

SUSSEX
Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

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The Sussex Archæological Society



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EDITORIAL NOTE

IN order to save paper, and the Society's funds, the Council decided that the Annual Report for 1939 (which has already been circulated to members) and the List of Members should not be printed in this year's volume of Collections.

It is the intention of the Council to continue publication of volumes as usual during the war, unless prevented by circumstances outside their control.

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OCTOBER 1940

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XV

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The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
La Société des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen, Denmark.
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The Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.
The British Archæological Association.
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The Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society.
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2. Messrs. Tate & Lyle, 21 Mincing Lane, London, E.C. 3.
Sugar Loaf.
3. Mrs. Beale, Glenwyn, Shortbridge, Piltdown.
Hammer-stone made from Downland flint from Piltdown.
4. The County Surveyor, County Hall, Chichester.
Two Roman Coins, one Georgian Coin, and fragments of
Roman Tiles; all from Roman Gate, Alfoldean.
5. Lt.-Col. W. W. Gillum, D.S.O., Littleham, Buxted.
Embroidered Waistcoat, 130 years old.
6. Mr. J. H. Hudson, Three Ways, Trolliloes, Herstmonceux.
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Ration Book. Two Food Cards, National Registration Card,
1914-1918.
11. Mr. R. Habben.
Rapier from Alfriston.
12. Mr. Lindsay Fleming.
Message Card in German from Verdun, 1917.
13. Mrs. McDougall.
Flint Dagger of Early Bronze Age from West Stoke (on loan).
14. Mr. Malcolm and Mr. F. R. Williams.
Flint Axe of Flint-mine type from Wilmington Hill.
15. Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A.
(1) Group of three Romano-British Funeral Vessels from
Sandpit Cottage, Hassocks.
(2) Ration Book 1914-1918.

16. Miss Colwell, 8 St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
Model of Cross-Channel Paddle Boat, made by Thomas N. Colwell, 1820-75, Shipwright and Barge-builder of Lewes.
17. Mr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A.
Ration Books and Cards from the War of 1914-1918.
Two Saxon Pennies, of Chichester and Hastings mints.
18. Mr. C. E. C. H. Burton.
Medieval Pottery from Church Acre Drove, Pevensey.
19. Trustees of the late Mr. Thomas Sutton.
Fire-back with the coat-of-arms of Webster, formerly at Battle Abbey.

ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY

1. Mr. E. W. Hulme.
 'Antiquity', vols. 11, 12, and 13, and Part 1 of vol. 14.
2. Mr. S. D. Secretan.
 'Kent Records', vol. iv, Parts 7 and 8.
3. Mr. C. Hamilton Dicker.
 Stukeley's 'Itinerary'.
4. Mr. L. V. Grinsell.
 'Sussex Barrows', MS., 5 vols.
5. Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.
 (1) 'Excavation of the London-Lewes Roman Road, Holtye.' A pictorial record.
 (2) 'Roman Road from Pevensey.' A pictorial record.
 (3) 'Victoria History of the County of Sussex', vol. 7. 'Lewes Rape.'
6. Rev. Sir Henry Denny, Bt., The Rectory, Burwash.
 (1) 'Gleanings from Local History', from Burwash Magazine.
 (2) 'A Kipling Shrine.' Pamphlet. (Author's copy.)
7. Miss Dora Bulwer, Dalling, nr. Uckfield.
 (1) 'Suffolk Brasses', 1819.
 (2) Map of West Sussex, 1813.
8. Mr. W. J. Glover.
 (1) 'History of the Smithfield Club', 1798-1900.
 (2) Typed Transcript Pevensey Parish Register, 1565-1837.
9. Mr. W. D. Peckham.
 List of Parish Registers in West Sussex, compiled by Mr. W. D. Peckham.
10. Dr. T. E. Holman.
 Turner Family Bible.
11. Mr. L. A. Vidler.
 (1) 'A New History of Rye.' (Author's copy.)
 (2) 'History of the Rye Grammar School.' (Author's copy.)
12. Mr. A. Beckett.
 'Sussex County Magazine', vol. 13.
13. Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A.
 Reports: Congress of Archaeological Societies, Worthing Archaeological Society, and Brighton and Hove Archaeological Society.
14. Dr. E. C. Curwen, F.S.A.
 'The Journal of Gideon Mantell.'

15. Mr. C. T. A. Gaster, 70 Lyndhurst Road, Hove, 4.
'The Stratigraphy of the Chalk of Sussex: Eastern Area. Sea-
ford to Cuckmere Valley, Eastbourne.' (Author's copy.)
(Pamphlet.)
16. Worthing Archaeological Society.
'A Roman Bath, Highdown Hill', by G. P. Burstow and A. E.
Wilson. (Pamphlet.)
17. Mr. W. McLean Homan.
(1) 'The Churches of Winchelsea'. (Author's MS. copy.)
(2) 'Winchelsea. The founding of a 13th-Century Town'.
(Author's MS. copy.)
18. Mr. W. H. Challen.
Typed copy Parish Register 1562-1812 and Bishop's Tran-
scripts 1624-1754 Earnley cum Almodington, Sussex.
19. Sussex Record Society.
'Chichester Wills and Administrations.' British Record
Society, 1940.
20. Col. Sir Charles Arden-Close, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.S.
Pamphlets by Dr. G. B. Grundy.
(1) Evidence of Saxon Land Charters on the Ancient Road
System.
(2) Ancient Highways and Tracks of Wilts., Berks., and Hants.
(3) Saxon Land Charters of Hants.
(4) Saxon Charters of Somerset.
(5) Dorset Charters.
(6) Saxon Charters of Worcestershire.
(7) Ancient Woodland of Gloucestershire.
(8) Ancient Highways of Dorset, Somerset, and SW. England.
21. Mr. F. R. Williams.
The Parish Register of East Blatchington, Sussex, 1563-1804.
Transcribed by Rev. J. H. Layton and Frank R. Williams.
22. Dr. D. R. Morgan, Rathmore, Waterford, Lymington, Hants.
'Archaeologia Cambrensis', vols. 92 to 95, Part 1.
23. Mrs. Henry Dudeney.
'An Introduction to Arithmetic', by John Dudeney of Lewes.
24. Mr. E. J. Bedford.
(1) Water-colour Drawing of Climping Church, by T. David-
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(2) Collection of Sussex Prints.
25. Worthing Museum.
Rubbings of Sussex Brasses.
26. Rev. A. A. Evans.
Eighteen Sketches of Sussex Churches, by G. de Paris.

27. Miss Holgate, F.S.A. (the late).
Framed Water-colour of 13th Century Chancel of St. Peter,
Bexhill, 1876, by E. M. Holgate.
28. Per Dr. E. C. Curwen, F.S.A.
Photographs. Jacob's Post; Saxon Sundial and Norman
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bourne Road; Toll House near Ricebridge.
29. Mr. W. J. Brown, Portville, Bridport.
Rubbings of Sussex Brasses.
30. Mr. J. Godwin King.
'The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names', by Eilert
Ekwell.

ADDITIONS TO THE DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS IN THE SOCIETY'S CUSTODY

JULY 1939 TO JULY 1940

1. Lord Ashton of Hyde.
Deeds of the Vinehall Estate in Mountfield, Whatlington,
Sedlescombe, and Ewhurst.
2. British Records Association.
Miscellaneous Sussex deeds.
3. Col. John Curteis.
Forty deeds relating to the Manor of Levisham and Rye.
4. Mr. R. W. Fovargue.
Two deeds of Appointment of Commissioners of Sewers for the
Rape of Pevensey, 1830.
5. Gloucestershire County Council.
Five deeds relating to Ewhurst Manor and Buckhurst.
6. Mr. W. H. Godfrey, F.S.A.
Laughton Enclosure Minute Book, and two Minute Books of
the Visiting Justices of Lewes Gaol, 1847-78.
7. Mr. J. S. North.
Sixteen deeds and ten Abstracts of Title illustrating the de-
scription of lands in Brighton.
8. Mr. John E. Ray, F.R.Hist.S.
Thirty deeds relating to marshlands in Pevensey.
9. Mr. T. B. Walton.
Twenty-four deeds concerning property in Iden.



FIG. 1. BOYLEYS FARM, WEST SIDE.

Bernard Spruyt photo.

Sussex Archaeological Society

EAST GRINSTEAD. NOTES ON ITS ARCHITECTURE

BY R. T. MASON

PART II. MEDIEVAL FARMS

THE houses of the High Street described in Part I of this article, published in volume 80 of *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, help, perhaps, to paint a not uninteresting picture of a Sussex township of the Middle Ages. Those to be described hereunder, whilst not specially remarkable, either from an architectural or antiquarian viewpoint, are interesting as survivals of the typical dwellings of the non-urban section of the community, and as the other half of an economic relationship which had its origin in East Grinstead's ancient function as a market town, and which remains unchanged with the town's continued existence as such.

These local farm-houses are of a decidedly humble character; solidly built and spacious, but with a lack of ornamentation which one is strongly tempted to regard as a sign of early date. This has, of course, the odour of a common sort of pitfall, and it might be argued that their plainness is only an expression of frugality—a virtue reckoned to be common among farmers. At the same time, it will be admitted that many a small yeoman's farm-house is exemplary of the best woodwork of its period, and it is seldom that the builder did not furnish himself a little beauty in the moulding of his screens or tie-beams, or the cap and base of his king-post.

It is, perhaps, questionable whether if the ordinary features of construction were more readily datable, some of these hall houses would not prove to be of very considerable age. Examples of the fifteenth century are

common in the Weald, and one is tempted to the belief that survivals of the fourteenth century and even earlier must be at least proportionately numerous. It may easily be that the life of our oak under favourable conditions has been underestimated. Conditions are undoubtedly of the greatest importance, for it is noticed in restoration work that timbers of Tudor and even later times are often in worse preservation than original medieval ones in the same structure. Not many years ago pre-Tudor houses were thought to be scarce, yet it is certain that a systematic examination of our farm-houses—in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey at least—would produce an emphatic contradiction to this idea.

BOYLEYS FARM is about one mile due south of East Grinstead, beside a quiet lane which serves it, and Busses Farm (a seventeenth-century house), and then becomes a footpath leading by way of the Medway valley and Whalesbeach on to the outskirts of Ashdown Forest.

Boyleys is certainly medieval, but without any definitely datable characteristic. There are many signs that it belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century, chief among them the comparatively small degree to which the roof timbers are blackened. The external framing has been largely cut away on the lower story, which has been reconstructed in brickwork. The framing above first-floor line is practically intact, but has been infilled with modern clamp bricks.

The roof is of the usual king-post type and in good preservation, but the king-post, as in the case of both Tilkhurst and Hill Place hereunder mentioned, has been removed by the alterations of a late Tudor period, when bedrooms were formed in the attic space. Much of the plaster work which was done at that time is now removed, but the remaining pieces show the familiar 'dragwork' ornamentation, which is, somewhat surprisingly, very uncommon in the immediate district.

A reference to the plan in Fig. 2 will show that the medieval plan is complete, in so far as one expects it in

such houses. There are four bays—two in the hall, one in the screens, and one in the solar, which was the north end. It is often said that the solar, by reason of its

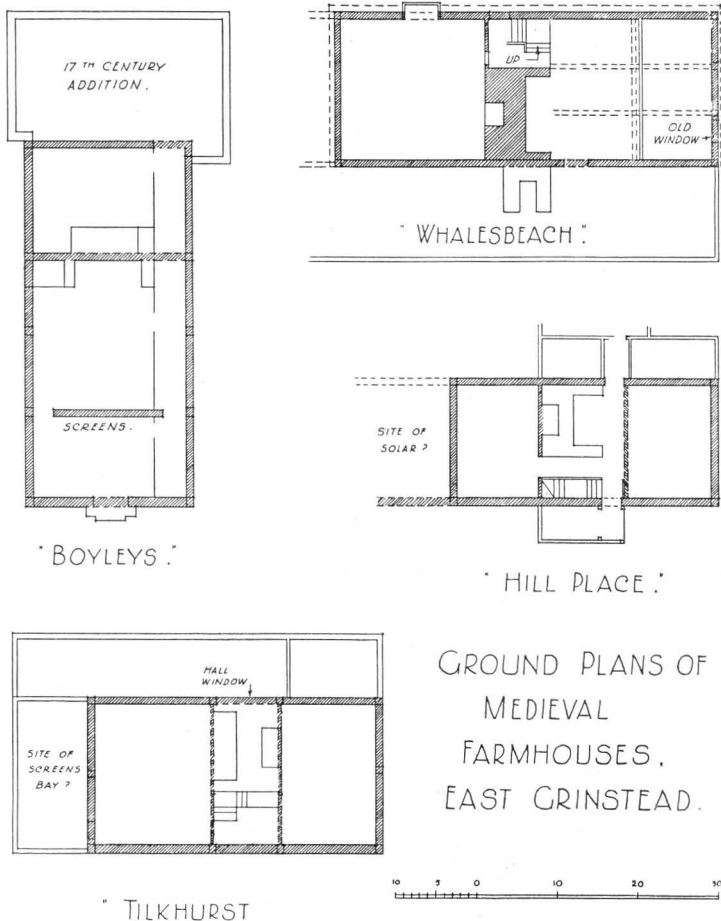


FIG. 2.

name, was always at the south end of the hall, i.e. nearer the sun. Perhaps the name applied rather to its elevation above the hall floor-level, for certainly very many solars were north, and there are, of course, almost as many hall houses standing east to west as otherwise.

There can be no doubt about the orientation of

Boyleys because the screens are still intact and in the position which they have occupied since the house was first erected. They are a very interesting survival, and quite unlike any other of the rather patchy remains in neighbouring houses. They consist of a long, unmoulded 'bay beam' at about 6ft. above floor-level, into which are fitted, alternately, heavy chamfered posts and stout oak boards. The posts are about 9 in. by 4 in., grooved on the 4-in. face to receive the board, which is probably at least $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. There is a doorway at either end, each communicating with the medieval buttery.

The bays of the hall were 8 ft. and 10 ft. respectively, not more than usually unequal. A slight variation of normal practice was the insertion of the Tudor chimney-breast upon the line of the solar-hall partition. This retains its original stack, which has been carried to an extraordinary height above the ridge tiles. The inglenook on the hall side is fairly wide, and its recess is lined with contemporary panelling having cupboards with pin-hung doors above the inglenook beam. The rooms at the screens end are served by a chimney of recent build.

There is no trace of the hall entrance, or of any original windows in that part of the house. No doubt these features disappeared when the Victorian brickwork was done. At the north end is a transverse addition of timber and brick, now used as a dairy, and probably built in the early part of the seventeenth century. This is roofed in Horsham stone, whereas the medieval portion has quite modern tiles, a circumstance which has not unnaturally led to a general belief that this wing is in fact the older part of the two.

WHALESBEACH FARM. This very interesting farmhouse stands in an almost isolated spot, at a considerable distance from any metalled road, and very close to the flood-line of the River Medway, where it is crossed by the footpath from East Grinstead which has been mentioned in connection with Boyleys Farm. The site is one of great antiquarian interest, for in an adjoining

field to the south-west is the Roman ironworking site which was excavated by Ernest Straker and I. D. Margary in 1928.¹ A considerable quantity of ancient cinder can be seen in the pavements and yards about the farm. Whalesbeach was a Domesday manor, the name being rendered as 'Waslebie'.

The house is in marked contrast to the earlier local farm-houses, which are plain almost to the point of crudeness. Here there is a quite lavish amount of ornament, and every sign that it has known far better things than its present empty, almost derelict, condition. It does not appear to have had a hall of the 'smoke-house' type, and the very large chimney-breast, with its two fire-places of local sandstone, has the appearance of being part of the original structure. The plan (Fig. 2) is medieval, that is, following the hall, solar, and buttery scheme, but this would not be surprising if the house was built, as its character suggests, very early in the sixteenth century. Unless, however, some of the interior timbers were exposed, especially in the attics, to reveal the construction of the roof, it is unsafe to say definitely that no earlier date could be assigned to it.

It seems to be the only survival locally of 'dragon-beam' construction, in which the upper story is made to overhang the lower on two or even three sides of the house instead of on the façade only, or in the gabled ends as was the Tudor fashion. This feature is very common in west Kent, particularly in those fine timber buildings which are almost without exception termed 'cloth halls'. Perhaps the nearest neighbour of Whalesbeach with affinity in this connection is a moated house near Lingfield, Surrey, known as Gatehouse Farm, but this was so altered in recent times as to be quite unrecognizable as this type of building, without the closest scrutiny of the few remaining traces of its old form.

Normally the jutting beams of the upper story are not shown with rounded ends in the usual fashion, but are covered by a moulded fascia board of appropriate depth which often continued on three sides of the house.

¹ Straker, *Wealden Iron*, p. 239.



FIG. 3. WHALESBEACH FARM, NORTH SIDE.

Bernard Spruyt photo.

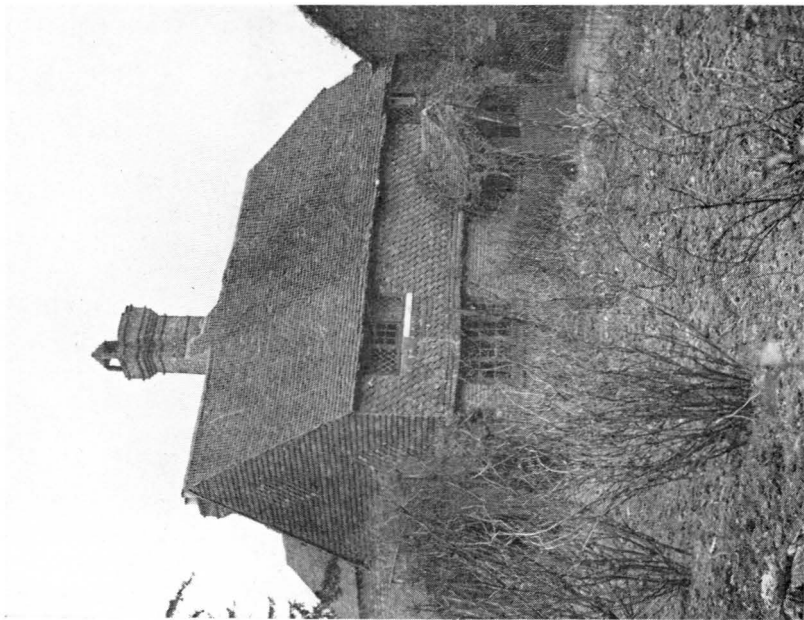
Whalesbeach has two such fascias, one covering the ends of the joists, whilst the other covers the horizontal beam or plate upon which they rest, but this double fascia existed on the east and north sides only, the west end having the common rounded ends which are to be seen in the roof space of a lean-to addition on this side. The dragon beams, which project diagonally from the external angles, are supported by small, solid oak brackets, which spring from round, capitalled shafts. These shafts are in turn attached to the angles of the lower story posts.

The whole of the structural timbering is covered by plaster, only the fascias and the brackets with their shafts and caps being allowed to show, and one is inclined to think that this was the original treatment given to the exterior, for a portion of the old south wall, which is exposed in the lean-to dairy on that side, is very rough work and obviously never intended to be visible.

The chief feature of the interior is the huge chimney-breast, which has a very wide angle on the kitchen side. In the adjoining room, and in the bedroom above, are stone fire-places of a very simple but pleasing type, having four-centred arches and curved recesses of brick.

In the kitchen and the buttery adjoining there are large girder beams which cut the ceiling into six rectangles. The joists are not exposed, but the girder beams are very well moulded, as are the posts by which they are supported. In the east wall of the buttery is a small blocked-up opening with a four-centred arch, evidently a window, and this is the only trace that remains of the lighting originally employed: all the other windows are insertions, mostly of modern date.

HILL PLACE FARM. This is a very pleasant farmhouse on the western outskirts of the town. It is unquestionably pre-Tudor in foundation, but has been greatly altered by subsequent renovations. Like Tilkhurst, described below, its name occurs in the subsidy roll



WEST SIDE.

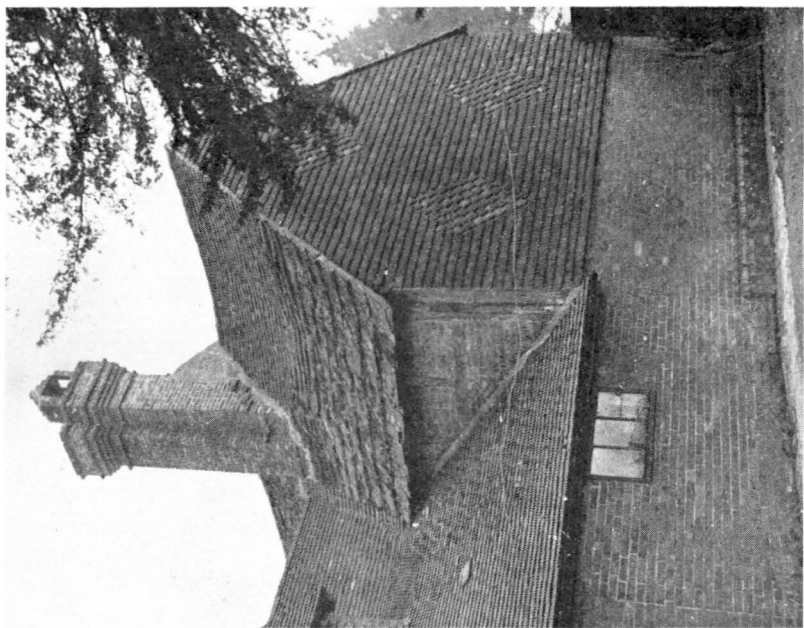


FIG. 4. HILL PLACE FARM.

NORTH END.

Bernard Spruyt photo.

of 1296, when William atte Helle—Hundred de Grene-stede, Villat' de Hymberhorne—contributed the sum of 3s. 3½*d.*

This house, in compliance with the local tradition, was originally timber-framed throughout. There are many examples of half-timbering in the district, but each furnishes its own evidence that the feature is the result of repair or reconstruction, generally on account of the decay of the sill beams and the feet of puncheons and studs. On the other hand, the common practice of covering upper stories with vertically hung tiles has been the preservation of a great deal of valuable old framing, although probably it really resulted from an effort to keep out rain and draught which penetrated the crevices between plaster and oak.

In the case of Hill Place, which has this vertical tiling almost throughout the upper story, and has also been underpinned on the first story with brickwork, scarcely any of the original oak can be seen in the exterior, and to a casual glance its appearance is by no means suggestive of great age.

When the hall of this house was converted, probably well before the end of the sixteenth century, the wall-plates were raised about 2 ft. 6 in. above the old level. A similar treatment was given to Sackville House, in High Street, East Grinstead, where the old plates, still bearing the notches of the rafter feet, can be seen in the north wall. At Hill Place the medieval blackened rafters were re-used by the Tudor convertors, each pair being carefully marked with Roman numerals for re-assembly.

Unfortunately, the king-post and its essentials were not replaced—stout purlins and struts taking the place of the original curved brace and short collar framing.

It has been said that medieval houses yield up most of their secrets by examination of the roof space, and it is a fact that generally this part is nearest the original, but Hill Place is an exception to this rule. It is, however, possible to see that one roof bay is missing, and that it probably went from the north end and was, no

doubt, the solar. There is some evidence, also, that this happened about fifty or sixty years ago, at which time the brick underpinning of the first floor is said to have been done.

In the south wall of the attic is a tiny window with thin diagonal bars. It is not a hall ventilator, but is plainly a Tudor insertion, and is identical with several which have been found buried in the walls of local houses. They seem not to have had glass, as the rebates are too shallow for this purpose, and as they can scarcely be earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century, they argue that the use of glass in the lesser type of yeoman's house was not general until a comparatively late date.

The bays of the hall were unequal—of 10 ft. and 7 ft. respectively. The Tudor chimney-breast occupies a very large share of the 7 ft. bay, and culminates in a stack of four separate flues arranged in the form of a cross. All the fire-places are modern, but there are probably good ingles still remaining behind them.

TILKHURST FARM. This is a rather lonely farm-house on the Imberhorne estate, beside what must be a very old footpath leading from East Grinstead to Crawley Down. It is interesting to note that this footpath passed the very thresholds of at least three medieval houses on its course—Hill Place, Tilkhurst, and Burleigh Farm, an early fifteenth-century house which was demolished a few years ago. According to tradition, also, Tilkhurst once stood actually beside the king's highway, and the course of the old road from East Grinstead to Turners Hill by way of Hairley Farm is pointed out in an adjoining field.

Tilkhurst appears to have belonged at one time to the Alfreys, a family which provided East Grinstead with two of its Members of Parliament in the fifteenth century, and whose later Elizabethan mansion of stone, called Gullege, lies only a short distance to the north.

Tilkhurst is perhaps as fine an example of the successful camouflage of antiquity as might be found. A

glance at the photographs, Figs. 5 and 6, will show that, especially in the south elevation, there is scarcely a feature to suggest that the house is anything but Victorian. The lavish amount of vertical tiling, the windows and doors, the tiled cresting of the ridge, and the dormer with its fretted barges, might all be parts of a deliberate attempt at deception. The house is, in fact, framed throughout in very heavy timbers, and is, apart from the king-post and struts which are missing from its roof, a mediæval hall house almost complete.

Many of the timbers are showing in the interior walls, and though in its present state the house is undatable, there are distinct signs of more than ordinary age. William and Geoffrey de Telgherst both figure in the subsidy roll of 1296.

The present plan, Fig. 2, resembles Hill Place in that one whole bay is missing, this time from the west—possibly screens—end, where there is now a rather meanly built lean-to addition. Another resemblance to Hill Place is the complete removal of the king-post, though in this case its position is occupied by the inserted chimney-stack. The upper parts of the latter have been rebuilt in recent times, as a result of which the head is poor, although the original cruciform arrangement of the flues was retained.

Of the roof timbers which remain it is possible to say nothing, since the whole of the attic space is lathed and plastered. There is here, and throughout the house, a great amount of excellent Tudor oak flooring.

The surviving bays of hall and solar are of fair size, the hall bays being 8 ft. and 14 ft. 6 in. The solar is 13 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft., and is rather larger than might be expected in relation to the other bays.

The house has been extended by about 8 ft. on the north and west sides by a lean-to addition, mostly of recent construction, which now does duty as a scullery. A large old-fashioned baking oven has been built adjacent to the Tudor chimney and its flue joined with that rising from a large ingle in the hall side. Near this oven, in a portion of the mediæval framing which is



FIG. 5. TILKHURST FARM, SOUTH SIDE.



FIG. 6. TILKHURST FARM, NORTH SIDE.

R. T. Mason photo.

exposed there, can be seen the sill of one of the original hall windows—actually the only definite visible piece of evidence that Tilkhurst is a pre-Tudor house. The mortices of the diagonal bar mullions show it to have been the familiar simple type of ventilator.

The timbering, so far as it is exposed within the house, consists of large square panels, but it would be unsafe to conclude that this is the principle of the whole exterior framing, as it is not unlikely that the slighter puncheons would be plastered over and only the main stouter ones be shown inside.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON WILMINGTON, HIGH STREET

Since the publication of Part I of these notes in volume 80 of *S.A.C.*, it is pleasant to be able to record that one of the fourteenth-century houses, namely No. 48, called Wilmington, has been restored as far as the prevailing war conditions would allow.

This work revealed the fact that the overhanging story of the solar on the street side was original and not a Tudor addition, but unfortunately the timbers were in such bad condition as to require renewal throughout. At the same time the Victorian bay window beneath it was renewed in oak with leaded glazing, and moved to a position more central in the solar bay—thus revealing the eastern corbel and bracket of the solar framing which had hitherto been buried in the brickwork of the bay.

The king-post received a new set of brackets to replace those which had been cut away at the Tudor conversion, and it was discovered that the central tie-beam of the hall and the uprights on either side had carried two distinct orders, heavily chamfered. The outer had been carried from the centre of the tie-beam out to the wall-plates and so down the uprights, whilst the inner had run a short distance either way from the centre of the tie-beam, until, encountering the usual pair of large curved brackets, it had been continued down their edges to the upright, with which it merged at a point probably about 8 ft. above the old floor-level.

Also, most of the main timbers bear the same large chamfers.

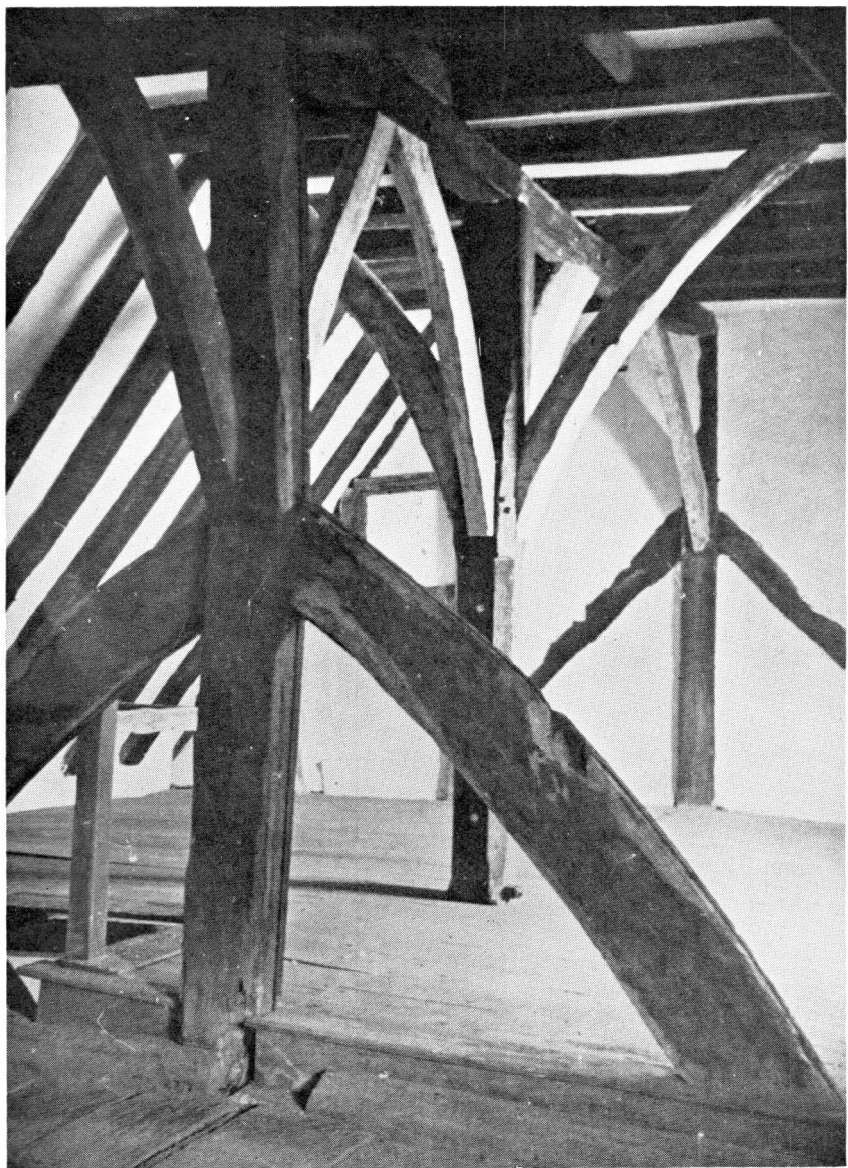
A great deal of the remaining plaster, particularly in the hall, is original, and seems to be composed purely of clay and coarsely chopped straw. It is laid in all cases over good oaken laths, which supports the conviction that the familiar wattle and daub is not necessarily a sign of early date. Generally speaking, it may be said that this house exhibits a very high state of development, so that it is a little surprising that houses of this early period have not more commonly survived. In a small bedroom over part of the hall the old plaster had been treated with a thin coat of haired white Tudor plaster and on this, beneath lavish coats of whitewash, some interesting wall-paintings were found.

They were much scarred and mutilated, but it was possible to trace the general scheme as consisting of large unserrated foliage and small flowers, possibly roses. There were some traces of black-letter texts, and, quite the most distinct—perhaps central—figure, the tail of a peacock; the head, unfortunately, missing. The colours are: pink, white, red, greenish-yellow, and black on a grey-green ground. On the opposite wall is a portion of another painting, in grey, black, and red, and of quite a different character, the foliage here representing a sort of vine—possibly *convolvulus*.

These paintings have nothing in common with those found in the ground-floor room under the medieval solar, and of which a drawing is printed in *S.A.C.* LXIV. 202, and considering the traces found in the Tudor bedroom on the south side of the solar, of very crude geometrical patterns in red and black, it would appear that this house must, about three hundred years ago, have been representative of a great variety of mural decoration.

None of the lately discovered Wilmington paintings have been destroyed, but in view of their dilapidated condition it has been possible only to expose a small portion to view.

Another interesting discovery was the fact that the



Bernard Spruyt photo.

FIG. 7. WILMINGTON, HIGH STREET, EAST GRINSTEAD: THE ROOF, RESTORED.

medieval house had possessed 'speres', as had Trimmers Pond, Forest Row,¹ but in this case they were in the partition between hall and under-solar chamber instead of in the screens. Thus the under-solar chamber was open to, though separate from, the hall, and whilst enjoying a certain amount of privacy was yet warmed by the hall fire, and this accounts for the very thick coating of soot on the undersides of the solar floor joists which had caused some puzzlement when these were uncovered.

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, LXXI. 118.

JOHN TAYLOR'S TOUR OF SUSSEX IN 1653

BY J. B. CALDECOTT, F.S.A.

IN the last volume but one of the *Collections* the writer published this author's account of Sussex Taverns in 1636 and now ventures to add a tour of Sussex, made by John Taylor in 1653.

Before dealing with the book itself—which is entitled *The certain Travailes of an uncertain Journey*—written in the year of his death at the age of seventy-five it may be well to give a short account of his long and adventurous career.

From the *D.N.B.* we learn that he was born in Gloucestershire in 1580; was sent to Gloucester Grammar School, but being 'mired' in his Latin accident was apprenticed to a London waterman; was pressed into the Navy and was present at the siege of Cadiz in 1596; retiring, he became a King's Waterman and collector of the Lieutenant of the Tower's perquisite of wine, from which office he was discharged in 1629.

He arranged the water pageant on the marriage of Princess Elizabeth in 1612 and composed the triumphs of the pageants of the Lord Mayors; made many journeys in this country and abroad, including a visit to the Queen of Bohemia in 1620; was with the Royalists at Oxford at its surrender in 1645 after which, the office of King's Waterman being abolished, he took the Crown public house (now the Ship) in Hanover Court, Long Acre.

Most of his numerous journeys produced a small book with a quaint title and he evidently depended on these for much of his living—his inn apparently being not a very paying one—a state of affairs that he constantly refers to, describing how he generally found someone to pay for his board or to entertain him free and in many cases to furnish him with money as well, being generally

accepted as a good fellow and an entertaining companion, though in modern slang he might be described as travelling for his 'winter's keep'.

Known as 'the water-poet', his verses are generally of poor quality as literature, although they shed many valuable lights upon the habits of the time and contain interesting topographical and personal details; he fell foul of Thomas Coryate, whom he ridiculed in the *Sculler* of 1612, but obtained the patronage of Ben Jonson.

He made use of his journeys to anticipate what we are wont to consider modern inventions, as his *Catalogue of Taverns in ten counties round London* is surely the ancestor of the present A. A. book and his *Carriers Cosmopolic*—which gives the days on which carriers came up to London and the inns where they put up, together with the arrivals of hoys and coasting vessels, a precursor of *Bradshaw*.

In the preamble of the present work—here omitted on account of space—describing how foreign countries have been copiously written about, Taylor anticipates the plea of almost every writer on our own country-side, as follows:

'Some do disdain and hold it in high scorn
To know thatched cottages where they were born,
Some cross the sea to see strange lands unknown
And here, like strangers, do not know their own'

'Many of foreign travels boast and vaunt,
When they, of England, are most ignorant.'

In this preamble he also details how he, at sea seven times, served Elizabeth and two kings forty-five years, how the death of Charles I quite bereft him of means, and gratefully refers to the exertions of the Lord General, Lord Fairfax, to get Parliament to grant some compensation to the King's Watermen—an appeal that was unsuccessful.

In his account of the tour Taylor describes how, leaving London on 9 August, he rode to Croydon and Mitcham, entered Sussex and stayed six days at

THE CERTAIN
TRAVAILES

of an uncertain

JOURNEY,

Begun on **Tuesday** the 9. of *August*,
and ended on **Saturday** the 3.
of *September* following,

1653.

Wherein the Readers may take notice, that the
Authors purpose was to Travell, and Write
this following Relation, for no other intent or
purpose, but to pleasure himself, and to please
his Friends in the first place.

By **JOHN TAYLOR**, at the Signe of the
Poets Head, in Phoenix Alley, near the Globe
Tavern, in the middle of Long-Acre, nigh
the Covent-Garden.

Those twelve following lines I gave to divers
Gentlemen and Friends, before I went, and
as they have kindly subscribed to my Bill, I
humbly expect their courteous acceptance
of this Booke,

Billingshurst; thence to Petworth, which he left on 18 August for Steyning, and next day for Lewes. From here he paid a three days' visit to Tarring Neville, returned to Lewes, and rode to Eastbourne, where he arrived on 26 August, leaving on the 29th for Battle and next day through Hastings for Winchelsea and Rye, passing on the 30th out of Sussex for Hythe, returned via Romney, Dover, Canterbury, and Gravesend and reached London on 3 September, thus completing the last of his mortal journeys.

Any other comments that the writer has been able to supply will be found in the notes at the foot of the text.

A merry Bill of an uncertain Journey, to be performed by JOHN TAYLOR, by Land, with his AQUA MUSA.

To all my Friends, and courteous Gentlemen,
Know, that my journey is, I know not when:
Unto the parts I go. I know not where,
Or of my Entertainment far or near;
Thus neither knowing when or where, or whether,
Begun, or done, or both ends brought together,
When I this unknown Walk have put in print,
Each man to's pocket, put your fingers in't,
And, for my Book then give me what you list,
To which end, to this Bill take pen in fist,
And write your names and habitations down,
I'll find you when again I come to Town.

The Certainty of the Uncertain Travels of John Taylor, performed in year 1653.

* * * * *

Th' year sixteen hundred fifty, with 3. added
Old Tib my Mare and I, a Journey gadded:
I London left, the 9. day I remember
Of August, near 3 weeks before September.
In 4. hours riding Post I got to Croydon
And so hath many a Man, and many a boy done,
There was the George a horseback day and night,
And there I, from my mares back did alight.
At Water there wine was, but that's a Riddle,
At Croydon, you may know both ends a middle,
To Mitcham, from my way full 3. miles wide,
A Gentleman, I thank him, was my guide.

Holland my sheets, and Holland was mine host,
 My entertainment good for little cost.
 August the tenth, my bonny Beast and I,
 From Surrey travelled to South Saxony,
 Now called Sussex, where to Billingshurst
 Six days I felt no hunger, cold, or thirst.
 There at a sign, and no sign, but a Frame,
 'Twas the Kings arms, but shattering shot and flame
 Did beat them down, as useless, of small stead,
 For arms are of no use without a Head.
 Mine Host was mighty good, and great withal
 And amongst Hosts, may be a General,
 He's friendly, courteous, although big and burly,
 A right good fellow, no way proud or surly,
 Six nights at Billingshurst I freely staid
 And all the charge of mare and man was paid
 By a Gentleman, to name whom I'll refrain,
 Whose love, my thankful mind [doth] still retain.
 Thus in one week I rode Post 30 mile,
 And neither man or mare tired all that while.
 A Reverend Preacher¹ preached on Sunday twice
 Directing souls to th' Heavenly Paradise,
 And if we could but do as he did say,
 His Doctrine told us all the ready way.
 Thus Billingshurst thy bounty I extol
 Thou featest me in body and in soul,
 There was rare Music, and sweet gentle Airs
 For undeserved favours, I am theirs.
 My love to Mr. Fist and to mine Host,
 But love and thanks T. H. deserveth most,
 From Billingshurst, August the sixteenth day
 I took my leave before I took my way.
 The way indifferent good, the welkin smiles
 I rode to Petworth, 7 good Sussex miles
 To set forth Petworth, its worth more worth is
 Than I am worth, or worthy; but know this
 Northumberland the Noble, there doth dwell
 Whose good housekeeping, few Lords parallel
 There Honourable bounty is expressed
 With daily Charity to th' poor distressed,
 I speak not this for any thing I got
 Of that great Lord,² I felt or saw him not

¹ The vicar of Billingshurst at this time was Nathaniel Hilton. The parish register records: '1655. 16 July Mr. Nathaniel Hilton our faithfull and painefull Pastor aged 65, buried': *S.A.C.* xxxvi. 143.

² Sir Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland 1632-65, called by Clarendon, 'The proudest man alive', and son of Sir Henry Percy 'The Wizard Earl'.

For had I seen him, my belief is such
 I should have felt and found his bounties touch,
 But I, for my part, never was so rude,
 To flatter, fawn, or basely to intrude,
 Yet I declare him liberal, Honourable,
 And there I din'd well, at his Stewards Table,
 Thanks Mr. Williams there, the Cook exact
 By his good friendship there, I nothing lack'd
 Thanks to my Hostess kind, Good Mrs. Martin
 Who welcom'd me with good white wine a quart in
 And last of all, but not of all the least,
 I was kind Mr. Barnard's¹ costly Guest
 To me he shew'd his bounty from the Mint
 For which I gave him here my thanks in Print
 He pay'd the cinque, and freely gave me drink
 And I return my gratitude with Ink
 August the 18 twelve long miles to Steyning
 I rode, and nothing saw there worth the Kenning
 But that mine Host there was a jovial Wight
 My Hostess fat and fair; a goodly sight:
 The Sign the Chequer² eighteen pence to pay
 My Mare eat mortal meat, good Oats and Hay
 Twelve miles from Steyning I jog'd on to Lewes
 And there I found no Beggars, Scolds, or Shrews
 Lewes hath no Bailiff, Mayor, or Magistrate
 For every one there lives in quiet state:
 They quarrel not for wagging of a straw
 For each man is unto himself a Law
 They need no bridle (like the Horse or Mule)
 Where every one himself can wisely rule
 At the terrestrial Star³ (a glist'ring Sign)
 I lodg'd, and found good Diet, and good Wine
 Mine Host and Hostess Courteous, free, and kind,
 And there I sip'd and sup'd but seldom din'd:
 Lewes is an ancient Town, as may be seen
 In Camden, page three hundred and thirteen:
 Twelve men they choose, the most substantiallest
 Most rich and wise, to govern all the rest
 And out of that discreet and honest dozen
 Two (as it were) high Constables are chosen

¹ Probably John Barnard, who issued a farthing token at Petworth, c. 1660; two others of the same name issued tokens at Chichester and at Horsham (in 1669). They were all tallow chandlers and probably members of the same family. The one at Chichester, also John Barnard, was perhaps the father of the other two.

² An inn still trading under the same sign.

³ Long one of the principal inns of Lewes, in the cellar of which the 'Sussex Martyrs' are traditionally said to have been confined previous to their being burnt at the stake in front of this house. Its site is now occupied by the Town Hall.

These have no power themselves to hang or draw
 Or on offenders to inflict the Law
 But to a Justice of the Peace, or Coram
 They bring the parties, and their cause before 'em,
 From Friday unto Friday I did stay
 But in the mean time I did take my way
 Five miles to Tarring¹ where my old friend there
 The Parson welcom'd me with Country cheer
 His name is John, or honest Master Rice
 Six meals he meated me, and lodg'd me thrice
 He Preached on Sunday August twenty-one
 Two Sermons, tending to Salvation:
 His Doctrines good and he himself doth frame
 To live in conversation like the same.
 I thank him, and his Wife and Family,
 For making of so much (too much) of me,
 Thus when he could no longer me retain,
 With love and thanks, I rode to Lewes again
 This Town contains six Churches, and at least
 It is a mile in length from West to East:
 A strong and spacious Castle there hath been
 As by its moulder'd ruins may be seen
 Thence 12 miles I was on my female beast borne
 T'an unknown feast borne, at a Town call'd Eastbourne
 I at an Inn alighted, and found there
 Unlook'd for welcome, and good Sussex cheer
 Sir Thomas Dike,² Sir Thomas Parker,³ Knights
 With kind Esquires, whose names and Epithites
 I mention not, because I know them not
 But to them all my thanks is unforgot
 For undeserved unlook'd for, and unthought
 From thee my purse and person both were fraught
 This was on August twenty-six, a Friday
 Near Dogs days end, a very fair and dry day
 The next day, and the next I felt the bounty
 Of the high Sheriff⁴ of Sussex famous County!

¹ Tarring Neville, or East Tarring, to distinguish it from West Tarring in the Western Division of the county, two miles west of Worthing. Hennessy's *Clergy Lists* gives John Rice as instituted 1641-2 and Henry Sheppard as intruded in 1648, but, if this is not one of Hennessy's many errors, Rice must have recovered possession of the living. John Earl was presented to the rectory in January 1654-5: *S.A.C.* xxxiii. 223.

² Horeham, Waldron, a seat of the family of Dykes, Barts., became the property of Thomas Dyke on his marriage to Joan, heiress of Thomas Walsh of Horeham (Horsfield, i. 360).

