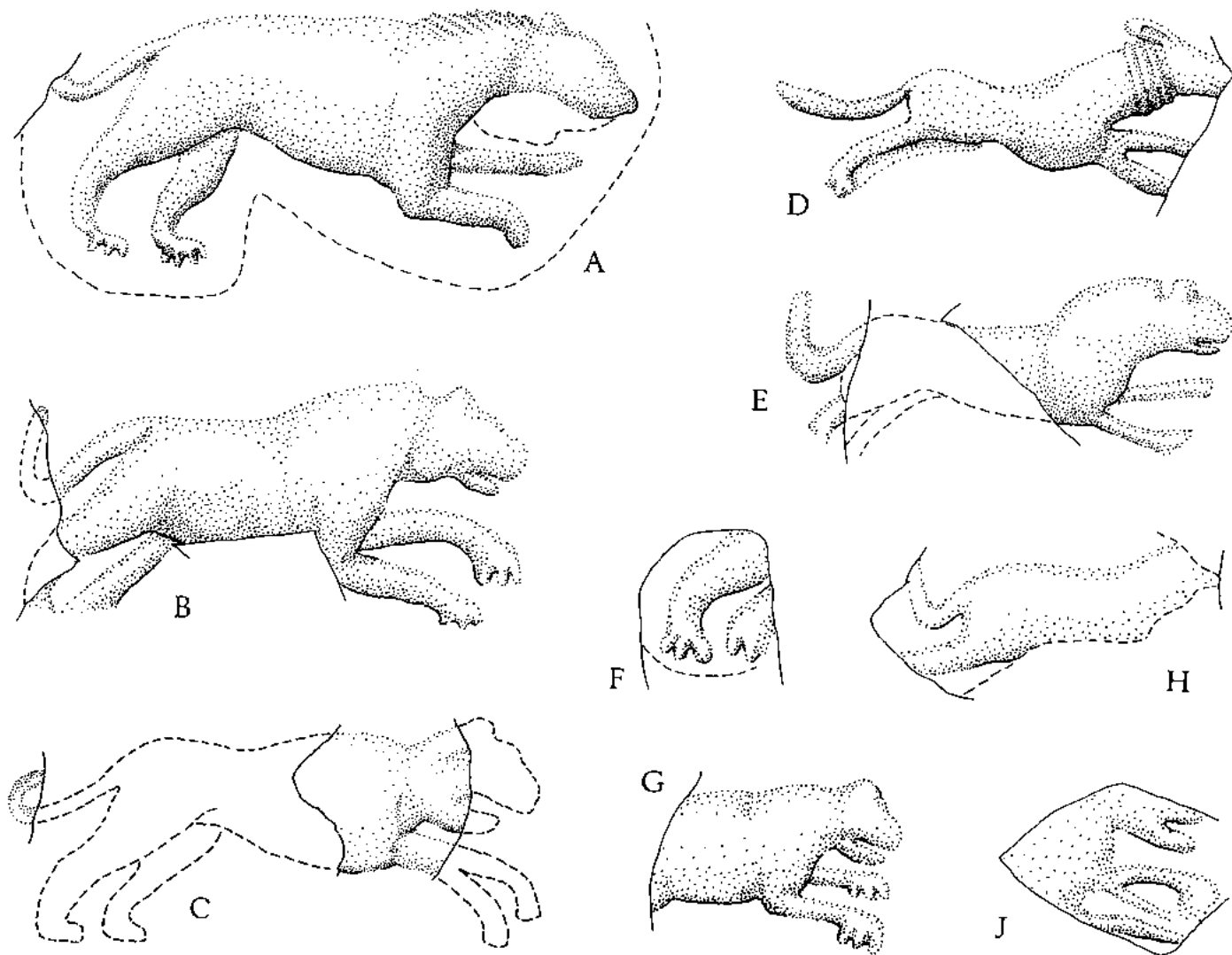


Fig. 12 Relief-moulded animals on Romano-British pottery; A, B, Chelmsford; C, Sandon; D, Great Dunmow; E, Burgh Castle, Suffolk; F, G, Little Hadham, Herts.; H, South Benfleet; J, Canvey Island. Scale 1:1.

Observations at Bardfield Saling Church

by P. J. DRURY

In September 1975, the south aisle of Bardfield Saling Church was refloored and its internal walls replastered to a height of *c.* 1 m. Unfortunately, these works were not observed, but architectural fragments retained at the church include a medieval brick 114 × 50 mm in section and more than 450 mm long (now broken), and a late-14th-century floor tile, exactly similar to some 325 forming the western section of the nave floor, and 16 forming the cill of the south window of the chancel. These tiles, curiously overlooked by the Royal Commission (*Essex* i, 1916, 11–12), are considered with an exactly similar tile from Braintree, elsewhere in this volume (p. 78).

Parch-marks in the churchyard (in the dry summer of 1975) suggest that the original east wall of the chancel lies between 8.5 m and 11 m beyond the east wall of the nave. The chancel was reduced to its present length before 1781 (the date of the earliest headstone on the site of its eastern end), not in the 19th century as stated by R.C.H.M.

Observations at Brightlingsea Church

by WARWICK RODWELL

In April 1974 a drainage trench was excavated around the entire circuit of the walls of All Saints' Church (TM 077187). Through the kindness of the church's architect, Mr. R. Freeman, it was possible for the writer and J. D. Hedges to observe the excavation of the trench. It averaged 0.6 m in width; on the south side of the building it was 0.75 m deep and on the north it was only half this depth. Archaeological deposits were visible in the sides and bottom of the trench everywhere and were, of course, entirely severed from the church's foundations. The exposed foundations could be seen to be of several constructions which partly, but not wholly, corresponded to the visible building periods in the above-ground structure. In particular, the foundations of the south wall were complex and defied interpretation from the meagre evidence available. At the east end, and especially at the north-east corner, it was evident that the church was built over the backfilled robber trenches of a Roman building. The upcast spoil included a great quantity of Roman building material and one glazed medieval floor tile.

The watching-brief confirmed the suspicion that the church overlies a Roman building,¹ which may be Brightlingsea's third villa,² and demonstrated that a great depth of archaeological stratification survived against the foundations of the church. The site would have ranked as an important candidate for a major rescue investigation and would certainly have yielded results comparable to those obtained at Rivenhall, but the external archaeological deposits—or at least

those relating to the ecclesiastical history of the site—have now been largely destroyed without record.³

A Floor Tile from Brightlingsea Church (Fig. 6.114) by P. J. Drury

A single fragment 25 mm thick in a hard, sandy fabric, mostly reduced grey; the base is heavily sanded and the edges virtually square-cut. It is slightly worn and bears traces of cream mortar on the edges and base. The tile was overscraped, heavily reduced, and overfired, making the pattern difficult to discern; however, it is clear that a slip technique, either *stamp-on-slip* or *slip-over-impression*,⁴ was used. The design was a repeating one, with an obscure central motif surrounded by four concentric bands, one inverted. The scale of the design and thickness of the tile suggests that it was larger than the normal maximum of c. 150 mm (6 in.) square.

The style is reminiscent of the Central Essex Group, produced probably in the Pleshey area c. 1260/80 to c. 1320. Large (c. 180 mm sq.) tiles were produced early in that period for use at Leez Priory.⁵ However, the fact that this tile has square rather than undercut edges, coupled with the limited distribution of Central Essex Group products in west central Essex, suggests that it was produced elsewhere in East Anglia, by tilers who drew their inspiration from the same source—the Chertsey–Westminster school—during the third quarter of the 13th century. The Brightlingsea tile could well have been produced as late as the end of the century.

