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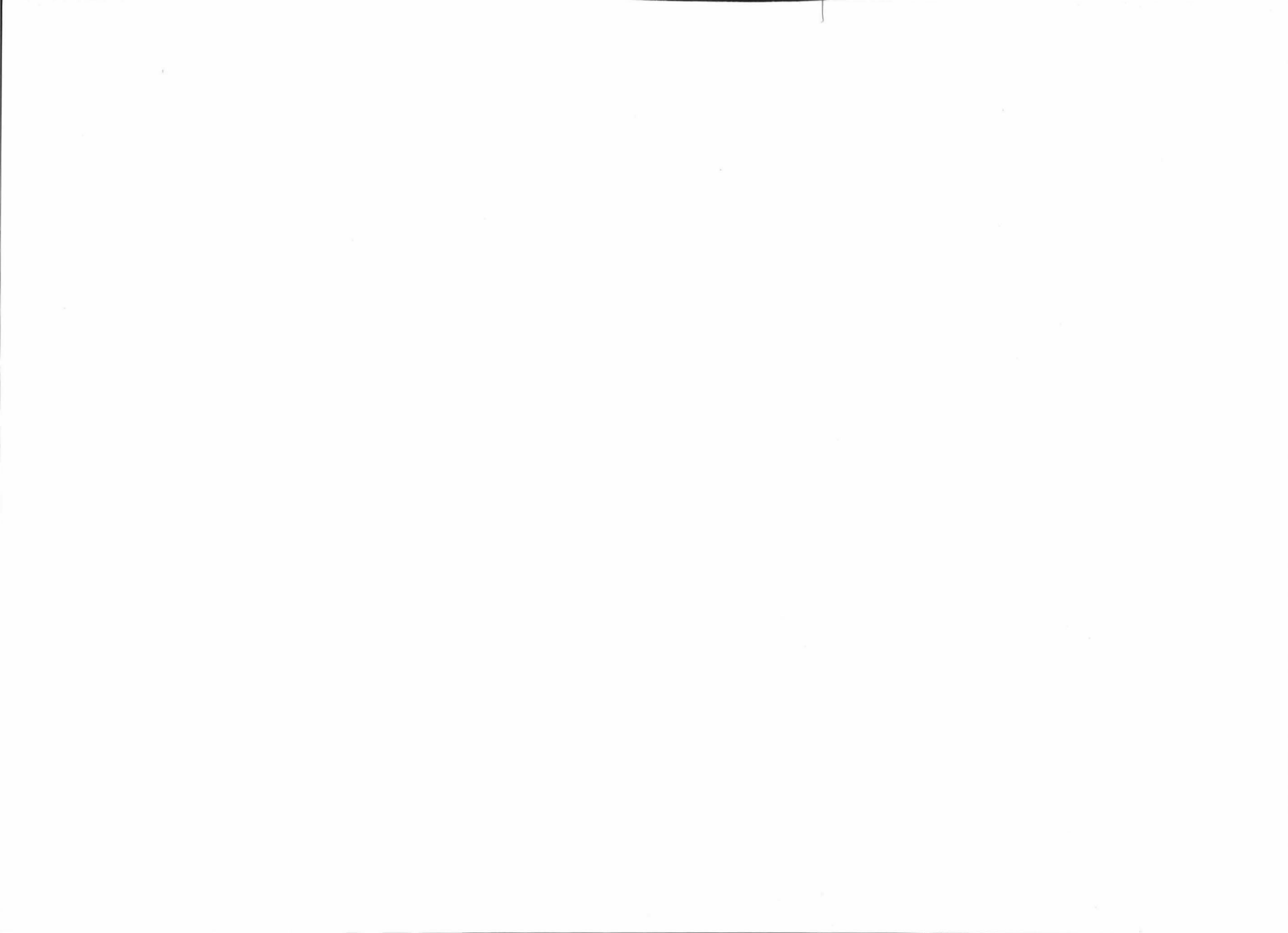
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A 1st-century Roman gold signet ring found at Fishbourne in 1995

Photograph: British Museum; published with the aid of a grant from the Roman Research Trust



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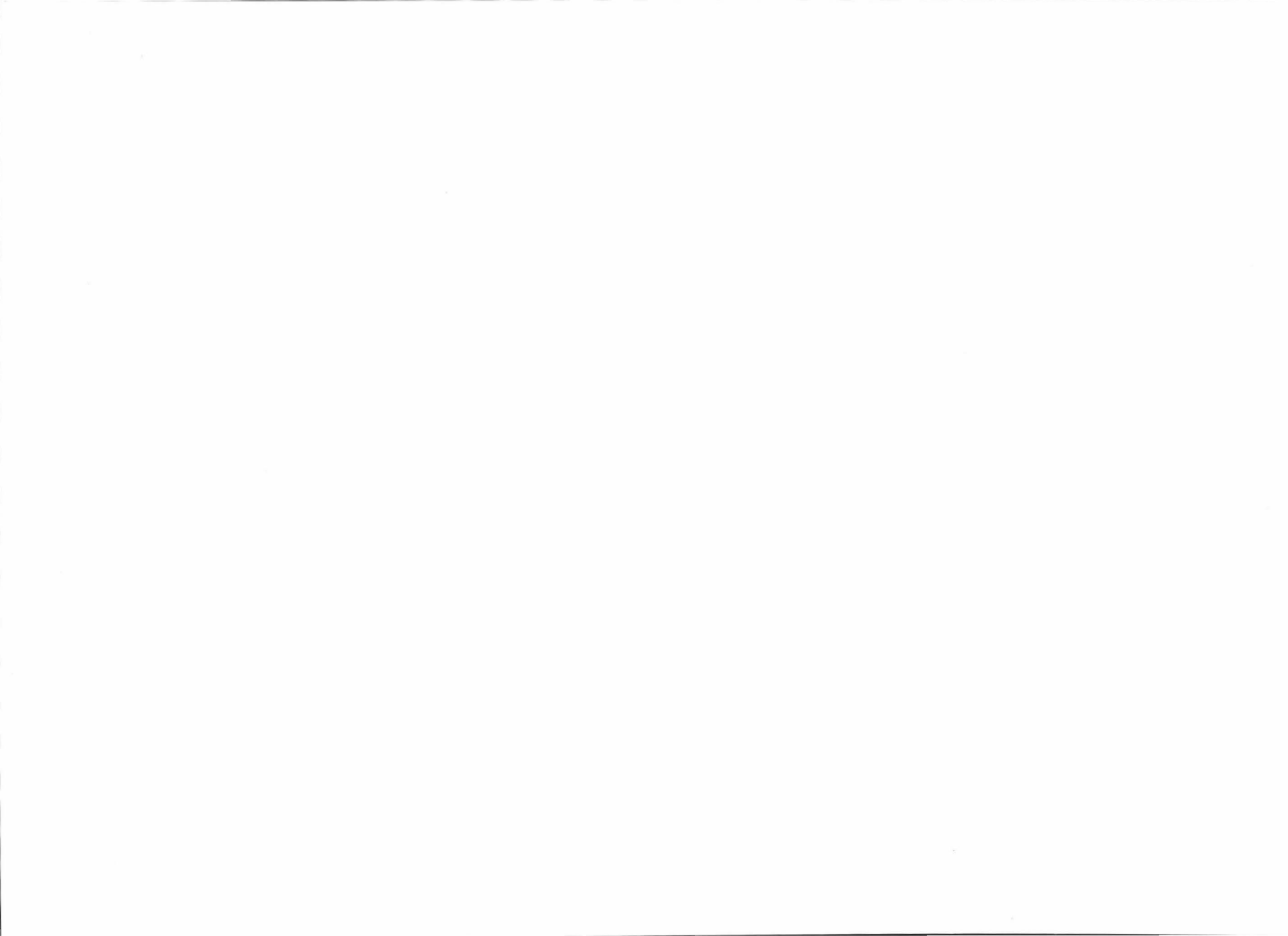
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Excavation of a Bronze Age settlement at Varley Halls, Coldean Lane, Brighton, East Sussex

by Ian Greig

Excavations in 1992 at the University of Brighton Varley Halls site, Coldean Lane, Brighton revealed part of a Bronze Age settlement. Middle Bronze Age features included hut terraces, badly truncated linear features, probably lynchets, and a ditch which may have held a wooden palisade. Elsewhere on the site a single terrace was dated to the later Bronze Age. A crouched inhumation and the skeleton of a cow buried in a pit were dated by radiocarbon to the late Middle or Late Bronze Age. Other radiocarbon dates are correlated with ceramic studies. Detailed analysis of wood charcoal from a burnt layer provides information about exploitation of timber resources. Land mollusc analysis is related to the stratigraphic interpretation. The animal bone assemblage provides evidence for a model of meat production. Resistivity survey indicates that the settled area is more extensive than that excavated.

INTRODUCTION

In 1992 an archaeological evaluation was carried out by South Eastern Archaeological Services (the commercial division of The Field Archaeology Unit, University College London) at Varley Halls, Coldean Lane, Brighton, East Sussex. The site, now owned by the University of Brighton (formerly Brighton Polytechnic), was to be developed for new halls of residence. An archaeological assessment was required by Brighton Borough Council prior to the application for planning consent being determined, in accordance with the provisions of Department of the Environment Planning Policy Guidance Note No.16 (PPG 16).

Evidence to suggest the presence of a Bronze Age settlement was revealed. Preservation *in situ* was not feasible, and as the evidence was not considered to be sufficiently important to prohibit the development, a condition requiring archaeological investigation was imposed on the planning consent. Full excavation was undertaken by South Eastern Archaeological Services, funded by the University and directed by the author. The work was conducted according to a brief prepared by Ms Ros Parker, (Assistant County Archaeologist, East Sussex District Council), and monitored by her and Dr Andrew

Woodcock (County Archaeologist). The site code used was VH92. The finds and archive are deposited at Brighton Museum.

THE SITE

LOCATION

The site is situated on a south-facing slope of the South Downs, on the northern outskirts of Brighton, centred around National Grid Reference TQ 3315 0892. The area investigated was approximately 80 m × 60 m, the ground surface of which sloped down from north-west to south-east, from approximately 90 m above Ordnance Datum to approximately 80 m A.O.D. The site location is shown in Figure 1.

The underlying geology is Chalk, which in the excavated area was not overlain by Clay-with-Flints. The site had been plough-damaged, and truncation of the chalk proved to be quite severe, although in places a thin layer of colluvium survived immediately above the chalk.

METHODOLOGY

The site was stripped down to the chalk by a 360-degree tracked excavator fitted with a toothless bucket. The material was removed in spits and a

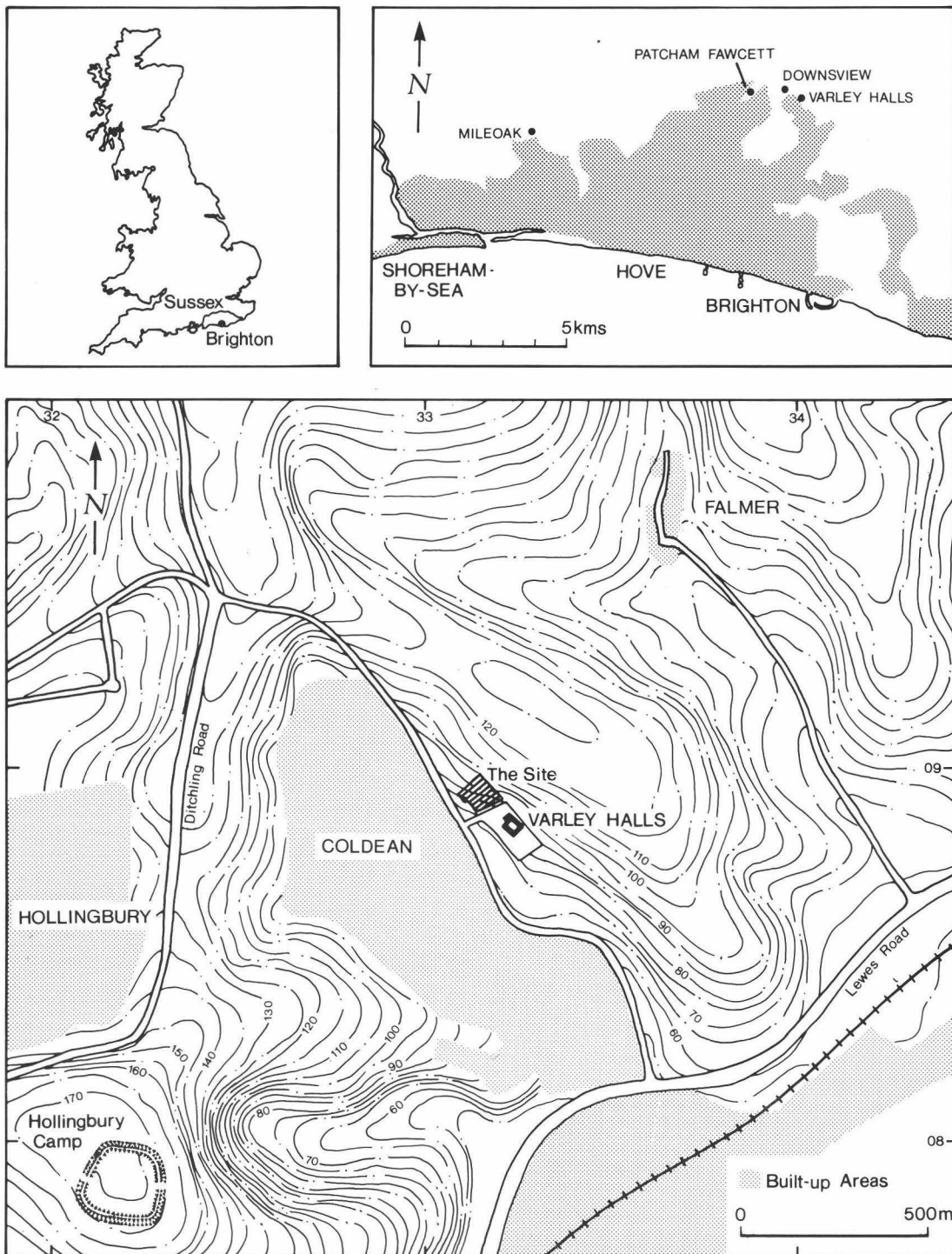


Fig. 1. Site location.

careful watch kept for archaeological features, but none were observed above the chalk. The south-western edge of the total site area was obscured by spoil derived from this operation, and remained unexcavated. Part of this area had been assessed by trial trenches during the preliminary evaluation, which had revealed no archaeological features. A further transect along the southern edge of the site was stripped by machine prior to the creation of the spoil dump, and also revealed no features. The last part of the site to be stripped was the south-west corner, at which point it became apparent that the spoil dump had encroached over at least one archaeological feature (see 'hut 5' below). It is not considered likely that any other significant feature remained undiscovered.

As a general recording policy during the excavation, material interpreted as post-packing was not given a separate context number, irrespective of whether it was thought at the time to be *in situ*. Only in the rare cases where post-pipes could be distinguished in the soil component of the fill of a post-hole were separate context numbers, representing construction and disuse phases, used.

The excavation revealed a Middle Bronze Age settlement, plus at least one structure dated to the later Bronze Age. The overall site plan is given in Figure 2. The dating of the pottery, on which the dating of the site to a large extent depends, is discussed in detail by Sue Hamilton in the relevant section of this report. The terms Middle and Late Bronze Age are used throughout; in general terms, current evidence places the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition at c. 1000 BC (Hamilton pers. comm.). Radiocarbon dates are quoted at one sigma.

Features recorded during the evaluation were re-examined during the excavation, and are not distinguished separately.

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENT

Four hut platforms, created by terracing into the steeply sloping chalk, can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age.

Features of this period are shown in Figure 3. Structures within the platforms are indicated by patterns of post-holes similar to those of other Bronze Age structures from Sussex, such as those at Itford Hill (Burstow & Holleyman 1957), New Barn Down (Curwen 1934) and, more recently, Black Patch (Drewett 1982a), Downsview (Rudling forthcoming) and Mileoak (Russell, in Rudling forthcoming). The arrangement is essentially a circle, elongated towards the entrance.

Hut 1

This hut had two structural phases, represented by two arrangements of post-holes based around an entrance position common to both. The substantial difference in size (Plate 1) indicates that these actually represent the complete replacement of one structure by another on the same site, rather than refurbishment of a single structure. The post-holes allocated to phase 1 are smaller than those of phase 2, and their fills generally contained fewer large stone fragments. The terrace was approximately 6.75 m across, and the circles of post-holes approximately 4 m and 5 m in diameter respectively.

The relationship between holes 212 (allocated to phase 1) and 209 (phase 2) suggests the relative dating. It proved impossible to excavate an informative section across both features, but excavation of post-hole 209 revealed probably *in situ* post-packing, which would have been unlikely to survive if this feature had been cut by 212. It is

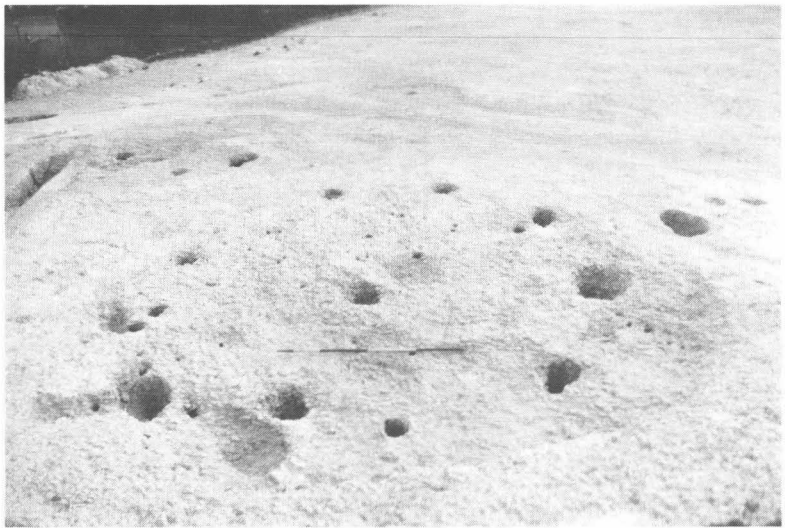


Plate 1. Hut 1 fully excavated.

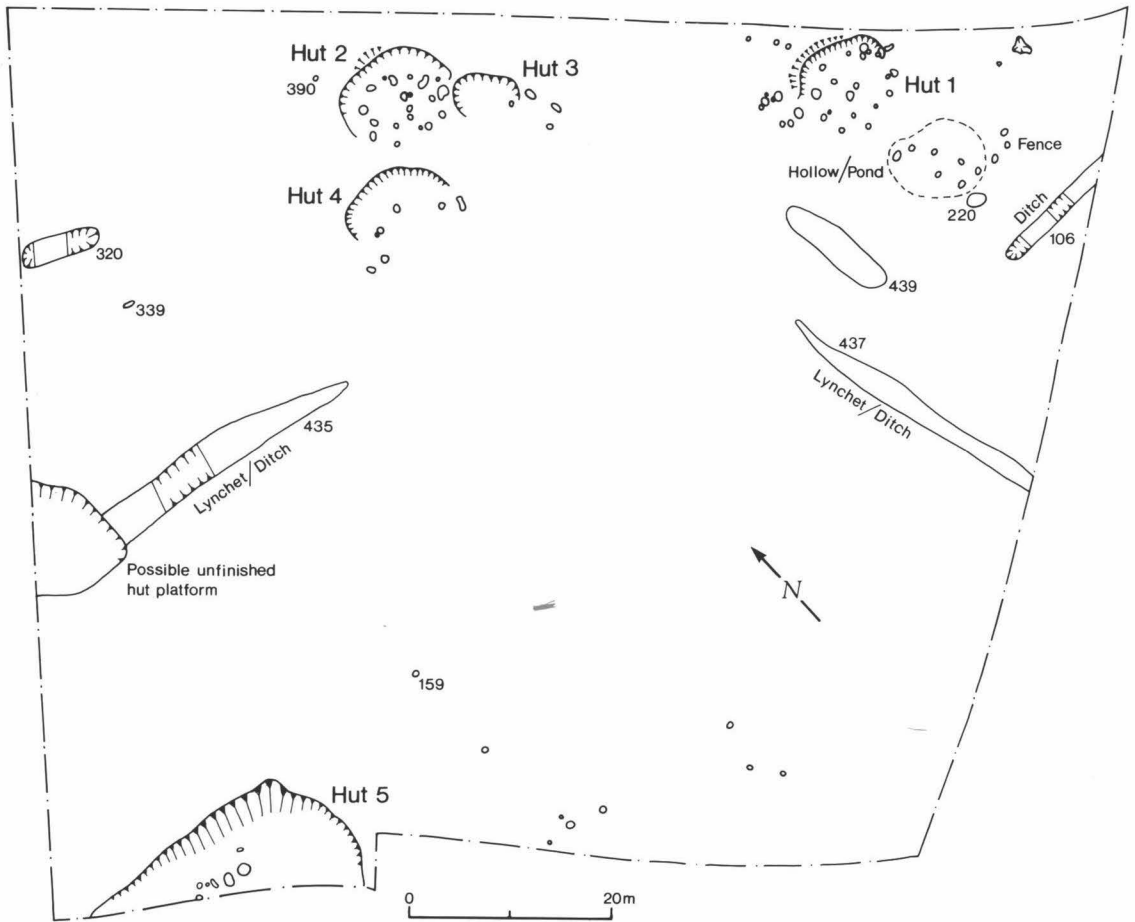


Fig. 2. Overall plan of excavated features.

therefore assumed that post-hole 212, and the rest of the holes with which it has been grouped, are earlier.

Hut 1, phase 1

This is shown by the features shown shaded on Figure 4. It is assumed that a further hole (suggested position stippled on Fig. 4) must have been in the position of cut 171, in which case it must have either been completely removed by 171, or its remains were not noticed during excavation.

The surviving post-holes of this structure had an average diameter of approximately 200 mm, and a light or mid-greyish brown silty fill, usually with 10–15% inclusions of chalk fragments (30% in the case of 216, fill 217). No post-pipes were observed, nor were there the quantities of flint nodules and

iron-rich fissure-fill stone fragments (see Barber report below, p. 51, for fuller details of this material) which, it is suggested, represent post-packing in the phase 2 holes (see below). Examples of sections are shown as Figure 5:S2 & S3. That of hole 262 is not typical, because the remainder were flat-bottomed. Most were recorded only as profiles.

Hole 127 (section Fig. 5:S1) was approximately in the centre of the circle of post-holes, though not perfectly so. It may have been a central support for the roof. Its size suggests a rather more substantial post than those used for the remainder of the structure. There was no evidence of burning, so this is unlikely to have been a hearth, nor does the depth of its profile suggest such a use.

The entrance construction is not certain. As shown in Figure 4, the pattern and dimensions

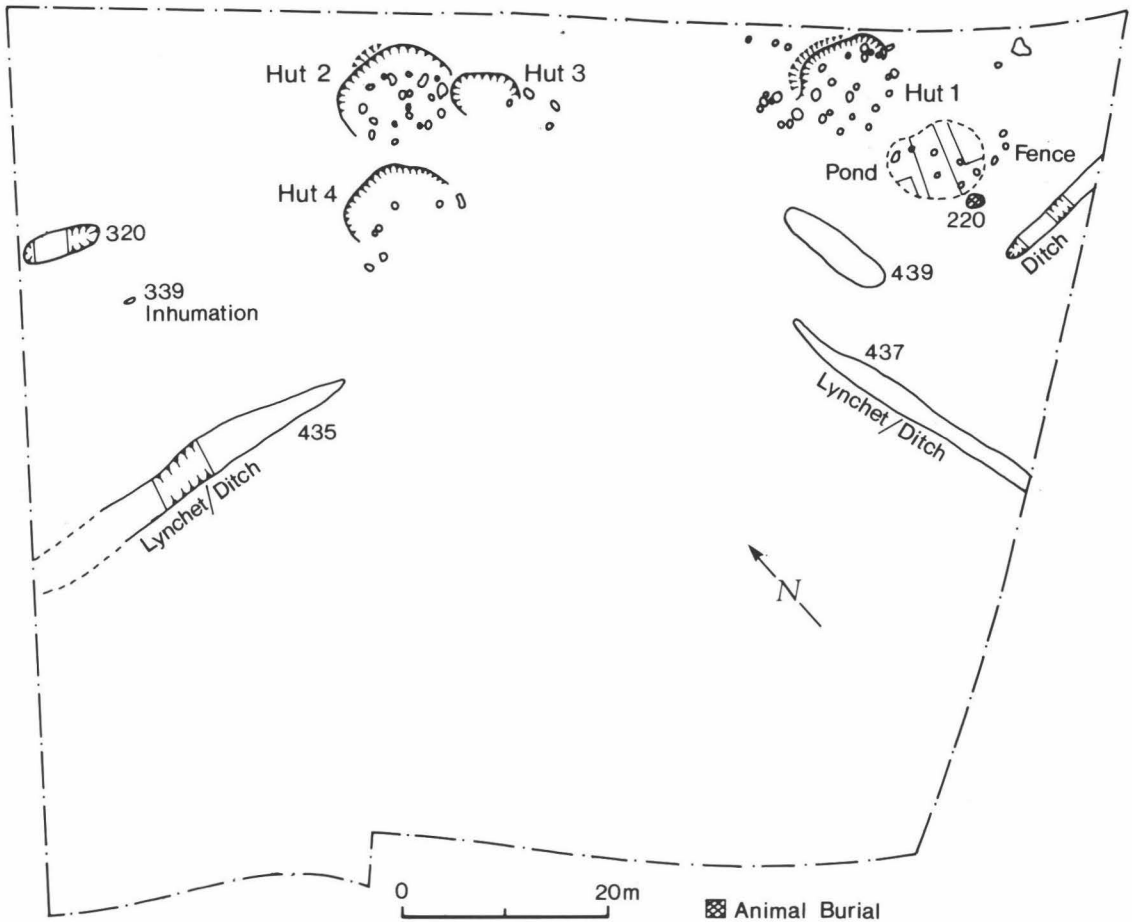


Fig. 3. Middle Bronze Age features.

suggest that holes 151 and 205 formed the entrance. This is the simplest interpretation, and would create a symmetrical structure. It implies that the more complex elements at the entrance belong to phase 2, as 151 is isolated from them, and that both phases would have had a structural post in the position of hole 205. Alternative permutations of these plus holes 226 and 228 (hatched on Fig. 4) can also be suggested, although the latter was much smaller in diameter than the others. The fills of the holes do not resolve the question, none of them having the post-packing which is elsewhere a distinguishing characteristic between the two structural phases.

Stake-holes were distinguishable around the northern perimeter of the platform. The chalk into which they were cut was relatively hard, and it would not have been possible to drive a thin wooden

stake directly in, without first making a hole with an implement such as a pick. This probably explains their small size and irregularity, particularly when compared to those at Downsvew (Rudling forthcoming) where the chalk was softer (Drewett, pers. comm.) and would have been easier to work. These stake-holes would have contained the wattle-and-daub structure of the outer wall, though it is not possible to state whether they belong to phase 1 or phase 2; perhaps the same holes were re-used for the latter. Stake-holes around the southern edge would have been removed by erosion. There are further stake-holes and possible stake-holes within the area of the hut floor(s), which suggest the presence of internal divisions or small structures. Their arrangement is not clear, and there is no evidence as to which phase they belong.

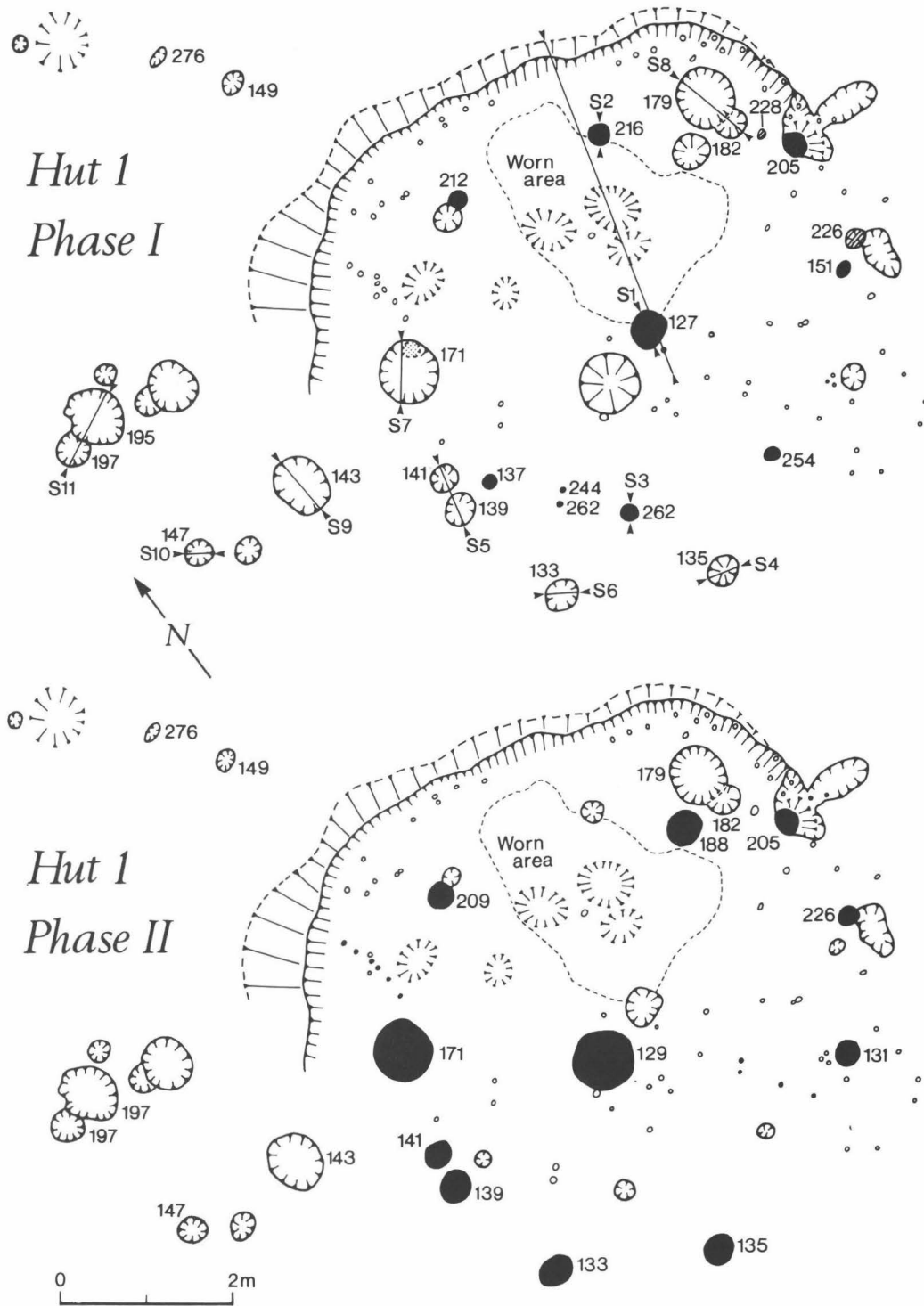


Fig. 4. Hut 1, phase 1 and phase 2.

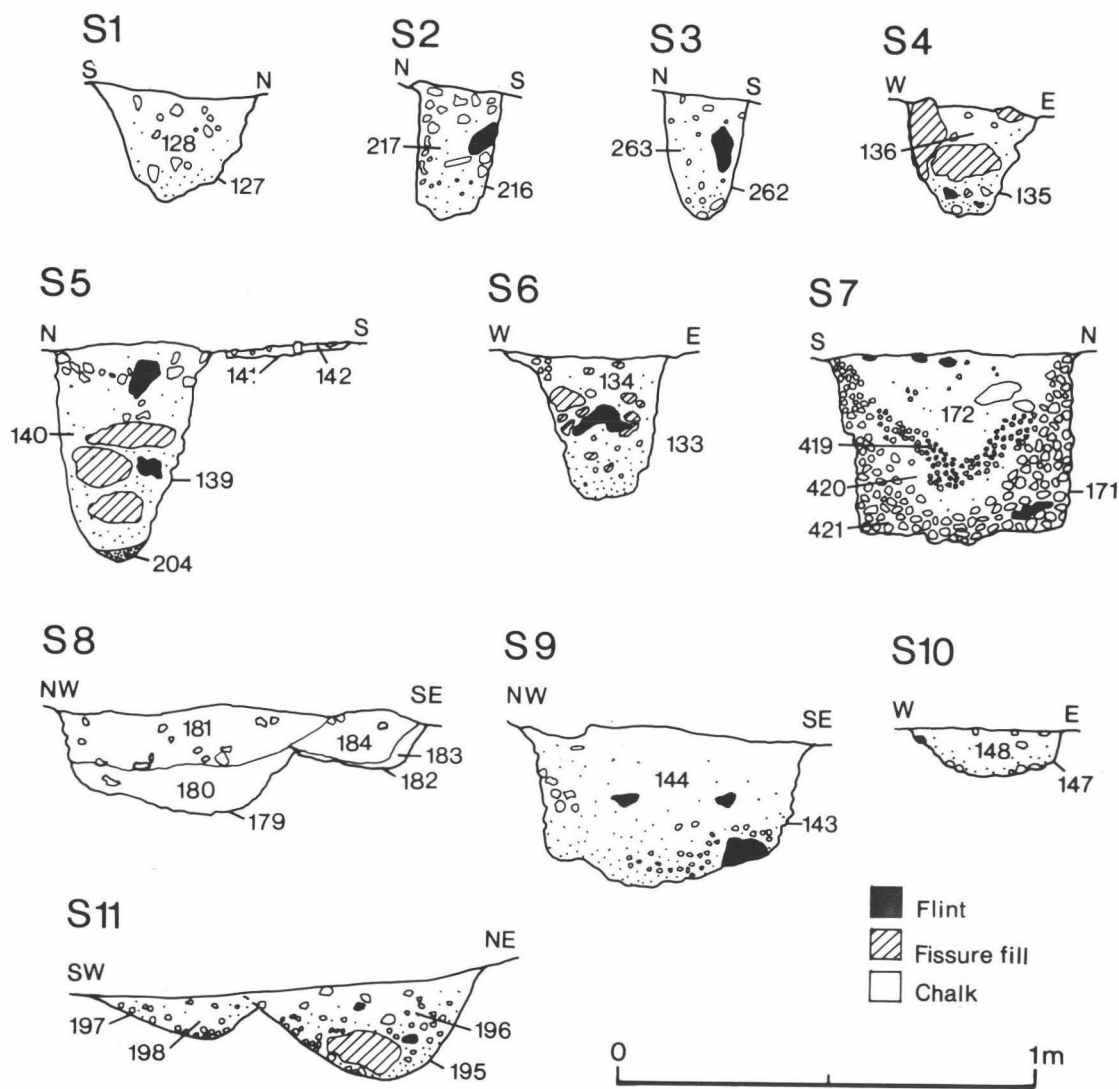


Fig. 5. Hut 1 sections.

Hut 1, phase 2

This is shown by solid shading on Figure 4. Hole 141 is included because its position, diameter and shallow depth suggest it may represent a strengthening post added to give additional support beneath a ring-beam connecting the tops of the vertical posts. A shallow depression, 426, is approximately on a line between 171 and 209, and may also represent such a strengthening post.

The post-holes of phase 2 have an average diameter of approximately 340 mm (excluding 171, which is much larger, and those at the entrance), in

keeping with its being larger and more substantial than phase 1. Their fills were characterized by a high proportion (up to 40%) of large flint nodules (up to 300 mm), and of fissure-fill fragments (30%; 200 mm). This is assumed to have been used as post-packing, some of which appeared to be *in situ*, e.g. on the western side of cut 135 (Fig. 5:S4). The soil component of these fills was generally similar to those of structure 1. Most of the holes are flat-bottomed; examples of sections are shown in Figure 5:S4-7.

The reason for the large size of post-hole 171 (Fig. 5:S7) is not clear. There is the possibility of an undetected fill representing a post from the earlier structure. It may have been enlarged to take an additional or replacement post. Any post-packing appears to consist more of chalk than flint or fissure-fill. The section is more complex than that of the other post-holes, and appears to show an initial collapse of chalk packing material, followed by an accumulation of finer material, followed by further deposition of chalky fill prior to final backfilling. This could, of course, have happened very rapidly during the removal of the post, or more slowly. Its position does not suggest any interpretation other than as a post-hole of phase 2.

Hole 129 is approximately, but not perfectly, in the centre of the structure, though unlike hole 127 in phase 1, it is somewhat shallower than the holes in the structural circle. Again there was no sign of burning, so it is unlikely to be a hearth. It is probably a central roof support, the shallowness perhaps indicating that it was added later, rather than being part of the initial design.

The entrance structure is complicated. If the earlier argument that structures 1 and 2 both had a post in the position of hole 205 is accepted, the entrance consists of holes 205 and 226. The adjacent elongated holes also belong to this structure. The fills of 205 and 226, and their respective associated cuts all appeared to be the same, suggesting that they are contemporary. Material interpreted as post-packing was recorded within the fill of hole 177, lying against the eastern face of the cut. This implies that some structural element was positioned in 177, and held in place against the post in 205; the same probably applies to 153, though the fill was more disturbed.

Taken in conjunction with the stake-holes around the perimeter of the platform, a possible reconstruction would involve a doorway of substantial timber posts or planks set in the outer wall of wattle and daub. Given the orientation of the structure relative to the slope (which is down from roughly north to south), it is obvious that water could enter the doorway in wet weather. The remaining element, 156, may therefore represent an additional post or plank screen to prevent water gaining access to the interior.

Internal features

Various features were found within the floor of the platform. It is not possible to assign them to a

particular structure, so they are discussed separately.

Cut 111 was a shallow depression filled with material very similar to the overlying layer, 110. It has no obvious function. It is approximately midway on a line between 129, the central post of structure 2, and 209, one of the outer holes of this structure. It is possible that it may therefore represent a post added to strengthen a rafter.

Three shallow depressions, 427, 428 and 429 were situated in the northern side of the floor. Their fills were indistinguishable from the overlying layer 110, with which they were removed; it is assumed that they were the same material. Their function and origin is unknown. They are within an area where the chalk had a smoother, more worn appearance than elsewhere. Whether this wear occurred in the life of the structures, or during or after their dismantling, is not clear. Areas described as 'trodden chalk' were found in comparable positions at Itford Hill (Burstow & Holleyman 1957). They appear to represent wear on the floor surface inside the structure, implying that the bare chalk formed the floor. Chalk does wear quite rapidly, particularly when wet. It is possible that dismantling the structure in rainy conditions could produce such an effect. In either case, the wear might be expected to be more extensive; as indeed it was in some, but not all, of the Itford Hill examples.

In addition to the stake-holes of the outer wall discussed earlier, there were a few larger holes which have the appearance of stake-holes, though they are unlikely to represent wooden stakes simply driven into the hard chalk. The function of these features, 242, 244, 234, 236, 246 and 207 is not certain. The first two are approximately on a line between post-holes 137 and 262 of phase 1, and could represent support for some sort of internal screen.

Holes 179 and 182 (Fig. 5:S8 & Plate 2) are the most noteworthy. Both of these holes were clay-lined (fills 180 and 183 respectively), though 180 appeared to be more disturbed and less complete. Fill 181 was similar to the overlying material, 110, suggesting that it accumulated after the abandonment of the structure. The fill immediately below this, 184, was unlike any in features that belong to structure 1 (which must have been filled and levelled during the period of structure 2), suggesting that it probably belonged to structure 2.

Other than the clay lining indicating storage of a liquid, the interpretation of these features is not

certain. The recorder suggested that the completeness of the clay lining of hole 182 implied that this was later, as was also hole 179. It seems more likely that any later cut would either have avoided the earlier one altogether, or simply have been a reworking of it. The physical relationship could also suggest that they were contemporary, with some connection between them that has been lost. If, for example, there was a lip (perhaps sealed with clay as necessary) in the lining of 182 adjacent to 179, the former could have functioned as a sediment trap, allowing impurities to settle before the clear liquid was released into the lower storage hole. The most obvious such use would be the collection of clear drinking water.

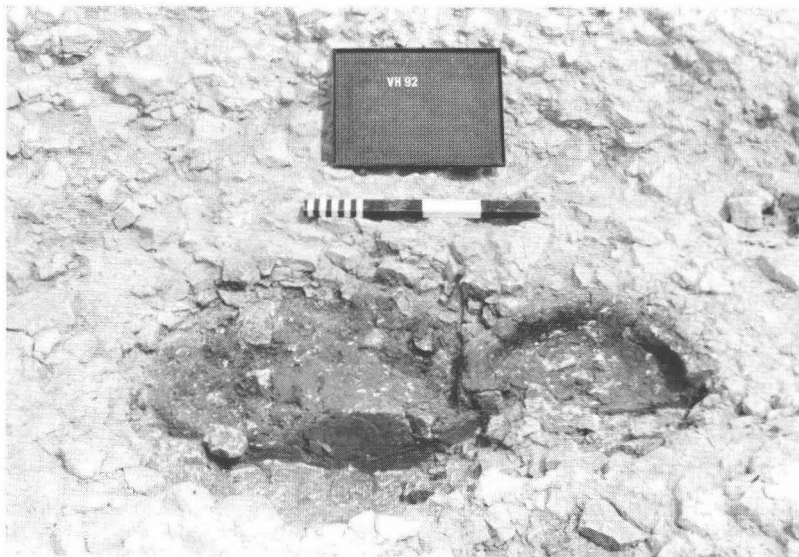


Plate 2. Hut 1: clay-lined holes 179 and 182.

110 and 105 represent colluvial deposition in the hollow of the empty platform, after removal of the phase 2 structure. These are considered in more detail below (Discussion of huts 1 and 2).

Layers overlying hut platform 1 floor

Figure 6:S12 shows a section of the layers overlying the chalk floor, and the features of structures 1 and 2. No layer that could definitely have been an occupation floor surface was found, and from the evidence of the worn chalk described above, the floor of the structure(s) appears to have been the bare chalk of the levelled terrace.

It is possible that 174, a layer of friable, light greyish brown clay loam averaging 10–20 mm thick, may have been such a surface. It occurred at the northern edge of the terrace, in a restricted area protected by the overlying stony layer 173. It appeared to respect the line of peripheral stake-holes. However, its shallowness and friable nature do not suggest either the depth or compactness that would be needed in a floor surface. Even if this layer does represent the remains of a floor, it appears to have been very badly disturbed; it would belong to phase 2.

Layer 173 contained a high proportion of chalk fragments. It could represent erosion during the life of the huts, or a deliberate construction backfill, depending on their constructional details. Layers

Features adjacent to hut 1

Three small holes (149, 276 & 280) plus a shallow depression (278) were just to the north of the platform itself (Fig. 4). The shape of 276 could suggest that it is the result of a rafter resting at an angle in the ground, after the manner suggested at Black Patch (Drewett 1982a, 328), though this is considered to be unlikely (see Discussion of Hut Structures below). None of these features is datable, and their function is not known.

To the west of the platform was a group of three large holes (143, 195 & 224) and several smaller ones (sections: Figs 5:S9–11). The soil component of their fills was generally a light brown clay loam. The three larger ones contained flint nodules and fissure-fill fragments which may have been post-packing, though they appear to be too large to be post-holes. They probably represent small storage pits, though their fills contained no evidence to confirm this. Dating evidence rests on Middle Bronze Age pottery from context 196 (fill of 195). The features are assumed to be roughly contemporary because of the similarity of their fills and their apparent association with hut 1.

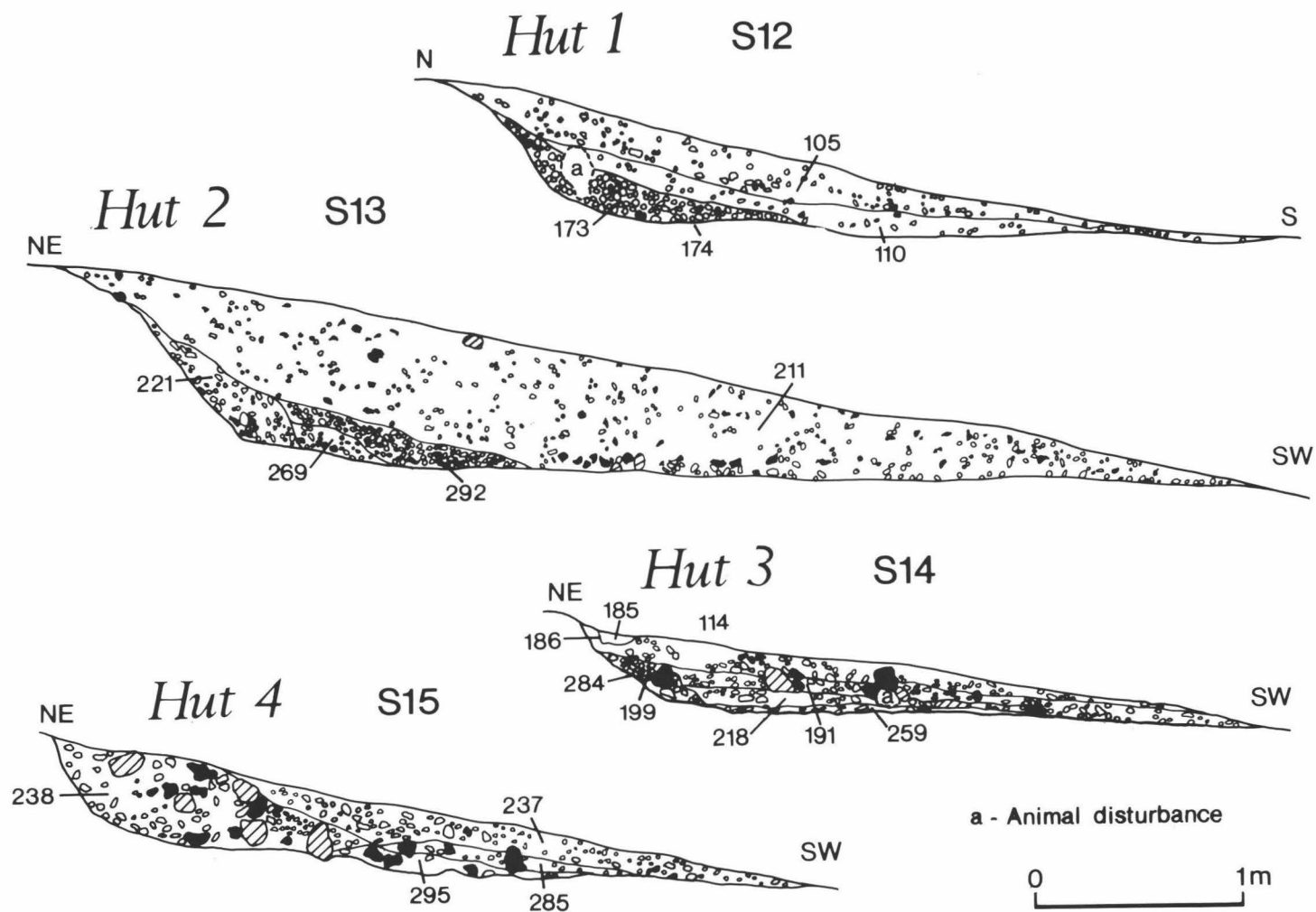


Fig. 6. Sections of layers overlying hut terrace floors.

Hut 2

This also had two phases, representing the replacement of one structure by another, larger, one. The terrace was approximately 8 m across, and the circles of post-holes were approximately 3.5 m and 4.5 m in diameter respectively. It was immediately adjacent to a smaller terrace on which stood hut 3. The relationship between the two was not apparent. The edges of the two platforms appear to respect each other, although a structure in the latter would virtually block the entrance to the former, and they are therefore unlikely to be contemporary.

Evidence for the relative dating of the two structures is not conclusive. The section through post-holes 302 and 325 is capable of different interpretations; the favoured one is shown in Figure 8:S20. Unfortunately, the section line missed the relationship between the two component features of 298/388, but some stones which may have been post-packing appeared to respect post-hole 298 rather than 388. It is therefore assumed that 298 is later, otherwise these would have been disturbed, and the structure to which it belongs is considered to be phase 2. At the entrance, 335 (phase 1) definitely appeared to be cut by 322 of phase 2 (Fig. 8:S22).

Additional evidence for the relative dating is by analogy to hut platform 1, where the smaller structure, having the smaller post-holes, was earlier.

Hut 2, phase 1

This is shown in Figure 7, with examples of post-hole sections in Figure 8:S16–20. The average diameter of the post-holes was 270 mm, with greyish brown fills containing up to 40% inclusions of flint and around 10% chalk. Fissure-fill was generally rare. Post-hole 306 contained material that in plan (Fig. 8:Plan 1) appeared to be *in situ* post-packing, and suggested that the diameter of the post was approximately 100 mm; unfortunately it was not possible to excavate and draw a section with this packing still in position (Fig. 8:S16). Packing material in cut 361 had been disturbed, but the post in this hole was probably around 150 mm in diameter (Fig. 8:S17 - N.B. bottom part recorded in profile only, after removal of packing). Cut 433 was recorded merely as a depression in the hut floor, after the overlying layers had been removed. However, its base level was comparable to that of other holes, and as the floor itself had suffered erosion at this point, it can be assumed that 433 is also the remains of a post-hole.

Cut 304 probably contained a post forming a central roof support, though there is no evidence other than its position to confirm this. Its size suggests a larger post, though some of the extra space will have been taken up by packing; note that it is shown oversized in Figure 7 owing to collapse of the sides prior to planning. The entrance is less complicated than that of hut 1, and appears to have had no major elements other than the posts of the main structural frame in either phase.

As with hut 1, the outer wall is indicated by traces of stake-holes around the edge of the terraced area, where this had been protected from erosion.

Hut 2, phase 2

This is shown in Figure 7, with examples of post-hole sections in Figure 8:S20–24. Excluding the two large multiple holes 298 and 322, the average diameter is 394 mm. The silty fills were generally light brown or greyish brown, with 10–50% flint and 10–30% fissure-fill inclusions, as well as up to 30% chalk fragments.

Interpretation of the two multiple holes 270/422 and 327/336 is not certain. The position of 270 fits neatly in the suggested layout. It possessed *in situ* post-packing (Plate 3), and undoubtedly belongs to the main hut structure. Cut 327 contained disturbed packing material, whereas 336 was unique in containing exclusively chalk inclusions. The relationship was uncertain, but appeared to be as in Figure 8:S22.

If post-hole 327 is part of the structure, the dimensions between post-holes 270 - 327 - 322 are the same as between the corresponding holes 333 - 96 - 300, but the layout is not symmetrical, with the latter being in a straight line and the former not so. If cut 336 formed part of the structure, the layout is symmetrical, but the dimensions are not. It is possible that a setting-out error was made in the construction, with holes 422 and/or 336 being filled in when the error was noticed, or alternatively either or both being additional members added to remedy a resultant structural problem. The latter is perhaps less likely in the case of 336, which appeared to be cut by 327.

The reason for the large size of post-hole 322 at the entrance is not apparent, unless it is associated with the possible problems discussed in the previous paragraph. The position of the post shown in Figure 7 is derived from that of the post-pipe visible in the section Figure 8:S21 (context 314). Otherwise the entrance is similar to that of phase 1.

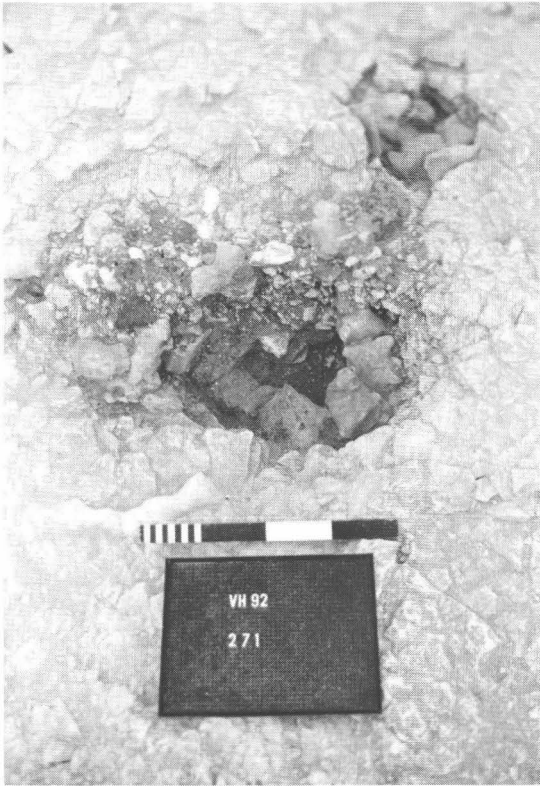


Plate 3. Hut 2: post-hole 270 showing post-packing.

Hole 272 is central to this structure, and probably contained a roof support. The outer wall probably made use of some or all of the stake-holes discussed above.

Internal features

Two small holes, 315 and 329, and two larger holes, 289 and 363, have no obvious function, nor is it possible to say which structure they belong to. Cut 363 (Fig. 8:S25) was notably deep, and could have held a structural post.

Layers overlying the hut floor

No evidence of floor surfaces was found. Referring to Figure 6:S13, the section of the overlying layers, layer 221 appears to consist of material derived from the edge of the levelled terrace. Its extent respects a line of stake-holes representing the outer wall of the hut, and it is likely that this material formed during the life of structure 4, accumulating between the edge of the terrace and the hut wall by the same

process already discussed for hut platform 1. This material was quite compact, and is likely to have remained largely intact for some time after the removal of the structure, allowing a certain amount of silting and erosion debris to build up (269), followed by a more substantial accumulation (292) which was probably derived from slippage of 221. The disused terrace then gradually filled up with colluvial deposits (211).

Features adjacent to hut 2

A small hole, 390 (shown on Fig. 2) adjacent to the terraced platform is of unknown date and function.

Discussion of huts 1 and 2

The presence of stake-holes along the edge of levelled area of huts 1 and 2 implies an outer wall of wattle-and-daub. This construction is different from that suggested for hut 4 at Black Patch (Drewett 1982a, 328 & 338), where the natural rock face was taken to be open to the interior of the structure, although it appears to be similar to that at Downsview (Rudling forthcoming) and Mileoak (Russell, in Rudling forthcoming). There would be no need for the roof to be carried on rafters reaching to ground level with such a wall.

Between the outer wall and the rear face of the terrace there would undoubtedly have been a gap when initially constructed. It is not certain whether this was deliberately backfilled at the time of construction, or left open to accumulate a mixture of silting and erosion deposits. The former may have put strain on the wattle framework; the latter could have led to damage to the daub from water collecting in wet weather. Referring to Figure 6:S13 (the layers overlying the floor of hut 2), layers 221 and 269 were similar in make-up with a high proportion of chalk fragments, and appeared to respect a wall-line of stake-holes; layer 292 was comparable in appearance. It is suggested that they were originally contemporary with the hut structure and built up, or were placed, against its back wall. Removal of the wattle wall could have left the compacted accumulation *in situ* for a time, although the exposed vertical face would soon collapse; a layer such as 269 would then result. Further, slower, erosion in the disused terrace would result in layer 292, over which the terrace would slowly fill with colluvium (211). In hut 1, stony layer 173 equates to layers 221, 269 and 292; it could simply represent initial erosion of the terrace edge after removal of

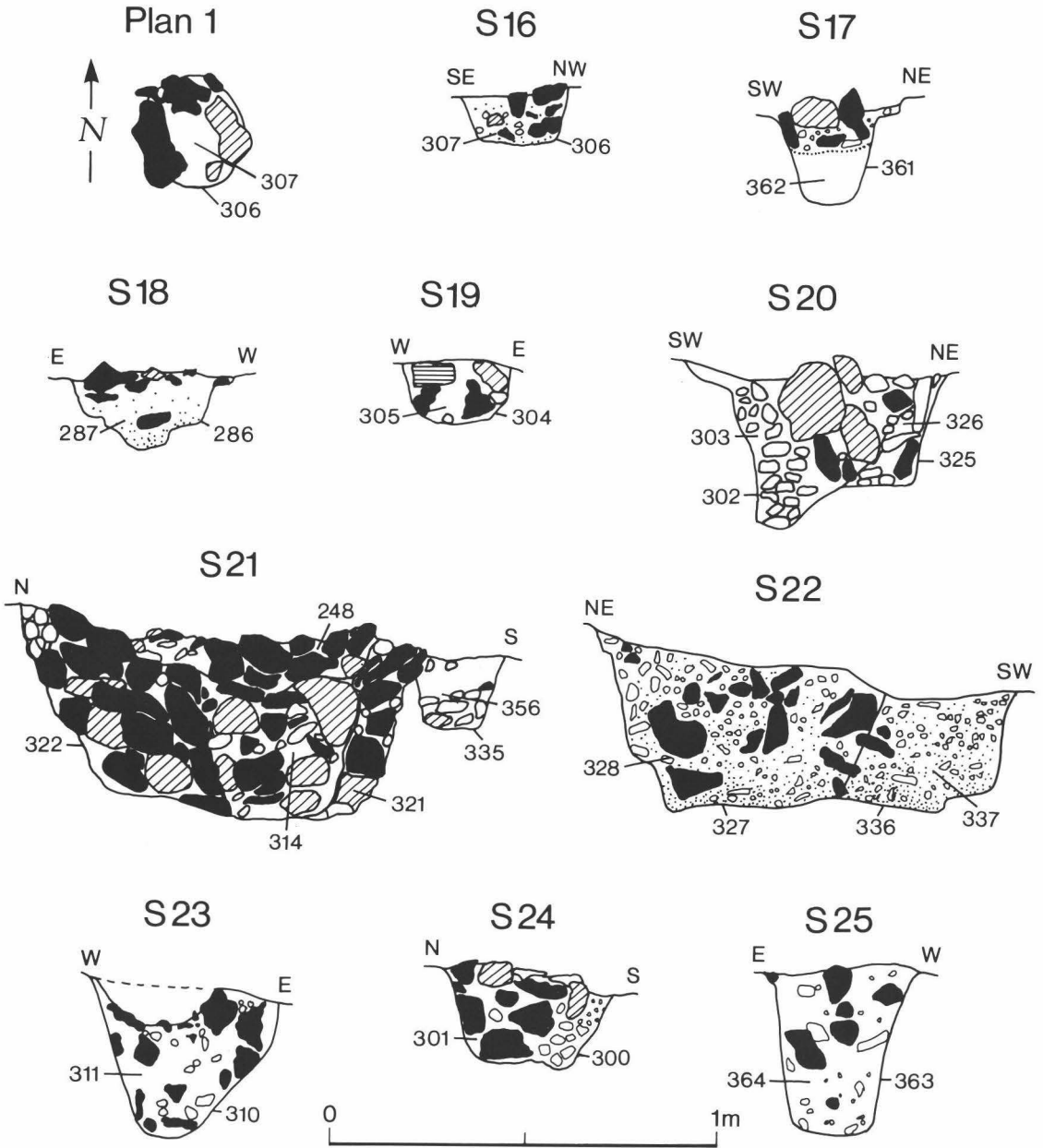


Fig. 8. Hut 2 sections and post-hole plan.

the hut, but by analogy to hut 2, which is of similar construction, this is considered less likely. Colluvial deposits 105 and 110 are equivalent to 211.

This suggested sequence correlates well with the molluscan evidence (Wilkinson, report below, pp. 51-5). Layers 221 and 269 were dominated by

shade-loving species. Layer 292 was similar but with a lower proportion of shade-dwelling species, and layer 211 contained almost exclusively species associated with open ground. Wilkinson postulates that the shade was provided by long vegetation growing in the newly abandoned, freshly eroding

and deep terrace, which gave way to a more open environment as the terrace filled with colluvium. It may also be possible that the shade could have been provided by the hut structure itself, with layers 221, 269 and 292 filling the gap between the hut wall and the terrace edge, the slower erosion rate of layer 292 accounting for the higher proportion of open-country dwelling species.

In both cases, the original huts were replaced by slightly larger ones, but apparently without enlarging the terraces, and maintaining approximately the original entrance position. This resulted in the pattern of the posts in both phase 2 huts being noticeably asymmetrical when compared to the originals, as the extension had to be exclusively towards the downslope side to avoid the need for increased terracing into the hillside. This could have resulted in a less sound structure; both phase 2 huts display features which can be interpreted as additional post-holes for strengthening or repair, although this could simply be an indicator of a longer life. Hut 4 may also have been extended, but in this case the terrace itself shows signs of increased excavation which would have avoided the problem.

The post-holes of the earlier structures, particularly hut 1, contained relatively few large stones, such as would be used for post-packing. Obviously the floor would need to be levelled for the new structure, and the redundant post-holes would have been backfilled, doubtless with the packing material re-used.

Hut 3 and adjacent structure

Immediately adjacent to hut 2 was a smaller terraced area of similar shape, approximately 4 m across, but significantly different in that it contained no arrangement of post-holes. Although not therefore the same type of structure as huts 1, 2 and 4, it is referred to here in the hut sequence for convenience, and shown in Figure 9.

There were post-holes immediately to the east, representing a four-post structure, one of which was within the southern periphery of the terrace (also Fig. 9). The topmost colluvial fill of the terrace overlay this hole, but no other feature or fill. It is not possible to be certain of its relationship with the terrace because the overlying material, although obviously later, is itself of uncertain date. It is convenient to consider the terrace and the post-built structure together, although the latter does not strictly belong to the hut platform.

Hut 3

It is possible that the lack of post-holes in the terraced platform indicates that no structure was actually built in it. However, burnt structural debris was found within it, and this is unlikely to have come from the adjacent structures 3 or 4, the most obvious alternative sources, because no signs of burning were associated with them. This debris consisted of a large quantity of daub with impressions of wattle and split timbers, associated with considerable amounts of charcoal (which gave a radiocarbon date of cal BC 1505–1380 or 1340–1320: BM-2936). It is therefore probable that the terrace contained a structure of some form that did not use earth-fast posts, either in holes or foundation trenches, or these were outside the terrace and have been lost through truncation. (The charcoal is discussed as necessary here; *see* Berzins, report below, pp. 48–51, for full information and discussion. Daub with split timber impressions is illustrated in Figure 9.)

Below a colluvial deposit (114) similar to those found in other terraces, hut platform 3 contained three major layers, plus one (199) probably derived from collapse of the rear face. These are shown in section in Figure 6:S14. Of the others, 259 was immediately over the level floor, with 218 overlying it. The latter contained very large amounts of daub, with impressions of both wattle and split timbers, the latter probably oak. The origin of this layer was considered above, and is taken to indicate the presence of a structure. 259 was similar, though with fewer inclusions. It is possible that it may have been originally an occupation layer, but appears to have become so mixed with material similar to 218 that it cannot be considered as such. The layer immediately below the colluvium (191) showed signs of considerable animal disturbance, and is likely to represent a disturbed upper level of material similar to 218. It has been suggested above (huts 1 and 2) that material equivalent to layer 199 was deposited in hut platforms 1 and 2 during the life of the structures within them, building up behind the rear walls. This cannot have been the case with layer 199, where the rear wall of the terrace apparently formed the rear wall of the structure.

The nature and purpose of such a structure is not easy to define. It is possible that it was a sheltered cooking area, perhaps with some of the burnt timber actually derived from cooking fires rather than from a structure, though it is doubtful whether such an activity would necessitate the construction of a fairly

Hut 3

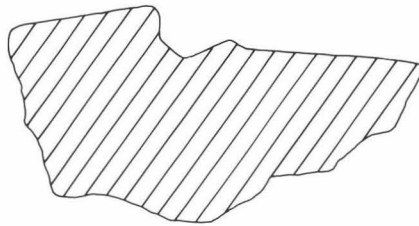
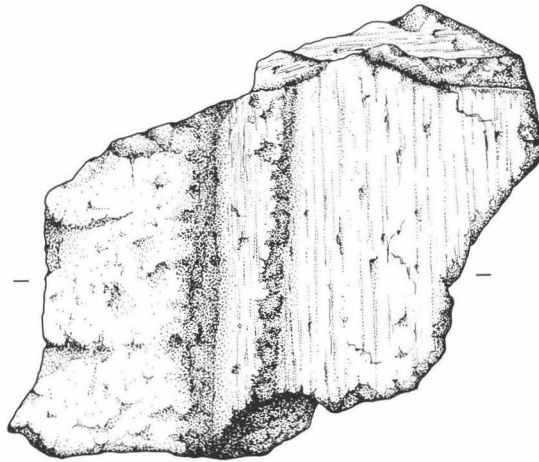
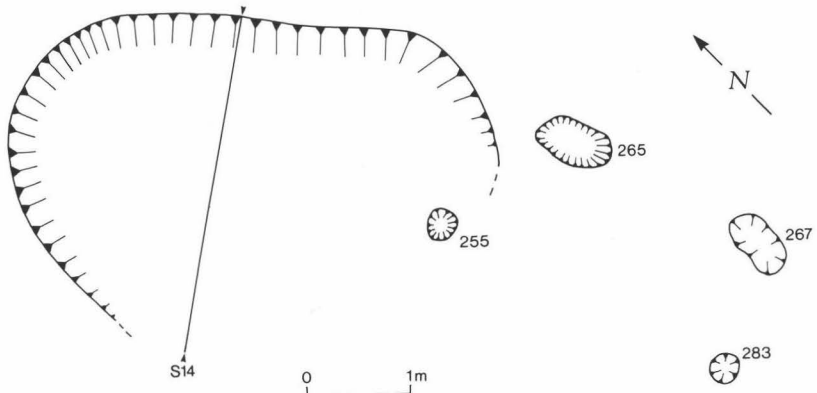


Fig. 9. Hut 3 and adjacent structure + DAUB.

substantial terrace. It did, however, contain charcoal fragments from tree types (such as dogwood and maple) that are more likely to be used for firewood rather than structural elements.

Four-post structure

Four holes, one clearly showing evidence of a post-pipe, represent a four-post structure. Two were circular (255 & 282), and two were elongated (265 & 267), the post-pipe in 255 suggesting a timber approximately 130 mm in diameter. The arrangement of the holes is trapezoidal, and it is not clear what the construction or function of such a structure could be. The fills are similar, though not near enough identical to confirm that the four belong together, but the symmetrical arrangement suggests this is the case. It is, of course, possible that other associated holes have been lost through truncation.

Hut 4

This was in a terrace of the same basic shape as those to huts 1 and 2, approximately 7.75 m across, but displayed several peculiarities. It contained an arrangement of holes, containing material that could have been post-packing, which form part of the pattern of a structure similar to huts 1 and 2, the remainder having been removed by truncation of the sloping ground, which was severe at this point; the full diameter of the post-hole circle would have been approximately 5.5 m. The two holes furthest down the slope, 323 and 331 (the latter not forming part of the main structure), only survived to a depth of approximately 40 mm, and any further down would have been lost altogether. Figure 10 shows these features, with the reconstructed 'lost' holes shown stippled.

The surviving holes of the main framework were 400–450 mm in diameter and, except for the severely truncated hole 323, are shown in section in Figure 10:S26–28. Unusually, the holes 341 and 343 showed an initial fill with a high proportion of chalk fragments, probably from erosion of the sides of the cuts.

There was no evidence of stake-holes around the periphery of the terraced floor. There was no fill of limited extent derived from collapse of the rear wall of the terrace, comparable to those suggested to have this origin in hut platforms 1 and 2 (173 & 221). Instead, there was a much more extensive fill, 238 (Fig. 6:S15), in a comparable position, which contained a very high proportion of large fissure-fill

fragments up to 200 mm in maximum dimension. Such a concentration of this material was not found anywhere else on the site; its distribution was otherwise quite widespread, but in the form of the occasional fragment, or in holes as post-packing.

It is therefore possible that this hut was constructed in the manner suggested for hut 4 at Black Patch (Drewett 1982a, 328 & 338), with rafters coming down to ground level on the top edge of the terrace, the inner face of the terrace being exposed inside the structure. The large stones could have represented some sort of outer wall or revetment of the structure. Drewett's reconstruction includes a low masonry wall to support the roof at an equivalent height on the downslope side. These stones, however, were situated at the back of the terrace; indeed, given the degree of truncation of the terrace at this point, no trace of a wall on the downslope side could have survived. The material was excavated very carefully to see if any traces of *in situ* walling were present, but none were found. Alternatively, of course, large stones simply being displaced down the hillside would tend to accumulate at the back of a disused terrace.

Also notable was a 'ledge' in the terrace floor, approximately 1 m wide for most of its length and about 10 cm deep. In hut platforms 1 and 2, the distance from the post-holes to the rear wall of the terrace was roughly 1 metre. In this case, the distance from the post-holes to the ledge was roughly 1 metre, but the distance to the rear of the terrace was a further metre. A similar ledge at Black Patch (hut platform 4, hut 1) was interpreted as a recut to extend the terrace (Drewett 1982a, 326–7), and this example would seem to be similar, though the single circle of post-holes suggests only one structure.

It may simply have been irregularly excavated, but it is possible that it may have been extended to take a new, larger structure that for some reason was never built. Alternatively an enlarged hut could have been built using the original post-holes. The latter could explain the presence of the large amount of stone; a larger hut with a relatively small circle of roof support posts may have needed intermediate support for long rafters reaching to ground level. Low masonry at the rear of the terrace may have provided such support without the need to excavate new post-holes in the chalk.

Darker layers 285 and 295 (Fig. 6:S15) appeared to be associated with the lower level of the terrace floor. They may have been occupation deposits. The

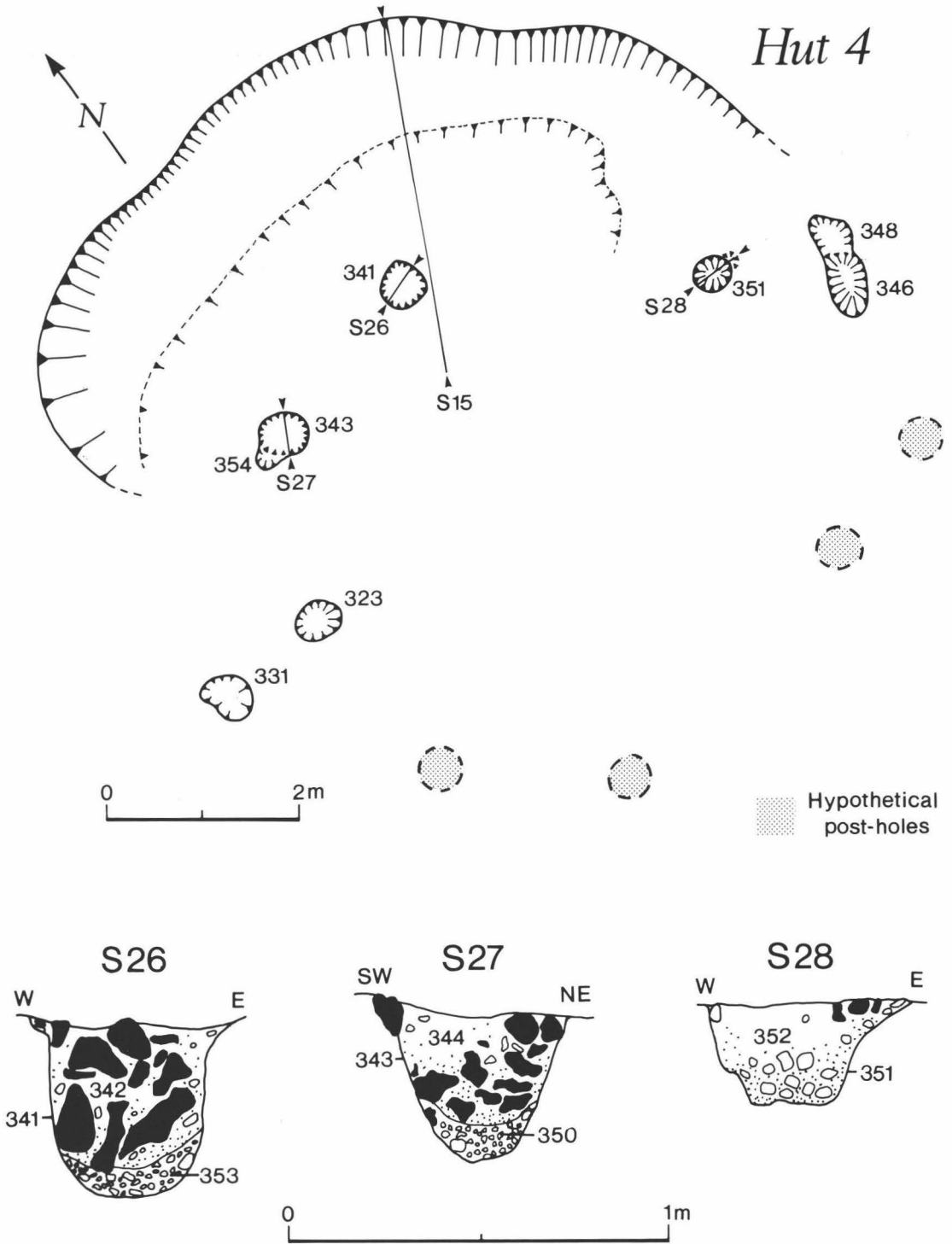


Fig. 10. Hut 4 plan and sections.

uppermost, 285, contained small amounts of pot, bone, charcoal, daub, heat-cracked flint, flint flakes and also a fragment of the shell of an edible mussel. The finds distribution plot did not show any significant concentrations, and in any case it would probably be dangerous to suggest discrete activity areas when the layer itself is of limited extent, probably due to plough damage; it survived only at the back of the terrace, which itself was badly damaged. Nevertheless, it would appear to be the most convincing floor layer. It probably also formed a good proportion of the upper fills of the post-holes, eroding in after the removal of the posts.

Other Middle Bronze Age features

Hollow/pond

A roughly elliptical hollow (319) was situated to the south-east of hut platform 1, and was stratigraphically earlier than post-holes interpreted as a fence line (*see below*). Pottery from its fills is consistent with a Middle Bronze Age date. It was approximately 7 m × 5 m; its depth cannot be precisely determined because of the steep slope, but was approximately 1 metre.

Such features have elsewhere been interpreted as ponds for the storage of water (e.g. Curwen 1937; Drewett 1982a), though the former notes in discussing the excavations at Plumpton Plain that 'chalk will not hold water for long unless puddled, and excavation of two of these hollows showed neither puddling, nor clay lining, nor any accumulation of chalk sludge such as is usually found in catchment ponds' (Curwen 1937, 190). The feature at Varley Halls was similar, and in this respect contrasts with the small clay-lined feature (179/182) in hut 1, where the lining was well preserved.

Its fills suggested a deliberate backfill, consisting of distinct bands of material, some of which were similar to the colluvium overlying the disused hut platforms, derived from contemporary top- and sub-soils, and others being predominantly chalk debris. Samples were taken for mollusc analysis. The shells proved to be poorly preserved, and appeared to have been damaged by mechanical action (Wilkinson, report below, p. 52). This would agree with their having been deposited rapidly and vigorously. Given its position so close to hut 1, it is tempting to see it as having been deliberately backfilled by material from excavation of the hut platform. If it was a pond, this may suggest that it proved to be unsatisfactory, and was replaced by some alternative water source.

Possible fence-line

A group of post-holes to the south-east of hut 1 have a regular pattern suggesting a structure, although its nature is not certain. One of the holes (167) contained post-packing and a recognizable post-pipe, indicating the presence of a post approximately 100 mm in diameter, whilst others contained what appears to be disturbed packing material. No evidence to confirm their dating was recovered from any of the holes; they are stratigraphically later than the backfilling of hollow 319. Hole 169 contained a relatively large amount of charred cereal remains, including chaff; the reason for this is not known.

They appear to represent a fence-line associated with hut platform 1, such as were recorded also at Itford Hill (Burstow & Holleyman 1957) and Black Patch (Drewett 1982a). The two parallel NW-SE running lines probably represent replacement. Isolated hole 408 may represent its continuation, with further holes here and within the main group lost through later truncation. (Nearby irregular feature 249 is thought to be an area of weathered chalk or root disturbance.)

The holes form two alignments, roughly north-west and north-east, with a slightly obtuse angle between the two arms. The north-east running arm is parallel to the palisade/ditch (*see below*), the gap between them being approximately 4.8 m. This relationship suggests they may be related; this is discussed further below.

Ditch

A ditch projected into the north-eastern edge of the site (Fig. 3), running down the slope in a south-westerly direction to a distinct terminal. Two sections were recorded (Fig. 11). It is suggested that the ditch once held a timber palisade, but it is not certain whether, if this was the case, it was an original feature or represents a second phase.

Absolute dating is provided only by a bone (ulna of *Bos*) from a backfill context (117), which gave a radiocarbon date of cal. BC 1400-1265 (BM-2917). The bone was considered to be securely stratified but can, of course, only provide a *terminus post quem*, in this case of the Middle Bronze Age. The alignments of the ditch, fence (above) and lynchet (below) suggest that they are related and therefore contemporary.

In the first section to be excavated (Fig. 11:S29) (initially during the evaluation and then extended), contexts 104, 108, and 109 were relatively compact when compared to contexts 116 and 117. The

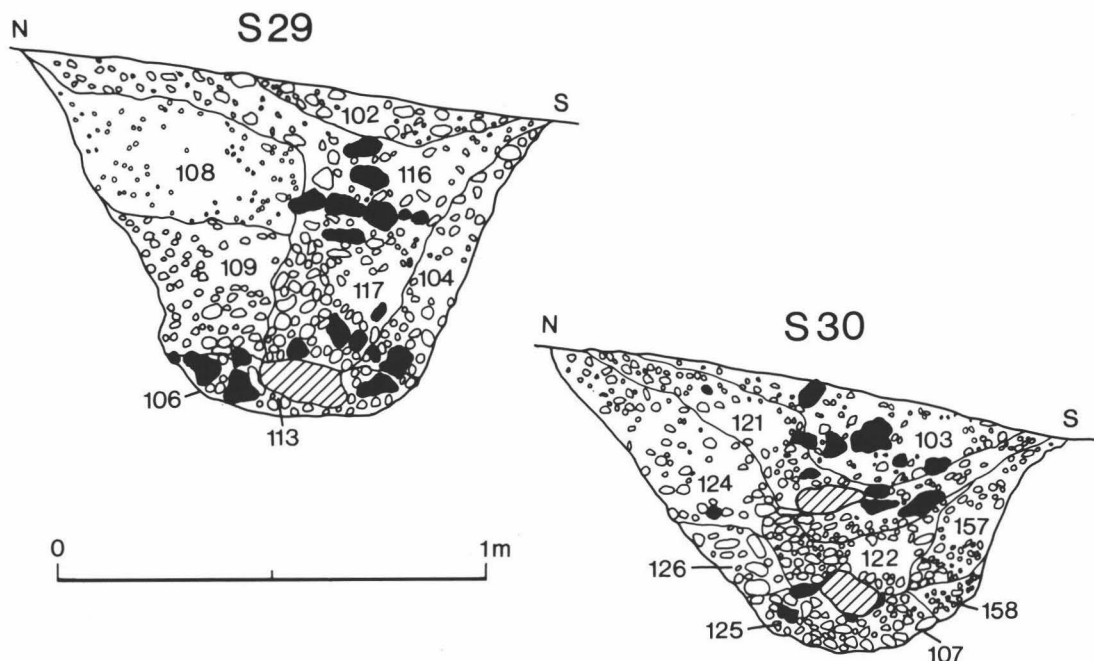


Fig. 11. Ditch sections.

horizon between 108 and 109 was horizontal, suggesting deliberate and rapid backfilling rather than natural silting. The materials were predominantly varying proportions of chalk and silty clay. contexts 116 and 117 were much looser, with voids, and included larger stones. The section shows an indistinct horizon between the two. A concave upper surface suggests natural settlement, filled by later silting (102). In section, 116 and 117 have the appearance of a post-pipe, but in plan (confirmed during excavation) they were linear. Context 113 again has a relatively horizontal upper surface suggestive of deliberate deposition rather than natural erosion of the sides; the position of the large stone directly below contexts 116 and 117 was repeated elsewhere in the excavated sections of the ditch, but did not form a regular pattern.

One interpretation of this section would be that the ditch originally contained a continuous palisade, substantial vertical timbers being set within it, supported by the well-consolidated backfills 104, 108 and 109. Subsequent removal of these timbers would leave a straight-sided slot to be backfilled and/or become silted up; the lack of distinct silt layers at the bottom or evidence of erosion of the vertical sides suggests backfilling. The slot is not absolutely

vertical, but the slight angle is compatible with slumping down the slope, probably whilst the timbers were in position. There is also likely to have been some disturbance during their removal.

The second section (Fig. 11:S30) displays a comparable sequence of fills. The division between fills 124 and 125 also appears roughly horizontal, but the upper surface of other fills, 124 in particular, is much more suggestive of silting. Fills 121 and 122 were similar in composition to fills 116 and 117, but with less of the appearance of an upright slot. Overall, and in contrast to Figure 11:S29, an alternative interpretation of a silted-up ditch with a smaller recut — perhaps for the insertion of a palisade — appears possible. It is also argued that the mollusc analysis, samples for which were taken from the second section, indicates silting and recutting rather than rapid backfill (Wilkinson, report below, p. 54).

The function of such a feature, whether or not it contained a palisade, is obscure. Unfortunately, its full length is not known, but there was no comparable terminal forming the other side of an entrance, or indeed any other feature to suggest a complete enclosure. However, truncation has been severe and it is possible that at a higher level it

abutted the bank of a positive lynchet (see Other Linear Features below), thus forming a more complete barrier at this point. A similarly isolated ditch terminal was found at Downsview (Rudling forthcoming).

Other linear features

Four linear features were heavily truncated (see Fig. 3). Two, numbered 320 and 439, were relatively short (approx. 6 m × 1.5 m and 9 m × 1.5 m respectively) with rounded ends, whereas the two others 435 and 437 were of unknown, but considerably greater, length. Sections were excavated across 320 and 435 and showed a surviving depth of c. 0.25 m and c. 0.2 m respectively. Both had gently concave bases, no. 435 the latter being slightly asymmetrical. The remaining two were unexcavated because of pressure of time, and the lack of any indication to suggest they were likely to be different. They each contained a single fill, similar to the colluvial fills recorded elsewhere.

When first revealed by machining, these features were thought to be natural variations in the surface of the chalk. The contours are shown in Figure 1, and it can be seen that the westernmost pair roughly follow the natural slope. The easternmost pair, however, are almost at a right angle to the slope, which does not suggest a natural origin. In plan the longer two (435 & 437) have the appearance of being the very truncated remnants of negative lynchets demarcating an archaic field system, and are considered henceforth to be such, though the single recorded profile does suggest the alternative possibility of truncated ditches and as such they would still appear to be field boundaries. The origin and purpose of the two shorter ones are unknown, but their alignments are similar to the probable lynchets and they may in some way be related.

The features interpreted as lynchets, the ditch and the fence all seem to form a series of alignments approximately parallel or at right angles to each other, and are therefore tentatively suggested to be of similar date. The radiocarbon date of the ditch fill, and the suggested relationship to hut 1, would put them in the Middle Bronze Age. They are illustrated as being of this date on Figure 3, but it should be borne in mind that the evidence for this assumption is not conclusive. The projected line of lynchet/ditch 435 would pass very close to hut 4, but it is possible for them to be contemporary; had this not been the case, its interpretation as a Middle Bronze Age field boundary would be less likely.

The relationship between lynchet 435 and the undated terrace could not be determined. The fill of the former contained a mixture of Middle and Late Bronze Age, and post-medieval sherds, suggestive of accumulation over a lengthy period and/or a degree of disturbance. It is possible that the single post-medieval sherd is intrusive, perhaps from the animal action which was recorded elsewhere on the site. If the Middle Bronze Age date of the putative lynchet is accepted, then the terrace is likely to be later, perhaps considerably so, as it is unlikely that a Middle Bronze Age terrace would cut a lynchet of similar date, and vice versa.

Inhumation

A crouched inhumation was recovered from an elliptical grave cut towards the north-west of the excavated area (detail Fig. 12). It had been damaged by ploughing, and is likely to be that of a female aged 15–25 (Wood, report below, pp. 47–8). No grave goods were present. It was dated by radiocarbon to cal. BC 1210–1000 (BM-2919).

LATER BRONZE AGE

A single large feature, referred to as hut 5, was situated in the south-west of the site. Various smaller features were in the same area, and are probably of the same date. Those features shown on the overall site plan (Fig. 2), but not on the Middle Bronze Age plan (Fig. 3) can be assumed to be of this date. It is not certain whether the field boundaries represented by the lynchets continued in use in this period.

Hut 5

This was only partially within the excavated area (see Introduction and Fig. 13) and insufficient

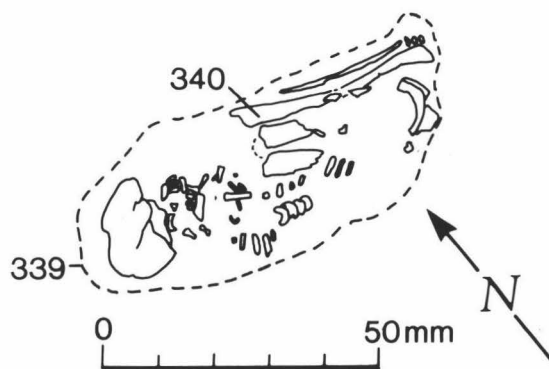


Fig. 12. Inhumation.

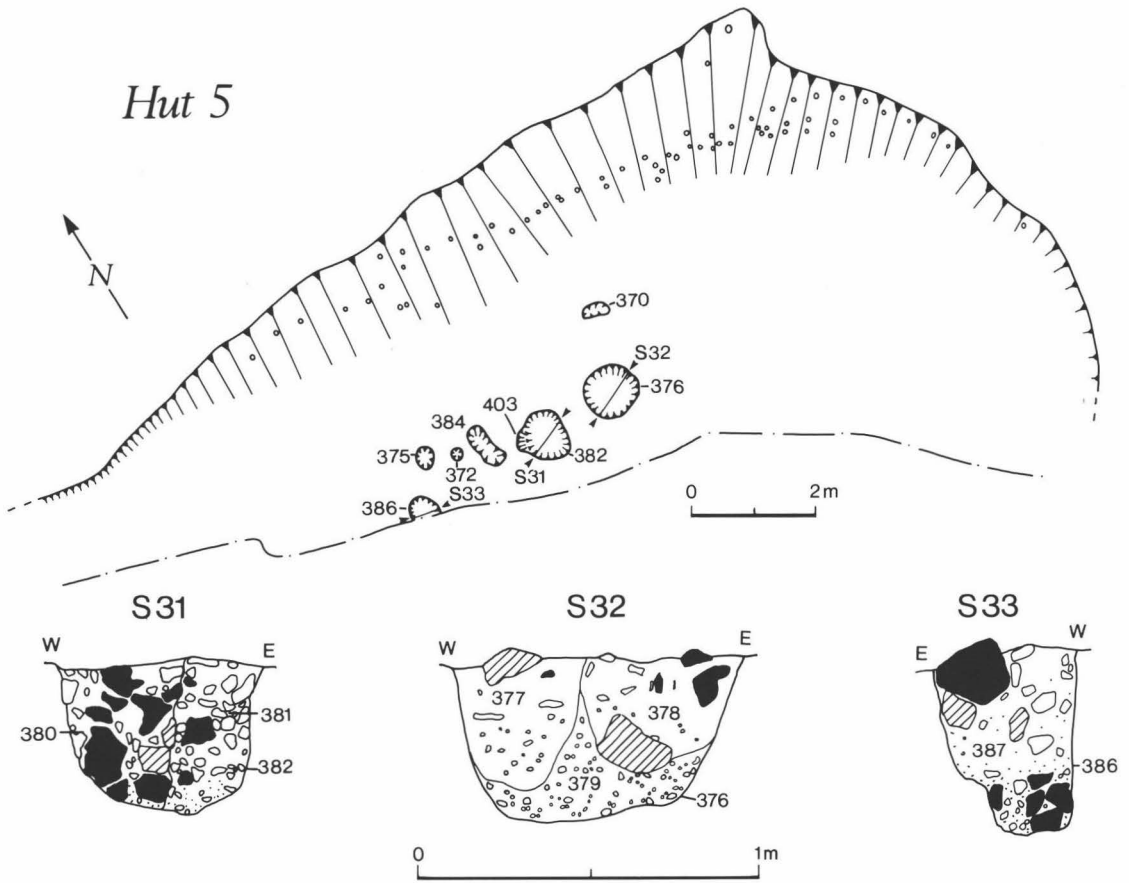


Fig. 13. Hut 5 plan and sections.

evidence is available to interpret it satisfactorily. It is referred to here as a hut for convenience, because it shares some of the characteristics of the Middle Bronze Age huts described above. Its excavation was, unfortunately, of necessity rushed. Only a small part was originally within the site. The opportunity to borrow a machine and driver (from Llewellyn Homes Ltd., the University's contractors for the development) towards the end of the fieldwork programme was taken, and the site extended as far as possible by cutting back the spoil heap, revealing a much larger feature than anticipated. The western edge was slightly damaged during machining. It appears to be a terraced platform similar to those of huts 1-4, though larger and less regular. The edge was marked by large stake-holes, in places in a somewhat erratic pattern, and there were probable structural elements within it. The pottery indicates a Late Bronze Age date.

The section of post-hole 382 (Fig. 13:S31) indicates a substantial post-pipe. Although no similar feature could be clearly identified in hole 386, its profile, and the presence of large potential post-packing material in the fill, suggests that it may also have held a large post (Fig. 13:S33).

The remaining large cut, 376, has a much more complex section (Fig. 13:S32). Two possible explanations suggest themselves. The hole could have held two posts, not necessarily simultaneously. These would presumably have rested on the base of the cut; fill 379 must therefore represent the original construction backfill, which slumped when the posts were removed and covered the base with a concave deposit; layers 377 and 378 would be the backfill/silting following disuse. Alternatively, the hole may have been a storage pit, perhaps containing two jars set in a backfill of deposit 379;

the remaining fills would then represent the filling of the feature after their removal. There was no *in situ* pottery to confirm this suggestion.

The sections as drawn are confirmed by photographs, but there remains a possibility that hole 386 may have had an arrangement of fills similar to those of hole 376 which, under the circumstances of the excavation, and despite being dug by a competent excavator, were not noticed. The proximity of the two holes to each other, and their similarity in size may suggest that they had a similar function. It seems unlikely that a single hole would have held two posts originally, and the regular shape of cut 376 argues against its having been enlarged to carry an additional post, or for the insertion of a replacement post prior to removing the original. They are both very large for post-holes.

Of the remaining features within the terrace, 370 and 384 were amorphous shallow scoops of no obvious function. 372 and 375 were small flat-bottomed holes which could have been post-holes.

The main problem in interpretation of the platform as a whole is the absence of a coherent plan of structural post-holes comparable to those found in hut platforms 1, 2 and 4, although it is possible that an insufficient area of the floor was exposed in the excavation to reveal them. However, the absence of structural, or any other, features from the eastern side of the terrace is noteworthy. It is unlikely that any were missed, as the chalk base provided a clear and distinct background. It does not, therefore, seem possible that the structure could have been of a similar type to those in the earlier platforms, although the presence of the peripheral stake-holes indicates a degree of similarity.

Miscellaneous small features

Two small holes in the vicinity of hut 5 contained Late Bronze Age pottery and are discussed below. Various other small holes in the same general area formed no obvious pattern, but are likely to be of the same date because of their location close to an area of known Late Bronze Age activity and remote from that of the Middle Bronze Age.

Hole 159 had a diameter of 330 mm and a depth of 120 mm, and was notable for containing the greater part of a Late Bronze Age carinated bowl, plus fragments of other pots of comparable date (see Hamilton, report below, p. 33, for full discussion). The hole was neatly circular, suggesting that it had

been deliberately dug to contain the pot, which was probably whole, or nearly so, when deposited, although in a fragmentary condition when excavated. The sherds, which were relatively large, were lying horizontally. A fill of mid-brown silty clay filled the gaps between them, and also the remainder of the cut. It appeared that the pot had somehow become broken and flattened.

All the fill of the feature was retained and sieved off-site, but yielded no information to suggest any purpose for the deposition of the pots.

The other small hole contained a small amount of pottery; it is not discussed further here, and should be considered along with the undated holes discussed below.

FEATURES OF UNCERTAIN OR UNKNOWN PERIOD

Animal burial

The articulated, but damaged, skeleton of a cow was found in a burial pit towards the north-east of the excavated area. It gave a radiocarbon date of cal. bc 1010–865 which puts it in the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition period, and is shown hatched as possibly Middle Bronze Age in Figure 3. The backfill of the pit contained a single small sherd of later Bronze Age pottery, although it came from very close to the truncated upper surface of the fill, and it could be intrusive. It does, however, correlate with the radiocarbon date.

There were no pathological indications to suggest the reason for the cow's death and burial. The skull was largely missing, which could be the result of deliberate removal (Wood, report below, pp. 47–8), but could also have been caused by plough damage if the position of the carcass at burial had left the head at a slightly higher level than the remainder of the body. The presence of skull fragments may suggest the latter.

The two obvious interpretations of this feature are firstly the burial of a diseased animal, and secondly a ritual deposition. The burial of a dead animal is perhaps unlikely to have taken place so close to an inhabited hut (or to a hollow which may have functioned as a pond for water collection), although the available dating evidence suggests that these are likely to have been abandoned by this time. It is an attractive idea to see it as a ritual deposition at the entrance to a trackway between the fence and ditch/palisade, but there is no evidence to confirm such an interpretation and it is probably of too late a date.

Unfinished terrace

This feature (436) was only partially within the excavated area (Fig. 2), but appears to be comparable to hut platforms 1, 2 and 4; it was terraced into the slope, but was probably slightly larger. However, it consisted only of a single large cut, without any associated features. Its fill was suggestive only of colluviation and erosion into an open cut; it did not appear to have been deliberately backfilled.

The section indicated only that it predated modern ploughing. It was not possible to establish its relationship to linear feature 435. It is likely to be later than the Middle Bronze Age (*see* Lynchets, above). Its fill contained Late Bronze Age pottery, and it may well be of this date; its size is certainly more comparable to the similarly dated hut 5.

Miscellaneous features

The remaining features are isolated small holes that cannot be dated or interpreted. They are not discussed further, and are not specifically illustrated.

Also of note is a substantial proportion of a Romano-British East-Sussex ware jar (Hamilton, report below, p. 42). This was recovered during the machining of the top- and sub-soil and was allocated context number 21 (following on from the initial evaluation). No associated features were observed.

DISCUSSION

In general terms, the Middle Bronze Age evidence suggests a fairly typical small downland settlement of the period, although the interpretation of those features considered to be lynchets, fencing, and a possible pond is less certain than that of the huts themselves. All of these are found on comparable sites such as those already quoted.

The settlement is notable for being situated on a steeper slope than that of previously recorded sites, with the exception of that recently excavated nearby at Downsview (Rudling forthcoming). The lynchets indicate ploughing. This can only have taken place parallel to the slope; ploughing up-and-down such a gradient must have been impossible without an efficient plough and may even require mechanical power. Cultivation of a relatively difficult site suggests pressure on land resources as a result of an increasing population. It is interesting that the mollusc evidence (Wilkinson, report below, pp. 51–5) suggests that the surviving colluvium immediately above the chalk, which was distinct from the soil horizons above it, may result from agricultural activity in the medieval period (although it could

be later). This, until *c.* AD 1300, was also a time of increasing population, with marginal land being brought into cultivation (Rowley 1986, 17). It is not possible to assess the continuity of this cultivation. Assuming that the area downslope of the lynchets was indeed a cultivated field in the Middle Bronze Age, the presence of a Late Bronze Age structure within it would indicate that cultivation had, for some reason, ceased.

The agricultural economy of the settlement, as suggested by the carbonized plant remains, is typical of settlements of this date and time (Hinton, report below, p. 48). The three main cereal crops, wheat (some identifiable as emmer), barley (hulled) and oats were present, though in small quantities. Preservation was poor, and this may account for the absence of non-cereal crops.

Animal husbandry also included the main species to be expected: cattle, sheep/goat and pig (Wood, report below, pp. 47–8). The evidence contrasts with the relative paucity of that from Black Patch, where the three species were in similar proportions, with cattle slightly in the majority (O'Connor 1982; Drewett *et al.* 1988, 106). At Varley Halls there was a much larger assemblage, and cattle were by some way in the majority, though the picture is slightly skewed by the presence of an articulated though incomplete cow-burial which formed roughly 15% of the identifiable assemblage, although there were no obvious midden deposits.

It was suggested that the paucity of remains from Black Patch resulted either from the discard of waste away from the settlement, from an emphasis on the arable, or from stock being kept on lowland pasture, and butchered there with only the meat portion being brought up to the settlement (Drewett 1982a, 340–41). The Varley Halls results would support the latter hypothesis, although it is possible that all three factors were present to some degree. (It should, however, be remembered that few of the contexts could be directly related to the occupation of the site, and the bone assemblage is probably more indicative of activity in the general area of the settlement rather than necessarily on the site itself.) Whilst situated on a steep slope, the site is close to the bottom of the valley which would provide sheltered grazing for cattle. The majority, though not all, of the bones present were from the extremities of the animal (head, feet) which are generally considered to be waste and which, as Wood suggests below, probably indicate on-site butchery.

The remainder of the animal could have been taken to other sites higher on the downs, which were less suitable for cattle, with only a small proportion of the meat cuts retained for local consumption. Mature animals predominated. It is suggested (Wood, report below) that this indicates that they were kept mainly for milk. It is perhaps more likely that they were kept for the duration of their useful dairy life and then eaten, which would be more economical than maintaining separate dairy and beef herds, although by modern standards less desirable. Some would doubtless have been draught animals.

Such a transfer of animal produce between individual settlements exploiting different local environments could have been by simple trade, or may indicate close family or tribal ties sharing resources. Sheep may have been exchanged in the reverse direction, as they are well-suited to life on exposed upland locations. Woodland was exploited for timber (Berzins, report below, pp. 48–51), and probably also provided at least part of the grazing requirement

for pigs.

Hamilton (report below) observes that Ellison Type 7 finewares are notably absent from the Varley Halls pottery assemblage, which may indicate a 'low-status' or relatively poor settlement. There were no other significant finds groups by which the wealth of the settlement could be assessed; the only other artefactual finds of the period, a faience pendant fragment and a tracer/awl came from overlying colluvial contexts not directly related to the settlement. Few surfaces that could be identified, or even suggested, as being *in situ* occupation deposits were located; those that were had been disturbed and/or truncated, and produced few finds. Two-dimensional finds-plots of the few possible floor layers were made, but did not reveal any significant groupings to enable the kind of activity area analysis undertaken at Black Patch (Drewett 1982a) to be made. There was no evidence to suggest that the settlement was anything other than purely agricultural.

SPECIALIST REPORTS

EAST SUSSEX LATER BRONZE AGE POTTERY TRADITIONS: THE ASSEMBLAGE FROM VARLEY HALLS

By Sue Hamilton

Introduction

The Varley Halls pottery 832 assemblage comprises sherds, of which 796 are Bronze Age, 32 are Romano-British, two are medieval and two post-medieval. Some 6.1 kg of pottery was recovered, of which 5.7 kg is Bronze Age. The Middle Bronze Age (MBA) pottery is of Deverel-Rimbury tradition and comprises *in situ* finds from a group of associated settlement features. The Late Bronze Age (LBA) assemblage falls within a post-Deverel-Rimbury 'plain' tradition and is topographically separate from the MBA assemblage, except where it occurs in colluvial deposits over the MBA hut platforms.

In addition to documenting the pottery assemblage recovered from Varley Halls, the discussion considers the Varley Halls MBA and LBA assemblages in the context of Sussex Middle and Late Bronze Age assemblages as a whole, and specifically East Sussex Bronze Age assemblages.

The Varley Halls assemblage is one of seven MBA/LBA assemblages from Sussex that have associated radiometric dates. The implications of these dates are considered in the final section of the pottery discussion. All quoted radiocarbon dates have been calibrated according to data published by Pearson and Stuiver 1986 and method A as published by Stuiver and Reimer 1993. Dates are quoted at one sigma.

Methodology

The pottery was analyzed using the pottery recording system recommended by the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group (1992). All sherds were assigned a fabric type, after macroscopic examination and the use of a binocular microscope (X20

power), and then counted and weighed to the nearest whole gramme. Each diagnostic sherd was assigned a form/decorative/technological type (Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, 16–18).

Stratigraphic implications

Table 1 summarizes the Varley Halls pottery assemblage according to the stratigraphic context of the pottery and its fabric categories. The specific stratigraphic contexts of the pottery are discussed below, with particular attention to the information provided for on-site chronological sequences, the interrelationships between features and the possible function(s) of features.

Hut 1

Hut 1 produced 0.74 kg of pottery comprising exclusively Bronze Age sherds (123 sherds). These sherds come from post-hole contexts (context 112: fill of context 111; context 154: fill of context 153; context 196: fill of context 195; context 253: fill of context 254) and colluvium (contexts 105 & 110) overlying these features. The pottery from hut 1 suggests a coherent and related MBA assemblage characterized by cordoned, and finger-impressed, bucket urns (e.g. Fig. 14:1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 & 11). The greater part of the colluvium resting on the terrace, together with the infill of the features on the hut terrace, relates to a spread of contemporary material derived from general (probably upslope) activity in the area, which accumulated on the terrace after disuse. This is particularly demonstrated by contexts 105 and 110 which share sherds from the same vessels (e.g. Fig. 14:1, 14 & Fig. 14:9, 10 & 11). Additionally, sherds from one Ellison Type 10 urn decorated with a line of finger-tip impressions below the rim (Fig. 14:10) belong to the same or a similar vessel to that represented by sherds found in hut 4 (context 328: Fig. 14:16), suggesting downslope movement of material subsequent to hut abandonment. Sherds

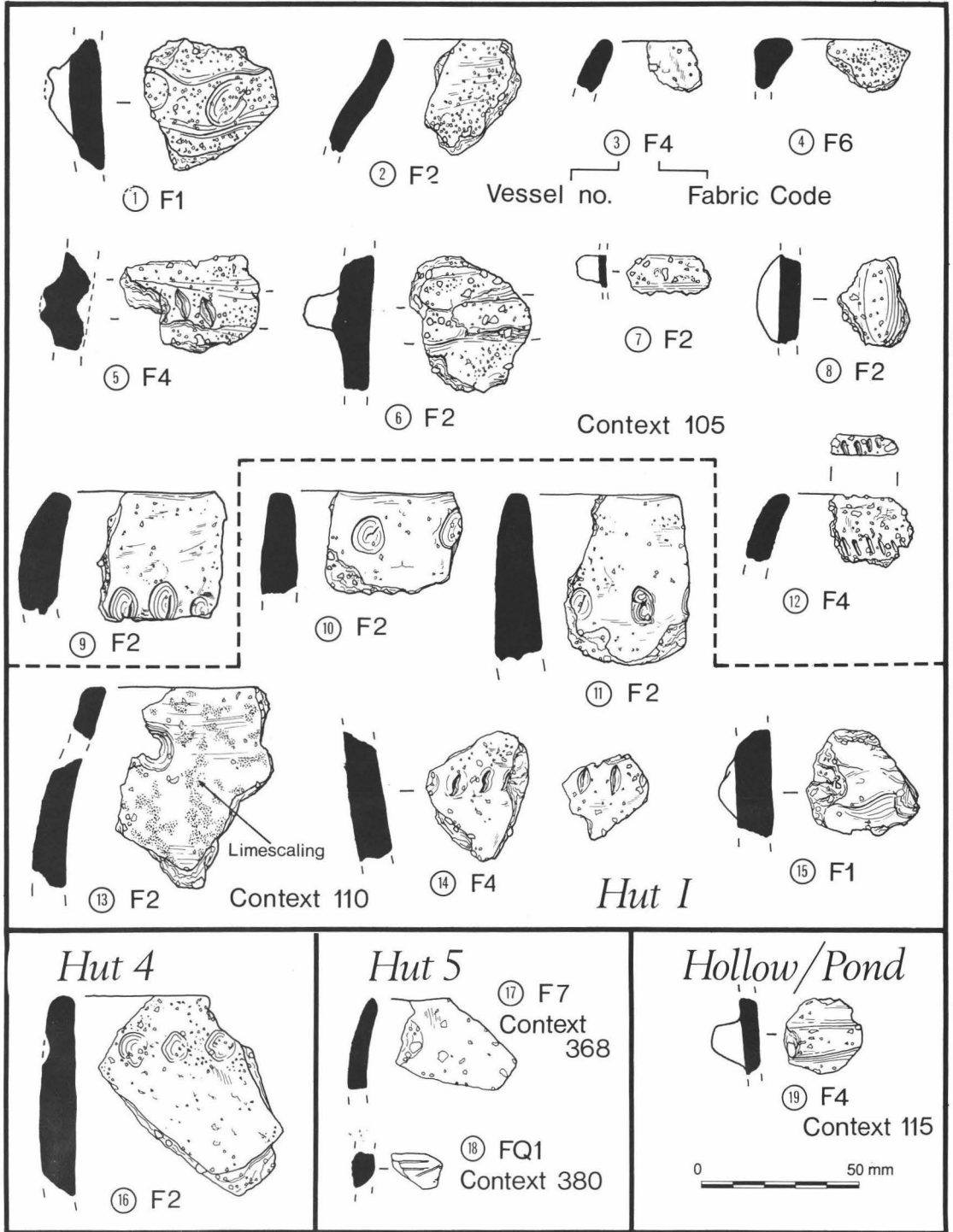


Fig. 14. Varley Halls. Pottery.

from both hut 1 and hut 2 (which are at the same slope level) have limescaling (e.g. Fig. 14:13 & Fig. 15:21) suggesting that cooking activities may have taken place in both huts. In addition to MBA sherds, the uppermost layer of colluvium (context 105) has a few sherds from LBA forms, notably convex-sided jars (Fig. 14:3 & 4) and a stick- or bone-impressed rim sherd (Fig. 14:12) from a bipartite bowl. These LBA sherds suggest the presence of subsequent upslope Late Bronze Age activity.

Hut 2

Some 1.5 kg of Bronze Age pottery was recovered from hut 2. This comprises 127 sherds, weighing an average of 12.2 g per sherd. The colluvium (context 211) has four sherds of Romano-British date and later (Table 1). Additionally context 211 has sherds from a MBA bucket urn with an applied cordon decorated with line of fingertip impressions (Fig. 15:20) together with LBA forms, namely a convex jar (Fig. 15:23) and a shouldered bowl (Fig. 15:22). The pottery recovered from hut 2 terrace contexts below this colluvium comprised a MBA assemblage with diagnostic sherds from two bag-shaped urns (Ellison Type 1, Fig. 15:25 & 26). A total of 21 sherds have limescale accretions (particularly from contexts 256 & 271) suggesting cooking activities.

Hut 3

All of the pottery recovered from hut 3 is of Bronze Age date. A total of 18 sherds was recovered, and these together weighed 0.3 kg. Although the number of sherds present is quite small and concurs with hut 3 being the smallest of the hut structures, it is interesting that the average weight per sherd is high (16.7 g compared to 6.0 g for hut 1). This high weight per sherd suggests an *in situ* assemblage used for domestic/storage purposes. The diagnostic sherds include rounded base sherds, two flat-topped rim sherds from bucket shaped urn(s) (Ellison Type 9) and four conjoining rim sherds from an ovoid urn (Fig. 15:27, Ellison Type 5 or 11). The hut 3 assemblage has an associated radiocarbon date (from context 218) of cal BC 1505–1380 or 1340–1320 (BM-2936), which is in agreement with the MBA dating of the assemblage (see dating for further discussion).

Hut 4

Only 12 sherds (0.12 kg) were recovered from this structure. All of these sherds were Bronze Age. With the exception of one Fabric F4 sherd (which was from the colluvium), the fabrics were those (Fabrics F1 & F2) exclusively associated with MBA forms. Only one diagnostic sherd was recovered (context 238), the rim of a bucket urn with a line of fingertip impressions below the rim (Fig. 14:16). This form is also present in hut 1 (see above).

Hut 5

Hut 5 produced 153 sherds of pottery weighing 0.96 kg and averaging a weight of 6.24 g per sherd. All of the diagnostic form sherds were LBA and occurred in fabrics (Fabrics IO1, IO2 & Q1) which, in Sussex, are exclusively associated with LBA/EIA forms. Part of a hemispherical bowl (Fig. 14:17) was recovered from context 368 (colluvium). The fill (context 380) of one post-pipe produced an incised decorated sherd (Fig. 14:18).

Unfinished terrace

This feature produced a total of 26 MBA and LBA sherds (0.1 kg) and one Romano-British sherd. The predominance of

LBA sherds (e.g. LBA Fabric IO1) suggests the possibility of a LBA date for the construction of the platform.

Hollow/pond

Some 46 sherds (weighing 0.2 kg), all Bronze Age, were recovered from this depression. The sherds were eroded, weighing an average of 4.2 g per sherd. No exclusively LBA fabrics were present and the one form sherd present was a plain, narrow raised cordon of MBA type (Fig. 14:19) from context 115 (uppermost fill).

Lynchet

Nine Bronze Age sherds and one post-medieval sherd were recovered from the fill (context 357) of this shallow depression. Both MBA and LBA fabrics were present and the average weight per sherd in these fabrics was relatively low (7.7 g), suggesting that the feature was a catchment for downslope erosion. Only one diagnostic sherd was present, a LBA fingernail impressed decorated sherd (Fabric F3).

Hole 159

The fill (context 160) of this feature produced exclusively BA sherds (275 sherds weighing 1.63 kg). Some 96% of these sherds were in fabrics (Fabrics IO1 & Q1) which have exclusive LBA/EIA associations. All of the diagnostic sherds, both in these fabrics and in the flint-gritted fabrics (Fabrics F6 & F7), were of LBA forms. The cut closely corresponds with the size and shape of the most complete vessel in the fill assemblage (the carinated bowl described below). On this basis, the pottery is interpreted as a deliberately buried group which, as such, is an important LBA 'closed context' of associated forms. These forms comprise a splayed base (Fig. 16:34, Fabric F6), a near complete carinated bowl with a cable-decorated rim (Fig. 16:28, Fabric Q1), a slightly domed base (Fig. 16:33, Fabric IO1), the fingernail impressed rim of a bipartite bowl (Fig. 16:29, Fabric F7), and the out-turned rim of an angular bowl (Fig. 16:30, Fabric IO1) together with a decorated sherd with a triangular impressed decoration (Fig. 16:31, Fabric IO1) possibly from the same angular bowl.

Hole 398

The fill of this small hole (context 399) produced a total of three body sherds, all Bronze Age.

Animal burial pit

Fill 219 contained a single sherd of F4 fabric which is of LBA date on the basis of its association with LBA forms (Table 3).

Topsoil

Very little pottery was recovered from the topsoil with the exception of context 21 which comprised a concentration of 21 Romano-British sherds, all from an East Sussex Ware short-necked jar with a foot-ring base (Fig. 16:35).

Pottery fabrics

The fabric types within each series were established and defined on the basis of macroscopic inspection in conjunction with microscopic analysis at X20 magnification. All inclusion/temper sizes are classified using the Wentworth sedimentary scale and descriptive terms (Krumbein & Pettijohn 1938, 30; Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, 35). Density charts (Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, appendix 3) were used to standardize assessment of the quantity of inclusion/

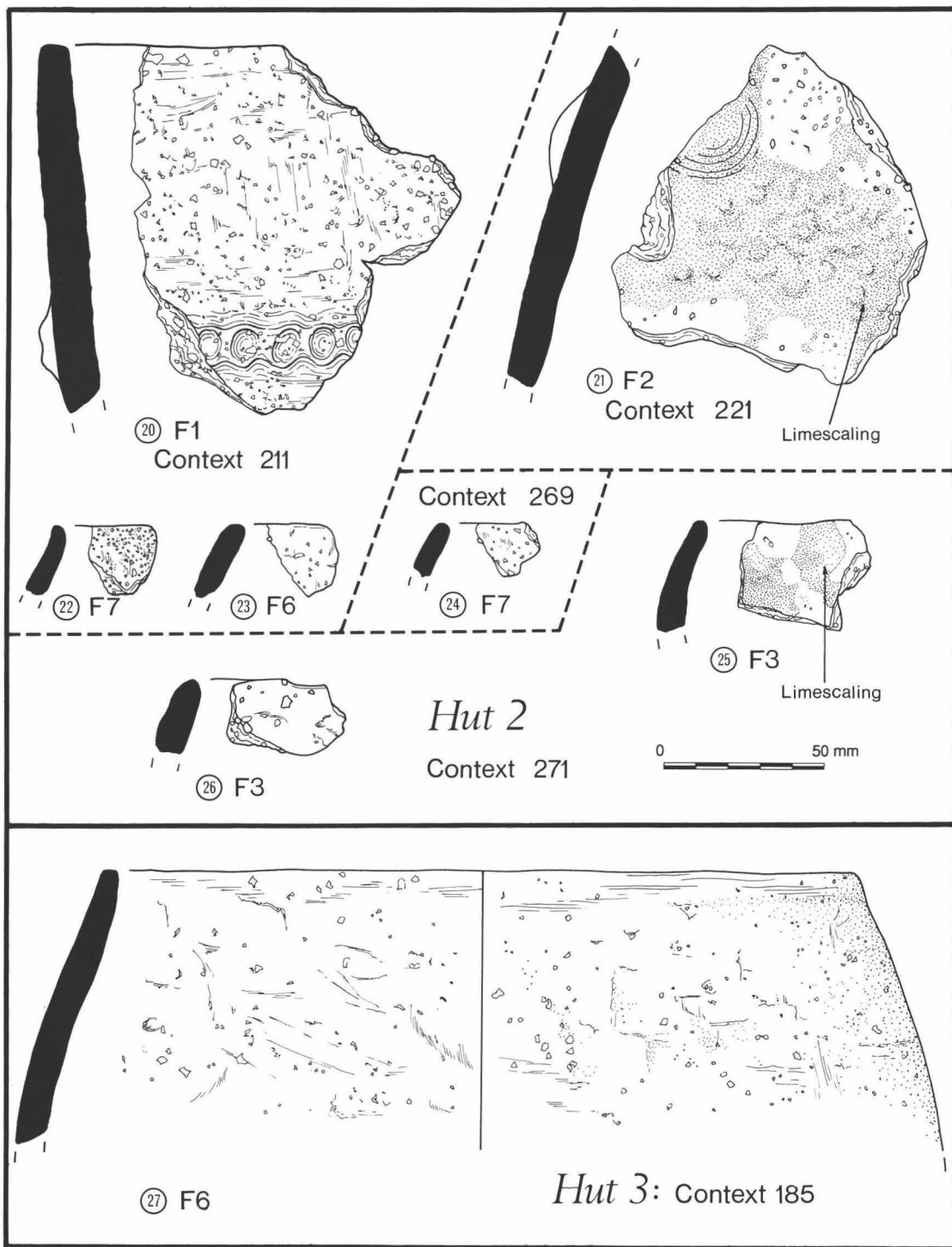


Fig. 15. Varley Halls. Pottery.

Table 1. Varley Halls pottery assemblage. Sherd counts according to context and fabric categories.

Fabrics Contexts	1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	IO1	O2	Q1	RB	M	PM	g/wgt
<i>Us</i>				2					1			4			48
21 (us)												26			353
<i>Hut 1:</i>															
100				2											5
105	13	27		4		1									290
110	13	6		53											417
112		1													8
154		1													10
196		1													4
253		1													6
<i>Hut 2:</i>															
211	7			9		3	1					1	2	1	311
221	18	3				8	1								341
248				5											12
256	1	2		20		3	3								192
271	23	5	13												701
273				1											3
321							1								2
<i>Hut 3:</i>															
114		1		3											21
185						4									108
191		1		1		2									113
218		2													11
259		2													29
261		4													27
<i>Hut 4:</i>															
237		8													59
238				1											20
285	1	1													32
352		1													6
<i>Hut 5:</i>															
368						2	4		28	56	39				785
374										3	1				33
377										3	1				21
378									1						6
380									1	1	1				27
383										4					12
387									1		4				64
402											3				9
<i>Unfinished terrace:</i>															
367		2		4		12	1		7			1			112
<i>Lynchet 435:</i>															
357			1	1	2				5					1	75
<i>Hollow/pond:</i>															
115	9			10		10		1							145
194		1													4
291		13													31
<i>Animal burial pit:</i>															
219				1											3
<i>Other:</i>															
160						9	2	0	133		131				1632
399				3											6
Total	85	83	14	120	2	54	13	1	177	67	180	32	2	2	6094

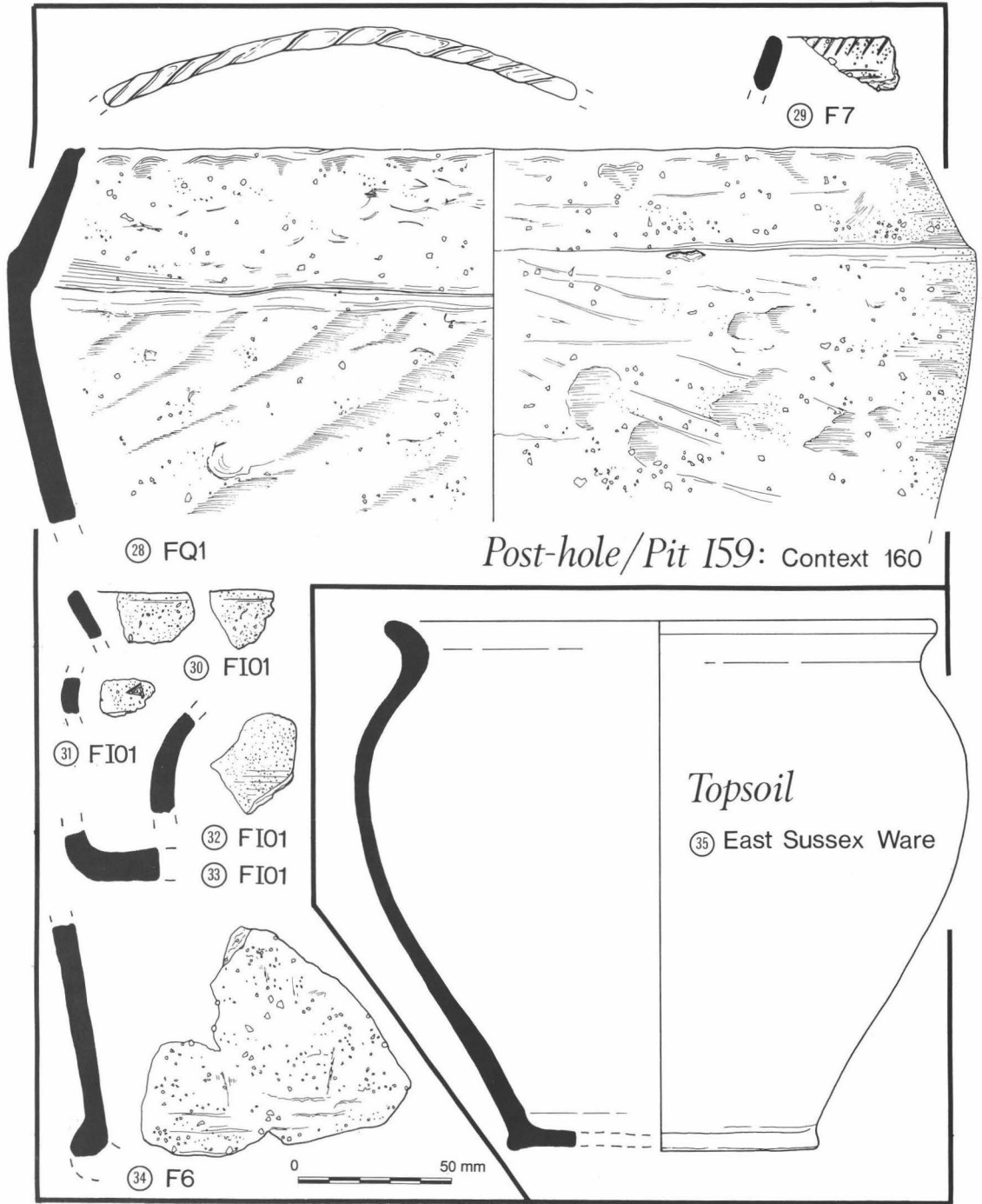


Fig. 16. Varley Halls. Pottery.

temper present in fabric matrices.

The Varley Halls fabric types are grouped by general period. Some of the fabric types are already well defined, with known chronological parameters (e.g. the LBA/EIA fabrics of IO1 and IO2 and the Romano-British fabrics). Other fabric types were chronologically placed in the series on the basis of the range of diagnostic form types associated with specific fabrics.

MBA/LBA fabrics

Flint-tempered fabrics

F1 Very coarse flint-tempered fabric

A moderate to common amount (15–20% density) of flint temper comprising sparse (5–7% density) pebble (5–6 mm) and granule-sized (2 mm) pieces together with some very coarse (1 mm) sand-sized pieces; matrix colour/firing — exterior and interior surfaces variably buff/light orange to medium grey, unoxidized dark grey core; sherd thickness — c. 13–17 mm.

F2 Coarse flint-tempered fabric

Moderate (10% density) to common (20% density) flint temper comprising occasional pebbles (c. 6 mm), mostly granule-sized (c. 2–4 mm) pieces, and some very coarse (0.5–1 mm) sand-sized pieces of flint; rare quantities (2% density) of fine (0.25 mm) rounded quartz sand; matrix colour/firing — reddish brown oxidized exterior surface and mid-grey unoxidized interior surfaces and core; sherd thickness — c. 10–12 mm.

F3 Scattered coarse flint-tempered

Sparse (3% density) pebbles (4–6 mm), granule-sized and very coarse sand-sized (1.5–4 mm) pieces of flint; matrix colour/firing — patchy colouring with surfaces and core variably buff, orange and unoxidized dark brown. The surfaces have signs of smoothing; sherd thickness — 8–10 mm.

F4 Medium-coarse flint-tempered fabric

Moderate (7–10% density) flint temper of rare (2% density) small pebbles (4–6 mm), together with granule-sized (2–3 mm) and very coarse sand-sized (c. 1.5 mm) pieces; matrix colour/firing — exterior and interior surfaces variably brown, red, orange or dark grey/brown, core either unoxidized dark grey/brown or oxidized orange; sherd thickness — c. 9–11 mm.

F5 Medium-coarse flint-tempered with quartz sand fabric

Sparse to moderately abundant flint (7–10% density) mostly granule-sized (c. 3 mm) flint mixed with some very coarse sand-size (c. 1 mm) flint. The clay matrix also contains sparse (3% density) transparent to translucent coarse sand-sized (0.5 mm) quartz inclusions of low angularity; matrix colour/firing — surfaces and core generally buff or dark brown; sherd thickness — c. 7–8 mm.

F6 Medium flint-tempered fabric

Moderate (10% density) flint temper comprising occasional pebbles (c. 4–6 mm) together with more numerous granule-sized (c. 2 mm), and very coarse and coarse sand-sized (c. 1–0.5 mm), pieces of flint; matrix colour/firing — variable buff-orange oxidized to dark brown unoxidized exterior and interior surfaces and core; sherd thickness — c. 8–10 mm. Vessels in this fabric often have smoothed interior and exterior surfaces.

F7 Medium-fine flint-tempered with quartz sand fabric

Sparse to moderate (7–15% density) flint inclusions comprising granule-sized (c. 4 mm), very coarse sand-sized (1–2 mm), coarse

sand-sized (0.5–1 mm), and medium sand-sized (0.25–0.5 mm) flint, together with sparse (5–7%) subrounded transparent quartz of predominantly medium sand (0.25–<0.5 mm) size grade; matrix colour/firing — exterior surface is oxidized buff-orange with some dark brown smudging, dark brown unoxidized interior surface and core; sherd thickness — c. 6–7 mm.

F8 Fine flint-tempered with some fine quartz sand fabric

Sparse to moderate (7–10% density) flint temper comprising very coarse sand-sized (1.5–2 mm) and coarse sand-sized (0.5–1 mm) flint, together with sparse (3% density) fine (0.25 mm) rounded quartz sand; matrix colouring/firing — buff/light orange oxidized interior and exterior surfaces and a dark brown unoxidized core; sherd thickness — 7–8 mm.

Iron-oxide fabrics

IO1 Iron oxide fabric with flint temper

The fabric is dominated by the presence of very common (30% density) pisolithic iron oxides of medium sand-sized (c. 0.4 mm) together with moderate (10% density) medium (c. 0.3 mm) transparent and translucent subrounded quartz sand. Additionally rare (1–2% density) very coarse sand-sized (1.5–2 mm) size pieces of flint are also sometimes present; matrix colouring/firing — leather-brown partially oxidized, sometimes burnished, exterior surface with dark brown unoxidized interior surface and core; sherd thickness — c. 7 mm.

IO2 Iron oxide fabric with flint and shell inclusions

The fabric has a very common (30% density) presence of pisolithic iron oxides of medium sand-sized (c. 0.4 mm) together with moderate (15% density) medium (c. 0.3 mm) translucent and transparent quartz sand. It additionally has rare to sparse (2–3% density) granule and pebble (2–4 mm) fragments of shell and rare (1% density) very coarse sand-sized (1.5–2 mm) pieces of flint; matrix colouring/firing — leather-brown partially oxidized, sometimes burnished, exterior surface with dark brown unoxidized interior surface and core; sherd thickness — 7–9 mm.

Sandy fabrics

Q1 Medium quartz sand fabric with flint temper

Moderate (10% density) coarse (c. 0.5 mm) translucent subrounded quartz sand together with rare (2% density) flint; matrix colour/firing — patchy buff to reddish brown (with dark brown areas) exterior and interior surfaces, and dark brown unoxidized core; sherd thickness — c. 8–9 mm.

Romano-British fabrics

The Romano-British fabrics were not studied in detail. A total of 32 Romano-British sherds were recovered and were ascribed to three general fabric groupings.

ESW East Sussex Ware (also known as Cooking Jar Fabric)

This grog-tempered fabric has been defined by Green (1977; 1980) and is particularly characterized by its 'soapy' feel.

Q2 Medium-grained, sandy wares

These wares comprise a moderate (10–15% density) to common (20–30% density) medium size (0.5 mm or less) sub-rounded to rounded quartz sand grains; matrix colour/firing — three wares are identified on the basis of surface fired colour: (i) unoxidized grey surfaces, (ii) oxidized orange surfaces, (iii) oxidized buff surfaces.

S Samian

Medieval fabrics

Two medieval sherds were recovered. These were both ascribed to the same general fabric category and were not studied in detail.

Q3 Medium quartz sand fabric

Moderately abundant (10–15% density) coarse and medium size grade quartz sand (0.2–1 mm), the quartz grains being polished and sub-rounded; matrix colour/firing — surfaces are oxidized orange and cores are dark grey/dark brown; sherd thickness — c. 7.5 mm.

Post-medieval fabrics

Two post-medieval sherds were recovered, both of the same fabric category.

RHE Red hard-fired earthenware

Clay and temper sources

There are no clay sources on-site. There are, however, extensive surface deposits of Clay-with-Flints within 1 km both west and east of the site on Hollingbury Hill and Falmer Hill respectively. Flint, the major clay tempering used for both MBA and LBA fabrics, could have similarly been obtained locally, or on-site, either from the Clay-with-Flints or the Chalk.

The quartz sand tempering in LBA Fabric DQ1 points to use of sandy clays, or quartz sand temper, derived from the Upper Greensand c. 4.5 km south of Varley Halls.

The LBA iron oxide fabrics (Fabrics IO1 & IO2) are characteristic of East Sussex LBA and EIA wares and suggest the use of alluvial clays weathered out of the Wealden ferruginous strata (Hamilton 1980, 58). The richest iron-bearing alluvial clays are approximately 20 km inland and derive from a High Wealden source such as Wadhurst Clay.

The Varley Halls pottery fabrics suggests reliance on locally available resources for ceramic production during the Middle Bronze Age. The LBA pottery assemblage indicates an increased diversity of resource exploitation, and the use of resources, or pottery, from more distant (4.5–20 km) locations north of the Chalk.

Forms, decoration and technology*Quantification of form, decoration and technology elements*

The elements of form, decoration and technology present in the Varley Halls MBA and LBA assemblages are listed in Table 2. These elements are tabulated in Table 3 together with their association with identified pottery types (see below) and fabric types (see above). In tabulating forming and finishing technology, and decoration, some sherds received more than one count owing to the multiple presence of diagnostic elements.

MBA forms, decoration and technology

The assemblage comprises bag-shaped, bucket-shaped, ovoid, and slack biconical, urns. The discussion below uses the typology of Sussex MBA pottery devised by Ellison (Ellison 1978; 1980; 1982). The Varley Halls MBA pottery is best matched by the MBA assemblages from Downsview (Hamilton forthcoming b), Itford Hill (Burstow & Holleyman 1957; Holden 1972), and Plumpton Plain A (Holleyman & Curwen 1935). The fine ware, incised decorated globular jars present in some Sussex MBA assemblage (Type 7, Ellison 1980) are,

however, conspicuous by their absence.

Ellison Type 1: this plain bag-shaped form is a type local to Sussex (Ellison 1975, 34). It has a major presence in the Varley Halls assemblage (Table 3) where it occurs with slightly rolled rims (R4; Fig. 15:25 & 26), or sometimes with a slight bevel on the inside of the rim (R5; Fig. 14:2).

Ellison Types 2 and 3: ovoid jars with unperforated lugs are also common components of Sussex MBA assemblages. Type 3 is distinguished by its flaring rim. Both types are more frequent east of the river Adur (Ellison 1978, 34). The presence of such vessels at Varley Halls is indicated by body sherds with plain unperforated applied lugs (D5) at, or above, the point of maximum vessel diameter (Fig. 14:8; Fig. 15:21).

Ellison Type 5: the profile of some of the Varley Halls flat-topped rims (R1; Fig. 15:27) indicates that they belong to squat ovoid urns, which is another type local to Sussex (Ellison 1978, 34).

Ellison Type 6: this type relates to plain urns with slack biconical profiles. At Varley Halls several sherds with plain, relatively narrow, raised horizontal cordons (D6; Fig. 15:7 & 19) are ascribed, on the basis of their profile, to the shoulder point of this type.

Ellison Types 9 and 10: these simple bucket-shaped urns occur at Varley Halls with fingertip or fingernail impressed decoration (D1, D2) direct on the vessel body (Ellison Type 9: Fig. 14:9, 10, 11, 14 & 16), or with applied raised cordons decorated with fingertip or fingernail impressions (Type 10: Fig. 16:5 & 15). These types are common components of southern British MBA assemblages. In Sussex these bucket-shaped forms (particularly Ellison Type 10) have been isolated as occurring most frequently west of the river Adur (Ellison 1978, 34). The Varley Halls MBA assemblage, together with the Downsview MBA assemblage, now extend the regular occurrence of these types eastwards. The Varley Halls examples have flat-topped rims (R1).

Rivet holes: a rim sherd from Type E1 jar has a single 'rivet hole' (Fig. 14:13) which has been bored, at some time post-firing, from the exterior face of the vessel wall. These holes are interpreted as being repair holes bored either side of cracks in the fabric of the pottery to allow them to be secured with leather thonging. Similar repair holes occur in the Itford Hill cemetery MBA assemblage (Ellison 1972, 111) and Mile Oak (MBA and LBA assemblages (Hamilton forthcoming a)). The need to repair vessels (rather than acquire replacements) could suggest off-site local production, or on-site seasonal production, or that pots were valued items due to the need for substantial time expenditure on resource procurement and production.

Limescale: several sherds from huts 1 and 2 have grey/white accretions of limescale on their outer surfaces (Fig. 16:13; Fig. 15:21 & 25). The accretions occur on the exterior walls of sherds from approximately 1 cm below the rim downwards. Some base under-sides also have limescaling. This suggests the heating of liquids by placing the pot containing the liquid inside a larger water-filled pot, which is then placed on a flame for heating. In chalky areas in particular this process leaves a residue on the exterior surfaces of the inner pot. Accretions

also occur on some of the LBA sherds, suggesting continuing tradition of this method of heating.

Pre-cordon keying: one sherd from hut 1, context 105 (Fig. 14:6) has a 'roughened' surface suggesting the technique of pre-cordon keying by scoring the vessel wall prior to application of the cordon. This technological trait has been noted on LBA assemblages from East Kent (Macpherson-Grant 1991, 41).

Dating: comparison with the local Downsview assemblage, and the range of radiocarbon dates recovered from Varley Halls, particularly the date associated with MBA pottery from hut 3, favour a date within the 14th to 12th centuries BC for the MBA assemblage (see below, Regional Context and Dating, pp. 41–2, for more detailed discussion).

The LBA pottery

Forms

A number of characteristic LBA types are present in the Varley Halls assemblage. Their occurrence can be separated from the MBA pottery on stratigraphic grounds. The diagnostic LBA pottery occurs in the colluvium over huts 1 and 2, lynchet 435 and the unfinished terrace and is interpreted as being a result of downslope erosion of an upslope (location unknown) LBA activity area. hut 5, and post-hole 160 have securely stratified LBA pottery.

The Varley Halls LBA forms comprise convex-sided jars, a hemispherical bowl, bipartite bowls, and concave-shouldered bowls. The jar forms are predominantly associated with flint-gritted fabrics, and the shouldered bowls with finer-grained quartz sand (Fabric Q1), and iron oxide (Fabrics IO1, IO2), fabrics.

Convex-sided jars: convex jars comprise the earliest components of post-Deverel-Rimbury assemblages. These emerge within the late 2nd millennium BC and are associated with radiocarbon dates which fall within the range of cal BC 1400–900 at sites such as Aldermaston Wharf, Berkshire (Bradley *et al.* 1980), Cadbury Castle, Somerset (phase 4: Alcock 1980, 664), and Rams Hill, Berkshire (double palisade phase: Barrett 1975, fig. 3). The Varley Halls LBA assemblage has several convex jars. These occur in two rim forms; rounded (Fig. 14:3; Fig. 15:23 & 24), and flattened 14:4). The flattened rims are conspicuously incurved. Convex jars with incurving rims occur in the East Sussex LBA assemblages from Bishopstone (Hamilton 1977, figs 40:1,2 & 44:61), Heathy Brow (Hamilton 1982, fig. 33:10 & 13) and Plumpton Plain B (Hawkes 1935, fig. 10:m & 12:e,g). The Plumpton Plain assemblage may date as early as 11th century BC (Barrett 1980, 311). At Bishopstone plain convex jars and hemispherical jars are associated with a thermoluminescence date of 1250–650 BC (Hamilton 1977, figs 40:1,2 & 41:8,11; Bell 1977, 290). Additionally, the West Sussex Yapton LBA assemblage, which includes convex jars and hemispherical bowls, has an associated date of cal BC 824–777 (HAR-7038).

Hemispherical bowl: hemispherical bowls are a particular feature of Sussex LBA assemblages. The Varley Halls assemblage produced a single rim from a hemispherical bowl (Fig. 14:17).

Table 2. Varley Halls MBA/LBA assemblage: form, decoration and technology elements.

Forms	Varley Halls Code Description
<i>Urns and convex/ovoid jars rim sherds</i>	R1 Flat-topped R2 Rounded R3 Incurved rounded R4 Slightly rolled R5 Internally bevelled
<i>Bowls: rim sherds</i>	R6 Rounded R7 Flattened
Hemispherical bowl	R8 Up-turned, rounded
Bipartite bowl	R9 Up-turned, flattened
Concave-shouldered bowl	A1 Carination B1 Flat B2 Splayed B3 Domed B4 Flint-gritted underside
<i>Shoulder sherds</i>	D1 Fingertip impressed (cable effect) D2 Fingernail impressed D3 Stick/bone impressed D4 Incised
<i>Base sherds</i>	D5 Plain unperforated applied lug D6 Applied raised cordon O1 Rivet-hole O2 Cordon scar O3 Limescaling
<i>Decorated sherds</i>	T1 Finger furrowed sherd F1 Smoothed sherd F2 Burnished sherd
<i>Other</i>	
<i>Technology/surface finish</i>	

Key: R = rim, A = angled body sherd, B = base type, D = decorated sherd, F = surface finish, T = forming technology

Hemispherical bowls are present in Sussex assemblages from the end of the 2nd millennium BC, as is indicated by examples with rounded rims from Plumpton Plain B (Hawkes 1935, fig. 9:a,b) and a hemispherical bowl with an incurved, flat-topped rim from pre-hillfort enclosure assemblage at Thundersbarrow Hill (Hamilton 1993). Both the Bishopstone and Yapton LBA assemblages include hemispherical bowls (see above for dating) and they are also present in the Mile Oak (Hamilton forthcoming a), and Kingston Buci (Curwen 1931), LBA assemblages.

Bipartite bowls: parts of at least two bipartite bowls were present in the Varley Halls pottery assemblage. Both have rims with flattened tops. One bowl is decorated with an line of oblique stick/bone impressions along the rim top, and another similar line just below the rim, on the vessel exterior (Fig. 14:12). The rim top of the second bipartite bowl is decorated with a line of oblique fingernail impressions (Fig. 16:29). These decorated bowls are characteristic of West Sussex and currently have no other counterparts as far east as Varley Halls. Similarly decorated bipartite bowls occur in assemblages from Harting Beacon (Hamilton 1979, fig. 6:7–9), the Trundle (Curwen 1929, pl. XI), Chanctonbury Ring (Hamilton 1980, fig. 13:28, 29 & 33–5), Stoke Clump (Cunliffe 1966, fig. 1) and Highdown Hill (Wilson 1940, fig. 5). This type of decoration is exclusively associated with fine ware bipartite bowls and contrasts with the use of fingertip impressed plastic decoration on coarse

Table 3. Varley Halls MBA and LBA pottery: correlation between decorative and technological elements and fabric types.

Fabrics		F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	IO1	IO2	Q1
MBA Types	Elements										
Ellison Type 1	R4			3							
	R5		2								
	R2		1	1							
	O1		1								
	O3			1							
Ellison Type 2/3	D5		2								
	O3		1								
Ellison Type 5	R1						4				
Ellison Type 6	D6		2		2						
Ellison Type 8/9	R1		1	1							
Ellison Type 9	R1+D1		7								
	D2			1	3						
Ellison Type 10	R1	1									
	D6+D1	4									
	D6+D2				3						
	O2		1								
LBA Types											
Convex jars	R2				2		1	1			
	R1			1			1	1			
Bowls	R6							1			
	R7				1			1			
	R8							1	4		
	R9									12	
	A1								1	2	7
Decoration											
	D1									12	
	D2							1			
	D3				1						
	D4										1
Bases	B1	10	1	1					1	2	
	B2						2				
	B3									10	
	B4										
Finishes											
	F1		1	9 25	12	1					
	F2	12	1	0	2	17	96	4			
	O3	4		3				1			

wares. The frequency of decoration in the Harting Beacon and Chanctonbury assemblages suggests that they are later in the West Sussex sequence than essentially undecorated 9th/8th-century BC LBA assemblages such as Yapton. With the possible exception of one sherd (*see below*), the absence of more elaborate incised chevron, triangle, and herring-bone designs which are associated with bipartite bowls from the Caburn (Hawkes 1939, fig. E) and Hollingbury (attributed to the 6th or 5th century BC, Hamilton 1984; 1993) suggests a 7th-century BC date for the Varley Hall type decorated bipartite bowls.

In southern England as a whole plain bipartite bowls are present in assemblages from the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, for example, those from Minnis Bay Kent (Champion 1980, 33; Worsfold 1943, fig. 6: found in the same general area as a Carp's Tongue hoard) and Petters Sports Field Egham, Surrey (O'Connell 1986, figs 49:90-101; O'Connell & Needham 1977, 129, fig. 5:7,8). A 7th-/6th-century BC dating is ascribed to the Petters Sports Field assemblage based on the interpretation of the associated radiocarbon dates and nature of the hoard deposition (O'Connell 1986, 57, 60; O'Connell & Needham 1977, 75).

Decorated body sherds: the vessel form(s) that two of the Varley Halls decorated sherds belong to cannot be precisely ascertained, but it is likely that they belong to bipartite shouldered bowls. One small sherd from (context 380: Fabric Q1) has a lightly incised decoration comprising two parallel and one oblique line (Fig. 14:18). Another sherd (context 160: Fabric IO1) is decorated with a small triangular-shaped impression produced by impressing a pointed piece of bone or wood of sub-triangular cross-section. The latter is particularly interesting in an East Sussex assemblage. It is a decorative trait of Dorset/Hampshire LBA assemblages. In Sussex it is restricted to the West Sussex assemblage of Stoke Clump (Cunliffe 1966) and a few sherds from Harting Beacon (Hamilton 1993, fig. A4.14:15).

Concave-shouldered bowls: three possible examples of these bowls are present in the Varley Halls assemblage. They have a slightly concave carination above the neck leading to a short, up-turned rim. One example (Fig. 16:30 & 32) comprises rim and shoulder sherds from a plain, thin-walled bowl in an iron oxide fabric (Fabric IO1). Another occurs in a thinner-walled

flint-gritted fabric (Fabric F7) and is evidenced by a single rim sherd (Fig. 15:22). The third comprises a near complete quartz gritted (Fabric Q1) bowl with its rim decorated with a finger-impressed rough 'cable' pattern (Fig. 16:28).

Sussex examples of plain-shouldered bowls with either slightly convex, or slightly concave, shoulders and short out-turned rims occur at Highdown Hill (Wilson 1940, fig. 4:h), Kingston Buci (Curwen 1931, fig. 6), and Yapton (Hamilton 1987, fig. 5:15). An example of a bowl, similar to the Varley Halls example with finger-tip impressed 'pie crusted' rim occurs at Knapp Farm (Hamilton this volume, pp. 78–85). Similar forms, with slightly longer rims, occur in the pre-hillfort enclosure at Thundersbarrow Hill (Rudling unpublished excavations; Hamilton 1993, fig. A4:7:132), and Rustington site B (Hamilton 1990, fig. 6:3). The latter example also has a finger-impressed rim. These Sussex examples all occur in assemblages which have convex jars and hemispherical bowls.

From Sussex there is no direct dating evidence for shouldered bowls with 'pie crusted' or 'cabled' rims. Comparison with the Surrey sequence of shouldered bowls (e.g. the shouldered bowls with 'pie crusted' rims from Queen Mary's Hospital Carshalton, Surrey) suggests a c. 8th-century BC date (Adkins & Needham 1985).

Domed base: a slightly domed base (Fig. 16:33) from context 160 probably belongs with the rim and shoulder from an angular bowl (Fig. 16:30 & 32) in the same fabric (Fabric IO1) from the same context. This base type may be related to the omphalos bases sometimes found on LBA fine ware cups, such as the two omphalos bases from the Thundersbarrow Hill LBA assemblage (Rudling, unpublished excavations; Hamilton 1993). Omphalos bases are current by the 9th century BC, based on their interpretation as a skeuomorphic representation of the base form of LBA cast bronze cups (Barrett 1980, 310).

Splayed bases: this form of base (Fig. 18:34) may be the by-product of a construction method in which the base is formed from a slab of clay which is subsequently joined to the body of the vessel with the pinching of the clay at the join, resulting in a splayed form. This form of base is a characteristic LBA type (Hamilton 1987).

Heavily-gritted under-bases: several base sherds (Table 3) have a concentration of flint grits on their under-bases. This is a recurrent feature of LBA pottery (Longley 1980, 65). Potting on a bed of crushed flint may have been employed as a device to prevent vessels sticking during construction.

Finger-furrowed sherds: several of the Varley Hall sherds have diagonal or vertical finger-furrowing on their outer surfaces (e.g. Fig. 16:33). This trait occurs as the result of dragging the fingers across the plastic surface of a vessel's walls during the construction process. Finger-furrowing is prevalent in LBA assemblages (Adkins & Needham 1985, 29; Jones & Bond 1980, 477; Macpherson-Grant 1991, 39). It is a constructional technique used both for bonding coil or slab joins, and for extending the height of vessel walls. Finger-furrowing is well-documented for other Sussex LBA assemblages (Hamilton 1987, 58) and is also sometimes found on Sussex MBA pottery (e.g. Downsview: Hamilton forthcoming b; Itford Hill: Burstow & Holleyman 1957, fig. 20:e,f; Plumpton Plain A: Hawkes 1935, 39, fig. 2:9).

Dating: by comparison with pottery from other regions, and extrapolating from the limited stratigraphic and absolute dating available from within Sussex, the Varley Halls LBA pottery falls towards the end of an essentially plain ware post-Deverel-Rimbury pottery tradition which was emerging as early as the 11th century BC and lasted in its limited use of decoration until the 8th/7th century BC (see below, Regional Context and Dating, for more detailed discussion).

Regional context and dating

The Varley Halls pottery evidences both MBA and LBA on-site activity. In this respect the Varley Halls assemblage compares with the Downsview assemblage located c. 1.5 km north-west of Varley Halls. Sussex has several 'mixed' MBA and LBA assemblages where precise stratigraphic information is lacking (e.g. Kingston Buci; Highdown Hill). The nature of settlement continuity/relocation between the two ceramic phases is in need of definition. Both of the Varley Halls and Downsview assemblages have suffered downslope erosion, with the LBA pottery being found in the colluvial over the MBA hut terraces, suggesting LBA activity further upslope. At both sites there is also evidence of *in situ* LBA activity (pit 160, the unfinished terrace and hut 5 at Varley Halls) immediately downslope of the MBA structures. This suggests that MBA domestic sites did in fact provide a focus/nucleus for subsequent LBA settlement.

The Varley Halls assemblage importantly contributes to the limited number of East Sussex MBA Deverel-Rimbury assemblages which have associated radiocarbon dates. From East Sussex there are a total of four MBA assemblages with associated radiocarbon dates: Black Patch, Itford Hill settlement, Downsview, and Varley Halls. The date associated with the Varley Halls hut 3 MBA assemblage provides a date range of 1505–1380 or 1340–1320 BC (BM-2936). Another date, unassociated with pottery, from context 117 (ditch fill) takes this date to the very end of the MBA (1400–1265 BC, BM-2917) and may be subsequent to sustained MBA activity on the site. The radiocarbon dates associated with the nearby Downsview MBA assemblage (UB-3783-3786, OxA-4809, OxA-4811, GU-5429, GU-5430, GU-5432 and GU-5433) indicate a date range of the 15th to the 11th centuries cal BC, with the greater number of these dates falling within the 15th to 12th centuries cal BC. Both the Varley Halls dates, and the Downsview dates, are generally earlier than from Itford Hill (GrN-6167) which has a 1253–1245, 1211–1113 and 1095–1077 cal BC date range. The Varley Halls and Downsview dates, however, overlap with the seven dates associated with the Black Patch MBA assemblage which collectively provide a date range covering the 14th–11th centuries cal BC (HAR-2939/2940/2941/3735/3736/3737 and BM-1643). These Downsview/Black Patch/Varley Halls MBA dates are in line with the dates for Wessex early MBA assemblages (e.g. Barrett 1976; Barrett *et al.* 1991). The present evidence therefore suggests that Sussex MBA pottery traditions emerged in parallel with Wessex traditions and that the Itford Hill date may come from the latest phase of the settlement. The other two radiocarbon dates from Varley Halls (from features unassociated with pottery; BM-2918, BM-2919) collectively argue for a continuity of occupation, or repeated site use, into the LBA with a cut-off point towards the end of the 9th century BC. Varley Halls is one of a total of three sites from East Sussex which has radiometric dates associated with LBA pottery assemblages. The Varley Halls dates mirror the dates from Downsview hut terrace 4065 (OxA-4810) with a date range of cal BC 931–824, and fit within the thermoluminescent date

range of 1270–650 BC (Bell 1977, 290; Hamilton 1977) associated with Bishopstone LBA assemblage. The Varley Halls LBA date is, however, not directly associated with the LBA pottery from the site and, on stylistic grounds, the Varley Halls LBA pottery may indicate site use into/during the 8th/7th century BC.

The increased range of vessel form and size in the LBA assemblages from Lowland Britain, compared to that of MBA assemblages, is widely recognized (Barrett 1980). The Varley Halls and other East Sussex LBA assemblages additionally provide striking evidence of a new interest in fine-grained fabrics (incorporating in the East Sussex examples quartz sand and pisolithic iron oxides). These new fabrics and vessel forms evidence not only a major change in production strategies, but also prospecting for special clays and tempers from non-local geologies north of the Chalk. The latter has implications for the movement of products and raw materials within LBA communities. In particular, it suggests a widening of exchange networks, or resource territories, perhaps within the context of craft specialization.

Romano-British and later pottery

A minor amount of Roman and post-Roman pottery was recovered. All of this pottery came from colluvial or unstratified contexts. It is summarized below according to fabric categories identified.

Romano-British pottery

ESW East Sussex Ware (also known as Cooking Jar Fabric)

Body sherds: 2 sherds (unstratified), 1 sherd (hut 4, context 211).

Jar with out-turned rim: 26 sherds from jar with out-turned rim (Fig. 16:35, context 21: unstratified pot cluster); 1 out-turned flattened rim sherd (hut platform 8, context 367).

Q2 Medium-grained, sandy wares

Out-turned flattened: 1 rim sherd (unstratified).

S Samian

Foot-ring base: 1 sherd (unstratified).

Medieval pottery

Q3 Medium quartz sand fabric

Body sherds: 2 sherds (hut 4, context 211).

Post-medieval fabrics

RHE Red hard-fired earthenware

Base sherds: 1 sherd (hut 4, context 211), 1 sherd (hut 7, context 357).

Illustrated sherds (Fig. 14)

Hut 1

1. Form: applied raised cordon decorated with fingertip impressions from bucket-shaped urn (Ellison Type 10), probably part of the same urn as Figure 16:15; Fabric: F1; Context: 105.

2. Form: internally bevelled rim from a bag-shaped jar (Ellison Type 1); Fabric: F2; Context: 105.

3. Form: rounded rim from convex-sided jar; Fabric: F4; Context: 105.

4. Form: in-turned, flattened rim from convex jar; Fabric: F6; Context: 105.

5. Form: applied raised cordon decorated with fingernail impressions from bucket-shaped urn (Ellison Type 10); Fabric: F4; Context: 105.

6. Form: body sherd with a cordon 'scar' suggesting pre-cordon keying; Fabric: F2; Context: 105.

7. Form: plain, narrow applied cordon, probably from a biconical-shaped urn (Ellison Type 6?); Fabric: F2; Context: 105.

8. Form: body sherd with an elongated oval, unperforated, lug from an ovoid urn (Ellison Type 2 or 3); Fabric: F2; Context: 105.