³ A member of a family settled at Ratton, Willingdon; Thomas Parker, by his wife, daughter of John Selwyn, succeeded to the manor of Eastbourne—Parker (Horsfield, i. 293). Sir Thomas served on two county committees appointed 1644-5 by Parliament to enforce levies made for the financing of the Civil War.

⁴ In the tables of High Sheriffs put up by the East Sussex County Council

He entertain'd me Saturday and Sunday,
 And would have kept me 20 days past Monday
 There was a high and mighty drink call'd Rug
 Sure since the Reign of great King Gorbodug
 Was never such a rare infus'd confection
 Injection, operation, and ejection,
 Are Hogen Mogen¹ Rugs, great influences
 To provoke sleep, and stupify the senses
 No cold can ever pierce his flesh or skin
 Of him who is well lin'd with Rug within
 Rug is a Lord beyond the Rules of Law
 It conquers hunger in the greedy maw
 And (in a word) of all the drinks potable
 Rug is most puisant, potent, notable
 Rug was the Capital Commander there
 And his Lieutenant General was strong beer
 Wine plenteous both in Bottles and in flagons
 Whose strength would quell St. George and 20 dragons
 But Ahasuerus Laws were there enrol'd
 No man was forc'd to drink more than he would
 There was good will, good wills son and good William
 As free as was the Emp'ror Maximilian
 Beasts, fowls and fish, from earth and sea and air
 Unto the Table, well cook'd did repair

at Lewes the names given are 1652 William Wilson, 1653 James Butler, but Horsfield (i. 380) states that Wilson was appointed High Sheriff in 1653. He was a distinguished loyalist who was made acquainted with the situation of Charles II after the battle of Worcester, and had the embarkation of that monarch at Shoreham been interrupted or delayed, the king was to have gone to Wilson's mansion at Eastbourne. Taylor's reference, ten lines lower, to 'good will, good wills son, and good William' makes it clear that Wilson was the sheriff.

¹ In the *O.E.D.* one meaning of the word 'rug' is given as safe, secure 'Fear nothing Sir, Rugs the word'; (*Rowe*) and (*Webster*) a kind of strong liquor (obsolete); elsewhere it is also used in the sense of asleep.

So it seems probable that these Eastbourne rugs, whose highly praised acquaintance Taylor made for the first time after a lifetime largely devoted to the study of alcoholic drinks, derived their name from their effects upon their consumers.

Taylor here speaks of them as 'Hogen Mogen Rugs, great influences to provoke sleep, to stupify the senses. No cold can ever pierce his flesh or skin of him who is well lined with Rug within.'

The author of the 'Friar of orders grey' must surely have borrowed this last line from the present work!

The word 'Hogen Mogen' is a corruption of 'hoogmogendheiden' or 'High Highnesses', a title of the States-General of Holland, and was here used as a slang name for Dutch.

As to the probable composition of rug, the natural inference is that 'Hollands,' a spirit smuggled in large quantities along the Sussex coast, entered largely into its making, in fact that it was a kind of gin punch, a theory that would agree with the description given of its effects and account for its popularity at Eastbourne.

There were rare Birds I never saw before
 The like of them, I think to see no more:
 Th'are called Wheat-ears,¹ less than Lark or Sparrow
 Well roasted, in the mouth they taste like marrow
 When once 'tis in the teeth it is involv'd
 Bones, flesh, and all, is lusciously dissolv'd
 The name of Wheat-ears, on them is yeclaped
 Because they come when wheat is yearly reap'd
 Six weeks, or thereabouts, they are catch'd there
 And are wellnigh 11. months, God knows where
 My humble gratitude is here expressed
 To Mr. Sheriff, and his beloved best
 His kindness join'd with hers, and hers with his
 Doth merit my unfeigned thankfulness
 Unto my Cousin Thomas Taylor there
 My love rememb'ed, and for my Samphire
 He promised me, I thank'd him thrice before
 And when I have it, I will thank him more
 Twelve miles on August 9. and 20 day
 From Bourne to Battle 4 miles on my way
 At Pevensey doth a ruin'd Castle stand
 And there the Norman Conqueror did land
 Since his invading power arrived there
 'Tis now 500, 60, and 6 year
 Eight miles from thence, the Battle fierce was strook
 Where blood of 70,000 like a Brook
 Or rather I may say like Sanguine Rivers
 Which down hills, it impetuously delivers
 Into the Vales; and where that blood was spilt
 The Conqueror caus'd an Abbey to be built
 Of stately structure, and what it hath been
 By great extended ruins may be seen

¹ Yarrel, in *British Birds*, i. 256, 1843, says: 'The extensive downs between Eastbourne and Beachy Head are visited by the Wheatear from the end of July to the middle of September by hundreds in daily succession and as they are then fat and of good flavour it is customary to dress them at the inns of the numerous watering places on the Sussex coast.'

They were caught by means of horsehair nooses set in tunnels under the turf by the shepherds, who found them a welcome addition to their wages, and the number caught seems unbelievable as (again quoting Yarrell): 'It is recorded in the Linnean Transactions that as many as eighty-five dozen have been caught by a shepherd in a single day; and Pennant states that the numbers snared about Eastbourne amounted annually to about 1,840 dozen. It is not unusual however for a shepherd and his lad to look after from five hundred to seven hundred traps.'

Such wholesale slaughter could not fail to affect their numbers and their capture gradually became unprofitable.

It was to the excellence of a wheatear pie set before the Parliamentary troopers, who came to search his house in 1658, that William Wilson was indebted for an opportunity to destroy papers that would seriously have compromised him: Budgen, *Old Eastbourne*, 220.

When Norman forces England overcame
 From bloody Battle, Battle had its name
 This Abbey now is kept, by right and due
 By the Honourable Viscount Montague
 That Lord repair'd some part magnificent
 And ther's good house kept, when he's resident
 That noble Lord is, in account most famous
 Though many miserable Lords do shame us
 Atth' Imperial crest, or Eagle spread¹
 My self and mare, were stabled lodg'd and fed
 About the reckoning I did not contend
 My friend T. H.² paid all, and there's an end
 August the thirtieth, I rode to Hastings
 Where was relief for men of several tastings
 Our Sundry palates, put them altogether
 Or relished appetites, take all or neither
 At Hastings I staid not, but hastily
 I ambled six miles into Winchelsea
 Which hath been counted in the days of yore
 (Until the seas contended with the shore)
 A famous sea Town, rich in merchandize
 But buried in the Ocean now it lies.
 A Castle stands i'th sands, enduring flaws
 Gusts, tempests, storms, and times devouring jaws
 In twice twelve hours, 'tis twice embraced round
 In th' arms of Neptune, seeming to be drowned
 And when the floods are ebb'd into the main
 Three miles in sands 'tis compast round again
 In Winchelsea that now is I could ken
 Nothing worth observation of my pen
 Two miles from thence, upon a hill stands Rye
 And there I, at the Star,³ did lodge and lie
 More odds there is 'twixt singing sounds and crying
 Than was betwixt my lodging, and my lying
 I lodg'd by night, and I did lie by day
 And as upon my bed I musing lay
 The chamber hang'd with painted cloth⁴ I found
 Myself with sentences beleaguered round

¹ Farthing tokens were issued between 1650 and 1670 from the Spread Eagle Inn at Battle by both Edward Welsh and Thomas Page, the former of whom was probably the proprietor at the time of Taylor's visit.

² Taylor mentions a benefactor with similar initials at Billingshurst, possibly the same man.

³ Mr. L. A. Vidler informs the writer that he can find no trace of a Star Inn having existed at Rye, and the hangings referred to have been traditionally associated with the 'Mermaid,' but the reference is quite clear and it seems curious that Taylor, who is so careful of the names of inns, should have made a mistake in this one.

⁴ Painted cloth or rather painted canvas with figures, devices, proverbs, or mottoes was a cheap substitute for tapestry; it is often referred to by Elizabethan

There was Philosophy and History
 Poetry, Enigmatic mystery.
 I know not what the Town in wealth may be
 But sure, I on that chambers walls did see
 More wit than all the town had, and more worth
 Than my unlearned Muse can well set forth
 I will not hold my Reader in dilemma
 Thus truly, lying I transcribed them a'
 'No flower so fresh, but frost may it deface
 None sit so fast, but he may lose his place.
 'Tis Concord keeps a Realm in stable stay
 But Discord brings all Kingdoms to decay.
 No Subject ought (for any kind of Cause)
 Resist his Prince, but yield him to the Laws.
 Sure God is just, whose stroke, delayed long,
 Doth light at last, with pain more sharp and strong.
 Time never was nor ne'er I think shall be,
 That (unspent) might speak, in all things free.'
 This is the Sun, the Marrow and the Pith
 My lying Chamber was Adorned with:
 And 'tis supposed, those lines written there
 Have in that Room been, more than 40 year.
 Now, Reader take this notice more of Rye
 'Tis worth Remembering, and I'll tell you why:
 If to unload your Bellies, Nature drive ye,
 In all the Town you'll scarcely find a Privy
 For as our Sectaries, in Tubs preach here
 They make (Sir Reverence) Reverend Jakeses there,
 Of Pulpits of Profanity, and these
 When they are full, are empti'd in the Seas
 My fare was good at Rye, my Reck'ning small
 I thank my noble friend, that paid for all
 Near unto Rye, 2 dirty Ferrys be
 So Muddy, that they mir'd my Mare and me
 I past them, And on ultima Augusti
 Well meated, Mounted, man and beast both lusty
 I cross'd o'er Guldeford ferry, and I went
 From Rye in Sussex unto Hythe in Kent
 Septembers first day, Sol with golden eye
 Gilt Neptune with celestial Alchymy
 With sovereign splendour, kissing meadows green
 And mantled hills tops were coruscant seen
 When Phoebus mounted was in glorious pride,
 I mounted too, and rode away from Hythe
 Still as I past through Sea Towns first and last
 I did enquire how business had past

and Jacobean dramatists. Such proverbial sayings were very popular at this period and appear upon the roundels or wooden fruit plates as well as on walls.

The people said that Guns did bounce and thump
 Betwixt our English ships and Dutch Van Tromp¹
 At Romney, and at Hythe, they were in sight
 Folks heard the drums to beat, and saw the fight
 Thus little was the News from sea or shore
 Our weekly News books will tell 3 times more
 From Hythe to Dover, and to Canterbury
 Full 25. miles, dirty, wet and weary,
 I took my lodging up, and down I lay
 Till Friday came, Septembers second day
 Then with the Lamb I arose, and with the Lark
 I got to Gravesend when 'twas almost dark
 But I mistake, from sleep I rous'd my head
 And rose with th' Lark, but went with Lamb to bed
 On th' way I was not vex't with Gates or Stiles
 But three and thirty dirty Kentish miles
 With washing dashing ways, and rain well sous'd
 It made my Mare and I glad to be hous'd
 The sign was Welsh his pie-bald English Bull
 I there was welcome empty, welcome full
 But at the high and mighty Gravesend Whale
 I found most potent admirable Ale
 'Tis second to no drink, but Eastbourne Rug
 Put it in Pot or Flagon, Can or Jug
 You'll find it is the grand Ale, and you'll grant
 That 'tis Ale Paramount, Predominant
 'Twas given me by a Friend; but let him end
 With hanging, that loves Ale more than his friend
 For from Gravesend (Saturday Septembers third)
 I rode without spurs, as I had been spur'd
 I came to London when the Clock struck one
 And so my Journey and my Book is

DONE.

Among the Muses where the number Nine is,
 The learned Poets end their Works with Finis;
 But when unlearned I have Volumes penn'd,
 Finis is Latin, English Done's an End.

¹ There were two naval actions that could probably have been seen and heard from the coast here about this period, the defeat inflicted on the Dutch fleet under Admiral Martin Van Tromp by Admiral Blake off Dover, 29 May 1652, and the three days' battle 13 Feb. 1653 between the same Admirals, in which Van Tromp was again defeated.

ROMAN CENTURIATION AT RIPE

BY IVAN D. MARGARY, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

CENTURIATION is the term applied to the Roman method of laying out areas of land by accurate survey for settlement and cultivation, and the name was derived from the normal unit of land which consisted at one time of 100 *jugera*, the Roman *jugerum* corresponding in meaning, though not in size, with the English acre.

The development, uses, and methods of this system of land survey are fully described by classical writers, particularly by Frontinus and Hyginus, and a useful description of them in French was given by Prof. M. A. Schulten.¹ It will suffice to say here that the normal *centuria* became a unit which was either a square of 200 *jugera* or a rectangle of 210 or 240 *jugera*.

Roman measures were based upon the *pes*, or foot, shorter than the English foot and equivalent to 11·61 inches. Ten *pedes* made one *pertica*, or rod, and 12 *perticae* made one *actus*, the measurement to which land areas were related. The *actus* was thus 120 Roman feet, or 116·05 English feet, in length, and a rectangle measuring 120 by 240 feet, or 2 square *actus*, was the area which, it was considered, could be ploughed by a man with oxen in one day, hence it was termed a *jugerum* (*jugum* = a yoke). Areas laid out in *jugera* will thus show sides which are multiples of 120 Roman feet (1 *actus*).

We now see that the square *centuriae* of 200 *jugera* will measure 20 *actus* along each side, for 20×20 *actus* = 400 square *actus*, and 2 square *actus* = 1 *jugerum*.

¹ *Bull. Arch.* 1902, p. 129. Haverfield (*Eng. Hist. Review*, XXXIII, p. 289) and Coote (*Archaeologia*, XLII, p. 127) also give valuable accounts of the Roman methods, but Schulten's is the most complete and includes quotations from the classical writers. The original texts and diagrams of these have been published by Teubner in a small volume entitled *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*.

Similarly, the rectangular *centuriae* of 210 and 240 *jugera* will measure 20×21 and 20×24 *actus* respectively.

There was a distinction in the use of the square and rectangular *centuriae*; the former were usually freehold tax-free colony areas such as were often allotted to soldiers after a war, whereas the latter was State-owned land leased to tenants who were subject to land-tax.

Examples of both these types of land units still exist in Italy and in the Roman colonies in North Africa, some of those in Italy having been actually mentioned by classical writers. They show plainly on the Italian maps as a grid of rectangular areas bounded by roads and field divisions, often strikingly complete over a large area but sometimes showing those breaks in the alignments which are so familiar to workers on lost Roman roads and which are always an indication of age.

Capua, Imola, Faenza, and Padua are all good examples of 20×20 *actus* squares, the last having 240 squares still traceable, and at Cremona some rectangles of 20×21 *actus* can be traced. Dr. Gordon Ward, F.S.A., very kindly gave me information and copies of the Italian maps which he had received from the British School at Rome in correspondence on this subject.

THE RIPE AREA

It is well known that, north of the Downs, it is unusual to find land laid out in any regular fashion except, of course, where modern inclosure schemes have been enforced and, even then, no lasting regularity occurs for any considerable area. Lanes sometimes run northward from the Downs parallel to one another, or nearly so, for a short distance, but very soon they trail off indefinitely so that no regularly devised plan can be traced. Most fields appear to have been enclosed without any regard to general straightness with neighbouring fields.

If, therefore, we find an area based upon a definite rectangular plan, it at once attracts attention as an unusual feature requiring explanation. There is just such an area at Ripe which has for long been noticed. Even

on small-scale maps the rectangular layout of the lanes around Ripe and its near neighbour, Chalvington, with those running north-eastward towards the Laughton-Horsebridge road, stands out in striking contrast to the haphazard arrangement of all the surrounding country. It is all the more striking when we find that the area falls into three parishes, part being in Laughton, and was early divided amongst several Norman manors, so that it is unlikely to have been deliberately formed on a single well-designed plan in early modern times.

To the north of the area the parallel lanes become irregular and are probably haphazard extensions of the strictly aligned portions, whilst the fields beside them lose all regularity, and this occurs to the south, east, and west as well. The area in which a definite rectangular plan is traceable is thus strictly confined to a piece of country measuring 2 miles from north-west to south-east through the centre of Ripe, and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles wide.

This area is bounded on the east by a very straight lane (for convenience we may call it Eastern Lane) carrying the Chalvington-Arlington parish boundary, which is continued south-westward on the same alignment by a line of hedgerows to Selmeston, and points directly at the descent from the Downs at Bopeep Farm, where the straight track across the Downs from the mouth of the Ouse near Newhaven, almost certainly a Roman road, descends the main escarpment. Roman pottery in considerable variety was found close to Eastern Lane in Poundfield Corner sandpit, just opposite the commencement of the main north-westward lane through Chalvington and Ripe.

Parallel lanes exist at Chalvington, Eckington (a hamlet of Ripe just by the church), Ripe (centre), Ripe (west side), Mark Cross (Cleaver's Bridge Lane), and finally at Church Farm, Laughton, which may be called Western Lane since it ends the series on that side. These are all strikingly parallel to the north of the Mark Cross-Chalvington lane, and, with somewhat less accuracy, south of it too.

The Mark Cross-Chalvington lane (which we will call

Main Lane) lies along a slight ridge of Greensand, with the three hamlets clustering at the crossings of the side lanes with which its main alignment is accurately square, although the lane itself has obviously suffered minor distortions with age. Parallel with it are several short lengths of minor lanes and a large number of hedgerows, some of which follow the same line for an unusual distance. On the south the area is bounded by Langtye Lane, whose general direction is also parallel, though it is much distorted. The northern boundary is a long line of hedgerows, beyond which the rectangular layout ceases.

The lanes are old and show clear traces of the inclosure of waste strips, though no formal Inclosure Act has affected the area, the nearest being on the extensive Dicker commons lying to the north. Where now disused they are merely unmetalled green lanes, and no signs of Roman metalling could be detected. As it is unlikely that most of them would have been more than farm lanes in any case, this was perhaps hardly to be expected.

It was therefore decided to test the area for indications of Roman land measurements, for, if it were indeed due to Roman planning, numerical relationships might be expected to show themselves. When the Roman *actus* scale was applied, a most striking series of these relationships became so plainly apparent that it seems to me to place beyond all question that the basic layout of the area must be of Roman origin. The figures speak for themselves.

Starting with Eastern Lane as base and measuring north-westward along the alignment of Main Lane, we find at 10 *actus* a line of hedgerows parallel to Eastern Lane; at 15 *actus*, Chalvington Lane; at 20, a line of hedgerows; at 30, another line of hedgerows, though not so regular or accurately placed; at 40, the Eckington lane; at 50 Ripe Lane; at 60, the Ripe west lane; at 70, a line of hedgerows; at 80, a line of hedgerows; at 87, Cleaver's Bridge Lane (its position dictated by the proximity of the Glynde Reach estuary); at 92 (i.e. 5 *actus* from the lane) and 95, lines of hedgerows; and,

finally, at 100, Western Lane and the end of the layout. Could any set of figures be more striking?

The transverse alignments also show remarkable detail, especially in the western half of the area where long lines of hedgerows parallel with Main Lane are conspicuous. Northward from Main Lane as base they occur at 5, 10, 15, 21, and 31 *actus*, whilst southward they are spaced at 6, 12, and 18 *actus*, with Langtye Lane at 24 *actus* bounding the south side of the area.

One is compelled to see here an intention to lay out land in multiples of 10 *actus* in one direction and of 21 and 24 *actus*, with subdivisions, in the other direction. This is just what Roman centuriation would give in areas laid out as rectangles of 20×21 or 20×24 *actus*.

The position of Cleaver's Bridge Lane, which, it was seen, came at the odd figure of 87 *actus*, should be explained. From a point south of Mark Cross nearly to the Laughton main road it is strictly parallel to Eastern Lane and forms the principal thoroughfare of the west end of the area. Southward from Mark Cross it diverges slightly from the true line, as though the traffic from it into Langtye Lane had gradually cut the right-angled corner. If the true line is continued south-westward, it passes through Little Lulham farmstead, where some hedgerow lines follow it, and in doing so it just skirts the edge of the alluvial flat which must at that time have formed part of the large tidal estuary over Glynde Reach and Laughton Level. Had such a route been attempted from Western Lane, at the end of the layout, it would have been stopped by this estuary, and so it may reasonably be inferred that Cleaver's Bridge Lane was placed at 87 *actus* for purely practical and local reasons, but does, in fact, correspond with Eastern Lane as the main north-easterly route on this side of the area.

Although, as with the other lanes in the area, no definite traces of Roman metalling have been found on this line, there is striking confirmation of its probable existence at Firle. As I have described previously,¹ a distinct agger with metalling in places can be seen right

¹ *S.A.C.* LXXX, p. 49.

across Firle Park, parallel with the Heighton Street lane, and connecting the well-known Roman terrace-way, called the Rabbit Walk, that leads down the escarpment from Firle Beacon with a line of roads between Pevensey, Selmeston and Glynde.

The junction occurs at Newhouse Farm, on the northern edge of Firle Park, in such a way that it seems unlikely that the northward road was not intended to go still farther north. The alignment of Cleaver's Bridge Lane joins the roads at this very spot, and although there is no definite trace, except perhaps the former existence of a short length of lane northward from the main road, it seems reasonable to assume that the connection, only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, formerly existed and so explains the reason for the Rabbit Walk and its northward road. There would thus be connections from the Downs to each side of the area.

The investigation had reached this point when I referred the matter to Brigadier-General E. G. Godfrey-Faussett, F.S.A., who was, I knew, keenly interested in the curious layout of the Rife area. He had arrived independently at the same striking relationships with the *actus* measurements and very generously insisted that I should proceed with the investigations myself. It is for this reason only that this paper is prepared by me rather than by him.

It was now important to collect all available evidence for the antiquity of the lanes and field boundaries in the area, since it is, of course, quite frequently the case that fields have been formed in recent times, especially when the boundaries show much regularity, as the result of dividing the large common arable fields or by the partition of commons under Inclosure Acts. As mentioned above, a search at the Public Record Office failed to trace any Inclosure Act that affected the area in question. On the other hand, a considerable body of evidence supported the view that a very large proportion of the field boundaries was really ancient.

Through the kindness of Messrs. Blaker and Young I was able to inspect and copy a very fine map of the

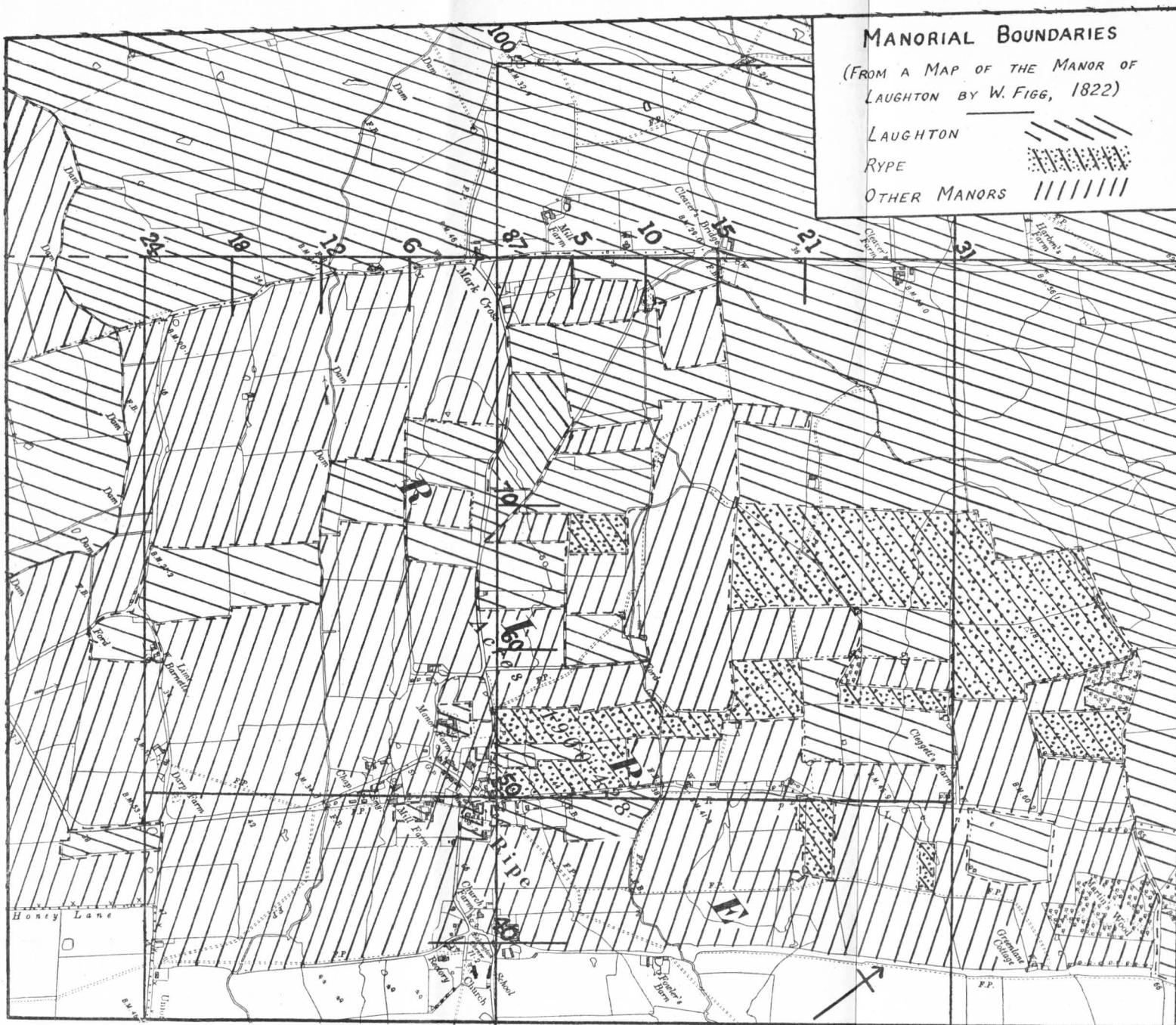


FIG. 2

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office

Manor of Laughton by the well-known surveyor William Figg, dated 1822. This map showed also a number of detached portions of the Manor of Rype within the Laughton area, as well as similar portions of 'other manors', probably the neighbouring Eighington; it also showed the areas of copyhold tenure. All this evidence proved that the manorial and copyhold boundaries formed such a highly detailed patchwork that most of the hedgerows, at least in the area west of Ripe, formed an ancient boundary of some sort. These manors go back to early Norman times, and copyhold is an ancient form of land tenure of feudal origin. Thus we have good evidence that a very detailed division of the land at Ripe, on the very lines with which we are concerned, was in existence in Norman times. (See Maps, Figs. 2 and 3.)

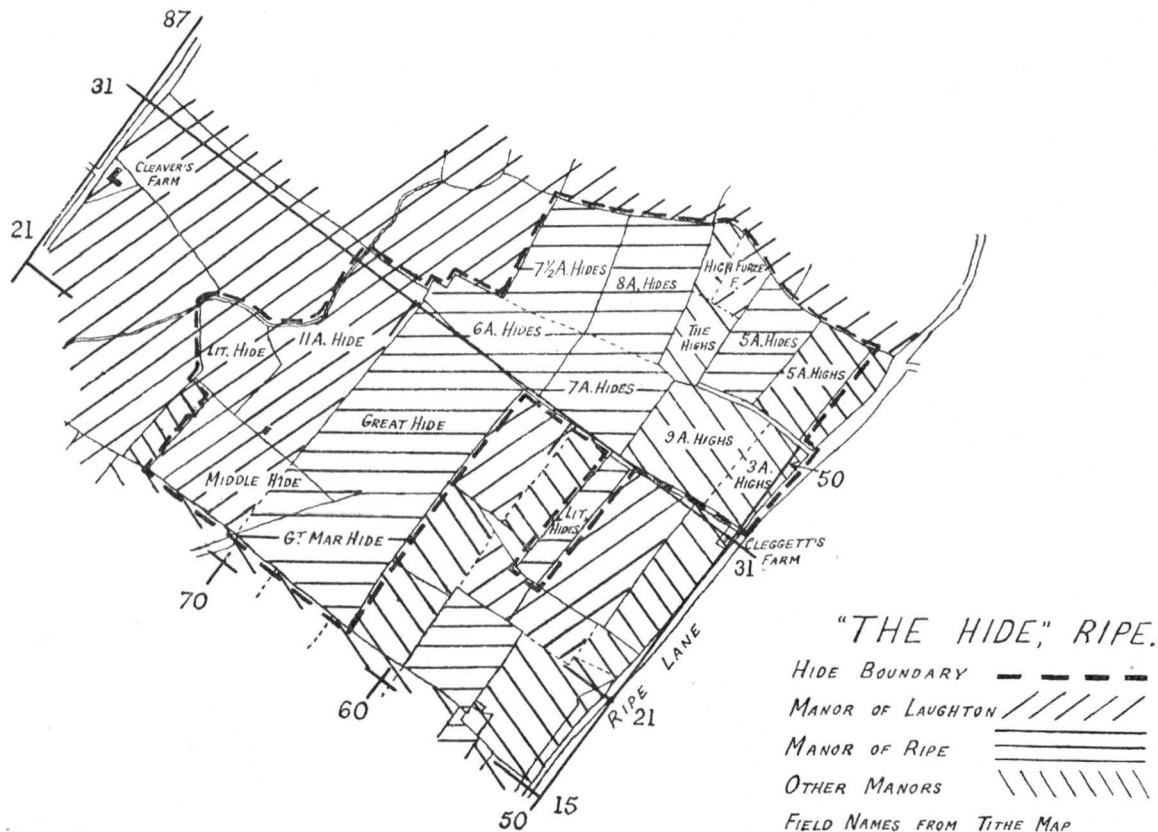
Ripe must indeed have been a place of some importance then, for in the thirteenth century it was the centre of the important Barony of Mortain¹ and a three-weekly court was held there.

A little later the Hundred Court Rolls give us even more complete details, and I am indebted to Mr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A., for some useful extracts which show that as long ago as 1364 the fields called South Ham and Lime Barnetts (formerly Lime Berners), and the lanes there, Langtye Lane and Cleaver's Bridge Lane, must have existed then as now, and several other ditches and fields become definitely identifiable a little later, showing that the division of the land must already have been fixed much as it is at present, even then. (See Map, Fig. 3.)

There is one piece of evidence which may go back to the Saxon period. North of Ripe village there is a compact area to the west of Ripe Lane, shown in Fig. 4, in which all the field-names include the word 'Hide', 'Hides', or 'Highs', thus: Six Acre Hides, Great Hide, The Highs, Five Acre Highs. Highs is clearly a corruption of Hides in part of the area which lies on higher ground. These names occur nowhere in the neighbourhood save in this distinct patch, and it seems clear that

¹ *S.A.C.* XLIII, p. 172.

FIG. 4.



they must there have some joint significance. The acreage of these sixteen fields totals just 118 acres. The Saxon term 'hide' was a unit of taxation for land, which was assessed at so many hides. The area of land forming a hide varied, but was normally 120 acres. There is, in my opinion, a very strong presumption that this patch of fields represents a Saxon holding of one hide, hence the set of field-names. It is almost certainly pre-Norman, because, if the names have any such significance as a single unit, the area would not have been divided between three different Norman manors in a patchwork, as it actually is. The manorial boundaries appear to be cutting up an area of still earlier origin, which must then be Saxon. But this is important evidence for the age of the rectangular layout at Ripe, for the hide area lies partly within and partly without the *actus* area, and some of the straight boundaries of the latter form the hide boundary so must be at least contemporary with it.

Evidence for Roman occupation in the Ripe area is well supported by finds of pottery. There is the collection made in 1932 by the Rev. W. Budgen, F.S.A., and Mr. W. J. Parsons at the sandpit at Poundfield Corner, Chalvington. There was a definite area, apparently an occupation site, very rich in pottery, on the north side of the pit. This has since been destroyed. The pottery, now in Barbican House Museum, includes a varied assortment of wares and was examined for me by the Institute of Archaeology. They reported on it as follows:

The pottery included: 127, a whole dish of Samian ware, form 37, Antonine period; 137, grey ware, imitation form 27, late first or early second century; 138, buff ware, early second century; 147, rough red ware, probably first half of second century; 132, straight-sided dish in grey gritty ware, second half of second century; 140, 142, rough grey ware, late second or third century; 136, 139, 143-6, rough grey ware, third century (?); 130, 131, 133, 134, 141, smooth grey or dark grey ware, third or fourth century.

The dating thus indicates occupation from the early second to the late third century at least.

Pottery has also been found by Mr. Parsons in the field immediately north-west of the crossroads at Mark

Cross, which he informs me was of Romano-British type, but most regrettably this has since been mislaid and has not been available for inspection. Small fragments of rough wares similar to those described above

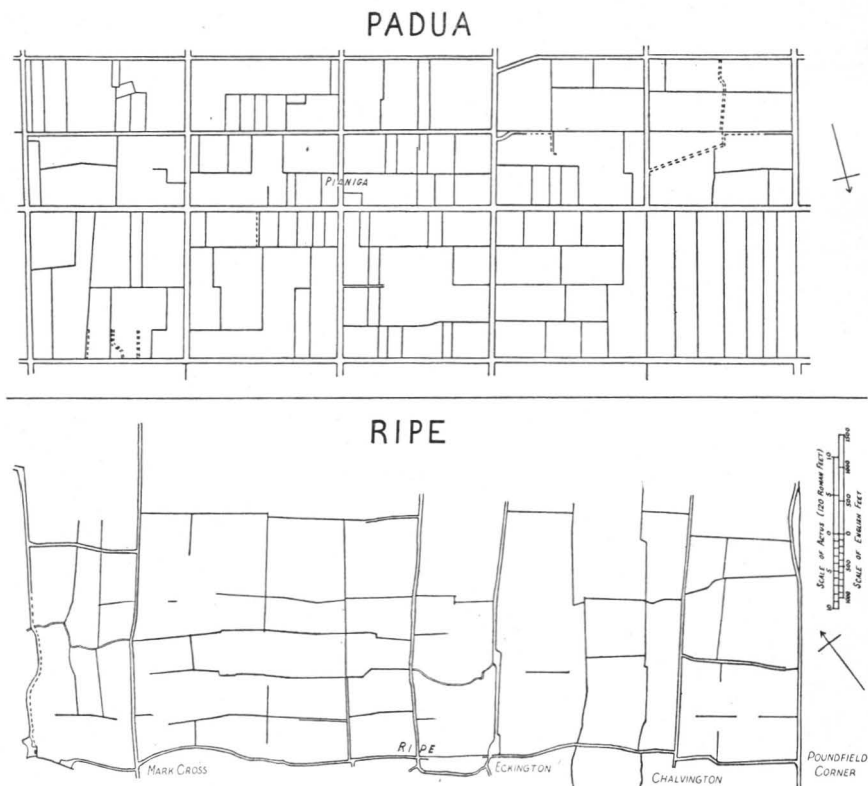


FIG. 5. COMPARISON OF A CENTURIATED AREA IN ITALY WITH THAT AT RIPE.

have also been found by me on the surface of the field called The Burghs, just west of Ripe village.

As a further check on the *actus* relationships in this area, a comparison with the extent to which common English measures would fit the topography was made. No such relationships appeared to exist with English measures, a very striking difference.

Comparison of the significant features, lanes and

hedgerows, in the Ripe area with one of the Roman areas in Italy—Padua—is given in Fig. 5, where it can be seen that the north to south boundaries show remarkable similarities. For the east to west lines it must be remembered that Ripe has these spaced for *centuriae* of 20×21 *actus* in the area north of Main Lane which is here shown, whereas in Padua they are of 20×20 *actus*. Comparison should therefore be made with the lower row of Padua *centuriae* and the row of half-*centuriae* adjoining, the boundaries of which correspond with the lines of 21 and 31 *actus*, respectively, at Ripe.

SUMMARY

It has been shown (1) that there exists at Ripe an area of rectangular layout quite unusual in the district; (2) that the field boundaries and lanes forming this are of ancient origin, at least Norman and possibly Saxon; (3) that the main lines of the layout are in significant multiples of Roman *actus*; (4) that these are just what would occur in areas of Roman centuriation laid out in *centuriae* of 210 and 240 *jugera*; (5) that English measures do not appear to have any significance there; (6) that there is evidence of Roman occupation in the area, as shown by pottery; (7) that the north to south lines fit with two probable connections to the Downs by Roman roads.

What further evidence can reasonably be expected for an area of Roman centuriation on a small scale in Britain?



PLATE I. GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH, SHOWING RUTS IN THE HARD CONCRETE SURFACE IN FOREGROUND,
DIAGONAL MARK OF THE FORD IN MIDDLE DISTANCE, AND THE TREE-STUMP HOLE NEAR THE FAR END.
(Six-foot scale in foreground.)

EXCAVATION OF THE LONDON—LEWES ROMAN ROAD AT HOLTYE

BY IVAN D. MARGARY, F.S.A.

WHEN this Roman road was first traced in 1930, a section (No. 2) was dug at Holtye which showed that the road was very perfectly preserved there, perhaps better than at any other point, owing to the iron cinder used for the metalling having rusted together in a manner which had turned it into a very hard concrete. A 6-ft. length of the roadway was cleared of soil to its full width and, by the courtesy and interest of the owner, Mr. O. K. Whatley of Holtye, this was left open to view.¹ Though unprotected from cattle in any way it had stood the exposure of subsequent years very well.

In 1938 this field came into the market and the opportunity was taken of buying a strip of land along the line of the road for preservation. Thanks are due to Mr. Whatley for his ready help in arranging the matter so conveniently. It was obviously desirable to make as full an examination as possible of the existing remains of the road before deciding what parts, if any, should be left open for inspection, and, accordingly, I arranged to do this before handing the site over to the Trust for permanent maintenance.

Probing and trial holes had shown that the surface was well preserved for some 40 yds. up from the stream at the bottom of the field, and that considerable solid remains existed along the hedgerow higher up, but it seemed as though the road had been ploughed away for some 70 yds. between these portions, for no solid metalling could be felt there. We now know that this was a misconception, due to the accumulation of from 2 to 3 ft. of plough soil above the surface of that part of the road, and that probing had not been carried deep enough to reach it, a useful lesson in itself. Actually, the road

¹ It is shown in Plate I, *S.A.C.* LXXIII, p. 66.

surface exists almost intact from near the stream right up to the hedgerow, where, in fact, it was found to be much more damaged by ploughing, owing to the soil having been worked away from it downhill.

Clearance was begun at the point where Section No. 2 had been cut, and was carried down to the stream. Only 4 yds. south of the section trench the perfect surface ended abruptly, but hard metalling extended beyond, almost to the stream. It seemed to be in patches, but it was later found that these were the 'outcrops' of lower layers of metalling in the embankment which must have led to a small bridge at this point. The ridge of the embankment had suffered more heavily from the plough, which had cut away the metalling layer by layer.

The clearing was then carried northward, where the road surface was found to extend indefinitely in a very perfect state. For survey purposes it was necessary to fix upon a base point for reference, and the south end of the perfect surface, about 15 yds. north of the stream, was taken for this purpose. It will be convenient to refer to features along the road as so many yards from that point.¹

At first the surface of the road was rather heavily cambered and narrower than farther north, with very distinct wheelmarks. On the west side the surface seemed to have been eroded away, from yard 4 to yard 7, making it look narrower than it would have been originally. The old section had been cut at yard 4, so that, actually, it represents less than the normal width of roadway. Near yard 9 a cut by a plough-share showed distinctly on the east side, cutting diagonally through the surface-layer of metalling.

The whole surface was very hard and well preserved, with clear wheelmarks showing continuously. The camber gradually grew less until at yard 29, where the road was almost flat, a most interesting feature was discovered. A hollow in the middle of the field east of the

¹ The position of every tenth yard is marked permanently for reference on the second rail of the adjacent fence.

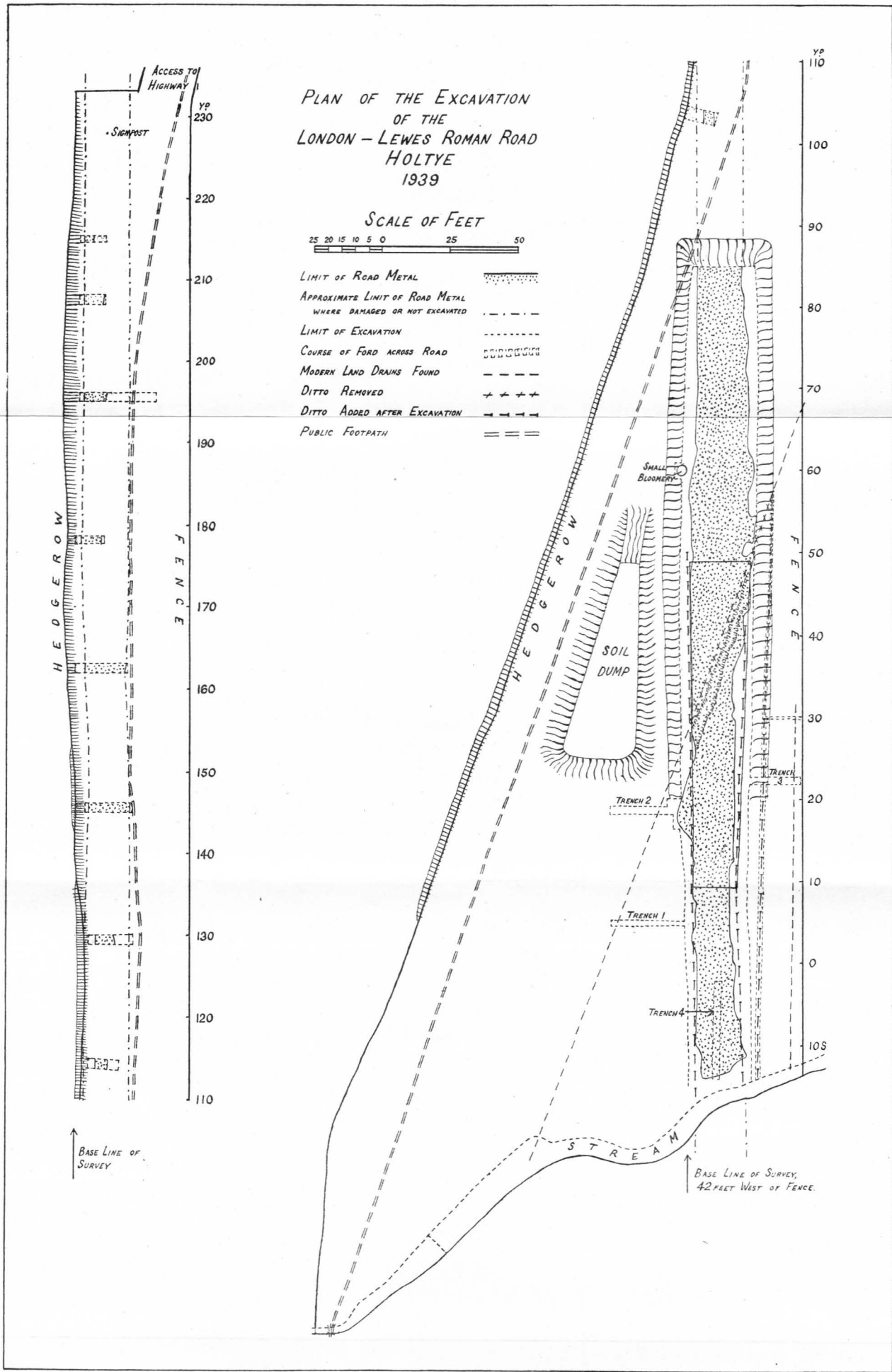


FIG. 1

LONDON-LEWES ROMAN ROAD, HOLTYE.

TYPICAL SURFACE SECTIONS.

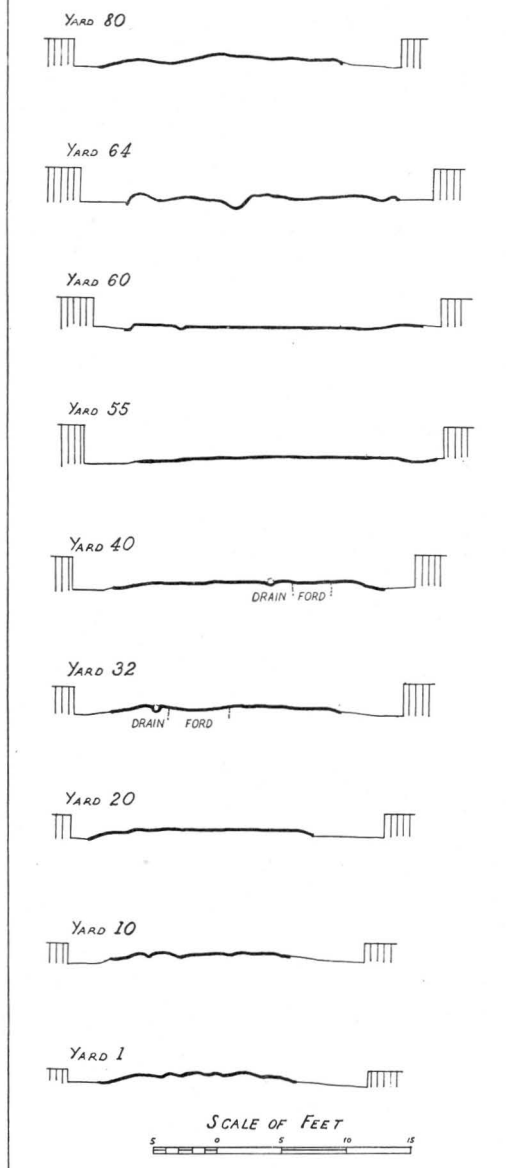


FIG. 2. TYPICAL PROFILES OF THE ROAD SURFACE. THE DEPTH OF SOIL COVERING THE ROAD IS SHOWN AT THE SIDES.

road contains a spring, and it was now found that this had run diagonally across the surface of the road as a ford or watersplash, which entered the road at yard 50 and left it on the west side at yard 29. The water had worn an irregular shallow channel across the hard cinder surface, and it seems to have been like this when the road was actually in use, for wheelmarks could be traced right into the channel of the ford.

