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*with which is incorporated the Shropshire Parish Register Society*

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# **Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society**

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# AN ENCLOSURE AT COLSTEY BANK, CLUN

1

By IAN BURROW

ABOUT 5 km. (3 miles) south of Bishop's Castle the A488 road crosses a col rising to about 270 m. (890') OD, flanked on east and west by higher ground. The NE side of this col is dissected by two small streams into a NE projecting spur with steep slopes on its NW and E sides but falling more gently to the NE and commanding an extensive view of the valley of the River Kemp towards Bishop's Castle. The Ludlow Beds form the solid geology of the area, which is used for pasture with much of the higher ground now devoted to forestry.

The enclosure (SO 305 841) which forms the subject of this note lies on the spur at 245 m. (800') OD where the land begins to slope away gently from the relatively flat top of the col (fig. 1). Its situation in a small projecting piece of well established but

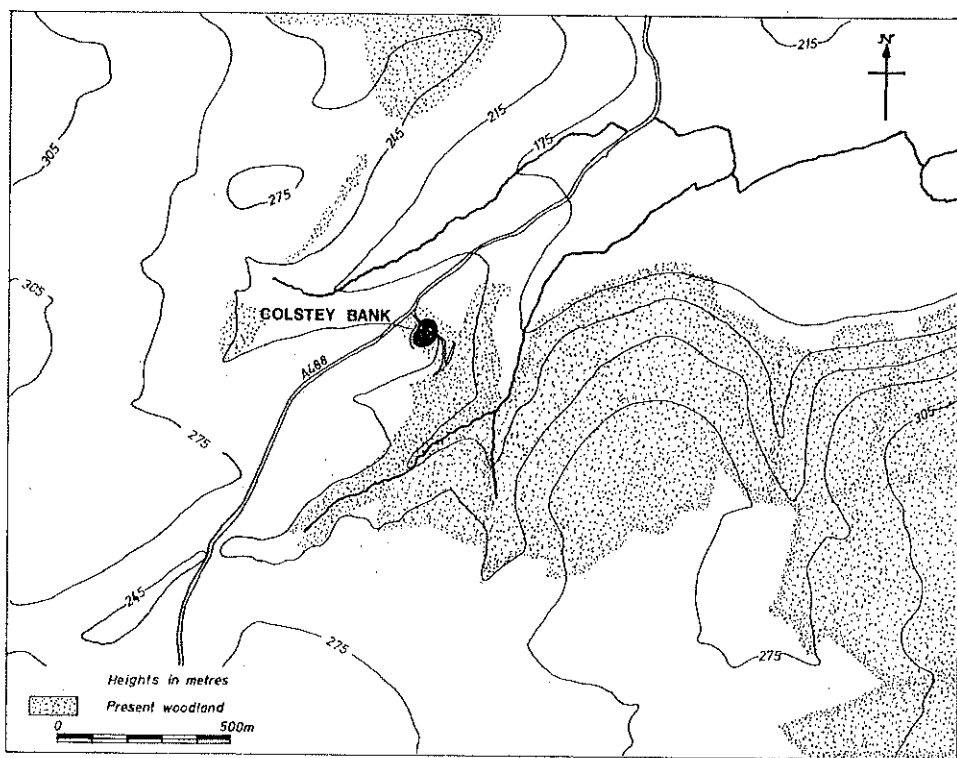


FIG. 1

recently replanted woodland no doubt explains why it had not been previously noted, since only the felling of trees on the site early in 1976 rendered the west bank readily visible from the road, at which time it was identified by Mr. C. R. Musson.<sup>1</sup>

The enclosure is an irregular kidney-shape (fig. 2), about 100 m. overall from SW to NE, and 90 m. transversely. Although the NE part has been badly damaged and the bank concealed by upcast from a recent forestry road, it is possible to estimate the interior area as approximately 0.4 ha. (1 acre). The interior is apparently featureless,

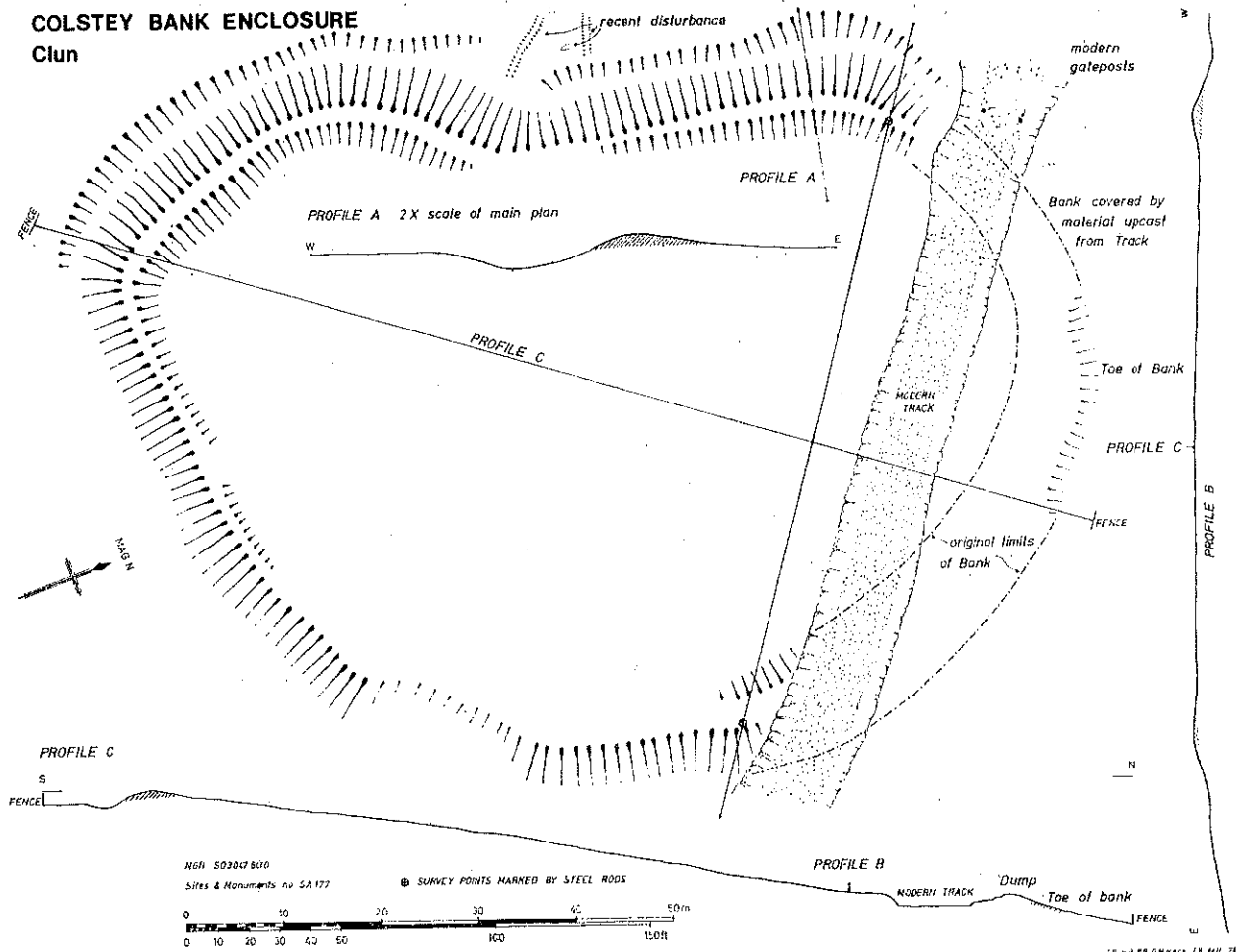


FIG. 2



though undergrowth makes observation difficult even in winter. The ground slopes at about 10° down the long axis but is fairly level across the enclosure.

The earthworks vary from a considerable bank and exterior ditch on the west and south-west sides to a barely detectable scarp on the east. At the SW, where the approach is easiest, the bank crest now stands 0.5 m. high above the interior and 2 m. from the ditch-bottom which is itself 0.5 m. deep from its outer lip. The dimensions are similar down much of the west side. There are no indications of the structure of the bank other than where the forestry road cuts it obliquely, revealing a dump of stones and soil presumably derived from the ditch. It is not possible to comment on the original structure of the bank either from surface observation or from the oblique sections cut across it by the forestry road.

The centre of the west side is marked by a noticeable re-entrant in both the front and the rear of the bank, which reduces in scale to a simple though fairly steep scarp, the ditch being absent. It is possible that this marks an entrance to the enclosure, but the surviving scarp is somewhat too steep for this to be a wholly satisfactory explanation. On the east side of the enclosure the scarp fades out almost completely for a distance of 15 m.; taken with the evidence from the west side, this may be evidence of a cross-spur track or access points subsequent to the main use of the enclosure and resulting in the degradation of the earthworks. There remains the possibility that the re-entrant on the west side marks a blocked entrance or the junction of two building phases or constructions. The location of any entrance is otherwise unclear and may have been on the north west side on the site of the present track.

#### *Affinities of the site*

The smaller earthwork enclosures of the central Marches have received very little attention, and their dates and functions alike remain obscure. A prehistoric date is assumed for most of them although some may be medieval.<sup>2</sup>

Topographically the Colstey Bank site might be regarded as a 'promontory fort', but its affinities are more clearly with the hill-slope enclosures widely distributed in western Britain.<sup>3</sup> In the Clun area similarly located sites are at Upper Knuck (SO 256 862, SA 744)<sup>4</sup> and Castle Idris (SO 240 823, SA 1190); the more defensively sited Fron Camp (SO 250 826, SA 1191) and Birches Bank (SO 276 867, SA 745) are closely similar, both in size and in the scale of their enclosing earthworks, to the hill-slope enclosures.

Guilbert has recently discussed the function of a group of earthworks at Ratlinghope, where two weakly sited small enclosures form part of a complex including cross dykes, the whole grouping perhaps being related to the coralling of stock.<sup>5</sup> The Colstey enclosure may have functioned similarly, but the possibility that it was a permanent settlement site must be considered.

This latter suggestion has implications for the relationship between these small sites and the large hill forts, closest of which is Bury Ditches, a multivallate site on the hill top 2 km. to the east at SO 327 837. Stanford has argued that hill forts may have formed the only form of settlement in the later Iron Age.<sup>6</sup> Recent discoveries of numbers of small enclosures in lowland locations in various parts of the central Marches, chiefly by aerial photography, are of considerable significance for this hypothesis. Relatively undamaged earthworks of this sort, such as Colstey Bank, are of

particular importance in this context owing to their better preservation. It must be hoped that opportunity for large-scale excavation of one of these sites will occur at some stage.

<sup>1</sup>Thanks are due to Mr. Musson for drawing my attention to the site and to him and Mr. and Mrs. G. Guilbert for invaluable assistance with the survey and for comments on the present article in draft.

<sup>2</sup>Dates within the Migration Period have been suggested for some sites by C. Fox, *Offa's Dyke* (1955), 159; other sites may be hunting-lodge enclosures or later features.

<sup>3</sup>A. Fox, 'Hillslope Forts', *Archaeol. Jnl.* cix (1952), 1-22.

<sup>4</sup>SA nos. refer to the Primary Record No. of the site in the Shropshire Sites and Monuments Record.

<sup>5</sup>G. Guilbert, 'Ratlinghope/Stitt Hill, Shropshire: Earthwork Enclosures and Cross-Dykes', *Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies*, xxvi (3) (1975), 363-73.

<sup>6</sup>S. C. Stanford, 'The Function and Population of hill-forts in the Central Marches', *Prehistoric Man in Wales and the West*, ed. Frances Lynch and C. Burgess (1972), 307-19.

## EXCAVATIONS AT VIROCONIUM IN INSULA 9, 1952-3

*By* KATHLEEN M. KENYON, O.B.E.

Dating evidence for the periods, p. 12; samian pottery, p. 16; samian stamps, p. 25; additional report on samian stamps, p. 27; coarse pottery, p. 28; the charcoal, p. 36; coin list, p. 37; fragments of glass, p. 41; small finds, p. 42; bronze patera fragment, p. 47; bibliography and abbreviations, p. 48; corrigenda, p. 48; figures, pp. 49—70.

THE excavations at Wroxeter in 1952 and 1953<sup>1</sup> were carried out as a training school under the auspices of the University of Birmingham Extra-Mural Department. The Department had for a number of years been conducting classes in archaeology, and for the purpose of extending that training by means of field training, the site of Viroconium offered many advantages. The site of the Roman town lies for the most part under agricultural land, and only a limited portion has been explored; near at hand was the Shropshire Adult College at Attingham Park, where the students could be housed; finally, a series of admirable air photographs covering most of the town had been taken by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph.

The excavators are indebted to a number of people and bodies for co-operation and assistance. The owner, the Hon. H. J. N. Vane (now Lord Barnard), and the tenant, Mr. C. Everall, most kindly gave permission for the work to be carried out. The Salop County Council was most helpful in the loan of tools, as was also the University of London Institute of Archaeology. The warmest thanks of all who took part in the two seasons' digs are due to the authorities of Attingham Park, to Mr. (later Sir) George Trevelyan, Mrs. Orgill, and the other members of the staff; not only were the excavators housed and fed in great comfort at Attingham, but a hot mid-day meal was served on the site, and the dirt introduced by the excavators and their eccentric demands were treated with the utmost equanimity. The only complaint of the organizers should be that the students were given an entirely erroneous idea of the comfort under which excavating is carried out.

Sixty-three students took part in 1952 and seventy in 1953. The majority stayed for the full fortnight of the course, and many took part in both seasons. Graham Webster, then at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, was my chief assistant, and Miss Cecil Western, Mr. K. D. M. Dauncey, Mr. Stanley Thomas, and Mr. Peter Parr gave most valuable help as assistant instructors. Work in the field was supplemented by evening lectures and by instruction on the handling and indexing of finds.

The site selected lies on the north side of the insula immediately to the south of the Baths site excavated in 1859-62 and 1936-7, now in the charge of the Department of the Environment. In this area a large building was clearly revealed in Dr. St. Joseph's air photograph (pl. 1, Cambridge Univ. Photograph Library). This insula was numbered S. E. V.<sup>2</sup> The air photograph showed an oblong building, with ranges of rooms enclosing a central courtyard. The northern end of the building does not appear in the air photograph, partly owing to field conditions in this area at the time, and partly, as excavations showed, owing to greater overlying debris. To the east the building appears to be joined on to a complex structure, but excavations did not elucidate or indeed confirm this, as the north-east and south-east angles did not appear to have any eastward continuation.

The exigencies of a dig organized as a training school did not allow for all points in the history of the structures in the area to be worked out. A considerable area had

to be opened up at one time in order to employ the large number of students, and some had to leave before the completion of this particular area. Moreover, as fresh problems emerged towards the end of the dig, time often did not allow the opening up of fresh areas to solve them, as the period of the dig was strictly limited by the time allowed to the course for the stay at Attingham.

Excavations showed that there were two main masonry building periods, very clearly distinguished by the fact that in the earlier red sandstone was employed, in the later grey. This may be compared with the change of materials in the history of the Baths building in insula S.E. I, when Periods I-II are in red sandstone and from Period III on grey sandstone is employed.<sup>3</sup> It should be possible to correlate this change chronologically. For purposes of reference in this report, the earlier building is called the Red Building and the later the Grey Building. The modern surface slopes down appreciably towards the south (a fall of 4 ft. 6 ins. in 125 ft.), and at the south end therefore the later floor levels were not preserved. At the north end are scanty remains of a much later building period, which may have existed over a considerable area, to judge from the very abundant late pottery. Beneath the earliest masonry structures were extensive remains of wattle-and-daub buildings. There were two main phases present over almost the entire site. The lower was represented by a clay floor, usually with a layer of charcoal over it, with above it a thick layer of burnt red clay; this phase is referred to as Wattle-and-Daub I. Above it was a second clay floor covered by the level of the collapse of its structure, consisting of a very thick layer of mixed greenish clay and plaster; this phase is referred to as Wattle-and-Daub II. There appeared to be two other less widespread phases of wattle-and-daub building, one immediately overlying the natural sand of the site and most apparent in the south-east area, and the other overlying the Wattle-and-Daub II plan, most apparent in the south-west area. Short lengths of the walls of each of these phases were located, but the exigencies of the dig did not allow them to be followed up, desirable as this would appear, for they lay at a considerable depth. The phases of the masonry structures are dealt with first in this report.

### *Red Building Period*

The excavation of the site was begun at the north end. It was only towards the end of the excavations that it emerged that, beneath the structure shown on the air photograph, there was at the southern end an earlier building of a different character, to which the later building conformed only in orientation and main outer limits.

The walls of this period are built with a superstructure of red sandstone, squared, trimmed and set in mortar. Nowhere is there any indication of brick bonding courses but the maximum height above floor level to which any wall survived was two feet so there may have been such features higher. The foundations were set in red clay, usually with some courses of angular stones above and rounded boulders below.

This building appears from the plan (fig. 3) to be a large private building, set back from the road along the north side of the insula, and occupying about half of the north-south depth of the insula, the extent of which is shown in the air photograph (pl. I). The original building consisted of a large oblong block, out of which a small square room is cut, but with apparently no other subdivisions. At the east end this is flanked by a room with an apse projecting to the south. Whether Wall O should be

continued across the chord of the apse was not established by excavation; it would be a normal Roman structural practice to carry a wall across a sleeper wall, probably not carried above floor level, but in the later apse on the west side (referred to below) this was not done. The eastern block is continued north of the main block by a shallow room, and along the main block is a corresponding shallow division, probably a verandah.

The eastern block is linked to an eastern boundary Wall G by one continuing the line of Wall L of the main block. This survived only as a robber trench, but there is nothing in the stratification to suggest that the two were not contemporary. The area to the south of this, bounded by Wall G on the east and the apsidal room on the west, was supplied with a hypocaust. Of this very little survived, the only intact portion being one *pila* and a respond on Wall G, but the stratification suggested that it extended as far as Wall L. The limit of the hypocaust area to the south is not certain. Wall G of the Red Period continues to the south, beyond the limit of the apse, and a rectangular projection has been hypothetically restored on the basis of that shown on the air photograph (pl. 1). Most of the walls shown on the air photograph are of the Grey Period, but this clearly shown projection cannot belong to it, as the angle of the building was definitely established. Since, owing to the fall of the modern surface, the Red Period walls are here quite close to the surface, there is no reason why they should not show up.

It appears that this hypocaust was abolished during the life of the Red Building. When the Grey Period Wall O was carried across the Wall G, it was trench-built in the filling of the hypocaust. Had the hypocaust been abolished only at this stage, the wall would certainly have been built free and the filling inserted afterwards. Abolition may have taken place when Wall W was built, as is described below.

It is possible that the apsidal room was also provided with a hypocaust. Nothing of this survived, but over the whole area there was a debris layer of black earth and stones to a depth of about three feet from the surface. This is quite unusual, for the average disturbed layer is not more than about one foot six inches and often not more than the depth of the modern plough. The fill, however, with the black earth and stones, is typical of the robbing of the Grey Period walls, and not of the Red Wall removed in the Grey Period, of which the robber trenches are filled with dirty yellow sand. On the other hand a sunk area is likely to be a hypocaust, and a hypocaust here fits in much better with the Red Period plan than the Grey. It may be that when the late, presumably mediaeval or modern, robbing of the adjacent Grey walls was carried out, brick structures belonging to a Red Period hypocaust were observed, and the area therefore cleared.

As far as identified remains are concerned, the walls of the Red Building end in air to the west. They can be traced disappearing between the walls of the Grey Period apsidal room, and they do not emerge at the far side. Sufficient of the area was cleared to make it certain that there are no visible walls of the Red Period here. The existing walls are entirely characteristic in build of the Grey Period, and they cut through the fill which is fairly certainly contemporary with the Red Period. The explanation must be that the Grey Period apsidal room is a rebuild of the Red Period room on exactly the same plan. This would help to explain its oddly asymmetrical position with reference to the Grey building. It is true that it is larger than the

apsidal room to the east which it balanced, but it is certain that there was not a smaller room here as there was intact earlier filling all over the rest of the area.

The western apsidal room was abolished within the Red Period. Wall W is built over its southern edge, and a mortar floor contemporary with this wall seals the curve of the apse. Wall W is built of red sandstone, but very much more roughly than the rest of the walls of the Red Period (see section A-B), and, while it cuts the Red Period fill, it is itself cut at its west end by the Grey Period apse. It therefore comes in an intermediate period. It could be of the same period as the Red II Wall K at the north end (see below), but its poor build might suggest that it is later. A curious point is that Wall W comes to an abrupt end just beyond the line of the apse, with intact fill beyond it making it quite clear that it never continued to the east. It may possibly have returned to the north over the eastern curve of the apse with the projecting foundations forming a buttress, for the floor is broken there; alternatively it may have returned to the hypothetical wall to the south, but this area was not excavated.

To the north of this building was a courtyard. Part of the eastern wall bounding the courtyard has been traced, on the line followed by the later Grey Period wall which, as described below, partly incorporated the Red wall. On the west the line probably also corresponded in the two periods but, wherever examined, it had been completely robbed out with a wide robber trench, and no trace of either period remained. On the other hand, a wall on this line would make the courtyard asymmetrical with the building at the west end if the western apsidal room is restored as suggested above. The central east-west trench was not carried far enough west to make sure that there was no Red wall beyond, but no trace of it was observed at the north-west angle of the apsidal room. The point must remain uncertain.

The courtyard was floored with a hard mortar and gravel surface, which could be traced over the whole area, though in places the actual surface had disappeared. There would appear to have been an appreciable amount of wear on approximately the centre line of the courtyard; the dip of the surface is shown on section G-H. The same section also shows how much of the Red surface in the eastern half has disappeared owing to the wide construction trenches of the Grey Period.

This wear of the surface in the centre somewhat complicates the attribution of Wall K, but there is very little doubt that this wall is contemporary not with the original Red Period surface, but with a secondary surface which can be traced all over the area. This wall forms the present boundary of the Red Period courtyard on the north. Unfortunately the whole problem of the north-east angle of the Red courtyard could not be investigated, for the building only emerged as an entity late in the second season's dig, and there was no time to investigate unsolved problems. There was in fact no clear evidence as to whether the eastern boundary wall was Red I or Red II for, in the only complete section (G-H) linking it with the central area, the Grey walls had caused too much disturbance for levels to be safely linked through. There was, however, no suggestion anywhere that it was secondary, and the continuous Red I courtyard surface strongly suggested that it was, from the beginning of the plan, an enclosed area.

In the western portion of Wall K exposed, there was a clear return to the north. It would therefore appear that in the Red II period a range of rooms was erected along the north side of the courtyard. Below the floor belonging to the Red II stage in this

area there was a distinct burnt layer resting in the Red I surface, suggesting that a destruction had preceeded the erection of the Red II range of rooms. The fact that the northern limit of the building lay to the north of Wall K is further suggested by the edge of the contemporary road surface which tails out, as indicated on the plan, appreciably further north. No trace of the Red building phase exists on the line of the northern wall of the Grey building, which in fact encroaches some six feet on the Red period road. Section A-B shows that the only possible position for the northern wall of the Red Period courtyard is on the line of Wall Y, though the existing remains of this are certainly of the Grey Period. The plan has therefore been restored conjecturally with a wall on this line. Of the whole complex, very little superstructure survives. The only architectural fragment is one column base, lying outside the building to the north and sealed by the Grey Period floor. The dating evidence for this phase is given below (p. 14).

### *Grey I Building Period*

The second main phase of masonry building involved a complete reconstruction of the whole area. Only the main outlines of the earlier building were retained, while on the north side the line was advanced 21 ft. In some cases the lines of the earlier walls were followed, but the Grey walls are usually wider and merely used the Red walls as a partial foundation. This is particularly clear where section G-H cuts the eastern boundary Wall G. The foundations of Red Wall G are retained, but the Grey wall is set slightly to the west, and on the inside of the Red wall are inserted very rough foundations of grey stones to broaden the wall on that side. There is no evidence as to whether the Red building had been previously destroyed or was purposely demolished.

The walls of this period are built throughout of grey sandstone. The dressed stones of the superstructure are somewhat larger than those of the Red Period. At the junction of the superstructure with the foundations is a thick layer of mortar. The foundations are set in red clay, and in the deeper foundations rounded river boulders are used as in the earlier period. The walls of this period are very substantial and solid. Where Wall F, for instance, crosses some early pits, its foundations are carried to a great depth, and the upper part of these foundations is of dressed stones. One example of this is seen in section E-F and another in the area immediately to the south. From the overlying debris it would appear that the building was roofed with slates, not brick tiles.

The original Grey building consisted of two parallel walls enclosing an oblong courtyard on all sides. At the south end only one internal division was located, a small rectangular room formed by Walls X and N projecting back from the inner wall. Sufficient of the area was trenched to make it probable that there were no other divisions. In the south-west angle a substantial apsidal room was integral in build with the walls both of the southern and western range; this, as is suggested above, may have replaced one belonging to the Red Period. Owing to the slope downwards of the modern surface, the floor of this room nowhere survived.

No divisions were located in either the eastern or the western range. It is clear, however, in the air photograph (pl. 1), that there were at least three transverse walls in the western range, and there may have been corresponding ones in the eastern range. A further transverse wall may be inferred towards the north end of the western

range on two grounds. Where Wall C crossed the line of the Red Wall K, the latter was allowed to remain standing to the east to immediately below the mortar floor of the courtyard of the Grey Period. To the west of Wall C it was demolished 4 ft. lower. On this side Wall C had a mortar rendering on its face and a floor level 2 ft. 3 ins. lower than on the east side. The actual floor surface did not survive. Above the footings of Wall K there was a fill of mortar debris, then a layer of boulders, and then one of red clay, all subsequent to the building of Wall C. The mortar rendering on the face of the wall ceased about 2 ins. above the surface of the clay, suggesting that a layer of bricks or flags had subsequently been robbed out. The purpose of the sunk area is obscure. It is unlikely to have been for a hypocaust, for in that case the wall would not have been faced to the base of the sunk area. This area does not extend as far as the next excavated area to the south. A wall has therefore been conjecturally restored in a position which would accord with one of the lines shown on the air photograph. To the north it does not extend as far as section E-F. A wall has therefore been conjecturally restored as a continuation of Wall Y. A wall is also required about here as the termination of Wall B, built in the Grey II Period.

In the north range the majority of the division walls as they exist belong to the Grey II Period. The north wall at the north-west angle, however, and Wall E both provided clear evidence of rebuilding, and the other walls may also have been rebuilt.

In this range there were some curious signs of change of plan. On section E-F it will be seen that immediately west of Wall D there is a deep, straight-sided cutting which has every sign of having been dug as a foundation trench, but there are no stones in it and the fill does not suggest a robber trench. The fill appears to be contemporary with Grey I Period and is cut by the foundation trench of Wall D. Over the fill the later floors have sagged very seriously. Such subsidence must have affected the stability of the walls and may account for the extensive rebuilding of this range in Grey II Period, referred to below.

There is a similar deep cutting, though wider, with a filling of Grey I Period, east of Wall B. A subsidence of floors, due not to cuttings of this period but to an early pit, occurs between Walls D and E. These various subsidences make the linking-up of the surfaces of the different periods rather difficult, for the levels vary very considerably and, as might be expected, there are a number of subsidiary floors patching up the sinkage. Since, however, it is only in the Grey Period that mortar floors occur on the line of section A-B, when the building frontage encroached on the earlier line, the assignment of the levels is reasonably certain.

The courtyard was again surfaced with a mortar and gravel floor at a level slightly below that of the surrounding ranges. Again there was considerable wear in the centre area, which was re-levelled prior to Grey II Period. The dating evidence is given below (pp. 14-15).

### *Grey II Building Period*

The major structural alteration of the Grey I building consisted of the addition of an inner wall, appreciably reducing the size of the courtyard. The fact that this is secondary is clearly shown on section G-H, where the foundations of the east and west walls cut through the Grey I floors. The plan would suggest that this was a verandah wall, though the walls are unusually solid to have been merely sleeper walls supporting



a colonnade. The floor level inside this presumed verandah was slightly below the contemporary levels both of the courtyard and of the external ranges.

The northern and southern walls of the verandah follow the line of a Red Period wall. At the south end the Grey Wall M, represented only by a robber trench, was built above and slightly to the south of the Red I Wall M, as seen in section A-B. It is possible, however, that this wall was rebuilt slightly to the south in Red II Period, for the Red II floor seals some footings, which appear secondary, and it overlaps the line of the Red I wall.

At the northern end the history of Wall K is rather difficult to follow. The Grey I Wall F definitely cuts through Wall K, leaving it with a ragged end, and the floor contemporary with F crosses its eastern end. West of the line of Wall J, however, the Red Period Wall K is standing too high to have been sealed by the Grey I floor. The position seems to be the same at the western end, where the end of K is similarly sealed by a Grey I floor, but its continuation to the east beyond the line of H was robbed when H was robbed. Walls H and J are both built with butt joints against the Red Walls K and M. This would have been improbable if they had been abolished and disappeared from view in Grey I Period. It would therefore appear that these Red walls were retained in use in the Grey I Period, possibly as verandah walls, but with doorways corresponding in width to the later verandah.

The other main rebuilding affected the north wing. On the evidence of the stratification shown in section A-B, this appears to be contemporary with Grey II Period but, as mentioned above, the certain correlation of levels along this line is difficult owing to subsidence, so there may be some slight doubt about this.

The subsidences are probably the reason for the rebuilding. The north-west angle was completely reconstructed, curiously enough just inside the original angle, with Wall B taking the place of Wall A. There would thus have been an odd re-entrant angle here, which, as suggested above, may have continued up to the line of Wall Y. It certainly did not continue as far as the next excavated area, 42 ft. south of the north wall. The top portion of the north Wall Z was here rebuilt at the same time, and, as the portion shown in section A-B seems also to belong to Grey II Period, the whole wall may have been rebuilt. The upper courses of Wall E were similarly rebuilt, with a clear foundation trench cutting the Grey I levels, shown in section E-F. The dating evidence for this period is given below (p. 15).

There is little to suggest the function of the Grey Period building. The massiveness of its build and the regularity of its plan are more in accord with a public building than a private house. There are, moreover, no rooms which suggest domestic use, though the disappearance of many of the floor levels at the south end may have obscured this. If it was a public building, however, there are no obvious parallels to suggest its purpose.

#### *Wattle-and-Daub Building I*

Following this early occupation was widespread evidence of a phase of wattle-and-daub building. This consisted of a clay floor, nearly everywhere overlaid by a thin charcoal layer. A number of short lengths of wattle-and-daub wall can be ascribed to this period, but not enough was cleared for the plan to be reconstructed. It is not clear whether one building or a number of small ones are represented. Fire destroyed

the whole structure (or structures), and the level is covered by a thick layer of burnt red clay with a fair amount of wall plaster. This layer dies out before the southern end of the south-west apsidal room is reached but is otherwise conterminous with the later building, as is shown by sections A-B and G-H (E-F being on the line of the wall). The area must, therefore, have been closely built at this period, but not enough of the plan was removed to establish whether there was a number of separate buildings, or only one. The dating evidence for this phase is given below (p. 13).

### *Wattle-and-Daub Building II*

Above this destruction level was another phase, also of wattle-and-daub structures. The floor level is again of clay, though not quite so distinct as that of the early phase. Again some short lengths of wall can be ascribed to this period. The floor is covered by a level, very thick in parts, of collapse, consisting of greenish clay from the walls and great quantities of painted wall plaster. The remains of this phase again covered the whole area. The dating evidence for this phase is given below (pp. 13-14).

### *Wattle-and-Daub Building III*

Over a considerable part of the courtyard was a mortar floor which preceded that of the Red building. This may be associated with some fragments of a wattle-and-daub building with good 'opus signinum' floors, which survived in the south-western area.

### *Road Surfaces*

The line of the road along the north side of the site was established early in the history of the area. As is usual, the number of surfaces was not consistent, and local patching certainly multiplied the surfaces in some areas. There appeared to be four main surfaces preceding that contemporary with the Red building. These may be roughly contemporary with the early occupation and the three wattle-and-daub phases. Excavation in the neighbourhood of section A-B would suggest that some of these road surfaces had ditches along their southern edges. In these areas were several large, well cut blocks of freestone. They certainly belong to a phase earlier than that of the Red building but, owing to the disturbances caused by the ditches and to the uncertainty of the ascription of the lower road surfaces, it was impossible to establish which phase.

## DATING EVIDENCE FOR THE PERIODS

By GRAHAM WEBSTER

Period I	..	..	..	{	Flavian. Presumably these two periods
.. II	..	..	..		belong to the military occupation and
.. IIa	..	..	..	..	clearance.
.. III	..	..	..	..	No dating evidence.
.. IIIa	..	..	..	..	Early second century.
.. IIIb	..	..	..	..	" " "
.. IIIc	..	..	..	..	Late first century.
				..	Second century.

Period V	.. .. .	..	Second century (?).
" IV (Burning)	.. .. .	..	One deposit only A.D. 115-35.
" IVa (Wattle-and-Daub IIa)	.. .. .	..	Early Antonine c. 150-70.
" IVb (Wattle-and-Daub IIb Collapse)	.. .. .	..	Antonine c. 150-80.
" IVc	.. .. .	..	Second century.
" V (Pre-red floor)	.. .. .	..	Late second century.
" Va	.. .. .	..	Late Antonine.
" VI (Red I)	.. .. .	..	Late second-early third century.
" VIa (Burning)	.. .. .	..	Late second century.
" VIb (Red II)	.. .. .	..	Third century.
" VIc (Red IIb Wall W)	.. .. .	..	Later than the late second century.
" VII (Grey)	.. .. .	..	Late third century.
" VIIa (Burning)	.. .. .	..	Fourth century.
" VIIb (Grey Ia)	.. .. .	..	Early fourth century.
" VIIc (Grey Ib)	.. .. .	..	Fourth century.
" VIId (Burning)	.. .. .	..	No evidence.
" VIII (Grey II)	.. .. .	..	Mid-late fourth century.
" X (Debris)	.. .. .	..	Late fourth century.
" XI (Robber trenches)	.. .. .	..	Nothing later than late Roman.

*Period III (Wattle-and-Daub I).* The coins of these layers are all of the 1st century, with nothing later than Vespasian, and they are all presumably residual; the same applies to the samian. The coarse wares (nos. 12-24) are also mainly military types from the earlier deposits; the possible exceptions are nos. 13, 16, 17, and 24. No. 13 is a flagon top very similar to one from Verulamium in a late-1st-century context (*Verulamium*, I, no. 244, dated A.D. 85-105); no. 16 is one of the varieties derived from F. 29 (cf. *Camulodunum*, 68) very common at Wroxeter (cf. *Wroxeter*, I, fig. 17 no. 7, from an early town deposit dated by Bushe-Fox to A.D. 80-120). No. 17 at first sight would appear to be a much later form but is a development of the 1st-century butt beaker (*Camulodunum*, 119) or the closely associated black polished ware in the form of rimless necked jars, well illustrated as Belgic ware from the lower Rhine by Holwerda (*De Belgische Waar in Nijmegen* (1941), pl. XIII). Bushe-Fox published another version of this type in a different ware (*Wroxeter*, II, fig. 18 no. 49) which he dated A.D. 80-110, but it is so unusual to find this form, so common in later colour-coated wares, as early as this, that it can only be placed provisionally in the late-1st or early-2nd century. No. 24 is impossible to date with any precision but it corresponds reasonably well with a Verulamium example (*Verulamium*, I, no. 391) found in any early-2nd-century context. The dating of these deposits is not satisfactory, but the indications are clearly that the buildings belong to the early development of the city, which followed the clearance of the site by the army c. A.D. 90.

*Period IV (Wattle-and-Daub II).* There are no helpful coins, but the samian clearly places this deposit in the mid 2nd century (no. 63, A.D. 150-70; 94, c. A.D. 125-45; 97, c. A.D. 150-80; 98, c. A.D. 140-65; 100, c. A.D. 125-40, 117, late 2nd century). The coarse pottery (nos. 25-51) amply confirms these dates. It includes black-burnished wares (29, 30 and 51) of mid- to late-2nd-century date and no. 33 which

appears to be a local imitation. The tankard no. 40 has flared sides which should place it in a much later context and this may be a stray intrusion in one of these deposits. Some of the sherds are clearly residual and include nos. 37, 38, and 48; the rest are types which would fit reasonably well into a 2nd-century bracket. The appearance of the wares of Cinnamus would seem to indicate that the end of this period may coincide with the rebuilding programme which followed the fire which destroyed the Forum c. A.D. 155.

*Period VI.* There are no coins from any of the deposits of this period, so pottery is the only guide. Twenty-one sherds are illustrated (nos. 53–81) and include black-burnished wares (nos. 77, 78, 81, 82) comparable with Wall types of the mid-to-late 2nd century. The flagon rim (no. 53) with its triangular top is more akin to the Verulamium types of A.D. 150–60 (fig. 122) than the earlier ones. An unusual vessel is no. 60, clearly derived from the techniques developed in East Gaul and well exemplified by Oelmann (*Die Keramik des Kastells Niederbieber* (1914), 45–58) who describes it as *Braun marmoriertes Geschirr*; but the vessels he illustrates do not include the Wroxeter form which is nevertheless a copy of a late samian Walters 79 and must belong to the late Antonine period. Gose extends the range of types to include a bowl but with a curved rim (*Gefäßstypen der römischen Keramik im Rheinland* (1950), no. 259). No. 55 is decorated with red paint, a technique which developed in Britain in the mid 2nd century (as at South Carlton kilns (Lincs.): *Antiq. Jnl.*, xxiv (1944), 129–43, for which a revised dating should be c. 140–60). No. 64 is a neat flanged bowl of a type described as a segmental bowl by Gillam (291–9) and which appears and develops from the middle of the 2nd century (cf. also *Jewry Wall*, fig. 41 no. 30). No. 68, a bowl in Severn Valley ware, is difficult to date but would fit well into the mid-late 2nd century. No. 69 is an oddity which seems to have been derived, not from the Antonine samian forms 38 and 44, but from an earlier form probably from the Curle II when the flange began to curve more and slip down the body in the early 2nd century. A good late Flavian example of this devolution is seen from Verulamium (*Verulamium*, no. 324 with a mica-coat). The barbotine decoration could be a distant copy of the ivy leaves on the flange of the original samian form. A late devolved form from Leicester (*Jewry Wall*, fig. 49 no. 11, from an early-3rd-century deposit) may suggest that the Wroxeter vessel could be from the 2nd century, but this is very speculative. No. 75, a cooking pot with rustication, is late in this series. There are residual pieces, and some of them (probably nos. 56, 58, 62, 70, 71, and 74) could be from the military levels. This leaves the reeded-rim carinated bowls represented here by nos. 63, 66, and 67. These vessels could all have come from the military deposits, but at Verulamium the type survives into the middle of the 2nd century (Pit 6, *Antiq. Jnl.* xxi (1941), 271–98, a large group dated by coins down to 160 and confirmed by the large number of vessels in groups, c. 130–50: *Verulamium*, figs. 118, 119) and this would appear also to be the case at Leicester (*Jewry Wall*, fig. 42). In considering the whole of the pottery from this period, where there are clearly pieces from earlier deposits as one would expect from the disturbance in putting in the wall foundations, a date c. 160–80 would seem to be indicated from the actual construction. This fits well with the large-scale rebuilding programme started on the other side of the main street after the fire of c. 155, and it could be that this disaster was more widespread than has been realized.

*Period VIIa (Grey I).* There are no coins from this period but a wide range of pottery

(nos. 83-124). The black-burnished cooking pots (108, 109, 112, 113, and 119) have 45° latticing for which there is no equivalent from the Wall, but must be placed somewhere between Gillam 142 and 145 dated respectively 190-280 and 270-340 and the answer must presumably be somewhere in the 3rd century. The two squat globular vessels 108 and 109 are outside the normal range and may be local varieties. The dishes and bowls (92-8) exhibit definite development of the bead and flange, no. 97 being the latest form and comparable with the Verulamium types of c. 270-90 and Gillam type 277 dated at 210-300 (3rd edn. revision). Two of the mortaria (nos. 86 and 87) are residual, but no. 88 is a typical hammer-head to which Gillam gives the wide range of 130-340 (type 282) which accords with Bushe-Fox (*Wroxeter*, I, p. 79). The type has been dated somewhat earlier at Wroxeter, i.e. late-2nd to early-3rd century (*Wroxeter*, 1936-37, fig. 10 no. 18), but this rim form is not the fully developed form and could be an early example from a group which includes a black-burnished bowl with an incipient bead, and I would be inclined to place this in the middle rather than the early part of the 3rd century; the answer to this pertinent question, however, will come with a detailed study of the products of the Mancetter factory. The Severn Valley wares (nos. 101-6) can only be placed in a wide range of the late-2nd to 3rd century at present. When these forms are matched with those of the 'piscina' deposit (report forthcoming) they appear to be somewhat more developed and thus later. These considerations lead to a suggested date bracket of c. A.D. 230-70 and possibly even later.

*Period VIIb (Grey Ia)* produced a coin of Constantine I and three vessels (nos. 126-8). No. 128 is clearly residual but no. 127, a small colour-coated bowl with bead and flange, is a 4th-century type (Gillam 230, late-4th) and no. 126 on the northern frontier would be of similar date (cf. Gillam 43).

*Period VIII.* These deposits produced coins of Decantius, Magnentius, and Valens, placing it at the end of the 4th century, which is amply confirmed by the pottery (nos. 129-41) although there are, as is to be expected, residual pieces, i.e. nos. 132 and 138-41. The mortaria 129 and 133 are both late forms, 129 is an Oxfordshire type (cf. *Current Research in Romano-British Coarse Pottery* (1973), p. 113 fig. 2) and 133 perhaps a local copy. The Severn Valley tankard no. 124 with its small base and flared sides is a late form (cf. the vessels from Pit 6 at Bays Meadow, Droitwich: *Trans. Birmingham Archaeol. Soc.* lxxv (1959), fig. 5; although this pit contained late-3rd-century coins, the vessels are clearly much later and it represents a late-4th-century group). The jar rim no. 130 is also comparable to a Droitwich sherd from the same group (fig. 5, no. 11).

#### *Later occupation*

The amount of late pottery found in unstratified debris suggests that there was a considerable late occupation in this area, in date going down to the end of the 4th century. Very little structural or stratified evidence survives. In the area cleared immediately to the north of section G-H there was a large and quite irregularly shaped foundation of rough pitched stones (pl. 3). Across it ran a double course of tiles pitched on edge at an angle, and apparently constructed in this position. The purpose of this structure, of which the surviving remains are presumably only foundational, is quite obscure. The only other undisturbed area was the hearth shown

in section G-H, with a small area of contemporary deposit.

There are two joint groups of this late period, IXa and IXb.

*Period IXa* produced vessels nos. 144-51 but no coins. The latest pieces are probably nos. 145 and 149, both of which are mid-to-late-4th-century; the other pieces could be residual.

*Period IXb.* Either all these pieces are residual or the pit is in an earlier context.

*Period X.* This represents the material recovered from the scatter of stone debris which, in the light of Mr. P. A. Barker's recent work at Wroxeter, could represent late occupation, although this is not confirmed by the pottery which seems to be all residual, except no. 157 which is a calcite-gritted ware, a fabric which becomes increasingly more common towards the end of this datable occupation. The material from the robber trenches includes nothing later than the Roman period. Much of the pottery is residual, but there are two calcite-gritted bowls (182 and 183) which are normally found in the later deposits.

#### *Early Occupation<sup>4</sup>*

Preceding the masonry and buildings there was a very considerable period of occupation. In this there were two main structural phases. Beneath the earliest is a phase of occupation represented by a depth of a foot or so of dirty sand, overlying the clean natural sand and containing some pottery datable to the Flavian period. Associated with this layer were some post-holes, particularly towards the south end, but they were insufficiently cleared for any plan to emerge. Presumably these fragments represent slight buildings. Cutting into this level were some early pits of considerable size, as illustrated in section A-B.

## SAMIAN POTTERY FOUND 1952

By DR. GRACE SIMPSON

Written in 1954, revised by me in 1974, this report was altered subsequently, without my knowledge, by Dr. Webster and Mr. Hartley. It lacks illustrations and locations for the sherds: both essential for a pottery report. The sherds nos. 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8 belong to the first legionary period, which Dame Kathleen had located. References to S. & S. are to J. A. Stanfield and G. Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters* (1958).

### South Gaulish Ware

- 1 Dr. 29. Part of the frieze. Good gloss; c. A.D. 60-80.
- 2 Dr. 24. Like Stanfield in *Wroxeter*, 1936-37, 194 fig. 2, 4, Neronian.
- 3 Dr. 24. Like Wroxeter: *ibid.* fig. 2, 5. Neronian.
- 4 Dr. 29. Tiny fragment from the rouletted rim. Not after A.D. 80.
- 5 Dr. 18. Thin-walled rounded profile with small turned-out rim. Good gloss. Neronian.
- 6 Dr. 37. Ovolo fragment; c. A.D. 80-90.
- 7 Dr. 15/17. Three fragments, like Hawkes and Hull type S 6 B: see *Camulodunum*, 183 fig. 42, 21-23. Late-Claudian-Neronian.

- 8 Ritterling 12=Curle 11. See *Wroxeter*, 1936-7, 195 fig. 3, 12, but the flange is more curved there than on no. 8. A closer parallel is *Wroxeter*, I, fig. 16, 82. Neronian.
- 9 Dr. 37. Foot-ring, probably South Gaulish. Very worn; a small neat ring.

