

An Early Saxon Settlement within the Romano-British Small Town at Heybridge, Essex

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FIVE GRUBENHÄUSER and a probable ground level building sited within the Romano-British small town at Heybridge are described. The associated Saxon pottery suggests that the settlement belongs to the first half of the 5th century, and there is evidence that late Romano-British pottery was in contemporary use. It is suggested that the Saxon settlers were involved either economically or militarily in the life of the late Roman town. The significance of a nearby cemetery containing both late Roman and Saxon burials, one dated c. A.D. 500, is also considered.

Heybridge is now a suburb of Maldon, at the head of the Blackwater estuary on the E. coast of Essex (Fig. 1, A). Both the Chelmer and the Blackwater discharge into the estuary. The topography prior to the construction of the Chelmer and Blackwater Navigation in 1797 and other late changes connected with mills on the rivers is shown on Fig. 1, B. Aerial photography² shows an abandoned channel of the R. Blackwater (the dashed line on Fig. 1, B), indicating that the rivers once joined further E. The map suggests that the junction was once still further to the E., the rivers having subsequently merged at the point where the narrowness of the flood plain forced them closest together.

The gravel terrace to the N. of the Blackwater was occupied from the Neolithic period onwards. Aerial photography shows farmsteads and extensive patterns of land division of late Iron Age and Roman origin, elements of which survive in the modern landscape. On the N. bank of the Blackwater is an area of intensive Romano-British occupation c. 50 ha in extent, one of the many 'small towns' of the Trinovantian *civitas* and on circumstantial evidence a port.³ Its plan seems to relate primarily to a Roman road from the N., aiming for the obvious crossing point of the rivers. The Roman road leading southwestwards towards Chelmsford is severed abruptly some 1.5 km from the crossing, probably because of the building of the *burh* at Maldon by Edward the Elder in 916. The course suggested⁴ (on Fig. 1, B) implies that Edward's *burh* was a remodelling of an earlier, Iron Age, hill fort. Such an

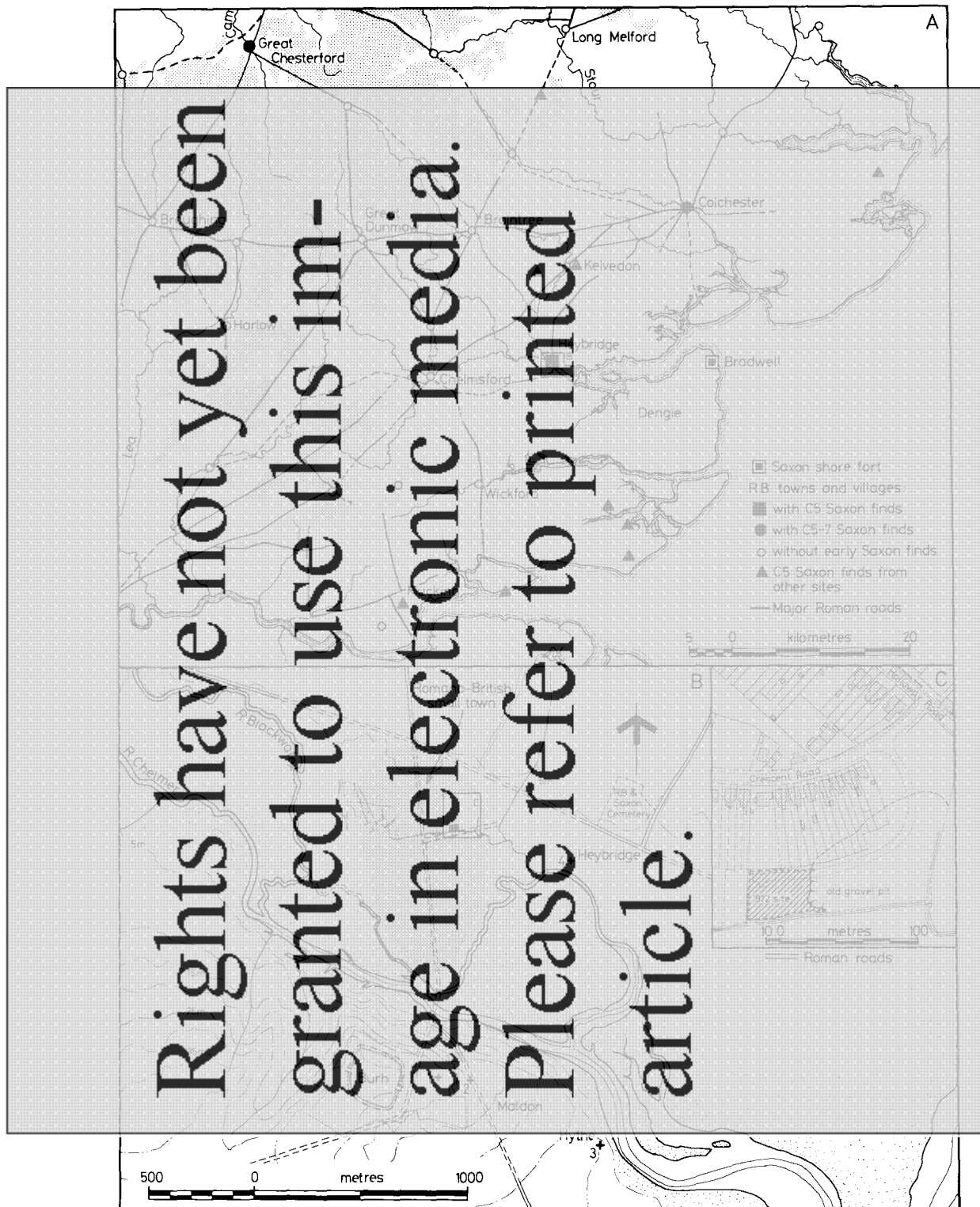


FIG. 1

A: ESSEX, showing Romano-British 'small towns' and 5th-century Saxon sites; B: The Romano-British 'small town' at Heybridge in relation to local topography and the burh at Maldon (Medieval churches: 1, All Saints'; 2, St Peter's; 3, St Mary's; 4, St Andrew's, Heybridge); C: The modern topographic setting of the 1972 excavation (B, C based on Ordnance Survey Maps; Crown Copyright Reserved). For a general location map, see Fig. 10

assumption accords with finds of early Iron Age pottery in the vicinity of the earthwork, the disposition of hill forts in Essex, and the reuse of several of those hill forts, especially those around the Dengie peninsula (the *regio* of the Daen(n)ingas) in the Saxon period.⁵

The Saxon town of Maldon lay to the E. of the earthwork, the parish of All Saints' (shown by a dotted line on Fig. 1, C) comprising little more than the earthwork and what seems to be the urban area to the E. (Fig. 1, B). However, there was clearly a settlement in existence before 916, for excavations opposite St Peter's church in 1972 produced Ipswich-type ware⁶ datable *c.* 650–850.⁷ There is as yet no evidence for early Saxon occupation in the town area, nor at the Hythe, around St Mary's church, but interestingly the site has produced Roman pottery.⁸

By 1970, much of the northern part of the Romano-British 'small town' at Heybridge had been developed for housing, a process which began early this century. In 1971, proposals to develop a further area, to the S. of Crescent Road (TL 850082: Fig. 1, C), prompted the Essex Archaeological Society to organize a trial excavation.⁹ This showed that, whilst much of the eastern part of the site had been destroyed by small-scale gravel working, an area at the western end warranted further examination, since it showed evidence of early Saxon as well as Roman and earlier occupation. An excavation was therefore undertaken for eight weeks during March, April and May 1972 under the direction of P. J. Drury, during which an area of *c.* 1600 sq.m was stripped (Fig. 1, C).

The subsoil is gravel, overlain by limited brickearth deposits in the vicinity of the site, but not in the excavated area. The post-medieval ploughsoil (*c.* 0.35 m thick) was removed by machine. Little stratigraphy survived except where the levels had subsided into earlier features. The prehistoric and Romano-British phases of the site, with a gazetteer of past finds in the small town area, will be published elsewhere.¹⁰ This paper is concerned exclusively with the early Saxon features (Fig. 2), which formed part of a settlement dated on ceramic evidence to the first half of the 5th century A.D.¹¹

THE EXCAVATED FEATURES¹²

Along the S. edge of the excavated area (Fig. 2) lay a sequence of ditches and associated features of 1st-century A.D. origin, which probably defined the N. side of a Roman road. These were levelled and covered with gravel metalling (Fig. 5, S1–2, 303), probably an extension of the road metalling (which lay largely outside the site) in the mid 3rd century. The position of the late Roman street frontage was not closely defined; on Fig. 2 its alignment is presumed to be that of earlier phases of the same feature. The stream which formed the S. boundary of the excavation originated as a late or post-medieval drainage ditch.

Ditch 154 probably originated at the same time as the road, almost certainly as a plot boundary. Its final silt, up to 0.2 m deep and not always well-defined in plan, contained late Roman and Saxon pottery; so the ditch remained a feature of the landscape in those periods. Ditch 122, by contrast, was completely filled in the late Roman period (on pottery evidence after *c.* A.D. 360/375). The only other excavated

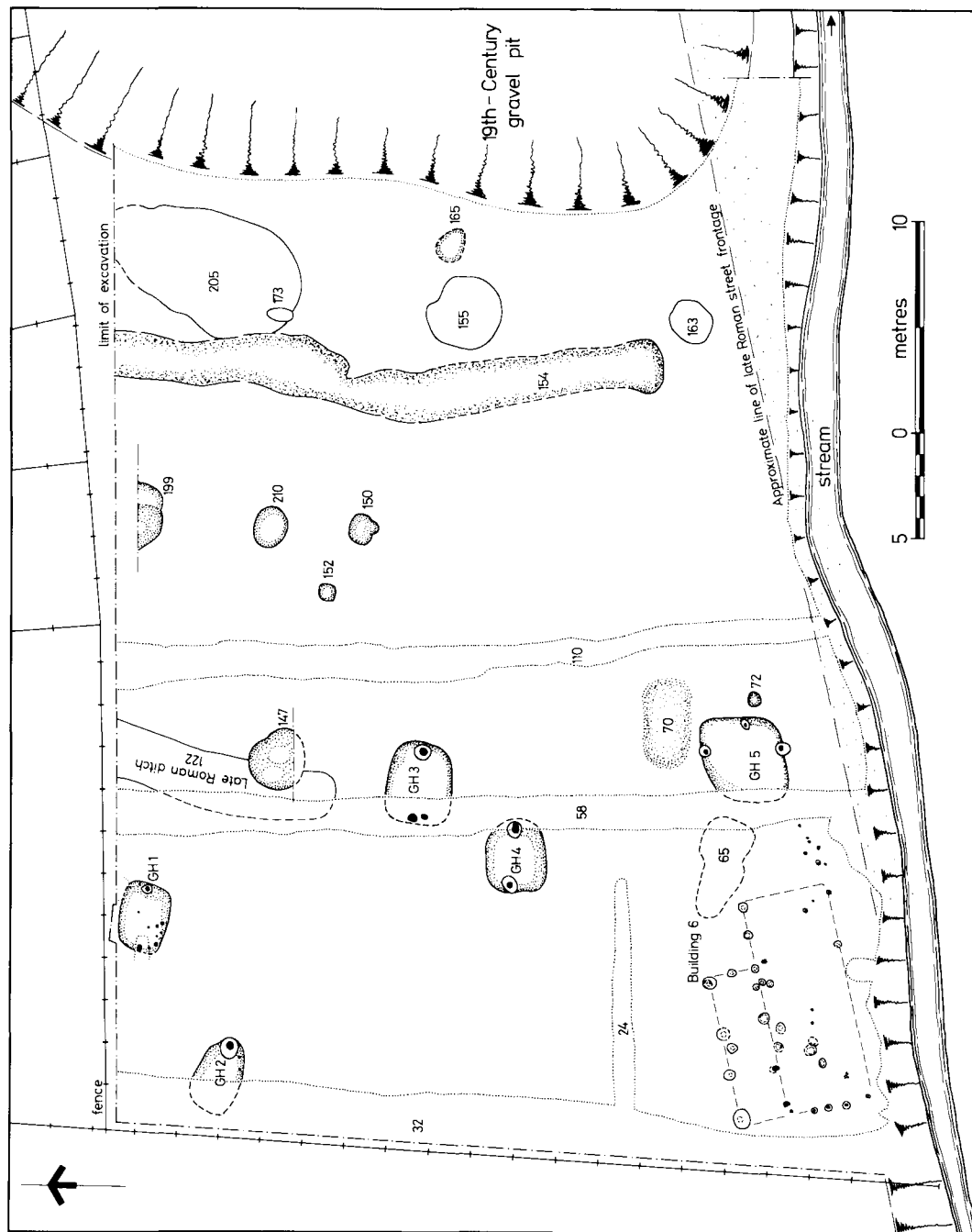


FIG. 2

HEYBRIDGE: General plan of the excavated early Saxon features; 4th-century features are shown in outline. Scale 1:350

TABLE I
DETAILS OF GRUBENHÄUSER

MAXIMUM DIMENSIONS (METRES)				ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY				OTHER FINDS						
Feature	Length (E.-W.)	Width (N.-S.)	Depth below cleared level sunken floor)	Post-hole depth (below sunken floor)	Samian Oxford- shire wares	Late Nene Valley ware	Hadham Late ware	Rettondon ware	Roman Late coins	Roman/Late Saxon glass	Bronze Iron objects	Iron nails	Lead objects	Stone/ Fired clay objects
1	3.20	2.32	0.20	0.34(E.); 0.38(W.)	✓	9(+24)	(5)	(2)	3	Fig 12.23-24	Fig 11.1	Fig 11.9-12, 17, 19	Fig 11.7	Fig 12.28, 31
2	c. 3.50	2.40	0.26	0.54(E.)	1	(2)	(2)	(4)	1	Fig 11.4	2			
3	c. 3.80	3.00	0.20	0.50 (E.); 0.50, 0.64 (W., S. & N. resp.)	✓	6(+6)	2(+2)	1	1(+1)	Fig 12.25-26	Fig 11.2-3	8	Fig 11.6	Fig 12.29-30
4	c. 3.50	2.84	0.37	0.35(E.); 0.48(W.)	✓	2	(1)	(4)			Fig 11.22	10	Fig 11.5	
5	c. 4.0	3.90	0.20	0.10 av.	✓	2	1	(4)	1		Fig 11.14-16, 18, 20-1	50	Fig 11.8	
70	4.40	2.40	0.10	-	✓	✓	✓					3		

NOTE

In the pottery columns, the figures represent the minimum number of vessels, except that in the case of formless sherds the actual number is given in parentheses. For the Saxon pottery from the *Grubenhäuser*, see Tables 2 and 4.

features filled (on pottery evidence) in the 4th century (155, 163, 173, 205) are also shown in outline on Fig. 2.

GRUBENHÄUSER (Buildings 1–5, Figs. 2–4)

Five *Grubenhäuser* were identified, all small and aligned approximately E.–W. (Table 1). They were filled with a black charcoal-rich soil, capped by brown pebbly subsoil indistinguishable from the general subsoil of the site. The plan suggests that the *Grubenhäuser* GH 1 might be paired with GH 2, and GH 3 with GH 4, whilst GH 5 was isolated to the S.

The surviving part of GH 2 was of irregular plan, but it was probably of the standard two-post type, like the adjacent and more regular GH 1. Both had stake-holes along part of the edge of the pit; in GH 1 there were also three in the interior, and a hollow in the floor. Some of the stakes in GH 1 appear to have been of squared timber.

Grubenhäuser GH 3 had a substantial post at the E., but two smaller posts at the W. Since these were set to the N. and S. of the axis it seems probable that they were contemporary, rather than successive, supports for the ridge. In GH 4 the plan of the E. post-hole suggests that it had held two posts, and the section suggests that these were removed at the same time. The evidence for an original pair of posts is not so clear as in GH 3, for here one stump could have been used to pack the base of its successor, but it may be significant that both huts show evidence for the doubling of one of the posts. Each also contained a small patch of raw clay on the floor.¹³ *Grubenhäuser* GH 4 was dug down to a natural layer of iron panning; GH 3 was shallower, stopping short of the same layer.

Grubenhäuser GH 5 was unusual, in that it seems to have been of almost square plan, with a post-hole in the centre of each side (the W. side being destroyed by a later ditch). It was cut through a late Roman soil down to, but very little into, a layer of hard, iron-panned gravel metalling. Feature 70, 0.1 m deep, was probably only a subsidence hollow in this metalling, since it contained some Saxon pottery but lacked both post-holes and the black occupation soil, being filled with the usual brown pebbly subsoil.

