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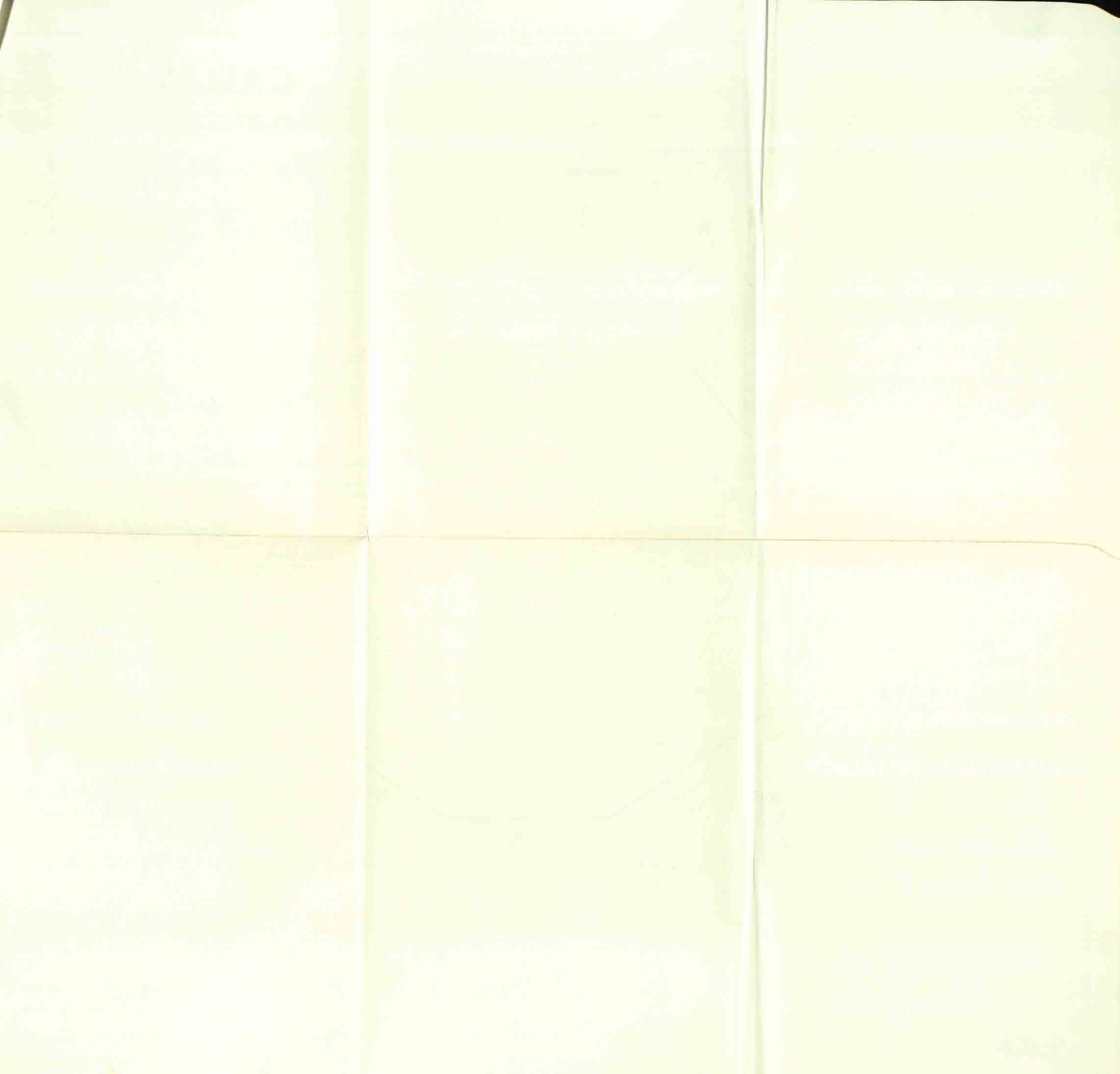
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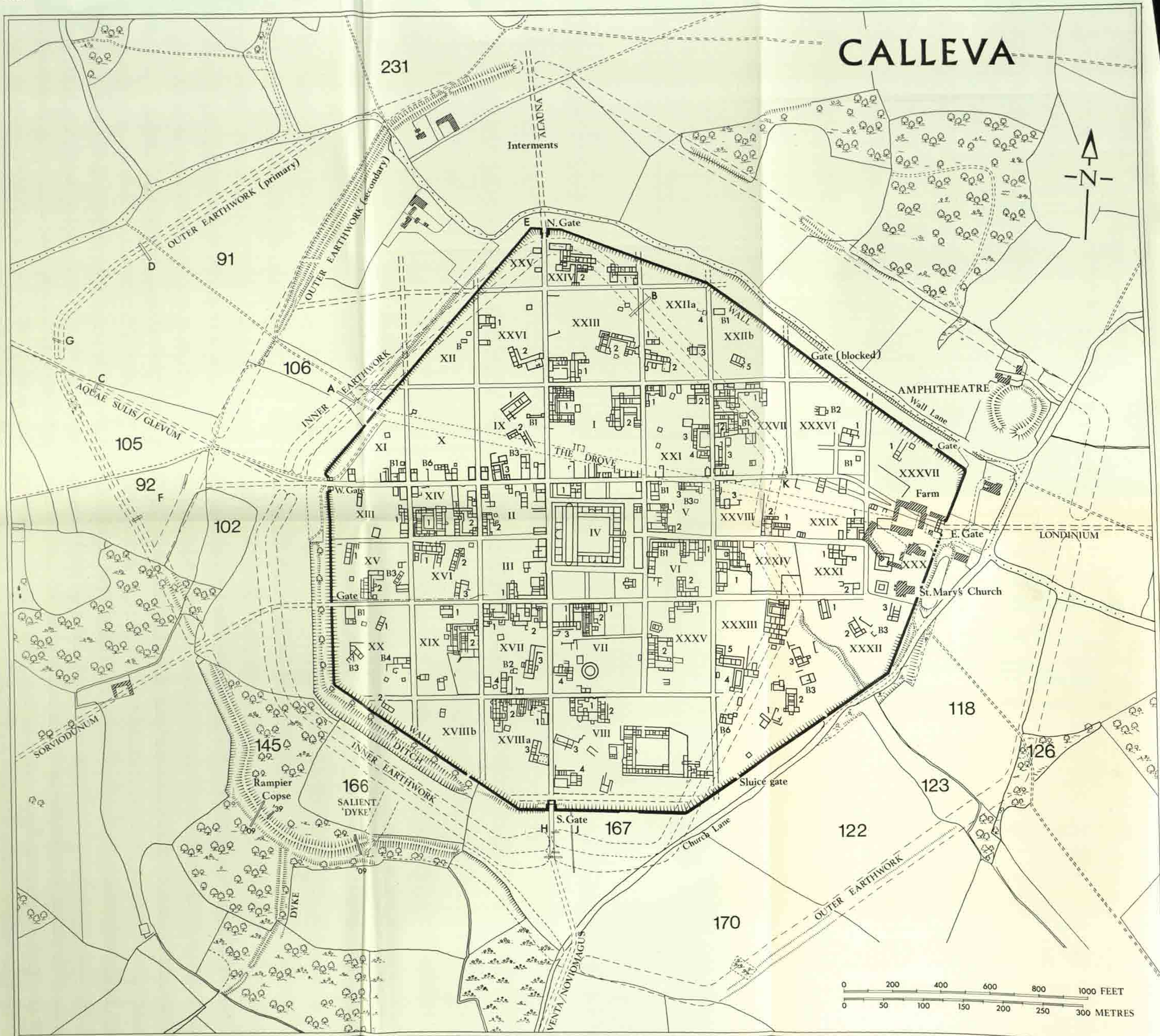
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# *Belgic and Roman Silchester: the Excavations of 1954-8 with an Excursus on the Early History of Calleva*

By GEORGE C. BOON, B.A., F.S.A.

## SUMMARY

*The excavations were undertaken by the Silchester Excavation Committee supported by donations from public and private bodies and from individuals and by permission of the Duke of Wellington, K.G., F.S.A. Their purpose was the investigation of (a) a previously unsuspected polygonal enclosure of about 85 acres, here named the Inner Earthwork, which lay partly inside and partly outside the line of the familiar Roman town wall; and (b) a western extension to the knotted line of the Outer Earthwork, which increased the size of this enclosure from about 213 to 235 acres. With the assistance of the Ordnance Survey, the aerial traces of these earthworks, first observed and recorded by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, F.S.A., were confirmed and extended by field-work and excavation, and have been planned as appears on pl. 1.*

*The excavations showed that the Inner Earthwork was a defence of Gaulish 'Fécamp' type, and that it was erected, on the south, over an area of late pre-Roman occupation, the first clearly identified at Calleva Atrebatum, but one with strong 'Catuvellaunian' influences in its pottery-series. It is claimed that the Inner Earthwork was constructed by the client King Cogidubnus in or shortly after A.D. 43-4, as the defence of this, the most important settlement in the north-west of his dominions. It is further suggested that the Inner Earthwork was replaced by the Outer Earthwork also during the reign of Cogidubnus.*

*The excursus attempts to collate with the results of excavation the earlier discoveries of pre-Conquest material. The total evidence is finally related to the Belgico-Roman topography of Silchester and its neighbourhood, within the historical framework of the century and a half which separated the arrival of the earliest Belgic immigrants in the region from the death of Cogidubnus and the consequent emergence of the Roman Civitas Atrebatum.*

## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

**B**EFORE the excavations of 1938-9, promoted by the then Office of Works, little was known of the chronological development of Calleva. The work of Mrs. M. Aylwin Cotton, O.B.E., F.S.A., reported in *Archaeologia* xcii. 121-67, therefore threw a welcome light on several aspects of the history of the town, but was in one important regard disappointing. It had been assumed for many years that Calleva had been established by the Atrebates before the arrival of the Romans, and there was adequate numismatic and ceramological evidence to prove as much. In 1938-9, however, no stratigraphical evidence of Belgic occupation was found and, in particular,

<sup>1</sup> Common abbreviations, pp. 80-1.



the Outer Earthwork, believed by earlier antiquaries to have been the defence of the pre-Roman settlement, was deduced to be of early Roman construction.

Aerial survey by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, F.S.A., between 1945 and 1952<sup>1</sup> revealed a much more complex picture of the defensive circuits of Calleva than had existed before. To the three lines already known (Outer Earthwork; Town Wall; and Early Bank on the same line as the backing-mound of the wall) were now added the Inner Earthwork and a great angular extension to the west side of the Outer Earthwork (pl. 1). Since the Inner Earthwork, running outside and partly inside the line of the town wall, was clearly overlaid at several points by streets of the regular grid-plan of the Roman town, dated by Mrs. Cotton *c.* A.D. 90-120, hopes ran high that this new discovery might prove to be the defence of the long-sought Belgic *oppidum*. A preliminary trench, cut in 1954 by Reading Museum in O.S. parcel 106,<sup>2</sup> gave the impetus necessary to the formation of a Silchester Excavation Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Cotton, its purpose being the further exploration of the Inner Earthwork and any other features which might produce evidence of pre-Roman occupation at Silchester. In due course, the operations of the Committee were attended with success, and it is now possible to draw some conclusions regarding the development of Calleva. The present report therefore falls into four parts: (1) the Inner Earthwork; (2) the Belgic occupation south of the town wall; (3) the Outer Earthwork; and (4) an historical excursus.<sup>3</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the Duke of Wellington, K.G., F.S.A., first for enabling the Committee to pursue its activities on his estate, with so much encouragement and interest, and secondly for permitting the publication of various articles in the Silchester Collection at Reading Museum. Successive farmers, Mr. T. R. Bonser and notably Mr. Alec Massie, are also to be thanked for their co-operation. The late Mrs. Alec Waugh also gave permission for excavations on her land. My debt to Reading Museum, where my Silchester work was most actively encouraged and promoted by my former Director, Mr. W. A. Smallcombe, B.Sc., and by his successor Mr. T. L. Gwatkin, M.A., will be obvious. I hope the advice and assistance of many friends and colleagues on many different matters both during the excavation and since has been duly acknowledged in the appropriate places below, leaving only an especial debt of gratitude to Mrs. M. Aylwin Cotton, who sustained the Committee, and the writer of these remarks, with an unflagging enthusiasm and interest, and who has read a draft of the present report. In the latter respect I must also allude with great appreciation to the guidance received from Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, Professor S. S. Frere, and Mr. F. R. D. Needham, F.S.A. Such errors as may be found in the report are not their responsibility.

The work was carried out by a mixed force of labourers and volunteers. The latter were too numerous, over the years, to name individually here, but reference must be made to the help of my friend Mr. A. M. ApSimon, M.A., to Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Larbey who, with the late Rector of Silchester, the Revd. W. S. Evans, and various residents of Silchester, provided much help and sustenance; and lastly to my wife.

<sup>1</sup> *JRS*, xliii, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Hants. iv, sheets 12 and 16. Where outside the walled town, the relevant parcel numbers are marked on

pl. 1. Inside, the Roman detail is too close.

<sup>3</sup> An interim report appeared in *PHFC*, xviii, 1, 8-21.



On the financial side, it should be recorded that grants of money, and also, in the case of Reading Museum and the Ministry of Works, extensive assistance with equipment, were given by: the Berkshire Archaeological Society; the British Academy; the Calleva Museum; Mrs. Cotton; the Hampshire Field Club; the Haverfield Trust; Mrs. Leonora Karslake; Dr. I. D. Margary; Mrs. Marriage; the Ministry of Works; the Newbury District Field Club; the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies; Reading Museum and Art Gallery; the Royal Archaeological Institute; the Society of Antiquaries of London; the University of Reading; the Duke of Wellington; and Windsor Royal Library, as well as a large number of other individuals, to the sum total of £630.

## I. THE INNER EARTHWORK

### *The Circuit*

There is very little superficial sign of the Inner Earthwork, largely owing to the care with which it was levelled in Roman days. It does not appear with uniform prominence as a crop-mark. Nevertheless, about three-quarters of the circuit was accurately planned in 1956 by officers of the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division, Mr. A. Clarke and Mr. W. C. Woodhouse. The certain sectors, laid down from aerial photographs (notably Cambridge BJ 27, CX 43 and BU 97, pls. II *a-b*, III *a*) combined with ground observation, run clockwise from the south-south-east angle of the town wall (where there is a large crack, apparently due to its subsidence into the filling of the ditch of the Inner Earthwork), outside the line of the wall but roughly parallel with it on the south and west, to cross once more beneath the wall on the north-west, some 500 ft. before the north-west angle: there is again evidence of subsidence at this spot (pl. v *a*). Inside the walled area, the Inner Earthwork proceeds to a north corner just within the north gate, and thereafter runs straight to a point near the south-east corner of Insula XXVII, where another corner is noticeable (pl. iv *b*). The general outline is therefore polygonal, with rounded corners, but with two re-entrant sectors on the south and on the west, where there were original entrances. The Inner Earthwork is also breached on the south-west, opposite the postern gate in the town wall, where the Portway to Sorviodunum commenced its course. There is no re-entrant here, and the breach is undoubtedly secondary, like that which must have carried the north road to Alauna across the north corner.

The course of the Inner Earthwork is not entirely certain from Insula XXVII to the south-south-east angle of the town wall. Although some indications of it exist, it cannot be pretended that they are conclusive. In default of clear crop-marks, an earth-resistivity survey was carried out by Mr. Humphrey Case, F.S.A., of the Ashmolean Museum, in 1955. A traverse in parcel 112, i.e. in Insulae XXIX/XXI, showed an area of low resistance. A second traverse in parcel 110, Insulae XXXV/XXXIII, produced a result less suggestive of an ancient feature, but the most likely spot falls on the line of a very weak crop-mark recorded on an old aerial photograph of the late O. G. S. Crawford's (O.S. no. 276). Such as it is, this marking runs direct from the south-south-east corner of the town wall towards the site of the public baths, i.e. at an alignment of some 25° E. of N. (pl. iv *a*). The resistivity measurements and the rarity of any crop-mark on this line suggest that any ancient ditch occupying the ground must have been very thoroughly filled in with plenty of gravel at depths



plumbed by the instrument. Subject to any future excavation, however, the line may be accepted, and it is only across the width of parcel 111, Chalk Meadow, east of the forum, that the course of the Inner Earthwork remains to be discussed. On a vertical photograph privately obtained (pl. iv *b*), the continuation of the *enceinte* from Insula XXVII is visible as a weak marking on an alignment of about  $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  W. of S. This marking dies out, in the old pasture as it then was, about 120 ft. within the northern boundary.<sup>1</sup> The line runs well to the west of the area indicated by Mr. Case's first traverse, and also west of an apparently linear feature detected by Dr. M. J. Aitken in 1958-9, when he kindly undertook for the Committee, on behalf of the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, proton magnetometer surveys of the vicinity. In default of excavation, it is impossible to suggest what feature may have been picked up;<sup>2</sup> the aerial photograph marking appears to be more acceptable, inasmuch as the magnetic anomaly exists at a spot somewhat unsuitable for the defence, which might be expected to keep to the slightly higher ground to the west. The line offered by the photograph runs, if produced, well inside the provisional course between the wall and the public baths; the natural inference is that there was another corner near the baths, which carried the Inner Earthwork back on to higher ground after enclosing the spring which debouches near the baths. A third re-entrant sector would thus be formed, theoretically with an original entrance north of the street bounding Insulae VI/XXXI to which the alignment of the Roman road from London was directed.<sup>3</sup> There is some support for this belief in the fact that the Roman road to the west via Spinis was aligned from the west entrance of the Inner Earthwork, and the question is elaborated in part four of this report (p. 39).

If the circuit of the Inner Earthwork was completed as has been supposed (pl. 1), it would have enclosed about 85 acres.

#### *The Excavations (Trenches A, B, K, J, and H)*

Five trenches were cut across the Inner Earthwork, on the north-west (Trench A, parcel 106, 1954); on the north-east (Trench B, between Insulae XXIII and XXII, 1955); on the east (Trench K, through the main east-west street, 1958); and on the south (Trenches J and H, parcel 167, 1957-8). In A and B, it was shown that the ditch, cut through the superficial quaternary gravel which caps the Bagshot sand of the region, had originally been some 45 ft. wide, with sloping sides and a flat bottom about 10 ft. across and 12 ft. below the modern surface. Traces of the levelled dump rampart in B indicated a width also of about 45 ft., while H and J produced evidence of a small counterscarp bank unsuspected in A, demolished in B. On the south of the town, the gravel had been eroded, and the ditch was somewhat wider. Trench H(1) disclosed the existence of a natural causeway of sand at the original south entrance of

<sup>1</sup> The normal shades, light for bank and dark for ditch, are reversed in this photograph, owing to the rapid germination of weeds after a period of prolonged drought in July 1957. Note the appearance of the streets and their central drains.

<sup>2</sup> A slight hollow here runs into the stream-valley in which the public baths were situated, and it is possible that a subterranean stream, or a drain inserted when the

boundaries of Chalk Meadow were modified, was responsible for the proton magnetometer and resistivity results. Cf. H. Maclaughlan's plan, *Arch.* 1850, *A.* lix, 363 ff. and a vignette of Isaac Taylor's Map of Hampshire, 1759.

<sup>3</sup> When Chalk Meadow was put down to wheat in 1961, the growth was unfortunately so excessively lush that no crop-marks appeared to decide the question.



the Earthwork, conformably with the indications of the aerial photographs. It was under the spread remains of the bank, on Site J, that pre-Roman occupation was identified in 1957-8 (p. 13).

### *Trench A*

This trench (pls. v b, vii) was concerned only with the ditch of the Inner Earthwork, since the bank had been destroyed when the ditches of the inner town defences were dug. The bottom four feet or so of the ditch lay beneath the permanent water-level, and were filled with a malodorous, cheesy mud containing thin gravel trails weathered from the sides of the ditch. This mud (pl. vii, layers I and II) contained a good deal of organic matter, such as leaves and twigs of oak, bramble stems, and the like; animal bones occurred in some quantity, those of horse, ox, pig, sheep, and dog being noted, as well as oyster-shells. The bones had lent a rich phosphatic element to the mud, which was speckled with vivianite.<sup>1</sup> The datable contents of the mud comprised 50 or 60 pots, including some Claudio-Flavian sigillata. Inasmuch as the basal brown material (I) is to be distinguished from the upper black deposit (II), the small amount of pottery which it yielded was earlier (figs. 9, 11; pp. 59 f.). The deposit as a whole is exactly comparable with that which forms at the bottom of stagnant ponds, and it would appear that a fairly long interval should be allowed between the cutting of the ditch and its eventual filling.

The surface of the mud was convex, as if distorted by the dumping of heavy loads of infilling first on one side, then on the other; the same feature was noted in Trench B. Of the layers of filling, III, mainly on the scarp side, was almost purely of gravel, with a few earthy seams, one yielding a small Dr. 27 cup stamped IVLI (fig. 10, no. 5, p. 54). Such seams could well have been composed of material scraped up in the vicinity of the bank rather than of the original bank-substance. The principal layer of infilling, IV, was earthy, and had a good deal of pottery; towards the counterscarp side, it was in virtual contact with II. Finds from IV included two worn Flavian *aes* coins and an unworn *dupondius* of Trajan (p. 45, nos. 6, 7, 12); the samian, mostly Flavian, included a mid second-century Lezoux piece (fig. 9, no. 4, p. 54). With one exception, the coarse pottery included no pieces necessarily very much later. The next layer above, V, was again gravelly and may perhaps mark the final obliteration of the bank, possibly when the inner Roman lines of defence were built. It contained two worn Antonine *sestertii*, of Marcus and Faustina II (p. 46, nos. 15, 18). The succeeding earthy layer, VI, brought the hollow of the ditch practically level with the surrounding ground, and contained Antonine and later pottery. A small hollow which developed near the counterscarp end of the trench produced four 'radiates', of which three were imitations, and a little third to fourth-century pottery. A piece of New Forest maroon-glazed ware was the latest identifiable.

The general picture of Trench A reveals a ditch open to receive rubbish down to the end of the first, or the early second century, and thereafter gradually filled. The evidence found was inconclusive as far as the date of the Inner Earthwork is concerned,

<sup>1</sup> Pale upon first exposure, this substance (hydrous ferrous phosphate) darkened later to a bright blue.



and the most that can be said of the trench is that it generally bears out the more precise information recovered from Trench B.

### *Trench B*

It had been decided to excavate the trench in such a position that the crossroads at the north-east corner of Insula XXIII lay directly over the ditch of the Inner Earth-work. Unfortunately, an error of measurement was made, whereby the trench was cut 100 ft. south of this point. The trench was nevertheless very useful in the amount of dating-evidence which it produced (pl. VII).

The natural silting consisted of a lower layer I of gravel and an upper layer II of the black pond-bottom material noted in Trench A, and with a similarly-domed top. Only two minute crumbs of coarse, flint-gritted ware were found in I, and from II there came only one fragment of similar ware, although a small burnt fragment of a Claudian Dr. 29 bowl (fig. 9, no. 10, p. 54) came from a portion of the layer not sealed by the first layer of infilling.

Unlike Trench A, Trench B produced evidence of infilling made from the counterscarp side. The mainly clean, gravel tip (III) suggests that it was derived from a counterscarp bank, of which the position is apparently marked by a hollow just beyond the outer lip of the ditch. The layer contained earthy seams near its base, presumably composed of superficial soil scraped up in the vicinity of the counterscarp bank, and certainly not of necessity originally incorporated in that structure. These seams contained much pottery, principally un-Romanized native ware, five pieces of sigillata, two early 'one-piece' brooches, a small piece of a human cranium, part of a shale armlet, and a lump of heavy iron-furnace slag. The samian (all plain, fig. 10, nos. 23-27, p. 56) is Claudio-Neronian at latest and, in view of the absence of ascertainably later varieties of coarse pottery, it is difficult to date the layer later than c. A.D. 60 at the outside; the coarse bowls, for example, included none of the early 'offset' form occurring in the earliest occupation identified in 1938-9.<sup>1</sup> Significant coarse ware is illustrated in figs. 11-13, nos. 20-84, pp. 62 ff.).

The remaining layers of infilling were thrown in from the bank or south side, and repeat, in a more definite way from the greater quantity of material, the evidence already seen in Trench A of a gradual or periodic filling and levelling of the great ditch. In the interim report, the case for this was stated in terms of sigillata and coins. It may be repeated here in greater detail, accompanied by some account of the coarse ware (fig. 13, nos. 85-108, pp. 66 ff.).

*Layer IV.* Mainly bank gravel with some earth. Cut by a pit-like feature. On the south, overlaid by a mass of clay serving to support the edge of the street (east side, Insula XXIII). The datable content of the layer is not later than the Flavian period, and is therefore in harmony with Mrs. Cotton's dating of the street-system to c. A.D. 90-120.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A. xcii*, 153, fig. 11, nos. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 137.

*Coins:* None.

*Samian:* Dr. 17 (2 frr., same vessel)

Dr. 15/17 (5 frr., different vessels?)

Dr. 18 (5 frr., different vessels)

Dr. 27 (1 fr.)

Dr. 29 (1 fr., Nero-Vesp., fig. 9, no. 9, p. 54)

Dr. 33 (2 frr., different vessels)

Dr. 37 (1 fr., Vespasianic, fig. 9, no. 12, p. 54)

Form? (1 fr.)

*Coarse:* The significant material is shown in fig. 13, nos. 85-90, of which the latest identifiable is the early 'offset' bowl, no. 89. Some twelve rim-fragments were found, and other shards included part of a cream-ware mortarium and part, probably, of a ring-neck flagon.

It will be seen from the foregoing that this layer is comparable to Trench A, layer III (p. 5).

*Layer v.* mainly dark earth, brown above, blackish below, perhaps deposited at different times, but not strictly separate, and hence here taken as one. The layer may have filled up the hollow of the ditch when first thrown in, only to sink as time went on.

*Coins:* Claudius, two copies, p. 45 nos. 1, 4; Nero, *dupondius*, no. 5; Domitian, *asses*, nos. 8 and 10.

*Samian:* Ritt. 1 (1 fr.)

Ritt. 8 (1 fr., stamp fig. 10, no. 36, p. 58)

Ritt. 9 (2 frr., stamp fig. 10, no. 38, p. 58)

Ritt. 12 (2 frr.)

Curle 11 (3 frr., 3 vessels?)

Herm. 29 (1 fr., fig. 10, no. 30, p. 58)

Dr. 15/17 (10 frr., no. of vessels?)

Dr. 16 (1 fr.)

Dr. 17 (1 fr.)

Dr. 18 (65? frr., 50 vessels? Stamps, fig. 10, nos. 31, 35, 40, 41, p. 58)

Dr. 18/31 and 31 (17 frr., a few perhaps Dr. 18. Stamp, fig. 10, no. 42, p. 58)

Dr. 24/5 (3 frr., 3 vessels)

Dr. 27 (35 frr., 25 vessels? Stamp, fig. 10, no. 35, p. 58)

Dr. 29 (11 vessels repr., cf. fig. 9, no. 8, p. 54)

Dr. 30 (4 vessels repr., Flavian)

Dr. 33 (4 Claud.-Vesp., 2 Traj.-Hadr. repr. Stamps, fig. 10, nos. 34, 37, p. 58)

Dr. 35/6 (25 frr., perhaps 18 vessels, mostly Flavian)

Dr. 37 (19 vessels repr., cf. fig. 9, nos. 13-16, pp. 54 ff., mostly Flavian but six Traj.-Hadr.)

Form? Globular (1 fr.)



*Coarse:* The large amount reflected the samian coverage pretty well, but included some later vessels, e.g. the Castor ware hunt-cup, fig. 8, no. 96, p. 66. The latest vessels are shown in fig. 13, nos. 91-104, pp. 96 ff.

The presence of the Antonine coarse pottery takes the accumulation of this layer perhaps to around A.D. 200, although this late material is small in amount when compared with the vast quantities of earlier vessels, whose presence as rubbish-survivals suggests that the earth of the fillings was obtained from superficial deposits in the vicinity of the Inner Earthwork. Layer IV of Trench A has an earlier *terminus*, but this may not be relevant in view of the greater amount of material extracted from B. v.

*Layer VI.* Another gravelly layer, but with a greater admixture of earth than IV. At one spot, a hollow above the counterscarp slope of the ditch was filled with clay. Above the centre of the ditch, a slight flint foundation, belonging to some unrecorded building of Insula XXII.

*Coins:* Hadrian, *sestertius*, p. 46 no. 13; Faustina I, *dupondius*, no. 14; Marcus, *dupondius*, no. 16—all worn.

*Samian:* About 80 fr. representing possibly 60 vessels. They include Antonine forms, Curle 15 (1) and Dr. 33 (1 of the 6 vessels of this Form represented); of the 19 Dr. 37 fragments, from about 14 vessels, four are fully Antonine (fig. 9, nos. 18-21, p. 56). There was a proportion of earlier survivals, e.g. fig. 9, no. 11, p. 54.

*Coarse:* There was much less than in v; the total includes a black-fumed flanged bowl, with a groove on the top of the flange, similar to our fig. 14, no. 130, p. 70, of c. 190-240, and a cream-ware mortarium (fig. 13, no. 105, p. 68, of about the same date. A Dr. 38 copy (*ibid.*, no. 106) is likely to be a fourth-century intrusion.

Layer VI was accumulated after A.D. 171-2, which is the date of the latest coin, and the degree of wear exhibited by this specimen shows that the formation of the layer must be considerably later. The few pieces of Antonine and Severan pottery coincide with its evidence. The dating of layers of infilling or make-up is difficult, but on the whole I am inclined to favour a date for Layer VI near the beginning of the third century rather than one towards its middle, for there are no examples of the diagnostic Dr. 45 mortarium, common enough at Silchester to make its absence here noteworthy. Although layer v produced no worn Antonine coins, the pottery-content is hardly earlier, and it is perhaps best to regard both v and VI as fillings of a more or less continuous period.

Layer VI is the latest general layer of infilling in Trench B, and corresponds to A. v. It is interesting, in fact, to note the parallel sequence of the main fillings in these two trenches, which may point to their having been general throughout the circuit. It seems likely that A. III and B. IV are connected with the imposition of the regular Roman street-system, while A. v and B. v-VI may perhaps be connected with the completion of the inner defensive circuit of the town.



The superficial soil in Trench B produced the usual scraps of mixed pottery, both Arretine (fig. 2, no. 6, p. 26) and late Roman, and a few coins terminating with three of the House of Valentinian I.

*The Bank.* Very little remained in position, since it had been levelled for the construction of the street between Insulae XXIII and XXII. No doubt the bank everywhere supplied a ready source of gravel for street-metalling; but its dump construction could well be perceived at its rear. A seam of earth forming a tip-line contained a native copy of a Gallo-Belgic platter (fig. 11, no. 19, p. 62), four pieces of flint-gritted Silchester ware (p. 64) and a lump of baked clay. Under the extreme rear tip-lines, there was a small hollow, beneath the bank: this produced a rouletted body-shard from a cream-ware butt-beaker probably of Colchester make,<sup>1</sup> a fragment from the shoulder of a necked jar in sandy grey ware, two fragments from native copies of Gallo-Belgic platters in smoothed brown ware; and six flint-gritted shards. These two groups, contemporary with the Inner Earthwork in the first instance, earlier in the second, were thus without any Roman or Romanized constituents, although stylistically close to material from B. III. While a valuable pointer to the early date of the Inner Earthwork, they were much too small to be of more positive use for dating-purposes.

The street was only 15 ft. wide where sectioned in Trench B, as opposed to a normal width, tested some distance to the south, of 17 ft.<sup>2</sup> Under the street, a few scraps of flint-gritted ware were obtained, but the underlying 12 to 18 in. of clean bank-gravel was devoid of finds, as was the natural surface below.

Trench B was extended for 56 ft. south-west of the scarp lip of the ditch, but no further features of interest were discovered. Of four pits cut into the remains of the bank beyond the street, only one requires comment. Pit 1 was 4 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep, and was provided with a yellow clay lining, up to a foot thick. The pit had apparently been used for metallurgical work (though not, as previously stated, for iron-smelting).<sup>3</sup> In its densely black filling were found a small crucible of the shape of a modern evaporating-basin, with a capacity of only 6 cc. (fig. 7 c, no. 4, p. 51), a portion of bronze cast to the shape of the interior of another such crucible, together with fragments of larger crucibles, scrap bronze, and other traces of metallurgical work. The whole pit may possibly have been used as a crucible furnace, similar to that noted at Wilderspool,<sup>4</sup> but if so, the structure was very poorly preserved. A slightly worn *dupondius* of Trajan lay on top of the filling (p. 45, no. 11), which also included a first-century brooch (fig. 6, no. 5, p. 47) and about 45 fragments of pottery (fig. 13, nos. 111-26), the sigillata producing a Dr. 46 of Trajanic-Hadrianic appearance. There was also a Ritt. 1 shard in early micaceous Lezoux fabric.

### *Trench K*

Prima facie, it appeared that the original west and south entrances of the Inner Earthwork corresponded to the main lines of the Roman street-plan,<sup>5</sup> and it was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Cam.* form 113, c. A.D. 10-61.

<sup>2</sup> *RS.* 182.

<sup>3</sup> Under the street in this test-section occurred the linch-pin (fig. 7 b, no. 7, p. 50) published *AJ.* xxvi, 221, F10.

<sup>4</sup> F. H. Thompson, *Roman Cheshire* (1965), 75, fig. 19.

and pottery (fig. 13, nos. 127-8, p. 69).

<sup>5</sup> *RS.* 51.



therefore decided to test the area on the east side of the circuit, where the main east-west street crossed the line, in order to establish whether there was an original entrance at this spot. Our cutting showed that there was not (pls. v c, vii), and that the street passed straight over the ditch of the Inner Earthwork. Except for a linch-pin from the uppermost metalling and a few shards of indeterminate type, the trench was unproductive of material, but was interesting in other ways. The uppermost metalling, at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 ft. below the modern surface, revealed the central hollow or drain, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. across and up to 6 in. deep, which is a feature of many, if not all, the streets of Calleva, and which, under favourable conditions, appears on the aerial cover (cf. pl. iv b). In all, five street surfaces were observed, the lowest two well-separated from the others by dirty gravel and earth, and displaying the edge of a camber which tailed away to nothing only a matter of 5 ft. north of the mid-line as marked by the drain. These lowest two surfaces thus represent a street on a very slightly different alignment from the visible one, corresponding to the earlier course first observed in 1908,<sup>1</sup> but following a more curving course than then suggested: the later line must have begun to diverge from it somewhere within the bank area of the Inner Earthwork, about 100 ft. west of the point suggested by the excavators.

### *Trench J(b)*

This trench was an interrupted cutting over 200 ft. long, running south from the town wall, in parcel 167 (pl. viii). The two ditches of the successive inner Roman *enceintes* extended from 4 to 84 ft. south of the wall, as could have been predicted from earlier cuttings, although difficulty was encountered in this sector during the excavations of 1909.<sup>2</sup> The scarp lip of the Inner Earthwork ditch was met at 134½ ft. south of the wall, the counterscarp lip at 199 ft., and beyond it was found a trace of a small counterscarp bank, mostly ploughed off. It was under the bank of the Inner Earthwork that the pre-Roman occupation-material noticed in the next section (p. 13) was found. Time did not permit the full clearance of the ditches of the Inner Earthwork and the inner Roman defences.

The inner Roman ditch, belonging to the 'early bank',<sup>3</sup> was found to have been filled in on the north side of the town;<sup>4</sup> on the west, the filling is described as 'any loose material',<sup>5</sup> but on the south there was no attempt to consolidate the site in any way. As our section shows, the material excavated from the outer (or wall-) ditch was thrown back into the earlier ditch, but was insufficient to fill it. The only other point of interest which concerns these Roman ditches is the nature of the tip of the ridge between the two. Although it rises to a crest well below the natural level of the sub-soil, the tip was formed, not of gravel or sand, but of black earth and gravel mixed. This deposit, moreover, had a sloping demarcation with the underlying gravel. The black material is evidently all that remains of the filling of an earlier cutting, situated at the rear of the Inner Earthwork, and most probably—but by no means necessarily—

<sup>1</sup> *A.* lxi, 476 ff., pl. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *A.* lxii, 322-3, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *A.* xcii, 129, 133. Probably late second century rather than c. 160-70 as suggested *loc. cit.*: see Frere,

*Britannia* (1967), 250-1; cf. *RS.* 75.

<sup>4</sup> *A.* xcii, 133. Near the north gate, however, it was left open (*A.* lxii, 325).

<sup>5</sup> *A.* lxii, 322 and fig. 3, lowest.



a quarry-scoop, from which gravel may have been obtained to surface the bank of the earthwork, which is hereabouts largely composed of yellow sand. The filling contained the early micaceous cooking-pot (fig. 15, no. 167, p. 73), a small necked bowl very similar to specimens from below the bank of the Inner Earthwork or from Trench B. III, and fragments of a cream-ware flagon and of Roman grey ware, in all to suggest a date in the third quarter, or so, of the first century A.D. for this deposit, at the latest.

Once clear of the Roman ditches, the section was dominated from 84 to 124 ft. south of the wall by the foot-thick sandy belt which represented the spread bank of the Inner Earthwork (pl. VI a). This band then gave place to a small mound of gravel, the 'core' of the bank, being the first material excavated from the site of the ditch, and this overlay dirty gravel and ash, which seems to mark the levelling of the pre-Roman occupation-site on the line of the earthwork. At 134½ ft. south of the wall, the section-drawing shows an almost vertical break in the continuity of the stratification, where this black soil is replaced by clean yellow sand derived from the bank. This break is a good example of the weathering and consequent slumping of the scarp lip of the earthwork, where cut in such an unstable material as sand. The sandy filling produced a small scyphate bronze disc, which unfortunately crumbled soon after discovery, and was probably a British coin.

The yellow sand of the bank of the Inner Earthwork was susceptible of displaying, in section, the slightest later interference. In this trench, however, no later pits were found cut into, or through, it, although in various *sondages* made in its vicinity, several pits, mostly of very small dimensions, were noted. In Trench J(b) a little early Roman pottery, including a south Gaulish Dr. 24 rim, had accumulated in the hollow formed by the subsidence of the bank into a deep pit of the Belgic period underneath. In the bank itself, only a very few shards occurred. They were of flint-gritted and other native ware, with two or three shards which may be initial Roman (p. 14).

#### *Trench H(1)*

This trench (pls. v d, VII, XI) was laid down 200 ft. from the south gate of the town wall in parcel 167, and explored the relationship of the Roman street which issues from the gate to the entrance of the Inner Earthwork as discerned on the aerial cover. The butt-ends of the ditch were found on either side of the natural, uncut causeway of Bagshot sand and gravel, about 30 ft. wide. The Roman street was not well-centred on this causeway, covering slightly more than the eastern half of it, and founded, on the west, on a spread and amorphous bank of sand and gravel which, as Mrs. Cotton suggested at the time, must represent the return of the counterscarp bank. The street is therefore, even in its first period, later than the Inner Earthwork, for the lack of coincidence between it and the original entrance shows that the earthwork was obsolete when the street was laid down. We may thus deduce that there is no distinction between major and minor lines of street in their treatment of the earthwork: the aerial photographs show several streets running straight across the ditch, and our Trench K shows that the same is true in the case of the main east-west street.

The street proved to have been remodelled three times. Each succeeding layer extended further to the east side, over the filling of the butt of the ditch (pl. v d).



At 184 ft. from the south gate, the alignment of the street turns from its normal  $4^{\circ}$  E. of S. to  $18^{\circ}$ , and then runs straight to a point just within the south corner of parcel 170, which is the alignment-point of the Roman road to Winchester and Chichester.<sup>1</sup> Until the field south of the wall was cleaned, it was possible to detect the course of the street by means of the differential growth of weeds, the line of metalling being favoured especially, and perhaps curiously, by the common dock.

Dark soil beneath the gravelly filling of the eastern ditch-butt produced a little pottery, including four small pieces of pre-Flavian samian ware<sup>2</sup> and coarse pottery of about the same date (fig. 14, nos. 148-52, p. 72). There was a similar layer in the western ditch-butt, where finds included a Dr. 18 (Flavian?) and the bronze key (fig. 7 a, p. 50)<sup>3</sup> as well as a voussoir-brick. This layer, of course, was not sealed. Finally, a coin of Domitian (p. 46, no. 33), worn, was found in the top few inches of the spread counterscarp bank on the west side, within about a foot of the edge of the first street, but it would be rash to conclude that this coin was in position before the street was laid.

Of the other trenches excavated in connection with H(1), only H(4) and H(5) need delay us. H(4) was cut 110 ft. south of the wall in order to define the edge of the street (pl. xi). This siting placed the trench within the area of the bank of the Inner Earthwork, but of this there was scant trace, apart from a few inches of sandy gravel on top of the natural gravel: for a bead-rim shard from beneath this surfacing, see fig. 14, no. 154, p. 72. Resting on the surfacing and extending below the street was a black occupation-layer associated with a number of small post-holes and a small construction-slot, which collectively marked the position of a rectangular hut lying obliquely to the street and of earlier date. Pottery from the occupation-layer (fig. 14, nos. 155-9, p. 72) included, as its latest identifiable piece, part of a Dr. 36 cup (fig. 10, no. 47, p. 59) which is indicative of the Flavian period. The occupation therefore again offers a Flavian *terminus post quem* for the construction of the street which, as we have seen, was carried regardless across the entrance of the Inner Earthwork.

The dark soil was covered by sand (presumably from the bank of the Inner Earthwork) which had been strewn as the foundation of the street. On the east side of the trench, this layer was contemporary with a thin, burnt clay floor which covered one of the post-holes. It is likely that the hut was demolished when the street was to be built, and that it was later reconstructed on a new alignment governed by the course of the street. Gritty soil over the clay floor was also burnt: presumably the second phase of the hut was terminated by fire.

Trench H(5) was opened at an angle to H(4) in order to trace more of the plan of the hut. Unfortunately, a large rubbish-pit with a filling which yielded Flavian pottery intervened, and little definite could be discovered beyond. The pit itself was cut by a neatly squared shaft some 2 ft.  $\times$  3½ ft. and 3½ ft. deep from the Roman ground-surface. It was filled with clean gravel, containing a few Flavian scraps and some small pieces of tile. Its date and purpose are obscure.<sup>4</sup>

For an appreciation of the character and date of the Inner Earthwork, see p. 14.

<sup>1</sup> RS. 206-7.

<sup>2</sup> Kindly identified by Mr. B. R. Hartley, F.S.A.

<sup>3</sup> AJ. xlvii, 280 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Another square shaft appeared in the south side of H(4). A third square cut, in the north side of H(1), seemed to be recent.



## II. THE BELGIC OCCUPATION SITE (pl. XI)

As already mentioned, the sandy bank of the Inner Earthwork overlay, in Trench J(b), an occupation-layer. This trench in fact provided a clearer view of stratification explored elsewhere in this region (Site J, 1957, Site L, 1958). The sequence of topsoil, yellow bank-sand, and occupation-level—generally very thin—was everywhere the same (pl. VIII). Only native pottery was forthcoming from the level below the bank, and no Roman material was found in the bank, except where this had been cut by Roman rubbish-pits.

*Structures.* In Trench J(b), the occupation-level was based upon a thin gravel floor which had been truncated by the cutting of the ditch of the wall-period on the north, and which terminated, at 100 ft. south of the wall, at the edge of a deep rubbish pit, 7 ft. wide, and cut to a depth of 7 ft. from the present ground-surface. Under this gravel floor, three small hollows were found in the natural surface, filled with the old topsoil, itself productive of very rare small native shards and a little wood-ash. The hollows are small, but not smaller than those which supported the posts of the hut identified in Trench H(4) or, for that matter, those of the hut adjacent to the Roman road to Speen described below (p. 21). It may thus be taken as virtually certain that the pre-bank occupation fell into two phases. The hollows coincide, in depth, with others found in *sondages* to the west and east (pl. XI), where connecting gullies seemed to be constructional slots. The excavation was too limited in extent to enable full sense to be made of these features, but a hut or huts evidently stood here before the Inner Earthwork.

In Trench J(b) the gravel floor contained a well-made circular hearth about 4 ft. across, composed of flint pebbles embedded in clay (pl. VI a).

*Datable remains.* A full range of the pottery recovered from the occupation-level and pit beneath the Inner Earthwork is illustrated (figs. 15-16, nos. 183-235, pp. 74 ff.), and the reader is referred to the commentary for detailed considerations. It will suffice to repeat here that no Roman vessels, such as sigillata of any kind, amphorae, etc., occurred among them, and there was nothing in any sense Romanized. There were only two small shards of butt-beakers which can be regarded as non-local, one of reddish ware with a creamy slip, bearing a rouletted pattern, and one of thin, sandy red ware (p. 74, nos. 181-2). A curious absence, in view of the local copies of Gallo-Belgic platters which occurred in small proportion, was imported *terra nigra* and *rubra*; but perhaps the most interesting discovery was the bases of three pedestal-urns of 'quoit' type. This kind of vessel is very rare south of the middle Thames,<sup>1</sup> and the only other example from Silchester, if we except one from Insula XXXV,

<sup>1</sup> Found at Theale (Berks.), *TNDFC.* viii, fig. 21, 37 (the text mentions two, but there is only one in this series at Reading Museum). Except for Selsey in the farthest south (*Ant.* xiv, 49), the Hurstbourne Tarrant aberrant

urn (*Arch.* lxxxvii, 307, fig. 32, no. 1) apparently completes the list, since Mr. Wm. Manning found none in his recent excavations at Upton Nervet near Theale.



Pit 9,<sup>1</sup> is an unpublished fragment discovered by the Revd. J. G. Joyce (Reading Museum; fig. 15, no. 188 a, p. 76).

The presence of pedestal-urns in our deposit may possibly be linked with the Catuvellaunian penetration of the Silchester region, which seems exemplified by the dissemination of coins of Epaticcus.<sup>2</sup> If this link is sound, it suggests that the Belgic occupation here is 'Catuvellaunian' and after c. A.D. 25. Both in fabric and style—strikingly in fabric—the pottery may be compared with material from Prae Wood, St. Albans,<sup>3</sup> Group B, despite the absence of imported Gallo-Belgic wares in the Silchester case, due perhaps to the lowly character of the occupation. Group B at Prae Wood was believed to date c. A.D. 5-35.

### *The character and date of the Inner Earthwork*

Although we can hardly speak of the bank of the Inner Earthwork, so thoroughly has it been demolished, it is clear that it was massive, and over 8 ft. high on the basis of the ditch-upcast alone.<sup>4</sup> The ditch, however, coincides exactly with Wheeler's general description of his Belgic 'Fécamp' type: 'broad, flat, or bluntly-rounded, canal-like, with steep external sides sometimes reinforced by a small counterscarp bank'.<sup>5</sup> This type was dated to the second quarter of the first century B.C., but it seems that this suggestion may be a little narrow, and that on the present basis of evidence it would probably be more suitable to propose a dating 'within the first half' of that century,<sup>6</sup> but possibly too late for knowledge of its defensive advantages to have reached the builders of the Wheathampstead *oppidum*.<sup>7</sup> In Britain, the first example of the type was recognized at Oldbury (Kent)<sup>8</sup> where it was assigned to the eve of the Roman conquest, although Radford thought that it might be earlier.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Cotton's brief but illuminating survey<sup>10</sup> refers to further examples, as at Oldbury taking the form of modifications to existing fortifications: at High Rocks near Tunbridge Wells (Kent) and at The Caburn. Silchester appears to possess the only example, so far recognized, of a defence *de novo*, although it should not be forgotten that there are earthworks of different type in the vicinity (fig. 1) which may well be earlier.

It was suggested above that the Belgic occupation beneath the bank of the Inner Earthwork dates from c. A.D. 25. The earthwork must therefore belong to the final phase of the pre-Roman Iron Age or to the earliest Roman years prior, not only to the imposition of the Flavian street-grid across its line, but also to c. A.D. 60 at latest, which is the date suggested for the earliest infilling noted in Trench B (p. 6). A small but significant pointer, which serves to narrow the date of the construction of the earthwork within this space of 35 years, may be observed in the profile of Trench J(b) (pl. viii). Here, the sand of the bank slumps deeply into the filling of the underlying

<sup>1</sup> May, pl. 76, no. 8. Claudio-Neronian samian and an intrusive Lezoux 33 in the filling above this group of ten.

<sup>2</sup> *J.* xc, 24-5. See further, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ver.* 153 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ditch and bank are about the same width (p. 4). See p. 11 for possible addition of material.

<sup>5</sup> *Hill-Forts of Northern France* (1957), 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> As suggested (*in litt.*) by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. now *PPS.* xxxi, 287-8 (Ann Birchall) and *Ant.* xxii (1968), 10 (C. F. C. Hawkes).

<sup>8</sup> *J.* xc, 6.

<sup>9</sup> *PPS.* xx, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Celticum* (Suppl. à Ogam-Tradition Celtique no. 73-5, 1961), 104-5.



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a. Calleva from the west. 1. Inner Earthwork within the walled area, traversed by streets. 2. South entrance of the Inner Earthwork. 3. Breach of the Inner Earthwork for the passage of the Portway. 4. Outer Earthwork (primary): line of ditch.



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b. Calleva from the west. 1. Inner Earthwork within the walled area traversed by streets. 2. 'Salient Dyke'. 3. Outer Earthwork (secondary): ditch. 4. Outer Earthwork (primary): ditch, and secondary entrance in field 105 (to right of field containing figure 4)





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a. Calleva from the north. 1. Inner Earthwork, South entrance. 2. Inner Earthwork, west entrance. 3. Line of Outer Earthwork (secondary). 4. Outer Earthwork, north entrance. 5-6. Line of Outer Earthwork

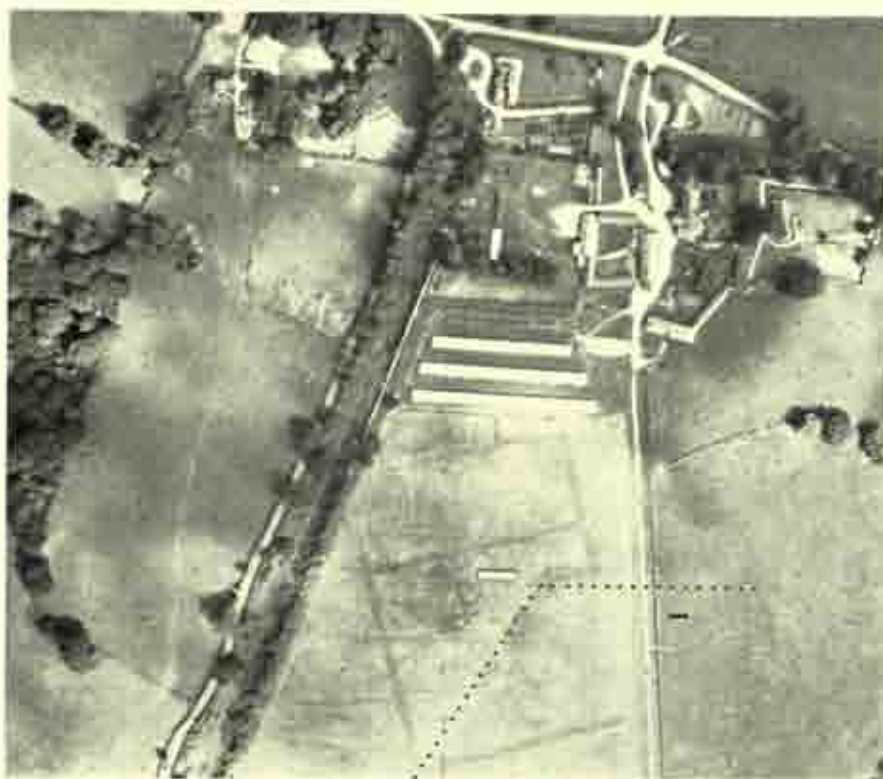


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b. Calleva, south-east portion. 1. Outer Earthwork in field 170. 2. South gate of walled area



*Ordnance Survey Collection*  
*a.* Calleva, south-east quarter showing faint cropmarks. 1 (to right of dotted line): course of the Inner Earthwork. 2 (to right of dotted line): course of the Outer Earthwork in field 122, cf. pl. III *b.*—In field at top of photograph, trace of Inner Earthwork and main east-west street, near white blemish



*b.* Calleva, north-east quarter. 1. line of Inner Earthwork turning south into Chalk Meadow. Note also detail of Insulae XXVII and XXXVI, and central gutters in the streets





*a.* Town wall, north-west sector, showing subsidence into the ditch of the Inner Earthwork below. The figure stands opposite a crack through the wall



*b.* Inner Earthwork, Trench A, in field 106, showing ditch during excavation. The scarp and part of the counterscarp slopes are visible

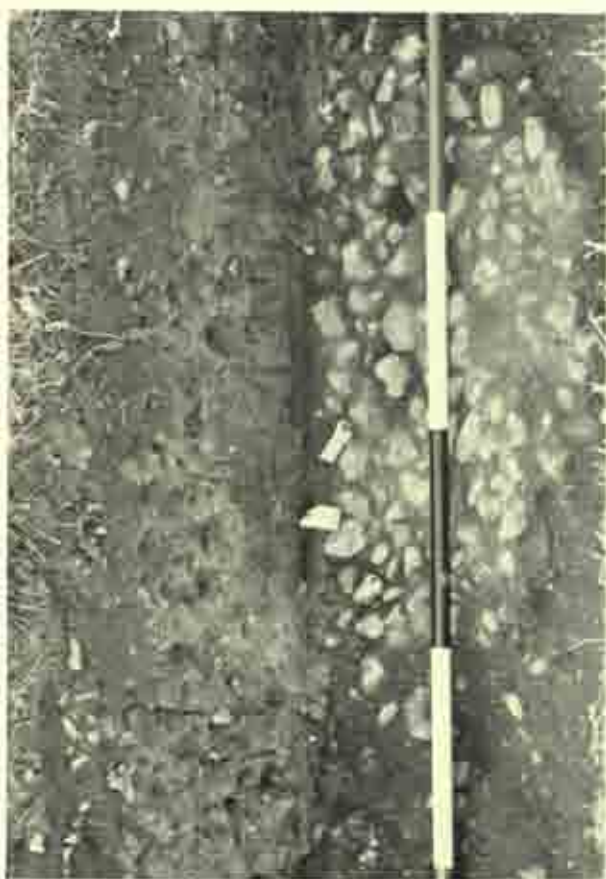


*c.* Inner Earthwork. Filling of the ditch below the metalling of the main east-west street (Site K)



*d.* Inner Earthwork, Trench H (1) in field 167, showing street metalling over the filled butt of the ditch, east side, south entrance. The clean sand marks the beginning of the causeway





*a.* Inner Earthwork. Flint and clay hearth of Belgic occupation-site beneath the sand of the bank, west face, Trench J (*b*).



*b.* Outer Earthwork (secondary) exposed in road-widening, south side of wall-lane. 1. Junction of original and later mounds.



*c.* Outer Earthwork (primary). The ditch, Trench D



*d.* Outer Earthwork (primary). Part of gravel causeway made across the ditch Site C





Belgic rubbish-pit. This pit may not have been full at the time when the earthwork was built: but this matter is not of so much significance as the fact that the sand continued to sink into the pit even after the bank had been demolished. Only so can the small hollow in its upper surface, directly over the pit, be explained. It is certain that the weight of the massive bank above would speedily have completed the consolidation of the pit-filling, so that when the bank was demolished, a plane and not hollowed surface would have resulted above the pit. If this point is a valid one, it follows that the construction and demolition of the earthwork both took place within the space of a few years at the most. Furthermore, since the material from beneath the bank was 'Catuvellaunian' without Roman admixture, it may be concluded that the Inner Earthwork is not much later than the eve of the Roman conquest. Moreover, since the earthwork is placed athwart the main line of communication from London to the west (p. 4), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was contemporary with that line. The circumstances under which a distinctly native and forbidding type of defence could have been erected at Silchester, apparently soon after the Roman invasion, are discussed in the excursus (p. 36).

### III. THE OUTER EARTHWORK

#### *The Circuit*

The former excavators tended towards the belief that the Outer Earthwork and the inner town-defences coincided on the east.<sup>1</sup> Aerial and ground survey in 1956 showed, however, that the earthwork runs some distance to the east, viz. through parcels 170 (pl. III *b*), 122, 123, 126, and 118. North of the Stratfield Saye road traces are not clear, but it must have occupied very much the line indicated in pl. 1.

The main addition to our knowledge of the *enceinte* accrued on the west, where Dr. St. Joseph's aerial survey, coupled with ground observation (cf. pl. II *b*) established the existence of an angular projection as shown in pl. 1, running through parcels 92, 105 (where an entrance appeared as a crop-mark, about 100 ft. south of the Roman road to Speen) and 91 (where Maclauchlan had already noted the hollow of its ditch).<sup>2</sup> The more southerly limb of this projection exactly continues the north-westerly alignment of the earthwork, plainly visible in the western part of Rampier Copse (parcel 145); this straight line suggests that the projection marks the primary course of the Outer Earthwork, leaving the prominent straight run of bank and ditch at a field's width from the inner Roman defences as a later line which in effect reduced the enclosure from about 235 to 213 acres. Running as it does on the west side of an adverse slope between parcels 92 and 102, to join the primary line at the south corner of parcel 92, such a course would hardly have been the first choice for a defensive western side of this great enclosure.

On the north-west, there is some complication attending the junction of the primary and secondary lines, if so they may be designated without more ado. There appears to have been a slight angle, near the junction of the Reading road with Wall-lane

<sup>1</sup> *A.* lxii, 317. But Col. J. B. P. Karslake, F.S.A., found it (with an entrance—or later disturbance?) in The  
<sup>2</sup> Beeches, parcel 126, on our line, in 1911, *PHFC.* vii, 43-4. *Archf.* viii, facing 227.



(i.e. between parcels 91 and 231), which carried the primary course to a bold north corner, pierced by the Roman road to Dorchester-on-Thames (pl. III a). Some 350 ft. from this point, the secondary line begins to diverge, as shown in pl. 1; on the ground there is a massive bank-and-ditch, proclaiming this as the final form taken by the defence, which turns south-west at about the point where it is crossed by Wall-lane (pl. VI b). There is no sign of the primary line in front, but in the south corner of the western part of parcel 231, a broad, triangular, ditchlike hollow shows where it was dug away; this dies away as the point of divergence is reached. Whatever may have been the reason for the gradual divergence of the two lines, so different from circumstances on the south, it nevertheless seems to be very unlikely that a long interval of time separated the periods, for it was the excavator's opinion, derived from two sections across the secondary line, that it had been built 'out of virgin soil, by newcomers to the area'.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the secondary line does not have a completely homogeneous structure: an analysis of soil-samples, taken when a fresh face of the bank was revealed during road-widening operations in 1952, betrayed a slight increase in the humus-content at the point of junction between the two main layers which can be seen in pl. VI b.<sup>2</sup> The bank was therefore heightened at some time, having been left unfinished long enough for the growth of vegetation, as implied by the additional humic matter; or else heightened to impart a defensive quality to the original somewhat slight mound (see further, p. 19).

### *The Rampier Copse complex*

On the basis of such information as was then available, the Outer Earthwork was judged in 1939 to be a homogeneous structure, and it was assigned to the early Roman period (c. A.D. 45-65, probably c. 61-5).<sup>3</sup> The evidence for this conclusion consisted of pieces of Roman brick contained within the material of the bank, and of a Claudian shard from a hollow beneath the bank, both in a Rampier Copse section reproduced in pl. IX, no. 3.<sup>4</sup> It has subsequently become clear, as explained above, that the Outer Earthwork is in reality of two periods, on the west at least; and that the secondary, or reducing, line on the west is itself of two phases of construction. It is therefore reasonable to expect the very massive structure in Rampier Copse (the bank and ditch together about 130 ft. wide, their overall height in excess of 27 ft.) to reflect these changes in some way. Furthermore, if the general configuration of the Outer Earthwork (pl. 1) is considered, it will be seen that it is only in Rampier Copse, and to the south of the town wall, that there is a departure from a simple, polygonal outline. South of the wall, the course is perhaps governed by marshy ground; in Rampier Copse, there is no obvious reason for the bold salient, unless it can be supposed that the Outer Earthwork here embodies an earlier fortification. The configuration of the earthwork in the west of the Copse is particularly suggestive, and even more significantly, there is a broad and ill-defined swelling in the superficial contour of parcel 166, running in a north-easterly direction from the eastern shoulder of the

<sup>1</sup> A. xcii, 137-8.

<sup>2</sup> Kindly undertaken by Dr. Ian Cornwall. From c. 0.080 mgm./gm. in the core, and 0.096-0.092 in the

overburden, to 0.320 mgm./gm. at the line of junction.

<sup>3</sup> A. xcii, 140.

<sup>4</sup> A. xcii, 137-40, pl. 38.



salient (cf. pl. II b). Sir Richard Hoare marked it on his plan of Silchester.<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that this swelling is all that survives of the unrequired portion of an earthwork, of which part could be utilized in the Outer Earthwork perimeter. The question has yet to be settled by excavation, as has also the allied question of whether the Salient Dyke, so dubbed for present convenience, may not rather be a small enclosure of the type observed at the Frith (Pond Farm) (fig. 1), a mile north-west of Silchester wall (p. 22).

The section cut in 1939 lay about 50 ft. east of a complete cross-section excavated by J. Challenor Smith, F.S.A., in 1909, and about 400 ft. west, along the crest of the bank, from a second section also excavated by Mr. Smith in that year.<sup>2</sup> All three sections are marked on pl. I.<sup>3</sup> The original levelled wash-drawings of the 1909 trenches, at the scale of half an inch to the foot, are preserved at Reading Museum, and provide the only means at our disposal for reappraising the 1939 result, and testing the various possibilities mentioned in the present remarks. The 1909 sections have accordingly been re-drawn as shown on pl. IX, exactly as they stand in all essentials.

Both the old sections show a somewhat curious profile at subsoil-level. The eastern section is the clearer: the level shown is the same as that beyond the counter-scarp lip of the ditch, and must be correct. At the rear of the bank, however, it drops, probably on the slope indicated by the heavy line. This added depth is probably due to the excavation of a quarry-pit from which gravel was obtained to increase the height of the bank; there are numerous traces of such pits at the rear of the Outer Earthwork. The western section is more difficult, since the level beneath the bank is substantially higher than that indicated beyond the ditch, although it is true that the work here runs at the top of a natural slope. To the rear of the bank, the level again drops, probably into another quarry-pit. Let us now attempt to relate the 1939 result to these two sections. The superficial contours of all three are closely similar, and can be laid one on the other with no more difference arising than can be explained by casual damage and erosion. Subject only to an accurate series of levels being taken along the crest of the rampart, it must inevitably result from a comparison of these three profiles that the portion of the Outer Earthwork actually excavated in 1939, viz. the portion overlying the Claudian shard and itself containing Roman brick, was not part of the original bank, but part of an enlargement of the bank, filling a quarry-scoop. Both the old sections show what may colourably be interpreted as a buried primary bank well beyond the south limit of the corresponding 1939 trench.

The ditch now demands attention. In both the 1909 sections, it shows signs of recutting; the lower part only corresponding to the profile which excavation was to establish as characteristic of the primary line of the Outer Earthwork on the west (pl. X). The upper part of the ditch, as re-cut, is very like that of the secondary line as recorded by Mrs. Cotton (pl. IX, no. 4). The level of water unfortunately prevented her from reaching the bottom of the ditch in the cutting concerned, but it may be

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Wilts.* ii (1821). *The Roman Æra*, facing p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *A.* lxii, 317-9; uselessly small generalized profiles, fig. 1 (upper).

<sup>3</sup> The sites of the 1909 cuttings are taken from a 25 in. Ordnance Plan in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.



presumed, from a statement of the former excavators who also sectioned this part of the Outer Earthwork, that the profile on this westerly side was the same as in Rampier Copse, viz. with a lower V-shaped section and a short, flat bottom.<sup>1</sup>

The final feature of these precious drawings is the retaining-wall of flint shown in position above the recut scarp lip in the western section. In the eastern section, a cremation-burial appears to have disturbed it entirely,<sup>2</sup> but at various places between the two trenches, flints can be seen among the roots of the great hollies and other trees which occupy the lower part of the outer side of the bank. The feature was a general one, in fact, and was noted by Mrs. Cotton in her Sandy Lands section to which reference has just been made: the emplacement for the flint revetment could clearly be seen there.<sup>3</sup>

Whether or not the original bank buried beneath the final mound of the Rampier Copse salient can be that of the so-called Salient Dyke (p. 16) is largely a question which only fresh excavation could determine. The overall profile is greater than appears to have been the case with the primary line on the west; and if the 1909 sections give no hint of anything that could be regarded as the ditch of the Salient Dyke, it may possibly have been recut to the standard primary Outer Earthwork profile, to leave no recorded vestige of its own original contour. A further indication that the buried bank is very probably that of the Salient Dyke comes from our own Trench F (see below), where Claudio-Neronian pottery—i.e. of the same period as that found *behind* the site of the original bank in Rampier Copse, according to the interpretation proposed above—was extracted from the old ground-surface beneath the remains of the bank of the primary Outer Earthwork. A summary of my views on this complicated sequence is as follows:

- (1) Pre-existing earthwork (Salient Dyke) in Rampier Copse.
- (2) Primary Outer Earthwork of 235 acres joining and utilising part of the Salient Dyke, where appropriate; dyke-ditch recut. Date: Claudius-Nero.
- (3) Secondary Outer Earthwork (initial bank stage only).
- (4) Abandonment of the projecting western sector of the Outer Earthwork, enlargement of the bank, recutting of the ditch, flint revetment. Date: probably not far removed from that of the Primary Outer Earthwork.

#### *Excavations of the Primary Line (Trenches D, G, F, Site C)*

Trench D (pls. 1, VI c, x) was cut towards the middle of parcel 91 and furnished a clear cross-section of the primary Outer Earthwork. The natural gravel was only 15 to 18 in. below the turf. The ditch was 22 ft. wide and 6½ ft. deep from the modern surface; the profile was V-shaped with a short, flat bottom, but the contour was somewhat degraded. The bank had been almost totally removed, covering the natural gravel to a depth of a few inches at the most. About 20 ft. to the rear of the scarp lip of the ditch appeared two irregular, trench-like features, probably construction-slots for some kind of timber building at the rear of the bank, since a few iron nails, up to 3½ in. long, were recovered from the filling of the larger hollow, and others lay around

<sup>1</sup> *A.* lxii, 317.

<sup>2</sup> *A.* lxii, 318, 330. The pot mentioned is Antonine and

is in the Calleva Museum.

<sup>3</sup> *A.* xcii, 137, pl. 38.



the smaller one. The filling of the ditch was mainly of loose, earthy gravel above a clean gravel primary silting. From the base of the wet grey sludge which had formed above the primary silting, a little early Roman pottery was recovered (fig. 15, nos. 142-3, p. 70). A land-drain of old-fashioned type had been laid along the centre of the ditch.

Trench G, near the south hedge of the same field (pl. 1), merely established the course of the ditch, the upper earthy filling of which produced late Roman pottery.

Trench F consisted of three *sondages* opened to establish the primary line in parcel 92 (pls. 1, x). A little Claudio-Neronian pottery (fig. 14, nos. 144-5, p. 70) was recovered from the old ground surface beneath surviving traces of tip-lines, in the middle of the bank-area. This satisfactorily stratified material is the only datable pottery found beneath the bank of the primary Outer Earthwork. Pottery from the filling of the ditch (in material slipped from the bank?) was also early (fig. 14, nos. 146-7, p. 72). At the rear of the bank, a construction-slot containing three nails had been cut obliquely through the tail of the bank. Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, who inspected Trench D, suggested that such traces of timber buildings might denote cowsheds or stables erected in the lee of the earthwork when it had become obsolete as a defence. The 22 acres between the primary and secondary lines would have made an excellent enclosure for cattle, the importance of which to the Callevan economy is well known.<sup>1</sup> But for the fact that the secondary line diverges so gradually from the primary line on the north-west, one might almost be tempted to the further claim, that the primary line and the small, initial bank of the secondary line were contemporary or virtually so, and that the latter bounded an area designated from the first as a great corral. Our excavations were too slight to permit of a decision in this regard. The secondary and final *defensive* line, as marked by the recut ditch and the flint revetment, certainly ran as shown in pl. 1. Whether the *initial* mound on the secondary line diverged more directly from the primary line, when first constructed, is more than evidence allows us to determine as yet.

Trench F(b) (pl. 1) was designed to section a weak earthwork feature in parcel 92. This feature proved to be modern, perhaps a superseded continuation of the north hedge-line of parcel 102. The counterscarp lip of the secondary Outer Earthwork was found.

*The Site C complex:* It will be remembered that the aerial survey indicated an entrance in the primary Outer Earthwork, about 100 ft. from the Roman road to Speen (pl. 11 b). The first task on Site C<sup>2</sup> was, therefore, to establish the relationship of road and earthwork. It was found that they were contemporary, inasmuch as the ditch ended some 15 ft. south-west of the causeway of the road (pls. 1, x, C 1). The profile of the ditch was similar to that exposed in Trench D: 24 ft. wide, 5 ft. 9 in. deep from the old ground-surface. About 2 ft. of gravelly silt had accumulated in the bottom of the ditch before infilling had commenced; on top of this silting was a

<sup>1</sup> RS. 176-7, 192-3, and refs. Of particular interest is the vast deposit of ox-jaws, calculated to represent about 2,520 beasts, found in Insula VI and dated to the first century A.D.: *A. lx*, 157-8.

<sup>2</sup> The excavation of this site was supervised by Mr. A. M. ApSimon, to whom my thanks for a careful record are due.



*denarius* of Hadrian (p. 46, no. 36). The infilling, on the bank side, included a considerable amount of ochreous gravel and sand tips, but on the counterscarp side consisted largely of earth. Finds from this infilling included a worn *sestertius* of Faustina II (p. 46, no. 38), Antonine samian both decorated and plain (fig. 9, no. 43, p. 58, fig. 10, no. 45, p. 58), Rhenish ware, and coarse pottery as late as the third-fourth century (fig. 14, nos. 129-32, p. 71). A general black layer, above this layer, formed a distinctive feature of this and other trenches, and contained four radiate coins (p. 46, nos. 41-4) and fourth-century material such as New Forest maroon-glazed beakers, colour-coated sigillata copies, and a rim in the vesicular ware typical of certain late fourth-century sites, such as Lydney, but somewhat rare at Silchester (fig. 14, nos. 133-41, p. 70).

57 ft. south-east of this trench, another section produced a very similar profile (pl. x, C 2). On the site of the bank, some stiff clay remained in position. Among the material from the lower (sand, gravel, and clay) infilling was a flanged bowl in black-fumed ware of early to mid third-century date.<sup>1</sup> The upper black filling here yielded a coin of Valens (p. 46, no. 46).

The entrance visible in the circuit can be seen (pl. II b) to embody an unusual feature, in the form of a clubbing or widening of the butt of the ditch on either side of the causeway. Our section of the north butt showed (pl. x, C 3) that the phenomenon was due to the cutting-back of the ditch on the scarp side, a procedure which must have entailed the virtual eradication of the bank. Apart from a little gravelly material on the eastern side of the enlarged ditch, the filling was almost wholly composed of the black material found in the two cuttings to the north-west, just described. Water prevented the complete clearance of the ditch, but in the appropriate area of the trench, the lower part of the original ditch was satisfactorily identified.

It had thus become clear that the entrance was secondary and of later third- or even fourth-century date. It would appear that the purpose of cutting back the ditch on either side of the intended entrance was to obtain gravel for the causeway to be built across it; possibly the bank-material was insufficient for the purpose. The causeway had a well-metalled surface about 15 ft. wide (pls. VI d, x, C 4). Unfortunately, no dating-evidence was recovered from beneath. Two small stake-holes, suitable for the uprights of a hurdle or very light gate, were observed towards the outer side. Since there was an original entrance so near, the construction of the secondary entrance is not easy to understand, except on the assumption that it was intended for traffic deemed to be unsuitable for the normal route, such as cattle, which may have been penned in an enclosure fenced off from the Roman road. An earlier suggestion, which connected the secondary entrance with the possible gravel or clay-pit lying a short distance to the west, is on the whole to be dismissed, on the grounds that the metalling of the causeway showed no ruts, such as heavily laden carts would inevitably have made in its surface.

<sup>1</sup> This was one of the shards stated in the interim report, p. 19, to have been found on the base of the ditch (our no. 131). It was, in fact, found where stated in the present report, at the base of the filling, not that of the

silting. The other shard indeed occurred on the base of the ditch, but in black filling where the silting had been removed: see next paragraph.



*Site C continued:* The most important of the minor excavations carried out east of the primary line of the Outer Earthwork concerned the Roman road to Speen. A cutting (pls. 1, x) showed intensely hard gravel metalling little more than one foot thick, but of two main periods, with a possible third. The original road was about 22 ft. wide; the modern hedge prevented our trench extending across it. The lower surface was contiguous with a very neat metalled area to the south, which overlapped the edge of the causeway and contained a number of small post-holes, some linked by a construction-slot, forming part of the ground-plan of a hut (pl. x). The holes were filled with earthy, sandy wash from the road; in this wash, well covered by it and by gravel derived from the crown of the upper, secondary metalling of the road, was a *Gloria Exercitus* coin of Constantine I (p. 46, no. 45). Although not in fact sealed by the metalling, but only by material derived from it, the coin may very well offer a *terminus post quem* of c. A.D. 330-5 for the upper metalling. It may perhaps be added that over twenty of the 95 milestones recorded in *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. I,<sup>1</sup> are of the fourth century, although none later than Constantine II (Caesar or Augustus?) is known. The road was one of the most important in the country, and would undoubtedly have been kept in repair for as long as troops might need to use it, and official despatches be conveyed.

If pl. 11 b is examined closely, a number of small dark spots will be observed both in front of, and behind, the primary line of the Outer Earthwork. Excavation shows that these are pits, one large example, of considerable depth, producing a quantity of late Roman pottery from its upper filling, comparable with the dark earth which filled the upper part of the Outer Earthwork ditch in the vicinity. Possibly the area formed the town dump of later Roman times. Otherwise, the pattern of *sondages* opened by Mr. ApSimon behind the earthwork produced little.

#### *Addendum: Site E*

Although not strictly within the scope of the committee's work, the opportunity of testing a statement by John Aubrey with regard to the town wall was taken in 1956. Aubrey states that there was 'the vestigium of an Arx, Barbican or Ridout' at the north-west corner.<sup>2</sup> A small sketch suggested the existence of a bastion, and on the ground a considerable mound was seen to occupy the spot (in fact around the north-north-west corner). It was trenched, but no foundations of a bastion were to be found. The scarp lip of the 'early bank' ditch was identified in the cutting.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. A VIEW OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF SILCHESTER

An attempt is made here to trace the origin and development of the settlement down to the time when it became the capital of an ordinary Romano-British *civitas*. The space of about a century and a half between the arrival of the first Belgic immigrants and the death of King Cogidubnus, held to mark the moment of transition to cantonal

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 2219-2314. Constantine II, 2259.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta Britannica*, MS. Bodl. Top. Gen. C. 24, f. 211.

<sup>3</sup> The Ministry of Public Building and Works began

the total clearance and conservation of the town wall in the autumn of 1966, and if bastions exist, they should at last now come to light.



capital status, has been divided into four periods, which may be summarized as follows:

- I. Earliest occupation down to the expulsion of Tincommius from Britain (c. 80 B.C.-A.D. 5)
- II. The regal oppidum of Eppillus and ? Verica (c. A.D. 5-10 and 5-25)
- III. Catuvellaunian Calleva (c. A.D. 25-43)
- IV. Calleva under Cogidubnus (c. A.D. 43?-77/8?)

*Period I: Earliest occupation down to the expulsion of Tincommius*

The story of Commius the Atrebate, and his flight from Caesar's oppression to found the southern Belgic kingdom of Britain c. 50 B.C., need not be repeated.<sup>1</sup> It will suffice to note that *British Q* staters and quarters,<sup>2</sup> the uninscribed predecessors of Commius's own named coinage, imply that he was able easily, perhaps quickly, to penetrate inland from the Sussex coast to the Silchester region and the Thames which forms its natural northern frontier. Coins with his name, struck perhaps from about 35 B.C., extend thinly throughout the same area as *British Q* occupy. They include six from Sussex, to establish once and for all the eminence of the southern coastal strip of the Atrebatian kingdom, one from Farley Heath (Surrey), one from Aldbourne (Wilts.) and, for our purpose instructive, two from Reading, and one each from Basingstoke and the Basingstoke-Odiham area.<sup>3</sup> In the third quarter of the first century B.C., therefore, conditions were appropriate for the establishment of an Atrebatian *oppidum* on the Calleva site.<sup>4</sup> To pass by the few scattered finds of Bronze Age or earlier date,<sup>5</sup> which indicate frequentation of the gravel plateau on which Calleva was to rise, attention may be drawn to a bronze la Tène I brooch<sup>6</sup> and a glass eye-bead (fig. 8a, no. 1) exactly the same in design and colour as two from the princess's grave at Reinheim and thus of about 400 B.C.<sup>7</sup> These articles, both from the walled area, reflect a pre-Belgic Iron Age interest in the region. Six coins continue the story to the proto-Commian years and may well promote the possibility that the Callevan spur was already occupied by Belgic folk when Commius arrived. Two of them, *British Q* and a somewhat earlier *Gallo-Belgic E*,<sup>8</sup> come from the vicinity of a small enclosure known as the Frith, in the woods to the north-west of Silchester wall, near Pond Farm.<sup>9</sup> (fig. 1). Professor Hawkes has reminded me that there is a resemblance between the Frith and the Highfield (Salisbury) site<sup>10</sup> where the enclosure ditch is probably of the Belgic phase of occupation.<sup>11</sup> In such terms, the Frith may

<sup>1</sup> *Locus classicus*, *Archf.* lxxxvii, 291 ff. (Hawkes and Dunning). Most recent, S.S. Frere, *Britannia* (1967), 40-1.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, 117-8, gazetteer, 199-203.

<sup>3</sup> Allen, gazetteer, 208.

<sup>4</sup> Site described, *RS.* 49-50. One of the few to discern the excellent tactical situation of Calleva is E. W. Gilbert, in H. C. Darby (ed.), *An Historical Geography of England* (1936), 50.

<sup>5</sup> Listed, *RS.* 218, note 27.

<sup>6</sup> Seen and photographed; in private hands, 1951. Lost.

<sup>7</sup> J. Keller, *Das keltische Fürstengrab v. Reinheim*, I

(1965), Taf. 26a, 26b, 1-2. Rare.

<sup>8</sup> Allen, 113-16; gazetteer, 163. The *British Q*, gazetteer, 200. Picked up by Capt. J. S. Eyton from the surface of a ride in the plantation west of Pond Farm, and still (1968) in his collection at Silchester.

<sup>9</sup> SU 627631. Described, *FAH.* 387, plan facing 386. About 4 acres.

<sup>10</sup> *WAM.* xlvii, 579-624.

<sup>11</sup> Professor Hawkes has kindly suggested further comparative sites to me, of which the much smaller Knap Hill (Wilts.) 'plateau enclosure' of *WAM.* xxxvii, 42-65, is undoubtedly Belgic, and of 'defensive' rather than 'agricultural' type.





probably around 90-65 B.C.; a plated *British Q*; a Durotrigian silver stater of Le Catillon hoard type, and a Gaulish 'epsilon' stater, counterfeit but the only example of its class recorded from Britain.<sup>1</sup>

The only other known earthwork which could refer to this early settlement is the Flex Ditch, which runs across the neck of a little spur of high ground south of Silchester Common (fig. 1, A). This dyke has no relevance whatever to later Calleva, but could well have been designed to control, like the Sussex 'spur' dykes studied by the late E. C. Curwen,<sup>2</sup> direct access to the level plateau on the north, by compelling any traffic to pass one or other of its ends, founded on sloping or otherwise adverse ground.<sup>3</sup> No traces of an outlying dyke-system across the plateau west of Silchester have been recorded. Perhaps in terms of a consolidated Atrebatian settlement of this plateau, it would not have been necessary.

*Period II: The regal oppidum under Eppillus and ? Verica*

Tincommius, the first of Commius's sons to succeed him,<sup>4</sup> about 25 or 20 B.C., issued a similar type of un-Romanized coinage, but in 15 B.C., according to C. E. Stevens,<sup>5</sup> he entered into a treaty with Rome which resulted, numismatically, in the first coins of classical affinity to be struck in Britain.<sup>6</sup> The title REX, however, does not appear on them as it does on the rarer issues of his brother and successor Eppillus at Calleva,<sup>7</sup> and upon those of the third brother, Verica. Perhaps, therefore, the scope of the treaty was restricted.<sup>8</sup> The Romanized coins of Tincommius include a specimen from Caversham, north of the Thames at Reading.<sup>9</sup>

Silchester was first identified as the CALLEVA ATREBATUM of the Antonine Itinerary by Edmund Halley,<sup>10</sup> and an inscription found in Insula XXXV contains the word CALLEVA.<sup>11</sup> Two gold and three silver quarter-staters of Eppillus reproduce this name in an abbreviated form, CALLEV for the gold, CALLE for the silver, and show that the *oppidum* adumbrated above had taken a definite form and tangible existence by the years A.D. 5-10 to which the coins belong.<sup>12</sup> A gold quarter-stater of Tincommius<sup>13</sup> has been similarly adduced in favour of an earlier date: this coin bears the letters c and a. A rarer, parallel series marked c B<sup>14</sup> shows, however, that c A can hardly

<sup>1</sup> These four, Allen, *gazetteer*, 174, 200, 244, 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Aspects of Archaeology* (1951), 105-7, figs. 22-3; cf. also Fowler in *WAM*, lix, 55-6. Once more I owe the suggestion to Professor Hawkes.

<sup>3</sup> The Flex Ditch is described by Williams-Freeman, *FAH*, 407, curiously as a 'modern digging for soil', but as Crawford realized (note on O.S. 6 in. map) it is an ancient earthwork. Called Flux Ditch in the Tithe Award, presumably because the ditch, dammed in effect by the passage, on the east, of the Roman road to Sorviodunum, was used for steeping flax. I have been unable to discover the authority for a statement in Miss Florence Davidson's manuscript 'History of Silchester' (1914), copy in Reading Public Library, that 'Flex comes from a pond or stream that comes and goes according to the season', although the pond does this.

<sup>4</sup> When Allen wrote his great 1944 paper on the Belgic dynasties of Britain and their coins (*A*, xc), he was inclined to believe that the Commius of the coins was not the

person mentioned by Caesar and Frontinus. It is more probable that he was, in fact, the same person.

<sup>5</sup> *Aspects of Archaeology*, 338 f.; Hawkes in *Bag*, 46.

<sup>6</sup> Mack, nos. 93-5.

<sup>7</sup> Mack, nos. 107-8, Allen, *gazetteer*, 213. Two gold from Sussex, two silver from Wallingford (Berks.) and Windsor; the silver coin in Copenhagen has no provenance (information from Dr. O. Morkholm).

<sup>8</sup> A point also noted by Frere, *JRS*, lii, 273, and *Britannia*, 42.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, *gazetteer*, 209.

<sup>10</sup> Refs., *RS*, 33.

<sup>11</sup> *A*, lxi, 215-18. *RIB*, no. 70.

<sup>12</sup> *A*, xc, 7 f., table, 44-5.

<sup>13</sup> Mack, no. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Two out of ten examples in the British Museum read c B. Mr. Allen recognizes two c A and one c B dies (information in *litt.*). Evans's c F (*Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), pl. 2 no. 4) is presumably a mis-read c B.



stand for Calleva; and on the whole, since the coins are evidently the work of a Roman or Romanized die-sinker, it seems more probable that both inscriptions are control-marks.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing, therefore, in the inscribed Atrebatian coinage to prove that the beginnings of occupation glimpsed above had developed into an important settlement before the reign of Eppillus at Calleva.

A consideration of the clay coin-flan moulds<sup>2</sup> follows naturally in sequence here, and leads us into a reappraisal of the various categories of archaeological evidence which bear upon the problem of the date when the regal *oppidum* was established. At first sight, the moulds are to be linked with the coinage of Eppillus—the one certain coinage of Calleva; but analysis of some of the moulds indicates a copper-silver alloy which cannot be related to known Atrebatian coins, since these do not include base-metal denominations. Either there are such coins, so far unrecognized, or else the moulds were used for later minting at Calleva, in our Period III (p. 36). The analysis does appear to correspond to Catuvellaunian coinage alloys.<sup>3</sup>

Period II is distinguished by the appearance of coins and pottery derived from Gaul and Italy, probably as a result of the treaty of 15 B.C. An intriguing feature of the pre-Roman coin-series is, in fact, its proportion—a fifth—of small Gaulish denominations. The seven coins concerned (including here the epsilon counterfeit already mentioned, p. 24) form a striking contrast to the meagre Camulodunum total of three, all of the same type, in a list of 224 pieces.<sup>4</sup> This disparity encourages the surmise that the Gaulish coins were used in default of a local bronze issue, and further, that they may have arrived, in the course of trade under the provisions of the treaty of 15 B.C., before the date of c. A.D. 10 which is held to be that of the establishment of Camulodunum. High totals, however, are also known from Canterbury, founded about A.D. 10,<sup>5</sup> and from Braughing (Herts.), both of which were in areas where a local bronze coinage existed. Consequently, some caution is required in the assessment of the Silchester finds, which are as follows:<sup>6</sup>

De la Tour 8442, 'Ambiani', bronze

Cf. Evans, N. 14 (ditto), bronze

De la Tour 7021/7070, cf. Evans, N. 12, 'Carnutes', bronze

De la Tour 8124, 'Catalauni', bronze

De la Tour 8351, 'Lingones', potin

De la Tour 9248, *Germanus Indutilli L* (as at Camulodunum), bronze

Allen, gazetteer, 172, plated, 'Nervii' (p. 24)

The decorated Arretine was published by Thomas May<sup>7</sup> except for two small

<sup>1</sup> For similar marks in the Roman Republican series, see *BMCR*, i, 251 ff., including C A. The system was however long obsolete by the time of Tiberius, and was only used for very large issues. Allen (*in litt.*) points to possible parallels in the British series: the mark C O of Mack, no. 288, and various devices on Dobunnic and Icenian coins. The plain or dotted CA MV of Mack, nos. 203, 210-13 may also be interpreted as evidence of a control-system.

<sup>2</sup> *AJ*, xxxiv, 68 ff.; two more fragments, near Forum,

1961.

<sup>3</sup> *Cam.* 132, table. No exact comparison between metals absorbed by a clay mould and those present in the alloy of a coin is possible.

<sup>4</sup> *Cam.* 142.

<sup>5</sup> S. S. Frere, *Roman Canterbury* (3rd ed. 1962), 6.

<sup>6</sup> Allen, gazetteer, 276, 277, 279, 278, 172.

<sup>7</sup> May, pl. 2; I am much indebted to Professor Howard Comfort for much help and extensive comments on the Arretine from Silchester.



pieces and a third fragment which came from the topsoil of Trench B, 1955 (fig. 2):

- 1-2. May, pl. 2, nos. 1-2. Ins. XIII, Ho. 1 area. Two almost conjoining fragments from a crater, showing part of a scene from the Hercules-Omphale myth: Hercules in female attire being drawn in a car by two centaurs, their hands tied behind their backs. Poorly impressed and rubbed. Cf. a Louvre crater stamped by Tigranus (Oxé, Taf. 28, 117 b, 119 a). Probably Augustan.
3. May, pl. 2, no. 3. Part of a *symposium* scene (cf. Chase, *Boston Coll. of Arret. Pottery* (1916), 57 ff.) A stool under the couch, at left. Blurred. No exact parallel found.
4. Top of a gadroon: cf. Oxé, Taf. 37, for similar from Haltern, by Gn. Ateius Xanthus. Probably Augustan.
5. Ins. XIII, Pit D. On the left, a thyrsus, perhaps part of a motif with lion-skin dependent, but sited rather low. On the right, a hand holding draperies. Similar motifs occur on the work of Rasinius (A. Stenico, *La ceramica arretina* I (1960), tav. 5, 15); but no work of this potter is known in Britain and some other workshop is undoubtedly indicated.
6. Ins. XXIII, topsoil near north-west corner, 1955. Vine-leaf frieze: cf. Oxé, Taf. 13, no. 57; wreath much as Taf. 13, no. 58 B, both Sels tiliary and provincial Ateius work.<sup>1</sup> Probably Tiberian.
7. May, pl. 14, no. 1, pl. 81 a, no. 11. Crater-base stamped CN.ATEI/EURYALUS. No decoration. Oxé-Comfort List (forthcoming), 164.1.3.10 (Saturnia, Granada, and this). Decorated work probably assignable to this potter from Vindonissa, *Pro Vindonissa* 1962, 51, with same stamp, but not conjoining.

The plain Arretine was described by May and has been commented upon by Radford.<sup>2</sup> There is a fairly large quantity and 14 vessels are stamped.<sup>3</sup> May's drawings leave something to be desired and the accompanying fig. 3A is offered as an improvement.

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 1. SEX»/ANNI | Thin flat plate base, slip incomplete beneath. May, no. 2. Cf. Haltern, <i>Westf. Mitt.</i> v, no. 10. Oxé-Comfort 88-68. 75. 91 (Vindonissa, Neuss, Silchester). |
| 2. ATEI      | Line beneath. Plate base, not in May; Insula III.   |
| 3. ATEI      | <i>Loeschcke</i> 8B cup. May no. 5. Haltern, no. 36.  |
| 4. ATEI      | Cup base. May, no. 7. Haltern, no. 58.  |
| 5. ATEI      | <i>Loeschcke</i> 7A cup (? complete: original not discoverable, Jan. 1967: stamp copied from May).  |
| 6. ATEI      | <i>Loeschcke</i> 11 base. May, no. 9. Ins. XII, Pit B.  |
| 7. ATEI      | Plate base. May, no. 6 rectified (read by Professor Comfort). Cf. Haltern, no. 72. Our nos. 2-7 are Oxé-Comfort 144-795/9.  |

<sup>1</sup> This *Provinzialbetrieb* is curiously indistinguishable in fabric from genuine Arrezzo products, as I have myself tested. Why should this be so?—A study of the Ateius

question: E. Ettlinger, *R.C.R.F. Acta* iv, 27-44, with 12 maps.

<sup>2</sup> *PPS.* 1954, 8.

<sup>3</sup> May, pls. 1, 3, 4, 5, Stamps, pl. 81 a.



(27)

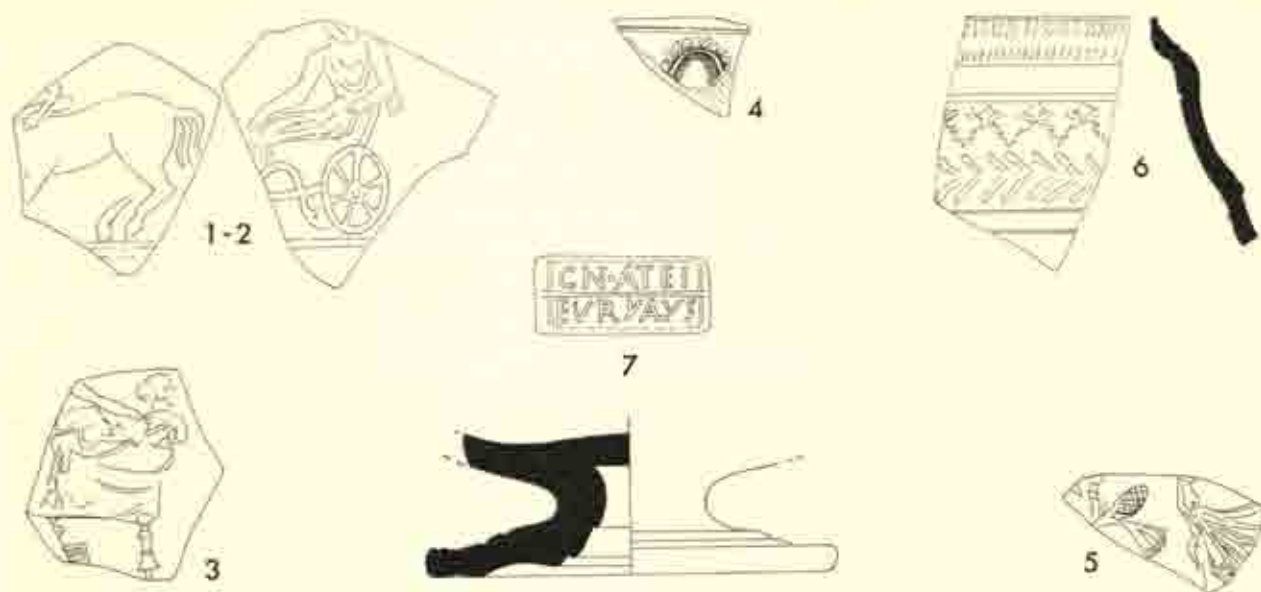


FIG. 2. Arretine ware from Silchester (6, trench B). Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

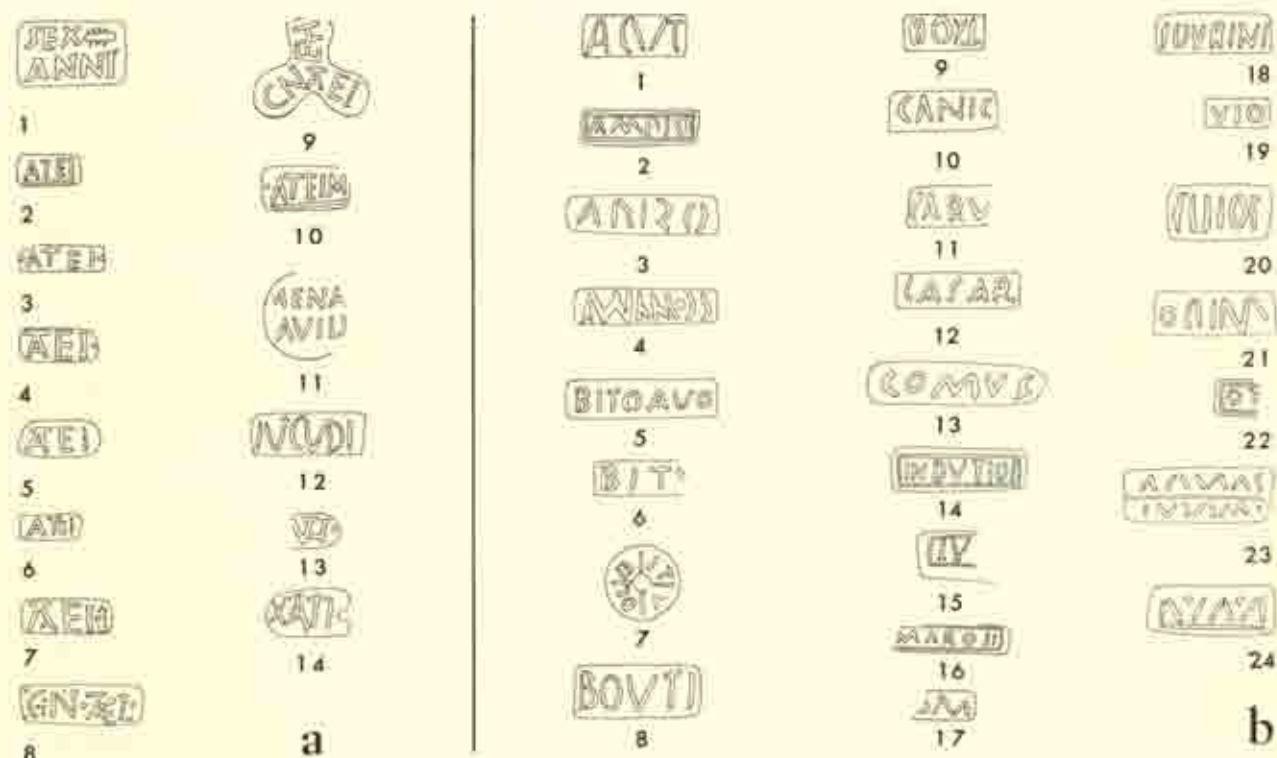


FIG. 3. Arretine and Gallo-Belgic stamps on pottery from Silchester. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

8. :EN·ATEI: *Loeschke* 2A plate. May, no. 10. Provincial, cf. Haltern, *Bodenalt. Westf.* vi, no. 459. Oxé-Comfort 145-205.312, 347A (Trier, Ubbergen, Silchester).
9. CN ATEI EH In trefoil. Cup base. May, no. 12. A type of stamp later in vogue than the Haltern series, where Euhodus is represented by other types. Oxé-Comfort 160-14.28.60 (Seville, Cologne, Silchester).
10. ·ATEI M Line beneath. *Loeschke* 2A plate. May, no. 8. Cf. Haltern, *Bodenalt. Westf.* vi, no. 297. Oxé-Comfort 168-42, cf. 168-10 b. 40 (Nîmes and Haltern): cf. 158 h.
11. MENA/AVILL In circle. *Loeschke* 10A cup fragment. May, no. 13. Haltern, *Westf. Mitt.* v, no. 120. Oxé-Comfort 2921. Other occurrences of the name, Rome, Vindonissa, Paris, Angers, Bavai, Mainz, Neuss (2), Xanten.
12. IVCVNDI *Loeschke* 7A cup, provincial. May, no. 14. Cf. Haltern, *Bodenalt. Westf.* vi, no. 445. Oxé-Comfort 835g.n. (Vechten and Silchester). 'Possibly the earliest of the Silchester pieces'—Prof. Comfort.
13. XA]NTHL *Loeschke* 8A cup base. May, no. 18 rectified (read by Prof. Comfort). Xanthus occurs by himself at Haltern, cf. no. 438. Oxé-Comfort 177.
- 14.<sup>1</sup> XANTI· *Loeschke* 7 or 8 cup base. May, no. 17. Oxé-Comfort 177-339, cf. 176-111.

Nos. 1, 11, and 12 do not appear in the very much longer Camulodunum list, and the existence of exact or close parallels at several sites besides Haltern, some at least as early, lends colour to the view that a wealthy *oppidum* had sprung up at Silchester before A.D. 10. The same may be true of the decorated crater, nos. 1 and 2 in our fig. 2, if correctly identified. It is impossible to claim more, for the Camulodunum excavations showed clearly, for the first time, that the importation of Arretine (*sensu lato*) continued after its main military markets had been lost c. A.D. 25 or earlier, and probably ceased altogether only with the coming of the Roman army in A.D. 43.<sup>2</sup> Seven plain pieces and a decorated bowl probably by P. Cornelius have been found at Leicester, where the Belgic occupation is dated only from c. 35;<sup>3</sup> and whatever is to be made of the London evidence, that is late too.<sup>4</sup> The result, at Camulodunum, was that five-sixths of the stratified Arretine came in Roman contexts, and only one sixth—

<sup>1</sup> May, pl. 81A, nos. 1, 3, and 15 are Montans ware; 16 is Lezoux; p. 198, no. 16A, is also Gaulish. Pl. 81A, no. 3, on form, is evidence for Apronius well before Oswald's suggestion (*Potters' Stamps, ad loc.*) of 'Domitianic'.

<sup>2</sup> *Cam.* esp. 189-91. Tardo-Italic ware is not taken into consideration in the present remarks.

<sup>3</sup> *JW.* 124-5. Pottery, *ibid.*, *AJ.* xiii, 58-9, ascription, Comfort, *Coll. Latom.* lviii, 454; *AJ.* xviii, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *A.* lxxviii, 74 ff. Ascriptions of decorated ware,

Stenico, *Revisione critica* (1960), 38, nos. 439-43: P. Cornelius, signed and two others not: M. Perennius Crescens (*A.* no. 10) and tardo-Italic (*A.* no. 12). The lack of corresponding evidence of pre-Conquest occupation at London has caused most modern writers to view the Arretine with caution; e.g. Wheeler in *Roy. Comm. Roman London* (1928), 24-7. Merrifield (*Roman London* (1966), 29-32) re-emphasizes the wide distribution of the ware, the same as that of Claudio-Neronian pottery.



25+ vessels—in its own pre-Conquest period.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the large and immediate post-Conquest accumulation of south Gaulish sigillata there, brought by the Roman army and its immediate civilian following, accustomed for some years to the use exclusively of south Gaulish ware,<sup>2</sup> virtually rules out the possibility that any given piece of the Arretine was of post-Conquest introduction: 'the odds are at least twenty to one'.<sup>3</sup> Thus, at Silchester, we can rule out Roman importations of Arretine, since, as Hull's map in *Bagendon* shows, it was disseminated from a single *entrepôt* in the east of the country<sup>4</sup> and not in the south.<sup>5,6</sup> At present, however, we cannot distinguish between vessels which may have been imported in our Period II, other than those specified, and others which may have entered during our Period III.

What of other early sigillata? At Camulodunum, no south Gaulish appeared in pre-Conquest levels,<sup>7</sup> and at Silchester the total of Tiberian decorated pieces is less than that of the Arretine: three.<sup>8</sup> But the early Montans ware seems earlier than anything at Camulodunum,<sup>9</sup> and I have shown elsewhere that a case can be made out for the pre-Roman importation of some early Lezoux,<sup>10</sup> notably the VITLUS bowl and platter, and a Loeschke 8A cup. Possibly these all came to Calleva in the course of trade which followed the treaty of 15 B.C., before the end of our Period II and from ports on the Atlantic or Channel coast of France.<sup>11</sup> If, therefore, we suggest that special circumstances permitted the pre-Conquest and Period II importation of some Gaulish ware, the decorated Tiberian la Graufesenque ware can hardly be omitted.<sup>12</sup> But no conclusion can be reached without more primary stratigraphical evidence from the site where these matters are concerned.

Of the Gallo-Belgic wares (*terra rubra* and *terra nigra*), no. 16 in the list below may

<sup>1</sup> The position at Leicester seems to be the same. All five in the recent excavations came in Roman contexts (*JW.* 9, 43-4).

<sup>2</sup> No Arretine at Richborough, none at Valkenburg, three scraps only at Hofheim (Ritterling, *Hofheim* 1912, 201). In Britain, the Margidunum piece (*AJ.* xx, 284) seems the only certain Roman introduction, plus probably the extraordinary Trent Vale (?) piece in Hanley Museum (Comfort, *Coll. Latom.* lviii, 448-56).

<sup>3</sup> *Cam.* 190.

<sup>4</sup> *Bag.* 210-11, fig. 45, rightly omitting Hengistbury and Oare (Gallo-Belgic and south Gaulish), but also Leicester and Heybridge (Essex) with its P. Hertorius stamp noted by Oswald and Pryce, *Introd. to T.S.* (1920), 5 and correctly read by Comfort (*Am. Journ. Arch.* xlvii, 92, note 15); not mentioned in *VCH Essex* iii (1963), 146-7.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase is added because of the Period IV picture (p. 36). The Dr. 27 from Southampton (G. B. Rogers in *Gallo-Roman Pottery from S.* (Southampton Museum Publ. no. 6, 1966), no. 2) is tardo-Italic and may be discounted.

<sup>6</sup> This section cannot be closed without reference to the M. Perennius Tigranus bowl from Lake Nemi (Comfort, *R.C.R.F. Acta* ii, 6, *Coll. Latom.* lviii, 455) kept with the Nemi ships material in the Terme (inv. no. 594). As such it implies a Neronian date for much high-quality Arretine of typologically earlier appearance. Professor Comfort however informs me (*in litt.* 2 April

1967) that although listed with the ships material in the edition of *Le Navi di Nemi* accessible to him when he wrote these papers—wherein a late date is suggested for Arretine in Britain—another edition clearly states that the bowl was found elsewhere in the lakeside; he adds that Miss Ann Brown of the Ashmolean Museum drew his attention to the discrepancy.

<sup>7</sup> *Cam.* 179-80.

<sup>8</sup> May, pl. 2, no. 10 (borderline); pl. 11, nos. 1 and 2; no more in reserve.

<sup>9</sup> May, pl. 81A, nos. 1, 3, 15; pl. 81C, nos. 1, 2, 3, cf. Oxé, *Arch. Anz.* 1914, 70, Abb. 3, nos. 8-10.

<sup>10</sup> *AJ.* xlvii, 30-1, vessels nos. 1, 13, 7.

<sup>11</sup> Déch., i, 135, mentions the commonness of Montans ware at Bordeaux, the likely exporting centre for Britain.