NOTES

1. VCH: *Essex* iii (1963), 57.
2. For discussion of the group, see W. J. Rodwell, 'Rivenhall and the Emergence of 1st-Century Villas in Northern Essex' (forthcoming).
3. The archaeological destruction incurred at Brightlingsea is discussed in the general context of such losses in W. J. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: A Wasting Asset* (CBA Research Report 19, 1977).
4. For these techniques, see P. J. Drury and G. D. Pratt 'A Late 13th and Early 14th Century Tile Factory at Danbury, Essex', *Med. Archaeol.* xix (1975), 92–164, esp. 139–40.
5. The Central Essex Group and its derivation is discussed briefly in Drury and Pratt 1975, op. cit., 151–2, and designs from Pleshey Castle are included in P. J. Drury, 'The Floor Tiles', in the forthcoming report in the *British Archaeological Reports* series on the excavations at Pleshey, 1959–63. A fuller discussion of the group as a whole will appear in the *Census of Medieval Tiles in Essex*, in preparation by the writer.

A Trial Excavation at Manningtree Church, 1974

by WARWICK RODWELL

The parish church of St. Michael and All Saints, Manningtree, became disused, largely as a result of its poor structural condition, in the mid-1960s and was subsequently demolished. The church and its graveyard to the north occupied a block of land of c. 700 square metres between High Street and Stour Street (TM 10753185); the north wall of the church itself formed part of the developed frontage of High Street. The site lay vacant until 1974 when planning permission was granted for commercial redevelopment. It seemed desirable to examine the plot briefly in order to establish whether the former church had been built on a virgin site.¹

Morant records that the church was built *c.* 1616 and was then a chapel-of-ease to the mother church of St. Mary, Mistley.² It was, however, 'built out of the ruins of the ancients chapel, that stood on rising ground, not far from the site of the new church'. The latter, at the time of its demolition, was partly an early-17th-century structure and partly Victorian.³ A fully detailed record does not appear to have been made before demolition. Inspection of the site showed that the former west wall of the church is still standing, since it also serves as the east wall of an adjoining shop. This wall is largely of septaria rubble and the north-west brick buttress also remains; it includes septaria in its core. No other remains of the church could be seen above ground and, although various fragments of tombstones lay on the surface of the former churchyard, none were *in situ*.

Excavation was undertaken in October 1974, when five trenches were opened, using a JCB mechanical excavator; all were taken down to the subsoil (mixed sand and gravel, capped by a thin layer of brickearth).

Trench 1

A box 3 m by 2 m was opened inside the north-west corner of the church, adjacent to the surviving buttress and west wall. This trench revealed the north wall, built of brick, resting on a contemporary foundation of mortared septaria nodules. This wall abutted the surviving septaria wall which had formed the west end of the church, and the latter can now be seen as the pre-existing eastern wall of the adjoining property. The same wall continues below ground, to an unrecorded depth, as part of a cellar. Hence the church was simply built against an existing structure. Beneath the 17th-century north wall of the church were vestigial traces of domestic occupation predating the construction of the church; the evidence comprised 20 cm of a truncated layer of dark loam containing oyster shells and charcoal; there was no dating evidence. The trial trench would have been continued further south had not a large, 19th-century, brick-built heating chamber been encountered.

Trenches 2 and 3

These were north-south cuttings across the body of the church. The 17th-century north wall was again encountered and found to be of similar construction to that already noted. The 19th-century brick south wall was also exposed. There were no floor levels or traces of occupation surviving inside the church, but several post-medieval graves were encountered.

Trenches 4 and 5

The graveyard stood much higher in general level than the church site and two east-west trenches were excavated here. Both revealed *c.* 1.6 m of dark soil overlying the natural; no stratification could be discerned. The soil contained a moderate quantity of rubbish of relatively recent date, together with animal and human bones and a few sherds of later medieval pottery. At the interface between the dark soil and the natural were numerous skeletons, accompanied by post-medieval brick-bats, etc. A massive 19th-century brick vault was also encountered. As far as possible, the burials were left intact.

The Finds

The only items of archaeological interest were three sherds of pottery of medieval date,⁴ comprising a body sherd of hard, grey sandy fabric, probably 13th century; a body and basal sherd of a soot-encrusted cooking pot with sagging base, in a brown, finely sand-tempered fabric, probably 13th century; and a body sherd of a green-glazed and rouletted jug of Aardenburg ware, late 13th to early 14th century. It is discussed and illustrated by Dr. G. C. Dunning on p. 184.

Conclusions

Manningtree church was wholly of 17th-century and later date, there being no trace of a previous ecclesiastical structure on the site; the burials encountered were all demonstrably post-medieval too. It is clear that the northern half of the site (which naturally sloped northwards towards the River Stour) was artificially terraced, down to the top of the gravel, for the construction of the church. This effectively removed all the accumulated evidence for earlier domestic occupation, except for the occasional surviving fragment near the boundaries of the site.

The great depth of 'grave-earth' which was encountered on the southern part of the site was probably an accumulation of many centuries, but intense post-medieval burial had thoroughly churned the whole area. It is unlikely that any pre-17th-century deposits survive, except perhaps near the extremities of the site.

Morant's description and the local topography would suggest that the medieval chapel lay a little to the south of the present site, in the derelict land between Stour Street and York Street, although there are no surface indications of the exact site. It should, however, be noted that the north side of York Street and the passage leading eastwards to New Road are bounded by a 19th-century brick wall which contains numerous reused fragments of dressed stone, some of which appear to exhibit mouldings of late medieval or early post-medieval date. While this material could be derived from the chapel, it is equally possible that it came from the later church, when its south wall was demolished and the building extended in the 19th century.

NOTES

1. The investigation was undertaken by the writer on behalf of the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council's Planning Department; the work was sponsored by the Department of the Environment. Thanks are due to Mr. J. D. Hedges and Miss C. R. Couchman for making the practical arrangements for the investigation.
2. P. Morant, *History of Essex* (1768).
3. For a plan at 1:576 and brief description, see R.C.H.M.: *Essex* iii (1922), 176.
4. Deposited in Colchester Museum; all were derived from the grave-earth. Mr. P. J. Drury kindly commented on the pottery.

A Medieval Water-Pipe from Chelmsford

by P. J. DRURY

My attention has recently been drawn to a medieval earthenware water-pipe in Chelmsford and Essex Museum. It was found in Chelmsford '5 feet below the surface' before 1850, when it was given by T. C. Neale of Springfield to Chelmsford Philosophical Society.¹ The pipe is in a hard grey sandy fabric, coarsely thrown on a wheel in the manner of a pot, the 'base' being subsequently cut out with a knife and the exterior around the 'base' being similarly trimmed (Fig. 13). The surfaces are dark brown with orange patches; there are splashes of plain glaze, tending towards a green colour where the surface is very reduced. In fabric and manufacturing technique, the pipe closely resembles those found on the site of the Dominican Priory in 1938 and recently published;² it is likely that this example is also from the priory, whose site was developed soon after 1840.

