Short articles

Recent archaeological work at Pyecombe church, West Sussex

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INTRODUCTION

The Mid Sussex Field Archaeological Team was asked to record an area of tiled floor exposed in the tower of Pyecombe church in November 1994, prior to the installation of a new suspended floor. The opportunity was also taken to remove rubble from two areas of earlier disturbance cutting through the tiled floor, and record the sections revealed.

BACKGROUND

The chancel and nave of the church date to the 12th century; the tower is believed to have been added in the 13th century. The church is built of flint, now obscured by pebble-dash added during restoration in the 19th century. Alterations were made to the church in the later medieval period, 1914 and 1951 (*V.C.H.* 1940; Phelps n.d.).

THE TOWER FLOOR

The exposed floor surface of roughly square undecorated floortiles in two sizes $(102 \times 102 \text{ mm}, 130 \times 130 \text{ mm})$, was cleaned and recorded (Fig. 1). Some tiles were missing or had been covered with later mortar, remaining perhaps from repair work or from a floor laid on top. Two sleeper walls (12 & 3) had been laid on top of the floor, and probably supported a wooden floor installed in the church tower during the 19th-century restoration. Two further sleeper walls (8 & 9) appear to have been added during the work carried out in 1951, probably as additional underfloor support for the new organ.

In the central area of the tower some larger stone pieces had been incorporated into the tile floor, possibly to support posts from a wall/partition or a timber staircase.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE DISTURBED AREAS

The rubble fill connected with the insertion of the 1951 walls was removed, exposing a compact area of flint nodules admixed with chalk in a sandy mortar (15). This is the original western end wall of the nave, which extends under the modern bricks (8). Cutting into this wall was a grave cut (16) filled with chalk rubble. This was partially excavated to show that it extended eastwards into the nave, under the present church floor. A single human bone was found in the chalk rubble.

In the north-east corner of the tower, at the junction of the original west wall of the nave and the north wall of the tower, a hole (20) had been excavated down to the chalk subsoil. This was probably dug during the 1951 improvements when a pipe was inserted through the north wall of the church tower. The repairs to the north wall of the church after the insertion of the pipe can be clearly seen in Figure 4:2 (31) (microfiche).

The removal of this modern fill also enabled the join between the tower wall and the west wall of the church to be inspected. It was seen that the tower wall simply butts up to the original west wall of the church, with no attempt made to bond the two together. Both walls rest directly on the chalk subsoil, and are slightly wider at the base. They are constructed from irregular flint nodules, although knapped flint flakes found in the rubble suggest that some nodules were prepared before being incorporated into the walls. The mortar of the west wall of the church is grey/white, whilst that of the tower is an orange-red. This orange-red sandy mortar also appears to have faced the inner wall of the tower.

Below the modern rubble disturbance, a layer comprising frequent medium/small flint and chalk pieces with occasional large flint nodules bonded with a yellow-brown sandy mortar (19) had been dumped directly on top of the chalk subsoil to bring the floor level of the tower up to that of the church.

A section through a sequence of floors beneath the tiled floor was revealed by the removal of the modern rubble (Fig. 4:1 microfiche). As this section shows a number of different layers, it is likely that frequent repairs were made to the floors, with previous floors being removed or only partially removed before the next one was laid.

THE FINDS

A number of small finds came from the various rubble fills that were excavated during the watching brief, and are summarized on microfiche.

UNDECORATED FLOOR TILES

Samples of some of the undecorated floor tiles found in the rubble were recovered. The three main types found are listed below.

1. Dark orange-red colour. Sandy fabric with medium and small-sized inclusions of flint, chalk and iron. Large holes and fissures present in the fabric, some of which have a yellow brown sand filling them. Approx. 33 mm thick. Fragment only. Context 6. Post-medieval.

2. Dark orange-red colour. Fine sandy fabric with small iron and occasional flint inclusions. Trace of a dark green glaze on the surface. 23 mm thick. Fragment only. Context 17. 15th/ 16th century.

3. Dark orange-red colour changing to purple-red at the edge.



Fig. 1. Plan of floor in Pyecombe church tower.

Fine sandy fabric with small iron and occasional flint inclusions. Possible green glaze. Complete tile, $125 \times 125 \times 25$ mm. Found loose on surface, probably from tiled floor (2) originally. Late medieval; 15th/16th century.

ENCAUSTIC FLOOR TILES

An encaustic floor tile was found by workmen during the removal of some pews in the north-west corner of the nave, prior to the installation of a new floor for the organ.

The floor tile (Fig. 2:1) shows a hound chasing a stag, with the animals moving diagonally across the tile from the top left to bottom right. The tile is $126 \times 126 \times 20$ mm and weighs 607 g. It is made from a fine sandy fabric with small-sized black iron inclusions and the occasional small piece of chalk. The fabric is a reduced grey colour and is oxidized towards the edge of the tile where the colour is orange-red.

The stag and hound are in a white clay inlay, which varies from 1 mm to 2 mm in depth and the glaze shows as green on the upper surface and one edge, but red-brown on the other three edges. Where the glaze covers the white clay design it fired to a white colour. There is no sign of any stabbing on the back of the tile, however, there are traces of a white/grey mortar.

The tile was not well made; there are cavities in the tile fabric showing on the neck of the stag and body of the hound. The right foreleg of the stag has a deeper impression into which the glaze ran, and stained to a brown colour. The edge of the tile above the stag's antlers is slightly indented. Some of the white clay inlay came out before firing as the glaze overlies parts of the design where the clay is not present.

This design is also known from the excavations at Lewes Priory (Lyne forthcoming). In addition, an example from the Priory is held in the British Museum (Eames 1980, no. 1910). The stag and hound design varies slightly between the tiles, probably due to differing depths of impression and modification and repair of the stamp; or perhaps a number of similar stamps were available. All the tiles with this design share the same range of faults noted in the Pyecombe example. They also appear to have been made from the same fabric, whereas tiles with other designs from the Priory, held at the British Museum, are in a different fabric with few iron inclusions but large quantities of flint inclusions. There is a further, similar, tile from the Priory, but this shows the stag and hound facing the other way (Eames 1980, no. 1908); this too is in the flinttempered fabric.

The Pyecombe 'stag and hound' tile is dated to the third quarter of the 13th century (1250–1275), and is the only example of its design to have been found outside Lewes (Lyne pers. comm.).

A further four decorated floor tiles located within a tiled area in the south-east corner of the sanctuary of Pyecombe church are described below, incorporating additional information provided by Malcolm Lyne (Fig. 3).

These four tiles are of particular interest in that they too come from the source which supplied the Cluniac Priory of St Pancras at Lewes with nearly all of its encaustic tile flooring during the third quarter of the 13th century. Of these four designs, only one has been published (Eames 1980) and another is known from Richard Lewis' unpublished excavations at the St Pancras Infirmary Chapel during the 1970s (Eames forthcoming). The other two designs are completely unrecorded.

No. 2 $[125 \times 126 \text{ mm}]$ A dark grey glazed inlay, with the



0_____5cm

Fig. 2. The encaustic floor tile, with the stag and hound design, found during the repair work at Pyecombe church.

rest of the tile in a light orange/red to buff colour. This design is unrecorded, and is one quarter of a four-tile design with two concentric circles enclosing and partially cut by four fleurde-lys motifs radiated from a small central circle. A further ?fleur-de-lys motif is depicted in that corner of each tile that is outside the central design. The fleur-de-lys was not only a royal symbol, but was also associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary.

No. 3 [124×125 mm] The design is in a white inlay, and the tile has an olive green glaze. This design is published from Lewes Priory (Eames 1980, no. 1972), and has two birds flanking a central tree of life arranged diagonally on the tile. There are no examples from Richard Lewis' dig at the Priory, but a number from the 1845 excavations survive in the British Museum collections. The design was clearly not used in the Infirmary Chapel floor, but was probably incorporated in flooring within the Great Monastic Church or Chapter House at the Priory.

No. 4 $[124 \times 122 \text{ mm}]$ A four-tile design with a central flower enclosed within two concentric circles. This design has a white slip inlay with a red-brown glaze. A considerable number of tile fragments with this design came from the Infirmary Chapel. Well-preserved tiles from the Infirmary Chapel at Lewes show that the white inlay circles were punctuated by raised discs of



Fig. 3. The encaustic floor tiles located in the tiled floor in the sanctuary at Pyecombe church.

red-firing body clay and a petal from the central flower was present in the inner corner of each of the four tiles. The Pyecombe tile had its white slip design rather poorly applied and does not show these features, other than a blob where the end of the central flower petal should be.