#### Central Gaulish Ware

- 10 Dr. 37. Style of Austrus. Two fragments, probably from the same bowl. Badly worn, the result of lying about the surface, or of being in a road level in Roman times. Both sherds show double ridges below the decoration, a Hadrianic feature (see S. & S. pl. 94, 3, 5, 7, 9; pl. 95, 11, 21-23). The smaller sherd shows a beaded border ending in a rosette. The other shows a border ending in a little cup-shaped ornament with a spotted body and a toothed rim. See S. & S., fig. 25, 6, commonly used by Austrus. He also used the large beaded medallion, part of which is shown here, see S. & S., fig. 11, 17; *c.* A.D. 125-40.
- 11 Dr. 30. One rosette, and a fine wavy line horizontally below it. Neatly moulded. Good gloss. One of the Les Martres-de-Veyre potters, *c.* A.D. 100-20.
- 12 Dr. 37. The style of the D . . . Potter, see S. & S., pls. 30-31. The Pan is Déch. 419=0. 717;<sup>5</sup> *c.* A.D. 120-40.
- 13 Dr. 37. The style of the 'Donnaucus-Sacer group' with a basal wreath. Very worn condition. Probably lying about as rubbish for a long time. Manufactured *c.* A.D. 120-45.
- 14 Dr. 37. Wavy-line borders. The figure type is blurred and cannot be identified. Manufactured after A.D. 120, and nearer to A.D. 150.
- 15-18 Dr. 37. Four fragments. Antonine.
- 19 Dr. 37. The seated Apollo Déch. 52=0. 83. Close to the style of Cinnamus; *c.* A.D. 140-70.
- 20 Dr. 37. Fragment showing an unidentifiable ovolo. Like an example found at Corbridge. Antonine.
- 21-4 Dr. 37. Four examples, probably from different vessels. A winding-scroll design in Cinnamus style. One of them also has his large ovolo 1 (see S. & S., 267, fig. 47, 1); *c.* A.D. 140-70.
- 25 Dr. 37. The style of Cinnamus. The panther is probably Déch. 799=0. 1518.

#### East Gaulish or very late Central Gaulish Ware

- 26 Dr. 37. A thick wavy-line border, a very roughly finished animal of uncertain type, and two heart-shaped ornaments, are all that remain of the decoration. Thick ware with a rough surface. Late-2nd-century to early-3rd-century.

#### Plain Samian

- 27 Dr. 31. Four sherds. Thick ware. Late-2nd century to early-3rd century.
- 28 Dr. 18/31. Rim fragment probably Lezoux. Before A.D. 150.
- 29 Dr. 46. Rim with part of handle; cf. O. and P., pl. lv; *c.* A.D. 150.
- 30 Cup, the footstand only is extant. Cf. O. and P., pl. lxxix. Rheinzabern ware. Late-2nd to early-3rd centuries.

## SAMIAN POTTERY

By B. R. HARTLEY

**Form 29 – South Gaulish**

- 1 Wp. C 10.7<sup>6</sup> Period IVb. Scroll in the upper zone, gadroons in the lower. The elements of decoration are common to many potters. Cf., however, Knorr (1919),<sup>7</sup> taf. 66E (Primus), and *Camulodunum*, XXX, 24 (Pre-Flavian). Neronian.
- 2 Wp. C 11.2 Period VI. Part of lower zone with festoon. Probably Vespasianic.
- 3 Wp. C 5.9c Period IVb. Rim fragment. Probably Vespasianic.
- 4 Wp. E 7.5 Period IVb. Rim fragment. Probably Vespasianic.
- 5 Wp. F 1.9 Period VII. Part of lower zone with saltire decoration of a type commonly used by Labio, Passienus, Macer, and Bassus-Coelus: Knorr (1919), (1952).<sup>8</sup> Nero-Vespasian.
- 6 Wp. D 5.5b Period IV. Part of upper zone with scroll. Probably Nero-Vespasian.
- 7 Wp. B 4.22 Unstratified. Lower zone with large scroll. Closely similar decoration was used by Primus (Knorr (1919), taf. 66E) and Patricius (*Jnl. Roman Studies*, iv (1914), pl. VI, 34; Pompeii hoard of A.D. 79). Vespasianic.
- 8 Wp. C 11.2 Period VI. Upper zone with scroll. Probably Vespasianic.
- 9 Wp. F 13 Period VII. Upper zone with scroll. Possibly by Cabucatus or Vegenus, whose work is characterized by the frequent use of the small roundels and the scroll binding on this piece: Hermet, pl. 10, 3 ff.<sup>9</sup> Neronian.
- 10 Wp. C 8.3 Period VIIb. Part of upper zone with small scroll, probably Vespasianic.
- 11 Wp. D 10.3 Unstratified. Though never very common, an arrangement of alternating panels of vertical wavy lines and festoons in the upper zone is found on bowls ranging from Tiberius to Vespasian. This piece is probably Neronian.
- 12 Wp. B 10.4 Period VI. Upper zone with small scroll. Probably Neronian.
- 13 Wp. C 15.8 Period IIIb. Upper zone with parts of fleur-de-lys decoration. Vespasianic?
- 14 Wp. D 8.15 Period IVb. Lower zone with large scroll. Possibly by Passienus (cf. Knorr (1919), taf. 64H). Neronian.
- 15 Wp. C 15.8 Period IIIb. Lower zone with scroll (cf. Knorr (1952), taf. 57, 1 by Senicio). The leaves (Hermet, pl. 8, 33) are common but tend to occur most frequently on Claudian-Neronian bowls.

**Form 67 – South Gaulish**

- 16 Wp. B 4a 20a Unstratified. The decoration, as is usual on this form, is very simple (cf. Hermet, pl. 90f). Flavian.

**Form 30**

Nos. 17–20 are all small fragments.

- 17 Wp. E 5.4 Period IVa. Pre-Flavian.



- 18 Wp. E 5.7 Unstratified. Flavian.
- 19 Wp. C 19.5
- 20 Wp. E 14.3 Unstratified. Nero-Vespasian.
- 21 Wp. B 11.11b Unstratified. Thick crude ware. The gladiator is Hermet, pl. 21, 153; *c.* A.D. 90–110.
- 22 Wp. E 2.9 Period IVb. The ovolo is that normally used by Aquitanus (Knorr (1952), taf. 5 J, M) Victory (O. 808), recorded by Oswald only on form 30 from Hofheim. Claudian or, more probably, Neronian.
- 23 Wp. F 12.5 (two fragments) Period IIIb. Ovolo similar to one used by Crestio (Knorr (1952), taf. 17, 2). Neronian.
- 24 Wp. E 4.8 Period IVb. For the ovolo cf. Knorr (1919), taf. 16, 13 (Calus). The foliage is that found frequently on the work of Germanus. Nero-Vespasian.
- 25 Wp. E 7.8 Period IVb. Panel decoration: i St. Andrew's Cross, ii fisherman (O. 952) noted only on bowls by Germanus. Nero-Vespasian.

#### Form 30 or 37

- 26 Wp. F 7.7 Unstratified. The ovolo with four-pronged tongue was used especially by M. Crestio and Crucuro, *c.* A.D. 75–100: Knorr (1952), taf. 19, 20.

#### Form 37, etc.

- 27 Wp. B 5.7B Period IVb. Ovolo as on no. 26.
- 28 Wp. D 5.5 Period VII. Ovolo with knobbed tongue. Blurred wavy lines; *c.* A.D. 90–110.
- 29 Wp. C 15.1 Period XI. Footstand. Probably Vespasianic.
- 30 Wp. D 12.3 D or O Period VI. Freestyle scene. Kneeling stag (O. 1700) over grass tufts, which are diagnostic of the latest phase of South Gaulish manufacture. Style of Biragillus and associates; *c.* A.D. 90–110.
- 31 Wp. D 12.3 D Period VI. This may be from the same bowl as no. 30 but the fabric seems different.
- 32 Wp. A 6.5 Period VIII. Similar to no. 31, with stag and foliage over straight wreath. Probably the work of one of the later members of the Germanus group. Vespasian-Domitian.
- 33 Wp. E 5.1 A Period XI. Foliage of the type used by Germanus. Vespasianic.
- 34 Wp. C 11.2 Period VI. Panels of well formed leaf tips. Fair wavy lines. The footstand is unusual for form 37 and retains features from form 29. Vespasianic.
- 35 Wp. D 12.3 D Period VI. The basal wreath on this piece was used especially by L. Cosius. Domitianic.
- 36 Wp. B 3.27 Unstratified. Brilliant glaze. The dog (O. 1965) was used by Frontinus and Rufinus. Vespasianic.
- 37 Wp. E 2.9 Period IVb. Trident tongued ovolo. Domitianic.
- 38 Wp. D 5.5b Period IV. Similar ovolo to no. 37, panel decoration. Domitianic.
- 39 Wp. C 11.3 Period VI. Trident ovolo tongue. Scroll, as used by Biragillus, Flavius, Germanus, and Patricius: Knorr (1919), taf. 12, 20.
- 40 Wp. D 15.2 Period VIII. Scroll of a type used by Domitianic potters.
- 41 Wp. D 12.3a Period VII. Small fragment. Domitianic(?)

- 42 Wp. C 10.3 Period VII. Fragment with scroll. Not datable.
- 43 Wp. E 5.4 Period IVa. Flake with panel decoration showing a palisade. Though commoner in pre-Flavian times, palisades do occur on Vespasianic vessels (e.g. *Jnl. Roman Studies*, x (1920), pl. II, 8). This vessel may be by Mommo, but the blurred nature of the decoration makes attribution uncertain. Probably Vespasianic.
- 44 Wp. C 15.2 Period VII. Zonal decoration with hunting scene (cf. *Jnl. Roman Studies*, iv (1914), pl. XI, 57, etc.). This is probably one of the earlier series of hunting-scene bowls, which were afterwards simplified and produced in great quantity; c. A.D. 75-85.
- 45 Wp. D 1.5 (?) Unstratified. Vespasian-Domitian.
- 46 Wp. A 6.13 Unstratified. The satyr with grapes (O. 597) is one of the commonest figure types on late South Gaulish ware; c. A.D. 90-110.
- 47 Wp. C 18.3 Period IVb. Ovolo with knobbed tongue turned slightly to left. The large scrolls with leaves above and animals below were used by several South Gaulish potters, notably Flavius Germanus, Vitalis, Mercato, and M. Crestio. The details are closest to the latter's published work (cf. *Margidunum*,<sup>10</sup> XXII, 8, and references there cited); c. A.D. 75-100.
- 48 Wp. F 9.2 Period XI. Probably Vespasian-Domitian.
- 49 Wp. F 4.5 Period VII. Ovolo with blurred knobbed tongue. Traces of scroll decoration. Vespasian-Domitian.
- 50 Wp. A 5.24 Period IVb. Zonal(?) decoration with scroll. The arrangement is similar to *Margidunum*, XXI, 17 (assigned to Frontinus). Vespasian-Domitian. Nos. 51-4 are small sherds of indeterminate form.
- 51 Wp. B 7.5 Unstratified. Vespasianic?
- 52 Wp. C 11.2 Period VI. Flavian?
- 53 Wp. D 9.12 Period IVb Flavian?
- 54 Wp. D 6.3 Period XI Flavian?
- 55 Wp. F 2.8 Period VII. South Gaulish. The style, derived ultimately from Germanus, suggests the period A.D. 80-100 (Knorr, 1919, 78).
- 56 Wp. A 3.15 Unstratified. F. 28, South Gaulish; c. A.D. 60-75.
- 57 Wp. C 12.4 Period IVb. South Gaulish, probably by Mercato or an associate; c. A.D. 85-110.
- 58 Wp. E 7.5 Period IVb. F. 30. The ovolo is one used by Germanus and the piece may be dated c. A.D. 65-80.

#### Form 37 - Central Gaulish

- 59 Wp. C 15.10 Unstratified. Bowls decorated with scrolls having leaves in the upper concavities and figure types below were commonly made by the Sacer group at Lezoux. The sphinx (Déch. 487), caryatid (Déch. 656), and pediment on this piece all occur on their work; c. A.D. 130-50.
- 60 Wp. E 3.8 Period IVb. } Two frags. from a similar bowl to no. 1  
Wp. D 9.4 Period VIII } and of the same date.
- 61 Wp. D 2.9b Period IVa. } Two bowls with simple scroll decoration. This form of scroll with single  
62 Wp. D 15.1 Period XI. } leaves above and below the cable, and with small birds and rings scattered in





- bis*) was used by several Lezoux potters, but on freestyle bowls I have noted it only in the work of Attianus and Criciro and their associates. This piece will be by one of the last two, who also used the boar to left (Déch. 818 *bis*); c. A.D. 130-60.
- 97 Wp. C 10.7 Period IVb } Four fragments, probably from the  
Wp. F 4.4 Period VII } same bowl. Style of Cinnamus. Panels:  
Wp. F 2.4 Period VII } i double medallion with dancer (Déch.  
220), ii Diana (Déch. 68) over lozenge, iiia festoon with hare to left (Déch.  
950A), iiib kneeling stag (Déch. 847); panel i then repeated; c. 150-80.
- 98 Wp. C 18.3 Period IVb. Possibly by the 'Small-S' potter. The cupids are found on his work (e.g. *Balmuildy*,<sup>12</sup> XXXIV, 41, 42) and also the baluster (Déch. 1092); c. A.D. 140-65.
- 99 Wp. F 2.4 Period VII. In the style of Docilis who used this characteristic festoon and also the horizontal astragali at the bottom of bead rows. The panel arrangement is: i hare (Déch. 950A) as on Docilis-style bowl from Margidunum (pl. XLII, 9), ii festoon with Cupid (Déch. 257, larger) below, iii tripod (Déch. 1069), iv Cupid as in ii; c. A.D. 130-50.
- 100 Wp. C 10.7 Period IVb. The ovolo is one used by the Sacer group on whose work the saltire with acanthus and bird may also be seen (cf. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xxxi, fig. 14, 17); c. A.D. 125-40.  
The following fragments are all Lezoux ware and Antonine:  
Wp. D 4.11 Period VIII. }  
Wp. F 16.3 Unstratified. } Wp. C 11.2 Period VI.  
Wp. F 13.3 Unstratified. } Wp. D 18.6 Unstratified.  
Wp. D 9.5 Period VIII. } Wp. A 5.8A Period VIa.  
Wp. A 6.6 Unstratified. } Wp. C 15.1 Period XI.  
Wp. A 5.9b Unstratified. } Wp. E 1.6 Period VI.  
Wp. D 9.5 Period VII. } Wp. F 16.3 Unstratified.  
Wp. D 8.10 Period VI. } Wp. A 6.10 Unstratified.  
Wp. D 10.13 Unstratified. }  
Wp. D 21.5a Unstratified. }  
Wp. D 2.7 Unstratified. Possibly South Gaulish and Flavian. }  
101 Wp. D 21.5a Unstratified. } The basal wavy line with zone of beaded  
Wp. C 22.2 Period VI. } circles, and the astragali across the  
Wp. E 4.6 Unstratified. } vertical wavy lines suggest a Hadrianic  
date. Figure types, Déch. 372, O. 543 (but smaller), O. 1565. Possibly by  
Ianuaris i; c. A.D. 125-45.  
102 Wp. D 12.3D Period VI. } Freestyle decoration with basal bead  
Wp. C 11.1 Period XI. } row. The ovolo was used by Arcanus  
and a basal bead row is sometimes found in his work (cf. *Germania* (1939), abb.  
II, 10). Sheep O. 1856, bestiarius O. 1073; c. A.D. 115-35.  
103 Wp. A 5.3a Period IVb. Freestyle scene. Warrior O. 204 but with shield,  
sheep O. 1856? Certainly attributable to Arcanus (Knorr, *Germania* (July 1939),  
abb. I, 1). Possibly from same bowl as no. 44; c. A.D. 115-35.  
104 Wp. B 3.17 Period VI. Probably Rheinzabern ware. Antonine.  
105 Wp. A 4.4 Period X. In the style of Divixtus of Lezoux; c. A.D. 150-80.

- 106 Wp. A 4.5 Period VIb. In the style of Divixtus of Lezoux; c. A.D. 150-80.  
 107 Wp. F 4.7 Period VI. } A small cup of unusual form akin to  
 Wp. F 14.2 Period XI. } Pudding Pan Rock type 8. A somewhat similar cup was made at La Graufesenque (Hermet, pl. II, 7) and the Wroxeter example may be from that centre, though the fabric suggests a Central Gaulish origin and early-2nd-century date, in which case it provides a link between the South Gaulish prototype and the Antonine form represented at Pudding Pan Rock.

#### Plain forms

- 108 Wp. B 9.6 Unstratified. Form 18(?). Marbled ware. Pre-Flavian. For a full discussion of this technique and the dating evidence see O. and P., p. 218.  
 109 Wp. F 2.4 Period VII. Rim fragment, form 35/36 etc. with part of barbotine leaf. Not datable.  
 110 Wp. D 13.3 Unstratified. Rim and wall form a vessel of large diameter, probably form 33 (cf. Hermet, pl. II, 16). The wall is slightly convex but is everted somewhat towards the rim. Probably late South Gaulish ware.  
 111 Wp. D 5.5 Period VII. Form 38. Central Gaulish. This is an early example of the form, which is normally Antonine, and could possibly be late Hadrianic; c. A.D. 130-50.  
 112 Wp. F 2.20. Unstratified. Form 15/17 (Hofheim 4b). The variety of this dish is typically Claudian-Neronian (cf. *Camulodunum*, pl. XXXIX, s6B). It has the very high glaze common in that period; c. A.D. 45-60.  
 113 Wp. D 5.5 Period VII. Another similar example.  
 114 Wp. D 2.10B Period IV. Form 42. Probably Lezoux ware and Hadrianic-Antonine.  
 115 Wp. B 10.5 Unstratified. Form 22/23, burnt. The form is rare after the reign of Vespasian. A similar example was found at Newstead (O. and P., L, 10).  
 116 Wp. F 12.4 Period IIIb. Pudding Pan Rock form 7. Central Gaulish c. A.D. 160-90.  
 117 Wp. A 5.11 Period IV. Base, form uncertain, possibly 44 or the like. Clearly late 2nd century.  
 118 Wp. D 4.17 Period VIII. Probably Form 44; cf. O. and P., LXI, I. Central Gaulish ware and Antonine.  
 119 Wp. E 3+ Unstratified. Colour-coated imitation of form 31 (variant Ludovici Sb). Presumably 3rd or 4th centuries.  
 120 Wp. D 13.3 Period XI. Form 33. Central Gaulish. A small example without an external groove. Trajanic or Hadrianic.  
 121 Wp. C 23.3 Period XI. Curle 11 with the almost straight flange which is typical of Flavian examples of the form.  
 122 Wp. D 13.4 Period XI. Several pieces.  
 123 Wp. C 15.10 Unstratified. Several pieces. This is a variant of Walters form 81, cf. O. and P., pl. LXI, no. 8. The form is a late-2nd-century one, and the fabric in this case is consistent with a Central Gaulish origin.

- 124 Wp. D 5.7 Period VII. Two fragments joining. They probably belong to the form 33 stamped NOVEMBRIM and appear to be of East or, less probably, Central Gaulish fabric, and to be later than c. A.D. 150.
- 125 Wp. C 11.2 Period VI. Walter 79/80. Antonine, c. 160-90.
- 126 Wp. D 2.13 Period II. Form 24/25. This is a late example of the type with a poorly defined flattened flange, as in published Vespasianic examples: cf. *Margidunum*, pl. XVIII, 3.
- 127 Wp. D 1.5 Unstratified. Curle 15. Probably early Antonine Lezoux ware.
- 128 Wp. F 12.4 Period IIIb. Rim fragment of uncertain form. Not datable.
- 129 Wp. F 3.18 Period VII. Form Curle 15(?). Late 2nd century.
- 130 Wp. D 9.12 Period IVb. Form 24/25. No diagnostic features preserved, but probably Vespasianic.
- 131 Wp. E 7.8 Period IVb. Form 15/17, flake. Probably early Flavian: cf. Wp. D 8.15.
- 132 Wp. D 8.15 Period IVb. Form 15/17. This is very close in character to an unpublished example from Sandy (Beds.) stamped by Sabinus whose activity was mainly Vespasianic, though he probably began work under Nero; c. A.D. 60-80.

## SAMIAN STAMPS

By B. R. HARTLEY

- 133 Wp. F12.4 Period IIIb. ROPVSFE on f. 18/31. This stamp of Roppus was used regularly on dishes in the fabric of Les Martres-de-Veyre, though the same man may earlier have worked at La Graufesenque. The site record suggests c. A.D. 105-25.
- 134 Wp. A5.3 Period VIII. ARNCIMA on f. 33. Arncus of Lezoux, whose sole stamp occurs in the Pudding Pan Rock cargo and in late-Antonine contexts elsewhere; c. A.D. 170-200.
- 135 Wp. A5.20 Unstratified. SEC VNDIO(F) on f. 27. One of the Secundi of La Graufesenque. This particular stamp occurs at several Flavian foundations, the latest being Newstead; c. A.D. 70-90.
- 136 Wp. E 7.2 ANTICVM on f. 33. Antiquus of Lezoux, who often spelt his name with a C. The form suggests mid- to late-Antonine date; c. A.D. 155-90.
- 137 Wp. D 5 Period VII. NOVEMBRIM on f. 33. November almost certainly worked at Lezoux, to judge from his fabrics, though none of his stamps seems to have been recorded there. The form suggests a date c. A.D. 150-90.
- 138 Wp. D 13.3 Period XI. SIIVI:M on f. 33. This interesting stamp is from a broken die of Aestivus of Lezoux, originally giving stamps reading AIISTIVI:M, the T, having a very slight bar only. As stamps from the original die occur at Pudding Pan Rock, the broken version must be very late in the 2nd century, probably c. A.D. 180 or later, though the potter was certainly at work by A.D. 160 or thereabouts.

- 139 Wp. D 5.5 Period VII. .SIIVIIRI. on f. 33. Severus ii of Lezoux, whose work occurs there in late-Antonine contexts; *c.* A.D. 160-90.
- 140 Unstratified. BVCCI[VS.F] on f. 18/31R. Buccius of Lezoux. The distribution and form suggest *c.* A.D. 125-50.
- 141 Wp. B 10.5 Unstratified. [R]VFINI.M on f. 15/17 or 18. Rufinus of La Graufesenque. This stamp has been recorded from the fort at Buckton, twice from the Nijmegen fortress, and twice from Caerleon. Flavian date is thus likely, though the possible range is *c.* A.D. 65-85.
- 142 Wp. C 22.3 Period IVb. INGE[NVI] on f. 27g. Ingenuus of La Graufesenque. His record is entirely pre-Flavian. Though there is no precise evidence for this stamp, it is likely to belong to the period *c.* A.D. 55-70.
- 143 Wp. E 7.6 OFFEIC[IS] on f. 15/17 or 18. Felix of La Graufesenque. Probably one of his later stamps, since it has been found at the Ulpia Noviomagus site at Nijmegen (after A.D. 70); *c.* A.D. 60-75.
- 144 Wp. A 5.106 Unstratified. OFCRESTIO on f. 29 without decoration. Crestio of La Graufesenque, but not one of his earliest stamps since it appears occasionally in Flavian contexts; *c.* A.D. 55-75.
- 145 Wp. F 2.18 Period VII BVRDO[F] on f. 33. Burdo of Lezoux. This stamp is as common on f. 27 as on f. 33, but it has also been noted once on f. 79/80. A date *c.* A.D. 145-65 is indicated.
- 146 Wp. F 7.4 Unstratified. SEVE/N on Ritt. 8 or f. 24. This stamp, which is without parallel, has the beginning and the end impressed at different depths. It probably resulted from the use of the beginning and end of the same die (presumably normally giving SEVERIM), a practice for which analogies can be found, especially on cups (e.g. CAISMA has the two ends of the common stamp of Carbo). The form shows pre-Flavian date.
- 147 Wp. D 12.3D Period VI. COCILLI retro. on f. 27. Cocillus of Lezoux, who had moved there from Banassac or went to Banassac from Lezoux. The record for this stamp suggests early-Antonine date.
- 148 Wp. C 11.i Period XI [AN]TIONIS on f. 33. Only one other stamp of Antio is known, from the same die, at Chesterholm, which suggests a late-Antonine date. The fabrics are Central Gaulish and match Lezoux standards; *c.* A.D. 160-200.
- 149 Wp. D 2.58B Period VIII. [C]N[A]TOS on f. 31. Gnatius of Les Martres-de-Veyre, here using the Celtic form of his name. He was one of the later potters of Les Martres, since his work appears in Scotland; *c.* A.D. 140-65.
- 150 Wp. E 1.6 Period VI. CV(R)CI(MA) on f. 31R. Curcius of Lezoux, whose work was certainly Antonine not necessarily very late in the period; *c.* A.D. 140-80.
- 151 Wp. D 134 Period XI. FELICIO. Felicio of Montans, with the stamp, as usual, inside on the base (cf. *Britannia*, iii (1972), p. 43); *c.* A.D. 120-45.
- 152 Wp. C 2.4 Period VIIb. f. 27 with stamp [SV]RDILI[M] of Surdil[us] of Les Martres-de-Veyre. The general record for this potter and the presence of this stamp in the burnt group of the Second Fire of London show that a date *c.* A.D. 100-20 is certain.



## SAMIAN STAMPS FOUND 1952

By DR. GRACE SIMPSON

- 153 Dr. 18 SABINIO. Sabinus of La Graufesenque: cf. Oswald's *Index*, p. 272 f. 417. Nero-Domitian. This vessel is thin with a good glaze and may have been made earlier in that period rather than later.
- 154 Dr. 33 TAURICUSF. Tauricus of Lezoux, cf. Oswald's *Index*, pp. 313, 421. Antonine.
- 155 Dr. 27? Large example. The stamp is broken and worn but appears to read SAGRA[. Very clear glossy glaze. Probably South Gaulish, though it might be later.
- 156 Dr. 31 with rouletted ring. The broken stamp appears to read A]ESTIVIM, cf. Oswald's *Index*, pp. 6, 423, for AESTIVUS of Lezoux. Antonine.

## ADDITIONAL REPORT ON SAMIAN STAMPS

By B. R. HARTLEY

- 157 Wp. B 3.10 Period IV(?). BVCC[VLA F.] A Lezoux potter rather poorly attested but making f. 27 and f. 80. This stamp occurs four times at Corbridge; c. A.D. 150-80.
- 158 Wp. C 10.10 Period IVb. ]ASSI. Presumably [B]ASSI or [OFB]ASSI and the La Graufesenque potter; c. A.D. 50-70.
- 159 Wp. A 13 Period VII. [CEL]SIANIF. Attested at Chester-le-Street and Piercebridge (2?). Celsianus of Lezoux made forms 31R, 79, and 80, and the site evidence suggests c. A.D. 160-95.
- 160 Wp. F 62 Period XI. CNSC[.
- 161 Wp. A 33b Period VII. [O]VIEDVS f. 27. The only other stamp known is OVIEDM retro on 18/31R or 31R at Corbridge. Central Gaulish and likely to be Hadrianic-Antonine.
- 162 Wp. B 7(?)4 Unstratified. CINT. Rather too many possibilities to identify from a drawing.
- 163 Wp. D 13.3W Unstratified. MAIORIS. Maior of Lezoux; c. A.D. 165-95. Other dies recur at Pudding Pan Rock.
- 164 Wp. D 12.3D ]VSF[ 18/31R.
- 165 Wp. D 123D [ROPP]VSF[E] 18/31R. Roppus of Les Martres-de-Veyre. This one is represented in the Saalburg Erdkastell and Corbridge (presumably before A.D. 125); c. A.D. 100-30 (and probably 110-25). Another from this die is no. 133.
- 166 Wp. F 99 Period IIIb [GE]NITOREF. Genitor ii of Lezoux. This stamp is attested from several sites re-occupied c. A.D. 160 and is to be dated c. A.D. 165-95.

## COARSE POTTERY

- 167 Metallic black slip sherd. See Grace Simpson, 'Metallic Black Slip Vases from Central Gaul with Applied and Moulded Decoration', *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxvii (1957), fig. 2, no. 12 (p. 39) and p. 37: 'Form 68, from Wroxeter, found in 1953. A band of coarse rouletting and below it a narrow zone of decoration, consisting of the bird Déch. 1011=O. 2324, also on No. 10, within a rather untidy plain medallion cut off below by shallow grooves. The large bifid leaf with central corded bud was used by Paternus and the bird occurs on his signed bowls. Black on both surfaces, but on the outside a bronze colour is mixed with the black. Pale red-brown clay body'.

COARSE POTTERY<sup>13</sup>

By GRAHAM WEBSTER

## PERIOD I

- 1 Small colour-coated jar in light red ware decorated with a groove.

## PERIOD II

- 2 Hooked-rim mortarium with incipient bead and small quartzite grits.  
3 Ring-necked flagon with single handle in cream ware.  
4 Imitation in buff ware of an Arretine precursor of Dr. 27. While the fabric is probably local, its form and finish distinguish it from the military examples.  
5 Wide-mouthed carinated bowl in grey ware decorated with grooves and rouletting.  
6 Small jar with beaded rim in light red ware with buff outer surfaces.  
7 Thin ovoid jar with everted rim in light grey ware with a well burnished surface.  
8 Globular jar with bead rim in light grey ware.  
9 Globular jar with square everted rim in light purplish ware with dark grey outer surface ending near the base with a sharp line of demarcation. This is a typical military fabric.

## PERIOD IIb

- 10 Beaker in fine cream ware with 'metallic bronze' slip and sand-faced body.  
11 Coarse cooking pot in light sandy brown ware decorated with cross-scored markings.

## PERIOD III

- 12 Flat-topped rim of a type of jar normally described as a honey jar in light red ware.  
13 Rim of a large flagon with internal lid-seating, in light red ware with cream surface.  
14 Small globular jar in hard grey ware with roll-rim and groove on the neck. This is local fabric and there are similar examples in the military layers.

- 15 Hook-rim mortarium in cream fabric with white grits in the body not on the surface.
- 16 Reeded rim of a bowl in light red ware.
- 17 Jar with conical neck in grey ware with polished dark grey surface.
- 18 Thick rim of a vessel in hard grey ware.
- 19 Rim of jar with carinated shoulder in dark grey ware. This appears to be a local fabric. It is similar, though not identical, to a vessel in the military pottery. The interest of this form is its appearance at Usk in the Phase I fort there, and a variant also appears at Cirencester in the Leaholme fort ditch.
- 20 Rim of jar in hard, dark grey ware. This appears to be good local fabric, though these rather fine small jars are not frequent in the military pottery.
- 21 Small jar in a hard, dark grey ware with bead rim.
- 22 Small jar with bead rim in hard grey ware. This is a local fabric.
- 23 Rim of jar in hard buff ware. The form, fabric, and finish of this jar can all be paralleled in the military pottery.

#### *PERIOD IIIc*

- 24 Bowl with bead rim in buff ware with grooves on the body.

#### *PERIOD IV*

- 25 Amphora with conical neck and large bead in buff ware with handle turning upward at sharp angle to the vertical, a devolved form of the 1st-century peak type. Cf. *Camulodunum*, 183A.
- 26 Top of a double-handled flagon in light red buff ware.
- 27 Base of small oil flask in buff to light red ware. Cf. *Wroxeter*, III, 84.
- 28 Small Ritterling 8 in black varnished ware (O. and P., XLVIII). Not illustr.
- 29 Dish with sloping sides in a black-burnished ware decorated with close cross-hatching.
- 30 Dish in black/grey ware, burnished on both sides, decorated with close latticing. Cf. *Caerleon* (Prysg Field), 342.
- 31 Small bowl with reeded flange, in light grey ware, decorated with a groove near the base. This is a local fabric in a not-unusual form which continues.
- 32 Cooking pot with everted rim in black ware, slightly burnished on the shoulder with rustication on the body. It does not appear in this fabric in the military levels. Cf. *Wroxeter*, III, 2, pl. XV, no. 76.
- 33 Black-burnished cooking pot with a narrow zone of obtuse-angled latticing.

#### *PERIOD IVa*

- 34 Shallow bowl with flanged rim in buff ware, burnished on the rim and outer surface.
- 35 Small carinated bowl with a flanged reeded rim in light grey ware.
- 36 Large jar in hard grey ware with slightly everted rim and grooves on the neck.

#### *PERIOD IVb*

- 37 Hooked rim mortarium in cream ware with white and grey grits on the rim as well as on the inner surface.

- 38 Hofheim-type flagon top in light red ware.
- 39 Fragment of face mask in grey ware.
- 40 A tankard in light red ware with cream burnished surfaces.
- 41 Indented beaker in cream ware with bright 'metallic bronze' slip and sand-faced body.
- 42 Carinated bowl in buff ware decorated with rouletting on the body.
- 43 Carinated bowl in light red ware.
- 44 Bowl with flat-topped flange in black-burnished ware.
- 45 Platter in buff ware.
- 46 A crudely made bowl with vertical sides in buff ware.
- 47 Small flanged bowl or lid in buff ware with traces of burnishing.
- 48 A bowl with square flanged rim and straight sides in a light red ware with mica-dusted surface. It is probably a survival in this layer.
- 49 A large bowl with a flanged and grooved rim in a buff ware.
- 50 Small jar in light grey ware. This is apparently a local fabric although the precise form is not paralleled in military levels.
- 51 Small cooking pot in grey ware with slightly burnished surface and the body decorated with acute-angled latticing.

#### *PERIOD V*

- 52 Wide-mouthed bowl in buff ware burnished on the outer surface.

#### *PERIOD VI<sup>13</sup>*

- 53 Flagon top with predominant top bead in cream ware.
- 54 Double-handled honey jar in light red fabric with a cream wash.
- 55 Base of a small vessel in cream ware with red paint decoration.
- 56 Lid in light grey ware. A similar larger form can be paralleled in the military group and it is apparently local fabric.
- 57 Lid in grey ware, the outer surface slightly burnished.
- 58 Lid or shallow dish in buff ware.
- 59 Plain rimmed platter in buff ware.
- 60 Bowl with bead rim in light red ware decorated with diagonal lines of red paint applied with a brush.
- 61 Small thick bowl in buff ware.
- 62 Small, neatly made bowl in light grey ware, clearly imitating Dr. 27.
- 63 Flat-topped flanged bowl in hard baked, light grey ware. This is a local fabric and a not-unusual form which continues.
- 64 Small flanged bowl in grey ware.
- 65 Flanged bowl in dark grey ware.
- 66 Bowl in buff ware with reeded rim of devolved form. This is apparently a local fabric though the form is not precisely paralleled in the military pottery.
- 67 Carinated bowl with flanged rim in coarse buff ware.
- 68 Bowl with flanged rim in buff ware with grooves.
- 69 Bowl with vestigial centre flange in light red ware with a cream slip decorated with barbotine 'half moons' above the flange.
- 70 The upper part of a carinated bowl in hard grey ware with burnished streaks on the outer surface, probably imitating the imitations of Dr. 29.

- 71 Platter in buff ware with Pompeian red coating on the interior. This vessel is of the type known as a Pompeian red platter, normally pre-Flavian. Cf. *Camulodunum*, p. 221, Form 17a.
- 72 Small jar in burnished light-brown grey ware with lines slightly inclined to the vertical on the body.
- 73 Jar with everted rim in grey ware.
- 74 Jar in a varnished ware with everted rim slightly concave on the inner surface with traces of sand-facing on the exterior.
- 75 Jar with thick rim in dark grey ware, the body marked with 'twig-like' rustication.
- 76 Roll rim of a jar in a coarse black fabric with faint horizontal rilling.
- 77 Black-burnished cooking pot.
- 78 Rim of black-burnished cooking pot with a wavy line below the rim.
- 79 Large wide-mouthed jar, in light grey ware with light reddish brown surfaces, the outer surface burnished and the body grooved. Cf. *Wroxeter*, III, no. 78.

#### *PERIOD VIb*

- 80 Wide-mouth bowl with everted rim in grey ware.
- 81 Black-burnished cooking pot with a wavy line under the rim and an acute-angled latticing on the body.
- 82 Black-burnished cooking pot with acute-angled latticing.

#### *PERIOD VII*

- 83 Body fragment of a small jar in red ware. Burnished on the lower part, with a medial zone of rough hatching or rouletting.
- 84 Colour-coated fragment with scale decoration.
- 85 Fragment of the rim of a large mortarium of 14" diameter in a greyish cream ware.
- 86 Hooked rim mortarium in pink ware.
- 87 Mrs. K. F. Hartley reports: 'Hard brownish-pink fabric with grey core and buff slip. There is a little grit in the fabric but none on the internal surface of the fragment. The broken stamp AIN[. . .] is impressed diagonally on the flange. The only other stamp from the same die, also from Wroxeter, preserves only the A but does indicate that this is a terminal letter. It is probably a retrograde stamp ending . JNIA. The profile suggests a date in the first half of the 2nd century, and the fabric is in keeping with manufacture in the west of England, perhaps locally.
- 88 Rim of hammer-head mortarium in white ware with small black grits.
- 89 Tazza in light red ware with cream surfaces.
- 90 Small bowl or lid in dirty buff ware decorated with three concentric circles on the base as if cast in a mould.
- 91 Platter in grey ware. The fabric and treatment are clearly of local type, but there are no clear parallels of the form amongst the military pottery.
- 92 Small dish in black-burnished ware decorated with loops on the side and scrolls on the base.
- 93 Small dish in black-burnished ware decorated with broadly spaced cross-hatching.

- 94 Small bowl with chamfered base and dark brown/black-burnished surface, decorated with intersecting loops on the side and base.
- 95 Small bowl in black-burnished ware with flattened flange and incipient bead rim decorated with a looped pattern on the body.
- 96 Bowl with flanged rim in black-burnished ware decorated with intersecting loops. Cf. *Wroxeter*, 1923-27, fig. 46, C9.
- 97 Bowl in black-burnished ware with bead rim and hooked flange, the body decorated with loops.
- 98 Bowl with oblique flanged rim in black-burnished ware decorated with latticing.
- 99 Small bowl in a black ware with burnishing on the surface.
- 100 Small imitation Dr. 18 in light red ware.
- 101 Bowl in coarse buff ware with flattened rim.
- 102 Shallow bowl with flat-topped grooved rim in buff ware burnished on the outer surface.
- 103 Bowl with flanged rim in buff-burnished ware.
- 104 Bowl with flattened rim in light grey ware with black surfaces partly burnished.
- 105 Bowl in buff-burnished ware. Cf. *Wroxeter* 1923-27, fig. 45, B9.
- 106 Bowl with thick rounded rim in buff-burnished ware.
- 107 Carinated bowl in grey ware with a black-burnished outer surface.
- 108 Small cooking pot with a small upright rim in grey/black-burnished ware decorated with a narrow zone of obtuse-angled latticing.
- 109 Cooking pot with small, slightly everted bead rim in light red ware with dark core with burnished brown surface, and a narrow zone of obtuse-angled latticing. It was probably oxidized red in a fire.
- 110 Small jar with cordon below the rim in grey ware with burnishing on the body. This is an imitation of an early colour-coated type of vessel. These imitations occur in the military pottery but almost exclusively from a military pit where the pot varies from being under- to over-fired. The burnished finish, however, does not appear in the military levels.
- 111 Small jar in a black ware highly burnished.
- 112 Cooking pot in black-burnished ware with wavy lines under the rim and latticing on the body.
- 113 Globular jar in grey-burnished ware with acute-angled latticing on the body.
- 114 Jar with curved rim in light grey ware.
- 115 Jar with recurved rim and groove on the shoulder in dark grey ware with outer burnished surface.
- 116 Black-burnished jar with small bead rim.
- 117 Jar in grey ware with outer burnished surface.
- 118 Jar in light grey ware with rough surface.
- 119 Rim with lid-seating of a large coarse cooking pot in black-grey gritty ware.
- 120 Jar with squared rim in buff ware. Both form and fabric occur in the military levels.
- 121 Large roll-rim jar in buff ware burnished on the outer surface.
- 122 Rim of a large jar in light red ware burnished on the rim and with a groove round the neck.

- 123 Rim of a large jar in buff-burnished ware decorated on the shoulder with deep grooves.
- 124 Rim of a coarse, hard-baked large jar in black ware with 'oatmeal' surfaces.

*PERIOD VIIa*

- 125 Stopper in cream ware with red slip on the outer surface.

*PERIOD VIIb*

- 126 Conical-necked jar in hard grey ware with polished outer surface and rouletted body.
- 127 Small bead and flanged bowl in light red ware with metallic, light bronze coating and patches of soot on the exterior.
- 128 Jar with everted rim in dark grey ware with shoulder groove and sparse rustication on the body.

*PERIOD VIII*

- 129 Mortarium with prominent bead rim and moulded flange in light red ware with grey core, bright red surface and white grits.
- 130 Rim of a large jar with moulded everted rim in buff ware, well burnished and decorated with grooves on the neck.
- 131 Lid in dark grey ware, decorated with finger impressions and notching.
- 132 Fragment of the body of a large chocolate colour-coated vessel in a cream ware with barbotine decoration, probably in the shape of a dolphin.
- 133 Mortarium with inclined flange in cream ware with red-painted scroll work on the flange and black and dark red grits. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, no. 214.
- 134 Handled tankard in buff-burnished ware.
- 135 Small hemispherical bowl with centre flange in buff ware with grey core, highly burnished on the outer surface.
- 136 Bowl in grey fabric with red colour-coating decorated with a band of rouletting.
- 137 Bowl with reeded rim in buff ware with light red surface slightly burnished.
- 138 Bowl in black-burnished ware decorated with intersecting loops.
- 139 Flat-rimmed dish in black-burnished ware with lattice decoration.
- 140 Rim of small jar in cream ware with brown colour-coating and sanded on the inside below the rim.
- 141 Small jar with everted rim in brown/black-burnished ware.

*PERIOD VIIIb*

- 142 Rim in red-burnished ware decorated with white paint.

*PERIOD VIIIId*

- 143 Small bowl with flanged rim and small bead in black-burnished ware, decorated with loops.

*PERIOD IXa<sup>14</sup>*

- 144 Hammer-headed mortarium in cream ware with traces of light red slip and black grits.

- 145 Flanged and beaded bowl in chocolate-black colour-coating with cream paste.
- 146 Bowl with curved reeded rim in light red buff ware burnished on the rim and outer surface.
- 147 Shallow bowl with everted rim in cream ware with traces of burnishing on the outer surfaces.
- 148 Shallow bowl with hooked rim in buff ware with traces of burnishing.
- 149 Black-burnished cooking pot with oversailing rim, decorated with obtuse-angled latticing.
- 150 Large jar with recurved rim in light red ware decorated with a cordon on the neck and grooves on the body with traces of burnishing on the outer surface.
- 151 A body fragment, probably of a small jar, decorated with latticing and square relief in red ware.

*PERIOD IX<sup>b</sup>*<sup>15</sup>

- 152 Bowl in buff ware decorated with grooves and a band of short vertical lines.
- 153 Bowl with a groove below the rim in buff ware.
- 154 Small oil flask in buff ware with broken top. Cf. *Wroxeter*, 1923-27, fig. 44, B13; Holt, no. 232.
- 155 Rim of a large jar with bead and flange in buff ware burnished on the outer surface. Cf. Holt, fig. 67, no. 113.

*PERIOD X<sup>16</sup>*

- 156 Mortarium with bead rim, horizontal flange and black grits.
- 157 Bowl in calcite-gritted ware.
- 158 Small shallow bowl with centre flange in grey buff ware. This is probably a local fabric.
- 159 Small bowl or lid with flanged and beaded rim in a ware with grey core and black-burnished surface, decorated with intersecting loops.
- 160 Deep bowl with roll-rim in hard, light red ware with grey core and darker colour-coating on the inside and rim with smoothed outer surface.
- 161 Large bowl in light red ware slightly burnished.
- 162 Rim of a large jar in coarse gritty grey-buff ware.

*ROBBIE TRENCH*

- 163 Mortarium with upstanding grooved bead rim and pink grits.
- 164 Bowl with grooved flanged rim in light red ware burnished on the outer surface.
- 165 Small bowl in dirty brown, coarse gritty ware blackened on the exterior.
- 166 Wide-mouthed bowl with flattened bead rim in grey ware with red colour-coating decorated with a groove in which there is faint rouletting.
- 167 Small jar with an upright rim and pronounced shoulder in light grey ware lightly burnished.
- 168 Small jar in grey ware with burnished outer surface.
- 169 Rim of a jar in grey ware with an outer burnished surface.
- 170 Cooking pot in black-burnished ware decorated with central zone of forty-five degree latticing.



- 171 Small black-burnished cooking pot decorated with obtuse-angled latticing.
- 172 Lid-seated rim of a large coarse cooking pot in black/grey gritty ware.
- 173 Large globular jar with interned rim and cordons on the shoulder forming a lid-seating in light red ware with cream surface, blackened on the exterior.
- 174 Fragment of red colour-coated ware with painted decoration.
- 175 Fragment of dark brown colour-coated ware with barbotine decoration.
- 176 Two fragments of buff ware with black metallic outer surface and dark brown inner. The outer surface was decorated with thick white-painted lines.
- 177 Ring-necked flagon top with single handle with predominant top ring in light red ware with cream slip.
- 178 Small lid in buff ware.
- 179 Coarse 'Castor Box' in a creamy ware with dark red colour-coating on the outer surface, light red on the shoulder and rim, and brown on the inside, and decorated with faint rouletting.
- 180 Bowl in light-red burnished ware with mica-dusting.
- 181 Shallow bowl with beaded and flanged rim in white ware with red colour-coating.
- 182 Bowl with flanged rim in dirty brown, calcite-gritted ware blackened on the exterior.
- 183 Bowl in a brown calcite-gritted ware, similar to 182.
- 184 Neck-rimmed bowl in light red ware with burnished exterior.
- 185 Bowl with flanged rim in buff ware burnished on the outer surface.
- 186 Bowl in coarse buff ware with square double-lipped rim.
- 187 A wide-mouthed bowl in buff-burnished ware.
- 188 Everted rim of large jar in dark grey ware. This is probably a Wroxeter fabric, and similar forms occasionally appear in military levels.
- 189 Rim of jar in light grey ware with black-burnished surface.
- 190 Top of a large jar with grooved rim in buff-burnished ware.
- 191 A mortarium on which Mrs. K. F. Hartley reports: 'A smooth cream fabric with brown-buff slip; medium-sized ironstone and sandstone trituration grit. The stamp reads GIO[ retrograde in thick flat letters with probably only one letter missing. No other stamp from the same die is known. Gio is recorded as a name (Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*), and the final letter could well be F for *fecit* but further stamps are needed to settle the matter. Not only is the mortarium the only known product of this potter but the lettering is unusual and the fabric and grit, while pointing to a Midland origin, cannot be attributed to any known pottery. The unusual features of the mortarium make it impossible to give a close date with complete confidence, but it was certainly made in the 2nd century and the rim would best fit a date c. A.D. 100-35.'
- 192 Mortarium with hook rim in red-buff ware with pink/cream colour-coat and pink quartzite pebble grits with an illiterate stamp on the rim.
- 193 Mrs. K. F. Hartley reports: 'Fragment of a heavy hooked rim in hard pink fabric with buff slip. The stamp, which has been lightly impressed, reads DOINV[ in spindly lettering and is from one of the four dies of Doinus. More than a hundred stamps of Doinus have been found at sites throughout England,

Wales, and Scotland. In addition over fifty stamps are known from the kilns at Brockley Hill where he undoubtedly worked at least in the later part of his career. Stamps from Flavian forts in Scotland at Loudon Hill, Newstead(2), and Dalswinton II (*Trans. Dumfries and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, xxiv. 21) and the rims used all attest a range of A.D. 70-115 for his working life. Changes in his rims and stamps tend to suggest that this example is from one of his earlier dies and should be dated A.D. 70-105.

