

# Filling the gaps and extending the boundaries

recent finds research in the Museum of London  
Archaeology Service

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THIS ARTICLE, based on a lecture given at the Museum of London in December 1994, summarises the past achievements of the Museum of London Archaeology Service (MOLAS) in relation to finds research and reviews some of the most recent work of the MOLAS Finds Section.

## The past development of finds research

Until relatively recently it was the City of London which was able to attract most funding for finds research. MOLAS is just completing a major series of publications funded by English Heritage and now supported by the City of London Archaeological Trust. Perhaps most notable for finds has been the study of assemblages from the medieval and later waterfronts. The combination of dendrochronology and coin dating to form a tight absolute chronology for the dumps used to infill waterfronts has led to the formation of typologies for medieval and later pottery that will continue to stand for many years to come. The dated type series of London now stretches to four volumes (Mill Green ware, London type ware, Hertfordshire glazed ware, and Surrey White wares<sup>1</sup>) and we are now planning for the last three: Hertfordshire grey wares; shelly/sandy wares and imports, to be based on assemblages from Greater London sites.

A similar series is under way for post-medieval pottery; volume 1 on Border wares (Surrey/Hampshire) is now published<sup>2</sup> and volumes on red wares and tin-glazed ware are in preparation.

The other great achievement in the study of waterfront material has been the series on medieval

finds produced by HMSO and a publishing triumph (not many finds *corpora* go to a reprint!). This series at present runs to five titles (textiles, knives and scabbards, shoes and patterns, dress accessories and horse equipment<sup>3</sup>), while others in preparation include the medieval household and pilgrim badges.

While these volumes have been largely descriptive, occupation sites within the City area have allowed scope for finds analysis and have led to the development of advanced methods for the quantification and in turn understanding of assemblages. We have also been able to compile a corpus of early Roman pottery<sup>4</sup> and a discussion of later Roman pottery. The latter was recently published<sup>5</sup> and is soon to be supplemented by the study of the assemblage of late complete vessels that has been recovered from the Roman cemeteries to the east of the City (see below).

In addition to these finds-based volumes, finds study and research have of course also made a major contribution to the understanding of site sequences and the nature of occupation. Such evidence is recorded in the series of CBA monographs on the Roman City<sup>6</sup> and the LAMAS monographs on Saxo-Norman London<sup>7</sup>. The display galleries at the Tower Hill Pageant also stand as a testament to finds research in the 1970s and 1980s on the City waterfronts.

The study and publication of large assemblages of finds from Greater London is less advanced, though the excellent work done by Harvey Sheldon and his colleagues in Southwark has left a *corpus* of

1. J. Pearce, A. Vince, and R. White (1982) *Mill Green Ware*; A. Jenner and A. Vince (1983) *Late Medieval Hertfordshire Glazed Ware*; J. Pearce, A. Vince and A. Jenner (1985) *London-Type Ware*; and J. Pearce and A. Vince (1988) *Surrey White wares*.
2. J. Pearce (1992) *Border Wares*.
3. J. Cowgill, M. de Neergaard and N. Griffiths (1987) *Knives and Scabbards*; F. Grew and M. de Neergaard (1988) *Shoes and Pattens*; G. Egan and F. Pearce (1991) *Dress Accessories*; E. Crowfoot, F. Pritchard and K. Staniland (1992) *Textiles and Clothing*; J. Clark (1995) *The Medieval Horse and its Equipment*.
4. B. Davies, B. Richardson and R. Tomber (1995) *A dated corpus of Early Roman Pottery from the City of London*.
5. R. P. Symonds, R. S. Tomber (1994) 'Late Roman London: an

assessment of the ceramic evidence from the City of London' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 42 59-100.