The pits of all the *Grubenhäuser* were very shallow, probably because of a relatively high water table; a 3rd-century well was only 1.4 m deep below cleared level.¹⁴ Even allowing for the loss of the late Roman soil on the northern part of the site, none is likely to have been more than 0.6 m deep below contemporary ground level. It is quite certain that GH 5 was never more than c. 0.2–0.25 m deep. The very shallowness of the pits suggests that either there was no suspended timber floor, or that the space between such a floor and the bottom was so small as to serve merely to separate the floor from the cold and potentially damp soil. The irregular plan of the very shallow scoop of GH 2 may not, indeed, accurately reflect the plan of the superstructure.

The huts fall towards the lower end of the size range at Mucking,¹⁵ and all are variations on the normal two-post type except *Grubenhäuser* GH 5, which, with four posts and a shallow, almost square pit, is reminiscent of Hut 8 at West Stow.¹⁶ The

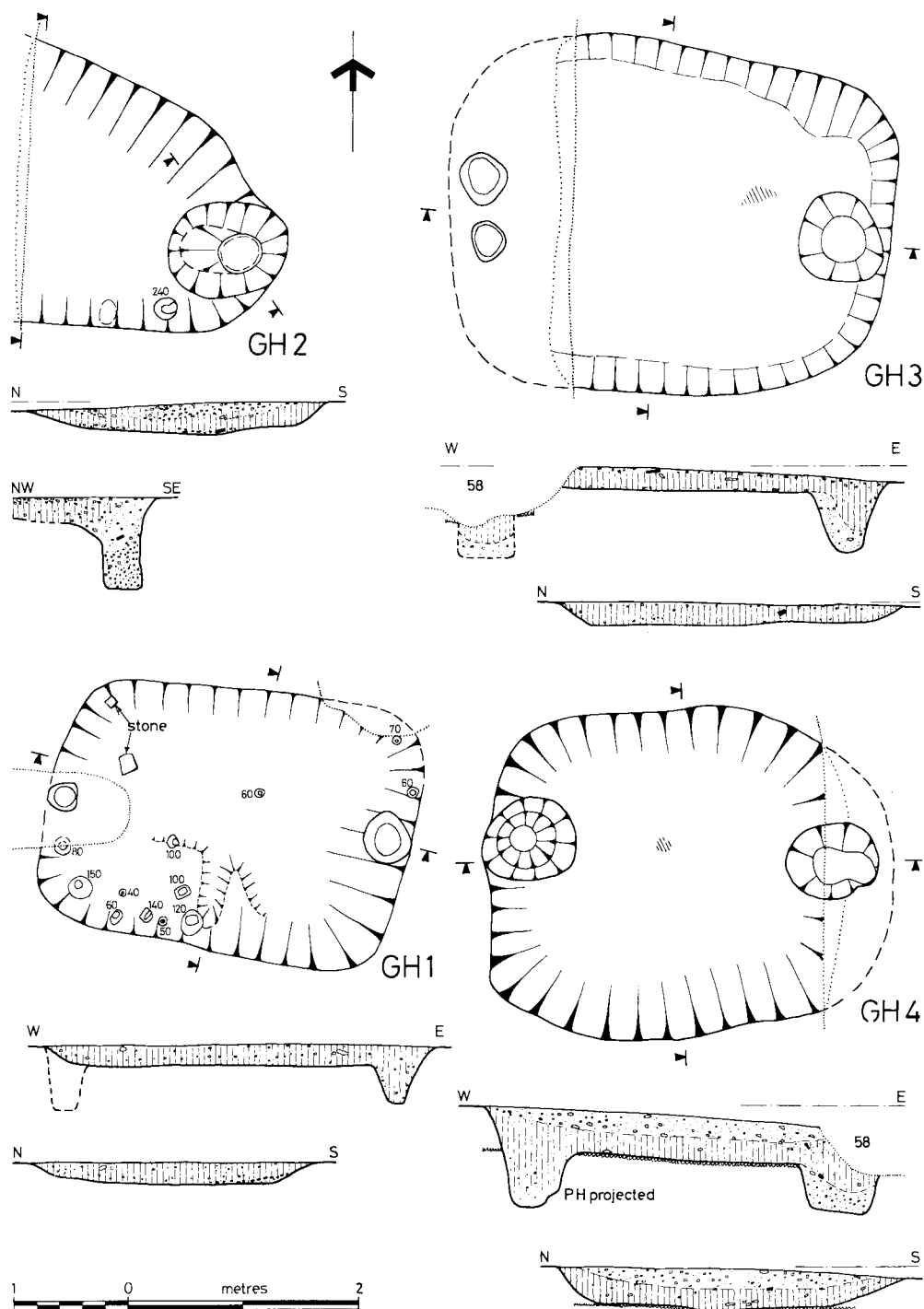


FIG. 3

HEYBRIDGE: Details of *Grubenhäuser* 1, 2, 3 and 4; the depths of stake-holes are given in millimetres. For key to sections, see Fig. 4. Scale 1 : 60

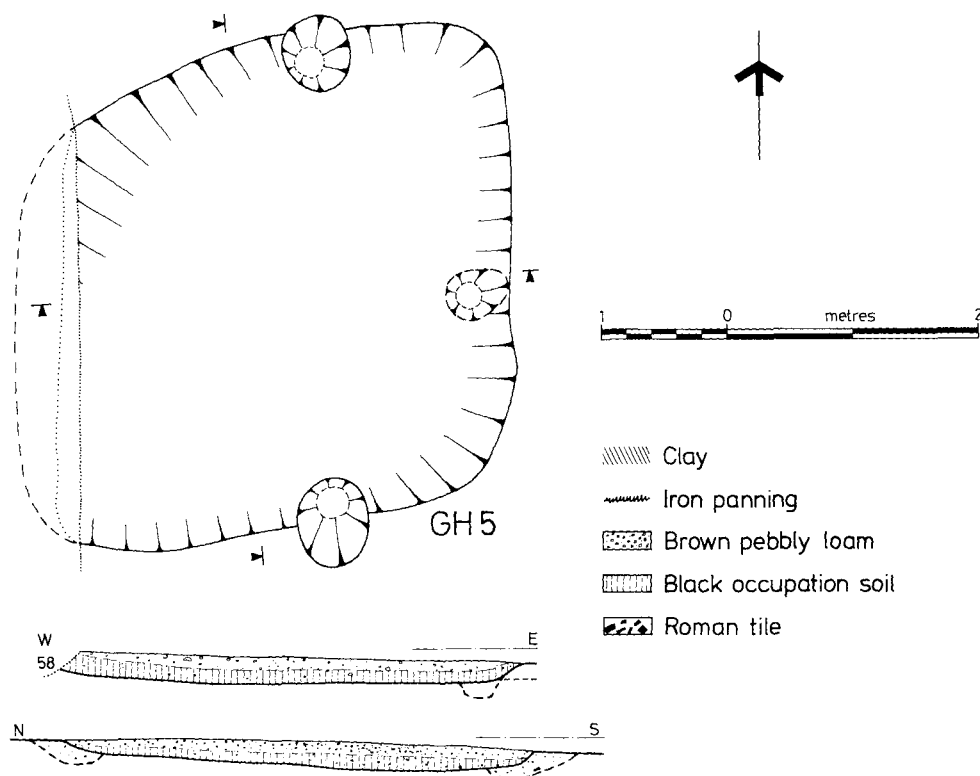
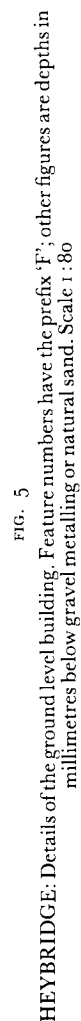


FIG. 4

HEYBRIDGE: Details of *Grubenhaus* 5. Scale 1 : 60

latter had in addition a continuous slot around the edge of the pit, interpreted by the excavator as possible accommodation for the base of a turf wall. Turf walls would explain the shallowness of the post-holes of GH 5 here, for the posts presumably relied for lateral support on being embedded in the core of the wall. House VI at Sutton Courtenay, Berks. was of similar plan to GH 5 at Heybridge, with three posts (originally probably four) within the edge of the hollow (c. 4.9×3.5 m), between several large stones which may have formed the base for a turf wall.¹⁷ Other huts also had stones in this position, and either only one post-hole (e.g. VIII)¹⁸ or none at all, and walls partly, at least, on the outside edge of the pit, as in XII.¹⁹ Smith²⁰ suggested that these structures had walls of rammed earth (*pisé de terre*), but turf or sods seem more likely, and the former is attested at Midlum in lower Saxony.²¹ Locally, huts of this form (often called the *Ezinge* type after a site in Holland where all the sunken huts lacked posts)²² occur rarely at Mucking,²³ and there is one (with a single shallow post-hole, and another in the body of the pit) at Barling.²⁴ It is just possible that the hollow (70) at Heybridge was also part of a hut of similar construction, whose post-holes did not penetrate the gravel at all.



THE GROUND LEVEL STRUCTURE (Building 6, Figs. 2, 5)

Pit 65 was cut through the Roman gravel metalling 303 in the mid or later 3rd century, although the surface generally probably continued in use. Later a dark brown pebbly soil (302) developed over it, especially in the subsidence hollow (Fig. 5, S1, S2). Several mostly shallow post- and stake-holes were found cutting the gravel; it was impossible to tell whether they were covered by or had been cut through the overlying soil which filled them. Two substantial blocks of greensand, 311–12, were set either on or slightly into the gravel, and seemed to be related to the plan of the post-holes. All the features cutting the gravel metalling are shown on Fig. 5, together with two concentrations of Roman tile debris, 44 and 321, the former associated with a sinkage hollow. Beyond the northern limit of the underlying features, and thus survival of the metalling, the natural loose sandy gravel was cut by a palimpsest of stake- and post-holes, of which only those apparently related to features to the S. are shown on Fig. 5.

Of the post- and stake-holes, only F 14 produced a substantial amount of Romano-British debris, including much 3rd-century pottery, tile, septaria and eight iron nails. Features 33, 39, 40, 47, 48 and 66 contained occasional sherds, mostly undiagnostic and often associated with small fragments of building materials (tile, septaria, chalk, greensand); 50 and 261 produced only building material, plus a nail in 50. The remainder contained no artefacts. None produced Saxon sherds, although there was a general scatter of them in the dark soil in the area (302), as indeed there was in the (plough-disturbed) subsoil generally on the site.

The greensand blocks 311–12, and post-holes 47, 316, 66 and 69, seem to form a line (to which 40 and 313–15 may be related) which owes much to the alignment of earlier Roman features on the site. Some 2.3 m to the N., and parallel, is another line, formed by 33, 14, 310 and 39 (the latter containing a block of greensand, cf. 311–12), to which 37 may be related. At right angles to both lines are the post- or stake-holes 317–20. The remaining post-holes lack an intelligible plan, except 38, between 39 and 316.

What kind of structure could these tenuous remains represent? The association of stone blocks with post-holes in a single line suggests that the need was to provide a firm foundation for timbers, rather than to give them much lateral support. We are clearly not dealing with a framed building, nor is there any evidence of the regular spacing of posts, implying a division into bays. This suggests that Building 6 was, in Mr F. W. B. Charles's terminology, a 'post-structure'.²⁵ The greater size of the post-holes in plan (their depth is similar) in the northernmost of the two E.–W. lines is probably due entirely to the looser substrate into which they were cut.

Three possibilities for the plan of Building 6 emerge. First, that the three walls formed a structure *c.* 2.4 × 7.25 m, with its S. and W. walls continuing eastwards and southwards beyond its corners. Second, that (as suggested in Fig. 5) this small structure was appended to a rather larger one to the S. The lack of a S. wall can be explained by reference to the sections S1 and S2. If post settings were dug through the dark soil to the same depths as those defining the N. wall, most would not penetrate the gravel. In such circumstances, the shallow holes 326–27 could well represent the line of the S. wall, suggesting a main structure *c.* 4.1 m wide. The W.

end seems to be defined by 317–20, but the E. end is problematical. A post-hole E. of 69 could have been missed in the dark soil filling of pit 65, so it need not necessarily mark the E. end of the building. On the other hand, the group of stake-holes 261 seems unlikely to have formed part of a wall, and seems best regarded as lying outside the building, which would thus be *c.* 10.4 m long. Third, it is possible that the walls represented by the post settings between 33 and 39 and between 311 and 69 are in fact successive N. walls of a two-phase structure, although if so, the sequence between them is unknown. A post-hole to complement 69 in the N. line could have been missed in the filling of pit 65, especially in view of the 'intrusive' Saxon sherds from its filling (Table 2).²⁶ If this interpretation is correct, the building was *c.* 6.4 × 10.4 m in its largest phase. There is no sign of the position of any entrances.

In the absence of evidence for any other material, turf seems a likely infilling between the posts, producing walls of the type proposed by Mr G. Beresford.²⁷ If turf was so used, one would expect that when the timbers decayed or the structure was demolished, most of the material entering the post-holes would be derived from that same turf. This would explain the variability of the finds, and the lack of Saxon sherds, from the post-holes, but it does nothing to settle the date of the structure. Stratigraphically it post-dates the gravel laid down in the mid 3rd century, and, if our structural interpretation is correct, the accumulation of much of the dark soil in the hollow above the gravel. If Roman, it is clearly late Roman, and may have stood to be utilized by the early Saxon settlers; equally it may be Saxon, and here its spatial relationship with GH 5 seems highly suggestive, although the latter could have been built to complement it.

The construction and general form of the building can be paralleled in 'vernacular' buildings in other Roman 'small towns', for example Building A at Brampton, Norfolk, *c.* 5.5 × 9 m, defined by post-holes of irregular size and spacing, and of late 2nd- or 3rd-century date.²⁸ In the Saxon period, structures defined on two sides by irregularly-shaped and spaced post-holes are known from Bishopstone, Sussex,²⁹ in circumstances where there was less reason than at Heybridge to account for the lack of the missing sides. The use of timber and turf walls is paralleled at Heybridge in GH 5, and other sunken huts, at, for example, Sutton Courtenay,³⁰ show a combination of post-holes and stone responds defining the lines of such walls. Building S 5 at Portchester, of early to mid Saxon date, provides a parallel, being a ground level building with walls supported partly by posts set in holes and partly by a structure (probably also based on posts) set on a foundation of flints.³¹

Of the three possible plans suggested, the two latter (i.e. a building 4.1 × 10.4 m with a lean-to, or successive buildings *c.* 4.1 and 6.4 × 10.4 m) seem the most likely. In both cases, the size and proportions of the hypothesized buildings are within the normal range for Saxon ground level structures.³² Building S 10 at Portchester, although of late Saxon date, is of comparable size (*c.* 4.27 × 10.97 m), with rounded or splayed corners, and is defined by posts an average of *c.* 1.15 m apart, some of which were set in or on stone-packed post-holes.³³ The elaboration of the plan beyond a simple rectangle (occasionally with lateral divisions), is, however, unusual in Saxon timber buildings; extensions generally take the form of additions to the length of the building, rather than what, if roofed, must be seen as a lean-to or

outshot along part of one side. Two exceptions, however, are known from Thetford, both late Saxon.³⁴ It is, of course, possible that the northern annexe, if that interpretation is correct, was merely a fenced pen of some kind. Equally, it is worth bearing in mind Dr Philip Dixon's view³⁵ that since known Saxon post-built structures in England are in general so different from continental Saxon buildings, they may owe much to the Romano-British vernacular tradition, both in plan and construction. This is especially true of Heybridge, given the probable context of the settlement (p. 33 below).

MINOR FEATURES (Fig. 2)

Minor features, attributed on the evidence of Saxon pottery in their fillings, comprised post-holes 72 and 152 (both 0.1 m deep), shallow pits 150 and 210 (0.2 and 0.15 m deep respectively) and pits 147 and 199, of more complex shape (average 0.45 m and 0.15 m (E.) — 0.35 m (W.) deep respectively). Features 72 and 152 had the same black soil filling as the *Grubenhäuser*. The remainder were filled with brown pebbly soil, except 150 which contained the two soils interleaved. The ill-defined hollow in the subsoil, 165, (c. 0.07 m deep), which also contained Saxon pottery, might be the result of grubbing a tree or bush.