<sup>12</sup> Although none of the decorated Tiberian sigillata of *Cam.* pls. 21-2 was found in Period I levels at that site, there is a suspicion that since none of so early a date is published from Richborough or Valkenburg (cf. *Richb.* iii, 94 ff., pls. 22, no. 1, 2; pl. 23, no. 1; pl. 24, no. 1, *Richb.* iv, 160 ff., nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, for the earliest, Tiberio-Claudian/early Claudian; Glasbergen in 25-8 *Jaarverslag . . . Terpernonderzoek*, Bijlage iv, 206 ff., has even fewer pieces of similar date; Afb. 55, no. 3; Afb. 59, no. 1, and Afb. 60, no. 6, are all that were dated as early as 'vroeg Claudius'), some may have reached Sheepen before the Conquest, to be, evidently like very much of the Arretine, carefully kept and treasured.



be regarded as very probably an import of our Period II, since May found it an Augustan parallel at Weisenau and it is not present in the long Camulodunum list of these potters' stamps. In general, these Gallo-Belgic wares are very common on the site, often 'late' in form or fabric, and frequent in early Roman levels. That much Gallo-Belgic pottery was entering the southern Kingdom is suggested by the Wessex imports listed in *Camulodunum*,<sup>1</sup> including somewhere the prototypes of May's types nos. 150 or 152, native copies (cf. our no. 37, p. 64). Of other fine continental pottery, May's type 48 is found at Haltern (*Grätenbecher*) and is probably a pre-Conquest import at Calleva. As in the case of the Arretine stamps, it has been thought desirable to offer here a revised set of drawings (fig. 3B). All are on *terra nigra* except where indicated.<sup>2</sup>

1. ACVT On our no. 32 (p. 62), Dr. 24/5 copy. *Holwerda*, no. 3 b. Completes *Cam.* no. 10, radially in a plate. *Acutios* may be pre-Conquest there.
2. AMPIO In frame, centrally on plate base. May, no. 1. A North Ferriby piece (*AJ.* xviii, 270, *terra nigra*) has the same name, different die. *Ampios*? Seems clear; note AMPIO on Montans ware, *Bull. Monument.* 1859, 700.
3. ARRO Centrally on plate base. May, no. 3. Uncertain, perhaps cf. *Cam.* no. 22, AR, *terra rubra*, and *CIL.* xiii, 10010, no. 171A.
4. AMILLOS On our no. 20 type (p. 62), radially, poor ware. Uncertain.
5. BITO AVO Centrally on plate base. May, no. 5. *Cam.* no. 50, *Bitos. Avo(t) = Fecit.* Perhaps Claudian.
6. BITV[RI] On our no. 24 (p. 62). Koethe, no. 21, closely similar from Trier, suggests the completion of the stamp, i.e. *Biturix*, rather than *Bitucanos*, etc. Probably Claudian.
7. BITVOL *Terra rubra* (poor) cup base, concentric grooves on base, no base-ring. Stamped in a circle divided into quadrants. Given by May, pl. 81c, no. 6, as Gaulish sigillata, but a common *terra rubra* maker, cf. *Cam.* no. 51, pre-Conquest.
8. BOVTI Centrally on plate base. May, no. 5. *Cam.* no. 56, radially; can be pre-Conquest.
9. BOVT On *Cam.* type 56 cup. May, no. 16. Uncertain: this reading makes sense, but requires a T upside down.
10. CANIC Radially on plate base. May, no. 6. *Cam.* no. 62; can be pre-Conquest.
11. CARV[ Centrally on plate base. May, no. 2, suggesting ARV[; but there seems to be a letter before the A. Less possibly IARV[S], Koethe, no. 57.
12. CASAR Centrally on the base noted, p. 72. Cf. Koethe, no. 30, CASA·AVO in frame, *CIL.* xiii, 10010, 468AB, Bavai, Trier, Tiberian. Ours must be Claudian, but no doubt the same potter.

<sup>1</sup> 237-8, 215-21; add Casterley, *WAM.* xxxviii, 103, pl. 8, 31-2; Crookham, B.M. unpublished (information

from Prof. Hawkes); Cunning Man, *BAJ.* lvi, 46-53 (Reading, Berks.).

<sup>2</sup> May, pl. 82A.



13. COMVS Radially on plate base. May, no. 7. Perhaps cf. Holwerda, no. 49, COWA21 (*Comusi*).
14. INDVTIOS Centrally on plate base. May, no. 9. *Cam.* no. 88 for *Indutios*; our stamp with the full name carefully given must be earlier. May gives INDVTIO, but the s is there. The full form is not given in *CIL.*, the name commonly appearing as INDVHO, *Indutio* (Pit no. 33, *Insula*?).
15. LV[ Centrally on plate base. May, no. 18. Probably *Lu(llos)*, cf. *Cam.* no. 108, rather than *Iu(lios)*.
16. MAROSI In frame, radially on *terra rubra* flat plate base. May, no. 10. See above, and cf. Holwerda, no. 100.
17. MO ?retrograde and complete on plate base. Not in May.
18. SOVRINI Radially on plate base. May, no. 14. *Cam.* no. 142, also radially.
19. VIO Cup, *Cam.* 56c type. Note Holwerda, no. 156, VIOX. *A.* xcii, 157, suggests *Violus*. North of *Insula XXI a*, Site C 1938, c. A.D. 65-100.
20. Centrally on plate, *Cam.* 13 type. Uncertain. May, no. 17.
21. Cup base. Uncertain. May, no. 12.
- 22-4. Plate-bases (2) and cup base. Uncertain. May, nos. 15 ]TO retrograde(?), 14 and 20, illiterate.

Apart from May, no. 11, which could not be found in January 1967 (read MOSSI retrograde) this list excludes his nos. 8, 13, 19, 21, and 25, which are illiterate and are demonstrably 'late', on Roman grey wares and others. His nos. 22 and 23 resemble our fig. 11, no. 29 (p. 62) and may be local, but similar forms appear in Holwerda, e.g. no. 178. May's no. 26 is uselessly imperfect, and there are several other stamps in the same condition.

Passing over early types of *amphorae*, some of which may have arrived before the Conquest but may equally well be later, we reach the question of coarse wares in possible use during our Period II. Most coarse pottery at Silchester can be matched either in the level beneath the Inner Earthwork (p. 13, 74 ff., figs. 15-16) or in the earliest filling of its ditch (p. 6, 72 ff., figs. 11-13). From the old excavations there is little that can be classed as stratified. Nevertheless, various pit-groups are labelled (largely by Mill Stephenson, F.S.A.) and can be in some measure reassembled. A sequence of three may be discussed here.

Pit A, *Insula XII*,<sup>1</sup> contained one of the most extraordinary finds made at Silchester. 'As many as a dozen' whole or nearly whole pots were found at a depth of over 8 ft. from the surface, say 5 ft. below the ancient ground-level—and were arranged in such a manner as to suggest that they had been carefully packed, with moss, into three tiers. There were animal bones with them. The 16 ft. pit is said to have contained 'little of the black deposit not uncommon in these rubbish-holes'. But this was clearly not a rubbish-hole: the bestowal of the pots in the midst of the clean filling strongly suggests a ritual deposit. Eleven of the pots are identifiable at Reading. Whether 'as many as a dozen' means, literally, twelve is perhaps uncertain. If a

<sup>1</sup> *A.* lv, 348; May, 186-9, correcting pit number.



twelfth existed, it was not marked, or was perhaps fragmentary. The vessels are shown in fig. 4.<sup>1</sup>

1. Brown ware. Cf. a vessel in the Colchester Mirror group, *PSAL.* xx, 231 facing (with a base-ring). Common type at Silchester: see our nos. 47, 206; *A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, no. 16; May, pl. 76, nos. 9-10. Rare at Camulodunum (*Cam.* 232C type). May, no. 1.
2. Similar.
3. Hard grey ware with traces of a black slip. *Swarling*, no. 15 is a brown-ware native copy of this continental import. May cites *Colchr. Mus. Rept.* 1912, pl. 2 for a vessel with more prominent cordon. May, no. 2.
4. Brown ware, traces of black coating. Cf. May, pl. 68, no. 142, and our no. 49 (p. 64). The Chassemy urn, *Arch.* lxxxvii, 191, fig. 8, no. 4, offers a prototype. The nearest to a pedestal-urn in the group. Note also Morel, *Champ. Sout.* pl. 30, no. 6. May, no. 3.
5. Brown ware. The position of the lattice band is corrected in our drawing. Cf. *A.* lii, pl. 9, no. 5 (Aylesford), and our no. 48 (p. 64) from the earliest filling of the Inner Earthwork ditch. May, no. 4.
6. Hard red-brown ware with grey core. A common type at Silchester, known in pre-Inner Earthwork Level (our nos. 194 ff., p. 77), although, there, some may be the upper parts of pedestal urns. Well matched in the earliest filling of the Inner Earthwork ditch (cf. our nos. 39 ff.). May, no. 5.
7. Brownish-grey ware. See *A.* lvii, 97, for a group with three similar from Insula XII, Pit 9, May, pl. 75, no. 4 type. Pre-Inner Earthwork as our no. 194. The possible derivation via Ward-Perkins's 'south-eastern B' is suggested in p. 79. May, no. 6.
8. Brown ware. May quotes a Marnian prototype, Hettner, *Führer/Trier*, 128, figs. 2-3. There may be some sense in this; another good example is shown by Hubert, *RA.* 1906, 340, fig. 38, 14, no. 46790 (Sablonnières). A long period must separate such vessels from ours, heavily Belgicized, retaining only the tall neck, very slightly flaring, and angular shoulder. Another connection is with such forms as the Welwyn beakers, Stead, *A.* ci, 10, fig. 8, nos. 21-2, which however have pedestal feet and are considerably smaller. May, no. 7.
9. Coarse grey-brown ware. A common type found, e.g., in the earliest filling of the Outer Earthwork ditch, our no. 77 (p. 65). May, no. 8.
10. Similar.
11. Coarse brown-black ware: a common form, which in heavily flint-gritted ware appears in pre-Inner Earthwork levels but does not become common until the early Roman period, cf. p. 80.

Thus, while there is nothing to demand a Roman dating, the group cannot be regarded as very early. On the other hand, the absence of quoit pedestal urns as noted in the pre-Inner Earthwork deposit (p. 13), and for that matter the absence

<sup>1</sup> May, pl. 77.



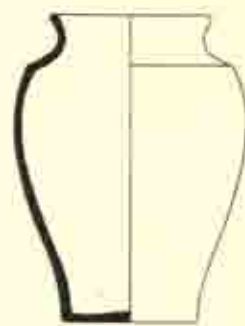
(33)



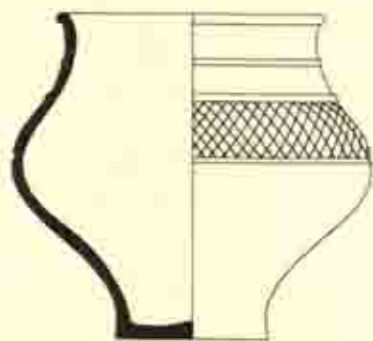
1-2



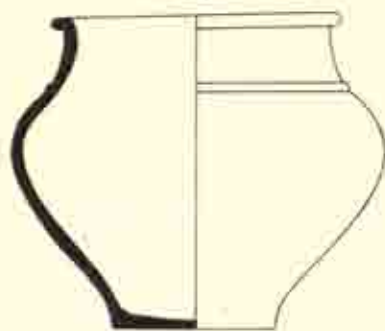
3



4



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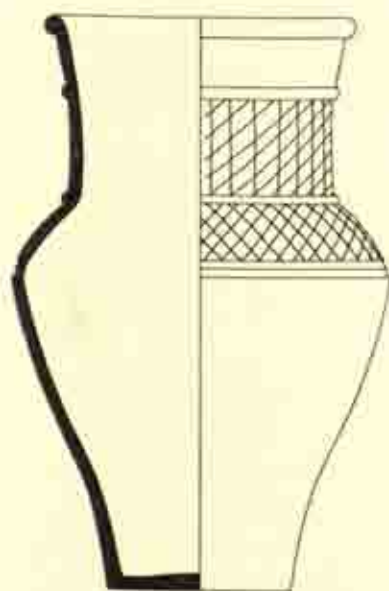
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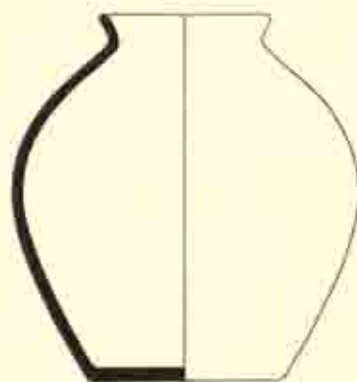
11



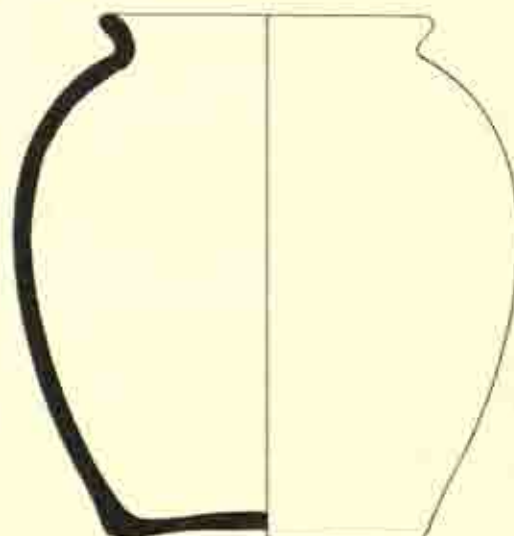
7



8



10



9

FIG. 4. Pottery from Pit A, Insula XII. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

of our bead-rim jar (no. 209 type (p. 77)) suggests a slightly different and earlier period for the group, tentatively, thus, Period II.

Pit 9, Insula XXI<sup>1</sup> contained five vessels. There are specimens of Pit A, Insula XII, nos. 1 and 10 above; a good specimen of May, pl. 75, no. 8, and three of Pit A, Insula XII, no. 7 type.

Pit 9, Insula XXXV<sup>2</sup> is an interesting contrast, which seems to indicate the comparatively earlier date of the pit just mentioned. The ten vessels were found at the bottom; the filling above produced parts of four samian bowls of Nero-Vespasianic date, white rouletted butt-beakers, white jugs, three native jugs, and a flask, as well as a central Gaulish Dr. 33 fragment which must be intrusive into the original bags in which the material was kept at Reading. The filling is of the third quarter of the first century A.D.; and if the pit was really a well, the whole pots at the bottom could have been in position for many years beforehand. The basal group contains no distinctively Roman types such as we meet in Pit 10, Insula XXXVI,<sup>3</sup> but May places too much reliance on the Haltern form 86 parallel to vessel no. 1. The Haltern type, *sensu stricto*, has a mica-dusted shoulder and barbotine herring-bone decoration;<sup>4</sup> but the Silchester vessel had a red-coated shoulder like some early butt-beakers<sup>5</sup> and combed decoration. There are two similar vessels from Pit 10, Insula XIII, associated with fragments of Tiberio-Claudian butt-beakers, including a vessel in *terra nigra*. Another post-Augustan vessel is no. 5, paralleled by our no. 52 (p. 64), although this is more degraded. A pedestal-urn foot, similar to that of no. 8, occurred in the pre-Inner Earthwork level (no. 189, p. 76). In short, the ten vessels at the bottom of this pit are characteristic of types in use in Period III; more precisely, on the eve of the Roman invasion.<sup>6</sup>

The metalwork and miscellaneous relics offer little that can be ascribed to Period II. The 'Silchester Horse' mounting, from the Basilica area,<sup>7</sup> is of a style which is clearly pre-Roman but which need not be very early, and Fox regarded it as Romano-British.<sup>8</sup> An iron *bucranium* from a fire-dog, and a few brooches of equally uncertain chronological significance, close the list except for two pieces of fine glassware which could well have arrived in the course of Augustan trade.<sup>9</sup> One is part of a strip of inlay: a royal blue background, a flower yellow with red-and-yellow floret (fig. 8A, no. 2). The other is a scrap of vessel-glass, cased white-and-blue with two zones of opaque twist.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. lvii, 97, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A. lxi, 210-11, May, pl. 76.

<sup>3</sup> May, pl. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Westf. Mitt. v, 286.

<sup>5</sup> Cam. 238.

<sup>6</sup> It may be added that no. 3 (cf. May, type 152, but plain; cf. PPS. xxxi, 343, no. 174, Colchester Museum) is similar to a vessel containing a cremation-burial, mentioned by Radford (PPS. xx, 22) from the site (exact location unknown). The graffito on the base of no. 3, read by May as XΘA, is XΦA. This graffito is of interest in connection with Caesar's statement that the Gauls used Greek letters (*Bello Gallico* vi, 14, but contrast v, 48 where a letter is written in Greek characters to confuse the Gauls), since the pot cannot well be later than the

Roman invasion and may be considerably earlier. The only other pre-Roman graffiti known occur at Camulodunum (*Cam.* 284 f.), but are not in Greek letters; there is one possible Roman-period example, *ibid.*, no. 30.

<sup>7</sup> J. G. Joyce 'Journal of Exc.' sub Oct. 27, 1870. *Illus.*, *Ant.* v, pl. 2, no. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Pattern and Purpose* (1958), 76. But the question is not argued.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Strabo, iv, 6, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Inlay: A. lv, 430. Cf. *Glass from the Ancient World* (1957), no. 117, etc. Vessel; cf. Haltern, *Westf. Mitt.* ii, Taf. 33, no. 2, p. 172, and *Cam.* pl. 87, no. 37, p. 297, pre-Roman like *ibid.* 46 and 47A. The Silchester pieces will be fully published in my account, for Reading Museum, of the glass from the site, 1864 to date.



It is appropriate now to attempt an interpretation of the material discussed in the foregoing pages. In the first place, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that it indicates the early establishment of a wealthy *oppidum*, probably before the founding of Camulodunum c. A.D. 10. We may reflect, in consequence, on the kind of settlement which the imports predicate. It seems to the writer that the wealthy element in the population, which had the taste for Arretine and alone could afford it, was probably limited to the aristocratic members of society, in effect to the Belgic king's entourage. Now the only Atrebatian king, of whom we have definite knowledge as having reigned at Calleva, is Eppillus. Although kings at Verulamium and Camulodunum caused the names of their capitals to appear on their coinages, none of the other members of the Commian dynasty did so apart from Eppillus. May not this observation carry with it its own conclusion? Here was a prince in revolt against his own brother, Tincommius; and his coins, small and scanty though the issue was, proclaimed to a partly literate upper class, and partly too to the Romans (who, for obscure reasons, had awarded him his title REX) that his seat was at Calleva, as it were the northern capital of the realm, and not at Selsey, the southern capital. It was this upper class, gathering to his standard, which possessed the wealth and inclination to acquire the standard of life which these remnant shards indicate. There is nothing among this material which can, or which must, be dated before the period of c. A.D. 5-10 which Mr. Allen has assigned to Eppillus's rule at Calleva, and it is from c. A.D. 5, therefore, that the regal *oppidum*, whatever had existed before, is to be dated.

There should surely be some trace of the defences or enclosure of Eppillan Calleva. A possibility is the Salient Dyke (p. 16) or enclosure, but this we are more inclined to propose for Period I (p. 22), although most of the finds mentioned above, to which some provenance can be attached, few though they are, come from the west part of the walled town-area, viz. towards this earthwork. Careful excavation might well produce more, outside the wall and under the protective mantle of the Inner Earthwork bank, particularly. Further afield, although we know nothing of the events which led to the appearance of Tincommius as a suppliant in Rome,<sup>1</sup> the state of war which we presume to have existed between the brothers until c. A.D. 6 may well have necessitated the provision of outlying dyke-defences such as we see (fig. 1) south and south-west of Calleva.<sup>2</sup> These dykes have never been excavated, but they are only comprehensible in Belgic terms. The conflict between Eppillus at Calleva and Tincommius at Selsey is the first detectable occasion when defences facing south-east may have been required: our Period III offers another.

The two main lines, Dicker's Farm (fig. 1, B)<sup>3</sup> and Oldhouse Lane (fig. 1, C),<sup>4</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> *Monum. Ancy.* (ed. Hardy), 145.

<sup>2</sup> Described *FAH.* 322-4, 406-7, and well, except for a perverse interpretation of the main lines as Roman roads.

<sup>3</sup> Isaac Taylor's Map of Hampshire (1759) marks it as 'Roman road to Winchester with a division  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile off to Old Sarum'. This 'division' is probably part of our Dyke C. Colt Hoare (*Ancient Wilts.* ii, 51) also regarded the dyke as a Roman road and his plan shows a branch 'off the Winchester line' in the wood adjacent to Rampier

Copse. There is no fork visible now, and MacLauchlan saw none (*Archf.* 1850, 232, note 5). I have traced the dyke to the slope of O.S. parcel 154, and beyond there are suggestive indications as far as Elliott's Farm, where a declivity begins. The length, about 5 furlongs.

<sup>4</sup> Williams-Freeman (*FAH. loc. cit.*) failed to find a connection between Dykes C and D, and Crawford (note on O.S. map) thought that the present termination of Dyke D (Byes Lane) was original, founded perhaps on dense vegetation. Dyke C is about 11 furlongs in length.



approximately parallel; between them, assuming only that the Oldhouse Lane dyke continued somewhat more to the north-east, lies the pre-Inner Earthwork occupation of Period III. *Ex hypothesi*, then, Dicker's Farm dyke could be Eppillan, and Oldhouse Lane dyke, a work of Period III.

### *Period III: Catuvellaunian Calleva*

The numismatic evidence suggesting an invasion and conquest of the northern part of the Atrebatian realm has been mentioned above (p. 14). A coin of Epaticcus or Caratacus comes from Calleva itself, and there are besides a dozen coins of Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus, including three stater-forgeries and small bronze.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that some of these may have crept into Silchester in Claudian times to supply the needs of change, but the suggestion is not convincing. In view of the evidence of the coin-flan moulds (p. 25) it seems that enriched copper or base silver coins were struck on a Catuvellaunian standard at Calleva itself; and since the presence of a mint, at this period, indicates the existence of a capital town, it seems not improbable that Calleva was the seat of Epaticcus and possibly briefly afterwards also of Caratacus himself. Thus the Epaticcus and Caratacus issues may have emanated from Calleva, and the ordinary Catuvellaunian 'bronze' will have been in contemporary circulation with them.

A trace of stratified occupation-material of Period III has been described to the south of the walled area (p. 13), and in our discussion of imported pottery we have drawn attention to the possibility that some items date from this period. For further structural remains, however, we rest—as so often at Silchester—otherwise upon surmise, and following a suggestion of Professor Hawkes some years ago, attention may be directed again to the dykes, and in particular to the Oldhouse Lane dyke (fig. 1, c), facing the shrunken realm of Verica.

### *Period IV: Developments under Cogidubnus*

Verica, last son of Commius, fled to Claudius,<sup>2</sup> most probably because the Catuvellauni, from their base at Calleva, had overrun the remainder of his kingdom. Possibly Caratacus, succeeding Epaticcus, was responsible for this final act of aggression; but his only certain coin comes from Guildford (Surrey).<sup>3</sup> There is a small amount of pedestal-urn material at Selsey; the only illustrated fragment is of late 'quoit' type,<sup>4</sup> and it seems not improbable that there was, at this southern Atrebatian

Williams-Freeman noted that the surface of the dyke, in O.S. parcel 158, contained gravel, and observed that the ploughed-out section north of Early Bridge Copse was marked by a trail of flints and gravel foreign to the surroundings. It may have been the destruction of the dyke at this or another spot which led Ward (*Phil. Trans. abr.* ix, 1744-9 (1809), 601) to remark that 'from the south gate towards Winchester has lain a military road, which, when broken up, appears to have been pitched with flints.' I have never seen any part of the dyke under cultivation, and so cannot confirm the metalling; but

Miss Murray has observed that one of the Chichester dykes possessed a bank probably deliberately cobbled with very large flints (*SAC.* xciv, 139-43, Devil's Ditch, S. of Lavant House.). Stukeley (*Itin. Curios.* (1724), 171) evidently muddled his notes on these dykes: Dyke C was never called *Grimesdike*, the name of the Padworth dyke (fig. 1, f) but may, I suppose, have been called *Longbank*.

<sup>1</sup> Allen, 221, 230-1, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, 238.

<sup>3</sup> *AJ.* xiv, 49, fig. 5, no. 14 (M. G. White).

<sup>4</sup> Dio, ix, 19.



capital, the same kind of intrusive 'Catuvellaunian' occupation as we have identified below the Silchester Inner Earthwork.

It is unknown whether Verica returned in the wake of the invading Roman armies. The ruler whom we find established in the former Atrebatian kingdom is Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, whose relationship to the Commian family is obscure.<sup>1</sup> It is generally supposed that he was in power very shortly after the invasion. The extent of the kingdom awarded to him is also obscure, but an inscription, likely to have been set up in his capital,<sup>2</sup> as well as the persistence of the name *Regnum*<sup>3</sup> in the *Antonine Itinerary*, makes it clear that it was in the south of the former autonomous kingdom—the portion which had been governed by Verica after about A.D. 25. In justice to the Atrebatian dynasty, the restored kingdom should have encompassed all the lands lost to the Catuvellauni, and we have Tacitus' statement that 'several *civitates*' were added to his (original) realm. This territory may have been awarded to him before A.D. 52, if the order of events in the *Agricola*, 14, is exact. Cogidubnus was loyally subservient to the Romans, and, during the difficult early years of the conquest, was able to render important services to the Roman authorities: we read, for example, of the events of A.D. 47-8, when the governor Ostorius employed *socialis copias* against the rebellious Iceni.<sup>4</sup> This phrase, commonly rendered 'auxiliary troops', may more probably be translated literally 'allied troops',<sup>5</sup> used because Roman troops were fully occupied elsewhere. Such forces could well have been sent by Cogidubnus.

The position in Britain during the years 43-7 has been interpreted by most scholars as centring upon a Roman province composed of the conquered territory of the Catuvellauni-Trinovantes. South-west of this lay the client kingdom of Cogidubnus; north-east, that of the Iceni under Prasutagus; north, that of the Brigantes; finally, in the west, the weakest link in view of the warlike presence of Caratacus among the Silures beyond, a rump composed of the north-westerly sept of the Dobunni under their king, if king he was, 'Bodvocus'.<sup>6</sup> This hedging-in of the defeated Catuvellauni-Trinovantes has every appearance of a 'settlement of the British Question', with the exchange, in effect, of a Catuvellaunian overlord for a more friendly Atrebatian, indebted to Rome for his very existence. Rome was here playing her age-old game of setting up client kingdoms to reduce her own commitments—until it was convenient to impose direct rule.<sup>7</sup> Claudius' own statement of A.D. 48, our earliest reference to the invasion, shows by the phrase *gloria prolata imperii ultra Oceanum* that conquest, right and desirable to the Roman mind,<sup>8</sup> was envisaged from the start, and that there was no question of a brief intervention in favour of Verica or, indeed, Cogidubnus. Nevertheless, an Atrebatian kingdom was restored in 43, and furthermore Cogidubnus' title on the Chichester inscription, *Rex, Legatus Augusti in Britannia*,

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *RIB.*, no. 91.

<sup>3</sup> No. 7 of the British section.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, xii, 31.

<sup>5</sup> In the same passage, the historian refers to attacks on the *agri sociorum* (of the Dobunni in the west, presumably, and by Caratacus). It is unlikely that the same word would be used in a different sense a few lines apart. See *Lexicon Taciteum* (edd. Gerber and Greef, 1903) for

other instances of Tacitus' use of the words *socius*, *socialis*; they were ordinarily employed to denote 'allies' whether or not of client status.

<sup>6</sup> Brigantes, Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 12; Dobunni, Hawkes, *Bag.* 66 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Stevenson, *Roman Provincial Admin.* (1939), ch. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *S. C. Claudianum*, Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* no. 212, col. 1 *ad fin.* A. Momigliano, *Claudius* (2nd ed. 1961), 54 f.



neatly circumscribes his official position which, in the late Sir Ian Richmond's view, conferred a status extra-territorial to the Roman province,<sup>1</sup> only to be abrogated by death.

The process of extending the province was, as Tacitus says, gradual, and it gained momentum only with the appointment of Ostorius as governor in A.D. 47. In the face of attacks from beyond the Roman sphere of influence, it was deemed necessary to take two irretrievable steps: of disarming tribes whose loyalty was questionable, and of 'preparing to exert direct rule over all parts this side of Severn and Trent', if one may so construe the famous corrupt passage of the *Annals* in Bradley's emendation,<sup>2</sup> and with the proviso that 'all parts' excluded the *Regnum* of the most faithful Cogidubnus. It was, perhaps, at this juncture that Cogidubnus acquired his title of Legate, if not his citizenship, and the qualified independence over a wider area, as noted above.

The death of Cogidubnus brings our tale of the *ferox provincia* to an end. He survived until Tacitus' own day: *ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit*,<sup>3</sup> a remark which seems to betoken a period remote from A.D. 98, when the *Agricola* was composed. In attempting to determine when the *Regnum* disappeared, and the familiar *Civitas Atrebatum* was formed in the northern part of its area, we may refer to the suggestion made by Professor Eric Birley, who connects the appointment of two eminent juridical legates, C. Salvius Liberalis and L. Javolenus Priscus, with the absorption of the *Regnum* into the Roman province.<sup>4</sup> The first of these was appointed by Titus, but did not leave Rome until after Domitian's accession in September, A.D. 81.<sup>5</sup> On this view, the death of the king occurred about 80;<sup>6</sup> but, since Tacitus goes so far as to mention him, it seems improbable that his death would have been passed over in silence, if it had occurred during the governorship (A.D. 78-84): probably, therefore, it took place beforehand, say in A.D. 77 or 78, when the historian was 22 or 23.<sup>7</sup> Scrupulous though Agricola was in the seat of judgement, he sat by duty rather than by choice, and his military preoccupations would have made it increasingly clear that specialized legal assistance was essential for work which far exceeded the normal expectation.<sup>8</sup> As it was, the duties left to the second *juridicus*, Javolenus Priscus, occupied that official for fully two years after Agricola's recall (c. 84-86).<sup>9</sup> By the end of this space, presumably, the onerous and detailed task of setting up the *Civitas Atrebatum*, with its neighbours the *Civitates Belgarum* and *Regnensium*, had been completed.<sup>10</sup> The suggested chronology is therefore as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Britain* (1955), 23. But possibly the added *civitates*, as suggested in the present text, were ruled by him as legate and not as king.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales*, xii, 31. Bradley, *Collect. Papers* (ed. Bridges, 1928), 241-4. For 'direct rule', *cohibere*, cf. *Tac. Hist.* i, 11, (*provinciae*) *procuratoribus cohibentur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Agricola*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Prosopogr. Imp. Rom.* iv, 3 (1966), 108, no. 14.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Professor Birley for this additional information.

<sup>6</sup> The alternative explanation, that these appointments were occasioned by Agricola's prolonged absences in the north, is less compelling. Although he was, in 80-1, engaged in the conquest of *novas gentis* (*Agr.* 22), these and other campaigns occupied only the summer season (cf. *Agr.* 21, *sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta*),

leaving the winter for civil work. Furthermore, as Birley points out, the two *juridici* were very senior and eminent men, unusually so, in fact (*Prosopogr. loc. cit.*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Furneaux's *Agricola* (ed. Anderson, 1922), p. xix, for date of Tacitus' birth, which is not exactly known.

<sup>8</sup> For Agricola's attitude to legal work, see *Agricola*, 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Prosopogr. loc. cit.*: *leg. Leg. III Aug.*, 83; *consul suffectus*, 86.

<sup>10</sup> It has been claimed that the apparent slowness of occupation at Chichester before Flavian times suggests a change in status, viz. the creation of the *civitas* capital, then: see A. E. Wilson, *SAC*, xciv, 102 f., where Professor Birley's suggestion regarding the *juridici* also appears; and J. Pilmer's analysis of the pottery finds, *ibid.* 111 ff. But the existence of substantial inscriptions of the regal period, *RIB.* nos. 91 and 92, disproves it.



1. Restoration of the Atrebatian kingdom, A.D. 43.
2. Death of Cogidubnus, A.D. 77-78?
3. Arrival of Salvius Liberalis as juridical legate, late 81.
4. Completion of legal arrangements for the absorption of the *Regnum* and the establishment of the *civitates*, A.D. 84-6.

We now return to Silchester, period IV. In the daunting obstacle of the Inner Earthwork there were three original entrances (pl. 1, pp. 3 f.), although that on the east requires the witness of the spade. The Roman road from London to the early campaigning areas of the west country appears to have run to the east entrance; its Severnward branch certainly ran from the known west entrance. Coincidence would be stretched unduly to suppose that the entrances of an earlier earthwork conformed so neatly to new needs. Thus, the Inner Earthwork, traditional, Belgic, and un-Roman in style throughout, may be seen as the work of British allies controlling considerable man-power and enjoying full Roman trust. In these terms, there can be little doubt but that it was constructed by Cogidubnus as the main north-westerly bastion of his position in Britain soon after A.D. 43 or 44. At this date, it is unlikely that there were sizeable Roman forces beyond to protect the *Regnum*; but after 47, when the Dobunni were taken into 'direct rule', there was no need to maintain such a strong defence against the threat of attacks by Caratacus from the north-west, and Roman forces had already penetrated westward and south-westward into the lands of the Durotriges and far Dumnonii.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, there is reason to suppose, as Mrs. Cotton has pointed out, that the Inner Earthwork was very soon found to enclose too small an area: there is early occupation, of c. A.D. 45-65, outside,<sup>2</sup> and the earliest ditch-filling is not later than c. 60 (p. 6).

From the Inner, to the Outer Earthwork. The reduced line on the west was the limit of the Roman street-plan, and was therefore most probably in being by the end of the first century A.D. The primary line therefore lies between c. A.D. 47 and some date before the construction of the streets. The general trend of material serving to date the street-plan is Flavian (pp. 9, 12): Mrs. Cotton's 1939 dating (p. 2) of an out-lying street to c. A.D. 90 or later merely emphasizes the length of time which the completion of the scheme is likely to have required. Now if the street-grid is basically Flavian, it is most probably post-Cogidubnan and may in all likelihood be taken as one of the most obvious signs of the transition to cantonal-capital status (see further, p. 43). If this is so, then the Outer Earthwork as a whole—certainly the primary western line with the evidence of our Trench F to support the case (p. 19)—belongs to the regal period. The developments sketched in these two paragraphs may be compared and contrasted with those revealed by the recent excavations at Verulamium. The early Roman town, replacing a briefly held military post, was provided with an earthwork defence probably before the rebellion of Boudicca in A.D. 60; but, as at Silchester, the area enclosed soon proved to be too small, and by A.D. 125 the ditch had been filled and occupation had extended far beyond its line. Unlike Silchester, however, no subsequent defences were provided until the Antonine era.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See now Frere, *Britannia* (1967), 73-5.

<sup>2</sup> A. xcii, 124-5.

<sup>3</sup> S. S. Frere, *Antiquity* 1964, 103-7; Univ. Lond. Inst. Arch. *Bulletin* 4, 61-71.



Let us now consider what the Silchester earthworks, and the Roman roads and the streets, can tell us together. In the first place, the relationship of the road to Chichester and Winchester<sup>1</sup> is particularly interesting. As already seen (p. 12), it is not aligned on the south entrance of the Inner Earthwork, and must be of a different date. Nevertheless, the south entrance was constructed for a purpose, and within the chronological framework proposed we may suggest that it admitted a trackway from the south-east—from the direction of Noviomagus—which took a slightly different course from that eventually selected by the Roman engineers who, to avoid a double crossing of the Silchester brook, aimed at a junction with their Winchester road some distance south of the town (fig. 1). Thus it will have been this trackway which governed the siting of a southern entrance in the Outer Earthwork, and the alignment-point of the Winchester road, which must antedate the Roman highway to Chichester. This theory implies that the Winchester road, as a highway, was not constructed until some time after A.D. 47. Since Winchester has been shown to have had a sound Roman beginning on a pre-Roman basis,<sup>2</sup> it is perhaps necessary to stress once more our belief that we are dealing with a *Regnum* extra-territorial to the Roman province, where the construction of roads of no strategic value to the Roman authorities may well have been tardy.

From before the end of the governorship of Plautius, to the end of his successor's and beyond, the essential Roman line of communication through Calleva lay east and west. Thus, the road to the Severn via Spinis was served by the west entrance of the Inner Earthwork. It is at this point that attention must be drawn to the question of those buildings within the area of the town, and virtually within the confines of the Inner Earthwork, which do not coincide in their alignment with the direction of the streets. The early excavators noticed that certain buildings among them had been adapted to the street-grid: the public baths of Insula XXXIII, with a Tuscan octa-style façade ruthlessly demolished because it projected at one end up to 5 ft. into the new street alongside, is the best-known instance.<sup>3</sup> It was from such details that Lady Fox proposed, in 1948, an 'old town plan' on an axis approximating to that of the baths, accepting divergences of 2° to 16° from the alignment of the streets as part of it, and assuming, therefore, a somewhat irregular layout which required the rationalization of the regular grid later on.<sup>4</sup> The discovery of the Inner Earthwork permits the re-examination of this attractive theory. True it remains, that numerous buildings—perhaps a third of the 217 on the 1908 town-plan (cf. pl. 1)—seem to be aligned in an otherwise haphazard manner, or were at best constructed in conformity with some local feature such as the slope east of the baths, or the run of the Roman inner defences. But it so happens that the alignment of the baths is parallel to the direct route between the east and west entrances of the Inner Earthwork. Some 33 buildings coincide more

<sup>1</sup> A. Clarke, *PHFC.* xxi, 82 and fig. 1; *RS.* 206-8.

<sup>2</sup> B. W. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, i (1964), 1-24.

<sup>3</sup> *A.* lix, 340 ff. A tile with a Neronian stamp from the cess-pool is often taken to indicate an early date for the erection of the baths; see *RS.* 69, 108, 226, note 65. The fate of the tile said to bear the same inscription and found at Little London near Silchester is unknown (it

was not among Col. Karslake's collection which formed the basis of the Calleva Museum, established in 1951) and no illustration of it has ever been published. (*AJ.* vi, 75; tile in *PHFC.* xvi, 59 is the *Silchester* tile.) I have found only 17th/18th cent. tile-débris on the site, but a little Roman material is in Basingstoke Museum.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiquity*, 1948, 172 ff.



or less exactly with this line, and we may go so far as to discern a fragment of an early *limitatio* in the southern part of the town, where Insula XXXIII, House 4, XXXV, House 2 (part) and XVII, House 3 are related to a line parallel to this east-west route, while XVII, House 3 and XVIIIa, House 3 are at right-angles to it, and could possibly have been joined, south of this last, by an extension of the angular length of street between the Winchester road and the south entrance of the Inner Earthwork. That such a layout involved made-up streets, however, is altogether another question, which may well be answered in the negative; for *limitatio*, whether or not directed to such an eventual end, was the *division of land*, and it may be that the persistence of land-boundaries, i.e. plots of a particular shape, although truncated by the street-grid, was what determined the flint-and-mortar alignment of the buildings from which our evidence is derived. In two instances at least, the adaptation to the streets of buildings constructed previously at an angle to them was deferred until the second or third century,<sup>1</sup> and from Verulamium evidence it seems perhaps unlikely that stone buildings, other than public, existed at Silchester much before the second century.<sup>2</sup>

Lady Fox adduced various indications of the early date of some of the oblique buildings, but no positive information is forthcoming from any of them. The baths, at the head of the list, were constructed apparently over the bank-area of the Inner Earthwork, and therefore the *limitatio* could not have been developed, even if it had been initiated, before about A.D. 47.

Unlike the road to the west via Spinis, the other westerly route, the Portway via Sorviodunum, does not diverge from the west entrance of the Inner Earthwork, but is carried across the *enceinte* a matter of only 200 yds. to the south. This course shows that the earthwork was obsolete at the time when the road was constructed, and, by implication, that the primary Outer Earthwork was at that date the planned or effective defence of Calleva. The alignments of the two routes<sup>3</sup> meet farther east, within the future Insula XIII, where a prolongation of the London road would join them.<sup>4</sup> Such a simple correspondence of line must surely reflect official planning, and it is tempting to see, in the alignment of the forum and some other 34 buildings (see table), diverging some 2° from the street-grid, a local response to it.

Official schemes, however, are one thing, and their execution, another. This particular example was not carried into effect: not only is there no sign of it, but there is the certainty that, if the scheme had been brought to fruition, the street-grid would have been based upon it. In seeking an explanation of why this scheme was not pursued within the area of the town, one is led once more to reflect upon the peculiar political character of Silchester as an *oppidum* of the *Regnum Cogidubni*. The writ of the consular governor of Britain ran up to its boundary, but not within: strategic roads were

<sup>1</sup> Insula I, House 1: see RS. 36, 229, note 36. IX, 3 had Antonine samian in a pit below one (two?) floors: *A. liv.* 347.

<sup>2</sup> Frere, *Bulletin*, loc. cit. 67. Buildings of wood on flint foundations, however, certainly existed earlier, as Lady Fox showed.

<sup>3</sup> RS. 203-6.

<sup>4</sup> For the sake of the simplicity of the narrative, it is left to this footnote to point out that the exact production

of the London road alignment takes its course 15 yds. N. of the intersection of the two western alignments. The London road was aligned upon the little spur where the E. Gate of the town was later to arise, just N. of the parish church; the east entrance of the Inner Earthwork could not have been discerned from farther east (see fig. 1). There may thus have been a very slight deflection intended west of this spur.



no doubt provided for in the treaty establishing the *Regnum*, but their line within a stronghold of an important and loyal ally could hardly be insisted upon, especially as this well-drained gravel terrain offered no great hindrance to traffic. Furthermore, it seems very probable that the direct path of the London road across the site would

BUILDINGS ON THE BATHS AND FORUM ALIGNMENTS  
(Plain numbers: houses; B, 'Block'; italics: adapted to grid)

<i>Insula</i>	<i>Baths</i>	<i>Forum</i>
I	B (N. of drove)	1 (N. wing) 2 (N. wing) B (S. side)
II	1	1 (W. part) 2 (N. part)
III		
IV		FORUM-BASILICA, B (E. side)
V	B <sub>3</sub> , wall nr. SE angle	2
VI		B <sub>1</sub>
VII		4, B (S. side)
VIII		
IX		
X	B (W. side)	
XI		B (N. of B <sub>1</sub> )
XII		
XIII	B <sub>1</sub> , B <sub>2</sub>	1
XIV		B (NW. angle)
XV	1, B <sub>4</sub>	2, B <sub>2</sub>
XVI	3	1? 2 (N. part)
XVII	3	B <sub>4</sub>
XVIII	2 (E. wing), 3	1 (N. part) B (W. side).
XIX		
XX	B <sub>2</sub>	B <sub>5</sub>
XXI	3	
XXII	2	3, B <sub>1</sub>
XXIII		wall, NW. angle
XXIV		2?
XXV		
XXVI		B <sub>1</sub> (W. side)
XXVII	1	3 (N. wing) B <sub>3</sub>
XXVIII	1	3 (part)
XXIX	B <sub>7</sub>	1, B <sub>2</sub>
XXX	Temples (22)	B <sub>3</sub> ?
XXXI	1	
XXXII		3?
XXXIII	BATHS. 4, 5, B <sub>2</sub> , B <sub>6</sub> , B <sub>7</sub>	2
XXXIV		
XXXV	Temple, 2 (S. wing)	B <sub>3</sub>
XXXVI		B <sub>1</sub> , B <sub>2</sub>
XXXVII		

have been barred by the *temenos* which later became our Insula XXX, with its two (known) shrines on the Baths alignment: an area of ground never traversed by a street, well outside the line of the Inner Earthwork and indeed on the periphery of built-up Roman Calleva, as the otherwise scarcely necessary eastward distortion of the polygonal Roman inner defences shows (pl. 1). An impediment of this kind may well have delayed the discussions over the 'Y-fork' until too late.



Chronological details at Silchester are rare, and for the forum alignment only two can be cited. The forum itself appears to have been erected no earlier than the Flavian period: a piece of plain sigillata, Dr. 27, of that date was found by the Revd. J. G. Joyce deep below the main east wall.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the colonnaded block of shops at the north-west corner of Insula VI (Block 1), facing the east front of the forum and

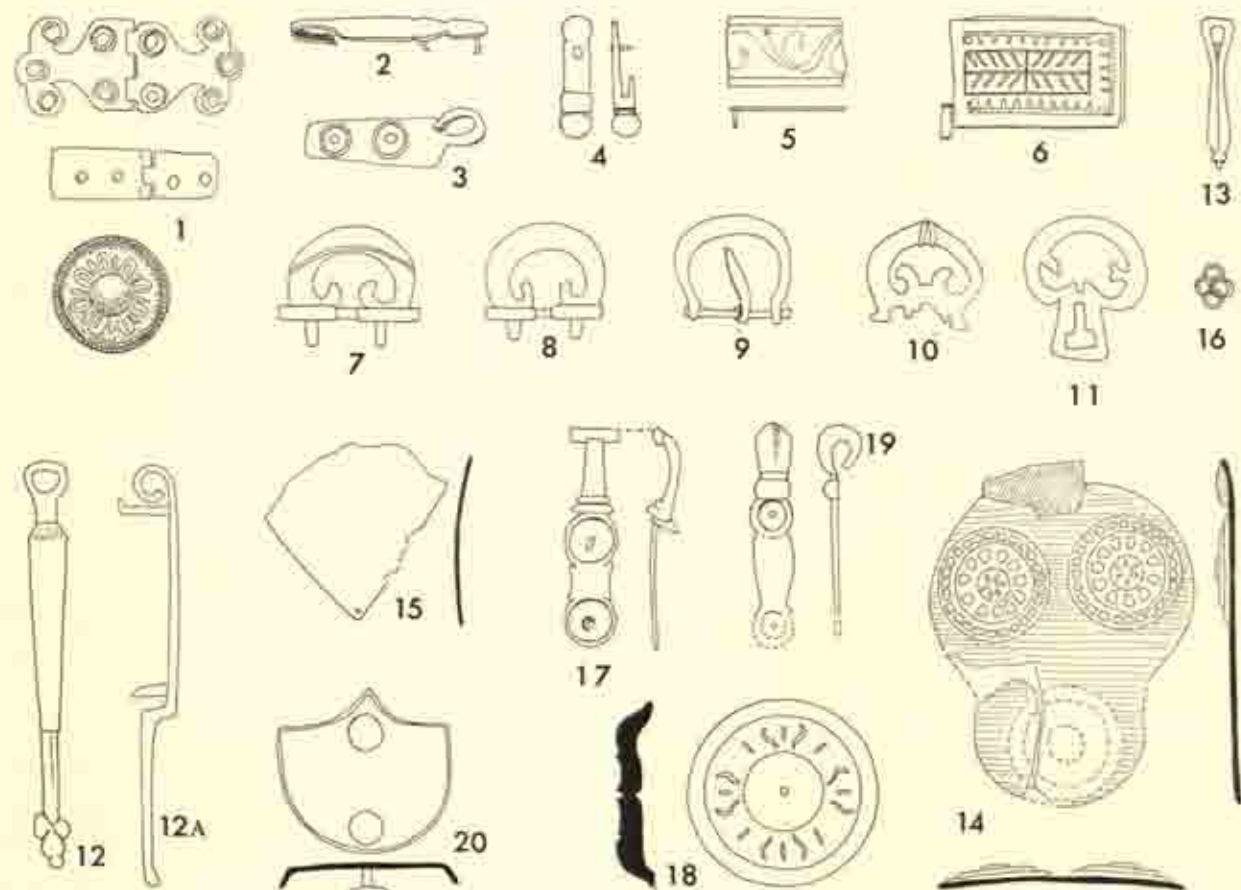


FIG. 5. Some military objects from Silchester. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

on the same alignment, was found to overlies a vast deposit of the lower jaws of oxen, mixed with some pottery said to be of first-century date but not now, unfortunately, identifiable in the Silchester Collection.<sup>2</sup>

This evidence leads one to suppose that there was no great interval of time between the construction of the forum and the inception of the regular street-grid, and the building was certainly finished at much the same time as the streets, if the style of the Corinthian capitals of the basilica is any guide.<sup>3</sup> Yet the awkward siting of the forum within Insula IV must tend to show that the forum alignment and that of the street

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, sub. July 16, 1867. Stratification not certain. Reading Museum. *Fora* tend to be of this date in southern Britain (Winchester, *Archj.* cxix, 153-5, Verulamium, Cirencester).

<sup>2</sup> *A. lx*, 157-8. See p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> H. Kähler, *Röm.-germ. Forsch.* xiii, 32, Type c. See *RS*, pl. 10.



grid are validly to be differentiated, although the divergence between them is a problem which much cogitation has failed to explain. What does seem probable is that the forum was intended to stand, like the headquarters of a legionary fortress, at the end of a '*via praetoria*' here represented by the poorly aligned and late-developed street north of Insulae VI-XXXIA: yet another scheme never brought to fruition, and again perhaps because of the *temenos*.<sup>1</sup>

In the Silchester Collection at Reading Museum there is a body of military objects which has never received due attention, certainly too much to be dismissed as scrap, even if we can point to no barracks on the plan of Silchester (which gives an incomplete picture of the early timber-built town). Some of these remains are legionary and first-century, and others are much later, such as the well-known openwork inscribed roundel and a fine openwork buckle-plate.<sup>2</sup> It could well have been the case, that a detachment of Roman soldiers was stationed at Calleva in the first century, and, once in residence, could have remained to police and protect the lines of communication which radiated from the town. If our reading of the first century of Calleva is correct, however, by far the most suitable context for the early material is the possibly difficult period of transition to cantonal-capital status. With this material, therefore, our path joins the highroad of Roman Britain.

### Legionary

(fig. 5).

1. Insula XXIII, Pit 10. Four brass cuirass hinges, seven halves, two plain hinges, one half, seven repoussé bronze studs; all bright and untarnished, with brass rivets; traces of iron adherent. *A.* lvii, 244-5, with analysis by Gowland. A well-known type: at Richborough (iii, pl. 12, no. 39) dated *c.* A.D. 45-75, with similar rosette studs, probably ornaments on the splints of the *lorica segmentata* (cf. von Groller, *Röm. Lim. Oest.* ii, Taf. 19, fig. 68A) or else from a helmet. Higher up in the filling was an oxidized but parcel-silvered bronze *trulla* with uncertain stamp, Gaulish and Flavian(?). Another cuirass-hinge of similar type also exists in the collection.
2. Unoxidized brass cuirass-hook, cf. *Novaesium*, pl. 30A. 12. Common type.
3. Cuirass-hook and part of another: could be early, but not necessarily.
4. Apron-mount. Common type.
5. Tinned bronze belt plate with pointillé scrolls, cf. Webster, *Archj.* cxv, 87, fig. 6, no. 167. Common type.
6. Tinned and nielloed bronze buckle-plate with thunderbolt pattern; cf. Webster, *loc. cit.* 97, fig. 8, no. 233. Common type.
- 7-11. Bronze buckles. No. 7 is probably first century, as is no. 8; the others could be later.

<sup>1</sup> The alteration in the position of the main east entrance, placed 5 ft. south of the axial line, is presumably due to the formation of Insulae V and VI. The entrance was designed as a monumental archway: see *A.* liii, 542-3. On the street, see *RS.* 222, note 14.

<sup>2</sup> *A.* liii, 268, Ins. VIII, Pit 5; *RS.* fig. 11. *A.* liv, 430, fig. 6, *RS.* fig. 11. Exact parallel at Vechten, *Archaeol. Traject.* iii, pl. 2, no. 2, 'silver': ours may be tinned bronze or base silver.



12. Bronze scabbard-loop; types as Caerleon (Prysg Field), *AC*. 1932, 88, fig. 36, nos. 2-9, assigned mainly to the second century.
13. Bronze strap-end; cf. Caerleon, *loc. cit.* 86, fig. 34, no. 37.

*Selected Non-Legionary Material* (see further *RS*. fig. 11)

- 12A. Iron scabbard-loop, local copy of the type of no. 12 above.
14. Thin iron plate with rosettes like those mentioned under no. 1 above. Too small for a Roman cheek-piece, although once asymmetrically joined by a hinge, of which traces remain, to another portion of armour in the same manner as a cheek-piece to a helmet. An interesting and puzzling fragment.
15. Tinned bronze armour plate from a *lorica squamata*.
16. The arrangement of small bronze links of mail, average diameter 7.5 mm. There are fourteen links in all, attached to a lump of rust. Cf. *Newstead*, 161, but this is much finer. In *RS*. 127, this specimen is wrongly described.
17. Bronze toggle; cf. Webster, *loc. cit.* 93, fig. 7, no. 208.
18. Bronze nielloed harness-mounting; not nearly so fine as, e.g., Ritterling, *Hofheim* 1912, pl. 11, no. 5, and probably later.
19. Bronze strap-union hook, common type; there are four preserved. The design is a military one.
20. Bronze harness-stud, probably late Roman (e.g. Bathurst, *Lydney* (1879), pl. XII, no. 10) although there are numerous early and mid Roman remains from the site. There are numerous studs and fasteners in the Silchester Collection, which seem to be military, as they can be matched at Novaesium and elsewhere.

## FINDS FROM THE 1954-8 EXCAVATIONS

### A. The Coins

#### TRENCHES A AND B

1-3. Claudius I	<i>Asses</i> , Minerva type, copies, grade iii. B, fill layer v (1), superficial (2).	c. 43-64
4. " "	<i>As</i> , Constantia type, copy, grade ii. B, fill layer v.	c. 43-64
5. Nero	<i>Dupondius</i> , <i>RIC</i> 312, very slightly worn, B, fill layer v.	c. 64-6
6. Vespasian	<i>Dupondius</i> , very much worn. A, fill layer iv.	c. 69-79
7. " "	<i>As</i> , <i>RIC</i> 528/747, very much worn. Same prov.	c. 72-3
8. Domitian	<i>As</i> , <i>RIC</i> 335, slightly worn. B, fill layer v.	86
9. " "	<i>As</i> , <i>RIC</i> 340, much worn. B, superficial.	86
10. " "	<i>As</i> , <i>Spes</i> type, very much worn. B, fill layer v.	
11. Trajan	<i>Dupondius</i> , <i>RIC</i> 520, slightly worn. B, Top of Pit 1.	c. 103-11
12. " "	<i>Dupondius</i> , <i>RIC</i> 545, unworn. A, fill layer iv.	c. 103-11



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13. Hadrian	<i>Sestertius</i> , RIC 969, slightly worn to worn. B, fill layer vi.	c. 128-38
14. Faustina I	<i>Dupondius</i> , very much worn. B, fill layer vi.	c. 141-61
15. Aurelius	<i>Sestertius</i> , RIC 1218, worn. A, fill layer v.	177
16. "	<i>Dupondius</i> , RIC 1035, much worn. B, fill layer vi.	171-2
17. Faustina II	<i>Denarius</i> , RIC 497 Pii, slightly worn to worn. B, superficial.	c. 145-61
18. "	<i>Sestertius</i> , RIC 1688, worn. A, fill layer iv/v.	c. 161-80
19. Julia Maesa?	<i>Denarius</i> (fragment), Venus type. B, superficial.	c. 218-22
20. Claudius II	<i>Antoninianus</i> , RIC 34, worn. B, superficial.	c. 268-70
21. Tetricus II	<i>Spes Publica</i> type, much worn. Some prov.	c. 270-4
22-7. "	'Radiate' and 5 copies. A, B, superficial.	c. 270-4
28. Valens	<i>Securitas Reipublicae</i> , Arles, RIC 9a/17a. Worn. B, superficial.	c. 364-75
29. "	<i>Similar</i> , Arles, RIC 19a. Worn. Same prov.	c. 375-8
30. Valentinian I	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i> , Lyons, RIC 20a. Much worn. Same prov.	c. 367-75

## TRENCHES H(1), J(B), K, AND SITE L.

31. British?	Illegible scyphate disc. Disintegrated after finding. Probably a British coin. Sandy upper fill, Inner Earthwork ditch, J [B].	
32. Vespasian	<i>Dupondius</i> , RIC 473, worn. K, unstratified.	71
33. Domitian	<i>As</i> , illegible, worn. In unsealed top of counter-scarp bank to W. of road, H[1].	c. 81-96
34. Sabina	<i>Dupondius</i> , BMC. 1887, worn. K. unstratified.	c. 134-6
35. Constans	<i>Fel temp reparatio</i> (phoenix/orb), Trier, <i>Late Roman Bronze Coinage</i> II, 35. Slightly worn. L, unstratified.	c. 346-50

## SITE C

36. Hadrian	<i>Denarius</i> , RIC 154, slightly worn. Fill of Outer Earthwork ditch, base of.	c. 125-8
37. "	<i>Sestertius</i> , very much worn. Black fill of ditch.	c. 117-38
38. Faustina II	<i>Sestertius</i> , RIC 1642, worn. Same prov.	c. 161-80
39. Commodus	<i>Sestertius</i> , RIC 501, worn. Same prov.	186-7.
40-4. "	'Radiates' (3) and copies (2). Same prov., except one 'radiate', fill of deep pit mentioned, p. 21.	c. 270-4
45. Constantine I	<i>Gloria Exercitus</i> (two standards), mint illeg. Sandy wash of road to Speen, lower layer, near hut (p. 21).	c. 330-5
46. Valens	<i>Securitas Reipublicae</i> (fragment), slightly worn. Black fill of Outer Earthwork ditch.	c. 364-78
47.	<i>As</i> ?, decayed, found with no. 36 above.	1st-cent?



### B. *The Brooches* (fig. 6)

1. Spring and pin of a la Tène III brooch, iron, of a type noted, e.g. *Swarling*, pl. 12, no. 2, *Cam.* pl. 89, no. 4, with refs. Some continental finds are shown by Miss Birchall, *PPS*, 1965, 355-6, figs. 32-3. From the Belgic pit below the bank of the Inner Earthwork, Site J, 1957.
2. Poor man's one-piece bronze brooch, cf. *Cam.* type VII. In general, a Claudio-Neronian type with later appearances, e.g. at Caerleon (rare). Trench B. III; two others, fragmentary, Trench A, and Trench B. VI.
3. Similar type with flat bow, spring and pin missing, bow decorated with punched rectangles traversed by a medial line. Cf. Atkinson, *Lowbury* (1916), pl. 7, no. 11. Trench B. III.
4. 'Langton Down' brooch, lower part of foot and catch-plate missing. Another early type, *Cam.* xii. Road-section 1, 1955, superficial soil.
5. This brooch might be a derivative of the 'Aucissa' type (i.e. with arched bow); it has longitudinal rilling characteristic of Langton Down. A 'pure' derivative of the latter might be expected to have the spindle-case turned inward instead of outward as here. Cf. Brailsford, *Hod Hill* i (1962), fig. 7, C30-1. Somewhat similar brooches, Kingsdown Camp, *A.* lxxx, 83, fig. 5, E27; Wroxeter (*Report* 1914, no. 2) or Richborough (*Richb.* iv, no. 4). Probably mid first-century, but found in Pit 1, Trench B (p. 9).
6. A somewhat similar type, more solidly made. A Richborough parallel (*Richb.* iv, no. 22) has crescentic decoration in place of circles. Probably mid first-century, but found in Trench B. v.
7. Typical small trumpet brooch of southern type, Collingwood (*Archaeol. Rom. Brit.*) type R-iii, being not dissimilar to his no. 55, fig. 62 and probably dating to the first half of the second century A.D. Trench B, Pit 4, not discussed in text, with Hadrianic-Antonine pottery.
8. This appears to be a weak version of Collingwood's type S-iii (fig. 62, no. 68), with a setting missing from the centre of the bow. Cf. *Newstead*, pl. 81, no. 24, and Wroxeter (*Report* 1913, fig. 4, no. 3) for approximate parallels, the former being the Collingwood specimen cited, Trench A, layer iv (?). Probably mid second-century.
9. Upper part of a 'head-stud' brooch, much as a specimen from Caerleon amphitheatre, *A.* lxxviii, 162, fig. 13, no. 8. Probably mid second-century. Trench A.
10. Early plate brooch; cf. a Richborough specimen with setting preserved (*Richb.* iv, no. 7). Pre-Flavian type, from Trench B, layer v.

### C. *Miscellaneous Relics* (fig. 7)

The publication of this material is selective. Specimens not illustrated are listed at the end of each section, and complete the schedule.



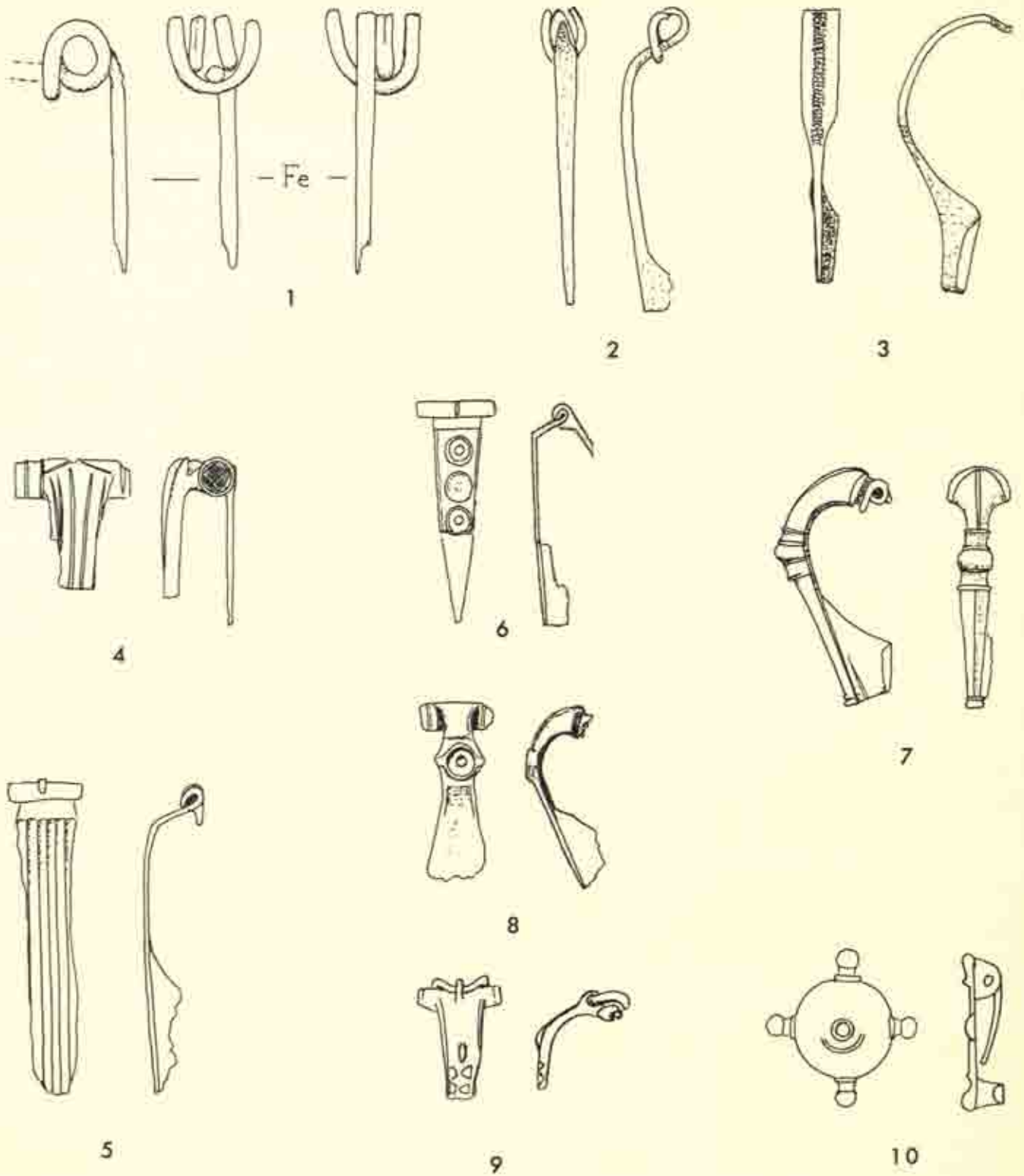


FIG. 6. Silchester 1954-8: brooches. Scale †



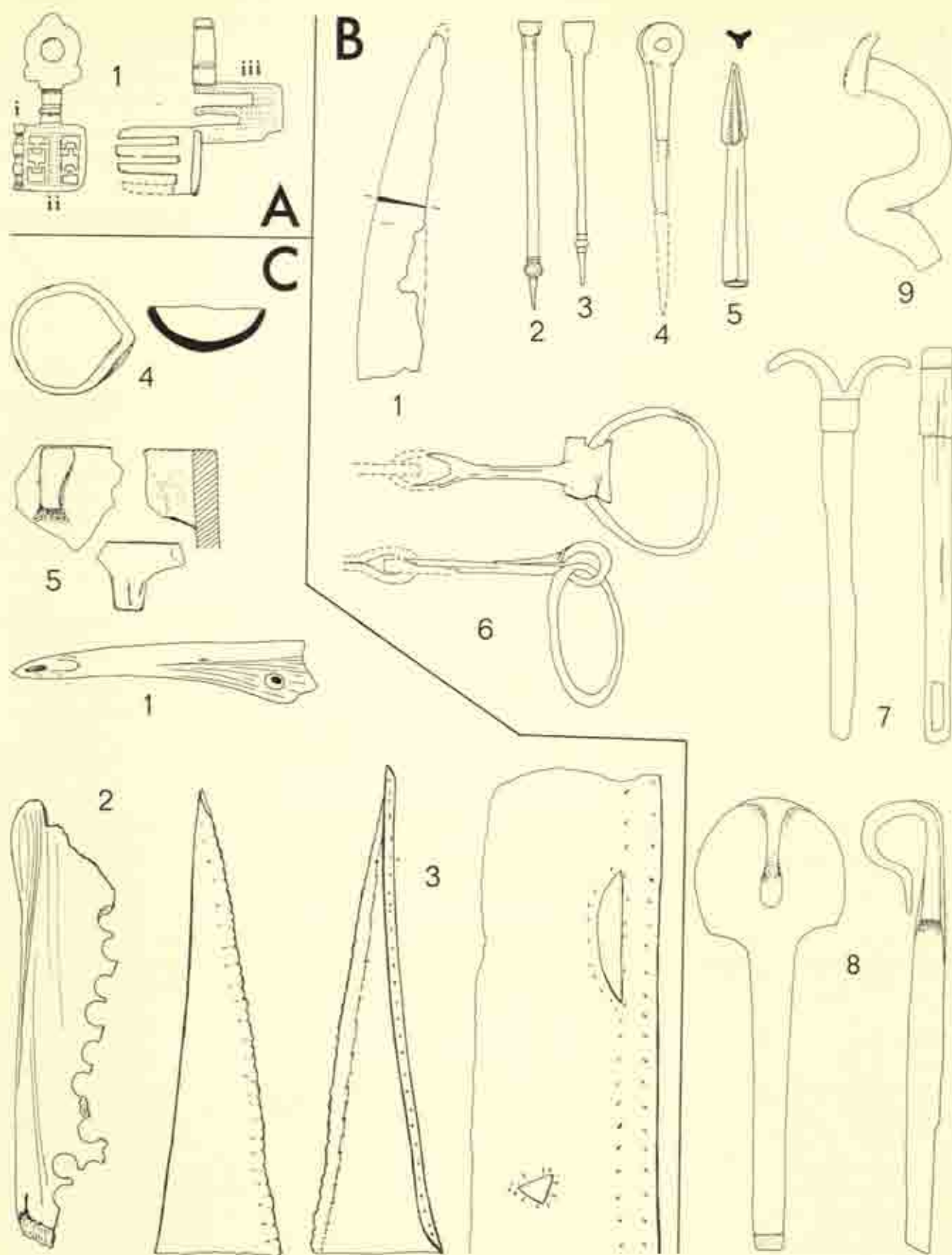


FIG. 7. Silchester 1954-8: miscellaneous finds. A. Key. Trench H (1). B. Ironwork. C. Crucible, etc., bone and leather. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$



I. *Bronze*

1. Bronze key, 63 mm. long, for a tumbler-lock (cupboard or chest: like most small tumbler-keys, this could not be removed when the lock was in the 'open' position). Part *i* pressed against the tumblers which filled holes in the bolt and took their place; part *ii* fitted over wards attached to the underside of the bolt: unless these wards were passed, the pins could not completely push out the tumblers from the bolt. Part *iii* engaged wards attached to the lock-case; unless these were passed, the bolt could not be drawn. The only parallel noted appears in Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, iii. 1 (1719), pl. 54. There is a full discussion of this key and the lock which it fitted in *AJ.* xlvii, 280 ff. Trench H(1), black earth in western ditch-butt, probably first-century A.D.

*Trench A*: plain bronze ring; layer VI; broken spatula-probe, ditto; small key, ditto or layer V. *Trench B*: bronze finger-ring with small brown glass setting; upholstery tack; tweezers; earscoop; round-headed pin, all layer V; fragment of spoon with a circular bowl, layer VI. *Site C*: domed tack, lead-filled, Outer Earthwork ditch, top black filling. *Sites D, E, F, G*: none. *Site H*: jet from casting, street-surface. *Sites J, K, L*: none.

II. *Iron*

1. Blade of shears. Dr. R. F. Tylecote writes: '... the blade has a hardness of 146 V.P.N., which suggests, in the absence of carbon, that it must contain an appreciable amount of phosphorus.' Cf. *Cam.* 342, pl. 95, no. 7. From the Belgic pit beneath the bank of the Inner Earthwork (p. 13); c. A.D. 25-43.
2. Stylus, 104 mm., with bronze plating wrapped round ball-moulding near point. Trench A, layer IV, first- or second-century A.D.
3. Stylus, 94 mm., Site C, Outer Earthwork ditch, top black filling, second-fourth-century A.D. Is the square-shouldered blade a later type than the half-round?
4. Compasses, imperfect, Trench B, layer V, first-second-century A.D.
5. Triangular fluted arrowhead, with socket, 75 mm. Cf. *Richb.* iii, pl. 11, no. 26; Caerleon (Prysg Field), *AC.* 1932, 69, fig. 19, dated to the third century. Site C, Outer Earthwork ditch, lower filling.
6. Portion of snaffle. Prov. as no. 3.
7. Unusual linch-pin, 140 mm., from beneath street on the E. side of Insula XXIII, with pottery (nos. 127-8 and commentary *ad loc.*). See *AJ.* xxxvi, 221. The only alteration necessary to that account concerns the 'few tiny beads of lead or a similar substance' which appeared when the pin was heated for the purpose of straightening it. As any practical person will say, it is not possible to attach appliques to iron so, and the 'beads' were probably some kind of mineral matter in a moist state, which evaporated. Cf. Stockstadt, *ORL.* Abt. B, xxxiii, Taf. 9, no. 55; frontal piercing; and an example with flat square head, Historisches Museum der Stadt, Vienna.
8. Normal Roman linch-pin, 163 mm. Lower filling of Outer Earthwork ditch,



near road to Spinis. On this type, see Piggott, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* lxxxvii, 41, no. B4.

9. Fitting of uncertain purpose. Apparently once attached to wood. Trench B, layer v, probably first- or second-century A.D.

*Trench A*: Portion of iron finger-ring, simple swollen bezel, paste setting 8 by 6.5 mm., surface shattered, black and white imitation of nicolo; layer iv. *Trench B*: two *stili*, layer v. Portion of chain (27 links and terminal ring), each link alternately being of waisted or figure-of-eight shape; layer vi. *Site C*: Part of a snaffle, as no. 6 above; similar prov.; oval chain-link, large clasp spike, 180 mm.; bar, c. 150 by 26 by 8 mm., holes evident at 142 mm. centre-to-centre; nails, etc., same prov. *Sites D, F*: nails mentioned in text, pp. 18 f. *Sites E, D, H, J*: none. *Site K*: linch-pin, crescentic head with projecting lug, as *AJ.* xx, fig. 4, top metalling of main east-west street.

### III. Miscellaneous

1. Pointed instrument made from a sheep's tibia; point worn. Common in native Iron Age contexts, e.g. at Glastonbury. Opinions differ as to the purpose of such points: see A. Roes, *Bone and Antler from the Frisian Terp Mounds* (1963), 34 ff., for the most recent discussion. The fact that the cut facets at the point of the present example have become polished by wear suggest that it is not likely to have been a projectile point, and was more probably used e.g. in net-making or in sewing sacks or bags of cloth or leather. Trench A, layer ii. First-century A.D.
2. Portion of sheep's scapula, with traces of cut-out rings, 8 mm. diam. A large number of similarly worked scapulae was found in a pit in Insula XVI (*A.* iv, 421-2). Rings of two sizes are attested on this debris. The function of the products is obscure. Washers, eyelets, inlay? Trench A, layer i. First-century A.D.
3. Portions of a thin leather garment,<sup>1</sup> identified as goat- or sheep-skin by the late Mr. James MacIntyre. Prov. as no. 2.
4. Crucible, diam. 42 mm., external depth 16 mm., capacity 6 ml. Greyish, hard-burnt, small flint grits; oxidized at one spot. No slag traces.
5. Portion of a flat hard-burnt clay slab, with a lug, as shown, near one edge. Probably a crucible cover.

Both these items come from Pit 1, Trench B, where other metallurgical remains included a piece of bronze cast to the shape of the bottom of a similar crucible, about 20 small scraps of bronze, including the tinned handle of a spoon, but mostly snippets and droplets; iron slag; parts of a larger crucible or crucibles, size and shape uncertain, with metal and dross staining; portions of rough clay, burnt, some with vitreous dross adherent, about 25 mm. thick, one about 50 mm., one curved: parts, possibly of an

<sup>1</sup> The important recent publication of the Valkenburg leather by Dr. W. Groenman-van Waateringe (*Nederlandse Oudheden*, 11, 1967) allows the suggestion that these fragments are more probably parts of tents; cf.

fig. 63, 1 or 2 for pieces like the triangular fragment and fig. 24, etc. for panels sewn like the other piece. The leather used was mostly goat-skin.



oven floor or crucible hearth (cf. F. H. Thompson, *Roman Cheshire* (1965), fig. 19, no. F10, Wilderspool). Pottery from the pit: see nos. 111-26 and commentary *ad loc.*; coin (p. 45, no. 11) of Trajan from the top of the filling.

*Trench A*: portion of partly smelted galena. *Trench B*: left-hand upper corner of a Silchester-type antefix (cf. *RS.* 148, fig. 28) datable to the first or early second century (*A.* xcii, 147); layer v. Turned shale armlet, fragment, diams. 52, 69 mm., with central circumferential groove; layer III, early- to mid first-century A.D. Fragment of greenstone bevelled palette, road section, superficial. Three small fragments of a human skull, layers III (1) and v (2). *Site C*: coal (2 frr.), upper black filling, Outer Earthwork ditch. Blue frit melon bead, similar prov.; opaque blue bead, square, 5 by 2.5 mm., same prov.; portion of an iron pyrite (strike-a-light?) nodule, same prov. *Remaining sites*: none.

#### IV. Glass (fig. 8 b)

1. Mould-blown square bottle, blue-green, basal fragment with design as indicated. *Trench B*, superficial.
2. Similar. *Trench B*, layer vi, second- to third-century A.D. The type seems to have been in vogue throughout the second century, for finds from the main lateral drain of the civil settlement at Caerleon include 17 specimens of the mould blown-square as opposed to only four from elsewhere: the drain was filled about 230, and its contents are mainly Antonine; there are plenty of first-century glasses elsewhere on the site.
3. Small fragment of clear, light blue, transparent glass, form uncertain, early type with ground interior and exterior faces, rough band left on exterior as shown. *Site E* (north-north-west corner of town wall, see p. 21 note) in top of filling of inner ditch.

The remaining finds of glass were small in number and include no specimens worth listing.

#### D. *The Sigillata* (figs. 9-10)

Publication of this material is selective, being confined to pieces of stratigraphic value, and the few other fragments of intrinsic interest. Further reference will be found *passim* in the introductions to various coarse-ware groups. Decorated, fig. 9; plain and stamps, fig. 10.

#### TRENCH A

1. Dr. 29, lower zone, la Graufesenque. The design consisted of an undulating scroll of semicircular sections anchored by large rosettes. In the lower spandrels were single roped medallions with cogwheel rosettes on either side. In the upper spandrels were crossed leaf-stems alternating with a leaf-spray. Small hissing geese are used as space-fillers. The leaf-stems and running scroll-tendrils between the medallions and undulating scroll were attached to



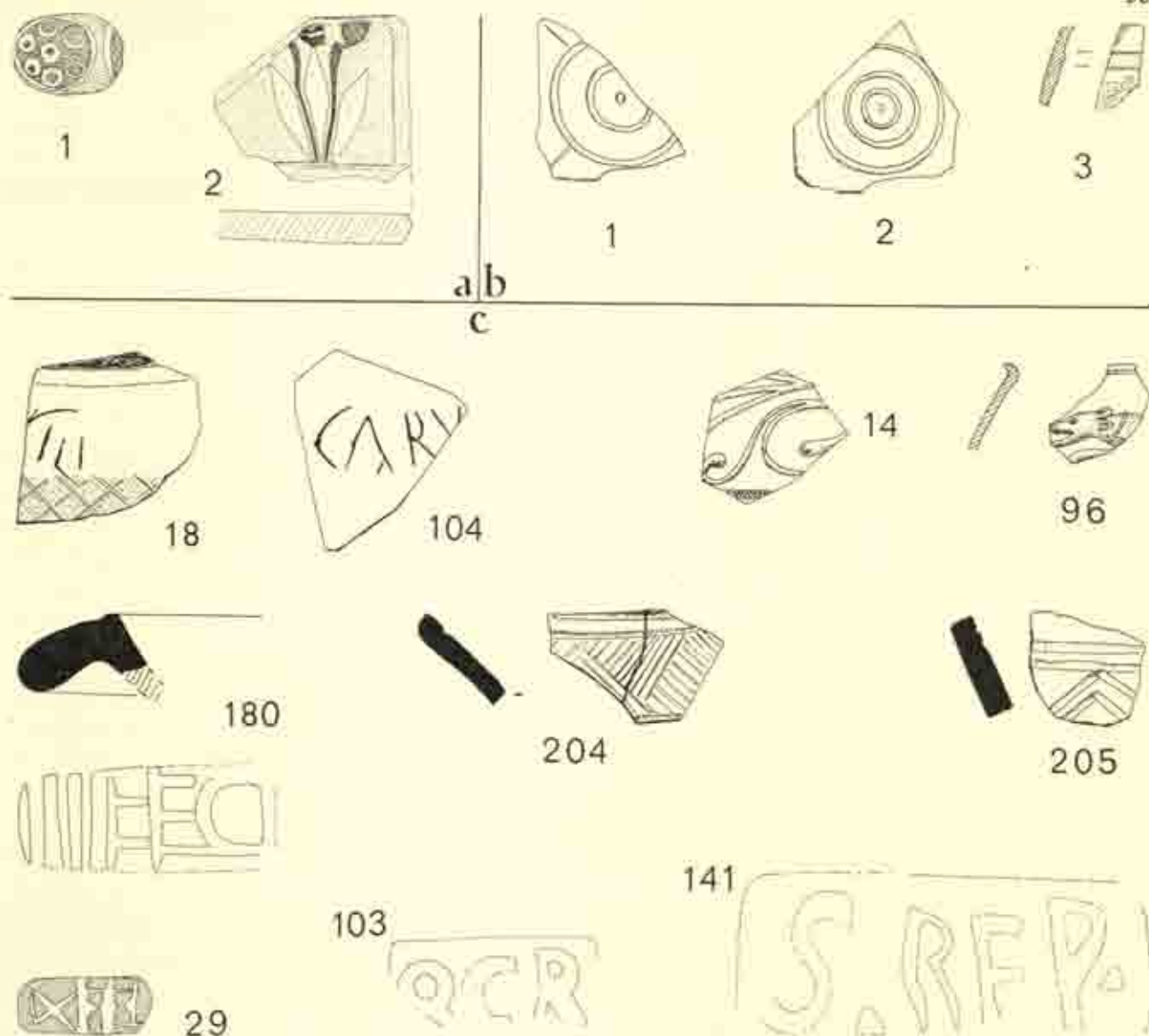


FIG. 8. *a.* Early glass (p. 34). Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ . *b.* Excavated glass, 1954-8. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ . *c.* Various ceramics, 1954-8. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$  (stamps  $\frac{1}{4}$ )

the large rosettes. Claudian or Claudio-Neronian: cf. designs in Knorr 1919, Textbild 24, 34, 43; Taf. 41L, etc.; Taf. 52A, with internal stamp of Marinus, dated *c.* A.D. 60-70, has the same double scroll-element, perhaps also the same pinnate leaf. The pointed leaflet in the spray, the bird, and the cogwheel rosette are found on bowls with the internal stamp of Daribitus: Knorr 1919, Taf. 30, *c.* A.D. 40-65. Layer II.

2. Dr. 29, upper zone, la Graufesenque; thin, hard; good gloss. This style of scroll may be Claudian (Knorr 1919, Taf. 8B) or later (Knorr, *Rottweil* 1912, Taf. 10, no. 3, etc.); and Neronian probably here. Layer II.
3. Dr. 29, upper zone, la Graufesenque; thick reddish ware; thin bright gloss. A common design of demi-medallions joined, with tassels between; the dog



L., Hermet, *La Graufesenque*, pl. 26, no. 20. Cf. Knorr 1952, Taf. 25B, FRONTINI, c. A.D. 70-85, but the ware is not that of Frontinus' normal productions. Layer II.

4. Dr. 37, thin, Lezoux ware. Dolphin R. is Oswald, *Figure Types*, no. 2384, used by Butrio and later, Hadrianic-Antonine, potters, including Paternus, whose detail no. 21 (CGP. fig. 30) is probably the rope-twist used here; c. A.D. 145-60? Layer IV.

Apart from a few pieces of Antonine central Gaulish Dr. 30 and 37 from layers V and VI, no more decorated samian of consequence was found in Trench A. The only samian from layer I was a Dr. 15/17 of Claudio-Neronian date. Stamps:

5. IVLI, Dr. 27, la Graufesenque, Julius, Oswald, *Stamps*, 151. Neronio-Flavian. Layer III, with abraded Dr. 29 upper frieze, style much as no. 3 above.
6. IANVAR OF, Dr. 18, thick; la Graufesenque, Januarius, Oswald, *Stamps*, 141. Flavian-Trajanic. Layer IV.
7. ATILI[ANI], Dr. 33, Lezoux, Atilianus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 26, Antonine. Layer VI.

#### TRENCH B

8. Dr. 29, lower zone, la Graufesenque, with internal stamp OF CRESTIO (Oswald, *Stamps*, 95, c. A.D. 50-70). Bowls similarly stamped, Knorr 1919, Textbild 16, Taf. 27; Knorr 1952, Taf. 17, 18. The angular leaf appears on several of these, but the large lobed leaf has an earlier connotation, cf. Knorr 1952, Taf. 11D, with internal stamp not preserved, but linked by Knorr to bowls stamped by Bilicatus. Similar designs (details different) e.g. on a bowl with the internal stamp of Passienus, Knorr 1919, Taf. 64H. Neronian. Layer V.
9. Dr. 29, la Graufesenque. Not closely matched, but cf. Hermet, *La Grauf.* pl. 53, no. 29, etc. for décor of upper zone. Neronio-Flavian. Layer IV.
10. Dr. 29, lower zone, la Graufesenque, thin, burnt. For the leaf, cf. Knorr 1919, Taf. 55 or 72 (internal stamps of Melainus, Scottius). The design was probably of crossed leaf-stems, in upper and lower compartments of the zone, cf. e.g. *Cam.* pl. 36, nos. 9, 17, the former with the internal stamp of Licinus. Claudian. Between Layers II and IV, where III was absent.
11. Dr. 30, la Graufesenque, style of Germanus, cf. Hermet, *La Grauf.* pl. 102, no. 52. The snake-like ornament is characteristic and is a development of the zoomorphic volute seen e.g. on the work of Volus (Vertet, *Gallia* 1962, 356-7). Neronian. Layer VI.
12. Dr. 37, la Graufesenque, burnt. The leaf-tips in the spandrels are usually associated with the work of Mommo, cf. Atkinson, *JRS.* 1914, pl. 12, no. 60. Vespasianic. Layer IV.
13. Dr. 37, les Martres-de-Veyre, Potter X-2, CGP. pl. 5, no. 56, c. A.D. 100-20. Layer V.
14. Dr. 37, les Martres-de-Veyre, Ranto group, CGP. fig. 9, no. 1 for ovolo and cf. pl. 31, no. 368, for astragalus and ramshorn, probably cornucopiae; c. A.D. 110-35. Layer V.



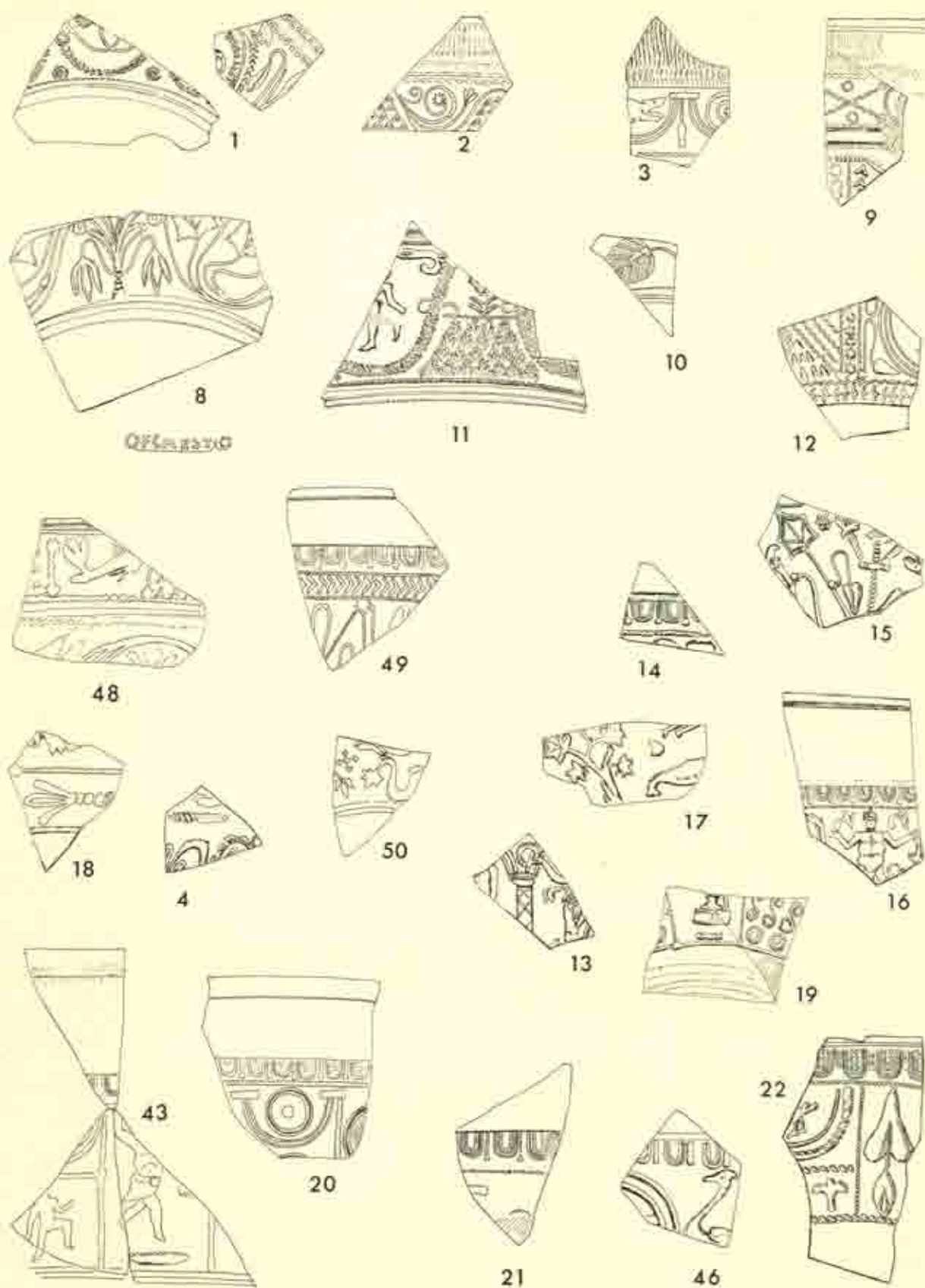


FIG. 9. Silchester 1954-8: decorated sigillata. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$  (stamps  $\frac{1}{4}$ )



15. Dr. 37, les Martres-de-Veyre; décor of the Donnaucus group, *CGP*. pl. 49, 586, etc. c. A.D. 100-25. Layer v.
16. Dr. 37, les Martres-de-Veyre, with ovolo 1 of Sacer (*CGP*. fig. 22). The Triton, facing, is correctly shown by Déch. no. 15; Oswald's equivalent is inaccurate; c. A.D. 125-40. Layer v.
17. Dr. 37, les Martres-de-Veyre; style of Butrio, cf. *CGP*. pl. 57. 654, etc.; c. A.D. 120-45. Layer vi.
18. Dr. 37, les Martres-de-Veyre or Lezoux, late Sacer style, cf. *CGP*. pl. 82.7 or pl. 83.12; c. A.D. 150. Layer vi.
19. Dr. 37, Lezoux, style of the Large S potter, cf. *CGP*. pl. 76.33 and including part of the vine-wreathed baluster as there; c. A.D. 125-50. Layer vi.
20. Dr. 37, Lezoux. The ovolo is probably no. 4 of Criciro (*CGP*. fig. 33); for the demi-medallion and astragali, see *CGP*. pl. 117.2. The style of Divixtus is otherwise very similar, cf. *CGP*. pl. 116; c. A.D. 140-80. Layer vi.
21. Dr. 37, Lezoux. The ovolo is no. 1 of Laxtucissa (*CGP*. fig. 27) and the astragalus is his detail no. 3 (*ibid.*); c. A.D. 150-80. Layer vi.
22. Dr. 37, la Madeleine, fine red ware, high, poor, red gloss. Style of Virtus, cf. *CGP*. fig. 6 for a London fragment with the same ovolo, festoon and ? bird, these two being as Fölzer, *Ostgall. Sigillata-Manufakturen*, Taf. 25, nos. 112 and 60. *Newstead*, 221, no. 7 gives the Antonine dating. Superficial soil. Drawn by Miss C. M. Johns. For another la Madeleine bowl, see May, pl. 29A, no. 124.

The above shards represent a far larger number of decorated pieces, but these are mostly Flavian and from layers v or vi. There is little Antonine material. For an unstratified provincial Italic Dr. 11, see p. 26, and fig. 2, no. 6.

23. Large fragment, Dr. 27, typical south Gaulish (la Graufesenque?) ware with chalky specks. Note the carination-moulding inside and out and the absence of rouletting on the upper part of the wall which characterises the Italic and some early Gaulish ware (e.g. May, pl. 5, no. 12, SILVA). Not later than early Claudian and possibly earlier. Cf. *Cam.* fig. 43, no. 7, p. 186. Layer III.
24. Dr. 24/5, Gaulish. Light coloured ware and brownish gloss. Claudian. Layer III.
25. Dr. 24/5, la Graufesenque. Claudian. Layer III.
26. Dr. 27, base-ring, la Graufesenque. The pronounced groove is an early feature. Probably Claudian. Layer III.
27. Dr. 18, Lezoux; early micaceous ware, see my article in *Aj.* xlvii, 27 ff. The internal and external offset at wall/base junction is an early feature which on south Gaulish ware dies out with Nero. A somewhat similar piece to this survived at Caerleon with mainly Flavian material, see *Aj.* xlvii, 40 and *AC*. 1964, 37, note 25. Probably Claudian. Layer III.

These five pieces are all the sigillata produced by layer III, except for a thin grooved scrap from the wall of an uncertain curved upright form, in plain and early looking ware.



IVS 5

IANVAROP 6

ATIL 7

OTACIVM 31

LEV F P 32

FCG 33

BAGOM 34

RCI 35

IV 36

NICEPHOR 37

OFFR 38

VSOPR 39

OFVI 40

VIIIIV 41

IVD 42

44 UNREATVSP

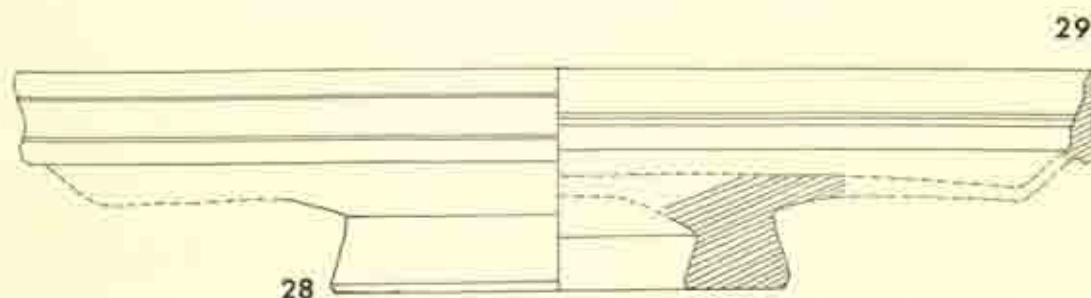
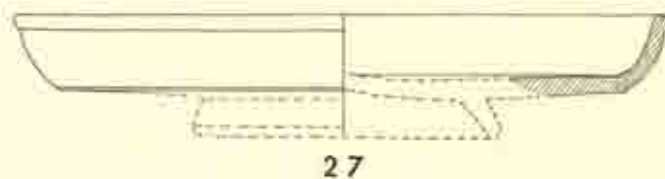
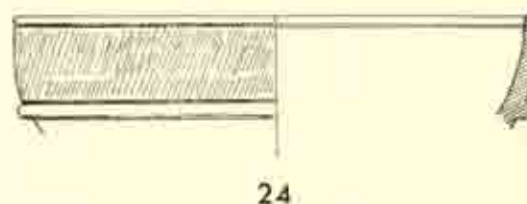
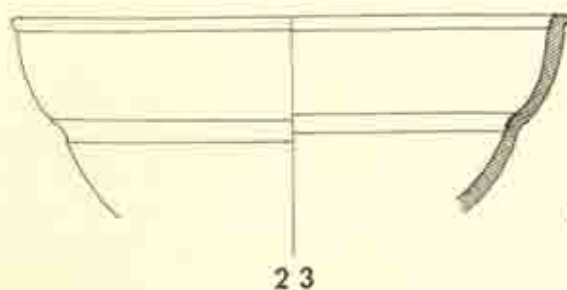
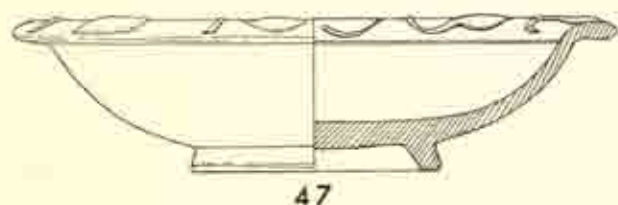
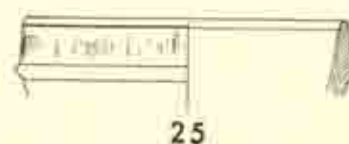
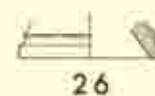
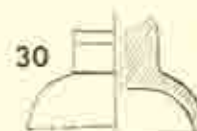


FIG. 10. Silchester 1954-8: plain sigillata and potters' stamps. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$  (stamps  $\frac{1}{4}$ )



58 BELGIC AND ROMAN SILCHESTER: EXCAVATIONS OF 1954-8

28. Loeschcke 3 *b*, basal fragment, possibly part of the following item, but the ware seems slightly pinker. Augustan Italic. Superficial soil.
29. Loeschcke 3 *b*, rim fragment. Augustan Italic. Superficial soil.
30. Hermet Form 29, la Graufesenque. Complete, this form resembles a small Dr. 35 on a pedestal base. Flavian. Layer v.

The following stamps were found:

31. OF AQVITANI, Dr. 18, la Graufesenque, Aquitanus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 20. Claudian. Layer v.
32. BA]LBVS·F, Dr. 18, la Graufesenque, Balbus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 357. Flavian. Superficial.
33. O]F CO[IV, Dr. 27, la Graufesenque, Coius, Oswald, *Stamps*, 84. Flavian. Layer v.
34. DAGOMA[RVS F, Dr. 33, Lezoux, Dagomarus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 102, Trajanic. Layer v.
35. IND]ERCIL[LVS F, Dr. 18, central Gaul, Indercillus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 115, Trajanic-Hadrianic. Layer v.
36. LV[PI, Ritt. 8, la Graufesenque, Lupus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 171. Claudian. Layer v.
37. NICEPHOR F, Dr. 33, small; Lezoux, Nicephorus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 218. Hadrianic. Layer v.
38. OF PRI[MI, Ritt. 9, la Graufesenque, Primus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 248. Claudian. Layer v.
39. ROPPI[RVT M, Dr. 18, la Graufesenque, Roppus and Rutus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 267. Flavian. Superficial soil.
40. OF·VI[RILIS], Dr. 18, la Graufesenque, Virilis, Oswald, *Stamps*, 337. Flavian. Layer v.
41. VIIIIV, Dr. 18, la Graufesenque. Illiterate. Flavian-Trajanic? Layer v.
42. [GRAN]ANI? Dr. 18/31. Lezoux? Possibly Gran(i)anus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 139, Hadrianic-Antonine, cf. Walters, *BMC. Roman Pottery*, M. 1968. The first imperfectly extant letter appears to have been an N as there is a small return at the base. No stress is put on the suggested expansion. See de Schaetzen, *Index des Terminaisons* 56-7 for —ANVS and —IANVS. Layer v.

SITE C

43. Dr. 30, Lezoux, very abraded shards. The ovolo may be no. 8 of Paternus (CGP. fig. 30) and the rope-twist below the Silenus (which is Oswald, *Figure Types* no. 592 reduced) may be Paternus, detail no. 21 (*ibid.*). Thus Paternus style(?), c. A.D. 145-90. Lower filling, Outer Earthwork ditch.

Only a small amount of decorated and plain samian was found on Site C. The following marks occurred:

44. DONATVS F, Dr. 18/1, Rheinzabern, Donatus, Oswald, *Stamps*, 110. Hadrianic-Antonine. Upper black filling of Outer Earthwork ditch.
45. Rosette stamp, Lezoux; form perhaps Dr. 31. Hadrianic? Prov. as no. 43.



SITES D, E, F (*none*)

SITE G

46. Dr. 37, Rheinzabern. The crane is Ricken-Fischer, *Bilderschüsseln/Rheinzabern*, Textb., T212A. For a very similar bowl, see Ricken, Tafelb., Taf. 229, no. 1. The apparent projection from the inner ring of the medallion on our shard is probably a Cupid's wing, as *loc. cit.* Antonine. Prov. as no. 44.

SITE H

47. Dr. 36, la Graufesenque. For comparable Vespasianic forms, see Oswald, *T.S. of Margidunum*, pls. 18-20 *passim*. Trench H(4), dark occupation-layer of hut below main north-south street (p. 12).

For sigillata from the filling of the Inner Earthwork ditch, sealed by street-metalling (Trench H(1)), see p. 12. As identified by Mr. B. R. Hartley, the material comprised a Dr. 18 (basal fragment, neat double groove on the inside, a pre-Flavian characteristic); Dr. 27 (two fragments with a deep groove on the base-ring, much as our no. 26, Claudian); Dr. 17, Gaulish, single band of rouletting on the rim, Tiberio-Claudian.

48. Dr. 29, la Graufesenque. The upper zone is very similar to Knorr 1919, Taf. 54A, with internal stamp MEDILV, and with the same dolphin, Oswald, *Figure Types* no. 2389? The lower zone, less diagnostically clear, resembles Taf. 16B, internal stamp COSI RV. Flavian. Trench H(5), filling of pit (p. 12).

SITE J

49. Dr. 37, la Graufesenque. Typical Flavian decoration: cf. Hermet, *La Grauf.*, pl. 84, no. 4; Atkinson, *JRS.* 1914, pls. 7-9 *passim* (Pompeii). Gravelly loam beyond edge of counterscarp lip of wall-ditch, where sandy bank-material of the inner Earthwork was deficient.
50. Dr. 37, Lezoux. This small fragment shows dolphins (R., Oswald, *Figure Types* no. 2583, DOHIC; L., tail only, no. 2394A). The arrow-cross is an apparently unrecorded detail, the component arms being smaller than CGP., Advocisus detail no. 1 (fig. 33). The cross is in any case a unit. The ware is good orange-red with good orange-red gloss. Hadrianic-Antonine. Earthy filling, scarp side, inner ('Early Bank') ditch.

E. *The Coarse Pottery*

Apart from material from the sealed Belgic level of Site J, and from Trench B, layer III, which offers a useful comparison with it, the coarse pottery is published only summarily, entries being arranged according to Site or Trench by layers, and confined to items of stratigraphical or intrinsic interest.

TRENCH A (fig. 11)

Layer 1

1. Bead-rim cooking-pot, dark sandy grey, black surface, reserved area delimited by shoulder-groove. Pre-Flavian.



2. Necked jar, burnished native ware, brown, black surface. One of two. Cf. vessels from B.III. Claudian.

#### Layer II

3. Mortarium, greyish-buff (burnt); fine grits extend over rim; *Cam.* type 195B, cf. fig. 53, no. 32. Neronian or later.
4. Jug, light cream; *Cam.* type 140B, Claudio-Neronian.
5. Cordon jar, light grey, smoothed surface; Romanized; cf. narrow-neck type in B.III. Claudian or later.
6. Bead-rim jar, hard sandy black ware, burnt. The squat profile suggests comparison with the Belgic type, cf. Site J series. Claudian or later.
7. Butt-beaker, orange-buff, brown slip. Probably Claudian.

#### Layer IV

8. Beaker, sandy buff ware, grey surface. Cf. *Ver.* fig. 15, no. 35D for early example of native form derived from a girth-beaker. Others (e.g. *Richb.* iii, no. 266) in perhaps similar ware to ours, retain the constricted mouth of some prototypes. Claudian to Flavian.
9. Carinated bowl with flanged rim, mica-dusted exterior, orange ware. Flavian-Trajanic. Mica-dusted ware is extremely common at Silchester, see note on no. 101.
10. Flanged bowl with grooved rim, black-fumed ware, the latest identifiable piece from this layer. The groove is not normal before the late second century.
11. Offset bowl in black ware. On these, see Mrs. Cotton, *A.* xcii, 154, no. 22 and note; cf. her fig. 13, no. 40. Flavian-Trajanic.

#### Layer V

12. Rough grey, orange surface, flint grits. Local? Cf. also local, Dorchester-on-Thames (*Archj.* cxix, 132, fig. 12, no. 19). Claudian or at any rate first-century.
13. Flanged bowl, black-fumed ware, *Gillam* no. 219, c. A.D. 125-50. The later type, our no. 10 above, did not occur in this layer, which goes some way to show that a very large quantity of pottery is needed before reliable results can be deduced from layers of fillings such as these. For coins and samian, see pp. 45, 54.

#### Layer VI

14. [Fig 8c]. Rhenish ware; tall beaker, probably. Barbotine and rouletted decoration; c. A.D. 200-50.
15. Mortarium, cream ware, no grits visible. *Cam.* type 191, cf. fig. 53, no. 18, but square at the bottom of the flange, like *ibid.* no. 17. Unusual. Claudius-Nero?
16. Cavetto cooking-pot, black-fumed ware, *Gillam* no. 138, c. A.D. 180-250.
17. Flanged bowl, similar to no. 10 above; cf. *Gillam* no. 314, dated c. A.D. 220-360.
18. [Fig. 8c]. Graffito [ ]CIL I on the shoulder of a black-fumed ware cavetto cooking-pot, probably a third-century type.