Dr. G. C. Dunning has distinguished two principal groups of medieval earthenware water-pipes—those of plain tapering form, and those flanged at the smaller end and splayed or socketed



at the larger.³ The published examples from the priory, tentatively dated to the mid-14th century, belong to the former group. It seems likely that the example under discussion, with a prominent swelling forming a clearly defined spigot at the narrow end, should be seen as a development of the simple form. The similarity between the fabric and technique of this example and those from the priory suggests that they may be products of the same maker. Both forms distinguished by Dunning occur in the 14th century, but later medieval dating of the simple tapered form in East Anglia has yet to be supported. The single example from Thetford Priory, associated with 29 of the spigot and socket type in contexts dated on archaeological grounds to the mid-15th century, seems likely to be reused.⁴

Fig. 13 Medieval waterpipe from Chelmsford. Scale 1:4
(drawn by Miss I. Thompson).

NOTES

1. Accn. No. 109/CPS. I am grateful to the Curator, Mr. D. L. Jones, for his assistance, and for permission to publish the object.
2. P. J. Drury, 'Chelmsford Dominican Priory: The Excavation of the Reredorter, 1973', *Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* vi (1974), 78.
3. G. Briscoe and G. C. Dunning, 'Medieval Pottery Roof-Fittings and a Water-pipe found at Ely', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* LX (1967), 86-9.
4. G. Coppack, 'Medieval Water-pipes from Thetford Priory', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* XXXIII (1973), 88-90.

A Nordic Socketed Axe from near Braintree

by BRENDAN O'CONNOR

Among the rich collection of Bronze Age metalwork in the Colchester and Essex Museum there is an unusual bronze socketed axe found 'near Braintree'.¹ The axe has a square socket mouth with a single moulding. The faces are defined by raised beadings which curve outwards, joining on one side of the axe above, and fading below. The axe probably had a loop but this has been lost.

Corrosion obscures the condition of the axe but it appears to be old and worn rather than a poor casting.

This axe does not belong to any British type but is of Nordic origin.² The single moulding on the socket mouth and the ornamental beading on the faces are the characteristics used by Sprockhoff to define his Koppenow type.³ The area of distribution of this type is between Schleswig-Holstein and the Elbe valley in the west and the Masurian Lakes and the Niemen in the east, mainly near the coast but reaching south to the borders of Bohemia and Moravia.⁴ Baudou has recognised a group of similar axes in Scandinavia, found mainly on the island of Gotland with a few examples elsewhere in southern Sweden; this is his Gotland form.⁵ Altogether about seventy Koppenow/Gotland axes have been recorded but few have been adequately illustrated and many of the eastern examples were in collections destroyed during World War II.

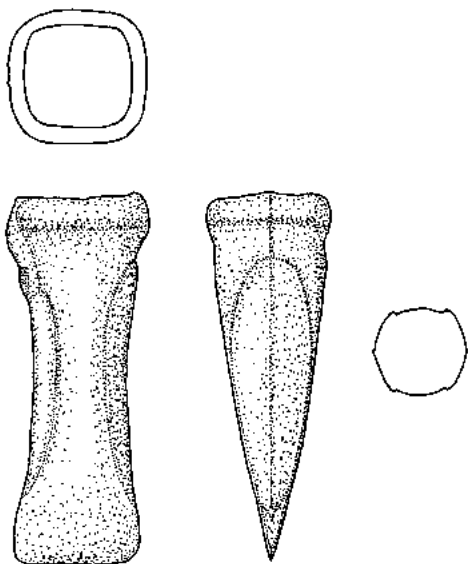


Fig. 14 Bronze socketed axe found 'near Braintree'. Scale 1:2.

Eighteen of the Koppenow axes listed by Sprockhoff come from hoards of which two are Montelius IV and the rest Montelius V. The only Gotland axe in a datable context comes from a hoard of late Montelius V or early Montelius VI. Most of these axes were probably produced during the 8th century B.C. with origins earlier and survivals later.

While Nordic bronzes are uncommon in Britain, contacts with the southern Baltic area during the Late Bronze Age can be demonstrated. Butler has listed finds of South-eastern English socketed axes in northern Europe, including four find-spots in northern Germany and Poland.⁶ These axes were manufactured in south-east England during the Carp's Tongue phase of the Late Bronze Age, approximately the 8th century B.C. Three South-eastern axes occur in the Montelius V hoard from Plestlin, Kr. Demmin, Pomerania.⁷ This hoard shares many axe types with another Montelius V hoard from Vietkow, Kr. Stolp, Pomerania, which also contains a Koppenow axe similar to our Essex example.⁸ Both these hoards contain north-west German Montelius V types and west Alpine Hallstatt B types alongside local types.⁹

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NOTES

1. 3200.15. I am grateful to Mr. D. T-D. Clarke and Mr. G. M. R. Davies for permission to publish this axe and for their assistance while I was working in the Museum.
2. I use the word 'Nordic' as an English version of *Nordischer Kreis*, the conventional German term for the area of Scandinavia, north-eastern Germany and northern Poland in prehistory.
3. Sprockhoff, 1956, Vol. I, 88.
4. Sprockhoff, 1956, Vol. II, 14-16 list, Karte 5; supplemented by Dabrowski, 1968, 162 Mapa 13,4, 188-189 list, 224 English summary. Tackenberg, 1971, 56, emphasises the absence of this type west of the Elbe.
5. Baudou, 1960, 24, 194 list, Karte 16.
6. Butler, 1963, 85.
7. Sprockhoff, 1941, Taf. 42,10, Taf. 44,2,3.
8. Sprockhoff, 1941, Taf. 48,5.
9. Butler, 1963, 86. Tackenberg, 1971, 235.

Historical Notes

The Myddletons of Stansted Mountfitchet A Seventeenth-Century Gentry Family

by DAVID STEPHENSON

On 12 May 1716, the vicar of Stansted Mountfitchet recorded in his parish register the death of Stephen, 'the last of the Myddletons here at Stansted'. So ended an association formed just over a century earlier, when Sir Thomas Myddleton, a wealthy London merchant of Welsh descent, had bought the estate and hall of Stansted.¹

Sir Thomas was one of the remarkable group of London Welsh which had emerged in the 16th century. Born in 1550, the fourth son of a governor of Denbigh castle, he was apprenticed to a London grocer, Ferdinando Pointz, and rose in the merchant community under the patronage of Sir Francis Walsingham, a connection which was important enough in his career to figure prominently in the inscription on his tomb at Stansted church. The entrepreneurial spirit was strong in Sir Thomas: he was an adventurer in the Virginia Company, the East India Company, and in the New River Company, formed to realise the ambition of his illustrious brother Sir Hugh to bring a new water supply to London. Yet although Sir Thomas's affairs covered several continents, he never lost his ties with Wales. He was, perhaps, the most important patron of the Welsh language in the 17th century. Indeed, his ambition seems originally to have been to use his financial success in London to establish himself as a magnate in Wales: in the 1590s he was M.P. for Merionethshire, as well as serving as *custos rotulorum* and lord lieutenant for that county. In 1595, he bought the Chirk Castle estate in his native Denbighshire, and in the course of time many a Welsh gentry estate was shored up with mortgages provided by Sir Thomas.

But a man of Myddleton's stature could not avoid being drawn into the public life of London. By 1613 he had been elected Lord Mayor, while he represented the City in the Parliaments of 1624–26. And meanwhile, he had acquired the estate at Stansted, where he died and was buried in 1631, his resting place marked by a magnificent tomb. Sir Thomas was thus the first of the Stansted Myddletons, but it is clear that he was a Welsh magnate first, a London merchant second, and a member of the Essex gentry only a poor third.