THE POTTERY

EARLY SAXON POTTERY

Some 724 sherds (8.30 kg) of pagan Saxon pottery were recognized. It has proved difficult to distinguish small abraded sherds of Saxon pottery from middle Iron Age wares. This is especially true of formless sherds in the fine local brickearth fabric, and such difficulty is often found on small sites, e.g. Linford.³⁶ At Mucking, identification has been made easier by the sheer bulk of pottery of all periods that has been handled.³⁷ Well over half the Heybridge total was found in the five *Grubenhäuser* (see Table 2), together with residual Iron Age and much Roman pottery, some possibly in contemporary use. The remainder was found in the other Saxon features, and in the subsoil generally. In the *Grubenhäuser* themselves, the bulk of the pottery was found in the lower occupation layers. Of the 51 illustrated vessels, only seven came from the upper subsoil filling.³⁸ An eighth consisted of two joining fragments, one from the subsoil and the other from the occupation layer (Fig. 6.3). Since all were of forms present in the lower fills, no distinction is made in the tables between material from the two layers of filling in those huts where both were present.

The pottery was quantified by fabric and form within individual contexts.³⁹ The quantification was used to show the relationship between form and fabric, and form and context (Table 3A, B). Of 78 recognizable vessels, 42 (53.8%) were in fabric 2, and 18 (23.08%) in fabric 3. Of those 78, 24 were carinated vessels of which 21 were in fabrics 2 and 3. A breakdown of the 63 recognizable vessels from the *Grubenhäuser* shows 22 everted-rim pots (35%) and 18 carinated bowls (29%), of which 10 came from GH 3. It is also clear that GH 1 and GH 3 account for 44 of the 63 (70%).

*Forms*⁴⁰

The number of divisions has deliberately been kept to a minimum. Form C50, for example, includes a number of different profiles, but it was felt that it would be spurious to divide them further, other than to segregate miniature vessels, defined as having a diameter

less than 100 mm. Where directly comparable, references to the typology in Dr J. N. L. Myres's *Corpus*⁴¹ have been included, though in most cases there is not enough of the vessel body surviving to be sure of the complete profile.

- Form B50* 1 Carinated bowls with horizontal linear decoration above the carination, and simple everted rims. The carinations are often decorated with facets, nicking, chevrons etc: Figs. 6.1, 9-12; 7.32, 34-39; 8.51-55. Myres II.1.89, 95.
- 2 Plain carinated bowls: Figs. 6.2, 3; 7.33. Myres I.1.10.
- Form B51A* Shallow bowls with plain, rounded or inturned rims. This form is recorded at Mucking.⁴² Figs. 6.13, 14; 7.28, 46, 47; 8.56. Myres I.1.67-68.
- Form B51B* Shallow bowls with simple everted rims: Fig. 6.15, 16.
- Form B52* Deep bowls, with slightly curving walls. This is also recorded at Mucking⁴³ and Linton.⁴⁴ Figs. 7.29; 8.57. Myres I.1.71.
- Form C50A* Plain bag-shaped pots with everted rims of a diameter greater than 100 mm: Figs. 6.17-19; 7.30, 31, 40, 42, 43; 8.48, 49, 58-60. Myres I.1. *passim*, including 17, 18.
- Form C50B* Plain bag-shaped pots with everted rims of a diameter less than, or equal to, 100 mm. Figs. 6.20-23; 7.24; 8.61. Myres I.1.34, 46, 70.
- Form C51* Globular pots, with inturning rims: Fig. 6.4-6. Myres I.1.65.
- Form C52* Pots with applied, pierced lugs: Fig. 7.25. Myres I.2.76-77.
- Base Form A* Vessels with plain, flat bases: Figs. 6.7; 8.62.
- Base Form C* Vessels with footstand bases: Figs. 6.8; 7.26, 27; 8.63; plus a base re-fashioned as a spindle whorl: Fig. 12.27.
- Base Form H* Vessel with a pedestal foot: Fig. 7.44, Myres II.5.201.

Fabrics (Thin-section analyses by AILSA MAINMAN)

Fabric 1A. Local brickearth tempered with added dense organic particles, e.g. chopped grass, which produce voids in a fresh break. The brickearth can naturally contain some sand and organic matter. Soft and friable in consistency, predominantly used for thick-walled vessels. Also noted at Mucking:⁴⁵ Figs. 6.2; 8.56, 59, 63.

Fabric 1C. Local brickearth tempered with equal amounts of organic material and sand. Also noted at Mucking: Figs. 6.16; 7.26, 46; 8.62. Thin-section of Fig. 6.16: an anisotropic clay with a ground mass of a light scatter of quartz sand particles. Other inclusions are quartz sand particles of 0.6 mm in size, some metamorphosed.

Fabric 2. This represents 43.17% of the total. It is made from the brickearth with no added tempering. Generally well fired and hard, and used for quite fine, thin-walled vessels. Noted at Mucking: Figs. 6.1, 5, 6, 9-15, 17, 18, 20-23; 7.24, 27, 32, 35-37, 40-44, 47; 8.51, 53, 54, 58, 60.

TABLE 2
INCIDENCE OF SHERDS

FABRIC/ CONTEXT	1A	1C	2	3	4A	4B	4C	TOTAL No. Weight (g)								
Grubenhäuser																
1	5	75	25	355	62	670	29	310	1	10	1	15	123	1435		
2			6		6	30	19	285			3	25	28	340		
3	7	50	50	750	106	1030	52	345	1	10	1	35	230	2430		
4			7	115	10	185	23	410					40	710		
5	3	60	7	110	16	240	20	310					46	720		
Other Features																
Unstratified	4	20	14	170	29	230	4	45			1	05	51	495		
302	9	90	12	195	42	365	15	170	1	20	1	10	82	860		
303 Intrusive			2		2	10							2	10		
304			8		8	50							9	70		
24 Post-Saxon		1	20		1	05							1	05		
32 Post-Saxon					8	90	3	45					2	60		
58 Post-Saxon			1		1	10							11	135		
65 Intrusive			5		5	25	2	15					11	80		
70	4	40			1	20							1	20		
72			1		1	05	7	115					8	120		
110 Post-Saxon			2		2	35	5	30					7	65		
147	3	15	4	50	3	55	12	125	1	05			23	250		
149			2		2	30	2	10					4	40		
150			2		2	10	2	10					2	10		
152			3		3	30	8	140			1	10	20	330		
154	6	140	2	10	3	10							3	10		
165			3										5	40		
199	2	10	3	30									13	75		
210			9	45	1	10	2	10			1	10				
TOTAL	43	500	134	1850	312	3135	207	2435	4	45	2	45	22	285	724	8295
% TOTAL	5.93	5.53	18.48	20.48	43.17	34.86	28.55	26.95	0.55	0.50	0.29	0.50	3.03	3.15		

TABLE 3A
NUMBERS OF VESSELS BY FORM AND FABRIC

FORM/ FABRIC	B50	B51A	B51B	B52	C50A	C50B	C51	C52	Base A	Base C	Base H	TOTAL
1A	1	1			1				1	1	1	5
1C		1	2				1		3	1		8
2	14	5	1	1	9	6	2		1	2	1	42
3	7	1		1	5	1		1	1	1		18
4A					1							1
4B												0
4C	2				2							4
TOTAL	24	8	3	2	18	7	3	1	6	5	1	78

TABLE 3B
MINIMUM NUMBERS OF VESSEL FORMS FROM THE GRUBENHÄUSER

FORM/ GH	B50	B51A	B51B	B52	C50A	C50B	C51	C52	Base A	Base C	Base H	TOTAL
1	4	3	2		5	5		1	1	2		23
2		1		1	2							4
3	10				6	2			1	1	1	21
4	1	4			2							7
5	5						3		1	1		8
TOTAL	18	8	2	1	15	7	3	1	3	4	1	63

Fabric 3. Similar to Fabric 2, except that it has always moderate to abundant sand tempering. It is not clear whether this is natural (i.e. a sandier clay) or added: Figs. 6.3, 7, 8, 19; 7.25, 28, 29, 31, 34, 39; 8.49, 50, 52, 55, 61. A variant has crushed flint in its temper: Fig. 8.48 and 57. Thin-section of Fig. 8.55: an anisotropic clay with a dense scatter of quartz sand grains. Other inclusions, presumably added, are quartzite, muscovite and strained biotite. The size range varies from 0.05 mm to 0.5 mm.

Fabric 4A. Four variously tempered sherds, medium hard, containing small amounts of sand, organic matter and small chips of haematite. Thin section of a body sherd from GH 3: an anisotropic clay with a very 'pure' matrix. It appears that this clay is iron-rich and there are inclusions of oxides — probably haematite.

Fabric 4B. Two *Schlickung*-treated sherds: Fig. 7.45. Thin-section of Fig. 7.45: an anisotropic clay whose matrix has a light scatter of quartz sand and mica. Other inclusions are muscovite, metamorphosed quartz sand, and possibly some pieces of biotite. The abundant inclusions of mica make this sherd stand out both in thin-section and on visual examination.

Fabric 4C. Local brickearth, densely tempered with small fragments of chalk (only surviving in the core), and occasional grains of sand. The surface is pitted with tiny pinhead vesicles where the chalk has dissolved. Also noted at Mucking:⁴⁶ Figs. 6.4; 7.30, 33, 38.

Manufacture and Surface Treatment, including Decoration

All the pottery is hand-made, and was probably fired in bonfires. Experiments at West Stow have shown that firing under brushwood produced results similar to the Saxon pottery.⁴⁷ The cores are predominantly reduced to a deep black; the surfaces are unequally reduced and oxidized. It is not clear how the carinated bowls were made, one possibility being that they were made in two halves and then luted together.⁴⁸ Two sherds (Figs. 7.37 and 8.54) would appear to support this theory. On Fig. 7.37, the interior of the carination is thickened, with added strips of clay luting where the two halves of the bowl would have been joined. This is not so clear in Fig. 8.54, where burnishing just below the angle on the interior has almost totally obscured the 'joint', save for a groove at the angle and some smears of the clay luting.

Approximately half the sherds have been lightly burnished or polished externally, and often internally, by rubbing with a hard instrument (e.g. Fig. 6.15, 17). This is especially common on the harder fabrics, 2 and 3. For the rest, the external surfaces have been smoothed over by wiping either with the hand, or a cloth, or some grass. 96.4% of the assemblage is plain, whilst most of the remainder is decorated with horizontal grooves below the everted rim and above the carination or shoulder. This, along with the faceting and incised nicking, is discussed in detail below. There are two sherds treated with *Schlickung*, a micaceous, grit-bearing slip which gives a pebbledash effect (e.g. Fig. 7.45). Examples of *Schlickung* come from both sides of the North Sea, e.g. Wijster;⁴⁹ Mucking;⁵⁰ Barling;⁵¹ Linton.⁵²

One vessel fragment (Fig. 7.25) has a small lug, pierced with a hole 1.5 mm in diameter. From examples at Mucking⁵³ and Feddersen Wierde⁵⁴ it seems clear that this was a purely decorative feature. Another small sherd (Fig. 8.50) has part of a hole remaining, and might relate to a group of similar pieces, published by Mrs M. U. Jones as possible woolcomb warmers.⁵⁵ There are no stamps, in sharp contrast to West Stow and Mucking, though the size of the pottery sample at Heybridge is much smaller than at these sites. Two sherds (Fig. 7.38–39) show Germanic characteristics often found on 'Romano-Saxon' pottery, and are discussed further below. Finally, on one bowl (Fig. 7.47) there is a row of contiguous thumb prints just below the rim. These crude facets appear to be a decorative scheme and are unconnected with the process of manufacture.

Discussion and Dating

Dating evidence at Heybridge is not plentiful, as there is no associated late Roman or diagnostically Saxon metalwork, and of the pottery, only the small carinated bowls are closely datable. Many of the forms and decorative schemes are however paralleled on sites of the first half of the 5th century, both in England and abroad.

One group of the bowls, of which Fig. 7.44 is probably an example, has small compact pedestal bases. This form originated in the N. German cemeteries of the 'Chauci', between the Elbe and the Weser, in the 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. It was probably imitating the Roman *situla*, with its hollow-everted rim, carinated body and narrow foot. It emerged in the 4th century as a Saxon form, Tischler's *Dingener Typ*.⁵⁶ At Westerwanna, one such piece was used upside down as a lid for a 4th-century urn.⁵⁷ Recently Schmid has published some examples from settlement levels 7 and 8 at Feddersen Wierde.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, it is not possible to separate these later levels (later half of the 4th century and first half of the 5th century) from one another, since as yet no clearly defined interface has been found. We can only ascertain that such bowls were probably in use until the desertion of Feddersen Wierde around 450.⁵⁹ The type is also present at Wijster.⁶⁰ At both these sites the excavators have distinguished two slightly different forms, characterized mainly by their rim and body profiles. One of the characteristics of the typologically earlier variant, found in 4th-century contexts, is a tall, narrow pedestal foot, similar to our Fig. 7.44. The foot in the later variant is much wider and gradually approaches the rounded base of the carinated bowl described below.

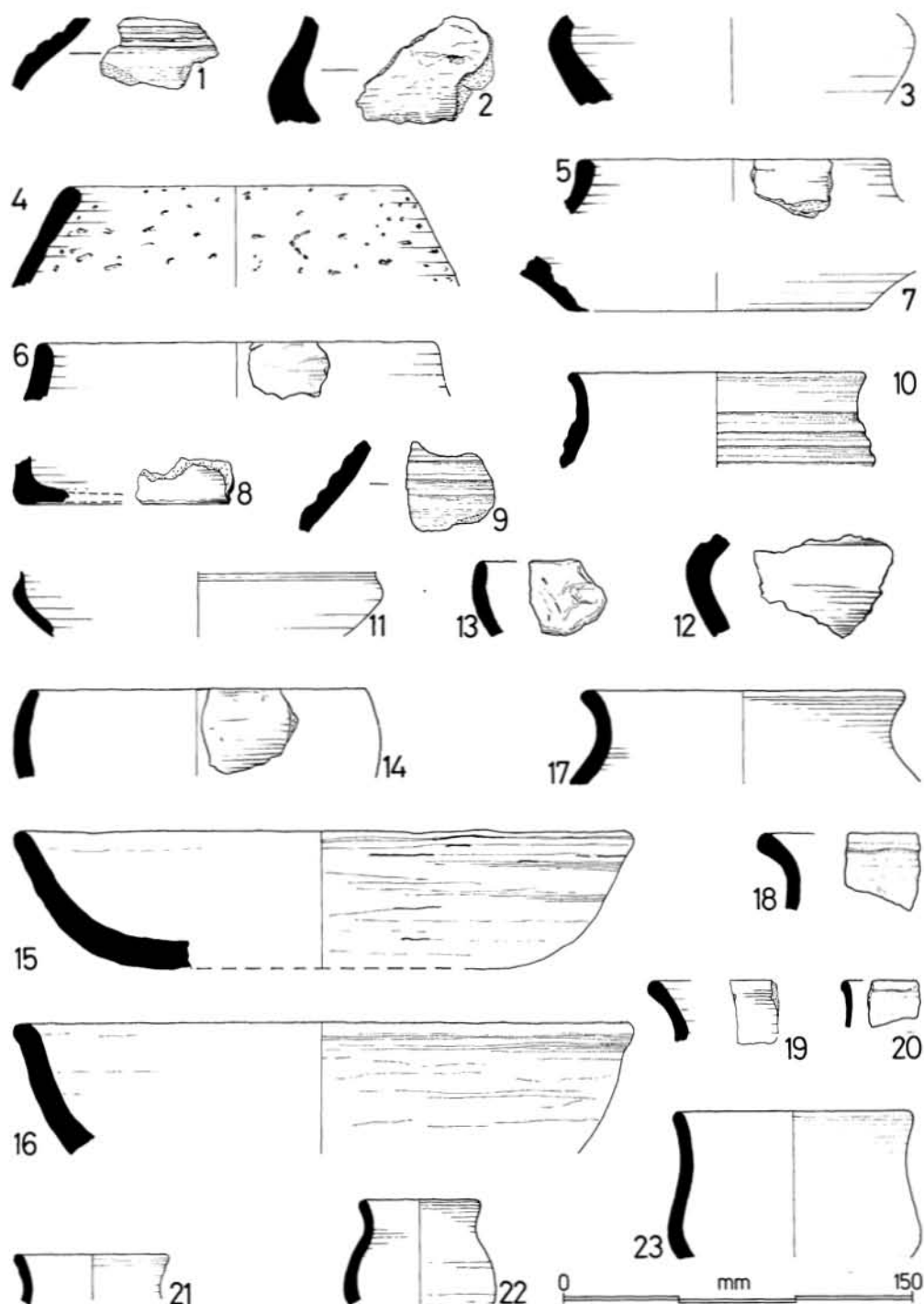


FIG. 6

HEYBRIDGE: Anglo-Saxon pottery: 1-8, GH 5; 9-23, GH 1. Scale 1:3

In England, the type is quite rare and has a largely Thames valley distribution.⁶¹ Myres concluded, in his discussion of the Mitcham pot,⁶² that the earlier variant went out of use soon after 400.⁶³ This would indicate that those sites where it is found, e.g. Mitcham, Linford,⁶⁴ Mucking⁶⁵ and Heybridge, were already in existence, or were founded, early in the 5th century. Caution is required, however, since the type is found at Feddersen Wierde in its latest levels (residual or otherwise), and there is a distinct possibility of a time lag in vessel fashions between Britain and the Germanic homelands, caused by the Migration.⁶⁶

The most common type of bowl, with a rounded base and decorated mainly with horizontal grooves above the carination, which form an almost corrugated effect, often with facets, nicks or chevrons on the carination, belongs to a group of *Schalenurnen*. These are longer lived than their pedestalled counterparts, and are typical of the N. German coast lands from the lower Elbe to the Weser and Ems, starting in Holstein in the 4th century. The type spread south-westwards into Frisia in the early 5th century and so to England in the Migration period. It too is well represented at Feddersen Wierde in its final phase ending c. 450, and at Wijster, where it forms Van Es' type VIII, dated to the first half of the 5th century. Myres discusses the type,⁶⁷ and illustrates the distribution of faceted carinated vessels in England.⁶⁸ To this can now be added Colchester, Essex⁶⁹ and Spong Hill, Norfolk⁷⁰ as well as Heybridge. In his recent *Corpus*,⁷¹ Myres lists in full the parallels for these vessels on both sides of the North Sea.