9. Form: incurving, slightly flattened rim from Ellison Type 9 bucket-shaped urn with a line of fingertip impressions below the rim; Fabric: F2; Context: 105.

10. Form: upper part of bucket-shaped urn with slightly flattened rim and a line of fingertip impressions below the rim (Ellison Type 9). Part of the same urn, or more possibly a similar urn to that from hut 4, context 238 (Fig. 14:15); Fabric: F2; Context: 110.

11. Form: upper part of bucket-shaped urn with slightly flattened rim and a line of fingertip impressions below the rim (Ellison Type 9). Part of the same urn or a similar urn, to Figure 16:10 and that from hut 4 context 238 (Fig. 14:16); Fabric: F2; Context: 110.

12. Form: rounded rim from a bipartite? bowl decorated with a line of oblique stick/bone impressions along the rim top and with a similar line of decoration on the outside wall just below the rim; Fabric: F4; Context: 105.

13. Form: upper part of bag-shaped urn (Ellison Type 1) with rivet hole beneath the rim and limescale accretions; Fabric: F2; Context: 110.

14. Form: body sherds decorated with fingernail impressions, from a bucket-shaped urn (Ellison Type 9); Fabric: F4 with smoothed surfaces; Context: 110.

15. Form: applied raised cordon decorated with a line of fingertip impressions from a bucket-shaped urn (Ellison Type 10), part of same vessel Figure 16:1, context 105; Fabric: F1; Context: 110.

Hut 4

16. Form: upper part of an bucket-shaped urn (Ellison Type 9) rounded rim and a line of fingertip impressions below the rim. Similar to a vessel from hut 1 (context 105: Fig. 14:11); Fabric: F2; Context: 238.

Hut 5

17. Form: rounded rim of a hemispherical bowl; Fabric: F7; Context: 368.

18. Form: body sherd with incised decoration comprising two parallel lines and one oblique line; Fabric: Q1; Context: 380.

Hollow/?pond

19. Form: plain, narrow raised cordon from slack, biconical urn (Ellison Type 6); Fabric: F4; Context: 115.

(Fig. 15)

Hut 2

20. Form: the upper part of a bucket-shaped urn with flat-topped rim and applied, raised cordon decorated with a line of fingertip impressions (Ellison Type 10). Similar, or part of the same, urn as one from hut 1 (46:1); Fabric: F1; Context: 211.

21. Form: body sherd with circular keying for a lug, and limescale accretions below the keying (from and ovoid urn?: Ellison Type 2 or 3); Fabric: F2; Context: 221.

22. Form: slightly out-turned rim of shouldered bowl; Fabric: F7; Context: 211.

23. Form: rounded rim from a bag-shaped, or convex, jar; Fabric: F6; Context: 211.

24. Form: rounded rim of bag-shaped, or convex, jar; Fabric: F7; Context: 269.

25. Form: slightly rolled rim (Ellison Type 1) and part of the upper body of a bag-shaped urn, with limescale accretion just below the rim; Fabric: F3; Context: 271.

26. Form: slightly rolled rim from bag-shaped urn (Ellison Type 1); Fabric: F3; Context: 271.

Hut 3

27. Form: flat-topped rim from squat ovoid urn (Ellison Type 5 or Ellison Type 11); Fabric: F6; Context: 185.

(Fig. 16)

Post-hole/Pit 159

28. Form: near-complete shouldered bowl with a finger-impressed rim decorated with a cable pattern. There is evidence of finger-pressing above the carination, and of diagonal smearing below the carination; Fabric: Q1; Context: 160.

29. Form: fingernail impressed rim from a bipartite bowl; Fabric: F7; Context: 160.

30. Form: out-turned rim from an angular bowl; Fabric: IO1; Context: 160.

31. Form: sherd decorated with a triangular-shaped impression; Fabric: IO1; Context: 160.

32. Form: shoulder of angular bowl, probably part of Figure 16:30; Fabric: IO1; Context: 160.

33. Form: slightly domed base; Fabric: IO1; Context: 160.

34. Form: splayed base; Fabric: F6; Context: 160.

Context 21: pottery scatter in topsoil

35. Form: short-necked jar with out-turned rim and base with slight foot-ring; Fabric: East Sussex Ware.

WORKED FLINT

By Chris Place

During the course of extensive excavations a small collection of worked flint (404 pieces) was recovered from 39 contexts. Artefacts from the machine excavated topsoil are not included

within this total or with the following discussion. The quantity totals for each class of artefact are provided in Table 4 (microfiche).

All of the tools and debitage utilized nodular flint as their raw material and there were no obvious visual indications that more than one source accounted for all of the pieces collected. It is quite probable that an on-site source was used. The flint was dark greyish brown with lighter patches and had a thick (up to 5 mm), light yellowish brown cortex. Although some pieces were not patinated, the majority were patinated to a light whitish grey with a slightly darker marbling. Occasionally, an almost pure white patina was attained as well as a medium bluish grey variant. Surface calcium carbonate (?) concretions were abundant.

The collection is restricted in size and yet dispersed between 39 contexts. It is not surprising, therefore, that only one context contains over 100 pieces (context 211) of worked flint; of these, only 89 of the flakes are considered unbroken. In addition, most of those contexts which contain moderate amounts of worked flint, (i.e. over 20 pieces) are open and their contents could not be considered as secure groups; this is also true for context 211. Consequently the collection is not suitable for statistical analysis.

Waste flakes (i.e. non-retouched) account for 97.3% of all worked flint from the collection as a whole; a figure exactly mirrored by context 211. Such a high percentage of apparent waste is not unusual and has been recorded from several other Sussex chalkland located sites, e.g. Black Patch (Drewett 1982a, 371-7), Offham Hill (Drewett 1977, 214) and Bishopstone (Bell 1977, 31). Saville (1980, 19) has suggested that a figure over 90% is to be considered the norm for Neolithic and Bronze Age sites. Such a high figure seems hard to explain when core tools are not being produced. Almost any one of the waste flakes could have been retouched for utilization as a point, scraper or retouched flake. High percentages of waste flakes are recorded from a multitude of site types and it is stretching the argument a bit thin to always imply sampling bias. Either we are misjudging the suitability of waste debitage for subsequent modification as tools, or more of the waste flakes have been utilized without subsequent modification.

Of the 89 unbroken flakes from context 211, primary flakes account for 7.8% of the total, secondary flakes 77.5% and tertiary flakes 14.6% (see Table 4 for definitions). Assuming that the waste flakes are an unbiased sample the high percentage of secondary flakes, probably at the expense of tertiary examples, can be explained in one of two ways. Firstly, if core size is small and heavy robust flakes are required, there is little opportunity to produce the tertiary examples. Secondly, if single platform cores with flakes removed part of the way around (Clarke *et al.* 1960, 216) are the norm (both recorded examples are in this category), this profligacy will have the same effect. It could also be argued that only initial core preparation is recorded and is thus favouring primary and secondary flakes. Alternatively, context 211 contains a mixed collection of debitage which is not a true representation of knapping practice.

Only one of the flakes from context 211 could metrically, rather than aesthetically, be described as a blade. This need not imply intent on the part of the knapper as such debitage can be produced accidentally. Of the 89 flakes, 6 show evidence for being struck with a soft hammer, 5 have evidence for moderate platform preparation, in this case limited removal of overhangs on the core platform prior to striking, and 12

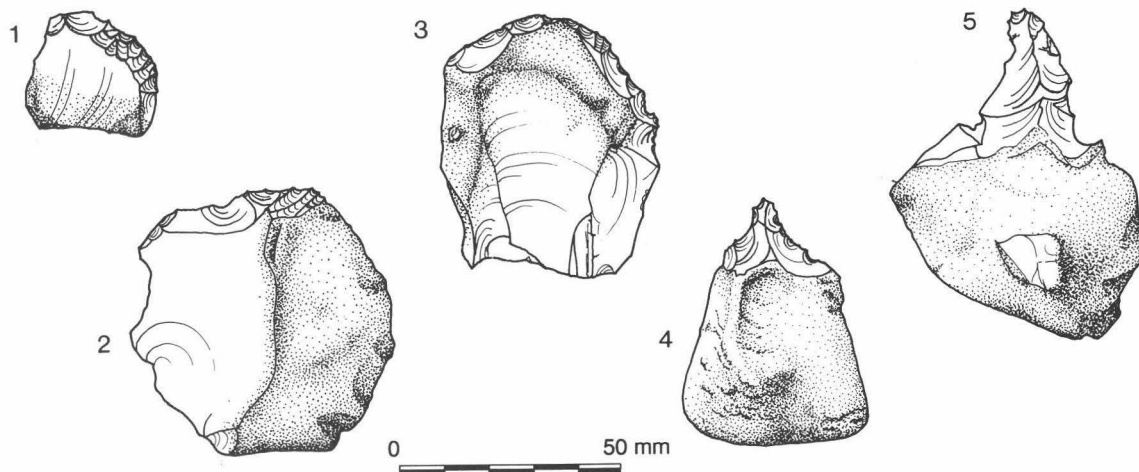


Fig. 17. Varley Halls. Worked flint.

flakes exhibit hinge fractures. Thus the overall impression is of a low technology core reduction strategy.

The recognizable tools are equally unprepossessing and include retouched flakes, scrapers and a point. The term point is used instead of awl or borer and thus follows Saville (1981, 9). (None of the implements are chronologically diagnostic.) The tools are illustrated in Figure 17.

The characteristics of the collection suggest a Bronze Age date and there is, therefore, every reason to assume that the worked flint is contemporary with the Bronze Age occupation of the site. The core reduction technology is similar to other contemporary sites (Holgate 1988, 276–80; Place 1985 unpubl.) and the tools, whilst infrequent and not diagnostic in themselves, are not out of place in a Bronze Age context (Saville 1980, 21).

THE FAIENCE ORNAMENT FRAGMENT: ITS TECHNOLOGY & PROVENANCE

By S. G. E. Bowman & C. P. Stapleton

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The find

Within the infill of one of the hut scoops (context 110, hut 1) was a fragment of a quoit-shaped faience ornament. The fragment represented approximately one quarter of the circumference of the original, with an estimated outer diameter of 15 mm, estimated inner diameter of 7 mm and maximum thickness 15 mm (Fig. 18:1). It has a triangular section with one flat face inwards and a small facet on the outer apex. The outer glassy surface is a translucent pale green with an area of deep red on the inward-facing surface. The core material of each of the broken surfaces was opaque and off-white when submitted for scientific examination, with one seemingly cleaner and thus giving the impression of a relatively fresh break: examination showed, however, that neither was a recently exposed surface (*see below*).

The distribution of faience ornaments in the British Isles was published by Beck and Stone (1935), updated by Stone and Thomas (1956), and relatively few additions have been made to this corpus in subsequent decades. Published finds of quoit-shaped faience ornaments from Sussex are limited to two

examples, one at Oxsettle (Oxtedde) Bottom (Beck & Stone 1935, S60) and another from Clayton Hill (Beck & Stone 1935, S60; S.59). These ornaments can also occur in amber and in shale (or shale-like materials) and with a variety of cross-sectional shapes. Both those in faience and their counterparts also occur either as simple rings or with a perforated projection and hence might be termed pendants rather than beads. Both the Oxsettle Bottom and the Clayton Hill examples have an integral suspension loop (*contra* Gerloff 1975, 205, who suggests that the suspension loop of the latter is fashioned from sheet gold). Given the fragmentary nature of the Varley Halls example, there is no way of knowing whether or not it originally had any loop.

In southern Britain, all of these quoit-shaped ornaments have previously occurred predominantly, if not solely, in funerary contexts, and, according to Gerloff (1975, 205), are associated with female burials of the Aldbourne series (Wessex II). The Varley Halls example is therefore unusual in coming from an established habitation site.

Scientific examination

As used in prehistoric archaeology, the term 'faience' denotes a ceramic material with a glazed surface covering an interior (core) composed mainly of quartz. There have been several studies of the composition of prehistoric faience from north-west Europe, not least that of Stone and Thomas (1956) (*see also*, for example, McKerrell 1972; Aspinall *et al.* 1972; Magee 1993); however, there have been no studies of its method of manufacture to parallel those on Greek and Egyptian faience (Vandiver 1983; Tite & Bimson 1986; Tite *et al.* 1983; 1987: note that the examination by Henderson 1988, of three Swiss finds presents no interpretation of the microstructure). Largely this dearth of technology studies is a result of the rarity, small size and relative intactness of faience objects from north-west Europe, where faience occurs as small ornaments such as beads: the study of faience technology requires scanning electron microscopy of a polished cross-section through the glaze and the body. The Varley Halls fragment therefore presented a relatively rare opportunity for appropriate sampling.

Using a diamond-impregnated wheel, a thin slice was cut

from the seemingly cleaner end of the fragment. The freshly exposed surface of the slice was prepared for examination in the scanning electron microscope (SEM) which has analytical facilities (energy dispersive x-ray analysis) (*see*, for example, Tite 1992, for an account of the use of the SEM in the study of ceramic materials). A detailed account of the technological examination and compositional data will be published elsewhere; only the main points are summarized here.

The surface layer

Figure 18:3 clearly shows the surface layer in relation to the core material. At higher magnification, it can be seen that the extant surface layer, while containing a high proportion of a glassy phase, also contains quartz grains (Fig. 18:4). It is possible that an original glaze surface (glass only) has weathered away; if present at all, it may indeed have been very thin.

Chemically, the surface is coloured green by copper present as cupric oxide in the order of 10% by weight in the glassy phase. Lead is present at an unusually high level (PbO c. 5–7%), the ratio of PbO:CuO in the glassy phase varying between about 0.5 and 0.7. Both McKerrell (1972) and Magee (1993) found examples with high lead levels, but none as high as this. For Wessex faience, McKerrell indicates lead to copper ratios up to about 0.1 (only relative data are plotted and the provenances, other than 'Wessex', and the ornament types are not given). For the Irish material, Magee cites six examples of faience ornament with lead oxide levels in the range 1–2%; the corresponding copper oxide values are in the order of 10%. One of these examples is quoit-shaped, but two others of this type have lead levels below the detection limit.

The core

The cut surface of the fragment is particularly interesting. Visually, it is a deep red, in contrast with the opaque off-white of the core at the fractured and weathered surfaces. In the SEM (Fig. 18:3 & 4), this core can be seen to be composed of quartz grains and a glassy phase which contains dissolved copper and lead, as well as the glass forming components (silicon and alkalis). The copper oxide content is in the range 6–7% by weight, and, present in the form of cuprite or as copper droplets, is responsible for the red colour. The lead oxide level is little, if any, lower than in the glassy phase of the surface, hence the PbO:CuO ratio is roughly 1:1.

With the much greater porosity of the core relative to the surface layer, penetration of ground water will have had a greater dissolution and leaching effect on the red copper-containing glass, leaving the exposed surfaces of core material white. Hence neither of the fracture surfaces on the 'as excavated' fragment were recent breaks.

There are few references to the cores of British faience artefacts being other than white or brown, both being assumed to represent the colour of the original quartz material used in the manufacture of the faience. However, Beck and Stone refer to two examples from Stanton Moor, Derbyshire, with 'dark reddish' cores: one is an eight-rayed star bead with a chip revealing the interior colour and the other a segmented bead (Beck and Stone 1935, S49; S4).

Turning to comparanda for lead levels, the analyses of Stone and Thomas (1956) did not distinguish between surface and core, nevertheless none of the British faience has a high lead level. Only McKerrell (1972) refers to the lead level specifically of core material, commenting briefly that where such material was accessible for non-destructive surface analysis

by x-ray fluorescence the lead was present at trace levels only (less than 0.005%). All other analytical studies of British faience have examined the surface or near surface layers rather than the core.

Provenance

Analytical data for British faience have been used in the past to infer whether or not the material was likely to be imported or was of local manufacture. In particular, McKerrell (1972) considered that the relatively high lead levels in the surface layers of some faience was significant, commenting that the contemporary bronzes had considerably lower lead to copper ratios. Assuming that the bronzes were local and that the copper ores being exploited for their manufacture could not have been in association with lead, McKerrell (1972) inferred, in the apparent absence of any metallic lead in use in EBA Britain, that the high-lead faience must be imported. In fact, at several recently discovered Bronze Age copper mines, in Wales for example, the copper ore was in close association with lead minerals; however, the two sets of minerals were microscopically separable, and in practice the Bronze Age miners appear to have discarded the lead ore (Craddock 1995, 57–8). In addition there are now known to be EBA artefacts of lead, albeit rare (*see* Hunter & Davies 1994).

The high lead content of the Varley Halls faience is nevertheless significant: with a lead to copper ratio of about 1:1 in the glass of the core, it is clear that recycled bronze was not used in its manufacture. To provide such a lead level, metallic lead, a lead-bearing ore or possibly lead-bearing metallurgical debris must have been used. Furthermore, this exceptional lead level made it a highly suitable candidate for lead isotope analysis as the core provided a sample uncontaminated by any burial effects. The analyses, the first to our knowledge on faience of any provenance or period, were kindly undertaken by Dr Brenda Rohl, at the Isotracer Laboratory, Oxford University. In contrast with the lead beads from West Water Reservoir (Hunter & Davies 1994), no match for the Varley Halls faience was found with the isotope ratios of any of the numerous British lead ore samples analyzed and collated by Rohl (Rohl & Needham forthcoming), however, its isotopic composition was found to be similar to that of some Arretton Phase metalwork (Rohl 1995, 166). These data therefore do suggest that the Varley Halls ornament was imported and that its source may correspond with that for some of the Arretton metalwork.

Technology of manufacture

The microstructure of a cross-section through a faience artefact can, under favourable conditions, indicate its method of manufacture (*see*, for example, Vandiver 1983; Tite & Bimson 1986; Tite *et al.* 1983; 1987). Given its chemical composition and microstructure, the Varley Halls fragment does not readily fall into any of the manufacturing schemes previously outlined for Near Eastern faience. In this case, a glaze mixture or frit appears to have been mixed with quartz to act as a binding agent for the core and was also applied to the exterior surface to form a glaze.

Summary

The Varley Halls faience fragment is an important addition to the limited number of quoit-shaped ornaments in Britain, furthermore it is of interest as a non-funerary find. Like the great majority of other faience artefacts the surface colour is

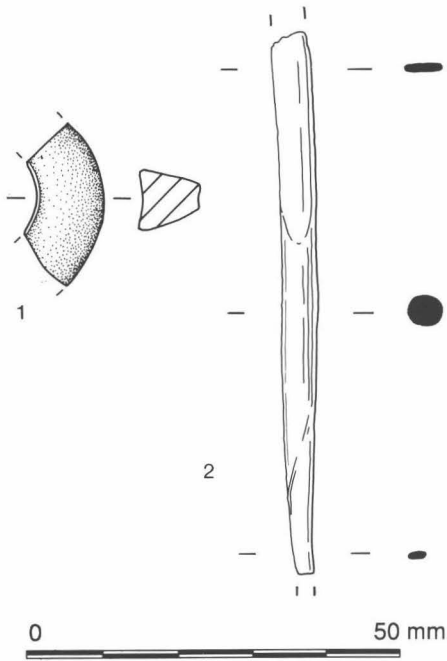
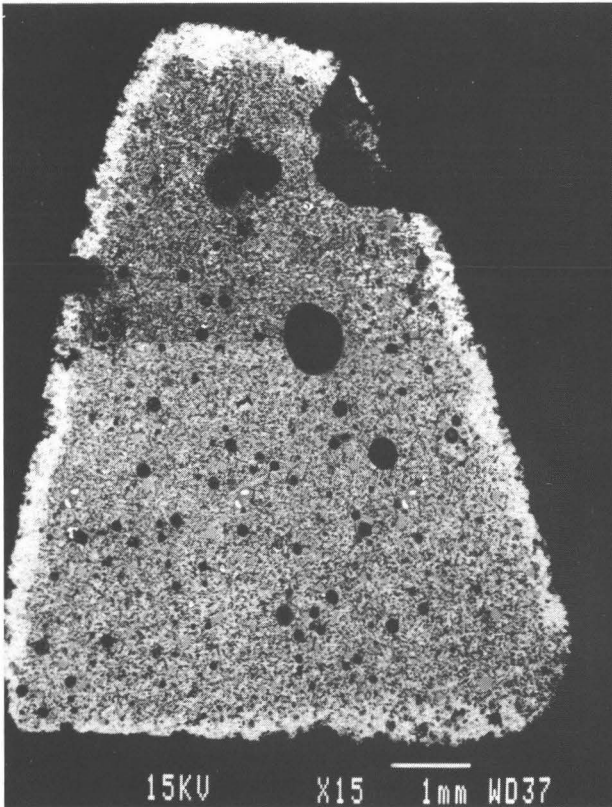


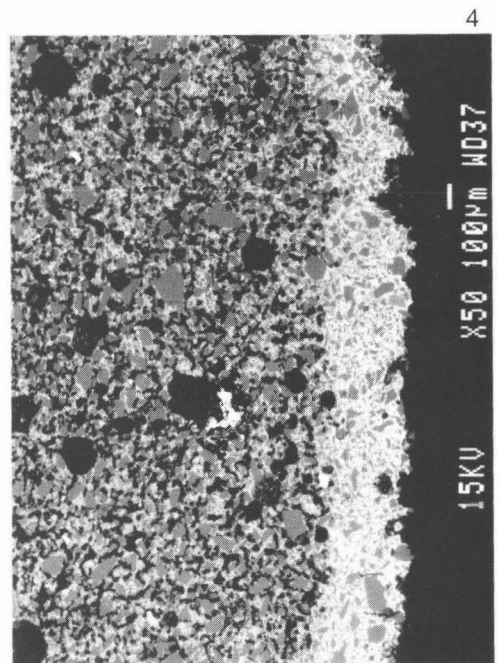
Fig. 18:1 & 2. Varley Halls. Faience and metalwork.

Fig. 18:3 (*below*). SEM photomicrograph of the cross-section Varley Halls faience fragment. The grey levels reflect atomic weight of the different phases: brighter areas are the areas containing heavier elements. Relative to the core, the surface layer appears particularly bright because it has a lower proportion of voids (black) and a higher proportion of glass (white) relative to quartz (mid-grey). The scale bar is 1 mm long. (Note: this figure is a composite of two micrographs hence there is a change of contrast just over half-way up the picture; the three pairs of bright spots about a third of the way up are a defect in the Polaroid film processing.)

Fig. 18:4 (*below*). SEM photomicrograph showing the surface layer and core in more detail than in Figure 20:3 (scale bar is 100 μ m, i.e. 0.1 mm). In the surface layer, angular quartz grains (mid-grey) can be seen in the glassy copper- and lead-containing phase (white); no separate glaze layer (i.e. glass only) is apparent. In the core, the quartz grains (mid-grey) are connected by glass (white) which again contains both copper and lead; voids appear black.



3



4

from dissolved copper (cupric oxide), however, this example is unusual in having high levels of copper and lead in the glassy phase of the core of the faience. The copper in the core (present as cuprite or as copper droplets) is visible in the dark red appearance of the freshly exposed surface. The amount of glass in the core shows that a glaze mix or a frit was added to the quartz as a binding agent as well as to the surface to form a glaze. The lead isotope composition of the ornament suggests that it is imported and that the source of the lead in it has affinities with the copper-ore source exploited for certain Arreton metalwork.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to our colleagues Dr S. P. Needham and Dr I. C. Freestone for providing much valuable information, especially on EBA metalwork (SPN), and for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper. We also wish to thank Dr B. M. Rohl and the Isotrace Laboratory, Oxford, for undertaking the lead isotope analysis, as well as Ian Greig and South East Archaeological Services for providing the opportunity to study this unusual object.

METALWORK

By I. M. Greig

Tracer/awl

A copper alloy tracer/awl (Fig. 18:2) was recovered from context 105 (colluvial layer overlying the terrace of hut 1). This is a typical Bronze Age type, the presence of which in Middle Bronze Age assemblages is discussed by Needham (1991) and not considered in detail here.

HUMAN BONES

By Wendy Wood

Skeletal remains of adult *Homo* were identified from fill 338.

The burial took the form of a crouched inhumation orientated west-east in an oval grave 339, terraced into the slope. The skeleton had been badly damaged by recent ploughing activity.

Age

Dentition

The individual possessed a full set of permanent teeth, with the lower third molars fully erupted. The upper wisdom were in the process of eruption at the time of death. Teeth exhibited little wear.

Epiphyseal fusion

Bones appear to have reached full size; although articulations have been lost for most bones, the superior and inferior epiphyseal rings of the centre of the vertebra have yet to fuse.

Wisdom teeth generally erupt between 15 and 21 years, whilst the toothwear pattern suggests a younger adult. Vertebral epiphyses fuse largely by the 25th year; thus this individual is aged between 15 and 25 years, probably in the late teens.

Sex

Although bones could not be measured owing to their fragmentary nature, some morphological characteristics survive:

1. The posterior end of the zygomatic process extends past the external auditory meatus.
2. The humerus displays a septal aperture above the trochlea.
3. The mandible is rounded.

(1) is usually interpreted as a male characteristic. However, a septal aperture is more likely to occur in females (Hrdlicka 1932), and the relatively small size of bones and the mandible suggest that this is more likely to be a female individual.

Pathology

None.

THE ANIMAL BONE

By Wendy Wood

The animal bone assemblage from the site numbered 1817 fragments, of which a total of 802 fragments (44.14%) could be identified according to bone type and species. The three main food species, cow (*Bos Taurus*), sheep/goat (*Ovis aries/Capra hircus*) and pig (*Sus domesticus*) were represented. It is a safe assumption that the remaining fragments fall into these categories.

Cow dominated the assemblage, forming over 75% of identified fragments, with sheep/goat and pig attributing to c. 19% and c. 6% of the identified sample respectively.

Rodent bones were recovered only from contexts 110 and 381. Both of these contexts showed some disturbance from animal activity; these bones are therefore likely to be intrusive.

Stratigraphic context

Ditch

This feature provided four bone-producing contexts, fills 102 and 122 contained mature fragments of sheep/goat, whilst mature pig was found in fill 117. All contexts contained mature fragments of *Bos*, with 121 a silting layer, containing examples of the deciduous (juvenile) dentition of *Bos*. Skeletal material is likely to have been incorporated into these layers as rubbish deposits.

Hut 1

Context 100 represents the S.T.E.T over hut 1. This layer produced a single fragment of bone; a tibia of *Ovis/Capra*.

The topmost fill, 105, produced mature bones of *Bos* and *Ovis/Capra*, and a deciduous premolar of *Sus*. Bones from 110 represented all three species, including a juvenile metatarsal of *Ovis/Capra*. Also present in this context were two ribs of adult *Bos* exhibiting butchery marks in the form of knife cuts.

Post-hole fills 172, 189, 204, 206 and 217 produced a small amount of bone. A pig rib showing three to four knife cuts was present in fill 172, whilst 189, 204, 206 and 217 contained mature specimens of *Bos* and *Ovis/Capra*.

Hut 2

Fills 211 and 221 contained bones representing adult individuals of *Bos*; mature *Ovis/Capra* and *Sus* were also in this context.

Mature *Ovis/Capra* specimens were present in post-hole fills 271, 299 and 337, with 271 and 273 also containing mature specimens of *Bos*.

Hut 3

Layer 191 produced a mature tibia of *Bos*.

Hut 4

Mature *Bos* was represented from fills 237 and 238, 285 and 295. Juvenile sheep/goat was represented by the deciduous dentition from fills 237.

The only post-hole fill to produce bone, 342, contributed a mature ulna of *Bos*.

Hut 5

Fill 368 contained bones from an adult specimen of *Bos*.

Post-hole fill 377 produced an adult tibia of *Sus*. Juvenile *Ovi/Capra* was present in (post-hole) fills 380 and 387 in the form of unfused examples of the humerus and tibia respectively. A thoracic vertebra of *Bos* came from 381, and a fragment of *Ovi/Capra* skull from 385. 383 was a general number given to finds from this area, and produced juvenile pig and sheep.

Hollow/pond

Fills 115, 120, 290 and 291 produced bone. All contexts contained mature individuals for cow and sheep/goat, with pig also being represented for 290. A scapula of *Bos* from this context had knife marks to the blade. Fill 291 contained a mature femur of *Bos* showing signs of gnawing by dog (*Canis familiaris*).

Post-hole fills 164 and 215 contained adult bones of *Bos*.

Unfinished terrace

A single, fused, metatarsal of *Bos* was present in layer 367.

Animal burial

To the south-east of the hollow/pond, a pit (220) was found to contain the articulated skeleton of an adult cow. Although incomplete, all elements of the skeleton were represented.

Age

The majority of specimens were adults at the time of death, and toothwear stages indicated that these were more mature individuals. Juvenile individuals were represented for all species.

Pathology

Unfortunately, bone surfaces were badly eroded and suffered from both root and insect action, thus pathological changes to bone could not be detected.

Discussion

The majority of bones represented the skeletal extremities (i.e. feet and skull) and presumably suggest an on-site butchery process. However, exceptions were distributed evenly throughout the sample, thus it is not possible to assign specific activities to areas. Bones are likely to have become incorporated into archaeological contexts as general rubbish deposits.

Bos dominates the sample, largely as mature individuals. This suggests the *Bos* species were kept primarily on the site as a source of milk. Younger males would have been a more sensible meat resource. The species may also have been employed as a draught animal. The majority of juvenile specimens were of *Ovi/Capra*, and it may be that this animal was the primary meat resource on the site, although sheep no doubt should also have been exploited for wool. Pig presumably provided meat and fat.

CHARRED PLANT REMAINS (except wood charcoal)

By Pat Hinton

The samples were received after wet-sieving (mesh 1 mm) and the extraction of charcoal and were sorted with stereo microscope at 7–40X magnification. Two samples (from contexts 117 and 358) contained no charred seeds.

Preservation, particularly of the cereals, is poor. Many are

incomplete with few retaining any original surface and identification therefore is based on overall morphology. Only from context 170 is the identification of some of the wheat as emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*) made more confidently, and this is supported by the small amount of distinguishing chaff.

The barley is in slightly better condition than the wheat and the angularity still visible identifies it as hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*). One grain from context 132 with a slightly askew axis indicates the presence of the 6-row form.

The one oat grain is incomplete, but in any case could not be identified as a wild or cultivated species without the diagnostic floret base. It is likely to have grown with another crop, probably wheat.

The other seeds could occur as arable weeds and are appropriate to soils in the vicinity of the site. They probably derive from the preparation of cereals for consumption and, with the cereal remains themselves, in most contexts are likely to have resulted from the general scattering through time of charred fragments from hearths. The samples from contexts 132 and 174 in hut 1, however, might perhaps be more closely related to the feature, and the larger number of cereal remains, with no weed seeds, from the post-hole in context 170 suggests an origin in an assemblage of cleaned grain.

These results are typical for the Bronze Age and similar to those from nearby Bronze Age sites in Sussex, such as Downsview (Rudling forthcoming) and Mile Oak (Russell, in Rudling forthcoming) except that beans were not found in the Varley Halls samples. The seeds from the Late Bronze Age hut 5 are too few to allow any comparison.

WOOD CHARCOAL

By V. Berzins

(See microfiche for figures)

A considerable quantity of wood charcoal was recovered from a layer in hut terrace 3 (context 218) which also contained substantial amounts of baked clay daub. The charcoal and daub were considered to represent the remains of a building destroyed by fire, and a thorough examination was made of the charcoal to investigate what woods were used in the structure of the building (or at least in that part of the building that was burnt) and also what sizes of material were used. This meant that in addition to the standard methods of taxa identification from wood charcoal, a method had to be used to derive from the fragments of charcoal an estimate of the original size of the wood.

Many of the pieces of daub contained wattle impressions. From the impressions in daub, the diameters of some of the rods of the wattle could be measured as being about 10–12 mm, but much of the material was clearly of larger diameter, perhaps 20–30 mm. Also there were a few impressions of roundwood of a diameter of several centimetres. Impressions of cleft (split) timbers were also present.

Methods

Charcoal collected by hand, as well as charcoal recovered by wet-sieving, was examined. To determine what wood taxa were represented in the charcoal material, fragments of 5 mm or longer were examined from both the hand-collected and wet-sieved samples. From the wet-sieved samples all the fragments above this minimum size were examined, but from the hand-collected material a sub-sample was used. In addition, from the hand-collected material were selected large fragments

which because of their size seemed suitable for taking the measurements necessary for estimating the size of the original wood. These fragments were also identified to wood taxon, but were not incorporated in the results tables showing the weights of the various taxa, because these fragments did not make up a representative sub-sample. The measurements were also taken on the fragments that made up the sub-sample from the hand-collected material and on the fragments from the wet-sieved samples, although most of these fragments were too small to provide much useful information.

Each fragment was, fractured with a razor blade, mounted in sand and viewed under an epi-illuminating microscope at magnifications up to approximately 200X to identify the taxon.

In order to estimate the size of the original wood, it was important to distinguish immature wood, where the boundaries of the annual growth-rings are visibly curved when viewed in transverse section and where the rays appear to converge, from mature wood, where there is no visible curvature of the growth-rings' boundaries and where the rays appear to run almost parallel. However, the smaller the fragments, the fewer will have noticeable curvature of growth-rings or convergence of rays. In order to eliminate this bias, the following procedure was followed: the lens of the microscope was scanned across the whole of the transverse surface of the charcoal fragment, but only that part of the transverse section visible at any one time was taken into account when assessing whether there was discernible curvature of the growth-ring or whether the rays appeared to converge. If curvature of the growth-ring or convergence of rays was visible, then the fragment was described as being 'twiggy'. Otherwise it was regarded as 'not twiggy', or if wood structure could not be seen across the whole of the field of view (because the transverse section of the charcoal fragment was too small or too poorly fractured), then no estimate of twiginess was made. This method was applied both at 45X and (if the fragment had a large enough transverse surface) at 25X magnifications. Since the field of view covers a larger area at 25X magnification than at 45X, curvature of the growth-ring boundary and convergence of rays is more easily seen: some growth-rings which appear straight at 45X magnification may be seen to be somewhat curved at 25X because a longer section of the boundary is visible in the field of view. Similarly, rays which appear to run parallel at 45X are often seen to converge when viewed at 25X. Thus, each charcoal fragment of sufficient size could be separately assigned as 'twiggy' or 'not twiggy' both at 25X and 45X magnifications, and some of the fragments which were not derived from wood close enough to the pith to appear 'twiggy' at 45X, may appear 'twiggy' at 25X. Charcoal from the outer parts of large branches or mature timbers will appear 'non-twiggy' at both 45X and 25X magnifications.

A very similar method had been used to characterize material from the sites of Downview, Red Hill and Eastwick Barn as part of the Brighton By-Pass project (Rudling forthcoming), but at Varley Halls this approach was taken a step further: specially produced templates were used with which to compare the degree of curvature of the growth-ring boundaries and the degree to which the rays appeared to converge for those fragments which appeared 'twiggy'. One set of templates represented the field of view as it would appear at 45X for wood at various distances from the centre of the

branch, and another set showed the field of view as it would appear at 25X. Each template showed a growth-ring boundary with the degree of curvature that should be expected at that distance from the pith, and, similarly, showed rays converging to the degree that should be expected. Thus, at 45X magnification, the growth-ring boundary appears to curve markedly and the rays converge very noticeably near the centre of the branch, and the curvature of the growth-ring boundaries and convergence of rays become gradually less noticeable towards the outside of the branch, until at about 10 mm from the centre (i.e. with a diameter of 20 mm) the growth-ring boundary appears more or less straight, and the rays appear to run parallel. The templates for 25X magnification can similarly be used up to a diameter of about 80 mm.

These measurements were taken in conjunction with taxon identifications, the aim being to give an idea of the size of material being used from each particular taxon.

It is the outer part of a branch, the most recent years' growth, that makes up the bulk of the volume of the wood. The growth from the first years of life is represented by a comparatively small volume of wood. Because of this, the charcoal derived from the branch should be dominated by material from the outer parts of the branch — the later years of growth. Thus, among charcoal fragments from a large branch or mature timber, fragments of 'non-twiggy' wood will dominate, with only a very small proportion of 'twiggy' wood representing the first years of growth.

There are several problems associated with this method of analysis. First, the method of using templates assumes that the annual growth-ring boundaries form concentric circles around the centre of the branch, with the rays radiating with perfect regularity from the centre — however, because of the irregular pattern of growth of wood, both of these assumptions are clearly only approximations. Secondly, shrinkage of wood on charring must distort the results, although the degree of shrinkage is known to vary considerably, and so cannot be readily accounted for. Thirdly, there is the distinct possibility that more charcoal is formed from the centres of branches of burning wood than from the outer parts (or possibly vice versa). This would tend to produce proportionately more 'twiggy' wood. Fourthly, the method of use of templates is to some degree subjective, in that the fragments of charcoal were compared to the templates simply by visual comparison, not by any measurement.

Because of all these sources of inaccuracy, this method produces only a gross estimate of the size of the original wood used, and interpretation is only possible if enough fragments are studied for a clear pattern to emerge.

Additional measurements were also taken: where part of the outside of the wood was present, the curvature of the outside was compared with the templates to derive an estimate of the maximum diameter of the wood. For branches where the whole or half of the transverse section of the branch was present, the actual diameter of the branch was measured. Where both the pith of the wood and part of the outside of the branch were present on the fragment of charcoal, the radius of the branch could be measured.

Results

The following is a list of the taxa identified in the charcoal, together with a list of the native British species that these taxa include:

Identified to genus level:

Oak (<i>Quercus</i>)	pedunculate oak (<i>Q. robur</i> L.) sessile oak (<i>Q. petraea</i> (Matt.) Liebl.)
Hazel (<i>Corylus</i>)	hazel (<i>C. avellana</i> L.)
Maple (<i>Acer</i>)	field maple (<i>A. campestre</i> L.)
Ash (<i>Fraxinus</i>)	ash (<i>F. excelsior</i> L.)
<i>Prunus</i>	blackthorn (<i>P. spinosa</i> L.) wild cherry (<i>P. avium</i> L.) bird cherry (<i>P. padus</i> L.)
Dogwood (<i>Cornus</i>)	dogwood (<i>C. sanguinea</i> L.)

Identified to sub-family level:

Pomoideae	common hawthorn (<i>Crataegus monogyna</i> Jacquin.) woodland hawthorn (<i>Crataegus oxyacanthoides</i>) crab apple (<i>Pyrus malus</i> L.) pear (<i>Pyrus communis</i> L.) whitebeam (<i>Sorbus aria</i> (L.) Crantz.) rowan (<i>Sorbus aucuparia</i> L.) wild service (<i>Sorbus torminalis</i> (L.) Crantz)
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The weights of charcoal of the different taxa recorded in the sub-samples were adjusted to give an estimate of the total weight of charcoal of each taxon recovered:

Hand-collected material (77 fragments in total)

Oak	31.92
Pomoideae	47.86
Hazel	12.89
Ash	0.80
Unidentified	12.26

Wet-sieved: sample 1 (16 fragments in total)

Oak	2.98
Pomoideae	0.28
Maple	0.06
Hazel	present

Wet-sieved: sample 2 (12 fragments in total)

Oak	0.30
<i>Prunus</i>	0.17
Maple	0.06
Dogwood	0.04

As can be seen, the identifiable material in the hand-collected sample consisted of a large amount of Pomoideae and oak charcoal (much of it in the form of large fragments, longer than 10 mm), with a smaller, but still considerable quantity of hazel and a comparatively insignificant amount of ash. The flotation samples produced much smaller amounts of charcoal, but between them produced three additional taxa: maple, dogwood and *Prunus*, all of this material being present as small fragments.

Several fragments of charcoal were found embedded in pieces of daub: these included four fragments of oak, two of hazel and one of Pomoideae.

Figure 19 shows that the oak was present almost exclusively as 'non-twiggly' material; on the other hand, the hazel was all 'twiggly' wood; the Pomoideae material contained a mixture of 'twiggly' and 'non-twiggly' wood.

Figures 20 and 21 show the results of the comparisons with templates. Little significance should be attached to the results from the oak, since they represent only the small

proportion of fragments that were 'non-twiggly'. Almost all the hazel material produced estimates of distance from the pith corresponding to diameters of less than 30 mm, and there is a concentration of estimated diameters in the 10–15 mm range. The Pomoideae material had many fragments from small diameters, but there is also a considerable proportion of larger values. This may be taken to suggest that wood of various sizes contributed to the assemblage.

Discussion

The discrepancy between the type of material present in the hand-collected material and the flotation samples can be explained in terms of the different recovery strategies employed: namely, the hand-collected material was mostly recovered from discrete patches of charcoal-rich sediment, and large fragments, being more easily seen, would have been preferentially recovered. On the other hand, the wet-sieved material was derived from bulk samples that would have included both charcoal-rich areas and areas not particularly rich in charcoal within the same context; large pieces of charcoal are likely to have broken up in the course of wet-sieving; and the method of wet-sieving obviously allows much more of the small-sized material to be picked out than does hand-collection during excavation.

The large amounts of comparatively large oak, Pomoideae and hazel charcoal that were recovered from discrete patches associated with baked clay daub clearly represent the remains of structural materials of the hut. The fragments of charcoal of these taxa embedded in daub show that all of these woods were used in parts of the structure where they came into contact with the daub. On the other hand, the small fragments of *Prunus*, dogwood and maple from the flotation samples are likely to have been deposited in the context in some other way, and this process evidently produced only small amounts of charcoal compared to the destruction of the house, and produced only fragmented, small-sized material. It seems reasonable to suggest that this material represents some of the residue from firewood burnt in a hearth in the house during its period of occupation, especially since dogwood, maple and *Prunus* charcoal is particularly associated with hearths, firepits and midden deposits on other Bronze Age sites in the area: Downsvie, Red Hill, Mile Oak. The small-sized oak, hazel and Pomoideae material recovered from the flotation samples could also represent this sort of firewood residue, or it may equally represent charcoal from the destruction of the building.

Oak

Judging by the results of the size estimation, almost all the oak fragments are derived from mature timbers. The few fragments that did have noticeable 'twiggly' features could represent the inner parts of such mature timbers. Although much of the oak was in the form of large fragments of up to 19 mm in a radial direction, they are usually much narrower in the tangential direction, thus forming flat, platy fragments. This is caused by breakage along the large multiseriate rays that are found in oak wood. Probably it is the presence of these multiseriate rays that makes oak very suitable for splitting or cleaving in a radial direction, and this was the traditional way of working oak timbers in historical times (Edlin 1949). Bearing this in mind, and also the fact that oak is the only wood taxon present that has a very large proportion of mature material, it is clear that the split timbers represented by impressions in the daub must have largely been of oak.

Hazel

The hazel material clearly represents immature wood: there are no fragments with an estimated diameter of more than 40 mm, and much of the material has an estimated diameter of 10–12 mm. Many of the charcoal fragments appear to have either whole or half cross-sections of branches, but most of the fragments did not clearly show the outside of the wood where it meets the bark. Either this had been abraded off, or the fragment actually represented the inner part of a larger branch, which had fractured tangential, parallel to the annual rings. Whatever the case, the material was certainly derived from hazel of small diameter that could have been used for wattling. This is clearly the material that produced some, if not all of the wattle impressions on the associated daub. Small hazel rods may have been used whole, whereas larger rods may have been split in half. Slightly stouter hazel branches could also have been used for the uprights ('sails') between which the horizontal rods would have been woven. (Or the supporting 'sails' could have been horizontal, with vertically oriented rods.)

With this type of fragmented material it was impossible to measure the age of the wood or to derive any conclusions as to whether a regular coppice rotation was employed.

Pomoideae

This taxon produced more charcoal than any other, but the role of woods from the sub-family Pomoideae in the structure is less clear than that of oak and hazel wood. Some anatomical features of the Pomoideae material suggests that at least a proportion of this material, if not all of it, represents hawthorn. The charcoal is on the whole derived from much more mature material than that from the hazel, but, unlike the oak, there is a considerable proportion of wood that does show 'twiggy' features, and this would seem to indicate that the Pomoideae material represents branches of several centimetres in diameter, but perhaps some younger or more mature material as well. Hawthorn stems tend to be too fluted and irregular to make good rods for wattling (Edlin 1949). This wood may instead have been used for the 'sails' where the wood does not have to be pliant, with hazel being used for the rods.

Other taxa

As explained above, the ash, maple, *Prunus* and dogwood charcoal is more likely to represent the residue from firewood than the remains of part of the structure. Ash and the species within the genus *Prunus* burn well; maple burns less well; no information is available for dogwood.

The site is located on an area where the Upper Chalk dominates the surface geology. On the hill on whose slope the site lies, there is also a cap of Clay-with-Flints, and Middle Chalk outcrops in the valley to the south-east.

Dogwood and maple are associated with soils of high base status, dogwood being particularly characteristic of chalk scrub, and both were almost certainly growing on the chalk, rather than the Clay-with-Flints. All the other trees represented are more tolerant of soil conditions and could conceivably have been present both on the chalk and on the Clay-with-Flints. Beech, rather than oak, would normally be expected on the chalk today, but different soil conditions in the past may have allowed oak to compete more successfully (Berzins, in Rudling forthcoming).

The charcoal remains indicate that both mature woodland (to provide the oak timber) and chalk scrub (with dogwood, maple and probably hawthorn) were utilized.

THE GEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

By Luke Barber

(incorporating comments by John Cooper, Booth Museum, Brighton)

The excavations at Varley Halls yielded a total of 54 pieces of geological material representing seven different stone types. It should be noted, however, that only one example of fissure-fill deposit was retained in the field for post-excavation analysis. Most pieces of this stone, owing to its quantity, were discarded in the field and this has obviously meant that the quantifications shown in Table 6 (microfiche) are severely under-representative of this type. A full list of geological material by context forms part of the Archive.

The most common stone amongst the retained material was Sarsen sandstone. Sarsen boulders occur naturally in the Brighton district and have been discussed elsewhere (Mantell 1822; Dixon 1878; Summerfield & Goudie 1980; Young & Lake 1988). The Sarsen from the site was usually of a coarse 'sugary' texture with colours ranging from light to dark grey or off-white to pink. Some iron-rich examples range from oranges to browns and purples. A few pieces were very friable and showed zonation of colouring suggestive of burning. Although no definite pieces of quern stone were present in the assemblage, two samples showed smoothing on one face (contexts 211 & 305). It is possible these examples were used for grinding cereals by rubbing, although this could not be proved. Generally the sarsens from the site were too friable to make good querns.

The second most common stone was the iron-rich fissure-fill deposits. This porous, almost breccia-like deposit, is thought to have formed in solution pipes in the chalk and was thus also available locally. Similar material was found on the nearby site at Downsview (Barber forthcoming).

A few pieces of Wealden Sandstone, all iron-rich, suggest material was being brought in from the north, but for what reason is unknown. More exotic stone types were also present, although all in low numbers. A single water-washed, hard white quartzite pebble (context 344) is possibly a rubbing stone of some type although apparently not a hone. It is possible this could have been collected from the coast. West Country material is present: a single piece of Cornish granite (context 367) and west country slate (context 368). However, both these contexts may have received material postdating the Bronze Age and thus this material cannot be directly linked to the site's occupation. Two pieces of siliceous material (context 368) may be artificial in nature and again may postdate the Bronze Age.

MARINE AND NON-MARINE MOLLUSCA

By Keith N. Wilkinson

Non-marine mollusca

Introduction

Samples were examined for their molluscan content at four separate locations at the site of Varley Halls. These were: a, the modern soil profile; b, the fill of the ditch; c, deposits filling hut terrace 2, and d, deposits infilling the hollow/pond. The object of the analysis was, in the case of b and c, to determine the nature of the local environment in which deposition occurred, and to see how this compared across similarly dated features. The modern soil profile (a) was examined as a control with a known environment from which the molluscan assemblages from other samples could be compared.

During the analysis 16 bulk samples were examined and a total of 4606 mollusc shells identified.

Sample collection and laboratory procedure

Samples of between one and two kilograms removed from a cleaned section face at intervals of 10 cm were collected in the field by the excavator after the methods outlined by Shackley (1981, 127). This method of sampling is less likely to produce a detailed record of faunal and hence environmental changes (particularly when sampling is carried out in situations where sedimentation patterns are complex, such as in ditches) than sampling from a continuous column at five or six centimetres (Carter 1990b), but does have the advantage of allowing analysis of several locations in a short space of time. All samples were labelled and double-bagged in the field prior to transport to the laboratory for further analysis.

Prior to processing the samples were initially described in terms of their colour (Munsell value) and morphology prior to being air-dried and weighed. Subsequent processing procedure followed that of Evans (1972). All material retained on the 500 micron sieve was air-dried and sorted for mollusc shells. Sorting was carried out by eye for material greater than 2 mm, and with the aid of a low power binocular microscope for fractions finer than this. All shell apices, plates of the Limacidae, operculae of *Pomatias elegans* and lips of *Carychium*, *Vertigo* and *Pupilla* were removed for identification and quantification. Identification was carried out on the basis of morphological characteristics of the shells and with the aid of a modern comparative reference collection. Nomenclature throughout this report follows that of Kerney and Cameron (1979). All stages of analysis were carried out in the Wolfson Archaeological Science Laboratories, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.

Preservation of mollusc shell in most samples was very good owing to the carbonate-rich nature of the bedrock. Indeed the highest proportion of inorganic clastic material in the mollusc samples was made up of chalk gravel and granules. However, preservation in the deposits from the hollow/pond was noticeably poorer. The samples from this area were found to contain a greater proportion of charcoal than elsewhere.

In the tables (microfiche), samples have been listed in order of reference number, but in the percentage histograms they have been plotted in stratigraphic order.

The modern soil profile

Three samples were examined from the modern profile at the north-eastern edge of the excavation. The description of the profile from which the samples were taken is given in Table 7 (microfiche).

Details of the molluscan shells recovered are tabulated in Table 8 (microfiche) and presented as a percentage histogram in Figure 22. The molluscan assemblages recorded from all samples are dominated by open-country species, although there are faunal changes that can be observed in the profile. Context A contains an assemblage dominated by *Pupilla muscorum*, *Vallonia* sp. and *Trichia hispida*. This type of assemblage is typical of those described by Bell (1983) in colluvial dry valley fills. Indeed it is suggested above that context A was formed by erosion of material further up slope, as it is poorly sorted and is not morphologically similar to either the subsoil (context B) or the topsoil (context C). The dominance by *P. muscorum* suggests that the environment was open and with very little vegetation, i.e. *P. muscorum* is commonly found on bare ground between patches of shorter vegetation. The almost total absence of shade-lovers and the

presence of *Helicella itala* (a species that normally lives on south-facing slopes on ground almost totally devoid of vegetation: Kerney & Cameron 1979), would seem to confirm this hypothesis. If the deposit is colluvial, it is likely that the shells found are derived from a large spatial area and may not necessarily be contemporary with the erosion that led to the deposition of the colluvium. However, the erosion is likely to have been a result of arable agriculture, and probably at some point in the medieval period or later as *Monacha cantiana*, a species thought to have migrated to Britain during this period (Evans 1972), was recovered.

Context B contains a molluscan assemblage very similar to that of context A except that *P. muscorum* declines at the expense of an increase in *H. itala*. Therefore the environment is likely to have remained as open as before, but was more likely to have been maintained by grazing rather than by arable agriculture, of which *H. itala* is thought to be less tolerant (Kerney & Cameron 1979). Context B is thought to be a B horizon of the present-day soil, which if correct, presents certain problems in the interpretation of molluscan data. Recent research by Carter (1990a) suggests that shells recovered from further down than the top five centimetres of soil profiles are likely to be mixed, including shells from periods spanning the whole history of the soil (as a result of biological mixing processes). Thus the environment postulated for context B may not have been present during the whole of the context's formation.

Context C contains a molluscan assemblage that is distinct both from those in contexts B and A. Furthermore, as context C is from the very top of a currently active soil, it is likely that most of the mollusc shells recovered represent relatively recent deaths (Carter 1990b). The assemblage is dominated by the 'Introduced Helicid' category and to a lesser extent by *Trichia hispida* and *Vallonia* sp. The 'Introduced Helicids', in this case include just two species that are thought to have colonized Britain in the Romano-British period and later; *Candidula intersecta* and *Cochlicella acuta*. Both live in open, dry environments and indeed *C. acuta* is frequently found on coastal sand dunes. Therefore the environment would appear to have been both open and dry, but possibly with a thin vegetation cover (as both *P. muscorum* and *H. itala* are only present in low numbers). This may have been maintained by grazing rather than by arable agriculture and indeed both farming regimes have been utilized since 1945 (Greig pers. comm.).

Therefore it would appear that conditions have remained open through the entire history of the soil, and indeed even before the soil began to develop. However, it is possible that the land-use regime changed prior to the formation of context B from arable (during the formation of the colluvial context — A) to pastoral. It is even possible that this change in land-use (which cannot be dated) was the factor that produced a stable environment in which a soil could develop.

The palisade ditch

Five samples were examined from the palisade ditch. (For location of contexts see Fig. 13:30). The deposits sampled are detailed in Table 9 (microfiche).

This ditch profile is difficult to attribute within the terms of the theoretical model of 'primary', 'secondary' and 'tertiary' fills described by Evans (1972; 1990), Limbrey (1975) and Bell (1990). It is unlikely that any of the contexts are primary (i.e.

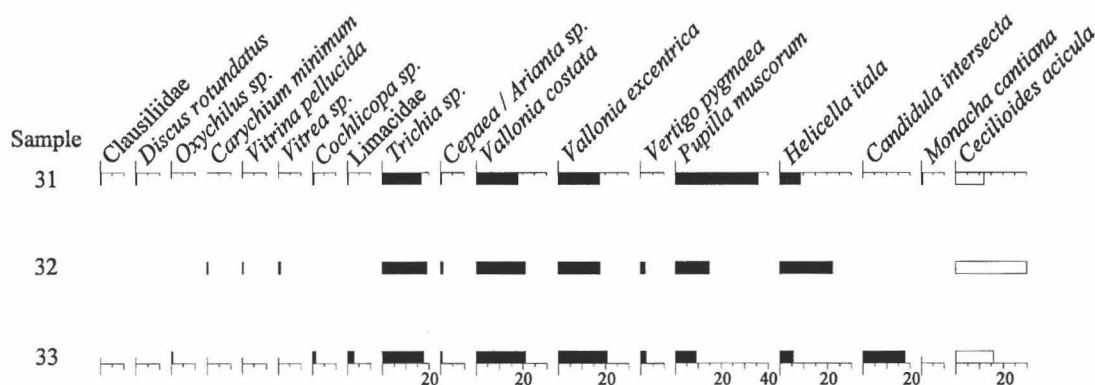


Fig. 22. Percentage histogram of mollusc shells from the modern soil profile.

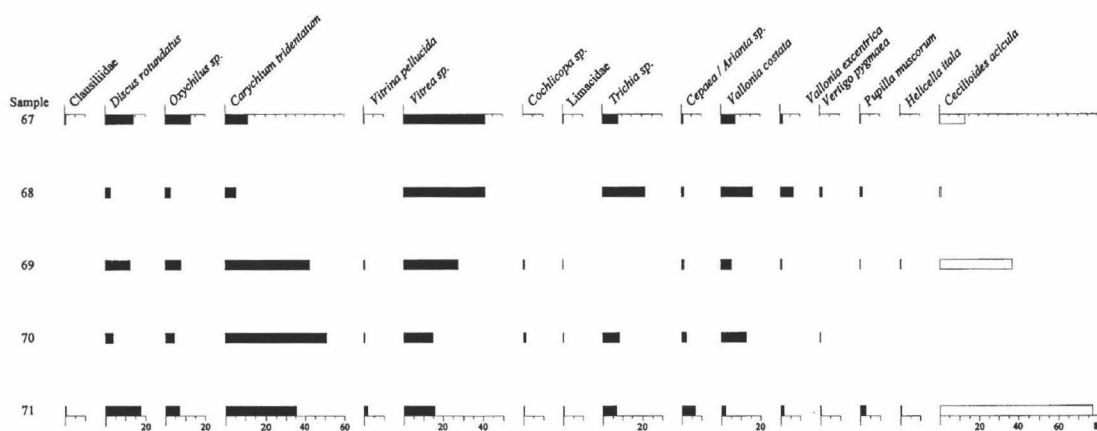


Fig. 23. Percentage histogram of mollusc shells from the palisade ditch.

material derived from the contemporary soil through low energy erosion) and therefore contemporary with the first use of the ditch. All the contexts have the properties of a secondary fill, which probably accumulated some time after the construction of the ditch, from material eroding in from the ditch sides and further afield. It is also a possibility that material was deliberately placed in the ditch as packing for a wooden palisade. If so, however, the fills were deposited in several distinct phases as the mollusc assemblages in each context are distinctive. Another possibility is that the ditch was initially used without a palisade (during which period secondary infilling took place) and was only later recut to take a palisade. In this scenario all the fills would be colluvial, accumulating as a result of erosion of surfaces adjacent to the ditch.

The mollusc shells recovered from the ditch are tabulated in Table 10 (microfiche) and presented as a percentage histogram in Figure 23. There are a number of obvious patterns that can be observed in Figure 23:

a. a decline in the *Vitrea/Vitrina* group upwards through the sequence from high quantities found at the base;

b. the appearance of *Carychium tridentatum* in large numbers in sample 70, and its subsequent decline;

c. a slight increase in *Discus rotundatus* and *Aegopinella* sp. in the top part of the sequence;

d. a decrease in the open-country component (i.e. *Vertigo pygmaea*, *P. muscorum*, *Vallonia* and *H. itala*) and *Trichia hispida* upwards through the sequence.

Preservation of mollusc shell declines with increased depth, while through the whole sequence species traditionally interpreted as being shade-loving dominate (Evans 1972). However, this does not necessarily indicate that the area was wooded during the accumulation of the ditch sediments. In fact *Vitrea contracta* (which is the most dominant member of the *Vitrea/Vitrina* group) has recently been shown to live in both short and long grassland conditions (Carter 1990a). There appear to be two mollusc zones, the first (zone A) is represented in samples 67 and 68 (contexts 125 & 126), and is dominated by *V. contracta*. The second (zone B) is found in samples 70, 69, and 71 (contexts 124, 122 & 103) and here *C. tridentatum* predominates. One other notable difference separating the

zones is the higher percentage of open-country species found in zone A. Nevertheless, it is likely that the ditch fills began to accumulate in an environment of long grassland. It is also likely that this long vegetation only existed within the ditch itself as individuals of open-country species were also found in large numbers and probably derive from outside the ditch. As the *Vitrea/Vitrina* group and the open-country species decline upwards there is a corresponding increase in quantities of *C. tridentatum* and other shade-loving species. *C. tridentatum* probably has a greater tolerance of open conditions than originally thought by Evans (1972), but is nevertheless rarely found in open grassland conditions, whereas both *D. rotundatus* and *Aegopinella* sp. only live in shaded environments. This suggests that vegetation was increasing both in terms of quantity and extent during the accumulation of the upper ditch deposits and indeed the area outside the ditch may have been covered by scrub or perhaps long grassland. However, long grassland is less likely to be the source of the shade as neither *D. rotundatus* or *Aegopinella nitidula* are commonly encountered in this environment (Cameron & Morgan-Huws 1975). It is also unlikely that woodland existed as no species were encountered which are compulsive arbophiles.

There is also a sizeable open-country component including *Vallonia excentrica* and *H. itala*, neither of which are known to live in woodland.

To summarize, it is likely that the sediments filling the ditch were not deliberately placed there and are a result of erosion, probably occurring a long time after its construction (context 125 may be an exception to this). Molluscan evidence suggests the following course of events:

1. The ditch was constructed (in an undetermined environment).
2. The ditch was left to silt up and vegetation developed within it. The environment outside was open.
3. The centre of the ditch was recut for a palisade.
4. The site was abandoned and the palisade left in place.
5. Long grassland (or scrub) began to develop around the palisade and ditch.

6. The palisade either rotted or was removed while the vegetation remained as before.

Hut 2

For descriptions of the sedimentary layers sampled in the terrace of hut 2 see Table 11 (in microfiche). For location of contents see Figure 7:S13.

The deposits infilling the terrace of hut 2 almost certainly have a colluvial origin, being caused by erosion of material further upslope, presumably as a result of arable agriculture. These terrace infills all appear to have accumulated in an open environment, although it is possible that actual land-use was variable. Three molluscan biozones can be recognized:

Zone A (contexts 221 & 269)

The basal sample does not contain enough shells to interpret reliably. However, sample 27 and sample 22 from context 269 do contain sufficient. The molluscan assemblage is dominated by *Vallonia costata* to the exclusion of almost everything else. The next largest group is *Vitrea/Vitrina*, *D. rotundatus* and *C. tridentatum*. This combination of species suggests that although conditions were open there were also patches of longer vegetation. *V. costata* could either have been living in the terrace or in the sediments eroding in to it. Either way it is unlikely that an intense agricultural system was in place, at least in the immediate area of the terrace as shade-lovers are rare. It is possible that this zone is contemporary with the first ditch deposits.

Zone B (context 292)

This zone is similar to zone A in being dominated by *V. costata*, but has an even lower proportion of shade-lovers. This suggests that the amount of shade and therefore vegetation had decreased within the terrace. This is hardly surprising as by this time the terrace would have been largely infilled by colluvial sediments. It is possible that either an arable or pastoral agricultural regime was in place keeping the vegetation short.

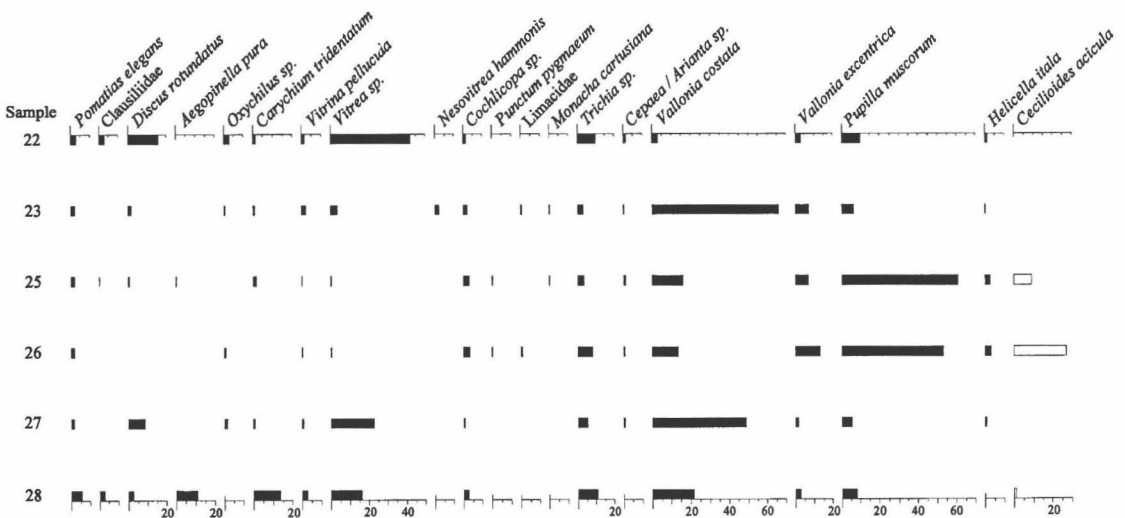


Fig. 24. Percentage histogram of mollusc shells from hut terrace 2.

Zone C (context 211)

A rapid change occurs in this zone as *V. costata* rapidly falls in number to be replaced by *P. muscorum* and to a lesser extent *V. excentrica* and *H. itala*. It is also notable that the shade-loving component almost completely disappears. Therefore a major change in environment has occurred and the agricultural regime was now almost certainly arable, causing disturbance of the ground surface (the ideal habitat for *P. muscorum*). *V. excentrica* and *H. itala* are also more tolerant of very open conditions than *V. costata*. The terrace by this time cannot have supported any shade at all, and was probably part of an arable field.

The assemblages from the terrace deposits demonstrate change from an open grassland environment to an environment utilized for arable agriculture. Unfortunately, it is by no means certain if there are hiatus in the sequence (although judging by the stratigraphy there is probably a notable time gap between zone B and zone C), as it has been shown that colluvium only accumulates slowly in vegetated environments (Morgan 1985).

Hollow/pond

Two sedimentary contexts were examined from this feature, for descriptions see Table 13 (microfiche).

Molluscan analysis of these two contexts demonstrated that shell preservation was extremely poor. Thus no percentage histogram was plotted and the data are only presented in tabular form (Table 14). The origin of the sediments filling this feature is unknown but the mollusc assemblage indicates that formation occurred in an open environment, although the shade-loving component present suggests that the feature itself provided some shade. From the morphology of the sediments and the fact that they are dominated by open-country species it would seem likely that the sediments are colluvial (i.e. poorly sorted), although how the feature originally formed cannot be determined from these lines of evidence alone.

Conclusions

Analysis of mollusc shells from various deposits at Varley Halls has demonstrated that a wide variety of micro-environments existed at the site both during and after its occupation in the Middle Bronze Age. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to link in detail the assemblages found from different features chronologically, although the following sequence of events seems the most likely.

During occupation of the site in the Middle Bronze Age there would obviously have been very little erosion of the terraces as they would be mostly covered by hut structures. The only deposits which may date from this period are those from the base of the ditch, which demonstrate that the environment outside (the ditch) was open. Erosion of the hut terraces began following the abandonment of the site, and it was probably during this early phase of abandonment that zone A (and possibly zone B) assemblages were formed in hut terrace 2. The zone B deposits from the ditch are also likely to date from this period. In this period an environment of scrub or long grassland is likely to have colonized the site, but as the cover on the hut terraces had been removed, erosion occurred. At some point following this, the long grassland/scrub was cleared and the land was used for arable agriculture — as represented by zone C, hut terrace 2, which seems to

have continued into the medieval period (context C in the modern soil profile). Only later (possibly also in the medieval period) did pastoral activity begin (context B in the modern soil profile), and since 1945 a variety of arable and pastoral uses have been made of the area (context A in the modern soil profile).

This interpretation is largely based on the excavators' stratigraphic interpretation of the various deposits, most of which did not extend over a large spatial area, but does fit in with previous knowledge of the environment in the Brighton area (Wilkinson 1993).

Marine mollusca (see microfiche)

RESISTIVITY SURVEY

By Ian Greig

A limited resistivity survey was carried out as part of the evaluation, in which the large hut terraces showed up quite well. The survey was subsequently continued over an extended area around the excavation by members of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society, co-ordinated by Mr J. Funnell, and suggests that there are at least two more terraces present in the immediate vicinity. It may be profitable to extend such a survey to other nearby undeveloped fields. Recent excavations on the downs to the north of Brighton are revealing widespread settlement evidence, and it would be interesting to establish the full extent of settlement on these steep slopes. The East Sussex County Council Sites and Monuments Record shows many chance finds in the area, and it is unfortunate that so much development took place after the Second World War, particularly on the opposite site of the valley to Varley Halls, without the opportunity for detailed archaeological investigation.

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Excavations at Potlands Farm, Patching, West Sussex

by Simon Stevens

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Rescue excavations in advance of road construction at Patching, West Sussex in April and May 1994 revealed the remains of a Bronze Age burnt mound and associated features, including a trough and hearth. This class of monument is common in Ireland but rare in England, and the Potlands Farm example is the first to be identified and excavated in Sussex. A subsequent watching brief produced a Neolithic adze and evidence of medieval activity in the area.

INTRODUCTION

The Field Archaeology Unit, University College London, was commissioned to undertake archaeological investigations of land required for the A27 Patching Junction Improvement (Fig. 1). The land-use of the area was mainly pastoral agriculture with some arable fields on higher ground. The soils are predominantly gleyed clays lying between the Clay-with-Flint soils of the lower slopes of the South Downs and the Rendzina soils of the Highdown Hill chalk outlier.

Assessment excavations at Potlands Farm, Patching in March 1994 uncovered a number of archaeological features in a paddock between a partly canalized stream and the old course of the A27 at a height averaging 31.50 m OD (Fig. 1c). The features contained high densities of fire-cracked flint, flint debitage (both flakes and cores), charcoal and traces of pottery which were initially dated to the Bronze Age (Stevens 1994a).

The decision was taken to strip topsoil from an area measuring 50 m × 50 m after consultation with representatives from West Sussex County Council, English Heritage, the Highways Agency and Peter Fraenkel and Partners (the road engineers) to identify, excavate and record a large sample of archaeological features before their destruction by the road scheme. Initial stripping revealed few traces of activity in the western half, but a high density of features in the eastern half. Given the restricted time available, it was decided to attempt a total

excavation of all features in the east, and to abandon the western portion of the site.

THE BURNT MOUND FEATURES

THE BURNT MOUND

The mound (context 100) was a homogenous deposit consisting of a large dump of fire-cracked flint and charcoal, which gave the deposit a dark grey colour (Fig. 2). The mound measured in excess of 6 m in diameter, but had a maximum thickness of only 300 mm. Formed around a trough cut into the natural clay (context 120, Figs 2 & 3:S1), it appeared to have accumulated from material removed from the trough and dumped on to the ground surface. Despite extensive examination and sieving of the mound make-up through a 5 mm sieve, only one datable artefact was retrieved: a sherd of pottery with a coarse flint temper dated to the Middle Bronze Age. Twenty-six flint flakes, two cores and a side scraper were also discovered.

The burnt mound sealed a shallow ditch or gully feature (context 38) which was approximately 9 m long, and two post-holes (123 & 125, Fig. 2). These features contained fills of an extremely similar nature to the mound itself and obviously predated it. The mound also sealed an old ground surface, which was sampled for environmental analysis.

The Middle Bronze Age date suggested by the single sherd of pottery is consistent with that assigned to other burnt mounds, a rare and ill-understood class of ancient monument which

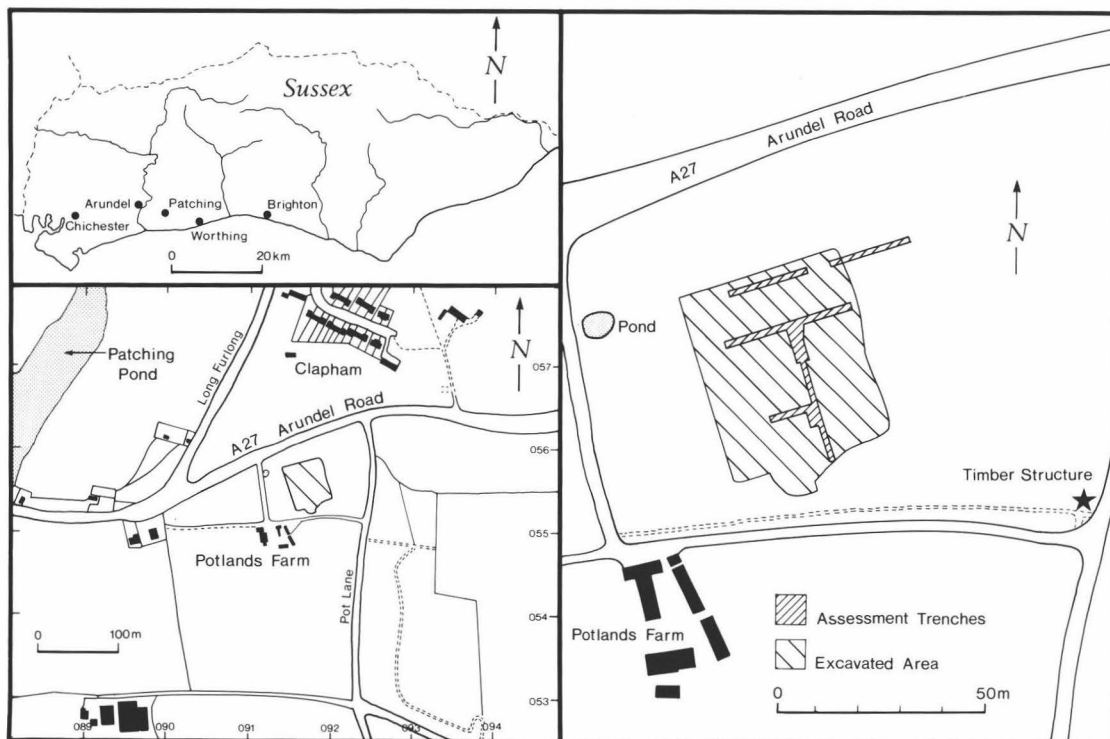


Fig 1. Site and trench location plans.

occurs most commonly in Ireland (O'Driscoll 1988, 671). Many have been excavated there, both in the last century (Trench 1886; Quinlan 1887) and more recently, when more scientific methods have been used (Buckley 1986; Cleary 1986). Burnt mounds have also been excavated on the Isle of Man (Cubbon 1965). Examples are known from the British mainland, most notably in the New Forest, where 22 mounds have been identified (Pasmore & Pallister 1967), and in the West Midlands (Barfield & Hodder 1981; Nixon 1980). There has been much academic debate as to the function of the mounds (Barfield & Hodder 1987; O'Driscoll 1988), but there is broad agreement that the burnt mound was a feature of the Bronze Age and this is supported by C-14 dating and pottery analysis from examples on both sides of the Irish Channel.

The mound at Patching shows striking parallels with other recently excavated examples, including that at Deadman Bottom in the New Forest (Pasmore & Pallister 1967). The New Forest example also consisted mainly of fire-cracked flint and had a gully underneath. The site at Cob Lane, Northfield,

Birmingham also had features underneath the mound, and had a notable paucity of artefacts from the mound itself, despite the sieving of two tonnes of stone (Barfield & Hodder 1981, 198).

THE TROUGH

Troughs of varying character have been found on many excavated burnt mound sites. The trough at Patching (context 120) had a smooth clay lining which, although similar in colour to the naturally occurring clay, was distinguished by the absence of flint pebbles (context 122, Fig. 3:S1). The trough measured 2.95 m by 1.30 m and was 350 mm deep, which is somewhat larger than most other known examples (Hedges 1975, 63). It was filled with material similar to the make-up of the mound, although the fragments of fire-cracked flint were appreciably larger than those in the mound deposit (context 121). Despite thorough sieving, no artefacts were recovered from the trough. The trough was similar in size and character to that found in association with the mound at Deadman Bottom (Pasmore & Pallister 1967, 16). Many of the Irish

POTLANDS FARM, PATCHING

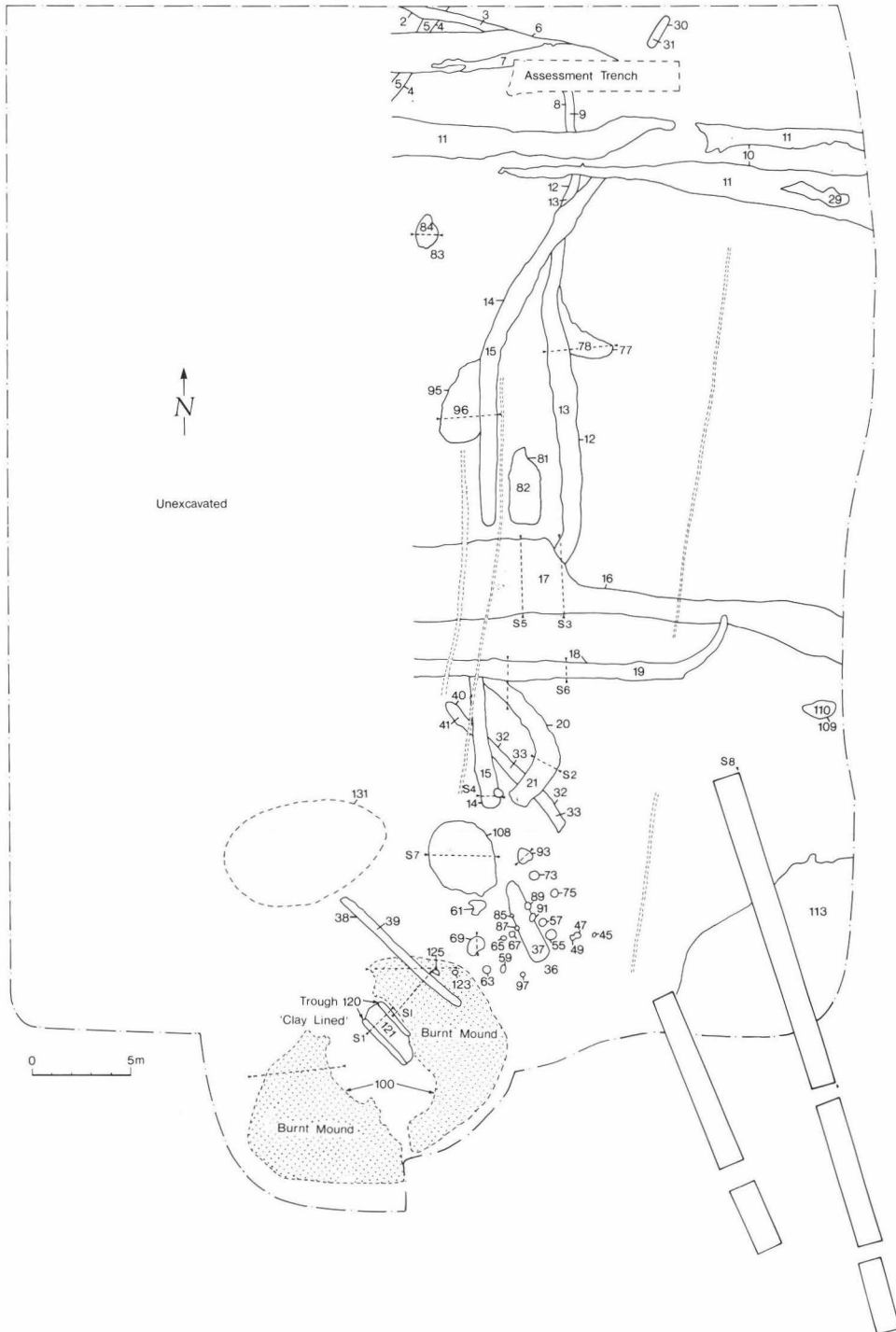


Fig. 2. Excavation area plan.

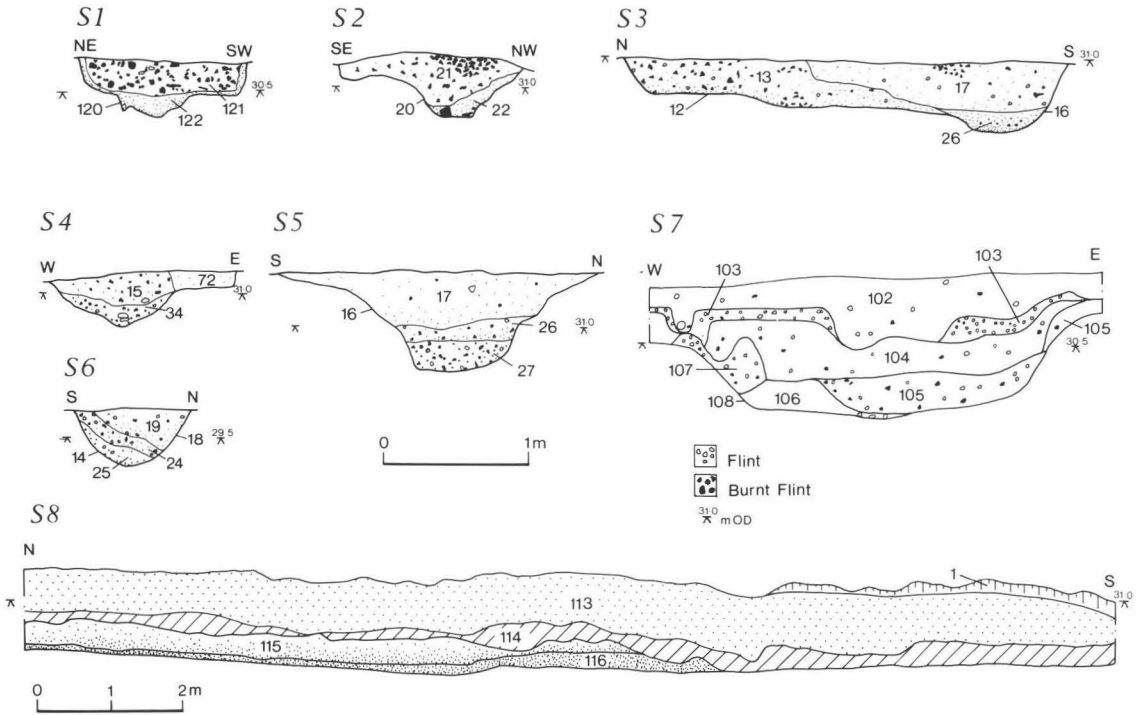


Fig. 3. Sections.

troughs were lined with wood. For example, the waterlogged site of Curraghtarsna, County Tipperary had a trough consisting of a reused dug-out canoe (Buckley 1986, 70).

THE HEARTH

The crescent-shaped feature (context 20) close to the trough and mound appears to be the remains of the hearth used to heat the flint (Figs 2 & 3:S2). The feature contained two fills: the upper one (context 21) was similar in character to the mound make-up, and beneath was context 22, a mid-grey silty clay. Context 21 contained four flint flakes and a single sherd of pottery, with a medium flint temper, dated to the Late Bronze Age. Some of the hearths on other sites were arc-shaped, for example at Ballyvourney I, County Cork, or had the form of a full horseshoe as at the nearby Ballyvourney II (O'Kelly 1954, 110, 126).

THE POST-HOLES AND GULLY

A group of twenty post-holes lay to the north-east of the mound, apparently clustered around a shallow gully, five-metres long, (Fig. 2, context 36). The

largest, context 69, had a diameter of 470 mm and a maximum depth of 110 mm, while the smallest, context 85, had a diameter of 300 mm and depth of 220 mm. All the post-holes had steeply sloping sides and flat bases, and had fills similar in character to the burnt mound make-up. Finds were sparse: the fill of post-hole 93 contained two flint flakes and two sherds of pottery with a very coarse flint temper dating from the Middle Bronze Age, and the fill of post-hole 75 produced one flint flake.

Similar post-holes were unearthed at Ballyvourney I and were interpreted as the remains of racks for hanging meat (O'Kelly 1954, 115). This interpretation is given support by the presence of the gully at Patching, which could have been constructed to carry away dripping blood.

THE OTHER FEATURES

THE DITCHES

The long irregular ditches in the area to the north of the burnt mound were a notable characteristic of the site at Patching (Fig. 2). There were four main ditches. Two ran from east to west (contexts 16 &

18, Fig. 3:S3, S5, S6). Two others ran from north to south, context 14 of which context 30 was probably originally a part (Fig. 3:S4), and context 12 which probably also included contexts 8 and 2.

These features could have been boundary ditches or they may have been for drainage in a low-lying wet area. The environmental evidence from the larger pits suggests that they were wet for at least part of their period of use. An alternative purpose of the ditches, therefore, may have been to fill the pits directly, rather than use the more labour intensive method of filling them from the stream. Unfortunately, later activity at the site had obscured the relationship between the ditches and pits.

Two other linear features ran across the site from east to west (contexts 6 & 10) but these 'ditches' were post-medieval and were probably formed by the removal of a hedgerow or line of trees. Both features had been levelled by the importation of gravel and topsoil, which contained post-medieval pottery, and a George III copper halfpenny of the period 1770–1775.

THE PITS

A small number of pits were also uncovered. Context 113 was found to be a shallow depression resulting from the presence of an archaeological feature below it; context 109 contained a burnt-out tree stump and was presumed to be modern. Pits 81 and 83 contained no datable material and pit 95 produced a single flint flake. Pit 77 yielded five sherds of very coarse flint-gritted pottery, dated to the Middle Bronze Age and a single sherd of late Iron Age or Romano-British East Sussex Ware, which was presumably intrusive (context 79).

THE WATERLOGGED PITS

A large, deep and partly waterlogged pit (context 108) lay close to the burnt mound (Fig. 3:S7). Initial cleaning had suggested that the area was archaeologically sterile, but closer examination produced a sherd of medieval pottery from within the orangey-yellow clay, which was then recorded as context 102. Below 102 was a pit in which

there were five identifiable fills (contexts 103, 104, 105, 106 & 107). Context 105 was found to be partly waterlogged and contained well-preserved organic remains. All of the contexts contained fire-cracked flint in small quantities, and worked flint was recovered from context 103 (40 flakes and a side scraper), context 104 (15 flakes) and context 105 (15 flakes).

Pottery sherds were also recovered from these three contexts. Three sherds of a coarse flint-gritted ware were found in context 103, which were dated to the Middle Bronze Age. Context 104 contained four sherds of a smoothed, medium flint-gritted ware, dated to the Late Bronze Age, and context 105 produced a smoothed, finer ware of the same date. However, this context also contained three sherds of Romano-British pottery. Samples were taken for environmental analysis.

Following the discovery that features lay underneath areas presumed to be archaeologically sterile, the decision was made to excavate a test-pit in the uncleaned western half of the site to ascertain the presence and extent of any features. A mechanical excavator was used to excavate a test hole and a large feature was identified (context 131). The exact

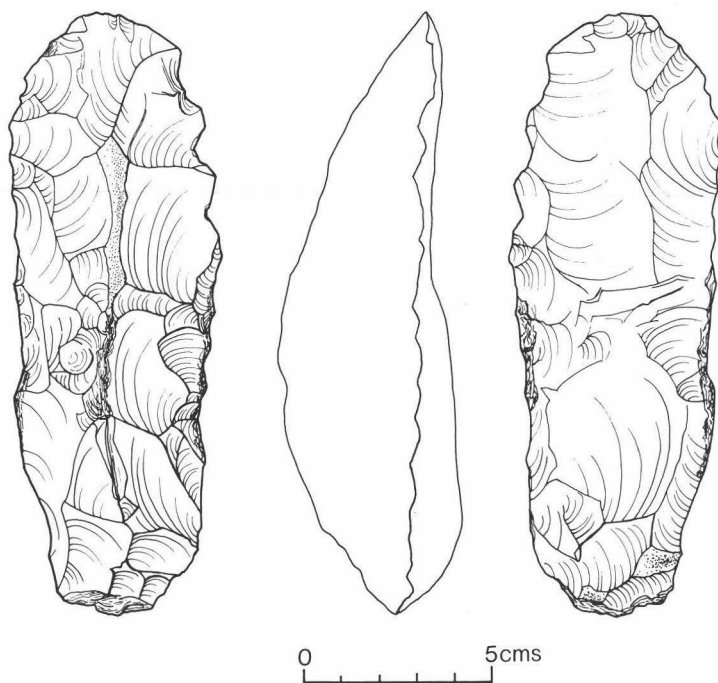


Fig. 4. Neolithic adze/pick.

size and shape of the feature could not be ascertained owing to the method employed and the presence of groundwater which flooded the machine-cut trench. Four separate waterlogged contexts were identified (contexts 127, 128, 129 & 130), each containing small quantities of fire-cracked flint. Environmental samples were taken and one of the samples produced a calibrated radiocarbon date of 900–800 cal. BC (Laboratory ref. Q-3259), indicating that the feature was broadly contemporary with the burnt mound.

THE MACHINE-CUT TRENCHES

A mechanical excavator was used to excavate two trenches in the south-east of the site to investigate the hollow (context 113). Both trenches immediately flooded with water. After lengthy pumping it was possible to investigate one of the sections of the easternmost trench. It revealed a number of contexts made up of gravel and clay (Fig. 3:S8, contexts 114, 115 & 116). Context 115 contained preserved organic matter in the form of small twigs, which appeared to be held together by vertical twigs. Samples were taken and examined by Richard Darrah, who found no obvious signs of human intervention, and described the wood as 'intrusive or residual'. A calibrated radiocarbon date of AD 450–635 (Laboratory ref. Q-3258) was obtained from the wood, which supports that view.

THE WATCHING BRIEF

INTRODUCTION

An agreement was made that the Field Archaeology Unit would undertake a watching brief during and after the completion of the Potlands Farm excavation to monitor the topsoil stripping for the remainder of the road scheme. The area around the original site was reduced by mechanical excavation using both bulldozer and 'box-scraper' machinery and all activity in the area was observed.

During the initial topsoil stripping of the area, no archaeological features were observed but a Neolithic/mid-Bronze Age adze/pick was recovered from a nearby topsoil dump. The tool displays a marked asymmetrical long profile with a distinct downturn and thinning at the distal end; it has a roughly triangular central cross section (Fig. 4). The implement is bifacially flaked, rather crudely, and several hinge fractures are present. An area of crushing is clearly visible along the three longitudinal crests, suggesting attrition at the point of hafting (Greg Priestley-Bell pers. comm.). A small finely-struck Mesolithic core and several chronologically undiagnostic flakes were also recovered from the same spoilheap. Unfortunately, given the method of recovery, the artefacts were all unprovenanced.

Ground reduction undertaken close to the original site by box-scrapers left a highly uneven surface that made the identification of archaeological features difficult. The material removed was scanned for artefacts but none was recovered. Later a piece of wood was uncovered by the machinery and work ceased while the area was investigated.

THE TIMBER STRUCTURE

The piece of timber visible was found to have formed the highest part of a wooden structure buried within a deposit of orangey-yellow gravel (Figs 1c & 5, context 200). The material consisted of 17 pieces of timber,

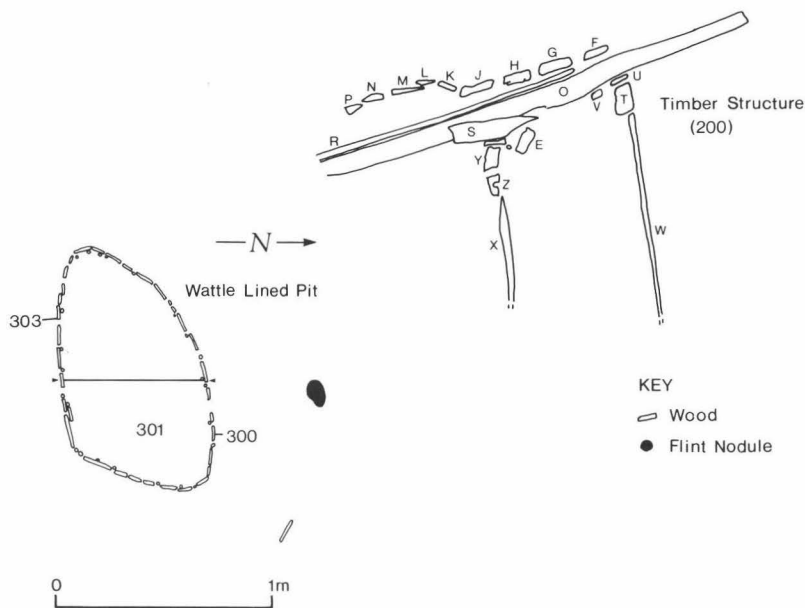


Fig. 5. Plan of timber structure and wattle-lined pit.

forming a stave-built structure of some kind. The structure was slowly dismantled and each timber was given an identification letter, and was then measured and photographed. The wood was found to be extremely well-preserved and could be sampled to examine the joints and the cut marks on the timbers. Pieces of the wood were also retained for dendrochronological analysis.

The staves were made from radially-split oak, which had been reworked with axes, and were held in position by a tie-back beam (Fig. 5:O), which was itself supported by two planks (Fig. 5:X & W). The stave-built structure was presumed to form part of a scheme of water management, prior to the canalization of the nearby stream. Richard Darrah suggested a medieval date for the structure based on the technology, but samples taken for

dendrochronological dating could not be matched to any tree-ring curve. The structure can be given a broad date range of AD 700 to 1200 on the evidence of the timber-working.

THE WATTLE-LINED PIT

The area around the wooden structure was cleaned by hand to identify and record any associated features. The structure itself was isolated. A pit (context 300) measuring 1.20 m in diameter was uncovered to the south-east (Fig. 5). It contained three identifiable waterlogged fills (contexts 301, 302 & 303). The pit was lined by a layer of wattle (context 303) of small twigs which had been interwoven. The water present prevented the certain identification of the bottom of the pit. No artefacts were recovered from the pit and its date remains uncertain.

THE FINDS

POTTERY

By Sue Hamilton

Table 1. Prehistoric pottery.

Context	Sherds
15	F3: 3 sherds
21	F3: 1 sherd
79	F1: 5 sherds, one of which shows a cordon
94	F1: 2 sherds
100	F2: 1 sherd
103	F2: 3 sherds
104	F4: 4 sherds
105	F5: 4 sherds

Fabrics

F1: very coarse flint-gritted

The fabric comprises very coarse, medium abundance flint grits. The matrix has an oxidized exterior surface and unoxidized interior surface and core. The fabric most probably dates to the Middle Bronze Age on the basis of the textural characteristics and the presence of a shoulder sherd with a slightly raised cordon on the carination. Wall thickness: 12 mm.

F2: coarse flint-gritted

The fabric comprises coarse, medium abundant flint grits. The matrix is generally unoxidized throughout. The fabric is dated to the Middle Bronze Age on the basis of its textural characteristics. Wall thickness: 9 mm.

F3: medium flint-gritted

This fabric comprises medium, medium to abundant flint grit. The matrix is generally oxidized throughout, or has an unoxidized interior surface. The fabric is thinner (8 mm) than F1 and F2. On the basis of texture and wall thickness a late Bronze Age date is suggested.

F4: smoothed medium flint-gritted

This fabric comprises medium, medium to abundant flint grits.

The matrix has oxidized surfaces and an unoxidized core. The smoothed surfaces and some evidence of wiping are characteristic of the Late Bronze Age. The wall thickness (10 mm) is greater than F3.

F5: smoothed, fine flint-gritted

The fabric has the characteristics of a Late Bronze Age fine ware. The fabric comprises abundant fine flint grits. The exterior surface has been smoothed and the fabric is thin-walled (6 mm). The matrix is unoxidized throughout.

Discussion

The range of fabrics present suggest evidence of Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age activity. The sherds are relatively large and uneroded, particularly the F4 sherds. This would suggest that the sherds were *in situ* or not far removed from their original point of use and/or disposal.

THE FLINT

By Greg Priestley-Bell

Introduction

Three distinct types of flint are present within the assemblage from the site: firstly, a light to medium grey slightly coarse-grained material with many inclusions, often with a light brown patina, comprising approximately 65% of the artefacts; secondly, a mottled light grey to dark grey fine-grained material with many inclusions comprising approximately 25% and lastly, a dark greyish blue very fine-grained flint with few inclusions making up the final 10%. One flake with beach pebble cortex is present.

More than 32% of the total assemblage is patinated with only 3% rolled and 2% broken. A fairly high degree of light edge-damage is present, although probably not due to ploughing as iron staining is completely absent. Cortical flakes (where 10% or more of the dorsal surface was cortex) comprise 33% of the assemblage.

Waste flakes

The waste flakes are predominantly of hard-hammer manufacture with broad unprepared platforms. Very few true blades are represented, that is flakes with a length twice or

Table 2. Frequencies for flint artefact categories by context and frequencies for selected variables by context.

Context	Tot	WF	ES	SS	B	CR	CX	PAT	RO	BK	HH	SH	UND
1	57	49	6	-	1	1	16	12	3	-	36	-	21
3	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
9	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-
13	7	6	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	5	-	2
15	11	11	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	7	-	4
17	7	6	-	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	3	-	4
19	20	20	-	-	-	-	6	7	-	-	17	-	3
21	4	4	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	4	-	-
24	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	-
34	9	9	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	2	7	-	2
35	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
39	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
79	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
94	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-
96	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
100	29	26	-	1	-	2	11	4	-	1	13	1	15
102	18	17	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	11	-	7
103	41	40	-	1	-	-	16	17	2	1	33	1	7
104	15	15	-	-	-	-	5	9	-	-	8	-	7
105	15	15	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	1	10	-	5
Totals	245	230	7	4	1	3	83	63	8	6	165	2	78

Key:

Tot - Total

WF - Waste Flakes

ES - End Scraper

SS - Side Scraper

B - Borer

CR - Core

CX - Cortex > 10% of dorsal surface

PAT - Patinated

RO - Rolled

BK - Blank

HH - Hard Hammer

SH - Soft Hammer

UND - Undiagnostic Percussor

greater than their width, with roughly parallel edges, and with traces of previous parallel removals on their dorsal surface.

Scrapers

A total of 11 scrapers are present, comprising seven end-scrapers and four side-scrapers. All the retouch was direct, either abrupt or semi-abrupt, with crossed-abrupt retouch present on the side scraper from context 17.

Borer

A borer or side-scraper from the topsoil has been formed by direct retouch of varying extent to the distal end and left lateral edge. An area of denticulation with a notch, also produced by direct retouch, is present on the right lateral edge. The proximal end and part of the right lateral edge has been blunted by abrupt indirect retouch perhaps to facilitate the use of the tool as a borer or saw.

Cores

Two cores and a core fragment are present: one core and a core fragment from context 100, the burnt mound, and one core from the topsoil. The cores from context 100 have a single striking platform with uni-directional flake scars, and show evidence of platform preparation. The scarring on the debitage surface of the core fragment from context 100 suggests soft-hammer percussion. The core from the topsoil has a single

platform with no traces of platform preparation, while the centripetal flake scars are characteristic of hard-hammer percussion.

Conclusions

The weathered appearance of much of the cortex and the presence of differential patination and thermal fracture surfaces, suggests that the raw material was collected from the surface.

The ratio of debitage to tools 20.4:1 and the high proportion of cortical flakes (33%), perhaps indicates a short reduction sequence using limited raw materials. The absence of small debitage may be due to its removal by surface weathering.

The assemblage taken as a whole therefore represents most stages of a flaking industry of Neolithic or Bronze Age character, producing medium-sized hard-hammer flakes, with a minimum of modification, as blanks for scrapers. Table 2 illustrates the distribution and quantity of flintwork recovered.

THE WOOD

By Richard Darrah

Twenty-three samples were taken from 17 pieces of cleft oak forming the timber structure (context 200). The longest of these was 2.38 m.

The timber was all oak which had been cleft and reworked with axes. The use of wide-bladed hewing axes on slow-grown

timber points to a medieval date. In London the combination of slow-grown oak and broad axe hewing technology would date between AD 700 and 1200, but in a rural setting a supply of slow-grown oak may be available later. The date of the structure could not be confirmed by dendrochronological dating.

Growth patterns of the oak suggest that four trees were used in the construction. The structure was made from radially cleft oak stakes backed by cleft and hewn planks which had been held together with wedged pegs. Axe and auger toolmarks survived on the surfaces including a complete blade edge profile of a narrow-bladed cross-cutting axe. Despite the use of wedged pegs, the structure was not part of a boat as none of the pieces was carefully shaped.

The wood was in good condition, it was self-supporting and was not brittle. The wood surfaces were not as well preserved as the core of the wood and a few clear tool marks survived.

DENDROCHRONOLOGY

By Cathy Graves

Cross-sectional slices were cut from 11 timbers from the revetted structure (context 200). The samples were identified as oak (*Quercus*) and prepared and analyzed using standard dendrochronological techniques (Baillie 1982; Hillam 1985). The tree-ring patterns of six of the samples cross-matched and were combined to form a 99-year site master curve. Within this group the results indicated that two pairs of the timbers were likely to have been derived from the same tree, thus this group represents a maximum of four trees. Three other samples also cross-matched to form a 91-year curve. All three of these timbers may have come from the same tree. The remaining two samples cross-matched and were averaged together to form an 81-year master curve.

The three group master curves were compared with each other but no reliable matches were found. Thus all three master curves were compared with numerous reference chronologies from the British Isles. Initially chronologies spanning the Roman, Saxon and medieval periods were used, but as no consistent results were obtained, the search was extended to include prehistoric sequences and chronologies from elsewhere in Europe. No reliable results were produced from any of the curves and hence the structure remains undated.

SUMMARY OF PALYNOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

By Patricia E. J. Wiltshire

Sediments from two waterlogged features (108 & 131) were sampled and assessed for palynological status. Standard procedures were used for preparation of samples (Moore *et al.* 1991) and identification of palynomorphs (Bennet *et al.* 1991; Punt & Clark 1984; Punt *et al.* 1988; Stace 1991; Edwards 1989). Detailed methods and results are presented in the full palynological assessment report which is included in the archive.

Microscopic charcoal was very abundant in every sample from both features. Palynomorph abundance and state of preservation were moderately good throughout feature 108, although preservation was better in the basal sediments. Abundance and state of preservation was good to very good throughout feature 131.

Feature 108

It is difficult to provide a chronology for this feature since Roman pottery was found in a lower fill and Bronze Age pottery

was present in the upper sediments. It is difficult to ascertain which artefacts were intrusive, and the age of the feature must remain enigmatic. A human presence is confirmed throughout the period of infilling since cereal-type pollen was found in every sample.

There was no firm evidence for the feature having contained standing water early in its life even though pollen of *Cyperaceae* (sedges) and *Callitriche* (water starwort) were found. Pollen could easily have been carried into the feature by overbank flooding of the nearby stream. However, there was tentative evidence for standing water in the later period of infilling since iron pyrites framboids (Wiltshire *et al.* 1994) and spores of aquatic algae were present.

Early on, the environs of the feature appears to have been dominated by woodland with *Quercus* (oak) and *Corylus*-type (*cf.* hazel) being the most abundant woody taxa. However, the woodland canopy was probably open since *Hedera* (ivy) was represented. The woodland was diverse with *Betula* (birch), *Tilia* (lime) and *Fagus* (beech) being recorded. Woodland edge/glade shrubs such as *Acer campestre*-type (field maple) and *Prunus* (*cf.* sloe) were growing in the vicinity, and *Alnus* (alder) and *Salix* (willow) were probably growing along the stream. Herbaceous plants also indicated woodland and the woodland edge. These included *Polypodium* (polypody fern), *Pteridium* (bracken), other ferns, *Hyacinthoides* (bluebell), *Anemone* (*cf.* wood anemone), *Mercurialis* (dog's mercury), *Geum* (e.g. wood avens), *Stellaria holostea* (greater stitchwort), and *Melampyrum* (cow-wheat). Pollen of Poaceae (grasses), grassland herbs, and ruderals were well represented which suggests that, in spite of the wooded nature of the site, the feature was set in an open grassy area.

The later fills of the feature record a considerable change in the local environment. There is evidence that the feature became filled with water, at least periodically, and this may have been due to overbank flooding from the stream. The local soils were certainly wet enough to support *Sphagnum* moss although it could also have been dumped into the feature. There was a marked decline in both woody and herbaceous woodland taxa and, apart from hazel and oak, only traces of other trees and shrubs were found. The immediate surroundings were still dominated by weedy grassland and there was an increase in cereal-type pollen. There was also a massive increase in fern spores. This is difficult to interpret, but either removal of trees allowed a more effective spore dispersal or ferns were being dumped into the feature. They certainly represent a useful resource.

Feature 131

The base of this feature flooded during sampling and there is an hiatus of unknown depth in the palynological record because of difficulties in obtaining material beneath the water. A radiocarbon result of Late Bronze Age was obtained from wood in this feature but, unfortunately, the position of the material was not recorded. However, the palynological evidence would suggest a post-Neolithic date even for the earliest period of infilling.

There is little doubt that the feature contained standing water early in its history since iron pyrite framboids were relatively frequent, and obligate aquatic and emergent plants were present. The pollen evidence also suggest that the feature was surrounded by wet, muddy soils. The site seems to have been set in oak-dominated woodland although other trees such as alder, birch, lime, *Fraxinus* (ash), and *Ulmus* (elm) were also

present. Light-demanding shrubs and plants of the woodland edge were also represented, including field maple, *Euonymus* (spindle) *Malus*-type (e.g. crab apple), and willow. Ferns were also well represented and the immediate surroundings of the feature seems to have been dominated by weedy grassland.

Above the sediment hiatus, the local environment seemed to change. Iron pyrites was found only sporadically and the plants that were growing *in situ* are capable of growing on wet or muddy soil as well as in standing water. This might suggest that the feature dried out considerably or only contained standing water occasionally as the peaty fill accumulated. The area still supported mixed oak woodland, but oak was less abundant than in the samples below the hiatus. Alder and hazel were present along with birch, beech, ash, lime, elm, *Pinus* (pine), and *Carpinus* (hornbeam).

Light-demanding shrubs such as spindle, willow, sloe, *Sambucus* (elder), *Ligustrum* (privet), *Crataegus*-type (e.g. hawthorn), and *Ilex* (holly) were present as well as climbers such as ivy and *Lonicera* (honeysuckle). There was a very marked increase in grass pollen and herbaceous plants characteristic of woodland edge, open grassland, and disturbed soils. Cereal-type pollen also increased and *Calluna* (ling) was frequently represented.

Discussion

The palynological record is similar for both features. They appear to have been set in open, mixed, oak-dominated woodland which was subjected to clearance during the later period of sedimentation. It is unfortunate that the dating of Feature 108 is so ambiguous because it is impossible to say whether or not the features are contemporaneous, as they appear to be from the pollen evidence.

DISCUSSION

The burnt mound at Potlands Farm, Patching is the first such monument to be positively identified and excavated in Sussex. There have been other possible burnt mound sites in the county (Curwen 1934, 148; Gilkes 1992, 234), but the example at Patching is unique in regard to the quality of evidence retrieved and the level of study undertaken. The opportunity to excavate features in the area around the mound was also significant and allowed a broader appreciation of its setting.

The number and quality of artefacts recovered was noticeably poor but this is usual at burnt mound sites (Hedges 1975, 67) and the acidic nature of the soil had destroyed any bone which may have been present. The presence of a Middle Bronze Age sherd actually in the mound material is noteworthy. A Bronze Age date for features at the site is supported by the radiocarbon date from the waterlogged pit (context 131, 900–800 cal. bc) and by other sherds of both Middle and Late Bronze Age fabrics in other features. It is unfortunate that a radiocarbon date could not be ascertained from the charcoal present

Feature 131 has been shown to have been made in the Bronze Age although there is no information for the period represented by the depth of sediment. The large amounts of microscopic charcoal and presence of standing water early in the life of the feature might suggest that its function was related to the burnt mound in some way; it may have been used as a water reservoir, although the proximity of the stream might suggest that this was unnecessary. Whatever the nature of the activity at the site, it seems to have been carried out in woodland glades. At least one site in similar environmental settings, and with burnt flint, is currently being investigated in East Anglia (Wiltshire in prep.). It is interesting that whatever the nature of the activity associated with the burnt flint, it seems to have been set in woodland, close to sources of water, and might be related to considerable impact on surrounding vegetation.

THE CHARCOAL

By Mark Robinson

A 25-litre sample of the burnt mound (context 100) was floated onto a 0.5 mm mesh. The flot was dried and sorted under a binocular microscope for charred plant remains. Charred seeds and chaff were absent but there was a large quantity of charcoal, much of it finely comminuted. Twenty fragments of charcoal were picked out and identified with high-power incident light microscopy. There was one piece of purging blackthorn (*Phammus latharticus* L.), three pieces of hawthorn or apple (*Pomoridae* indet), seven pieces of oak (*Quercus*) and nine pieces of alder (*Alnus glutinosa* L. Gaert.). The oak charcoal included both small diameter fragments from slow-growing branches and pieces from large diameter branches, and also pieces from large diameter branches or trunks. A full charcoal report is included in the archive.

in the mound make-up.

Burnt mounds are often found in clusters as at Currughtarsna, County Tipperary (Buckley 1986, 71) and it appeared that this also might have been the case at Patching. An entry in the West Sussex Sites and Monuments Record (number TQ 00 NE74 PRN 4491) describes a layer of 'burnt flint' revealed during the digging of a new ditch, in a field to the west of the Potlands Farm site at Northdown Farm. However, an archaeological investigation funded by John Jones (Excavation) Ltd in advance of groundworks in the area revealed that this was an alluvial deposit of white flint nodules with no evidence of heating (Stevens 1994b, 4). Watching briefs carried out during various phases of the scheme revealed no intense concentrations of fire-cracked flint in the topsoil or uncovered during groundworks (Place 1993; Stevens 1994c), although the adze/pick does suggest earlier prehistoric activity in the area. Certainly, if other mounds had survived within a radius of approximately a kilometre to the south, east and west of the known burnt mound site, their presence would have been noted during the watching brief.

The date and setting of the mound are relatively clear; its function is not so easy to ascertain. As noted above, there has been much academic debate and most early writers seem to assume a connection with cooking (e.g. Trench 1886; Cantrill & Jones 1911; Layard 1922) and many more recent excavators have come to similar conclusions (e.g. Hodges 1955; Fahy 1960; Cubbon 1965). However, as early as 1913 Forseyeth questioned this interpretation and suggested a possible connection with 'hot baths' (Forseyeth 1913, 179). This theory was given further support in the 1930s when excavations at New Barn Down, Clapham (Curwen 1934) produced large quantities of fire-cracked flint. Although this site does not meet all the necessary criteria to be considered as a true burnt mound, the commentary is significant. Curwen does not dismiss the cooking theory altogether, but does introduce ethnological parallels of sweat-houses in Finland, and the references in the works of Herodotus to such structures built by the Scythians (Curwen 1934, 148–9).

The bathing theory has been put forward in more recent times (Lucas 1965; Barfield & Hodder 1987) and the dearth of bones from the majority of sites does give this idea credence. O'Drisceoil (1988, 675) notes that any bones could have been scavenged away by hunting dogs or wild animals, and that most burnt mound sites occur on acid soils. Also experimentation by O'Kelly (1954), Fahy (1960) and others has illustrated that hot stones can be used to cook food quickly and efficiently. There are also numerous ethnographic parallels (listed in O'Drisceoil 1988, 675).

Cooking is accepted here as the 'most likely primary function' (O'Drisceoil 1988, 675) of burnt mounds, although bathing or sweating may also have occurred at the sites. It is also interesting to note that the situation of the Patching burnt mound is similar to that of Cob Lane, Northfield, Birmingham (Barfield & Hodder 1987, 371) and others, in that the immediate area would be liable to flooding and therefore unsuitable for any kind of permanent habitation. This may indicate a seasonal occupation, a theory put forward by O'Kelly

(1954, 137–8) who suggests that a number of Irish sites might be the remains of impermanent hunting camps. The Patching site appears to have been abandoned with the last set of burnt stones still *in situ* in the trough, their bigger size indicative of fewer firings than the smaller fire-cracked flints which made up the mound. It seems that the camp's last inhabitants did not clean out the trough before abandoning the site. The pollen evidence suggests a location within a wooded area with clearings, ideal for hunting and the charcoal remains suggest the use of local trees for fuel. Buckley's (1986, 70) theory that burnt mounds represent the remains of ritual feasts should not be discounted either, as there may well have been a ritual element to the slaughter of the hunter's prey.

Whatever the function or history of the site, the burnt mound uncovered at Potlands Farm, Patching is notable as an example of this type of monument hitherto unknown in Sussex. It is hoped that with further archaeological monitoring of developments both in the south-east and elsewhere, more mounds will be revealed. The recently discovered example at Canary Wharf (Bowsher 1991) and the site at Patching have shown that new sites may be found in unexpected locations. Such new finds may help, in due course, with the attainment of a better understanding of the function and distribution of these monuments.

Acknowledgements

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Knapp Farm, Bosham

A SIGNIFICANT FIND OF BRONZE AGE POTTERY

by Mark Gardiner &
Sue Hamilton

with contributions by
Luke Barber
Roger Grace
Robin Holgate

Excavations on the line of the A27 road identified four phases of activity: a Mesolithic flint scatter, Late Bronze Age pits, fragmentary remains of a Roman farm dated to the 2nd to 4th centuries and slight medieval remains. A study of the Bronze Age pits suggest that the site may have been 'closed down' by removing the remaining artefact spreads. Trenches cut to locate a possible arm of the Chichester Entrenchments noted on aerial photographs failed to identify any remains.

THE EXCAVATION

By Mark Gardiner

The Coastal Plain of West Sussex includes some of the most fertile and most intensively cultivated soils in south-east England. Although the soil quality must have made it an attractive area for settlement from an early date, relatively little is known about its archaeological remains (Bedwin 1983). In 1984 English Heritage funded a programme by the Field Archaeology Unit (Institute of Archaeology) to fieldwalk and excavate a new length of the A27 road between Chichester and Havant in advance of the construction. That work allowed an area of the Coastal Plain to be examined in detail. Full details of the work are recorded in an archive report. The present paper describes the excavations at the main site examined, Knapp Farm, Bosham.

A scatter of worked flint was located from almost the whole line of the road during fieldwalking, but the only concentration of prehistoric material was discovered to the north of Knapp Farm (SU 81960605). A spread of Roman pottery was also found in the same area, extending either side of Brook Lane (Fig. 1). The discrete scatter which was no more than 300 m across suggested the presence of a small farm. A further reason for the examination of the area was a possible arm of the Chichester Dyke system. Previous workers have noted a bank evidently belonging to the Dyke system running southwards in the direction of the new road from the west of Densworth House, which is termed NSS

according to the established numeration (Bradley 1971) (Fig. 2). The southerly extent of the bank has not been certainly established. Williams-Freeman (1934, 101) suggested that it could be traced running through the grounds of Oakwood Park. It may be identified as a cropmark crossing the dyke known as EWD to the south of the park (Bradley 1971, 26). It is apparently shown as a slight earthwork running from EWD (SU 82660649) towards Chalcroft Copse (SU 82640623). The same aerial photographs (National Air Photographic Library, Swindon, SU8206/1, 2) suggest that there was a possible second dyke nearby, which butts against NSS and therefore is secondary to it. The second dyke is indicated by a poorly defined soil mark identified on an aerial photograph running towards Knapp Farm (West Sussex County Council, 1965 survey 22/65, nos 048, 049; Fig. 2). That soil mark appeared to be aligned with an earthwork shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map immediately to the north-east of the house called Miller's Ash and also present as a degraded bank in the garden of the house.

Excavations were begun in 1984. The ploughsoil over the centre of the pottery scatter was stripped by JCB 3C mechanical excavator on the west side of Brook Lane (Fig. 3, trench A). On the east side, a series of trenches were cut to locate the ditch of the presumed dyke. The area available for excavation on this second field was limited by agricultural activity and a series of staggered short trenches at the edge of the field had to be dug instead of a single longer trench to attempt to intercept the ditch of

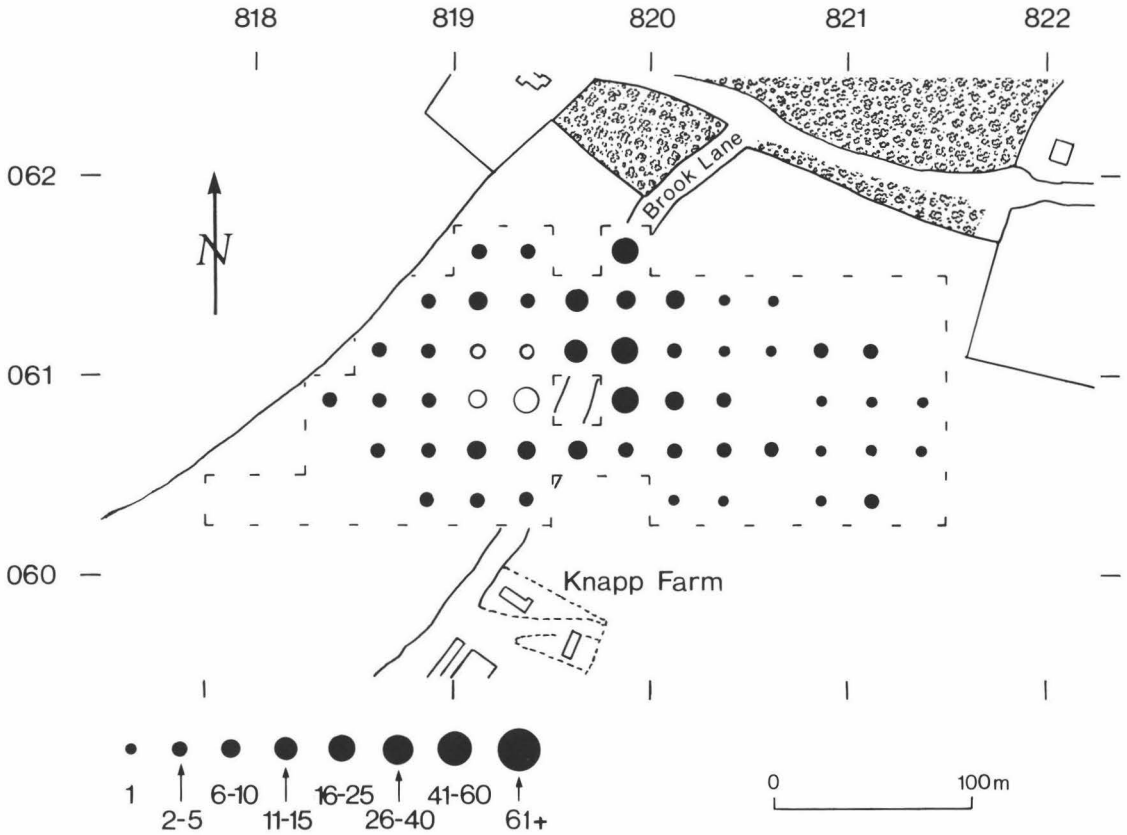


Fig. 1. Field-walking results: Romano-British pottery at Knapp Farm (Bosham).

the possible Chichester Dyke (Fig. 3, trenches B-E). A series of Bronze Age pits were identified in the south corner during the excavation of trench A. Two further trenches were opened in 1985 to continue the examination of these (Fig. 3, trenches F & G).

AREAS A, F AND G (Figs 4-6)

Four periods of activity were identified in the excavated area on the west side of Brook Lane. The first evidence of use of the site is represented by a scatter of Mesolithic flint work, which was concentrated near the eastern edge of the excavated area. The quantity of worked flint became apparent after stripping the upper and lower ploughsoil in 1985. Area F was then planned, a spit was excavated and the finds collected in two-metre squares. The process was repeated and the finds collected in one-metre squares until undisturbed Brickearth was reached.

The second period was represented by a cluster of intercutting pits of later Bronze Age date (Figs 4, 5 & 7 on microfiche). There were considerable problems in excavating these features. The edges of the pits were barely apparent on the surface and as they were excavated the grey to orange-brown silt clay fills merged with the natural Brickearth. The limits of some features could be determined only from the presence or absence of pottery, charcoal and calcined flint. Generally, the pits were somewhat shallow and irregular (pits 123, 325 & 329, Figs 5 & 7 on microfiche) and frequently merged into each other. As a consequence few stratigraphic relationships could be established. A careful record was made during excavation of the position of larger individual sherds and groups of sherds. The pits had clearly been used for depositing rubbish: broken vessels, charcoal and calcined flint. No other features of Bronze Age date were identified.

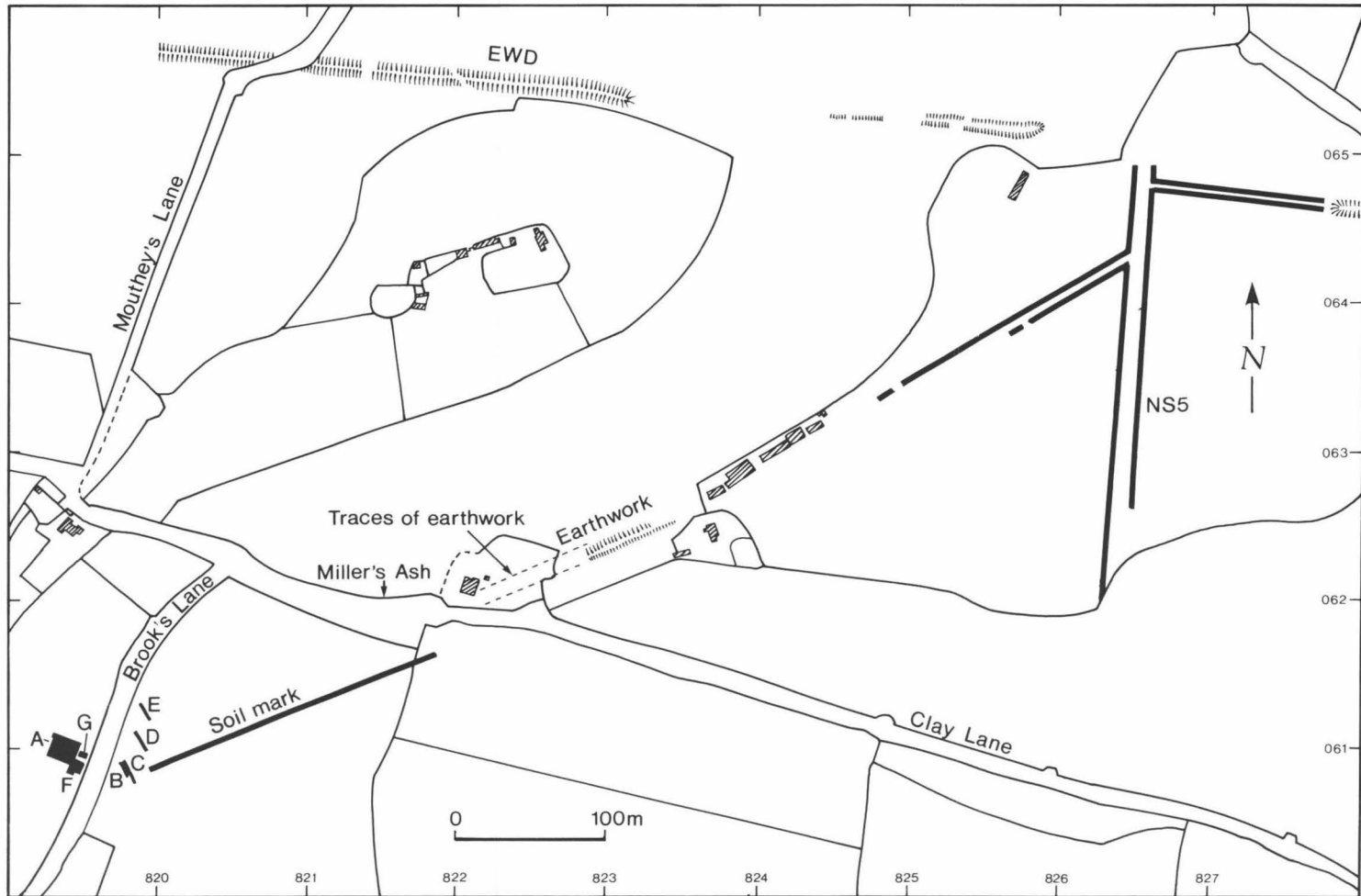


Fig. 2. Line of possible dyke identified from aerial photography and earthworks.

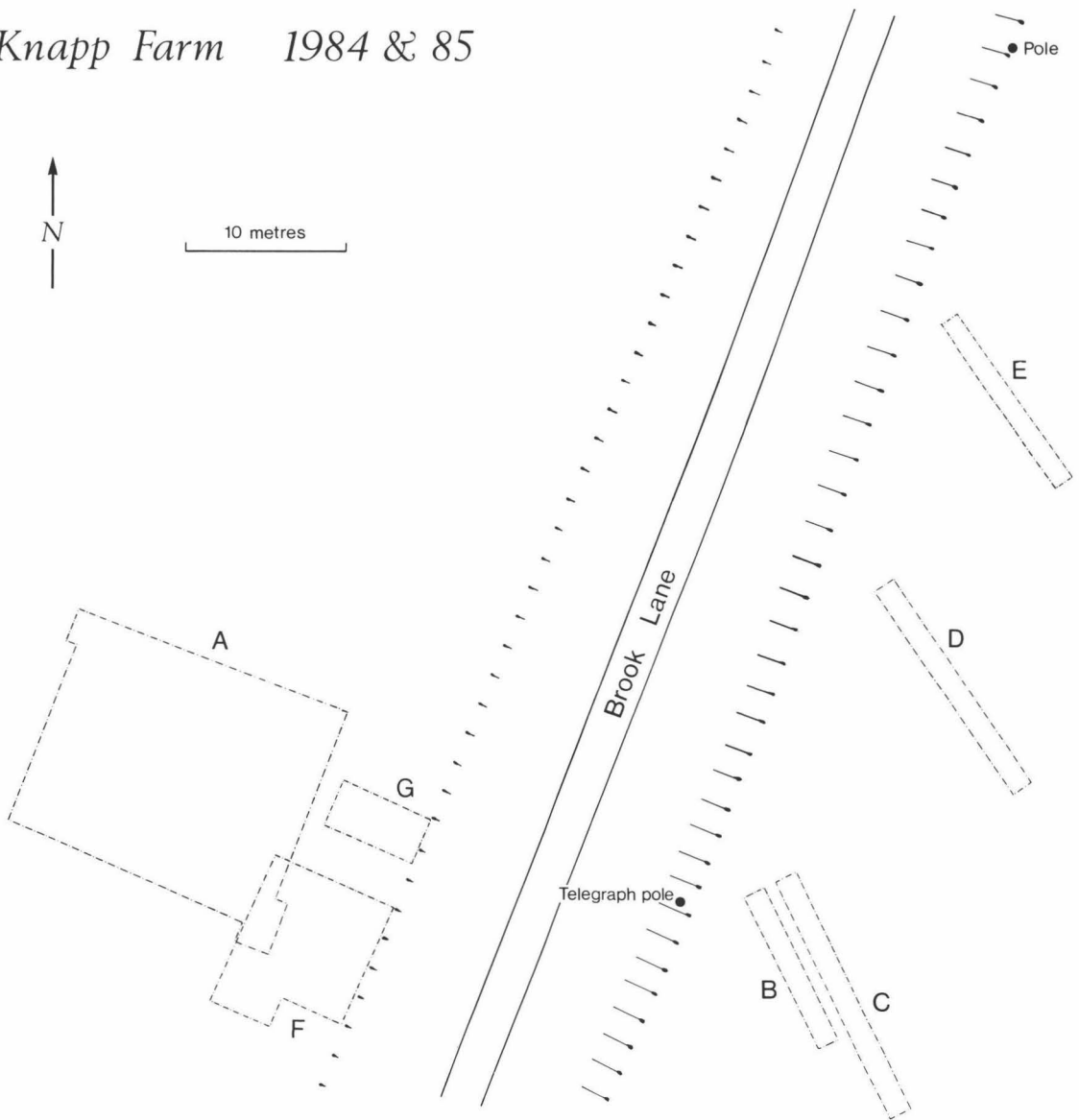
Knapp Farm 1984 & 85

Fig. 3. Knapp Farm trench location plan.

The greatest concentration of Roman pottery was found in the ploughsoil in area A (Fig. 3), but when it was stripped it was found to be largely devoid of Roman features. A small pit was located near the north-west corner into which a single inverted Roman pot had been placed and packed around with

tegulae fragments (Figs 4 & 6, context 103). The pot had broken and a second inverted pot had been placed inside the first. The bases of the pots, which lay uppermost, had been removed by ploughing and the feature had been partly disturbed by a recent land drain. The soil from within the pots was

Knapp Farm 1984 & 85
Areas A, F & G

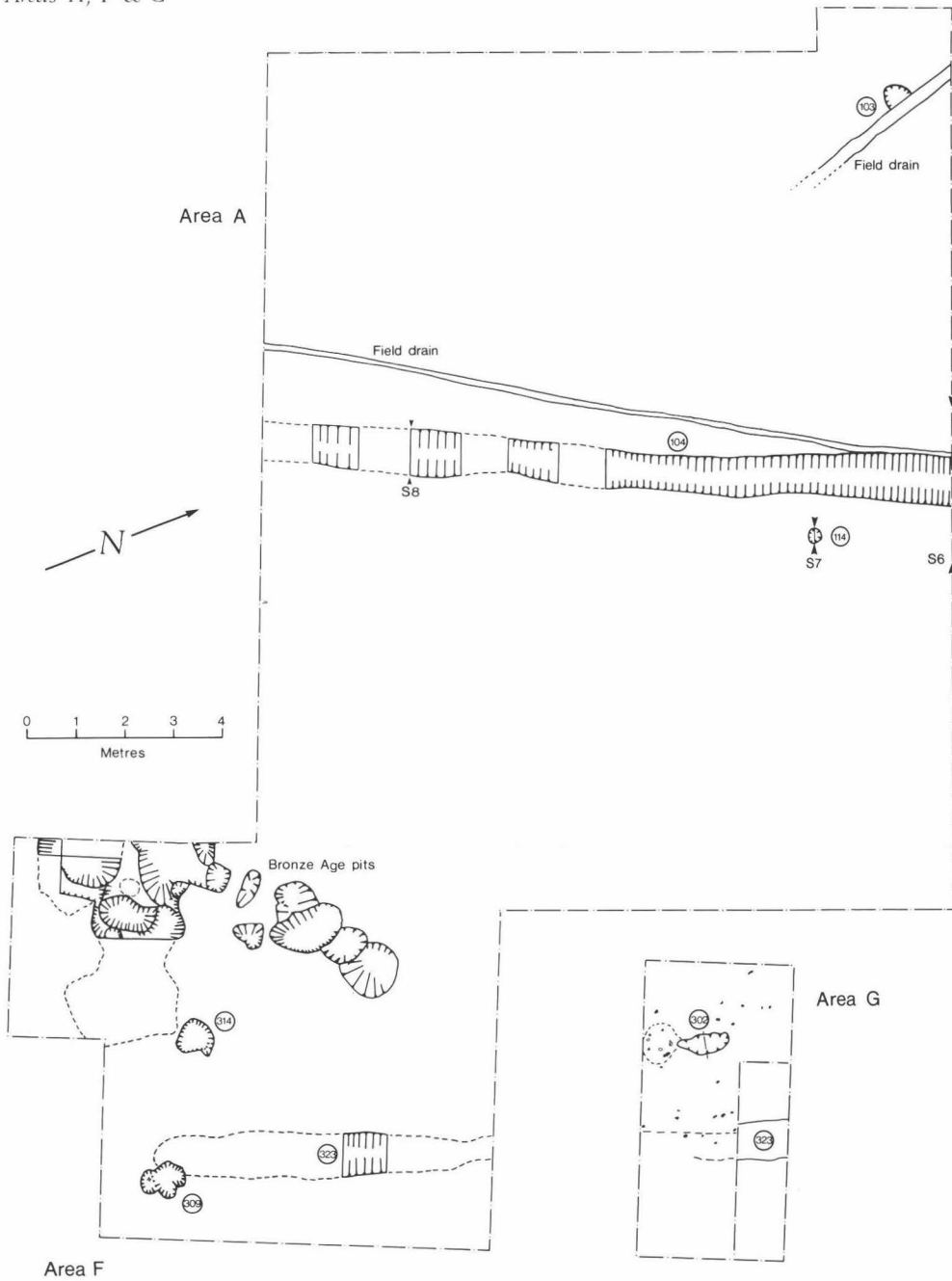
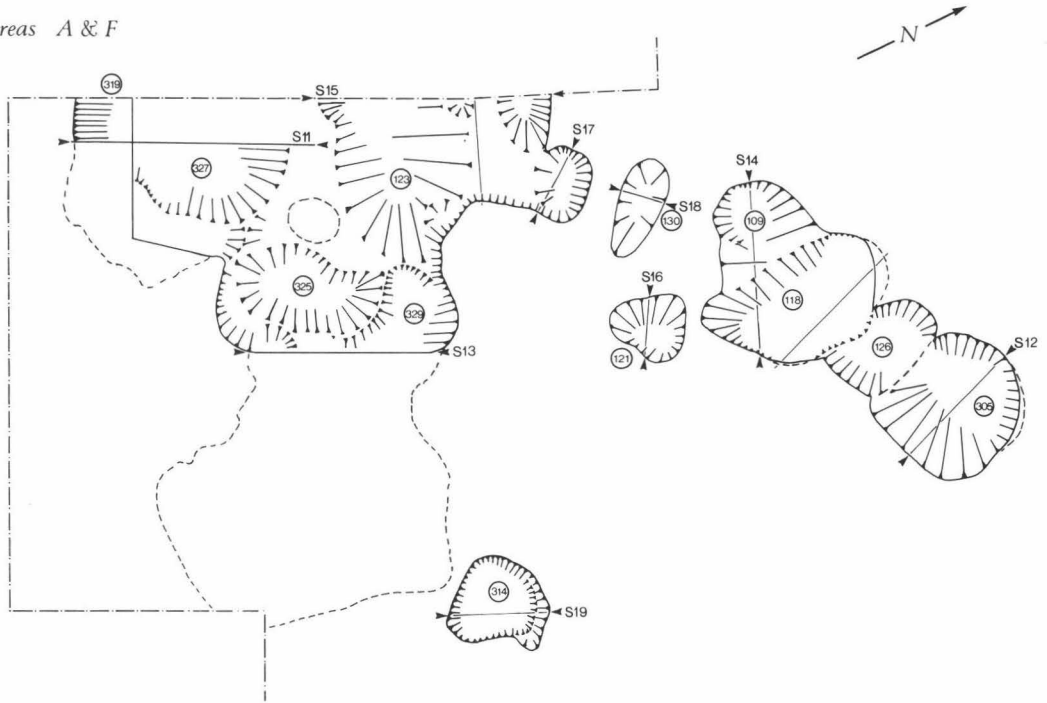
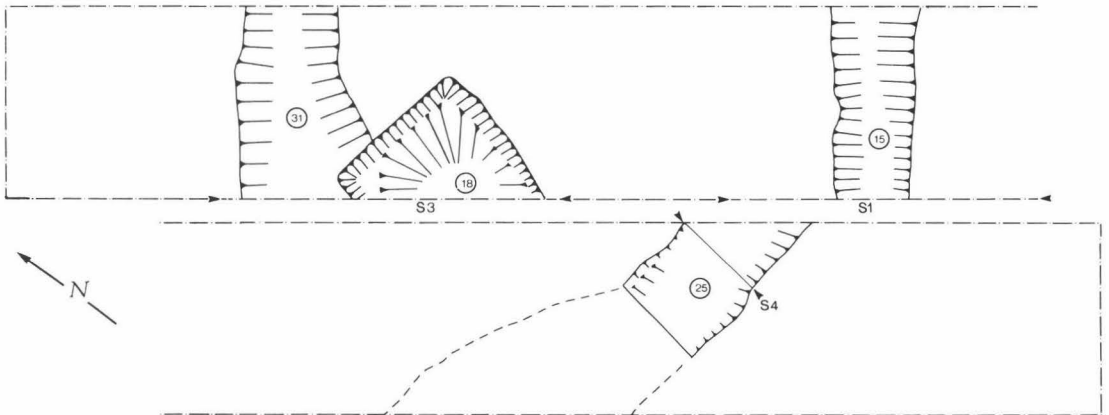


Fig. 4. Knapp Farm, areas A, F and G plans.

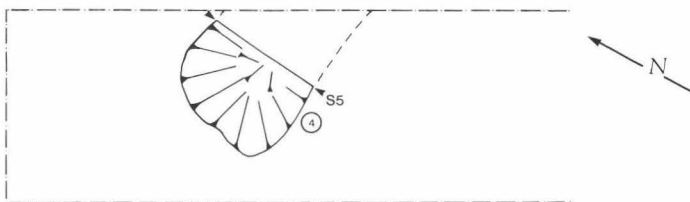
Areas A & F



Area D



Area C



0 1m

Fig. 5. Knapp Farm. Detail plan of areas A and F. Plans of areas C and D.

Knapp Farm

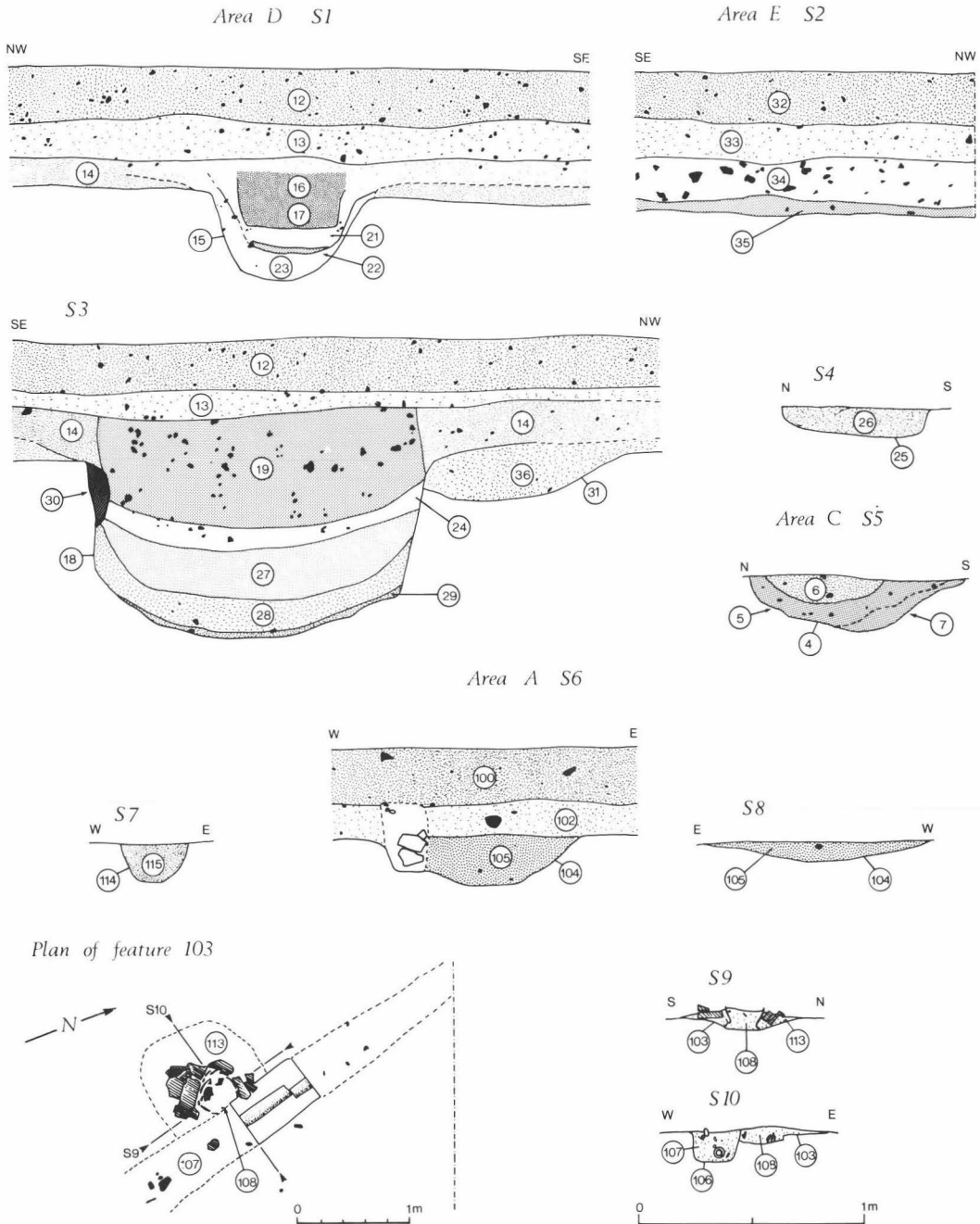


Fig. 6. Knapp Farm. Sections and detailed plan of pit 103.

carefully excavated and subsequently sieved to determine if cremated bone was present. None was found. A second shallow pit (302) filled with tile was excavated in area G (Fig. 4). The feature had ill-defined edges but contained a concentration of tile and burnt sandstone.

The final period of activity was indicated by two shallow ditches (Fig. 4, 104, 323). A piece of brick found towards the base of feature 104 suggests it was post-medieval. These two seemed to be ditches from ridge-and-furrow earthworks. Ditch 323 presumably lay at the former edge of the field. It may be noted that similar features were recorded in the excavations at Fishbourne Roman palace (Cunliffe 1971, 194–5). A number of undated features were located. These include several post-holes, for example 114 and 309. However, as 309 appeared to cut ditch 323, a post-medieval date is probable.

TRENCHES B, C, D AND E (Figs 3, 5 & 6)

Trench B was initially dug by hand, but was replaced by trench C which was excavated by machine to the base of the ploughsoil. A third trench, D, was also opened by machine and a fourth, trench E, beyond it to the north was dug by hand. A similar sequence of deposits was revealed in all the trenches. Beneath the contemporary ploughsoil (Fig. 6:S1–3, contexts 12 & 32) was a lower ploughsoil which may be dated by the finds to the 13th or 14th century (13, 33). This in turn overlay a further layer, which could be subdivided (14, 34, 35) and into which features had been cut.

A single feature was identified in area C (Fig. 5), a shallow pit (4), which contained material of the 16th century (Fig. 6:S5). Area D was crossed by three linear features and a single square pit (Fig. 5, contexts 15, 18, 25 & 31). Two of the features, 25 (Fig. 6:S4) and 31 (Fig. 6:S3), could not be dated. The fills of feature 31 were, however, cut by the square-shaped pit containing a sherd of medieval pottery. The third linear feature (15) also contained medieval pottery. Its section (Fig. 6:S1) shows that the fills 16 and 17 may occupy a recut. Thin deposits were noted against the edge of the square pit (30) although only one is visible in the illustrated section. These might have been produced by recutting the pit, though a more likely explanation is that the pit was originally lined with wood which subsequently rotted and was replaced by soil.

No features were found in area E.

LATE BRONZE AGE POTTERY TRADITIONS IN WEST SUSSEX: THE KNAPP FARM ASSEMBLAGE AND ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT

By Sue Hamilton

INTRODUCTION

Just over 2.3 kg of Late Bronze Age pottery was recovered from the pit complex at Knapp Farm. This pottery find-spot comprises the first stratified Late Bronze Age pottery from the Selsey peninsula and Chichester Harbour environs of the West Sussex coastal plain. The Knapp Farm pottery adds to a growing number of Late Bronze Age pottery find-spots identified/located in West Sussex over approximately the last decade (Hamilton 1993). This report considers the Knapp Farm assemblage and its context within the Late Bronze Age pottery traditions of West Sussex as a whole. The discussion concentrates on the earliest post-Deverel-Rimbury Late Bronze Age ceramic phase to which the Knapp Farm assemblage is ascribed. In addition, the wider regional context of Sussex Late Bronze Age pottery assemblages is outlined.

The Late Bronze Age pottery assemblage comprises a meagre 298 sherds. The average weight per sherd was, however, high: 7.8 g. In some contexts (notably pit 329) the average weight per sherd was as high as 26.7 g. The high weight per sherd not only reflects the weightiness of flint-gritted fabrics which characterize the assemblage, but also the relatively unbroken state of some of the vessels. The implications of the 'completeness' of the assemblage are discussed below.

All radiocarbon dates quoted in the text have been calibrated according to data published by Pearson and Stuiver 1986 and method A as published by Stuiver and Reimer 1993. Dates are quoted at one sigma.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The pottery was analyzed using the pottery recording system recommended by the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group (1992). All sherds were ascribed a fabric type on the basis of macroscopic examination and the use of a binocular microscope. The sherds were then counted and weighed to the nearest whole gramme. Diagnostic sherds were additionally assigned to form, decorative, and technological types.

STRATIGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Although no sherd joins could be securely established across features, the similarity of the fabric and diagnostic sherds throughout the features suggests a group of related material.

The following relationships between sherds are of particular note:

1. Three pits (pits 126, 327 & 329) produced sherds from the same or very similar vessels. Interestingly, these pits are not adjacent to each other but are widely dispersed across the pit complex (Fig. 5).
2. Two pits (pits 126 & 305) produced sherds from the same or very similar vessels. These pits are adjacent to each other and intercutting (Fig. 5).
3. A few sherds from separate pits (pits 305 & 327) had similarly suffered contact with intense heat after firing and before final disposal. These pits are at opposite ends of the pit complex.

An implication of these inter-feature relationships is that a significant proportion of the pit complex was open at the time of rubbish infill. The presence of connected sherds across several of the pit features suggests that there was either:

- a) a primary collective rubbish area which was subsequently cleared into the open pits, or
- b) that the site was 'closed down' in a single act by the general levelling of artefact spreads into remaining open pits and hollows.

Stylistically the prehistoric pottery forms a discrete Late Bronze Age group; earlier and later prehistoric pottery is absent. This suggests that the site relates to activity over a relatively short timespan.

The position of the sherds from a three-quarters complete vessel in pit 329 was planned during excavation. The vessel's 'completeness' suggests that it was placed there as the immediate point of disposal after initial damage (and loss/disposal of a small part of the vessel) elsewhere. That might favour option b) above. The distribution of sherds indicates that, either the vessel was thrown into the pit and fortuitously landed without further damage or, perhaps more likely, was carefully placed on its side in the pit and subsequently fragmented *in situ*

owing to the weight of the fill above it.

The deposition characteristics of the Knapp Farm assemblage raise two wider issues of artefact deposition. Firstly, a tradition of site levelling prior to site abandonment may be locally characteristic of the Late Bronze Age. For example, it has been similarly detailed for the Late Bronze Age assemblage from Yapton (Hamilton 1987). Secondly, the possibly purposeful placement (rather than merely functional disposal) of the nearly complete jar in pit 329 may be part of a wider symbolic 'ideology' relating to rubbish placement and site vacation, as has been suggested for Iron Age 'rubbish' deposits (Hill 1994).

LATE BRONZE AGE POTTERY FABRICS

All inclusion/temper sizes given below are classified using the Wentworth sedimentary scale and descriptive terms (Krumbein & Pettijohn 1938, 30; Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, 35). Density charts (Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group 1992, appendix 3) were used to standardize assessment of the quantity of inclusion/temper present in fabric matrices.

The range of fabrics present compares locally with the West Sussex Late Bronze Age assemblages of Carne's Seat (Hamilton 1986), Rustington (Hamilton 1990) and Yapton (Hamilton 1987).

Table 1. Knapp Farm Late Bronze Age assemblage: sherd counts according to context and fabric categories.

Contexts	Fabrics			Grammes weight
	F1	F2	F3	
<i>Instratified</i>				
300 ploughsoil	0	0	3	6
301/304 layer below 300	24	0	7	60
307 layer below 301	21	2	1	76
34E stony layer below 301	1	0	0	62
<i>Pits:</i>				
Pit 109 : 110 fill	17	1	0	164
Pit 118 : 119 fill	8	0	0	28
120 fill	1	0	0	1
Pit 121 : 122 fill	0	0	1	1
Pit 123 : 124 fill	77	6	5	548
128 fill	2	0	0	2
Pit 126 : 127 fill	32	0	4	336
Pit 305 : 306 fill	14	0	0	128
Pit 314 : 315 fill	3	0	0	2
Pit 319 : 320 fill	6	8	3	205
Pit 325 : 326 fill	10	1	11	177
Pit 327 : 328 fill	10	0	1	121
Pit 329 : 330 fill	18	0	0	446
Total	244	18	36	2386

F1 Medium-coarse flint-tempered

Flint-tempered comprising rare (1% frequency) pebble-sized flint (*c.* 5 mm) together with sparse (7% frequency) to moderate (10% frequency) granule — and very coarse sand-sized flint (averaging *c.* 2 mm), and common (20% frequency) coarse sand-sized flint (*c.* 0.5 mm). Additionally there is a moderate (15% frequency) presence of translucent sub-rounded coarse sand sized (*c.* 0.5 mm) quartz which is probably natural to the potting clay; matrix colour/firing — red-brown, oxidized interior and exterior surfaces and black-brown, unoxidized core; sherd thickness — *c.* 7.5 mm.

F2 Finer flint-tempered

Finer flint-tempered comprising moderately abundant (10% frequency) very coarse sand-sized flint (*c.* 1 mm) together with very common (30% frequency) medium and coarse sand-sized flint (*c.* 0.5 mm); matrix colour/firing — generally partially oxidized, red-brown surfaces (but some sherds have dark brown unoxidized surfaces) with unoxidized cores; sherd thickness *c.* 8.5 mm.

F3 Medium-coarse flint-and-grog-tempered

The flint tempering comprises rare (1% frequency) pebble-sized pieces (*c.* 6 mm) together with sparse (7% frequency) granule-sized pieces (*c.* 3 mm) and moderate (15% frequency) very coarse and coarse sand-sized pieces (*c.* 1.5–0.5 mm). The grog tempering comprises soft, sparse (5% frequency) granule-sized (*c.* 0.2 mm) oxidized brown-red pieces; matrix colour/firing — red-orange oxidized exterior surfaces with dark-brown to dark-grey unoxidized interior surfaces and core, but occasionally interior surfaces are oxidized buff/light orange; sherd thickness — *c.* 8.5 mm.

Clay/temper sources

None of the inclusions or tempering identified in the Knapp Farm Late Bronze Age pottery fabrics suggests a non-local source of potting materials. The coastal plain Brickearths, within which the site is situated (Hodgson 1967, fig. 8) are variable in their constituents and could have collectively provided potting clay and flint gravel for temper. The viability of the Sussex coastal plain Brickearth for potting is demonstrated by the small-scale use of these deposits for brickmaking in the recent past (Edmunds 1935, fig. 56). In the use of local resources, the Knapp Farm assemblage resembles other Late Bronze Age assemblages from the West Sussex coastal plain

(Hamilton 1987). It differs, however, from the Sussex Late Bronze Age hillfort assemblages from the Downs which evidence exploitation of both local, and more distant Wealden, potting resources (e.g. Hamilton 1980). These differences in resource procurement strategies must relate, in some part, to the greater ease of access to the Wealden area from the Downs.

QUANTIFICATION OF FORM, DECORATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

The elements of form, decoration and technology present in the Knapp Farm Late Bronze Age assemblage are listed in Table 2. Tabulation (Table 3) was based on the presence of diagnostic sherds. In tabulating forming and finishing technology, and decoration, some sherds received more than one count owing to the multiple presence of diagnostic elements.

FORMS, DECORATIONS AND TECHNOLOGY: THE REGIONAL CONTEXT OF THE KNAPP FARM ASSEMBLAGE

The Knapp Farm assemblage is largely undecorated (Table 3) and is typical of the largely undecorated assemblages of Lowland Britain dating to the beginning of the first millennium BC. In Sussex similar securely contexted assemblages occur at Bishopstone (Hamilton 1977), Thundersbarrow Hill (Hamilton 1993) and Yapton (Hamilton 1987).