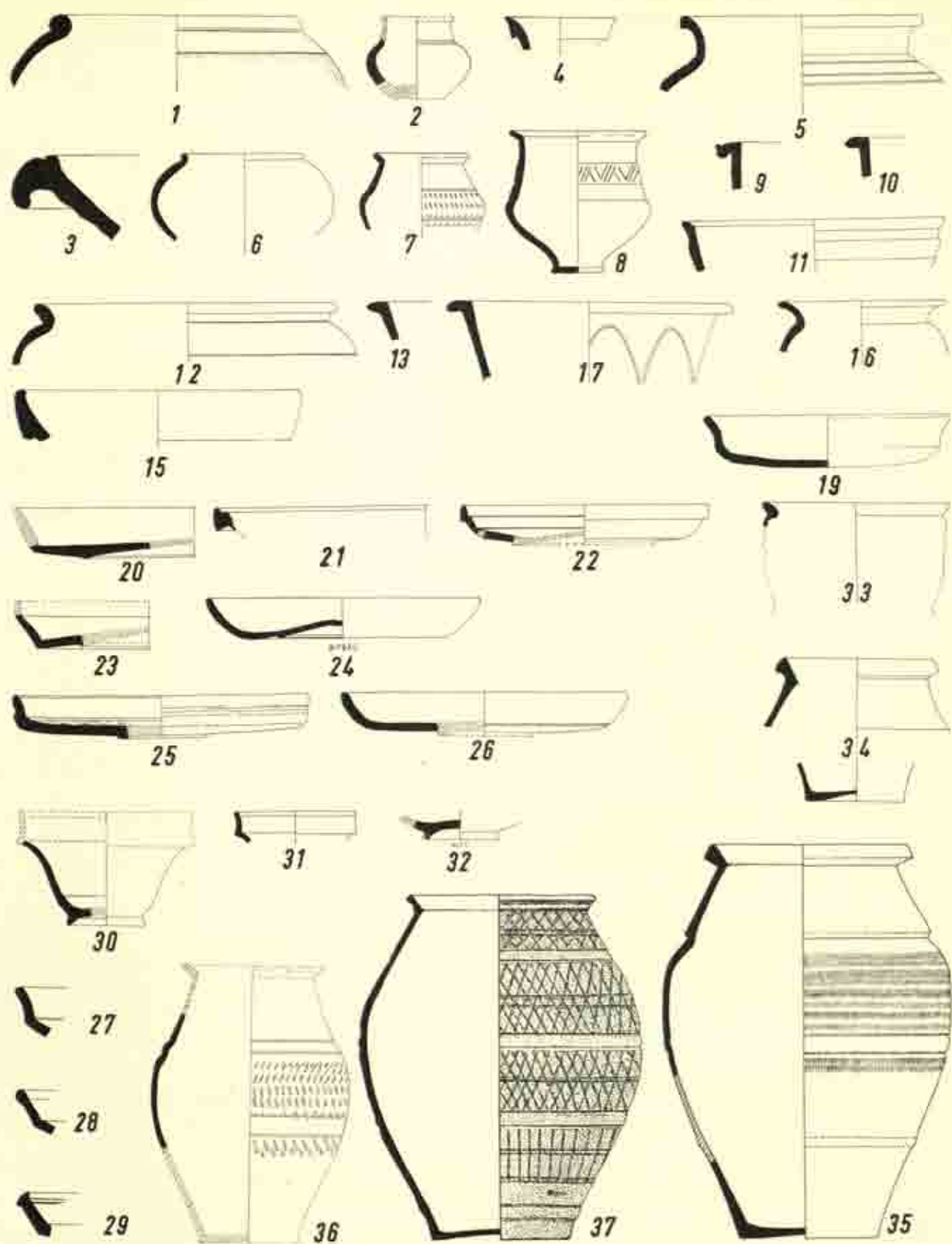


FIG. 11. Silchester 1954-8: coarse pottery. Nos. 1-17, Trench A; no. 19, Trench B, in bank of Inner Earthwork; nos. 20-35, Trench B, first infilling (layer III) Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



## TRENCH B (figs. 11-13)

*Bank*

19. Native copy, Gallo-Belgic platter, *Cam.* type 32, but without base-ring. Flint-gritted buff ware, reddish-brown surface. From an earthy tip-line in the remains of the bank. For other pottery scraps from here and from a hollow beneath, see p. 9.

*Gallo-Belgic and native copies**Layer III*

20. *Terra nigra* plate, *Cam.* type 20, pre-Conquest and later. Another example, in ware with a poor surface, bore the radial stamps shown in fig. 3 *b*, no. 4.
21. *Terra nigra* plate, rim, *Cam.* type 6. Cf. Haltern, *Westf. Mitt.* v, 263, fig. 38, no. 1.
22. *Terra rubra* plate, (*Cam.* type 7, T.R. 2 ware). Pre- and post-Conquest at Camulodunum.
23. *Terra nigra* plate, *Cam.* type 13, there 'just pre-Conquest' and later. Two exx.
24. *Terra nigra* plate, *Cam.* type 16, stamped BIT[VRI probably, see p. 30, fig. 3 *b*, no. 6. Normally post-Conquest at Camulodunum. As is well-known, the decline in manufacturing standards which permitted the production and marketing of vessels such as our nos. 23-4, with wall sagging below the line of the base-ring, is a late feature of the industry, probably Claudian rather than earlier.
25. Native copy, *Cam.* type 32c approx., dark grey ware with brown burnished surface; basal interior had broad band of criss-cross lines burnished.
26. Copy of our no. 24 type, Romanizing grey ware; the groove is not found at Camulodunum (cf. type 30), but cf. Hurstbourne Tarrant, *Archj.* lxxxvii, 307, fig. 32, no. 10.
27. Native copy, cf. *Ver.* fig. 12, no. 24, etc. (Group B), fig. 22, no. 15 (Group C) etc. Ware as our no. 25.
28. Romanized grey ware, *Cam.* type 28, Claudian or later.
29. Similar. For a stamp X FEC radially on the flat base of such a vessel, see fig. 8 *c*, no. 29.
30. *Terra nigra* cup, *Cam.* type 56c. There pre-Conquest and later.
31. *Terra rubra* cup (T.R. 3). Same form. Two small exx.
32. *Terra nigra* bowl, probably a copy of Dr. 24/5 type, cf. *Cam.* type 58. With stamp ACVT, see fig. 3 *b*, no. 1. Probably Claudian, although the ware is of very good quality (plate paste, black gloss).
33. Rim, girth-beaker, fine pink ware, brownish fumed surface, *Cam.* type 82, Augusto-Tiberian type. Fragments of the decorated zones of cross-hatching were also found.
34. Butt-beaker, pale cream ware, *Cam.* type 113, pre-Conquest and later—the 'Colchester' type. Many fragments of rouletted body, perhaps of more than one beaker, were also found.
35. Butt-beaker, greyish-buff ware, a somewhat coarsened version of the preceding.

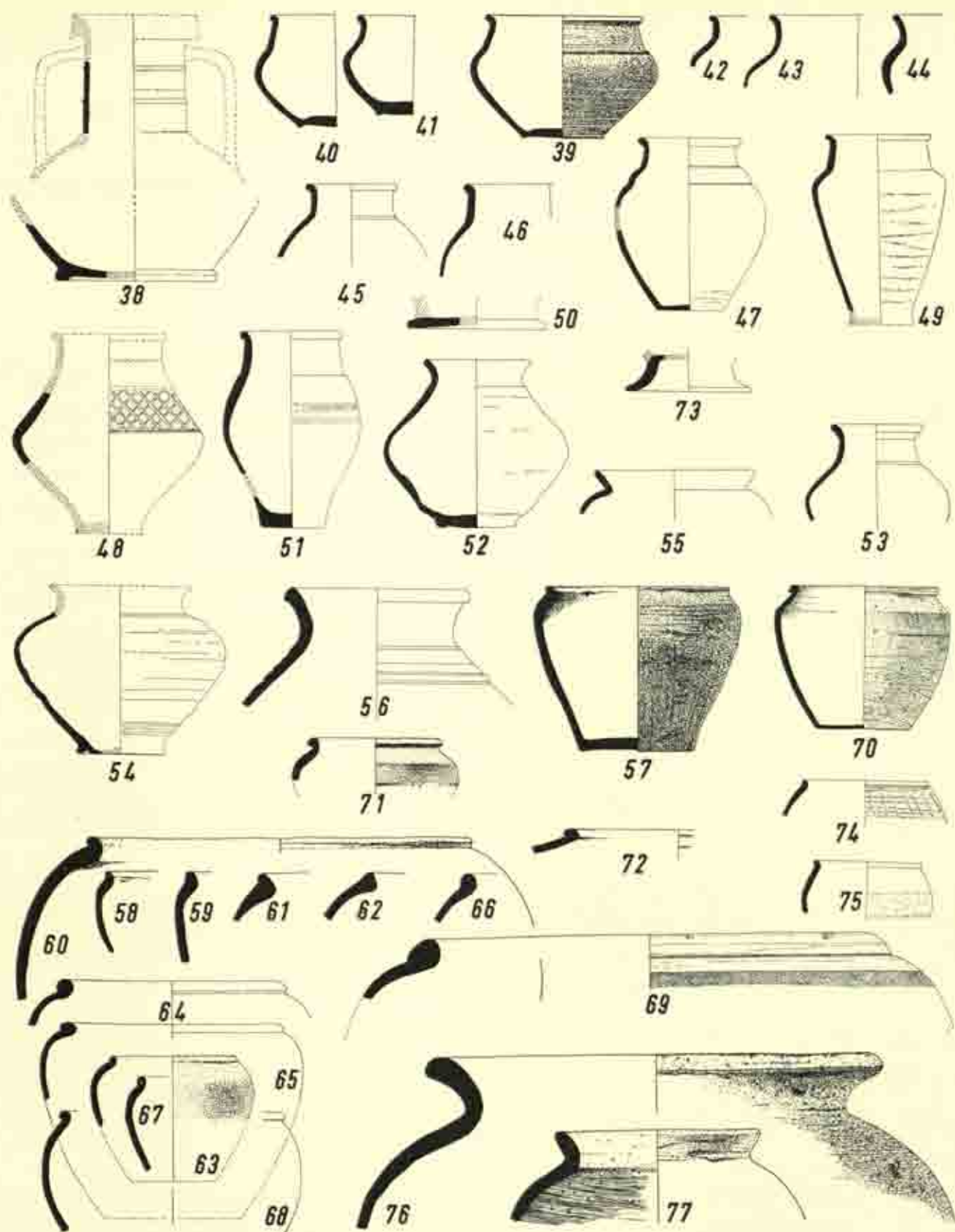


FIG. 12. Silchester 1954-8: coarse pottery, Trench B, first infilling (layer III), cont. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



36. Butt-beaker, somewhat coarse red ware.
37. Butt-beaker, native copy, probably local—cf. May, pl. 70, no. 152, almost identical except in details of decoration and in the foot, there with a slight rim. Grey ware, brown surface. The form of rim is of earlier type than the bold cornice variety of the 'Colchester' beaker, being characteristic of the Haltern period (*Westf. Mitt.* v, Taf. 15, no. 84A). Other butt-beaker copies in similar ware occurred.
38. Jug, pale cream or yellowish-white ware, hard; shards from the neck, also probably the base of the same vessel. *Cam.* type 161, pre-Conquest and later: a Tiberian form.

#### *Necked Bowls and Jars*

39. Bowl, native ware, grey-black interior, brown or brown-red exterior, burnished. Note grooves on lower part of wall. Approximately *Cam.* type 221. Without base-ring, Silchester, *A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, no. 16, c. A.D. 45-65. The commonness of the type in this layer suggests a Claudian dating, but see our nos. 191 ff., pre-Inner Earthwork and pre-Conquest, as e.g. at *Swarling* (pl. 9, nos. 22-5, with base-ring and shoulder cordon).
- 40-4. Examples of varieties of the same type. Ware very similar, may occasionally tend towards buff externally; often soapy.
- 45-6. Jars, similar; no. 46 may have been of devolved pedestal-urn type, cf. May, pl. 76, no. 8.
47. Jar, broad shoulder cordon. A small example of a common Belgic type, cf. *Cam.* type 232; May, pl. 76, no. 10; with more curved rim, Silchester, *A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, no. 16, c. A.D. 45-65.
48. Biconical jar, restored after May, pl. 87, no. 4: where the lattice decoration is in the lower shoulder-zone, not as he showed it. See fig. 4, no. 5. Two in this layer.
49. Red-brown native ware, dark red-brown slip. Devolved pedestal urn. Cf. May, pl. 68, no. 142.
50. Disc base, native ware, from a pedestal urn; cf. *Ver.* fig. 16, no. 47 (Group B).
51. Sandy grey ware, orange interior, perfunctory rouletting. Perhaps a butt-beaker imitation. Cf. May, pl. 76, no. 8; Kenyon, *Jewry Wall*, fig. 34, no. 6, c. A.D. 35-50.
52. Hard sandy grey ware; weak cordon at neck.
53. Sandy grey ware, doubly beaded rim.
54. Hard sandy buff ware.
55. Reddish ware. Probably a native copy of *Cam.* type 108 (Mainly Claudius-Nero); Silchester, *A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, no. 8, etc.
56. Romanized black ware. *Cam.* type 231C.

#### *Bead rim jars—local hand-made*

57. Greyish-black coarse flint-gritted ware. The 'Silchester' type, to which May's *Silchester Pottery* fails to call adequate attention: it is *par surcroît* (certainly not



*par excellence*) the native coarse vessel of the early Roman period, beginning—not apparently in quantity—in pre-Inner Earthwork levels (see our nos. 220-1) and is perhaps mainly Claudian. Varieties of rim are noted below. See Silchester, *A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, nos. 28-30, *c.* A.D. 45-65, etc.

58-9. Varieties of no. 57 type.

60. A second type, usually of much larger dimensions than the preceding, same ware.

61-2. Varieties of no. 60 type.

#### *Bead-rim jars—wheel made*

63-8. In various wares, from native brown to Roman grey.

69. Large store-jar in hard grey ware, smoothed surface, reserved band below groove: cf. our no. 1, and *Ver.* fig. 23, no. 2.

#### *Various Vessels*

70. Hard red-brown native ware. Represented, with more rounded shoulder, cf. the following, in the pre-Inner Earthwork deposit, our no. 230.

71. Similar, more rounded, and apparently squatter; ware softer and coarser.

72. Hard rough black native ware. Cf. *Cam.* type 253: the shoulder bead just shows.

73. Grey Romanized ware; pedestal base, probably from a bowl, e.g. *Ver.* fig. 23, no. 3 or some similar type. The contour is not right for May, pl. 73, no. 178.

74. Globular beaker, brown-surfaced native ware with faint burnished trellis; cf. *Cam.* type 91-3.

75. Similar, plain, and with more rounded profile.

76. Large store-jar, in the same heavily flint-gritted ware as the bead-rims, nos. 57-62 above. Very common at Silchester in early contexts (one, pre-Inner Earthwork, our no. 233); Silchester, *A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, no. 31; 166, fig. 16, no. 8, *c.* A.D. 45-65. Whereas the bead-rims tend to be in reduced colouring, these are usually oxidized or partly so, probably indicative of very crude methods of firing.

77. Smaller version; cf. May, pl. 75, no. 8 (the perforation is not ancient), pl. 77, no. 8 (our fig. 4, nos. 9-10), etc. The inside wiped out to shape.

78. Lid in similar ware (reduced coloration).

79. Lid or bowl in similar ware (reduced).

80. Lid, burnished brown-surfaced black native ware; cf. Hurstbourne Tarrant, *Arch.* lxxxvii, fig. 32, no. 12.

81. Lid, grey ware, cf. *Cam.* pl. 85, no. 7.

82. Lid, grey ware, cf. May, pl. 75, no. 11.

83. Similar, or possibly from a dish.

84. Lid, black ware.



*Layer IV*

- 85. Butt-beaker base. Orange ware, hard; grey-buff exterior slip.
- 86. Necked jar, orange-brown fine ware, grey core; traces of mica-dusting.
- 87. Biconical jar, hard grey ware (two exx.). A later (Neronio-Flavian?) development of *Cam.* type 120.
- 88. Hard buff-grey dish; rim with lid-groove. *Cam.* type 44, etc. Claudian or later.
- 89. Hard dark grey offset bowl. See no. 11. Probably Flavian and the latest coarse vessel from this layer.
- 90. Another variety of 'Silchester' bead-rim pottery in coarse, flint-gritted ware.

Nos. 85 and 90 could have come from the upper part of layer II, where it was not clearly distinguished from IV, owing to the absence of III.

*Layer V*

- 91. Cavetto-rim cooking-pot in black-fumed ware. Gillam, no. 134, *c.* A.D. 160-230.
- 92. Flanged bowl in black-fumed ware. See no. 13 (two exx.).
- 93. Dish, ware close to the black-fumed but not identical.
- 94. Offset bowl. Hard sandy grey-buff ware. Cf. Silchester, *A.* xcii, 159, fig. 13, no. 17, *c.* A.D. 100-20, probably somewhat later than 120 on the basis of *ibid.* no. 20 or 39.
- 95. Mortarium or bowl in similar white ware (no grits showing), rather small; cf. Gillam, no. 271, *c.* A.D. 190-250.
- 96. [Fig. 8c]. Castor Ware hunt-cup, rim fragment. Cf. Gillam, no. 85, *c.* A.D. 170-220.
- 97. Orange-buff smooth ware. Probably not later than *c.* A.D. 150.
- 98. Brownish-buff ware poppy-head beaker, a fairly common type at Silchester, with barbotine lozenges. This example has not got the roll or cordon at the base of the rim. Probably mid second-century A.D.
- 99. Hard grey ware, dark surface, imitation of Dr. 29, with combed horse-shoe decoration, recalling the semicircle and tassel decoration of 'London Ware' Dr. 37 copies, also found in this layer but not illustrated. Other samian copies of *c.* A.D. 100 included Dr. 30 (2) and 24/5 (2); of 18 or 18/31 there was one interesting basal scrap with incised circular band and impressed stamp  $\overline{\text{AV}}$  or illiterate.
- 100. Sandy orange ware, golden mica-dusted coat. Cf. May, pl. 48, no. 61. The type is Flavian-Trajanic.
- 101. Orange ware, grey core, mica-dusted coat. The offsets below the rim are unusual. Possibly the form of the vessel was a biconical bowl as May, pl. 48, no. 62. Mica-dusted vessels were very common in this layer, especially bowls with a flanged rim, as May, pl. 48, no. 60, in variety. The Flavian-Hadrianic period seems to have been the *floruit* of the mica-dusted ware, and perhaps the later part of it; but the ware begins as early as Haltern (type 86).

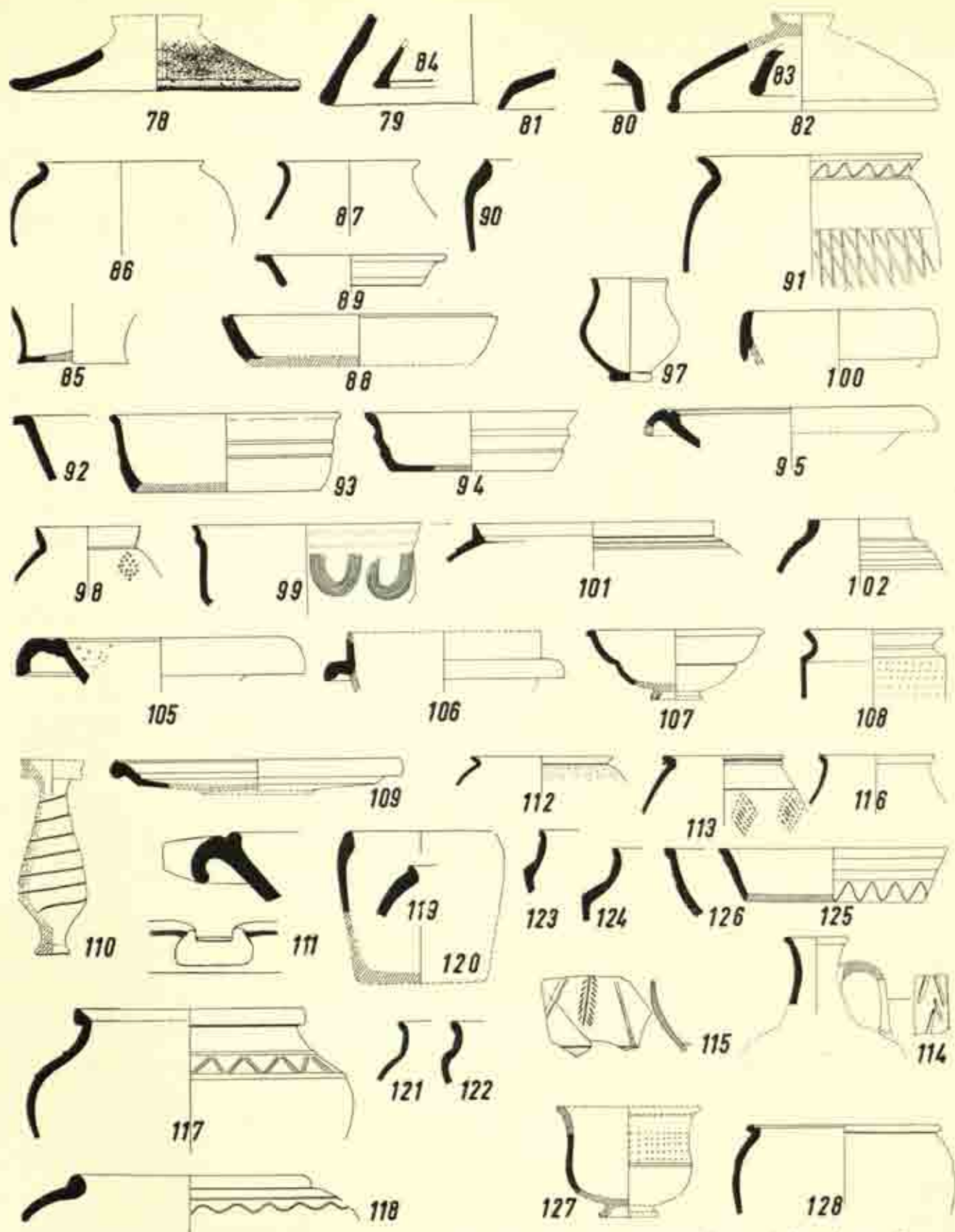


FIG. 13. Silchester 1954-8; coarse pottery. Nos. 78-84, Trench B, first infilling (layer 111) (cont.); nos. 85-110, Trench B, various from the ditch; nos. 111-26, Trench B, pit with metallurgical debris; nos. 127-8, from below street on east side, Insula XXIII: Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



102. Rim, 'carrot' amphora in typical hard dark red ware. Not a form apparently published previously from Silchester. Claudio-Neronian.
103. [Fig. 8c]. Stamp QCR on the handle of a buff Spanish *amphora*, one end sawn; Callender, *Amphorae*, no. 1442, dated c. A.D. 60-110.
104. [Fig. 8c]. Graffito on the upper part of the wall of a hard sandy buff jug. Read by R. P. Wright (*JRS*, 1956, 151, no. 39) as a personal name CARV[S]. But bearing in mind the character of the vessel, one may, in the spirit of adventure more than anything else, suggest, as an alternative, (*Oleum*) CARV[INUM], 'Oil of Walnuts', a culinary oil with therapeutic value: cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxiii, 4, . . . *e nuce vero juglande* [walnut] (*oleum*) *quod caryinum appellavimus* (a reference to xv, 8) *alopeciiis utile est, et tarditati aurium infusum. Item capitis doloribus infusum*.—Oil of walnuts was used, in common with certain other 'factitious' oils, for treating baldness, hardness of hearing, and pains in the head.

Among other pottery from this layer, reference may be made to a shard of green-glazed Saint Rémy ware, girth-grooved and probably from a little globular flagon such as *Déch.* i, figs. 52 ff. Other lead-glazed shards included oxidized local (?) ware, rouletted; the glaze pale, yellowish: cf. *Aj.* xli, 93-5. Unfortunately, this material is too small to be susceptible of meaningful illustration.

#### Layer vi

105. Cream mortarium. See no. 95 above; c. A.D. 190-250.
106. Hard grey ware, oxidized surfaces, dark red colour-coat. If really stratified in this layer, a Dr. 38 copy in such ware (this is important, since Dr. 38 imitations in earlier completely oxidized wares appeared almost contemporaneously with the prototype, e.g. before c. 230 at Caerleon) cannot but imply that layer vi was not accumulated until the second part of the fourth century. But there is no other corresponding evidence in the pottery-content to confirm so late a dating; apart from our no. 105, the latest vessel noted is similar to our no. 10. No. 106 is therefore to be regarded as intrusive or wrongly recorded.
107. Orange-red ware, mica-coated. Dr. 27 copy, Flavian-Hadrianic.
108. Hard buff ware. Cf. May, pl. 71, no. 168. Probably Claudian.

#### Superficial soil

109. Rather coarse buff ware, friable vermilion coat over interior and outer curve of rim. *Cam.* type 4. Probably Claudian. The ware is not common at Silchester, and is an imitation of *terra rubra* under the influence of 'Pompeian Red' dishes with limited colour-coat (*Cam.* form 17, etc.)
110. Orange ware, cream coat. Probably mid second-century. From the upper surface of the filling of a pit.

#### Pit 1 (with metallurgical debris, p. 9) (fig. 13).

Samian from this pit comprised: Ritt. 1 (early Lezoux); Ritt. 8 (1); Dr. 15/17 (3); Dr. 18 (8?); Dr. 18/31 or large 18 (2); Dr. 24 (2?); Dr. 27 (5?); Dr. 29 (2); Dr. 30



(1); Dr. 37 (2, Flavian); Dr. 46 (1); Curle 11 (1 Fragmentary; all south Gaulish and Claudio-Flavian except for the Ritt. 1 and the Dr. 46 (central Gaulish, Trajanic-Hadrianic or Hadrianic). Coin of Trajan, p. 45, no. 11; brooch, p. 47, no. 5.

111. Cream mortarium; cf. our no. 3.
112. Fine cream ware, red slip, roughcast. Cf. *Richb.* iii, no. 300, c. A.D. 80-120. May, pl. 47, no. 46, the same.
113. *Terra nigra* beaker (fine white-grey clay, thin grey-black coat). Probably Flavian: cf. May, pl. 70, no. 157. For the cornice rim, cf. Gillam, no. 72, c. A.D. 60-130.
114. Fine brown-reddish ware, rather crude. The slashed strap-handle is very unusual. It is not certain that it belongs to the rim shown, but probably it does. Early second-century, local?
115. Orange-red ware. Incised, *ante cocturam*, palm-branch flanked by stripes in cream paint. A biconical form, jar or jug.
116. Thin hard grey ware. Beaker rim, probably in the range of *Cam.* type 120.
117. Light grey hard sandy ware. Cf. May, pl. 71, no. 167 for cordons and decoration between; the rim and lower part are different. The rim is like Gillam, no. 113, c. A.D. 80-130.
118. Wheel-made bead-rim bowl. Sandy dark grey.
119. 'Silchester' coarse flint-gritted bead-rim bowl.
120. Jar of similar ware; cf. *Cam.* type 254 for a similar form.
- 121-4. Various necked bowls. All grey ware (no. 124, soft, rest hard). The carinated type appears c. A.D. 100-20 or a little later: *A.* xcii, 159, fig. 13, nos. 21-2.
125. Offset bowl, dark brown ware, black exterior; cf. our no. 94. Another vessel has a double zigzag line in the lower zone.
126. Similar ware; cf. our no. 89.

The pottery from this pit compares well with the group isolated as Period II, phase 2, in 1938-9, *A.* xcii, 159, fig. 13, but as there are no black-fumed ware examples in the pit—as nos. 20 and 39 of the figure cited—the date of the filling must be somewhat earlier than the upper limit of perhaps c. 140 which seems appropriate for the 1938-9 group, perhaps c. 120.

*Street section 1:* (E. side, Insula XXIII, p. 9, n. 2). All beneath the metalling (fig. 13).

Samian from this early level included a small south Gaulish base-ring and two other tiny scraps; *terra nigra*, *Cam.* type 16AC (Claudian); 26A (copy); 56C (abraded); a girth-beaker rim in *terra rubra*; scraps of white butt-beaker; two native copies in brown and grey ware; fragments of a white jug; in coarse ware, two 'Silchester' flint-gritted bead-rims, and two fine brown-ware necked bowls; store-jar with everted rim in flint-gritted ware; and the two following vessels, all in a deposit which must be similar in date to Trench B. III. For an iron linch-pin, see fig. 7B, no. 7.

127. Fine whitish ware but burnt; probably *terra rubra*. The reconstruction is not certain, but was probably as shown. Cf. *Cam.* type 72A. Claudian?
128. Orange-buff ware containing quartz. Coarse mica-dusted surface.



## SITE C (fig. 14)

- 129. Cavetto jar, black-fumed ware, Gillam no. 145-6, c. A.D. 270-350. Lower earth and gravel filling, Outer Earthwork ditch.
- 130. Flanged bowl, grey-fumed ware, Gillam no. 314, c. A.D. 220-360. Similar prov.
- 131. Bead-rim dish, black-fumed ware, Gillam no. 319, c. A.D. 200-350. Similar prov.
- 132. Mortarium, cream ware, cf. Gillam, no. 275-6, c. A.D. 250-330. Similar prov.

From the upper black layer of ditch-filling came a large quantity of pottery, illustrated by the following pieces. Not shown are late cavetto pots in black-fumed and grey ware, and numerous varieties of red colour-coated and other slipped forms, mainly beakers: the red colour-coated included all the normal types, based on Dr. 45, Dr. 38, and Dr. 31; no rosette-stamped ware occurred. The vessels are too fragmentary to be worth illustration here and add nothing either to the dating of the layer or to the Silchester pottery-series as a whole. Maroon New Forest fragments also occurred.

- 133. Mortarium, cream ware, white quartz grits; see no. 132.
- 134-5. Carinated bowls, white ware, brown paint on rim and carination moulding. Cf. May, pl. 55, no. 4. Probably New Forest ware; fourth-century.
- 136. Soft micaceous buff ware, red colour-coat. Fourth-century.
- 137. Flanged bowls in black or grey fumed ware; cf. Gillam, nos. 228 and 231, c. A.D. 310-70 and 370-400, though our no. 138 is not necessarily as late as this.
- 139. Dish in black-fumed ware. Probably fourth-century.
- 140. Rim in vesicular dark brown/black ware. This is uncommon at Silchester and much more common on the western side of the island, e.g. at Segontium (where the fabric is indistinguishable from this), Caerleon (the same) and Caerwent, in addition to Lydney (*Report 1932*, fig. 27, no. 57) which provides the Valentinianian dating.
- 141. [Fig. 8c]. Stamp S.REP. or S.RFP. on the belly of a globular amphora in cream-washed orange-red ware, somewhat friable, which may perhaps be typical of later products of the Spanish industry, to some extent replacing the normal gritty buff ware. The stamp is not in Callender's *Amphorae*.

## TRENCH D (fig. 14)

- 142. Necked jar in soft grey-brown ware, traces of dark grey surface coating; friable. Cf. May, pl. 66, no. 193. The rim-form suggests a first-second-century dating, cf. Gillam, nos. 103/108, c. A.D. 80-130. Hardly later.
- 143. Similar ware, gritty and with dark brown slip. From the rim of a necked bowl, date as no. 142 or earlier.

## SITE E (nothing kept)

## SITE F (fig. 14)

- 144. Jug-base, warm white ware, a few superficial light red smears. The base falls within the range *Cam.* types 140 ff. and is Claudio-Neronian. Surface of ground below remains of Primary Outer Earthwork bank.

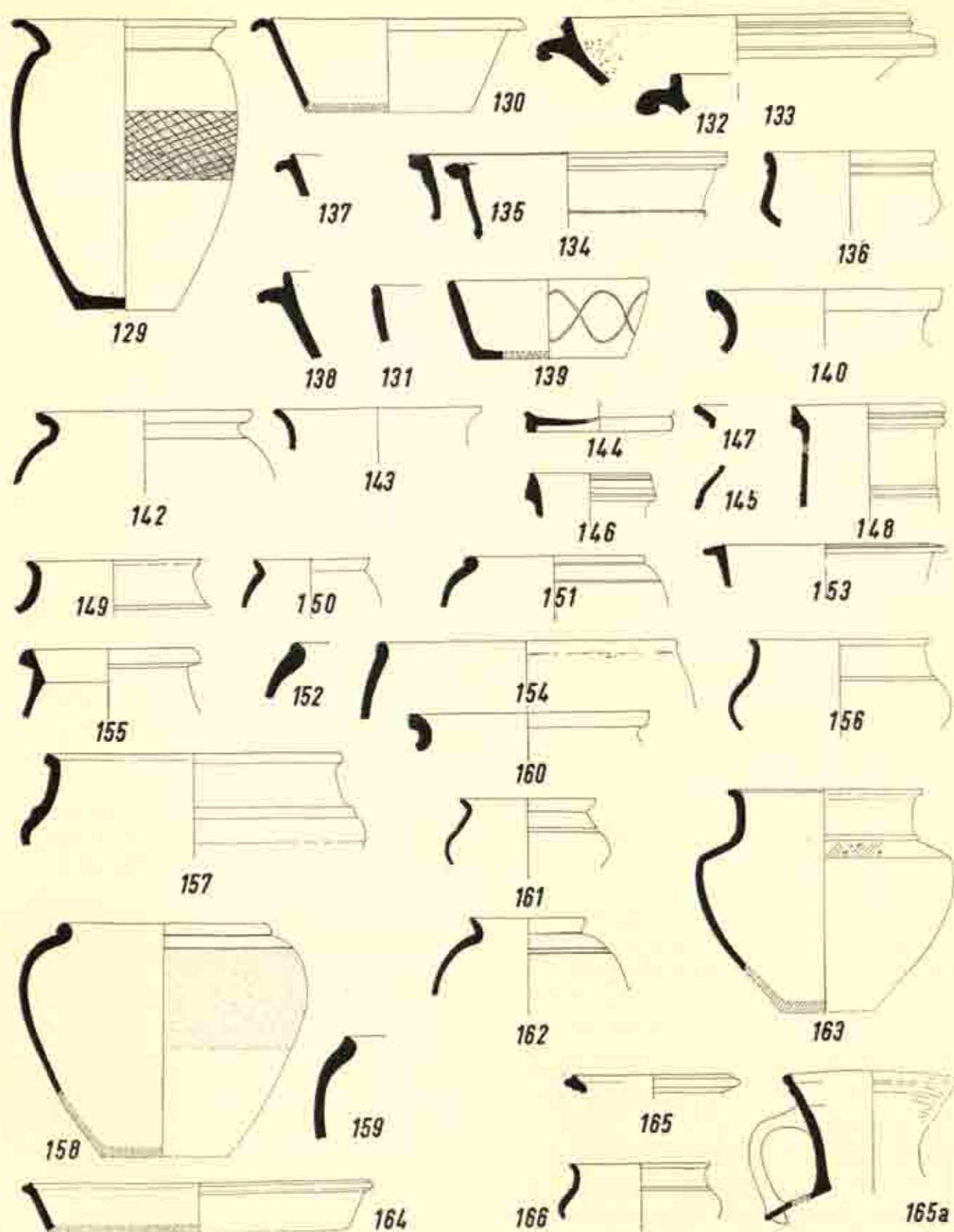


FIG. 14. Silchester 1954-8: coarse pottery. Nos. 129-32, lower, and nos. 133-40, upper, filling of Outer Earthwork ditch, Site C; nos. 142-3, Trench D; nos. 144-7, Site F; nos. 148-53, Inner Earthwork ditch, Site H; nos. 154-64, hut; nos. 165-6, sites J and L, various. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



145. Cordoned shard in soft brown ware, probably from a native butt-beaker imitation. Same prov. Some amphora shards, in friable yellow-buff (early) ware were also found here.
146. Jug-rim, light orange ware; May, pl. 60, no. 110; *Cam.* type 163. Claudio-Neronian. Ditch filling.
147. Native brown ware; rim from a butt-beaker imitation, cf. our no. 37. Ditch filling. Also found here were more amphora shards as mentioned under no. 145; two grey pot-bases, and a fragment of 'Colchester' butt-beaker (plain).

SITE G (*nothing worth publishing independently of Site C*)

SITE H (fig. 14)

The following material was found in the eastern ditch-butt of the Inner Earthwork, sealed by Roman street-metalling (p. 12).

148. Jug neck, hard grey ware. Probably an early Roman copy of *Cam.* type 160A.
149. Necked bowl, hard grey ware; cf. our no. 121.
150. Jar, grey ware, brown surface.
151. Bead-rim jar, hard grey ware, cf. our no. 118.
152. 'Silchester' flint-gritted bead-rim jar.

For sigillata, see p. 12. *Terra nigra*: *Cam.* type 16AC (one).

The following came from the upper filling of the west ditch-butt:

153. Flanged bowl, orange-brown ware. Cf. *A.* lxxviii, 179, fig. 19, nos. 3-7 (Caerleon amphitheatre. Commentary still gives the best account of the form). Flavian.

The following material comes from the site of a hut extending partly below the street issuing from the south gate (p. 12).

154. Native jar, without the plentiful flint grits characteristic of the 'Silchester' ware. Trench H(5), below the first floor of the hut.
155. Butt-beaker, grey ware, buff surface. Cf. *Cam.* type 113 (the 'Colchester' type) for form; Claudian local copy?
156. Necked bowl in brown native ware; black surface. Cf. our no. 39. Claudian?
157. Cordon jar in black coarse native ware, soapy surface; cf. our no. 208 from below the Inner Earthwork. Claudian or earlier.
158. Bead-rim jar, hard grey black ware. Cf. our nos. 118, 151. Pre-Flavian?
159. Bead-rim bowl in 'Silchester' flint-gritted ware.

Nos. 155-9 came from the lower occupation-level of the hut, which continued below the street. For sigillata, see fig. 10, no. 47; plus part of a Dr. 27. *Terra nigra*: *Cam.* types 8, 14, 16AC; for stamp CASAR, on a base (14? 16AC?) see fig. 3, no. 12. *Terra rubra* imitation, fragment in fabric of our no. 109.

The following come from the upper floor of the hut not extending below the street (no. 160) and from the filling of a pit contemporary with this upper floor (p. 12).

160. Rim, hard grey ware. Cf. our no. 142. Probably Flavian.



- 161. Butt-beaker, fine orange ware with small flint grits or particles; probably local.
- 162. Jar, hard grey ware, with traces of an orange slip.
- 163. Hard grey ware. The decoration on the shoulder is drawn from another example in the same deposit. Cf. Silchester, *A.* xcii, 169, fig. 13, nos. 3 and 21, c. A.D. 100-40.
- 164. Hard greyish-brown ware; lid-groove at rim. Could possibly be deeper and of carinated shape.

For Flavian sigillata (Dr. 29) see fig. 9, no 48, p. 59; Dr. 27 and 42 also occurred. Other pottery included a roughcast beaker in cream ware, coating gone; a beaker in *terra rubra*; *terra nigra* platter, copy in local black ware; amphora shards; and two Romanised and one native 'Silchester' bead-rims.

SITE J and SITE L (figs. 14-16). For the stratified Belgic series, see nos. 180 ff.

Pottery from the dark soil forming the crest between the two ditches of the inner Roman defences (p. 11).

- 165. Red ware, white slip. Form uncertain, perhaps from the mouth of a jug such as *Gillam*, nos. 59-60, dated c. A.D. 80-130, but not necessarily so late. A large fragment of the neck of the same or a similar vessel occurred in the lowest gravel silting of the outer, or wall-, ditch, and could have been derived from this layer (no. 165a).
- 166. Brownish-grey ware, necked jar, cf. our no. 156, etc. Two or three examples.
- 167. Rough reddish-brown ware with quartz tempering and a notable inclusion of golden-bronze mica platelets up to 2.5 mm. or so in length, both in the body and on the surface. The jar, with lid-groove at the rim, is well matched by *Cam.* type 262, continental, pre-Conquest and later.
- 168. Brownish-grey ware, mica-dusted. Cf. our no. 128.
- 169. 'Silchester' flint-gritted bead-rim jar.

Pottery from the mass of the bank of the Inner Earthwork and in all probability incorporated into the bank at the time of its construction; cf. our no. 19 above.

- 170. Grey ware, buff surface; butt-beaker, with decoration of 'cord' impressions arranged in a haphazard zigzag, several rows. For form, cf. our no. 37. The type of decoration appears, better done, at Haltern, *Westf. Mitt.* v, Taf. 15, type 85 (similar 'early' rim, but not doubly beaded, as here) and p. 283, Abb. 43, second row, left. The ware of our beaker is soft, somewhat soapy native, and the vessel is presumably a copy of an imported specimen. Cf. *Cam.* type 115B. Could well be pre-Conquest.
- 171. Grey ware, orange-brown surface; cordon jar, cf. fig. 4, nos. 1-2 above. From Site L.
- 172. Grey ware, brown surface, soapy native; probably from a biconical jar such as our no. 48 type.



- 173. Brown-buff native flint-gritted ware; everted-rim store-jar, cf. our no. 77, but very thin at the neck (probably local thinness only).
- 174. Native flint-gritted bead-rim jar.
- 175. Similar ware, very crude. Cf. our no. 72. Not a common form at Silchester.

Other pottery from the mass of the bank includes a small everted beaker rim in cream ware, form uncertain; a thin shard of orange ware with mica-dusted surface, form uncertain; a shard of imported amphora, dark red ware, with small quartz grits as tempering (probably not a 'carrot'). Apart from shards of a large store-jar of our no. 173 type, the local forms are confined to scraps of one or more necked bowls as found beneath the bank. There is nothing necessarily later than c. A.D. 43.

Analogous pottery from the main yellow sand infilling of the ditch of the Inner Earthwork, possibly though not quite certainly uncontaminated bank material, included two native copies of Gallo-Belgic platters, one of *Cam.* type 24, dated c. A.D. 43 onwards, and a fragment of true *terra nigra*. Earthy sand on top of this layer produced two *terra nigra* platters, *Cam.* types 5A and 8.

Pottery from Roman-period disturbances in the Inner Earthwork bank-area, when levelled to near the present profile.

- 176. Cream ware. Probably a jug-neck: cf. *Cam.* type 139. Presumably pre-Flavian. Fragments of a Roman orange-ware, cream-coated jug and a *terra nigra* platter, a reddish-black necked bowl, and two native bead-rims in flint-gritted ware, were found with this vessel in the hollow caused by the subsidence of the remains of the bank into the filling of the deep Belgic rubbish-pit below (p. 14). The only sigillata was a Claudian Dr. 24.
- 177. Jar; see our no. 167. From an early Roman pit yielding other pottery, of which the sigillata may be noted here: Dr. 18, 24, 27, 29, or 37, Flavian.
- 178. Black fumed-ware cavetto cooking-pot, with the following
- 179. Black fumed-ware bowl, of Hadrianic-Antonine date. Both from a pit with Antonine plain samian, Dr. 18/31, 31, 33. Apart from a slight superficial scatter of late Roman pottery, there was little on Site J or L of comparable date.
- 180. [Fig. 8 c]. Reddish-orange mortarium with buff slip, and stamp or counter-stamp FECI[T. The profile is misleading as the flange is being formed into the spout, and further along the circumference was probably more hooked.

SITE J: *Stratified Belgic series* (p. 13) (figs. 15-16).

#### *Imported*

- 181. [Not illus.] One shard, butt-beaker, pinkish-buff ware, creamy-buff slip, lightly rouletted in an imbricated-leaf pattern. The only imported piece.

#### *Non-local*

- 182. [Not illus.] Three small shards, butt-beaker, thin sandy orange ware, thin grey core in one; two rouletted, one from a cordon. Cf. our no. 36, similar.

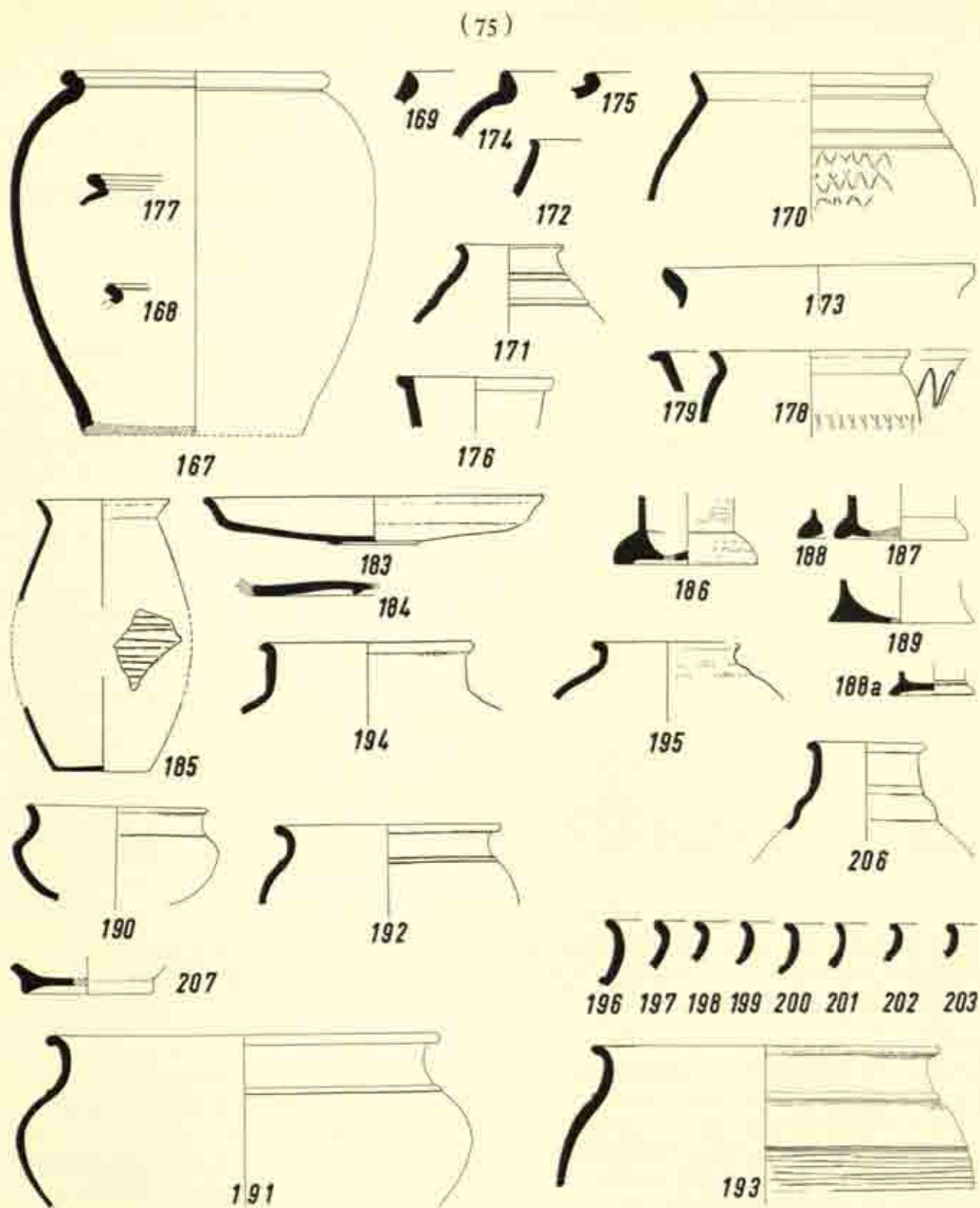


FIG. 15. Silchester 1954-8: coarse pottery. Nos. 167-9, Sites J and L, various (cont.); nos. 170-5, bank of Inner Earth-work; nos. 176-9, Roman disturbances in the bank; nos. 180-203, stratified Belgic series. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



*Local copies of Gallo-Belgic forms*

183. Platter, brown ware, burnished, soapy. *Cam.* type 32 range.  
 184. Base from a similar platter. This looks like a copy of *Cam.* type 16AC, cf. our no. 24 above; a type stated (*Cam.* 220) to be deformed by careless stacking in the kiln. The appearance of the type at Hofheim shows that it is probably 'late' and it is only just pre-Conquest at Camulodunum.  
 185. Pinkish-brown ware, butt-beaker; the body horizontally striated. It is not certain that the base belongs as drawn, but it seems to. One might otherwise expect a slight reverse curve, cf. May, pl. 76, no. 3.

There were two or three examples of platters and two or three similar beakers.

*Pedestal bases*

- 186-8. Dark brown to black ware with a grey core; slight rilling of the external surface. It is uncertain which of the varied rim-forms (see below) fitted these bases, and they are therefore described separately. They are all of the same 'late' type as found, for example, in Prae Wood (*Ver.* Group B, fig. 16, nos. 49 a-c); note also Selsey, *Aj.* xiv, 49, fig. 5, no. 14. The centre of the base shown in fig. 186 is not certainly from the same vessel but must be from one of the three. The dimple in the underside recalls the Theale (Berks.) base, *TNDFC.* viii, 59, fig. 21, no. 27, of which there are said to be two examples; but there is only one with the material from the Ballast Hole in Reading Museum. For the cord on above the foot, typical of the earlier type of pedestal base, e.g. *Swarling*, pl. 6, note our 188A, similar ware, from Joyce's excavations, 1864-78, find-spot unknown. As mentioned in the text (p. 13) these are the only recorded quoit pedestal bases from Silchester, and they are an intrusive type. See commentary, p. 79.  
 189. Burnt. A copy, perhaps, of e.g. *Swarling*, pl. 7, nos. 5-7. Cf. May, pl. 76, no. 8.

*Necked Bowls and Jars, Pedestal Urns?*

These vessels are all in a more or less (buff- to blackish-) brown ware, mostly of soft, somewhat soapy, feel. They have been carefully made and usually have been smoothed or burnished externally.

190. An unusual bowl, Cf. *Ver.* Group B, fig. 15, nos. 37, 42; *Cam.* type 224, none an exact match, but with the same essentials. The high shoulder, plus cordon here vestigial, may be seen on *Cam.* type 222, or at Crayford (Kent), *PPS.* 1938, 161, fig. 7, 3; and note also Selsey, *Aj.* xiv, no. 10.  
 191-2. Unusually large diam. and one of more typical size. Possibly from pedestal urns, to which the profile corresponds closely, e.g. *Swarling*, pl. 6, nos. 3-4, etc. Cf. Theale, *TNDFC.* viii, nos. 23-4.  
 193. Large jar, black ware, horizontal rilling or striations much as *Ver.* Group B, fig. 20, nos. 61 d-e, etc. Just possibly part of a pedestal urn, cf. an Aylesford



- example, *PPS.* 1965, 332, fig. 9, no. 67, which has no cordon but which does have the same blank area below the neck. No base, however, appears to correspond to this vessel. NB. No Silchester vessels have the vertical or transverse striations characteristic of other Belgic groups, e.g. *Ver.* pl. 51 (Wheathampstead); figs. 18-20 *passim* (Group B); Canterbury (Rose Lane, *ACant.* lxviii, figs. 3, 5 *passim*; where note the comment, p. 112).
194. Tall vertical rim, possibly from a bulbous jar such as May, pl. 75, no. 4.
195. Sandy grey ware, hard; buff slip on rim?
- 196-203. Variants of rim forms.
204. [Fig. 8c]. Decorated shard, grey ware, from the shoulder of a necked form. This type of triangular hatching appears at Aylesford, *PPS.* 1965, 330, fig. 7, no. 50.
205. [Fig. 8c]. Decorated shard, grey ware, perhaps from a bowl such as *Swarling*, pl. 8, no. 20, same but finer style.

These are the only two decorated shards from the deposit. The style is in every sense commonplace; cf. *Ver.* Group B, fig. 16; Theale, *TNDFC.* viii, no. 25, etc.

206. Cordon jar, hard brown ware. Common at Silchester: cf. our nos. 47, 171, and e.g. May, pl. 76, nos. 9-10, pl. 77, no. 1 (our fig. 4, nos. 1-2) and known elsewhere, but not common. *Cam.* type 232c 'stands alone'. Not apparently included in the Aylesford or *Swarling* series, though cf. *Swarling*, pl. 9, no. 32.
207. Base-ring, probably of a 'footring bowl' of the type studied by J. B. Ward-Perkins, *A.* xc, 144-6, fig. 5, no. 1 (The Caburn); distribution-map, fig. 6; 'Wealden' or 'South-Eastern B', cf. *PPS.* 1938, 163, fig. 9, nos. 1-4; see our comment, p. 79. Note also Selsey, *Aj.* xiv, no. 13.
208. Jar, coarse black ware, rough cordons; cf. *Swarling*, pl. 9, no. 31. It is *Cam.* type 229; the commentary alludes to the early appearance of the form at Wheathampstead (*Ver.* pls. 49-50 *passim*) and the commonness of the form at Camulodunum, in Period I and later. The ware would appear to be similar to ours; cf. also our no. 157.

#### *Bead-rim jars*

209. Several examples; well-made, usually burnished orange-brown surface, slightly soapy. No complete profile, but it seems certain that the base belongs as drawn. The origin of this type, already known at Silchester (*A.* xcii, 153, fig. 11, no. 21, dated c. A.D. 45-65) may well be the bowl appearing in 'South-Eastern B' *milieux*, e.g. *PPS.* 1938, 163, fig. 9, no. 8, note no. 6 (Crayford). It is a fairly widely distributed type; *ibid.* 165, fig. 11, no. 5 (Lexden) illustrates *Cam.* type 249, complete, with base-ring; and at Chichester there is a specimen in Romanized grey ware (*SAC.* xciv, 128, no. 1). The form also appears e.g. at Worthy Down (*PHFC.* x, 182, pl. 3, nos. 32-3). Not apparently at Verulamium.
210. Variant with doubly beaded lip and groove below. One only.



78 BELGIC AND ROMAN SILCHESTER: EXCAVATIONS OF 1954-8

211. Variant in black ware (probably merely burnt) showing cordon and girth-grooves. One only.  
 212. Example (also burnt black) where the bead-rim has become vestigial.  
 213. Small variety, probably of the same type as the preceding.

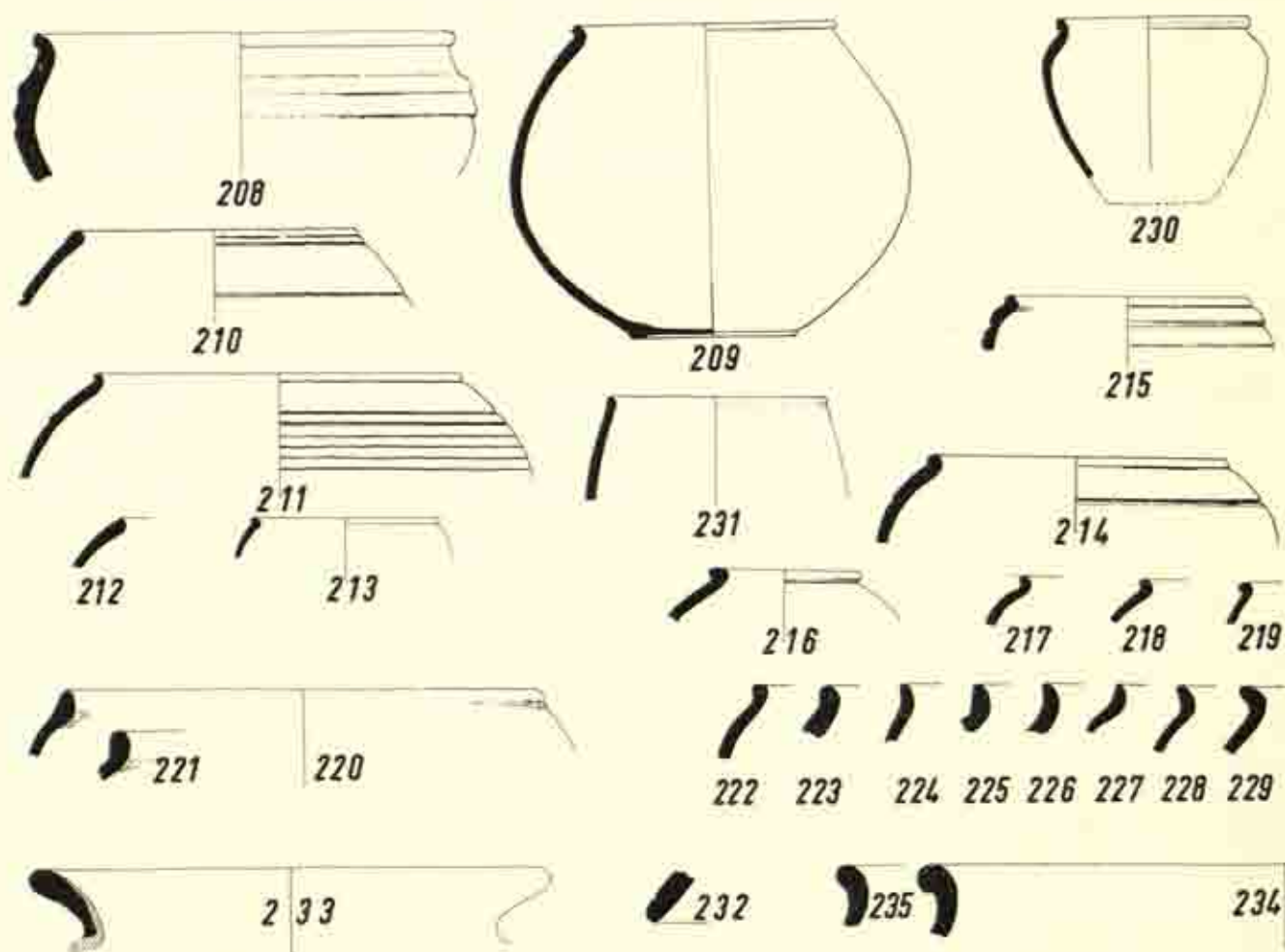


FIG. 16. Silchester 1954-8: coarse pottery, Site J, stratified Belgic series (cont.). Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

214. Coarse black ware, possibly a local version of the same type, but equally possibly of a more ovoid shape, as e.g. the Claudian London example, *Arch.* lxxxvii, 289, fig. 28, no. 1—the girth-groove is there stated to be a Claudian feature, but may of course be somewhat earlier in origin, cf. our nos. 211-12. Two? examples.  
 215. Similar, but with broad cordon below rim. Cf. Roy, *Comm. Roman London* (1928) fig. 63, no. 2 for an analogous specimen. This shard was found on the surface of the flint hearth (p. 13) and another piece of the same bowl appeared in the yellow sand of the Inner Earthwork bank above. Possibly it may not strictly belong to the pre-Earthwork series.

216. Soft grey ware. This appears to be within the range of *Cam.* type 249 (and cf. type 249 D) but is evidently not our wide-bellied type.
- 217-9. Varieties of small beaded rims. The last is of coarse ware. Cf. *PHFC.* x, Worthy Down no. 66.
- 220-1. The only examples of the 'Silchester' flint-gritted ware, in this form, from the deposit: see our no. 57 for a general comment. These (ware apart) and the following rims fall within the *ambiance* of the so-called 'Charlton' bead-rims, *JBAA.* n.s. xxii, 183, fig. 22, *passim*; further studied by Ward-Perkins, *A.* xc, 170, and distribution-map, fig. 10, which indicates a north Kent and Surrey spread not quite as far west as the river Loddon. See p. 80 for comment.
- 222-3. Bead-rims of similar type but in soft dark ware. I believe the distinction of fabric between these and the preceding forms is not altogether without chronological significance.
- 224-9 Rims in similar ware. Unlike the preceding, these appear at Selsey, *AJ.* xiv, fig. 5, nos. 1-9.

#### *Miscellaneous forms*

230. Bead-rim bowl of different type: cf. our no. 70, similar brown ware, but harder. A continental prototype may be e.g. *ArchJ.* lxxxvii, 274, fig. 24, no. 1. One only.
231. Beaker? in fine grey ware with some white sand; burnished outer surface. Cf. Worthy Down, *PHFC.* x, 186, pl. 4, no. 64, same ware? One only.
232. Lid in native 'Silchester' ware, flint-gritted. The only lid.
233. Store-jar in flint-gritted ware, cf. our no. 76. One only.
234. Store-jar in soft grey ware with brown surface. Cf. *Ver.* Group B, fig. 18, no. 60A, etc. One only.
235. Similar rim in harder grey ware with brownish surface. One only.

#### *Comparative remarks*

Insofar as parallels have been drawn to the forms from this deposit, local material has been drawn upon wherever possible. The great assemblage from Camulodunum has been cited here and there and, with more immediate relevance, the Verulamium (Prae Wood) series. It was found that there was a virtual identity of fabric between Silchester and Prae Wood shards, at least within the limits of specimens of the latter kept at the National Museum of Wales. The significance of the quoit pedestal bases has already been mentioned: they demonstrate, together with various other types and the parallel in fabric, the presence of an intrusive element and one of dominant importance. Apart from this, it is possible to see in our nos. 209-13 a type of vessel which emanated from the south of the kingdom, by virtue of its affinity with material studied by Ward Perkins thirty years ago and named 'South Eastern B'. May notes another vessel which has this affinity, the omphalos bowl (May, pl. 75, no. 9—cf. also no. 4). For convenience, this rather old term has been used in this report up to the



present moment, and this is the appropriate place in which to refer to the fact that the pottery so named combines a 'genuine Southern Second B with something else, which is exotic; and an element in this exotic material is precisely this omphalos bowl type, whether in bead-rim or necked version. It has a late la Tène distribution in the territory occupied by the Treveri and the Nervii, as revealed by recent work there (P. Bonenfant, *L'Antiquité Classique*, xxxv, 519-26).<sup>1</sup> I owe this quotation and the reference included therewith to Professor Hawkes.<sup>1</sup>

The bead-rim pottery is more difficult to assess. Whatever the true antecedents of the varieties found at Silchester may be—and this is not a matter upon which the present writer is able to contribute usefully—the form is too simple (especially in the often rude, devolved—or, alternatively, sometimes perhaps incipient—examples before us) to disentangle clearly at present from Iron Age B forms widely current south of the Thames. This report, therefore, offers no real advance on May's description of such vessels as 'British gritted ware', for this must be left to more competent pens: except, as it would seem, in one particular, which our excavations have shown very clearly, that the *heavily* flint-gritted, hand-made 'Silchester' type (our no. 57) would appear to have been largely a late pre-Conquest and early post-Conquest development, since it occurs rarely in the present deposit. The same is true of the large store-jar (our no. 76) which was also rare. The same forms exist without the large admixture of flint, and these may possibly be earlier.

Turning finally to the chronological position of the deposit, already commented upon above (p. 14), it may be pointed out that there are significant parallels to the greater number of vessels, except the pedestal-urns, in the large group from the early filling of the Inner Earthwork ditch, Trench B. In the Site J material, however, the leavening of Roman and Romanized pottery is totally absent. The outside upper limit for Trench B. III is *c.* A.D. 60, and 50-60 might be nearer the truth. Site J is therefore altogether earlier, but not too early for an apparent copy of the *terra nigra* platter, *Cam.* type 16AC, to be present. With the exception of this vessel, and stratigraphical argument apart (p. 14), the series might well be dated at the period of *c.* 5-35 chosen for Prae Wood. Yet we can be sure that the material could not well have been accumulated before A.D. 25, and there is no reason to suggest a terminal date before A.D. 43-4. Archaizing tendencies have been noted also in the Canterbury (Rose Lane) case (*ACant.* lxviii, 11-14): yet it is, perhaps, too easy to forget, when considering this phase of culture, that at the very most it extended over less than half a century from beginning to end.

### Abbreviated References

<i>A.</i>	<i>Archaeologia.</i>
<i>AC.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis.</i>
<i>ACant.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana.</i>
<i>AJ.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal.</i>
Allen	D. F. Allen, 'The origins of coinage in Britain'. Univ. Lond. Inst. Arch. Occas. Paper. no. 11, 1961, pp. 97-308.

<sup>1</sup> For our no. 209 type, cf. Bonenfant, *loc. cit.*, 522 fig. 9 no. A, 525 fig. 11 no. 2.



- Archj.* *Archaeological Journal.*  
*Bag.* E. M. Clifford *et al.*, *Bagendon, a Belgic Oppidum* (1961).  
*BAJ.* *Berkshire Archaeological Journal.*  
*BMC.* *British Museum Catalogue.*  
*Cam.* C. F. C. Hawkes and M. R. Hull, *Camulodunum* (Res. rept. Soc. Antiq. Lond. xiv, 1947).  
*CGP.* J. A. Stanfield and Grace Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters* (1958).  
*Déch.* J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (1904).  
*De la Tour* H. de la Tour, *Atlas des monnaies gauloises* (1892).  
*FAH.* J. P. Williams-Freeman, *Field Archaeology as illustrated by Hampshire* (1915).  
*Gillam* J. P. Gillam 'Types of Roman coarse pottery vessels in northern Britain', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, ser. 4, xxxv, 1957, pp. 180-251.  
*Holwerda* J. Holwerda, *De belgische Waar in Nijmegen* (1941).  
*JBA.A.* *Journal of the British Archaeological Association.*  
*JRS.* *Journal of Roman Studies.*  
*JW.* K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (Res. rept. Soc. Antiq. Lond. xv, 1948).  
*Knorr 1919* R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts* (1919).  
*Knorr 1952* R. Knorr, *Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe des ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen* (1952).  
*Koethe* H. Koethe, 'Zur gestempelten belgischen Keramik aus Trier', *Festschrift für August Oxé* (1938), pp. 89-109.  
*Mack* R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (1953).  
*May* T. May, *The Pottery found at Silchester* (1916).  
*Newstead* J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911).  
*Novaesium* H. Lehner, *Bonner Jahrbücher* Heft 111-12.  
*ORL.* *Der obergermanische-rhaetische Limes.*  
*Oswald, Figure Types* F. Oswald, *Index of Figure Types on Terra Sigillata* (1936-7).  
*Oswald, Stamps* F. Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata* (1931).  
*Oxé* A. Oxé, *Arretinische Reliefgefässe vom Rhein* (1933).  
*PHFC.* *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club.*  
*PPS.* *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.*  
*PSAL.* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (ser. 2).  
*R.C.R.F. Acta* *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores, Acta.*  
*RIB.* R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (1965).  
*RIC.* H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (1923-).  
*Richb. i, ii, iii, iv* J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Richborough* (Res. repts. Soc. Antiq. Lond. vi, vii, x, and xvi, 1926, 1928, 1932, 1949) 1-iv.  
*RS.* G. C. Boon, *Roman Silchester* (1957).  
*SAC.* *Sussex Archaeological Collections.*  
*Swarling* J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations of the Late-Celtic Urnfield at Swarling, Kent* (Res. rept. Soc. Antiq. Lond. x, 1925).  
*TNDFC.* *Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club.*  
*Ver.* R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium: a Belgic and Two Roman Cities* (Res. rept. Soc. Antiq. Lond. xi, 1936).  
*WAM.* *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine.*

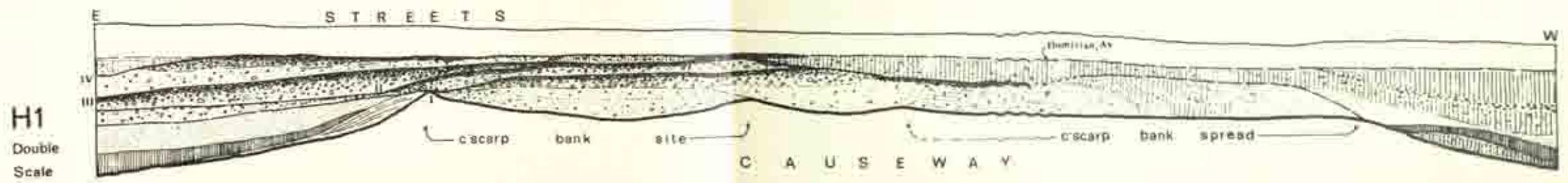
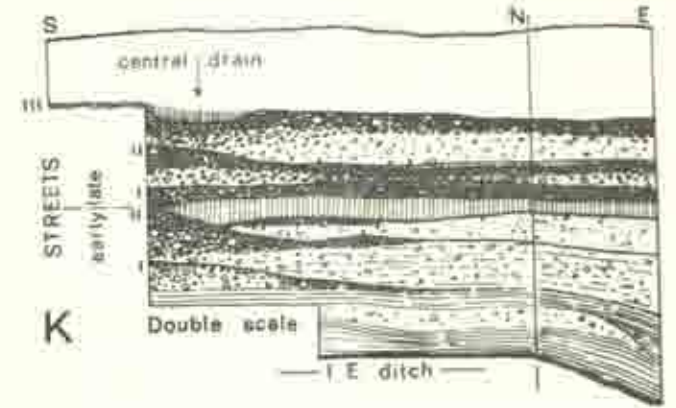
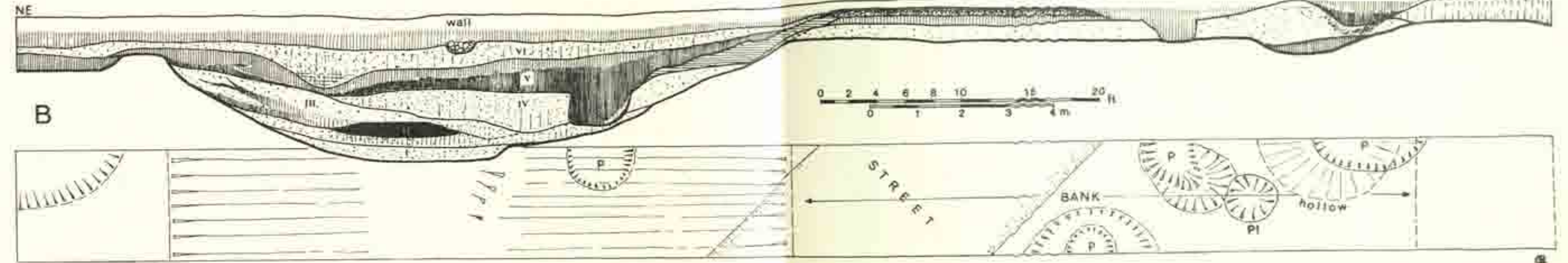




# SILCHESTER INNER EARTHWORK

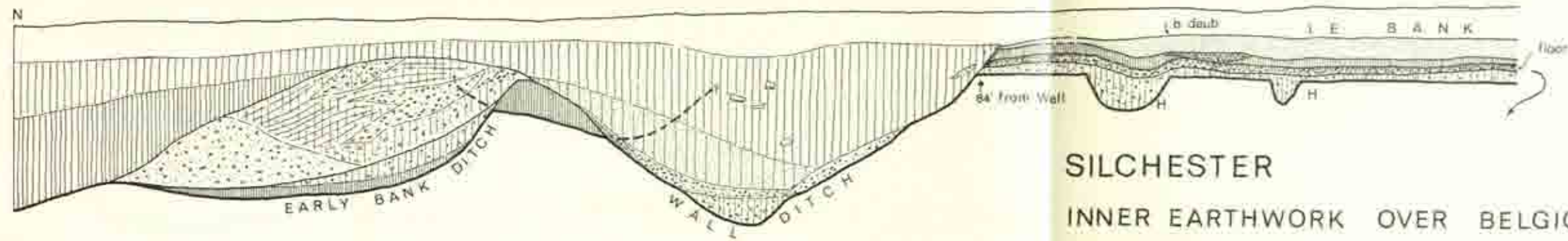
## KEY

-  gravel
-  sand
-  clay
-  earthy
-  dark soil
-  P pit
-  H post hole





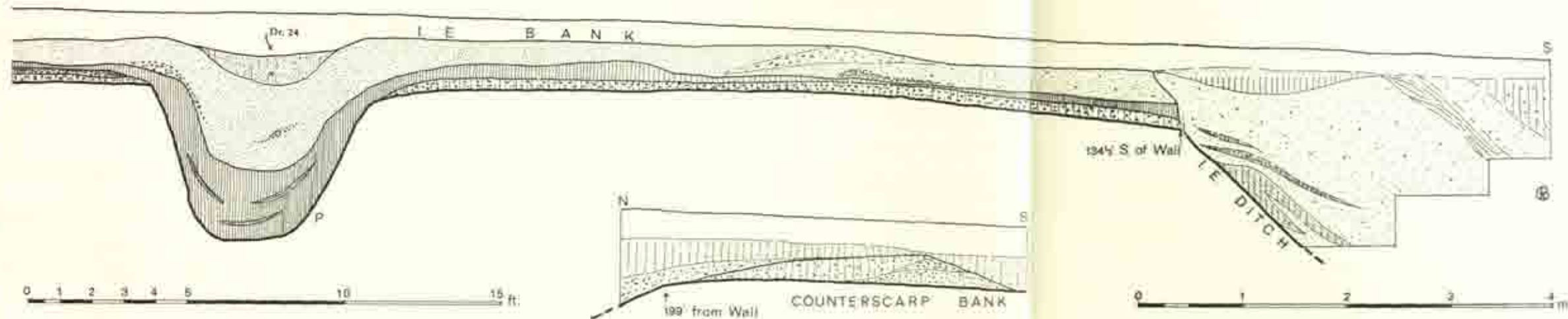




# SILCHESTER

INNER EARTHWORK OVER BELGIC  
OCCUPATION

J(B)

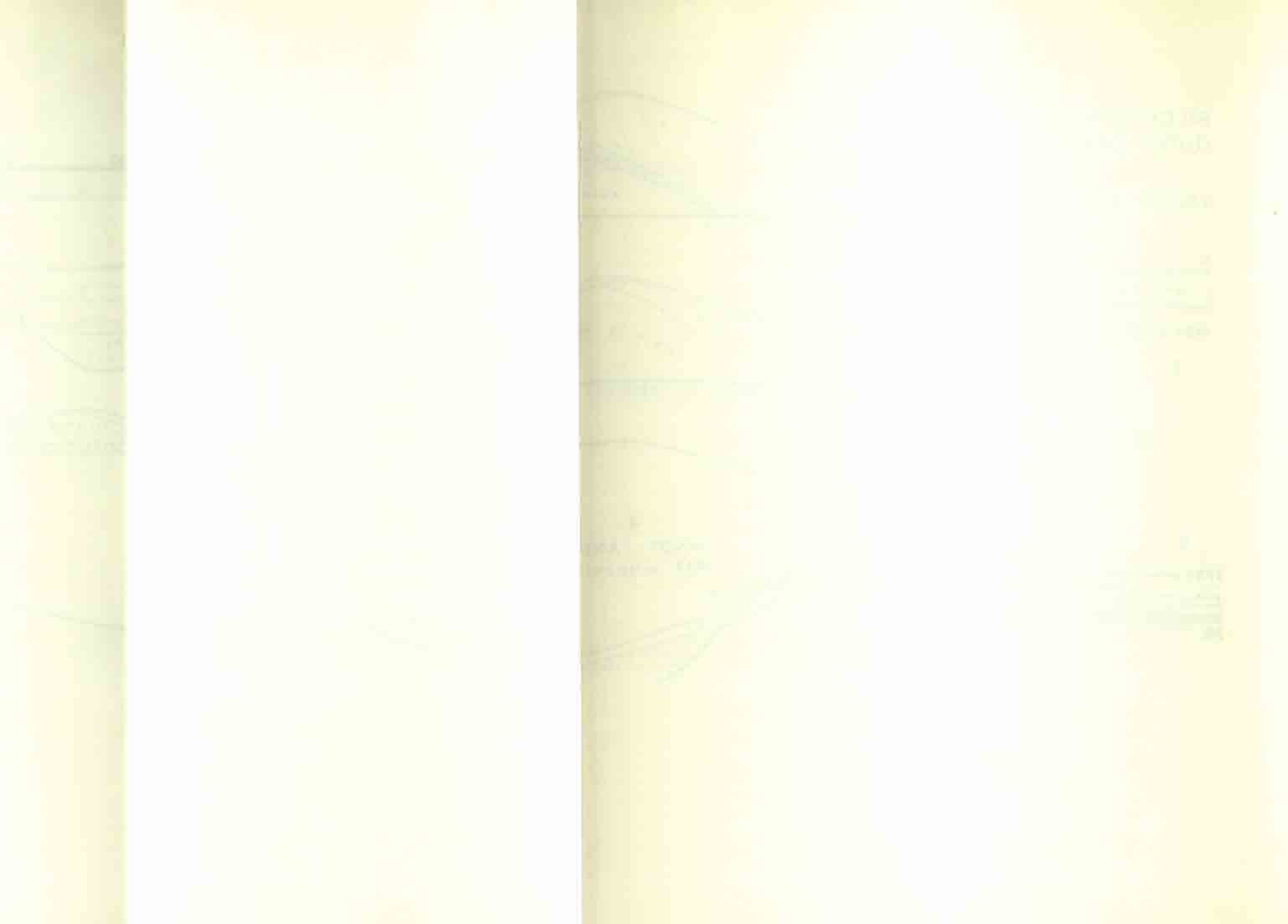


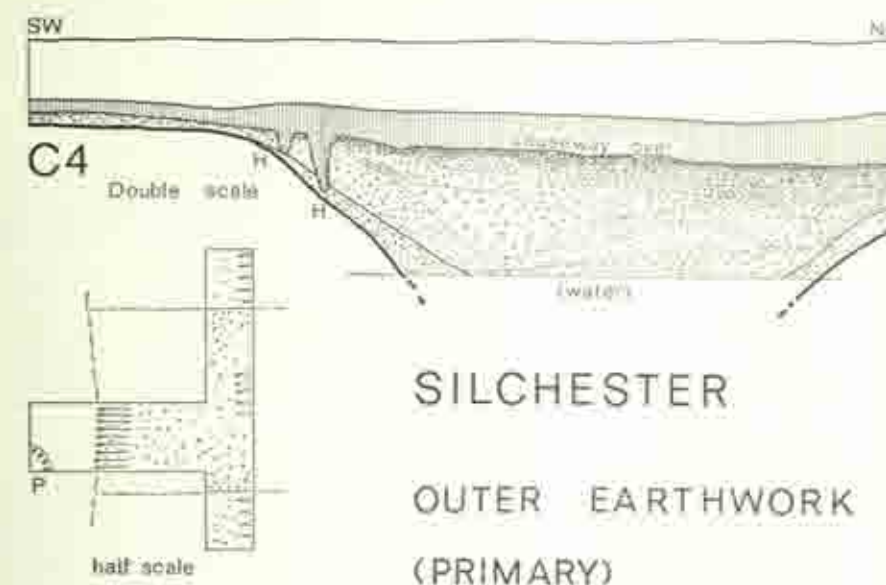
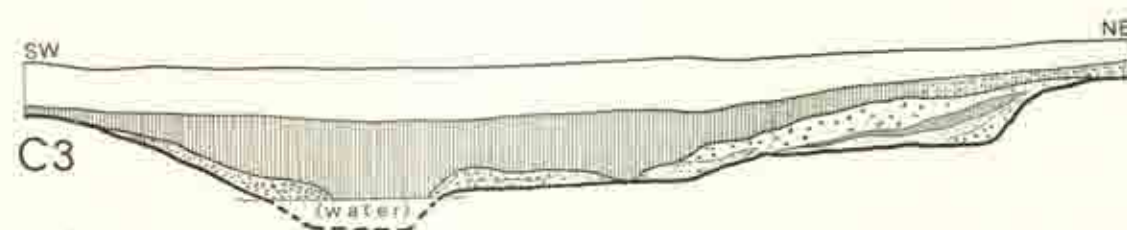
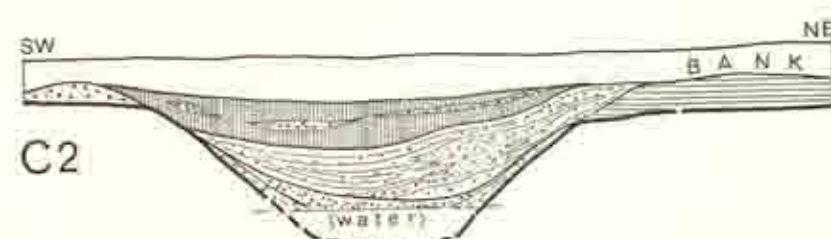
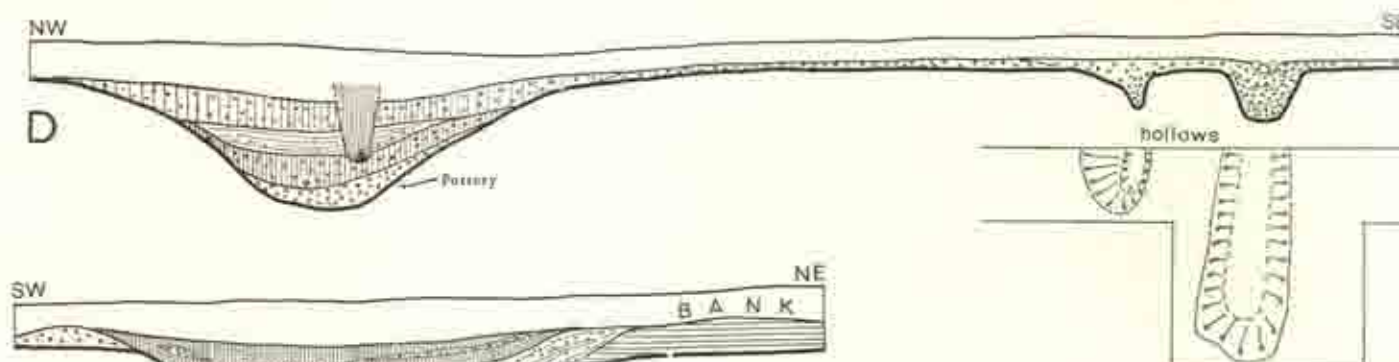
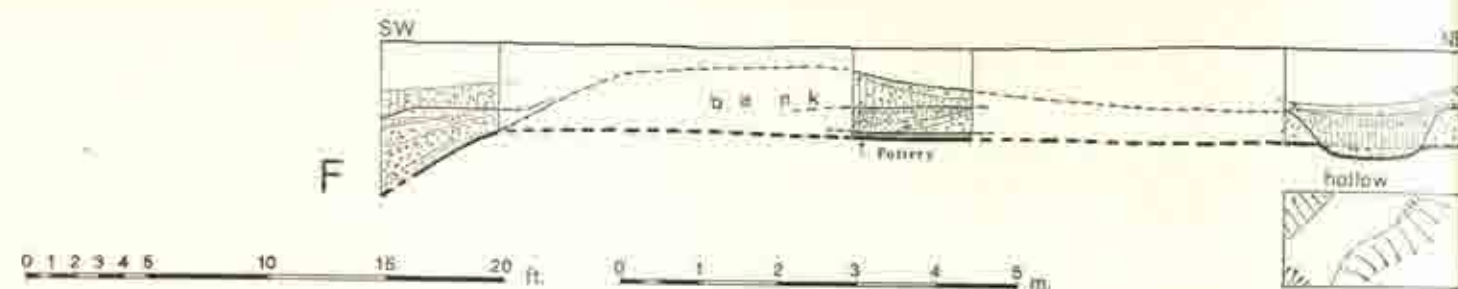




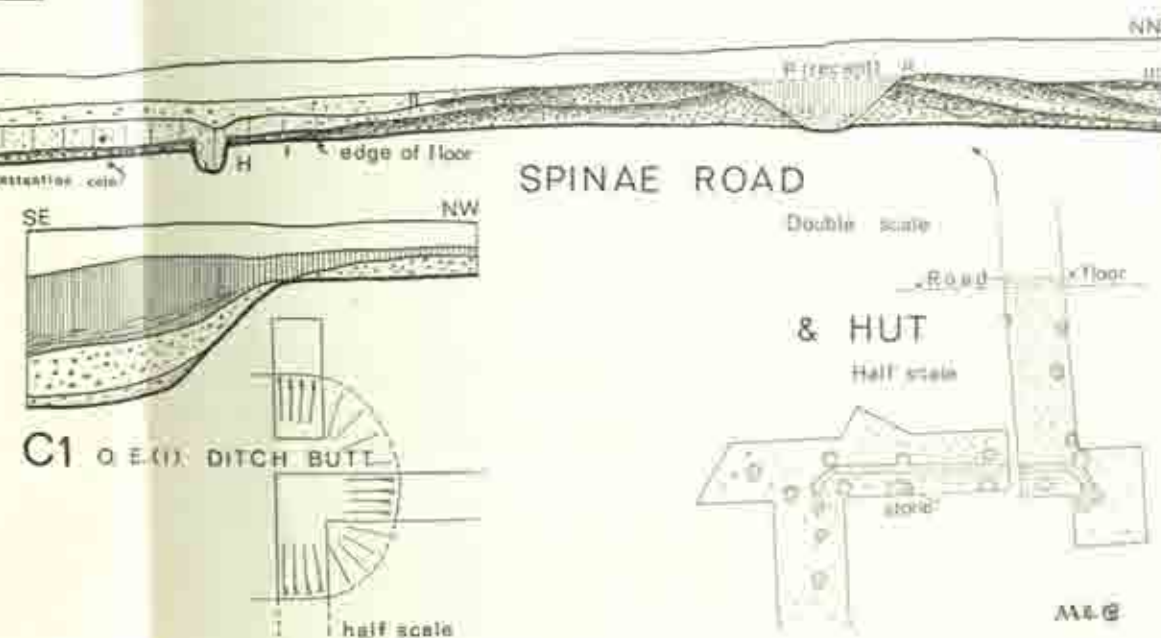






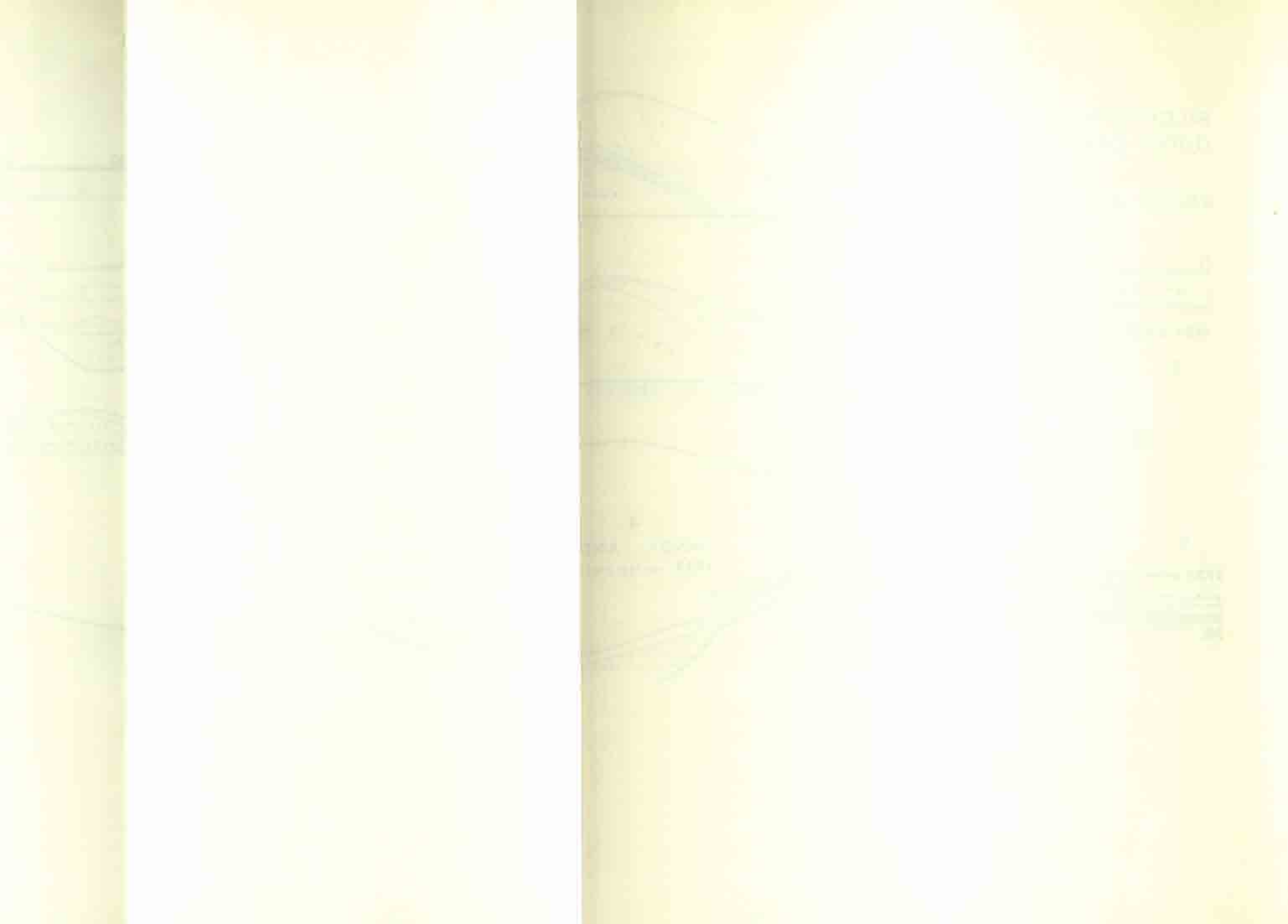


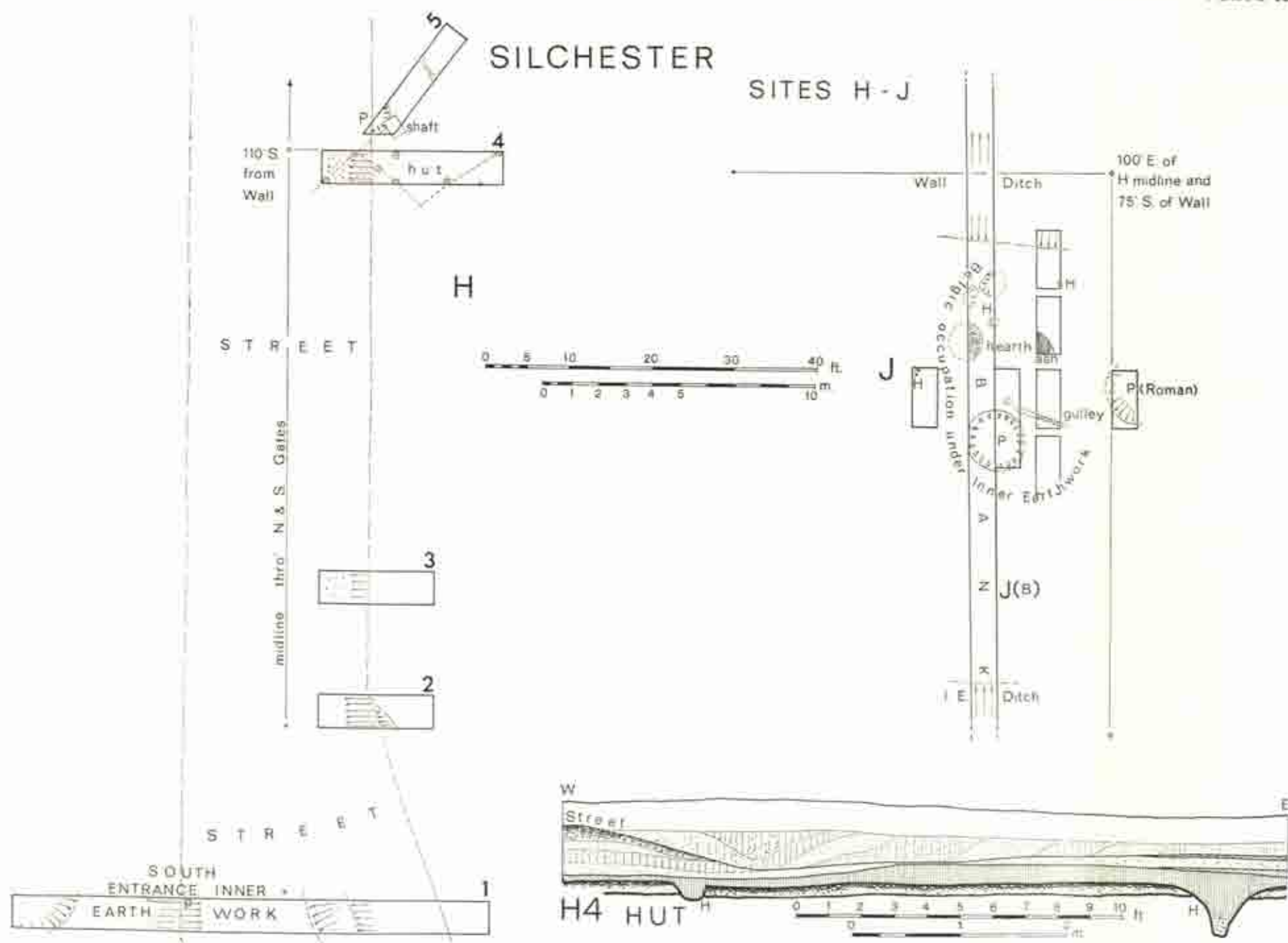
SILCHESTER  
OUTER EARTHWORK  
(PRIMARY)



SPINAE ROAD  
& HUT











# *The Medieval Pottery Kilns at Laverstock, near Salisbury, Wiltshire*

By JOHN MUSTY, M.A., A.R.I.C., F.S.A., D. J. ALGAR, and P. F. EWENCE

## INTRODUCTION

THIS medieval industry was operating one mile south-east of Salisbury at Nat. Grid Ref. SU/160298 (fig. 1). It lay in the Royal Forest of Clarendon, within which there are other hints of the medieval pottery industry.<sup>1</sup> Medieval sherds from Laverstock were first reported by Mr. Frank Stevens in 1940<sup>2</sup> and in 1955 further finds made during levelling of land formerly used as allotments and from road work were brought into Salisbury Museum.<sup>3</sup> The site was then examined, revealing a twelfth-century cesspit and two pits with pottery wasters of the thirteenth century (one associated with what is now identified as a potters' workshop) but still no kilns. The first kiln was found on a new road line in 1958 and further investigation was aided by a grant from the Ministry of Public Building and Works. During six months trial trenches were opened over 1½ acres; six kilns, two buildings, and eighteen pits (some of them twelfth century) were excavated. Another kiln was found in 1960, and two more in 1963 when a bank at the edge of Duck Lane was levelled, making nine kilns in all.<sup>4</sup> Some were stratigraphically interrelated, and were also in sequence with some pits.

## THE SITE (fig. 2)

The kilns lay on a gentle slope down to the River Bourne 300 yds. away and 100 yds. from the pottery finds of 1940. The kiln area covers the eastern half of 'Allotment

<sup>1</sup> One pottery waster each from West Grimstead and Ashley Hill, Petersfinger (in Salisbury Museum). In 1354, 64,000 tiles were bought for £12 16s. 0d., 1,000 hip tiles for 15s., and 50 crests for 2s. 6d. from Alderbury for Clarendon Palace (*Clarendon Works Accts.* P.R.O. E. 101/459/29). We are indebted to Mr. H. M. Colvin for this reference and for others from the same accounts which indicate that there was a separate roof-tile industry (at Alderbury) operating at least during the period 1354-88.

Of greater importance are documentary references kindly provided by Mrs. H. J. le Patourel as these possibly refer to the Laverstock pottery kilns. Willelmus le Potter and John le Potter are recorded (*Min. Acc.* 12, 17 Edward II, P.R.O. S.C. 6 1050/5a, 1050/7), as having 1 rood of brushwood (*subboscum*) in Clarendon Park and Forest. John le Potter specifically in the coppices of Asshele (Ashley), Chesil and Catsgrove, Ashley and Cattsgrove can still be identified and are on the western boundary of the Park on the downs above the kiln sites. Thus there is documentary evidence for kilns operating during the period 1318-23. References she has provided from the *Calendar, Liberate Rolls* (vol. 6), also show that kilns were operating in 1270. One records an allocation to the sheriff of Wilts. of 25s. for 1,000 pitchers bought and

carried from Muleford (Milford); the present site adjoins the river at Milford bridge and, in the thirteenth century, would have been described as of Milford. Also of interest is an entry in 1268 of an allocation for 1,000 pitchers (20s.) which includes an additional 5s. 10d. for their carriage from Clarendon to Winchester thus suggesting that Laverstock wares may yet be identified at Winchester and, if so, their presence could be due to 'secondary trading' as part of the effects of the Royal household.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.* xlix (1941), 490.

<sup>3</sup> By Mr. Wilmot, a Laverstock resident.

<sup>4</sup> All the pottery has been presented to Salisbury Museum by the landowner, Mr. E. Fielden, for whose help in all ways we are most grateful. Thanks are also due to the Ministry of Public Building and Works for the grant-in-aid. The investigation could not have been undertaken without the help of a large number of volunteers, many of them members of the Salisbury Museum Research Group. Throughout the excavation and subsequently, much practical help and encouragement was provided by Mr. Hugh Shortt, Dr. Gerald Dunning, Mr. John Hurst, and Mr. R. S. Newall. Finally Prof. E. M. Jope read the draft report and provided valuable textual criticism.



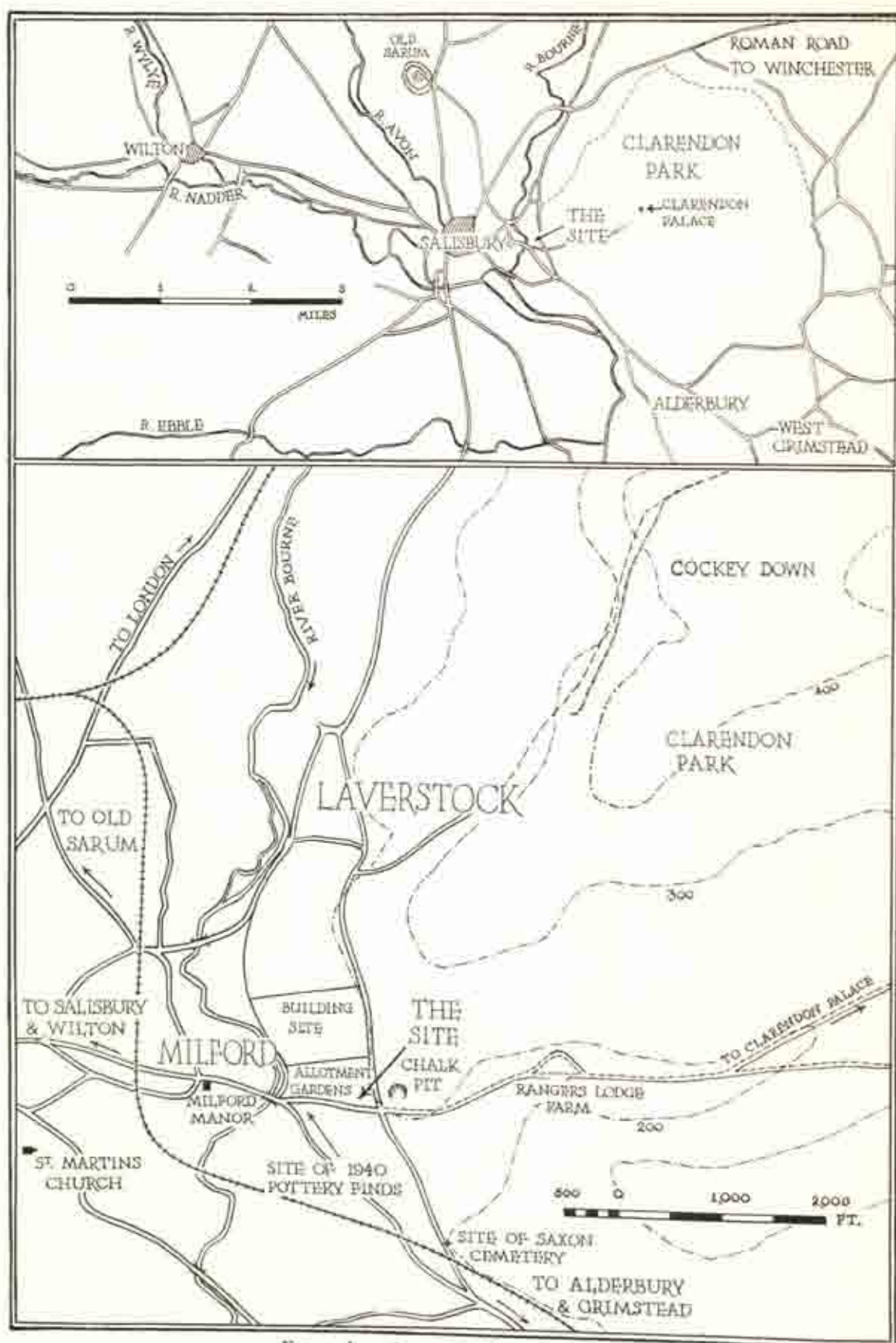


FIG. 1. Location map of Laverstock kilns





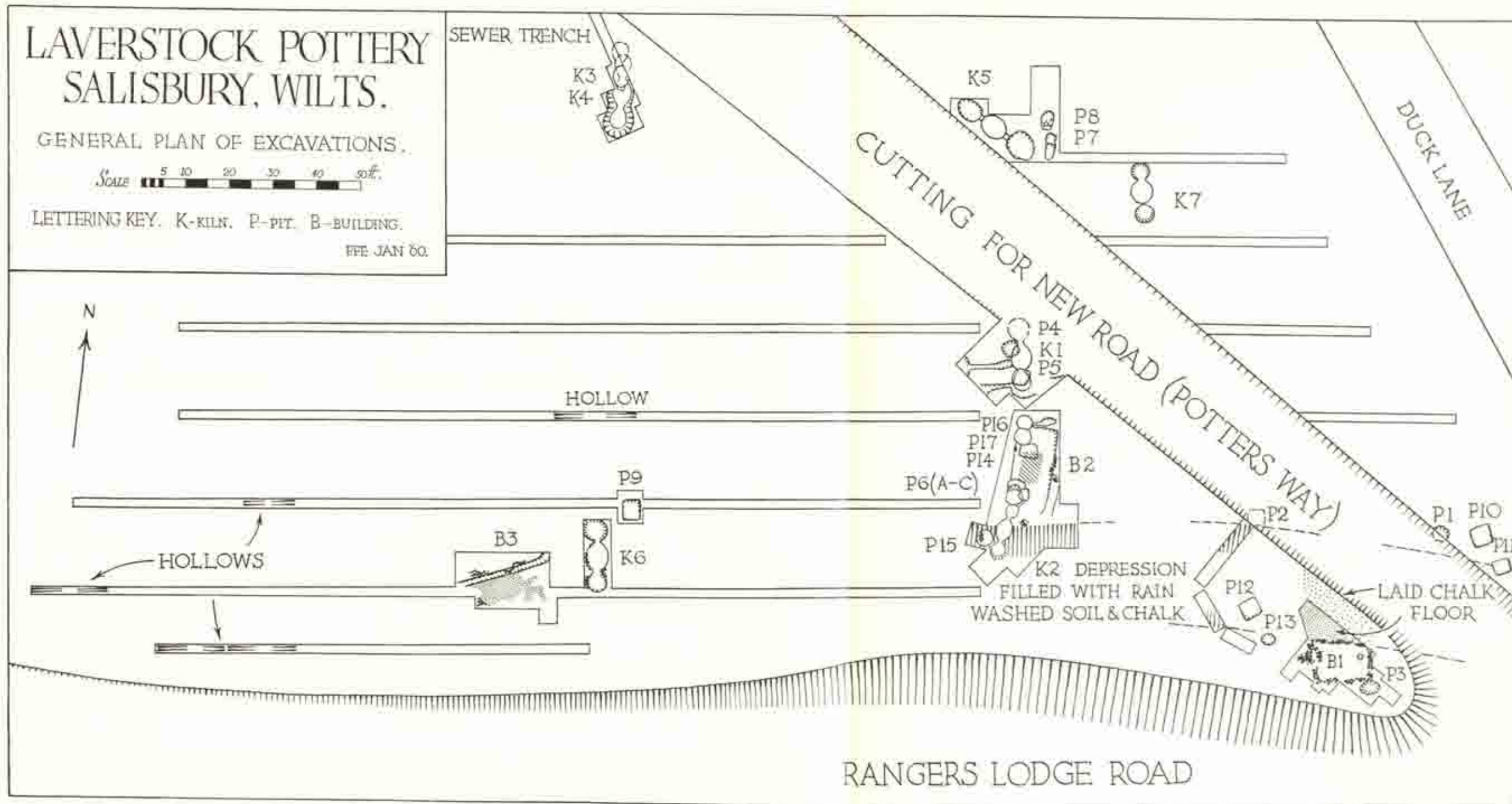


FIG. 2. Site plan

1872  
 1873

1874

1875  
 1876  
 1877

1878

1879

1880  
 1881  
 1882





Gardens'. The subsoil is Upper Chalk, and lower down the slope, Valley Gravel. The chalk is overlaid by hill-wash and marl, thickening towards the river. There is much ancient weathering of the chalk, ranging from small runnels like wheel-ruts (fig. 2 near Kiln 1) to one very large gulley like a sunken trackway (fig. 5).

The kilns higher up the slope had been dug into the chalk but those lower down into marl, an alluvial deposit of clay and chalk-wash. This marl fires red at lower temperatures, and takes a hard chalky texture with higher firing; it seems ideal for kiln construction and was used for the oven linings of kilns dug into the chalk. This marl was probably dug from hollows nearby (fig. 2).

The marl was, however, hardly suitable for pot-making. The nearest deposits of potting clay seem to be on Cockey Down and at Alderbury (fig. 1) and possibly on the Clarendon ridge<sup>1</sup> to the east—all Reading Beds. Examination of the fired pottery suggests some inclusion of London Clay, as could happen at Alderbury.