It is sufficient here to list a few examples of each of the five main sub-groups of the *Schalenurnen*, which have particular relevance to those illustrated. All five groups are crucial in indicating a date for the pagan Saxon settlement at Heybridge within the first half, and probably the first quarter, of the 5th century.

1. *Vessels decorated solely with horizontal grooves between the carination and everted rim* (Figs. 6.1, 9-12; 7.34, 35; 8.51).

Carinated bowls of this type are widely found in S.E. Britain, e.g. at Portchester,⁷² High Down,⁷³ Peterborough⁷⁴ and Linton,⁷⁵ and occur repeatedly on the Continent in contexts around 400.⁷⁶ A direct parallel for the High Down 3181 and Peterborough examples is a pot from Grave 1, Helle, near Oldenburg, which also contained Dorchester-type bronze belt fittings and a small glass cup of an early 5th-century type, with vertical ribs.⁷⁷

2. *Vessels with nicks incised on the carination* (Fig. 8.52, 54)

These are 'familiar in Brandenburg and East Holstein in the early 5th century',⁷⁸ and Myres cites Feddersen Wierde, Hammoor⁷⁹ and Helle.⁸⁰ In his *Corpus* he also illustrates an example from Snettisham,⁸¹ and cites a parallel from Wijster.⁸²

3. *Vessel with chevron and dot decoration running over the carination* (Fig. 7.39)

This sherd is decorated with a chevron of at least three grooves, and an impressed 'dot' in the angle. This was made using a pyramid-headed tool. A similar sherd from Colchester labelled 'Romano-Saxon' is illustrated by Crummy.⁸³ Indeed, Myres remarks⁸⁴ on this design being both 'Romano-Saxon'⁸⁵ and early Anglo-Saxon.⁸⁶ The profile of Fig. 7.39 is much slacker than this latter example, however, and recalls a vessel from Alfriston⁸⁷ which has a decorative scheme of chevrons and degenerate *Stehende bogen*. Finally, there are parallels from Feddersen Wierde, in the latest settlement levels 7 and 8.⁸⁸

4. *Vessel with vertical grooves alternating with fingertip impressions* (Fig. 7.38)

This is decorated in another characteristic 'Romano-Saxon' style⁸⁹ and is included here for that reason, although its profile lacks a proper carination. Similar vessels occur at Feddersen Wierde.⁹⁰

5. *Faceted carinated bowls* (Figs. 7.32, 37; 8.54, 55)

The style is designed to break up the curve of the pot into a more polygonal shape. Myres has altered his opinion on the dating over the years,⁹¹ but it is clear that the type is typical in E. Holstein soon after 400, though beginning in the late 4th century. It is most clearly represented by a complete pot from an inhumation at Mucking⁹² with four grooves above continuous knife-cut faceting. Mr W. T. Jones⁹³ would date this pot to the first quarter of the 5th century, mainly because of the contents of the grave, a late Roman dolphin-headed buckle and a pair of early Saxon brooches with the remains of a

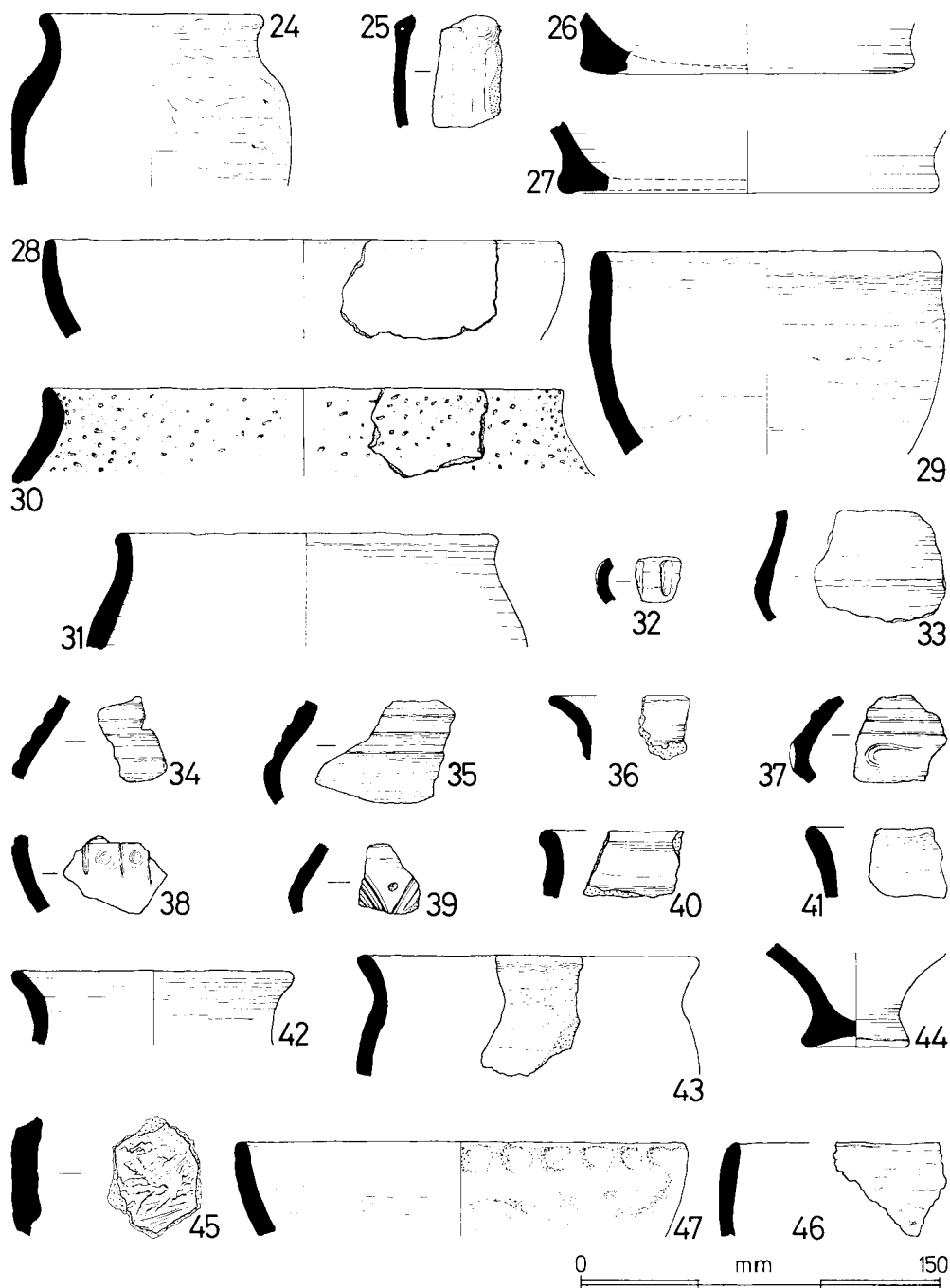


FIG. 7

HEYBRIDGE: Anglo-Saxon pottery: 24-27, GH 1; 28-31, GH 2; 32-45, GH 3; 46-47, GH 4. Scale 1:3

chain joining them. The longitudinal facet on Fig. 7.37 is also paralleled at Mucking.⁹⁴ Fig. 8.55, with its row of small round facets, is very similar to a sherd from the same site, which has decorative lines *below* the carination,⁹⁵ and Van Es illustrates a complete example from Wijster with lines *above* the facets.⁹⁶ Fig. 8.54 is of special interest in having both a facet and two nicks on its carination. Finally Fig. 7.32, though a very small fragment, has two vertical facets surviving, similar to one from Colchester.⁹⁷ Myres illustrates other faceted carinated bowls from Barrington, Mucking and Haslingfield,⁹⁸ and cites a pot at Hammoor, associated with a brooch of about 400.⁹⁹ Further parallels come from Feddersen Wierde in its latest settlement levels 7 and 8.¹⁰⁰

Myres' dating of these *Schalennurnen* was based on primary continental evidence, and has generally been well supported by subsequently-excavated material. Given the frequent association of late Roman metalwork and early Saxon jewellery with vessels of this nature, both in England and on the Continent, it is fairly certain that such an assemblage would suit the first quarter of the 5th century. Indeed, as we have seen, a starting date in the very late 4th century is just feasible. However, as far as the upper date limit is concerned, a *caveat* must be added that the forms are long-lasting, surviving in Feddersen Wierde until its desertion in the middle of the 5th century. At the same time, the absence of stamped vessels or elaborate bossed pots seems to rule out the continuation of the settlement at Heybridge into the second half of the 5th century.

Similar pottery from Sussex, with associated metalwork, has recently been published. In a useful summary,¹⁰¹ Dudley described the carinated vessels referred to from High Down and Alfriston, for which Myres has cited continental parallels of *c.* 400. One of the pots from High Down was associated with a cone beaker of a type current in Egypt in the 4th/5th century.¹⁰² Furthermore, both cemeteries include graves contemporary with these burials which contain only late Roman articles, including belt fittings and metalwork decorated in the Quoit brooch style, consistent with a date in the early to mid 5th century.

It has already been pointed out that of the 63 recognizable vessels from the *Grubenhäuser*, 23 come from GH 1 and 21 from GH 3 (see Table 3B). Further, it can be seen that the adjacent huts (GH 2 and 4 respectively) account for only four and seven vessels respectively. These vessels may be divided according to form into 'fine' or 'elaborated' vessels (the biconical pots, the smaller everted rim pots and decorated sherds) and 'coarse' or 'simple' vessels (shallow and deep plain bowls and shapeless everted-rim pots). The division is an arbitrary one, based on the potter's time and effort invested in any one pot. Basal forms A and C are omitted because they are not sufficiently diagnostic, whilst the example with *Schlickung* is added as an 'elaborated' ware. GH 1 contains ten 'fine/elaborated' vessels out of a total for all the huts of 28 (35.7%) and GH 3 has fourteen (50%). By contrast, there are no 'fine/elaborated' vessels from GH 2, and GH 4 contains a single fragment of a *Schalennurne*, with six 'coarse/simple' pots (see Table 4). These differences seem to suggest that one of each pair of huts had a different function from the other. GH 1 and GH 3 also produced most of the miscellaneous Saxon artefacts (Table 1).

LATE ROMAN POTTERY

Some late 4th-century Roman pottery, e.g. shell-tempered, Oxfordshire red colour-coated and Nene Valley thick white wares, might have been in contemporary use alongside the Saxon pottery. It is currently possible to recognize a typical 'late Roman' group, say post *c.* 360/70,¹⁰³ but not individual types which may originate later. Thus only statistically is it possible to suggest early Saxon use of late Roman pottery, rather than its residuality.¹⁰⁴ Like the Saxon pottery, most of the late Roman material from the *Grubenhäuser* came from the occupation soil.¹⁰⁵

An analysis of these Roman fabrics in the *Grubenhäuser* cannot be interpreted in the same way as the Saxon pottery. It is true that GH 2 and GH 4 contain very little late Roman pottery, but this need not suggest a different functional use of each of a pair of huts. It could equally well indicate a later date, by which time less Roman pottery was available. This inference is not, however, supported by the dating of the Saxon pottery.

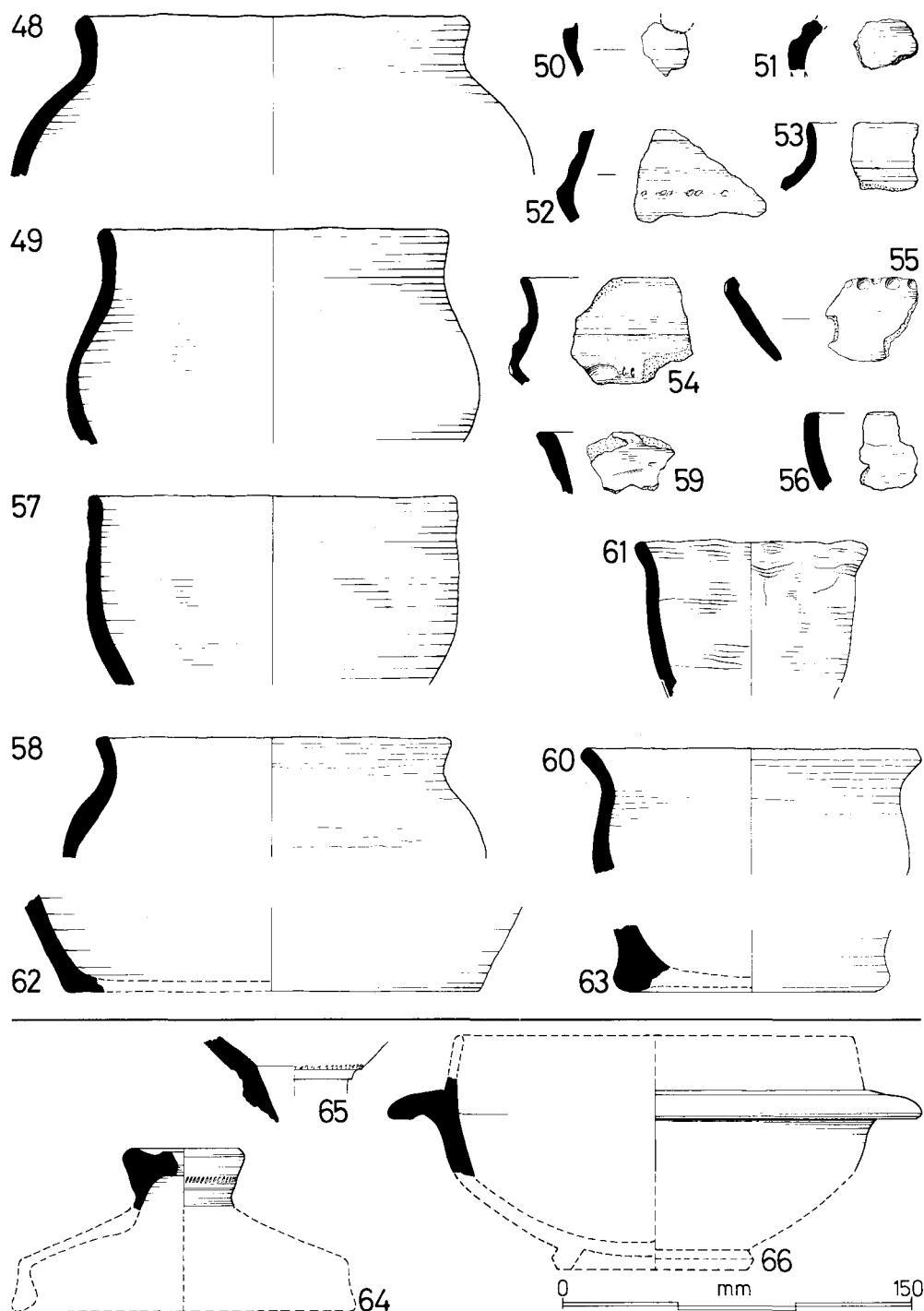


FIG. 8

HEYBRIDGE: Anglo-Saxon pottery: 48-51, GH 4; 53-55, 61-62, unstratified; 60, 63, post-Roman subsoil; 52, ditch 58 (post-Saxon); 56-59, ditch 154. Romano-British pottery: late Nene Valley wares, 64-65, GH 3; Oxfordshire wares, 66, GH 4. Scale 1:3

TABLE 4

VESSELS		GH 1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
LATE ROMAN FINE	Oxfordshire Products	9 (+24)	1	6 (+6)	2	2	2
	%	45	5	30	10	10	100
	Nene Valley	(5)		2 (+2)	(1)		2 (+8)
SAXON 'FINE' WARES	B50	4		10	1	3	18
	C50B	5		2			7
	C52	1					1
	<i>Schlickung</i>			1			1
	Base H			1			1
	Total	10	0	14	1	3	28
	%	35.7	0	50	3.6	10.7	100
SAXON 'COARSE' WARES	B51	5	1		4		10
	B52		1				1
	C50A	5	2	6	2		15
	C51					3	3
	Total	10	4	6	6	3	29
	%	34.5	13.8	20.7	20.7	10.3	100

N.B. Figures in brackets are numbers of formless sherds present; other figures represent minimum numbers of vessels.