Plain convex jars

Three bevelled rims from convex jars were present in the Knapp Farm assemblage (e.g. Fig. 8:2). Convex jars comprise one of the earliest components of post-Deverel-Rimbury assemblages, being present in lowland Britain at the end of the second millennium BC in Late Bronze Age (LBA) assemblages such as those from South Cadbury, Somerset: phase 4 (Alcock 1980), the double palisade phase at Rams Hill, Berkshire (Barrett 1977) and Knight's Farm, Berkshire, subsite 2 (Bradley *et al.* 1980). Convex jars are occasionally present in Sussex late Deverel-Rimbury assemblages, for example at Itford Hill (Burstow & Holleyman 1957) and subsequently in early LBA contexts such as Plumpton Plain B to which a *c.* 11th-century BC date has been ascribed (Barrett 1980, 311). All of these assemblages include convex jars with internally bevelled rims (e.g. Burstow & Holleyman 1957, fig. 22:B; Hawkes 1935, figs 10:m & 12). Bevelled-rimmed convex jars are, however, long-lived in Sussex, occurring in the

enclosure assemblage preceding the hillfort at Thundersbarrow Hill (Hamilton 1993, fig. A4.7:4) with a 10th- or 9th-century BC date, and the Yapton assemblage (Hamilton 1987, fig. 4:2,5) with a 9th-century cal BC date, but also later in (c. 7th century BC) Late Bronze Age decorated assemblages including that from Chanctonbury Ring (Hamilton 1980, fig. 13:39; 1993).

Shouldered jars

The Knapp Farm assemblage has three shouldered jar types. Each is distinguished by a distinct rim form: flattened (Fig. 8:5), out-turned rounded (Fig. 9:11), and 'pie-cruste'd' (Fig. 9:13 & 14). Only a few sherds were recovered from the first two forms, but the latter includes the three-quarters complete shouldered jar with 'pie-cruste'd' rim (Fig. 9:14) from Pit 329. In lowland Britain as a whole shouldered jars are regular components of c. 10th- to 8th-century BC assemblages. In the Lower Thames valley shouldered bowls regularly occur in 8th-/9th-century BC assemblages such as those from Coombe Warren, Kingston, Surrey (Field & Needham 1986) and Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton, Surrey. The latter includes shouldered bowls with 'pie-cruste'd' rims (Adkins & Needham 1985, fig. 4:4,6).

In Sussex a very similar shouldered jar with fingernail-impressed, 'pie-cruste'd' rim occurs in a stratified context (Late Bronze Age pre-hillfort enclosure assemblage) at Thundersbarrow Hill, Shoreham (Hamilton 1993). The form also occurs in the stratigraphically mixed assemblages from Selsey (some 15 km south of Knapp Farm on the West Sussex coastal plain: White 1934, fig. 2) and at Highdown Hill near Worthing (Wilson 1940; 1950). The Highdown Hill assemblage embraces a typological sequence which begins with Deverel-Rimbury pottery and subsequently extends from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age. Similar shouldered jars with 'pie-cruste'd' rims also occur locally in West Sussex in the stratigraphically mixed assemblage from Rustington (Hamilton 1990, fig. 6:3m), and as residual pottery in a Middle Iron Age context at Carne's Seat (Hamilton 1986, 43). In East Sussex 'pie-cruste'd' rims also occur on hemispherical bowls, for example in the Late Bronze Age assemblage at Bishopstone associated and preceding the enclosure (Hamilton 1993; 1977).

Bipartite bowls

The Knapp Farm assemblage also includes two plain, rounded rims which are probably from bipartite

Table 2. Knapp Farm Late Bronze Age assemblage: form, decoration and technology elements.

CODE DESCRIPTION

Convex jar rim:

R1 Bevelled, in-turned

Shouldered jar rims:

R2 Flattened

R3 Out-turned, rounded

R4 Plain fingernail-impressed, 'pie cruste'd'

Bipartite jar/bowl:

R5 Plain rounded rim bipartite jar or bowl

Body sherds:

A1 Shoulder sherd

P1 Plain body sherd

Bases:

B1 Flat

B2 Splayed

B3 Heavily flinted underbase

Decorated body sherds:

D1 Finger-impressed decoration

D2 Incised, horizontal groove

Finish:

F1 Combed

Technology:

T1 Coil-built

T2 Vertical smearing

T3 Finger-smeared

T4 Faceted

Key: R = rim, A = angled body sherds, P = plain body sherd, B = base type, D = decorated body sherd displaying no other features, F = surface finish, T = forming technology.

Table 3. Knapp Farm Late Bronze Age assemblage: the correlation between fabric types and form, decoration and technology.

Form elements	Fabrics		
	F1	F2	F3
R1	3	0	0
R2	1	0	0
R3	0	2	2
R4	5	0	1
R5	1	1	0
A1	0	0	1
P1	0	0	0
B1	0	0	0
B2	2	0	0
B3	3	0	0
D1	1	0	0
D2	2	0	0
F1	4	0	0
T1	5	0	1
T2	22	0	1
T3	4	0	1
T4	1	0	4

See Table 2 for key.

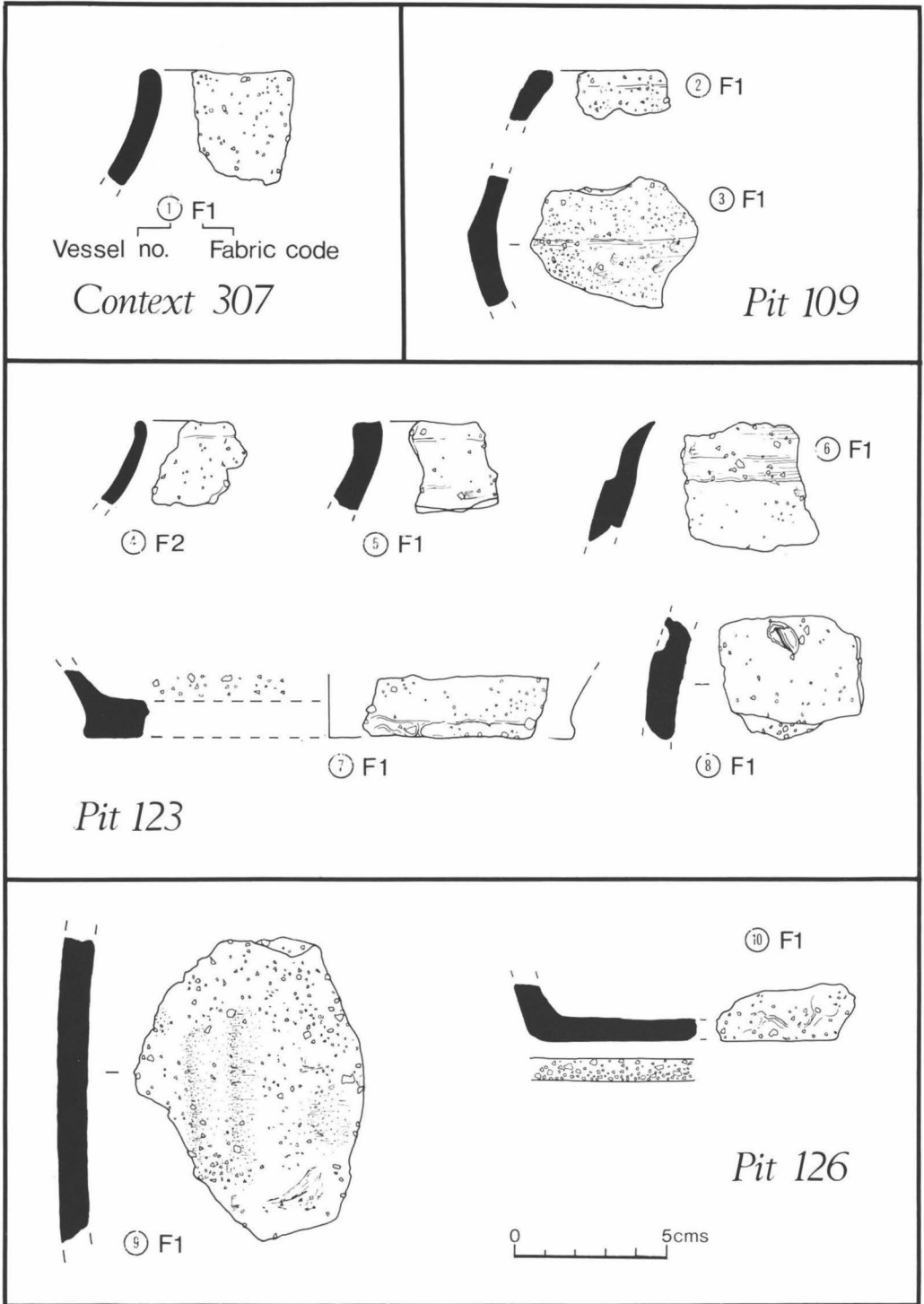


Fig. 8. Knapp Farm. Prehistoric pottery.

bowls (Fig. 8:1 & 4). Plain bipartite bowls are occasionally present in assemblages from the beginning of the first millennium BC. One example, possibly of this date, is the bipartite bowl from site B, West Blatchington, near Hove. This was found in a shallow pit some 6 m from a Late Bronze Age palstave hoard which included a winged axe of the Wilburton metalwork phase (Norris & Burstow 1950). The form is not widely recurrent in West Sussex until about the 7th century BC when it is associated with a series of decorated fine-ware bowls with incised cordon grooves on the shoulders, and diagonal fingernail impressions on the rims (e.g. Harting Beacon: Hamilton 1979; 1993; Stoke Clump: Cunliffe 1966).

Combed finishes

Four sherds in the Knapp Farm assemblage had a combed finish, all of which were too small to illustrate. In Sussex as a whole, Late Bronze Age sherds with lightly combed surfaces occur in several assemblages including those from Bishopstone (Hamilton 1977) and Testers (Hamilton 1988). The tradition of combing has its antecedent in the more prominent striations on Deverel-Rimbury pottery (e.g. from New Barn Down: Curwen 1934, fig. 20).

Technology

Both finger-furrowing (Fig. 8:3, 9 & 10) and pinched bases (Fig. 9:12) occur in the Knapp Farm assemblage. These features have been associated with slab construction methods. The association, however, is not exclusive. Finger-furrowing and pinched bases have Deverel-Rimbury antecedents in East Sussex assemblages such as that from Plumpton Plain A (Hawkes 1935, figs 1 & 2), and are recurrent traits in Sussex Late Bronze Age assemblages including Thundersbarrow Hill (Hamilton 1993), Heathy Brow (Hamilton 1982) and Yapton (Hamilton 1987). Several of the Knapp Farm sherds show signs of coil construction (Table 3) and there is no indisputable evidence of slab-construction having been used. A few sherds have horizontally faceted exterior surfaces (Table 2:T4) suggesting that some vessels may have been shaved down with a metal knife or flint blade while being rotated on a turntable (Rye 1981, 59, 87). Three base sherds (e.g. Fig. 8:10) with profuse flint-gritting on their undersides (from being made on a bed of crushed flint) evidence another technological trait which is widely recurrent on Late Bronze Age pottery from south-east Britain

(Field & Needham 1986, 137; Macpherson-Grant 1991, 39).

DATING OF THE KNAPP FARM ASSEMBLAGE

On the basis of typology, the Knapp Farm assemblage belongs to post-Deverel-Rimbury ceramic traditions which in Sussex extend down to c. 1000 BC, and before the developed early 1st-millennium BC traditions of c. 6th century BC. The latter are distinguished by fine-ware decorated bowls typified in West Sussex by the Stoke Clump assemblage (Cunliffe 1966) and in East Sussex by the Hollingbury assemblage (Hamilton 1984). The Knapp Farm assemblage best compares with the Late Bronze Age assemblage from Thundersbarrow Hill, recovered from the ditch silts of the pre-hillfort enclosure. The Thundersbarrow Hill assemblage has a *terminus post quem* of 1606–1426 cal BC (HAR-8182) and has been dated on typological grounds to approximately the 10th to 9th centuries BC (Hamilton 1993). The Thundersbarrow Hill Late Bronze Age assemblage includes fossil shell wares which in the Late Bronze Age assemblage from the pre-enclosure and enclosure phase at Bishopstone have a thermoluminescence date range of 1250–650 BC. The Yapton Late Bronze Age assemblage includes convex jars with bevelled rims and shouldered bowls comparable to those from Knapp Farm and has a 824–777 cal BC (HAR-7038) date (Hamilton 1987). Collectively this would suggest that the Knapp Farm assemblage falls with the 10th–8th centuries BC. The assemblage therefore belongs within the earliest post-Deverel-Rimbury Late Bronze Age and is prior to the latest Late Bronze Age decorated assemblages dating to c. 750–600 BC. The latter include the West Sussex hillfort assemblage of Chanctonbury Ring and Harting Beacon (Hamilton 1993).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KNAPP FARM ASSEMBLAGE

Although the Knapp Farm assemblage is small, it is important because it contains a range of associated Late Bronze Age forms. Sussex lacks well-stratified Late Bronze Age assemblages and until relatively recently Plumpton Plain B was the only securely stratified assemblage which could be ascribed to this phase (Barrett 1980; Cunliffe 1991, 63). A series of Sussex assemblages belonging to the earliest post Deverel-Rimbury Late Bronze Age have now been isolated (Hamilton 1993). For Sussex as a whole, the present database comprises some 18 assemblages

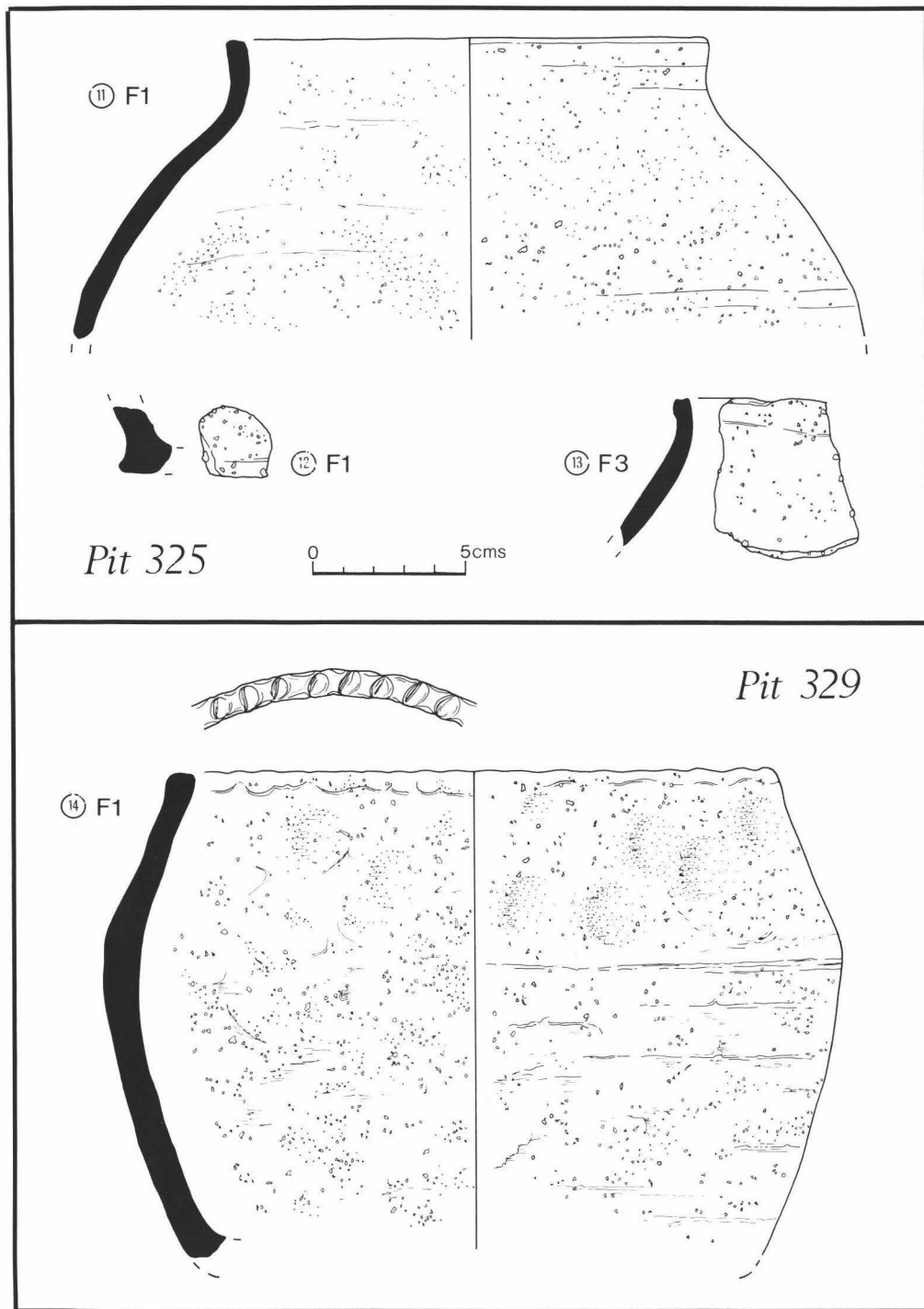


Fig. 9. Knapp Farm. Prehistoric pottery.

(Hamilton 1993). Knapp Farm fills in a significant 'gap' in the distribution map for earlier 1st-millennium BC pottery from the West Sussex coastal plain west of Chichester. The stratified assemblages most comparable to the Knapp Farm assemblage are those from Yapton, also on the West Sussex coastal plain some 15 km east of Knapp Farm (Hamilton 1987), and the enclosure predating the hillfort at Thundersbarrow Hill, near Shoreham (Hamilton 1993).

ILLUSTRATED SHERDS (Figs 8 & 9)

Form/Fabric/Context

1. Plain rim of bipartite bowl; Fabric F1; context 30, layer below topsoil.
2. In-turned rim, with slight bevel on the interior, of convex jar, Fabric F1; context 110, fill of pit 109.
3. Plain shoulder sherd from jar or bowl, vertical finger-smearing above the carination; Fabric F1; context 110, fill of pit 109.
4. Plain rounded rim of bipartite bowl; Fabric F2; context 124, fill of pit 123.
5. Flat-topped rim from shouldered jar or bowl; Fabric F1; context 124, fill of pit 123.
6. Body sherd with part of its exterior surface flaked off in a manner which suggests the original presence

of an incised horizontal groove: Fabric F1; context 124, fill of pit 123.

7. Splayed base with flint-gritted underside; Fabric F1; context 124, fill of pit 123.
8. Body sherd with oblique finger impression; Fabric F1; context 124, fill of pit 123.
9. Body sherd with vertical finger-smearing; Fabric F1; context 127, fill of pit 126.
10. Flat, rounded base with flint-gritted underside and traces of vertical smearing on the exterior; Fabric F1; context 127, fill of pit 126.
11. Out-turned, rounded rim and shoulder sherds from round-shouldered jar; Fabric F1; context 326, fill of pit 325.
12. Splayed base; Fabric F1; context 326, fill of pit 325.
13. Out-turned finger-impressed rim sherd from shouldered bowl; Fabric F3; context 326, fill of pit 325.
14. Shouldered bowl with finger-impressed, 'pie crusted' rim. Evidence of finger-pressing shoulder carination and finger-smearing carination; Fabric: F1; context 330, fill of pit 320.

OTHER FINDS

ROMAN POTTERY

By Luke Barber (incorporating comments by Valery Rigby)

A total of 1186 Roman sherds (weighing 11.0 kg) were excavated at Knapp Farm. The vast majority (93.4% by sherd count) consist of fine to coarse sandy wares (fabric groups A-C). Owing to the acid soil the pottery was in poor condition, as at Devil's Ditch (Bedwin & Orton 1984), and few large sherds survived. The aim of this report is to provide both a date range for the excavated features, and a guide to the fabrics and forms present.

The pottery was divided into broad fabric groups based on a visual examination of colour, texture and tempering with a hand lens. Where possible, fabrics or individual sherds were attributed to a source (e.g. Group H to the New Forest). However, some fabric groups, notably A1, undoubtedly contain products from different sources. The fragmented and abraded nature of the majority of the pottery prevented strict classification. All sherds were recorded by context on pottery summary sheets which form part of the archive. The pottery was fully quantified by sherd number and weight (Table 4, microfiche).

The small assemblage spans the 2nd to 4th centuries AD.

The fabric groups

A full description of the fabrics is given on microfiche.

Group A1: grey medium sandy ware
Catalogue nos 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16

Group A2: grey fine sandy ware

Group A3: grey coarse sandy ware
Catalogue no. 3

Group B1: oxidized medium sandy ware
Catalogue nos 1, 2, 8, 13

Group B2: oxidized coarse sandy ware

Group C1: black fine sandy ware

Group C2: black medium sandy ware
Catalogue no. 15

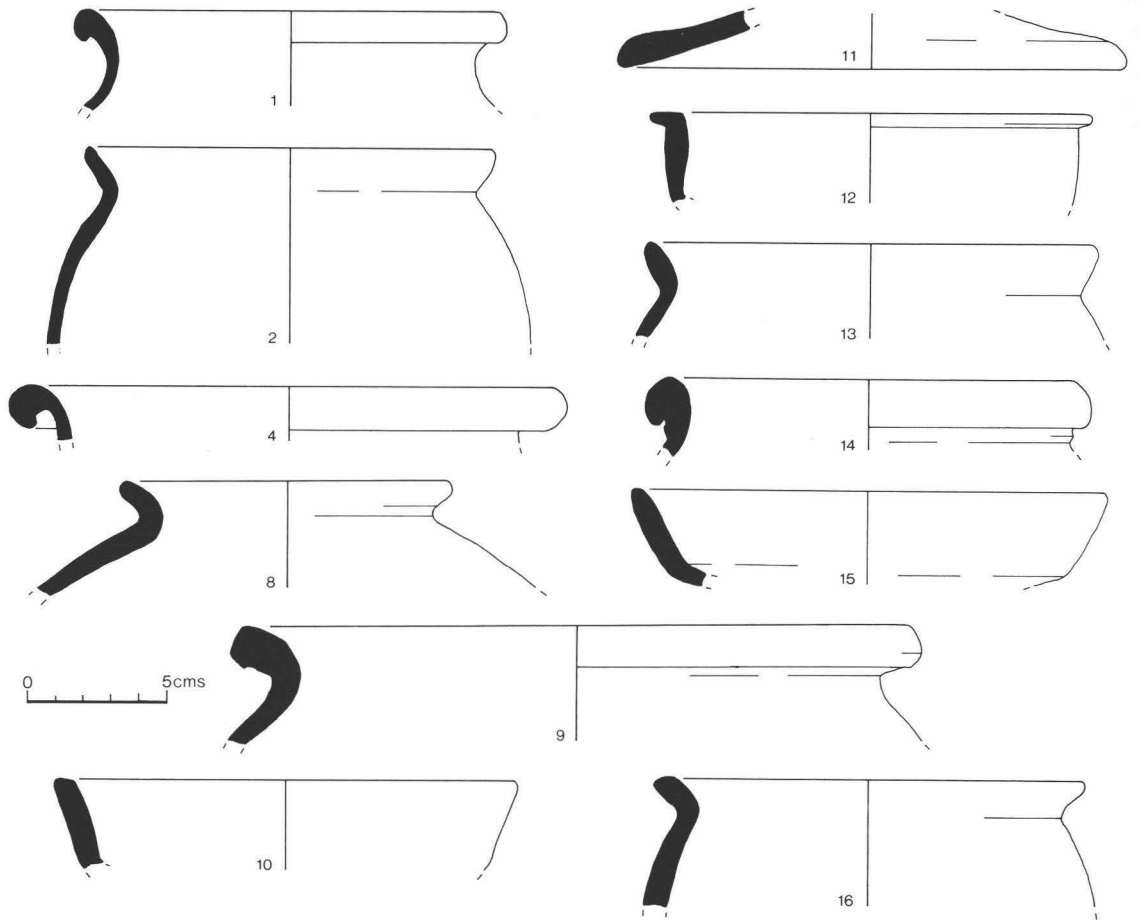


Fig. 10. Knapp Farm. Romano-British pottery.

Group D: medium sand- and chalk-tempered

Group E: amphorae and mortaria
Catalogue nos 5, 7

Group F: grog-tempered ware

Group G: miscellaneous self-coloured finewares

Group H: New Forest ware
Catalogue no. 6

Group I: Samian
The few Samian sherds present are all small and heavily abraded. None are large enough to identify forms firmly. Most appear to be central Gaulish. 2nd century.

Catalogue (Fig. 10)

1. Plain-necked jar with undercut rim. Group B1. 2nd to 3rd

century (trench A, pit 103, fill 101/108: cremation vessel).

2. Jar with simple everted rim. Group B1. 2nd to 3rd century (trench A, pit 103, fill 108).

3. Not illustrated. Storage jar with bead rim and internal thumbing. Group A3. Form as Fishbourne type 391. Rowlands Castle? 2nd to 4th century (trench A, layer 100, ploughsoil).

4. Wide-mouthed bowl/jar with hooked rim. Group A1. Late 2nd to early 3rd century (trench A, layer 102, lower ploughsoil).

5. Not illustrated. Mortarium base sherd (Group E) in fine buff fabric. Rounded and sub-angular multicoloured grits on interior (c. 1–3 mm). Oxford ware (?) 4th century (trench E, layer 32, ploughsoil).

6. Not illustrated. Decorated body sherd from a colour-coated

narrow-necked/globular beaker. Group H - New Forest ware. Fine buff ware with black colour coat and white painted decoration. 4th century (trench F, layer 307, lower ploughsoil).

7. Not illustrated. Amphora body sherd (Group E) in soft sparsely sand-tempered dull orange fabric. Dr 20. Spanish (trenches F & G, layer 300, ploughsoil).

8. Narrow-necked jar with everted rim. Group B1. 2nd to 3rd century (trenches F & G, layer 300, ploughsoil).

9. Large storage type jar with out-turned thickened rim. Group A1. 2nd to 3rd century (trenches F & G, layer 300, ploughsoil).

10. Dish with flattened rim. Group A1. Burnished internally. Late 2nd to 3rd century (trenches F & G, layer 301, lower ploughsoil).

11. Lid with simple rim. Group A1 (layer 301).

12. Dish/bowl with horizontal rim. Group A1 (layer 301).

13. Jar with simple everted rim. Group B1. 3rd century (layer 301).

14. Jar with thickened hook rim. Group A1. White slip on rim. Alice Holt. (*cf.* type 3C.4 Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 43). 3rd to early 4th century (layer 301).

15. Dish with simple rim. Group C2. Late 2nd to 4th century (trench G, layer 322).

16. Everted rim jar. Group A1. Rowlands Castle? 3rd to 4th century (trench G, pit 302, fill 303).

THE FLINT

By Robin Holgate

A total of 190 humanly-struck flints were recovered from the excavations (Table 5, on microfiche). The excavated flints came either from the surface of the subsoil (307) or from the fills of pits dating to either the later Bronze Age or the Romano-British period (for further details, *see* microfiche Table 6). This material can be divided into two groups: flints of Mesolithic date and those of the late Neolithic/Bronze Age.

The Mesolithic assemblage

The raw material is dark grey, brown, light brown and orange flint; cream cherty mottles are occasionally present. Just over half the flints have thin abraded cortex and a small proportion have blue-white patination. The flint has few latent frost fractures, and consists of small, good quality flint nodules that had been carefully selected from Brickearth deposits on the Coastal Plain. Although none of the flints could be refitted, a study of similarities in colour and cortex suggest that at least ten nodules were flaked.

Blades and bladelets with minimal butts were detached from double and single platform cores (e.g. Fig. 11:9 & 10), mainly using a soft hammer. Platforms were prepared before each blade or bladelet was detached from the core by abrading the platform edge. Flaked surfaces on some cores were also prepared by cresting (Fig. 11:11). New platforms were created by detaching core tablets (e.g. Fig. 11:12).

Implements included a number of blades with retouch along one edge (Fig. 11:2, 3 & 4), one of which could be classified as a microdenticulate (no. 6). Truncated bladelets (nos 8 & 13) and a geometric microlith (no. 14) were also present. The microlith, a small scalene triangle, would suggest a later Mesolithic date for at least part of the assemblage (Jacobi 1978, 19).

The Mesolithic assemblage was not found *in situ*; most flints derive from Late Bronze Age or Romano-British deposits. Furthermore, the lack of refits suggests that only a sample of the flintwork originally discarded on the site was retrieved from the excavated areas. Assuming that the sample is representative of the activity that originally took place here, the absence of tranchet axes and axe-sharpening flakes, scraping tools and burins indicates that this was a temporary camp where a restricted range of tasks were performed. This is only the third excavation of a later period site on the Sussex Coastal Plain to produce a significant Mesolithic assemblage; the others are North Bersted (Pitts 1980, 155–9) and Fishbourne (A. Down & D. Goodburn pers. comm.). Further Mesolithic flintwork, notably that retrieved from the later Mesolithic site at Hammerpot (C. Ainsworth, J. Sayles & R. Jacobi pers. comm.), has been amassed from numerous places by surface collection (Pitts 1980). Despite the minimal archaeological reconnaissance that has taken place, the large number of Mesolithic findspots suggests that the Sussex Coastal Plain was heavily exploited at this time. Favoured locations for Mesolithic activity appear to have been alongside watercourses and on the crest of higher areas of land.

The later Neolithic/Bronze Age assemblage

The remaining flintwork consists of small nodules of grey or brown flint of varying quality, which was flaked using hard hammers to produce wide-butted flakes. The only implements include scrapers (Fig. 11:1 one of which had been used for scraping wood, *see* below), single-edge retouched pieces (no. 7), a notched flake and a miscellaneous retouched flake (no. 5) (Table 5, microfiche). The restricted range of implements present in this group of flints would be consistent with a later Bronze Age domestic assemblage, although it should be added that the techniques used to fashion these flints were in use from the later Neolithic period onwards. Some of the flintwork was found in association with later Bronze Age pottery, but the fact that only a sample of the site was excavated makes it difficult to interpret both the nature and extent of the later Bronze Age occupation, and whether or not any activity took place here in the later Neolithic period.

USE-WEAR ANALYSIS

By Roger Grace

Seven of the flint implements were examined under a microscope for traces of use wear. The Mesolithic flints included a microdenticulate (no. 6), two single-edge retouched blades (nos 2 & 4) and an abruptly retouched blade (no. 3), and the later Neolithic/Bronze Age implements consisted of an invasively retouched scraper (Fig. 11:1) and two single-edge retouched pieces (nos 5 & 7). A detailed description is housed with the archive.

Apart from the scraper (no. 1), which was probably used to work wood, the flints have no clear evidence of use. Two of the single-edge retouched pieces (nos 4 & 5) have edge development consistent with use, but the presence of post-depositional surface modification precludes any further interpretation. Another of the single-edge retouched blades

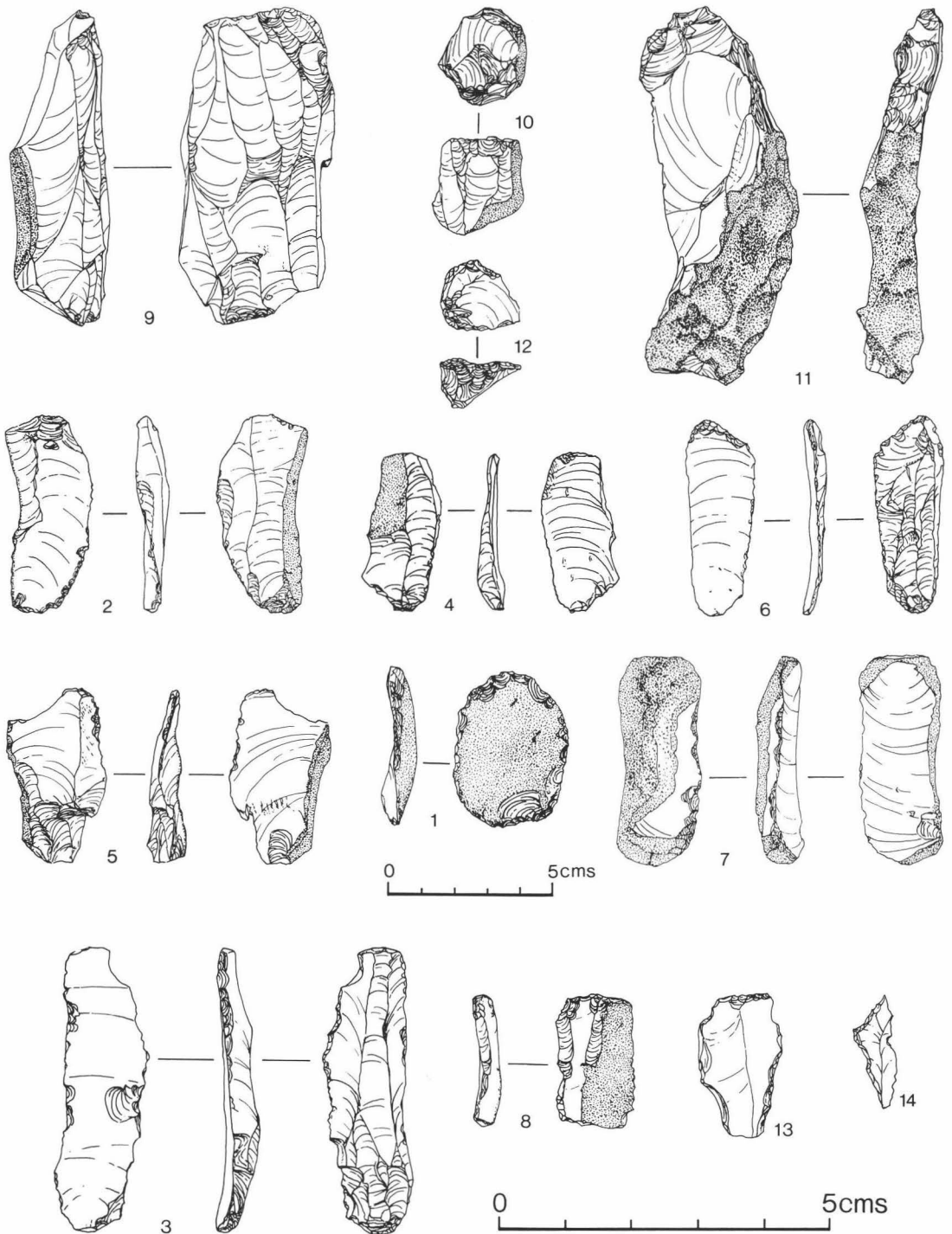


Fig. 11. Knapp Farm flintwork: Mesolithic flintwork: 2, single-edge retouched blade; 3, abruptly retouched blade; 4, single-edge retouched blade; 6, microdenticulate; 8, truncated blade; 9, double platform core; 10, single platform core; 11, crested blade; 12, core tablet; 13, truncated blade; 14, geometric microlith. Later Neolithic/Bronze Age flintwork: 1, scraper; 5, single-edge retouched flake; 7, single-edge retouched blade.

(no. 2) has gloss which is post-depositional in origin and, therefore, not wear polish. The microdenticulated blade (no. 6), the abruptly retouched blade (no. 3) and last of the single-edge retouched blades (no. 7) have no evidence of use, but the

presence of post-depositional surface modification means that they may have been used, and that any evidence for use has been obscured. With this kind of material, only tools that have been used extensively will retain use-wear evidence.

DISCUSSION

By Mark Gardiner

The Mesolithic flintwork found at Knapp Farm has reinforced the suspicion that the Coastal Plain was widely used during that period. Its position on a rise above a small stream which ran to the west of the site is typical of many Mesolithic finds in the area and is repeated further west near Newells Lane where another excavation during the road survey found further flintwork, albeit in a secondary position.

The later flintwork may be associated with the Late Bronze Age domestic activity, as the discussion above has indicated. The nature of the remains of that period are not entirely clear. At both Knapp Farm and further east at Yapton the pits were dug and were rapidly filled with pottery and other rubbish. The main difference between the two sites is that while at Yapton (Rudling 1987) the pottery had been exposed to weathering before deposition, at Knapp Farm the pots were dumped directly in the pits. The most difficult aspect of both sites is that they lack a broader archaeological context. Excavations were very limited in extent at Yapton and although a larger area was dug at Knapp Farm, the pits lay on the edge of the area examined. If we are to understand the significance of such pits, they need to be related to other activity areas in which cooking, sleeping and craftwork took place. Were these functions taking place nearby, or was the rubbish removed some distance before deposition? There is insufficient evidence to answer that question at present. The excavation at Knapp Farm revealed very little of the site economy. Bone did not survive in the acidic soils. The range over which resources were gathered is suggested by the presence of pebbles among the burnt flint indicating the possibility of greater littoral exploitation.

No evidence was found in the excavated trenches for the ditch of the possible Chichester Dyke. The precise line of the dyke near the excavations is difficult to trace on the aerial photographs and it could be that the trenches were not correctly situated over the line of the ditch. The presence of a further

arm of the Chichester Dykes here would be consistent with the pattern elsewhere. The course of supposed bank and ditch would run across the top edge of a valley and towards a stream, so cutting off the western approach to the area enclosed by the Dykes. However, there remains the problem that the ditch is on the south-east side of the bank and that thus the embankment appears to face the wrong way. An alternative explanation for the absence of any excavated remains may be that the admittedly poor aerial photographic evidence may have been wrongly conflated with the short length of earthwork at Miller's Ash. There may have been no Dyke here.

The excavation indicated the presence of a probable Roman farm of 2nd- to 4th-century date, but nothing of its character. The interest of the site is its proximity to the Roman palace of Fishbourne which lay east-south-east less than two kilometres away. The palace estate could have been entirely farmed from a home farm at the palace, or might have been exploited by means of a series of satellite farmsteads, of which Knapp Farm could be one example. Further work on the distribution of Roman sites in the Fishbourne area might elucidate that problem.

The final phase of activity is represented by a small number of medieval features. Documentary study summarized in the archive report allowed the identification of a number of medieval tenements in the vicinity of Knapp Farm, all lying beyond the area of open fields around Old Fishbourne village. Knapp Farm was one of the more substantial holdings and it survived as other farmsteads were abandoned.

Acknowledgements

Mark Gardiner is indebted to the many landowners who allowed him to work on their land, and particularly to Mr H. G. Heaver who enabled him to dig at Knapp Farm. Robin Turner acted as site assistant in 1984. The illustrations of the artefacts are by Lys Drewett, Jane Russell and Luke Barber and some of the plans were drawn by Jane Russell. The excavations, fieldwork and the post-excavation work were funded by English Heritage.

The finds and site records from field-walking

between Fishbourne–Havant have been deposited in Chichester Museum (acc. no. 6085) and the finds

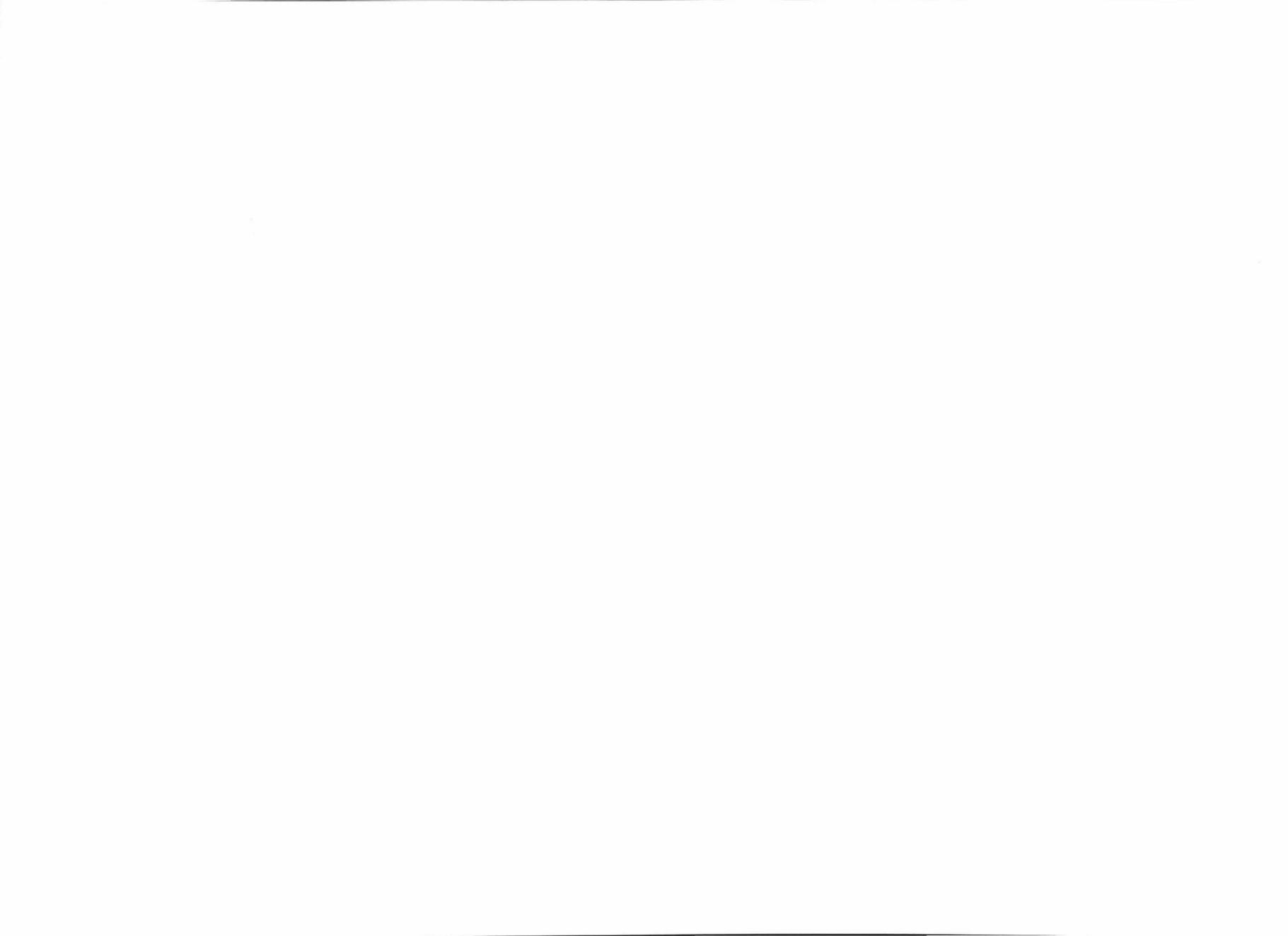
from the Knapp Farm excavations have been placed in Fishbourne Roman Palace (KF84, KF85).

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Points of view

PROMINENT ENCLOSURES IN 1ST MILLENNIUM BC SUSSEX

by Sue Hamilton &
John Manley

This paper presents an overview of 25 enclosures in Sussex conventionally described as 'hillforts'. Analysis of pottery assemblages and radiocarbon dates allows a three-phase chronological division of the enclosures, with the majority belonging to the earliest phase. Assessment of topographic positions and excavation evidence indicates that the enclosures may have functioned in distinct ways in each of the three phases. In the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age the enclosures may have been situated in peripheral locations on the Downs, from which landscapes and people were observed. In the Middle Iron Age more central downland positions were adopted and the sites may have acted as landmark monuments which were viewed from without. In the Late Iron Age enclosure activity concentrates in the Weald and suggests an involvement with ironworking. Evidence from the entrance orientations of the enclosures suggests that, despite these variations, there was an underlying symbolic ordering dictating the layout of some physical attributes of these sites.

INTRODUCTION

In this article we consider the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age sites of Sussex to which the term 'hillfort' has been conventionally ascribed. The majority of these sites are prominently placed in conspicuous hilltop locations. A particular emphasis of this article is to consider how a greater appreciation of the topographic placement of the sites might enlighten our interpretation of them. Some 25 Sussex 'hillforts' have survived and most of these sites have been known for a considerable period of time, although some were only 'discovered' in the second half of the 20th century (e.g. Garden Hill and Hammer Wood). Their overall distribution is indicated in Figure 1, where the positions of all 25 sites are marked against the dominant landforms of the county. All of the sites except two (Castle Hill and East Hill) have been the subject of limited excavation this century.

Within southern Britain Sussex is notable in encompassing a series of distinct east-west geological bands of limited north-south extent. Sequentially from south to north these are associated with strikingly different (and often dramatic) topographies and resource potentials. While the landscape of today is different in terms of vegetation and of the precise positions of river courses and the

coastline, the deeper-seated structure of the topography would have been the same during the 1st millennium BC. From south to north the main structural elements of the Sussex landscape are:

- 1 The West Sussex coastal plain (the Bracklesham and Bagshot Beds, the London Clay and the Woolwich and Reading Beds). Although lacking hillforts the coastal plain provides a resource zone for potting clays and tempers, and marine resources (Hamilton 1993).
- 2 The Chalk of the South Downs. The South Downs are today marked out in the east by the dramatically sheer cliffs of Beachy Head and the Seven Sisters (currently eroding at 0.5 m per annum: Bedwin 1985), and sequentially westwards gradually distancing themselves from the sea — until they form the northern perimeter of the West Sussex coastal plain. The majority of Sussex's hillforts are located on the South Downs. Every indication is that the greater part of the Downs was covered in open grassland and arable by the 1st millennium BC (Allen 1995; Bedwin 1978a; 1980; 1986). East-west visibility along the Downs, and north-south visibility into the Downs would have therefore have been pre-eminent. The Downs would have provided good pasture, and thin soils for arable. They notably lack good potting clays.

All Hillforts in Sussex

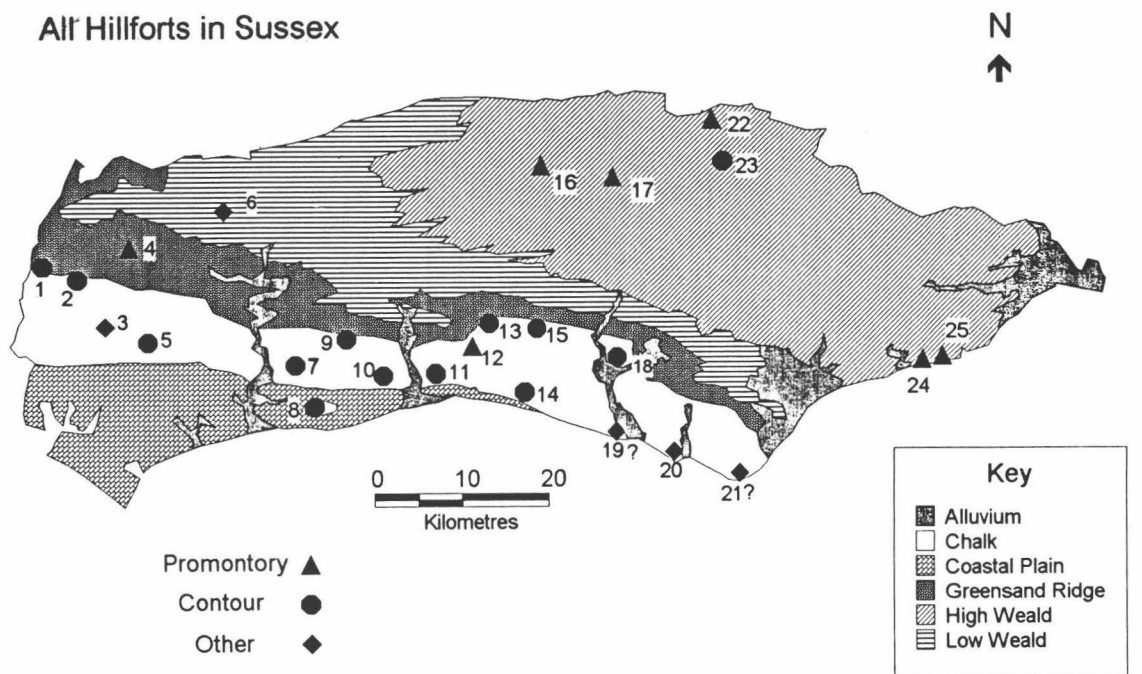


Fig. 1. Distribution of prominent enclosures ('hillforts') against the major landforms of Sussex.

Key to site names (? = dating insecure; see text):

1. Torberry	6. Piper's Copse	11. Thundersbarrow	16. Philpots	21. Belle Tout
2. Harting Beacon	7. Harrow Hill	12. Devil's Dyke	17. Garden Hill	22. High Rocks
3. Goosehill Camp	8. Highdown	13. Wolstonbury	18. Caburn	23. Saxonbury
4. Hammer Wood	9. Chanctonbury Ring	14. Hollingbury	19. Castle Hill, Newhaven	24. Hastings Castle
5. The Trundle	10. Cissbury	15. Ditchling Beacon	20. Seaford Head	25. East Hill, Hastings.

NB. Although Ranscombe Camp, adjacent to Caburn, has often been included in Sussex hillfort surveys, it has been excluded from our analysis owing to the fact that it comprises a single linear, revetted bank and ditch across a downland saddle and is not *per se* an enclosure. Finds of finger-impressed decorated pottery from the lower fills of the ditch (Burstow & Holleyman 1964) suggest the possibility that it was a Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age land boundary.

3 The Greensand Ridge and Low Weald (comprising from south to north: the Upper Greensand, the Lower Greensand and the Weald Clay). These abut, and are both substantially lower than, the South Downs. These geologies provide fertile, light soils (at the Chalk/Greensand interface), potting clays, and sandstones for rubbers, querns, and hearthstones. Only two hillforts are located in this zone — Hammer Wood, and Piper's Copse.

4 The High Weald (comprising from south to north: the Tunbridge Wells Sands and Ashdown Sands, and the Wadhurst and Fairlight Clays). Here the ground rises slowly towards the prominent dome of the High Weald where the Wadhurst Clay soils are heavy, damp and acidic, and were possibly

densely wooded. The Wadhurst Clay has substantial deposits of iron ore. Four hillforts are located in the High Weald — Philpots, Garden Hill, High Rocks, and Saxonbury. All four sites are on prominent outcrops of the Ashdown Sands in areas which were at least partly under arable during the time of these enclosures (Gardiner 1990, 43).

There is an essential visual dichotomy in these Sussex landscapes. The east–west landforms create lateral 'landscape' skylines, with the eye constantly drawn along the line of the Downs. The limited north–south extent of each outcrop, and the abrupt transition from one world/topography to another, however, engages the eye in depth across the landscapes of the Downs and the Low and High

Wealds. These east-west strata are divided by major rivers that flow from north to south — the Cuckmere, the Ouse, the Adur and the Arun. These rivers conspicuously carve the South Downs into five great blocks.

The dating and sequencing which forms the framework of the chronological groupings within which we will discuss the hillforts are derived from Hamilton (1993). The dating is based upon the stratigraphic associations of i) rampart layers and ditch fills; and ii) the fills of features within the hillforts, with datable pottery, metalwork, and associated radiocarbon dates. Six of the sites have radiometric dates (radiocarbon dates and one archaeomagnetic date). Finds of closely datable, stratified metalwork are limited. All of the sites have produced pottery, and it is the ceramic assemblages which offer the best opportunities for phasing the sites. Since the 1970s several hillfort excavations have provided high quality stratigraphic data (e.g. Bedwin 1978a; 1980; 1985; Rudling 1985). This, and Barrett's (1980) redating of early 1st-millennium BC pottery, has allowed the chronology of the earliest hillforts to be reassessed, placing a substantial number of them at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. The data for site dating are given in some detail below because the period clustering of the sites is central to the identification of the changing nature of the tradition of prominent enclosure and landscape articulation in the 1st millennium BC. All radiocarbon dates (Table 1) given in the text are quoted in calendar years BC to two sigma and were calibrated using the CALIB programme of Stuiver and Reimer (1993).

Most of the sites can be allocated to one of three broad phases which span the 1st millennium BC;

conventionally these are the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, the Middle Iron Age, and the Late Iron Age. The distributions of the hillforts in the three phases can be seen in Figures 2, 3 and 4. Two sites remain undated and are not indicated on the phasing maps: East Hill and Hastings Castle. The characteristics of the sites in each of these three phases can now be considered in more detail — with particular reference to Table 2, and with regard to dating, description and discussion.

LATE BRONZE AGE/EARLY IRON AGE
MULTI-LOCI ENCLOSURES

DATING

A striking aspect of a re-analysis of the dating of Sussex later prehistoric enclosures is that the greatest proportion of the sites belong to the Late Bronze Age.

On present evidence four sites can be ascribed to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age: Thundersbarrow Hill pre-hillfort enclosure, Wolstonbury (Plate 1), Seaford Head, and perhaps Belle Tout. The Thundersbarrow Hill pre-hillfort enclosure (Rudling unpubl. excavations) produced Late Bronze Age plain ware pottery characteristic of the earliest 1st millennium BC (c. 9th century BC) from the middle ditch fills (Hamilton 1993). The basal fills were sterile except for a piece of antler which provides a date of cal BC 1670–1320 (HAR-8182). This suggests a Middle Bronze Age date for the pre-hillfort enclosure, and its continued use into the Late Bronze Age. Wolstonbury's 'henge-like' morphology (with its ditch inside its main rampart circuit) has elicited suggestions of a Neolithic dating (Drewett *et al.* 1988). Recent excavation trenches across the main rampart have produced Late Bronze

Table 1. Radiocarbon dates from prominent enclosures in Sussex.

Site	Laboratory No.	Context	Radiocarbon Age (BP)	Calibrated date range (BC): two sigma
Chanctonbury Ring	HAR-2703	Upper fill of pit 110	2320±80	760–190
Ditchling	HAR-5935	Base of rampart ditch	2560±100	902–340
Harting Beacon	HAR-2411	Upper fill southern ditch terminal	2220±80	400–50
Thundersbarrow Hill	HAR-8182	Base of pre-hillfort enclosure ditch	3220±70	1670–1320
Wolstonbury	BETA-94959	Lower ditch fills of main enclosure	2730±80	1030–790
	BETA-94958	Upper ditch fills of main enclosure	2410±80	790–260



Plate 1. Wolstonbury from the north, a landmark on the north edge of the Downs.

Table 2. Phasing of prominent enclosures, and some principal attributes of each enclosure. Area is given in hectares and height in metres OD. Note that low level activity at the asterisked** sites could have commenced in the Middle Iron Age.

Prominent Enclosures	Type	Area	Height	Date Dug	% Dug	Structures	4-posters	'Storage' Pits	Rampart	Multi-vallate	C14 Date
<i>Late Bronze Age & Early Iron Age</i>											
Chanctonbury	cont	1.25	234	1977	10	none	none	none	dump		1
Ditchling	cont	5.5	248	1983	1	none	none	none	dump?		1
Goosehill	h/slope	1.8	155	1950s	1.5	circular?	none	none	dump?		none
Harrow Hill	cont	0.4	167	1936	3	none	none	none	timber-revet		none
Harting Beacon	cont	12	242	1970s	2	rect	4	none	timber-revet		1
Highdown	cont	1	81	1988	10	circ&rect	none	none	timber-revet		none
Hollingbury	cont	2.7	178	1960s	10	circular	none	none	timber-revet		none
Seaford Head	coast	4.2	86	1983	0	none	none	none	timber-revet		none
Thundersbarrow	cont	1.2	138	1985	1	none	none	none	dump?		1
Wolstonbury	cont	2.2	206	1995	1	none	none	none	unknown		2
Belle Tout?	coast	25	80	1995	1	none	none	none	dump		none
Castle Hill?	coast	unkn	50								
<i>Middle Iron Age</i>											
Caburn	cont	1.4	140	1996	3	none	none	several	timber-revet	yes?	none
Cissbury	cont	24	183	1930	1	none	none	several	unknown	yes	none
Torberry	cont	2.4	156	1950s	1	none	none	several	timber-revet		none
Trundle	cont	4	206	1930s	1	circular?	none	several	unknown		none
Castle Hill?	coast	unkn	50								
<i>Late Iron Age</i>											
Garden Hill**	prom	2.7	170	1970s	4	circular	none	none	top-palisade		none
Hammer Wood**	prom	3	75	1957	1	none	none	none	stone-revet		none
High Rocks**	prom	10	100	1950s	1	'horseshoe'	none	none	stone-revet	yes	none
Philpots**	prom	6	152	1931	0	none	none	none	unknown		none
Piper's Copse**	plateau	0.5	40	1930s	1	none	none	none	unknown		none
Saxonbury**	cont	0.5	202	1930s	10	wall	none	none	stone-revet?		none
Castle Hill?	coast	unkn	50								
Devil's Dyke?	prom	15	205	1935	1	circular	none	none	unknown		none
<i>Undated</i>											
East Hill	prom	15	85								
Hastings Castle	prom	5	60	1960s	1	none	none	none	unknown	yes?	none

Age sherds and a radiocarbon date of cal BC 1030–790 (BETA-94959) for lower ditch fills (Russell 1996b). Seaford Head has minimal dating evidence, but is ascribed a Late Bronze Age date on the basis of the presence of a substantial rim sherd from a plain, convex jar in the lower secondary fills of the ditch (Bedwin 1986, fig. 6). Despite a long history of excavation, the Belle Tout hillfort earthwork lacks clear dating (Bradley 1971a; Drewett 1982; Russell 1996a). A few abraded sherds of Late Neolithic/Beaker pottery and small quantities of Neolithic flintwork have been recovered from the secondary silts of the ditch, and also from the bank (Bradley 1971a; 1982; Russell 1996c), but these could be interpreted as residual and relating to the inner Beaker enclosure which the hillfort enclosure encompasses. On the basis of morphology (large size and insubstantial earthworks) the outer enclosure at Belle Tout is, for our present purpose, placed in the Late Bronze Age. The interior of the Beaker enclosure has produced some Late Bronze Age pottery which might be current with activity at the outer, hillfort enclosure (Bradley 1971a, fig. 3).

Two major enclosures, Harting Beacon and Chanctonbury Ring, are associated with well-stratified, single-phase later Late Bronze Age decorated pottery assemblages. These assemblages are characterized by fine-ware bowls with fingernail-/tip-impressed decorated rims and shoulders which are dated to c. 8th/7th century BC (Barrett 1980; Hamilton 1993). At both sites the earliest stratified pottery comes from rampart ditch silts resting immediately over the primary silts (Bedwin 1979; Bedwin 1980). Additionally at Harting Beacon, the pottery from the northern ditch terminal of the western entrance was associated with a gold penannular ornament of c. 7th/8th century BC date (Hamilton 1993, 149; Keef 1953, 205). At Chanctonbury, the major context for the pottery was a shallow pit (Bedwin 1980, area B, feature 110). Animal bone from this pit produced a date of cal BC 760–190 (HAR-2703).

Other sites which can be dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age are Harrow Hill, Highdown Hill, and possibly Castle Hill, Newhaven and Hollingbury (pre-hillfort enclosure). Harrow Hill is ascribed to the Late Bronze Age on the basis of a few sherds (including a decorated rim) comparable to Chanctonbury Ring Fabric 1 (Hamilton 1980; 1993, 198) one of which came from post-hole 1 of the main gateway (Holleyman 1937, 250, figs 11–13).

None of the Hollingbury pottery is stratigraphically associated with the construction and earliest use of Hollingbury (pre-rampart enclosure), but local finds of Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age metalwork may relate to a Late Bronze Age phase of site use (Thomas 1983; White 1991). The finds from Castle Hill, Newhaven, are stratigraphically mixed (Field 1939; Hawkes 1939). The typologically earliest pottery from these collections comprise Late Bronze Age decorated wares which may date the original, now destroyed, enclosure. Highdown Hill has produced Middle Bronze Age and early Late Bronze Age pottery ('plain ware') from pre-rampart contexts (Wilson 1940, figs 1 & 2:f–m; Hamilton 1993, 8.8.2, 9.8.3). Enclosure, however, probably took place towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, indicated by the presence of Late Bronze Age decorated wares (c. 8th/7th century BC: Barrett 1980) in the fill of the first rampart ditch (Wilson 1940, 180, fig. 3). A subsequent, second ditch which cuts through the silts of the first ditch also produced Late Bronze Age decorated wares.

Some of the Bronze Age enclosures continued in use into the Early Iron Age. At Highdown Hill the third recut of the enclosure ditch contained Early Iron Age bowls with incised decoration of c. 6th/5th century BC date (Wilson 1940, fig. 4:a–c). Wolstonbury has Early Iron Age pottery and a radiocarbon date of cal BC 790–260 (BETA-94958) from its lower-middle ditch fills (Russell pers. comm.), and 'Iron Age' sherds in the upper ditch silts (Curwen 1930, 242–3). At Harting Beacon a human skull from a rubbish scoop cut into the lower ditch silts has a date of cal BC 400–50 (HAR-2411), perhaps indicating 'low-level' ritual activities at the site beyond its primary period of use.

Four further hillforts were established during the Early Iron Age: Hollingbury hillfort; Thundersbarrow Hill hillfort; Ditchling Beacon; and Goosehill Camp. The pottery from the rampart phase of Hollingbury comprises a coherent, single-period Early Iron Age assemblage of c. 6th-century BC date (Hamilton 1984). Sections through the Thundersbarrow Hill hillfort rampart have variously produced 'Hallstatt/La Tène I' sherds from the pre-rampart turf line and the base of the hillfort ditch (Curwen 1933, 118–21), and residual Early Iron Age sherds from the middle and upper ditch fills (Hamilton 1993; Rudling unpubl. excavations). Ditchling Beacon can be dated to the Early Iron Age on the basis of a date of cal BC 902–340 (HAR-5935) provided by animal

bone from the bottom of the rampart ditch (Rudling 1985), and by sherds in fabrics (e.g. iron oxide wares) characteristic of the East Sussex Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (Hamilton 1980; 1993) found in the body of the rampart bank (Rudling 1985). The lower ditch fills of the Goosehill enclosure earthworks have produced pedestal bases and round-shouldered forms dating to approximately the 5th to 3rd centuries BC (Boyden 1956, figs 4 & 7; Hamilton 1977; 1993, 261).

The only Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age enclosure that continues in use into the Middle Iron Age (and later) appears to be Castle Hill, Newhaven which has produced substantial quantities of Middle Iron Age saucepan pottery, and indeed its ceramic assemblage suggests sustained activity at the site throughout the 1st millennium BC.

The two East Sussex coastal sites of East Hill and Hastings Castle lack any artefactual dating evidence. Based on the dating of other East Sussex prominent coastal enclosures such as Castle Hill, Newhaven, and Seaford Head (Plate 2), they may well have been established within the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age.

DESCRIPTION

Of the 10 or 11 sites which are allocated to the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, the majority can be assigned to the earliest phase. Their distribution is exclusively on the Chalk, with a tendency to occupy 'peripheral' locations on either side of the Downs (Fig. 2). It is noteworthy that the four sites along the northern edge of the Downs occupy the highest altitudes with panoramic views into the Low Weald and beyond (Table 2 — Chanctonbury, Ditchling Beacon, Wolstonbury and Harting Beacon). On the south, coastal side of the South Downs the location of Highdown Hill is still a prominent landmark for seafarers and was clearly a 'special place' for very different generations (e.g. its Saxon cemetery). The location of Seaford Head allows a currently dramatic coastline view east to Belle Tout and west to the former location of Castle Hill, Newhaven and is placed at the only point along the coastline from where a view into the Weald (via the valley of the Cuckmere) is possible. In terms of distribution, the enclosures are fairly evenly sprinkled along the Downs, with no great gaps nor any marked concentrations.

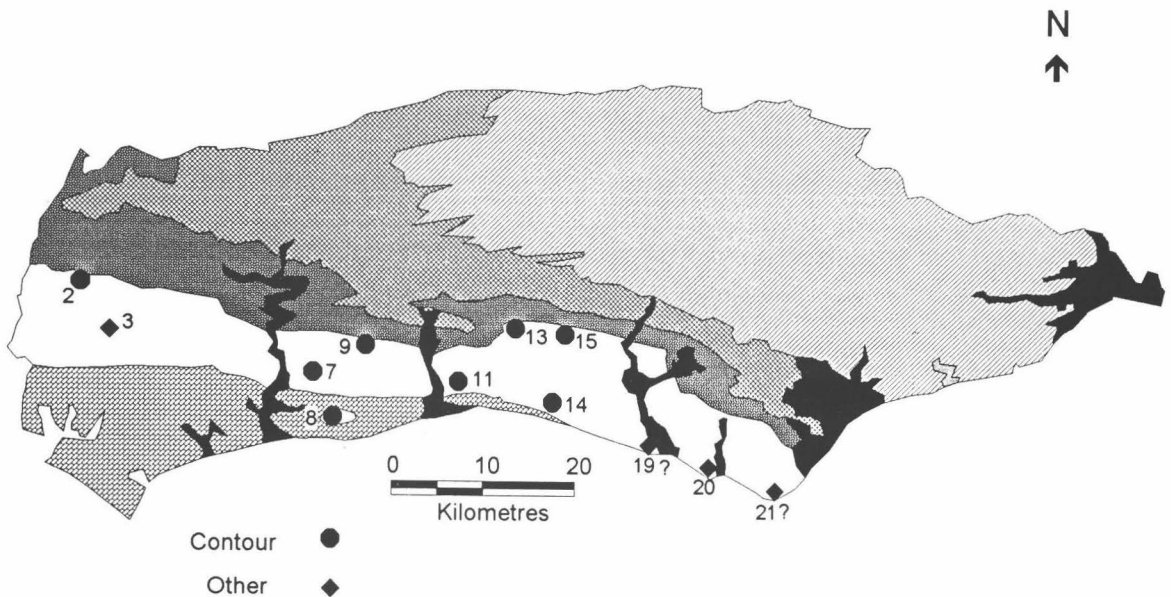


Fig. 2. Distribution of Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age prominent enclosures ('hillforts') against the major landforms of Sussex. Key to site names (? = dating insecure: no securely stratified LBA/EIA finds; see text):

2. Harting Beacon	8. Highdown	13. Wolstonbury	19. Castle Hill?, Newhaven
3. Goosehill Camp	9. Chanctonbury Ring	14. Hollingbury	20. Seaford Head
7. Harrow Hill	11. Thundersbarrow	15. Ditchling Beacon	21. Belle Tout?.

In morphological terms most of the sites are traditionally classified as contour forts. Wolstonbury is very suitably described as such, but the majority are not *sensu strictu* contour sites (in the sense that the defining inner rampart follows the same contour height completely around the perimeter). The east and west sides of Harting Beacon follow a contour but the south side comes up and over the shoulder of the spur to complete the enclosure. The very small enclosure on the wide summit of Harrow Hill appears not to have been sited with respect to the contours of the hill on which it sits. Hollingbury is asymmetrically positioned so that it slopes gently to, and seems to 'face', the east, rather than taking a more balanced view. Goosehill, lying on the eastern side of Bow Hill, is not sited on its crest. The Seaford Head enclosure follows the contours on its west side while cutting off level land on its north and east sides. Given the rate of coastal cliff falls in East Sussex the original forms of Belle Tout and Seaford Head will always be a matter of debate.

Inter-site visibility is an interesting issue — the intervisibility between Seaford Head, Castle Hill, Newhaven and Belle Tout has been noted (*see above*). From Chanctonbury Ring the sites of Harting Beacon (its northern edge), Thundersbarrow, Harrow Hill and Wolstonbury can all be seen. A larger-scale, systematic analysis of site intervisibility is now in progress. It is important to establish what can, and cannot, be seen from each site, and which way a site 'faces'. In addition, there is the difficult problem of the local extent of tree-cover during the 1st millennium BC; you cannot see Goosehill from Harting Beacon because of the trees. At present it seems that intervisibility was probably of more significance in this early period than later.

The ramparts or perimeter banks and ditches of these sites are mostly weak in present-day appearance, but there are obvious dangers in estimating original strengths from contemporary observations or even the invariably small-scale examination of the earthworks to date. The two types of rampart (dump, and wall-and-fill) seem equally represented with perhaps the most formidable example of the latter being the classic Hollingbury reconstruction (Holmes 1984). The surviving bank around Seaford Head remains impressive, and in excavation evidence of wooden revetting at the front of the bank was recovered (Bedwin 1986, 30). Chanctonbury Ring has a well-defined simple dump rampart. However, it is hard to envisage the bank around

Harrow Hill as a defensive barrier, while the well-known ditch at Wolstonbury (Russell 1996b) lies inside the bank and the earthworks around Goosehill were surely constructed for reasons other than defence against other human beings. There is no hint of complex defence, as perhaps would be indicated by multivallation, at any of these sites. On the contrary, there is a suspicion that the banks and ditches delimit rather than physically protect. Within this phase there is also evidence of perimeter redefinition and replication, either through the rebuilding of rampart and ditch on approximately the same lines (e.g. Highdown Hill), or of the enlarging of smaller and earlier enclosures (e.g. Thundersbarrow Hill, Hollingbury and Wolstonbury).

When considering the positions of the entrances to these sites it is important to distinguish the position(s) of the entrance(s) on the perimeter earthworks from their alignment(s). It is maintained here that the alignment of entrance breaks and passages is possibly more significant than the simple location of where on the perimeter entrance(s) occur. It is noteworthy that in all of the sites where entrances can be discerned they are aligned in the arc from north-east to south-east. Six sites have more than one entrance and these additional entrances are all aligned in an arc from west to south-west.

The interiors of the sites are different in area and topographic appearance. Belle Tout encloses a massive 25 hectares, with an interior that slopes markedly towards the north. Goosehill is all on a slope. Wolstonbury is rather domed. All of the others are fairly flattish and could be utilized for structures or settlement if that was what was required. All of the sites have seen some excavation during this century, although in percentage of internal area excavated (Table 2), the excavation samples from Hollingbury, Chanctonbury Ring and Highdown Hill are the most significant. Despite a reasonably large area excavation of the interior at Chanctonbury Ring, very few features were uncovered, suggesting that the site was not used for occupation (*see Discussion below*, and Bedwin 1980, 185–6). Similarly, Harting Beacon was relatively empty (apart from a rectangular six-post structure and 4 four-post structures), prompting the excavator to view it as a stock-enclosure (Bedwin 1978a, 230). Hollingbury has several round timber structures in the interior (Holmes 1984). At Highdown Hill there are circular and rectangular structures, and moderate quantities of Late Bronze Age pottery (Wilson 1940; 1950; M.

Gardiner pers. comm.). Excavation in the remaining sites has been too slight to elicit substantive conclusions. There are hints of deliberate deposition, for ideological reasons, at several of the sites: the mandibles of 50–100 oxen from one small excavation trench at Harrow Hill (Holleyman 1937, 250); the single pit rich in finds (including fragments of human limb-bones) from Chanctonbury Ring (Bedwin 1980, 186); the human skull and the gold penannular rings from Harting Beacon (Bedwin 1978a, 227); and, perhaps, the burial of a lamb in the internal terrace at Goosehill (Boyden 1956, 82).

None of the sites evidence continued use into the Middle Iron Age. They may even have been deliberately avoided; yet they surely cannot have been forgotten. Some of them were respected in some way during the early Roman period (*cf.* the temple established on Chanctonbury, the Romano-British settlement outside Thundersbarrow Hill, the early Roman material and bathhouse to the west of Highdown Hill, the Romano-British settlements to the north and south of Harrow Hill).

DISCUSSION

The distribution of early-1st-millennium BC enclosures focuses on the north and south perimeters of the Downs, leaving the middle of the Downs as a 'hillfort-free zone'. The cross-ridge dyke systems of the north edge of the Downs are traditionally dated to the Late Bronze Age. Such dykes are, for example, preserved close to Harting Beacon and run eastwards from the site suggesting that some major divisions of pasture/landscape blocks existed (Cunliffe 1976, fig. 23; Bradley 1971b). This begs questions about which landscapes the enclosures are accessing or articulating. On the north edge of the Downs, Harting Beacon, Chanctonbury Ring, Wolstonbury and Ditchling Beacon have extensive views northwards to the Low and High Weald, and are well-positioned to access both downland and Wealden catchments. Chanctonbury, Harting Beacon and Ditchling Beacon evidence use of resources or products up to *c.* 15 km from site, namely Wealden sandstones for querns and Wealden clays for potting. Evidence for domestic activities at all of these sites is restricted.

Ditchling Beacon and Wolstonbury have produced virtually no artefact finds, and Chanctonbury Ring and Harting Beacon equally lack characteristic evidence of domestic use. The interior of Harting Beacon has produced pottery

(predominantly fine-ware bowls), loomweights, quernstone fragments, and four-post structures — interpreted as store houses or raised granaries (Bedwin 1979). Given the relatively large area excavated, and the large area now disturbed by ploughing, the density of finds is low. Similarly with Chanctonbury Ring, the site was unploughed and the excavated areas were widely spaced, yet internal features were minimal and occupation debris meagre (Bedwin 1980). Chanctonbury Ring and Harting Beacon have snail assemblages indicative of short-tufted grassland (Petzoldt 1979; 1980) suggesting seasonal grazing. The site assemblages suggests that the precise activities that took place at each site were variable. Fine wares, for example, represent 44 per cent of the Harting Beacon pottery, but only 10 per cent of the Chanctonbury Ring pottery. The wide range of vessel types and the small numbers of vessels of any one type at Chanctonbury Ring particularly suggests intermittent site use. The small amount of pottery recovered from Harrow Hill and the lack of internal features suggests a similar situation. 'Practical' interpretations of the finds of ox-heads from Harrow Hill such as seasonal slaughtering of surplus stock, or specialist processing of animal remains have been put forward, but it is hard to explain why other 'unusable' parts of the animals are not present or why processing did not take place off the top of the Downs nearer settlement locations, and the use of the site for intermittent ritual deposition provides an alternative suggestion (Manning 1995).

None of the enclosure earthworks of these sites are dramatic, although some thought has been applied to the proximate visual impact when 'approaching' the sites. The western rampart at Harting Beacon is false-crested, and Wolstonbury has been placed in a location which maximizes its local visibility, suggesting that 'the enclosure clearly had some special significance beyond that of purely settlement' (RCHME 1993, 5). Given the significance of the 'cult' deposition in pits and shafts in the 'Celtic World' (Ross 1968; Wait 1992), the surface morphology of Harrow Hill with its numerous depressions marking the filled-in shafts of preceding Neolithic mines may have made it a visually sacred place to 1st-millennium BC communities (Manning 1995). The break in the north-east corner of the Harrow Hill enclosure respects the largest flint-mine shaft just outside its perimeter, making the gap impossible for access and suggesting that the

juxtaposition had some symbolic significance (RCHME 1994, 13). The sites as a whole, however, seem to function best in terms of 'looking out', perhaps to enable the co-ordination and planning of activities in the landscape that is being exploited around these sites (e.g. stock and people-watching). The coastal enclosures on the south side of the Downs may have functioned in a comparable manner to the sites on the north edge of the Downs: they were placed in terms of



Plate 2. Caburn from the north-east, a landmark on the south edge of the Downs.

'looking out' and viewing between sites. They have likewise produced minimal finds (Belle Tout, Seaford Head, Thundersbarrow). All have dramatic seaward views and are particularly well-positioned to see both west and east along the coast.

The locations, and occupation evidence from Highdown Hill and Hollingbury, however, appear to be rather different. Both have substantial earthworks, round 'houses', metalwork hoards, fine-ware pottery and other occupation debris. These sites perhaps herald the Middle Iron Age pattern of the association of 'domestic evidence' with prominent enclosures which encircle distinct, 'landmark' hills.

Collectively, these various Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age enclosures suggest a predominant interest in locations which facilitate survey and access to surrounding landscapes and sites, with an emphasis not generally on full-time occupation but rather on intermittent use. They cannot, therefore, be seen as 'central places', but rather as 'peripheral' locations, from which landscape use could be viewed and evaluated, and rituals occasionally enacted.

MIDDLE IRON AGE REGIONAL LANDMARK ENCLOSURES

DATING

Four hillforts dominate the Sussex Middle Iron Age: the Caburn (Plate 2), Cissbury, the Trundle, and Torberry (Fig. 3; Table 2). All of these sites have Middle

Iron Age saucepan pottery assemblages (Wilson 1939; Drewett & Hamilton 1996). The Caburn, the Trundle (Curwen 1931) and Torberry (Cunliffe 1976) additionally have Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pre-hillfort occupation (dated by pottery assemblages). Torberry was initially a promontory enclosure and has Early Iron Age pottery of c. 5th/4th century BC associated with this phase (Cunliffe 1976). The saucepan pottery at the Caburn and the Trundle comes predominantly from pits within the interior (often stratigraphically mixed with Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery). At the Trundle, saucepan pottery additionally comes from post-holes relating to a sequence of gateway changes (Curwen 1931, figs 6 & 7). Two of these post-holes have, however, produced fragments of Early Iron Age bowls (Curwen 1931, fig. 3), suggesting some activity relating to the enclosure prior to the Middle Iron Age. At the Caburn, the first hillfort rampart (the inner rampart) seals a turf line containing Early Iron Age 'Caburn I Ware' (Hawkes 1939) and Middle Iron Age saucepan pottery (c. 300–100 BC). It also includes saucepan pottery within its dump material (Hawkes 1939, 229) indicating that the first rampart was established during the Middle Iron Age. The establishment of Cissbury hillfort can be placed at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age on the basis of saucepan pottery from pits within its interior, and sherds of Early Iron Age 'La Tène I' pottery incorporated in the body of the original rampart (from pre-rampart activity?;

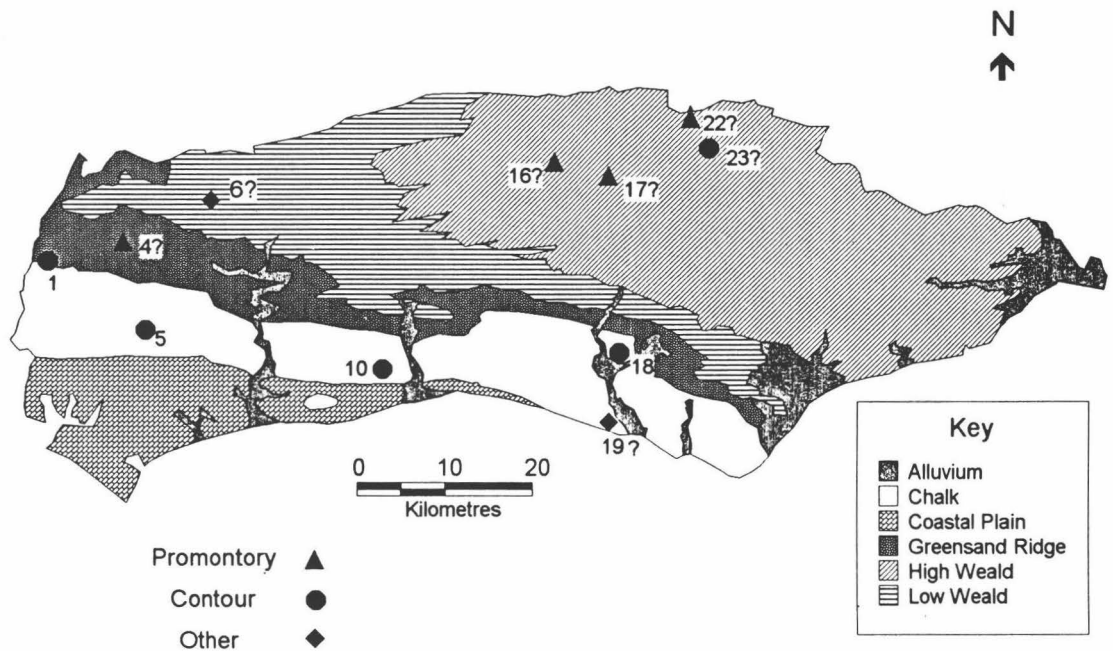


Fig. 3. Distribution of Middle Iron Age prominent enclosures ('hillforts') against the major landforms of Sussex.

Key to site names (? = dating insecure: no securely stratified MIA finds; see text):

1. Torberry	6. Piper's Copse?	17. Garden Hill?	22. High Rocks?
4. Hammer Wood?	10. Cissbury	18. Caburn	23. Saxonbury?
5. The Trundle	16. Philpots?	19. Castle Hill?, Newhaven	

Curwen & Ross Williamson 1931, 22). Torberry's reconstruction as a contour enclosure can be dated to the Middle Iron Age (perhaps the 3rd or 2nd centuries BC). A large collection of Middle Iron Age saucepan pottery comes from the abandoned entrance of the preceding promontory enclosure phase, and further modifications of the contour enclosure entrance are all associated with Middle Iron Age pottery (Cunliffe 1976).

Limited finds of saucepan pottery from some of the Wealden promontory forts suggest that some of these sites may have been established by the Middle Iron Age. If so, they seem to be associated with very low-level activity (see the Late Iron Age section below for further discussion). These sites do not yet evidence major activity until the Late Iron Age. The following discussion therefore focuses on the Middle Iron Age downland sites.

DESCRIPTION

The Caburn, Cissbury, the Trundle and Torberry are reasonably spaced out along the Downs, and at

significant altitudes (Fig. 3). Torberry is perhaps the most extreme position, distanced slightly from the main northern scarp of the Downs, but gaining in improved visibility lines to the east and west. The Trundle looks very much to the south across the West Sussex coastal plain, while the major perspective from Cissbury is also to the south. Caburn is uniquely sited on the southernmost tip of its own minor chalk landscape block, dominating the valley of the Ouse. None of these sites are intervisible with the unaided eye.

All four hillforts are contour 'forts', albeit that Torberry began life as a smaller promontory 'fort' and then was extended to become a true contour site. Although there have been only minor excavations of the ramparts, two sites (Caburn and Torberry) demonstrate the wall-and-fill technique, and it is highly likely that ramparts at the Trundle and Cissbury were also revetted in some way. But there are also some major dissimilarities. Firstly, 1st-millennium BC multivallation can only be demonstrated at Cissbury (at the Caburn the

'multivallate' effect of the north side of the enclosure postdates the Iron Age (Avery 1993). Secondly, there is the unique perimeter layout of the rampart at the Trundle. The plan clearly demonstrates that it must have been laid out in straight segments, probably nine in all, rather than the more usual circular or oval arrangement. There must be some significance to this layout, although much more excavation would be required to gather sufficient evidence for suggestions. Thirdly, there is a considerable difference in the internal areas of the sites, with Cissbury at 24 hectares completely overshadowing the more modest areas of the other three. Fourthly, the internal areas of these four sites do not totally lend themselves to settlement activities. Caburn has limited internal areas for putative occupation, being a prominently dome-shaped hill. The spaces sheltering behind the main northern rampart are the only obvious locations, whereas the southern interior is far too steep. At Torberry, the rampart on the north side lies well down the slope and indeed some of the interior is too inclined for settlement. Only at the Trundle and at Cissbury do the ramparts enclose areas that could potentially be fully used for occupation. Intra-site visibility is, however, quite restricted at the Trundle. Cissbury has the additional 'problem' of the areas occupied by the Neolithic flint mines. While a few of the backfilled shafts were overbuilt by the rampart builders (indeed as the Neolithic ditches were overbuilt at the Trundle), the rest were avoided during the Middle Iron Age use of the hillfort. A recent survey of the site detailed some 270 remaining backfilled shafts, and suggests that some were reclaimed for agricultural use in later Iron Age (Donachie & Field 1994, 31). On this basis *c.* 25 per cent of Cissbury's interior could only have been used as rough grazing during the Middle Iron Age. The entrances of all four sites are aligned in an arc from north-east to south-east. Two sites have additional entrances and these are both in the south-west.

Excavation at these four sites has been very limited (Table 2), and, apart from ongoing research excavations at the Caburn (Drewett & Hamilton 1996), not particularly recent. One of the most striking similarities is the presence of substantial pits at each site. Their primary use was probably as grain storage pits. The subsequent use of such pits for structured depositions has been isolated, by Hill (1995), for Wessex hillforts and settlements. The

wealth of finds (e.g. loomweights, latch-lifters, whetstones, iron slag, quern fragments) from especially the Trundle and Caburn, suggests the range of artefacts that could be anticipated if the sites had been intensively occupied. It is perhaps notable, however, that most of the finds from these two sites, have come almost exclusively from the contents of pits. We need to consider how the artefacts actually got into the pits before we can assume them to be direct reflections of occupation. The number (139 — mostly Iron Age, but some are Roman and possibly later: Drewett & Hamilton 1996) and content of the Caburn pits are quite extraordinary (Curwen & Curwen 1927, 47ff.). Curwen commented on the 'inverted stratigraphy' in some of the pits at the Trundle, and on the frequency of quern fragments — such that it might appear that their fracture was intentional (Curwen 1929, 63; 1931, 116; *see* Discussion below). Significant new information from the Trundle has come from a Royal Commission survey. Fourteen possible circular building platforms were identified, lending weight to the argument that this site was used intensively during the Middle Iron Age (RCHME 1995, 22–3). Similarities and differences can be provided by the apparently unenclosed but contemporary Middle Iron Age site at Lavant (near Chichester) excavated in 1993. Here at least 13 circular 'houses' were found in close proximity alongside four- and six-post structures; there were no pits, and the range and number of artefacts were both more impoverished than at the adjacent site of the Trundle (J. Magilton pers. comm.).

All of these sites seem to have gone out of use by the Late Iron Age. By that period the interior of Cissbury was turned over to what must have been a continuation of the farming landscape that had previously existed outside the perimeter (Donachie & Field 1994). The Trundle became deserted subsequent to an abandoned grandiose reorganization of the east entrance (Curwen 1931, 131). At Torberry a similarly massive east gate was destroyed by pulling up the huge timbers of the gate structure and throwing down the flanking wall to block the entrance roadway (Cunliffe 1976, 25). The Caburn too, is interpreted as going out of major use by *c.* 100 BC, with the later multivallation on its northern side being associated with Roman/immediately post-Roman, and Norman activity (on the basis of the pottery incorporated in its ramparts; Avery 1993).

DISCUSSION

The Middle Iron Age landscape of enclosure presents a very different picture. The number of enclosures is dramatically reduced. It has long been noted that they are well spaced, with one located centrally within each of the downland blocks defined by the north–south rivers of Sussex (the Cuckmere, Ouse, Adur, and Arun: Cunliffe 1991, fig. 14.27; Bedwin 1978b). This re-configuration has traditionally been seen as relating to the emergence of central-places which replaced socio-economic functions previously dispersed across several enclosures. Their morphology and topography, however, suggest a very different form of landscape articulation and use, one which may have more to do with the communities outside the enclosures rather than any communities inside. Each site encloses a distinct hill, and would have been dramatic local landmarks in their own right prior to enclosure. The Caburn and the Trundle in particular are striking, conical hills which can be seen from some distance. In each case the ramparts not only emphasize the hills by following their contours, but ‘inscribe’ and emphasize the hill shape by being placed downslope of the hilltops. From a distance, the ramparts therefore fail to obscure the activities of the hill interior, but instead provide a presentation of them. This feature argues against a primarily defensive role for the ramparts, and has been noted for other hillforts in southern Britain (Wilts.: Bowden & McOmish 1987; Hants.: J. D. Hill pers. comm.). In this vein, the elaborate entrance corridors associated with Torberry, the Trundle, and the Caburn may have been as much to do with the theatre of presentation and approach, than with ‘military’ tactics.

Undoubtedly, a greater intensity of activity took place on these sites than is apparent for the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age enclosures. The numerous pits at the Caburn and the Trundle in particular have produced large quantities of pottery, metalwork (ornaments, agricultural tools, and weapons: e.g. the broken sword from the Caburn), weaving equipment (spindlewhorls, loomweights, weaving combs), human jaw bones (the Caburn), dog bones and dog coprolites, and horse bones. It is odd, therefore, that actual house structures have not been identified from the enclosed phase of the Caburn. The pattern of deposition in these pits is undoubtedly skewed, not only in the selection of particular types of material rather than a complete range of domestic refuse, but also in the pattern of layering of deposits.

Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age artefactual material occurs in alternating layers in many of the Trundle pits, and pottery from both periods is mixed together in the Caburn pits. This suggests that the sites may have had a long history of ‘rubbish’ accumulation, and that ‘rubbish’ deposition may have been a separate and later activity. It is suggested that one of the functions of the enclosures was as regional ‘landmark sites’ where special activities took place, and that these activities might have included periodic symbolic deposition. Indeed, the shape of these ‘landmark’ hills, particularly in the case of the Caburn, would have made the co-ordination of commonplace domestic activities all but impossible. The convex nature of the enclosed area makes the maximal visual contact between points — either horizontally, or up- or down-slope, restricted to approximately 40 metres.

These sites seem therefore to have functioned differently to the majority of the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age enclosures; the Middle Iron Age sites were more about ‘looking-towards’ from the outside, rather than ‘looking-out’ from the inside. As such, they would have provided dramatically inscribed regional landmarks for scattered downland communities. In this context substantial ramparts would have been essential for viewing from a distance. A marked contrast between these enclosures and those of the preceding phase lies, with the exception of Torberry, in their more ‘central downland’ positions. The Middle Iron Age sites, again with the exception of Torberry, were hidden from the Weald. However, it cannot be ruled out that some of the enclosures from the preceding phase remained semi-dormant loci, maintaining landscape articulation between the Downs and the Weald.

LATE IRON AGE PROMONTORY FORTS

DATING

The general absence of Late Iron Age hillforts from the Downs suggests a dramatic change (Fig. 4). Devil’s Dyke is the only downland enclosure that might have been established during this period, but its dating as such is very weak. An unspecified amount of Late Iron Age pottery recovered from the interior of Devil’s Dyke (apparently associated with a circular structure; Burstow & Wilson 1936) provides its only dating evidence.

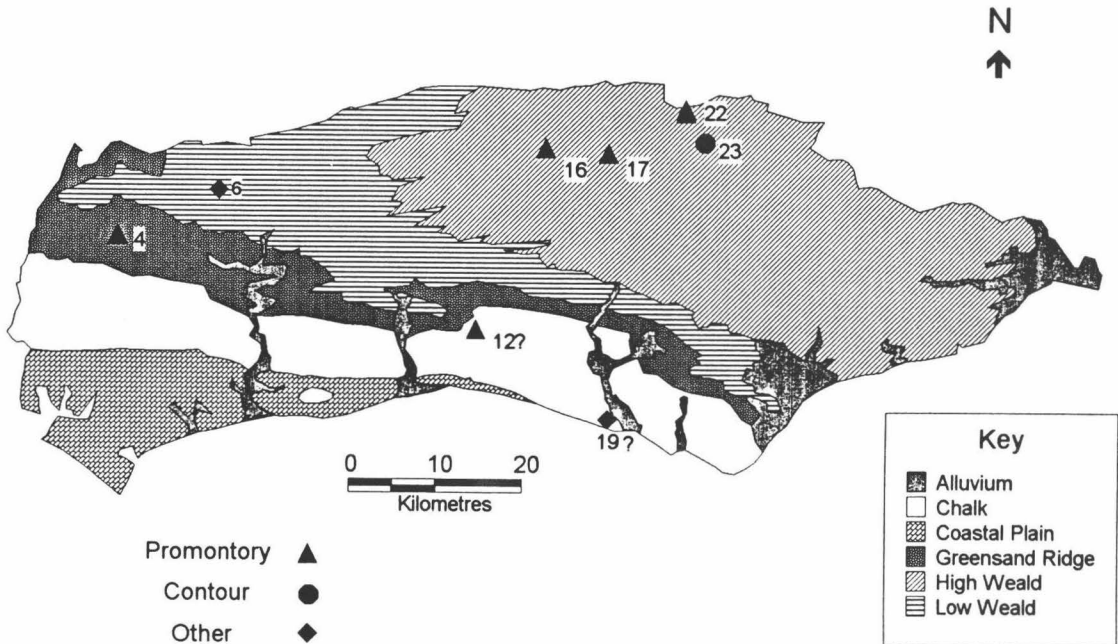


Fig. 4. Distribution of Late Iron Age prominent enclosures ('hillforts') against the major landforms of Sussex.

Key to site names (? = dating insecure; see text):

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| 4. Hammer Wood | 12. Devil's Dyke? | 17. Garden Hill | 22. High Rocks |
| 6. Piper's Cope | 16. Philpots | 19. Castle Hill?, Newhaven | 23. Saxonbury |

Instead, the focus of enclosure activity moves northwards to Weald where a cluster of promontory enclosures are functioning by the Late Iron Age. These include Philpots, Piper's Cope, and Hammer Wood, all of which are all somewhat barren of finds. Their dating is secured by their topographic and morphological comparisons with better-dated sites such as Garden Hill and High Rocks. Two sealed hearths situated between the two ramparts at Hammer Wood have produced Late Bronze Age pottery, and are interpreted as being earlier than the construction of the ramparts (Boyden 1958). A hearth situated just inside the rampart bank at Piper's Cope produced 'La Tène II/III' pottery in association with nodules of iron ore (Winbolt 1930, 246).

Garden Hill has no stratified evidence to date its Period I rampart. The Period II rampart produced Early Iron Age sherds and Middle Iron Age saucepan pottery from low down in its ditch silts, suggesting that the site might have been enclosed by the Middle Iron Age. The greater evidence, however, is for Late Iron Age and Romano-British activity (notably iron-making and iron-forging). A hearth and baking oven

dug into the Period II rampart provide mid-1st-century BC archaeomagnetic dates (Money 1980) and two circular structures have produced Late Iron Age pottery (Money 1977). At High Rocks one Late Bronze Age decorated rim and Early Iron Age pottery have been variously recovered from different parts of the old land surface sealed by the second (inner) rampart (Money 1968, 187, fig. 16:1,2). Middle Iron Age saucepan pottery has also been recovered from the interior. Again, it is possible that the Early Iron Age/Middle Iron Age activity on the site may be concurrent with the construction of the first rampart. The site was then re-fortified after an interval of abandonment (pollen evidence: Dimbleby 1968, 184). Pottery stratified in the Period II defences is scanty and residual, but unstratified Late Iron Age sherds (Eastern Atrebatian tradition (Cunliffe 1991), and wheel-thrown quartz-tempered wares) suggest a Late Iron Age dating (c. post 50 BC) for the second rampart. Lastly, the interior of Saxonbury has produced finds of iron-slag, Late Iron Age grog-tempered S-profile pottery, together with a coin of Vespasian or Titus (AD 69-81) and Roman pottery which collectively suggest a predominantly Late Iron

Age and later use of the site. No dating evidence has been recovered from the earthen rampart or for the preceding oval dry stone wall enclosure phase (Winbolt 1930, 228).

DESCRIPTION

In the century and a half before the Roman Conquest the Downs, bar one possible exception, were devoid of hillfort-based activity. Suddenly, or so it would seem, the site type is transplanted into an alien world, the Weald. Indeed, for the present day visitor, the Wealden examples have completely different resonances. Gone are anticipatory views of hillforts seen from a distance; gone are the long walks upwards towards landmark sites ringed by ramparts. Instead these sites are hidden by present-day woodland, and not stumbled upon casually. As a result some of them are quite recent 'discoveries' (cf. Garden Hill and Piper's Copse).

Five of the seven sites that make up this group can be classified as promontory 'forts'. The only downland example that might find a place in this phase is the fort at Devil's Dyke, right on the northern scarp of the chalk. Rocky outcrops form the sides and ends of the promontories on which were constructed High Rocks and Philpots. Piper's Copse, while oval in shape, is situated on fairly flat ground overlooking a small stream to its west. Saxonbury is the only real example of a contour 'fort'.

The ramparts of these sites are often not inconsiderable. The banks and ditches which run across the necks of the promontory enclosures are invariably either larger or the only banks and ditches on the sites. The bank that cuts off the neck of the promontory at Devil's Dyke, for example, is substantial and much larger than the banks that surround the other sides of the promontory. The latter are so far down the slope of the hill as to suggest that they could not have operated in any real defensive capacity. Hammer Wood has multiple lines of banks and ditches, with a curiously offset entrance. The single bank around Piper's Copse survives well, while excavation has demonstrated the multivallation around the impressive entrance to High Rocks (Money 1968, 179).

Six of the seven sites ascribed to this phase have entrances aligned in an arc from north-east to south-east (the one exception is Devil's Dyke). The ground plan of Hammer Wood is particularly informative. Here an obvious entrance position, aligned near to true north, was eschewed for a deliberate entrance

alignment focusing on the north-east, even though such an alignment causes an unorthodox position for the main gate.

The internal areas of these sites varies considerably, ranging from the 15 hectares of Devil's Dyke to the very small Piper's Copse. There is no obvious conclusion to be drawn from area comparisons, except to observe that internal area does not equal area for potential occupation, as the very steep contours within Devil's Dyke illustrate. Exploratory excavation to establish dating has only been undertaken at two sites, Garden Hill and Saxonbury. Undoubtedly, excavations at the former, conducted in the 1970s, have been the more productive (Money 1977). At least two circular timber structures were located, apparently associated with traces of ironworking. That activity continued into the Roman period with the construction of a bathhouse and rectangular timber buildings inside the ramparts. Whether the occupancy was continuous or interrupted cannot be ascertained. Earlier excavations at Saxonbury revealed an oval-shaped enclosure with defining walls of stone underneath, but not aligned with, the principal rampart (Winbolt 1930, 222). There are no parallels for such a feature from any of the other Sussex enclosures. Internal structures, therefore, are known from three sites. Ironworking debris is a consistent discovery in the Wealden forts (e.g. Piper's Copse, Garden Hill, Saxonbury), while Roman material is also reasonably common (e.g. Garden Hill, Piper's Copse, Saxonbury, and High Rocks).

The Wealden enclosures are located at various heights. The obvious elevations of Saxonbury give it some command of the lower ground in that part of the Weald. The pollen evidence from High Rocks places the hillfort in an area already used for arable agriculture (Dimbleby 1968; Gardiner 1990; Money 1980) and it is important to consider how these sites might have functioned in at least partially cleared landscapes. Philpots in particular is at an elevation and position that (apart from the present-day trees) would have allowed wide views into and across the valleys to its west and east, as well as over the comparatively level country towards the north. However, intervisibility between the Wealden sites cannot (either in terms of topography or any woodland cover) have been a significant factor in determining their location, and they would have been inconsistently visible from a distance.

DISCUSSION

The Sussex Late Iron Age enclosures form a distinct grouping. Although they are ill-understood in terms of the range of activities which are/are not taking place on them, there is a general consensus that they relate to the increasing exploitation of the iron ore deposits of the Weald during the Late Iron Age. The evidence for both the smelting and forging of iron at Garden Hill in particular would be in line with this interpretation. While a few of the sites (e.g. Saxonbury) may have had long-distance views, the locations do not generally facilitate visual articulation between enclosures, suggesting a more fragmentary 'view' of space and place than in preceding periods.

UNDATED SITES

Three sites cannot be assigned definitively to any of these three chronological phases. Hastings Castle and East Hill (Hastings) are promontory enclosures overlooking the sea within a kilometre of each other. East Hill is the larger of the two, and has a characteristically bigger earthwork cutting off the neck of the promontory. The full extent of the promontory enclosure underlying, and extending to the north beyond Hastings Castle is not known. The earthwork that once delimited the enclosure on Castle Hill, Newhaven, no longer survives, partly destroyed by the 19th-century fort overlooking the entrance to the river Ouse. Estimates of its original length suggest an earthwork of over 400 metres, and it is possible that the site resembled Belle Tout. Pottery collected from the location during the 1930s spans the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age through to the early Roman period (Field 1939). On this basis it appears, albeit tentatively, on each of the three phase maps (Figs 2, 3 & 4).

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has demonstrated that there is a clear locational shift over three time periods for the group of sites in Sussex that are conventionally labelled 'hillforts'. In itself, as others have indicated, there is an inescapable poverty in a terminology that calls the feeble enclosure of Harrow Hill and the great footprint-shaped contours of Cissbury both by the same name. This locational shift has been perceived before and can be traced through the works of Curwen (1939) and Cunliffe (1984), although the current paper perhaps illustrates it most graphically

for Sussex. It must be remembered that the assignation of a particular site to a definite phase is sometimes achieved using restricted evidence from very small excavations. It cannot be ruled out that some of these sites could 'belong' in more than one of the phases outlined here.

The locations of the larger and earliest group of downland enclosures notably permit the accessing of non-chalk landscapes and resources — both in terms of visibility and in terms of physical proximity. It is hard to believe, therefore, that the location of sites such as Harting Beacon, or Chanctonbury Ring, relates simply to their use as stock-enclosures.

Initially, it does seem, from the limited data at our disposal, that the idea of a 'developed hillfort' (such as Danebury, Hants.) would find most favour in the four downland sites that can be assigned to the Middle Iron Age. The evidence of actual occupation at these sites is, however, not secure. It is instead suggested that they provided prominent, enclosed 'central landmarks' for surrounding scattered communities. Their enclosures, although substantial, are not particularly effectively positioned to provide 'defence'. In the cases of the Trundle and the Caburn, the earthworks appear to be 'inscribing' sites with included substantial storage facilities (pits) which subsequently became foci for 'patterned deposition'.

The hillforts of the Downs lack material evidence of Late Iron Age use. Concurrently the enclosure activity shifts to the Weald. Rather than adhering to an articulated strategy of landscape placement, these Wealden sites appear placed primarily to utilize local deposits of iron.

The great variability of the Sussex enclosures defies single-function explanations. Their placement into a tripartite chronological grouping does, however, serve to emphasize that the sites, irrespective of their variability within these phases, were functioning in the landscape in essentially different ways during the three periods isolated. This makes it inappropriate to 'explain' the sites in terms of continuums of development, such as increasing socio-economic centralization and developing hierarchies. Each of our 'phases' seems instead to point to unique and specific resolutions of landscape use and the placement of communities within the landscape. It is clear, for each phase, that we need to document and locate the contemporary sites outside the enclosures, as much as to initiate further work within the interiors of the enclosures.

It is also noteworthy that there is a persistence

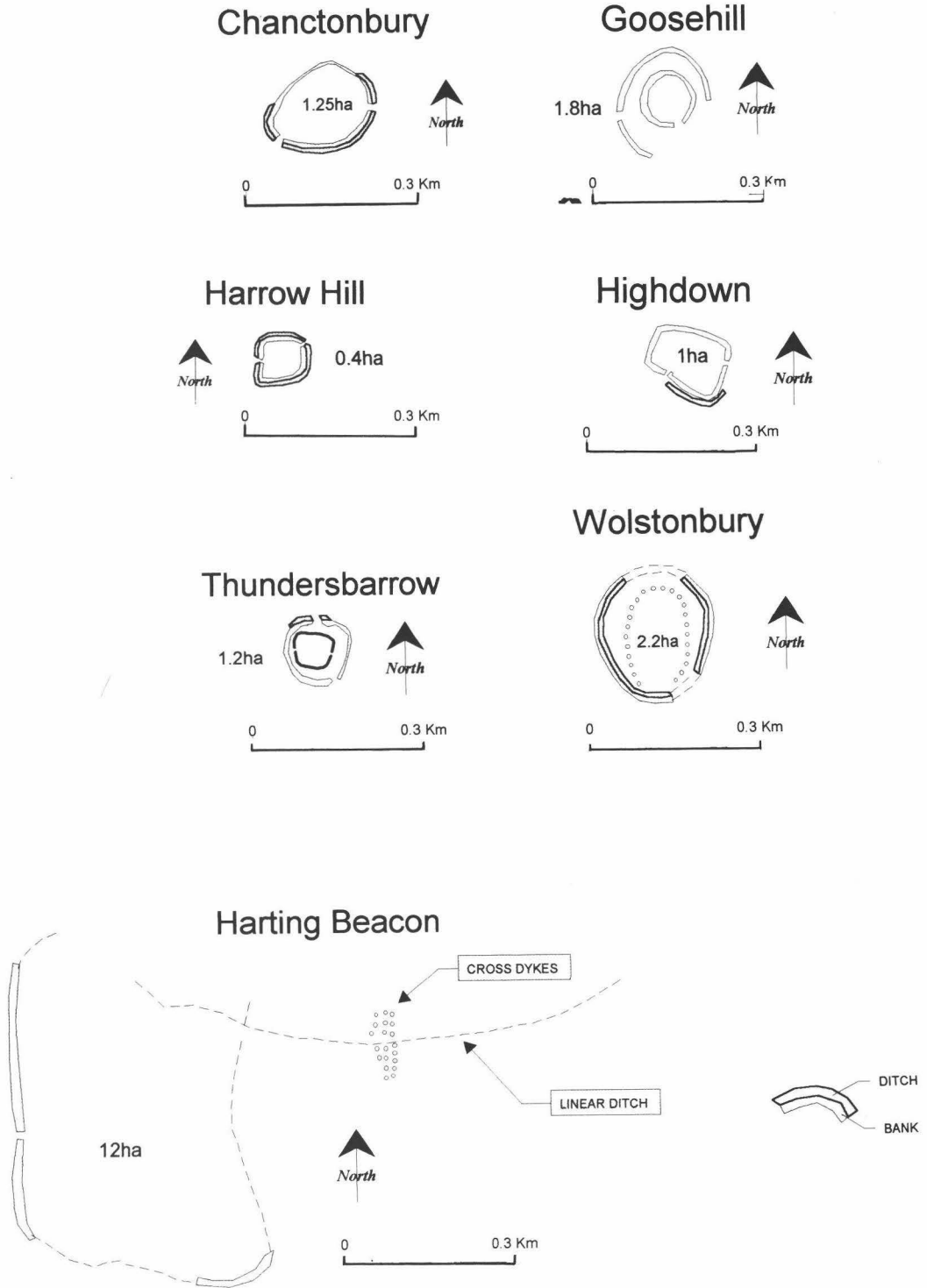


Fig. 5. Schematic plans of some hillforts.

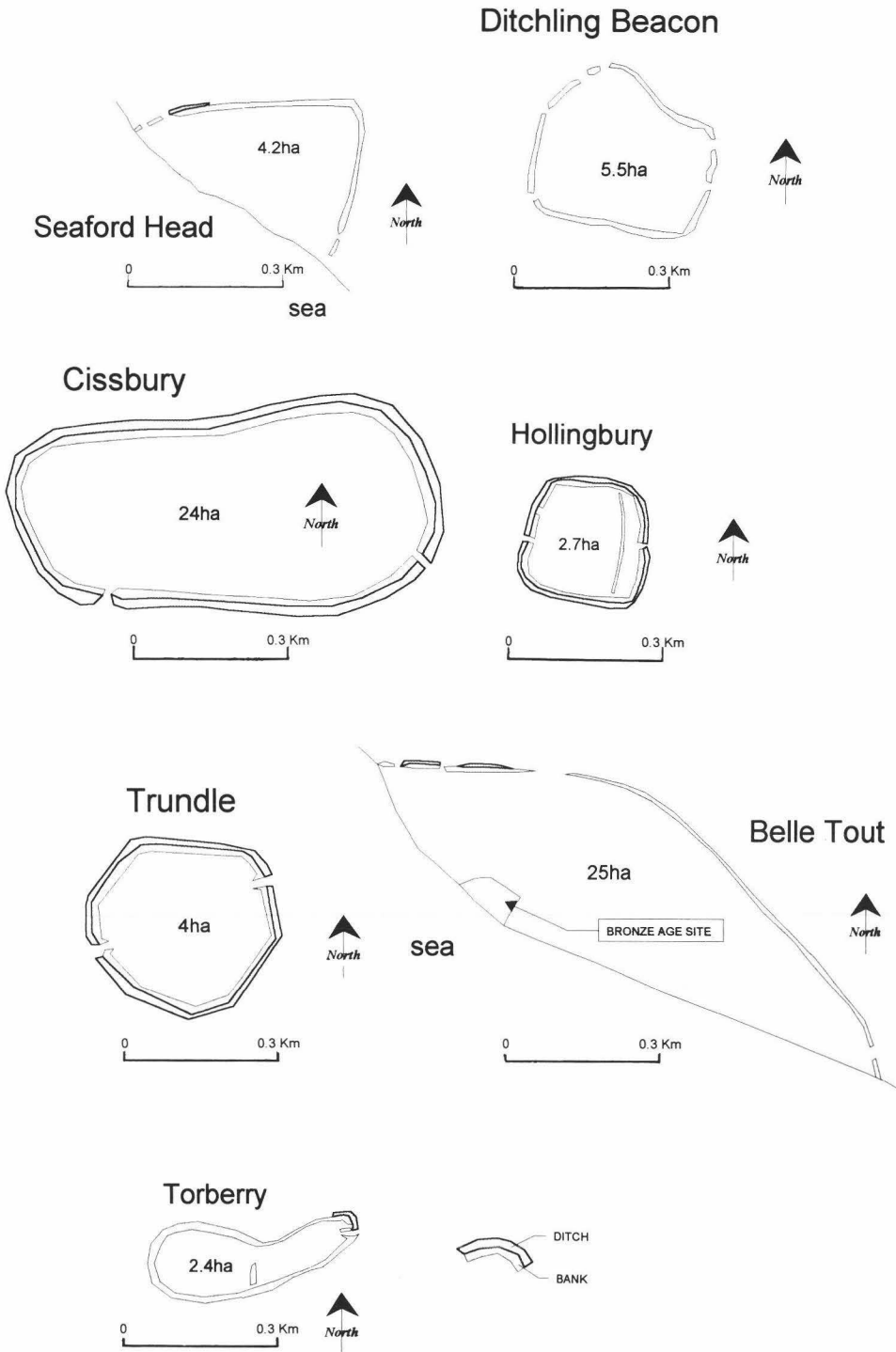


Fig. 6. Schematic plans of some hillforts.

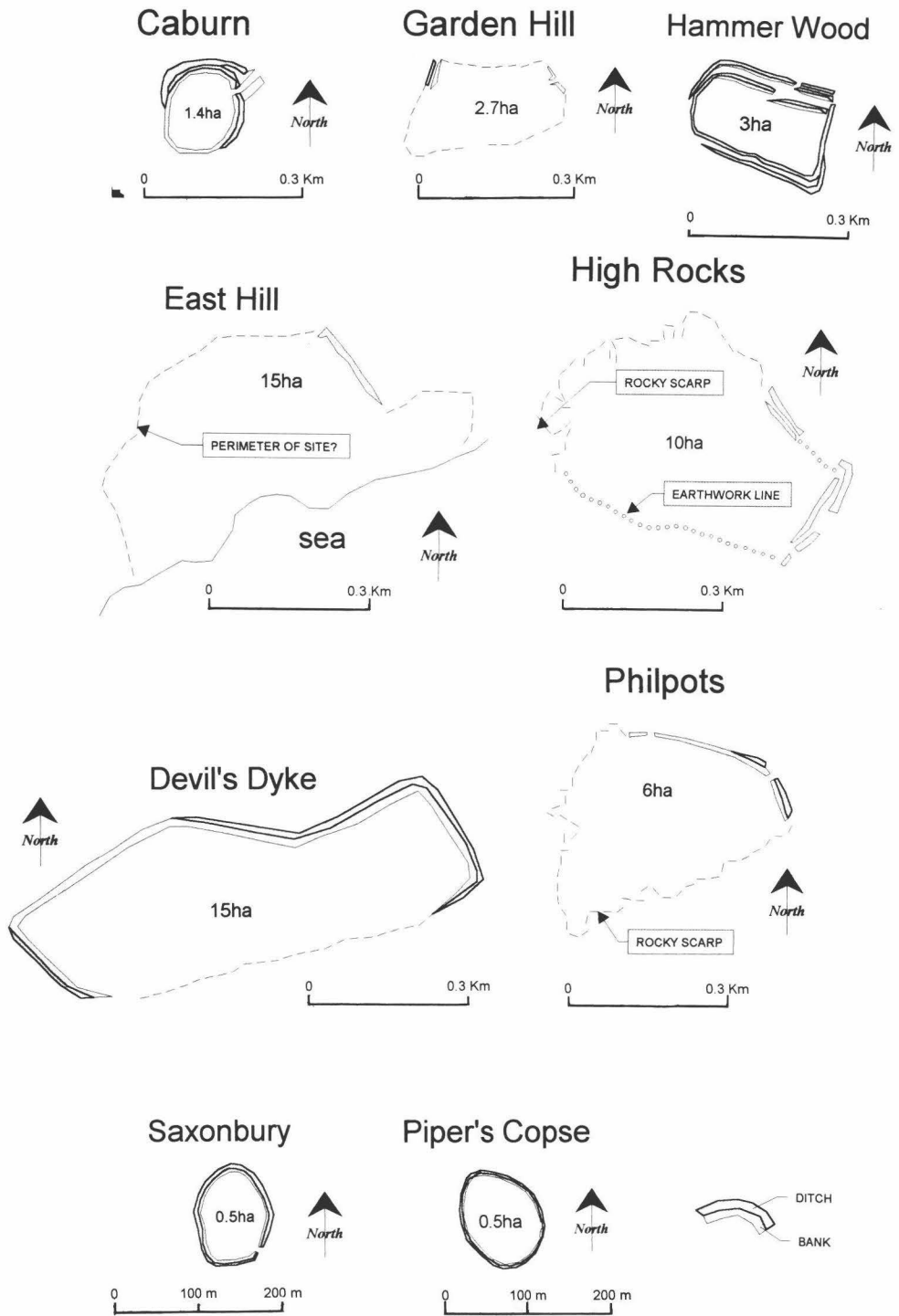


Fig. 7. Schematic plans of some hillforts.

of favoured entrance alignments in the prominent enclosures of the three phases, in spite of topography. This regularity of orientation has been documented for round 'houses', non-'hillfort' enclosures and 'hillforts' proper in southern England (Hill 1996, 108–10). Such an enduring tradition suggests that, despite changing functions and varying locations, there is an over-arching cosmological ordering shaping the layout of such sites, and no doubt other social variables, throughout the 1st millennium BC in Sussex.

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Postscript

The work which is presented in this article is a developed statement of that summarized in Manley and Hamilton (in press). The authors' work is ongoing, particularly with respect to inter- and intra-site visibility, and the extent to which the broad generalizations isolated for each phase of Sussex 1st-millennium BC prominent enclosures hold true with regard to the phasing and topographic placement of hillforts of Kent and Surrey. This continued research will be the subject of a future article.

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Excavations at Rocky Clump, Stanmer Park, Brighton, 1951–1981

by Oliver J. Gilkes

Excavations were carried out at Rocky Clump over a number of years on behalf of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society. Work in the wooded interior of the Clump revealed an interesting sequence stretching from Romano-British occupation to activity possibly connected with the laying out of the Park in the 18th century. Of particular interest were a substantial Roman timber structure and an overlying early–mid-Saxon cemetery.

INTRODUCTION

The south-western periphery of the Stanmer Park Estate is delimited by the thick belt of Stanmer Great Wood. Within the park are a series of plantations and between 1951 and 1981 excavations were carried out within the small wooded area known as Rocky Clump (Fig. 1 inset, Fig. 2). The project was organized by a group of members of the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society, the late C. W. Yeates, the late W. Gorton and K. Goodchild. The excavations had the support of the society. With the assistance of numerous helpers this team worked at weekends for almost 20 years at Rocky Clump and other sites in the Stanmer–Coldean area. In the early 1980s a further campaign of excavation was undertaken by C. F. Skeggs with the co-operation of the original excavators.

The name of Rocky Clump is derived from a number of large, partially buried Sarsen stones, probably glacial erratics, lying amongst the trees (J. Cooper pers. comm.). An area within the Clump was completely cleared and a number of exploratory trenches were dug in the surrounding fields. The site was well recorded and although some of the documentation is no longer extant, the finds were sufficiently clearly marked to permit their assignment to particular horizons and features. For the purposes of this report each identifiable archaeological horizon was provided with a context number and this sequence is utilized in the report below. A series of brief annual reports was published by the Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society (Gorton & Yeates 1952–58; 1961; Skeggs 1981).

THE EXCAVATIONS

The site lies on an east-facing spur (TQ 328 101) overlooking Stanmer village (Fig. 1 inset). The geology of the locality is Upper Chalk with a covering of Clay-with-Flints still surviving in some areas. A number of solution holes were discovered during the course of excavation. The Sarsen stones within the Clump are also tertiary deposits and probably account for the creation of the Clump in the 18th century: the large protruding rocks must have interfered with ploughing. Given the effort required to remove them — they each seem to weigh several tons — turning the area over to woodland was probably an acceptable alternative (Fig. 2). The Stanmer parish boundary runs east–west through the Clump, and is still visible as a slight earthwork in the field to the west.

PERIOD 1: ROMANO-BRITISH

Phase 1

The earliest utilization of the site is attributable to this period. A number of features were cut into the chalk bedrock. Most of these contained no finds and as some of the records relating to them are now missing, it is no longer possible to confirm that these features, with the exception of post-hole 34, are of Romano-British date. Here, only features for which records survive will be considered. Dimensions are given where these are known.

Feature 5 (Figs 1 & 3A)

This feature was a large irregular depression 3.60 m long by 3.30 m wide and 0.60 m deep. It may have been a small quarry hole, later refilled with domestic refuse which included a quantity of iron objects and

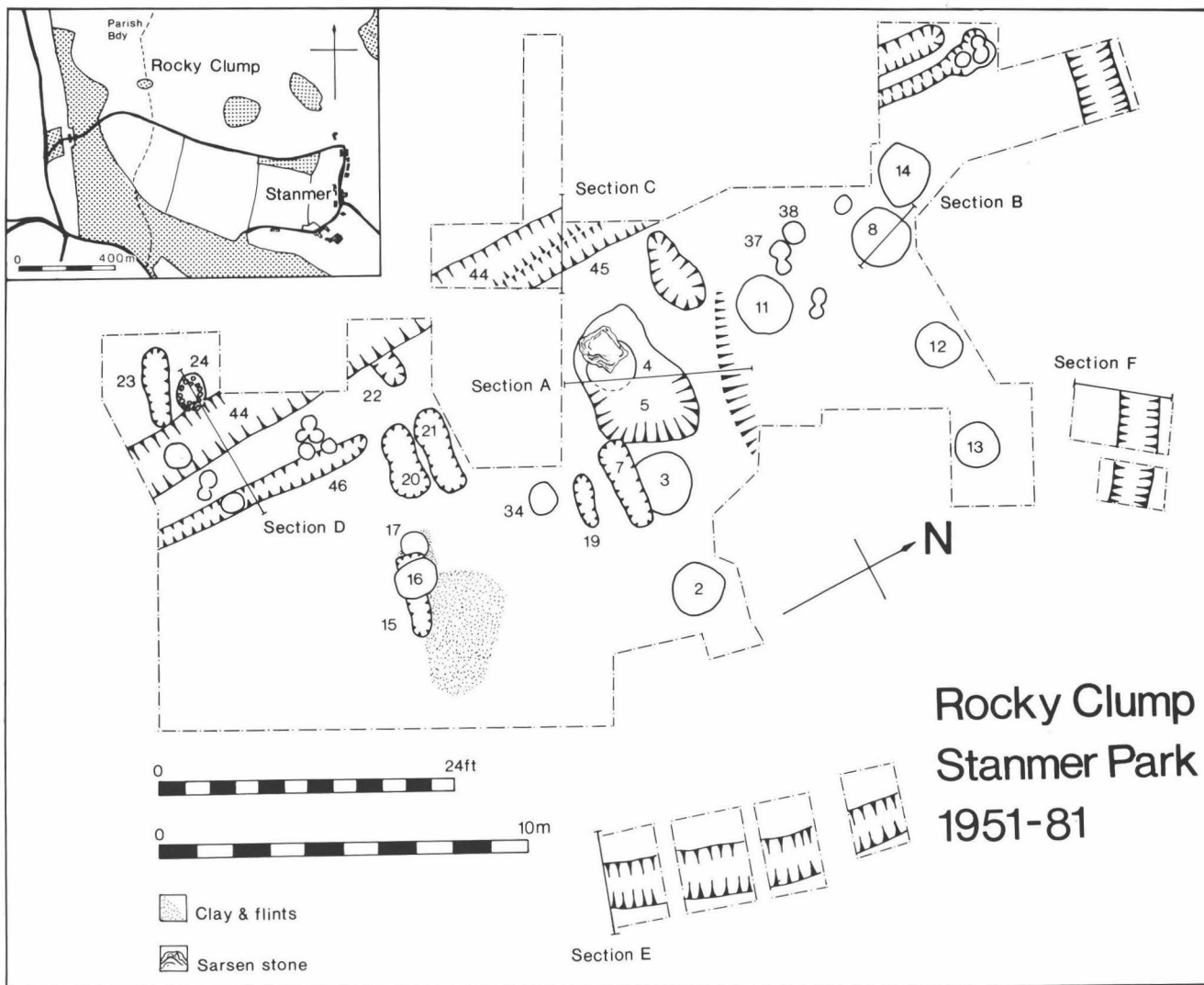


Fig. 1. Plan of excavations at Rocky Clump.

pottery. A single sherd of grog-tempered pottery had a lattice decoration possibly attributable to the 1st or 2nd centuries AD.

Feature 34 (Fig. 1)

This was a single post-hole, 0.81 m deep and of unknown diameter. The only diagnostic find was a fragment of pottery possibly of the 2nd century.

Phase 2

Features 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 13 & 14
(Figs 1, 2 & 3)

With the exception of feature 14, this group of post-holes are at least 1 m in diameter and 0.70 m in depth. These features are, perhaps, best considered as a group as they appear to form the northern end of a substantial timber structure whose posts were some 300 mm in diameter. Finds from features 2, 3, 4 and 8 have a date range of c. AD 150–220. Features 11, 12, 13 and 14 produced no finds. Post-pipes

were observed in all the features and that in feature 14, which lies outside the area of the other seven, was inclined towards feature 8. This post-hole was also unusual in being considerably shallower than the others of the group.

The nature of the structure represented by these features is not clear, although to judge from the size



Fig. 2. Excavations at Rocky Clump, general view east.

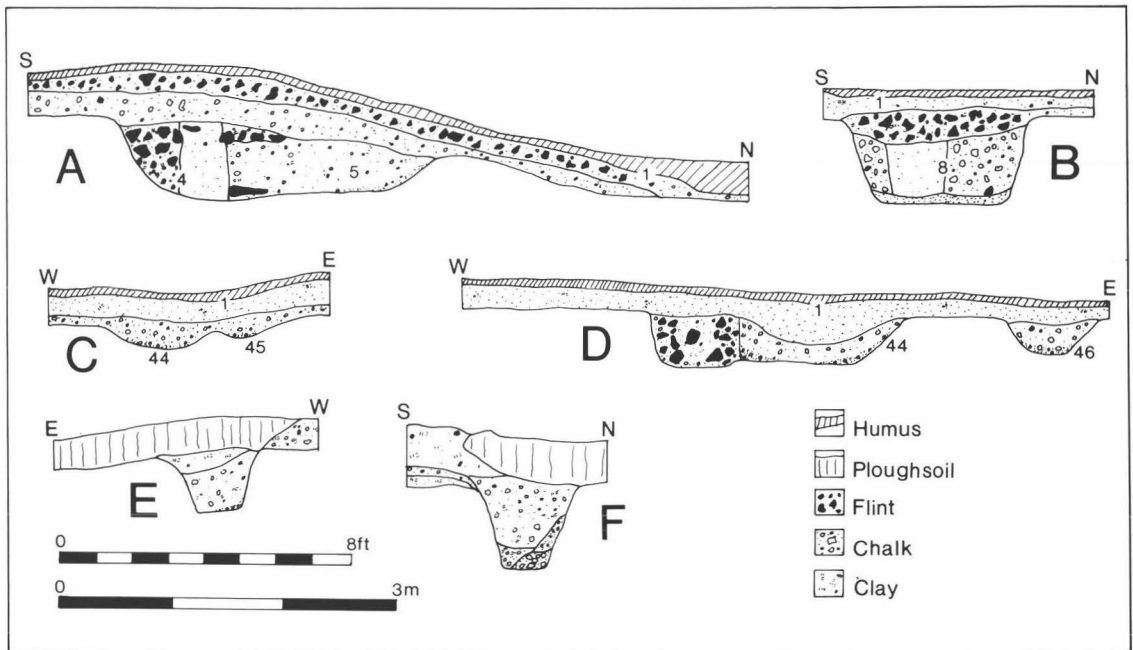


Fig. 3. Excavations at Rocky Clump, sections.

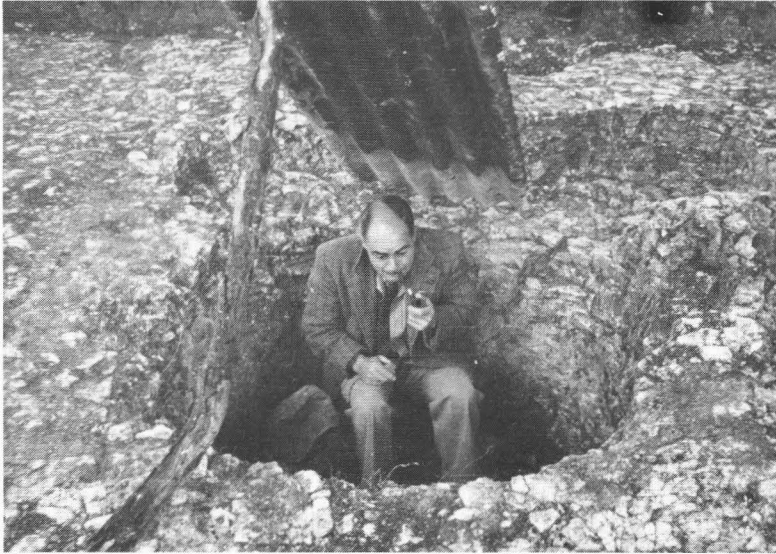


Fig. 4. Feature 3.



Fig. 5. Grave 7.

of the post-holes it was obviously substantial (Fig. 4) The original excavators suggested that the building may have been of square form and very tall. A Romano-Celtic shrine, of timber and thatch construction, was proposed (Gorton & Yeates 1988). However, there is little corroborating evidence from the site for a 'ritual' function, apart from the possibly fortuitous positioning of a Saxon cemetery in period 2 and the place-name evidence (see discussion below). Given the lack of structural evidence for the eastern side and other details, it is unsafe to speculate. The building may just as equally

have had an agricultural or domestic function.

Feature 6 (not shown on plan)

To the east of the main site and some metres outside the encircling ditch, trial trenching revealed a rubbish pit and a shallow depression interpreted as a hut floor by the excavators. Unfortunately, the exact position of this feature is no longer known and some confusion exists over the provenance of the finds. However, the pit was sealed by context 7, a horizon of dark loamy soil. The 'hut floor' possibly an occupation surface, can be given a *terminus post quem* of AD 260–285 by coins found within its make-up. The pit itself contained domestic refuse, oyster shells, animal bones and ceramics of early-3rd-century date.

A further 'hut floor' was found to the east of feature 6. No finds appear to have survived from this and a sketch section surviving amongst the documentation (now in the possession of John Funnell) appears to show a natural solifluction hole filled with clay, flints and Sarsen fragments.

The end of period 1 occupation at Rocky Clump cannot be assigned with any accuracy. None of the features produced finds datable to beyond the later 3rd century. A single sherd of Fulford's (1975) New Forest Ware fabric 1b from the topsoil, context 1, does suggest continued activity as late as the end of the 3rd century. However, this was an isolated find and may suggest nothing more than casual utilization.

PERIOD 2: POST-ROMAN/ANGLO-SAXON (Fig. 1)

The first post-Roman activity identified at Rocky Clump was a small cemetery which lay to the south of the site of the Roman timber structure. Trial trenching to the north, south and east did not reveal any further graves and the limits of the cemetery may have been reached in these areas. A total of seven graves were excavated (features 7, 15, 19–23). All the burials examined were oriented with heads west, and in graves 7 (Fig. 5) and 23 the left forearm was crossed over the lower torso. The only find was a small iron knife from the fill of grave 15. Human remains from three graves: 7, 19 and 23, were examined and are reported on below.

There is a lack of dating evidence from these graves, although some of them cut period 1 Roman features indicating a late or post-Roman date. Martin Welch has included the group within his corpus of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Welch 1983: 431, no. 54), although he lists no dating evidence. The single find recovered, the iron knife from the fill of grave 15, is of Anglo-Saxon type, Evison's (1987) type 2, with a possible date range of c. 450–700. Finally, while far from conclusive, the general lack of grave goods and the east–west orientation might suggest a Christian ritual pointing more towards the mid-Saxon period than the early. Graves 22 and 23 had been disturbed by the later agricultural activity on the site indicating that the cemetery had been abandoned for some time when this commenced.

PERIOD 3: MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL (Fig. 1)

A period of agricultural utilization followed the abandonment of the cemetery. At the northern end of the site ploughing appeared to have cut into the chalk bedrock. A single sherd of 14th-century green-glazed pottery was found in the topsoil in this area.

On the western edge of the site a series of ditches or gullies was excavated. Feature 44 was a shallow north–south ditch c. 1 m wide and 250–300 mm deep which truncated graves 22 and 23; the terminal of the ditch was seen within the excavation (Fig. 1).

Feature 44 had been recut by the ditch 45 which was even less substantial than its predecessor, being only 500 mm in width and 150 mm or less in depth (Fig. 3). The ditch terminated in a series of post-holes. A further shallow ditch, 46, was found to the east of the other features (Fig. 2). This was much shorter than ditches 44 and 45 and its relationship with these is uncertain. Nothing was found in any of these features. The whole system probably

represents a series of slight field boundaries or fence lines associated with gateways.

The original excavators (Gorton & Yeates 1988, 6) connected these ditches with the boundaries of the Saxon estate of Stanmer granted in c. 765 by King Aldwulf of the South Saxons (Sawyer 1968). The parish boundary, which seems to follow the limits of the estate, runs through the Clump on the same north–south alignment as features 44–6, and seems to be visible as an earthwork in the field to the south. However, features 44–6 have no demonstrable relationship with the parish boundary and may be much later. Possibly these features represent the subdivisions of the virgates of the West Laine field of Old Stanmer village (Warne 1989, 196).

PERIOD 4: 18TH–20TH CENTURIES

During the 18th century the area of Rocky Clump was planted with trees as part of the general landscaping of the Stanmer estate (Farrant 1979, 195–200; Warne 1989, 207). Features 16 and 24 may be associated with this process. These were both

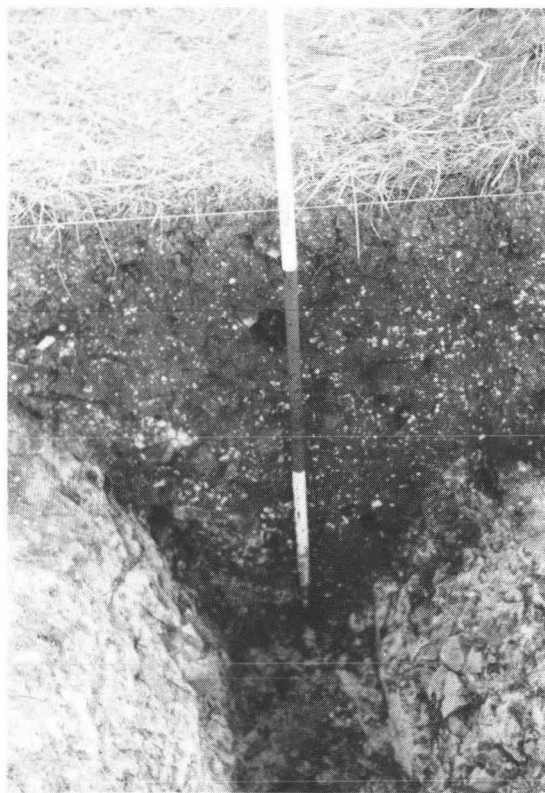


Fig. 6. Section of the ditch around Rocky Clump.

post-holes, the latter packed with chalk, which truncated earlier features including ditch 44 (Fig. 3D).

A further feature which probably belongs to this period is the elliptical ditch which runs round and through the present limits of the Clump. The course of the ditch is still traceable on the ground, and the remains of a hawthorn hedge are to be seen on its inner lip. Excavations carried out in 1981 revealed a 'v'-shaped feature with a flat bottom (Figs 1, 3 & 6).

Unfortunately, most of the finds have been lost, but the surviving material and notes on the work relate the presence of both Roman and medieval pottery in the ditch fill. The excavator (Skeggs 1981) suggested that the medieval pottery was intrusive

and that the ditch was Roman. However, the surrounding topsoil contains both Roman and later pottery; the finds in the ditch could well be redeposited.

All the features within the Clump were sealed by the topsoil, context 1. This consisted of several distinct elements including the latest humic deposition which covered the remaining traces of the original topsoil. This latter appears to have originally existed both in and outside Rocky Clump and was observed at various times during the excavation. However, the 1981 excavations on the encircling ditch revealed that recent ploughing had encroached on the Clump and destroyed parts of this horizon (Fig. 3E-F).

THE FINDS

COINS

Seven coins were found during the excavations. These were examined by Dr Roger Bland of the British Museum who made the following identifications.

Context 1

1. *Antoninianus* of Tetricus 1 (AD 271-274)
Obv: radiate head r. IMP C TETRICUS P.F. AVG
Rev. Spes standing l. SPES PVBLICA
Trier mint RIC 136

The 'hut floor' — the horizon of soil overlying feature 6

2. Illegible late Roman coin, probably a radiate issue or contemporary imitation c. AD 260-285.
3. Radiate copy of Tetricus 1. Minted in Gaul or Britain c. AD 271-285.
4. As for no. 3.
5. Radiate copy of c. AD 260-275. Minted in Gaul or Britain AD 271-285.
6. As for no. 5.

Feature 6

7. Illegible 2nd-century Sestertius of either Faustina II (AD 146-175) or Lucilla (AD 161-169).

OBJECTS OF IRON (Fig. 7)

Feature 5

1. A slightly tapering iron plate with two puncture holes for rivets at the wider end and a single hole on the shorter. Possibly part of a box fitting. Length 700 mm, width 44 mm.
2. Portion of an iron plate, possibly part of the same object as no. 1. Length 53 mm, width 44 mm.
3. Nail with a square head. Length 93 mm.
4. Small iron nail with a square head. Length 43 mm.
5. Small iron nail with a square head. Length 37 mm.
6. Small iron nail. Length 57 mm. Not illustrated.
7. Part of a broken iron nail. Length 57 mm. Not illustrated.
8. Iron hook. Length 55 mm.

Feature 2

9. A fragment of an iron plate. Length 48 mm, width 34 mm. Not illustrated.
10. A large square-headed nail with a square cross-section. Length 96 mm.

Feature 3

11. A blade of a sickle or bill hook. Most implements of this type were probably used for stripping wood, coppicing and laying hedgerows rather than for actual harvesting of crops. Length 92 mm.
12. Oval ring. Diameter 62 mm.

Feature 15

13. A small iron knife with a flat back and a curved cutting edge. Bar a few fragments of Roman ceramics from grave 7, this was the only artefact recovered from any of the graves and is consequently important for the dating of these features.

This knife can be related to Evison's typological sequence of such implements from the Buckland cemetery at Dover. Certainly this example conforms to type 2 which at Dover occurs in a chronological spread from phases 1 to 6 (Evison 1987, 113, 136-7) suggesting a wide date range for the knife from Rocky Clump of c. 450-700.

The finding of this knife in the fill of the grave, rather than in association with the skeleton, may also be significant. A similar phenomenon has been observed at Dover and elsewhere in Kent (Evison 1987, 18-19).

THE POTTERY

The excavations at Rocky Clump produced 10.721 kg of ceramics, a small but interesting assemblage worth studying in some detail. A macroscopic examination of each sherd produced a fabric series which was counted and weighed. The data are shown in Table 1 as sherd number: weight, by context and fabric group. The material chosen for illustration is listed in the catalogue.

Fabric groups

A. Sandy buff wares

Coarse wares in a hard, off-white/buff fabric with inclusions of coarse quartz sand and mica.

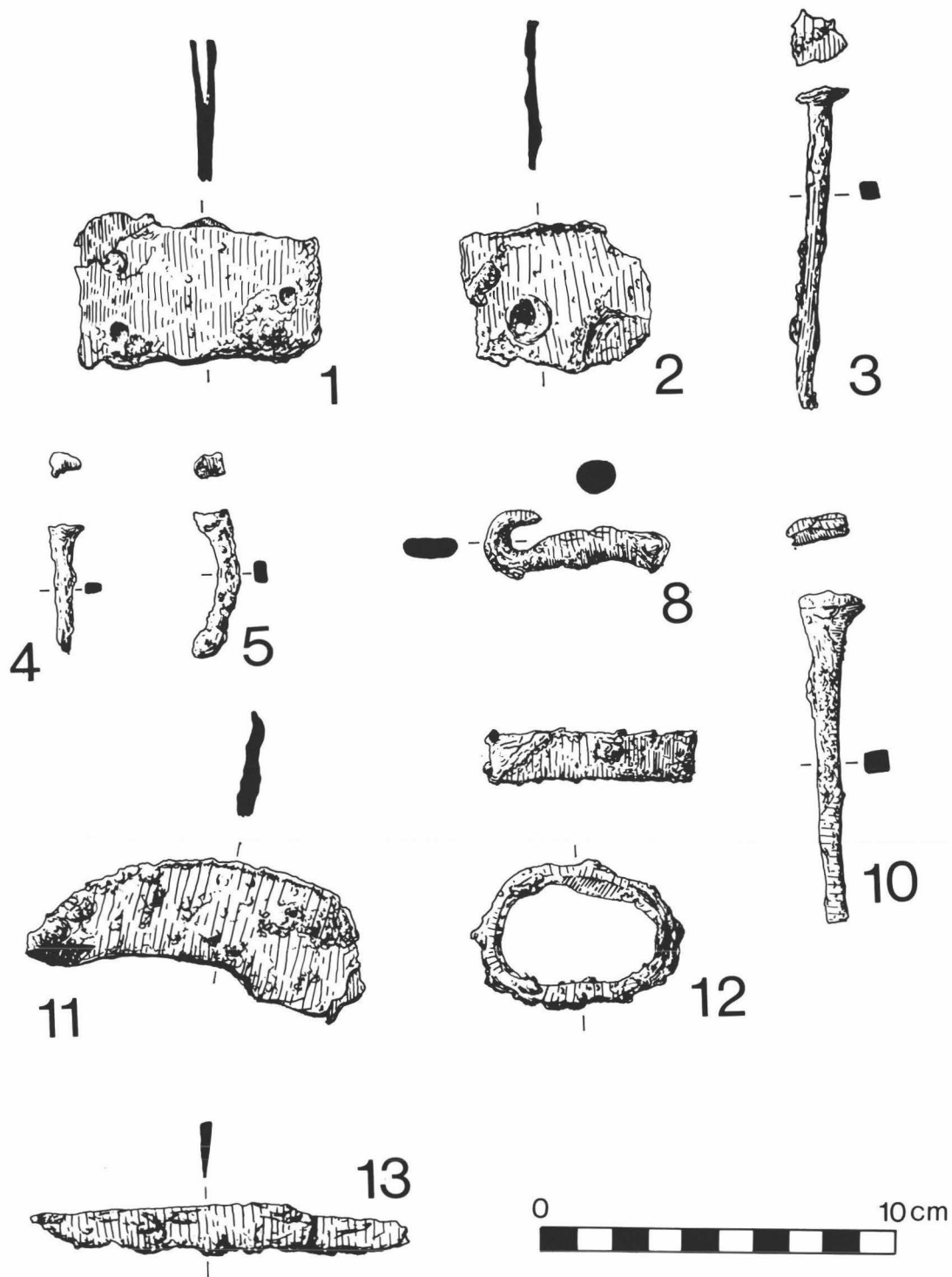


Fig. 7. Rocky Clump, objects of iron.

Table 1. Pottery (sherd count:weight) shown by fabric and context number.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	34	37/38
A	2:5	43:945	7:115	–	1:18	5:187	–	–	1:1	–	2:10
B	17:170	–	–	5:65	–	10:218	–	13:320	–	7:99	–
C	21:1673	16:286	5:114	10:112	11:220	29:968	–	–	3:3	–	–
D	86:893	29:815	28:258	9:95	18:277	32:570	5:76	1:20	1:46	5:132	4:61
E	1:10	–	–	1:1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F	–	–	–	–	–	1:250	–	–	–	–	–
G	2:10	–	–	–	–	1:260	–	1:10	–	–	–
H	–	–	–	–	–	1:10	–	–	–	–	–
I	–	–	–	1:20	–	1:150	–	–	–	–	–
J	1:40	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
K	1:15	–	1:60	1:22	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
L	–	–	–	3:50	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
M	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6:180	–	1:1	–
N	1:10	–	–	–	–	–	–	6:840	–	–	–

B. Oxidized sandy wares

Coarse wares in a hard, orange-red fabric with inclusions of quartz sand and mica.

C. Reduced sandy wares

Coarse wares in a hard grey fabric with inclusions of medium-fine quartz sand and occasionally other minerals. Some vessels have a grey or black colour coat.

D. Grog-tempered wares/East Sussex wares

Coarse wares with grog tempering. These ceramics have been studied by Green (1980) who has defined them as East Sussex wares. At Rocky Clump this fabric group is remarkably homogeneous, varying little in quantity of inclusions or in colour which tends towards orange-pink.

E. Green-glazed wares

A hard orange/pink fabric with incised lines and a light green glaze. 13th- to 14th-century fine wares.

F. Pink-buff wares

Fine, hard, pink-buff fabrics with inclusions of fine sand, iron-rich clay and mica.

G. Oxidized colour-coated wares

Fine, soft-hard fabrics orange-pink in colour with inclusions of fine quartz sand. The slip varies from dark red to orange in colour. Probably Oxford products, as defined by Young (1977), or imitations.

H. Fine, micaceous wares

Fine, very hard dark grey fabrics with substantial inclusions of mica and some fine sand.

I. Black colour-coated reduced ware

A fine, very hard grey fabric with infrequent inclusions of fine sand. A fine lustrous black colour coat covers the exterior surface. Probably a Rhenish product.

J. Fine, reduced colour-coated wares

New Forest Ware fabric 1a as defined by Fulford (1975).

K. Hard, oxidized colour-coated ware

New Forest Ware fabric 1b as defined by Fulford (1975).

L. Flint-tempered ware

Coarse wares with flint and grog tempering. Both reduced and oxidized versions are present and the fabric colour varies from grey to orange.

M. Chalk-tempered wares

Coarse wares in a hard grey/pink fabric with inclusions of chalk, some grog and quartz sand.

N. Amphora fabric

A hard, buff fabric with inclusions of sand, quartz fragments, chalk and a small quantity of shell. This fabric is represented in the Rocky Clump assemblage only by several sherds of a southern Spanish Dressel 20.

Catalogue of diagnostic and illustrated pottery

(Figs 8 & 9)

The Samian ware was identified and commented on by Dr A. C. King.

Context 1

Samian: East Gaulish Dr. 31, Central Gaulish Dr. 33, Dr. 31T.

Fabric group B

1. Body sherd with burnished chevrons.
2. Body sherd with smoothed surfaces and combed chevron decoration.
3. Large shallow bowl imitation Dr. 31, orange-red fabric.

Fabric group C

4. Large everted rim jar in a light grey fabric.
5. Lower body and base of a small beaker in a mid-grey fabric.

Fabric group D

6. Small jar in a red-brown fabric.
7. Deep bowl in a brown fabric.
8. Shallow dish in a red-brown fabric.
9. Body sherd with combed chevron decoration in a red-brown fabric.

Fabric group J

10. Base of a beaker in Fulford's (1975) New Forest Ware fabric 1b, with a purple slip.

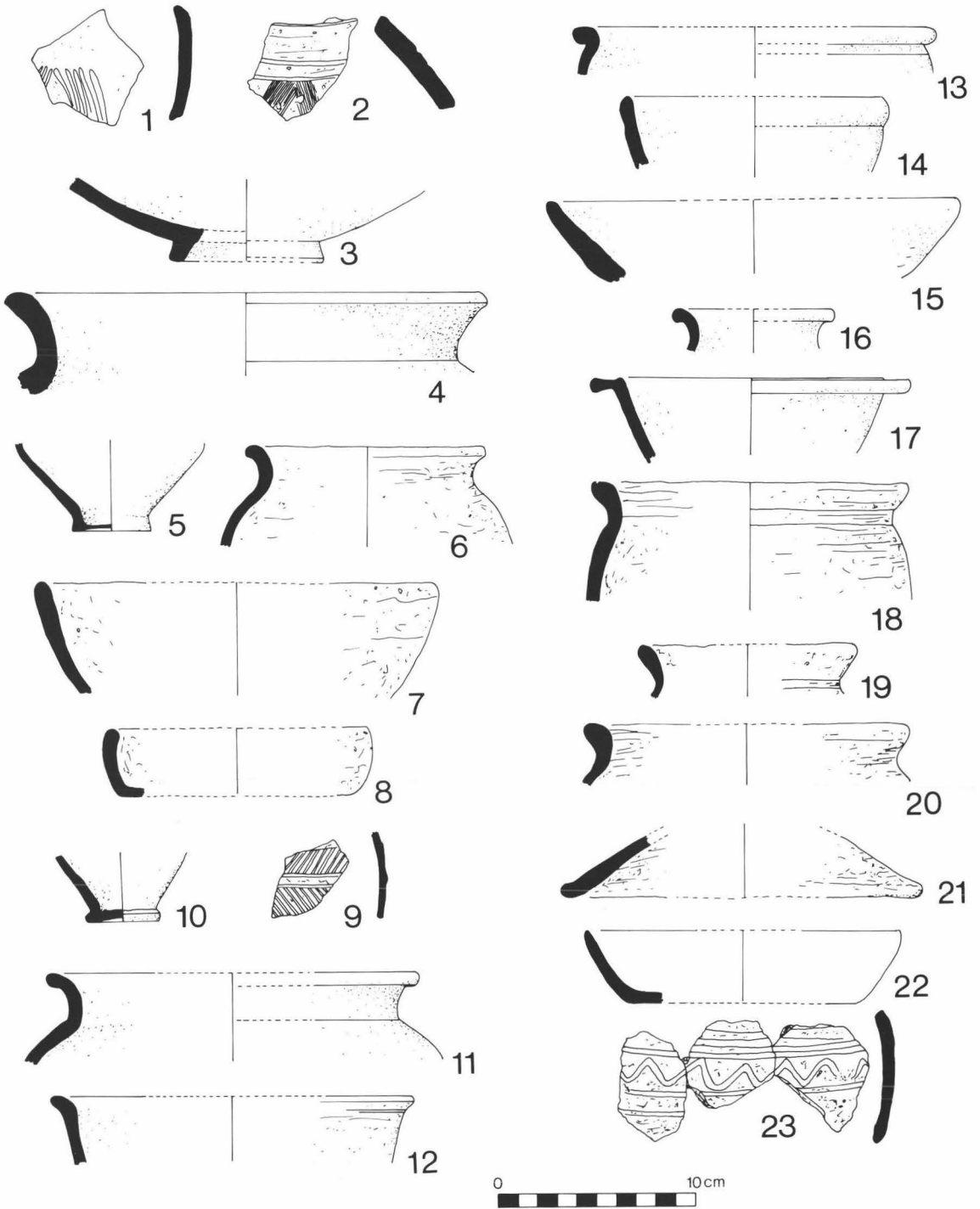


Fig. 8. Rocky Clump, pottery.

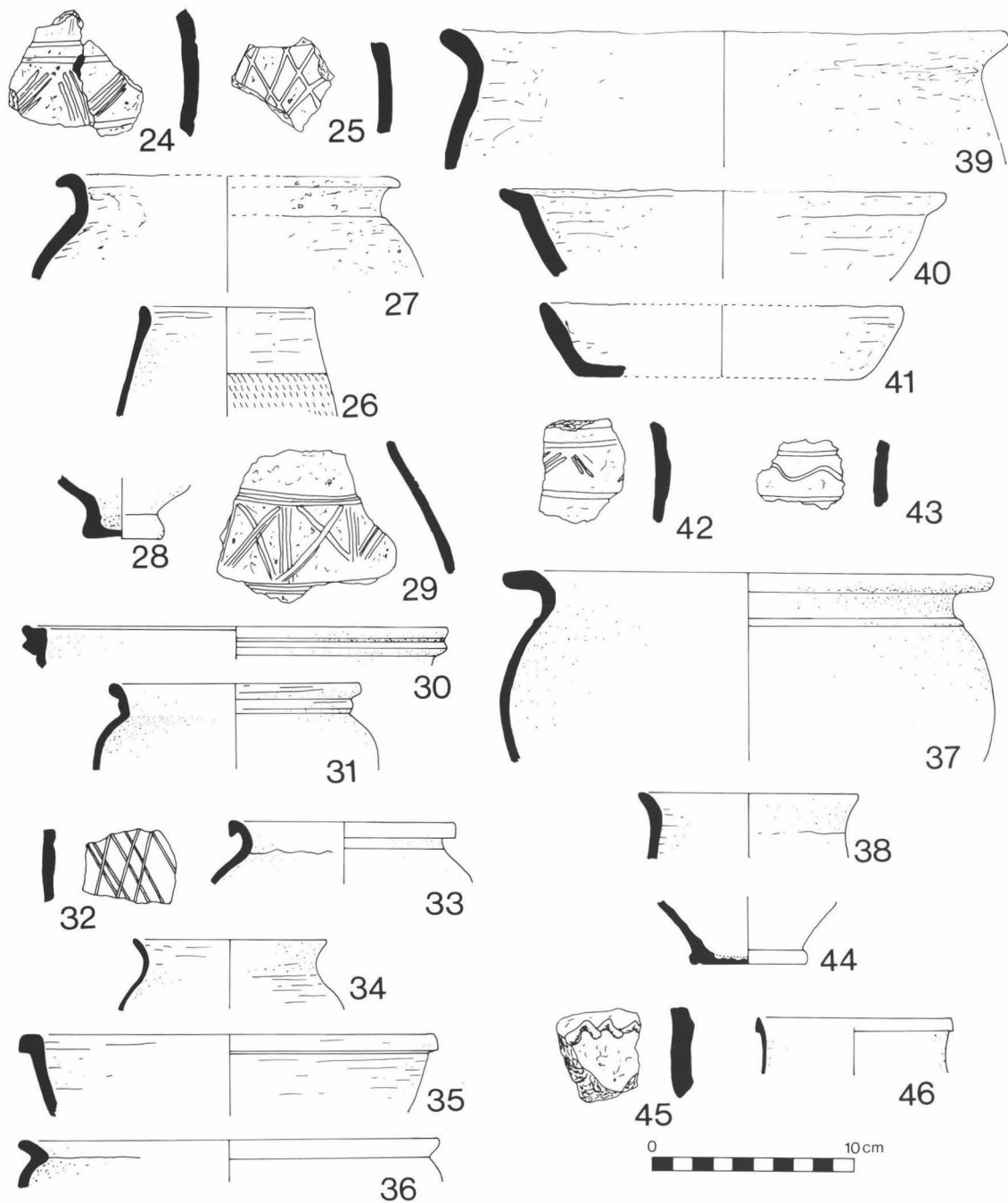


Fig. 9. Rocky Clump, pottery.

Context 2

Samian: Central Gaulish Dr. 31T.

Fabric group B

11. Jar with high out-turned rim in an orange-red fabric with a grey core.
12. Bowl with out-turned rim in an orange-red fabric.
13. Bowl with a bead rim in an orange-red fabric.
14. Bowl/dish with a simple rim and in an orange-buff fabric.
15. Dish or bowl with a simple rim in an orange-buff fabric.
16. Small necked jar, mid-grey fabric.
17. Flanged bowl with an incipient bead rim, normally an early 3rd-century type.