Thus the site for this industry had to hand all the necessary resources, clay, fuel and water; and further, it was accessible from the main route between Salisbury and Winchester. The industry may have owed its origin to the needs of the Royal Palace at Clarendon, but eventually its products reached Salisbury and beyond.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE KILNS (figs. 3, 4; pls. XII, XIII)

The Laverstock kilns are of the opposed double-flue type without internal structure (Type 2 *a* in the classification proposed by one of us).<sup>3</sup> This type is defined as having an oven pit joined by arched flues to opposed stokepits such that the oven floor is on the same level as the stokepits. These have hitherto been called 'horizontal' or, incorrectly, 'through-draught', and some have been misconstrued as fired at one end at a time, the other flue and stokepit serving as a chimney, whereas *both* flues were the sites of fireplaces.

The other main types of medieval kiln are the single-flue (Type 1) and the multi-flue (i.e. more than two flues) of Type 3. In the single-flue kiln (previously termed 'up-draught') the oven may have a raised floor (Type 1 *b*). Thus although the fireplace in Type 1 *b* is still nominally contained by an arched flue it could extend into the oven pit.

The disadvantages associated with the Type 2 *a* kiln compared with that of Type 1 *b* are (*a*) that the fire is in direct contact with the oven floor, which means that the lowest level of pots suffers considerable temperature fluctuation and is inevitably coated with ash, and (*b*) that the raking out is more difficult as the stokepit arches must be cleared out without damaging the pots placed behind them.

From the detailed dimensions of Kilns 1 to 8 at Laverstock (Table 1) it will be seen that the average length of the kiln axis is 17 ft. and that the oven pits are oval

<sup>1</sup> An hitherto unmapped deposit revealed recently during the laying of the Fawley-Avonmouth pipeline.

<sup>2</sup> It should be pointed out that there is a considerable scatter of wasters on the south side of the Clarendon road to the east of the 1940 discovery. The full extent of the kiln area will not be known, therefore, until building takes place over a much larger area, which has conse-

quently been scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts. The site of the present excavation is permanently commemorated by the name 'Potters Way', which has been given to the new road which revealed it.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. G. Musty, *The Medieval Pottery Industry in Great Britain* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Bristol University 1966).

in plan (about 5 ft. long) and sunk into the ground 4-5 ft. below the present ground surface.

TABLE I  
*Details of the Kilns*

<i>Kiln no.</i>	<i>Length of kiln axis</i>	<i>Diameter(s) of oven</i>	<i>Depth of oven floor below ground level</i>	<i>Comments</i>
1	18 ft.	5 ft. by 6 ft.	2 ft.	Cut in chalk. Built over and partly collapsed into earlier cesspits
2	14 ft.	5 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.	4 ft.	Cut partly in chalk. Oven lined with broken ridge tiles, wasters, and flints
3	c. 16 ft.	4 ft.	5 ft. 3 in.	Cut entirely in marl. Built on site of and replaced Kiln 4
4	c. 20 ft.	5 ft.	5 ft. 3 in.	Cut entirely in marl. Replaced by Kiln 3 and its oven formed part of the stokepit of that kiln
5	23 ft.	5 ft.	4 ft. 4 in.	Cut in chalk—both arches intact
6	16 ft. 6 in.	5 ft.	4 ft. 3 in.	Kiln loaded. 5 jugs stood in position. Both arches blocked. Remains of kerbing round oven
7	14 ft. 6 in.	5 ft. 6 in.	3 ft.	Two floors to oven. Floors separated by layers of broken wasters
8	15 ft.	5 ft.	6 ft.	Kiln covered by a later bank. Actual height of oven wall was 4 ft. 6 in. Oven built over an earlier pit

#### CONSTRUCTION

A Laverstock kiln would presumably have been constructed in the following stages:

- Three contiguous pits would be dug in a row and the sides cut away at the points of contact over about 3 ft. (pl. XII a)
- The central pit (the oven) would be lined with marl, and arches of the same material formed in the openings between the pits.
- The marl lining, and the arches, would have been hardened by firing (unless this was done in the first pot firing).



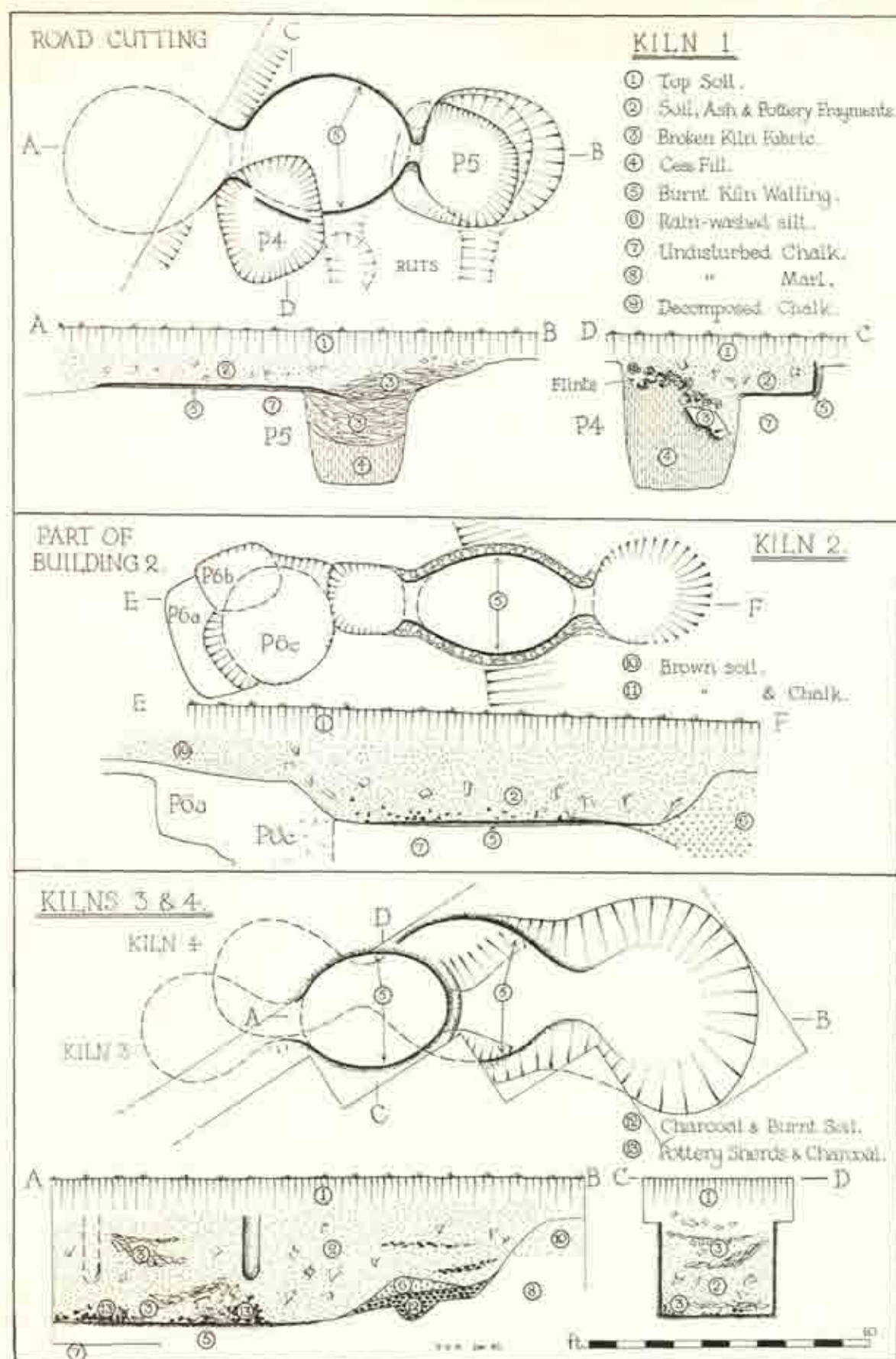


FIG. 3. Laverstock: plans of Kilns 1-4

- (d) After loading, and prior to firing, some kind of temporary dome would have been constructed over the oven pit. It is possible that Pits 7 and 8 (fig. 4) represent the first stages in the construction of a kiln which was never completed.

Kilns 1 and 5-7 were sited where the chalk was near the surface: the remainder on softer ground. Kiln 2 (pl. XII *a*) was in a natural gulley 18 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep filled with hill-wash, a material unsuitable for oven walling. The oven wall of this kiln had therefore been lined with pottery wasters and discarded ridge tiles set in marl and plastered with the same material. Kilns 3 and 4 were sited where several feet of marl overlay the chalk and the construction of kilns in this material seems to have had several advantages. The kilns could be dug deeper without undue effort and the marl alone produced a substantial kiln walling which only required plastering with a marl slurry; the whole produced a well insulated structure which eventually fired quite firmly to a depth of four inches.

Repair work could be detected in Kiln 1 where the north flue arch had been rebuilt, probably because subsidence into an earlier cesspit (Pit 4) had set up cracks in the kiln wall. This repair work is unlikely to have prolonged the life of the kiln, however, as it was found that a part of the oven floor had subsided into the pit.

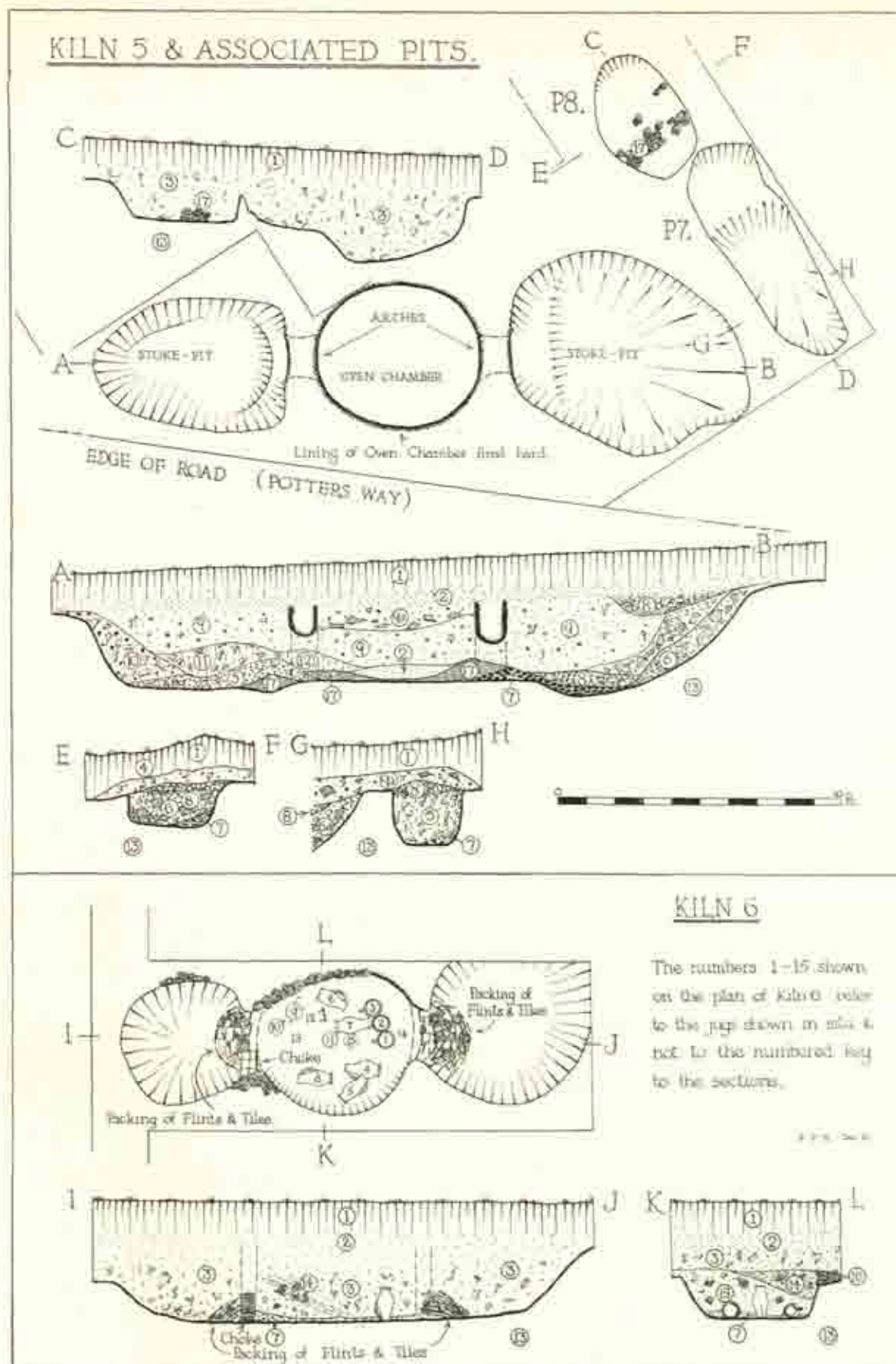
Kiln 3 had been built inside an earlier and somewhat larger kiln (Kiln 4), thus converting part of the oven of Kiln 4 into the stokepit of Kiln 3 (pl. XII *b*). Many of the wasters from this kiln were fired a uniform grey suggesting that it was liable to give reducing conditions, but otherwise it was probably a very successful kiln and, like Kiln 5, showed signs of long life.

All the kilns were roughly orientated north-south, keeping the axes from the prevailing wind. The blocking of broken tile found in the south flue arch of Kiln 6 presumably served as a choke inserted because of draught difficulties.

The only evidence of superstructure was from Kiln 3 which had pieces of a possible dome lining in its fill. Some of the fragments had impressions of grasses and rushes suggesting that the dome was probably constructed over a framework of wood covered with grass or reeds. If the additional skins consisted of alternate layers of marl and grass, the final dismantling of the dome would have been a simple matter of removing thin cakes of hardened marl which would then break up to produce pieces of the size found in the disused kiln. The evidence from Kilns 3 and 4 shows that the dome was at least twice the height of the arches in these kilns and even at this height the walls of the oven would still be vertical. The rim of Kiln 6 oven pit had a flint kerb and flints were also found in the oven fill. The kerb could have been the basis for a wooden roof frame. A vent hole would have been left in the top of the dome, probably about 1 ft. in diameter.

Some excavation took place during very wet weather and at times had to be abandoned because of the flooding of the kiln pits. This suggests that medieval potting was a seasonal industry only carried on during the summer months. Successful firings would have depended on the steady raising of the oven temperature to the region of 1,000 °C. and the equally steady cooling over a period of about 48 hours. Although normal rainfall would not cool the dome, it would make working





conditions difficult, especially if the stokepits were flooded. It is of course possible that some shelter was constructed over the stokepits but no evidence for this was found.

#### FIRING<sup>1</sup>

Valuable evidence for the method of stacking the kilns was provided by the excavation of Kiln 6. This kiln was found to be part-loaded, and a layer of jugs remained *in situ* (pl. XIII b). These were inverted and stood directly on the oven floor. Marks on their bases ('stacking rings') showed that another layer had been similarly stacked on top of them, each jug in the second level straddling two or more in the first level and so on. There was little sign of any propping to separate individual vessels, which evidently fused together where the glaze ran and were chipped apart later. This was frequently disastrous as is shown by the discovery of broken sherds fused together (fig. 14). In some kilns, however, attempts had been made at propping. Thus the chimney pot from Pit 3 was fused on to a tile and rims and bases were also found stuck together with pieces of tile between. A glazed pebble came from Kiln 5.

No kiln furniture was found but some pottery objects had been used for purposes other than those originally intended. Thus the cheeks of the south arch of Kiln 3 were protected by two hip tiles and sides of ridge tiles were evidently used to block the flues during cooling. (The arches of Kiln 6 had been left blocked in this way and it was probably normal to leave blockings in place until the start of the new firing in order to support the arches.) Ridge-tile rejects could also have been used as props by standing them on end to support vessels of a shape unsuitable for self-stacking.

Firing would be started from both flues with small wood to ensure a strong draught, followed by faggots of larger wood.<sup>2</sup> The ash would have been raked out from each flue before loading with new faggots, care being taken to remove only white ash thus leaving the hot bed undisturbed. Experimental firings have shown<sup>3</sup> that one faggot would be consumed every 5–15 minutes and that 60–100 faggots would be needed to bring the temperature up to 1,000°C.; in the Boston experiment<sup>4</sup> with a replica of a Roman kiln, 2 tons of wood were needed to fire a load of 182 vessels. This temperature would have to be held for a minimum of 1 hour and possibly up to 6 hours in order to bring the whole oven to an even temperature. It would be allowed to cool slowly, possibly for 48 hours. Too rapid cooling or cold draughts would result in cracking.

The blocking of the arches of Kiln 6 suggests an interruption in firing possibly because of difficulties in draught control as evinced by the south flue arch choke—or firing may have been completed from the north end which was less firmly blocked than the other. Clearly these emergency measures were only partially successful and the lower layer of the stack was underfired and therefore left either to be refired or to

<sup>1</sup> Since the preparation of this report a replica Laverstock kiln has been fired as one of a series of experimental kilns at Leeds (in August 1967). A note on this firing will be found on p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Out of 19 identifications of charcoal specimens from the kilns, 8 were oak; 5 willow or poplar; 4 hazel; 1 birch;

1 beech. We are indebted to Mrs. Balfour Brown (British Museum, Nat. Hist.) for these identifications.

<sup>3</sup> Information from Mr. F. J. Watson. His experimental firings are reported in *Pottery Quarterly*, v (1958), 72.

<sup>4</sup> P. Mayes, *Archaeometry*, iv (1961), 17.





*Photograph, J. D. Hadley*

a. Kiln 5



*Photograph, D. Stirling*

b. Kiln 3, showing the stokepit arch built across the oven of Kiln 4

Laverstock



a. Kiln 2

*Photograph: D. Stirling*



b. Kiln 6, with part-load of jugs in position

*Photograph: J. R. Hunter*

Laverstock



act as a filling in a region of the kiln which had not been found to fire satisfactorily. It is possible that a lower layer of wasters was always inserted but it seems unlikely that such a wastage of kiln space would be permanently tolerated. Nevertheless it is strange that the difficulty in obtaining an adequate firing of pots at the bottom of the stack in Type 2 *a* kilns did not lead to the universal introduction of the principle of the raised floor.

#### POT MAKING

As clay suitable for producing refined fabrics does not occur on the site it had to be fetched from nearby deposits. Lumps of raw clay were found in kilns and cess-pits. That from Kiln 2 showed ferruginous streaks and iron-stained silica grains—apparently London Clay with some of an older bed (Bagshot Sands). The nearest known source for such a clay is 1½ miles away at Alderbury. London Clay is usually excellent for throwing, but that from Kiln 2 had become so contaminated with carbonate as to lose its strength.

Most of the thirteenth-century pottery was made from clay as dug, without washing and grogging, and so retains the sand naturally present. Crushed ironstone (or occasionally flint) was added to the twelfth-century cooking-pot fabrics, and sometimes to the thirteenth-century wares.

A jug would have been made as follows. It would have been first thrown on a kick wheel giving height and fullness to the jug body. The lower part of the jug would then be pushed in with a smooth tool to give the familiarly concave form, the base severed from the wheelhead and the jug allowed to dry enough to be handled. Inverted on the wheelhead, the base would be smoothed and the thumbing added. The jug would then have been righted and the handle and spout added together with any pressed or applied ornament.

When the jug was firm the glaze would have been applied by dipping into an aqueous suspension of powdered glazing compound or occasionally by painting. After thorough drying the jug would have been stacked with others in the kiln, the oven roof put on and firing commenced, slowly at first to drive off the remaining water.

The basis of the glaze was presumably lead sulphide (galena). This will fuse with the silica in the surface of a clay vessel to produce a glassy film. The thickness of Laverstock glaze suggests that the glaze mixture incorporated a clay slip. This may have been introduced accidentally as a result of the continual dipping of clay pots into a bath of suspended galena or may have resulted from a deliberate mixing of a true glaze, for the potter would observe that the addition of clay to the glaze mixture would assist the adhesion of the powdery galena and also help to maintain it in suspension.

Spectroscopic analysis of samples from all the kilns' shows two interesting features. First, that a tin compound has been deliberately added to the glaze and secondly that the calcium content of the glaze is always higher than that of the clay body. Silver is also more concentrated in the glaze. This is unlikely to be a deliberate addition and must have been present as an impurity in one of the other additives. Although lead

<sup>1</sup> L. C. Thomas and J. W. G. Musty, *Nature*, xciii (1961), 1143; *Archaeometry*, v (1962), 38.



would seem most likely as the carrier, the variation of silver content more closely follows that of the tin, and some alloy or mineral containing both was perhaps added to the glazing material in addition to the galena. Solder and pewter have been suggested by Jope<sup>1</sup> as possible sources of the tin in medieval glazes.

The tin content has been used to check the attribution to Laverstock of glazed pottery superficially resembling its products, but found elsewhere. The presence of tin in medieval glazes was first recognized by Jope,<sup>2</sup> who suggested that glazes containing it exhibited a West Country distribution. More recent work suggests a wider distribution. The reason for the presence of the tin has not been explained. Tin oxide was used as an opacifying agent as early as 1000 B.C. in Assyria, but it is not considered to have been introduced generally into English pottery until the sixteenth century A.D.

It would have been difficult for the potter to predict the precise colour of a fired glaze and the result would be to some extent fortuitous depending on firing conditions, not all of which could be controlled. This would apply in the case of the maroon mottlings on a green glaze for example. However, polychrome effects were also sought deliberately and these (red, brown, or black lattices, pellets, stripes, etc.), as spectroscopic analysis demonstrates, were achieved by the addition of iron.

#### THE LIFE-SPAN OF KILNS AND THEIR CHRONOLOGY

An attempt was made to estimate the period of production of Kiln 5 by a statistical analysis of wasters from it, specifically the rim-sherds with handle stubs attached. Assuming a 10 per cent wastage factor, then at least 2,600 jugs were made in Kiln 5. If these were in loads of 25–50 jugs, a total of 50–100 firings would have been needed. If the entire industry was spread over a period of, say fifty years—or two generations of potters—and one kiln replaced another,<sup>3</sup> then, assuming ten kilns, each would have a life of five years. Thus there could have been some 10–20 firings per year, one a week during the summer.

There is some direct evidence of kiln sequence but this can only be completed from inferential argument:

- (1) Kiln 3 is later than Kiln 4 as it is built inside it.
- (2) Kiln 2 is broadly contemporary with Kiln 6 as the pottery made in these two kilns is similar in style and decoration.
- (3) Building 2 contained pottery from Kilns 1, 5, and 7 in its lowest levels, but not that from Kiln 2 which is secondary to it. Kilns 1, 5, and 7 are therefore earlier than Kilns 2 and 6.
- (4) The pottery from Kilns 1, 7, and 8 is of high quality and includes forms which should pre-date those from the other kilns. A simple, curvilinear style of

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, *Antiq. Journ.* xxxix (1959), 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Archaeol. Soc.* lxxi (1952), 92.

<sup>3</sup> The assumption that this was the case is based on the

stylistic difference between the pottery from the various kilns. However, the pottery from two of the kilns (2 and 6) is sufficiently similar to suggest that Kilns 2 and 6 were broadly contemporary and an exception to this general assumption.



decoration is used. Hence the three kilns are broadly contemporary and possibly earlier than Kiln 5.

- (5) Kiln 7 was the only kiln not producing ridge tiles. The demand for these may not therefore have existed during its lifetime, and it may therefore pre-date Kiln 1 and be the earliest in the series.
- (6) The pottery from Kilns 3 and 4 resembles that from Kiln 5 to a greater extent than that from Kiln 6.

The inferred sequence would therefore be, Kiln 7-1-5-4-3-2 or 6. This suggests that the kiln area was gradually moved down towards the river. It is also not inconsistent with the palaeomagnetic evidence, although these latter data have certain statistical limitations (see below). There is also a correlation with the spectroscopic data in that there is a progressive increase in the glaze tin content from Kiln 1 to Kiln 6, but this may be fortuitous.

#### PALAEOMAGNETIC DATING

Four kilns were sampled by the Department of Geodesy and Geophysics, Cambridge; their interim data are:<sup>1</sup>

Kiln	Declination (degrees east)	Dip
1	9.5	61.5
5	23.8	57.8
3	1.4	58.3
2	2.3	58.3

The declination observed in Kiln 5 seems improbable, that for Kiln 3 too far west. This leaves only Kilns 1 and 2 for consideration.

As there was a steady westward movement of the direction of the magnetic field during the period a comparison of the results for Kilns 1 and 2 confirms that Kiln 1 is the earlier. Further, as the rate of observed change in the direction of the magnetic component seems to be,<sup>2</sup> for Britain, about 2° in twelve years it should be possible to estimate the life-span of the two kilns. A difference in declination of 7.2° would be equivalent to approximately forty-five years.

Beyond this it is dangerous to argue, although one is tempted to relate the declination figures from Laverstock Kilns 1 and 2 to those from the Clarendon tile kiln (working 1237-52), which are 8.4° or 9.5°. One would then derive a possible date range of about 1230-75 for the Laverstock kilns.

#### THE WORKSHOPS (figs. 5 and 6)

Superficial remains of three structures probably represent potters' workshops, shelter for throwing pots and storing to harden before firing. The cesspits may have been for no more than the potters' use; during firing they would have remained at the

<sup>1</sup> Private communication from Mr. G. Connah, 1961.

<sup>2</sup> R. M. Cook and J. C. Belshé, *Antiquity*, xxxii (1958),

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeometry*, v (1962), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Cook and Belshé, *Antiquity*, xxxii (1958), 173.

site for at least 48 hours. The twelfth-century pits could have been of an earlier occupation, though no associated structures were found.

So far the only other excavated pottery-kiln site to produce structural remains in addition to those of kilns, is that excavated at Limpsfield by Dr. Brian Hope-Taylor.<sup>1</sup>

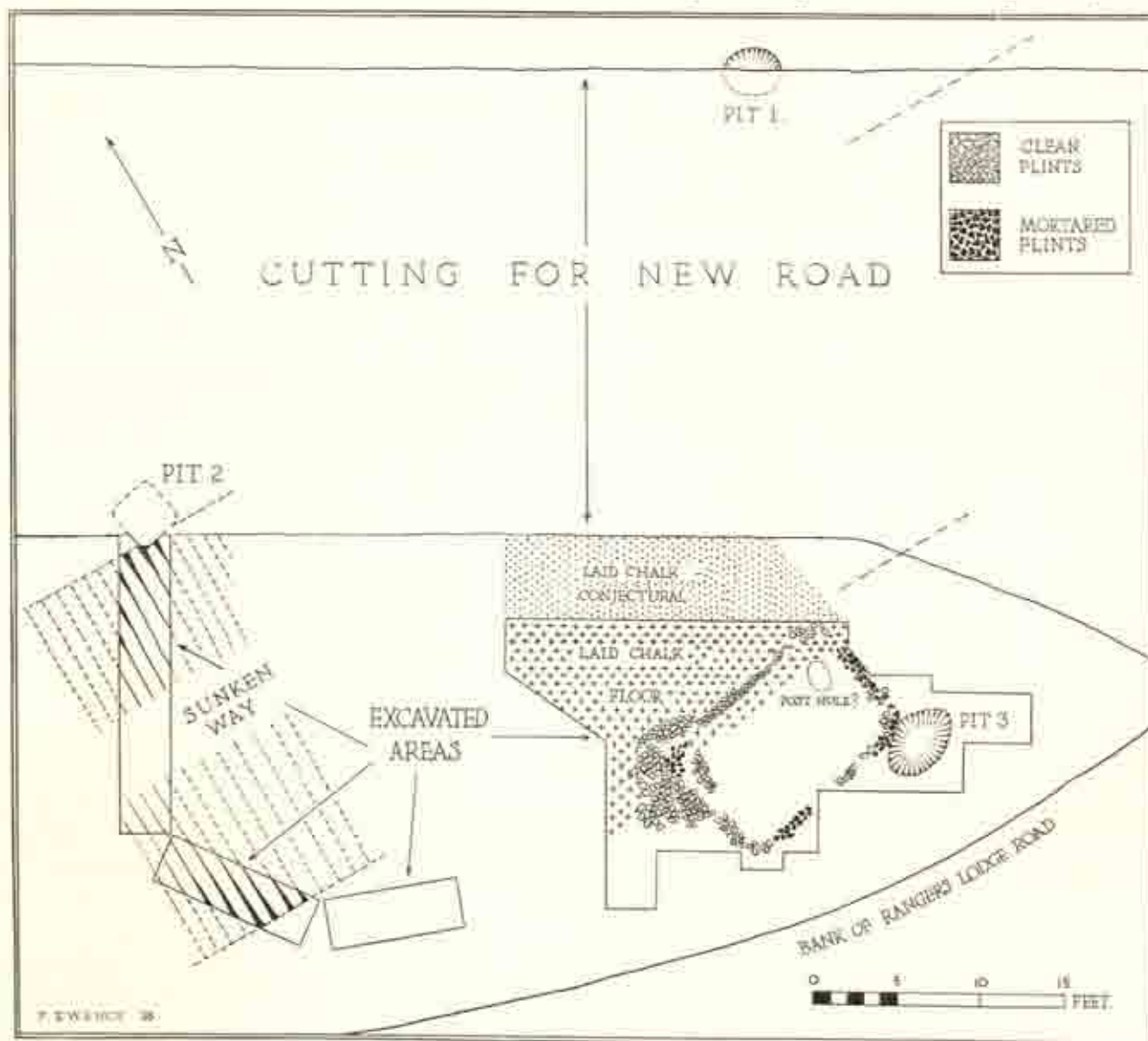


FIG. 5. Laverstock: Building 1

This consisted of a complex unit of kiln, pot-drying chamber, and workshop. At Laverstock there is a similar association of kiln and workshop (Kiln 2 and Building 2), but as already indicated Kiln 2 was later than the building and this association was therefore not contemporaneous. In fact flints from the building were probably used in the construction of the Kiln 2 oven and its timbering used as fuel. Unlike Limpsfield, few post-holes were found inside the buildings and roofing must have been

<sup>1</sup> See E. M. Jope in C. Singer and E. J. Holmyard, *The History of Technology*, ii, 285.



carried on trusses resting on low walls.<sup>1</sup> In one corner of Building 1 there was a single post-hole, 1 ft. 6 in. diameter which, on analogy with Limpsfield, may have carried a bearing for a potter's wheel.

The excavation of the workshops produced few other finds apart from pottery suggesting that the potters did not live permanently near the kilns. A special watch was maintained for unusual minerals and for bones or other materials which might have been adapted for use as pottery stamps; none were found. The sawn-off stem of a bronze folding-candlestick found in Building 2, may, however, have come from a collection of scrap bronze (hence its sawn state) used to make bronze filings for incorporation in glaze.

#### *Building 1 (fig. 5)*

This structure was discovered in 1955 when an explanation was sought for a floor of laid chalk visible in the side of the road cutting. The removal of 2 ft. of top soil (containing a scatter of wasters) revealed a rectangular (12 ft.  $\times$  8 ft.) setting of flints. The flints on three sides were mortared together; the remaining side (north) opened onto the area of laid chalk rubble previously seen in section. Beneath this was a deep natural hollow. Pit 3 was sited just outside the south-east corner of the building. Inside wasters lay directly on the chalk. This pottery and that from Pit 3 is of late thirteenth-century date. This structure was thus probably a potter's shed opening on to a drying floor on which thrown pots would have been exposed for a period before firing and Pit 3 was a clay puddling hole which on disuse was filled with wasters.

#### *Building 2 (fig. 6)*

Building 2 consisted of a sunken floor cut in the chalk to a depth of 1 ft. 4 in. (2 ft. 6 in. below the present ground surface). Under it was a series of earlier cesspits, and Kiln 2 cut into one end.

This floor was 9 ft. wide and its length at least 14 ft., and at the most 22 ft. The only other structural features found were one post-hole (1 ft. 6 in. diameter, 6 in. deep), two large stones ('A' and 'B', both of chert and therefore 'foreign' to the Salisbury area) set into the side of the ledge formed by the sunken floor, and a 2 ft. run of flints laid along the ledge and abutting Stone A. In the centre of the floor was a burnt area, 8 ft.  $\times$  5 ft., presumably a hearth. Wasters (from Kilns 5 and 7) were found on the floor, and therefore the building belongs to the kiln period. The pits beneath the floor must belong to an earlier phase and the floor had been made up with chalk rubble which had sunk into them. This superimposition of structures occurs elsewhere on the site and suggests extreme economy in the use of land as there were large empty areas between kilns.

#### *Building 3 (fig. 6)*

Building 3 was within 15 ft. of Kiln 6. It consisted of a rectangular area (11 ft.  $\times$  9 ft.) of laid chalk rubble, 3 in. thick. The edge was very irregular except to the north

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the house at Beere, Devon: *Med. Archaeol.* ii (1958), 119.

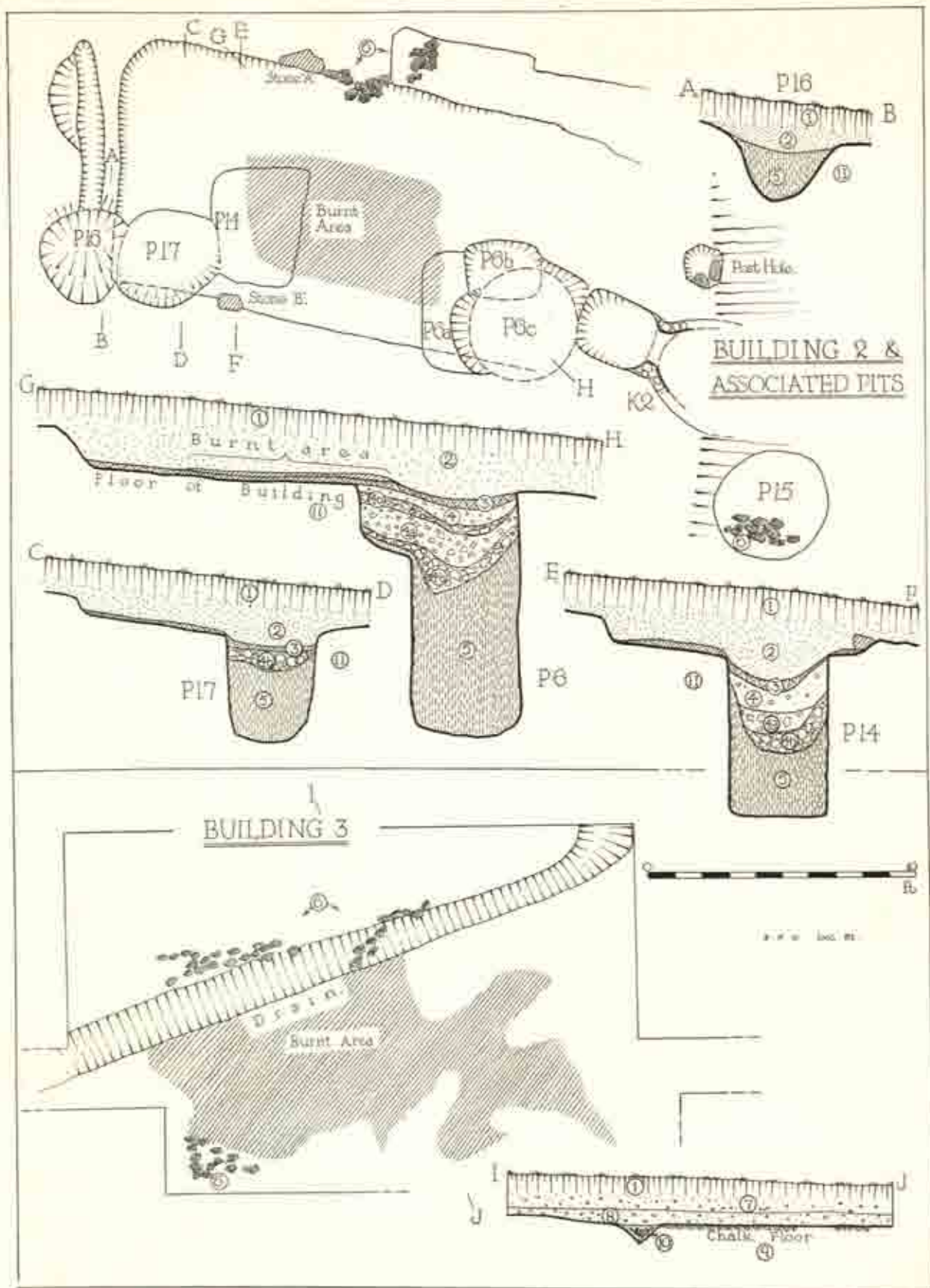


FIG. 6. Laverstock: plans of Buildings 2 and 3.

1. Top soil and turf. 2. Brown soil. 3. Rotted chalk mixed with brown soil. 4, 4a, 4b. Chalk rubble in various stages of decomposition. 5. Cess and fine brown soil. 6. Flints. 7. Dark buff/brown soil and gravel. 8. As 7 but flecked with chalk. 9. Undisturbed light buff/brown sandy soil. 10. Soil, charcoal, sherds, bone, and flints. 11. Undisturbed chalk.



where it was demarcated by a shallow V-shaped ditch 1 ft. 6 in. wide and 1 ft. deep. All the chalk had been burnt grey. Quantities of wasters were obtained both from the ditch and the floor. There were also accumulations of flints, some in the ditch. It is possible that both flints and chalk came from Kiln 6 thus explaining the burnt condition of the chalk which could have been used for oven insulation. However, the uniform spread of this chalk suggests that it had been deliberately laid with the intention of providing a floor on ground which would otherwise be very sticky when wet. As with Building 1, the area was crossed by the depression filled with rain-wash and the floor outside Building 1 is analogous to that of Building 3.

#### THE PITS (figs. 3-6)

Eighteen pits were found, some of twelfth-century date and belonging to a pre-kiln phase; others contained pottery of thirteenth-century date not matched by pottery in the kilns and the remainder were of the same period as the kilns although, in some cases, underlying specific kiln features. Details are summarized in Table 2. In addition there were a number of ill-defined hollows on the western side of the site, towards the river, which are interpreted as excavations for marl used in kiln construction.

TABLE II  
*Details of the Pits*

<i>Pit no.</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Date</i>
1	Funnel-shaped in profile, square-sided at base; exposed in face of road cutting	Depth 8 ft. Diam. unknown	13th-cent. pottery in top; cess fill in lower part free of pottery; probably the N. stokepit of a kiln superimposed on an earlier cesspit	12th and 13th cent.
2	Square, deep pit; cess fill with cooking pots and refuse	Depth 11 ft. 3 ft. 3 in. square	12th-cent. pottery including Stamford ware; 13th-cent. pottery intrusive in top; cesspit	12th cent.
3	Oval, bath shape; smooth-sided	Depth 1 ft. 6 in. Diam. 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in.	Outside Building 1; packed with 13th-cent. wasters including the curfew	13th cent.
4	Square-sided	Depth 5 ft. 4 ft. square	Part of Kiln 1 oven collapsed to a depth of 2 ft. 13th-cent. pottery below this; a latrine pit	13th cent.
5	Similar to 4		South stoking area of Kiln 1 subsided into it; a latrine pit	13th cent.
6 A-C	A complex of three pits under the floor of Building 2.			
A	Square-sided with rounded corners	Depth in chalk 2 ft. 6 in. 4 ft. square	Small latrine pit	13th cent.
B	Approximately square-sided	Depth in chalk 3 ft. Sides 2 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft.	Small latrine pit	13th cent.

<i>Pit no.</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Date</i>
c	Circular	Depth in chalk 9 ft. Diam. 4 ft.	Top cut away by 6A and 6B, is cut by Kiln 2. Cess or storage pit	12th cent.
7	Long and trench-like	Depth 2 ft. Sides 8 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in.	Associated with Pit 8 from which it was separated by a very thin wall of bedded chalk	13th cent.
8	Oval-shaped and shallow	Depth 2 ft. 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft.	Two courses of flint built across pit at one point. Much pottery identical with that from Kiln 5. It possibly represents, with Pit 7, an incomplete or special type of kiln	13th cent.
9	Rectangular	Depth 4 ft. Sides 4 ft. by 5 ft.	Near Kiln 6 and on same orientation. Fill flecked with charcoal throughout, but contained domestic refuse. 13th-cent. pottery	13th cent.
10	Square	At least 7 ft. deep. 4 ft. 6 in. square.	Found during bulldozing; 13th-cent. pottery. Cesspit	13th cent.
11	Similar to No. 10			
12	Square	Probably at least 10 ft. deep, 4 ft. 6 in. square	Excavated with a bulldozer; cess-pit	12th cent.
13	Circular	Shallow, Diam. 2 ft. 6 in.	Exposed during bulldozing	Probably 13th cent.
14	Approximately square	Depth in chalk 6 ft. Approx. 4 ft. square	Under floor of Building 2; orientation similar to 6A; cut by Pit 17	Probably 13th cent.
15	Circular depression	Depth 4 ft. Diam. 4 ft.	Dug in the fill of the large natural hollow. West side lined with flints. Contained pottery similar to Kiln 2 material	13th cent.
16	Circular	Depth in chalk 3 ft. Diam. 3 ft. 6 in.	Cut by Pit 17. Crossed by line of north wall of Building 2. Joined to Pit 18 by a gulley. Possibly a sump	13th cent.
17	Square	Depth in chalk 4 ft. Diam. 3 ft. 6 in.	Cuts Pits 14 and 16. Crossed by line of west wall of Building 2. Cess fill	13th cent.
18	Enlargement of gulley which ran parallel to the outside of the north end of Building 2 and cut into or was cut by Pit 16. Possibly a drain.			

Pits of three types can be recognized. Type A are square-sided, approximately 10 ft. deep and 3 ft. square and of twelfth-century date. Such pits (Pit 2 is a good example) contain fine earthy fills mixed with domestic refuse and, in some cases, a layer of granular material at the bottom. From the nature of this fill, and comparison with many similar pits excavated in the Salisbury area, these must have been used as cesspits. Type B are only half the depth of Type A. They appear to be mainly of thirteenth-century date. The presence of shallower pits in the thirteenth century need not imply a change in fashion, but simply a difference in use. The larger pits of Type A may have belonged to a settled pre-kiln community, the small pits of



Type B could have been latrine pits dug for the daily use of workers at the pottery who need not have lived on the site. To Type C belong pits for unknown or specialized use. Into this category fall Pits 3, 7, and 8.

The presence of the Type A pits poses something of a problem as no related structures were found to go with them. These may, however, have been missed by the trial trenches or destroyed during the construction of the new road.

One interesting feature shown by the pit sections is the shrinkage of cesspit fills. Thus several feet of the twelfth-century Pit 2 fill contained a waster scatter from the kilns.<sup>1</sup> In Pits 5 and 14 the original fill was compressed to half of what it had been initially. In these cases the shrinkage can be readily detected because the division between primary and secondary layers is clear cut, but it may not always be so, and this factor must be taken into account when dating pottery groups from such pits.<sup>2</sup>

### THE POTTERY

Most of the pottery (over forty sackfuls) came from the infilling of kiln pits. All was removed from the site for study; the few vessels which could be were reconstructed, these and all significant sherds were card indexed,<sup>3</sup> and a detailed statistical analysis attempted.

The kiln pottery (pl. XIV) consisted of (a) unglazed cooking pots and bowls; (b) glazed pipkins, cauldrons, skillets, bowls and dishes; (c) jugs; (d) special types such as money boxes, mortars, lamps, and aquamaniles and (e) building materials including ridge tiles with coxcomb cresting, drain-pipes and chimney pots. All this pottery is of high quality, especially the glaze, which is comparable to that of contemporary French wares. However, a gradual deterioration of quality can be detected and the highest standard is represented by Kilns 1 and 7; that from Kiln 6 and related kilns may be of a second generation of potters still attempting to carry on the high standard set by the founders of the local industry.

The cesspits contained twelfth- as well as thirteenth-century pottery. Among the former, the glazed ware (apart from sherds of Stamford ware) is of cooking-pot fabric with a wash of glaze.

The pottery will be discussed according to function—cooking pottery, jugs, etc.—and not necessarily chronologically or in pit and kiln groups.

#### 1. *Cooking pots*

The archaism of the cooking pots presents a chronological problem. Three main groups can be recognized:

##### A. Cooking pots of twelfth-century form and fabric unaccompanied by thirteenth-century glazed ware.

<sup>1</sup> It is of interest to record the vertical distribution of this scatter which can be expressed as the percentage of glazed ware present; at 1 ft. 6 in.—45 per cent; 2 ft.—12 per cent; 2 ft. 6 in.—9 per cent; 3 ft.—9 per cent; 3 ft. 6 in.—4 per cent; 4 ft.—2 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.* lix (1964), 145 for a discussion of this point and calculations of the rate of filling of cesspits.

<sup>3</sup> This index will be deposited in Salisbury Museum.



- B. Cooking pots of apparent twelfth-century form and fabric associated in pit groups with thirteenth-century glazed ware, sometimes in equal proportions.
- C. Cooking pots of developed twelfth-century form and fabric associated in kilns and pits with assured late thirteenth-century glazed ware.

The following rim types may be distinguished, irrespective of period (fig. 7).

Type I, the simple everted rim, is the commonest of the Salisbury area cooking-pot rims of the late eleventh-early twelfth century. The pots are normally scratch-marked and, with their simple rounded bases, are not far removed in form from their late Saxon counterparts. Variations include rims with finger-tipping and pie-crusting of the edge.

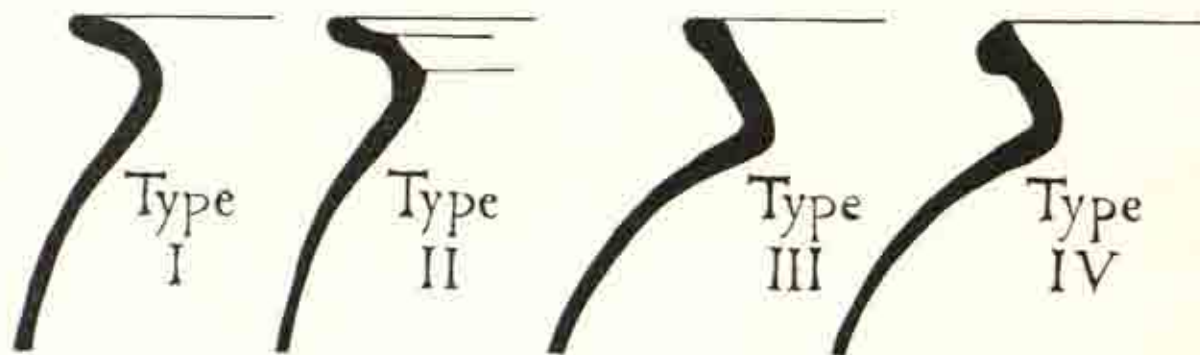


FIG. 7. Laverstock: type series of cooking-pot rims. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

Type II, which we may call for convenience a 'two-stepped' everted rim, is one of the commonest thirteenth-century rim forms. It occurs in all the kilns, and is often glazed on the inside. It seems to be a derivative of the Type I rim and there is also a change from the rounded base to the rounded base with angle ('sagging base').

Types I *a* and II *a* are more strongly everted versions of I and II and may be present on straight-sided cooking pots.

Types III and IV are, at Laverstock, of thirteenth-century date as these occur in all the kilns but do not appear in the twelfth-century pits. The fabrics are sometimes refined; on the other hand a series of vessels of this type from Pit 3 were scratch-marked (developed scratch-marked ware). Variations of Types III and IV consist of pie-crusting or thumb-pressing of the upper edge of the rim flange, or its outer face.

The principal archaisms are the persistence of the twelfth-century Type I both in form and fabric (including scratch-marking) into the late thirteenth century, and the presence of scratch-marking on refined thirteenth-century fabrics with rim forms of Types III and IV, which, at Laverstock, are not present in a twelfth-century context.

#### *Cooking pots of Group A*

This material came from 10 ft. deep cesspits and is therefore not likely to be contaminated by intrusive kiln wasters. Pit 2 produced the most important group, about 400 sherds of coarse pottery representing numerous vessels. Thus, apart from half of



a large globular cooking pot (fig. 8) found near the bottom, few sherds could be matched with each other and there were only twenty rim sherds and seven angled-base fragments. The vessels represented are mostly round-bottomed cooking pots with simple everted rims of Type I (occasionally pinched and finger-pressed), cooking pots or bowls with sagging bases and bowls or dishes with vertical or obtuse-angled sides.

Very little glazed ware was obtained below 4 ft. (the lower limit of the waster scatter) and the twenty-three sherds recovered comprised less than 0.6 per cent of the total pottery from the pit.<sup>1</sup>

The glazed ware included three sherds of *Stamford Ware* identified by Mr. J. G. Hurst and dated by him to the first half of the twelfth century. Their appearance at Laverstock provides the most southerly point for the distribution of this ware<sup>2</sup> and a cross-check on the dating of the group. There were also sherds of gritty cooking-pot fabric with a thin coat (in some cases a wash) of transparent or light green glaze. Comparison with similar wares from pits in the East Suburb of Old Sarum<sup>3</sup> shows that these sherds came from tripod pitchers. The East Suburb pits have been dated to the first half of the twelfth century, and one contained a silver penny of William I. The Laverstock pit, however, also contained sherds in a micaceous sandy ware which was absent from the East Suburb pits containing the early tripod pitcher fragments, although present in other groups there. It has been suggested<sup>4</sup> that micaceous ware was introduced in the middle of the twelfth century. At Laverstock this ware was most concentrated in the middle third of the fill of Pit 2 and only one small scrap was found near the bottom. Thus the occurrence on Pit 2 of both pottery equivalent to the early East Suburb material and micaceous ware may only mean that the pit was in use for a long time.

#### *Pottery from Pit 2 (fig. 8)*

1. Large cooking pot with rounded bottom and rim pinched at intervals. Salmon-pink fabric with a grey core, blackened with soot externally. Fine grit giving a rough-cast finish. Made on a slow wheel. Pit bottom.
2. Buff to brown scratch-marked surface, grey-black inside and grey in fracture. Pit bottom.
3. Red inside and reddish in fracture. Scratch-marked. Heavily gritted but grit covered with clay. Edge pinched at intervals. The fabric is almost identical with Stone and Charlton's no. 9. (*Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 188).
- 4-6. Black to greyish-black in fracture. Only lightly gritted and with smooth buff surface (no. 4). Salmon-pink surface (no. 5). Buff to grey surface, more heavily gritted (no. 6).
- 7-11. Rims in micaceous sandy ware. All with buff to grey surfaces except no. 10 (mushroom-coloured) and slate-grey in fracture except no. 11 (reddish-pink).
12. Red, bluish-grey in fracture, heavily gritted.

<sup>1</sup> J. F. S. Stone and J. Charlton, *Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), fig. 17, 185 record a figure of 8 per cent for twelfth-century cess-pits in the E. Suburb of Old Sarum.

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Dunning *et al.*, *Med. Arch.* iii (1959), 41.

<sup>3</sup> J. F. S. Stone and J. Charlton, *Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 189.

<sup>4</sup> J. Musty, *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.* lvii (1959), 189.

13. Lightly flinted smooth surface. Black to grey, grey in fracture.

14-16. Base sherds in micaceous sandy ware. No. 14 may equate with rim no. 8. All are blackish-grey in fracture with buff surfaces.

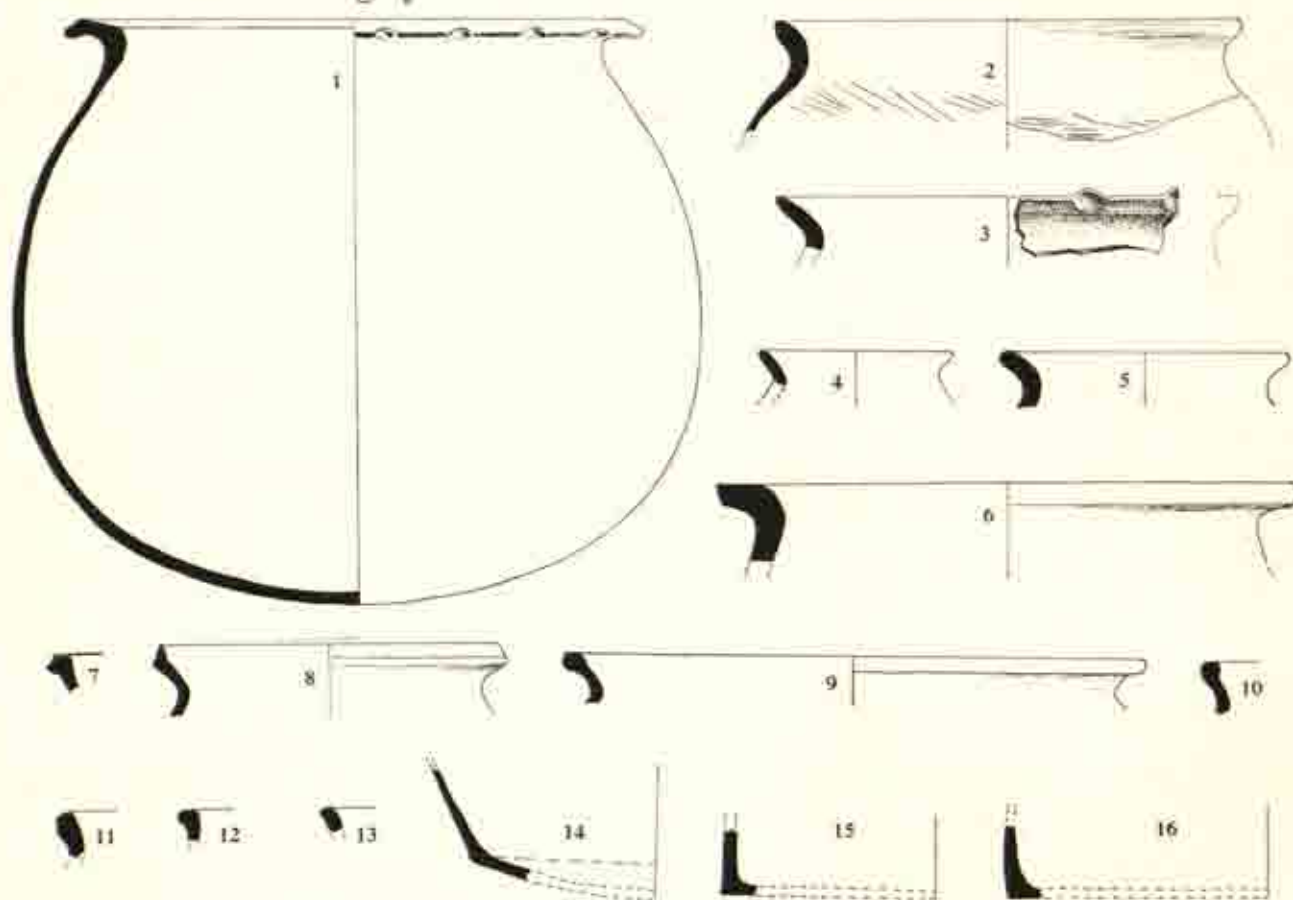


FIG. 8. Laverstock: cooking pottery, Pit 2. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

Pottery similar to that from Pit 2 came from the lower (cess) levels of the deep Pit 6c. This was the primary fill; the upper levels were much confused by re-cutting and also the subsidence of the floor of the overlying Building 2.

#### *Pottery from Pit 6c (fig. 9)*

17-18. Reddish-brown inside, blackish-grey outside (no. 17). Chocolate-brown outside, reddish-brown inside (no. 18). Backed with water-worn quartz. Scratch-marked inside and out. The simple everted rim is pinched at intervals and the laminated section shows that the rim has been thickened by folding over the edge.

#### *Cooking Pots of Group B*

The cooking pots, other than those of known twelfth-century form and fabric, present a difficulty because of the persistence of twelfth-century features. The twelfth-century material, as in the Pit 2 group, occurs with glazed ware demonstrably of the same date; on the other hand, features exhibited by these twelfth-century



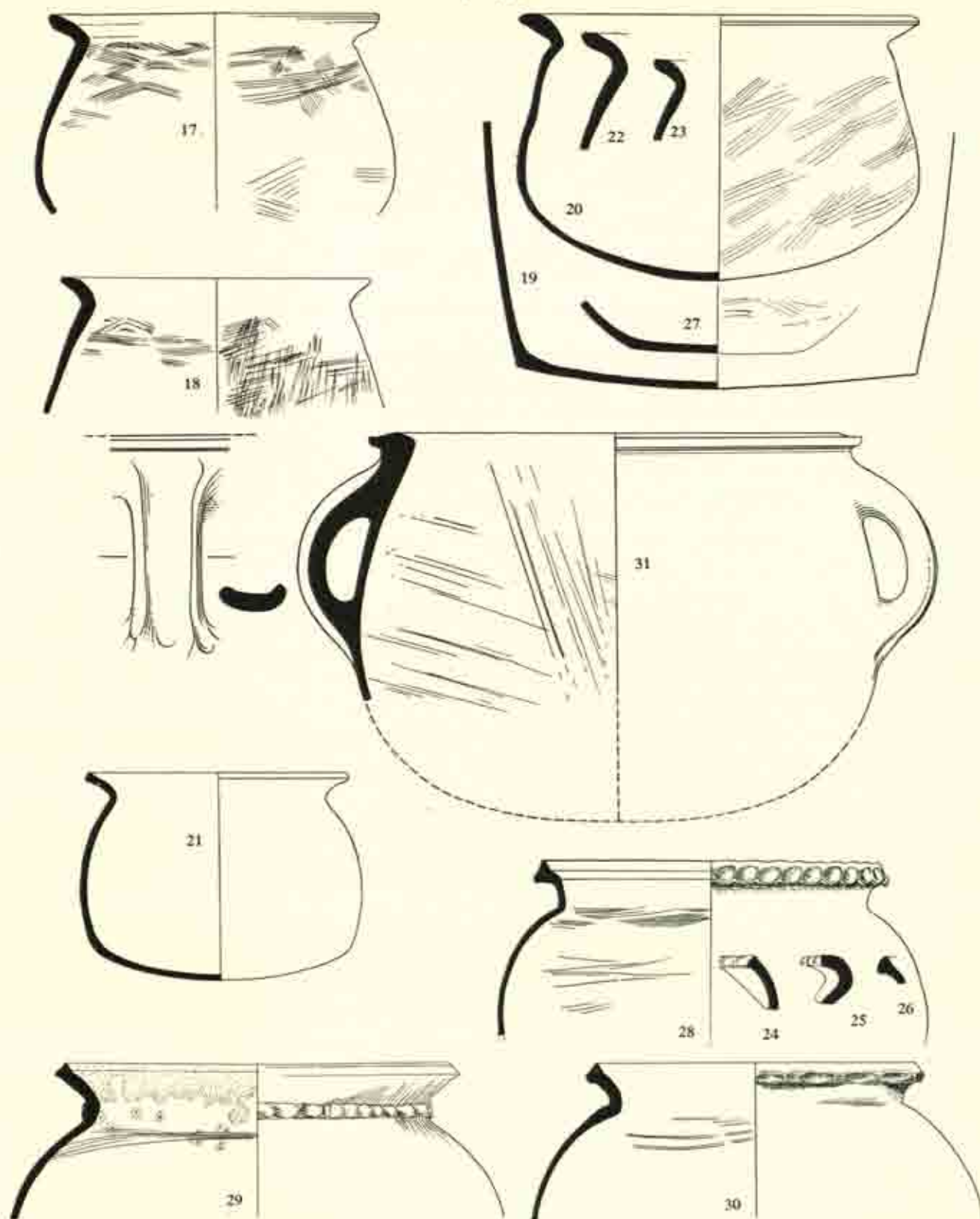


FIG. 9. Laverstock: cooking pottery, Pits 6 and 9. Scale 1/2.

cooking pots, especially the characteristic scratch-marking, are markedly present on cooking pots in unequivocal association with late thirteenth-century pottery made in the kilns. (See below p. 105.) These are the two extremes and do not present any real problem, although the facts should serve as a warning to those engaged in dating coarse pottery groups elsewhere when the differences may not be so clear-cut and glazed ware may be absent.

The cooking pots of Group B are associated with glazed ware which although of thirteenth-century date was not made necessarily in any of the excavated kilns. It also includes vessels found in the kilns but which otherwise would have been given a twelfth-century date. Examples will be described from Pit 9, Pit 6 (top), and Kiln 3.

*Pit 9.* The glazed pottery consists of large pitchers with curvilinear decoration and thumb-pressed bases, of thirteenth-century date, but earlier in form than most of the kiln pottery. One can, however, detect in the latter an evolution of jug form away from the large baggy pitcher towards a more bulbous and slender form of jug. There is a related change in applied design elements from simple incised linear and curvilinear decoration to a more complicated but less artistic stamped decoration. The Pit 9 pottery may not be much earlier, then, than the earliest of the excavated kilns and may have come from kilns not yet discovered.

The cooking pots on the other hand are of several forms, the simple everted rim of Type I (fig. 9, nos. 20, 22, and 23) and the more angular rim of Type IV (nos. 21 and 24). Micaceous sandy ware is also present (no. 26). Bases tend to be rounded (nos. 20 and 21) and any sagging is not separated from the wall by a pronounced heel with the exception of no. 19 which is almost vertically sided with a sharp angled base. The majority are scratch-marked; only no. 21 is glazed—there are traces of glaze on the inside of the rim and spots on the inside of the pot.

*Pottery from Pit 9* (fig. 9 for nos. 19–27; fig. 11 for no. 39)

19. Base of very large cooking pot. Orange-buff fabric, outside black from use. Not scratch-marked. (Depth 3 ft.)
20. Simple everted rim and incipient sagging base. Grey inside except on bottom where there is a deposit of carbonized material. Outside surfaces scratch-marked and also inside just below the rim. (Depth 3 ft.)
21. Outside black through use. Deposit of carbonized material on inside of base. Orange-green glaze. Not scratch-marked. (Depth 3 ft.)
22. Simple everted rim. Pinky-buff fabric. Scratch-marked inside and out. (Upper 2 ft. of fill.)
23. Scratch-marked on outside. (Upper 2 ft. of fill.)
- 24–25. Buff. Occasional large fragments of flint and chalk in the backing. Rim thumb-pressed. (Depth 3 ft.)
26. Micaceous sandy ware. (Upper 2 ft. of fill.)
27. Scratch-marked on outside. (Upper 2 ft. of fill.)
39. Rim of large cooking pot. Pinky-buff fabric, scratch-marked inside and out.

*Pit 6 top.* The top of this pit had been re-cut twice; the original deeper pit being of twelfth-century date. The pottery from the lower level comprised cooking pots with



simple everted rims and pitcher fragments of early type, whereas in the recut pits the cooking pot rims are more angular and more closely resemble Type IV.

Three examples of these latter rims are illustrated (fig. 9). Two have traces of glaze on the inside of the rim flange. This rim type, angular with thumb-pressings, is common in Berkshire in the twelfth-early thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

An unusual handled form of cooking pot (no. 31) is also illustrated.

28. Grey-buff fabric. Bold finger pressing on rim. Similar profile to *Seacourt* Fig. 5, no. 4 (E. M. Jope, *Berks. Archaeol. Journ.* 1 (1947), 59).
29. Red to grey-brown fabric with a green to colourless glaze on the inside of the rim flange and a very thin wash of glaze over rest of interior giving an oily appearance. Applied thumb-pressed collar round neck.
30. Brownish-buff lightly gritted fabric. Light finger-pressing on outside of flange. Traces of glaze on inner surface of rim flange.
31. Scratch-marked, unglazed. Large strap handle. Internal diameter at rim *circa* 12 in.

### Kiln 3

40. Cooking pot in the twelfth-century tradition of Type 1A but found in the late thirteenth-century Kiln 3. Buff fabric, scratch-marked inside and out. Area of colourless to yellow glaze on rim flange. Rim decorated by pinching up the edge.

### Cooking Pots of Group C (fig. 10)

Pottery of the type which we term *developed scratch-mark ware* occurred in all kilns and in many of the pits. Pit 3 produced the best group; this was unequivocally associated with late thirteenth-century pottery including jugs, bowls with strong internal glazing, and the curfew (i.e. seven developed scratch-ware pots were packed into the pit with broken wasters and little else).

These cooking pots are in a much finer fabric than the equivalent wares from the twelfth-century Pit 2 (although possibly equalled in quality by the Pit 2 micaceous sandy wares). They are better made (all wheel-thrown), finer gritted and thinner walled. Both inner and outer surfaces are scratch-marked but this is more regular and of a finer line than the twelfth-century scratch marking. Evidently a twelfth-century technique for dressing the surfaces of cooking pots has been carried through into the thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The vessel form is predominantly that with a sagging base and a trend towards this shape is seen in the Pit 2 micaceous wares. The form of no. 37 is, however, reminiscent of the baggy profiles prevalent in the twelfth century. All rims are of types II-IV, the simple everted form being absent.

Fig. 10.

(Pit 3)

32. Greyish-black to pinkish-brown fabric, pinky-brown in fracture. Heavily

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Jope, *Berks. Archaeol. Journ.* 1 (1947), 58-9.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of a possible technique see J. Musty, *Mus. Journ.* lx (1961), 254.

gritted but with a fine grit. Shallow groove running round the upper surface of the rim.

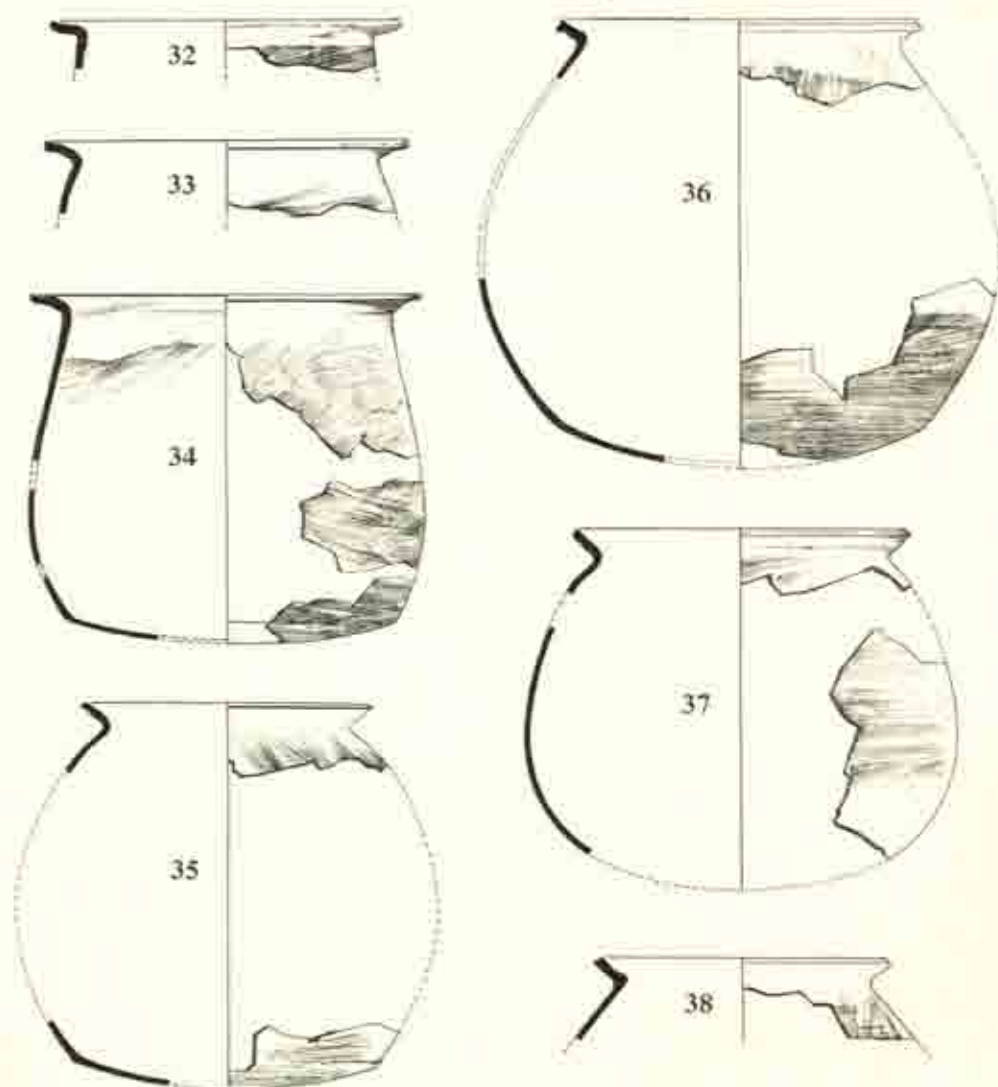


FIG. 10. Laverstock: developed scratch-marked ware, Pit 3. Scale 1/2

33. Similar. Greyish-black inside, buff outside.
34. Similar. Blackish-grey to buff fabric. The inner surface of the pot has a wax-like finish, possibly the result of dressing or more likely the result of scraping the side to remove food. This finish does not appear on the inside of the rim or on the base. Sagging base with pronounced heel.
35. Buff to grey inside, outside pinky-buff shading into grey. Fine grit. No internal scratch-marking.
36. Rim sloping and the lower edge pinched to form a beading as is the upper edge. Buff to pinky-buff ware, reddish in fracture. Very fine grit. Sagging base but without pronounced heel.



37. Similar to 35. Buff inside, outside buff through brown to blackish-grey with soot on the base. Very fine grit. Round bottomed.  
 38. Similar. Greyish-black shading into buff. Fine grit.

## II. Unglazed vessels in cooking-pot fabric

### 'West Country' type vessels with a single hole in the side (fig. 11)

The type of shallow vessel with an extremely acute basal angle and with a hole in the side was first identified by Prof. E. M. Jope who has plotted its distribution.<sup>1</sup> Those found at Laverstock in Kilns 1, 3, 4, and 5, Buildings 2 and 3, and Pit 15, clearly extend the date range beyond the twelfth century.

The Laverstock examples are either in a gritty scratch-marked cooking-pot ware or, occasionally, in a sandy ware. Some sherds are glazed, but this may be fortuitous due to the firing of these vessels along with glazed ware. The vessel wall is at an angle of approximately 50° to the base. The bases are flat, and some sherds show knife trimming at the heel (nos. 42, 43). The important feature is the single hole in the side, which, in the Laverstock examples, is 0.5 in. in diameter and about 1 in. up from the base. It was not possible to match any rims with base sherds.

41. Scratch-marked. Single hole 0.5 in. in diameter approximately 1 in. from the base (Pit 15).  
 42. Buff fabric (Kiln 5).  
 43. Grey developed scratch-marked ware with green glaze on outside and on fractured surfaces (Kiln 5).  
 44. Buff to pinky-buff developed scratch-marked ware. Surface torn on inside (Kiln 3).

Professor Jope has suggested<sup>2</sup> that vessels of this type may have been used for chafing and certainly there are, in later periods, examples of shallow metal bowls with a single hole in the side which were used for containing charcoal for this purpose. Alternatively these vessels may have formed the bases for bee skeps, the single hole forming the exit and entrance for the bees. The practical value of such a base would be that the bees could be contained in the vessel, with a flat piece of board resting across the rim, whilst honey was removed from the skep.

### Deep bowls (fig. 11)

45. Pinky-buff shading into blackish-grey. Heavily gritted with fine quartz grit and surface harsh to the touch (Kiln 1).

## III. Glazed pipkins, cauldrons, skillets, bowls, and dishes

All these vessels have a strong internal glazing—a feature which is a typical development in late thirteenth-century ceramics. The glaze would serve both to seal the porous fabric and to make the inner surface easier to clean.

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.* lxxi (1952), century contexts.  
<sup>2</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xxix (1959), 242.  
 62. At that time the type was only recognized in twelfth-

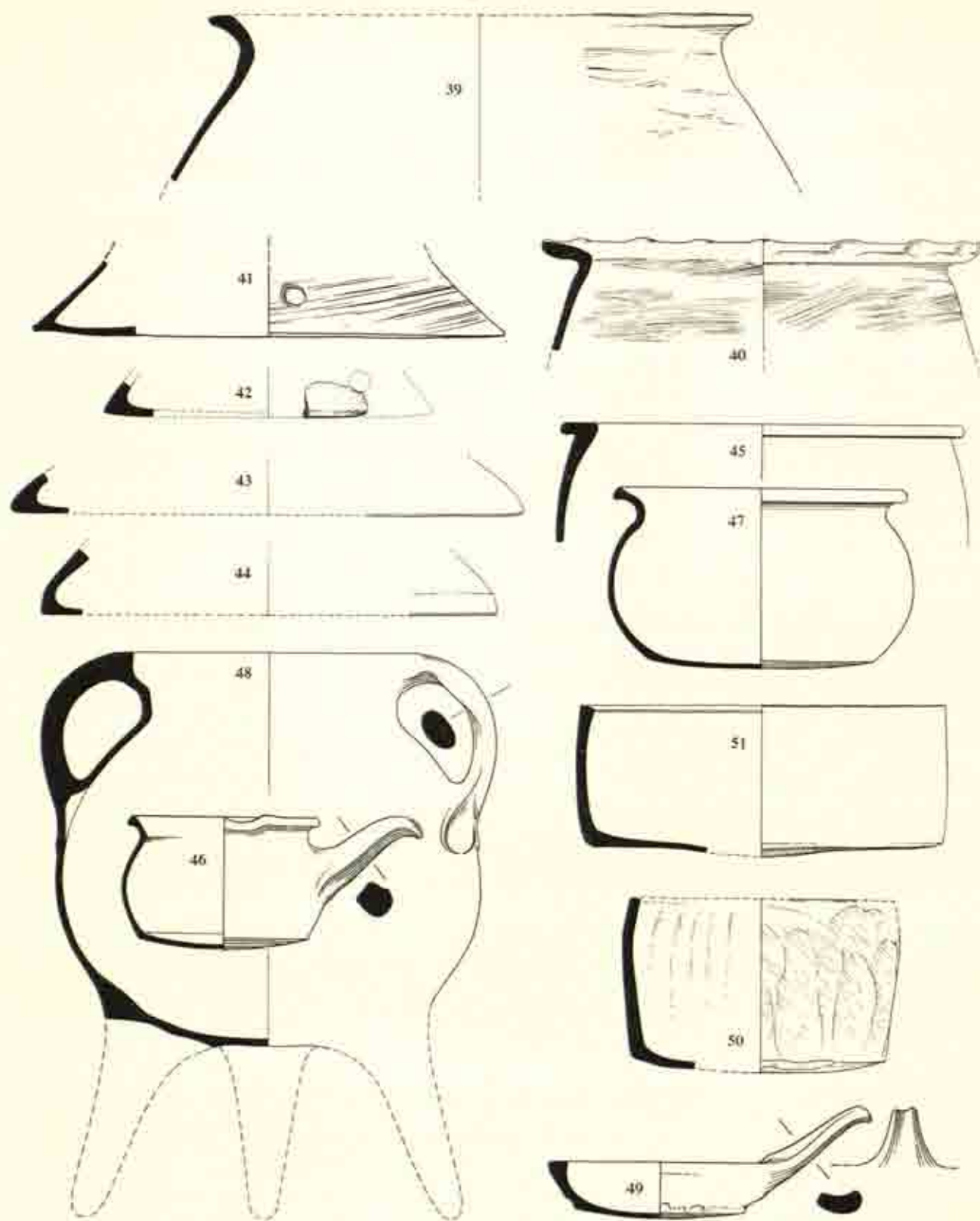


FIG 11. Laverstock: beehive bases, bowls, cauldrons, pipkins, and skillets. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



*Pipkins* (fig. 11, nos. 46 and 47)

The pipkin resembles a small sagging-base cooking pot but in a more refined fabric and with the addition of a pinched lip and a stub handle. Handles have a characteristic hollow in the handle base where it joins the pot, formed when fixing the handle. A hole would have been made in the side of the pot and the handle inserted and moulded into the vessel wall by spreading clay from the handle base over the interior, thus leaving a depression in the end of the handle.

46. Buff outside, pinky-buff inside. Thick green glaze on the inside, and a patchy glaze on the underside of the base. There are areas of sooting especially on the under surface of the handle. (cf. Rye, *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxvii (1936), 110, fig. 3, no. 5.)
47. No lip or handle but clearly related in form to no. 46. External wash of colourless glaze, and internal orange speckled green glaze (Pit 16).

*Cauldrons* (fig. 11, no. 48)

The Laverstock type cauldron, like the pipkin, is internally glazed and the handles were attached in the same way. A number of detached feet were found; some had a fluted body and often a flat had been formed on the end of the foot to enable it to sit evenly. Parts of cauldrons were found in Kilns 2, 4, and 5 and in Pits 15 and 16.

This cauldron form is found in metal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

48. Buff to pinky jug-like fabric. Rich green glaze internally, patchy externally. Slight signs of scratch-marking on the base. Pronounced internal throwing marks (Kiln 2).

*Skillets* (fig. 11, no. 49)

Examples were obtained from Kiln 6. That figured is in a reddish-brown fabric. The outside surfaces of the 'heel' are roughly finished. Another example is in buff to grey fabric with a rich green glaze on the inside and a colourless glaze on the outside giving a varnished appearance to the surface.

*Straight-sided bowls with flangeless rims* (fig. 11, nos. 50 and 51)

50. Pinky-buff fabric. Originally glazed internally, but there is only a small patch of blue-green glaze on external surfaces which are extensively knife-trimmed (Kiln 5).
51. Flat (though distorted) base. Possibly a secondary waster as the base is sooted. Only specks of glaze externally, but there is a thick blistered coat on the inside of the base with runs up the wall. The vessel wall has become corrugated in throwing (Pit 3).

<sup>1</sup> *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* 1946, p. 202-6 (p. 224) and an example illustrated from London and fig. 68, plate LVI. Pottery versions are also described (fig. 74).

*Vertical-sided bowls with slightly thickened rims* (fig. 12, no. 53)

This bowl in a rough fabric and with an internal olive glaze was found in Pit 14. There are signs of burning on the base, both inside and out.

*Oblique-sided bowls* (fig. 12, nos. 52 and 54)

These vessels are relatively wide for their depth (12 in. diameter and 3-4 in. deep) with a pronounced rim flange which may be decorated and a slightly sagging base. The insides of the vessels have an all-over glaze; the spots of glaze on the outside are almost certainly fortuitous (no. 52 is from Kiln 1; no. 54 from Kiln 3).

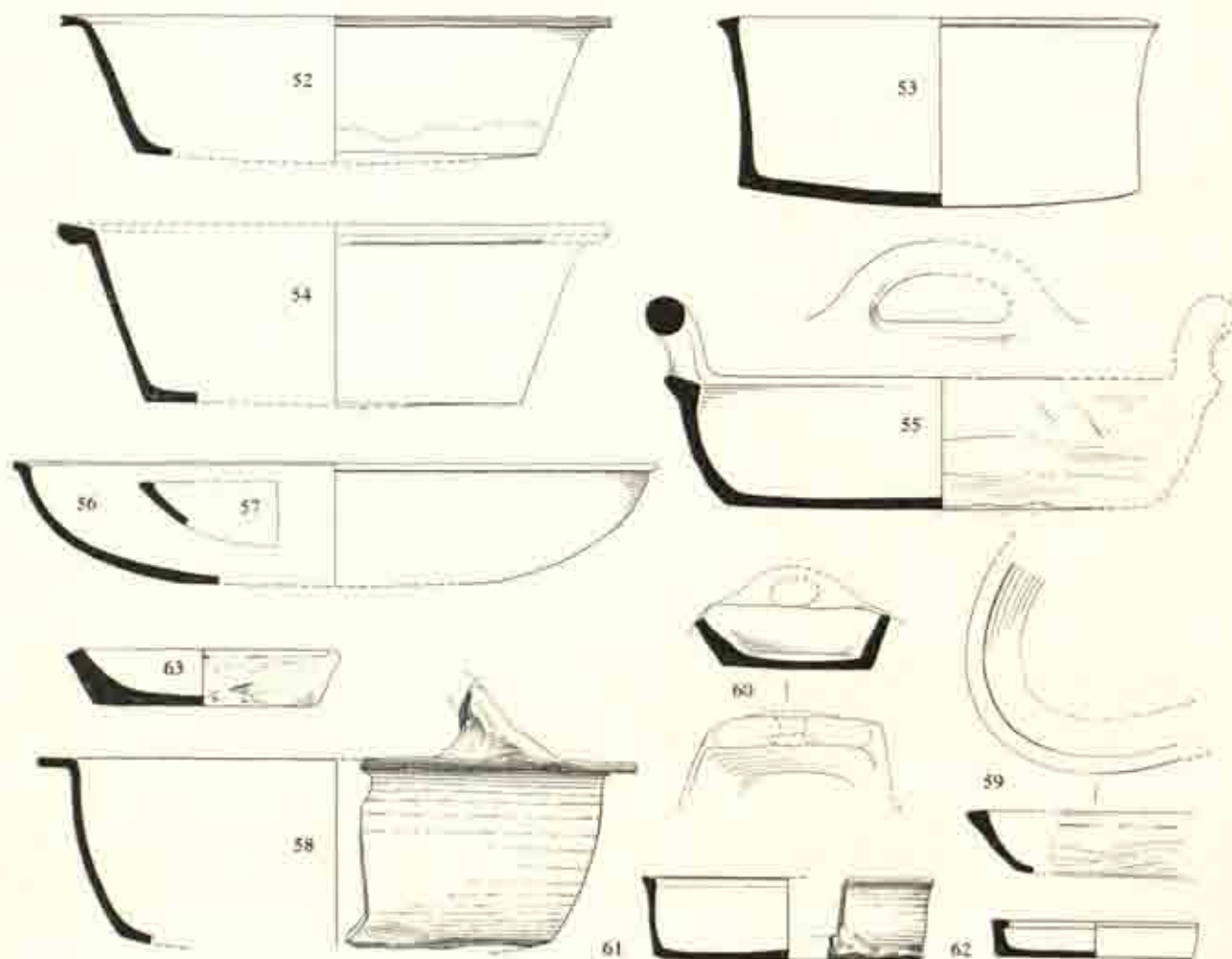


FIG. 12. Laverstock: glazed bowls and dishes. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

*Curve-sided bowls* (fig. 12, nos. 55 and 58)

Of a similar size to the oblique-sided bowls. As with these the rims may have a pronounced flange, or may be merely thickened. Either type may be fitted with a pair of lateral handles.



55. Thickened rim type with lateral handles. Pinky-buff speckled fabric. Thick internal and external colourless glaze. Outer face corrugated and its lower third knife-trimmed (Kiln 2).
58. Type with a pronounced rim flange. The internal glaze is green speckled with darker green, but outside a colourless sheen-like glaze gives a varnished appearance. This effect is observed with other pottery, especially that from Kiln 1. The base is sooted. The lateral handle (originally one of a pair) is attached to the rim by means of finger-pressing. Although the main part of this vessel came from Pit 3, the handle stub, which fitted exactly, came from a trial trench some yards away. An example of this type from Maidstone has been published by Spiller, Stebbing, and Dunning (*Arch. Cantiana*, lv, 64) and dated 1275-1300.

*Shallow curve-sided bowls* (fig. 12, nos. 56 and 57)

These are very wide for their depth (12-14 in. diameter but only 2.5-3 in. deep). Only a slight rim flange, little more than a thickening of the wall. Both illustrated examples are from Pit 3. These are green glazed internally. The outside of no. 56 is sooted.

*Shallow dishes* (fig. 12, nos. 59-63)

No complete examples were found, but two main types can be recognized: (a) oval dishes, possibly with a lip for pouring (no. 59) and (b) sub-rectangular dishes (no. 60). Both types have external knife-trimming. This feature would be expected as the awkward shape would have necessitated the use of slab-building. Perforated lug or ring-type handles are sometimes present.

59. Oval type. Buff fabric with an internal colourless glaze: the outside is unglazed. The basal angle is knife-trimmed (Kiln 2. Also found in Kilns 3 and 5 and top of Pit 6A).
60. Sub-rectangular type in a grey to buff fabric with an internal green glaze. External knife or string trimming, and there are string marks on the base (Kiln 2. Another from Kiln 1).
61. An unusual type with a slotted side. It is possibly slightly oval and not circular as drawn. The slot runs from the rim almost to the base. The vessel's function is uncertain, but was possibly for waxing tapers; in later centuries, vessels used for this purpose were of the oval, shallow type.  
The base is distorted and roughly hand-finished. There are old cracks in the wall; the slot is finished in the same manner as the rim. A yellow to colourless glaze with a greenish tinge externally, but only traces internally (Pit 3).
62. Very shallow dish only 0.75 in. deep. The rim has been thickened to form a beading. Grey to buff fabric, with a spoilt green glaze inside and out (Kiln 1).
63. Pink fabric. Green glaze internally (unstratified).

#### IV. Jugs

The kilns contained mostly fragments of jugs, these evidently being the main product. From this mass of material the evolution in jug form and decoration may



now be traced for the second half of the thirteenth century in the Salisbury area.

Initially, the jugs are of baggy or globular shape with curvilinear and foliage designs and with a quality of workmanship which subsequently deteriorates. These jugs may ultimately derive from the twelfth-century tripod pitchers. Later, the more slender ovoid jugs show greater variety within the general form, with an increased and accomplished use of plastic decoration and stamped designs. This change of fashion is very evident in the pottery from Kiln 5, and is accompanied by the introduction of new vessel types including money-boxes, lamps, aquamaniles and anthropomorphic jugs—the influence possibly of a 'Midlands style' of design as seen in the form of the anthropomorphic jugs and in the considerable use of the spiral design.

Eventually the pottery stamps became increasingly crude, a fact which must be linked with the final degeneration to an almost mechanical technique. Decoration becomes set and rigid, and there is a lack of originality of design as shown by the jugs from Kilns 2 and 6. Possibly craftsmanship had to give way to the demands for higher production.

The jugs will be considered in kiln groups, chronologically arranged, except for the anthropomorphic jugs and others of unusual form which are discussed in special sections.

*Definitions.* Repetitive descriptions have been avoided in some instances by reference to the following standard terms:

#### *Jug forms*

*Form 1.* A necked and collared bulbous or baggy form mainly with strap handle and Type A base (defined below) in earliest examples, and with simple decoration (nos. 64–66). In later examples the profile becomes more slender and the Type B base is present (Form 1A; see no. 69).

*Form 2.* Neckless, flowing profile, more slender than Form 1. Always made with a Type B base (nos. 73, 78, 95, 97). Some types have a slight collar (Form 2A) or a grooved collar (Form 2B); the latter may have pads set in it.

#### *Base types*

*Type A.* This has a somewhat smaller diameter than the maximum diameter of the jug and is found on Form 1. No waist and the undersurface is often convex which is corrected by pulling down the edge four or five times with several fingers at once. (See nos. 72 and 101, figs. 14, 15).

*Type B.* Found on the more slender forms of jug. Definite waist and splayed foot. The basal diameter is closer to that of the maximum jug diameter than in Type A. The edge of the base may be plain (Type B) as no. 105, pulled down with several fingers as Type A (Type B i; see no. 69), pulled down with a series of single thumb impressions (Type B ii) as no. 97, or have a smudged finger impression (Type B iii).

#### *Jugs from the earliest kilns (Kilns 1 and 7 and contemporary pits)*

These divide broadly into two categories: Form 1, full bodied with a pronounced



shoulder, vertical neck, and Type A base, and Form 1A with a less pronounced neck and shoulder and a Type Bi or Bii base.

The earliest vessels come from Kiln 7, Pits 6, 9, 15, and 17 and the decoration consists almost entirely of scored lines (found on 80 per cent of all the decorated sherds from Kiln 7). The use of this decoration continues in Kiln 1 (appearing on 60 per cent of all decorated sherds) but new motifs also appear including dot and circle (3 per cent) and scroll decoration. Thus the use of scored lines provides a strong connecting link between Kilns 1 and 7 and a means of dating some of the pits. The jugs from the other kilns stand in strong contrast.

Scored line decoration in its simplest form consists of circumferential grooves (no. 65) often covering the greater part of the jug surface but stopping at the shoulder if a pronounced neck is present (no. 64). The rilled or wreathed necks of some of the Kiln 1 jugs and, later, the rippled profiles of certain jugs from Kilns 2, 5, and Pit 8 develop from this earlier use of circumferential scoring.

In its more complex form, the scored (or combed) line is used to give curvilinear and simple geometrical patterns (nos. 66 and 67).

On the Form 1 jugs the handles are attached at the base of the collar (if present). Strap handles tend to be flattened with restrained thumbing down the edges and shallow diagonal slash marks in the centre. Some rod handles are awkwardly attached, without thumbing or thickening, very high up on the rim and dropping almost vertically to the body. The rims of rod-handled jugs are often spoutless, a feature which reappears on the Kiln 6 jugs. Pinched lips were formed by pushing from the inside with the greater part of the fore-finger of either hand producing a slightly raised and embossed rim, a feature which is not found in the later kiln groups. The lips of the Kiln 1 jugs are simply pulled out at rim level with the tips of the fingers (nos. 73 and 78).

The baggy shape of the Form I jug is reminiscent of the tripod pitchers of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Part of a tripod pitcher base was in fact found in the top of Pit 6 and a tubular spout in a trial trench near Building 1.

With Kiln 1, Pit 1, and Pit 3, the standard of potting and general workmanship was high, perhaps the highest achieved on the site. Compared with Kiln 7 there is a tendency for profiles to become more streamlined (Form II) with, in some cases, loss of the shoulder (no. 77). Rod handles may be present on quite large jugs and applied with a thumb press (no. 68). The handles are decorated with multiple stabblings (no. 79) or with the dot and circle motif (no. 68) which appears for the first time. Bridge spouts are present on the finest pieces, normally collared jugs of Form I. Decoration is more varied than that of the Kiln 7 jugs. Dot and circle stamps are applied to labels attached to the rim collar and to pads set into grooved collar rims (as seen on Kiln 5 material, no. 106). There are many examples of simple but impressive flowing body decoration including those which show the use of curving applied strips ending in pads impressed with several dot and circle devices (cf. fig. 15) or incised so as to represent foliage and ears of corn (no. 68). Use is also made of neatly formed rosettes (no. 123). Other forms of decoration include vertical strips of

<sup>1</sup> G. C. Dunning *Med. Arch.* iii (1959), 35.



contrasting glaze (no. 89) used in conjunction with marrow seed pellets (no. 94). There is also a cross-stamp (no. 122) similar to that used on twelfth-century vessels and this, along with the dot and circle motif, is the earliest of the Laverstock stamps.

Finally the boss-decorated jug from Pit 9 (no. 70) calls for special consideration. Dunning<sup>1</sup> has discussed the continental origins of boss-decoration and suggested that there was a partial but widespread revival, along a broad littoral zone of the continent, of an ultimately Saxon decorative motif (*Buckelschmuck*) in the tenth to the twelfth centuries. The Pit 9 find suggests that this decorative style may extend to the second half of the thirteenth century, a further example of archaism. One of Dunning's examples comes from Southampton where it was found in an early twelfth-century context and has been presumed to be an import from Normandy. The Laverstock find demonstrates that the decoration was applied to English jugs although the idea may have ultimately derived from Normandy, as indeed may other influences, since Laverstock is only 20 miles from Southampton.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Figured pottery*

Fig. 13. Fabrics are coloured buff to grey.

- 64. Clear, lumpy glaze. Pinched lip and strap handle (Pit 9).
- 65. Thin green glaze flecked with maroon. Pinched lip and strap handle (Kiln 1).
- 66. Rich spoilt green glaze. Strap handle (Kiln 1).
- 67. Rich olive-green glaze. Bridge spout and strap handle (Building 2).
- 68. Green to reddish-brown body glaze, brown to black leaf motifs. Unglazed areas on the spout bridge and upper end of the handle indicate where the potter held the jug during 'glaze dipping'. Very high quality (Kiln 1).

Fig. 14.

- 69. Unglazed distorted body (Pit 9).
- 70. Boss decorated by pushing out the wall from the inside. The edge is extensively abraded on one side suggesting use of the broken jug as a scoop (Pit 9).
- 71. Rich yellow-buff internal glaze. This vessel (? not a jug) was very large with a basal diameter of at least 1 ft. 6 in. (Pit 3).
- 72. Colourless glaze flecked with green (Kiln 1).

Fig. 14. Fabrics are coloured buff to grey and glazes are in various shades of green unless specified otherwise.

- 73. Jug neck with an incised decoration below a pinched lip. The exact form of this is uncertain, but is reconstructed as a symmetrical design (Pit 1).
- 74. Jug neck. Rod handle and pinched lip. Olive-green glaze flecked with dark brown. Neck contorted and other vessels have stuck to it (Kiln 2, but intrusive).
- 75. Body sherd with incised decoration and rich green to mustard glaze with maroon specks (Kiln 2).

<sup>1</sup> *Med. Arch.* iii (1959), 67.

<sup>2</sup> When this was written, we overlooked a number of hollow-based decorated jugs of thirteenth-century date

from London and one from Old Sarum, discussed in *Archaeologia Cantiana* lxxii (1958), 34.



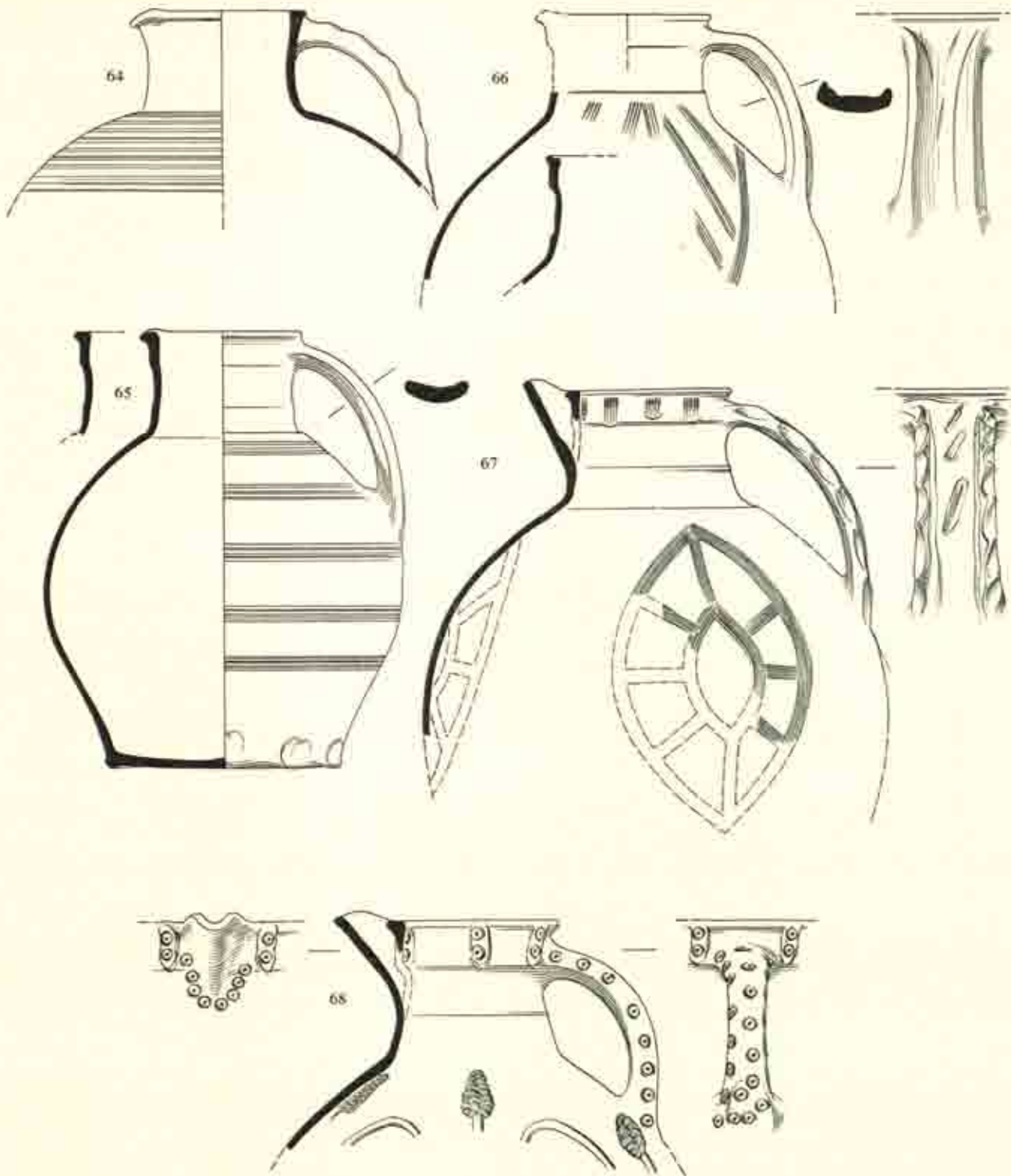


FIG. 13. Laverstock: jugs, mainly from Pit 9 and Kiln 1. Scale 1

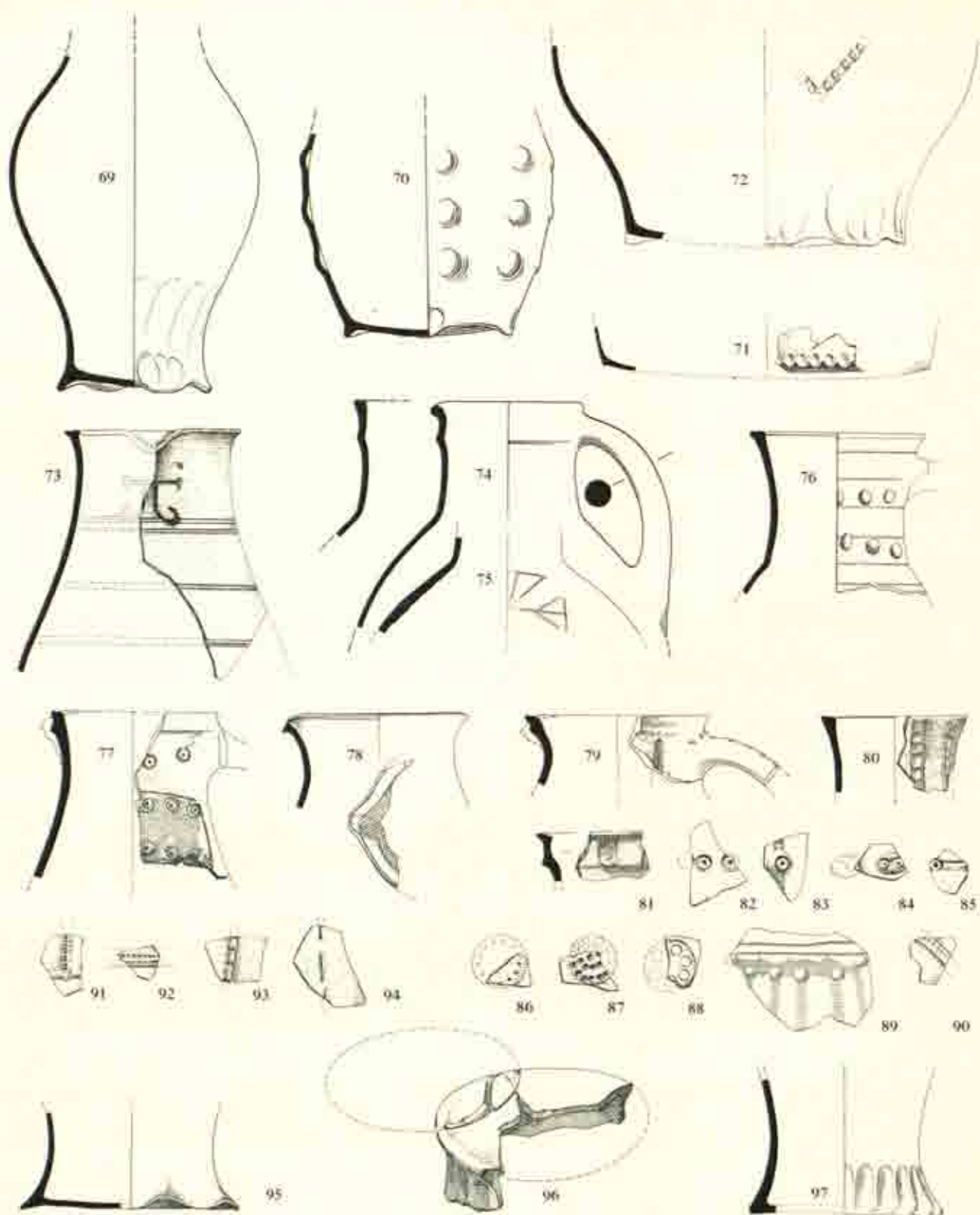


FIG. 14. Laverstock: jugs from Pits 1, 3, and 9, and Kiln 1, with a series of decorated sherds,  
Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ , except no. 71,  $\frac{1}{2}$



- 76. Decorated with horizontal grooves and applied pellets. Glaze almost completely vaporized. Stub of rod handle (Pit 3).
- 77. Decorated with panels of brown to black glaze and dot and circle stamps. Stub of rod handle (Pit 3).
- 78. Pinched lip from a jug (Pit 3).
- 79. Jug neck decorated with a vertical stripe of lead-coloured glaze with blow-holes. Olive-green glaze on body shading into brown and black. Rod handle decorated with punch marks (Pit 3).

Nos. 80-94 (except no. 89) were found in trial trenches and illustrate different types of decoration.

- 80. 'Ladder' decoration.
- 81. 'Hand stamp' motif. Rich green glaze flecked with reddish-brown.
- 82. Dot and circle stamps impressed directly into the jug body.
- 83. Dot and circle stamps impressed into applied pads. The body glaze is green flecked with red, and the pad is also green glazed but superimposed on a raised rim of lead-coloured glaze.
- 84. Twin dot and circle impressed into an applied pad. Yellow glaze.
- 85. Dot and circle impressed into an applied rib. Green to brown glaze.
- 86. An applied pad with a series of punched holes around its circumference. Reddish-brown glaze on pad and green glaze on body.
- 87. Glaze similar to that of no. 86. The whole of the pad is covered with punched holes.
- 88. Glaze almost completely vaporized. Applied pad decorated with a series of punched circles.
- 89. Decorated with lead-coloured stripes and applied pellets over a mustard coloured glaze (Pit 3).
- 90-2. Examples of the use of rotary stamps. Light green glaze with darker flecks. A roller which gave a double impression has been used on no. 92 although only a single impression was required.
- 93. Decorated with stamped heart-shaped impressions (? from end of a bone).
- 94. Decorated with 'marrow seed pellets'.
- 95-7. Examples of Type B i and B ii bases from Pit 3.
- 95. Type B i base. Buff-grey with sparse yellowy-buff glaze.
- 96. Jug base with rim of another jug fused on. The base is a uniform grey colour. Thick reddish-brown to brownish-red glaze shading into patches of yellowish-green with thick runs down the wall. This sticking of a rim to a base is the result of self-stacking. Normally, only impressions of the rims show on the bases of self-stacked jugs ('stacking rings').
- 97. Type B ii base. Orange-buff fabric with yellowish glaze on underside of base, flecks on wall.

*Jugs from Kiln 5 and associated pits (fig. 15)*

With Kiln 5 jugs there is an increasing tendency for the decoration to extend over the whole of the jug surface (no. 98). There is little change in the forms although



profiles are more slender and the wide collar feature is infrequent although a new rim type appears which consists of a narrow collar with a groove in it (the 'grooved collar'). Bases are either Type B (no. 105) or Type B ii. Spouts are mostly unbridged (87 per cent) and their junctions with the jug bodies are decorated with dot and circle ornament (no. 100) or a series of slashings (no. 105). Most rims are either plain or of the grooved collar type decorated with dot and circle stamped pads (no. 106) or vertically slashed pads (no. 107). This latter feature is also found in Kiln 3.

From small beginnings in Kiln 1 the spiral or scroll motif becomes the principal ornament. It may have as its terminal element, rosettes (no. 103)—less carefully formed than those from Kiln 1—or pads decorated with a centrally placed dot and circle device (no. 99) or with multiple dot (no. 104) or multiple dot and circle (no. 102).

There are also the anthropomorphic jugs which form an extremely important component of the Kiln 5 group and are considered later.

Fig. 15. The fabrics are in various shades of buff and the glaze shades of green unless stated otherwise.