There is no correlation between the amount of Roman and Saxon 'coarse/simple' wares present in the huts. The number of late Roman coarse vessels is minimal, and suggests that the Saxons were not using those wares. However, the distribution of the Oxfordshire wares, supported by the late Nene Valley wares, does offer a clear correlation with the site distribution of the Saxon 'fine/elaborate' wares. This tends to support the hypothesis that the Saxons used late Roman fine wares, when these were available to them, in conjunction with their own pottery.¹⁰⁶ Romano-British fine ware is absent from GH 2, with the exception of a white ware Oxfordshire mortarium (Fig. 9.77), whilst GH 4 contains only a footstand base and a flanged bowl (Fig. 8.66), both in Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware. GH 1, on the other hand, contains nine recognizable vessels (including Fig. 9.69-76) and 24 other sherds, whilst GH 3 contains six recognizable vessels (including Fig. 9.78-80) and six other sherds. The two groups together contain 40.6% of the total amount of Oxfordshire red colour-coated pottery from the site. GH 3 also produced two late Nene Valley vessels (Fig. 8.64-65).

Finally, the assemblage of late Roman pottery from the *Grubenhäuser* was compared with that from the late 4th-century ditch 122.¹⁰⁷ The latter contains a large group of late Roman coarse and fine fabrics, including much shell-tempered ware as well as Rettendon, thick white Nene Valley and Hadham wares. Oxfordshire red colour-coated pottery is also represented, but only in an equal proportion to the other fine fabrics, unlike the *Grubenhäuser* where it predominates. It seems clear that the late Roman fabrics, and the proportions of them, found in the *Grubenhäuser* are not what would be expected if they were residual.

*Catalogue of the late Roman fine wares from the Grubenhäuser**Late Nene Valley colour-coated ware* (Table 4, Fig. 8.64–65)*Grubenhaus 3*Fig. 8.64 Knob of lid with 'steam'-hole, Howe type 71–73,¹⁰⁸ 4th century.

Fig. 8.65 Funnel.

The Oxfordshire Products (Table 5, Figs. 8.66; 9.67–80)

The typology, dating and comments on frequency are those of Young.¹⁰⁹ All are red colour-coated vessels¹¹⁰ unless otherwise stated. Some have been reconstructed to illustrate the range of shapes present; it is interesting to see how broadly similar these are to the Saxon forms.

Grubenhaus 4

Fig. 8.66 Flanged bowl, C51, 240–400+, most common form; another example comes from GH 3.

Grubenhaus 5

Fig. 9.67 Abraded rim of plain, hemispherical bowl, C54; the type is uncommon and undated.

Fig. 9.68 Rim of necked bowl with rouletted decoration, C75 (325–400+), very common; from upper, subsoil, filling.

Grubenhaus 1

BOWLS

Fig. 9.69 Small footring base, C68.3, 4th century+.

Fig. 9.70 Footring base, C71, 4th century+. Further examples come from GH 3 and GH 4.

Fig. 9.71 Bowl with white painted decoration, C77.4, 340–400+.

Fig. 9.72 Abraded fragment of carinated bowl with rouletted decoration, C81, 4th century+.

Fig. 9.73 Fragment with cordon and rosette stamps and repair hole. C84, 350–400+.

MORTARIA

Fig. 9.74 C97, 240–400+.

Fig. 9.75 C100, 4th century+.

Fig. 9.76 Rim in oxidized ware with white slip, WC7, 240–400+, very common.¹¹¹*Grubenhaus 2*Fig. 9.77 Mortarium rim in white ware, M22.16, 240–400+, standard late form;¹¹² from upper, subsoil, filling. Sherds were also found in GH 3 and GH 5.*Grubenhaus 3*

Fig. 9.78 Platter with white-painted decoration and rouletting on rim, C50, 325–400+. A similar piece, but without the rouletting, was also found.

Fig. 9.79 Bowl with rouletted bands below carination and white-painted curvilinear decoration, C69.2, 325–400+.

Fig. 9.80 Soft micaceous fabric, slight cordon round neck and bearing a vertical line of impressed notches, C78, 340–400+.

Analysis of the pottery from GH 5 does not suggest any significant trends. It contains small amounts of both Romano-British and Saxon fine and coarse vessels. The two Oxfordshire red colour-coated sherds are illustrated (Fig. 9.67–68).

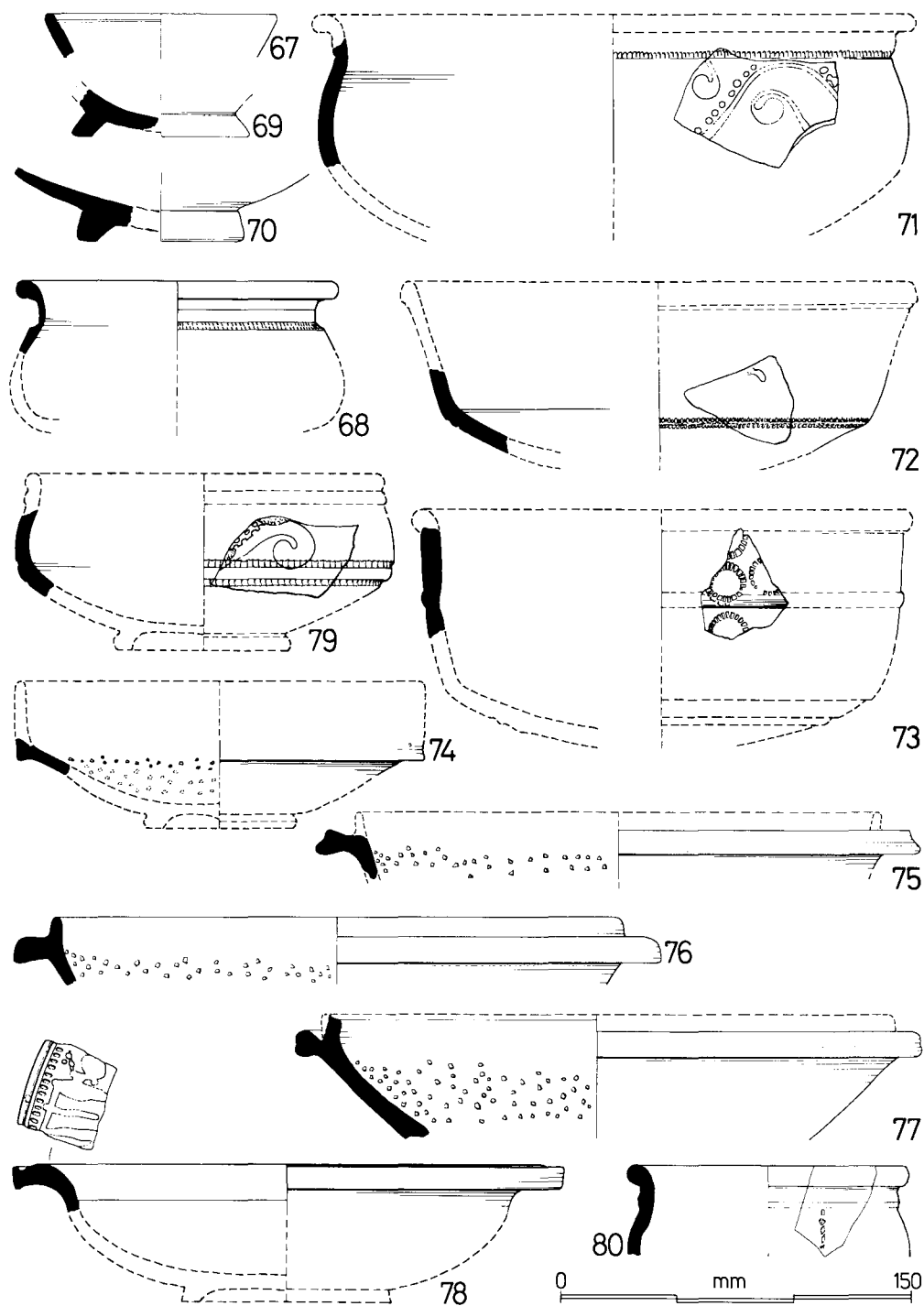


FIG. 9

HEYBRIDGE: Romano-British pottery: Oxfordshire wares; 67-68, GH 5; 69-76, GH 1; 77, GH 2; 78-80, GH 3.
Scale 1:3

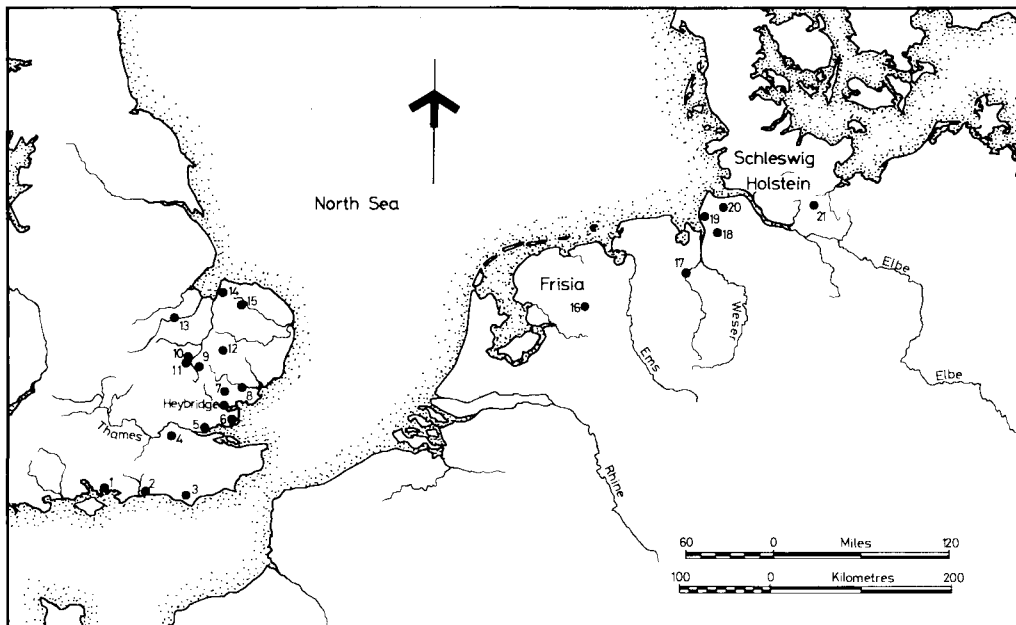


FIG. 10

North-western Europe, showing sites mentioned in discussion of Anglo-Saxon pottery: 1, Portchester; 2, High Down; 3, Alfriston; 4, Mitcham; 5, Mucking and Linford; 6, Barling; 7, Feering; 8, Colchester; 9, Linton; 10, Haslingfield; 11, Barrington; 12, West Stow; 13, Peterborough; 14, Snettisham; 15, Spong Hill; 16, Wijster; 17, Helle, near Oldenburg; 18, Wehden; 19, Feddersen Wierde; 20, Westerwanna; 21, Hammoor

TABLE 5
OXFORDSHIRE PRODUCTS

TYPE ¹⁰⁹	GH 1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
C50			2 (Fig. 9.78)			2
C51			1	1 (Fig. 8.66)		2
C54					1 (Fig. 9.67)	1
C68.3	1 (Fig. 9.69)					1
C 69.2			1 (Fig. 9.79)			1
C 71	2 (Fig. 9.70)		1	1		4
C 75					1 (Fig. 9.68)	1
C 77.4	1 (Fig. 9.71)				1	2
C 78			1 (Fig. 9.80)			1
C 81	1 (Fig. 9.72)					1
C 84	1 (Fig. 9.73)					1
C 97	1 (Fig. 9.74)					1
C 100	1 (Fig. 9.75)					1
M 22.16		1 (Fig. 9.77)				1
WC 7	1 (+1) (Fig. 9.76)		(1)		(1)	1 (+3)
Sherds	(23)		(5)			(28)
TOTAL	9 (+24)	1	6 (+6)	2	2 (+1)	20 (+31)

N.B. Numbers in brackets are formless sherds

THE OTHER ARTEFACTS

All objects from *Grubenhäuser* were found in the occupation layers, unless otherwise stated.

ROMAN COINS. Identified by RICHARD REECE

Claudius I	43–64	Copy, rev. indeterminate	GH 1
Antoninus Pius	138–161	Sestertius, as R.I.C. 794	GH 1
?Marcus Aurelius	161–180	?Dupondius, as R.I.C. 895	GH 1
Commodus	180–192	Sestertius, rev. illegible	GH 5
Constantinopolis	330–335	HK 59	Subsoil in GH 2

Evidently all are residual, but the presence of three 1st- and 2nd-century coins in GH 1 may suggest deliberate collection as curiosities.

METALWORK

All objects found in Saxon contexts and having some definite shape are illustrated. It has generally proved impossible to differentiate between those of Romano-British and Saxon origin. Current research on ironwork found in *Grubenhäuser* at Mucking is indicating that everything should be treated as residual unless there are specific reasons to believe otherwise.¹¹³ Mr Leo Biek (Ancient Monuments Laboratory, D.o.E.) has examined the iron slag from the whole site and has concluded that the material from the Saxon features is residual.

Copper alloy, including metal analyses by JUSTINE BAYLEY

The term 'lead' is used in a relative sense; none of the objects contain more than a few per cent of lead.

- Fig. 11.1 Handle or knob, in the shape of a double baluster, separated by a plain zone, square in section; the top baluster flares out and ends in a round, flat disc, surmounted by a nipple-shaped projection. A short length of the shaft survives below the lower baluster; it is square in section, containing a round cavity, bearing traces of iron, presumably residual from the fixing of the handle to its object. Lead gunmetal. GH 1 (on bottom of pit).
 Knobs and handles are commonly published from Roman sites,¹¹⁴ but it is not always clear to what they originally belonged; this example might perhaps be from a fan or mirror.
- Fig. 11.2 Fragment of thin sheet with two converging rows of rivet holes. Lead bronze. GH 3.
- Fig. 11.3 Ferrule, formed by rolling a sheet into a cylinder. Lead bronze. GH 3.
- Fig. 11.4 Thin irregular strip with chamfered edges. Bronze. GH 2 (on bottom of pit).

Lead

- Fig. 11.5 Large fragment of irregularly-fused and melted lead with a smooth-sided hole, c. 24 × 18 mm, wt 450 g. It may have been cast by pouring the molten metal into a small scoop in the ground with a rod inserted to form the hole. Its extreme crudity, however, suggests that it is more likely to have been formed by accident during a fire. The resulting object was probably used as a weight. GH 4.
- Fig. 11.6 Crude weight (265 g), formed by rolling two sheet fragments around one another. GH 3.