Fabric group D

18. Jar with a coarsely burnished surface. A groove is cut into the top of the rim. Orange-pink fabric.
19. Rim of a necked jar, orange-brown fabric.
20. Everted rim jar with roughly burnished surface, orange-brown fabric.
21. Lid in an orange-buff fabric.

Context 3

Samian: Central Gaulish Dr. 31T.

Fabric group B

22. Shallow dish in a dark grey fabric.

Fabric group D

23. Body sherds of a jar with burnished running chevron decoration between cordons, orange-buff fabric.
24. Body sherds of a jar with burnished chevron decoration.
25. Body sherd with burnished lattice decoration in a buff-brown fabric.

Context 4*Fabric group D*

27. Jar with a stepped neck and roughly burnished surface in a dark brown fabric.

Fabric group I

26. Burnished beaker with a band of rouletted decoration around the waist. Burnishing extends to just within the rim.
28. Base of a beaker in a light grey fabric.

Context 5*Fabric group D*

29. Body sherd of a necked jar with burnished decoration on a well-smoothed surface.

Context 6

Samian: Montano fabric form 27, late 1st century to early 2nd century AD. Central Gaulish Dr. 33, central Gaulish Dr. 31T, central Gaulish Dr. 18/31.

Fabric group A

30. Cornice rimmed bowl in a pink/buff fabric.
31. Small jar with a ring neck well-smoothed on the exterior. Off-white/buff fabric.

Fabric group B

32. Body sherd with inscribed lattice decoration in a red-brown fabric.

Fabric group C

33. Jar with an overhanging rim in a light grey ware.
34. Small jar burnished on the shoulder and inside the rim. Light grey fabric.
35. Bowl burnished on the exterior and interior surfaces in a grey/buff ware.
36. Everted rim jar burnished on the exterior in a grey/buff fabric.
37. Jar with cordoned shoulder and slightly drooping rim in a light grey fabric with a thin slip on the exterior. The form and slip mark this out as an Alice Holt product. Lyne and Jefferies (1979, 35) place the introduction of slipped vessels at c. AD 270.
38. Necked jar.

Fabric group D

39. Large everted rim jar in a dark grey fabric.
40. Lid seated bowl, in a dark grey fabric.
41. Shallow dish in an orange fabric.
42. Body sherd decorated with burnished chevrons and grooves; orange-buff fabric.
43. Body sherd with burnished line between cordons in an orange-buff fabric.

Fabric group G

44. Base of a beaker in an orange fabric with a dark grey colour coat.

Context 8*Fabric group D*

45. Body sherd with barbotine raised chevron decoration in an orange-pink fabric.

Fabric group G

46. Beaker with a hooked rim in a pink-buff fabric with a red colour coat.

BRICK AND TILE

Only a very small quantity of brick and tile was found during the excavations at Rocky Clump. Three fabrics were identified:

- A. Sand-tempered with coarse quartz inclusions.
- B. Sand-tempered with occasional inclusions of chalk and flint.
- C. Sand-tempered.

Context/feature	Fabric	Type	No.	Weight (g)
1	A	Box-flue	1	60
	A	Tegulae	1	115
	A	Other	1	130
2	C	Other	1	80
	B	Tegulae	1	110
6	A	Imbrex	1	77

THE HUMAN REMAINS By Sue Brown

Of the seven graves excavated human remains survive from only three. Here a grave list has been compiled using data from the original excavators' notes. The results of the examination of the three groups of skeletal material submitted, two adult males and a child aged approximately eight years from graves 7, 19 and 23, have been inserted in the appropriate places. A Saxon date is suggested for all the graves.

Grave 7

Burial oriented west-east with head to west. The postcranial remains of an adult male whose estimated height was 1.68 m

(5 ft 6 in.). The bone is friable and eroded and few joints reveal the presence of arthropathy; no pathology was recorded.

Grave 15

Burial oriented west-east with head to west. Only the skull and leg-bones of this burial survived, the rest having been disturbed by feature 16.

Grave 19

Burial oriented west-east with head to west. The poorly-preserved skull and long-bones of a child of indeterminate sex aged approximately eight years. Two phases of mild enamel hypoplasia, perhaps indicating former phases of nutritional deficiency, were observed on the incisors. No other pathology was seen and the cause of death is unknown.

Grave 20

Burial oriented west-east with head to west. The skeleton was badly disturbed.

Grave 21

Burial oriented west-east with head to west.

Grave 22

Burial of an adult oriented west-east with head to west. Only

the leg-bones survived as this grave had been truncated by ditch 44.

Grave 23

Burial oriented west-east with head to west. The skull only (submitted already reconstructed) was examined. This was of a male aged probably 17–25 years. Estimation of the age of this individual is tentative because it is based on the degree of attrition in the molar teeth, but the first and second molars do not occlude due to the pattern of dental decay: attrition in the anterior teeth suggests that he may have been older. All 32 teeth are *in situ* and there are heavy calculus deposits on the right lower third molar. Severe dental decay was recorded in the first and second upper molars and the second and third lower molars on both sides of the mouth. Almost the entire crown of the upper right molars is destroyed and the left upper molars are destroyed to the roots. In the maxilla, pulp exposure was recorded in the right M2 and the left M1, and an apical abscess in the region of the right M1 and the left M2. In the mandible, both M2s and M3s show medium-large buccal cavities. No other oral pathology was recorded. The cranium shows mild supra-orbital osteoporosis.

Metric and non-metric data for the examined burials is deposited with the archive.

DISCUSSION

While they were limited in scope, the excavations at Rocky Clump investigated an interesting archaeological sequence comprising part of a Romano-British settlement and a later inhumation cemetery.

The block of East Sussex downland between the rivers Adur and Ouse has been the subject of little modern systematic archaeological excavation. The pioneering excavations of E. C. Curwen at Thundersbarrow Hill in 1932 (Curwen 1933) have been followed up by the rescue work of Ray Hartridge at Slonk Hill, Shoreham (Hartridge 1978). The recent rescue work on the line of the Brighton bypass adds immeasurably to our knowledge of downland settlement and supplements the picture drawn by small-scale and salvage work over the last 90 years.

The occupation sequence at Rocky Clump is uncomplicated: ceramics and coins of the 2nd century AD date the commencement of the sequence which closes in the last decades of the 3rd century. In the immediate locality downland settlement is known to have continued later than this: rescue work during the construction of the Coldean Estate revealed a sequence which encompassed the Iron Age through to the 4th century AD. At Falmer two corn-drying ovens of the mid-4th century AD were excavated in the 1950s. Further to the west Curwen's

work at Thundersbarrow Hill in any case showed that downland settlement lasted well into the 4th century. To the north of Thundersbarrow Hill unpublished excavations in the 1950s at Truleigh Hill recovered a similar ceramic sequence to that at Thundersbarrow as well as a silver *siliqua* of Gratian (AD 375–383) and a late Roman strap end (finds and documentation in Brighton Museum).

The feature of primary interest at Rocky Clump in the Roman period is the possible building represented by post-holes 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 13 and perhaps 14. From what we know of their dimensions these posts would seem too massive for a mere stock enclosure, such as structure LXIII at Bishopstone (Bell 1977, 149), and are convincing as the western end of a substantial timber structure or stockade with an internal width of some nine metres and unknown length.

Later disturbance had removed any possibility of floor levels surviving. The original excavators suggested that these post-holes represented the remains of a Romano-Celtic temple (Gordon & Yeates 1988, 8–9). Their proposal was based on the plan, which is incomplete, and on the place-name evidence (*see below*) for an early Saxon shrine, which they believed would have been focused on the substantial lumps of naturally occurring Sarsen stone. This, they argued, was probably the continuation of an earlier tradition represented by the Roman timber building. Certainly this latter is substantial, so much so that one has to doubt

whether it was roofed or whether it existed as an open massive stockade. However, there is no other evidence to support the suggestion of a Romano-Celtic shrine and it must be considered as but one of a number of possibilities.

The second major element of the site is the cemetery. Given the lack of grave goods, the interpretation of this is difficult, although it is clear from the very small number of graves that a very small group, perhaps only a single family, may be represented here. The excavators suggested that this was a Saxon cemetery reusing an earlier religious site. The sacred nature of the Romano-British remains are doubtful, although there remains the place-name evidence. The local field-name, 'Patchway', has been advanced to support the idea of a religious site in the vicinity. The etymology of the name was examined by Stenton who suggested that the name is derived from *Pettelswige* or *Paccasweoh*, meaning the shrine or sacred place of an individual named Paecel (Stenton 1973, 102). While this is possible, it is difficult to make an exact connection between the name and either the Roman timber structure, which seems in any case to have been abandoned by the 4th century, or the cemetery. The knife from the cemetery provides a very wide

possible chronological spread, c. 450–700, for its use. This spread is really too wide to permit the meaningful positioning of the Rocky Clump cemetery within the context of early Anglo-Saxon Sussex. If the earlier date were accepted then this would place Rocky Clump into a very early historical context, to some degree at odds with other early burial evidence (Welch 1983), and it might be easier to see the cemetery as part of the wider pattern of settlement and burial in 6th- and 7th-century Sussex.

Acknowledgements

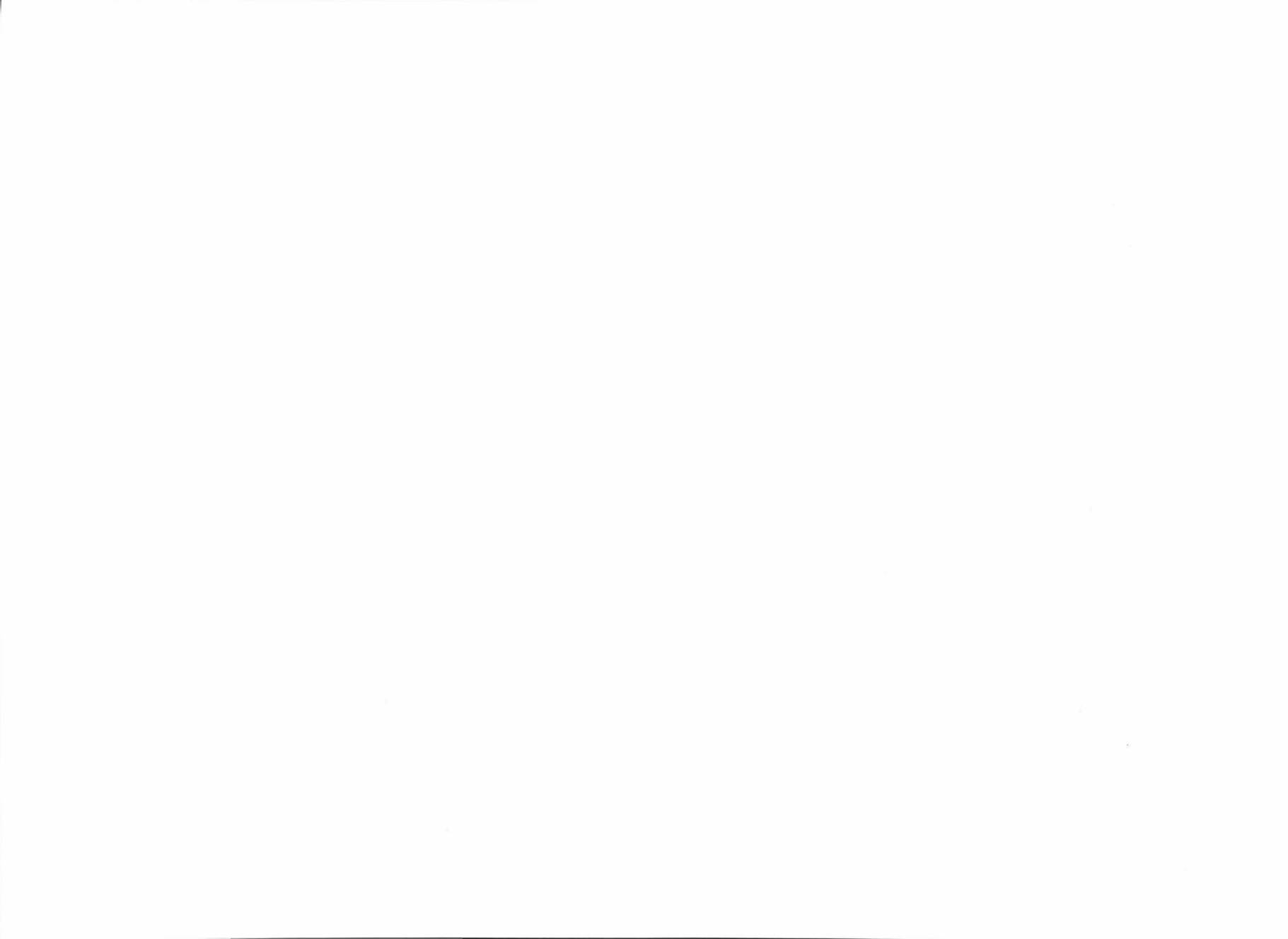
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The finds and archive are to be deposited in the Stanmer Downland Museum.

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Reading a 1st-century Roman gold signet ring from Fishbourne

by R. S. O. Tomlin

How to read and understand the inscribed bezel of a 1st-century Roman gold ring found in 1995 near Fishbourne Roman palace. Its mirror-image inscription TI CLAVDI CATVARI identifies it as the signet ring of one Tiberius Claudius Catuarus. By wearing the ring he claimed to belong to the Roman upper class, but his name indicates that he was a new Roman citizen of Celtic origin. So it is probable that, like King Togidubnus (Cogidumnus) his contemporary and perhaps his kinsman, he was a local British chieftain honoured by the Romans.

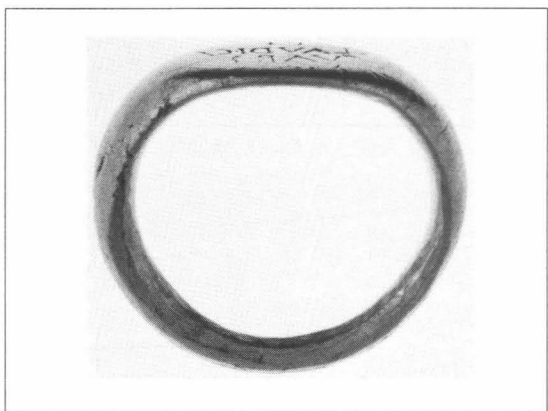


Fig. 1. Roman gold ring from Fishbourne; profile. Scale 2:1. (Photo: British Museum.)

In 1995 Southern Archaeology excavated the site of the Abna Tool Hire shop at 36 Fishbourne Road East, Fishbourne (SU 8430 0479), before it was redeveloped. It lies little more than 200 metres east of the great 1st-century Roman villa at Fishbourne, the famous 'palace'. The excavators found part of the east-west piped water main apparently heading for the north-east corner of the palace, and a north-south feeder pipe which joined it. When the latter fell into disuse, its ditch was backfilled, and in the fill (which contains 1st-century samian ware) was found a plain gold signet ring.¹ It is the most valuable small find from the excavation, in historical value, not because of the money it might fetch at auction. Its future is uncertain, but let us hope that with the goodwill of Peter Austin, the site developer and legal owner of

the ring, and the generosity of friends of the site museum, it will go to its proper home, the Roman palace at Fishbourne.

The ring is a simple hoop of gold (98% fine), maximum diameter 25 mm, which widens to an oval flattened bezel. There is no decoration, but Catherine Johns, who examined the ring while it was at the British Museum, kindly informs me that it is undoubtedly 1st-century and indeed pre-Flavian (before AD 69). Martin Henig concurs, noting that the form is found at Pompeii, the Italian town destroyed by Vesuvius in AD 79; and for Britain itself he compares other early rings from Wroxeter and Fishbourne.² It is a signet ring for pressing into the softened wax of a sealing, to identify the signatory, since the bezel carries a three-line inscription cut in mirror-image reversed letters.



Fig. 2. Roman gold ring from Fishbourne; inscribed bezel. Scale 3:1. (Photo: British Museum.)

The neatly incised capitals, rather worn at the edges because of the softness of the gold, are still legible:

TI
CLAVDI · CA
TVARI

The worn letters are those of line 1, which have both lost their tops, and the first and last letters of lines 2 and 3, which have lost their outer edges or their bottoms. The key to the whole inscription is one tiny detail, the incised stop in line 2 at mid-letter height, a 'medial point' to separate CLAVDI from the next word, which continues into the third line. The initial C of CLAVDI is badly worn, but the top and bottom survive to guarantee it; and in any case, the sequence CLAVDI is found in many hundreds of Roman inscriptions. It is the genitive of *Claudius*, the inherited family name (*nomen gentilicium*) of Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus who, as the emperor Claudius (AD 41–54), directed the invasion of Britain.³ Claudius in the usual way gave his own name *Claudius* to his great-nephew and stepson, a *Domitius* by birth, when he adopted him as his son and successor: the boy became Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus, but we know him as the emperor Nero (AD 54–68). The name *Claudius* was also taken by non-Romans who gained the élite distinction of Roman citizenship by the favour, whether direct or indirect, of Claudius or Nero. Thus the officer who took St Paul into protective custody at Jerusalem was a new Roman citizen; admirably, when he found that Paul was already a citizen by birth, he commented: 'With a great sum obtained I this freedom'. In other words, he had to grease a few palms before he could call himself *Claudius Lysias*.⁴

The emperor Claudius, like all male Roman citizens, also bore a first name (*praenomen*); this was *Tiberius*, abbreviated to TI for *Ti(berius)*, and it too was hereditary in his family. So the first line of our inscription must be TI, the cross-bar of T and the upper serif of I having been worn away. Here it stands for *Ti(beri)*, the genitive required by *Claudi*. Impressed on wax, the letters would mean: '(the seal) of Tiberius Claudius . . .' But of Tiberius Claudius whom? There was a third name, the *cognomen*, which originally distinguished one member of a family from another, but became important for another reason. New citizens who needed to distinguish themselves from thousands of other new citizens, almost all of them gratefully assuming the ruling emperor's first name and family name, did so by retaining their old name as a *cognomen*; for example the officer just mentioned, *Claudius Lysias*. What then was the ring-bearer's original name?

C after CLAVDI is clear enough, and so is A, even if only the first diagonal survives.⁵ The third line begins with a letter of which only part of a sloping

cross-bar survives: the possibilities are C, G or T. After it there is no problem with V, A and R, although the tail of R is badly worn. The last letter is no problem either: in view of CLAVDI the *cognomen* too must be genitive, and thus it will end in -I: only the upper half survives, with part of a bold serif like a small cross-bar, although James Kenny's drawing, which has the virtue of being made without knowing what the letters 'ought' to be, makes the serif and vertical stroke sinuous. This appearance is only due to wear.

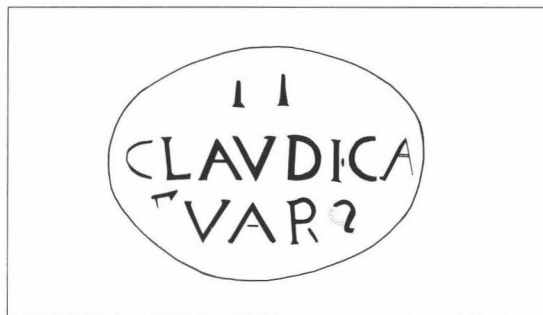


Fig. 3. Roman gold ring from Fishbourne; inscribed bezel. Scale 3:1. (Drawn in reverse by James Kenny.)

So the name reads CA[.]VARI; in the nominative case, it would be *Ca[.]Juarus*. Only one letter remains to be identified: it is C, G, or T. In fact, unless the ring is very worn indeed, there is not enough room for C or G; but the probable T can be confirmed by study of Celtic personal names.

Celtic names in *Cacu-* and *Cagu-* are almost unknown, but the name-element *Catu-* ('battle') is very frequent; a good example is the tribe which dominated southern Britain before the Claudian invasion, the *Catuvellauni*. The suffix *-arus*, of unknown meaning, is also found in Celtic names, notably that of the god Tanarus. If we combine the two, we reach *Catuarus*, a perfectly acceptable Celtic name, even if it is missing from the two thousand pages of the standard compendium of Ancient Celtic.⁶ An example of the name is available, cut on stone at Milev in Numidia, Mila in modern Algeria.⁷ The man is called *P(ublius) Sittius Catuari f(ilius) Senex*, Publius Sittius Senex, son of Catuarus. At first sight Roman Africa is an unlikely provenance for a Celtic personal name, but Milev was part of the small kingdom given by Julius Caesar to the Italian condottiere Publius Sittius for helping him to defeat the last king of Numidia in 46 BC. Sittius then settled his veteran mercenaries in the area, where they and

their descendants formed a distinctive social élite; they were given Roman citizenship, all taking the name 'Publius Sittius' in gratitude to their patron. We know that Sittius recruited his mercenaries from Italy and Spain, which both contained warlike Celtic-speaking tribes. We might have guessed anyway that Senex was of Celtic origin, because his outwardly 'Roman' name often masks the Celtic name-element *Seno-*, but we are also told his non-Roman father's Celtic name, *Catuarus*.

Was Tiberius Claudius Catuarus then just another romanized veteran? Claudius and succeeding emperors always granted Roman citizenship to non-Roman 'auxiliary' soldiers when they were discharged as veterans after 25 or more years' service. At first sight 'Tiberius Claudius Catuarus' would be an obvious example, but his gold ring denies it. It weighs 12.99 g, almost half a Roman ounce (13.64 g) of gold; perhaps the jeweller was working with a measured quantity. This would have been worth more than 40 silver *denarii*.⁸ In the mid-1st century a Roman legionary soldier earned 75 *denarii* every four months, but the cost of his food, clothing and other expenses were then deducted; an auxiliary cavalryman was probably paid rather more, but he would have had to keep a horse as well. If Catuarus had been a cavalryman, we might guess he would have cleared 50 *denarii* in six months. A solid gold ring would have been affordable, but quite a luxury; however, it was more than that. It was the famous status symbol which marked the rank of *eques* (often loosely translated as 'knight'), a free-born member of the Roman aristocracy who — like a Lloyds 'name' — was required to own property worth at least 100,000 *denarii*. In AD 23 these ancient rules had been confirmed in law, and in the mid-1st century it is most unlikely that the wearer of this ring, Tiberius Claudius Catuarus, was anything but a genuine *eques*.⁹ This rank was far beyond a veteran soldier: auxiliaries received no retirement gratuity at all; legionaries were given just 3000 *denarii*, enough to buy a small farm, but only 3% of the qualifying capital of an *eques*. Tiberius Claudius Catuarus, a Celt enfranchised by Claudius or Nero (his name does not specify which), was something much grander. He might have been a Gallic-born equestrian officer in the invading army which built a base at Fishbourne, but this is unlikely; such men would come from aristocratic families which had been Roman citizens for two or three generations and so would bear the *Iulius* name of Julius Caesar (died 44

bc) and his adopted son the first emperor, Augustus Caesar (died AD 14). Far more likely, Catuarus was a *British* chieftain or noble sympathetic to the Romans who was given Roman citizenship by Claudius or Nero, and equestrian rank as well, in recognition of his personal wealth and influence which the emperor may indeed have increased.

Claudius was notoriously generous with the Roman franchise in Gaul and Britain: a contemporary satirist said he hoped to see the natives all wearing the toga — the distinctive garment of a Roman citizen — before he died.¹⁰ But Catuarus was unusually rich and influential. The analogy with King 'Cogidumnus' is irresistible, but before I draw it, I must digress again to Celtic names. Our best witness to the king's name is the contemporary Chichester inscription, which calls him '[..]gidubnus'.¹¹ The other evidence is Tacitus' *Agricola*, where modern editors print 'Cogidumnus', which is the reading of the 9th-century manuscript from which the other surviving manuscripts are copied. However, a 9th-century editor who had access to another manuscript, now lost, noted the alternative reading 'Togidumnus'.¹² In the lost late-Antique manuscript from which both these manuscripts of the *Agricola* were probably copied, 'c' and 't' would have been virtually indistinguishable, especially in a personal name otherwise unknown. From the textual critic's point of view, therefore, Tacitus is just as likely to have written 'Togidumnus' as 'Cogidumnus', but the balance tips decisively if we look at other Celtic personal names.¹³ There are no other names in *Cogi-*, but *Togi-* is a very common name-element.¹⁴ So 'Togidubnus', unlike the implausible 'Cogidumnus', is another perfectly acceptable Celtic personal name.¹⁵

Togidubnus, as I think we should learn to call him, was the local puppet king, a 'Great King of the Britons' because he ruled several British tribes under Roman protection.¹⁶ He too bore the imperial names *Tiberius Claudius*, which should mean that he was a British protégé of Claudius, not an imported Gallic noble. We do not know whether he was a kinsman, even the son, of Verica, the king whose expulsion from his kingdom in Sussex and Hampshire was the excuse — and perhaps a strategic reason — for the Roman invasion. A close connection is quite likely.¹⁷ He may even have promoted the Roman landing, not at Richborough, but in the splendid natural harbours near Chichester.¹⁸ Martin Henig acutely draws our attention to the fragment of a marble

portrait head of a boy from the Roman palace at Fishbourne: he suggests that it represents the young Togidubnus or a kinsman. He has already suggested that the small gold ring which came from a context earlier than the palace itself (c. AD 75) might have been worn by the wife or child of an *eques*.¹⁹ It is tempting now to add Catuarus to this hypothetical 'royal family' protected by the Romans, whether as Togidubnus' uncle, cousin, brother or son. We do not know. But we can be fairly sure that, like Togidubnus, he was a useful local magnate who supported the Roman settlement. He recalls the Members of the Irish Parliament in 1800 who acceded to the Act of Union, and were raised to the

peerage for voting their legislature out of existence. His gold ring honoured him in the Roman way for political and public services; what did it matter if envious persons called him a collaborator?

Acknowledgements

I have published the inscription more briefly as *Britannia* 27 (1996), 455, no. 48. I am grateful to John Magilton for providing me with details of this important discovery, and to John Manley for inviting me to contribute to *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. I am also grateful to Catherine Johns and the British Museum for the photographs, and to her and Martin Henig for their valuable comments.

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NOTES

- ¹ Interim report by John Magilton and James Kenny in *Southern Archaeology, The Archaeology of Chichester and District 1995*, 13–15.
- ² M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (Oxford, 1978), no. 784 with pl. lii (Wroxeter). Henig, in B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961–1969, II: The Finds* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1971), 88, no. 2 with pl. xviii.2 (a small gold ring with intaglio) and 91, no. 5 with pl. xviii.5 (a silver ring with engraved bezel).
- ³ The Romans did not distinguish between the consonant 'v' and the vowel 'u', both of which sounded rather like our 'w' and which they wrote as V. Claudius himself actually invented a new letter to represent 'v', which however did not survive him. But when modern scholars transcribe Roman manuscripts and inscriptions in lower-case letters, like Claudius they distinguish 'u' from 'v'.
- ⁴ Acts 22.28; 23.26. Claudius' wife and freedmen are alleged to have sold citizenship at a high price early in the reign before the market collapsed: Dio Cassius 60. 17. 5–6.
- ⁵ If C is the first letter of a Latin word, it must be followed by H, L, R or a vowel. Only A has the appropriate diagonal.
- ⁶ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896–1913).
- ⁷ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 8 (1989); first published in 1883.
- ⁸ The standard Roman gold coin, the *aureus*, was minted at 42 to the Roman pound (327.45 g) until Nero reduced it to 45; i.e. from 7.80 to 7.28 g. One *aureus* was worth 25 *denarii*.
- ⁹ Pliny, *Natural History* 33. 8. 32. See further F. H. Marshall,

Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum (London, 1907), xx.

- ¹⁰ Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 3.
- ¹¹ R. G. Collingwood & R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), no. 91, modified in the new (1995) edition, p. 758. The reading is in the genitive case, [Ti(beri)] Claud(i) [...Jgidubni, with the first two letters of the *cognomen* now lost.
- ¹² Tacitus, *Agricola* 14.1, in the dative *Cogidumno*. Ogilvie's description of the manuscripts in the edition by R. M. Ogilvie & I. A. Richmond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 84–92, is refined by C. E. Murgia, 'The minor works of Tacitus: a study in textual criticism', *Classical Philology* 72 (1977), 323–43.
- ¹³ Murgia (see previous note), 339.
- ¹⁴ For example *Togirix*, *Togius*, and 'Togodumnus' (Dio Cassius 60. 20, 1 and 21, 1), the son of King Cunobelinus.
- ¹⁵ Unlike 'Catuarus', it is not explicitly attested. There is one other example, in south-west France, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 13 (1040) (Saintes), but by an unfortunate coincidence that too has lost its first two letters: '[...Jgidubnus'.
- ¹⁶ J. E. Bogaers, 'King Cogidubnus: another reading of RIB 91', *Britannia* 10 (1979), 243–54.
- ¹⁷ A. A. Barrett, 'The career of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus', *Britannia* 10 (1979), 227–42.
- ¹⁸ J. G. F. Hind, 'The invasion of Britain in AD 43: an alternative strategy for Aulus Plautius', *Britannia* 20 (1989), 1–21.
- ¹⁹ M. Henig, 'A royal portrait head from Fishbourne, West Sussex', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 149 (1996), 83–6. For the ring see above, note 2.

A Romano-British (?) barrow cemetery and the origins of Lewes

by John Bleach

with a contribution by
Richard Coates

This article brings together evidence relating to the early history of Lewes, much of which has been 'lost' for well over 100 years. It forms the basis for a re-assessment of the origins of the town.

Lewes is located on a spur of the Downs that borders the valley of the River Ouse on the north and east and that of the Winterbourne on the south. Detailed study of the alluvial deposits in the Ouse Valley suggests that inundation has been a regular feature for millennia¹ and, for all the attempts at control since the later Middle Ages, has continued well within living memory.²

The site of the old town was, therefore, a promontory jutting out into a constantly marshy and regularly inundated river valley. The land bridge to the promontory is on the west where, it has been suggested, 'a defence of earthworks, probably of Saxon date, can still be traced each side of the site of the medieval West Gate'.³ This readily defensible site almost certainly was the location of the Anglo-Saxon burh recorded at Lewes in the Burghal Hidage of c. AD 900.⁴

The site was further fortified by the de Warennes after the Norman Conquest. Their castle was unusual in that it had two mottes, both of which survive as major landscape features of the promontory today. The 'twin mounds of loyal Lewes', Brack Mount and the castle mound, occupy respectively the north-east and south-west corners of the castle precinct. The castle mound rises to about 50 metres O.D. and 21 metres above the level of the High Street at Castle Gate, and is about 6 metres higher than Brack Mount.⁵ The castle precinct itself, about four acres in extent, occupies the highest part of the promontory.

The history of the site prior to its presumed fortification around 900 is obscure. According to scholarly opinion in 1940 there did not appear to have been 'any settlement on the site of the later town in prehistoric times' and furthermore, 'no evidence of occupation by the Romans, despite the proved proximity of Roman roads and the general suitability of the site for defence against Saxon

raids'.⁶ Research undertaken since that assessment was made has tended only to confirm the apparent lack of activity on the site before the mid- to later Anglo-Saxon period.⁷

Throughout the 19th century, however, local historians were in no doubt that Lewes had a Roman past. For Dunvan there was 'a strong probability that Lewes was the first Roman station on Erming-street'.⁸ In 1818, the short-lived *Provincial Magazine* noted that the claims of Lewes 'to a Roman station are indisputable, for numerous vestiges of the fortifications, military weapons, urns, etc. of that enterprising and ingenious nation, present themselves to the notice of the Antiquary'. A 'particular account of the Roman Antiquities discovered in and near Lewes' was promised for a future issue of the magazine, but it failed to materialize.⁹ Only four years earlier Gideon Mantell had discovered a Roman ritual deposit at the bottom of his garden (site 8: the site number refers to the gazetteer (below) and the map (Fig. 1)) — no doubt it acted as a reminder and a confirmation of that past.

In his guide to Lewes in 1909 William Heneage Legge, a much respected local historian who had contributed the article on forestry to the recently founded *Victoria County History*, confidently reiterated the town's past as a Roman military station and noted:

The various relics of the Roman period of the history of Lewes which have come to light are represented by numerous urns, and other fictile objects, fibulae, and rings, together with many coins, dating from Trajans to Constans; but of the remains of consular or military buildings, nothing survives, overlaid, as they doubtless were, by subsequent walls and castellations of the Saxon and Norman masters of Lewes.¹⁰

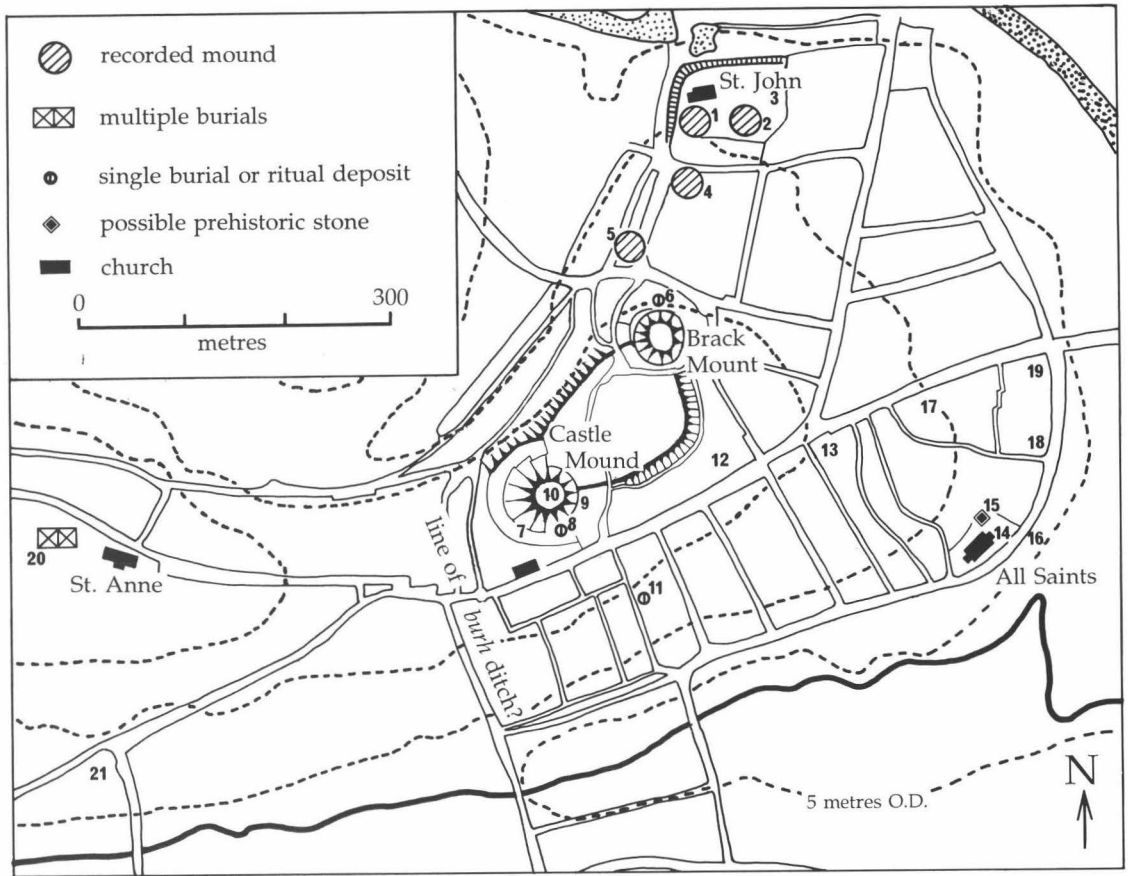


Fig. 1. Lewes and its western approaches. Contours at 10-metre intervals.

To judge by the objects to which Legge refers, the gazetteer presented here lacks some Roman finds known to him; there is no record of fibulae or rings from identifiable sites in Lewes. That said, however, in 1955 the Society was presented with a Romano-British brooch in the form of a duck which is supposed to have been found in Lewes.¹¹ In addition, some drawings were exhibited at the British Archaeological Association in 1848 of 'Roman fibulae discovered at Lewes, forwarded by Mr Ade, of Milton Court Farm'.¹² No more information is available regarding the provenance of those items, and their attribution to Lewes must be treated with caution. We may note in passing that a Roman coin is amongst the finds recorded from the site of Mr Ade's house at 34 High Street (site 13).

The gazetteer lists 21 sites, 19 of them (sites 1–19) on the promontory, and 2 (sites 20 & 21) on the

immediate western approaches (Fig. 1). It may be noted that much of the information contained in the gazetteer is drawn from sources — early newspapers and guidebooks — which are not often referred to in current archaeological research. Yet in the case of Lewes, where urban development over the last 200 years has destroyed much of the prehistoric and later archaeological record, they provide unique information which is crucial to an understanding of the early history of the promontory. Also, a number of finds from recent excavations in Lewes which may not have been accorded the significance they deserve are noted in the gazetteer.

There is ample evidence in the gazetteer to support the view that there was Roman and possibly earlier activity on the promontory and its western approaches. Much of this activity appears to have been of a ritual nature, and it is apparent that there

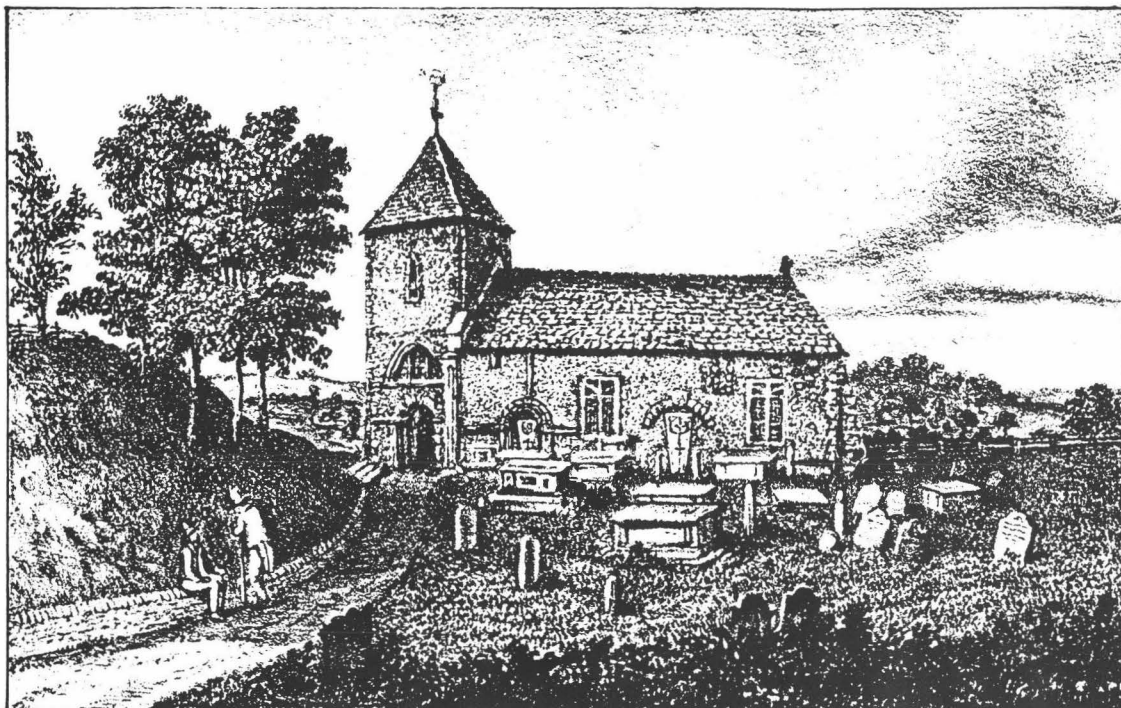


Fig. 2. South view of St John sub Castro and part of St John's Mount (site 1). (Published by Rouse, 1825.)

were a number of mounds, at least two of which were barrows, ranged along the north-west edge of the promontory (sites 1, 2, 4 & 5).

Brack Mount and the castle mound also respect that alignment, and given the juxtaposition of the castle mound to a Roman ritual deposit (site 8) and of Brack Mount to a human burial (site 6), the question of the origin of the 'twin mounds of loyal Lewes' is raised. Were they constructed from ground level originally as castle mottes, or did they utilize mounds, albeit perhaps smaller ones, which were already on site? With the latter possibility in mind it is interesting to note, firstly, that amongst the pottery discovered during the excavation on the castle mound in the mid-1980s were a sherd of East Sussex ware and one of Samian (site 10) and, secondly, that the keep of the Norman castles at Chichester and Canterbury, founded at the same time as the castle at Lewes, appear to have been built on Roman tumuli.¹³

Two close parallels for the arrangement of the mounds at Lewes are to be found at Bartlow Hills in Ashdon (Ess), and Treyford (WSx). At Bartlow, four steep-sided, conical-shaped burial mounds dated to

the late 1st and early 2nd centuries survive in alignment in what appears to have been originally a group of eight.¹⁴ The Devil's Jumps on Monkton Down in Treyford comprise six Bronze Age barrows in alignment, the largest being recorded by Curwen 40 years ago as 'the highest barrow in the county' at 16 feet.¹⁵ According to the view by Rouse (Fig. 2), the barrow in St John's churchyard (site 1) was of a comparable height. The possible significance of the mounds on the promontory for the place-name 'Lewes' is discussed below (see Appendix A).

There is persuasive evidence that the church of St John sub Castro occupies an earlier ritual site, and intriguing possibilities in this respect at All Saints and St Martin's. The Anglo-Saxon church of St John's was sited next to a non-Christian burial mound (site 1), within an enclosure containing evidence of Roman activity (site 3) and another mound of unknown use (site 2). It may be noted also that manorial courts were held in the churchyard in the later Middle Ages,¹⁶ a fact which suggests, perhaps, that this was a traditional meeting-place — the scatter of Roman coins would not be inconsistent with such a use. A recent article has

identified two churches in Sussex, Berwick and Brighton, which occupy earlier ritual sites — St John sub Castro should be added to their number.¹⁷ At All Saints, three ingredients (well, mound and monolith) for a pagan ritual site are to be found (sites 14–16), whilst the proximity of a Roman ritual deposit (site 11) to the probable location of St Martin's Church in St Martin's Lane reminds us that some churches dedicated to this Roman soldier-saint are known to overlie pagan sites.¹⁸

This article raises as many questions as it supplies answers — but it rediscovers part of the early history of Lewes and confirms what the readers of the *Provincial Magazine* could see with their own eyes and discover from their own gardens: that there had been significant activity on the promontory and its immediate western approaches before the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the site.

GAZETTEER

1. NGR: TQ 4147 1040

A mound was located in the south-west corner of the churchyard of St John sub Castro, and may be identified as the 'mount' from which Lambert sketched for his watercolour of the town, 'View of Lewes Castle, with part of the town from the Mount in St John's churchyard, 1778'. William Figg describes it as having been 'a mound of considerable height', and it is named as St John's Mount on Marchant's map of Lewes published in 1824.¹⁹

Mantell describes it as conical²⁰ and Rouse's view (Fig. 2) shows it to have been flat-topped.

The site of the mound is now occupied by the new church, built in 1839. Prior to the church being built, of course, the ground had to be prepared. A local newspaper of the day reported as follows on the destruction of the mound:

There is no doubt that Lewes was a place of importance, even ages before the Romans made it a station. At the time the tank near to St Ann's Church was constructed for the water-works, many evidences were brought to light, proving that long before the Saxons erected that sacred building, its vicinity had been used as a burial-place, for several barrows were discovered, evidently of a remote age, and it was conjectured at the time that this scite was the original burial-place of the inhabitants (site 20). Upon removing the mount last week on the south side of St John's Church for the scite of the intended new building, the excavators

brought to light similar evidence to that discovered in St Ann's. As the subject is doubtless interesting to many of our readers it may be mentioned that the workmen on the southward side first exhumed a number of human skeletons about three feet below the surface which were all of modern date; as they advanced to the centre they came to large piles of chalk, so arranged as to afford spaces or cists for a human skeleton each, which were protected by a wall of chalk and filled up with ditch clay, taken no doubt from the levels in the neighbourhood; presently they came to what the workmen termed an 'oven', or a rude construction of a steined vault; and when they reached the centre of the crown of the Mount they exposed a circle of burnt earth, of two rods in diameter, around the sides of which were a few burnt human bones and a large quantity of boars and other animal bones also burnt. On the east side an urn of baked clay was found, and also a spear head or iron weapon; showing that the Mount was an ancient British barrow, and that long before christianity was introduced into England, Saint John's church yard was a scite for Druidical sepulchres.²¹

2. NGR: (?)TQ 4150 1040

There was another mound in the churchyard, though very little is known of it beyond the fact that it was destroyed in 1779. In noting the restoration of the church in that year, Thomas Wakeham records that 'the church pavement was also raised three feet higher with the soil dug from the east mount in the Churchyard; and the hollow of the old prostrate Chancell filled up'.²²

Dunvan, Rouse and Horsfield record only that there had been another mound in the churchyard besides St John's mount.²³ Gideon Mantell, born in Lewes in 1790 and writing in the mid-1840s, describes the churchyard as 'in former times . . . an oblong encampment, having within the works two conical mounds, one at the west angle, and the other at the east'.²⁴ He would have been familiar, no doubt, with St John's mount in the west angle, but the mount in the east angle had been destroyed 11 years before he was born. His source for the shape of this mound is not known.

Neither is it known whether anything was found in the mound when it was destroyed, and no pictorial representation of it has yet been found.

3. NGR: TQ 4150 1045

Lower attests to several Roman coins having been found in St John sub Castro's churchyard.²⁵ Later in the 19th century the Sussex Archaeological Society received a gift from B. C. Scammel Esq. of various artefacts, including a 'Roman First Brass' from St John's churchyard.²⁶ In his description of St John's church and churchyard published in 1846, Mantell recalls that 'in the sloping ground on the south, which was formerly used as a garden, I found several Roman imperial coins'.²⁷ Mantell is referring, perhaps, to that plot of land on which now stands the terrace of houses called The Fosse, the back yards of which abut a bank forming the southern boundary of the churchyard.

4. NGR: TQ 4147 1037

The only known surviving references to this mound are from the pen of Mark Anthony Lower, one of the early luminaries of the Sussex Archaeological Society.

... On enquiry, I find that within the memory of man, the site of Mr Barratt's premises was covered with an immense tumulus, similar to one the removal of which I still remember, and which was within fifty yards of the same spot.²⁸

And:

In levelling the ground for the erection of this church (St John sub Castro), a large artificial mound was removed, and another tumulus of colossal dimensions formerly occupied the site of Mr Barratt's new house. On the latter spot several singular interments and various remnants of antient pottery have been discovered.²⁹

Mr Barratt's 'new house' can be identified as what is now called Abinger House, known as Milton House in the later 19th century. Indeed, the third edition of Lower's guide to the town refers to the 'site of Milton House' rather than the 'site of Mr Barratt's new house', the phrase used in the first and second editions.³⁰ St John sub Castro church, which is built on the site of the other mound (site 1) referred to in the extracts from Lower, stands across the road and no more than 50 yards distant.

No further record has been found of the interments mentioned in the second extract, nor is there any known corpus of 'antient pottery' associated with the site. The latter may be the same as item 39, 'some ancient pottery found near St John's Church, Lewes (presented by Mr Barratt)', recorded by Lower in his catalogue of antiquities

preserved in the museum of Lewes Castle, compiled in March 1866.³¹ Unfortunately, this pottery cannot now be identified within the Society's collection.

Regarding the finds from this site, it may be noted that there was disagreement between Lower and the committee of the British Archaeological Association as to their probable date. Lower had written to the committee regarding 'some remains discovered in excavating cellars for Mr Barratt's house near St John's Church'. The committee considered them to be medieval, an opinion to which Lower 'could not then subscribe'. He was of the definite opinion that the remains were 'either British or Roman'.³² No other record regarding these remains has survived with the British Archaeological Association.³³

5. NGR: TQ 4143 1030

A mound is clearly marked here on Edwards' maps of Lewes published in 1799 and 1817.³⁴ It is located about 30 yards north of Brack Mount and approximately on the site of the present Elephant and Castle public house. Both maps show it as a smaller version of the flat-topped, conical Brack Mount (named Castle Mount by Edwards).

The foundation stone of the Elephant and Castle was laid on Saturday, 22 September, 1838.³⁵ No trace of the mound survives nor has any reference to its destruction been found. No finds are known from the site. Local tradition asserts that the Elephant and Castle was built on the site of the town gallows.³⁶ Perhaps it is, therefore, a gallows-mound that is shown in Edwards' maps. The site in question is located at the southern end of an embankment known as Gallows Bank, and overlooks a plot of land called Hangman's Acre, a place-name extant in 1690.³⁷ It should be noted that the reuse of barrows as gallows mounds is well attested from other parts of the south-east.³⁸

6. NGR: (?)TQ 4145 1026

The *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* of 3 September 1838 reported a news item as follows:

One day last week some workmen in digging away the earth in a yard at the north side of the Brack Mount discovered, at the depth of 13 feet from the surface, in the solid chalk, a perfect human skeleton, deposited in a light mould intermixed with portions of charcoal, and on the left side of it the bones of a large boar's head also perfect. The skull of the skeleton is in the possession of a gentleman

residing at Lewes.

The gentleman has maintained his anonymity, and nothing more is known of the finds.

7. NGR: (?) TQ 4132 1005

Coins of the emperors Domitian (AD 81–96) and Antoninus Pius (138–161) have been found in a garden which formed part of the ditch on the south-west side of the mound of the castle keep.³⁹ The long garden of 159 High Street, a few yards west of Mantell's (site 8) would fit this locational description far better than any other in the vicinity, but no such discoveries are known from that site.⁴⁰

8. NGR: TQ 4137 1005

In the summer of 1814 Gideon Mantell built an arbour at the bottom of the garden of his house in the High Street (currently no. 166). The garden abutted on to the mound of the castle keep.

To prevent the constant falling down of rubbish from the mouldering walls above into the garden below, it was necessary to erect a wall; and in cutting down the side of the bank, a section of the earth-work was exposed. It was thus ascertained that the natural undisturbed chalk-rock extends to the height of twelve feet above the garden, and that all above is artificial, being a compound of chalk rubble, mould, rubbish, etc. In the chalk-rock an artificial excavation was laid bare; it was four feet in diameter at the top, and two at the bottom, and six feet in depth. This pit was filled up with a dark looking mould, consisting chiefly of ashes, charcoal, and lime. At the bottom of the pit I discovered an urn of dark brown unglazed pottery, coarsely rayed on the surface, and about thirty inches in circumference; the lower end terminating in a point. This urn contained the greater portion of the bones of a cock; the leg bones, with the spurs, were perfect. Above the urn were bones and teeth of a boar, and horse; and a considerable quantity of mussel and oyster shells. The excavation could not be pursued further, from the risk of loosening the foundation of the old tower, or other Roman relics would doubtless have been found.⁴¹

A plan of the strata within the pit and a drawing of the urn have been published.⁴² Some of the bones from the pit are at the British Museum (B.M. registration no. 1839, 10–29, 47). The broken remains of the urn, also, are at the British Museum

(reg. no. not known on enquiry in 1994) and were described by Catherine Johns in 1972 as follows:

The vessel is large and is hand-made, not wheel-thrown, in a hard, coarse, dark grey fabric. While shewing many Iron Age characteristics, I would . . . regard it as Roman in date, though it would not be easy to date it closely.⁴³

9. NGR: (?) TQ 4139 1007

Writing on the Roman antiquities found in and around Lewes Castle prior to 1860, William Figg records that 'lately in clearing away the buildings within the precincts, a very good specimen of the lower stone of a Roman quern was found'.⁴⁴

Though Figg does not locate the precise findspot, it can probably be identified with the Gun Garden, previously known as the Castle Yard, located at the bottom of the east-facing slope of the keep mound. In 1850 the Society became the tenant of Lewes Castle, and was granted the liberty to pull down any of the buildings in the Gun Garden which were not needed.⁴⁵ The site was cleared, and in 1853 the society's committee resolved 'that the Castle Yard be levelled and covered with turf'.⁴⁶ The quernstone is described as being '17 1/2 inches in diameter, and very perfect, and has an orifice at the side for the escape of the meal from between the stones', and by 1861 was on display in the Society's Museum in the Castle.⁴⁷ Unless it be either of the unprovenanced quernstones (items 29 & 30), it does not appear in Lower's informative descriptive catalogue of the exhibits in the museum compiled in March 1866.⁴⁸ The quernstone cannot now be identified in the Society's collections.

10. NGR: TQ 4135 1008

During excavations at Lewes Castle 1985–88, one sherd of Samian and one of East Sussex ware were found in the keep on the castle mound.⁴⁹

11. NGR: (?) TQ 4144 0995

The *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* of 3 September 1838 contained the following report:

On Friday last as some men were making an excavation for the purpose of sinking a cesspool on the property of Mr S. Smart in St Martin's Lane, midway between the Castle and the southern boundary of the town wall, they discovered a Roman urn, containing the remains of a cock, the bones of which are very perfect and resemble in every respect a skeleton found in a similar manner by Dr

Mantell some years back at the base of the Castle Mound.

In 1812, one William Smart was occupying property on the east side of St Martin's Lane (nos 4 & 5) and at the north-west corner of St Martin's Lane with the High Street (nos 74 & 75 High Street).⁵⁰ In 1839 S. H. Smart, miller, occupied 75 High Street.⁵¹

It is not known whether the finds have survived.

12. NGR: TQ 4153 1012

During the building of an extension to the then County Hall (now the Crown Courts) at the end of the 19th century, two iron weapons were discovered. One was a throwing axe datable to the late 5th or early 6th centuries, and the other was a long seax probably of the late 7th or 8th centuries. The latter is a rare weapon in England.⁵² The weapons were acquired by the Sussex Archaeological Society in 1899.⁵³

13. NGR: TQ 4163 1015

In a list published in 1824 of Roman coins 'that have been found within a few years in Lewes and the immediate environs', Horsfield records one of the emperor Tiberius (AD 14–37) found with two tusks of a boar at Baxter's and Ade's on School Hill (currently 34–7 High Street).⁵⁴

14. NGR: TQ 4179 1005

A burial register of the parish of All Saints, Lewes, records the following interment in September 1619:

The xth day was buried Robert Ashley, a bachelor, a Grocer, dwelling with Mr Meade in the Cliffe, he lyeth in the Churchyard upon the hill behind the East gate. A Noble was payd downe first for breaking the ground, for a straunger and dubble dutye.⁵⁵

Nothing more is heard of the 'hill behind the East gate' of All Saints' churchyard, though the eye of faith might believe that the view of the church from the south-east published by Rouse in the mid-1820s was taken from just such a vantage point.⁵⁶ More likely, perhaps, the 'hill' refers to the slope of the churchyard down towards its south-east corner, which can be seen in a woodcut of the church dated about 1800.⁵⁷

15. NGR: TQ 4179 1005

A burial register of All Saints parish records in the churchyard 'ye ould great stone' (24 Aug. 1677), 'ye great sandstone' (20 May 1678 and 16 Oct. 1681), and 'ye great sand Tombestone at ye east side of ye

church' (3 May 1682).⁵⁸

16. NGR: TQ 4182 1005

The site of Pinwell was described in the mid-19th century as 'a perennial spring, that bursts out from the adjacent chalk-ridge, and rushes into the neighbouring brooks . . . in former times (it) enjoyed some celebrity'.⁵⁹ The name occurs in the late 13th century when Agnes de Pinewell quit claims to the prior and convent of Lewes property in Pinewellestrete in All Saints parish.⁶⁰

17. NGR: TQ 4171 1015

One sherd of Roman pottery was found during excavations towards the western end of Brooman's Lane in 1979.⁶¹

18. NGR: TQ 4182 1015

Three fragments of Roman tile were amongst the finds of an excavation on the corner of Brooman's Lane and Friars Walk in 1989.⁶²

19. NGR: TQ 4182 1018

Four sherds of Roman pottery were found during excavations in Friars Walk in 1976.⁶³

20. NGR: TQ 4085 1005

In the autumn of 1834 a tank was being sunk for the recently formed Lewes Waterworks Company on a site about 100 yards west of St Anne's Church. The two following reports from the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* detail the discoveries made whilst the site was being prepared.

1 September, 1834

Last week as some workmen were employed in excavating some ground in a field in Saint Ann's, for the formation of a tank for the Lewes Waterworks Company, they discovered a variety of ancient British vases, and human skeletons, at the head and feet of which were placed what the antiquaries term drinking cups, of the barrel form, supposed to have contained food for the dead. There were also several sepulchral or funeral urns, containing the calcined ashes of human bones. One of these urns having an ornamented handle, was evidently moulded by hand, and decorated with some pointed instrument. Two of these relics were discovered at an unusual depth from the surface of the earth (at least 14 feet) embedded in the solid chalk rock, and placed

at right angles; surrounding these were the bones of various animals, such as sheep, hogs, calves, cats, birds, boars' tusks, etc. etc. The whole of the vases were of rude workmanship, and composed of the usual coarse black earth: they were unfortunately broken by the tools of the workmen, and indeed some of them appeared as if they had been partly demolished at the time they were deposited. There are two or three other sepulchral markings at the bottom of the tank, which have not yet been explored; but they evidently contain similar deposits.

8 September 1834

During the past week, the workmen employed in forming the tank for the Water Works Company, at the western entrance of this town, have opened three more of the early British sepulchres, in addition to those mentioned in our last publication, all of which contained various remains of beasts, birds, fishes, etc. very similar to those we then enumerated; but one tomb was found to contain a most extraordinary sacrifice, that of a vast quantity of snail shells, deposited over and next to the urns and ashes, and those which were placed next to the latter, appeared also to have calcined. The last tomb explored was much larger and deeper than the rest, measuring in diameter six feet at the top, and about five feet at the bottom, and was excavated to the unusual depth of twenty feet through the chalk rock. On the workmen reaching within a few feet of the bottom, the chalk was of a much finer texture, and at about two feet from the bottom, immediately under the chalk, they discovered the ashes and burnt remains of the body, which were of a rich brown colour, exhibiting a beautiful contrast to the pure white rock; on removing these they found a richly cut glass ornament, diamond shaped, and about three quarters of an inch in width. At the north-east side of the tomb was an urn containing ashes, placed in a dish or pan, and on the opposite side, there was another vase also containing ashes. The vases were all more or less broken. About mid-way between the two urns was discovered a short sword or dirk, resembling a carving knife, the blade measuring 9½ inches in length, and the

shaft about 4 inches. The handle was perished, and the dirk very much corroded.

Part of the first report in the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* appeared in the next month's *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁶⁴ The discoveries are described, also, in a contemporary guidebook to the county, and by William Figg, who however interprets the site as one of habitation rather than burial.

The high antiquity of Lewes, may be inferred from the circumstance that, towards the close of last August, some excavators, who were digging a tank for the water-works company, in a field near the town, disinterred a variety of ancient British vases, together with several human skeletons, the spot having evidently been used as a place of sepulchre. The whole of these vessels were composed of coarse black clay, and but rudely moulded. Some of them, known to antiquaries by their barrel form, and supposed to contain food for the dead, were placed at the head and feet of the skeletons referred to. A few sepulchral urns were also found, and the cavity which had been cut to the depth of fourteen feet through a solid mass of chalk, was strewn with the bones of sheep and many other animals.⁶⁵

. . . in the year 1834, during the excavation for a reservoir for the Lewes Waterworks, about 200 feet to the west of the Church of St Mary Westout (aka St Anne), several singular pits were discovered, which had evidently been sunk in the chalk for, and used as, habitations. They were about twelve or fourteen feet in depth and eight or nine in diameter; they had been filled up with earth and rubbish, but when cleared out the floors were covered with remains of various animals, amongst which were several boars' tusks of a large size, together with oyster and snail shells; the sides were blackened by the smoke of the fires which had been kindled there, of which the ashes and portions of charcoal remained in considerable quantities.⁶⁶

In a footnote on the snail shells found on the site, Figg identifies them not as 'the common snail, but the "*Helix pornatia*" . . . This species was a favourite dish with the Romans, and is still used as food in many parts of Europe during Lent'.⁶⁷ Figg's observations regarding the snail, *Helix Pomatia*, ('pornatia' is perhaps a misreading by the printer of

Figg's handwriting) is supported by modern scholarship. It is recorded from Roman levels, and there is 'no conclusive evidence to prove wrong the popular belief that it was deliberately introduced by the Romans for food'.⁶⁸

In 1850 the excavation was brought to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries. At the Society's meeting on Thursday 7th February a letter from William Durrant Cooper was read, which contained 'a statement of particulars relating to the opening of several Barrows in the autumn of 1834, by the late Mr Stewart Warren Lee, Dr Mantell, Mr Cooper, and several other gentlemen, situated at the western entrance of the town of Lewes, immediately above St Anne's Church, upon the spot now occupied by the reservoir of the water-works'. The printed notice goes on to mention 'some cists . . . at the depth of fourteen feet . . . situated in a cluster at right angles, and six or seven were opened, which were found to contain the usual deposit of stones and broken pieces of pottery with the bones of various animals. A vast number of shells of the snail, called *Helix pomatia*, were found; a discovery which induces Mr Cooper to infer, contrary to popular belief, that this

species of snail was indigenous, and used as an article of food in remote times'.⁶⁹

No doubt the printed notice is only an abstract of Cooper's letter. Unfortunately, the Society of Antiquaries has no record of the letter in its archive.

The whereabouts of the finds is not known.

An Iron Age coin of Commius, King of the Atrebates (c. 45–30 BC) was found during recent excavations at the nearby site of the medieval hospital of St Nicholas.⁷⁰

21. NGR: Withheld

During the last two years five Roman coins have been found in a garden on the south side of Rotten Row. Four of them date from the 4th century AD, and one from the 2nd century.⁷¹

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

¹ R. D. Lake *et al.*, *Geology of the Country Around Lewes* (British Geological Survey, 1987), 84–5. For the extent of the alluvium see sheet 319 'Lewes' of the 1:50,000 map series published by the Institute of Geological Sciences in 1978 as part of the geological survey of Great Britain. For water and land levels as they relate to the Ouse valley, see A. Ballard, 'The Sussex coast line', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **53** (1910), 6 (map), 12–13.

² For the history of attempts to drain the Levels since the 15th century see P. Brandon, 'The origin of Newhaven and the drainage of the Lewes and Laughton levels', SAC **110** (1972), 44–60. For a vivid description of how the inundation would have appeared to an Anglo-Saxon observer, see A. H. Allcroft, *Downland Pathways*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1924), 4; and for a description from the late 18th century, P. Dunvan, *Ancient and Modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmston* (Lewes, 1795), 355.

³ *Victoria County History of Sussex* (hereafter VCHSx) **7** (1940), 7.

⁴ D. Hill & A. Rumble (eds), *The Defence of Wessex: the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 207–8.

⁵ According to VCHSx **7**, 21, n. 84, the phrase 'twin mounds . . .' is from Freeman, *William Rufus*, i. 59. G. T. Clark, 'The castle of Lewes', SAC **34** (1882), engraved plan facing 57.

⁶ VCHSx **7**, 14.

⁷ Most recently, see D. Rudling, 'The archaeology of Lewes:

some recent research', SAC **121** (1983), 45–6; P. Drewett, D. Rudling & M. Gardiner, *The South East to AD 1000* (London: Longman, 1988), 326.

⁸ Dunvan, 9.

⁹ *The Provincial Magazine* **1**, no. 1 (August) (Lewes, 1818), 10 and fn.

¹⁰ W. H. Legge, *A New Guide to Lewes . . .* (Lewes: Southern Publishing Company, 1909), 1–2.

¹¹ SAC **93** (1955), lvi (Museum Acc. No. 1955;20).

¹² *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (hereafter JBA) **1** (1846), 238.

¹³ T. J. McCann, 'Thomas King's excavation at Greyfriars, Chichester, in 1835', SAC **134** (1996), 238–9; D. F. Renn, 'Canterbury Castle in the early Middle Ages', in P. Bennett, S. Frere & S. Stow (eds), *Excavations at Canterbury Castle 1* (Maidstone: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1982), 70–71.

¹⁴ *Victoria County History of Essex* **3** (1963), 39–44.

¹⁵ L. V. Grinsell, 'Sussex barrows', SAC **75** (1934), 223; E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1954), 144.

¹⁶ Legge, 23, probably referring to Lambeth Palace Library, court roll 1081.

¹⁷ L. V. Grinsell, 'The Christianisation of prehistoric and other pagan sites', *Landscape History* **8** (1986), 27–37. For further discussion of christianization see R. Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), xi; R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent, 1989), 73–84, 258. For the

- re-use of ritual and other high-status sites over time by different cultural groups see R. Bradley, *Altering the Earth: the Origins of Monuments in Britain and Continental Europe* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1993), 113–29, and J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon pagan shrines and their prototypes', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* **8** (1995), 1–28.
- ¹⁸ C. Donaldson, *Martin of Tours: Parish Priest, Mystic and Exorcist* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 140; Morris, 50, 71.
- ¹⁹ W. Figg, 'Some memorials of old Lewes', *SAC* **13** (1861), 12; copy of Marchant's map in Sussex Archaeological Society (hereafter SAS) Library at Barbican House, ref. LM 8.
- ²⁰ G. Mantell, *A Day's Ramble In and About . . . Lewes* (Lewes, 1846), 117.
- ²¹ *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 25 May 1839.
- ²² East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) ABE/D560/1. Further details of the improvements to the church mentioned by Wakeham can be found in the minutes of a vestry meeting of St John's parish. ESRO PAR 412/1/1/5, ff. 31–2. The 'church pavement' was probably the floor of the nave, which was seven steps below the level at which one entered the church. R. Gilbert, 'The Old Church of St John-sub-Castro' (unpub. typescript, SAS Library at Barbican House, 1969), 23–4.
- ²³ Dunvan, 342; J. Rouse, *The Beauties and Antiquities of . . . Sussex* (1825), 157; T. W. Horsfield, *History and Antiquities of Lewes . . . I* (Lewes, 1824), 271.
- ²⁴ Mantell, 117.
- ²⁵ M. A. Lower, *A Hand-Book for Lewes . . .*, 1st edn (Lewes, n.d.), 61, fn.
- ²⁶ 'Additions to Museum during year 1891', *SAC* **39** (1887), xxiv.
- ²⁷ Mantell, 117, fn.
- ²⁸ *JBAA* **1** (1846), 258.
- ²⁹ Lower, *Hand-Book*, 1st edn, 62. The 'improved' second edition of Lower's *Hand-Book* (1852), 75–6, repeats these observations word for word.
- ³⁰ Lower, *Hand-Book*, 3rd edn (n.d.), 62. I am grateful to Alexander Franklin of Abinger Place, who kindly provided me with his research notes relating to the development of the street. Mr Barratt was the local road-surveyor and, according to Lower, he was an early supporter of the Society. The Society 'is under considerable obligations for his friendly efforts to secure all objects of antiquarian interest met with in the various excavations of which he has the superintendence'. M. A. Lower, 'On miscellaneous antiquities, discovered in, and relating to, the county of Sussex', *SAC* **5** (1852), 199, fn.2.
- ³¹ M. A. Lower, 'The antiquities preserved in the museum of Lewes Castle', *SAC* **18** (1866), 64.
- ³² *JBAA* **1**, 257–8.
- ³³ Martin Henig, hon. editor of the *JBAA*, and Bernard Nurse, librarian to the Society of Antiquaries of London (pers. comms).
- ³⁴ 1799: C. Brent, *Historic Lewes* (Lewes: Lewes Town Council, 1985), 26–7; 1817: Copy in SAS library at Barbican House, Lewes, ref. LM 17.
- ³⁵ *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 29 Sept. 1838.
- ³⁶ W. H. Godfrey (ed.), *The Official Guide to Lewes* (Lewes: Lewes Town Council et al., c. 1933), 46. But Horsfield, 316, notes that the execution of criminals is said formerly to have taken place within Hangman's Acre itself, about 100 yards south-west of the site of the Elephant and Castle.
- ³⁷ L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Town Book of Lewes 1542–1701*, Sussex Record Society **48** (1945–6), 111.
- ³⁸ L. Grinsell, *Ancient Burial Mounds of England*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1953), 66.
- ³⁹ Figg, 19; Rev. E. Turner, 'The ancient merchant guild of Lewes . . .', *SAC* **21** (1869), 91.
- ⁴⁰ *Ex inf.* Mr Thomas Reeves, the present occupier of the property. It may be noted that the Reeves family have occupied the site since 1858. It may be noted, also, that amongst the Reeves' family memorabilia there are a few Roman coins. They include one of Domitian described as having been found in the Paddock, Lewes, and an Antoninus Pius for which there is no provenance. Likewise, there is no provenance for the other Roman coins in the collection, though there is evidence to suggest that some of them, including the Antoninus Pius, were bought from other collectors or coin dealers.
- ⁴¹ Mantell, 109.
- ⁴² Horsfield, 75.
- ⁴³ Correspondence between S. Medcalf, University of Sussex, and Miss C. Johns, Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities at the British Museum, 1972. I am grateful to Stephen Medcalf for providing me with a copy of this correspondence. Enquiries made in 1994 of Stuart Needham in the same department at the British Museum were responded to fully but elicited no further information.
- ⁴⁴ Figg, 19.
- ⁴⁵ L. F. Salzman, 'A history of the Sussex Archaeological Society', *SAC* **85** (1946), 27.
- ⁴⁶ Salzman, *SAC* **85**, 28.
- ⁴⁷ Figg, 20.
- ⁴⁸ Lower, *SAC* **18**, 60–73.
- ⁴⁹ P. Drewett, 'Excavations at Lewes Castle, East Sussex 1985–1988', *SAC* **130** (1992), 85.
- ⁵⁰ J. Houghton, 'Property and Land Ownership in Lewes: a study of land and building in the pre-incorporation Borough' 3 (unpub. typescript, SAS Library at Barbican House, 1989), unpaginated.
- ⁵¹ W. Robson, *Commercial Directory of London and the Six Home Counties . . .*, 19th edn (1839), 79 (sv 'Sussex'). Unfortunately this source does not list the occupants in St Martin's Lane.
- ⁵² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (hereafter *PSAL*) 2nd s. **18** (1899–1901), 28–9; M. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, British Archaeological Report **112** (1983), 124–6; M. Welch, 'Lewes and its region in the Anglo-Saxon period', in M. J. Allen et al. (eds), *Aspects of Archaeology in the Lewes Area* (Lewes: Lewes Archaeological Group, 1987), 29.
- ⁵³ *SAC* **43** (1891), xix, where they are described as 'a Saxon Axe Head and Sword'.
- ⁵⁴ Horsfield, 69.
- ⁵⁵ ESRO PAR 410/1/1/2; printed in *Sussex Notes and Queries* **8** (1940–41), 27. I am grateful to Colin Brent for bringing this reference to my attention.
- ⁵⁶ Rouse, plate 73; 'this view, taken in the year 1781, was copied from a drawing in the Burrell Collection'. Rouse, 181.
- ⁵⁷ Horsfield, 283.
- ⁵⁸ ESRO PAR 410/1/1/2.
- ⁵⁹ Mantell, 26–7.
- ⁶⁰ L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Pancras of Lewes 2*, Sussex Record Society **40** (1934), 23.

⁶¹ D. Rudling, 'Trial excavations in Brooman's Lane, Lewes, 1979', in D. Rudling 'The archaeology of Lewes: some recent research', *SAC* **121** (1983), 56.

⁶² M. Russell, 'Excavations in Friars Walk, Lewes, 1989', *SAC* **128** (1990), 154.

⁶³ D. Freke, 'Excavations in Friar's Walk, Lewes, 1976', *SAC* **116** (1978), 195.

⁶⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* new s. 2, pt 2 (1834), 418; reprinted in G. L. Gomme, *The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Archaeology* **1** (1886), 147-8.

⁶⁵ E. Bellchambers (ed.), *Excursions in the County of Sussex* . . . ,

'new edition' (1835), 64.

⁶⁶ Figg, 2-3.

⁶⁷ Figg, 3, fn.1.

⁶⁸ M. P. Kerney, 'Snails and Man in Britain', *Journal of Conchology* **26** (1966), 3-14, quoted in J. G. Evans, *Land Snails in Archaeology* (London & New York: Seminar Press, 1972), 176.

⁶⁹ *PSAL* **2**, no.21 (1850), 50.

⁷⁰ David Rudling, pers. comm.

⁷¹ SAS, Barbican House, Lewes, museum identification reports: 1994/84; 1996/2, 16, 40, 65.

APPENDIX A: THE NAME OF LEWES

By Richard Coates

John Bleach's article demonstrates that one of the most distinctive features of the topography of Lewes in the transition to Saxon control is likely to have been a row of artificial mounds. This naturally invites a reappraisal of the already widely-accepted view that the name of Lewes derives from Old English (OE) *hlæwas* 'hills, mounds'.

Mawer and Stenton¹ believed that the name was in fact a singular, meaning 'hill', and explained it as denoting 'the prominent hill on which Lewes stands'. They proceeded to explain the modern plural-looking form as 'due to the fact that there are other hills just across the Ouse, at the very gates of Lewes, so to speak. It may have been re-inforced by a general and unexplained tendency in Norman times to turn names into the plural form [examples]'. Ekwall² laconically explained the name as 'the plural of OE *hlæw* "hill"', with no further discussion.

There has been great progress recently in understanding Old English vocabulary for landscape features. Gelling's work³ has made it practically certain that in the South Country, including Sussex, OE *hlæw* and its relative *hlāw* only mean 'tumulus, artificial mound'. *Lewes* does not, therefore, mean 'hills'. An older tradition either held the name to mean 'tumuli' and did not offer any topographical account, or ascribed the name vaguely to unspecified barrows on the Downs around the town; the former is seen for instance in R. G. Roberts's older Sussex study, and the latter view is taken up in two recent general dictionaries.⁴ Before Bleach's findings, one might have toyed with the idea that the name indeed meant 'tumuli' but that it denoted barrows at the actual site of Lewes which had been obliterated by Saxon and subsequent urban development. No-one had previously presented hard evidence to suggest that the castle mottes were, or

included, pre-Norman work, and no-one had noted the potential significance of any alignment with other recorded mounds in the town. The new findings appear to dovetail well with Gelling's thinking in promoting the idea that *Lewes* means 'tumuli'.

This solution appears instantly convincing. Unfortunately, the linguistic evidence is not so straightforward. It is discussed in detail elsewhere,⁵ but the main points are as follows.

(1) Pre-Conquest spellings show no trace of the initial *h-* required for *hlæwas*, even in a document which preserves *h-* in another relevant name, the *Burghal Hidage*.⁶ Loss of *h-* before a consonant shows up in spellings only from the 12th century onwards, and reaches Kent last of all; the absence of *h-* on all pre-Conquest coins and in both surviving pre-Conquest documentary mentions has to be respected.

(2) Some pre-Conquest spellings on coins do have an *h*, but in an unexpected place (e.g. *Læhwæa*).

(3) *Hlæwas* should not develop to a modern pronunciation with two syllables, but one.

(4) In established Sussex place-names containing the OE word for 'tumulus', the variant *hlāw* is otherwise general (Baldslow, Cudlow, Sedlow Wood, and probably Burlough Castle), though *hlæw* is found in descriptive expressions in charter boundaries.

(5) That charter-boundary evidence shows that *hlæw* was feminine in OE in this area, which makes it quite unclear how it would have inflected in the plural. (*Hlæwas* is historically a masculine/neuter form.)

On the basis of these five points, I argued that *Lewes* was from Brittonic **Lexowiās* 'hillsides, -slopes' as a name for the district, rather than specifically for the

site of Lewes. The strongest formal objection to this is that ***Lewed* might be expected, for philological reasons explained fully in my article, but a parallel was found for this development's not occurring. Since my article was published, it has been suggested that Welsh *llechwedd* 'hillslope', of which I took **lexowiā* to be the source, has a different origin;⁷ but the alternative proposed, an expression meaning '(slate) rock-appearance, i.e. -face', poses semantic problems.

Of my original five points, (1) and (2) still strike me as solid reasons to reject an OE origin for *Lewes*, and (4) as supportive of (1) and (2) if not independently convincing. (3) may not be quite as secure as originally thought; there are traces (though remarkably few, it must be said) of a one-syllable pronunciation, e.g. in a letter from Elizabeth Chambers of Hastings to 'my friend Mr Harison at

his house in Lews', dated 26 March 1657. (This letter is currently slipped into the front of the Lewes Archdeaconry act-book, ESRO MS. W/B9, with which it has no connection.⁸) I have heard unsubstantiated reports of a similar obsolete local pronunciation in the present century. It is possible that such a pronunciation could have been deliberately avoided by the fastidious because of its similarity to *lewze* 'pigsty' (now a West-Country word but formerly much more widespread; cf. *Looes Barn* (Saltdean, Rottingdean)).

We are left with a strong material reason to believe that *Lewes* could be OE for 'tumuli', and serious linguistic reservations about this solution. Evidence in Bleach's article clearly suggests Roman-period activity at Lewes, and we need not be shy of believing a pre-Saxon name to have survived. The linguistic evidence must not be ignored.

NOTES

¹ A. H. Mawer & F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, English Place-Name Society 6/7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929/30).

² Eilert Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

³ Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, 2nd edition (Chichester: Phillimore, 1988), 134–7; *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London: Dent, 1984), 162–3.

⁴ R. G. Roberts, *The Place-Names of Sussex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 102; John Field, *Place-Names of Great Britain and Ireland* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1980), s.n.; Adrian Room, *Dictionary of British Place-Names* (London: Bloomsbury, 1988), 212.

⁵ Richard Coates, 'The name of Lewes: some problems and possibilities', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 23 (1990–91), 5–15.

⁶ John McN. Dodgson, 'The Burghal Hidage place-names', in D. Hill & A. R. Rumble (eds), *The Defence of Wessex: the Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 98–127, esp. 100, regrettably does not make anything of the different treatment of Lewes and Lydford.

⁷ Peter Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* Leiden Studies in Indo-European 5. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 285.

⁸ Information kindly supplied by Christopher Whittick, East Sussex Record Office.

Archaeological excavations in Steyning, 1992-95:

FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE EVOLUTION OF A LATE SAXON SMALL TOWN

by Mark Gardiner &
Christopher Greatorex

with contributions from
Luke Barber
Lucy Kirk

Three excavations undertaken within the area of the historic town of Steyning clarified the character and extent of the Late Anglo-Saxon settlement. At least three Saxo-Norman buildings were recorded in work at Coombe Court. These have some similarities to those previously recorded in the vicinity. Work at Tanyard Lane suggested that the site lay on the periphery of the Saxon town, but was occupied in the medieval period when it was the site of a kiln producing pottery and ridge tiles. The extension of Steyning Library allowed an opportunity to clarify the results of work undertaken there in 1962. A larger area was recorded, but no medieval structures were found. Further remains of the post-medieval buildings were recorded. Analysis of the plans of Late Anglo-Saxon remains suggests a low density of settlement within the emerging town. It is suggested that the settlement did not have a regular plan until the new town was founded on the present High Street in the late 12th or 13th century. Steyning is compared with North Elmham (Norfolk) which is identified as a failed Late Saxon small town.

Excavations in 1988 and 1989 at Market Field and on the site of the new Steyning Museum contributed significantly to the understanding of the topography and character of the Saxo-Norman and later medieval town of Steyning (Gardiner 1993; Reynolds 1992). That work continued the investigations begun in 1962 and 1967-8 by Worthing Museum and in 1977 and 1985 by the Institute of Archaeology, London (Fig. 1), and the policy of concentrated archaeological study of selected towns in Sussex (Aldsworth & Freke 1976, 6-7; Barton 1986a; Evans 1986; Freke 1979; Gardiner 1988). Three further excavations were undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit (Institute of Archaeology) in the six years following 1989. The intention of these more recent excavations was to clarify some of the aspects of the town and to enable the research issues to be defined more closely. The present article reports that more recent archaeological work, suggests some preliminary conclusions from over 30 years' excavation within Steyning and offers some wider reflections on the origin of small towns in Late Anglo-Saxon England.

The historical evidence and topography of Steyning has been described elsewhere and need

only be briefly summarized here (Hudson 1980; Hudson 1987; *V.C.H. Sussex* 6, i, 220-25). The light fertile soils at the foot of the scarp slope of the South Downs and at the edge of the floodplain of the River Adur have been intensively cultivated and settled since the later prehistoric period. Towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period a settlement developed around the south side of the church and formed the small town recorded in Domesday Book (i, 17a). The centre of the town moved, probably in the late 12th or early 13th century, to a new, planned site on the present High Street (Gardiner 1988, 60). Part of the area of the former Saxo-Norman settlement near the church reverted to farmland, and remained open until the town expanded in the late 20th century.

PART 1: EXCAVATIONS AT COOMBE COURT, 1992

By Mark Gardiner

In January 1992 the West Sussex County Archaeologist, Mark Taylor, asked the Field Archaeology Unit to undertake a watching brief

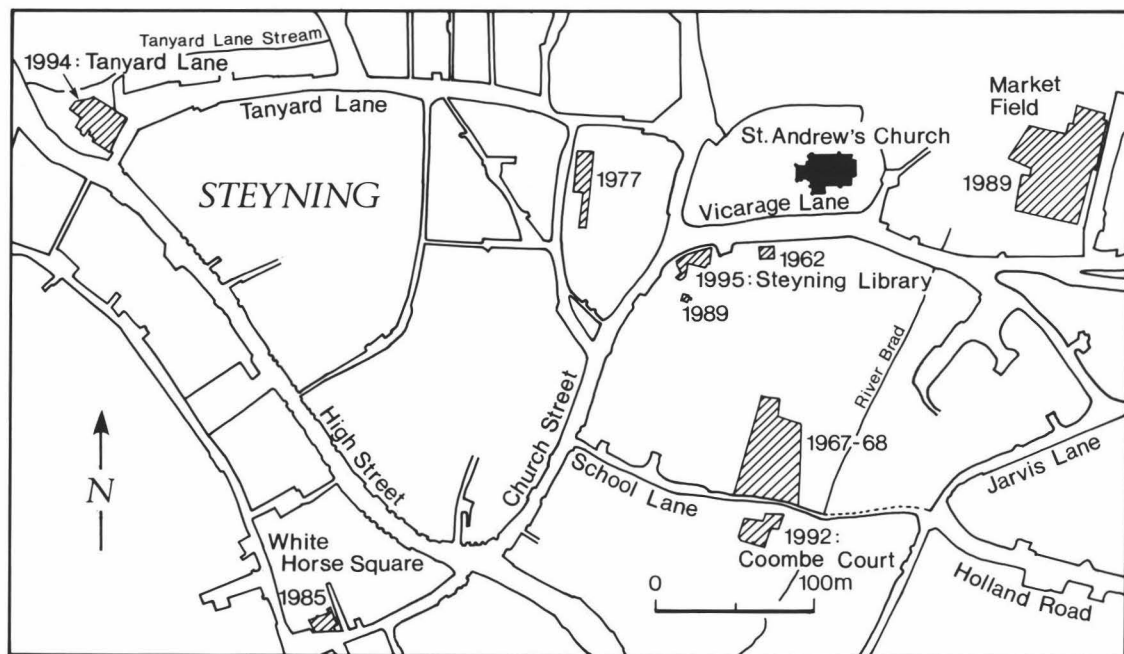


Fig. 1. Steyning: location of excavations.

during the stripping of topsoil for the site of the new parish hall at Coombe Court, Steyning (TQ 17871118). The high potential of this site was indicated by work undertaken in 1967-8 at Fletcher's Croft car park to the north (Evans 1986), but planning permission for the parish hall had been granted before publication of government guidelines on the provision of developer-funding for archaeological work (Fig. 2). It was agreed, after further discussion with the architects and the County Archaeologist, that soil stripping might take place in advance of construction work to allow a record to be made of any archaeological features.

The 1967-8 excavations had suggested that in the past the base of the valley had been marshland or had suffered from periodic flooding and was unlikely to have been occupied. Furthermore, the lower part of the Coombe Court site had been extensively disturbed by two sewers. The west or uphill area of the development was therefore chosen for stripping, and the topsoil and underlying colluvial deposits removed by machine under archaeological supervision. Few archaeological features were present. Some late Anglo-Saxon, Saxo-Norman and 13th-century pits and a later-medieval ditch were recorded. However, at the north-east

extremity of the site a group of rubbish pits were identified. Earlier work at Market Field, Steyning, had suggested that such pits might cluster around buildings (Gardiner 1993, 38). The Sussex Archaeological Society agreed to provide a grant for additional machining to allow a further area of the site to be stripped around these pits. That work exposed more rubbish pits and traces of the expected buildings. Consequently, West Sussex County Council agreed to fund further excavation. Work continued in March 1992 and lasted for the two weeks before construction work was due to start.

Coombe Court lies on the slope between the buildings and playground of Steyning Grammar School, and the valley floor occupied a stream flowing northwards from near Dog Lane. The land had not been disturbed in recent years, except for the construction of a new sewer in the months immediately preceding the archaeological work. A very considerable depth of soil had developed above the chalk. No archaeological features were noted in this deposit and it was entirely removed to the level of the chalk by mechanical excavation. These overlying deposits had formed through colluviation; deep colluvial deposits also were noted at Market Field, Steyning, on the opposite side of the stream

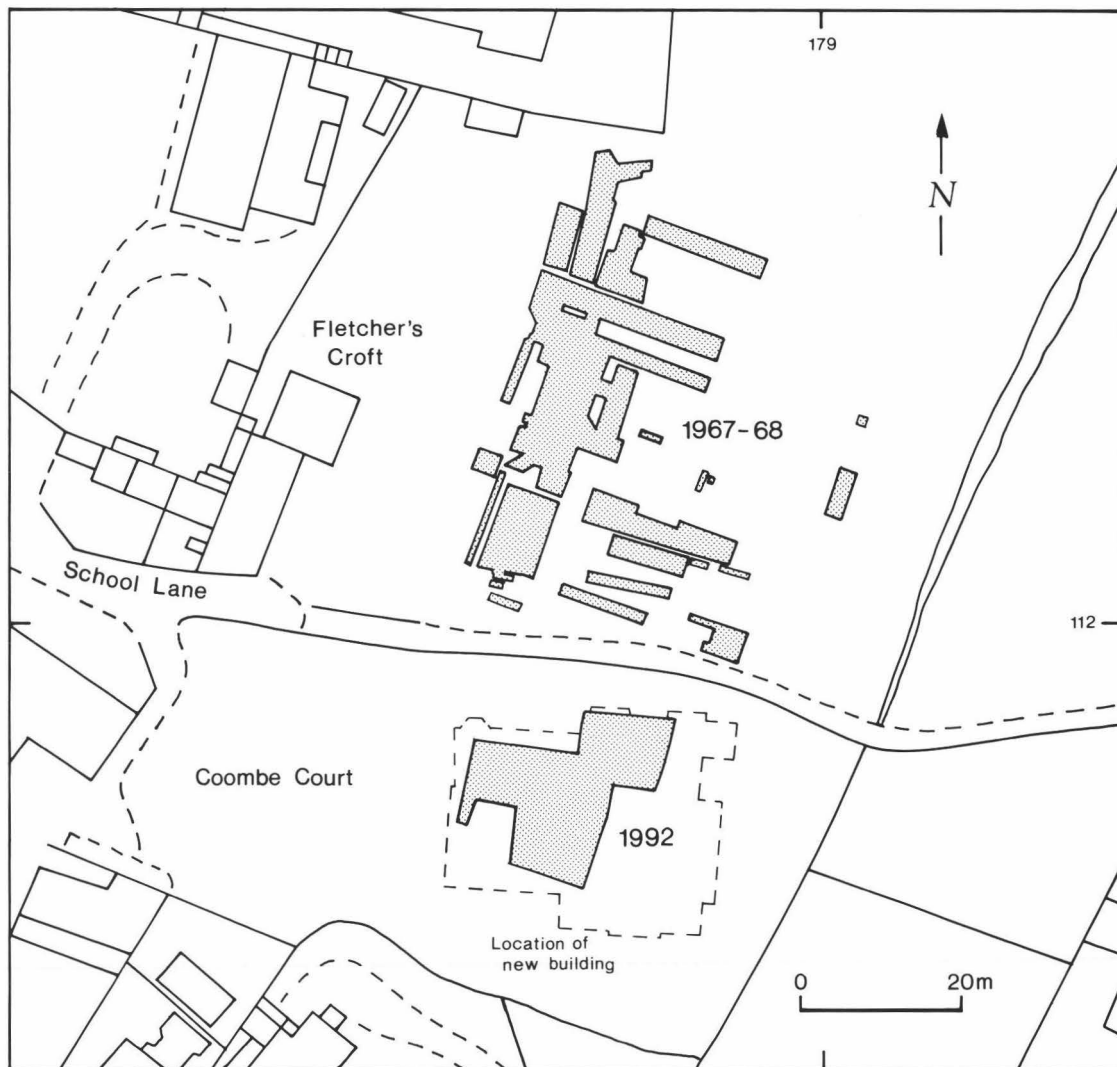


Fig. 2. Fletcher's Croft and Coombe Court: excavated areas.

valley to the north (Gardiner 1993, 22). The geology on the uphill part of the site is a shallow deposit of Clay-with-Flints which partially overlies the Lower Chalk. Chalk marl, similar to the deposits found to the north at Fletcher's Croft, was recorded on the downhill area of the excavation.

Activity on the site may be divided into five phases.

PHASE 1 - PREHISTORIC

Prehistoric activity is represented by four flint flakes and seven sherds of pottery. The pottery may be dated to the period 1000 to 300 BC. All these finds

were from colluvium or were residual in later features. No features were dated before the Late Anglo-Saxon period. Prehistoric activity is well represented in the Steyning area. Ditches dated to the 9th century BC and mid-1st century AD were excavated at Testers, White Horse Square and other, unpublished prehistoric finds are in Steyning Museum (Gardiner 1988).

PHASE 2 - LATE ANGLO-SAXON

Only two features could be certainly attributed to the late Anglo-Saxon period. These were a large rubbish pit (Fig. 3:2) circular in plan and with

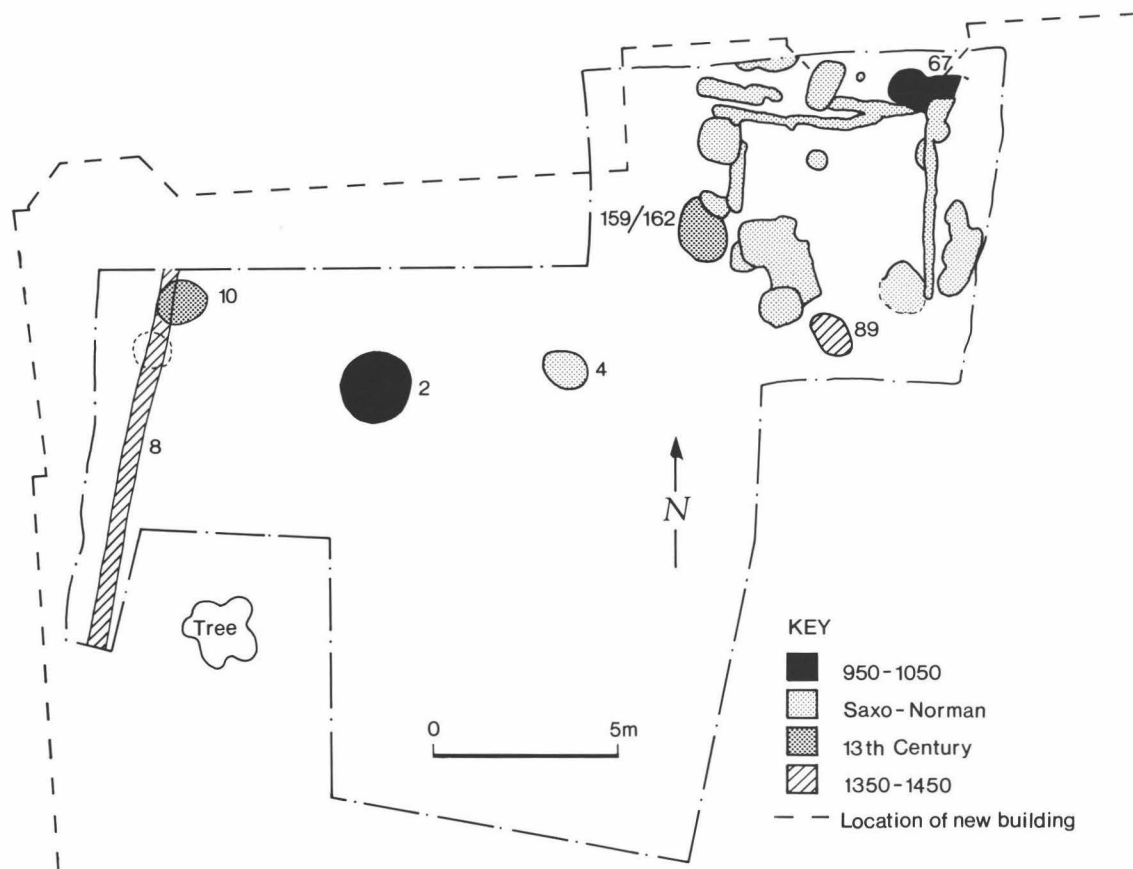


Fig. 3. Coombe Court: phase plan.

sloping sides, and an elongated pit near to the north-east corner (Fig. 3:67). A date range of 950 to 1050 for both features is suggested by the pottery.

The circular pit (2) contained large, unabraded conjoining sherds suggesting that the material was dumped in the pit shortly after breakage. The pit was probably dug for rubbish disposal. The function of the elongated pit is less certain. These pits do not fall into the categories identified at Market Field (Gardiner 1993, 34-6). The source of the rubbish in the Saxo-Norman pits was not located during excavation. The pits at Market Field clustered around the buildings and at Coombe Court any building could have lain to the north fronting on to School Lane or in another unexcavated area.

PHASE 3 - SAXO-NORMAN

All the Saxo-Norman features were concentrated in one area of the excavation, with the exception of a shallow circular pit (Fig. 3:4). That isolated feature

had yellow-green staining around the edge which may indicate that it had been used as a cesspit. The other features were bounded by the upper edge of a platform which had been dug into the hillslope to create a more nearly level surface, presumably for the buildings which were constructed there. Perhaps coincidentally, the boundary of the upper edge of the platform coincided with the lower edge of the marl. The features on the platform itself were cut into chalk.

Buildings (Figs 4-6)

Fragmentary evidence for a number of buildings was identified. The structures could be dated from the finds within the trench fills to within the period 950 to 1150. The walls of the buildings were defined by narrow trenches. These were evidently dug in short lengths since lengths of wall-trench were separated by slight changes in alignment and width. The trenches generally had one regular, vertical or

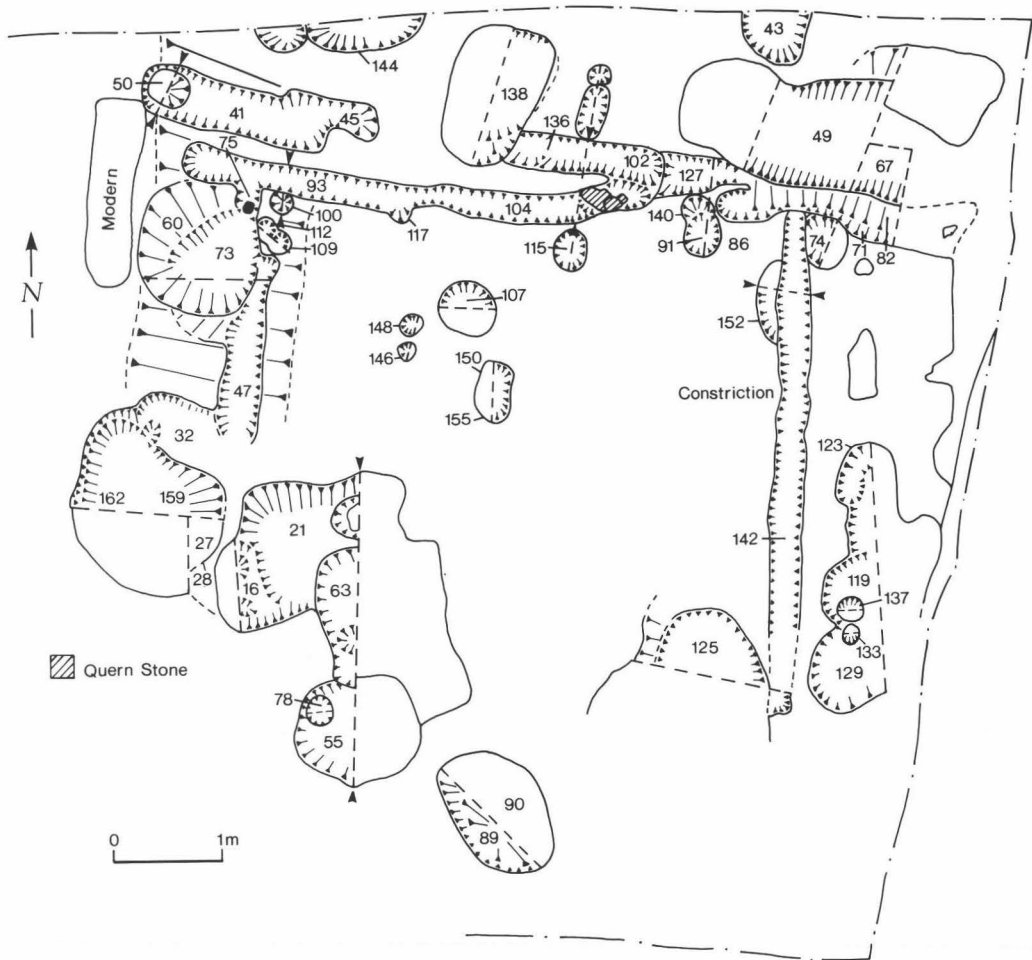


Fig. 4. Coombe Court: archaeological features in the north-east area.

near vertical face and an opposing side which was more irregular and sloping. The ends of the trench were in some places marked by post-holes, the bases of which were often set below the level of the adjoining trench.

The interpretation of these buildings draws upon the structures excavated at Botolphs, 2½ km to the south-east, and upon the evidence from Market Field, Steyning 300 m to the north (Gardiner 1990; Gardiner 1993). The dating evidence, however, suggests that the structures at those two sites may be slightly earlier than at Coombe Court. The buildings at Botolphs and Market Field used radially-split planks, squared posts or, where the uprights were not visible in the interior of the building,

rounded posts. The internal faces of the post-holes or wall-trenches were more regular and precisely aligned than the external edges. The doorways were situated in the side wall and were often marked by more substantial post-settings. The corner-posts, where identified, were often set at 45° to the wall faces. The end walls were invariably of slight construction, with the exception of Building A at Market Field where, it was argued, the greater use of timber was for display, rather than for structural purposes.

Building A

Slot 142 was divided into two parts with a slight constriction and a change in alignment of about 8°

(Figs 4 & 6). Nevertheless, the slot probably belongs to a single building measuring at least 4.6 m and not more than 5.7 m long. The northern extent of the building could not be determined and there was no evidence for the end walls. The southern end of the slot is marked by a swelling, evidently to accommodate a corner-post. The east face of the slot was the more nearly vertical and regular, suggesting the interior of the building was on that side. The counterpart of the wall-trench would, therefore, have lain to the east, beyond the area of excavation. A section across the slot revealed a stone set on edge, which was probably packed against a timber. The distance between the stone and the east edge of the slot was 145 mm, which may indicate the width of timber.

Pottery from the slot suggests a date in the range 950–1100.

Building B

Building B was marked by slot 104 which terminated in a large post-hole packed with three fragments of broken quernstone (Fig. 4). These could represent later packing placed from the south side to wedge and support the base of a rotten and collapsing post. A similar explanation was suggested for the post-pad of Botolphs structure E (Gardiner 1990, 232). Alternatively, the stone-setting may mark either the end of the building, or a doorway. A similar stone-packed post-hole was found at the doorway of Botolphs structure B. If it was a doorway, then the corresponding side was probably 86 which is a post-hole with a possible adjoining wall-trenches 82 and 102 (Fig. 4; Fig. 6: building B, i). On the other hand, if the querns were set around a corner-post, then trench 93 may mark the continuation of the trench to the west (Fig. 6: building B, ii). The stratigraphic relationship of trenches 93 and 104 could not be determined. They are, however, imperfectly aligned. At the west end of trench 93 is a slight swelling, evidently marking the position of a larger post, and there is a small post-hole 117 at the opposite end (Fig. 4).

The north sides of both trenches 93 and 104 were nearly vertical suggesting that the interior of the building lay to the north. The relationship of post-holes 91 and 115 to the possible doorway is uncertain. These might mark the position of posts for a small porch, similar to that suggested for Botolphs structure B, but they are imperfectly aligned with the possible door-posts (Fig. 6: building B, i).

The pottery from slots 93 and 104 suggests a date in the range 950–1150.

Building C

The west end of slot 102 terminated in a post-hole with a base 70 mm below the level of the trench. The line of the wall-trench is perhaps continued by the short slot 127 on the east side and 45 on the west. The fill of 45 could be distinguished from the fill of slot 41, but their stratigraphic relationship could not be determined.

The interpretation of this building is problematic. Trench 102 may belong with 45 and frame a doorway 1.2 m wide. The building itself would have been only 3.6 m long (Fig. 6: building C, i). A second interpretation would associate 102 with slots 127 and perhaps 82. Feature 127 might be a post-setting by a door, with a shallow porch utilizing posts 140 and 74, and a corresponding post on the opposite side of the doorway set in feature 71 (Fig. 6: building C, ii).

The pottery from features 137 and 127 comes from the period 950–1150. Pottery from 102 can be dated more precisely to the period 950–1100.

No interpretation is offered for slot 41 with its post-hole 50 at the west end, or for slot 47 which runs at right angles (Fig. 4). Though these are probably wall-trenches, too little survives to offer a meaningful interpretation of the buildings.

Discussion

The structural evidence from Coombe Court is less complete than that recovered from either Botolphs or Market Field, Steyning. The scale of excavations did not allow the full plans of buildings to be identified: building A probably continued beyond the excavation to the east and buildings B and C to the north. No timber ghosts were identified. At the other two sites these proved crucial in determining the nature of the buildings. It is not possible to be certain about the nature of the structures at Coombe Court. The slots may have contained vertically-set timbers placed hard against the inside edges of the cuts. Alternatively, vertical posts may have been set on a horizontal sill beam placed along the length of the slots. There is no certain evidence to decide between these two possibilities, though the short trench alignments may indicate the use of a series of sill beams. If sill beams were utilized, they may have been jointed into the side of the vertical end posts which were sometimes set below the level of the adjoining slots (*cf.* Gardiner *et al.* 1991, 84).

The ground plans of buildings B and C overlap and they could not have stood at the same time. The stratigraphy did not allow the sequence to be determined. Building A might have been contemporary with one or the other, depending upon the interpretation of the ground plan chosen. This part of the excavation area appears to have been chosen for the site of a number of buildings. These would have adjoined School Lane, which has been identified as an ancient routeway from Steyning to the River Adur, although it has been attributed by Evans (1986, 91, 92) on slight evidence to the 12th century. The present work might suggest that it was earlier.

Pits

The excavated area included land which would probably have been at the rear of buildings B and C, and uphill of building A. This area was used for various functions, including the deposition of rubbish. Four of the pits (Fig. 4:21, 55, 60, 63) are recognizably sub-square or sub-rectangular in form, and therefore comparable to the rubbish pits excavated at Market Field. Two further pits of similar form may be represented by the shallow cuts 4 (Fig. 3) and 32. The latter had been largely removed by the 13th-century pit, 28.

These pits were notably less regular and carefully cut, and did not have the sharp, almost vertical sides of those at Market Field. The geology may account for the difference. The friable Lower Chalk at Coombe Court is softer and does not form good vertical faces. Only the very base of pit 55 remained and this probably accounts for its irregular form.

The rubbish pits, with the exception of pit 4, clustered in one area of the excavation. They were so closely placed that pit 63 cut pit 21 and was in turn cut by pit 55 (Fig. 5). The rubbish pits 32 and 60 were both cut by the slot 47. The concentration of pits around the buildings was also noted at Market Field and at other Late Anglo-Saxon sites elsewhere. It has already been noted that the yellow-green staining around the outlying pit (4) might suggest that it was used as a cesspit. The position of cesspits at a distance from the contemporary buildings was also noted in the Market Field excavations (Gardiner 1993, 38).

Other pits were generally shallow or of uncertain form. Pit 138 may have originally had a sub-square plan, but when excavated had a shallow lip on the south side. Pit 125 was more irregular and of uncertain extent. It was undercut on the west side,

something which can hardly have been deliberate; it was more probably the result of frost-shattering of chalk at its base. The pit was the lowest on the site with the base at 8.85 m Ordnance Datum and therefore the closest to the water-table.

PHASE 4 - THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Two rounded rubbish pits, one of which was recut, could be attributed to the 13th century (Fig. 3: 10, 159/162).

PHASE 5 - LATER MEDIEVAL: 1300-1450

Two features were dated to the period 1300 to 1450. A shallow ditch (Fig. 3:8) ran across the slope on the west side of the site. The ditch, which was cut into chalk, is unlikely to have been for drainage and therefore was probably dug as a boundary. The second feature (89) is dated to this period on the evidence of a single sherd in the lower fill which otherwise contained Saxo-Norman sherds. The sherd might be intrusive and the dating of the feature must be regarded as tentative.

PART 2: EXCAVATIONS AT TANYARD LANE, 1994

By Christopher Greatorex

During November 1994, Tanyard Properties Limited commissioned the Field Archaeology Unit to undertake an archaeological investigation of land adjoining Tanyard Lane (TQ 17451143). The site, measuring 1105 sq.m had been granted planning permission for housing subject to the satisfactory conclusion of archaeological work. It was bounded by Tanyard Lane to the south, standing buildings situated on the High Street to the west, a garage and forecourt to the east and Tanyard Stream to the north. The site was probably situated towards the north-western edge of the medieval town. No archaeological work had previously been undertaken in this area of Steyning.

The excavation was carried out in two phases. Trenches were initially dug by machine to ascertain whether archaeological remains were present and determine the nature of the stratigraphy. One of these trenches (Fig. 7: T 2B) was subsequently extended and the archaeological features were more completely excavated by hand.

Trenches 1B, 1C and 3 were dug to a depth of approximately 1.3 m below ground level. No archaeological features, deposits or artefacts were

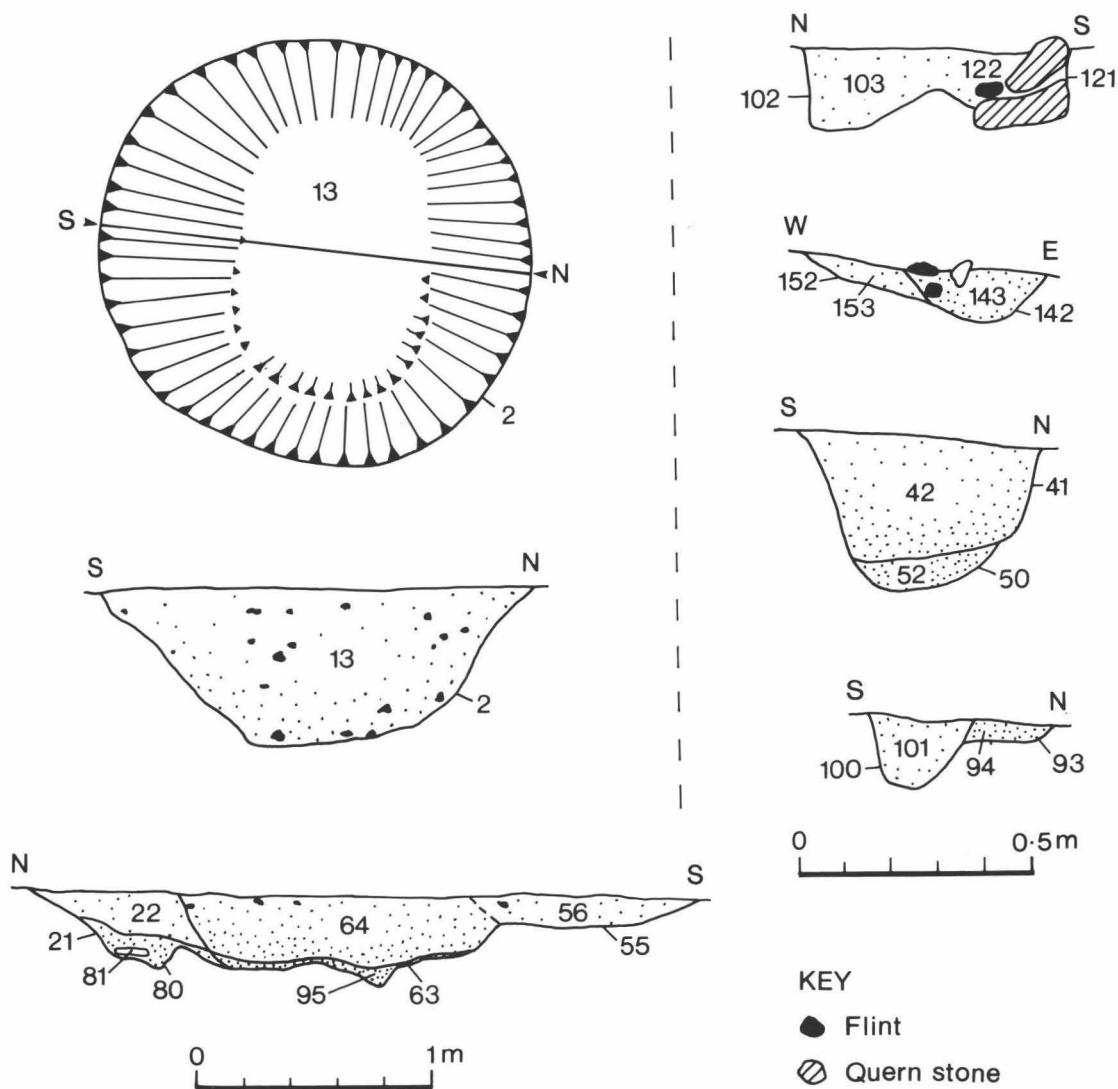


Fig. 5. Coombe Court: plan of feature 13 and selected sections.

recorded in these three trenches which were heavily disturbed by 20th-century activity.

A series of upper recent deposits in trenches 1A and 2B overlay medieval strata (Fig. 8). A deposit of Greensand fragments and degraded mortar was recorded in trench 2B below these recent deposits (3) and a 100 mm-thick deposit of compact mid grey-brown silty clay (42) was present in trench 1A. A lower deposit of silty clay, varying in thickness from 150 mm to 350 mm, was found in both trenches (2, 43). The lowest recorded deposit in trench 1A was a

layer of compact mid yellow-green, silty clay (44). A small box-section excavated by hand across it revealed that solid Greensand lay at approximately 1.2 m below the ground surface. Context 44 and its equivalent in trench 2B, context 8, contained a high proportion of Saxo-Norman wares, suggesting that they were sealed shortly after 1100.

TRENCH 1A (Fig. 8)

A deposit of friable, dark grey, silty clay (48 and 52) containing a high percentage of chalk pieces and

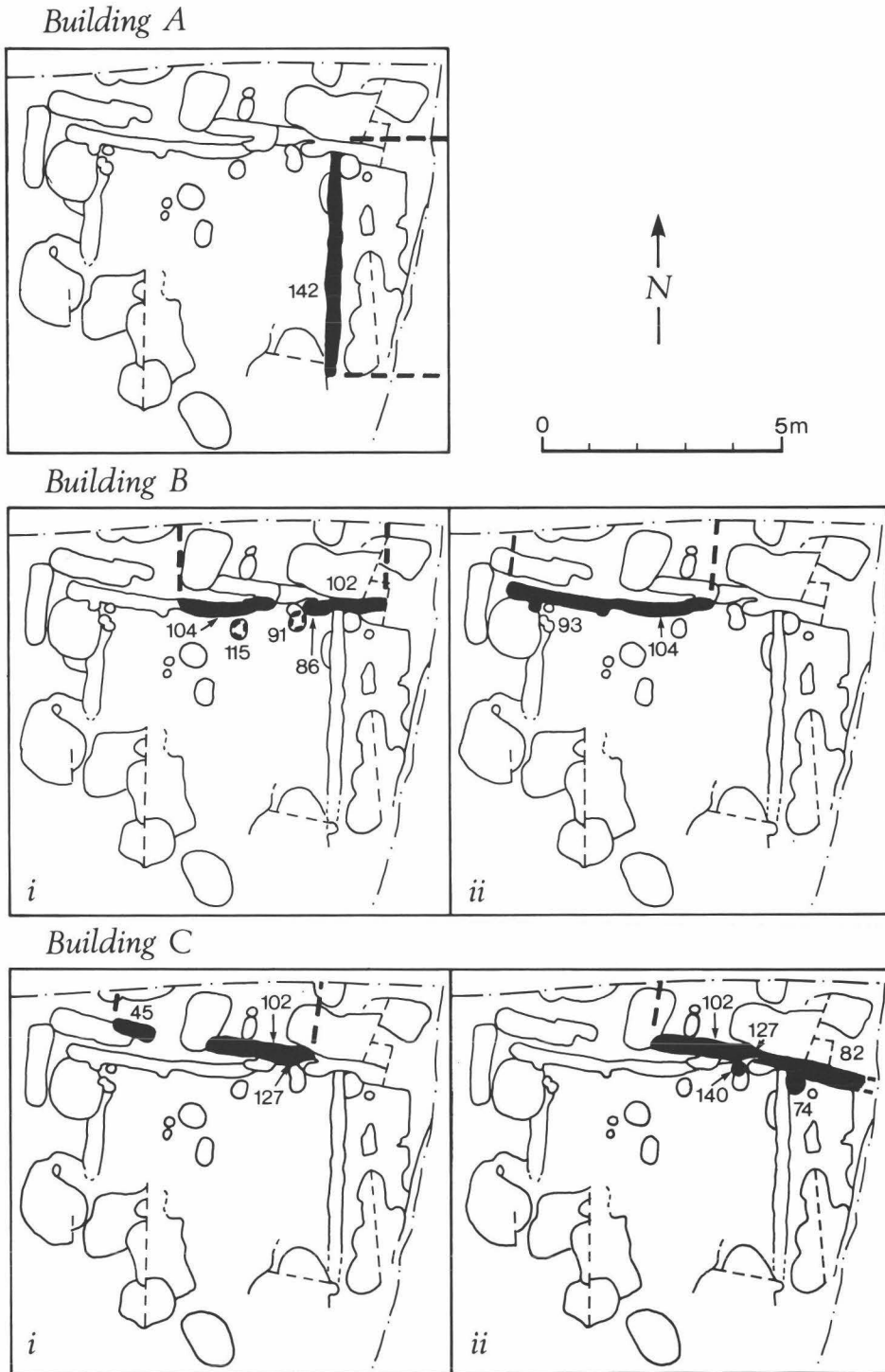


Fig. 6. Coombe Court: alternative interpretations of buildings.

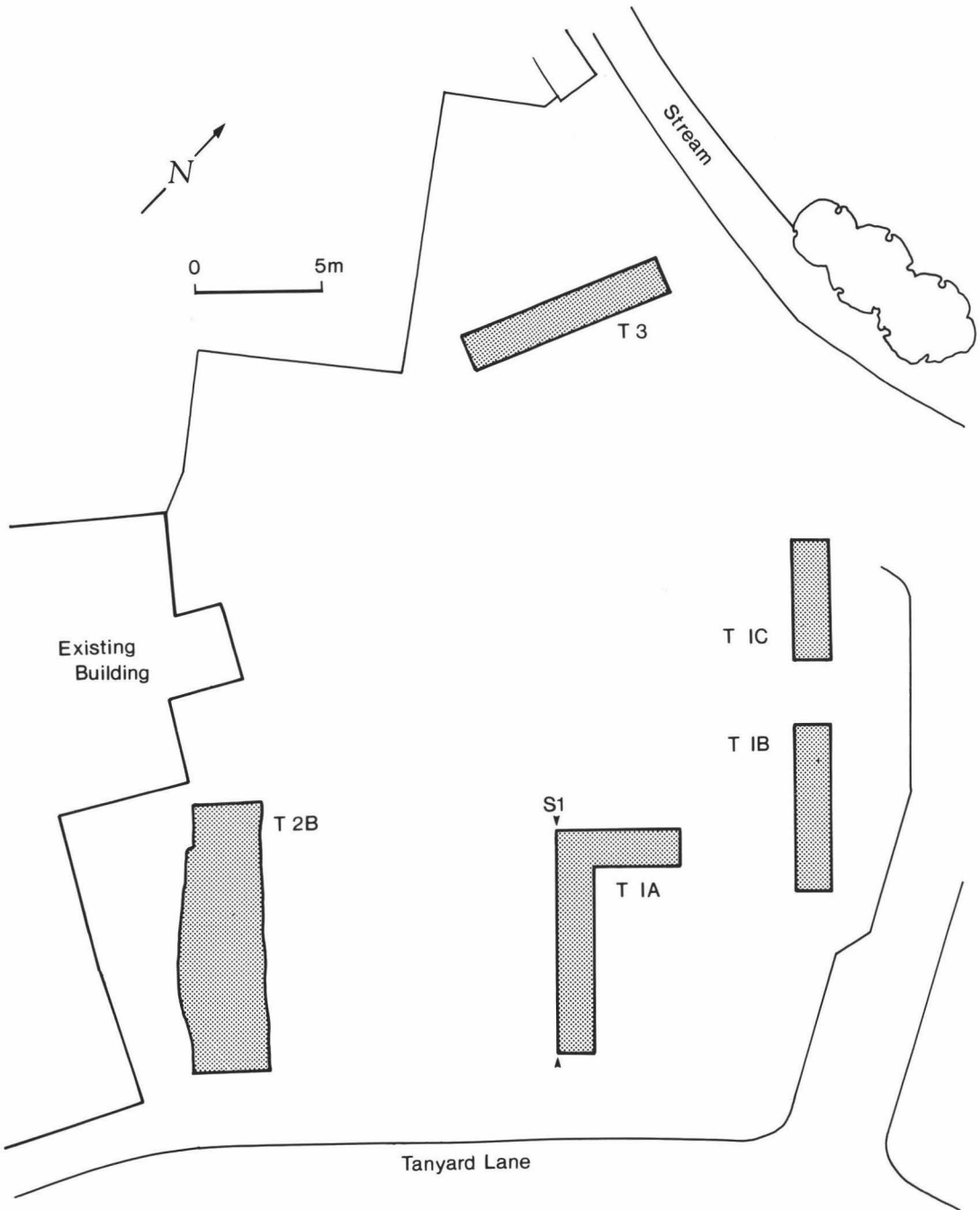


Fig. 7. Tanyard Lane: location plan of trenches.

flint nodules had been laid down during the later medieval period directly over the Saxo-Norman soil (44), probably to make up the height of the ground

surface above the wet land near Tanyard Stream.

One poorly defined feature was only recognized in the north-east-facing section of the trench. This

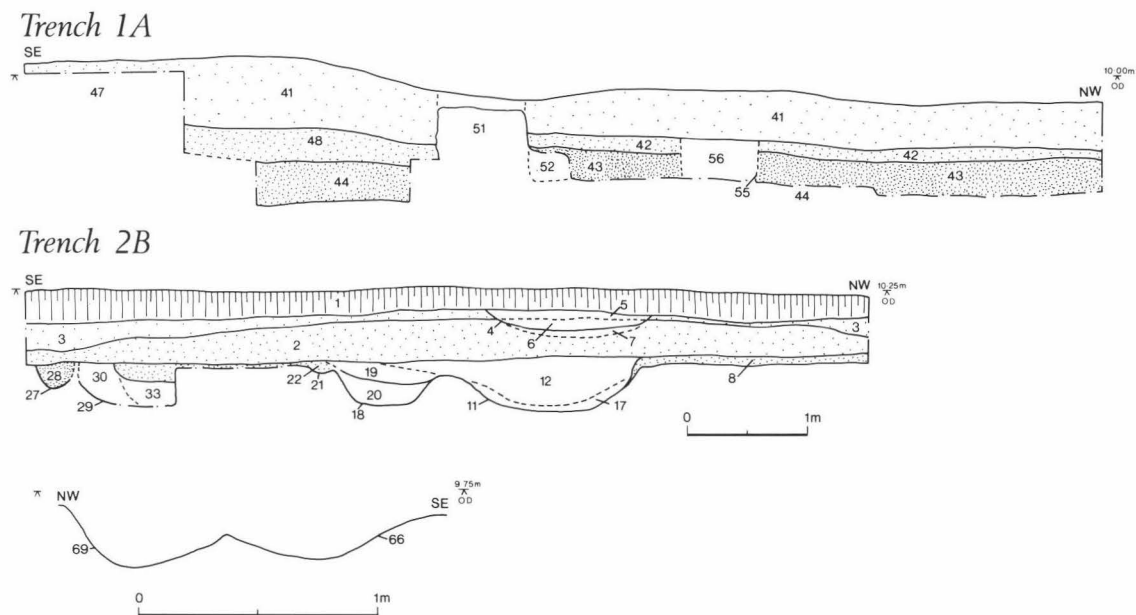


Fig. 8. Tanyard Lane: sections.

ditch (55) appeared to cut layers 42 and 43, but the extremely wet conditions under which the excavation was conducted prevented any further investigation.

TRENCH 2B (Figs 8 & 9)

A number of later medieval features were revealed in trench 2B, cut into the Saxo-Norman layer, 8. The foundations for the intended building were likely to remove these remains and consequently it was decided to extend trench 2B. Nineteen intercutting pits were located in the extended trench. These features were all roughly circular in plan and ranged in size from 550 mm to 2100 mm in diameter and from 90 mm to 470 mm in depth. The shallow nature of the cuts may indicate that the stratigraphy has been truncated since the medieval period.

Sixteen of these pits had gently sloping concave sides and irregular, but near horizontal bases. The remaining three features (cuts 64, 66 & 69) had markedly steeper sides and concave bases. All of the pits contained very similar, compact, silty clay fills. Owing to the similarity of the pit fills and adverse conditions during the excavation, few stratigraphic relationships were ascertained from the cut features. Despite this, post-excitation analysis of the recovered pottery identified two distinct

groups of pits.

The pottery from the site can be attributed to 1100-1350, with most of the activity probably dating to the middle of this period. However, a group of pits containing a substantial proportion of Saxo-Norman wares was isolated. Pits 29, 64, 66, 71 and 73 were recognized as early, on this basis. These five early features had an average diameter of approximately 900 mm and an average depth of 150 mm. Later pits had an average diameter of about 1020 mm and were 240 mm in depth.

Study of the pottery led to the identification of a number of kiln wasters. These were recovered from both the early and later features. They were presumably residual in the later contexts. The presence of wasters in the primary pit fills suggests that they may have been dug, at least in part, for their disposal. No kilns or associated features were located during the excavation. However, the quantity of waster sherds and the defects displayed by some of these, which would have rendered them impossible to use, indicate that firing must have taken place nearby. Several fragments of ceramic material were also found with uneven surfaces and impressions of grass or twigs. These may either be waste material or part of the kiln structure.

The medieval pits contained very high densities

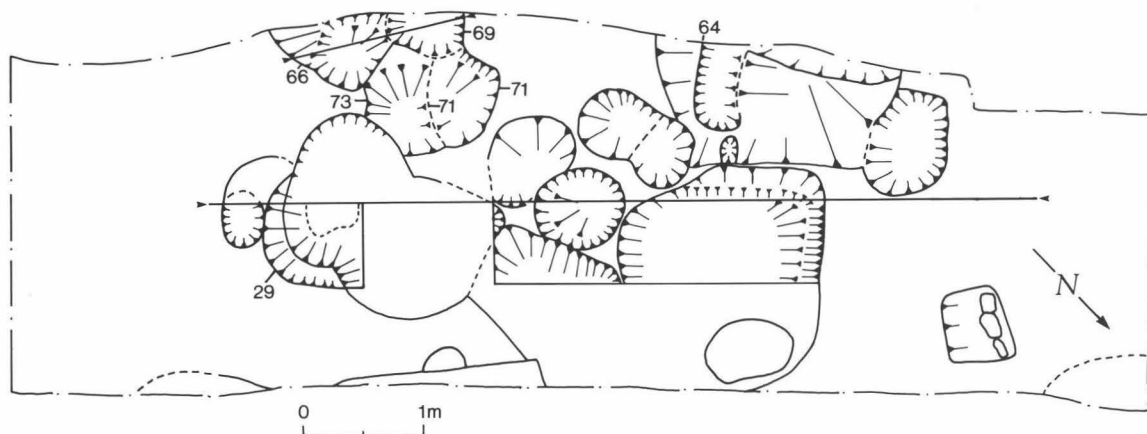


Fig. 9. Tanyard Lane: plan of trench 2B.

of pottery, but it is extremely doubtful whether all the recovered ceramics were wasters. The diversity of ceramic fabrics and the presence of sooting on the exterior of a number of sherds suggests that the pits contained both kiln throw-outs and domestic waste. Other ecofacts and artefacts within the pits included oyster shells, a quernstone fragment, plant remains and animal bones indicating the mixed origin of the deposits. A study of the presence/absence and relative percentages of the different skeletal elements in the bone assemblage revealed that these bone deposits were residues from the slaughtering and butchery of animals, rather than domestic kitchen refuse.

DISCUSSION By Mark Gardiner & Christopher Greatorex
The archaeological evidence recorded at Tanyard Lane suggests that the site lay close to the Saxo-Norman settlement of Steyning. Pottery dating to after c. 1100 was found within the lowest deposits (8, 44) and presumably discarded from the nearby settlement. There is no evidence otherwise of activity on the site. During the early 13th century, pits were excavated into the deposits, and filled with domestic rubbish and industrial waste from a nearby pottery kiln. Dyer (1982) notes that pottery production was not a high social status craft in the medieval period and potters often combined ceramic production with other activities. Rubbish pits ceased to be dug around 1350, either because of a contraction in settlement, or more probably because of a change in the practice of rubbish disposal.

Pottery production sites before the Norman Conquest were commonly located within urban

centres; later, they were generally situated in the countryside and where urban-based industries of the later medieval period have been identified, their kilns were often situated at the margins of the towns (McCarthy & Brooks 1988, 70). The 13th-century kiln at Orchard Street in Chichester is a local example (Down & Rule 1971, 153-4). The Steyning kiln was also in such a location. It is informative to consider the relationship of kilns with urban centres in Sussex. The Ringmer industry has a clear relationship with the nearby town of Lewes as do the kilns at Spital Field with Rye. The Bohemia kilns lay close to the medieval town of Hastings. Some other kilns were remote from any urban centre, but many ceramic production centres were clearly established to take advantage of markets in towns (Streeten 1981, 331).

The kiln at Steyning joins a substantial number of pottery production centres known from south-east England (Streeten 1981, 324). The clays at the foot of the South Downs seem to have been particularly favoured and a string of medieval kilns is now known stretching from Heyshott and Graffham in the west through Steyning and Streat to Ringmer (Aldsworth & Down 1990; Farrant 1983, 121-2; Hadfield 1981). The Heyshott, Graffham and Ringmer kilns all lay near to the boundary of the Gault Clay and Lower Greensand. The kiln at Marchants Farm, Streat was situated further north on the Weald Clay. The Steyning kiln, which was very probably situated very close to the excavated area, lay on a different geology. It stood upon the Upper Greensand, close to the boundary with the

Lower Chalk. The nearest source of clay was the outcrop of Gault 900 m to the north, but the sand temper probably came from the Lower Greensand 2½ km away. In this case the costs of transporting the raw materials to the kiln must have been offset by the advantage of proximity to a market.

The area of distribution of Steyning ware has yet to be identified. The site at America Wood (Ashington) may have been using the products of the Steyning pottery, although their rim forms are rather different (*cf.* Gardiner 1994, 46-7). Alternatively, there may have been a further unidentified kiln supplying the Ashington site. Sandy wares have been previously noted in earlier excavations in Steyning and the vicinity, for example at Testers (Gardiner 1988, 69: fabric 13) and at Botolphs (Gardiner 1990, 257: EC ware). Study of sites in the vicinity will, no doubt, reveal further evidence of the extent of distribution.

PART 3: EXCAVATIONS AT STEYNING LIBRARY, 1994-5

By Christopher Greatorex

In 1962, Worthing Museum undertook excavations on land opposite Steyning church before the extension of Steyning Grammar School. The work had revealed archaeological deposits dating from the 10th to 18th century. When in 1994 plans were agreed to extend Steyning Library, West Sussex County Council commissioned the Field Archaeology Unit first to undertake an assessment of the archaeological remains, and subsequently, in January 1995, to excavate the entire area of the development.

The published report of the earlier excavations contains a number of ambiguities (Barton 1986a). Indeed, the precise location of the earlier work could not be accurately determined. One of the objectives of the subsequent work was, therefore, to define the position of the previous excavation. The second objective was to record features in the previously unexcavated area and relate these to the development of the town.

The site was located to the east of Church Street, Steyning, West Sussex and south of Vicarage Lane (TQ 17831134). It measured 636 sq.m in area and before work commenced was a landscaped area of grass and shrubs, bounded by paved footpaths on the north and west, and by Steyning Library to the south.

Under archaeological supervision the topsoil was removed from the site by mechanical excavator to expose the underlying natural Upper Greensand. No archaeological stratigraphy was identified above the surface of the underlying geology; all archaeological features were cut into the Upper Greensand.

Five 20th-century service trenches were identified within the area of excavation. These comprised two telecom cables, one electricity cable, a drain and a foul water sewer. A gravel-filled drainage channel associated with the original library building was also recorded. Six other definite 20th-century features were located during the excavation. All of the modern cuts found within the area of excavation had destroyed or disturbed features of archaeological significance.

AREA OF THE 1962 EXCAVATION

A number of pits and post-holes filled by a homogeneous deposit of light grey-brown, silty clay and containing fragments of 20th-century brick were located in the north-eastern half of the site. The shape and nature of the fills indicated that these cuts were backfilled archaeological features excavated in 1962. The plan of these features was compared by John Mills, Assistant County Archaeologist for West Sussex County Council, with those in the published report and the site notebooks held by Worthing Museum. He was able to determine the orientation and scale of the plan, and so relate the published drawing of Area 2, Period 1 to the features recorded in 1995. Nineteen of the cuts found in 1995 could be identified with the plan of Period 1 and two others with Period 2, Phases 1 and 2 (Barton 1986a, figs 2 & 3). Table 1 shows the concordance between the 1962 and 1988 feature numbers and their dates based on pottery now in Worthing Museum, which was re-examined and redated.

Barton discovered two wells during his excavation of area 2. One of these wells was located to the east of the library development site. Well 2, which contained late medieval pottery, corresponds with the concrete pad found in 1995 (Fig. 10). The pad was presumably laid to provide a secure base for the footings over the many feet of loose backfill dumped after the original excavation of this deep feature.

One notable pit, P14, shown on the published plan of area 2, period 1, was not located during the 1995 excavation. No reference to this feature, which may have only been a shallow scoop, was found in

the site records. The later work also failed to locate a number of post-holes and a small pit, assigned by Barton to area 2, period 2, phases 1 and 2. In 1995, no certain evidence was found for either the 13th- to 14th-century sunken-floor building or the 15th-century lime pit. It is possible that the shallow, irregularly shaped cuts 77, 79, 84, 128 and 130 located in 1995 represent traces of these two excavated features. No evidence was recovered for the sunken trackway dated to 1450-1600, or any of the period 2 structural features excavated within area 2 by Worthing Museum. Those building remains had evidently been removed during the course of the earlier excavation.

Three additional possible post-holes (124, 132 & 165) and four shallow pits (47, 135, 139 & 167) not shown on the published plan were located within Barton's area 2. All contained fragments of 20th-century brick suggesting that they had been excavated and backfilled. Two previously unexcavated intercutting scoops (154 & 156) were located. These had a maximum depth of only 70 mm and were filled by an indistinct deposit of very light grey-green silty-clay. It would appear that they were overlooked during the 1962 work. Twelve features (63, 65, 116, 118, 120, 122, 163, 172, 174, 223, 229 & 231) within a discrete area measuring approximately 2.7 m by 5.7 m lay immediately outside the area shown on the published plans. Nevertheless, all contained modern material and had probably been excavated in 1962 (Figs 10 & 12).

NEWLY EXCAVATED AREA

The site at Steyning Library was not deeply stratified and consisted of discrete features which generally had no physical relationship. The presence of residual and intrusive artefacts is a problem on a site such as this, where activity continued for about 800 years with little or no increase in the depth of deposits. Some of the dates assigned to features are therefore offered tentatively.

Two newly excavated pits (107 & 186) were assigned dates of 1050-1225. Two other pits (193 & 211) and a possible post-hole (206) contained pottery dating to 1125-1250. Curiously, those pits of the same date excavated by Barton (75, 137, 147 & 256) are illustrated as rectangular in shape and were interpreted as cesspits (Barton 1986a). The newly dug pits (193 & 211) were circular and the finds suggest their use as domestic rubbish pits.

Three other pits (35, 188 & 204) were attributed

to the period 1200-1300 and a fourth (217) to 1225-1350. Three large intercutting sub-circular features (23, 27 & 29) were revealed at the western end of the site. These rubbish pits all appeared to have concave sides and flattish bases. Adverse weather conditions prevented the detailed study of these. Pit 29 was the deepest of the three with a depth of 0.75 m below the existing ground surface. It was dated to the period 1150-1275. Pit 23 was approximately 3.0 m in diameter and contained six fills. The pit was dated to the 13th century and contained the complete upper part of a jug and 94 sherds from a tripod pitcher. No dating evidence was found for pit 27. Four sub-circular pits (37, 209, 213 & 215) were dated to the period 1250-1450.

A discrete group of two pits (101 & 112) and two possible post-holes (110 & 219) were identified in the centre of the site and dated to 1400-1525. These are evidently related to phases 1 and 2 (1450-1600) of the building excavated by Barton in 1962.

Two short ditches were recorded. The earlier (59), dated to 1275-1450, was cut by pits 101 and 215, and by a modern sewer. The second (57) was only 250 mm deep at the northern end and became increasingly shallow towards the south. Indeed, the southern end of the cut proved impossible to define. Four distinct fills were identified along its length (56, 58, 244 & 245). Pottery dating to 1650-1700 was recovered from contexts 56 and 58. Fill 244 was assigned a spot-date of 1575-1700. A piece of carved limestone was retrieved from context 244 and a fragment of lead window came was also collected from fill 58. It is possible that both these finds came from St Andrew's Church which stands opposite the site. A possible context is the demolition of the chancel and the west bay(s) of the nave in the early 17th century (*V.C.H. Sussex* 6 i, 244).

The ditch (57) was edged with a narrow wall (69) 200 mm wide of which only two courses of flint pebbles and occasional Greensand pieces survived. The wall included a carved limestone fragment, similar in character to the piece found in cut 57. The west side of context 69 was faced to form an external surface against the ditch. The ditch and related wall is on the same alignment as the period 2, phase 3 (1600-1700) structures excavated by Barton to which it was evidently related (Fig. 13). An internal wall, running at right angles from external wall 69 consisted of a very heavily disturbed alignment of individual flint pebbles (243) within a 80 mm-deep concave cut.

A stone-lined oven was formed by a circular cut

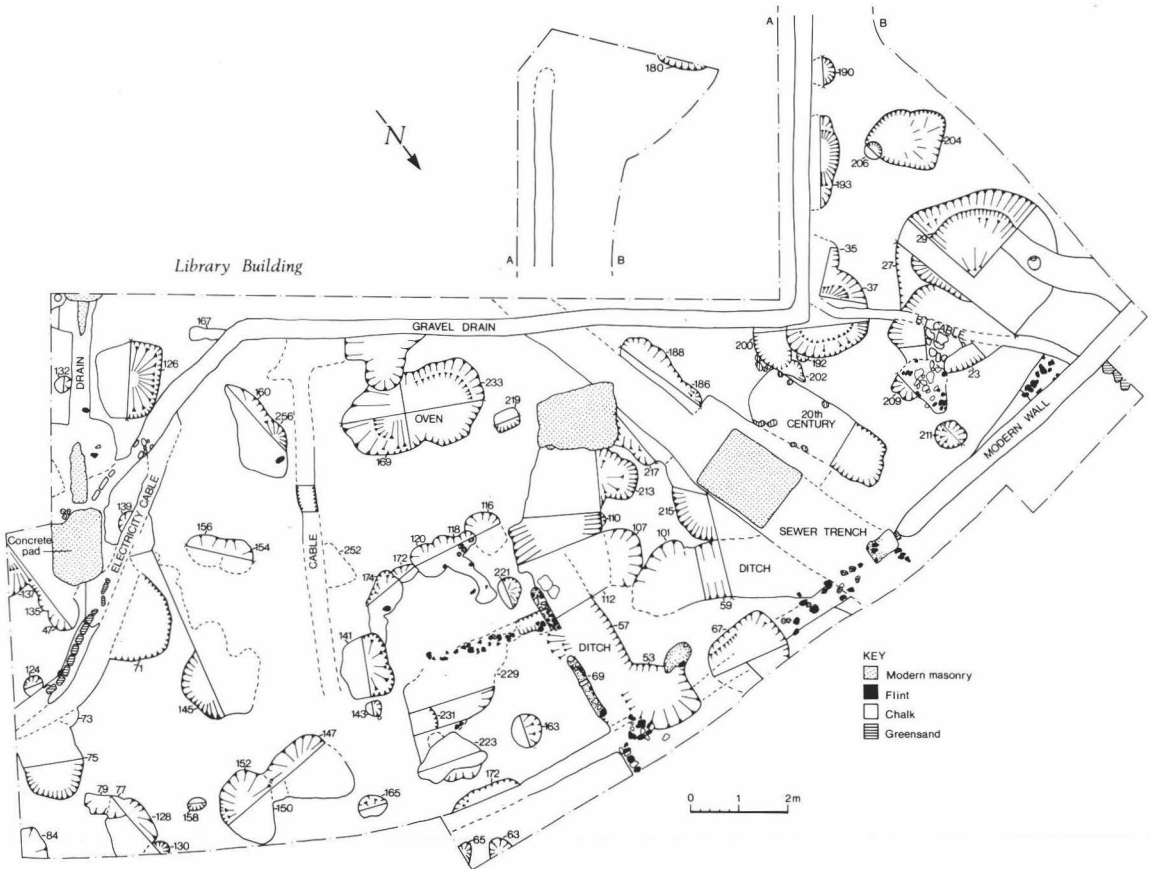


Fig. 10. Steyning Library: site plan.

with steeply sloping sides and a flat base (233) (Fig. 11). It was lined by a single course of dressed Lower Greensand blocks bonded together by a light pink mortar. The mouth of the oven was on the east side and beyond it the flue (cut 169). There were two floor layers in the oven. The later of these consisted of aligned tile-shaped pieces of Lower Greensand set on edge in a layer of light pink mortar (171). The earlier floor layer (235) was formed from a similar pattern of Lower Greensand pieces, but aligned at right angles to the later. Floor 235 was

located above a layer of burnt Greensand (234). It was unclear if this deposit was an oven fill or simply burnt natural stone. The fill (171) of the flue contained a sherd of pottery dating to 1575-1675 which provided the only dating evidence.

DISCUSSION

The fragmentary remains found during the 1995 excavation are difficult to interpret, even when considered with the results of the earlier work. The division of activity into three partially overlapping

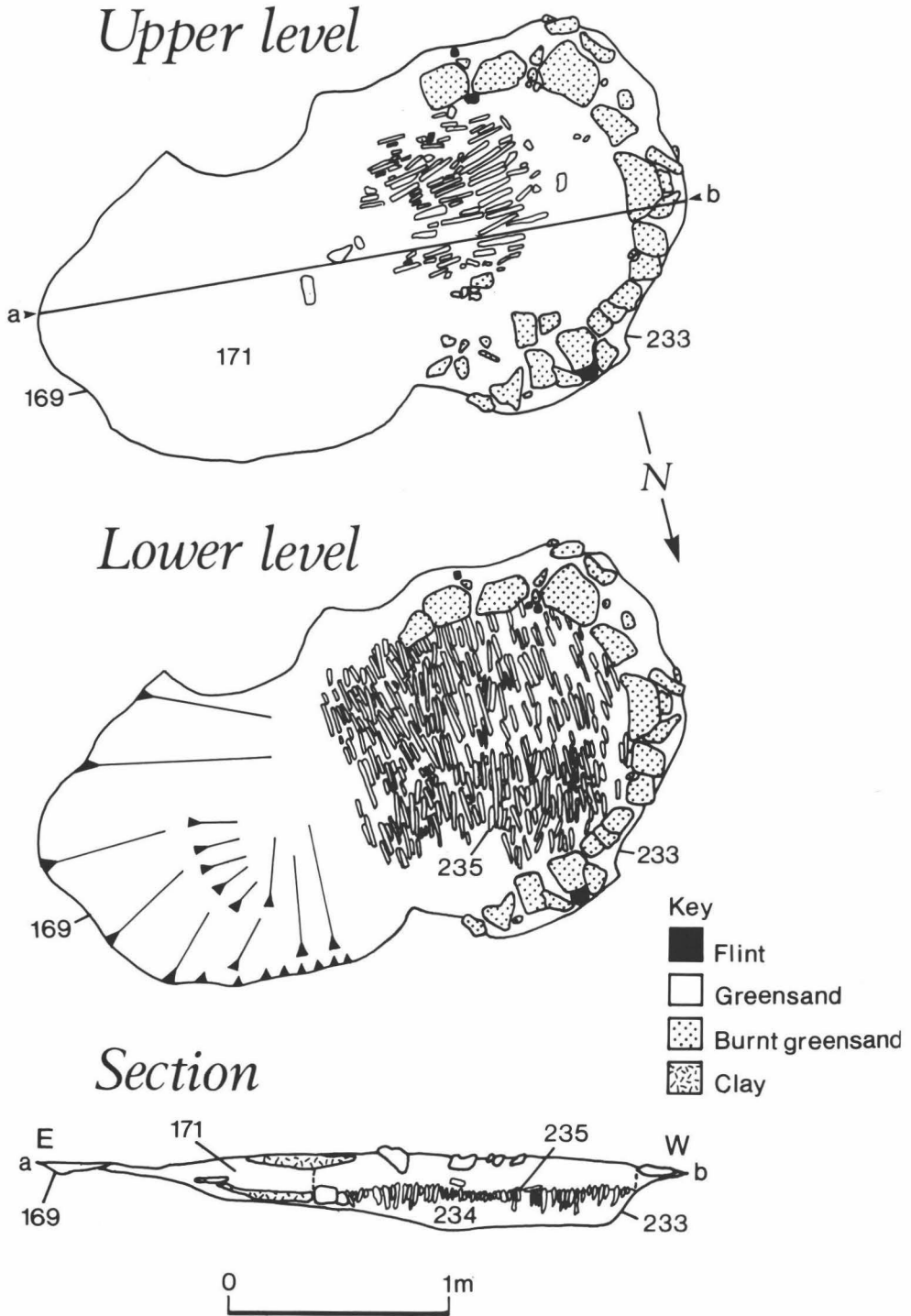


Fig. 11. Steyning Library: plan and section of oven.

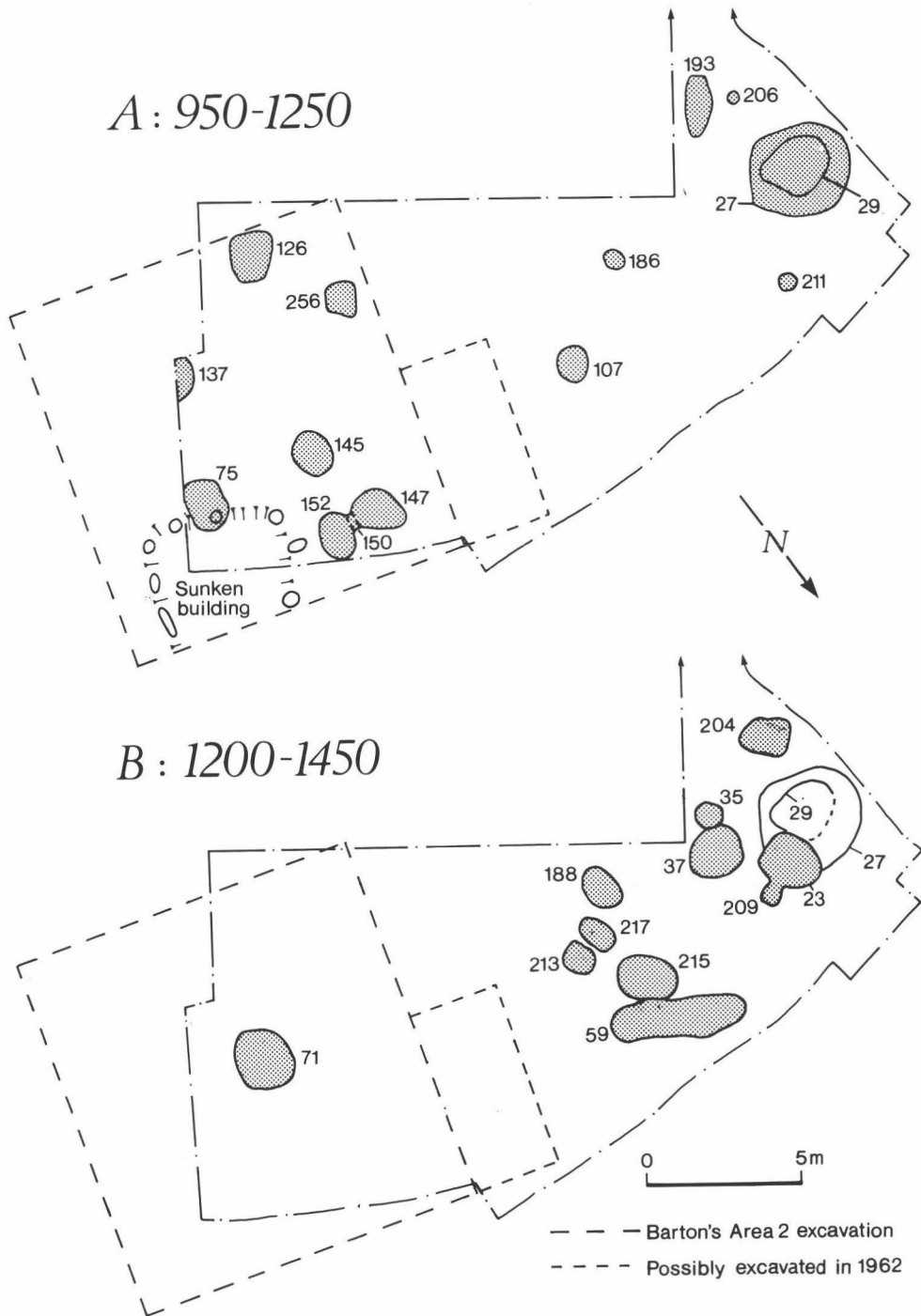


Fig. 12. Steyning Library: phase plans - A: 950-1250, B: 1200-1450.

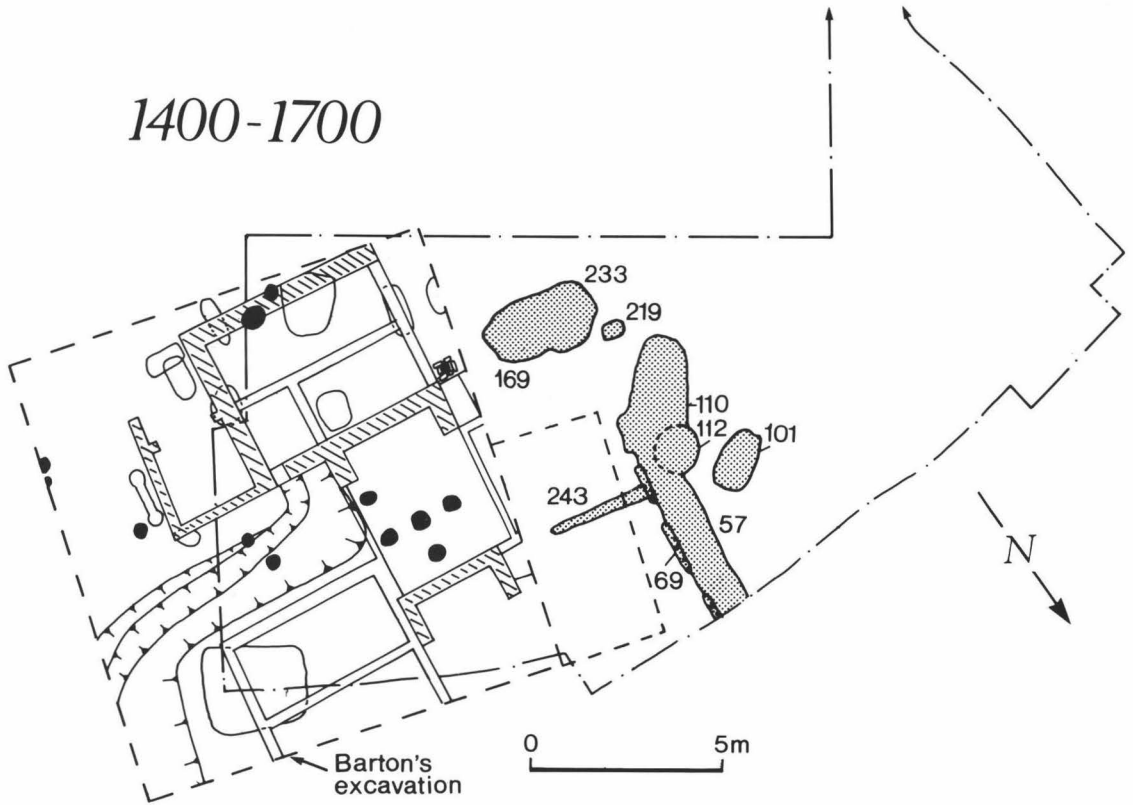


Fig. 13. Steyning Library: phase plan 1400-1700.

phases, however, does allow general trends to be identified.

Barton's view that the site was not exploited intensively before the 11th century is largely supported by the recent work. Three of the pits (126, 145 & 152) excavated in 1962 contained pottery within the range AD 950 to 1150, but activity did not increase until the 13th century. All the pits predating 1250 lay on the east side of the excavation, with the exceptions of the inter-cutting pits 27 and 29 (Fig. 12A). The latter was dated to 1150-1275 and cut the undated pit 27. The only excavated building was that recorded by Barton with a sunken floor which he dated to the 13th or 14th century. The date was tentatively assigned on the evidence that the building cut a pit containing '12th-century pottery' (Barton 1986a, 98), which has been related here to the period 1050-1200 (Table 1). An earlier date is more satisfactory, since cellared or sunken-floored buildings with timber posts at the peripheries are known from many late Anglo-Saxon

Table 1. Concordance between excavated features.