98. Decorated with a foliage motif and also with stabbed pads around the rim. The pads are glazed in a contrasting brown (Pit 8).
99. Jug decorated with pads around rim and an applied spiral with a rosette at centre (Kiln 5).
100. Jug neck with bridgeless spout and strap handle stub. Decorated with dot and circle impressed into the jug body, and also into applied pads, including multiple impressions. The pads are glazed purple-brown. Evidence for foliage or spiral decoration further down the body (Pit 8).
101. Lower half of jug with foliage decoration. Type A base. Corn ears are glazed a contrasting brown (Kiln 2 but presumably intrusive).
102. Spiral motif with terminal pad stamped with dot and circle impressions. The spiral is glazed a lighter green and the pad brown (Kiln 5).
103. Terminal pad formed into a rosette (Kiln 5).
104. Terminal pad decorated with a series of punched holes (Kiln 5).
105. Complete jug. Contrasting magenta coloured applied pads. Bridgeless spout and rod handle decorated with a series of knife cuts. The rim is decorated with stabbed pads (Kiln 5).
106. A variant method of decorating a rim by the use of pads impressed with dot and circle stamps (Kiln 5).
107. Grey fabric with maroon to reddish-brown glaze. Jug body decorated with dot-impressed brown-black glazed pads. (Some have fallen off leaving a dot impression in the body) (Kiln 5).
108. Complete jug, but distorted and split during firing (the split is omitted in the drawings). Colourless to pinky-buff glaze speckled with green. The rod handle is flared out at its junction with the rim, and there is a very weak pinched lip (Kiln 5).

#### *Jugs from Kilns 3 and 4*

On stylistic grounds these jugs might be considered to pre-date Kiln 5 jugs were



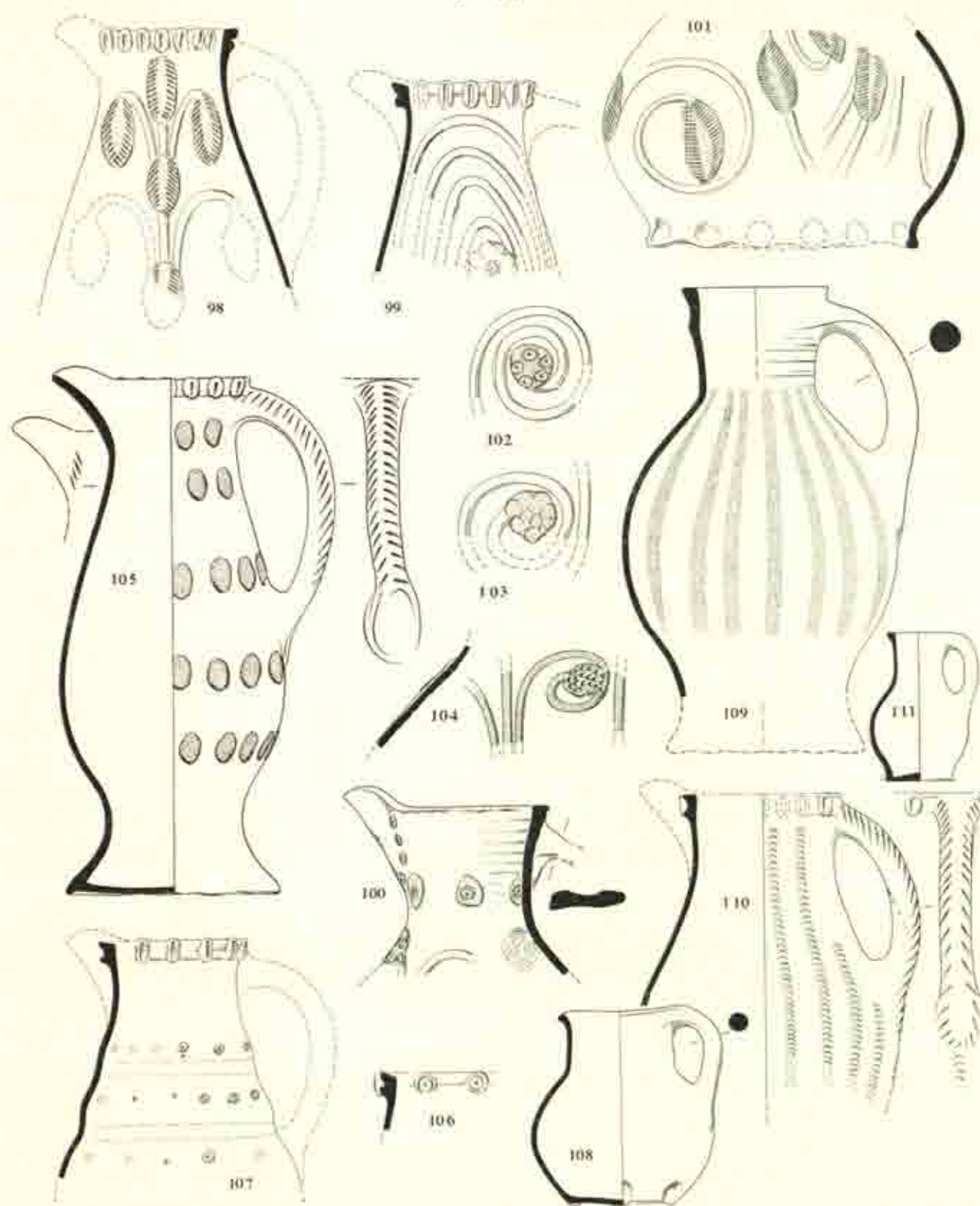


FIG. 15. Laverstock: jugs from Kilns 3 and 5. Scale 4

it not for the fact that part of an anthropomorphic jug of Kiln 5 type was found with them. There is also supporting evidence for the priority of Kiln 5.

The jugs are rounder (see no. 112) than other Laverstock globular jugs. Type A bases occur but Type B iii predominates. Bridgeless spouts are very common (63 per cent of Kiln 3 spouts) as are rod handles (80 per cent of all handles) and 30 per cent of the latter are decorated either with dot and circle or slashes (no. 110). The plain handles tend to be flattened on each side (by smoothing down the edges) and terminate in a large flattened pad pressed out rather like a rabbit's ear (Kiln 4). Grooved collar rims are frequently decorated with applied pads carrying pairs of thumb impressions. Body decorations consist almost entirely of glazed stripes either vertical (no. 109) or in a lattice design (no. 112). Lattice intersections often have applied pads of clay with dot and circle devices as in no. 112 (the dot and circle is the most frequent decorative device—Kiln 3, 23 per cent; Kiln 4, 36 per cent).

The miniature jug is unusual. An almost complete example (no. 111), and the fragments of others came from Kiln 4. This could not have been merely a potter's curiosity as small handles from vessels of this type were not uncommon from the excavation as a whole.

Figs. 15, 16. Fabrics are buff to pinky-buff in colour.

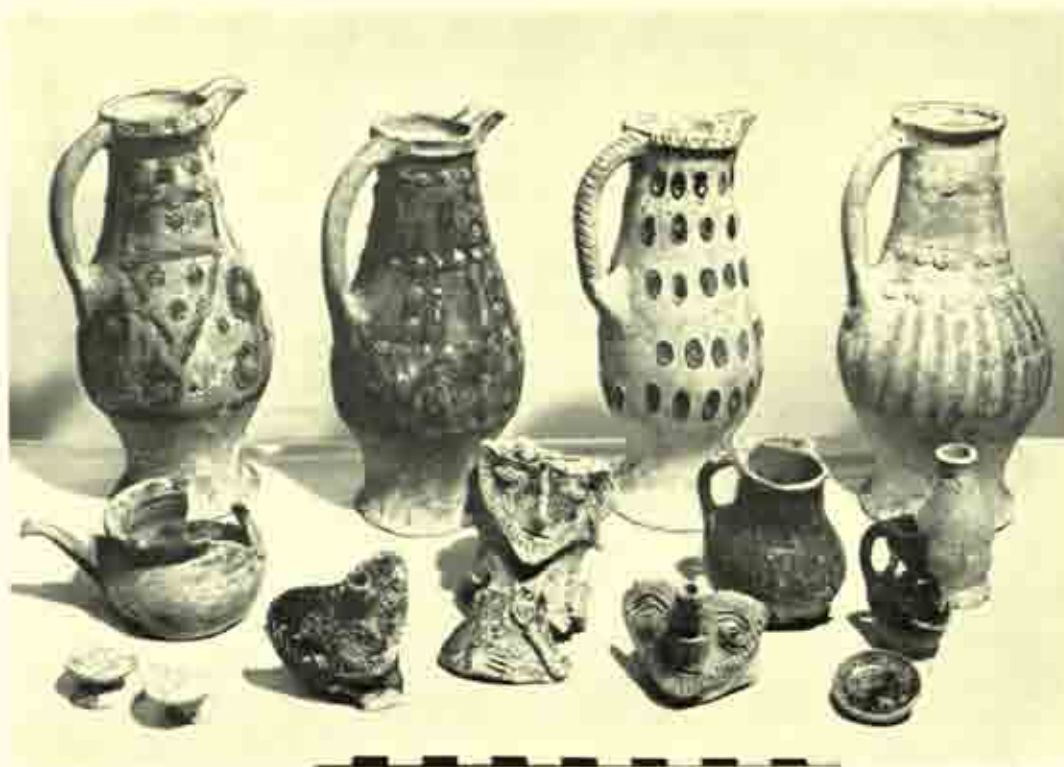
109. Complete except for base, with a greenish-brown body glaze and with a vertical brown glazed stripe decoration. No lip (Kiln 3).
110. Upper half of a green-glazed jug decorated with vertical brown glazed stripes carrying finger-nail impressions. The knife cuts on the rod handle and the stamped pads round the rim are features also present on Kiln 5 jugs (Kiln 3).
111. Miniature jug (4.25 in. high). Speckled green glaze. Pronounced throwing marks on the inside. Fragment of another rim is stuck to the base (Kiln 3).
112. Complete except for base, with a rich green glaze and decorated with a lattice of purple-brown glazed stripes with a dot and circle impressed pad at the intersections and with dot and circle impressions directly into the body of the pot round the rim and the bridgeless spout (Kiln 3).
113. Jug from Kiln 2 for comparison. Decorated with a lattice of lead-coloured stripes over a rich olive-green body glaze. Rod handle with bold thumb presses at the lower junction (Kiln 2).

#### *Jugs from Kilns 2 and 6 (figs. 16–18)*

The most noteworthy feature is the wide range of stamped decoration. Examples (fig. 16) include grilles (no. 117), prunts (no. 114), medallions (no. 118), shields (no. 126), crossed dumb-bells (no. 120), crossed sceptres (no. 127), stamped octofoils (no. 129), and rosettes often with a central prunt stamp (no. 125). Even the anthropomorphic decoration degenerated into the use of a stamped face mask (no. 162).

These stamps provide a ready means of identifying Laverstock products. Thus a stamped shield on a sherd from Clarendon Palace is identical with one found in Kiln 2. The Kiln 6 stamps tend to be more degenerate than those from Kiln 2. A special feature of Kiln 2 jugs is the use of rosettes, often with a centrally placed prunt stamp.





*Photograph: H. L. Vatcher*

a. Jugs from Kilns 5 and 6, anthropomorphic jugs, and other kiln pottery



*Photograph: Ministry of Public Building and Works*

b. Side of ridge-tile with incised decoration

Laverstock





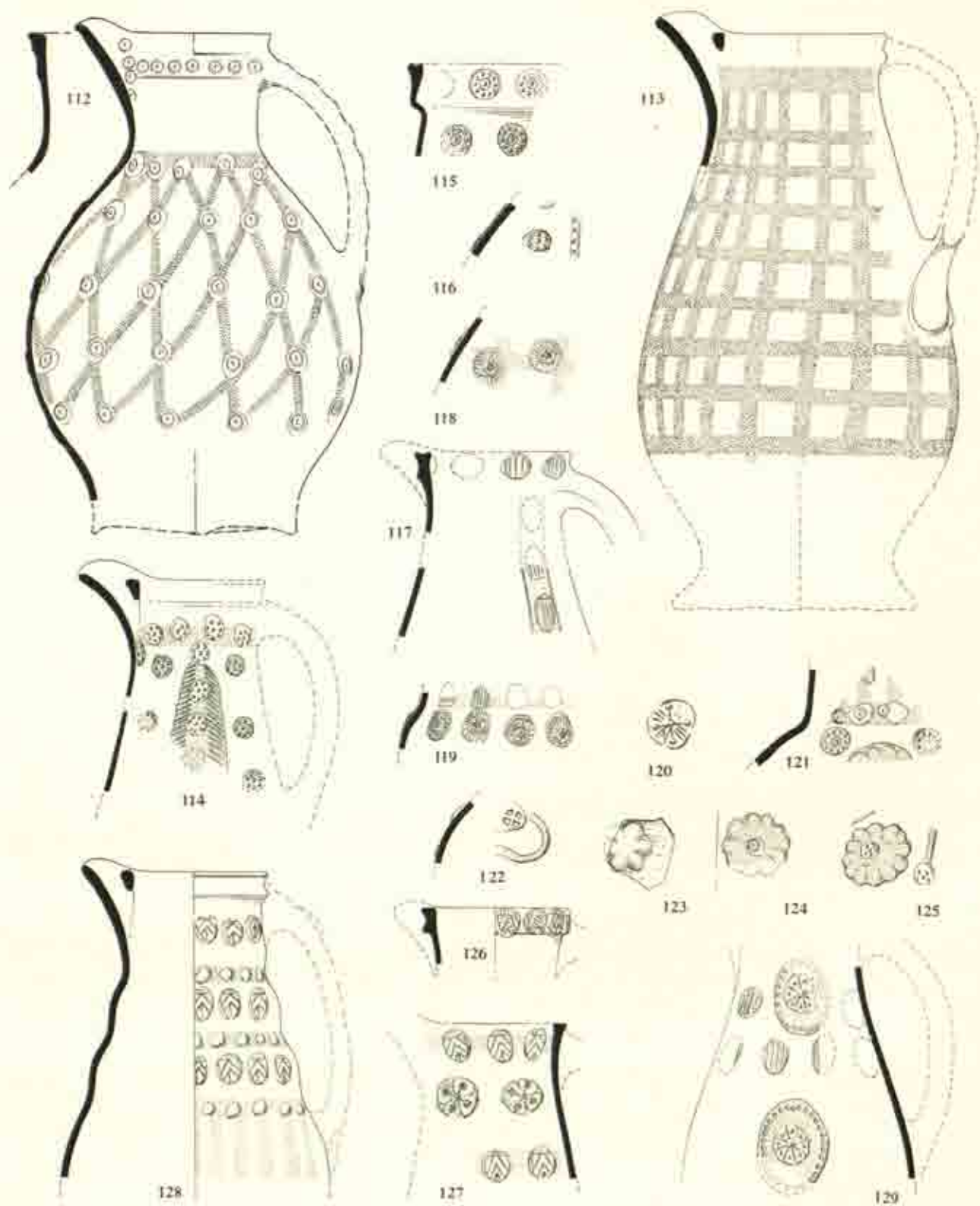
In Kiln 2 there are a few examples of rather baggy vessels (no. 101) and jugs with strap handles but in both kilns the jug type is almost entirely oviform with Type B iii bases, although there is a Kiln 6 type with an almost cylindrical neck which tends to make the rest of the body appear rather spherical (nos. 134-6). The occurrence in Kiln 2 of the jug type with a rippled profile (no. 128) similar to that from Kiln 5 (no. 107) has already been noted.

Rims are either plain or slightly carinated and decorated with prunt (no. 130) or grille stamps (no. 117), or are galleried (that is, the top of the neck overhangs the remainder, e.g. 115). In Kiln 2 this form of rim is impressed with face mask stamps on pads. Of the handles, 90 per cent are of rod form with stabbed holes at the point of attachment to the rim and along the handle spine with a marked thumb impression at the bottom terminal (no. 132). Spouts are usually bridged, but pinched lips are more abundant than spouts in Kiln 2 (56 per cent compared with 40 per cent) and also occur on plain Kiln 6 jugs (no. 139). An important feature of many of the jugs illustrated from Kiln 6 is that they formed part of the last load fired and are therefore a small closed group. Ten are illustrated: three are practically identical (nos. 134-6), although on one the potter has omitted the prunt stamps. It is of interest to note that in the same load there were jugs with bridge spouts, pinched lips, and no spouts at all.

#### *Figured pottery*

Fig. 16. Pottery from Kiln 2 (except nos. 122, Kiln 1 and 123, Pit 3). Fabrics are either pinky-buff or buff to grey colour and the glazes are various shades of green unless otherwise stated.

114. Jug neck with bridge spout and probably originally a rod handle. Stylized leaf motif decoration (brown-glazed) formed from knife cuts, and stamped prunts (green-glazed).
115. Jug rim decorated with stamped prunts. Yellow to mustard glaze. The lower row of prunts are purple-black.
116. Body sherd with similar decoration.
117. Jug neck decorated with grille stamps. Olive-green body glaze and a brown-black stripe.
118. Decorated with medallion stamps superimposed on a reddish-brown glazed lattice. Mustard glaze on body and on stamps.
119. Decorated with medallion stamps and grille stamps. Thin pale green body glaze and the grille stamps are of the same colour. The medallion stamps, and the glazed stripe are brown-black.
120. Crossed dumb-bell stamp. Green glaze with maroon tones.
121. Decorated with dot and circle, prunts, a rosette (formed by thumbing out an applied pad) and a glazed lattice. The lattice, rosette, and prunts are in a dark brown glaze and the remainder are mustard to yellow-green colour.
122. Decorated with a cross stamp. Brownish-buff glaze on body and stamp. Strip is brown-black.
123. Decorated with a simple rosette.
124. Decorated with a rosette which has a dot and circle impressed pad at the

FIG. 16. Laverstock: jugs from Kilns 2 and 3, Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



centre. Green to mustard glaze on the body and on the dot and circle impressed pad. Rosette is brown to black.

- 125. Rosette with centrally placed prunt at the centre. The glaze colours are yellow-green body, black to brown rosette and rib, and yellow-green prunts.
- 126. Shield stamps.
- 127. Shield and crossed-sceptre stamps.
- 128. Stamped shields and also rows of pellets superimposed on glazed stripes. Bridge spout and evidence for a rod handle.
- 129. Stamped octofoils superimposed on areas of black glaze.

Figs. 17, 18. All Kiln 6 and forming part of a load of complete jugs found *in situ* (the jug numbers are for cross-reference to fig. 4).

- 130. Pinky-buff fabric with yellowy-green body glaze. The pads, stripes, and prunts are in dark-brown glaze, but prunts are yellow-green when superimposed on brown (Jug 5).
- 131. Creamy-grey fabric with olive-green body glaze. The vertical and horizontal bands and the elongated pads are lead-coloured but the dot and circle impressed pads are olive-green (Jug 2).
- 132. Buff-grey fabric with olive-green glaze flecked with darker green. Stripes and areas of brown glaze with superimposed olive-green pellets. Also dot and circle decoration (Jug 14).
- 133. Buff-grey fabric with mottled green body glaze and vertical stripes of green glaze with finger-nail decoration (Jug 6).
- 134, 135, 136. These illustrate attempts at limited 'mass-production'. Pinky-buff fabric with mottled green body glaze and contrasting bands of brown glaze. Two have green glazed prunt-stamped pads applied to the brown bands; the potter has apparently forgotten to put these on to Jug 3 (no. 136). It should be noted that all three are without lips or spouts in contrast to the remainder of the jugs in the load which are either lipped or spouted (Jugs, 3, 7, and 12).
- 137. Buff-grey fabric with olive-green body glaze and bands and oval pads of magenta coloured glaze. The superimposed dot and circle stamped pads are olive-green (Jug 10).
- 138. Buff-grey fabric with olive-green body glaze with contrasting bands and oval pads in magenta coloured glaze. The glazed bands have applied marrow seed pellets which are in the same colour as the body (Jug 1).
- 139. Undecorated with the exception of the stab marks down the spine of the handle. Pinky-buff fabric with pale green body glaze with darker flecks. Pinched lip (Jug 9).

#### V. *Anthropomorphic and face-decorated jugs*

The term anthropomorphic is used here to describe jugs which are representations of a human form. The 'face-decorated' jug on the other hand, employs representations of human and animal faces as decorative motifs. These may be multiple and situated

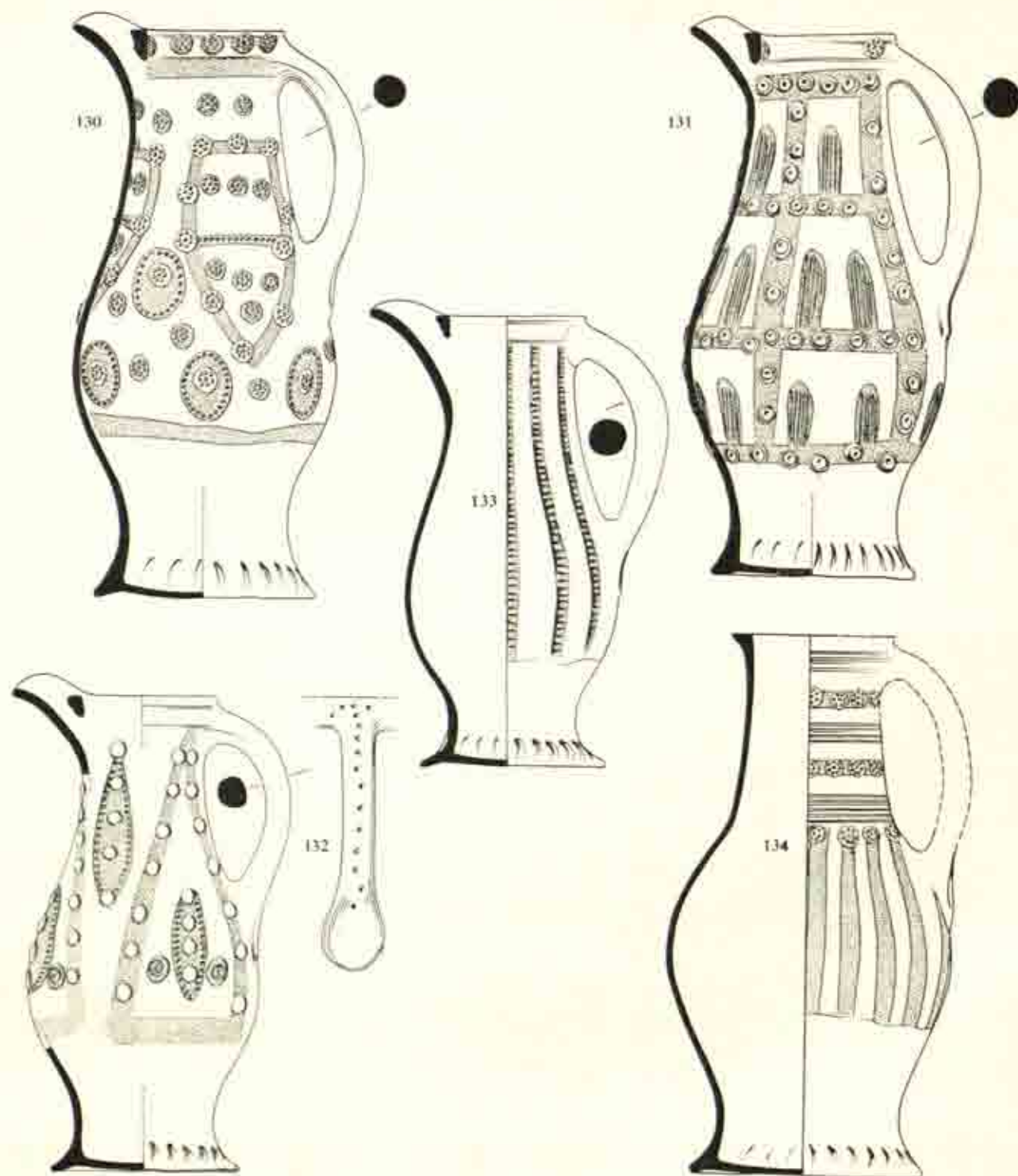


FIG. 17. Laverstock: jugs from Kiln 6 load. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$



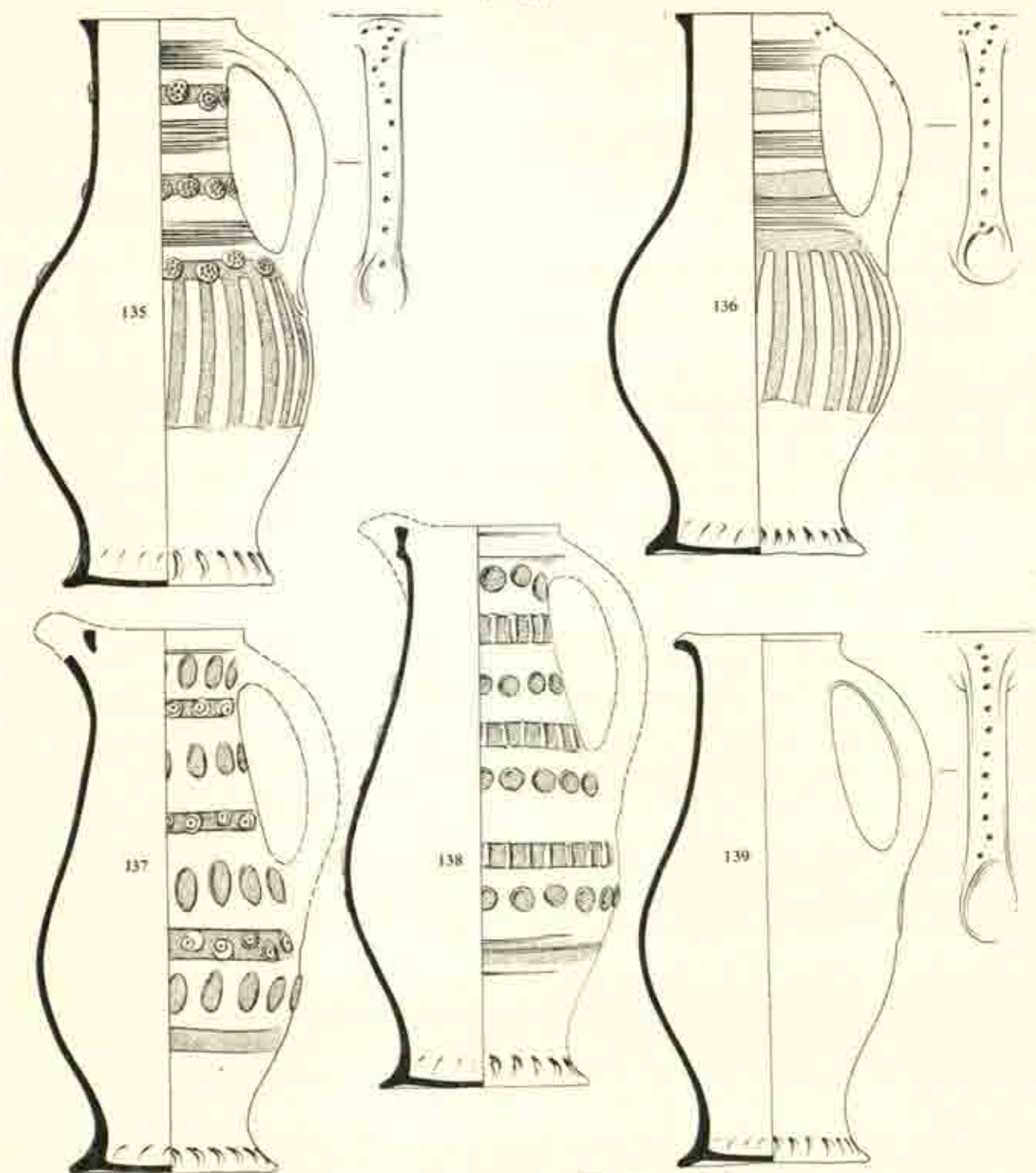


FIG. 18. Laverstock: jugs from Kiln 6 load. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

on the rim or the jug body. For the purposes of this report, face-decorated jugs have been divided into four types which are related to anthropomorphic jugs as follows:

*Anthropomorphic jugs*

The entire jug neck is treated as a base for the moulding of head features and the remainder of the jug becomes the body of an individual with applied arms etc. This then is the medieval ancestor of the Toby Jug. With odd sherds it may be difficult to distinguish in origin between an anthropomorphic and a face-decorated jug.

*Face-decorated jugs*

*Type I. Face-on-spout.* Compared with the anthropomorphic jug only a limited use is made of the jug neck as a base for moulding facial features (i.e. these are restricted to the bridge or tubular spout; arms etc. are omitted).

*Type II. Face-on-rim.* There is no longer an attempt to represent a single individual (i.e. a series of faces may be applied around the rim.) However, there is still a strong affinity with Type I as the moulding is in strong relief.

*Type IIA. Stylized face-on-rim.* Crude representations of a human face, especially in the use of decorated lugs. The earliest type at Laverstock and found in Kilns 1 and 7 which start the series.

*Type III. Face-on-body.* In Type III, faces of Types II and IIA form have been applied to the body rather than to the jug rim.

*Type IV. Stamped face.* A true degeneration of the other types and only found in the last phase (Kilns 2 and 6). These kilns produce pottery decorated with a variety of pottery stamps, and stamped faces simply add another motif to the range.

*Anthropomorphic jugs (fig. 19)*

With the exception of an 'eye' from Building 2 and an 'arm' from Kiln 3 all examples came from Kiln 5 and its associated pits. They have a characteristic heart-shaped face, large applied ears and are either spoutless (no. 140) or fitted with a tubular spout springing from the face between the eyes (no. 141). When a spout is present it may be held between hands, the arms being attached at the base of the jug neck. Otherwise these are folded across the jug front. No jug could be completely reconstructed so the rest of the form is uncertain although no sherds representing lower limbs were found.

In all examples the edge of the face has a series of incisions as if to represent a beard. Now there is no reason why the potter should automatically model a bearded face as the wearing of beards was by no means universal in the middle ages, also some of the 'bearded jugs' are of women—see for instance no. 153 which shows the bodiced chest of a woman displayed on a jug side. (Also see an example in the Victoria and Albert Museum—Acc. No. C. 50-1929—which has a pair of breast-like protuberances although the face is bearded). A possible explanation is that the potter is perpetuating, in a stylized way, the full beard of a prototype—similar, for instance, to that on the Armitage Jug from Nottingham—and the stylized beard acts as a frame for the face and makes it more interesting. Another feature which calls for comment is the representation of chain mail armour by means of incisions (no. 145).



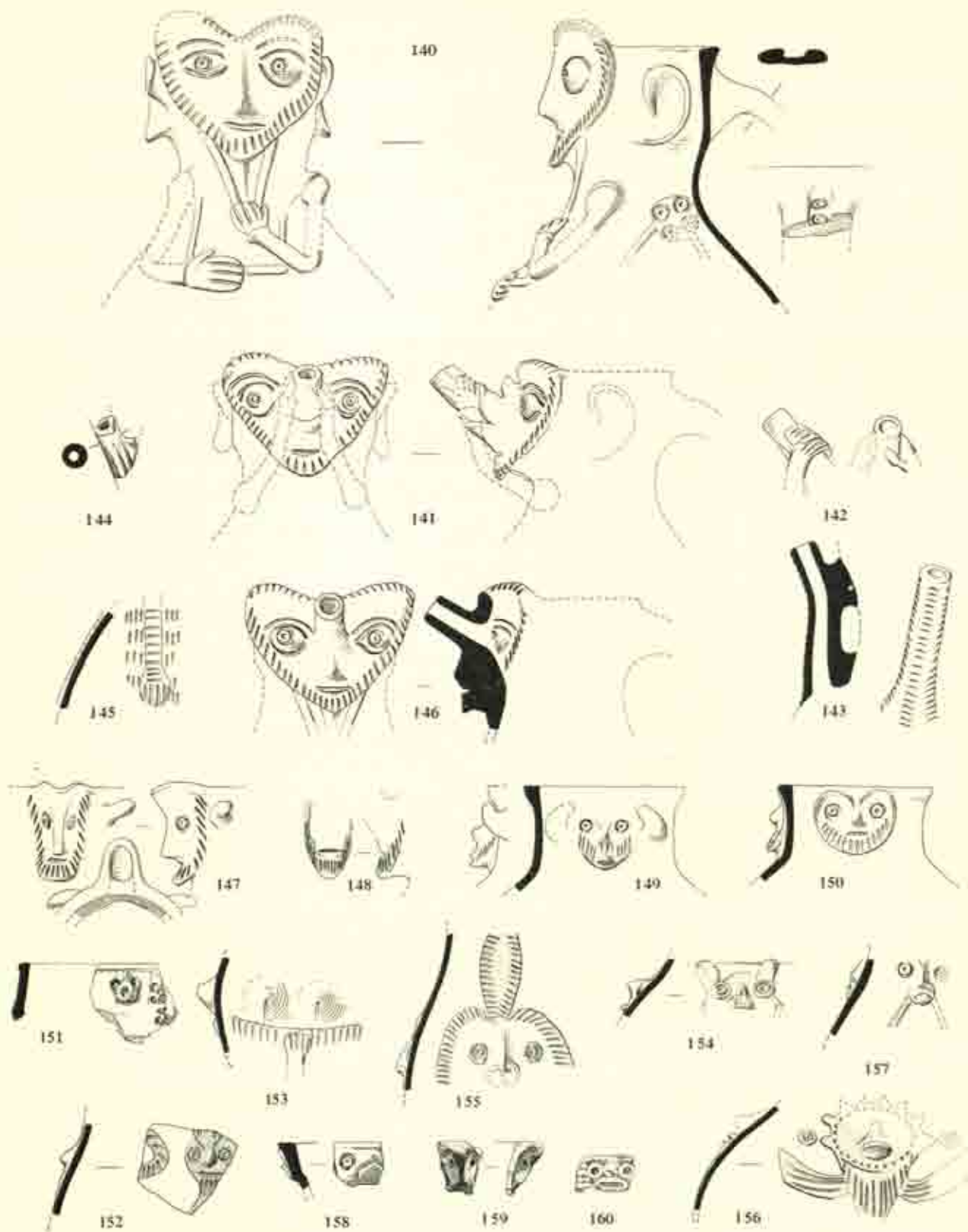


FIG. 19. Laverstock: anthropomorphic and face-decorated jugs. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

*Figured examples (fig. 19)*

Only the more complete specimens are illustrated. Large numbers of detached arms, hands, eyes, and ears were found in Kiln 5. Unless otherwise stated, the fabrics are in various shades of buff and the glaze is green, usually spoilt.

- 140. The arm is joined like a handle with a dowel but the ears are luted on. The strap handle is decorated with dot and circle devices.
- 141. Only the detached face was found but there were the remains of the fingers gripping the spout which makes possible the reconstruction shown. (Note that the potter has modelled his own hands as he saw them in front of him so that the thumbs are on the wrong side). The spout has been inserted by pushing it through a split in the face and the nose has been pushed up out of the way. This leads to an effect, possibly not consciously sought, whereby a human expression is obtained full-face but a pig-like one in profile.
- 142. Detached spout held by a pair of hands. Note the hands are again reversed. The spout bore ( $\frac{3}{8}$  in.) is similar to that of no. 141. The fingers are formed with knife-cuts.
- 143. (144). A decorated tubular spout possibly from an anthropomorphic jug although its method of construction would require it to be separate from the face. (The suggestion that it and no. 144 belong to anthropomorphic jugs is based on the fact that tubular spouts were only found on these jugs; however the possibility of their use on some other type of specialized vessel is not excluded).
- 145. Arm decorated with knife-cuts to represent chain-mail. Maroon coloured glaze on the arm and a lead coloured glaze on the body.
- 146. Similar to no. 141 but the tubular spout is not supported by hands and it is moulded in one with the face.

*Face-decorated jugs*

*Type I. Face-on-spout* (nos. 147 and 148). The face has been formed around a bridge spout in no. 147 and around a tubular spout in no. 148. In keeping with the smaller size the modelling is less detailed than on the anthropomorphic jugs as is seen in the treatment of the eyes and the ears—the latter being merely horn-like projections.

- 147. Grey to pinky fabric with a green to red-brown glaze, also present on fractured surfaces. Another pot has stuck to one side of the face.
- 148. Buff to grey-white fabric. Yellow-green glaze on the front of the face, but dark brown on beard.

*Type II. Face-on-rim* (nos. 149 and 150). Like Type I also lacks detailed treatment. Note the use of horn-like ears (as with Type I) and the omission of ears in no. 150.

- 149. Buff to grey fabric with a green speckled maroon glaze which has flowed onto fractured surfaces. A very thin green glaze on the inside giving a varnished appearance.



150. Similar to no. 149. There is an old fracture in the neck and the broken-off part has been refired as it is a different colour.

*Type IIA. Stylized face-on-rim type* (nos. 151, 158-60). This type comprises faces which are little more than geometrical forms e.g. a wedge-shaped piece of clay with two punched holes for eyes and a third for a mouth, or a dot and circle device associated with a pressed-out blob of clay. No. 160 (Kiln 7) is a more developed example.

151. Pinky fabric with an internal and external thin colourless glaze. The 'face' consists of a triangular wedge of clay in which three impressions, representing eyes and mouth, have been made with a rounded-end tool. Alongside the face is a strip with a series of shallower impressions from a similar tool (Kiln 7).
158. Green glaze shading into reddish-brown. A dot and circle device has been impressed into the rim, and the clay beside it pulled up to form a nose-like device. An example from Pagan's Hill, Somerset has been considered as mid thirteenth-century by Jope (*Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xcvi (1951), 140). (Unstratified).
159. A crude representation of a face formed by 'pinching-out' a blob of clay from the rim, piercing two blind holes to represent eyes and adding a faint groove to represent a mouth. Patches of green glaze, some on fractured surfaces (unstratified).
160. Grey fabric, green glaze. The face features have been applied as pads of clay then incised with a tool (Kiln 7).

*Type III. Face-on-body* (nos. 152-7). The degenerate faces are particularly interesting as no. 157 is an additional example (to that of no. 158) of the representation of a face by the simple expedient of two dot and circle devices and a blob of clay. No. 156 might be described as an example of 'medieval surrealism'. It consists of a more elaborate device than that present on nos. 157 and 158 inserted between two dot and circle stamps and incorporating a representation of a moustache as well as a beard. Of the remainder, it should be noted that animals are modelled and that no. 153 (as mentioned previously) may belong to the anthropomorphic jug class and provide evidence for 'female' jugs.

An example of our Type III, very much in the Laverstock style, is in Winchester Museum (from the site of the Dolphin Inn). This jug has three heart-shaped faces set partly on the neck and partly on the body.

152. Grey to pinky-grey fabric. Traces of spoilt glaze (Kiln 5).
153. Brown-buff fabric with a spoilt matt green glaze. Representation of a woman's breast, complete with a bodice or dress top and a hand resting against it (Pit 7).
154. An owl. The face is applied with a brown slip but the eyes are yellow-green. The ears are pressed out pads and the nose is pinched up. As is usual in all the faces, dot and circle devices are used for eyes. From Kiln 2 but another similar example was found in Pit 15 (adjacent to Kiln 2).
155. A bird-like face. Grey to grey-buff fabric, spoilt glaze. To some extent in the style of Type II (Kiln 5 along with another).

156. Buff fabric, facial features in brown—the remainder yellow-green. The beard and moustache are lightly grooved to give texture (Kiln 2 along with two similar examples).
157. Style of face as in Type IIA. Grey-buff fabric with yellow-brown spoilt glaze (Kiln 1, south flue).

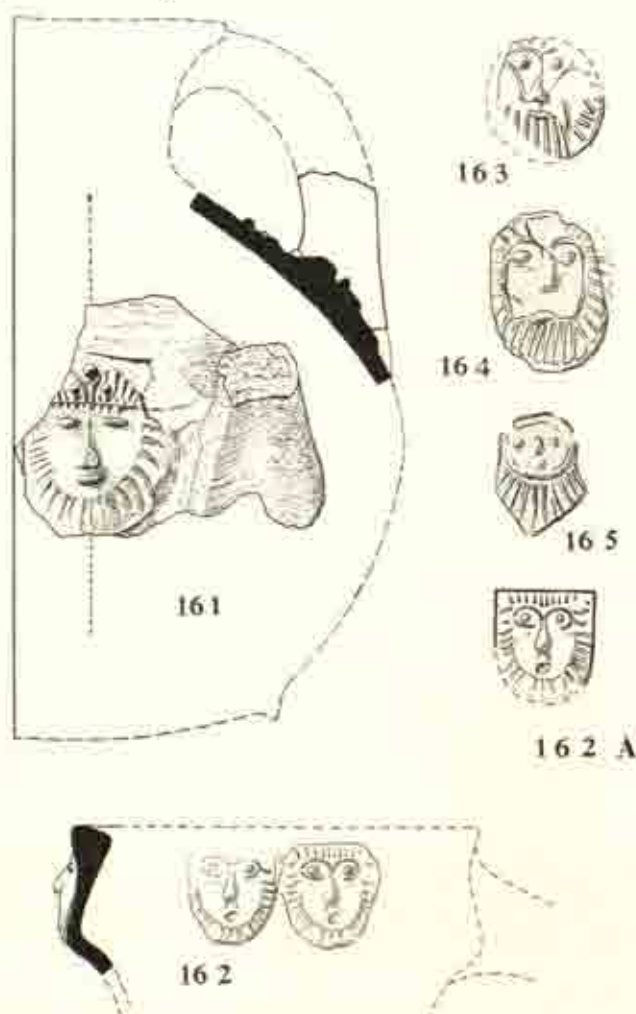


FIG. 20. Laverstock: stamped face-masks. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

*Type IV. Stamped faces* (nos. 161–5). The leading example shown both as a reconstructed fresh impression (no. 162A) and as found (no. 162). Nos. 163 and 164 are variants. All these are typical of Kiln 2 but no. 165 is in simpler style (the 'snow-man' type) typical of Kiln 6. Also illustrated is the sherd (no. 161) found by Frank Stevens on the 1940 site. This is the most elaborate stamp and possibly represents a bishop. The fabrics of all the illustrated examples are a pinky-buff colour.

161. Sherd from a jug body with a stamped face alongside a rod handle terminal. The face appears to be surmounted by the representation of a mitre. Light yellow-green glaze.
162. Colourless to yellow-green glaze (Kiln 2).



163. Colourless to green glaze (Kiln 2).  
 164. Black face (metallic-looking glaze) on an olive-green ground (Kiln 2).  
 165. Brown face on olive-green ground. 'Snowman type' (Kiln 6 with nine other similar examples).

VI. *Strut jugs and other glazed vessels of unusual form* (fig. 21)

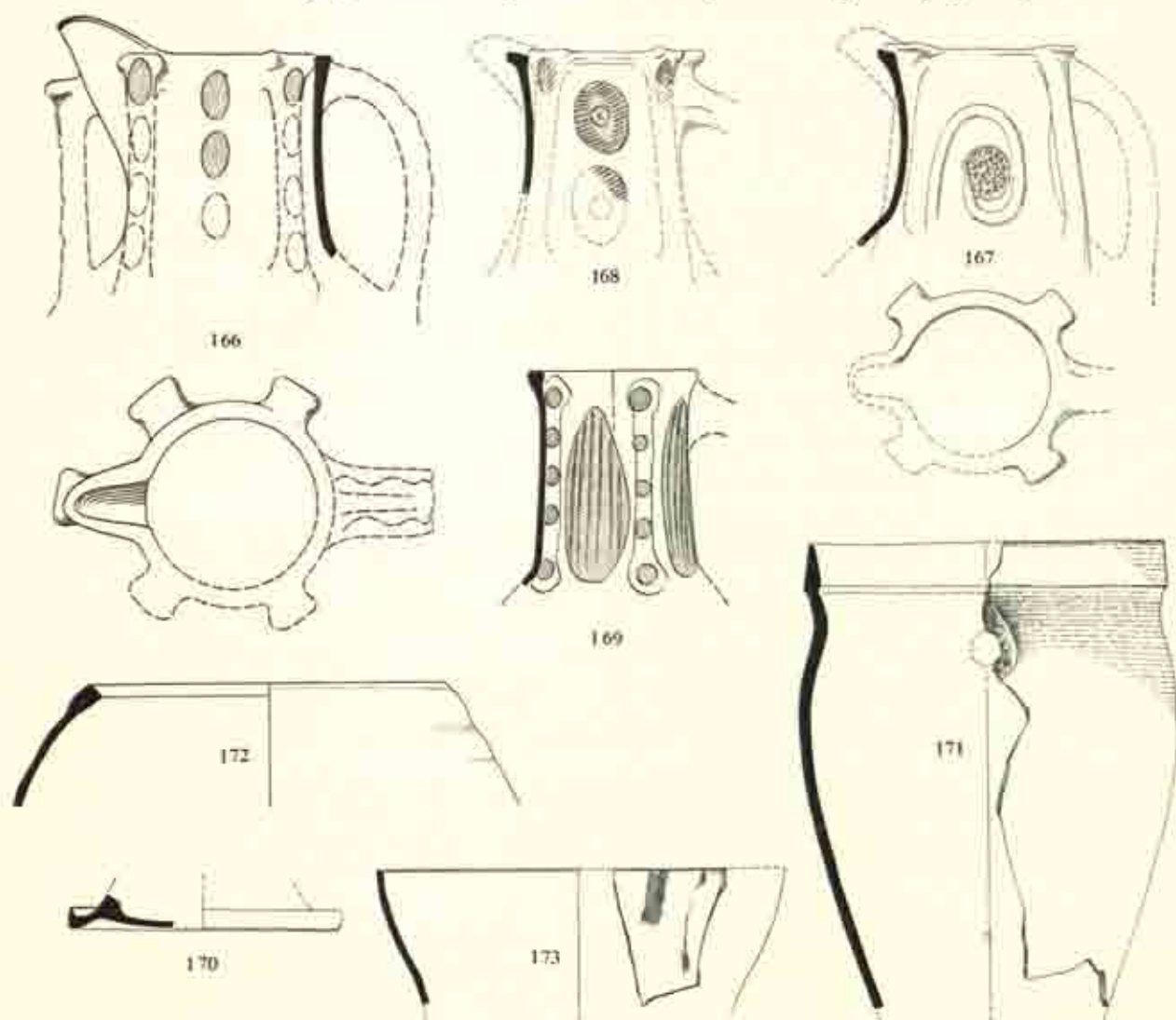


FIG. 21. Laverstock: strut jugs and other vessels of unusual form. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

An unusual type of jug in which the rim and the body are bridged by a series of struts (four or five in number) was found in Kilns 2, 3, and 5. There is also a (Kiln 6) jug decorated with applied strips reminiscent of the strut jug proper.

These jugs cannot be paralleled elsewhere and Dr. Dunning has suggested to us that the idea possibly evolves from the Nottingham type of 'knight' jug which has a series of supporting figures, subsidiary to the main figure, bridging the space between the rim and jug body in the same manner as do the struts on the Laverstock jugs.

There seems no point in adding these struts other than as decoration, although they might serve as secondary handles as with the later tygs.

Another unusual type is the *drip-ring base* (no. 170), several examples of which were found in Kiln 5. Their large diameter indicates that these belong to jugs and therefore a new type of medieval jug with drip-ring base, not paralleled elsewhere in this period, must be postulated. As will be discussed later (p. 145), it is evident that the Kiln 5 potter was an innovator and introduced the largest change in the Laverstock style. For example he made lamps with drip-ring bases and the larger base of no. 170 may represent attempts at introducing this feature to jugs.

Fig. 21. The fabrics of the illustrated examples are grey, buff, or pinky-buff in colour.

166. Dark green spoilt glaze on the outside. Unbridged spout typical of Kiln 5, strap handle and five struts (Kiln 5).
167. Green to reddish-brown spoilt glaze. Four undecorated struts but there is a spiral decoration on the jug body which terminates in a multiple-stabbed pad (Kiln 3).
168. Thick dark green glaze on the inside and yellow-green outside with applied dark brown pads. Four struts decorated with stylized leaves. Probably originally built into kiln wall as there is a clay concretion on the handle (Kiln 2).
169. Olive-green glaze with applied decoration in blackish-brown glaze. The vertical strips are reminiscent of the struts of a 'strut jug' (Kiln 6).
170. Colourless glaze flecked with darker green (Kiln 5).
171. Vessel for wine storage (?) or a still (?). The bung-hole (or spout opening) near the rim suggests that the vessel may have been inverted and the rim end closed with a cork (hence the chamfer). Alternatively, the base end may have been pointed and the vessel would have then resembled the 'pink-hat' still of the post-medieval period (Pit 3).
172. Rim of barrel-shaped vessel reminiscent of the East Anglian 'ginger-jar'. A few specks of light green glaze (Pit 3).
173. Vase-shaped vessel (drinking beaker?). Decorated with purple stripes painted on as a very thin slip (Pit 3).

#### VII. *Aquamaniles, costrels and small bottles*

*Aquamaniles* (fig. 22, nos. 174-6)

These are assumed to be water containers available for washing the hands during the course of a meal. Four examples were found: two from Kiln 2 and the others from Kilns 5 and 7.

The type always depicts an animal, often a horse with a rider (cf. example from Mere in Salisbury Museum), or a stag, or ram. The most complete Laverstock example (no. 174), though presumably depicting a horse, is riderless.

Aquamaniles are also found in metal and these have been discussed by Philip Nelson.<sup>1</sup> He divides aquamaniles into three groups depending on whether the water

<sup>1</sup> P. Nelson, *Antiq. Journ.*, xii (1932), 446 and xix (1939), 300.



is poured from the mouth, forehead, or chest of the animal. The first group (water poured from the mouth) is dated by him to 1180-1270, and it is to this group that no. 174 belongs.

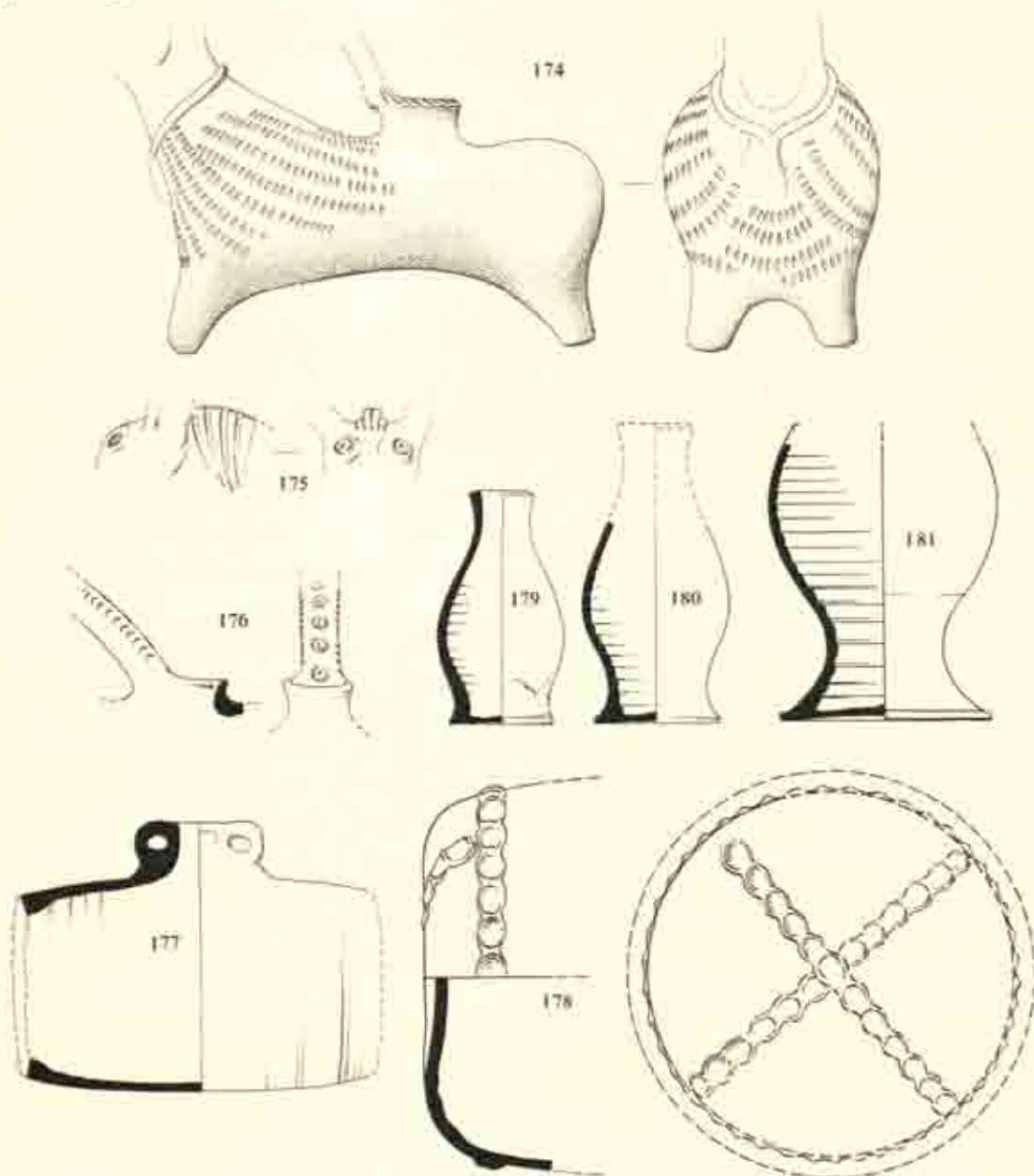


FIG. 22. Laverstock: aquamaniles, costrels, and small bottles. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

174. The head and handle are missing. The front half of the body is decorated with a series of stabbings to represent the mane. A raised ridge round the neck gives the impression of a halter or collar. In the animal's back there is a filler hole to the lip of which is attached a strap handle; its other end would have been fixed to the back of the head. Salmon-pink fabric and spoilt green glaze (Kiln 2).

175. The head of another, spoilt green glaze. The eyes have been represented by dot and circle devices and the mane is simulated by light grooving. The stumps of the ears are also present (Kiln 2).
176. Part of the filler hole and handle of another. The rod handle is decorated with dot and circle devices and knife-cuts. Buff fabric with a green to colourless glaze (Kiln 5).

*Costrels* (nos. 177 and 178)

Many examples were found of this horizontally supported form of liquid container and all conform to the type which is represented by no. 177.

This is barrel-shaped in form<sup>1</sup> of average length 8 in. and diameter 4 in. In the side, and at its mid-point, is a neck which has a pair of projecting ears and these are pierced for the attachment of a suspensory cord or a cord to tie down the cork. The outside surfaces are glazed. On the inside are very pronounced throwing marks. The type is normally undecorated, but there are fragments of what appear to be costrel ends decorated with glazed stripes and one end which is decorated with thumb-pressed strips (no. 178). This is an unusual form as it is double the normal size.

Although only two are illustrated, examples were found in all the kilns except nos. 1, 7, and 8 and it was obviously a common Laverstock product. The principal variant is in the shape of the lugs which may be fared-off into the body rather than square-cut as in no. 177.

177. Buff fabric, external rich green glaze (Kiln 2).

178. Grey fabric. External dark green glaze with brown mottlings. There are traces of an internal colourless and green glaze but these are possibly fortuitous (Kiln 5).

*Bottles* (fig. 22, nos. 179-81)

These are of a well-known form illustrated in medieval manuscripts.

At Clarendon Palace very similar bottles were found in a fourteenth-century level<sup>2</sup> and examples from London have been coin-dated to the late thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike the costrels these bottles were unglazed. They were probably used to contain oily materials of low vapour pressure and high viscosity. There are characteristic pronounced throwing marks on the inside which the potter was unable to smooth because of the narrow neck (approximately 1-1.5 in. diameter). A vessel with similar wreathing on the inside, but of jug proportions, was found in Kiln 6 (no. 181). It resembles the smaller, more usual form in (a) the internal wreathing, (b) the square-cut heel of the base, (c) the slight concavity of the base and (d) the absence of glaze.

179, 180. Buff speckled with fragments of chalk. Roughly made (Kilns 2 and 5 respectively).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. G. C. Dunning has distinguished two main costrel forms—the flattened spherical type and the barrel or cylindrical type (in *Winchester Excavations* 1949-60, vol. 1 (1964), 127).

<sup>2</sup> T. Borenus and J. Charlton, *Antiq. Journ.* xvi (1936), 77. This deposit was in a bakehouse.

<sup>3</sup> *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (1956), pl. iii.



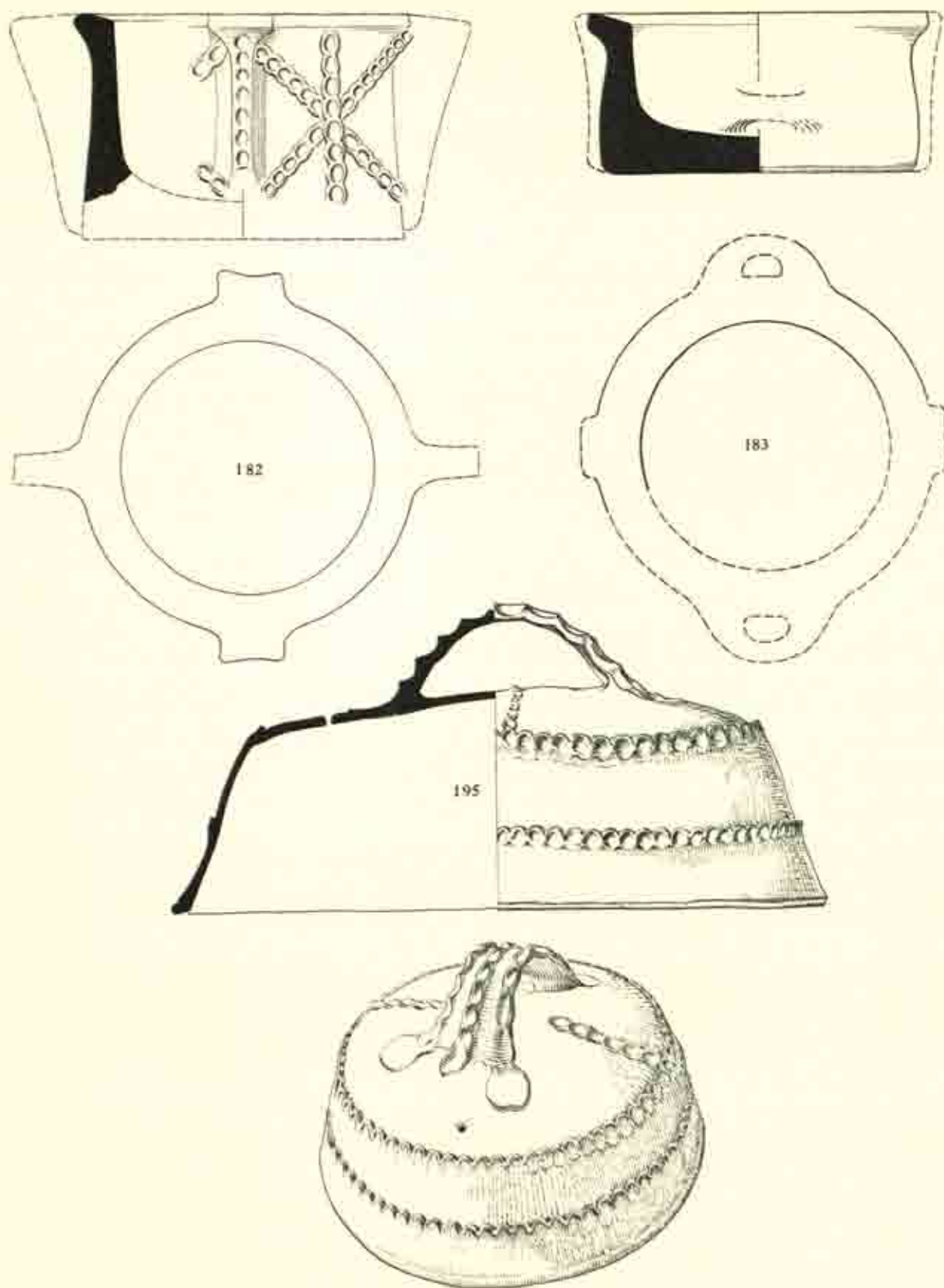


FIG. 23. Laverstock: pottery mortars and the curfew. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

VIII. *Mortars*

Two pottery vessels built into the wall of Kiln 2 resemble stone mortars in their form but the type has not been previously identified. Like stone mortars they are thick-walled, but even so would still lack the strength of the former. This the potter has attempted to rectify by using a fabric with a honeycomb structure which was obtained by incorporating charcoal and old glaze into the clay so that on firing the charcoal burnt out and the glaze bubbled up. Such a fabric would be extremely porous and this feature has been overcome (and the surface finish enhanced) by coating the surface with a fine clay mix.

One mortar (no. 182) has four lugs, solid from rim to base, which are close copies of those on stone mortars (e.g. the Purbeck marble mortar from Old Sarum in Salisbury Museum). The surfaces between the lugs are decorated with thumb-pressed strips similar to those used to decorate ridge-tile sides.

It is strange that mortars should have been made in clay in view of the ready supply of stone types from the local quarries. Possibly these were made as a test of the potters' ingenuity and for their own use in compounding glazes and not for sale.

182. Grey fabric, with coating of finer clay and a yellow-green glaze. Wall thickness 0.5 in.-0.75 in., increasing to 1 in.-1.5 in. at the base.

183. Similar fabric and wall thickness. There is a scummy material inside. No lugs, but there is a loop handle.

IX. *Double-shelled lamps* (fig. 24).

Lamps of the double-shelled form<sup>1</sup> were obtained from Kilns 1-6, Pits 5, 7, 12, and 13 and from Buildings 2 and 3; there is also an example in the 1940 group.

Most are fragmentary, but two almost complete lamps were obtained from Kiln 1 (no. 184) and from Building 2 (no. 185). There was also a complete bowl from Kiln 3 (no. 186) with a central perforation to take a wick, and a lamp base from Pit 7 (no. 188).

These lamps would have contained oil in the upper bowl in which a wick would have floated. Jope<sup>1</sup> has suggested that the upper bowl was glazed on the inside to enable the easier removal of the carbonized residues. Comparison with the series of double-shelled lamps from Oxford<sup>1</sup> shows a fairly close resemblance with Oxford no. 6 (earlier than late fourteenth century) and no. 10.

184. Pinky-buff fabric (as are nos. 185-9) glazed on inside. The pierced lug is an unusual feature although another example was recently found at Amesbury (Salisbury Museum Acc. no. 63/59). The Amesbury lamp is in a much coarser fabric and is not a Laverstock product (Kiln 1).

185. The upper bowl is very shallow (0.1 in. deep) and is fitted with a lip (Building 2).

186. The central hole in the upper bowl, presumably to take a wick, is an unusual feature (Kiln 3).

187. Kiln 4.

<sup>1</sup> A type series of double-shelled lamps is given in Jope et al., *Oxoniensia*, xv (1950), 55-67.



188. Somewhat larger than the previous examples. Upper bowl missing (Pit 7).  
 189. Olive green glaze shading into reddish-brown round the edge (1940 group).

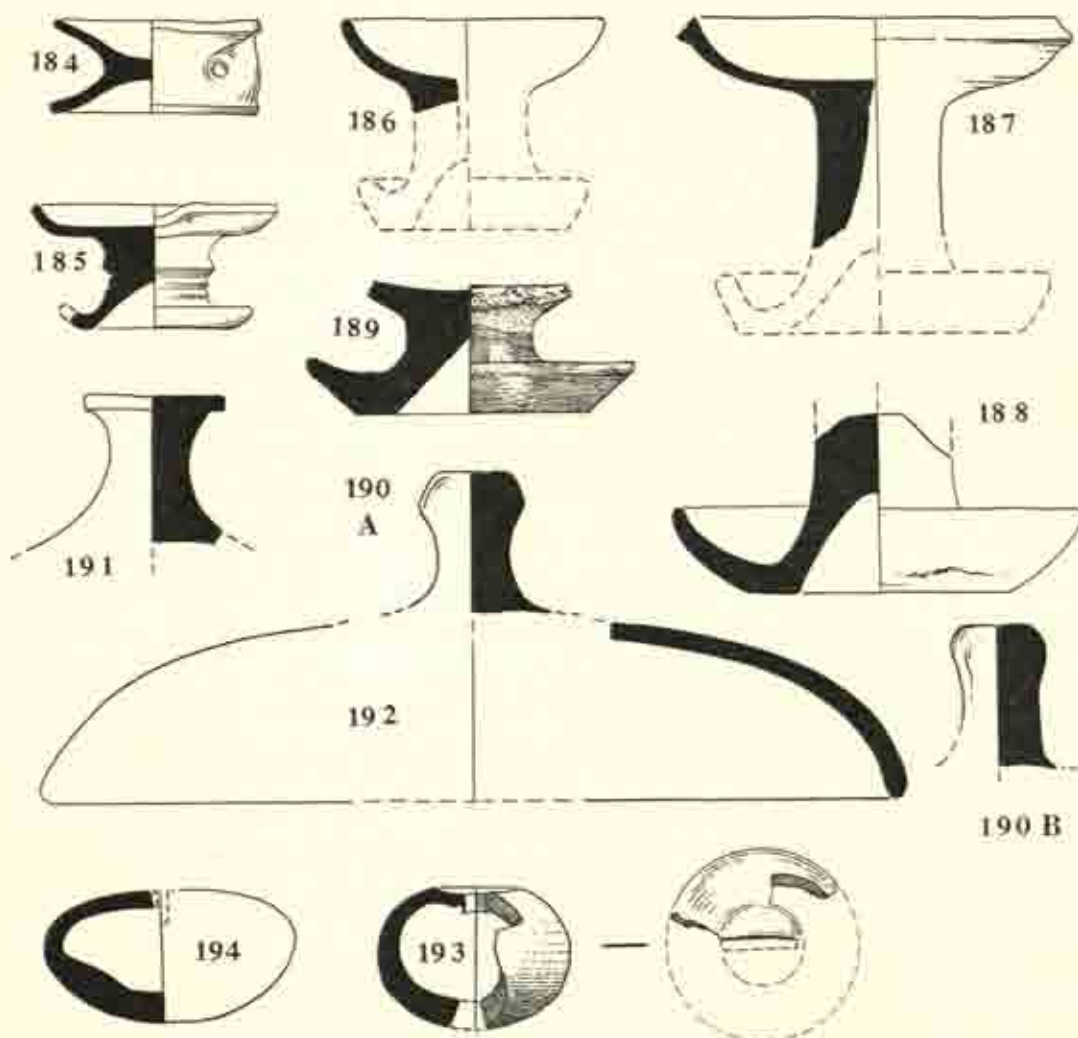


FIG. 24. Laverstock: lamps, lids, and money-boxes. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

#### X. Lids (fig. 24).

Apart from knob handles, evidence for lids was very scarce. No lid could be completely reconstructed and care has to be taken not to mistake the pedestals of pottery lamps for lid handles. However, nos. 190 A and B are most certainly lid handles and no. 191 possibly so.

No. 192 has been interpreted as a lid body and illustrated in association with a lid handle.

The scarcity of lids is a little surprising in view of the frequent statement, when referring to rim forms, 'grooved to take a lid' and one assumes that lids must have been mostly of wood. This scarcity has also been noted by Jope.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 78.

- 190. A and B. Roughly moulded. Green glazed with glaze also on broken edge (Kiln 5).
- 191. Pinky-buff unglazed fabric (Kiln 3).
- 192. Pinky-buff laminated fabric. External spoilt green glaze. The presence of glaze on the outside only is confirmatory evidence; Laverstock bowls are normally glazed on the inside, as are pottery lamps (another alternative). It is also rather large for a lamp (Kiln 3).

#### XI. *Money boxes* (fig. 24).

Two pottery money boxes (analogous to the modern 'piggy bank') were obtained. Both are small ovoid containers approximately 2.5 in. in diameter and 1.5 in. deep. Neither was complete but one had part of a slot present and this slot (shown in reconstruction) is just large enough to take a silver penny.

- 193. Light green glaze with occasional red-brown specks (Pit 3).
- 194. Pinky-buff fabric, green glaze (Pit 8).

Other medieval examples have been recorded in this country. Fifteenth-century examples are illustrated in the *Guildhall Museum Catalogue*<sup>1</sup> and in *Country Life*.<sup>2</sup> These might well be described as of 'mitre' shape in contrast to the Laverstock 'ovoid' shape. The ovoid type must, on the Laverstock evidence, be the earlier form.<sup>3</sup> Since the Laverstock excavation this type has also been found by J. S. Wachter at Southampton;<sup>4</sup> otherwise it does not appear to have been recognized elsewhere as yet.

#### XII. *The curfew* (fig. 23)

The curfew, or fire cover, had been packed away in pieces in Pit 3 along with other wasters. Its discovery led to the recognition of the type. Previous examples found in Britain had been described as lids. However, the Laverstock example and continental examples with which it has been compared, provide a series of diagnostic features for curfews applicable to the whole group and to future discoveries.<sup>5</sup> The principal feature is the large strap handle with *vent-holes* at the junction with the curfew body. These are a universal feature as it would be necessary to allow smoke to leave the enclosure. A secondary feature, present on the Laverstock curfew and on Dutch examples,<sup>6</sup> which may be universal, is the decoration of the body with thumb-pressed strips of clay, and of the strap handle with thumb-pressing along its edge. Some examples<sup>7</sup> are also blackened on the under-surface of the dome; the Laverstock example is a waster and this blackening is therefore absent. A final feature is the large size; necessary in order to cover the fire or hearth at night.

<sup>1</sup> 1908 edition, plate LXVIII, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> I. Noel Hume, *Country Life*, 2nd December, 1954.

<sup>3</sup> Although the 'mitre'-shaped type also occurs in an early context at Rye (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxiv (1933) 59, plate xi, no. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Information from Dr. G. C. Dunning.

<sup>5</sup> Our attention was drawn to this fact by Dr. G. C.

Dunning.

<sup>6</sup> *Ber. van der R.O.B.* v (1954), 142, fig. 6, 3 and vii (1956), 109, fig. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Two Medieval Sites in the Vale of Pickering, Yorkshire*, p. 24, fig 15, no. 27. Dr. Dunning has also shown us an example from Saxon Down, Ringmer.



Other examples are from Winchester<sup>1</sup> and a group of sites published by Jope<sup>2</sup> (viz.: Enstone, Oxon. and Avebury and Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire). The most recent example found came from Hangleton, Sussex, and this has been discussed by Hurst<sup>3</sup> along with others.

The Laverstock curfew is in a salmon-pink fabric with a grey core. There is a trace of yellow-green glaze. The diameter at the rim is 1 ft. 6 in. and 1 ft. 2 in. at the top of the dome. The distance between the terminals of the strap handle is 5.5 in. The wall at the junction of the side and the top of the dome is so thin that it could have had little strength, and this probably explains why it had been discarded.

It is interesting to note that the form of the medieval Laverstock type of curfew persists in succeeding centuries as, for instance, the seventeenth-century example in battery brass now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>4</sup>

### XIII. *Building Materials*

The Laverstock potters also manufactured a whole range of objects used in building (viz.: ridge and corner tiles, tiles with finial openings, drain-pipes, chimney pots, louvers, and floor tiles). Such a range indicates a considerable versatility and a substantial market. It must be remembered that throughout the pottery's existence much rebuilding was undertaken at Clarendon; for example it was reported to Edward I in 1273 that the Palace was in a ruinous condition and in need of much repair.<sup>5</sup> Building materials may also have been supplied to Wilton Abbey and Old Sarum Castle. The move of Salisbury from Old Sarum to the valley below would also have led to a considerable demand for ridge tiles.

#### *Ridge tiles*

Broken tiles with coxcomb creasing were found in abundance in most of the kilns and in some of the pits. These are of a uniform pattern and the only variation is that of glaze colour and the exact shape of the coxcomb points. The outer surfaces of the tiles are glazed and the glaze is either olive-green speckled with darker green and reddish-brown, or colourless speckled with darker green.

Reconstruction of several tiles shows these to have been 18 in. long and with a slope height of 8 in. (altitude 5.5 in.). The tiles are 0.5 in. thick and have five knife-cut triangular points 1.5 in. high. The points served as handles for lifting the tiles on to the ridge as well as being decorative.

The use of knife-cut crests provides some confirmation of the dating of these tiles for Jope has shown<sup>6</sup> that, in the Oxfordshire region, this feature first occurred in the late thirteenth century; previously crests were hand-moulded. It is interesting to record that a few tiles of similar type still survive on a number of Salisbury roof tops. In 1960 an example was saved during the demolition of cottages in Old Gate Place;

<sup>1</sup> Barry Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, fig. 45, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxoniensia*, xi-xii (1946-7), 169.

<sup>3</sup> *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, ci (1963), 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Country Life*, 11th April, 1952, 1973.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxv (1834), 151-8.

<sup>6</sup> *Oxoniensia*, xvi (1951), 86.



it was a solitary survival on a ridge of otherwise more modern tiles. The points were slightly smaller than Laverstock examples and the tile may be therefore a little later in date. An analysis of the many points found at Laverstock shows that the angle at the apex of the triangular point varies from  $60^{\circ}$ – $100^{\circ}$ , but although the angle is characteristic for individual kilns, it appears to have no chronological significance.

There is also some evidence for the limited use of looped-handle cresting. Some tiles also had a series of piercings in the undersurface of the tile, presumably to assist in keying them to the roof.

#### *Decorated ridge tiles*

A number of tiles have decorated sides, usually taking the form of a lattice of thumb-pressed applied strips. A small number of ridge tile points decorated with knife-cuts at the base of each point were found in Kiln 2; similar decoration occurs on ridge tiles found at Ogmores Castle.<sup>1</sup>

A tile with very unusual decoration is illustrated in plate XIV *b*. The inspiration for this is uncertain but it may represent horse-trappings. The heraldry appears to be purely conventional and of no significance.

A fragment of another decorated tile (fig. 26, no. 206) from Pit 3 has a stamped design consisting of a stylized bird (possibly a peacock) with a fan-shaped tail in a circular frame composed from a series of rosettes interspersed with single petals.

#### *Ridge tiles with finial openings*

One such tile (not illustrated) was found in Kiln 2. It is in pinkish-buff sandy ware with an external overall mottled green glaze. The finial base is circular (external diameter 2.75 in.), hollow and ending in a hole (diameter 2.5 in. by 1.75 in.) cut through the top of the ridge tile. Each side of the tile is decorated with applied strips forming a bold lattice pattern. The upper ends of the strips terminate in large applied pellets at the junction of the base of the finial and the ridge tile. Ridge tiles with finial openings have been classified by Dr. Dunning<sup>2</sup> and the Laverstock example belongs to his Group 4.

Kiln 2 also produced a part of what Dr. Dunning has identified as a finial in the form of a fleur-de-lys (fig. 25, no. 203). A number of spike-like lugs (not illustrated) 2–3 in. long were found in various kilns (especially Kiln 5). Some were curved, others bifurcated and it is possible that all were intended for the decoration of finials.

#### *Corner or hip tiles*

Medieval hip tiles are very uncommon. An almost complete example was found in Pit 3, and two others in Kiln 3 where they had been used to protect the cheeks of a flue.

The tile from Pit 3 (fig. 25, no. 196) is 8 in. long, 4.5 in. wide at one end and 9 in. at the other with a pronounced curvature across its width; it is also slightly curved longitudinally. Its thickness varies from 0.3–0.4 in. and there is a solitary peg-hole

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. Journ.*, xv (1935), 324.

<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to Dr. Dunning for sight of his classification.



(0.5 in. diameter) at a distance of 2.3 in. from the narrow end. The tile is unglazed and of salmon-pink fabric with occasional fragments of flint and specks of red.

There are parallels from the Rye kilns<sup>1</sup> and a fragment was found during the Canterbury excavations.<sup>2</sup>

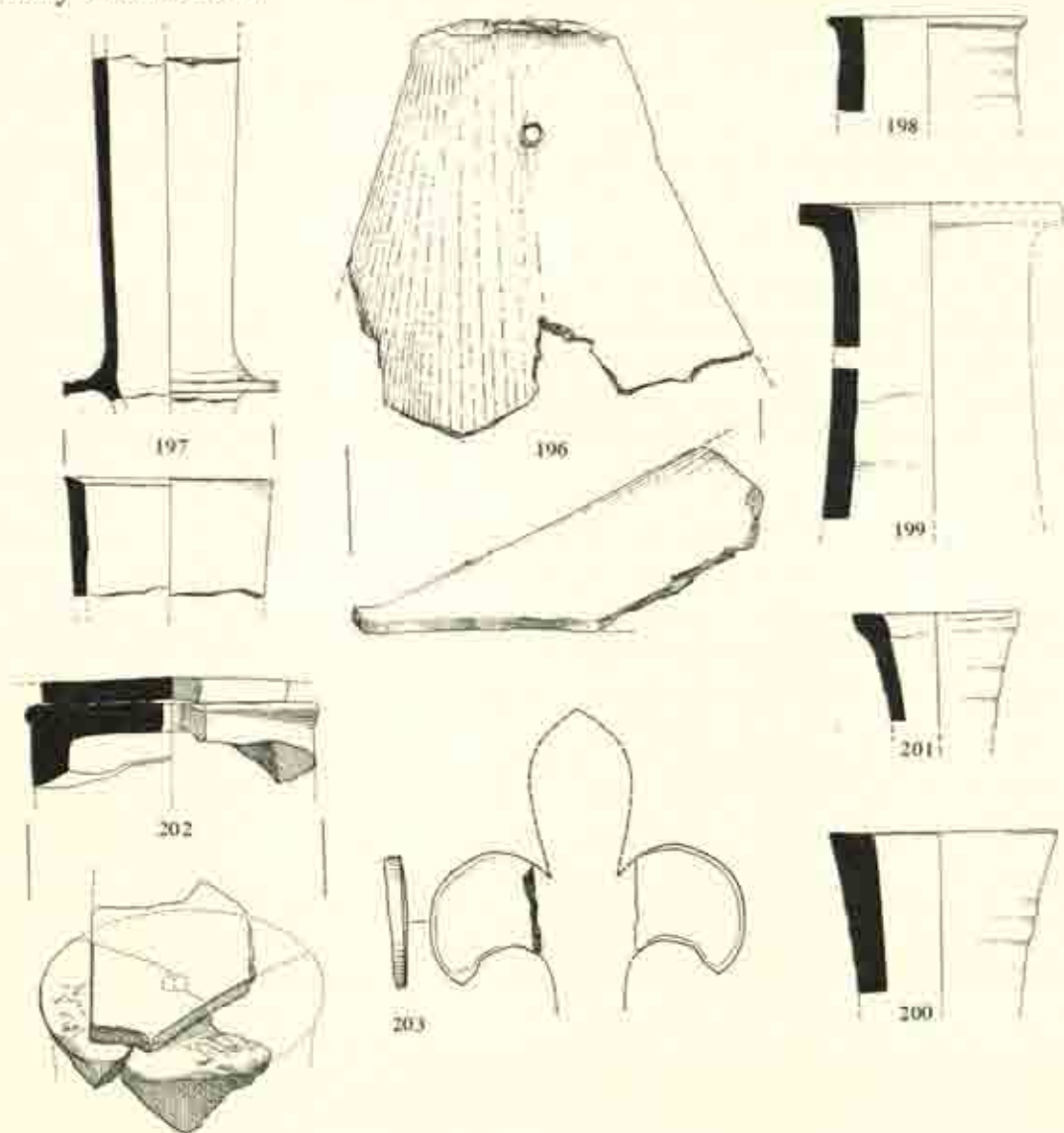


FIG. 25. Laverstock: roof furniture and drain-pipes. Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$

### *Flat roof tiles*

Flat roof tiles were not necessarily made at Laverstock, as none were found in the kilns. However, fifteen fragments were found in Pit 15 which also contained wasters.

Reconstruction of one tile showed it to be 7 in.  $\times$  10 in.  $\times$  0.5 in. thick with two peg holes for attaching it to the roof. It is in a very rough fabric with large fragments of ironstone incorporated and has a grey upper surface and orange undersurface.

<sup>1</sup> *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lxxiv, 58, plate x a.

<sup>2</sup> Yard of Fleur-de-lys Hotel excavated by Prof. S. S. Frere. Information from Dr. G. C. Dunning.

Similar tiles have recently been obtained from an excavation of the 'Ash Pit' at Clarendon Palace.<sup>1</sup>

### *Floor tiles*

Decorated floor tiles were not made at Laverstock, possibly because there were tile kilns at Clarendon.<sup>2</sup> However, one very thick unglazed floor tile was found in Pit 3. This was of red sandy fabric and approximately half of the tile was found in two fragments. Assuming a square shape it would have been originally 6.75 in. square and 2.25 in. deep with four keys 2 in. in diameter and 1 in. deep.

### *Bricks*

A number of fragments of unglazed thin brick had been built into Kiln 2 wall. These were 1 in. to 1.1 in. thick with sides at least 4.25 in. long. The fabric is buff to pinky-buff with one good smooth surface and the other more or less rough. The surface is pierced at several points with blind holes. Recently, examples were found by the writers in excavations of thirteenth-century buildings at the deserted medieval village of Gomeldon (Wilts.). These were used for flooring ovens and hearths.

### *Water pipes* (fig. 25, nos. 197-201).

Sections of hollow expanded cylinders were obtained from Kilns 2, 5, and 6 and from Pit 3. One of the Pit 3 examples is a hollow cylinder of internal diameter 2.5 in. increasing to 2.75 in. over a distance of 3.75 in. with a 0.75 in. flange at the narrow end. The other is a plain cylinder with a slightly splayed end, 3½ in. diameter. Given a constant increase in diameter, reconstruction would give a cylinder approximately 1 ft. 6 in. long with a flange at one end. Thus the splayed end of one length would fit against the flanged end of another.

### *Chimney pots and louvers*

Medieval chimney pots have recently been discussed by Dr. G. C. Dunning<sup>3</sup> and he includes the illustrated example from Pit 3 (no. 202). Only the broken end of the pot is present, and this is fused to a glazed ridge-tile fragment which presumably supported it in the kiln. Its identification as part of a chimney pot depends upon the presence of the central hole of a somewhat smaller diameter than the complete end. Reduction of the cross-sectional area of the outlet, Dr. Dunning suggests, would increase the velocity of ascent of the smoke and minimize the effect of down-draught. Complete examples also have small holes in the side.

The Laverstock pot is in light grey sandy ware. The top is plain, 5.75 in. diameter, with the edge sharply moulded. The central hole has a diameter of 0.6 in.

The bottom end of a louver (from Pit 3) is also illustrated<sup>4</sup> (no. 204) along with the reconstruction of an example from Winchester (no. 205). It is in pinky-buff fabric with traces of greenish glaze. The lower edge of the junction of the flange is very roughly finished.

<sup>1</sup> *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.* lviii (1962), 247.

<sup>2</sup> T. Borenius and J. Charlton, *Antiq. Journ.* xvi (1936), 69.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Jope (ed.) *Studies in Building Industry*, 1961,

pp. 78-93.

<sup>4</sup> We are indebted to Dr. G. C. Dunning for this drawing and the reconstruction.



The identification of the type is due to Dunning who has demonstrated that in the middle ages, in addition to earthenware chimney pots, roofs were also fitted with the louver type of ventilator or smoke vent.<sup>1</sup>

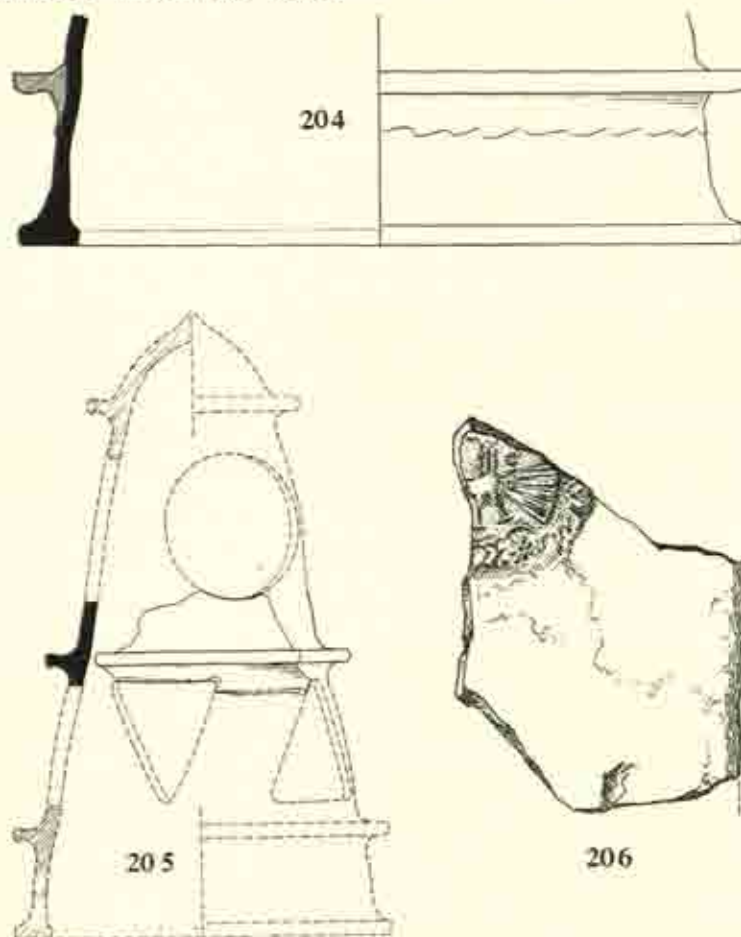


FIG. 26. Laverstock: the louver and a decorated tile. Scale: 204,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; 205,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ; 206,  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

#### THE LAVERSTOCK STYLE AND ITS AFFINITIES

Geographically, in the middle ages, Salisbury and the Laverstock kilns lay on the overland trade route, between two major ports—Bristol and Southampton (fig. 27).<sup>2</sup>

There was, therefore, ample opportunity for the trading of Laverstock products, and the transmission of its influence to other regions and ideas back to Salisbury—from France via Southampton, from the West Country via Bristol and also from London. Also throughout the middle ages the royal household was regularly in residence at Clarendon Palace and, indeed, the first Laverstock potter may well have come to the area primarily to found a royal enterprise with the aid of local potters whose traditional style is clearly evinced in the fashioning and form of the coarse pottery.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Journ.* cxvi (1961), 176.

<sup>2</sup> *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi, p. 126. It is recorded that early fifteenth-century merchants from Bristol and Somerset

were carrying goods to Salisbury from Southampton and the city markets were frequently used by London merchants.





Wessex has a strong insular ceramic tradition which is broadly based on the Salisbury area. It constituted the 'haematite province' of the Early Iron Age, and the main area of distribution for the products of the New Forest Roman potteries.

Subsequently, in the twelfth century, there is the widespread distribution of the characteristic scratch-marked ware which is as ubiquitous as the Early Iron Age and Roman wares and could lead one to define a scratch-marked ware province. At Laverstock, sited at the centre of this region, one might expect to see on the one hand archaistic survivals, and on the other striking changes in fashion.

These survivals would result from a continuation of the 'peasant manufacture' of coarse cooking pottery, occasionally glazed.<sup>1</sup> Changes of fashion would result from the arrival of an external influence—either a master potter or a transmitted idea. The fact that the characteristic twelfth-century scratch-marked ware was still being made in the Laverstock kilns nearly 200 years later, confirms the persistence of local potting traditions. The manufacture of technically evolved pottery, as exhibited in the high quality glazed ware, could indicate the arrival of an experienced potter. Fresh external influence is seen at the stage in production (Kiln 5) when novel forms appear, although at a time when the overall craftsmanship was beginning to fall off. The origin of the Laverstock pottery industry remains uncertain. There is no long local series of stratified pottery, nor are there any other medieval kilns known in the Salisbury area, or indeed, in Wiltshire.<sup>2</sup> In the early twelfth century, the local glazed pottery consisted of tripod pitchers in cooking-pot fabric with a wash of glaze which became a little more refined as the century proceeded. The decoration on these jugs consists of thumb-pressed strips and curvilinear motifs. Whether these jugs were made locally remains to be discovered.

The characteristic Laverstock jug forms are, in the beginning, baggy types reminiscent of the tripod pitchers, and these give way in the later kilns to more slender globular forms. The earlier jugs are also decorated with curvilinear scoring, but the commonest motif is the dot and circle stamp. This is as characteristic for jug decoration as scratch-marking is for the cooking pots and is, in a sense, a trademark, although not, of course, unique to Laverstock.

In sum, the characteristics of the Laverstock style are the globular jug form, the extensive use of stamp decoration with a variety of motifs but with the dot and circle predominating, the use of the glazed lattice, and, in later phases, the use of foliage decoration and the spiral. A further characteristic is the varied repertoire of vessel forms. There is also the overall high quality.

Unfortunately, apart from pottery from the immediate local sites (Old Sarum and Clarendon Palace where much Laverstock ware has been found), there is a lack of excavated pottery from the neighbourhood for comparison with Laverstock ware. That it went to ordinary households nearby is shown by its presence at the deserted medieval village of Gomeldon.<sup>3</sup> But medium range distribution (Winchester) and

<sup>1</sup> That is as a kind of back-garden industry. Some earlier organization of potters in the greater Salisbury area is, however, implied by the Domesday reference to potters at Westbury (25 miles from Laverstock).

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, documentary evidence for kilns

at Crockerton, near Warminster, in the late thirteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Found in excavations directed by J. M. and D. J. A. Report in preparation.



long range distribution (Bergen) has been disproved on the few samples submitted to spectroscopic analysis.<sup>1</sup>

Considered in relation to other 'ceramic regions' we find (fig. 27) that the 'Wessex region' defined here as the area of distribution of scratch-ware, has to its north, Oxford and the Brill kilns. To the west, there is a comparative lack of kiln sites with a solitary kiln at Exeter. To the east, there are the Sussex kilns, and beyond the eastern boundary to the north, the home counties kilns which served London. Other important kilns are those at Ham Green, Bristol in the north west corner of the Wessex region, and at Bentley near Farnham to the east.

The distribution of Brill pottery has been studied by Jope<sup>2</sup> who has also undertaken an examination of the pottery from Avebury in North Wiltshire (approximately half way between Salisbury and Brill). This pottery group contains one or two possible Laverstock forms, but as a whole is more akin to that of the N. Wilts-Upper Thames Valley-S. Cotswold region to the north.

The Ham Green<sup>3</sup> pottery has some features reminiscent of Laverstock. These are the use of face masks round jug rims, the framing of bridge spouts with knife cuts, the use of the spiral with a stabbed pad terminal and rod handles decorated with a series of slashes or stab holes.

Certain features of pottery groups to the west of the region, for instance those from excavations on the site of the Chew reservoir, have been related to those of the Salisbury area and led to the postulation of a Somerset-West Wilts-Salisbury group by Jope.<sup>4</sup> For example, the use of applied pads alternated with dot and circle to decorate jug rims, a feature which occurs at Clarendon Palace as well as at Laverstock.

A 'jump distribution' of certain of the Laverstock motifs is suggested by their occurrence on pottery from White Castle, Glam.<sup>5</sup> These, which do not occur at Ham Green, include the use of the dot and circle stamp (and multiple dot and circle), multiple pinched pads, and rosettes. There is also a 'face on spout' type of face-decorated jug.<sup>6</sup>

There is a reasonably close stylistic relationship between the Laverstock pottery and some of that from the Bentley kiln.<sup>7</sup> The latter pottery included a jug neck with extensive rilling similar to a jug from Pit 6; the use of individual stamps (for instance cross and wheel stamps), bridge spouts on jugs, and faces framed with knife cuts are also present. There is also part of a curfew. However, only a small proportion is of Laverstock standard.

Also to the east and south-east of Laverstock are large groups of pottery excavated at Winchester and Southampton. Visually some sherds cross-match extremely well, but the results of the spectroscopic analysis of matching sherds are such as to pinpoint the danger of drawing conclusions on the basis of visual comparisons. There is also a face-decorated jug in Winchester Museum of the face-on-body type with the

<sup>1</sup> L. C. Thomas and J. Musty, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Records of Bucks.* xvi (1953-4), 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Archaeological Soc.* lxxxiii (1963), 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.* xvcii (1951),

140.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiq. Journ.* xv (1935), 330.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xlix, 2.

<sup>7</sup> This pottery, excavated by Major Wade, was seen in the British Museum.





*a.* Silver-gilt brooch ( $\times 3$ )



*b.* Bronze annular brooch, stem of folding candlestick,  
and strap end. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$

Laverstock





face framed by knife cuts in the Laverstock tradition and with the same high quality glaze.

Further east still, one can detect certain affinities with the products of the kilns of Sussex and Kent. The production of anthropomorphic jugs and aquamaniles for instance and also possibly roof finials indicates a degree of technical achievement in that area comparable to that of Laverstock.

Broadly speaking, the products of Laverstock have only been identified with certainty at medieval sites in the immediate vicinity of the kilns, approximately within a ten-mile radius. The characteristic scratch-ware style of finishing cooking-pot surfaces is to be seen over a wider area (approximately a fifty mile radius), and certain stylistic idiosyncrasies may be observed over a radius of one hundred miles. As more pottery groups come to light in the area these broad generalizations may be given greater refinement.

*Small finds (fig. 28 and pl. xv).*

*Annular brooches*

(a) Silver-gilt brooch with filigree overlay (no. 1). This fine brooch, virtually in mint condition, was found during the excavation of Kiln 2 although not necessarily associated with it. The brooch consists of filigree work 'clamped' in a silver-gilt annulus (1.7 cm. dia.) the outside edge of which has been folded up to a height of 1.5 mm. The underside of the annulus is slightly dished. The pin is dagger-like, and half-round in section. Its butt end has been fitted through a hole in the backing and folded over.

The brooch has been examined by Mr. C. Oman of the Victoria and Albert Museum and by Professor P. Lasko and Mr. D. M. Wilson (formerly of the British Museum) and we are indebted to them for the following opinion.

The small silver-gilt brooch is, as far as we can tell, unparalleled in the use of filigree on this form. It is exceedingly difficult to date filigree but it is suggested that this brooch is of early thirteenth-century date, probably before 1220. This is based on Continental parallels as there is no comparative English material. The rather plain filigree of the Charlemagne shrine at Aachen, which was finished in 1215, and the rather richer filigree of the Mary shrine, which was finished in 1238, also at Aachen, spring to mind.<sup>1</sup> The technique lies somewhere between the two.

The presence of this fine brooch on an industrial site is strange. In view of the association of the site with the royal palace at Clarendon, however, it is possible that it was dropped by a visitor from the Palace. Also the brooch is not necessarily to be associated with the kiln phase of the site, and in fact, its dating shows it to have been in existence 40 years before the kilns although it could have remained in use long after it was made.

(b) Bronze or copper brooch (no. 2). This brooch, also in fine condition, was found during bulldozing operations in the vicinity of Building 1.

Its overall diameter is 3.5 cm, and it consists of an annulus with inward bevels on both upper and under surfaces which meet on the inner edge. Both surfaces therefore

<sup>1</sup> See Schnitzler, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, Aachen 1950.

are dished. The outer edge of the upper bevel is decorated with four groups of notches. Three of these groups are associated with three blind holes on the face of the bevel which possibly contained enamel, or, less likely, a setting of precious or semi-precious stones. Between the notched areas the edge has been trimmed to give flats. The

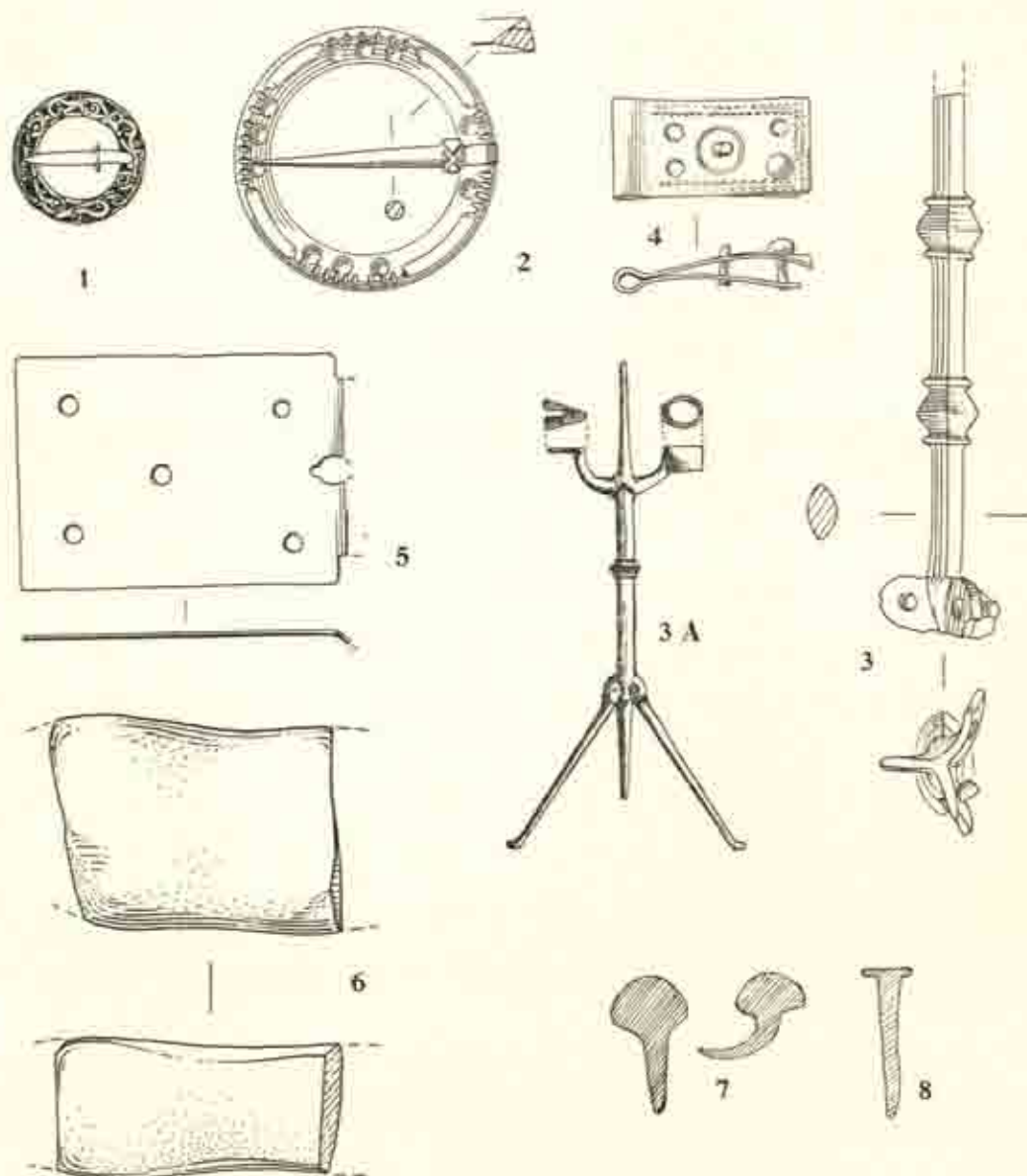


FIG. 28. Laverstock; the silver-gilt brooch and other small finds. Scales: 1-5,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; 6-8,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ; 3A not to scale.

centre of the fourth notched area acts as the pivot for the pin, the end of which fits around it. The stump of the pin between the pivot shank is thickened to a square cross-section, and decorated on the upper and under-surfaces with cross-over cuts. The shank of the pin is round in cross-section.

As we lack a dated series for English medieval annular brooches and a specific



association for the present example, it is not possible to date it closely but it is likely to be of thirteenth-century date.

*Folding candlestick (no. 3)*

Although rare, a number of other folding candlesticks are recorded in England; that from Laverstock is only a section of stem but a complete example from London Museum is illustrated for comparison (fig. 28, no. 3A).<sup>1</sup>

The Laverstock example (from Building 2) conforms closely to this type. It is of bronze with a rich black patination. The tripod arrangement at the base of the stem is pierced with rivet holes (one contains a rivet) for attaching folding legs. The stem has been sawn down and is now only 6.5 cm. long (as suggested above the candlestick probably came from a quantity of scrap bronze); originally it would have carried a spike for holding the candle.

*Strap end (no. 4)*

This came from the floor of the south stoke-pit, Kiln 6. It is rectangular (2.6 cm. × 1.5 cm.) formed by folding a bronze strip; the strap would have been gripped in this fold. It has a rich green patination. The outer faces have been chased near the edge with a saw-tooth pattern. It was originally held to the leather by five rivets, two of which are still in place.

*Buckle plate (no. 5)*

The buckle plate (one side only) came from the north stoke-pit of Kiln 6, half-way down its fill. It is of bronze and of dimensions 4.3 cm. × 3.1 cm. There are five holes which would have originally contained the rivets which held the plate to the strap. One end is notched to take the buckle pin and the buckle would have been gripped by this end of the plate.

*Hone (no. 6)*

The hone is approximately 7.6 cm. long and 2.5 cm. wide. It is of fine-grained sand-stone and well used on the edge.

*Nails (nos. 7 and 8)*

A number of nails (12) were obtained at various levels in the filling of Pit 2, the majority from the bottom half.

There are two types: (a) with a half-moon shaped head (no. 7) and (b) with a flat T-shaped head (no. 8). Nails of type (a) have been referred to by Dunning<sup>2</sup> as of characteristic Norman form.

*Hoe (not illustrated)*

An eighteenth-century hoe or adze was found in the humus above Pit 1; this has already been published.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is based on fig. 36, no. 1 of the *London Museum. Medieval Catalogue*. Examples also known on the continent and at the Cluny Museum are two close parallels, both complete (we are indebted to Mr. Hugh Shortt for this information).

<sup>2</sup> G. C. Dunning, *Proc. Isle of Wight Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* ii (1937), 682.

<sup>3</sup> J. Musty, 'Post-Medieval Finds from Laverstock', *Wilts. Archaeol. Mag.* lvii (1960), 407.



*A note on the firing of replica medieval kilns at Leeds, August 1967*

An opportunity of testing various methods of loading and firing kilns of Musty Types 1a, 2a (the Laverstock type), 3 and 5b was made possible by using replica kilns in an experiment conducted by Mr. Phillip Mayes. At the time of writing, the report of this experiment is as yet in the preliminary stages of preparation. It is not proposed, therefore, to anticipate its findings here, but some comment is required in view of various suggestions put forward earlier in this paper. Some of these have been substantiated by the experimental firings; others are possibly discounted or their importance minimized.

Thus the following findings are relevant to the Laverstock kiln type:

- (a) Kilns can be constructed with a dome-like roof and such a roof is necessary.
- (b) It is possible to load a Laverstock type kiln by crawling in through one of the flue arches and therefore our suggestion that the dome would need to be dismantled after each firing to load and unload is not necessarily valid.
- (c) Our suggested method of firing (fires burning simultaneously in the opposed arched flues) was found to be correct. At the start of a firing, especially in a moderate wind, one flue would tend to draw better than the other, but once the kiln warmed up an even draw was obtained from both flues and the kiln firing became independent of both wind direction and wind strength. Thus there may be no significance in the precise orientation of the Laverstock kilns (it had previously been assumed that the intention had been to align these away from the direction of the prevailing wind). An unexpected discovery was the fact that for much of the firing, the fire could be maintained in the *stokepit*, there being sufficient draw to pull the flames into the flue without regard to the wind. Also, although in the Leeds experiment the stokepit walls were deliberately broken down to permit easy access to the flues, stoking the fires was still extremely hot work. At Laverstock the potters would have had to work *in* the stokepits and the experience from the Leeds firings suggests that the heat conditions must have been nigh intolerable.
- (d) We estimated that a Laverstock kiln load would consist of approximately 50 jugs. In the experiment loads of up to 130 vessels were obtained.
- (e) We suggested that uneven firing could be expected in kilns of the Laverstock type and this was confirmed in the experiment as was our supposition that vessels near the flues would experience over-heating.



# *The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York*

By E. A. GEE, M.A., D.Phil., F.S.A.