#### NOTE ON THE CHARCOAL

By MISS CECIL WESTERN

The charcoal from the excavations was examined and the following occurrence found: Oak 12, Sweet Chestnut 9, Birch 5, Poplar 3, Ash 2, Willow 1, and Hazel 1.

COIN LIST <sup>17</sup>

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

CLAUDIUS I (A.D. 41-54)		Period of deposit	Small Find No.	Field No.
<i>Dupondii</i> : Imitation types.				
1	Ceres Type <i>RIC</i> . 67D (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 2)		69	XH C14 3c
2	" " 67		104	ID Wp A413
3	" " 67 (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 2 nos. 7-9)		107	Unstrat.
4	Antonia <i>RIC</i> . 82D (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 3 no. 3)	IVb	93	VIBpD9 14
5	" " 82		102	IID Wp B3 25
<i>Asses</i> : Imitation types.				
6	Minerva Type <i>RIC</i> . 66 (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 7)	IVb	42	IJJ C5 +
7	" "		66	
8	" "		68	XA C14 3C
9	" "		75	IG D3 15
10	" "	II	80	IG D3 15
11	" "		84	IG D3 15
12	" "		87	VD pA4 14
13	" " (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 5 no. 4)		98	Unstrat.
14	" " " " "	III	103	ID Wp A4 13
15	" " " " "	III	110	IIIB Wp E2 12
16	" " (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 7 nos. 9-12)		112	IB Wp. A2
17	" " 66D cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 5)		95	VID Wp. D21 4
18	Libertas Type <i>RIC</i> . 69 (cf. <i>NNM</i> pl. 3 nos. 9-10)	IIIb	64	B3 12a
19	" " " "		83	XH C14 3c
20	Probably Claudian imitation type, illegible		97	
21	" " " "	IV	109	
NERO (A.D. 54-68)				
22	<i>Denarius</i> <i>RIC</i> . 10 issued A.D. 54-55	III	94	VID Wp D21 4
23	<i>Sestertii</i> <i>RIC</i> . 73 (Mint of Lugdunum)	IIIb	9	IIIG E8 11
24	" (to r.) "		88	IG Wp D3 16
25	" (to l.) "		111	VIC Wp D12 9c
26	" (to r.) "	IV	108	VIC Wp D2 7c
27	<i>Dupondius</i> <i>RIC</i> . 304 (to r.) "	IIIb	61	IID B3 11a
28	<i>Asses</i> <i>RIC</i> . 185 "		78	VIA D8 7
29	Illegible		71	IG D3 16
30	<i>Semis</i> <i>RIC</i> . 389 or 394 (to l.) (prob. Mint of Lugdunum)		113	
VESPASIAN (A.D. 69-79)				
31	<i>Sestertius</i> of Titus, <i>RIC</i> . 772 (A.D. 77-8) (Prob. Mint of Lugdunum)	IIIa	65	ID(S) Wp A4 12
DOMITIAN (A.D. 81-96)				
32	As. Rev. illegible		70	Unstrat.

		<i>Period of deposit</i>	<i>Small Find No.</i>	<i>Field No.</i>
<b>NERVA (A.D. 96–8)</b>				
33	As. Cos 111 (A.D. 97) Rev. uncertain	IVb	7	IIIE E5 3
<b>HADRIAN (A.D. 117–38)</b>				
34	<i>Sestertius</i> RIC. 586(a) (A.D. 119–21)	V(?)	3	IXa C8 6a
35	As. Rev. illegible		20	Unstrat.
<b>CARACALLA (A.D. 193–211)</b>				
36	<i>Denarius</i> (Plated copy) obv. as RIC. iv, i, 192, 200 rev. PIETAS PVBLICA as RIC. iv, i Severus 574	VII	40	IXA C 8 8
<b>GALLIENUS (A.D. 253–68)</b>				
37	Antoninianus of Salonia. RIC. 29		89	Unstrat.
<b>TETRICUS I (A.D. 270–3)</b>				
38	Antoninianus of Tetricus II RIC. 232		74	XII A B9 11
<b>GALLIC EMPIRE</b>				
39	Radiate copy based on the ORIENS AVG type of Victorinus, c. A.D. 265		35	IIE C1 2
40	Radiate copy Tetricus (?) c. A.D. 268	VIIb	49	IXA C8 4
41	Antoninianus of Victorinus or Tetricus 1, rev. VIRTUS AVG. c. A.D. 265–273	IIIb	86	IID p B3 13
42	Radiate copy, rev. standing figure	Robber trench	101	VIIIA Wp B3 25
<b>CONSTANTINE I (A.D. 306–37)</b>				
43	RIC. VI London 282 $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$ * c. A.D. 309		4	IIH C3 1
44	Cohen 104, Constantine II as Caesar c. A.D. 330		23	IIJ C5 2a
45	Cohen 49, London Mint $\frac{1}{\text{PLN}}$ * c. A.D. 309	VIIb	48	IXa C8 4
46	LRBC. i, 104, Helena PAX PVBLICA		56	IIIA E1 5
47	LRBC. i, 379, Constantine II as Caesar, GLORIA EXERCITVS, c. A.D. 330	X	58	VD A6 1
48	RIC. VII, London 56 (laur. cuir.) $\frac{\text{S F}}{\text{MLN}}$ c. A.D. 315		76	VIA D8 16
49	LRBC. i 52, Constantinopolis issue, mint uncertain, 330–5	VIII	43	Wp A6 3
50	LRBC. i 66, Constantinopolis issue, mint uncertain	VIII(?)	59	VIC Wp D12 1
<b>HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE</b>				
51	Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS c. A.D. 330		12	IIID Wp E 4 1
52	Illegible		18	
53	GLORIA EXERCITVS type	VIII	47	VIC Wp D12 2c
54	Fragment only	VIII	51	VIC Wp D12 2c
<b>CONSTANS (A.D. 333–50)</b>				
55	Cohen 22 (or Constantinus, Cohen 58)		21	
56	LRBC. ii 604 FEL TEMP. type		37	IIK Wp C6 1
<b>MAGNENTIUS (A.D. 350–3)</b>				
57	LRBC. ii 517 (A behind head)	VIII	29	IJ Wp D5 2

**DECENTIUS (A.D. 351-3)**

58 LRBC, ii 438  $\begin{array}{c} \text{E} \\ \text{I S} \\ \text{////} \end{array}$

Period of  
deposit

Small  
Find No.

Field No.

VIII(?)

53

VIC Wp D12 2c

**VALENTINIAN (A.D. 364-75)**

59 Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE mm.  
not visible

36

IIG Wp C5 1

60 LRBC, ii 998 SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE  
Mint of Aquileia

Robber  
trench

44

VIc Wp D13 3

**HOUSE OF VALENTINIAN**

61 Illegible

16

62 Illegible

Robber  
trench

30

IVb Wp B5 1

**VALENS (A.D. 364-75)**

63 Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM Arelate  
mint  $\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \text{CON} \end{array}$

VIII(?)

1

IIE Wp C1 1

64 RIC. 17(b) (Arelate) c. A.D. 367-75  
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{OF I} \\ \text{CON} \end{array}$

VIII(?)

5

VD Wp A6 1

65 (?) Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

10

Unstrat.

66 RIC. 12(b) (Aquileia)  $\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \text{SMAQS} \end{array}$

17

Unstrat.

67 Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE mm.  
uncertain

25

ID Wp 2A

68 (?) Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM mm.  
uncertain

26

IHK Wp C6 1

69 RIC. 18(a) (Arelate)  $\begin{array}{c} \text{E I C} \\ \text{SCON} \end{array}$

VIII

28

IJ Wp D5 3

70 Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

VIII(?)

38

IIG Wp C3 1

71 RIC. (Siscia) 7(b)

X

57

IIB Wp B1 1

72 Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE  
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{OF I} \\ \text{////} \end{array}$

X

62

XII B Wp D20 16

73 Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE  
 $\begin{array}{c} \text{OF} \\ \text{////} \end{array}$

91

Unstrat.

**GRATIAN (A.D. 367-83)**

74 Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM Mint  
of Siscia (?)  $\begin{array}{c} \text{P I R} \\ \text{ISIS} \end{array}$  (?)

2

Unstrat.

75 Rev. GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI Mint  
of Arelate

13

Unstrat.

Rev. GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI Mint  
of Arelate  $\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \text{TCON} \end{array}$

VIII

22

IIIC Wp E3 1

76 RIC. 15 (Arelate)  $\begin{array}{c} \text{I} \\ \text{TCON} \end{array}$

33

Unstrat.



## FRAGMENTS OF GLASS

By D. B. HARDEN

## 1952

- 1 Frag. of greenish deep bowl with frieze of blue blob decoration above a band of wheel incisions. 4th cent. A.D.
- 2 Frag. of shallow bowl, deep green, with indented sides and bands of wheel incisions near rim. 4th cent. A.D.
- 3 Two frags. of colourless bowl or flask with similar trails. 3rd cent. A.D.

## 1953

- 4 Frag. of rim of oval (?) dish, green; rim folded outward and downward. If this is an oval dish, cf. *Karanis*, pp. 48-9, pls. I and XI.<sup>18</sup> The type, though rare in the west, is very common in Egypt. If it is circular (which I doubt), it would be nothing unusual. 4th cent. A.D.
- 5 Frag. of rim of jug, bluish green; rim folded inwards; trace of handle attachment; rim not circular and probably was drawn out to a spout opposite the handle, like the two jugs illustrated by W. A. Thorpe, *Eng. Glass*, pl. XIII, a,c. 3rd-4th cents. A.D.
- 6 Frag. of rim of beaker, greenish colourless; rim thickened, cylindrical body. 3rd-4th cents. A.D.
- 7 Frag. of rim of bowl, green; rim folded outward and downward, thick and solid. 4th(?) cent. A.D.
- 8 Frag. of base of unguentarium, green; rounded base. Probably 1st-2nd cents. A.D., but perhaps later.
- 9 Frag. of base of olla or jug, yellow; hollow, pushed-in base, with constriction above, cf. Thorpe, *Eng. Glass*, pl. III, a,b. 1st-early 2nd cent. A.D.
- 10 Base of bottle, green; square in horiz. section. Mould-blown with base design of cruciform markings within two concentric circles. 1st-early 2nd cent. A.D.
- 11 Frag. of rim of beaker or bowl, colourless; sides outplayed rim knocked off and ground smooth; raised horizontal ribs below on exterior. Late-1st to 2nd cents. A.D.
- 12 Two frags. of rim of bowl, colourless; sides convex, curving in towards rim, which is ground smooth. No decoration. Late-1st to 2nd cents. A.D. Also a few tiny frags. of these or other vessels.
- 13 Frag. of rim of bowl, colourless; sides convex; rim slightly outplayed and ground and polished; below on outside a raised horizontal rim. Late-1st to 2nd cents. A.D.
- 14 Frag. of rim of flask, green; rim outplayed and rounded in flame, neck cylindrical. Roman: date uncertain.
- 15 Frag. of rim of deep bowl, bluish green; rim folded outward and downward and forming a large tubular hollow. Roman: date uncertain.
- 16 Frag. of base of bowl, colourless; sides convex, base flat; at junction of sides and base 2 horizontal ribs, ground and polished. Almost certainly from same vessel as no. 13, above. Late-1st to 2nd cents. A.D.

- 17 Frag. of rim of bowl, colourless; rim outplayed and edge ground smooth, sides convex. Type as Thorpe, *Eng. Glass*, pl. VI, a. 2nd-3rd cents. A.D.
- 18 Frag. of rim of bowl, colourless; rim knocked off and ground smooth, sides concave; on exterior, groups of horizontal wheel incisions. 2nd cent. A.D.
- 19 Frag. of beaker, yellowish green; from an indented beaker. 4th cent. A.D.
- 20 Frag. from a similar vessel but thinner.
- 21 Frag. of rim and neck of bottle or unguentarium, olive green; rim interplayed and folded upward and inward; cylindrical neck, cf. Thorpe, *Eng. Glass*, pl. II, a. 1st-2nd cents. A.D.
- 22 Frag. of side of deep pillar-moulded bowl, bluish green; from a large bowl with heavy widely-spaced ribs. 1st cent. A.D.
- 23 Frag. of bluish-green glass vessel, fused in fire.
- 24 Two frags. of body of flask or jug, green; vertical raised ribs. Advanced flaky weathering. Roman: date uncertain.
- 25 Half of base of bowl, colourless; double-ring base, the outer ring tubular, the inner solid and thicker. From a cylindrical bowl, type as Airlie (Angus): Thorpe, *Eng. Glass*, pl. VI, b. 3rd cent. A.D.
- 26 Frag. of base of cylindrical bottle, green; plain base. Late-1st to 2nd cents. A.D.
- 27 Two frags. of side of bowl, colourless, convex sides with groups of thin horizontal wheel cuts. (Fig. 24) Late-2nd to 3rd cents. A.D.
- 28 Frag. of base of unguentarium green, thin glass. Roman: date uncertain.
- 29 Frag. of window glass, green; open-moulded type, showing part of original rounded edge and also a grozed (pincer) edge leading off this at an angle. Roman: probably 3rd-4th cents. A.D.
- 30 Frag. of vessel, colourless; part of body badly straincracked and with cut and ground exterior surface with curved ribbing. The shape is unusual and I can cite no parallels. Roman: 2nd-3rd cent. A.D.

## SMALL FINDS

By GRAHAM WEBSTER

### *Fig. 17*

- 1 Bronze Hod Hill type brooch of the 1st century from the military levels. Period VIII.
- 2 Bronze brooch of the cross-bow type. Unstratified.
- 3 Bronze Nauheim type brooch of the 1st century. Period VI.
- 4 Bronze penannular brooch with expanded terminals. Period VI.
- 5 Bronze penannular brooch with bent back terminals. Unstratified.
- 6 Bronze round-headed pin bent to form a ring. Unstratified.
- 7 Bronze penannular brooch with bent back terminals. Unstratified.
- 8 Bronze little finger of left hand, from the hand of a full-size statue. It was customary for statuary to have bronze heads or faces and hands the rest of the body being wood and concealed by draperies. Cf. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, cxix (1971), pl. XIII a – e, and p. 42. Period VI.



- 9 Thin bronze edging probably from a casket. Period VII.
- 10 Bronze bird mount from a harness pendant. Previously published in *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxc (1960), fig. 8, no. 256. Cf. also *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 21, no. 17. Unstratified.

*Fig. 18*

- 1 Bronze mount in the form of a rectangular plate with ansate projections at the ends and two rivet holes on the top edge. Cf. *Saalburg*, taf. LXVI, no. 17. Unstratified.
- 2 A bronze rectangular plate with niello decoration from a legionary belt. Previously published *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxv (1960), fig. 8, no. 254. Period IIIb.
- 3 Flat piece of bronze with two punched holes and a copper rivet, the holes each being at the centre of one of two series of concentric rings inscribed on the plate. Unstratified.
- 4 Knife handle inlaid with a strip of green enamel containing a dark blue running leaf design, both of which are inlaid with light blue motifs. Cf. *Wroxeter*, III, pl. XVI, no. 17. Unstratified.
- 5 Bronze pendant of oval form decorated with four concentric circles. Period X.
- 6 A complete cuirass hinge with copper rivets from a shoulder piece of a 'lorica segmentata', the function of which has been shown by H. R. Robinson (*Bonner Jahrb.* clxxii (1972), 24-35). Previously published *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxv (1960), fig. 8, no. 257. Cf. *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 61, nos. 15-20; *Hod Hill*, I, A. 74; II, fig. 56, no. 9; *Risstissen*, taf. 3, nos. 61-7, taf. 4, nos. 81-4. Period IV.
- 7 Half a cuirass hinge, as above. Period IVb.
- 8 Part of a bracelet with notched decoration. Cf. *Verulamium*, fig. 32, no. 34; *Richborough*, II, no. 61; IV, pl. XLIX. Unstratified.
- 9 Fragment of a twisted bronze bracelet. Cf. *Richborough*, II, pl. XXII, no. 60; IV, pl. XLIX. Unstratified.
- 10 Bronze bracelet decorated with a ridged effect. Cf. *Richborough*, IV, pl. XLIX. Unstratified.
- 11 Bronze ring with irregular depressions. Unstratified.
- 12 Plain bronze ring. Period IVb.
- 13 Small bronze ring probably from a piece of equipment. Period VII.
- 14 Plain bronze ring. Period XI.
- 15 Plain bronze ring. Period I.
- 16 Bronze ring decorated with nine circular depressions, the central are larger than the rest. Unstratified.
- 17 Plain bronze ring. Period VI.

*Fig. 19*

- 1 A bronze cloak fastener with a round disc decorated with a human face for which there is a close parallel from Hofheim (taf. XII no. 39). Although it has been argued that the round cloak fastener is a 2nd-century type (J. Gillam in *Roman and Native in Northern Britain* (1958), p. 81), there are examples with 1st-century associations, such as that from Mainz in a grave with an early Flavian samian, Dr. 29, and two other vessels of the same period. (*Mainzer*

*Zeitschrift*, viii–ix (1913–14), abb. 8, p. 56, no. 5; one of the coarse vessels is a Hofheim type 113 or Camulodunum form 120, and the other Hofheim 26c or Camulodunum 95, both of Claudio-Neronian date; see also J. P. Wild in *Britannia*, i (1970), class Va, p. 140). Previously published *Archaeol. Jnl.* cxv (1960), fig. 8, no. 255. Period IVb (SF. 218).

- 2 Thin bronze circular plate, with a rectangular hole crudely punched through it. Cf. *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 63, no. 14; *Rheingönheim*, nos. 8–11. Period VIII (SF. 212).
- 3 The top of a seal box decorated with raised concentric circles. Unstratified (SF. 152).
- 4 A heavy bronze terminal with a thick shank and decorated top. Unstratified (SF. 352).
- 5 Piece of iron in the shape of a wedge. Period VIII (SF. 25).
- 6 Bronze dome stud decorated with a face. Unstratified (SF. 398).
- 7 Small pin with domed head in bronze. Unstratified (SF. 242).
- 8 Bronze pin with domed head similar to no. 7. Period VI (SF. 220).
- 9 Round-headed bronze pin. Period IIIb (SF. 244).
- 10 Small bronze pin with a domed head. Unstratified (SF. 246).
- 11 Bronze head of stud with a domed head. Period VI (SF. 221).
- 12 Small bronze pin. Period IVb (SF. 210).
- 13 Small round-headed pin. Period IVb (SF. 401).
- 14 Bronze nail or pin with domed head. Cf. *Saalburg*, taf. LVII, no. 27. Unstratified (SF. 353).
- 15 Fragment of a decorated bronze mount of uncertain size and shape. Period XI (SF. 72).
- 16 Cuirass hook from a 'lorica segmentata'. Cf. *Hod Hill*, II, fig. 56, nos. 13–14; *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 17 nos. 1–6, taf. 51 no. 2, taf. 61 nos. 1–3; *Rheingönheim*, taf. 34, nos. 45–52; *Risstissen*, taf. 3 no. 72, taf. 5 nos. 90–2; Carnuntum, *R.L.O.* ii, p. 96, text fig. 24; taf. XVII, fig. 25; *Novaesium*, taf. XXX, nos. 4–5; *Hofheim*, taf. XI, nos. 1–5; Wiesbaden, *O.R.L.* no. 31, taf. X, no. 43. Period VIIb (SF. 96).
- 17 Bronze eyelet for attachment to leather. Cf. *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 18, no. 24; *Rheingönheim*, taf. 35, no. 1.
- 18 A trifid tongue from a bronze buckle. Cf. *Rheingönheim*, taf. 18, nos. 13–19. Unstratified.
- 19 A slightly curved bronze object with ring at one end and groove down the middle. It may have been a devolved barnacle pendant similar to one from Brecon (fig. 58, no. 11). Period VII (SF. 223).
- 20 Bronze lock bolt. Cf. *Newstead*, pl. LXXVIII, nos. 7–8; *Verulamium*, I, fig. 39, no. 119; *Novaesium*, taf. XXXIII, no. 45; *Saalburg*, taf. XLV, nos. 1–5. Unstratified (SF. 7).
- 21 Head of a bronze object with a ring terminal, probably from a harness mount. Cf. *Saalburg*, taf. LIX. Period VI (SF. 205).
- 22 Bronze hook. Cf. *Saalburg*, taf. LXVII, no. 7. Period VII (SF. 251).
- 23 Small pendant in the form of an elongated triangle or buckle tongue, with an attached ring. Unstratified (SF. 213).

- 24 Gold ring with engraved dolphin. Unstratified.  
 25 Gold knobbed head probably for inserting into a bone pin. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, fig. 11. Period VIII.

*Fig. 20*

- 1 Bronze ointment scoop. Cf. *Novaesium*, taf. XXV, no. 12. Period VI (SF. 108).
- 2 Bronze ointment scoop with a small flat spoon at one end. Cf. *Novaesium*, taf. XXXIII, no. 4. Period VI<sub>d</sub> (SF. 433).
- 3 Square bronze strip bent at right angles probably from a wood box. Unstratified (SF. 225).
- 4 Bronze pin with faceted head. Cf. *Newstead*, pl. XCIII, no. 13. Unstratified.
- 5 A length of bronze wire partly decorated. Period IV<sub>b</sub> (SF. 200).
- 6 A finely decorated bronze stylus. Period XI (SF. 145).
- 7 Iron stylus. Unstratified (SF. 322).
- 8 Iron stylus. Period VI (SF. 39).
- 9 Iron buckle. Unstratified (SF. 149).
- 10 An iron object of uncertain function. Period VIII.
- 11 Iron ring with intaglio of a wreathed head. Period XI (SF. 174).
- 12 Iron eyelet. Period VII (SF. 294).
- 13 Iron anchor-shaped hook. Period XI (SF. 310).
- 14 Small flat-topped bronze stud. Period VII.
- 15 Iron staple. Cf. *Novaesium*, taf. XXI, no. 33. Unstratified.
- 16 Iron needle for netting with prongs at one end only. Cf. *Hofheim*, taf. XX, no. 9. Period VIII.
- 17 Iron object tapering to a point at both ends and square in section. Cf. *Rheingönheim*, taf. 48, no. 12. Period IX<sub>a</sub>.

*Fig. 21*

- 1 An iron star from a window grill. *Antiquity*, xxxiii (1959), 10–14. Unstratified.
- 2 Iron hook. Cf. *Caerleon* (Prysg Field), pl. II, fig. 27, no. 8. Period II (SF. 327).
- 3 Iron key. Cf. *Wroxeter*, 1923–27, pl. 57a, no. 11. Period VIII.
- 4 T-shaped iron object with hooked and tubular cross-bar to the T. Period XI.
- 5 Part of a hippo-sandal. Cf. *Verulamium*, fig. 63, pl. 173, no. 29. Period XI.
- 6 Part of a pair of shears. Cf. *Rheingönheim*, taf. 49, no. 1; *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 67, no. 9; *Camulodunum*, pl. CV, no. 7. Period VII (SF. 295).
- 7 Blade of iron knife or small saw with part of a serrated cutting edge. Period III<sub>b</sub> (SF. 303).
- 8 Blade of iron knife. Period VI (SF. 5).
- 9 Blade or iron knife with curved edge. Cf. *Richborough*, IV, pl. LX, no. 329. Unstratified.

*Fig. 22*

- 1 Bone pin. Cf. *Newstead*, pl. XCIII, nos. 14–15. Unstratified.
- 2 Head of a bone pin. Cf. *Newstead*, pl. XCIII, nos. 14–15. Period V.
- 3 Bone pin. Unstratified.
- 4 Bone pin. Period VIII.

- 5 Bone pin. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, pl. X, fig. 2. Unstratified.
- 6 Bone pin apparently broken and re-sharpened. Period XI.
- 7 Bone pin. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, pl. X, fig. 2; *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 26, no. 36. Unstratified.
- 8 Bone peg. Period VIII.
- 9 Bone pin. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, pl. X, fig. 2. Period X.
- 10 Head of bone peg. Period VII.
- 11 Head of bone pin. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, pl. X, fig. 2. Period VIII.
- 12 Bone needle. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, pl. X, fig. 2. Unstratified.
- 13 Bone needle. Cf. *Risstissen*, taf. 28, no. 475. Unstratified.
- 14 Bone needle. Cf. *Richborough*, II, pl. XIX, no. 21. Unstratified.
- 15 Bone needle. Cf. *Wroxeter*, I, pl. X, fig. 2. Period IX.
- 16 Bone needle. Period VII.
- 17 Bone pin, square in section. Unstratified.

*Fig. 23*

- 1 A rectangular decorated bone mount  $\frac{1}{16}$ " to  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. Unstratified.
- 2 A double comb with bronze rivets and a horn-like terminal typical of the late Roman period. Cf. T. Wright, *Uriconium* (1872), p. 278; *Richborough*, III, pl. XIII, no. 42; IV, pl. LIV, no. 216 and pl. VI, no. 266. Unstratified.
- 3 Plain bone counter  $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick. Cf. *Caerleon* (Prysg Field), fig. 43, p. 53, nos. 16-19. Unstratified.
- 4 Bone counter pierced in centre. Cf. *Brecon*, fig. 62, p. 119; *Aislingen und Burghöfe*, taf. 26, no. 26; *Newstead*, pl. XCIII, 2, 4-6, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32; *Saalburg*, taf. LXXII, no. 3.
- 5 Bone counter with concentric ring pattern. Unstratified.
- 6 Bone counter  $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick with concentric ring pattern. Period XI.
- 7 Square piece of bone  $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick with diagonal scratches. Unstratified.
- 8 Bone counter with bevelled edges. Unstratified.
- 9 Bone counter with central depression. Unstratified.
- 10 Half a spindle whorl made from the base of a vessel of Rhenish ware. Period IXb.
- 11 Lead spindle whorl. Cf. *Brecon*, fig. 63, p. 120. Period VI.
- 12 Lead circular weight with central hole.
- 13 Circular bone object with central hole.
- 14 Stone loom weight. Period XI.
- 15 Stone palette. Professor F. W. Shotton reports that it is in a banded silty shale with a slight cleavage from one of the Lower Palaeozoic series which occur over a wide area in Wales. Period IIIb.
- 16 Square stone counter with rounded corners. Unstratified.
- 17 Blue-green glass counter. Period VI.
- 18 Square piece of lead with a *graffito*. Mr. R. P. Wright reports: 'Fragment of a 'defixio' or curse  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " wide and  $1\frac{3}{10}$ " high. The upper and right edges have been severed, the lower and left-hand edges are rounded by wear. It reads in cursive script: *dad* [. . . Apart from proper names, this syllable does not seem to fit into a Latin word. The name Dada is well attested (e.g. *CIL*, vii, 746, 858); apparently this is the last line of a curse.'

*Fig. 24*

- 1 White marble bowl. Period VI.
- 2 Fragment of the rim of a shale bowl of approximately 9" diameter. Period X.
- 3 Part of a shale bracelet. Period VII.
- 4 Part of a shale bracelet. Unstratified.
- 5 Pottery fragment of face mask of a man with moustache, probably from a pipe clay figurine of a Celtic deity. Cf. *Figurines Gallo-Romaines en argile d'Autun*, pl. 12, from the Rolin Collection. Unstratified.
- 6 Fragment of a lamp in cream ware with metallic colour-coat. Period IVb.
- 7 Part of an amphora stamp L P[. or L F[. Period IV.
- 8 Amphora stamp Q. F. C. Cf. *Wroxeter*, 1923-27, 282, no. 4; M. H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae*, no. 1449. Period VIII.
- 9 Amphora stamp S N R. Cf. Callender, no. 1641. Period IVb.
- 10 Amphora stamp R V F Po. The fairly sharp curve at the top of the handle would indicate an early date. Cf. Callender, no. 1370 (26), fig. 13, no. 39. Period VI.

*Fig. 25*

- 1 Quern stone in millstone grit.
- 2 Roof slate of diagonal form with four sides.
- 3 A fragment of painted wall plaster with a grill-like pattern in dark red and black on a pink ground with white blobs at the points of intersection with a black border.

NOTE ON BRONZE PATERA FRAGMENT<sup>19</sup>

By R. P. WRIGHT

It reads as . . . ] E S R V [ . . . and seems to come from the lower edge of an internal lunate perforation near the tip of the handle. This portion of a name cannot be matched in H. Willers, *Die römischen Bronzebeimer von Hemmoor* (1900), or *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien* (1907), or A. Radnoti, 'Die römischen Bronzegefäße von Pannonien', *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, 2nd ser. vi (1938).

<sup>19</sup>Thanks are due to the Council for British Archaeology for a grant towards the publication of this paper. Dame Kathleen wrote (1976): 'The text of this report was handed over to Dr. Webster in 1956. No attempt has been made to bring it up to date by incorporating new evidence or views both because I am too involved in other matters and because it would be unfortunate to delay its appearance still further.' Dr. Webster writes: 'The long and much regretted delay in bringing this report into publishable form has been due entirely to my difficulties in dealing with portable finds. Part of the training programme was the study of the pottery, and a number of students volunteered to take away a batch of the sherds for drawing and writing descriptions. This over-ambitious scheme was unsuccessful since some of the students not only failed to carry out the work but dispersed the material and even lost some of it. This caused a serious delay from which it was difficult to recover at a time when I began a new and exacting appointment. Eventually such pottery as could be recovered had to be drawn afresh and a report prepared. Although this is not a satisfactory explanation, at least it records the initial mistake and the beginning of our troubles.'

<sup>2</sup>The time has now been reached when the street lines have been sufficiently revealed by air photography to indicate the insulae in many parts of the site. Unfortunately the area in which the 2nd-cent. Forum lies is the least clear, and it is thus impossible to follow the logical sequence of starting with the Forum as I and working outwards. It is therefore preferred to number the four quarters separately. The 2nd-cent. Baths building would thus be S.E. I. (Dr. Webster writes: 'The insulae have subsequently been renumbered, and S.E. V has become Insula 9: *T.S.A.S.* lvii. 112-31.')

<sup>3</sup>*Wroxeter*, 1936-37.

<sup>4</sup>In the light of subsequent excavation on the Baths site (*Current Archaeology*, ii. 82-6) it is possible to identify this occupation as military from A.D. 57 to c. 90 when the legionary fortress was abandoned. (G.W.)

<sup>5</sup>Déchelette figure types (Déch.) are given where possible as they are much better drawings than Oswald's (O.). Equivalents may be discovered from the table in Oswald, vol. i.

<sup>6</sup>References in this form are the Field Nos.

<sup>7</sup>R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts* (1919).

<sup>8</sup>R. Knorr, *Terra-Sigillata Gefässe des ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen* (1952).

<sup>9</sup>F. Hermet, *La Graufesenque* (1934).

<sup>10</sup>F. Oswald, *The Terra-Sigillata (Samian Ware) of Margidunum* (1948).

<sup>11</sup>R. Knorr, 'Terra Sigillata-Gefässe', *Camstatt zur Römerzeit* (Stuttgart, 1921).

<sup>12</sup>S. N. Miller, *The Roman Fort at Balmuldy* (1922).

<sup>13</sup>I am most grateful to Miss M. Darling for comments on the military wares.

<sup>14</sup>For a discussion of the dating of this group see p. 16.

<sup>15</sup>A late pit.

<sup>16</sup>A late pit.

<sup>17</sup>In this section *RIC* refers to *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, ed. H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, et al. (1923- ), *NNM* to C. H. V. Sutherland, *Romano-British Imitations of Bronze Coins of Claudius I* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, lxxv; 1935), and *LRBC* to P. V. Hill, J. P. C. Kent, and R. A. G. Carson, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, A.D. 324-498* (1960).

<sup>18</sup>D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis found by the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition in Egypt, 1924-29* (*Univ. of Michigan Studies. Humanistic ser.* xli; Ann Arbor, 1936).

<sup>19</sup>Not illustrated.

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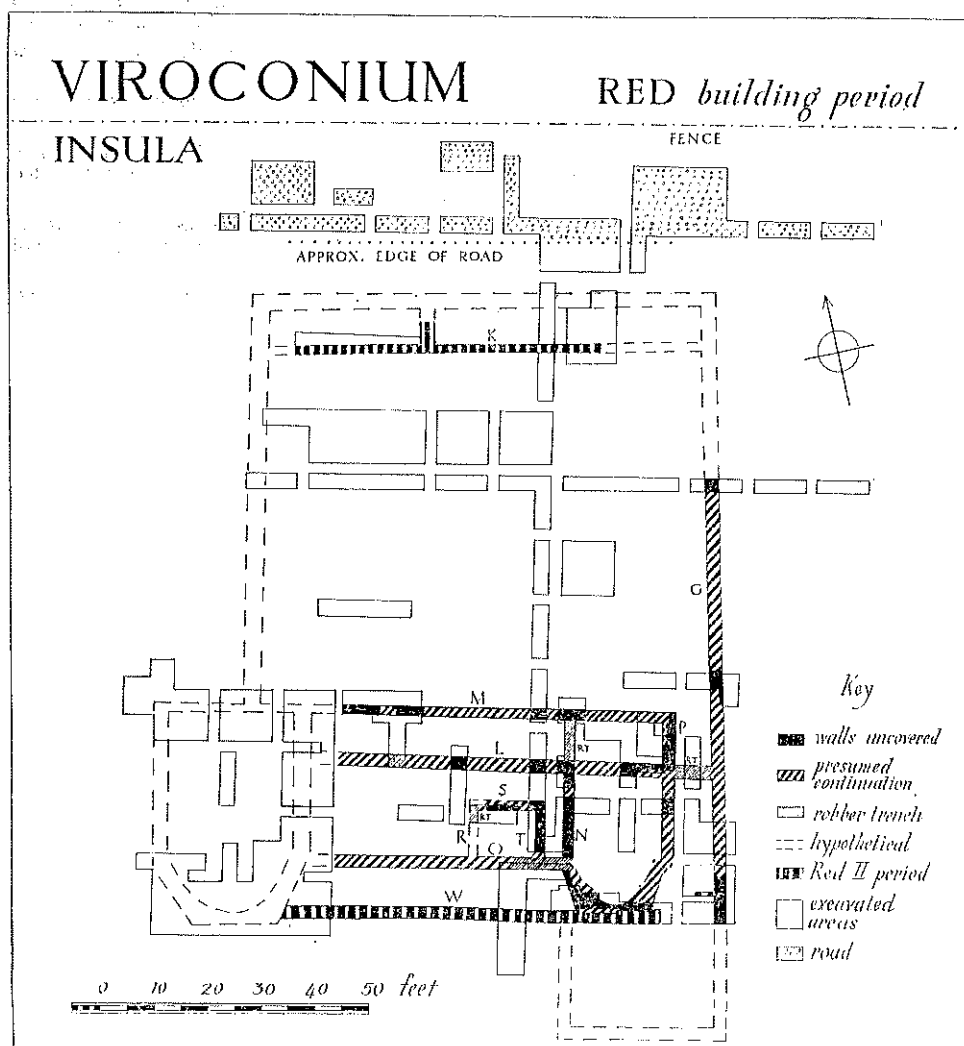


FIG. 3. – Red building period.



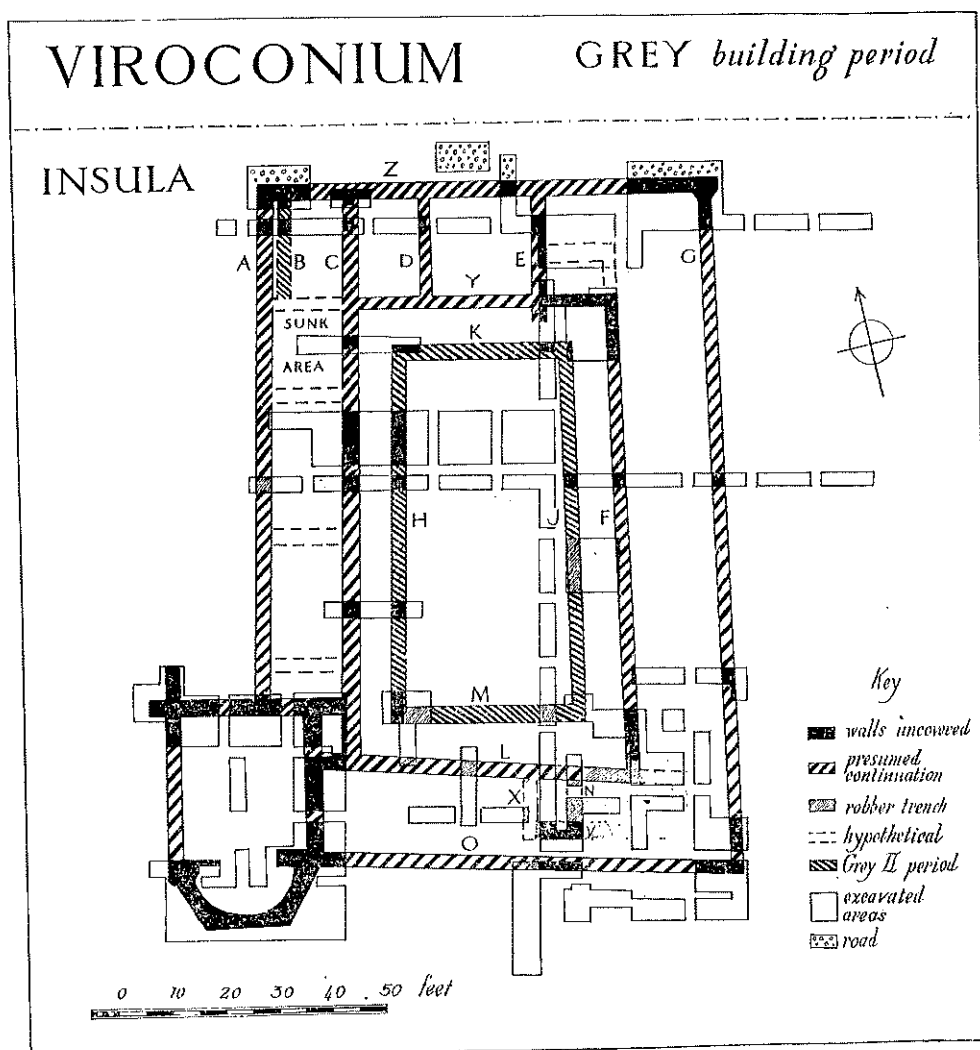
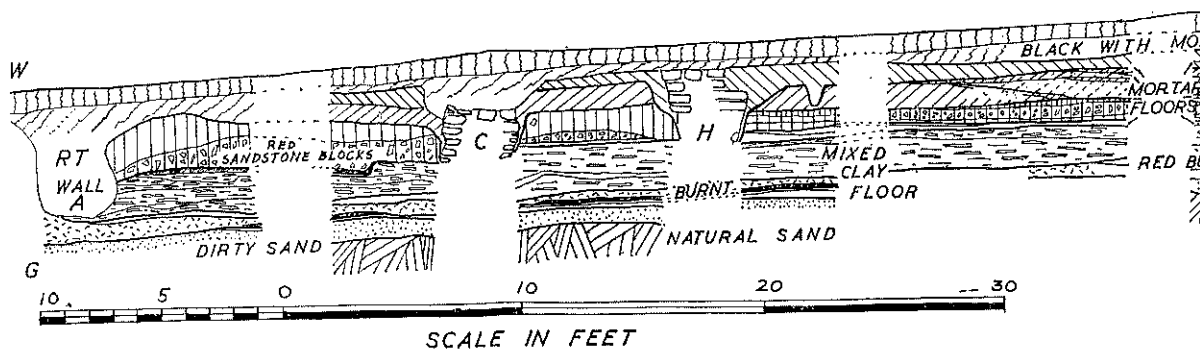
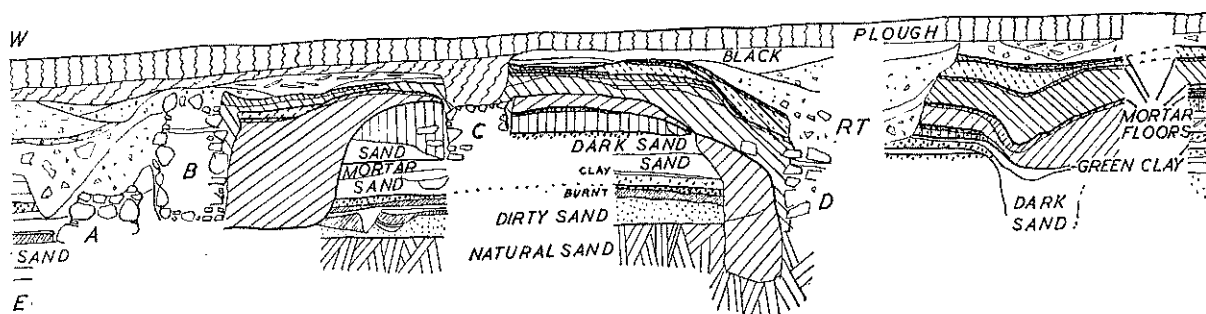
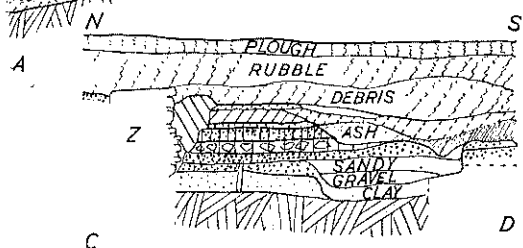
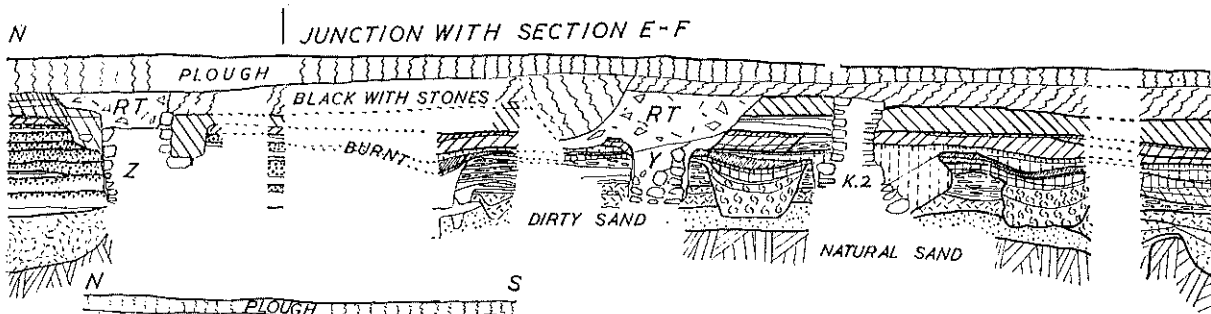


FIG. 4. – Grey building period.





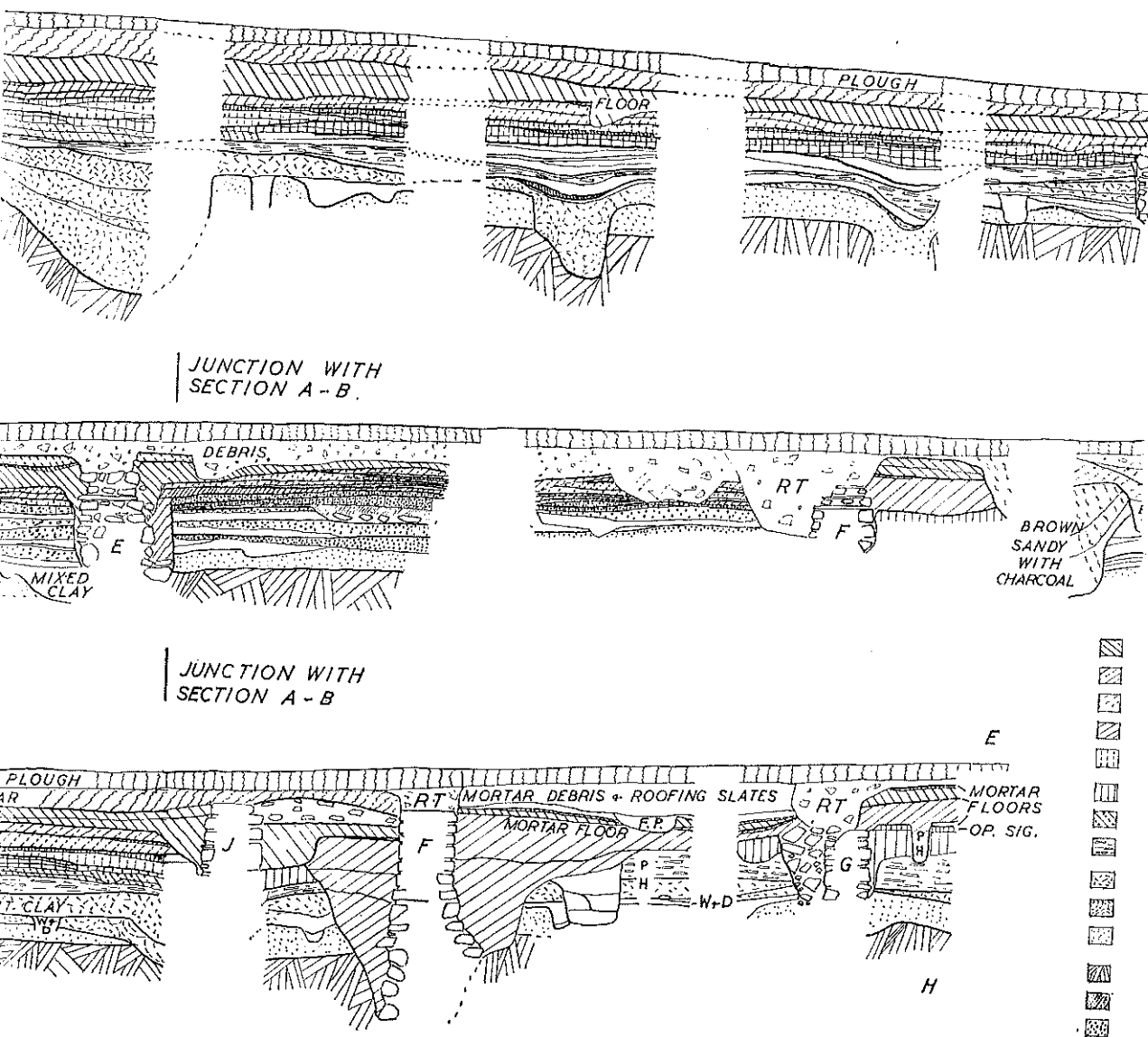
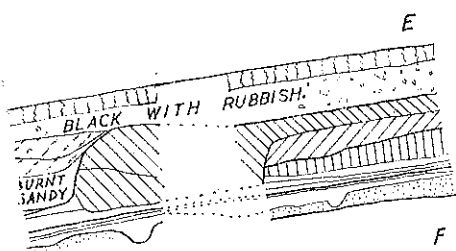
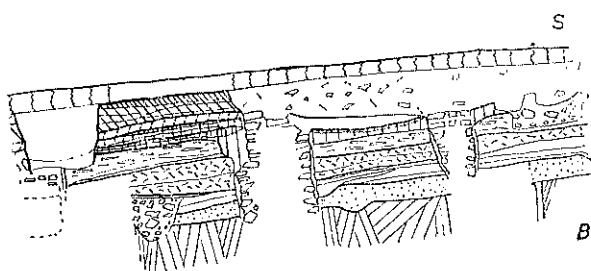


FIG. 5 - Sections.