1962 Excavation	1994 Excavation	Revised dates
P24	71	1250-1450
Period 2, phase 1/2 post-hole	73	
P16	75	1050-1200
Part of lime pit	77	
Part of lime pit	79	
P15	126	950-1150
Part of lime pit	128	
Post-hole for <i>Grubenhäus</i>	130	
P6	137	1150-1250
Unnumbered pit	141	
P11	145	1000-1150
P1	147	1100-1225
Part of P1	150	1100-1225
P2	152	950-1150
Post-hole for <i>Grubenhäus</i>	158	
Period 2, phase 1/2 pit	160	
P23	256	1125-1225

towns, including London (Horsman *et al.* 1988, 108-9), York, Thetford, Oxford, Northampton, Chester and even the small town of Bampton in Oxfordshire

(Hall 1984, information from Dr John Blair). The tradition of sunken-building construction continued after the Norman Conquest, but had disappeared by the late 12th century. It is improbable that the Steyning example was a cellared structure since it was so shallow that its position could not be identified in the excavation of 1994-5.

It is notable that in the second phase, 1200 to 1450, all the cut features were located on the west side of the site with the exception of pit 71 (Fig. 12B). The virtual absence of pits on the east side of the site may indicate that it was occupied by a

ground-set building. No evidence for such a building was discovered, but any such remains could have been removed in the subsequent phase.

The third phase (1400 to 1700) recognized was contemporary with Barton's period 2 (Fig. 13). The excavated wall 243 lies on the same alignment as a wall identified in 1962 and the wall 69 marks the west end of the building. A ditch (57) beyond this wall marks the limit of activity in this phase; only a single pit (101) lies further west. The oven (169) may have been situated within a building, but no structure was identified in the recent excavations.

PART 4: FINDS

POTTERY By Mark Gardiner, incorporating information from Sue Hamilton on the prehistoric pottery

Introduction

The pottery from Steyning and the vicinity has been considered in a number of recent reports. The Saxon and Saxo-Norman fabrics have been outlined by Gardiner (1990; 1993) using the large groups excavated at Botolphs and Market Field, Steyning. The later medieval pottery has been studied in less detail. Pottery from Cuthman's Field, Fletcher's Croft, Tanyard Lane (Chantry Green House), Testers in Steyning and Bramber Castle have been reported, but the different descriptions and means of analysis do not allow a comparative view of the types and development of pottery from c. 1150 (Barton 1979, 134-8; 1986a,b; Barton & Holden 1977; Freke 1979; Gardiner 1988). The present report seeks to draw together the pottery types identified at sites in the vicinity, Strettham (Henfield), at America Wood (Ashington) and at Botolphs (Bramber) and to refine the later medieval fabric series for the Steyning area (Gardiner 1990; 1994).

The limitations in knowledge of the pottery of this area should be stressed at the outset. There is almost no independent dating for pottery anywhere in the area, and all dates are at best approximations. Only at Bramber Castle was it possible to tie the ceramic sequence to datable layers, although even that evidence was not entirely secure.

The ceramic sequence may be outlined briefly. The Saxo-Norman wares are prefixed with the letter 'D'. Fabrics DA and DB date from the 10th to beginning of the 12th century and are important chronological markers. The flint-tempered fabrics include DC, DD and DH. The first of these is a development of mid-Saxon pottery, and where reduced may be as early as the 10th century, and unlikely to be later than about 1100 (Gardiner 1993, 41). Fabrics DD and DH are found throughout the Saxo-Norman period. There is no sharp break between the Saxo-Norman and medieval traditions, but around 1200 the fabrics become finer and flint-tempering declines. The high medieval fabrics are prefixed by the letters CSW (Central Sussex Weald). The beginning of the medieval tradition is marked locally by the appearance of Steyning Coarse Sandy and Steyning Medium Sandy fabrics (SCS, SCSm, SMS), which are described below. During the 15th century the fabrics become harder-fired and there is some difficulty in separating the late medieval from the Transitional wares. The

appearance of new forms, and thick internal and external glazing, together with the presence of imported stonewares, makes the dating more certain in the late 15th and 16th century.

Flint only occurs as a regular inclusion in the later medieval wares in Fabric CSW 32 where it is white and angular in contrast to the multi-coloured sub-angular or sub-rounded flint in the Saxo-Norman fabrics already mentioned. White angular flint is found in wares produced at Binsted and Orchard Street, Chichester, and may be a feature of 13th-century kilns on the Coastal Plain.

CSW 33 is newly identified here. It resembles fabric DB, and cannot always be separated from it. The rim forms are similar. It contains very little, if any, of the limestone inclusions, with the exception of chalk, which characterise DB (Gardiner 1990, 253-4). It is not clear whether it is a Saxo-Norman fabric or might continue into the 13th century.

Method of analysis

The treatment of the pottery varied according to the nature of the assemblages and resources available. The pottery from Coombe Court was not quantified, except by a simple sherd count. A total of 842 sherds were recovered from stratified contexts. The very small numbers of sherds recovered from many of the contexts do not allow meaningful quantification. The pottery study was therefore limited to spot-dating and only larger groups were sorted by fabric and quantified. A more important group of ceramics was the material recovered from the Tanyard Lane excavation. It comprised 2056 sherds weighing 29.8 kg of pottery recovered from 30 contexts. The number of rim Estimated Vessel Equivalents (rim EVEs) recorded was 11.54, which is too low for useful analysis. The measure used for the analysis of pottery was sherd weight. A total of 10.9 kg of pottery comprising 993 sherds was recovered from 56 contexts at the Steyning Library site. Too few rims were recovered to use the measure of EVEs. Sherd weight was therefore used in the analysis of pottery. The pottery excavated in 1962 by Barton (1986a) from the features lying within the area of the library extension, and now deposited in Worthing Museum, was re-examined, but not quantified.

Coombe Court

Seven sherds of prehistoric pottery were found of which four were unstratified and the remainder residual in later contexts. All are medium flint-gritted wares and may be dated to the period 1000 to 300 BC. These sherds may be considered with the stratified pottery recorded at Testers, White Horse Square

(Hamilton 1988) and is further evidence for the prehistoric usage of the area. No Roman pottery was present.

The Late Anglo-Saxon contexts can be distinguished from those of a slightly later date by the presence of significant proportions of DA and DB fabrics. The Saxo-Norman pottery is largely of fabrics DD and DH. Imports are represented by one sherd of red-painted Pingsdorf or Beauvais ware, one sherd which may be certainly identified as Normandy Gritty Ware (NGW) and a second sherd probably of the same fabric. Sherds of Pingsdorf or Beauvais ware have been found in many excavations within Steyning and in work in the surrounding area (Evans 1986; Gardiner 1990, 255; 1993, 41). NGW jugs, the form represented at Steyning, are found in England in the mid- to late 12th century and now appear to continue into the 15th century (Thomson 1980, 678; Thomson pers. comm.). Vessels in NGW are known locally from Pevensey, Lewes and Hastings; their discovery here, together the sherd of 12th-century French painted ware found at Fletcher's Croft (Barton 1986b, 93), reflects the pattern of trade across the Channel in the post-Conquest period (Hurst 1981). All the imported sherds were unstratified, except for the one tentatively identified piece of NGW from context 64, the fill of pit 63.

Tanyard Lane

It became apparent during the course of study of the pottery from Tanyard Lane that the assemblage contained a number of wasters. Wasters were present in most of the large pits, not only in the uppermost layers, but also in the primary fills, suggesting that the pits may have been dug in part for their disposal. The proportion of identified wasters is relatively small, about 3½% by weight of the total, but this is unlikely to be indicative of the actual quantity. Only sherds which were clearly damaged during the firing process were classified as wasters. These were mainly recognized by the presence of glaze on broken edges, which could only have happened during firing. A greater number of sherds showed some signs of spalling, which may have occurred in the kiln, or could equally have happened during usage. One bowl has sooting on the base and exterior produced by use, but an examination of the faces, margins and core shows that spalling had taken place during kiln firing.

Three fabrics were identified among the wasters, although one, CSW 7, is represented only by a single sherd and the

identification is tentative. These had been previously called CSW 6, 7 and 10, but these codes may now usefully be replaced by common names. The first two are now called Steyning Coarse Sandy ware or SCS. CSW 6 is distinguished from CSW 7 by the presence of mica and may be separately identified as SCSm. The third fabric, CSW 10, shall be called Steyning Medium Sandy ware (SMS). SMS formed 61% of the total pottery recovered from the site and, if the pottery recovered is representative, was the main product of the kiln. There are clear similarities between products in SCSm and SMS, but most jugs found were in the finer fabric. Some jugs had a white slip on the interior. Bowls were produced in both fabrics and the flange rims were commonly decorated by combing (Fig. 15:16). The glaze was often applied in a casual manner, and only the upper parts of the exterior of jugs were so decorated.

Wasters were also identified among the roof tile. The kiln waste is mostly identifiable as glazed ridge pieces, and these may have been the only building material produced in the kiln. The ridge tile is notable for the diagonal slashes applied to the under-surface. The fabric is similar to SCSm, but used coarser sand-grade temper.

The pottery from the site can be attributed to the period 1100 to 1350 with a few later sherds which may be intrusive. Most of the activity probably dates from the middle of that range. The glazed jugs in Steyning Medium Sandy ware belong to the full medieval tradition of pottery manufacture. They are unlikely to date from before 1200, and indeed may possibly date from after 1225.

Stratigraphically, the earliest contexts are 2 and 8 in trench 2B and the equivalent layers, 43 and 44 in trench 1A. The lowest deposits (8 and 44) have a high proportion of Saxo-Norman wares, but they do not include fabric DA which seems to disappear around 1100, and these were probably laid down after that time (Table 3). A second group of contexts may be identified which have a substantial proportion of Saxo-Norman wares — at least 35% compared to the mean for the site of 12% — and relatively low proportions of SMS ware — less than 35% compared with a mean of 61%. Pits 29, 64, 66, 71 and 73 may be recognized as probably early on this basis.

An terminal date of 1350 is proposed for the excavated features on the basis that none contains a significant proportion of the jugs in fine fabrics. The jugs produced in SMS are in a comparatively coarse fabric and would have been in competition with 'West Sussex Ware' products.

Steyning Library

Barton identified five phases of activity from the 1962 excavations at Steyning Library but, as he recognized, his first phase can be subdivided. He suggested that there was little activity on the site before the 11th century. Re-examination of his pottery and the finds from the recent excavation generally support that statement, although some sherds might belong to the 10th century, namely those from Barton's area 2 contexts P2, 13, 15, and from context 230 in the 1994 excavation. It is notable that the earlier fabrics, DA, DB and DC, have a smaller average sherd size (5.9 g) than the full medieval fabrics (12.7 g), reflecting both the softer nature of the ceramics, but also the residual, more fragmented character of the pieces recovered.

The second and third of Barton's phases covers broadly the period of Transitional wares. His fourth phase covers the 17th century and he concludes with a phase at the demolition c. 1720. These later phases are not well represented in the

Table 2. Weight (g) of wasters recorded.

Fabric	Recorded wasters	Total from site
SCSm	211	6071
SCS	11	674
SMS	635	18,193

Table 3. Pottery types in underlying layers.

Fill	Sherd number (percentage)				Total sherd weight
	Saxo-Norman	SCSm and SCS	SMS	Other	
2	36	11	29	27	898
8	71	12	15	1	194
43	76	0	19	5	845
44	100	0	0	0	158

ceramic record at Steyning Library, although some 17th-century pottery was present in closed contexts.

Catalogue and fabric descriptions

The fabric descriptions are divided into three groups. The Saxo-Norman fabrics identified elsewhere in the Adur Valley (prefaced with the letter D), the Central Sussex Weald series (CSW, see Gardiner 1994) and fabrics not previously identified. The study of the pottery has suggested that there is considerable overlap between the Saxo-Norman and later fabrics. Where full descriptions of these fabrics have been given elsewhere (Gardiner 1990; 1993; 1994), they are summarized below:

Fabric DA - Tempered with chalk and limestone fragments.

Fabric DB - Similar to DA with a greater quantity of fine sand quartz.

Fabric DD - Fine flint temper with inclusions less than 0.75 mm, coarser than DE.

1. Rim of cooking pot. Coombe Court, context 20, fill of pit 2.
2. Slashed handle probably from jug. Coombe Court, context 23, fill of pit 29.

Fabric DE - Fine flint or quartz temper.

Fabric DF - Medium to coarse sand quartz with occasional fragments of flint and chalk.

Fabric DH - Similar to DE, but with greater proportion of chalk or shell.

3. Low bowl, hand-made and trued up on a tournette. Coombe Court, context 3, fill of pit 2.
4. Cooking pot with sooting on body and slight traces around the rim. Large scar on body of the pot from spalling during firing. Coil-built body joined to a neck made on a tournette. Coombe Court, context 13, fill of pit 2.
5. Rim of cooking pot. Coombe Court, context 20, fill of pit 2.
6. Stamp-decorated handle, perhaps from storage vessel. Compare with Gardiner 1993, fig. 15, no. 11 for form. Cross stamps are a common type on Saxo-Norman pottery, see Barton 1979, 89. Coombe Court, context 13, fill of pit 2.

Fabric DL - Very fine sand-grade quartz and occasional fragments of chalk, shell and flint.

7. Sharply everted rim with incised line on exterior below the short neck. Fabric DL. Coombe Court, context 13, fill of pit 2.

Fabric CSW 3 - Coarse subangular sand with subangular multicoloured flint up to 1 mm across.

Fabric CSW 5 - Coarse subangular sand and broken shell fragments.

Steyning Coarse Sandy micaceous ware (SCSm, formerly Fabric CSW 6) - Coarse subrounded sand with some larger quartz

inclusions and some mica.

8, 9. Two pieces from pedestal dishes. The glazing, which occurs all over except beneath the pedestal, indicates that these pieces could not be from lids. The vessels could not, however, have contained liquids, as both have small holes at the bottom of the dish. These vessels are tentatively interpreted as chafing dishes. Their form is very similar to London Ware vessels of the same function which also have a central small hole in the bowl and openings in the pedestal base (Pearce *et al.* 1985, 44, fig. 73, no. 400). The round indented decoration on the base may also indicate that these pieces were intended for the table rather than the service rooms. The London Ware pieces were dated to the early 13th century, although it was acknowledged that there no similar dishes were known from such an early period. The Steyning dishes, however, are also likely to be 13th-century and possibly come from the first half of the century. Tanyard Lane, context 19, upper fill of pit 18, and context 12, upper fill of pit 11.

10. Corner from an angular, ?five-sided chimney pot with central top vent. It bears spots of glaze, though is unlikely to have been intentionally glazed itself. Tanyard Lane, context 32, fill of pit 31.

Steyning Coarse Sandy ware (SCS, formerly Fabric CSW 7) - Similar to CSW 6, but without mica.

Fabric CSW 8 - Medium sand and occasional iron ore flecks and mica.

Fabric CSW 9 - Fine grey or translucent sand.

11. Wide-mouthed cooking pot with applied horizontal band. Steyning Library, context 214, fill of pit 213.

Steyning Medium Sandy ware (SMS, formerly Fabric CSW 10) Pale grey core with pale grey or light buff surfaces. Hard, fairly smooth texture with rough fracture. Abundant grey medium sand.

12. Jug with scored decoration on exterior and stabbed decoration around the spout (not shown on illustration). The upper part of the interior is coated with white slip. Tanyard Lane, context 12, upper fill of pit 11.

13. Jug with strap handle decorated by two scored lines along the length. The outside is covered with splashes of glaze, and the top of the interior and rim with white slip. Tanyard Lane, context 19, fill of pit 18.

14, 15, 16. Bowls, variously decorated with glazing on interior of base and rim, and with combed rim. Tanyard Lane, context 12, upper fill of pit 11, and context 33, primary fill of pit 31.

17. Small saucer with raised interior which has cracked and deformed during firing. Tanyard Lane, context 61, fill of pit 60.

18. Handle from skillet, pipkin or dripping pan handle with incised herring-bone pattern. A similar decoration occurs on another handle of the same type. Tanyard Lane, context 17, primary fill of pit 11.

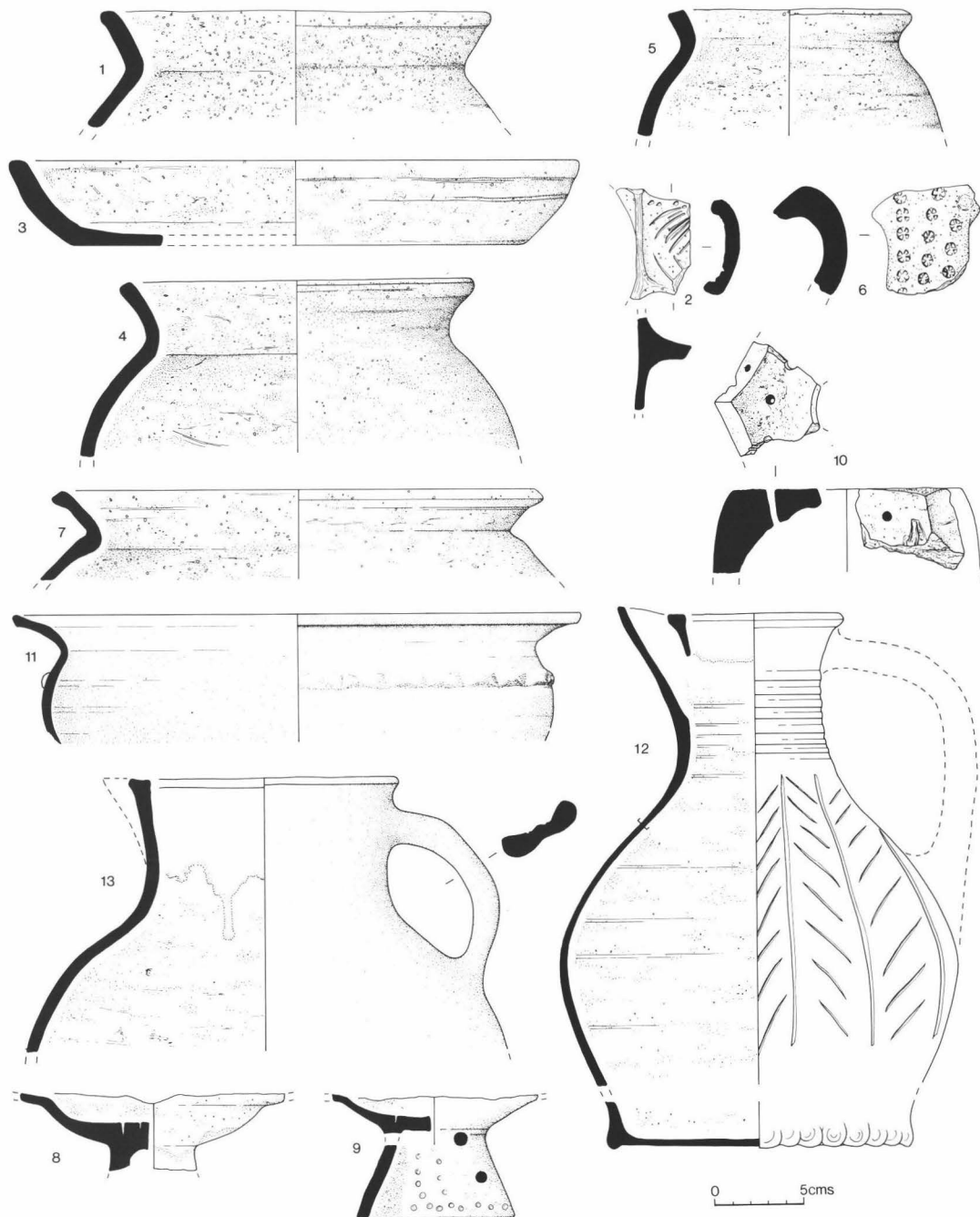


Fig. 14. Pottery (scale $\times 1/4$).

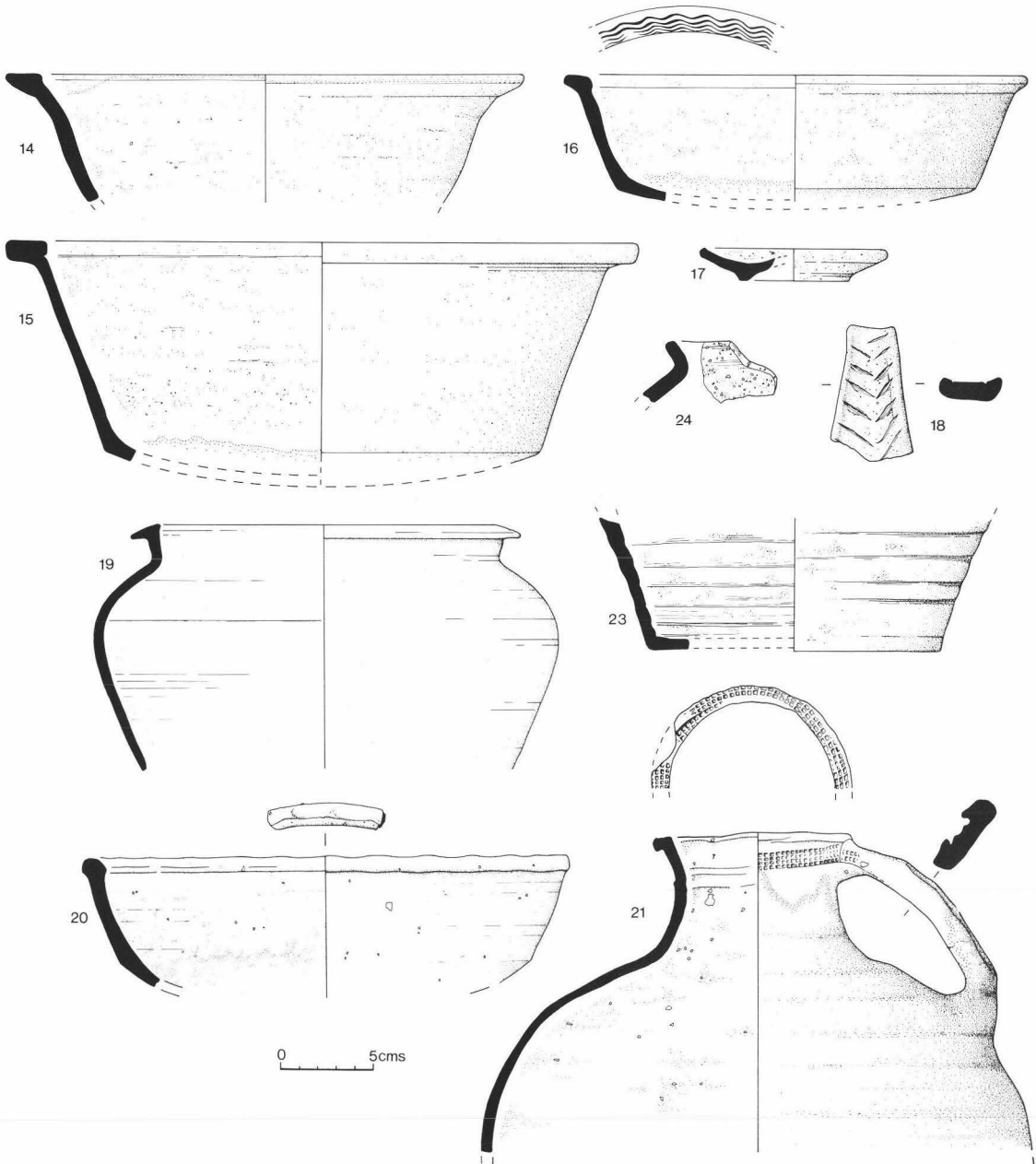


Fig. 15. Pottery (scale $\times 1/4$).

19. Cooking pot. Steyning Library, context 15, fill of trench 14.
20. Bowl with internal glazing at base and faceting on rim. The bowl combines faceting on Saxo-Norman wares with the use of glaze which is common from the 13th century onwards. Steyning Library, context 15, fill of trench 14.
21. Jug with rouletted decoration on top edge and external rim of lip. Steyning Library, contexts 11 and 13, fills of pit 23.

Fabric CSW 12 - Abundant grey medium sand.

Fabric CSW 13 - Abundant subangular fine sand, occasional grog flecks.

Fabric CSW 14 - Abundant fine to medium grey sand, occasional angular ironstone and grog.

Fabric CSW 16 - Fine to medium grey sand, usually glazed.

22. (not illustrated) Pottery counter made from rounding the corners of a sherd to form a disc. Diameter 35 mm. Tanyard Lane, context 32, fill of pit 31. Similar pottery counters have been recognized at Colchester where they fall in the range 31-36 mm diameter, and most date from the 12th century (Crummy 1988, 45). The present example cannot be that early. A broken or halved counter of similar type was also found at America Wood, Ashington in excavations in 1993. It had a diameter of 35 mm. A pottery counter is also reported from Bury, West Sussex (Evans 1968, 136).

Fabric CSW 28 - Abundant coarse sand and common mica.

Fabric CSW 30 - Abundant medium to coarse sand with large white subangular quartz inclusions.

Fabric CSW 31 - Abundant fine grey sand with occasional larger quartz grains.

Other fabrics

23. Jug base in Normandy Gritty Ware glazed on exterior with stacking scar on base. Coombe Court, context 1.

24. Slightly abraded rim sherd in a fabric not previously recognized in the area. Black faces with dark grey core, hard fabric with fairly smooth feel. Tempered with sub-rounded chalk up to 1 mm, pieces of shell up to 1 mm and angular grains of calcite up to 0.75 mm. Coombe Court, context 128, fill of beam-slot 127.

METALWORK By Luke Barber

The excavations at Coombe Court and Steyning Library produced a total of 77 pieces of metalwork from 36 different contexts. The metalwork from Tanyard Lane was not of sufficient interest to justify study. Most of the metalwork was badly corroded iron and required x-radiography in order to clarify object form. A full list of the material is housed with the archive.

Nails and nail fragments are the most common items amongst the material examined, totalling 56 examples. The earlier nails in features dating from 950 to 1150 are varied in form and consist of circular- and rectangular-headed types with both square- and round-sectioned shanks. Two examples, one

with a lozenge-shaped head, the other with a domed lozenge-shaped head are more specialized and are not dissimilar to farrier's nails.

Other ferrous metalwork artefacts of note were a figure-eight shaped link and a broken chisel or wedge. The link may be from a chain and is closely paralleled to a much later example from Norwich (Margeson 1993, no. 964). The chisel, which was from a wall trench at Coombe Court, may be a loss or was discarded during the construction of the associated building. Although an exact parallel, illustrated by Goodall (1981, fig. 50.6), is described as an ironworking tool, the chisel could easily be used for splitting timber during house construction.

The only significant non-ferrous objects were from the Steyning Library site: a copper alloy pin (context 228) and a fragment of lead window came (context 58). The latter was from a post-medieval context (c. 1650-1700).

GEOLOGICAL MATERIAL By Luke Barber

incorporating comments by John A. Cooper (Booth Museum of Natural History, Brighton)

The largest assemblage of geological material was recovered from the Library site, which produced 46 pieces. All geological material from the three excavations was listed on record sheets which form part of the site archive. No statistical analyses were undertaken on the material, owing to the small sample size.

Most of the stone is of local origin and the majority are represented by the two stone variants of the Lower Greensand beds (a and b). Many of the fragments in Lower Greensand (a), an iron-stained well-bedded fissile sandstone, are likely to be from roofing slates, although no diagnostic pieces with fixing holes were present. The lining of the oven (context 239) at the Library utilized the same material. The other variant, Lower Greensand (b), is the glauconitic variety, probably from the Hythe Beds. This stone type is represented by seven pieces from Coombe Court. With the exception of the piece from context 51, all fragments of this type are from rotary querns. Where identifiable the fragments are from both upper and lower stones. The upper and lower stones from context 122 (Fig. 5) may be from the same quern, although this is not certain.

Other local stone-types present included iron-rich Sarsen, Upper Greensand and Tunbridge Wells sandstone. A very shelly limestone is also present. It is a very distinctive rock consisting entirely of cemented shell fragments. The stone is not local, the nearest source being the Tertiary or Quaternary deposits in the Selsey-Bognor Region. It is interesting to note that the same limestone has been found at the site of St Nicholas' Hospital, Lewes (Barber in prep. b). The use of this stone is not yet clear, as although lightweight, it would weather very badly if used for external work. Only one fragment was present at Steyning Library and this is undiagnostic as none of the original surfaces remains. One fragment from the outer edge of an Upper Greensand rotary quern weighing 965 g was found at Tanyard Lane. The piece is not sufficiently large to determine whether it is an upper or lower stone, although part of the grinding face is present and exhibits concentric ridges.

Non-local stone is represented by a single boulder of secondarily mineralized quartzite from the Steyning Library site. That hard, dense rock, consisting of an accumulation of coarse quartz pebbles and quartz veins, is water-rounded and is likely to have found its way to Steyning as ship's ballast, possibly from the coast of Scandinavia. Architectural fragments were found at Coombe Court and the Library. On the first of these sites was part of the corner from an architectural block

in a fine off-white limestone (context 90, dated to 1300-1450). The limestone fragment is likely to have originated in the Purbeck area and exhibits criss-cross tooling from a narrow-bladed chisel on one face. The three pieces found at the Library were in a fine grained, partly crystalline limestone, probably from the Portland area of Dorset. Two of these were fragments of voussoirs from rib vaulting and probably date to the 13th century. It is probable all these pieces were originally brought to Steyning for a building of some importance, possibly the church.

A corner fragment from a 15 mm-thick slab of polished Green Porphyry (76) was found at Coombe Court. The presence of this stone in a mid-10th- to mid-12th-century context is interesting, for this Mediterranean rock was also found in a 13th-century context at Pevensey (Barber in prep. a). The Pevensey example was considered possibly to have originated from the nearby Roman occupation, however, the presence of a piece from Steyning suggests this stone may have been imported during the medieval period. The reason for importing the stone is uncertain, although it could be for some form of funerary monument.

ANIMAL BONE By Lucy Kirk

Details of the size of the bone assemblages from Tanyard Lane and Steyning Library are given in Table 4; the assemblage from Coombe Court was too small to justify examination.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the material from Tanyard Lane, only a small proportion was identifiable to bone type and species. The species represented and the percentage they represent within the identified sample are shown in Table 5.

The figures demonstrate that *Bos* and *Ovis* are best represented in both samples. The predominance of *Ovis* and *Bos* is mirrored at other medieval sites in Steyning, for example Fletchers Croft, and Testers. At Testers, however, unlike Fletchers Croft and Tanyard Lane, *Ovis* only appear to have played a minor role in the diet. It is worth noting that *Bos* has a much higher meat yield than *Ovis* and, therefore, *Bos* is likely to have formed a much greater part of the diet than *Ovis*. It is probable that *Ovis* would have been kept mostly for its wool, milk and manure as this was the case in medieval Britain up to c. 1700 (O'Connor 1979). At Testers, Fletchers Croft and the present two sites, *Sus* seems to have played only a limited role in the diet and the presence of one and two fish vertebrae, at Tanyard Lane and Steyning Library respectively, suggests that fish had a similar significance. The bones of *Canis* and *Felis* recovered during the excavations probably represent household pets.

Despite its fragmentary nature, the majority of the assemblage from Tanyard Lane appeared to be relatively fresh, suggesting that most of the contexts from which bone was recovered are primary locations of disposal. Weathered material was recovered from contexts 8, 12, 19, 22, 32, 43 and 59, with contexts 19 and 32 producing the most extensively weathered material. These contexts are the top fills of pits which would explain their condition. The condition of material recovered

Table 4. Size of assemblages.

Site name	Bone number	Bones identified	Contexts with bone
Tanyard Lane	378	122	22
Steyning Library	615	173	34

Table 5. Species list.

Species	Percentage of sample	
	Tanyard Lane	Steyning Library
<i>Bos taurus</i>	41	34
<i>Equus caballus</i>	2	3
<i>Ovis/Capra</i>	37	41
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	9	12
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	2
<i>Felis silvestris</i>	4	2
<i>Gallus</i>	5	2
Small mammal	0	3
Fish	1	1

from context 43 might suggest that it had been dumped, but not buried. Only eight unidentified fragments show any signs of burning. The majority of the assemblage from the Library site was also relatively fresh.

Butchery evidence

Butchery marks only appear to be present at both sites on *Ovis* and *Bos* bones, and are represented by a limited number of cuts to ribs and metacarpals. However, cut-marks are also visible around the base of a horn core of *Ovis* and just beneath the condyle on three separate mandibles from Tanyard Lane. These marks could all be associated with the initial skinning of the animals.

It was interesting to study the presence/absence and relative percentages of different skeletal elements represented in the assemblage from Tanyard Lane. Looking at the animals which together would have formed the main part of the diet, *Bos*, *Ovis* and *Sus*, 75% is made up of the lower limbs in particular: metapodials and phalanges, and mandibles. The best meat joints are almost entirely absent and in the case of *Bos*, completely absent. These deposits therefore appear to be residues from the slaughtering and butchering of animals, rather than domestic kitchen rubbish. In such cases, the lower limbs and heads would be the first parts of the animal to be discarded.

A comparable situation has been encountered at Steyning Library site where lower limbs and mandibles formed 77% of the total. At both sites, however, the small size of the assemblage makes it impossible to draw any certain conclusions. Nevertheless, O'Connor reached similar conclusions about the bones from Freke's (1979) excavation along Tanyard Lane. Freke's excavation did also produce a considerable quantity of meat-yielding components.

PART 5: DISCUSSION -
THE DEVELOPMENT OF STEYNING
AND LATE SAXON SMALL TOWNS

By Mark Gardiner

The excavations since 1992 have clarified a number of aspects of medieval Steyning. Remains of Saxo-Norman date have been well represented in all excavations undertaken in the town, with the exception of work at Testers, near White Horse Square. The probable extent of the town at this period can now be determined. The Tanyard Lane stream seems to have marked the boundary of the town on the north. Pottery found in the 1994 excavations at Tanyard Lane suggests that settlement extended towards the stream. The excavated farmstead at Market Field lay on the periphery of the town; no remains were discovered in assessment work to the north or north-west. The excavations at Coombe Court show that the Saxo-Norman settlement extended at least as far south as School Lane. It did not reach to White Horse Square, as the work at Testers indicated. It has been argued that the later medieval 'new town' of Steyning was laid out beyond the limits of the Saxo-Norman urban area. The rear boundary of the burgage plots on the north-east side of High Street suggest the presence of earlier Saxo-Norman enclosures (Gardiner 1988, 61). Only the eastern extent of the town remains to be defined, but it is possible that it was marked by the watercourse adjoining Coombe Court called the River Brad by Evans (1986). It is perhaps noteworthy that the Life of St Cuthman describes Steyning as lying between the streams running from springs at the foot of the Downs.

The topography of the Saxo-Norman town is therefore reasonably clear. The settlement lay to the south and west of the church which was itself situated above a tidal inlet to the north. The town lay around the intersection of a north-south road known as the Portway ('market street') marked by Newham Lane and Church Street, and an east-west track. The line of the east-west road is uncertain. It is clearly marked by Mouse Lane to the west of Steyning. Its course to the east may be marked either by School Lane and Holland Lane, or by Tanyard Lane and Kings Barn Lane, or indeed both. The means by which the road crossed the Adur before the construction of a causeway at Bramber is uncertain (Holden 1986).

The excavation at Coombe Court throws further light on the character of the early town. On initial inspection the plan of the excavated area might be thought to resemble a typical later medieval burgage plot. The buildings were probably set on or close to a street, now marked by School Lane and the space behind was used for rubbish disposal. However, the urban attributes of this plan are not supported by closer scrutiny. The work by Jane Evans in Fletcher's Croft near to School Lane uncovered no evidence of buildings there, although trenches were dug near to the street frontage. The north side of School Lane was therefore not built up. Equally, there was no evidence that the excavated buildings at Coombe Court were in a row of similar structures along the street frontage. It is possible that other structures might have been situated beyond the confines of the trench, but no rubbish pits were found. Rubbish pits are a good indicator of the presence of Late Anglo-Saxon buildings since they were commonly found close to structures, as for example at Market Field (Astill & Lobb 1989, 84).

Significant areas, amounting to about 2% of the probable area of the Saxo-Norman town of Steyning, have now been excavated. The results have shown that Steyning had a fairly low density of settlement and a level of activity considerably less than the main Saxo-Norman towns. For example, there is a low density of rubbish pits beyond the immediate vicinity of the buildings, in contrast with contemporary sites in London and Durham where pits were found throughout the whole of the open land within the tenement (Schofield *et al.* 1990; Carver 1979). Some areas of the town remained completely unoccupied, including the wet land adjoining the Tanyard stream, where no buildings were found in the recent excavations. Even close to the church settlement was not intense. The only building attested in the excavations on the Library site was the sunken structure attributed here to the Late Saxon period or immediately after, and surrounded by a concentration of pits of the same period. Re-examination of the results of the excavation by Freke adjoining Tanyard Lane allows the identification of a similar concentration of rubbish pits on the north side of the cleared area, which may also have indicated a structure nearby (*see* Freke 1979, 137-9, fig. 4).

There remain considerable problems in interpreting the plan of Steyning. There are very few

other contemporary small towns with which it can be compared, although perhaps the best parallel for Steyning is North Elmham. In spite of its identification by the excavator as the largest village in Norfolk at the time of the Domesday survey, it is better considered as a failed small town (Wade-Martins 1980a, 633). Firstly, there is very little evidence in Norfolk or indeed elsewhere in England for large nucleated settlements in the 11th century which were not urban. Studies in that county have shown that the settlement in the Late Anglo-Saxon period was polyfocal, with the church providing one of the foci of occupation (Wade-Martins 1980b; Addington 1983; Lawson 1983; Williamson 1988; Davison 1990). Secondly, North Elmham possessed a fair by the time of the episcopacy of Everard (1121-45), indicating that it was an early centre of trade (Wade-Martins 1980a, 535). Finally, it has been argued that North Elmham, rather than the alternative candidate South Elmham, was the site of the cathedral prior to the removal of the seat of the see to Thetford in 1071 (Rigold 1962-3). It was therefore also a pre-Conquest centre of ecclesiastical administration, and the presence of visitors to the bishop would, no doubt, also have encouraged its development as a place of trade. The transfer of the seat of the bishop from North Elmham evidently curtailed its growth and it failed to continue to develop into a town in the later medieval period. It is reasonable to imagine it in the mid-11th century as a place on the verge of developing urban attributes. The entry for Steyning in Domesday Book (i, 17a) reflects that place in a similar circumstance, an ambivalent state between rural and urban conditions. It says that before 1066 the burgesses 'worked at court like villans': they performed labour services on the lord's demesne. The tenants at Steyning may have been called burgesses, but there can have been relatively little in the late 11th century to distinguish them from rural farmers.

An important stage in the development in the progress from rural to urban character at North Elmham occurred in the early 11th century when the large halls of Period II were replaced by smaller houses and outbuildings with an agrarian character identified as 'peasant dwellings' (Wade-Martins 1980a, 151). These were set in fenced enclosures, though these boundaries had little permanence and were replaced in subsequent phases. The only hint of continuity is the area of the cathedral cemetery which was enlarged in the early 11th century and

remained in use for about 100 years. Later it became an open space and was occupied by two animal folds and a lime kiln, which was very probably constructed for the building of the Norman church in the early 12th century (Wade-Martins 1980a, 216). The area of the graveyard was also used as the site of a market, as indeed many churchyards were in the period before 1200 (Britnell 1993, 25, 84).

The earliest excavated buildings in Steyning were those at Market Field dating to the 10th century. Though it was suggested that the encircling enclosure with its entrance-way flanked by two substantial posts was 'typical' of Late Saxon sites (Gardiner 1993, 28, 39), the subsequent publication of a further site with a similar enclosure at Trowbridge (Wilts.) requires a reconsideration of that judgement. Two parallels for Market Field were originally cited, Cheddar palace and Little Paxton. The former is self-evidently a high-status site; the evidence for the latter is not sufficient to allow the character of the site to be determined. The position of the enclosure with gateway at Trowbridge on top of the ridge and immediately adjacent to the churchyard suggests that it may have enclosed a manorial *curia*. The association of church and manor house is not invariable, but was common in medieval England. Even if that identification is not accepted, it must be acknowledged that the enclosure was in a dominant position with regard to the adjoining settlement, a point reinforced by the subsequent construction on the site of a castle during the period of the Anarchy (Graham & Davies 1993).

Two out of three similar enclosures with two-post entrances may therefore be identified as probable high-status settlements. The Market Field buildings themselves do not identify it as high status, though the conspicuous use of timber in the south wall of building A may be significant. The presence of a gold ring in one of the rubbish pits and the proximity of the site to the church should also be borne in mind. The Market Field site may also have been close to the churchyard since burials discovered to the east of the existing cemetery indicate that it was once of greater extent (Welch 1983, 457-8). On balance, though the evidence is not conclusive, there is a case for also regarding the Market Field settlement as high status.

It is tempting to draw close parallels between Steyning and North Elmham. In both places possible high-status 10th-century buildings set near to the

church were superseded in the 11th century by a greater number of structures evidently of lower status. These were presumably the houses of the smallholders which were found in or close by many 11th-century towns, and on the sites under discussion mark the change in the character of settlement (Dyer 1994). The lower-status buildings were set within slight enclosures forming an irregular plan. Both Steyning and North Elmham were centres of trade, though whether the Elmham fair dates from before the Conquest is unknown, and both were ecclesiastical centres. How far these features typify Late Anglo-Saxon small towns is uncertain at present. Indeed, there remains a problem in defining such settlements on the verge of urban status. North Elmham and Steyning provide a standard against which other settlements may now be compared. Their study, however, has suggested that topographical analysis, which provided the basis for the examination of many Anglo-Saxon towns in a recent survey (Haslam 1984), is unlikely to be effective where the tenement boundaries were generally insubstantial and transitory. Excavation is likely to be the only means

of elucidating the character of these small primary towns which Everitt (1974) has characterized as the 'Banburys of England'.

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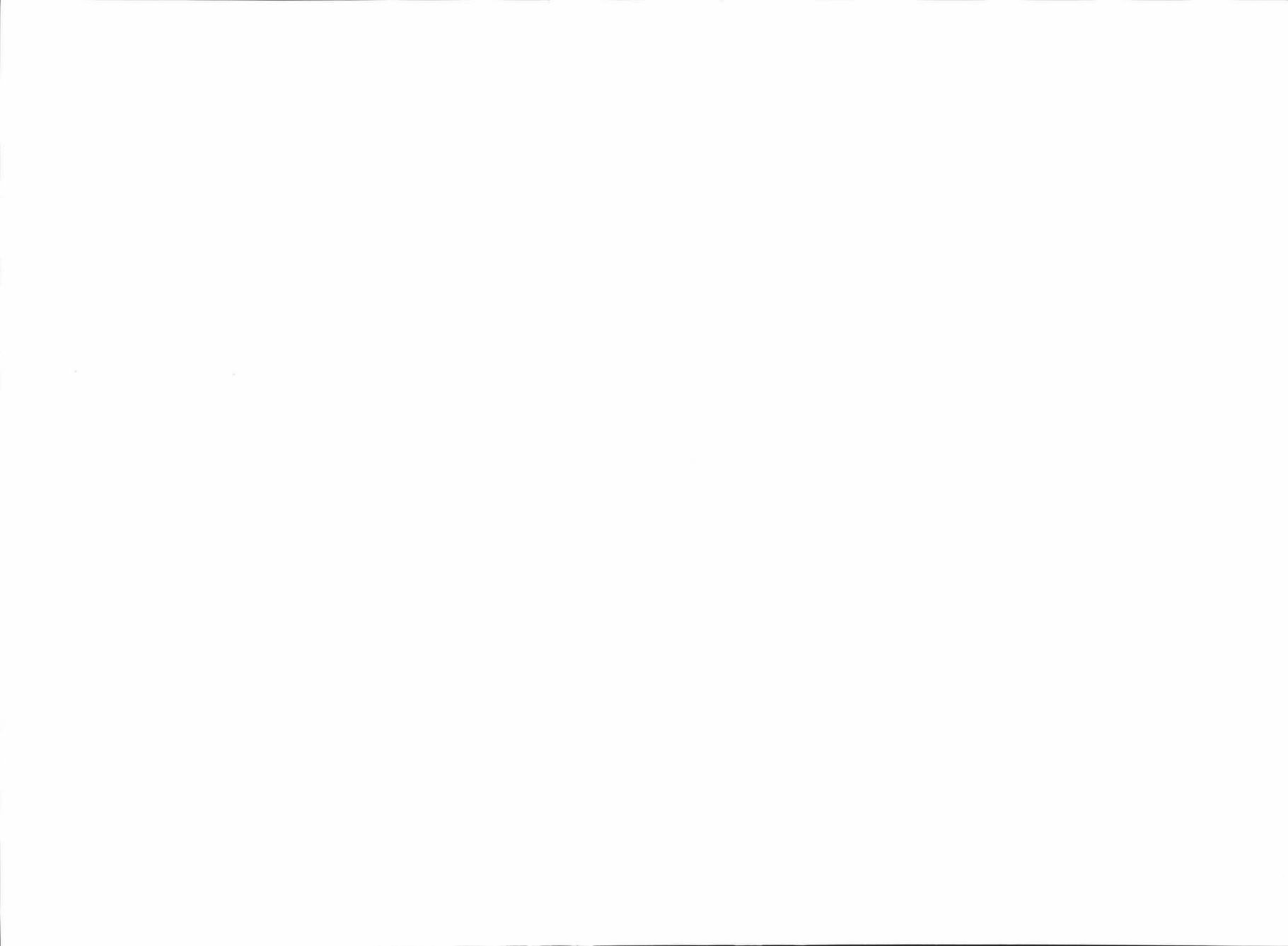
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Saint Cuthman, Steyning and Bosham

by John Blair

St Cuthman, the local saint of Steyning, may have lived in the late 7th or 8th century. His Latin Life shows strong Celtic influence; it contains topographical details, including a description of the religious precinct bounded by two natural streams, and describes the building of a stave-church at Steyning. The Life locates Cuthman's birth at an unnamed place to the west; later traditions identify this as Chidham, near Bosham, where 'St Culman's field' and 'St Cullman's dell' are recorded from 1635. Bosham was an Irish monastery in the late 7th century, and it seems possible that its influence underlies the strikingly Celtic elements in the story. The Life reinforces the view that the town of Steyning originated as an important Anglo-Saxon minster, otherwise first mentioned in 858. Steyning was progressively secularized as a royal and urban centre during the 9th to 11th centuries; excavation has revealed evidence for lay settlement of this period, perhaps developing first around the religious precinct and then within it.

The formative stages of English Christianity produced many local saints. Their legends, revived by Victorian ecclesiologists, have a wide popular currency, yet they have been remarkably little studied in any systematic or critical way. This is in marked contrast to Welsh and Breton saints' Lives, which have been enthusiastically exploited as evidence for former oral traditions and for the contextualization of folklore motifs.¹

Partly this is because the Celtic material manifestly embodies a continuing culture of folk-memory, which comes through as clearly in the collections of recent folklorists as in early Lives. In England, by contrast, religious and social changes have left only the most tenuous evidence for local traditions which can be correlated with hagiographical texts, most of which were written in the late 11th to 13th centuries. And the texts themselves are not, in the form in which we have them, attractive material. Their artificial style and often conventional motifs,

the stock-in-trade of literate hagiographers, are barriers between the reader and any underlying vernacular culture; it has been usual to dismiss them as spurious history. Yet potentially they are repositories of folklore motifs captured at a relatively early date, and even of genuine information about landscapes, sites and events. A more positive approach, applied to texts which might preserve elements of early hagiography or where the folkloric element is conspicuously strong, should help to define the social and devotional contexts of Anglo-Saxon cults.

One such text is the Latin *Life* of St Cuthman, familiar as a picturesque story but never seriously analyzed. Late though it is as we have it, it may throw light on the origins of South Saxon Christianity. The action of the story encompasses the coastal plain of west Sussex, a zone unusually rich in early monastic sites (Fig. 1). The text provides crucial evidence for the origins of Steyning, an important minster church and late Anglo-Saxon small town. Furthermore, its strongly Irish character suggests the possibility of a link between Cuthman and the 7th-century Irish monastery at Bosham, which adjoins his supposed birthplace at Chidham. This paper will analyze it as a piece of hagiography, and then consider what it has to tell us about the early churches at Bosham and at Steyning. In the case of Steyning, the opportunity is taken to review recent

¹ For instance: B. Merdrignac, *Recherches sur l'Hagiographie Armoricaïne du VIIe au XVe Siècle* (2 vols, Saint-Malo, 1985-6); J. M. H. Smith, 'Oral and written: saints, miracles and relics in Brittany, c. 850-1250', *Speculum* 65 (1990), 309-43; E. R. Henken, *The Welsh Saints: a Study in Patterned Lives* (Cambridge, 1991). J. Blair, 'A saint for every minster?', in J. Blair, R. Sharpe & A. Thacker (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches* (Oxford, forthcoming), will try to develop some of these approaches in an English context.

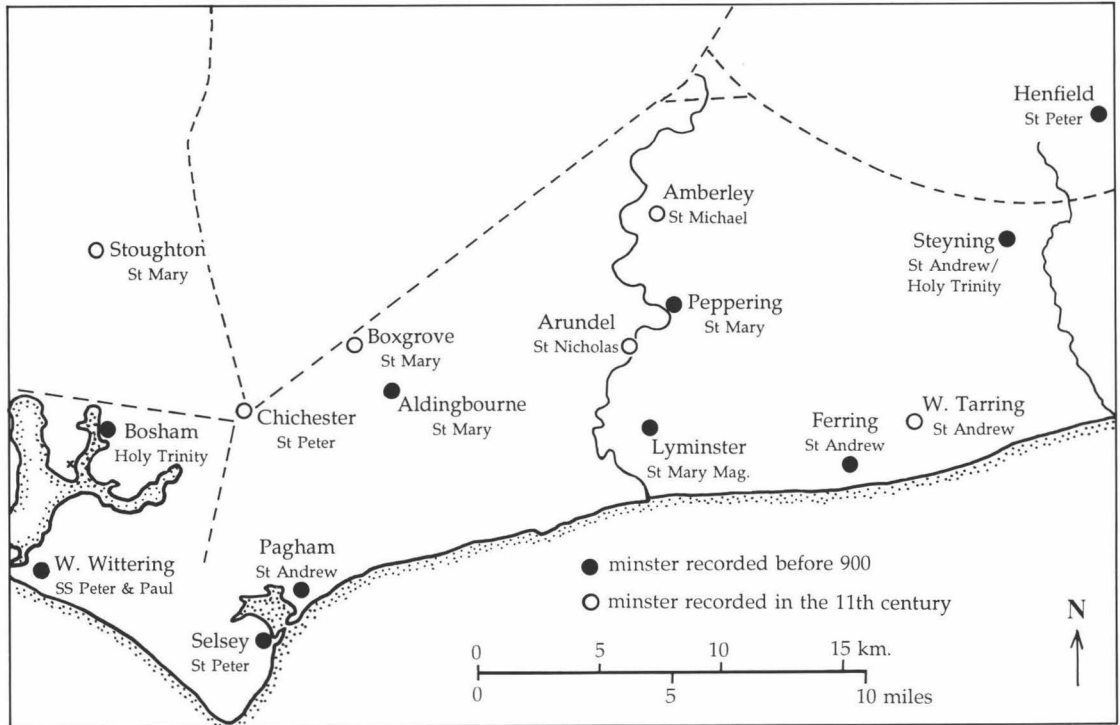


Fig. 1. Mid-Saxon west Sussex: minsters and Roman roads. In the *Life*, Cuthman wheels his mother across the area of this map from west to east, presumably either via Arundel or along the more northerly route taken by Roman roads.

interpretations of the important archaeological evidence for 9th- to 11th-century settlement growth.

The Old English list of saints' resting-places notes that 'St Cuthman rests at Steyning (*æt Stæningum*) in Sussex beside the River Bramber'.² This entry occurs in the second and longer part of the list, which was composed in the 10th or early 11th century but includes many older saints. *Cuthman(n)* is an unexceptionable (though otherwise unrecorded) high-status name, and it may be noted that names in *Cuth-* are generally much more common in the

7th to mid-9th centuries than thereafter.³ By the 1080s, Steyning church and its saint were so closely identified that it was possible to speak of 'St Cuthman's church', 'St Cuthman's burial-rights' and 'St Cuthman's port',⁴ but nothing else is recorded of him in first-hand pre-Conquest sources.

The saint's *Life*, though in no sense a contemporary witness, offers considerable scope for comparative analysis, both as hagiography and as local history. Since this paper is largely a commentary on the text (edited in full below, pp. 186–92), it is useful at the outset to give a paraphrase, which condenses conventional material but translates significant phrases in full:

² F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover, 1889), 19–20; D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 61–93. Cuthman's feast, on 8 February, occurs in a Fécamp calendar of c. 1120–30: *Analecta Bollandiana* 95 (1977), 61. Earlier accounts are: E. W. Cox, 'St Cuthman: what is known of him?', *Sussex Notes & Queries* 4 (1932–3), 204–7; G. R. Stephens & W. D. Stephens, 'Cuthman: a neglected saint', *Speculum* 13 (1938), 448–53 (including, 448 nn. 1–2, a useful bibliography); J. Pennington, 'St Cuthman of Steyning', *West Sussex History* 35 (Sept. 1986), 1–7.

³ W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897), 147–51. Barbara Yorke points out (pers. comm.) 'that the first element of Cuthman's name is one shared by several members of the West Saxon royal house, and that he originally came from an area close to the West Saxon border'.

⁴ R. C. van Caenegem (ed.), *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, 1 (London: Selden Soc. 106, 1990), 129.

1 St Cuthman, as has come down to us from the reliable report of old men, was born in Sussex to Christian parents. He was baptized a few days after birth, and confirmed a short time afterwards with holy unction. From infancy his earthly father laid on him the heavenly father's yoke; he grew up through a holy and unblemished childhood and youth, shunning worldly temptations.

2 In time he was put in charge of his father's grazing flocks. One day he was minding the flocks in the pasture, and the time came when his father had told him to come home to eat. Unwilling to take his flock with him, he made a circle around it with his shepherd's staff, saying, 'Flock, I order you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, not to go outside this boundary which I set for you before I return'. The flock understood: Cuthman returned and thanked God, for he found it unharmed. He did the same daily, whenever a like necessity made him leave the flock. In the pasture there was a stone on which the holy shepherd was in the habit of sitting, which the locals still hold in great veneration today, for God brings many blessings through it by his merits.

3 Wishing him to rise to higher grace, God put him to trials; and he was as patient in adversity as he had been meek in prosperity. His father died, and he soothed his mother's grief. He supported her, a son in the flesh but a father in care, a brother in the profession of one faith and a servant in obedience.

4 After some years his father's goods were spent; his mother fell into poverty, and her limbs failed. Ingenuity made good what penury denied: Cuthman made a wooden bed and laid the invalid on it. It hung by a rope from his shoulders, and he pushed and steered it in front of him with the help of a wheel running before. He commended himself to divine providence and, moving his mother in this fashion, he left his native region.

5 Going eastwards with his easy burden, Cuthman crossed a meadow in which men were scything. The rope of the cart suddenly broke; at first he was baffled, but then he picked a sapling from an elder growing there, twisted it and replaced the rope with it. The men mocked, for elder is more easily broken than twisted, and useless for such a purpose.

He ignored the wretches, and their mirth was turned to grief: a sudden downpour of driving rain showed the vengeance of God. Their hay ruined, they ran home as fast as they could. So that nobody should think this coincidence, posterity bewails their mockery: it still rains every year when that meadow is mown.

6 Seeing God's vengeance on his enemies, Cuthman made a vow in thanks, never to rest until he had found a place for the Lord where he might build a tabernacle in his name; and he gave himself this sign, that in whatever place the elder rope broke he would build a temple in the Lord's honour and serve him there forever. He went on his way in poverty, supporting his mother by begging.

7 After numberless privations, he came with the Lord's guidance to the place which we now call Steyning (*Staningas/Steningas*), where, as the saint was pushing his vehicle before him, the rope hanging from his shoulders suddenly broke and the bed slipped from his hands to the ground. He was stupefied in fear for his mother, but finding her unhurt he said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, who guarded, fed and clothed me on this pilgrimage, I thank you that, in the sign which I asked for, you have shown me this place and brought me to it safely. Now I know that you have chosen this place for me to build you a temple, in which you will hear the prayers and thanks of your people. You have charged me with this work, and my wandering ends here. Do this work with my hands, but your strength.'

8 He looked around, and saw that the place would suit his needs. People rarely came there then; there was little noise or traffic, and inhabitants were very few. It was a sheltered place at the foot of a steep-sloping down (*in declivi montis pede submontanus*), then overgrown with thorns and trees, now transformed into fertile and fruitful farmland, fittingly enclosed by the streams of two springs descending from the downs (*duorumque fontium de monte descendentium rivis decenter inclusus*). There he built a hut where he and his mother could rest, and began to measure and plan for laying out and building the temple. He undertook the holy work not in ease and comfort, but with hard labour; what his poverty lacked his devotion and toil made up. The Lord gave him

grace in the sight of the just inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who contributed generously towards his food and the work of building.

9 One day the saint's oxen, which he had unyoked from the waggon and put to graze, strayed outside the pasture. Two sons of a matriarch named Fippa found them, and impounded them on their mother's estate. Returning to work, Cuthman missed his oxen; further on he found the youths, who told him what they had done. Cuthman mildly replied, 'My sons, do not hold up the Lord's work; but if my oxen have done you any harm, show me and I will give due compensation'. But they ignored him. He said, 'So that God's work is not delayed through you, incurring a heavy sentence from the strict judge, I order you, in the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ, to serve the Lord as the oxen would do if they were free'; and taking hold of them he yoked them to the waggon. Thus the waggon worked, now empty, now full, and they stood or moved in response to his voice without a murmur.

10 Their mother came, and seeing her sons toiling at the vast labour she cried in rage, 'Why was I born to see my offspring thus enslaved? Why did I bear and suckle you, sons of eternal bitterness and confusion? Perish that man who has done you such outrages, and may that work fail in which you are so cruelly exhausted'. To these and many other blasphemies he replied in a mild voice, 'Woman, believe me, it is not I who do this work, but the strength of Christ which dwells in me. Things done in God may not perish; but *you* will end like smoke and dust when a wind blows across the earth, to show posterity that it is forbidden to curse those blessed by God, or to destroy work done at his command'. He had hardly spoken when a wind came from the north, blew her aloft over the high downs (*in montem excelsum*) and dropped her down to earth, which opened its mouth with a gaping cavern and swallowed her. From this that place is still called 'Fippa's pit' (*Fippae puteus*). Cuthman released the boys from the waggon, saying, 'My sons, give thanks to God, who has punished you but has not delivered you to death like your blaspheming mother. Go in peace, more careful henceforth of the Lord's commands; and to keep this work in

mind, you and your descendants will have, as a perpetual sign, multiple ridges on your necks from the weight of the yoke and the dampness of the air'. Thus he dismissed them; and a fear fell on their neighbours, and all these words were related on all the downs which lie around.

11 Crowds flocked there from all sides, to hear his words and to contemplate the marvels happening daily through him to living and lifeless things. He spent his days in labour and his nights in prayer, and daily served the workmen of the church. He was in the regular habit of hanging his gloves on sunbeams while praying in the church, picking them up again when he returned happily to work; he did this every day.

12 The saint's works grew with his virtues. He busied himself with the building of the church (*basilica*), now in the raising of timber columns, now in the jointing of panels. One day a solitary beam (*trabale unicum*) was put out of shape (*incurvatum*) by an accidental blow and left almost useless. As the saint and the others were bewailing the damage, a pilgrim from foreign parts suddenly came up and said, 'What are you all lamenting?' Cuthman replied, 'We are upset because the joint along the vertical edge of this timber will not fit as a result of a mishap'. He replied, 'Those who fear God can do anything. Stretch out your hand; let us pull it apart, set it up in the right position and see if we can make it fit'. And so it was done. Cuthman fell at his feet, saying, 'Show me, Lord, who you are'. 'I am Andrew', he said, 'in whose name you build this temple; but you will be a sharer of perpetual memory and glory in it'; and at once he vanished. Cuthman presided for a long time in his temple, and then received the reward of his labour, raised up to supernal joy where he remains forever, Amen.

It must be said at the outset that the text as we have it, which only survives in relatively late manuscripts, is likely to be post-Conquest. The word *chirotheca* (glove), used in c.11, is not otherwise recorded in England before the 1080s;⁵ again, an early writer would surely have called Sussex the *provincia*

⁵ *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: Fasc. II* (London, 1981), 329.

Australium Saxonum, as does Bede, not *partes Australis Anglie* as in c.1. The *Life* is probably an example of the revival in Anglo-Latin hagiography which gathered momentum from the mid-11th century.⁶ In the 1080s Fécamp Abbey, the Norman proprietor of Steyning church, was trying to defend its parochial rights against encroachment, and the text (which is stylistically uneven and could be by more than one author) may well have been written or reworked then.

On the other hand, the actual contents cannot have been determined by the interests of Fécamp. They include much that is irrelevant to claims of parochial rights, and nothing (beyond the vague references to the support of local people in c.8 and c.11) which would bolster them. Many details would have been of no concern to the Norman monks, especially the incidents before Cuthman's arrival at Steyning. His birth and early miracles are located somewhere well to the west, which can be identified on independent evidence (below) as Chidham near Bosham; it is even possible that an explicit reference to Chidham in the source-material has been omitted as irrelevant by a Fécamp re-writer or copyist.

In fact the material contained in the *Life*, if not the text as it stands, looks as though it belongs to a relatively early stage in insular hagiography. Standard 11th- to 13th-century Lives tend to emphasize the saint's death and burial, and posthumous miracles around his or her grave; the complete lack of reference to Cuthman's grave and physical relics suggests an earlier stage in the articulation of the cult.⁷ Nor are there any of the edifying miracles of healing which were standard by the 12th century: instead the text shows a preoccupation with ferocious nature-miracles punishing those who mock or abuse the saint. This emphasis, uncommon in English Lives of any date, is very much in the mode of early Celtic, and especially Irish, hagiography.⁸ Thus the young St Cuthman tends sheep, as does (in a life of c. 700

with strong Irish affinities) the young St Cuthbert.⁹ The miracle of the sheep in the magic circle relates to Irish stories of cattle kept from straying by a saint's bell or gospel-book, and to an incident in the 7th-century *Life of St Samson of Dol* where the saint describes a circle around a dragon, penning it in; in this context Cuthman's staff assumes the magical properties of the Irish saint's *bachall*.¹⁰ Celtic saints are commonly associated with stones, and Irish and Breton stones of a fortuitously chair-like shape are sometimes identified as saints' (or wizards') seats.¹¹ The motifs of blasphemers blown up into the air and swallowed by the earth are linked in the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* (c. 900);¹² the blaspheming *materfamilias* Fippa recalls the Breton farmer's wife Kébèn, 'most truculent woman' and defamer of St Ronan, who is also (in a late version) swallowed by the earth.¹³ The Breton St Lunaire hangs his gloves on a sunbeam.¹⁴ There is a striking conjunction of parallels in Cogitosus' *Life of St Brigit*, a late-7th-century Irish text: Brigit looks after sheep, keeps her mowers dry while it rains all around (in fact the converse of Cuthman's miracle in c.5), has oxen which are miraculously saved from thieves, and

⁹ *Vita S. Cuthberti Anon.* i.5 (ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940), 68).

¹⁰ Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum*, 1, clxiv–viii; *Vita S. Samsonis*, i.32 (ed. R. Fawtier, *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études* 197, (Paris, 1912), 130); cf. comment by Merdrignac, *Recherches*, 2, 97, that 'ce motif du cercle magique que délimite miraculeusement le saint implique toujours dans l'hagiographie armoricaine la main mise ecclésiastique sur un territoire'. The magic circle penning in a herd also occurs, however, in Chinese folk-tales: S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (6 vols, Copenhagen, 1955–8), D1446.5.

¹¹ Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum*, 1, clv–clvii, and Henken, *Welsh Saints*, 103, for stones in general; Merdrignac, *Recherches*, 2, 203, motif A989.3, and W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), 2, 251–5, for stones as seats.

¹² *Vita Tripartita S. Patricii*, ll.1501–9 (ed. K. Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic* 1 (Dublin, 1939), 81). The motif of malefactors swallowed by the earth is commonplace in itself: Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Q552.2.3 and 2.3.1–4; Cross, *Motif-Index*, under same motifs; Henken, *Welsh Saints*, 41–2 (and cf. the story of Dathan and Abiram in *Numbers* xvi.30–33).

¹³ *Vita S. Ronani* (ed. Soc. des Bollandistes, *Cat. Cod. Lat. . . . in Bib. Nat. Parisiensis* 1 (Brussels, 1889), 438–58); A. Le Braz, *The Land of Pardons* (trans. F. M. Gostling, London, 1907), 219, 233–4.

¹⁴ *Vita S. Leonorii* c.7 (ed. *Acta Sanctorum: Iul. I* (Antwerp, 1719), 122); cf. C. G. Loomis, *White Magic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 40.

⁶ For which see R. C. Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996), xxxiii–xxxix.

⁷ As in Brittany and Wales: Smith, 'Oral and written', 323–6, 335–7, 339–42.

⁸ For the maledictory propensities of Irish saints see C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (2 vols, Oxford, 1910), 1, cxxxiv–v, clxxiii–iv. T. P. Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1952), is a guide to motifs in Irish hagiography.

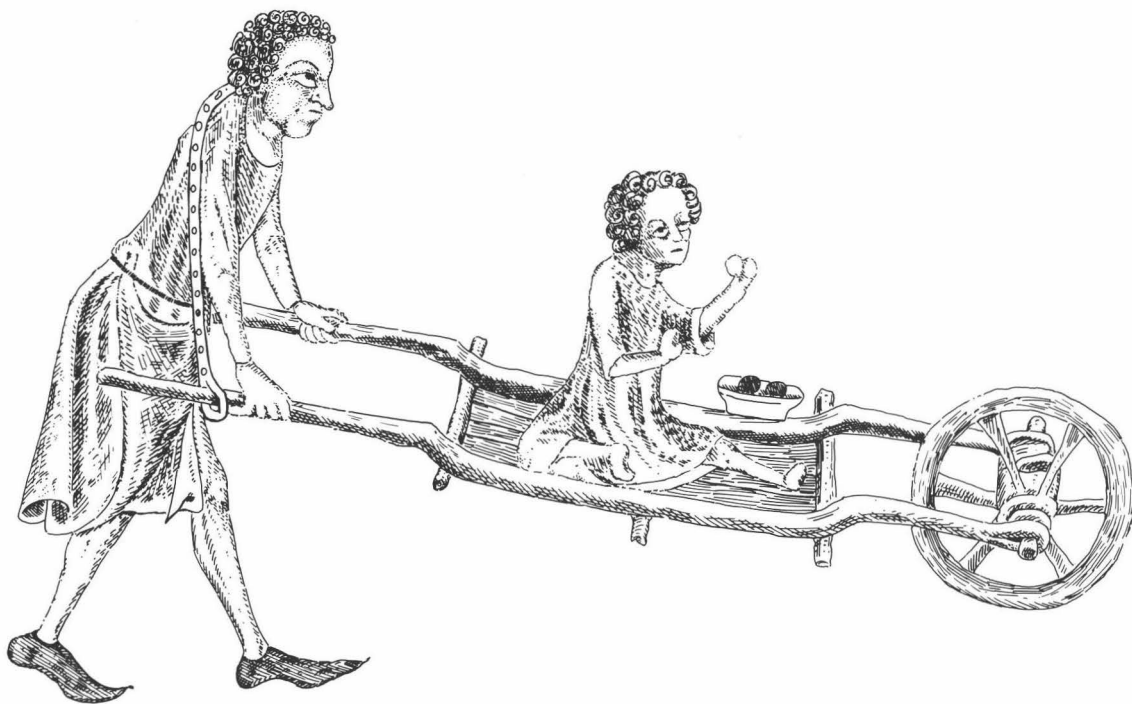


Fig. 2. 'It hung by a rope from his shoulders, and he pushed and steered it in front of him with the help of a wheel running before.' This 14th-century English drawing shows exactly the sort of cart described, and it may have been a standard kind of medieval invalid carriage. (Luttrell Psalter f.186^v; redrawn by Sarah Blair.)

hangs her clothes on a sunbeam.¹⁵

Other motifs, while in the same general style, are harder to parallel: the invalid carriage (though the vehicle itself was not necessarily unusual: see Fig. 2),¹⁶ the boys yoked to the waggon, the marks on their necks. The rope breaking to reveal the church site seems unparalleled, though the recognition of holy sites by means of portents, such as the halting of animals, is a common motif in itself.¹⁷ The twisting of the rope from a sapling is a

typically miraculous (because impossible) feat, but the choice of elder, out of all the species conspicuously ill-suited to this purpose, looks like a reminiscence of Anglo-Saxon folk-magic: in 1005 X 8 Archbishop Wulfstan denounced 'the nonsense which is performed on New Year's Day in various kinds of sorcery and in heathen sanctuaries and in elder-trees', and later English folk-tales associate elders with tree-spirits and divination.¹⁸

The miracle of the bent timber (c.12) is analogous to a story from Christchurch (Hants.), another south-coast minster, where a mysterious workman, later recognized as Christ, lengthens a timber which has been cut too short.¹⁹ A problem with the

¹⁵ Cogitosus, *Vita S. Brigidae*, cc.7, 9, 10, 19 (ed. *Acta Sanctorum: Feb. I* (Antwerp, 1658), 136–7).

¹⁶ The vehicle was essentially a long wheelbarrow; the rope transferred some of the weight of the handles to the driver's shoulders, and perhaps acted as a primitive kind of suspension. The wheelbarrow is normally considered a medieval (i.e. post-classical) invention (C. Singer *et al.* (ed.), *A History of Technology*, 2 (Oxford, 1956), 546), but there is no means of knowing how much earlier it was in use than the 14th- and 15th-century depictions.

¹⁷ Thompson, *Motif-Index*, B155.1, B563.4; Henken, *Welsh Saints*, 88–9, 107–8. One story of a saint's vehicle breaking at his destination (St Oudoceus: W. J. Rees (ed.), *The Liber Landavensis* (Llandoverly, 1840), 134), has nothing else in common with Cuthman.

¹⁸ D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods*, 1.i (Oxford, 1981), 320; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, A2711.2.1, A2721.2.1.4, A2766.1, F441.2.3.2, G257.6 (all from E. W. Baughmann, *A Comparative Study of the Folktales of England and North America*, unpublished dissertation, Indiana, 1954, which I have not consulted).

¹⁹ I have been unable to trace this back beyond a very late source: B. Ferrey & E. W. Brayley, *The Antiquities of the Priory of Christ-Church, Hants.* (London, 1834), 87–8. It is analogous to a Malmesbury story in which Aldhelm's

Steyning miracle is that the pilgrim is identified as St Andrew in one manuscript of the *Life* (from an English source), but not in the other (from Fécamp): a scribe has either dropped the word *Andreas* or added it on his own initiative. The second alternative would imply that the pilgrim had originally been envisaged as Christ himself. This is indeed the case in the Christchurch legend, and underlying these stories is a miracle of the young Christ in the apocryphal 'Gospel of St Thomas'.²⁰ The pilgrim's 'I am [he] in whose name you build this temple' recalls Cuthman's vow in c.6 to 'find a place for the Lord where he might build a tabernacle in his name', and in the 15th century Steyning church was thought to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity.²¹ On the other hand a pilgrim's guise is not inappropriate for St Andrew, who in the Old English poem *Andreas* makes a long and dangerous voyage to convert cannibals. A dedication of Steyning church to St Andrew is recorded in 1263, and could well be early: he is a strikingly regular patron of west Sussex minsters (Fig. 1), a local peculiarity which may reflect St Wilfrid's special devotion to him.²²

prayers cause a timber (later preserved as a relic, as at Christchurch) to lengthen miraculously: William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Ser. 52, 1870), 362.

²⁰ *Evangelium Thomae Latinum* c.11 (ed. C. de Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1876), 176): compare its "'Apprehende hoc lignum ab uno capite et ego per aliud, et extrahamus illud"; quod et factum est' with the present c.12. Cf. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. M. R. James (Oxford, 1924), 52–3.

²¹ R. G. Rice, *Transcripts of Sussex Wills, IV* (Sussex Record Soc. 45, 1940–41), 162, 170. For the equivalence of dedications to Christ, the Holy Trinity, the Divine Wisdom etc. (which include Christchurch, Hants.), see R. Morris, 'Alcuin, York and the *Alma Sophia*', in L. A. S. Butler & R. K. Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor* (C. B. A. Research Rep. 60, London, 1986), 80–89, at 82–3.

²² *Cal. Papal Registers: Papal Letters*, i, 387. There is no reason to think that the St Andrew dedication replaced an earlier one to St Cuthman (as suggested by T. P. Hudson (ed.), *Victoria History of Sussex*, 6.i: *Bramber Rape (Southern Part)* (Oxford, 1980) 243, and T. P. Hudson, 'The origins of Steyning and Bramber, Sussex', *Southern History* 2 (1980), 11–29, at 13). Anglo-Saxon founder-saints did not dedicate their churches to themselves, and in most early English minsters the principal church (usually of two) had an apostolic dedication (J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', in J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), 226–66, at 249–56). On Wilfrid (who evangelized Sussex in the 680s) and St Andrew, see Stephen of Ripon ['Eddius Stephanus'], *Vita Wilfridi*, cc.5, 22, 56, 65 (ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge,

Given that Fécamp Abbey was itself dedicated to the Holy Trinity, it could have had a motive for obscuring the pilgrim's original identity. On the whole it seems most likely that St Andrew appeared in the source material as Cuthman's miraculous helper, just as St Bartholomew helped the hermit-saint Guthlac (d. 714) in his wilderness.²³ It is conceivable, however, that the confusion reflects an early pair of churches dedicated to the Trinity and St Andrew respectively.

In either case this episode is remarkable for its structural precision. The church had main posts, and panels which needed linking together (*nunc in columpnis ligneis erigendis, nunc in laqueariis connectendis*); the damaged main timber had a joint cut along a vertical edge (*perpendicularum coniungibilis*); and the problem could be corrected (albeit with miraculous help) by pulling the assemblage apart and fitting it together again. This suggests the technology of Scandinavian stave-churches, where the uprights of the walls are often held together by vertical rebating or mortising in the manner of tongue-and-groove boarding, and where the upper parts of the cylindrical main posts are sometimes grooved to house the ends of timber arches or braces.²⁴ At Greensted (Essex), the only early timber church left in England, the half-logs of the walls have grooved vertical edges housing loose tongues which are invisible once the structure is assembled.²⁵ Much earlier, in the 7th-century timber buildings excavated at Yeavering (Northumb.), it has been argued from circumstantial evidence that the same technique may have been used.²⁶ Given this timespan, the passage is unhelpful for dating the story. It does, however, suggest that the author or his source knew a stave-church at Steyning which was believed to have been Cuthman's own.²⁷

1927), 12–13, 44–7, 122–3, 140–41).

²³ Felix, *Vita S. Guthlaci*, cc.29–33 (ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), 95–109).

²⁴ C. Ahrens, *Frühe Holzkirchen im Nördlichen Europa* (Hamburg, 1982), 39 (Lund), 122–3 (Husterknupp), 149, 165–73 (Kaupang), 495–6 (Vang). The excavated House 3 at der Husterknupp is late 9th to 10th century, the others later.

²⁵ H. Christie, O. Olsen & H. M. Taylor, 'The wooden church of St Andrew at Greensted, Essex', *Antiquaries Journal* 59.i (1979), 92–112, especially fig. 3.

²⁶ B. Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering: an Anglo-British Centre of Early Northumbria* (London, 1977), 36–8.

²⁷ Cf. the timber church at Lindisfarne, which was treated as a relic because it was believed to have been built by St Aidan: T. Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (Rolls Ser. 75.1, 1882), 201.

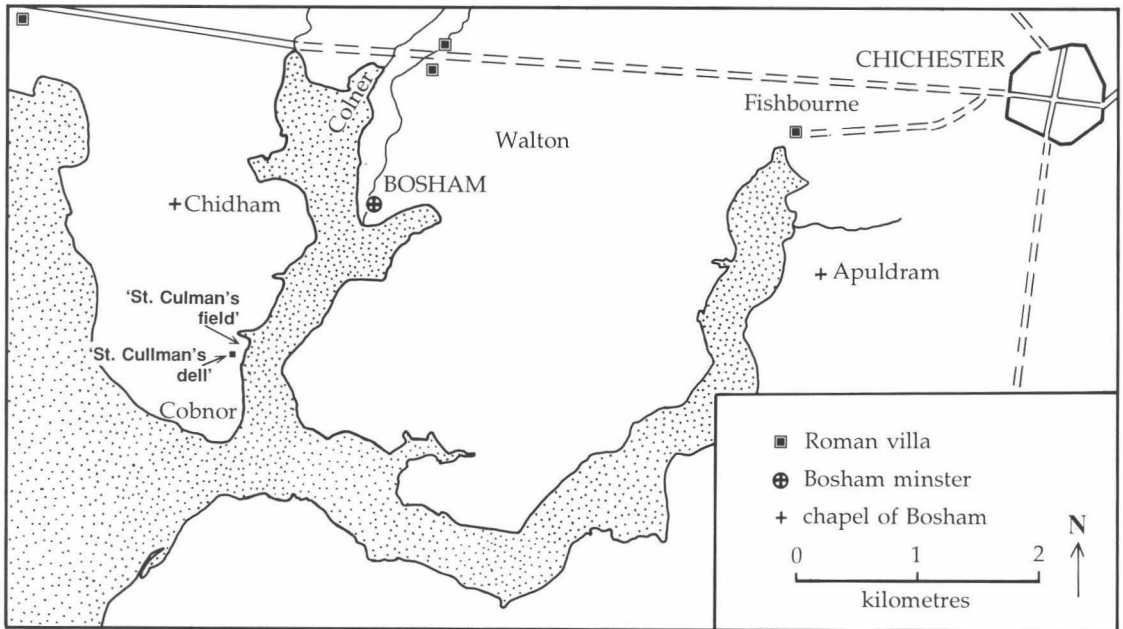


Fig. 3. Bosham and its environs, showing places mentioned in the text in relation to Roman roads and sites.

The Cuthman legend resembles the vernacular traditions of Breton hagiography in its emphasis on landscape features associated with his activities in life:²⁸ the stone in the pasture; the meadow where it always rains; 'Fippa's pit';²⁹ and the accurate description of Steyning itself, enclosed by downs on three sides and dissected by two streams (Fig. 4). The story of the wind from the exposed north, blowing Fippa up onto the high downs south-west of Steyning, clearly shows knowledge of the site. This material is much more likely to derive from Steyning than from Fécamp, and must surely represent genuine folk-beliefs about Cuthman's activities in the Sussex countryside.

How far this evidence should be pushed will be a matter of opinion. The material is singular, archaic in character, and rich in local reference; at least it seems a reasonable conclusion that the traditions were established well back in the pre-Conquest period, and rooted in long-term interaction between

the sites of Cuthman's cult and lay devotional practice. It is a strange fact, demanding explanation, that the analogies are primarily Irish, to a lesser extent Breton, but largely non-English. Relatively late influence cannot be ruled out: in western Wessex a legend such as Cuthman's might be ascribed to 10th-century Breton contacts, though there is otherwise no trace of anything of the kind in Sussex.³⁰ In fact, a different and more interesting source suggests itself, especially in the light of some striking ancillary evidence.

The unnamed birthplace from which Cuthman travelled eastwards to Steyning is identified as Chidham, near Bosham, in a late 15th-century memorandum.³¹ Chidham had a guild of St Cuthman in 1522/3, and in 1541 there were complaints about the loss of the large oblations which had previously been made to his image

²⁸ B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), 161–2, 209.

²⁹ British Library, Sloane MS 3744 f.1. This is a 15th-century collection of miscellaneous medical, scientific and heraldic material. Written on the flyleaf, in a hand of c. 1500 or a little before, is the note: 'Chydham a myll from Bosham, ther was Sent Cudman borne. He is shryned at Vescom in Normandy.'

²⁸ Smith, 'Oral and written', 323, 325, 337–8.

²⁹ Fippa is not a recorded Anglo-Saxon name; but cf. Bede's *Infepingum* in Middle Anglia, the *Færpingas* of the Tribal Hidage, which implies a (presumably male) personal name *Feppa or *Færpa.

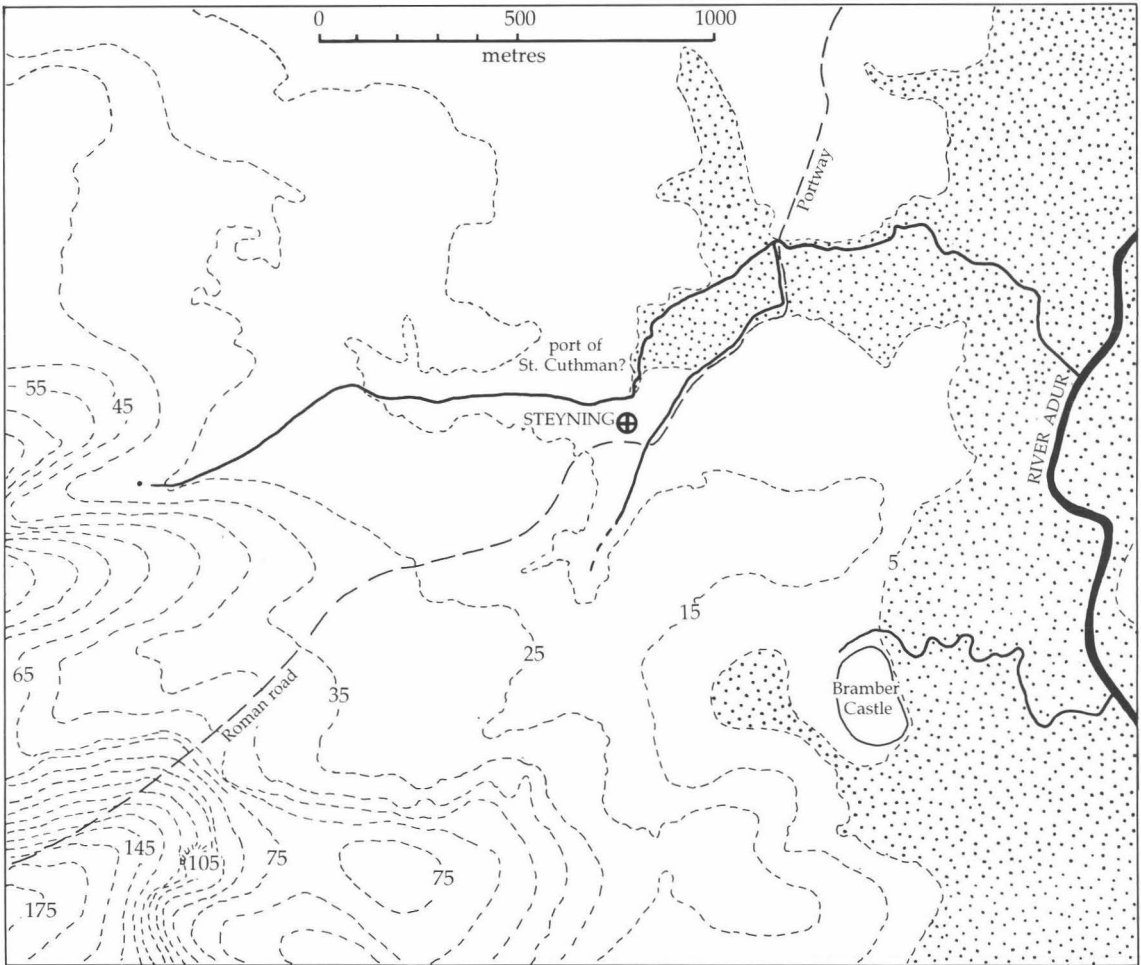


Fig. 4. The location of Steyning: 'it was a sheltered place at the foot of a steep-sloping down . . . , fittingly enclosed by the streams of two springs descending from the downs'. Contours are in metres above sea level; the Adur floodplain (defined as land below 5 m O.D.) is stippled. North is at the top.

there.³² Since Chidham lies 25 miles due west of Steyning, with relatively direct communication along Roman roads (Fig. 1), it seems highly likely that it was the place envisaged in the sources for the *Life*. Furthermore, a Chidham glebe terrier of 1635 includes an acre 'lyeing in a feild commonly called St Culman's feild neere St Cullman's Dell

bounded with . . . the sea on the north', which can be identified with Cullimer's Field (parcel 282) and Cullimer's Pond (parcel 282a) on the Chidham tithe map and apportionment of 1846.³³ The field, including the still-extant 'dell' (SU 7929 0267),³⁴ lies

³² A. Wilkinson, 'Subsidy roll for Sussex, 14–15 Henry VIII', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **37** (1890), 186–8; W. D. Peckham, 'Augmentation of Chidham vicarage, 1541', *Sussex Notes & Queries* **6** (1936–7), 143–4. Built into the internal west wall of Chidham church is a 15th-century panel with shields in quaterfoils, which might derive from either a tomb or a shrine base.

³³ British Library, Add. MS 39467 f.97^v (Dunkin transcript); West Sussex Record Office, TD/W30. The 'sea on the north' was a tidal inlet east of Cobnor Farm, now silted up but shown on maps of 1778 (Yeakell and Gardner) and 1784 (W.S.R.O., MP1389). I am grateful to Tim McCann for this information.

³⁴ This was examined in May 1997 by kind permission of the farmer, Mr R. Wilson. It is a rectilinear and obviously artificial excavation, measuring some 40 by 36 m, which

on the flat Brickearth at the eastern edge of the Chidham peninsula, overlooking Bosham channel (Fig. 3). Given that St Cuthman's adolescent miracle of the magic circle took place in a pasture, the association of St 'Cullman' with a specific field is striking; the site is even a plausible one for a natural lump of stone identified as the saint's seat, since geological erratics occur around Chichester harbour.³⁵

Across the inlet, about a mile north-east of 'St Cullman's dell', stands the Anglo-Saxon minster church of Bosham. In a famous passage, Bede states that when St Wilfrid was working among the South Saxons in the 680s there was already 'a certain Irish monk named Dicuill who had a very small monastery in a place called Bosham surrounded by woods and sea, in which five or six brothers served the Lord in humility and poverty, but none of the natives cared to follow their way of life or listen to their preaching'.³⁶ This makes Bosham the only firmly-attested early Irish monastery on the south coast, and in view of its later high status it may have been more important than Bede's dismissive phrase (presumably guided by his Wilfridian sources) suggests.

It is remarkable that a saint from nearby

seems to have silted up around the edges leaving an irregular pond in the bottom. Its purpose is unclear; a brickearth-quarry is a possibility, since there was a brick-kiln at Chidham by 1785 (M. Beswick, *Brickmaking in Sussex* (Midhurst, 1993), 186), but 1635 seems rather early for this. The name recorded in 1635 may simply reflect the fact that it lay within 'St Culman's field', and need not indicate a specific association with the saint.

³⁵ R. Godwin-Austen, 'On the newer tertiary deposits of the Sussex coast', *Quarterly Jnl. of the Geological Soc. of London* **13** (1857), 40–72, at 56–8. It is striking that Cullimer's Field lies on a small patch (the only one in the immediate vicinity) of the Lyminster Series, a soil derived from the loamy, pebbly marine drift which contains the erratics: J. M. Hodgson, *Soils of the West Sussex Coastal Plain* (Harpندن, 1967), 9–10, and accompanying map SU70-80. No specific stone block is recorded at Chidham. I am grateful to Stewart Ullyott for advice on this point, and to John Mills for checking the county Sites and Monuments Record.

³⁶ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv.3 (eds B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 372–3). For the context see D. P. Kirby, 'The church in Saxon Sussex', in P. Brandon (ed.), *The South Saxons* (Chichester, 1978), 160–73, at 169; H. Mayr-Harting, 'St Wilfrid in Sussex', in M. J. Kitch (ed.), *Studies in Sussex Church History* (Univ. of Sussex, 1981), 1–17. Bosham's later Anglo-Saxon history is discussed by R. Gem, 'Holy Trinity church, Bosham', *Archaeological Journal* **142** (1985), 32–6.

Chidham, which was one of the endowments of Bosham minster and part of its mother-parish,³⁷ should have a *Life* of such strongly Irish character. The field-names are problematic and leave some unanswered questions, not least because *Cullman* looks less like *Cuthman* than the common early Irish name *Colmán*. Alternative explanations might be that 'Cullman' is simply a late garbling of Cuthman's name; that it is a folk-etymology from Cullimer(e) ('Cola's mere?') conditioned by knowledge of the local saint; or that it records a genuine 'St Colmán of Bosham' whose legend has been conflated with that of St Cuthman, perhaps thereby importing the Irish elements into his *Life*.³⁸

More work on the Chidham problem is clearly required, especially the location and analysis of earlier forms of the field-names. The narrative structure of the *Life*, embracing two scenes of action so far apart, also needs further thought in the light of the possibility of conflation: was the strange motif of the cart-journey a device invented to link stories of two different saints (with superficially similar names) who lived at Chidham and Steyning respectively? The miracle of the elder-sapling and the mowers, possibly to be located at a half-way point in the meadows of the Arun valley,³⁹ implies a third focus of traditions in the landscape. For the present we can merely note the likelihood that legends of the saint (or saints) were rooted in the countryside at Chidham as they were at Steyning, and the unexpected possibility that the Cuthman material preserves distant echoes of Dicuill's Irish monastery.

The *Life* has a much clearer and more direct bearing on the origins of Steyning, for which it constitutes, in effect, a foundation legend. To draw attention to this is timely in view of Steyning's growing importance in medieval settlement

³⁷ L. F. Salzman (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, **4: Chichester Rape** (Oxford, 1953), 188.

³⁸ I am most grateful to Richard Coates for his advice on these problems. He observes that the word 'Saint' often accrues late to place-names of this kind, so that its occurrence in 1635 may be 'a late addition, whether as a piece of fancification or rationalization, and whether historically accurate or not'.

³⁹ This would suggest a site near either Pulborough (on the route using Roman roads), or near Arundel. In 1086 there were concentrations of meadows and fisheries in the Arun valley: H. C. Darby & E. M. J. Campbell (eds), *The Domesday Geography of South-East England* (Cambridge, 1962), 450, 454.

archaeology: few small towns have produced quite such abundant evidence for their proto-urban origins in the 10th and 11th centuries. Excavations in the core of the town, the latest published in the present issue of the *Collections* (Gardiner & Greatorex above, pp. 143–71), have consistently revealed structures, ditches and pottery of the period.⁴⁰

An excellent synthesis by Mark Gardiner considers the character of the settlement and its relationship to other nucleated proto-urban sites of the period (this volume, pp. 168–70). Convincing though this is as an analysis of developments after the mid-10th century, it may be that neither Gardiner nor previous writers have given sufficient weight to the role of the church in stimulating initial settlement growth. It is as ecclesiastical centres that many small towns can first be recognized, and it is arguable that important monastic sites were the main foci for proto-urban growth in the dispersed settlement landscape of Anglo-Saxon England.⁴¹ The Cuthman legend, taken in conjunction with other evidence, suggests that Steyning was such a place.

That Steyning church had 'old minster' status in the 11th century is not controversial. Edward the Confessor gave it, together with the manor, to the Norman abbey of Fécamp, which in the 1080s was vigorously defending its mother-church rights of burial and soulscot against encroachment. The church later had parochial jurisdiction over all or most of Steyning hundred, and enjoyed the exempt status of a royal free chapel; it was a college of prebendaries by at least the late 12th century. These are among the standard hallmarks of churches which enjoyed an established, superior status in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and which housed groups of clergy who were often the successors of much more ancient monastic communities.⁴²

The earliest fact known about Steyning shows that it already had a minster in the pre-Viking period. In 858, according to the 'Annals of St Neots', King Æthelwulf of Wessex died and was buried at Steyning (*apud Steningam*).⁴³ The context was the temporary re-partition of Wessex two years previously: Æthelwulf had been displaced in the West Saxon heartland by his eldest son Æthelbald, but retained Kent, Surrey and Sussex. If, as has been argued, Æthelwulf's dynasty was Kentish and had only recently attached itself to the West Saxon royal line, Steyning could have been chosen because of (otherwise unknown) links with the former South Saxon kings.⁴⁴ In any case the most powerful English king of the time would not have been buried in a negligible church, and it is reasonable to conclude that by 858 Steyning minster was at least of established regional importance, and also closely linked to the royal house.

It is worth stressing at this point that everything known or inferred about Steyning in the pre-Viking period — Cuthman's cult, the foundation legend, the royal burial — relates to a church, not to a lay settlement. Probably the district was already known as *Stæningas* ('places characterized by stones')⁴⁵

Hudson (ed.), *V.C.H. Sussex*, 6.i, 220, 226–7, 241–2; van Caenegem (ed.), *Lawsuits* 1, 129. For evidence suggesting that the graveyard, like many minster graveyards, was larger, see A. E. Wilson, 'The end of Roman Sussex and the early Saxon settlements', *SAC* 82 (1941), 46 (noting burials below the cottages across the road from the east end of the churchyard). For the general context of early minsters identified from late evidence see: J. Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in P. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a Reassessment* (London, 1985), 104–42; J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950–1200* (Oxford, 1988); J. Blair, 'Ecclesiastical organization and pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 4.2 (1995), 193–212.

⁴³ D. Dumville & M. Lapidge (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, XVII: the Annals of St Neots* (Cambridge, 1985), 51.

⁴⁴ Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, 96–9; A. Scharer, 'The writing of history at King Alfred's court', *Early Medieval Europe* 5.2 (1996), 177–206, at 183–5. I am grateful to Patrick Wormald for his observations on this point.

⁴⁵ R. Coates, 'The plural of singular -ing: an alternative application of Old English -ingas', in A. R. Rumble & A. D. Mills (eds), *Names, Places and People* (Stamford, forthcoming) interprets it as the plural of *stæning, not as a folk-name referring to 'Stān's people' or 'the people of the stone' as suggested by E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1960), 442. Richard Coates further suggests (pers. comm.) that 'locum quem nunc Staningas nominamus' (*Life* c.7) implies that the place had previously been called something else, but I

⁴⁰ Gardiner and Greatorex, above p. 143, list previous excavations, the most important of which is M. Gardiner, 'The excavation of a late Anglo-Saxon settlement at Market Field, Steyning, 1988–89', *SAC* 131 (1993), 21–67.

⁴¹ J. Blair, 'Minster churches in the landscape', in D. Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1988), 35–58; Blair, 'Topographical review'; J. Blair, 'The minsters of the Thames', in J. Blair & B. Golding (eds), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), 5–28; J. Blair, 'Palaces or minsters? Northampton and Cheddar reconsidered', *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996), 97–121; J. Blair, 'Small towns before 1270', in D. M. Palliser (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, I: the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, forthcoming).

⁴² Hudson, 'Origins of Steyning and Bramber', 11–29;

before Cuthman's time, but it can be assumed that this, like other early topographical names, described a zone rather than a settlement: the message of recent research is that early Anglo-Saxon settlement was dispersed and shifting, and that stable nucleation came long after the earlier layers of place-names in the landscape had been formed.⁴⁶ It is no longer reasonable to suppose, as it was in 1980, that 'Steyning presumably originated as a village', or that Cuthman 'founded a church at an existing settlement there'.⁴⁷ *The Life*, indeed, asserts quite the opposite: Cuthman found a deserted spot and started to build his church.

The comment in c.8 that the site was 'fittingly enclosed' (*decenter inclusus*) by two streams is crucial, for it must mean that these streams offered the containment which any religious site needed: they take the place of the perimeter boundary which, in some Irish texts, is said to have been laid out by the saint in person.⁴⁸ When the narrative was formulated the religious precinct was bounded, or was thought once to have been bounded, by the two streams which run through the present town, and this fact has an impact on any interpretation of the origins of the settlement. Steyning is in fact a classic minster site: on a dry chalk spur at the boundary between hills and floodplain, at a confluence of streams with navigable water (Figs 4 & 5).⁴⁹

The next reference to it, however, is in a secular context underlining the link with West Saxon kings: as one of three estates which King Alfred (*Æthelwulf's* son), in his will of the 880s, left to his nephew

Æthelwold.⁵⁰ The conclusion that Steyning was an ancient royal estate is superficially attractive, but probably wrong. First, it seems that the estates which Alfred bequeathed by name were personal property (as distinct from earmarked royal endowment) which King *Æthelwulf* had left to his sons; thus they were usable, as in this case, to endow someone not envisaged as a future king.⁵¹ Secondly, Steyning is one of at least 12 places in the will which, when they can first be recognized as Anglo-Saxon centres in either written or physical sources, seem to be ecclesiastical rather than royal.⁵² They illustrate a complex process which is now becoming better understood: the decline of minsters in status and wealth (partly but not wholly through Viking raids); the gradual absorption of their lands by kings and nobles as patronage turned into exploitation; and the transformation of what had begun as freestanding monastic sites into residences with churches attached.⁵³ The burial of Alfred's father at Steyning shows it already linked to the West Saxon dynasty by the 850s, and the transformation of minster centre into royal centre may have happened in gradual stages over several generations.

Proto-urban attributes are apparent by the 11th century, with the minting of coins at Steyning from Cnut's reign onwards and the Domesday entry listing *mansurae* in the *burgus* on the larger, Fécamp, portion of the manor.⁵⁴ The statement that the tenants of these houses had 'worked at the court with the villans in King Edward's day' implies post-Conquest urbanization, but the archaeology shows that Steyning had been acquiring a distinctive character, as a substantial agglomerative settlement, from at least a century earlier.

Gardiner very reasonably compares it to North Elmham, which like Steyning was a lay settlement around an ecclesiastical core (above, p. 169). The possibility that the zone between the two streams

am doubtful if the text will bear such a precise interpretation. In the light of this name it is a striking coincidence that Cuthman was associated with a special stone, though the *Life* unambiguously locates this at his birthplace, not at Steyning.

⁴⁶ H. F. Hamerow, 'Settlement mobility and the "middle Saxon shift"', *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991), 1–17, for the instability of settlement; M. Gelling, 'Towards a chronology for English place-names', in D. Hooke (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1988), 59–76, for topographical names.

⁴⁷ Hudson, 'Origins of Steyning and Bramber', 11.

⁴⁸ C. Doherty, 'The monastic town in early medieval Ireland', in H. B. Clarke & A. Simms (eds), *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe* (Oxford, 1985), 1, 45–75, at 55–7 (and cf. 47–50).

⁴⁹ Blair, 'Topographical review', 227–31; Blair, 'Minsters of the Thames', 9–12; Blair, 'Palaces or minsters?', 98, 110. 'St Cuthman's port' was probably on the inlet, now silted, which stretched up to the church: Hudson, 'Origins of Steyning and Bramber', 15–16; Hudson (ed.), *VCH Sussex*, 6.i, 220.

⁵⁰ S. Keynes & M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (Harmondsworth, 1983), 177.

⁵¹ Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 173.

⁵² Aldingbourne, Beddingham, Great Bedwyn, Cheddar, Damerham, Godalming, Hartland, Lambourn, Lyminster, Steyning, Sturminster, Whitchurch Canonicorum; there may well be others.

⁵³ R. Fleming, 'Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking age', *English Historical Review* 100 (1985), 247–65; Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages*, 194–7, 235–9; Blair, 'Palaces or minsters?', 118–21.

⁵⁴ J. J. North, *English Hammered Coinage*, 1 (London, 1980), 138; Domesday Book f.17.

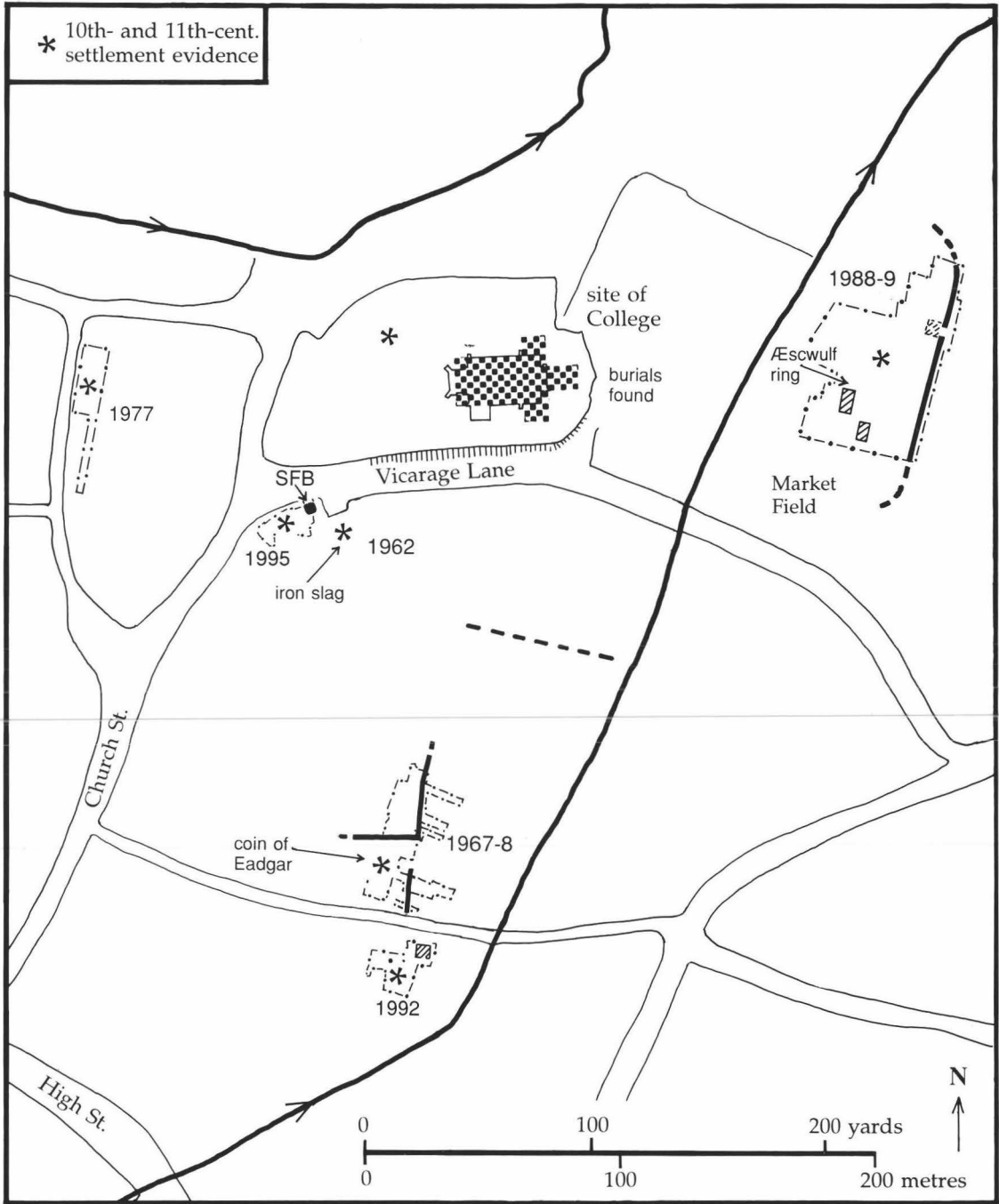


Fig. 5. The nucleus of settlement at Steyning, showing excavated 10th- and 11th-century features.

remained a religious precinct until the 10th or 11th century does, however, add a further dimension to

this analysis (Fig. 5). The major site at Market Field was an enclosed 10th-century homestead which,

though only a little way east of the church, lay beyond the stream and had its entrance on the eastern (i.e. outer) side. Activity here may have begun as early as the 9th century, and finds include a 9th-century gold ring inscribed 'Æscwulf owns me'. One possible interpretation of this establishment and its location is that it was a high-status residence built up against the boundary of what was still a reserved sacred zone. The later 10th- and 11th-century sites would then reflect progressive secularization within the precinct, leading up to the establishment of the mint and Fécamp's urbanizing initiatives. This is a process which can be guessed from the topography of many small towns, though few of them have the archaeological evidence now available at Steyning.⁵⁵

Cuthman's was one of the many local cults which sprang from a distinct, never-repeated phase in English church history. During the late 7th and 8th centuries the newly-founded minsters became stable centres of aristocratic life, and of broader-based ritual and economic activity, such as Anglo-Saxon society had never previously known: it is

⁵⁵ Note 41 above.

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APPENDIX
TEXT OF THE *VITA SANCTI*
CUTHMANNI

Four manuscripts are recorded: two of them still extant, the others known from an early edition for which they were collated:

G = Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, MS Memb.I.81, ff.134^r–136^v. This is a large and important collection of (often obscure) English and British saints' Lives, written in an unknown English centre in a single hand of the third quarter of the 14th century (though the latest datable contents are of the early 13th century): P. Grosjean, 'De codice hagiographico Gothano', *Analecta Bollandiana* 58 (1940), 90–103, 177–204 (with collation of the Cuthman text at pp. 197–8); D. Dumville & M. Lapidge (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, XVII: the Annals of St Neots* (Cambridge, 1985), lxxix–lxxx. The text is written as a continuous block without chapter divisions.

hardly surprising that so many key individuals of this formative period achieved long-term veneration. Their cults lasted into the very different world of Domesday England, which was dominated by towns and royal centres and in which churches (apart from the cathedrals and great abbeys) were relatively less important. Too often, 1086 has been made a reference-point for understanding landscape organization in earlier Anglo-Saxon centuries. Recent work on archaeology and topography has shown how anachronistic this approach may be; the narrative evidence for the great age of the minsters which is embedded in later hagiography now deserves closer study.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Richard Sharpe and Lesley Boatwright for their help with the Latin text, and to Sarah Blair, Richard Coates, Mark Gardiner, Brian Golding, Julian Munby, Christine Peters, Alan Thacker, Patrick Wormald and Barbara Yorke for help and advice of various kinds. Michael Lapidge, and the Bibliothèque Municipale at Rouen, kindly supplied copies of the MSS. I owe a special debt to Christopher Whittick for his enthusiastic and practical support.

Consulted from a microfilm.

R = Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS U17 ff.2–5^v. This is a lectionary containing a large and miscellaneous collection of Lives, written at Fécamp Abbey in the 15th century: *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Rotomagensis: Analecta Bollandiana* 23 (1904), 160–62. In accordance with the general plan of the MS, the first two-thirds of the Cuthman text are divided into twelve chapters rubricated for lections; the rest is written as a block of continuous text. Consulted from a microprint.

A and **B** are known only from the Bollandists' edition in *Acta Sanctorum: Feb. II* (Antwerp, 1658), 197–9, where they are described thus: 'Duplex Vitae eius exemplar accepimus; alterum [= **A**] Parisiis ab Andrea Chesnæo, Ludovici XIII Cosmographo, alterum [= **B**] Rotomago a Federico Floueto nostro, utrumque ex Fiscanensibus codicibus descriptum, sed diversis; nam Flouetianum subinde mutilum est,

et in verbis quibusdam discrepat'. Evidently the Bollandists were using transcripts made for them from now-lost Fécamp MSS by earlier informants, one of whom was the historian André Duchesne (d. 1640), whose papers are known to have been dispersed (L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1868), 333–4). In the Bollandists' edition seven textual variants, some of them quite trivial, are recorded as footnotes, which suggests that the transcripts were meticulously collated. For present purposes these are therefore treated as independent witnesses on the basis of the variants noted, though it must be remembered that the lacunae in **B**, which are not specified, may conceal other discrepancies from **A**.

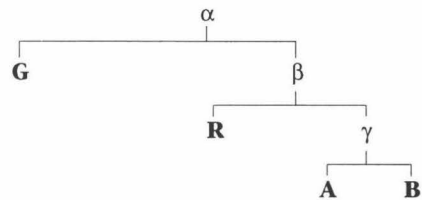
Turning to the relationship between these sources, it appears that **A** and **B** were extremely close: closer than either to **G** or **R**, or than **G** and **R** to each other. In significant readings where **R** and **G** differ, **A** and **B** generally agree with **R**. The particular problem of **A/B** readings (except where the Bollandist text prints variants) is that they have been filtered through editing by competent 17th-century Latinists who could have 'improved' on their sources. Given that **R** comes from Fécamp, and that **A** and **B** are said to have been transcripts of Fécamp MSS, it is important to consider whether the source of either or both of them could have been **R** itself. In fact this seems unlikely: **A**, **B** and **G** share numerous small readings against **R** (including the word-inversion at the end of c.5, *hodiernum diem* for **R**'s *diem hodiernum*); and some readings peculiar to **A/B** (e.g. *aduersis* for *aduersus* in c.3, *cura* for *onus* in c.7, *dum poena* for *opera* in c.12) are hard to interpret as Bollandist rationalizations. It is at least clear that **A** and **B** were copies of a MS very close to **R**, these witnesses representing a Fécamp tradition.

The tradition of **G** seems rather different, which is unsurprising given that the compiler of this collection is likely to have acquired his sources within England. There are many unintelligent slips, and the updating of *Fippa* to *Philippa* indicates the possibility of tampering. Nonetheless, **G** gives many variants which look superior to **R/A/B**, and one strong piece of evidence that it follows a text as close if not closer to the archetype is that **G** alone gives the first sentence of Fippa's curse in c.10. This is most unlikely to have been added by a copyist, and it has clearly been accidentally dropped from **R/A/B** by homoeoteleuton (since this sentence and the

next begin *Heu mihi* and *Heu me* respectively).

Most **A/B** readings which contradict the combined testimony of **G** and **R** are fairly clearly the product of tidying-up by the Bollandists, and can be dismissed accordingly; but three look preferable. The most substantial is in c.7: **A** and **B** quote Colossians ii.3 correctly (*omnes thesauri sapientie et scientie*), whereas **G** and **R** omit *et scientie*. Since this is a familiar scripture passage, it seems reasonable to assume that the omission was noticed and rectified by the Bollandists. The other two (both in c.12), *sollicitus est* for *sollicitus* and *coequemus* for *coequuum*, can likewise be understood as reasonable Bollandist conjectures. These exceptions do not impair the primacy of **G/R** readings over **A/B** ones.

The following stemma can therefore be proposed with some confidence:



In this edition **G** is taken as the basic text, and all variants from it are noted apart from trivial eccentricities in spelling. Except where other considerations apply, the combined testimony of **G** and **R** is preferred over **A/B**, and that of **G** and **A/B** over **R**; unsupported **G** readings are considered to have equal textual weight with **R/A/B** ones. Punctuation is editorial; chapter divisions are as in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition. Identified scripture quotations are italicized.

1¹ Beatus Cuthmannus², sicut ex ueterum ueridica relatione ad modernorum peruenit notitiam, a³ parentibus Christianissimis in partibus Australis Anglie extitit⁴ oriundus. Qui paucis post natiuitatem ex utero matris euolutis diebus ex diuini fontis utero est renatus, ac deinde parui temporis interuallo sacre unctionis impressione confirmatus. Effluxis itaque nimis⁵ innocenter puerilibus annis, bone indolis factus adolescens, *proficiebat etate et gratia* coram Deo

¹ **R** rubricates In deposicio Sancti Cuthmanni l' prima

² Cuthmanus **A**, **B**, and so throughout

³ om. **R**, **A**, **B**; **R** seems to have an erasure

⁴ extitere **R**

⁵ om. **R**, **A**, **B**

et hominibus⁶. Pater uero eius carnalis ab infantia iugum⁷ Patris illi celestis imposuit, timorem Dei imprimens, promittens⁸ multa bona si pie coleret et timeret⁹ Deum. Docili¹⁰ quoque puero gratia Dei non defuit, sed intus in mentis auribus uox Patris celestis satis inspirauit¹¹, quam¹² in aure corporis pater terrenus foris edocuit. Erat tunc piis oculis delectabile¹³ uidere¹⁴ uirum etate iuniorem, sensu uero seniore, annis puerilibus tenerum, sed canis moribus maturum. Cum enim uera rerum¹⁵ gratissima iuuentute ipso¹⁶ mundo floreret, in eius corde mundus iam¹⁷ aruit, quem quasi corruentem¹⁸, simul cum suo flore marcentem, despexit. Vnde etiam nec lacuiam mentis nec¹⁹ corporis, ut solet etas iuuenilis²⁰ implicari²¹, amplexus est²², sed simpliciter in forma quam a patre didicerat incedens, mundi blandimenta deuitare studiose curauit.

2 Procedente uero tempore, patris pecora suscepit ipso iubente pascenda, sollicitus cum ipsis²³ egrediens et regrediens ad imperium commendantis. Cumque²⁴ die quadam Cuthmannus pecoribus in pascua conseruandis intenderet, prandendi hora aduenit qua oportuit eum domum ex patris precepto repedare²⁵. Cumque non posset oportune, nec auderet sine patris imperio, gregem secum minare²⁶, uicarioque custode careret, uirga pastoralis quam manu gestabat circulum fecit circa gregem suum, dicens, 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, grex, tibi precipio ne metas istas quas tibi posui ante regressum²⁷ meum egrediaris'. Mira res: intelligit

pecus rationis egens tante inuocationis uirtutem, nec est aliquatenus aggressum²⁸ fines egredi limitatos. Iuit Cuthmannus et rediit, Deo gratias agens quod gregem suum inuenit²⁹ illesum. Sicque³⁰ faciebat per singulos dies, cum³¹ similis necessitas a grege eum³² diuertere compellebat. Erat autem et lapis in loco pascue³³, super³⁴ quem pastor sanctus sedere consueuerat, qui in magna ueneratione habetur ab indigenis usque in³⁵ hodiernum diem, eo quod Dominus multa beneficia per ipsum³⁶ contulerit meritis memorati pastoris.

3 Volens igitur Dominus uirum quem diligebat arcem gratie amplioris ascendere, aduersus³⁷ eum disposuit exerceri³⁸, ut qui prius³⁹ in prosperis mitis fuit et humilis corde, etiam in aduersis aduersus callidum hostem armis patientie decertaret, quatenus hinc⁴⁰ inde bene meritum⁴¹ donis potioribus cumlaret. Defuncto⁴² igitur patre suo, Cuthmannus merorem matris, qui multus erat, deliniuit, non tam pii sermonis exhortatione quam deuote⁴³ operationis effectu⁴⁴. Satagebat denique in cura et officio ministrandi, factus ei *baculus senectutis* et *lumen oculorum*⁴⁵. Haudquaquam⁴⁶ matri deesset⁴⁷, qui factus est ei⁴⁸ carnis generatione filius, sollicitudine pater, unius fidei professione frater deuotissimus⁴⁹, obsequiis seruus humilis et minister. Hic uideres⁵⁰ matris meritis bene respondere filii⁵¹ deuotionem, cum materne necessitati numquam sentires⁵²

⁶ Luke ii.52

⁷ iugum cui R

⁸ promittens ei A, B

⁹ pie . . . timeret G] procoleret R, pie coleret A, B

¹⁰ R begins a new chapter and rubricates . . . lectio secunda

¹¹ inspirarat R

¹² que A, B

¹³ delectabilem R

¹⁴ cernere A, B

¹⁵ enim uera rerum G] enim uera R, enim uero A, B. Clearly corrupt; the A/B reading is presumably a Bollandists' conjecture.

¹⁶ om. R, A, B

¹⁷ iam R, A, B] tam G

¹⁸ corruentem R, A, B] toruentem G

¹⁹ et R, A, B

²⁰ iuuenilis etas A, B

²¹ implicare R

²² om. A, B

²³ illis R, A, B

²⁴ R begins a new chapter and rubricates lec' iij^a

²⁵ redire A, B

²⁶ secum minare G] secum ducere R, B, suum deserere A

²⁷ regressum R, A, B] gressum G

²⁸ aggressum] agressu G, ausum R, A, B

²⁹ inuenerit R

³⁰ R begins new chapter and rubricates lectio iij^a

³¹ quando A, B

³² a grege eum G] eum a grege R, A, B

³³ et . . . pascue G, R] in loco pascue lapis A, B

³⁴ supra R, A, B

³⁵ ad A, B

³⁶ ipsum R, A, B] Christum G

³⁷ aduersis A, B

³⁸ exercere R, A, B

³⁹ prius R, A, B] pius G

⁴⁰ hunc A, B

⁴¹ hincinde benemeritum R

⁴² R begins a new chapter and rubricates lec' v^a

⁴³ deuote R, A, B] deuotione G

⁴⁴ effectu R, A, B] affectu G

⁴⁵ Tobias x.4

⁴⁶ haudquaquam R, A, B] aut qū G

⁴⁷ deesse A, B

⁴⁸ factus est ei G] factus est R, factus A, B

⁴⁹ deuotissimis R

⁵⁰ uideres] uidens MSS

⁵¹ om. A, B

⁵² sentiret A, B

sollicitudinem deesse filialem, ac id frustra quo ad inopiam corporalem agitur propulsandam . . .⁵³

4 Lapsus⁵⁴ igitur aliquot annorum curriculum, expensisque bonis temporalibus que pater reliquerat, uergere cepit mater ad inopiam et, quod miserabilis est, senio multo iam⁵⁵ confectam⁵⁶ languor inuasit⁵⁷ grauissimus, qui membra debitis priuauit officiis uniuersa⁵⁸. Compassus est⁵⁹ Cuthmannus matris passioni⁶⁰, et quo⁶¹ magis tediosa effecta est⁶² ut eam filius⁶³ desereret, eo magis affectuosus extitit ut seruiret. Cogitauit uir bonus nouum subueniendi genus, ut quod opum penuria denegabat, artis beneficium ministraret. Profecto ligneum lectum composuit⁶⁴ in quo languidam collocauit, qui fune quodam ab humeris eius dependens, impulsu manuum pariter et regimine, rote preambule adminiculo, ipsum precedebat. Hoc semper in lecto matrem preuiam subambulus ipse⁶⁵ secum portabat, seque prorsus dispositioni diuine commendans, lares proprios ac patriam dereliquit.

5 Tendens⁶⁶ igitur Cuthmannus cum onere minus⁶⁷ oneroso in plagas⁶⁸ orientales, transitum fecit per pratum in quo uiri quidam⁶⁹ gramina falce⁷⁰ resecebant⁷¹. Ibi que, casu contingente, rupto⁷² repente fune cuius beneficio lectus ille portabatur, inprimis obstupuit uir simplex, dubius quid faceret. Sed postmodum fiducialiter agens, de sambuco quam prope uidit astantem uirgulam sumpsit, ac torsit, et funiculi prioris defectum supleuit. Quod uidentes, uiri⁷³ prelibati deridebant eum quasi fatuum, cum sit sambucus lignum fragile, fracturam

facilius admittens quam torturam⁷⁴, nec soleat huiusmodi⁷⁵ ministerio deseruire. Non attenderunt miseri⁷⁶ quod mox erant expectaturi⁷⁷, quia *risus dolore miscebitur, et extrema gaudii luctus occupat*⁷⁸. Adhuc⁷⁹ exultatio uanitatis in gutture eorum resonabat, adhuc risus ab ore illorum non recesserat, cum subito turbata aeris serenitate, tanta pluuiie descendit inundatio, ut in se signum iracundie et uindictae Dei ex sua nimietate⁸⁰ reportarent. Infecto igitur negotio, singuli domum repedare festinarunt, et pre nimio accelerandi desiderio celerius currenti⁸¹ celeritas ipsa tarda uidebatur. Et ne casu diceretur contigisse uel aeris passionibus posset hec⁸² mutatio temporis imputari, et non ultioni diuine ascribi, preter iacturam feni quod tunc inutile factum fuit, ad instar irrisorum Helisei⁸³ deplorat posteritas illorum risum, singulis annis descendente pluuiia tempore falcationis eiusdem prati usque in hodiernum diem⁸⁴.

6 Videns⁸⁵ igitur Cuthmannus quod *retribuere* Dominus *uindictam in hostes*⁸⁶ suos, cum gratiarum actione uotum uouit Deo, se non daturum requiem temporibus suis donec inueniret locum Domino ubi⁸⁷ edificaret tabernaculum nomini eius. Et hoc signum sibi⁸⁸ constituit, dicens quia in quocumque loco rumpetur funiculus ille sambucus, illic edificaret templum in honorem Domini et apparebit ibi ante faciem eius, manens illic⁸⁹ iugiter. Et hec fatus⁹⁰, mox inde profectus est. Ibat autem per uiam

⁵³ *This sentence is clearly corrupt, and lacks a main verb.*

⁵⁴ **R** begins new chapter and rubricates *lec' sexta*

⁵⁵ multo iam senio **A, B**

⁵⁶ confectam **R, A, B**] confector **G**

⁵⁷ mansit **R**

⁵⁸ uniuersa officiis **R, A, B**

⁵⁹ *om. A, B*

⁶⁰ matris passioni Cuthmanus **A, B**

⁶¹ et quo **G, R**] eo quod **A, B**

⁶² *om. A, B*

⁶³ filius eam **R, A, B**

⁶⁴ Profecto ligneum composuit lectum **R**, Ligneum profecto composuit lectum **A, B**

⁶⁵ *om. A, B*

⁶⁶ **R** begins new chapter and rubricates *l' viij^a*

⁶⁷ nimis (*but apparently altered from minus*) **R**, nimis **A**

⁶⁸ plagas altered from plateas **R**

⁶⁹ quidam **R, A, B**] quidem **G**

⁷⁰ falce **R, A, B**] false **G**

⁷¹ resecebantur **R**

⁷² rupto **R, A, B**] rupte **G**

⁷³ illi **A, B**

⁷⁴ fracturam . . . torturam **G, B**] facturam facili admittens quam tortura **R, om. A**

⁷⁵ huiusmodi **R, A, B**] huius **G**

⁷⁶ miseri **R, A, B**] musi **G**

⁷⁷ expectaturi **R, A, B**] exp(er)turi **G**

⁷⁸ occupabit **R**; *Prov. xiv.13*

⁷⁹ **R** begins new chapter and rubricates *l' viij^a*

⁸⁰ ex sua nimietate **G, R, B**] *om. A*

⁸¹ celerius currenti **G**] eisdem fugientibus **R, A, B**

⁸² hec **R, A, B**] *om. G*

⁸³ Prophete Heleseï **R**, Prophete Elisei **A, B**; *the reference is to II Kings ii.23*

⁸⁴ diem hodiernum **R**. *At this point R adds: In illo [esto]: S. Lucam: Dixit Ihesus discipulis suis, Nemo lucernam accendit et in abscondito ponit, neque sub modio, sed supra candelabrum, ut [qui] ingrediuntur lumen uide[ant]. Et reliqua (Luke xi.33)*

⁸⁵ **R** begins new chapter and rubricates *l' ix^a*

⁸⁶ *Deut. xxxii.43*

⁸⁷ Domino ubi **R, A, B**] ubi Domino **G**

⁸⁸ sibi **R, A, B**] *om. G*

⁸⁹ illic **R, A, B**] ibi **G**

⁹⁰ hec fatus **G**] hoc affatus **R**, hoc effatus **A, B**

suam pauper et egenus, et calamitose matris inedia⁹¹ opera subuectionis et ope⁹² mendicitatis sustentabat.

7 Tandem⁹³ post innumeras famis ac sitis acerbitates, post molestas multifarie fatigationis erumpnas, Domino ducente peruenit ad locum quem nunc⁹⁴ Staningas⁹⁵ nominamus. Vbi cum uehiculum memoratum⁹⁶ sanctus uir ante se agitaret, rupto repente funiculo quo ab humeris eius dependebat, e manibus suis solotenus est elisum. Quo uiso, Cuthmannus uehementer obstupuit et expauit, matrem uero⁹⁷ lesam fuisse suspicabatur. Sed cum illesam certis cognouit⁹⁸ indicis, ad se reuersus ait, 'Domine Iesu Christe, qui fuisti mecum in uia peregrinationis mee hac qua ego⁹⁹ ambulo, et custodisti me, et dedisti mihi panem ad edendum, et uestimentum quo nuditatem meam operui: gratias ago tibi, quia in signo quod petiui a te ostendisti seruo tuo locum quem elegisti, ad quem me cum salute perduxisti. *In ueritate comperi quia non es personarum acceptor, sed in omni gente*¹⁰⁰ diligentes te diligis¹⁰¹, humiles exaltans et humilians peccatores usque ad terram. Nunc scio uere quia elegeris¹⁰² locum istum ut edificem tibi in eo templum, in quo exaudias preces populi tui pro necessitatibus suis¹⁰³ tibi supplicantis, ut consecutus que iustis petierit desideris, hic tibi gratiarum referat actiones. Mihi, Domine, tua dignatione huius operis onus¹⁰⁴ incumbit, quia tu interius uelle inspirasti, ego autem exterius ad hoc in uerbis oris mei sum astrictus. Quo ibo ulterius, a spiritu tuo huc adductus? Hic est finis uagationis¹⁰⁵ mee, hic locus mee¹⁰⁶ habitationis, in quo reddam uota mea de die in diem. Omnipotens¹⁰⁷ pater, qui finem imposuisti uagationi, principium dispone operationi. Quis enim ego sum, Domine,

⁹¹ inopiam **A, B**

⁹² om. **R, A, B**

⁹³ **R** begins new chapter and rubricates lectio x^a

⁹⁴ om. **R, A, B**

⁹⁵ Steningas **R, A, Steningas B**

⁹⁶ memoratus **A, B**

⁹⁷ enim **R, A, B**

⁹⁸ cognouisset **A, B**

⁹⁹ om. **A, B**

¹⁰⁰ Acts x.34-5

¹⁰¹ diligentes te diligis **G**] te diligente **R, A, B**

¹⁰² elegis **R**, elegisti **A, B**

¹⁰³ om. **R, A, B**

¹⁰⁴ cura **A, B**

¹⁰⁵ nauigationis **A**

¹⁰⁶ om. **R, A, B**

¹⁰⁷ **R** begins new chapter and rubricates lectio xj^a

aut que domus patris mei, ut edificem domum nomini tuo? Tu scis quia *pauper sum, et in laboribus a iuuentute mea*¹⁰⁸, nec possum¹⁰⁹ a meipso facere quicquam¹¹⁰. Si respexero ad adiutorium meum, omnino non erit nisi tu adiuuare decreueris. Tu affectum dedisti edificandi, defectum tu¹¹¹ supple edificantis, et sacri duc edificiis opus plenum ad effectum¹¹². Operare, Domine, opus istud manibus quidem meis, sed uiribus tuis. Respiciens enim ad meipsum anima mea conturbata¹¹³ est, a pusillanimitate spiritus suffocata et¹¹⁴ uirtutis¹¹⁵ defectu; ad te autem si mentis oculos attollo, reuiuiscit et roboratur spiritus meus, ausus altiora quam aggredior. Virtus in me deficit, oculo prouidentie caligante. Tua, Domine, uoluntas omnipotens est, cuius prouidentia nec fallere nec falli¹¹⁶ consueuit. In me uigent penuria et paupertas; in te *sunt omnes thesauri sapientie*¹¹⁷ *absconditi*¹¹⁸. Plus igitur¹¹⁹ securitatis et confidentie concipit anima mea, dum diuitias tue bonitatis intuetur; quam diffidentie et deiectionis, dum miserias et defectus proprie calamitatis examinat'.

8 Sic locutus, locum in quem diuiterat oculis perlustrabat, ipsumque¹²⁰ per omnia conuenire proposito¹²¹ prospexit. Erat¹²² in eo tunc temporis rarus popularis accessus, rarus in eo tunc clamor et transitus, paucissimi et incole eius. Erat locus in decliui montis pede submontanus, tunc dumis et arbustis siluester, nunc in terre fertilis et fructifere agriculturam redactus, duorumque fontium de monte descendendum riuus decenter inclusus. Facto igitur ibidem tugurio ubi¹²³ cum matre possit caput reclinare, cepit metiri¹²⁴ et disponere de templi situ et constructione. Aggressus est opus sanctum non segnus aut otiosus, sed potius *in sudore uultus* et labore

¹⁰⁸ Ps. lxxxvii.16

¹⁰⁹ possum **R, A, B**] possim **G**

¹¹⁰ quidquam **A, B**

¹¹¹ om. **A, B**

¹¹² ad effectum **G**, ad affectum **R**, ac perfectum **A, B**

¹¹³ conturbata **R, A, B**] turbata **G**

¹¹⁴ et **R, A, B**] ex **G**

¹¹⁵ uirtus, altered in later hand to uirtutis, **R**

¹¹⁶ nec falli nec fallere **R, A, B**

¹¹⁷ sapientie et scientie **A, B**

¹¹⁸ Coloss. ii.3

¹¹⁹ ergo **R, A, B**

¹²⁰ ipsumque **R, A, B**] ipsum **G**

¹²¹ per . . . proposito **G**] suo operi per omnia conuenire **R, A, B**

¹²² **R** begins new chapter and rubricates lectio xij^a

¹²³ ubi **R, A, B**] nisi **G**

¹²⁴ metiri **R, A, B**] metire **G**

manuum. *Diei pondus portauit et estus*¹²⁵, ut quantum tarditatis opus inopis ex opum penuria sustinebat, tantum promotionis ex deuoti cordis affectu et liberalis corporis labore spontaneo reportaret. Dederat etiam illi Dominus gratiam in conspectu iustorum¹²⁶ habitantium in confinio, qui largitate munifica ei subuenientes, in corporis alimonia operisque constructione de bonis suis illi liberaliter impenderunt¹²⁷.

9 Contigit autem die quadam quod, cum uir sanctus¹²⁸ boues quos a plaustro disiunxerat misisset in pascua, ipsi¹²⁹ pascue metas sunt egressi. Quos cum inuenissent duo filii cuiusdam matrisfamilias que Fippa¹³⁰ uocabatur, in predio matris sue¹³¹ ipsos recluserunt. Cumque, redeunte laboris hora, Cuthmannus boues suos in loco consueto querens non inueniret, ulterius progressus reperit dictos adolescentes, dicentes sibi quod in uanum querebat ibi boues, quos ipsi domi¹³² recluserant¹³³. Quibus modeste respondit Cuthmannus, dicens, 'Nolite, filii, nolite opus Domini impedire. Sed si in aliquo boues mei uos¹³⁴ leserint, ostendite, et ego quod iustum fuerit dabo uobis'. Illi autem neglexerunt. Et ait illis, 'Ne per uos tarditas operis Dei procuretur, pro quo districti iudicis sententiam formidabilem expectetis, precipio uobis in uirtute Domini nostri Iesu Christi ut uice bouum seruiatis Domino, ut ipsi si liberi essent forent seruituri'. Et imponens illis manus apprehendit eos, et iunxit plaustro in quo boues iungi consueuerant. Sicque operatus est in¹³⁵ eis trahentibus plaustro, nunc plenum, nunc uacuum, sine murmure et querela¹³⁶, ad uocem ipsius stantes et incedentes¹³⁷.

10 Auditis interea que fiebant, mater eorum¹³⁸ concito¹³⁹ cursu aduenit, et filios suos uidens

immensi conatus onere fatigari, furiose clamabat, 'Heu¹⁴⁰ mihi, ut quid nata sum uidere mala prolis mee et calamitosam seruitutem filiorum meorum? Heu me¹⁴¹, filii mei, ut quid¹⁴² uos genui et lactauit filios confusionis et amaritudinis¹⁴³ perpetue? Pereat, obsecro, dies in qua natus¹⁴⁴ est ipse¹⁴⁵ qui uos tante seruituti¹⁴⁶ subiugauit. Pereat, qui uos¹⁴⁷ tantis afficit contumeliis, et prorsus deficiat opus in quo tam crudeliter estis inhumanitate¹⁴⁸ fatigati'. Hec et alia multa¹⁴⁹ blasphemans mater sancto¹⁵⁰ conuiciabatur¹⁵¹. Ille uero uoce modesta respondit, 'Mulier, crede mihi, opus in quo seruiuerunt filii tui, ego non operor¹⁵² illud, sed que inhabitat¹⁵³ in me uirtus Christi¹⁵⁴ ipsa facit opera, que penitus perire non possunt, quia in Deo sunt facta. Tu autem sicut deficit fumus deficias, et sicut puluis quem proicit uentus a facie terre¹⁵⁵, ut discant posterii, per te castigati¹⁵⁶, quia non licet maledicere benedictis a Deo, nec opus destruere quod ipso disponente est constructum'. Vix sermonem compleuerat, et ecce uentus turbinis ueniebat ab aquilone, et inuoluens eam eleuauit in sublime, et tollens eam in montem excelsum, deorsum misit in terram. At¹⁵⁷ illa patulo hiatu aperuit os suum et absorbit eam, unde uocatus est locus ille Fippe¹⁵⁸ puteus usque in hodiernum diem. Quo facto Cuthmannus soluit pueros a plaustro, et ait illis, 'Filii, gratias agite Deo, quia castigans uos castigauit et morti non tradidit¹⁵⁹ sicut blasphemam matrem uestram. Ite in pace, de cetero cautius incedentes in mandatis Domini; et ne excidat opus a memoria quod operati estis, erunt uobis ac posteris uestris in signum perpetuum ruge multiplices in

¹⁴⁰ Hei **A, B**

¹⁴¹ ut quid . . . Heu me *om.* **R, A, B**

¹⁴² Tobias x.4

¹⁴³ amaritudinis et confusionis **R, A, B**

¹⁴⁴ Job iii.3

¹⁴⁵ ille **R, A, B**

¹⁴⁶ tante seruituti **G, R**] tanta seueritate **A, B**

¹⁴⁷ nos **A, B**

¹⁴⁸ inhumane **A, B**

¹⁴⁹ multa alia **A, B**

¹⁵⁰ mater sancto **G**] mater sonum **R, om.** **A, B**

¹⁵¹ conuiciabatur **R, A, B**] conuiciabat **G**

¹⁵² operor **R, A, B**] operior **G**

¹⁵³ que inhabitat] qui inhabitat **G**, qui habitat **R**, que habitat **A, B**

¹⁵⁴ 2 Cor. xii.9

¹⁵⁵ Ps. lxxvii.3; Ps. i.4

¹⁵⁶ per te castigati **G, R, A**] te castigata **B**

¹⁵⁷ Ac **R**

¹⁵⁸ Fippe **R, A, B**] Phippe altered from Philippe **G**

¹⁵⁹ Ps. cxvii.18

¹²⁵ Gen. iii.19; Matt. xx.12

¹²⁶ conspectu iustorum **R, A, B**] conuentu multorum **G**

¹²⁷ **R** inserts diiii^o

¹²⁸ sanctus uir **R, A, B**

¹²⁹ ibi **A, B**

¹³⁰ Fippa **R, A, B**] Philippa **G**

¹³¹ *om.* **A, B**

¹³² domi **R, A, B**] domui **G**

¹³³ recluserunt **R, A, B**

¹³⁴ uos boues mei **R, A, B**

¹³⁵ *om.* **A, B**

¹³⁶ et querela **G, R**] *om.* **A, B**

¹³⁷ incedentes sine querela **A, B**; **R** inserts diiii^o

¹³⁸ eorum **R, A, B**] *om.* **G**

¹³⁹ concito **A, B**] comito **G**, consito **R**

ceruicibus uestris¹⁶⁰, quas ex impressione iugi et aeris humiditate contraxistis'. Hec dicens dimisit eos, *et factus est timor super omnes*¹⁶¹ *uicinos eorum, et super omnia montana* que in circuitu eorum sunt *diuulgabantur omnia uerba hec*¹⁶².

11 Confluentibus itaque undique turmis ad audiendam¹⁶³ uocem sermonum sancti uiri, simul et mirifica gesta prodigiorum intuenda¹⁶⁴ animantibus et inanimantibus cotidie per ipsum contingentia, in diebus suis laboribus sollicitus, in noctibus¹⁶⁵ uero in orationibus continuus¹⁶⁶ insistebat. Numquam uescebatur pane otiosus, iuxta illud, *'in sudore uesceris pane tuo'*, et *'Dies festi uertantur in lamenta'*. *Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus*¹⁶⁷, quam pium est! Cuthmannus igitur more consueto cotidie ministrans operariis ecclesie sue, sicut minimus qui maior preerat, crebro consuevit indumenta manualia que cirotecas¹⁶⁸ appellamus radiis solaribus appendere in ecclesia orationis¹⁶⁹ deuotione commorans¹⁷⁰; resumpsit easdem egrediens, sicque¹⁷¹ reuertebatur cum gaudio. Sicque¹⁷² faciebat per singulos dies.

12 Talibus ac tantis sancto coruscante uirtutibus, editis excellentiora succedunt¹⁷³ opera. Vir sanctus opera¹⁷⁴ frequenti in basilica construenda sollicitus

¹⁶⁰ uestris **R, A, B**] *om. G*

¹⁶¹ *om. A, B*

¹⁶² **R** *inserts diiii*; *Luke i.65*

¹⁶³ audiendam **R, A, B**] audiendum **G**

¹⁶⁴ intuenda in **A, B**

¹⁶⁵ noctibus **R, A, B**] noctis **G**

¹⁶⁶ continuus **R, A, B**] continuis **G**

¹⁶⁷ *Gen. iii.19; Tobias ii.6; Rom. xii.15*

¹⁶⁸ cyrotecas **R**, chirothecas **A, B**

¹⁶⁹ orationes **A, B**

¹⁷⁰ commemorans **A, B**

¹⁷¹ easdem egrediens sicque **R, A, B**] egrediens **G**

¹⁷² Quod **A, B**

¹⁷³ incedunt **R**

est¹⁷⁵, nunc in columnis ligneis erigendis¹⁷⁶, nunc in laqueariis connectendis. Contigit autem die quadam¹⁷⁷ trabale unicum sic ictu casuali fuisse incuruatum quod prius perutile, postmodum operi penitus relinquebatur inutile. Sancto quoque ceteris adinuicem de dampno conquerentibus, ecce sibi peregrinus peregre proficiscens subito aduenit, quibus ait, 'Vt quid adinuicem contristamini^{178?}' Cui Cuthmannus respondit, dicens, 'Perpendiculari coniungibili ligni¹⁷⁹ presentis casualiter transsumpto, tedio afficimur et dampno'. Quibus ille, 'Timentibus Deum nihil deest. Extende et tu manum tuam; distrahamus¹⁸⁰ illud, loco proportionato erigamus, coequemus¹⁸¹'. Et factum est ita. Quo facto, Cuthmannus prostrauit se¹⁸² ocius ad pedes¹⁸³ uiri, dicens, 'Deprecor te, domine, ut indices mihi tu quis¹⁸⁴ es'. 'Ego', inquit, 'Andreas sum¹⁸⁵ in cuius nomine hoc edificas templum; tu autem perpetue memorie in eo¹⁸⁶ particeps fies et glorie'. Et sic continuo disparuit ab oculis eorum. Cuthmannus autem diu in templo suo presidens, tandem laboris meritum suscepit, in gloria a terrenis est¹⁸⁷ prouectus ad superna gaudia, ubi manet per infinita seculorum secula¹⁸⁸, amen.

¹⁷⁴ dum poena **A, B**

¹⁷⁵ est **A, B**] *om. G, R*; the **A/B** reading is accepted as a correct Bollandist conjecture.

¹⁷⁶ erigendis **R, A, B**] erigenda **G**

¹⁷⁷ autem die quadam **G, R**] quadam die **A, B**

¹⁷⁸ contristamini **R, A, B**] contriste(m)ini **G**

¹⁷⁹ lignis **A, B**

¹⁸⁰ distrahamus **R, A, B**] distrahentes **G**

¹⁸¹ coequemus **A, B**] coequuum **G, R**; the **A/B** reading is accepted as a correct Bollandist conjecture.

¹⁸² et **R**

¹⁸³ ocius ad pedes **G**] ad pedes protinus **R, A, B**

¹⁸⁴ qui **R**

¹⁸⁵ Andreas sum **G**] sum **R**, sum is **A, B**

¹⁸⁶ in eo **R, A, B**] meo **G**

¹⁸⁷ in . . . est **G**] gloria a terrenis est **R**, a terrenis **A, B**

¹⁸⁸ secula seculorum **A, B**

Excavations at the Old Post Office site, 15-17 High Street, Crawley, West Sussex

by Simon Stevens

with contributions from

Luke Barber

Mark Gardiner

Nadine Hygate

Pat Hinton

Lucy Kirk

Rescue excavations in advance of development at the Old Post Office site, 15-17 High Street, Crawley revealed a number of medieval and post-medieval features, including 13th- to 14th-century pits and wall footings from a building probably dating from the 16th century. Significantly, the site produced the first excavated group of medieval pottery from Crawley to be studied in detail.

INTRODUCTION

In February 1995 Crawley Borough Council granted planning permission for the erection of an office block at the site of the Old Post Office, High Street, Crawley, West Sussex (NGR TQ 26803649; Figs 1-3). A requirement for an archaeological evaluation of the site prior to the commencement of groundworks was made a condition of that permission and involved both an examination of relevant maps and records, and the excavation of a number of machine-cut trenches at the site.

The Field Archaeology Unit, University College London, was commissioned by Jones Lang Wootton, acting on behalf of Canadian and Portland Estates plc, to undertake the archaeological work. The site is approximately 0.5 hectares in area and lies to the east of the present line of Crawley High Street, the modern A2219, to the north of the junction with Station Way. The underlying geology is Upper Tunbridge Wells Sand.

The initial investigations were carried out in June 1995, and a number of medieval remains were discovered in the two trenches closest to the High Street (Stevens 1995, trenches T1 & T2b). The other evaluation trenches (T2a, T3 & T4) are shown on Figure 3 but produced only recent features. Details of these trenches are housed with the archive. Subsequently an area of approximately 0.1 hectares was stripped in the area of evaluation trenches T1 and T2a (Fig. 3), after consultations with representatives from West Sussex County

Council, Crawley Borough Council and Jones Lang Wootton, in order to identify and record all archaeological features to be destroyed during groundworks. The full excavation was undertaken in August 1995.

BACKGROUND AND EARLY HISTORY

By Mark Gardiner

Little recorded archaeological work has been carried out in Crawley and the town was not assessed by Aldsworth and Freke (1976). The Romano-British iron-working site at Broadfield (Cartwright 1992) lies some distance to the south-east of the modern town centre. From the layout of the town, which is remarkably similar to that of East Grinstead, Crawley is presumed to be a 13th-century new town like its Wealden neighbour (Wood 1968; Leppard 1991). Medieval finds from the town include an anthropomorphic jug (Gardiner 1989) and a small pottery assemblage from an excavation at 103 High Street (Gibson-Hill 1974). The Sites and Monuments Record held by West Sussex County Council notes several concentrations of iron-working slag of possible medieval date.

Crawley grew up as a new town on the boundary between the Rapes of Bramber and Lewes in c. 1200. The east half of the town as far south as Haslett Avenue lay in a detached portion of Slaugham parish and was served by a chapel, the present St John the Baptist church (Fig. 2). The west half lay in Ifield parish. A market is recorded there in 1202, and by

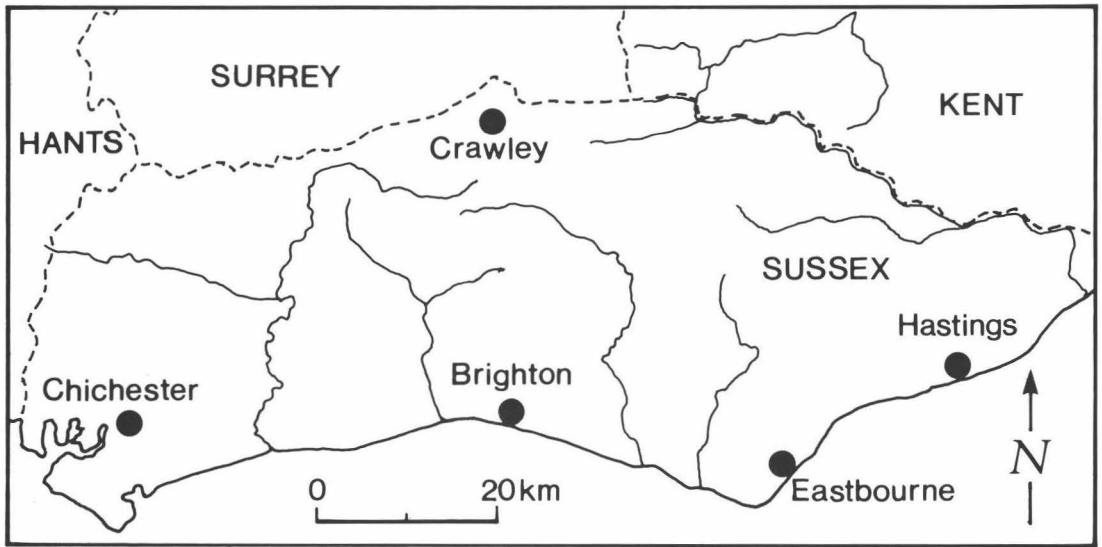


Fig. 1. Site location map.

the late 14th century there were tanners, one or more cloth-weavers and two ironworkers in the town. Crawley did not grow to a substantial size until the 19th century and before then appears to have resembled many of the small Wealden market centres. Its position on the road from London to Shoreham and Brighton led to the growth of coaching inns on the High Street (Hudson 1987).

The development of the town, which is currently under review (Nadine Hygate pers. comm.), can be inferred from the topographic pattern which survived as late as the first-edition 25-inch Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1874 (Fig. 2). Crawley had developed around a probable cross-roads where the London-Shoreham road met an east-west road from Worth to Ifield church. The latter road seems to have been diverted southwards as it approached the junction so that there is now a staggered junction rather than a cross-roads. The reason for this diversion may have been to allow a further area for the development of the town to the south of the church. Certainly, Haslett Avenue seems to have marked the early boundary of the town.

To the north of Haslett Avenue, the present Haslett Avenue West, there is a regular pattern of long 'burgage' plots running back at right-angles on the east side of the High Street. The back lane serving the rear of these plots survived as a track into the 19th century. There is no comparable pattern on

the west side of the High Street. It is likely that the two halves of the town, which were in different rapes, lay in different lordships and may have rather different histories.

The chapel, later church, of St John the Baptist does not occupy a 'burgage' plot and the graveyard has no frontage to the High Street (Fig. 3). It is possible that the chapel preceded the diversion of Haslett Avenue southwards. It may have stood immediately to the south of the original line of the east-west road. Alternatively, it could have been a late addition to the planned town and was fitted in where land was available. The first of these explanations is perhaps the more likely, as it seems improbable that the chapel would have been founded in the back streets once the town had begun to develop on the High Street.

LATER HISTORY

By Nadine Hygate

A house stood on the excavation site at the beginning of the 16th century, the property of John Fenner who died in 1513. Inherited by his grandson, John Fenner, it appears that he in turn gave the property to his sister (or wife?) Elizabeth Fenner for her lifetime. After her death it was to revert to Edward Shurley, son of his eldest sister, then to Sir John Shurley of Ifield.

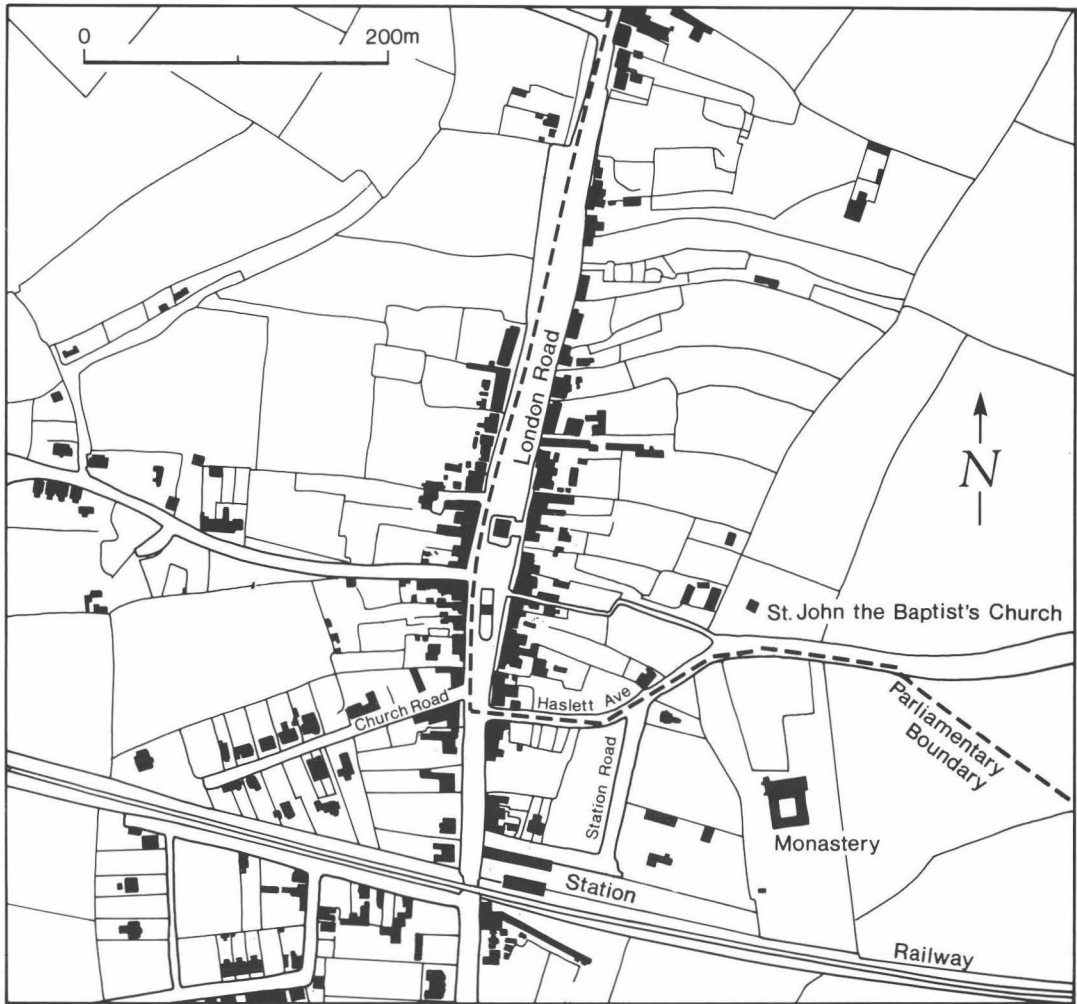


Fig. 2. Plan of Crawley based on the 1874 1st edition 25 inch Ordnance Survey map.