On Sir Thomas's death his estates were divided between his two sons; Chirk Castle and the Welsh lands went to the elder, Thomas, while the Stansted estates went to the younger, Timothy.

Though settled at Stansted, Timothy retained interests in Wales, obtaining, for example, the wardship of his nephew Sir Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni in 1632, and these interests were significant enough to warrant plans to purchase the assistance in his affairs of influential men in Denbighshire. Timothy outlined these plans in a letter² in 1632 to one John Jones, almost certainly the future regicide John Jones of Maes y Garmedd. In the same year both Timothy and Jones appear as witnesses to a document concerning the administration of the Chirk Castle lordship.³ The connection seems to have been maintained, for John Jones apparently stayed with Timothy in Essex for a time in 1639.⁴

During the 1630s, then, Timothy still rather resembles an expatriate Welshman. It was perhaps the civil wars of the 1640s which hastened the deeper involvement of him and his house in the affairs of Essex. In common with most of the gentry of that county, Timothy espoused the cause of Parliament, as did his brother, almost alone of the gentry of north-east Wales. The Parliament's prospects rested largely on the efforts of the county committees set up to administer the areas under its control. Timothy was thus drawn deeply into the administration of the county in which lay his principal seat. The squire of Stansted Mountfitchet, important in his own right as a member of the north-west Essex gentry, but doubly so as the brother of the Parliament's general in north Wales, was a natural choice as a committee man. From 1643 onwards he appears on a succession of committees for Essex, and in 1643 was on the large committee for the Eastern Association, that combination of East Anglian and neighbouring counties from which Parliament drew so much of its strength.⁵

Timothy's zeal for the Parliament seems to have been considerable, so he was both burdened and rewarded with offices. In 1642 Oliver Cromwell is to be found asking the Lords to assent to Timothy Myddleton's appointment as deputy-lieutenant of Essex.⁶ By 1644 he was sheriff of the county, whilst two years later he was one of the contractors appointed by Parliament to dispose of the bishops' lands 'for the service of the Commonwealth'.⁷ But if his energies in the war years were mainly concentrated on the administration of Essex, Timothy did not forget the trials of his brother, leading the Parliament's forces in north Wales: in August 1644 he organised a collection amongst the inhabitants of Stansted to help Sir Thomas to reduce north Wales to obedience.⁸ The total raised was just over £21, of which Timothy contributed £10. In contrast to the majority of the gentry, whose horizons were bounded by their own 'countries', Timothy Myddleton was one of that important group whose interests, if perhaps not truly national, were at least multi-local.⁹

It is difficult to place Timothy Myddleton in terms of the perplexing politico-religious affiliations which divided the opponents of Charles I in the 1640s. In religion he seems to have been a Presbyterian—though whether by conviction or *faute de mieux* is unknown—for he appears as one of the elders of the *classis* of Stansted Mountfitchet in a document of 1646 purporting to set out the organisation of Essex in terms of the Presbyterian system of *classes*.¹⁰ In a wider political context, there can be no certainty as to where Timothy's sympathies lay, for he gave his allegiance to the Long Parliament in the 1640s, to the Rump Parliament which emerged from Pride's Purge in 1648, to the Barebones Assembly which succeeded the Rump, and to the Protectorate set up in 1653.¹¹ He was certainly closely associated by kinship with members of that group of conservative parliamentarians generally and somewhat confusingly known as Presbyterians. His sister Mary was married to Sir John Maynard, younger son of the squire of Little Easton, just a few miles from Stansted: Maynard was one of the eleven prominent Presbyterians on whom the army, dominated by more radical Independents, had turned in the summer of 1647. Timothy's elder brother, Sir Thomas, was also a Presbyterian: relieved of his command in north Wales under the Self-Denying Ordinance of 1645, he served on the Denbighshire committees of 1647–8, but at the end of the latter year he was one of those excluded from Parliament by Pride's Purge.¹² In 1651 Sir Thomas was required by the Council of State to find sureties of £10,000 for his good behaviour. Only a few months later, by contrast, the Council was writing to the Essex militia committee, headed by Timothy Myddleton, requiring them to make a collection of such ordnance and ammunition as might be used against the commonwealth, and urging them to be vigilant in their care of the county.¹³

At the root of Timothy's acceptance of the changing forms of government, in contrast to the reactions of his brother and brother-in-law, there probably lay a lack of political ambition: he is not known to have put himself forward for election to parliament. He was perhaps more of an administrator than a partisan. The same characteristic was manifested by his son Thomas, who succeeded to the estates in 1655. The family's prosperity at this time is reflected by the liberal bequests made by Timothy in his will¹⁴ and by the extensions made by Thomas to Stansted

Hall.¹⁵ Continued progress was based on Thomas's ability to swim with the current of political affairs in the next five years.

Like his father, Thomas was involved in Essex administration during Oliver Cromwell's protectorate: he appears as a committee-man in 1657, and in the next year served as sheriff for the county.¹⁶ But after the death of Oliver in 1658 and the collapse of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate in the next year Thomas withdrew from active participation in public affairs until he could be sure of how the political power-vacuum was to be filled. He seems to have kept in close contact with his uncle at Chirk Castle, visiting him in 1656.¹⁷ But when old Sir Thomas became involved in Booth's Royalist rising in Cheshire in 1659 there is no sign of a response from the squire of Stansted. Yet if he was not prepared to risk taking arms for the king, he was probably already convinced that a restoration of monarchy offered the best remedy for the country's instability. He was significantly absent from the 1659 Essex committee which marks the attempt of the restored Rump Parliament to achieve a local basis for a republican form of government which did not involve a Protectorate. Nor was Thomas a member of the January 1660 Essex assessment committee formed by a Rump which had been again dissolved and once more restored: the political situation was still in an uncertain state of flux. But in March of the same year, with the Long Parliament recalled and the political initiative in the hands of General Monck, Thomas Myddleton appears as a member of the Essex militia committee,¹⁸ which, like its counterparts in the other counties, served to ensure the smooth return of the king.

Thomas's timely readiness to facilitate the Restoration, with its promise of order in religion, and a world made safe for gentlemen against the subversion of sectaries and soldiers alike, laid the foundation for the family's continued prominence in Essex. He was succeeded in 1668 by a son also named Thomas, who went further, in the 1670s, towards erasing the memory of the family's Parliamentary part in the Civil Wars. This Thomas was knighted in 1675 and four years later was identified as a courtier when he was involved in the dramatic Essex county election held in the feverish atmosphere created by the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. Sir Thomas, allied to Sir Eliab Harvey, and backed by the Duke of Albemarle, partisan and favourite of the Duke of York, the future James II, contested the election, the second of the year, with Colonel Henry Mildmay and John Lamotte Honeywood, these last apparently representing the exclusionist 'Country' party. Our knowledge of the election is mainly derived from a highly partisan, pro-Country account, entitled *Essex's Excellency*,¹⁹ which contains allegations that Harvey and Myddleton were supported by 'the tribe of Levi' (i.e. clerics) and by the Justices of the Peace, who attempted to sway the issue in their favour. There was apparently some violence at the polling, which the report naturally attributes to supporters of Myddleton. The latter was reviled as a courtier and a pensioner, and as such stood little chance of success in a year when court candidates went down like ninepins.