In modern times, when the road was deeply covered with soil, a field drain had been laid near this channel to take the water and a scar had been cut into the road surface for the pipes. This has now been repaired.

North of the ford the road surface continued quite hard, but flat and rather rough, with scarcely any trace of wheelmarks. From yard 45 to 55, for instance, it was perfectly hard and flat, and almost featureless, but beyond this part the surface began to get much rougher, with worn or damaged patches which destroyed the level of the road.

Hitherto, the edges had been lower than the road surface in the normal fashion, but at yard 57 a distinct raised edge began on the west side quite suddenly. It looked as though the road had been made up against raised ground on that side, as was probably the case, for the adjoining field is some 4 to 7 ft. higher and the natural ground-level must always have been higher there.

At yard 63 the surface showed definite signs of damage and a deep cut, possibly caused by the digging of an old ditch, ran diagonally upwards from the centre of the road at yard 64 to the west side at yard 71. Just beside this cut, at yard 68, a large hole, some 9 ft. across, in the middle of the road, with the metalling forced up round its edges, suggested very clearly that a large tree had grown there. This had broken through the metalling and, when cut down, all trace of the stump and roots had rotted away.

The edges of the road were still clearly defined at this point, and traces of the camber remained beyond yard 70, especially plain from yard 76 to 84, although the

surface was much damaged in places. North of yard 80 large holes appeared in the metalling and it was evident that the road was becoming much more damaged.

This was apparently due to the relative thinness of the soil covering. Soon after the embankment near the stream had been left, the road was covered by 2 ft. of soil, and this increased to about 3 ft. from yard 50 to 60, but by yard 85 this had become reduced to 15 in. As a test hole at yard 103 showed that very little metalling remained there, it was clear that little would be gained by continuing the general excavation beyond this point, in view of the length of good surface already uncovered, and it was therefore stopped at yard 85. One hundred yards' length of the road had thus been completely cleared.

At yard 100 the west side of the road comes up to the hedgerow and continues thus to the top of the hill, where the road passes into the next field at yard 233. A post has been placed there to mark the line of the centre of the road. From yard 103 to 150 the hedgerow bulges out over the road slightly, but north of that the road is entirely clear of it, on the east side of the hedge.

Patches were cleared at intervals for the full width of the metalling that remained in this part. The metalling was very broken at yard 115, 130, and as far as yard 145, where only narrow strips of the concrete surface remained beside the ditch, ploughing having been less effective there. Considerable remains still existed at yard 162, though the surface was much cut up, but at yard 178 very little was left. At yard 196 there was some good concrete for a rather narrow width, with an apparently original edging of sandstone on the west side, adjoining the ditch of the hedgerow. Further examination showed that the sandstone was, however, natural rock *in situ*, against which the road metal had been laid. The sandstone rose above the road-level, confirming the previous observations that the original ground-level on that side had been higher than the road. The modern ditch had been so cut that a narrow strip of natural rock remained between it and the road. North of this

point no cinder metalling was found, though there was broken sandstone at yard 207 and 215.

Except in thin patches or near the edges, the metalling was very hard nearly everywhere. It was practically all iron cinder, but a few lumps of sandstone and Cyrena limestone were found. Usually it seemed to have been

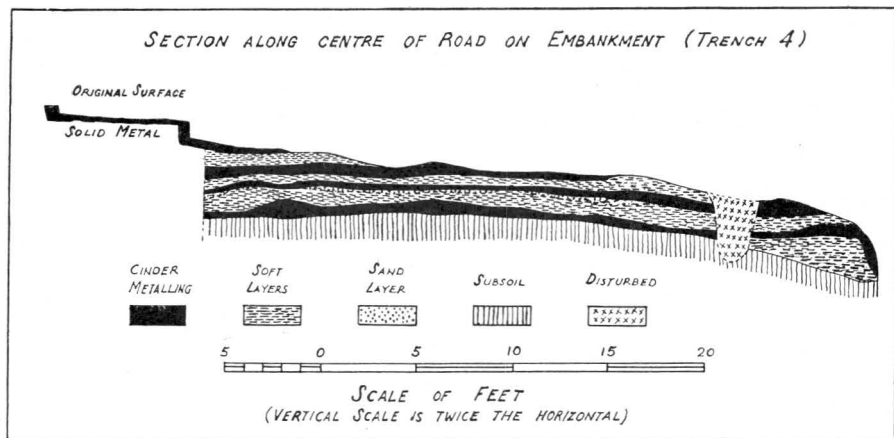


FIG. 3. LENGTHWISE SECTION NEAR THE STREAM, SHOWING LAYERS OF METALLING FORMING EMBANKMENT TO THE BRIDGE.

broken into macadam-sized lumps, or even much smaller, which were firmly embedded in a fine sandy material. From the appearance of the edges and at damaged spots, it was evident that this had been laid in relatively thin layers, probably well rammed and water-bound, layer upon layer being added up to the required level. The action of the water upon the cinder was probably the reason for the formation of the rusted hard concrete, and it may have been an unintentional effect.

New sections were not cut into the undisturbed road, but it is known from the old section and from worn patches that the metalled surface is normally just one solid layer up to about 1 ft. thick in the centre. Where the road approached the stream on an embankment the surface was already damaged by ploughing, and so it was decided to open a section there. Trench 4 was cut

lengthwise along the centre of the road, from the end of the perfect surface down to the stream. It showed that, below the main top layer of about 13 in. of metalling, there were three other layers of just the same type, but varying from 2 to 6 in. thick and separated by layers of softer material. A distinct layer of sand, only $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. thick, was traceable under the second lowest layer of metalling. The total thickness of the materials here must have been quite 3 ft. originally, but ploughing had skinned off the upper portion, exposing the ends of alternately hard and soft layers on the surface. About 7 ft. short of the present end of the embankment a cut was found extending right through the layers to the subsoil and parallel to the stream. It seems probable that this was only a modern disturbance. At the tip of the embankment the metalling had subsided, but nothing definite could be seen to suggest a bridge abutment and the ground was too wet to allow of deeper excavation there.

The width of the hard metallated surface varied considerably, from about 13 to 23 ft., with 18 ft. as average, but this does not include some of the softer material which very probably had formed part of the road surface originally. Though in most parts the edges of the road were sharply defined, there were places where the material became gradually softer towards the edges, and even extended some feet farther out as a rusty wash, due to the mixture of the iron material from the road with the surrounding soil. Where the metalling was thinner, too, it had not formed such a hard concrete and now appeared as a relatively soft, though tough, layer of small dry particles, somewhat like sandstone.

This washing out from the edges of the road had often been observed in sections cut elsewhere, and it was very instructive here to see the effect so plainly shown. The wash ought not to be included as part of the actual width of metallated roadway, but the softer materials may be included if it is fairly considered that they are part of the metalling *in situ* but softened by the action of the soil, &c. This distinction is not always easy to make.

The road had extensions in width near the watersplash, making it 23 ft. wide at yard 50 to 55 and 21 ft. wide at yard 16 to 21. It is possible that these apparent extensions may be nothing more than buttresses of additional material in the low places beside the road where the little stream met it on the east and left it again on the west. Material so used might appear to us to be part of the road surface. That on the west side was in the soft but tough condition described above, and there was hard rusty wash extending much farther out, as would be natural on the down-stream side. There were signs of a similar extension on the east side of the embankment, just before it reached the main stream.

Trenches 1, 2, and 3 were dug in search of traces of any side ditches parallel to the road. None could be found, and it is unlikely that any traces of small ditches like those on Ashdown Forest would remain in this soil under cultivation. Trenches 1 and 2, at yard 5 and 18, showed that the ground-level had been lower on the west side of the road at that time, for much rusty wash was present, but as the stream from the watersplash drained there it would naturally have been low and wet. Trench 3, at yard 22, on the east side merely showed normal clean subsoil.

The wheelmarks on the road surface are quite definite for a considerable distance, but they are so numerous that it is, unfortunately, doubtful if any safe conclusions as to the gauge of vehicles can be drawn from them. It is, on the whole, more probable that they would be formed very gradually upon such a hard surface by subsidence, and both wheels of a cart might not, therefore, make visible marks at the same time. Here are some measurements from what seem to be pairs of marks: 5 ft., 4 ft. 10 in., 4 ft. 9 in., 4 ft. 6 in., and perhaps also 3 ft. 9 in., 3 ft. 8 in., 3 ft. 6 in. The mean of all available cases (21) is 4 ft. 6½ in., or if the shorter measurements are excluded, 4 ft. 9½ in. for 16 cases. This is in reasonably good agreement with the figure 4 ft. 8½ in., which is usually given as the Roman gauge.

The bed of the little watersplash appears to have been



PLATE II. THE FORD, WITH THE SCAR OF THE MODERN DRAIN BEYOND IT.
Note the layered formation of the hard concrete metalling, the flatness of the road beyond the ford, and its raised left edge in the distance. The dark layer of the old vegetation surface can be seen just level with the top of the blade of the spade.

self-formed by water action while the road was in use. It is slightly serpentine and varies in width from 2 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft., with a greatest depth below the true road surface of 4 to 5 in.

Irregular worn patches on the road surface appear to have been due to normal wear, as with modern pot-holes, and, as they increase on the slope north of the watersplash, were probably due to rain scour too.

It is of interest to record that the slope of the road down to the watersplash varied considerably from that of the present land surface, which has been altered by ploughing. When the work was going on, the present surface appeared to rise steadily towards the hedgerow, whereas for some 18 yds. beyond the watersplash the Roman road-level seemed to be getting deeper under the soil, owing to this ploughed accumulation, and then appeared to rise more rapidly to practically surface level at the hedge. Variations of this sort need therefore occasion no surprise when found.

From about yard 25 northwards, and more especially noticeable north of the watersplash, there was a distinct layer of dark soil an inch or two thick which lay about 8 in. above the road surface. It was clearly an old vegetation layer and must therefore have formed the original ground-surface at some earlier period when the road had already been covered by 8 in. of soil. Yet it in turn had become covered with a further 2 ft. of soil where the accumulation was thickest. The dark layer was very clearly defined, and it seems probable that it represents the old forest surface before cultivation had been begun in this remote part of the Weald.

Apart from the materials of the road itself, no finds were made except on the west edge of the road, just at yard 60, where a patch of reddish soil and lumps of loose, rough cinder attracted attention. The patch was excavated, and it proved to be a small iron bloomery site. Though quite small, with a diameter of only 4 ft., it showed all the features of a bloomery, with distinct layers of charcoal, ore, cinder, burnt clay, and, at the bottom, remains of a sandstone layer, probably the

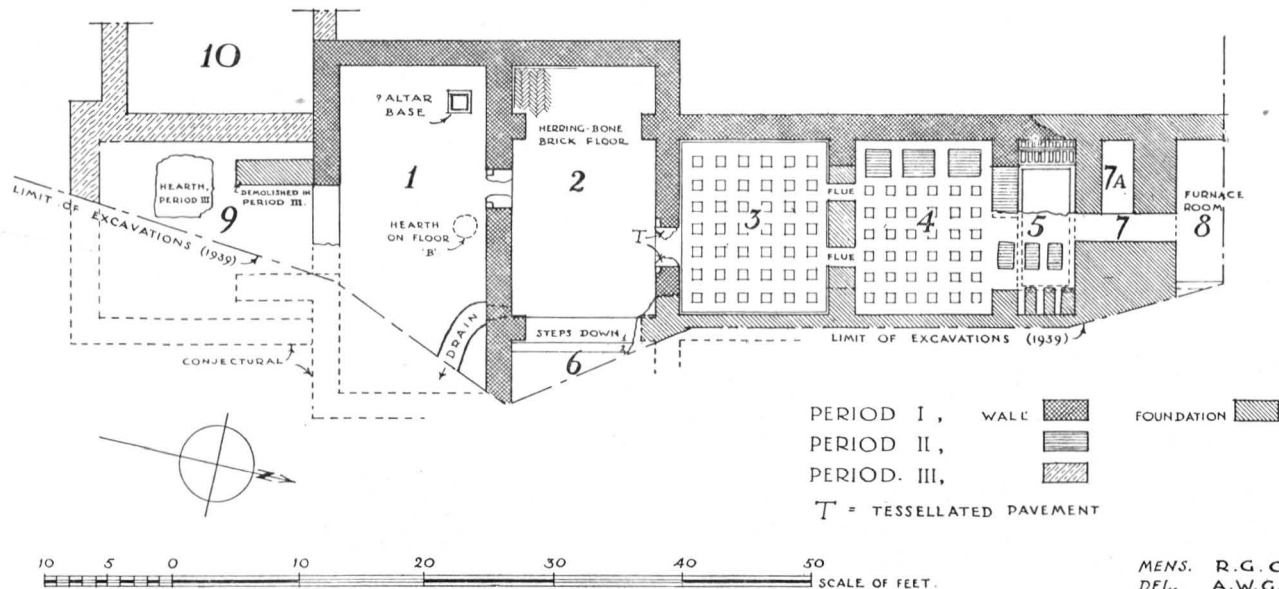
hearthstone, while there was also a quantity of very distinctive grey clay, different from the native soil there, which may represent the covering material used to seal the heap. The find is of interest as an example of the small scale on which iron-smelting was sometimes conducted by the native Britons. A party must have squatted like gipsies beside the road and carried out the operation just for their own requirements. The site was only just clear of the road surface.

The most useful observations derived from this work are:

- (1) The variations in width and camber which can occur in a very strongly built Roman road, even in a short distance.
- (2) A practically flat surface may occur.
- (3) The metalling may be formed with a raised edge against higher ground on one side.
- (4) The width may be extended where low ground approaches the roadside, perhaps as a sort of buttress.
- (5) A watersplash has been disclosed.
- (6) Study of the softening of the materials at the edges of the road and comparison with loose washings from it has been possible.
- (7) The deep burying of the road under plough soil, so that negative results from probing may not necessarily imply the absence of metalling in such situations.
- (8) Alteration of the surface gradient by ploughing, so that this may not now correspond with the original road gradient.

ROMAN VILLA AT WIGGONHOLT, SUSSEX.

PLAN OF THE BATH-BUILDING.



THE ROMAN VILLA AT LICKFOLD, WIGGONHOLT

SECOND REPORT, 1939

BY S. E. WINBOLT AND R. G. GOODCHILD

DURING June and July 1939 the Parham estate decided to remove very many tons of soil from this site, and in the process the length of the west wall was laid bare to the footings on the west side, and hypocausts 3, 4, and 5, and the furnace (7) with part of the stoke-hole (8) were cleared to their floors. Two diggers carefully carried out my instructions and put aside many interesting 'finds'.

Mr. Goodchild, called up for national service, managed to come down with me, see results, check measurements, and make a new plan, which has been drawn by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther.

I. STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE

BY R. G. GOODCHILD

THE excavations of summer 1939 on the Lickfold site, although not on an extensive scale, have cleared up several problems of the architecture and structural history of the building first excavated in 1937. Parts of four new rooms (7-10) have been found and the hypocausts of rooms 3, 4, and 5 have been completely cleared, revealing the line of their missing east wall. Whereas the west wall of the building stood several courses high above the floor-level, only the lowest portions of the hypocaust substructure survived to represent its eastern counterpart, and it seems probable from the nature of the overlying strata that the river Stor has at some period cut into this part of the building, doing considerable damage to its eastern walls and causing the hypocausts of rooms 4 and 5 to collapse.

Although the new discoveries must cause the earlier report to be corrected in several points of detail, the existence of three building periods has been amply confirmed, and the nature and extent of the two reconstructions is now considerably clearer.

PERIOD I

The plan and arrangements of the original second-century building leave little doubt that it was constructed as a detached bath-building for the use of the wealthy owners of an estate, whose dwelling-house probably lay more towards the centre of the sandy plateau between the Arun and the Stor. It is not unusual to find Roman villas in which the dwelling-house has been built on the highest and driest part of the site, whilst the bath-house, detached, lies at a lower level, nearer an abundant water-supply. At Wingham, in Kent, for example (see Appendix), the bathrooms were, in the words of the excavator, 'built on the margin of a lake or swamp, more suited to the site of a bath than of a habitation or dwelling-house'.¹ This description would apply equally well to the Lickfold bath-house, and traces of the dwelling-house should be sought on the higher ground in the vicinity of the tile pathway discovered in 1938.²

Room 1. No further work has been done in this room, but it is now evident that it originally served as the undressing-room of the bath-suite and was entered from outside by a doorway still partly extant in its south wall. A short wall at right angles to this doorway (later demolished to make way for room 8 (see below) probably indicates an external porch.

The large tiled drain ('First Report',³ Fig. 5), running eastward from the north-east corner of the room, does not connect with the hypocausts of rooms 3 and 4 as was first suggested (*ibid.*, p. 19), and seems to have been designed primarily to carry away the waste water from the floor of room 2, the *frigidarium* (see below). Yet

¹ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xv (1882), 354.

² *The Times*, 12 March 1938.

³ *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, LXXVII (1937), pp. 13-36.

its large dimensions and the absence of covering tiles may possibly suggest that it served also as a latrine in room 1, although such a curved latrine channel would be unusual, and there are no signs of a partition to separate it from the rest of the room. Alternatively the covering tiles may have been stripped off at a late date in the Roman period, which would account for the presence of third-century coins among the silt.

Rooms 2 and 6. Room 2, with its fine herring-bone floor, was evidently the *frigidarium* of the bath-suite, and the partially excavated apartment which adjoins it at a lower level on the east (numbered 6 on the plan) almost certainly served as a shallow cold bath, such as is frequently met with in corresponding positions (as at Wingham; see Appendix). The exceptionally heavy wear on the floor of room 2 is more easily attributed to the studded sandals of several generations of bathers taking their exercises than to any other cause.

Though the absence of burnt debris on the herring-bone floor was a noticeable feature, the interpretation put forward in the first report (p. 22) should perhaps be modified. Architecturally, it is hardly likely that the room would have been designed as an open court, and, further, such an arrangement would have proved a severe inconvenience to the bathers in the winter months. At first sight the small drain which penetrates the wall in the south-east corner of the room seemed to confirm the theory of an open courtyard, but this argument must be discarded since the corresponding room in the similarly planned bath-house at Wingham (see Appendix) possessed a drain outlet in an identical position—even though the room itself was floored with mosaic. The true explanation seems, in both cases, to be that cold water was used liberally in the *frigidarium* and that provision had to be made for keeping the floor reasonably dry. Whatever the state of dilapidation that the building may have been in at the time of its final destruction, we need no longer doubt that room 2 was roofed for the greater part of its existence.

Rooms 3-5. As originally planned, the hypocausts of

rooms 3 and 4—the *tepidarium* and *caldarium*—were practically identical. The former (3) measured 13 ft. 6 in. east to west and 11 ft. 6 in. north to south, and had 42 *pilae* supporting its floor, composed of 9-in. square tiles: the latter (4) was 6 in. shorter from north to south, and possessed about 36 *pilae*. In both cases a series of narrow recesses had been let into the east and west walls of the hypocaust, for reasons which are not clear. The height of these recesses from the lower floor-level is 3 ft. which represents also the height of the *suspensura* above the hypocaust. (NB. The excavation was not complete when the photograph (Fig. 7) in the first report was taken.) The hot air was conducted from hypocaust 4 into hypocaust 3 by means of two flues, 18 in. wide and originally arched over, in the partition wall between them. The springing of the westernmost arch is still extant on the west side, but the eastern one has been destroyed. Though a cross-wall divides the two rooms below the floor-level, the only partition in the rooms themselves was in the form of two small pilasters projecting inwards from the east and west walls: curtains may have hung between them, and between the similar pilasters which divided room 4 from room 5.

Hypocaust 5 was next to the furnace (7), and in consequence the room above it was the hottest in the bath-suite. It was a long narrow apartment, 4 ft. by 13 ft., and the details of its arrangements in Period I are unknown, as the Period II hot bath ('First Report', p. 24, Fig. 8) had been built into it.

The Furnace (7) and Furnace-room (8). A tiled flue, 8 ft. long and 2 ft. wide, narrowing slightly towards hypocaust 5, constituted the furnace, fed from the stoking chamber (8) on the north. Doubtless this flue was originally arched over, but only the lowest courses remained. On its western side a hollow space, 3 ft. north to south and 5 ft. 8 in. east to west, faced with tiles (7a) seems to have accommodated a tank which would supply hot water for use in room 5, and a similar tank may have existed on the east, although the building in this region had been badly damaged both by col-

lapse, and perhaps also by human agency. The two cheeks of the furnace at the furnace-room end consisted of large blocks of sandstone.

Only a small portion of the furnace-room (8), 11 ft. from east to west, has been uncovered. A thick layer of ash over its floor leaves no doubt as to its purpose, and in all probability it is the northernmost room of the bath-house.

PERIOD II

Although it was suggested in the first report (p. 23) that the hypocaust of room 3 had been dismantled in Period III, it now seems more probable that the whole reorganization of the bath system took place simultaneously in Period II. First, the *pilae* of room 3 were demolished down to the lowest tiles, and the hypocaust filled in with rubble, with a rough cement floor on top. Second, the hypocaust of room 4 was renovated with three large square floor supports (incorporating masonry as well as tiles) against its west wall, and with a large number of its original tile *pilae* replaced by larger ones or reinforced.

Finally, the small hot bath, already described ('First Report', p. 25) was built into room 5, probably to replace a similar one which had become dilapidated. It was 4 ft. wide and (assuming the former existence of a jacketing of tiles on its east side, as on the west) about 11 ft. long, with a quarter-round moulding along its sides; but the eastern half of the bath had collapsed, probably during the inundation which we have conjectured. The *pilae* which supported the bath were rectangular, larger than those employed in rooms 3 and 4, and it is difficult to distinguish between those of Periods I and II.

PERIOD III

In the northern part of the building there are no clear indications of the third period indicated by floor C in room 1, but to the south of the latter this final phase was represented by an additional room (9) which came to light unexpectedly. It measures 17 ft. internally

from north to south, and its eastern wall lies beneath the road. The masonry used in the construction of this room consists of rough sandstones with occasional tiles—conspicuously inferior to the dressed sandstone and regular bonding courses of the Period I walls, against which it abuts with a straight joint: the use of chalk also characterizes its late date. In the south-west corner of the room a heavy foundation, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. square, of tiles and blocks of chalk discoloured by heat, almost certainly represents a cooking-hearth, and the room itself is best interpreted as a kitchen, added to the bath-house in Period III, at which time the old undressing-room and *frigidarium* were being used as dwelling-rooms, to judge from the food refuse.

The builders of this annexe had been obliged to level the wall of the Period I porch (see above, p. 56) to its lowest bonding course, over which they laid a poor-quality concrete floor.

From the south-west corners of this room and room 1, rough walls of sandstone and chalk respectively run westward to form another apartment (10), the floor of which has vanished. Whether this served as a room, or whether it is the eastern extremity of a corridor or portico linking the bath-house with the as yet undiscovered dwelling-house remains to be determined.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In spite of the new evidence which has come to light, and the slight modifications which must be made to the conclusions put forward in 1937, it is evident that the history of the Lickfold bath-house is still accurately summarized in the three floor-levels of room 1, which can be dated fairly accurately by their abundant coins. In Period I we have a detached bath building, elaborately planned and equipped, constructed in the first quarter of the second century A.D. After some fifty years of continuous use, the baths are found to need repairs and at the same time they are remodelled on a more economic scale, by the abandonment of one hypocaust. The presence of tesserae from the uprooted floor of room 3, in

association with Antonine coins, in the make-up under floor B in room 1, gives us a date in the last quarter of the second century for these alterations.

In Period III the bath-house seems to be becoming used more as a habitation, as is shown by the construction of a kitchen (room 10) and the abundant food refuse in rooms 1 and 2. Whether the baths ceased altogether to be used as such it is difficult to determine, but it is clear at any rate that the complete vessel (below, p. 64) found on the floor of the furnace passage must have been deposited there after the last stoking of the furnace.

The final conflagration, whether accidental or deliberate, put an end to occupation in this building, but whether the dwelling-house of the estate shared the same vicissitudes and suffered the same fate can only be determined by further excavations in the Lickfold area, and this must await the return of happier times.

APPENDIX

The Bath-House at Wingham, Kent

In the years 1881-2 Mr. G. Dowker excavated the remains of a Roman bath-building at Wingham, close to the line of the Roman road from Canterbury to Richborough. The discovery was rather inadequately described in *Archaeologia Cantiana* (xiv. 136; xv. 351) and a summary (without any plan) appears in the section on 'Romano-British Kent' in the *Victoria County History of Kent*, vol. III, p. 25. The discovery was not in itself a very notable one, but since there are several striking points of resemblance between the Wingham and Wiggonholt sites (some of which have already been noticed above), a brief account may be useful.

The building lay from east to west and its plan was simple, consisting of three unheated rooms on the east and a series of hypocausts running westward from the central one of these rooms, and terminating in a furnace-room at the western extremity.

The hypocausts themselves were badly preserved and had evidently been reconstructed in at least one period, but we are not concerned so much with them as with the three rooms on the east, on which side the bath-house was entered. Here we have rooms corresponding in almost every detail with rooms 1, 2, and 6 of the Lickfold suite, except that they were rather more ornate. Wingham room 3, the undressing-room, had a mosaic floor and was entered from a pathway on the north. Adjoining it, on the south, was room 2, which though floored with mosaic and of smaller dimensions, is almost identical

with the herring-bone floored room 2 at Lickfold, since it gave access to the *tepidarium* on one side, and a shallow cold bath, at a slightly lower level (13 in. only) on the other. Also, as we have already seen (above, p. 56), this room was drained, as at Lickfold, a fact which weakens the theory of an open courtyard.

The southernmost room (1) was evidently a cold bath since an outlet drain was found in its south-west corner. Its walls, as well as its floor, had been lined with grey and white tesserae—an unusual feature, which is not repeated at Lickfold, although otherwise the relationship between *tepidarium* and cold bath is identical on both sites.

These analogies are so strong that we can no longer hesitate in identifying rooms 1 and 2 at Lickfold as the *apodyterium* and *frigidarium* respectively of the bath-suite, and room 6 as the cold bath attached to the latter. Discussion as to how far the dimensions of the two bath-blocks accord is best deferred until the Lickfold plan is more perfectly known.

In conclusion it may be worth noting that the Wingham suite—like that at Lickfold—showed signs of having been turned to other uses at the end of its life. One of its hypocausts in its reconstructed form seems to resemble a well-known type of corn-drying furnace, while on the mosaic floor of room 2 a perfect millstone was found. This degradation of the bath-house to domestic purposes, the excavator was inclined to attribute to the Saxons, but the evidence leaves little doubt that it occurred in the late Roman period.

These arrangements at Wingham and Wiggonholt are also paralleled on a more remote villa site, at Castle Dykes, Stainley, near Ripon, Yorks., where the first-period baths, excavated in 1866-74, included a *frigidarium*, drained in one corner and with an adjacent cold bath at a slightly lower level (room 12). This northern analogy is useful confirmation of the conclusions reached above, and seems to show that the Wiggonholt bath-house was built from plans which were being copied, with slight minor variations, elsewhere in the province. See *Archaeological Journal*, xxxii. 133.

II. VILLA DRAIN, EAST OF THE STOR, AND 'FINDS'

BY S. E. WINBOLT

I NOW describe one more piece of structure and some 'finds'. In 1938 soundings were made by the W.S.C.C. in the marsh east of the Stor in order to see whether the soil were fit for laying a proposed diversion of the road, and Mr. Curtis, the local surveyor, having in the first hole luckily struck the Roman drain, 10 ft. 6 in. east of the Stor, notified me. The villa drain would

naturally turn northwards so as to empty downstream into the river situated in Roman times near the middle of the marsh (where it is marked in the O.S. of 1880), and perhaps then tidal from the Arun. As in the villa,

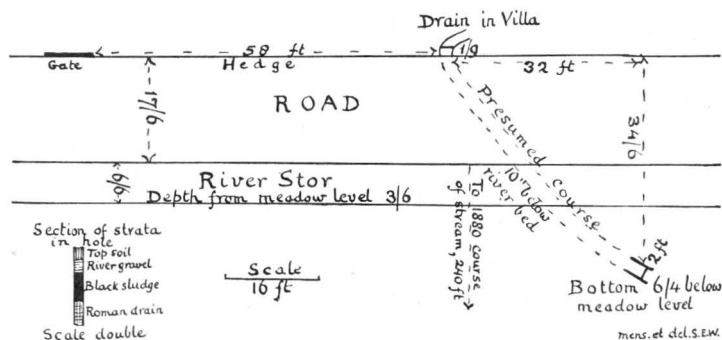


FIG. II

it was an open drain: there were no signs of covering tiles. The bottom was 6 ft. 4 in. below present meadow level, and the drain passed easily under the road and by 10 in. under the bottom of the modern course of the Stor, so that former doubts as to how it could have emptied are thus dispelled. It was 2 ft. deep and wide (in the villa 1 ft. 9 in.) and constructed in the same way as in room 1, i.e. tiled at bottom and at the top of its sides. Since Roman times some 4 ft. 4 in. of soil has been deposited on top of the drain, in three layers: lowest, a good depth of black sludge, probably tidal, then a layer of river gravel, and on top grass soil (Plan II).

'FINDS'

Pottery. On the floor of No. 5 were several fragments of grey poppy-head beakers with panels of raised barbotine dots, the date of which is A.D. 80–130 or even, as at Richborough, A.D. 150. This ware was formerly called Upchurch, because much of it was found there. The body is light grey, with darker grey coating. I found much of this at Hardham Camp on the other side of the Arun. It was in great quantity at Wroxeter (II, 1913, Pl. XV), and samples were also found by Lady Fox at

Caerleon in 1939. Besides, there were scraps of undatable Samian, of Castor ware, approximately A.D. 135-200 and of rosette-stamped New Forest ware of the fourth century. On the floor of the furnace (7) was



FOURTH-CENTURY BEAKER

found lying on its side and in perfect condition a fourth-century beaker, intact because it was immediately covered with wood ash. It is of hard light brown clay and covered with a brown-red slip, and ornamented on the shoulder and on the narrow slope from shoulder to neck with roulette notches. Having a narrow foot ($1\frac{1}{4}$ in.

diameter), big bulge ($4\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter), tapering conical neck, mouth ($2\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter), and height of $7\frac{7}{8}$ in., it is a top-heavy beaker characteristic of the fourth century, an elongated exaggeration of a third-century type. The form is common in south England. It is exactly illustrated by Collingwood, *Arch. R. Brit.* f. 85, and very nearly by May, *Silchester*, type 88, Pl. LII, the difference being that in the present example the band separating shoulder from neck is not raised as a cordon, but sloped towards the neck. Cf. also *Wroxeter*, 3rd Report, 1914 (Bushe-Fox), type 81, Pl. XXVIII, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. high; *Richborough*, 1st Report, 1926 (Bushe-Fox), type 120, Pl. XXIX (like *Silchester* 88, above), $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. high. Pottery found shows that furnace and hypocausts 4 and 5 were in operation during the whole life of the bath.

Close to the beaker, c. 8 ft. down from the surface, was an almond (Latin *amygdala*, Greek ἀμυγδάλη), also in perfect condition. The only difference between it and one bought for comparison is that the Roman almond is of a much darker brown and somewhat smoother. The kernels of both are loose inside. The find-spot of beaker and almond suggests that the stoker had his last refreshment just before the catastrophe.

Exceptional Wall Plaster. From one of the rooms 3, 4, or 5 came an exceptional piece of painted wall plaster, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. thick, adhering to a flue-tile elaborately keyed. On examination it proved to consist of two painted layers: the original $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick had been painted, and over this a repairing coat of $\frac{5}{8}$ in. had been laid, and in its turn painted. Both painted lime surfaces had been smoothed off with the tool diagonally. When the second layer was rendered, the original surface must have been slashed liberally for a new keying. Constructionally this is interesting because a thickness of $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. of plaster must have put a great vertical strain on the keying of the tile. Nowadays c. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. of plaster would be thought enough, involving less drag of weight and less expense. Three factors probably explain how the Roman plaster held its position: first, the great adhesive strength of the pink plaster; second, its application. The original

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. was in two distinct renderings, both $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick (this appears to have been a standard thickness): the first, next the tile, brown and the coarser, and bound together by small lengths of dried grass, the second, finer and pink. Third, the elaborate nature of the keying of the tile, with many geometrical devices at all angles.

A second-century wire brooch. In upcast soil (exact



WIRE BROOCH

find-spot not known) I found a small brooch of twisted bronze wire of rope pattern. Turned into several circles, it is in one piece, ending in the pin, the catch of which is two strands of the wire.

A somewhat similar brooch (*Antiq. Journ.* VII, 1927, p. 64) is in Leeds Museum, and is assigned probably to the first half of the second century. It is 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. long and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. wide, and is in perfect working order for pinning on.

A *Trajan coin*. A few yards east of the road and a little south of the villa was found, in good condition, a second brass of Trajan (A.D. 98–117)

Obv. Trajan, bust right. Imp. Caes. Nervae Traiano

Aug. Ger. Dac. P.M. Tr. P. Cos (?)

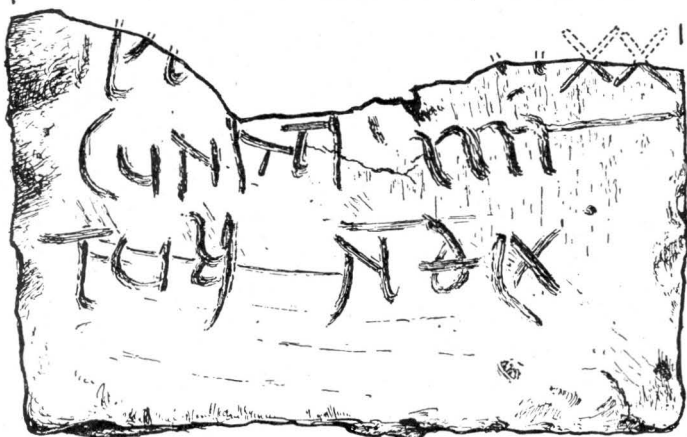
Rev. S P Q R Optimo Principi S.C. A winged Victory right facing a trophy of armour left.

'Optimo Principi' was a title conferred on Trajan by the Senate.

Tile with graffito. While he was measuring up, Mr. Goodchild's eye fell on an 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pila-tile with lettering. The top half is missing. A tile-maker recorded his score on an unbaked tile with a piece of stick. The broken top line probably read *Pi(lares)*, i.e. pillar tiles, and the number —XX, perhaps MXX (1020). The second line *Cuniati* (for *cuneati*): *lateres* (bricks) understood; that is, wedge-shaped hollow voussoirs, four, probably only required for one door. The bottom line: *tu(?b): n(? umeravi) & LX*: that is, *tubuli*, flue tiles I counted (?) 560; we calculate that about 540 would have

been required. The inverted R is, certainly, difficult to identify with a B, but no other interpretation seems probable. Mr. Lowther has drawn the graffito from a very careful rubbing. Two points in the lettering are

GRAFFITO ON A TILE FROM ROMAN
VILLA AT WIGGONHOLT, SUSSEX.



A.W.G.L. '39

datable: the long I was in use from the late Republic onwards, and the I with slightly ornamented head begins in the first century A.D. and continues. The graffito, therefore, does not contradict our initial date of c. A.D. 125: the tiles were evidently those made for the building of the bath system.¹

The earliest and latest dates of objects found in 1939 tally with those proposed in our first report. All the 'finds' are at Parham Park.

¹ Prof. R. G. Collingwood will include the graffito in his forthcoming Corpus of Romano-British inscriptions.

GENERAL HISTORY OF LEWES PRIORY IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

BY B. M. CROOK

THE Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes was founded in 1077 by William de Warenne and his wife Gundrada. During the course of the next century it was richly endowed by them and their tenants and became very wealthy. A magnificent church was built during the twelfth century and enlarged in the thirteenth century. This was the first Cluniac foundation in England and was always considered the chief house in this province.

Nevertheless, it seems never to have taken a full part as a member of the Order, nor to have been fully under the control of the abbot, as indeed its distance from Cluny forbade. When annual general chapters were instituted, the priors of the English province were permitted to attend only once in two years and, even so, were frequently absent. Therefore, in the Order, the priory at Lewes was not a very important member and was not greatly influenced by Cluniac policy. Since it was formed a century and a half after the foundation of the mother house, it escaped the reforming drive of the new order, and the Cluniac houses in England seem to have lacked the vigour which characterizes new movements.

Indeed, the priory seems from the first to have been more a Warenne than a Cluniac foundation. All its chief possessions were granted by this family or by its tenants, and the house held no land in chief of the Crown. There is even strong evidence to suggest that the Warennes appointed the priors.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES: *S.A.C.* = *Sussex Archaeological Collections*; *S.R.S.* = *Sussex Record Society*; *D. C.* = Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluny*; *D. V.* = Duckett, *Visitation Reports*; *V.C.H.* = *Victoria County History*; *M.C.* = *Millénaire de Cluny*; Bruel = Bernard and Bruel, *Recueil des Chartes de Cluny*; *E.H.R.* = *English Historical Review*; *D.N.B.* = *Dictionary of National Biography*.

This predominating influence prevented the house from taking an important part in public life. References to it in the public records and in contemporary chronicles are very few; and the same reasons which caused this probably prevented the writing of any full and valuable chronicle at the priory itself. This means that the fine collection of charters belonging to the priory is by far the most valuable part of the material for its history. In particular the twelfth-century charters, of which about 150 survive, are useful to the study of early charter forms, especially that of the private charter.

However, it is the purpose of this paper to show the early history of the priory as it can be gleaned from records other than the charters: the public records, the reports of visitations, its own inadequate annals and other sources. There is more evidence for the thirteenth than for the twelfth century, since the records are so much fuller.

The date of foundation can be named, with fair confidence, as 1077; the names and dates of the first four priors are clear. After this, for a century, there is obscurity as to the personnel; the great periods of building about the middle of each century are known from various references, and there is much evidence of the financial crisis through which the monastery passed at the end of the thirteenth century, which was perhaps partly due to this. Something of the relations of the mother house with subordinate priories is learnt from documents in the archives of Cluny or from disputes which found their way into the public records: the reports of visitations in the thirteenth century are also valuable for this, and for revealing conditions inside the monastery itself. Some reflection of public events is found in the annals; but the direct relations with the King were chiefly financial. On the whole, the history of the priory is lacking in full personal and human interest. The existing twelfth- and thirteenth-century annals are only a bare record of events, inferior in imaginative detail to the narrative charters found on the early folios of the cartulary.

There are three separate 'Annales' of the priory, one very brief belonging to the twelfth century, another longer and of the thirteenth century. The third belongs to the fifteenth century. In addition, there is a twelfth-century chronicle bound up with the *Liber de Hyda* which may belong to Lewes Priory.¹ The first are in the Vatican Library and were edited in 1902 by Liebermann in the *English Historical Review*.² He dates their actual writing, on internal evidence, in 1164. Their connection with the annals of Battle and Chichester can be traced through the relationship of all three to a lost transcriber of annals current in Normandy and England in the eleventh century, whose work forms their basis. These Lewes Annals and the *Annales Cicestrenses*³ are our sole authority for the second prior of St. Pancras, Eustace, 1107–20. They also tell us of the death of Prior William in 1159 and thus clear up some of the confusion as to the succession of priors in the mid-twelfth century.

The longest annals belong to the thirteenth century and are among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum,⁴ bound up with the Dunstable Annals. In the main, they give a bare outline of current events. On two points, however, they give original information. On the one hand they are the chief source of information about the appointment of priors;⁵ on the other they contain many references to the Warenne family. Thus, under the year 1085 they record the death of Gundrada, and, in 1088, of 'Willelmus primus fundator'.⁶ Under 1242, three years out, they record the death of William Earl Warenne and the succession of his son John.⁷ They record two expeditions into France of this earl, one in 1252 and one in 1255, on each occasion with the Earl of Gloucester and William de Valence. Also in 1255 is recorded the death of the Countess Alice, who

¹ Rolls Series, ed. Edwards, p. 284 et seq.

² *E.H.R.*, 1902, pp. 83–9. Vatican Library, Queen Christina, no. 147, ff. 61–9.

³ F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, p. 84.

⁴ Tiberius A. X.

⁵ See below for a discussion of this.

⁶ Transcript in *S.A.C.* II. 23–4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

was buried before the great altar in the presence of her brother Adelimar, Bishop-elect of Winchester.¹

For the rest, the annals record the personal history of the Warennes:

1284. Willelmus de Warennā desponsavit filiam comitis Oxonie.

1285. Dominus Willelmus de Warenne primogenitus Domini Johannis de Warenne apud Wintonam factus est miles.

Under the year 1286 there is a longer and more eloquent account of the birth of the heir, John, followed by lamentations for the death of his father six months earlier:

baptizatus et vocatus nomine Johannes . . . immensa leticia, sed heus propheta testante, 'extincta gaudia scilicet set occupat luctus', nam eodem anno . . . predicti pueri de quo nobis fuit letitia pater expiravit . . .

The last entry concerning the Warennes is the notice of the death of Earl John in 1304,² at Kennington near London.

The other annals belong to the fifteenth century and are in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. For the early period, they seem to have been copied from the cartulary and from the other annals: their information concerning the Warennes corresponds with that in the cartulary.³ For the rest, they give the names of priors also to be found in the other annals: like the twelfth-century annals, they mention the death of the second prior Eustace in 1120,⁴ whose name does not appear in the Cotton Annals.

There is various evidence for fixing the date of the priory's foundation, about which little doubt exists. Horsfield⁵ states, incorrectly, that Wendover and Malmesbury give 1072 as the date of foundation. Leland made an error in addition,⁶ in saying that the priory was founded the twelfth year after the Conquest, that is 1072. William of Malmesbury records the foundation of the priory in both *Gesta Regum*⁷ and *Gesta Pontificum*,⁸ but without date. We have also the evidence of the

¹ *S.A.C.* II. 26.

² *Ibid.* 29-32.

³ *S.R.S.* XL. 16-20.

⁴ *Deputy Keeper's Report*, 46, App. 2: 'Annales Lewenses, 1076-1485.'

⁵ Horsfield, *Hist. of Lewes*, I. 233.

⁶ Leland, *Collectanea*, I. 238.

⁷ *Rolls ed.* II. 513.

⁸ *Rolls ed.*, p. 207.

twelfth-century Lewes Annals, which give 1078 for the arrival of Lanzo in England.¹

The passage in the cartulary² referring to the foundation may have been written as late as the fifteenth century; but the monks ought to know, and must have had some record or tradition, and here again, the date is 1077 or 1078. The first Earl of Warenne is said to have died 4 June 'in the year of grace 1088, and of the foundation of the church the 11th'.³ Thus, it is fairly clear that the priory was founded in 1077 or 1078, probably in the winter between the two.

Until the thirteenth century the chief evidence for building is provided by charters of which the originals have not survived. Thus the so-called 'charter of William the second founder',⁴ which is dated 1091-8 from the bishops mentioned in it, speaks of the dedication of the church:

When the church of S. Pancras had been completed, I was invited by Prior Lanzo and by all the brethren of the same church and requested by them to cause it to be dedicated, to which I gladly and joyfully assented, and I called together the bishop of that diocese, Lord Ralph,⁵ and bishops Walkelin of Winchester⁶ and Gundulph of Rochester⁷ to dedicate it.⁸

The valuable charter Cott. XI. 56⁹ of 1145-6 implies that some rebuilding had recently been completed, since the chief witnesses are 'Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Bishop of Winchester, Robert Bishop of Bath, and Ascelin Bishop of Rochester, who dedicated the same church'.¹⁰ However, building operations seem to have been almost continuous, for towards the end of the century¹¹ Adam de Puninges, in making a grant of the tithe of cheeses from his sheep-runs, assigned it to the work on the church for as long as this should go on.¹²

¹ *E.H.R.*, 1902, p. 86.

² MS. Cott. Vespasian F. XV. The Sussex portions of the cartulary have been printed in translation by the Sussex Record Society, vols. xxxviii and xl.

³ *S.R.S.* xl. 15, Cartulary, f. 104v.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxxviii. 9, f. 12.

⁵ 1091-1123.

⁶ 1070-98.

⁷ 1077-1108.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 16, f. 14.

⁹ Warner and Ellis, no. 25 of *Facsimiles of Charters in the British Museum*.

¹⁰ *S.R.S.* xxxviii, p. 24, f. 16v.

¹¹ 1163-99: charter witnessed by Hamelin and Isabel.

¹² *S.R.S.* xl. 125, f. 310.