GREY II  
 GREY Ib  
 GREY Ia  
 GREY I  
 RED II  
 RED I  
 PRE-RED FLOOR  
 WATTLE AND DAUB II COLLAPSE  
 WATTLE AND DAUB I DESTRUCTION  
 EARLY PITS  
 DIRTY SAND  
 NATURAL  
 BURNING  
 ROAD SURFACE

RT ROBBER TRENCH  
 W+D WATTLE AND DAUB  
 WALL  
 PH POST HOLE  
 FP FIRE PLACE



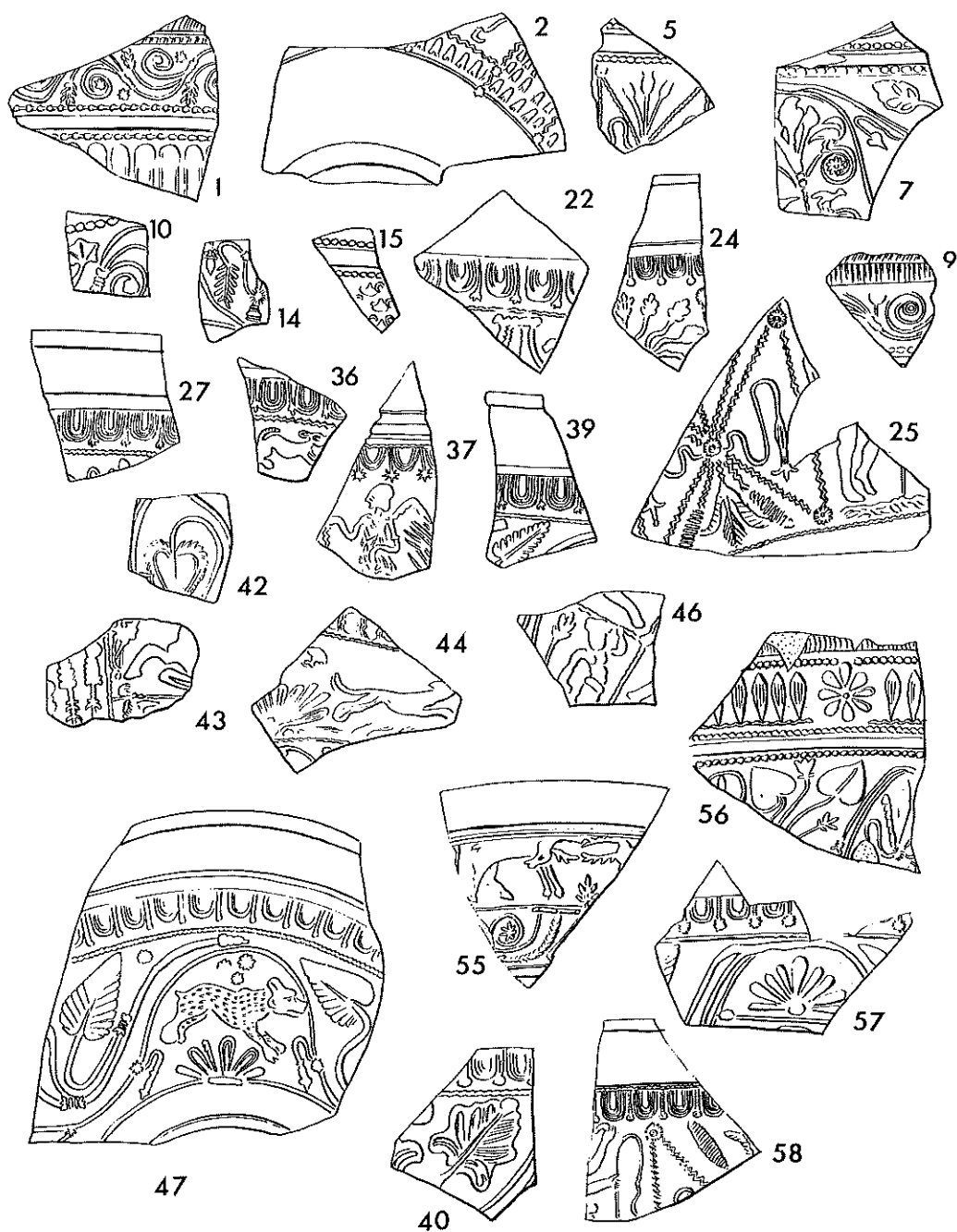


FIG. 6. – Samian pottery (half size)

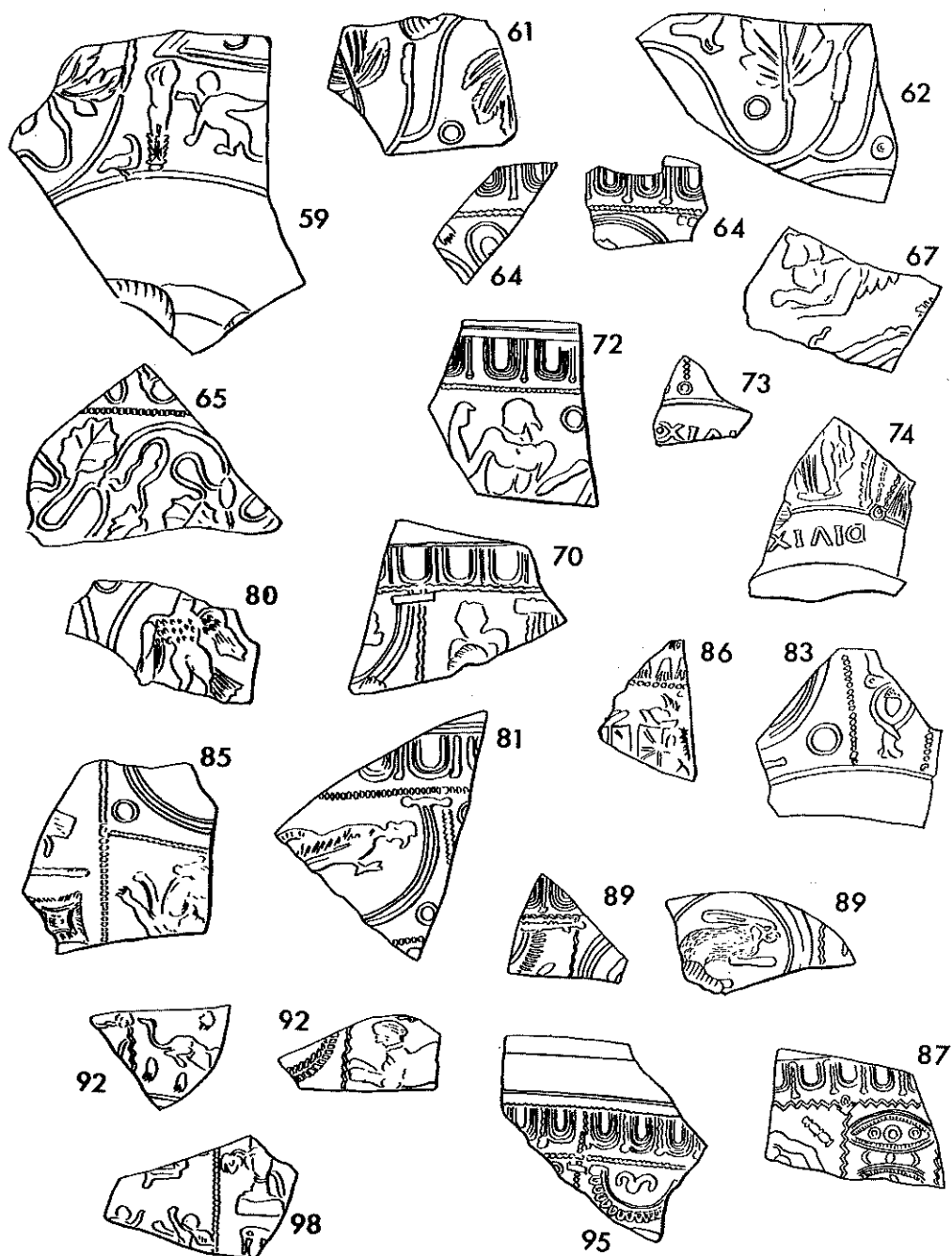


FIG. 7. – Samian pottery (half size)





FIG. 8. – Samian pottery (half size) and stamps (full size)

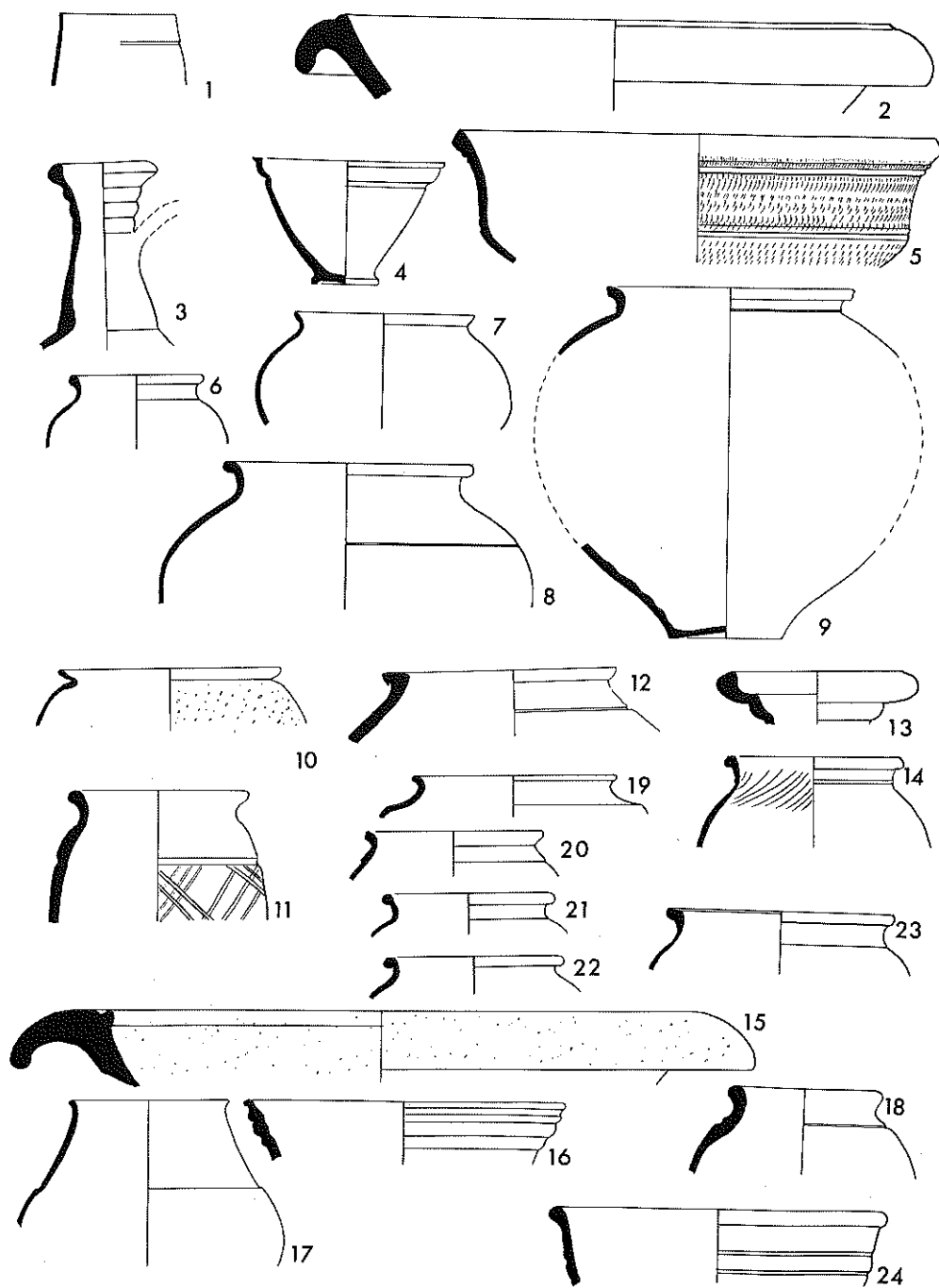


FIG. 9. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)

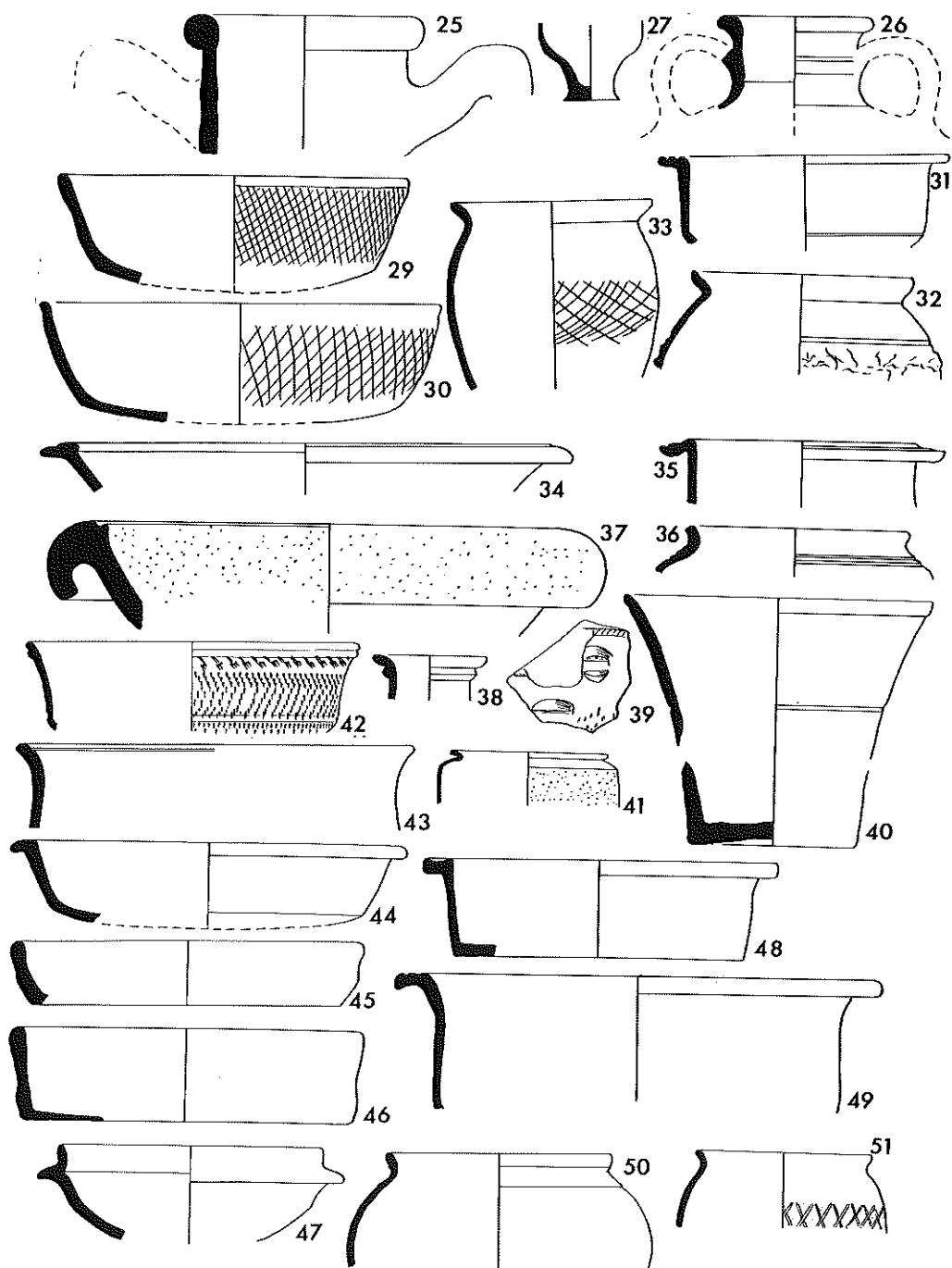


FIG. 10. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)

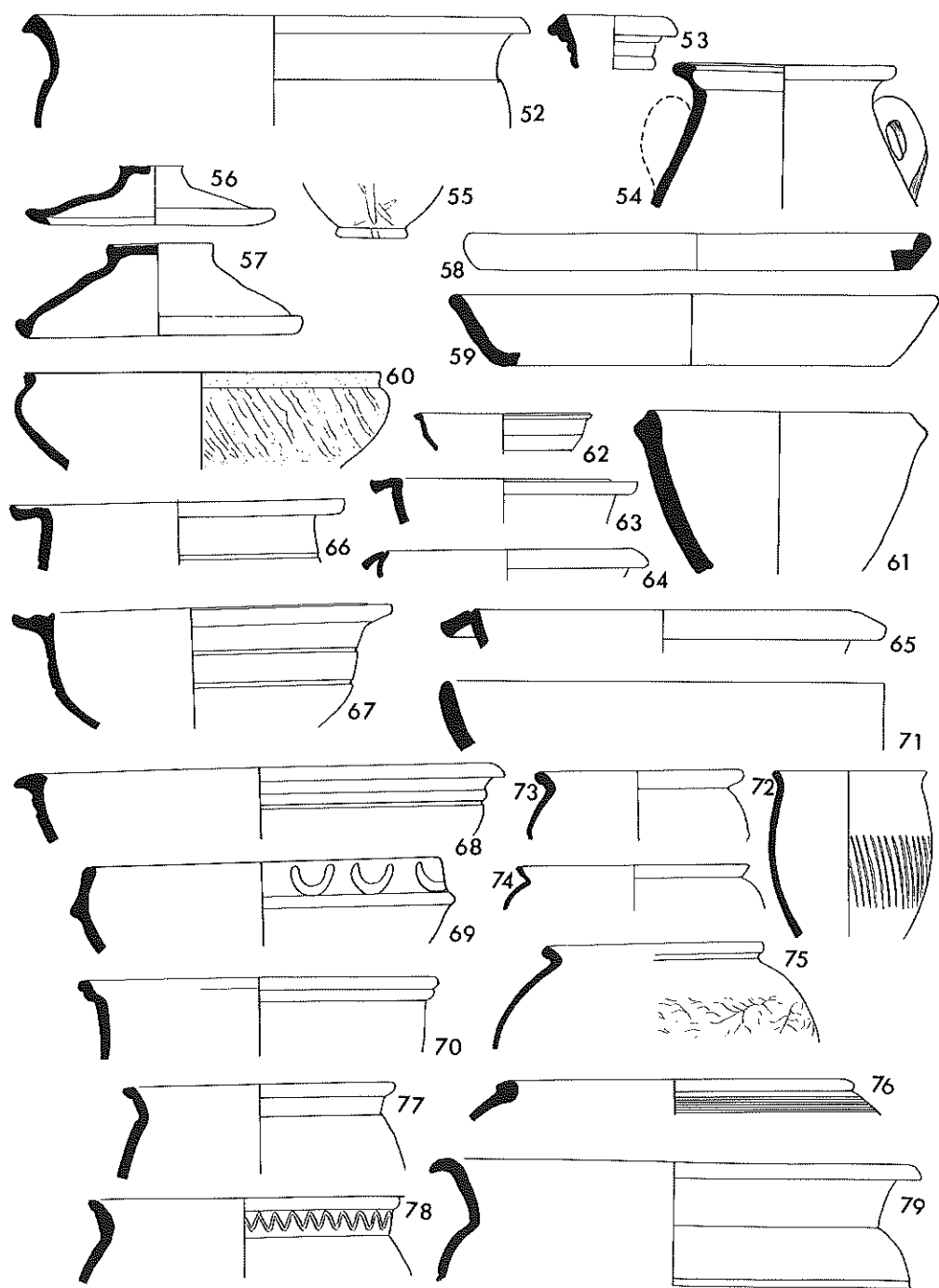


FIG. 11. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)

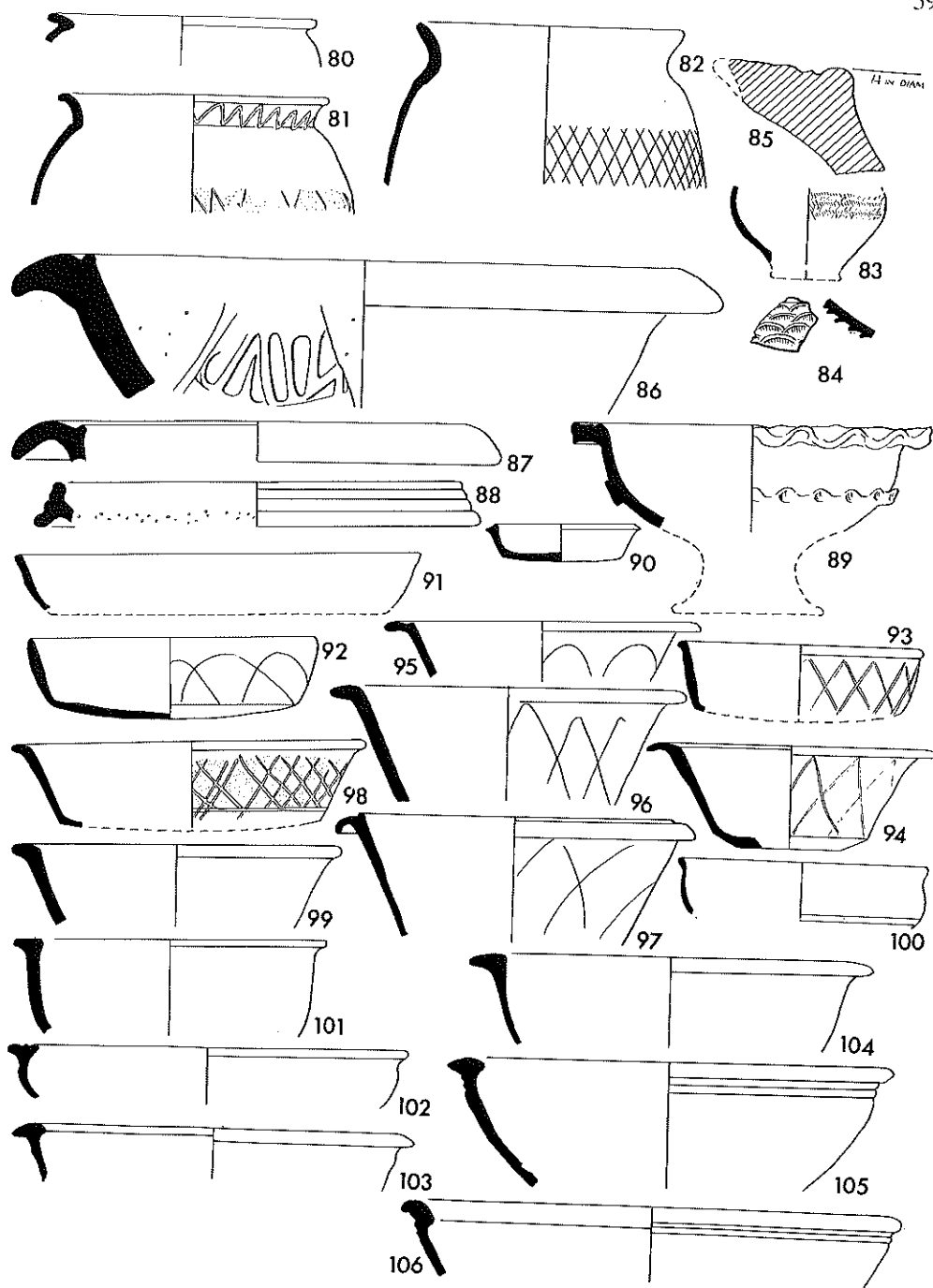


FIG. 12. - Coarse pottery (quarter size)

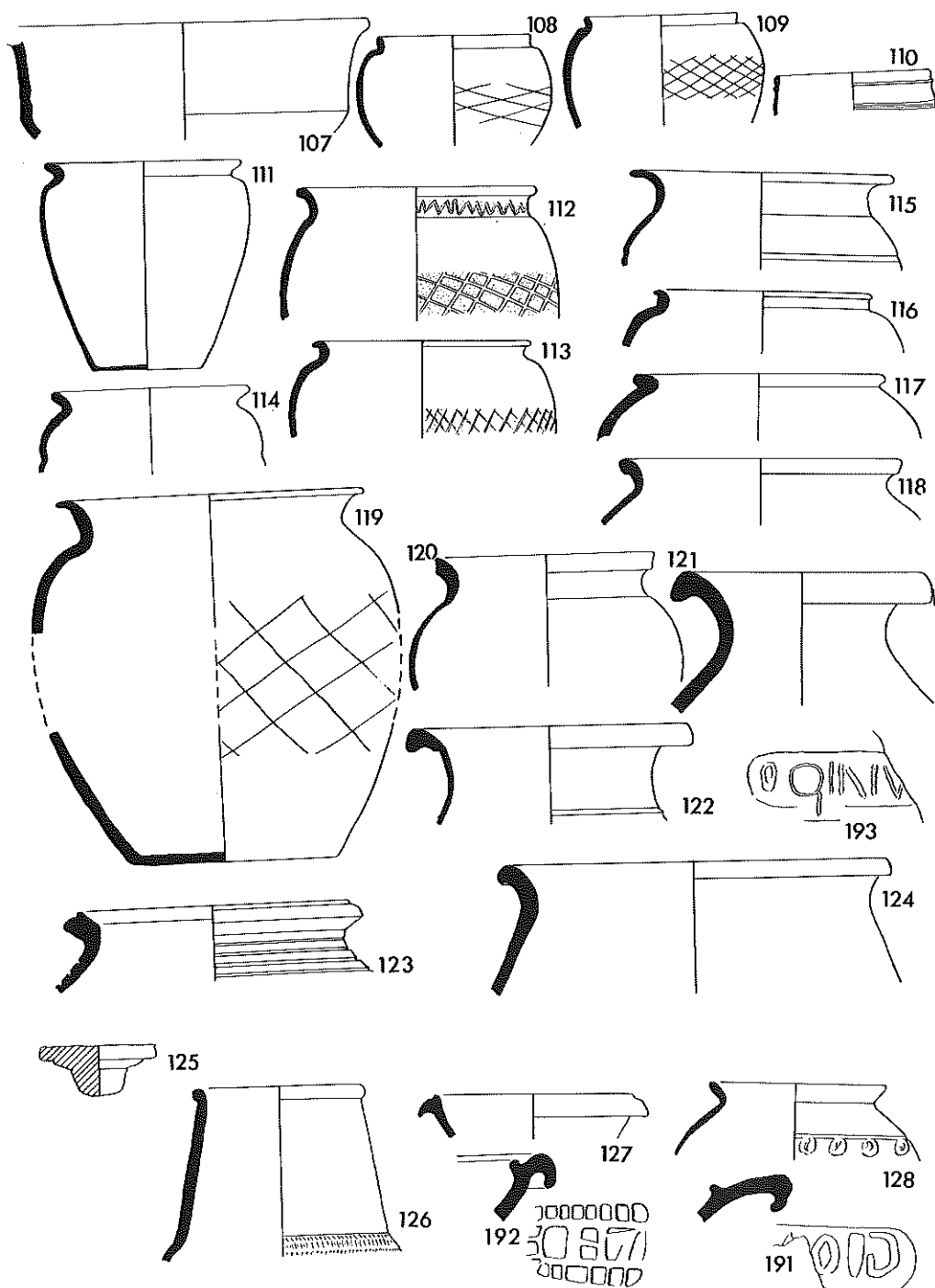


FIG. 13. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)

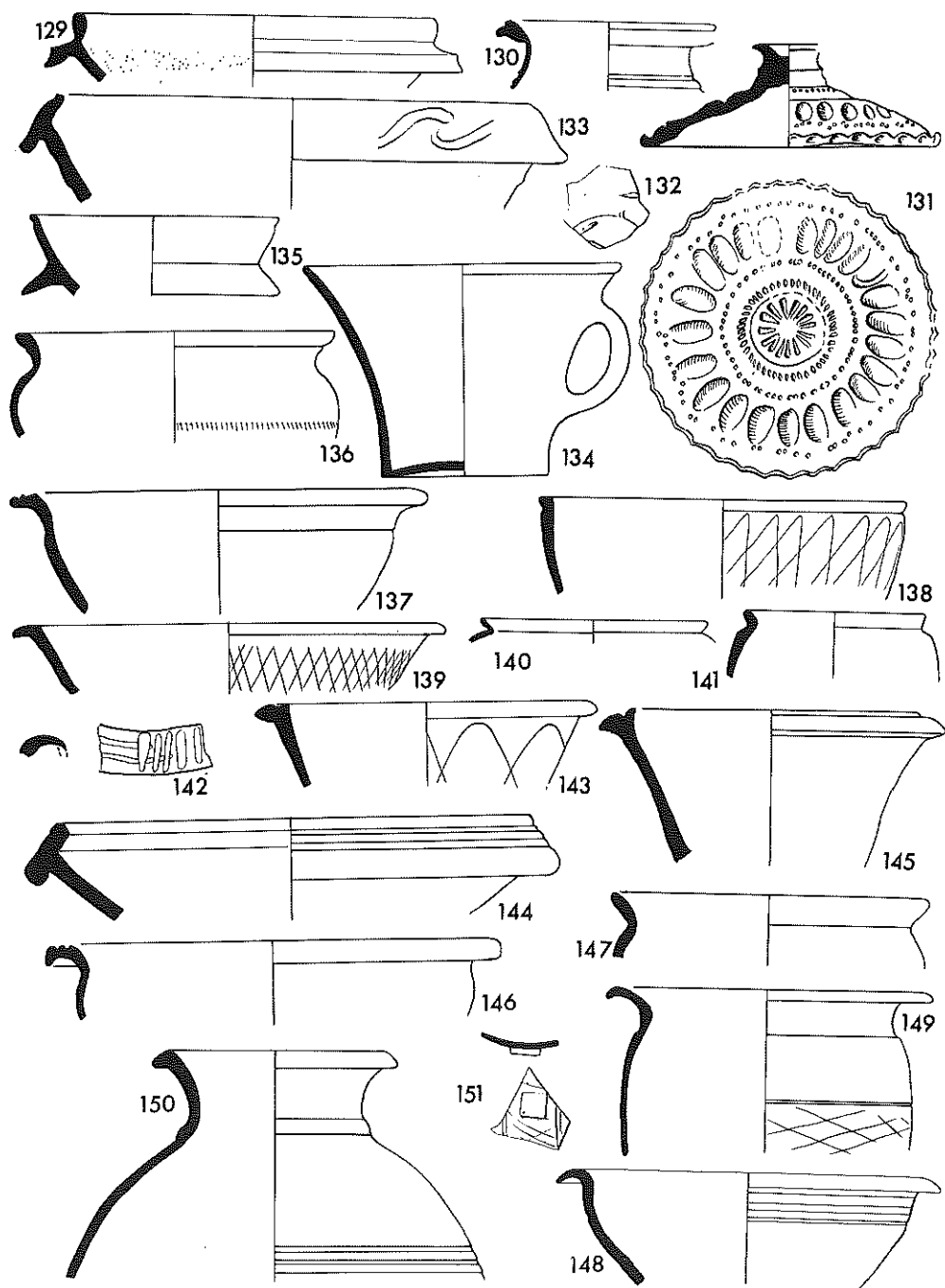


FIG. 14. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)

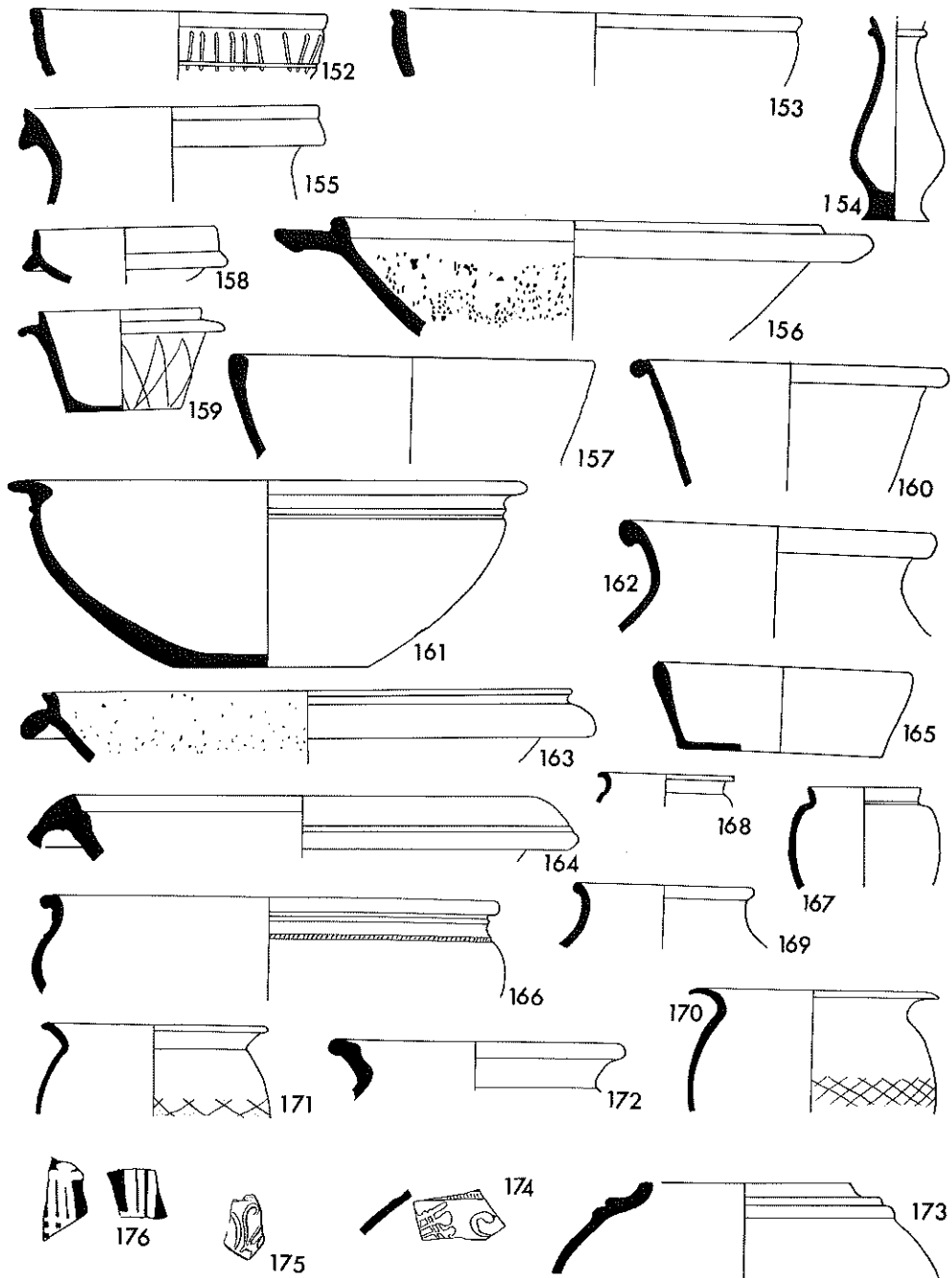


FIG. 15. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)



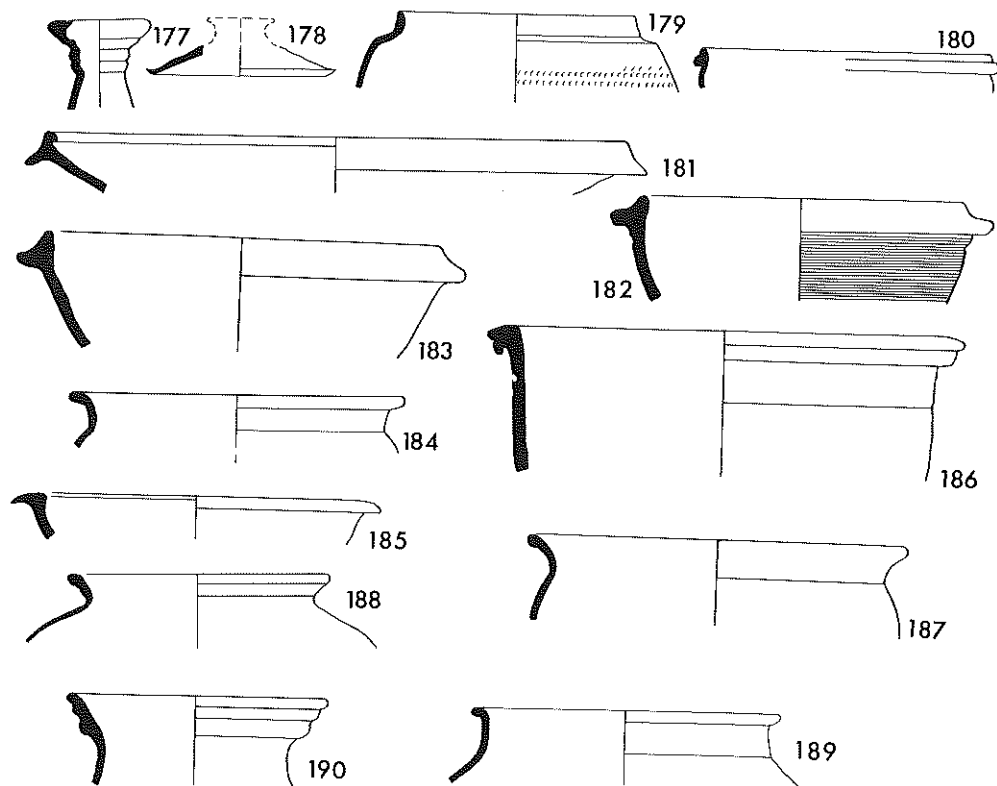


FIG. 16. – Coarse pottery (quarter size)