## I

### INTRODUCTION

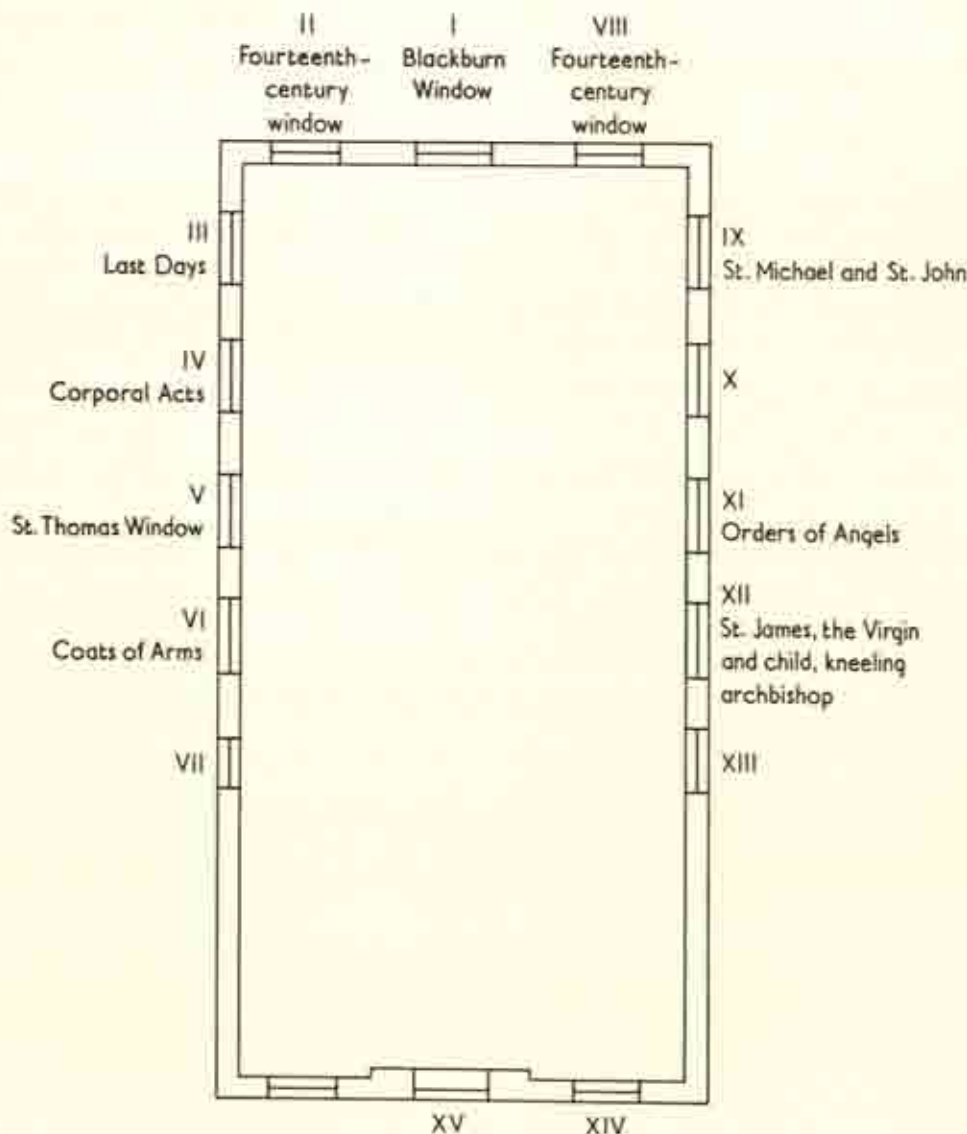
THE painted glass at All Saints', North Street, York, is exceptional even in York, and although that of the fourteenth century in two of the windows (II, VIII), is not outstanding, the early fifteenth-century glass is of very high quality. The Prick of Conscience window (III), is unique, and the theme of the Corporal Acts of Mercy, window IV, is rare. The whole medieval body of glass was limited to the church which existed before the penultimate bay, and the tower and the aisles on either side of it, were added by *c.* 1450. Windows which replaced the previous doorways in the fourth bay, on either side, contained plain glass in the later Middle Ages.

The glass is described in detail in a sequence, starting with the east window (I), then the east window of the north aisle (II), the other windows in that aisle from east to west (III)–(VII), those in the south aisle in the same order (VIII)–(XIV), and finally the west window (XV), all being given numbers accordingly. All references will be to these numbers. Variations in the position of the glass in a window are noted before the detailed description, and a further note has been added where relevant of the alterations of 1965/6.

The glass has been moved in relatively modern times, but happily valuable sources are available to check its position at various dates. In 1618 Roger Dodsworth listed it but not in great detail (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. Dodsworth, 145, 157, 161, noted elsewhere as Dodsworth). Matthew Hutton made a more comprehensive survey in 1659 (Matthew Hutton MSS., York Minster Library, quoted as Hutton), but the most useful source has been found by Mr. John Harvey at Oxford; Henry Johnston's Church Notes and Drawings of 1670 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Yorks. c14, quoted as Johnston) gives much the same information as Hutton, but in addition provides careful drawings of some of the windows. Recently (1965/6) the Procession window (XI), which was merely a jumble, has been skilfully reassembled on the basis of the Johnston drawing. James Torre made some notes in 1691 (*Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York*, MSS. in York Minster Library, quoted as Torre) and in 1730 Thomas Gent of York published a book called *The Antient and Modern History of the famous City of York* (York, 1730) quoted as Gent. Finally John Browne wrote notes on the painted glass in York for the visit of the Archaeological Institute to the City in 1846 (*Architectural Notes of the Churches and other Ancient Buildings in the City and Neighbourhood of York*, by J. H. Parker. 'With Notes of the

Painted Glass', by John Browne (*Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1846, York (London, 1848), referred to as Browne). The notes of Dodsworth, Hutton, Johnston, Torre, and Gent are transcribed in Appendix I and references given are to this appendix.

PRESENT POSITION OF THE PAINTED GLASS  
(For medieval position see Appendix II)



Gent (1730) was the first to describe the subjects in the windows and in a definite complete sequence. Hutton (1659) gives a sequence on the north side from west to east and this is confirmed by Johnston (1670) in an order from east to west, and the windows occur in the same order in Gent, who listed from west to east. Thus nothing had been moved before 1730. Windows on the south side were listed by Gent from



east to west and his sequence is confirmed by other sources. There is little doubt that between 1730 and 1846 there was a cataclysm which reduced windows XI and XII to incoherent fragments and at the same time the position of other windows was altered.

The only window retaining its original format and still in the place which it occupied in 1730 is the one portraying the Prick of Conscience (III). Rearrangement of windows XI and XII has produced fragments of strap-work borders and the B B letters which are like the seventeenth-century panel at Acomb may be by Edmund Gyles. (For the Acomb glass compare George Benson, *Notes On Acomb, York*, A.A.S.R. xxxviii, pt. i, 88.) There are also some fragments of eighteenth-century glass and the signature 'W. Peckitt' is painted on a piece of it (seen in the Minster Workshop, November 1965). The shield of arms of the See of York (gules two keys in saltire argent, in chief a regal crown) impaling Harsnet (gules two bars dancetté ermine, for Archbishop Harsnet) were in the church in glass in 1680 (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O.433). The windows were repaired in 1768 at a cost of £8. 15s. and in 1784 for £9. 11s. 9d. (Church Wardens' Accounts quoted in *An Old York Church, All Hallows in North Street*, edited by the Revd. P. J. Shaw (York, 1908), p. 69. This work is quoted henceforth as *All Hallows*.)

Much of the glass identified as modern in the detailed account is early nineteenth-century work by Wailes of Newcastle, and is thus of value in its own right. This firm restored windows I, II, VI, and VIII in 1844. The best examples of their glass are found in the tracery lights of window I, together with much of the donor panels and the band at the bottom in the same window, the tracery lights of window II, and the head of God the Father once in window V and now re-used as the head of St. James in window XII. J. W. Knowles of York attended to the glass in the second half of the nineteenth century and made the centre light of window IX, restored windows III, IV, and the outer lights of IX in 1861 (*All Hallows*, p. 37 note), and re-leaded windows II, III, IV, V, and VIII in 1877 (Knowles MS., York Reference Library, f. 8<sup>v</sup>).

In 1965/6 windows I, IV, V, VI, IX, and XII were taken out, cleaned, and re-leaded, and windows II, III, and VIII have been cleaned and repaired *in situ*, by the York Minster glaziers O. E. Lazenby and P. Gibson, advised by Dr. P. Newton, and with the aid of a grant from the Pilgrim Trust.

## II

### DESCRIPTION OF THE WINDOWS

#### (1) THE EAST WINDOW (probably 1412-27 but possibly as late as c. 1435) (pl. XIX)

The painted glass in the three-light east window is virtually intact, except for the lower lights and the donors, which are restored. In 1618 it was mentioned as being in a north window of the choir (Dodsworth, App. I (a), p. 191) and its position can be further narrowed down as the second window from the east on the north side in 1659 (Hutton, App. I (b), p. 192). Later sources (Johnston (1670), App. I (c), p. 193; Gent



(1730), p. 163) confirm that it was where the Corporal Acts window is now (window IV). It had been moved to its present position by 1846 (Browne, p. 5).

The window was restored in 1844 by Wailes of Newcastle (*All Hallows*, p. 30). Before this the lower part of the window 'was in the most wretched state imaginable' (Knowles MSS. (quoting a paper by Weale), 10), and the upper part of St. Anne was turned inside out from the cross bar upwards. It was cleaned and re-leaded in 1966. Nothing has been altered, but the Wailes glass has tended to lose its pigment owing to faulty firing.

### *Tracery Lights*

The glass in the tracery lights is of early nineteenth-century date (Browne, p. 5) by Wailes of Newcastle and has a blue background throughout. In the quatrefoil at the top is God the Father, seated, with a pale purple undergarment and a green outer one; the right hand is raised in blessing and there is an orb in the other hand. On either side at his feet is a red-robed angel and in the bottom lobe are two angels with purple robes looking upwards. In the northern tracery light is a censuring angel at the top, and in the middle are four figures, two women and men on the outer sides, in red, green, purple, and dark-green robes, all with quill pens. Below them is a red roundel. There is a similar angel at the top of the southern light, and at the centre are five kneeling crowned figures. Two quatrefoils, between these lights and at the bottom of the tracery, each have green and purple leaves in the lobes; one contains in Gothic capital letters A N(?) and the other I H S.

### *Canopies*

The canopies (type II) consist of window forms and many pinnacles, and have two small figures at a desk. They are delineated in black lines and yellow stain; the central one has a blue background and the outer ones red backgrounds. There is some modern glass in the canopy above the southern light, but little in the others.

### *Borders*

The borders consist of pinnacled features and in each border is the small figure of a prophet with a full robe; one hand is held by the side, while the other is arranged across the body (type II). They face inwards and on their inner side is a shaft bound with a ribbon, extending from top to bottom of the respond of the canopy in each case. The southern light's borders contain a certain amount of modern glass and one modern figure.

### *The North Light (pl. xx a)*

In the northern light is a large figure of St. John the Baptist as a bearded man with long hair and a nimbus, set against a red background of scrolled leaves. His undergarment is in yellow stain and he has a blue outer garment. On a book held in his left hand is the Agnus Dei; St. John's right hand points towards the Agnus Dei and he stands on a floor semé of foiled roundels. The bottom part of the skin garment was



inserted after 1843, for a plate by John Weale dated 1st October, in York Minster Library, shows the area as a blank.

*The Centre Light* (pl. xx b)

The centre light portrays Our Lady being taught to read by her mother St. Anne. St. Anne has a blue undergarment, and a red outer one with an ornate border and lined with ermine. She has a large and distinctive hood of red with ermine bands on it (and a nimbus), which is not reused heraldic glass (as suggested in *All Hallows*, p. 30), for St. Anne has a similar hood at Almondbury church in the West Riding.

The Virgin has a rich embroidered undergarment, and an outer one of white, lined ermine, and with an enriched gold border. She wears the only example of a short sideless cote hardie in York (Knowles, *York School of Glass Painting*, p. 98). Her long hair is bound with a garland, and she has a nimbus. She holds a book, steadied by her mother, and has a pointer in her right hand. The modern leaf-scrolled background is blue, and the floor is like that in the previous light. The book is inscribed 'D(omi)ne exaudi or(ati)onem mea(m) aurib(us) p(er)cipe ob(secrationem meam)' (Psalm 143). Some of the Virgin's outer robe is by Wailes.

*The South Light* (pl. xx c)

St. Christopher, standing in the water and with fish round his bare feet, has an embroidered undergarment and a white outer one with a gold border. His robe is hitched up and on his right knee is a garter of cloth tied in a knot. He holds a strong staff obliquely across the body and it has leaves at the top. On his shoulder sits Christ, a boy in a richly embroidered robe, with his right hand raised in blessing and the left hand holding an orb with a penon on its stem. Round Christ's head is a scroll inscribed 'Cristofori h(ic) sedeo qui crimina [to]llo'. St. Christopher's halo and the top of his head are modern and possibly by two different hands and also a large section of his garments is also modern. The corkscrew curls of the Christ Child have been compared to those of St. John in the Last Supper at Malvern (M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1954), p. 210).

*Lower Panel of the North Light*

Nicholas Blackburn junior, and Margaret his wife kneel and look inwards. Nicholas has a red undergarment, and a belt with a dagger on it, hanging obliquely at the front. He has a green cloak and white hose, and has short hair and a small beard. Margaret has a white head-dress and a red robe and holds a book inscribed 'D(omi)ne ne in furore tueo arguas me neq(ue) i(n) ira tua' (Psalm 6). Torre in 1691 (625) notes the inscription on the book as 'dnē in furore tuo judicas me neque in ira tua'. She is at a desk draped with an embroidered white cloth and he kneels on a tasselled cushion. The blue background is of bands of conventional foliage. At the bottom is the inscription 'Orate [pro] a(n)i(m)ab(us) Nicholai *Blakeburn junio(ris)* quo(n)da(m) maior(is) Civit(ate) Ebor. et Margarete ux(or)is eius'. The inscription was recorded in 1618 by Dodsworth (157, f. 17) as 'Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakeburn junioris et Margarete uxoris sue itaque pro animabus omnium benefactorum istius fenestre [blank] luminare vitrio'.



Hutton in 1659 (f. 26) found it much the same but the end of the inscription, from and including 'istius', had been lost and Johnston confirmed his reading in 1670 (f. 94').

The inscription was probably given its present form by Wailes in 1844 and the section 'quondam maioris Civitate Ebor.' was probably derived from the inscription to Nicholas Blackburn senior.

On either side the border has pinnacles and a lion sitting on a pedestal within a niche. On the north at the top is a mark consisting of a B in a shield and set below a chief of three pieces. The mark is held by a demi-angel. On the other side is a shield of arms, gules a lion rampant checky ermine and ermines [crowned or] a mullet for difference (Blackburn). With the exception of the inscription the bottom panel is of early nineteenth-century date. The shield now containing the B had a merchant's mark in it in 1670 (Johnston, f. 94').

#### *Lower Panel of the Centre Light*

In a representation of the Holy Trinity, God the Father in white is seated on a large golden settle, against a red background; he holds a gold cross with God the Son on it and the Dove issues from the Father's mouth. The panel has borders like the northern one and there are no shields. The cross straddles the world and the head of God the Father and the centre part of the face of Christ are modern.

#### *Lower Panel of the South Light*

Nicholas Blackburn senior, and his wife Margaret kneel and look inwards. Nicholas is short-haired and without a beard. He has a red surcoat with a checky rampant lion on it, over plate armour, and in front of him is an open bascinet. Margaret has a red cloak with a gold border over an undergarment checky ermine and ermines. She has a white head-dress and on her book is the inscription 'D(omi)ne labia mea aperies et os meu(m)' (Psalm 51). Torre (624) notes the inscription on the book to be 'Dnēs salua me a peccatis aperies et os meum'. Above the head of Nicholas on a scroll is the inscription 'De[t] venie munus nobis rex trinus et unus'. At the bottom is an inscription 'Orate pro a(n)i(m)abus Nich(ola)i Blakeburne senioris quo(n)dam maioris civitatis Ebor. et Margare[te] uxoris eius'.

In 1618 the inscription was noted as 'Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakeburn senioris quondam maior istius civitatis Ebor. et Margarete uxoris sue et omnium fidelium defunctorum' (Dodsworth, 157, f. 17).

In 1670 all the wording remained as above but the missing part of the inscription to Nicholas Blackburn junior, 'benefactorum istius fenestre [blank] luminare vitrio' had been included. By 1691 much had been lost and Torre records the inscription in its present form (624).

The border is like that of the other panels and at the top of the north side is a shield, held by an angel, and with the same mark; on the south side is the arms of Blackburn without a difference and held by an angel as before. The latter angel is of old glass. Although the coat of arms and the shield with B on it have been transposed, they represent original features.



Much of the figure of the man is original, but the remainder of the glass is by Wailes, as is a band of alternate blue and red lancet forms between pinnacles and with a gold parapet above them at the bottom of the window.

(11) NORTH AISLE, EAST WINDOW (c. 1320-30) (pl. XXI)

The glass in this window, the earliest in the church, was in the east window of the chancel in 1730 (Gent, App. I (e), p. 195), but had been moved here by 1846 (Browne, p. 5). It was restored by Wailes of Newcastle in 1844 (*All Hallows*, p. 30), and was re-leaded in 1877 (Knowles MSS. f. 8<sup>v</sup>).

*Tracery Lights*

The three tracery lights were said by J. W. Knowles to be all modern (Knowles MS. (York Reference Library), f. 28) and thus would be by Wailes, but some of the background of oak sprays is original; and also in the centre top light St. Michael has some old glass; in the northern light St. George, and the Virgin crowned in the southern one, are of nineteenth-century glass.

*Main Lights*

Each canopy has a geometrical window form, with a crocketed gable over it surmounted by a pinnacle. This central feature is supported on either side by a flying buttress from a pinnacle, and at the bottom is a band of quatrefoils. The background is of vine leaves.

The upper panels are set under a trefoiled arch surmounted by a crocketed gable containing a quatrefoil and three trefoils, and at the bottom is a band of quatrefoils.

The lower panels have a trefoiled opening with quatrefoils in the spandrels under some battlementing, and at the bottom is a band of quatrefoils. Within the borders and on either side of each panel is a pinnacle.

*The Northern Light* (pl. XXII a) which contains the Adoration of the Magi, has a border of yellow vine leaves on a flowing stalk. The Virgin, crowned, in an embroidered white robe with a gold one over it, shows the Infant Christ, standing on her lap, to three Kings; one is on his knees and presents a cup with one hand and holds his crown in the other. The head of the Virgin is modern.

The lower panel has the Annunciation; an angel with blue nimbus, red outer robe, green undergarment, and with wings, holds a scroll inscribed in Lombardic capitals '[A]VE MAR[IA] [GR]A PL[ENA]'. The Virgin has a white outer garment over a blue dress and there is a fine red diaper at the back. All the glass is relatively modern.

*The Centre Light* has a border of triple-towered castles and covered cups. At the top of the border was before 1966 a piece of eighteenth-century glass with a baron's coronet above a monogram.

The upper panel, a Crucifixion, has Christ on the cross, at the foot of which is a skull. On his right is the Blessed Virgin Mary and on his left St. John. The only old glass is said to be part of St. John (*All Hallows*, p. 32). The background is of modern blue glass.



The lower panel of the centre light shows the Nativity. The Virgin, in a blue robe over a white one, holds Christ dressed in red, and on their left is St. Joseph with a white robe and a blue head-dress. Set against a green background are the heads of the ox and the ass. Parts of St. Joseph and the ass are old (*All Hallows*, p. 32).

*The South Light* has a border of vine leaves as before.

The upper panel shows the Coronation of the Virgin. A crowned figure of the Virgin, with a maroon-red skirt and gold upper garment, has the hands joined together in prayer and to her left is Christ in blue and with a gold cloak; his right hand is raised in blessing, and his left hand holds the World. The heads of both the figures and the World are old (pl. xxii b).

The lower panel shows Christ rising from the tomb, with an angel at the one side clothed in white, and at the bottom three soldiers, the centre one frightened and awake, and the outer ones asleep. The soldiers and the angel are original.

(III) NORTH AISLE, NORTH WALL, FIRST WINDOW FROM THE EAST (c. 1410) (pl. xxiii)

This glass is in its original position and has retained the correct order of panels and donors. It could be the work of John Thornton (Knowles, *York School of Glass Painting*, p. 221). It was restored in 1861 by J. W. Knowles of York and was re-leaded in 1877 (Knowles MSS., f. 8<sup>v</sup>), and has been cleaned *in situ* in 1966.

The window portrays the signs of the end of the world as narrated in the didactic poem, the *Pricke of Conscience*, frequently, but erroneously, ascribed to Richard Rolle, hermit of Hampole (see H. E. Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, (London, 1927), pp. 372-97; also M. R. James, *An English Bible-Picture Book of the Fourteenth Century*, Walpole Society, xi, 1922/3, 26 and 27; and E. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, pp. 442, 443 for other examples). The relevant portions of the *Pricke of Conscience* are Book 5, lines 5758-815 (see R. Morris, *The Pricke of Conscience* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 129-31).

The series in the window begins at the bottom left-hand corner and follows to the right, and then continues in the same sequence upwards.

*Tracery Lights*

It is impossible to discern anything in the top tracery light, but one would expect Christ in Majesty. Johnston shows God the Father seated at the head (Johnston, f. 99) but it now has some fragments in it, including a roundel with a complicated estoile, a wheel of flame, a mitre upside down, and some architectural details.

The eastern light has brown devils pushing four or more souls down to hell.

The western light shows the Blessed being received at the gate of Heaven by St. Peter in a red robe with a white top and holding a key. The souls are white and have yellow hair. Foliage and red roundels in the subsidiary lights are modern.

*Canopies*

The three top canopies each have a multicusped segmental head, above which is a crocketed finial with a foliated spandrel; at the back is architectural detail. Otherwise the other canopies have simple segmental heads with key-block and cusped spandrels.



*Borders*

The borders are formed of buttresses of many stages with pinnacles, and half-way up, in each case, is a prophet in a long robe, set against the buttress, and with the hands, one up and one down, issuing from the draperies (type I). At the top above the uppermost pinnacle is a round shaft with a ribbon spiralling round it.

There is a series of panels, five to each light, and under each panel is a two-line inscription. Knowles' restoration of some inscriptions is most effective, but is identified by his use of 'b' for 's'.

1. *The rising of the sea.* Bottom panel of the west light

Three trees with yellow foliage and white trunks stand on ground with small plants and grasses on it. Red foliated background.

[Ye first day fourty] cubetes [certain]  
[Ye se sall] ryse vp [abowen ilka mountayne].

[Most of the inscription had vanished by 1670 (Johnston, f. 99)].

2. *Subsiding of the sea.* Centre light at the bottom

Two trees with yellow foliage and trunks stand in a desert-like scene. Blue background.

*Ye seconde day ye se sall be  
so lawe as all men sall' it cee.*

[Complete in 1670. Ibid.]

3. *The waters return to their former level.* East light at the bottom

A tree with yellow trunk, two boughs, and brown foliage. To the left of the tree is the sea with fish in it, including one like a lamprey, and to the right is land as before. Blue background.

*Ye iii day yt sall be playne  
And stand as yt was agayne.*

[Complete in 1670. Ibid.]

4. *Fishes and sea monsters come on the earth.* West light

Three great fish rise out of the sea and there are fish in the sea also. Blue sky.

[Ye fferth day] fisches sal' ma[ke a roryng]  
[yat it sall be hydus] to mannes [heryng].

[Complete in 1670. Ibid.]

5. *The sea on fire.* Centre light

A brown sea with fish in it washing round a tree with white trunk and green foliage on the right-hand side. Red tongues of flame issue from the sea. Blue background.

*ye fift day ye sea sall' bryn  
And all ye waters that may ryn.*

[Complete in 1670. Ibid.]

6. *The trees on fire and their fruit dropping off.* East light

Three trees with yellow trunks and red and brown foliage. The fruit falling as golden drops.

Ye sex[t] day *sall* [spryng on] *trees*  
wyth bloody *dropes* [ut gryse] *bees* [bers—Johnston MSS. f. 99]

[Complete in 1670. Ibid.]

7. *Earthquakes.* Western light (pl. xxiv a)

Graphic portrayal of toppling buildings. On the right is a doorway with portcullis, and between it and a church are great tilted blocks of masonry. On the left is a spire upside down with a weathercock on it. Blue background.

Ye sevent day howses mon fall  
castals & towres & ilk a wall.

[Complete in 1670. Ibid.]

8. *Rocks and stones consumed.* Centre light

Three trees with white trunks and brown foliage. Foreground of yellow stones. Red background.

*Ye viii day* ye roches & stanes  
*sall bryn* toged[er] all' at a[n]es.

[The italicized words were missing in 1670 (Ibid.).]

9. *Men hiding in holes in the earth.* Eastern light

Caves in the ground with blue and red garments in them on the right side of the panel; a man in a red garment is in the mouth of a cave on the left. Red background.

Ye [ninth] day' [a gret] erthdyn [sal be]  
[gen]erally in ilk [a contre].

[Complete in 1670.]

10. *Only the earth and sky visible.* West light

Pale-buff earth with a few plants and a red sky.

Ye tende day for [neve]n  
erthe sal' be playne and even.

[Complete in 1670.]

11. *Men coming out of holes and praying.* Centre light

On the left is a face peering out of a cave, and outside a man in a red robe, a woman in a blue garment, a man in a blue robe, and a man in a magenta-coloured robe are all praying.

*ye xi day sall* men com owte  
*of their* holes & wende a bowte.

[Italicized words missing in 1670.]





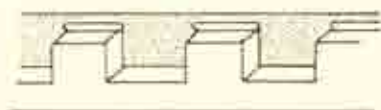
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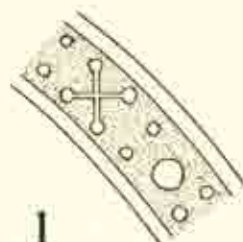
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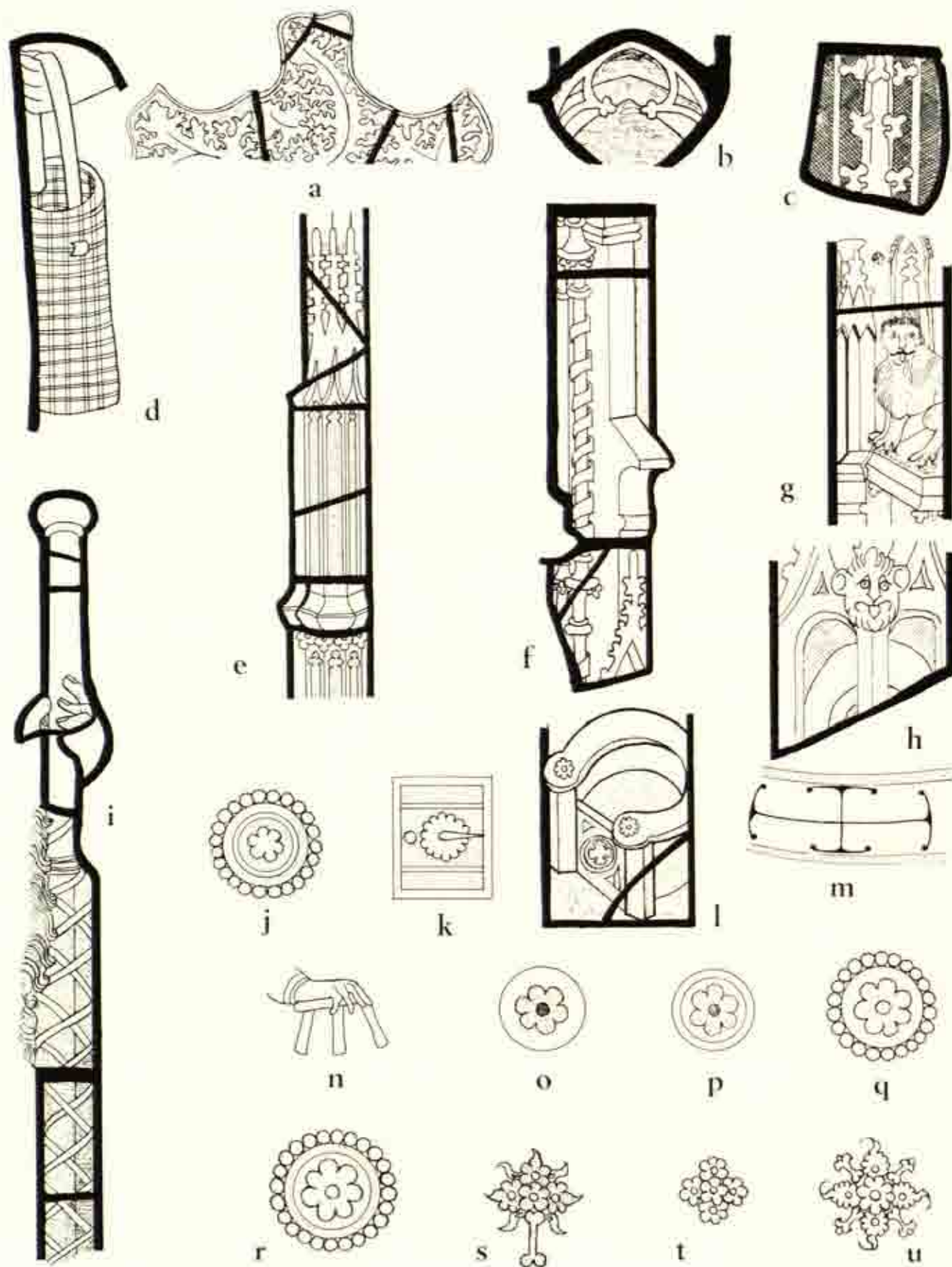


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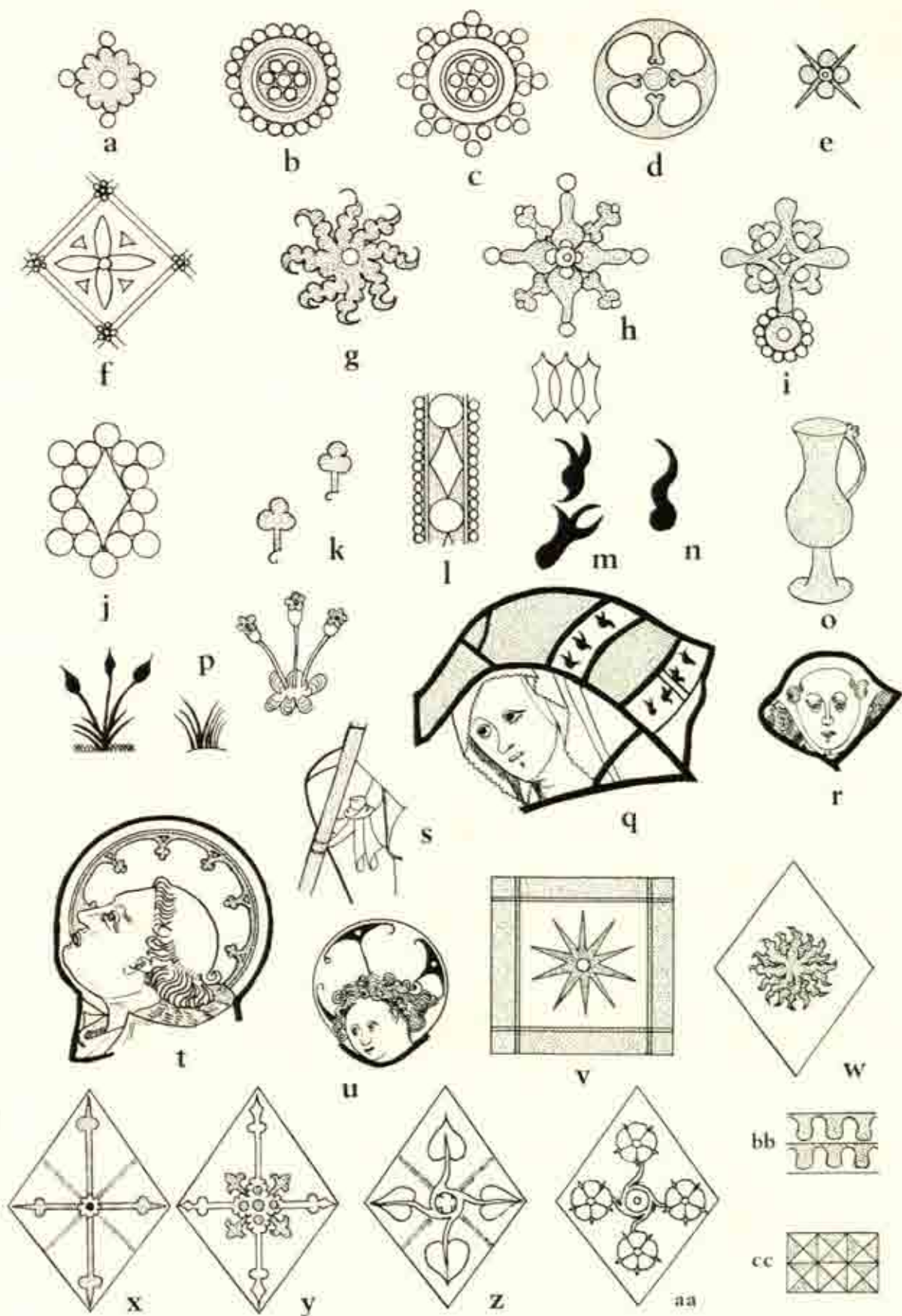
Painted glass: fourteenth-century details  
All Saints' North Street, York



Painted glass: fifteenth-century details

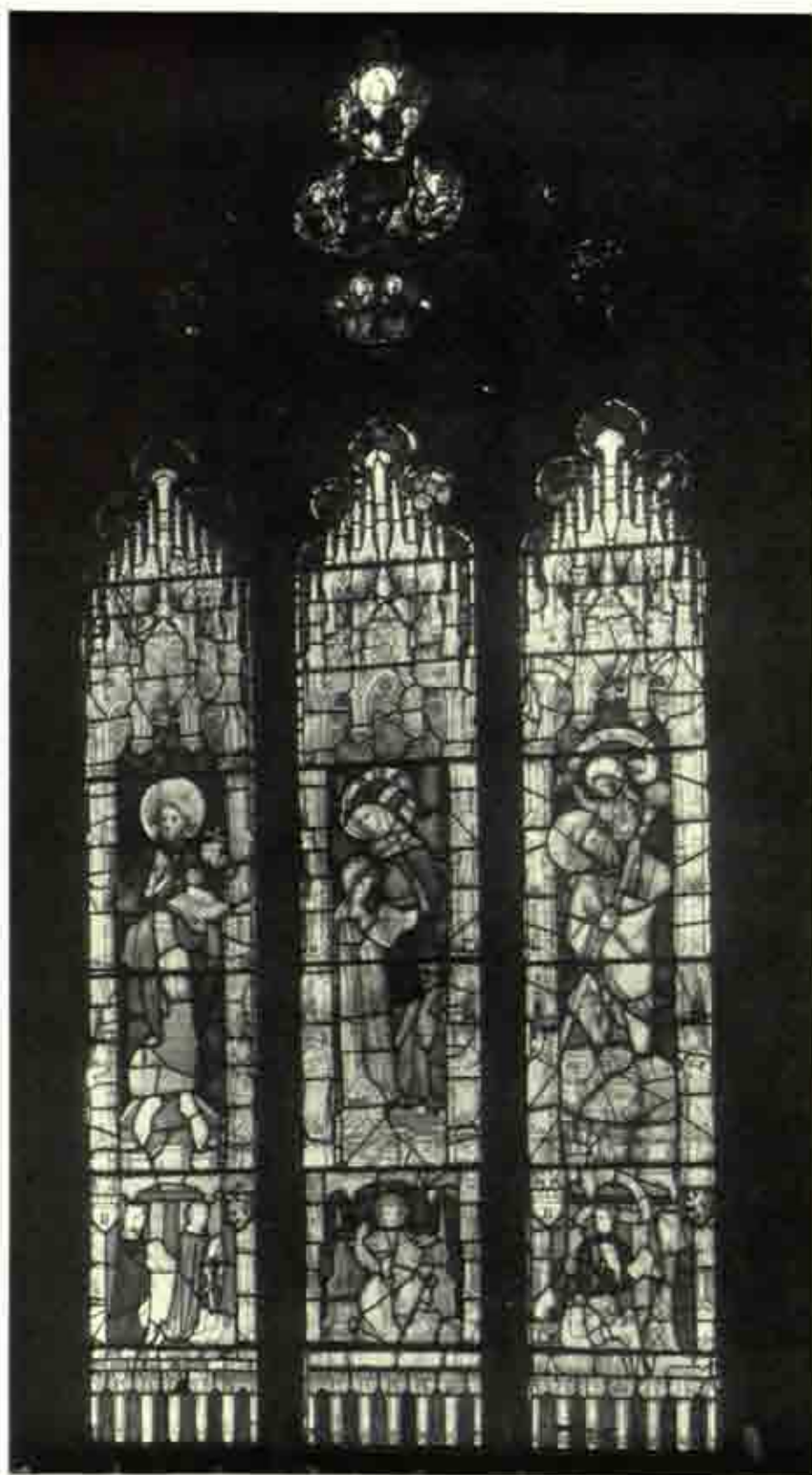
All Saints' North Street, York





Painted glass; fifteenth-century details

All Saints' North Street, York



Window I  
All Saints' North Street, York





*a.* North light



*b.* Central light



*c.* South light

Window 1

All Saints' North Street, York

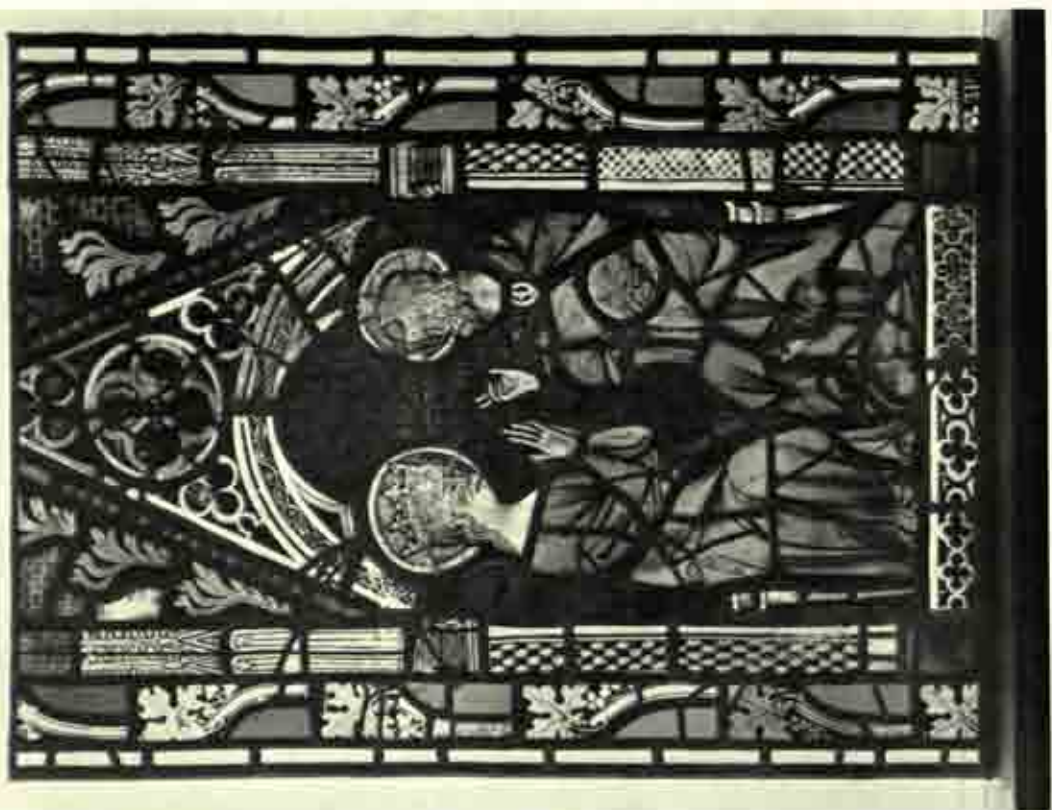


Window II  
All Saints' North Street, York





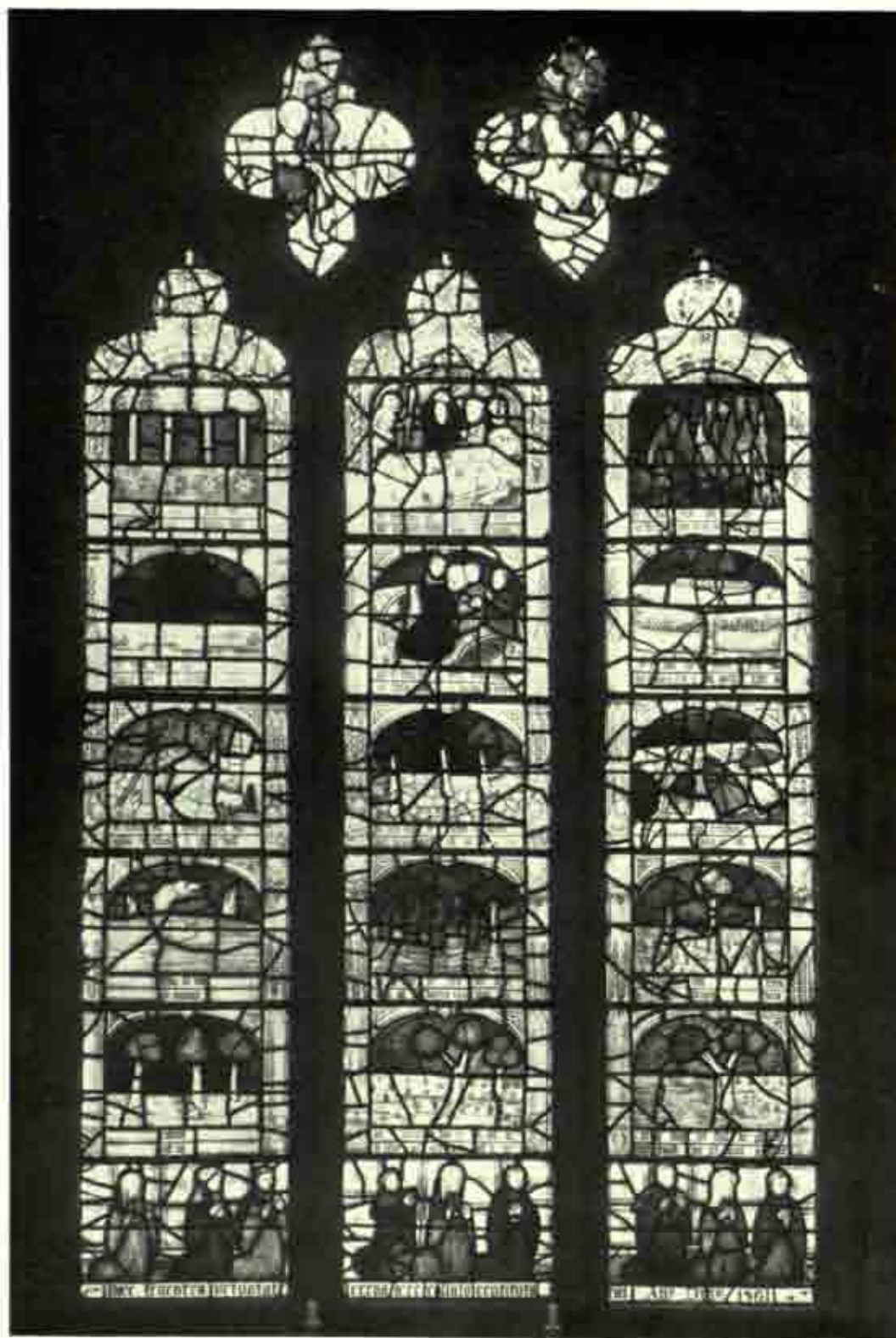
*a, North light*



*b, South light*

Window 11

All Saints' North Street, York



Window III  
All Saints' North Street, York





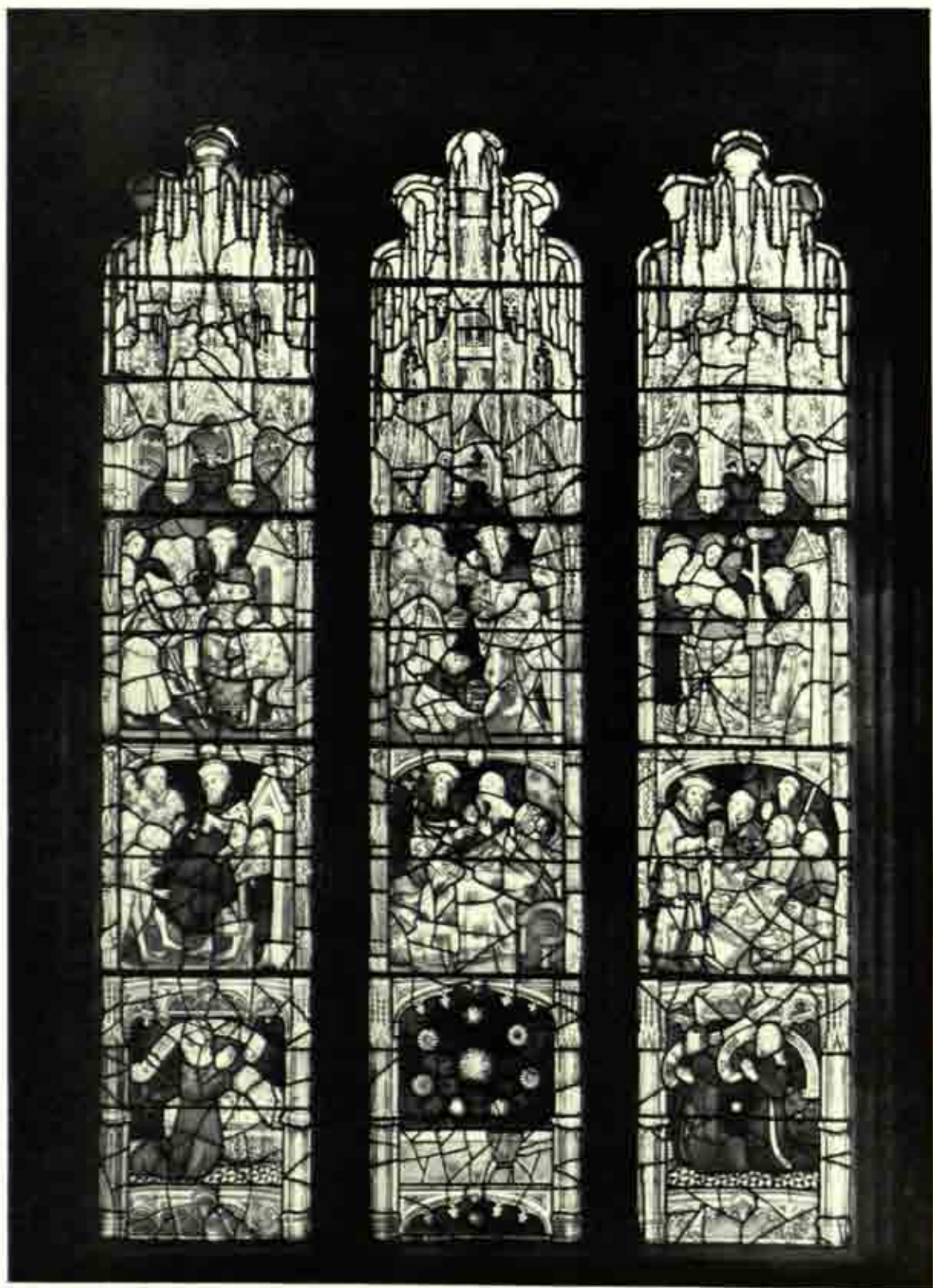
a. Panel 7



b. Panel 14

Window III

All Saints' North Street, York



Window IV  
All Saints' North Street, York





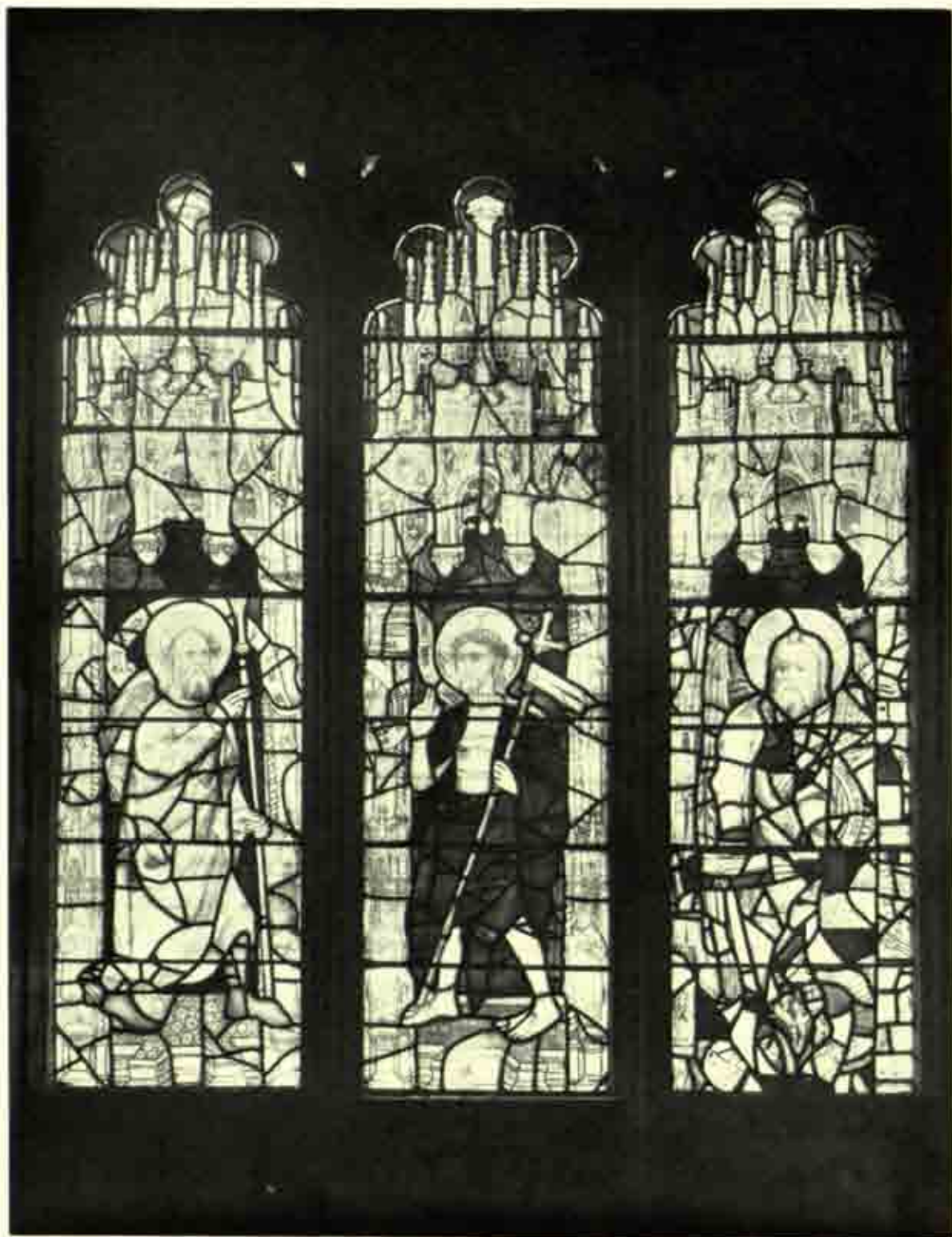
*a.* Panel 4



*b.* Panel 5



*c.* West light: donor  
Window IV  
All Saints' North Street, York



Window V before restoration  
All Saints' North Street, York



12. *Coffins containing mens' bones.* Eastern light

ye x[ii] day sal *banes* dede men  
 Be s[o]men sett & at *anes* ryse al.

[Complete in 1670 but since then the penultimate and last pieces of glass have been transposed.] It should read

ye x[ii] day sall dede men' *banes*  
 Be s[o]men sett & ryse al at *anes*.

(In B.M. MSS. Cott. Galba E. ix the twelfth day is the stars falling from heaven.)

13. *The stars fall from Heaven.* Western light

Flaming yellow stars falling, four at the top and four at the bottom, with yellow channels between them. Buff earth and blue sky.

Ye thirtende day suthe sall'  
 Sternes f[ra] the heuen fall'.

(In B.M. MSS. Cott. Galba E. ix the thirteenth day is the coffins with bones.)

[Complete in 1670.]

14. *Death and mourning.* Centre light (pl. xxiv b)

A man and a woman are dying in a bed which has a decorated coverlet. Death as a skeleton holds a spear in the left hand, and there are three mourners, one in red holding his hands above his head.

Ye xiiij day all' that lives than  
 sall' dy bathe childe man & woman.

[Complete in 1670.]

15. *The end of all things.* Eastern light

Blue sky and great tongues of red, some from the bottom rising upwards and others coming down to meet them.

ye xv day thus sal' betyde  
 ye worlde sall bryn on ilka syde.

[Complete in 1670.]

*Donors*

At the bottom of the window are three panels a good deal restored each with three kneeling donors in it and all figures look towards the east. The backgrounds consist of square quarries, each having a star set within a border.

The eastern panel has a woman in blue, with a white head-dress, in the centre, with a man with a blue robe and red hood on her left, and a man with a red robe and blue hood on her right. Until 1670 an inscription remained under the donors—'Rogeri Henrison et Cecilie uxoris ejus. Abel Hesyl et Agnete . . . et omni fidelium defunct' (Johnston, f. 94<sup>v</sup>).

The centre panel has a woman with a blue robe and white head-dress in the centre,



and on her left is a man with a red robe and blue mantle; on her right is a man with blue robe and red hood. The part of the inscription remaining in 1670 was 'et dni. H. Hesyl' (Johnston, f. 94').

The western panel has to the right a man in a blue robe, in the centre a woman in a red robe with an ermine collar and shaped white head-dress, and to the left a woman in blue with a simple white head-dress. The inscription in 1670 only consisted of 'fenestra' and 'uxoris' (Johnston, f. 94'), but in 1659 'Wiloby' still remained (Hutton, f. 26). Hutton also recorded a shield of arms, argent, on a bend sable three owls argent (Saville) as being in the window (Hutton, f. 26).

At the bottom and under the panels is the inscription 'haec fenestra vetustate exesa aere collato restituta est An(n)o D(o)m(i)ni 1861'.

(IV) NORTH AISLE, NORTH WALL, SECOND WINDOW FROM THE EAST (c. 1410 or c. 1430-5) (pl. xxv)

The window represents the Corporal Acts of Mercy (there are only six here instead of the usual seven), and in all the earlier sources up to 1730 (Gent, p. 163) the glass was in the fifth window from the east, but it was already in this position by 1846 (Browne, p. 6). If the Corporal Acts window was originally the one at the west end of the north wall it was almost certainly of two lights only, and must have consisted of two groups of three panels. There is little doubt that the canopies do not belong to it, and it is probable that the two cusped arched features at the bottom of the present centre light are in fact the arches of the canopies of the original two-light window. This window would then have a disposition just like that of the Prick of Conscience window; the top canopies of each light would be segmental headed with cusps, while the other canopies would be segmental headed but with no cusps, and instead a key-block and spandrels. The two groups of three panels would therefore be set higher in the window and under them was the figure of Nicholas Blackburn in one light and his achievement of arms in the other (Torre, 624).

It is said to have been in good order before the restoration of J. W. Knowles in 1861 (*All Hallows*, p. 37) and thus would contain little modern glass. It was re-leaded in 1877 (Knowles MSS., f. 8<sup>v</sup>) and has recently (1966) been cleaned and re-leaded, but without any alteration in the disposition.

Dr. Christopher Woodforde noted fragments of the Corporal Acts at Lamas, Guestwick, and Quidenham in Norfolk, and Brandeston and Combe in Suffolk, and noted that the portrayal of the Corporal Acts was popular in the fifteenth century, and six of the Acts are derived from the Bible (St. Matthew 25: 35 and 36). The seventh one, the Burying of the Dead, not present in All Saints', was added at some time after the twelfth century to make up the mystic seven (Revd. C. Woodforde, *Norwich School of Glass Painting* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 193 and 195 and pl. XLII opp. p. 196). In the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam is a painting of the Seven Works of Charity by the Master of Alkmaar (probably Cornelius Buys) dated 1504 (Inf. from T. W. French). For examples in English medieval wall-paintings, see A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 53 and 54.



*Canopies*

The canopies of the present window may be slightly later in date than the picture panels.

The centre one was until 1966 a composition of geometrical window forms, with flying buttresses and pinnacles (type I), and extended further down the window than the other two. The only canopies of this kind are in windows VI and IX and this canopy has now been moved to the eastern light of window IX and the type II canopy there brought to this position.

Those at the sides are of type II, but at the bottom two pendants form a well-defined three-light head. Over the centre light, at a desk, sit two small figures looking downwards towards the centre (type II). At the top is a shaft with a cushion cap (see window I). The centre panels are set in archways with segmental heads, key-blocks, and cusped spandrels.

*Borders*

The borders consist of buttresses with pinnacles and demi-octagonal shafts on each side of the donors.

*Subjects in the Panels*1. *Feeding the hungry.* Western light, upper panel

A man with embroidered white robe, blue cloak, and a bonnet, stands in front of a building. At his feet is a basket full of loaves of bread, and a servant, hatless and with an embroidered robe, hands bread to him to give to people on the left.

2. *Clothing the naked.* Western light, lower panel

The same man hands red garments to five people, and his servant is coming out of the building, carrying more raiment.

3. *Giving drink to the thirsty.* Centre light, upper panel

The man is pouring from a flagon into a cup, and in front of him are six people, one drinking, one with an empty cup looking hopefully for more, and on the floor is a cripple with a foot crutch and an empty cup; the cripple has reinforced knee pads. The servant is coming out of the house with three cups and two flagons.

4. *Visiting the sick.* Centre light, lower panel (pl. xxvi a)

The man visits a sick man in bed and the man's wife is at the bed side also. The visitor is giving money. The bed coverlet is richly embroidered, there is an attractive pillow, and at the side of the bed is an interesting chair. At the back of the bed is a hanging of the same fabric as the coverlet.

5. *Entertaining the stranger.* Eastern light, upper panel (pl. xxvi b)

The man has a plain bonnet with a decoration on the front, and wears the same robe and cloak, but also has an ermine collar. His main robe is fur-lined and he has a rich belt. He is welcoming an elderly man, bare-headed and with a staff, behind whom are two tall men, one with crutches, and a short one.



In the background is a tree, and also flowers and grass cover the ground. The elder guest is supported by a rope held by the figure behind him. [The head of the welcoming man is modern.]

6. *Relieving those in prison.* Eastern light, lower panel

The man visits the stocks and is about to give something from a bag. In the stocks, with their feet manacled, are three prisoners, and there is a guard with a staff at the back. The visitor has given them food and drink.

*Bottom Panels*

At the bottom of the central light is a panel with segmental-arched head, with cusps and spandrels like those at the top of the Prick of Conscience window. Under this is a large gold sun with seven planets round it, all set against a blue foliage and very much like a panel of the previous window. There is another similar arch at the very bottom with a star under it. [The sun and planets or stars are modern.]

In the bottom panel of the eastern light are a man and a woman kneeling and facing inwards. His scroll is inscribed 'Ora p(ro) nobis be' and her scroll reads 'ut dign[i] efficamu(r) p(ro)miss(io)ne Ch(risti)'. This panel was previously in a window on the south side (Johnston, f. 95).

In the bottom panel of the western light is a kneeling tonsured figure in a blue robe. On a table or altar at his side, standing on a black and white checkered floor, is an open book inscribed

Sancta	Sancta
Cecilia	Lucia
ora pro	ora pro
nobis	nobis

Behind his head is a scroll inscribed 'om ne s s(an)c(t)i & usi'.

This panel represents Reginald Bawtre and was originally in window V (pl. xxvi c).

(V) NORTH AISLE, NORTH WALL, THIRD WINDOW FROM THE EAST (c. 1430-40)  
(pl. xxvii—before restoration)

This window is that for which Reginald Bawtre left 100s. on the 21st November 1429 (*All Hallows*, p. 90). In 1730 it contained the figures of St. Thomas, Christ, and St. Timothy (Gent, App. I (e), p. 195). The window was still intact in 1846 (Browne, p. 6), but the figure of an archbishop in the eastern light was identified as St. William. Some time after that date this figure was moved to the first window from the east in the south wall (IX), and the fragments of St. Michael, which were in that window, were placed here where they were still to be found in 1965. During the recent restoration they have been replaced in their original positions.

Despite attributions of the archiepiscopal figure to St. Timothy and St. William it is much more probable that the archbishop was St. Thomas of Canterbury, to balance St. Thomas the Apostle on the other side of Christ. Moreover, both Thomas and Timotheus contain the same combination of letters, and Gent may have seen 'th' in an



inscription. The chantry founded at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr by William Vesey in 1407-9 was probably in this position and there was originally an aumbry here (*All Hallows*, p. 15). The glass was re-leaded in 1877 (Knowles MSS., f. 8<sup>v</sup>).

### *Canopies*

The canopies are all of type II, and the only variation is that the centre light has a background of red and the others have blue.

### *Borders*

The borders consist of buttresses and pinnacles, and in each border and near the bottom is a small prophet. The figures face inwards and the decoration on the robes varies slightly. One hand is across the chest and one at the side (type II). On the inner side of each figure, and continuing up to the canopy, is a shaft with a ribbon wound round it.

### *The Main Lights*

In the western light is the large figure of St. Thomas (head restored), facing inwards, with a nimbus and an enriched white robe with a border of gold. He is bearded and has blue hose and a long spear. The background is red and the floor is strewn with rosettes. A scroll at the back of his head is inscribed 'D(omi)n(u)s meus et deus meus'.

In the centre light is Christ bearded (head restored), with pierced hands and feet, and with a nimbus behind the crown of thorns. He has a red robe and gives blessing with his right hand, while the left holds a cross-headed staff with a pennon on it. He is against a blue background. A complicated scroll to the side of the head is inscribed 'Thoma [ten]dite manu(m) manu(m) i(n) latus meu(m) [non] viderunt me'.

The figures in these lights appear foreshortened and are about three inches shorter than the archbishop.

The main feature in the eastern light is the large figure of an archbishop in white and yellow stain, set against a red background. If St. Thomas of Canterbury, he balances another St. Thomas on the other side.

He has a mitre and nimbus, a cross in the left hand and the right one raised in blessing. The chasuble is embroidered and has a gold border, and over this is a pallium with crosses on it which are not the usual crosses crosslet fitchées. The archbishop stands on a floor enriched with roundels.

The bottom parts of each of the three lights have borders of crowns and oblong panels with lozenge and foliation on them, set alternately against a red background in the centre light, and blue backgrounds for the outer ones. Otherwise the bottom of the window is made up of quarries all copied from two original ones in the eastern light.

### (VI) NORTH AISLE, NORTH WALL, FOURTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST

This window was of plain glass in 1730 (Gent, p. 163), and its present glass was then in the east window of this aisle. It was restored by Wailes of Newcastle and was re-leaded in 1877 (Knowles MSS., f. 8<sup>v</sup>).



*Canopies*

The canopies of type I have a galaxy of window forms and pinnacles set against red.

*Borders*

The borders were formed of fragments of fifteenth, and sixteenth-century glass, but the fragments have now (1966) been removed and a simple red border substituted.

The lights contain the following features:

*Western Light*

(a) A shield of arms, asure a bend between six martlets or (Luttrell). It has been identified as Mountney, but the field of Mountney of Yorkshire is usually gules.

(b) A roundel, quarterly vert and gules and a plain border.

(c) A shield of arms, argent, on a fess between three cocks' heads erased sable a mitre or for John Alcock (1430-1500), successively bishop of Rochester, Worcester, and Ely. The shield has a non-heraldic border of or round three sides.

*Centre Light*

(a) A shield of arms quarterly (1) gules a fess or (? Beauchamp), (2) gules a fret or (? Audley), (3) gules a bend or (? Folliott or Hastings), and (4) argent on each of two bars gules three roundels or (? Martyn). This shield is said to have come from Winchester, and to have been given by Mrs. Gutch (Knowles MSS., f. 22).

(b) A roundel composed of old quarries existed here until 1966, when it was removed and a shield of arms, or five lozenges in fess sable, inserted instead.

(c) A mutilated shield of England and France modern quartered has been remodelled at the same time and now consists of quarterly (1) and (4) France modern, and (2) gules a leopard or in base, and (3) gules a leopard or in chief.

*Eastern Light*

(a) A shield of arms, gules a chevron argent impaling a jumble. Said to have come from Winchester, has now (1966) been altered to some old plain glass impaling gules a chevron argent.

(b) A roundel, quarterly gules and vert, in a plain border.

(c) A shield of arms, gules a fess or between six pears or (Beauchamp).

The background to all three lights consists of two types of quarries in alternate bands, a few of which are original of the fifteenth century. In 1691 when the window was in the east wall of the north aisle, it contained the shield of arms or three bars gules, over all a bend azure (Torre, App. I (d), p. 195). This could be Brandeston but the local family of Langton who owned quarries at Tadcaster bore barry of six or and gules a bend argent.



## (VII) NORTH AISLE, NORTH WALL, FIFTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST

Window IV, Corporal Acts, was here before 1846. The only old glass remaining in this two-light window consists of the tops of canopies. Each canopy has in the centre a round-headed opening with cusps, under a crocketed gablette set against a panelled wall, forming the front wall of a square tower, with elaborate cornice and spire. On either side are architectural features, and at the extreme outer sides are small towers with arrow embrasures in them (type III). These canopy heads would have the segmental headed arches with cusps, now in the bottom of the middle light of window IV, beneath them.

## (VIII) SOUTH AISLE, EAST WINDOW (fourteenth century and modern) (pl. XXVIII)

The window was originally of mid fourteenth-century date, but has been drastically restored by Wailes of Newcastle in 1844 (*All Hallows*, p. 30); it was in this position in 1730 (Gent, p. 163) and is noted as chiefly modern in 1846 (Browne, p. 6).

*Tracery*

1. The top light has a round medallion in brown and white of an angel playing a harp. The figure has a white cowled head-dress, and round it are quarries with vine scrolls.

2. Northern lower tracery light. A similar medallion; a man in a white robe and with the lower members of a beast playing pipes. Quarries with oak sprays.

3. Southern lower light. Medallion of a man in a white robe, with a dragon at his rear and playing pipes. Oak-spray quarries.

In small lights on the outer sides of the tracery are red roundels and oak-leaf quarries.

*The Main Lights*

The *northern light* has a border of undulating vine, mostly modern. At the top is a medallion with a cowled angel playing a harp or zither. There is a background of oak-spray quarries and below there are two main panels.

(a) The upper panel has a fourteenth-century-type crocketed canopy in brownish glass, and on either side is a pinnacle, with a checker-work body and a geometrical window form under the finial. A figure of the Virgin has a purple outer robe and a white undergarment, the hands clasped, a nimbus, and is set against a red background. Much of the figure is medieval (Knowles MSS., f. 29). Under the figure is a band of quatrefoils.

(b) In the lower panel, which has a similar canopy, pinnacles, and base, is a kneeling lady in a red robe possibly a donor, and there is a green background. Each lower panel has a decorative band at the bottom, above the quatrefoils.

The *centre light* has a border of castles and covered cups. In a medallion at the top is a grotesque monster and there is a background of oak-spray quarries.



(a) The upper panel has a canopy and surround as in the northern light. The figure of Christ on the cross, set against a red background, is nearly all modern.

(b) The lower panel shows Christ with the cup of sorrow in the Garden of Gethsemane. He is in a red robe and kneels against a blue background. Most of the glass is modern and the canopy and surround are as above.

The *southern light* has a flowing vine border similar to the northern light. In the medallion is a cowed angel with a zither.

(a) The upper panel shows St. John in a blue robe with a green one over it. He holds a book in the left hand and the right hand is raised in blessing. The face and nimbus are pale yellow. The canopy and surround are as before. Nearly all the glass is modern.

(b) In the lower panel is a lady donor, kneeling in a red robe, against a green background. The canopy and surround are as before. The glass is medieval (Knowles MSS., f. 29).

The fourteenth-century quarries have a pale blue tinge. In the southern light, on the north side near the bottom, is a fine sixteenth-century quarry fragment with on it a long-beaked bird. Above the panels, and running behind the roundels into the top lobe of each light, is a lance-like element with a rose at the top.

(IX) SOUTH AISLE, SOUTH WALL, FIRST WINDOW FROM THE EAST (1430-40)  
(pl. XXIX—before restoration)

In 1730 the window contained St. Michael and St. John the Divine, and the donors were James Baguley and Robert Chapman (Gent, p. 163). After 1846 the figure of St. Michael was removed to the eastern light of window V, and replaced a figure of St. Thomas, which was put in this window.

In 1965/6 the window was cleaned and re-leaded and the figures of St. Michael and St. Thomas were again interchanged.

*Eastern Light*

*Canopy*

Until 1965/6 the canopy was of type II as found in window VI but now the type I canopy previously in the centre light of window IV has replaced it. There are only five of these canopies altogether, which suggests that two of them must have belonged to the two-light window which was the fifth from the east in the south side (window XIII).

*Borders*

The borders have no shafts with tape wound round them, and the prophets (like those in window III) have hands issuing out of the draperies (type I) and are at the centre of the borders.



*Main Figure*

The main figure is that of St. Michael, set against a red background. He wears plate armour and has golden wings. The face, stolen in 1842 (*All Hallows*, p. 28), has been renewed in plain glass, and he has a gold nimbus and girdle and a cloak with a border enriched with pellets. He stands on a blue triple-headed beast and holds a sword point downwards in his right hand. A scroll to the right of the head is inscribed 'laudantes a(n)i(m)a s suscipe [sanc]ta trinitas'. Under the hilt of the sword are some souls being weighed in a balance.

At the bottom and set under a trefoil-headed canopy, with crocketed gable over each lobe and pinnacles on either side, are three donors against a blue background; two men in light blue and a lady in red, all kneeling with hands clasped in prayer. On a shield above the central donor is the letter R impaling a bend and on a scroll above the shield is 'libera nos'. Until recently they were in the western light, but Johnston (App. I (c), p. 192) notes them in this position (pl. xxx a).

*Centre Light*

The centre light had a border of fragments but a yellow border has been substituted and it has a background of modern quarries. At the top is a shield of arms, azure a fess argent between three fleurs de lis argent (Whytehead), and round it on a border is the inscription 'In puritate et scientia'. The shield may be of old glass. Below is a shield of arms of 1861, Whytehead impaling quarterly (1) and (4) argent a bend between three annulets gules (Dodsworth), and (2) and (3) party per saltire sable and argent two trefoils in pale gules (Smith). The same motto is on the border. The Revd. Robert Whytehead, M.A. married on the 1st December 1858 Henrietta Maria, second daughter of Sir Charles Dodsworth, third baronet, of Thornton Watlass Hall, North Riding. At the bottom is a medallion with a blue trefoil in a red roundel (1861).

*Western Light*

The *Borders* and *Canopy* are like those in the eastern light.

*Main Figure*

St. John the Evangelist, standing against a red background on a nebuly black and white floor, has a richly embroidered garment powdered with Js and Ms, under a white outer-garment edged with gold. In his left hand is a large quill pen and the right hand holds a clasped book, an eagle, and an ink horn. He is cleanly shaven, with long curly hair, and has a nimbus. In a scroll to the right of the head is inscribed 'benedictus sit sermo oris tui' (pl. xxx b).

*Donors*

At the bottom and set under a canopy similar to that in the first light are three donors against a red background, kneeling and facing to the east. A lady in red with a white head-dress kneels between two men in blue, the front one having a red pendant. Until recently these were in the eastern light but Johnston (App. I (c), p. 192) notes them as



being here. Below is the inscription 'hac fenestra antiqua suis impensis refecit Robertus Whytehead hujus parochiae rector An(n)o D(omi)ni 1861'. The restoration was by J. W. Knowles.

(X) SOUTH AISLE, SOUTH WALL, SECOND WINDOW FROM THE EAST

*Centre Light*

Until 1966 the centre light had a border of fragments; at the top was a merchant's mark and below it were pieces of sun with vivid yellow rays. There were sections of shaft bound with tape and also prophets (type I). A piece of garment at the top to the west may have been of sixteenth-century date. They have now been used elsewhere.

(XI) SOUTH AISLE, SOUTH WALL, THIRD WINDOW FROM THE EAST (c. 1410-20)  
(pl. XXXI—before restoration)

The window was last seen in a good condition in 1730 (Gent, App. I (b), p. 195) and was then said to have contained an angel, a cardinal-bishop, pope, and a religious procession preceded by an angel. It was usually said to have represented the Corpus Christi Procession (*All Hallows*, p. 27) and J. A. Knowles had suggested that it could represent the coronation of Edward IV in York on the 4th May 1464 in view of all the suns in the window (Knowles, *York School of Glass Painting*, pp. 188-9), but it has now been proved to represent the Nine Orders of Angels, by the discovery of J. H. Harvey, of notes and a detailed drawing of the window in 1670 by Henry Johnston (App. I (c), p. 193; pl. XXXII).

The window was in a very fragmentary condition (pl. XXXI) up to 1965 and a full record of it was made, but it has now been very successfully restored by the York Minster glaziers, O. E. Lazenby and P. Gibson, with the assistance of Dr. P. Newton, whose own researches were leading him in the same direction as those of Mr. Harvey. Before restoration the two outer lights had the upper parts of type II canopies.

According to Dionysius the Areopagite (Migne, P. G., iii, 119 ff., quoted Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery* (Oxford, 1936), p. 204), the Orders of Angels were divided into three hierarchies, each of three choirs: (1) Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; (2) Dominations, Virtues, and Powers, and (3) Princedoms, Archangels, and Angels (cf. also Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (London, 1850), p. 25). The *Golden Legend*, the book most commonly used by medieval craftsmen (*Golden Legend*, v, 185 ff., quoted Rushforth, p. 204) also gives the same order but in this window there is a slight variation and the sequence, from east to west across the window and from top to bottom is: (1) Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; (2) Dominations, Princedoms, and Powers; (3) Virtues, Archangels, and Angels. Hitherto it was thought that a set of the Nine Orders of Angels at Malvern were almost unique because they were in the main lights of a window instead of the tracery (Rushforth, p. 205). Local windows illustrating the Orders are in St. Michael, Spurriergate, and the west window of St. Martin's, Coney Street, but the best-known representations



are at New College, Oxford, and the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick (Revd. C. Woodforde, *Norwich School of Glass Painting* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 130 and 134). The Orders of Angels here have brooches as at Malvern (Rushforth, p. 207) but they are not coloured. The inscriptions given below are based on Johnston's notes.

### *Tracery*

The *tops of the window lights* each have three suns set 1 and 2. In the centre of each sun is a lozenge and those in the centre light are red and the others are blue, and the backgrounds are the reverse of the colours of the lozenges. It is possible that suns and stars are associated with the Orders of Angels and there are some in this context at Salle, Norfolk (Woodforde, p. 136). Likewise the lozenges may represent the precious stones associated with the Nine Orders and found in the brooches at Malvern.

### *The Main Panels*

In general the figures all look east and are clean-shaven unless otherwise stated. Six of the Orders have two sets of wings and three have normal ones.

#### *First Row*

1 (pl. XXXIII *a*). (*a*) An angel with main wings and garments red, representing fire, the attribute of the Order, secondary wings folded above the head. Only a few fragments of the wings and feathered body are original.

(*b*) Next to him an archbishop, with enriched mitre which has a royal crown at its base. He has a purple robe over an enriched basic garment and over all an enriched cloak with a pallium formed of pieces of inscription. The upper-garments and mitre are of clear glass and gold stain. He could represent Melchizedek the priest king.

(*c*) Behind him a modern figure with red dress and hat (? Cardinal).

(*d*) A bishop of which the mitre alone remains and his robe is blue. The enriched mitre is of clear glass and gold stain.

#### *Inscription at the head:*

[Sera]pbyn amore [ardent]es [et deum circumambulantes].

2 (pl. XXXIII *b*). (*a*) An angel, purple robe and gold main wings and other wings folded as before. He has a simple hat, a benign expression, and an enriched cravat, bare feet, and is holding the Book of Knowledge inscribed:

is

et The skull cap or black doctor's hat is connected with learning.

non.

(*b*) Figure with purple hat, and blue robe.

(*c*) Figure of which the face only shows between (*b*) and (*d*).

(*d*) Figure with purple hat, red under-garment, and blue outer one.

(*e*) Face at back between (*d*) and (*f*).

(*f*) Figure with bare head and modern white robes.

Some good original grass and leaves at the bottom.

*Inscription:*

[Cherubym] skien[tes] et recte disponentes.

3 (pl. XXXIII c). (a) An angel with tight-fitting bonnet, ermine collar and sleeves, and a red robe, golden wings, brooch with big stone at centre. Facing the front and with hands raised.

(b) Figure with short hair cut, white enriched robe with red one over it, buttoned high collar.

(c) Figure with purple robe.

(d) Figure with blue robe; face and garments all new but fragment of hair and collar original.

(e) Figure with red hat, bearded, has staff and otherwise robe of clear glass.

*Inscription:*

[[Throni] sub [iugan] tes.]

*Second Row*

4 (pl. XXXIV a). (a) An angel with, under a blue robe lined ermine, a magnificent embroidered garment with passant lions or dogs set against conventional foliage in clear glass and golden stain. He has a brooch at the chest with a lozenge-shaped stone set in it and holds a sword, and has golden wings and a diadem and as usual is represented as leading emperors and kings (Woodforde, p. 134).

(b) A bearded king with ermine collar and over a blue under-garment an outer one of blue lined with fine embroidery and with an ermine border.

(c) A king with ermine collar and cloak and embroidered robes tipped with ermine, and holding a rich staff.

(d) A pope with triple crown, ermine cloak, and embroidered robe renewed in gold glass.

*Inscription:*

D(omi)nac(i)ones humilit(er) d(omi)nant[es] [b]enigne [c]astiga[ntes].

5 (pl. XXXIV b). (a) An angel with a prince's coronet and with ermine cloak fastened with a brooch over a purple robe lined ermine, covering his feathered body. He has gold wings and a cross and a sceptre.

(b) Figure with gold hat, embroidered robe and long red outer-garment with brooch; only the brooch and a fragment of the lower robe are original.

(c) Figure with bare head and red outer robe over a richly embroidered under-garment.

(d) Bearded king with purple outer robe and white main-garment and white collar; all modern except the head.

(e) Bishop with a red robe, piece of mitre remaining.

*Inscription:*

[Principatus] bonis succure(n)tes p(ro) [in]ferriorib(us) [ordinantes].



6 (pl. xxxiv c). (a) Angel, represented as a knight in plate armour, with short curly hair, elegant neck gear, and holding across his chest a staff with flag with a large sun on it. The neck scarf is said to be a sign of dignity (Rushforth, p. 210).

(b) A face behind and between (a) and (c).

(c) A tonsured man with blue robes edged with embroidery.

(d) Figure with red robe and gold band round hair; all modern.

(e) A bearded face between (d) and (f), and with gold robe.

(f) A woman with gold hair and robe of clear glass.

Section of original glass at bottom.

*Inscription:*

[Potestat[es e coelo egre]die(n)tes malignos succumbentes].

### *Third Row*

7 (pl. xxxv a). (a) Angel with embroidered cloak and robe and only main wings, all in clear glass and gold stain; bottom of feathered legs shown. Holds a large spear across the body and has a brooch.

(b) Figure, moderately long hair, with red robe, fur-lined, over embroidered one of which only sleeve shows and holds box.

(c) Figure dressed in robe embroidered with Ms; sleeve has long M.A.-type lower extension ending in a pocket and the figure holds a bag with cylindrical container and plain handle. Big buckle on the chest.

(d) Lady with fashionable head cover fastened at the bottom with a pin, and purple robe. Only the head is original.

*Inscription:*

[Virt]utes [miracula facientes deum ita] revelantes.

8 (pl. xxxv b). (a) Angel with close-fitting cap with finial on it, feathered legs, otherwise wings and robe in gold stain. Brooch at chest and holds a trumpet, as at New College, Oxford.

(b) Figure with blue hat, purple robe, and holding a spade, with red and gold sheath at belt. Bottom of spade looks like a helmet but perhaps wooden blade metal shod.

(c) Figure in blue with blue hat, apparently talking to (b).

(d) Figure with blue hat trimmed at base, and robes of red, blue feet.

(e) Figure with gold hair, and a little of embroidered robe original.

Set above head of (e) is a piece of architectural detail.

*Inscription:*

[Archangeli morie(n)tes (om)nes deo (conducen)tes].

'deo' exists but out of place at the end.

9 (pl. xxxv c). (a) Angel looking backwards with long plain deacon's robe and holding staff or wand.

(b) Figure with red hat, claret robe, and gold under-robe. Carries pear-shaped satchel with instruments in pockets round the neck.

(c) Figure between (b) and (d) with spectacles.

(d) Modern figure with gold cap, red robe.

(e) Child at feet of (d) and (f); good face with curly hair, hands clasped in front; bottom of robe embroidered.

(f) Lady with purple robe.

(g) Figure with remnant of face, in clear glass; originally a lady with an elaborate head-dress.

At top, above (g), a piece of architectural detail.

*Inscription:*

[Angeli] mestos consolantes [div]ina [annu(n)ciantes].

(XII) SOUTH AISLE, SOUTH WALL, FOURTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST (c. 1440)

The glass in this window was in the fifth window in this wall (XIII) in 1730 (Gent, p. 163), and was then said to portray St. John the Baptist, the Virgin and Child, Our Saviour appearing to an archbishop, and St. Paul and Silas in prison. The heads of St. John and the Child were stolen before the visit of the Archaeological Institute in 1846 (Browne, p. 6). Window XIII was a two-light one until about 1860 and this glass must originally have been in window X for it has three canopies.

*Canopies*

The canopies (type IV) are perhaps the most attractive of the series, and consist of window forms and pinnacles, but the distinctive feature is the introduction of two small prophets into each canopy, on either side of the crocketed gable of the central light of the trefoiled base. The figures lean outwards and look up to the centre and are like some in the borders of the west window of St. Martin's, Coney Street. The background of the centre canopy is red and that of the others blue.

*Borders*

The borders were as elsewhere but had figures playing stringed instruments instead of prophets.

*Details of the Main Lights*

*Eastern Light* (pl. xxxvi)

In the eastern light, against a blue background, is a figure of St. James (identification by Dr. P. Newton) with skin robe, embroidered shoulder strap with buckle, the right hand holding a bound book and the left hand holding a staff with criss-cross



binding, all in clear glass and gold stain. The upper part had gone but a head by Wailes, originally God the Father but now without the nimbus, has been inserted. He stands on a floor of enriched roundels as in window I.

At the bottom of the light are fragments, including a round circle (see description of similar band at the bottom of the western light) in clear glass painted sepia and with an inscription; inside it is a quarry with a spray of a fruit and leaves, a fragment of a shield—bougets impaling checky, a head and a quarry with six flowers growing out of grass like a sundew. Outside the circle is a letter P, a piece of cross and some inscription.

### *Centre Light* (pl. xxxvii)

In the middle light is Our Lady crowned, in a blue robe with a white one over it, ermine lined and with a gold-embroidered collar. To her left is a staff and she is holding the Child.

At the bottom are fragments including architectural pieces, prophets and a B inside a quatrefoil (like some forming the background to a Donor in the south aisle, second window from the east in St. Martin's, Coney Street). There is also a head in a helmet with a chin-strap, a quarry with a bird on it, and a piece of a coat of arms, a garb between two buckles.

### *Western Light* (pl. xxxviii)

In the western light is the kneeling figure of an archbishop with a nimbus and his mitre behind him. He holds the Host, which has I H S on it and looks upwards to a small figure of Christ, and at the back of his tonsured head are four angels. His pallium has on it the peculiar crosses mentioned before and a scroll which proceeds from the head of Christ is inscribed 'Accipe hoc de me p(ro) q(u)iuscu(m) que petieris impetrabis' (2 Reg. xix, 38, 'et omne quod petieritis a me impetrabis'). On a book in front of him is the quotation from the Canon of the Mass:

Simili	est acci
modop(os)t	piens et
quam ce	hunc pre
natum	clarum

('Simili modo postquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc preclarum')

His garment is enriched and the pedestal has been made up, and below some strips of inscription are set in three lines.

At the bottom of the light is a circle as before with the inscription 'Redde [honor virtus gloria quod] debes'. This was originally in the east window of the choir and had a design in a shield in 1670 (Johnston, App. I (c), p. 192) and before 1965 was in window XIV. The words 'honor', 'virtus', and 'quod' are now in the other circular band at the bottom of the eastern light. Inside the circle there is a quarry with a bird playing a pipe and a fragment with 'Gramer[cy]' on it. Outside is a merchant's mark (in window X 1965) and some pieces of inscription.



## (XIII) SOUTH AISLE, SOUTH WALL, FIFTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST

This window was originally a two-light one and was given three lights after *c.* 1860.

## (XIV) SOUTH AISLE, WINDOW IN THE WEST WALL

In 1965 there were various fragments which have now been set elsewhere. In 1691 there was a shield of arms, argent a bend azure in the window (Torre, App. I(*d*), p. 195).

## (XV) MAIN WEST WINDOW

In 1965 at the top of the window in a quatrefoil and set against a blue background was an archbishop with a mitre decorated with a vertical gold band between two quatrefoils. There were also various other fragments.

## III

## STYLISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

## THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY GLASS

The following ornamental details enable comparisons to be made with other local glass and thereby help to date the All Saints' glass.

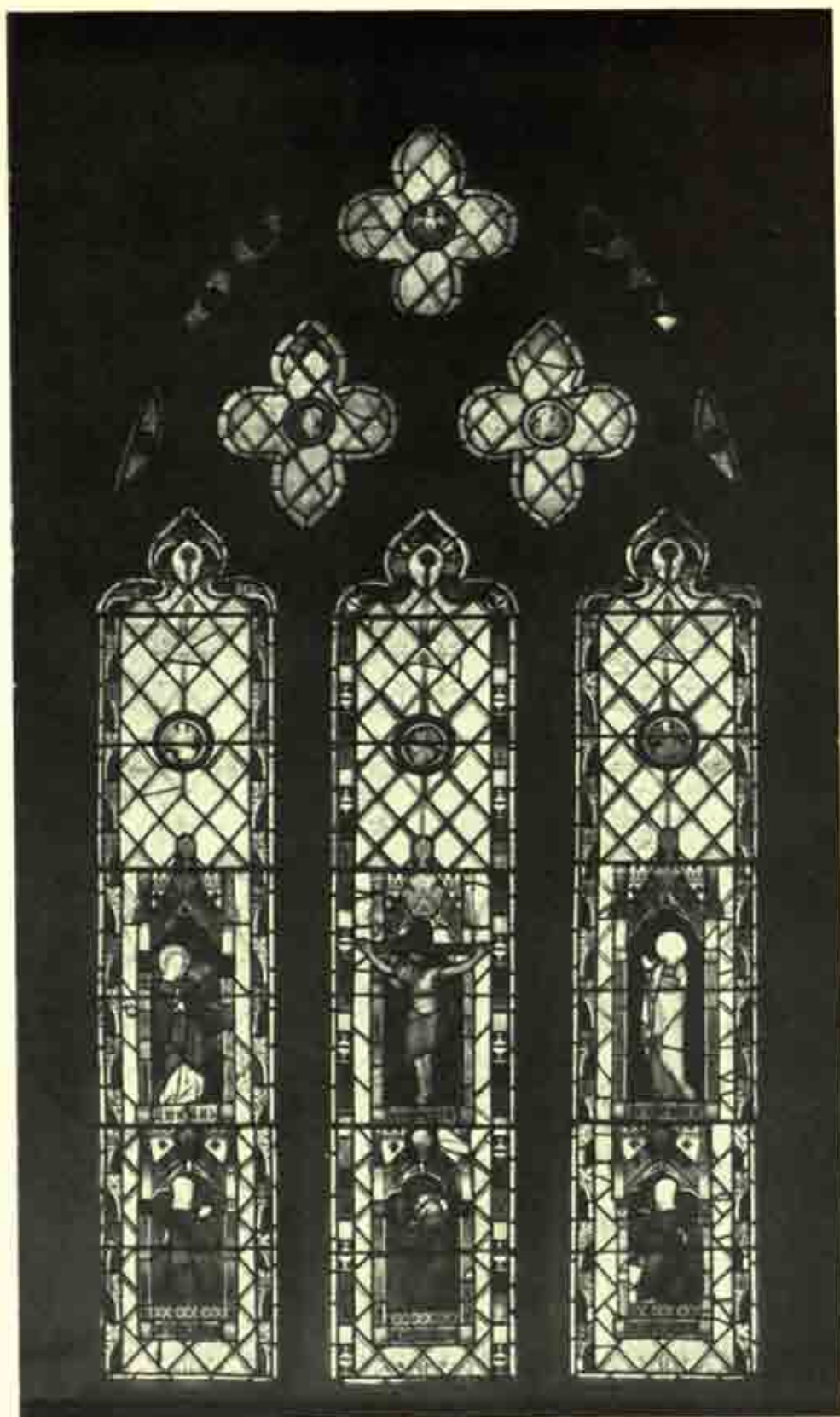
*Canopies*

The canopies of window II (pl. XL*a*) have a geometrical window form, with over it a crocketed gable, surmounted by a pinnacle; on either side is a pair of pinnacles and outside again the central feature is supported by a flying buttress with a pinnacle. At the bottom is a band of quatrefoils and under this the panel is set under a trefoiled segmental arch, with above it a boldly crocketed gable, with a quatrefoil between trefoils in the spandrel. On either side is an inner border or pilaster surmounted by pinnacles and decorated with a lozenge pattern mentioned elsewhere. This canopy is like those in the east window of St. Michael le Belfrey (*c.* 1330) and many of the canopies in windows in the minster nave aisles are of the same character. The quatrefoils in the canopies have small wiry estoiles in the lobes (pl. XVI*a*) and the same treatment occurs in the Great West Window of York Minster (after 1338) and the second and third clerestory windows from the east on the south side of the choir.

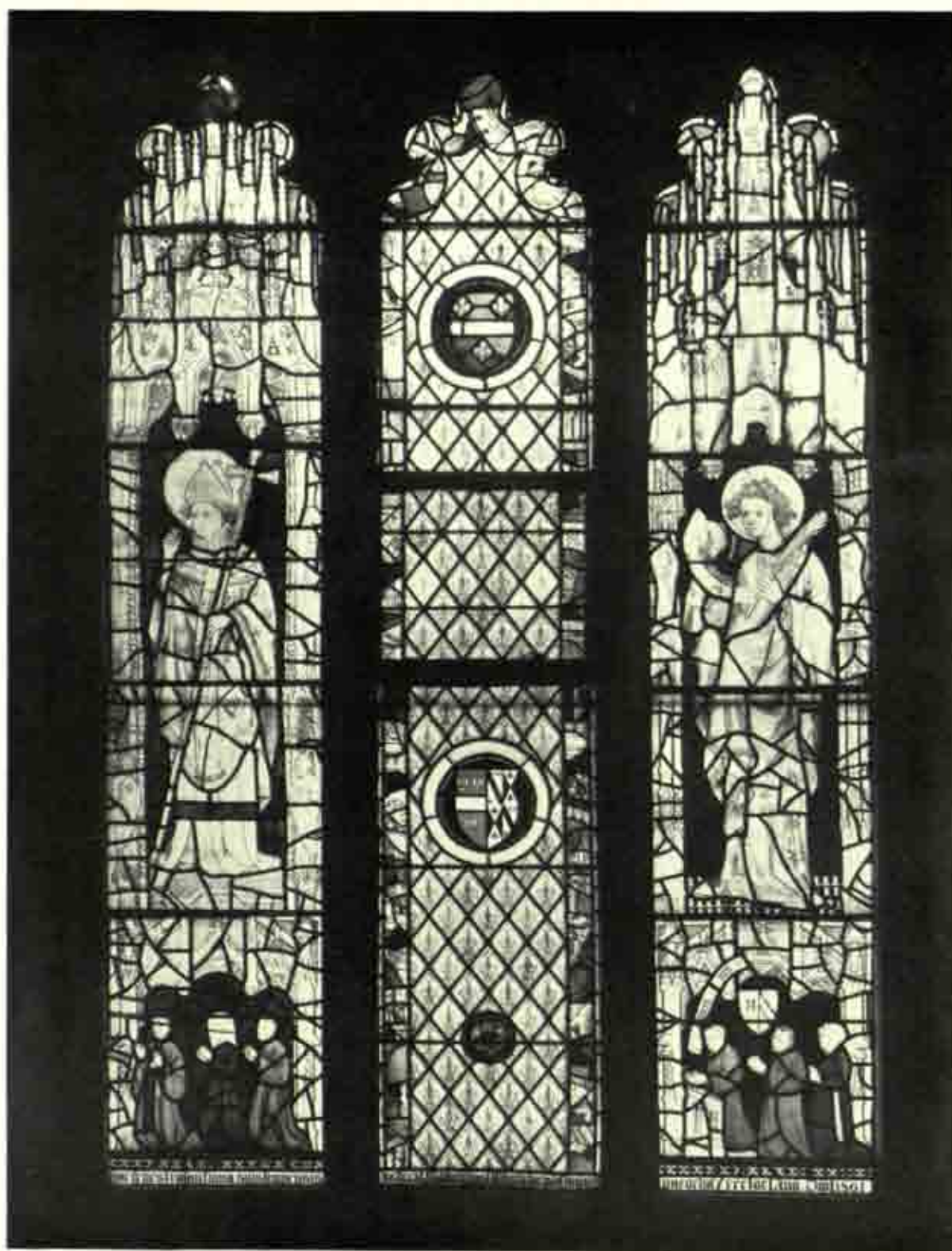
*Borders*1. *Main Borders*

(*a*) The border of the middle light has alternate triple-towered castles and covered cups (pl. XVI*b*), and similar borders are found in All Saints', North Street (VIII), in the south-east window of York Minster Chapter House, the east light of the window at the west end of the north nave aisle of the minster, the outer lights of the first window from the east in the south nave aisle of the minster, the centre light of the sixth window from the east in the same wall, and in the outer lights of the west window of this aisle (after 1338). The same border is found in the north aisle of St. Denys and in the east window of St. Michael le Belfrey (*c.* 1330).





Window VIII  
All Saints' North Street, York



Window IX before restoration  
All Saints' North Street, York





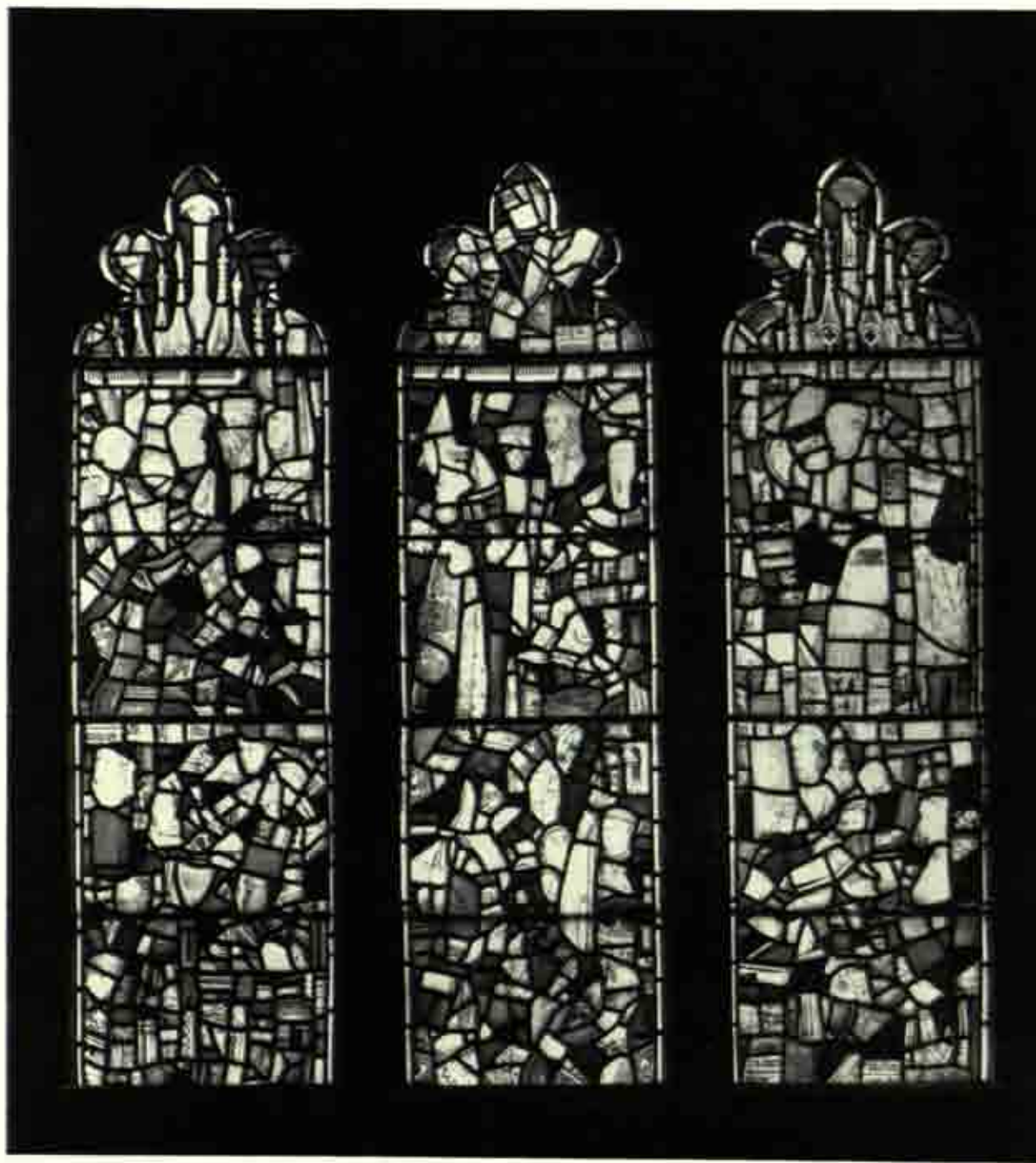
a. East light: donors



b. West light

Window IX

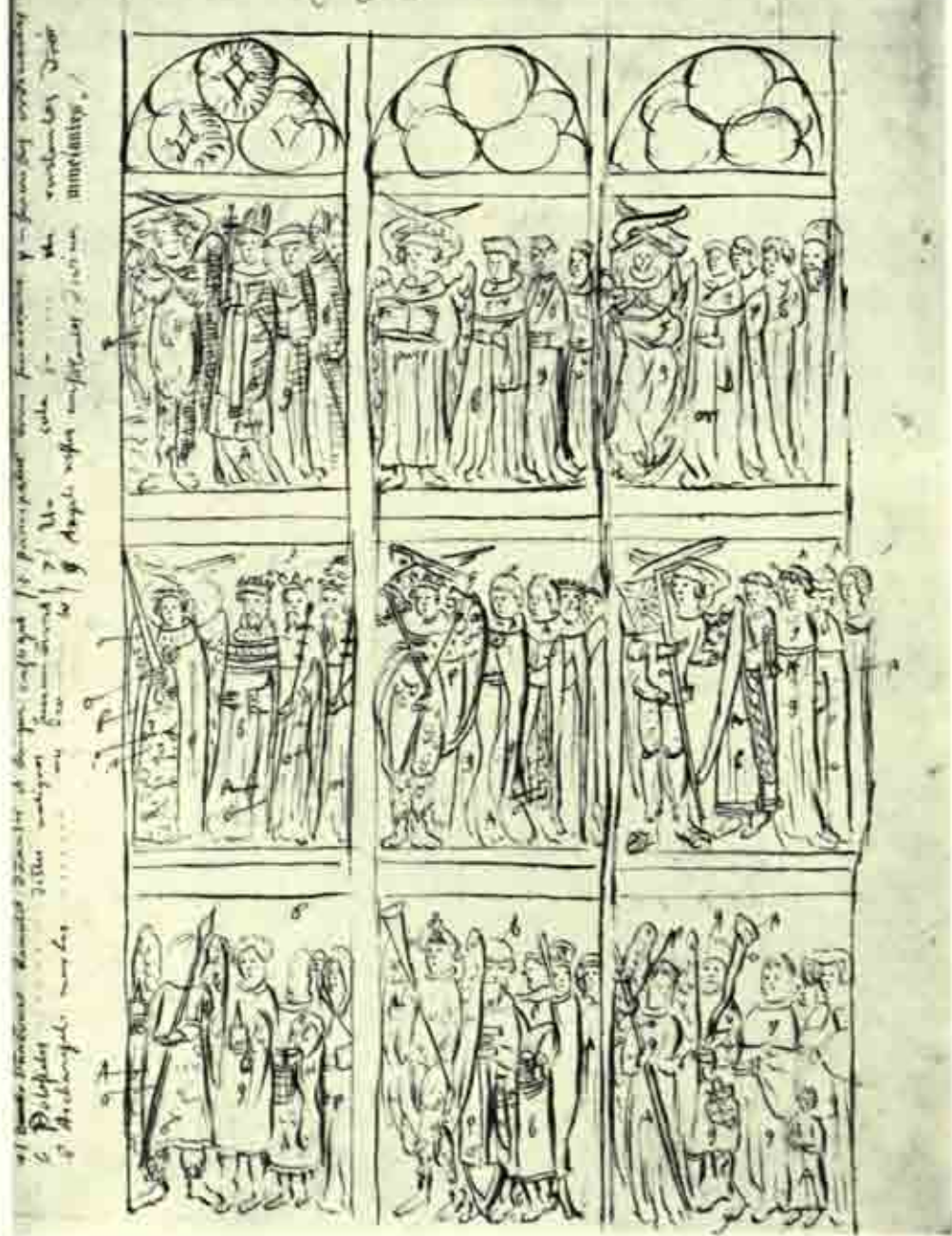
All Saints' North Street, York



Window XI before restoration  
All Saints' North Street, York



In the middle of the church 188. 797  
 his joint withering is. Date quoted as in storage  
 is now over / yet quote animals prop. like this again  
 In the 4th fourth window of the body of the church.