To the thirteenth-century building there are many references in the annals, the only difficulty being the occasional doubt whether the annalist is speaking of Lewes or of some other house. Thus, for 1218, he records 'Magna infirmaria facta est', without saying definitely that it is at Lewes: and for 1219: 'Due domus infirmarii versus norht facte sunt post pascham a Willelmo de Buchelin.'¹ In 1229 the annals again record building—the reconstruction of the chapel of St. Mary.¹ A reason for assuming that these references are to Lewes Priory is that we know building was in progress in 1225 from an entry on the Close Rolls: in this year a ship was detained at Seaford, but its release was ordered as it belonged to the Prior of Lewes, and was on its way to Caen for stone.²

For the year 1243 we have this entry:¹ 'In die anniversarii d. W. comitis positum est fundamentum in novo opere ecclesie nostre.' It is probable that the anniversary is that on which prayers were said for the soul of Earl William de Warenne who died in 1239. In 1247 there is a reference to John *magister operum ecclesie*,³ and we know that certain properties were assigned to the *magister operum* towards the end of the thirteenth century.⁴ In 1268 William Foville, the prior, left 200 marks in his will for finishing the two towers in the front of the church.⁵

The account of the excavations given in vols. XXXIV and XLIX of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*⁶ bears out this written evidence. The church was found to be very long for its width, 420 ft. by 69½ ft., as we know from the report of Portinari, who destroyed it in 1537:⁷ and this may perhaps be ascribed to the retention of the body of the original Norman church. This has, unfortunately, never been excavated, but, from the number of pillars it is calculated to have had from what is known of the choir and of the west wall, these must have been very thick and probably Norman. After

¹ S.A.C. II. 24.

² Close Roll, 9 Hen. III, m. 13.

³ S.A.C. XXXIV. 75.

⁴ S.R.S. XL. 117–33, Cartulary, ff. 307–13.

⁵ Annals, f. 170b.

⁶ By W. St. J. Hope, xxxiv. 74–107; XLIX. 66–89.

⁷ *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, I. 554, 590.

examination of the two ends, Hope suggested that the church had been extended both eastward and westward. It had two transepts, and the position of the high altar seemed to have been moved eastward at some time. All this suggested that it was twice rebuilt and one transept had been made at the first rebuilding and the eastern transept, with the apsidal end and corona of five chapels, at the second.

However, the plan, as far as it can be reconstructed, seems to be uniform in style and closely resembles the plan of the church at Cluny. It is therefore probable that the actual church was planned as a whole and built during the twelfth century, and that the additions of the thirteenth century took the form of embellishments to the chapels and the construction of a western tower. Additional evidence of the extension to the west is found in the oblong shape of the cloister. This is most unusual, and Hope suggests that it was originally square, but that it was necessary to enlarge it at the same time as the church was being enlarged: probably the length of the western arm of the church and the cloister was the same at first, and both were extended together, probably in the twelfth century. The cloister was not extended southward at the same time, Hope suggests, owing to the narrowness of the ridge of land or 'island'¹ on which the monastery stood. It had already been necessary to build out an undercroft to support the refectory to the south of the cloister (as also for the rere-dorter), and the labour of moving this building southward would have been too great. The fact that the rere-dorter was actually reconstructed in order to extend the dorter, suggests that the two extensions were made at different times. Hope thinks that the cloister was enlarged about the middle of the twelfth century. The other work may therefore have been done in the thirteenth century.²

With regard to the two towers for which William Foville made his bequest in 1268, the excavators are

¹ So called in Cartulary, *S.R.S.* xxxviii. 4, 10.

² See plan appended to this article.

reported to have found only one tower in the centre of the west end, and Hope suggests that by the 'front' Foville may mean the east. However, this is directly contradicted by the evidence of Portinari, who refers to 'the steeple which is set upon a corner of the fore-front', showing that two towers were intended at the western end, and that only one was completed.¹

Practically nothing of the church and buildings now remains, the railway line passing right through the site of the choir, chapter-house, and cloisters, and the rest of the site being in private hands. Most of the fabric was sold at the time of the Dissolution;² one or two of the columns of Purbeck marble and some capitals and pieces of moulding from the arches are preserved in museums or in churches near the priory.³ The people digging to make the railway in 1845 are said to have discovered 'a room . . . with a semi-circular apsis', probably one of the apsidal chapels, which bore traces of painting on the walls.⁴

We know the number of monks in the priory only from the thirteenth century.⁵ A papal mandate of 1240 says there were 100 monks at Lewes then. In 1288 there were 39,⁶ in 1279 50,⁷ in 1306 33;⁷ at the time of the dissolution the number had fallen to 24.⁸

Three of the first priors of St. Pancras drew more attention to themselves than most of their successors during the next century. Lanzo, as the first prior, naturally stands out. William of Malmesbury, in

¹ The description of the church from Portinari:

'The said church has in length	420 ft.
The breadth from the entrance as far as the middle	69½ ft.
" in the middle of the church	150 ft.
The height is 63 ft. . . . The thickness of the wall	5 ft.

There are in the said church 32 pillars in all on both sides, they are all detached from the walls; among which are 8 very big of which set 4 support a very high vault in manner of a steeple and other 4 one like it a little higher than the other where are 5 bells. i.e. at the transepts.

Hope, 'The Cluniac Priory of S. Pancras at Lewes' (*S.A.C.* XLIX. 81).

² *S.A.C.* XLIX. 85.

³ At Lewes Barbican: one capital in B.M.: in churches, e.g. Rodmell.

⁴ *S.A.C.* XXXIV. 77, quoting M. A. Lower.

⁵ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, p. 186.

⁶ Duckett, *Visitations and Chapters General*, 239.

⁷ *Ibid.* 279.

⁸ *S.A.C.* XLIX. 73, Hope; *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, XII. ii, No. 1101.

recording his death in 1107, wrote or incorporated a long eulogy of him.¹ Liebermann believed this to be part of a lost Lewes account.² According to the charter evidence, Lanzo was a good man of business, as he is said to have asked the Earl Warenne to grant a second charter, the original foundation charter being at Cluny and therefore inaccessible.³

Lanzo was succeeded by Eustace, who died in 1120.⁴ The prior who followed Eustace, Hugh of Amiens, was the most eminent man who ever held the position. He had been educated at Laon, his birth-place, in the school of Anselm and Ralph;⁵ soon after he became a Cluniac monk he was Prior of Limoges. He came to England, and was then appointed Prior of Lewes.⁶ He found favour with the king, who made him the first abbot of his monastery at Reading in 1123.⁷ Some of his theological works seem to have been written while he was here.⁶ In 1129 or 1130 he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Rouen, a position which he held until his death in 1164.⁶

The next Prior of Lewes, Anker or Aucher, also became Abbot of Reading, succeeding Hugh in 1130.⁸

After 1130 it is only possible to ascertain the succession approximately, from chance references to the prior. Thus, the Vatican Annals record the death of Hugh de Sancta Margareta in 1293.⁹ The Cotton Annals record the death of Prior Arnold in 1139,¹⁰ but whether of Lewes or not we do not know: a Prior William occurs in 1147 as witness to the confirmation to the town of Lewes of its fair by Rainald de Warenne in the absence of his brother the earl on Crusade.¹¹ The Vatican Annals record the death of a Prior William in 1159.¹² The Prior William mentioned in the agreement of 1170-1 with Adelicia Malduit and her sons about some land

¹ Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series), p. 207.

² *E.H.R.* 1902, p. 83.

³ *S.R.S.* xxxviii. 3.

⁴ *E.H.R.* 1902, pp. 85, 87.

⁵ *Orderic Vitalis* (Bohn), iv. 107.

⁶ *D.N.B.* xxviii. 163-4.

⁷ *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), ii. 49.

⁸ Bracton, *De Legibus Anglie* (Rolls Series), 248; *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Series), i. 153.

⁹ *E.H.R.* 1902, p. 87.

¹⁰ *S.A.C.* ii. 24.

¹¹ Cott. MS. Nero C iii, f. 190; Warner and Ellis, *Facsimiles of Charters in British Museum*, 31.

¹² *E.H.R.* 1902, p. 88.

in London¹ must be another of the same name, but whether he succeeded in 1159 it is impossible to tell.

At some time between 1174 and 1181 there was a Prior Osbert at Lewes, as we learn in charter A. 15466, in which Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury (1174–84), records the settlement of the dispute with Lamport Church about burials at Faxton (Northants.), which dispute had been referred to Pope Alexander III (d. 1181).²

Prior Hugh of Lewes, who was Abbot of Cluny in 1199–1201 at the time of the dispute with Earl Hamelin about the election of priors, resigned from Lewes in 1186 and became Abbot of Reading.³

Another William occurs in 1195, in the Feet of Fines,⁴ and also is mentioned in charters of about this time.⁵ The records of the 1200 dispute show that a Prior Alexander was appointed in 1201.⁶

The Feet of Fines show that Humbert was prior c. 1202–7,⁷ and Humbert is mentioned in one of the charters belonging to the *Magister operum* of about 1205.⁸

Between c. 1207 and c. 1217, no prior can be traced at all. The next reference that we have is to Prior Stephen, who was summoned to Cluny in 1220 during a suit and forced to resign.⁹ His name appears in the Feet of Fines for 1217.¹⁰

The term of office of Hugh, the next prior, was from c. 1220 to c. 1234. In 1224 we know he was prior from the Feet of Fines;¹¹ and he appears in the Patent Rolls for 1226 and 1230:¹² Bracton mentions him in 1227.¹³

Prior Albert occurs 1236,¹⁴ and died 1244. In 1239

¹ *S.R.S.* xxxviii. 85; Cartulary, f. 139v.

² Charter A. 15466. Also *S.R.S.* xxxviii. 127, Cartulary, f. 71. ii/L.

³ *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), II. 244 [252].

⁴ *S.R.S.* II. No. 2.

⁵ *S.R.S.* xxxviii. 123, f. 70: iii/M; XL. 8, f. 136, and Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 69.

⁶ *D. C.* I. 99.

⁷ *S.R.S.* II. 60.

⁸ *S.R.S.* XL. 117, f. 307.

⁹ Bracton, *De Legibus Anglie* (Rolls Series), 1395.

¹⁰ *S.R.S.* II. 140–4.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 189.

¹² Pat. Roll, 11 Hen. III, m. 18 d., p. 154; 14 Hen. III, m. 5 d., p. 356.

¹³ Appointment of justices for darrein presentment *re* Tefford and Gretham.

¹⁴ Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, III. 417.

¹⁴ *S.R.S.* XL. 110, f. 154, xv/Z: agreement with Hugh Sanzaver *re* Bignor.

he received a grant of a vill in Norfolk from Reiner, son of Peter de Hecham.¹ From this time until his death he frequently excused himself from attendance at the general chapter at Cluny. In 1240 he had to remain in England in order to be present when the justices visited Lewes.² In 'c. 1240' (according to Bruel), perhaps two years later, he was again unable to attend the general chapter, this time through illness.³ It is clear from this document that S., the sub-prior, was acting as prior during the illness of Albert; it may have been the same sub-prior in 1244, who was attempting to carry on the work of prior as he had done before, when the king forbade him to present to livings during the vacancy.⁴ We have further evidence from the Close Rolls to support 1244 as the date of Albert's death, in a mandate issued in favour of the monks in that year;⁵ they are not to be evicted from the possession of Manton Church *vi laica*, while they are without a prior.

Guichard de la Osaye succeeded in 1244,⁶ and died at some time after 28 June in 1248, as he appeared on that date before brother John de S. Laurenti, cardinal priest, to explain why he refused to pay tithes to Cluny;⁷ while the annals report the succession of William Russshelin in the same year.⁸ This William made a journey to Rome in 1255, from which he returned; in the same year, or the next, he set off again, apparently for the Holy Land, and from this journey he never returned.⁹

His successor, William Foville, who 'came to Lewes' in 1257,¹⁰ was promoted from the Priory of St. Andrew at Northampton, also a Cluniac house. The king had assumed St. Andrew's to be vacant and had seized its lands, but this had called forth a protest from the Abbot of Cluny, who asserted that William retained control of it until a new prior was appointed, and Henry was forced to restore possession to him.¹¹ Appa-

¹ A. 3136.² Bruel, 4772.³ Ibid. 4780.⁴ Close Roll, 29 Hen. III, m. 15, p. 285.⁵ Ibid., m. 19, p. 267.⁶ S.A.C. II. 24.⁷ Bruel, 4986.⁸ S.A.C. II. 25.⁹ Ibid. 26: 'Transfretavit W. de R. de Lewes irrediturus, et cum eo A. Kukefeld capellanus terre sancte.'¹⁰ S.A.C. II. 27.¹¹ Patent Roll, 41 Hen. III, m. 1, p. 582.

rently he was still administering both houses two years later.¹ He was a good administrator, for the annals say 'domum dimisit in bono statu et sine debitis'.² He also left gifts to the priory from his private property: 'Assignavit conventui unum calicem aureum cum quinque gemmis preciosis, et cuppam deauratam ad eucharistiam.'² He also left four copes, a silver pall, £100 to be spent on tunics for the monks every second year 'when they do not receive fur tunics from the chamber', £100 to the treasury and 200 marks for completing the two south-west towers of the church.³

It is obvious that the thirteenth-century annals must have been kept regularly from about 1250, and from this point onwards, to the end of our period, they give us the dates of appointment and a few other scraps of information about the priors. We have also the evidence of the visitations for the tremendous debt in which the house was involved from about 1279. The annals make no reference to this, apart from the statement that Foville left the priory without debt, and we are perhaps intended to assume that the mismanagement began after his death.

The next three priors⁴ all secured promotion to other houses. Of Milo de Columbers (1268-74)⁴ the annalist records a journey to Cluny in 1270⁵ (without stating the reason) and his promotion to Vézelay as abbot.⁶ His successor, Peter de Viliaco, was prior for only nine months, moving on to St. Martin's Priory in Paris in November 1275.⁶ John of Thyenges was appointed prior in 1275, arriving at Lewes in May of the following year *ubique receptus cum magno honore*.⁶ This prior paid a visit to Rome from 1280 to 1282.⁶ In 1284⁷ he again left England, this time to attend the general chapter at Cluny. After this he did not return, as he was appointed prior of Sancta Maria ad Montes in Auvergne.

Already in 1279 the visitors found the priory considerably in debt, as the result of Milo's administration: he

¹ Close Roll, 43 Hen. III, m. 15, p. 335.

² *S.A.C.* LXV. 196-205.

³ *Ibid.* 30.

⁴ *S.A.C.* II. 27.

⁵ *S.A.C.* II. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.* 31.

⁷ *Ibid.* 35.

had also involved Castle Acre and Prittlewell at the same time. Lewes was encumbered with debt which the Visitors considered would take 'upward of 20 years to liquidate'.¹ Before this debt could have been cleared off, therefore, John of Avignon was appointed prior (1285),² and his reckless administration had brought the house, by 1290, to a very serious condition indeed.³ Before coming to Lewes he had already involved Bermondsey Priory in debt during his headship of that house.⁴ After his death in 1297 John of Newcastle (1298-1301),⁵ sacristan of the priory,⁶ was appointed as Prior of Lewes, it seems with the purpose of attempting to clear off the debt, but by 1351 the house was still heavily encumbered.³

The account of the election⁶ of John of Newcastle is interesting in illustrating the ceremonial of an appointment. He appeared at La Charité before a large Cluniac assembly, where he took the oath, and was confirmed in his appointment by Betrand, Abbot of Cluny. At the same time the breviary, cope, and palfrey of the late John of Avignon were given to the abbot by Robert, precentor of the priory, and Walter a monk.

It is interesting to notice⁷ that he was chosen by the representatives of Earl Warenne from two monks. (Henry, Prior of Wenlock, being the other), according to the arrangement laid down in 1201. In this year was settled the long process at Cluny begun in 1199 in which the earl and abbot contested the right to appoint the Prior of Lewes.

The first prior, Lanzo, was sent from Cluny at the request of the earl; the third and fourth priors, Hugh and Aucher (1120-3 and 1123-30), were also appointed by the Abbot of Cluny. But from this date until 1244 there is the greatest uncertainty as to the dates, and even the names, of the priors of Lewes. The probable explanation of this obscurity is that the appointments were managed privately by the earls and never found

¹ D. V. 35.² S.A.C. II. 35.³ See *infra*.⁴ D. V. 249, 267.⁵ S.A.C. II. 37.⁶ Bruel, 5470; Bibl. Nat. Or. 366.⁷ Bruel, 5470.

their way into any records. Cluny was always reluctant to send monks to England, and in a period of internal weakness this reluctance may have extended even to the appointment of priors. The facts disclosed by the dispute in 1199–1201 provide strong evidence in favour of the Warenne influence on the appointment of priors. At the end of 1199 a dispute seems to have arisen concerning the appointment of a prior by the Abbot of Cluny;¹ a certain priest, G., arrived in Rome to protest on behalf of the Earl of Warenne, and to request that the election be made by the house itself. The sub-prior of St. Pancras, H., however, supported brothers B. and S., procurators of Cluny, in defending the election, since Lewes appertained to Cluny *nullo mediante*. They complain of the behaviour of the earl in seizing Coningsburgh Church in Yorkshire and forbidding the servants of the monastery at Heacham, Carleton, and Walton manors in Norfolk to pay their dues to Lewes. Moreover, he has withheld the tenth of his income, which he owes to the priory,² for almost five years, and also refuses to release the *litteras sigillatas* of the church, which they owe the Jews as security for a loan. He sends representatives to the chapter of the priory, threatening the prior and those who favour him with personal injury if they do not leave the property within four days. He threatens to cause them to die of hunger if they observe the interdict under which the abbot has placed the church of Lewes on account of his (the earl's) violent actions. When the office of prior has been vacant, he has often placed guards at the gate of the priory, who prevented the entrance of any representatives of Cluny; even pilgrims and guests were denied admission until they had sworn that they had no concern with Cluny.

The procurators of Cluny, on the other hand, declare that it is the custom for the abbot to appoint and depose priors, even without consulting the monks, and beg for

¹ Report of proceedings in Rome contained in letter of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury to Eustace, Bishop of Ely (papal delegates for further litigation), containing letter of Innocent III: D. C. i. 87: 3 May 1200.

² Granted in charter AA. 463.

the confirmation of the Holy See and that the earl may be compelled to make restitution. S. and W., monks and messengers of the priory, agree in part with the requests of the abbot, but uphold their own interests by suggesting that the prior should be chosen by the chapter, with the consent of the earl as patron; and that the abbot cannot remove him, once elected, without due cause. They also request that the abbot be content with 100*s.* a year, more than which he cannot legally exact from Lewes. The judgement given by Cardinals J. (priest of St. Prisca) and P. (deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata) is that the monks exceed their powers in choosing a prior, since the Abbot of Cluny has the right to nominate him: but Cluny must not exact money except in cases of great urgency. The earl is ordered to restore all offerings and quiet possession, and then the Pope will hear him if he wishes.

This did not settle the case, however; the earl refused to recognize the judgement, protesting that G. was not his properly authorized representative, and the dispute lasted for another year until 10 June 1201. Another hearing was had before Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Eustace, Bishop of Ely; Abbot Hugh of Cluny himself appeared, at Happeham, and the final decision reached¹ was much more in favour of the Earl of Warenne. At a vacancy the earl was to send representatives to Cluny with the monks who went from St. Pancras. There the abbot was to nominate two of the best men of the Order (the Prior of La Charité and the Grand Prior of Cluny excepted), of whom the earl's representatives should choose one. It is this settlement which is recorded by Ralph de Diceto in his *Imagines Historiarum*.² The monks themselves were so far successful as to obtain the insertion of the stipulation that the prior should only be removed for just cause.

The fact that this concession to the Earl of Warenne was made only after the breakdown of the agreement more favourable to Cluny, may point to its being merely a temporary expedient. Hamelin, the earl in 1199, was

¹ D. C. I. 92.

² (Rolls Series), II. 173.

the half-brother of Henry II and seems to have shared his aggressive temper. Moreover, as early as 1228, we have a papal mandate to the Abbot of Cluny to make ordinance for the election of the Prior of St. Pancras, 'notwithstanding the composition made between the Earl of Warren, its patron, and one of the abbot's predecessors'.¹ Bruel prints a document which seems to belong to about 1207, which shows the sub-prior, H., applying independently to Cluny even so early.² Later in the century two Privileges of Clement IV (1265)³ and Gregory X (1272)⁴ announce that the abbot only is to appoint priors. By 1298, as a digest of visitation reports made perhaps in 1405 shows, the right of the abbot was so well established that Bertrand de Columbiers was able to enforce an elaborate pledge, in which the prior undertook many obligations.⁵

Against this, however, must be set definite evidence of the enduring influence of the Warennes. Thus, in 1240, in spite of Gregory IX's cancellation of the 1201 arrangement, the sub-prior, S., sent to Cluny with the representatives of the priory, representatives also *illustris viri domini W. comitis Warenn*.⁶ As late as 1285 Archbishop Pecham, giving advice to the Abbot of Cluny concerning the election of a prior of St. Pancras, exhorted him to gain the favour of the Earl of Warenne, the descendant of the ancient benefactors of the priory.⁷ Pecham had known the priory well in his boyhood, and had been taught by its teachers: 'Quo in ipsius vicinia coaluimus a puero et ab eiusdem professoribus solatia recepimus et honores.' He knew the conditions under which the monks actually lived, and we must accept his stipulation as valid evidence.

Moreover, we have definite evidence from the year 1182 that the 1201 concession was not entirely an innovation. In this year an earlier disputed election

¹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 8 Kal Nov. Perugia, p. 119.

² Bruel, 4392: refers to death of Prior H.—Hugh 1186, resigned not died, next Hugh c. 1220 to c. 1234: Humbert occurs 1202–7.

³ Bruel, 5095 (*Bull. Clun.* 133. 1).

⁴ Bruel, 5184 (*Bull. Clun.* 138. 1, 2).

⁵ D. V. 37.

⁶ Bruel, 4779.

⁷ *Register of Archbishop Pecham* (Rolls Series), III. 902.

had taken place, and all the circumstances, considered together, point to the fact that the Abbot of Cluny was the aggressor in 1199, and not the Earl of Warenne. A *Charta pacis*¹ of 1182 records the agreement between Abbot Theobald and Earl Hamelin concerning the election of priors. The Earl was to send representatives to Cluny as well as the monastery, and the abbot was to name a suitable prior. This, however, was only a temporary arrangement, and if the earl 'infra subsequens quinquennium, de dignitate quam sibi vindicat in praefato monasterio, agere voluit abbas super hoc stabit iudicio'. The vagueness of the document is unfortunate, but it does at any rate prove that the earl had some claims, traditional if not documentary, to control the election of the prior. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the prior actually elected in this year was Hugh, who, after moving to Reading in 1186, became Abbot of Cluny in 1199, and was actually abbot during the dispute of 1199–1201. It even seems that his first action on becoming abbot was to attempt to correct the irregularity of election to the headship of the house, of which he had had personal experience.

Although the priory seems to have had certain financial difficulties earlier in the thirteenth century, it is clear that the crisis in the last decade was of an extremely acute nature. For instance, already by 1200 the priory had received loans from the Jews, as we know by the complaint during the dispute of that year, that the earl is holding the priory's *litteras sigillatas*, whereby it is prevented from honouring its debt to them.² In addition to this, the earl sequestered the priory estates, not only at Lewes, but also in Norfolk,³ and the loss of this revenue must have caused temporary difficulties. Again in 1234 the priory was in debt, for in this year letters were obtained from the king, ordering the 'men' of the prior to pay 'a reasonable aid to acquit him of his debts'.⁴

¹ Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, 1446.

² Bruel, 4381. Letter to 'servants of monastery' on estates in Walton, Heacham, Carleton.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Pat. Rolls, 18 Hen. III, m. 16, p. 40.

It is clear that the chief cause of the financial crisis was personal mismanagement; but management may have become more difficult towards the end of the thirteenth century. In the first place, by the middle of the century, and even earlier, the priory's estates had ceased to increase,¹ since by now all important gifts had been made; with the continual decline in the value of money, the income might well be less at the end than at the beginning of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, we know that a considerable amount of rebuilding of the church and probably of the conventual buildings was done in the middle of the century. Foville's gift in 1268² for completing the south-west towers shows that there was some difficulty in raising the money, and this is borne out by the fact that only one tower was ever completed.³

We have evidence that these circumstances did not in fact account for the virtual bankruptcy to which the house was brought. Thus the visitation of 1262 showed that: 'in respect of its indebtedness, there is more owing to the house than the house itself may be said to owe.'⁴ At this same time, other priories, such as Wenlock, Bermondsey, and Thetford, were heavily in debt.⁵ The expense of entertaining the king's army, after this, was not sufficient seriously to upset the finances, if we accept the evidence of the annals that William Foville left the house *in bono statu et sine debitis*.⁶

The priory's financial straits seem to have been caused by the mismanagement of two priors, Milo (1268-74), who first encumbered the house with debt, and John of Avignon (1285-98), who brought to an end the slight improvement that had shown itself under John of Thyenges, and brought the house to a very serious position.

We first hear, then, of serious debts in the visitation of 1279.⁷ The Priors of Montdidier and Lenton found

¹ See cartulary and discussion of wealth, *infra*.

² See *supra*, p. 79.

³ Portinari, note 1, p. 75, *supra*.

⁴ D. V. 11.

⁵ D. C. II. 123, 124.

⁶ S.A.C. II. 27.

⁷ D. V. 35.

that the priory now had an unsecured debt of 2,800 marks; when the ruling prior had taken over the house, however (1276), this had been 4,000 marks, and he had succeeded in reducing it. In addition to this, there were two debts of 250 marks, one for building and one for the stocking of manors; for these the silver vessels had been pledged. The balance on the sale of wool was wrong, since the priory had received 100 marks from merchants for wool which the monks had never delivered;¹ and there was a deficit in grain and stock. The priory also owed 100 marks for 25 casks of wine which had been purchased, and the 100s. due to Cluny had not been paid. The position was serious enough to threaten a deficiency of necessities. The visitors left no doubt as to the cause of this condition. They pointed out that the two subordinate houses of Castle Acre and Prittlewell were in debt 'in respect of Milo when he was prior of Lewes'. Then, after enumerating the debts at Lewes, they write:

'It will be very difficult to relieve the priory's liabilities . . . at best it will take upwards of 20 years to liquidate its debts . . . and how it has come to this condition, by whose misrule caused and from what other circumstances arising, is a matter . . . full well known.'²

In such circumstances it is difficult to understand the appointment of John of Avignon as prior in 1285. It must have been known from his rule at Bermondsey that he was not to be entrusted with the finances of any house, much less of one already encumbered with debt. For he had got the house of Bermondsey into the hands of Adam de Stratton, the money-lender, apparently as the result of unsuccessful speculation in land.³ Apparently he continued the same methods on coming to Lewes, for from 1288 onwards we find continual records of his borrowing on the Close and Patent Rolls. In 1288 the Close Roll records his acknowledgement of a debt of 300 marks to the Italian bankers, 'Baroncinus Walteri and Brunettus and Richard his sons, and to Opisus Malesardi, merchants of Lucca';

¹ *V.C.H.* II. 66; *D. C.* II. 144.

² *D. V.* 35.

³ *D.N.B.* LV. 37.

this debt he managed to pay.¹ In the year 18 Edw. I there was a long list of debts:

John, Prior of Lewes—

June 5: to Baruncinus Galterii, Brunettus, his son, Oppissus Malysardi, Donus de Podist, Aldebrand Oyschelle, merchants of Lucca, 4,200 m. to be levied, in default of payment, on his lands and chattels in the counties of Surrey and Sussex.²

This debt, too, was paid off and the bond cancelled, as was one for 130 marks made in February to Hugh de Vienna, clerk.³ After this, however, several were unpaid:

Dec. 2: to Bonaventurus Hugelin and his fellows, merchants of Siena, £30. 9. 7½.⁴

Nov. 30: to Barincinus Walteri 300 m.⁵

„ „ to Donus de Podio 600 m.⁶

and

Feb. 6: to Hubert Dogii and fellows, of the society of the Pulci and Rembertini of Florence, 40 m.⁷

In 1292 he was out of England, and intended to stay 'beyond seas' for two years, as we know from his appointing attorneys at the priory to act during his absence.⁸ This neglect of his house called forth a letter of protest from the Abbot of Cluny, who complained that the debt was not being cleared off quickly enough.⁹ After the end of John of Avignon's rule, strenuous efforts were made to reduce the debts he had incurred; but even in 1351 the priory still had a debt of 2,000 marks.¹⁰

However, the publicity of these financial difficulties did not exempt the priory from the royal exactions, to which, as an alien priory, it had only just become liable. Its possessions were assessed in 1291 for the Taxation of Pope Nicholas,¹¹ and in 1294 the priory

¹ Close Roll, 16 Edw. I, m. 9 d., p. 527.

² Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 9 d., p. 133.

⁴ Ibid., p. 246.

⁶ Ibid.

⁸ Pat. Roll, 20 Edw. I, m. 3, pp. 508, 509.

⁹ D. C. II. 249; *V.C.H. Sussex*, II. 66.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Sussex*, II. 67; D. C. II. 267.

¹¹ Pub. by Record Commission, 1802.

³ Ibid., p. 149.

⁵ Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 13 d., p. 245.

⁷ Ibid. 18 Edw. I, m. 9 d., p. 255.

paid the moiety which was then demanded on the same assessment.¹

In 1271 Henry III seems to have tried to force the priory to pay the 20th levied in that year, but they paid a fine of 20 marks and received acquittance.² Before this time the only taxes paid by the priory were danegeld³ and carucage,⁴ since the nature of their tenure exempted them from all else;⁵ and other aids paid seem to have had the character of a 'voluntary' gift. An example of this is the 50 marks paid in 1241 by Lewes *contra transfretacionem nostram* to Poitou.⁶

By about 1154 the priory of St. Pancras had six subordinate houses. The Warennes fulfilled their promise, and founded a cell of Lewes at Castle Acre in Norfolk in about 1090, and this remained the most important; it had considerable properties in Norfolk, and came to possess four daughter-houses of its own: of these the most important was Bromholme, which became famous and prosperous after 1223, when a piece of the True Cross was brought there from Constantinople.⁷ The next foundation in order of time was at Prittlewell in Essex: founded about 1106 by Robert Fitz-Sweyn and given to Lewes, it possessed only two manors and about a dozen churches, and always remained a small house.⁸ In about 1121 Stanesgate⁹ Priory was founded by Ralph FitzBrien and given later to Lewes. This, again, was a small house; it was dissolved in 1525 to provide for the endowment of Cardinal College, Oxford.¹⁰ After Castle Acre, the most important of the subordinate houses was Farleigh in Wiltshire which was started in 1125, after the gift of the manor to Lewes by Humphrey de Bohun.¹¹ As well as these, there were two very small cells, at Monks Horton in Kent and at Clifford in Hereford, and monks¹¹

¹ Pat. Roll, 22 Edw. I, m. 7, p. 91; 24 Edw. I, m. 21, p. 176.

² Ibid. 55 Hen. III, m. 12, p. 547.

³ *Pipe Roll*, 1130, pp. 70, 72; 6 Hen. II, p. 5; 22 Hen. II, p. 205.

⁴ Pat. Roll, 9 Hen. III, m. 2, p. 546; 1 m. 7, p. 506.

⁵ See charters *passim*.

⁶ Close Roll, 26 Hen. III, i, m. 3, p. 421; Pat. Roll, 26 Hen. III, m. 5, p. 282.

⁷ *M.C.* i. 327.

⁸ Ibid. i. 318.

⁹ Ibid. i. 327.

¹⁰ Ibid. i. 372.

¹¹ Ibid. i. 319.

from the priory seem also to have been planted out at the hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. James in Lewes, which belonged to the priory.¹

Except at Castle Acre, where there were about 35, the number of monks at all these houses between 1270 and 1280² was under 20. At Farleigh, in 1275, there were 18 monks and 2 lay brothers; the number at Prittlewell was 14 or 15, at Bromholme 16, and at Monks Horton 13 or 14. At the time of the dissolution the cells of Lewes, among houses of under £200 value dissolved in 1536, were Farleigh (which must have declined in importance), Monks Horton, Prittlewell, and Bromholme.³

The priory of Montacute, in Somerset, was founded about 1102, immediately subject to Cluny.⁴ An entry in the annals⁵ for the year 1250, implies that the writer of the annals was a member of the convent at Montacute at that time: 'd. Henreicus rex Anglie . . . fuit . . . apud Montem Acutem . . . et dedit nobis. . . .'⁶ It is this entry which has led to the uncertainty of many of the references to priors, as it is not clear to which priory they belong.

Lewes Priory seems to have maintained its right to appoint and control priors in its cells. Early in the thirteenth century there were one or two disputes, but the end of the century finds the prior in undisturbed possession of his functions. Rawlinson has preserved a charter of Prior Stephen, dated 1218,⁷ embodying an agreement with Henry, Earl of Hereford, concerning the election of the Prior of Farley. This election is to be on the same lines as the election of the Prior of Lewes; that is to say, both the earl and the priory, when a vacancy occurs, shall send representatives to Lewes to ask for a prior; the Prior of Lewes then is to nominate two, 'quos idoneos ad hoc esse crediderimus, de nostra domo de Lewes vel de Farleya vel de aliis

¹ Leland, *op. cit.* i. 86.

³ *M.C.* i. 372.

⁵ MS. Cotton Tiberius, A. x.

⁷ Rawlinson MS. C. 168, f. 158. This agreement is entered in the Cartulary (Cott. MS. Vesp. F. xv) in the section relating to Wiltshire (ff. 158-71), which is being printed by the Sussex Record Society.

² D. V. 14-19, 34-6.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 307.

⁶ *S.A.C.* ii. 25.

domibus Cluniacensibus'. From these the earl and his heir are to choose the one whom they consider the more suitable. After election, this prior is to show proper obedience to the Prior of Lewes and Abbot of Cluny; the Prior of Lewes retains the right to visit the priory of Farleigh, and can depose the prior, but only *ex justa et rationabili causa*; Farleigh shall pay $\frac{1}{2}$ mark yearly *pro omni exactione et consuetudine*, as has been previously agreed.

Between 1235 and 1242 the prior seems to have had some difficulty in upholding his powers. In 1235 he found it necessary to obtain a royal guarantee of his right, as an entry on the Close Roll declares him to have the right to appoint and remove priors, cellarers, and other obedientiaries of houses belonging to Lewes.¹ From 1239 to 1242 there was a great dispute carried on at Cluny between Castle Acre and Lewes concerning the election of the Prior of Bromholme. Bruel has recorded the appointments of procurators by Castle Acre in 1239,² and by Bromholme in 1240³ and (?) 1242,⁴ to represent them at the General Chapter in the course of this dispute. It was decided in favour of Castle Acre, for in *c.* 1300 its prior 'was accustomed' to fill up 'the vacant priorship'.⁵

After 1260 no further opposition to the right of the Prior of Lewes seems to have been offered. In 1260 he appointed to the priory of Prittlewell, apparently without question,⁶ in 1265 to Castle Acre,⁷ and again to Prittlewell in 1281 and 1290.⁸ In 1283 he deposed William of Shoreham from Castle Acre; the said William defended himself with military aid from the Earl of Warenne, but was forced to submit to the prior's judgement.⁹ Contrary to custom, the Prior of Lewes appointed the Prior of Crehk¹⁰ in 1282, since the Prior of Castle Acre, of which the house was a cell, was away at that time, 'ita quod nemo quo fuerit vel qua parte

¹ Close Roll, 19 Hen. III, m. 5 d., p. 193.

² 4747.

³ 4760.

⁴ 4783.

⁵ D. V. 25.

⁶ Close Roll, 44 Hen. III, m. 14, p. 43.

⁷ S.A.C. II. 29.

⁸ Pat. Rolls, 9 Edw. I, m. 19, p. 437; 18 Edw. I, m. 4, p. 391.

⁹ M.C. I. 351.

¹⁰ Creake in Norfolk.

se verteret de illo vera aliqua inferre valeret'.¹ In 1300 the Prior of Lewes exercised unopposed his right to depose unsuitable priors, when he visited Farleigh and removed the prior:

'priorem . . . per preceptum Dom. Abbatis et officio sue visitationis degradavit qui dictam domum in multimodis placitatis et aliis oppressuris reliquerat.'²

For conditions of life within the priory we are dependent upon the reports of visitations. Of these we have full accounts only from 1262 and later. No formal visitation was ever conducted by the abbot in person in England, and it is possible that the English houses were not visited regularly until after the custom of appointing delegates was established for the whole Order. The earliest record we have of any visitation at Lewes belongs to c. 1242, in which year the Priors of Wenlock and Lenton, in begging the abbot to excuse the absence because of illness of Prior Albert from the General Chapter, refer to their recent visitation of the house.³

Other visitations, of which the records have been published by Duckett, took place in 1262, 1275-6, 1279, 1298 [1390, 1405].⁴ Specific references to Lewes Priory are few; besides the descriptions of financial chaos, quoted above,⁵ we have only the report of John, Prior of Gassicourt, and Henry, Prior of Bermondsey, made in 1262,⁶ which showed that the house was in good order, with all religious observances being properly carried out.

General conditions in the English houses are described in visitations of other houses. The usual customs in houses may be inferred from the failings of Monks Horton, Farleigh, and Montacute in 1275-6. These were the dispensing with proper leggings when on horseback, the eating of flesh in the presence of seculars, the omission of reading during meals, and neglect of religious observance.⁷ There were very occasional instances of incontinence and immorality, as in the Prior

¹ *S.A.C.* II. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ Bruel, 4780.

⁴ *D. V.* 10.

⁵ pp. 85-87.

⁶ *D. V.* 11

⁷ *D. V.* 16-19.

of Farleigh in 1279.¹ On the whole, the visitations show that the monks were leading good lives, conscientiously carrying out the rules and services of the Order, and carrying on, with varying success, the struggle against debt.² The Priory of Thetford in 1279 was heavily handicapped by the residence there 'of the professed brother of the Earl Marshal, who costs the house more than the whole religious community and the prior together'. The Priory of Lenton was faced with a costly lawsuit against 'rich and influential persons' in a dispute concerning its possessions in the Peak.³

The evidence from the later visitations emphasizes particularly the importance of religious ceremonial in the Cluniac houses.⁴ Thus, at Castle Acre seven masses are held daily, three of them sung, at Prittlewell four daily, three sung, at Farleigh six daily, three sung. Duckett publishes, without date, an order of John, Prior of Cluny, that the Priory of Longville is to be responsible for sending information of deaths to the English monasteries, so that prayers may be offered.⁵

The annals, which were being written from about 1250 to 1312,⁶ tell us very little of the internal life at the monastery. The most dramatic incident recorded is the miracle which took place in 1250 before the 'holy cross', when a certain 'infirmus quasi contractus de brachio et ambobus genibus, sanabatur'.⁷ In the entries for the years 1245 and 1255 we have perhaps a clue as to the author; they speak of a certain P., who received priesthood in 1245 and who became a monk in 1255.⁸

The entry for 1297 mentions an official of the priory, of whom we should not otherwise know, in recording the death of Nicholas the *cirsarius*—probably for *cur-sarius*, the cursitor.⁹

We have certain evidence to show that the priory was regarded as a trustworthy guardian of property. Thus, among its own charters, there are occasionally charters making gifts to individuals; it is natural to

¹ D.V. 27-8.² Ibid. 14-19, 34-6.³ Ibid. 31.⁴ Ibid. 39-40.⁵ Ibid. 51.⁶ See the note on cover of MS.⁷ f. 169a. S.A.C. II. 25.⁸ S.A.C. II. 25.⁹ Ibid. 36.

suppose that these refer to lands subsequently granted to the priory before they came into its hands; but if this is so, no trace of the gift to the priory has survived. Thus, at folio 48v¹ of the cartulary, is entered the gift of Asshurst by William, son of Walter, to William de Waux; although Asshurst is mentioned among the boundaries in two Lewes charters,² the priory had no property inside it, and it seems clear that it was acting as trustee for this charter. In 1277 the house was definitely made responsible for the marriage portions of Godfrey de Waleys's four daughters; as the result of a dispute over the manor of Tarring, 'the Archbishop (of Canterbury) has given £80 to my four daughters to marry them, and the portions . . . will be placed in the house of St. Pancras, until, with the consent of their friends, they are provided for in marriage'.³

Although the school in Lewes was quite separate from the priory, there seems to have been some connection between the two. Thus, in 1248, Luke, *magister scholarum de Lewes*,⁴ was appointed procurator for the priory; and Pecham's reference to his upbringing at Lewes School, 'under the walls of the priory and under the teaching of its monks',⁵ suggests this connection again.

Both as an alien priory and as a priory very much dependent upon a noble family, the house at Lewes had little cause to play a part in public affairs. During the period when representatives of the clergy were being summoned to parliament, the Prior of Lewes was several times summoned during the later part of the thirteenth century. In 1295 it is clear that he was not.⁶ But the most frequent summonses came in the early years of the fourteenth century.⁷ After this, priors do not seem to have been summoned to parliament, except for those of the Hospital of St. John.⁶ There are very few references to the priory in the public records, apart

¹ *S.R.S.* xxxviii. 83. xvii/3.

² *Ibid.* 86, 87.

³ *Pat. Roll*, 5 Edw. I, m. 16, p. 205.

⁴ *Bruel*, 4986.

⁵ *Register of Archbishop Pecham* (Rolls Series), III. 903.

⁶ Prynne, *Parliamentary Writs*, *passim*.

⁷ Record Commission, *Parliamentary Writs* (ed. F. Palgrave), xxiv. 194-5.

from those concerning routine business, such as summonses to appear before the justices,¹ the remission or deferment of fines,² or the record of appointment of attorneys.³ In 1278⁴ and 1299⁵ thefts were made from the priory church—in 1299 ‘a gold chalice and paten worth 100s.’—and attempts to recover the goods were made in the King’s court. In 1295 at the seizure of the alien priories in England, the Prior of Lewes found ‘sufficient mainprize’ and proved that he ‘was not born of the power or lordship of the King of France’, and had his goods restored to him.⁶ In 1290 the Prior of Lewes took part, with the Abbot of Battle and others, in a complaint that the surveyors of banks and sea-dykes at Pevensey had not taken sufficient precautions against the inundations of the sea, so that their lands were in danger.⁷

There is some indication of visits of Henry III to Lewes. In 1217 he seems to have been there;⁸ in 1240 he was there from 23 to 25 July;⁹ it is possible that he stayed at the priory. We know that he was entertained there in 1264, from the annals and other sources. The royalists apparently spent a riotous night at the priory before the battle.¹⁰ After the battle, the priory again suffered by being set on fire by the victorious barons, although the damage seems not to have extended to the destruction of the actual buildings.¹¹ The annals give quite a full account of the Battle of Lewes.¹²

The annalist of the priory himself took an interest in affairs in his own locality. Thus he records the visits of itinerant justices to Lewes and Chichester;¹³ for the year 1243 he records the consecration of ‘b. Ricardus’

¹ Close Roll, 14 Hen. III, m. 23 d.; Pat. Roll, 6 Edw. I, m. 12, p. 268.

² Close Roll, 21 Hen. III, m. 17, p. 411; 41 Hen. III, m. 13, p. 173.

³ Pat. Roll, 54 Hen. III, m. 2, p. 466, 467; Close Roll, 3 Edw. I, m. 3 d., p. 252.

⁴ Pat. Roll, 6 Edw. I, m. 13, p. 267.

⁵ Ibid., 27 Edw. I, m. 31 d., p. 465.

⁶ Close Roll, 23 Edw. I, m. 4 d., p. 460.

⁷ Pat. Roll, 18 Edw. I, m. 16 d., p. 404.

⁸ Ibid., 1 Hen. III, m. 11, p. 54.

⁹ Close Roll, 24 Hen. III, m. 11, pp. 208–9.

¹⁰ Blaaw, *The Barons' War*, 165–6.

¹¹ Ibid., 208.

¹² *S.A.C.* II, 27–8.

¹³ Ibid. 25, 26, 27. *Annis* 1248, 1255, 1260, 1262, 1271.

as Bishop of Chichester 'contra voluntatem R. Henrici',¹ his acceptance in 1245, his death in 1253, and the translation of his body in 1276.¹ There are other references to the Bishops of Chichester in 1262,² 1266, and 1273;³ and to the succession of Edward I in 1272;⁴ Edward visited the priory in 1281.⁵

Reports of the attack upon the Jews in England *propter retonsionem moneti*, and even upon many Christians, reached the annalist in 1279; he also records the issue of new money, of which many 'imitations' were in circulation.⁵

The event perhaps of greatest interest to the annalist was the promotion of John Pecham, who had known the priory in his youth, as Archbishop of Canterbury.⁶ In 1282 the archbishop paid a ceremonial visit to the priory, for which he put on his full pontifical robes *ut conventui sue dilectionis affectum ostenderet*, and, after a grand procession of the many prelates in his train, preached in the priory church before the people; after the service he went into the refectory, 'ubi cum conventu comedit ut sui amoris desiderium versus eundem conventum apertius et clarius demonstraret'.⁷

The Cluniac Order enjoyed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and the favour of the Pope; thus, in 1283, the Pope issued a general bull recommending the Order to the king.⁸ But, on the other hand, Cluny's obligations to Rome were increased, and the houses in England did not escape the encroachment of papal provisions. Thus, in 1263, the prior and convent were ordered 'to make provision of some benefice usually assigned to secular clerks' to Simon of Rygate.⁹ In 1309 the Bishop of Chichester, Abbot of Westminster, and Dean of St. Martins le Grand were granted a mandate to appoint 'a fit person nominated by Queen Isabelle', to a benefice in the gift of Lewes.¹⁰ Many more instances of this papal interference occur during the fourteenth

¹ Ibid. 24.