The return of Mildmay and Honeywood thus causes no astonishment: Sir Thomas had, unusually for a Myddleton, been caught on the wrong foot. But the rebuff at the county election did not keep him out of the Parliament: he was returned for the borough of Harwich. Myddleton had no previous connection with this borough but was made a freeman the day before his election.²⁰ The means of his introduction are not, however, far to seek: the electors of Harwich were clearly looking to Sir Thomas's backer in the county election, Albemarle, for help in their contest with William King, a former M.P. for the borough, who was then vexing the corporation with a large claim for expenses.²¹ Myddleton's adoption was probably part of Albemarle's price for his help.

At any rate, Sir Thomas did well by his constituents: there is evidence of his 'great care and pains to serve this town in the concern of Mr. King',²² and in 1680 the Corporation wrote to him rendering thanks for the fact that 'you were pleased to comply with his Grace the Duke of Albemarle in the payment of the composition made by his Grace with William King on the behalf of the town'.²³ It is hardly surprising, then, that Myddleton secured re-election for Harwich in 1681, 'the duke of Albemarle consenting thereunto'.²⁴ Far more interesting is the fact

that Myddleton did not stand for re-election in 1685, to James II's only parliament, when the representation of Harwich went to Samuel Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane. The elections of 1685 were marked by widespread and frequently successful attempts by the court to influence the outcome, so that we may assume that Myddleton's path into the parliament would have been smooth had he desired election and had he retained his connection with Albemarle. But Sir Thomas's loyalties to the court may not have extended so far as to allow him to serve an overtly Catholic king. Whatever its origin, his apparent change of stance was timely, enabling him to secure election as member for Harwich in the Convention of 1689, called in the full flush of reaction against James's rule. Of the two members elected for Harwich in 1685 Deane did not stand in 1689, but Pepys did, and was soundly defeated.²⁵

Sir Thomas served as M.P. for Harwich in all of the subsequent parliaments of William III until 1700, when, two years before his death, he retired from active politics. His voting record in parliament seems to have been impeccably Whig and pro-Orange.²⁶ As early as 1689 he was recorded as one of the extreme anti-Jacobite members of the Convention,²⁷ along with his old opponent in the 1679 election, Henry Mildmay, while both his loyalty to the new regime, and his wealth, were demonstrated when he loaned £1000 to the government in 1689.²⁸ Myddleton took the oath of Association to defend William, in 1696,²⁹ together with all of the other Essex members, except, ironically, Sir Eliab Harvey, his ally of 1679.

It is clear, then, that Sir Thomas is fully representative of a political society which was rapidly dividing along party lines towards the end of the century. Yet Harwich was by no means a Whig preserve, and Myddleton frequently had a Tory as his fellow-representative. Clearly he did not owe his success at Harwich solely to the fact that he was an enthusiastic Whig partisan; he earned support by his character and his efforts on behalf of his constituency.

Sir Thomas's popularity undoubtedly stemmed in part from his financial aid in 1680: it may have been this which explains his apparent ability to stand above the worst of the factional struggles in Harwich in 1689. The anger of the defeated Pepys's supporters was directed at the other victorious candidate, John Eldred, rather than at Myddleton, who was regarded as 'a most worthy gentleman, accepted of all parties'.³⁰ And in the second election of the year, a three-cornered contest involving Myddleton, Sir Phillip Parker and the Tory Viscount Cheyney, Cheyney's agent whilst complaining of the tactics of the 'fanatics' (apparently Parker's backers), recorded that Myddleton was 'accepted of all hands'.³¹

There is, moreover, evidence for Sir Thomas's continuing concern for the well-being of the town: in February of 1693 he is recorded as making a Commons speech prompted by a letter from the Mayor of Harwich complaining against abuses committed in pressing men for Flanders.³² Two months later he headed a commission to appoint and set out the bounds and limits of the port of Harwich,³³ whilst in February of the next year he was the bearer of repayments and rewards made out of the Secret Service money to the Mayor for his part in the relief of poor Dutch seamen and soldiers.³⁴

Thus carefully preserved, Sir Thomas's long ascendancy at Harwich served to strengthen further the fortunes of his house. By the time of his death in 1702, the Myddletons were no longer an immigrant stock in Essex, but a county family of nearly a century's standing, who had served important county interests at court and in Parliament. Sir Thomas's challenge for the county seat in Parliament in 1679 had been inopportune and perhaps premature, but when it was renewed by his son and successor at Stansted, Thomas, in 1708 it proved successful. Thomas, a Whig like his father, represented Essex until his death in 1715.³⁵ He had already in 1706 been nominated deputy lieutenant of the county.³⁶

Thomas's political prominence was buttressed firstly by a good marriage, to the daughter of Sir Richard Onslow, member of a great Parliamentary family and Speaker of the Commons in 1708, and secondly by a careful husbanding of financial resources, if we may generalise from the complaints of John Reynolds, vicar of Stansted, about the parsimony of Thomas and his father.³⁷

Ironically, the family's attainment of real eminence in the political society of Essex was

followed rapidly by its eclipse, for when Thomas died in 1715, he left no son. The Stansted estate passed into the hands of his brother, Stephen. Within a year he too was dead, and the estate sold by trustees to Thomas Heath of Mile End.

The history of the Stansted Myddletons provides one of those unspectacular success stories, founded on good luck, circumspection and sheer hard work, which can be duplicated in any age, and which was by no means unique in the 17th century. Indeed, it is precisely this genius for political survival, the ability to prosper in turbulent times, shared with scores of other gentry families, which is the measure of the Myddletons' true importance, for it provided the foundation-stone of stability which, never dislodged, enabled the political nation to weather the storms of the 17th century and thus to enjoy the relative calm of Georgian England.