6. The Archaeology of Roman London published by the Council for British Archaeology and now standing at five volumes: *The Upper Walbrook Valley in the Roman Period* (1990), *The Development of Roman London West of the Walbrook* (1991) and *Public Buildings in the South-West Quarter of Roman London* (1993), *The Development of Roman London East of the Walbrook* (forthcoming) and the dated type series, see note 4.
7. Aspects of Saxo-Norman London, three volumes published as special papers of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society: *Vol. 1 Buildings and Street Development* (1988), *Vol. 2 Finds and Environmental Evidence* (1991) and *Vol. 3 Bridgehead and Billingsgate to 1200*.

material to guide further study. Perhaps of most value are the Roman pottery studies of Paul Tyers, Geoff Marsh and Mike Hammerson<sup>8</sup> and the excellent work done by Clive Orton on the 17th-century delftware kiln dumps by Tower Bridge<sup>9</sup>. Highly notable elsewhere is Lyn Blackmore's work on the finds assemblages from the Saxon *Lundenwic* sites<sup>10</sup>.

### A review of some recent research

How does this situation leave finds research priorities for the 1990s and beyond? To a certain extent it is a case of continuing the projects described above and filling the gaps left by them; indeed there are still substantial avenues of research to be explored. It is also a case of extending the boundaries of knowledge and finding new ways to squeeze information out of reluctant material. Breakthroughs are less spectacular because of the base of knowledge we are working from, but they can still be very significant. It is also recognised that the achievements of the past must not become fossilised, and that we must be constantly reviewing past work on the basis of new discoveries.

The amount of material being recovered is still prodigious. A rough estimate for 1992 suggested that 6,330 individual items were accessioned and 2,300 boxes of bulk material collected. As this article was being written, MOLAS was involved in work on five major projects in central London all producing significant finds assemblages (Guildhall Yard, No. 1 Poultry, Regis House, Bull Wharf and Jubilee Line work at London Bridge). All this material will be recorded and catalogued, either before long-term curation or, in the case of some items such as building material, disposal. Much has, and will be, reported on at various levels. Detailed research continues as part of English Heritage-funded projects, which are now concentrating on material from Greater London.

Starting at the beginning, research into prehistoric finds is being undertaken in several areas. Perhaps most notable is the work of John Lewis on the late glacial and early mesolithic site at Three Ways Wharf, Uxbridge. Here flint-working surfaces

survived, and detailed study has led to the re-fitting of waste flint to cores in order to determine how and where tools were made. A detailed breakdown of the distribution of flint tools over the site, and between different working surfaces, is under way in order to characterise the nature of occupation.

Central London has until recently been largely lacking in prehistoric material, particularly pottery associated with occupation. However, recent excavations in Westminster and Southwark have revealed small but significant assemblages for the Neolithic period and later, which we can now add to previous finds. They are being compared with existing typologies for Essex and the Thames Valley west of London. Once thought of as an area devoid of late prehistoric occupation, it is now clear that central London was settled in later prehistory, and the occupation debris we are now finding puts into context the rich metalwork associated with the Thames in London. This work runs in parallel to new and important palaeo-environmental studies of London's lost prehistoric landscape being carried out by the MOLAS Environmental Archaeology Section.

With the early Roman *corpus* complete, the Southwark data and the late Roman review published our pottery framework for the Roman period is developing. But there are gaps to fill. All published data puts the earliest date of Roman Southwark at c AD 50, some years after the conquest. However, recent study of material from a ditch at Park Street, Southwark<sup>11</sup>, by Jo Groves and Robin Symonds from MOLAS, aided by Paul Tyers, has dated the assemblage to the conquest period itself, some seven years earlier – highly significant for the story of London's birth. This very early Roman material is highly unusual for London and as such is proving a new stimulus to our experts; a site in Kensington<sup>12</sup> has this year also provided material of the same date – definitely an area for further research.

The years following the Roman conquest are better understood in terms of pottery, but even here progress is still being made. Until recently we could date pottery to the Flavian period but no closer.

8. G. Marsh and P. Tyers (1978) 'The Roman pottery from Southwark' in Bird *et al* (eds.) *Southwark Excavations 1972-4*; M. Hammerson (1988) 'Roman Pottery' in P. Hinton and H. Swain *Excavations in Southwark 1973-6, Lambeth 1973-9*.

9. C. Orton (1988) 'Post-Roman pottery from Mark Browns Wharf' in P. Hinton and H. Swain *Excavations in Southwark 1973-6, Lambeth 1973-9*.