No. 5 $[120 \times 125 \text{ mm}]$ A dark green to brown glazed inlay, with the edges of the tile damaged. This design is also unpublished and is incomprehensible, unless it is part of a tile inscription incorporating the letter 'H'. It may, however, be that the tile was very badly finished, with part of the white slip inlay of the stamped design omitted.

DISCUSSION

Pyecombe church was granted to the Priory of St Pancras at Lewes by Adam de Poynings, and this grant was confirmed in the Charter of Ralph, Bishop of Lewes 1091–1125 (*SNQ* 1, 50), and the Lewes Priory Charter of Seffrid II, Bishop of Chichester 1180–1204 (*SNQ* 2, 253). This link between Lewes Priory and Pyecombe church may now be further evidenced by the occurrence at both locations of these encaustic floor tiles.

The similarity of design and fabric of the floor tiles does suggest that they were probably being produced at only one, or possibly two, kiln sites. Until the discovery of the tiles at Pyecombe, these designs were not known from any other source outside Lewes which would indicate that the kiln was located close to Lewes to reduce the transportation. At the time Elizabeth Eames prepared her encaustic tile corpus, none of the tile designs from this production source were known outside the priory itself. In recent years, however, examples have come to light at both Lewes Friary (M. Bennell pers. comm.) and Lewes Castle (Drewett 1992, figs 20 & 21). A possible source for these tiles is the kilns at Ringmer.

Although it is likely that the tiles found at Pyecombe and the Priory came from the same source, it is unclear whether they were supplied and laid at both Pyecombe church and the Priory at the same time. Perhaps the Priory had a surplus of tiles, some of which were then passed on to Pyecombe. The fact that two of the tiles found at Pyecombe were component tiles of larger designs does suggest that odd tiles were being supplied rather than complete designs. A further possibility is that Pyecombe received the tiles at a later date, perhaps when floors at the Priory were being repaired or replaced and the tiles were therefore no longer required by the Priory.

Pyecombe church may not have been the only church to have benefited in this way from its link with Lewes Priory. Poynings Church, some 2.5 km to the west of Pyecombe, which was also given to the Priory by Adam de Poynings, also has a collection of tiles. The designs on the tiles at Poynings are also known from the Priory (Ponsonby *et al.* 1934), but differ from those found at Pyecombe, being smaller in size, with different designs, and probably date from the 14th century. Perhaps there are similar collections of tiles in other churches connected with Lewes Priory still waiting to be found?

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A Middle Bronze Age pin from Broomhill Sands, Camber, East Sussex, and its context

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I n 1993 Mr D. Murfet donated a pin to Hastings Museum [Accession no. HASMG: 993.90] (Fig. 1). He had found the pin at ebb tide close to the Danger Area of the Rifle Range on the Broomhill sands where the waves appeared to have gouged out large troughs 0.3–0.6 m deep through the beach sand and shingle after a night of stormy, rough weather. The pin (Fig. 2:A) lay point downwards at TQ 9902 1780 between the High and Low Mean Water marks. In the same troughs musket shot, modern rifle bullets and pieces of shrapnel were also found.

The Middle Bronze Age pin is of Continental type. There is no known record of any other British find. All distinctive features of the pin are alien to known British types. It belongs to the type termed in German, *Spindelkopfnadel*. The important



Fig. 1. Bronze pin from Broomhill Sands, Camber.

features are the two-part assembly of shaft and 'spindle' head, the ribbed collar on the underside of the head, and the arcuate decoration on the upper surface. These are all well-matched on Continental pins from central Europe to Poland, although, as yet, few parallels for all three features together have been found. The parallels are dated between late Tumulus Culture and early Urnfield, *c*. 1400–1100 $_{\rm BC}$. There is a similar series of disk-headed pins in Ireland, but they do not exhibit the specific features mentioned above (Needham 1995).

It is worth considering how the pin came to be at



Fig. 2. Location of Bronze Age material in relationship to the historic coastline.

Broomhill Sands. The Romney Marsh area was formed primarily by wave action dominating from the south-west and bringing flint pebbles from the Sussex shoreline to form shingle spits and ridges across the bay (Eddison 1983). Sedimentation in the relatively calm water between the shingle spits which run north-east to south-west was a secondary factor in building up the land (Robinson 1988). It is possible, therefore, that the pin was washed along by the sea with shingle derived from erosion of the Sussex shoreline further west.

The movement of shingle has necessitated the construction of sea defences from about the late 13th century, and approximately half the present coastline of the Romney Marsh area is defended by sea walls. Since the 1950s these walls have been protected by shingle feeding for which the material is likely to have been brought from Nook Point and the area of the foreshore west of the Rother (Robinson 1988). The pin could have been transported in the shingle during beach recharge at Broomhill Sands.

However, despite some evidence of marine corrosion, the pin is in good condition (Needham 1995). It is not heavily abraded or broken as might have been expected had it been moved in shingle either slowly over a long period of time, or quickly in the bucket of a modern machine. The pin's condition suggests that it was originally deposited in the general area of Broomhill Sands and, therefore, that the sand and shingle bars forming this part of the coastline were in place by 1400–1100 BC.

Four other relevant finds have been made in the area. Five bronze low-flanged axes dated to *c*. 1800–1600 BC were found during gravel working at NGR TR 0466 2194 (Fig. 2:D). They lay at about 4 m O(rdnance) D(atum) in an area stratigraphically divided between deep deposits of shingle and clays overlaid in places by a thin layer of brown clay-loam (Needham 1988). In this report Needham discusses other Bronze Age finds in the context of the land-form during the Bronze Age.

A barbed-and-tanged arrowhead and three flint flakes were found at NGR 0229 2051 (Fig. 2:C) in 1991 during excavations by the Field Archaeology Unit of University College, London, at the Brett Gravel plant site south-west of Lydd. The flints were found on the top of a gravel ridge after topsoil stripping. The arrowhead belongs to Green's Sutton 'B' type and can be dated typologically to the second millenium BC (Green 1980)

Using a metal detector, Mr B. Waterhouse found a late Bronze Age faceted socketed axe at NGR TR 0681 2655 in the area of St Mary in the Marsh. It was found 70 mm below ground in the topsoil of a flat field that is used for turf production. The axe was examined by Mr K. Parfitt of Canterbury Archaeological Trust. He suggested that it was similar to Pearce's figure 19b with a date of 600–500 $_{\rm BC}$ (Pearce 1984). The axe was returned to the farmer, Mr Brian Frith, Warren Farm Cottage, Dymchurch Road.

At a point NGR TQ 995 193 (Fig. 2:B) at Tishy's Sewer, Broomhill, just north of the pin findspot, a sample of limus (Q2651) immediately above the flint cobble shingle on the floor of a shingle low at *c*. 0.8 m OD, was taken (Tooley & Switsur 1988). Calibration of the dates given (courtesy of Dr Mark Gardiner, South Eastern Archaeological Services) yielded a date of cal.Bc 1749–1625 at one sigma (Stuiver & Reimer 1993). At the same place, a sample of limus (Q2652) immediately subjacent to the brackish water lagoonal clay of stratum 4, *c*. +0.9 OD, was taken (Tooley & Switsur 1988). Calibration of the dates given yielded a date of cal.Bc 1328 at one sigma (Stuiver & Reimer 1993).

The pin dated at 1400–1100 $_{\rm BC}$ by comparison with parallels is therefore considered to have been found in the vicinity in which it was originally deposited. The existence of the coastline at this date accords well with the dates of finds in the surrounding area.

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Later prehistoric flintwork from Valley Dip, Seaford, East Sussex

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INTRODUCTION

 ${\bf B}$ etween 1987 and 1990, a new housing development on the north-western outskirts of Seaford, East Sussex was being extended along the north-west slope of a reclaimed estuarine valley, between 'Grand Avenue' and 'Valley Dip', and eventually just beyond the latter (Fig. 1). During this time Ed and Biddy Jarzembowski, together with Peter and Joyce Austen, collected a large quantity of prehistoric flintwork, together with some fire-fractured flint and a few sherds of pottery. Although the flintwork was spread along the length of the valley side, it did appear to be centred on TQ481005. Visits to several diggings on the north-east side of the valley failed to yield flintwork, possibly because the previous phases of building work had



Fig. 1. Location map, showing the location of the area from which the flintwork was recovered at Valley Dip.

removed any archaeological layers.

The geology comprises an Upper Chalk valley side with evidence of solifluction and with outcrops of sandy Clay-withflints, and the valley bottom shows a build-up of hillwash deposits resulting from erosion down the valley sides.