NOTES

1. There is a useful account of the career of Sir Thomas Myddleton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and a more recent, very valuable one in the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. For the careers of the subsequent Stansted Myddletons there are no substantial secondary accounts, while the primary sources are few and scattered. The largest single collection of material is a bundle of copies of Myddleton wills and other documents, and transcripts relating to the family from the Stansted parish registers, made in the late 19th century by J. J. Green of Stansted and collected as Essex Record Office (E.R.O.) T/P 68/33.
2. W. J. Smith (ed.), *Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence, 1553-c. 1700*, No. 157.
3. E.R.O., T/P 68/33/7.
4. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, s.n. John Jones.
5. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, C. M. Firth and R. S. Rait (eds.) (1911), I, 91, 112, 147, 229, 243 (for the Eastern Association committee), 292, 536, 621, 638, 965, 1082, 1237. W. C. Abbot (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell, Writings and Speeches* (1937), I, 353.
6. Abbot, W. C., op. cit., I, 182.
7. E.R.O., Ass 35/85/1/58; *Acts and Ordinances*, I, 889.
8. E.R.O., T/P 68/33/3, 14.
9. The connection with London remained strong; both Timothy and his son Thomas married daughters of London aldermen: Martha, daughter of Robert Johnson, and Constance, daughter of Thomas Bromfield respectively. Thomas's second son, Bromfield, became a merchant in London.
10. *The Division of Essex into Several Classes together with the names of the Ministers and others fit to be of each Classis*, London, 1648, p. 14.
11. *Acts and Ordinances II*, 298, 466, 663, for Timothy's membership of county committees appointed under the Rump; *ibid.*, II, 895 shows him appointed as one of the contractors for the disposal of Dean and Chapter lands in May 1654; E.R.O. T/P 68/33/3 shows him as a Justice of the Peace during the period of Barebone's Parliament.
12. For this Sir Thomas see the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*.
13. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1651*, p. 366.
14. E.R.O., T/P 68/33/9.
15. E.R.O., T/M 380 is a photocopy (original in the British Library) of a plan of Stansted Hall in the late 1650s.
16. *Acts and Ordinances II*, 1069; E.R.O., Ass 35/99/E/32.
17. *Chirk Castle Accounts, 1605-1666*, W. M. Myddleton (ed.) (1908), pp. 59-60.
18. *Acts and Ordinances II*, 1431.
19. *Essex's Excellency: or the Gallantry of the Freeholders of that County*. London, n.d. There is a counter-blast from the pro-court standpoint. *A faithful and Impartial Account of the Behaviour of a Party of the Essex Free-Holders, at their Late Election of Parliament-men (at Chelmsford) for that County. Occasioned by a most false and scandalous Pamphlet, Intituled the Essex Excellency*. London, 1679. In spite of its imposing title, this contains little of value.
20. Harwich Borough archives (H.B.) 98/4, p. 58. I am indebted to Mr. L. T. Weaver for facilitating my access to the Harwich archives.
21. See Leonard T. Weaver, *The Harwich Story* (1975), p. 67. Cf. H.B. 57/16, for a request by the corporation of Harwich to Sir Thomas 'to move his grace the Duke of Albermarle' in the King affair.
22. H.B. 57/18.
23. H.B. 57/4.
24. H.B. 98/4, p. 82.
25. H.B. 70/2. For a contemporary account of the tumultuous election see *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S. comprising his Diary and a Selection from his Private Correspondence*, Richard Lord Braybrooke (ed.), London, n.d. p. 649.
26. H.B. 69/12, 14, 16. For Sir Thomas's voting record see I. F. Burton, P. W. J. Riley and E. Rowlands, *Political Parties in the Reigns of William III and Anne: The Evidence of Division Lists, B.I.H.R. Special Supplement No. 7*, Nov. 1968, p. 44. The list given for Sir Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 54, in fact relates to his son Thomas, who sat for the county.
27. A. Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, III*, p. 167.
28. *Calendar of Treasury Books, IX* (v), p. 1988.
29. A. Browning, op. cit., III, p. 201.
30. *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys etc.*, loc. cit.
31. E.R.O., D/D Kw 02/23.

32. H. Horwitz (ed.), *The Parliamentary Diary of Narcissus Luttrell 1681-93*, p. 411.
33. *Calendar of Treasury Books*, X (1), p. 171.
34. *Ibid.*, XVII (11), p. 722.
35. R. Sedgewick, *History of Parliament, 1715-54*, II, s.n. Thomas Middleton.
36. E.R.O., D/DU 264/6.
37. E.R.O., T/P 68/33/3, where Reynolds complains, for example, 'I was Tutor to Mr. Middleton a year at Stansted then I went with him to Catherine Hall at Cambridge (where I had been bred) on June ye 2nd 1692 and we left the College June ye 2nd 1694. The two years which I spent at Cambridge to attend Mr. Middleton cost me little less than £140 or rather £150 out of my own Pocket and I had no manner of consideration for my expenses there.' It may be that this parsimony was not unconnected with Sir Thomas's entry into the expensive world of parliamentary politics.

Who Was John Ball?¹

by BRIAN BIRD and DAVID STEPHENSON

It has long been known that John Ball, leader of the Peasant's Revolt of 1381, had a connection with Colchester; in one of his letters written in the period of the Revolt he describes himself as formerly St. Mary priest of York and now of Colchester.² It is known that he was preaching revolutionary doctrines in Essex from the early 1360s, and several attempts, largely unsuccessful, were made to apprehend and silence him by both ecclesiastical and civil authorities.³ But Ball's career before the 1360s has been shrouded in mystery. Historians have not ventured even to guess at his place of birth and early life. It now seems possible, however, to suggest how this gap in our knowledge may be filled. The key is provided by a recently produced typescript copy of a history of the village of Peldon, by the late Mrs. Kay Gilmour⁴ which has important implications for the history of the revolutionary leader's career.

Mrs. Gilmour drew attention to two entries in the Colchester borough court rolls of the mid-14th century. The first of these,⁵ the record of a hundred court of January 1352, relates that: Joan, widow of William Balle of Peldon, produced a charter before the bailiffs, which John, son and heir of William, coming of age and being admitted tenant, acknowledged. The charter was as follows: Grant by John, son and heir of William Balle of Peldon, to Joan, his mother, of a tenement in Colchester, between Eststokwellestr. and Weststokwellestrat for life. Dated the feast of St. Petronilla, 24th year of Edward III (31st May 1350).

The second entry,⁶ in the record of a hundred court of July 1352, relates that:

Thomas de la Neyland produced a charter by which Joan, widow of William Balle, granted to him a tenement in St. Martin's parish, Colchester, in Eststockewellstret, dated Saturday after the feast of St. James, 26th year of Edward III (July 28, 1352). The same produces a charter of the same date, by which John, son and heir of William Balle of Peldon, released to him his claim in the same tenement.

Mrs. Gilmour suggested that the John Ball mentioned here was the revolutionary of 1381, arguing that the transfer of his tenement to his mother can be explained as the action of a young man planning to leave the area of Colchester to train as a priest in far-away York. Ball's presence in the Colchester area in the 1360s and 1370s may thus represent a return to his native locality. She also pointed to the interesting fact that one of the first areas in north-east Essex to be attacked by the rebels in 1381 was that of Peldon. To these arguments of Mrs. Gilmour it is possible to add more. First, in spite of the efforts of the authorities to silence him, John Ball was able to avoid arrest for years and to remain active in north Essex. In the words of Simon Sudbury, once bishop of

London, Ball was 'like the fox which evades the hunter' and 'feared not to preach and argue both in churches and churchyards (without the leave or against the will of the parochial authorities), and also in markets and other profane places'.⁷ This points to the conclusion that he was a local man who knew the terrain and had friends and kin in the area who might give him shelter. Secondly, from the proceedings set down in the court rolls of 1352, it is evident that John Ball of Peldon had attained the age of twenty-one in that year. This would put his date of birth in 1331, and his age in 1381 as fifty. This fits in well with the information already available relating to the career of the revolutionary leader: he was certainly not a young man in 1381, having been preaching in Essex for some twenty years before then, and having been, it would seem, at York before that. It should be added that it was not unknown for Colchester folk to make their way to York in the middle ages.⁸

After his appearance (or reappearance) in the north-east Essex area in the 1360s, John Ball's activities have been the subject of some confusion. A John Ball was rector of St. James's, Colchester, in the 1370s, whilst the borough court roll for 1377 contains a reference to John Ball, chaplain in St. James's parish.⁹ It might easily be assumed that these are references to the same man. But this was clearly not the case. In the first place, references to John Ball the revolutionary, both in 1376 and 1381, denote him as a chaplain,¹⁰ and there was a great difference between the rectors and the unbeneficed chaplains, who constituted a sort of clerical proletariat. Secondly, it can be shown by reference to the court rolls that John Ball, rector of St. James's, lived in a rectory near the church,¹¹ whilst John Ball, called chaplain, lived in 1377 with a fellow chaplain, John Proude, in a lodging house in East Street owned by William Crabbe.¹² Finally, Newcourt records that John Ball, the rector, held the benefice for some twenty years before his death in 1394;¹³ he is certainly to be identified as the John, rector of St. James's, who appears in the court roll of 1383.¹⁴ In contrast, John Ball, the revolutionary leader, was, of course, executed in 1381.