Drawing of Window XI by Henry Johnston (1670)

All Saints' North Street, York



*a.* Panel 1



*b.* Panel 2



*c.* Panel 3

Window XI

All Saints' North Street, York





a. Panel 4



b. Panel 5



c. Panel 6

Window XI

All Saints' North Street, York



*a.* Panel 7



*b.* Panel 8



*c.* Panel 9

Window XI

All Saints' North Street, York



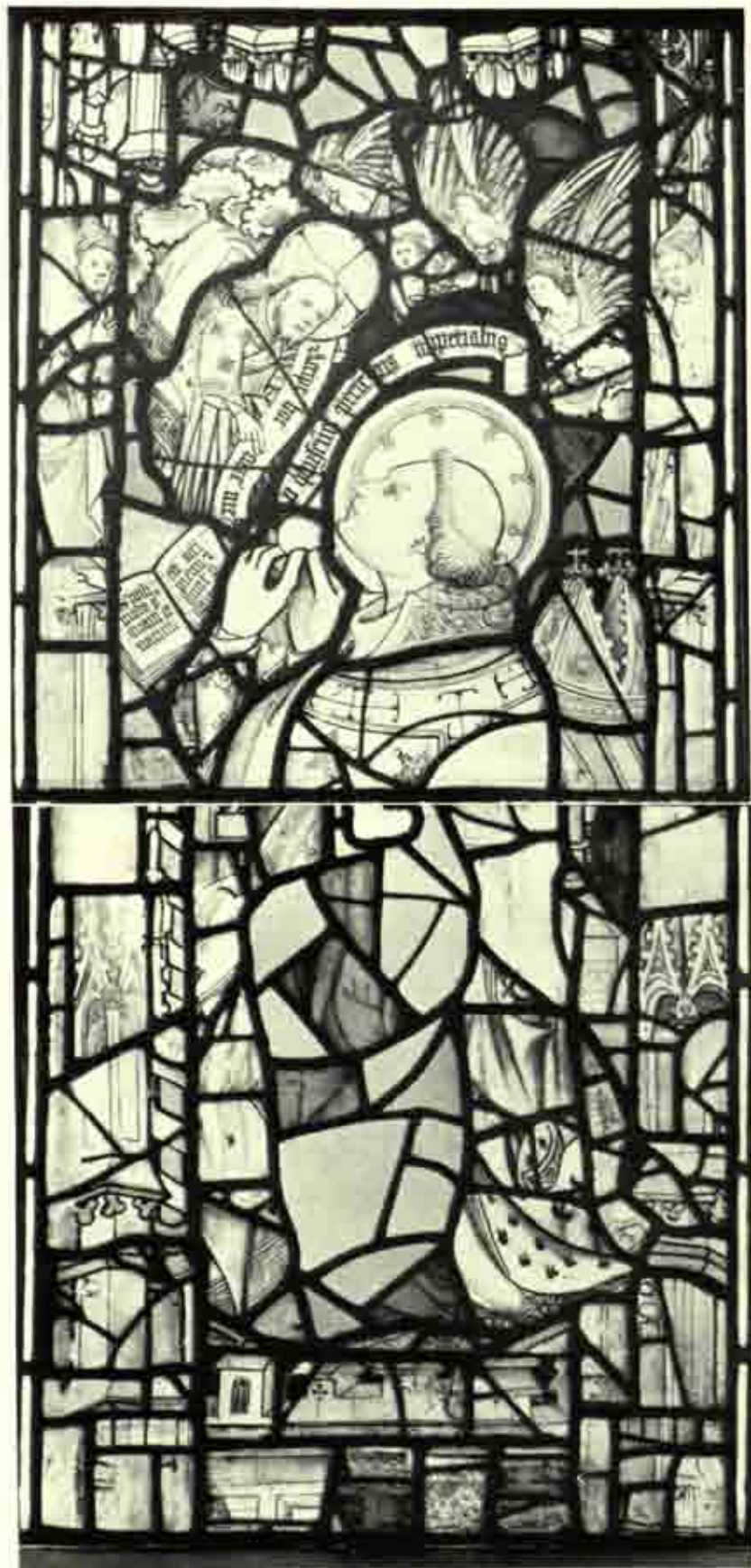


Window XII: east light  
All Saints' North Street, York

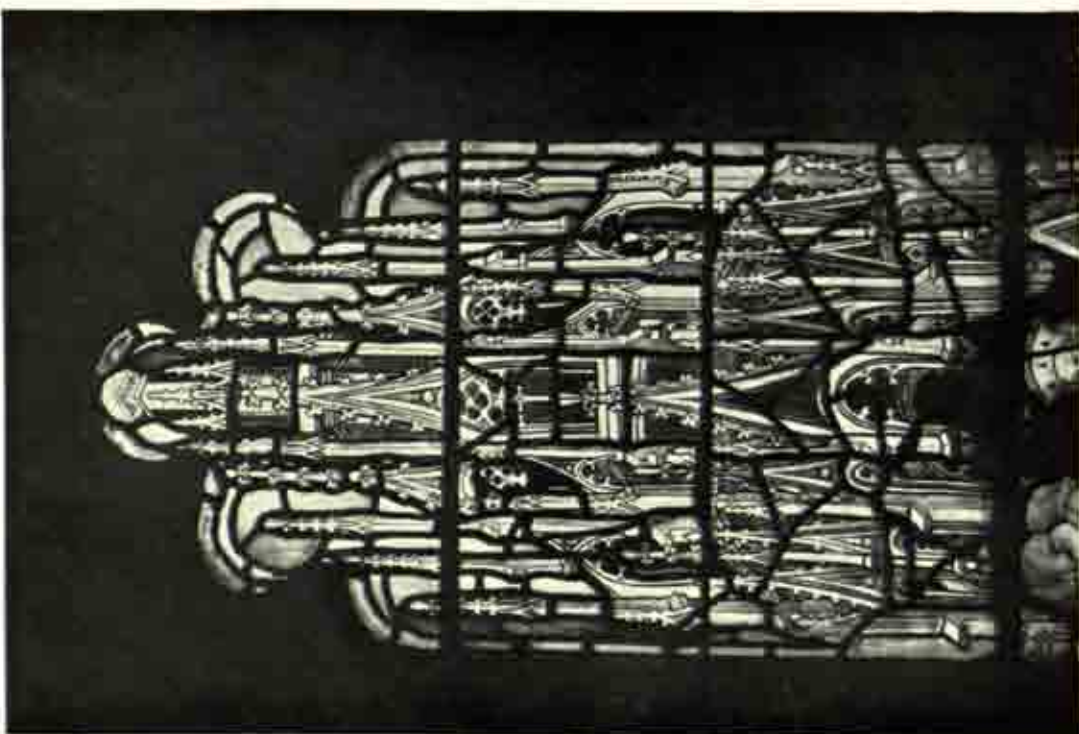


Window XI: central light  
All Saints' North Street, York

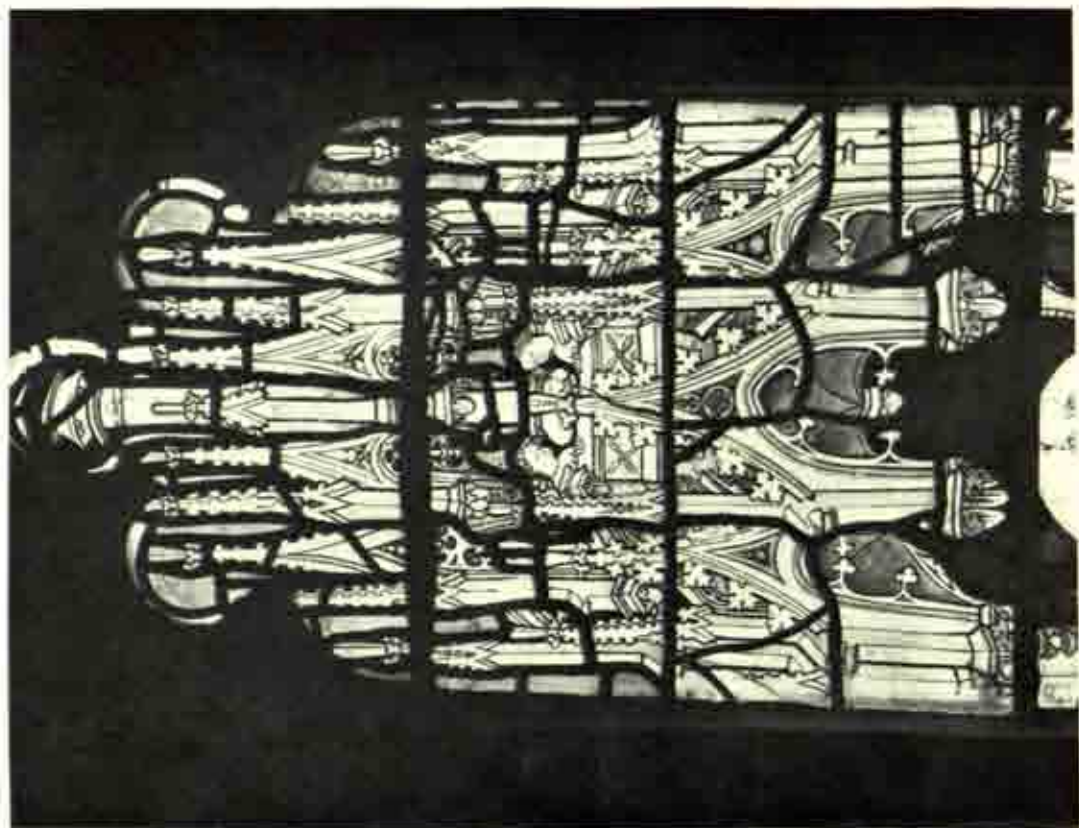




Window XII: west light  
All Saints' North Street, York



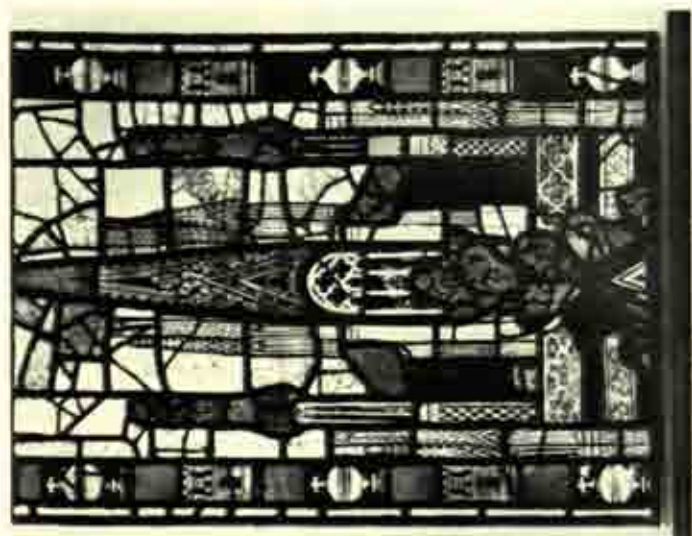
*a.* Type I



*b.* Type II

Fifteenth-century canopies  
All Saints' North Street, York

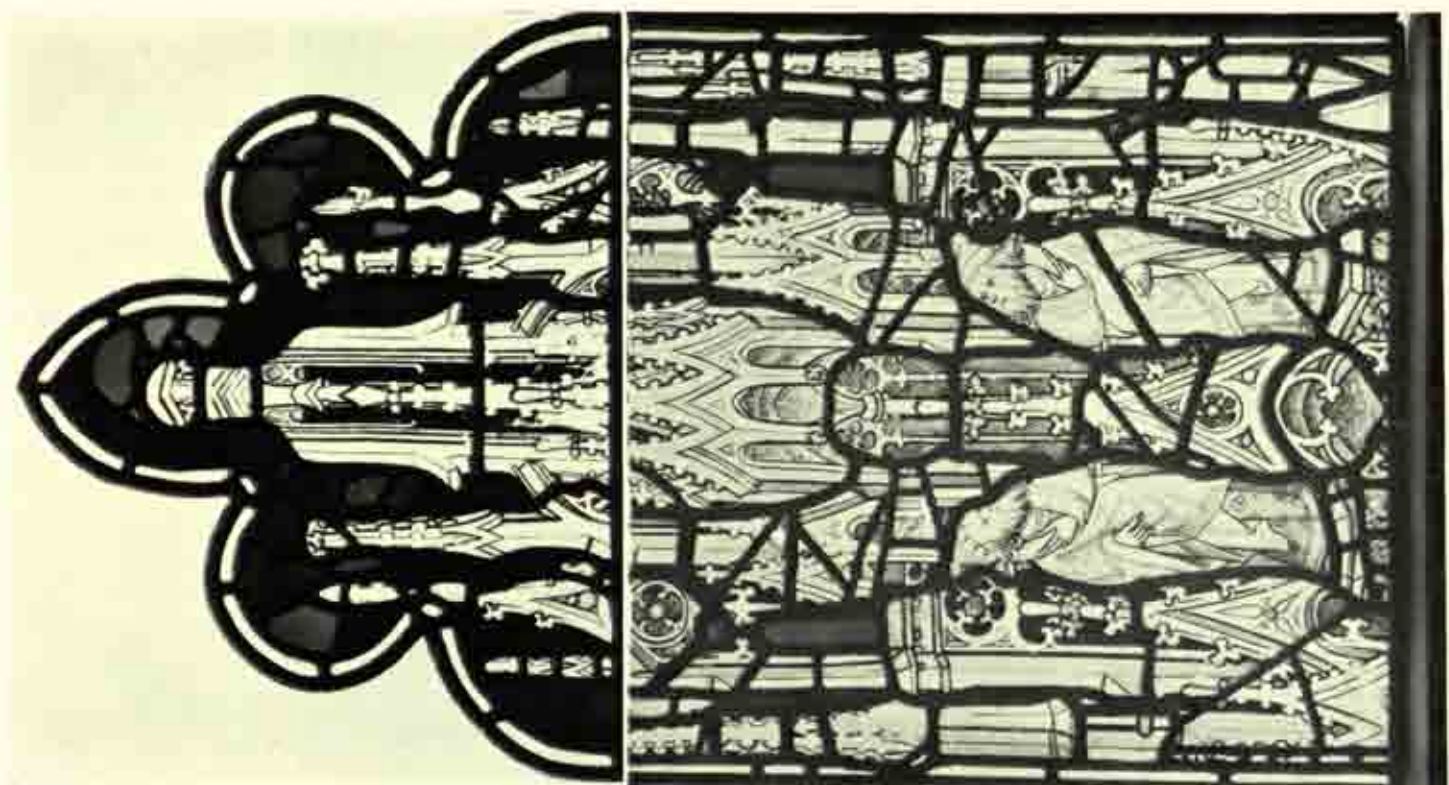




*a.* Window II: fourteenth-century canopy



*b.* Fifteenth-century canopy: Type III



*c.* Fifteenth-century canopy: Type IV

All Saints' North Street, York



*a. Type 1*



*b. Type II*

Prophets in borders of fifteenth-century windows

All Saints' North Street, York



(b) The borders of the outer lights have an undulating pattern of vine leaves but perhaps the extra feature of lesser trefoiled leaves and in some cases grapes gives more character (pl. xvi c). This border is found in the outer lights of All Saints', North Street (VIII), and also in St. Martin cum Gregory in the outer lights of the east window in the south aisle (c. 1340).

## 2. *Inner Borders*

Inner borders to the window panels are formed by pilasters with a distinctive ornament of a fine and almost minute character.

(a) The commonest form consists of lozenges or squares connected with each other to form a grid (pl. xvi d). This is found in the outer lights of All Saints', North Street (II) and a little in the upper part of the centre light, in all three lights of All Saints' (VIII), and also in the second clerestory window from the east on the north side of the choir of York Minster, in the third clerestory window from the east on the south side of the east arm, in the first window from the east in the minster north aisle (1308-14), the east window of St. Michael le Belfrey, and in two lights of the fourth window from the east on the north side of St. Martin cum Gregory (c. 1335).

(b) Another decoration which could be blazoned as fretty with fleurs de lis in the apertures is seen on each side of the bottom panel of the centre light in All Saints' (II) (pl. xvi e) and it also occurs in the minster in the clerestory on the south side of the choir the second and third windows from the east several times. It is seen in the centre light of the third window from the east in the north aisle of the minster nave, but perhaps the explanation of it is given in the first window from the east in the same north aisle wall where the arms of France ancient is made in this way; in other words, the fretty effect is due to the glazier and has no heraldic significance.

## *Backgrounds*

1. The general background to the window lights is formed by quarries with undulating sprays of naturalistic foliage of varying kinds.

(a) *Vine leaves* are seen in All Saints' (II) in the centre light and All Saints' (VIII) in the top tracery quatrefoil (pl. xvi f). They occur also in the former east window of the north aisle of St. John's, now in the minster, round the figures of Richard and Alice le Toller (after 1320), and William and Agnes Grafton (1330-40). They appear in the first window from the east in the north aisle of the minster nave (1308-14) and in the third window in the same wall.

(b) *Holly leaves* are found in the two outer lights of All Saints' (II) (pl. xvi g).

(c) *Oak sprays*, seen in All Saints' (VIII) throughout (pl. xvi h), except in the top tracery light, are found in the former east window of the north aisle of St. John's (in the minster) round the figures of Richard and Kathrine Brikenhale (c. 1340) and in the former second window from the east in the south wall of the same church (now in the minster). They occur also in the third window from the east in the minster north aisle. They also occur in the east window of the south aisle at St. Martin cum Gregory (c. 1340) and in the east window of St. Michael le Belfrey (c. 1330).



2. The background to the actual panels themselves in both All Saints' windows is formed by finely drawn spiralling thin-lobed foliage (pl. xvi i) and also occurs in the minster in the Great West Window (after 1338) and in the second windows from the east on both north and south sides of the choir clerestory and in the third clerestory window from the east on the south side of the east arm. It is also in St. Martin cum Gregory in both lights of the fourth window from the east in the north aisle and in the centre panel of the east window of the south aisle (which may have come from the north aisle) and is the background to the east window of St. Michael le Belfrey.

#### *Other Details*

(a) A characteristic of this glass is the use of *battlementing* which occurs over the lower panels in all three lights of All Saints' (II) and also in All Saints' (VIII) at the top of every panel (pl. xvi j).

(b) *Coursed walling* is used as a background and is found elsewhere in the minster in the third window from the east in the nave north aisle, and in the clerestory window fourth from the east on the south side of the nave (pl. xvi k).

(c) A *strip decoration* consisting of crosses (or saltires) with balls at the ends of the arms and between roundels (pl. xvi l) occurs in St. Martin cum Gregory in three fourteenth-century windows (chancel north aisle east window, chancel south aisle east window, and nave north aisle window to the east). In All Saints' (II) the same motif is on the major gables just within the crocketing, and saltires between annulets and roundels is on the segmental arch above the upper panels of the north light and the arches above all the lower panels. This type of strip is in the Great West Window of the minster, in the canopies and garment decoration; in the clerestory window of the choir on the north side second from the east and in the second clerestory window from the east on the south side.

(d) In the Resurrection scene at the bottom of All Saints' (II) south light a soldier has a *shield with a wild man's face on it* (pl. xvi m) and the same shield occurs in the Great West Window of the minster (after 1338) in a similar subject (noted by T. W. French).

#### THE EARLY FIFTEENTH-CENTURY GLASS

This analysis begins with a general statement of the characteristics of the early fifteenth-century painted glass in All Saints', North Street, and follows with a list of other windows which exhibit the same features, both in and outside York. It then proceeds to an examination of particular details in alphabetical order with a note of their frequency in the windows of All Saints', North Street, and elsewhere, and ends with a summary of the relationship of particular windows within the group and an attempt to show the work of different glaziers involved.

An analogy may be drawn with the use of masons' marks. Whereas one cannot be dogmatic about any one mason's mark even if of a rare form, when a group is found, it is more probable that the stonework is by a given school of masons. Likewise whereas on the one hand certain stylistic features can be common to the work of all contemporary artists in stained glass, and on the other one or two tricks are not



enough to claim relationship, the existence of a whole sequence of stylistic features together can help to prove a relationship. Even then there are other complications; the windows may have the same characteristics but may be on a different scale and in a glass of different aspect. For instance, there is a stylistic resemblance between the windows of this school and some at All Souls College, Oxford, by John Glazier, but other differences may lessen the validity of the comparison.

#### A. *General Characteristics of the School*

The canopies have complicated pinnacle and window forms and very often small figures are introduced, and likewise the borders often contain prophets and other similar figures. The background consists of curled leaves (pl. xvii *a*) and shadow is produced by scraped scrawling (pl. xvii *b*) or cross hatching (pl. xvii *c*). The main figures have individualistic features including a bulbous end to the nose, and the pupil of the eye is often shown as a black ball, or with a black centre surrounded by a lighter iris (Rushforth, p. 50). The main element of decoration is a multi-lobed circular shape which is used in garment decoration, floors, and even flowers. Windows which show most of these elements are (within York):

1. York Minster; the Great East Window, by John Thornton of Coventry, 1405-8 (F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York* (S.P.C.K., 1927), p. 119).
2. York Minster; the St. William Window, the north window of the north-east transept, given by the Ros family, 1421-2 (Harrison *ut supra*, p. 102).
3. York Minster; clerestory windows of the choir:
  - (a) North side fifth window from the east (C 20) 1407-23 (Harrison, p. 95).
  - (b) North side sixth window from the east (C 19) *c.* 1405-10 (Harrison, p. 95).
  - (c) North side seventh window from the east (C 18) *c.* 1415 (Harrison, p. 96).
  - (d) North side eighth window from the east (C 17) after 1406 (Harrison, p. 95).
4. York Minster; windows in the north aisle of the choir:
  - (a) North aisle, seventh window from the east (no. 7).
5. St. Denys, Walmgate; south aisle east window. Fragments.
6. St. Martin's, Coney Street; south aisle. Surviving windows.
7. St. Martin's, Coney Street; the Great West Window given by Robert Semer in 1437 (Harrison, p. 138).

Similar windows outside York are:

8. Almondbury in the West Riding of Yorkshire.
9. Malvern Priory, Worcestershire; east window of choir. Given by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and his wife Isabella (Despenser) who married in 1423 and were both dead by 1439 (Rushforth, p. 48). The similarity between this window and the St. William Window in York Minster has been shown by J. A. Knowles (Rushforth, fig. 54), who has also worked out the family connections.



10. St. Nicholas Wrangle, Lincolnshire; north aisle east window (cf. pls. 67 and 68 in Read, Baker, and Lammer, *English Stained Glass* (London, 1960)).
11. Greystoke, Cumberland; east window (N. Pevsner, *Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1967), pl. 36).

### B. Ornamental Details

Perhaps one of the most distinctive features of the glass is the fine series of canopies, which are not exactly paralleled outside the church, although those in the windows already listed are similar. There are four different types, other than the relatively simple segmental arches over the lights in window III, which are like those in the Great East Window of the minster and which hardly count.

#### *Type I* (pl. xxxix a)

A complicated composition of geometrical window forms, buttresses, and pinnacles. The following windows have canopies of this type; three lights of window VI, the outer lights of window IX, five canopies in all.

#### *Type II* (pl. xxxix b)

A less detailed composition; the base has three cinquefoiled arches with two foliated pendants; each arch has a crocketed finial above it, and behind the centre one is a desk with two figures at it looking inwards and downwards. This canopy occurs in the three lights of window I, the three lights of window IV, three lights of window V, and until 1965 there was one in the eastern light of window IX and the tops of two canopies in the outer lights of window XI, eleven canopies in all.

#### *Type III* (pl. xl b)

Only the tops remain in two lights of window VII. The centre piece consists of a tower and in it an archway with crocketed finial, panelling at the side of the archway, and a blunt spire on top of the tower. On either side are open tabernacles with crocketed finials above them, and outside them are round turrets with cruciform arrow slits. These canopies originally had segmental cusped arches under them (see window IV).

#### *Type IV* (pl. xl c)

The canopy has window forms, tabernacles, and pinnacles. On either side of the centre crocketed finial are prophets looking inwards and upwards. The figures have voluminous robes and full sleeves, and have one hand upwards holding a scroll and one down. There are three of these canopies in window XII.

### C. Other Details in Alphabetical Order

Detailed references to windows in York Minster are based on the methods of recording used in the Clerk of the Works' Office.

1. A BAG, drawn in All Saints', North Street (XI), panel 7, is in the form of a deep cylinder with the simple handle attached to the bag through a pair of horizontal slots



on each side (pl. xvii d). There is a bag of this Minster, C 4 5.

2. *Borders. (a) Prophets.* There are two differentiated by the character and position. North Street, type I, is at the centre of the bag, the hands issue, one up and one down. It is found of (IX) in that church, and also (XII) west light.

All Saints' type II at the bottom of the bag, one hand across the body and the other at the side, as in

The prophets in the type IV canopies of All Saints' the west window of St. Martin's, Coney Street.

A border figure in All Saints' (XII) of a bag of this Minster.

(b) *Broad polygonal shafts* the width of the bag. All Saints' (IV) (pl. xvii e) are also in the fifth light on the north side of the clerestory of the choir of York Minster.

(c) *A shaft with a tape wound round it*, not a bag, is the most characteristic features of the York Minster windows I, III, V, and XII (pl. xvii f).

In the east window of York Minster it is found in panels A 6 3, A 7 2, A 9 2, A 10 2, B 2 4, B 4 4, C 1 2, C 2 2, C 3 2, C 5 2, C 6 2, C 7 2, C 8 2.

In the St. William Window it is found chiefly in panels A 5 3, A 5 4, B 1 2, and B 3 2.

It is noteworthy that it is not found in the clerestory of the choir clerestory windows, the fifth, sixth, and seventh on the north side, chiefly in canopies.

The frequency of its presence in the minster windows, the above lists and could be useful to suggest groups employed by the main contractor (probably responsible to sub-contractors).

The same feature is found in the east window of Walmgate, and outside York is found at All Saints' the lights portraying St. Mary Magdalen, St. Catherine (F. E. Hutchinson, *Medieval Glass at York*, pls. xv, xvi, xvii, and xviii). It also occurs in the east window of land (N. Pevsner, *Cumberland and Westmorland*).

(d) *A sitting lion on a pedestal*, within the bag, is basically the same (pl. xvii g) and J. A. Knott in the Oxford and York Schools. It is only found in the minster east window (A 1 3, A 3 3, A 5 3, D 5 1 and D 1 1), and in the seventh and eighth lights on the north side. It is found in the east window

arm in the St. Cuthbert Window, York

tain types of borders which can be  
the prophets in them. All Saints',  
der and has a waist band out of which  
nd in window III and the outer lights  
(pl. XLI *a*).

der, has a long garment, no sash, one  
is found in windows I and V (pl. XLI *b*).  
Saints' (XII) occur in the borders of

rk playing a (?)viol is found in York

der seen on each side of the donors in  
nd sixth windows from the east on the  
k Minster.

ays a border feature, is perhaps one of  
chool and is found in All Saints' in

n panels A 1 2, A 2 2, A 3 2, A 5 2,  
5 4, B 6 4, B 7 4, B 8 4, B 9 3, B 9 4,  
2, and C 9 2.

as shafts to the shrine and appears in

Cuthbert Window but occurs in four  
seventh, and eighth ones from the east

er is not as great as would appear by  
rt J. A. Knowles's idea of different  
ibly John Thornton) but themselves

dow of the south aisle at St. Denys,  
ouls College, Oxford, in the bottom of  
Elizabeth, St. Anastasia, and St. Kath-  
*Souls College, Oxford* (London, 1949),  
e east window at Greystoke, Cumber-  
*d* (London, 1967), pl. 36).

der, has several variants, but the theme  
es has shown that it is common to both  
in All Saints' in window I but occurs  
3, A 9 3), in the St. Cuthbert Window  
h minster choir clerestory windows on  
f the south aisle at St. Denys, in the St.



Martin Window (panels 6 and 12) and also turns up at St. Nicholas, Wrangle, Lincolnshire, and at All Souls College, Oxford, in one light showing the Virgin and Child in the chapel (L. F. Day, *Windows, a Book about Stained and Painted Glass* (London, 1897), fig. 141, p. 185, and Hutchinson, plate at the front).

(e) A *lion's mask* is found as a gargoyle in the borders of All Saints' (IX) west light and (XII) centre light (pl. xvii h), and is used as a boss in canopies of the fifth, sixth, and seventh windows from the east on the north side of York Minster choir.

3. The *BOURDON* or pilgrim's staff, usually held by St. James, has a rod attached to it at All Saints' (XII) (pl. xvii i) and in the east window at Malvern (Rushforth, p. 95).

4. A *BROOCH* in All Saints' (XI) panel 7 (pl. xvii j) is like one on a king in the eighth window from the east on the north side of York Minster choir clerestory.

5. An oblong *BUCKLE* in All Saints' (XI) panel 7 (pl. xvii k) is like one on the belt of a king in York Minster choir clerestory north side fifth window from the east, and there is another in the eighth clerestory window from the east on the same side.

6. A *CHAIR* in All Saints' (IV) panel 4 (pl. xvii l) is like one in the St. Martin Window in St. Martin's, Coney Street (panel 13), and there is one like it in sixteenth-century glass in the east window of York Minster Chapter House.

7. A certain kind of *CROSS* drawn on a pallium in the York glass is quite distinctive (pl. xvii m). Usually these crosses are cross crosslets fitchées to represent a form of large pin but sometimes there are crosses formées, and this type has been called *recercclés* and has been drawn by an artist without a correct knowledge of heraldry.

The examples in All Saints' are in windows V and XII. In York Minster east window pallium crosses like this are in panels C 8 5 and C 9 5, but in general they are rather heavy and with squarish ends.

In the St. William Window they are of the same type and are seen in panels B 2 4, C 5 4, and D 1 2.

There are crosses like this in the minster choir clerestory windows in the fifth window from the east on the north side, the sixth window from the east on the north side, and the eighth window from the east on the north side. Also it is found in the sixth and seventh windows from the east in the north aisle of the choir; a variant in the last window has open ends, whereas the others are noticeably elongated.

It is noteworthy that this particular form of cross is not in the St. Cuthbert Window or in the St. Martin Window in St. Martin's, Coney Street.

8. An interesting form of foot *CRUTCH* seen in All Saints' (IV) panel 2 also occurs in the St. William Window, York Minster, panel A 1 1 (pl. xvii n).

9. *Details.* Various details are common to the glass and are found chiefly in dress decoration and are to be identified by the sketches. Not all of them have parallels elsewhere but are noted in case an example may be found.

(a) Found as a pavement enrichment in All Saints' (I) centre light, in (V) centre light, and in (XII) as a pavement under St. James, and in York Minster east window in panels C 7 5 and C 8 5 and also in the clerestory window on the west



side of the choir south transept as a pavement decoration (pl. xvii o). It also occurs on the lid of the sepulchre at St. Nicholas, Wrangle, Lincolnshire.



- (b) The same with an extra circle is in All Saints' (I) as a pavement detail in the north light and in (XI) panel 1 at bottom of robe of centre figure and panel 2 collar of angel (pl. xvii p).
- (c) This is the same form as 10 (a) but with pellets round it and is found on bed coverlets in All Saints' (III) panel 14 and (IV) panel 4, and it is also on the coverlet of the bed in the St. Martin Window, St. Martin's, Coney Street, panel 10 (pl. xvii q).
- (d) A variant of 10 (b) with pellets round it is in All Saints' (XII) on the mitre of the kneeling archbishop in the western light (pl. xvii r).

The next group consist of garment embroidery based on grouping of the foliated roundel.

- (e) This is the motif most common in window XI and is found in panels 1, 4, 5, and 7. There is a variant in the east window of the minster, B 6 1, and another without a stalk in Malvern Priory east window (Rushforth, fig. 13) (pl. xvii s).
- (f) A pattern formed of five conjoined multi-lobed roundels is found in All Saints' (IV) panel 3, and there is a variant in the St. William Window in York Minster (A 1 5) and in tracery lights 2 and 4 in the St. Martin Window in Coney Street (pl. xvii t).
- (g) A complicated variant of the last is found on the robe of the kneeling archbishop in All Saints' (XII) west light (pl. xvii u).
- (h) A feature on the robe of St. Thomas in the east light of (V) (pl. xviii a).
- (i) (1) occurs on brooches in All Saints' (XI) panels 5 and 8 (pl. xviii b) and (2) is seen on two mitres in All Saints' (XI) panel 1 (pl. xviii c).
- (j) The decoration can be quatrefoil or cinquefoil and the essential element is a small circle at the centre within the cusps. It is larger than most of the other motifs and has greater value as a mark of the York School (pl. xviii d).  
It is seen in All Saints' (IV) with the donor at the bottom of the western light who is identified elsewhere as Reginald Bawtre (will 1429), also in (IV) panel 4 and (XII) on the archbishop's collar. It is on the base of an altar in the minster east window (B 5 1) and on the shrine in the St. William Window (i.e. C 5 2). In the east window at Malvern it is in the tracery of the upper canopies (Rushforth, p. 51) and is on the side of the sepulchre at St. Nicholas, Wrangle, Lincolnshire.
- (k) In All Saints' it is in window XII, on a small figure of Christ in the western light and a variant of it is on the Virgin's garland in (I) centre light (pl. xviii e).
- (l) On the Virgin's robe in (I) centre light in All Saints' (pl. xviii f).
- (m) Can have six or eight points and does not always have the centre spot. In All Saints' (XII) on the robe of the archbishop in the west light. In St. William Window in the minster (A 3 3) and the sixth, seventh, and eighth choir clerestory windows on the north side; also in the St. Martin Window, St. Martin's, Coney Street, panel 2 (pl. xviii g).



- (n) All Saints' (IX), robe of St. John the Evangelist, west light (pl. xviii h).
- (o) All Saints' (I) centre light; Virgin's robe. Variant in St. William Window (D 3 4) and in the sixth and seventh windows on the north clerestory of the choir (pl. xviii i).
- (p) All Saints' (XI) garment border in panel 3 and as an element in most brooches. In the St. Cuthbert Window, York Minster, on a mitre (D 3 2) and several times on mitres in the seventh window from the east in the choir north aisle (pl. xviii j).
- (q) Slipped trefoils in All Saints' (V) west light on the garment of St. Thomas, in (XII) on the robe of a border figure of middle light, and in the St. Cuthbert Window of the minster (B 5 5) (pl. xviii k).
- (r) A robe trimming in All Saints' (XI) panel 6 is found on archbishop's robes in York Minster choir clerestory north side, the fifth, sixth, and seventh windows from the east (pl. xviii l).

10. The character of *ERMINE SPOTS* may be useful to determine the work of a given artist or period. For instance the tail  is usually found on York glass of c. 1470 and not much before, and another one  always shows a modern restoration.

- (a) This type is almost the badge of this particular School and is found in All Saints' (I) in St. Anne's head-dress, etc., in (IV) throughout, and in (XII) on the Virgin's robe (pl. xviii m).

In the minster it is common in the east window (i.e. A 7 3), in the St. Cuthbert window (D 5 2, D 5 3), in the sixth window from the east on the north side of the choir clerestory, and throughout the St. Martin Window in St. Martin's, Coney Street.

- (b) This tail is only found in All Saints' (XI) in panels 4 and 5. In the minster east window it occurs in tracery A 1 3, and the main panels A 1 3, B 6 5, and C 2 5 (pl. xviii n). It is found in the St. William Window (Tracery D 3 4 and panels A 2 1 and B 5 1) and in the seventh window from the east on the north side of the choir clerestory and the next one west. The tadpole-like tails also feature in the figure of the Virgin and Child at All Souls (F. E. Hutchinson *ut supra*, plate at front). There are ermine tails like this at Evreux (T. W. French).

11. A particular form of *EWER* seen in All Saints' (IV) panel 3 is also in the St. Martin Window, panel 13 (pl. xviii o).

12. *GRASS AND PLANTS* as in All Saints' (IV) panel 5 are in the St. Martin Window, panel 6 (pl. xviii p).

13. (a) The *HEAD-DRESS* of St. Anne in All Saints' (I) centre panel is found in the same form at Almondbury in Yorkshire and is quite common. The type appears to indicate that she is a matron and is also in a window in the choir clerestory at Malvern (Rushforth, p. 117) (pl. xviii q).

(b) A tightly fitting cowl as in All Saints' (XI) panel 3 is also in a tracery light of the St. Martin Window (3) and is found also at Thornhill, Yorkshire (Herbert Read, *English Stained Glass* (London, 1926), fig. 15, p. 110) (pl. xviii r).



14. A KNOT at the knee of St. Christopher in All Saints' (I) is just like one in the second clerestory window from the east on the north side of the choir of York Minster (now in the second window from the east of the north aisle of the east arm) (pl. XVIII s).

15. Two forms of NIMBUS occur in All Saints'.

(a) One has cusps and whereas trefoils are more orthodox as in (I) St. Anne in the centre light and St. Christopher in the south light and (XII) the kneeling archbishop (pl. XVIII t), cusps with two lobes only are more unique, although in (I) St. John the Baptist's nimbus only has single lobes. Other windows in York with cusps to the nimbus are York Minster east window—B 3 1, C 3 6, C 3 8, and C 3 9. Also in the choir clerestory windows, the seventh and eighth from the east on the north side. There is a cusped nimbus also in Malvern east window (Rushforth, figs. 23 and 24).

(b) A nimbus which has a cross with rounded ends, like that on the pallium (see 8 in this list) is seen in All Saints' (I) twice and in (V) the centre light (pl. XVIII u).

16. Various QUARRIES may provide parallels elsewhere.

(a) is peculiar as it is square and it forms the background to the original donors of All Saints' (III) (pl. XVIII v). The sharp-pointed star occurs as garment embroidery in the clerestory window eighth from the east on the north side of York Minster choir (C 17).

(b) The many-rayed estoile is found in All Saints' (VI) where many of them are old although many also are modern (pl. XVIII w). This estoile occurs as garment decoration in the seventh clerestory window from the east on the north side of York Minster choir (C 18).

(c) (pl. XVIII x) and (d) (pl. XVIII y). Many original quarries in All Saints' (VI) but only two fragments of (e) were originally in (VI) (pl. XVIII z), only one example of (f) (pl. XVIII aa) exists in (VI).

17. There are two examples of FLOOR TILES other than the enrichment of lobed circles mentioned above.

(a) A nebuly tile floor under St. John the Evangelist in All Saints' (IX) western light is so far unique (pl. XVIII bb).

(b) This pattern of 'party per saltire counterchanged' is found in All Saints' (IV) with the donor at the bottom of the east light who has been identified as Reginald Bawtre (will 1429). In the minster east window it is found in panels A 2 1, A 6 2, B 3 1, B 4 3, B 4 5, and B 9 1. It also occurs in the St. William Window (B 4 2 and D 5 5) (pl. XVIII cc).

#### IV

##### CHRONOLOGY

Evidence for dating the windows in All Saints', North Street, is presented under each window in their modern sequence.



## (1) THE EAST WINDOW

Fairly close dating is provided by the figures of the donors, who are Nicholas Blackburn senior (Lord Mayor 1412, will 1431/2) and Margaret his wife (will 1433/4 and codicil 1435), Nicholas Blackburn junior (Lord Mayor 1429 will 1447/8) and Margaret his wife (d. 1453/4).

It is increasingly obvious that the bidding 'to pray for the soul' does not necessarily mean that the person mentioned has died and Mr. Barr of the York Minster Library has found such bidding prayers in the handwriting of the person concerned. The inscription to Robert Semer in the west window of St. Martin's, Coney Street, is dated 1437 but the vicar still lived after 1450.

The inscription to Nicholas Blackburn junior mentions himself, his wife, and other people who had helped to glaze the window, but does not mention his mayoralty of 1428. The inscription to his father mentions his mayoralty of 1412, his wife, and all the faithful departed, and thus the inscriptions cannot be before 1412 but may be after 1435 when Margaret Blackburn senior died.

The various Blackburn shields of arms are carefully differenced. Nicholas Blackburn senior's shield has no difference, but his eldest son John, who apparently had no children, died in 1427, was buried in St. Cuthbert's, and a shield of arms in glass there bore Blackburn with the label which the eldest son would bear in the lifetime of his father. But Nicholas Blackburn junior need not have borne the mullet on his shield if his father and brother were dead. This again suggests an upper limit of 1427 and that the glass was made in 1412-27.

It is argued elsewhere that the other Blackburn window, the Corporal Acts, originally the western one of the north aisle, may have been made in 1431-4 and this would suggest a glazing sequence from east to west.

It is highly probable that the window was a memorial to Nicholas Blackburn senior, for apart from the character of the armour, which is that of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the central figures of St. Anne and the Virgin had a special value for him. In his will is an invocation to 'his blisshed moder saynt Mary and hir blisshed moder Sancte Anne' (Skaife MSS., York Reference Library, A-G, 92). Also in 1415/16 Nicholas Blackburn senior, gave £10 for a statue of St. Anne or St. Christopher or St. John the Baptist to be set up in the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham (Knowles MSS., York Reference Library, 13).

Dodsworth in his notes made in 1618 (App. I (a), p. 191) records a window in St. Cuthbert's church which had a man kneeling in armour, with on his surcoat Blackburn differenced with a label of three points and the inscription 'Orate pro animabus Johannis Blakborne et Johannis uxoris eius qui fecerimus istam fenestram'. John was the eldest son of Nicholas Blackburn senior.

## (II) NORTH AISLE, EAST WINDOW (see also window VIII)

The use of Lombardic lettering and naturalistic foliage suggests that the glass is of early fourteenth-century date and, as silver stain is used in it, it is not likely to be earlier than c. 1310, the date of the Peter de Dene Window in York Minster, said to be



the earliest glass in the city with silver stain in it (Knowles, *York School of Glass Painting*, p. 93).

The borders of castles and cups, the badges of Castile and Galicia which derive from the marriage of Edward I (d. 1307) to Eleanor (d. 1290) daughter of Ferdinand II, King of Castile, in 1254, are of little value for dating. J. A. Knowles has compared the panels of the Nativity, Resurrection, and Coronation to similar panels in the east window of St. Michael le Belfrey, which he dates c. 1330, and says that both could be work of the same man (*Y.A.J.* xl, 155).

#### (III) NORTH AISLE, FIRST WINDOW FROM THE EAST

The donors suggest an early fifteenth-century date. Roger Henrysson of Ulleskelfe became a freeman in 1401 (*Freemen*, i, 105) and his wife Cecilia may have been a daughter of Abel Hesse, who was chamberlain in 1330 and bailiff in 1336/7 (Skaife MSS., 365; *Freemen*, i, 25).

#### (IV) NORTH AISLE, SECOND WINDOW FROM THE EAST

In 1618 (Dodsworth, 157, f. 17) the arms of Blackburn and an inscription were in this window; Hutton (1659) also notes the arms (Hutton, f. 25) and Johnston (1670) draws them (Johnston, f. 95) but not until 1691 (Torre, 624) is it noted that there was also a kneeling figure.

A synthesis of the sources is as follows:

In the western light was the kneeling figure of Nicholas Blackburn in armour and in the other light was a full achievement of arms: gules a lion rampant checky ermine and ermines crowned or and on a helmet with vizor closed and set against red mantling a chapeau gules doubled argent supporting as crest a lion passant checky ermine and ermines crowned or.

Underneath was an inscription 'Orate pro anima Nicholai Blakborne cuius anime propicietur deus'.

The arms were undifferenced and thus it would be the head of the family and could represent Nicholas Blackburn senior (d. 1432) given before the death of his wife Margaret in 1435. On the other hand, it might represent the father of Nicholas Blackburn senior, another Nicholas Blackburn. This could explain why Nicholas Blackburn's mayoralty of 1412 is not mentioned. The omission may, however, be merely due to lack of space. The stonework of a window in the church, mentioned in the will of Hugh de Grantham, mason in 1409/10 (*Test. Ebor.* iii, 47 et seq.), could not be that of window II which is of the early fourteenth century, and again could refer to the fabric of this window.

#### (V) NORTH AISLE, THIRD WINDOW FROM THE EAST

In 1659 there was to be seen at the bottom of the window a donor praying and behind his head were his arms: argent a lion guardant vert and a chief sable and beneath 'reginaldi bawtre' (Hutton, App. I (b), p. 192). Johnston drew this figure in 1670 and noted that the scroll over his head was inscribed 'ora pro me' and that the



book in front of him had twice repeated 'Sancta Cecilia ora pro me' and his name was underneath (Johnston, App. I (c), p. 192). Reginald Bawtrey was the son of John Bawtre, was free in 1413 (*Freemen*, i, 120) and chamberlain in 1428/9 under Nicholas Blackburn junior, when mayor (*ibid.* 141). The donor's panel, less the arms and his name is now in the western light of window IV. The legend 'Sancta Cecilia ora pro nobis' could be inspired by his wife's name.

There is no specific dating evidence for windows VI, VII, and VIII, but the last has features in common with window II.

(IX) SOUTH AISLE, FIRST WINDOW FROM THE EAST

Hutton, in 1659, records the inscription 'Orate pro animabus domini Jacobi Baguley istius rectore [*sic*] . . . . . Roberti Chapman . . . . . uxoris ejusdem' and at the side the arms of Baguley of Baguley, Cheshire: or a fess between three lozenges sable (Hutton, f. 25). James Baguley is mentioned in 1414 (*Cal. Papal Letters*, 1404-15, p. 443), was ordained as an acolyte by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury on 13th June 1416 (*Cant. and York Soc.* xlvii, 1947, vol. iv, 321) and was granted various dispensations in 1426 (*Cal. Papal Letters*, 1417-31, p. 469) and 1436 (*ibid.* 1427-47, p. 594) and at the latter date is said to be 'by both parents of noble birth'.

Johnston in 1670 gives the same inscription with the addition of 'uxoris de . . . . . Ab . . . . . et . . . . . Alicia' and all the inscription was under the one panel, now in the western light, and the shield with an R impaling a bend was also in Johnston's drawing.

The original features of the window are dated by the donors. James Baguley the vicar of All Saints', North Street, and Robert Chapman were both alive in 1437-9 and were associated with Nicholas Blackburn in electing a chaplain to the altar of St. Nicholas in the south aisle (Skaife MSS., A-C, 41). James Baguley's will is dated 1438 (*All Hallows*, p. 94). The window could thus be of c. 1440 or earlier.

(X) SOUTH AISLE, SECOND WINDOW FROM THE EAST (see window XII)

In 1618 Dodsworth recorded an inscription in the glass: 'Orate pro animabus Richardi Killingholme et Johanne et Margarete uxoribus eius' (Dodsworth, 157, f. 17).

Richard de Killingholme was a tanner and he was executor to Roger de Atherton of York in a will dated 15th January 1429 (*All Hallows*, p. 90). He was executor to his wife Joan's will dated 22nd March 1435 and proved 4th May 1436 (*All Hallows*, p. 93). His own will was made on the 29th October 1450 and proved on the 11th June 1451 (Borthwick Institute, *York Wills Register*, ii, f. 223). His second wife is not mentioned and thus she may have died, and there is no reference to the glass, which may have been given in his own lifetime between 1436 (the death of his first wife) and 1451 (his own death).

Henry Johnston in 1670 records two groups of donors in a window on the south side of the church as being in the first and third lights. By a process of elimination they can only have been in window X, for the donors of window IX are known, there would



be no room in window XI, window XII did not exist when the glass was made, and window XIII was a two-light one. Moreover, he notes the donors immediately before his description of the Procession Window (XI).

The donors in the first station are now in the eastern light of window IV and those in the third station consisted of a man and two women which could have represented Richard Killingholme and his two wives. It will be shown elsewhere that the glass now in window XII was probably here.

#### (XI) SOUTH AISLE, THIRD WINDOW FROM THE EAST

There is no internal evidence for this window and its chronology therefore depends on the stylistic comparisons already given and summarized in the conclusion.

#### (XII) SOUTH AISLE, FOURTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST

The glass was almost certainly originally in window X and thus the facts are given under that window.

### CONCLUSIONS

#### *The Fourteenth-century Glass*

Whereas there is no internal evidence for dating All Saints' windows II and VIII, stylistic comparisons give a bracket of not earlier than *c.* 1310 (the first window from the east in the north aisle of the nave of York Minster 1308-14) and not much later than *c.* 1340. (The windows at the west end of York Minster, all after 1338.)

#### *The Fifteenth-century Glass*

The dates given below are based on the evidence given in the section on chronology. In general the early fifteenth-century windows of All Saints', North Street, are stylistically most closely related to York Minster's Great East Window (1405-8), to the St. William Window (1421/2), and to the St. Martin Window (1437), which suggests an over-all date of *c.* 1410-40 for the whole group. If any generalization can be made about the relationship of the All Saints' glass to parts of the Great East Window, there is a probability that the artists of parts A and C of the latter may have worked in All Saints', but B has a different background and borders and the same obtains for the St. Cuthbert Window (*c.* 1440).

Windows III and IV (*c.* 1410) have pictorial panels set under segmental arches, often cusped like those of the minster's Great East Window (1408), but IV is more competent than III and may be better associated with John Thornton as noted elsewhere. Window IV also can be related stylistically to the St. William (1421/2) and St. Martin (1437) Windows.

Windows I (1412-27) and V (after 1429) are by the same artist and have a crocketing of elaborate leaves in the canopies which is also found in window III (*c.* 1410). They have more features in common with the minster's east window and St. William Window than with the St. Martin Window, and may be a little later than windows III and IV while retaining many features in common with them.



Window IX (1430-40) has a stylistic link with window III (c. 1410) and window XII (c. 1440) has features common to the minster east window and the St. William and St. Martin ones.

Window XI is stylistically unlike the other All Saints' ones but a figure of a king in panel 4 is so much like one in the minster choir clerestory north side, the eighth from the east (dated post 1406 by Harrison) that they are probably by the same artist. As other features in this window appear in the minster choir clerestory, fifth window from the east on the north side (dated 1407-23 by Harrison), the date of the All Saints' window could be c. 1410-20.

The fifteenth-century glass is almost certainly by the Coventry glazier John Thornton, or by his school, which may have included the contemporary glaziers John Chamber senior, and John Chamber junior. There are connections between John Thornton and All Saints', North Street. In the will of Hugh Grantham (10th April 1410), mason, is a reference to a window for the church, and to £4 owed to Grantham by John Thornton and William Pontefract of York (*Test. Ebor.* iii, 47 et seq.), and one of John Thornton's neighbours in the 'Flesshamelles', otherwise called 'Nedellergate', was John Blackburn (son of Nicholas Blackburn senior, who is commemorated in window I) (Revd. Angelo Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p. 186 and n. 6).

The figure of St. Christopher in All Saints' window I 'is believed to be the work of the younger Chamber, who died in 1450, and who was evidently succeeded in business by his apprentice William English, who left to his son Thomas "all the cartoons belonging to my work". Thomas English, it seems, was in partnership with Robert Preston, and Preston was succeeded by his apprentice Robert Begge, who inherited most of his master's stock in trade, which no doubt included cartoons. In St. Michael le Belfrey Church there is a figure of St. Christopher, painted no doubt by Begge from the very cartoon used by Chamber eighty years or so previously.' (Knowles, *York School of Glass Painting*, p. 38.)

It is possible that the incumbent, James Baguley (vicar 1413-40), may have been the prime mover of the whole scheme of glazing and that he persuaded his parishioners to present all the fifteenth-century glass before he made his will in 1438. When he became vicar in 1413 the three eastern windows were already glazed and possibly also the eastern window in the north wall (III), and certainly the donors of the later windows knew each other. A chaplain for the altar of St. Nicholas was selected by James Baguley, donor of window IX, Robert Chapman, donor of window IX, and Nicholas Blackburn junior, donor of window I in 1437/8 (Skaife MS., York Reference Library, A-G, f. 41, under Adam del Banke), Reginald Bawtre, donor to window V, was chamberlain when Nicholas Blackburn junior was lord mayor in 1429.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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new facts about the glass are derived from invaluable research by J. H. Harvey. In particular, however, the paper owes its present form and many of its most important features to Professor F. Wormald, who has advised from the beginning. Other acknowledgements occur in relevant parts of the text. I am indebted to the Revd. Alban Howard, vicar of All Saints', North Street, for his co-operation at all times.

## APPENDIX I

## SOURCES

((a) and (c) were transcribed by J. H. Harvey)

(a) 1618. *Roger Dodsworth* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS. *Dodsworth* 145, 157, and 161)

*Dods. 157, f. 17*

*Allhallowes in Northstreet Ebor*

In a w[indow]:

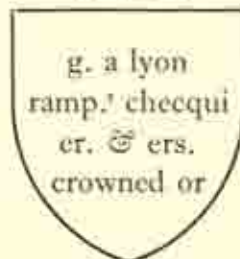
Orate pro animabus Richardi Killingholme et Johanne et Margarete vxoribus eius.

In a window on the North of ye church:

G. a lyon ramp<sup>t</sup> checqui er. and ers. crowned or, on a helme Ar. a chapeau g. doubled Ar. on y<sup>e</sup> on a lyon passt. checqui er. & ers. crowned or. mantled gu. doubled ar. vnderneath this inscription

Crest a lyon pass<sup>t</sup>  
checqui er. & ers.  
crown or

Blakborn  
port



[in margin]

Orate pro anima Nicholai Blakborne cuius anime propicietur deus.

In the North window of the Quyer:

A man kneeling on his Brest Gu. a lyon ramp<sup>t</sup> checqui er. & ers. crowned or vnderneath this inscription:

Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakborne senioris quondam Maior istius civitatis Ebor. et Margarete vxoris sue, et omnium fidelium defunctorum.

In the same window a man kneeling by him the coate aforesaid differenced with a mollet or and vnder itt this inscription:

Orate pro animabus Nicholai Blakborne Junioris et Margarete vxoris sue itaque pro animabus omnium benefactorum istius fenestre [blank] luminare vitrio.

[In the North window in the church of St. Cutberds, Ebor, a man kneeling in armor on his brest G. a lyon ramp<sup>t</sup> checqui er & ers. crowned or a [ ] or about his necke with this inscription:

Orate pro animabus Johannis Blakborne et Johanne vxoris eius qui fecerimus istam fenestram.]



(b) 14 Sept. 1659. *Matthew Hutton* (MSS. *Minster Library, York*). There is a copy of this in the British Museum (Landsdowne MS. 919, ff. 14<sup>r</sup>-15)

f. 25 In the east window  
Or 5 fusills in fess sa.

In a south window

Two men and a woman praying under them this

Orate pro aīabus dni Jacobi Baguley istius rectoris

..... Robti Chapman ..... uxoris ejusdem.

At the side of it or a fess bet. 3 ◊ B.

In north windowes these

Gu. a 3 checky Er. ers. crowned or. the crest a 3 checky Erm. ers. upon a chapeau under all [Blakburne].

f. 26 A man praying behind his head his armes Ar. a lyon gar<sup>t</sup> V a chief S / under him .....  
reginaldi bawtrie ..... /

A man praying with a woman behind him, at his side his armes. Gu / a 3 checky Er. Ers. on his shoulder a ☆ pierced or. Under all this /

Orate pro aīabus Nicolai Blakburne Junior et Margerie uxoris sue. Orate / itaque pro aīabus omnium sanctorum. /

A man in armor praying on his surcoat his armes a 3 checky Er. Ers on / the side of him also his armes under him thus /

Orate pro aīabus Nichi Blakeburne Senioris quondam majoris civitatis /

Eborum et Margerie uxoris sue istius fenestre luminare ..... /

Severall men praying, under them these broken inscriptions / ..... wiloby .....  
dni hesyl ..... / roger henrison et cecilie uxor ejus ..... / abel hesyl et agnete et .....  
In this last window Ar. on a Bend sa 3 owles Ar.

(c) 1670. *Henry Johnston*, (*Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Top. Yorks. c. 14*)

f. 94 (W) All hallows North Streete 10 March 1669 [/70].

In the east wdow of the Quire



A GODE QVOD ERES  
DA IE DEO  
Rede honor virtus  
gloria quod rebus

f. 94<sup>r</sup> First south window on the south side the Quire

1st Stantion

(Priest with scroll) (Man with scroll) (Woman)  
'altera no' 'salus'

2nd Stantion

(Man) (Woman) (2 children)

Orate pro animabus dni Jacobi Baguley istius ecclesie

Roberti Chapman ..... uxoris eiusdem

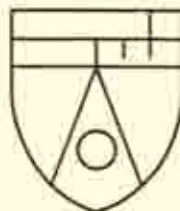
uxoris de . . . Ab ..... et ..... Alicie.

In the botom of the 1st window frō the East of the North Isle of the Chancell see the other pt. of the window in the loose sheete [= f. 99]

... fenestra ...  
 .... uxoris ....  
 et dni H. hesyl ..  
 .....

Rogeri Henrison et Cecelie uxoris ejus  
 Abell Hesyl (is Agurt?) et omn fidelium defunct

Next window lower  
 Man with book and shield



Man / Trinity seated / Man in armour etc. [Blackburn Shields]

Orate pro aīabs Nicholai Blackeburn junior Margarete uxoris suae orate itaque pro aīabus omni

et orate pro aīabs Nichi Blackburn senioris benefactorum istius (banefred?) .... luminare vitrio

quondam major Civitat Ebor et Margar: uxoris suae et omnium fidelium dei defunctorum

In a window of the north Isle of the Church

f. 95

(Man praying—scroll 'Ora pro me'—on book 'Sca Cecilia ora pro me' (twice) Reginaldi Bawtre

In a window of the north Isle of the Church

Arms & crest  
 blakburne

In a south window of the south Isle of the Church

1st Stantion			3rd Stantion	
(Man)	(Woman)		(Man)	(2 Women)
'Ora p.'	Ut dign̄ efficare			
	puu fm.			

In the 1st south window of the body of the church

f. 96

[Large drawing of square-headed window of 3 lights, with cusped heads + 3 stages in each light—all nine lights sketched in with figures in procession, angels, trumpets, etc.]

1. Seraphym (amore ar' uilit) et d . . . ulantes
2. . . . . hentes et recte disponentes
3. . . . . sub . . . . . tus
4. Dōnacōes humilit dñantes et benigne castignt
5. Principatus bonis succurrentes & inferioribus ordinantes
6. Potestates . . . . . diē (ts?) malignos succumberent
7. Un . . . . . cula fa . . . . . ita revelantes
8. Archangeli mor . . . les . . . mes deo . . . bis
9. Angeli instos consolantes divina (annūciantes?)



f. 99 In a window of the North Isle of Allhalows North Streete

[Large drawing of Last Days window]  
(Gives inscriptions) (See back, f. 94<sup>v</sup>)

..... cubites .....

..... rise up .....

Ye second dy ye see sall bee

So law un ith sall it cee

Ye 3<sup>d</sup> day yt sall be playne

... stand in his (con/.) again

Ye forth day fisches shall make vairy

Hiding i hmes to mens heryn

Ye 5 day ye se sall bryn

And all ye water that may ryn

Ye 6 day full herbes & wers

With bloody dropes qt grysely bers

Ye sevend day howses mon fall

Castles and towers and ilk a wall

..... ) ye rochis & stanes

..... ) toged all at anes

Ye 9 day with dying shall be

Severally in ilk contry

The tende day for neven

Such shall be play in & even

..... ) all men ..... out

..... ) holy & wend about a

Ye 12 day shall dede mens banes

Be sumin set and risse all at anes

The thertend day suthe shall

Stevyns fra the heaven fall

The xiiij day all yat liv yan

Sall dy bathe chyld man & woman

Ye 15 day you shall betyde

Ye werld shall bryn on ilk a syde

(d) 1691. *James Torre, Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York*. MSS. in York Minster Library begun 4th September 1691 and finished 27th October 1691. No minster number.

f. 624 In the North Isle window by the door Is the picture of Blackburn in Armour kneeling and this Escutcheon by him gu a Lyon checky Erm. & sab. Crowned O. Crest a Lyon pass<sup>t</sup> checky Erm. & sab.

In ye N. Quire side window are the pictures of Nic. Blackburn & his Lady kneeling at prayer. Nicholas Blackburn Sen. L.M. 1447. He in Armour with spurs on his heels w<sup>th</sup> a shield of his Arms upon his breast. And another over his head ut supra. And an E scrowle issuing out of his mouth containing [Det monus nobis Rex]. She w<sup>th</sup> her back towards him holding a prayer-book

in her hand wherein is written 

Dñs salua me a peccatis
----------------------------

aperies et os meum
-----------------------

 Under them both is Inscribed

Orate pro aīabz Nicholai Blakburne sen<sup>t</sup> quondam majoris Civitatis Ebor et Margarete ux̄is ejus.

In Ad 1425 He was Sen. Sheriff of the City And in Ad 1429 Ld. Major. On 7 Febr. Ad. 1447 <sup>f. 625</sup> This Nicholas Blackburn Alderman Citizen & Merchant of York mad his will proved 8 March 1447 whereby he gave his soul to God Alm. St. Mary & All Saints. And his body to be Interred in St. Maries Quire where he used to sitt w<sup>th</sup> in his parish Church of All Saints in Northstrete ag<sup>t</sup>s the Sepulcre of his parents. And constituted Margaret his wife Extrix.

In the next Light of the same Window are drawn the portraitures of Nicholas Blackburn jun. & his wife kneeling together. She holding a book open in her hands wherein is writ.

dñe in furore tuo  
judicas me

neqz in ira  
tua

And his shield of Arms by him is this viz. Gu. a Lyon ramp<sup>t</sup>

checky Erm. & Sab. w<sup>th</sup> a mullett on his breast.

In Ad 1438 He was Sen<sup>r</sup> Sheriff of the City.

In the E. end window of this N. Quire

(Drawing of shield: or 3 bars gules over all a bend azure)

In the West window of the South Isle by the Steeple

(Drawing of shield: argent a bend azure)

(e) 1730. *Thomas Gent, The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York*  
Of All-Saints North-street.

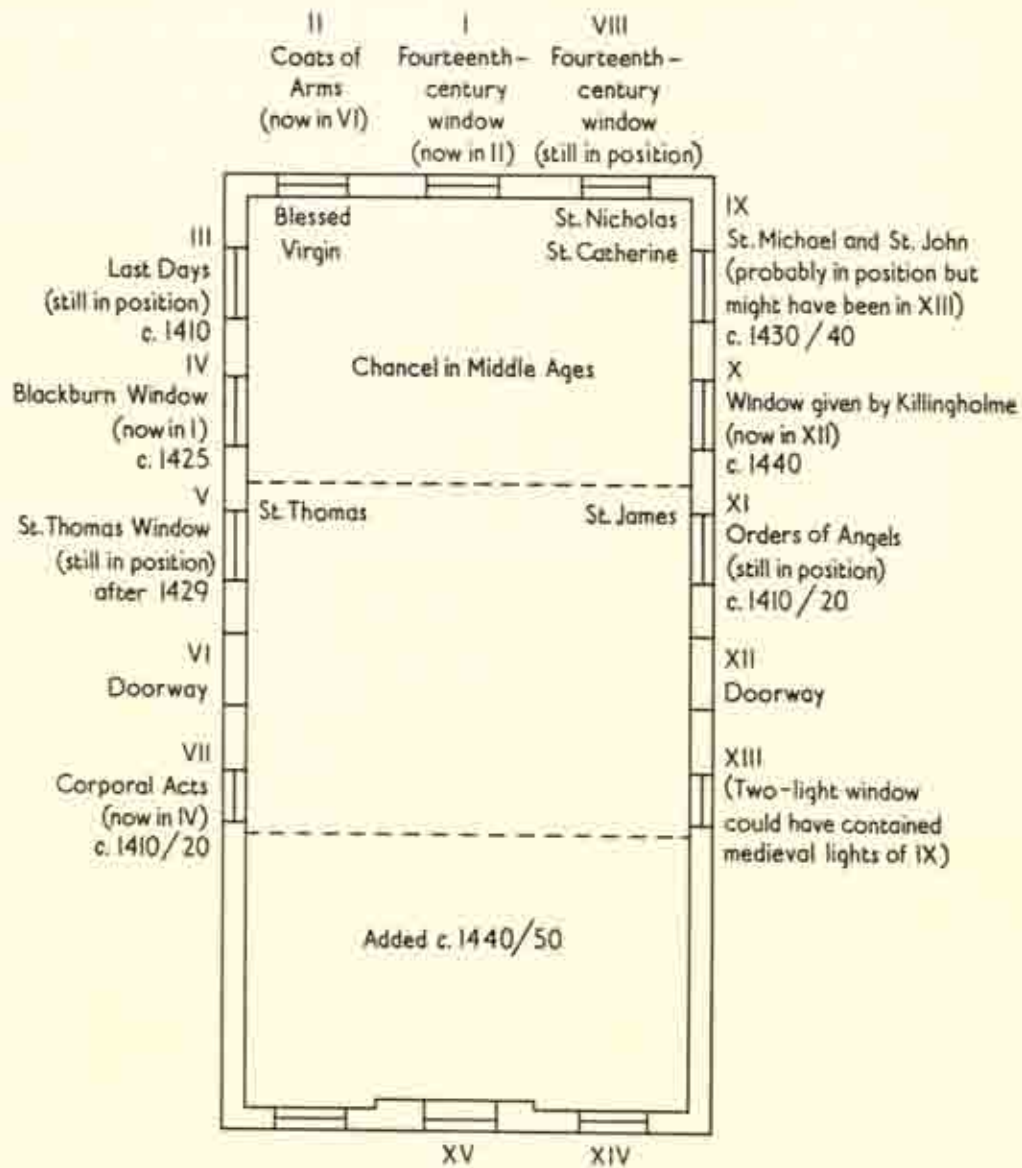
f. 163

As to its Painted Windows, the first N.W. consists in / Resemblances of feeding the Hungry, cloathing the Na/ked, relieving those in Prison, giving Drink to the / Thirsty, entertaining Strangers, and visiting the Sick. / In the Second Plain Glass. The 3d, St. Thomas, our Bles/sed Saviour, and St. Timothy. In the 4th, St. John, St. / Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin, St. Christopher, and the / Holy Trinity. On each Side of which are the Effigies / of the two Nicholas Blackbournes, both Lord-/Mayors of this City; as also the Effigies of their / Wives, in devout Postures. The 5th Window con-tains the Coming to Judgement, and the stupendous Re-/volution of Things which are to happen at that Time: / As, The Sun falling from Heaven, Graves opening, / Towers and Castles overturn'd, Waters mix'd with / Flames, Trees as it were dropping Blood, and the / whole Course of Nature in direful Confusion. In the / little North East Window are only Coats of Arms. / The Window over the Altar contains the Offering of / the Eastern Kings, Salutation of the Virgin, Birth of / Christ, He on his Cross; crown'd with his Mother, together with his Resurrection. In the S.E. Window, / St. Catherine, St. Mary Mag-dalen, Crucifixion, etc. In / the first Window South, St. Michael, St. John the Divine, and underneath the Family of the Bagitleys, and of / Robert Chapman. In the 3d Window, an Angel, Car-/dinal, Bishop, Pope, King, Nobles, and a religious Pro/cession, preceded by Angels, etc. The last, towards the South Door, St. John Baptist, Virgin Mary, our Blessed Sa-/viour, an Appearance to a Bishop from Heaven, and / underneath Paul and Silas in Prison.



## APPENDIX II

### PROBABLE POSITION OF MEDIEVAL STAINED GLASS



The Roman numerals represent the windows as described in this paper.

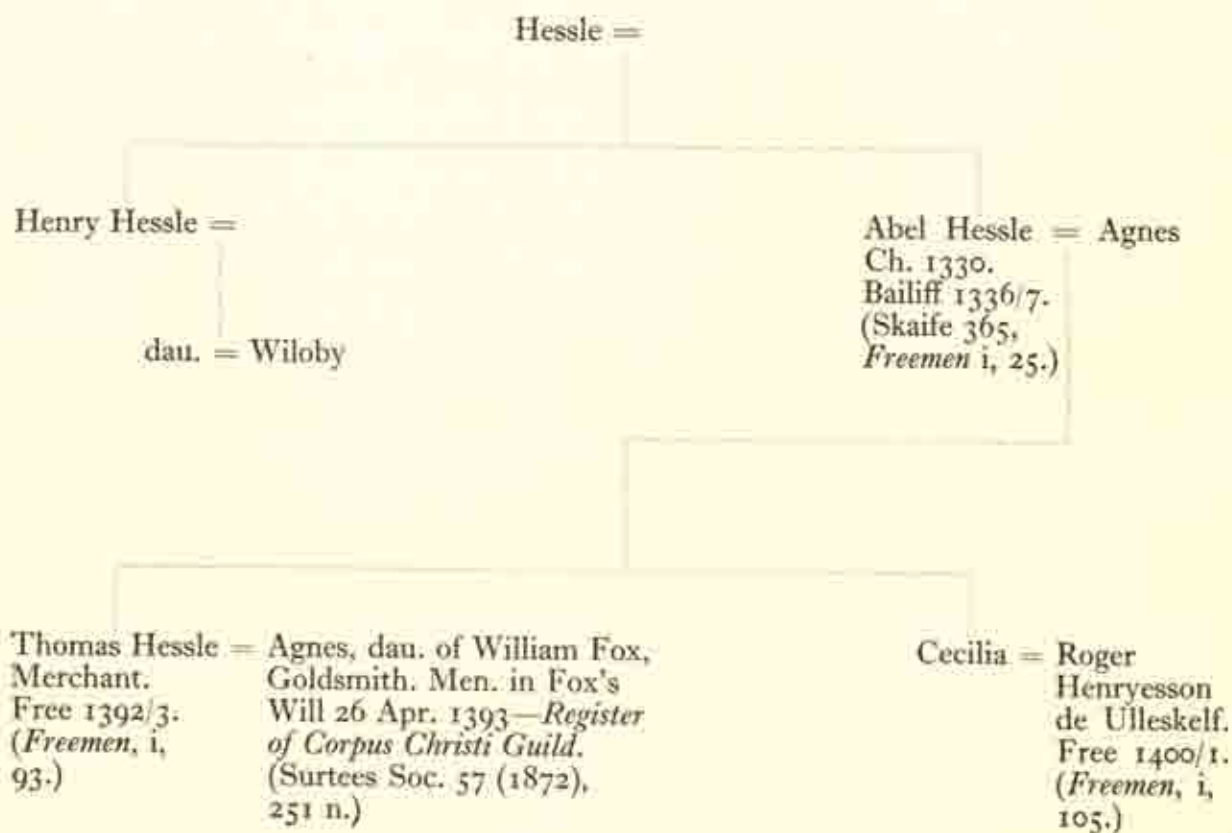
The representation is diagrammatic for the position and character of openings have changed since the Middle Ages.





*Freemen of York, Vol. I (Surtees Society, vol. xcvi (1896))*

75.	1376/7	Nicholaus de Blakeburn, mercer.
84.	1385/6	Nich. de Blakburn, marchaunt.
98.	1396	Nicholas de Blakburn de Richemond, Senior.
100.	1397	Nicholaus de Blakburn de Richemund.
103.	1398	Nich. de Blakburn reconciliatus est pro xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> ita quod moram suam traxerit in civitate citra festum S. Martini anno regni Hen. IV quarto.
104.	1400	Nich. Blakburn de Richemund.
106.	1401/2	Nich. Blakburn de Richemund.
107.	1402/3	Nicholaus de Blakburn junior.
115.	1411	Nich. Blakburn, mayor.
131.	1420/1	Nich. Blakburn junr., mercator.
141.	1428	Nich. Blakburn junioris, mayor.
144.	1429	Willelmus Blackburn fil Nicholai Blackburn Senioris.
146.	1431/2	Nich. Blakburn, camerarius.
195.	1473/4	Ricardus Blakburn, grocer, fil Nicholai Blakburn, merchant.

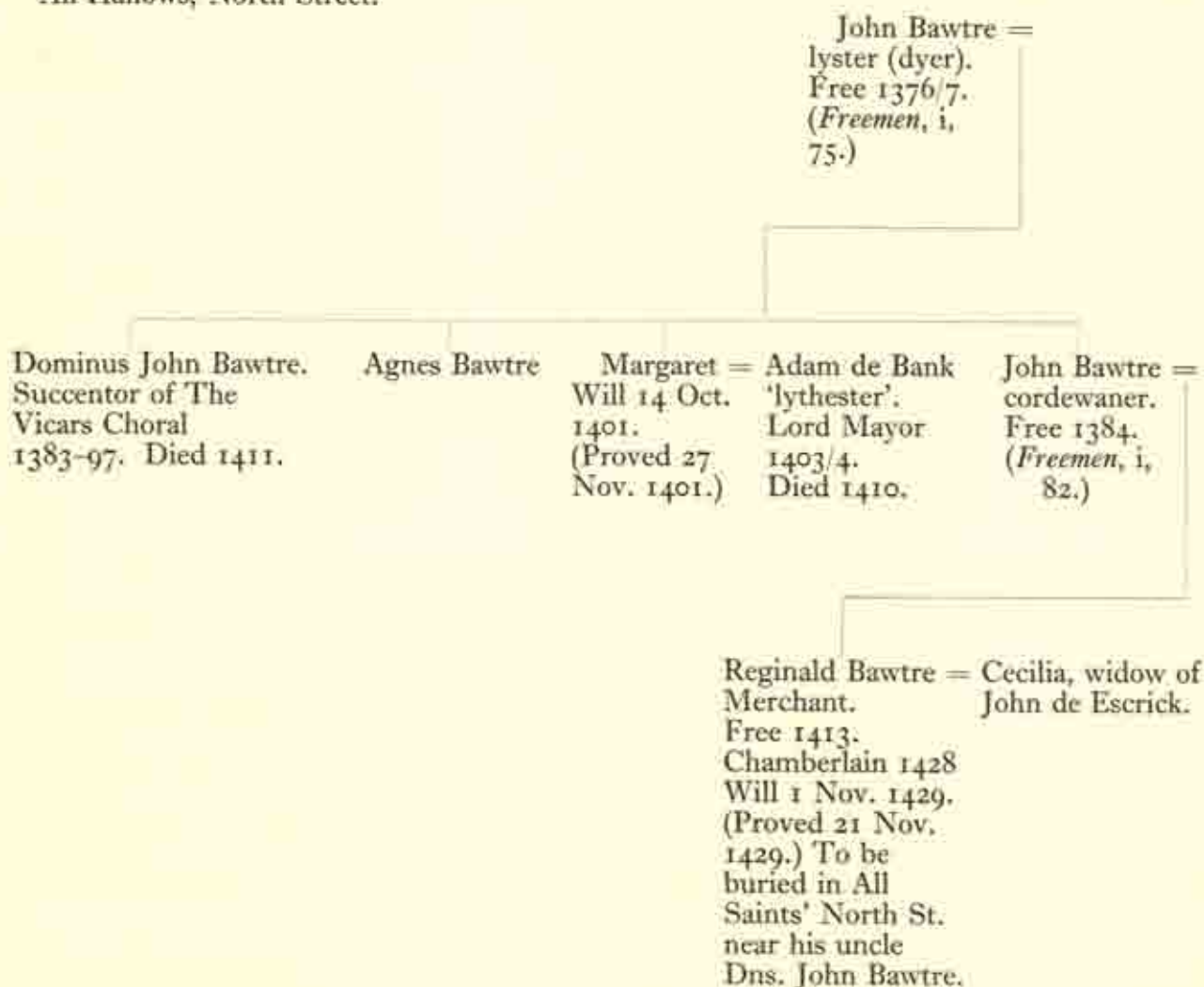
*(b) Possible Pedigree of Hessle (Window III)*

(c) *Bawtre (Window V)**Sources:*

Skaife, 35.

*Freemen of York.*

All Hallows, North Street.



## APPENDIX IV

## A NOTE ON THE FIFTEEN SIGNS OF THE LAST DAYS

By PROFESSOR FRANCIS WORMALD, PRES. S.A.

The following table makes no claim to be a complete survey of the representations of the Fifteen Signs of the end of the world. It is intended to show how the window at All Saints', North Street, York, fits in with some other examples and with certain basic texts. The matter has been partly discussed by Emile Mâle in his *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen age* (Paris, 1949), pp. 440-3. In illuminated manuscripts an early example is found in British Museum Add. MS. 47680,



ff. 40<sup>v</sup>-2, the Picture Bible, formerly at Holkham Hall. It has been discussed by M. R. James in the *Walpole Society*, xi, 1922/3, 26 and 27, and reproduced by W. O. Hassall, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London, 1954). This dates from the second quarter of the fourteenth century and was made in England. One of the most splendid examples is to be found in a miniature made in France early in the fifteenth century by the Master of the Bedford Hours and now in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, cod. 1855, f. 218<sup>v</sup>. The main subject of the miniature is the Last Judgement while the Fifteen Signs are placed in small round medallions surrounding the main miniature. An adequate reproduction will be found in Ernst Trenkler, *Livre d'Heures* (Vienna, 1948), pl. 24.

Dyson Perrins MS. 1, present whereabouts unknown, is a late twelfth-century series of pictures of the life of Christ and the Virgin to which a number of miniatures were added in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, including those of the Fifteen Signs. These additions were probably made in the neighbourhood of Bury St. Edmunds. The miniatures were described by Sir George Warner in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (Oxford, 1920), i, 7 and 8. Oxford, Bodleian MS. Douce 134, is a copy of the *Livre de la Vigne nostre Seigneur*, made between about 1450 and 1470. It has been briefly noted by Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, i (Oxford, 1966), 55, no. 710.

From the table it will be clear that the main textual source of the pictorial cycles is either the *Historia Scolastica* or the *Golden Legend*. Both All Saints', North Street, and the *Pricke of Conscience*, from which it is derived, diverge from the main stream of the *Historia Scolastica* and the *Golden Legend* by introducing the sign for the third day as the sea returning to its normal level after the rising and sinking on the first and second days:

The thred day, the se sal seme playn  
And stand even in his cours agayn,  
Als it stode first at the begynning,  
With-outen mare rysyng or fallyng. (ll. 4766-9.)

Consequently in nearly every case the sign in All Saints' and the *Pricke* agrees with the sign for the previous day in other examples. The agreement between All Saints' and the *Pricke* is not absolute since on the twelfth day in All Saints' the bones of the dead shall rise whereas the *Pricke* follows the normal arrangement of the stars falling from heaven. On the thirteenth day at All Saints' the stars fall from heaven as is usually found on the twelfth day while in the *Pricke* the dead men's bones arise as is normal for the eleventh day. In spite of these differences the verses suggest that the primary source for the All Saints' window was the *Pricke of Conscience*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since the *Pricke of Conscience* has been widely ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole it should be pointed out here that this ascription can no longer be maintained; see Hope

Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole*, Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series, iii, 1927, 394-7.

## Versions of the Fifteen Last Days

	<i>The Pricks of Conscience</i> , ed. R. Morris, Berlin, 1863, pp. 129-31	<i>The Golden Legend</i> , by William Caxton, London, 1900, I, pp. 14, 15.	Petrus Comestor, <i>Historia Scholastica</i> —In Evangelia saec. cxli, Migne, P.L. cxcvii, 1611	British Museum, Add. MS. 47680, ff. 40 <sup>v</sup> -42. See Walpole Soc. xl, 1922/3, pp. 26-7	Vienna, Nationalbibliothek cod. ff. 1855, f. 218 <sup>v</sup>	Dyson Perrins MS. 1	Oxford, Bodl. MS. Douce 134
I Rising of the sea.	Il. 4758-63. The sea shall rise 40 cubits.	Sea shall rise 50 cubits.	Sea shall rise 40 cubits above the mountains.	f. 40 <sup>v</sup> . Sea shall rise 40 cubits.	f. 98. Sea rises like a wall.	f. 41 <sup>v</sup> . Sea rises to the mountain tops.	
II Subsiding of the sea.	Il. 4764 and 5. Sea sinks below normal.	Sea sinks almost out of sight.	Sea sinks almost out of sight.	f. 40 <sup>v</sup> . Sea sinks out of sight.	f. 98 <sup>v</sup> . Sea pours down from above.	f. 42. The sea descends out of sight.	
III The waters return to their normal level.	Il. 4766-9. Sea normal again.	Whales appear and cry.	Whales appear and cry.	f. 40 <sup>v</sup> . Whales appear and cry.	f. 99. Sea monsters roar.	f. 42 <sup>v</sup> . The gathering and roaring of the sea monsters.	
IV Fishes come on the earth roaring.	Il. 4770-5. Fishes roaring.	The sea and water shall burn.	The sea and the waters shall burn.	f. 40 <sup>v</sup> . The sea and waters burn.	f. 99 <sup>v</sup> . Flames rise from the sea.	f. 43. The waters burn.	
V The sea burns.	Il. 4776-79. The sea burns.	The trees and herbs shed a dew of blood. Birds assemble.	Trees and plants shed a bloody dew.	f. 40 <sup>v</sup> . The trees and herbs sweat blood.	f. 100. Trees and grass exude blood. Birds assemble.	f. 43 <sup>v</sup> . Trees and plants sweat blood.	
VI Trees on Fire. Fruit drops from the trees.	Il. 4780 and 81. Bloody dew on grass and trees.	Buildings fall and thunder and fire grow in the west.	Buildings fall.	f. 41. Buildings fall.	f. 100 <sup>v</sup> . Buildings fall and fiery rivers rise.	f. 44. Buildings fall.	
VII Houses and buildings fall.	Il. 4782 and 83. Houses and buildings fall.	Stones shall unite together and break into 4 pieces.	Rocks collide with each other.	f. 41. Stones shall strike together and break.	f. 101 <sup>v</sup> . Rocks collide and split into 4 pieces.	f. 44 <sup>v</sup> . Stones fight with each other.	
VIII Rocks and stones consumed.	Il. 4784-9. Rocks and stones strike together.	Earthquake. All shall fall to the ground.	Earthquake.	f. 41. Earthquake.	f. 101 <sup>v</sup> . Earthquake. No one can stand.	f. 45. Earthquake. No one can stand up.	
IX Earthquake.	Il. 4790-3. Earthquakes.	Earth shall be even and plain.	Earth shall be even.	f. 41. Earth even and plain.	f. 102 <sup>v</sup> . Millstone levels the earth and reduces mountains to dust.	f. 45 <sup>v</sup> . The earth is made flat and the mountains reversed.	



*Versions of the Fifteen Last Days (cont.)*

All Saints', North Street, York	<i>The Pricke of Conscience</i> , ed. R. Morris, Berlin, 1863, pp. 129-31	<i>The Golden Legend</i> , by William Caxton, London, 1900, I, pp. 14, 15	Petrus Comestor, <i>Historia Scholasti- ca</i> —In Evangelia cap. cxli, Migne, <i>P.L.</i> cxcvii, 1611	British Museum, Add. MS. 47680, ff. 40 <sup>v</sup> -43. See Walpole Soc. xi, 1922/3, pp. 26-7	Vienna, National- bibliothek cod. ff. 1855, f. 218 <sup>v</sup>	Dyson Perrins MS. 4	Oxford, Bodl. MS. Douce 134
X Only the earth and sky visible.	ll. 4794-7. Earth made into one great plain.	Men shall come out of caves as madmen and unable to speak to each other.	Men shall come from caverns, and shall go about as madmen and un- able to speak to each other.	Men come out of holes in the ground.	Men come out of caverns.	f. 102 <sup>v</sup> . Men come out of caverns.	f. 46. Men come out speechless from their hiding places.
XI Men come out of holes in the ground and pray.	ll. 4798-801. Men come out of caves and holes.	Bones of the dead shall rise.	Bones of the dead shall rise and stand upon their tombs.	f. 41 <sup>v</sup> . The dead rise from their tombs.	Bones of the dead shall rise.	f. 103 <sup>v</sup> . Skeletons rise from their tombs.	f. 46 <sup>v</sup> . The dead rise from their tombs.
XII Dead men's bones shall rise.	ll. 4802 and 3. Stars fall from heaven.	Stars fall from heaven. Beasts shall howl.	Stars fall.	f. 41 <sup>v</sup> . Stars fall.	Stars fall and beasts howl.	f. 103 <sup>v</sup> . Stars fall and beasts congregate.	f. 47. Stars fall.
XIII Stars fall from heaven.	ll. 4804-7. Dead men's bones rise.	All living die, so that they may rise with the dead.	All living die so as to rise with the dead.	f. 41 <sup>v</sup> . All humans die.	All living creatures die.	f. 104. Dying and dead arise.	f. 47 <sup>v</sup> . Living die to rise with the dead.
XIV Men, women and children die.	ll. 4808-11. Men, women and children shall die.	Heaven and earth shall burn.	Heaven and earth shall burn.	f. 42. Heaven and earth burn.	Heaven and earth burn.	f. 104 <sup>v</sup> . Heaven and earth burn.	f. 48. Heaven and earth burn.
XV World burns.	ll. 4812-15. All will burn and be destroyed.	A new heaven and earth. All things and dead shall rise	A new heaven and earth is made and all shall rise.	f. 42. The Second Com- ing and the Resurrection of the dead.	New heaven and earth.	f. 105. The Second Com- ing and the Resurrection of the dead.	f. 49 <sup>v</sup> . The sun and moon await the Second Coming.

\* N.B. The text for the XV sign says: 'Le XV Jour sera la ciel nouuel et la terre nouuelle et tous resusciteront'.

# *Royal Sergeants-at-Arms*

By MAJOR-GENERAL H. D. W. SITWELL

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE local government in this country arose out by Corporations of Cities and Boroughs, each having a corresponding official. One of the most important functions was the preservation of law and order, and for this purpose the mayor was usually authorized by charter to enlist a number of men, later to be called 'sergeants-at-mace'. These carried a mace, which was both a weapon and a staff of office. Originally the mace was a ceremonial equivalent. There was usually a 'Great' or mayor's mace, and a 'sergeant's mace', which represented the authority of the mayor and the sergeants respectively on formal occasions. Both of these types of mace are still used and are carried on formal occasions, although the mace of the mayor has to a great extent now been taken over by the police. The weight of the maces averaging about one pound: the mayor's are heavier than the sergeants'. The powers of these sergeants were, of course, limited to the city or borough to which they belonged.

The Royal equivalents to these sergeants were the King's Sergeants-at-Arms, though this was formerly a purely military title. They were appointed over the whole kingdom, and were very conspicuous in the king's court besides law and order. Like the sergeants of the cities they carried maces, which were at first weapons and a staff of office. There was, however, one difference; the mace of the king, for a great mace, for his power was apparent in the mace. The mace carried by Sergeants-at-Arms tended to increase in size. In the fourteenth century, on the evidence of contemporary records, other information about them before the end of the fifteenth century than most of the civic great maces.

The establishment of Sergeants-at-Arms of the Queen (two on duty and one in reserve) was by the King's Sergeants-at-Arms<sup>1</sup> and one the Lord Chancellor.<sup>2</sup> The only other mace of the Queen's Sergeants-at-Arms is the mace of the House of Commons, and two in the House of Lords. The mace issued for the Queen's Sergeants-at-Arms is used on the opening of Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> According to his patent, when there is no Parliament he is available for attendance on the sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> Both when he acts as Speaker in the House of Lords,



## *and the Royal Maces*

LL, C.B., C.V.O., M.C., F.S.A.

### ION

In most countries in Europe is carried as, the head of which is a mayor or important duties of local government purpose, in former times, the mayor or 'sergeants' as they were called, men were armed with a mace which by a weapon only, it was later replaced also, from the fourteenth century and carried by the mace-bearer, usually a mayor and was carried before him on exist in their ceremonial form today the sergeant's former duties have to a ce. The sergeant's maces are small, larger, usually about ten pounds. The ed to within the boundary of the city

re known as the 'Sergeants-at-Arms'. Their powers, of course, extended able, dealing with many other matters al corporations, they also were armed nly later became ceremonial staffs of e was no need, in the case of the King, all. However, the ceremonial maces e in size up to the end of the seven- ary pictures (and there is little or no f the Civil War), and are now larger

at present five, of whom three attend ne the Speaker of the House of Com- ties of the first three are ceremonial f these are in the Tower, one in the rds. Two maces from the Tower are duty on State occasions, usually the

outside; this Sergeant-at-Arms is sometimes called ant-at-Arms to the House of Lords.

Civic maces are for the most part well-documented. Most cities and boroughs are very proud of them, and have issued pamphlets on their history. In 1895, Llewellyn Jewitt and Sir William St. John Hope wrote a book on corporation plate, etc., which included the civic maces. It incorporates most of the information then available and contains many illustrations of different maces, which can be seen in all stages of development from the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>1</sup>

There is far less information published about the Royal sergeants and their maces. St. John Hope's book gives a story of the development of these maces to Tudor times: a few pictures are included,<sup>2</sup> mostly from Planché's *Dictionary of Costume*.<sup>3</sup> He also includes a full story of the Parliamentary maces made between 1649-59. This includes the 'Bauble' which was removed from Parliament on Cromwell's orders,<sup>4</sup> and which St. John Hope, I think wrongly, identifies with the present House of Commons mace which is described in detail. There is also a cursory mention of the other Royal maces, viz. the eight then in the Tower (there are now ten) and the two in the House of Lords, at the same date.<sup>5</sup> But little more than a very brief description of them is given, and little or nothing of their history.

The other authoritative book on Royal maces is *The Old Royal Plate in the Tower of London* by E. Alfred Jones, published in 1908. In this is a very detailed description accompanied by photographs of the eight maces in the Tower. The author also gives only a very brief reference to their history.<sup>6</sup>

Maces are also mentioned generally in the numerous books on the Crown Jewels, but usually nothing appears that has not already been mentioned in the two books already quoted. There is, however, one point which requires correction: Sir George Younghusband, my predecessor at the Jewel House, states that the average weight of the Tower maces is 34 pounds;<sup>7</sup> in fact they average 23½ pounds, the heaviest being just over 25 pounds, and have never weighed more than this.

Pamphlets have also been published at different times, the most recent being Lieut.-Colonel Thorne's,<sup>8</sup> but these deal almost exclusively with maces used in the House of Commons. About the remaining Royal maces there is practically nothing. Nor is there much about the Royal Sergeants-at-Arms who carried them. Although there are frequent references in literature and histories to Sergeants-at-Arms, no detailed history of them seems to have been attempted to date, though St. John Hope traces it briefly up to Tudor times.

In this article, therefore, I have endeavoured to fill this gap, and have dealt in considerable detail with the period from the sixteenth century to the present day; it incorporates, in general terms, the history of the Royal maces which exist today in the Tower and Houses of Parliament, and that of the Sergeants-at-Arms who carried them; this is contained in sections III to VII. To complete the picture, I have dealt in general terms with the Sergeants-at-Arms and Maces in the thirteenth to fifteenth

<sup>1</sup> St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv to xxix.

<sup>3</sup> Planché 1876, pp. 345-7.

<sup>4</sup> St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, pp. xlii-li.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 590-2.

<sup>6</sup> E. Alfred Jones, *The Old Royal Plate in the Tower of*

*London* (London 1908), pp. xxx-xxxii and 41-9.

<sup>7</sup> Sir George Younghusband, *The Jewel House* (London, 1921), p. 69. Weight is, of course, avoirdupois.

<sup>8</sup> Lieut.-Col. Peter Thorne, *The Mace in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Library Document No. 3: H.M. Stationery Office 1957).



centuries in section II. This period has already been adequately dealt with, in so far as civic maces and Sergeants are concerned, by St. John Hope in the introduction to his book. He gives many illustrations of maces still in existence showing the changes which took place during the latter part of this period, including some pictures of maces then in use; from these, he draws the conclusion that similar changes of the Royal maces took place during the same period, a conclusion which is generally accepted today.

In section II, therefore, I have largely confined myself to generalities, so far as the maces are concerned. I have not attempted any descriptions, nor given particulars of war maces, which were in use as weapons until the fifteenth century, by which time the ceremonial maces, carried by Sergeants-at-Arms, appear to have been in general use as their staff of office.

As the Sergeant Trumpeter carried a mace up to temp. George IV (his mace is in the Tower today), I have included both him and his mace in this article throughout.

I have added three Appendices; A, giving the duties of a Sergeant-at-Arms in, I think, probably the fifteenth century; though fairly well known, this document does not seem to have been published in full before. B, a list of special, or as they were called in the seventeenth century 'Peculiar', Sergeants and Sergeant Trumpeters since the fifteenth century, and C, some details of the thirteen Royal maces in existence today, most of which has not previously been published. I have included a history of the present House of Commons mace in this Appendix, as deduced from such evidence as is available.

## II. THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

It has sometimes been claimed that the Sergeants-at-Arms are the oldest body of troops still in service today, having constituted a bodyguard to Richard I at the crusades. They have certainly been in existence since very early times, but there does not seem to be any contemporary evidence of them having acted as a bodyguard to the King as early as this; St. John Hope does, however, quote an early authority for the use of Sergeants-at-Arms in this way by Philip II of France, 1186 to 1223, and English eighteenth-century writers who make the same claim for Richard I.<sup>1</sup> According to Myers,<sup>2</sup> the Household Ordinance of 1308 authorizes thirty only, and there is no mention of any bodyguard duties. We have too the authority of the Black Book as evidence that Edward III was attended by a bodyguard of thirty-one Sergeants-at-Arms, who acted as a 'garde du corps du Roi',<sup>3</sup> but this is the last mention of the use of Sergeants-at-Arms in this capacity. With the limitation of the numbers to thirty by statute about 1390, Richard II took four of these to attend upon his standard and his person in war, the bodyguard duties being undertaken by twenty-four archers stated to be constantly in the King's service; these no doubt belonged to the body of men-at-arms raised by Richard II in Cheshire towards the end of his reign, upon

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV, the Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester University

Press), p. 247, note 214. The author also gives excerpts from earlier ordinances.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.



whom he very much depended. The tradition of the Royal Sergeants-at-Arms being a bodyguard to the King appears, however, to have lived on in the sense that a full muster have always attended the Sovereign for ceremonial purposes on certain state occasions, notably coronations.

The four attending the standard were retained in the household in peace, and from the early fifteenth century the household ordinances show four Sergeants-at-Arms only on the household establishment. As will be shown later, the remaining twenty-six were employed elsewhere. These four Sergeants-at-Arms in the Royal household apparently acted as a personal guard, two always being in attendance on the king himself, and this number was continued until as late as the eighteenth century.

The status of the Sergeants-at-Arms seems to have been that of squires. A document in the British Museum in the handwriting and English of the time of Henry VIII, but apparently referring to a period about seventy years before, states that Sergeants-at-Arms in early times had to be the younger sons of knights at least, but later the worthy sons of gentlemen were admitted.<sup>1</sup> Certainly in the latter part of the fifteenth century every effort was made to equate them with squires, although Selden, writing in the early seventeenth century states that any sergeant in the King's service qualified for the rank of gentleman and so esquire.<sup>2</sup> It is evident, however, that something further was needed, and Sir John Pettus, writing in 1680, states that in ancient times, on appointment of Sergeants-at-Arms, the sergeant appeared before the King who laid the mace on his shoulder, saying, 'Rise up, Sergeant-at-Arms and Esquire forever'.<sup>3</sup> Sergeants-at-Arms today wear the collar of SS when on duty, as well as when carrying the mace, and have done so certainly since the time of William and Mary, and probably earlier. Though there is no direct evidence of it, it seems likely that the collar of SS, or its equivalent, may also have been given to Sergeants-at-Arms on appointment in the later fifteenth century, as it is popularly supposed to have originally been the mark of an esquire.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century the title of 'King's Sergeant-at-Arms' always appears on the letters patent of appointment. This, no doubt, refers to the limited number of thirty only.

Sergeants-at-Arms in the fifteenth century had many other duties besides those in the household already referred to, and these duties are mostly outlined in the Calendars of Patent Rolls. Of these duties the most important were the carrying out of arrests, particularly of noblemen, who could only be arrested by the Royal Sergeants-at-Arms. The details of these arrests and the fees, etc., to be paid in compensation to the sergeant by the prisoners are set down fully in Appendix A; the fees must have represented a considerable sum, particularly for the arrest of a high-ranking nobleman such as a duke or marquis. In addition to arrest, a Sergeant-at-Arms was used to impress arms, transport, or men in the King's service, as a messenger or envoy, and in war as a harbinger. He also served on Royal Commissions concerned with smuggling, piracy, and similar matters. Sergeants-at-Arms worked singly or sometimes in pairs,

<sup>1</sup> Har. 297, p. 254. This document is transcribed in 1672), Part II, Ch. V: Esquires.  
full at Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> Pettus 1680, Ch. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> John Selden, *Titles of Honour* (London, 1614, 3rd ed.



the pay being 12*d.* per day (which incidentally a suit of livery every year from the Great V usually charged on the Royal revenues for fee parts of the country, and there seems to have Arms on a local basis. They were probably revenues, and obviously would carry out this pay depended upon punctual payment. A these probably included the four in the King

In 1416 an appointment for a Sergeant-at-importance in the future. Nicholas Maudyng, geant-at-Arms in 1400, was appointed 'Sergeant for life to the Commonality of Parliament' which was the original forerunner of the Sergeants-at-St. John Hope gives an illustration of a brass Arms named Nicholas, the surname being Patent Rolls, no other Sergeant-at-Arms with pointed within the previous twenty years, marks the burial place of the first Sergeant-

Though no letters patent of appointment to have been followed by John Talbot, succeeded by Richard Siddal was appointed as King's Ser-Speaker of Parliament 'as John Bury was'. Similar. In 1485 Henry VII appointed John noble mansion of Parliament for good service Field; Sergeant-at-Mace instead of Sergeant-were limited to within the Parliament House issued in which he was appointed as King's S the King out of time of Parliament and d Speaker. With a few exceptions, the appointment House of Commons has been on these terms Harper also received livery, etc., as did the

There were considerable changes in the for Arms during this period. Planché shows two tury whose maces are extremely crude, and ve usual war mace was of various forms, consisting eighteen inches to two feet long with a head the case of the Royal Sergeant-at-Arms and bellished and ornamented with silver or weapons. In 1344 the City of London petitioned at-Arms alone should be allowed to bear maces order to distinguish them, presumably, from was granted, but in 1354 on the issue of a

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Pat. Rolls 1416.

<sup>2</sup> St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, p. xxvi.

was to last until temp. Charles II) and  
 robe. This pay of 12*d.* per day was  
 rms, customs at ports, etc., in different  
 en a tendency to employ Sergeants-at-  
 responsible for collecting the King's  
 ask more conscientiously if their own  
 were paid from the exchequer, and  
 household.

ms was made which was to have great  
 who had been appointed King's Ser-  
 -at-Arms Intendent of all Parliaments  
 Parliament lasts'.<sup>1</sup> This appointment  
 Arms to the House of Commons today.  
 Wandsworth church of a Sergeant-at-  
 eted.<sup>2</sup> According to the Calendar of  
 e Christian name of Nicholas was ap-  
 there is a probability that this brass  
 Arms to the House of Commons.

e survived, Nicholas Maudyt appears  
 ed in his turn by John Bury. In 1471  
 eant-at-Arms in attendance upon the  
 osequent appointments until 1485 are  
 Harper as 'Sergeant-at-Mace' to the  
 the King in the wars and at Bosworth  
 Arms probably meant that his powers  
 ly. In 1489 further letters patent were  
 eant-at-Arms specially to attend upon  
 ng the time of Parliament upon the  
 ment of the Sergeant-at-Arms to the  
 ver since. As a King's sergeant, John  
 ers.

of the maces carried by Sergeants-at-  
 rgeants-at-Arms of the thirteenth cen-  
 much for use and not ornament.<sup>3</sup> The  
 usually of a rod of iron or steel about  
 ted with cutting edges or flanges. In  
 me others, these were probably em-  
 en, but nevertheless they remained  
 ed the King that the Royal Sergeants-  
 ferruled with or inlaid with silver, in  
 er and lesser sergeants. This petition  
 w charter to the City of London, the



London sergeants were also permitted to bear silver maces which should be embellished with 'the ensign of our arms or another's'. Evidently at this stage the practice of decorating the mace with the arms of the authority which it represented had begun; it is reasonable to suppose that the Royal maces of the period followed suit and were decorated with the King's Arms. Further, this seems to be the point when the mace began to change from a weapon to a badge of office. Where the arms were placed is something of a mystery. It is generally thought to have been upon the button on the handle of the war-mace, which became enlarged later with the development of the mace for ceremonial rather than military purposes.

The fifteenth century shows a very wide variety of patterns of maces, both Royal and civic. The use of the mace by Sergeants-at-Arms as a weapon seems to have been going out, and for ceremonial uses it was obviously the button end showing the King's arms that became important. As a result the maces were reversed. The King's arms came to the top of the mace, the button became enlarged and a crown, which was a symbolical representation of the Royal crown, was added. St. John Hope shows a number of pictures of civic maces passing through this development, and it can be reasonably assumed that the Royal maces did the same; he puts the reversal as taking place in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Planché reproduces an illustration of an early form of this mace, with the crown uppermost, as carried by a Sergeant-at-Arms during the presentation by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of his book to Henry VI and Queen Margaret.<sup>1</sup> He gives a picture of the whole group in colour, which shows firstly that the mace is made of wood, the ornamentation and binding being of metal gilt, and also that the crown on top of it is very like the one being worn by the King. The process of reversal of the maces was probably spread over a considerable time, and no uniformity as between the maces carried by different Sergeants-at-Arms seems to have been required or expected. During this period, the metal work was of metal, probably silver, gilt.

### III. SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO CIVIL WAR

From the accession of Henry VIII a great deal more information becomes available from contemporary records, most of which are now in the British Museum or the Public Record Office; these records include papers of the Great Wardrobe and the Jewel House, the two departments which certainly would have provided, repaired and maintained the Royal Maces, had they been the property of the exchequer. The Great Wardrobe Warrant Books are practically complete from 1554 to 1630,<sup>2</sup> omitting the reign of James I, and the accounts of 1557 to 1640,<sup>3</sup> and there are others as well.<sup>4</sup> No books of the Jewel House have survived, but there are a large number of relevant papers in the British Museum, Public Record Office, and elsewhere; the former include one of the very valuable inventories of the Jewel House for the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup> A careful examination of all these papers discloses no mention, with one exception, of any maces at all; this exception occurs in the inventories

<sup>1</sup> Planché 1876, pl. facing p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> LC. 5-32 to 38.

<sup>3</sup> LC. 9-52 to 102.

<sup>4</sup> Mostly LC. 2 series, coronations, funerals, etc.; special accounts.

<sup>5</sup> Stowe 555.



of the Jewel House where there is mention of a mace for a Sergeant-at-Arms, gilt, chased with fleurs-de-lis with wood inside, and weighing forty-three ounces (troy). Collins, in his admirable book on the Elizabethan plate,<sup>1</sup> has carefully analysed nearly all the Jewel House papers known for this period, and mentions this mace only. During this time there were always at least twenty-five King's Sergeants-at-Arms and, had they been issued with maces at the government's expense, it seems inconceivable that there would be no mention of any of them.

The irresistible conclusion to be drawn is that the Sergeants-at-Arms or possibly, in some cases, the Officers of State they attended, provided the maces themselves. In fact, there seems to be a very close analogy between the Sergeants-at-Arms and their maces before the Civil War, and British Army officers and their swords from the latter eighteenth century to the last war.

Appointments of Sergeants-at-Arms, like those of other Royal servants, were usually made for life, and sometimes Sergeants-at-Arms, like other servants, were appointed by letters patent for the reversion of an appointment, on the death of the holder, or to the first vacancy that occurred. This practice was considerably expanded and became very much more common during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Stuarts in particular made very great use of it, and in the case of the appointment of the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons, the reversion of the appointment was granted three times in ten months early in the Civil War. Appointments were also made in survivorship, in which an appointment was offered to two individuals or the 'longer liver' of them; the last of these to be granted by Charles I, the appointment of Richard Bishop and his son jointly as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Parliament at Oxford, was to cause much trouble after the Civil War.

Another appointment relevant to this article, in that the holder carried a mace on duty, is that of Sergeant Trumpeter, the first recorded holder being appointed in 1541.<sup>2</sup> Though he had, of course, no authority outside the trumpets, drums, and fifes, his ceremonial duties in many ways corresponded to those of the Sergeants-at-Arms. On appointment he was, like the Sergeant-at-Arms, issued with both mace and collar of SS. Like the Sergeants-at-Arms, he was in attendance with his mace at the creation of peers, and, again like the Sergeants-at-Arms, he received a fee according to the rank of the peer created. His mace was, unlike those of the Sergeants-at-Arms, state property. An extract from the Sergeant Trumpeters Book of Fees 1463 to date (before the Civil War), an Ashmolean Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, states that Benedict Brown was appointed in charge of the trumpets on 4th May 1541, and on 15th May was issued with the mace of his office; it was said to be of 20 ounces silver gilded with an iron bar down the centre weighing 6½ ounces; this mace was to be handed on from sergeant to sergeant, and to be delivered within one month of death to his successor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Jefferies Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I* (British Museum, 1955); it includes a complete transcript of Stowe 555. The entry of the mace is No. 1373, p. 538. From the brief description it does not appear to have been a Royal mace at all; it had no crown. Collins says it was sent to the Mint in 1600.

<sup>2</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII, vol. xviii, Part I, Grant No. 346 records Denization of Benedict Brune 'Sergeant of the Trumpets, a native of Pavia in the Emperors Dominions', in 1543.

<sup>3</sup> This mace cannot be the one mentioned by Collins, recorded in Stowe 555, which was said to weigh 43 oz.



Except during the reign of Henry VIII, the number of Sergeants-at-Arms seems to have been kept within the limit of thirty, and their payment was no longer on the original district basis but became an exchequer responsibility, indicating that they were no longer employed on a local basis. To this there were two exceptions: Wales, and the City of London, where the sergeant still received his pay from the revenue of manors of the Welsh Marches, and the City of London revenues, respectively. Their duties remained much the same and they still continued to deliver writs and carry out arrests on the authority of the King or the Officer of State mentioned in Appendix A.

Edward VI was attended by twenty-two Sergeants-at-Arms at his Coronation, but subsequent lists during his reign show that sixteen only were in attendance upon him, probably four at a time, working on a roster as mentioned earlier. At about this time the Sergeants-at-Arms were divided into two classes: the King's Sergeants, so-called, who attended the King, and the remainder, who were known as 'Special' or 'Peculiar' Sergeants-at-Arms, who carried out the orders of Officers of State, or were employed on a local basis as was mentioned earlier. Those employed on a local basis are generally mentioned in letters of appointment<sup>1</sup> as 'Sergeant for Wales', 'Sergeant for the City of London', etc. There was probably another, 'Sergeant for the North', an upgrading, probably, of one of the two Warder-Sergeants that the Lord Warden of the Northern Marches had been authorized to appoint in 1542.<sup>2</sup>

Gradually the letters of appointment were altered, and special sergeants were appointed, not as 'Sergeant for Wales', etc., but as sergeants to attend the Lord President of Wales, the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Treasurer, as the case might be, the latter two officers being the two Officers of State mentioned as entitled to employ Royal Sergeants-at-Arms to execute their commands in Appendix A. The Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons was already a special sergeant, attending the Speaker on a part-time basis. One of the special sergeant's duties was to carry his mace before the Officer on whom he attended on formal occasions, a practice no doubt copied from the mayors of cities and boroughs, where it had been in force for a long time. The definition of a Royal mace, and the duty of the Sergeants-at-Arms in carrying it was summed up in 1611 by John Guillim, Rouge-Croix Pursuivant, when writing of a mace as an heraldic charge,<sup>3</sup> as follows:

... I call this a Mace of Majestie, to distinguish the same from the Mace borne by a common sergeant, not only in form, but also in use; inasmuch as this is borne in all solemn assemblies before his Majesty, as also before his Highnesses Vice-Royes. In like manner the same is borne before the Lords Chancellor, Keeper, and Treasurer of England, and the Lords President of Wales, and of the North Parts, and the Speakers of the Parliament House in time of Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> Sergeants-at-Arms were not, apparently, always appointed by Letters Patent, some being appointed by a Lord Chamberlain's Warrant. This appears to have made no difference to their status and authority.

<sup>2</sup> A 'King's' Sergeant-at-Arms had now become one who attended the King, the others being called 'Lord Chancellor's, etc.' Sergeant-at-Arms. In the same way, there is later mention of the 'Lord Chancellor's, etc.' mace. Both terms are technically incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> John Guillim, *Display of Heraldrie* (London, 1611), Sect. IV, Ch. III, pp. 194 and 195. Guillim illustrates

this definition with a small sketch of a mace as an heraldic charge. This shows a mace with crown, etc., but with a baluster stem, presumably a feature of at least some of the Royal maces at the time; an interesting point, as this form of stem was used in some civic great maces in the first half of the eighteenth century, the present great mace of the City of London being of this type, though the Royal maces did not use it. St. John Hope thought Pyne, a well known mace maker at this time, had invented it (see St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, p. liv) but was evidently wrong.