- Fig. 11.7 Weight (28.17 g), pierced at the top. The shaft tapers evenly along its length and ends in two abraded, horn-like projections above the hole. The base is designed to stand upright on four corner prongs. GH 1.
- Fig. 11.8 Fragmentary offcut of sheeting, partly rolled; wt 30 g. GH 5.

Iron

The nails and fragments of scrap (all very corroded) are not illustrated.

- Fig. 11.9 Knife blade with tang missing (or strip?). GH 1.
- Fig. 11.10 Tip of a knife blade. GH 1.
- Fig. 11.11 Possibly the tip of a curved blade, with impressions of straw surviving in the corrosion on both sides. GH 1.
- Fig. 11.12 Pin, lacking head and point. GH 1.
- Fig. 11.13, 14 Split-spiked loops, the latter with a link. GH 5.
- Fig. 11.15 Strip with two holes.¹¹⁵ GH 5.
- Fig. 11.16, 17 Strips. GH 5, 1 respectively.
- Fig. 11.18 Bent sheet fragment. GH 5, subsoil layer.
- Fig. 11.19, 20 L-shaped bars. GH 1, 5 respectively.
- Fig. 11.21, 22 Probably fragments of clenched nails. GH 5, 4 respectively.

GLASS. By D. B. HARDEN

The datings given here are based entirely on such internal evidence as I can derive from each fragment.

- Fig. 12.23 Fragment from upper part of body of pin, dark green, surface dulled, very bubbly, many black impurities; body ribbed by twisting. At its upper end the extant part of the pin expands and then narrows again to form the neck, so that only the head (globular or spherical) is broken off; at its thinner end the body should have continued tapering for 2–3 cm more, to form a point. Total length (with head) probably *c.* 60 mm. This type seems to be later Roman, two examples having been found in the 4th-century cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester.¹¹⁶ GH 1.
- Fig. 12.24 Fragment of top of side of beaker, green, no weathering, very bubbly. Trace of outward splay at top edge of fragment suggests it comes from just below the outplayed rim of a vessel which, judging from a downward taper on the extant portion, must have been a cone-beaker or some other similar shape. If the missing rim was knocked off and its edge ground smooth (as Fig. 12.24a), the vessel would be Roman of the later 4th century; if it was rounded and thickened in a flame (Fig. 12.24b), the vessel could be either late Roman or early Saxon and belong to the later 4th or the 5th century. GH 1.
- Fig. 12.25 Two fragments bearing raised self-coloured trails, bright green, no weathering, very bubbly. From the lower side and basal curve of a beaker, probably late Roman. For similar-coloured glass with the same kind of trailing, see a fragmentary amphora from an early Saxon grave at Mitcham, Surrey,¹¹⁷ a piece which from its indubitably Roman shape must be a 4th-century Roman survival in this early Saxon context. There is a possibility, indicated by the shape and the wide distance between each band of the horizontal trailing, that the piece is Saxon and belongs to the lower side of a claw beaker, where the side descends and curves in to meet the base ring.¹¹⁸ GH 3.
- Fig. 12.26 Fragment of side of cone-beaker, pale green, some surface dulling, very bubbly; of the tall, Kempston type,¹¹⁹ with horizontal trailing at the top of the vessel and vertical trailing lower down. This fragment shows, appropriately, a slight taper from the upper (acute-angled) edge downward, and in conformity with this the two vertical trails approach each other slightly as they descend. If this interpretation is correct, the fragment must be Saxon and can be dated to the mid to late 5th century. GH 3.

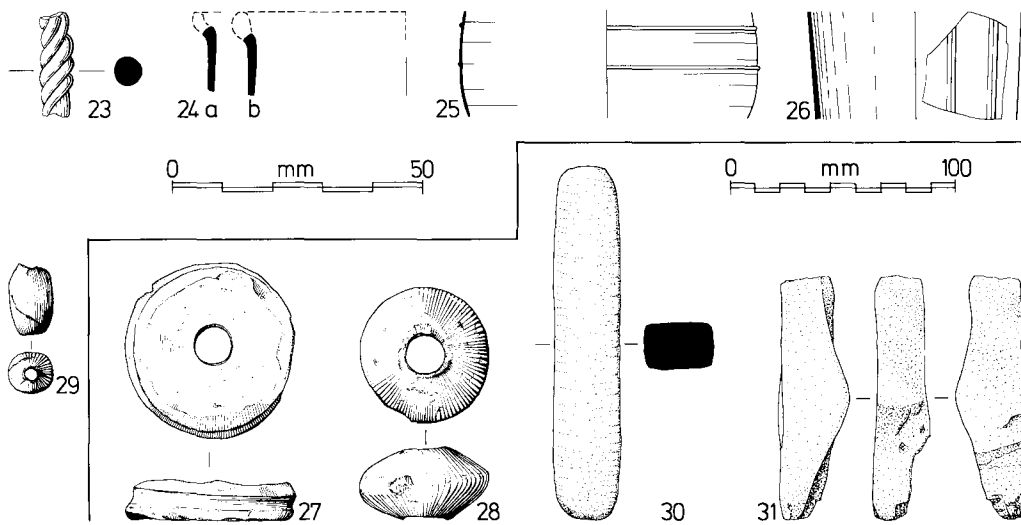


FIG. 12

HEYBRIDGE: Glass 23-26; Scale 2:3. Objects of fired clay, 27-29; Scale 1:3, except 29, 2:3. Objects of stone, 30-31; Scale 1:3

OBJECTS OF FIRED CLAY

- Fig. 12.27 Spindle whorl, made from the footstand base of a Saxon pot (Fabric 3). Ditch 110 (Post-Saxon).
 Fig. 12.28 Spindle whorl in a sandy dark brown fabric. The flattened, biconical type is characteristically early Saxon.¹²⁰ GH 1.
 Fig. 12.29 Small bead. GH 3.

OBJECTS OF STONE

- Fig. 12.30 Well-formed hone, sub-rectangular in section, 142 × 26 × 18 mm. Identified as being made from a quartz-muscovite-biotite-chloritic-calcite, chert-bearing, grey-wacké grit. The rock possibly came originally from one of the geosynclinal areas of Wales, the Lake District, or Southern Scotland.¹²¹ The last is more likely, in view of the study of grey-wacké hones by Evison.¹²² GH 3.
 Fig. 12.31 Hone, 95 mm long, with two surfaces worn concave by rubbing, in a greenish-brown sandstone of the coal measures type.¹²³ GH 1.

Unillustrated: Two amorphous fragments of Rhenish lava, probably from a Roman quern, GH 5; undiagnostic piece of millstone grit quern, probably residual, GH 1.

THE ANIMAL BONE. By R. M. LUFF

Grubenhäuser 1, 3 and 4 contained mainly broken teeth of cattle and horses (24 cattle, 3 horses), together with the metatarsal shaft of a cattle-beast (GH 4). *Grubenhäuser* 5 contained the distal femur of a pig. Conditions were generally unfavourable to the survival of bone.

THE CEMETERY IN BARN FIELD

In 1873–74, a Roman inhumation cemetery was discovered during gravel digging in Barn Field, on land then owned by Mr E. H. Bentall (Fig. 1, B). The Roman finds will be dealt with elsewhere,¹²⁴ and need only be summarized here. A bronze patera and ewer, and a complete amphora, suggest a 1st-century, perhaps pre-conquest, origin. Other burials were late Roman, four in stone coffins, and one in a lead coffin accompanied by a double-sided composite bone comb with horse-head terminals. The Colchester Museum Accessions Register, *s.a.* 1875, records the donation by Bentall of ‘two stone coffins, one lead coffin, and three Roman urns’, but the entry in the published list¹²⁵ was amended to ‘Roman coffins of stone and lead; and three *British* urns’ (our italics).

At least two of the coffins are still in the museum, but in the Price catalogue of 1888 only one pot (other than the amphora) was listed.¹²⁶ This is a small Saxon shoulder boss urn¹²⁷ with a hollow neck and everted rim. It is in a smooth dark grey ware, and is decorated with four neck lines above seven small solid bosses flanked on either side by three vertical lines. Myres would date the vessel to *c.* 500.¹²⁸ It seems probable that the two lost ‘British urns’ were also pagan Saxon, all coming from burials in or adjacent to the Roman cemetery, but whether they were associated with cremations or inhumations is unknown.¹²⁹

DISCUSSION

THE EARLY SAXON SETTLEMENT

It is clear that only a part of the plan of the Saxon settlement was recovered. It was perhaps bounded on the E. by the surviving Roman boundary ditch 154, and on the S. by the Roman street. Within the Roman plot, the relationship of the *Grubenhäuser* to Building 6 is reminiscent of the clustering of sunken huts around the ‘halls’ at West Stow.¹³⁰ The suggested pairing of GH 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and just possibly 5 and the hollow 70, both spatially and in terms of minor attributes (stake-holes, the presence of clay) is an interesting feature of the site. It is uncertain whether the paired huts were successive, one of each pair being built in the same way and to perform, presumably, the same function after the other had decayed, or whether both were in contemporary use. The pottery cannot be dated with sufficient accuracy to decide the point on chronological grounds. However, it does suggest a functional difference between the huts within each pair, since in each couple one contained a different range and quantity of pottery from the other. Elsewhere, for example at West Stow,¹³⁰ paired huts tend to be either successive and intercutting,¹³¹ or adjacent but of dissimilar form,¹³² on a site where form appears to have had chronological significance.¹³³

If the paired huts were contemporary and not successive, there is little structural or artefactual evidence for a succession of features. All seem to have been broadly contemporary, and there is no clear evidence for the reconstruction of an individual hut or the ground level building. If the excavated sample is typical of the whole, a relatively short life is implied for the settlement, no more, perhaps, than a

single generation, or about 25–30 years. There is a single Saxon pot probably of a type which went out of use on the Continent around 400, which may suggest that its makers left their homeland around that date, but not necessarily that the vessel was made at that time. The dislocation could have caused the form to remain in use in Britain for one or two decades longer; Leeds suggested this to be the case with some metalwork.¹³⁴ The bulk of the Saxon pottery is more generally assignable to the first half of the 5th century, and there is no obviously later material.

Dr G. N. Clarke¹³⁵ has recently argued that a group of Saxons buried in the Lankhills cemetery at Winchester *c.* 390–410 are identifiable by their distinctive burial rite, despite almost all their grave goods being of provincial Roman manufacture. There is indeed general agreement that barbarians within the empire in the 4th century used many Roman mass-produced artefacts. Only when the supply of these became scarce would it have been necessary for them to make, for example, their own pottery (except perhaps for some of their distinctive fine wares). At Heybridge, there is good evidence that both Saxon and Romano-British (especially Oxfordshire) wares were used for a similar range of activities associated with each sunken hut, since the distribution of fine pots in the huts is closely similar for both late Roman and Saxon vessels (p. 22).

Dr M. G. Fulford places the end of the long-distance pottery trade around A.D. 410, but this seems to be pessimistically early. Dr S. Johnson suggests that it ended by 425, which significantly accords with the current view of the date when silver coinage ceased to be used in Britain.¹³⁶ Whichever view is correct, both the Saxon and the Roman ceramic evidence point to the origin of the Heybridge settlement during the first quarter of the 5th century and its demise by the middle decades of the century. Much more important than absolute dating is the fact that the ceramic evidence supports a connection between the Saxon settlement and the Romano-British 'small town' already implied by their spatial relationship.

In the Trinovantian *civitas*¹³⁷ only twelve sites have produced distinctively 5th-century Saxon artefacts (Fig. 1, A).¹³⁸ With the exception of Great Chesterford, all lie in the eastern, coastal, half of the area. The importance which one of these sites — Mucking — has achieved through extensive excavation should not obscure the clear inference that ethnic Saxons were not numerically (rather than, say, politically or militarily) important in the area in the 5th century. We must presume a predominantly sub-Roman *milieu*, for the only alternative — a very small population, depleted by epidemic and attack — is belied by the evidence from the countryside. The survival of patterns of Romano-British land allotment over areas as large as the entire Dengie peninsula¹³⁹ suggests that such areas have been in more or less continuous agricultural use since those patterns were defined. The extent of the survival of the Roman and sometimes earlier physical framework of the countryside into early modern times is perhaps now more evident in Essex than almost any other part of Britain.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, as Mr C. C. Taylor has pointed out,¹⁴¹ against a constant pattern of change in the location of rural settlement, there is no evidence for a particularly drastic relocation of settlement foci in the countryside in the late 4th or 5th centuries. The Saxon presence, at least in the 5th century, must be seen against the background of late Roman arrangements.¹⁴²

The 5th-century Saxon finds mapped in Fig. 1, A are associated with several types of Romano-British site, and it would be inappropriate and premature to consider the possible significance of all of them here. None the less, it seems worthwhile to widen the discussion from Heybridge in particular, to consider the nature of the 'small towns' of the Trinovantian *civitas* generally around 400, for unlike the agricultural sites in the countryside, virtually all of them failed to survive the 5th century.

THE LATE ROMAN 'SMALL TOWN'

Trinovantian 'small towns' were nucleated, generally undefended settlements of c. 8–50 ha, sited mostly at nodal points on the road system.¹⁴³ In Chelmsford (*Caesaromagus*), during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the road frontages were closely built up with timber and clay buildings, mostly of strip plan. These presumably housed a variety of traders and craftsmen, many trades being evidenced by surviving debris.¹⁴⁴ Elsewhere similar conditions probably prevailed, although often with more open development in larger plots, for example at Braintree or Great Dunmow.¹⁴⁵ At site S in Chelmsford, strip buildings were extant until the late 3rd century, but were replaced by a large enclosure fenced from the road during the 4th.¹⁴⁶ Site E, on the western edge of the settlement at Braintree, was abandoned c. 360/70.¹⁴⁷ The northern part of Kelvedon was largely abandoned around the middle of the 4th century.¹⁴⁸ At Braughing¹⁴⁹ evidence for occupation in the 4th century is 'fairly restricted' in comparison with earlier periods, though still substantial.¹⁵⁰ Singly these events might seem to have a purely local significance, but cumulatively they suggest a decline in the volume of economic activity in the small towns during the 4th century.

The reasons for this probably lie in changes in late Roman society, which encouraged the development of large, more self-sufficient estates at the expense of smaller land holders, particularly the free peasantry.¹⁵¹ It is just this class which probably provided the majority of the trade of the artisans in the small towns, and used the markets which they are assumed (without archaeological evidence) to have provided. Overall demand for artisans' services may not have been very different, but as the trend developed there were presumably more craftsmen in some way attached to estates now large enough to justify their full-time employment, and fewer in the small towns. Among those who remained, merchants dealing in goods brought in from outside the region may have predominated. As a port Heybridge may have suffered a less significant decline than comparable sites whose main function was to service the surrounding countryside. Excavations have not been sufficiently extensive to test this model of contraction at Heybridge, but the 1972 site provided one clue. The lack of Saxon pottery in the upper fill of ditch 122, deposited post-c. 360/375, suggests a hiatus between that phase of late Roman usage of this small area and the early Saxon settlement. The small town at Wickford seems to be an exception to the general pattern, being intensively occupied during the 4th century. Perhaps significantly, it lies in an area with very few known villas.¹⁵²

At Chelmsford and Dunmow pagan religious sites, though very different in status, flourished through the 4th century. At the former, a substantial masonry temple was built around 325, and on coin evidence probably remained in use until after 402. Following a perhaps brief period of dereliction, it was deliberately dismantled, after which there was a phase of use of the site, still within the period when Romano-British pottery was in current use.¹⁵³ By contrast, it seems probable that Colchester had a predominantly Christian aspect in the 4th century,¹⁵⁴ and there is evidence for Christianity in the small towns at Kelvedon and Wickford¹⁵⁵ and in the countryside, for example at Witham.¹⁵⁶ The sequence of events at Chelmsford suggests that this ambivalence may have given way to action against pagan cult centres early in the 5th century, implying a Christian church whose influence was waxing rather than waning.