There appears to be here, then, a remarkable coincidence, with one John Ball being rector of St. James's, while another, probably the revolutionary, served as a chaplain. The probable employment of the latter by his namesake in 1377, only a year after a concerted attempt by the authorities to silence him, is somewhat surprising. It raises the suspicion that the two John Balls may have been related, a suspicion which, if well founded, strengthens the possibility that the chaplain was a local man.

If, in the passages from the borough court rolls of 1352, we do indeed catch a glimpse of the future revolutionary at an early stage in his career, it is of great interest and importance, in establishing the depth of feeling and consistency of his preaching against the accumulation of riches, that John Ball makes his first appearance in historical record whilst renouncing property rights.

NOTES

1. The substance of this paper forms part of a full-length study of the life and thought of John Ball, at present in preparation.
2. C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, new ed. 1969, 43.
3. A. C. Wood, 'John Ball in Essex', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* XXV, 1, (1955) 110-11.
4. Kay Gilmour, *Peldon in Essex*, n.d. especially pp. 41-57. A copy of this work is in Colchester Borough Library.
5. *Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester*, translated and epitomised by Isaac Herbert Jeayes, introduction by W. Gurney Benham, Vol. 1 (1310-1352), 229.
6. *ibid.*, 239.
7. C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, new ed. 1969, 42. When he thus denounced Ball, early in 1381, Sudbury was archbishop of Canterbury.
8. As early as the late 11th century, it was to York that Eudo Dapifer sent for monks to establish the abbey of St. John which he founded in Colchester. cf. Geoffrey Martin, *The story of Colchester from Roman Times to the Present Day*, 1959, p. 36: 'Colchester men found their way to York and were admitted to the freedom of that city.'
9. *Court Rolls, etc.* Vol. 3 (1372-1379), pp. 136, 139.
10. *C.P.R. (1374-77)*, 415; Oman, *op. cit.*, 190.
11. *The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester*, trans. W. Gurney Benham (1907), 70-74.
12. *Court Rolls*, Vol. 3, 139.
13. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, sub. St. James's Colchester.
14. Colchester Borough Archives, Court Roll, 6-7 Richard II, m.34 r.

Beldams in Thorpe-le-Soken

by E. A. WOOD

The location of Beldams has long puzzled me. Lands of that name in Thorpe-le-Soken were included in the large Crown grant to Sir Thomas Darcy in 1551. Holman called Beldams a manor and a little farm near the church;¹ whilst Morant, who describes it as a farm, states that it belonged to a Mrs. Burton.² Two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library also describe it as a farm, according to one a little west of, and to the other a little north of, the church.³ In November 1845 Beldams and three other Thorpe estates changed hands.⁴ Information from the plan included with the conveyance of these properties, and the 1841 Tithe Award are combined in the map, which shows the boundaries of the post-1845 New Hall estate into which the Beldams fields were absorbed. Although Beldams fields (being freehold) are never referred to directly in the rolls of the manorial court,⁵ there are 14 references in them to other holdings which mention parts of the estate. Despite gaps in the court rolls, and the fact that field boundaries must have altered over four centuries, it is nevertheless possible to discover the locations of the Beldams fields with some degree of certainty. The references are listed in roughly chronological order:

1. The tenant of Beldams land to make 20 perches of hedge and ditch from le Barred Stile as far as Cocktaylors; the tenant of Cocktaylors to scour the next 20 perches as far as Spennells; 1573.

At the time of the Tithe Commissioners Cocktaylors were fields 567 and 568, the property of Elizabeth Rolf. For the relationship between Cocktaylors, Beldams, and Spennells, see 15 below.

2. A cottage and one rood of land abutting on Beldams surrendered by John Felix; 1567.
This property can be traced until 1639, but its whereabouts is unknown.
3. An acre of grove, parcel of Curles, abutted on Beldams; 1600.
4. A grove of 1½ acres, late parcel of Curles, abutted on Henry Butts' grove and wood on parts of the north and west, on John Baysie's land on part of the east, and lay next to Beldams. Judith, wife of Robert Hewitt, admitted on his surrender; 1612.

Despite the growth of the grove by half an acre between 1600 and 1612, it seems likely that these two entries refer to the same piece of land. Tracing the location and descents of the various portions of Curles is not easy because by the end of the 16th century it was a much fragmented property. The grove mentioned here may have been part of Plumbsland, last heard of in 1695 partly in the ownership of John Franklin. The Franklins continued to hold fields 403 to 405 until 1845, so this grove might have been one of them. Curles land also lay on the other side of Landermere road in the vicinity of Spennells (see 15 below), although it seems on balance that the premises mentioned here lay west of the road.

5. Three sons of John Shurlock, deceased, divided extensive lands in Thorpe which they had inherited in 1591. There were then 9 acres of land with appurtenances, parcel of 10 acres called Gyrdlers, and a tenement and 2 acres parcel of Beldams, not mentioned because they were freehold. William Shurlock received Gadlers [*sic*], with 9 acres and 1 rood of land abutting a tenement of Robert Hewitt on part of the west, and 'on a lane called Landimer and Spratts Pightells and on a pightell called Smythes Pightell on parts of the north and west, hence one end abuts on parcel of Beldams on part of the east, and so leading by the south-east next land called Hobsdale abutting on land called Mallway leading to Thorpe Street'; 1612.

Gyrdlers was the L-shaped piece of land surrounding to north and east Hewitt's holding known as Borrows. In 1628 these two (Gyrdlers and Borrows) were joined to form Brickhouse, since 1901 known as The Abbey. Hobsdale lay between these and the Elms on the Frinton Road, so this part of Beldams probably lay in the vicinity of fields 550 and 551. Tithe plots 398

and 548 were roadside waste enclosed in 1747 and 1734 respectively. In 1764 398 was bounded on the east by the lands of Henry Burton, clerk, whose widow owned Beldams in Morant's time. This suggests that 397 was probably part of Beldams.

6. Robert Hewitt was admitted to a croft, parcel of a tenement and 4 acres of land abutting on the Landermere road on the north and west, Beldams House on the east, and a tenement recently held by Samuel Danyell on the south; 1622.

Samuel Danyell died in 1617 seised of at least ten pieces of land, none of which can be shown to have been on the east side of Landermere road.

7. Robert Hewitt bequeathed (in 1627) to his wife and son, lands called Badds with three acres abutting on the tenement Beldams; 1628.

These three acres are not mentioned at the admission of Robert junior to Badds, presumably because they were freehold. This property cannot now be identified.

8. Spratts Pightle, a close of 2½ acres, east of Brickhouse lane, adjoining Beldams on parts of the east and north, and abutting Brickhouse land on the south, surrendered by Thomas Sandford; 1689.

This entry seems to refer to the portion of Beldams mentioned in 5.

9. A rood of land abutting lands called Beldams surrendered by Henry Alderton; 1685.

By a similar descent to that of Gyrdlers, this land can be shown to have become part of Cage Farm (i.e. The Abbey).

10. John Staines, tenant of part of Beldams, to make 18 perches of ditch between it and a field next to Brickhouse lane; 1687.

11. Similarly from Mr. Sandford's pightle in Brickhouse lane to Beldams House; 1687.

12. The tenant of Brickhouse land to clean his ditches adjoining as far as the orchard of 'The Bell' (?—*pomar' campanae*), and as far as the field belonging to Beldams, 70 perches. Also his ditch leading to the Barn Yardgate as far as Sandford's pightle on Brickhouse lane, 60 perches; 1688.