10. R. Cowie, R. Whitehead and L. Blackmore (1988) 'Two middle Saxon occupation sites: Excavations at Jubilee Hall and 21-22 Maiden Lane' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc*

39 47-164. R. Cowie, R. Whytehead with L. Blackmore (1989) 'Excavations at the Peabody site, Chandos Place, and the National Gallery' *Trans London Middlesex Archaeol Soc* 40 35-176.

11. This work is part of the English Heritage-funded North West Roman Southwark publication project due for completion in late 1995. See also J. Dillon *et al* (1991) 'Excavations at Courage Brewery Park Street 1984-90' *London Archaeol* 6 no. 10, 255-62.

12. Excavations at St Mary Abbot Hospital in 1994.

The excellent stratigraphy and large assemblage of pottery recovered from Leadenhall Court<sup>13</sup> in the City mean that we can now define early, middle and late Flavian on the basis of percentages of different wares. Here coins and samian stamps have given us the absolute dating framework, but it is coarsewares (primarily Highgate B and C) which have made the breakthrough. This work has reinforced the importance of continually re-examining our state of knowledge for any particular period: it is one of the more frustrating aspects of project funding that little time is available for background work.

For the later Roman period it is the research project on the cemeteries to the east of the City on which we pin our hopes. Late Roman pottery is still poorly understood as good stratigraphic sequences are so rare in London. The cemeteries provide a large assemblage of complete pots used as grave goods in the 3rd century. The study has been hampered by the heirloom nature of many grave goods – pots being deposited in graves 100 years

after they were made; but a typology is now taking shape<sup>14</sup>.

As a slight diversion from mainstream studies we have also been giving a lot of attention to amphorae, the Museum of London hosting an international conference on the subject in January 1994. Of most interest has been the discovery of an amphora form made in St Alban's and in one case bearing the largest stamp of any amphora known. The initial discovery was made by a Spanish student studying our reserve collections, and its significance has been picked up by MOLAS specialist Robin Symonds. It now seems likely that there was a flourishing wine industry in southern Britain in the 1st century AD. The amphora in question is now on display in the Tower Hill Pageant<sup>15</sup> and the proceedings of the conference will soon be published.

On a national scale Dr Roberta Tomber of MOLAS is at present undertaking the compilation of a national Roman pottery fabric reference collection to be housed at the British Museum and funded by English Heritage. This formidable undertaking takes its lead from the reference collection compiled by the Museum of London and on completion will be a major resource for national research.

Moving away from pottery, the study of building material is often seen as somewhat mundane, though once more the detailed study of new assemblages is leading to important new insights. For the first time we have begun to look in detail at building material from Roman Southwark. Naomi Crowley, studying material from Winchester Palace, has identified two tiles stamped with the name of the Roman Fleet, the *Classis Britannica*; the tiles were in an unusual fabric and more of this material has been found in Southwark, but is almost unknown elsewhere in London. Other high-status building material has been found in north-west Southwark and this with other evidence points to the use of this area for official, possibly military, purposes. Other evidence comes from a military inscription and an extremely fine group of wallplaster, different elements of which have been researched by Tony MacKenna and Richenda Goffin. The finest example of wallplaster was