It was a small independent section of land, valued at four pence and heriots for manor rents. The whole field was known as Whalesmead. After the Restoration, Thomas Penfold was the owner. He sublet to various tenants, but there is no indication as to their livelihood. The adjacent land, which now lies under Haslett Avenue West was called The Gates. Large stables were built upon it early in the 17th century. Under the same ownership at this time, it was valued at two pence. It is possible that at this time this corner by Worth Lane was the site of a minor livery stables.

By 1727 a William Beal was the owner. The Ifield Parish Land Tax return of 1790 named James Baker

as the owner, who by then had owned it for 20 years.¹

At the turn of the 19th century James Bex (Beck), a wheelwright, purchased the property (Ifield Land Tax 1805).² His family continued working and living there, assisted by others, until the mid-1860s. The opening of the railway brought an upsurge of development. William Simmins purchased all the land which fronted the High Street from Worth Lane to the corner of East Park. Firstly, he built three houses, incorporating part of the old house into number 17. When these houses developed into trading establishments in c. 1875, this became known as Bank Terrace, owing to the fact that

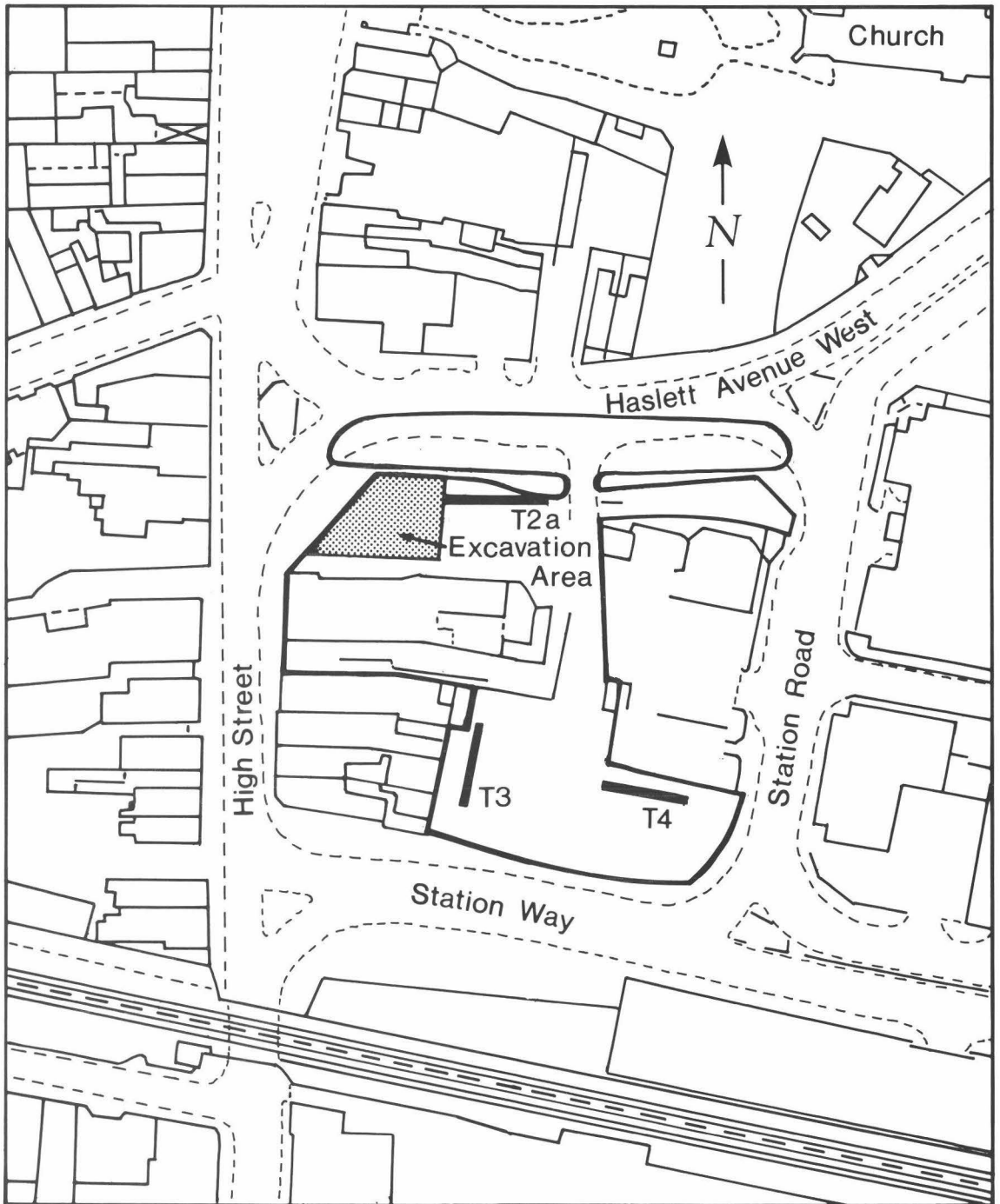


Fig. 3. Trench location plan.

Henty's Bank of Horsham opened a branch office in the first house (Hygate 1993).

This Victorian terrace, with early 20th-century frontages, was numbered 15–25 High Street. (Numbers start at the railway line going northwards.) Haslett Avenue West, built in the 1960s, resulted in its demolition. Numbers 19–25 High Street lie under the southern carriageway. Number 17 was the exception: the rear of the building was of a much earlier date.

THE EXCAVATION

THE MEDIEVAL FEATURES

The topsoil stripping revealed a number of medieval features cut into the underlying natural clays and sands at a height of approximately 76 m OD (Fig. 4). There were two cesspits, a large rubbish pit and six smaller pits which all contained sherds of 13th- to 14th-century pottery. A ditch of the same date was discovered but there was no evidence of a medieval structure in the excavated area.

The cesspits

The smaller of the cesspits (context 8) was 1.96 m in diameter and 945 mm deep (Figs 4 & 5:S3). It was cut by a post-medieval drain (69/70) and by an undated recut (11) which had been backfilled with fairly clean clay (12), possibly in an attempt to reduce the smell from the pit. The uppermost fill (9) had greenish-coloured lenses with a distinctive smell. The lower fill (10) was waterlogged and was bluish-grey in colour with a similar odour. Both fills contained 13th-century pottery and large quantities of iron slag. Environmental samples were taken from context 9 (*see below*).

The larger of the cesspits (33) was cut by the footings trench of a wall (85) and a ditch (13) and was 3 m in diameter and 1.65 m deep (Figs 4 & 5:S1). The top fill (34) had been heavily disturbed during the construction of the wall and contained 18th-century material as well as medieval pottery, iron slag and a fragment of corroded copper alloy sheeting. A small quantity of animal bone was present. The pit fill below context 34 (35) had also been disturbed as it too contained animal bone, which was presumed to be intrusive given the acidic nature of the soil and the fact that no bone had survived in any of the sealed medieval contexts. Similarly, oyster shell was recovered from context 35, though it was not present in any other medieval context. A relatively large assemblage of 14th-century pottery and iron slag was also present in

the context which was similar in character to the cessy deposit found in the smaller pit (context 8). The silty clay (36) below context 35 contained more 14th-century pottery and iron slag, and below that, at the bottom of the pit was a waterlogged deposit (82). This showed a high level of organic preservation and a sample was taken for environmental analysis.

The rubbish pits

The large rubbish pit (27) had a diameter of 2.65 m and a depth of 1.46 m and contained over 300 sherds of pottery dating from the period 1275–1375 (Figs 4 & 5:S2). The majority of the sherds were recovered from the two main pit fills (28 & 29), but pottery was also found in the waterlogged deposit (30) at the bottom of the pit. Two pieces of metalwork were recovered from context 29. The first was a fragment from the frame of a strap-end buckle and the second was part of a decorated buckle plate with die-stamped decoration (*see below*). Large quantities of iron slag were present in all the fills of the pit. Environmental samples were taken from contexts 29 and 30.

There were five other medieval pits of varied size and character. The largest was pit 6 which had a diameter of over 1 m but a depth of only 180 mm and had evidently been truncated (Fig. 3). Nearly 300 pottery sherds were recovered from the single fill (7). The majority of the pottery dates from the mid-13th to mid-14th centuries, although some intrusive material was present. The pit also contained large quantities of iron slag.

Pit 45 was similar in size, but was more circular in shape, and was slightly deeper. It contained only nine sherds of pottery of mid-13th- to mid-14th-century date. Pit 2 was 1.17 m in diameter and 360 mm deep. It contained 35 pottery sherds of the same period as those in pit 45. A smaller pit, (4), had a diameter of 650 mm and depth of 180 mm. It too contained 13th-century pottery and a bronze annular brooch. Iron slag was recovered from all the medieval pits and was also present in the fill of the shallow ditch (13) from which four sherds of 14th-century pottery were also recovered.

The post-holes

Features 39, 43, 51, 53 and 55 were excavated, but no certain dating evidence was retrieved from any of their silty clay fills. However, all fills contained tiny fragments of iron slag and were similar in character to those from the medieval contexts. Hence these five features were presumed to be post-holes dating from the same period as the medieval pits.

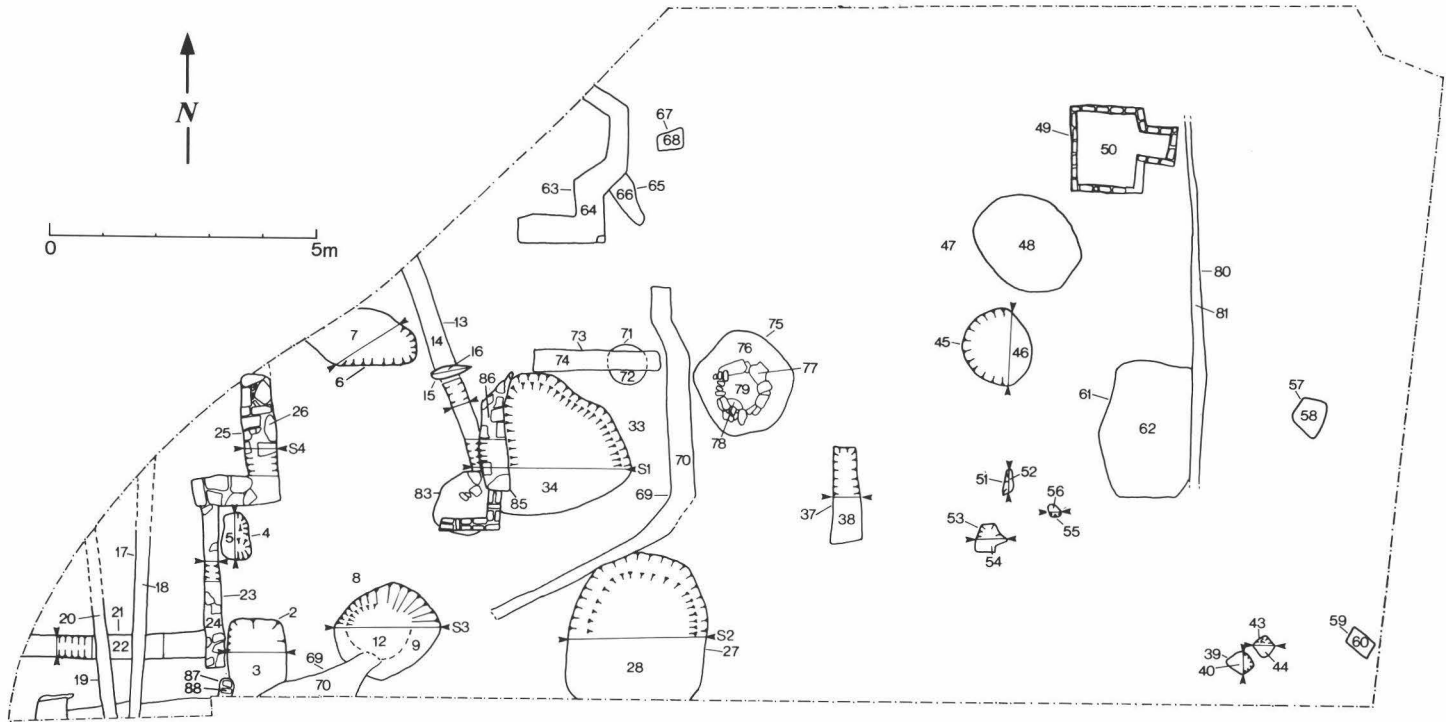


Fig. 4. Excavation area plan.

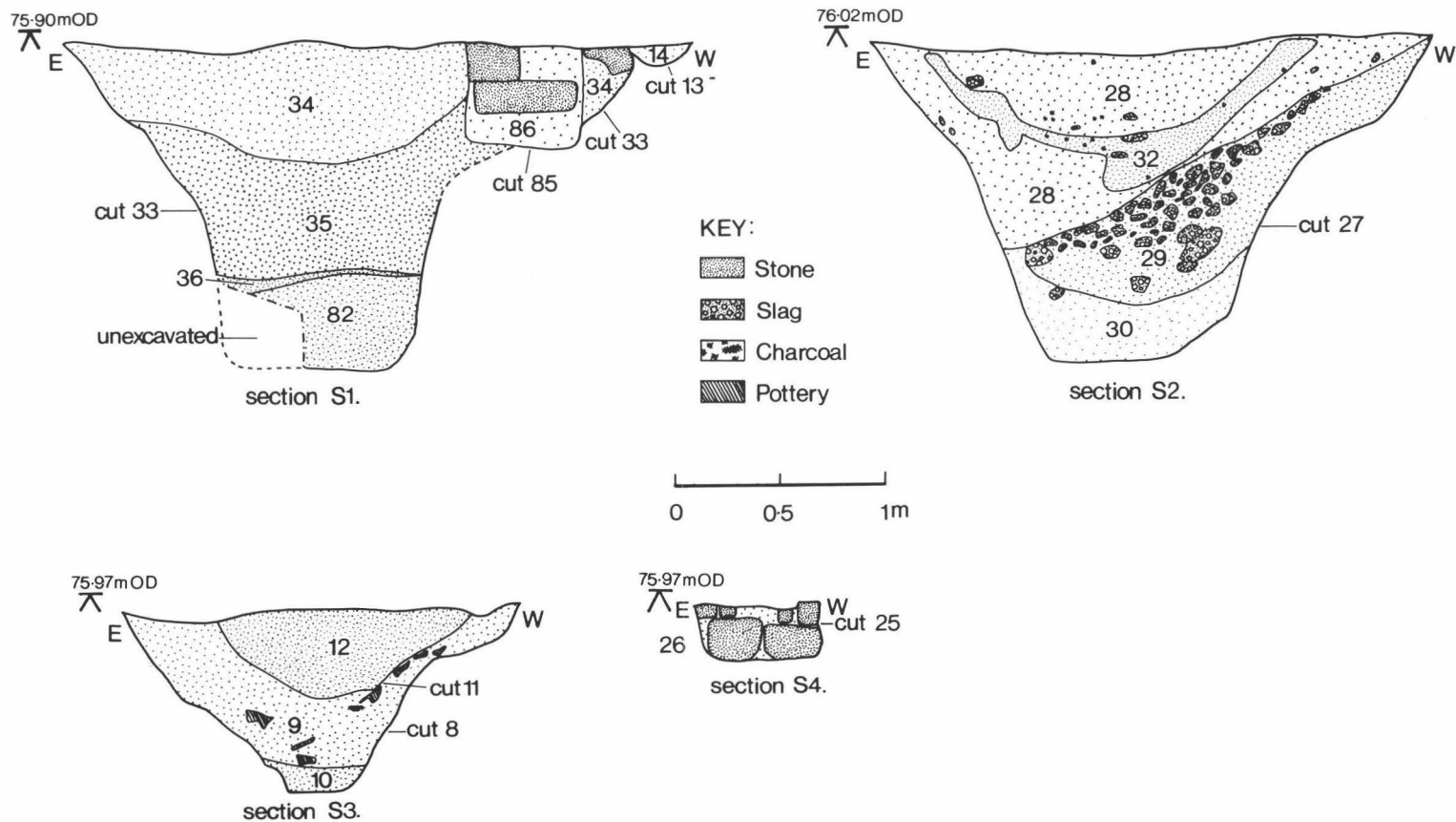


Fig. 5. Sections.

THE STRUCTURES

Incorporating comments by David Martin

In the south-western corner of the site a complex of wall footings set at right angles to each other were revealed close to the present course of the High Street. These foundations, which were set in shallow, flat-bottomed foundation trenches cut into the natural clay and sand, appear to be the remains of the rear of a property fronting onto the street. Walls 23 and 25 were constructed of large sandstone blocks bonded together in a clay matrix forming a flat base, presumably for the sill beam of a timber-framed structure. Although of a similar construction, Wall 25 was noticeably thicker (Figs 4 & 5:S4) and was apparently linked to Wall 23 by a butt joint. It is likely this wall was for a chimney, but the hearth had been destroyed; it may therefore have been a foundation for clay-bonded masonry rather than for timber-framing. Feature 21, which had no large stones, ran at right angles to the main footings and may represent an internal division with a soleplate embedded directly into a slot. The soleplate of a partition is often set at a different level to that of the side walls. Given that wall 23 does not terminate at the junction with wall 21, but stops abruptly just after the junction, there may have been an entrance at this point. The entrance may have been a substantial one, probably a wagon-way into the rear yard, but unfortunately the full width of the opening could not be ascertained owing to the presence of the Post Office building. A 16th-century date for this building is suggested based on the layout and nature of the features, however, no positive dating evidence was recovered from the fills of the foundation trenches, and no direct relationships with other dated features could be ascertained.

Another wall footing (86) consisting of sandstone blocks was revealed to the east, across the top of pit 33. The constituents of this wall differ from those of walls 23/25 suggesting that the walls were of different phases, although they could relate to the same structure. The date of this wall is uncertain, although the 18th-century disturbance to the top fill of pit 33 may be associated with it. The wall in

cut 85 had only survived where it had subsided into the 13th- to 14th-century pit below (cut 33). No trace of the wall was found to the north and south where it presumably rested on the surface of the natural clay. It is therefore likely that most of the building associated with this wall had been totally destroyed at an unknown date. The wall was cut by a post-medieval pit (context 83) which also contained an 'L'-shaped length of 19th-century brick wall abutting context 86. The exact relationship between these two walls remains unclear, however. The materials of this brick wall were similar to those of wall 63 to the north.

A stone-lined well (context 78) lay to the east. This was constructed of similar material, in both size and stone-type to that of walls 23 and 26 and set in a large construction pit (75). The fill of the pit (76) contained seven sherds of 13th- to 14th-century pottery. Four courses of dressed sandstone set in a clay matrix were revealed at the top of the shaft during excavation but the fill (79) did not produce any datable material. For safety reasons excavation ceased at this level.

THE MODERN FEATURES

Photographs of the site before and after the construction of the Post Office in the 1920s show a terrace of houses occupying the street frontage (printed in Hygate 1993, 173). The brick structure recorded in the north-west of the excavated area (63) was probably the remains of the back of one of the houses. The shallow features 69 and 65 are the remnants of a drain leading away from the structure. Further back from the street front were the foundations of a small outbuilding, possibly a toilet (49), another drain (80) and a soakaway pit (61). These features all contained 19th- or 20th-century pottery and glass and were not excavated. A large rubbish pit (47) was situated close to the outbuilding and had clay pipe, glass and 19th-century pottery in its fill. The small pits 51, 37, 57, 59, 71 and 73 all contained sherds of modern glass and pottery. The fill of 57 also produced the corroded remains of a carriage clock.

THE FINDS

THE POTTERY By Luke Barber
incorporating comments by Mark Gardiner

Introduction

The excavation produced a small assemblage of pottery consisting of 1077 sherds weighing 10,508 grams. This total,

which excludes the small group of pottery from the topsoil and the evaluation trenches, came from 19 different contexts. The post-medieval pottery, which makes up 2.9 per cent of the assemblage by weight, was not studied in detail. It consists predominantly of 18th- and 19th-century material. The medieval pottery was divided into fabric groups based on a visual examination of tempering, inclusions and manufacturing technique. Each fabric was subsequently quantified by sherd

count and weight for each context. This information was recorded on pottery summary sheets which are housed with the archive. Quantification based on Estimated Vessel Equivalents (EVEs) was not undertaken owing to the small number of sherds involved. As the finer fabrics were found to be disproportionately represented by sherd count because of their fragmentary nature, all percentages given in this report are based on weight.

Although the assemblage is small it is described in some detail as, with the exception of a small 14th-century group from the Moot Hall (Gibson-Hill 1974), this is the first excavated group of medieval ceramics from Crawley and virtually nothing was known previously of the pottery sources for the town.

The fabric groups

Fabric 1 - Earlswood-type wares

Four variants are present within this fabric group. Whether these reflect different kiln sites or variations in fabrics at the same kiln is uncertain.

Fabric 1a 21.9% of assemblage by weight

Colour - Usually orange throughout but some sherds have light grey cores or light brown external surfaces.

Tempering - Moderate off-white and grey sub-angular medium sand. Rare to sparse sub-angular grey or dull red quartz grits and ?iron ore to 2 mm. A medium- to hard-fired fabric with rough surfaces and break.

Forms - Cooking pots with sagging bases and jugs are the most common. However, there is also a possible skillet handle from context 7. Jugs usually have thick strap handles, sometimes with stabbing and an applied lump of clay pushed into the handle and smoothed off at the junction with the vessel body. This distinctive manufacturing technique is not fully understood at present.

Decoration - Cooking pots are rarely decorated in any way. A few have an internal and often patchy clear (firing to orange brown) or dull green glaze. Spots of glaze are occasionally present on the exterior. A few examples have thumbled horizontal applied strips. Jugs are frequently covered in an extensive external white slip under a patchy green glaze. The slip is usually extended to cover the interior of the vessel's neck. Some sherds show signs of slip being applied in lines. Jugs are more common in the finer fabric 1b and although quite common in 1a, the latter fabric appears to be predominantly for cooking pots.

Catalogue nos 1 to 11.

Fabric 1b 8.2%

Colour - As 1a, but also occasionally a dark brown interior surface.

Tempering - Moderate fine sand, occasionally with rare grog inclusions to 0.5 mm.

Forms - Predominantly jugs, but a few possible cooking pot and bowl sherds are also present.

Decoration - Only noted on the jugs, the decoration is similar to that of 1a. A few variations were noted, however. These include some light brown or clear external glazes fired to yellow over a white slip. A ?bowl from context 7 has an internal brown glaze. Two jug body sherds from context 28 were decorated in an unusual manner. A white slip was applied to the exterior surface of the vessel. In places this was formed into triangular-sectioned 'applied' vertical strips. Between these

strips a further red-orange slip was applied, similar in colour to the main body of the vessel. The latter was fired to produce a brown surface which highlights the white strips. The only glaze on the vessel appears to have been limited to these strips.

Catalogue no. 12.

Fabric 1c 4.1%

Colour - Similar to 1a, but grey cores and brown external surfaces are more common.

Tempering - Moderate to abundant medium to coarse sub-angular and sub-rounded grey sand with sparse off-white sub-rounded quartz inclusions to 3 mm. A medium- to hard-fired fabric with rough surfaces and fracture.

Forms - Predominantly cooking pots, although some jugs with stabbed strap handles and bowls are also present. The latter include rims similar to Earlswood types (*cf.* Turner 1974, fig. 3, no. 6).

Decoration - Little is present; however, cooking pots occasionally have a thick olive-green glaze on the interior base and external splashes. Some thumbled applied strips are also present. The few jug sherds present usually have a patchy external dull green glaze.

Catalogue nos 13 to 14.

Fabric 1d 0.3%

Colour - As 1a.

Tempering - As 1b, but with moderate inclusions of dull red sub-angular grog to 2 mm. A hard-fired fabric with slightly laminar break and rough surface.

Forms - Only three sherds of this distinctive fabric variation were found. All are from the same jug (context 7).

Decoration - Combed incised-line decoration in criss-cross pattern under white slip and green glaze.

Fabric 2 9.5%

This is a varied group of predominantly silty wares. It is probable they derive from more than one source and that the harder-fired types are of a slightly later date, perhaps being of 14th- to 15th-century origin. More diagnostic forms are needed to be certain of this, however.

Colour - Light to dark grey cores with light grey to light orange brown margins and surfaces. Some examples have had the exterior surface deliberately reduced to create a mid- to dark brown finish.

Tempering - Sparse to moderate very fine and sparse fine sand. Rare inclusions of sub-rounded clear quartz to 1 mm, iron ore to 0.5 mm and red-brown flint to 3 mm. A slightly micaceous fabric. Medium- to hard-fired with respectively either a powdery or slightly rough surface. Smooth to concoidal fracture.

Forms - A large body sherd from a pitcher is present in context 9. This has the remains of the lower portion of the strap handle which is strengthened by the addition of three diverging, applied ribs which continue onto the vessel's body. Other forms include a cooking pot with flaring rim and jugs with thumbled bases.

Decoration - Little was noted; however, some white paint is present, as well as rare patchy glaze, usually internal. One sherd has an applied vertical thumbled strip under a thick external orange glaze.

Fabric 3

Three variations of this fabric were noted although it is possible

they all originated at the same kiln or group of kilns. Although distinctive in their own right, some sherds tend to fall between groups suggesting all are closely linked. The wares are similar to those described for the 13th- to 14th-century coarse ware manufacturing centre at Limsfield (Prendergast 1974).

Fabric 3a 12.3%

Colour - Variable, but usually light to dark grey cores with light to dark grey or light brown margins and surfaces.

Tempering - Abundant sub-rounded grey medium to coarse sand with rare milky quartz inclusions to 1 mm. Some sherds contain very rare voids to 3 mm where calcareous inclusions have burnt out. A medium- to hard-fired fabric with rough surfaces and fracture.

Forms - Virtually all the recognized forms are sagging-based cooking pots. Some jugs and bowls are also present, however.

Decoration - The only decoration noted was in the form of incised slashes on the shoulder of a cooking pot. No glaze was noted.

Catalogue nos 15 to 24.

Fabric 3b 13.8%

Colour - As 3a.

Tempering - Similar to 3a, but also containing sparse inclusions of sub-rounded milky and light brown quartz to 3 mm. The fabric is hard-fired with a rough fracture and surfaces.

Forms - Only sagging based cooking pot were noted.

Decoration - Virtually none. Only two sherds were noted, one with an applied thumbled strip, the other with a slashed raised horizontal band on the shoulder. No glaze was noted.

Fabric 3c 3.4%

Colour - Mainly light grey throughout but often with dark grey to black surfaces. The darker sherds also are generally thinner, often averaging 4 to 5 mm.

Tempering - Similar to 3a, but the sand is finer giving rise to a more 'compact' fabric. Rare inclusions of sub-rounded milky quartz to 3 mm are still present and some sherds contain very rare inclusions of sub-angular calcined flint and iron ore to 3 mm. A hard-fired fabric with rough surfaces and fracture.

Forms - Apart from the end of a pipkin handle (context 34) only cooking pots of similar form to 3a were noted.

Decoration - A few sherds show internal spots of dull green glaze.

Catalogue no. 25.

Fabric 4 - West Sussex-Type Ware 13.1%

Colour - Variable. Light to dark grey throughout or commonly having a light grey core and either buff or light tan brown margins and surfaces.

Tempering - Sparse to moderate very fine to fine sand. Some sherds have very rare inclusions of sub-angular iron ore or flint to 1 mm. A fine, highly-fired fabric with relatively smooth surfaces and fracture.

Forms - Virtually exclusively jugs with thumbled bases and crude rod handles with a single line of slashing. Some bowls and cooking pots appear to be in a similar fabric, however.

Decoration - Nearly all vessels are externally glazed with a good, thick, dull green glaze. A few sherds, however, exhibit a more patchy glaze. Incised line decoration is common beneath the glaze as are applied strips, some of which are crudely rouletted. One sherd is from a face-on-front jug (context 34). Several sherds from the same vessel in context 7 have rouletting

and stamps under a white slip and green glaze. Although this sherd has decorative characteristics of group 1, the fabric places it firmly in this group. Some examples do, however, have white slip on the interior of the neck.

Catalogue nos 26 to 27.

Fabric 5 - Coarse Borderware 5.5%

Colour - Usually off-white to beige throughout although some sherds have light grey or pinkish cores.

Tempering - Moderate to abundant rounded and sub-rounded milky and pinkish quartz sand to 1 mm. A hard-fired fabric with rough surfaces and break. A more detailed description is given elsewhere (Pearce & Vince 1988, 9).

Forms - Cooking pots, bowls and jugs. Both sagging and thumbled bases are present.

Decoration - Some cooking-pot? sherds are glazed with a thick bright green to yellow internal glaze. Jug sherds, which are often thinner at 4 mm, are glazed externally. Some sherds have traces of red slip decoration.

Catalogue nos 28 to 32.

Fabric 6 0.1%

Only one sherd of this fabric is present (context 7).

Colour - Grey core with dull orange margins and surfaces.

Tempering - Moderate fine to medium sand with sparse inclusions of shell and iron ore to 1 mm. A medium-fired fabric with rough surfaces and fracture.

Forms - None recognized.

Decoration - Spots of external glaze.

Fabric 7 2.1%

Colour - Light to mid-grey throughout, sometimes with buff surfaces.

Tempering - Moderate to abundant fine sand with sparse to moderate inclusions of black sub-angular and sub-rounded iron ore to 2 mm. Very rare inclusions of sub-rounded flint grits to 1 mm. A hard-fired fabric.

Forms - Jugs with thumbled bases and crude rod handles. Very similar to fabric 4.

Decoration - Some incised line decoration, both vertical and horizontal, usually under a patchy dull green external glaze. Occasionally white slip under the glaze.

Fabric 8 2%

Colour - Usually light grey core and margins with orange-buff to brown surfaces.

Tempering - Sparse to moderate fine to medium sand with rare inclusions of grog or ironstone and flint to 0.5 mm. A rather mixed fabric group of hard-fired sandy wares.

Forms - Cooking pots and jugs.

Decoration - Some cooking pots have horizontal applied thumbled strips while patchy external dull green glaze is apparent on some jugs.

Fabric 9 0.03%

Only one sherd of this 12th- to 13th-century fabric is present (context 29).

Colour - Variable. Grey, black or dark red brown.

Tempering - Moderate to abundant voids to 4 mm where calcareous tempering has been burnt out. Rare iron ore inclusions to 3 mm. A soft fabric with soapy feel and rough break.

Forms - Unknown.

Decoration - None seen.

Fabric 10 0.7%

This small group consists of French imports.

Colour - White to off-white throughout.

Tempering - Sparse very fine sand with occasional inclusions of dark red grog to 0.5 mm.

Forms - Jugs.

Decoration - Applied clay pellets in form of 'raspberries' under good, even, external light green glaze.

Catalogue no. 33.

Discussion

The majority of the medieval pottery from the site is of 13th- to 14th-century date. Earlier and later material, dating respectively to the 12th and possibly the 15th century, is not present in any quantity and does not come from closed contexts. Only fabric group 9 (12th century) and elements in fabric group 2 (15th century) can possibly be seen to fall into these date ranges. As in other small market towns, the lack of intercutting pits on the site make refining the 13th- to 14th-century ceramic sequence difficult. Future study will depend upon the discovery of stratified deposits. The bulk of the medieval pottery (951 sherds) came from four pits and these formed the focus of the analysis (Table 1). These consist of the following; pit 6 (fill 7) dated 1250–1325; pit 8 (fills 9 & 10) dated 1200–1275; pit 27 (fills 28, 29 & 30) dated 1275–1375 and pit 33 (fills 34, 35, 36 & 82) dated 1300–1400. Weight and sherd count quantification for the different fabrics was carried out for each context along with a separate quantification for each pit group as a whole.

This work concentrated on the four main fabric groups (1, 3, 4 & 5) in order to test whether the pits had fabrics present in similar proportions or whether they changed through time. The results of this are shown in Figure 6, although it should be noted that the percentages are calculated on the four fabrics mentioned alone and exclude the small quantities of other fabrics. The other fabric group quantities are shown in Table 1. From this initial study fabric 1 is the most common throughout the 13th to 14th century but decreases steadily during this period. Fabric 3 decreases as well during this time but more dramatically. Both 1 and 3 appear to have been replaced by fabrics 4 and 5, the former supplying jugs, the latter cooking vessels and bowls. The presence of Coarse Borderware (fabric 5) in pit 8 may indicate either that some intrusion has occurred or that small quantities of this fabric were reaching Crawley in the 13th century. Whatever the case, both pits 6 and 8 have similar fabric percentages and are likely to be close in date, probably fitting into the latter part of the 13th century. The precise chronological framework within which these fabric percentage changes fit is, however, far from certain at present. Future work will be needed to validate this, but at present it appears Coarse

Borderware and 'West Sussex Ware' increase in importance during the 14th century.

The assemblage is too small and lacks the stratigraphic relationships necessary for the social status of the site to be addressed with any certainty. A few useful points can be made, however. With a few exceptions, notably the jug from context 9 (catalogue no.10), the majority of sherds are small and many show signs of moderate abrasion. Few conjoining sherds were located, although some of these are between contexts (context 3, pit 2 & context 9, pit 8 for example). It seems likely, therefore, that a fair proportion of the material was not quickly incorporated into the rubbish pits after breakage. No detailed study was made of the ratio of jugs to other vessels as the small average sherd size often made form recognition difficult. Jugs do, however, appear to be well represented in the assemblage. The virtual absence of imported material may be more a reflection of the limited communications of the town and the High Weald in general, rather than of its social status, as iron production would have brought relative wealth to the area.

As yet the source of much of the pottery is unknown. Fabric 1 (a–d) is likely to have originated from the Bushfield Shaw kiln at Earlswood (Turner 1974) or other as yet undiscovered

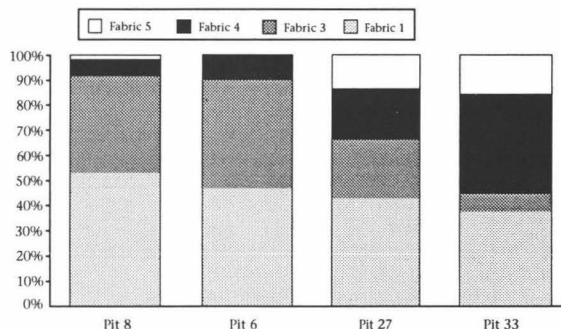


Fig. 6. Summary bar chart of pottery fabrics for selected contexts.

Table 1. Medieval pottery fabrics in pits 6, 8, 27 and 33 by sherd count and weight (all fabrics).

Pit No. Fabric	6		8		27		33		Total	
	no.	g	no.	g	no.	g	no.	g	no.	g
1a	74	744	32	793	62	378	35	240	203	2154
1b	15	189	18	97	68	307	48	240	149	833
1c	26	262	4	19	10	86	1	11	41	378
1d	3	35	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	35
2	–	–	11	537	17	266	18	165	46	968
3a	55	465	38	547	31	187	11	41	135	1240
3b	46	448	10	110	10	131	1	12	67	701
3c	22	223	–	–	12	71	8	60	42	354
4	19	221	14	99	54	323	62	502	149	1145
5	–	–	2	22	35	308	45	210	82	540
6	1	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	8
7	4	70	–	–	–	–	15	140	19	210
8	2	32	–	–	3	52	3	77	8	161
9	–	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	1	4
10	–	–	–	–	3	61	2	11	5	72
Total	267	2697	129	2223	306	2174	249	1709	951	8803

kilns in this area. The extensive white slip beneath the green glaze on the jugs is quite a distinctive characteristic of the kiln, although others in the vicinity may have had similar decorative techniques. If the Earlswood-type products from Crawley are from this kiln source, then a strong trade link existed between the town and south Surrey. Whether this material was transported by land or partly by water, utilizing the River Mole, is uncertain. Fabric 3 (a-c) is of uncertain origin, although it is similar to that of the Limpsfield industry (Prendergast 1974). It is possible Limpsfield is the source of this material, particularly considering other pottery is coming to the site from elsewhere in Surrey. Given the distance from Limpsfield and the terrain, which would have been difficult for transportation of goods, it is quite possible that a source of these wares was active closer to Crawley. The actual source may be one of the so far undiscovered kilns likely to be associated with place-names and occupational surnames in the clay lands of south-east Surrey (Streeten pers. comm.). Both fabrics 1 and 3 decrease in importance as fabrics 4 and 5 increase. The Coarse Borderware (fabric 5) is from a definite Surrey/Hampshire source, but fabric group 4 shows an increasing contact with West Sussex kilns in the 14th century, as evidenced already in this part of the Weald by the discovery of a West Sussex Ware jug from Stumblehome in the parish of Ifield (Barton 1979, 101). The remaining fabrics, with the exception of the French jug in fabric group 10, are from unknown sources, but are likely to be of local origin.

Catalogue (Fig. 7)

1. Narrow-mouthed cooking pot with squared out-turned slashed rim. F1a. Context 7.
2. A similar vessel but with more rounded rim and no slashing. External sooting. F1a. Context 7.
3. Cooking pot with slightly hollowed undercut rim. External sooting. F1a. Context 7.
4. Cooking pot with hooked rim. Spots of clear glaze on rim. External sooting. F1a. Context 7.
5. Large cooking pot or storage vessel with thickened out-turned rim. External sooting. F1a. Context 7.
6. Similar to no. 5, but without extensive thickening of the rim. External sooting. F1a. Context 28.
7. Cooking pot or bowl with hollowed rim. External sooting. F1a. Context 29.
8. Cooking pot or jar with everted lid-seating rim. F1a. Context 29.
9. Similar to no. 1, but with slight hollowing on rim. Spots of clear glaze on rim. F1a. Context 34.
10. Jug with external white slip under patchy clear to green glaze. The slip is extended to cover the inside of the neck. The glaze is limited to the handle and main body of the vessel: the neck is unglazed. The handle has had a lump of clay applied and smoothed down at the upper junction with the body. The exact reason for this unusual manufacturing technique is uncertain. There is slight evidence that the lower junction is treated in a similar fashion. F1a. Context 9.
11. Not illustrated. Skillet or pipkin with wide tapering strap handle. Slashed on underside at junction with body. Upper surface is treated in a similar way but with further slashing down the handle. Soot and spots of clear glaze on underside of handle. A similar form is published elsewhere (Barton 1979, 131, no. 19). F1a. Context 9.
12. Jug handle with irregular stabbing under white slip and green glaze as no.10. F1b. Context 7.
13. Cooking pot with slightly hollowed everted rim. F1c. Context 29.
14. Cooking pot with upright squared thickened rim. External sooting. F1c. Context 29.
15. Similar form to no. 1 but with bulbous rim. External sooting. F3a. Context 7.
16. Form as no. 14. F3a. Context 7.
17. Form similar to no. 2. F3a. Context 7.
18. Form similar to no. 5 but with extra thickening on the inside of the rim. F3a. Context 7.
19. Large cooking pot with thumbled and stabbed flat-topped rim. F3a. Context 9.
20. Jug handle with irregular stabbing. F3a. Context 9.
21. Not illustrated. Bowl with hooked rim. Abraded. F3a. Context 28.
22. Bowl or lid with simple thickened rim. F3a. Context 29.
23. Cooking pot with out-turned rim. F3a. Context 29.
24. Cooking pot with out-turned thickened rim. F3a. Context 29.
25. Narrow-mouthed cooking pot with slightly thickened everted rim. A hole has been drilled through the vessel from the exterior. F3c. Context 34.
26. Decorated body sherd from a jug. External white slip under dark mottled green glaze. Stamped and rouletted decoration. F4. Context 7.
27. Decorated body sherd from a jug with raspberry stamps under patchy green glaze. F4. Context 76.
28. Not illustrated. Cooking pot with hammer-headed rim. (Pearce & Vince 1988, form 467). F5. Context 28.
29. Not illustrated. Similar to no. 32. F5. Context 28.
30. Cooking pot similar to form 470 (Pearce & Vince 1988). F5. Context 29.
31. Cooking pot or bowl similar to form 473 (Pearce & Vince 1988). F5. Context 29.
32. Cooking pot or storage vessel with inturned rim. F5. Context 29.
33. Jug rim and body sherd in very fine white fabric with applied raspberries in orange clay. Good thick external light green yellow glaze with brown glaze over the raspberries. No parallel has as yet been found, however, a North French origin seems likely. Context 30.

METALWORK By Luke Barber

Only four items of metalwork were recovered during the excavation. All of them are of copper alloy and show signs of severe corrosion. The absence of ironwork is likely to be the result of the acidic ground conditions rather than a reflection of the metal's actual usage. All the pieces are diagnostic of function, except for a fragment of bronze sheeting from context 34.

The most complete piece is a decorated annular brooch from context 5 (Fig. 8:1). The frame has four prominent opposing bosses, interspaced with four smaller bosses. One of the smaller bosses has been used to house the hinge of the pin. Part of the round-sectioned pin is still in position, with a circular clenching collar used to hold the folding terminal of the hinge against the main pin. Slight traces of gold gilt are present on the frame. No direct parallel has been found, but the Crawley example is similar to a more ornate brooch from Norwich (Margesson 1993, no. 58), which is dated to the later 13th or 14th century.

The remaining two pieces, both recovered from context 29, are part of the frame from a strap-end buckle and a fragment

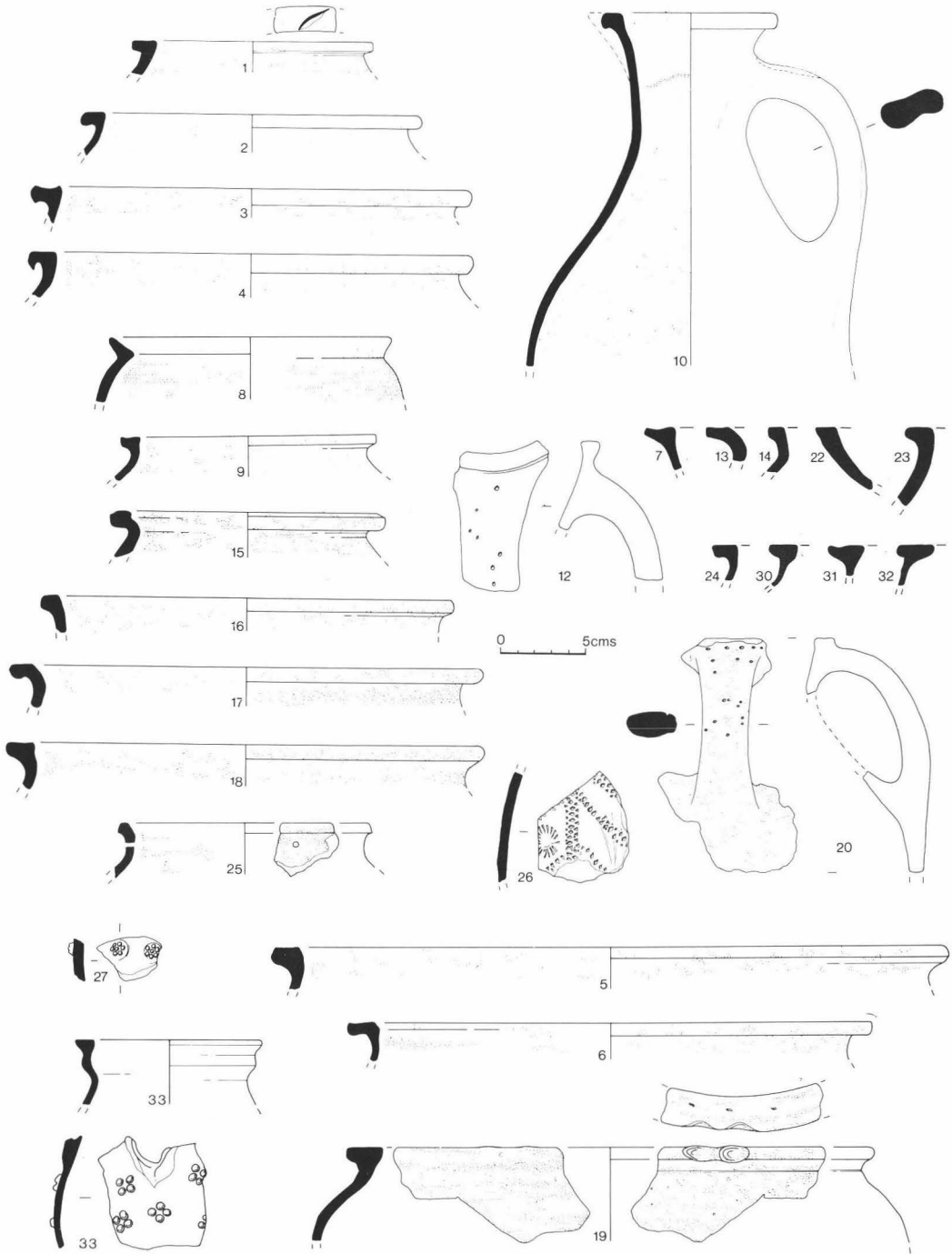


Fig. 7. Pottery (1/4).

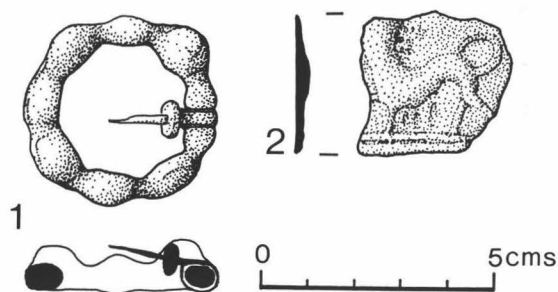


Fig. 8. Metalwork.

of a buckle plate. Buckles of this frame type have been dated to between c. 1270 and c. 1380 in London (Egan & Pritchard 1991, nos 551–3). However, too little of the Crawley example has survived to be certain of its original form.

The buckle plate (Fig. 8:2) is badly fragmented and is missing the rivet positions. It is made of a piece of copper sheeting with die-stamped decoration in relief of a lion passant. Small traces of gold gilt are present on the decorated surface. A similar example from London (Egan & Pritchard 1991, no. 500) was dated to the early 13th century. However, another similar example from Norwich is from a context dated to the second half of the 15th century (Margesson 1993, no. 135). The Norwich example is worn and it is possible that the piece had been in use some time before its loss or disposal. A 13th- or 14th-century date for this form of buckle plate seems likely.

THE IRON SLAG By Luke Barber, incorporating comments by Jeremy Hodgkinson

During the excavation iron slag was found in great quantities in every medieval context. It was decided, after consultation with Jeremy Hodgkinson of the Wealden Iron Research Group, that a sample should be retained and examined. Consequently, 449 pieces of slag weighing a total of 28.825 kg were collected from 18 different contexts. The assemblage was divided into six separate groups based on a visual examination of density, form and morphology. A full list of all the slag by context, giving details of number of pieces and weight forms part of the archive, along with a sample of each type.

The examination of the slags showed that although a total of six types were present, all fitted within one of three main groups:

- Iron forging slag - 388 pieces (86.4% of the total) weighing 25.090 kg (87% of the total);
- Iron smelting slag (bloomery) - 59 pieces (13.1% weighing 3.625 kg (12.6%);
- Iron smelting slag (blast furnace) - 2 pieces (0.5%) weighing 110 kg (0.4%).

The percentages for the different types of slag were calculated using the entire assemblage from all contexts. This was done as all the material is from contexts dating to the 13th and 14th centuries and thus could be treated as a whole without the risk of contamination. Whether the bloomery and forging slag are of this or an earlier date cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, but as the slag came predominantly from sealed medieval pits, it seems reasonable to assume that all pieces date from the 13th or 14th centuries. The exceptions

to this are the two intrusive pieces of blast furnace slag from contexts 24 and 34. The absence of any fragments of furnace of hearth lining from the assemblage suggests that, although ironworking was undertaken in the vicinity, it was not carried out at the site itself. The possible site of a bloomery was discovered nearby at TQ 26753700 in 1987 (Hodgkinson 1988, 8) and others are known in the Crawley area. Secondary working is likely to have occurred in the town to meet the needs of the population. The resultant slag may have been used for hardcore or perhaps for surfacing muddy areas.

THE CLAY PIPE By Luke Barber, with identifications by David Atkinson

The excavation produced relatively few clay pipe fragments; a total of 28 pieces from three contexts. The majority of these were retrieved from the topsoil (1) and consist of stem and bowl fragments with dates spanning from the second half of the 17th century to the late 19th century. Only one definitely local pipe was present in the topsoil, a stem fragment stamped 'HARRINGTON, HORSHAM' which dates to the second half of the 19th century. A small group dating to around 1720 was recovered from context 34. This consists of seven stem and two bowl fragments, all of which are clearly 18th-century. A bowl fragment stamped 'W.C.' at the base is of William Collis of Horsham (1715–1728). A full list of all the clay pipe fragments is housed with the archive.

THE TILE By Luke Barber

The excavations produced only 70 fragments of roofing tile, weighing 1810 grams, from six different contexts. Four fabrics were identified, two of which are modern (fabrics 1 & 2). A full list of the tile by context and fabric, along with fabric samples, form part of the archive. Only pits 27 and 33 produced medieval tile. This is present in two, presumably contemporary, medium-fired sand-tempered fabrics. Fabric 3, represented by 35 pieces, has an abundant medium sand temper with occasional inclusions of iron ore and flint pebbles to 3 mm. Fabric 4, represented by 24 pieces, has moderate fine to medium sand with sparse to moderate grog to 4 mm. Both fabrics are oxidized throughout and occur only as peg tiles with round fixing holes.

ANIMAL BONE By Lucy Kirk

A total of 59 fragments of bone were recovered from two contexts (34 & 35). The bone from both contexts was in poor condition owing to the acidity of the soil. This also explains the absence of bones from any of the other contexts. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the bone, only 10 fragments were identifiable to bone type and species. The species present in the material are *Bos*, represented by four fragments, and *Ovis* represented by six pieces. It is not possible to draw any conclusions from the material owing to the small quantity available for study.

PLANT REMAINS By Pat Hinton

Methods

Samples from the pits were received as wet 'flots'. These were further rinsed, dried and sorted by binocular microscope at 7–40X magnification, and after extraction of the seeds the charcoal was returned to the excavators. Residues were scanned and discarded.

Order and nomenclature in Table 3 accords with Stace (1991). The word seeds is used loosely to include caryopses, fruits, nuts, etc.

Results

All five samples include both charred (marked by * in the Table 3 microfiche) and uncharred seeds; only two taxa, orache (*Atriplex* sp.) and knotgrass (*Polygonum aviculare*) occur in both categories. Three samples (from contexts pit 8, fill 9, pit 27, fill 29 and pit 33, fill 82) include pieces of light brown possibly crystalline material, shapeless, but with the appearance of having formed around an object. These suggest a type of mineral deposition or replacement such as is sometimes found in cesspits, but there are no examples of seeds preserved by mineralization.

The charred seeds, whose condition is comparatively stable in the soil, are probably a good representation of those originally in the deposit. The uncharred seeds, however, which are subject to decay unless in anaerobic conditions, appear to illustrate gradual or intermittent drying out of the pit contents and thus may only represent a proportion of the original assemblage. A few uncharred seeds of *Chenopodium album* (fat hen), undoubtedly of very recent origin (in perfect condition and one germinating) have been discarded, but all the recorded seeds are more or less degraded, some desiccated and splitting and represented by testas only. Context 82, a waterlogged fill from pit 33, contained the most uncharred seeds (143 of 18 spp.) whereas context 30 (pit 27), also waterlogged, but from a rubbish pit has only 23 seeds of 6 species. The samples described as moist have fewer seeds. As sample sizes varied the number of uncharred seeds per litre were calculated (Table 2, microfiche).

Discussion

The seeds preserved by charring include those of edible plants (cereals, hazelnuts and apple) and some typical crop weeds. These seeds probably derive from the disposal of domestic refuse and so are likely to represent deliberate deposition. The uncharred seeds also include those of edible plants but these, with others, may well have grown in the vicinity and are more likely to have arrived by chance.

Edible plants

Wheat and oats are the only two cereals identified. The wheats are not in very good condition and some of the grains are small (<4 mm in length), short and stubby, resembling club wheat (*Triticum cf. compactum*) but these may be immature or tail grain. There is no wheat chaff to aid identification. In each of the samples there are small unidentifiable fragments of cereals which are most likely to be of wheat. The oats (*Avena* sp.) are in better condition but in the absence of any floret parts they are not closely identifiable and it cannot be said whether they are cultivated or weed species. There is no evidence of barley. Two contexts (9 & 29) include several very small compact masses of charred starchy material which may well be cereal in origin.

Typical field weeds associated with the charred cereals are knotgrass (*Polygonum aviculare*), hairy tare (*Vicia hirsuta*),

scentless mayweed (*Tripleurospermum inodorum*) and the grasses, particularly brome grass or chess (*Bromus* sp.). The one charred sedge (*Carex cf. nigra*) is certainly not a typical weed, but if growing in a damp grassy field margin, could be inadvertently gathered.

Hazel (*Corylus avellana*) nut shell fragments and the one apple pip, whether wild or orchard grown (*Malus sylvestris* or *domestica*), presumably represent consumed fruits and probably have a domestic origin.

The possible tuber in context 9 (pit 8) is incomplete and has not been identified but is comparable to the edible roots of some carrot family (*Apiaceae*) plants, such as pignut (*Conopodium majus*).

Other possible food plant remains occur among the uncharred seeds, for example cabbage, turnip, or mustard (*Brassica* sp.) and the woodland fruits, sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), elder (*Sambucus nigra*) and blackberry (*Rubus* spp.). Two which occur in all five pits are blackberry and, in greater numbers, elder, but whether this is a reflection of the greater durability of the seeds or whether they really were originally more numerous is questionable. They may well have derived from fruits gathered for human consumption and have reached the pit deposits in faeces or other waste, or they may represent vegetation growing in the vicinity. Both fruits are eaten by birds and their seeds widely distributed, but this would be a less likely explanation of their presence in these pits.

Inedible plants

Other uncharred seeds present in similar number to the blackberry and elder are those of fool's parsley (*Aethusa cynapium*), a common weed of disturbed ground, and whose seeds also, at least in part, are fairly robust. In the past the leaves of this plant have been mistaken for parsley and the roots consumed with disastrous consequences (Pierpoint Johnson 1862) and possibly its dangerous properties were known and the plants disposed of. On the other hand its preferred habitat is in open or lightly shaded, medium damp, nitrogen-enriched conditions (Ellenberg 1974), such as might well have been found nearby.

The greater number of the uncharred seeds probably arrived by chance from plants growing in the vicinity and reflect the surroundings of the pits. Disturbed ground and/or grassland is suggested, for example, by nettles (*Urtica dioica*), dock (*Rumex* sp.), black nightshade (*Solanum nigrum*), buttercups (*Ranunculus* sp.) and dandelion (*Taraxacum* sp.), with the lousewort (*Pedicularis palustris*), and spike rush (*Eleocharis palustris/uniglumis*) and probable water mint (*Mentha cf. aquatica*) suggesting wetter areas or ditches. The seeds of duckweed (*Lemna* sp.) a floating plant, indicate an area of open still water nearby. Hazel, blackberry, apple and elder came from woodland, hedge or scrub vegetation, and birch (*Betula* sp.) also, but the seeds of this tree are wind-blown and may travel a greater distance.

DISCUSSION

The excavation at the Old Post Office site produced evidence of medieval and post-medieval activity. The medieval assemblage of artefacts was small in comparison to other recently excavated sites in the larger medieval towns of Sussex such as the Phoenix

Brewery Site, Hastings (Rudling & Barber 1993), and it is unfortunate that the acidic nature of the local soil had destroyed the majority of the faunal material. The artefacts did, however, confirm the extent of medieval occupation as the site was utilized during the 13th and 14th centuries for the disposal of domestic waste from a house in the area. The

presence of cesspits suggests the house was in the immediate vicinity of the site probably fronting onto the High Street, following the typical medieval tenement pattern (Carver 1987, 59).

The remains of the medieval dwelling may have been destroyed by a combination of the digging of the 16th-century house-footings and the groundworks of the more modern houses known to have occupied the street frontage during this century (see above). The construction of the Post Office building itself and the widening of Haslett Avenue may also have led to the destruction of the neighbouring tenements. This has left the site somewhat isolated from other known medieval features, but the archaeological evidence gives important clues to the wider context of the development of this small medieval market town. The large quantities of iron slag suggest the presence of a forge nearby, and the environmental evidence points to the existence of open ditches and possibly a pond in the vicinity. The site thus forms part of a ribbon

development extending southwards following the line of the medieval High Street away from the centre of the settlement, a previously unknown aspect of the medieval topography of Crawley.

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NOTES

¹ WSRO QDE/2/1.

² WSRO QDE/2/1.

Lords, castellans, constables and dowagers

THE RAPE OF PEVENSEY FROM THE 11TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY

by Kathleen Thompson

The history of Pevensey, its castle and its hinterland from 1066 until the end of the 13th century can conveniently be divided into three phases, punctuated by two definitive changes of lordship. The first phase lasted until 1102 when William, Count of Mortain, son of the Conqueror's half-brother Robert, forfeited Pevensey together with all his inheritance in England. In the second, much longer, phase the lords of Laigle in southern Normandy held property around Pevensey, which came to be known as the honour of Aquila or the Eagle. Their association with the area continued, despite several temporary losses of their property, until the family died out in the male line in 1231. The third phase, during which Pevensey was granted to a number of royal favourites, dates from the death of the last Laigle until around 1270, when the honour of the Eagle, Pevensey castle and much local property came into the possession of Henry III's queen, Eleanor. During all three phases it has been assumed that the history of the honour of Pevensey and of the castle are identical, but there is clear evidence that for much of this time the castle and the honour were in different hands. In each phase a major siege of the castle illustrates the continuing strategic importance of the area, and a royal grant of property around Pevensey was often an indication of particular confidence in the recipient and always an important commentary on the changing needs and capacities of English royal power.

In the 200 years following the battle of Hastings the history of the town and castle of Pevensey is inseparable from the hinterland or rape which took its name, or at least so most historians have assumed.¹ That is not to say, however, that the history of the castle and the rape are identical. The great castle dominated the history of the rape, but the castle and the rape do not share precisely the same history because they have not always shared the same masters. In fact there is clear evidence that for much of the 200-year period following the Conquest successive kings of England were careful to keep the castle and the honour in separate hands. During that time the nature of the rape changed, beginning as a military expedient, but evolving with each new royal grant. The history of the various lords of the rape and its castle is therefore a matter of more than local interest — it is also an important commentary on the changing needs and capacities of English royal power.

The history of Pevensey and its hinterland during those 200 years can be conveniently divided

into three phases, punctuated by two definitive changes of lordship. The first phase lasted until the opening years of the 12th century during which time the rape was successively in the hands of the Conqueror's half-brother and nephew, the counts of Mortain. In the second much longer phase, which lasted until 1231, the lords of Laigle in southern Normandy held extensive property in Sussex, which came to be known as the honour of Aquila or the Eagle. Their association with the area continued, despite several temporary dispossessions, until the family died out in the male line. The third phase dates from the death of the last Laigle in 1231 until around 1270 when the honour of the Eagle, Pevensey castle and much local property came into the possession of Queen Eleanor, consort of Henry III. Throughout the period possession of the castle was an important consideration for the crown and each phase is marked by a major siege of the castle, which demonstrates its continuing strategic importance.

In the very earliest days of Norman occupation,

as William made his way towards London by a circuitous route though Kent and the southern home counties, there are no direct references to Pevensey. Like the rest of Sussex it was left under what must have amounted to martial law and was subject to the authority of Humphrey of Tilleul, who was based in a castle at Hastings.² It is possible, however, that some prominent Sussex families had their origins among Humphrey's troops, who remained with him to keep the peace behind William's lines. The proximity of Humphrey's Norman home at Tilleul in the Pays d'Auge to that of the Dive family, for example, which took its name from Dives-sur-Mer, near modern-day Cabourg, suggests that the family had been founded by one of Humphrey's followers.³

The new king did not return to Pevensey for some months, but it was obviously the focal point of William's communications with Normandy and its importance is demonstrated by the events of early 1067. Once he had made his remarkably speedy pacification of southern England, William prepared to return to Normandy and he made Pevensey his point of departure. The king's biographer, William of Poitiers, tells us that on that occasion it formed the setting for a telling demonstration of Norman power.⁴ According to William, the Conqueror used the opportunity of his departure from his new kingdom to reward richly his returning Norman followers and he did so in the presence of a number of the most important Englishmen to survive the battle of Hastings.

The current consensus of scholarly opinion is that the rapes of Sussex were established in response to William's need to secure his communications and that the arrangements were made after the triumphal progress around Normandy which William enjoyed in 1067. It may well have been, however, that the king chose to give the impressive walled site at Pevensey and the castle, which the Normans had erected within those walls, to his half-brother, Robert, Count of Mortain, in the early spring of 1067 before he returned to Normandy.⁵ A Domesday Book reference to the period when Earl William de Warenne received the Rape of Lewes also seems to imply that Robert was, at that point, already installed in part, at least, of his rape: *Quando Willelmus recepit nisi LVIII hidae quia aliae fuerunt intra rapum comitis Morit.*⁶ Domesday Book declares that when Robert received Pevensey only 27 of the 52 pre-Conquest burgesses remained and such an exodus might well have occurred in the uncertain

months immediately after the Conquest. It perhaps seemed appropriate to the king that the Normans' first foothold in England should be granted to his brother, who had made a conspicuous contribution to the campaign.⁷ Certainly the town seems to have prospered by its subsequent association with Robert. By 1086 the number of burgesses had risen to more than double the 1066 figure and a mint had been opened, bringing not only commercial benefits, but increased status. Under the new Norman regime Pevensey was the king's brother's town and the opening of the mint indicates that it had been raised to parity with the other minting centres in Sussex at Chichester, Arundel, Lewes and Steyning.⁸

By the time that Domesday Book was compiled in 1086, there was a conspicuously successful lordship centred on the town. Robert of Mortain had kept in his own hands the most valuable property in the surrounding area — King Edward the Confessor's estates of Eastbourne and Beddingham, the major properties at Willingdon and Ripe, which had belonged to the Godwinson family, and even the lucrative holding at West Firlie, which had belonged to Wilton Abbey. The Domesday description suggests that Robert was in fact the classic absentee landlord and it is apparent that he regarded his new property as a means of enriching himself and his favoured religious foundations at home in Normandy.⁹

It is, in fact, Robert's underlings who are most in evidence in the Rape of Pevensey in the late 11th century. His butler, Alvred, received payments from the town of Pevensey; his sheriff, Gilbert, also had interests in the town and one of Count Robert's substantial tenants in Northamptonshire, William of Cahaigues, can also be found in Sussex.¹⁰ Robert seems to have left them pretty much to their own devices, but was then obliged to intervene if they abused their powers. Some time before the mid-1090s, for example, it is recorded that Robert's sheriff, Walter of Ricarville, seized property belonging to the priory of St Mary of Mortain in Normandy, and the monks had to bring an action in Robert's court to recover it.¹¹ It is a point worth making, however, that even within the first generation of the Norman occupation the individual rapes of Sussex were never completely closed societies. Boscelin of Dives, a knight of the archbishop of Canterbury, received revenues from the town of Pevensey; Robert de la Haye, the son of Robert of Mortain's seneschal (steward) Ranulph, was to become an important tenant in the Rape of Arundel, and Robert's sheriff,

Walter of Ricarville, was also a tenant of the Counts of Eu.¹²

Lucrative though the rape may have been for Robert in 1086, its original purpose was military and that is still apparent in Domesday Book.¹³ Lands were assigned in the manors of West Firlle and Eastbourne for the maintenance of the guard at Pevensey castle, where Robert established a chapel within the fortifications.¹⁴ His arrangements were tested in the early summer of 1088 when an attempt was made to replace King William II Rufus with his brother, the Norman Duke Robert Curthose. Control of the Sussex coast was crucial, for Duke Robert might choose to invade England along the same route as his father had taken more than 20 years before.¹⁵ The chief architect of the plot was Robert of Mortain's brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Robert was drawn into the rebellion. When Odo joined his brother at Pevensey, William Rufus quickly drew up forces against them and a lengthy siege ensued. Little is known about the conduct of the siege beyond the fact that Robert's neighbour, the lord of the Rape of Lewes, was fatally wounded during its course, but it demonstrated the effectiveness of the fortifications at Pevensey. After six weeks the castle remained untaken, and it was only shortage of food which eventually led its garrison to seek a truce. Although Bishop Odo surrendered to the king, Robert of Mortain was able to negotiate and King William permitted him to retain his lands.¹⁶

Robert died in 1095 and within ten years of his death his son William had lost all his English lands through opposition to King Henry I.¹⁷ It was the second providential increase to crown resources to have occurred since Henry had become king in 1100, for in 1102 the Montgommery family had lost their English property which included the westernmost Sussex Rape of Arundel. The subsequent history of these properties tells us much about the changing nature of Norman rule in England. Where the Conqueror's military preoccupations are indicated by his division of Sussex into the rapes, Henry's failure to make an immediate regrant of those rapes in their entirety suggests a new approach and reveals the changed priorities of a second-generation ruler.

The man to whom Henry eventually granted Pevensey was the Norman lord, Gilbert of Laigle. There is no contemporary evidence relating to this grant and its circumstances have to be deduced. Orderic Vitalis tells us that Gilbert possessed lands in England, which were subsequently inherited by

his eldest son, and we might assume that these lands were confined to the properties Gilbert held in Domesday, but for the records of a 13th-century lawsuit. The case related to Beddingham in Sussex and evidence submitted to the court indicates that Beddingham (and presumably the other Sussex property subsequently held by the family) was granted to Gilbert after the count of Mortain had abandoned King Henry I.¹⁸

Gilbert represents the almost perfect example of what French historians describe as the castellan. He came from a family of experienced fighters, whose lands lay on the very borders of southern Normandy in an area of uncertain lordship, where the Norman marches merge into the forested uplands of the Perche. Here at Laigle (Orne), on a site where one of Gilbert's ancestors was reputed to have found an eagle's nest, the family had established a castle from which they dominated the locality. Their castle was at once their home, the symbol of their power and the means of enforcing it. The lords of Laigle were often caught up in the conflicts between the dukes of Normandy and their neighbours, especially the counts of Anjou, and their support in such a vulnerable area was particularly valuable to the Norman dukes. Gilbert's family had served them well.¹⁹ His grandfather, Engenulf, had been killed at the battle of Hastings while his father Richer had lost his life in William the Conqueror's wars in northern France. Gilbert himself had displayed conspicuous loyalty to the ducal family and fought with some distinction in Norman campaigns of the 1090s.

According to Domesday Book the Laigle family already possessed two valuable manors in England, at Witley in Surrey and Mildenhall in Norfolk, but the lands which Gilbert now received represented a far more substantial stake in England.²⁰ The forfeited Mortain lands gave Gilbert an interest in ensuring that England and Normandy continued in association under one ruler, King Henry. It was a technique which Henry was to use with other families, often extending the offer of a marriage alliance with one of his illegitimate daughters as an additional inducement. Thus Gilbert's brother-in-law, Rotrou of Mortagne, whose lands lay to the south of Normandy, received an illegitimate daughter and two manors in Wiltshire. The best illustration of Henry's technique, however, was the package of inducements offered to the lords of Beaumont-sur-Sarthe. They received not only an illegitimate

daughter and a manor in Devon, but also an endowment from the Sussex lands of the Montgommerys for a younger son of the family, Savaric fitz Cana, the ancestor of the Bohuns of Midhurst.²¹

Henry's strategy in disposing of the Mortain lands is, therefore, clear: they were used to promote support for his rule in Normandy. Unfortunately, the nature of the property which Henry gave to Gilbert is unknown, but by looking at the holdings of his son, Richer, it is possible to make some deductions. Richer controlled, for example, much of the former property of the Counts of Mortain because he confirmed a number of benefactions made to monasteries by tenants who had held their land under the lordship of the counts.²² Unlike the Counts of Mortain, however, Richer did not hold the great pre-Conquest royal manor of Eastbourne, because the king had reserved that for himself, and the service of some of the former Mortain tenants, notably the Dive and the Cahaigues families, was assigned to the Earl of Leicester, who confirmed their benefactions.²³ Most telling of all, Richer did not control the castle at Pevensey.²⁴ In 1130 its garrison was funded from royal revenues and the land which Robert of Mortain had assigned to the castle guard was at farm to a local man, William fitz Alvred.²⁵

It is of course possible that Gilbert had been granted the rape in its entirety and that the king had withdrawn some of the property, when Gilbert was succeeded by his son Richer in the late 1110s. However, the Anglo-Norman historian, Orderic Vitalis, a remarkably well-informed source on this matter since his monastery was a matter of some 12 kilometres from Laigle, states that Richer inherited 'all his father's lands in England and Normandy' (*totam in Anglia seu in Normannia terram patris sui*).²⁶ The indications are, therefore, that the integrity of the Domesday Rape of Pevensey had been eroded with its grant to the Laigle family. While Gilbert was a man the king wished to cultivate, he was not a great lord like Robert of Mortain, the Conqueror's half-brother, who could expect significant favours, and Henry could afford to be economical with his largesse.

With the change of personnel in Pevensey, then, it is possible to discern a new role for the rape. Where the Conqueror had granted complete authority to Robert in return for the security of his communications with Normandy, Henry's priority was to secure Gilbert's support in Normandy by

extending his landed resources in England. Such a purpose could be achieved by the grant of the some of the Mortain property in the rape, while permitting the king to recover a foothold there. That foothold was represented by Eastbourne, but most importantly by Pevensey castle, whose potential Henry would have had an opportunity to gauge in the summer of 1101. A ruler as astute as Henry I could not have failed to grasp the implications of the long siege of Pevensey in 1088, so when Robert Curthose threatened yet another invasion in 1101, Henry made his way straight to Pevensey where he spent the summer waiting for his brother. In the event, the invasion attempt was deflected towards Portsmouth, but Henry had had some time to observe the strengths of the castle at Pevensey.

Now, just as the purpose of the grant of Pevensey to Gilbert differed from that to Robert of Mortain, so did the nature of the lordship of the two men. Robert's grant had a military purpose and he accomplished that purpose by settling knights and tenants, but the grant to Gilbert did not involve a military settlement. The impact of the Laigle family's lordship on Sussex is in fact quite difficult to determine. There is no great survey like the Domesday Book to assist us in the 12th century and we are forced back on the information which can be gleaned from charters, but their evidence suggests that it is all but impossible to trace families whose names link them to Richer's lands in Normandy in the same way that it is possible to find tenants, such as the Cahaigues, who had pre-Conquest links with the Mortain family. Men with southern Norman toponymics such as Anshetill of Rai (Orne, ct Laigle), Hugh of Crulai (Orne, ct Laigle) and Berner of Bâlines (Eure, ct Verneuil-sur-Avre) certainly witnessed Richer's Sussex acts, but they appear to have had no other connection with the county.²⁷ The attestation of a mid-12th-century act in favour of Lewes Priory by Sara the wife of Fulk of Aube (Orne, ct Laigle) is the only indication that Richer of Laigle's followers made any attempt to bring their families to England, and one attestation is no evidence for a settlement.²⁸ More significant is the fact that a number of Richer's English acts were witnessed by a man called Gilbert Lovell, who appears to have been Richer's agent in Sussex, and the conclusion, therefore, is that the relationship between the Laigles and their Sussex lands was financial rather than residential.²⁹

At some stage in the 1140s Richer and his English

possessions parted company. Although he had supported King Stephen in the late 1130s, Richer and his uncle Rotrou, Count of Mortagne, did not resist the invasion of Normandy by the Empress Matilda's husband, and King Stephen took exception to their inactivity.³⁰ The precise date of Richer's dispossession is unknown, but late 1141 seems most likely, at the point when King Stephen was re-establishing his credibility after his release from captivity at Bristol. Richer's Sussex property was a substantial addition to King Stephen's resources; it lay in the eastern part of England where his authority was more readily acknowledged and, like his uncle Henry I before him, he used it to promote support. Unfortunately, Stephen's grasp of the political power-game was not as sure as Henry's and his attempt to use Pevensey as an inducement was not so successful.

The evidence for Stephen's disposal of Pevensey is an act in which Gilbert fitz Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Pembroke, grants to the monks of Lewes whatever they hold in the Rape of Pevensey.³¹ Evidently then he had power in the area, but unlike Richer of Laigle, Gilbert of Clare had also been granted the castle of Pevensey. The sequence of events which followed is a vindication of Henry I's policy of keeping the rape and the castle in separate hands, for apparently no sooner had Gilbert of Clare received the grant than he went into open rebellion against King Stephen. The *Gesta Stephani* is the sole narrative source for these events. It describes Gilbert's rebellion against King Stephen late in 1146 or early in 1147, and the second great siege of Pevensey castle which ensued.³² Unfortunately, the account of the siege is incomplete, but an act in the cartulary of Lewes provides confirmation that it took place. It describes how a local knight, William Malfed, was obliged to dispose of some of his interests to the priory in order to raise 20 marks of silver for his ransom when he was captured at Pevensey.³³

King Stephen was careful thereafter not to make the same mistake again, and Pevensey and its castle passed into the direct control of the royal family. Stephen's eldest son and heir, Eustace, was given control of the honour and a local man, Roger of Fraxineto, whose family had interests in Seaford, was appointed the king's constable.³⁴ After Stephen's death in 1154 Pevensey and all the lands which had formerly been Richer's were used to make provision for William, King Stephen's surviving son. Under the terms of the treaty of settlement made between

Stephen and the future King Henry II in 1153 the old honour of the Counts of Mortain was largely reconstituted and given to William, who held it in conjunction with the vast inheritance of his wife, Isabelle de Warenne, which included the Rape of Lewes.³⁵ Clearly, on previous experience, this was a state of affairs which no able king could allow to continue, and it comes as no surprise therefore that Henry II soon took action. Early in 1157, on the grounds that he wished to forestall conflict between Prince William and his great rival Hugh Bigod, Henry demanded that William return his castles of Norwich and Pevensey to the crown.³⁶

In the meantime the fortunes of Richer of Laigle had mended somewhat and by 1157 he had recovered his family estates in Surrey.³⁷ When Prince William died without heirs in 1159 Richer's prospects brightened still further. He had already in 1158 improved his standing with King Henry II by restoring to the crown the important border fortress of Bonsmoulins in southern Normandy, which he had been granted by King Stephen, and he must have looked for the restoration of his Sussex lands as compensation.³⁸ It is impossible, however, to date that restoration with precision. King Henry may have returned them to Richer as soon as William died in 1159, but it is rather more likely that they remained in the king's hands until the spring of 1161. At that particular time the allegiance of Richer of Laigle would have been worth purchasing, for his Norman interests lay in the vulnerable border zone between the lands of the French and English kings. Just as Pevensey had been an inducement to sustain Henry I's rule in Normandy, so Henry II used it to secure support in the area where he and his great rival King Louis VII of France were mustering their troops.³⁹

While the return of the Sussex lands bound Richer to the king, Henry's generosity to Richer still did not extend to the outright grant of the entire rape. The king retained Eastbourne and Beddingham, the land traditionally associated with the garrison of Pevensey, and Compton in West Firle.⁴⁰ Like his grandfather before him, Henry also retained the castle and, as with many other castles in his realm, he put it into good order. In 1161, 63s. 8d. was spent on works at the castle and again in 1166/7, £5 10s. 5d. Further work was undertaken in 1177/8 and repairs were made to the palisades in 1188.⁴¹ The castle's situation on the southern coast would have made it particularly useful to the king in the early

1160s when he fought almost annual campaigns in France, and during those years there was considerable expenditure on the knights of the castle, who may have been en route for the wars.⁴² Subsequently the castle may have functioned as an administrative centre for in 1178/9 one mark was spent on the gaol.⁴³ Richer himself continued much as he had done before, as a largely absentee landlord and his return to the king's enquiry about knight service in 1166 states that Richer had made no changes to his personnel. All the knights who had been established on his property in 1135 or their descendants were still there in 1166.⁴⁴

The Laigle family was to remain in control of their Sussex property for the next 40 years, apart from a brief interval in 1173 when Richer was involved in the rebellion of Henry II's eldest son, the Young King.⁴⁵ The family's interests remained essentially Norman, however.⁴⁶ Cases in which they were involved in the English courts were frequently postponed owing to their absence abroad, and their regular scutage payments imply that they did not serve in the king's English army.⁴⁷ When Normandy was lost to the English crown in 1204, Richer's grandson, Gilbert of Laigle, opted to stay on his Norman holdings, and King John seized his English lands along with those of other Normans.⁴⁸ For more than ten years Gilbert stayed out of England, but by 1207 he had found a means of securing some, at least, of the profits of his Sussex lands. For in that year his brother-in-law, Earl William de Warenne, fined 3000 marks for custody of Gilbert's lands in Sussex, which he was to hold on behalf of his sister, Gilbert's wife, Isabelle.⁴⁹

With Gilbert's return to England, which probably took place in 1215, the final phase of the family's connection with England began. It is impossible to date that return, but the most likely period is during the summer of 1215, when King John was openly seeking support from the Continent.⁵⁰ It is a story which, by now, is familiar to us. Gilbert had been much in John's favour before the loss of Normandy in 1204 and, as the baronial unrest continued after Runnymede, the king turned again to a trusted associate from the early years of his reign, granting Gilbert tenure of the Pevensy property as the price of his support.⁵¹ Several Sussex barons were involved in the siege of Rochester in the autumn of 1215 and with the increasing threat of a French invasion, John's old friend, Gilbert of Laigle, would be a useful resident in Sussex.⁵² By the time that the Sussex

landholder, William of Avranches, was negotiating his ransom after the end of the siege of Rochester, Gilbert was firmly installed as master of his Sussex lands and witnessed an act by which William raised money, presumably for that ransom.⁵³

It may also be that Gilbert's return was associated with the appointment of Hubert de Burgh as justiciar in the summer of 1215, for Gilbert's career has an interesting correlation with that of Hubert.⁵⁴ Like Gilbert, Hubert had been successful in the household of Prince John and became royal chamberlain when John became king. Although he fell from favour with the loss of Chinon in 1205, Hubert recovered his position after 1206, just as the arrangement for Gilbert's property to be administered by his Warenne brother-in-law must have been under negotiation, and in 1210/1 Hubert married Beatrix de Warenne, a cousin of Gilbert's wife, Isabelle.⁵⁵ Subsequently Gilbert's most successful period as an Anglo-Norman magnate was to coincide with the period of Hubert's greatest power in the 1220s.

Gilbert celebrated the recovery of his Sussex property by granting a rent from the manor of Willingdon to the Fontevraudine priory of La Chaise-Dieu-du-Theil, which his grandfather had founded in the forest near Laigle, but all too soon, it seems, there was a breach with the king.⁵⁶ In September 1216 King John wrote to the men of Seaford thanking them for their loyal service to the crown despite the pressure put upon them by their lord, Gilbert of Laigle. The letter makes it clear that John himself had restored Gilbert's rights, and expresses annoyance at Gilbert's subsequent conduct. 'We owe you abundant thanks' the king wrote to Seaford 'that you have faithfully and steadfastly kept faith with us and our rule and that you have remained in our service. Although we had earlier restored his rights to your lord Gilbert of Laigle, we did not do so in order to have him rebel against us and do us harm.'⁵⁷

The context for the king's annoyance is plain. His letter is one of several which he addressed to the leading men of Sussex and Kent in September 1216 and it relates to his loss of control of the south-east of England after the invasion of Prince Louis of France in May 1216. Gilbert's motives for his early desertion of the king who had restored his English property are nowhere made explicit, but a letter which survives from the earliest months of the reign of King John's son, Henry III, suggests that control of the castle of Pevensy had probably been the

issue.⁵⁸ In this letter which was sent in the child-king's name, but was witnessed by and presumably drafted for William Marshal, the regent, Gilbert is encouraged to return to the king's party. The second part of the letter, however, deals specifically with Pevensey castle. It justifies King John's failure to entrust the castle to Gilbert and the slighting of the castle, which King John had undertaken in the early summer of 1216 after he had failed to repel Prince Louis' invasion.⁵⁹ John evidently feared that because Gilbert had property in Normandy he would be compromised when faced by an invading army under Prince Louis of France and might surrender the castle. Whatever John's failings as a king, he clearly appreciated the value of castles and had been prepared to dismantle important sites, rather than risk them falling into the hands of those whose loyalty might be questionable.

Pevensey was therefore still a fortification of major importance in the opening years of the 13th century. It had remained in royal hands since the late 1150s and in the 1190s under Richard I it had again become an key military installation.⁶⁰ Payments had been made for the transport of arms from the castle, building works were undertaken and there was considerable expenditure on knights and sergeants, again suggesting it may have been the embarkation-point for wars in France.⁶¹ It has even been suggested that Richard's building work at Pevensey in the early 1190s, which was supervised by Ellis the engineer, was a precursor of the work which was later undertaken at Château Gaillard.⁶² During the barons' war King John had been well aware of its strategic importance and had complained about the inadequate manning of the castle.⁶³ Gilbert of Laigle may well have tried to take the opportunity presented by the discomfiture of the crown to demand custody of the castle at Pevensey as a further price for his support, but he was ultimately unsuccessful, and a succession of letters patent dating from the 1220s indicate that the castle never came into Gilbert's hands, but was controlled by royal constables.⁶⁴

Gilbert did, however, retain his lands in Sussex apparently from the point of his return around 1215 until his death in 1231. There is evidence to suggest that it took some time for him to re-establish himself with the king's party after the withdrawal of Prince Louis in 1217, for his manor of Greywell was given to Peter des Bois, but signs of reconciliation are apparent in 1218 when Gilbert settled a long-

standing debt to the crown and was granted a stag in the king's forest.⁶⁵ From the early years of Henry III's reign he was one of a small group of magnates who held lands in both England and France.⁶⁶

It was not an easy position to maintain and Gilbert and his family often had to seek safe passages between England and Normandy as hostilities between the two kings led to frequent closures of the ports.⁶⁷ The family worked well for its two masters, however. Gilbert's knights served with the King of England's forces against the Welsh at Montgomery in 1223 and Gilbert himself was probably with Louis VIII in his great push into the south of France in 1226.⁶⁸ While Gilbert was abroad in the service of the French king, however, King Henry seems to have had doubts about the loyalty of his Anglo-French magnates and seized much of their property.⁶⁹ Substantial fines had to be paid to repossess them. On 6 December 1226 Gilbert fined 500 marks for the seisin of his English lands and shortly thereafter another licence to travel was issued to him.⁷⁰ At this time Gilbert ceded his manor of Wynford Eagle in Dorset to the king's justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, and the cession of this property which puzzled the modern authority on Hubert's lands, is perhaps explained as another instance of Gilbert exploiting his connection with the powerful justiciar.⁷¹

During the remaining years of his life Gilbert was at some pains to convince the King of England of his loyalty and his commitment to England. In May 1230 he joined King Henry's expedition to France, taking with him a substantial following of troops, and he returned to fight the Welsh.⁷² Most significant of all, however, was perhaps Gilbert's foundation of the Augustinian house at Michelham.⁷³ Gilbert and his ancestors had been prudent in their benefactions to religious houses. They had supported a number of communities in England: the Cistercians at Waverley, the Cluniacs at Lewes, the Benedictines at Wilmington and the Premonstratensians at Bayham/Otham, and they had granted property in England to their family foundations of Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle and La Chaise-Dieu-du-Theil in Normandy, but no Laigle foundation had been made in England. In the late 1220s, perhaps because the resources available to him were growing, Gilbert remedied that situation and he gave the prior of Hastings a substantial amount of property which was to form the endowment of the new priory of Michelham.⁷⁴ He assiduously notified the king of his intention

and received royal approval in the form of letters patent in May 1229 in which the king itemized his gifts.⁷⁵

But for all the military ability Gilbert displayed in the service of his kings and for all the dexterity he mustered in serving two masters, the Laigle connection with Sussex came to an end with Gilbert's death in December 1231. Three sons and at least one daughter predeceased him and the eventual heir of his Norman property, which he seems to have retained until his death, was his nephew.⁷⁶ Gilbert's English property, however, was taken into the hands of the king's agents, the sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex.⁷⁷ An assessment was made in January 1232 for the purpose of assigning dower to Gilbert's widow but essentially the property was again at the disposal of the king.⁷⁸

The final phase of the history of the castle and Rape of Pevensey is that of a succession of grants to royal favourites, as first one party then another secured ascendancy at Henry III's court. In 1232 Henry selected as his chief advisers, the bishop of Winchester, and his nephew Peter of Rivallis.⁷⁹ In his enthusiasm for the new arrangements the king conceded to Peter what his ancestors had always withheld from the Laigle family, namely tenure of most of the Rape of Pevensey and custody of the castle.⁸⁰ Once that link between the Laigle lands and the castle at Pevensey had been reformed it was to prove unbreakable. When Peter of Rivallis fell from favour in 1234⁸¹, all the lands of Gilbert of Laigle, together with the castle of Pevensey, were given to Gilbert Marshal, the third, but eldest surviving son of William Marshal, and a man of prodigious wealth.⁸² Again the tenure was brief lasting only until June 1240,⁸³ and in July 1246 the king granted the honour and the castle at Pevensey to Peter of Savoy.⁸⁴ It was to be the last major grant of the Rape of Pevensey, and it secured for the king, not military security as represented by the Mortains, nor political support as given by the Laigles, but the personal ability of its recipient.

This Peter was a younger son of the Count of Savoy and in 1236 his niece, Eleanor of Provence, married Henry III, thus opening for Peter a considerable career opportunity. He arrived in England in the early 1240s and proceeded to make himself useful to the king. The extent of his usefulness, particularly in the diplomatic field where his connections and experience made him invaluable, is indicated by the steady acceleration of royal

favour. In the early 1240s he was made lord of Richmond and by 1246 he was in possession of the Sussex lands of John de Warenne, the honour of the Eagle and Pevensey castle.⁸⁵ Peter took his responsibilities as master of the castle seriously and used his access to the resources of the crown to ensure its maintenance. In June 1250, for example, the sheriff of Sussex was ordered in royal letters close to force those who owed service at the castle to perform it and in 1254 royal agents were used to secure contributions to the castle's upkeep.⁸⁶ Originally that contribution had been to repair the wooden palisade of the castle, but by the mid-13th century it had been replaced by a money-payment. Peter was prepared in the early 1250s to release many of those who owed this service in return for a substantial payment, and it is tempting to suggest that some of the proceeds were used to erect the curtain wall which still surrounds the castle.⁸⁷

King Henry's favour to his foreign favourites such as Peter was, of course, one of the factors which led to the conflict with his barons and Peter was among the casualties of the mid-1260s. His estates were attacked and he left the country. During his absence royal power was eclipsed, and between the battles of Lewes and Evesham the last of the great sieges of Pevensey castle took place. A number of the king's supporters escaped through Pevensey after the battle of Lewes and the constable of the castle, Hanekin of Whitsand, continued to hold out for many months.⁸⁸ In comparison with the sieges of 1088 and 1146/7 we are remarkably well-informed about the events of winter 1264/5. We know, for example, about the terms which were offered for surrender,⁸⁹ we know about the financial resources directed to the conduct of the siege⁹⁰ and about the tactics⁹¹ including the precautions taken to avoid siege-breaking ships gaining access to the harbour.⁹²

As soon as the royalist party recovered control, Peter's lands were restored to him and when he died in 1268 he was in full possession.⁹³ A codicil to Peter's will indicates that he wished to leave his Sussex property to his nephews, the sons of his brother, Thomas of Savoy, but he had made an agreement in 1259 that Henry III's queen, Eleanor, should hold it for her life, nominating her own heir, and the terms of that agreement were followed.⁹⁴ When the great inquest which produced the hundred rolls was conducted for King Edward I in 1274/5 the jurors were quite certain that the dowager queen held the barony of the Eagle and the castle of Pevensey, but

they maintained that the castle pertained to the crown.⁹⁵

At the end of the 13th century, then, much of the Rape of Pevensey and its castle lay in Queen Eleanor's hands and would pass from her to later Queens consort.⁹⁶ As part of the queen's dower lands the area would remain important to the crown, but its role was far removed from that which it had played in the 11th and 12th centuries. From a key position as the beachhead of invasion and a vital role in communications before 1100, Pevensey became an important tool in the Norman and Angevin kings' designs to hold together their cross-Channel empire in the 12th century. Under the Conqueror military expediency had led to its grant to Robert of Mortain, but in the 12th century it was the desire to hold together England and Normandy

which dictated the continued lordship of the Laigles. The collapse of the Anglo-Norman union with the loss of Normandy in 1204 inevitably led to a decline in Pevensey's strategic importance, although that decline would not become completely obvious until the Treaty of Paris in 1259. Nonetheless, Pevensey continued to be held by some of the most influential men in England. The castle remained potentially important in the defence of the realm, but as the sea receded even that role would be considerably diminished.⁹⁷ By the late 13th century English relations with the Continental mainland were closely focused on trade with the low countries and Pevensey's historic importance as a link with the Norman duchy which had been the homeland of the ruling dynasty could no longer be sustained.

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NOTES

¹ See the comments of L. F. Salzman, 'Documents relating to Pevensey castle', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter SAC) **49** (1906), 1–30, especially 3; C. Peers, 'Pevensey castle', SAC **74** (1933), 1–15, but contrast J. H. Round, 'Sussex in the pipe rolls under Henry II', SAC **71** (1930), 100.

² Orderic Vitalis (hereafter OV), *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969–80), **2**, 220. On Pevensey as the beachhead, B. S. Bachrach, 'Some observations on the military administration of the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* **VIII** (1985), 21–3.

³ L. C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. C. T. Clay & D. C. Douglas. Harleian Society **CIII** (Leeds, 1951), 37.

⁴ William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi ducis*, trans. R. A. Brown, in *The Norman Conquest of England: Sources and Documents* (Woodbridge, 1984), 40.

⁵ J. F. A. Mason, 'The rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', SAC **102** (1964), 68–93.

⁶ DB, i, 26. I am indebted to Pamela Combes for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁷ For Robert's contribution, C. W. Hollister, 'The great Domesday tenants-in-chief', in J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), 221–6; E. van Houts, 'The ship list of William the Conqueror', *Anglo-Norman Studies* **X** (1987), 159–83.

⁸ I. Stewart, 'The Sussex mints and their moneyers', in P. Brandon (ed.), *The South Saxons* (London, 1978), 89–137.

⁹ B. Golding, 'Robert of Mortain', *Anglo-Norman Studies* **XIII** (1990), 130–31. He gave the manor of Wilmington, for example, to the Benedictine abbey of Grestain, which had been founded by his father, Herluin of Conteville and the priory which was founded at Wilmington was to hold

property at Beddingham and Frog Firl. The priory of Mortain at the centre of Robert's Norman lands also received property in the rape, DB, i, 20b.

¹⁰ On Robert's tenants, I. N. Soulsby, *The Fiefs in England of the Counts of Mortain, 1066–1106*, unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Wales (University College Cardiff), 1974, 113–82; L. F. Salzman, 'Sussex Domesday tenants, iii: William de Cahagnes and the family of Keynes', SAC **63** (1922), 180–207.

¹¹ J. H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (hereafter CDF) (London, 1899), no. 1205.

¹² For Boscelin, D. C. Douglas (ed.), *Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury* (London, 1944), 37–8 and DB, i, 20b; for Robert de la Haye, CDF, no. 921; for Walter, Loyd, *Origins of Anglo-Norman Families*, 41–2, CDF, no. 1205.

¹³ The question of Robert's allocation of knight-service and the so-called 'small fees of Mortain' is beyond the scope of this paper. It rests on the highly technical analysis of the tax assessments of Mortain lands in the 12th century, Soulsby, *Mortain*, 75–6. It has been suggested that the fees represent an assessment appropriate to the Domesday period which was never updated to 12th-century norms, S. Harvey, 'The knight and the knight's fee in England', *Past & Present* **49** (1970), 36. It seems unlikely, however, that no subsequent holder of Mortain property should have updated the assessments, if such updates had taken place everywhere else in the kingdom. The association of the small fees with the Mortain name and their presence throughout the Mortain lands in England implies that they date from the period of the Mortain tenure and possibly indicate the parsimonious nature of the original allocation.

¹⁴ For the castle guard, DB i, 20b, 21; W. Budgen, 'Pevensey castle guard and Endlewick rents', SAC **76** (1935), 118–23. M. Gardiner & C. Whittick, 'Some evidence for an

- intended collegiate church at Pevensey', *SAC* **128** (1990), 261–2.
- ¹⁵ For Duke Robert's attempts to secure sea power, F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 74–5, 80.
- ¹⁶ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G. N. Garmonsway (London, 1953), 224. *OV*, **5**, 208. For the death of William of Warenne, E. Edwards (ed.), *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (RS, **45**, London, 1866), 299.
- ¹⁷ For a consideration of William's fall, C. W. Hollister, 'Henry I and Robert Malet', *Viator*, **viii** (1977), repr. in *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986), 134–5.
- ¹⁸ *OV*, **6**, 250; *DB*, i, 36, 263; *Curia Regis Rolls* (London 1923), **14**, no. 1450.
- ¹⁹ K. Thompson, 'The lords of Laigle', *Anglo-Norman Studies XVIII* (1995), 176–99.
- ²⁰ *DB*, i, 36, 263.
- ²¹ K. Thompson, 'Dowry and inheritance patterns: some examples from the descendants of King Henry I of England', *Medieval Prosopography XVII* (2) (1996), 45–61. For Savaric fitz Cana, *OV*, **6**, 32. *CDF*, no. 669; *Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*, ii (Sussex Record Society **38**, 1934) (hereafter *Lewes*), 79.
- ²² *Lewes*, i, 159–60. Richer also confirmed property to the Mortain foundation at Wilmington, *Monasticon*, vi, 1091.
- ²³ For the king's tenure of Eastbourne, *Pipe Roll 11 Henry II 1164/5*, 93. On the tangled history of this manor, W. Hudson, 'The manor of Eastbourne, its early history with some notes about the honours of Mortain and Aquila', *SAC* **43** (1900), 166–200; J. H. Round, 'Descent of the manor of Eastbourne', *SAC* **55** (1912), 307–10. *Lewes*, i, 138, 158 for Robert, Earl of Leicester. I am grateful to Richard Dace for discussing with me his as yet unpublished work on the Cahaigues.
- ²⁴ J. Johnson & H. A. Cronne (eds), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* (hereafter *RRAN*) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), **2**, no. 1404 (1119–23).
- ²⁵ J. Hunter (ed.), *Pipe Roll 31 Henry I* (London, 1833), 142.
- ²⁶ *OV*, **6**, 250.
- ²⁷ *Lewes*, i, 159–60. PRO E40/15499.
- ²⁸ *Lewes*, i, 140.
- ²⁹ Archives Départementales Loir-et-Cher 11 H27/1, AD Eure Dom Lenoir transcripts, vol. 23, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Lire, p. 475, *Lewes*, i, 108.
- ³⁰ For the context of Richer's apparent change of sides, Thompson, 'Laigle', 190.
- ³¹ *Lewes*, i, 130–31.
- ³² K. Potter & R. H. C. Davis (eds), *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1976), 202–4.
- ³³ *Lewes*, i, 117.
- ³⁴ *Lewes*, i, 176–7 for Roger the constable. M. A. Lower, 'The hospital of lepers at Seaford', *SAC* **12** (1858), 112–16, and W. Budgen (ed.), *Abstracts of Sussex Deeds* (Sussex Record Society **29**, 1924), no. 331 for Roger's Seaford interests. For Eustace's grant, *Lewes*, i, 109.
- ³⁵ H. A. Cronne & R. H. C. Davis (eds), *RRAN*, **3**, no. 272. J. H. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (London, 1907), 147–80.
- ³⁶ Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ed. L. Delisle (Rouen, 1872–3), **1**, 304–6.
- ³⁷ *PR 2-3-4 Henry II 1156–8*, 163.
- ³⁸ Torigni, i, 315.
- ³⁹ W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), 91.
- ⁴⁰ *PR 11 Henry II 1164/5*, 93. Henry was later to grant Eastbourne to Maurice of Craon, *PR 14 John 1212*, 84; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, **1** (London, 1916), no. 188. Bourne disappears from the pipe rolls after *PR 20 Henry II 1173/4*, so Maurice must have received it around that time. For the Earl of Leicester's interests in Sussex, *PR 2-3-4 Henry II*, 61. At a Danegeld rate of 2s. per hide, Robert's exemption of £8 7s. indicates a holding of 83½ hides.
- ⁴¹ *PR 7 Henry II 1160/1*, 14; *PR 13 Henry II 1166/7*, 14; *PR 24 Henry II 1177/8*, 89; *PR 34 Henry II 1187/8*, 148.
- ⁴² 1161, £26 13s. 4d. from the farm together with small sums, *PR 7 Henry II 1160/1*, 13–14; 1162 £97 8s., *PR 8 Henry II 1161/2*, 30, 35, 45. I am indebted to Prof. Tom Keefe for discussing the implications of the Sussex pipe roll entries with me.
- ⁴³ *PR 25 Henry II 1178/9*, 35.
- ⁴⁴ *Lewes*, i, 159–60; H. Hall (ed.), *Red Book of the Exchequer* (RS **99**, London, 1897), i, 203–4.
- ⁴⁵ *PR 19 Henry II 1172/3*, 28; Thompson, 'Laigle', 191–2.
- ⁴⁶ Thompson, 'Laigle', 192.
- ⁴⁷ *PR 33 Henry II 1186/7*, 111; *PR 34 Henry II 1187/8*, 3; *PR 6 Richard I 1194*, 230; *PR 8 Richard I 1196*, 86. *Curia Regis Rolls*, **1**, 455–6, 460, **3**, 22.
- ⁴⁸ For Gilbert's departure, *Book of Fees* (London, 1921–31), 65: *abiit in Normanniam contra voluntatem domini regis ut dicitur*; T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausurarum in turri Londinensi asservati* (London, 1833–44), **1**, 9; S. Ayscough & J. Caley (eds), *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium* (London, 1803), 8b, 9b, 10, 11b for seizure of his estates.
- ⁴⁹ T. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in turri Londinensi asservati*, 1201–1205 (London, 1835), 401.
- ⁵⁰ W. Stubbs (ed.), *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria* (RS **58**, London, 1872–3), ii, 222; T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* (London, 1835), 152, 153.
- ⁵¹ After King John's coronation Gilbert had been pardoned the first scutage, *PR 1 John 1199*, 128 and two successive tallages, *PR 1 John 1199*, 240, *PR 2 John 1200*, 219. The king gave him the proceeds of an aid from his lands in the district of Caen and Bayeux, T. D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Normanniae* (London, 1835), 90. He was with the king at Le Mans in 1199, E. Mason (ed.), *Beauchamp cartulary charters 1100–1268* (PRS NS **43**, London, 1980), no. 360.
- ⁵² Walter of Hartfield and William fitz Richard of Cahaigues, both landholders in the Rape of Pevensey, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, 268, 317. The Count of Eu also received lands of the king's enemies in Sussex, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, **1**, 241.
- ⁵³ *Abstracts of Sussex Deeds*, nos 343, 345; BL Add. Ms. 6344, f. 48; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 198b. For the eventual release in November 1218 of William's daughter Matilda, who was hostage for the payment of William's ransom, *Patent Rolls 1216–25* (London, 1901), 158.
- ⁵⁴ For what follows, F. A. Cazel, 'Intertwined careers: Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches', *Haskins Society Journal* **1** (1989), 173–4; M. Weiss, 'The castellan: the early career of Hubert de Burgh', *Viator* **V** (1974), 235.
- ⁵⁵ C. T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra series **VI**, Leeds, 1949), viii, 26–7.
- ⁵⁶ For Gilbert's gift, BL Add. Charter 47388.
- ⁵⁷ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 196.
- ⁵⁸ *Patent Rolls 1216–25*, 17.

- ⁵⁹ For John's letters, *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 196. John's itinerary is printed in unpaginated sections of T. D. Hardy, *Description of the Patent Rolls* (London, 1835). For the slighting of Pevensey, H. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (RS 36, London, 1864-9), iii, 46. For resistance among the natives of the area, G. R. Stephens, 'A note on William of Cassingham', *Speculum* XVI (1941), 216-23.
- ⁶⁰ PR 3 Richard I 1191, 58. For Joscelin fitz Reinfrid the constable, *Lewes*, i, 158.
- ⁶¹ PR 2 Richard I 1190, 127; PR 3 Richard I 1191, 58; PR 4 Richard I 1192, 204; PR 5 Richard I 1193, 149, 150, 153; 6 Richard I 1194, 229; 7 Richard I 1195, 240.
- ⁶² D. F. Renn, 'The turris de Penuesel: a reappraisal and a theory', *SAC* 109 (1971), 55-64.
- ⁶³ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, 217.
- ⁶⁴ Letters to the constable in 1215, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, 236, 239, 241b, 244, but when dealing with property in Pevensey in May 1216 John communicated with Fulk of Cantilupe, presumably because the constable and garrison had been withdrawn, *Close Roll 17 John 6-18 May 1216*, printed with PR 10 John 1208, 142. In 1221 Ralph Tirel is named as constable of Pevensey and in 1224 and 1226 William of Monceaux, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, 451, 631b, 2, 132b.
- ⁶⁵ *Patent Rolls 1216-25*, 70; PR 3 Henry III 1219, 136; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, 369b.
- ⁶⁶ For English lands: *CRR*, 8, 221, 312, 9, 36, 53-4, 124-5; for French lands: AD Eure H319, fo. 65v; Le Prevost, *Mémoires et notes . . . pour servir à l'histoire du département de l'Eure*, eds L. Delisle & L. Passay (Evreux, 1862), 363; AD Loiret D668 Cartulaire de Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle, fo. 3v.
- ⁶⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, 518 (1222), *Patent Rolls 1225-1232* (London, 1903), 8 (1225), 26 (1226); *Patent Rolls 1216-25*, 498 for licence to W. of Laigle, nephew of Earl Warenne, Gilbert's son. For closures of the port, *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 1, 451, 570.
- ⁶⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 2, 36; C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1187-1226)* (Paris, 1894), 294-5.
- ⁶⁹ C. Roberts (ed.), *Excerpta e rotulis finium in Turri Londinensi asservatis, Henry III, 1216-1272* (London, 1835-6), 1, 147. F. M. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), 178-9.
- ⁷⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, 2, 160b; *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 95.
- ⁷¹ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 60; S. H. F. Johnstone, 'The lands of Hubert de Burgh', *EHR* 50 (1935), 426.
- ⁷² *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 361; *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry III* (London, 1902-75), 1, 544.
- ⁷³ *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 248-9; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 145.
- ⁷⁴ Gilbert's prosperity is indicated by a number of religious benefactions in the late 1220s: AD Loiret D668, Cartulaire de Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle, fos. 3v., 9v., 4v.; AD Eure H1438, p. 9; G. Fleury (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Cistercienne de Perseigne* (Mamers, 1880), no. CCCLXVIII. He seems to have had mercantile interests, for he and a consortium of London citizens sued men of Dunwich for payment of a bad debt, *CRR*, 9, 124, xiii, 1985.
- ⁷⁵ *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 248.
- ⁷⁶ There is no evidence that Gilbert was deprived of his Norman property because of his service to the English king and his nephew, Henry of Avaugor, inherited without challenge, M. Bouquet (ed.), 'Querimonia Henrici de Avaugor anno 1247', *Recueil des Historiens de Gaule et de France* (Paris, 1869-1904), 24, 729.
- ⁷⁷ *Excerpta e rotulis finium*, 1, 219.
- ⁷⁸ *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 458.
- ⁷⁹ For Gilbert's lands in the king's hand, *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 470, *Close Rolls 1231-4*, 59. D. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', *Journal of British Studies* XIX (2) (1980), 1-17.
- ⁸⁰ Initially Peter's tenure seems to have been that of a royal agent, for the king wrote to John of Gatesden, telling him to surrender the castles of Hastings and Pevensey to Peter and to hand over the lands of Gilbert of Laigle, *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, 486. A year later the outright gift of the castle of Pevensey is recorded in a charter to Peter of Rivallis who had to render a sparrowhawk at Michaelmas, *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 175.
- ⁸¹ *Close Rolls 1231-4*, 462.
- ⁸² D. B. Crouch, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147-1219* (London, 1990), 62-4. D. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), 92. The Marshals, like the Laigles, were one of a few families which had managed to retain their holdings in France when Normandy had been recovered by the French king in 1204. These arrangements had lapsed in 1231 on the death of Gilbert Marshal's eldest brother and the Rape of Pevensey was intended to compensate, *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 191.
- ⁸³ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 252.
- ⁸⁴ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 296. Peter received the honour with the exception of certain alienations, made by Gilbert Marshal as family marriage portions.
- ⁸⁵ That grant was further enhanced in 1252 when Peter received rights of warren in the Rape of Pevensey and he also held the manor of Eastbourne, which had formerly been in the possession of the Craon family, *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 410, 411.
- ⁸⁶ *Close Rolls 1247-51*, 291, *Close Rolls 1252-3*, 27. Margaret of Etchingham was one of the co-heiresses of the family founded by Robert of Mortain's butler, Alvred, L. F. Salzman, 'Some Domesday tenants; Alvred Pincerna and his descendants', *SAC* 57 (1915), 162-79.
- ⁸⁷ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1, 436. On the obligation to maintain the palisade, Salzman, 'Documents', 3-4.
- ⁸⁸ J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994), 282.
- ⁸⁹ The constable and his associates were summoned to London under the safe conduct of the Sussex landowner, William Malfed, and generous terms were offered for their surrender, *Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry III, 1258-66* (London, 1910), 333, 363.
- ⁹⁰ *Close Rolls 1264-8*, 80, *Liberate Rolls*, 2, 145, 164; *CPR 1258-66*, 386.
- ⁹¹ *Liberate Rolls*, 2, 152.
- ⁹² *CPR 1258-66*, 393.
- ⁹³ *CPR 1258-66*, 452.
- ⁹⁴ L. Wurstemberger, *Peter de Zweite, Graf von Savoyen, Markgraf in Italien: sein Haus und seine Lande* (Berne, 1856-8), 4, no. 751: *Rogamus autem regem et reginam Anglie et dominos . . . filios regis ut . . . dictos nepotes nostros benigne recipiant ad predicta et seisia eorum eis tradi faciant. An abstract of feet of fines relating to the county of Sussex from 34 Henry III to 35 Edward I*, ed. L. F. Salzman (Sussex Record Society 7, 1907), no. 637 for the 1259 agreement and no. 743 for Eleanor's choice of heir. I am indebted to Christopher Whittick for drawing my attention to these

references.

⁹⁵ W. Illingworth & J. Caley (eds), *Rotuli Hundredorum* (London, 1812–18), **2**, 204–5.

⁹⁶ For Eleanor in control of Pevensey, PRO, SC6/1089/21. There was considerable precedent for the Queens of England's interests in Sussex. Queen Adeliza had held Arundel as her dower and had passed it on to her descendants. King Stephen had granted the chapel of Pevensey castle to the Bishop of Chichester on the understanding that the bishop and his successors would be chaplains to the Queen, and Henry II had confirmed the arrangement. Torigni, *Chronique*, **1**, 215; *RRAN*, **3**,

184; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, **1**, 31.

⁹⁷ Some indication of relative prosperity among the ports of Sussex may be derived from the amounts rendered in 1204, when merchants were taxed at a fifteenth. Pevensey paid 21s. 11¹/₂d., while nearby Seaford rendered £12 12s. 2d., Rye £10 13s. 5¹/₂d., Chichester £23 6s. 7d. and Winchelsea £62 2s. 4d. Economic stagnation may also be suggested by Pevensey's attempt to found a settlement on the shingle, *Cal. Charter Rolls*, **3**, 220–21; *PR 9 John 1207*, 41. For a consideration of Pevensey's topography, A. J. F. Dulley, 'The level and port of Pevensey in the middle ages', *SAC* **104** (1966), 26–45 and references given there.

The Sussex gentry and the oath to uphold the acts of the Merciless Parliament

by Nigel Saul

In June 1388 the Appellants, the coalition of magnates who had taken over Richard II's government, ordered the county sheriffs to make the gentry and greater townsmen of their bailiwicks swear on oath to uphold the legislative enactments of the Merciless Parliament, which had just ended. The sheriffs were ordered to return lists of the oath-takers to the council by the following month. Two of these lists survive, one for Lincolnshire, and the other for Sussex. The Sussex list is published here for the first time. The document is important because it provides a snapshot of contemporary local political society. Heading the list are the leaders of county life — the heads of monastic houses and the richer knights. However, a notable feature of the list is the presence of a large number of lesser esquires. The backgrounds and landholdings of these lesser figures are examined in the context of the debate over the extent of participation in late medieval local political life. Suggestions are also made as to how the process of oath-taking might have been organized. The internal arrangement of the return suggests that an oath-taking session was held in each of the rape courts, with the possible exception of Lewes. A high proportion of the deponents came from the western rapes of the county, and in particular from near Arundel. This points to the role of the Earl of Arundel, one of the leading Appellants, in bringing his powerful lordship to bear on the oath-taking process.

The extent of popular participation in local politics in late medieval England has become an issue of lively debate. One view is that, on the whole, such participation was limited. Local government, it is argued, was essentially oligarchical. Dominance was exercised by gentry elites who carved up the main offices and commissions between them. After the Black Death the involvement of those outside the elites was progressively reduced: a £20 income qualification was introduced for the sheriff and escheator in the 1370s and a 40-shilling qualification for the parliamentary electorate in 1429.¹ Thus government became the preserve of the few.² A contrary view is expressed by W. M. Ormrod. According to Ormrod, the lesser gentry — the freeholders or yeomanry — were regularly drawn into the processes of government as jurors and chief pledges; they were active at county level as suitors to the county court, and their political aspirations were expressed in the increasing number of petitions submitted to the crown from Edward I's reign onwards.

In Ormrod's opinion, the late Middle Ages, so far from seeing a shrinkage of the political community, witnessed its expansion and diversification.³

These contrasting arguments are in large measure rooted in the ambiguities and contradictions of the evidence. Different categories of source material point in different directions. On the one hand, the biographical profiles of the local office-holders suggest growing elitism; on the other, the evidence of attendance at sessions of the shire court hints at the possibility of relative openness. No overall picture emerges. Clearly, to attempt a general synthesis of the evidence at this stage would be premature; a good deal more work needs to be done in the field. Significant insights, however, can be gained from looking at some hitherto largely overlooked sources. One such is the list compiled by the sheriff of Sussex of those in the county who took the oath to uphold the acts of the Merciless Parliament. The document is printed here for the first time.⁴

The background to the document is to be found in the political crises of Richard II's middle years.⁵ By the summer of 1386 dissatisfaction with Richard's governance was moving rapidly to a climax. There was widespread alarm at the revival of French military power, while the prominence at court of such favourites as Simon Burley and Robert de Vere was producing dissension among the nobility. In October 1386 popular unease boiled over in the so-called Wonderful Parliament. The chancellor, Michael de la Pole, was dismissed from office and impeached, and a 'continual council' with comprehensive powers over matters of state and the king's household was appointed to hold office for 12 months. Richard responded to these events by withdrawing from London and consolidating his power-base in the north-west. In July and August he obtained a clarification of his powers from the judges. At two formal sessions, held at Shrewsbury and Nottingham, the judges declared that the 'continual council' had infringed his regality and that those who had proposed it ought to be punished 'as traitors'. When news of the judicial opinions leaked out, the king's opponents immediately realized the need to take swift defensive action. The three most senior of them — the king's uncle, the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick — mobilized their retinues and on 13 November formally 'appealed' (i.e. prosecuted) the king's favourites of treason — hence their title the 'Appellants'. On Richard's initiative, Robert de Vere raised a force in Cheshire to disperse them. In December de Vere marched southwards to London, but at Radcot Bridge, on the Thames, he was defeated by Henry, Earl of Derby, Gaunt's son, a new recruit to the Appellant cause. Richard's position was now untenable. At a tearful meeting with the lords he agreed to convene a session of parliament at which the appeal would be heard. The parliamentary session opened on 3 February with most of the appellees absent: Alexander Neville, de Vere and de la Pole had all fled, and Tresilian, the chief justice, was in hiding. When procedural difficulties were overcome, Nicholas Brembre, a former mayor of London, was put on trial and after lengthy hearings a jury from the city said that he was 'more likely to be guilty than not'; and on that flimsy basis he was convicted and executed. Tresilian, by this time, had been dragged out of hiding, and he too was tried and despatched. Next, on 6 March the seven judges who had given their

answers to Richard at Nottingham were condemned and sentenced to banishment in Ireland. Six days later, the final trials took place — those of four of the king's chamber knights, Simon Burley, John Beauchamp, James Berners and John Salisbury. All four were impeached on similar counts to those in the appeal, found guilty and executed. Once the trials were out of the way, the Appellants moved onto the second stage of their programme: the reform of royal government. As a result of the courtiers' conviction, a large amount of land was seized into the king's hands. A statute was passed at the end of the session laying down that this property was either to remain in the king's hands or to be sold off, and in either case the revenues were to be used to pay the king's debts. Members of the royal household and other persons about the king were prohibited from accepting any of the forfeitures as gifts. In the summer and autumn a grand auction was held, and over £10,000 was raised. Some of this sum was used to foot the Appellants' expenses, which had been assessed at £20,000.

In the four months of the Merciless Parliament the Appellants had achieved most of their principal objectives. The king's household had been purged, and the foundations laid for a new order in government. But the Appellants' ascendancy was insecure. Criticism had been voiced of the five peers by some of the nobility during the session, and Richard himself was a reluctant ally. By March the three senior Appellants felt the need to strengthen their position. On 20 March, at the end of the first session, they arranged for oaths of loyalty to be exacted. The members of the two houses were called to affirm their backing for the Appellants, and simultaneously letters were sent to the sheriffs ordering them to exact the same oath from the leading gentry and townsmen of their bailiwicks.⁶ A month-and-a-half later, at the very end of the session, the Appellants took similar measures to entrench their legislative enactments. On 3 June, probably in Westminster Abbey, the lords and commons again took an oath. They swore to uphold the acts and judgements of the parliament, and simultaneously writs were sent to the sheriffs requiring them to exact the same oath in their bailiwicks: on this occasion the clergy were included as well as the laity.⁷ In both March and June the sheriffs were ordered to make a return to the Government, listing those who had taken the oath and those who had refused. Only one return survives

to the March oath, that for Lincolnshire.⁸ The Sussex return is the sole survivor from three months later. It seems likely that the high rate of loss is to be accounted for by the passage of time. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out of deliberate destruction by the king. In the late 1390s, after his reassertion of power, Richard took every step to expunge the memory of his former humiliation.⁹ The returns sent in by the sheriffs could have been among the victims of his obsession.

The task of exacting the oaths was entrusted by the Lords Appellant to a couple of the leading gentry in each shire — one naturally enough the sheriff and the other a knight or esquire who was to assist him. The sheriffs were generally men sympathetic to the Appellants. Most of the sheriffs associated with the court had been dismissed when the continual council took over in November 1386 and those who had survived had been dismissed a year later. In Surrey and Sussex the sheriff since 1386 had been Thomas Jarydn of South Mundham, who was very likely, though not certainly, a dependant of the Earl of Arundel.¹⁰ Most of the knights associated with the sheriffs were also Appellant retainers or supporters; a few, indeed, were knights sitting in the current parliament. In the case of Sussex the knight appointed to help in March was Sir Edward Dallingridge, a close ally of Arundel's who was sitting for the tenth time, while three months later the man involved was his colleague Sir William Waleys, another Arundel dependant.¹¹ It would be wrong to suggest that in every county the role of the Appellants' retainers was as prominent as it was in Sussex. The Earl of Arundel's territorial dominance in the county meant that his supporters were bound to enjoy a high profile. But generally the Appellants appear to have taken few risks. A task which they considered so vital to their enterprise was given to men who fully commanded their trust.

If the returns for Sussex and Lincolnshire are typical, the Appellants had every reason to be pleased with the result. The sheriff of Lincolnshire sent in a list of nearly 400 names — 330 of them country dwellers, and another 66 townsmen. For Sussex, a smaller county, Jarydn and Waleys returned a list of 170 names. The Sussex list, like that for Lincolnshire, is divided into country dwellers and townsmen, but in accordance with the king's writ it is prefaced by a list of clergy. These clergymen number 35 in all. They comprise the heads of the monastic houses, three canons of Chichester, and a

group of country parsons. Unfortunately, since 'surnames' are not given, identification of the parsons is difficult.¹² The laymen are divided into three groups — the knights, the esquires or rural freeholders, and the burgesses. The knights are a small group — just seven men, but all of them substantial figures. The esquires or freeholders are much the largest group in the list, numbering nearly 90; no rank is given after names, nor any place of residence. At the end come the burgesses. The names are given of oath-takers for eight parliamentary boroughs: ten for Chichester, the largest urban centre in the county, six each for Lewes and Horsham, and fewer for the other places.

The sheriff noted on his return that no one had refused to take the oath, and in view of the length of the document it is tempting to take him at his word. However, closer inspection reveals some striking omissions. In the first place, while virtually all the heads of religious houses are represented, only a small proportion of the parochial clergy are. There are a dozen or so parsons from the west of the county, one or two from the middle, and few from the east. How Jarydn and Waleys decided which clergy to call on is unclear. There are signs that they identified those most likely to be sympathetic to the Appellants: this appears to be implied by the preponderance of clergy from the west of Sussex, where the Earl of Arundel was strong;¹³ it is possible that the more non-political clergy were left alone. A second group underrepresented in the return are the local lawyers. The poll tax returns of 1379 and other sources reveal a number of men of law resident in the county. One was John Brook of Rodmell, near Lewes, who was assessed at 6s. 8d. in 1379. Another was Thomas Blast, assessed at the same amount at Crawley, and a third William Holmestede of Cuckfield.¹⁴ Not one of these men makes an appearance in the return. The most likely reason for this is that they were overlooked when the process of oath-taking was organized. The Appellant council allowed the county officials remarkably little time to accomplish their task. The writs were sent out on 4 June and returns were expected by 26 July. The sheriffs had only 4–5 weeks to assemble all the local worthies and administer the oaths to them. The signs are that the oaths were sworn in the local (that is, in Sussex the rape) courts.¹⁵ Interestingly, all three of the lawyers resided in the Rape of Lewes. It is a reasonable surmise that no meetings of Lewes rape court were held in the brief time allowed.

There are half a dozen other obvious names missing from the list of laymen: those of John Salerne, a leading figure in Winchelsea, Sir John de Braose, lord of Wiston, Sir Roger Ashburnham, the builder of Scotney castle, and his brother John, the lord of Ashburnham; Sir Philip Mested and Sir Philip St Clere, two prominent landowners in the east of the county; Thomas Pelham, the coroner, and his son Sir John. It is tempting to speculate on the reasons for these men's omission. John Pelham, a retainer of the Appellant Earl of Derby, may have been in Cambridgeshire consolidating the territorial interests which he had recently acquired by marriage; and his father, by then an old man, may have been inactive.¹⁶ John de Braose, Philip Mested and Philip St Clere were all involved in the Earl of Arundel's expedition against the French at sea, which set sail on 10 June and did not return until 2 September.¹⁷ One or two of the others may have deliberately laid low. John Salerne of Winchelsea, for example, was later to reveal himself a keen supporter of the king: in November 1397, during the 'tyranny', he was Richard's choice to be sheriff of Sussex.¹⁸ Possibly he avoided taking the oath because he disagreed with it. Whether there were others in his position it is impossible to say. Jardyn and Waleys maintained that none in their bailiwick refused the oath. But very likely there were some who made sure never to be asked in the first place.

The chief interest of the list is to be found in what it reveals of the range and composition of Sussex political society. Generally, the historian has to construct a picture of local societies indirectly, by drawing on such material as lists of office-holders, knights of the shire, justices of the peace, and so on: at best a partial and inadequate way of accomplishing the task. What the present list provides is something altogether better: a contemporary's view of his world. Here are recorded the names of the 150-and-more men in the county whom the sheriff — a key figure in the administrative hierarchy — considered significant. Who were these men? And what can be said about them?

All the obvious people are here, of course: the knights, the richer esquires, the heads of religious houses, the leading burgesses. These were the men who were most active in the political life of the shire and who filled the majority of the local offices. But beneath them there are dozens of others who do not normally figure in definitions of the elite. These are the so-called parish gentry, the lesser lords and

gentry of minor significance. Relatively little is known about these people. Few of their archives have survived, and they rarely figure in feudal surveys. Yet an idea, however rough, of their standing needs to be formed if the extent of local political participation is to be assessed. Much useful information about them is to be found in the standard sources for gentry society — the feet of fines, inquisitions *post mortem*, poll tax returns and, among the secondary literature, the *Victoria County History*. For Sussex there is also material of value in the Fitzalan surveys and extensive deed collections. Between them, these sources help to illuminate the fortunes and standing of an often obscure rank of society.

The general impression given by the sources is that most of these men were lesser manorial lords. In economic terms, they ranked above the greater freeholders but below the knights and well-to-do esquires. A few of them held manors (usually single manors) that were coincident with villis — albeit small villis. John Dautre, for example, held the manor of Up Waltham, Henry Whussh that of Keynor, and John Ernle that of Earnley, all in the west of the county.¹⁹ But a far higher proportion held manors that corresponded to only parts of villis. John Lunsford and John Belhurst, for example, held manors in the large parish of Etchingham, John Elkham held a moiety of Chithurst and Henry Gotele a moiety of Goatley near Northiam.²⁰ These small manors or sub-manors had a variety of origins. Some of them were the product of the workings of the land market. The Gotele estate, for example, which had once been coincident with the vill, was reduced before 1360 when Henry's father had disposed of a moiety, presumably by sale, to the Winchelsea burgess Henry Alard.²¹ Other small manors had their origins in divisions between coheireses or sub-tenants. William Merlot's manor of Annington in Botolphs appears to have come into existence by this route. According to Domesday Book, in 1086, there was a single manor in Annington, but in or before 1214 this was divided, and a moiety passed through the Mauleverer family to the Merlots.²² Similarly, the small Mavesyn estate at Catsfield had its origins in a division of the manor among five daughters and coheireses around 1289.²³ Other manors again had their origins as members or outliers of larger manors. John Michelgrove's manor in Clapham can stand as an example. Michelgrove, as it was known, was an outlier of the manor of

Clapham, a few miles to the south, nearer the coast. The name suggests that it began as a clearing in the woods. By the 13th century it had acquired an identity of its own, and in the 14th the family which held it adopted the name as their own.²⁴

The natural assumption is that these lesser gentry — tenants of sub-manors or moieties of manors — were men of fairly humble standing. It is certainly unlikely they could have supported knighthood. In the late Middle Ages distraint for knighthood was fixed at an annual income of £40; the men under review here probably had incomes in the region of £10–£30. Because they could not support knighthood, or even pass as richer esquires, however, they should not be dismissed as of little consequence. Social standing is as much a relative as an absolute concept. If these lesser proprietors appeared humble in relation to the knights — the greater gentry — in relation to the tenantry, their neighbours, they must have appeared altogether grand. In the majority of Sussex villages, as elsewhere in England, there was no resident knight or esquire: only seven knights of the county could be found to take the oath in 1388. The ‘parish gentry’ were thus in a sense vicarious gentry; they took the place of the greater folk. There are indications that, like Chaucer’s Franklin, they took to their role and aped the lifestyle of their superiors.²⁵ Their houses, for example, were often smaller versions of those of the knights. The remains of John Clothale’s house, embedded in the fabric of present-day Clothalls Farm, near West Grinstead, indicate this.²⁶ The medieval dwelling was of a half-H plan, moated, and of timber-frame construction. Inside, as in the houses of the well-to-do, there was a screens passage with a hall on one side and service rooms on the other. The remains of the house of another 1388 oath-taker, James Byne, are also incorporated in a later farm at West Grinstead. Here, at present-day Bines Farm, nothing of pre-15th-century date is visible, but the house appears to have been of similar construction.²⁷ These were substantial properties. They invite comparison with, if they were smaller than, the Etchinghams’ Glottenham and Dixter.²⁸ Yet neither family came close to knightly rank. The Clothales were of obscure origin. Their name points to a possible Hertfordshire origin, but they are recorded in Sussex from 1308. A John de Clothale held a knight’s fee in the village in 1361, and John Clothale, the oath-taker, was probably his son.²⁹ The Bynes’ estate appears to have been smaller than the

Clothales’: in 1361 it was rated at only a quarter of a knight’s fee.³⁰ But the two families were of broadly comparable standing. They had more in common with each other than with the knights above or the rural tenantry below them.

This picture of a group of relatively minor but self-confident proprietors is reinforced by what can be learned of their dealings in the land market. It is fortunate that a small collection of charters survives for one of the families in the list, the Bradebrygs.³¹ The Bradebryg family took their name from present-day Broadbridge Heath, near Horsham. They appear to have been of well-to-do freeholder standing, with lands in the area of Slinfold, Warnham and Horsham. The charters, which begin in the 13th century and go through to the 16th, show them buying and selling parcels of land and arranging settlements within the family. In the middle of the 14th century Roger Bradebryg was particularly active. In 1352 and 1353 he acquired land in Slinfold, and in 1356 in Itchingfield.³² The impression is given by the charters that the Bradebrygs were a family on the make. Through sound management of resources they had money to spare, and like others in their position they invested it in land. By Henry VIII’s time members of the family had sufficiently consolidated their position to rank as ‘gentlemen’ and to seek commemoration in the local church.³³ Broadly the same story can be told of other families represented in the list, albeit more sketchily. A good example is afforded by the Abseles, who were based at present-day Apsley, in Thakeham. Stephen Absele, who took the oath, was a freeholder by background, but he acquired a moiety of Thakeham manor by marriage and was often appointed a tax collector. In the 15th century his descendants acquired lands in other manors, and Apsley itself was regarded as a manor.³⁴ The family were in the ascendant; within a century their menfolk would be dubbed knights.³⁵

The social and economic position of families like the Abseles, Clothales and Bradebrygs is thus fairly clear. But how did they stand in terms of rank? And how were their menfolk styled? This is an issue on which the poll tax returns shed a little light. In the returns to the second, the graduated, poll tax of 1379 the heads of these families were generally assessed at 6s. 8d. This was the rate set for esquires of lesser estate, sergeants and franklins and farmers of manors.³⁶ Unfortunately, the Sussex assessors rarely noted rank against payers’ names; perhaps they

found the whole issue too baffling. But the nomenclature, when it is given, is interesting. John Dautre of Up Waltham, a manorial lord, was described as a 'franklin'. William Burle of Hangleton, probably the father of John Burle in the list, was described as a '*firmarius*', because he farmed the manorial demesne.³⁷ Others probably came into the same or a similar category. These were men of much the same standing as those who a couple of generations later would be styled 'gentlemen'. However, a sizeable minority of the oath-takers were probably of much humbler station. Simon Horham, for example, was a substantial freeholder and no more in Herstmonceux.³⁸ Several others — notably John Orry, Richard Herewerd, Stephen Botesham, Valentine Bromdene — have left virtually no mark in the documentary record. It is likely that these were people who came well down the ladder of freeholding society. Possibly some of them were magnate hangers-on; possibly, too, a few held lands which were burdened with suit to the county court. At any rate, they took the oath. Whatever their means, or lack of them, Jaryn and Waleys considered them members of the group styled in the writ '*generosi et validi homines*'.

The task of administering the oath to nearly 200 widely scattered people could hardly have been easy. But the mechanics of how it was done are hidden. The sheriff's endorsement to the king's writ is disappointingly uninformative; it simply says that no one refused the oath. A certain amount, however, can be learned from the internal evidence of the return. Within the broadly hierarchical ordering of names are embedded the outlines of an earlier arrangement — suggesting that the return was compiled from drafts. The point can be illustrated by reference to the opening group, the heads of monastic houses. The first four heads — the priors of Lewes and Michelham, and the abbots of Bayham and Robertsbridge — all come from the east of the county; the next three — the priors of Sele and Hardham and the bailiff of Worminghurst — come from the middle; and the last six from the west. In other words, the arrangement, apparently random, is geographically ordered. The point is reinforced by an examination of the largest group, the esquires and freeholders. There is a clear progression from east to west. The first 18 names, those from Batsford to Horham, are of men from the Rape of Hastings. The next seven, those from Musted to Delve, are of men from the Rape of Pevensey. Strangely there is

no group of oath-takers from the Rape of Lewes, perhaps because no oath-taking session was held there.³⁹ The next group, from Bradebryg to approximately Wolf, is of men from the Rape of Bramber. The final group, interestingly the largest at 35 names, is of men from the west of the county, from the rapes of Arundel and Chichester. What the arrangement suggests is that a number of oath-taking sessions were held: at least two in the east of the county, and two or perhaps three in the west. One possibility is that the oaths were sworn at the monthly meetings of the county court: the county court tended to move around between Chichester, Lewes and Horsham because of the awkward shape of Sussex.⁴⁰ However it seems more likely that they were taken at meetings of the rape courts.⁴¹ Indeed, there is a little evidence in the list that suggests this. One of the peculiarities of the list is the absence of any burgesses of towns east of Lewes: no oath-takers appear for Battle, Rye, Hastings or Winchelsea — or not, at least, under those headings; some were sworn in respect of lands held in neighbouring hundreds. This can only be explained in terms of the exemption of those towns from suit to the rape court. Battle was in the liberty of Battle, and the others were in the liberty of the Cinque Ports. The burgesses of those towns would not have been present when the oaths were taken, unless in respect of lands which they held outside the liberties.

The arrangement of the return also sheds light on another issue: namely, how so many people could have been successfully corralled into taking the oath. It is doubtful if the oath-takers were all regular attenders at the rape or county courts. It is not known how vigorous, or how regularly held, the rape courts were in the later 14th century;⁴² at the county court in this period, to judge by evidence from other counties, the normal attendance was a few dozen, although this could rise to over 200 in the event of a contested parliamentary election.⁴³ To produce the number of men who took the Sussex oaths, it would have been necessary to apply pressure. Under the circumstances, that pressure could only have come from the exercise of lordship. Significantly, the leading magnate in the county was one of the three senior Appellants, Richard, Earl of Arundel. Arundel was a powerful figure, active and highly committed to the Appellant cause. The bulk of his estates lay in Surrey, Sussex and the Welsh Marches. In Sussex his power was reinforced by his tenure of two of the county's six rapes, those of Arundel and Lewes. His

retinue and estate staff drew extensively on the county's gentry and sub-gentry. Among the knights, Edward Dallingridge, William Percy, Edward St John and Henry Hussee were his retainers.⁴⁴ Sir William Waleys, who assisted with the oath-taking, was very likely a retainer too, while the sheriff Thomas Jardyn was certainly of his circle.⁴⁵ Arundel's influence is particularly clear in the turn-out of freeholders from the west of the county. Richard Wiltshire was a retainer of his, while John Ernle, William Wyghtryng, Thomas Hunstan, John Gunter, Geoffrey atte Dene, William Inlonde, William Stedham and Richard Tille were all tenants in hundreds that he held.⁴⁶

Powerful backing for the Appellant cause also came from a second magnate with interests in the county, Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. Nottingham was a man of distinguished lineage and his wife was Arundel's daughter. He was a courtier by instinct, but he slowly lost Richard's favour and by December 1387 had joined the Appellants. His territorial interests were widely scattered across the midland and southern counties. He held estates in Bedfordshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. In Sussex his holdings were concentrated in the Rape of Bramber, of which he was lord.⁴⁷ It is surely the power of the Mowbray connection which accounts for the presence of so many oath-takers from the Horsham area. Horsham was a Mowbray demesne manor, and Walter Bradebryg, Stephen and William Absele, Henry Frenssh, Walter Randekyn and Robert atte Lee all came from the town or its vicinity; in addition there were the half-dozen burgesses of the town. One of the oath-takers from the town, John Wantele, was Mowbray's receiver in the rape. Wantele had aspirations to gentility and established himself, perhaps with his employer's assistance, as a landowner at Amberley.⁴⁸ Outside the Horsham area there were other Mowbray dependants. The most conspicuous was the ruffianly John Halsham, scion of a Yorkshire family. In the early 1380s Halsham had been prosecuted for the abduction of Sir Ralph Percy's wife, but with Mowbray's help he had secured a pardon and subsequently settled at West Grinstead.⁴⁹ In 1388 he seems to have been active in getting others to take the oath. John Clothale and James and Roger de Byne were also from the parish of West Grinstead. None of the three was a man of knightly or near-knightly standing, and Halsham probably drew them in on Mowbray's behalf.

With Mowbray and Arundel in the ascendant in

Sussex, it is hardly surprising that their retainees should have been mobilized to support the oath-taking. But there are signs that other lords in the county were active in mobilizing their tenantry too. The most prominent of these was the wealthy knight, Sir William Etchingham of Etchingham. Etchingham, the builder of Etchingham church, was the head of an ancient lineage whose members had once enjoyed individual summonses to parliament.⁵⁰ Although he was never politically active, he enjoyed many connections with the local gentry, and his influence is evident in the clustering of men from his neighbourhood in the list. He himself is grouped with three knightly neighbours, Sir Robert Passhele, Sir Thomas Sackville and Sir William Fiennes.⁵¹ A little lower in the freeholders' list come three of his closest associates — his younger brother Robert and two esquires, William Batsford and Robert Ore. Batsford was known to Etchingham through legal or local government connections, while Robert Ore's family had been connected with the Etchinghams for generations.⁵² After these come a small group of men who lived in the immediate vicinity of Etchingham. John Lunsford and John Belhurst were lords of sub-manors in Etchingham parish; Robert Bokesell senior and junior were members of a family with estates in the near neighbourhood; and four other oath-takers, Richard Hurst, Henry Mavesyn, Vincent Finch and Robert Oxenbridge all lived within a few miles of Etchingham, at Pebsham, Catsfield, Netherfield and Brede respectively.⁵³ A final oath-taker, John Londoneys, was witness in 1398 to a deed alongside Robert Etchingham and someone a little lower in the list, John Helde of Winchelsea.⁵⁴ The impression is given by this turn-out that the Etchinghams headed a fairly close-knit network of families. Doubtless the family's long residence in Sussex contributed to this: they had been seated at Etchingham since the 12th century. But to an extent they were also the beneficiaries of the relative weakness in eastern Sussex of magnate lordship. The Fitzalans were based at Arundel, far to the west, and the Mowbrays did not reside in the county at all. Thus local leadership fell by default to the gentry. A number of active knights in east Sussex established themselves as patronage brokers: Edward Dallingridge did so in the 1380s and John Pelham in the early 1400s. But Dallingridge and Pelham were self-made. William Etchingham was different; he was of good lineage. Local landowners deferred to him regardless of whether or not he

asserted himself. His political record suggests that his exercise of pre-eminence was sparing: and by the 1380s he was anyway elderly.⁵⁵ But it is clear that in the crisis of Richard's middle years his sympathies were with the Appellants. He took the oath himself, and he ensured that his friends and associates did the same.

The Sussex oath-takers list thus reveals a political society that was both broadly based and hierarchically organized. Roughly 170 men were convened to take the oath: some of them ecclesiastical, but most lay. The majority of the laymen were relatively minor figures, lords of single manors or fragments of manors, of squirearchical rank, and probably with incomes in the region of £30 per annum or less. For the most part, they came from below the main office-holding elite, although a number, like Apsele and Stedham, served in such minor capacities as

tax-collectors. Their speedy response to the Appellants' order owed a great deal to the exercise of lordship. Arundel and Nottingham, two of the five Appellants, were major proprietors in Sussex, and the sheriff and his partner were both members of their circle. There is no evidence that there was any open resistance to the oath. In June 1388 support for the Appellants was still running high. William de Etchingham gave his backing to the oath despite having little or no connection with the coalition. Lordship and free expression do not appear to have been in opposition here. The Appellants mobilized popular support because at this time at least they were in tune with popular opinion.

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APPENDIX
SUSSEX OATH-TAKERS TO UPHOLD
THE ACTS OF THE MERCILESS
PARLIAMENT, JULY 1388
(PRO C 49/Roll 24)

A ROYAL WRIT WITH A MEMBRANE AND A ROLL ATTACHED

1. Writ from the king to William Waleys and the sheriff of Sussex. (330 mm by 69 mm)

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie dilecto et fideli suo Willelmo Waleys ac vicecomiti Sussex salutem. Quia prelati et proceres ac magnates necnon milites comitatum cives civitatum et burgenses burgorum regni nostri Anglie in instanti parlamento nostro presentes quoddam sacramentum coram nobis in eodem parlamento corporaliter prestiterunt et volumus de avisamento consilii nostri in eodem parlamento quod ceteri generosi et validi homines dicti regni nostri tam ecclesiastici quam seculares necnon maiores ballivi et aldermanni civitatum burgorum et villarum dicti comitatus qui in eodem parlamento minime interfuerunt sacramentum consimile faciant indilate vobis mandamus firmiter iungentes quod statim visis presentibus et excusacione quacunque cessante omnique dilacione postposita sacramentum huiusmodi de generosioribus et validioribus

hominibus dicti comitatus tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus necnon maioribus ballivis et aldermannis civitatum burgorum et villarum eiusdem comitatus qui in eodem parlamento tempore presentacionis eiusdem sacramenti minime ut premittitur interfuerunt capiatis iuxta tenorem cedule presentibus intercluse eis que ac aliis ligeis et fidelibus nostris dicti comitatus ex parte nostra districtius inhibentes ne aliquibus locucionibus assercionibus dictis seu relacionibus per quoscumque in contrarium premissorum faciendis fidem seu credenciam aliquam adhibeant ullo modo. Nos et consilium nostrum de nominibus omnium et singulorum qui dictum sacramentum coram vobis sic fecerint et eciam illorum qui illud facere recusaverint vel recusaverit si qui fuerint vel fuerit sub sigillis vestris distincte et aperte in Crastino Sancti Jacobi Apostoli⁵⁶ proximo futuro [26 July] certificando. Et hoc sub incumbenti periculo nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium quarto die Junii anno regni nostri undecimo [4 June 1388].

Endorsement to writ:

Nomina generosorum et validiorum hominum tam ecclesiasticorum quam secularium nec non maiorum ballivorum et aldemannorum civitatum burgorum et villarum comitatus Sussex' qui suum sacramentum prout in cedula huic brevi interclusa patet prestiterunt patent in quadam cedula huic

brevi consuta nullos vero ad idem sacramentum faciendos minime recusantes.

Per Willelmum Waleys ac Thomam Jardyne vicecomitem

2. On another membrane are the terms of the oath.

(273 mm by 39 mm)⁵⁷

Vous jurez qe vous ne assenterez ne ne soeffrerez en quante qeu vous est qe ascun juggement <estatut>⁵⁸ ou ordenance fait ou renduz en cest present parlement soit ascunement adnullez reversez ou repellez en ascun temps avenir et enoutre qe vous sustendrez les bones leies et usages du roialme avant ces heures faitz et usez et fermement garderez et ferrez garder la bone paix quiete et tranquillitee en le roialme sanz les destourber en aucune manere a vostre poair si Dieux vous eide et ses seintz.

3. The list of oath-takers.

Nomina ecclesiasticorum hominum comitatus Sussex

Prior de Lewes⁵⁹
 Prior de Michelham⁶⁰
 Abbas de Roberdsbryg⁶¹
 Abbas de Bedehamme⁶²
 Prior de Sele⁶³
 Ballivus de Wormyngherst⁶⁴
 Prior de Heryngehamme⁶⁵
 Prior de Tortynton⁶⁶
 Prior de Calceto⁶⁷
 Ballivus de Atheryngton⁶⁸
 Abbas de Dureford⁶⁹
 Prior de Boxgrave⁷⁰
 Prior de Shulbred⁷¹
 Michael canonicus ecclesie cathedralis Cicestr⁷²
 Willelmus Petteworth canonicus ibidem⁷³
 Johannes Yernemouth canonicus ibidem⁷⁴
 Thomas vicarius ecclesie de Hanefeld⁷⁵
 Robertus persona ecclesie de Slyndefold⁷⁶
 Ricardus vicarius ecclesie de Bryghthelmeston⁷⁷
 Willelmus persona ecclesie de Rutherfeld⁷⁸
 Willelmus vicarius ecclesie de Estborne⁷⁹
 Robertus persona ecclesie de Slyndon⁸⁰
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Echynghamme⁸¹
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Warbylton⁸²
 Thomas persona ecclesie de Jevynton⁸³
 Johannes vicarius ecclesie de Aylesham⁸⁴
 Willelmus persona ecclesie de Selesy⁸⁵
 Robertus persona ecclesie de Almodyton⁸⁶
 Ricardus vicarius ecclesie de Westwyghryng⁸⁷
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Thorney⁸⁸
 Gilbertus persona ecclesie de Upmerdon⁸⁹
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Pulbergh⁹⁰

Willelmus persona ecclesie de Estlovent⁹¹
 Johannes persona ecclesie de Shorham⁹²
 Willelmus persona ecclesie de Cleyton⁹³

Nomina secularium hominum comitatus predicti

Willelmus Percy chivaler⁹⁴
 Willelmus Echyngham chivaler⁹⁵
 Robertus Passhele chivaler⁹⁶
 Thomas Sakevyle chivaler⁹⁷
 Willelmus Fynes chivaler⁹⁸
 Henricus Husee chivaler⁹⁹
 Edwardus Seintjohan chivaler¹⁰⁰
 Willelmus Battesford¹⁰¹
 Robertus Oure¹⁰²
 Robertus Echynghamme¹⁰³
 Ricardus Hurst¹⁰⁴
 Henricus Gotele¹⁰⁵
 Johannes Lonseford¹⁰⁶
 Henricus Mavesyn¹⁰⁷
 Johannes Belhurst¹⁰⁸
 Ricardus Crabb¹⁰⁹
 Vincentus Vynch¹¹⁰
 Robertus Oxenbrugg¹¹¹ (*Oxenbrugg over an erasure*)
 Johannes Londeneys¹¹²
 Laurencius Corbuyl¹¹³
 Robertus Bokesell senior¹¹⁴
 Robertus Bokesell junior
 Robertus Fletchier¹¹⁵
 Johannes Helde¹¹⁶
 Simon Horham¹¹⁷
 Willelmus Musted¹¹⁸
 Rogerus Gosselyn¹¹⁹
 Johannes Cokefeld¹²⁰
 Willelmus Hidenye¹²¹
 Ricardus Argentham¹²²
 Ricardus Halle¹²³
 Johannes Delve¹²⁴
 Walterus Bradebryg¹²⁵
 Thomas Newebryg
 Stephanus Absele¹²⁶
 Jacobus de Byne¹²⁷
 Rogerus de Byne¹²⁸
 Johannes Michelgrove¹²⁹
 Johannes Clothale¹³⁰
 Walterus Merewe¹³¹
 Johannes Burdevyle¹³²
 Johannes Vesque¹³³
 Johannes Geyng
 Willelmus atte Halle¹³⁴
 Walterus Randekyn¹³⁵
 Johannes Orry
 Henricus Frenssh¹³⁶

Johannes Emmory
 Johannes Covert¹³⁷
 Stephanus Botesham
 Johannes Turnour
 Ricardus Herewerd
 Johannes Boure¹³⁸
 Nicholaus Buyl¹³⁹
 Henricus Grove¹⁴⁰
 Johannes Halsham¹⁴¹
 Nicholaus Wilcombe¹⁴²
 Willelmus Merlot¹⁴³
 Willelmus Apsele¹⁴⁴
 Nigellus Wolf¹⁴⁵
 Robertus atte Lee¹⁴⁶
 Ricardus Wiltshire¹⁴⁷
 Johannes Ratford¹⁴⁸
 Johannes Dautre¹⁴⁹
 Ricardus Stroude¹⁵⁰
 Rogerus Brambeshute¹⁵¹
 Johannes Turgys¹⁵²
 Johannes Elkhams¹⁵³
 Willelmus Stedham¹⁵⁴
 Henricus Emmory¹⁵⁵
 Henricus Viteshale
 Johannes Barbour
 Ricardus Tille¹⁵⁶
 Ricardus Taillour¹⁵⁷
 Willelmus Scardevyle¹⁵⁸
 Johannes Gunter¹⁵⁹
 Willelmus Inlond¹⁶⁰
 Galfridus atte Dene¹⁶¹
 Willelmus Wyghtryng¹⁶²
 Johannes Ernle¹⁶³
 Henricus Whussh¹⁶⁴
 Johannes Mot¹⁶⁵
 Willelmus Wethersfeld¹⁶⁶
 Johannes Fraunce
 Ricardus Cotes¹⁶⁷
 John Cotes
 Valentin' Bromdene
 Thomas Hunstan¹⁶⁸
 Nicholaus Ropere¹⁶⁹
 Henricus Blundell
 Johannes Burle¹⁷⁰
 Johannes Petifer¹⁷¹
 Johannes Taverner¹⁷²
 Laurencius atte Grove¹⁷³
 Johannes Scardevyle¹⁷⁴

Civitas Cicestr'

Johannes Hebbe maior¹⁷⁵

Willelmus Felix ballivus
 Johannes Loghteburgh¹⁷⁶
 Johannes Scherere¹⁷⁷
 Johannes Daubenev¹⁷⁸
 Johannes Foghell¹⁷⁹
 Johannes Frenssh¹⁸⁰
 Johannes Castell¹⁸¹
 Adam Dighere¹⁸²
 Johannes Lyndesev

Burgus de Arundell

Roulondus Covert maior¹⁸³
 Willelmus Colyn ballivus¹⁸⁴
 Thomas atte Berne
 Ricardus atte Wode

Burgus de Brembre

Rogerus Smyth ballivus¹⁸⁵
 Johannes Warrok senior

Burgus de Stenyng

Willelmus atte Legh ballivus
 Robertus Gold

Burgus de Shorham

Johannes Skelly ballivus¹⁸⁶
 Ricardus Tayllour
 Robertus Frye
 Ricardus Bokynham
 Ricardus Bernard¹⁸⁷

Burgus de Midherst

Willelmus Baggele ballivus¹⁸⁸
 Henricus Extone¹⁸⁹
 Thomas Sarcler junior¹⁹⁰
 Johannes Mary
 Thomas Sarcler senior

Burgus de Lewes

Ricardus atte Gate ballivus¹⁹¹
 Johannes Godeford constabularius¹⁹²
 Walterus Gosselyn¹⁹³
 Johannes Peyntour¹⁹⁴
 Johannes Meryot¹⁹⁵
 Johannes Godeman¹⁹⁶

Burgus de Horsham

Ricardus Coudenne ballivus
 Willelmus Shode ballivus¹⁹⁷
 Johannes Wantele¹⁹⁸
 Henricus Frenssh¹⁹⁹
 Henricus Boteller²⁰⁰
 Rogerus Wyldegoos²⁰¹

NOTES

Abbreviations used include:

BL British Library
 ESRO East Sussex Record Office
 PRO Public Record Office, London
 VCH *Victoria County History*

- ¹ J. Strachey (ed.), *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (hereafter *Rot. Parl.*) (6 vols, London, 1767–83) **II**, 308; A. Luders *et al.* (eds), *Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols, London, 1810–28) **II**, 243–4.
- ² The view of N. E. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: the Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981), in particular, 163, and implicitly J. R. Lander, *Government and Community: England 1450–1509* (London, 1980), 46–8.
- ³ W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300–1450* (London, 1995), 40–44, 130–31.
- ⁴ P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice, London), C49/Roll 24. The document is noted by A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973), 126 n.5.
- ⁵ The best contemporary accounts of these years are found in L. C. Hector & B. F. Harvey (eds), *The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394* (Oxford, 1982), 66–368; and G. H. Martin (ed.), *Knighton's Chronicle 1337–1396* (Oxford, 1995), 352–526. For discussion, see N. E. Saul, *Richard II* (New Haven & London, 1997), chs 6–9.
- ⁶ *Rot. Parl.* **III**, 244; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1385–9* (hereafter *CCR*), 405–6. On 20 March the session was adjourned to 13 April.
- ⁷ *Westminster Chronicle*, 306; PRO, C49/Roll 24. Note that the instructions this time were sent by writ, not by letters close.
- ⁸ *Rot. Parl.* **III**, 400–403.
- ⁹ In the parliament of September 1397 – January 1398 he overturned the judgements of the Merciless Parliament. It would be understandable if he had also destroyed the evidence of approval of that parliament's work.
- ¹⁰ For the details of Jardyn's career, see J. S. Roskell, L. Clark & C. Rawcliffe (eds), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386–1421* (4 vols, Stroud, 1992) **III**, 489. Jardyn was lord of the manors of South Mundham and Bowley, within Arundel's sphere of influence.
- ¹¹ For Dallingridge, see *History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 738–42; S. Walker, 'Lancaster v. Dallingridge: a franchisal dispute in fourteenth-century Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter *Suss. Arch. Coll.*) **121** (1983), 87–94. For Waleys, see *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 748–50. Dallingridge was not appointed in June because he was organizing, and providing shipping for, Arundel's naval expedition, which set sail on 10 June.
- ¹² A further problem is the absence of any Chichester episcopal registers before 1397.
- ¹³ However, only one of the clerical oath-takers was actually presented to his benefice by the earl — Robert, the rector of Almodington. Most of the others were presented by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Chichester or Lewes Priory.
- ¹⁴ PRO, E179/189/41. Brook was described as an attorney in the king's court, and the other two as apprentices.
- ¹⁵ For further discussion, see below, p. 226.
- ¹⁶ For Pelham and his background, see *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 39–44; R. L. Storey, 'Liveries and commissions of the peace', in F. R. H. Du Boulay & C. M. Barron (eds), *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London, 1971), 134–5.
- ¹⁷ PRO, E101/41/5. Mested and St Clere were with Arundel himself, and Braose with Thomas Camoys. For Arundel's expedition, which, for all its ambitious aims, involved little more than plundering around La Rochelle, see *Westminster Chronicle*, 350–52.
- ¹⁸ *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 286–7.
- ¹⁹ See below, nn. 149, 164, 163 respectively.
- ²⁰ See below, nn. 106, 108, 153, 106 respectively.
- ²¹ *Victoria History of the County of Sussex* (hereafter *VCH Sussex*) **IX**, 274.
- ²² *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 196.
- ²³ *VCH Sussex IX, 241.*
- ²⁴ *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 10, 11–12.
- ²⁵ For the Franklin, see N. E. Saul, 'The social status of Chaucer's Franklin: a reconsideration', *Medium Aevum III* (1983), 10–26.
- ²⁶ For Clothale, see below, n. 130; and for Clothalls Farm, *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92.
- ²⁷ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 93.
- ²⁸ For Glottenham, see D. Martin, 'Three moated sites in north-east Sussex, part I: Glottenham', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **127** (1989), 89–122. For Dixter, J. E. Ray, 'Dixter, Northiam: a fifteenth-century timber manor house', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **52** (1909), 132–55.
- ²⁹ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92.
- ³⁰ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 93.
- ³¹ W. H. Turner (ed.), *Catalogue of Charters and Rolls Preserved in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1878), 555, 558, 561–5. For Walter Bradebryg, see below, n. 125.
- ³² *Catalogue of Charters and Rolls Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, 558, 562.
- ³³ For the brass of Richard Bradbryg, who died in 1533, and his wife in Slinfold church, see C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **79** (1938), 125–7. Bradbryg is described as a 'gentleman' — that is, someone below the esquires but above the yeomen.
- ³⁴ See below, n. 126.
- ³⁵ *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 35, 39. In the later 15th century Apsleys were sitting in parliament. John Apsley, Stephen's grandson, was MP for Arundel in 1459. John Apsley (d. 1507) was MP for Sussex 1472–5, and for Steyning 1478. Thomas Apsley was MP for Steyning 1491–2 (J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: biographies of Members of the Commons House 1439–1509* (London, 1936), 16–17.
- ³⁶ The schedule is printed in R. B. Dobson (ed.), *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, 2nd edn, 1983), 107–11.
- ³⁷ PRO, E179/189/41.
- ³⁸ See below, n. 117.
- ³⁹ See above, p. 223.
- ⁴⁰ R. C. Palmer, *The County Courts of Medieval England 1150–1350* (Princeton, 1982), 12–13. See also J. R. Maddicott, 'The county community in fourteenth-century England', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 5th series **28** (1978), 35.
- ⁴¹ I am grateful to Christopher Whittick for this suggestion.
- ⁴² The rape, or castle, court of Lewes was still active in the 1350s. For a roll of the court for 28 March 1357, see A. J. Taylor, *Records of the Barony and Honour of the Rape of*

- Lewes (Sussex Record Society [hereafter SRS] **XLIV**, 1939), 50–61.
- ⁴³ For the level of attendance at parliamentary elections, see S. J. Payling, 'The widening franchise — Parliamentary elections in Lancastrian Nottinghamshire', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1987), 175.
- ⁴⁴ For Arundel and his circle, see A. Goodman, *The Loyal Conspiracy: the Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971), 105–21.
- ⁴⁵ *History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 748–50; **III**, 489.
- ⁴⁶ *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1377–83* (hereafter *CFR*), 194; M. Clough (ed.), *Two Estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel* (SRS **67**, 1969), 126, 110, 111, 113, 112, 114.
- ⁴⁷ Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 156–64.
- ⁴⁸ See below, n. 198.
- ⁴⁹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*) 1381–5, 399, 423–4, 439. And see below, n. 141.
- ⁵⁰ For William Etchingham and his family, see N. E. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life. Knightly Families in Sussex 1280–1400* (Oxford, 1986), 1–7, 63–6, 100–102, 140–60.
- ⁵¹ Passhele held an estate in Ticehurst, now Pashley manor, a couple of miles to the north-west of Etchingham; in 1366 a quitclaim to him was witnessed by William de Etchingham, two Etchingham associates who took the oath, William Batsford and Robert de Ore, and William Waleys' father, Sir John (*CCR 1364–8*, 289). Sackville held the manors of Chalvington and Claverham, east of Lewes, close to the Etchingham manor of Beddingham. Fiennes' principal seat was Herstmonceux, about 11 miles south of Etchingham.
- ⁵² See below nn. 101, 102, 103. For the Ores, see also Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 65.
- ⁵³ *VCH Sussex IX*, 213, 214, 220, 119, 241, 67, 169.
- ⁵⁴ See below, nn. 112, 116.
- ⁵⁵ He was '16 or more' when he succeeded his father in 1349 (*CIPM IX*, no. 601). Thus he was probably between 55 and 60 when he took the oath. He died on 18 January 1389 — 'entour mynoet' (around midnight), as the inscription on his brass puts it (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 155–6, and illustration opposite 164).
- ⁵⁶ The words 'Crastino' and 'Jacobi Apostoli' over an erasure. It is not clear whether the change was made as a result of scribal error or because the return date was changed.
- ⁵⁷ For a version with slightly different orthography, see *Westminster Chronicle*, 306.
- ⁵⁸ 'Estatut' interlineated.
- ⁵⁹ John de Caroloco (Cherlew), prior c. 1366–96 (*VCH Sussex II*, 70). A leading figure in east Sussex society. In 1375 he hunted with the Earl of Oxford and Sir John St Clare at the earl's manor of Laughton (Brit(ish) Lib(rary), Add. Roll 32141). In June or July 1377 he was captured by the French when, during a raid on the south coast, they landed at Rottingdean; Walsingham tells of the prowess of one of his esquires (H. T. Riley (ed.), *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 2 vols, 1863–4) **I**, 342). The Earl of Arundel says in his will of 1392 that he personally discussed his burial place in the priory church with him (N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Testamenta Vetusta* (2 vols, London, 1826) **I**, 129).
- ⁶⁰ John Leem, prior 1376–1415 (*VCH Sussex II*, 79). Another prominent figure in east Sussex society. From 1379 to c. 1382 he was the Duke of Lancaster's receiver in Sussex, and from 1405 to c. 1415 receiver of the Lancastrian lordship of Pevensey (R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (London, 2 vols, 1953) **I**, 379, 617). The great gatehouse of Michelham was built by him and is witness to his ambition. I am grateful to John Farrant for advice on Leem.
- ⁶¹ Probably Giles, predecessor of William Lewes who was elected in 1397 (*VCH Sussex II*, 73).
- ⁶² I.e. Bayham. No abbots are known by name between William, mentioned in 1355, and Robert Frenesbury, mentioned in 1405 (*VCH Sussex II*, 89).
- ⁶³ Stephen de Sauz, prior 1378–1429. Judging by his name, Stephen was of French origin. Sele was a dependency of the abbey of St Florent, Saumur.
- ⁶⁴ Warminghurst was a chapelry of the manor of Steyning, which King Edward the Confessor had given to the abbey of Fécamp. The abbots sent over one of their monks, as proctor or bailiff, to manage the property. This monk was referred to as the bailiff of Warminghurst from the place of his residence (*VCH Sussex II*, 124).
- ⁶⁵ I.e. Hardham, near Pulborough. John Baron was abbot in 1380 (*VCH Sussex II*, 75).
- ⁶⁶ I.e. Tortington, West Sussex. Probably John, who is known to have been abbot in 1380 (*VCH Sussex II*, 83).
- ⁶⁷ Listed as John in 1381 (PRO, E179/11/9). Calceto was the name by which Pynham priory, near Arundel, was generally known in the 14th century. The name was derived from the causeway which the monks built to link the priory to the castle and town (D. N. Knowles & R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), 171; A. Mawer & F. M. Stenton (eds), *The Place-Names of Sussex I* (English Place-Name Soc. **VI**, 1969), 171).
- ⁶⁸ The abbey of Seez in Normandy had estates near Littlehampton which were given to the charge of one of their monks settled at Atherington, where there was a grange with a chapel. This monk was generally called the bailiff of Atherington. One Richard occurs in 1376, and Oliver Miche in 1403 (*VCH Sussex II*, 120).
- ⁶⁹ Probably either John Heuerwyk, who occurs in 1380, or John, who occurs in 1400 (*VCH Sussex II*, 91). Durford is near Rogate, West Sussex.
- ⁷⁰ Probably either John de Londa, mentioned in 1376 and 1383, or Walter Marshal, the predecessor of John Chaworth who was elected in 1398 (*VCH Sussex II*, 59).
- ⁷¹ Probably William Harethorn, prior 1380–1404 (*VCH Sussex II*, 82). Shulbrede is near Linchmere, on the Surrey border.
- ⁷² Probably Michael Causton, prebendary of Wittering. A graduate of Cambridge; chancellor of the University 1363. Rector of Grundisburgh, Suffolk, 1361. Vicar of Aylesham, Norfolk, 1370. Rector of Dereham, Norfolk, on relinquishing Aylesham. Prebendary of Wittering in Chichester 1375, probably till death. Canon of Lincoln and prebendary of South Scarle, notwithstanding Chichester canonry (J. M. Horn (ed.), J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541*, VII: *Chichester Diocese* (London, 1964), 48; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963) 128).
- ⁷³ Prebendary of Firle, 1388–1406 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, 22). Rector of Elm, Cambridgeshire in 1370, and still in 1376 (Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge*, 452).