The bearer thereof is called a Sergeant-at-Arms; whose office is to attend the estates and persons aforesaid, for the execution of their commands, for the arrests of traitors, the removal of forcible entries, and the apprehension of malefactors. A man that is under arrest of a Sergeant-at-Arms is protected all that time from all other arrests.

There are several significant points in John Guillim's statement, which is likely to be accurate because, being an Officer of Arms, he would have a first-hand knowledge of matters concerning ceremonial and precedence.

He defines the superiority of the Royal mace over others, and defines what a Royal mace is. This definition, which, to the best of my belief, has never been attempted by anybody else, could hardly be bettered today. He makes it clear that all Sergeants-at-Arms and the maces they bear are of equal status and importance. There is absolute equality between all Royal maces, whether carried in attendance on the King or one of the officers named. Of special sergeants already mentioned, he omits London, and it is noticeable that the sergeant appointed there was always appointed to the City of London and never to attend an individual such as the Lord Mayor. After the Civil War the City of London Sergeant-at-Arms was never issued with a mace, and received less money than the other Sergeants-at-Arms, so probably, in his case, the status was inferior to the others. The Speaker of the House of Commons is included by Guillim, but is not mentioned in Harley 297 (Appendix A to this paper) as one of the officers entitled to give orders to Sergeants-at-Arms. This is probably because Harley 297 refers to events in the fifteenth century or earlier, and it is generally believed that the use of the mace in the House of Commons did not begin until the sixteenth century. The Speaker's privilege of having the sergeant's mace borne before him was probably accorded in the sixteenth century as a compliment to the House, in that it made him of equal status to the two great Officers of State, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer.

It has generally been accepted that a Sergeant-at-Arms could make arrests or otherwise carry out orders given to him by virtue of the mace that he carried, which, as a Royal mace, represented the necessary authority. So far as the mace used by the House of Commons was concerned, this authority was challenged in 1542. Prynne, in his book on parliamentary procedure and precedence, quotes the incident at some length,<sup>1</sup> an abbreviated version of which is as follows:

Whilst Parliament was sitting, a Member, on his way to the House, was arrested on a King's Bench process at suit for a sum of two hundred marks. On hearing of this, the Speaker sent the Sergeant of Parliament (whom Prynne calls 'S.J.' no doubt John St. John) to demand the delivery of the prisoner, who was held by the City Sergeant. The Sergeant of the Commons told the clerks at the counter where the prisoners were held what 'he had in commandment', but they and other officers resisted. There was a general affray, and the sergeant was driven to defend himself with his mace, and 'had the crown thereof broken by bearing off a stroke and his man stricken down'. The Sheriffs duly arrived, rejected the sergeant's claim 'contemptuously'; the sergeant returned without the prisoner, and reported to the Parliament then in session.

The Speaker at once referred the case to the Lord Chancellor in the Upper House, who supported the Commons. The Lord Chancellor offered a writ, but this was refused by the Lower

<sup>1</sup> William Prynne, *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva* (London, 1684), Sect. X, Precedent XXIV.



House 'being of a clear opinion that all commandments and other acts proceeding from the neather House were to be done and executed by their sergeant without writ only by show of his mace, which was his warrant'.

The Sheriffs handed over the prisoner, and were summoned to the Bar of the House where they were duly disciplined, being committed to Little Ease in the Tower of London. The King is said to have commended the action by the House of Commons.

Prynne seems very doubtful whether this release was, in fact, in order. He states this is the one and only precedent, and quotes two later cases, temp. Elizabeth I and James I, when an insistence on a writ authorizing a release was upheld, the mace alone being deemed insufficient;<sup>1</sup> if the rules governing releases, as laid down in Appendix A, were still in force, his doubts are not surprising. What is of more interest is the fact that clearly the House, through its representative the Speaker, could order their sergeant to take executive action outside the House on their authority, thus putting the Speaker in the same category as the Lord Chancellor, etc.; further, it showed that members believed, whether correctly or not, that their mace represented this authority, and that any insult to the mace was an insult to the House. Evidently, the mace was held in great respect, and the ritual whereby it governs Parliamentary procedure today, which gradually evolved over the next three centuries, fully bears this out.

It is a curious fact that no official form or design of a mace has ever appeared except during the Commonwealth period. Some degree of standardization had been reached<sup>2</sup> by evolution over the centuries, and for this mace-designers were, probably, mainly responsible. The only information as to the form of Royal maces before the Civil War comes from pictures: there are no known survivals. Pictures, unfortunately, are most unreliable as a guide, because they are usually either portraits or scenes, and in neither is the mace the central object, or even, to most people, an important one. In fact, what is often reproduced is not what the mace looked like, but what the artist thought the mace looked like, working probably from memory, or a description, as he would seldom have an opportunity, or the desire, to sketch the mace accurately himself.

The first picture to include maces in the sixteenth century is the well-known one at Hampton Court, showing mounted Sergeants-at-Arms at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (pl. XLII a). The maces they carry are long and slender, and consist of very flimsy gilt crowns apparently on wooden staffs. While this may be artist's licence, it seems more probable that these were not, in fact, maces at all, but staffs of office provided for the occasion. The brass of John Borel, dated 1520, is probably reasonably correct, as showing the roughly standardized mace in use at the time.<sup>3</sup> The urn-shaped head, surmounted by a crown set with alternate crosses patée and fleurs-de-lis and two arches, with an orb and cross on top, set on a solid stem with a large foot-knop and an intermediate knop, roughly corresponds to the maces in use today. It was, however, very much smaller, being apparently only two or three feet long, and probably made of silver-gilt. The funeral procession of Queen Elizabeth I shows Sergeants-at-Arms

<sup>1</sup> William Prynne, *op. cit.*, Sect. X, Precedent XV, pp. 778 and 779 of 18 Eliz. and Precedent XVIII, pp. 800-2 temp. James I.

<sup>2</sup> Guillim (*op. cit.* in p. 210, n. 3) implies a form of

standardization, whereby a Royal mace could be distinguished from others. Being of silver-gilt would not in itself have been sufficient.

<sup>3</sup> St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, p. xxix.



carrying similar maces but somewhat larger (pl. XLII *b*). The maces in this case are fitted with caps of red velvet or plush in the original picture, but these were probably mourning insignia put on for the occasion.

A curious feature of these earlier maces is that as a general rule they bear a form of leaf-design on the head but no arms. Presumably the Royal Arms were set on a plate within the arches of the crown, as is the case today. Two later pictures, one of Sir John Glanville, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1640 (pl. XLIII *a*) and the other of his successor, William Lenthal (pl. XLIII *b*), do show arms on the head; the curious thing being that, whereas Lenthal's mace undoubtedly bears the Royal Arms (the unicorn supporter can be seen clearly), Glanville's does not. In the latter case, though the arms are indecipherable, they are certainly not the Royal Arms, and are possibly Glanville's own, the Royal Arms being on the other side. Alternatively, the two maces may not be the same, or the differences between them may be merely artist's licence. The correct explanation remains a mystery.

#### IV. CIVIL WAR AND RESTORATION OF CHARLES II

At the start of the Civil War, Charles I and his Court left London and set up a seat of government at Oxford at the beginning of 1643. With a few exceptions most of the Sergeants-at-Arms appear to have accompanied him; amongst the defectors however was John Hunt, Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons, who remained in London and continued to serve the Parliament there.

In 1645 the King assembled a Parliament at Oxford, and, in the absence of John Hunt, appointed Richard Bishop, one of the Sergeants-at-Arms in attendance, as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons there, the holder of the reversion after Hunt, Michael Crake, being unable to attend. The appointment was granted to him jointly with his son William, 'after the termination of the States of John Hunt and Michael Crake'.<sup>1</sup> Bishop later apparently was made responsible for receiving the Privy Purse money, which was to get him into trouble with the Commonwealth later on. After the surrender of Oxford, this Parliament broke up and no attempt was made to re-establish it.

Meanwhile, in London, Hunt had continued in the service of the Parliament carrying out the business of the House, arresting prisoners, etc., until he fell ill in September 1645 and died in January 1646. The House of Lords had apparently claimed the right to appoint Sergeants-at-Arms in the absence of the Lord Chamberlain, including the one for the House of Commons; this latter appointment was disputed by the House of Commons, who claimed the right of appointing their own sergeant. Amongst others, one James Norfolk was appointed as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons by the Lords, but the Commons refused to accept him. They also changed several Sergeants-at-Arms who had defected from Charles I, but had been approved by the Lords.<sup>2</sup>

In January 1646 Edward Birkhead, who had been appointed Sergeant-at-Arms to

<sup>1</sup> Index 6812. Michael Crake had been granted the reversion of the appointment, after the death of John Hunt, in July 1643 (see Index 6811).

<sup>2</sup> H. of L., vol. vii, September 1645 and H. of C., vol. iv, September/December 1645.



Charles I in December 1637, was appointed by the Commons as their Sergeant-at-Arms and accepted by the Lords. The Commons resolution sent to the Lords was in the old form, viz. that Birkhead attended the Speaker when there was a Parliament, and the King when there was no Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The fiction was still preserved that Parliament was making war on the King's advisers, and not on the King himself.

Birkhead held this appointment, in and out, until April 1660, when he was finally displaced by Norfolk. He was dismissed and reinstated at least twice. He was often a sick man and deputies frequently acted in his place, the principal one being Henry Middleton, possibly a former Sergeant-at-Arms of Charles I, who had been appointed in 1637, and had resigned, or been dismissed, before the war. In 1647 James Mortimer was appointed as Sergeant-at-Arms for the Committee of Revenue, and in 1649 Edward Dendy, the son of Edward Dendy Senior, Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lord Treasurer before the war, was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms to the Council of State, which had been recently formed.<sup>2</sup> Edward Dendy Junior was very active in the Commonwealth interest, for which he was later disowned by his father, who had remained loyal to the King throughout. From 1650 to 1654, in particular, many arrests were carried out for which Dendy was mainly responsible. Ten to twelve deputies were appointed every year, and Dendy himself was reappointed yearly.<sup>3</sup>

In 1653 Cromwell was appointed as Lord Protector, and the Council of State ordered that Sergeants Birkhead and Middleton should attend the Proclamation ceremony with their maces.<sup>4</sup>

In 1654 John Lynne was appointed as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Treasury Commissioners, and to receive a mace.<sup>5</sup> He, apparently with the same mace, appears to have acted also in attendance on the Commissioners of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth. In October 1659, for a procession through London, it is recorded that three Sergeants-at-Arms were summoned with the Commonwealth maces, Middleton for the Commons, Dendy for the Council of State, and Lynne for the Commissioners of the Great Seal.<sup>6</sup>

The old mace used in the House of Commons, presumably belonging to John Hunt, was used until after the death of the King in 1649. It was then decided to have a new mace, with no regal symbols or ornamentation, and one Thomas Maundy was ordered to submit designs for one. He subsequently delivered a mace made according to an approved design, which was given to the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons to be used there (pl. XLIV a, b). An ordinance was also published that all other great maces within the Commonwealth should conform to the same pattern, and that Thomas Maundy should have the monopoly of making them.<sup>7</sup>

The Maundy maces in general conformed to the Royal pattern which had been in use before, except that the Royal symbols were replaced by national ones, e.g. the Royal badges of rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis and harp were replaced by the St. George's Cross and the Irish Harp; the Royal Arms of the Stuart Kings were replaced by the

<sup>1</sup> H. of C., vol. iv, January 1646.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P. Dom., 27th March 1649.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1650 to 1654.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 19th December 1653.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 6th October 1654.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 5th October 1659.

<sup>7</sup> St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, pp. xlvii and xlix. He reproduces verbatim relevant extracts from House of Commons Journal and Calendar State Papers Domestic.



a. Sergeants-at-Arms mounted with maces at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520 (detail from the picture at Hampton Court)

*Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen*



b. Sergeants-at-Arms dismounted with maces at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth I (B.M. Add. 35324)

*Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*





a. Sir John Glanville, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1640-1



b. William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1643-53

*Reproduced by permission of the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons*



a



b

a. Francis Rous, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1653-4, holding the 1649 House of Commons mace (Commonwealth pattern).

b. The mace accentuated to show detail

*Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College*





a. Sir Edward Turnour, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1661-71,  
with the first House of Commons mace



b. The same, with the second House of Commons mace (1670)

*Reproduced by permission of the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons*

Commonwealth Arms, which were the Irish Harp impaling the cross of St. George. The pattern of roses and thistles on the stem, etc., was replaced by an oak tree with acorns and foliage springing from one central stem. The orb and cross on top of the crown were replaced by a mound with escutcheons bearing the Commonwealth badges surmounted by an acorn. The crown itself consisted of four half arches springing from a coronet set with eight St. George's crosses and eight harps, a total of sixteen ornaments, as compared with the four or six crosses and fleur-de-lis, a total of eight or twelve ornaments, with which the earlier mace crowns had usually been set.<sup>1</sup> The cost of the Commonwealth mace is recorded, and as this is known to have been at the rate of 13s. 4d. per ounce, its weight can be deduced as being 219 ounces, 14 dwt.

The provision of this mace established several precedents of considerable importance. First, it was a mace made for the use of the House of Commons, and for them alone; it therefore symbolized the authority of the Commons and nothing else, a fact which may well have been behind Cromwell's order to have it removed in 1653. Secondly, it was paid for from the Exchequer, and was therefore the State's property and not the sergeants', who carried it. Thirdly, the ordinance of the Commonwealth, that all great maces were to be of this pattern, was the only recorded occasion in history of an attempt to standardize maces to a set pattern, including the Royal or Government ones.

A new mace of similar pattern was made for the Council of State in September, 1649, and another for the Treasury Commissioners in March, 1655. The former, assuming it cost 13s. 4d. per ounce, weight and fashion, as did the earlier House of Commons mace, must have weighed 227 ounces, 5 dwt., and the latter probably slightly less than the Commons mace; as the case was included in the price paid, its exact weight cannot be deduced; a mace was also made for Ireland, probably of about 200 ounces, in March 1651 and one for Scotland of about 180 ounces in October 1655.<sup>2</sup> As regards the first three, we know that they were still in existence in October 1659. The Irish mace is mentioned by John Evelyn as having been carried at the funeral of Ireton, Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1652, after which nothing more is heard of it. Of the Scottish mace there is no further mention whatever.<sup>3</sup>

On 25th April 1660 the Convention Parliament, who were to recall Charles II, assembled, and one of their first actions was to appoint James Norfolk as their Sergeant-at-Arms; on the 27th April Birkhead handed over to him the mace and keys of the House of Commons.<sup>4</sup>

On the 8th May Charles II was proclaimed King in the Palace Yard at Westminster. In the procession which followed, the sergeant to the Commissioners of the Council of State carried their mace, accompanied by Sergeants Norfolk and Middleton,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Several civic maces of Maundy's design have survived, most with alterations to the insignia. The Marlborough mace is probably the nearest to the original form.

<sup>2</sup> St. John Hope 1895, vol. i, pp. xlvii, xlix.

<sup>3</sup> It is not entirely certain there ever was a Scottish mace made; Cal. S.P. Dom. transcribes the entry for it as a 'mare' the letter 'r' and 'c' being almost identical in the original script. The interpretation as 'mare' is less unlikely than it sounds, as a petition submitted to Charles II

on 29th July 1661 (see Cal. S.P. Dom.) by Thomas Maundy and others shows him to have been interested in agriculture. There does not seem to be any other contemporary reference to a Scottish mace, but St. John Hope accepts its existence.

<sup>4</sup> H. of C., vol. viii, 25th and 27th April 1660.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Morrah, 1660 *The Year of Restoration* (London, 1960).



and shortly after this the House of Lords started to prepare for the reception of Charles II. Sergeants-at-Arms had to be appointed and they had to be supplied with maces; accordingly, on the 12th May George Charnock reported with his mace, and was reappointed Sergeant-at-Arms, an office he had held under Charles I. Sergeants Lee (or Leigh; he seems to have spelt it both ways) and Bishop were appointed Sergeants at Mace: both had been Sergeants-at-Arms to Charles I, Sergeant Lee being in attendance on the Lord Chancellor, and were presumably not immediately re-appointed as Sergeants-at-Arms because they brought no maces with them. On the 14th May 'Sergeants at Mace' who held maces were ordered to hand them in for the Lords Committee to decide who was to have them, 'Mr. Middleton' and 'Mr. Moore' being specially mentioned to give an account of their actions. On the 16th May Middleton was ordered to hand his mace over to Sergeant Lee.<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st May the House of Commons passed a resolution that two new maces should be provided, 'one for this House and one for the Council of State, with the crown and the King's Majesty's Arms and such ornaments as have been usual', the Council of State to provide accordingly.<sup>2</sup> There is not much doubt that the Lords had already given some order to this effect, and that this was merely the Commons confirmation.

Now the mace in use at the House of Commons today presents nearly all the Maundy features, the Royal emblems being substituted for the Commonwealth emblems (pl. XLVI a). The similarity in design otherwise is remarkably close, and has led St. John Hope to aver that the present House of Commons mace is a conversion of the original Maundy mace. He states that, in fact, no new maces were made as a result of the Convention order; instead, the head of the old mace was rolled out flat, the badges hammered out, and new Royal badges embossed, similar treatment being apparently accorded to the other parts.<sup>3</sup> He also quotes a petition subsequently submitted by Richard Bishop in support of his theory.

I have made inquiries from several metal-workers as to the possibility of this operation, and all agree that it would be absolutely impossible without leaving considerable traces. The present Commons mace, though the workmanship is somewhat rough in places, shows no traces whatsoever of such an alteration, and if made from an older mace, must have been entirely remade. Further, if it is stripped, it will be found, though the design is entirely consistent, that pieces do not fit, and it appears to be built up from two maces of identical design, one slightly larger than the other; further, the orb and cross are of a design of about twenty years later. I believe that this is exactly what it is—a mace built up from the parts of two maces which were made in 1660, in accordance with the Commons ordinance, the older orb being replaced, probably about 1700. The design is certainly extremely close to the Maundy pattern, but this is to be expected, in view of the fact that the maker, who may well have been Maundy himself, had, by order of Parliament, made maces of no other design for the previous ten years.

Sergeant Bishop's petition, which is reproduced in full by St. John Hope,<sup>4</sup> was to

<sup>1</sup> H. of L., vol. xi, 12th to 16th May 1660.

<sup>2</sup> St. John Hope 1895, Note 35.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 392-3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. i, pp. xlix and l.



get his job back as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons, and to retain the mace in his possession. An abbreviated version is as follows:

He had been appointed Sergeant-at-Arms to James I and later to Charles I. He had attended the latter at Oxford until the surrender, and had been employed to wait on the House of Commons there by special warrant. He was also ordered to receive the Privy Seal money there for the King's use, for which he had since been sued at law, plundered of all his personal estate and several times imprisoned, and forfeited £6,000. His whole estate had been sequestered for several years, and he was nearly ruined.

He had been appointed as Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons at Oxford, together with his son during their joint lives, under the Great Seal, Sergeant Hunt, who had the legal claim to the office, being dead.

He also asked to keep the mace in his possession, which had been made at the State's charge, and delivered to him by the Committee of Lords for his Majesty's reception, and since altered at his own expense for his Majesty's service.

This petition is endorsed as being referred to the Attorney-General for his opinion on the 20th July.

St. John Hope quotes this petition in support of his theory, and considers that the alterations that he has suggested were carried out were those referred to by Bishop in the last paragraph. In fact, this petition completely refutes St. John Hope's theory, who seems to think that Bishop was Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons when he submitted it; in fact he was not, and never held the office after the Civil War at all. The mace he mentions as being in his possession could not possibly, therefore, have been the one being used in the House of Commons, who were in session at the time and so must have been using another mace.

Whilst it is impossible to say with certainty what was the fate of this original mace of Richard Bishop's, almost certainly the Commonwealth House of Commons mace, there is enough information to form a fairly good idea.

St. John Hope does not mention that there were, in fact, two other relevant papers besides Richard Bishop's formal petition. The first, which was a version of this petition, with certain minor differences, was not submitted to the Attorney-General, and is of no importance. The second was the petition as submitted by Bishop already quoted, and the third a copy of the Attorney-General's reply which is dated 26th October.<sup>1</sup> Here the Attorney-General starts by repeating Bishop's petition verbatim, but omitting all mention of the mace. He then goes on to state that Michael Crake, a Scotsman, and formerly footman in the service of the late King, obtained a grant dated 19 Charles I of the office of Sergeant-at-Arms to attend the Speaker when there was a Parliament, and his Majesty's person when there was not, after John Hunt, but had not been permitted to execute this service at the sessions at Oxford; the King thereupon appointed Bishop, who did execute the office until the surrender. The Attorney-General confirms the grant to Richard Bishop and his son William, dated 21 Charles I, and that since then Bishop has suffered much damage for having held the post.

He finally recommends that Crake should be suspended or discharged, and Bishop appointed as Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons.

<sup>1</sup> S.P., vol. vii, No. 71.



Bishop was, however, doomed to disappointment, and was to find that his rival was the man in possession, James Norfolk. He petitioned the King again for his re-appointment in October, complaining that James Norfolk was applying for the post.<sup>1</sup> The dispute continued during the winter, and finally, in March 1661, Bishop, Crake, and Birkhead were all suspended from the office of Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons,<sup>2</sup> which was finally given to Norfolk in May 1661.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, on the 17th September 1660, the Lord Chamberlain had sent a warrant to the goldsmith to provide a mace for the Sergeant Trumpeter after 'the antient forme and manner'.<sup>4</sup> This was duly provided, sent to the Jewel House, and issued to the Sergeant Trumpeter in December 1660.<sup>5</sup> This mace is still in the Tower, and apparently in its original form (pl. XLVI b). Its weight is now, without the staff, about 214 ounces. It appears to have varied very little since it was first made. If the mace in use before the Civil War was the one made in 1541 which weighed 20 ounces only without the staff, the new one was certainly not made to the 'antient forme and manner'.

There are several significant points about the foregoing. First, the Attorney-General makes no reference to the mace at all, nor does Bishop refer to it again in his petition submitted in October. The reason for this undoubtedly was that the decision as regards the mace did not rest with the Attorney-General, but with the Lord Chamberlain, who probably gave it to Bishop when the petition was forwarded. The second significant point is the warrant to the goldsmith sent direct by the Lord Chamberlain; this was contrary to the usual procedure, which would have been to have sent it to the Master of the Jewel House. Further, in ordering a new piece of plate, some indication as to weight and size was nearly always given, and here there is neither. The size of the mace is apparently left to the goldsmith to decide.

What seems most likely to have happened is as follows: Bishop, with three other Sergeants, Charnock, Topham, and Harnsett, received orders at the end of June, to wait on the King for the Summer Quarter, i.e. until 29th September.<sup>6</sup> Each received a personal letter saying they were to attend with their maces, which proves, incidentally, that there were other maces available besides the Commonwealth ones. Bishop probably received the decision as regarding his mace from the Lord Chamberlain early in August. In all probability, in view of his long service to the King, and the hardships he had undergone, his petition would have been granted; this would, at any rate, have been in accordance with the usual procedure, as practised later. A mace, however, would be a singularly useless gift, having only bullion value, and in view of the financial loss Bishop had suffered on the King's behalf, the Lord Chamberlain might well have wished to help him further. He may well have said that a new Sergeant Trumpeter's mace would shortly be required, which would be about the same weight as that which Bishop had received as a gift. A warrant would be issued to the goldsmith, and if Bishop took the mace to the goldsmith at the end of his time of waiting, he would probably receive a very much better price than the bullion value.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S.P. 29, vol. xx, No. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Index 6813, March 1660-1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1661.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 5-137, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> L.C. 5-107, p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> L.C. 3-33, June 1660.

<sup>7</sup> Though the warrant was addressed to Robert Vyner, the King's goldsmith, the latter was the banker only, and the mace would probably have gone to his cousin, Sir Thomas Vyner, who is thought to have provided most of



This, I believe, was what was done. The mace was entirely remade, and bears a resemblance to the Maundy pattern. It is possibly significant that the crown is set with eight crosses and eight fleurs-de-lis, the same number as the St. George's crosses and harps of the Maundy mace.

The two other maces may have been dealt with in much the same way. Sergeant Lee, who received the mace from Middleton, was reappointed as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lord Chancellor. On the dissolution of the Council of State, he would very likely have received their mace and handed the existing one to the Jewel House. The third parliamentary mace would probably have been given to the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Lord Treasurer and this would probably have been replaced later by a Royal mace as one became available. The Jewel House sent two maces to Ireland in December 1660 for the Irish Lord Chancellor and President of Connaught, and there is no indication as to where these came from, or how they were paid for as accounts are not available. They may very well have been the two Commonwealth maces.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. SERGEANTS-AT-ARMS FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE PRESENT DAY

The accession of Charles II marks a new era for Sergeants-at-arms, in that each received an issue of a mace on appointment 'until death or other avoydance of place', instead of having to provide one himself as before the Civil War. On termination of appointment the mace was normally returned to the Jewel House, who issued it to his successor, so that in a sense the history of the Sergeants-at-Arms became the history of the maces as well, and vice versa.

In 1660-1 Sergeants-at-Arms were appointed as follows: for attendance upon the King, 16; for attendance upon the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord President of Wales, Ireland, London, one each; the appointment to attend the Lord President of the North was not renewed and the Sergeant Trumpeter was appointed in 1661. All appointments were for life, and later, sometimes to two persons in survivorship, chiefly towards the end of Charles II's reign.

The names of the additional, or special sergeants are given in Appendix C.

Of these appointments, eleven of the King's sergeants, and the Lord Chancellor's sergeant,<sup>2</sup> had been appointed on letters patent issued before the Civil War. The remainder received new letters patent. Duties were much the same as before the Civil War, consisting mainly of arrests and attendance on the King at State Trials, and on State occasions such as proclamations, opening of Parliament, etc.

the plate at the time, and would have probably been only too willing to help out the Lord Chamberlain in a matter of this sort. He lent £100,000 to the Treasury soon after Charles II's accession.

<sup>1</sup> These transactions would have gone through the Jewel House, and probably the ordinary market price paid. According to the Jewel House Warrant Book, another mace was provided for the President of Connaught in July 1662; again there is no record of its source.

The Great Wardrobe provided two maces for the King's Deputy in Ireland, supplied by Sir Thomas Viner, and one for the President of Munster, supplied by Edward

Backwell, in August and October 1660; all were paid for at full market price, and the weights were between two hundred and fifty and two hundred and sixty ounces. Another, supplied by Sir Thomas Viner also, weight two hundred and sixty-two ounces eighteen penny weights, was provided for the Irish House of Commons in August 1662. See Great Wardrobe Warrants Book L.C. 5-60, pp. 8, 54, and 335, L.C. 5-39, pp. 76, 80, and 178, and Jewel House Warrant Book L.C. 5-107, pp. 69, 70, and 91.

<sup>2</sup> These terms, used for brevity, are technically incorrect. All were Sergeants-at-Arms in Ordinary to the King, some being appointed to attend the Lord Chancellor, etc.



A paper dated December 1661 quotes the then Lord Chamberlain's rights.<sup>1</sup> These included the nomination of all Royal servants, 'above stairs', and this of course included all the Sergeants-at-Arms.

*Sergeants-at-Arms attending the King*

In 1663 the King's Sergeants-at-Arms received a rise in pay from 12*d.* per day to 3*s.* a day, and 2*s.* 6*d.* a day for board wages, a rise that was long overdue, as pay of 12*d.* per day had been current since the fourteenth century (an application for an increase at the start of the Civil War had been refused). This increase was also given to the special sergeants at about the same time.

From about 1667 appointments were made during the King's pleasure, instead of for life, as had normally been the case before.

The number of King's Sergeants-at-Arms remained at sixteen until after James II's coronation; one of them, John Middleton, was said by the Jewel House to have lost his mace,<sup>2</sup> and was dismissed accordingly. The numbers of King's Sergeants-at-Arms was then reduced to eight, the remaining seven being put on pension.<sup>3</sup> This number remained at eight until the twentieth century, when they were reduced to three, the present figure. In 1689 collars of SS were issued to Sergeants-at-Arms, but, unlike the maces, they became their own property on issue.

As already stated, maces were issued to Sergeants-at-Arms on appointment, and it was originally intended that they should remain in the sergeant's own custody. It was, however, frequently found necessary to withdraw them for repair, redistribution, or other reasons, and by 1700 it had evidently become the custom for Sergeants-at-Arms to use each other's maces, which were left at convenient places, such as palaces. Three, for example, are shown as being at St. James's Palace in a distribution list of this date, and two more at Hampton Court, two only being in custody of the Sergeants-at-Arms themselves.<sup>4</sup>

From 1700 onwards there is very little information as to the movement of maces, as the Jewel Office Delivery Book shows only the formal issue of the mace on appointment. There appears to have been a 'drift' into the Lord Chamberlain's office, between 1760, possibly, and 1810, where they were held until 1869, when they were put on display at the Tower; the Sergeant Trumpeter's mace was added to the Tower display between 1870 and 1880, and two more maces in 1959. This did not include the Lord Chancellor's mace or maces, which remained in his sergeant's custody; the House of Commons mace, so called, was returned when there was no Parliament.

In 1852 a memorandum was drawn up for the Lord Chamberlain on the subject of Sergeants-at-Arms in attendance upon the Queen, of whom there were eight, and of these four were in waiting on State occasions only. Their dress was given, which was the same as it is for the special sergeants today, i.e. black Court dress with black stockings, breeches, knee and shoe buckles, and sword and collar of SS with white

<sup>1</sup> L.C. 3-33, December 1661.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, he probably did not lose it; the Jewel House Account Book L.C. 9-46, pp. 10 and 11, shows that the Jewel House was in a muddle—see also Section VII of this

article, and Cal. Treas. Books (Shaw), vol. viii, quoting case as put up by Middleton, 2 July 1685.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 5-201, pp. 216-19.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 9-44, End of Book.



rosettes, now replaced by bows. An interesting point is that of the eight Sergeants-at-Arms on the establishment at the time, five had their duties carried out by deputies, who were paid accordingly. Their duties were said to be purely ceremonial. Early in the next century this number was reduced to three, two in waiting and one in reserve, as today.

*Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Lord Chancellor*

In 1660 Humphrey Leigh (or Lee) was reappointed as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lord Chancellor, on a patent dating from Charles I. On his death in 1673 he was succeeded by Sir George Charnock and Roger Charnock, in survivorship, both Sergeants-at-Arms attending the King. The patent was slightly altered, the attendance to include the Lord Keeper as an alternative to the Lord Chancellor, and pay to be made from the profits of the hanaper, which was continued for his successors.

In 1696 Peter Perssehouse was appointed as Lord Chancellor's Sergeant-at-Arms,<sup>1</sup> probably on the recommendation of the Lord Chancellor, as he had not been a Sergeant-at-Arms before. His successor Sarles Goatley,<sup>2</sup> was appointed not for life, but during 'good behaviour', a form which, to the best of my belief, still stands. It was a form which had been used in the fifteenth century, but in this case may have meant that the Lord Chancellor could himself dismiss the sergeant, who would otherwise be subject to the King's pleasure, as interpreted by the Lord Chamberlain. There appears to have been only one small hitch later, which occurred in 1858, when the Queen pointed out to the Prime Minister that she, and not he, was responsible for the appointment of Sergeants-at-Arms, including the House of Lords.

*Sergeant-at-Arms in attendance to the House of Lords*

In 1667 the House of Lords brought in the use of the mace, having petitioned the King to do so, apparently for the first time.<sup>3</sup> In 1680 Sir John Pettus, in his book on parliamentary procedure, defines the position of the Sergeants-at-Arms as he then saw it.<sup>4</sup> Of these he says there are twenty, sixteen in the King's personal service, the other four distributed, in time of Parliament, one to attend the Speaker of the House of Lords (if he is not the Lord Chancellor), one the Speaker of the House of Commons, one the Lord Chancellor, and one the Lord Treasurer. The Speaker of the House of Lords is usually the Lord Chancellor, and therefore there is usually one spare during Parliament, and two when there is no Parliament. He states that the Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Lords has the privilege of carrying the mace before the Speaker of the House, whether he is the Lord Chancellor or not, to the Chair of State, then lays the mace on the woolsack and departs, returning again only when the Speaker leaves at the rising of the House. He further states that, whereas the Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons attends debates, the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lords does not; that the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Speaker of the Lords and Chancellor is chief of

<sup>1</sup> Index 6819; the docquet included attendance on the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, as well as the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Keeper, and this was included in all subsequent letters patent of this appointment.

<sup>2</sup> Index 6820. Sarles Goatley had acted as deputy to

Perssehouse since 1703. He died shortly after his appointment to Perssehouse's place in April 1713; see also Sergeants-at-Arms in attendance House of Lords.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. Treas. Books, vol. ii, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pettus 1680, Ch. XIX.



the twenty Sergeants-at-Arms: he has a deputy under him, so that one attends the Chancellor and the other the Speaker if necessary.

Sir John Pettus's account is not quite correct. First, as subsequent evidence shows, the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Lord Chancellor was not the chief of the Sergeants-at-Arms. Such an office, if there was one (there is no sign of it ever having been exercised), would probably go to the senior or 'eldest' sergeant. It so happened, however, that at the time of writing, 1680, the Lord Chancellor's sergeant, Sir George Charnock, was the senior, as his predecessor Humphrey Leigh had been since the Civil War, which would account for the mistake. Secondly, there is no record of any appointment as Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Lords alone, though the Lord Chancellor's sergeant, or his deputy, have often been given the title. The need for this deputy is self-evident; on occasions when the Lord Chancellor was not available to act as Speaker in the Lords, his Sergeant-at-Arms would not be either, and the latter would have to be replaced by a deputy. Sir John Pettus implies that this deputy was also a Sergeant-at-Arms; under the Stuarts this usually was the case, as one of the King's sixteen sergeants would easily be made available, but when the number was later reduced by half it was not so easy to arrange. There is no trace of an additional Sergeant-at-Arms for the House of Lords, as Sir John Pettus alleges, and the total seems to have been not twenty but nineteen.

From 1670 there had been a reversion of the office of Lord Chancellor's sergeant (then Humphrey Leigh) granted first to Edward Wood, and secondly to Sir George Charnock, who had been a King's sergeant since the Civil War and earlier. On the death of Leigh in 1673, Sir George Charnock assumed the office in survivorship with his brother, Roger Charnock, himself a King's sergeant since 1670, and the former resigned his office as King's sergeant to another of the family, Thomas Charnock, whom he stated he intended to have as his deputy.<sup>1</sup> This was the position in 1680 when Sir John Pettus wrote his book. Sir George Charnock died in February 1684, and Roger assumed office in his place, resigning his place as King's sergeant to another of the family, John Charnock. If a deputy was required during James II's short-lived Parliament, one, probably Thomas, was readily available.

On William III's accession and recall of Parliament early in 1689, the question of a Sergeant-at-Arms for the Lords arose in an acute form, for the following reason. The appointment of Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper was placed in commission until May 1693, when a Lord Keeper was appointed; the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who was *not* a Commissioner of the Great Seal, was appointed as Speaker of the House of Lords, and Roger Charnock, either because his patent did not cover it, or because his loyalty was in doubt, did not attend him. Instead, the senior King's sergeant, Sir Roger Harsnet, did so; the King's sergeants were now down to eight in number, and evidently Sir Roger had to do his share of attendance on the King himself, so he appointed one Thomas Shirley as his deputy to act for him in the House of Lords in attendance on the Speaker there, when he was not available himself. A mace, a new one bearing William III's arms and cypher, was issued to Shirley for use in the Lords,<sup>2</sup> and he is referred to in contemporary papers as Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of

<sup>1</sup> Cal. Treas. Books, vol. iv, 1673.

<sup>2</sup> L.C. 9-43, p. 16.



Lords, though he was not, properly speaking, a Sergeant-at-Arms at all at the time. On Sir Roger Harsnet's death in October 1692, Shirley was sworn in as Sergeant-at-Arms to attend the King in his place, and took over his mace.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed to continue in the Lords as well, until May 1693, when, with the appointment of a Lord Keeper, the Lord Keeper's Sergeant-at-Arms, Roger Charnock, apparently took his place there.

Peter Perssehouse, appointed Lord Chancellor's Sergeant-at-Arms, vice Roger Charnock, in 1696, is referred to in the Jewel House Books as 'Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Lords' in 1699,<sup>2</sup> when he received a mace, presumably to be used there.

In 1703, however, one Sarles Goatley comes on the scene. Though not formally appointed to office, he received the Lord Chancellor's mace and did duty in the House of Peers as Sergeant-at-Arms on frequent occasions, generally acting on Perssehouse's behalf as deputy. This state of affairs continued until the death of Perssehouse in 1713, upon which Sarles Goatley was formally appointed his successor, as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lord Chancellor 'during good behaviour', a form which was subsequently followed for his successors.

Goatley, dying shortly after his appointment, was succeeded by Charles Stone as Lord Chancellor's sergeant. Francis Jephson, as his deputy, formally received the Lord Chancellor's mace on Stone's behalf in 1713 on appointment. Francis Jephson succeeded Stone on his death in 1716, receiving the mace formally again, this time in his own right as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lord Chancellor, and is referred to also as Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Lords in 1718. He subsequently made use of his son Richard as his deputy, who formally succeeded his father in 1745. Richard was formally appointed by Lord Chamberlain's Warrant,<sup>3</sup> but not by letters patent, as Sergeant-at-Arms to attend the Speaker of the House of Lords in 1756,<sup>4</sup> in addition to his other appointment to attend the Lord Chancellor. It is probable that, now the duties of King's Sergeant-at-Arms had become mainly ceremonial, no difficulty would have been experienced in finding a deputy to the Lord Chancellor's sergeant if one was needed.

These deputies in the first half of the century were not Sergeants-at-Arms, so a mace could not be formally issued to them. This led, no doubt, to a second mace being kept, probably at the House of Lords, or St. James's, for use in the House of Lords when the Lord Chancellor's was not available. There is evidence that during the eighteenth century several maces were deposited at various palaces: there were those in St. James's for example, in 1700, used by the Sergeants-at-Arms on duty there irrespective of their proper owners.

In 1827 there were two maces in the House of Lords, one being called 'The House of Lords Mace', probably the Charles II one in use there today, and the other the Lord Chancellor's Mace proper, which was called 'The Court of Chancery Mace'.<sup>4</sup> One of the three maces in St. James's Palace referred to earlier was this so-called

<sup>1</sup> L.C. 5-151, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> L.C. 9-44, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 5-162, p. 70. There are numerous entries in Calendar Treasury Books, vols. xx to xxvii covering period 1705 to 1713 showing Sarles Goatley and Charles

Stone as receiving pay for attending the Speaker of the House of Peers in the Lords.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 11-38. Bill Book for quarter ending 5th January 1828.



'House of Lords Mace', but I think it unlikely that it had been used in the House of Lords continuously during the intervening hundred years.

*Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Speaker of the House of Commons*

Sir James Norfolk was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms to attend the Speaker of the House of Commons in May 1661. His patent stated that the appointment was during the suspension of Edward Birkhead, Michael Crake, and Richard Bishop; the appointment was for life, and there is no mention of attending the King when there is no Parliament.<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that the appointment was made in the teeth of the Lord Chamberlain's recommendation, this omission may well have been deliberate.

Whilst Richard Bishop accepted the situation, and also the appointment as one of the sixteen Sergeants-at-Arms attending the King, Crake did not, and subsequently harried Norfolk to such an extent that the latter was compelled to ask for legal protection. Crake subsequently died, after which Norfolk probably thought he would have no further trouble: but in this he was sadly mistaken. In 1667 a complaint about Norfolk's conduct appears to have been sent to the Lord Chamberlain, and the latter asked the Speaker for advice as to how he should deal with the matter;<sup>2</sup> he evidently did not wish to have another incident.

Norfolk, however, had always been a 'Lords' rather than a 'Commons' man, and a clash came in June 1675. On the 9th June Norfolk, who had arrested some persons on the orders of the Commons, was ordered to release them by the Lords, and did so. The Commons, furious at having their authority over-ruled, placed Norfolk under arrest, and sent him to the Tower. In his place the Lord Chamberlain appointed John Topham, who immediately rearrested the prisoners on the order of the Commons. The Lords, in their turn, furious at the Commons action, dismissed Topham the same day, and the Lord Chamberlain appointed James Beck in his place.<sup>3</sup> A few days afterwards the King prorogued Parliament to let tempers cool down.

When they reassembled on the 5th October, William Bishop, the son of Sir Richard Bishop, now dead, was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons, in accordance with the original patent issued to his father by Charles I, and this was made clear by the Lord Chamberlain at the time.<sup>4</sup> There seems to have been no objection to the appointment, and Bishop must have thought that it would be plain sailing. In this he was at fault, as he had to reckon with John Topham.

In 1676 it was pointed out, apparently at the King's insistence, that Norfolk, being a royal servant, could not be placed under arrest and a 'certificate' was issued by the Lord Chamberlain to this effect.<sup>5</sup>

Two years later, in 1678, Bishop's wife fell ill; Bishop, who must have been a very trusting or very foolish man, or possibly both, wished to be with her, and so arranged, on the advice of the Speaker, that John Topham should take his place in the Commons during his absence, and that they should share the fees between them. In February 1679 Topham, however, refused to account for them, and, according to Bishop's own

<sup>1</sup> Index 6814, May 1661.

<sup>2</sup> L.C. 5-138, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 5-141, pp. 204-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 256 and 263.

<sup>5</sup> L.C. 5-142, p. 154.



statement, was endeavouring to get the reversion of the place for his son; this, Bishop thought, would prevent him selling the place, so he asked for a caveat to be issued.<sup>1</sup> On the 12th March 1679 the Lord Chamberlain proposed a compromise between them, thinking, no doubt correctly, that Topham wanted the job himself. Bishop, rightful Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons, was to appoint John Topham or 'such as John Topham shall nominate' to exercise the said office during the life of Sir William Bishop.<sup>2</sup> The question of fees was not mentioned; this, no doubt, was to be settled between them, and this appears to have been accepted until the dissolution of Parliament.

It did not, however, satisfy Topham, and in 1681 he persuaded the Lord Chamberlain, no doubt with the Speaker's acquiescence, to send a docquet to the Attorney-General for the appointment of Topham as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons, vice Bishop, resigned.<sup>3</sup> This however was not passed, and as Parliament had now been dissolved the matter was left as it was.

With the accession of James II a new parliament was called, and the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Speaker had to be summoned. Evidently not wishing to revive the quarrel, the Lord Chamberlain appointed one Richard Shoreditch, a Sergeant-at-Arms attending the King, vice Bishop, 'whose right it is by patent to attend'.<sup>4</sup> This appears to have passed without comment, and Richard Shoreditch served through James II's first and only Parliament.

In 1685 seven Sergeants-at-Arms attending the King were placed on pension, one of whom was the unhappy Bishop. In view of his undoubted right to be Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons, who apparently now refused to have him, he was granted an additional pension in compensation.

On the accession of William III, on the flight of James II, Parliament was reconvened, and one of their first resolutions was to appoint John Topham to act as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons; though never confirmed, John Topham was to hold this appointment to the day of his death, though he appears to have been far from popular with some of the members. Bishop remained Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons *de jure* while Topham held the appointment *de facto*.

After Topham's death the Lord Chamberlain appointed, probably on the Speaker's recommendation, Samuel Powell; Bishop, after trying again for the place, was finally persuaded to resign. Powell was appointed under the usual terms, to attend the Speaker while there was a Parliament, and the King at other times, with a life appointment. He seems to have been a very difficult man to get on with, but survived until 1705, when he was succeeded by Thomas Wiburgh, who was appointed, not for life, but 'during good behaviour'. Neither Powell nor Wiburgh, nor any other succeeding Sergeant-at-Arms had been in attendance upon the King only as Sergeant-at-Arms before the appointment: this was contrary to the practice of the Stuarts, and earlier Kings, who usually appointed one of the Sergeants-at-Arms attending upon the King as Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons.

No further difficulties arose as regards this appointment, and from 1836 an assistant Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons was also appointed. There is today a Deputy

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Dom. Car. II 411, No. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Entry Book 51, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 5-144, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 5-145, p. 198.



Sergeant-at-Arms as well as an assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, and a staff of clerks, since the Sergeant-at-Arms takes a large part in the administration of the House.

*Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Lord Treasurer*

Edward Dendy, senior, who had held the appointment before the Civil War, reported on Charles II's accession, but was reappointed for one day only; probably on account of the services of his son to the Parliament cause, he submitted a petition to Charles II, deploring the latter's conduct and praying that his shortcomings would not be visited on his own head; Thomas Warner was appointed in his place. He was appointed under the same terms as had been Edward Dendy: i.e. the appointment was for life and he was given a monopoly of serving writs upon any Sheriffs or others in default to the Exchequer.<sup>1</sup> Evidently this monopoly was not observed, as in 1662 the Lord Chamberlain issued an order to the other Sergeants-at-Arms wherein it was reiterated. He received his pay from the Exchequer, and this was later raised at the same time as that of the other Sergeants-at-Arms.

In 1674 a successor, John Ramsey, was appointed for life. Though the monopoly does not appear in his letters patent, he subsequently received a warrant entitling him to an additional £250 a year, for collecting Aids to the King's Revenue.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded by Henry Ball, and in 1684 Philip Ryley was appointed in his place, the latter receiving neither the £250 a year, nor the monopoly, which was not repeated. He was appointed, as were other Sergeants-at-Arms at the time, not for life, but during the King's pleasure.<sup>3</sup>

In March 1689, on the accession of William III, the Gentlemen Ushers Daily Waiters were ordered to swear and admit Ralph Marshall to the appointment. This was evidently without the knowledge of the Lord Chamberlain, who reappointed Philip Ryley in the following month, and informed the Clerk of the Signet that no appointments as Sergeants-at-Arms to the Lord Treasurer or anywhere else were to be made without his authority.<sup>4</sup>

With the establishment of Joint Stock Banks in the late seventeenth century and the commencement of the National Debt, what amounted to a National Credit System became established; this made the collection of revenues a very much simpler matter, and the appointment of Sergeants-at-Arms to the Lord Treasurer consequently much declined in importance. In 1702 Philip Ryley resigned in favour of his son, Reginald Ryley, and was appointed Surveyor of the Woods and Forests; Reginald Ryley's docquet, which was never passed, appointed him on the same terms as his father, but 'during good behaviour', instead of 'during the King's pleasure'.<sup>5</sup> Apparently his behaviour was not sufficiently good, as his appointment was never confirmed, and Philip Ryley was reappointed in his place!<sup>6</sup>

The last Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was also Lord Chamberlain, resigned on the accession of George I, from which time the appointment was put in Commission, as it is today, the Prime Minister being First Lord of the Treasury. The

<sup>1</sup> Index 6812, July 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Index 6816, July 1675.

<sup>3</sup> Index 6817, September 1684.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 5-149, pp. 55, 74, 107.

<sup>5</sup> Index 6819, June 1701.

<sup>6</sup> Index 6820, June 1702 and February 1706.



appointment of Sergeant-at-Arms to the Lord Treasurer must have become virtually a sinecure, except for ceremonial duties, but Sergeants-at-Arms continued to be appointed, and maces apparently issued to them, until the nineteenth century. The appointment was finally abolished, as a sinecure, on the 31st December 1831, in spite of bitter complaints from the then holder, a clergyman, the Revd. D. Rodney Murray.<sup>1</sup>

*Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Lord President of Wales*

John Bettinson, who had held the appointment before the Civil War, was re-appointed on Charles II's accession, and was paid, like his predecessors, from the King's Welsh revenues. No mace, however, was issued until 1682, when it was received by John Underhill, the then holder of the appointment. In 1685 the Treasury Commissioners evidently considered that the appointment was superfluous, as the Lord Chamberlain complained that the docquet for Francis Smythe, successor to John Underhill, had been held up for eighteen months. It was, he said, an important appointment, the holder being responsible for issuing writs for contempt, on behalf of the Lord President of Wales, as did the Sergeant-at-Arms for the Lord Chancellor in England.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this, the appointment does not appear to have been renewed after Francis Smythe, though there may, of course, have been subsequent Sergeants-at-Arms appointed there on a local basis.

*Sergeant-at-Arms attending the Lord President of the North*

This appointment was not renewed after the Civil War.

*Sergeant-at-Arms for Ireland*

There had been Sergeants-at-Arms in Ireland before and after the Civil War, where they were employed in much the same way as in England. They were, however, appointed locally, the last recorded appointment under Royal letters patent being in 1461, by Edward IV. Charles II appointed one, Philip Carpenter, for what reason is not apparent. This appointment was never renewed.

*Sergeant-at-Arms to the City of London*

Matthew Barker, who was appointed before the Civil War, continued in office under Charles II, and was replaced in 1672 by William Man. He was paid from the King's revenues from the City of London and Middlesex, and did not receive a mace. Whether the Sergeants-at-Arms to the City of London carried the City mace on formal occasions or not is not clear. They certainly did not always do so, as William Man is reported as being the City Sword Bearer in 1686,<sup>3</sup> and John Barton, Sergeant-at-Arms, the City Sword Bearer in 1722.<sup>4</sup> The last recorded appointment as Sergeant-at-Arms to the City of London was Richard Beresford in January 1759. Subsequent appointments were made by the City of London, as they are today.

*Sergeant Trumpeter*

Gervase Pryce was appointed Sergeant Trumpeter in 1660, and issued with a

<sup>1</sup> L.C. 1-44, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> L.C. 5-145, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Index 6818, August 1686.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 3-63, p. 264.



special mace. The appointment must then have been one of considerable importance, as besides being issued with trumpet, mace and, later, collar of SS, as were the Sergeants-at-Arms, he was responsible (as his letters patent, issued in 1662,<sup>1</sup> show) for all trumpet, drum, and fife bands within the King's Dominions, and these bands had to receive a licence from him before they could perform. Pryce and his successor, Matthew Shore, did not, for some reason, use the Sergeant Trumpeter's mace during James II's reign, but were issued with one belonging to a Sergeant-at-Arms instead, when necessary; the one used at the proclamation of William III, surprisingly enough, was a new James II mace.<sup>2</sup> During William III's reign, however, and subsequently, the proper Sergeant Trumpeter's mace was used. Though the licence system appears to have largely lapsed in the eighteenth century, the appointment must still have been one of some importance, as in 1775 one of the King's Sergeants-at-Arms, Joseph Probart, transferred from Sergeant-at-Arms attending the King to be Sergeant Trumpeter.<sup>3</sup> In general, the use of the mace by the Sergeant Trumpeter seems to have been given up from the end of the eighteenth century, and the last recorded appearance of a Sergeant Trumpeter with a mace is at the coronation of George IV.<sup>4</sup> During the nineteenth century the post declined in importance, and became a sinecure, being finally abolished at the beginning of the twentieth century.

#### VI. THE ROYAL MACES FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE PRESENT DAY: HISTORY, CONSTRUCTION, AND OTHER DATA

With the restoration of Charles II, Sergeants-at-Arms were issued with maces provided by the State, instead of having to find their own, as had been the case before the Civil War. These maces were on charge to the Jewel House, and later, after 1782, when the Jewel House Department was closed down, to the Lord Chamberlain's Office; books, therefore, had to be kept, which recorded their provision, movements, and repairs, and most of these books are in existence today in the Public Record Office. For the first time, therefore, we have some information about the maces themselves.

A great many maces were provided during Charles II's reign. Probably some were new, some were new-made from older ones, and some were a combination of the two. As the requisite books are missing during Charles II's reign, it is impossible to say what the total number was. From James II's reign onwards, the books are complete, which show that during his reign three new maces were provided, and others partly remade; during William III's reign a total of four new maces were provided, and six older ones were recast and new-made, the last new one being made in 1695; no more new maces were made after this date, the total provided being probably about thirty-five altogether.<sup>5</sup> Of these, some were sent to Ireland: these were probably a 'write-off', though in at least one case orders were issued that the pieces of the old maces that they replaced were to be returned,<sup>6</sup> as the maces at this time were

<sup>1</sup> Index 6813, January 1662.

<sup>2</sup> L.C. 9-43, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 5-162, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Sir George Naylor, *Coronation Book King George IV*, p. 96.

<sup>5</sup> This total does not include two 'Progress' maces of

weight 'one hundred and twenty ounces or thereabouts', made in June 1661, to be held by the Jewel House and issued to Sergeants-at-Arms for use on special occasions, being afterwards returned. The last mention of either is in May 1700.

<sup>6</sup> L.C. 5-108, p. 79.



considered as being on permanent loan; one mace was sent to Wales, four were presented as gifts to the Sergeants-at-Arms who had previously carried them, and one only is recorded as being melted down. At the end of the seventeenth century the books record that there were eleven maces in use, but this did not include the large number of spare parts that were undoubtedly held at this time by the goldsmith and the Jewel House. It is the existence of these spare parts, which were used probably both for replacement and repair, which has bedevilled the possibility of tracing the history of individual maces.

The present thirteen Royal maces are, therefore, the descendants, rather than the survivors, of the originals, being built up of pieces of the original maces to which spares and new pieces have been added as necessary, the construction and design having become sufficiently standardized generally to enable parts to be interchanged. The sole exception is the Sergeant Trumpeter's mace, which, being of a very much smaller size, appears to have survived, if not intact, at least in its original form (pl. XLVI *b*).

The original orders, given in May 1660 by the Convention Parliament, that the two new maces should be made 'with the King's Majesty's arms, and such ornaments as have been usual' were probably the sole direction that the mace-makers ever had as regards design; subsequent orders generally specified large silver gilt maces of 250 ounces or thereabouts, 240 ounces and 260 ounces also being mentioned.<sup>1</sup> More usually it is stated that a mace should be of the weight of one carried by one of His Majesty's Sergeants-at-Arms, or, for replacement purposes, that it should be of the same weight, quality, and proportion as before. It can therefore be assumed that the maces in existence today conform, broadly speaking, to the same pattern of construction and design as the originals, which was as follows (pl. XLVII).

The important part of the mace is the head. This consists of the head proper, which is urn-shaped, with a hole in the bottom to admit the wooden core or staff. The outside is divided into four panels (in one case five), each decorated with one or more of the Royal badges crowned, set with the Royal Cypher; the panels are divided by winged female torsos, usually called 'caryatides'. On top of the head is the coronet, which consists of a jewelled band on which is set alternate crosses and fleurs-de-lis, and fits over the flanged top of the head. Inside the coronet is the arms-plate (pl. XLVI *c*). This fills the centre of the coronet, its edges resting on a circular ledge on the inside; its centre consists of a circular plate, raised, on which are the Royal arms embossed, sometimes with the Royal Cypher. On the underside of the plate is a screw-socket to take the head of the wooden core or staff. Attached to the coronet are the two arches or 'bars',<sup>2</sup> which are set at right angles, depressed at the intersection, and fastened by nuts or catches, the feet of the arches passing through notches in the arms-plate. The orb and cross is made in one piece, and nitted to the intersection of the arches.

The head complete is set on a stem, which consists of a short bracket or 'scrole'<sup>3</sup> piece, knop, upper stem-piece, knop, lower stem-piece, large foot-knop, and butt. All stem-pieces are set with flanges, which engage in the piece above and below.

<sup>1</sup> L.C. 5-107 and 108. Maces provided for the Sergeant-at-Arms attending the House of Commons in 1670 and the Lord Treasurer in 1685.

<sup>2</sup> See references in the Jewel House Account Books Series L.C. 9-46 to 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



The wooden staff is attached to the butt by screws, and the top end engages with the screw-plug under the arms-plate; to assemble, the pieces are slid on until the flanges engage and the staff is then screwed into the screw-socket until all are tight.

The whole of the stem is embossed with foliage and leaves of various designs. A button, flat or round, is set at the foot of the butt, in most cases with a nipple on the underside. The knops, dividing the pieces of the stem, are usually enched with acanthus leaves, as is sometimes the upper half of the foot-knop.

Not including the present House of Commons mace, and the Sergeant Trumpeter's mace, both of which are rather smaller and lighter, the average weight of the maces today is about  $21\frac{1}{2}$  pounds without, and  $23\frac{1}{2}$  pounds with, the wooden staff. The length is about five feet.

Within these limitations, there are numerous small differences, both in construction and design; the Sergeant Trumpeter's mace has the orb and cross, arches and arms-plate cast in one piece; some maces have the arches permanently welded to the coronet, this being probably an alteration of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. There are several variations of design. There are different varieties of arches; earlier coronets have varying numbers of crosses and fleurs-de-lis instead of the standard four and four, which has been in force since the coronation of Charles II; some heads have jewelled bands around the tops, and others have not, and others have an additional knop, making a total of three in addition to the foot-knop. There are also numerous variations in the design of the foliage on the stems. Many of these variations are due to differences in design of different makers, but some seem to have a special significance, which is considered later. Particulars of individual maces as they are today is given at Appendix C.

There are many marks on the maces. Some pieces bear makers' marks, of which there are three: two for Francis Garthorne, and one for Robert Cooper,<sup>1</sup> but none of the pieces are fully hall-marked. There are also numbers and inscribed weights, which refer to the number of the mace in which the piece was originally set; there are also many notches, punch-marks, and distance-figures, which refer to the position of a piece in the mace and are unimportant.

The data on the maces themselves are of considerable importance. Numbers and weights can sometimes be matched up against entries in books, and this is helped by changes in design in the maces themselves; this, however, gives information about a piece only, unfortunately not about the whole mace. For example, on the head of the present House of Commons mace is inscribed the number 8 and 251-2-2; this shows that at one time the head formed part of mace number 8, and that this was the total weight of the mace, without the staff, at the time.<sup>2</sup> It does not necessarily mean that it refers to any other part of the present mace at all.

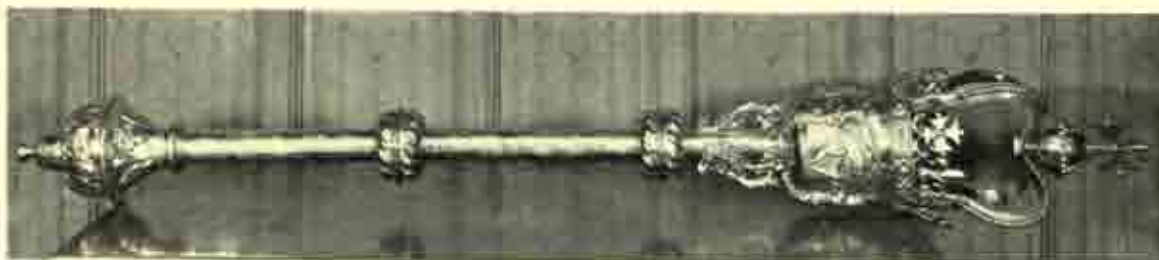
The second most important evidence is obtained from the plate books kept by the Jewel House. In these the orders for the provision of any plate, which of course,

<sup>1</sup> Considered in detail later.

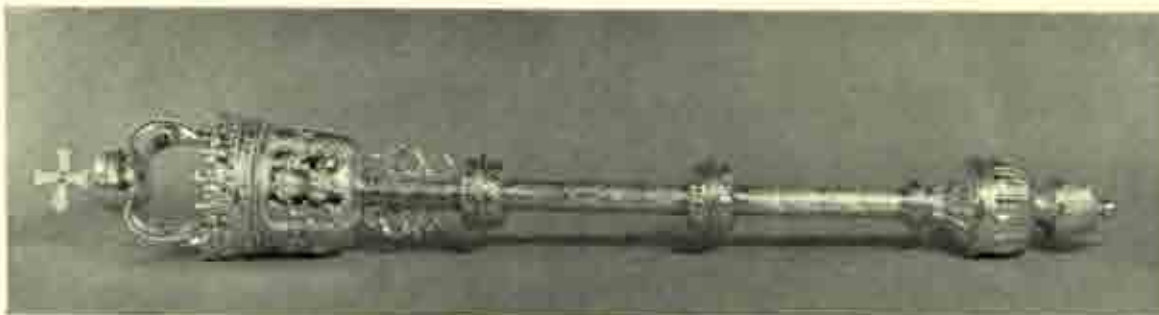
<sup>2</sup> L.C. 9-45, pp. 4, 72 (House of Commons mace) and p. 116 (Sergeant Topham's mace); all these entries refer to the same mace, probably slightly altered.

<sup>3</sup> The -2-2 is quarters and sixteenths of an ounce troy,

the sub-division of the ounce then used by the Jewel House. See Major-General H. D. W. Sitwell, 'The Jewel House and the Royal Goldsmiths', (*Arch. Journal* cxvii (1962), 131-55). As this mace now weighs 236 oz. troy without the staff, some parts must have been changed.



*a.* The mace in use at the House of Commons today (HC 1)



*b.* The old Sergeant Trumpeter's mace of 1660, now in the Jewel House, H.M. Tower of London (JH 2)



*c.* Arms plate of March 1688-9, with the first arms of William III and Mary II (Mace JH 6)

*a, b, c reproduced by permission of the Lord Chamberlain*





Mace in the Jewel House (JH 8), H.M. Tower of London, dismantled to show component parts: bottom (*r. to l.*): orb, cross, arches or 'barrs', coronet, arms plate (arms Anne, cypher G A), heap (cypher G A), bracket or 'scrole' piece; centre (*r. to l.*): knop, upper stem, knop, lower stem, knop (in two halves), foot knop; top (*r. to l.*): wooden core or 'stuff', butt

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included the maces, appears first in the Warrant Book. This warrant usually gave a very rough description of what was required, and an approximate weight. It records very little in the way of detail, the latter appearing in the Delivery and Accounts books.

The Delivery Book records the issue and movements of the mace, and its delivery to the goldsmiths for repairs, cleaning, etc.; the Accounts Books, which were probably duplicates of the goldsmith's bills at the time, record the costs of provision, repair, cleaning, etc.<sup>1</sup> The Warrant Books, as far as the maces were concerned, never quoted the mace number; however, if it was the House of Commons, Lord Chancellor's mace, etc., this was usually mentioned. The Accounts Books were the same, but these also mentioned the weight of the mace or piece of the mace sent in for repair, etc., the weight of the mace being normally without the wooden staff. Only in the Delivery Book is the number of the mace used. The weight given there is usually the weight with the staff, though this is not always the case.<sup>2</sup> As these staffs varied considerably in weight, it is often very difficult to identify a mace in the Delivery Book with the corresponding entry in the goldsmith's book when it is sent in for repair. From the end of the seventeenth century numbers were often dropped, and the weight of the mace, unchanged, used for identification purposes.<sup>3</sup> As the Accounts Books used the accurate weight it is extremely difficult and very often impossible to connect the two.

From 1782 the Jewel House Department was closed down, and the responsibility for all plate transferred to the Lord Chamberlain's Office. The latter discontinued the Delivery Book, and the Warrant Books are very incomplete. The Accounts Books were kept until 1821, after which corresponding information can be found in the Bill Books and the Palace Ledgers. There is, however, very little detail given in any of the Lord Chamberlain's books, and no weights are mentioned after the early nineteenth century.

Pictures are another source of information, but these are not to be relied upon. A picture of the Lord Chancellor or Speaker of the House of Commons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries very often showed him with a mace. Unfortunately, it was very often only the artist's conception of what the mace looked like, rather than an accurate picture of the mace itself; sometimes it was not the right mace at all, but one which was borrowed for the occasion, and, in addition, both the date and the identity of the sitter are very often in doubt. Pictures, therefore, are only reliable as showing tendencies or as supporting evidence; by themselves they are of very little value (pls. XLIII-V).

#### VII. DETAILED CONCLUSIONS

A careful study of all this evidence in detail makes it possible to draw certain conclusions about the thirteen Royal maces as they are today. But these conclusions should be taken as probabilities rather than certainties, since much of the evidence is of an indirect nature and deductions drawn from it are possibly erroneous, and, again, some of the evidence is contradictory.

<sup>1</sup> These were at standard rates per ounce troy for new making, gilding, boiling, etc. As a rule, it is the weight of the piece or pieces only that are affected that are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> For period 1685-9, if the staff is included in the weight it is usually mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 9-44 and 45.



*General*

Nearly all the maces are composites, built up throughout the years with pieces which have been new-made, or pieces belonging to other maces. All maces were called in for a general overhaul and repair at every coronation, and sometimes during the reign as well; in addition repairs to individual maces were carried out as necessary. It is quite possible that occasionally pieces were accidentally mixed up in re-assembly, as well as by intentional replacement.

In general, there was a tendency for weights to increase, partly because thicker metal was used in the repair or replacement of worn or damaged parts. There was, moreover, apparently a belief that, amongst officers of state, the more important a man was, the larger should be the mace to be carried in attendance on him; this did not apply to the sovereign himself, who was never attended by less than two maces and Sergeants-at-Arms.

There was no question of certain maces being reserved solely for certain persons or occasions. All were of equal importance, and though, in practice, certain maces tended to be reserved in this way (there are frequent references to Lord Chancellor's mace, House of Commons mace, etc., in the books) this was really probably more a matter of convenience than anything else. Until the end of the eighteenth century, each Sergeant-at-Arms was normally issued with a mace on appointment, which was returned for issue to his successor on his death or retirement; in practice, King's sergeants freely used each other's maces. Each sergeant had one mace only, but for a short time towards the end of the seventeenth century the Sergeant-at-Arms to the House of Commons had two, one, apparently, for use in Parliament and one outside. Two have been held in the House of Lords since the early nineteenth century.

*Design*

Whilst design in detail was a matter largely left to the mace maker, there are certain changes which may have had a special significance.

The crown on top of the head of the mace was intended as a formal representation of that used by the King. The new regalia made to replace the old, destroyed by the Commonwealth, was not provided until shortly before the coronation in April 1661, so maces made between May 1660 and the end of the year had crowns of varying design. Two of these survive today, one in the House of Commons and one in the Tower (Appendix C: maces HC. 1 and JH. 2. On each, instead of the two wide arches with a row of beads on each edge, the standard pattern later, there are two narrow arches with a single row of large beads down the middle; instead of the coronet being set with four crowns and four fleurs-de-lis, it is set with, in one case, six, and, the other, eight of each. There was also a difference in the orb and cross on top; the older pattern had a narrower cross, and an orb with plain zone and belt; the later, and subsequent standard pattern, introduced apparently towards the end of Charles II's reign, had a cross patée on top of an orb with jewelled zone and belt.

Another variation, which probably existed in some of the Charles II maces, though there is no surviving example of it today amongst the Royal maces, was the fillet crown. In these, the crosses and fleurs-de-lis were attached to a narrow ring, or fillet, which



fitted on top of the mace head; the band of the crown was simulated by an embossed jewelled band round the top of the head of the mace itself. The Jersey mace, presented to the Bailiff by Charles II in 1662, is unaltered, and has a crown of this type today; though somewhat smaller (about 230 oz. troy) it would have probably conformed to the design of the Royal maces at the time. Use of fillet crowns would have accounted to some extent for the apparently lighter weight of the maces of Charles II's time, compared with those of today (cf. pl. XLV b).

These crowns, if they ever existed, did not last for long, being replaced by the normal ones as in use today; the jewelled band round the top of the head, however, was retained as part of the design, and reproduced in the case of two maces re-cast and new-made for William and Mary, as well as being on older Charles II maces.

The normal design for the heads of maces, in Charles II's time and later, was four panels bearing the four badges, rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, and harp, all crowned between the letters of the Royal Cypher. From about 1668 onwards, when the head of one mace was remade with five panels, one bearing the portcullis, there seems to have been a wish to include this badge as well. The five-panel design was not repeated, and maces made from 1670 until the end of the reign bore the rose and portcullis on the same panel.

The portcullis was dropped from the heads of the two James II maces that survive today, but was put on the foot knop of one of them that had probably been intended for the Lord Treasurer. It reappears, taking the place of the thistle, on the first maces made for William and Mary for reasons which will appear later.

#### *Royal Arms and Cypher* (pl. XLVI c)

All the Royal maces bear the Royal Arms, with supporters, on a plate in the top of the head. The Royal Cypher (e.g. C R) is engraved or embossed on each panel of the head, one letter on each side of the badge, and sometimes on the arms-plate as well. None has been changed since the reign of George I, but there were changes made sometimes before this under certain circumstances, changes which can be seen today. They seem to have been governed either by custom or the personal wish of the sovereign; nothing appears to have been put in writing about it, and changes were often not made until late in the reign.

Put briefly, the custom seems to have been that maces used in the sovereign's absence, representing his delegated authority, should bear the cypher and arms of the reigning sovereign; the matter was of no importance as regards maces carried in his presence.

Charles II used the CII R cypher instead of C R towards the end of his reign, and at least one of the later maces bears it. For James II there was no change of arms, but a change of cyphers. He had three new maces with the I R cypher<sup>1</sup> and it seems to have been contrived that either these, or possibly their heads changed onto different stems, were used in his absence. With the accession of William III and Mary II came a change of both arms and cypher. There were two versions of the former, the first

<sup>1</sup> Only two of these survive today.



lasting about two months, and the second for the rest of the reign, for the following reason.

The arms adopted were Stuart for Mary II, with the lion of Orange-Nassau, on an escutcheon of pretence in the middle, for William III. He and Mary had been proclaimed as joint sovereigns soon after their arrival in England in February 1689, which held good for both England and Ireland. Scotland, however, had their own Parliament, and no proclamation was made in Edinburgh until April.

It was evidently decided that, until William III and Mary II were so proclaimed, Scotland should be omitted from the Royal arms, the Irish harp should take the place of the Scottish lion in the second quarter of the Stuart arms, and the sinister supporter, the Scottish unicorn, should be replaced by the Welsh dragon used by the Tudors. These arms were identified by Mr. C. C. Oman in an article on the cadinett in the Lonsdale collection (cf. pl. XLVI c).<sup>1</sup>

This principle was applied in full to four maces made in March 1689, one being new and three old ones, entirely re-cast with silver added. An arms-plate as above was fitted in the head, and two survive today. The thistle panel on the head of each bore the portcullis instead, and the engraving on the stem and foot-knop, normally roses, thistles and foliage included, instead of the thistles, indeterminate flowers, thought to be tulips, and berries. Two of these heads, and portions of the stems, still survive; a third head, remade in the same design in 1726 with a portcullis panel instead of the thistle, also survives, but the fourth has disappeared. All maces made during this reign after April 1689 were of the normal pattern, the arms including Scotland in the second quarter, with unicorn supporter, roses/thistles engraving and the thistle badge replacing the portcullis on the panel. The escutcheon of pretence for Nassau over the normal Stuart arms was retained.

One of these new maces was issued for use in the Commons in March 1690; another, probably, was issued later for use in the Lords and a new mace of the later pattern made for the Lord Chancellor in 1695. Two other maces of Charles II, with the cypher altered, still survive in part.

The mace used in the House of Commons had the arms and cypher of William III and Mary II altered to those of Anne in 1711; these were the second arms of the reign, as altered after the union with Scotland, with the motto 'Semper Eadem'. In this case the arms-plate was entirely remade. No change was made in any other mace.

In 1716, after the accession of George I, the cypher, but not the arms, of the Lord Chancellor's mace new-made in 1695 was altered to G R, and in 1725 the 'Speaker's Mace' had the head entirely remade with the G R cypher, retaining the portcullis panel of the original design. The arms-plate bearing the arms of Anne with the motto 'Semper Eadem' had the G R cypher added, but otherwise remained as before. This was the last change of cypher or arms made to the Royal maces.

#### *Mace numbers and weights*

During Charles II's reign, maces were known by the owner's name, as Sergeant X's mace. The eighteen in use in the next reign included three new ones made for

<sup>1</sup> *The Burlington Magazine*, December 1958.



James II; one of these was issued to the Lord Treasurer's Sergeant-at-Arms, and another, a few months later, to the Lord Chancellor's sergeant. They were numbered from one to eighteen, no specific mace being mentioned as for use in the House of Commons. The Sergeant Trumpeter's was not included, then or later.

Most of them were roughly marked with the number figure on the harp panel, probably at the instigation of the owners; one Sergeant-at-Arms, John Middleton, was accused by the Jewel House of having lost his mace at the time of the coronation; he strongly disputed the accusation, but was nevertheless dismissed and never reinstated; from alterations and errors in the books,<sup>1</sup> it certainly looks as though he was telling the truth, the Jewel House officers having got themselves in a desperate muddle in changing over parts between maces during the period 1682-5.

All the Stuart maces except two have numbers inscribed in this way, probably as a safeguard against Middleton's fate. Two have a weight, probably without the staff, inscribed as well as a number on the harp panel and these can be dated as May in one case, and probably October in the other, of 1689. As both had been used in the House of Commons earlier at different times, these weights probably refer to a special build up for the occasion, making an additional safeguard. Weights are given in ounces troy, with a sub-division into quarters and sixteenths, the system in use in the Jewel House at the time,<sup>2</sup> replaced by the more usual pennyweights and grains, about ten years later.

Numbers were largely dropped during William III's reign but in 1695 all maces were called in and eleven rearranged, repaired, and reissued to Sergeants-at-Arms in 1699.<sup>3</sup> Eight were for sergeants attending the King, the other three for sergeants attending the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor, and House of Commons; the King's were numbered 1 to 8, the others, 9, 10, and 11 respectively. None was marked at the time, and the last three numbers were never used.

Maces 1 to 8 retained their numbers for a time, but these were gradually dropped, probably as maces lost their identity due to repairs and replacement of parts. In 1755,<sup>4</sup> at the request of the Sergeants-at-Arms themselves, maces 1 to 8 were called in and received a very thorough overhaul, rearrangement, and repair. On completion, each mace had its number and weight, in ounces troy and pennyweights to the nearest five, neatly engraved in script and figures on the inside of one of the arches of the crown. Six maces have crowns with one arch inscribed in this way today, five in the Tower and one in the House of Lords, but the arrangement of the pieces is, of course, different.

Numbers were again dropped soon afterwards, and never used again. In 1844,<sup>5</sup> however, the seven maces then held in the Lord Chamberlain's office were overhauled, repaired, and marked, numbers 1 to 7, with a figure cut on the button at the foot of the mace. These numbers were never used.

<sup>1</sup> L.C. 9-46, pp. 10 and 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Note 2, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> L.C. 9-44, p. 17. One, No. 5, was not delivered until the coronation of Queen Anne.

<sup>4</sup> L.C. 9-45, p. 142. The weights *after* repair, now en-

graved on the arches, are not given, but can be calculated from figures in the Accounts Book L.C. 9-48, pp. 142 and 143.

<sup>5</sup> L.C. 5-228, pp. 2 and 3.



*Makers' marks*

As stated earlier, there are three of these:

- (a) FG over a mullet in a shaped shield. Francis Garthorne, before 1697 and after 1719.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) Ga. Possibly Francis Garthorne, 1697-1719.<sup>2</sup>  
One or other of these marks appears on six of the maces, usually on several pieces in each mace.
- (c) RC in dotted circle. Probably Robert Cooper, before 1697.<sup>3</sup>  
This appears only on the arms-plates of two of the William and Mary maces, made, or remade, in March 1689.

There was a lot of sub-standard plate about before and after the Civil War; Sergeants-at-Arms were accused in 1680 of having in some cases 'embezzled' their maces, which probably means they or the Jewel House had been using sub-standard plate for repairs and replacements. It may well be, therefore, that Garthorne had a good deal more to do with the making and repair of the Royal maces than the comparatively few marks of his, referring only to a piece bearing his mark, would suggest.

There are no pieces bearing either a date letter, or any other part of the hall-mark except the maker's mark.

*Detail of Maces Today*

At Appendix C are listed in detail the Royal maces today; for convenience of reference, those at the Tower are numbered JH. 1 to 10, that at the House of Commons HC. 1, and the two at the House of Lords HL. 1 and 2.

I have made no attempt to describe them, but have merely mentioned abnormalities, taking as normal the outline description on pp. 229-30. Makers' marks, and inscribed numbers and weights are also listed, together with the length and weight today, both with and without the wooden staff.

## APPENDIX A

THE OFFICE OF A SERIANTE AT ARMES ATTENDINGE  
THE KINGS MA<sup>TIE</sup>

*British Museum Manuscript Harley 297 pp. 254 et seq.*

It is to be understood that everie Seriante att Armes to our Highe Lorde the kinge to his faithe sworne by the Commandmente of our Leige Lorde or of the great Constable of Englande or of the Chancelore of the Chancery of the kinge or Lorde Treasurer of Englande Maye Apprehende Areste or attache any Subiecte of the kinge or other whatsoevere he be Remaininge within the .4. seas, or any parte therof be it in house Castell or fort that may welbe brokene for to make his arreste Rase & beate doune to the grounde alwayes Excepted the eldeste sonne of our sayd Lord the kinge and my Ladies his daughteres.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks* (2nd ed., 1921), pp. 56-7, 136, 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> I believe this to be the earliest record of the powers of arrest of a Sergeant-at-Arms in the Royal Service. Though fairly well known, I can find no record of its having been published before.



And be it knowne that Neverthelese it be forbiddene by our sayd leege Lord and his Counsell that Noe man hereafter be so bould to present him selfe in the kings presentes armede, yet the Seriantes att Armes Maye by ther oathe and Right of Seriantie oughte to be befoare their Leige Armede for the Moare sure goode of the persone of ther Leege Lord the kinge.

And it is to be understoode that every seriante in Service Roialle ought to stande befoare the kinge in suche fashion attired his heade bare and all his Bodye armed to the feete with the armes of a knyghte Ridinge<sup>1</sup> with a peione Roiall or mace of Silvere in his Right hande<sup>2</sup> and in his Lefte hande a little Troncheane.

And it is to be understoode for the areste of any Arche Bushope or a Duke the Serieant shall take a .100<sup>s</sup>. of Siluere besides 40<sup>s</sup>. for his gard by the Daye But for the areste of a Marquise Bishope Barron Abbot Priore or whatsoeuer he bee he shall take .v. markes of Siluere besides .2. markes for his garde by the daye and for the Areste of a knyghte bachelere or Banerete he shall .40<sup>s</sup>. of Siluere besides .20<sup>s</sup>. for his garde by the daye. For the Areste of a gentleman he shalle take 20<sup>s</sup> of Siluere and .10<sup>s</sup>. for his garde by the daye, and finally for the Areste of a Commone persone he shall take a Marke of siluere besides  $\frac{1}{2}$  a marke for his garde by the daye. But yf he Ride for everie daye he shalle take of a Duke or a Bushope .v. markes of Siluere by the daye of a Lord Barron Abbote or Priore he shall take 4 markes by the daye of a knyghte .2. markes of a gentleman .20<sup>s</sup>. by the daye and of a commone persone as muche.

And it is to be understoode that the horse of him that is to be arrestede yf he Ride with his Saddle & bridle the Serieat shall also have And knowe that in Tymes paste Noe gentleman performed the servis of a Serieante of Armes nor was evere Sworne to the kinge yf hee wear not the sonne of a knyghte at the Leaste, but of late tyme it hathe pleased our soueringe to ellecte the worthie sonne of a gentleman therunto without Reproche.

But knowe that when the Serieante is sent to treat of peace or to doe a Message of Justice he shall take of a Duke .2<sup>li</sup>. of a Barron 20<sup>s</sup>. of a knight gentleman or Comonperson .10<sup>s</sup>.

And be it further knowne that yf any Malefactore which ought to bee arrestede cannot be founde yet when he is founde and a deferente surname arested shalle suffice aswelle as yf he hade Bene founde.

And be it also knowne yf any Mallefactore escape without the Leave & Consent of the Searieante he shalbe greyeously amersede and Ransomed at the kings pleasure, and yf Rescous be made unto him he Maye Levie poure of the Contreie wher the Rescues be Made Nether cane any arested by the Seriant be by any other Attachede out of his gaarde upon a greate Ransome for an areste by the Seriante of the kinge hathe enfranchised his Bodye from all other persones, for his areste is of more high Nature then any other Areste cane bee and thearfore the Serieante at Armes is Commonly Called the Vallerus force of a kinges errante but that is to be understoode in the Execusione of Justice And thearfoare whosoever shall take any that is arested out of the Custodye of the kings Serieante at Armes or shall gainsaye the areste or takinge of any awaye shall paye as muche as he wold or ought to have payde be he arrested Notwithstandinge, I have seene a Certene Deede Indented of Releace and quite Clayme of Albony Cognieres Seriante at Armes to the kinge for a certene some of Moneye to him due and payd for an areste and attachement of Certene in these wordes.

This Indenture made at Londone in the vigelle of St. Andrewe in the .29. yeaere of kinge .E.3.

It is undated, but is in the writing and style of the mid sixteenth century, but I think the substance is a good deal earlier. The 'eldest son of the King or his daughters' would be unlikely to refer to Henry VIII who had only one legitimate son; Henry VII or Edward IV seems more probable. Further, the office of Constable of England lapsed to the Crown temp. Henry VIII.

It seems possible that this paper, or the substance of it, was taken from an annexure to the Household Regulations of Edward IV (the 'Liber Niger') or the ordinance of 1478.

<sup>1</sup> 'heade bare'; 'armed to the feete with armes of a knyghte Ridinge'. This description seems applicable to the two figures, on the right and left of the dais on which is the King's throne, in Froissart's picture of the coronation of Henry IV.

<sup>2</sup> 'with a peione Roiall or mace of Silvere in his Right hande'. The pheon is today an heraldic charge in the shape of an arrow-head. Here it probably means a feathered dart, often shown in medieval illuminations as carried by persons of quality, including Sergeants-at-Arms.



witnesethe that I Albony Conieres Serieant at Armes have hade & Receavede .x.li.vj.s. viij.d. for fee and wages due to me for an areste Made at Kingeston uppon Thames by the Comaundemente of My Lorde Chancelore of Englande uppon the bodye of S<sup>r</sup> Robarte Farmor knighte and John his brother and for Hughe of Dalle servante of the sayd S<sup>r</sup> Robarte by him Maine-prised for whome he undertooke to answere And that dide they not beinge yet arested who are Arestede and oughte to be arested for certene ennormeties Committede againste Thomas Manchille and not yet Answered that is to saye for an arreste made on the Bodye of the sayd S<sup>r</sup> Robarte Fermore knight .40<sup>s</sup>. for his Costodie two dayes Ridinge .53<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. for y<sup>e</sup> areste of his brother John .20<sup>s</sup>. for his Costodie two dayes Ridinge .40<sup>s</sup>. for Hughe of Dalle .13<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. for his Costodie two dayes Ridinge .40<sup>s</sup>. and for their Horses .3<sup>l</sup>. And of the sayd money I Release the sayd S<sup>r</sup> Robart Farmer knight and John his Brother & Hughe Dalle for evere. In witnese wherof &c.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX B

(a) SPECIAL OR 'PECULIAR' SERGEANTS-AT-ARMS  
APPOINTED UP TO THE PRESENT DAY, viz.

Sergeants-at-Arms appointed to attend  
Speaker, House of Commons  
Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper  
Lord Treasurer  
Lord President of Wales  
Lord President of the North  
City of London

*Notes*

1. Names taken from Calendars Patent Rolls, Letters and Papers Henry VIII, Index Series and Lord Chamberlain's papers, LC. 3 and LC. 5 series, in Public Record Office.

2. Names of Sergeants-at-Arms attending the King can also mostly be traced from temp. Henry VIII; these are omitted for brevity.

*Sergeants-at-Arms in Ordinary appointed to attend the Speaker, House of Commons when Parliament is sitting and the King at other times*

	1414	Nicholas Maudyt	Paid from fee farm City of London
Before	1423	John Talbot	
After	1447	John Bury	" " "
	1471	Richard Siddale	" " London and Middlesex
	1474	Nicholas Brythe	" revenues County of Southampton
	1483	Nicholas Brythe	" customs poundage etc. port of Cicestre
	1485	John Harper	" fee farm City of London and Middlesex
	1489	" "	Sergeant-at-Mace
			Sergeant-at-Arms. Paid from Exchequer as are all subsequent appointments.
		Thomas Vaghan	Sergeant-at-Mace
After	1533	John St John	Sergeant-at-Arms
	1555	Thomas Hale	
		Richard Gower	
	1590	Roger Wood	
	1610	Edward Grymeston	
	1640	John Hunt	

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. A. J. Taylor for this transcript.

## Civil War

## King, at Oxford

1645-6 Richard Bishop

## Parliament, at Westminster

1641 John Hunt

1646 Edward Birkhead

 1647 Edward Birkhead, Henry Middleton  
to and James Norfolk Deputies

1659

1660 James Norfolk

## Restoration

1660 James Norfolk

Appointed by Convention Parliament

 1661 James Norfolk<sup>1</sup>

Appointed by Charles II

June 1675 John Topham

Officiating, one day

June 1675 James Beck

Officiating

Oct. 1675 William Bishop

Deputy for Bishop

1679-81 John Topham

" " "

1685-7 Richard Shoreditch

" " "

1689-92 John Topham

" " "

1692-3 John Templer

" " "

1693 Samuel Powell

1709 Thomas Wybergh

1717 Thomas Spence

1737 Wentworth Odiarne

1762 Nicholas Bonfoy

1775 Edward Coleman

1805 Francis Coleman

1812 John Clementson

1812 Henry Seymour

1835 Sir William Gossett

1845 Lord Charles Russell

1875 Sir Ralph Gossett

1885 Sir David Erskine

1915 Admiral Sir Colin Keppell

1935 Brig.-Gen. Sir Charles Howard

1940 Maj.-Gen. Ivor T. P. Hughes

1962 Rear-Admiral Alexander Gordon Lennox

## Sergeants-at-Arms in Ordinary appointed to attend Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Lord Commissioners of the Great Seal

1540 Richard Venables

 Patent as Sergeant-at-Arms to attend the King endorsed  
'Giving attendance on Lord Chancellor'

1550 Richard Hatchman

Paid from profits of Hanaper as were subsequent appointments

1556 Mark Stewarde

Patent surrendered 1585

1585 Christopher Hampden

1606 John Tyler

1609 Walter Lythe als Legh

1619 Humphrey Leigh

<sup>1</sup> Docquet for Norfolk's Letters Patent of Appointment was for attendance on the Speaker House of Commons only. It did not include duty of attending King when there

was no Parliament, which was included in Birkhead's Patent made out by Parliament in 1646.



*Civil War*

*King, at Oxford*  
Humphrey Leigh

*Parliament, at Westminster*  
*Council of State*  
Edward Dendy Jnr. and numerous deputies

*Restoration*

1660	Humphrey Lee or Leigh	Paid from profits of Hanaper as were subsequent appointments
1671	Sir George Charnock	In survivorship
1673	Sir George Charnock Roger Charnock	
1684	Roger Charnock	
1696	Peter Persschouse	
1703	Sarles Goatley (officiating)	
1713	Sarles Goatley	
1713	Charles Stone	
1715	Francis Jephson	
1745	Richard Jephson	
1789	William Watson	
1818	George Francis Seymour	
1841	Lieut.-Col. Alexander Perceval	
1858	Lieut.-Col. Hon. Wellington Chetwynd-Talbot	
1898	Maj.-Gen. Sir Arthur Ellis	
1901	Sir F. Edwards	
1911	Sir Seymour Fortescue	
1936	Maj.-Gen. Sir C. Corkman	
1939	Admiral the Hon. Sir Herbert Meade Fetherstonhaugh	
1946	Air Vice-Marshal Sir Paul Maltby	
1962	Capt. Kenneth Mackintosh, R.N.	

*Sergeants-at-Arms in Ordinary appointed to attend the Lord Treasurer or Lords Commissioners of the Treasury*

1625	Edward Dendy	Paid from Exchequer, as were all subsequent sergeants
------	--------------	---

*Civil War*

*King, at Oxford*  
None

*Parliament, at Westminster*  
John Lynne (attending Treasury Commissioners)

*Restoration*

1660	Edward Dendy (senr.)	Resigned after 1 day
1660	Thomas Warner	
1663	Francis Stephens	
1674	John Ramsey	In survivorship
1684	John Ramsey Henry Ball	
1684	Philip Ryley	
1702	Reginald Ryley	
1705	Philip Ryley (again)	
1733	Sir Thomas Allin, Bart.	

- 1765 Henry Brougham  
 1810 The Revd. D. Rodney Murray  
 1831 31st Dec. Treasury declare office a sinecure, and abolish it.

*Sergeant-at-Arms in Ordinary appointed to attend the Lord President of Wales*

- |            |  |  |
|------------|--|--|
| 1520       | John Amyas.                            | Paid from Welsh revenues as were all subsequent appointments |
| 1523       | John Amyas )<br>Thomas Amyas )         | In survivorship  |
| 1564       | William Bodeley                        |  |
| 1593       | Thomas Blashfield<br>William Churchlow |  |
| After 1604 | Richard Ward                           |  |
| 1617       | Richard Jones                          |  |
| 1630       | John Bettinton                         |  |

*Civil War  
 Restoration*

- |      |                        |  |
|------|------------------------|--|
| 1660 | John Bettinton         |  |
| 1661 | Jonas Grosvenor        |  |
| 1667 | Isaac Sholbury         |  |
| 1683 | Francis Smith or Smyth |  |
- No further appointments under Letters Patent to this office.

*Sergeants-at-Arms in Ordinary appointed to attend Lord President of the North*

- |      |               |  |
|------|---------------|--|
| 1632 | Bryan Beeston |  |
|------|---------------|--|
- Served until Civil War, after which appointment was not renewed.

*Sergeants-at-Arms in Ordinary appointed to attend the City of London as were all subsequent appointments*

- |         |   |                                   |
|---------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1486    | Thomas Bulkeley.                                    | Paid from revenues City of London |
| 1509    | Nicholas Downes                                     |                                   |
| 1529    | George Warner                                       |                                   |
| 1550    | Simon Trewe   |                                   |
| 1552    | John Fysshier                                       |                                   |
| 1558    | William Smythe<br>William Smith )<br>Thomas Twist ) | In survivorship                   |
| 1604    | William Smith                                       |                                   |
| 1629    | John Vaughan  |                                   |
| 1635-72 | Matthew Barker                                      |                                   |

*Civil War  
 Restoration*

- |      |              |   |
|------|--------------|---|
| 1672 | William Man  | 1696 Sword Bearer and Keeper of Sessions House City of London |
| 1702 | Edward Harle |   |
| 1722 | John Barton  | Sword Bearer City of London Vice Nehemiah Collier decd.       |



1726	Isaac Mann
1727	Thomas Carbonnel
1742	Peter Perry
1759	Richard Beresford

Subsequent appointments Sergeants-at-Arms made by City of London.

(b) SERGEANT TRUMPETERS IN ORDINARY

	1543	Benedick Brume (Brown)
	1558	Benedick Brown (coronation of Elizabeth I)
Before	1567	Stephen Medcalf
		Benedick Brown
	1614	Henry Martin
	1626	Josias Broome (officiating)

*Civil War*

*Restoration*

	1661	Gervase Pryce
	1687	Mathias Shore
	1700	William Shore
	1708	John Shore
	1752	Valentine Snow
	1770	Thomas Harris
	1774	Edward Toms
	1775	Joseph Probart (from Sergeant-at-Arms)
	1785	Richard Fitzherbert
	1803	John Charles Crowle
	1821	C. Rooke (coronation of George IV)
	1827	Thomas Lister Parker
	1858	Joseph Williams
	1875	John Gustavus Waetzig
	1884	Thomas John Harper
	1898	Philippe J. Paque

APPENDIX C

THE ROYAL MACES

I. Maces at the Tower of London (10): JH. (Jewel House) Series.

JH. 1 *General*

A Charles II mace with head of 1670 type, jewelled band round the top and C R cypher. Arms-plate Stuart with CII R cypher embossed.

Bracket piece and upper and lower stem engraved with flowers, leaves, and berries, 'No Scotland' type. Foot-knop engraved with roses and thistles.

*Marks*

*Maker:* None

*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On harp panel of head	6
	268 - 1 - 0
On foot of one arch of crown	No. 2
	305 - 5
On button at foot	1

*Dimensions*

		oz.	dwt.
Length 62"	Weight without staff	295	8
	Staff	32	18
	Weight over all	328	6

Made in 1670, this mace in its original form, probably with fillet crown, was used in the House of Commons 1670-80.

## JH. 2 *General* (pl. XLVI b)

A small Charles II mace with 1660 type crown, bearing eight crosses and eight fleurs-de-lis; orb large, plain instead of jewelled zone and belt, and heavy narrow cross. Monde, cross, arches, and arms-plate cast in one piece.

Arms-plate Stuart, no cypher and head normal; no jewelled band, C R cypher embossed.

Bracket-piece, upper and lower stem slipped roses and thistles under arches.

Knops, chased lobes spirally fluted on a frosted background.

Foot knop alternate strips of fluted strap-work against a frosted background.

*Marks*

*Maker:* None

*Numbers and weights inscribed:* None

*Dimensions*

		oz.	dwt.
Length 54"	Weight without staff	214	8
	Staff	21	10
	Weight over all	235	18

Made in September 1660 this is the old Sergeant Trumpeter's mace, still in its original form. The one-piece casting of orb/cross, arches, and arms-plate is possibly nineteenth century.

## JH. 3 *General*

A James II mace with head normal type with Stuart badges and I R cypher embossed. Arms-plate Stuart, I R cypher appliqué.

Stems upper and lower different patterns roses/thistles; three knops, small one in middle.

Foot knop, portcullis badge, and double rose on underside.

*Marks*

*Maker:* FG over mullet in shaped shield on: monde, arms-plate, lower stem, upper foot-knop.



*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On harp panel of head	18
On foot of one arch of crown	No. 4
	325 - 5

*Dimensions*

		oz.	dwt.
Length 63"	Weight without staff	321	10
	Staff	25	5
	Weight over all	346	15

This mace, in its original form, was probably intended for the Lord Treasurer's sergeant but was never issued to him. Made April 1685.

JH. 4 *General*

A James II mace of normal pattern throughout. Head with Stuart badges and cypher *I R* in script writing engraved. Arms-plate Stuart, *I R* cypher appliqué.

*Marks*

*Maker:* FG over mullet in shaped shield on every piece except coronet and bracket piece.

*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On foot of one arch of crown	No. 7
	317 - 15
On button at foot	2

*Dimensions*

		oz.	dwt.
Length 64½"	Weight without staff	319	10
	Staff	20	8
	Weight over all	339	18

Originally intended for a King's sergeant, this mace was issued when new to the Lord Treasurer's sergeant; it was probably changed back for a William III/Mary II mace at the end of the century.

There seems to have been considerable interchange of pieces between JH. 3 and JH. 4. A number of the pieces marked FG, etc., in both JH. 3 and JH. 4 probably date from after 1720-1. Made April 1685.

JH. 5 *General*

A William III/Mary II mace of 1689 pattern, 'No Scotland' type throughout. *WM R* cypher on arms-plate and head engraved. Arms, ornamentation, etc., as on p. 234. Jewelled band at top of head.

*Marks*

*Maker:* RC in dotted circle (twice) on arms-plate seating.

*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On foot of one arch of crown	No. 3
	307 - 5
On button at foot	6

*Dimensions*

Length 61½"	Weight without staff	oz.	dwt.
	Staff	310	16
		31	
	Weight over all	341	16

Probably a Charles II mace entirely recast with silver added in March 1689. It may well be in its original form.

 JH. 6 *General*

A William III/Mary II mace of 1689 pattern. Originally no doubt a twin with JH. 5, the 'No Scotland' type bracket piece and upper and lower stem have been replaced with pieces engraved with roses and thistles. Jewelled band round top of head.

*Marks*

*Maker:* RC in dotted circle on arms-plate seating. FG over mullet in shaped shield on lower stem.

*Numbers and weights inscribed:* None

*Dimensions*

Length 60½"	Weight without staff	oz.	dwt.
	Staff	308	8
		25	
	Weight over all	333	8

Also probably a Charles II mace recast in March 1689.

 JH. 7 *General*

A William III/Mary II mace of post-1689 pattern, including Scotland. WM R cypher embossed on arms-plate and panels of head. Arms, ornamentation, etc., as on pp. 233-4, with roses/thistles engraving. Three knops, instead of the usual two, on stem.

*Marks*

*Maker:* FG over mullet in shaped shield on each of three knops on stem. Ga monogram on bracket piece.

*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On foot of one arch of crown	No. 8
	287 - 5
On button at foot	4

*Dimensions*

Length 66"	Weight without staff	oz.	dwt.
	Staff	296	14
		20	
	Weight over all	316	14

Made in 1692, this mace was originally intended for the Irish House of Commons, but was never sent there. It was occasionally used in the (English) House of Lords at the end of the seventeenth century.



JH. 8 *General* (pl. XLVII)

A William III/Mary II mace of 1689 pattern, originally 'No Scotland' type, but with head remade on original design and G R cypher, embossed. Arms-plate, also remade, bears arms Anne after union with Scotland, and cypher G R appliqué.

Bracket piece and upper and lower stem very worn, with (probably) 'No Scotland' engraving. Foot-knop lower roses/thistles also very worn. Three knops on stem.

A flat disc at foot instead of button.

*Marks*

*Maker*: FG over mullet in shaped shield on flanges of head, bracket piece, upper and lower stem.

*Numbers and weights inscribed*:

<i>Weight</i>	None
On disc at foot	7

*Dimensions*

Length 65½"		oz.	dwt.
	Weight without staff	329	6
	Staff	28	10
	Weight over all	357	16

One of the four maces made or recast in March 1689. Head was remade in 1726. This mace was used in the House of Commons during the eighteenth century, being changed for a lighter one (possibly JH. 2, or a combination of JH. 2 and HC. 1) about 1805. Very little of original mace remains.

JH. 9 *General*

A Charles II mace of 1670 type with cypher on head, probably CII R erased, and cypher VM R roughly burnt on instead. Arms-plate Stuart, no cypher; jewelled band round head. Bracket piece plain, one bracket only, other three broken off. Roses/thistles engraving.

*Marks*

*Maker*: None

*Numbers and weights inscribed*:

On harp panel	3
<i>Weight</i>	None

*Dimensions*

Length 58"		oz.	dwt.
	Weight without staff	302	1
	Staff	29	
	Weight over all	331	1

Made 1674, this mace was probably used by the Lord Chancellor's sergeant; it was replaced by a James II one in 1685.

JH. 10 *General*

A hybrid mace, head possibly 1667 in its present form, remainder Stuart of different periods. Five-panel head, rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, harp, portcullis, all crowned; cypher XXX R roughly burnt on, former cypher, probably C R, erased. Badges, etc., appliqué, traces of earlier engraving underneath. Arms-plate Stuart cypher roughly burnt on XXX R. One bracket only. Roses/thistles engraving throughout.

*Marks*

*Maker:* None

*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On harp panel	13
Weight	None

*Dimensions*

Length 60"	Weight without staff	oz.	dwt.
	Staff	283	11
		26	
	Weight over all	309	11

This mace contains pieces of very old pattern, some possibly pre-Civil War. The head of this mace, probably with a different stem, was possibly carried in attendance on the Commissioners of the Great Seal in 1689.

## II. Mace now in use at the House of Commons (1): HC. (House of Commons) Series.

### HC. 1 *General* (pl. XLVI a)

A composite Charles II type mace of the 1660 type throughout, including the crown, which has six crosses and six fleurs-de-lis. Cypher on head C R and also on arms-plate which bears the Stuart arms. Engraving roses/thistles throughout, foliage growing from a thick central stem with a spiral ribbon over all. Knops (2) encased with plain spiralled lobes on upper and lower halves. Foot-knop has four panels bearing rose, thistle, fleur-de-lis, and harp respectively.

Plate is very thin and light, stem pieces reinforced with silver tube liners and knops with brass washers.

*Marks*

*Maker:* None

*Numbers and weights inscribed:*

On harp panel of head	8
	251 - 2 - 2

*Dimensions*

Length 58½"	Weight without staff	oz.	dwt.
	Staff	235	0
		21	0
	Weight over all	256	0

This mace is used in the House of Commons today, and carried in attendance on the Speaker, if required. It follows the Maundy design of 1649 but bears the Royal Stuart arms and insignia instead of the Commonwealth; it is most likely, as it is today, built up from the pieces of the two maces made in May 1660, with an orb/cross of about twenty-five years later. Apart from the latter, it probably closely resembles the original, as used by the Sergeant-at-Arms to the Commons, Sir James Norfolk, in the House from 1660 to 1670, when it was replaced there by another mace whose head survives in JH. 1 today, Norfolk retaining the former as a second mace.

Possibly after being repaired and rebuilt, it was again used in the Commons by John Topham, officiating as Sergeant-at-Arms there, from about 1678 to 1680. Topham, as Sergeant-at-Arms to the King, retained it as his personal mace, and as such carried it in attendance on the King at James II's coronation numbered as no. 8. By this time it had



been materially altered, and had probably had the 1660 crown, or at least the arches, replaced by the normal, and newer, pattern.

It was not used at James II's only session of Parliament nor did John Topham officiate there. On William III's accession, however, Parliament reassembled, and the House of Commons appointed Topham to officiate as their Sergeant-at-Arms, and his mace, no. 8, is referred to as the House of Commons mace. The inscribed weight, 251-2-2, refers to its weight without the staff when returned after repair to John Topham in December 1689, when it was called 'Mr. Sergt. Topham's Mace.'<sup>1</sup>

One of the new William III/Mary II maces (probably JH. 5 or JH. 6 in its original form) was issued to John Topham in March 1690 for use in the House of Commons. He retained no. 8 as his second mace until his death in November 1692, after which it was issued to his successor, one of the King's sergeants, Benjamin Grigg, who had no connection with the Commons; the mace had no further connection with Parliament for over a hundred years.

Formerly no. 8, it was renumbered as no. 5 in 1700 after a further alteration which increased its weight, and probably continued in use as a 'King's' mace until about 1805; it did not, however, remain unaltered. Either in 1755, or more probably in 1767, it was rebuilt as it is today, in what was probably an attempt to restore it to its original form; the pieces had probably either been distributed amongst the other maces, or held for a long time as spares by the Jewel House.

About 1805, the mace then normally in use in the House of Commons (JH. 8) was replaced by a very much lighter one; this, from the weight, seems to have been a composite one, formed, very likely, by fitting the head of JH. 2 to the stem of HC. 1; this lasted until, probably, 1819 or possibly 1825, when HC. 1 was restored to its present form. It has been used in the House of Commons ever since.

### III. Lord Chancellor's maces (2): HL. (House of Lords) Series.

#### HL. 1 *General*

A Charles II mace of 1670 type; cypher on head CII R, arms-plate Stuart with no cypher. It has a unique cross on orb on top, a large cross patée with sides of limbs hollowed out; cross and orb, zone and belt are heavily jewelled. Head has a jewelled band round top.

This is the mace normally used in the House of Lords.

#### *Marks*

*Maker*; None

*Numbers and weights inscribed*:

At foot of one arch	No. 1
	318-15
At foot of arch opposite (very faint)	342

#### *Dimensions*

		oz.	dwt.
Length 61"	Weight without staff	323	8
	Staff	23	
	Weight over all	346	8

This mace is now normally carried in attendance on the Lord Chancellor and used in the House of Lords when he acts as Speaker. It was probably made in 1672 as a mace for a King's sergeant, Sir Roger Harsnet. It was frequently being used in the House of Lords

<sup>1</sup> L.C. 9-43, p. 116.

in the seventeenth century and probably in the eighteenth as well; pictures of Lord Chancellors often show it, recognizable by the cross. It has been permanently in the House of Lords since before 1827.

## HL. 2 General

A William III/Mary II mace of post-1689 pattern, including Scotland. Cypher on head G R changed from WM R. Arms-plate William III/Mary II, normal post-1689 cypher changed to G R. Engraving very worn, probably roses/thistles throughout. Three knops on stem.

A round flat disc at the foot instead of the usual button.

## Marks

*Maker:* FG over mullet in shaped shield on: orb, upper stem (flange), lower stem (flange).

Ga monogram on: bracket piece (flanges), socket inside butt.

## Dimensions

		oz.	dwt.
Length 62"	Weight without staff	344	14
	Staff	23	
	Weight over all	367	14

Made new for the Lord Chancellor's sergeant, Roger Charnock, in 1695. It has been held in the House of Lords, for attendance on the Lord Chancellor there or elsewhere if required, ever since. It has undergone many repairs and alterations, and increased greatly in weight since it was first made, which may be why it has been used very little since the eighteenth century.

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- (c) Page.
- S.P. = State Papers. Various filing systems.
- Index = Index Series. These are books of 'Docquets' containing essential detail for inclusion in Letters Patent.



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H. of C. = House of Commons Journal.

*British Museum Documents Prefixes*

- Har. = Harleian Manuscript.  
Stowe = Stowe Manuscript.  
Add. = Additional Manuscript.

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