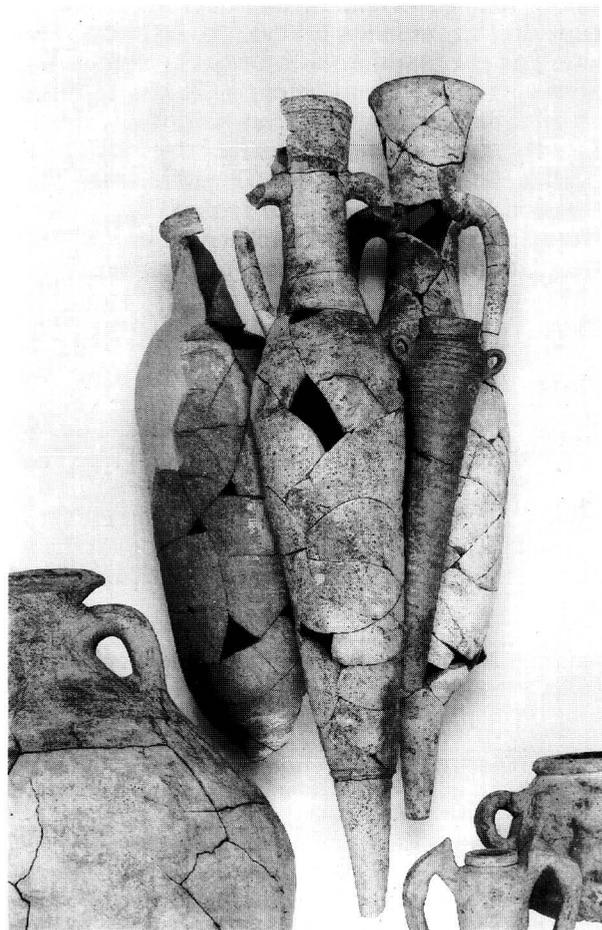


Fig. 1: a group of Roman amphora from sites in London

13. In G. Milne (ed.) (1992) *From Roman Basilica to Medieval Market: Archaeology in Action in the City of London*.

14. This work is part of the English Heritage-funded East London Roman Cemeteries publication project due for completion in late 1995. See also D. Barber *et al* (1990) 'Recent excavations of a cemetery of Londinium' *Britannia* 21.

15. The proceedings of the Amphora conference are being edited for publication by Robin Symonds, the work funded by English Heritage.

lifted on site by Tony MacKenna and is now installed on the wall in the Museum of London Roman gallery. It is referred to further below<sup>16</sup>.

Some unusual late Saxon/early medieval tiles have also recently come to light which might help us identify Saxon royal residences or churches in London. Excavated some eight years apart, but studied by finds specialist Ian Betts at the same time, the early medieval layers at the Guildhall<sup>17</sup> and a early post-conquest ditch at Westminster Abbey<sup>18</sup>, have both produced extremely rare fragments of polychrome relief tiles. These are the only two instances found for London although the type is also known from St Albans, Peterborough, Winchester, York and a few others. They are of late Anglo-Saxon date, probably produced sometime between the mid-10th and late-11th centuries. The Westminster example probably comes from Edward the Confessor's abbey church; the Guildhall example may provide tantalising evidence for a Saxon royal building on or near the site.

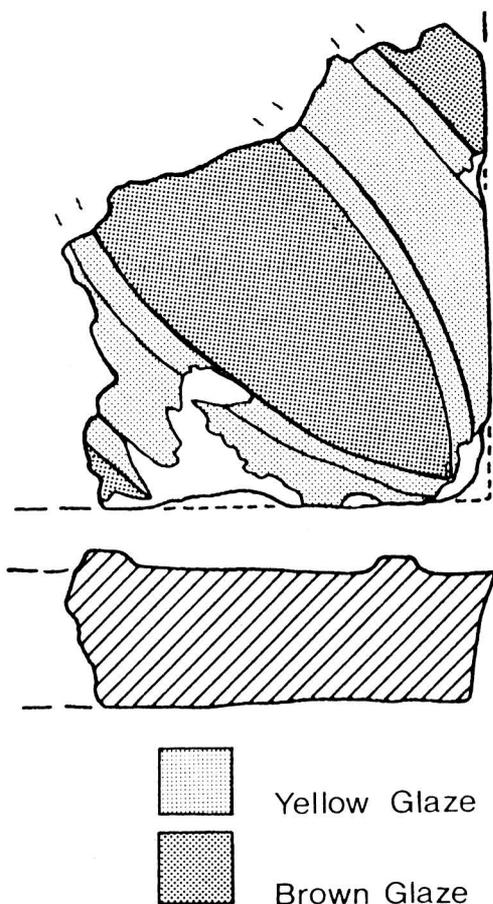


Fig. 2: late Saxon/early medieval polychrome relief tile from excavations at Westminster Abbey

Other, plain glazed, ceramic wall tiles from these sites are even rarer. Examples were used again in the 11th century as part of Edward the Confessor's reconstruction of Westminster Abbey and are still found *in situ* in the Little Cloister; two further examples came from excavations carried out in 1986 but only recently studied. Further fragments have come from excavations in the City: at Newgate Street (1979) and again Guildhall Yard (1992). These later examples may be associated with St Martin Le Grand, a royal chapel, and St Lawrence Jewry. There is currently no evidence for the use of plain glazed wall tiles in buildings of 11th-century date elsewhere in Britain. Once again, the presence of these tiles at Guildhall points to a high-status, possibly royal, building on the site in the 11th century. Full accounts of both types of tile will shortly be published by Ian Betts<sup>19</sup>.