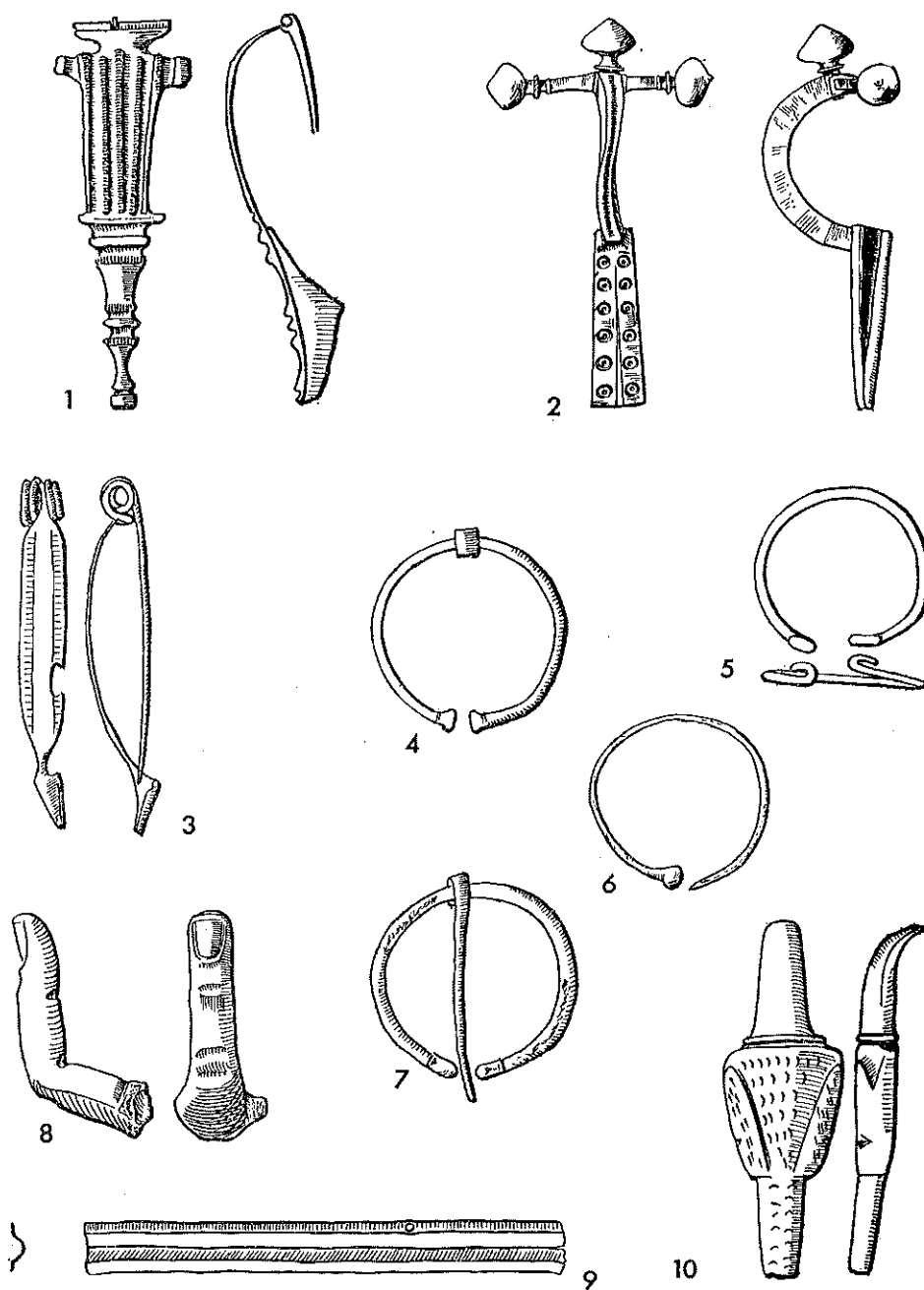


FIG. 17. – Small finds: Nos. 1–7 and 9–10 1/1; No. 8 1/2

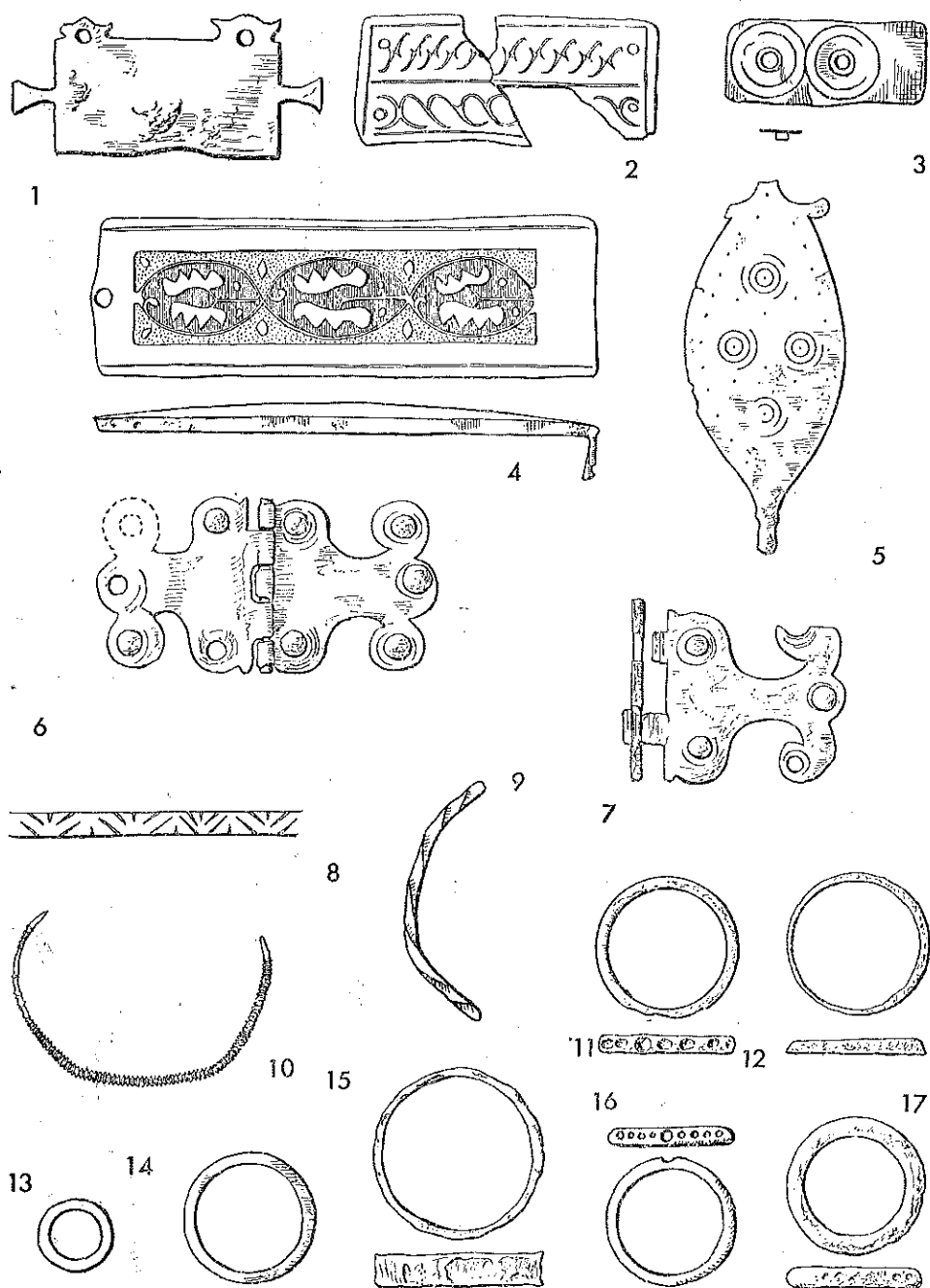


FIG. 18. - Small finds: Nos. 1-9 and 11-16 1/1; Nos. 10 and 17 1/2

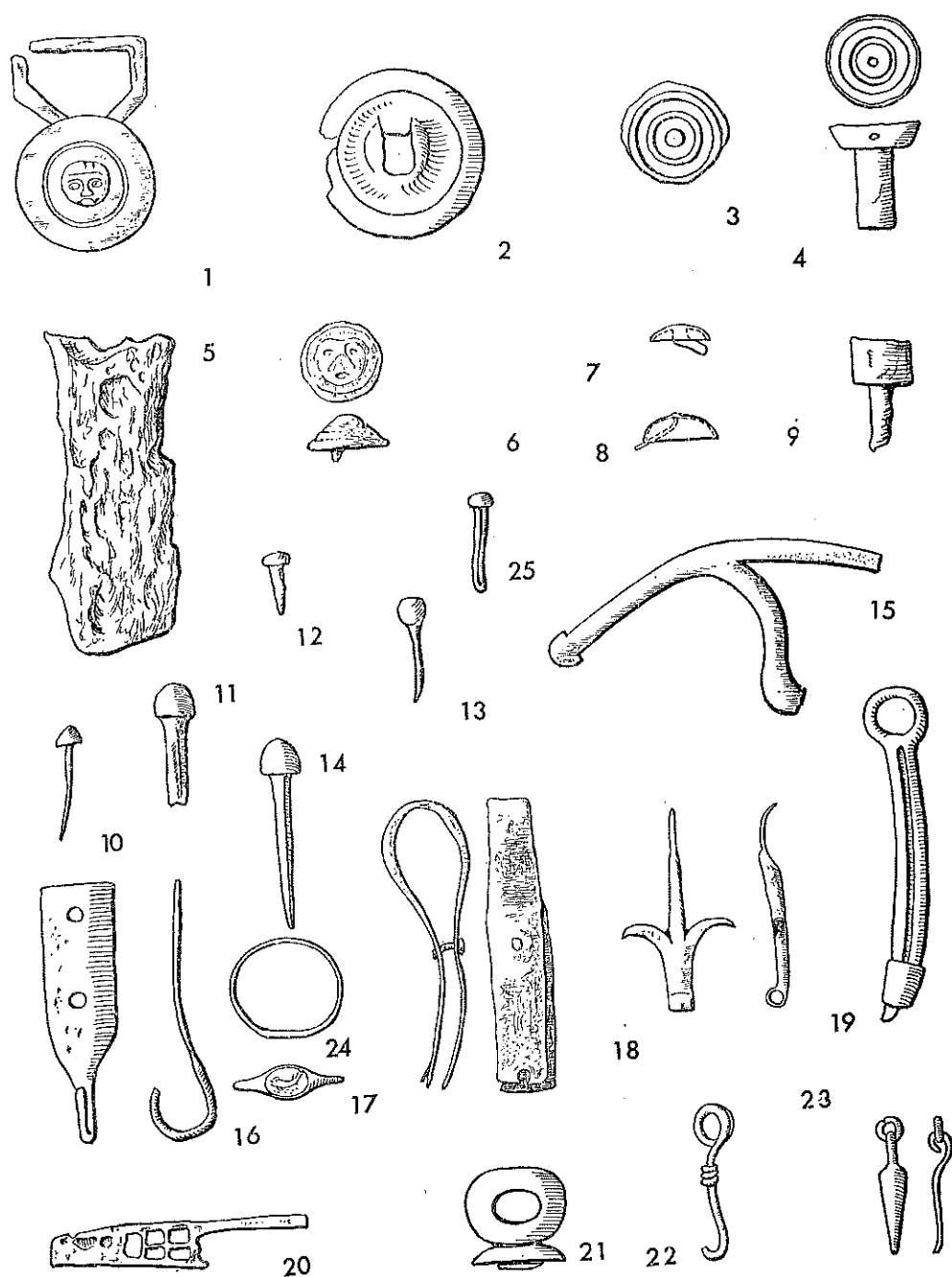


FIG. 19. — Small finds: Nos. 1–4, 6–19, 21–23 1/1; Nos. 5 and 20 1/2

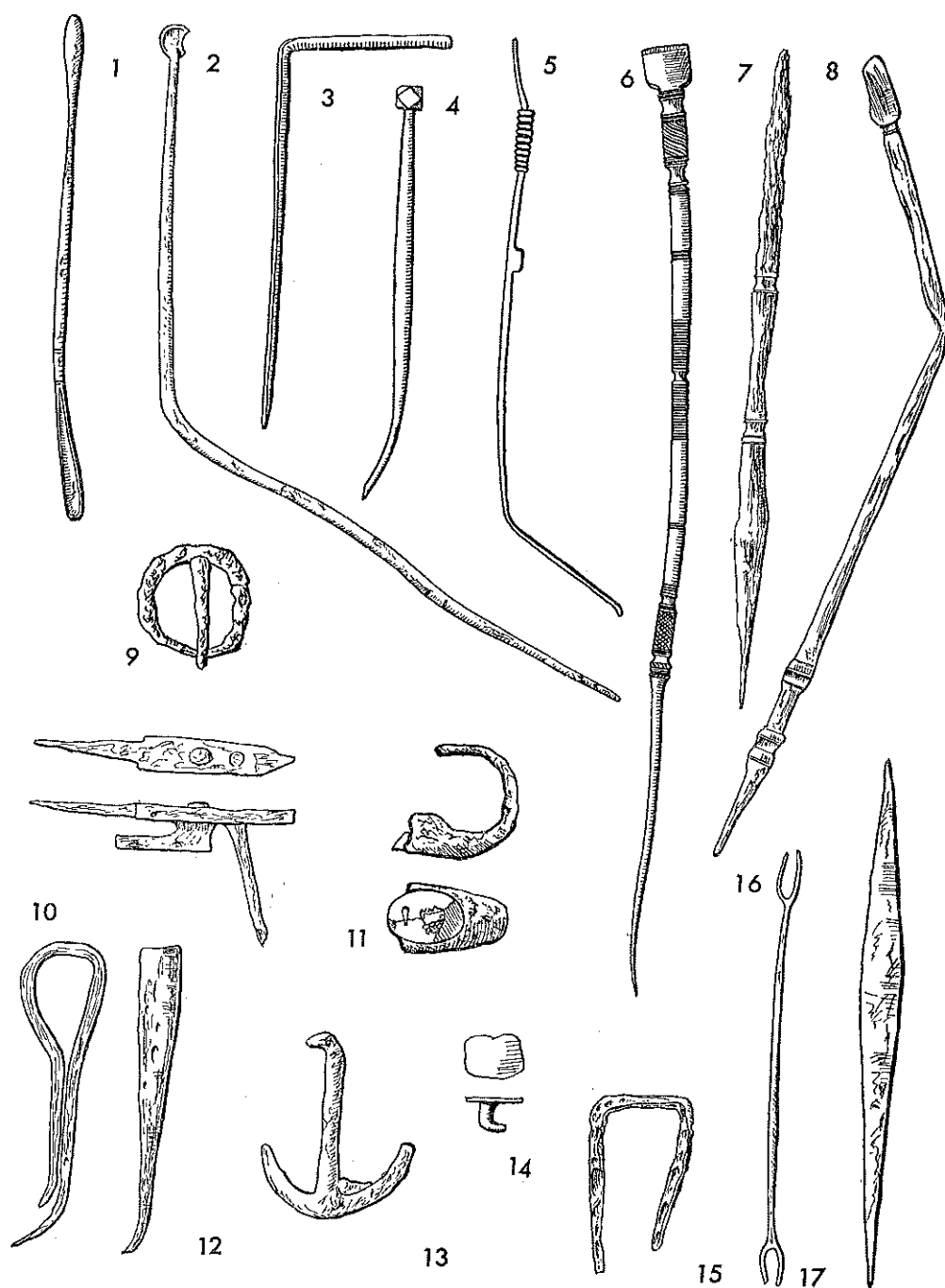


FIG. 20. — Small finds: Nos. 2-4, 6-8, 11, 14, and 17 1/1; Nos. 1, 5, 9-10, 12-13, and 15-16 1/2

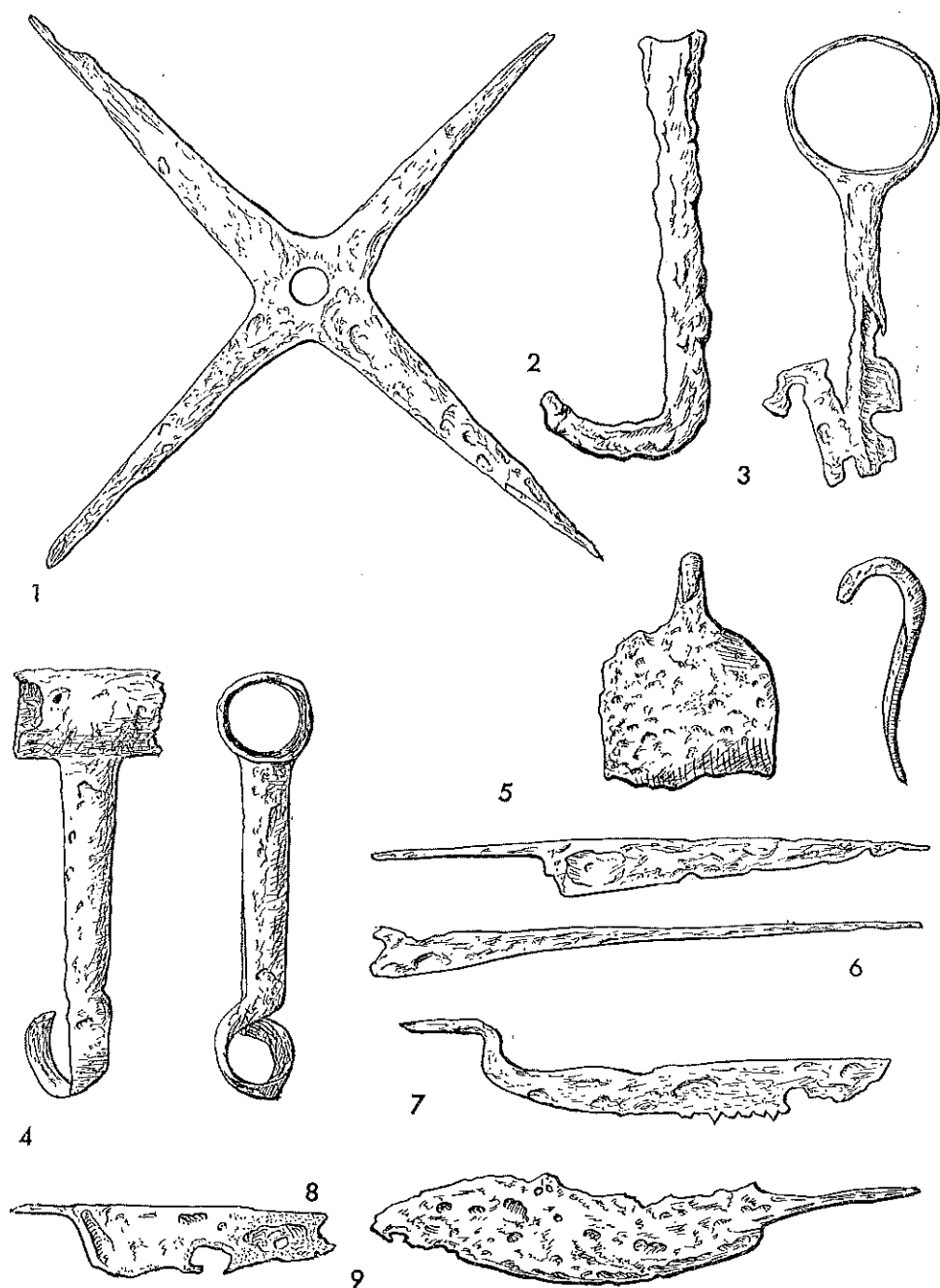


Fig. 21. - Small finds: Nos. 1, 5-9 1/2; Nos. 2-4 1/1

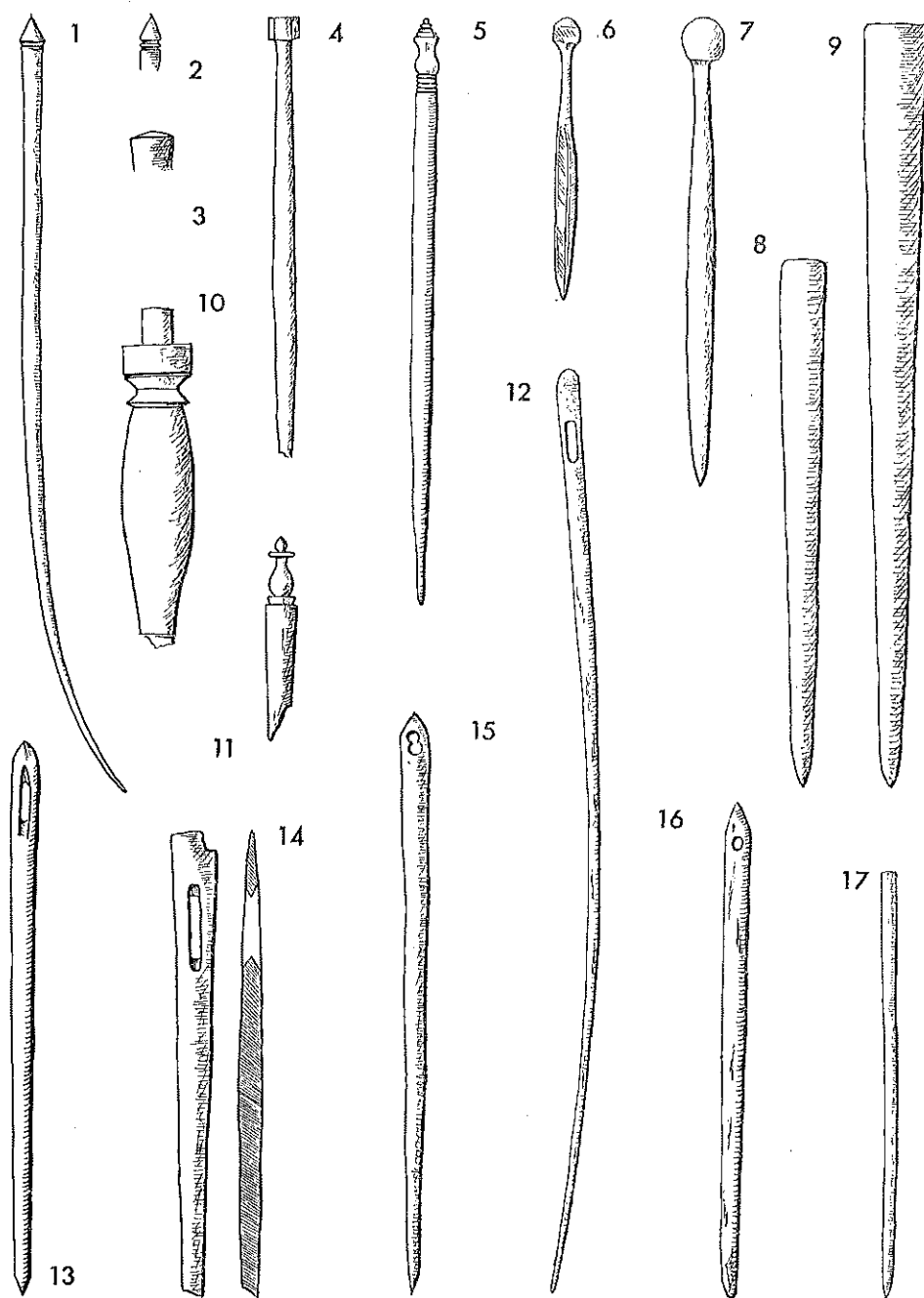


FIG. 22. – Small finds 1/1



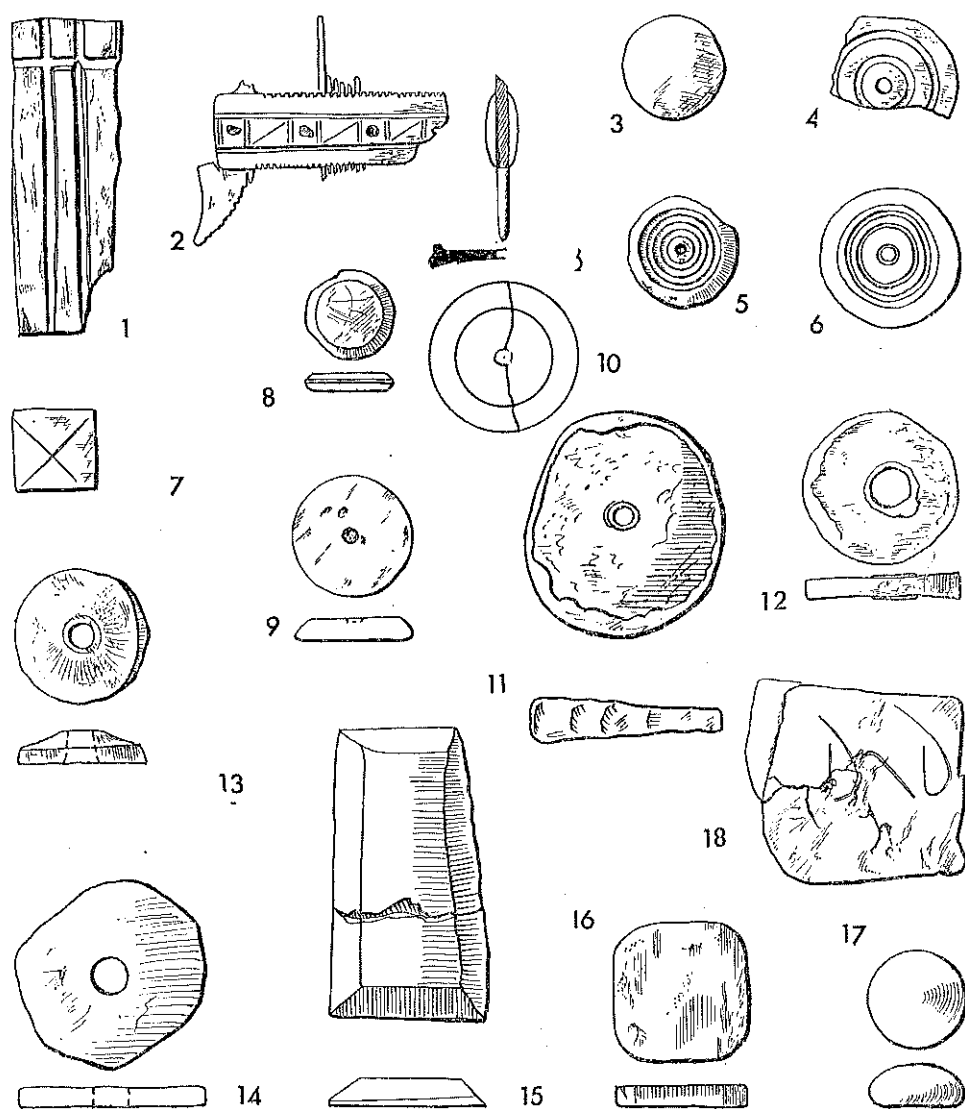


FIG. 23. — Small finds: Nos. 1, 3–9, 11–13, and 17–18 1/1; Nos. 2, 10, and 14–16 1/2

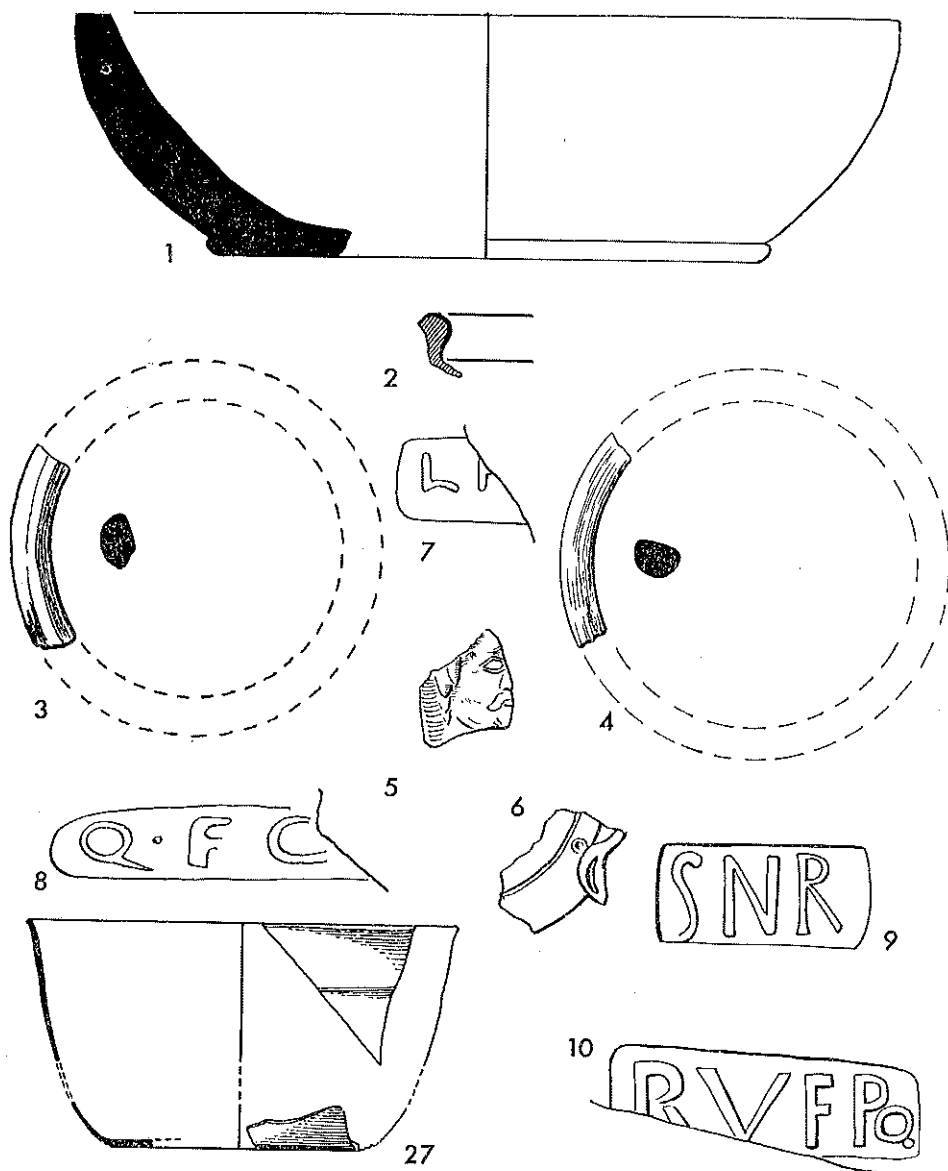


FIG. 24. - Small finds: Nos. 2 and 7-10 1/1; Nos. 1 and 3-6 1/2. For No. 27 see p. 42

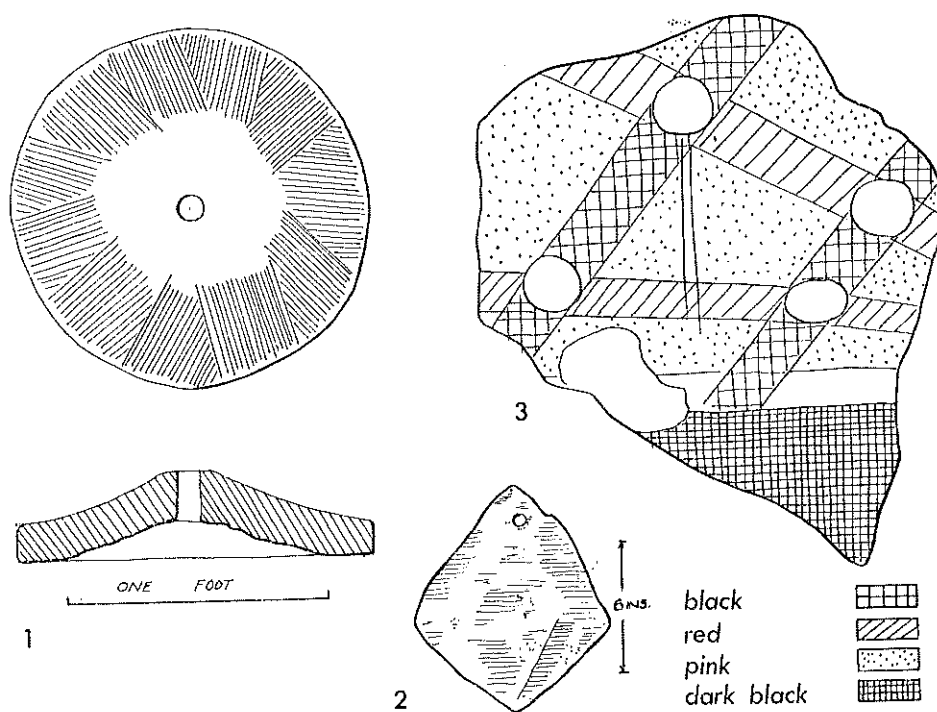


FIG. 25. — Small finds 1/2



# EXCAVATIONS AT WOOLSTASTON MOTTE-AND-BAILEY CASTLE, 1965

By TREVOR ROWLEY

In 1965 the Shrewsbury Archaeological Research Group undertook a short rescue excavation on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works at Castle Bank in the parish of Woolstaston. The work was undertaken in advance of the construction of a small reservoir on a position inside the rampart of the bailey.<sup>1</sup>

The castle, which commands impressive views across the Cound Valley to the east and the Church Stretton gap to the south, lies to the west of Rectory Farm in the village of Woolstaston, at the junction of the roads running down from the Long Mynd and the former road running north towards Smethcott (figure 26).

Woolstaston lies on a glacial ridge at about 825 feet in an area of stony drift with patches of sand and gravel on the north-eastern edge of the Long Mynd. The soil is predominantly a very stony brown loam.

The earthworks at Castle Bank consist of an irregular, eroded motte surrounded by a shallow ditch. Attached to this there is a single bailey with the remains of a rampart and ditch which has completely disappeared on the south-eastern side. A water-filled pool to the north of the castle earthworks may originally have been a fish pond.

There is very little surviving documentary evidence for the site, as is the case with the majority of earth and timber Welsh Border castles. The site appears to have been deserted by the end of the 13th century when it was replaced by a fortification at Castle Hill on the eastern boundary of the parish.<sup>2</sup>

No previous archaeological field work had been carried out on the site.

## *The Excavation*

It was intended to strip the threatened area down to the natural subsoil in order to see if there was any evidence of buildings and to confirm the nature of the site. Despite careful examination, however, it soon became obvious that the area was featureless, and, in order to test if the castle site had been occupied at all, a short section was placed across the motte ditch.

## *Site A*

A 15-ft.-square was excavated on the site of the proposed reservoir. Under the turf level a layer of irregular small stones was uncovered. This was carefully trowelled and a scatter of medieval cooking-pot sherds was found, but no structures, even of the flimsiest nature, were located. Below the stony level there was an undisturbed red clay level about 1 foot thick, which gave way to natural sand. Five further test pits were sunk into the natural subsoil to confirm its nature.

## *Site B (Fig. 27)*

A section 20 ft. by 3 ft. was excavated across the motte ditch down to natural and a number of interesting features emerged from the stratification.

### *Stratification*

### *Finds*

- 1 Turf and topsoil, red sandy with small broken stones.

*Stratification*

- 2 Light brown clay with large stones, some sand patches. Flecks of charcoal.
- 3 Heavy red clay, with large rounded stones. Clean.
- 3a Shallow layer of sand and large stones.
- 4 Sandy gravel with irregular broken stones and scatter of charcoal.
- 5 Post Hole. A single post hole on the inner lip of the bailey contained a homogeneous dark humic fill.
- 6 Dark humic level with much charcoal and lumps of burnt clay.
- 7 Sand with rounded stones, some charcoal.
- 8 Clean red sand (primary silting).
- 9 Natural.

*Finds*

Body sherds of 18th- and 19th-C. pot.

16th/17th- jug body sherds.  
A small number of medieval sherds.

Scatter of medieval pottery (nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7).  
Nos. 2 and 3.

*Interpretation*

The section revealed that the site had been occupied. The original U-shaped ditch was dug into the natural clay and gravel. After this there was a period of rapid primary silting (L.7) followed by a period of slower accumulation of silt and stones (L.8). Level 6 represents a destruction phase when there appears to have been a considerable amount of burning on the site. As the pottery from the site stops about 1300 it is reasonable to link this destruction phase with the documentary record of a move to Castle Hill about this date. It may represent deliberate destruction of timber buildings prior to the abandonment of the castle, or it may have been accidental and precipitated the move.

After this the ditch appears to have been left open for a considerable period of time with very little accumulation. It is possible, though unlikely, that it was prevented from being silted up. Level 3a contained sherds of 16th-century jug. After this the ditch appears to have been filled rapidly and probably deliberately, firstly with a level of clean local clay (L.3) and later with a clay/stone compound (L.2).

The post hole could have belonged to a bailey palisade, which apparently was not constructed until after level 7 had been deposited, perhaps an indication that originally the site had not been permanently occupied. The upper part of the post hole is missing, and there appears to have been disturbance before the deposition of L.2. The post, which was driven straight into the ground, seems to have rotted away.

*The Finds*

Several dozen sherds of pottery were found during the excavation, but only a very few of these were in the form of rims or bases. Apart from a few nails from the medieval levels there were no metal finds.

Most of the medieval pottery falls into 13th-century types found already at Brockhurst castle,<sup>3</sup> Smethcott,<sup>4</sup> Roushill, Shrewsbury,<sup>5</sup> and Abdon.<sup>6</sup> The finds are in the possession of the writer.

*Catalogue of Medieval Pottery (not illustrated)*

- 1 Rim of cooking pot, fine hard fabric. Hard grey core with buff outer layer black surfaces. Made on fast wheel. Before 1255. Cf. Brockhurst, variant of Type 3.
- 2 Rim of cooking pot, dark hard sandy fabric with a few largish grits, blackened by fire. Cf. Brockhurst, variant of Type 3.
- 3 Rim of cooking pot, hard brown sandy fabric, red surfaces, partly blackened by fire. Cf. Abdon (13th century), Brockhurst, and Smethcott.
- 4 Rim of cooking pot, hard dark grey gritty fabric, with pink and black surfaces. Cf. Smethcott and Abdon.
- 5 Rim of cooking pot, chalky light buff fabric with dark grits, similar to sherds from Abdon (13th century).
- 6 Fragment of thumb-pressed base, hard off-white fabric. Cf. Roushill, group 3 (1275-1300).
- 7 Part of base of small jug, orange red fabric, hard fired, dark surfaces. A clumsy ill finished pot. Cf. Roushill, group 5 (1300-1350).

*Conclusions*

Despite the unproductive excavations in the bailey it is obvious – from the pottery and the traces of a palisade from cutting 2 – that there was some form of occupation on the site. Any attempt to date this occupation precisely is impossible, but the pottery covers a span roughly 1200 to 1300.

No traces of actual timber buildings were located, and occupation here was obviously not as intensive as at Hên Domen or even Smethcott motte, where stone structures were uncovered.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that occupation at Woolstaston was of a limited and perhaps intermittent nature, but the presence of domestic pottery does perhaps indicate some permanent occupation.

The site appears to have been finally abandoned about 1300. Thereafter the motte ditch appears to have been left open until about 1600, when it was deliberately back-filled.

<sup>1</sup>Thanks are gratefully recorded to the owner of Rectory farm and, for their help with the compilation of this paper, to Mr. Philip Barker and the late Alec Gaydon.

<sup>2</sup>*V.C.H. Salop.* viii, 170–1.

<sup>3</sup>P. A. Barker, 'A pottery sequence from Brockhurst Castle', *T.S.A.S.* lvii, 63–80.

<sup>4</sup>P. A. Barker, 'Medieval Pottery from sites in Shropshire: II', *T.S.A.S.* lvi, 258–62; idem, *The Medieval Pottery of Shropshire from the Conquest to 1400* (Shropshire Archaeol. Soc. monograph ser. 1, 1970).

<sup>5</sup>P. A. Barker, 'Excavations on the Town Wall, Roushill, Shrewsbury', *Medieval Archaeology*, v, 181–210.

<sup>6</sup>Forthcoming rep. on excavations at Abdon deserted medieval village (by the present writer).

<sup>7</sup>The bases of stone corner towers were uncovered at Smethcott motte during excavations there in the later 1950s: inf. from Mr. P. A. Barker.

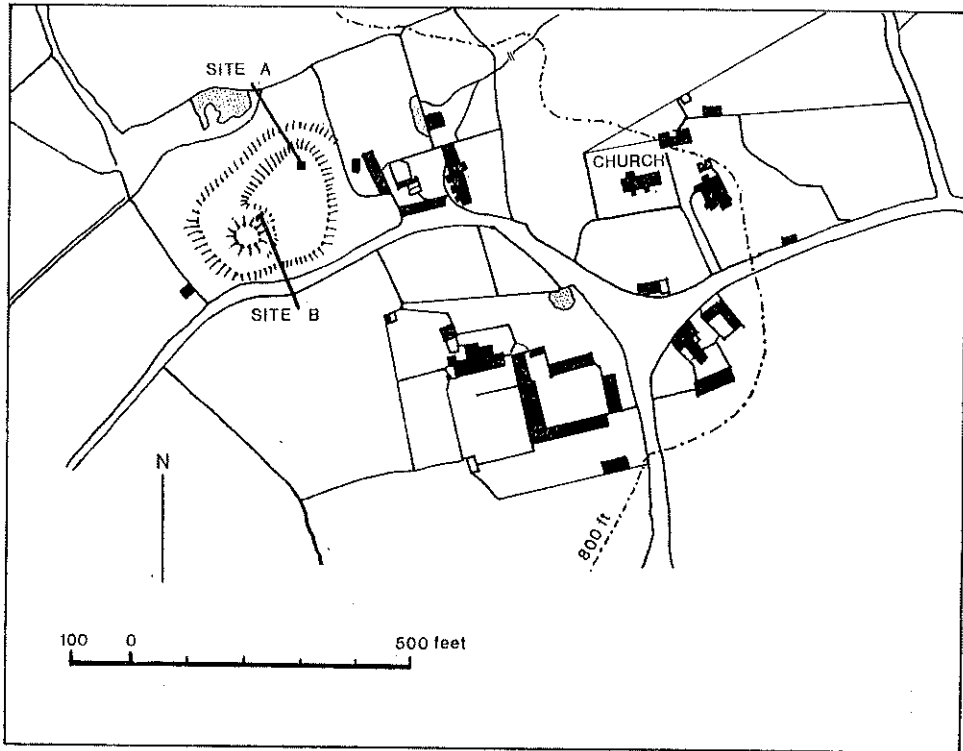


FIG. 26



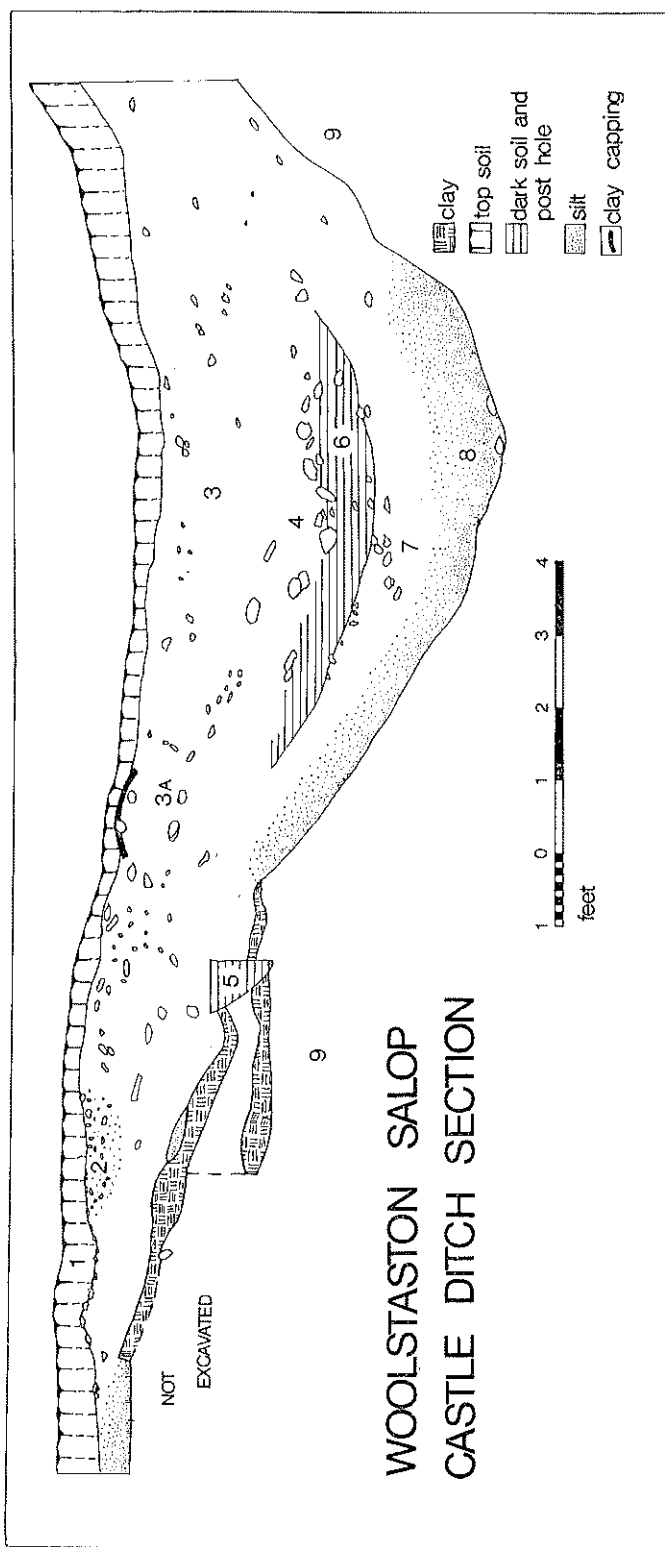


FIG. 27



*By D. C. Cox*

IN 1307 Shropshire's leading resident freeholders, the 'community' of the county, presented to the king's visiting justices a statement of what they claimed to be some of the ancient customs of keeping the peace in Shropshire.<sup>1</sup> That document and an earlier draft have survived, and the texts are here published for the first time. The county's statement is perhaps a unique survival as a detailed contemporary account of early medieval peace-keeping in one of the English shires of the Welsh border and the north, none of which shared the ancient notion of 'frankpledge', or collective responsibility for bringing wrongdoers to justice. It tells us much that could apply not only to Shropshire but also to Herefordshire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and to all the northern shires beyond.<sup>2</sup>

It was compiled to meet a local crisis. In 1285 the Statute of Winchester had consolidated the police legislation of the previous hundred years; it required every hundred and vill to organize itself for the detection, pursuit, and capture of criminals by its own inhabitants,<sup>3</sup> building upon the tradition of communal responsibility that had long since been implanted in all the southern and eastern shires. Translating a statute into effective action was never easy for medieval governments; even when a statute met no local opposition its force was commonly weakened by local lethargy and inefficiency. To introduce the Statute of Winchester to shires like Shropshire, where the inhabitants had little or no tradition of collective peace-keeping, was a task of more than usual difficulty. In Shropshire it was made still more difficult by the fact that the county community had a history of resistance to such attempts as had already been made to introduce collective peace-keeping responsibilities. In 1253, for example, the Assize of Arms was reissued with an unprecedented provision that each vill should pay for a communal store of arms for its watch and should make good any losses suffered by merchants passing through.<sup>4</sup> According to Matthew Paris nearly all the Shropshire gentry then chose to suffer heavy financial penalties rather than acknowledge such obligations.<sup>5</sup> Administrative records suggest that the money was actually a commutation of the local police duties required of the inhabitants of Shropshire and Staffordshire by the king in 1250,<sup>6</sup> but the fact remains that the community of Shropshire was willing to pay rather than concede a collective responsibility for law and order.

Shropshire's opposition to the principle of collective liability, and thus to the Statute of Winchester, was maintained by virtually the whole county community and therefore could not be countered by any judicial body that depended on local initiative to bring resisters before the court. The county's keepers of the peace, leading members of the community who were appointed in 1287 and 1300 with instructions to enforce the statute,<sup>7</sup> can hardly have had any inclination for that task. In any case, without general local consent the keepers were unlikely to be offered much evidence against neglecters of the statute. It may have taken the government some years to realize that only justices without Shropshire connexions, empowered not merely to hear but also to demand evidence from representatives of every hundred and liberty, could hope to prevail against a general local resistance. The articles of the eyre are not known to have included any on the observance of the Statute of Winchester,<sup>8</sup>

although the communities of Yorkshire and Westmorland certainly took the opportunity of the eyres to reassert in the 1290s their exemption from the frankpledge laws.<sup>9</sup> There is no evidence in the Shropshire eyre rolls of 1292 that Shropshire's exemption from the frankpledge principle was questioned,<sup>10</sup> whereas in all the 'frankpledge' shires the principle was systematically enforced by Edward I's itinerant justices.<sup>11</sup>

It was not until some twenty years after the Statute of Winchester that a judicial body with instructions to inquire into the statute's observance was sent to Shropshire. In 1305, in order to combat an increase in serious crime, particularly by armed gangs hired or protected by local lords,<sup>12</sup> Edward I began to commission the itinerant royal justices who were known as justices of 'trailbaston'. Unlike the justices of gaol delivery, already familiar in the shires, they had a general commission of oyer and terminer, which meant that they could hear evidence of every serious offence, whether or not the accused were already in custody.<sup>13</sup> The trailbaston justices visited Shropshire in 1305, 1306, and 1307.<sup>14</sup> In addition to their oyer and terminer commission they were provided in 1307 with articles of inquiry to be put to the jurors of every hundred and liberty, including questions as to whether the various provisions of the Statute of Winchester were being observed.<sup>15</sup> That the articles about the statute were among those brought to Shropshire in 1307 is confirmed by the headings in the Shropshire roll under which occur the replies of the jurors: 'De feloniis', 'De verberatoribus', 'De conspiratoribus', 'De transgressionibus', 'De boscis non elargatis, etc.', 'De parcis' (or 'De vivariis'), 'De hiis qui hospitantur extraneos', 'De ballivis', 'De agistatis ad arma' (or 'De armis'), 'De constabulariis pacis', 'De vigiliis', and 'De portis'.<sup>16</sup> There is, however, no record that the Shropshire jurors were questioned on the two requirements of the statute that most strongly conflicted with Shropshire's traditional exemptions: communal compensation for the victims of robbery, and the hue and cry. These are the matters that receive most attention in the claims of the county community published here. It therefore appears that at the 1307 trailbaston sessions those articles concerning the more contentious parts of the statute were not put to the Shropshire hundredal juries but were reserved for negotiation between the justices and the county community.

Thus in 1307 Shropshire was faced at last with having to submit a reasoned case for its jealously preserved freedom from the burdens of collective peace-keeping. The community's position was critical but by no means desperate. Statutes were not yet sacrosanct, and the king's justices, if they saw good reason, could overrule a statute and uphold local custom instead.<sup>17</sup> That had happened at the Kent eyre of 1293, when the justices approved a statement of local customs of land tenure submitted by the community of the county.<sup>18</sup> The community of Shropshire had therefore some reason to hope that a statement of its customs, if thorough and well argued, might persuade William Martin and his fellow justices to allow Shropshire to enjoy immunity from collective responsibilities under the Statute of Winchester. The county's case was set out in the document here published, under the title '*Calumpnia communitatis Salop*' ('Claims of the community of Shropshire').<sup>19</sup>

#### THE DOCUMENTS AND THEIR PRESENT TREATMENT

Two texts of the *calumpnia* are known. One is preserved at the Public Record Office

in a roll that records Shropshire trailbaston proceedings at Shrewsbury in 1307.<sup>20</sup> It is written in a single hand and script, consistent with that date, on the recto of a single sheet of parchment measuring about 23 cm. long by 20 cm. broad and numbered 1(3), which is sewn through two holes in its left-hand margin to the recto of the first rotulet of the roll, rot. 1(1). The sewing-thread looks modern. Two other holes in the left-hand margin of the sheet may indicate an earlier sewing but they do not correspond to any holes visible elsewhere in the roll. The sheet is flat but ten horizontal creases show that it was once folded in a thin horizontal strip about two centimetres wide. It could not have been sewn to the roll in its folded state; it was unfolded before sewing. The sheet is endorsed in a contemporary script 'Calumpnia comitatus Salop'. There are two indications that the endorsement was made during the time when the sheet was folded: the endorsement is not crossed by any of the creases, and the title at the head of the text made such endorsement unnecessary except during the time when the sheet was folded. The sheet was probably kept with the roll from a time soon after the roll was written. Had the documents been preserved separately for an appreciable period it is unlikely that they would subsequently have been brought together, for neither the sheet nor the roll bears any separate indication that it belongs with the other. It is probable that the likelihood of an accidental separation of the documents was guarded against early on by sewing the sheet to the roll. Thus the archival evidence leads us to conclude that the sheet passed through the following stages. It was written, subsequently folded, and immediately after that endorsed. Soon after the compilation of the Shropshire trailbaston roll of 1307 the sheet was brought into association with it and not long after that the sheet, by then in an unfolded state, was sewn to the roll. It is possible that other sewing holes than the present ones were originally used; in any case the sewing-thread has since been renewed.

The other known text of the *calumpnia* is preserved in the British Library and occurs on ff. 131v.-132 of Hargrave MS. 313.<sup>21</sup> That volume is a copy, made in 1251 or soon afterwards, of the Red Book of the Exchequer.<sup>22</sup> The Hargrave MS. was probably in the custody of Shrewsbury abbey in the 14th century when memoranda concerning that house were added to it.<sup>23</sup> Another indication of Shropshire ownership is that the gathering containing most of the *carte baronum* for that county is missing.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that the volume owed its presence in Shropshire to one of the Exchequer's visits to Shrewsbury: probably that of 1277<sup>25</sup> or that of 1283.<sup>26</sup> The Shropshire *calumpnia* have been entered in the volume in a single hand and script of the late 13th or early 14th century. The writing and orthography of the *calumpnia* in the Hargrave MS. are different from those of the Public Record Office text.