Only one possible feature was noted during the development. A concentration of fire-fractured flint, reddened iron-stone and fragments of charcoal covering an area of 1.0×0.4 metres at a depth of 0.18 metres. This may represent a hearth of unknown date.

The finds, field notes and archive, have been deposited at the Museum of Sussex Archaeology, Lewes and are discussed below.

THE FINDS

FLINT

During the fieldwork at Valley Dip, 984 pieces of worked flint were recovered, and are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. The flint.

Debitage	Number
Flakes	620
Bladelets	28
Axe-thinning flakes	10
Axe-sharpening flakes	2
Polished axe flakes	5
Shattered pieces	96
Sub total	770
Single-platform flake cores	19
Two-platform flake cores	20
Three-platform flake cores	5
Single-platform bladelet cores	3
Two-platform bladelet core	1
Core tablets	2
Crested blades	2
Core rejuvenation flakes	7
Subtotal	59
Total debitage	829
Implements	Number
Implements End scrapers	Number 69
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers	Number 69 13
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers	Number 69 13 7
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers	Number 69 13 7 2
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools	Number 69 13 7 2 5
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Miscellaneous retouched pieces	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 1 6
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Miscellaneous retouched pieces Burins	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 1 6 2
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Miscellaneous retouched pieces Burins Transverse arrowhead	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 1 6 2 1
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Miscellaneous retouched pieces Burins Transverse arrowhead Axe roughout	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 2 1 1
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Burins Transverse arrowhead Axe roughout Picks	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 2 1 1 3
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Miscellaneous retouched pieces Burins Transverse arrowhead Axe roughout Picks Fabricator	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 2 1 1 3 1
Implements End scrapers Side scrapers Hollow scrapers Button scrapers Combination tools Piercers Notched pieces Knives Bifacially retouched piece Burins Transverse arrowhead Axe roughout Picks Fabricator Hammerstones	Number 69 13 7 2 5 8 19 6 1 6 2 1 1 3 1 11

The raw material

The flint found at Valley Dip is of three types. The first type is a grey, blue-grey to blue-black flint, with some of the grey pieces having a whitish-grey speckle. This type of flint, which makes up the largest proportion of the worked flint in this assemblage, is commonly found as nodules on Clay-with-flint outcrops on the South Downs, but could also have come from the colluvial deposits in the immediate area of Valley Dip. The second type of flint derives from water-rolled pebbles, possibly from either a riverine source, as suggested for the similar type (Type B) at Bishopstone (Bell 1977), or, more likely, from a coastal source. The third type corresponds to Bell's Type C from Bishopstone, and is a stained green-brown colour typical of the flint from the basal Tertiary pebble bed on the chalk, residual examples of which occur locally. Only a small number of pieces of worked flint were of this type.

The debitage

A large proportion of the flintwork found was debitage, comprising mainly hard hammer-struck flakes. Less than 1% of the flakes were soft hammer-struck, although all of the bladelets and 27% of the blades were produced with a soft hammer. Most of the flakes were short and squat, with large bulbs of percussion and butts. There was a high proportion of hinge fractures and miss-hits. A very high proportion of all of the flakes recovered has cortex present, with the shorter, stubbier flakes more likely to have cortex remaining on them. However, by contrast the blades and bladelets, and to a lesser extent the longer flakes, have little or no cortex present. Longer flakes are more likely to have been retouched (13% of the longer flakes were retouched, whereas only 8% of the shorter squat flakes had been retouched), and most of the piercer, notched and knife-type implements had been manufactured on longer flakes.

The small and squat size of the majority of the flakes may be a result of the raw material locally available. The nodules that were being collected may have been of a small size, so that only small squat flakes could be struck from them. It is also significant that the major implement type found in the assemblage is the end scraper, manufactured on small rounded flakes. Was best use being made of the available raw material, or was the raw material being selected because scrapers of this size and shape were required for specific tasks that were being carried out on the site?

Four of the cores were one- and two-platform bladelet cores and together with the two core tablets found, probably date to the Mesolithic period. One of the two-platform flake cores has its platforms at 90° to one another, and displays some evidence of platform preparation. This, together with the crested blades, is typical of earlier Neolithic period core reduction techniques. However, the remainder of the cores comprise one-, two- and three-platform flake cores, few of which have any sign of the platform having been prepared. A number of the single platform cores appear to have only had a small number of flakes removed from them before being discarded (Fig. 2:2). Some of the cores were subsequently used as hammerstones, with abrasion on one or more surfaces. There is a very high proportion of cores to flakes amongst the material recovered from Valley Dip.

Also found amongst the debitage was evidence for the production and use of axes in the Neolithic period. A number of axe-thinning flakes suggests that axes, and other core tools, were being manufactured or repaired here. The axe-sharpening



Fig. 2. The flintwork: 1) Hassocks adze; 2) core, 3-4) piercers, 5-6) notched pieces.



Fig. 3. The flintwork: 7–11) end scrapers; 12) hollow scraper; 13) combination tool.

flakes, and flakes from polished flint axes, also show that axes were being used, damaged and modified here during the Neolithic period.

The implements

Scrapers were the predominant type of implement found (Table 1) at Valley Dip, and of the scraper types, end scrapers were the most common. A few end scrapers were manufactured on blades and long flakes (Fig. 3:7), and may date to the earlier Neolithic period, but the majority were produced on the shorter rounded squat flakes (Fig. 3:8–11). A smaller number of side scrapers manufactured on longer flakes, and a few hollow scrapers (Fig. 3:12) were also found. Five combination tools, two scraper/piercers (Fig. 3:13) and three scraper/notched pieces, were recovered and are typical of this implement type introduced in the later Neolithic period. Most of the scrapers found have abrupt retouch. However, a small number do not appear to have any retouch, but are heavily abraded around the scraping edge. Some of the larger scrapers are worn and abraded along the side and appear to have been hafted.

Other implements found at Valley Dip include piercers, manufactured on both long and short flakes (Fig. 2:3–4), and notched pieces on long flakes and blades (Fig. 2:5–6). A small number of knives were found, together with two bifacially worked pieces; one a fragment from an invasively retouched knife (Fig. 4:15), and the other a fragment from a possible ovate or laurel leaf.

A single oblique type transverse arrowhead (Fig. 4:14) was found, and amongst the debitage a shattered piece of flint may have been intended as a blank for a barbed-and-tanged arrowhead, before it was miss-hit.

Amongst the core implements are three picks, two of which may be Mesolithic in date. One of these (Fig. 2:1) is a Hassocks adze, the other was smaller. A single axe roughout suggests some axe production in the Neolithic period may have taken place nearby.

In addition to the fire-fractured flint from the hearth feature, 95 pieces of fire-fractured flint weighing 3542 grams were collected at Valley Dip. From amongst the worked flint, three end scrapers, a flake and one shattered piece were also fire-fractured.

THE POTTERY

A small quantity of pottery sherds was recovered from Valley Dip, and are summarized in Table 2. The following fabrics were identified:

Roman

1. Soapy grog-tempered. East Sussex Ware.

Medieval

- Oxidized sandy ware, with small irregular flint inclusions. Traces of a green glaze on some sherds.
- 3. Oxidized sandy ware, no visible inclusions.

Post-medieval

- 4. Stoneware.
- 5. Earthenware.

Table 2. The pottery.

Fabric	Number of sherds
1	3
2	8
3	4
4	1
5	2
Total	18

DISCUSSION

In the Mesolithic period the local flint resources were being exploited, as demonstrated by the bladelet cores, core tablets and bladelets found. There are also Mesolithic picks, which suggest that activities other than exploitation of the flint, were



Fig. 4. The flintwork: 14) transverse arrowhead; 15) invasively-retouched knife fragment. (Drawn by Jane Russell.)

also taking place here. However, there is a distinct lack of any typical Mesolithic blade or flake implements, which might be expected to occur on an activity site, so rather than suggesting temporary or seasonal occupation perhaps the picks were also associated with the exploitation of the flint. Similar Mesolithic flint exploitation elsewhere on the South Downs has been suggested, such as at East and West Hills, Pyecombe (Butler 1988; 1993).

In the Early Neolithic period there is little evidence for extensive activity at Valley Dip. The single core and crested blades, typically Early Neolithic in date, would suggest occasional exploitation of the local flint. However, work on Rookery Hill, Bishopstone, about one kilometre to the west of Valley Dip (Fig. 1:B) suggested that an unenclosed earlier Neolithic settlement was located there (Bell 1977), although a radiocarbon date did indicate that the activity extended into the later Neolithic period.