Moving back to pottery evidence, over the last few years there has been a considerable increase in our knowledge and understanding of the Saxon pottery of the London area. Important discoveries for the early post-Roman period include the recognition of the presence of two 5th-century sherds amongst the finds from St Brides church in Fleet Street, excavated by Professor Grimes in 1952-54, and studied by MOLAS staff as part of the English Heritage funded Grimes Archive Project conducted by the Museum of London Department of Early London History. The sherds from St Brides are of Germanic type. These are the first ceramic finds of this date to be found so near to the Roman city, although there is a small assemblage of some fifty sherds found in pits on a site adjacent to the church of St John's Priory, approximately 3/4 mile to the north of St Brides.

Other recent early Saxon material includes a group of finds from an excavation at upper Tulse Hill<sup>20</sup> in south London, which revealed the remains of at least two sunken-floored buildings. The finds from Tulse Hill are very similar to those from St Brides, and all three sites probably date to the period 400-450.

16. In B. Yule forthcoming *Excavations at Winchester Palace, Vol. 1: Roman*. See also S. A. Mackenna and R. Ling (1991) 'Wall paintings from the Winchester Palace site, Southwark' *Britannia* 22 159-71.
17. Excavations at Guildhall Yard where the site of the Roman amphitheatre have been located are ongoing; for a summary of findings see MOLAS (1994).
18. P. Mills (forthcoming) *Excavations at the Dorter Undercroft Westminster Abbey*.
19. I. Betts (forthcoming) 'Two Late Anglo-Saxon tiles from London' *Medieval Archaeol* and I. Betts (forthcoming) *Glazed Eleventh Century Wall Tiles From London*.

For the Middle Saxon period, work has concentrated on further study of the trading settlement of *Lundenwic*, below modern day Covent Garden. Preliminary analyses by Lyn Blackmore of the finds from excavations at Bruce House, Kingsway<sup>21</sup>, shows that, although this site lies on the eastern fringe of the known settlement, the first phase of occupation is contemporary with that on sites along the Strand towards St Martins Lane. The earliest features comprise a series of pits broadly dated to 650-730/750 by the pottery, and a *scata* recovered from the lowest fill of one of these pits; provisionally dated to 690-725, this coin is possibly the earliest to have been found in the settlement. The pits were sealed by a occupation layer containing a different range of ceramic types, notably Ipswich ware, showing that the subsequent phase of activity dates to after 730/750.

The other pottery from Bruce House includes a number of new fabrics and forms which extend the range of English and continental wares. Of special interest is the high proportion of sherds containing oolitic limestone — they are as yet unprovenanced, but may have been produced in Lincolnshire. The continental imports include French wares. The accessioned finds include a number of loomweights and a greater than average amount of antler waste; these suggest that while the site had a domestic element, it may have lain within a craft quarter, where weaving and bone-working were carried out.

Work is also in progress on the finds from other Saxon sites in the Covent Garden area, which when combined with Bruce House will supplement the work already published by Lyn Blackmore<sup>22</sup>.

In the City the large-scale excavations at Guildhall Yard and Bull Wharf<sup>23</sup> on the Thames waterfront have yielded massive quantities of medieval pottery. Coming from good stratigraphic sequences, this is particularly important in helping to refine the ceramic chronology of the 11th to 12th centuries.

20. Excavations at Upper Tulse Hill supervised by Penny Bruce.
21. Excavations at Bruce House Kingsway supervised by Bruno Barber and Bob Cowie.
22. This work is part of the English Heritage funded publication project Saxon *Lundenwic*. There is no publication date at present and work continues.
23. Excavations at Bull Wharf, Upper Thames Street, continue.
24. This work is part of the English Heritage-funded publication project *Post-Medieval Industries in Southwark and Lambeth*. There is no publication date at present and work continues.
25. see note 9.