The first text above, here called J, has some significant textual differences from the other, here called H. In paragraph 3 there is a clause in J that lacks a parallel in H: *e nous putz le eschete touz jours issint usé*. Thus J alone makes the point that Shropshire's exemption from the presentment of englishry, stated in both texts to have originated under the Norman earls of Shrewsbury, did not cease when the earldom escheated to the Crown in 1102.<sup>27</sup> In paragraph 5 there are significant phrases in J that are not present in H. Thus *a restitucioun de roberie fere* (H) reads *de amerciementz ne a restitution fere de robberies a gentz issint robbés* (J); *a fayre restitucioun de roberies* (H) reads *de amerciementz ne a restitution fere de robberies a gentz issint robbés* (J); *felonie* (H) reads *robberies ou felonies* (J); *le felon se eschape* (H) reads *le feloun sutz le fet*

*eschape* (J); and *les viles* (H) reads *les viles ne seignurs des viles* (J). At the end of the paragraph there is a sentence in J that does not appear in H; it gives an additional reason why the inhabitants of Shropshire should not be held liable for robberies committed in the county. In every instance the effect of a significant difference between the texts is to make J more explicit than H, and in every instance the advantage thus gained by J lies with the claimants, the community of Shropshire. It is to be noted, too, that nothing significant in H is absent from J. Thus the textual evidence leads us to conclude that J is a version of H incorporating revisions made on behalf of the community of Shropshire.

The textual and archival evidence leave little doubt that J is the final text of the *calumpnia* and that it has survived on the very parchment given to the Shropshire trailbaston justices in 1307 on behalf of the community of Shropshire. The H text is an earlier draft, of which the original manuscript remained in Shropshire; at an early opportunity the original manuscript of H was copied for permanent safe keeping into the Hargrave MS., then in local hands, by a scribe other than the one who wrote J. The text published here is that of J; the textual, but not the orthographical, variants of H are appended as notes. In both manuscripts the paragraphs are distinguished clearly by the letter 'a' (presumably for *articulum*) and, except in the two instances mentioned here in the notes, occur at the same places in each; the text printed here reproduces the paragraphs of J, with numbers added for reference. Punctuation, capitalization, and the distinctions between 'u' and 'v' and 'i' and 'j', are modernized. Abbreviations in the manuscripts are extended wherever possible. The manuscripts have no accents, but an acute accent is added here wherever it would seem to aid comprehension.

#### THE TEXT

##### Calumpnia communitatis Salop'<sup>28</sup>

Ces sunt les franchises e les usages que la communalte del conté de Salop' cleymnt avoir de dreyt e de aunciene usage de temps dount memorie<sup>29</sup> ne court.

[1] En primes quite de murdre, ceo est a savoir si homme seyt teuwé en boys ou en vile ou en champ e om ne pusse le noun del feloun trover ne le corps attachier que le hundred, vile, ne seigneur du vile<sup>30</sup> ne seyt pur ceo chalengé ne grevee ne pur rien que a murdre appent.

[2] Et quites de meinpast, ceo est a savoir si un de nos meynpastz face felonie e apres la felonie fete returne en nos mesonez e illeokes seyt recette e trovee nous nyent sachant' la felonie que nous ne seom de ceo chalengé ne grevee. De autre part si un de nos meynpastz face trespas a nully e apres le trespas fete demoerge ovesk' nous nous sachant le trespas que<sup>31</sup> le trespasour respoygne de son fet<sup>32</sup> demeygne e nous nyent chalengé ne grevee.

[3] Et quites de englecherie pur ceo que Roger de Betthleem fust counte paleys de ceo conté avaunt que le eschete devynt en la meyn nostre seigneur le roy, e nos auncestres en son temps quites e nous putz le eschete touz jours issint usé.<sup>33</sup>

[4] Et quites de appel de provour, ceo est a savoir si nul se conust estre laroun e appelle nully de felonie fete denz cest conté de vant coroner que<sup>34</sup> par record de coroner a la procheyne venue des justices seyt le provour pendu e le appelé pur cel appel nyent pris ne attachee.<sup>35</sup>

[5] Et quites de dizeyne e de dizyners issint<sup>36</sup> que nul en dizeyne ne seyt. Ne que nul vile ne soyt chargee de chose que a dizyner appent. Mes les vileez<sup>37</sup> presenteront deux foitz par an les trespas faitz en lur viles e le ballifs le roy e de franchises ou le trespas serront faiz de ceo facent dreiture. Et<sup>38</sup> si par cas roberies ou autres felonies seyent fetes nule part en<sup>39</sup> vile ou de hors e heu e cry se leve sutz le fet le gentz que le cry orrount siwerount les felons e les attacherunt a lur power. Et si par cas ne le pussent' attachier que pur ceo ne soyent ne unques ne furent grevéz ne chalengéz vers le roy ne vers nul autres de amerciementz ne a restitution fere de robberies a gentz issint robbés.<sup>40</sup> De autre part' si robberies ou felonies seyent fetz<sup>41</sup> e cry ne se leve poynt e le feloun sutz le fet eschape<sup>42</sup> santz estre pris ou attaché que pur ceo ne seyent le hundrez ne les viles ne seignurs des viles<sup>43</sup> chalengés ne greveez<sup>44</sup> ne unques en nul temps ne furent' vers le roy ne vers nul autre de amerciementz ne a restitution fere de robberies a gentz issint robbés.<sup>45</sup> Kar le conté est si enclos de Gales e des fraunchises hord de conté e de Cestrechir que sunt hors de commun loy en les queus nous ne poum ne ne<sup>46</sup> osum ne nos auncestres unques ne fesityent siwte. Et si en tel cas dussountz estre chargés le genz del pays ne soffireynt mye de arestitution fere des robberies fetes par Galeys e par autres mesfesours en nostre march.<sup>47</sup>

[6] Et<sup>48</sup> estre ceo devom nous<sup>49</sup> estre quites de veyles par la reson que moimes la voyle nous est arenté del temps dount memori ne curt de la<sup>50</sup> quele rente nostre seignur le roy est seysi e est la dite rente appelé<sup>51</sup> stretward'.

Endreyt de vostre commission e<sup>52</sup> les articles que vous a la communalte ore avez mostré ceuz<sup>53</sup> sunt nos chalenges save a nous nos autres franchises e usages si autre foiz des autres choses contre nos aunciene usages seom chalengéz.

#### TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

##### Claims of the community of Shropshire

These are the franchises and usages that the community of the county of Shropshire claim to have by right and by ancient usage from a time to which no memory runs.

[1] In the first place we are exempt from the murder fine. That is, if someone should be killed in a wood, in a town, or in a field, and one should be unable to find out the name of the felon or to seize his person, then the hundred, the town, or the lord of that town should not be accused or punished for that nor for anything that concerns the murder fine.

[2] We are exempt also from mainpast. That is, if a member of one of our households should commit a felony and, after that felony had been committed, should return to

our house and there be received and found without our knowing of that felony, then we should not be accused or punished because of that. If on the other hand a member of one of our households should commit a trespass upon anyone and, after that trespass had been committed, should dwell with us while we knew of that trespass, then that trespasser should answer for his own deed and we should not be accused or punished.

[3] We are exempt also from englishry because Roger of Bellême was palatine earl of this county before the escheat passed into the hand of our lord the king; our predecessors in his time were exempt from it and we have been accustomed to be so ever since the escheat.

[4] We are exempt also from any appeal by an approver. That is, if anyone should acknowledge himself to be a thief and should appeal anyone before a coroner of a felony committed within this county, then by a coroner's record at the next coming of the justices that approver should be hanged and the appellee not arrested or attached.

[5] And we are exempt also from the tithing and from tithingmen, so that no one should be in a tithing nor should any town be charged with anything that concerns a tithingman. But the townships shall present twice a year the trespasses committed in their towns, and the bailiffs of the king and of the liberties where the trespasses shall be committed should exercise jurisdiction over this. And if it should happen that robberies or other felonies should be committed anywhere, in a town or outside, and a hue and cry should thereupon be raised, the people who shall hear that cry shall, if they can, pursue the felons and arrest them. And if it should happen that they cannot arrest them, then they should not be for that, nor were they ever, punished or accused as regards the king or anyone else, to make amercements or restitution of robberies to people thus robbed. On the other hand if robberies or felonies should be committed and a cry be not raised at all and the felon thereupon escape without being taken or attached, then neither the hundreds nor the towns nor the lords of those towns should for that be accused or punished, nor were they ever at any time, as regards the king or anyone else, to make amercements or restitution of robberies to people thus robbed. For the county is so closed in by Wales, by the liberties outside the county, and by Cheshire, which are outside the common law and into which we cannot and dare not, nor ever did our predecessors, make pursuit. Moreover if we ought in such circumstances to be accused, the people of the country would not at all have the means to make restitution of the robberies committed by Welshmen and by other wrongdoers in our borderland.

[6] And furthermore we ought to be exempt from watches because that same service of keeping watch has for us been commuted to a rent-charge from a time to which no memory runs, of which rent-charge the king is seised, and the said rent-charge is called *stretward*.

These are our claims as far as concerns your commission and those articles that you have at present shown to the community, saving to us our other franchises and



usages if at some other time we should be challenged with other matters contrary to our ancient usages.

#### COMMENTARY

The circumstances in which the *calumpnia* were compiled explain the distortions and evasions that may be detected in them, and explain the order in which the claims were set down. It was the aim of the Shropshire community to persuade the king's justices that Shropshire was or ought to be exempt from some of the main provisions of the Statute of Winchester, and thus to escape the penalties for neglecting those provisions. The ancient exemptions that the community claimed did not, however, correspond exactly to the obligations recently imposed by the statute. Thus the representatives of the community found it necessary in the *calumpnia* to expound the ancient exemptions in a manner that suggested that they did so correspond. The community's surest claims were briefly stated at the beginning of the document; their most precarious ones were argued at greater length and left towards the end.

The document begins with *murdrum*, the murder fine (paragraph 1). The fine was imposed upon a hundred if it failed within a certain time to produce the killer of a victim of secret homicide whose body had been found within that hundred. In unusual circumstances a single vill or lord might be liable, as the *calumpnia* are careful to record. The murder fine was introduced or revived soon after the Conquest to protect the lives of Frenchmen in a hostile country. From an early date the district could avoid being fined by the procedure of 'presentment of englishry'; if the district could show that the victim was English it was not liable to pay a *murdrum*.<sup>54</sup>

Shropshire had been demonstrably exempt from *murdrum* since at least the reign of Henry II. The fine is never mentioned under Shropshire in the 12th-century Pipe Rolls, whereas it is often mentioned there under the 'frankpledge' counties.<sup>55</sup> The Shropshire eyre roll of 1221 records 'Nullum murdrum in comitatu isto'<sup>56</sup> and that of 1256 that 'nullum murdrum est in comitatu isto nec englisheria presentatur'.<sup>57</sup> The *calumpnia* claim (paragraph 3) that Shropshire has been exempt from englishry since the time of Earl 'Roger of Bellême'. It is not clear whether Roger of Montgomery (d. 1094) or his son Robert of Bellême (earl 1098–1102) is intended. Unless the two earls were inseparably confused in the minds of the compilers, it seems probable that Earl Robert was meant. The compilers were claiming that the community had continued to enjoy its exemption after Earl Robert's forfeiture in 1102; it was therefore better for them to state that the exemption had been enjoyed under Earl Robert, that is until the very time of forfeiture, than under Earl Roger, who had been dead nearly eight years when the earldom escheated. Moreover in 1304 'Roger' of Bellême occurs in another Shropshire document, and in that instance Earl Robert is unambiguously intended.<sup>58</sup> In the H text of the *calumpnia* it is stated that the exemption from englishry was granted in perpetuity by Earl 'Roger'; in the final text, J, it is claimed merely that the community was exempt 'in his time' and had been ever since. The compilers of J realized that the county would risk losing its exemption from *murdrum* and englishry if the community appealed to some grant that could not be produced in court and whose very existence might be doubted. Their claim had a better chance of being accepted if they based it on prescription, which could be readily proved by appeal to the Pipe Rolls and Eyre Rolls.

By the reign of Edward I *murdrum* and englishry were seldom exacted. Only royal justices with a general commission of oyer and terminer, usually the justices of the eyre for the common pleas, had authority to impose a murder fine, and in the later 13th century eyres became increasingly infrequent.<sup>59</sup> In Shropshire there was no eyre between 1272 and 1292 and none after that.<sup>60</sup> In 1340 englishry and, apparently, *murdrum* were abolished.<sup>61</sup> The compilers of the *calumpnia* nevertheless attached importance to the county's exemption because they believed that it might entitle them to exemption from one of the provisions of the Statute of Winchester. That statute required every hundred to be collectively liable for compensating the victims of robberies committed within its boundaries if it failed to produce the robbers; the analogy with the old hundredal liability for *murdrum* was close.<sup>62</sup> Shropshire's long-established exemption from *murdrum* was thus its strongest argument for being allowed exemption from the new and potentially onerous liability for robberies. It is not surprising that the compilers placed exemption from *murdrum* at the head of the county's claims.

After *murdrum* the *calumpnia* deal with 'mainpast' (paragraph 2). A lord was in most counties liable to produce wrongdoers who were his mainpasts, that is members of his household.<sup>63</sup> Shropshire, however, had enjoyed a degree of exemption from that law. In the 1221 eyre roll it is recorded that there is no mainpast law in Shropshire 'nisi malefactores redierint ad dominum suum post feloniam'.<sup>64</sup> In other words the lord is liable only if he harbours one of his mainpasts after that mainpast has committed a felony; if the offence is less than a felony the lord is presumably not liable even if he harbours the offender. Moreover the lord is not liable, whatever the offence, if the wrongdoer does not return to the household after the offence. The claim of the 1307 compilers includes the exemptions of 1221 but goes further. In 1307 it is claimed that the lord is answerable for harbouring a mainpast who has committed a felony only if the lord knows of the felony. That claim enlarges upon but does not necessarily conflict with the record of 1221. In 1306 the community had attempted to claim that 'omnes de comitatu isto debent esse quieti de receptamento manupastorum suorum quorumcumque et sic ipsi a tempore conquestus hucusque pacifice usi sunt. Et ea ratione dicunt quod nullus de comitatu isto hactenus occasionatus fuit de receptamento aliquorum manupastorum suorum ratione alicuius transgressionis'.<sup>65</sup> According to that claim a lord should not be, and never had been, liable if he harboured one of his mainpasts, whatever the circumstances. The 1306 claim, of which the justices adjourned consideration until the next visitation, was made as the defence against a particular accusation that had been made against the prior of Wenlock of knowingly harbouring two of his mainpasts who had been beating, wounding, and ill-treating; the 1307 claim was not part of the defence in any particular case before the court, which may explain why it agrees better with the 1221 record, also unrelated to a particular case, than does the claim of 1306.

The Statute of Winchester and the trailbaston justices were concerned not only with felons but also with receivers of felons. The statute's introduction of the hundredal liability for robberies was intended, as its preamble tells us, to discourage the concealment of felons; moreover the statute required bailiffs of vills to look out for 'anyone receiving or otherwise harbouring people who are suspect of being against the peace'. The statute was not concerned with offences less than felonies, sometimes

called trespasses. Shropshire's exemption from the mainpast law, however, was complete only for trespasses; a lord was still liable to produce felons whom he knew to be living in his household. It is unlikely that the claimants of 1307 could have substantiated a claim to be immune from all liability for harbouring felons who were of their households, nor did they attempt to do so as they had in 1306. What they could and did do, however, was to set out their limited exemption correctly but in such a way as to suggest that it might be wider. The effect was achieved by avoiding any reference to the abiding liability for producing known felons living in their households; no mainpast liability was explicitly admitted in the *calumpnia*. The impression for which the compilers seem to have hoped may be appreciated by comparing the mainpast clause of the *calumpnia* with that of the 1221 eyre roll, in which the county's liability was not concealed.

The *calumpnia* then pass on to claim exemption from the appeal of an 'approver' (paragraph 4), a confessed felon who might avoid execution by successfully appealing, that is accusing, others. The practice of accepting such appeals enabled gangs, such as those about whom the trailbaston justices were especially concerned, to be arrested or dispersed.<sup>66</sup> It was said in the 13th century that the most important and usual defence against an approver's appeal depended on belonging to a frankpledge tithing.<sup>67</sup> That defence, however, was not available in counties without frankpledge, of which Shropshire was one. If the law-abiding population of such a county was not to be in continual danger from false accusations made by criminals trying simply to save their own necks the appeals of approvers could not be entertained there. By claiming immunity from the appeals of approvers Shropshire was thus supporting its claim, made in paragraph 5 of the *calumpnia*, to be exempt from the frankpledge system. Moreover the approver's appeal could, like the mainpast law, be regarded in itself as another aspect of mutual policing; by establishing immunity from such appeals Shropshire could hope to strengthen its claims of prescriptive exemption from other communal liabilities, those required by the Statute of Winchester.

It is likely that Shropshire's claimed exemption from approvers' appeals was genuine, though it may often have been violated by local opportunists. Approvers do not figure in the surviving gaol delivery records for Shropshire in Edward I's reign,<sup>68</sup> whereas they occur frequently in those of 'frankpledge' counties.<sup>69</sup> It was nevertheless possible in Shropshire for a local official unlawfully to employ an approver to bring false charges against innocent people and thereby to extort from them fines or other concessions.<sup>70</sup> The trailbaston commissioners were especially concerned about such conspiracies to pervert justice.

Having prepared the ground in their first four paragraphs, the claimants turned in paragraph 5 to confront directly the issue of communal liability for robberies, raised by the Statute of Winchester and brought home to Shropshire by the articles of the trailbaston justices. Between the composition of H and that of the final text, J, it was this paragraph that received most attention. In J, but not in H, are expressly linked the ideas of amercement (the customary penalty for neglecting the hue and cry) and restitution of goods (the statutory penalty for not arresting robbers). In their final text the compilers hoped to suggest by a fusion of these ideas that Shropshire, if exempt from the customary amercement, must be exempt from the statutory restitution of goods.

The claimants began the paragraph by recording the county's ancient exemption from the frankpledge system. That frankpledge tithings were unknown in Shropshire at least as early as Henry II's reign is shown by the absence of any reference to them under Shropshire in the Pipe Rolls of that period; such absence is peculiar to the shires of the Welsh border and the north.<sup>71</sup> The 1221 Shropshire eyre roll records 'Nullum [. . .] francum plegium' in that county,<sup>72</sup> and the 1256 eyre roll, after recording Shropshire's exemption from *murdrum* and *englishry*, adds 'nec aliquis est in decima'.<sup>73</sup> In 1307 the community could truthfully claim to have been exempt from that form of communal liability, called frankpledge, by which the population was arranged in small notional groups, called tithings, each of which was held liable for producing in court any of its members who was suspected of an offence. Exemption from frankpledge provided a valuable analogy on which to claim exemption from the hundredal liability for robberies required by the statute.

It was, however, only an analogy. If peace-keeping in Shropshire was inadequate in 1307 the justices might be disinclined to accept the analogy as a sufficient ground for waiving the new hundredal liability for robberies. It was thus in their own interests that the 1307 claimants went on to explain the peace-keeping methods already used in Shropshire. Twice a year, at the court of the hundred or liberty, each township should 'present', that is report, offences committed in its own district, and upon those presentments the bailiff of the hundred or liberty should act. The practice, however, of thus presenting offences was observed all over England. The mere presentment of offences was not a substitute for frankpledge, which required the appearance of the offender in court, nor could it be held an adequate substitute for the new hundredal liability for robberies, which likewise required offenders to be produced.

As if attempting to meet those objections the claimants went on to say that hue and cry, that is the pursuit and capture of wrongdoers by the local inhabitants immediately after the offence, was practised in Shropshire. The statement is borne out by earlier Shropshire evidence,<sup>74</sup> and it would have been surprising if injured parties and their neighbours had not tried to capture those who had harmed them. The claim, however, that the hue and cry was practised in Shropshire might ordinarily have carried with it a danger for the claimants; the justices might have taken it as a precedent for imposing on Shropshire the obligation under the Statute of Winchester of raising the hue and cry. The compilers of the *calumpnia* therefore claimed that hue and cry, though practised in Shropshire whenever circumstances allowed, had never been enforced there by any penalty; no one was punished if, unavoidably, a hue and cry was not raised, nor was anyone punished if the hue and cry failed to capture the wrongdoer. In areas whose population was thinly scattered over difficult terrain, there was inevitably some extra difficulty about catching criminals. In 1305 the men of north Wales, where Edward I had tried to introduce the hue and cry, petitioned that Welsh townships were often far apart, which made such co-operative effort difficult; it was accordingly ordered that they should not be amerced for unavoidably failing to follow the hue and cry in cases of simple trespass ('de simplici transgressione') but should be so amerced in cases involving life and limb.<sup>75</sup> A similar degree of exemption was that claimed by Shropshire. Nevertheless at the Shropshire eyre of 1256 over 160 places and individuals had been amerced for failing to pursue criminals,<sup>76</sup> and such ameracements were still being imposed at the Shropshire eyre of 1292.<sup>77</sup> Only on the assumption that those were

all instances of avoidable neglect could it have been honestly maintained in 1307 that unavoidable neglect of the hue and cry had never been punished in Shropshire. Since 1256, however, there had been only two eyres for the common pleas in Shropshire, in 1272 and 1292. Only justices with a general commission of oyer and terminer, usually the eyre justices, could impose such amercements, and it would thus have been certainly true by 1307 that the penalty had rarely been imposed in Shropshire within living memory; the trailbaston justices might nevertheless have held that the same was true of everywhere in England and that Shropshire had not been especially exempt in that respect.

Though they had set out the most favourable precedents that could be found in their county's particular customs, the representatives of the community of Shropshire could hardly have been satisfied that they had an irrefutable case for being exempt from the communal liabilities imposed by the Statute of Winchester. The argument from precedent was exhausted. There remained, however, to be brought forward the argument from natural justice, and with that argument paragraph 5 of the *calumpnia* concludes. The claimants say that the county's geographical position, adjoined by districts into which criminals cannot lawfully be pursued, renders it impossible for the inhabitants of Shropshire to accept the new communal liability for taking criminals. In the final text of the *calumpnia* the compilers extended the county's appeal to natural justice with a second argument: that the inhabitants, if held liable for compensation for all the robberies committed in Shropshire by men from Wales and the marcher lordships, would not have the means to pay. These arguments probably agreed with the facts. In Shropshire, partly surrounded by the inaccessible jurisdictions of Wales and Cheshire, the pursuit of criminals would sometimes have been impossible. Moreover it was often claimed by the community of Shropshire that the amount of crime in its county was abnormally inflated by the activities of outsiders, particularly from Wales and Cheshire.<sup>78</sup> To make Shropshire's own inhabitants financially liable for the crimes of those outsiders would indeed have been an inequitable burden, and one not intended by the statute, whose preamble expressly assumes that most felonies are committed in the criminal's own neighbourhood.

With paragraph 5 the compilers of the *calumpnia* completed their case for exemption from hundredal liability for robberies and from the hue and cry. The Statute of Winchester included another kind of communal responsibility, that of keeping watch and ward. Two constables were to be chosen in each hundred and liberty to see that men kept the arms prescribed for them by the statute and that watches were kept by those men. Neither the community of Shropshire nor the justices of 1307 seem to have regarded watches and constables as important issues of principle in their negotiations. The community's claim to be exempt from watch-keeping appears only in paragraph 6, at the end of the *calumpnia*. Moreover it is the only claim in which the community says it 'ought' to be exempt, thus hinting, perhaps, that in 1307 Shropshire did not actually enjoy that exemption. The Shropshire roll confirms the suggestion, for the trailbaston justices at these 1307 sessions put articles concerning watches and constables to the hundredal jurors and amerced neglecters,<sup>79</sup> treating Shropshire as no different from any other county. The community's paragraph on watches seems therefore to have been added to the *calumpnia* without much expectation of success.

Its argument is very weak. The service of *stretward*, known only in Shropshire and perhaps Cheshire,<sup>80</sup> proposed by the community as a sufficient substitute for keeping watch, had been a very limited one. It is defined in the 12th-century *Leis Willelme*. In each hundred one man was due from every ten hides; the hundredal force, commanded by a *guardireve*, was to serve from Michaelmas to Martinmas (29 September – 11 November), its duty being to intercept the movements of stolen cattle.<sup>81</sup> That was the season when animals were being driven for long distances in large numbers. *Stretward* was thus hardly the equivalent of a regular watch. By 1255 it had been commuted everywhere in Shropshire for an annual money payment, assessed at a few pence on the hide and payable (at least in royal hundreds) to the Crown.<sup>82</sup> It was still being paid in the 14th century.<sup>83</sup>

Shropshire had no local force that could be regarded as a substitute for communal policing. From the 1180s the sheriffs of Shropshire had employed a county force of about a dozen professional *grithserjeants*, or serjeants of the peace. The serjeants were oppressive and unpopular with the county community and were abolished as a county force by royal command in the 1220s. The county serjeants of the peace that occur in Shropshire records after the mid 13th century were the ordinary bailiffs errant such as served the sheriffs in every county.<sup>84</sup> Neither they nor the earlier serjeants were numerous enough to combat crime effectively.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Our examination of the 1307 *calumpnia* reveals that they describe genuine ancient customs and contain few if any plain falsehoods. Some subtlety was nevertheless brought to bear by the compilers in order to present those customs in such a light as to make them appear relevant to the new requirements of the Statute of Winchester and to those of the trailbaston justices. It remains to ask whether the *calumpnia* succeeded in persuading William Martin and his fellow justices to acknowledge such a relevance and to allow the claimed exemptions.

The strongest reason that we have for believing that the community's principal claims were indeed allowed by the justices is the fact that the parchment containing the *calumpnia* was preserved by the justices with the roll of their 1307 sessions, and was not long afterwards sewn to it. Plea rolls were a definitive record of decisions made by royal justices and could be cited at future trials. Contemporaries therefore did not enter matter on the rolls or attach it to them unless it was intended to bear such evidential weight. It should be remembered, too, that a text of the *calumpnia* (the H draft) was at about the same time copied in Shropshire into a volume intended for permanent reference; there would have been little point if the main claims had been dismissed by the justices.

No attempt is made here to investigate how the trailbaston justices' presumed acceptance of the main provisions of the *calumpnia* was reflected by the course of peace-keeping and justice in Shropshire after 1307. Any such investigation will need to take account of the alteration or decay of those laws from which Shropshire had claimed exemption. For example, *murdrum* was abolished by statute in 1340,<sup>85</sup> and mutual policing was superseded by the statutory constables and watches.<sup>86</sup> The *calumpnia* idealized the past in the face of disturbing innovations; in the very business

of summing up the centuries-old customs of Shropshire the compilers were responding to an immediate and widespread uncertainty as to what should thenceforth be the respective authority in England of ancient custom and parliamentary statute. In 1307 the king's justices had, for the moment, the freedom to rule one way or the other according to the merits of particular cases, but in the future they would be bound by Parliament.

I am indebted to Dr. D. A. Crowley, Mr. Alan Harding, and Prof. R. B. Pugh for reading this article in draft and suggesting a number of improvements.

<sup>2</sup>On frankpledge and its distribution see: W. A. Morris, *The frankpledge system* (Harvard historical studies, xiv, 1910); D. A. Crowley, 'The later history of frankpledge', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.* xlviii (1975), 1-15.

<sup>3</sup>13 Edw. I. Eng. translation in H. Rothwell (ed.), *Eng. historical documents 1189-1327* (Eng. historical documents, iii, 1975), pp. 460-2.

<sup>4</sup>P.R.O. *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1251-3, 492-3; M. [R.] Powicke, *Military obligation in medieval Eng.* (1962), 90.

<sup>5</sup>H. R. Luard (ed.), *Matthaei Parisiensis chronica majora* (Rolls Ser. [lvii]), v (1880), 410-11.

<sup>6</sup>*Cal. Close*, 1247-51, 358, 528; 1251-3, 479.

<sup>7</sup>P.R.O. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1281-92, 265; 1292-1301, 517.

<sup>8</sup>Helen M. Cam, *Studies in the Hundred Rolls* (Oxford studies in social and legal history, vi(11), 1921), 78.

<sup>9</sup>Morris, *Frankpledge*, 51-3.

<sup>10</sup>P.R.O., Just. 1/739-41.

<sup>11</sup>Morris, *Frankpledge*, 59.

<sup>12</sup>See especially A. Harding, 'Early trailbaston proceedings from the Lincoln roll of 1305' in the forthcoming memorial volume to C. A. F. Meekings edited by R. F. Hunnisett. Mr. Harding kindly allowed me to consult his paper in proof.

<sup>13</sup>R. B. Pugh (ed.), *Wiltshire gaol delivery and trailbaston trials 1275-1306* (Wilts. Record Soc. xxxiii, 1977), pp. 5-7.

<sup>14</sup>Just. 1/744-6.

<sup>15</sup>Cam, *Studies*, 75. The articles have been reconstructed from the Surr. roll in H. Ainsley, 'The problem relating to the maintenance of law and order in 13th-century Eng., with particular reference to the "custos pacis"' (Wales Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1968), 294-6 (on the date see *ibid.* 238).

<sup>16</sup>Just. 1/746 rott. 2-6. Cf. articles 14-28 in Ainsley, *op. cit.* 295-6.

<sup>17</sup>F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The history of Eng. law*, 2nd edn. (1898), i, 184; T. F. I. Plucknett, *A concise history of the common law*, 5th edn. (1956), 331; G. O. Sayles, *The king's Parliament of Eng.* (1975), 86, 116-17.

<sup>18</sup>*Statutes of the realm* (Rec. Com.), i, 223-5. See Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.* i, 186-8; ii, 272, n. 1. The opening of the Kent document ('Ces sunt les usages e les custumes les quels la communealte de Kent cleymnt aver') resembles that of the Shropshire statement.

<sup>19</sup>Just. 1/746.

<sup>20</sup>*Calumpnia* is here regarded as a nominative plural (3rd declension) because the document calls itself 'nos chalenges'. A singular form *calengium* is attested in medieval Latin: R. E. Latham, *Revised medieval Latin word-list* (1965), 64.

<sup>21</sup>The presence of the *calumpnia* is noted in *A catalogue of manuscripts formerly in the possession of Francis Hargrave . . . now deposited in the British Museum* (1818), 94, and thence in W. D. G. Fletcher, 'Shropshire topographical manuscripts in the British Museum', *Shropshire Archaeol. Soc. Trans.* 2nd ser. ii (1890), 76.

<sup>22</sup>H. Hall (ed.), *The Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Ser. [xcix], 1896), i, pp. 1-11; L. J. Downer (ed.), *Leges Henrici Primi* (1972), 47-8.

<sup>23</sup>*V.C.H. Salop*, ii, 32, 34, n. 32. These refs. supplied by Mr. J. B. Lawson.

<sup>24</sup>Hall, *Red Book*, i, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup>*V.C.H. Salop*, ii, 34.

<sup>26</sup>J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales* (Board of Celtic Studies, *History and law series*, ii, 1935), p. 41.

<sup>27</sup>Englishry is explained below.

<sup>28</sup>*Calumpnia communitatis Salop'* om. H. The text is here published by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown copyright reserved.

<sup>29</sup>*memorie* nule *memorie*, H.

<sup>30</sup>*le hundred, vile, ne seigneur du vile* vile, *ne seigneur de vile, ne hundred*, H.

<sup>31</sup>*que* om. H.

<sup>32</sup>*fet* trespas, H.

<sup>33</sup>*que Roger . . . usé* le counte Roger de Beelem *qe tint le counté come palays granta ala communalte du conté tous jours de ceo estre quites avant ceo qe le counté devynt en la mayn le roy par eschete*, H.

<sup>34</sup>*que* ou, H.

- <sup>35</sup>*pur cel appel nyent pris ne attachee} nent pris ne attaché pur cel appell'*, H.  
<sup>36</sup>*issint} e issint*, H.  
<sup>37</sup>*vileez} viles*, H.  
<sup>38</sup>*Et}* new paragraph in H.  
<sup>39</sup>*en} ou en*, H.  
<sup>40</sup>*vers le roy . . . robbés} ne tenuz a restitution de roberie fere*, H.  
<sup>41</sup>*robberies ou felonies seyent fetz} felonie soyt fete*, H.  
<sup>42</sup>*sutz le fet eschape} se eschape*, H.  
<sup>43</sup>*ne seignurs des viles} om.* H.  
<sup>44</sup>*greveez} grevéz ne tenuz a fayre restitucioun de robertes*, H.  
<sup>45</sup>*de amerciementz . . . robbés} om.* H.  
<sup>46</sup>*ne} om.* H.  
<sup>47</sup>*Et si . . . march} om.* H.  
<sup>48</sup>*Et}* om. H.; no new paragraph in H.  
<sup>49</sup>*nous} om.* H.  
<sup>50</sup>*a} om.* H.  
<sup>51</sup>*appelé} est appelé*, H.  
<sup>52</sup>*e} om.* H.  
<sup>53</sup>*a la communalte ore avez mostré ceuz} avez moustré ala communalte si*, H.  
<sup>54</sup>F. C. Hamil, 'Presentment of englishry and the murder fine', *Speculum*, xii (1937), 285-98.  
<sup>55</sup>*ibid.* 290; Morris, *Frankpledge*, 51, n. 2.  
<sup>56</sup>Doris M. Stenton (ed.), *Rolls of the justices in eyre being the rolls of pleas and assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire [recte Shropshire]*, 1221, 1222 (Selden Soc. lix, 1940), p. 533.  
<sup>57</sup>A. Harding, 'The Shropshire eyre roll of 1256' (Oxford Univ. B.Litt. thesis, 1957), 233.  
<sup>58</sup>P.R.O. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, iv, no. 235.  
<sup>59</sup>*Speculum*, xii, 297-8.  
<sup>60</sup>Just. 1/736; D. W. Sutherland, *Quo warranto proceedings in the reign of Edward I* (1963), 30, 220.  
<sup>61</sup>*Speculum*, xii, 296-9.  
<sup>62</sup>Plucknett, *Concise hist. of common law*, 88.  
<sup>63</sup>Morris, *Frankpledge*, 79-84.  
<sup>64</sup>Stenton, *Rolls of justices in eyre*, p. 533. The same proviso was acknowledged at the Herefs. eyre of 1221; Morris, *op. cit.* 84.  
<sup>65</sup>Just. 1/745 rot. 3.  
<sup>66</sup>Pugh, *Wilts. gaol delivery and trailbaston trials*, pp. 11-12, 15-16.  
<sup>67</sup>Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. law*, ii, 633; F. C. Hamil, 'The king's approvers: a chapter in the history of Eng. criminal law', *Speculum*, xi (1936), 243-4.  
<sup>68</sup>Just. 1/741 rott. 47-50d.; Just. 1/744 rot. 11 and d.; Just. 1/745 rot. 4 and d.; Just. 1/746 rott. 1(2), 6d.-7d.; Just. 3/90 rott. 1-3d.; Just. 3/99 rot. 11 and d.; Just. 3/100 rott. 8-9, 10; Just. 3/101 rot. 9 and d.; Just. 3/102 rot. 6; Just. 3/105 rot. 3 and d. Approvers' appeals were, however, heard in Yorks., a 'non-frankpledge' county: H. R. T. Summerson, 'The maintenance of law and order in England, 1227-1263' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1976), 160.  
<sup>69</sup>e.g. Pugh, *Wilts. gaol delivery and trailbaston trials*, *passim*.  
<sup>70</sup>*Rotuli hundredorum* (Rec. Com.), ii, 109.  
<sup>71</sup>Morris, *Frankpledge*, 55, 59-60.  
<sup>72</sup>Stenton, *Rolls of justices in eyre*, p. 533.  
<sup>73</sup>Harding 'Shropshire eyre roll', 233.  
<sup>74</sup>*Rot. hund.* ii, 72; *Placita de quo warranto* (Rec. Com.), 707; R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, viii (1859), 231; x (1860), 35; P.R.O. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 1219-1307, pp. 596, 609; Stenton, *Rolls of justices in eyre*, p. 544; A. Harding, *The law courts of medieval Eng.* (1973), 68.  
<sup>75</sup>*Registrum vulgariter nuncupatum The Record of Caernarvon* (Rec. Com.), 212-13. I owe this ref. to Mr. G. C. Baugh.  
<sup>76</sup>A. Harding, 'The origins and early history of the keeper of the peace', *Trans. R.H.S.* 5th ser. x (1960), 86.  
<sup>77</sup>e.g. Just. 1/741 rott. 1d.-3.  
<sup>78</sup>e.g. *Rotuli parliamentorum*, iii, 440, cited in Helen M. Cam, 'The legislators of medieval Eng.', *Law-finders and law-makers in medieval Eng.* (1962), 156; *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 496; William Rees, *The union of Eng. and Wales* (1967), 11.  
<sup>79</sup>Just. 1/746 rott. 5d.-6. Shrewsbury's jury claimed at the 1306 trailbaston sessions that there had never been constables there under any king, except in war time: Salop. R.O. 3365/2690. I owe this ref. to Mr. C. Whittick.  
<sup>80</sup>On *stretward* in Shropshire see *V.C.H. Salop.* iii, 21-2. For Ches. refs. see C. Dufresne, sieur Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. G. A. L. Henschel, vi (1846), 389.  
<sup>81</sup>F. Liebermann (ed.), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i (1903), 512-13.  
<sup>82</sup>*Rot. hund.* ii, 55-8, 62-3, 70-1, 75-6, 81-3.  
<sup>83</sup>B. P. Evans, 'The family of Mortimer' (Wales Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1934), 434.



<sup>84</sup>On the Shropshire serjeants of the peace see *V.C.H. Salop.* iii. 22-3. The county serjeants are to be distinguished from the private serjeants of the peace employed in some Shropshire baronies in the 12th and early 13th centuries. Private *grithserjeants* were still being employed in the barony of Wem in 1293 but are not known to have existed so late anywhere else in Shropshire.

<sup>85</sup>*Speculum*, xii. 296-9.

<sup>86</sup>*Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.* xlviii. 14.



By W. F. MUMFORD, M.A.

THE Cluniac priory at Wenlock was founded by Roger de Montgomery about 1080. Probably a dozen or so monks came from La Charité-sur-Loire, led by the prior whose name may be Richard, to form the convent. Growth must have been steady; within a hundred years the priory was strong enough to send twelve monks to found the Cluniac priory at Paisley (Renfrewshire) and a few each to Dudley (Worcs.) and St. Helens (I.W.). According to Cluniac records there were 43 monks of Wenlock in 1263, 42 (and 3 *conversi*) in 1275, and 35 in 1279, when it was remarked that there used to be 40 or more.<sup>1</sup> Later Cluny appears to have regarded the establishment as 40,<sup>2</sup> but there are official English figures of 17 in 1374<sup>3</sup> and 20 or 21 in 1380.<sup>4</sup> No figures are available for the 15th century. For the last period of the priory's history, from 1510 to 1540, the names of 30 monks are known. Before the end came some had died and some had gone away; nevertheless in 1540 there were at least 16 monks in residence. Generalizing broadly on these figures and assuming that each monk's term was 30 years, it may be estimated that rather fewer than 500 monks passed through the priory. Of these, the names of about 160 have been gathered, including those of 28 priors.

Facts have been gathered in the main from three sources: the public records, priory documents, and ordination lists. Sometimes the record of a particular event supplied a number of names; for instance, the foundation charter of Dudley Priory in 1180 was witnessed by a number of men whom Eyton confidently asserted to be monks of Wenlock;<sup>5</sup> three of the names might be *cognomina* given by the scribe. Again, by this same charter, Dudley Priory was subordinated to Wenlock, and it was ordained that the prior of Wenlock should appoint a prior from his own chapter. Of the twelve known priors of Dudley,<sup>6</sup> the first six do not appear in any Wenlock records, except possibly Prior William, third in the list; the last six, however, are named in Wenlock documents.

For the monks in general the registers of the bishops of Hereford, published by the Cantilupe Society (the series is not complete), provided many names. All too often, however, they fail to make clear whether the man entitled by the priory for ordination was religious or secular. There are more than fifty such names, and it would be rash to hazard how many of these were monks.<sup>7</sup> They have therefore been excluded from the list. A man can seldom be traced through all his orders: ordinands sometimes went to other dioceses with letters dimissory; in any case, the ordination lists in the registers were carelessly kept.

Another difficulty is that it is sometimes uncertain whether a record refers to a member of the priory or not. For example, the deed by which Isabel de Say gave Clun church to the priory was witnessed by various people, including John Camerarius and Robert de Camera.<sup>8</sup> A baronial household, as much as a monastery, would require such officers. For this reason these two names have not been included, though in the case of Gervase Paganell's charter to Dudley, some such witnesses have been regarded as Wenlock monks.

As to the other inhabitants of the priory, only one novice is mentioned, and the names of a few officials and servants remind us of men who in fact probably outnumbered the monks.<sup>9</sup>

What is known of the 160 monks? In general, it has been possible to put together the bare outlines of a few careers; to some monks there is but a single reference; a few are remembered not by name but by mention of their work. The rest, the majority, have no memorial.

What follows is more than a list of names. Each entry is the name of a man, generally young, who committed himself to a lifetime of rigorous discipline in the service and worship of God. He did so by becoming a member of an organization which, in a society 'fundamentally pagan', made it possible for him to 'satisfy his love of beauty, his desire for goodness, his endeavour after truth'.<sup>10</sup> There is no cause to doubt the sincerity of such aspirations. Nevertheless we may wonder, in the absence of further information, how many persisted in their profession. None was perfect. Ordinary human weaknesses are exemplified in the following pages, and at least two monks suffered mental or physical stress.

The first monks came from central France, strangers in a strange land. English names become more numerous in the 14th century, and the first English prior was appointed in 1376. From this time Wenlock priory, like other houses, drew most of its recruits from the local town and the surrounding area. In general, as Professor Knowles has written, 'it is probably safe to say that the majority were . . . of the middle and lower ranks of rural landowners and freemen'.<sup>11</sup>

In the list the material side of the priory life is indicated by the obedientiaries whose names generally appear in rentals. Two are found in the manor court rolls, pressing for payment of debts. Many names have been found when priors appointed attorneys or proctors during their absences abroad at Cluny or La Charité or on affairs of state. There are scattered references to building work and to the music of the priory; in this respect attention has been drawn to the best known of the monks, William Corvehill, whose practical versatility has been noted by many writers.<sup>12</sup>

The list of monks includes 28 priors; it follows, with some deviations, Dr. Marjorie Chibnall's authoritative list in the *Victoria County History*. For the first hundred years there are obvious gaps, and before 1261 the dates of accession are unknown. From her list Dr. Chibnall excluded 'the lord Richard', prior at the time of the translation of St. Milburga's bones.<sup>13</sup>

In the early centuries the priors appointed by La Charité were foreigners. In the 14th and 15th centuries, however, the Great Schism in the church (1378–1417) and the Hundred Years War between England and France (1337–1453) weakened the hold of La Charité over her English daughter houses and strengthened the desire of the English Cluniac houses to be free of foreign control. The last foreign prior of Wenlock was appointed in 1370, and in 1395 Wenlock priory purchased a charter of denization, as other houses had done, and so gained relief from the burden of alien status. The end of the war prompted La Charité to attempt a reassertion of her control. In this she was supported by some English monks, among whom was John Shrewsbury of Wenlock. Accordingly from 1462 to 1485 the priory was subject to the claims of rival priors – those nominated by the king of England and those nominated by La Charité.<sup>14</sup> At last, in 1494, Wenlock achieved full independence of La Charité, and the convent was empowered to elect its prior. The first election, in 1521, provoked a crisis.

The disputed election of 1521 is one of the best documented episodes of the priory's history, and many of the monks who took part in this convulsion lived to be granted

pensions at the dissolution of the priory in 1540. To the Augmentation Office list of pensions can be added to the record of the ex-monks' fortunes left by Thomas Butler, vicar of Holy Trinity church.<sup>15</sup> Some monks did not receive pensions. Some were probably too young, some possibly anticipated the storm and made their arrangements. Of those who stayed to the end and were pensioned, several were placed in parsonages in the neighbourhood; it cannot be said that they fared badly.

#### LIST OF MONKS

- ACTON(E), *alias* DOUGHTIE, THOMAS. Cellarer in 1521 when he supported Rowland Gosnell for prior during the disputed election; kitchener 1524; granted a pension of £6 in 1540; conducted a wedding in Barrow church in 1549; died 1551 and was buried in the porch of the parish church: *Reg. Bothe*, 112; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36; B.L. Add. Ch. 44260; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 107, 120, 121.
- ANGILFEA, GEOFFREY. Subdeacon 1374: *Reg. Courtenay*, 46.
- ASTONE, JOHN DE. Subdeacon 1377: *Reg. Gilbert*, 130.
- BALL(E), JOHN or JAMES. Subdeacon, deacon, and priest in 1522; godfather at a christening in 1539: *Reg. Bothe*, 312, 313; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 98.
- BALL(E), THOMAS. Subdeacon, deacon, and priest in 1530; granted a pension of £5 6s. 8d. in 1540; resided in the neighbourhood, perhaps at Norbury ('Northeburye'), and conducted a funeral in 1559: *Reg. Bothe*, 327; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 129; *Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, xxxvii. 140.
- BANGE(BENGE), WILLIAM. Involved in the disputed election of 1521; granted a pension of £6 in 1540; curate of Eaton Constantine where he died in 1562; buried at Leighton: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 101, 130; 4th ser. ix. 153; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36.
- BARAS (BARAT), ROGER. Witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter in 1180 and a Wenlock Priory deed in 1192: Eyton, iii. 236, 294-5; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.
- BARR(E)Y, ROGER. Acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon 1406, priest 1409; prior 1438-62: *Reg. Mascall*, 131, 132, 133, 143; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46.
- BASTARD, WILLIAM. Acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon 1406, priest 1409: *Reg. Mascall*, 131, 132, 133, 143. The name is that of a prominent local family.
- BATAILLE (BATAYLE), STEPHEN (DE LA). Acolyte and subdeacon 1334; witness to a homage in 1338: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 143, 151; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.
- BAYLEY, *alias* CRESSAGE, JOHN. Kitchenier 1517; occurs as prior of Sandwell (Staffs.) in 1521 when he was involved in the disputed Wenlock election; surrendered Sandwell Priory in 1525, when it was dissolved by Cardinal Wolsey, and returned to Wenlock; prior 1527-40; granted a pension of £80 in 1540 and went to live in the manor house at Madeley; died 1553, his desire to be buried at Wenlock being disregarded: B.L. Add. Ch. 44259; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 107, 108, 121; 4th ser. ix. 170; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 21v.; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 44, 45, 47; *V.C.H. Staffs.* iii. 219.
- BENGE, WILLIAM. *See* BANGE, WILLIAM.