The later Neolithic saw a dramatic change, away from what was probably seasonal exploitation of the flint in the earlier periods, to a much more intensive and continuous use of the downland. There is a vast increase in the quantity of debitage: the large number of cores, hammerstones and waste hard hammer-struck flakes shows that the local flint was then being exploited more vigorously, but with less care taken in the selection of raw material, than in the preceding periods. The number and range of implements found indicates that not only was the flint being collected and manufactured into implements here, but it was also being utilized in the immediate locality. The dominant implement types at nearby Rookery Hill were scrapers and serrated flakes, with the serrated flakes predominating in the Early Neolithic contexts. The range of implements found at Valley Dip, such as scrapers, notched pieces and piercers, but no serrated flakes, indicates that a different and possibly wider range of tasks were being carried out here in the later Neolithic period.

The valley is one of two bounding the promontory of Hawth Hill; both valleys have abandoned sea cliffs at their southern ends showing they were also inlets (Castleden 1982; pers. observ.). The flat ground fronting the sea cliffs is composed of Ouse muds representing floodplain and marine marginal environments (Jarzembowski 1988). A buried beach in the Bishopstone inlet was dated to the Iron Age (Bell & Jarzembowski 1990). If the Ouse mouth migrated west to east behind a bar, then it is reasonable to speculate that it did not round Hawth Hill during the earlier periods discussed here. The lower part of the valley would therefore have been open to the sea.

The range of flintwork found at Valley Dip does suggest that there was probably a later Neolithic settlement somewhere in the immediate vicinity. It is likely that the north-west slope of this estuarine valley, with its access to marine resources, may have provided an ideal location for such a settlement. In addition, a site located here would have been sheltered from prevailing westerly winds by the hill crest. It is also possible that the superficial deposits on the chalk could have provided other valuable resources such as freshwater, drainage, better soil and may even have supported woodland. All of which would have encouraged the establishment of a settlement here.

Acknowledgements

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A Bronze Age enclosure near Ditchling Beacon, East Sussex

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During 1990 Paul Smith, then Assistant County Archaeologist for East Sussex, identified on an aerial photograph a possible enclosure and adjacent field boundaries to the west of Ditchling Beacon at TQ 3265 1280 (Fig. 1). A fieldwalking survey to identify the extent and date of the enclosure was arranged with the author.

The enclosure is on an outcrop of Clay-with-flints overlying the Upper Chalk and is situated on the south-facing slope of Ditchling Beacon overlooking a dry valley, Hogtrough Bottom. The enclosure shows as an oval crop mark orientated south-west-north-east and is approximately 130 metres long and 60 metres wide (Fig. 1C). There appears to be an entrance midway along its southern side, with a possible field boundary entering the enclosure from the south-east at the same place. Within the enclosure there are feint traces of possible hut circles. A probable field boundary runs from the south-west side of the enclosure and may be part of the field system visible in the fields to the west of the site. Traces of another field boundary ran north-east from the eastern end of the enclosure. The presence of these features is also indicated by changes in soil colour. Chalk rubble in the ploughsoil around the enclosure might indicate the former presence of chalk banks, now ploughed out.

The fieldwalking was carried out between November 1990 and January 1991. Transects were set at ten-metre intervals and divided into thirty-metre collection units. Only the collection units that produced more than the average number of artefacts were plotted to show the distribution of flintwork and fire-fractured flint. However, each implement and pottery sherd recovered is shown. (Fig. 2)

Flintwork was also recovered to the north of the enclosure, on the crest of the ridge running up to Ditchling Beacon, and centred on TQ329129.



Fig. 1. Location of the enclosure near Ditchling Beacon.

THE FINDS

The fieldwalking recovered a large quantity of flintwork and a small number of badly eroded pottery sherds.

THE FLINT

The assemblage included a small quantity of Mesolithic and early Neolithic pieces, but the majority can be dated to the later Neolithic and Bronze Age.

The raw material

Two types of flint were used in the manufacture of most of the pieces:

a) Blue-grey/black flint with some patination and cortex present. Found as nodules in outcrops of Clay-with-flints along the Downs.

b) Light-grey/white flint, usually patinated and generally having some cortex present. Found in the chalk either through mining or where outcrops of flint have been exposed.

The later Mesolithic and early Neolithic assemblage *Debitage*

The assemblage includes a quantity of soft hammer-struck blades and bladelets, together with a few soft hammer-struck flakes, manufactured from good quality flint of type a). These





display thin butts and minimal bulbs, and generally have scars at the proximal end resulting from the preparation of the core platform prior to removal. A small number of the blades have abrupt retouch, and some are truncated. In addition, there is a single burin spall and a crested blade, which can be dated to the Mesolithic and early Neolithic periods respectively. A possible early Neolithic core, with two prepared platforms at right angles to one another, is also present.

Implements

Four of the end scrapers found in the survey probably date to this phase. These include a small end scraper on a blade (Fig. 3:1), and another which appears to be a broken end scraper on a blade. A single notched blade (Fig. 3:2) was also found; the scars on the proximal end resulting from platform preparation show this to be Mesolithic/Early Neolithic in date.

A single microlith, retouched partially along one edge, was recovered during the survey (Fig. 3:3). Microliths were replaced in the Early Neolithic period by leaf-shaped arrowheads, an example of which was also recovered (Fig. 3:4). A small pick (Fig. 3:5) and a fabricator (Fig. 3:6) found outside the survey area at TQ 329129, also belong to this earlier phase.

The later Neolithic and Bronze Age assemblage *Debitage*

Hard hammer-struck flakes, manufactured on flint of both types and of any quality, predominate the assemblage. Most have some cortex present, which indicates that they have come from cores which have not been extensively worked. The hard hammer-struck flakes have wide butts and prominent bulbs, a large number also have hinge fractures. A small number of soft hammer-struck flakes, which tend to be smaller, are also



Fig. 3. Mesolithic and Early Neolithic flintwork: 1) end scraper; 2) notched blade; 3) microlith; 4) leaf-shaped arrowhead; 5) pick; 6) fabricator.

present, and probably result from the production of implements. The majority of the flakes have greater breadth than length, but longer flakes here are more likely to have been retouched. Approximately 4% of all flakes have been retouched (e.g. Fig. 4:7), with most of the retouch being abrupt or semi-abrupt. A large proportion of the debitage (14%) comprises shattered pieces/chips, again indicative of implement production and also usage. A small quantity (<1% of debitage) of axe-thinning flakes was also found (Table 1), and includes two large cortical blade-like initial axe-thinning flakes.

All of the cores are either single platform cores which have had a number of removals detached from a suitable unprepared platform before being discarded (Fig. 4:8), or two platform cores (Fig. 4:9) which were discarded when no further removals could be made.

Implements

Scrapers were the most common form of implement found in the survey, comprising 65% of all the implements recovered (Table 1). The most frequent type was the end scraper which made up 81% of the total. These varied from small end scrapers finely worked with abrupt or semi-abrupt retouch (Fig. 4:10– 13) to end scrapers on large hard hammer-struck flakes (Fig. 4:14), some of which were abraded around the working edge rather than retouched (Fig. 4:15). One of the common forms of end scraper found was manufactured on very broad flakes, resulting in a wide scraping edge (Fig. 4:16). A small proportion of the larger end scrapers have abrasion on the sides of the flake, suggesting they may have been hafted (Fig. 4:17). In addition to the end scrapers, there were a few side scrapers (Fig. 5:18) and end/side scrapers (Fig. 5:19), together with a single hollow scraper (Fig. 5:20). A single scraper/piercer combination tool was also found.

The piercers (Table 1) were either manufactured on small flakes, or on very large flakes (Fig. 5:21 & 22); the difference in size may indicate different functions. A small number of notched flakes was found (Fig. 5:24), most had very abraded notches. A single backed knife (Fig. 5:23) was also recovered.

A polished axe fragment (Fig. 6:25) appears to have been reworked, possibly to facilitate hafting, or perhaps after breakage. Similar examples have been found at Bishopstone (Bell 1977) and Bullock Down (Drewett 1982). Another fragment from a polished axe may have been a resharpening flake. An axe roughout (Fig. 6:26) was recovered at NGR 329129, just outside the area surveyed; this may have been discarded because of a flaw in the flint. Two bifacially worked pieces (Fig. 6:27 & 28), one of which is additionally retouched along its edge, may be either ovates or some other form of chopping tool.