- Almost certainly the uncle or other kinsman of Richard Petworth, canon of Chichester, 1415, rector of Findon, 1416, and secretary of Cardinal Beaufort, who died in 1458 (A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* (3 vols, Oxford, 1957–9) III, 1471).
- ⁷⁴ Chancellor of the cathedral 1397–8; prebendary of Hampstead 1392–8 (*Fasti. Chichester Diocese* 9, 26).
- ⁷⁵ In 1386 an action of trespass was brought against one Thomas, vicar of Henfield, alleging that he had poached in the bishop of Chichester's warren (Index of Sussex Clergy, Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes, *sub* Henfield). The holder of the advowson of Henfield was the prebendary of Henfield in Chichester Cathedral.
- ⁷⁶ The rector of Slinfold until an exchange in 1389 was one Robert Copyn (G. Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists* (London, 1900), 138). The holder of the advowson was the bishop of Chichester.
- ⁷⁷ No vicars of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was Lewes Priory.
- ⁷⁸ This is probably William Waghams, rector in 1375; in 1389 the rector was Thomas Wysbeche (Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists*, 126). The holder of the advowson was the archbishop of Canterbury.
- ⁷⁹ No vicars of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the treasurer of Chichester Cathedral.
- ⁸⁰ No vicars of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the archbishop of Canterbury.
- ⁸¹ Probably John Bysshop, who was the parson of Etchingham in 1378–9 and 1383 (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Etchingham). The holder of the advowson was the lord of the manor, Sir William Etchingham.
- ⁸² John Mortimer, who had been presented to Warbleton on 21 Nov. 1384 (*CPR* 1381–5, 479, 548). John Brewode was presented, possibly by mistake, on 20 Feb. 1385 (*CPR* 1381–5, 534), and John Mortimer presented again on 18 April 1385 (*CPR* 1381–5, 548). Later in 1385 Brewode was presented to Pulborough (below n. 90). The holder of the advowson was the lord of the manor — in 1388 Katherine de Warbelton, who held the manor in dower.
- ⁸³ Thomas Coupere, who was rector in 1385 and still in 1409. Between 1396 and 1399 Coupere farmed the manor, which was held by the St Cleres (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Jevington). In 1402 and 1409 he was a feoffee of Sir Philip Mested (*Calendar of Early Charters Comprising Part of the Firle Place Muniments* (1892), nos 217, 226; M. Clough (ed.), *Book of Bartholomew Bolney* (SRS LXXIII, 1964), 37).
- ⁸⁴ I.e. Hailsham. He is possibly to be identified with John atte Downe who vacated the benefice by exchange in 1405 (Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists*, 76). The holder of the advowson was Bayham Abbey.
- ⁸⁵ No rectors of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the bishop of Chichester.
- ⁸⁶ I.e. Almodington, West Sussex. No rectors of this time can be identified. The holder of the advowson was the Earl of Arundel.
- ⁸⁷ Probably Richard Hope, vicar in 1382 (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* West Wittering). The holder of the advowson was the prebendary of Wittering in Chichester Cathedral.
- ⁸⁸ John Lydford, who occupied the prebend of Thorney in the cathedral 1374–97 (*Fasti. Chichester Diocese*, 45).
- ⁸⁹ Gilbert Neel, rector until 1398, when he vacated the benefice by exchange (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Up Marden). The holder of the benefice was Lewes Priory.
- ⁹⁰ John Brewode, recorded as rector between 1385 and 1396. In 1389 Brewode was summoned by the prior of Bruton, Somerset, for the arrears of an annual rent of 5s. due from the rector of Pulborough, but Brewode denied his liability to pay (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Pulborough).
- ⁹¹ William Kockyng, previously rector of Beeston, Norfolk, who was collated on 10 Nov. 1383. The holder of the advowson was the archbishop of Canterbury.
- ⁹² Old Shoreham is meant. One John Larke was vicar here 1382–91 (Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists*, 135). The holder of the advowson was Sele Priory.
- ⁹³ Possibly William Reve, who was rector in 1375 (Index of Sussex Clergy, Barbican House, *sub* Clayton). The holder of the advowson was the prior and convent of Lewes.
- ⁹⁴ Lord of Morley, Southwick and Woodmancote, where he resided, in Sussex, Wambrook in Dorset and Weston in Berkshire. Born c. 1337, the son of John Percy of Little Chalfield, Wilts., by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Hartridge of Hartridge, Berkshire, and Woodmancote; married, before 1354, Mary, daughter of William Filliol of Dorset. A leading retainer of Richard, Earl of Arundel, whose service he had entered before 1380. MP for Sussex 1377 (Oct.), 1379, 1380 (Jan.), 1383 (Feb.), 1383 (Oct.), 1384 (Nov.), 1390 (Jan.), 1390 (Nov.), 1391, 1393, 1394, 1397 (Jan.). Collector of taxes 1384. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1377–78, 1381–82. JP in Sussex 1377–82, 1385–97. Died in 1407 and in his will requested burial in Woodmancote church (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons* IV, 52–3).
- ⁹⁵ Lord of Etchingham, his main seat, Salehurst, Mountfield, Udimore, Beddingham, Peakdean, all in Sussex, Brenzett, Lullingstone and other lands in Kent. Married Elizabeth of the Kentish family of Crioll. Commissioner of array in Sussex 1371, and collector of taxes 1377, 1380, 1381, but never sheriff or MP. Undertook the rebuilding of Etchingham church, which was under way by the 1360s; commemorated by a fine brass on the chancel floor of the church. Died 18 January 1389 (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 1–7, 140–56).
- ⁹⁶ Lord of Pashley in Ticehurst, Fairlight and Leigh in Iden, in Sussex, and Evegate, Bilsington and elsewhere in Kent. The son of Robert de Passhele (d. c. 1362) and his wife Joan; married Anne, possibly the daughter of Sir Robert Howard of Norfolk. MP for Kent 1377 (Jan.) and 1379. In March 1381 sent with Sir Peter le Veel to Brittany with company of men-at-arms and archers, but departure delayed by outbreak of the Great Revolt (G. O. Sayles, 'Richard II in 1381 and 1399', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XCIV (1979), 820–22). Surveyor of tax assessments in Kent 1379 (*CFR* 1377–83, 163). Tax collector in Sussex 1392, 1393 (*CFR* 1377–83, 26, 72, 98). JP and commissioner of array in Kent in the 1380s. Dead by 1397 (N. H. MacMichael, 'Descent of the manor of Evegate in Smeeth with some account of its lords', *Archaeologia Cantiana* LXXIV (1960), 12–33).
- ⁹⁷ Lord of Buckhurst, his main seat, Chalvington, Claverham, Bowley and Amberstone, all in Sussex,

Debenham in Suffolk, Bures Mount and Bergholt in Essex, and Emmington in Oxfordshire. The illegitimate son of Sir Andrew Sackville (d. 1369) by Joan Burgess; married Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Dallingridge. With Philip Mested, he supported Dallingridge's campaign against the officials of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster in the rape of Pevensey, and probably suffered brief imprisonment with his father-in-law after oyer and terminer proceedings in 1384. His Dallingridge connections may have drawn him into the Earl of Arundel's circle. An assessor of taxes 1379; MP for Sussex 1394, 1395, 1397 (Sept.); and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1406–7. In January 1400 he was interrogated before the council for alleged involvement in the rising of the earls, but discharged on bail. In later life resumed his Arundel connections. Died December 1432, and requested burial in Bayham Abbey, a family foundation (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 272–4).

- ⁹⁸ Lord of Herstmonceux, Sussex, his main seat, Lyneham and Ascot, Oxfordshire, Compton Monceux, Hampshire, Woolley, Berkshire, and Nash Hall, Essex (CPR 1381–5, 189–90). Married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of William Batsford (see below, n. 101) (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 70). Accompanied Richard II on expedition to Ireland in 1394–5. Tax collector 1384. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1398–99 (CFR 1391–9, 195, 278). Died 18 January 1403, and commemorated by a fine brass in Herstmonceux church (C. E. M. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses, III', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **78** (1937), 87–8). His son Roger was the builder of the present Herstmonceux castle.
- ⁹⁹ Lord of Harting, Sussex, his main seat, Sapperton and Rissington, Gloucs., Hascombe, Surrey, and South Moreton, Berks. The son of Sir Henry Hussee (d. 1383) by his second wife Ankarette; married one Margaret, before 1387. Inactive before the late 1380s probably because of his mother's occupancy of a large part of the family estates. Joined the Earl of Arundel's naval expedition in 1387. Very likely active with the Appellants in 1387–8: in 1398 he secured a pardon from the king for his Appellant involvement. MP for Sussex 1401, 1402; JP in Sussex 1401–3. Died 5 May 1409 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 462–4).
- ¹⁰⁰ Lord of Goring; probably the son of Sir Edward St John (d. 1385), a prominent retainer of Edward, the Black Prince, and the Earl of Arundel. Very likely an Arundel dependant himself: in 1387 he fought in the earl's naval expedition (Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, 184). Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1388–9, 1394–5. Tax collector in Sussex 1393 (CFR 1391–99, 72, 98, 131).
- ¹⁰¹ Lord of Buckholt in Bexhill, his main seat, and a moiety of Ewhurst. JP in Sussex 1377–1388. Constable of Pevensey castle June 1380 – Dec. 1381. Frequently served as a feoffee and appointed to many local commissions (CPR 1377–88, passim; Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster I*, 380). May have been a lawyer. He was dead by 1402. His coheiresses were his daughters Elizabeth, who married Sir William Fiennes (see above n. 98), and Joan, who married, secondly, Sir William Brenchley, justice in King's Bench (VCH Sussex IX, 118–19).
- ¹⁰² Lord of Ore and Guestling, Sussex. Second son and eventual heir of John de Ore (d. 1361). Member of a family long associated with the Etchinghams; served on

numerous commissions in the 1370s and early 1380s, on some of them alongside Sir William Etchingham; collector of taxes 1377, 1379, 1380, 1383, 1384; MP for Sussex 1376, 1388 (Sept.). The fact that he held Ore of the duke of Gloucester may account for his election on the latter occasion. He died between 1405 and 1409. Very likely the canopied brass of a civilian and wife in Ore church is his (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 876; Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 1, 65; C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **79** (1938), 81–2).

- ¹⁰³ Younger brother of Sir William Etchingham. Married Joan, daughter and heiress of Hamo atte Gate of Great Dixter in Northiam, and probably resided there. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1390–91, and active in other office-holding capacities (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 6).
- ¹⁰⁴ Lord of the manors of Horselunges in Hellingly and Pebsham in Bexhill. Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1385–6, 1399–1400. JP in Sussex 1382–9. Twice a tax collector in the county (CPR 1381–5, 249; CFR 1377–83, 225; 1383–91, 69). Married Margaret St Clere, either the sister or the aunt of his associate Sir Philip St Clere of Heighton, for whom he acted as feoffee (W. Budgen, 'The manor of Horselunges', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **LXVI** (1925), 18–33; *Calendar of Early Charters comprising part of the Firle Place Muniments*, no. 212). In 1365 witnessed a charter alongside Sir William Etchingham (CCR 1364–8, 178). Died in 1400.
- ¹⁰⁵ Lord of a moiety of Goatley in Northiam, a sub-manor of Herstmonceux. In or before 1360 the manor had been divided between John de Gotele, probably Henry's father, and Henry Alard (CIPM X, no. 629). In 1412 Henry was also in possession of the manor of Westfield, near Hastings (VCH Sussex IX, 91). Henry is last mentioned in 1416, when he attested a deed (Centre for Kentish Studies, U455/T117/9; I am grateful to Mark Gardiner for this reference).
- ¹⁰⁶ Lord of the manor of Lunsford in Etchingham; married Margaret in 1372 (VCH Sussex IX, 214). In 1412 his lands said to be worth £20 p.a. beyond reprises (*Feud(al) Aids (1284–1431)* (6 vols, London, 1899–1920) VI, 528).
- ¹⁰⁷ Held portion of the manor of Catsfield and presented to Catsfield church in 1397 (VCH Sussex IX, 241).
- ¹⁰⁸ Lord of the Belhurst estate in Etchingham (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (hereafter CIPM) **XVIII**, no. 21).
- ¹⁰⁹ Probably a scribal error for Cralle. Richard Cralle was lord of Cralle in Warbleton and Crowham in Westfield. In 1350 the Cralle estate was assessed at half a knight's fee; in 1412, when Richard held it, it was said to be worth £20 beyond reprises. Richard inherited Crowham through his mother Margaret, daughter and heir of Simon de Peplsham (VCH Sussex IX, 91, 207; *Feud. Aids VI*, 528). A collector of taxes in Sussex 1392, 1398 (CFR 1391–9, 26, 266). See also below n. 110.
- ¹¹⁰ Lord of Icklesham, Netherfield in Battle, and Kitchenour in Beckley. Scion of a distinguished Winchelsea family. Son of Vincent Finch of Winchelsea. He married Isabel, sister and coheir of Richard Cralle of Cralle in Warbleton (above, n. 109). Collector of taxes 1388; MP for Winchelsea 1395, 1397 (Jan.), 1402; mayor of Winchelsea 1398–9, 1405–6; sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1412–3 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 150–51). In 1398 he secured a pardon from Richard II for

- supporting the Appellants (PRO, C67/30 m.2). In 1412 his lands said to be worth £30 p.a. beyond reprises (*Feud. Aids VI*, 527).
- ¹¹¹ Steward of Sir John Pelham of Laughton and Battle abbey (Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life*, 46–7); a feoffee of Sir John Dallingridge in 1401 and 1408 (Brit. Lib., Add. Ch. 20049, 20087). He acquired the manor of Ford, *alias* Brede Place, from Sir Alan Buxhill (*VCH Sussex IX*, 169); acquired a messuage in Icklesham in 1377, and lands in Northiam and Beckley in 1404 (L. F. Salzman (ed.), *Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex, from 1 Edward II to 24 Henry VII* (SRS **XXIII**, 1916), nos 2478, 2766).
- ¹¹² Probably a member of the Winchelsea family of Londoneys: one Robert Londoneys was assessed for taxation in 1383 in Gostrow hundred as a baron (i.e. citizen) of the Cinque Ports (PRO, E179/225/12). In 1398 John Londoneys was witness to a deed of Sir Benedict Sely, a scion of another Winchelsea family, along with Robert Etchingham and John Helde (below, n. 116) (*CCR 1396–9*, 311).
- ¹¹³ A baron of Rye. Possibly the son of John Corbuyl (Corboyle) and grandson of a namesake; married before September 1366 Joan, possibly daughter of Walter Salerne of Rye. Collector of poundage in Rye, October 1371; commissioner of arrest in Sussex 1374; MP for Rye, Jan. 1377, 1385, Jan. 1390. Between 1375 and 1383 he acquired lands outside Rye at Udimore and Wivelridge in the hundred of Goldspur, on which as a portsman (citizen) he claimed exemption from taxation (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 659).
- ¹¹⁴ 'Bokesell' must be Bugsell in Etchingham. The de Buxhills were lords of the manor, but the head of the family at this time was Sir Alan; possibly the two Roberts were his kin.
- ¹¹⁵ Witness to a quitclaim of 2 Aug. 1381 for lands in Ewhurst and Brede (Centre for Kentish Studies, U455/T116/5).
- ¹¹⁶ Mayor of Winchelsea 1399–1401, 1404–5; MP for Winchelsea 1397 (Jan.). His service to the town is recalled by a contemporary inscription over the west gate (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 342).
- ¹¹⁷ A resident of present-day Court Horam, in northern Herstmonceux. Horham frequently appears in the Herstmonceux court rolls of the 1380s and 1390s essoining, or being essoined by, such leading free tenants as Thomas Thatcher and John atte Beche. Since at Herstmonceux the essoins were generally the social equals and neighbours of those whom they were excusing, it is likely that Horham was a substantial free tenant himself (East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), ACC 3616, 18 Feb. 1391, 13 Jan. 1392, 3 Feb. 1392). There is evidence that he held a few lands in other manors. In 1373 he made a grant of land in Brightling (ESRO, SAS/RF 1/211). In 1350 someone of this name was a tenant of Socknersh. One Thomas Horham, a tax collector in the county in 1386, was probably a kinsman (*CFR 1383–91*, 156).
- ¹¹⁸ Probably to be identified with William Mested, who witnessed an enfeoffment of Sir Philip Mested in 1391 (*Book of Bartholomew Bolney*, 37). Philip Mested held the manors of Heighton, Charleston, Southall and Manksey. William was probably a kinsman.
- ¹¹⁹ Wool merchant of Lewes. His house was broken into in 1383 and two sacks of lambs' wool carried off (*CPR 1381–5*, 231). Extended his interests into Pevensey rape. In 1364 he acquired lands and rents in West Firlle and Heighton St Clere and lands in Friston, and in 1376 a messuage in Jevington (and was presumably sworn in respect of his tenancy of these lands). With co-feoffees he was involved in the purchase of the manor of Sutton by Seaford in 1388 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, nos 2287, 2289, 2462, 2571). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 147; *1383–91*, 20, 46; *1391–9*, 139). But obtained an exemption from office-holding in 1385 (*CPR 1385–9*, 54). He was a benefactor of Michelham priory 1377 and 1395 (*VCH Sussex II*, 77). See also Walter Gosselyn, below n. 193.
- ¹²⁰ Several men of this name were active in Richard II's reign or just before. One was a controller of the wool custom at Chichester in the 1370s (*CPR 1374–7*, 193; *1377–81*, 7, 11). Another was a yeoman in the king's household from 1360 (*CPR 1377–81*, 225). A third was an east Sussex man who acquired interests in Herstmonceux and Hailsham held for life by William de Megham (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2196). Possibly the second and third are the same. The likeliest candidate for the oath-taker, given his position in the list, is the tenant in Herstmonceux and Hailsham.
- ¹²¹ Probably of Hidenye (Hidney) in Pevensey levels. In 1358 one William de Hideney, either this man or a forebear, was witness to an indenture of Lewes priory (*The Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras, Lewes*, ii (SRS **XL**, 1934), 11). A decade later, the sheriff of Sussex was ordered to distraint one William de Hideney, more likely to be this man, and other jurors, notwithstanding their residence in the honour of the Eagle (PRO, E159/144, Michaelmas recorda, unnumbered membranes). By the late 15th century the family's interests had moved north. In 1483 a John Hidney gentleman disposed of lands in Hartfield (PRO, C146/8983).
- ¹²² A family called Argentham had interests at North Mundham and Boxgrove, near Chichester, but Richard's position in the list, alongside the men of Pevensey rape, suggests that he is to be identified with the Richard who in 1383 disposed of rents in Rodmell to John Brook, and nine years later of rents in Ditchling to Edward Dallingridge (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, nos 2524, 2662). Possibly he was a burgess of Winchelsea, as he does not figure in county affairs. His name, however, does not appear in the tax assessments of barons of the Cinque Ports in PRO, E179.
- ¹²³ Held the Bentley estate in Framfield and lands in Laughton, and probably acquired manor of West Preston. An associate of Sir Roger Ashburnham of Scotney, Kent. In 1371 he took a lease of John Ashburnham's manor of Ashburnham, east Sussex (*CCR 1369–74*, 293, 295–6). In 1395 entered into a recognizance with John Godeman (see below n. 196) and his wife in the sum of £10 (*CCR 1392–6*, 412). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 147, 340; *1383–91*, 20, 46, 116, 268). Died before 1404, leaving a widow Alice (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 270–71).
- ¹²⁴ Feodary in the Sussex lands of the duchy of Lancaster (Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster I*, 380). Probably a resident of Ringmer or Isfield. In 1388 he was a co-feoffee of Richard Proutfot of Isfield for lands and rents in Ringmer, and in 1406 a co-feoffee of Michael Pettere for two acres in the same vill. In 1388 two of the

- witnesses to the enfeoffment were Richard Halle and Robert Oxenbridge, two other oath-takers in 1388 (R. F. Dell (ed.), *The Glynde Place Archives: a Catalogue* (Lewes, 1964), 125–6).
- ¹²⁵ Son and heir of Roger de Bradebrugg of Broadbridge, near Horsham; married Isabella (surname unknown). Member of a family long established in the Horsham area. Held lands, rents or tenements in Horsham, Slinfold and Warnham. Dead by 1408 and succeeded by his son John (*Catalogue of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, 555, 561–5).
- ¹²⁶ In 1379 assessed at 3s. 4d. at Dishenhurst in Itchingfield (PRO, E179/189/42; *The Place-Names of Sussex I*, 176). The Abseles held an estate at Apsley, in Thakeham, immediately to the south of Itchingfield. In or before 1377 Stephen acquired a moiety of the manor of Thakeham by marriage to Margaret, daughter and coheir of Stephen Power (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 35, 39). Stephen was said to be 58 and more in a proof of age in 1399 (*CIPM XVII*, no. 1318). He was frequently a tax collector (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 69, 217; 1391–9, 26). In the 15th century the Apsleys also held land at Stoughton, West Sussex (*VCH Sussex IV*, 123). For a 16th-century genealogy of the family, which significantly begins with Stephen, see W. B. Bannerman (ed.), *The Visitations of the County of Sussex* (Harleian Soc. **53**, 1905), 85–7.
- ¹²⁷ Held the manor or estate of Byne in West Grinstead; and said to be 54 and more in a proof of age in 1399. A tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1392, 1393, 1398 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 46, 156, 217, 268; 1391–9, 26, 72, 266). In 1389 a recognizer (juror) in an assize of novel disseisin brought by John Wantele (see below, n. 198) (G. O. Sayles (ed.), *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V* (Selden Soc. **LXXXVIII**, 1971), 81). Died in or before 1399 (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92–3; *CIPM XVII*, no. 1318).
- ¹²⁸ Tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1388, 1395, 1398 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 268; 1391–9, 139, 266).
- ¹²⁹ Lord of Michelgrove in Clapham. Assessed at 6s. 8d. at Clapham in the 1379 poll tax (PRO, E179/189/42). He died in 1393 (*VCH Sussex VI*, i, 13). The family also held lands at Broadbridge in Bosham (*VCH Sussex IV*, 185). A tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1384 and 1393 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 69; 1391–9, 72). A John Michelgrove, probably his son, acquired the manor of Earnley near Wittering in 1427 (*VCH Sussex IV*, 202).
- ¹³⁰ Assessed at half a mark at West Grinstead for the 1379 poll tax (PRO, E179/189/39); said to be 56 and more in a proof of age in 1399 (*CIPM XVII*, no. 1318). Held an estate, later treated as a manor, in West Grinstead, and before 1377 acquired a moiety of Thakeham by marriage to Joan, daughter and coheir of Stephen Power (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 35, 92). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 147, 187; 1383–91, 46, 69). For Clothalls Farm in West Grinstead, see *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 92; *The Place-Names of Sussex I*, 186).
- ¹³¹ In 1428 a William Merewe held a quarter of a knight's fee in Coombes (*Feud. Aids V*, 160).
- ¹³² Brought an appeal against one Laurence Ashford of Greatham in 1393 but failed to prosecute it (*CCR 1392–6*, 244). He may have resided at Chithurst, where in the 15th century the Burdevilles held property (*VCH Sussex IV*, 5).
- ¹³³ Possibly of Pulborough or thereabouts. In 1447 one Richard Rownore of Pulborough granted a later member of the family, John Veske, lands and rents in Pulborough and Wisborough Green (J. M. L. Booker (ed.), *The Wiston Archives* (Chichester, 1975), no. 2177).
- ¹³⁴ Probably William atte Hulle, tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1385, 1386, 1392 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 116, 156; 1391–9, 26).
- ¹³⁵ In 1369 Walter Randekyn and Amice, his wife, were involved in a settlement of lands at Slinfold (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2366). An earlier member of the family, Ranulph Randekyn of Horsham, had made a grant of a rent at 'Le Halle' in 1335 (*Catalogue of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, 554).
- ¹³⁶ Held half a virgate at Horsham (*CIPM XVIII*, no. 304). A feoffee of Sir Thomas de Braose of Bramber in 1395 (*CIPM XVII*, no. 592).
- ¹³⁷ The Coverts were lords of Ashington from the 13th century. A John Covert of Ashington was pardoned of outlawry in 1393 (*CPR 1391–6*, 395). In 1379 a kinsman, Baldwin Covert, had been assessed for the poll tax at 6s. 8d. at Sullington (PRO, E179/189/42). A century later the Coverts were more generally resident at their manor of Slaugham; for their brasses in Slaugham church, see C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **79** (1938), 120–25.
- ¹³⁸ Searcher in all the ports of Sussex 1385, and said to be 'of Wittering' (*CPR 1381–5*, 494). In November 1382 he and his wife Alice endowed a chantry in Pagham church; he was then said to be 'of Pagham' (*CPR 1381–5*, 211; *VCH Sussex IV*, 229–30).
- ¹³⁹ Acquired a messuage in East Grinstead in 1389 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2595).
- ¹⁴⁰ A juror at the court of Duddleswell in Maresfield in 1379 (W. D. Peckham (ed.), *The Chartulary of the High Court of Chichester* (SRS **46**, 1942–3), no. 884); and a feoffee of Walter Hoke in a settlement of the manor of Exceat before 1408 (*CIPM XIX*, no. 459). Frequently a tax collector in Sussex (*CFR 1377–83*, 340; 1383–91, 46, 156; 1391–9, 26, 73, 98, 139, 266).
- ¹⁴¹ Lord of Collingbourne Ducis, Wilts., Brabourne, Kent, Applesham, Nutham and West Grinstead, his main seat, Sussex (*CIPM XX*, 345–8). Junior member of an east Yorkshire family. Robert Halsham, perhaps his father, had both Arundel and Mowbray connections and may have held land in Sussex (*CPR 1354–8*, 387; 1364–7, 198; 1367–70, 473); in the 1350s he was a JP, and in 1372 a knight of the shire for the county. In or before 1383 at Seamer, Yorks., John seduced and abducted the wealthy heiress Philippa, daughter of David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol, and wife of Sir Ralph Percy; subsequently the two married (*CCR 1381–5*, 452, 459, 571; 1381–5, 423; C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'Sussex monumental brasses', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **78** (1937), 72–5). Halsham secured pardons for his offence at the initiative of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, lord of Bramber rape: an indication of his affiliations (*CPR 1381–5*, 399, 439). In 1387–88 he may have been active with Nottingham and the Appellants: in February 1398 he secured a pardon from Richard for his Appellant involvement (PRO, C67/30 m.3). In 1412 his lands in the county were said to be worth £33 p.a. beyond reprises (*Feud. Aids VI*, 525).
- ¹⁴² Lord of a moiety of East Chiltington; through his mother

- Alice, sister and heiress of William Bonet, he inherited Wappingthorn, which became his main seat, 'Woghwode' and Tortington, all in West Sussex. JP in Sussex 1375–80; MP for Sussex 1377 (Oct.), 1388 (Sept.); sheriff of Surrey and Sussex 1372–3. A retainer of the earls of Arundel and close associate of Sir William Percy (above, n. 94). Died between 1392 and 1399 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 859–60).
- ¹⁴³ Possibly William Merlot the younger, who was assessed at 6s. 8d. at Broadwater in 1379 (PRO, E179/189/42). Another William Merlot, described as senior (perhaps his father), was assessed at 6s. 8d. at Annington, in Botolphs (PRO, E179/189/42); for the family estate at Annington, later known as Marlotts, see *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 196. In 1375 the elder William acquired Muntham, in Itchingfield, from his son's father-in-law John de Muntham (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 10). This William had been active in local government since the 1360s (*CPR 1364–7*, 202; *1367–70*, 191, 194, 200; *1377–81*, 581; *1381–5*, 78). He probably had Arundel connections, as he often appears with the earl: *CPR 1364–7*, 202; *1367–70*, 191; *1377–81*, 581; *CCR 1369–74*, 406–7. In 1383 he obtained an exemption from office-holding on grounds of old age: *CPR 1381–5*, 268. (The statement in *VCH Sussex VI*, i, 196 that he died c. 1378 is in error.) The younger William was active simultaneously with the father. He was attorney of the prior of Arundel (*CPR 1361–4*, 407), of the abbot of Seez (*CPR 1364–7*, 114; *1367–70*, 145); and of the abbot of Fécamp (*ibid.*, 189, 389; *1367–70*, 312). He was a mainpernor in 1379 (*CPR 1377–83*, 76, 161), and king's feodary in the counties of Sussex, Bedford and Bucks. the same year (*CPR 1377–81*, 357). His frequent appointment as an attorney suggests legal experience. William the elder had a bastard son, another William, by Emma atte Hurst (*CCR 1381–5*, 458).
- ¹⁴⁴ Possibly the son of Stephen Absele (above, n. 126). William presented to Thakeham church in 1407 (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 45).
- ¹⁴⁵ Lord of the small manor of Wolves in Ashington (*VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 66).
- ¹⁴⁶ Acquired 4 messuages, 87 acres of land and £2 of rents in Fittleworth, Billingshurst and Petworth in 1377 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2456).
- ¹⁴⁷ A free tenant of Lyminster, near Arundel (*Two Estate Surveys of the Fitzalan Earls of Arundel*, 126). Appears to have had Arundel connections: he was a mainpernor for the earl in 1380 (*CFR 1377–83*, 194). Tax collector in Sussex 1384, 1385 (*CFR 1383–91*, 69, 116).
- ¹⁴⁸ A juror in a plea in King's Bench in 1402 between the bishop of Chichester and the prior of Hardham (*Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 894).
- ¹⁴⁹ Lord of Up Waltham. Assessed at 3s. 4d. in 1379, and described in the return as a 'franklin' (E179/189/40). Tax collector in Sussex 1380, 1393 (*CFR 1377–83*, 187; *1391–9*, 73, 98). Died in 1398, leaving a widow Alice (*VCH Sussex IV*, 174).
- ¹⁵⁰ Possibly a member of the de la Strode family of Strood in Slinfold. For 13th-century charters of the family, see *Catalogue of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, 560.
- ¹⁵¹ A William Bramshott, presumably Roger's son, was said to have lands worth £30 p.a. beyond reprises in 1412 (*Feud. Aids VI*, 523). William was listed as a tenant at Rustington and Lordington in 1428 (*Feud. Aids V*, 155).
- ¹⁵² A William Turgeys was listed at Up Waltham in 1379 and assessed at 6d. (E179/189/40).
- ¹⁵³ Assessed at 6s. 8d. at Chithurst and described as a 'franklin' (E179/189/40); a tax collector in Sussex 1380 (*CFR 1377–83*, 187).
- ¹⁵⁴ Suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 111). Tax collector in Sussex 1380, 1384 (*CFR 1377–83*, 147; *1383–91*, 69).
- ¹⁵⁵ Witness to a quitclaim relating to lands in Harting in 1396 (*CCR 1396–9*, 64).
- ¹⁵⁶ Suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 114).
- ¹⁵⁷ A Richard Taillour was assessed at 6d. at Southborough in 1379, but it is not clear whether he is to be identified with this man (E179/189/41).
- ¹⁵⁸ A tenant of lands (unspecified) in East Lavant (Brit. Lib. Add. Ch. 8994, a late-14th-century valor). A tax collector in Sussex 1380, 1386, 1388 (*CFR 1377–83*, 187; *1383–91*, 156, 268).
- ¹⁵⁹ A suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113). Possibly a woolman or shipman. In 1387 someone of this name laid claim, allegedly without foundation, to the wool cargo of a Hanse vessel shipwrecked off Winchelsea (*CPR 1385–9*, 392–3).
- ¹⁶⁰ A suitor to court of Easebourne hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113).
- ¹⁶¹ Two men of this name were suitors to the court of Easebourne hundred, one resident at 'Pernestede' and one at Easebourne (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113).
- ¹⁶² Listed as a homager in Chichester in 1356 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2169). Also listed in a Fitzalan survey as a suitor to the court of Stockbridge hundred (*Two Estate Surveys*, 113). Tax collector in Sussex 1383, 1388 (*CFR 1383–91*, 20, 217).
- ¹⁶³ Lord of an estate in Earnley (*Feud. Aids V*, 155). In 1370 John, son of John Ernie and Agnes, his wife, made a settlement of their lands in West Burton, Billingshurst and Hurstpierpoint (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2387). The same two made another settlement in 1380 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2494). In 1368 at Kennington he witnessed a grant to the Earl of Arundel (*CCR 1364–8*, 466). By 1412 John had been succeeded by his heir William (*Feud. Aids VI*, 522).
- ¹⁶⁴ Lord of Keynor in Sidlesham. Henry, son of Henry Whussh (or Whyssh) and Alice, his wife, made a settlement of the manor of 'Kynore' in 1356 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, 2172). Another Henry held the manor in 1428 (*Feud. Aids V*, 155). In 1385 one Henry Wyssh of Sidlesham, presumably the oath-taker, granted 2 acres of meadow in Camberwell, Surrey, which he had inherited from his father to Thomas Fyssh of Southwark (*Calendar of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office VI* (London, 1915), no. 5267). In 1368, alongside John Ernele, he witnessed a grant to the Earl of Arundel (*CCR 1364–8*, 466).
- ¹⁶⁵ Lord of the manor of Burton (*CIPM XVIII*, no. 224).
- ¹⁶⁶ Appointed controller of the customs in Chichester in 1385 provided that he continually reside there (*CPR 1381–5*, 547). He does not appear in the 1379 poll tax returns for the city (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁶⁷ Unidentified, but the name suggests a family connection with Coates, near Petworth.
- ¹⁶⁸ Lord of Hunston, near Chichester. Probably to be identified with the Thomas who was alive in 1365. A later Thomas held the manor in 1428 (*VCH Sussex IV*, 157).

- ¹⁶⁹ Probably to be identified with Nicholas Roper of Surrey, a mainpernor in 1411 (*CCR 1409–13*, 231).
- ¹⁷⁰ In 1379 a William Burle, possibly this man's father, was assessed at 2s. at Hangleton and described as farmer ('firmarius') of the manor (PRO, E179/189/41).
- ¹⁷¹ A Richard Petefyne, probably a kinsman, was assessed at 4d. at Hangleton in 1379 (PRO, E179/189/41).
- ¹⁷² Collector of a parliamentary subsidy, November 1382 (*CFR 1377–83*, 340). In 1412 he held lands or rents worth £25 p.a. beyond reprises in Kingsham, Grove, Chichester, Belsham and elsewhere (*Feud. Aids VI*, 522–3). His name suggests that he was a Chichester burgess by origin.
- ¹⁷³ Appointed pesager of wools in Chichester and adjacent ports, 1401 (*CCR 1399–1401*, 511).
- ¹⁷⁴ Assessed at 2s. in Chichester in 1379 (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁵ Mayor of Chichester 1378–9, 1383–5, 1396. Died 1406 (*VCH Sussex III*, 91; *History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 339). In the poll tax of 1379 assessed at 12s. and listed with wife Margaret, three servants and a serving-maid ('ancilla') (E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁶ Involved in a settlement of a messuage in St Pancras parish, Chichester (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2496). Involved in another settlement, this time of lands in North Mundham, but described as of Chichester (*ibid.*, no. 2642). Collector of the 1379 poll tax in Chichester (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁷ Assessed at 2s. in the 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Agnes and one servant (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁸ Collector of the 1379 poll tax in Chichester (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁷⁹ Assessed at 6s. in the 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Edith and 5 servants (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁸⁰ Acquired a shop with a cellar in Chichester in 1403 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2749).
- ¹⁸¹ Assessed at 12s. in 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Matilda and one servant (PRO, E179/189/45).
- ¹⁸² Assessed at 12s. in the 1379 poll tax, and listed with wife Joan and 4 servants (*ibid.*).
- ¹⁸³ Presumably a kinsman of John Covert of Ashington (*see above*, n. 137).
- ¹⁸⁴ A resident of Arundel by 1361. Constable of Arundel 1387–8. MP for Arundel 1382 (May), 1386 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 641).
- ¹⁸⁵ According to a rental of Battle Abbey lands in Bramber, c. 1430, a William Smyth held a hall, buttery and stable in Bramber and had the duty of lodging the abbot if he came to the town (PRO, E315/56, fo. 279v; I am grateful to Mark Gardiner for the reference). Presumably this William was an heir of Roger Smyth.
- ¹⁸⁶ Possibly John Skully, shipman of Shoreham, and MP for the town 1382 (Oct.), 1388 (Sept.), 1391, 1393, 1407. A tenant of the earl of Arundel at Knulle in Worthing (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 391).
- ¹⁸⁷ MP for New Shoreham 1377 (Oct.), 1381, 1382 (May), 1384 (Nov.), 1386, 1388 (Feb.), 1388 (Sept.), 1390 (Jan.), 1393, 1395. Shipowner engaged in the wool trade. Involved in privateering in the 1360s, and in the early 1390s a member of a smuggling ring. Died after 1403 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 204–5).
- ¹⁸⁸ MP for Midhurst 1384 (April), 1388 (Sept.), 1397 (Sept.). A ringleader of the men of Midhurst in their struggle for greater independence against the manorial lord, Sir John Bohun. He was killed at 'Wepull' in Midhurst in December 1401 while leading an insurrection against Sir John (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 96).
- ¹⁸⁹ MP for Midhurst 1358, 1371, 1378, 1386. Member of a family with a tradition of parliamentary service for the town. Born c.1323, but date of death unknown (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 46–7).
- ¹⁹⁰ The Sarcellers were prominent in Midhurst in this period. One of the two Thomases was MP for the town in 1382 (Oct.) and 1397 (Sept.). John Sarceller represented the town in 1388 (Sept.). The family owned a burgage in North Street, which in 1422 was said to have belonged to Thomas Sarceller 'the younger' (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 305).
- ¹⁹¹ MP for Lewes 1388 (Sept.). Assessed at 20d. for the poll tax of 1379 and described in the return as a cloth merchant ('merc' pannorum') (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 163).
- ¹⁹² G' over an erasure.
- ¹⁹³ A weigher of wool at Lewes or Chichester intermittently 1378–97, and probably a wool merchant. Paid 12d. in Lewes in the 1379 poll tax; frequently attested deeds in the town (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 214). *See also* Roger Gosselyn, above n. 119.
- ¹⁹⁴ Assessed at 2s. in the 1379 poll tax and described as 'constabularius' (PRO, E179/189/41).
- ¹⁹⁵ MP for Lewes 1395, 1397 (Sept.), 1399, 1401, 1402, 1413 (May). An adherent of the Appellants in 1388, and pardoned for his involvement a decade later. Last recorded in 1424 serving as a juror in Lewes (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons III*, 698–9).
- ¹⁹⁶ In 1395 Richard Halle (*see above* n. 123) entered into a recognisance with him (*CCR 1392–6*, 412). In 1410 involved with others in a suit against one Thomas Larke (*CCR 1409–13*, 113).
- ¹⁹⁷ MP for Horsham 1385, 1393, 1399; a recognitor at the assizes at East Grinstead in 1392 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 572).
- ¹⁹⁸ Receiver of the honour of Bramber in 1381 (*Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 881); in that capacity an associate of Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, later duke of Norfolk, one of the junior Appellants of 1387. In 1398 he secured a pardon from the king in 1398 for supporting the Appellants, probably because of his association with Mowbray (PRO, C67/30 m.17). Held property in Horsham. In 1389 brought an assize against John White and others for disseising him of lands in the town, but lost the action because allegedly he influenced the jurors (*Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Richard II*, 80–82). In 1403 did homage to the bishop of Chichester for lands in Amberley (*Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester*, no. 864). Listed in a Fitzalan survey as a tenant at Sullington (*Two Estate Surveys*, 134; *VCH Sussex VI*, ii, 22). In 1412 said to have lands worth £7 p.a. beyond reprises in Sussex (*Feud. Aids VI*, 524). Died in 1424 and commemorated by a brass in Amberley church (described and illustrated by C. E. D. Davidson-Houston, 'A list of monumental brasses in Sussex, part I', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* 76 (1935), 49–50). An associate of William Merlot the elder (above, n. 143), for whom he witnessed a charter (*CCR 1377–81*, 459).
- ¹⁹⁹ A Robert Frenssh acquired 2 messuages in Horsham and Warnham in 1365 (*Sussex Feet of Fines*, no. 2306).
- ²⁰⁰ MP for Horsham 1386, 1390 (Jan.), 1391, 1395, 1397

(Sept.). In 1398 was granted a pardon for supporting the Appellants, but almost certainly by the closing years of the reign a supporter of the king. In January 1400 he was interrogated before the council, along with Sir Thomas Sackville (above, n. 97) for alleged involvement in the rising of the earls, but quickly discharged on bail. A close associate of Sir William Burcester, a Kentish knight

(*History of Parliament: the House of Commons II*, 303–4).
²⁰¹ MP for Horsham 1378, 1381, 1383 (Feb.), 1388 (Feb.), 1397 (Jan.). In 1398 was granted a pardon for adhering to the former Appellants. Tax collector in Sussex, May 1398. Frequent witness to deeds at Horsham. Last mentioned March 1412 (*History of Parliament: the House of Commons IV*, 924).



Ecological destruction in the 16th century

THE CASE OF ST LEONARDS FOREST

by Sybil M. Jack

Despite the protests of Elizabeth's foresters, human activity over a short time decisively altered the ecological system in St Leonards Forest: the indiscriminate felling of saleable timber together with the direct and indirect effects of iron mining and smelting in the 16th century virtually eliminated oak and beech and these did not reappear as the forest regenerated. This in turn had a disruptive impact on the deer population which dwindled and disappeared, leaving the area by the 19th century more or less sterile. This sequence of events appears to be merely a particular illustration of a more general trend in the forests of 16th-century England.

This study is an attempt to illustrate, in microcosm, how man's activities in the 16th and early 17th centuries decisively and destructively altered the ecological structure of the marginal lands in the county of Sussex. It is a small reflection on P. A. J. Pettit's study of the royal forests of Northamptonshire in which he comments on the multitude of conflicting interests, the absence of a consistent or positive forest policy in the period, and the effects of this on the Crown's exploitation of a considerable potential asset.¹ It also reflects on Cyril E. Hart's study of the Forest of Dean and George Hammersley's assessment of the exploitation of the crown woods.²

Sussex was very similar to Northamptonshire in the structure of the local countryside. In Sussex too, parks were 'relatively more numerous in the vicinity of the forests . . . and distinguished them by many aristocratic seats'.³ Sussex, however, was not a traditional centre of royal forest activity and there were few proceedings by the justices charged with the protection of the forests. The one exception was the investigation into Ashdown Forest in the reign of Edward VI caused by Seymour's attainder, and this already makes gloomy reading.

The forest is described as 'a barren ground' which 'hath no covert of any underwood saving great Trees and insomer of the covers of birchen trees'; in addition, 'there is no fair laund in it but only hethers and they are not playne but all holtes'. The lodges for the foresters and walkers were ruinous as was Newbridge lodge. Even so, there were still 300 red deer and 700-800 fallow deer.⁴ The fragile forests of

Sussex continued to be devastated despite the passing of an Act of Parliament⁵ which laid down detailed and comprehensive rules about how and where trees might be cut and harvested, and it did so because the government of the day, in the last resort, paid more heed to the immediate political pressures which it faced, rather than to the long-term good of the country. The pre-existing acts relating to the forests were reinforced by new Acts in Elizabeth's reign, all to no purpose. 1 Elizabeth cap. 15 prohibited the felling of oak, beech or ash of a breadth of more than one foot square within 14 miles of the Thames, Severn and Wye. This produced a spate of letters of exemption.⁶ 23 Elizabeth cap. 5, trying to keep up with the problem, forbade any felling within 22 miles of London or the Thames and four miles of downs between Arundel and Pevensey. 27 Elizabeth cap. 19 restricted the cutting of wood usable as cloven wood in Sussex, Surrey and Kent. None of this had any long-term effect.

The great forest of Anderida, which had once stretched across the Weald through Kent and Sussex, had been eroded throughout the Middle Ages by assarting and cultivation, but the heathlands with their thin and poor soils had been prudently left to the wild animals whose hunting was a sport both legally for the rich and illegally for the poor.⁷ There were a number of such areas, all of which were coveted by the aristocracy for reasons of prestige and status. These included Ashdown Forest, the forest of Weybridge and Sapley, innumerable parks and the place which will be the focus of this study, St Leonards Forest, with its associated disrupted

parks of Sedgwick and Chesworth, and the parks of Beaubush and Shelley. At the beginning of the 16th century this was still a heavily-timbered country, with large stands of good timber trees such as oak and beech.

The status of the areas in Sussex regarded as forests, gives rise to some debate. C. R. Young accepts the idea that only a king can hold a forest and does not accept that the areas in Sussex, all of which were at some stage in the hands of a subject, were forests which came under royal forest law, even when the vagaries of politics brought them back into crown hands.⁸ If one accepts the authority of the contemporary judge, Roger Manwood, who wrote the definitive work, *A Treatise of the Forest Laws*, Young is wrong. Manwood specifically refutes the idea that no subject of the realm could be seised of a forest and in doing so mentions St Leonards Forest by name. He admits that there had been legal argument about the issue, and that a forest granted away by the king might be 'but a chase' in the hands of the subject if certain magical legal words are omitted from the grant.⁹ If, however, the magic words, *cum omnibus incidentibus appendiciis et pertinentiis* are included in the grant, then the grantee holds a forest, and can have all officers that 'belong unto a forest'. He may hold a court of attachment every 40 days and also a court of swannimote, but may not hold a forest eyre without a special commission from the king. The case of Lord Dier in 1&2 Elizabeth established this for Weybridge and Sapley, and it seems to have been the case for St Leonards as the archives at Arundel Castle preserve some of the records of the court of attachment and swannimote for St Leonards.¹⁰

Manwood, who was closely connected in his legal career with the Cinque Ports and the Howard family, would undoubtedly have known. These areas then were, to use Manwood's words, 'Territorie[s] of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, thereby is declared what manner of territorie of ground a forest must be, that is to say a territorie of woody ground stored with great woods of coverts for the secret abode of the wild beasts, and also with fruitfull pastures for their continual feed'. Manwood argued that if either of these two essential characteristics were missing, it would cause 'the exile of the wild beastes from the Forrest to some other place'. Without thick coverts for the animals they would leave to find coverts elsewhere and would then, being outside the bounds of the forest, be hunted

and killed. Were there insufficient 'fruitful pastures' from which to feed, they would again leave and risk being hunted and killed. That being so, 'it is manifest, that a Forrest cannot haue continuance without woody ground and fruitfull pastures. And so consequently it followeth, that to destroy the coverts of the Forrest is to destroy the Forrest it selfe: Also, to convert the pasture ground, meadows and feedings into arable land is likewise to destroy the Forrest.'¹¹ Manwood may have been writing from observation, for this is what happened to the forests in Sussex in the 16th and early 17th centuries.

St Leonards Forest lies on high and barren ground, sharply indented with blind valleys separate from ordinary manorial jurisdiction across the boundaries of two parishes, Beeding (or Seal) and Nuthurst. It was, in the 16th century, generally agreed to have a circumference of 25–30 miles, marked off by a paling fence to discourage the deer from getting out. For the hunting and preservation of game it was organized along fairly standard lines and was divided into five walks, each presided over by a keeper whose rights were established by vague, inconsistent and often disputed custom. The keeper claimed, amongst other things, fee-trees, fee-bucks and rights to approve the temporary use of the land. The deer, which often had to be handfed, numbered several hundred of various types. The keeper's rights to pannage and herbage-grazing cattle and sheep were granted separately. The right to fee-trees was reserved to the owners. The forest also included a number of small ponds in which fishing rights were available and the prime and jealously guarded role of the area was clearly and unequivocally a recreational one — probably the more highly prized for the fact that it was less a source of economic wealth than a cost. The forest belonged to the Howard family, but it was frequently in royal hands, and was eventually actually sold to the monarch in return for a long lease on equitable terms.¹²

Not all the land within the forest belonged to the Howards, however. Various local landowners had freehold within its bounds and some lesser men had land by copy of court roll. In the early years of the century it was part of the property usually reserved as jointure for the Norfolk dowagers, and for many years was in the hands of Agnes, the long-lived widow of the 2nd duke, who lived in her palace at nearby Horsham, where she supervised the upbringing of the well-born girls of the family and affinity — not very well, if her granddaughter,

Catherine Howard, who was one of them, really behaved as was alleged. For that the dowager was attainted, but the 3rd duke was allowed to administer the lands until her death. Since the duke was almost immediately attainted, the land remained in crown hands until Mary's reign, was returned to the duke then, but in 1562–3 exchanged by the 4th duke with Elizabeth in return for a long lease. What this did, however, was to open up the administration of the woods, as distinct from the forest or the land rights, to the royal court. Since there were many in the court, the government and elsewhere who were hungry for timber, priority between those with legitimate demands on the woods became an unresolved problem.

The growth of the iron industry in the area made other demands on the local resources. By the 1570s there were a dozen forges and furnaces within a ten-mile radius of the forest, apart from the furnace and forge within it which had a lease that in the usual way entitled the tenant to wood for repairs to the buildings, hammers and wheels. Not only were ironmasters interested in timber, they were equally, if not more interested in water supply. A long-lasting, reliable source of water was hard to come by in Sussex and yet essential if the forges and furnaces were to be kept in operation. St Leonards' deep, blind valleys offered two magnificent ponds with an almost inexhaustible supply of water. In the 1550s John Broadbridge had built a dam which significantly extended and deepened Hawkins pond. Neighbouring ironmasters had encroached on the edges of the forest to improve their own catchment areas, and this too disrupted and altered the existing ecological balance.¹³

The administration of the woods in crown hands had been one of the most inefficient areas of royal estate management from the time of Henry VIII. Control of the local administration by the central woodward was virtually non-existent. The disorder noted and identified at the end of Henry's reign and again in the enquiries under Edward had not been rectified during the re-organization of the financial structure and the absorption of the land courts into the Exchequer.¹⁴ Indeed, far from any improvement in control in this area, the reverse may be true. The old rule that the chief justice of the forest had to authorize the sale of woods had given way to a situation in which an exchequer warrant was sufficient. This led to trouble particularly perhaps in areas where royal control was partial and recent.¹⁵

We do not know, for example, who appointed the verderers in St Leonards. Theoretically, it was the forest JPs who presided at the swannimote which was supposed to meet three times a year and enrol warrants to fell trees and examine offenders. It is not clear if the court even met after Howard influence was withdrawn.

It was evidently comparatively easy for those with warrants from the crown to operate without proper supervision and common for such warrants to be issued without any reference to expert advice on the management of the resource. Consequently, those with access to court favour could seek to benefit from the as yet untapped resources of the St Leonards Forest area, unchecked by anyone with a responsibility for the long-term preservation and maintenance of resources. Warrants for timber were soon being issued, some for the construction of royal buildings such as the Exchequer, but some, indiscriminately, to local people.¹⁶ Warrants were issued in such a way that the holders cut down trees on copyhold land contrary to the rules relating to copy on that manor.¹⁷ There were also battles between private individuals over rights to timber and ore in the area on copyhold or freehold land.¹⁸

The keepers and rangers of the forest protested vigorously. The effects of logging on the wild beasts and their vital coverts, particularly if done at times of the year when the animals were dropping their fawns, was disastrous to the well being of the animals. Increasing human access to the area was deteriorating the forest cover. Pursuit of those causing the damage in the local courts was difficult. The keepers had problems in fulfilling their responsibilities. Recourse to the Exchequer was eventually attempted but Exchequer commissions took time, action to produce fines for spoil in the Exchequer was a long slow process, and in the meantime the damage was done.¹⁹

This was not the only effect that the cutting was having on the forest area, however. The long-term dangers of the procedure were forcibly pointed out some time between 1566 and 1572 by the deputy surveyor of woods, Roger Taverner, who was conducting a long, and eventually unsuccessful campaign to preserve the southern landscape.

Taverner produced a well-reasoned assessment of the resource after making a survey. The forest, he said, was well supplied with desirable timber, especially oak and beech, 'of a very great age and of a great length' but the manner of its growth was

not such as to encourage natural regeneration even if 'standells' were left in accordance with the already existing acts of parliament. This was due to the effect of the wind in the exposed slopes. The trees growing there grew in 'plumps' together, preserved from overthrow 'by reason that the uttermost trees of the said plumps defend the wyndes from the innermost and the innermost trees growing thick do keep the uttermost from falling, by their nigh standing with them'.²⁰ The creation of gaps and glades in these plumps which had been going on since the area had come into the queen's hands was giving the wind 'apt entrance' and would soon blow down, bruise and break the remainder, therefore leading to the rapid decay of the whole. In addition, the undergrowth was being destroyed by the method of cutting. Taverner proposed changes to the administrative procedures so that proper forestry methods could be enforced. These, he said, would ensure that timber suitable for the navy could be preserved and fuel committed for the iron mills properly harvested so that a continual supply of 500 loads a year for 100 years or more might be assured. If this were not done, then the timber would be destroyed in a way that would be quite unprofitable as well as bad husbandry. A 'load' of wood is a confusing term, but so far as timber is concerned represents 50 foot cubed for squared timber and 40 foot cubed for logs. A cord is a stack eight foot by four foot by four foot, no piece being less than three inches in girth. The volume is 128 foot cubed (3.624 m cubed) and weight *c.* 3300 lb (say 1500 kg).²¹

These sensible and professional recommendations may have checked the flow of warrants for a time, but as the queen was still prepared to grant warrants with little attention even to whether the commitment could all be met, the situation did not improve for long. One reason for this may have been that Taverner was not on hand and the perquisite that the deputies obtained of four pence on each tree marked for sale, and a shilling in the pound on wood sales encouraged them to overlook infringements.²² Another reason of course was the rising price of the cord of wood in the area. In 1562–4 a cord cost 10d.–11d., in 1570–4 it was 12d. By 1586 it was 24d. and 30d. by 1591.²³ Intermittent surveys of the great timber show a steady diminution of resources. In Sussex as in Northamptonshire, proposals for enclosure and plantation were not practical politics.²⁴

A further change to the established ecology came

from the increasing number of inhabitants. The developing exploitation attracted sawyers, carpenters, ash-burners, wood-brokers, clapboard makers, ship-board makers, coopers and others to the area, as well as the ironworkers. The great majority were incomers, as a search of the surviving parish registers and the evidence of later depositions makes clear. Many needed housing and some erected cottages, probably illegally, in the forest itself and the neighbouring parks, while the ironmasters were also erecting housing for their workers. In 1576 an inquisition showed, amongst other things, this increasing population pressure. At least ten tenements had been built in the four years since the forest had come to the queen.²⁵ Trouble arose between those who normally rented the herbage and pannage for their cattle and pigs, and others who complained about the overgrazing of their resources by the animals of the squatters. And, of course, the deer were once again disturbed.

The regular cutting of wood and working of the furnaces in the whole area meant the constant coming and going of carriers and wagons and the building of new access roads and bridges which themselves consumed more timber. One built in St Leonards for 'carrying coal to the hammer' accounted for one small oak, one beech and several birches. Enlarging the ponds caused other areas to be flooded at certain times and rendered useless for grazing. Enclosures and 'howes' were increasing at the expense of the deer. On the other hand, when the keepers burned the heath to improve the pasture, some young trees were also burned which caused friction with the woodcutters.

Although fuel for the ironworks should only have involved 'tops and lops', repairs to the works legitimately used full oaks and other trees — one occasion 2–3 oaks and 20 small beeches were used — which was again unpopular with the surveyor of woods. The making of charcoal in large quantities also had its effects. The charcoal was made from 'the body of birches', while 'herdells of the boughs thereof' were used 'for the defence of the wind for hurting of the coalpits'. Ultimately, the preservation of the game was not compatible with disturbance of the undergrowth, nor woodcutting with cattle-grazing and the increasing frequency of personal encounters also exacerbated the pressures of conflicting demands.

The deputy surveyor of woods had to act by bringing suit against the offending individuals.²⁶

Thus we find Taverner in dispute with Roger Gratwick and others over their manner of executing a warrant from the queen to Gratwick for 1000 trees. It was agreed that the cloven wood of these might be valued at £40. The queen had granted 1000 more to Mr Moore. These went to building Gratwick's dwelling house, Horsham mill, the schoolmaster's house and a number of small cottages.²⁷ No proper account had been given to the woodwards. The trees had been selected by the grantee in association with George Hall, whose commission as under-surveyor seems to have been assumed rather than granted, and there were objections to the areas in which they had been selected, the area having been chosen more for convenience than for good sylvan husbandry. 240 trees had been felled in 'Mr Merry's walk' since 1581 and 140 in John Asshely's, to their inconvenience. The case also involved a protracted argument about the methods used in felling and bringing down the wood and the effects this had on the surrounding coverts. In another case Taverner took on Thomas Shirley and John Middleton.²⁸

The effects of mining on the forest were equally deleterious although mining in those days took place in small bell-shaped pits. Numerous pits dug close together, however, created areas in which, it was said, no trees or plants would grow.

The situation was deteriorating rapidly. When George Hall and Sir Thomas Shirley were given one warrant for timber in 1579 and yet another warrant for great timber in 1580, the new surveyor, John Taverner, declared that there were not enough suitable trees to fulfil the warrant. By the first warrant the queen had granted Sir Thomas (for £60 and a rent of £66 13s. 4d.) 2000 cords of beech, birch and oak yearly within St Leonards. The second had granted a further 2000 cords.²⁹ When a commission of inquiry was established 19 years later it was to ask such basic questions as 'whether is there at this present any wood left standing fit to be fallen and employed for the cordwood' and 'Has Shirley made spoil?' George Hall's schedules and notes made surprising reading. From 1579–98, 60,981.5 cords had been cut for Shirley himself, 4035 more for John Middleton as assignee and 10,000 for Roger Gratwick as Shirley's assignee, a total of 75,016.5, leaving only 696 cords standing. This gave rise to further trouble as accusations were flung at those who had got in early, that they had illegally appropriated the trees as the Shirleys' warrant had priority. In terms of the environment, who cut the trees hardly mattered,

the destruction was irreparable. By the end of the 16th century, interest in the forest was dying down. With only 696 cords of wood left standing, not enough for existing commitments, business had to move elsewhere. Ruthless exploitation, little or no replanting, together with the diverting of water-resources had left the land eroded. Even so, John Taverner was to fight a few rearguard skirmishes over the remaining timber. The survey taken in 1604 makes gloomy reading.³⁰ Even more ironic was that a further special commission revealed that many of the worst offenders had not even been paying the small assized rents due for their holdings in the forest.³¹ By James' reign there were other pressures on the forests and parks, many of which were being disparked, and after grubbing and stubbing the roots of the trees, the barren soil was marled to make it fitter for tillage.³²

With the timber gone, the deer, as Manwood knew, diminished and the keepers kept up the paling fences with less care. In the 1630s Sir Henry Compton, apparently tired of the passage of red and fallow deer and cattle to his great detriment, thought it worth attempting bringing the matter before the Exchequer court to get some things put right. The series of questions put on his behalf to the witnesses concerned the decay of the park palings and the number of the surviving deer, the constant issue of waste and felling timber trees and the burning of heath in new and unusual places. As Manwood had foreseen, there were but some six score deer left and they destroyed other men's corn and were likely to be killed. Sir Walter Covert as tenant to Sir John Caryll, who had obtained both from Elizabeth and James an extended lease of the forest for 50 years, let in larger quantities of sheep and cattle. Their browsing further denuded the woodland cover leaving little for the deer, though his own supporters held that he had nonetheless increased the number of deer. Caryll further let sections of the parks and forests to farmers with permission to turn it over to tillage.³³ The land was duly ploughed and improved and the tenants found to their fury that the local rector promptly demanded his tithes, arguing that the doe traditionally accepted in lieu of tithes had applied only to the unimproved lands.

By Charles I's reign, the situation had deteriorated yet further. A survey of woods in St Leonards Forest showed no great trees or valuable timber saving one old tree worth £1 and other young timber worth £30.³⁴ In the circumstances, the commission set up

in July 1633 to investigate the enforcement of the Elizabethan forest acts with which we started, was something rather more than 'too little too late'.³⁵ There was no improvement by the 1650s when the commonwealth undertook a further survey.³⁶

Was the destruction effectively impossible to avert given the demand for wood? The commonwealth survey observed 'there hath been very great destruction of wood but sufficient if coppiced to make good the said coals' (250 loads a year was in question). Hammersley has argued that there would have been an adequate supply of wood for the existing ironworks for ever if it had been properly coppiced.³⁷ I. B. Mason, on the other hand, has argued that a large furnace producing about 800 tons of pig iron would be satisfactorily maintained by 7000 acres of wood, plus 6000 if all had been refined. So that assuming that a third of the

countryside was under wood, c. 50,000 acres represents a working radius of about five miles — much less than the Wealden furnaces had.³⁸ Whether this is true or not, for an area like St Leonards it would have meant changes, since coppicing the wood would have affected the deer and the ecology of the area would have been changed.

The mischief was that as the farmers left, the land proving often unsuitable for long tillage, the wood that regenerated was of a different kind. Oak and beech were no longer to be hoped for. Ash and thorn and scrub were what appeared. This was no ground for the deer, and they disappeared, as doubtless did many woodland animals of less interest to man. In the 19th century Horsfield in his *History of Sussex*, dismisses the St Leonards area in a few words as a 'wild and in great measure sterile district' — a far remove from its attractions in 1500.³⁹

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NOTES

- ¹ P. A. J. Pettit, *Royal Forests of Northamptonshire: a Study in their Economy 1558–1714*, Northants Record Society 23 (1968), xvi.
- ² Cyril E. Hart, *Royal Forest: a History of Dean's Woods as Producers of Timber* (Oxford: OUP, 1966). G. Hammersley, 'The Crown Woods and their exploitation in the 16th and 17th centuries', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 30 (1957).
- ³ Hart, 4.
- ⁴ Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) Exchequer Forest Proceedings E32/1(197) relates to Ashdown forest, but is an isolated case. It was taken in a forest court because the Earl of Wiltshire had been attainted. The later accounts, printed in M. S. Giuseppi, 'The accounts of the iron works at Sheffield and Worth in Sussex 1546–1549', *Archaeologia* 64 (1912) Appendix 1, 290ff., exist because Thomas Seymour had in his turn been attainted. The forest courts had evidently been in the hands of the Earls of Arundel for a long time as the occasional extent taken on a death in royal hands shows: e.g. PRO Exchequer Special Collections (SC) 6/1019/23 (1420s).
- ⁵ 35 Henry VIII cap. 17 required the reserving of twelve standards on each acre.
- ⁶ Some, but not all of these are enrolled in the *Calendars of Patent Rolls* e.g. 1558–60, 96, 326, 340; 1560–63, 342, 478.
- ⁷ It was famous at the time. William Camden mentions it in his *Britannia: a Chorographical Description of the . . . Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Islands Adjacent from the Earliest Antiquity*, 2nd edn (London, 1806) 1, 210.
- ⁸ C. R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979).
- ⁹ Roger Manwood, *A Treatise of the Forest Laws* (London,

1598), 13–20.

¹⁰ Arundel Castle Archives nos 814, 815.

¹¹ Manwood, 2–3.

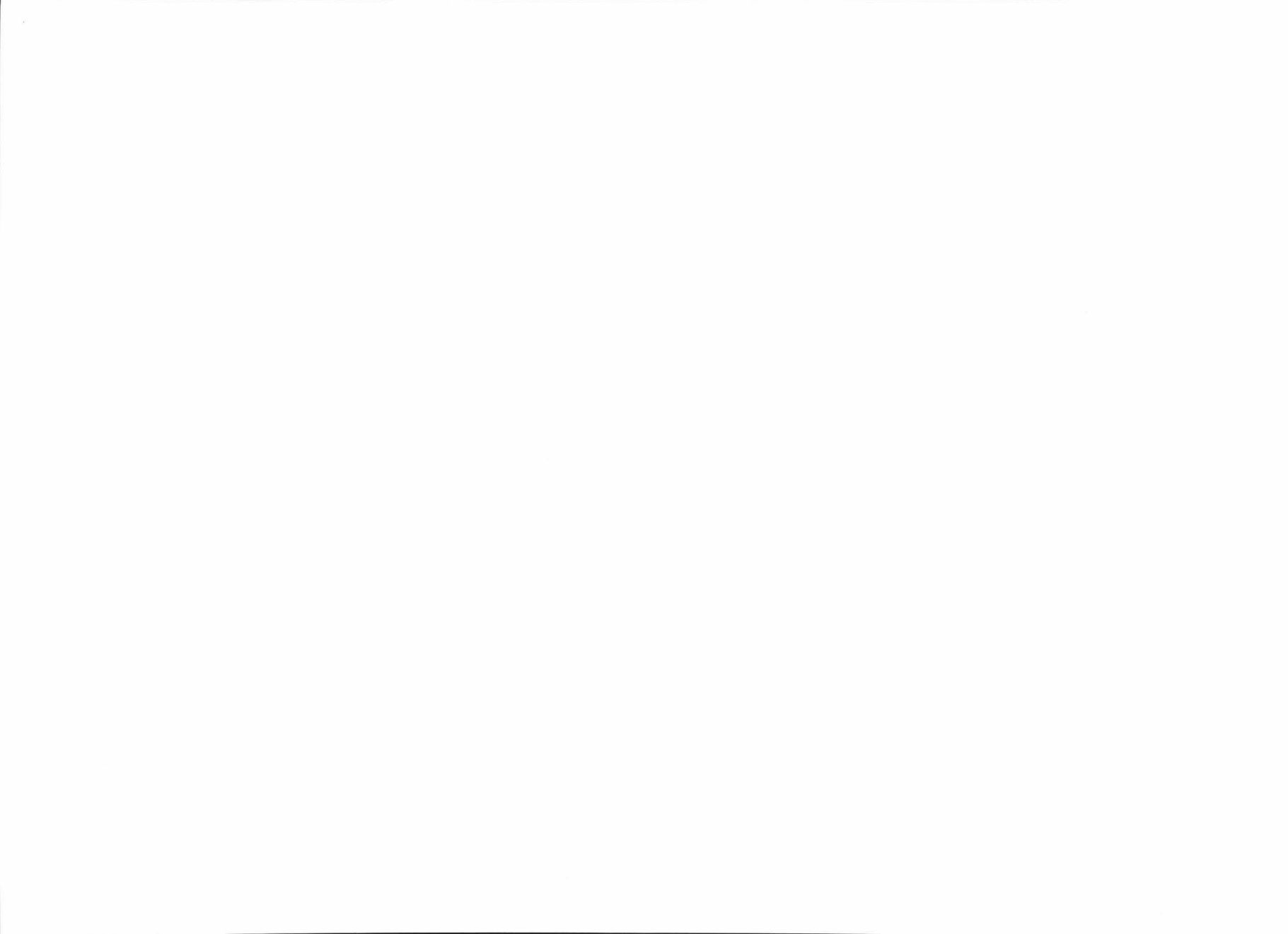
¹² T. W. Horsfield, *The History, Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex* (Lewes: Sussex Press, 1835) 2, 3, 195–6, 221–2, 247, 249, 251, 257; James Dallaway, *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, Including the Rapes of Chichester, Arundel and Bramber with the City and Diocese of Chichester* (London: T. Bensley, 1815–30) 2 Pt 1; Mark Tierney, *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel, Including the Biography of its Earls from the Conquest to the Present Time* (London: G. & W. Nicol, 1834); more can be gleaned, however, from the various accounts of the Howard lands when they were in royal hands: PRO SC 6/Henry VIII/3496; SC6/Philip and Mary/284, 285, the survey in Exchequer Depositions E 178/2274 and Thomas Howard's inquisition *post mortem* in 1554 PRO C142/103/56.

¹³ There is some reference to this in E. Straker, *Wealden Iron: a Monograph of the Former Ironworks in the Counties of Sussex, Surrey and Kent, Comprising a History of the Industry from the Earliest Times to its Cessation; Together with a Topographical Survey of the Existing Remains from Personal Observation* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles 1969 reprint of 1931 edn), 60, 105, 110–11, 141, 417, 433, 434, 441, 458; this has been updated in H. F. Cleere & D. W. Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985) but the innumerable lawsuits show further details.

¹⁴ Commissions were the standard way of enquiring into abuses which came to the Exchequer's attention. A number of these are to be found enrolled on the memoranda rolls for example PRO Roll E368/336 (LTR Hilary 1&2 Philip and Mary), commissions rot. 3.

¹⁵ Warrants are to be found in various miscellaneous

- collections, for instance, PRO Exchequer E315/460; there are various notes about the claims for timber and disputes thereupon in British Library, Add. MS 33,142 which is a volume of materials of the Covert family.
- ¹⁶ PRO Exchequer Decrees and Orders, E123 contain some of these, e.g. E123/3 Trinity 12 Elizabeth, 60 oak trees out of the forest of St Leonards to be delivered to Magdalen College to rebuild the bridge at Bramber; others are cited in lawsuits e.g. Exchequer Bills and Answers (English Bill proceedings), E112/45/19 (Elizabeth I).
- ¹⁷ Copyholders, for example, claimed that 'Canterbury hold' gave them all the wood growing on their copyholds to their own use, PRO E 112/45/73; similar claims occur in E112/45/82 and 91.
- ¹⁸ PRO Exchequer Commissions of enquiry E133/1107; the list of private cases in which exploitation of timber was at issue brought in the Exchequer is lengthy, one may suffice as an example, PRO E112/45/55 Ashburnham v. Slowright.
- ¹⁹ For example PRO E178/2281 presentments in 18 and 36 Elizabeth concerning spoil of the queen's woods in Beaubush park.
- ²⁰ PRO Exchequer Land Revenue Forests LR9/17/841.
- ²¹ W. Beswick, 'Old weights and measures', *Sussex Industrial History* 7 (1976), 21.
- ²² See Pettit, 31.
- ²³ C. E. Brent, 'Rural employment and population in Sussex 1550-1640', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 116 (1977-8), 45.
- ²⁴ Brent, 54-5.
- ²⁵ PRO State Papers (SP) SP12/95 no. 20.
- ²⁶ S. M. Jack, 'Sources in the Public Record Office for the history of the Wealden iron industry', *Wealden Iron*, 2nd series 2 (1982), 21-9; PRO E112/45/29.
- ²⁷ PRO Exchequer Depositions E134/Sussex 27 Eliz/Easter 16.
- ²⁸ PRO E112/45/94.
- ²⁹ PRO E178/2313,4640.
- ³⁰ PRO Exchequer Land Revenue Misc Books LR2/198 ff. 73-4.
- ³¹ PRO E178/4643.
- ³² PRO E112/127/188.
- ³³ PRO E112/127/188;203;233.
- ³⁴ PRO E178/5866.
- ³⁵ PRO E178/7312.
- ³⁶ PRO Exchequer Commonwealth Surveys E317 Sussex 35.
- ³⁷ G. Hammersley, 'The charcoal iron industry and its fuel 1540-1750', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 593.
- ³⁸ I. B. Mason, in *Wealden Iron Research Group Bulletin* 11 (1977) about a cord an acre. See also Cleere & Crossley.
- ³⁹ Horsfield 2, 221-2.



James Lambert, Senior and Junior, landscape painters of Lewes

by John H. Farrant

Working in Lewes, East Sussex, James Lambert (1725-88) and his nephew James (1741-99) undertook many of the types of painting for which there was demand in the provinces. The elder Lambert, the more competent and prolific of the two, was probably the first painter in eastern Sussex to have been an artist rather than an artisan. He was also a stationer and a musician. Over 600 pictures by them individually or jointly have been identified. These are mainly topographical watercolours, but also include oils of animals and imaginary landscapes. The latter were inspired by the work of George Smith of Chichester from whom the elder Lambert received instruction.

INTRODUCTION

In 1996 the artists James Lambert (1725-88) and his nephew James (1741-99) joined the Lewes pantheon along with such luminaries as William de Warrene, Tom Paine and Gideon Mantell, when the junction of Chapel Hill and South Street was named Lambert Corner on the town's tourist map.¹ The visitor will, however, search in vain for further commemoration beyond one or two watercolours displayed in the Barbican House Museum and memorials on the outer wall of the chancel of St John-sub-Castro church Lewes:²

Mr	Mr
James Lambert	James Lambert
Landscape painter	Herald and Landscape
(late of the Cliff)	Painter
died 7th December 1788	(late of the Cliff)
Aged 63 years	Died March 22nd 1799
His affectionate	Aged 57 years
nephew erects	His surviving friend
this	erects this

A reappraisal of these touristic icons to justify their place on the map is overdue.

James Lambert senior was baptized on 29 December 1725 at Willingdon, near Eastbourne, the youngest of the eight children of John Lambert (1690-1764) and Susan Bray (1687-1771). All the children were baptized at Willingdon, but both parents and six of the seven children who lived to

adulthood were buried in Lewes, so the family must have moved to Lewes in about 1730. There in the Cliffe the father worked as a flax-dresser, by 1735 attended the vestry and by 1747 until his death was tenant of 1 South Street. All his four sons lived their adult lives in the Cliffe, though two predeceased him. Neither of the survivors continued at 1 South Street, but in 1782 James' brother John did inherit from his business partner the nearby 2 Malling Street and 3 Chapel Hill and these passed on his death in 1794 to John's son, James Lambert junior (who had been born on 21 September 1741). Where the elder painter lived and worked in the Cliffe is not certain, but it was not immediately adjacent to 'Lambert Corner'. Both painters died in the Cliffe, but as the church there had no graveyard they were buried at St John-sub-Castro.³ Lambert, unqualified, should hereafter be taken to mean the uncle and Lambert jnr, the nephew.

James Lambert received a two-page obituary, seven years after his death, from Paul Dunvan.⁴ He consequently featured in M. A. Lower's *The Worthies of Sussex* of 1865 (which added only the remark that his watercolours had been faded by sunlight) and then in *The Dictionary of National Biography* (1892). George Holman, in *Some Lewes Men of Note* (1905 and later editions) augmented Lower with some comments on the Lamberts' decorative work. That aside, Lambert's brief entries in artistic dictionaries were assured by his having exhibited at the Free Society of Artists and the Royal Academy in their early days and by Sir William Burrell's bequest to

the Nation of his collection of Sussex topographical views. It is by those views that the Lamberts are best known today, mainly by the reproductions of 43 in *Sussex Views, Selected from the Burrell Collections* (1951).⁵ The next year W. H. Challen published a dense genealogical article, 'Baldy's Garden, the painters Lambert and other Sussex families', which is the more valuable for ranging over a network of friends and professional associates, as well as relatives. Colin Brent, in *Georgian Lewes* (1993), has added further references to the Lamberts' decorative work.⁶

KNOWN WORKS BY THE LAMBERTS

The known body of pictures by or associated with the Lamberts now exceeds 600 items, ranging from slight pencil sketches to large oils. A working list is deposited at SAS, Barbican House. Most of these pictures fall into the following groups, which are referred to hereafter by the given abbreviations:

- (1) 269 finished watercolours of Sussex churches, abbeys, castles and gentry houses, dated between 1767 and 1785, commissioned by, or collected by, Dr (later Sir) William Burrell, in British Library (BL), Add. MSS 5676 and 5677;
- (2) 49 similar watercolours, dated between 1762 and 1792, in the Sussex Archaeological Society picture collection (SAS), nine presented in 1892, and most of the remainder probably purchased in 1888, having descended from Thomas Wakeham of East Grinstead;⁷ and small numbers in other collections (e.g. Brighton Art Gallery, Yale Center for British Art (Yale));
- (3) an atlas folio volume of about 70 finished watercolours of Sussex antiquities, dated between 1762 and 1786, probably prepared for a gentleman's library in 1781, and purchased in May 1997 by SAS (accession: LEWSA 1997.7) (referred to as Atlas Folio with the pictures numbered as in the volume's original index);
- (4) 35 working sketches of Herstmonceux Castle made in 1776 (21 presented to SAS in 1892 and 14 acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum (VAM) in 1911); and 18 finished drawings and watercolours in a portfolio from the Ashburnham collection, now at Yale, and two similar watercolours at SAS;
- (5) 62 working drawings, most of Sussex churches and castles and in pencil, dated between 1762

and 1785, presented to the British Library in 1995 by W. M. Cheale, BL, Add. MS. 71714 (not yet foliated; citations are to the donor's numbers); and a few similar at SAS;

- (6) oil paintings of imaginary landscapes, animals or still-life subjects, known variously from a few in publicly accessible collections, from passing through Christie's and Sotheby's auction rooms in the past 30 years and from the catalogues of London exhibitions between 1768 and 1778;
- (7) about 20 of their topographical views and animal portraits which were engraved and published in their lifetimes.

UNCLE AND NEPHEW

The elder James Lambert was the more competent artist. Many pictures attributed to the Lamberts are unsigned, but fortunately the nephew seems to have signed himself as 'junior', even after his uncle's death. The only works by Lambert jnr which can be dated to the 11 years by which he outlived his uncle, are the royal coat of arms in Eastbourne parish church (1791), a view of Michelham Priory (taken in 1792, copied 1793) and two copies of earlier views, Winchelsea church (1781/1795) and Battle Abbey Gatehouse (1787/1792).⁸ The last (Fig. 1) shows his poor command of perspective. Two pencil sketches of Litlington church from the same viewpoint, clearly by different artists, are presumably by uncle and nephew. Whereas the uncle could define the edge of a wall by *Ls* to indicate courses of stone, the nephew ruled a straight line. Two views of Robertsbridge Abbey by Lambert jnr for Burrell were copied and much improved by the uncle.⁹ Among the churches illustrated in *Sussex Views*, the hardness of line in Warbleton (plate 174) compares poorly with Uckfield by the uncle (plate 166); and the uncle's landscape in oils in Figure 3 may be contrasted with the nephew's oil of Brambletye. The nephew's foliage is poor (e.g. Newick Park, 1780, Atlas Folio 51 and Sotheby's 15 Nov. 1990), while the uncle's is competently represented by multiple small strokes and has been judged superior even to that of his mentor, George Smith.¹⁰

The representation in several topographical views of two artists working together may be taken to be uncle and nephew, rather than just a conventional motif.¹¹ The signed work suggests that some pictures are the sole work of one or other, some



Fig. 1. James Lambert jnr, Battle Abbey Gatehouse from the Market Place, 14 June 1781, copied 1792. (Watercolour on paper, 255 × 360 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection, M29.)

are copies by one of the other's original and some are the joint efforts of both. One likely division of labour was that the nephew used a ruler to lay out the building which is the subject of the view, and his uncle added the foliage and the staffage in the foreground. This is what may have happened in the preliminary pencil sketch of Michelgrove (Fig. 4), in at least six finished watercolours in Atlas Folio and in views of Herstmonceux Castle. The 1776/7 pictures of Herstmonceux Castle show the nephew at his best: these were measured record drawings. He was more often the copyist. Appropriately he owned and bequeathed 'my case of drawing instruments, my drawing board square & parallel rule' and 'my pantagraft', a device of perforated rods for laying out copies to variable scales, as well as 'my best set of watercolours'. In his will he described himself as 'coach-painter', rather than the grander 'herald and landscape painter' on his memorial.¹²

The kindly uncle may have allowed his nephew to sign as his own, work to which they had both contributed. After his uncle's death, Lambert jnr could not produce quality work.

There is little evidence of Lambert jnr as an independent artist, rather than as his uncle's assistant. He exhibited in the London exhibitions only alongside his uncle, in 1769 to 1778 (aside from two dated 1768, the exhibited pictures of 1769–71 are earliest recorded of his work). He displayed mainly still life and none of these pictures is known to survive. But one of his other exhibited pictures may survive: the portrait traditionally said to be a self-portrait by Lambert snr, hanging at Barbican House, is a poor piece of work by his standards and is perhaps the 'portrait of a gentleman; three-quarters length' which Lambert jnr exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776.¹³ This article hereafter is concerned mainly with the uncle.

THE PROVINCIAL ARTIST AND HIS PRECURSORS

The 'basic specialist types of provincial artist' identified by Fawcett for the early 19th century were present, if not to the same degree of specialization, in the Lamberts' time.¹⁴ They provide a useful framework within which to examine the Lamberts' work. Those branches in which they engaged are marked *:

- drawing master * - slight evidence
- portraitist or miniaturist * - Lambert jnr?
- animal portrait painter *
- landscape *, topographical * or marine painter
- subject shading into history painter
- still-life painter * - Lambert jnr
- sculptor and carver
- engraver or lithographer
- heraldic and sign painter *
- scene painter for the theatre
- house painter *
- industrial artist (that is, employed by a manufacturer),

plus ancillary activities such as

- art-dealing, repairing and restoring pictures *
- copying, selling prints and artists' materials *

A first question is the extent to which these trades (or professions) were represented in Lewes and environs before James Lambert set up business in the 1750s. The most probable are heraldic and sign painter and house painter. The maker in the later 16th century of such a rare survival as the carved and painted sign for the Vine Inn, Lewes (now in Anne of Cleves Museum) is unknown, but 'painters' are recorded in Lewes from soon after. Mr Dape painted the sentences of scripture in St Michael's church in 1594; Mr Bugg of Lewes painted the gallery, ceiling, font and escutcheons in Cuckfield church in 1633, and the king's arms and the Ten Commandments in Cliffe church in 1661. John Head painted the tablet of benefactors in the Sessions House at Lewes in 1709. Robert Smith and Benjamin Conley shared the local work around 1720, both being employed at St Anne's and St Michael's churches, on king's arms, commandments and an altar piece. Conley also painted during the construction of Stanmer House and Compton Place. John Morris painted and gilded the face of the town clock in 1751.¹⁵ But if any local gentry afforded coaches or rooms in their houses decorated in the elaborate fashion of c. 1700, they probably employed

London craftsmen.

A related and better evidenced branch of decoration and representative art is cartography. William Gier, George Randoll and John De Ward all seem to have been based in East Sussex in the first quarter of the 17th century, Edward Gier and Anthony Everenden likewise in the 1640s.¹⁶ Their successors in the early 18th century could produce sketches of buildings, either as records of their clients' property or for the antiquity of the structures. Examples are the drawings of Wilmington Priory, by John Rowley (1710) and by Richard Budgen (probably 1725).¹⁷ Budgen, of Frant, and then Thomas Marchant, of Lewes, were the principal local surveyors in the second and third quarters of the 18th century.

None of these instances is evidence of anyone in or around Lewes before James Lambert making a living from painting as 'art' or for private delectation as distinct from public, functional, display and from working as an artist rather than as an artisan. Specialization in a small county town had not reached in Lambert's time the point at which he could devote himself to only one of the branches listed above, especially as he had no patron to support him as an artist, either by subsidizing training or living expenses or by buying pictures (as distinct from commissioning work) on a generous scale.

The absence of patronage is symptomatic of the structure of local society in the hinterland of Lewes in the mid-18th century. Although landownership on the Downs and the scarpfoot was dominated by a few gentry and noble families who had been engrossing copyholds and buying up small holdings for a couple of generations, the greater of them had their main (or significant) residences elsewhere and indeed the number of grand establishments in eastern Sussex diminished.¹⁸ On the death of the Earl of Wilmington in 1743, Compton Place, Eastbourne, became a secondary country residence of the Earls of Northampton and then of the Cavendishes. The Duke of Newcastle's establishments at Halland and Bishopstone were closed after his death in 1768. Bishop Trevor, owner of Glynde Place between 1743 and 1771, dividing his time between Glynde, London and Durham, was the exception, for he did buy foreign pictures from London dealers for Glynde.¹⁹ Lambert did work at Glynde and the bishop's collection may have provided some inspiration. The situation in West Sussex was contrasting, where Goodwood and Petworth were

main noble residences and founts of artistic patronage.

LAMBERT AS MUSICIAN, STATIONER AND DECORATIVE PAINTER

Dunvan gave the following account of Lambert's early life:

Indebted to education for no more than the humble advantages of a common writing-school, he applied to music and painting with the persevering enthusiasm of unassisted genius, and finally attained no small share of eminence in both arts. I have seen some early essays of his with a common pen before he was acquainted with the use of even a blacklead pencil, which exhibit the poultry yard, and other sketches of domestic scenery, with remarkable spirit and fidelity. As he advanced towards maturity, he received some instructions from a music master; but in painting he had still to trust solely to his own taste and application: and with such means, his proficiency in landscape became truly admirable.²⁰

One 'Master Jemmy Lambert' of Lewes subscribed to Thomas Boreman's *The Gigantick History, Volume the second, which completes the History of Guildhall, London* (1740) — which suggests a family supportive of study. Otherwise, it is of Lambert as a musician that we have the earlier record. The organ installed at St Thomas at Cliffe in 1739–40 was probably the only one in the district and he became organist in 1745, at the age of 20, continuing in office — with an annual fee of £5 — until his death in 1788. Perhaps the first organist, Mr Gibbs, was his music teacher. The church was refurnished and the organ enlarged in 1754–55, and it was probably then that Lambert prepared a volume of psalms, for use in that and neighbouring churches; the second edition of 1760 is the earliest to survive. In 1774 he published the second edition of *Select Hymns on Religious Subjects taken from David's Psalms and other passages of Holy Scripture* (with a fourth edition in 1782). Many similar volumes were produced in the period throughout the country for local use.²¹

'He taught both music and painting, and copied the former with singular facility and correctness', Dunvan recorded. A glimpse of Lambert teaching music comes from the cash accounts of John Bridger of Coombe Place (1733–1816). Between August 1755

and August 1756 Bridger entered seven payments of 1 guinea to 'a' or 'my Music Master'; (in April 1756) of £7 4s. for a 'cello; (in August 1756) of £3 3s. to 'Malchair' for a music book and of 19s. 6d. to 'Melchair' for an unspecified purpose. Thereafter references to a music master cease, but payments of 1 guinea continue, to Lambert, ten between November 1756 and June 1758, along with purchases of music and fiddle strings. A summary records £47 9s. 1d. as 'My expense of purchasing & learning of Musick from November 1755 to January 1759'.²²

John Baptist Malchair, later well-known for his teaching of both music and drawing in Oxford, came to England in about 1754. In London he taught music to 'mechanics' and gave little concerts at public houses. Through a Captain Bonfield, who had known his father in Cologne, he came to Lewes where he taught music to the officers of Bonfield's regiment; there he met Robert Price of Foxley, whose patronage next took him to Hereford. Malchair's sojourn in Lewes can now be dated to 1755–56.²³ Maybe he encouraged the church organist's natural talent for drawing.

Music can have provided Lambert only with a secondary income. Bridger also recorded 2s. 'spent at Lambert's Room', and Lambert was probably the vendor of the music, the print of the King of Prussia, the plan of St Malo and the picture frame bought at that time. Lambert was in business primarily as a stationer and coach and sign painter. He advertised maps and prints in 1758. As he used an elaborate engraved trade card by 1764, a letterpress trade label is probably earlier. It described him as 'coach and sign-painter at the Golden Head in the Cliff, Lewes', offering for sale artist's colours and equipment, maps and prints, printed books, writing paper and books, writing accessories, fans, musical instruments and sundries, and framing. The 1764 trade card mentioned neither artist's materials nor musical instruments, but otherwise included the same variety of goods plus embroidery materials. The range of painting undertaken was wider: 'coach and sign painting, gilding, writing, escutcheons for funerals and hatchments.' In 1776 he was selling tickets for a concert and in 1777 lottery tickets.²⁴

That he dropped artist's materials is unsurprising, as the market must have been limited, for painting (as distinct from connoisseurship of paintings) did not then rate highly as a gentlemanly recreation.²⁵ The retail business was maintained throughout his

life, perhaps under his wife's direction: Mary Capper, visiting Lewes in 1782, viewed his pictures while 'Mrs Lambert shewed us the first number of plates designed for Curtis "Botanical Work"', and it was Mrs Lambert whom Henry Poole paid for his 1784 diary. In 1786 his brother described James in his will as 'stationer', and after James' own death it was the stock in trade of 'bookseller, stationer, print-seller, and landscape painter' which was auctioned. If the workshop which Lambert jnr bequeathed in 1799 had been taken over from his uncle, then the latter's shop was facing the Fair place by St Thomas' church.²⁶

Lambert sold paint for decorating the new vicarage at Glynde in 1760 and for the bridge at the Hook, Chailey, in 1766. The bill he rendered in connection with renewing the pews in St Thomas' church in about 1754 may be the earliest record of his own decorative work; he probably gilded the weathervane as well. John Bridger's boat he painted in 1758. In 1759–61 he refurbished the crier's staff, the town arms, the royal arms and other items for the Borough of Lewes; in 1764 he painted the clock face at East Hoathly church, and in 1773 a constable's stave for Bishopstone hundred. In 1764 he gilded the golden ball above the stables at Glynde and in 1776 the weathercock at Coombe Place. At the Hook, Chailey, he or his nephew painted a bookcase in 1783 and a coach in the following year. Many of the old inn signs, which were still remembered by the older inhabitants of Lewes in 1905 as the best of such productions, had been painted by Lambert in his early days. The escutcheon of the royal arms in Eastbourne parish church, originally over the chancel arch but now on the north wall of the chancel, is credited to Lambert jnr, in 1791, as also are royal arms of 1773 which were removed from the old Sessions House to County Hall in about 1812. Another form of public art were the 'elegant designed transparent paintings' which Lambert put up in his windows to celebrate the result of the County Election in November 1774, depicting the successful candidates, the freeholders of the Cliffe who ventured to Chichester to cast votes for them and emblematical figures of Liberty, Peace and Plenty.²⁷ Exceptional commissions came from Bishop Trevor as he transformed Glynde Place, where in 1766 Lambert cleaned and repaired three portraits, a large still-life, a picture of fowls and one of Mars and Venus, gilding all the frames as well; further pictures he cleaned in 1768.²⁸

THE LANDSCAPE PAINTER IN OILS

For Lambert the house and sign painter Dunvan's account of his training is a plausible one, as it does not exclude technical, as distinct from artistic, instruction from a painter of the sort who had worked in and around Lewes for over a century. It is not plausible for a painter who was exhibiting in London, only eight years after the first public exhibition of painting to be held in Britain, albeit at the age of 42. Lambert must have had connections into the 'professional' art world of London and these are likely to have come from some form of instruction in conventional 'academic' painting.

George Smith of Chichester is the most likely teacher. His elder brother William Smith (c. 1707–64) was enabled by the Duke of Richmond's patronage (in a style by then uncommon) to study with a portrait painter in London, and if George (c. 1714–76) and John (c. 1717–64) did not benefit similarly, they could have learned from him and from working in London. In about 1750 George and John returned to Chichester and successfully painted still-life portraits and fashionable imaginary landscapes, selling both locally and in London. The inspiration for their landscapes is likely to have been in the neighbourhood of Chichester and, for river cliffs, in the Arun valley.²⁹ Lambert married at Stopham, in the Arun valley, and his bride was then resident at nearby Hardham. He was distantly related to the Smiths, a connection which must have been kept fresh by three of his Lambert uncles (one of them, like his father, being a flax-dresser) living in or by Chichester. George Smith, the longest lived of the three brothers, in 1775 made Lambert, 'landscape painter', his executor and guardian of his three children, and at his own death Lambert owned paintings by all three Smiths, including the portrait of the three Smiths by George and John.³⁰

The first evidence of Lambert as artist as distinct from artisan painter (or musician or stationer) comes from May 1762: a distant view from Sompting, over the Adur estuary to the cliffs as far as Seven Sisters, in pencil and grey and black wash with white highlights, perhaps a sketch for a view by moonlight. His wife's family came from the Adur valley and at some date his father-in-law was farming at Sompting (though at Hardham in 1760).³¹ Having married into western Sussex, did he, in his late thirties, receive tuition from the Smiths, despite Dunvan's assertion that his drawing was the result of unassisted genius?

Of 12 surviving views dated before 1771 (when we know he was under commission to John Elliot in Lewes), five are taken in or near the Adur valley, only two are of Lewes and four are coastal. Did he and George Smith meet midway between Chichester and Lewes, at his father-in-law's, to sketch together, and was Lambert trying to find a niche as a painter of coastal scenes?

When Lambert first exhibited in London, in 1768, it was at the Free Society of Artists, as had George Smith since 1761, and one (and possibly two) of his exhibits in that year were 'from a picture of Mr George Smith'. The 42 pictures which Lambert

exhibited, at the Free Society in 1768–73 and then the Royal Academy in 1774–78, divide into sixteen of sheep, seven of named places in Sussex (most of which can be identified with watercolour versions; two, of Lewes Castle, 1775, are catalogued as 'drawings'), eighteen landscapes (of which eleven with cattle and/or sheep) and one drawing from nature in black lead. Lambert jnr between 1769 and 1778 exhibited twenty portraits of flowers, fruit or cabbage (a genre also practised by George Smith), three of birds (two in watercolour), one of a gentleman (his uncle?), and a view of Brambletye. Most of their pictures were offered for sale.³²



Fig. 2. James Lambert, Longhorn cows with suckling calf beneath a ruined castle, 1774. (Watercolour on paper, 242 × 266 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, LEWSA 1997.7, no. 41.)

The composition in Figure 2 (though in this case of cattle and in watercolour) may be characteristic of the exhibited pictures of sheep, as the animals are placed in an imaginary landscape; the cataloguers' distinction between 'sheep' and 'landscape with sheep' is unlikely to have been a sharp or consistent one. A more elaborate composition, possibly that exhibited in 1771 (no. 152), shows a farmyard with cattle and pigs by a pond and a man threshing in a barn.³³

Other animal pictures were clearly for the record. 'A prize ram, Sheffield Place', dated 1774 and including its dimensions, is likely to be 'Mr Bakewell's famous ram' exhibited in 1774. John Baker Holroyd of Sheffield Place hired a Dishley ram from Robert Bakewell at 25 gns for the 1772 season, to cross with South Downs. It was from pictures of South Down sheep by Lambert — similar to a surviving one dated 1778 — that plates were engraved in 1797/98 for the 1808 edition of the Revd Arthur Young's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex*.³⁴ Also for the record, in 1774 and 1775, Lambert portrayed bullocks which had been struck by lightning, to illustrate his detailed observations sent to the Royal Society, and in 1771 the Revd Mr Wenham's hounds caught a hare, all white except for spot of brown over its left eye: 'This hare was considered so extraordinary by the gentlemen, that they sent her to Mr James Lambert, in the Cliffe, to have her likeness pictured'. It was exhibited in London the following year.³⁵ Portraits of animals rather than people may have been what Mary Capper saw at Lambert's shop in 1782 and caused her to call him a 'portrait and landscape painter'.

Of pictures in oils which are first and foremost landscapes we have eight firmly attributed examples on record:

- [A] 1767 a river scene with thatched huts by a bridge over a weir (Yale, B1981.25.398);
- [B] 1767 travellers resting, others crossing a weir; a castle on a hill above the wooded river (Yale, B1981.25.399): Figure 3;
- [C] 1769 a lake or river in wooded landscape with thatched, timbered cottage to right and cows in foreground (Tate Gallery, ND 1658);
- [D] 1770 a wooded river landscape with sheep in the foreground and a castle beyond (Christie's 15 April 1988, lot 62);³⁶
- [E] 1770 same composition as [B] (Christie's 15 April 1988, lot 62);
- [F] 1770 a river scene with cattle and donkeys

under an oak tree, a bridge beyond (Christie's 19 December 1930, lot 84, with a questionable attribution to Lambert jnr);

- [G] n.d. a mountainous river landscape with a boy and his donkey on a path by a cottage (Sotheby's 14 November 1993, lot 75);
- [H] n.d. figures resting by a lake, a distant town beyond (Sotheby's 10 November 1982, lot 65).

These pictures may be examined in the context of Liversidge's assessment of the Smiths' achievement, which may be paraphrased as follows:³⁷

Coinciding with the emergence of the Picturesque taste there developed alongside it a new kind of rustic landscape which drew its inspiration more directly from the English countryside and which by the 1770s and 1780s had become a major theme within the Picturesque current. In the 'naturalization' of English landscape art which evolved out of Picturesque taste, the emergence of the rustic genre performed a significant role. The Smiths' landscape compositions reflect the growing interest in rural scenery apparent during the third quarter of the 18th century. As effected by George Smith, the synthesis of styles uniting elements of the (Claudian) pastoral and the (Dutch) picturesquely conceived rustic imagery, and the attention he gave to particular subjects, are in their own way unpretentiously original.

First, Lambert's (like most of the Smiths') pictures lack any motifs of the Roman *campagna* (actual or imagined) — colonnaded ruins or Roman villas or nymphs. All his buildings were (composites of) what he could see in Sussex. The building on the promontory in [D], traditionally described as Lewes Castle, is inspired by Herstmonceux and Brambletye. The timbered and thatched houses at Henfield (1765) and Glynde (1775), sketched in BL, Add. MS. 71714, nos 9 and 8, are like those in [C] and [G]. Similarly, the glimpses of Henfield church tower through the trees (1771), BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 40, and of Chailey church and village from the turnpike (on which a herdsman drives cows), BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 53, would not have served Burrell's antiquarian interests but were useful cartoons for landscapes such as [H]. The people Lambert could have observed any day in the countryside around Lewes. Amongst the trees oaks predominate. They

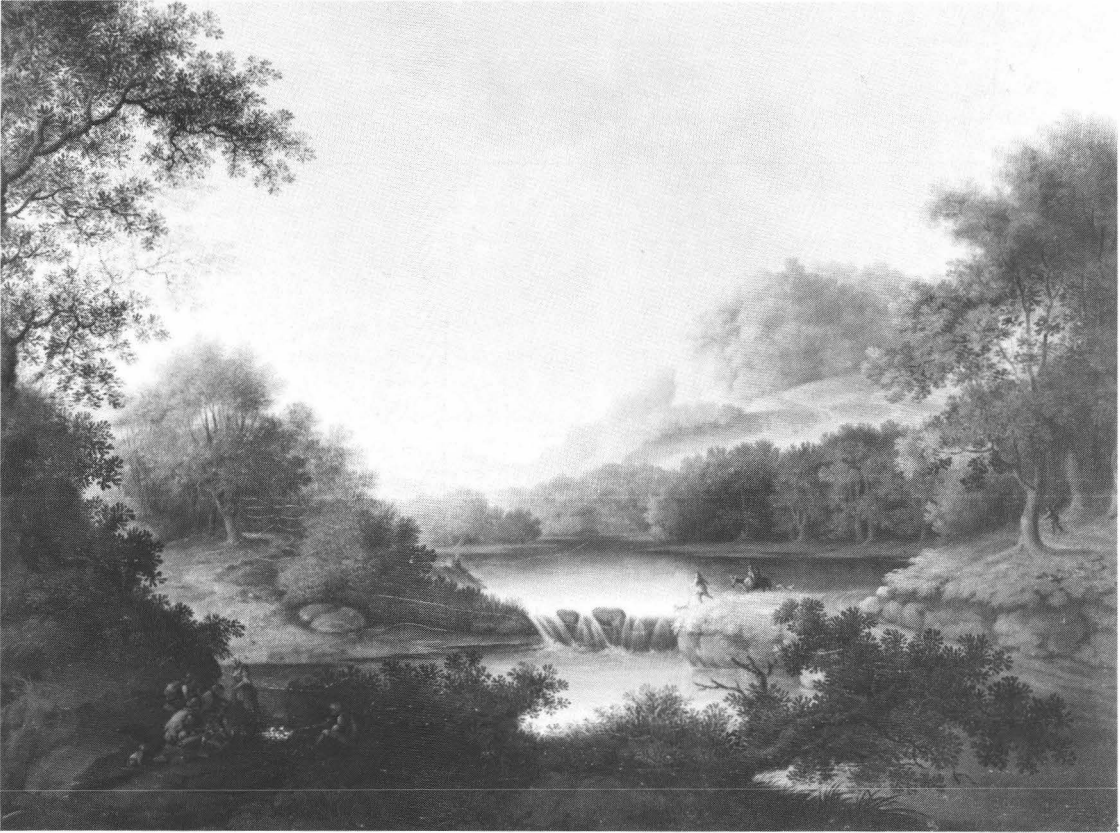


Fig. 3. James Lambert, *Travellers resting, others crossing a weir; a castle on a hill above the wooded river*, 1767. (Oil on canvas, 463 × 610 mm. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon collection, B1981.25.399.)

are prominent features, in the foreground, and carefully observed.

Secondly, it is in the disposition of the components that the pictures are Claudian, with (for the Sussex landscape) exaggerated height of outcrops over large riverine vistas. As Liversidge says of some Smith pastoral scenes, they contain passages 'that recall Claude Lorrain and make use of formal elements borrowed from his pictures, such as the familiar device of framing an extensive view between trees with a stretch of tranquil water, river or road winding its way between the interlocking lanes of a carefully ordered sylvan landscape to carry the eye into the distance'.³⁸ All eight of these Lamberts contain wide expanses of water.

Thirdly, in contrast to George Smith, Lambert pays less attention to particular subjects. Smith's frost scenes are justly famed; and his pictures tend to have purposeful rural activity in progress —

picking hops or apples, gathering wood, extinguishing a chimney fire — even if no moral or story is intended. Such points of interest are lacking from Lambert's pictures. The people are usually travelling or resting. One watercolour, though, which does approach Smith's *The Hop Pickers*, for example, in composition, is *Southerham Chapel* (1780) which had become a cottage, with flowering shrubs to the right and shepherd and sheep under a tree to the left. And one oil by Lambert is identical in composition to one by George Smith: the former's 'River scene with thatched huts by a bridge over a weir' (1767) [A] and the latter's 'River landscape' at Goodwood.³⁹

For Lambert, the high point of his artistic career was probably the award of a premium of 15 guineas by the (later Royal) Society of Arts. But this was not quite the distinction he probably believed. What he entered for were the premiums of 50 and 25 guineas for the two best original landscapes painted

on canvas, in England during 1769. There were seven anonymous entries before the Society's Polite Arts Committee which started by agreeing that only 30 guineas should be awarded as the first premium, then selected Lambert's picture for it, by seven out of eleven votes, and recommended the second premium of 25 guineas to the runner up. But the Society in general meeting reversed these recommendations and reduced the second premium to 15 guineas. When the committee set about identifying the artists, it found that the winner had not followed the instructions for putting a secret mark on his canvas and the accompanying envelope, and duly disqualified him. Lambert received his 15 guineas, as the only premium awarded in that year's competition, indeed as the last awarded, as the Society had already agreed to suspend after 1770 the competition for landscape oils, perhaps reflecting disappointment already in 1769 with the number and standard of entries.⁴⁰

Lambert's exhibited landscapes and animal pictures in oils comprise most of his recorded early work. Thus of some 45 images from the first decade of dated activity (1762–71), half are exhibition works. The earliest dated landscape by George Smith is from 1753, so it is reasonable to see Lambert as an early disciple, within a decade and relatively innovative. But the balance of Lambert's dated work shifted strongly towards the topographical from 1772, and he did not exhibit after 1778.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL ARTIST

It is Lambert's topographical pictures (preparatory pencil drawings and finished watercolours) which survive in relative abundance, and these do reflect a growing market which he exploited with some success. Descriptive topographical work was generally well-established as an important landscape genre and, indeed, was quantitatively the dominant one.⁴¹ Lambert's topographical work can be divided into three overlapping groups: house portraits for proud owners; pictures, both watercolours and engravings, of local sites for visitors to take away or for residents to display; and record pictures for serious antiquaries.

East Sussex is conspicuously lacking in house portraits, if John Harris' 'representative selection' in *The Artist and the Country House* is a test. Whereas 32 painted before 1800 are of houses in Surrey and 16 of houses in Kent, only 8 depict houses in Sussex — and of those only one in Sussex east of the Adur.⁴²

The reason is probably one already mentioned, the absence of grand houses which were the principal country residences of great landowners. Most of Harris' selection are oils on canvas by (London-based) artists who were commissioned to come from a distance and whose pictures relate to several parts of the country.

By contrast, the Lamberts painted in watercolours for, in the main, the middling gentry:⁴³

Date	View	Likely client
1763	Preston Manor and church	Thomas Western, Esq.
1777	The Friars from Lewes Bridge	Sir Ferdinand Poole
1778	Malling	Luke Spence, Esq.
1780	Bayham Abbey (also engraved)	John Pratt, Esq.
1780	Coombe Place	Sir John Bridger
1780	Glynde Place	Viscount Hampden
1780	Michelgrove, Clapham (Fig. 5)	Sir John Shelley, Bart.
1780	Newick Park (two views)	Lady Vernon
1781	Malling Deanery	Mr Serjeant Kempe
1782	Kidbrooke Park	Earl of Abergavenny
1784	Ashburnham Place	Earl of Ashburnham
1786	A house in Horsted Keynes	Capt. James Phelp
1787	Delves, Ringmer (two views)	Henry Blunt, Esq.
1788	Hammond's Place, Clayton	Mr Samuel West
n.d.	Danny, Hurstpierpoint	William (or Henry Courthope) Campion, Esq.
n.d.	A house in Offham Michelgrove reproduced as Figure 4	T. W. Partington, Esq.

for larger houses. The viewpoint is slightly below and to left or right, the view is of the garden front and is framed by trees, while several gentlefolk or, in this case, racehorses occupy the central foreground, sometimes with the artist. This pencil view was probably, like several others, a cartoon for the client's approval. Lambert can be found adjusting the preliminary sketch before starting on the final version for the client, in a letter to John Elliot in February 1771 (the picture being the view of Lewes Castle from the north which, painted in oils, was exhibited at the Free Society of Artists in 1771 and sold at Sotheby's in 1961):⁴⁴

I went to the Wallands twice to correct the

Drawing I had formerly made of the Castle &c. I have now taken in more each way (viz.) to the end of the wall, on the left — and a little above the White Lion Lane to the right — which I doubt not but you will think a great improvement as it still keeps the Castle in the middle but it would not have a good effect if extended high enough to take in Mr Shelley's — nor farther to the left. I have therefore fixed on the size and have made a beginning on a canvas three feet long and two feet one inch high — which you may be assured I will not neglect for any other work. I will take a sketch from St Michael's churchyard at the first opportunity.

The second category, pictures of local sites for visitors to take home or for residents to display, are evidenced by several copies surviving of 'sights'. Lewes unsurprisingly features most strongly. There are, for example: 16 watercolours of Lewes Castle, of no more than six different views, with dates of

original drawing between 1772 and 1784 and with five also carrying a later date as that of copying; 15 watercolours of Lewes Priory, of possibly as few as three different views; and 4 copies of Lambert jnr's Lewes bridge (three dated 1781, one 1782). The studio copy of a prospect of Rottingdean from the east indicates how the Lamberts worked. It is endorsed with a note that the view was taken for Lady Vernon, copied in smaller size on 9 October 1786, and again for Miss Gwinnett. When Mary Capper visited Lambert's studio in 1782, Mrs Lambert no doubt hoped to take orders for copies of views on display.⁴⁵

Five of these standard views — Lewes Castle from St Michael's churchyard; the Barbican from the south; Lewes Priory from the west and from the east; the Priory gateway — and three others — Lewes Castle from the Wallands (as commissioned by John Elliot); Gundrada's tombstone; Pevensey Castle — were acquired by John Watson so that Basire might engrave them for his *Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of*

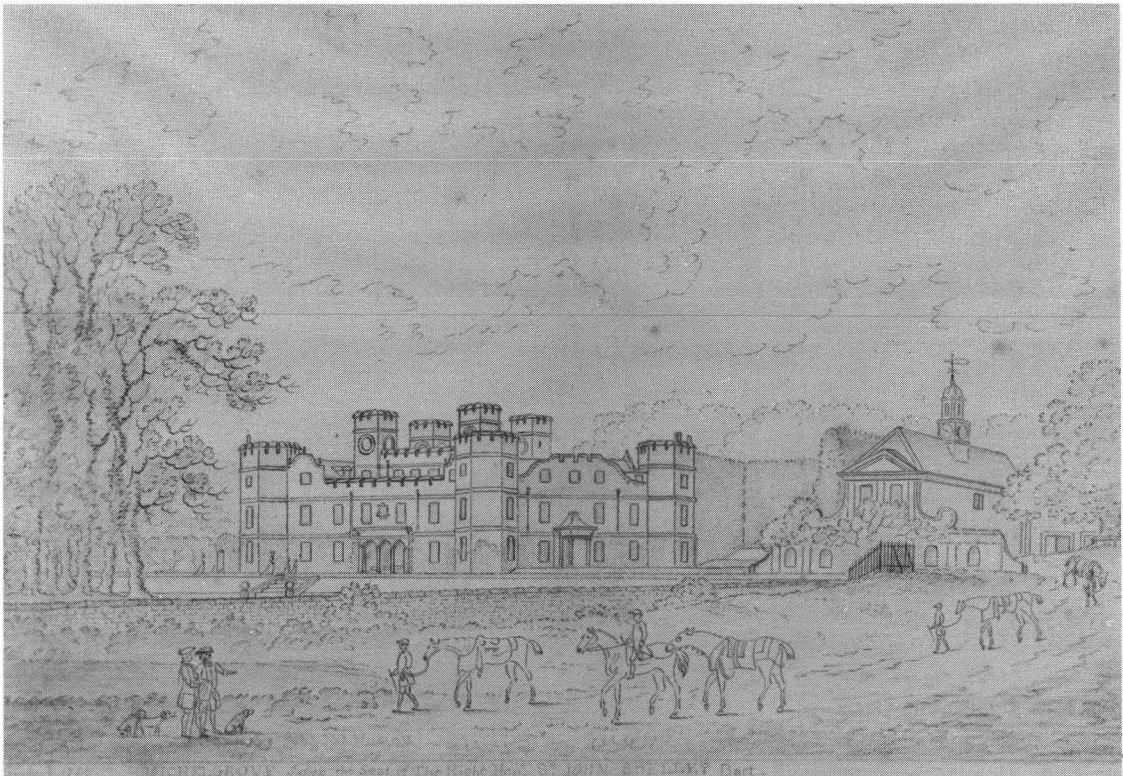


Fig. 4. James Lambert, Michelgrove, Clapham, 1780. (Graphite on paper, 305 × 455 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection, 3506.)

Warren and Surrey (Warrington, 1788); Basire exhibited three of them at the Royal Academy in 1779. Lambert jnr may have produced for sale much more modest etchings of Lewes views. Also for a more popular market were the ten views by Lambert which J. Sprange had engraved for his *Tunbridge Wells Guide*, bearing dates between 1782 and 1791. The six of buildings in Kent were probably commissioned by Sprange. Related sketches are dated between 1780 and 1783, and the panoramic view of Tunbridge Wells, 1783 (Fig. 5), and views of the Rocks made in 1785–86, must be associated with such a commission.⁴⁶

On his own account Lambert made only one, apparently unsuccessful, venture into publishing an engraving. In August 1765 he issued a proposal for 'a print of a view of Brighthelmston and the Sea Coast as far as the Isle of Wight', of which drawings might be inspected at Messrs Baker's Circulating Library on the Steine. The print was to be subscribed for at 5s., or at a guinea with the opportunity to win a painting of the view on canvas, about five feet by three feet. Over a year later, in October 1766, he announced the print's publication but begged to be excused disposing of the painting until the following summer, because of 'the whole subscription falling greatly short of the expense he has already been at for engraving and publishing' it.⁴⁷

The earliest dated topographical pictures are among the sketches in BL, Add. MS. 71714, six being dated 1762–6; but these may have been notes for imaginary landscapes. The small, semi-ruined and ivy-clad St James' Hospital and St Nicholas' Hospital in Lewes, dated to 1762 on later copies, would also have served that purpose well.⁴⁸ It is from 1772 that topographical views, all of Lewes and South Malling, survive in quantity. Perhaps these 1772 pictures (which are mainly in Atlas Folio) were commissions from John Elliot, the lawyer and amateur antiquary (1724/5–1782) for whom Lambert was working in early 1771 and who bequeathed his tinted drawings of Sussex to Henry Shelley. His antiquarian notes he left to Dr William Burrell.⁴⁹ The 269 finished watercolours in Burrell's own collection can roughly be divided between pictures which the Lamberts were able to copy from stock (or which they worked up more fully, in the hope of further orders, or which Burrell acquired at second-hand) and pictures which Burrell commissioned and for which they did not anticipate a wider market. The division is broadly on subject matter, in the former category castles,

major residences and religious houses (generally ruined), in the latter category churches (generally not). The former are larger and more often coloured, the latter smaller and usually in grey wash. Fewer than half (121) are dated, but if these are a random sample, work for Burrell began in earnest in 1776, continued until 1784 and was never intensive over a long period. Perhaps a maximum of 50 or 60 finished pictures were produced in any one year (1777, 1782 and 1783). For an experienced artist like Lambert, perhaps aided by a camera obscura, a wash drawing of a country church would have been quickly done.⁵⁰

That chronology finds support in the dated pencil sketches in BL, Add. MS. 71714. The earliest would have served for his landscapes. A group of six church sketches are dated to September and October 1775. Fourteen are dated 1776, without any obvious pattern of tours made to cover a defined locality:

3 April	Rottingdean church
8 April	Plashet Park, man on horseback and cattle, study for a picture exhibited at the Royal Academy
3 June	Bexley church (Kent)
20 June	Groombridge church (Kent)
9 July	Sompting church
13 July	Oving church, Arundel Castle, Aldrington church
30 July	Pycombe church
31 July	Findon church (two)
8 August	Hellingly church
22 August	Kingston near Lewes church
11 September	Ovingdean church.

On 9 July, Lambert presumably travelled to Chichester and returned on the 13th. The last dated Sussex sketch is from 1783. Maybe Lambert was paid for each completed picture, as and when he was able to produce it, and he sketched while travelling on other business. Such an arrangement was different from that which Burrell had with S. H. Grimm, a much more accomplished and specialized watercolourist based in London, who toured Sussex sketching for about two weeks from Whitsun each year between 1780 and 1791 (except 1786) probably being paid at a weekly rate.⁵¹

The commissions for Burrell were not the only systematic antiquarian work which the Lamberts did. They seem to have been employed by interested local people to record Herstmonceux Castle before it was partially demolished in 1777. Two of the 35

working sketches (group (4) in the schedule of known works, above, mostly dated 1776 and in pencil), have in the margins the names of Lord Sheffield (John Baker Holroyd of Sheffield Place) and Thomas Wakeham (of the Hermitage, East Grinstead). The finished watercolours now at Yale apparently came from the library at Ashburnham Place. The sketches are measured perspective drawings, often with the dimensions on them, and are the work of Lambert jnr at his best.⁵²

Several views which are prospects rather than pictures of individual buildings have already been mentioned: the engraved view from the east of Brighton and the bay beyond; the view from above Rottingdean; the distant view of Lewes Castle from the Wallands; and Tunbridge Wells (Fig. 5). Two other prospects of named localities may have been taken for Burrell, for their distant views of antiquities: Mount Caburn from Beddingham, with the adjacent country from Spital Mills (west of Lewes) to Glynde church (1778); and Bramber Castle from Steyning Hill, with the surrounding country from Beeding church to Bramber church (1782).⁵³

These prospects link his topographical and his landscape work. Lambert's training — and first love in painting — was probably in landscapes in oils. But he did not achieve what the Smiths did, for they sufficiently established themselves in the London market to return to and work from Chichester where they also enjoyed the patronage of the Duke of Richmond's family. Dunvan acknowledged that Lambert was not cut out for the London art scene of the later 18th century: 'His natural modesty, and early habits of taciturnity in the cultivation of his favorite arts, gave a slowness and hesitation to his language, that, in the company of strangers, bordered on embarrassment . . . Constitutional diffidence, and his partiality to rural manners and scenery, restrained him from seeking due encouragement for his talents in the metropolis.'⁵⁴ Dunvan predicted, seven years after his death, that in view of 'the improving taste of the age', Lambert's landscapes 'will yet rise very considerably in the public estimation'. But they did not provide a sufficient competence in his lifetime. Unsold landscape oils, including the premium picture of



Fig. 5. James Lambert, panoramic view of Tunbridge Wells, 1783. (Watercolour on paper, 355 × 560 mm. Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection, M27.)

1770, was what the visitor to his shop saw on the walls. The expanding market for topographical pictures, touristic and antiquarian, provided a better living in the 1770s and '80s, though still not good enough to prevent administration of his estate being granted to his creditors. It was by the old-fashioned term for a watercolourist, a limner, that the parish clerk recorded his burial. But it was as 'landscape painter' that his nephew commemorated him on his memorial plaque.⁵⁵

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NOTES

Abbreviations used in the footnotes:

BL	British Library, Department of Manuscripts
Christie's	Christie's, London, auction catalogue
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office
SAC	<i>Sussex Archaeological Collections</i>
SAS, PC	Sussex Archaeological Society, Picture Collection
Sotheby's	Sotheby's, London, auction catalogue
SWA	<i>Sussex Weekly Advertiser</i>
VAM	Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹ A. Gammon & C. Brent, *Lewes Town Guide* (Lewes: Chamber of Commerce, 1996).

² Now not wholly legible, but partly transcribed in G. Holman, *Some Lewes Men of Note* (Lewes: Baxter, 1905), 25–6.

³ W. H. Challen, 'Baldy's Garden, the painters Lambert and other Sussex families', *SAC* **90** (1952), 117–38, *seriatim*. I owe to Colin Brent the history of the tenements named.

⁴ [P. Dunvan], *Ancient and Modern History of Lewes and Brighthelmston* (Lewes: W. Lee, 1795), 323–5.

⁵ W. H. Godfrey & L. F. Salzman (eds), *Sussex Views, selected from the Burrell Collections*, Sussex Record Society, Jubilee vol. (1951). The plates which are of the Lamberts' pictures rather than of S. H. Grimm's, are those referenced to Add. MSS. 5676 and 5677 on pages xii–xviii. Nos 58, 71, 93, 97, 142 and 174 are signed by Lambert jnr, but many are unsigned. Nineteen of the 43 plates are also printed in *Victoria County History of Sussex* **4**, **7** and **9** (1937–53).

⁶ Challen, 102–52. C. Brent, *Georgian Lewes 1714–1830: the Heyday of a County Town* (Lewes: author, 1993).

⁷ *SAC* **39** (1894), xxvii; **85** (1946), 85.

⁸ I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 484. SAS, PC M45, M31, M29.

⁹ BL, Add. MS. 71714, nos 48 and 49. Godfrey & Salzman, xi, referring to BL, Add. MS. 5676, ff. 16–18.

¹⁰ M. H. Grant, *Old English Landscape Painters* **2** (Leigh-on-Sea: Lewis, 1958), pl. 149 (Brambletye); 165.

¹¹ e.g. BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 58, reproduced on A. Payne, *Views of the Past* (London: BMP, 1987), front cover.

¹² Challen, 130, 132.

¹³ Reproduced in Challen, 139; presented by C. Thomas-Stanford in 1909 (*SAC* **53** (1910), xxii), but also in the collection bequeathed by John Every in 1941 (*SAC* **83** (1943), 135 and plate 8).

¹⁴ T. Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art: Artists, Patrons,*

Acknowledgements

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and Institutions, 1800–1830 (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1974), 15.

¹⁵ ESRO, PAR 414/9/1/1a (Dape). *SAC* **45** (1902), 21, and ESRO, PAR 415/9/1a (Bugg). Atlas Folio, 15 and ESRO, ABE/D560/1 (Head). ESRO, PAR 411/9/1 and 414/9/1/2 (Smith and Conley). Brent (1993), 213 (Conley). ESRO, LEW/C2/1/1 (Morris).

¹⁶ F. W. Steer, *A Catalogue of Sussex Estate and Tithe Award Maps*, Sussex Record Society **61** (1962), 4–18, reading Everenden for Suerenden; for an example of his work, J. Farrant *et al.*, 'Laughton Place. . .', *SAC* **129** (1991), 109.

¹⁷ J. H. Farrant, 'The Long Man of Wilmington . . .', *SAC* **131** (1993), 129, 133.

¹⁸ S. P. Farrant, 'The changing structure of land ownership in the lower Ouse valley, 1780 to 1840', *SAC* **116** (1977–8), 262.

¹⁹ e.g., ESRO, GLY 895/30, Feb. 1766, pictures bought at Mr Prestage's sales: a large Rape of the Sabines, £8 18s. 6d., two landscapes with sheep, £17 17s., 'the life of Christ by old Frank & flowers round it by Brughel', £22 11s. 6d.

²⁰ Dunvan, 323–4.

²¹ SAS Library, T. Woolgar, 'Spicilegia . . . Lewensis' **2**, 333, 338–9. ESRO, PAR 415/9/16. SWA, 30 Oct. 1758: concert for his benefit as organist. *Select Psalms for the Use of Cliff Church, and the Churches in and about Lewes*. The Second Edition, printed for, and sold by James Lambert, at the Golden Head, in the Cliff, Lewes, MDCCLX (photocopy in SAS Library). This contains only the verses; in 1767, Bishop Trevor purchased a copy with the tunes written in (ESRO, GLY 896/46). SWA, 20 Oct. 1760, 11 Apr. 1774, 25 Mar. 1782. No surviving copy of *Select Hymns* is known, unless a later edition is: *The Psalms, and other Passages of Scripture, translated or imitated; and adapted as Select Hymns to Christian Worship* (Lewes: printed by William Lee, 1784), copy in SAS Library, in which the running title is 'Select Hymns'. N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* **1** (Cambridge: Univ. P., 1979), ch. 5, for context.

²² ESRO, SHR 1373. Dunvan, 324, is the only other reference to Lambert teaching music and painting.

²³ P. Oppé, 'John Baptist Malchair of Oxford', *Burlington Mag.* **83** (1943), 191, following autobiographical notes taken down by William Crotch. BL, Add. MS. 5676, f. 82, view of Glyndebourne, by Melchair, c. 1756, copied by Lambert 1783.

²⁴ SWA, 19 June 1758. H. L. Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920* **3** (1990), 198. ESRO, PAR 378/9/2; another copy of the engraved card reproduced in Challen, 128, but improbably described as

- Lambert jnr's card. SAS Library, accn 21850, 'A collection of Lewes handbills 1768–1777', nos 18 and 30.
- ²⁵ I. Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: the Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* (New Haven & London: Yale U.P., 1988), 182–5. Captain Grose c. 1760 is the earliest amateur painter whom I know to have worked in Sussex: J. H. Farrant, 'The making of Francis Grose's *Antiquities*: evidence from Sussex', *SAC* **131** (1993), 152–8.
- ²⁶ [V. Naish] (ed.), 'Mary Capper's diary', *Sussex Notes & Queries* **11** (1946–47), 125–6. ESRO, HOOK 16/33. Challen, 119, 130–31. *SWA*, 23 Feb. 1789.
- ²⁷ While Lambert jnr signed himself thus, clients in their accounts may not have differentiated the two, and the later decorative painting is likely to have been by Lambert jnr. ESRO, AMS 6253, f. 53v; HOOK 16/17; PAR 415/9/16; SHR 1373; LEW/C2/1/1; PAR 378/9/2; AMS 2132; GLY 2769; SHR 1379; HOOK 16/32, 33. Holman, 25. *SWA*, 21 Nov. 1774.
- ²⁸ ESRO, GLY 895/31; GLY 2937.
- ²⁹ S. J. Flower, 'The Smiths — a biography', in *The Smith Brothers of Chichester*, exhib. cat., Pallant House Gallery, Chichester (1986), 16–34; this book is the source for all statements on the Smiths unless otherwise indicated. Pears, 140–42, for patronage such as Richmond's being rare by the mid-18th century, though continued by the 3rd Duke's gallery for students at his London house, 1758–70: M. M. Reese, *Goodwood's Oak: the Life and Times of the Third Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny* (London: Threshold Books, 1987), 58–9.
- ³⁰ Challen, 113, 131, 140–46.
- ³¹ BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 11. The attribution to Lambert is based on its provenance, rather than signature. Challen, pedigree opp. 152.
- ³² A. Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760–1791 . . . Dictionary of Contributors* (1907), 141–2; *The Royal Academy of Arts: a Complete Dictionary of Contributors 1769 to 1904* **4** (1906), 361, checked against the catalogues for the Society of Artists (Royal Society of Arts Archives). The exhibits at the Society of Artists in 1761–4 which Graves credited to James Lambert must surely be by George Lambert (1700–65), the Society's first President, except the bust of a gentleman which was probably by another James Lambert, the assistant to Roubiliac. Yet another J. Lambert made antiquarian drawings of Newcastle and vicinity now in Society of Antiquaries, R. P. Northumberland I, p. 11, II, pp. 5, 12, 17, 21, 26; and National Art Library, 246.G.2, extra-illustrated copy of H. Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1736), dated 1788–92.
- ³³ Sotheby's 17 July 1985, lot 610.
- ³⁴ Christie's 6 Apr. 1962, lot 81. *SWA*, 19 Oct. 1772. Revd A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex* (London: Phillips, 1808), following 286; also 55 and 281 for implements drawn by Lambert. Arthur Young snr was visiting Sheffield Park from 1770. J. H. Farrant, "'Spirited and intelligent farmers": the Arthur Youngs and the Board of Agriculture's reports on Sussex, 1793 and 1808', *SAC* **130** (1992), 202, 204.
- ³⁵ James Lambert & William Green, 'An account of a very extraordinary effect of lightening on a bullock, at Swanborow, in the parish of Iford near Lewes, in Sussex', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **66** (1776), 493–503, does not contain illustrations and no originals survive in the Royal Society's archives. *SWA*, 9 Dec. 1771.
- ³⁶ Also reproduced in Grant **2**, no. 150.
- ³⁷ M. J. H. Liversidge, 'Landscape prints by the Smiths of Chichester', in *Smith Brothers*, 38–9.
- ³⁸ Liversidge, 40.
- ³⁹ BL, Add. MS. 5676, f. 86. *Smith Brothers*, 6, plates 6 and 40.
- ⁴⁰ Royal Society of Arts Archives, *Premiums offered by the Society . . .* (1769), nos 142 and 143; Minutes of the Society, 23 May 1770; Minutes of Committees, Polite Arts, 23 Feb., 20 April, 5, 15 June 1770.
- ⁴¹ Liversidge, 36, and authorities cited.
- ⁴² J. Harris, *The Artist and the Country House: a History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain 1540–1870* (London: Sotheby, 1979): the one is George Lambert's view of Kidbrooke Park, c. 1740s.
- ⁴³ Copies in Atlas Folio, except for Preston (Brighton Art Gallery, repr. *Sussex County Mag.* **30** (1956), 5), Clapham (SAS, PC 3506), Bayham (BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 3, also engraved for J. Sprange), Ashburnham (repr. F. W. Steer, *The Ashburnham Archives, a Catalogue* (Lewes: ESCC, 1958), pl. 1), Horsted Keynes (West Sussex County Library (Worthing), uncat.), Delves (Yale, B1986.29.572 and 573), Hammond's (SAS, PC 2435), Danny (SAS Library, uncat., Baxter's copy of Horsfield) and Offham (BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 23).
- ⁴⁴ Sotheby's, 26 July 1961. SAS Library, acc. 3718, Elliot papers, item 32.
- ⁴⁵ Bodleian Library, Gough maps 31, f. 35b. Challen, 132.
- ⁴⁶ Etchings of St James' Hospital, Lewes, 1784 (private collection) and of St Nicholas' Hospital, Lewes (Bodleian Library, Gough maps 31, f. 13a). SAS Library copy of *The Tunbridge Wells Guide* (Tunbridge Wells: J. Sprange, 1786) for nine views, and the edition dated 1801 for the tenth. Related sketches in BL, Add. MS. 71714, nos 10, 14, 18 and 56. The Rocks: Tunbridge Wells Museum, 1959/09 (1), (2); 1995/142.
- ⁴⁷ *SWA*, 26 Aug. 1765, 13 Oct. 1766. BL, Add. MS. 71714, no. 6, is a pencil study for the print; SAS, PC, purchased Nov. 1995, not yet accessioned, is a large working sketch; the watercolour in *Brighton Revealed*, exhib. cat., Brighton Museum & Art Gallery, 1995, no. 4, may be the copy for the engraver. The painting fell to pieces many years before 1903: 'Death of Mr William Blaber', *Brighton Gazette*, 19 Sept. 1903.
- ⁴⁸ Christie's 28 May 1980, lot 13, Atlas Folio 23 (possibly a 1762 original), SAS, PC 3794.
- ⁴⁹ Dunvan, 343–4. Challen, 107.
- ⁵⁰ The trade label quoted above is on the back of a zograscope, so he was trading in optical instruments for picture collectors.
- ⁵¹ Analysis of Grimm's pictures in British Library, Add. MSS. 5671–5678, and of copies dated to the day in Bodleian Library, Gough maps 31. R. Holt-White, *The Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selborne*, 2 vols (London: Murray, 1901) **1**, 319, 326–8, and **2**, 3, for Grimm's employment by Gilbert White.
- ⁵² Two reproduced in D. Calvert & R. Martin, *A History of Herstmonceux Castle* (Herstmonceux: International Study Centre, 1994), 23, 26.
- ⁵³ Atlas Folio, 43 and BL, Add. MS. 5676, f. 85, reproduced in *SAC* **20** (1868), opp. 57 (Caburn); BL, Add. MS. 5677, f. 61 (Bramber).
- ⁵⁴ Dunvan, 324–5.
- ⁵⁵ *SWA*, 23 Feb. 1789. ESRO, PAR 412/1/1/5.



Mission and fission

THE ORGANIZATION OF HUNTINGTONIAN AND CALVINISTIC BAPTIST CAUSES IN SUSSEX IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

by Roger Homan

Sussex has been particularly well endowed with wayside chapels of which a great number survive, whether in religious use or as dwellings. The great number are Strict Baptist or Calvinistic Independent. Within Calvinism there are different affiliations and an attempt is made to identify these and relate local causes to them. Returns to the Religious Census of 1851 indicated denominational allegiance, albeit sometimes imprecisely. For example, there were 43 places of worship declared to be 'Baptist' of which some were 'open' in their communion (and have survived into the 20th century within the Baptist Union) and others, like Rotherfield, Danehill and Dicker were 'strict'. This paper relates to a listing of some 150 such chapels, the greater number of which have existed in the eastern part of the county. It includes those causes in which the baptism of believers was practised: these divide into two major alignments in the late 19th century. It also includes the Calvinistic Independent causes founded in most cases after the missionary sermons of William Huntington; these often became Baptist at a later stage.

FOUNDATIONS

The Calvinistic churches share the view that, while most of mankind will perish in a state of sinfulness and misery, God has elected some into a covenant of Grace by which they will be brought into salvation. Such is the belief that election has been predestined that with rare exceptions the faithful do not spend their time knocking on doors or advertising for more members (Gadsby 1809). Strict Baptists hold the further view, not shared by Calvinistic Independents, that baptism is the door to the church and communion confined to those who are members (Philpot 1840).

Such has been the ecclesiology of a once large number of wayside chapels in Sussex, distinctively modest in scale, neat in complexion and restrained in their witness to the world: their notice-boards are characteristically of black and gold and one will seldom find the more eye-catching type of poster that beckons the passer-by. On the one hand we find the quiet and unassuming elegance of Providence chapel at Chichester or Bethel at Wivelsfield or Zoar at Handcross, on the other the outward austerity of the commodious Jireh chapel at Lewes.

Calvinism in Sussex is in its preaching and organization explicitly rooted in 16th-century puritanism. The commemoration of Protestant martyrs is a regular observance and a principle of collective identity. That there were 33 Protestant martyrdoms in the eastern part of the county and none in the western half has been related to the greater number of Calvinistic causes in East Sussex (Reynolds 1961).

The Calvinist doctrine that God in his own providence will call the elect to himself pre-empt the need for human initiative. Strict Baptists are not evangelical. God convinces his own, often through a study of the Scriptures prompted within other religious movements. By these means individuals coalesce into groups of the faithful on a small scale.

Conviction begets contagion: men with well-developed insights gather local people to themselves for Bible study and prayer. Cottage meetings were established by individuals who had moved to the area and found a gap in Calvinist provision. To East Grinstead in 1876 a Mr Smith moved from Gower Street chapel in London and opened his own home for worship; similarly a Mr Matthews arrived in Halland in 1882, found it 'benighted' (Legerton

1986, 6) and started a Sunday school in his home from which was to grow the Calvinistic Independent cause. The part of women is to support and sponsor by, for example, lending or annexing their cottages. Thus the *Gospel Standard Magazine* for 1860 lists services at 'Miss Stapely's house' at Dallington alongside those at more conventional and established chapels.

The tenor of Calvinist testimonies, often explicit in their titles, is that God intervenes in the lives of those he chooses and rescues them without their prompting. Their story is of 'God's gracious dealings' with those He has chosen (Gibbs 1827; Hailsham Baptist Chapel 1945). In the narrower sense of this world view, human initiative has no place and the faithful consequently withhold their witness: far from proselytizing, they wait reclusively. This withdrawal from a sense of active participation in the divine plan is evidenced in the smallest detail. Henry Young asks as he sets down his own testimony of God's dealings, 'O my pen, how wilt thou be guided?'

Such a passive view is the official reading of Strict Baptist history. But it is also recognized that its foundations in Sussex owe much to a period of

Independent initiative in which many causes were established by missionary endeavour. In due course many of these Huntingtonian churches were constituted or 'formed' on Strict Baptist principles and the Baptist historians of the Sussex churches acknowledge the importance of the Huntingtonian legacy (Chambers 1953, 122).

While this was the normative pattern of development in Sussex Calvinism, its foundation was largely by the endeavours of two itinerant missionaries, William Huntington (1745–1813) (Fig. 1) and George Gilbert (1741–1827). These were men of distinction and strong character.

Huntington's charisma resided largely in the contradictions of his life and character. He was not formally educated but was commended by the laureate Southey for his 'command of language' (Southey 1821, 510). He was, in the words of Mr Philpot, 'the fruit of a double adultery' and he in due course fathered an illegitimate son and had his name changed to elude the quarterly maintenance payments which he could not afford. Yet he was later to marry Lady Sanderson, the widow of a Lord Mayor of London. Such a career was made plausible only by his miraculous conversion, 'the day of jubilee', involving a bright light that shone into his heart if not into his eyes (Huntington 1784, 88–92) and a notion of God's remarkable dealings with poor sinners. Even so, Huntington asked, 'Why, Lord, didst thou not keep me from sin when I was in my youth, as thou knewest what thou hadst preordained me to? Or, if this did not seem meet, why didst thou not hear my many prayers, and hide it from the world, to the honour of thine own name?' (Sant & Ella n.d., 4). He had received the barest of education, yet his writings were to earn him the accolade of 'amazing genius' from a former fellow of Worcester College Oxford (Philpot 1821) and his literary merit was admired even by his despiser Robert Southey. Though normally fearless in public utterance, he was an emotional person who declined to preach at funerals: in a memorial address in 1811 on the first pastor of Jireh Lewes, delivered there a fortnight after the funeral and published the following year as *The Last Fragments of the Rev. J. Jenkins*, Huntington broke down saying 'I don't like this! I can't bear it!' (North 1996, 9). When he could find work he laboured as a gardener and unloaded coal barges at Thames Ditton. But in later life his people bought him a coach bearing on the side the letters 'W.H.S.S.', being his initials and the qualification which he



Fig. 1. William Huntington (1745–1813).

considered to have been conferred upon him, 'Sinner Saved'. To the tradition of Calvinism which both earlier and subsequently has been characterized by its solemnity he introduced a lively, self-effacing and sometimes mischievous humour. The paradoxes of his own life were captured in some of the cryptic titles of his 26 books and more than 90 publications such as *The Modern Plasterer Detected and his Untempered Mortar Discovered* (1787), *The Barber; or, Timothy Priestley Shaved* (1792), *An Answer to Fools and a Word to the Wise* (1792), *Discoveries and Cautions from the Streets of Zion* (1798) and *The Coalheaver's Scraps* (1809 — see Sant & Ella n.d., 25–8, for a full listing of Huntington's works).

The hallmark of Huntington's ministry was his 'experimental' — or experiential — religion. He spoke and wrote from the heart, from the experience of the conviction of sinfulness and of God's dealing with him in his mortal condition. 'I believe the reader will never find that I publish anything but my own divinity, which I had from God', he wrote; and he never looked at biblical commentaries for fear they should quench the Spirit on which he relied (Southey 1821, 495). 'A Disciple of Jesus' (1814, 8), who was as explicit of Huntington's shortcomings as of his merits, ranked his experimental preaching as 'his principal excellency'. He was admired for exposing his spiritual condition, but by the same token was disapproved for dwelling so much upon himself. So dominant a personality did not engender moderate feelings and — with conspicuous exceptions that included his marriage — the response to Huntington by his contemporaries reflected both the social and cultural divisions of his day and a vigilance of the kind of deviations or dissent that might augur a revolution in the wake of the French. For the elevation from the circumstances of his birth and early life to the acclaim he received in the pulpits of London he was condemned as an hypocrite and impostor: Southey (1821) occupied 60 pages of the *Quarterly Review* with a diatribe against Huntington. The faithful found parallels between his birth and that of Pharez and Zarah in Genesis 38 and between his vocation and that of Christ's disciples (Philpot 1856). He died in Tunbridge Wells and a throng of 2000 followed his hearse the 24 miles from there to Jireh chapel in Lewes for his funeral. The epitaph, which he had dictated a little while earlier, captures both the tensions in his own ministry and the segregation of the saved and the unsaved in the world view which

he proclaimed:

Here lies the Coalheaver,
Beloved of his God but abhorred of men.
The Omniscient Judge
at the Great Assize shall ratify and
Confirm this to the
Confusion of many thousands;
For England and its metropolis shall know
That there hath been a prophet
Among them.

Huntington preached at Petworth, Horsham, Maresfield, Bolney and Lewes. By his missionary exertions, Providence chapel at Brighton was built in 1805, Jireh at Lewes was provided for his friend, 'the Welsh apostle' Jenkin Jenkins, and the Golden Square chapel at Petworth was opened by him. The churches which have claimed Huntington as their founder or teacher have related closely to each other, sharing both anniversaries and ministers: distance did not separate Providence at Chichester (Fig. 2) from its namesake at Brighton or Jireh at Lewes, with whom it shared the pastorates of Jenkin Jenkins, William Brook and John Vinall in the early 19th century.

His writings were also promulgated to the unchurched. Henry Young of Newhaven had in his youth been so convinced of his wretchedness that he could not join the praise and thanksgiving in the Church of England, only participating in the words 'Lord have mercy'. But he was drawn to the Huntingtonians by two tracts sold at his door: one was Mr Jenkin's letter to Mr Williams and the other was William Huntington's *An Innocent Game for Babes in Grace* published in 1787.

George Gilbert was born in Rotherfield in 1741 and at the age of 18 was recruited to General Elliott's Light Horse regiment. In the 1760s Elliott engaged him as an estate foreman at Heathfield Park. Having, as the testimonies say, 'come under soul concern', Gilbert launched a crusade against the moral and spiritual conditions of his day. He had some persecutors who used physical violence against him. The opposition at Ticehurst, said to be led by the local clergy (Lemm 1892, 8), included the beating of drums, the ringing of bells and the throwing of mud as he preached. The drum of such an opponent at Bexhill was silenced only by the penknife of one of his female sympathizers. When these tactics did not work, General Elliott was approached by a delegation of his dinner guests asking for Gilbert's dismissal, but he refused (Pryce 1996, 57): though

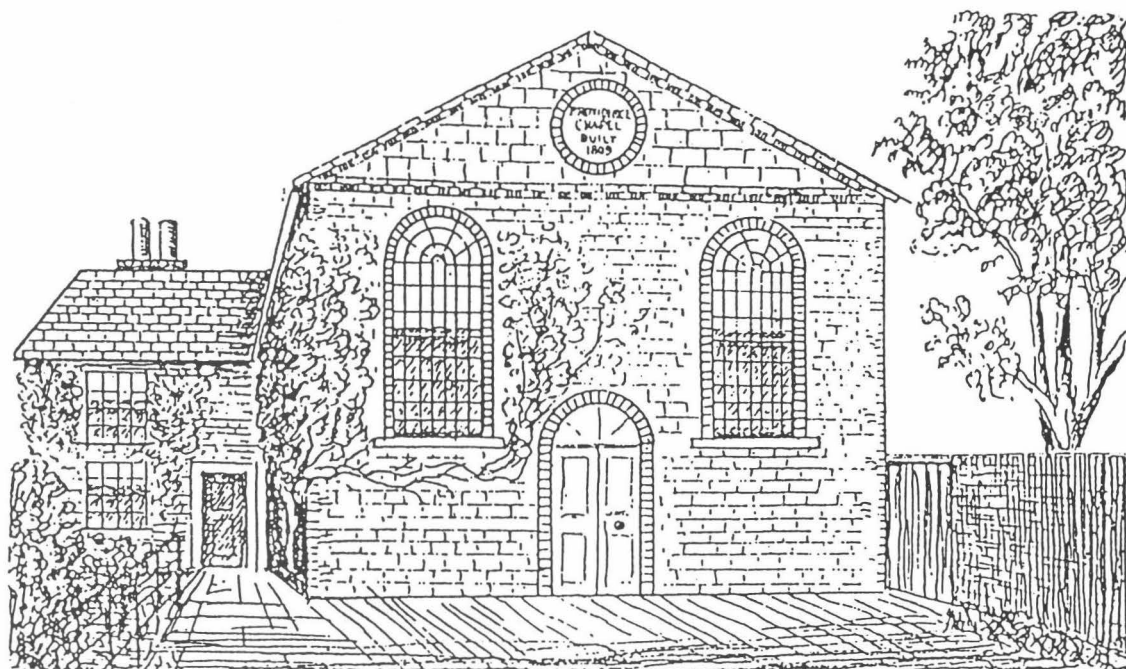


Fig. 2. Providence Chapel, Chichester. (From *The Friendly Companion* 1898.)

indifferent to Gilbert's religion, Elliott had a high regard for his honesty and integrity. Notwithstanding the opposition, he is said to have been active in the foundation of an estimated 40 causes (Chambers 1953, 60; Lemm 1892, 8) in the eastern part of the county and to have visited some 15 towns and villages in rotation (Pryce 1996, 58). So he was dubbed 'the apostle of Sussex'. The first Independent (soon to be Strict Baptist) church at Battle arose from Gilbert's open-air preaching there in 1776–78. In 1886 the pastor of the Independent chapel at Punnett's Town, Josephus Lemm, founded the Gilbert memorial chapel in Alexandra Road, Heathfield.