² Ibid. 27.

³ Ibid. 29.

⁴ S.A.C. II. 30.

⁵ Ibid. 32.

⁶ 1278, 1279. S.A.C. II. 32.

⁷ Ibid. 33.

⁸ Rymer, *Foedera* (1745), II. 217.

⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, 1263, 7 Kal. June.

¹⁰ Ibid. 1309, 6 Kal. June.

century, when the practice of 'provision' was at its height.¹ On the other hand, the priory was not free from royal interference, since in 1303 the king gained permission from the Abbot of Cluny for the appointment of his chaplain, Arnald de Pinoliis, as prior of a Cluniac house in England, and consequently demanded that he should be given Castle Acre (to which the Prior of Clifford had already been promoted) or, at any rate, Clifford Priory.²

It is therefore clear that the priory took an interest in public events chiefly as an onlooker. Its chief concern was with internal development and with the management of its estates and patronage. A study of its lands and the charters relating to them is therefore of the greatest interest in the history of the priory and of the period.

¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters, passim.*

² Close Roll, 1303, m. 18, p. 6.

AXIAL TOWERS IN SUSSEX CHURCHES

BY WALTER H. GODFREY, F.S.A.

THE normal position of the tower in the plans of English parish churches is at the west end of the nave, and so general is this practice that the exceptions cannot fail to interest the student. Sussex possesses a marked number of variations, and among them is a group of churches where the tower is raised over a space intervening between nave and chancel. This feature has been termed for convenience an axial tower,¹ and these axial tower plans form the subject of the present paper.

At first sight one might be tempted to consider the axial tower, when placed between nave and chancel, as a step in the direction of building a cruciform church, since churches of collegiate foundation, whether monastic or secular, as well as many parish churches were designed with transepts and completed by a central tower over the crossing. The historical evidence does not, however, support this view. In fact, not only does it seem unlikely that, in any of the axial tower plans, were transepts ever intended, but it is clear that where a space is interposed between chancel and nave, whether towers were built over it or not, it was introduced quite independently of the regular cruciform plan. I shall be able to show that it was a favourite Norman practice, and that though less frequent in this country after the Conquest, it is well represented among our twelfth-century and later churches, and moreover perpetuated a tradition that existed here before the Normans came. The two sources sprang indeed from a common origin.

Mr. A. W. Clapham in his *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* has set forth the important influence exerted on English building from the

¹ Professor Baldwin Brown in his *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* defines an axial tower as one built over a section of the nave at any point between its eastern and western termination and unrelated structurally with any lateral buildings.

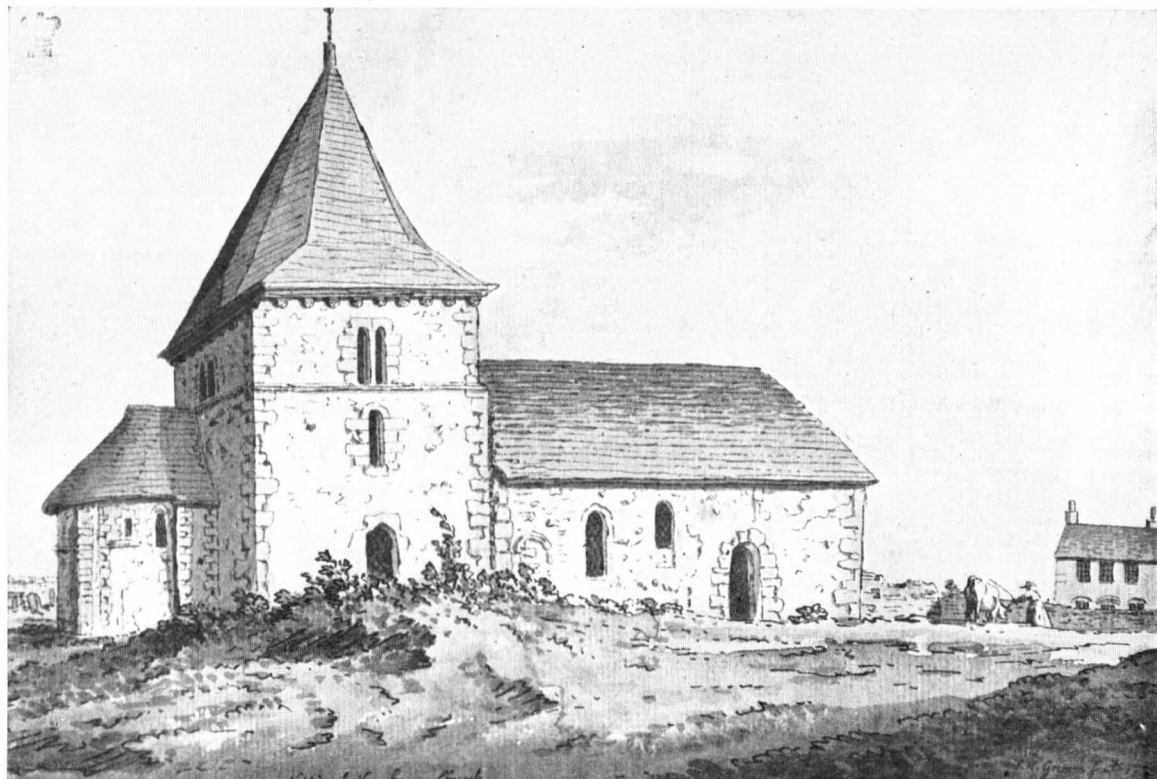


FIG. 1. NEWHAVEN CHURCH, FROM THE NORTH-EAST, 1783 (from a drawing in the Burrell Collections).

ninth century by the Carolingian revival of art in western Europe. His study of the Church of St. Riquier (begun about 790) emphasizes certain points in this building which so aptly illustrate the type followed by the larger Saxon churches of the ninth and tenth centuries. St. Riquier had an aisled nave, with a transept at the west as well as its east end, and beyond the latter was a presbytery and apse. Over the 'crossing' of each transept was raised a lofty tower. Now it is to be noted that from an early drawing of the church it appears that the transepts were actually side chapels with lean-to roofs, and were not carried up in the manner of the later Norman cruciform churches, where the transept roofs would (but for the tower) intersect with the high nave roof. Moreover, the towers themselves appear to be wooden erections built in receding stages of a type that can be seen in the thirteenth-century seal of the Chapter of Chichester, which, says Mr. Clapham, if copied from an earlier seal or drawing, may represent either the Saxon cathedral at Selsey or the Saxon minster at Chichester. At St. Riquier 'there were three chief altars, that of St. Riquier in the apse, that of St. Peter under the eastern crossing, and that of St. Saviour on the gallery under the western crossing'. Beneath this gallery and the tower above it was the main entrance into the church.

It is unnecessary here to follow Mr. Clapham in his examination of the occurrence of similar features in the larger Saxon churches, which are known to us chiefly by written records only, and the persistence of one or other of their characteristics in the parochial churches of the same period. Suffice it to say regarding the western (axial) tower that this led to a fixed tradition in England and the west tower survived throughout the entire medieval period, although its use as the principal porch and entrance became more rare as the lateral entrances became popular. The western altar to St. Saviour in the gallery over the entrance was retained in several of our Saxon churches.

Before we consider the eastern axial tower a word or

two should be said about the Saxon predilection for side chapels. Even in the mission churches of the period of St. Augustine, the *porticus* or side chapels are much in evidence. They remain a feature throughout the pre-Conquest period, and there is no general consistency in the position in which they are placed. Sometimes they were in the centre of the nave as at Bradford-on-Avon, sometimes westward as at Bishopstone, but more often they occupied the easterly position usually associated with transepts, as at Worth and Stoughton. At times they are in pairs, north and south, but even those at Worth are not exactly opposite one another. In almost every case where they project from the area west of the sanctuary, whether that space is surmounted by a tower or not, they are much narrower than the crossing, and appear as transeptal chapels rather than transepts proper. These *porticus* were in early times the burial-places of saints, and formed at all times chapels for altars, and sometimes porches for entrance as well.

We now come to the consideration of the centre compartment of what is sometimes termed the three-chamber plan where there is an intermediate space between nave and chancel. None of the examples in Sussex dates back, as far as this feature is concerned, beyond the Conquest, and as we shall see later, the plan was one frequently employed in the parish churches of Normandy. In neither case is it suggested that it can be explained as a mere survival of tradition. Features in the planning of a building for such vital needs as those of the medieval church are not likely to have survived unless they were useful, and there was no doubt a need to be met in each case. The normal chancel of both the Saxon and Early Norman church was a small rectangular compartment designed to contain the high altar and accommodate the priest serving there. But among Saxon churches there were many to which were attached more than one priest,¹ and in the

¹ See *Archaeologia*, LXVI, 'Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey', by William Page.

twelfth century additional accommodation in the presbytery seems also to have been required. It was no doubt the case at Bishopstone, where provision was made for the bishop's chaplains in the beautiful little vaulted choir, west of the sanctuary. Indeed, considering that the nave of this church is of pre-Conquest date, we might even hazard the suggestion that this twelfth-century choir was the rebuilding of an original Saxon feature. It may have been the same at Kingston Buci, where again we have a vaulted choir, this time of the thirteenth century, beneath its axial tower (Fig. 8), attached to what is almost certainly a Saxon nave. Shipley Church, which served a Preceptory of the Templars, needed a choir for the knights' stalls; and although this probably extended partly into the nave, the additional space given by the tower was no doubt exceedingly useful. In fact, it would probably be found, if we knew the full story in each case, that it was thought more advantageous to utilize the space under the tower for the eastern arm of the church than to have it shut away beneath a western tower.

It must be remembered, too, that there is a certain economy in construction in building the tower over a part of the church that can be brought into active use. And a further consideration, of no small moment to the architect of the fabric, would be the opportunity for effective design, both within and without. Even the little church of Iford is given a dignity and mystery within its walls which are surprising considering the small dimensions of the building, and the external importance of Shipley and of Broadwater (in its original state) rests largely on the position and scale of their towers. It was clearly the aesthetic element that led the fourteenth-century builder of Etchingham to revive this early model in the graceful building that has been so recently restored; for here ample provision was made for the choir stalls in the chancel, which has the longer proportions in vogue at that date. In the late-twelfth-century church of Playden, as well as in the fourteenth-century churches of Lancing and

Etchingham, the nave aisles are continued eastwards to flank the tower. This has necessitated lateral arches, but in none of these three cases is there any sign or suggestion of transepts.

The Norman employment of the axial tower design is illustrated throughout the country by examples such as Stewkley (Bucks.), Iffley (Oxon.), and Castle Rising (Norfolk), which by the completeness and forthrightness of their architecture proclaim a parentage free from all admixture of native English style. But Normandy itself had the same Carolingian background to its architectural development as we have noticed in England, and it is in Normandy that the axial tower may be found more frequently than on this side of the Channel. I have made a rough analysis of the parish churches of the province of Calvados from the survey prepared by Du Caumont.¹ Of some 700 churches about half possess only bell-cotes, wooden belfries, or modern towers. Of those with ancient towers about 100 are axial and another 100 western, with some 50 central towers attached to a cruciform plan. There are also some 130 examples of lateral towers, which are either north or south of the centre of the church. These lateral towers are evidence of the desire of the builders to place them centrally in the composition, while avoiding the special constructional problem of merging them in the main building. By adding the figures of the central groups, it will be seen that they preponderate over the western towers by a proportion of nearly three to one. Only a proportion of the towers now date from the twelfth century, but the remainder, which are in many cases a rebuild, are evidence of the continuation of the early practice.

In Sussex, out of rather over 300 churches some 60 have bell-cotes or wooden belfries. The west towers number about 175. There are 20 cruciform churches with central towers (some of which have disappeared), 11 axial towers, and 33 lateral, 8 of which are at the

¹ Mr. A. W. Clapham drew my attention to this excellent architectural survey, which is contained in five volumes.

west end attached either to the north or south angle. Adding 25 of these to the 31 central towers, we get 56 as against 175 at the west end, a ratio of 1 to 3, the exact reverse of that in Calvados, but still a large proportion compared with the normal usage in England.

The churches will be considered briefly in the following order:

1. St. Michael, Newhaven.
2. St. Mary, Shipley.
3. St. Mary, Broadwater (now cruciform).
4. St. Peter, East Blatchington (axial tower removed).
5. St. Nicholas, Iford.
6. St. James, Stedham (tower alone *in situ*).
7. St. Julian, Kingston Buci.
8. St. Margaret, Rottingdean.
9. St. Michael, Playden.
10. St. James, Lancing.
11. St. Mary, Etchingham.

and a note on St. Mary, West Chiltington (wooden belfry).

1. ST. MICHAEL, NEWHAVEN, is an unusual example of the combination of a Norman tower with a short apsidal sanctuary attached to its eastern face. The same plan, without the tower, is not unfrequently found, as at East Ham (Essex) and Kilpeck (Herefordshire); and with the tower but with a square sanctuary in place of the apse, as at Stewkley (Bucks.) and Iffley (Oxon.). A parallel to Newhaven must be sought on the Continent, where at Yainville, near Jumièges, stands a sister structure which was cited by Mark Antony Lower.¹ The internal dimensions of the tower at Newhaven are some 15 by 13 ft., and both east and west walls are carried on semicircular arches 9 ft. wide. The responds have twin nook shafts on the angles looking to the centre of the tower, and the arches themselves are adorned, as is usual, on the western faces only, with roll mouldings, that between the tower and the apse, on its two orders, and on one only nearest

¹ S.A.C. ix. 92. A more elaborate example of the same plan with an aisled nave is at Oistreham in the Canton of Creully.

the nave. The apse has external buttresses, and a string course below the sill of its windows, one of which remains as built. The tower is comparatively low with a set-off just above the ridge of the roof of the apse, marking the belfry stage. The belfry windows are twin round-headed openings separated by a banded shaft

PARISH CHURCH *of* ST. MICHAEL NEWHAVEN

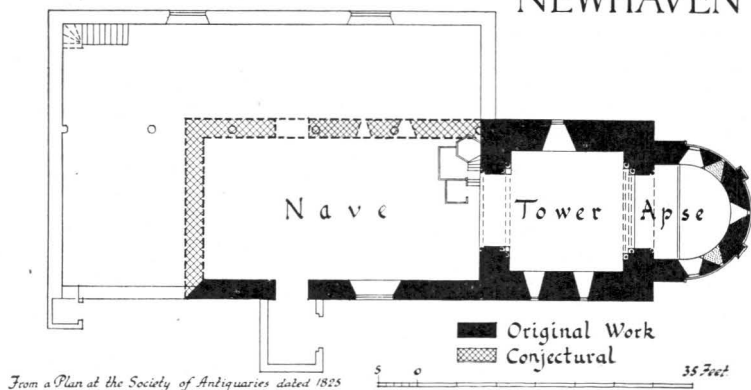


FIG. 2.

and capital. Above the corbel table there now rises a shingled brooch spire. The nave is modern, but from a plan of 1825 at the Society of Antiquaries, and from early drawings it is possible to reconstruct the old plan on paper (Figs. 1 and 2).

2. ST. MARY, SHIPLEY, is a church of very different proportions (Fig. 3), and except for a modern north aisle it is preserved to us practically as built. The nave and tower are of the same width, the former being 66 by 19 ft. and the latter 17 by 19 ft., there being very little difference in the thickness of their walls. The chancel is narrower (19 by 16½ ft.) and inclines slightly to the north.

One of the most interesting details of the building is the double splay to the windows in nave, tower, and chancel. This characteristic Saxon type is occasionally

PARISH CHURCH of ST. MARY *the* VIRGIN SHIPLEY

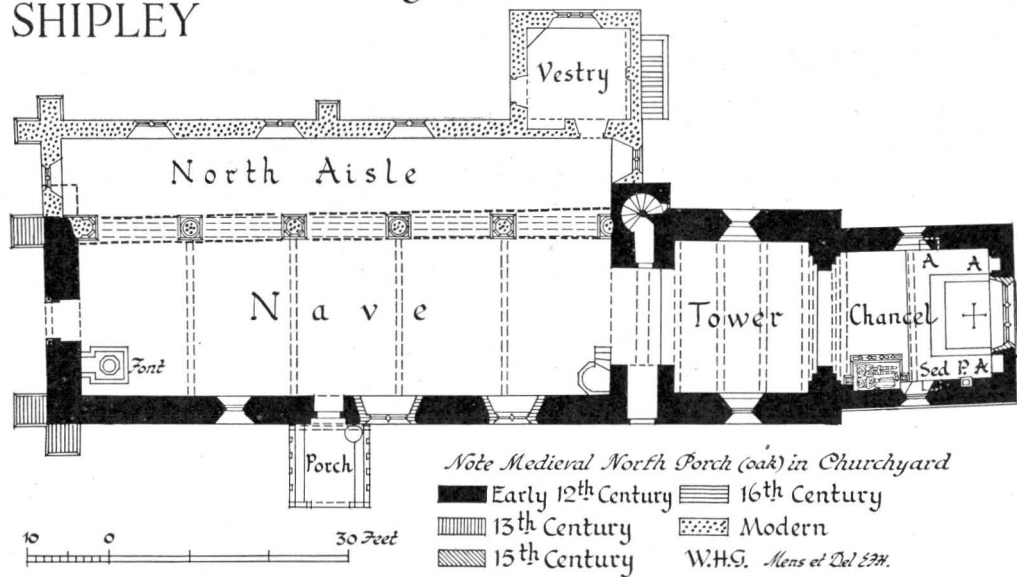


FIG. 3.

found in Norman work, as in this building, in the sub-vault of the frater of Lewes Priory and in the keep of Lydford Castle,¹ but it is rare after the Conquest. Another interesting point is the abnormal thickening of the west wall of the tower, to cover the full width of the stair turret on the north and a corresponding passage and choir entrance on the south, which gives the tower the large external dimensions of 27 by 28 ft. The arch carrying this wall is 7 ft. 6 in. deep and is faced towards the west with a plain ring of stones, over which is a label moulding enriched with billet ornament. Midway in the soffit of the arch is a single second order carried on corbels and carved with alternate chevron and dart ornament. The eastern arch of the tower is more elaborate, with three moulded and enriched orders. Externally the tower has an off-set above the ridge of the nave roof and beneath the belfry stage. The belfry openings are plain with semicircular arched heads. Above them is a corbel table and a modern parapet, which replaces the pyramidal roof shown in Sharpe's drawing of 1805.

The entrance at the west end is of the late twelfth century and has a pointed arch, while over it is a two-light window with plate tracery. The whole of this end and part of the nave south wall have been restored and the buttresses are additions. The east window in the chancel is of fifteenth-century date, two windows in the nave were replaced in the sixteenth century, and there is a good south porch of oak probably of the same period. The oak north porch was removed and is now used as a shed in the churchyard. For the important monument to Sir Thomas Caryll (*ob.* 1616) and his wife, in the chancel, the reader is referred to Dr. Mosse's *Monumental Effigies of Sussex*. The beautiful portable shrine or reliquary of enamelled copper (early twelfth century) in the possession of the church has had so far only passing references in the Society's collections.²

¹ Cited by Mr. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*.

² *S.A.C.* v. 108; xxii. 20, 21. It is illustrated in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. v (1836), and a coloured representation will be found in Dallaway and Cartwright's *History of Western Sussex*.

3. ST. MARY, BROADWATER, was the subject of an exhaustive paper by Mr. Frederick Harrison and Mr. O. H. Leeney in *S.A.C.* LXXIV (plan, p. 102). It is now an imposing cruciform building, but in the opinion of the authors of the above account, it was originally similar in plan to Shipley. Remains of windows above the later transeptal arches prove that the tower was an axial one, and its dimensions (interior 16 by 16 ft., exterior 24 by 24 ft.) are only a few feet short of that at Shipley. The tower walls apparently lined with the north and south walls of the original aisleless nave, while the chancel was narrower, but no information is available as to the original length of nave or chancel. Of the arches carrying the walls of the tower that to the east, of two orders enriched with carving, remains as built except for some fine late-twelfth-century capitals inserted in the imposts; that to the west has had its carved voussoirs reset in an arch of pointed form. The upper part of the tower is of later date and is much restored.

4. ST. PETER, EAST BLATCHINGTON, has suffered many changes, and its original form can only be deduced from the evidence of the plan. (Fig. 4.) It is, however, clear that the church had an axial tower of considerable size, probably 19 ft. square inside and 28 ft. square externally, in line with the nave walls. This tower either fell or was removed in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and was replaced by a new west tower of smaller dimensions. Late in the twelfth century it was apparently desired to add a south aisle, and two arches were cut, one in the south wall of the nave, west of the tower, and the other in the thicker south wall of the tower itself. These arches are now blocked. The undertaking may well have weakened the tower, resulting in its removal and the incorporation of its site into the nave. A new chancel was built in the thirteenth century, and when the west tower was raised it is probable that the old nave was shortened at the west end where the quoins appear to be re-used.

PARISH CHURCH of ST. PETER EAST BLATCHINGTON

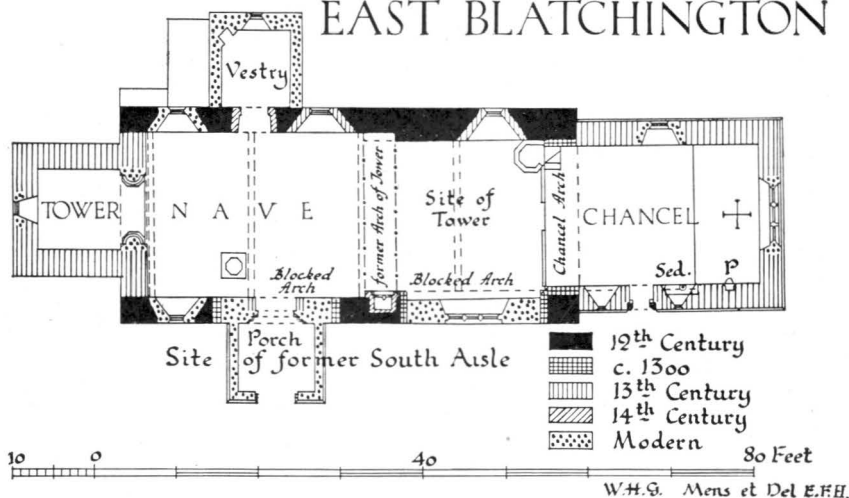


FIG. 4.

PARISH CHURCH of ST. NICHOLAS, IFORD.

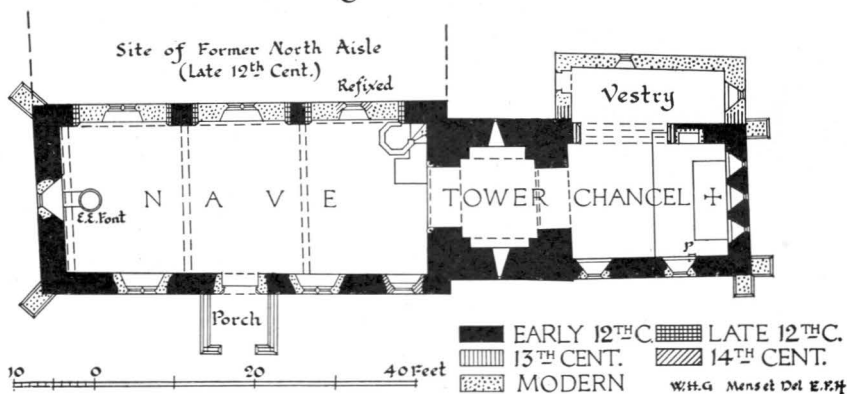


FIG. 5.

The eastern tower arch, opening into the chancel, was widened and rebuilt at the same time or soon after the aisle was planned. The western wall with its arch has disappeared altogether, but its original junction with the lateral walls is marked, on the north, by a curious wall arch and corbel, and on the south by a large double niche with traceried front. When the church was restored vestiges of a circular stone stair were found within the north respond of the chancel arch, which may have belonged to the original stair to the early tower, or to a later rood stair.

5. ST. NICHOLAS, IFORD, is the most complete example of this group of churches, since it retains its Norman nave, tower, and chancel in their original size, and though, in the late twelfth century, a north aisle was added to the nave, this aisle has since disappeared and the arcade is built up. It has, however, one marked difference from the plans already examined, for the tower walls, instead of being flush with those of the nave, are in this case in line with those of the chancel. This circumstance has led Mr. H. S. Braun¹ to see in the tower a reconstruction of an earlier chancel, to which a later chancel, he thinks, has been added, but a most careful re-examination of the building has convinced me that the three chambers are all of one build.

The dimensions of the church are small: nave 45 by 19 ft., tower 10 by 9 ft. (exterior 18 by 17 ft. 6 in.), chancel 25 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft.; but the internal effect of the arrangement is remarkable. The tower arches are 7 ft. 6 in. wide, the western having a roll moulding interrupted by small chevrons and a label of similar section towards the west, while the eastern has a continuous roll on the same face. The responds of the western arch now have nook shafts, but these seem to be modern additions if we may trust the illustration accompanying the Rev. J. L. Petit's paper² published in 1849. The north and south walls of the tower have

¹ *V.C.H. Sussex*, vii, 55.

² *Archaeological Journal*, vi, p. 141.

inner wall arches, within which are small single-light windows. The chancel retains its original arrangement at the east end, three single lights with a circular light in the gable. The site of a small north chapel of later date is now occupied by a vestry. (Figs. 5 and 6.)

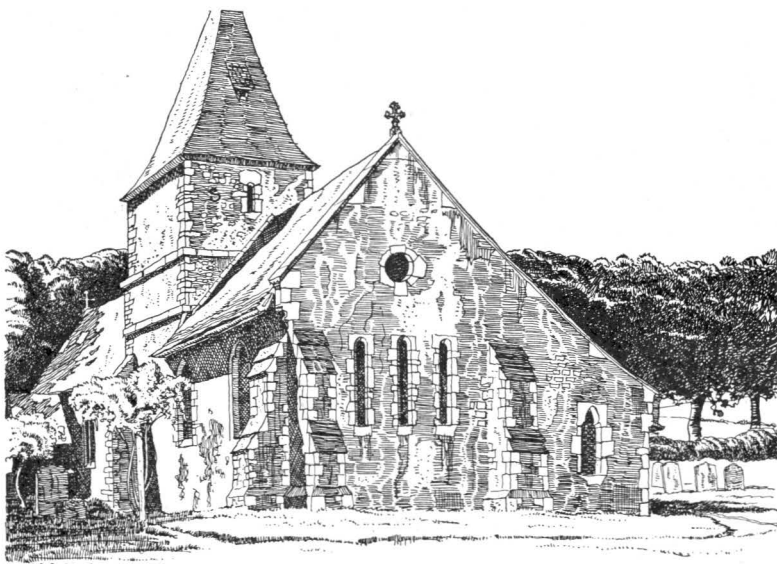


FIG. 6. IFORD CHURCH.

6. ST. JAMES, STEDHAM, must originally have followed the Iford plan pretty closely and seems to have been of the same date. Unfortunately the church, with the exception of the tower, was pulled down in 1850 and rebuilt north of the tower. The elevations of the nave, with its most interesting paintings, which are portrayed in colour in *S.A.C.* vol. iv, show an early-twelfth-century window in both the north and south wall. The tower, which had been rebuilt either wholly or in its upper part in 1670, was the same width externally as the nave, the thirteenth-century chancel being slightly narrower. A drawing by Sharpe in 1804 shows the church from the south-east, with a low octagonal spire over the tower. (Fig. 7.)

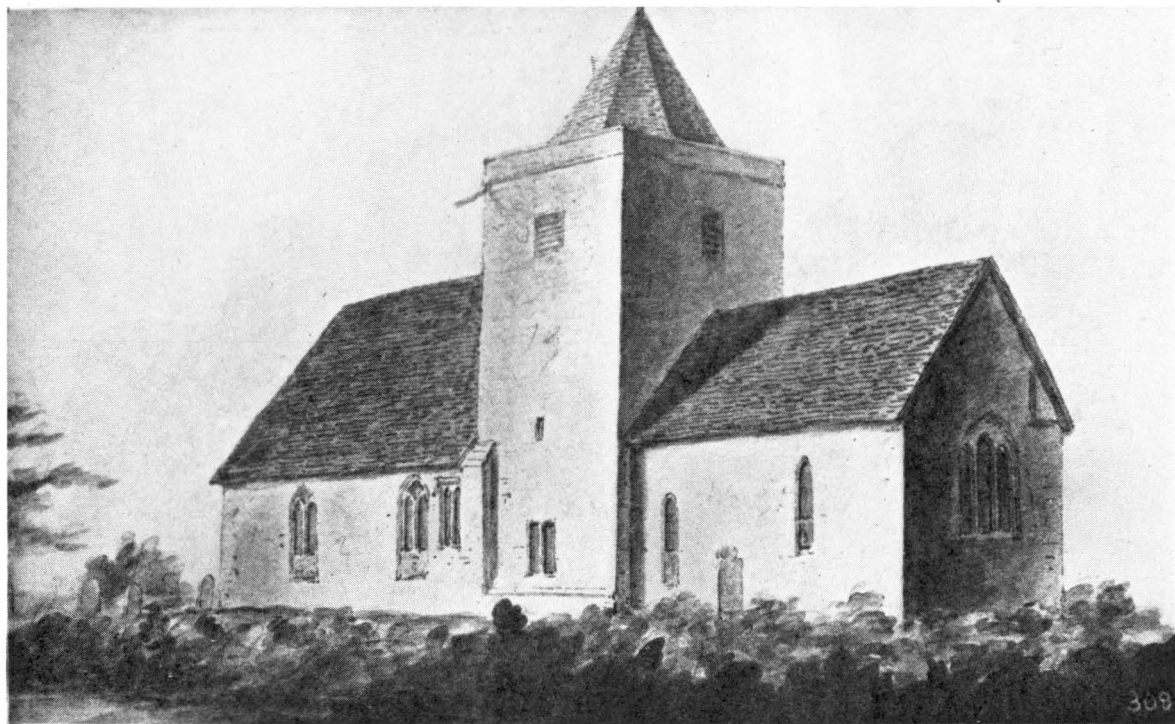


FIG. 7. ST. JAMES, STEDHAM. 1804. (From a drawing in the Sharpe Collection.)

7. ST. JULIAN, KINGSTON BUCI, is the only one of this group of churches which can be assigned in part to the pre-Conquest period. The slight thickness of the nave walls and the large quoins at its western angles, together with the considerable depth of its foundations,

PARISH CHURCH of ST. JULIAN KINGSTON BUCI

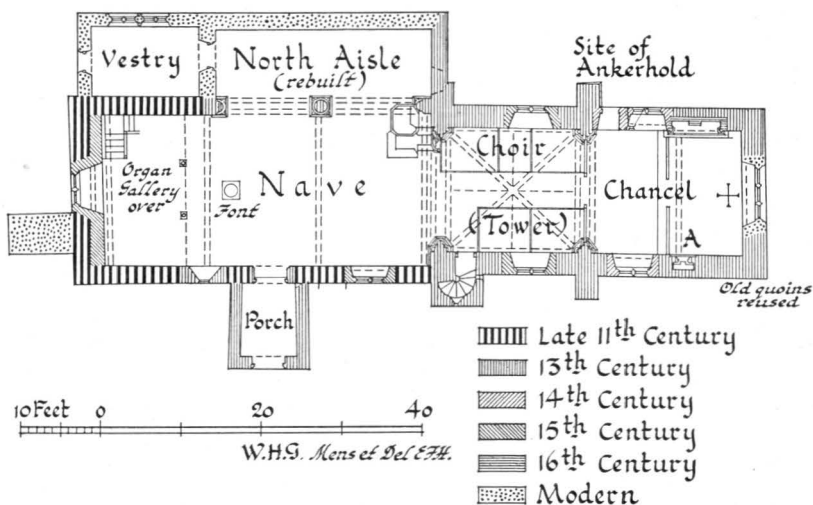


FIG. 8.

point to a Saxon build. In the thirteenth century a north aisle of two bays was added and the parts east of the nave were rebuilt. The axial tower is the same width as the chancel, both being slightly narrower than the nave. The lower stage of the interior of the tower is vaulted and its detail, together with that of the two transverse arches, is delightfully carried out. Each respond has triple shafts, with turned bell capitals of Purbeck, and the inner of the three orders dies into a niche-like recess to avoid fouling the springing of the diagonal ribs of the vault.¹ The staircase turret is on

¹ Mr. O. H. Leeney reminds me that a similar device is to be seen in the vaulting of the nave of Worcester Cathedral.

the south side, and the tower has external buttresses to each transverse wall. The original windows have been replaced in the fifteenth century. The chancel itself retains the small dimensions of an earlier period, although tower and chancel together produce the normal thirteenth-century proportions. (Fig. 8.) There was an ankerhold on the north side, previous to the cutting through of the north external door.

8. ST. MARGARET, ROTTINGDEAN, also possesses a thirteenth-century axial tower and chancel, the former with buttresses like those at Kingston Buci, but the chancel is narrower than the tower, which again has less width than the twelfth-century nave. The south aisle is modern, but is on the site of one that had been destroyed. Foundations have been found, south of the tower, of a building of a length similar to that of the chancel, and it has been held that these are evidences of original transepts and that the first plan of the church was cruciform. It is clear, however, that the present thirteenth-century building, with the three tiers of lancet windows in the tower, was designed as it now stands, and it is quite possible that it is the successor of a similar building of Norman date. It would be curious if an attempt (as at Broadwater) to add transepts to an earlier axial tower had endangered the structure, and resulted in a rebuilding on the old model. The internal dimensions of the tower are little less than those of Kingston Buci (15 ft. square), but there is no comparison between the tower arches, those at Rottingdean being narrow and even primitive in form—three chamfered orders resting on semi-octagonal responds with a rude moulded capping and base. Externally the greater length of the nave and chancel and the height of the tower make a more imposing composition. (Figs. 9 and 10.)

9. ST. MICHAEL, PLAYDEN, is the earliest in date of three interesting plans, where the nave aisles are extended to flank the axial tower. Since this arrangement occasions lateral tower-arches as well as those giving on

PARISH CHURCH of ST. MARGARET ROTTINGDEAN

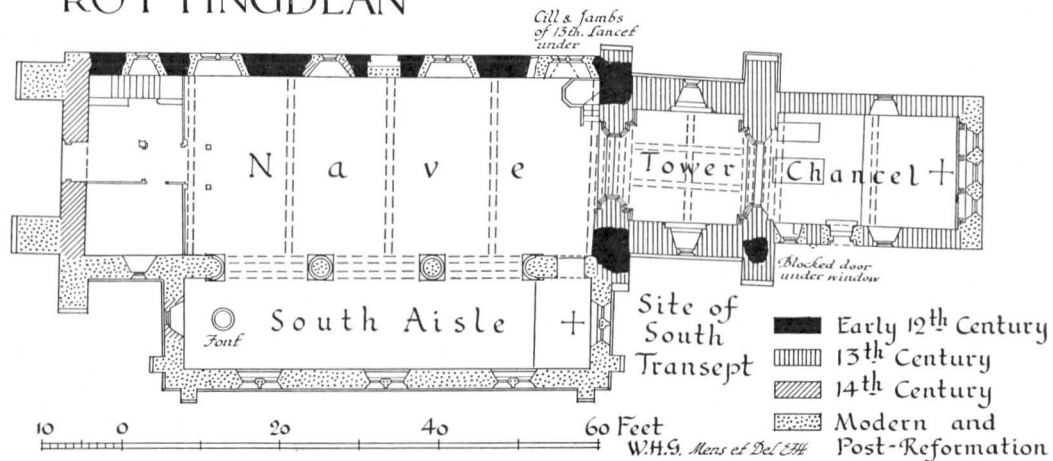


FIG. 9.

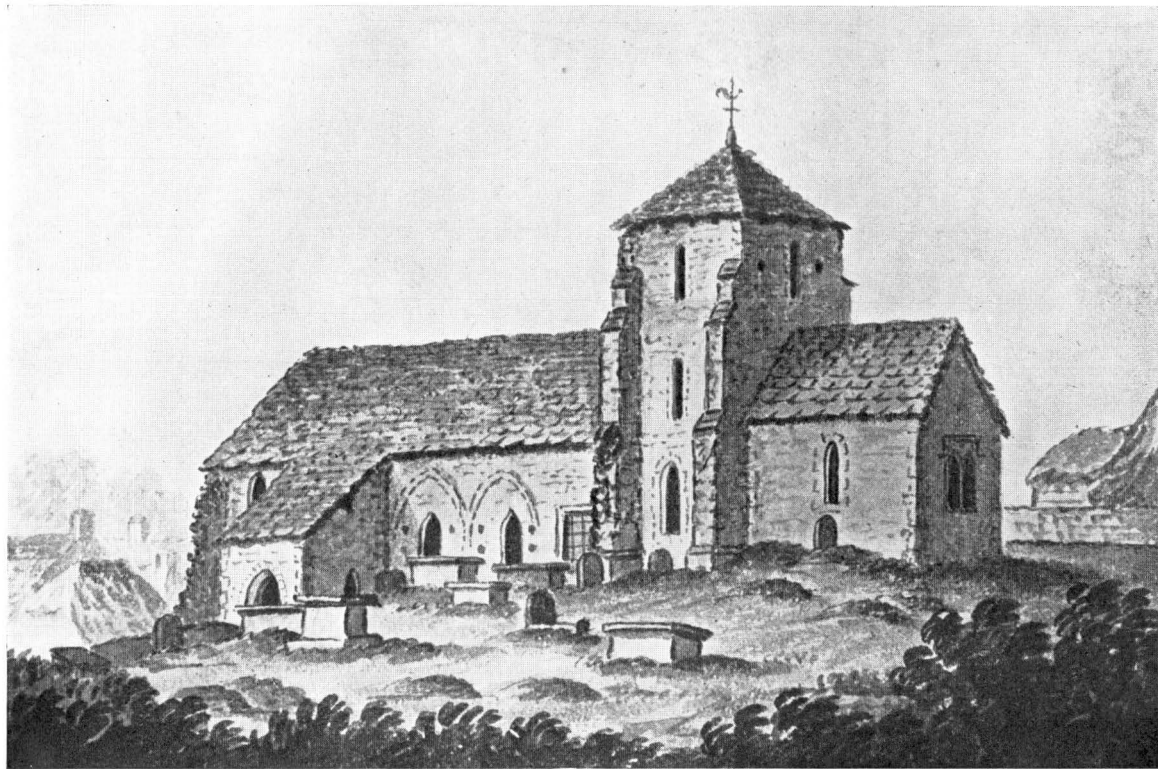
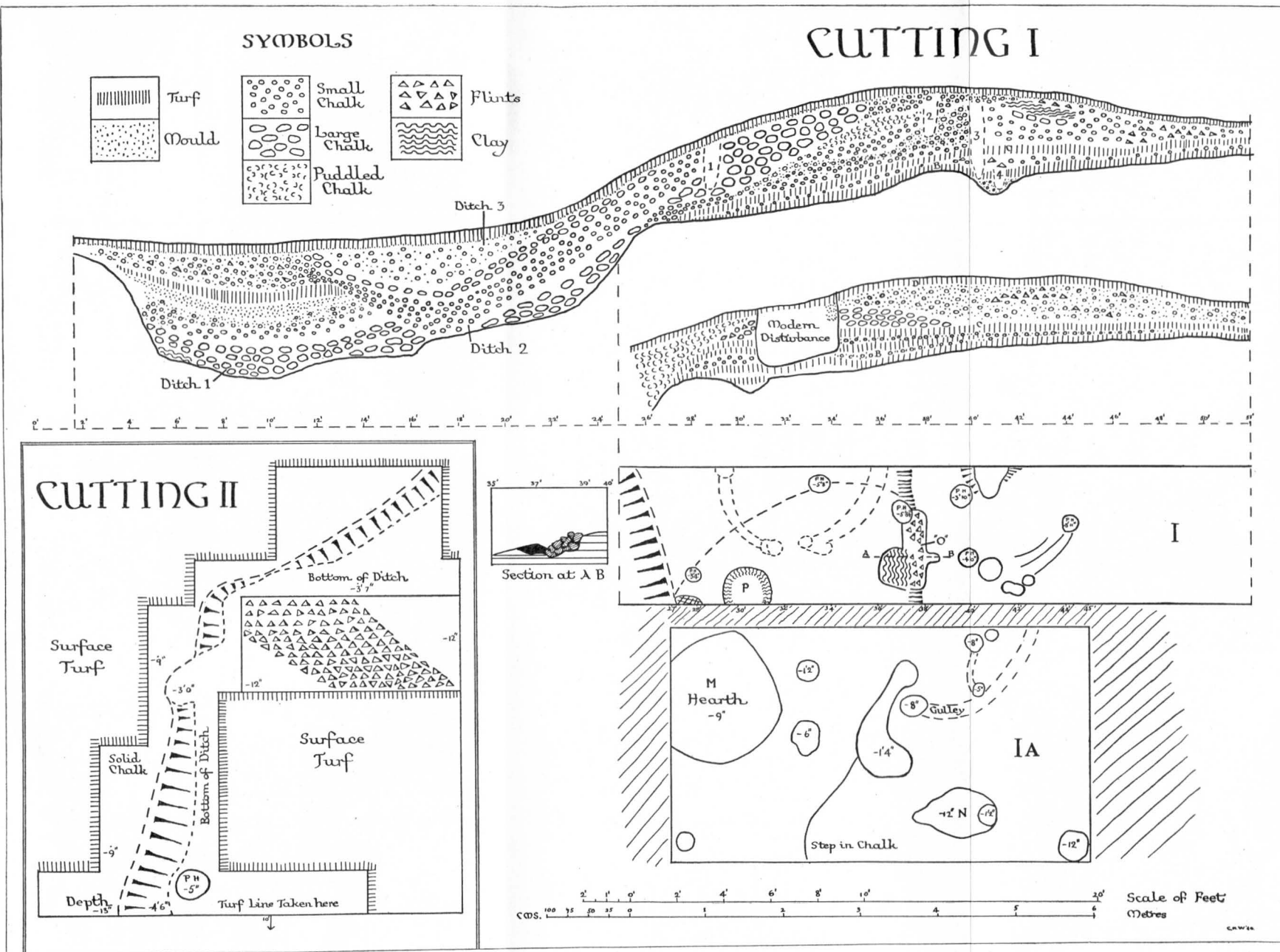


FIG. 10. ROTTINGDEAN CHURCH: FROM THE SOUTH-EAST, c. 1780 (from a drawing in the Burrell Collections).

to nave and chancel, it might be thought that a cruciform church was actually proposed, yet in all three cases it seems clear that transepts were not intended by the builder. The axial towers function independently of the lateral extensions, but there were obvious advantages in providing this access for an aisled nave. None of the churches which we have so far considered were originally planned with aisles, although the short aisle at Kingston Buci was contemporary with the tower, and the south aisle at Rottingdean was probably in being when its tower was built. Playden, however, like the two fourteenth-century churches yet to be considered, was built with an aisled nave from the start, and except for minor changes and the rebuilding of its eastern wall it is still essentially the fabric erected in the late twelfth century. The beauty of the interior is remarkable and must have been enhanced when the circular clerestory windows were visible, for the present roof, which covers nave and aisles in one span, is modern and replaces the three parallel roofs of the original design. (Fig. 11.) The north and south arcades are of four bays each, with three semicircular arches and one that is pointed at the west end. The central piers and the east responds alone are octagonal in plan, the remainder being round. The tower arches, as is usual, are more elaborately treated towards the west, there being one chamfered and two moulded orders with a label facing the nave, and one chamfered order only towards the tower. The eastern arch has a chamfered and a moulded order on both sides with a label towards the west. Both arches are pointed. The north and south arches are of a single chamfered order only. Externally the stone tower is roofed with a brooch spire, the spire being relatively high and slender. The enveloping roof gives it no doubt a very different appearance from of old, and dwarfs the tower as well as reducing the aisles to insignificance.

10. ST. JAMES, LANCING, is a most interesting church with one or two elusive features. It seems to have been



PL. II. SECTIONS AND PLANS OF CUTTINGS I, IA, AND II. Full section is of N. face of Cutting I; smaller section is a 'mirror' section of S. face. Plans of I and IA show features in floor of Late Bronze Age hut.