At Chelmsford a direct thread of evidence links the post-Boudican military post to the development of the *mansio* or road station. Stations of the *cursum publicum*, the Imperial posting service, would be expected at many of the small towns, for *mansiones* should lie no more than 40–45 Roman miles apart, and *mutationes* 8–18 miles apart, along all the main roads linking the major towns.¹⁵⁷ In all probability one existed at Heybridge. Such buildings may have served other official functions, for example as collection points for the *annona militaris*. None of these settlements, however, whatever their precise legal status,¹⁵⁸ is likely to have been a seat of political power, unlike Colchester, and only Great Chesterford,¹⁵⁹ walled in the 4th century, had any possible military role.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LATE ROMAN AND SAXON SETTLEMENTS

The decline of the 'small towns', far from being a consequence of Saxon incursions in the 5th century, can from the foregoing be seen as originating in the social and economic changes of the 4th century. With their local role much diminished by the rise of large estates, they probably became heavily dependent on long-distance trade. That this was still the case during at least part of the life of the Saxon settlement at Heybridge is evident from the use of Oxfordshire pottery in the huts. But the disruption of such trade as the 5th century developed must have been a crucial factor in their demise. Nowhere is there evidence of dramatic destruction; everything points to a thinning and gradual disappearance of the buildings. The role of some as pagan religious centres may have had a more sudden end, but if so it was clearly at the behest of Christian, and thus sub-Roman rather than Saxon, authority. The *mansiones* ceased to have much relevance in the absence of central authority; their abandonment is perhaps the only aspect of the decline of these settlements directly related to the end of Imperial rule.

This decline and abandonment in an essentially sub-Roman context is borne out by the evidence of associated Saxon settlement. As Fig. 1, A shows, most Trinovantian 'small towns' have produced no evidence of early Saxon settlement, although only Chelmsford and Wickford have been excavated on a sufficient scale for such negative evidence to be of any validity. The former has not yielded a single Saxon artefact, and the latter but two sherds of grass-tempered pottery.¹⁶⁰ Of the

unwalled sites, only at Heybridge is early Saxon settlement known to have taken place in close association with a late Roman 'small town'. It seems probable that some form of symbiotic relationship existed, interdependence resulting in the demise of the Saxon settlement with the sub-Roman one.¹⁶¹ If so, the Saxons involved were probably not settlers farming land adjacent to the town, but men (with their families, on the evidence of the spindle whorls) who were in some way directly involved in the life of the town, either participating in its economy (as artisans or immigrant labourers) or deployed there as soldiers. If the latter, ultimately they probably owed their loyalty to whatever person or group had taken over the government of the *civitas* in the early 5th century, since Myres' suggestion¹⁶² that after the collapse of direct imperial control, government was based on the *civitates* seems eminently reasonable. But we should remember that, on the evidence of sites like Feddersen Wierde in the 4th and early 5th centuries, not all migrating Saxons need have been farmers or soldiers.¹⁶³ However the inhabitants of the settlement reported here made their living, the reason for their presence at Heybridge, rather than any of the other 'small towns' of the *civitas*, presumably lies in the fact that unlike them it was a port, and still of some economic importance at the beginning of the 5th century.

Colchester retained a significance as a seat of political power after its economic significance had faded, partly, one suspects, because of its position as the traditional seat of such power, and partly because of its walls, and the strong possibility of a smaller defensible enceinte, the former temple of Claudius precinct, within them.¹⁶⁴ Thus the 5th-century sunken huts excavated there are the beginning of a continuous, if tenuous, thread of artefacts and structures linking the Roman and late Saxon towns.¹⁶⁵ Because of its defences and its strategic position, the 5th-century burials in the late Roman cemetery at Great Chesterford¹⁶⁶ also form the beginning of a thread, out of which developed a rural royal estate and ultimately the town of Newport, rather than the refounding of Chesterford itself.¹⁶⁷

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEMETERY IN BARN FIELD

Late Roman inhumation cemeteries, including, if not entirely composed of, the burials of those substantial enough to afford coffins of stone and lead, are known close to both Heybridge and Kelvedon. That at Heybridge lies *c.* 0.8 km to the E. of the settlement, and from the same site came at least one, and probably three, Saxon pots, of which the survivor is of *c.* 500 (above, p. 30). The cemetery at Kelvedon lies 0.3 km from the settlement there, but on the opposite bank of the R. Blackwater (in Feering), and has produced Saxon objects spanning the 5th to the 7th centuries.¹⁶⁸ Taking the Roman element alone, there is a hint of a comparable site 0.7 km E. of the settlement area at Braintree, represented by a single stone coffin containing a late Roman inhumation.¹⁶⁹ Another possible site is suggested by a stone coffin found in Runwell parish, which lies on the N. bank of the R. Crouch, opposite the small town at Wickford.¹⁷⁰

The significance of these cemeteries in the Roman period is unknown. Our current knowledge of Trinovantian 'small towns' does not suggest that they contained houses of a size or quality consistent with their occupants being buried in

stone or lead coffins. The excavated late Roman cemetery directly associated with the settlement at Kelvedon¹⁷¹ conspicuously lacks such wealthy accoutrements, although elaborate wooden coffins, vaults, and monuments were present. Perhaps the archaeological record is yet lacking, or the spatial relationship is fortuitous. At least sixteen comparable small, rich, rural cemeteries are known in Essex.¹⁷²

Yet the presence of Saxon burials in these rich cemeteries, rather than in, say, the excavated late Roman cemetery at Kelvedon, is perhaps not fortuitous. Of the undoubtedly rural cemeteries, Prittlewell includes Saxon graves of the 6th and 7th centuries, and the apparent hiatus may be due merely to the deficiency of the sample.¹⁷³ The combination of a stone coffin with spearheads at Magdalen Laver¹⁷⁴ is suggestive of another site of this class. Where early Saxon burials took place in a late Roman cemetery, there seems to have been a distinct preference for one used by the upper ranks of society.

Clarke, in describing the Lankhills cemetery at Winchester,¹⁷⁵ has suggested that the position of arguably ethnic Saxons in the most desirable part of the cemetery, *c.* 390–410, is probably a reflection of their status and authority in the community. It seems probable that we should interpret the preference for rich late Roman cemeteries in Essex in similar terms, as indicative of the tenurial or political status of those so interred. One might indeed ask whether some are the result of the transition to Saxon control of specific late Roman estates. Such a sequence has been suggested by Dr W. J. Rodwell¹⁷⁶ on other evidence at Rivenhall, a site which may be an excavated example of a numerous class.¹⁷⁷ Certainly at Heybridge, whilst the small town was deserted around the mid 5th century, the survival of the Roman pattern of land division in the area, particularly to the NE. of Heybridge church, suggests no great hiatus in the occupation of the surrounding area.¹⁷⁸ In late Roman terms the rich burials would be appropriate to the owners of large estates, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that their Saxon successors may have continued to use the existing cemeteries, as they evidently did at Colchester.¹⁷⁹ If there is a connection between the 'small towns' and these rich cemeteries, it may be that the latter are the burial places of the proprietors of the former, who may have lived in as yet unlocated villas in the vicinity.

The situation in the cemeteries around Colchester is unclear, since all the Saxon objects are old chance finds,¹⁸⁰ and little is known of the nature of the Roman cemetery areas from which they came.¹⁸¹ It is notable, however, that brooches have been found only in the N. and W. cemeteries, whilst weapons (especially spears and shield bosses) predominate in the S. cemeteries.¹⁸² The difference is not chronological, and so may be social, and have some relationship to late Roman usage.

LATER RE-OCCUPATION OF THE 'SMALL TOWN' SITES

There is evidence for the reoccupation of parts of the sites of some 'small towns' around the 7th century. The pottery locally characteristic of this period, bag-shaped undecorated vessels in plain, hard, vegetable-tempered ware,¹⁸³ is associated with occupation at Great Dunmow¹⁸⁴ and a possible 'transitional' cemetery at Brain-tree.¹⁸⁵ Both are so distant in time from the Roman settlement as to represent a

completely new phase of activity, in the first case transient, but in the second probably forming the nucleus of the settlement around the present church. The 7th and 8th centuries saw a great change in settlement patterns,¹⁸⁶ and it is to this phase that those sites belong.

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NOTES

¹ Chelmsford Archaeological Trust, The Old Cemetery Lodge, 1 Writtle Road, Chelmsford, Essex. P.J.D. is largely responsible for the description of the excavated features and the general discussion; N.P.W. for the pottery and other artefact reports.

² E.g. N.M.R. TL 8408/1/196.

³ W. J. Rodwell, 'Trinovantian towns and their setting: A case study', 85-101 in W. J. Rodwell and R. T. Rowley (eds.), *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., Brit. ser., 15, 1975). The evidence for the importation of Samian through Heybridge is discussed by Rodwell in P. J. Drury and N. P. Wickenden, 'Prehistoric Settlement and the Roman-British "Small Town" at Heybridge, Essex' (forthcoming).

⁴ Discussed, with the Roman and pre-Roman background generally in Drury and Wickenden forthcoming, op. cit. in note 3.

⁵ P. J. Drury, 'The early and middle phases of the Iron Age in Essex', 47-54 in D. G. Buckley (ed.), *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500* (Council for British Archaeol. Res. Rept., 39, 1980), at 49-50; P. J. Drury and W. J. Rodwell, 'Settlement in the later Iron Age and Roman periods', *ibid.*, fig. 22.

⁶ *Medieval Archaeol.*, 17 (1973), 141; S. R. Bassett, pers. comm.

⁷ J. G. Hurst, 'The Pottery', 283-348 in D. M. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976), at 301-03.

⁸ R. Morris and J. Roxan, 'Churches on Roman Buildings', 175-209 in W. J. Rodwell (ed.), *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., Brit. ser. 77, 1980), at 200; *Victoria History of the County of Essex*, 3 (London, 1963), 156. The fabric contains much Roman tile, lumps of *opus signinum*, etc.

⁹ Undertaken in September 1971 by Mr S. R. Bassett.

¹⁰ Drury and Wickenden, op. cit. in note 3.

¹¹ The excavation archive and finds will be deposited in Colchester and Essex Museum. A copy of the archive is held by the National Monuments Record, from which copies are available on application.

¹² Context numbers ascribed in the field are used throughout the report, except that the *Grubenhäuser* have been renumbered 1-5 in the buildings sequence. Their field context numbers (used in the archive) are: GH 1, Feature 82; GH 2, F 83A; GH 3, F 118; GH 4, F 119; GH 5, F 64.

¹³ Mrs M. U. Jones suggests that these may be the remains of unfired loomweights; cf. Mucking GH 84 — M. U. Jones, 'Excavations at Mucking, Essex: A Second Interim Report', *Antiq. J.*, 54 (1974), 183-99, esp. 197-98.

¹⁴ Drury and Wickenden, op. cit. in note 3, F 79.

¹⁵ M. U. Jones, 'Saxon Sunken Huts: problems of interpretation', *Archaeol. J.*, 136 (1979), 53-59, at 54.

¹⁶ S. E. West, 'The Anglo-Saxon village of West Stow: an interim report of the excavations, 1965-68', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 13 (1969), 1-20, at 7-8, fig. 5.

¹⁷ E. T. Leeds, 'A Saxon village near Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire', *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), 147-92, at 158-59, fig. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 166, fig. 9.

¹⁹ *Id.*, 'A Saxon village at Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire (2nd report)', *ibid.*, 76 (1927), 59-80, at 62-64, fig. 2.

²⁰ In Leeds, op. cit. in note 17, 191.

²¹ W. H. Zimmerman, 'A Roman Iron Age and Early Migration Settlement at Flögeln, Kr. Wesermünde, Lower Saxony', 56-73 in R. T. Rowley (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., Brit. ser., 6, 1974), esp. 66.

²² A. E. van Giffen, 'Der Warf in Ezinge, Provinz Groningen, Holland, und Seine Westgermanischen Häuser', *Germania*, 20 (1936), 40-47.

- ²³ Jones, op. cit. in note 13, 196.
- ²⁴ D. G. Buckley, 'Barley Hall, Barling Magna', in C. Couchman (ed.), 'The work of the Essex County Council Archaeological Section', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 9 (1977), 60-94 esp. 62, fig. 4.
- ²⁵ F. W. B. Charles, 'Post-Construction and the rafter roof', *Vernacular Archit.*, 12 (1981), 12.03-12.19.
- ²⁶ We owe this suggestion to the Editor.
- ²⁷ G. Beresford, *The medieval clay-land village: excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount* (Soc. Medieval Archaeol., Mono. ser. 6, 1975), 38.
- ²⁸ C. Green, 'Excavations in the Roman Kiln field at Brampton, 1973-74', *East Anglian Archaeol.*, 5 (1977), 31-95, described in fig. 14 and pp. 44-46.
- ²⁹ Structures LVII and LVIII in M. Bell, 'Excavations at Bishopstone', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.*, 115 (1977), 218-19, fig. 99.
- ³⁰ See page 8 and notes 17-20.
- ³¹ B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle II: Saxon* (London, Soc. Antiq. Res. Rept., 33, 1975), 15-16 and fig. 15.
- ³² P. A. Rahtz, 'Buildings and Rural Settlement', Appendix A., 405-52 in Wilson (ed.), op. cit. in note 7.
- ³³ Cunliffe, op. cit. in note 31, 27-29 and fig. 19.
- ³⁴ Buildings H and K in B. K. Davison, 'The late Saxon town of Thetford: an Interim Report on the 1964-66 excavations', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 11 (1967), 189-208, at 202-03. Stephen Johnson has interpreted the complex hall 5 at West Stow similarly, in *Later Roman Britain* (London, 1980), fig. 12.
- ³⁵ P. Dixon, 'How Saxon is the Saxon House?' forthcoming in P. J. Drury (ed.), *Structural Reconstruction: approaches to the interpretation of the excavated remains of buildings* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., Brit. ser., forthcoming).
- ³⁶ K. Barton, 'Settlements of Iron Age and pagan Saxon periods at Linford, Essex', *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, Ser. 3, 1 (1962), 1 (1962), 57-104, at 95.
- ³⁷ M. U. Jones, 'Saxon pottery from a hut at Mucking', *Berichten R.O.B.*, 19 (1969), 145-56, at 149.
- ³⁸ Figs. 6.8, 19; 7.27, 32, 40, 43; 8.51.
- ³⁹ Following the standard alphanumeric system used by Chelmsford Archaeological Trust for post-Roman pottery in Essex. For a summarized statement of this, see C. M. Cunningham *et al.*, 'Post-Medieval sites and their pottery', *East Anglian Archaeol.* (Chelmsford Archaeol. Trust Report 5), forthcoming. The pottery summary sheets and detailed descriptions of the illustrated sherds are deposited in the archive; see note 11.
- ⁴⁰ In most cases, the outline of the actual sherd is illustrated. Where a complete diameter is shown, and the outline omitted, it is because more than a quarter of the rim survives, and the diameter can be accurately judged.
- ⁴¹ J. N. L. Myres, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Pottery of the Pagan Period* (Cambridge, 1977), *passim*.
- ⁴² Mrs M. U. Jones, pers. comm.
- ⁴³ Jones, op. cit. in note 37, fig. 4, 414a.
- ⁴⁴ The pagan Saxon pottery from a *Grubenhaus* (Feature 7) at Linton, near Great Chesterford, has been reported on by Mrs Jones. At the time of writing, the illustrations have been prepared, but not numbered. For an interim statement on the *Grubenhaus*, see A. E. Collins, 'The Linton Gas Pipeline Interim Report' in *Archaeology in Great Chesterford* (privately printed, 1980).
- ⁴⁵ Jones, op. cit. in note 37, 147.
- ⁴⁶ Group 5, pers. comm. A. Mainman.
- ⁴⁷ S. E. West, 'The Pagan Saxon Pottery from West Stow', *Berichten R.O.B.*, 19 (1969), 175-81, at 175.
- ⁴⁸ Two pottery teachers, Eileen and Roger Saunders, experimented on clays dug from the Mucking site and simulated excavated forms. They considered that the Saxon carinated bowls were made in two parts and that faceting was a device to trim a bulky join (pers. comm., Mrs Jones).
- ⁴⁹ W. A. van Es, 'Wijster: a native village beyond the Imperial frontier, A.D. 150-425', *Palaeohistoria*, 11 (1967), 273.
- ⁵⁰ Jones, op. cit. in note 37, 147.
- ⁵¹ Buckley, op. cit. in note 24, 70.
- ⁵² Collins, op. cit. in note 44.
- ⁵³ M. U. and W. T. Jones, 'The crop mark sites at Mucking, Essex', 133-87 in R. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Europe* (London, 1975), esp. 159. See also J. N. L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon pottery and the settlement of England* (Oxford, 1969), fig. 12.
- ⁵⁴ P. Schmid, 'Zur chronologischen Auswertung von Siedlungsfunden des 4.-5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Küstengebiet Zwischen Elbe und Weser', 29-41, in G. Kossack and J. Reichstein (eds.) 'Archäologische Beiträge zur Chronologie der Völkerwanderungszeit', *Antiquitas*, 3.20 (1977), esp. 31, fig. 1.11.
- ⁵⁵ M. U. Jones, 'Woolcomb warmers from Mucking, Essex', *Antiq. J.*, 55 (1975), 411-13 and pl. LXXXVII. For examples from West Stow, see West, op. cit. in note 47, figs. 4, 6.
- ⁵⁶ F. Tischler, 'Der Stand der Sachsenforschung archäologisch gesehen', *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*, 35 (1956), 56-59.
- ⁵⁷ A. Plettke, *Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Ängeln und Sachsen* (Hildesheim and Leipzig, 1921), 42 and pl. 27.8.
- ⁵⁸ P. Schmid, 'Some bowls from the excavations of the terp at Feddersen Wierde near Bremerhaven', 37-58 in V. I. Evison (ed.), *Angles, Saxons and Jutes: Studies presented to J. N. L. Myres* (Oxford, 1981); see fig. 3, especially no. 1, which is very similar to our Fig. 7.44.
- ⁵⁹ P. Schmid, pers. comm.
- ⁶⁰ Van Es, op. cit. in note 49, 296-300 and figs. 101-07; types 1C and 1D.
- ⁶¹ Myres, op. cit. in note 53, 78 and map 5a. To this can now be added two vessels, used for cremations, from Spong Hill. Number 3177, discovered in 1980, seems to be an early example of its type (C. Hills, pers. comm.); Number 1716 is published, C. Hills and K. Penn, 'Spong Hill: Part II' *East Anglian Archaeol.*, 11 (1981), 29 and fig 55, pl. 1.