The 18th century was, therefore, a period of productive missionary activity by a small number of preachers who were Independents rather than Baptists. Their endeavours were to establish the churches which in due time were to become Baptist and in which human initiative was to take a different form. Subsequently God's dealings with his chosen ones were to take the form of convincing them as they sat beneath pulpits in chapels, attentive to the preaching of His ministers, Lord's Day by Lord's Day. It was common practice for individuals introducing themselves by testimony to nominate the preacher

under whom they sat in their formative years. And the days of great preaching were recalled with a measure of nostalgia. So Mr Baxter preaching at Providence Brighton in 1871 pondered:

what a host of faithful servants do we find have been gathered home to everlasting rest and glory. Where are Huntington, Brook, Philpot, Grace and many others, whom some of you have listened to, receiving in power and divine truths that drop from their lips? . . . We may reverence those great men who have preached and written to the glory of God: but we must not idolize them (Providence Chapel 1871).

From the early days Calvinists became used to congregating in large numbers. In 1792 Huntington addressed a packed meeting at Maresfield and it was following this that Five Ash Down chapel was built. In about 1798 Huntington preached to a crowd of over 600 in Mr Blaker's orchard at Bolney. Hadlow Down chapel proved too small for its opening service in 1849 and the sermon was therefore preached outside. Jireh chapel at Lewes (Fig. 3) was built for 1100, Providence Brighton for 850. On census morning in 1851 there were attendances of 233 at the Crowborough chapel, 320 at the Dicker, 650 at



Fig. 3. The pulpit of Jireh chapel, Lewes. (Courtesy of Edward Reeves of Lewes.)

Jireh Lewes, 321 at Punnett's Town, 300 at Chichester Zion and so on. Brighton, which in 1851 had a population of 69,673, supported six Calvinistic causes which had a collective morning attendance of 2350 and 2110 in the evening (Vickers 1989). Salem chapel Brighton had seats for 830. Pell Green chapel at Wadhurst was enlarged in 1828, again in 1831 and again in 1841. The jubilee of Mr Popham's pastorate at Galeed Brighton attracted a crowd of 1400 which had to be accommodated in the Countess of Huntingdon's church in North Street.

Even cottage meetings were not the intimate occasions that may be supposed: the room at Dallington held 90 sittings and was occupied in 1851 by an average congregation of 60; the dwelling house used by Calvinists in Alciston accommodated 156 in the morning and 119 in the afternoon. When 'Argus' (1894) visited Ebenezer chapel at Hastings he expected 'a small and insignificant sect' but

registered his surprise in finding

a temple containing sitting room for some six hundred or more worshippers, and greater still my astonishment to observe shortly after eleven o'clock that nearly every one of the places in the body of the church was occupied, while in the galleries above, running round three sides of the building, were something more than a sprinkling of men, women, and children.

GROUPS AND IDENTITIES

In 1851, returns were made from congregations describing themselves as 'Independents of Calvinistic Principles' (Wisborough Green) and 'Loyal Protestant Dissenters' (Staplefield). Generic labels came later. The term 'Strict Baptist' is used relatively late as a collective ascription with the purpose of organizing

a range of Calvinistic Baptist causes within a denominational identity. 'Independent' and 'Huntingtonian' are similarly general organizing categories which are used less formally and, in the first case, ambiguously.

Some methodological hazards attend the interpretation of self-attributed names. In the 1851 returns the term 'Calvinist' was sometimes used by congregations known to be Calvinistic Independent or Huntingtonian; later in the century, when Kelly's street directories list places of worship in some detail, the term is used to distinguish groups from other Baptists. Likewise, 'Independent' is used in census returns as a description of the Calvinistic Independent churches (for example, Jireh at Lewes, Mayfield, Horsted Keynes), but it was also owned by Congregationalists (Seaside chapel, Eastbourne). 'Huntingtonian' is a description helpfully used in 19th-century street directories but not as a self-description. Some churches operating Strict and/or Particular principles (Zion at Battle, Dallington, Eastbourne) describe themselves as 'Baptist', as do the General Baptist churches from whom they need and want to be distinguished. Self-descriptions in 1851 were conceived within a local frame: Protestant causes needed not to own a national denominational identity but to differentiate themselves from other religious organizations represented in their neighbourhood. Thus at Heathfield a term as general as 'Dissenters' served its purpose whereas in Brighton one of the Ebenezers called itself 'Huntingtonian' to avoid confusion with the other.

The Calvinistic Independents are distinguished historically by their direct inheritance of the theology of William Huntington and his notion of 'experimental religion'. Even those causes such as Providence chapel at Chichester whose origins were among members of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion (Reynolds 1961) claim the identity 'Huntingtonian'. Congregational independence has been so maintained that it is inappropriate to talk of the Huntingtonian churches as a denomination, but they recognized an identity with each other throughout the country and some half of the Calvinistic Independent churches belonged to Sussex. Their formal distance from other Calvinistic churches is marked by their position on baptism and it was on that basis that in due time a number of causes of Independent foundation realigned, usually under the leadership of the pastor. For example, the Ebenezer chapel, Warbleton (latterly known as Bodle

Street), was built for the ministry of James Raynsford who had until the 1830s been pastor of the Independent cause at Horsham called Jireh. It was his desire that on his death he should be succeeded by Cornelius Sharp, but between the utterance of the wish and the death which called for its fulfilment Mr Sharp became involved with Zoar Strict Baptist chapel at the Dicker where he was baptized. Having become a Baptist he made it a condition of his acceptance of the pastorate that Ebenezer be constituted as a Strict Baptist church; that was done on 17 September 1864. Circumstances of this kind have attended the realignment of a number of formerly Independent causes to Strict Baptist and it is acknowledged that many — even a majority of — Strict Baptist causes in Sussex have Independent origins (Chambers 1953, 2).

The labels 'Strict' and 'Particular' mark the Calvinist doctrine that election is specific. What Strict Baptists most disapprove is the doctrine of universalism that offers a calling to all and not just to the chosen ones. This doctrinal position has tempted a number of Strict Baptist causes which are now aligned with the Baptist Union. Such commentators as Mr Chambers deeply lament the straying into 'open paths' of chapels such as Rocks Hall at Uckfield, Mermaid Street at Rye, Eastgate chapel in Lewes and Zion at Battle. In those cases too, it is often the appeal of a candidate for the pastorate which inclines the congregation not to insist upon its customary doctrine.

In the late 1850s and early 1860s a theological controversy over the eternal Sonship of Christ was the focus of a national division among Calvinistic Baptists and two traditions emerged, one aligned with the *Gospel Standard Magazine* and the other expressed in the columns of the *Earthen Vessel*, though not in fact being the position of its editor. The *Gospel Standard* took the orthodox view that Christ was not only in his human, but also in his divine nature, eternally the Son of God and that he was so by begetting and not by office (Paul n.d., 24). That was then considered so central and indispensable a truth that contrary views and those who held them were not to be featured in the columns of the magazine (*Gospel Standard* November 1859, wrapper page 2). *The Christian Pathway*, which succeeded *The Calvinistic Pulpit* and affirmed the eternal Sonship, published a directory of Strict Baptist churches which included those that some years earlier had adopted the contrary position, as

did subsequently the Strict Baptist historian Ralph Chambers. For the *Gospel Standard Magazine*, however, and for the Gospel Standard historian, Mr S. F. Paul, there was a narrower range of interest.

The Gospel Standard churches, those associated with *Grace Magazine* and the Calvinistic Independents survive as three distinctive though allied traditions, each having its respective culture. The *Gospel Standard Magazine* offers a model to its churches by maintaining the complexion and format that it has had for more than a hundred years: it has no photographs, no graphics, no gloss, no modern typeface and news items have always been 'jealously excluded' (Ramsbottom 1985, 15); it reprints sermons that were uttered in the 19th century. A firm editorial line is maintained and it nominates only those preachers who have satisfied strict credal criteria. Members of Gospel Standard churches dress formally and tend to use titles rather than first names. The women are expected to cover their heads and they play no audible part in the meetings except as accompanists to the hymns: rather, their devotion is evident in published testimony (Sharp 1922; Payne n.d.). The worship is solemn: hymns are sung from Gadsby's *Hymnal*. The Grace tradition has in most cases more explicitly assimilated the modern world: its magazine has moved well into the 20th century, its churches make use of modern technology in their worship, and hymns and relationships are often lively. Although in its early days the Huntingtonian tradition was associated with a more expressive culture, it later found a kindred spirit among the sober Gospel Standard group: it seems that after Huntington's death the Independents lost something of his playful humour. Anniversaries are occasions when networks are celebrated and chapels tend to draw visiting parties from churches of their own kind; similarly, there has been a tendency — if not much more — for appointment of trustees, invitations to pastorates and supplies to pulpits to follow party lines.

DISMISSION AND SECESSION

The size of congregations relative to accommodation was a factor in the acquisition and licensing of new premises: 850 believers could hardly have been physically comfortable in the Tabernacle at Brighton. Moreover, the members of some chapels were accustomed to commute considerable distances from home to chapel and to take snacks to sustain themselves between services: for example, lovers of

the doctrines of grace who lived in East Grinstead were wont to walk either to Forest Row or to Crowborough (Chambers 1953, 9–10). It was this habit which favoured the afternoon rather than the evening meeting which persists in the late 20th century in some chapels (Scaynes Hill). In due time groups from particular villages sought 'dismission', an amicable arrangement to release from membership a group of believers to form a church in another place. By these means Shovers Green was formed from Burwash, Rye Old Chapel from Sandhurst in Kent, Cuckfield from Newick, Salem Brighton from Wivelsfield, Ebenezer Brighton from Salem, and Windsor Street Chapel from Ebenezer. Dismission implies the approval of the dismissing church for the destination of its former members: by the same token a church will not dismiss to a church which it disapproves. So on 30 March 1824 Salem in Brighton 'resolved that we as a Church do not dismiss any member or members to those who have formed themselves into a Church in Cavendish street under present circumstances'.

Dismission is a means of keeping relations sweet between one church and another. So when Thomas Wall left the pastorate of Hailsham for that of the Old Baptist church in Mermaid Street, Rye, a letter of dismissal was sought from Hailsham and read to the Rye church in February 1852. It is a procedure that accords with the culture of networks within rural Calvinism. The rupture of a group of believers from its accustomed congregation was offset by the prospect of periodic exchanges for chapel and pastors' anniversaries, with the accompanying teas which Chambers remembered before the days of war and rationing as 'The real Sussex, Sussex at home, and a section of Sussex which can still enjoy a sovereign grace ministry' (Chambers 1953, 5).

However, not all departing groups left chapels with the blessing of their former fellow worshippers. Secession was commonplace, whether prompted by disapproval of the preacher, a dispute over an appointment or a doctrinal disagreement. Pastors leading their churches into 'open paths' were deserted by contingents faithful to the truth they perceived: it was to conserve true doctrine that Galeed Brighton seceded from the Tabernacle, Uckfield from Five Ash Down in c. 1785 and thence to the Foresters Hall in 1820, Wivelsfield from Ditchling in 1763, Sussex Street Brighton from Salem and Brighton Jireh from Cave Adullam.

Conflicts within congregations were often

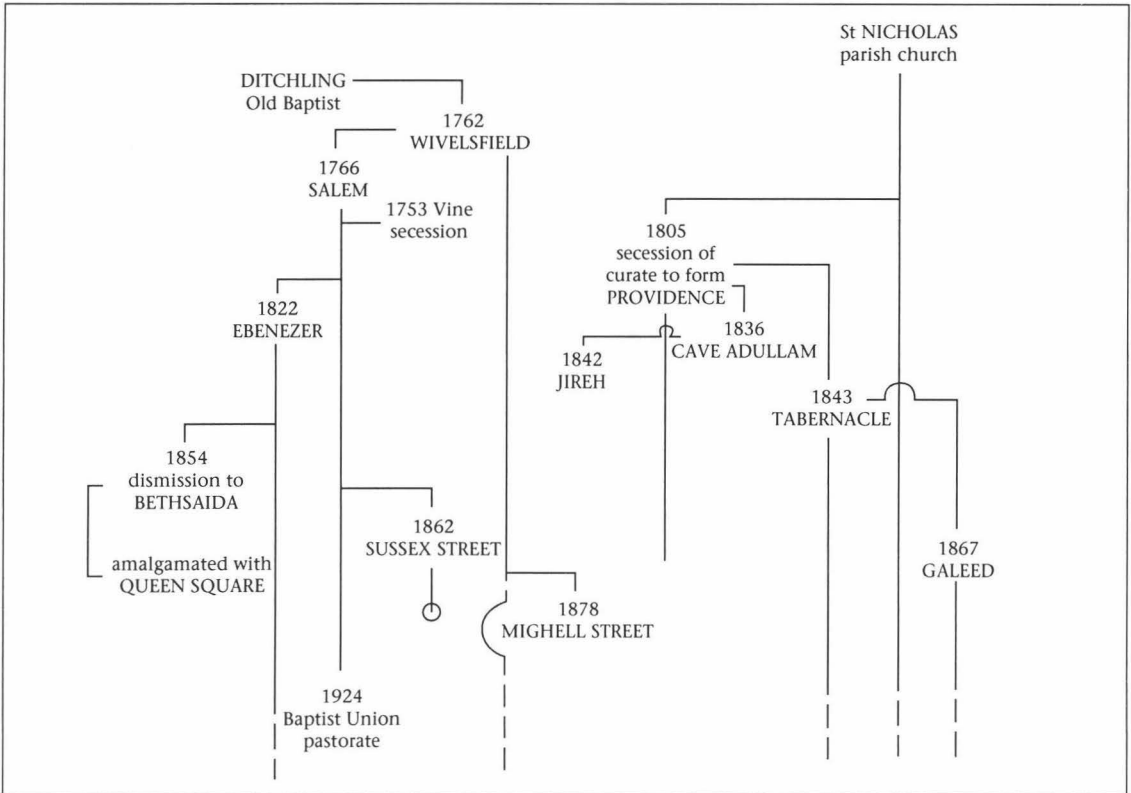


Fig. 4. Some Brighton causes.

acrimonious. James Gibbs (1827) and ten others found themselves locked out of Bethesda chapel in Lewes by one whom Gibbs had invited to supply his own pulpit. Chambers (1953, 103) records that in 1853 Baptists in Rotherfield sealed the new chapel to prevent Mr Russell and his followers from having access to it.

There are normally no half-measures between amicable dismissal and hostile secession, but church rules provide for decent procedures and these are on occasion followed even in circumstances of dissent. So in April 1822 Alex Lambert and 34 members of Salem chapel in Brighton petitioned their church:

We whose names are underwritten, finding we cannot continue in membership with you, for reasons well known to yourselves, wishing to act in conformity to the Churches [of] our denomination, do hereby request to separate ourselves from you that we may unite and form ourselves into a District Church according

to the articles of Faith and Practice agreed to when the Church was first formed, and at the same time, we would express our desire that this separation may be with as much peace and mutual good wishes as possible.

The church minute of 30 April 1822 recognizes the element of dissent:

We deem it advisable, for the sake of peace, to agree to it, which we hereby do . . . but for justice to selves and pastor, they declare invalid the charge of 'equivocation' by Pastor which was made by the separating group. For persecuting the Pastor, the deacons deserve the censure of the Church.

On 21 March 1847 John Grace preached his farewell sermon at Providence Brighton where the pastor, John Vinall, found him incompatible, and took the philosophical view that fission was a means of extending the Kingdom. The perspective of Strict Baptist historians such as Mr Philpot, Mr Paul and Mr Chambers is to stress the importance of correct

doctrine and to interpret fissions of this kind as a matter of keeping the faith. Deviations from orthodox doctrines are frequently lamented by the historians and have been the basis of excommunication by the churches. Jacob Martell was ejected from the Heathfield Independent chapel in 1809 for his leaning toward the doctrine of believers' baptism. 'Sad to say', Chambers reports of Zion at Cuckfield in the 18th century, 'like so many General Baptist churches of those days, the cause drifted into unitarianism and dwindled away until it was finally closed' (Chambers 1953, 111). Later Strict Baptist causes were led by their ministers into 'open paths' or 'universalism'.

In practice, however, fissions may have been rather more personal and partisan. It is likely that preachers were patronized for style as well as content. In an essentially lay ministry, the vocation of preacher was not subject to any educational qualification or national scrutiny, only to the approval of local hearers. Moreover, the Calvinist ethic honoured the lowly quite as much as those esteemed in the secular system. The prospect of approval and respect by a large audience and of relative security were particularly appealing to the economically dispossessed. Of their number several aspired to be preachers. In due time, for example, pulpits were provided for James Weller at Rye, Charles Mathews at Halland, William Roberts at Newick, Mr John Vinall [senior] at Lower Dicker, William Crouch at Pell Green, Thomas Russell at Rotherfield Providence and the former curate of Brighton parish church at Providence Brighton to which newly created chapels some of them took a personal following. The complex relations of local causes is illustrated by the examples of Brighton (Fig. 4) and Warbleton (Fig. 5).

What is distinctive of membership patterns in the Calvinistic churches in the 19th century is that movements were not by gradual attrition but *en bloc*. Affiliation and belief were powerful bonds. Disapproval of a new pastor was a common source of discontent; this is more acute in a democratic system in which the minority party suffers a sense of disappointment than in a system such as that of

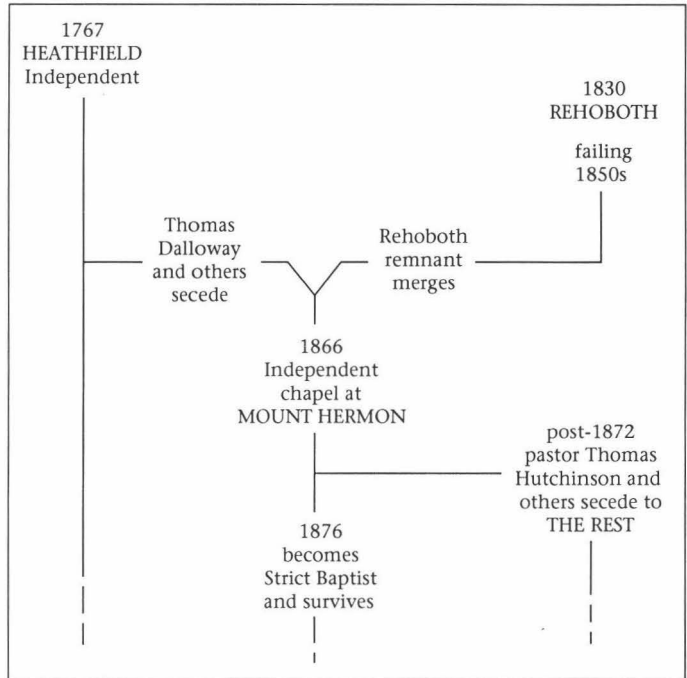


Fig. 5. Calvinistic causes in Warbleton.

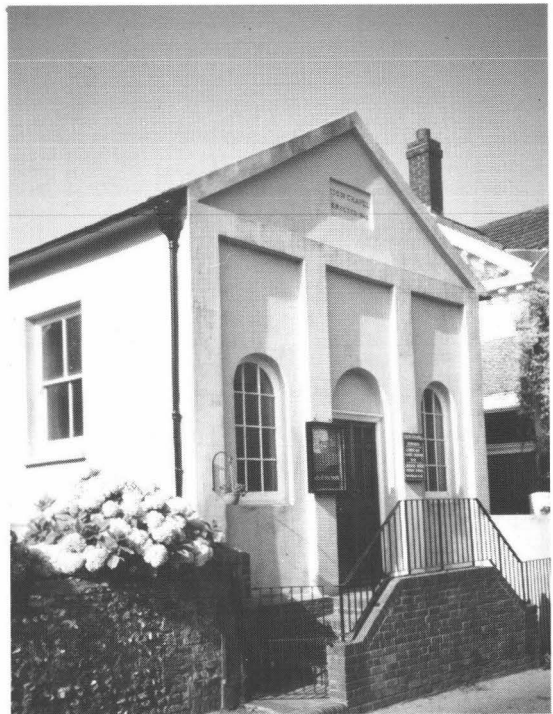


Fig. 6. Zion Chapel erected 1843 at Poynings, West Sussex.

the Church of England in which the congregation as a whole is not invited to have a view in respect of candidates. The minute books scarcely treat issues of fluctuations in membership; they tend rather to be occupied with disciplinary measures taken in individual cases. So members are excluded for immoral conduct and/or 'disorderly walk', adultery, tale-bearing and non-attendance.

There were in the heyday of Sussex Calvinism more aspirants than pulpits and a large number of chapels were originally provided for the benefit not of hearers but of preachers. Among these, Providence chapel in Brighton was built in 1805 for the defecting curate of the parish church and Jireh at Lewes was in the same year erected to provide an audience of 1000 for Jenkin Jenkins. Ebenezer Hastings was built for David Fenner in 1817, Danehill chapel for William Roberts in 1820, Pell Green for William Crouch in 1824, Mayfield was provided for William Burch, the chapel at Hadlow Down for James Hallett in 1849, Ebenezer Broad Oak for George Mockford in 1850 and Bethel at Robertsbridge for James Weller in 1842. A lay ministry to which men are called by divine providence affords a transition from pew to pulpit without having to undergo college training.

In Mr Philpot's assessment at least, ministers of the word were, typically, 'none of them hale and hearty men, but all in varying degrees consumptive invalids, "stricken deer", who laboured on against ill health, and under an ever-present sense of the terrible precariousness of this, their mortal life' (Philpot 1932, 35). So, for example, for the last seven years of his life, William Brown supplied in Brighton on crutches.

For at least a few of those who settled into pulpits there were economic as well as personal rewards. Huntington had been known to pray for new clothes and to receive them forthwith by 'the special interposition of providence': his flock was large and, Southey suspects, 'He may have folded them for the sake of their wool' (Southey 1821, 460, 508). The testimony of James Weller is the story of one who suffered persistent ill health and economic hardships, spending much of his time in debt, before finding security in the pulpit of Robertsbridge.

As it was needful to appear decent when speaking to the people, I sighed and groaned to the Lord to send me some more clothes; and one evening, as I sat by the side of my fire, an impression crossed my mind that the

Lord had heard my prayer . . . Accordingly, when I went the next day to Ulcomb to see my brother, he told me that the same gentleman that allowed me the ten shillings a week during my illness at Margate infirmary, desired me to go down and call upon him... When I was about to leave he asked me if the loan of five pounds for two months would be of any service to me in my trade, and I said it would . . . and then said, 'Stay, I have got some clothes I think will fit you' (Weller 1844, 83-4).

By contrast, as a contemporary chronicler observed, Mr Hull, pastor of Ebenezer Hastings, received an annual stipend from pew rents of over £200, 'a payment considerably in excess of the annual allowance of the majority of Nonconformist ministers, and the possession of which would unquestionably make many a clergyman of the Church of England feel passing rich' ('Argus' 1894). And ministry had its rewards not only in the measure of the stipend but the prestige of patronage: just as Whitefield had enjoyed the support of the Countess of Huntingdon and Huntington had engaged and married Lady Sanderson, John Grace of Brighton for many years found favour with ladies of importance (Philpot 1932, 135). The fortunes of poor James Weller turned in 1839 when his preaching disturbed a certain Mrs Smith of Rye: 'the "great lady" was so blessed under the ministry of this rough countryman that, after slipping a sovereign into his hand, she took him home in her carriage and lodged him for the night' (Chambers 1953, 57).

CONCLUSION

Whether perceived as divine Hand or human agency, the expansion of Sussex Calvinism may be regarded within two phases, more or less corresponding to the 18th and 19th centuries.

The earlier phase was a period of outreach, marked by the magnetic preaching of the Independents, among whom William Huntington was the principal. Audiences were large and personal style, whether in preaching or pamphleteering, was a significant element in the engagement. Thereafter, through the 19th century, new causes were established by cleavages within existing churches and by the dispersal of the faithful. The prevailing ministerial style in this phase had the effect of consolidating the churches and of securing

conformity to correct belief. Norms of doctrine did not now emanate from personal charisma, but were formally invested in the magazines and their editors.

It is tempting to relate the fissiparation of religious organizations in the 19th century to the complexity of contemporary social structures and to economic stratification. In the event, however, the evidence of Sussex Calvinism does not support such an analysis. One of the largest of the Sussex churches, the Independent Providence chapel at Brighton, sustained an economically and socially heterogeneous congregation under John Vinall and John Grace, while village causes at Rotherfield and

Warbleton were each comprised of three factions. The preferred explanation in this paper, therefore, is that the proliferation of causes was proportionate to the number of vocations to pulpits and the aspiration to preach had an economic and social base. Calvinist ministry in the 19th century offered social and economic opportunities which the culturally dispossessed were enabled to claim. While the established church aimed its gospel at an elusive proletariat, there emerged from the rural working class men such as William Huntington, John Grace and James Weller who were able to climb into double-decker pulpits and to look down upon the well-to-do.

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APPENDIX: CALVINISTIC CAUSES IN SUSSEX

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
East Sussex						
001 ALCISTON <i>Providence</i>		Calvinist	1838			Extinct by 1882
002 ALCISTON	Registered 1825	Particular Baptist				Extant 1832
003 BARCOMBE	1809	Particular Baptist		1810		Failed post-1856
004 BARCOMBE <i>Providence</i>	1871	Calvinistic Independent	c. 1890		Grace 1980s	Evangelical Free from 1995
005 BATTLE	1776	Calvinistic Independent				
006 BATTLE <i>Laughton House High Street 'The Room'</i>	Secession 1873	Gospel Standard 1873				Closed 1920
007 BATTLE <i>[Vidler's chapel] Mount Street</i>	Mission	Particular	1780	1789		Open paths 1793
008 BATTLE <i>Zion</i>	Secession 1793		1820			Open paths 1873
009 BEXHILL	Registered 1786	Particular				
010 BLACKBOYS <i>Hope</i>		Gospel Standard	1875	1875		Gospel Standard
011 BODLE STREET <i>Ebenezer</i>	Pulpit	Independent	1835	1864	Gospel Standard 1864	Gospel Standard
012 BREDE	Registered 1792	Particular				
013 BRIGHTON <i>Bethel West Street</i>	Registered 1829	Calvinistic				
014 BRIGHTON <i>Bethesda Church Street</i>	1833	Independent				Extinct by 1851
015 BRIGHTON <i>Bethsaida Hall [Bethesda] [Windsor Street chapel]</i>	Dismission 1854	Baptist				Surviving 1869
016 BRIGHTON <i>Cave Adullam</i>	Secession 1836	Strict	1836			Failed 1880
017 BRIGHTON <i>Ebenezer Union Street</i>		Huntingonian	1810			Surviving 1869
018 BRIGHTON <i>Ebenezer Richmond Street</i>	Dismission 1822	Strict	1825	1824		Grace
019 BRIGHTON <i>Galeed</i>	Secession 1867	Gospel Standard	1868	1869		Gospel Standard
020 BRIGHTON <i>Jireh</i>	Secession 1842	Baptist	1845			Closed c. 1902
021 BRIGHTON <i>Mighell Street</i>		Baptist	1878	1878	with Wivelsfield	Surviving 1907; closed by 1910
022 BRIGHTON <i>Providence</i>	Pulpit/secession	Independent	1805			Extant in West Hill Road

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
023 BRIGHTON <i>Queens Square</i>	Secession	Strict	1856			Open paths 1908
024 BRIGHTON <i>Rehoboth Windsor Street</i>	Dismission 1854	Independent			Gospel Advocate 1874	Extant 1884
025 BRIGHTON <i>Salem</i>	Dismission 1766	Particular	1787	1766		Open paths by 1953
026 BRIGHTON <i>Sussex Street</i>	Secession 1862		1867			Cause failed c. 1895
027 BRIGHTON <i>Tabernacle</i>	Pulpit 1833	Calvinistic Baptist	1834	1834	Strict from 1906	Grace
028 BRIGHTON <i>Zoar Windsor Street</i>		Independent	1841			Surviving 1856; not listed 1862
029 BROAD OAK <i>Ebenezer</i>	Pulpit 1843		1859	1850	Gospel Standard 1890–	Gospel Standard
030 BURWASH <i>Providence</i>		Strict	1829		Gospel Advocate 1872	Closed 1944
031 BURWASH		Particular	1810			Closed ante-1829
032 CHIDDINGLY <i>Pick Hill</i>	ante-1791	Independent			Gospel Standard 1864	Gospel Standard
033 CHILTINGTON, EAST <i>Union</i>	Registered 1805	Independent Calvinist				Extant 1816
034 CROWBOROUGH <i>Branch</i>	Under Forest Fold		c. 1906			Closed 1988 or 1989
035 CROWBOROUGH <i>Forest Fold [Two Chimneys]</i>	Cottage 1832	Particular and Strict	c. 1836	1844	Grace/Gospel Standard	Grace; ESRO
036 CROWBOROUGH <i>Motts Mill</i>	Under Forest Fold		post-1868			Closed 1927
037 DALLINGTON <i>Bethlehem</i>	Cottage 1851	Independent	1866		Gospel Standard 1860–	Closed post-1988
038 DANEHILL <i>Zion</i>	Pulpit 1810	Strict	1815		Gospel Standard by 1894	Closed c. 1967
039 DICKER, LOWER <i>Dunk's chapel [Little Dicker]</i>	Cottage/Pulpit		1812	1813	Gospel Advocate 1871	Open paths; 1980s ESRO
040 DICKER, UPPER <i>Zoar</i>	Pulpit		1838	1839	Gospel Standard 1864–	Gospel Standard; ESRO
041 EASTBOURNE <i>Seaside chapel [Cavendish Place]</i>	Secession 1820	Independent		1857	Grace	Closed 1985; ESRO
042 EASTBOURNE <i>Marsh chapel</i>	c. 1800	Independent				Failed c. 1845
043 EASTBOURNE <i>[Grove Road]</i>	Secession 1840	Strict	1853		Gospel Standard 1857–	Gospel Standard
044 EASTBOURNE <i>North Street</i>	Registered 1823	Calvinist			Gospel Standard by 1894	Ceased post-1953
045 EWHURST	Registered 1786	Particular				

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
046 FALMER	Cottage 1836	Particular			With Salem Brighton	Surviving 1851
047 FISHERSGATE	ante-1887	Strict				Short-lived
048 FIVE ASH DOWN	Mission/cottage 1773	Independent		1784		Independent; ESRO
049 FLETCHING <i>Chelwood Common</i>	1778	Particular				
050 FLETCHING <i>Mawling Down</i>	Registered 1813	High Calvinist				Extant 1829
051 FLIMWELL <i>Providence</i>	Cottage 1824	Baptist	1827		Gospel Standard 1860–1920	Closed c. 1975
052 FOREST ROW	Cottage to 1874		1874		Gospel Standard by 1894; later Grace	Grace; ESRO
053 FRAMFIELD	Registered 1816	Calvinist				Active 1818
	[FRAMFIELD <i>see also</i> BLACKBOYS]					
054 FRANT	Registered 1822	Particular				
055 HADLOW DOWN <i>Providence</i>	Cottage/pulpit 1829	Independent	1849		Gospel Standard 1860–	Hurricane damaged 1987 and closed; ESRO
056 HAILSHAM <i>Providence Terry's Yard</i>		Calvinist	1816			Active 1851
057 HAILSHAM <i>Market Street</i>	Mission 1792	Independent	1794	1795	Strict and Particular	ESRO
058 HALLAND	Cottage 1882	Independent	1892	1886		Independent
059 HARTFIELD	Registered 1785	Particular				Extant 1805
060 HASTINGS <i>Ebenezer [Cow Lodge]</i>	Pulpit 1812	Particular	1817	1818	Gospel Standard 1864	Gospel Standard; ESRO
061 HASTINGS <i>Providence Waterloo Place</i>	c. 1882	Calvinistic				
062 HASTINGS <i>Tabernacle</i>	Pulpit 1854	Independent	1854		Gospel Standard 1894 Calvinistic 1974	Evangelical by 1988
063 HASTINGS <i>Zoar Bourne Road</i>	Registered 1813	Calvinist	1822			Surviving 1851
	[HEATHFIELD Ebenezer <i>see</i> BROAD OAK]					
064 HEATHFIELD <i>Punnett's Town</i>	Pulpit 1767	Independent		1770		Evangelical Free
065 HEATHFIELD <i>Gilbert Memorial Alexandra Road</i>		Independent		1886		Evangelical Free
066 HELLINGLY <i>Providence</i>	Pulpit 1812	Independent	1835			Active 1862
067 HERSTMONCEUX <i>Cowbeech Preaching station</i>	Registered 1800	Independent		1834	Under Heathfield	Extant 1892
068 HOATHLY, EAST <i>Providence</i>		Independent	1849	1869	Strict from 1869	

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
069 HOOE	Registered 1786	Particular				
070 HORAM <i>Ebenezer (Pick Hill)</i>	Pulpit/Cottage					
071 HORSTED KEYNES Cottage		Particular	1861	1863	Gospel Standard 1920	Failed 1947
072 HOVE <i>Providence</i>		Baptist	c. 1887			Closed by 1910
073 IDEN		Strict	1835		Gospel Standard 1860-	Failed after 1909
074 JARVIS BROOK <i>Rehoboth</i>	Secession 1852	Strict	1876		Gospel Standard by 1894	Gospel Stand/Grace
075 LEWES <i>Bethesda St John Street</i>	1813	Calvinistic		1827		Closed 1929; ESRO
076 LEWES <i>Cliffe</i>	Secession 1784	Particular	1819	1784		Open paths; ESRO
077 LEWES <i>Jireh</i>	Pulpit 1805	Huntingtonian	1809	1821		Independent; ESRO
078 LEWES <i>Providence</i>	ante-1851	Independent	1856		Gospel Advocate 1872	Non-Calvinist by 1938
079 LEWES <i>[Bridge rooms]</i>	Post-1838	Independent				United with Jireh 1856
080 LEWES <i>Bridge chapel [sometimes misread as Refuge chapel]</i>	Secession 1856	Calvinistic				United with Jireh 1865
081 LEWES <i>Cliffe</i>	Active 1851	Calvinistic				
082 LITTLE LONDON <i>Bethel</i>		Independent	1879			Closed 1979
083 MAGHAM DOWN <i>Ebenezer</i>		Baptist	1846		with Hailsham	Closed 1994
084 MAYFIELD [Two chapels licensed]	Pulpit 1815	Independent	1850	1871	Gospel Standard/Grace	
085 NETHERFIELD		Baptist	1837			Surviving 1851
086 NEWHAVEN		Calvinistic	1904			Closed c. 1976
087 NEWICK <i>Zion</i>	Pulpit/cottage 1834	Particular	1834	c. 1839		Closed 1987
088 NINFIELD <i>Nazarene</i>	Cottage/with	Independent Bodle Street	1831		Particular by 1851 Gospel Standard 1864-	Failed c. 1971
089 NINFIELD <i>Russell Green</i>	Licensed 1813	Independent Calvinist				
090 PELL GREEN <i>Rehoboth</i>	Pulpit	Calvinistic	1824	1818	Gospel Standard	Closed ante-1987
091 RINGMER <i>Rehoboth</i>		Independent	1834			Closed 1949
092 RIPE <i>Hebron</i>	Cottage	Calvinistic	1830		Strict from 1881 Gospel Standard 1920	Closed 1948

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
093 ROBERTSBRIDGE <i>Bethel</i>	Pulpit		1842	1844	Gospel Standard from 1864	Gospel Standard
094 ROTHERFIELD <i>Bethel</i>	Registered 1710	Particular	1815			Closed 1870s
095 ROTHERFIELD <i>Providence</i>	Secession 1857	Strict	1858	1877	Gospel Standard by 1894	Gospel Standard
096 ROTHERFIELD <i>Upper Chapel</i>	ante-1800	Particular				Surviving 1851
097 RYE <i>Bethel</i>	Pulpit	Strict	1833		Gospel Standard from 1864	Gospel Standard
098 RYE <i>Old Chapel Mermaid Street</i>	Dismission 1750			1754	Open paths c. 1870	ESRO
099 SEAFORD		Calvinistic				Active 1851
100 SHOWERS GREEN	Dismission 1815	Strict	1817	1816	Gospel Standard 1884-	Closed c. 1973; ESRO
101 TICEHURST		Calvinistic Baptist				Active 1851
102 UCKFIELD <i>Rocks Hall</i>	Secession 1785	Particular and Strict	1788			Open paths 1920; ESRO
103 UCKFIELD <i>Foresters Hall</i>	Secession 1920	Gospel Standard				Gospel Standard
104 WADHURST	Registered 1782	Calvinist Baptist				
105 WADHURST	Registered 1809	Particular				Extant 1816
106 WADHURST <i>Town Chapel</i>	Under Showers Green		post-1851		Gospel Standard by 1920	Closed 1935
[WANNOCK <i>see</i> WILLINGDON]						
107 WARBLETON <i>Mount Hermon</i>	Secession 1866	Independent	1865	1874	Strict from 1876	Grace
108 WARBLETON <i>Rehoboth</i>		'High Calvinist'	1830			United 1865
109 WARBLETON <i>The Rest</i>	Secession 1872	Independent				Brethren
110 WILLINGDON <i>[Wannock]</i>	Cottage	Baptist	1839		Gospel Standard 1880	Closed 1972
WEST SUSSEX						
111 BALCOMBE	Cottage 1845	Baptist	1851	1851		Closed 1914
112 BEEDING, LOWER <i>Bethel Chapel Crabtree</i>		Particular	1835			Failed after 1851
113 BEEDING, UPPER <i>Bethel</i>	Registered 1837	Particular				
114 BOLNEY	Registered 1765	Particular				Extant 1812
115 BOLNEY <i>Providence</i>	Mission 1798 Cottage meetings	Independent	1858		Gospel Standard supplies	Cause failed 1970s
116 BURGESS HILL <i>Providence</i>	Mission	Huntingtonian	1875	1875	Strict from 1875 Gospel Standard by 1894	Gospel Standard ESRO

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
117 CHICHESTER <i>Providence</i>		Independent	1809	1774		Independent/ Grace; WSRO
118 CHICHESTER <i>Zion</i>	1822	Independent				United with Providence 1878
119 CRAWLEY <i>Bethel</i>	1810	Independent	c. 1835		'Reformed Baptist'	Grace
120 CUCKFIELD <i>Zion</i> [<i>Pole Stubbs chapel</i>]	Dismission 1846	Particular	1842	1846		Grace
121 DITCHLING <i>Beulah</i>	1865	With Salem Brighton Strict	1867			Closed 1935-8
122 FERNHURST <i>Ebenezer</i>	Secession 1851	Independent	1852			Surviving 1882
123 FERNHURST <i>Hendly Common</i>		Independent	1848			
124 FERNHURST		Particular	1804			Surviving 1851
125 GRINSTEAD, EAST <i>Providence</i>	Cottage 1876 Closed ante-1967				1894	1890
126 GRINSTEAD, EAST <i>Zion</i>			1810		Sometime Countess of Huntingdon	
127 HANDCROSS <i>Zoar</i>	Cottage 1775 c. 1919	Particular	1782	1780 Never	Gospel Standard 1864	Gospel Standard Gospel Standard
128 HAYWARDS HEATH <i>Jireh</i>		Strict	1879	1879	Gospel Standard 1894	Gospel Standard
129 HENFIELD <i>Rehoboth</i>	Registered 1690 and 1813	Reformed	1897			Grace
130 HOATHLY, WEST <i>Providence</i>		Calvinist	1866	ante-1986	Removed 1986 to Sharpethorne as Evangelical Free	
131 HORSHAM <i>Hope</i>	Cottage 1900	Strict	1903		Gospel Standard	Extant?
132 HORSHAM <i>Jireh</i>		Independent	1814		'Free Baptist' 1882	Active 1897
133 HORSHAM <i>Providence</i>		Calvinistic				Active 1851
134 HORSHAM <i>Rehoboth</i>	Secession 1834	Particular	1834			Grace
135 HURSTPIERPOINT <i>Hope</i>	Established by 1829	Strict	1876	1875		Gospel Standard
136 HURSTPIERPOINT <i>Providence</i>		Independent	1833			Surviving 1851
137 MIDHURST <i>Ebenezer</i>		Calvinist	1840			Closed 1936; WSRO
138 MIDHURST <i>Zion</i>		Baptist	1833			Failed 1886
139 POYNINGS <i>Zion</i>	With Ebenezer, Brighton	Strict	1843			Grace

NAME	ORIGINS	INITIAL ALIGNMENT	CHAPEL	CHURCH	LATER ALIGNMENT	SURVIVAL/ RECORDS
140 PETWORTH <i>Ebenezer</i>		Independent	1887	1911	Gospel Standard by 1894	Gospel Standard
141 PETWORTH <i>Providence</i>	Mission	Independent	1775			Failed ante-1887
142 SCAYNES HILL	Cottage 1864	Strict	1881	1881	Gospel Standard from 1864	Gospel Standard
143 SHOREHAM <i>Providence</i>	Cottage 1860		1867	1880		Gospel Stand/Grace
144 SHOREHAM	Registered 1785	Particular				
145 STAPLEFIELD <i>Providence</i>	Cottage	Independent Calvinistic	1827		'Loyal Protestant Dissenters'	Surviving 1851
146 STOUGHTON	Cottage	Particular				Active 1851
147 WESTBOURNE		Calvinistic Independent				Active 1851
148 WESTBOURNE		Particular				Active 1851
149 WISBOROUGH GREEN <i>Black Bridge</i>		Independent	1847			Short-lived
150 WISBOROUGH GREEN <i>Zoar</i>		Independent	1753		Independent 1851	Evangelical Free
151 WITHYHAM	Registered 1789	Particular				
152 WIVELSFIELD <i>Bethel</i>	Secession 1762	Particular	1780	1763		Grace; ESRO
153 WORTHING <i>Hope</i> <i>'Ebenezer' since 1907</i>	ante-1899	Gospel Standard	1907			Closed 1906 Gospel Standard

KEY

NAME – names by which causes have also been known are given in square brackets

ORIGINS

Cottage – cause arose by small meetings in cottage, part of a house, barn or such

Pulpit – cause founded to establish a preaching place for a particular minister

ALIGNMENTS

Gospel Standard – listing in the *Gospel Standard Magazine* has normally signified official approval and therefore close alignment

Grace – listing in its annual directory signifies alignment, if not formal affiliation

Open paths – alignment with a Baptist church such as the Baptist Union which is not strict in its communion or particular in its baptism

CHAPEL – date chapel built or adapted

CHURCH – date church 'formed' or constituted

RECORDS – most church books and other records are lost; those in East Sussex and West Sussex record offices are marked as ESRO and WSRO

SURVIVAL – in this column are listed the 1996 alignments of causes which have survived and the circumstances in which others have not

Brighton's public chess room, 1873-1914

by C. P. Ravilious

Brighton's Public Chess Room, established in 1873 in the town's Free Library and subsequently relocated to the Royal Pavilion, constitutes an unusual example of a recreational activity financed directly from the public purse. In this article the role of the Chess Room is examined both in relation to 19th-century concepts of the role of the public library, and in respect of its impact on formally organized chess clubs in the town. Information is provided regarding the aims of the room's founders, the mix of social classes making use of its facilities, special characteristics of play in the room (including the playing of chess for money), and the problems of maintaining order in a place of public resort whose raison d'être placed a premium on undisturbed concentration. Special attention is paid to the role of H. W. Butler, an early and enthusiastic user of the room who was eventually to become its fiercest critic.

I

The first known reference to Brighton's Public Chess Room is to be found in a minute of the town's Pavilion Committee dated 21 October 1872, recording the receipt of a memorial or petition signed by the Mayor of Brighton, James Ireland, and 101 other residents. Like much of the Committee's business at this time, it has for its context the planned opening of the town's Free Library, which was to take place almost a year later in the former Royal Stables in Church Street. The memorial calls for a room in the library to be set aside for chess, since this 'would afford a large amount of pleasure to those who frequent the Reading rooms and forms almost a necessary adjunct to a Free Library and Reading Rooms'.

Few libraries today would regard the provision of rooms for chess-players as falling within their remit, and it is of interest to consider what assumptions lay behind the petition's assertion that such facilities formed 'almost a necessary adjunct' to the main role of the projected Free Library. The 'leisure revolution', identified by historians as a key development of the later 19th century,¹ resulted in an accession of recruits to many spare-time activities, including the game of chess. Successive reductions in the length of the working week, which affected most occupations, created ample opportunities for those who wished to do so to engage in 'improving' hobbies. Coincidentally, several factors encouraged the seekers of 'rational amusement' to choose chess

rather than another pastime; among them the success of the London International Tournament of 1851 (the first such tournament to be held anywhere in the world), the prestige attaching to Howard Staunton's reign as 'unofficial world champion' in the years before 1851, the ready availability of chess sets made to the improved 'Staunton' pattern, and the introduction of regular chess columns in widely read journals like the *Illustrated London News*. Staunton's apologia for the game, in his introduction to *The Chess Tournament* (1852), may appear overblown today, but for many late Victorians it provided a persuasive vindication of hours spent at the chessboard:

Chess was not designed to be a waste of time or an excuse for indolence; it is not a pursuit to be lounged over for want of better employment, or, like a game of chance, to be made the means of low gambling. Chess was intended to be the recreation of men of genius and practical energies; men who are fully alive to the responsibilities of their social existence; men who, even in their amusements, are desirous of bracing and invigorating to the utmost their intellectual powers.²

Sussex was in no way backward in its espousal of this exemplary pursuit. Chess clubs were inaugurated in Brighton (1842, 1880, 1885), Eastbourne (1855, 1866, 1880), Littlehampton (1873), Chichester (1877), Hastings (1882) and Lewes (1887), as well as in a number of smaller population centres. Most, like their present-day

counterparts, were single-purpose organizations, but chess also featured among the attractions offered by institutions founded with a more general aim, among them libraries and reading rooms. Chess clubs came into being in the Brighton Athenaeum and the Hastings and St Leonards Athenaeum, in both cases around 1851. Thirty years later the Eastbourne Mutual Improvement Society had a chess section strong enough to take on, and hold its own against, the main Eastbourne Chess Club. From the 1870s to the 1890s chess is also known to have been played in a significant number of mechanics' institutes and village clubs, including those at Haywards Heath, Horsham, Maresfield, Petworth, Hailsham and Lewes: the chess club of the last-named town had its origins in a local workmen's institute, opting subsequently for an independent existence in what may have been an attempt to broaden its class base. Several of the examples already mentioned show an intimate connection between chess activity and the provision of reading matter. Typical alliances of this kind were forged at Eastbourne in 1866, where the newly founded chess club met at Gowland's Library on Marine Parade, and at Horsham, which established a Chess Club and Reading-Room in 1879. Finally, and at a date which coincides neatly with that of the founding of both the Free Library and the Public Chess Room in Brighton, we may note that at its opening in October 1873 the Working Men's Club and Reading-Room in the West Sussex village of Staplefield introduced chess, draughts and bagatelle, granting them parity of status with newspapers and books as sources of 'rational amusement'.³ In many Victorian minds there was thus an established connection between the most intellectual of games and the libraries and reading rooms whose mission was to elevate the minds of the better class of artisans and disseminate ideals of social cohesion and scientific progress. It was a short step, but a crucial one, to the concept of a chess room funded not by some combination of members' subscriptions and private charity, as with the clubs and institutes mentioned above, but from the public purse.

II

While there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of James Ireland's support for the 1872 memorial, the prime mover was Councillor Edwin Booth, an enthusiastic 'chessist' who had the ear both of the

Mayor and of at least one other influential chess-playing Brightonian, Alderman Edward Martin. The identity of the other signatories is unknown, and it is unlikely that all were active chess-players, since at this date interest in chess in the town was not high. Booth and his supporters may initially have been disappointed by the Pavilion Committee's response to the memorial, for after an inconclusive debate that body merely referred the matter to its Library Sub-Committee for consideration. Nor was the Sub-Committee particularly welcoming to the proposal: in December it concluded that 'in consequence of the limited space at their disposal' no room could be set apart for chess, undertaking only that consideration would in due course be given to the 'propriety' of allowing chess to be played in the Reading Room.⁴

No more is heard of Councillor Booth's proposal until 22 October 1873, when the *Brighton Guardian's* regular report of Town Council proceedings tells us that chess was already 'in full swing' in the library. The opening of the Chess Room can thus be assumed to have coincided with, or followed closely after, that of the library itself, which took place on 12 September. Rather than allowing the main reading room to be used by chess-players, the authorities had instead decided that a smaller room housing patents and back runs of newspapers should be available to them.⁵ Suitable tables, as well as men and boards, had been donated by Councillor Booth, and the room was open daily (excepting Sundays) from 10 a.m. until late in the evening. These opening hours were also those of the library, and like the library the Chess Room closed its doors between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m., perhaps to allow the staff to eat.⁶ It is to be noted that few chess clubs, then or since, have offered facilities to their members extending over so many hours. In other respects, however, the room left something to be desired. Ventilation was poor,⁷ and there was probably no natural light.

The choice of the 'Patents Room' as a home for chess represented a sensible compromise between the interests of library users and those of chess-players. Brighton has never been known as a centre of manufacture or commerce, and consequently the books of patents — provided under an arrangement dating from 1854, by which Patent Office publications were distributed free to certain mechanics' institutes, learned societies and libraries — were seldom consulted. Figures compiled in

October 1873, one month after the library's opening, show that, of 5907 items issued to readers, only 23 were of material from the Patents Room.⁸

Arrangements for use of the Chess Room, as the new facility soon came to be called, were at first informal; but in October 1874 it was decided that 'for the better regulation of the room, the sets of Chessmen [should] be applied for at the Library Counter on the printed forms as in the case of books'.⁹ The introduction of formal controls does not seem to have rendered the Chess Room less popular, for in the first month of the new régime there were no fewer than 402 applications for chess sets. According to the Curator, 'the new Rule had given universal satisfaction and . . . there had been perfect order in the room'.¹⁰ A newspaper report from the same period indicates that as many as ten games of chess were often in progress concurrently.¹¹

III

Just how innovative was the Public Chess Room? Walter Mead, chess columnist of the *Southern Weekly News* between 1883 and 1889, suggested that a Chess Room 'sustained by a corporation' represented 'a unique condition of things', which other towns would do well to emulate.¹² By 1882, when this comment was published, Brighton was in reality not quite alone in welcoming chess-players to its public library, though it may have been the first town to do so. Similar experiments were initiated over the next few years in several other towns, among them Leamington Spa, which allowed chess and draughts to be played in its reference library from 1876, and the London borough of Wandsworth, whose library, at its opening in 1885, provided a recreation room equipped for chess, draughts and backgammon: in the latter case, according to the library's first annual report, 'a few boys took possession of the room, and made themselves a nuisance by unruly behaviour and gambling'.¹³ Similar problems were to be a recurrent theme in the history of the Brighton Chess Room.

Most early advocates of the Free Libraries movement were suspicious of the introduction of recreational activities into the library. One pioneer, Thomas Greenwood, cited the recreation room of the library at Fleetwood in Lancashire as an illustration of the abuses which could follow such a step, arguing that 'a recreation room invariably injures the work of the library, and in no known

case can it be said to be a help'; furthermore, such a provision could not legally be funded out of the rates. Greenwood's case was strengthened, in his view, by the example of the mechanics' institutes, in which 'amusement and recreation have very largely usurped the educational work [and] so strong has the recreative element become that draught and chess boards, billiard tables, and dramatic performances have only too frequently elbowed aside the educational character of these institutions', making them 'little more than respectable lounges for men fairly well-off, who dislike the smoke-room of the public house or hotel . . .'.¹⁴

Greenwood's allusion to the illegality of rate-supported leisure facilities affords a reminder of one important difference between Brighton's Free Library and parallel institutions in other towns, the former being established under a legal enactment whose terms were more liberal than those applying to most borough libraries. To understand the statutory restrictions placed on the first public libraries, it is important to realize that many middle-class observers regarded such institutions as at best an unnecessary burden on the ratepayer and at worst a source of sedition and republicanism. Greenwood cites an unnamed visitor to Brighton's Free Library as insisting that 'no greater curse existed than these libraries, and [that] he had rather see a young man hanging about a public-house than spending his time in these places'.¹⁵ This was an extreme view; but opposition to the Free Libraries movement was deeply entrenched, and the Public Library Acts of 1850-55 imposed stringent conditions on authorities which adopted them. The Act of 1850, for example, while authorizing the raising of a halfpenny rate for the provision of accommodation for a library, prohibited any spending of public money on books, all of which were to be donated by well-wishers. In such a climate it was not to be expected that the Acts should empower local authorities to establish anything so frivolous as a recreation room, and those which eventually came into existence did so through private charity.

For better or worse, Brighton was exempt from these constraints, since its Free Library was founded not under the Act of 1850 but under a private Act of Parliament governing the upkeep of the Royal Pavilion Estate.¹⁶ The terms of this Act, whose passing followed the purchase of the Pavilion by the Corporation in 1850, sanctioned the levying of a rate for any purpose connected with the public role

of the institution. While the early history of the town's Free Library was not without controversy, it does not appear that the use of rate revenues to support the interests of chess-players was ever a matter of general concern. Such hostility to the Chess Room as was eventually voiced came, as we shall see, from chess-players themselves rather than from rate-paying residents of Brighton.

IV

Socially and in terms of its age range, the Chess Room's clientele was more heterogeneous than that of the average chess club, then or since. One of its early frequenters, William Shelley Branch, noted that it was regularly 'thronged with players of all ages',¹⁷ and this is confirmed by Walter Mead, who declared in January 1883 that it attracted 'persons of all grades, from the schoolboy to the white-haired veteran, the tyro to the practised player'.¹⁸ While few juvenile users can be individually identified, Mead's later reference to the 'ninety and nine small boys'¹⁹ who had passed through the room suggests

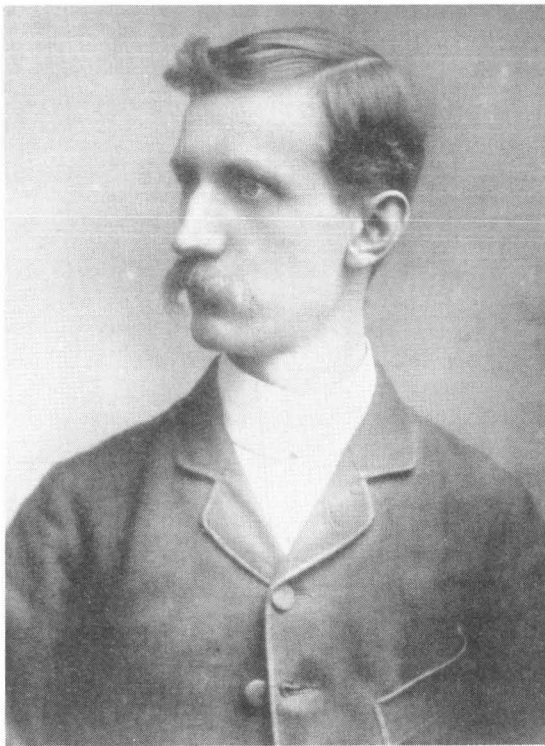


Fig. 1. H. W. Butler as a young man.

a substantial patronage by very young players. In 1889, Branch was to estimate that 'hundreds of youths have there learnt the game'.²⁰

The daily attendance of juveniles in such numbers soon created its own problems. As early as December 1873, the Town Council had considered a suggestion that a policeman should be stationed in the library to suppress 'disturbances' arising from the presence of 'young boys and girls'.²¹ It was concluded on this occasion that the constant attendance of a constable was not required, but this was not the end of the matter, and early in 1878 the Curator twice 'caused the room . . . to be cleared by the Police and the Gas turned out', following complaints of 'disorderly conduct . . . by lads after 8 o'clock in the evening'; one persistent offender was banned from the library altogether. At this date antisocial behaviour may have manifested itself especially in the Chess Room, but problems were still being experienced in the main library, where volumes of *Punch*, the *Illustrated London News* and the *Art Journal* had sustained damage. On receipt of a report on these incidents, the Pavilion Committee ordered bye-laws to be formulated to deal with any recurrence, and further ruled that an attendant should be on duty in the building between 7 p.m. and 9.30 p.m. each evening. Initially this responsibility was shared between the library porter, A. Stoddart, and a retired police officer named J. Mitchell, both of whom were appointed as special constables.²² A decision was also taken to replace the ground glass in a window between the Chess Room and an adjoining corridor with clear glass, thus facilitating surveillance.

Leaving aside Mead's 'small boys', several individuals who were to contribute significantly to the progress of chess in Brighton made their first acquaintance with the Public Chess Room while still in their teens or early twenties. Among them was Henry William Butler (Fig. 1), who in 1877, at the age of 19, 'acquired a knowledge of the moves in two evenings by looking on at others playing at the Church Street Public Rooms, and . . . on the third evening . . . challenged one of the then masters to mortal combat, and beat him'.²³ Other expert *habitués* were William Andrews, Albert Bowley, Fred Edmonds, Henry Erskine, Louis Leuliette and William Pierce, the last two of whom were of a somewhat older generation: all these played for Sussex following the inauguration of county matches in 1884, while Pierce, Butler, Andrews and

Bowley went on to win the Sussex Championship. Another county champion of the future, the Irishman William Wilson, became a Chess Room regular a little later, and rapidly gained a reputation for fast and brilliant play.²⁴

In its origins, chess is an aristocratic game; and while the Chess Room was dominated by members of the new middle classes — clerks, shopkeepers and small businessmen — a scattering of men from the higher ranks of society were to be found among its frequenters, in addition to several representatives of the professions and of the Brighton 'establishment'. Prominent among the former group were John Thursby, heir to a baronetcy and a future president of the British Chess Federation, and the Erskine brothers, Oswald and Henry, of whom the first-named was holder of the Scottish barony of Dryburgh. Both Councillor Booth and Alderman Martin were Chess Room regulars, as were at least one clergyman and one doctor.

Like Brighton itself, the Chess Room at this period had a pronounced cosmopolitan flavour. Mid-1880s' regulars included a gaunt Frenchman of military bearing, 'dressed in the capacious habiliments of a past age', who was reputed to have led a body of troops during the revolution of 1848.²⁵ The attenuated Frenchman entered the folklore of the room, as did another 'gentleman of foreign nationality', whom Mead describes as accompanying his play with 'a string of gutterals' and eccentric bodily antics,²⁶ but not all foreigners were accepted so readily. The 'overweening' manner of one German visitor excited hostility and ridicule, if Butler's frankly xenophobic comments in the *Brighton Guardian* of 11 October 1882 are to be believed.

Styles of play in the Chess Room were of a piece with the personalities of its inhabitants. In an era notable for its allegiance to 'romantic' gambits and for preferring tactical to positional play, *habitués* of the room took these tendencies to an extreme, as well as showing a predilection for unusual systems of handicapping, and for *jeux d'estime* like blindfold chess. Butler, for one, was to make a speciality of playing without sight of the board, a piece of exhibitionism which apparently alienated 'a few fossilized individuals, who . . . consider[ed] the room to be their private property'.²⁷

The Chess Room, despite the impression of good-humoured anarchy conveyed by some accounts, provided the setting for many serious chessboard

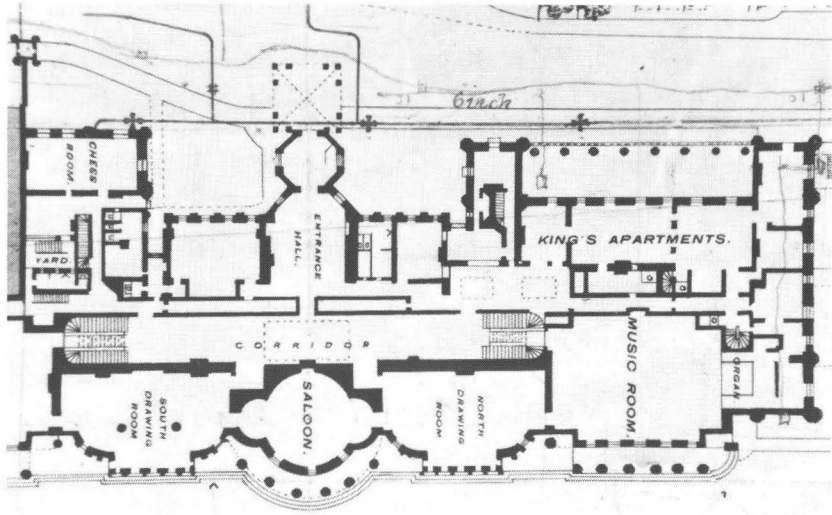
encounters, and nourished some formidable talents. By the early eighties, having consolidated its position in Brighton's leisure scene, it had also begun to attract notice among chess-players beyond the boundaries of Sussex, World Championship contenders Johannes Zukertort and Isidor Gunsberg being only the most distinguished of many visiting experts.²⁸ By 1889 it was estimated that 'hundreds' of visitors used the room every year,²⁹ and, even allowing for some exaggeration, this suggests that the room figured to a not inconsiderable degree among the tourist attractions of Brighton. Typical of the comments originating during the room's second decade is a passage in the *Croydon Guardian's* 'Brighton Intelligence' column of 18 November 1882:

One attraction of the library rooms is the chess department . . . Particular attention is drawn to this feature of the Brighton Free Library, in order that the visitors may give it a look in and take opportunity to embrace its advantages, and having done so we feel confident that on their return home they will (supposing no such institution exists) do their utmost towards establishing in their own localities free libraries, or at least free chess rooms.

In recognition of his role as the room's presiding genius, Edwin Booth was presented at a meeting in May 1882 with 'a handsome board and set of Ivory Chessmen . . . in a silk lined mahogany casket, the lid of which bore a prettily designed silver shield, with the following inscription:— "Presented to Mr Councillor Edwin Booth by the Brighton Pavilion Chess Players, as a token of their appreciation of his great services in connection with Chess in the town . . .". An audience described as 'numerous' listened to speeches by several members of the town's establishment, and responded warmly to the Councillor's words of thanks.³⁰

A further tribute appeared two years later in the *Chess Player's Chronicle*, whose characterization of Booth as 'a generous patron of the noble game' summed up the feelings of many Brighton players who had benefited from his sponsorship of chess in the town.³¹ Booth's personal generosity may, however, by now have found other recipients, for in 1883 and 1884 we encounter the first of many references to the increasing decrepitude of the equipment used in the room. In the former year Mead's column made passing reference to years of

a



b



Fig. 2. a) Part of an 1893 plan of the Royal Pavilion showing the location of the Chess Room; b) the South Lobby of the Royal Pavilion, home of the Chess Room between 1888 and 1914.

'rough handling', which had left the pieces used in the Chess Room 'the worse by a few chips and the loss of a king's crown or so';³² while on 15 November 1884 the *Southern Weekly News* published a letter drawing attention to 'the dilapidated and incomplete condition of some of the sets of chessmen at the Brighton Free Chess Room'. Mead's response was to set up a fund for the purchase of replacement sets, but the apparent lack of response to this initiative bore out his view that 'those people who have been the most constant in their attendance at the room are the least generous in the cause of chess'.

The first half of the 1880s, it is clear, had been the heyday of the Chess Room. At no later period would it figure as a haunt of the most prominent personalities in Brighton chess, or be the subject of regular news items in national organs like the *Chess Player's Chronicle*.³³ Nevertheless, the Chess Room of the later eighties and nineties possessed its own distinctive character, determined as much as anything by a change of location.

V

The removal of the Chess Room from the premises of the Free Library, which took place in the autumn of 1888, was precipitated not by any dissatisfaction among its users, but by *force majeure*. After several years in which the propriety of adding a lending department to the services offered by the library had been keenly debated, the Corporation eventually decided to take what was still seen as a controversial step. Early in July 1888, the Library Sub-Committee received a report from a specially nominated team, recommending that the Chess Room and part of the library's entrance hall should be adapted to become a lending library. The threat to the facilities associated with the Chess Room was clear; however, within a week the full Pavilion Committee resolved that 'the room in the Pavilion proper formerly let to the School Board be appropriated as a chess room'.³⁴ A development potentially fatal to free chess was thus the means instead of securing for it a fresh lease of life.

The Chess Room's new quarters were in a room known as the South Lobby (Fig. 2), which now forms an annexe to the Pavilion Shop. Its associations with chess were of long standing. As early as December 1858 it had been offered to the first Brighton Chess Club as an alternative to the room on the Chain

Pier Esplanade which formed its headquarters at the time. A general meeting of the club concluded that the South Lobby was insufficiently ventilated for the proposed use, and voted against removal.³⁵ However, five years later the South Lobby was the subject of fresh negotiations between the club and the Pavilion Committee, which this time were successful.³⁶ In October 1863 the Brighton Chess Club entered on a period of occupancy of the room which was to last until financial circumstances forced a move to cheaper accommodation in 1867.

The room was to have one further association with chess, when in October and November 1870 the chess-playing 'automaton' Ajeeb (Fig. 3) was demonstrated there. Operated by the showman and inventor Charles Hooper, Ajeeb was one of several celebrated chess automata, of which the best known was 'the Turk', and, as with the Turk, its secret was a chess-player of diminutive stature concealed within the mechanism. Ingenious arrangements involving mirrors prevented the paying public from detecting the presence of the operator, even when the doors of the cabinet on which the figure sat were thrown

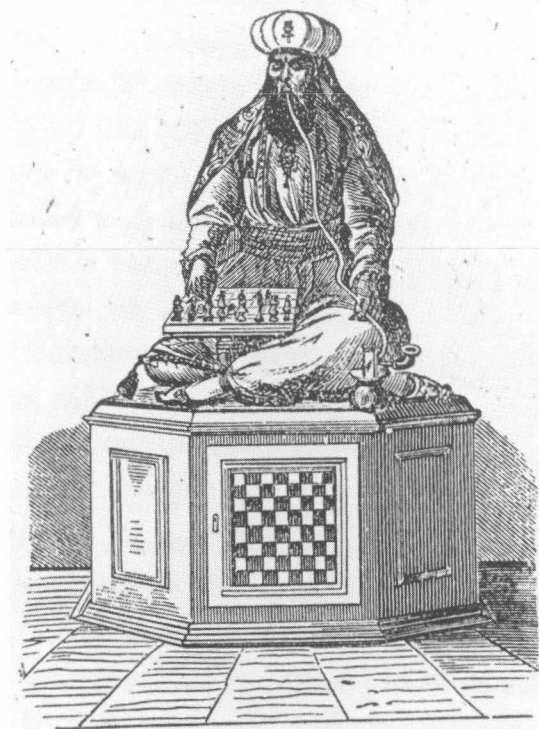


Fig. 3. Ajeeb, the chess-playing 'automaton' exhibited in the Chess Room in 1870.

open. Ajeeb's visit interrupted a successful career at the Crystal Palace, during which its patrons included no less a figure than John Ruskin. At the Pavilion, the ingenuity of the arrangements by which its controlling intelligence was concealed had its usual reward, and residents and visitors alike came in large numbers to view this 'triumph of automatic power and mechanical skill'.³⁷

With this history, the South Lobby's qualifications to become the home of the facilities displaced from the Free Library were obvious, and the move was greeted with enthusiasm by most users. Writing in the *Southern Weekly News* of 10 November 1888, Mead reported:

Chess players who were in the habit of using the Free Public Chess Room, will have reason to feel grateful for the new apartment assigned to them in the Royal Pavilion. This apartment . . . has now been refitted and redecorated, and forms a most admirable resort for the devotees of the royal game; infinitely better adapted and more comfortable than the stuffy, ill-ventilated room set apart for the use of Chess players at the Free Library. Visitors to the town will doubtless much appreciate the comforts and advantages of a resort where they can indulge in their favourite pastime, free gratis and for nothing. We are glad to notice that Mr Booth, the Mayor, and other gentlemen have contributed additional sets of Chess men for use in the room.³⁸

The atmosphere of goodwill reflected in this passage found issue in a number of developments in the period immediately following, among them the gift of a wall clock by an appreciative user of the room, the installation of a urinal (a facility which users owed once again to the intercession of the ever-solicitous Councillor Booth), and the provision of a set of 'short cane blinds with the words Chess Room worked in, to be placed in the windows'.³⁹ Such touches suggest that in its new location the Chess Room had become 'respectable', or at least had pretensions to gentility, whereas in its Free Library days its aura may have been slightly raffish. By 1896 the *Lady's Pictorial*, a journal with a 'refined' middle-class readership, felt able to recommend the room to lady chess-players visiting Brighton, citing the leading woman problem composer of the day (Fig. 4) as a regular user.

Visitors to Brighton should know that the Brighton Chess Club, at the West-street

Concert Hall, is not the only place where chess is being played. As you approach the Pavilion from East-street you will see on the right end wing of the Pavilion, a small private door. You enter that and opposite you will see another door which on opening will surprise you by being set out as a chess room. The place is public and upheld by the Corporation; it is open all day long, and players can go in and out without let or hindrance, free of charge. There is a good deal of play there in the afternoon, and any lady wishing to have a game during a temporary stay in Brighton, might go there or make appointments with any Brighton chess player whose address she happens to know to meet her there. Mrs Baird is often to be found there in the daytime, as there is no play at the [West Street Concert Hall] except in the evening hours.⁴⁰

It is to be noted, however, that Mrs Baird's visits to the Chess Room took place in the afternoons. After dark a different tone may have prevailed.

VI

The Chess Room, like some other 19th-century institutions, showed symptoms of *malaise* as the century drew toward its end. As early as September 1889, the Pavilion Committee found it necessary to approve a formal code of conduct to be observed by users of the room. 'Audible conversation to the annoyance of players' was strictly forbidden, as were 'remarks upon the game by onlookers'. To avoid injury to chessmen and boards, all games were to be played 'quietly'. More seriously, betting and playing for money were outlawed, as was smoking. Any breaches of the regulations were to be reported to the Custodian of the Pavilion, whose apartments were nearby and who had instructions to ensure the maintenance of order.⁴¹

The injunction against playing for money, supported though it was by a conspicuously displayed notice in the room, was not always observed. In 1890 the *Sussex Chess Journal* felt impelled to warn its readers against what it called a 'disgraceful mode of entrapping the unwary'. An (unnamed) *habitué* of the room, apparently a player of some strength, was deliberately playing like a novice as a device to persuade visitors to put down stake money. The 'Brighton Chess Shark', as one leading Metropolitan player called him, was said to



Fig. 4. Mrs W. J. Baird, problem composer and defender of the Chess Room.

be making as much as £1 per week by this deception. Nor was this an isolated incident, for the writer, almost certainly H. W. Butler, notes that playing for a small stake was at this time widely practised in the room.⁴² While the existence of such practices would appear to contradict Staunton's statement, quoted above, that chess was of its nature inimical to 'low gambling', the truth is that there is a distinction to be drawn between 'playing for money' and gambling as such. Many impecunious professionals have resorted to the former expedient as a means of supplementing the meagre earnings to be made from prize money, journalism, and the giving of simultaneous displays. Richard Lean, who frequented the Chess Room in the years immediately before the First World War, was one such would-be professional, and is remembered for his eagerness to play anyone for a shilling a game.

The regulation forbidding smoking may have become a dead letter even more quickly than the ban on playing for money. It is crossed through in pencil in the minute book of the Pavilion Committee, suggesting second thoughts, and within a few years there was to be a complaint regarding players

smoking in the room before 6 p.m. 'contrary to the existing regulations', a form of words suggesting that the embargo now applied only to particular hours of the day.⁴³ The Committee's response was to advance the six o'clock 'threshold' to four o'clock, a decision which must have surprised and displeased the complainant. But smoking was a problem never finally resolved, and around the turn of the century the total prohibition was apparently reintroduced, since in 1902 the minutes record the acceptance by the Committee of a proposal from the long-serving Councillor Booth that lighting up be permitted 'for the period of one month', presumably as an experiment.⁴⁴

The turn of the century brought other changes in social mores. By the summer of 1899 it had become customary for users of the room to arrive on bicycles, and the Pavilion Committee passed a motion permitting these to be left, at their owners' risk, on the patch of grass to the north of the room.⁴⁵ Risks to property there certainly were, and it was perhaps symptomatic of a change in the moral climate that the first month of the new century should have seen the theft of a set of chessmen, the first such occurrence in almost 30 years.⁴⁶ In its new location the room offered significant opportunities to thieves, since it seems that chess sets were no longer issued on request, but were set up permanently on tables in the room. A further set was 'liberated' a few years later, in June 1907.⁴⁷

The familiar problem of unmannerly behaviour by juveniles engaged the attention of the Pavilion Committee on several occasions during these years. In February 1906 the Town Clerk was authorized to place a notice in the Chess Room confining boys and young people under the age of 16 years to the use of certain tables and sets of chessmen, perhaps those suffering most obviously from wear and tear.⁴⁸ This latest attempt to address the problem was again ineffective, and in November of the same year an adults-only rule was introduced, following numerous complaints of children 'congregating' among the chess tables.⁴⁹ The ban on juveniles was to remain in force through the last eight years of the Chess Room's existence, and was to undermine one of the room's 'historic' roles, that of encouraging the development of chess skills among the young.

Children, it would seem, were not the only intruders on the calm of the Chess Room. A regular user named W. Meikle, apparently a habitual complainer, wrote a letter to the Pavilion Committee in January 1907 regarding non-chess-players

'congregating near the fire'. Some of these unwelcome visitors appear to have been in the habit of bringing their domestic pets with them, and as a counter-measure the Committee deemed it necessary to post a notice in the room proclaiming: 'This Room is provided for Chess Players only. Dogs are not admitted under any circumstances'.⁵⁰ The notice may not have achieved all that its promoters intended, for in February 1909 there were once again complaints that passers-by were using the room as a shelter from the rain.⁵¹

Further representations regarding abuses of the room resulted in March 1907 in the establishment of a Chess Room Sub-Committee, charged with the responsibility of reviewing all aspects of the use of the room by the public.⁵² The group seems to have made no recommendations, and it was not until February 1909, when Councillor Heitzman added his voice to that of the persistent W. Meikle and others in calling for reform, that various long-standing abuses — which once again included playing for money and disorderly behaviour by 'youths' — were seriously addressed. However, having once nerved itself to a definite course of action, the Committee now moved with surprising speed. In little more than a month a system for controlling access to the room had been introduced, as well as a set of rules governing both admission and the conduct of play. Entry was to be by ticket only, applications being made to the Custodian on an official form. Annual, quarterly, monthly and weekly tickets were to be available, though in practice it would seem that annual renewal quickly became the norm. The Custodian was empowered to reject applications without assigning any reason for such action, and tickets could also be withdrawn for breaches of the regulations. A list of the names and addresses both of persons issued with tickets and of those whose applications had been refused would be presented at each meeting of the Committee.⁵³

Four of the nine rules issued to govern the conduct of users of the Chess Room were identical with those drawn up in 1889, from which only the prohibition of smoking was not repeated. This omission suggests that the experimental re-introduction of smoking in 1902 had been followed by a permanent removal of the ban. New rules covered the exclusion of 'children and young persons' (undefined), and of dogs, and included an assertion of the Custodian's power to exclude all persons contravening the regulations or 'causing

annoyance to those who are making reasonable use of the facilities provided'. Users of the room were again encouraged to report breaches of the regulations. The Committee accepted all the proposals, and in a final assertion of its authority requested that Councillor Heitzman should visit the room periodically during the ensuing months to satisfy himself that an orderly régime had become established.

Necessary and effective though they may have been, the reforms of 1909 changed the character of the Chess Room in ways which long-time users may have regretted. Mead's 'hundreds of small boys' were gone, as were the gaunt Frenchman, the aristocratic Erskine brothers, and — one imagines — much of the competitiveness and rough good humour of the era of Bowley and Edmonds. The Chess Room of the years immediately before the First World War was a more mannerly but less exciting resort of chess-players, its hush broken only by the occasional visits of Councillor Heitzman or the Custodian, or — but with decreasing frequency — by protests from those few 'undesirables' whom authority had decided to exclude from the pleasures of free chess.

VII

It is also to be noted that a substantial segment of chess opinion in Brighton had by this time turned against the Chess Room, arguing that the existence of such a facility discouraged the emergence of more orthodox forms of chess association. Butler's most cogent, though *ex post facto*, statement of this position occurs in his column in the *Sussex Daily News* in 1921 and 1922, initially in a passage in which he argues that the room 'prevented the foundation of a permanent Brighton chess club, which long ere this would doubtless have made Brighton famous in the chess world'. As we have seen, chess clubs were founded in Brighton in 1842, 1880 and 1885: despite periods of success, none of these clubs succeeded in establishing itself permanently on the chess scene, and the Chess Room may have been partly to blame for this. In Butler's words, 'the cost of such an undertaking was never reached simply because many who really could have afforded it met one's enquiry with the excuse "We get our enjoyment for nothing including fire and light, why then should we pay for it?"'.⁵⁴ Butler is equally forthright as to the reasons why the Public Chess Room could never be a substitute

for a formal club. The development of a successful chess club, he argues, is dependent on its possession of a corporate identity, which is unlikely to emerge from the amorphous comings and goings of a public room. In addition, much day-to-day business is contingent on the existence of 'a private room for match and tournament play', an impossibility in a place of public resort. And since inter-club match play was a precondition for genuine progress in the game, any institution which inhibited its development was by that very fact 'a distinct bar to progress in chess playing strength'.⁵⁵

While the charges levelled by the room's detractors were hard to refute, supporters continued to make their voices heard. In May 1896 the Plymouth-based *Western Morning News* published a paragraph on the Chess Room by a writer — almost certainly Mrs Baird — whose defence of publicly funded chess included one radically new proposal:

Every large town should have a similar room, and I would go still one further, and suggest that a professional should be in attendance to instruct all comers free of charge. I verily believe it would not only pay — indirectly — the rate-payers to carry out this plan, but it would tend to keep many youths straight who might otherwise go wrong, as it is specially a game with which no evil habits are connected.⁵⁶

The suggestion that the appointment of a chess professional might be the means of transforming the Chess Room from a place of public amusement to a 'centre of excellence' in the game was never taken up, but with hindsight we may conclude that it was far-sighted. Despite the moralistic tone of the passage, which will be unsympathetic to many modern readers, Mrs Baird may have identified a key ingredient which could have reconciled the doubters to the concept of free chess. What, one wonders, would have been the consequence — for Brighton and for Sussex chess in general — had the Corporation invited the leading English player J. H. Blackburne to fill the role of resident chess professional, instead of spending the ratepayers' money on hours of attendance by J. Mitchell and A. Stoddart, loyal servants of the Corporation though these may have been?

VIII

The reforms of 1909 were accompanied by fresh initiatives to refurbish the Chess Room and update

its facilities. A programme of cleaning and redecoration was launched, and a subscription organized among users of the room for the purchase of new sets of chessmen. This last scheme, however, came to nothing, since after obtaining promises amounting to £5 12s. 0d., the coordinator abandoned his efforts and returned such sums as he had received to the subscribers.⁵⁷

As requested, the Pavilion Committee received regular reports from the Custodian regarding the issue of tickets for use of the room. Reports were at first made at fortnightly intervals, but later a three-weekly or monthly schedule was followed, and from January 1912 the reports were presented quarterly. None of the lists has survived, but from the summaries included in Pavilion Committee minutes it is clear that refusals were at first relatively frequent, but that over time their number declined. Very little is known of the individuals who excited the hostility of the authorities, or of the reasons why applications were refused or tickets subsequently withdrawn. In May 1909 the privileges of 'Mr Bidwell Senior' were cancelled on the grounds that he had transferred his ticket to 'Mr Bidwell Junior', presumably a minor.⁵⁸ Another persistent offender, a Mr A. J. Green, had his request for renewal refused in March 1910, was ejected from the room in February 1911, and in August 1914, having apparently been re-admitted, wrote a letter to the Pavilion Committee 'complaining of the action of the Custodian in refusing to renew his Chess Room Admission Ticket and in calling in the Police to remove him from the Room'. The Committee, as on every occasion when the decisions of the Custodian were called into question, gave him its unqualified backing.⁵⁹

An exclusion of a different and distressing kind occurred in January 1910, when there were complaints from users 'as to a certain person suffering from consumption being permitted to use the Room', following which the Committee ruled that the individual in question should be asked to surrender his ticket.⁶⁰ The report affords a stark reminder of the well-justified fear which tuberculosis excited at this time.

Despite incidents like these, the life of the Chess Room in its final years was free from major upheavals. The period is of interest in one special respect, in that from April 1913 the Custodian's quarterly report included a statement of the numbers of admission tickets issued or renewed in the previous quarter. For the first time since

November 1874 we thus have reliable data on the usage of the room. The figures cited — 164 tickets issued or renewed in 1913, and 137 in the first three quarters of 1914 — indicate firstly that the Chess Room continued to be well patronized, and secondly that a significant number of users had been enjoying its facilities over several years.⁶¹ It is not known how many users were seasonal migrants, or casual visitors who never became part of the Chess Room's settled population of *habitués*. Overall, however, it is clear that the room was continuing to attract adherents, and even that — within its own terms — it was experiencing something of an Indian summer. Certainly there have been few chess clubs, at this or any other period, which could claim a membership (inclusive of visitors) in excess of 150. The closure of the room in the autumn of 1914 was thus a consequence not of declining public interest but of developments arising from the outbreak of the First World War.

At the end of November 1914 the Pavilion was requisitioned to serve as a hospital for Indian servicemen wounded in the first battles in Flanders. The whole building was at once closed to the public, and a high wooden fence was erected round the Estate. The initial period of military occupancy was of short duration, for within little more than a year Indian troops had been withdrawn from the Western Front; the last convoy of convalescent wounded left the Pavilion in February 1916. The Estate was not, however, returned to public use, but functioned until 1920 as a hospital for the rehabilitation of limbless soldiers.

There was to be no resumption of free chess at the Pavilion in the years after the war. The Estate remained in War Office hands until August 1920, and substantial refurbishment had to be carried out when it was finally returned to the Corporation. The first postwar reference to the Chess Room occurs in the Pavilion Committee minutes of 8 March 1920, which record the receipt of a letter from a Mr E. Bonney 'suggesting that if it is intended to re-open the Chess Room at the Pavilion when the property is evacuated by the Military Authorities, the full number of boards should be re-instated and new chessmen provided'.⁶² Perhaps ominously, 'the Committee made no order thereon'. On 11 April 1921 the Committee discussed 'a petition from certain chess players . . . requesting that they may be accommodated at the Old Chess Room at the

Pavilion'. The petition was dated 24 February, and it is likely that pressure of business had precluded its earlier consideration. Even now it was not the subject of an immediate decision, but was referred to the Director of the Pavilion, Henry D. Roberts, for report. A month later, presumably briefed by Roberts, the Committee again considered the petition, recommending 'that the matter be referred to the Director with authority to let the room to a Committee of Chess Players at a rental of £1 per week'.⁶³ Negotiations with the 'Committee of Chess Players' then ensued, and in July the Director reported that the applicants had offered to pay a rental of £30 for the first year of their tenancy of the room, £40 for the second, and £50 for each subsequent year. The Pavilion Committee agreed to these terms.⁶⁴

Some aspects of the events which followed remain unclear. In particular, the relationship between the 'Committee of Chess Players' and the organizing committee of the fourth Brighton and Hove Chess Club, which was active from July 1921, resists full elucidation. It can be stated with some confidence, however, that the petition of 24 February 1921 referred to the wished-for restitution of the Chess Room in its pre-war status, and that the decision of the Pavilion Committee in May to impose a charge for use of the room effectively ended this possibility. Under whatever aegis the room was re-opened, it would no longer be the home of 'free chess' as the 19th-century proponents of that cause had understood the term. In the event, it was as the entrance to the new headquarters of the revived Brighton and Hove Chess Club that the 'small private door' at the Pavilion's south-west corner was eventually re-opened. The club was to occupy these quarters, albeit with an interruption during the Second World War, for the next 30 years.

That the founders of the new club were conscious inheritors of more than half a century of Brighton chess history is clear from comments made in H. W. Butler's column on the day of the inaugural meeting, 13 September 1922. Looking back over an association with organized chess which had begun with the use of the room by the first Brighton Chess Club in 1863, and in which 'free chess' had played a conspicuous and sometimes controversial part, Butler summed up his feelings in a passage which is at once elegiac and forward-looking. Chess, he concluded, 'is returning to its old home at the Royal Pavilion'.⁶⁵

NOTES

Unpublished sources used in this study include the Minutes of the Proceedings of Brighton's Pavilion Committee, for permission to quote from which I am indebted to the Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton and Hove: I am particularly grateful to Andrew Barlow, Keeper of Fine Art, for his help. I have also made extensive use of material in the Archive of the Sussex County Chess Association. I am indebted Brian Denman, author of *Brighton Chess* (Brighton: the Author, 1994), for many kinds of assistance, including an unceasing flow of information from obscure newspaper columns.

- ¹ For a study of this subject based largely on Sussex sources, see J. Lowerson & J. Myerscough, *Time to Spare in Victorian England* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1977).
- ² Cited in R. Eales, *Chess: the History of a Game* (London: Batsford, 1985), 140.
- ³ *Sussex Agricultural Express* (hereafter SAE), 25 Oct. 1873.
- ⁴ Minutes of Proceedings of the Pavilion Committee (hereafter MPPC), 23 Dec. 1872.
- ⁵ The patents room is mentioned in the course of a detailed account of the internal layout of the new library which appeared in the *Brighton Guardian* (hereafter BG) of 3 September 1873. Its secondary function as a venue for chess-players is the subject of later references in several sources.
- ⁶ The Chess Room's opening hours were changed more than once. Directories of the time show that the library at first remained open until 10 p.m., but that by 1876 a 9.30 p.m. closure had been introduced. In 1878 the Chess Room closed at 9 p.m., half an hour before the library. The early evening closure, initially between 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. and afterwards between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m., was abandoned in 1876.
- ⁷ *Southern Weekly News* (hereafter SWN), 10 Nov. 1888.
- ⁸ All these issues were for reference only. Brighton residents had to wait another 16 years for a lending library.
- ⁹ MPPC, 12 Oct. 1874. It is an interesting reflection of the degree to which the activities of the Chess Room were integrated with those of the library that the handing out of chess sets should have become a routine part of the librarian's duties.
- ¹⁰ MPPC, 10 Nov. 1874.
- ¹¹ SAE, 24 Oct. 1874.
- ¹² W. Mead, 'A history of chess in Brighton', *Chess Player's Chronicle* (hereafter CPC), 20 Sept. 1882, quoted in H. W. Butler's 'Sussex Chess Records' for 1882 (manuscript in the Archive of the Sussex County Chess Association).
- ¹³ Cited in T. Kelly, *A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845-1965* (London: Library Association, 1973), 69.
- ¹⁴ T. Greenwood, *Public Libraries: a History of the Movement and a Manual for the Organization and Management of Rate-Supported Libraries*, 4th edn (London, 1894; repr. High Wycombe: University Microfilms for the College of Librarianship Wales, 1971), 96, 486.
- ¹⁵ Greenwood, 82.
- ¹⁶ Kelly, 33-4.
- ¹⁷ SWN, 12 Oct. 1889.
- ¹⁸ *Sussex Chess Magazine*, 17 Jan. 1883.
- ¹⁹ SWN, 18 Aug. 1883.
- ²⁰ SWN, 12 Oct. 1889.
- ²¹ *Brighton Guardian*, 10 Dec. 1873.
- ²² MPPC, 11 Mar. 1878; BG, 27 Mar. 1878.
- ²³ *Sussex Chess Journal* (hereafter SCJ), Aug. 1891. A later account, in the *Sussex Daily News* (hereafter SDN) of 6 July 1920, has Butler achieving his first victory 'after about an hour's silent watching', an example of a good story improving with age.
- ²⁴ SCJ, Apr. 1891.
- ²⁵ SWN, 19 Nov. 1887.
- ²⁶ SWN, 25 Aug. 1883.
- ²⁷ SCJ, Aug. 1891.
- ²⁸ *Sussex Chess Magazine*, 25 Apr. 1883.
- ²⁹ SWN, 12 Oct. 1889.
- ³⁰ CPC, 24 May 1882, quoted in H. W. Butler's 'Sussex Chess Records' for 1882.
- ³¹ CPC, 1884, quoted in H. W. Butler's 'Sussex Chess Records' for 1884.
- ³² SWN, 25 Aug. 1883.
- ³³ It is noteworthy that the *Southern Counties Chess Journal*, which was published in Brighton and contains detailed information on Sussex clubs and their activities between January 1893 and January 1896, makes no mention of the Chess Room.
- ³⁴ MPPC, 16 July 1888. The Brighton and Preston School Board by this date had offices in the Old Steine.
- ³⁵ Brighton Chess Club minutes, 29 Dec. 1858.
- ³⁶ Brighton Chess Club minutes, 25 Sept. 1863.
- ³⁷ BG, 5 Oct. 1870.
- ³⁸ William Sendall, the Mayor of Brighton in 1888, may well have been a chess-player, since an A. E. Sendall — most probably a relative — was at this time a prominent member of the Brighton Chess Club.
- ³⁹ MPPC, 5 Nov. 1888, 20 May 1889.
- ⁴⁰ *Lady's Pictorial*, 4 July 1896. Edith Baird, usually known under her married name of Mrs W. J. Baird, was at this time a resident of College Terrace, Brighton.
- ⁴¹ MPPC, 30 Sept. 1889.
- ⁴² SCJ, Aug. 1890.
- ⁴³ MPPC, 29 Nov. 1897. The complainant was H. Gilbert Stringer, a prominent member of the main Brighton Chess Club.
- ⁴⁴ MPPC, 10 Mar. 1902.
- ⁴⁵ MPPC, 5 June 1899.
- ⁴⁶ MPPC, 22 Jan. 1900.
- ⁴⁷ MPPC, 10 June 1907.
- ⁴⁸ MPPC, 19 Feb. 1906.
- ⁴⁹ MPPC, 26 Nov. 1906.
- ⁵⁰ MPPC, 7 Jan. 1907.
- ⁵¹ MPPC, 22 Feb. 1909, 8 Mar. 1909.
- ⁵² MPPC, 25 Mar. 1907.
- ⁵³ MPPC, 8 and 22 Mar. 1909, 5 Apr. 1909.
- ⁵⁴ SDN, 25 Jan. 1921.
- ⁵⁵ SDN, 13 Sept. 1922.
- ⁵⁶ *Western Morning News* (undated press cutting of 1896, reproduced from a cuttings book now in the possession of the British Chess Problem Society).
- ⁵⁷ MPPC, 8 Mar. 1909, 26 Apr. 1909, 10 May 1909. Richard Lean, the organizer of the collection, was a strong chess-player but was known to be the possessor of an erratic temperament, and may have been a poor choice for such a role.
- ⁵⁸ MPPC, 24 May 1909. The Bidwell issue was not to be so easily disposed of. In January 1910 'a person named Bidwell' had to be notified that, in the event of his

continuing to use the Chess Room, proceedings would be taken against him for trespass.

⁵⁹ MPPC, 11 Apr. 1910, 27 Feb. 1911, 7 Sept. 1914.

⁶⁰ MPPC, 24 Jan. 1910.

⁶¹ This last conclusion is derivable from the fact that the largest number of ticket issues (77 in 1913 and 71 in 1914) is recorded for the second quarter of each year, when those original ticket-holders who were still active users of the room would have renewed their current tickets.

⁶² The fate of the boards and men which had been in use

prior to November 1914 is unknown. Were they removed to secure storage with the Pavilion's other possessions?

Were they — a reasonable hypothesis — left *in situ* for the use of its Indian guests? Were some of them inherited by the fourth Brighton Chess Club, which, as we shall see, took over the room in the autumn of 1922? None of these questions can be answered with certainty.

⁶³ MPPC, 10 May 1921.

⁶⁴ MPPC, 11 July 1921.

⁶⁵ SDN, 13 Sept. 1922.

Short articles

Further evidence of Mesolithic activity near Midhurst, West Sussex

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There is a considerable amount of evidence of Mesolithic activity on the Lower Greensand near Midhurst (Jacobi 1978; Drewett *et al.* 1988; Bone & Holgate 1988), particularly that obtained from the excavations on Iping Common (Keef *et al.* 1965) and the assemblage of worked flint collected from the surface of the sandy trackways on Graffham Common (Holgate *et al.* 1986). This note refers to further evidence obtained from surface flint collection between these two sites, along the sandy trackways in the vicinity of Heyshott Common (Fig. 1).

The first diagnostic indication came from a double platform core (Fig. 2a), identified as being of Mesolithic character (Priestley-Bell pers. comm.); this was found among a thin scatter of worked flints distributed on the surface of the trackways around the junction at A. The trackway at B passes

through a gully. Three more cores were found on the surface of this trackway, between 10 and 25 metres north of the gully. A scatter of debitage, of typical Mesolithic character, was found on the surface of the ground on the north-west side of the gully. In about an hour 64 pieces (and eight small pieces of fire-cracked flint) were collected from an area of approximately 10 square metres. These included two diagnostic pieces (Fig. 2b): a microlith almost certainly produced using microburin technique, and a bladelet with use wear (Priestley-Bell pers. comm.).

Acknowledgements

We are most grateful to Greg Priestley-Bell for characterizing the diagnostic material, to Mark Taylor and John Mills (West Sussex County Council) for topographical information, to David Dunkin for his help and encouragement, and particularly to Cowdray Estates on whose land the material was found.

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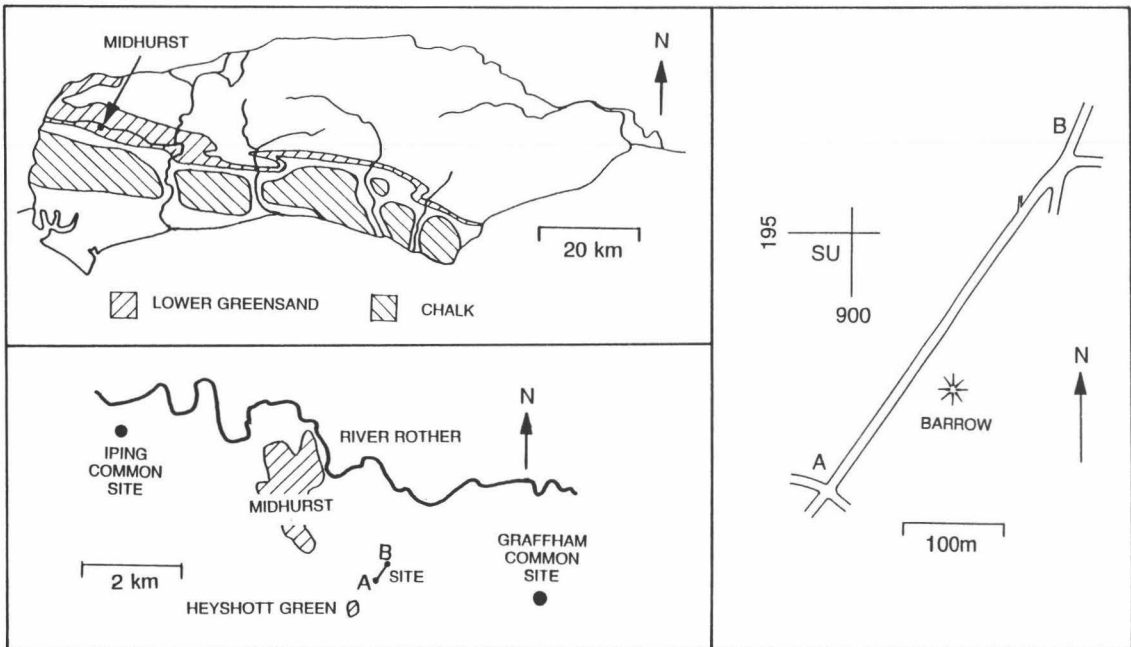


Fig. 1. Sketch plan of the trackways along which the finds were made.

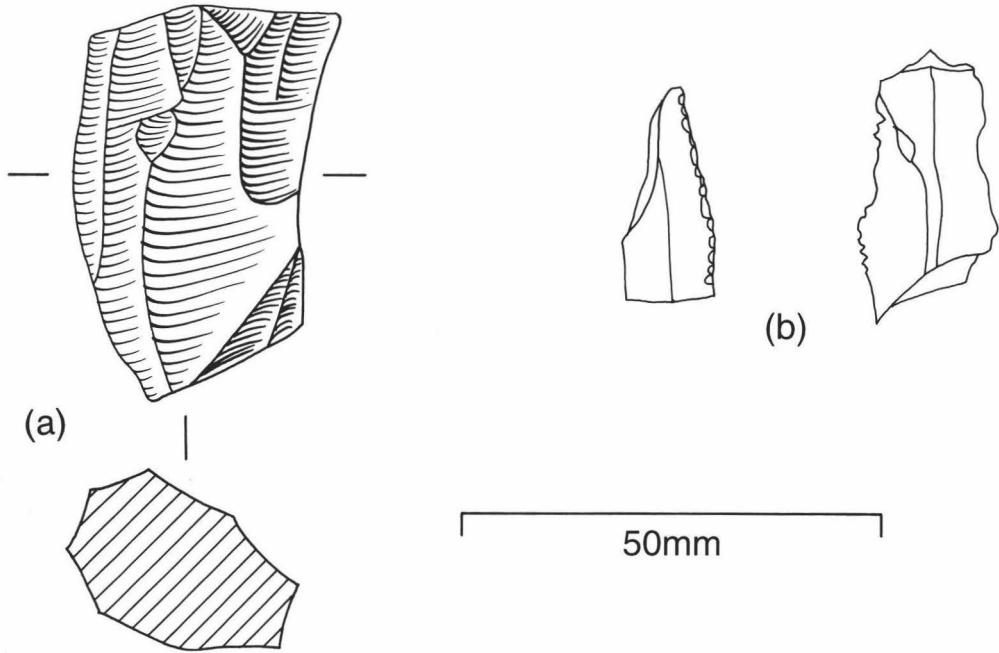


Fig. 2. The diagnostic flintwork.

Drewett, P., Rudling, D. & Gardiner, M. 1988. *The South East to AD 1000*. London: Longman.

Holgate, R. D. C., Holden, E. W. & Holden, H. G. 1986. An early Mesolithic site and prehistoric flintwork from Graffham Common and neighbouring areas on the Lower Greensand, West Sussex, *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **124**, 1–8.

Jacobi, R. 1978. The Mesolithic of Sussex, in P. L. Drewett (ed.), *Archaeology in Sussex to AD 1500*. CBA Research Reports **29**, 15–22.

Keef, P. A. M., Wymer, J. J. & Dimpleby, G. W. 1965. A Mesolithic site on Iping Common, Sussex, England, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* **31**, 85–92.

Of the assemblage, some 30 pieces are probably of Mesolithic date as they are soft-hammer struck and have prepared platforms. Other pieces of debitage and the majority of the scrapers are likely to be of later Neolithic or Bronze Age date. The single leaf-shaped arrowhead (Fig. 1) suggests early Neolithic activity, whilst the polished axe and oblique arrowhead are likely to be from the later Neolithic.

Several other pieces of flintwork were found by farmers in the Paddockhurst and Worth area during the 1970s, but were not available for examination by the author. They include two polished axes, one of which was broken and the other partially re-flaked; a Mesolithic tranchet axe; two barbed-and-tanged arrowheads and a large flake 'scraping tool' (Maclean 1996).

Prehistoric flintwork from the Paddockhurst estate, Worth, West Sussex

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For a number of years during the 1970s and 80s, prehistoric flint artefacts were recovered on the Paddockhurst estate by the gamekeepers — especially Mr Millham. The flintwork (Table 1) was mainly found in the area of Paddockhurst Park (TQ3233) and around Worth Abbey, with a few pieces coming from the north side of the B2110, although individual findspots were not recorded.

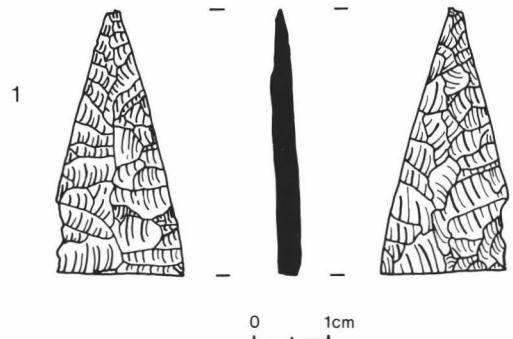


Fig. 1. Leaf-shaped arrowhead.

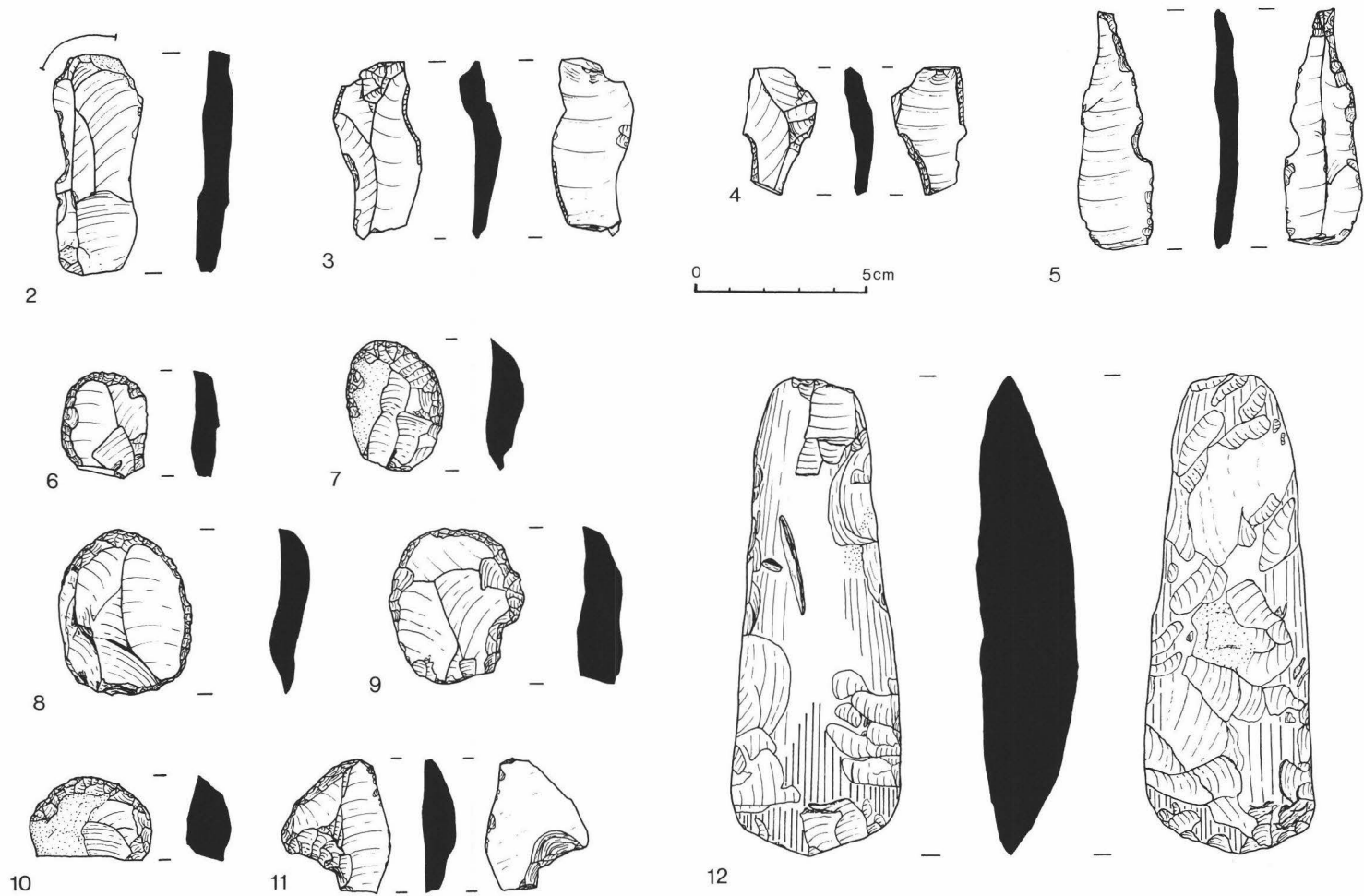


Fig. 2. Retouched flints from the Paddockhurst area.

Table 1. Flintwork from Paddockhurst estate.

Hard-hammer struck flakes	35
Soft-hammer struck flakes	16
Hard-hammer struck blades	05
Soft-hammer struck blades	09
Retouched hard-hammer struck flakes	02
Retouched hard-hammer struck blade	01
Flake/blade fragments	11
Shattered pieces	04
Soft-hammer struck axe-thinning flakes	03
End scrapers	06
Leaf-shaped arrowhead	01
Oblique arrowhead	01
Polished axe	01
Total	95

ILLUSTRATED FLINTWORK (Figs 1 & 2)

1. Leaf-shaped arrowhead. Retouched over both sides. Damaged in antiquity: has a broken tip, and the base appears to have been snapped off; there is also damage on one edge towards the base. Surviving dimensions are: 34 mm in length, 17 mm in width. Despite the damage, it is likely that this arrowhead fits Green's Type 3B category (Green 1984).
2. End scraper on a blade. Probably hard-hammer struck, although the bulb has been removed. Retouched around distal end.
3. Retouched hard-hammer struck flake, possibly intended as a cutting flake. Retouched along the majority of one edge on alternate sides, with the other edge being partially retouched.
4. Retouched hard-hammer struck flake. One edge partially retouched, and the other retouched along most of one edge, but on alternate sides. The distal end has been removed.
5. Retouched blade. The proximal end is probably the working end — both edges having been retouched. The distal end has evidence of abrasion on the edges and ridge and was possibly hafted. There is a notch halfway along one edge. Mesolithic?
6. Small end scraper on a hard-hammer struck flake. Abrupt and semi-abrupt retouch at the end and along one edge.
7. End scraper on a hard-hammer struck flake. Abrupt retouch at the distal end and partially along both edges.
8. End scraper on a hard-hammer struck flake. Abrupt retouch at the distal end and along one edge and the shoulder of the flake.
9. End scraper on a hard-hammer struck flake. Abrupt retouch at the distal end and along one edge. At the proximal end there is abrasion which, with the retouch on the shoulder of the flake, could indicate that it was hafted.
10. End scraper on hard-hammer struck flake. Retouched around its circumference, except for the platform edge.
11. Oblique arrowhead. The tip may have been broken off. There is semi-abrupt retouch along one edge. This piece does seem to be very thick for an arrowhead so although it appears to be the correct shape, its size does raise some doubts as to whether it was ever utilized

as a projectile point.

12. Polished axe. 136.5 mm long, 48 mm wide and 27 mm thick. Weight 202 g. The cutting edge is very damaged, possibly through use. At the opposite end scars and abrasion suggest that the axe may have been hafted. Some flake scars on both sides of the axe were present before it was polished and some of these exhibit a minimal amount of polishing. Others are later and cut the polished areas; they probably result from the axe's use or subsequent modification. Unusually for a polished axe there are some small areas of cortex present. The axe appears to have been manufactured on flint mined from the South Downs.

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A Neolithic axe from Windover Hill

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The axe was recovered from the Clay-with-Flints east of Windover Hill a few hundred metres south of Hunter's Burgh, one of three long barrows in the area. Neolithic activity in this area is also evidenced by the group of flint mines on Windover Hill (Holden 1974, 154) and by the finding of a second axe and of other humanly struck flakes.

The polished flint axe found closely resembles an axe from

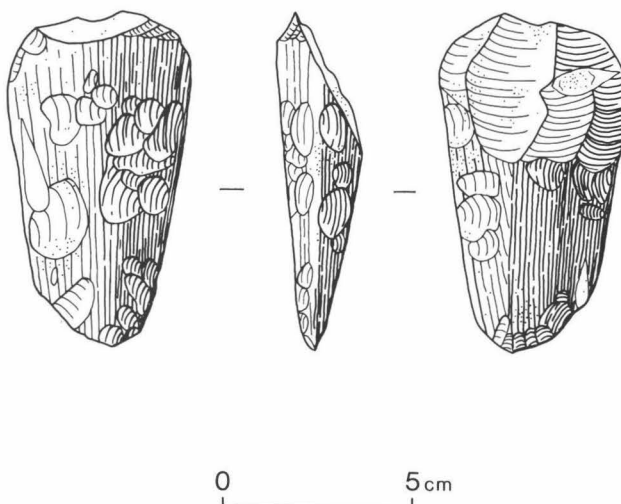


Fig. 1. Neolithic axe from Windover Hill.

excavations on the nearby enclosure of Coombe Hill (Drewett 1994, 15, fig. 12) and it was broken and re-flaked in antiquity, the break being used as a striking platform (Fig. 1). It is of cloudy grey flint, not patinated as occurs with exposure to or burial in alkali-rich deposits, but coloured throughout and it therefore originates from the surface of the Chalk or the Clay-with-Flints itself. The axe shows no sign of recent abrasion and is unlikely to have lain in the ploughsoil for long. The presence of clods of Clay-with-Flint at the findspot may suggest that current ploughing practices have begun to erode archaeological features below the ploughsoil.

Other polished axes utilizing surface flint have been recovered from Rustington (Bell 1977, 29: fig. 13.62) and Bishopstone (Bell 1977, 29: fig. 13.62).

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his section 30 at Hassocks, however, has no flint metallurgy and a distinct earthen agger. Dunning (1925) comments that Vine, writing in the 18th century, records the removal of flint metallurgy from the Roman road south of Burgess Hill to repair the London road in 1779. It is therefore possible that the flint metallurgy from the Roman road at 113 Church Road was removed for a similar purpose, or during more recent building work.

Acknowledgements

The site visits were carried out by Lawrence Gaston. We would like to thank John Mills, the Assistant County Archaeologist for West Sussex, who made all the arrangements for the watching brief, and P. G. Bish Ltd for their cooperation during the work.

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Fieldwork and excavation on the Robertsbridge bypass, 1985

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with contributions by Luke Barber, Caroline Cartwright and Robin Holgate

Fieldwork was undertaken by the Field Archaeology Unit (Institute of Archaeology, University College London) on the line of the Robertsbridge bypass during the late autumn of 1985 as part of the Sussex New Roads Project.¹ At the beginning of the survey all information relating to archaeological sites along the road line was gathered from the sites and monuments record, and by examining aerial photographs. The line of the road was then walked to identify any upstanding earthworks. Trenches were dug by hand at least every 50 m along the roadline and, finally, further trenches were cut in likely areas of archaeological remains. The low densities of artefacts which have been reported in the Weald suggested that trenches at least 2 m square were likely to be necessary to recognize concentrations of finds. There is little information on the breadth of artefact scatters in the area to suggest an appropriate sample interval. A sample distance of 50 m was therefore chosen since it was the smallest interval which would allow, with the labour available, complete coverage of the length of road line (Fig. 1).

Only a single field on the line of the Robertsbridge bypass was under plough in autumn 1985 and this was field-walked. The remainder of the line of the road was examined to locate earthworks and four trenches were excavated across features of potential interest. Trench B was cut across a slight bank in a field to the south of Grove Farm (Fig. 1, point c; Fig. 2). No evidence of an earthwork was found. Further south, two

The Roman road at Burgess Hill

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During September 1996, the Mid Sussex Field Archaeological Team carried out a watching brief during building work on land adjacent to 113 Church Road, Burgess Hill (TQ 312193). Margary (1948) recorded the London–Brighton Roman road as running through this site.

Once the footing trenches had been excavated by machine, it was possible to identify a number of different layers in the revealed sections. Topsoil and a light brown clay layer overlay the agger of the road which was made up of a compact red clay, deepest at the centre and gradually becoming shallower on the north-west side. The east side of the road was outside the area under investigation. Below the central part of the agger was a thin yellow clay with red patches, and the whole agger is laid on a bedding layer of grey clay which itself sits directly on the natural clay subsoil. It was noted that these layers did not occur in the foundation trenches on the north-west side of the site. The direction of the road was thus determined as south-west–north-east.

CONCLUSION

The road's location and orientation is exactly on the line proposed by Margary. However, one significant difference between this section and that excavated by Margary in the Burgess Hill brickworks, some 150 metres to the south-west, is the lack of flint metallurgy recorded at 113 Church Road.

The section (31) recorded by Margary in the brickworks shows a layer of flint metallurgy lying directly on the subsoil;

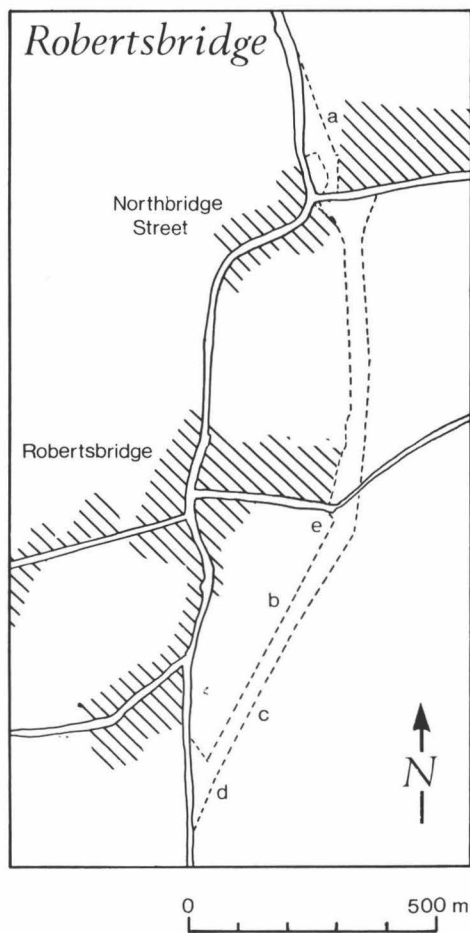


Fig. 1. Robertsbridge bypass. Areas examined in fieldwork.

trenches (A and D) were dug across the site of a post-medieval wayside cottage identified from documentary sources (Fig. 1, point d; Fig. 3). No structural remains were found. The earliest pottery discovered were two pieces of hard-fired local earthenware. Sherds of Sussex Ware, salt-glazed pottery and transfer-printed china show a continuing use of the site until the 19th century.

On a steep slope to the east of Northbridge Street a platform measuring about 8.5 m wide but of an uncertain length was identified (Fig. 1, point a). This was sectioned with a hand-dug trench 19 m long and 1 m wide (trench O, Figs 4a & 5). No structural evidence was found, though the make-up of the bank (10, 17) included small quantities of late medieval pottery. Above the platform at the end of the trench a ditch (19) containing medieval pottery was recorded. It had been buried either by dumped soil or colluvium. At the rear of the platform were two intercut ditches (21, 22) and in the earlier (22) a substantial part of the base of a knife-trimmed jug or cistern of 15th- or early 16th-century date was found. These ditches had been cut through a layer (10) containing Spilstead

Ware pottery. In spite of the absence of any evidence for a structure, it seems possible that this earthwork was a building platform constructed in the 15th or 16th century. The ditches at the rear were probably intended to channel water running down the hillslope away from the platform. Unfortunately, no further investigation of this site was possible with the resources available.

Test-pits were carefully dug by hand at 50-metre intervals along the remainder of the road line, where access could be obtained. The areas investigated are shown on Figure 1 (points a-e). The soil, which was heavy clay could not be sieved. In the fields to the east and south of Grove Farm a scatter of late medieval and post-medieval pottery and a small number of worked flints were found (Fig. 1, point c; Fig. 2, test-pits C, E, F). Eighteenth- and 19th-century pottery was discovered mainly in test-pits C and K, and trench B nearest to Grove Farm, which was presumably its source (Table 3, microfiche).

Concentrations of medieval pottery were found in Test-pits G and I (Fig. 3; Table 3, microfiche). Trench G lay directly over a medieval ditch (context 5) containing 14th-century pottery, charcoal and fragments of burnt clay. A thick layer (4) of burnt clay was found in trench I (Fig. 3) together with a considerable quantity of late 13th- or 14th-century pottery. Between these two squares lay test-pit H which, rather surprisingly, contained only two pieces of medieval pottery, and trench F which lay to the north in the adjoining field had a single sherd (Fig. 2). Trench J to the south of I was situated in a hollow which may have been dug for clay and consequently had removed all archaeological deposits. Small quantities of iron slag were also found in trenches G and H. Test-pits L, M and N to the north-west of Grove Farm (Fig. 1, point b; Fig. 4) contained relatively low quantities of medieval pottery.

The only field under plough in autumn 1985 to which access could be obtained was Fair Field to the east of Robertsbridge village (Fig. 1, point e). As the name implies this was the site of Robertsbridge fair. The field was walked in lines 5m apart and the finds collected in 25 m squares aligned to the National Grid. Only 11 sherds of pottery were recovered, the majority of which were medieval (for details, see Table 4, microfiche).

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The settlement of Robertsbridge developed around the original site of the abbey on a spur projecting into the Rother valley. The abbot was granted a market and fair here in 1225, though it was rescinded the following month and a new grant was made in 1253.² A village seems to have developed during the 13th century and the earliest rental of 1280 X 93 records a series of tenements.³ Martin and Martin have suggested that the north-south road which originally crossed the River Rother south of Salehurst was diverted westwards to pass over the river and go through Robertsbridge.⁴ The settlement of Northbridge Street developed on the north side of the new crossing point as the village of Salehurst declined with the loss of passing trade.

A second wave of settlement occurred in the 16th century as the population began to rise. Cottages were constructed by poor labourers on plots of waste by the road side. Though rare in the early 16th century, they increased in number during the following 150 years.⁵ Some wayside cottages are shown to the south of Robertsbridge on a plan of 1732, including one on the line of the new road to the west of Highland Field in a

Robertsbridge Bypass

c

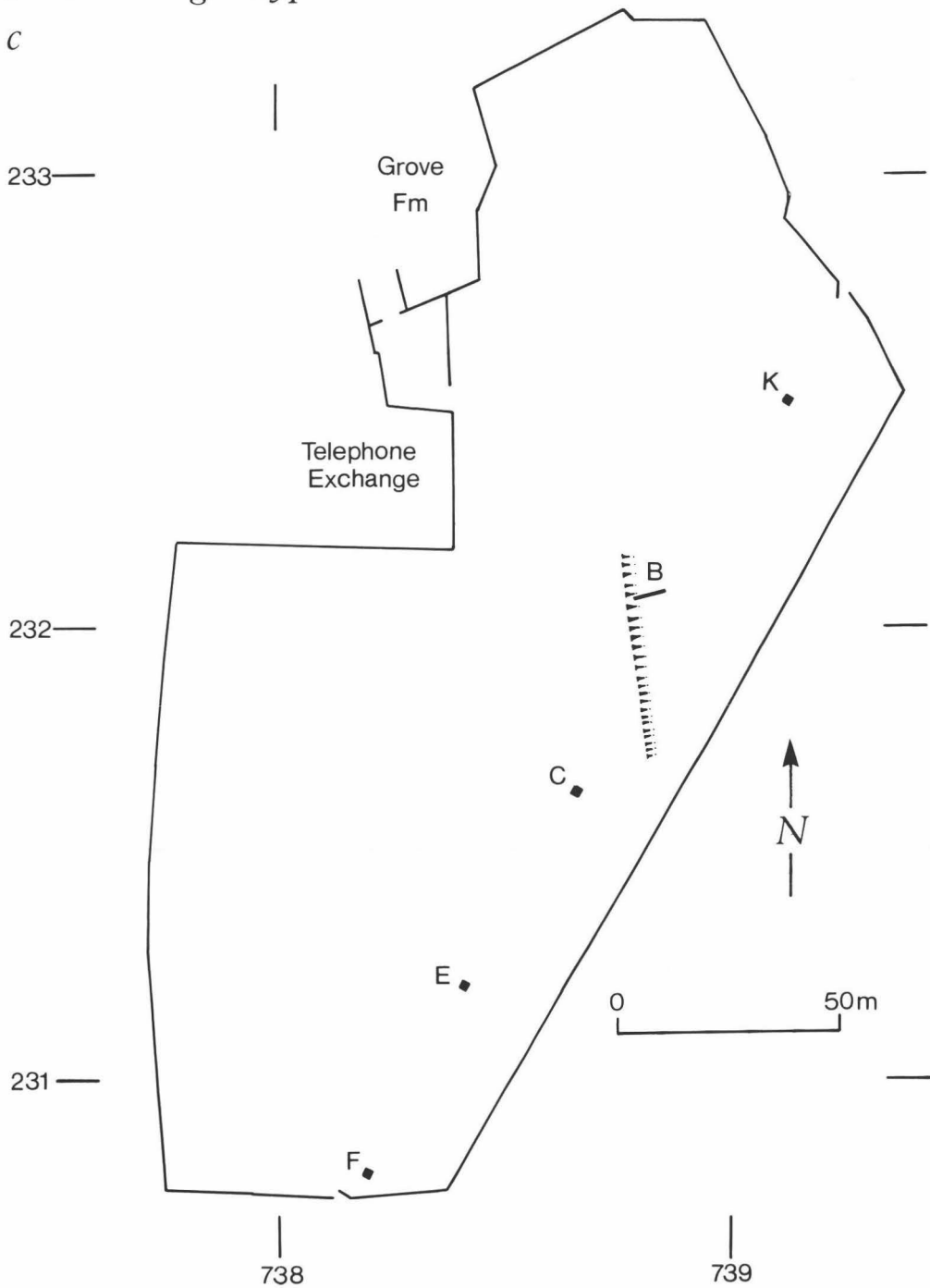


Fig. 2. Location of trenches. Field to the south of Grove Farm, Robertsbridge.

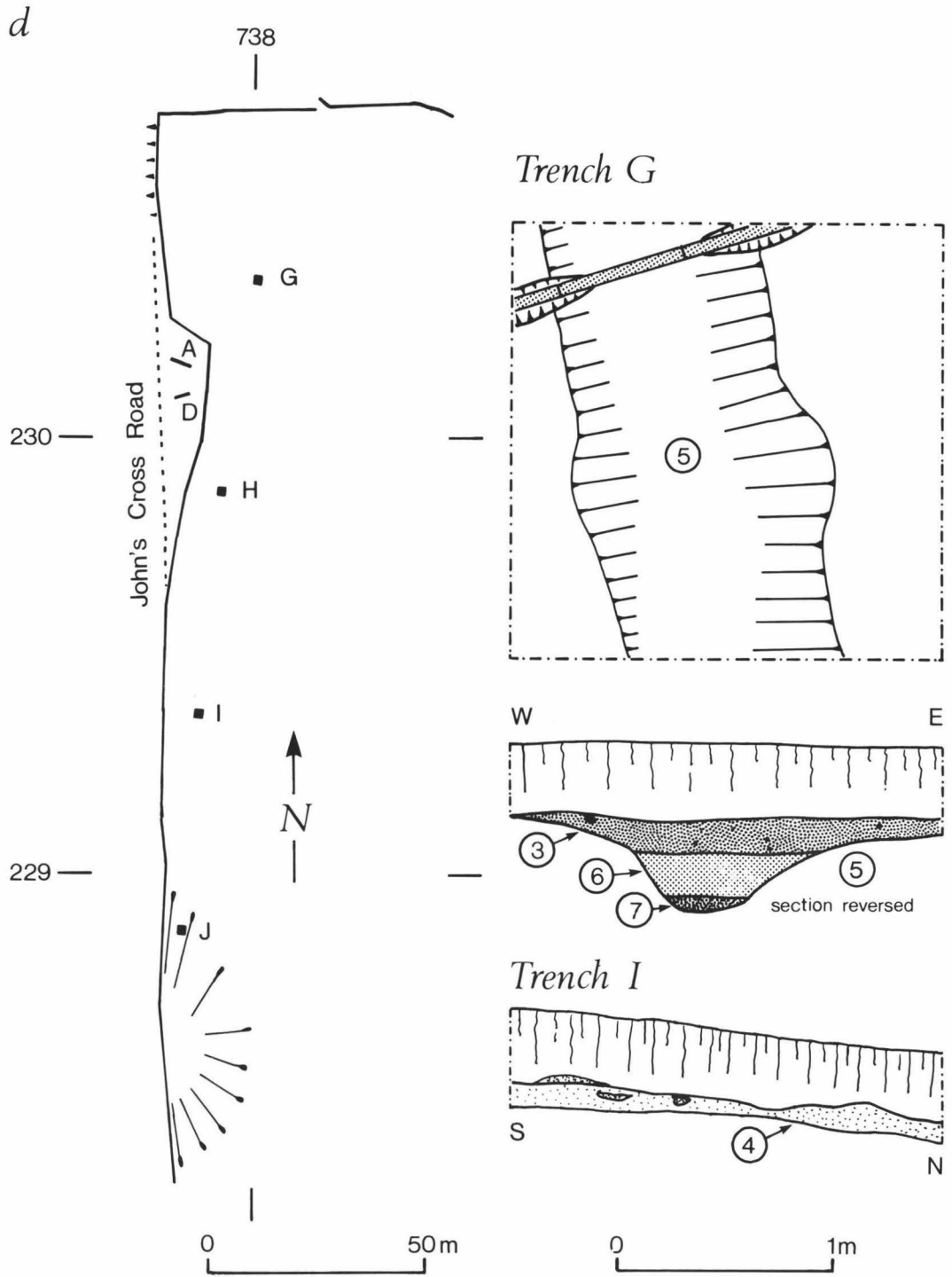


Fig. 3. Location map with plans and sections of trenches. Field adjoining John's Cross Road, Robertsbridge.

former quarry, which was investigated by excavation.⁶ The cottage is mentioned in documents in 1792 and 1824 and it shown in the tithe map of c. 1841, but had gone by 1873 when the Ordnance Survey first-edition 25-inch map was published.⁷

The building platform investigated near Northbridge Street lies in a tenement of seven acres called Kempes which had a house and barn standing on it in 1658.⁸ A map of 1750 shows the buildings at that time stood at the bottom of the valley near the junction of Church Road and Northbridge Street.⁹ The present site is particularly wet and an earlier building may have been situated on the better drained hillslope.

THE FINDS

MEDIEVAL POTTERY

The pottery from test-pits G and I was divided into broad groups by fabric using a hand lens where necessary. None of the sherds is worthy of illustration, but reference is made to comparable profiles published elsewhere.

The following fabrics were identified:

Flint-tempered ware — grey core with red-brown surfaces either oxidized orange-brown or reduced to dull black; harsh texture, rough fracture; common medium and some coarse water-rounded flint fragments with some sand quartz temper; occasional voids from calcareous inclusions dissolved out; probably coil-built with wipe marks on both exterior and interior. Crude, broad horizontal comb decoration occurs on two joining sherds.

Hard-fired flint-tempered ware — grey core with light grey surfaces and sometimes red-brown margins; hard fairly smooth texture, harsh fracture; fine or medium quartz sand temper with moderate to sparse sub-angular flint and sparse shell and ironstone.

Black and Shelly Black ware formerly called 'Winchelsea Black' — it has been described by Barton.¹⁰

Sand and shell-tempered ware — grey or buff core with reduced surfaces; sandy to feel with harsh, occasionally laminar fracture; fine or medium sand quartz temper with broken shell or plate-like voids where it has been dissolved out.

Sand and grog-tempered ware — see Park Farm, Salehurst, 'Fabric 4'.¹¹

Sandy ware — covers all other sand-tempered wares not otherwise categorized.

Spilstead Farm ware — see Park Farm, Salehurst, 'Fabric 11'.¹²

Flint-tempered wares have been shown at Winchelsea and Battle Abbey to continue after 1300, though at the latter they constituted a declining component of the 14th-century assemblage.¹³ They formed less than one per cent of the late medieval assemblage at Winchelsea¹⁴ and the presence of a reasonable quantity of flint-tempered ware in trench I may therefore suggest an earlier date.

At Battle shell-tempered Black ware is present from the early 13th century, but becomes more common later. The pottery in this fabric from Robertsbridge is mainly from cooking or storage vessels which commonly have distinctive

broad flanged rims comparable with finds from Whitefield Wood (Battle) and Bayham Abbey.¹⁵

The grog-tempered sandy ware was found in trench G and elsewhere on the Robertsbridge bypass. Although the sandy pottery made at Bohemia Ground, Hastings include a proportion of grog, it seems unlikely these are from that source because they lack the water-rounded grey flint inclusions characteristic of the Hastings finds. The origin and distribution of this ware remains uncertain.

Table 1. Pottery from test-pits G and I by weight (grams).

Test-pit/ Context	G1	G3	G6	G7	I4a	I4b	Total
Flint-tempered	—	5	—	—	113	18	136
Hard flint-tempered	—	6	3	—	67	67	143
Shelly Black	119	—	25	—	220	88	452
Black	30	69	26	2	38	12	177
Sand and Shell	—	11	—	30	—	—	41
Sand and Grog	—	2	14	—	—	—	16
Sandy	28	6	4	—	64	25	127
Spilstead	35	—	—	—	10	—	45
Total	212	99	72	32	512	210	1137

CLAY PIPES

Identifications by Luke Barber

A substantial number of stems and two pipe bowls were recovered from test-pit K. The test-pit was near Grove Farm and the pipes presumably originated there:

Spur lettered 'IJ' and bowl stamped 'JEWSTER LONDON'. John Jewster is recorded as a pipemaker at Borough in London between 1806 and 1862.¹⁶

Bowl with decoration of foliage and flowers. No initials. Late 18th or 19th century.

From field-walking in Fair Field:

A bowl fragment stamped on spur 'WN' or 'WM'. If the former, the maker is probably William Neeve of Lewes (1790–92).¹⁷

WORKED FLINT

By Robin Holgate

A total of twelve pieces were recovered (Table 2). The flint is grey or brown with cream cherty mottles; one piece has a faint blue-white patination. Some of the flint consists of water-rolled pebbles, perhaps deriving from the coast. The rest could come either from Greensand or downland sources.

Table 2. The worked flint.

Trench/ Test-pit and context	Flakes	Mesolithic blade/ bladelet	Mesolithic utilized blade	Total
B/10	1	2	—	3
C/1	1	—	—	1
G/1	1	—	—	1
H/1	1	—	—	1
I/4	1	—	—	1
O/8	—	2	—	2
P/1	1	1	1	3
Total	6	5	1	12

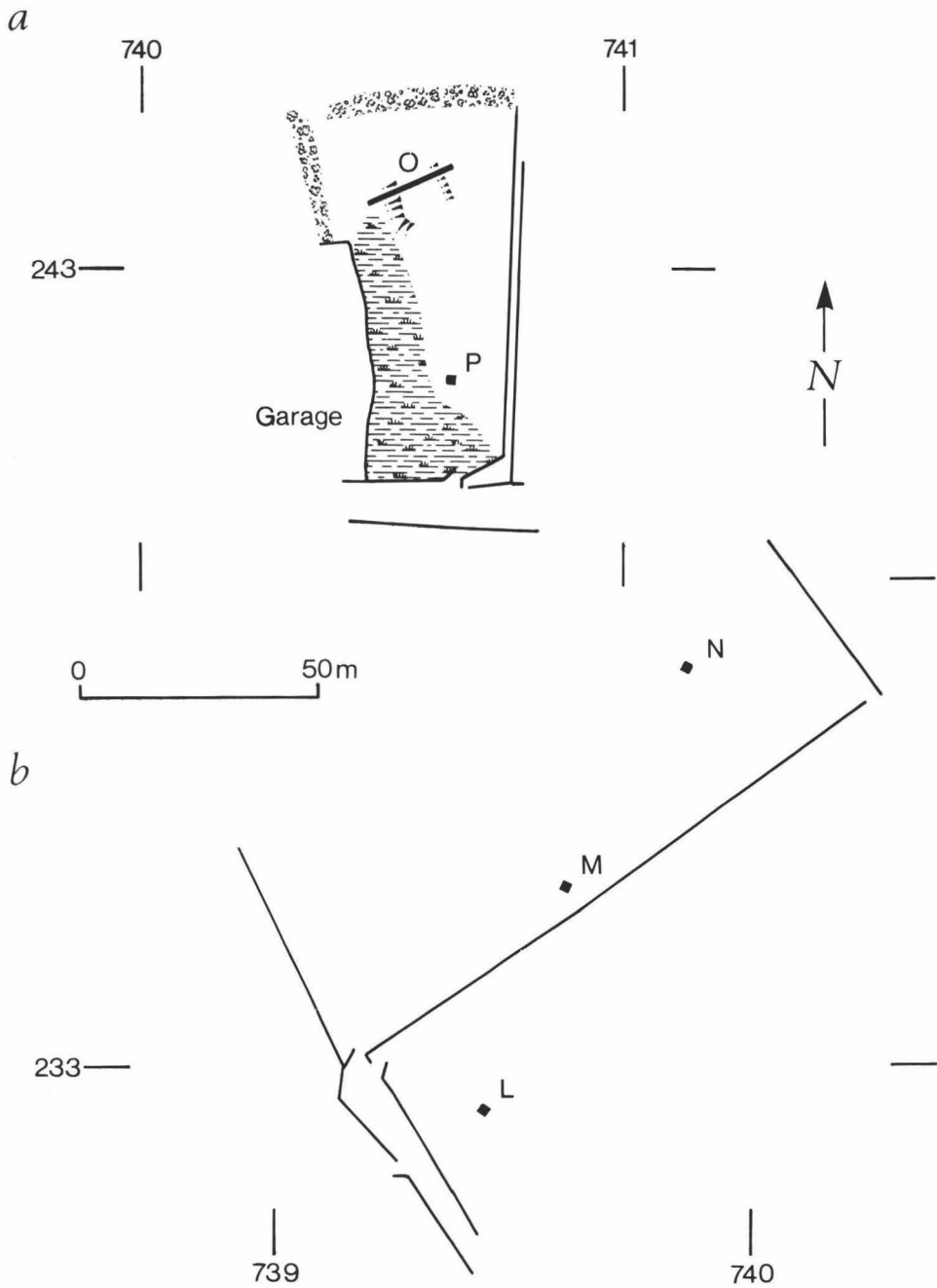
Robertsbridge Bypass

Fig. 4. Location of trenches: a. field at Northbridge Street, b. field south of Fair Field.

Half of the flints are Mesolithic blades/bladelets, one of which has a ground edge produced through use. The remaining flints could date to any period in prehistory.

CHARCOAL By Caroline Cartwright

A total of 37.5 g of charcoal was recovered from three contexts in test-pits G and I (Table 3 microfiche). Beech, oak and apple/pear predominate, whilst elm, clematis, broom, ash, *Prunus*, gorse and hazel form the remainder. As contextual information is limited, interpretation of the charcoal fragments is restricted. It seems that the fragments, which are mostly twigs, derive from hedgerows.

DISCUSSION

It was possible to identify two sites — an area of 14th-century activity and a 15th- or 16th-century building platform — and recover evidence for off-site activity elsewhere by sectioning likely areas of archaeological interest and by digging test-pits along the line of the road. Both of the sites identified were worthy of further investigation, although that was not possible with the resources available. The interpretation of the two sites is not entirely satisfactory.

Test-pits G and I in Highland Field to the south of Grove Farm both produced significant quantities of 14th-century pottery. The small number of finds in the intervening square H may indicate two quite separate sites. The nature of the activity represented by these remains is not certain. It is notable that the ditch in test-pits G runs parallel to the road and it is possible that it was the rear boundary of a message. The charcoal found in the test-pit I is an unusual assemblage, not only because it seems to be formed of hedgerow vegetation, but also because it comprises both calcicoles, such as clematis, as well as plants better suited to the local acid soils.

The 16th-century surveys recording Robertsbridge and Northbridge Street show that both settlements extended further along the roads than at present.¹⁸ On the east side of George Hill the positions of the former buildings have been identified from four platforms.¹⁹ It is suggested that in the 14th century there may have been buildings even further south in Highland Field in the position where remains were found. At Northbridge Street the settlement extended a little to the north up Silver Hill and the building platform examined probably lay at the edge of the village. A timber building on this site would have been constructed on footings of stone, but these may have been removed when the building was demolished. An area excavation of the site, nevertheless, might have been able to recover evidence of the building plan.

NOTES

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⁵ C. E. Brent, 'Rural employment and population in Sussex between 1550 and 1640, part 2', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **116** (1978), 51; D. & B. Martin, *Historic Buildings in Eastern Sussex* **1** (Robertsbridge, 1977–80), 6–8.

⁶ E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), ACC 4728 (6).

⁷ ESRO, ALF 3/57; ALF 10/6; TD/E 86, parcel no. 603.

⁸ *The Manor of Etchingham cum Salehurst*, ed. S. P. Vivian (Sussex Record Society **53** (1953)), 128.

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¹¹ M. F. Gardiner, G. Jones & D. Martin, 'The excavation of a medieval aisled hall at Park Farm, Salehurst, East Sussex', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **129** (1991), 92.

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¹³ A. D. F. Streeten, 'Pottery', in J. N. Hare, *Battle Abbey: the Eastern Range and the Excavations of 1978–80* (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, Archaeological Report **2**) (London, 1985), 122.

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¹⁶ D. R. Atkinson & A. Oswald, 'London clay tobacco pipes', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 3rd ser. **32** (1969), 221.

¹⁷ D. R. Atkinson, 'A new list of Sussex pipemakers', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **110** (1972), 42.

¹⁸ D. & B. Martin, *An Architectural History of Robertsbridge* (Hastings Area Archaeological Papers **5**) (Robertsbridge, 1974); D. & B. Martin, 'An architectural history of Northbridge and Salehurst villages'.

¹⁹ D. Martin, 'Robertsbridge village (TQ738233)', *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **111** (1973), 114.

A seal-matrix from Tarring, West Sussex: a supplementary note

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A brief account of a medieval circular lead seal-matrix found in Tarring, West Sussex, was recently published in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (White 1994). This seal-matrix, decorated with an incised crescent which partly encloses what

is described as an eight-pointed star, bears the Lombardic inscription '+S': AVICE: UXORIS : FRANC (the seal of Avice, wife of Francis).

I would suggest this matrix depicts the sun and the moon, a popular medieval seal design often found in non-heraldic personal seals from the late 12th century to the end of the 13th century (Harvey 1996; Rigold 1977; Spencer 1984; Warren 1996); it seems likely that these seal-matrices were mass-produced (Wise 1994). The lack of variation in the decoration of these personal seals — it is unlikely that the decoration has heraldic significance (Abbot 1994; Scott-Giles 1958) — suggests that a matrix-maker produced a standard series of seal designs (Harvey 1996). For example, all of the 50 or so seals on a document of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, bear one of two designs (PRO DL27/270). Space was left on the mass-produced matrix for an inscription, almost invariably the owner's name, but these seals seldom include a title or give any indication of the owner's status.

In the 13th century small landowners and even villeins — those of unfree legal status — had their own seals (Record Commission 1810; Hilton 1975), despite the relatively small volume of written business they would have encountered (Jenkinson 1937). Seal use spread rapidly by the early 13th century, when anyone who had free land or other properties to convey needed a seal (Harvey 1996), although not necessarily his or her own (Rigold 1977; Ellis 1978).

The large number of women with their own seals — one-fourth of a random sample of 44 named seals bore a woman's name (Rigold 1977) — may indicate that more women held land in their own right than previously believed; of the 74 seals belonging to or used by women catalogued in Ellis (1978), 45 belonged to women described as wives, whilst only 17 belonged to widows or former wives.

Circular matrices like that found at Tarring, classified by Rigold as Series I, are less common than those of the 'pointed oval' (almond, or *vesica piscis*) shape (Rigold 1977; Jenkinson 1937). The Tarring matrix is unusual in that there is a cast suspension loop at the top of the reverse, as most matrices of this type have a projection off the circumference; the reverse is usually decorated as well (Rigold 1977; Spencer 1984).

The vernacular treatment of both the motifs and the lettering make precise stylistic dating difficult. Archaeological context and the documents to which the seals are affixed make it possible to date seal-matrices of this type to the period spanning the late 12th century until the late 13th century, and seldom much afterwards (Rigold 1977), although the sheer number of this type of personal seal is the greatest impediment to their study (Harvey 1996).

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Edmund Scott and Brighton College Chapel: a lost work rediscovered



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Another item can be added to the list of documented works by the Brighton-based architect, Edmund Scott (1828–1895) whose career still awaits scholarly consideration, let alone a *catalogue raisonné*. Reference to the indexes of standard works will produce a corpus of just 13 commissions.¹ More than half of the resulting buildings have been demolished and Scott is remembered today only for his superlative St Bartholomew, Ann Street, Brighton. The newly discovered Scott project is his refitting of the sanctuary of Brighton College chapel, which came to light in 1993 during research carried out for the sesquicentenary history of the school.

Erected in 1859 by the prolific Sir George Gilbert Scott R. A. (1811–1878; no relation), Brighton College chapel was originally a prim edifice largely devoid of carved stonework and totally without the encaustic tiles, stained glass or coloured marbles so frequently associated with Victorian church interiors. The reason for this was not so much the staunch Church-Evangelical nature of the school's Anglican foundation as a severe shortage of funds. Three times the great Scott was required to pare down his design, finally being set a maximum budget of £3000.²

His austere church interior was not to last long. The *Brighton College Magazine* of April 1875 reported the establishing of a 'Chapel Decoration Fund . . . to refit and decorate the east end of the College Chapel', declaring that 'the present furniture is much damaged by the lapse of time and wear, and perhaps has never been quite worthy of the school'. Architect's drawings had been prepared and, estimated to require £200, the works were to be paid for is possible by voluntary subscription; 'this will be the better course', declared the magazine.³

A mere 16 years seems hardly sufficient for the dereliction suggested. More than likely, this was no more than an excuse

to upgrade the chancel in line with another decorative scheme already under way: the gradual filling of the windows with stained glass (executed by Clayton & Bell, 1871–77). The College was then somewhat more prosperous. Certainly it had strong ambitions and loudly asserted its public school status.

Subscriptions would, in the words of the magazine, ‘have a double value as a memorial of the past and as an encouragement for the present’. As with so much church refitting from the 1860s onwards, we should probably also detect here the near-universal impact of the Tractarians on ecclesiological sensibilities throughout the Church of England, and beyond. Much had changed in the 30 years since Newman’s defection to Rome and the foundation of Brighton College (1845).

On 5 April 1875 the College Council gave its approval to the Fund.⁴ Neither the drawings nor any correspondence survive in the extensive College archives, but the magazine explained what was proposed: the laying of a tiled pavement, the installation of ‘somewhat more elaborate panelling’, the replacement of the lectern and reading desk ‘by handsomer ones’ (sic), and ‘the colouring of the wall’. The magazine also informed its readers that ‘Mr Scott has carefully kept in view the general simplicity of the building, and no alteration is contemplated that would in the least interfere with the old and cherished associations of the place’. Rather, the changes

were intended ‘to add to the elevating influences that centre within its walls’. Was this a sop to the first generation of sentimental old boys or a reassurance that the Protestant heritage rooted in the College foundation was not in jeopardy from the creator of St Bartholomews, the architect to Father Wagner?

The old lectern and desk were not in fact ejected. Neither was any painted decoration applied to the chancel. But photographs (see Fig. 1) do reveal alterations to the second altar step and the insertion of a third, as well as the laying of encaustic tiles throughout the sanctuary. They also show that the new carved oak panelling was fixed only to the chancel’s east wall, forming an arcade of blind tracery behind the altar. Thus modified, the scheme cost £142. The Fund was still open in January 1876, but it is not certain when the work was executed; extraordinarily, the school magazine failed to record it. Fortunately, an illustration in *The Graphic* in November 1883 fixes a *terminus ante quem*.⁵

Why Edmund Scott was given the commission is far from clear. As architect to Brighton College since 1848, Sir George Gilbert should have had the job, but there is no record of his having been offered it. Brighton then housed several established practices besides that of Edmund Scott. Indeed, when Revd Dr Charles Bigg (principal 1871–81) wanted a new boarding house designed in 1879, he went to George Somers



Fig. 1. The sanctuary of Brighton College Chapel.

Clarke.⁶ Four years earlier, however, it was to the other high-profile local architect that Bigg had gone. The magazine then described Edmund Scott as 'an architect of tried ability and taste'. He had just finished St Bartholomew (1872–74), rebuilt St James, St James' Street (1874–75) and was building St Botolph, Heene, West Worthing (1872–79). In 1879 he would remodel St George, Carlton Hill and add a new chancel to All Souls, Eastern Road. In 1881–82 he extended the Church of the Annunciation, Washington Street. These are the Brighton works which provide the context for his work at the College, although we cannot yet fit it precisely within the sequence.

Of Scott's refurbished sanctuary nothing now remains, everything having been swept away in 1922–23 when Sir Thomas Graham Jackson R. A. (1835–1924) demolished the east end to build a war memorial extension.

NOTES

- 1 T. Carder, *The Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Lewes: East Sussex County Libraries, 1990); A. Dale, *Brighton Churches* (London: Routledge, 1989); I. Nairn & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).
- 2 M. D. W. Jones, *Brighton College 1845–1995* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1995), 25–7, 50–51.
- 3 *Brighton College Magazine*, April 1875, 79; July 1875, 134.
- 4 Brighton College Archives (hereafter BCA), 316, Council Minute Book III (1866–76), 311, 350.
- 5 BCA 94/25 (chapel photographs). See Jones p. 51 for Gilbert Scott's original interior and Jones p. 156 for the engraving published in *The Graphic* of 24 November 1883.
- 6 Jones, 62–3.

Caves while she was staying at Goodwood:

10 March 1893. After luncheon Evelyn [Gordon Lennox], Violet [Gordon Lennox], Leonard Brassey and I walked to see some pre-historic caves that have been dug out of one of the hills, leaving the engaged couple [Charles Gordon Lennox, Lord Settrington, and Hilda Britson] to their own devices. The cave consists of a tunnel 30 yds long, down which you walk doubled up, till you reach a small chamber in which you can stand upright. It is supposed to have been inhabited by ancient Britons, & a few ornaments have been found. It seems to have been opened before. We met a detachment of Councillors & Councillresses there.⁵

West Sussex County Council met at the Assembly Rooms in North Street, Chichester on 10 March 1893 with the 6th Duke of Richmond in the chair. Unfortunately, neither the records of the County Council nor local newspapers mention a post-prandial visit to the caves.

Dawson had concluded that 'the Lavant Caves may have formed part of an early British (or Celtic) settlement'. It was not until 1916 that Hadrian Allcroft suggested that the caves may originally have been flint mines.⁶ The suggestion was confirmed authoritatively by Cecil Curwen in 1928.⁷

NOTES

- 1 A. Hadrian Allcroft, 'Some earthworks of West Sussex', in *Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* **57** (1916), 65–90; E. Eliot Curwen, 'The Lavant caves, Chichester', in *Sussex Notes and Queries* **2** (1928), 81; *Prehistoric Sussex* (1929), 15 and *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1954), 121; Timothy J. McCann, 'Charles Dawson and the Lavant caves', in *S(ussex) A(rchaeological) S(ociety) N(ewsletter)* **33** (1981), 234 and E. W. Holden, 'The Lavant caves', in *SASN* **34** (1981), 244.
- 2 *Sussex Daily News*, 11 August 1893.
- 3 For example, John Sawyer, 'Discovery of vaves at Lavant, Sussex', in *Antiquary* **28** (1893), 22, 160; *The Daily Graphic*, 6 April 1895 (with illustrations); and George Clinch's summary in *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex* **1** (1905), 326, 327 (with plan by John Lewis).
- 4 W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Goodwood MS. 1928.
- 5 W.S.R.O., Maxse MSS, uncatalogued 2.
- 6 A. Hadrian Allcroft, *ibid.*, 68–74.
- 7 E. Cecil Curwen, 'The Lavant caves, Chichester', in *Sussex Notes and Queries* **2** (1928), 81.

The Lavant Caves revisited

Timothy J. McCann
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The published literature on the Lavant Caves is so meagre¹ that any description of the site is worth recording. Shortly after the discovery, in 1890, of some subterranean passages on the property of Mr D. Waddington at Hayes Down in East Lavant near Chichester, the site was excavated by Charles Dawson and John Lewis at the request and at the expense of the 6th Duke of Richmond. No report of the excavation was ever published, though Dawson's paper, based on the results so far obtained, was reported in the *Sussex Daily News*,² and discussed in a number of publications,³ and the manuscript report of his work on the Caves is now among the Goodwood Archives in the West Sussex Record Office.⁴

One of the reasons why Dawson did not publish his excavation report was that once the Caves had been opened up, they began to fall in rapidly, and all excavation ceased because of the danger involved. Dawson began his excavation early in 1893, and we are fortunate in having a contemporary description of a visit to the site. Mary Wyndham, the daughter of the 2nd Lord Leconfield, recorded in her diary a visit to the

Cules: a Sussex variant

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Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the Sledge,
To jumpe, or leape ouer Ditch or Hedge;
To Wrastle, play at Stoole-ball, or to Runne;
To pitch the Bar, or to shoote off a Gunne;
To play at Loggets, Nine-boles, or Ten-pinnes
To try it out at foot-ball by the shinnes.¹

By the beginning of the 17th century a large number of games and sports, such as cricket, stoolball, football, bowls and running, were popular in the countryside.² West Sussex Record Office research projects on the records of the church courts have brought to light references to a Sussex variant of one of these games centred on the neighbourhood of Chichester in the first two decades of the century.

John Marke was presented for 'playing at cules on the xth of June [1606] being sabbath day' in the parish of St Pancras, Chichester.³ John Ayling and John Still were presented for 'playing at cules in prayer time' in Oving on 6 September 1608, while John Whether looked on.⁴ John Grigge and John Limberry were presented for 'playing at cules at time of evening prayer' on Sunday 20 June 1613.⁵ They later admitted that they had been present as spectators of 'some who played', and, having confessed their fault after evening prayer in church and having presented a certificate to the court, the case against them was dismissed.

But what was the game that they were playing? A search for 'cules' through dialect dictionaries and glossaries of church court records proved fruitless. Clues were afforded by

contemporary references to ninepins and 'skailles' in the church court records.⁶ The *Oxford English Dictionary* records 'kayles', with other forms such as keyles, keales or cayles, which it describes as 'the set of pins of wood or bone used in a kind of ninepins or skittles; more frequently, the game played with these',⁷ and it seems that 'cules' must be a local variant spelling of the game. So far, the word 'cules' has not been found outside Sussex.

NOTES

¹ Samuel Rowlands, *The Letting of Hymors Blood in the Head-Vaine* (London: W. White, 1611).

² W. C. Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities* 2 (1870), 284–90.

³ W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Ep.III/4/7, f.28r.

⁴ W.S.R.O., Ep. I/17/12 f.192v.

⁵ W.S.R.O., Ep. I/17/15 f.63r.

⁶ W.S.R.O., Ep.I/17/12, f.223r. and 192v. respectively for games at Washington in 1609 and Harting in 1608.

⁷ I am grateful to Juliet Field of the OED for drawing my attention to 'kayles'.

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Notes: Alphabetization is word-by-word. A reference preceded by M indicates a page of microfiche. A page reference in italics indicates an illustration. A page reference containing n indicates a note: e.g. 232n51 refers to note 51 on page 232. Notes on pages 231–9 are indexed selectively.

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