Discussion

The flintwork found in this assemblage is typical of that found on later Neolithic and Bronze Age sites. The large quantity of



Fig. 4. Later Neolithic and Bronze Age flintwork: 7) retouched flake; 8–9) cores; 10–17) end scrapers.



Fig. 5. Later Neolithic and Bronze Age flintwork: 18–20 scrapers; 21–2) piercers; 23) knife; 24) notched piece.

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Table 1. The flintwork.

Debitage (excluding cores)	
Flakes	1327
Blades/bladelets	27
Shattered pieces	221
Axe-thinning flakes	14
Burin spall	1
Crested blade	1
Core tablet	1
Core rejuvenation flake	1
Subtotal	1593
Cores	
Single platform flake cores	3
Two platform flake cores	5
Subtotal	8
Implements	
Leaf-shaped arrowhead	1
End scrapers	73
Side scrapers	4
End/side scrapers	5
Hollow scraper	1
Combination tool	1
Piercers	6
Knife	1
Notched flakes	8
Microlith	1
Ovate/chopping tool	2
Fabricators	2
Polished axe fragments	2
Axe rough-out	1
Picks	2
Misc. retouched pieces	10
Hammerstone	1
Subtotal	121
Total flintwork	1722
Fire-fractured flint	569

debitage suggests that there was large-scale working of flint taking place here. The ratio of cores to flakes/blades (1:167) does seem rather low, but this may be due either to a collection bias, the rough cores of this period not having been recognized, or to retention of the cores for further working elsewhere.

It is certain that some of the flint production was taking place in the later Neolithic: for example the axe production as evidenced by the rough-out and thinning flakes found. However, if the assemblage is compared with other Neolithic assemblages it is clear that there are differences. At Bishopstone the most common implements were serrated flakes (Bell 1977), and at Bullock Down there were roughly equal numbers of scrapers to knives/cutting flakes (Holgate 1988). At Ditchling Beacon, the predominance of scrapers and piercers amongst the implements, together with the crudeness of the majority of the flintwork, are more characteristic of a later Bronze Age lithic assemblage (Ford *et al.* 1984; Whittle *et al.* 1993).

THE POTTERY

Only six small badly eroded sherds of pottery were found during the survey. Such a small number is probably due to the destructive action of the plough, together with the acidic nature of the Clay-with-flints soil.

- Fabric 1. Grog-tempered ware with frequent small to medium sized calcined flint inclusions. Holes from burnt-out organic material are visible. They have an oxidized exterior and reduced core. (2 sherds). Early Bronze Age.
- Fabric 2. Grog-tempered ware with occasional small flint inclusions. Holes from burnt-out organic material. Generally oxidized exterior and reduced core. (4 sherds). Early Bronze Age.

DISCUSSION

The first evidence for human activity at Ditchling Beacon occurs in the later Mesolithic period when the Clay-with-flints was being exploited for flint by hunter-gatherer groups, probably on a seasonal basis. This activity is consistent with that in other Clay-with-flint outcrops on the South Downs such as West Hill, Pyecombe (Butler 1988; 1993) and Red Hill, Brighton (Butler & Holgate forthcoming). Similar exploitation continued into the earlier Neolithic period. The flint recovered from the ridge above the site contains a greater proportion of Mesolithic and earlier Neolithic pieces than that recovered from the lower slopes during the survey. This suggests that most of the activity in these periods was centred on the top of the ridge where good quality flint nodules could be extracted for the production of microliths and other implements. The top also provided a good vantage point overlooking the Weald and dry valleys of the South Downs.

It is likely that the area was exploited throughout the later Neolithic period as well, with possible axe production taking place. The broken polished axes, knife and scrapers suggest woodland clearance and other agricultural and food production activity. Although there may have been selective woodland clearance in the later Neolithic period, it is likely that largescale clearance did not take place until the Early or Middle Bronze Age (Allen 1988). During the Bronze Age there was a substantial increase in activity, as indicated by the large amount of hard hammer-struck flintwork. The centre of activity moved off the ridge top to the southern side of the hill where an enclosure, probably associated with adjoining field systems, was located. Flint continues to be used as a major resource for the production of scrapers, piercers and notched implements. Although these implements are distributed across the whole slope, the greatest concentration occurs around the enclosure (Fig. 2:B) where downslope erosion has concentrated them at the lower end of it. Debitage is also centred on the enclosure (Fig. 2:A) which suggests that flaking was occurring in or adjacent to it. This distribution can also be seen with the firefractured flint (Fig. 2:D) and the pottery (Fig. 2:C), both of which occur almost exclusively in and around the enclosure.

This site appears to combine elements of both industrial and domestic activities in the same location (Schofield 1991). Flint was being worked inside the enclosure, with the debitage then being discarded, possibly in pits or an external ditch. It is unlikely that the flint debitage would have been left lying on the ground, especially if the inside of the enclosure was being used for habitation. Once produced, the implements were being utilized at the same location. The majority of the implements found give the impression of having been produced as and when required, with little skill and care other than that required to achieve a particular type of implement. None of the implements appear to have been heavily abraded by use, and it would appear that having served their immediate purpose they were discarded. This suggests that flint implements had no real value and importance, probably because of the increase in availability of bronze tools.

There are a number of other Bronze Age sites in the area, with the Plumpton Plain settlement three kilometres to the east (Holleyman & Curwen 1935), and numerous round barrows nearby. On Western Brow, only 1.5 kilometres east of the Ditchling Beacon enclosure, was another oval enclosure (Toms 1927); this was similar in shape but much smaller, and again was situated on a south-facing slope. The field system west and south from the site (Holleyman 1935) is extensive. Although it is not certain whether it is connected with the site, one of the field boundaries appears to run right up to the enclosure (Fig. 1:C). It therefore appears that this new enclosure fits in with the existing settlement pattern for the middle to late Bronze Age on the South Downs, although only excavation can provide the final answer.

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The Offham brooch

by Helen Poole Barbican House, Lewes

In June 1995 the Coroner for the Lewes district brought into Barbican House an item for identification. It had been found with the use of a metal detector near Coombe House Farm, Offham. As the object was mainly of gold, the laws of treasure trove applied and the Coroner wanted an expert opinion, so it was taken to the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum.

The find was examined in their Research Laboratory and proved to be about 76% gold with a weight of 8.62 grams. It is set with six small garnets, fixed in a white plaster packing material. As can be seen from the illustration, the brooch is circular with a transversal pin. The circle is decorated with beading on the inner and outer edge, and there is lettering on the front and back.

John Cherry then examined the brooch which he thought was made in England in the second half of the 13th century. The main interest comes from the lettering. The front reads: 'IVA . MTI . N . UNO . ANI'. The back is inscribed: 'AMOR . IUNTUANU . NTUI'. Mr Cherry's view was that the engraver started off in Latin, which must have been an unfamiliar language to him, and became increasingly confused. Interestingly, the owner of the brooch was unlikely to have been fluent in Latin either, or presumably the text would have been reworked to achieve the desired result.



The Offham brooch was not found in a context of relevant artefacts, but similar examples are known from many English sites. They can be seen in use in the sculptures of Wells Cathedral dating from 1235-40. The pictorial representations of these jewelled circular brooches suggest that they were worn usually at the throat, where the blunt pin passed through two prepared slits and fastened the opening of the undergarment. They could also be worn at the shoulder, and were a common feature of 12th- and 13th-century costume. They could be worn by either sex, though one comparable gold brooch, found at Writtle in Essex, was made for a lady in the 13th century, as it carries a legend which has been translated as 'I am a brooch to guard the breast, so that no ruffian may put his hand there.' A literary example is also to be found in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. The Nun in the Prologue was described in the Petworth Manuscript version as having

... a broche of gold ful shene

On which ther was first writen a crowned A

And after amor vincit omnia.

Whether or not love conquered all of her, the motto has always been popular, and the Offham brooch may be a misinterpretation of this. Alternatively, the second word on the reverse may relate to the Latin *iunctare*, meaning 'to join'.

The function of brooches such as the Offham example is not in doubt, and it is also possible to work out their method of manufacture. A note in *Archaeologia* (XIV, 275) in 1800 described the finding in Norfolk of a mould for a brooch of this type. Plate XLVIII by James Basire for the Society of Antiquaries shows this block of hardened clay, with impressions for the pin and for both sides of an inscribed circular brooch. The writer speculated that the mould was for small silver brooches, possibly as early as the 12th century.

The Offham brooch was the subject of a Coroner's Inquest at the Brighton Magistrates' Court on 19 October 1995. The Inquest decided that it was not buried with an intent to repossess and the brooch was retured to the finder. At the time of writing, no further information is available as to its ultimate destination.