PARISH CHURCH of ST MICHAEL PLAYDEN

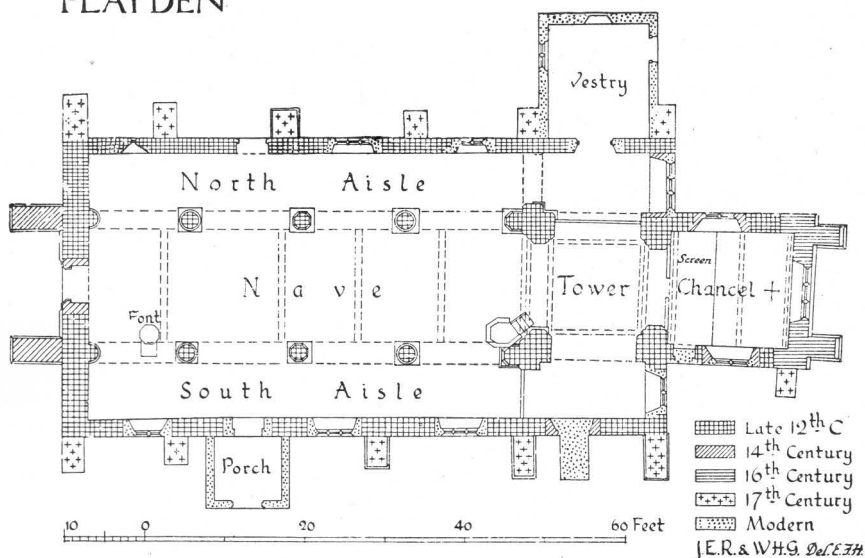


FIG. 11

PARISH CHURCH of ST. JAMES the LESS LANCING

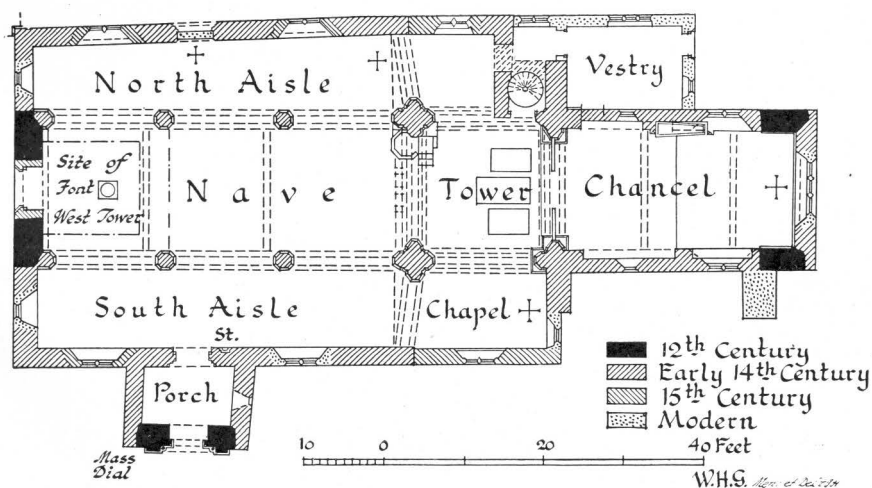


FIG. 12

planned as a coherent whole late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century, but there is evidence that it was a reconstruction, while parts of the earlier church were still in use. Portions of twelfth-century work have survived: a good Norman doorway refixed in the later porch and parts of an internal string-course carved with billet ornament in the eastern parts of both north and south chancel walls, which one would be tempted to ascribe to a re-use of old material, were it not that the north wall, externally, has marked herring-bone technique and seems to be original.¹ The most puzzling features are the arches over the aisles which form abutments to the western arch of the tower. These arches are skewed as if they had to be carried to pre-existing supports in the north and south walls, and indeed at each point of support there is a straight joint in the external walling. If new transepts had been intended there would have been no need for this, but it is possible that the earlier church had transepts to an unaisled nave. Above the skew-arches are loftier ones carried at right angles to the tower, and the whole was plainly designed at one time since this complicated scheme necessitated the working of some of the stones to fit in with the divergent directions above and below. It is unlikely that the earlier church had a central tower, since the thickness of the west wall and certain quoins that appear internally in this wall and externally over the last bay of the nave arcade point to an original western tower. The masons who rebuilt the church in the early fourteenth century made free use of the quoins of Caen stone from the former building, and this gives the church an early appearance from outside, while the extensive external rendering in plaster increases the difficulty of identifying the sequence of construction. As it stands, however, Lancing exhibits a most interesting example of the continuation of an axial tower with an aisled nave. It should be noticed

¹ If the original Norman Chancel were in fact so far east, the position of the chancel arch must have been moved westward at some subsequent reconstruction unless the twelfth-century chancel had the unusual length which occurs at Wilmington and possibly St. Anne's, Lewes.

that the position of the staircase to the tower partly blocks the northern tower arch and reduces the length of the north aisle. There is a record that the tower was at one time loftier than at present. (Fig. 12.)

PARISH CHURCH of S.S MARY & NICHOLAS ETCHINGHAM

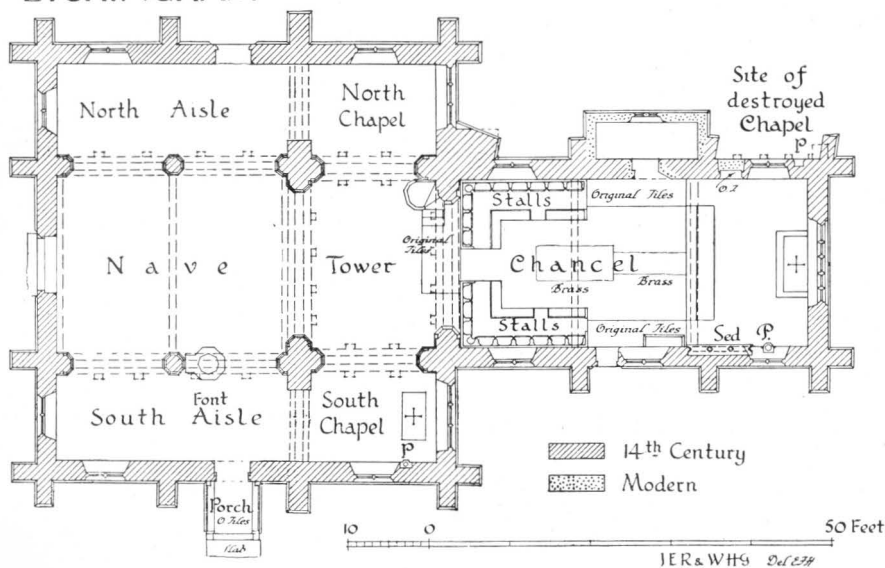


FIG. 13.

11. ST. MARY, ETCHINGHAM. This very beautiful building has been fully described elsewhere,¹ and it is only necessary to say here that it was built as a complete design at the charges of Sir William de Echingham, about the year 1363.² The only uncertainty in its plan concerns the length of the nave, which has but two bays west of the tower. The west end has the appearance of being of a temporary character and an extension may well have been intended. The extreme elegance of the window tracery, the fine dressing of the stonework, which enhances the simplicity of the tower, and

¹ *V.C.H. Sussex*, ix. 215-16; *S.A.C.* ix. 343-60.

² Mr. L. F. Salzman has published the contract for making five windows in this year: *S.N.Q.* iii. 52.

the quality of the stalls and internal fittings make the church a notable one. The chancel is of three bays, without aisles; the nave, also of three bays but aisled, accommodates the tower in its eastern bay with a chapel north and south in each aisle. (Fig. 13.) The tower and aisle walls alone have parapets, the main roof being finished with eaves, giving a simplicity of mass which makes a remarkable setting for the fine windows.

In conclusion a word should be said concerning the wooden belfry of WEST CHILTINGTON. The central position (between nave and chancel) is much more common in France than in England for hanging the bell, and the small spire called a *flèche* is a common feature abroad. In Normandy there are many examples similar to our wooden belfries which ride on the western bay of the nave roof, but not infrequently these are placed over the chancel arch. At West Chiltington we have such a belfry, the wall between nave and chancel having been thickened to 5 ft. 6 in. to assist its support. Its proportions, in contrast to the small size of the church, are large and it is crowned with a shingled spire. In appearance it can claim a place among the axial towers which it obviously emulates. The church is best known for its remarkable wall paintings, which are recorded in the coloured drawings preserved at Barbican House, Lewes.

For the views of Newhaven, Iford, and Rottingdean, reproduced from blocks made for *V.C.H. Sussex*, vol. vii (*Rape of Lewes*), we are indebted to the Editor of the *Victoria County Histories*.

ASHDOWN FOREST AND ITS INCLOSURES

BY ERNEST STRAKER

THE records relating to Ashdown Forest are unusually numerous. There are complete surveys, 1564, 1650, and 1658; the two latter are given in full in vols. XXIII and XXIV of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, and that of 1564 in Mr. Raper's Book of Documents prepared for the lawsuit of 1810, together with many other extracts from the Duchy of Lancaster records.¹ In 1693 there was an award, given in full in a special volume of Sir William Burrell's MSS. in the British Museum, Add. MS. 5709, and two maps relating to this are in the Public Record Office and in the Buckhurst Estate Office respectively.

My thanks are due to Earl De La Warr and to Messrs. Hunt, Nicholson, & Co. of Lewes for enabling me to inspect and epitomize the Duddleswell Court Rolls, which cover the forest. Much information is also to be found in a paper on the forest by the late W. H. Hills, originally published in the *East Grinstead Observer*.

Ashdown Forest is a tract of land, very roughly triangular in shape, some seven miles east to west, and the same distance north to south. The extent is about 14,000 acres. It ranges in height from about 200 ft. to over 700 ft. above sea-level. The geological formation is Hastings sand, and the soil barren, with occasional layers of soft stone, with iron ore in places. To-day nearly the whole uninclosed area is covered with bracken and small pines, which latter have perhaps seeded from the conspicuous clumps which were planted in the early years of the nineteenth century to provide cover for black game. It is obvious that when the grazing sufficed for large numbers of deer, cattle, and swine the bracken

¹ Where other sources are not given, the information in this article is derived from Mr. Raper's book.

could only have been limited in extent, possibly kept down by the large herds of swine. In 1297 there were 2,133 hogs and 557 pigs.¹ In 1539 there were in South Ward 220 deer and in Costley Ward 430.² In 1658 the Parliamentary Commissioners admitted the claims for grazing 2,746 head of cattle, allotting 4,462 acres, or $1\frac{5}{8}$ acres per head. It was stated in 1679, however, that no more than 1,000 or 1,200 were kept and that the King kept 3,000 or 4,000 deer, an obvious exaggeration.

The early history of the forest was fully dealt with by the Rev. Edward Turner in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*; vol. xiv, and this paper mainly relates to the successive inclosures.

Originally part of the Forest of Anderida, as such it was attached to the Honor of Pevensey, sometimes from its association with the family of L'Aigle (de Aquila) called the *Honor of the Eagle*, and was granted to John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, in 1372; it so became part of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was known as Lancaster Great Park, afterwards falling to the Crown with the other possessions of the Duchy. The royal hunting-box was in Vachery Wood. It was not only a royal hunting-ground, but also a manor, Duddleswell, held direct from the Crown. The few freeholders had their land without the pale. The commoners' holdings were confined to the vicinity of the pale. It is possible, as some hold, that they represent the original inhabitants before afforestation, and therefore were able to preserve a considerable share in the governance. From the Court Rolls it is evident that the area of each holding, with the exception of the land attached to the inn, was very small. This again was divided into little closes, showing that the original cultivation was by the spade and not by the plough. This is borne out by the heriots due to the Lord on the death of a tenant; the entry is often 'No heriot, as there was no beast'. Occasionally there was a cow taken or redeemed. The rents were nominal, a few pence per acre only, so that the possession of a copyhold was valuable, and frequently formed the

¹ Pipe Roll 26 Edw. I.

² Raper Docts.

security of a mortgage, showing the poverty of the holders. The yield of these small crofts could hardly have sufficed for a living, unless supplemented by other employment. A noticeable feature is the early death of so many of the copyholders as shown by the minority of the heirs. There were frequent disputes with the royal keepers, but on the whole, the tenants protected the King's interests, more especially as regards the 'Strangers' rights, being those of adjacent manors who had prescriptive grazing rights, though at a higher fee. In 1520 it was presented that 'much of the King's woods were cut down and coled for the iron mills, and the Forest digged for Irne by which man and beast be in jeopardy'.

The areas given in the Court Roll transactions and in the surveys of 1564 and 1658 are by 'estimation', but fortunately in statute acres, and where checkable fairly correct. The areas in the 1693 award and the tithe apportionments are accurately surveyed. This dual role is shown in the Court Rolls from 1610 to 1750.

A survey of 1564 gave the names of copyholders and their holdings. Of these some 158 acres can be identified as within the pale, and 242 acres without, though in the absence of maps these apportionments are somewhat conjectural. The majority of these again appeared in the survey of 1658. On the accession of James I sales began to be made of Crown lands. This practice was extended by Charles I, and so late as 1640 a plan of increasing sales was in contemplation; Charles wrote about this in 1642. The precedent was followed by the Commonwealth. The royal domains under the control of Parliament were vested in Commissioners. On 6 January 1648 the King's name was ordered to be omitted from public documents. In the Court Roll of 24 April 1649 the regnal year was omitted, and in that of 8 July 1657 the word 'Lord' was entered as 'Lords', i.e. the Parliamentary Commissioners.

Suggestions for apportioning the forest more usefully, restricting common rights, and stopping encroachments, were further reported in 1651. Meanwhile an Act for disafforestation of all manors, forests, and lands which

belonged to the Crown in 1635 was passed, and they were vested in trustees authorized to enclose and sell. Ashdown Forest was then exempt, being reserved for soldiers' arrears.¹ This exemption was afterwards annulled. A very minute survey of the Manor of Duddleswell was made in 1650, and another in 1658, which differs very little and is therefore taken as the definite one. Again it is difficult to determine which copyholds were within the pale, but at least 357 acres, and probably more, were within the forest. No action was then taken. Oliver Cromwell had died on 3 September 1658, Richard Cromwell resigned on 25 May 1659, and on 25 April 1660 the Convention invited Charles II to return. The plural 's' of 'Lords', signifying the trustees for the Parliament, had already been omitted.

The deer having been killed, the woods wasted, and the whole forest laid open and made waste, the Crown on 1 April 1662 made a demise of the premises to the Earl of Bristol for 99 years, at a rent of £200 per annum. This was disputed by the Earl of Dorset, and the matter was compromised by an agreement to pay Dorset £100 per annum out of the profits. Power was given to inclose for Bristol's profit and by the same Letters Patent it was disafforested.

Owing to the opposition of the commoners, who threw down his hedges and laid the inclosures open, this lease failed for non-payment of rent, and in November 1673 the forest was granted to the trustees for Col. Washington's children.² These rights were bought out by Sir Thomas Williams, who was entered as Lord in May 1664; Alexander Staples was steward and Joseph Fels joint proprietor. Williams was Lord of the Manor for 26 years, up to 1699.

There were repeated proposals for inclosure, which were steadily opposed by the commoners and by the owners of neighbouring estates who claimed right of pasture on the forest. In February 1675 it was agreed to grant a lease of the 500 acres adjacent to Buckhurst Park, of which Symon Smith was then the tenant, to

¹ Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands*, 117.

² Burrell Add. MS. 5705.

Smith. This was followed by a sale outright to him in October 1678. Symon Smith was perhaps only a representative of the Earl of Dorset, who later on owned the 500 acres. Smith was paid by the proprietors later on for surveying and getting out the proprietors' portions of the forest. During the period of Sir Thomas Williams's lordship, up to the final division in 1693, 45 holdings by copy were granted, with the concurrence of the Courts. The rents were practically standardized at 2s. per acre, as contrasted with the few pence per acre paid for the ancient holdings.

On 11 April 1679 the King's grantees made proposals concerning the inclosing of the forest, citing as reasons the power of the King to keep 3,000 or 4,000 red and fallow deer, besides 3,000 head of cattle taken in for agistment. They proposed to set out as compensation land near the pale, being the better value, much of it being worth three times that of the other. The commoners, although claiming to keep 3,000 or 4,000 head of cattle, many without rights, did not usually keep more than 1,000 or 1,200, so that the common left would afford them double as much pasture as they ever enjoyed when the forest was stocked with deer. It was agreed to abide by the arbitration of Sir John Pelham and Sir John Fagg. They gave their award on 15 April 1680, giving the tenants 5,500 acres. However, on 12 June 1680 ninety-nine claimants protested against this award.

During the next ten years the inclosure proposals seem to have been in abeyance, but a greatly increased number of grants of copyholds were made by the Lord, Sir Thomas Williams. A suit was entered by the Earl of Dorset and others against 133 defendants who claimed common rights. On 4 December 1691 it was decreed that Commissioners were to be appointed to divide the forest, so that the proprietors' holdings should not prejudice the commoners, who were to have rights on 5,500 acres. They gave their award on 9 July 1693. Sir William Burrell recorded this in a special volume of his manuscript in the British Museum—Add. MS. No. 5709.

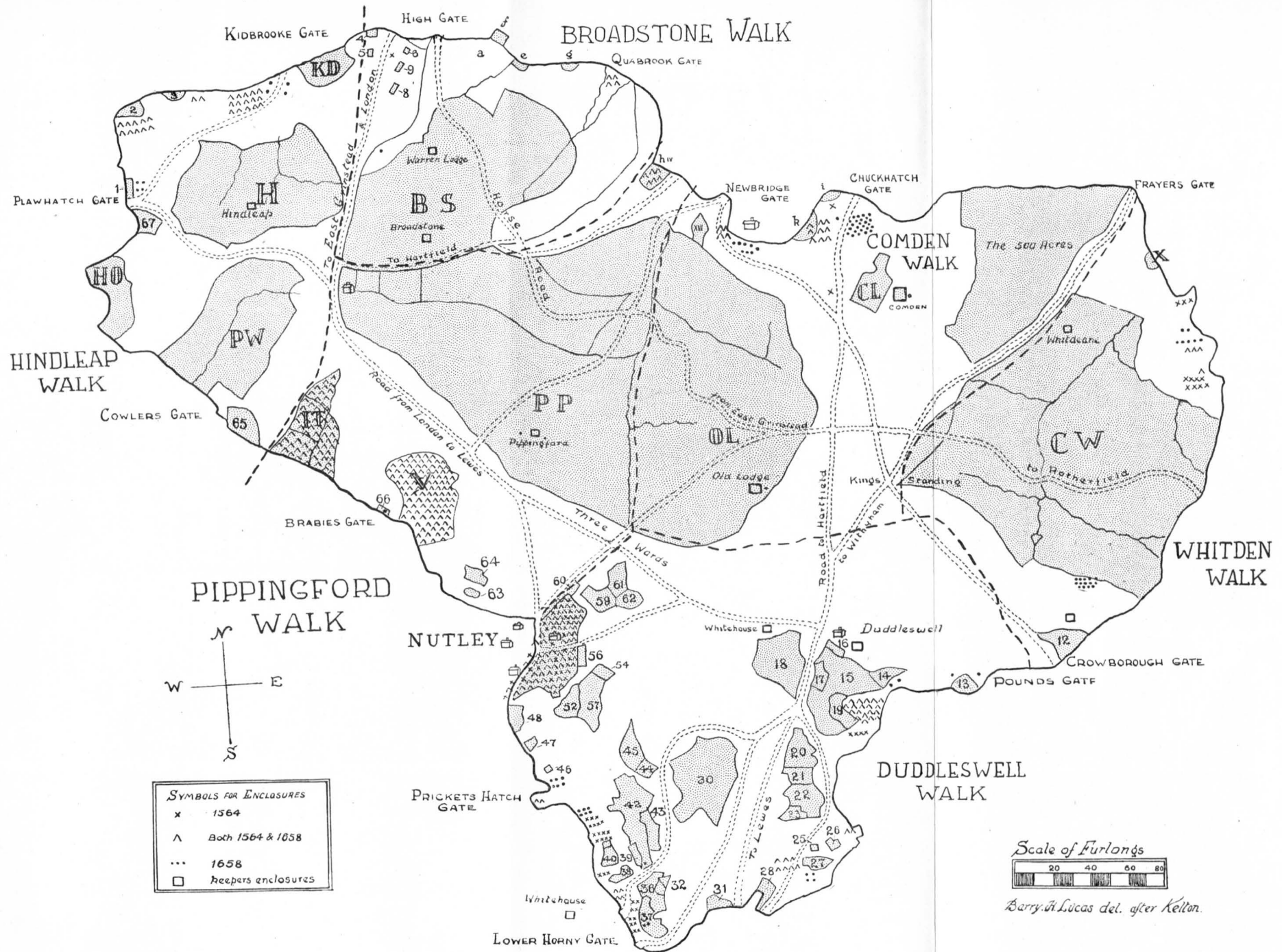
This gives the boundaries of the large allotments, summarized below, and the list of the smaller numbered plots given as compensation. It is noteworthy that very few of the original claimants appear in this list, the rights having apparently been transferred. The map attached to this volume is Kelton's map of 1747, but the large map giving the numbers of the plots is in the Public Record Office, No. M.P. 79. This is on vellum, $30\frac{1}{4}$ in. \times $23\frac{1}{2}$ in., and has the title in the top right-hand corner and the allottees' names and acreage in the margin.

The inscription is as follows:

A. MAPP or survey of Ashdown Forest als Lancaster Great Park, taken & surveyed in the yeares 1692 & 1693 by Mr. Robert Whitpaine and Mr. Alexander Shoobridge, surveyers elected & chosen pursuant to ye direction of a Commission issuing out of their Majesty's Court of Duchy Chamber at Westminster, dated 21st day of December last past, whereunto these presents are annexed for dividing the said Forest reserving some for ye Commoners claiming Comon in the said Forest wherein are noted and distinguished ye parts allotted and appointed for ye Owners and Proprietors of ye said Forest and their assigns for their enclosure and improvement and also the parts and share for ye tenants comnage and pasturages of their Cattell according to the derrection of ye sayd Commission.

This inscription is partly undecipherable, but in Earl De La Warr's estate office at Fishersgate, Withyham, is a copy of the map on parchment, $27\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 26 in. This has no list of names, but has the title, from which the above has been completed. The bounds are coloured, but the whole is so faded as to be almost illegible. However, it has been photographed by Lt.-Col. W. W. Mansfield by his special Luminogram (invisible light) process and confirms the position of the numbered and allotted plots. The Luminograph photograph shows that it was made by drawing 1 in. pencil squares. The annexed map, based on Kelton, shows the various plots and the extent of earlier cultivation.

The award (D.L. 5/41, Duchy of Lancaster Decrees and Orders, Easter 1668 to Trinity 1699) after reciting the parties and the arbitrators, decided that the pro-



prietors should hold the parcels as described and marked on the map without interference by the tenants, and should be excluded from any right of pasture on the land left for common. The larger allotments, eight in all, were now numbered, but the bounds were given.

The areas quoted are those of the tithe maps, so far as the bounds can be identified, the initials are those shown in the accompanying map, which is based on Kelton's map of 1747.

Crowborough Warren	<i>C.W.</i>	1,425 acres
This had been leased to Thomas Raymond on 18 October 1678		
Pippingford and Old Lodge	<i>P.P. & O.L.</i>	2,175 acres
Hindleap Warren	<i>H.</i>	588 acres
Prestridge Warren	<i>P.W.</i>	306 acres
Isle of Thorns	<i>I.T.</i>	74 acres
Kidbrook (Staples)	<i>K.D.</i>	33 acres
At Paynes Corner	<i>H.O. (Hospital Farm)</i>	30 acres
Comdeane Lodge	<i>C.L.</i>	40 acres

There was also the Vachery, *V*, which does not seem to have been dealt with in the award or in the Court Rolls, presumably as an ancient freehold.

Other parcels marked on the map by numbers, are:

	<i>a.</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>p.</i>	
1. Hindleap Walk, 2 closes	2	0	7½	William Levis
2. "	5	0	31	William Payne of Legs-heath
3. "	1	1	13	Fermor
4. "	2	0	16	John Gorrenge
5. " house and	1	1		Thomas Peirce
6. " house and	2	12		Widow Hards
7. " house and	1	1	15	Widow Norman
8. " house and	2	16		Thomas Edwards
B. " house and	1	0		Todman
C. "	3	0		Patience Beadle
D. "	1	0		Turner
9. Broadstone Walk	1	2	11	Widow Thompsett
10. "	1	10		Symonds
A. " house and	2	35		Thos. Page
F. "	1	2	0	George Crapwell
E. "	2	0		John Ballard
G. "	2	0		Thomas Hover
H. "	5	0	0	Richard Fermor
11 or XI. "	1	0	0	Gasson
12. " house and	8	1	0	John Fermor

128 ASHDOWN FOREST AND ITS INCLOSURES

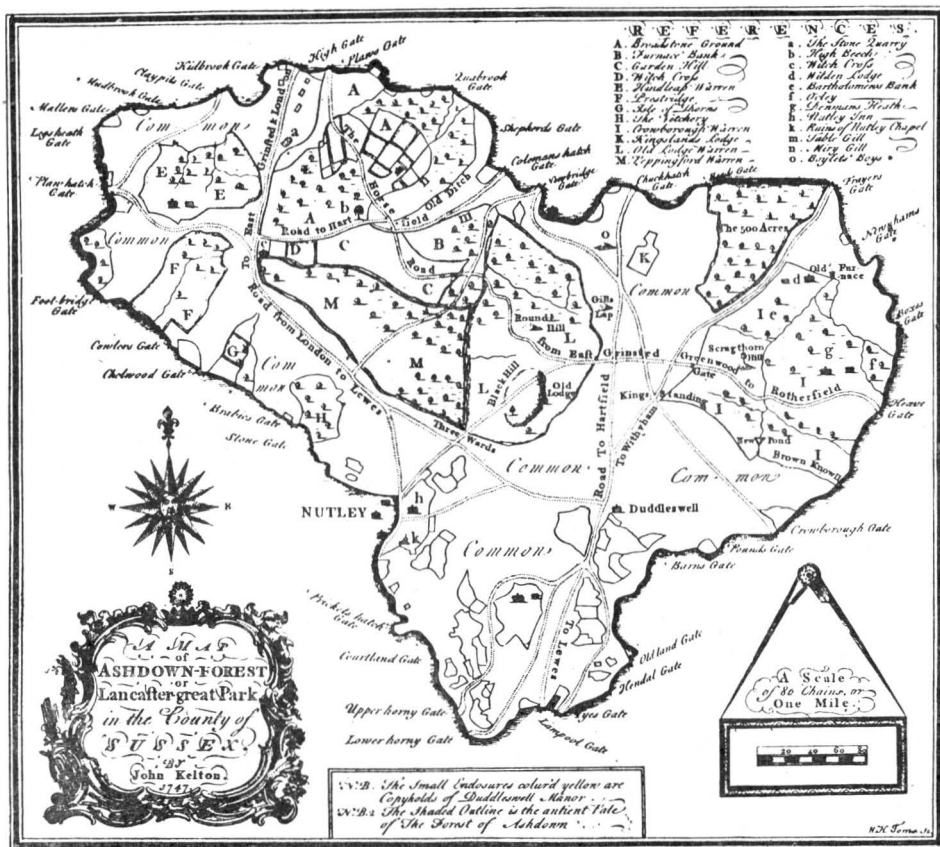
I.	Comden Walk	2	2	0	Blank—west side of Chuckhatch Gate
K.	„	4	0	0	Thomas Gotty
10 or X.	Whitden Walk		2	35	Cooper
12.	„ house and	9	0	38	Robert Pettitt on north side of Crow- borough Gate
13.	Duddleswell Walk	1	2	7	Robert Pettitt
14.	„	11	3	11	Robert Pettitt
15.	„	70	3	34	Clayton
18.	„ house and	44	3	0	Clayton
17.	„	15	2	10	Clayton
16.	„ house and	3	3	13	Frances Buckwell, widow
19.	„ house and	5	2	26	Widow Osborne
20.	„	18	2	14	Richard Miller
21.	„ house and	9	3	10	Edward Miller
22.	„	13	3	3	Henry Deane
23.	„ house and	6	0	28	John Norman
24.	missing				
25.	Duddleswell Walk	1	3	9	Henry Deane, by him grubbed
26.	„	6	3	23	Philip Seale, old in- closed
27.	„	8	0	36	Henry Deane
28.	„	8	0	32	John Stocker
29.	missing				
30.	Isaac Snelling did formerly inclose out of Duddleswell Walk 194 a. 1 r. 19 p. inconvenient to the commoner, therefore 116 a. 3 r. 20 p. were opened again but 77 a. 1 r. 39 p. were allowed with houses and buildings thereon, bounded by a gill on the west side, and on a carrying way leading to Chuck Hatch on the east side, and there to be seen, marked 30 on the map.				
31.		3	0	37	Robt. Norman
32.	missing				
33.	missing				
34.	house and	1	2	33	Dodson
35.		1	1	28	John Awcock
36.	barn and	30	1	24	John Awcock
37.		26	1	22	Earl of Thanet, occupied by John Awcock
38.	house, barn, and	11	2	13	Nicholas Kenward
39.		7	2	33	Thomas Hoath
40.	ancient house and	12	2	22	Mary Smith, late Bassett
41.	house and		2	29	Gardiner
42.		55	0	0	Edward Hoadley

43.		13	1	21	Alex. Staples
44.	house and	2	3	36	Widow Billings
45.		19	3	0	William Gourd
46.			1	30	Richard Hubbard
47.		1	0	22	John Awcock
48.	missing				
49.		2	3	25	Oliver Geares
51.		21	1	1	Henry Cooper, senr.
52.		26	1	0	Widow Homewood
53-4.	house and	7	1	30	Widow Morrice
55.	missing				
56.	Duddleswell Walk	7	1	20	John Awcock
57.	missing				
58.		2	2	36	John Awcock, called Little Shelf
59.		13	2	23	John Alcock, Sweet Minepit Croft and Millbrook Croft
60.		2	1	36	John Awcock
L.	house and	2	0		William Dabson, near Courtlands
61.	house and	14	0	13	John Vincent
62.	house and	9	1	37	Richard Cooper
M.			2	0	John Page
63.	Pippingford Walk	2	3	8	Henry Bryant
64.	"	8	1	11	Henry Bryant
65.	Pippingford and Hindleap	16	1	31	John Cranchester
66.		1	0	8	William Frye, adjoining his copyright holding
67.		3	1	30	John Plott
68.	Hindleap	1	2	0	Edward Kilner (or 2. 1. 37)

There were other parcels improperly inclosed which were allowed to remain for a few years only. These probably account for the missing numbers.

Identifications; the reference numbers are those of the Tithe Apportionments of the various parishes.

1. East Grinstead, 208.
2. E.G. 369, 369a, and part of 370 = 5 a. 1 r. 25 p.
3. E.G. 377, Forest Plot = 1. 0. 22.
- 4 to G. These numbers are now merged in Kidbrook Park, or among the numerous small holdings around Highgate, and are now indistinguishable.
- H. This plot had been granted to Fermor in 1688 and is that part of Forest House, Hartfield 182 to 186, which is within the forest.
12. Part of Yew Tree Farm, H 155 to 162 = 9. 1. 5.
- K. H. 287, 288, and 291 to 294.



- 10 or X. Part of Withyham 163.
- 12, 13, 14. These three lots are apparently Buxted 1688, 1689, and 1605 to 1612 = 22. 0. 9.
- 15, 17, 18, 19. This group was a new departure, away from the older inclosures.
16. This had been granted to Buckwell in 1686, and is Buxted 1613 to 1615 = 3. 0. 31.
- 20, 21, 22, 23. This group, totalling 48. 1. 15, although somewhat differently divided, is clearly Putlands, Pains Hill, Forest Gate, and Downs = 49. 1. 22 in all.
- 25 and 27. Henry Deane = 10. 0. 5.
27. Maresfield 1210 to 1215, and 1221 = 9. 1. 21.
31. M. 76 = 2 r. 10 p.
- 35 and 36. Are Lower Spring Garden = 35. 0. 28.
37. M. 77 to 97 and 29 to 30 = 24. 0. 3.
38. M. 814 to 819 = 11. 2. 25.
39. Hoath had been granted 6 a. in 1685, reserving access to Boring Wheel Pond.
40. Hugglets Pit, M. 1680 to 1688.
41. M. 870 = 3 r. 4 p.
42. Is Hole Farm, T.A. = 58. 3. 2.
- 44 and 45. Not now separable, are Lisburn, M. 998 to 1020 = 24. 1. 0.
46. M. 628, 629 = 1 r. 29 p.
47. An isolated plot of Shelley Arms, M. 443 = 1. 0. 29.
49. M. 607 to 609 and 596 to 597 = 2. 2. 11.
51. Swinefall—granted to Cooper in 1685.
52. Court Farm, M. 551 to 563 and 572 to 577 = 27. 0. 23.
53. Lower Minepits—granted to William Morrice in 1685, M. 564, 565, and 533 to 535.
56. North-east of Castle Trow, M. 484 to 485 and 469 to 470 = 9. 0. 29.
58. Little Shelf, M. 572.
59. Sweet Minepit Croft, M. 478 to 485, 486 $\frac{1}{2}$, 492 = 13. 1. 8.
60. Londonderry, M. 514 (part only), 515 to 518.
61. Marlpit—granted to Vincent in 1688 = 14. 0. 8.
62. Granted to Cooper in 1687, M. 500 to 509, less part of 500 and 501 = 9. 2. 21.
- M. Oldlands Lodge, M. 1180 = 2 r. 1 p.
63. M. 86 = 2. 3. 36.
64. 6 acres were granted to Bryant in 1687; M. 77 to 81, part 82 and 84.
66. Adjoining Frye's copyright holding, E.G. 161 to 163a.

Kelton's map of 1747 is here reproduced; although not entirely correct in some of the boundaries, the inaccuracies are negligible in the small scale. The largest, however, that at Kidbrooke in the north-east, has been

corrected in the inclosure map, which is based on Kelton, and shows the parts inclosed at various dates. The inclosures round the keeper's lodges were probably not cultivated to any extent, but were for the service of the deer. These were merged in the larger parcels of 1693.

The most prominent names in these transactions were Alexander Staples senr. and jnr., in whose names the forest was apparently dealt with, and whose names appear on the map. They mortgaged it in 1693 for £4,000. John Awcock, to whom several plots were allotted, had many dealings in the land, and gave several mortgages. He died about 1699, apparently insolvent. Isaac Snelling was also a leading party.

No. 37, White House, is the only case where an existing ancient copyhold was awarded. Perhaps there was some doubt as to title, owing to a sequestration under the Commonwealth.

The total area accounted for is as follows:

		<i>a.</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>p.</i>
At 1658, within the forest (excluding White House awarded also in 1693)		357	0	0
Grants between 1658 and 1693, excluding 21 holdings granted just previous to 1693 and included in award		77	0	20
Large allotments of 1693, areas as now ascertainable				
Crowborough Warren	<i>C.W.</i>	1,425	1	26
Pippingford and Old Lodge	<i>P.P. & O.L.</i>	2,175	2	21
Hindleap and Prestridge	<i>H. & P.W.</i>	911	1	22
Kidbrook	<i>K.D.</i> award area	33	0	0
Isle of Thorns	<i>I.T.</i> present area	74	3	23
Next Paynes Corner	<i>H.O.</i> award area	30	0	0
Comdeane Lodge	<i>C.L.</i> award area	40	0	0
The 500 acres	<i>500</i> present area	564	0	23
Individual grants	as award	685	3	14
Approximate present area of common		6,676	0	0
		13,047	1	29

The areas given in the various surveys range from 12,000 to 14,000 acres, the difference probably being in the estimated acreage not surveyed, and the doubt as to which of the 1658 plots were within the pale.

It is noteworthy that with the exception of those at the keepers' lodges those recorded in the surveys are

all near the pale and frequently adjacent to the tenants' holdings in other manors.

At Plawhatch Bockets was held by William Lewis in 1658 and 2a. 7½p. were allotted to him in 1693.

Leggs Heath, a 1564 holding, was again recorded in 1658, and in 1693 a further portion was allotted.

Twyfords at Ladywent and Whalesboro dated from 1564.

Two holdings at Claypits, 1658, and several small holdings now indistinguishable were merged in Alexander Staples's large allotment.

In the vicinity of Highgate there were a number of small 1693 allotments which do not appear in the Court Rolls before or after that date—these cannot be definitely identified owing to the number of squatters' inclosures.

At Quabrook the Combridge family held 4½ acres in 1564 and 1658.

The freeholds of Duddleswell Manor were around Colemans Hatch and Newbridge and without the forest, with the doubtful exception of part of Forest House.

Newbridge Mill was complained about by the keepers in 1545, as 'the customers that grind their corn bring curris, a great destruction and no little troble'.

The 8 acres adjoining were noted in 1658.

At Claypits Farm (not in the manor) an allotment was made in 1693 to Thomas Gotty, who held Toodes and Sawters Hole. This latter can be dated back to 1564.

There were several 1658 holdings at Chuckhatch, and to the east the 500 acres adjoining Buckhurst Park. This had been leased to Symon Smith, and was sold outright to him in October 1678, partly in consideration of 'the several endeavours made by him in procuring the forest to be granted to Sir Thomas Williams and Joseph Fels'. The 1693 award confirmed this.

At Crowborough were a great number of small holdings, some dating back to 1564, the majority to 1658, and one allotted 1693.

Bending southward, the pale bounds are those of Crowborough Warren, then come a few inclosures at Poundgate and near Stone Gill.

At Duddleswell there was a considerable area first inclosed by the 1693 award. Three large areas were allotted to 'Clayton' who was probably Sir Robert Clayton, a wealthy London land speculator.

Another group, also first inclosed after the award, is that now called Putlands.

Brown's Brook, several inclosures here, in Buxted parish, were without the pale, but some within.

At Fairwarp there were some 1658 inclosures, and what is now the lodge of Oldlands Park.

To the west we have the first example of the 1693 award opening out earlier inclosures, that of Isaac Snelling, who lost 116 acres—he appears frequently as a copyholder.

Lower Spring Garden was granted to John Awcock, whose name appears in many cases until his death in 1699. He also occupied Lower White House, for the Earl of Thanet, this is the only instance of a holding of 1658 being again allotted in 1693, as there was doubt whether the grant was void. Included in this was Whitehouse Pond, which was the mill-pond of Old Forge, the fish in which were valued at £50 in 1650 and for poaching in which two men were amerced £5 each at an earlier date.

Boring Wheel Pond, an old holding, was probably where the cannon cast at Maresfield Furnace were bored.

There were a number of early inclosures in the Horney Common district. Pricketts Hatch had several inclosures, and Nutley was practically all inclosed by 1658; many of these holdings, however, were without the pale. The largest of these, 40 or 50 acres, was attached to the Inn as far back as 1564, and is marked 'old enclosed' on the award map.

The Sweet Minepits block does not show any inclosures before 1680; in 1693 a considerable area was allotted, in several cases to John Awcock.

Milland Wood, near Nutley watermill, was also a new departure.

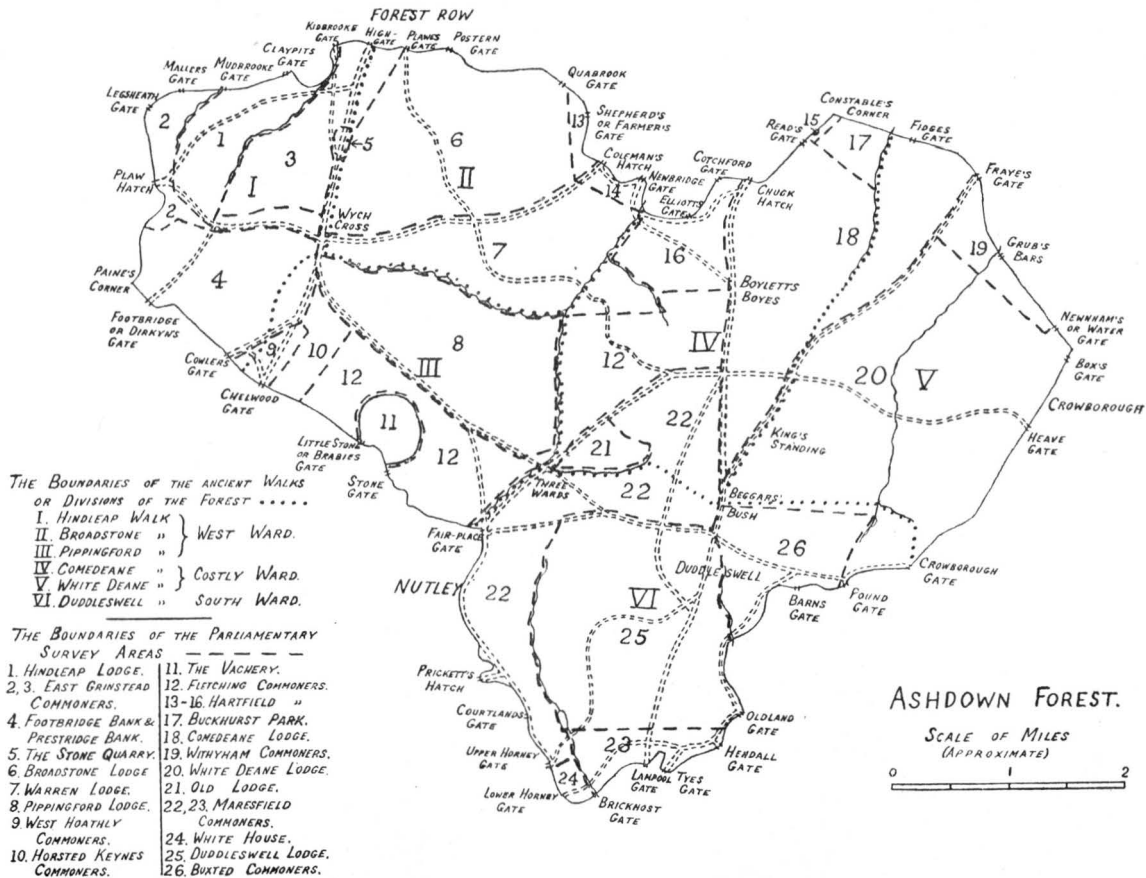
The Vachery had been granted to Michelham Priory

by Edward III, and in 1650 the commissioners confirmed its ownership as that of Daniel Rogers.

At Brabies Hatch, west of the Vachery, was a small holding dating from 1650; a further acre was added in 1693. The Isle of Thorns was one of the larger areas; there were a few new grants at Chelwood Gate, but the majority of the manor holdings at Stumblewood Common and Bunce Grove were without the pale.

After 1693 until his death in 1699 Sir T. Williams granted several small inclosures, and the succeeding lords of the manor, Jacob Hooper to 24 October, 1720, John Crawford to 26 May 1730, and the Dukes of Dorset thereafter, granted others. After 1700 the Court Rolls were not very carefully kept, and in several cases the areas of the grants are not given. In 1795 the Duke of Dorset took action to stop the cutting of heath as preventing undergrowth growing as cover for black game. A lawsuit ensued.

By 1816 a number of inclosures were made and planted with fir trees also for cover. This raised great indignation and a meeting of commoners resolved that most of these be thrown open. In 1830 a meeting of commoners resolved on measures for regulating forest rights but these failed to have effect. In 1833 a meeting was held, which resolved to make regulations as to control. These, however, failed. In 1874 a board of Conservators was formed, and after a lawsuit which lasted from 1878 to 1880, the rights of the Commoners and Conservators were confirmed. On 18 July 1885 an Act was passed (48/49 Victoria, cap. 56) to settle all disputes.



THE PARLIAMENTARY SURVEYS OF ASHDOWN FOREST—TOPOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

BY IVAN D. MARGARY, F.S.A.

UNDER the Commonwealth government surveys were made of all Crown lands to see what practical uses could be made of them. Those dealing with Sussex were published in full in our *Collections*, vols. XXIII–XXV, and these include eleven surveys on various sections of Ashdown Forest prepared during the years 1650–8. The Commissioners made a full examination of all the rights, claims, and usages of the forest by local residents of every class, and their reports give a most valuable picture of the life and customs of the times. Their ultimate intention was to ensure the more efficient use of the land for agriculture, to which end they parcelled out the entire area of 14,000 acres into separate estates centred on the existing lodges of the forest, which it was thought would be sold independently. To meet the proved claims of commoners and others having rights in the forest they also set aside a number of areas adjacent to the respective parishes in settlement of these claims.

All these areas were actually marked out on the ground and the boundaries are minutely described in the surveys, thereby giving us a rich store of local place-names, many of which have since gone out of use and are lost. As each area was separately dealt with, it follows that nearly all the internal boundaries are described twice in different surveys, and this happy chance has enabled the difficult points to be cleared up more completely than would otherwise have been possible, for one account frequently fills gaps in the descriptions of the other. The descriptions were written in a wordy and archaic style with very erratic spelling, but when the route of the boundary has been identified

it can be seen that the description of it was usually well framed. The Commissioners' sense of direction was particularly accurate, and when they say that a boundary ran in a NNE. direction, they really meant it. Only once, in the whole series of boundaries, was a mistaken orientation given.¹ Would that modern topographical writers were as accurate!

All the place-names cannot be given here, but it is hoped that by comparing the boundaries shown on this key map with the modern 6 in. map there will be little difficulty in identifying the gills and other points mentioned in the surveys.

The forest had for long been divided into six Walks and the ancient boundaries of these are quoted in one of the surveys.² They are indicated on the key map by dots. The Commissioners' boundaries divided up the forest quite differently and these are shown by dashes. When the Restoration took place the whole scheme was jettisoned before it had been effectively executed, and after a period of uncertainty a completely new scheme of similar character was ultimately brought out in 1693. It was under this scheme that the large warrens of Broadstone, Hindleap, Pippingford, &c., were enclosed, and the forest assumed the semi-enclosed aspect which it bears to-day.