Sandford owned Spratt's Pightell which after his death became known as Sandford's Pightell (cf. 5 above). My translation of 12 may not be correct, the Bell Inn is elsewhere referred to in the rolls in English. The Inn had orchards when Thomas Sandford inherited it from his father in 1670. In 1841 its lands were fields 275 to 277; a long way from any New Hall lands of 1845, and I have never discovered any premises attached to the Bell on the south-east side of the Landermere road.

13. The tenant of John William's land to scour his ditch leading towards Beldams field in Brickhouse lane; 1688.

John Williams and his wife were admitted to 12 acres of woodland in 1676, part of Curles, in the area of Tithe 406 to 410, and 569 (cf. 3 and 4).

14. Enfranchisement of John Warner's lands, including 1¾ acre next to Colletts, and adjoining the road from Thorpe Street to Beaumont bridge, north-west of the road, and south-east on Warner's lands called Beldams, 1827.

This confirms that part of Beldams was on the north-west side of Landermere road.

15. In the terrier of Landermere Hall⁶ Beldams grove lay on the western boundary of part of Spynells (south of the west-to-east part of Landermere road) and south of Letherdales.

16 (below) mentions two fields called Lower and Upper Spynells, Tithe numbers 563 and 555, although in 1569 Spynells was probably larger. Taking the evidence of 1, this would put Beldam's grove in the vicinity of field 565; perhaps the triangular 'tail' of 564.

16. A conveyance of estates called Beldams, Collops, New Hall Park Farm, and Umfrevilles at Thorpe, with plan and schedule; 1845.⁴

This map is of value for showing which estates were not part of Beldams—Little and Great Collops were Tithe 412 and 413; Sarah Umfreville held 14 acres in 1805, probably in fields 414 to 416; House field on the Tithe Map is 550. Could it be that the isolated house,

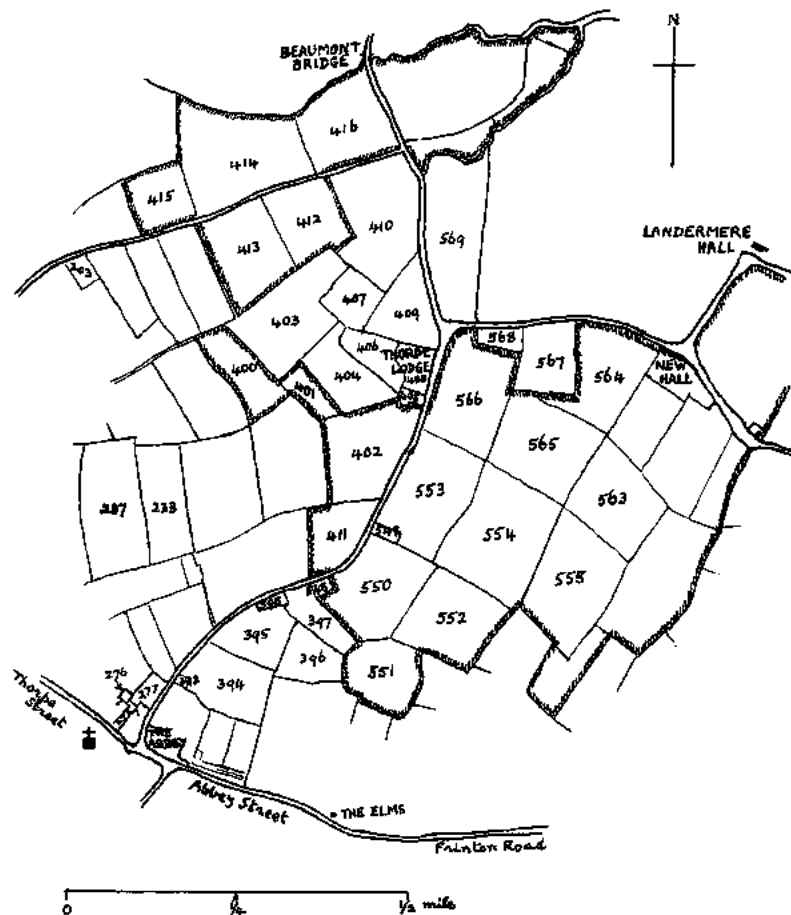


Fig. 1 Thorpe-le-Soken, 1841-45. New Hall lands outlined with hatching. Tithe map numbers inserted.

shown at just this position by the curve of the road, on Chapman and Andre's map of 1774, was Beldam's House?

To conclude, we may take it that Beldams farm contained lands on either side of Landermere road. I am inclined to think that they became Tithe 400 to 402 and 411 on the north-west side; and to the south-east of it 549, 550, 551, 553, and part of 564 as a grove; with the farmhouse in 550 near the road after its curve to descend the hill towards Beaumont and Landermere (NGR 62/186227).

NOTES

1. Essex Record Office, Holman MSS. 23; 5, 13.
2. Philip Morant (1768) *History and Antiquities of Essex* I, 481.
3. Rawlinson, *Essex* 20 f. 213b; 26 f. 215a.
4. E.R.O. D/Sf T59.
5. E.R.O. D/DBmM, referred to here by year only.
6. E.R.O. D/DL1/M17

Abridged. A copy of the original paper is deposited in the Society's library—Editor.

Industrial Archaeology

A Clue to the Anglo-Saxon Water-mill

by PAUL TRITTON

I have in the press a book on Essex water-mills. I have now found a clue to the earliest water-mills which is not included therein.

It is probable that the Romans had water-mills in the county—but there are no definite records. A mill is mentioned in a charter for Canterbury, in A.D. 762, but none is recorded for Essex. However, 300 years later when Domesday Book was compiled the system here is complete, and was more extensive then than at any time later. There must therefore have been a steady expansion up to this date. I was curious to know of what type these earliest mills were and now have a possible answer.

The sites that have now disappeared are, on the whole, on the upper reaches of the rivers, and those that have remained in continuous use are on the lower stretches. These expanded with the growing population, and were often rebuilt several times, the larger ones involving major earthworks. The smaller, abandoned, sites, which were originally presumably the same as the now larger ones, apparently involve no earthworks at all, there being few obvious remains today, and it is reasonable to assume that most of them were first constructed without earthworks.

A Saxon mill has been excavated at Tamworth, and this shows that the Saxons were competent carpenters and used the 'Norse wheel' or primitive turbine, and it can be supposed that they used a similar method in Essex, housed in a wooden shed-like building.

The question remains as to how a head of water was raised to drive it. I suggest that they threw a light clay or wattle dam across the river, and dug a small cut around the side in which they placed a sluice with the 'Norse turbine', driving one pair of stones, housed in the building above. A similar construction still exists in the Victorian form of Hylands Mill (Plate I). There is a dam placed across the water; in this case it has been made to lift, and the mill inlet is guarded by a metal grill—a wooden dowel grill was used at Tamworth. The water leaves the mill below the dam from the channel.

When a construction of this kind fell out of use it would deteriorate rapidly in a few seasons; the dam would be washed out in a flood which would also fill the channels with silt. In a hundred years the site would be virtually obliterated. These mills probably went out of use in the late Middle Ages and it is not surprising that they cannot be readily identified today.

PLATE I



Hylands Mill, Chelmsford.

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Victoria County History, *Essex*, iii (1963).

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