Archaeologically, the evidence for early London as an industrial city may appear rare. Bermondsey in Southwark long acted as an important tanning centre for the City, and excavations in the area have produced evidence for tanning pits. Many City sites have also produced evidence for a wide range of metal-working from the medieval period onwards. However, by far the fullest evidence for post-medieval industries comes from the sites of pottery kilns along the Thames.

MOLAS and its predecessor bodies have excavated on the sites of many of the delftware tin-glaze pottery factories that were located along the Thames in the 17th and 18th centuries. This popular pottery introduced from Holland was the focus of a new phase of industrial production in potting. One of our specialists, Roy Stephenson, has produced a form and decoration typology for delft production at Edward III's manor house at Rotherhithe<sup>24</sup>, based on work by Clive Orton on the delft dumps found at Mark Brown's Wharf in the 1970s<sup>25</sup>. We are now planning to produce similar typologies for the other delft kilns. This work will give us a unique opportunity to characterise a complete industry, its products, associated technology and markets through time.



Fig. 3: ceramic loom-weights, lava quernstones and animal bone from excavations at Bruce House within the middle Saxon settlement of *Lundenwic*.



Fig. 4: MOLAS conservator lifting a fragment of Roman mosaic from an excavation below London Bridge station, part of the work in advance of the Jubilee line tube extension.

We have also been involved in the excavation and study of two early porcelain kilns, at Vauxhall<sup>26</sup> and more importantly at Limehouse where material was produced for a very short period between 1744 and 1748<sup>27</sup>. The discovery of material on site has enabled previously unprovenanced porcelain held in private and public collections to be assigned a precise place and date of manufacture.

An area where advances have been in the techniques of research as well as into the material itself has been the study of medieval moulded stone. There are many medieval religious houses and secular buildings, particularly in inner London, which are now only known from documentary sources and the excavation of their plans and robbed-out remains. It is commonplace to excavate large amounts of moulded stone from these sites, almost always out of context and often fragmentary. In the past such material has often been dealt with in isolation, in effect as small finds. Mark Samuel of MOLAS, building on work developed by Richard Lea of English Heritage, has been using

such stones and the fact that medieval building design followed set formulae to attempt the reconstruction of the appearance of buildings above ground. In some cases this can only be achieved in terms of 'floating' architectural units — windows or columns; but where evidence is better preserved, as at the 15th-century Garner at Leadenhall Court, the whole building has been reconstructed<sup>28</sup>.

As with stone recording so with conservation; it is the advances in techniques and methodologies which have been most notable recently. MOLAS is fortunate to have professional conservators in its finds section, a luxury for an archaeological unit. Those staff, Dana Goodburn-Brown, Kirsten Suenson-Taylor and Elizabeth Goodman, spend much of their time undertaking preventative conservation and advising on the conservation needs for projects. However, they are also involved in research work. Dana is at present working on her Ph.D. studying the uses of high magnification microscope work — using a scanning electron microscope — in analysing metals from water-logged de-

26. Excavations at Albert Embankment.

27. Excavations in advance of the Limehouse Link Road.

28. M. Samuel (1989) 'The fifteenth-century garner at Leadenhall, London' *Antiq J* 59, 1.

posits. This is obviously a non-destructive method and will hopefully prove useful in the future.

With Museum colleagues, the MOLAS conservators have also done much to advance the methods of lifting unstable and delicate objects from site. Similar work has been undertaken by Tony MacKenna of the finds section, who has been responsible for preparing the wallplaster from Winchester Palace for exhibition in the Roman gallery<sup>29</sup>. This task involved delicately removing the plaster's original mortar backing and replacing it with modern material, to allow it to be mounted.

Finally our conservators are looking at the way sites are preserved below ground. With the onus now on preservation of sites wherever possible, rather than their excavation, it is important to know just how well archaeological strata survive once they have been disturbed, and how they can be monitored. Our work at present has concentrated on the Shakespearian theatres the Rose and Globe, both of which are re-buried awaiting deci-

29. See note 16.

30. See note 14.

sions on their future. Research is ongoing and an international conference is planned for the spring of 1996 to be hosted by the Museum of London and Bradford University.