SOME OF THE PLACE-NAMES MENTIONED

Larges Tuft Gill and *Elbow Oak Gill*. Gills between Hindleap and Cripps's Corner.

Round Hill. Just west of Wych Cross.

Plawes Hill. S. of Ashdown Forest Hotel, Forest Row.

Deep Deane Gill and *Stony Brook*. SE. from Wych Cross.

Strickedridge Ditch. Running NW. from near Tile Lodge to Newbridge River.

Black Brook. N. through centre of 500 Acre Wood.

Beddingly. Now called Bunker's Hill.

Wettcombe. The valley S. and E. of King's Standing.

¹ XXIII, p. 252, l. 6. 'southward' should read 'westward'.

² XXIII, p. 296.

Beggars Bush. The holly clump 600 yds. N. of Camp Hill cross-roads.

New Lodge or *King's Standing.* The latter site, not the present New Lodge.

Boyletts Boyes alias *Jill's Lap.* So described,¹ but it is said to be 29 perches S. of the road fork; probably the name Gill's Lap was transferred to the present site when the fir clump was planted in 1816.

Batters Hill. Just NNE. of Old Lodge, 600 ft. contour.

Stone Hill. Just E. of Nutley Marlpits.

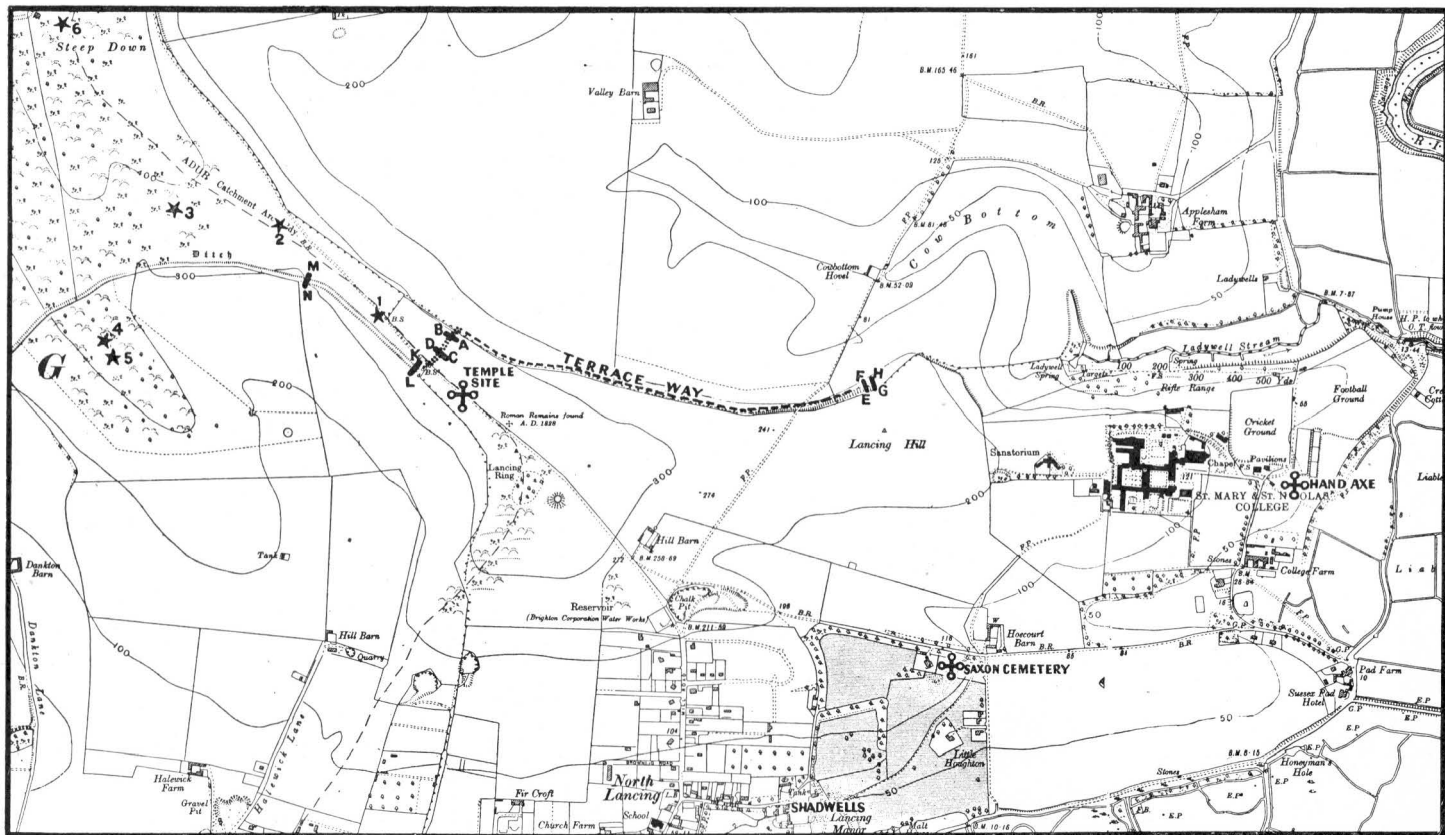
Swinefall Gill. Dodd's Bottom.

Steel Forge River or *Three Ward Brook.* Nutley-Newbridge stream.

Gigg's Bush. Corner by Pippingford Park entrance.

Pike Church Gill. On E. side of Birch Grove House.

¹ XXIII, p. 247.



Reproduced from O.S. 6-in. sheets LXIV N.E. and LXV N.W. by permission of H.M. Stationery Office.
FIG. 1. MAP OF THE LANCING DISTRICT.

A SURVEY OF ARCHAEOLOGY NEAR LANSING

BY SHEPPARD FRERE

THE hill on which Lansing College stands, and the area of downs lying westwards about a mile and southwards about half a mile, have been liberally provided with remains of all periods. A number of discoveries have been made and a few pieces of excavation attempted during the last ten or so years; and it is the purpose of this paper, while making little claim to original work, to combine what has been done in a general description. Not all the work has been done on the soundest scientific principles, and in the changing population of a school it is difficult to sustain enthusiasm and sometimes to check it, and to find time to publish results. What has been done is due entirely to the keenness and interest of Mr. B. W. T. Handford, to whom the writer for one is glad to acknowledge his debt. For what has not been done there is now no remedy, and some publication is better than none.

In the preparation of this paper, the writer has been much assisted by his brother, Mr. David Frere; Mr. Handford has generously allowed use to be made of information published in chapter xix of his *History of Lansing*;¹ and past and present members of the Haverfield Society have contributed information or loaned objects. To the Trustees of the British Museum gratitude is due for permission to reproduce the photograph, Fig. 4; to the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum for Fig. 5; and to the Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford for Figs. 6 and 15. Finally the writer must acknowledge his debt to Dr. E. C. Curwen, F.S.A., who has examined much of the pottery, and to Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A., for much advice and in particular

¹ *Lansing: A History of SS. Mary and Nicolas College, Lansing, 1848-1930.* (Basil Blackwell.)

for the gift of copies of the relevant notes from his catalogue of Sussex pottery.

The area to be described (Fig. 1) is bounded on the east by the alluvial valley of the Adur. West of this rises the hill on which the college is built. This is a double spur, bounded on the north by the Ladywell Valley, and on the south by the coastal plain; between the two runs up a dry valley—called at Lancing ‘the Boat’—past Hoe Court and the site of the old windmill to Lancing Ring. The college lies on the northern spur, whose summit, known as the ‘Boiler Hill’ by Lancing men, is marked as Lancing Hill on the O.S. maps. Between Lancing Hill and Lancing Ring, half a mile to the west, lies a saddle; and a saddle separates Lancing Ring from the compact hill called Steepdown about three-quarters of a mile to the north-west. The line of the Ladywell Valley is continued by a steep escarpment which curves round north-westward along the side of Steepdown.

The subsoil of the entire area is of course chalk; but while westwards of the school chapel the chalk appears covered by the normal foot or so of humus, when the foundations of the chapel were sunk in 1868 it was found that no solid chalk occurred for 50 ft. A deposit of Coombe Rock was underlain by sand, and only beneath this was found the rock chalk. As Mr. Handford has pointed out,¹ this shows that erosion and subsequent fluvial aggradation have taken place here, and somewhere between the hall and chapel, a distance of only a few feet, there must be an abrupt chalk cliff. It is from this fluvial deposit that the earliest archaeological material comes.

I. PALAEOLITHIC

In 1929 an Acheulian hand-axe (Fig. 2) was found by Mr. H. R. Hickman on the surface of a ploughed field, at a point about 50 yards east-south-east of the school shop, and about 50 ft. above O.D. Dr. Eliot

¹ *Hist. of Lancing*, p. 360.

Curwen, F.S.A., kindly examined the specimen in 1931 and described it as follows:

'A blunt pointed ovate hand-axe of the St. Acheul section of the Lower (or Drift) division of the Palaeolithic period, found in a deposit of clay at a point 100 yards east of Lancing College Chapel, and 50 feet above ordnance datum. It is of flint, patinated a

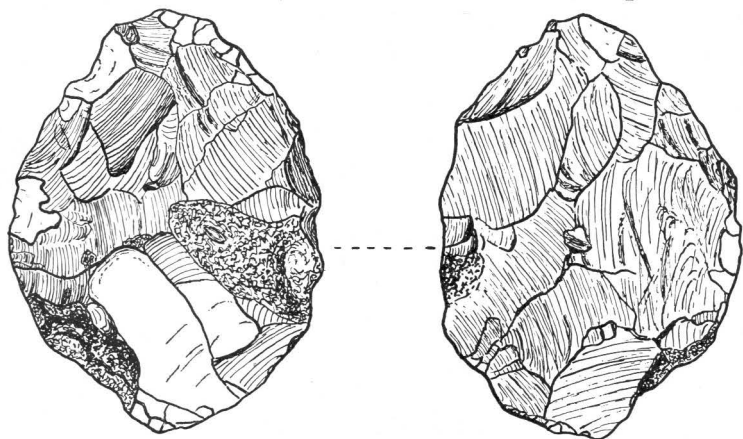


FIG. 2. ACHEULIAN HAND-AXE FROM LANCING COLLEGE. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

light ochrous colour, containing chert inclusions. The flatter surface presents the large flake scars of primary flaking, while on the dorsum not only are the flake scars smaller, but there is evidence of refloating at a period long subsequent to the making of the implement, as shown by the much lighter patination of the flake surfaces round parts of the edges. Some of the original crust of the flint appears on the dorsal surface, and also at one side of the butt; originally it extended over a larger area, but was reduced by the refloating. The arêtes on both surfaces have been softened by the flint having been rolled with other stones in running water, and some of them are iron stained. One edge, which shows very little retouching, is coarsely zig-zag, while the other, where there is more secondary working, is straight.'

II. NEOLITHIC

Dr. Curwen has published¹ a sub-crescentic flint sickle, now in Worthing Museum, from Lancing; but since it came from the brick-earth, it is beyond our province. Fig. 3 illustrates two flint scrapers, of a collection of five, now in the Museum of Archaeology

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 88.

and Ethnology at Cambridge,¹ which Mr. M. C. Burkitt, F.S.A., to whom the writer is indebted for permission to publish them, classes under the general heading of neolithic. Three of these came from Lancing Ring

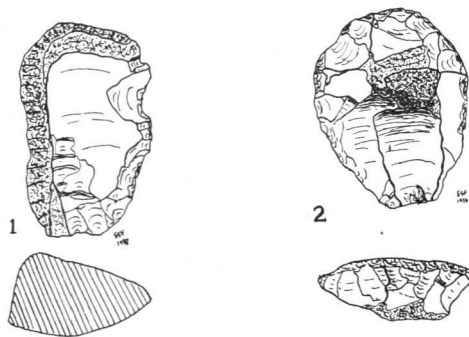


FIG. 3. FLINT SCRAPERS FROM LANCING IN THE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE ($\frac{1}{2}$).

and two from 'near Lancing Station'. The type is very common, appearing amongst other sites in a Neolithic-Beaker context on the Essex coast² and at the Early Bronze Age site, Plantation Farm, Shippea Hill, in the Fens.³

But perhaps the most impressive relic of neolithic times—for it cannot be rash to claim so high an antiquity for it—is the ridgeway which crosses the side of Steepdown and, passing Lancing Ring, travels down to the ford over the Adur at Old Shoreham. This ford was probably used by the Roman road eastwards from Chichester; and as the valley is at its narrowest at this point, there is no doubt that this ford formed the main funnel of communications east and west in prehistoric times. It is, in fact, a branch of the ridgeway which runs from Beachy Head to Hampshire and Salisbury Plain, and is of unknown antiquity.⁴ The track runs up from the Sussex Pad Inn to Lancing Ring on a broad terrace which can be best seen near Hoe Court House, twice the width of the present

¹ Cyril Fox Collection, Nos. 342 (2), 255, and 340 (2). No. 255 (our No. 2) was found on the SE. slope, 'with flint and iron-stone potboilers'.

² *P.P.S.* II, 205-6.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* XIII, 272 and Fig. 3.

⁴ See Curwen, *Prehistoric Sussex*, pp. 111-12; Piggott, *Antiquity*, iv, 188.

road; while below it is a narrower and presumably older terrace, which can be traced not only here but above 'the Boat'.

The other side of Lancing Ring, the track runs right over the remains of a small Romano-Celtic temple (*vide* pp. 158-169 *infra*), and almost immediately crosses a wandering earthwork of the 'covered way' class (*vide* pp. 150-6 *infra*). On the saddle below Steepdown it passes the remains of two round barrows; Steepdown itself it crosses in three distinct terraces on the steep north-east slope, the terraces multiplying themselves into six when they descend its further side.

Beyond Steepdown the modern track divides, one path going to Park Brow and Cissbury, the other on to Chanctonbury and the west. The presence of round barrows by its side suggests the pre-existence of the road, and confirms its great antiquity.

Of greater interest, however, is the relation of the track to the temple.¹ Whereas today the track runs over the north-east corner of the building, the O.S. 25 in. map (surveyed in 1872-3, revised 1909) shows it to have avoided the site by curving to the north-east in a detour which before 1835 would have been necessitated by the mound (*vide infra*). True, before the enclosures the ridgeway would not be confined to a single track.² But the temple lies more or less exactly on the straight line joining the nearest probable portions of the ridgeway on either side (*viz.* the end of the Steepdown terraces, and the head of the dry valley by the chalk pit); while the 'ridge' hereabouts is not of width convenient for much straying. If, too, as analogy makes probable, the temple had a surrounding temenos, little doubt remains but that the building lay athwart the track.

An explanation of this seeming folly has been supplied by Dr. Clay:³ 'These old green roads or ridge-ways have not been in continuous use. Some at least in south Wiltshire fell into decay during the Early Iron

¹ Cf. *History of Lancing*, p. 362.

² Cf. The Icknield Way, *P.P.S.* II, Pl. XXIV.

³ *Antiquity*, I, 55.

Age. . . .’ This surmise is confirmed when we see that in Iron Age times an earthwork of the ‘covered way’ type was dug right across this ridgeway, in just the same manner as Dr. Clay describes in south Wiltshire.

Our ridgeway, then, either was not used or did not exist when this was done, and we have shown reason for assuming its existence at least as early as the Bronze Age.

We may then suppose that in Late Celtic or early Roman times, when the temple was erected, the ridgeway was not used, and only the terraces on the hill-sides marked its course. Re-established perhaps in Roman times, it reached its greatest importance as the coach road between Steyning and North Lancing in more recent times, and still serves a considerable volume of foot and horse traffic, especially at weekends.

III. BRONZE AGE

It is a difficult task to write of the Bronze Age in our area, not for lack of finds, but for lack of record of their circumstances and position.

The British Museum possesses an incense cup, two bowls, and a biconical urn, ‘from Lancing’, of the Middle Bronze Age (Fig. 4, *d*, *c*, *e*, and *b*).

In the Ashmolean is ‘a small vessel of overhanging-rim type, with thick walls, the rim of which is decorated with three rows of punctures’¹ (Fig. 5).

The Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford has a small (Late Bronze Age 2) urn and a bowl ‘from Lancing’ (Fig. 6).

In the Barbican House Museum at Lewes are a few biggish sherds of a large cinerary urn with an overhanging rim of the type shown in Curwen’s *Archaeology of Sussex*, Pl. XIV, 1. The ornamentation on the rim consists of a few finger-tip impressions over the whole surface.² This urn came from Lancing, about 1830, and was in the Dorchester Museum. It is probably to be identified with that figured by Roach Smith,

¹ L. V. Grinsell, *S.A.C.* LXXII, 64.

² Information kindly supplied by Dr. Eliot Curwen.

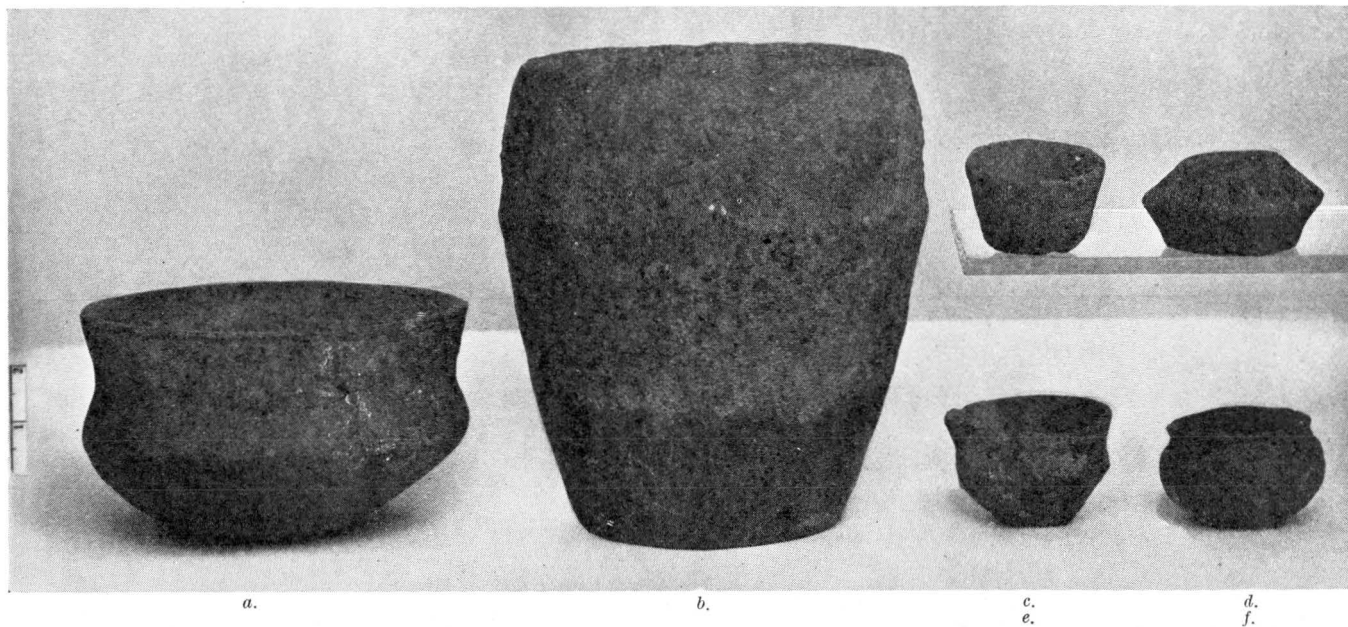


FIG. 4. BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE POTTERY FROM LANCING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Photo: British Museum.



Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

FIG. 5. MIDDLE BRONZE AGE URN FROM LANSING IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD.



Copyright: Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

FIG. 6. LATE BRONZE AGE VESSELS FROM LANSING IN THE PITT-RIVERS MUSEUM, OXFORD.

Collectanea Antiqua, I, Pl. XXXV and in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830, II, 17. This urn, of overhanging-rim type, was found at the temple site in 1828 in the 'grave' 4. L (see plan, Fig. 16), reversed over calcined bones. Roach Smith also figures the biconical perforated incense cup, but does not refer to it specifically in the text. Possibly it was one of those found in 13. Q.

The Pitt-Rivers Museum vessels were among Pitt-Rivers's original collection, and no details are known of them. The Ashmolean vessel comes from the Medhurst collection. As Medhurst was a collector in the Dorchester (Dorset) area, it is likely that the Lewes Museum urn also comes from him. The original account, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1828, II, 631, describes Medhurst as the excavator of the temple. There is thus no difficulty in explaining how the finds wandered so far afield. The British Museum vessels were the gift of a Mr. T. W. N. Robinson.

It is impossible now to be certain of the significance of these Bronze Age finds at the temple site, for the cinerary urn was apparently accompanied by a Roman brooch (p. 168). The simplest explanation would be that here stood a barrow, which continued as a sacred spot, and was destroyed by later building and inserted burials.

The provenance of the other vessels is unknown, and while some may have come from the temple site, yet since there are five, possibly six, round barrows in the neighbourhood of Steepdown which do not appear to have been noted before, it is likely that they, or some of them, are the source from which the pottery was plundered. The summit of Steepdown is crowned by a low mound which is probably a barrow, but as the point is a trigonometrical station the mound may be of more recent erection. It has, however, been plundered by means of a central shaft, as have the remaining five, which were discovered by Mr. David Frere and are marked on the map (Fig. 1). We have a record of one such excavation¹ carried out about a

¹ Probably on Barrow 2.

century ago by Mr. Britton and recorded in *Collectanea Antiqua*, I, 94. In the *Victoria County History*¹ a looped palstave is recorded from Steepdown, and it, too, perhaps came from one of these barrows.

Schedule of Barrows, in Sompting Parish

<i>O.S. 6 in. sheet</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Inches from left inner margin</i>	<i>Inches from bottom inner margin</i>	<i>Type</i>
LXIV NE.	1	11.45	6.3	All are of Bowl type. The ditches are now scarcely visible. Ploughing has made it impossible to give even an approximate diameter.
" "	2	10.5	7.1	
" "	3	9.6	7.2	
" "	4	8.9	6.08	
" "	5	9.0	5.9	
" "	6	8.5	8.9	

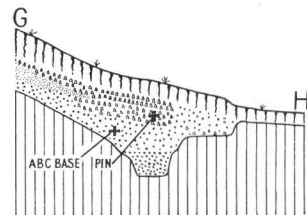
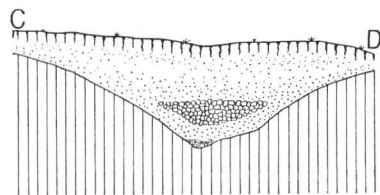
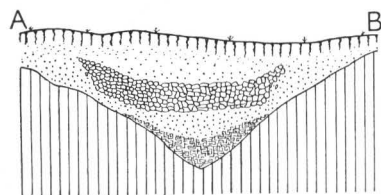
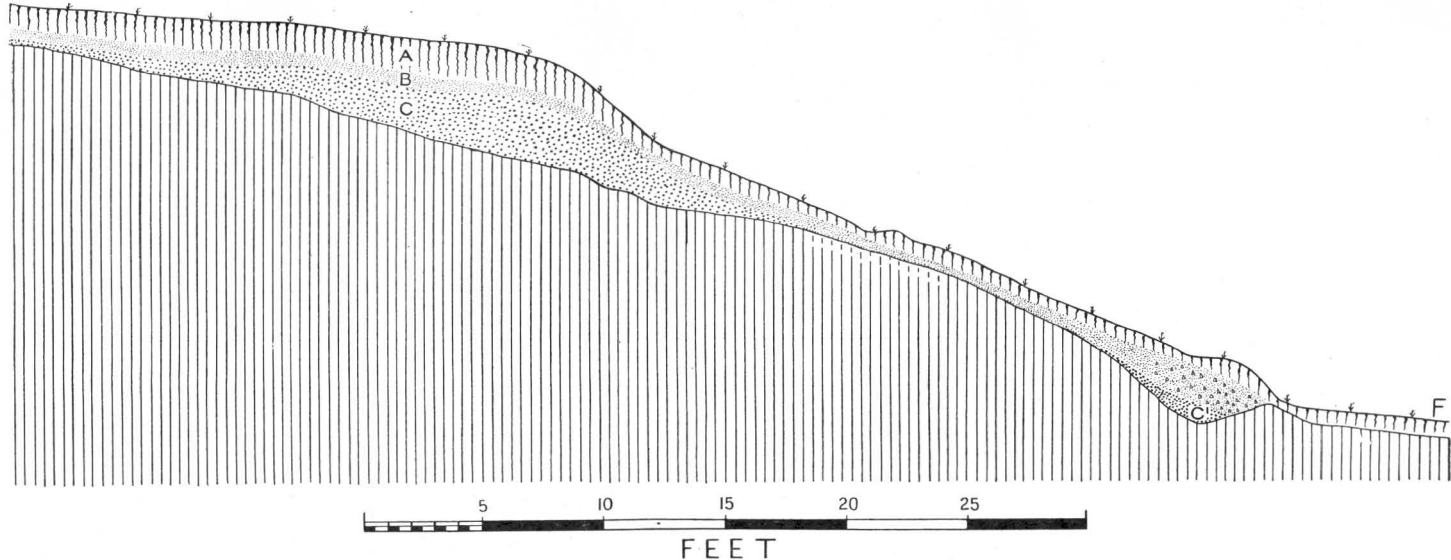
IV. IRON AGE

To the Iron Age can be ascribed the wandering earthwork which starts in Lychpole Bottom, and, after traversing the lower southern slopes of Steepdown, rises to a point 140 yards north-west of the temple site, where it turns an abrupt right angle, and, as abruptly, stops by the side of the Ridgeway. This halt, however, is superficial only, for in the summer a belt of green grass betrays its continuance north-eastward down the hill. A watcher from the northern end of Steepdown in the late afternoon of a sunny day will catch the shadow of this filled-in ditch, which travels as far as the boundary fence of the property and there becomes a terrace-way turning at right angles towards Lancing Hill.

On the Ordnance map the earthwork used to be called Roman Ditch; but, as Mr. Hadrian Allcroft pointed out, it is neither Roman nor a ditch; and there can be little doubt that it is a 'covered way' or sunken cattle track.² Its terrace-way continuation goes on round the hill, very ably avoiding the sky-line above Cowbottom, until it is lost on the eastern side of Lancing Hill.

¹ Vol. I (ed. 1905), p. 330.

² See Curwen, *Prehistoric Sussex*, p. 124.



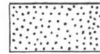
DISINTEGRATED
CHALK



CHALK
RUBBLE



CHALKY
MOULD



VERY CHALKY
MOULD



FLINTS

SSF 1940

FIG. 7. EXCAVATED SECTIONS, LANCING DOWNS.

Whether its primary objective was the River Adur or the springs in Ladywell Valley remains uncertain. Possibly both had their influence. At any rate, there are four springs in Ladywell now, and possibly there were more in earlier and damper times; and they would have been important to early man.

Two sections were cut in 1934 on the steep slope between the temple and the terrace-way, Section A-B 75 ft., and C-D 180 ft. south of the fence at the

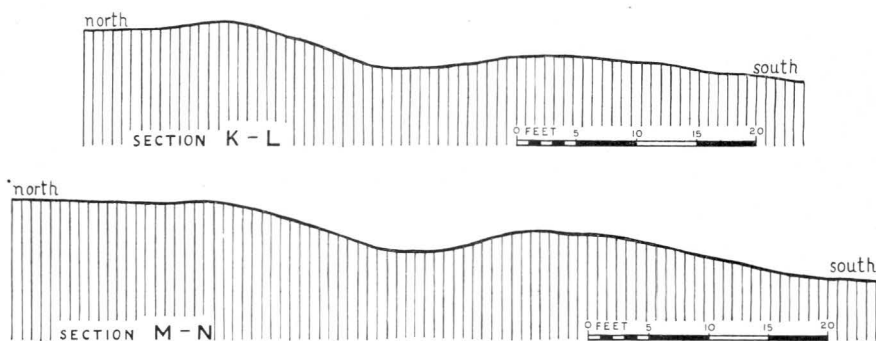


FIG. 8. SURFACE SECTION OF COVERED WAY, NEAR STEEPDOWN.

junction. Section A-B (Fig. 7) shows a primary silting of disintegrated chalk, and then a thick layer of mould entirely enclosing a 1 ft. 3 in. layer of chalk rubble; and C-D shows a variation of the same theme. A comparison of the surface section of this part of the track with that of the Steepdown portion (e.g. Sections A-B and C-D with K-L and M-N, Fig. 8) makes it clear that here the covered way has been filled in, either intentionally or by the plough, since it is hardly visible on the surface; and these sections show that the filling was intentional.

The excavation did not settle whether the layer of chalk rubble was merely the casually inthrown chalk of the banks, or whether it was the foundation for a later track; but the latter alternative is at least possible from the sections.

The more recent excavations, begun at the end of 1937 and continued in term-time until the beginning

of 1939, have been carried out about half a mile eastwards, where the terrace-way skirts the northern shoulder of Lancing Hill, and where it is overshadowed by an artificial-looking bank covered with fertile green turf which contrasts with the coarse grass of its surroundings. The object was to discover the nature of the bank, and to determine its relation to the track. Section E-F (Fig. 7) was dug 245 ft. east of the fence which descends to Cowbottom Hovel from the property boundary, and was 60 ft. long, being cut from the fence above the bank to the centre of the trackway. The bank was found to be artificial, and to consist of three layers, A, B, and C, the last being the lowest. Layer A consisted of rich humus, and contained pieces of Iron Age, Roman, and modern pottery; the second one was a chalky mould; layer C, the lowest, was a very chalky mould with very little archaeological content. A hole sunk just south of the fence, beyond the upper end of the trench, showed that layers C and B had merged into A. Layer C ceased at the brow of the slope, but, when the excavation was continued, it was found that a layer similar to C, if slightly more chalky, filled the angle between the steep slope and the track. This is labelled C¹. It was also found that instead of the track being a normal terrace, its inner portion was a kind of gully, against the outer edge of which layer B petered out. The upper slope of the solid chalk between the bottom end of layer C and the top end of layer C¹ was soft and broken, as if weathered.

Layer C, as has been said, was practically sterile; it contained a few fragments of burnt clay and of powdered pottery which is scarcely identifiable. Dr. Curwen has examined them, and while there is one, probably A1, sherd from the top of the layer, there was also a tiny fragment of thin soapy black ware which he calls of the 'later pre-Roman Iron Age, perhaps ABC'. From near the bottom came a small fragment of shoulder, about which Dr. Curwen is uncertain, while Mr. Stuart Piggott says that though it could easily be neolithic, it is likely to be of devolved Iron Age A type.

It is at any rate certain that a thick lynchet like C would take some time to form on only a gentle slope; and it must have been disused early in the ABC period, whose pottery, so profuse in layer B, is here represented by one minute chip. There was also a rough flint scraper or knife, and a carbonized fruit or bud, which Miss M. E. J. Chandler has been unable to identify. The finds, then, though largely of negative character, make it possible that the bank was largely formed in Iron Age A times; and this supposition is strengthened by surface finds of undoubted Iron Age A character all along the terrace-way. The section indicates that the slope is an accumulation rather than a raised bank; that it is, in fact, a lynchet.

The gully which contains layer C¹ was a surprise, but its dimensions roughly correspond with those of sections A-B and C-D, indicating that here we have the track in its earliest form, worn down well into the chalk. C¹ corresponds in character to C, and it is therefore apparent that the earliest track was contemporary with or earlier than the field system represented by C. The solid chalk is worn and weathered where not protected by C, and we may suppose that a certain amount of C sifted down over this chalky slope into its present position, gradually filling up the hollow trackway.

This earliest trackway seems to have been disused after Iron Age A times, for layer B, which contained Iron Age ABC and Romano-British pottery in the ratio of 1 : 3 sherds, completely filled it up, and the intervening kerb of solid chalk between the gully and the terrace-way was not worn down by traffic below the level of the top of layer B.

Layer A contained Romano-British and Iron Age ABC sherds in a ratio of 5 : 1. Both layers contained water-rolled pebbles, which Dr. Curwen considers too small for sling-stones, in equal quantity; while the ratio of oyster-shells was layer A 5 : layer B 3. Other finds from layer B were a fragment or two of iron, and a few nails.

It seems that layer B represents a lynchet of the earlier Roman period, possibly begun during ABC times. ABC pottery is more plentiful in B compared with Romano-British wares than in the only slightly thicker layer A, and there was no sign of stratigraphical distinction between the two wares in the layer; while a certain movement of soil is indicated by the thickening of layer B at its lower end. This thickened (B) filling of



FIG. 9. BRONZE PIN FROM SECTION G-H, LANCING HILL. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

the gully contained a fair quantity of rough flint nodules, possibly collected off the field surface higher up and thrown down. They were in no way packed closely together as in Section G-H. It is true that B is thin for a lynchet; but layer C already had considerably levelled the slope, and the top of B has probably been removed when A was ploughed.

A fourth section, G-H, was dug 112 ft. farther east, to discover what happened to the gully at a point where a lynchet and the modern fence turn slightly northwards, and where the terrace-way is hard if not impossible to trace.

This cutting presents a slightly more complex section. Here the gully is clearly seen to be artificially dug, for its sides are almost vertical, and it has a flat bottom.

The lowest layer is a very chalky mould, 1 ft. in thickness, above which the mould becomes less chalky. This chalky mould is fortunately dated by the discovery of a fragment of a pedestal base of the ABC period,¹ in black, very friable ware in the position indicated. This find confirms the inferences from section E-F, that by the first century A.D. the old trackway was impassable, and had been nearly if not quite silted up as a result of ploughing higher up the hill. Next, in section G-H, comes a layer of stones which is proved to be Roman by the presence of a bronze pin (Fig. 9), as

¹ Which the writer is indebted to Dr. Curwen for examining.

shown in the section.¹ This layer of stones belongs to two periods, as is seen by the intrusion at the southern end of the section of a layer of mould clearly corresponding with layer B in section E-F. The lower half of this stone layer, then, is Roman, and resembles an attempt at metalling the track which at this point is passing over its silted up predecessor. This layer of stones will correspond to the terrace-way in section E-F, which in this section is not found north of the gully. While the track was in use, traffic was forced more and more to its northern edge by the lynchet formations represented by layer B (thus accounting for the disturbed stones thereabouts), until at last a new layer of stones was thrown down, this time covering B. Finally, on top is the humus layer A, whose ploughing has of course disturbed the top of the underlying layer.

In conclusion, the cattle track seems of unusual interest in that it combines an earthwork of the normal covered way or cross-dyke variety with a level terrace-way running below the shoulder of the hill. Indeed, both portions are abnormal, for the cross-dyke is longer than the average, and crosses two ridges and a dry valley; while the terrace-way was only a true terrace-way late in its history, and earlier has been shown to have consisted of an excavated trench of unusual character. The terrace-way development may perhaps have outlived the rest of the track, for there are traces of a terrace- or field-way running from the corner where the earlier track turned up the hill towards the temple site, on towards Steepdown and the terraces of the old ridgeway. This may have been a Romano-British development, when the steep and narrow earthwork with its wandering course was no longer useful. The length of bivallate ditch now extant from Lychpole Bottom to the gate north-west of Lancing Ring is about 1,000 yds., while the filled-in portion as far as the terrace-way is 90 yds. The terrace-way is about 1,150 yds. in length.

¹ Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes has kindly examined the pin, which does not admit of close dating. He compares it with Ward, *Roman Era in Britain*, Fig. 70, top right.

A noticeable feature is that the covered way continues along the south-western side of the Lancing Ring–Steepdown saddle so far towards the Ring, instead of crossing it where it is almost level at the foot of Steepdown. Possibly this level ground was wholly under the plough, as is implied by the flattened condition of the barrows there; but even so, this preference for the steep slope north of the gate is remarkable. It is also interesting to note that this covered way conforms to the observations of Dr. Williams Freeman in that it crosses an old track of the ridgeway variety.¹

The hard core of chalk in sections A–B and C–D has already been noted and is not easy to parallel, though at Glatting Down² Dr. Curwen found in the top of the filling ‘a foot of mould with large broken flints in the centre’; and the section near Chiselbury published by Dr. Clay³ shows a thin layer of pulverized flint very near the surface. It would be interesting to see, in some future section cut through the Steepdown length of the covered way at the end nearest Lancing Ring, whether this hard layer continued, and what is the relation to it of the ‘spread’ of ABC and Romano-British pottery from the temple site which surely must exist all down the hill. If the layer is not present there, then we may be sure that here it has been caused by the intentional filling in of this length of ditch.

As regards dating, the terrace-way portion has been proved to be pre-Roman in origin, and the excavations may be said to have strengthened the grounds for belief that the covered way type of earthwork belongs to the earlier phases of the Iron Age.

Note. At a point 50 ft. east of G and 25 ft. south of the fence a trial trench revealed a small channel 3 ft. wide, cut 2 ft. into the chalk and having a flat bottom 1 ft. wide. It began in a slightly widened and deepened end, and ran in a south-west direction, resembling a palisade trench. Its date, nature, and purpose are still obscure.

¹ *Antiquity*, vi. 21, p. 25.

² Eliot Curwen and E. Cecil Curwen on ‘Covered Ways on the Sussex Downs’, *S.A.C.* LIX, 57.

³ *Antiquity*, i. 1, p. 62.

Pottery (Fig. 10).

1. Large fragment of shoulder, decorated with double row of finger-tip impressions. Grey paste, orange-red hard rough surface. This piece is of great interest, as it belongs to the south-eastern B culture recently recognized by Mr. Ward Perkins,¹ and more particularly to a group of pots which seems just to have preceded the Roman Conquest. One was found in the cemetery at Ospringe, Kent (*Ospringe Report*, 1931, No. 461), another at Crayford (Ward Perkins, op. cit., Fig. 6, c), while a group from Surrey is shortly to be published by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther. Fragments of this ware have been found at Banstead Woods, Ashted, and Ewell, in the last two cases associated with pottery of an eve-of-Conquest date.

2. From the western end of the terrace-way. Hard, light cream-coloured paste, orange surface on interior and the exterior as far as the bottom of the downward fold. From a Gallo-Belgic *terra rubra* platter, of about 1 ft. diameter. Date, pre-Roman, first century A.D. In private possession.

Note: a small fragment of *terra nigra* plate with functionless foot-ring has also been found near by. Probably post-Conquest.

3. Rouletted fragment of Gallo-Belgic butt-beaker. Paste light yellow; exterior surface purplish-brown; interior orange. A Gallic import, of same period as 2.

4. Rim of native beaker, buff grey and smoothed; wheel-made, 'soapy' feel. Period, similar.

5. Dish in native smoothed soapy dark paste, imitating a Gallo-Belgic Form: May, *Silchester Catalogue*, Pl. LXXIV, 192 and 190. Cf. *Verulamium*, Fig. 22, 16.

All these are surface finds from the terrace-way.

V. ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE, LANCING RING

Perhaps the best-known archaeological remains on this area of downs is the Romano-Celtic temple near Lancing Ring.² The vicissitudes suffered by this site are well known and are fully recorded in the *Victoria County History*,³ which makes the best of the 'somewhat discrepant accounts' to be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine*⁴ and *Collectanea Antiqua*.⁵ The site, when dug by Mr. Medhurst in 1828, was covered by a mound 4 ft. high, which concealed a cella 16 ft. square paved with coarse, undecorated tesserae, surrounded by the usual cloister, 40 ft. square in all. The walls,

¹ *P.P.S.* IV (i), pp. 151-68.

² R. E. M. Wheeler, *Antiq. Journ.* VIII, 318.

³ Vol. III, 59-60.

⁴ 1882, II, 631; 1830, II, 17, 18, and Plate.

⁵ I, 93 (C. Roach Smith).

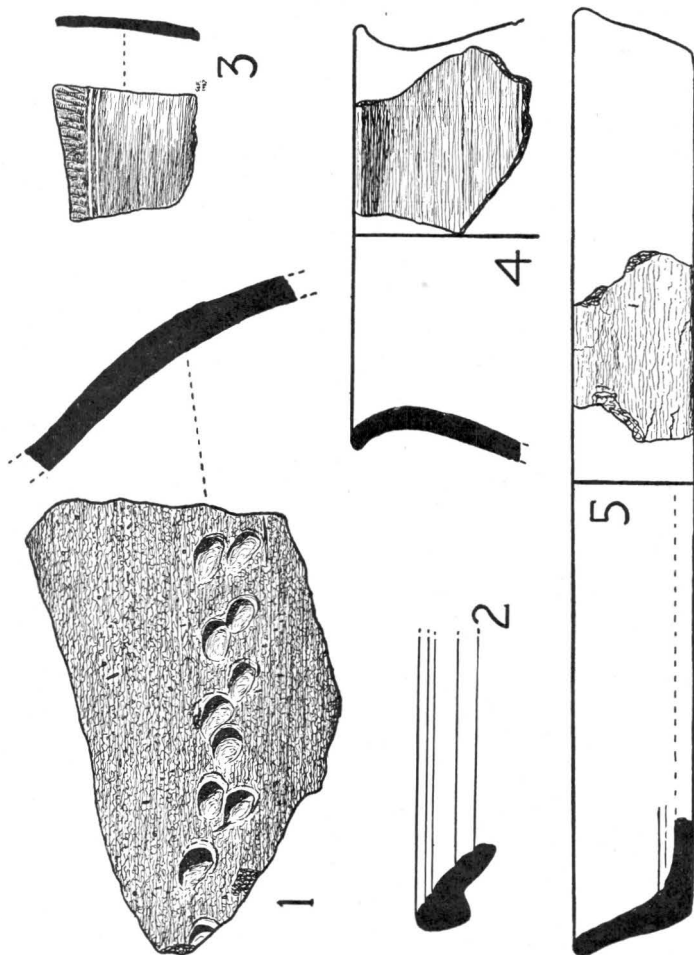


FIG. 10. SURFACE FINDS FROM TERRACE WAY, LANCING HILL. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

3 ft. thick of chalk and flint, were standing 6–10 in. above the pavement, and the outside face of the cella wall was stuccoed.

It has been thought worth while to reproduce the plan and schedule of finds from *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1830), which is not easy to come by nowadays; and they will be found below (Fig. 16 and p. 167).¹

About 1833 the owner of the soil for no recorded reason had the whole site 'grubbed up and every vestige . . . removed.' This vandalism was so successful that no obvious trace of the building remained, and the site as marked on the Ordnance Survey maps is many yards inaccurate, as indeed was suspected by Professor Haverfield, who was classical master at Lancing for some years.

The true position was rediscovered in 1929 by Mr. L. A. Biddle and Mr. Handford. I quote from Mr. Handford's account:²

'Mr. Biddle was the first to observe a line of flints across the road at a point where the track rises across a slight hummock some fifty or more yards west of the ordnance site. We decided to dig, and following the line of flints we discovered that these continued under the turf to the south of the road. Close to the flints was a considerable quantity of potsherds, and we did not doubt that we had found one of the walls. Measuring the distances, we found indications of another line of flints forty feet to the west. As these dimensions corresponded with the recorded dimensions of the building, we felt certain that we had diagnosed the case correctly. We had not, however, discovered the reference in Horsfield's *Sussex*,³ and we therefore supposed the pavement and walls to be still in situ. It was consequently somewhat to our disappointment when we found that a tentative trench across the centre revealed no signs of tesserae at all. So we collected all the pottery we could find, and abandoned the excavation.'

The pottery here referred to has been preserved in the Museum at Lancing, and the significant pieces have been drawn by the writer and are shown in Figs. 11–14. Though there is no record of stratigraphical

¹ For alternative list see C. Roach Smith (op. cit.). The two accounts have been combined below.

² In an unpublished paper, read to the Haverfield Society, Lancing College.

³ T. W. Horsfield, *History of Sussex*, 1835, II, 207.

position for any sherd, the pieces as a whole throw light on the periods of occupation, while certain individual sherds have an intrinsic interest.

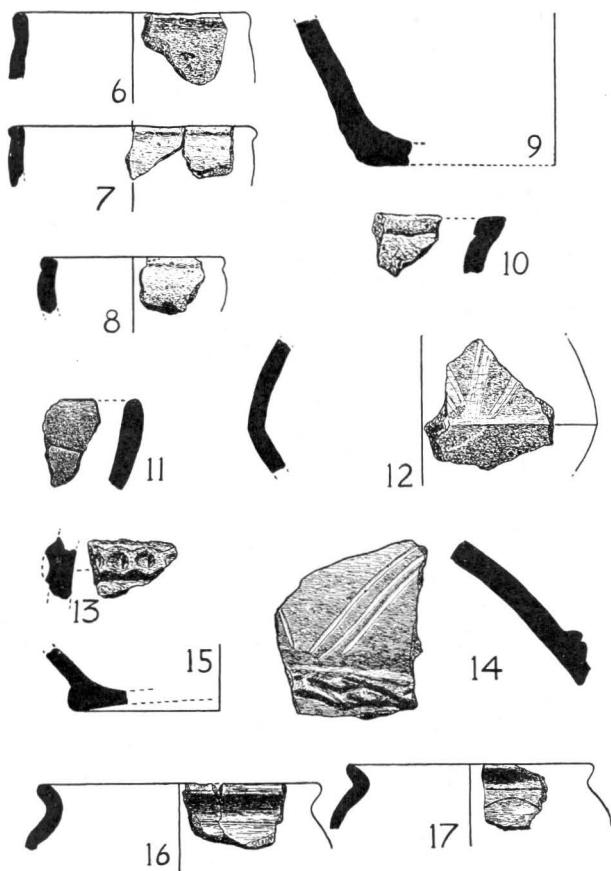


FIG. 11. POTTERY FROM TEMPLE SITE, LANCING RING. (1).