- ⁶² J. N. L. Myres, 'The Anglo-Saxon vase from Mitcham Grave 205' in M. G. Welch, 'Mitcham Grave 205 and the chronology of Applied Brooches with Floriate Cross Decoration', *Antiq. J.*, 55 (1975), 86-95, esp. 94, n. 5.
- ⁶³ Myres, *ibid.*, 93-95.
- ⁶⁴ Barton, *op. cit.* in note 36, fig. V. 2.
- ⁶⁵ J. N. L. Myres, 'The Anglo-Saxon pottery from Mucking', in M. U. Jones, 'The crop-mark sites at Mucking, Essex', *Antiq. J.*, 48 (1968), 222-28. See fig. 5.5-6.
- ⁶⁶ See below, p. 31 and note 134.
- ⁶⁷ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 65, 224 f; *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 53, 87 f.
- ⁶⁸ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 53, map 5b.
- ⁶⁹ P. J. Crummy, *Aspects of Saxon and Norman Colchester* (Council for British Archaeol. Res. Rept. 39, 1981), 6.
- ⁷⁰ Hills and Penn, *op. cit.* in note 61, no. 1792, fig. 55.
- ⁷¹ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 41, p. 17 f. and figs. 88-89 and 95.
- ⁷² Myres, *op. cit.* in note 41, fig. 88, no. 3674, paralleled at Wijster, for which see van Es, *op. cit.* in note 49, fig. 160.11.
- ⁷³ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 41, fig. 89, nos. 3181 and 3838.
- ⁷⁴ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 53, fig. 14, no. 2102.
- ⁷⁵ Collins, *op. cit.* in note 44.
- ⁷⁶ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 53, 82.
- ⁷⁷ J. Werner, 'Kriegergräber aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts', *Bonner Jahrbucher*, 158 (1958), fig. 11.1-3 and fig. 12.
- ⁷⁸ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 53, 88.
- ⁷⁹ A. Genrich, *Formenkreise und stammesgruppen in Schleswig-Holstein* (Neumünster, 1954): see fig. 1.19.
- ⁸⁰ Werner, *op. cit.* in note 77, fig. 11.5.
- ⁸¹ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 41, fig. 89, no. 3389.
- ⁸² Van Es, *op. cit.* in note 49, fig. 160.6.
- ⁸³ P. J. Crummy, *Colchester: recent excavations and research* (Colchester, 1974), 25.
- ⁸⁴ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 49, 81 and 88.
- ⁸⁵ J. N. L. Myres, 'Romano-Saxon pottery', 16-39 in D. B. Harden (ed.), *Dark-Age Britain. Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (London, 1956), esp. 30, fig. 5, group F.
- ⁸⁶ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 49, fig. 35.410, from Feering, 11 km (7 miles) N. of Heybridge.
- ⁸⁷ C. Dudley, 'Pagan Saxon Pottery in Sussex', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.*, 118 (1980), 87-94, at 89 (Grave D); Myres, *op. cit.* in note 53, fig. 17.13.
- ⁸⁸ Schmid, *op. cit.* in note 58, 41 and fig. 4.3.
- ⁸⁹ G. Dunning, J. G. Hurst, J. N. L. Myres and F. Tischler, 'Anglo-Saxon pottery: a symposium', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 3 (1959), 1-78; see fig. 1.8.
- ⁹⁰ Schmid, *op. cit.* in note 58, 41 and fig. 4.6.
- ⁹¹ See, for instance, Myres, *op. cit.* in note 65, 225-26; *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 53, 88.
- ⁹² 'Mucking: The Saxon Cemeteries', *Current Archaeol.*, 50 (1975), 73-80, at 77.
- ⁹³ M. U. Jones, 'An early Saxon Landscape at Mucking, Essex', in Rowley, *op. cit.* in note 21, 31; V.I. Evison, 'Distribution maps and England in the first two phases', in Evison (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 58, 138-39 and figs. 4-5.
- ⁹⁴ M. U. Jones, 'Saxon Mucking — a post-excavation note', in S. C. Hawkes, D. Brown and J. Campbell (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Studies I* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., 72, 1979), 21-37. See fig. 2: 5.2.
- ⁹⁵ Unpublished, 90 × 520.
- ⁹⁶ Van Es, *op. cit.* in note 49, fig. 160.3.
- ⁹⁷ Crummy, *op. cit.* in note 83, 25; *id.*, *op. cit.* in note 69, 4, fig. 5.12.
- ⁹⁸ Myres, *op. cit.* in note 41, fig. 95 and p. 17, n. 7.
- ⁹⁹ Genrich, *op. cit.* in note 79, fig. 14 B.
- ¹⁰⁰ Schmid, *op. cit.* in note 58, 41-42 and fig. 5.
- ¹⁰¹ Dudley, *op. cit.* in note 87, 87-89.
- ¹⁰² D. B. Harden, 'Glass Vessels in Britain and Ireland, A.D. 400-1000', in Harden (ed.), *op. cit.* in note 85, 136.
- ¹⁰³ P. J. Drury (ed.), 'Baintree: Excavations and Research 1971-76', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 8 (1976), 1-143, at 44-46; *id.*, 'Excavations at Rawreth 1968', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 9 (1977), 20-47, at 40-42.
- ¹⁰⁴ It has not even been possible to use the degree of abrasion on the late Roman pottery as an indicator of residuality. Though some of the soft Oxfordshire red colour-coated pottery is abraded, so too are many of the Saxon sherds.
- ¹⁰⁵ Of the illustrated sherds, only 9.68 and 9.77 came from the upper, subsoil, filling.
- ¹⁰⁶ There is certainly no correlation between the concentrations of late Roman pottery in Saxon features, and the distribution of 4th-century features; but it must be remembered that except on the extreme S. edge of the site, superincumbent levels of the 4th century had been destroyed by ploughing.
- ¹⁰⁷ I am grateful to Ruth Birss (Mucking Post Excavation) for suggesting this. For a full discussion of the Roman pottery from Ditch 122, see Drury and Wickenden, *op. cit.* in note 3.
- ¹⁰⁸ For the typology referred to, see M. D. Howe, J. R. Perrin and D. F. Mackreth, *Roman Pottery from the Nene Valley: A guide* (Peterborough City Museum Occasional Paper 2, 1980).
- ¹⁰⁹ C. J. Young, *Oxfordshire Roman Pottery* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., Brit. ser., 43, 1977).
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 123-76.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 117-22.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, 56-79.

- ¹¹³ I am grateful to Mr Paul Barford for this information.
- ¹¹⁴ A. C. C. Brodrick, A. R. Hands and D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak 1* (Oxford, 1971), fig. 19.11; S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations 1* (London, Soc. Antiq. Res. Rept., 28, 1972), fig. 39.121.
- ¹¹⁵ Similar to a fragment from Mucking (Iron 143; GH 30) which retains nails in the holes.
- ¹¹⁶ G. Clarke, *The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills* (Oxford, Winchester Studies 3.ii, 1979), 315.
- ¹¹⁷ Harden, op. cit. in note 102, 137, pl. XV, k.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., 139, fig. 25, IIb + c, pls. XVI c + XVII a.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., 140, fig. 25, III a, i, 1, pl. XVI d.
- ¹²⁰ For an example from Mucking, see Jones and Jones, op. cit. note in 53, fig. 55.10.
- ¹²¹ We are grateful to Mr D. T. Moore, of the Department of Mineralogy, British Museum (Natural History), for this thin-section.
- ¹²² V. I. Evison, 'Pagan Saxon Whetstones', *Antiq. J.*, 55 (1975), 70-85, based on a petrological study by S. E. Ellis.
- ¹²³ We are grateful to Martyn Owen, of the Geological Museum, for this identification.
- ¹²⁴ Drury and Wickenden, op. cit. in note 3.
- ¹²⁵ *Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc.*, NS 1 (1875), 128.
- ¹²⁶ As being found at Heybridge and donated by Bentall (P.C. 739).
- ¹²⁷ Illustrated in Myres, op. cit. in note 41, fig. 223 no. 411. See also p. 39 (id.) for a parallel from Wehden: K. Waller, *Der Urnenfriedhof in Wehden* (Hildesheim, 1961), fig. 37 no. 873.
- ¹²⁸ Myres, op. cit. in note 53, 110 n.
- ¹²⁹ There were no unprovenanced Saxon pots listed by Price which might be equated with the two missing urns; it seems that they disappeared from the museum between 1875 and 1888.
- ¹³⁰ West, op. cit. in note 16, 4, fig. 2.
- ¹³¹ E.g. huts 34 and 35.
- ¹³² E.g. huts 36 and 39.
- ¹³³ Ibid., 5.
- ¹³⁴ E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-headed brooches* (Oxford, 1949), 12.
- ¹³⁵ Clarke, op. cit. in note 116, 397-400.
- ¹³⁶ M. Fulford, 'Pottery Production and trade at the end of Roman Britain: The case against continuity', 120-32 in P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain* (Oxford, Brit. Archaeol. Repts., Brit. ser., 71, 1979), at 129; Johnson, op. cit. in note 34, 155; for coinage, P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981), 454 and references cited.
- ¹³⁷ Approximately defined by the rivers Lea, Cam and Stour (Fig. 1, A).
- ¹³⁸ M. U. Jones, 'Mucking and the early Saxon rural settlement in Essex', 82-86 in Buckley, op. cit. in note 5; W. T. Jones, 'Early Saxon Cemeteries in Essex', 87-95 in Buckley, loc. cit.
- ¹³⁹ P. J. Drury and W. J. Rodwell, 'Investigations at Asheldham, Essex. An Interim report on the church and the historic landscape', *Antiq. J.*, 58 (1978), 133-51.
- ¹⁴⁰ Drury and Rodwell, op. cit. in note 5, 59-64, with references; and see now also S. R. Bassett, *Saffron Walden: Excavations and Research 1972-80* (Council for Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rept., 45, 1982), 5-9.
- ¹⁴¹ C. C. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon countryside' in Rowley (ed.), op. cit. in note 21, 5-11.
- ¹⁴² See e.g. Myres, op. cit. in note 53, 62-99.
- ¹⁴³ Rodwell, op. cit. in note 3; Drury and Rodwell, op. cit. in note 5, 65-68.
- ¹⁴⁴ Drury and Rodwell, *ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ Drury (ed.), op. cit. in note 103, 124.
- ¹⁴⁶ P. J. Drury, *The mansion and other sites in the south-eastern sector of Caesaromagus* (Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 3, Council for Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rept. series, forthcoming).
- ¹⁴⁷ Drury (ed.), op. cit. in note 103, 46, 125.
- ¹⁴⁸ K. A. Rodwell, *The Prehistoric and Roman Settlement at Kelvedon, Essex* (forthcoming).
- ¹⁴⁹ Probably Catuvellaunian, but none the less relevant here.
- ¹⁵⁰ C. R. Partridge, 'Braughing', in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.), op. cit. in note 3, 150.
- ¹⁵¹ M. Todd, 'Villas and Romano-British Society', 197-208 in M. Todd (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa* (Leicester, 1978), at 206-07; for the empire generally, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602* (Oxford, 1964), 773-81.
- ¹⁵² Wickford, pers. comm. K. A. Rodwell; for the area, Drury and Rodwell, op. cit. in note 5, 61.
- ¹⁵³ P. J. Drury, 'Preliminary Report: the Romano-British settlement at Chelmsford, Essex', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.*, 4 (1972), 3-29.
- ¹⁵⁴ P. J. Drury, 'The Temple of Claudius at Colchester Reconsidered', *Britannia*, 14 (1983), forthcoming.
- ¹⁵⁵ K. A. Rodwell, op. cit. in note 148; C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500* (London, 1981), 107.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Britannia*, 11 (1980), 377-79.
- ¹⁵⁷ Drury, op. cit. in note 146; A. L. F. Rivet, 'Summing up: the classification of minor towns and related settlements', in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.), op. cit. in note 3, 112.
- ¹⁵⁸ For which see J. S. Johnson, 'Vici in Lowland Britain' in Rodwell and Rowley (eds.), op. cit. in note 3; also Salway, op. cit. in note 136, 589-92.
- ¹⁵⁹ V.C.H., op. cit. in note 8, 72-76; *Britannia*, 12 (1981), 348-50.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Medieval Archaeol.*, 16 (1972), 145; K. A. Rodwell, pers. comm.
- ¹⁶¹ There is no archaeological evidence to suggest inundation of the site as a reason for abandonment.
- ¹⁶² Myres, op. cit. in note 41, i, 120.
- ¹⁶³ We owe the origins of this line of thought to the Editor; see Schmid, op. cit. in note 58, 43-44 and *passim*; also Johnson, op. cit. in note 34, 134.

- ¹⁶⁴ Drury, op. cit. in note 154.
¹⁶⁵ The material is summarized in Crummy, op. cit. in note 69, chapter 1.
¹⁶⁶ V.C.H., op. cit. in note 8, 56–58; V. I. Evison, 'Five Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Graves containing pots at Great Chesterford, Essex', *Berichten R.O.B.*, 19 (1969), 157–73.
¹⁶⁷ *Victoria History of the County of Essex*, 1 (London, 1903), 430; S. R. Bassett, 'Great Chesterford' (forthcoming).
¹⁶⁸ W. T. Jones, op. cit. in note 138, 90.
¹⁶⁹ Drury (ed.), op. cit. in note 103, 112.
¹⁷⁰ V.C.H., op. cit. in note 8, 175.
¹⁷¹ In the Beanfields on the eastern edge of the 'small town': Rodwell, op. cit. in note 148.
¹⁷² V.C.H., op. cit. in note 8, 19 and passim.
¹⁷³ W. T. Jones, op. cit. in note 138, with references.
¹⁷⁴ V.C.H., op. cit. in note 8, 153.
¹⁷⁵ Clarke, op. cit. in note 116, 389–402.
¹⁷⁶ In Drury and Rodwell, op. cit. in note 5, 71.
¹⁷⁷ Morris and Roxan, op. cit. in note 8.
¹⁷⁸ Drury and Wickenden, op. cit. in note 3.
¹⁷⁹ Crummy, op. cit. in note 69, 9–19.
¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 9–19.
¹⁸¹ M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (London, Soc. Antiq. Res. Rept., 20, 1958), 250–59.
¹⁸² Crummy, op. cit. in note 69, fig. 2.
¹⁸³ C. M. Cunningham, 'Medieval and post-medieval pottery', in P. J. Drury, 'Aspects of the origins and development of Colchester Castle', *Archaeol. J.*, 138 (1982).
¹⁸⁴ *Medieval Archaeol.*, 16 (1972), 152–53; *id.*, 17 (1973), 140.
¹⁸⁵ Drury (ed.), op. cit. in note 103, 92, 95 and 127.
¹⁸⁶ Most recently discussed by C. J. Arnold and P. Wardle, 'Early medieval settlement patterns in England', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 25 (1981), 145–49.

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