BERVADEC, WILLIAM DE. Fugitive leader of a robber band 1274; captured and executed 1283: Charvin, *Statuts*, i. 347; *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), iv. 487. He is probably to be identified with Wm. de Burwardesley (q.v.).

BILLYNGEBURGH, JOHN. Appointed prior of Dudley by the prior of Wenlock 1415; died 1421: *Cal. Pat.* 1413-16, 304; 1416-22, 381.

BONVILLARS, *alias* NORTHAM, HENRY DE. Dean of Payerne Priory (Vaud, Switzerland), but resigned by 1285; prior of Bermondsey (Surr.) for a few months before being appointed prior of Wenlock in Sept. 1285; prior 1285-1320; often overseas; attorney for his kinsman and fellow-countryman, Otto of Grandson, 1299; Otto's deputy in the Channel Islands 1299; accused of seizing corn and oxen at Bourton and horses at Chirk in 1302; in 1306 indicted for harbouring John de Dodynton and John de Vernon, two of his household men who had assaulted Roger son of Roger of Wigwig; died January 1320: A. J. Taylor, 'Who was "John Pennardd, leader of the men of Gwynedd"?'', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xci. 79-97 (esp. 90); *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, 159, 192, 336; 1292-1301, 59, 414, 436-7; 1301-7, 44. 94-5, 375; 1307-13, 59, 66, 139, 217, 273; P.R.O., Just. 1/745 rot. 3 (ref. owed to Dr. D. C. Cox); *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 42, 46.

BOSCO, GUY DE. Prior's attorney 1322: *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, 53.

BOTELER, EDWARD. *See* BUTLER, EDWARD.

BOTELER, JOHN. Deacon 1475: *Reg. Myllyng*, 155.

BRUGE,<sup>16</sup> ROWLAND. *See* GOS(E)NELL, ROWLAND.

BRUGGE, JOHN. Probably an obedientiary, he was plaintiff in a plea of debt in the manor court, January 1421; appointed prior of Dudley in October 1421; occurs 1434: S.R.O. 1224/2/7; *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, 396; *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 162.

BRUGGE, WILLIAM. Of Wenlock; subdeacon and deacon 1415, priest 1416; prior 1435-8: *Reg. Mascall*, 162, 163, 167; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46.

BURWARDESLEY,<sup>17</sup> WILLIAM DE. Renounced his profession and took to crime: *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 111. He is probably to be identified with Wm. de Bervadec (q.v.).

BUTLER (BOTELER), EDWARD. Monk of Westminster Abbey, infirmarer 1474 and sacrist 1486; in 1489 his learning, music, and calligraphy were commended to Wenlock by Abbot Eastney of Westminster: E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster* (1916), 163.

CAMBRIDGE, RICHARD. Priest 1475; possibly prior of Preen 1509-16: *Reg. Myllyng*, 155; A. Sparrow, *Hist. of Church Preen* (1898), 21, 84; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 38.

CANKE,<sup>18</sup> WILLIAM. Prior of Dudley July-October 1421: *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, 381, 396.

CARTER, JOHN. Dispensed to hold any benefice 1466: *Cal. Papal Regs.* 1458-71, 542.

CARVACE, PETER DE. Deacon 1435: *Reg. Trillek*, 417.

CASTELL, *alias* GOUGH, JOHN. Precentor; prior of Preen c. 1521 to 1534; involved in the disputed election of 1521; later arraigned in the chapter-house and disciplined for some offence; complained in London about the sale of Preen manor and given an annuity of 4 marks; granted a pension of £6 in 1540; became curate of Monkhopton, where he died in 1544: Sparrow, *Ch. Preen*, 22-3, 33-7, 70-103; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 38, 44; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, pp. 36, 551; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 103; 4th ser. ix. 170-1.

- CHAALUN,<sup>19</sup> ROBERT DE. Witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter 1180: Eyton, iii. 236.
- CHAMBERLAYN, WILLIAM. Born 1518; granted a pension of £5 6s. 8d. in 1540; became a priest in the parish church, serving the altar of the Lady Chapel from 1546: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 117-18; 3rd ser. x. 365; 4th ser. ix. 174; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, pp. 36, 551.
- CHAPELE, FROMUND DE LA. *See* WENLOCK, RAYMOND DE.
- CHARLIEU, GUICHARD DE. Prior of Pontefract (Yorks. W.R.) 1311-16, of Northampton 1316-20, of Wenlock 1320; resigned priorate of Wenlock between 1344 and 1354; witnessed the resignation of Prior John de Cusance (q.v.) of Bermondsey (Surr.) in 1360: Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 119; *V.C.H. Northants.* ii. 109; *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, 425; *Cal. Papal Regs.* 1342-62, 160; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 42, 46.
- CHARTRES, JOHN DE. *See* TYCFORD, JOHN DE.
- CHAY, HENRY DE. *See* MYONS, HENRY DE.
- CLEOBURY, JOHN. Acolyte 1453, priest 1456: *Reg. Stanbury*, 137, 141.
- CLEMBY, RICHARD. Kitchener 1449: B.L. Add. Ch. 44256.
- CLIFF, ALAN. As curate of Shipton he stood godfather at an important baptism in 1538; not granted a pension in 1540; vicar of Kinlet 1539-57: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 102, 114; *S.P.R. Heref.* xvii(2), p. xiv. He has been identified with Alan Newport (q.v.): *T.S.A.S.* 4th ser. ix. 171-2.
- CLONE, JOHN. Subdeacon 1415, deacon and priest 1418: *Reg. Mascall*, 163; *Reg. Lacy*, 102.
- CLONE, WILLIAM. Subdeacon 1415, priest 1418: *Reg. Mascall*, 163; *Reg. Lacy*, 102.
- COCUS (COQUUS), THOMAS. Kitchener; witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter in 1180 and a Wenlock Priory deed in 1192: Eyton, iii. 236; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.
- CORVEHILL, JOHN. Brother of Wm. Corvehill (q.v.); received no pension 1540: curate of Church Preen in 1546, when he conducted a wedding at Hughley: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 118-19.
- CORVEHILL (CORFILL),<sup>20</sup> *alias* WENLOCK, WILLIAM. Sacrist and precentor in 1521, when he strongly opposed Gosnell's election as prior and took the convent seal to Dudley; subprior in 1540 when he was granted a pension of £6 13s. 4d.; became a priest in the parish church and in 1543 was appointed priest of Our Lady's service there, his stipend being 8 marks and the tenancy of St. Owen's well house; perhaps married 1546; died 1546, the subject of a much-quoted obituary extolling his character and his skills as musician, mason, and bell-founder: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 101, 105, 115, 117, 118-19; 4th ser. ix. 172-3; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 44, 45; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 21v.; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv. p. 413, xv, pp. 36, 551.
- COSSENAY,<sup>21</sup> CONAN DE. Prior's attorney 1308: *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, 66.
- COSSENAY, JAMES. Prior's attorney 1290-2: *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, 336, 367, 424, 481.
- CRESSAGE, JOHN. *See* BAYLEY, JOHN.
- CRESSAGE, THOMAS OF. Subdeacon 1366, deacon 1367: *Reg. L. Charlton*, 107, 111.
- CRISTYLL, JOHN. Commoner (*communarius*) 1516-17: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 31.

CUSANCE (CUSANCIA), JOHN DE. Prior of Wenlock's attorney 1305; prior of Bermondsey (Surr.) from 1323; senile by 1360, when his resignation of office was made to Henry de Myons (q.v.), prior of Wenlock, acting as specially deputed vicar of the prior of La Charité; in 1324 one William de Cusance, a kinsman of Otto of Grandson, was of service to Wenlock Priory: *Cal. Chanc. Wts.* 1244-1326, 251; *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 471, 476; plate 4, below; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 42.

DENSELL (DEUKESHULLE),<sup>22</sup> THOMAS. Subdeacon 1416, deacon 1418, priest 1419: *Reg. Mascall*, 166; *Reg. Lacy*, 102, 108.

DODITON,<sup>23</sup> WILLIAM DE. An apostate who, 'having left his order', desired reconciliation in 1370: *Cal. Papal Regs.* 1362-1404, 82.

DOUGHTIE, THOMAS. See ACTON(E), THOMAS.

DOUREPDALE, THOMAS. Subdeacon 1377: *Reg. Gilbert*, 130.

DOUSE, BARTHOLOMEW DE LA. Prior's attorney 1292 and 1294: *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, 481; 1292-1301, 59.

DUCKEBROC, JOHN DE. Prior of Sandwell (Staffs.) 1316-23: *V.C.H. Staffs.* iii. 219.

DYLUZ, WALTER DE. Prior's attorney 1315: *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, 273.

ESENBRUGGE (HESOMBRUGE, EYUNBRUGGE),<sup>24</sup> PHILIP, Acolyte and deacon 1406, priest 1410: *Reg. Mascall*, 131, 133, 147.

EVERAD. Prior of Dudley 1182: *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 161.

FARYNDON, RICHARD DE. Witness to homage 1338: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.

FENYMER, RICHARD. Kitchener 1525; granted a pension of £6 in 1540; mentioned as curate of Acton Round 1555: B.L. Add. Ch. 44261; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, pp. 36, 551; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 124.

FESCAMP,<sup>25</sup> JOHN DE. Prior's attorney 1328: *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, 271.

FESCAMP, MICHAEL DE. Prior's attorney 1333: *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, 416.

FISHWICK (FISHER), RICHARD. Monk for more than thirty years; prior's proctor 1519; kitchener in 1521 when he was involved in the disputed election; appointed temporary prior of Preen *vice* John Castel (q.v.) in 1534; sacrist in 1540 when he was granted a pension of £6 13s. 4d.; afterwards served the chapel of Bourton; skilled in fine metal work; died 1543: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 99, 102; 4th ser. ix. 171. S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 12v.; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, p. 413; xv, pp. 36, 551.

FLEURY (FLORIANO),<sup>26</sup> OTTO DE. Prior's attorney 1343; prior 1370-6: *Cal. Pat.* 1340-3, 55; 1374-7, 354.

FREND, OSBERT. Mentioned with his brother Roger (q.v.) in 1192.

FREND, ROGER. Witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter in 1180 and a Wenlock Priory deed in 1192: Eyton, iii. 236, 294; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.

GOS(E)NELL, *alias* BRUGE, ROWLAND. Of a Bridgnorth family; deacon 1514, priest 1517; at Canterbury College, Oxford, 1514 and 1523; studied logic,



philosophy, and theology for 7 years; B.Th. 1523, D.Th. by 1555; wrote a chronicle of the priors which he suppressed at the wish of Prior Singer (q.v.); his election as prior hotly disputed but, after an inquiry ordered by Cardinal Wolsey, confirmed in October 1521; granted episcopal privileges by the pope 1522; well read and efficient; the convent quarrel persisting, Wolsey ordered a formal visitation in September 1523; Gosnell was suspended but restored in 1524; towards the end of 1527 he resigned or was deposed; received a pension of 40 marks; in later years importuned the king to be reinstated; nothing known of his life after he left Wenlock until 1539, when he became rector of Oldbury (deprived for marriage 1560); granted a prior's pension of £80 in 1540; by 1551 he was married; vicar of Tenbury (Worcs.) 1554 (deprived 1562); F. C. and Penelope E. Morgan, 'Some Nuns, Ex-Religious and Former Chantry Priests living in the Diocese of Hereford (c. 1554)', *Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, xxxvii. 141; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), 79; Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (1929), 128-38; W. F. Mumford, 'Prior Roland Gosenell and the Wenlock Register', *Downside Review*, lxxxix. 111-22; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., *passim*; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, p. 692; iv, pp. 413-14; vii, p. 416.

GRANGER, PHILIP THE. *See* PHILIP THE GRANGER.

GRIFFYTH, JOHN. Deacon 1475: *Reg. Myllyng*, 155.

GYTTON, THOMAS. Supported John Shrewsbury (q.v.), the rival to Prior Stratton (q.v.), in 1471: P.R.O., C 81/1787.

HALE, RICHARD. Supported John Shrewsbury, Prior Stratton's rival, in 1471; deputy kitchener in 1482: P.R.O., C 81/1787; B.L. Add. Ch. 44258.

HALSTONE (HALGTON),<sup>27</sup> REYNOLD DE. Acolyte and subdeacon 1334: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 143, 151.

HAMOND THE PROVOST. Witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter in 1180 and a Wenlock Priory deed in 1192: Eyton, iii. 236, 293; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.

HENRY. Prior c. 1196: *Curia Regis R.* xii. 527.

HEREFORD, THOMAS OF. Subdeacon 1345, deacon 1346, priest 1347: *Reg. Trillek*, 415, 429.

HEREFORD, LITTLE, ROGER OF. *See* LITTLE HEREFORD, ROGER OF.

HOPKYS, JOHN. A poor scholar of Oxford; granted a pension of £5 6s. 8d. in 1540: *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36.

HOWEST, RICHARD. Subdeacon c. 1391: *Reg. Trefnant*, 198.

HUMBALD or WYNEBALD. Prior from the later 1150s or 1160 to the earlier 1170s; in 1169 he led a number of Wenlock monks to Paisley (Renfrewshire) to start the newly founded Cluniac priory there: *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 40, 41, 46; *Reg. Mon. de Passelet* (Maitland Club, 1838), 1-3; *Materials for the History of Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), i. 338.

HUMBERT or IMBERT. Prior by 1221 and until 1260 or 1261. Able and energetic, he was high in the royal favour and was frequently engaged in diplomatic missions abroad and in negotiations with the Welsh princes; during his time the priory

church and other buildings were rebuilt; his relations with the growing town of Madeley were not entirely happy: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 6; *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 153-4, 160, 200, 430; 1258-66, 148; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 367; *Cal. Close*, 1231-4, 66, 94, 171, 225; 1234-47, 342, 368, 381; B.L. Harl. Ch. 45 A33.

JOHN. Prior c. 1190: *Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Una Rees (Aberystwyth, 1975), ii, p. 354.

JOHN. Subprior 1275: *Reg. Cantilupe*, 36.

JOHN. Injured during the rebuilding of the church but miraculously restored c. 1510-20: Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, MS. 433.

JOYBERT. A Norman; because of his 'worldly wisdom' he became prior, or perhaps overseer, of Coventry, Wenlock, Bermondsey, and perhaps Daventry also; occurs as prior of Wenlock from 1198; died 14 June 1216; in 1209 Innocent III urged the monks of Coventry to elect Joybert bishop of Coventry and Lichfield: *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46; *V.C.H. Staffs.* iii. 10-11; *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 445; D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London, *Heads of Religious Houses . . . 940-1216* (1972), 41, 116, 117, 123; *Yr. Bk.* 19 Edw. III (Rolls Ser.), p. 468.

KANK,<sup>28</sup> WILLIAM OF THE. Subdeacon 1475: *Reg. Courtenay*, 54.

KITCHENER, THOMAS THE. See THOMAS THE KITCHENER.

LEE (LYE), JOHN. Born c. 1508; granted a pension of £5 6s. 8d. in 1540; in 1548 he was priest of the Lady Chapel in Madeley Church and was keeping a grammar school; in 1560 he was parson of Broseley and conducted a funeral or was himself buried: *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 113, 130; 3rd ser. x. 364-5; 4th ser. ix. 174.

LEGGE, NICHOLAS DE. Priest 1465: *Reg. Stanbury*, 156.

LEIA, PETER DE. Briefly prior in the 1170s; resigned 1176 to become bishop of St. David's; reviled by Gerald of Wales, his unsuccessful rival; died 1198: Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera* (Rolls Ser.), i. 260; *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* (Rolls Ser.), i. 260.

LEOMINSTER, WILLIAM OF. An apostate whose arrest and punishment was ordered 1358; witnessed the resignation of Prior John de Cusance (q.v.) of Bermondsey in 1360: *Cal. Pat.* 1358-61, 75; plate 4, below.

LILLESHULLE,<sup>29</sup> HUGH. Deacon 1374: *Reg. Courtenay*, 46.

LITTLE HEREFORD, ROGER OF. Appointed prior of Preen 1301; in 1302 accused with Prior Bonvillars (q.v.), of Wenlock, of seizing horses at Chirk: *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, 594; 1301-7, 94.

LONDON, THOMAS OF. Occurs as prior of Dudley 1338 and 1346: *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 162.

LOPYNTON, WALTER. Candidate for selection as prior of Dudley in October 1421: *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, 396.

LUDLOW, NICHOLAS. Deacon 1464: *Reg. Stanbury*, 155.

LUDLOW, RICHARD OF. Prior's attorney 1267: *Cal. Pat.* 1266-72, 118.

LYE, JOHN. Acolyte and deacon 1406, priest 1409: *Reg. Mascall*, 131, 133, 143.

LYE, JOHN. See LEE, JOHN,

MALLEGA, ROBERT DE. Occurs as prior of Dudley 1292 and 1298: *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 161.

MAR, JOHN. *See* STAFFORD, JOHN.

MASSEY, RANDOLF. Born *c.* 1520; a scholar doing daily service in the monastery, he was granted the proceeds of Hugford Middleton chapel (in Bitterley) in 1539; received no pension in 1540; a deacon in the parish church, he married Agnes Benbow in 1544; a son baptized 1559; curate at Barrow 1563; he was renting a cottage and garden in 1581; his wife died November 1591, Massey himself two months later aged about 70: B.L. Harl. Ch. 83 D3; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 117; Sparrow, *Ch. Preen*, 78; L. F. Peltor, *Willey and Barrow*, 24; N.L.W., Wynnstay, box E no. 3; Much Wenlock par. reg.

MAWES (MEAUS),<sup>30</sup> ADAM DE. Acolyte and subdeacon 1334: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 143, 151.

MONTIBUS, Aymo DE. Prior of Bermondsey when he became prior of Wenlock in 1261; supported Simon de Montfort who committed Northampton Priory to his charge in February 1265 – a grant revoked after the king's victory in August 1265; resigned or died 1272: Graham, *Eng. Eccl. Studies*, 122; *Cal. Pat.* 1258–66, 148, 403, 441; 1266–72, 714.

MORTHOWE (MORFEW),<sup>31</sup> WILLIAM. Granted a pension of £5 6s. 8d. in 1540; assisted at a funeral 1544; curate of Monkhopton 1545: *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 117–18.

MYONS, *alias* CHAY, HENRY DE. Allowed to choose confessors 1349; occurs as prior 1354; in 1360 he received Prior John de Cusance's resignation of the priorate of Bermondsey; died 1369: *Cal. Papal Regs.* 1342–62, 358; *Cal. Fine R.* 1347–56, 383; B.L. Add. M.S. 6165, p. 97; plate 4 below.

NEWBURY, RICHARD. Prior of St. Helen's (I.W.) 1381: *Cal. Fine R.* 1377–83, 267.

NEWPORT, ALAN. A proctor to seek Cardinal Wolsey's confirmation of the election of Rowland Gosnell as prior 1521: *Reg. Bothe*, 110. Possibly to be identified with Alan Cliff (q.v.).

NEWPORT, THOMAS. Subdeacon 1375: *Reg. Courtenay*, 54.

NORGROVE, RICHARD. Subdeacon, deacon, and priest 1530; granted a pension of £6 in 1540: *Reg. Bothe*, 327; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36.

NORTHAM, HENRY DE. *See* BONVILLARS, HENRY DE.

NORTHAMPTON, PHILIP OF. Cut his throat in the priory 1272: Eyton, iii. 260. Possibly to be identified with Philip the Granger (q.v.).

NORTONE, JOHN. Acolyte and subdeacon 1418, deacon 1419: *Reg. Lacy*, 102, 108.

OPYTONE, RICHARD. Deacon *c.* 1391: *Reg. Trefnant*, 199.

OSBERT. Occurs 1160; appointed from the Wenlock chapter to be first prior of Dudley: *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 159, 161.

OSBERT. 'Frater noster' and 'bonus frater optima conversationis'; wrote for Prior Humbald to the subprior of Canterbury, describing a miracle at the tomb of Thomas Becket, *c.* 1171: *Materials for Hist. of Thos. Becket* (Rolls Ser.), i. 338.

- PETER. Possibly occurs as prior 1120: *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46; Eyton, iii. 248.
- PHILIP THE GRANGER (GRENETARIUS). Sent to London to report to the Cluny visitors 1263: Charvin, *Statuts*, i. 276. Possibly to be identified with Philip of Northampton (q.v.).
- PIERE, JOHN. Subdeacon 1349: *Reg. Trillek*, 500.
- PINAT, RICHARD. Witnessed a priory deed 1192: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.
- PLESENT, WALTER. Witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter 1180: Eyton, iii. 236.
- PONTEFRAC(T) (POMFRET), WILLIAM OF. Acolyte 1343, deacon 1345; occurs as prior of Dudley 1351 and 1354; nominated prior of Wenlock 1376 and occurs 1380; died or resigned c. 1383: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 195; *Reg. Trillek*, 417; *Cal. Fine R.* 1369-77, 344; 1377-83, 25; 1383-91, 237; Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 77.
- PROWDE, THOMAS. Almoner 1521, kitchener 1527: *Reg. Bothe*, 112; B.L. Add. Ch. 44256-62.
- RAMELMUS. A 'most excellent brother, skilled in the art of medicine' 1101: *T.S.A.S.* lvii. 146.
- REH(O)US, WILLIAM. Deacon 1413: *Reg. Mascall*, 156, 157.
- REYNOLD. Occurs as prior before 1138 and until the 1150s; closely associated with Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford: Eyton, iii. 249; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46.
- REPPLES, JOHN DE. Witnessed the resignation of Prior John de Cusance (q.v.) of Bermondsey 1360: plate 4, below.
- RICHARD. Monk of Wenlock who attested a charter of Earl Roger of Shrewsbury at Quatford c. 1090: Eyton, iii. 228. Perhaps identifiable with the prior of 1101 (see next entry).
- RICHARD. Prior at the time of the translation of St. Milburga's bones, 1101: *T.S.A.S.* lvii. 134.
- ROBERT. Prior in the 1190s; witnessed an important Buildwas charter 1192: *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46; *T.S.A.S.* xi. 126.
- SALOP, STEPHEN DE. 'Frater' and 'monachus', he paid a fine into the Wardrobe 1272: *Cal. Close*, 1268-72, 535.
- SALOP, WILLIAM DE. Witnessed a homage 1338: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.
- SALOPIA, JOHN DE. Acolyte 1367: *Reg. L. Charlton*, 110.
- SCHEFYLD, JAMES. Priest 1475: *Reg. Myllyng*, 155.
- SHIPTONE, JOHN. Deacon 1413: *Reg. Mascall*, 156.
- SHREWSBURY, JOHN. Subdeacon and deacon 1469, priest 1470; appointed prior by La Charité but kept out of office until 1479 by the king's nominee Prior Stratton, who sought Shrewsbury's arrest in 1471; accepted by the king 1479; resigned 1482; as vicar of the prior of La Charité he appointed Richard Singer prior of Wenlock (*vice* Thomas Sudbury) 1486; an indenture of 1543 refers to an agreement made by Shrewsbury as prior in November 1468 and ratified in 1475: *Reg. Stanbury*, 163-5; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, 274; 1476-85, 156, 302; 1485-94, 167; P.R.O., C 81/1787; S.R.O., 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 16v.; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 47.

- SHREWSBURY, THOMAS. Refectorer; one of those commissioned to inquire into Prior Gosnell's election 1521; prior of Dudley in 1540 when he was granted a pension of £10: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 21v.; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 36.
- SINGER (SYNGAR), *alias* WENLOCK, RICHARD. Priest 1475; prior 1487–1521; instituted repairs to the choir, added magnificently to the infirmary, and built a new prior's lodging; popular in the town and well connected; in his later years conventual discipline seems to have deteriorated; died 1521: *Reg. Myllyng*, 155; *Cal. Pat.* 1484–94, 167; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, p. 692; Rose Graham, 'History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock', *Jnl. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 3rd ser. iv (1939), 136–7; W. F. Mumford, art. cit. *Downside Review*, lxxxix. 113, 122–3. To be distinguished from Ric. Wenlock (q.v.).
- SINGERS, HENRY. Subdeacon 1469: *Reg. Stanbury*, 162.
- SMITH, THOMAS. Subprior 1521, when he petitioned for confirmation of Prior Gosnell's election; not granted a pension 1540; had perhaps resigned owing to age and may have lived outside the priory; said to be aged 115 when he died in 1547 or 1549: *Reg. Bothe*, 109; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii, p. 565; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 106, 120. Perhaps to be identified with Thomas Smythe (q.v.).
- SMYTHE, THOMAS. Supported John Shrewsbury, Prior Stratton's rival, 1471: P.R.O., C 81/1787.
- STAFFORD, *alias* MAR, JOHN. Deacon 1386; prior 1397–1435; collector (with Walter, prior of St. Guthlac, Hereford) of a subsidy granted to Henry IV by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1406; accused of harbouring and supporting the Lollard Sir John Oldcastle<sup>32</sup> in 1417; found not guilty May 1418 but sent back briefly to the Marshalsey for 'other causes': *Reg. Gilbert*, 170; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 46; P.R.O., E 179/30/21; E. F. Jacob, *Henry V and the Invasion of France* (1947), 55; E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Cent.* (1961), 133.
- STAFFORD, RICHARD. Subdeacon 1385, deacon 1386; occurs as prior of Dudley 1400: *Reg. Gilbert*, 166, 170; *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 162.
- STAUNFORD, ROBERT. Appointed prior of St. Helen's (I.W.) 1394: *Cal. Fine R.* 1391–9, 110.
- STOKE, JOHN. Priest 1364: *Reg. L. Charlton*, 93.
- STOKE, JOHN. Called 'frater' and 'magister'; permitted to transfer to another Benedictine house c. 1524: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 25.
- STRATTON, JOHN. Nominated prior by the king 1468 despite the claims of John Shrewsbury (q.v.) and ruled the priory till 1479: Rose Graham, *Eng. Eccl. Studies*, 84; *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 109; 1476–85, 156.
- SUDBURY, THOMAS. Monk of Bermondsey and a bachelor in decrees; elected prior of Northampton 1473 and ousted in favour of William of Brecknock 1482, being compensated by appointment to Wenlock; re-admitted to Northampton 1485; became prior of Folkestone, not a Cluniac house, in 1509: *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 44, 47; *V.C.H. Northants.* ii. 109; *Cal. Pat.* 1476–85, 302; 1485–94, 66; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i, p. 222.
- THENOLIO, PETER DE. A senior monk; joint keeper of the priory in war-time, 1352; in 1364 appointed prior of Bermondsey by Henry de Myons (q.v.); died c. 1373: *Cal. Pat.* 1350–4, 219; 1361–4, 505; *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 477.

- THOMAS THE KITCHENER. Witnessed a priory deed 1192: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.
- THYME, —. Called 'frater' and 'humilis minister' when he acted for the prior in the grant of an advowson to the dean and chapter of Hereford in 1271: *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. W. W. Capes (Cantilupe Soc.), 126.
- TONY, JOHN. Made a monk in Wenlock Priory on 30 July 1358: *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xv, p. 186.
- TOUR, JOHN DE LA. Subdeacon 1343: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 197.
- TYCFORD, *alias* CHARTRES, JOHN DE. Prior of Bermondsey 1266; prior of Wenlock 1272–85; sent on a diplomatic mission to Wales 1273; named as official visitor of the Cluniac order in England 1276; strongly criticized and accused of fraud and debt in the Cluny visitation report 1279; given custody of Bermondsey 1284; promoted to Lewes (Suss.) 1285: Rose Graham, *Eng. Eccl. Studies*, 122; *Cal. Pat.* 1266–72, 714; 1272–81, 140; 1281–92, 134; *Cal. Close*, 1272–9, 51; Charvin, *Statuts*, i. 386–7.
- WALLE, JOHN. Subdeacon (to title of Limebrook Priory, Herefs., a house of Augustinian canonesses) 1511; deacon and priest (as monk of Wenlock) 1511: *Reg. Mayew*, 254, 256.
- WALTER. Prior's proctor 1205: *Curia Regis R.* iii. 323.
- WALTER THE CHAMBERLAIN. Sent to London with Philip the Granger (q.v.) to report to the Cluny visitors 1262: Charvin, *Statuts*, i. 276.
- WALWEYN, WILLIAM. Monk of Worcester; nominated prior of Wenlock by the king 1462 in opposition to Roger Wenlock (q.v.), the nominee of La Charité; probably never assumed office: *Cal. Pat.* 1461–7, 180, 191.
- WAYVILLE,<sup>33</sup> THOMAS. Subdeacon 1343, deacon 1345: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 197; *Reg. Trillek*, 417.
- WEBLEY,<sup>34</sup> JOHN. Prior of Dudley 1535: *V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 162.
- WELCUME (WELCOM), ROGER. Witnessed the Dudley Priory foundation charter 1180 and a Wenlock Priory deed 1192: Eyton, iii. 256; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.
- WELLINGTON, JOHN. Summoned to appear before the inquiry into Prior Gosnell's election 1521: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 21v.
- WELLINGTON, ROGER OF. Acolyte 1367: *Reg. L. Charlton*, 110.
- WENLOCK, HENRY. Priest 1364: *Reg. L. Charlton*, 93.
- WENLOCK, HENRY. Deacon 1469, priest 1470: *Reg. Stanbury*, 164, 166.
- WENLOCK, JOHN. Subdeacon 1418, deacon 1419, priest 1421; candidate for appointment as prior of Dudley 1421: *Reg. Lacy*, 102, 108; *Reg. Poltone*, 21; *Cal. Pat.* 1416–22, 396.
- WENLOCK, RAYMOND DE (FROMUND DE LA CHAPELE). Prior's proctor 1299; accused with others of seizing corn and livestock 1302: *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1301, 433; 1301–7, 94–5.
- WENLOCK, RICHARD. *See* SINGER, RICHARD.
- WENLOCK, RICHARD. Acolyte 1453: *Reg. Stanbury*, 137.
- WENLOCK, ROGER. Nominated prior of Wenlock by La Charité in opposition to the king's nominee, William Walweyn (q.v.), 1462; on his death the dispute between

- the Crown and La Charité was reopened, 1468: *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, 192-3; 1467-77, 109, 274.
- WENLOCK, THOMAS. Acolyte 1453, deacon 1464, priest 1465; kitchener 1472: *Reg. Stanbury*, 137, 155, 156; B.L. Add. Ch. 44257.
- WESTON, RICHARD. Plaintiff with the prior in a plea of debt in the manor court 1412: S.R.O. 1224/2/6.
- WHYTE (WYGHT, WYHST), WILLIAM DE. Acolyte and subdeacon 1334, priest 1335: *Reg. T. Charlton*, 143, 151, 162.
- WILLIAM. Prior of Dudley at some time between 1182 and 1192: *V.C.H. Wores.* ii, 161.
- WILLIAM. Prior's attorney 1232: *Curia Regis R.* xiv, 430.
- WILLIAM. Occurs as prior of Dudley 1351-2 and 1354: *V.C.H. Wores.* ii, 162.
- WISTANSTOW, RICHARD OF. Occurs as prior of Preen 1292; resigned 1301: *V.C.H. Salop.* ii, 38.
- WYLD, RICHARD. A scholar doing daily service in the monastery, he was granted the proceeds of Hugford Middleton chapel (in Bitterley) in 1539: B.L. Harl. Ch. 83 D3.
- WYVEL (WYNEL), ROGER. Acolyte 1366, subdeacon 1367; occurs as prior in 1388 and until his death in 1397; he successfully sought the priory's denization in 1395: *Reg. L. Charlton*, 106, 110; S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 13; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii, 42, 46.

#### MONKS ANONYMOUSLY MENTIONED

- c. 1220 The monk who was to be entrusted with the responsibility for building the new church: P.R.O., C 66/225.
- 1278 Two monks ordained at Whitbourne: *Reg. Cantilupe*, 307.
- 1417 The cellarer who was alleged to have connived at counterfeiting money and plotting to kill the king: E. F. Jacob, *Hen. V and the Invasion of France*, 55.
- c. 1524 The novice scribe working for Prior Gosnell: Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, MS. 433.

#### OFFICIALS AND SERVANTS

- BARTHOLOMEW. 'Le Priuresquier', was with the prior in a raid on a manor in Bourton: *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 94.
- BLAKELEY, JOHN. Clerk, witness to homage, 1338: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.
- BROWNE, EDWARD. A servant to the prior; married at Madeley 1538: *T.S.A.S.* vi, 98.
- BYSSHOP, JOHN. 'In the office of the chamberlain' in Prior Singer's time; died 1560: *T.S.A.S.* vi, 130.
- CAYNELL, JOHN. Witness to homage 1338: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.
- CHESTERSHIRE, JOHN. Witness to homage 1338: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.

- DODYNTON,<sup>35</sup> JOHN DE. A member of Prior Bonvillars's household (one of his mainpasts) accused in 1306 of assaulting Roger, son of Roger, of Wigwig: P.R.O., Just. 1/745 rot. 3 (ref. owed to Dr. D. C. Cox).
- FENYMER, THOMAS. Porter of the monastery; he was cousin to Prior Singer; in 1539 his wife Joan and Richard Lawley, gentleman, were godparents at a christening; granted an annuity of £4 in 1540; his wife died in 1546, he himself in 1548: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 98 (calling him 'Jas.'). 104, 120; B.L. Add. MS. 11058.
- HARLEY, PHILIP DE. Younger son of Burga, lady of the manor of Willey; priest at Willey in 1324 and became steward of the priory manors about 1344; parson of Eaton-under-Heywood in 1352, when he and a monk were placed in charge of the priory as a war-time measure; he may have ceased to be steward in December 1360 when he was instituted to Storchley, a priory benefice; in 1369 he moved to Stockton, where he died in 1379: *Reg. Orleton*, 272; S.R.O. 1224/2/1; *Cal. Pat.* 1350-4, 219-20; Eyton, ii. 49, 148; viii. 125.
- LEE, RAUF. Gentleman; son of Ric. Lee, lord of the manor of Langley; held the honorary post of carver at Prior Singer's table; granted an annuity of £2 13s. 4d. in 1540; died 1559: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 129; B.L. Add. MS. 11058.
- MASON, CLEMENT. 'Mason and servant in mason craft' to Prior Singer: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 121.
- MORGAN, JOHN. Organist in the priory at the time of its dissolution; 'an expert and full cunning man in music'; died 1542: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 116.
- NEALE (NYLE), RICHARD. Brother-in-law to Richard Fishwick (q.v.); bell-ringer in the priory; received an annuity of 25s. in 1540: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 122; B.L. Add. MS. 11058.
- OTELIN. 'Le Prieure's neve'; went with the prior in the raid on a Bourton manor: *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 94.
- PATSON, RAUF. Brewer to the priory; granted an annuity of 26s. 8d. in 1540: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 98; B.L. Add. MS. 11058.
- PETER THE PORTER. Witness to a terciar agreement, 1244: S.R.O. 840, uncat.
- PRESTERECOTE, HUGH DE. Clerk; witness to homage: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.
- RAYMOND. Lay brother; found St. Milburga's bones 1101: *T.S.A.S.* lvii. 134.
- RICHARD. Member of the prior's household; witness to a priory deed 1192: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 17v.
- ROGER THE PORTER. Witness to the Ditton Priors settlement made with Geoffrey de Say in Normandy, 1180: Eyton, iii. 333.
- SIMON. 'Serviens' to whom Prior Tycford gave a virgate of priory land, 1279: Charvin, *Statuts*, i. 386.
- TRECE, JOHN. 'Serviens' to whom Prior Tycford gave food, a horse, a servant and residence within the priory for life, 1279: Charvin, *Statuts*, i. 386.
- VERNON, JOHN DE. A member of Prior Bonvillars's household (one of his mainpasts) accused in 1306 of assaulting Roger, son of Roger, of Wigwig: P.R.O., Just. 1/745 rot. 3 (ref. owed to Dr. D. C. Cox).
- WILCOCK, WALTER. Carpenter in Prior Singer's time: *T.S.A.S.* vi. 107.
- WILLEY, RALPH DE. Steward c. 1338: S.R.O. 1224, box 342, Prior Gosnell's reg., f. 2v.



- <sup>1</sup>*Statuts, Chapitres Généraux et Visites de l'Ordre de Chuny*, ed. G. Charvin (Paris, 1964), i. 273, 352, 386.
- <sup>2</sup>*T.S.A.S.* 3rd ser. ix. 142.
- <sup>3</sup>J. B. Blakeway, 'Wenlock Priory', in J. Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Gt. Brit.* iv (1814), 59.
- <sup>4</sup>'Viginti monachi cum dicto priore': Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 77 (no. VIII).
- <sup>5</sup>Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (1854-60), iii. 236.
- <sup>6</sup>*V.C.H. Worcs.* ii. 159, 161-2.
- <sup>7</sup>W. F. Mumford, 'Looking for Monks', *The Local Historian*, ix. 175-6, 399. Examples of names excluded are Thos. Habburley (*Reg. Bothe*, 308-9; *T.S.A.S.* vi. 130), Wm. Lynde (*Reg. Bothe*, 327), and Wm. de Mortone (*Reg. T. Charlton*, 166).
- <sup>8</sup>Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 76 (no. IV).
- <sup>9</sup>D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in Eng.* (2nd edn., 1966), 439-41.
- <sup>10</sup>F. M. Powicke, *The Christian Life in the Middle Ages* (1935), 14, 21.
- <sup>11</sup>D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in Eng.* ii (1961), 229-30.
- <sup>12</sup>See e.g. *ibid.* 235 n. 6; *V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 45.
- <sup>13</sup>*V.C.H. Salop.* ii. 40, 46.
- <sup>14</sup>Rose Graham, *Eng. Ecclesiastical Studies* (1929), 75-87.
- <sup>15</sup>*T.S.A.S.* vi. 93-132.
- <sup>16</sup>i.e. Bridgnorth.
- <sup>17</sup>i.e. Broseley.
- <sup>18</sup>Possibly Cannock (Staffs.).
- <sup>19</sup>Châlon-sur-Saône (Saône-et-Loire).
- <sup>20</sup>On the family (later known as Corfield) see Sparrow, *Ch. Preen*, 47-54.
- <sup>21</sup>Cosne, near La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre).
- <sup>22</sup>Deuxhill.
- <sup>23</sup>Ditton Priors.
- <sup>24</sup>Isombridge.
- <sup>25</sup>Perhaps Fécamp (Seine-Inférieure).
- <sup>26</sup>Fleury (Loiret) is about 40 miles north-west of Cosne. Cf. above, n. 21.
- <sup>27</sup>Perhaps Halston or Haughton.
- <sup>28</sup>Possibly Cannock: see above, n. 18.
- <sup>29</sup>Lilleshall.
- <sup>30</sup>Possibly Meaux (Seine-et-Marne).
- <sup>31</sup>Probably Morville ('Morfeld'): *Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, xxxvii. 143.
- <sup>32</sup>Called 'an incredible tale' told by a criminal trying to 'save his skin': K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of Eng. Nonconformity* (2nd impression, 1966), 181.
- <sup>33</sup>Perhaps the same name as that of Prior Wyvel (q.v.).
- <sup>34</sup>Weobley (Herts.).
- <sup>35</sup>Ditton Priors.



# THE SHROPSHIRE PORTION OF THE CHESTER-CARDIFF ROAD IN 1675

By WILLIAM DAY

IN 1675 John Ogilby published his *Britannia* in which he gave a description of the principal roads of England and Wales, illustrating their routes in 100 plates. Ogilby, describing himself as 'His Majesty's Cosmographer and Master of His Majesty's Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland', dedicated the work to Charles II, laying great emphasis on the fact that his lengths had been computed by actual measurement with a 'Wheel Dimensurator' – a much more useful instrument, he contended, than the usual chain.

The routes of these 'principal roads' are shown in a manner similar to that used by the Automobile Association when it provides a route for a particular journey: that is, the road is shown in strips leading from bottom to top.

The scale used by Ogilby was one inch to a mile. The end of a mile was expressed in his plates by double dots and the mileage was given. Furlongs were shown by single dots, but there were not always eight furlongs in a mile. In fact, from the 16th to the 35th mile in the road we shall be discussing, there is only one case in which there are 8 furlongs in a mile. In three cases there are 5 furlongs, in six cases 6 furlongs, and in nine cases 7 furlongs.

In 1720 John Owen, of the Middle Temple, gentleman, published *Britannia Depicta, or Ogilby Improved*. This was mostly a copy of Ogilby, but Owen got over the furlong trouble by not marking furlongs at all; he marked only the miles.

Ogilby, in his plates 63 and 64, gives the route of the road from Chester to Cardiff. Plate 63 contains the part from Chester to 'Vunneth Llanbader' (Llanbadarn Fynydd) in six strips, but we are concerned only with the second and third strips, a copy of which (together with the fourth strip) is given in figure 28. This part gives the line of Ogilby's road as it passes through Shropshire – a most unexpected line.

The modern road is the trunk road A483 through Wrexham, Ruabon, Oswestry, Welshpool, and Newtown; of these towns, however, only Wrexham, Ruabon, and Newtown figure in Ogilby's road.

It is interesting to follow on a modern map what seems to have been Ogilby's road, and figures 29 to 32 are copies of the 2½" Ordnance Survey sheets for the area traversed by the road through Shropshire (parts of SJ 22, SJ 23, and SJ 24). Ogilby's mileages from Chester have been marked on these figures so that Ogilby and the Ordnance Survey can be correlated.

The subsequent observations are offered as an aid to following Ogilby's road.

*Ogilby's approx.  
mileage from  
Chester*

Mls.	Fur.	
------	------	--

16	4	Ruabon. From here to where the A483 joins the A5 at Whitehurst Gate Ogilby's road seems to follow the line of the present A483, then that of the A5 to Pen-y-bryn.
20	2	At Pen-y-bryn, instead of keeping along the A5, Ogilby's road turns right towards Chirk Castle. (The present signpost indicates Nantyr.)

Mls. Fur.

- 20 5 The branch to the right, labelled by Ogilby to 'Sr Tho: Midletons', is to Cefn-y-wern where Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk Castle, died in 1666. Middleton, of Civil War fame, had moved there during the restoration of the castle which had suffered so severely during the Civil War. His house was still standing until a few years ago. In 1975 there was talk of erecting another mansion on the site.
- 21 1 Ogilby's 'To ye Hills' seems to be the road to the Saw Mill.
- 21 4 New Hall and Chirk Castle Lodge. The road to the right (Ogilby's 'To Treabont') seems to be the one to Caeau-gwynion.
- 22 2 Chirk Castle, present main gate. Note the fine wrought-iron gates which were the work of two blacksmiths, the Roberts brothers of Chirk. The gates were first erected in 1719 in front of the castle itself, but in 1770 they were moved to New Hall Lodge (21:4) 'at the entrance to the Park from the Chester Road'. From there they were moved to their present position in 1888. The present road turns left. Ogilby's went straight on for about a quarter of a mile and then turned right, along the present footpath leading to the Glynceiriog road, B4500, near Pont-faen Bridge.
- 22 6 Ogilby's road crosses the River Ceiriog at Pont-faen Bridge. On his map the river seems to have been marked where the road is, and *vice versa*, for the county boundary runs along the river. The road to Oswestry would be the unclassified road south of the river leading to Weston Rhyn, the road 'To Llangollen' (and to Glynceiriog, now B4500) the one north of the river. Ogilby's road goes over the bridge and up the steep hill to the right, through Pont-faen village.
- 23 2 At the top of the hill the legend 'To Llangollen' would refer to the road to Glynceiriog. Possibly the building marked at this junction was a smithy as there used to be one there. (Smithies would have been as important as petrol stations are today.) To the left is the road to Weston Rhyn and Oswestry. Ogilby's road goes west of the Quinta to Rhôs, Fron, and Nant.
- 24 0 The road to the right would be that to Fron-ganol and Fron Farm.
- 24 3 Cross roads. The road to the left is that to Wern. Could Ogilby's 'To Werwoollm' mean 'To Wern Woollen Mill'? for this road leads to a mill, now disused. The road to the right ('To ye Heaths') is that to Craignant.
- 24 5 } At Nant the road turns right and then in 2 furlongs turns left, over a  
to } small bridge and into a lane not now used. This lane emerges on to  
25 2 } B4579 on the Glynceiriog side of Selattyn. The hairpin bend in B4579  
was no doubt not in existence in 1675, and Ogilby's road went down  
the present footpath on the east side of B4579, crossed the brook,  
and came up again to B4579 with Selattyn church on its left.
- 25 2 At Selattyn Ogilby's road turned right and went uphill to Careg-y-big.

- | <i>Mls.</i>    | <i>Fur.</i> |  |
|----------------|-------------|--|
| 26             | 0           | The road to the right is that to Orseddwen, the road to the left that to Pant-glâs (both unnamed by Ogilby).   |
| 26             | 4           | 'Offa's Ditch' signifies Offa's Dyke at Careg-y-big. 'To Llanhangell' would be the road to Llechrydau, the road to the left that to Oswestry. At this point Ogilby says 'Re-enter Denbighshire', but this is an error unless the county boundary has been altered since 1675. The boundary is not along the Dyke here, and we are still in Shropshire.   |
| 27             | 4           | After 26:4 the road is confusing but may be construed as follows.<br>This mileage is very approximate, as there are only five furlongs marked between 27 and 28. This point is one mile from Offa's Dyke and is presumed to be Llawnt, as Llawnt is at the bottom of a hill. Here the River Morda would be crossed, but it is not marked. A bridge was erected here about 1750 and rebuilt in 1836.  |
| 27             | 4           | It was at first thought that Ogilby's road would then go along the present B4580 to Rhydygroesau (A on figure 31). Further consideration, however, suggested that that part of B4580 would not have been in existence in 1675; moreover, the straight piece of B4580 immediately east of Rhydygroesau would then have been boggy ground which would have been avoided. Instead Ogilby's road possibly turned sharp right at Llawnt and went along the present footpath marked as B on figure 31. The footpath is no. 103 on the definitive footpath map (see fig. 33). Ogilby's road would have gone along path no. 103 until its meeting point with no. 102, then along no. 102 to the present road junction at Rhydygroesau. Alternatively, his road might have kept completely to no. 103. In April 1975 path no. 103 was found to have been made impassable by barbed wire, etc. There is a third possibility. Ogilby's road might have used the existing lane north of path no. 103 before turning south-west along path no. 102 or 103. The road to the right, shown by Ogilby 'To Llundilo', would then be that to Llechrydau, and the unnamed road to the left could be the eastern arm of path no. 103. |
| 27<br>to<br>28 | 0           |  |
| 28             | 1           | Rhydygroesau. Ogilby's road to the left 'To Oswastree' would be the road to Cynynion, and the unnamed road to the right would be that to Cefn-canol or, by fording the Cynllaith stream, to Rhydleos. There would have been no bridge at Rhydygroesau in 1675, and the present line of the B4580 would not have existed. To get to what is presumed to be Ogilby's road it is now necessary to turn south off B4580 and in a few yards to turn right across a field (but on a public carriageway) past the Rhydygroesau Old Rectory (not in existence in 1675) continuing to Tan-y-graig where the present public carriageway ends. Thereafter a track (fenced on both sides) continues on to Tan-y-coed-y-gaer and joins another portion of public carriageway just beyond. This track, now unused, is about a mile long. It was passable on a bicycle in the 1930s.  |

<i>Mls.</i>	<i>Fur.</i>	
29	4	Ogilby here shows the road crossing 'Kenlet flu', by which the Cynllaith stream is no doubt intended. On the road now being followed, however, this brings us nowhere in particular. Perhaps Ogilby meant that 'Kenlet flu' and 'Mill' could be reached by turning right here – say, along a path such as is shown on the 2½" sheet at about 29:1.
29	6	Turn right for Gwerni-duon and Cynllaith stream. To the left there is now a path (not on the definitive map) leading to path no. 96A in Oswestry Rural parish, which becomes no. 7 in Sychtyn parish and ends at Craig-llwyn on an old turnpike road from Oswestry to Llansilin. Perhaps this path is referred to by Ogilby's left turn at this point. The present road replacing this path is now at mileage 30.
30	2	Pont Pentre-gwyn. At this point the Cynllaith stream is crossed, but it is not shown on Ogilby's map. Just before this, at Tan-y-coed, the road re-enters Denbighshire.
31	0	Llansilin. Ogilby's branch road 'To Terhules' doubtless indicates the road to Rhiwlas, and the road to Rhiwlas would have been the only branch there in 1675, if (as is here presumed) the adjoining stretch of B4580 did not then exist.