REFERENCE

Archaeologia XIV, 275. Illustration by Sandra Battley.

A very long quoit-headed pin and a decorated annular armring from the Newhaven area, East Sussex

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&

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A quoit-headed pin and a decorated annular armring were found by Mr Peter Dutton in the autumn of 1995 in a field to the north of Newhaven. The objects were located using a metaldetector and were found together at an approximate depth of 200 mm below the surface of the ploughed field. According to



Fig. 1. A quoit-headed pin of the late Middle Bronze Age found near Newhaven.



Fig. 2. A decorated late Middle Bronze Age annular armring found with the quoit-headed pin.

the finder the armring was found lying within the oval head of the pin, which itself lay in a horizontal position. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to ascertain the exact location of the find-spot. At the time of writing the finds were still in the possession of the finder.

The quoit-headed pin (Fig. 1) is complete but in six pieces. It is 555 mm long overall and made of copper alloy. The hoop is a distorted oval with maximum external measurements of 180×160 mm. The band of the hoop is flat with raised flanges giving it an 'H'-shaped appearance in section. There is 'nick' decoration around both sides of the raised flanges. The top of the shaft of the pin is flat with 'nick' decoration on the edges and then changes to a roughly round form *c*. 5 mm in diameter. This round section of the shaft is undecorated and the final 45 mm is curved to one side.

The armring (Fig. 2) is made of copper alloy. It is annular and 'D'-shaped in section. An uneven seam runs round the inside of the armring with tin-coloured bands visible at several points. The external diameter varies between 175-9 mm and the band is 13-17 mm wide. There is one raised plain segment

(representing mock terminals) on the band as well as seven panels of incised and punched decoration. The panels are separated by incised vertical lines and lines of hatching in herring-bone fashion. The panels to either side of the plain segment are each divided into six arcs of which three are infilled with hatching. In one of these panels the hatched and unhatched arcs alternate and in the other there are two plain arcs next to each other. Four of the other panels are decorated with pairs of arcs of punched hatching, some of which are still enclosed within incised lines. The seventh panel has a triangle of punched hatching within incised lines. This occupies one half of the panel. In the other half faint punched hatching can be seen in what looks like an unsuccessful attempt at another triangle. The shorter length of the seventh panel possibly indicates a design error. The decoration shows considerable signs of wear.

The quoit-headed pin constitutes a pin type that is peculiarly insular in form, and has no continental analogues (Rowlands 1976, 86). Seventeen such pins were recorded (Lawson 1979a) from Middle Bronze Age hoards; their distribution is restricted to southern England below a line between the Thames and the Severn estuaries, apart from four find-spots forming an isolated group on either side of the Fens in Norfolk and Northamptonshire. These pins conventionally represent the first indigenous use and manufacture of bronze pins for dress fastening and adornment in this country. The example described above is the longest specimen yet found; (the previous longest quoit-headed pin measures some 435 mm and came from the Boughton Fen (Norfolk) hoard (Lawson 1979a, 122)). Five quoit-headed pins, including the Newhaven example, are now known from Sussex. They are all of the same type (with flat hoops, 'nick' decoration and rounded shafts). Three pins were found in the East Dean hoard, along with two Sussex loops (Anonymous 1936), while a single quoit-headed pin was found in a barrow at Hanley Cross, along with another pair of loops and a more elaborate type of pin (Curwen 1954, 202)

Eight decorated annular armrings from southern England were described by Rowlands (1976, 95). They are closely related to decorated penannular armrings, the difference between them almost certainly relating to differing techniques of manufacture rather than any formal or functional distinction (Rowlands 1971, 186). An analysis of the decorative motifs on both annular and penannular armrings indicates many common motifs (Rowlands 1971, 197). Significantly more annular examples are known now, including the five decorated armrings from a hoard near Chichester, the single example from excavations at the Lavant, Chichester (Kenny 1993), and the Newhaven example. (A very useful discussion of both penannular and annular decorated armrings has been published by Lawson (1979b) and Needham (1989); the latter author conflates both forms and defines them as the Liss type, after the penannular armrings found at Liss, in Hampshire.)

The majority of the armrings present a 'D' (or modified 'D') -shaped cross-section. The decoration on the Newhaven specimen, particularly the use of vertical lines to separate decorative panels and the deployment of mirrored arcs (or cable-lining: *see* Rowlands 1971, 197) can be paralleled on armrings from Liss (Hants.), Norton Fitzwarren (Somerset: Needham 1989) and the river Thames (possibly from Southwark?). The opposed 'dogtooth' ornament on the Liss ring looks like a relative of the hatched arcs (in reality just sinuous examples of hatched triangles) on the Newhaven

artefact. The penannular rings from these locations (with the exception of the Norton Fitzwarren annular pair) are slightly tapered towards the terminals; in the case of examples from the Thames and Liss these terminals are touching. In the Newhaven ring apparent 'false terminals' are marked by an undecorated raised hump. It is interesting to note that there are similar 'false terminals' on the armring from Hunstanton (Norfolk), giving this annular example the appearance of being penannular (Lawson 1979b, 50). The undecorated raised hump, and indeed the overall pattern of decoration on the Newhaven example, can be closely paralleled by an armring from Val-de-Reuil in Upper Normandy (Billard et al. 1993a, 44). The use of vertical lines to separate decorative panels, a common format on decorated armrings from both sides of the Channel, is used on all five rings from the hoard near Chichester; two of these possess very similar decoration, size and weight, and seem to be a pair (Fullwood pers. comm.). Decorated armrings have often been found in pairs, presumably one worn on each arm by the same individual.

The majority of specimens from this small group of decorated annular (and penannular) armrings, restricted to the southern counties, may have been manufactured in one or more centres of production in southern England; it is possible that a few examples are imports. There were clearly centres of production for such armrings just across the Channel in Brittany and in Upper Normandy (Briard 1965, 131; Billard 1993b, 84; Billard 1995, 180) from where such imports could have originated. Similar decorative motifs on both southern English and northern French examples illustrate that the manufacturers of such armrings, on both sides of the Channel, were acquainted with a common artistic tradition. They can, however, be regarded as belonging to a broader North European tradition which nevertheless embraced many regional schools of production (Lawson 1979b, 51; Needham 1989,3 6).

Dating for these two artefacts from the Newhaven area would place them towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age, with a conventional date falling in the 12th century BC (Lawson 1979b, 51, 64). The extreme length of the quoit-headed pin raises some interesting speculation on how it was actually worn; several pins of this type have a slightly bent point, which may have occurred as a result of use.

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'Soe farr from thee as east and west': William Penn's prosecution as a popish recusant in 1682

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Among some miscellaneous title deeds formerly deposited with the Sussex Archaeological Society, and transferred to the West Sussex Record Office by the East Sussex Record Office in July 1993, is hitherto unrecorded evidence of a prosecution of William Penn as a popish recusant. The document¹ is a writ, dated at East Grinstead on 20 March 1682, addressed in the King's name to the Sheriff of Sussex. It required William Penn of Worminghurst, to come to the next Assizes to answer concerning trespass and contempt against the form of the statute for the discovering and repression of Popish Recusants.

It is well known that penal legislation against Catholics enacted between 1559 and 1791, and particularly statutes punishing rejection of the rites of the established church, could occasionally entrap some Protestant nonconformists and especially Quakers. Writs of praemunire facias, first created in 1353 and strengthened under the anti-Catholic legislation of 1581², 1587³ and 1593⁴ under Queen Elizabeth, and more especially 1605⁵ under King James I, required Catholic recusants who failed to attend the services of the established church to swear an oath of allegiance to the crown; and the statutes were invoked effectively against Quakers, because it was known that they would not swear an oath.⁶ The penalties of praemunire included imprisonment for life at the monarch's pleasure, loss of the monarch's protection, fines of £20 per month, and confiscation of all goods and two-thirds of lands if the fine was not paid.

The writ against William Penn was the eighth of a series of 27, all dated 20 March 1682. Of the five writs that related to matters of religion, some were for recusancy, some for offences against the Act for Uniformity and Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, and others for restraining nonconformists from settling within five miles of the capital. It seems reasonable to wonder why, when there was appropriate legislation at hand to deal with nonconformists, William Penn was not dealt with under it. And why, when a number of Quakers, including Penn himself, had already made representations to Parliament requesting toleration and affirming their loyalty to the crown, Penn, who was well-known to the authorities as a leading Quaker, was caught up in the anti-Catholic persecution which followed Titus Oates's announcement that he had discovered a Popish Plot to kill King Charles II.