With other types of finds, Angela Wardle is using the grave goods from the Roman cemeteries as evidence of the life and beliefs of those buried. This work is still under way, but it is clear that many of the objects deposited with the dead had a highly symbolic value to the Romans and their beliefs in the afterlife<sup>30</sup>. Angela is also looking at Roman metal and other finds from the Courage site in Southwark<sup>31</sup>. There is clear evidence for metalworking on the site, though so far research has been frustrating in failing to identify exactly what it was that was being made. All we can say so far is that the Romans were very tidy in clearing up their rubbish!

For the medieval and post-medieval period, just one of Geoff Egan's many research projects has been to look at the finds from the medieval reli-

31. See note 11.



Fig. 5: Roman gold and pearl earring from excavations at Guildhall Yard.



Fig. 6: early medieval copper alloy mount from excavations at Guildhall Yard.

gious houses MOLAS is at present involved in researching. It is hoped that we will be able to characterise assemblages from religious houses and use them to help understand the social and economic role of these institutions. Geoff has also been looking at material recovered from Moorgate<sup>32</sup>. This area outside the City walls was marshland well into the post-medieval period and was used for dumping rubbish: large quantities of metal, leather, textiles and industrial waste have been recovered. However, this truly is rubbish: of all the leather and textile recovered no recognisable garments are present. Worryingly, this site produced many finds, particularly metals, which showed evidence of recent deterioration. It may be that this valuable resource will soon be lost due to changing water levels below ground.

### Summary

This review has been brief and much has been left out. In compilation it becomes clear how most research is ongoing and only slowly adding to the accumulated base of knowledge any one period and subject. Research will continue and many of the subjects touched upon will find their way into publications within the next five or so years to join the body of data MOLAS and its predecessors have already published.

I have made little reference to "treasure" or truly beautiful individual finds. These do occur but often are not the finds that tell us most. Excavations at the Guildhall Yard<sup>33</sup> have been particularly

32. Excavations at Finsbury Pavement, 1994. Supervised for MOLAS by Gordon Malcolm.

rich in all finds, it has produced the largest assemblage of Roman glass-working waste known in Britain, as well as items of great beauty. These include a Roman gold and pearl earring, probably dating to the 2nd century AD. Roman women had their ears pierced in infancy, without anaesthetic, and gold earrings with gems were of high value — although Roman writers tell us that British pearls were not the best.

Finally an object that we ourselves are finding it difficult to identify: it is of the very highest workmanship and skill, although strangely worked in copper alloy not gold. It is a mount of some sort and probably dates to the 11th century, but its exact date, origin and iconography are not known, although it is almost certainly not British.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Penny MacConnoran, Peter Hinton and Tony Dyson for reading and commenting on different versions of this text. My gratitude also to those members of the MOLAS finds team, past and present, whose work is recorded in this article: Ian Betts, Lyn Blackmore, Naomi Crowley, Roy Stephenson, Robin Symonds, Jo Groves, Mark Samuel, Angela Wardle, Jacqui Pearce, Geoff Egan, Richenda Goffin, Dana Goodburn-Brown, Kirsten Suenson-Taylor, Tony MacKenna, Roberta Tomber and Virginia Neal. The Westminster tile is illustrated by Susan Banks. Photographs are by MOLAS.

33. Excavations at Guildhall Yard continue.

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(continued from p. 402)

for agriculture until the coming of the railways made it possible to import produce from much further afield, and turned the Leyton area into a dormitory suburb. The site managed to escape the wholesale redevelopment that enveloped the area as it was purchased in 1886 by the Essex County Cricket Club and remained as a County Cricket ground until its sale in 1933, from which time it has remained a general sports ground<sup>8</sup>.

The wholesale development of Leyton during the latter part of the 19th century is known to have produced large quantities of prehistoric artefacts, the provenance of which is merely described as 'Leyton' or 'Leytonstone'. The recent discoveries made at Oliver Close and George Mitchell School Playing Fields, are therefore beginning to shed light on the pattern of prehistoric and later land

use in an area ideal for settlement, and which in the past has been under represented in the archaeological record.

### Acknowledgements

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8. Powell *op. cit.* fn 1, 184.