The mileage from Chester to Llansilin on Ogilby's map is shown to be only about 30 miles 6 furlongs. According to the heading on the map, however, it should be 31 miles, thus:

Chester to Wrexham	..	..	11 miles	4 furlongs
Wrexham to Selattyn	..	..	13 „	6 „
Selattyn to Llansilin	..	..	5 „	6 „
			31 „	0 „

When we consider why Ogilby took this route, instead of going through Oswestry, it will be noticed that he kept to high ground as far as possible.

For anyone wishing to follow the line of Ogilby's road which has been suggested here, it should be noted that the following parts must be walked, the rest being negotiable by car:

<i>Mls.</i>	<i>Fur.</i>		<i>Mls.</i>	<i>Fur.</i>	
22	2	to	22	6	Chirk Castle main gate to Pont-faen
24	5	to	25	2	Nant to Selattyn church
28	6	to	29	6	Tan-y-graig to just beyond Tan-y-coed-y-gaer.

All these sections are likely to be very muddy, especially the third one which is also much overgrown. It is now hard to believe that it was passable on a bicycle in the 1930s.



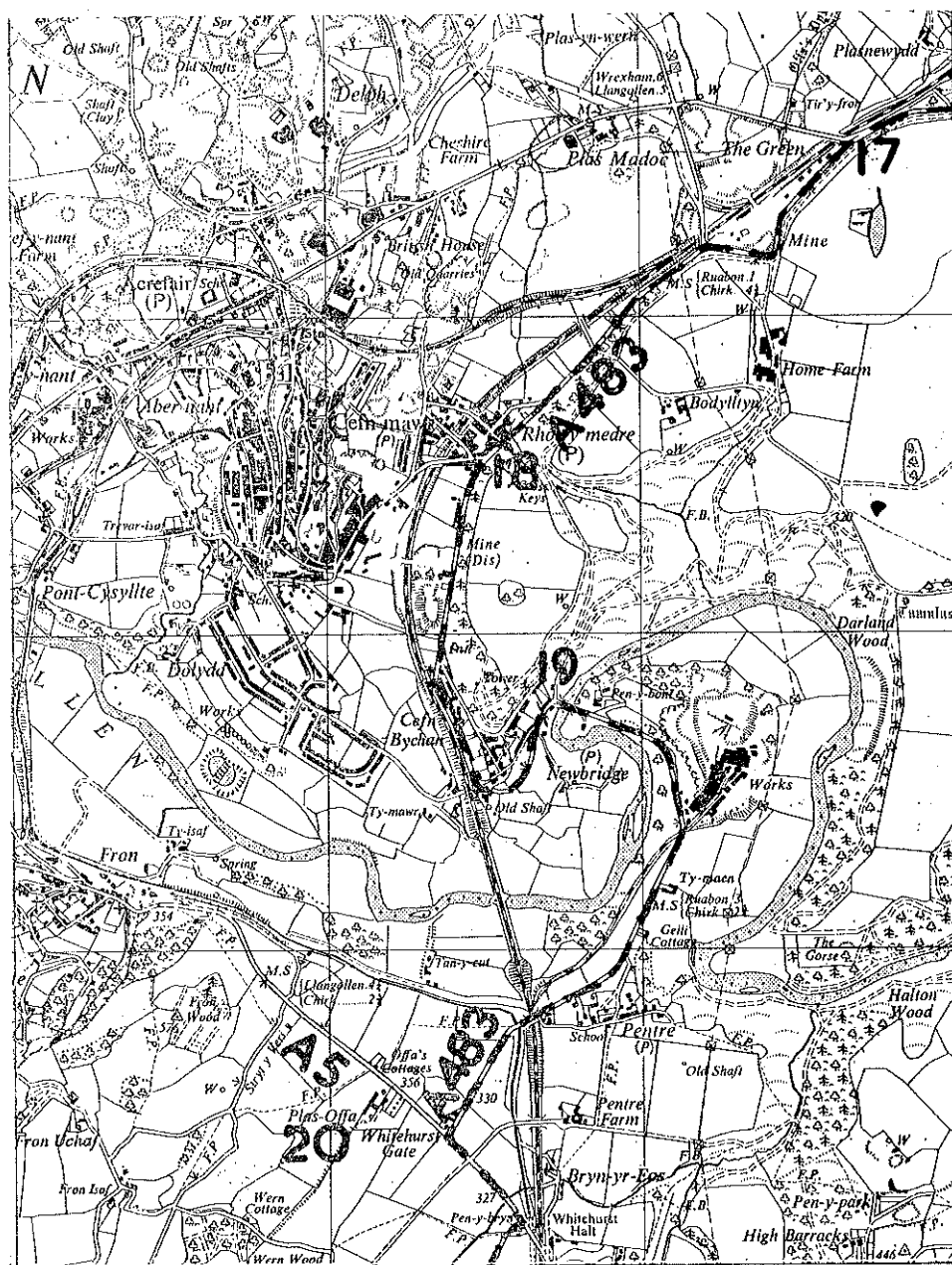


FIG. 29

Reproduced from Ordnance Survey Map with the permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, Crown copyright reserved.



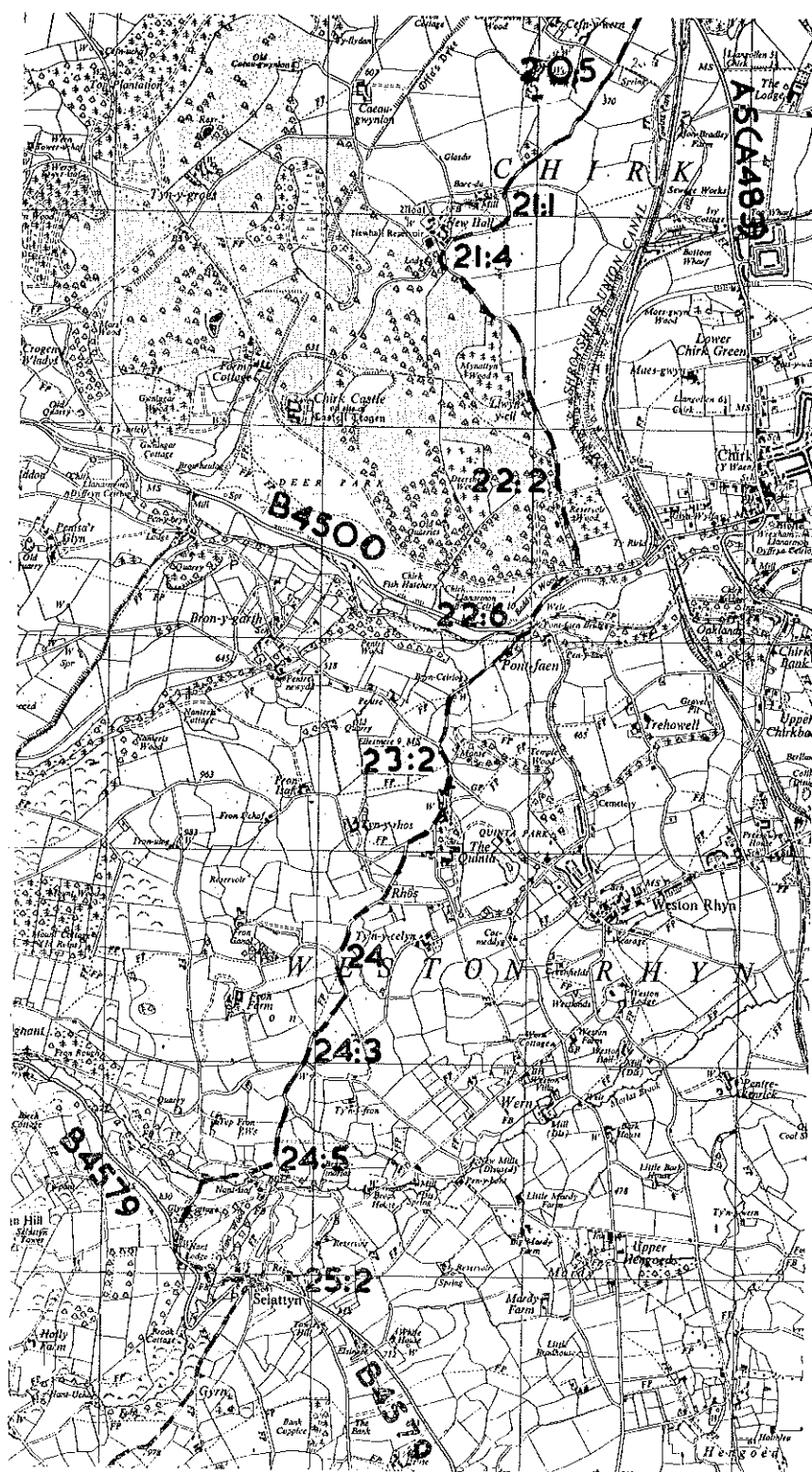


FIG. 30

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## NOTICES AND REVIEWS

The last few years have seen a flood of local literature. Only a small portion of it can receive detailed review in these pages and it seems worthwhile from time to time to give notice of new publications.

Two works of national, rather than local, significance by members of the Society are Philip Barker's *The Techniques of Archaeological Excavation* (B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1977) and Dr. Graham Webster's *The Cornovii* (Duckworth, 1975). The latter is part of the publisher's 'Peoples of Roman Britain' series, designed to give a comprehensive picture of the archaeology of Roman Britain in about 12 volumes by well known archaeologists who have worked in the regions concerned.

Particularly abundant of late have been books based on old photographs. Urszula Rayska's *Victorian and Edwardian Shropshire from Old Photographs* (B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), coming from a nationally known series, gives a vivid picture of the county in the century which really ended with the outbreak of the First World War. *The Changing Face of Shrewsbury* (Shropshire County Library and the Shrewsbury Chronicle, 1977) consists of pairs of photographs – then and now – selected from those reproduced week by week between 1974 and 1977 in the *Chronicle's* continuing series of the same name; each pair has a brief commentary. *Telford Past and Present*, by Urszula Rayska and Anthony Carr (Shropshire Libraries and Telford Development Corporation, 1978) covers Shropshire's new town in a similar way. The pictures and standards of reproduction and commentary in these two works mark successive improvements on the county library's first venture into this field: *Shropshire in Pictures: Part 1 – The Street Scene* [1971]. In yet another series (Hendon Publishing Co. Ltd.) are A. M. Carr's *Shrewsbury As It Was* and W. J. Macefield's *Bridgnorth As It Was* (both 1978). Carr's book (though not Macefield's) has a brief introduction; his captions are highly informative, and the excellent standard of reproduction and large page-size have been used for judicious enlargement. Ivor J. Brown's *The Mines of Shropshire* (1976) belongs to the Moorland Publishing Co.'s 'Historic Industrial Scenes' series of illustrated books. The illustrations are excellent and are provided with a scholarly and informative commentary by Dr. Brown, a leading member of the Shropshire Mining Club and himself a former miner in the Coalbrookdale field. This book scores over other books of photographs by having useful indexes; there is also a select bibliography.

The enterprising Drayton Civic Society produced *Market Drayton: A Town and its People*, edited by B. C. Pitt, to mark the Queen's Silver Jubilee in 1977; though amply illustrated, the book is more than a photographic record and aims to provide a history of the town, a record of its growth, and a description of aspects of life there in 1977. That is a one-off effort, but another, even more ambitious, town group, the Ludlow Historical Research Group,<sup>1</sup> has launched a new series of *Ludlow Research Papers*, numbers 1 and 2 of which are reviewed below; no. 3, David Lloyd's *Broad Street: Its Houses and Residents Through Eight Centuries* (1979), has now been added to the series. Such a project sets a high standard for the even newer groups which are emerging, like the Whitchurch Area Archaeological Group which has published R. B. James's *Whitchurch: a Short History* (1979). The Tong Archaeological Group has produced *Report 1* on the excavations which have been going on under Mr. Alan Wharton since 1976. Sad to record, *en passant*, the Offa Antiquarian Society, formed in 1949, seems likely to disband this year, and the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field

Club has discontinued its *Transactions* since 1973, though they have been replaced by a series of occasional papers, inaugurated in 1978 with John Norton's *Silurian Cephalopods of the Welsh Borderland*; a second paper is in the press. Meanwhile a new journal, *Shropshire Family History Journal*, is promised from the Shropshire Family History Society which is being formed at the moment of our going to press.

Harry Sowden's photographs in *Ironbridge: Landscape of Industry* (1977) are excellent. The text, by Neil Cossons, is impressionistic, an initial elevation of tone ('The Ironbridge Gorge is an enigma, an illusion of the mind which cannot be brought into reality or into the world of today . . . It stands with ancient Egypt, Athens and Rome as a place of outstanding significance in the evolution of Man . . .') giving way to comments on the photographs to point up Ironbridge's 'special sort of dereliction which has become almost a way of life' (p. 84). Though aware of the difficulties besetting the area's future,<sup>2</sup> the author is shy of proposing solutions.

With '*The Most Extraordinary District in the World*': *Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale* (Phillimore & Co. Ltd. in association with Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, 1977) Barrie Trinder adds a very readable volume to his impressive earlier works on the east Shropshire industrial area.<sup>3</sup> It is a well illustrated anthology of visitors' impressions recorded between 1751 and 1955; there is a substantial (10-page) introduction and at the end are useful suggestions for further reading. The 1979 bicentenary of the Iron Bridge has naturally produced more works on the area. Volume III (no. 2, Spring 1979) of the *Industrial Archaeology Review* is entirely devoted to the Severn Gorge area, and another timely publication is *The Iron Bridge: Symbol of the Industrial Revolution* by Neil Cossons and Barrie Trinder (Moonraker Press, 1979). S. Smith's *A View from the Iron Bridge* (Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, 1979) is an illustrated catalogue published to coincide with an exhibition of the same name at the Royal Academy. W. Grant Muter's *The Buildings of an Industrial Community: Coalbrookdale and Ironbridge* (Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1979) is a valuable study of the buildings and architecture of the Severn Gorge. Lord Briggs's *From Iron Bridge to Crystal Palace*, however, is not a local study, though largely based on the Elton Collection which has found a home in the Ironbridge Gorge Museum.

Shropshire railway enthusiasts are well served by Anthony J. Lambert's *West Midlands Branch Line Album* (Ian Allan Ltd., 1978): good photographs, well informed comment, useful endpaper maps, but no index and only a very brief introduction. S. D. Wainwright's *Rails to North Wales* (Ian Allan Ltd., 1978) has the same features though Shropshire figures less prominently. There are two Shropshire chapters in John Scott Morgan's *The Colonel Stephens Railways* (David & Charles, 1978), and there is a formidable amount of technical detail in *Industrial Locomotives of Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire*, edited by Alan J. Bridges (Handbook G of the Industrial Railway Society).

Other recent publications include Peter Gunn's *The Actons* (Hamish Hamilton, 1978); Sir Jasper More's highly entertaining personal and family reminiscences *A Tale of Two Houses* (published by the author, 1978; distributed by Wildings of Shrewsbury Ltd.); D. R. Atkinson's *Tobacco Pipes of Broseley, Shropshire* (published by the author, 1975, at £2 plus postage)<sup>4</sup> with useful illustrations of bowl types, makers' marks, etc., and a short history of Broseley by Miles Taylor; D. J. Elliott's *Shropshire Clock and Watchmakers* (Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1979); C. Hartley Willan's *Newport*

*Story: One Thousand Years in the History of Newport, Salop* (Newport Books, 1979), whimsical in style and not well arranged; Gladys Mary Coles's biography of Mary Webb, *The Flower of Light* (Duckworth, 1978); E. J. Priestley's lavishly illustrated *The Battle of Shrewsbury 1403* (Shrewsbury and Atcham Borough Council, 1979); and D. J. Lloyd's *Country Grammar School: A History of Ludlow Grammar School through Eight Centuries against its Local Background* (1977). The last-named will be reviewed in our next issue. Volume III of *A History of Shropshire*, edited by G. C. Baugh (Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research (the Victoria History of the Counties of England), 1979), deals with county government and parliamentary representation down to the local-government changes and general elections of 1974. It will be reviewed in our next issue, as will *Shropshire and Its Rulers: a Thousand Years* (Shropshire Libraries, 1979) by G. C. Baugh and D. C. Cox, a summary of the *V.C.H.* volume's treatment of county government; its publication marks a new departure for the *V.C.H.*

Though not concerned with Shropshire, A. L. Le Quesne's *After Kilvert* (Oxford University Press, 1978) will arouse interest in the Marches: selections from Le Quesne's diaries of life in Clyro are placed beside extracts from Kilvert's and used to point up the past century's changes in rural Britain; illustrations and maps. *A List of Families in the Archdeaconry of Stafford, 1532-3*, edited by Ann J. Kettle (Staffordshire Record Society's *Collections*, 4th series, viii, 1976), will be of interest to Shropshire genealogists as the archdeaconry included several Shropshire parishes.

Announced as forthcoming for October 1979 is W. K. V. Gale and C. R. Nicholls, *The Lilleshall Company Ltd.: a History 1764-1964* (Moorland Publishing Co. Ltd. on behalf of the Lilleshall Co. Ltd.).

*The County of Shropshire: The Official Guide* (British Publishing Co. Ltd. by authority of the Salop County Council's Leisure Activities Committee; Gloucester, 1978; 50p) is well illustrated and (though now reported out of print) good value for money in terms of information; the first half contains historical and descriptive articles. A new *Guide* is reported to be in preparation.

<sup>1</sup>See *Civic Trust News*, lxx (Nov.-Dec. 1978), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *Telford Jnl.* 4 July 1975; *Shropshire Star*, 4 July 1975.

<sup>3</sup>*The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire* (Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1973) and *The Darbys of Coalbrookdale* (Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 1974).

<sup>4</sup>Available from the author at 6 Wetherby Place, London SW7 4NE: *Shropshire Mag.* Nov. 1975.

A. J. Bird, *History on the Ground* (University of Wales Press, 1977), pp. 135, figs. 20; £3.25.

*History on the Ground* is subtitled 'an inventory of unrecorded material relating to the Mid-Anglo-Welsh borderland with introductory chapters'. Much of this material is the result of the author's work as a correspondent of the Archaeological Branch of the Ordnance Survey from 1945; as such it has been available for study only on the Ordnance Survey record cards, copies of which are kept by the Local Studies Library at Shrewsbury and by the Salop County Sites & Monuments Record. The book also includes the results of some work carried out by the author in west Wales after his retirement, although this is not made clear in the text. While much of the field work is of a high standard, the interpretation of some of the sites and material leaves something

to be desired. Subsequent work, principally by the field investigators of the Ordnance Survey, has brought to light a number of discrepancies, many of which had been noted prior to the book's going to press.

Out of a total of 634 entries listed in the inventory under the old counties of Herefordshire, Montgomeryshire, Radnorshire, and Shropshire, 444 are entered under Shropshire, of which 19 are in Herefordshire and 67 are in Montgomeryshire or Radnorshire. The latter two numbers are minimal estimates, for place-name speculation and roads/tracks have been omitted from the check. The reason for this error of nearly 20 per cent becomes clear when one refers to fig. 1 which shows the maps used, i.e. the old 6" to 1 mile. Entries which are sited on maps of which Salop is but a part, have often been included in this county's list. The records have in each case been given the appropriate 6-figure N.G.R., but a few errors have crept into the work in doing so, e.g. the 100-km. grid letters for entries 191 and 199 are SJ not SO, while northings are given before eastings for entry 218.

Of the chapters which are related to the material in the inventory, the first, on Archaeology and the Ordnance Survey, is the most interesting and informative, containing as it does an account of the work of the Survey's correspondents. The other chapters, while reflecting the author's interests, include a number of misconceptions and incorrect statements. To point out but two: Britain is generally considered to have been cut off from the continent at the beginning of the Atlantic period, on current reckoning about 5500 B.C. not 8000 B.C. (p. 7), and exposure to sunlight does not cause the patination of flint (p. 10). On the whole one is tempted to look on these chapters as padding; indeed the author himself remarks (p. 6) that the inventory published by itself would have little appeal to the general reader.

The maps and plans in this book are of very mixed quality and appear to have been derived from a number of different sources; that has resulted in a lack of uniformity in this aspect of the work. To cite but a few specific points: there are no units to the scale on fig. 1, while figs. 10, 13, and 19 indicate a series of sites in west Wales but it is not at all clear what these represent. Presumably they derive from field work carried out by the author after he left Shropshire. Again, what do the dots mean on the 'map of Roman records' (fig. 11)? The drawings of flints (fig. 2) are little more than sketches, while that of the chimney breast at Lower Spoad, Newcastle-on-Clun, suggests that it had been executed from a photograph which in turn had been taken at an angle, as the original is symmetrical. The reproduction of the photographs as a whole is not good, and no scales are present on fig. 6.

The reviewer appreciates that the bibliography is selective, but there is an odd mixture of learned publications and more general works, while notable omissions, as far as Shropshire is concerned, are Trevor Rowley's *The Shropshire Landscape* (1972) and the works of Cranage.

While, in principle, one must commend the publication of Mr. Bird's field work, one feels that this could have been more usefully achieved in the form of parish check-lists in the respective county journals. It must, however, be admitted that the general public, at whom this book is directed, would be unlikely to see them in that medium.

ALAN TYLER

Salop County Sites & Monuments Record



W. F. Mumford, *Wenlock in the Middle Ages* (Wildings of Shrewsbury Ltd., 1977), pp. 202; £4.

Only a small proportion of market towns can boast a modern account of their medieval history, and among them can now be numbered Much Wenlock, thanks to this most welcome publication. It is, incidentally, the work of a member of this Society.

When did the Middle Ages come to an end? For the political and intellectual leaders of English society, who lived close to the sources of new ideas, they ended much sooner than for the townsmen of such a place as Much Wenlock. Even today the provinces are slow to acquire the ideas and habits of London or New York. When communications were much more difficult the lapse could be measured in centuries. Mr. Mumford is well aware of this and rightly takes his account of medieval Wenlock into the early 17th century. In the writing of local history such a procedure ought to be dictated merely by common sense; regrettably, it remains among local historians an uncommon feat of mental courage to transgress the period-divisions appropriate to national history.

The plan of Mr. Mumford's work is admirably clear. Part I deals with the history of the priory and its estates, Part II with the borough. Within each part the chapters and their sections are systematically arranged so that information is easy to find. The book ends with a long appendix of original documents, which should stimulate scholars to acquaint themselves at first hand with the wealth of records belonging to Much Wenlock. Referring to the manor court rolls Mr. Mumford says 'to browse over or to read through these records . . . is to share the life of the Middle Ages'. A clear and economical system of end-notes enables the author's sources to be followed up, but never distracts the reader. The index is not absolutely comprehensive; if it had been so the book would have been greatly enhanced as a work of reference. There are helpful plans of the monastic buildings and of the priory estates, but it is a great pity that no map is provided of the medieval town. True, a decorative map of Much Wenlock in the Middle Ages has been drawn for the dust-wrapper, and serves its purpose handsomely, but this map may easily be lost when copies become worn (as they deserve to be) or are rebound by libraries.

In clear and vigorous prose Mr. Mumford moves with deceptive poise through difficult and often obscure material. One admires the expert manner in which he conceals from the reader the years of tedious searching and transcribing that have preceded the writing of the book. The accidental survival of records has created in Part I something of a bias of emphasis towards the secular concerns of the monks. Little evidence survives as to the liturgical and intellectual activities of the convent, but Wenlock's estates and buildings had no purpose except that of sustaining the life of prayer and study. Mr. Mumford is alive to the secular bias of the records, and warns the reader about it, but one is apt to become absorbed in the interesting details of estate management and new buildings and the warning could have been more persistently repeated than it is. In Part II the records of town life give a more even picture of their subject, and a better balance is achieved.

A word of praise should be added on the high standard of typography and proof-reading. The author and his publisher have eschewed the cheap ugly methods of

production that local historians are sometimes persuaded to adopt, usually on grounds of cost. All too often such methods taint the work itself, inducing inferior standards of research and exposition. Mr. Mumford has proved that good local history can be published in a dignified form at a moderate price.

D. C. Cox  
Victoria History of Shropshire

M. E. Speight and D. J. Lloyd, **Ludlow Houses and their Residents** (Ludlow Research Papers no. 1; Birmingham, 1978), pp. 22, figs. 17; £1. David Lloyd and Madge Moran, **The Corner Shop: the History of Bodenham from the Middle Ages** (Ludlow Research Papers, no. 2; Birmingham, 1978), pp. 52, figs. 33; £1.75.

The growth of interest in urban history since the Second World War has produced several projects designed to elucidate the development of our ancient towns by the combined study of documentary, architectural, and archaeological evidence. Most of them have concentrated on the larger corporate and cathedral towns like York, Winchester, Lincoln, and Southampton; some have so far covered only a part of the town's area, others are limited in chronological scope. The Ludlow Historical Research Group has now begun, in one of our smaller towns, a study in some ways the most ambitious yet projected. They aim not only to trace the ownership and occupation of the whole of the ancient town, tenement by tenement from Middle Ages to the present day (as H. E. Salter attempted for Oxford), but to combine that with a full survey of the standing buildings. Ludlow's wealth of medieval and sub-medieval architecture is well known; less well known is the unusually extensive survival of relevant documents, especially leases, deeds, rentals, and tax records. Much of the town came to be owned by the corporation, and that fact greatly facilitates the tracing of descents of property. The project is thus both feasible and eminently worthwhile.

The papers under review are its first fruits. They are attractively produced, lavishly illustrated, well printed, and have footnotes not endnotes. The large format permits large-scale illustrations but exposes the paperback booklets to the violence of the Post Office and makes shelving inconvenient.

The first paper is an introduction which gives a brief summary of the town's economic and administrative history and discusses what evidence is to be used and how. The documentary sources are treated lucidly, though much general information has been included which could have been omitted as common knowledge to historians. No doubt the authors had the local reader in mind. The group has devised a grid system to trace the occupation and ownership of each street. It is explained here and illustrated in facsimile. Facsimiles of exemplary documents, with transcriptions, are also provided, again no doubt for the local reader. It is unfortunate that on p. 7 an obvious mistake in transcription appears opposite a note castigating an earlier scholar for a less significant error. The footnotes, alas, must be treated with care: the pagination of St. John Hope's *Archaeologia* article on Ludlow's topography is confused with that of his paper on the castle in the same volume.

The second paper, and the first detailed study in the series, deals with what is now

the premises of F. J. Bodenham Ltd., two buildings occupying a prominent position on the corner of King Street and Broad Street. The architecture is described at length and illustrated with a set of plans and sections which, though they do not perhaps contain enough technical detail to please archaeological purists, are nevertheless remarkably comprehensive in view of the difficulties of surveying property still in daily commercial use. The site history is traced from the 13th century to the present and an account of the family and firm of Bodenham is given. The corner shop itself is the earlier building and has the more interesting history. It is plausibly shown to represent a redevelopment of temporary stalls in the market-place in front of an existing burgage; it thus stood on what was still manorial demesne until the earl of March gave the site to the Palmers' Guild in 1392. The authors suggest that the first permanent building had been put up by 1422; a 1431 rental shows that the shops on the site had chambers or solars above. They also suggest that the present house, originally of 3 storeys and double-jettied, is a replacement of c. 1461 when the tenements were omitted from the guild rental. The property was leasehold until the 19th century and for most of its history was subdivided, one part being ground-floor lock-up shops and the other a shop with the upper storeys of the whole building attached as a house. The lock-up shops were usually held by local worthies who used their position in the guild, and later the Corporation, to obtain beneficial leases of so convenient a site. The other half's tenants were mostly substantial traders of the second rank but included the divine, Robert Horne (d. 1640). The adjoining building, which did not form part of the corner property until the 1890s, was freehold and thus less well documented. Many owners have nevertheless been traced: those of the 16th and 17th centuries were more prominent than their successors.

This is a thorough, well-written, and interesting study, though the Group will probably find that the time and cost involved in treating the whole town's houses on this scale will be prohibitive. They have not avoided a common problem with which studies of individual houses must grapple: that even a wealth of historical information about a town building often sheds little light on the evolution and function of parts of the building itself. They have, however, been able to suggest dates for various alterations. They have clearly worried over the date of the corner building which is remarkable for a crown-post roof of a design unusual in Shropshire and also for the extensive survival of its ornamental wall-framing. They admit that crown-post roofs were no longer fashionable here in the mid 15th century, draw comparisons with roofs in York, and suggest that a carpenter from outside Ludlow, perhaps migrating in the confusion of the Wars of the Roses, was responsible. This reviewer finds the hypothesis implausible. The details of crown-post jointing can vary from one part of a roof to another and are not good evidence for dating; moreover double-jowelled crown posts occur outside Shropshire in the 14th century as well as the late 15th. More relevant is the wall-framing, which has a strikingly decorated appearance quite unlike that of the Abbot's House, Shrewsbury, with which the authors compare it: 14th- or early-15th-century parallels can be found in neighbouring counties. The total omission of the shops from the 1461 rental is more likely to be because of carelessness than of repairs: if no rent was being paid one would expect a *defectus redditus* to be recorded and the reason given. An early-15th-century building date would as well explain the divergences from other Shropshire crown posts, of which a useful list is appended to

the study: the garden-supplies shop in High Street, Much Wenlock, could be added. A disagreement in detail of this kind, however, is no disparagement of the authors' presentation of their case, and the appearance of further papers of the same quality is much to be hoped for.

C. R. J. CURRIE  
Victoria History of the Counties of England

## OBITUARIES

Since the appearance of our last *Transactions* in March 1978 death has deprived the Society of two vice-presidents. Dame Kathleen Kenyon died on 24 August 1978 aged 72, Miss Lily Chitty on 10 February 1979 in her 86th year. The loss of two such scholars in so short a space of time is grievous indeed. The sadness of parting with them, however, is mitigated by recalling the fullness of their scholarly achievements and the unique position which each woman won for herself in the archaeological world. Their membership gave lustre to the Society. Dame Kathleen's robust, laconic commonsense contributions to council meetings which she attended were much appreciated, and Lal's more frequent presence there was always keenly relished by other members.

Our present issue contains the record of Dame Kathleen's digs at Wroxeter in 1952 and 1953, and it seems (we rejoice to say so) that we have not heard the last from Lal Chitty in these pages.

KATHLEEN MARY KENYON, D.B.E., D.Litt., D.Lit., L.H.D., F.B.A., F.S.A.  
(1906-78)

Kathleen Mary Kenyon, the elder daughter of Sir Frederic George Kenyon, was born on 5 January 1906. The Kenyons, originally a Lancashire family, settled in north Wales in the 18th century, and from Lord Chief Justice Kenyon (d. 1802) there descended junior branches who settled in Shropshire. There they were remarkable for public service in several generations, and learning too was honoured among them.<sup>1</sup> Kathleen Kenyon's father (knighted 1912) was a distinguished director and principal librarian of the British Museum (1909-30), of which his daughter became a trustee in 1965.<sup>2</sup>

Dame Kathleen has been called 'the world's finest field archaeologist', and these pages are not the place where her achievements in four decades and three continents could fittingly be reviewed.<sup>3</sup> Suffice it to say that the wider world's loss was Shropshire's gain when, after her retirement from the principalship of St. Hugh's, Oxford, in 1973, she settled at Erbistock (Flints.) near the family seat. Her contributions to the Society's council meetings have already been mentioned, and she gave a memorable lecture on her work at Jericho after the 1975 annual general meeting. Two years ago at the Society's centenary reception at the Shirehall the chairman was deploring the absence (inevitable in the evenings) of Lal Chitty. 'Let's send her a message' boomed a deep voice from the back of the council chamber, and a message was sent. Characteristically, and at what was probably her last appearance among us, Kathleen Kenyon had seen what was the right and graceful thing to do.

LILY FRANCES CHITTY, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.  
(1893-1979)

Lily Frances Chitty, eldest child and only daughter of the Revd. J. C. M. Chitty, was born on 20 March 1893 at Lewdown (Devon), a village on the Okehampton-

Launceston road. Several generations of her father's family were distinguished in the law – judges and legal writers. It was her mother's family which provided the Shropshire connexion and an initial impetus towards archaeology. Gwen Ethlin Georgiana Chitty (*née* Jones) was descended from the Heighway and Jones families of Earlsdale, near Pontesford, and from the Catons, an East Anglian family. Two 19th-century Catons had been fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and it was a Jones kinsman who introduced Lal to the Shropshire Archaeological Society and whose library of local archaeology she eventually inherited in part.

In 1899, aged 6, Lal came to live in Shropshire, her father having been made rector of Hanwood. She was educated at home and began to develop (as those who have seen her pictures know) very considerable artistic gifts. In 1912 she became a member of this Society, and her first contribution to these *Transactions*, on 'Hanwood monumental inscriptions', was published next year. Thus began an active involvement in local archaeology that was to endure – with an interruption for secretarial work in the First World War – for almost seventy years. Between 1919 and the early 1970s there were few years which did not see the appearance of papers from her pen. At first her work embraced 'archaeology' in the wider, old-fashioned sense. It covered monumental inscriptions, Elizabethan coins, the transcription of local records. By the mid 1920s, however, she had marked out prehistoric archaeology, in particular that of the Bronze Age, as her special field of study and research; her choice was made, as has been explained elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> largely through meeting Harold Peake in 1923 and Cyril Fox in 1924.

The catalogue of her published work<sup>5</sup> reveals an impressive body of scientific work which scholars will continue to use. What will elude future generations, sadly and inevitably, is an outstanding and eccentric personality<sup>6</sup> unforgettable to her contemporaries. Most obvious was an infectious zest for learning – that serious, enjoyable, and co-operative enterprise reaching across the generations. Many who accumulate learning with years are generous with their knowledge and quick to share it, as Lal Chitty was; more unusual is the enduring desire to learn – joined in Lal Chitty's case with a readiness to do so from even her youngest friends. It was this enthusiasm which, despite the increasing evidence of physical frailty in her last years, made it difficult to think of her as old. It was this enthusiasm, and the warm welcome guaranteed to any serious student, which drew visitors over the years to that otherwise dauntingly uncomfortable house, Ingleside, piercingly cold in winter and full to overflowing with pictures, books, journals, papers, maps, and prehistoric artifacts: the accumulations of a long lifetime's work, they crowded the shelves, filled cabinets and chests, and piled up on the chairs and settee. Despite appearances to the contrary, however, the collections were carefully disposed about the house, the location of each item carefully recorded and its eventual destination provided for by will.

Lal Chitty's personality was not without its complexities, and there were regrets. Many years ago a major work was planned in collaboration with a scholar of present distinction; she hoped thereby for a wider recognition of her labours. The collaborator, however, withdrew, and even in her last years this remained a painful recollection – not least perhaps because she must have realized that her own reluctance, or inability, to synthesize the results of detailed work contributed to the failure of the collaboration. Earlier, the same traits had been evident in her collaboration with Fox. One of her

last, and breeziest, papers recorded the days she spent walking Offa's Dyke with Fox and her sense of the 'tremendous privilege of working with a genius at the height of his power'.<sup>7</sup> Yet she felt inadequately acknowledged in the first edition of his *The Personality of Britain* (1932). 'The trouble with you Lal', she reported him as saying, 'is that you can't see the wood for the trees'. 'But without my trees there'd be no wood' she replied, and later editions paid due tribute to the importance of her maps and records. Earlier still her eager questionings of her brothers during the Oxford vacations betrayed a passionately intellectual nature, unsatisfied with its chances for development. It is difficult to believe she did not resent her lack of opportunity for university life. Her own recollections of this period were once evoked by a friend who confessed to an enthusiasm for Browning's poems. 'Oh, which in particular?' she quickly asked. The reply 'A Grammarian's Funeral' produced a near-perfect recital by Lal of a long passage from the poem – and a discomfiting request to fill in the few words which had escaped her. Re-read, the poem seems poignantly appropriate to her own successes and failures in a life devoted to learning.

In the end recognition came, and in fair measure: an honorary degree, an honour from the Crown, a *festschrift*, and the sincere affection of very many friends. All this, and more, was fittingly recalled in the funeral oration spoken by Mr. Christopher Houlder, of the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments, Wales, to the friends who filled Pontesbury church to give thanks for her long life and work, some afterwards to follow her across the snow-covered village through the icy bright February afternoon to the cemetery beneath Pontesbury Hill.

<sup>1</sup>*V.C.H. Salop*, iii, 142, 349.

<sup>2</sup>Deplorably the B.M. *Gen. Cat. of Printed Books . . . to 1955* (photolithographic edn. 1959–66), cxvii, cols. 319–20, fails to distinguish her from her kinswoman Katharine M. R. Kenyon.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. *The Times*, 25 Aug. 1978; *Daily Telegraph*, 25 Aug. 1978; *Antiquity*, liii (no. 207, Mar. 1979), p. 1; etc.

<sup>4</sup>*Prehistoric Man in Wales and the West: essays in honour of Lily F. Chitty*, ed. Frances Lynch and C. Burgess (1972), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.* 355–61. For later articles see *T.S.A.S.* lix, 10–14; below, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup>See e.g. *Prehistoric Man in Wales and the West*, pp. vii–viii, 1–3; *Antiquity*, liii (no. 208, July 1979), pp. 87–8; *Shrews. Chron.* 24 Dec. 1975, 16 Feb. 1979.

<sup>7</sup>'Days on the Dyke, with Recollections of Sir Cyril Fox', *Trans. Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Club*, xvii, 55–66.









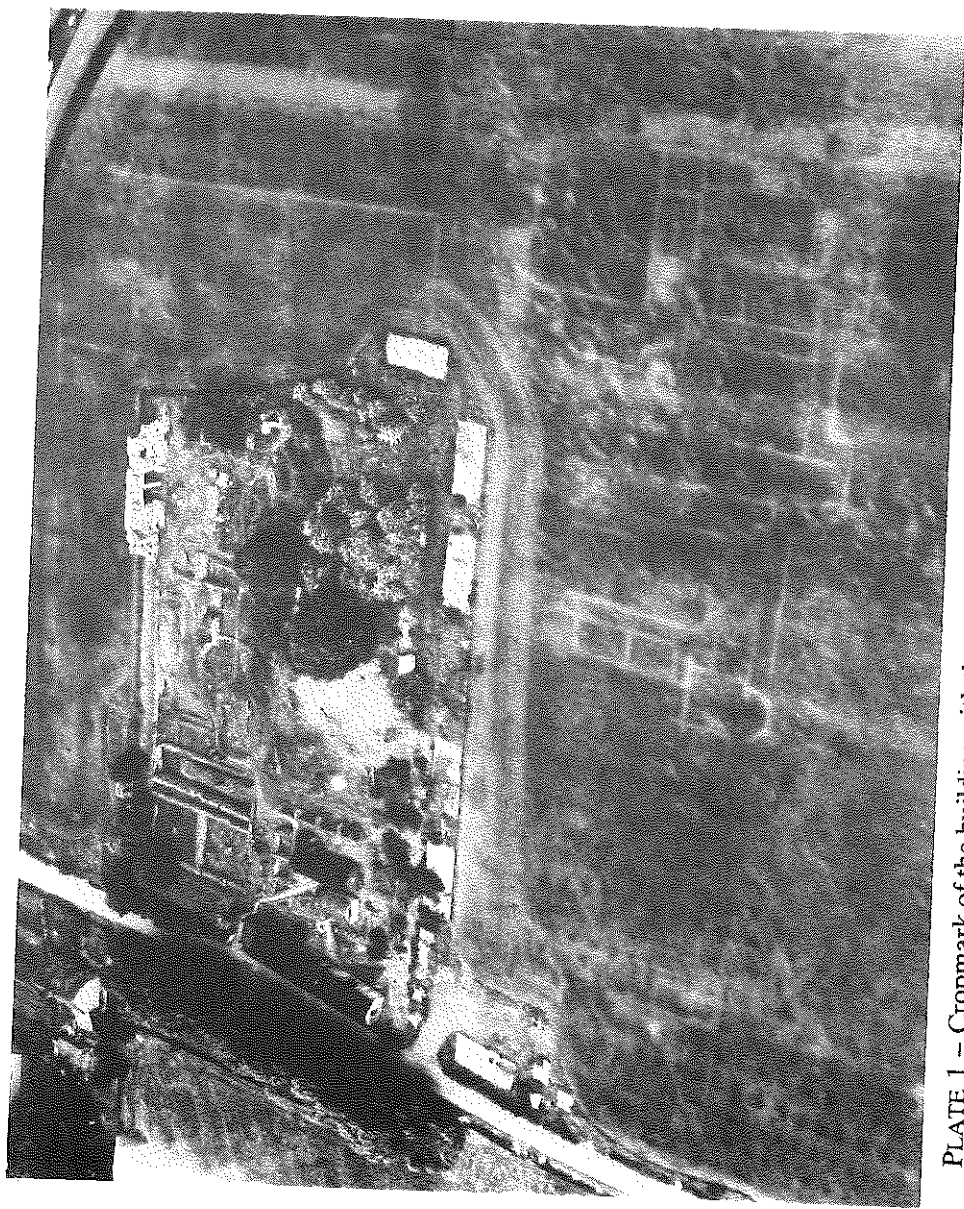


PLATE 1 - Cropmark of the building with the apse.  
(Photo. Prof. J. K. St. Joseph; Cambridge Univ. Coll. AV 5d, copyright reserved.)



PLATE 2 – Apse at S. end of the building (scale in feet).



PLATE 3 -- Structures below the plough soil.

PLATE 4 — John of Cusance's resignation of the priorate of Bermondsey, 1360.  
(Deed in W. P. Brookes coll., Much Wenlock.)

## RULES

1. The Society shall be called 'The Shropshire Archaeological Society (with which is incorporated The Shropshire Parish Register Society)'.

2. The Society's objects shall be the advancement of the education of the public in archaeological and historical investigation in Shropshire and the preservation of the county's antiquities. In furtherance of those objects, but not otherwise, the Society shall have the power (i) to publish the results of historical research and archaeological excavation and editions of documentary material of local historical importance including parish registers, and (ii) to record archaeological discoveries.

3. Management of the Society shall be vested in the Council, which shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, Officers, and not more than twenty elected members. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at an annual general meeting; they shall be elected for five years and shall be eligible for re-election. The Officers shall be appointed by the Council and shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Membership Secretary, Editor, Editor of the *News Sheet*, Meetings and Field Meetings Secretary, Librarian, Publications Secretary, and any other officers deemed necessary by the Council. Officers shall act in an honorary capacity. Not more than twenty members of the Council shall be elected by the annual general meeting. Members of the retiring Council shall be eligible for re-election and their names may be proposed without previous notice; in the case of other candidates a proposal, signed by four members of the Society, must be sent to the Secretary not less than fourteen days before the annual general meeting. The Council may co-opt not more than five additional members for the year.

4. At Council meetings five members shall be a quorum.

5. The Council, through the Treasurer, shall present the audited accounts for the last complete year to the annual general meeting.

6. The Council shall determine what number of each publication shall be printed.

7. Contributors of articles in the *Transactions* shall be entitled to twelve free off-prints of their articles.

8. Candidates for membership of the Society may apply directly to the Membership Secretary who, on payment of the subscription, shall be empowered to accept membership on behalf of the Council.

9. Each member's subscription shall become due on election or on 1st January and be paid to the Membership Secretary, and shall be the annual sum of £4 for members with United Kingdom addresses and £5 for overseas members. Members who joined the Society before 1950 may continue to subscribe at the rate of £1.05 *per annum*. If a member's subscription shall be two years in arrear and then not paid after reminder by the Secretary, that membership shall cease.

10. The Council shall have the power to elect honorary members of the Society.

11. Every member not in arrears of his annual subscription shall be entitled to one copy of the latest available *Transactions* to be published, and copies of other publications of the Society on such conditions as may be determined by the Council.

12. Applicants for membership under the age of 21 may apply for associate membership, for which the annual subscription shall be £1. Associate members shall enjoy all the rights of full members except entitlement to free issues of the *Transactions* and occasional publications of the Society. Associate membership shall terminate at the end of the year in which the member becomes 21.

13. No alteration shall be made to the Society's Rules except by the annual general meeting or by an extraordinary general meeting called for that purpose by the Council. Any proposed alteration must be submitted to the Secretary in time to enable him to give members at least twenty-one days' notice of the extraordinary general meeting. No amendment shall be made to the rules which would cause the Society to cease to be a charity at law.

14. The Society may be dissolved by a resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of those members present with voting rights at either an annual general meeting or an extraordinary general meeting called for the purpose, of which twenty-one days' prior notice has been given in writing. Such a resolution may give instructions for the disposal of any assets held by the Society after all debts and liabilities have been paid, the balance to be transferred to some other charitable institution or institutions having objects similar to those of the Society.