Justices were instructed to administer an anti-papal oath, as prescribed by the 1605 Act, to all persons who absented themselves from their parish churches, and, as there was no provision for affirming in place of swearing the oath, Quakers were ensnared as well as Catholics. Penn had been aware of this threat to his co-religionists, and he and others petitioned the King on this very point. King Charles II had agreed that it was unreasonable that Quakers should be persecuted as recusants, but had referred Penn and his companions to Parliament for relief. As a result, Penn, George Whitehead and William Gibson were delegated by the Meeting for Sufferings to draw up a paper on Friends' suffering under the statute against recusants, and to present it to Parliament.⁷

Penn had faced charges of being a Papist earlier in his life, in spite of his *Seasonable Caveat against Popery* of 1670,⁸ written as a rejoinder to the Franciscan Christopher Davenport's *An Explanation of the Roman Catholic Belief* first published in 1656 and later reprinted.⁹ On 17 November 1677 Penn had complained to the Earl of Middlesex and Dorset of the activities of Sir Henry Goring of Highden and John Alfold of Offington, the Commissioners for recusants in Sussex, and how 'that of all Sussex, there can be found butt two Papists fitt for conviction, & by an ugly misfortune they happen to be both Quakers' [Penn and his wife Guilielma].¹⁰

John Gratton in a letter to Penn of 19 December 1678 had referred to an even more unlikely charge: 'they say thou art turned to bee a Jesuit and doth hide thy self or art fled thy Country; a thing soe farr from thee as East and West'.¹¹ Penn's name appeared on a Treasury Office List of Quakers that 'are prosecuted as Popish Recusants but in reality true Protestants' on 7 March 1679, which included 17 other Sussex Quakers living near Worminghurst, possibly members of the meeting held at his house.¹² A further irony was that Worminghurst, because of the nearby presence of the Shelley family, was wellknown as a centre of Catholic recusancy.

Penn's views of Catholicism, though never entirely consistent, tended towards toleration, and at the time of the Popish Plot he was brave enough to argue that Catholics, as well as Quakers, should not be persecuted for matters of conscience. In a speech to a Committee of Parliament on 22 March 1678, he argued:

for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an Emissary of Rome & in pay from the Pope, a man dedicating my endeavour to the Interest and advancement of that Party... Tis hard that we must bear the stripes of another Interest & be their proxy in punishment; but its worse that some men can please themselves, in such a sort of administration . . . I am far from thinking it fit that Papists should be whipt for their Conscience, because I declaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, No. For though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them hath (I know not by what direction) litt heavily upon us, & we complain; yet we do not mean, that any should take a fresh aim against them, or that they must come in our roome for we must give the liberty we ask, & cannot be false to our Principle, though it were to relieve ourselves.¹³

In a second speech to the same committee he argued: 'we think ourselves an usefull people, we are sure we are a peaceful people; yet if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish-Recusants, but as Protestant-Dissenters'.

The Papers of William Penn record that in October 1680 the Meeting for Sufferings determined to lobby at the second Whig Parliament, then beginning its term.14 Twenty-two Friends, including William Penn, each attended three sessions per week; they drafted and presented papers to protest against the harassment of Quakers as Roman Catholic recusants. Penn was probably the principal author of To the King Lords and Commons 15 in which the Quakers asked for a statute to give them relief from being persecuted as both Quakers and Catholics. Penn also composed an elaborate petition and the House of Lords drafted an Act to distinguish Protestant dissenters from Catholic recusants. The House of Commons passed a resolution to relieve Protestants from persecution under the Penal Laws, but Parliament was prorogued before either measure could become law.16 Nonetheless, Penn published at least four tracts - England's Great Interest of Spring 1679; One Project for the Good of England of 1679; A Declaration or Test to Distinguish Protestant Dissenters from Papists, and Popish Recusants of the same year, and Reasons why the Oaths should not be made Part of the Test Protestant Dissenters of 1680 arguing for religious toleration.

Penn was among 20 Quakers indicted at the Spring Assizes at Horsham in 1681.17 His case was referred to the Exchequer for enforcement but was dropped when he convinced the Lords of the Treasury that he was not a Catholic.¹⁸ The Lords of the Treasury signed his release on 30 April 1681, 'being very well satisfied that said Penn is not or ever was a Popish Recusant'.19 The Minutes of Meetings for Sufferings recorded that on 20 May 1681, 'William Penn brought here this day a Discharge from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for himselfe. Certifying he was no papist but a protestant & therefore ought to be discharg'd from a fine of 20li a month for a month's absence from Church which is to be entered in the Book of this Meetinge'.²⁰ And yet, in spite of all the evidence and the legal certificates proving that he was not a papist, only a year later, on 20 March 1682, William Penn received another summons for Popish recusancy.

It seems clear that the authorities found it easier to control Penn and his co-religionists by means of anti-Catholic legislation requiring the swearing of an oath, knowing that they would not take any oath administered, rather than by any legislation against dissenters. Unfortunately, no other record of the proceedings is known to have survived. The writ was endorsed: 'nothing by which he might be attached. Not found', and in view of his previous experiences of being summoned for popish recusancy, and the fact that he had sailed for America on 30 August 1681, it seems safe to assume that the proceedings against William Penn in March 1681/2 were not taken any further.

NOTES

- ¹ West Sussex Record Office, Add. MS. 37,103 no. 8.
- ² 23 Eliz. c.1, An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience.
- ³ 29 Eliz. c.6, An Act for the the more speedy and due execution of a statute made in the 23rd. year of the Queen's Majesty's reign.
- ⁴ 35 Eliz. c.2, An Act for the Better Discovery of Wicked and Seditious Persons Calling Themselves Catholics, but being Rebellious and Traitorous Subjects.
- ⁵ 3 James I. c.4, An Act for the Better Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants.
- ⁶ 'our meetings are very large and quiet and friends generally well, yet great sufferings upon the 1.23.29.35 of Eliz: and the 1:3 of James and I see not but that Sufferings hasten upon us more and more'. William Penn to George Keith and other Scottish Friends, c. 1677, printed in Richard S. Dunn & Mary Maples Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* I (1981), 375.
- ⁷ Dunn & Dunn, The Papers Of William Penn I (1981), 536.
- ⁸ William Penn, A Seasonable Caveat against Popery, or a Pamphlet, Entitled, an Explanation of the Roman-Catholick Belief, Briefly examined (1670).
- ⁹ See Revd John Berchmans Dockery, *Christopher Davenport: Friar and Diplomat*, (1960).
- ¹⁰ Lilly Library, Indiana University, USA, printed in Dunn & Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* I, (1981), 516, 517.
- ¹¹ Penn Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, printed in Dunn & Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* I (1981), 544, 545.
- ¹² Calendar of Treasury Books, 1676–1679 (1911), 1257.
- ¹³ 'William Penn's 2 Speeches before a Committee in the Parliament House the 22nd. of the month called March 1678', printed in Dunn & Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* I (1981), 534.
- ¹⁴ Dunn & Dunn, The Papers of William Penn 2 (1982), 50.
- ¹⁵ To the King Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled. The Case of the People called Quakers stated in Relation to their Late and Present Sufferings, Especially Against Old Statutes made Against Popish Recusants (1680).
- ¹⁶ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, Appendix, part II: The Manuscripts of the House of Lords: 1678–1688 (1887), 201–4.
- ¹⁷ Public Record Office, Assize 35 (Home Circuit) Sussex Assizes 1681.
- ¹⁸ William Charles Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (ed. Henry J. Cadbury, 1961), 100–104.
- ¹⁹ Calendar of Treasury Books, 1681–1685, 131.
- ²⁰ Minutes of Meetings of Sufferings, vol. 2, printed in Dunn & Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn* 2 (1982), 94.

A case of mistaken locality: John Bean of Clapham and his javelin men

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Clapham and Patching Cricket Club lay proud claim to a tradition of cricket in the two parishes dating back to the 18th century. The *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* of 22 July 1771 announced a match at Hurst made between Hurst and Patching and Portslade to be played on the following day.¹ H. F. and A. P. Squire in their *Pre-Victorian Sussex Cricket* record ten matches played at Clapham or by the Clapham Club between 1785 and 1791,² most of them featuring J. Bean, Bean's XI or Bean's Club. But there is no Mr Bean to be found in the recorded history of Clapham or Patching.

The Sussex Weekly Advertiser of 11 August 1788 reported that: 'the Cricket-Match played last Monday on our downs, the High-Sheriff, and ten of his Javelin men, against eleven gentlemen of this town, terminated in favour of the former. The first innings the losers got five notches [runs] a-head; the second gave many turns to the game, and ended two wickets in favour of the winners. It was an excellent match, and such as gave good satisfaction to the spectators. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales honoured the above match with his presence'.3 The High-Sheriff in 1788, whose team won the match, was one John Bean, and his javelin men the ordinary retinue of the sheriff who on ceremonial occasions carried spears or pikes and waited upon the judges at the assizes. No doubt it was the coupling of the high office of Mr Bean and the Prince's well-known love of the game that explained the Prince's presence on the Downs. A return match was played on Lewes Hill a week later on 11 August, but whether the Prince attended is not recorded.4

Mr Bean's team continued to play in the highest circles, as their next appearance was at Bourne Links on 6 August, when the teams were advertised as 'The Duke of York's XI versus Mr St Leger and Mr Bean's XI'.⁵ By 1791 his team was invariably described as Bean's Club, and, in that year, seven matches are recorded. 'On Wednesday next the 29th. of this instant June, a match will be played in Herstmonceux Park, for one hundred guineas, John Bean Esq.'s Club of Clapham, against Mr. Henry Porter's Club of Hooe'.⁶ The match proved to be a disappointment as it was left unfinished, and the food and drink ran out because of the size of the crowd. The *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* reported that:

they began to play at eleven o'clock, and at half past seven finished one innings each, in favour of Mr Porter forty-six runs. For some reasons of the gentlemen, the game was not played out; to the great disappointment of, at least, three thousand people. The returned game will be played, on Friday next, at Clapham. The numerous company who attended to be spectators of the cricket-match, which commenced on Wednesday last, in Herstmonceux Park, have expressed much dissatisfaction at the game not being played out, and feel themselves not a little hurt by the landlord's inattention to the *quantum sufficit* of provender, drink, and booth-room, of which they assert, there were not enough for a twentieth part of those who were ready and willing to partake of it. The landlords of Alfriston, may possibly profit a little from this hint.⁷ Mr Bean's club easily won the return match at Alfriston on 8 July, as it 'terminated so much in favour of the former, the first day, that the latter [Mr Porter's Club] did not judge it prudent to renew it the next'.⁸

On 19 July a match was advertised 'in Brig Field, near Alfriston, between the Club of John Bean Esq., with one picked man, and the parish of Chiddingly with four picked men'.⁹ The return on 27 July was 'played at Broad Oak in Chiddingly between the Club of John Bean, of Clapham, esq. (with Marchant and Tyral of Salehurst) against the parish of Chiddingly, (with Flint and Browne of Worth) and two others in the neighbourhood'.¹⁰

In August Mr Bean's Club went further afield. 'On Thursday last [18 August] was played, in a field belonging to Nicholas Gilbert, Esq., a match of cricket: the Club of John Bean, Esq. against the Gentlemen of Eastbourne, for five guineas a side, which, after a smart contest, ended in favour of the former'.¹¹ Later in the month, they played a three-day match for a hundred guineas against the Brighton Club at Prince's Ground, from 24 to 26 August,¹² which the Brighton Club won by almost 200 notches,¹³ and a return match on the same ground in September. The return match was patronized by the Prince of Wales, who brought a select group of friends with him, and dined in his marquee on the ground. Once again Bean's team was defeated, this time by an innings and more than 30 notches.¹⁴ After these humiliations in the final matches of the 1791 season, Mr. Bean's Club disappears from the records.

Two things seem clear from the accounts of these games. First, that John Bean was a man of substance: he was High-Sheriff of the county in 1788; he was able to support his own cricket team; and both the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York attended his cricket matches. Secondly, all his cricket matches were played in the eastern half of the county, in an area between Brighton and Eastbourne, and between Lewes and Herstmonceux. There was no trace of him in Clapham and Patching, and he seems to have played no part in the political life of the western half of the county. An entry in Mary Capper's Diary points to the solution. She recorded on 16 April 1782 that 'a visit from Mr. & Miss Bean [of Clapham House, Litlington] prevented our being drest to receive Mr. and Mrs. Sneyd'.¹⁵

John Bean was born at Jevington in 1755 the natural son of John Bean and Mary Bridgman, his housekeeper. He succeeded his father and grandfather as squire of the Clapham House estate in Litlington. His grandfather had purchased the estate in 1719¹⁶ and bequeathed it to his son, another John Bean, in 1750.¹⁷ He, in his turn, left his real property to the cricketing John Bean in 1772.¹⁸

The records of Mr Bean's cricket club do not relate to Clapham near Worthing, but to Clapham House in Litlington at the other end of the county. Patching can still claim its earliest recorded match on 23 July 1771, but Clapham's earliest recorded match must now be put back to July 1812, when three Angmering houses played against a Patching, Clapham, Goring, Durrington and Angmering XI.¹⁹

NOTES

- ¹ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 22 July 1771.
- ² H. F. & A. P. Squire, Pre-Victorian Sussex Cricket (1951), 16– 17.
- ³ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 11 August 1788.

- ⁴ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 4 August 1788, quoted in H. T. Waghorn, The Dawn of Cricket (1906), 97.
- ⁵ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 17 August 1789.
- ⁶ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 27 June 1791.
- ⁷ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 4 July 1791.
 ⁸ Sussey Weekly Advertiser, 11 July 1791
- ³ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 11 July 1791.
- Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 18 July 1791.
- ¹⁰ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 25 July 1791.
- ¹¹ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 29 August 1791.
- ¹² Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 22 August 1791.
- ¹³ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 29 August 1791.
- ¹⁴ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 12 September 1791, quoted in H. T. Waghorn, The Dawn of Cricket, 113.
- ¹⁵ V. Naish, 'Mary Capper's Diary', in Sussex Notes and Queries XI(4) (1946), 104.
- ¹⁶ E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), D 611. I am grateful to Philip Bye for pointing out these references to me.
- 17 E.S.R.O., SAS, C 513.
- ¹⁸ SAS, C 513.
- ¹⁹ Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 27 July 1812.

Thomas King's excavation at Greyfriars, Chichester, in 1835

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Historians have argued for many years about whether Greyfriars' Church, Chichester, ever possessed a nave. Francis Steer in his Chichester Paper on Greyfriars in 1955¹ listed seven reasons why he thought one had never been built. The Revd T. D. S. Bayley in an article in this journal in 1967² argued elegantly for the existence of a nave, but admitted that he could not produce any definite evidence. One piece of evidence that neither writer discussed was the excavation carried out on the Greyfriars site by the artist and antiquarian Thomas King in 1835.

The only contemporary report of this excavation appeared in the Hampshire Telegraph of 7 September 1835.3 After discussing 'the opening of a very large Roman earthwork or tumulus . . . on which mound the keep of the castle was constructed, where the strong foundations under the turf are still to be seen', the report went on to describe the excavation of the Greyfriars' site. 'Only a part of the Priory Chapel now remains, which is converted into the Town Hall. Mr King has traced the foundations and has discovered the nave and transepts which complete the building in the form of a cross. On the removal of the rubbish that covered the south transept, several fragments of ancient grandeur were found, such as Samian pottery, painted glass, Norman tiles, with beautiful devices on them, several abbey tokens in thin brass, with several skeletons of the fraternity, they all had their arms crossed over the body, and on one who was probably the prior was found a chalice and patten of pewter'. The report added that the finds would be lodged in the Museum of the Chichester Literary and Philosophical Society.

There is no record of Thomas King depositing any of this material with the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society,⁴ but the chalice and patten were exhibited by the

Society at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland at Chichester in 1853.⁵ All the finds seem to have disappeared with the dispersal of the Museum collection in the years after 1891.⁶ When Thomas King's excavation was reported in *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1855,⁷ the sentence about the nave and transepts was omitted.

NOTES

- ¹ Francis W. Steer, *The Grey Friars in Chichester*, Chichester Papers 2 (1955), 2, 3.
- ² Revd T. D. S. Bayley, 'Grey Friars' Church, Chichester: the

problem of the nave', in Sussex Archaeol. Collect. 105 (1967), 70–75.

- ³ The Hampshire Telegraph, 7 September 1835.
- ⁴ Register of Contributions to the Museum of the Chichester Literary and Philosophical Society (West Sussex Record Office, Add. MS. 9459)
- ⁵ Reports of the Transactions at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland held at Chichester (1853), 77.
- ⁶ Francis W. Steer, *The Chichester Literary and Philosophical Society and Mechanics Institute*, 1831–1924. Chichester Papers 29 (1962).
- ⁷ The Gentleman's Magazine (1855) CXXV(II), 418.