Pottery.

6-10. Iron Age A.

6. Fine well-made paste, surface black and rough; probably of A2 type.

7. Coarse red ware, with medium flint grit; traces of haematite coat on the left-hand sherd.

8. Brown paste with small flint grit, very crumbling. The shape and rim recall a vessel from the Trundle, *S.A.C.* LXXII, 135, No. 4.

9. Base and side of an Al pot, with haematite coating.

10. Coarse Al rim with medium grit. The potter has folded it inwards to flatten. A very similar sherd is shortly to be published by the Surrey Archaeological Society, from Epsom College.

11-30. Iron Age ABC.

11. Black paste, black hard smooth sandy surface. Dr. Curwen dates this to the early first century A.D.

12. Fragment of carinated bowl, dark grey sandy paste and surface, burnished decoration. Belgic influence perceptible in the paste. I have been unable to find a parallel for the carination; possibly it reflects the influence of the Belgic tazza (*Swarling*, Pl. XI, 3), as exemplified at Runceton Holme 18 (*Proc. Prehist. Soc. E.A.* VII, ii, p. 242), but I think it more likely to be a throw-back to earlier, Iron Age A, forms (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* IV, 345, Fig. 3, from Park Brow).

13. Fragment of pinkish-brick colour, with raised rib decorated with finger-tip impressions. The 'soapy feel' of the surface shows it to belong to the ABC period, in which the type is characteristic of east Sussex, usually at a late, eve-of-Conquest, date. Cf. Curwen, *Sussex*, Pl. XXVIII, 4; also Horsted Keynes 25 (*S.A.C.* LXXVIII, 257, 259). On this type of decoration see Mrs. Stuart Piggott in the Highdole Report, *S.A.C.* LXXVII, 215, and C. F. C. Hawkes, *S.A.C.* LXXX, 288.

14. Black-surfaced sherd with 'eye-brow' ornament, and a raised rib decorated with cross slashes. The curvilinear tooled lines reflect south-eastern B influence. A closely similar pot comes from Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV, 173); while the late slashed ribs are recorded from Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII, 197 and Fig. 24), Broadwater (Curwen, *Sussex*, Fig. 81), the Caburn, and Castle Hill, Newhaven.

15. Soapy base of grey ware, which Dr. Curwen considers about half a century earlier than most of the pottery from the site, i.e. close of first century B.C.

16. Red paste and surface, blackened rim. Shallow tooled line at base of neck.

17. Red paste, orange-red surface, small tooled line at base of neck, and tooled eye-brow beneath. Very similar to some pieces from Horsted Keynes, e.g. No. 7 (*S.A.C.* LXXVIII, 258).

18, 19, 20. Rims of large grey storage or cinerary jars, extremely 'soapy'. 20 is blacker than the other two in patches. 18 and 20 have a cordon on the shoulder, and the similarity of the position of these, together with a consideration of outline and texture, leads Dr. Curwen to consider them the work of the same potter. Early first century A.D.

21, 22. Fragments of beaker in grey paste, 21 having a dark, and 22 a light surface, each being roughly smoothed. Native imitations of Gallo-Belgic beakers (see below, 28 and 29).

23. Grey paste, black coated surface with double-tooled line.

24. Light grey gritty sherd of bead-rim type, very little surface

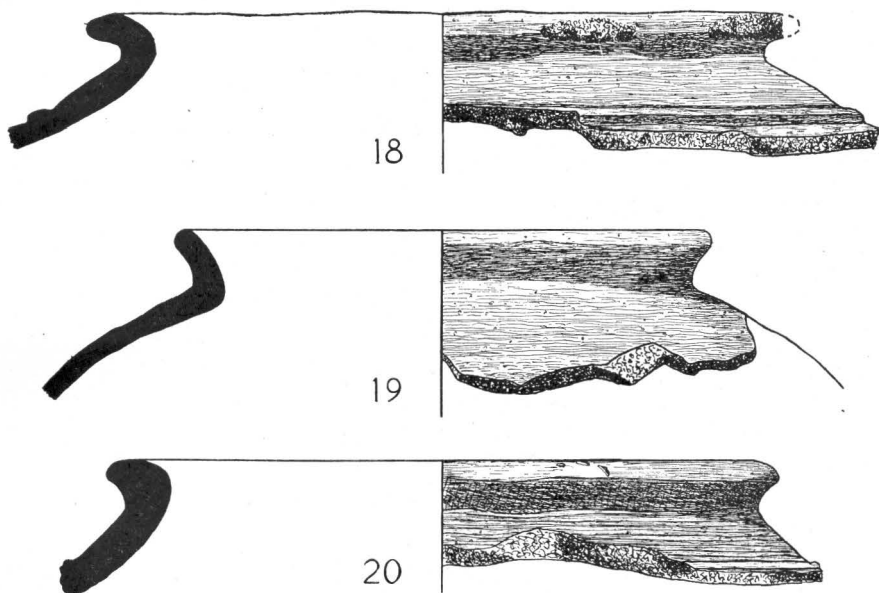


FIG. 12. POTTERY FROM TEMPLE SITE, LANCING RING. ($\frac{1}{8}$).

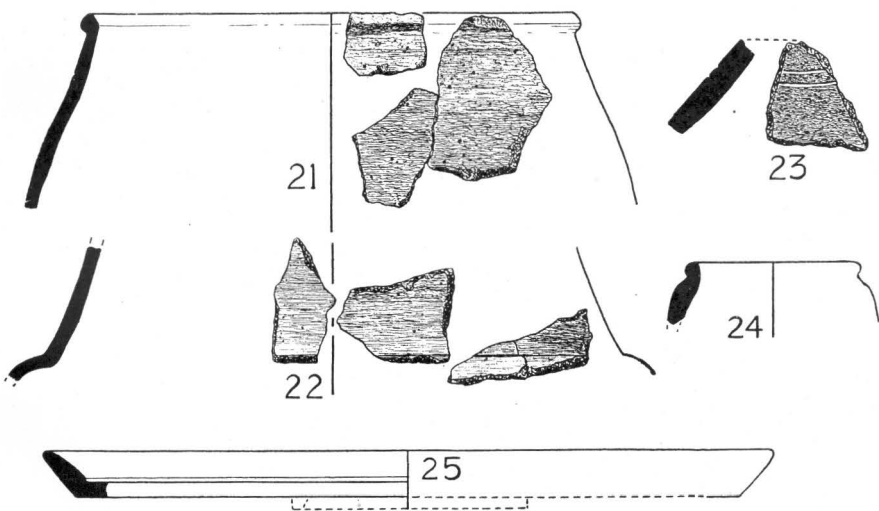


FIG. 13. POTTERY FROM TEMPLE SITE, LANCING RING. ($\frac{1}{8}$).

remaining. The rim and ware approximate more to the Roman than the western Belgic type (cf. Selsey, *Antiq. Journ.* xiv (i), 51, No. 8); but cf. *Hengistbury Head* Class J, 3 and 4, and the pedestal

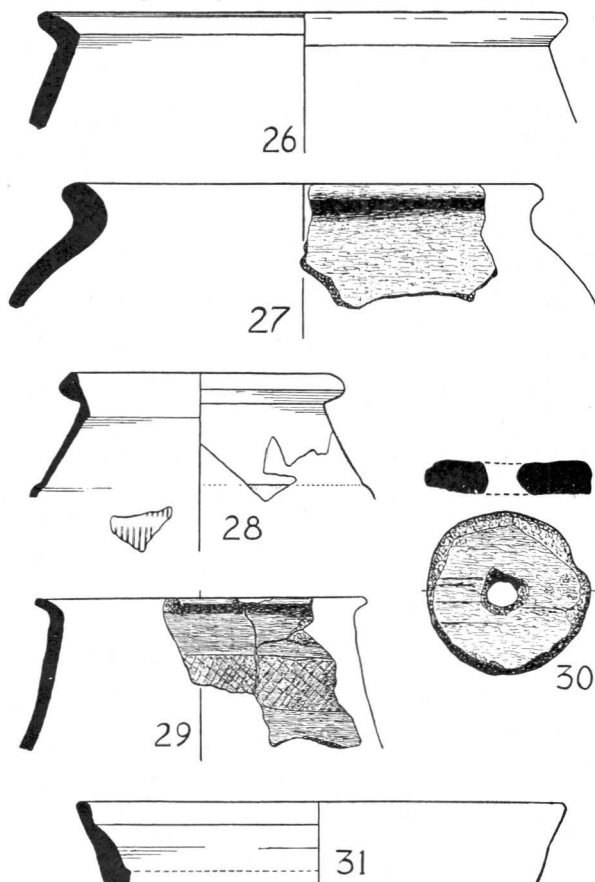


FIG. 14. POTTERY FROM TEMPLE SITE, LANCING RING. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

bowl from Lancing in the Brighton Museum (Curwen, *Sussex*, Pl. xxix, 3, and Fig. 82).

25. Gallo-Belgic *terra nigra* platter. *Hengistbury Head* Class L 28, cf. *Verulamium* group B, No. 18 (Fig. 12). First half of first century A.D.

26. Rim of fine grey ware, whose angularity demonstrates a close Belgic ancestry, possibly in a butt-beaker, like *Verulamium*, Fig. 14, 31a.

27. Pinkish-brown paste and surface, very soapy. This piece was found some yards south of the building.

28. Thin hard pipe-clay Belgic butt-beaker, not local. Imported possibly from the Colchester area, possibly from Gaul. Prototype of 21, 22, and 29. Cf. *Verulamium*, Pl. LV, A, and especially the forthcoming Colchester Report.

29. Native imitation of Belgic butt-beaker (cf. 28) in grey-black soapy ware. The trellis panel confirms the formal evidence of first century A.D. date.



[Copyright: Pitt-Rivers Museum.]

FIG. 15. EARLY ROMAN VESSELS FROM LANCING IN THE PITT-RIVERS MUSEUM, OXFORD.

30. Grey-black base bored as a spindle-whorl. Cf. *Verulamium*, Pl. LV, B, from the Belgic city.

31. Dish in brown gritty wheel-turned ware. An imitation, probably of the early Roman period, of a normal Gallo-Belgic form. Cf. *Verulamium*, Fig. 23, 9, and *S.A.C.* LXXVI, 157, Nos. 2-3. Such Romano-British imitations continued till about A.D. 75.

(Fig. 4a.) Chafing pot with thirteen small holes on one side of the base and one large hole beneath the rim opposite. Diameter $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. Haematite coating, Iron Age A1. This pot, now in the British Museum, presumably came from this site, though it is not amongst those figured in *G.M.* or *Coll. Ant. Curwen, Sussex*, Pl. XXVI, 3.

(Fig. 4f.) Small brown pot with scored zig-zags. Height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. *Coll. Ant.* I, Pl. XXXV, 3, where, however, it is not referred to in the text.

(Fig. 15a.) Cylindrical bowl with hollow pedestal: hard sandy paste, thick walls. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, which possesses two other closely similar bowls, one of which contains bones. These vessels are perhaps a romanized version of those described by Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, Fig. 82, also from Lancing.

(Fig. 15*b*.) Small dark bowl with wide shoulder and somewhat rounded base. The paste is of native workmanship, while the shape, though in La Tène tradition (cf. Surrey Arch Soc., *Farnham Volume*, 1939, Pl. xx and Fig. 88), suggests a date in the second half of the first century A.D. Perhaps from Pit 13.Q. (see p. 169), Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

The Pitt-Rivers Museum also contains a small black bowl with flat base and everted beaded rim (height 3 in., rim diameter 3 in.), again suggesting Iron Age–Roman transition; and a brown-black bowl of crude workmanship (height 2.2 in., rim diameter 2.8 in.), perhaps of Saxon date. All the vessels from Lancing in the Pitt-Rivers Museum form part of the original collection of General Pitt-Rivers (see p. 149).

It will be seen, then, that though there are some pieces of Iron Age A type, the main occupation belongs to Belgic times, while in particular the majority of pieces belong to the Tiberian and Claudian periods. A noticeable feature is the intrusion of East Sussex types such as Nos. 13 and 14,¹ or of Eastern Belgic types such as Nos. 2, 25, and 28, but this is readily explained by the site's position near a main east to west crossing.

Whether the occupation was continuous from A1 times, or whether, as at Crayford,² the sherds of A character are in reality contemporaneous with the supposedly later wares, cannot of course be determined on existing evidence; in the absence of controlled excavation the lack of 'Cissbury–Wealden' sherds may be more apparent than real; but if the Hallstatt bowl (Fig. 4*a*) really comes from the site, as there seems little reason to doubt, we may incline towards the first alternative. But that occupation was genuine in ABC times seems proved, not only by the pottery, but also by the coins ('12 small silver coins of Verica').³ It may also be noted here that little or no specifically Roman pottery has been recovered from the actual temple site, though pits 2 and 10 (*vide infra*) would seem to be Roman. Quantities of Roman sherds, however, occur about 50 yds. down the hill to the south, on an island of

¹ *Vide* C. F. C. Hawkes, *S.A.C.* LXXX, 259.

² *P.P.S.* IV (i), p. 152.

³ Willett, *Anc. Brit. Coins of Sussex*, p. 10. See also Evans, *Anc. Brit. Coins*, pp. 110, 169, 183–5. Haverfield, *Index, Arch. Rev.* I, 1888, says the British coins were probably found here in the graves.

green turf in the sea of sword grass which covers the area. It has been suggested that this may represent the 1833 tip, when the mound was removed. In that case, only the lower levels are now exposed at the top of the hill.

In the absence of stratified evidence (and such evidence may perhaps no longer exist), it would be unwise to dogmatize; but the existence of Bronze and Iron Age sepulchral pottery does seem to hint at the existence of a sacred site before the Roman period. Pointing to the kindred temple site at Frilford,¹ we may tentatively suggest a similar Iron Age sanctuary at Lancing (situated it would seem, at a Bronze Age burial site), which after the Conquest was modernized as a Romano-Celtic temple of the normal type. The Roman pottery, so far as it is large enough to be useful, appears to be early rather than late, and the same is true of some Romano-British pots now in the British Museum, on loan from the Dorchester Museum, which come from Lancing Down, i.e. probably our site. There are three romanized bead-rim pedestal pots, and a trellised cooking-pot of second-century character. Dr. Curwen² has already suggested that the temple was succeeded by Chanctonbury as the local shrine in the third and fourth centuries.

A properly controlled excavation might still determine these points, for nothing has yet been recorded of post-holes under or near the temple; but the chances have already been made so tenuous, that another unscientific depredation would certainly complete the destruction of the site.

SCHEDULE compiled from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830 (ii), pp. 17, 18, and *Collectanea Antiqua*, I, 93. See Plan (Fig. 16).

Note. The *G.M.* Plan is numbered, and the *C.A.* plan lettered. Both references are given here and on the plan. Where possible the accounts have been reconciled: where impossible, both accounts are given.

- I. D. Burnt bones, iron ring.
- E. Burnt bones; part of metal dagger.
- F. Burnt bones. *C.A.* also fibula.
- G. Burnt bones.

¹ *Oxoniensia*, IV, 1-70.

² *Arch. of Sussex*, p. 299.

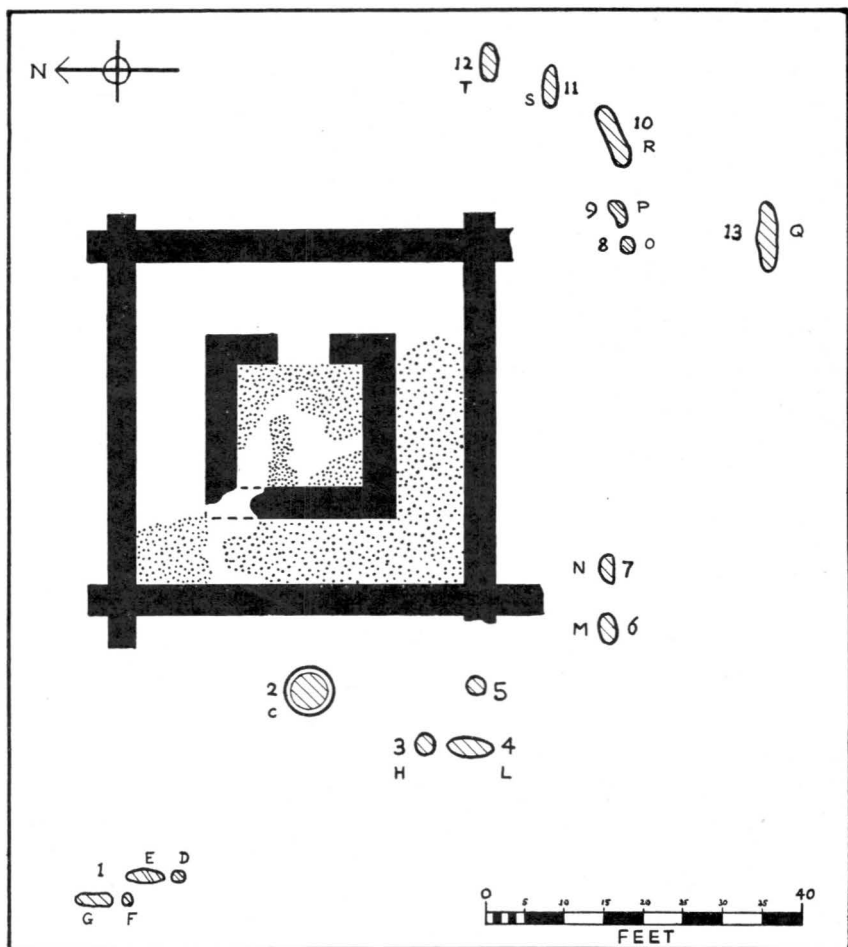


FIG. 16. PLAN OF ROMANO-CELTIC TEMPLE AT LANCING RING. The area which was 'paved with coarse tesserae and much damaged' is shown stippled.

After *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830, Part II, p. 17, with letters added from *Collectanea Antiqua*, I.

2. C. C.A.: cavity about 1 ft. 9 in. below surface and 2 ft. diameter, paved with small square pieces of chalk.
G.M.: bath lined with hewn chalk, 2. ft. deep, $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. diameter. Both: sea-horse brooch on the edge. Late Roman type.
3. H. Burnt bones; fibula.
4. L. C.A.: large (Bronze Age overhanging-rim type) urn reversed over burnt bones; fibula, locket.

5. *G.M.*: burnt bones; Roman fibula.
- 6 and 7. M and N. Burnt bones; ABC pot decorated with a continuous swag on shoulder; also (*C.A.*) fibula, but *G.M.* two lachrymatories.
8. O. Burnt bones, bone comb.
9. P. Burnt bones; comb; British or Gaulish coin.
10. R. Skeleton. Under the head in a cavity were the bones of a cock, on the breast a fibula (of gold, *G.M.*), representing a cock without legs, the wings inlaid with red and blue (green, *G.M.*). *C.A.* also cloak buckle, and two coins (one, silver, pre-Roman). The fibula is clearly of Collingwood type 109, late Roman.
11. S. *G.M.*: 11 and 12 contained rings of wire, bone combs, brooches.
12. T. Burnt bones.
13. Q. *G.M.*: four small vases, two brooches, burnt bones, broken pottery.

C.A.: three small urns, fragments of urns, three flint celts, five rough beads, fibula. These covered by layer of flints, above which were several small urns, burnt bone, and a fibula; the whole covered by upper layer of flints.

C.A. figures one of the 'three small urns', which appears to be very similar to our Fig. 4f. Flint and stone axes occurred at six of the French temples of this type listed by Wheeler (*Antiq. Journ.* VIII, 318 et seq.). Flint axes and also Bronze axes (a scattered hoard?) were found, too, by Martin Tupper at the Farley Heath temple, Surrey. See Goodchild in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* XLVI, 1938, p. 23. Their significance is likely to be votive.

OTHER ROMAN REMAINS

Finds of glass and other objects of Roman date have been made in the garden of Shadwells, at the end of the street, North Lancing, near the Manor; but the writer has not had an opportunity of inspecting the finds.

It would seem, however, that here is another villa on the line of the suspected road east from Chichester, intermediate between the villas at Angmering and Highdown, with the suspected site at Sompting, and the villa at Southwick across the river.

Finds of fragmentary Roman pottery (second-century rims, Samian forms 31, 33, and 37, a Hadrianic flagon

rim, and pieces of folded and rouletted beakers in thin ware of pink fabric and black coat) are frequently made on mole hills on the south side of Lancing Hill, but the nature of the site is not clear. Reference has



[Photo: C. M. Kraay.]

FIG. 17. SAXON INHUMATION, HOE COURT HOUSE, NORTH LANCING.

already been made to the Roman pottery from the bank on the north side of this hill, where also small pieces of wall plaster have occurred.

Below Lancing Ring to the north lies Cowbottom, and round Cowbottom Barn¹ slight traces are to be observed of lynchets laid out in the regular Romano-Celtic manner, and a few fragments of Samian and coarse pottery have been discovered by the writer near the Barn itself. A somewhat exiguous terrace-way ascends the steep slope towards Lancing Ring.

SAXON

We must conclude this survey with a brief mention of the Anglo-Saxon relics. There seem to have been one, possibly several, sceattas found at the temple site, though the whole matter is rather obscure.²

¹ Now in ruins. The site lies on the top margin of Fig. 1, and 1·2 in. from its N.W. corner.

² See Haverfield, *Index, Arch. Rev.* 1, 188.

Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., has kindly drawn my attention to the somewhat analogous discovery of a Byzantine coin near the temple at Farley Heath, Surrey.¹

In 1928, during the construction of a tennis court at Hoe Court House, a Saxon cemetery was discovered,

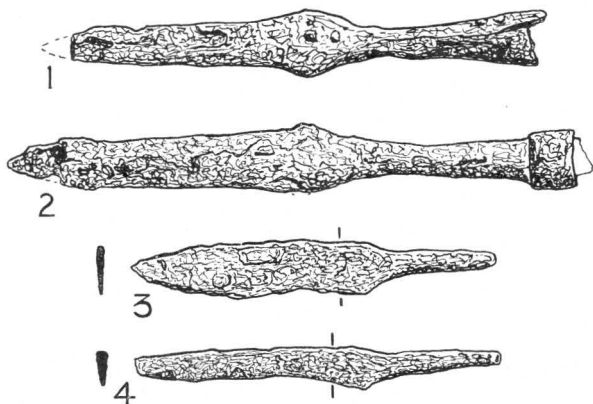


FIG. 18. ANGLO-SAXON SPEARS AND KNIVES FROM CEMETERY AT HOE COURT HOUSE, 1928. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

and six interments were examined, three of which produced iron weapons. In 1936 further excavations were undertaken by C. M. Kraay, which resulted in the discovery of a seventh interment which the excavator believed to be slightly later in date than the former six. A report of this 1936 excavation was published in *Sussex Notes and Queries* VI (iii), p. 91; but as it was unillustrated, I publish here, with Mr. Kraay's kind permission, a photograph of this seventh skeleton.

It now remains to describe the iron objects (Fig. 18) rescued in 1928, which have not been published before, and which comprise the evidence there is for assigning the cemetery to the sixth century. There are two spear-heads and two knives, all in very poor condition, not improved by having lain eleven years without treatment.

1. Spearhead, c. 8 in. long, point missing.² Of the type with

¹ Shortly to be published by the Surrey Arch. Soc.

² A third spear-head of similar type from the same site is in the Marlipins Museum at Shoreham.

plain angular profile and probably open socket. Similar to one from the Thames at Millbank (Wheeler, *London and the Saxons*, Pl. ix, 8).

2. Spearhead, 9 in. long, of similar type. Here again the socket was probably open, but is now too corroded for certainty. But a remarkable feature is that the lower end of the socket, too small to receive the shaft, has been enlarged into a band 0.75 in. wide and 0.9 in. in external diameter. This still contains traces of wood, which my colleague Mr. J. C. Gaman informs me is probably ash. I have been unable to find a parallel for this enlargement of the socket.

3. Knife, 5.7 in. long.

4. Knife, tip missing, c. 6 in. long.

These are of normal sixth century type with shoulder between the tang and the back of the blade. Cf. those from Guildown, *Surrey Arch. Soc.* xxxix, Pl. xi.

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS ON HIGHDOWN HILL, SUSSEX, AUGUST 1939

BY A. E. WILSON, D.LITT., F.R.HIST.S.

THE Highdown Hill is a chalk ridge, some 270 ft. high at its highest point, isolated from the main body of the Downs by intervening beds of gravel and clay. It lies on the boundary of Goring and Ferring some five miles north-west of Worthing. On the summit is the camp itself, which is approximately 400 ft. long by 300 ft. wide from north to south and encloses an area of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Inside the camp is the clump of trees planted by Mr. Henty towards the close of the nineteenth century. It was the planting of this conspicuous south-coast landmark which exposed the Saxon Cemetery excavated by Sir Hercules Read in 1892-4.¹

Surface finds and other excavations² had indicated occupation during the Late Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age, and Roman times as well as the use of the hill-top for a Saxon cemetery. In 1939 the Worthing Archaeological Society obtained permission from the Office of Works, the local committee of the National Trust, and the Worthing Town Council to examine the earthworks with a view to dating the fortification. The excavation sub-committee³ decided on three main cuttings and a subsidiary trial cutting at the north-west corner of the camp, where there is a marked change in the superficial remains of the camp.

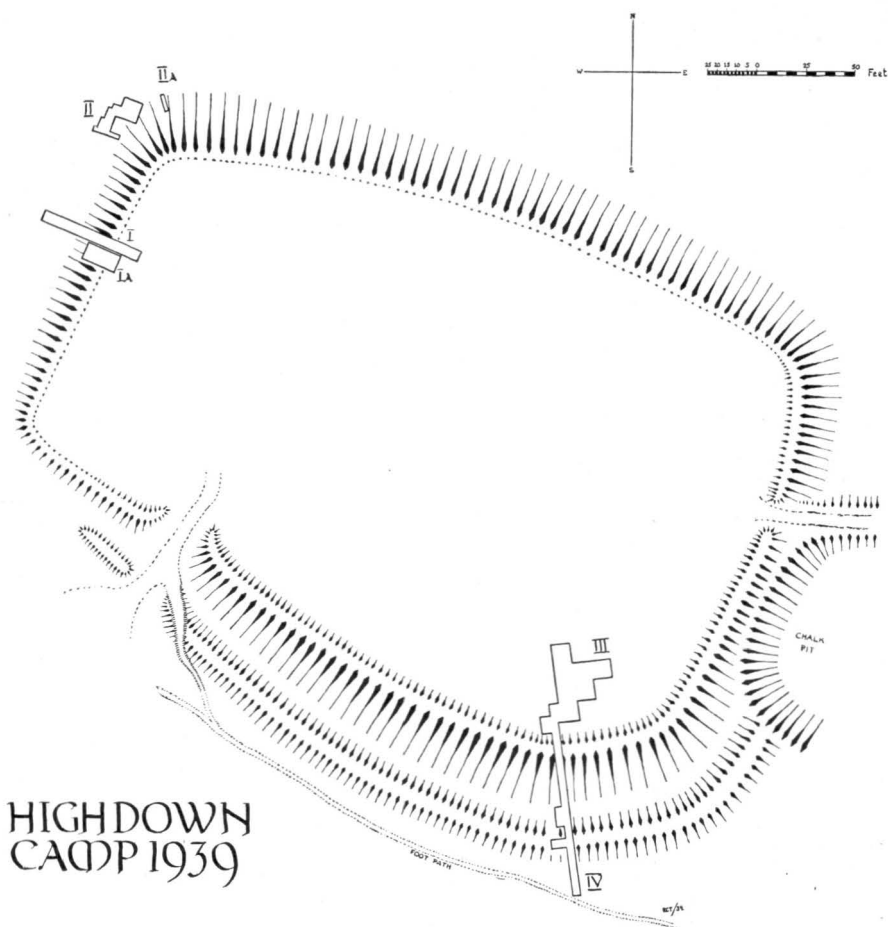
DESCRIPTION OF CUTTINGS

Capt. Roper and Mr. J. Holmes, with the assistance of some Wimbledon Rovers, opened up cuttings I and

¹ *Archaeologia*, LIV, part ii, pp. 367-82; LV, part i, pp. 203-14.

² *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, XIII (1857), pp. 289-94; *Archaeologia*, XLII (1869), pp. 74-6; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, XVIII (1901), pp. 386-8.

³ Miss Gerard, Curator of the Worthing Museum, Miss Dean, treasurer, and Capt. Roper, President of the Worthing Archaeological Society, and the writer of this Report, who took charge of the work on the Hill.



HIGHDOWN CAMP 1939

PL. I. GENERAL PLAN OF RAMPARTS AND DITCHES, OMITTING INTERNAL FEATURES, TO SHOW POSITIONS OF CUTTINGS. [Northern side is sketch-plan only.]

II¹ as narrow trial trenches during week-ends before the main excavation began. This work proved most useful in providing a range of pottery from known positions in the rampart and ditch to act as a guide during the main excavation. In the brief description of the cuttings, I shall first deal with cutting II, as that was not carried beyond the stage of a trial trench.

Cutting II revealed the following points of interest:

1. The main steep-sided ditch had apparently been reveted on the outside edge. This seems the simplest explanation of the post-holes in the floor and side of the ditch,² unless they helped to carry a bridge over the ditch at some stage. Similar post-holes do not occur in cuttings I and IV.

2. The ditch had a very irregular bottom lined with clay.

3. It did not end at the north-west corner but turned along the north side of the camp under what appears to be the slip of the rampart. The presence of clay and the steepness of the slope probably accounts for the difference of the surface remains on the north side.

4. The only pottery from the rapid silt of the ditch belonged to the Late Bronze Age I period. When the original ditch had silted up about 2 ft. a turf-line began to form on which there were numerous Iron Age A1 sherds.

Later occupation caused further silting up to the modern turf-line. More details about these occupations were revealed in the near-by cutting I which was carried through the rampart as well as the ditch.

*Cutting I.*³ After Mr. Holmes had found post-holes of a pre-rampart hut this cutting was widened to 6 ft. through the ditch and extended by cutting IA some 12 ft. along the rampart. Between them the cuttings revealed the following points of interest:

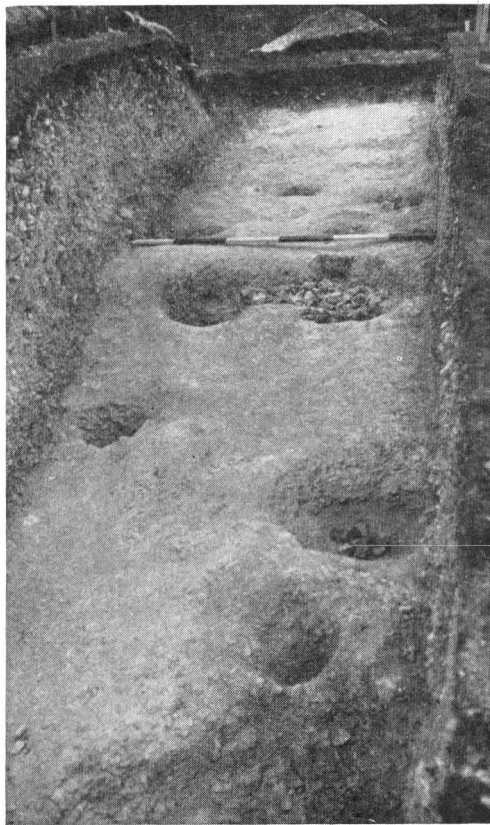
1. The remains of a Late Bronze Age I hut lay beneath the rampart.⁴ The large round hearth 'M'

¹ See General Plan, p. 174.

² Plate II, P.H. 1 and 2.

³ Plate II.

⁴ Plate II shows plan of post-holes, &c., which were uncovered.

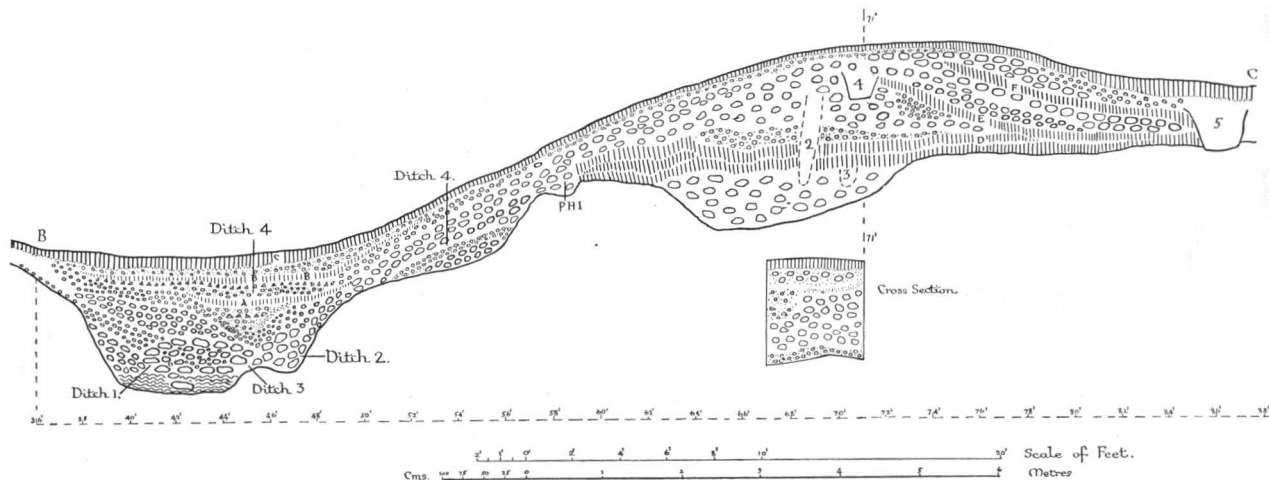
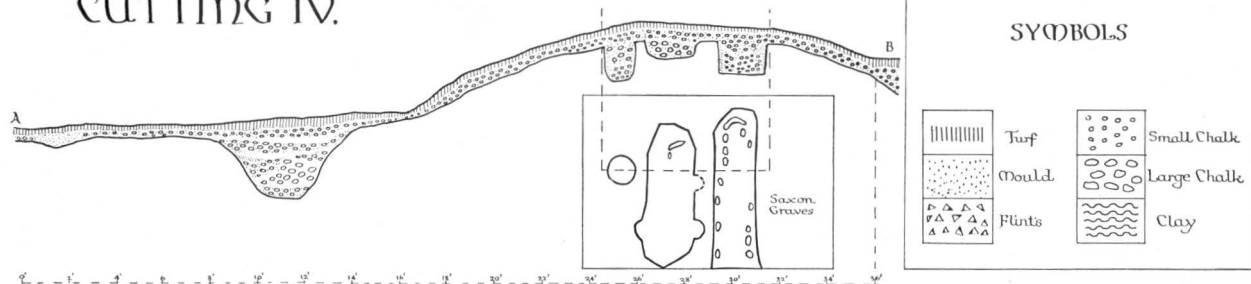


PL. III A. POST-HOLES, HEARTH AND COOKING-HOLE OF LATE BRONZE AGE HUT BENEATH RAMPART IN CUTTING I.



PL. III B. POST-HOLE FOR HUT, 3 POSTHOLES IN RAMPART; CUTTING I A.

CUTTING IV.



PL. IV. CUTTING IV. SECTION THROUGH BOTH DITCHES AND RAMPARTS OF SOUTHERN DEFENCES. OUTER RAMPART NOT EXCAVATED BENEATH. SAXON GRAVES. A-B, OUTER DITCH AND RAMPART; B-C, INNER DITCH AND RAMPART.



PL. V A. SECTION THROUGH INNER RAMPART,
CUTTING IV.



PL. V B. IRON AGE SKELETON FROM BOTTOM OF
INNER DITCH, CUTTING IV.



PL. VI A. INNER DITCH, CUTTING IV, SHOWING SIGNS OF RECUTS.



PL. VI B. RECENT DITCH (3) IN CUTTING IV. HAEMATITE POTTERY CAME FROM THIS 'TROUGH'.

which was sealed by a later well-trodden chalk floor yielded a large rim of a Late Bronze Age bucket pot,¹ a spindle-whorl, a loom weight, and part of a saddle-quern. A cooking-hole 'N' near by yielded sherds of a decorated Late Bronze Age I finer pot² and parts of another bucket pot.³ The other hearth 'O' in the main cutting and the clay-lined cooking-hole 'P' with its many pot-boilers may have belonged to the same hut, though the presence of Late Bronze Age II pottery and the signs of two distinct floors and the medley of post-holes suggest the possibility of two successive huts on practically the same site. The hearth 'O' was well made with a clay floor, flints set in the clay as a kind of fire-back, and signs of a flue. If there were not two huts at this point there were certainly many sherds of Late Bronze Age II pottery later than the hut but earlier than the rampart.

2. After a few Early Iron Age A1 sherds had collected on the old turf-line alongside the Late Bronze Age pottery the first camp was built. Though later alterations and disturbances hide some of its features they can be traced in comparison with cutting IV. The first fortification, at the very beginning of Early Iron Age A1 times, consisted of the wide steep-sided, irregular-bottomed ditch (ditch 1) about 6 ft. deep and 10 ft. wide, a flat berm some 10 ft. wide, a rampart between two lines of posts, and a ramp supporting the rampart on the inside of the camp. This compared very closely with the type of fortification at the beginning of A2 times when the first Maiden Castle was built. The pottery⁴ from the slow silt of the ditch proves that Highdown was first fortified at the time of the earliest Iron Age Invasions, an important discovery discussed more fully in the conclusions.

3. At a later date, still within the Early Iron Age A1 times, there was a new fortification which involved a new ditch (ditch 2), cut partly from the silt of the old ditch and partly from the berm between it and the original rampart. Traces of the material of the rampart

¹ Fig. 1, a.

² Fig. 1, d.

³ Fig. 1, b.

⁴ Fig. 3.

are not easy to find in this cutting, owing to late disturbances to be discussed below.

4. Yet a third shallow ditch was scooped out later, after new material, including pottery from the border-line of A2 and AB (c. 250 B.C.), had collected above turf-line A and the ditch had filled up to a higher level. In the dark mould filling of this new ditch was some Romano-British pottery and a rim of Samian ware form 31. To this period, probably, belonged the post-holes in the top of the rampart.¹ In the photograph² on page 176, taken while the rampart was being excavated, the three sets of post-holes are clearly seen: (a) beneath the old turf-line belonging to the Late Bronze Age hut; (b) in the material of the rampart and through the old turf-line and belonging to the Iron Age A1 rampart; (c) into the remains of the old rampart and belonging probably to the Roman period.

5. Cutting I runs through a very disturbed part of the rampart. Not only is there the quite recent hole shown in the section,³ but the cutting actually ran along the edge of the Late Bronze Age hut. So that at the level of the old turf-line the north face of the cutting was mainly outside the foundations of the hut, while the south face shows traces of the hut floor and its features. Moreover, there were remains, about half-way up the rampart, of part of a circular construction, probably a later hut, which cuts into the north face but not the south. This explained the very noticeable difference in the fillings of the rampart shown in the two sections. The south face section shows the turf-wall construction of the Iron Age rampart. On to the section are projected the three sets of post-holes described above. None of these were actually visible in the section but they were found in the cutting proper, as shown in the plan.⁴

Cutting IV. Mr. G. P. Burstow and Mr. S. S. Frere supervised the work on cutting IV, which is described next for comparison with cutting I. On this south side

¹ Plate II, P.H. 2.

³ Plate II, Section.

² Plate III, B.

⁴ Plate II, Plan.

of the camp there are an outer rampart and a ditch to be examined. Leaving these until later and looking at the inner ditch and rampart, the following points confirm the interpretation of cutting I and add some fresh information.

1. The first stage of fortification consisted of the original ditch (ditch 1), a berm, a rampart between two lines of post-holes, and a supporting ramp, here seen much more clearly in the section¹ and also in the photograph.²

2. At the bottom of the ditch lay, buried in a cairn of chalk blocks, the skeleton³ described on page 202. The next recut, still in Iron Age A1 times, gave the second V-shaped ditch (ditch 2), and the material between turf-lines E and F in the rampart.

3. When the second ditch had silted up a third ditch was started (ditch 3).⁴ Along the trough of this ditch lay sherds of haematite-coated⁵ ware which arrived at the site from Wessex in the years following 300 B.C. The people bringing this initial Iron Age A2 pottery failed to take root before the onslaught of the Marnian invaders who captured the site, and left some of their distinctive pottery both in the ditch and inside the camp.⁶

4. From the pottery evidence it is clear that the camp fell out of use soon after this upheaval. Turf-line A sealed the remains of previous occupations and collected on its surface some late-third- or early-fourth-century Romano-British pottery before the next incident happened. Pottery of similar date was found on turf-line F of the rampart. At this time, and probably contemporary with a Romano-British hut site found just inside the rampart, new occupants cut a wide shallow ditch, scooping out parts of the turf-lines sealing the old ditches and yet more of the berm. With the material thus obtained, partly freshly quarried chalk, partly old chalk and mould, they heightened the

¹ Plate IV.

² Plate V, A.

³ Plate V, B.

⁴ Plate VI, A. Cf. VI, B.

⁵ Fig. IV, *d, e, f*, and Plate VI, B.

⁶ Fig. IV, *g, h, j, k*.

rampart above turf-line F. It may be they who cut the channel '5',¹ though it does not seem to follow a very regular course in the short distance we uncovered.

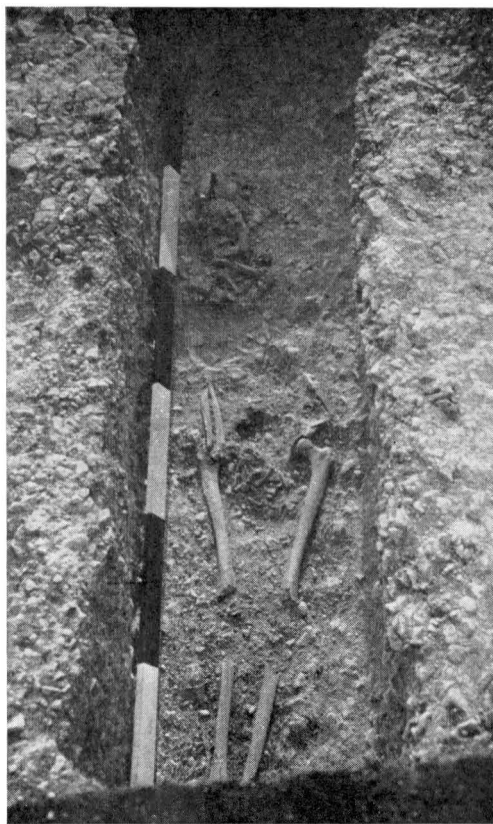
5. Then Saxon grave-diggers disturbed the top of the inner rampart and apparently threw some of the material from a hut floor into the old ditch. For, above the turf-line 'A' with its late-third-century pottery along the line of the last recut ditch, there lay a thick scatter of pot-boilers with very many tiny fragments of haematite-coated ware. Above this again was turf-line 'B' and then a certain amount of fresh silting before the modern turf-line was formed.

6. At some date for which there was no evidence in this year's work there were erected the outer defences, consisting of a V-shaped ditch and a rammed chalk rampart. Owing to the presence of Saxon graves we did not cut right down through this rampart, which presented some peculiar features. Later ploughing had obliterated all signs of the outer ditch and had left a negative lynchet heightening the effect of the rampart. The chalk was so even and so closely packed that we doubted if it was a rampart at all. The posts, which obviously completely filled the holes, must have been erected before the chalk was piled up into a rampart. The holes could not be cut into the existing material to receive the posts. Moreover, the sides of the deeper grave were distinctly loose at the top and considerably tighter lower down. Unfortunately the outbreak of war prevented further work here.

The deeper Saxon grave (No. 1) contained the almost complete skeleton of a man lying on his back with a scramas axe at his side and a bronze ring near his hip.² In the other graves few remains were left, a skull weathered as thin as tissue-paper and a few child's teeth. Though both graves and post-holes followed roughly the curvature of the rampart, they do not seem to be associated. It is indeed doubtful whether the post-holes were not curving more sharply

¹ Plate IV, Section b, c.

² Plate VI. (a) Saxon grave, (b) Counterscarp bank; Plate VII, B.



PL. VII A. SKELETON IN SAXON GRAVE IN OUTER
RAMPART, CUTTING IV



PL. VII B. OUTER RAMPART, CUTTING IV, SHOWING
POST-HOLES AND SAXON GRAVES.



PL. IX A. IRON AGE HUT AND SAXON GRAVES. CUTTING III.



PL. IX B. POST-HOLES OF ROMANO-BRITISH HUT IN CUTTING III.

than either graves or rampart. The answer to their relationship to each other can come only after further investigation.

Cutting III. Capt. A. C. Roper and Miss Barbara Crook took charge of the work of stripping a few 10-ft. squares inside the camp adjacent to cutting IV in order to see first if there were any unopened graves in this south-east corner (away from the trees planted after Mr. Henty's excavation), and secondly to search for traces of huts.¹ Their careful efforts were well rewarded even if they found that the previous excavators had opened up all the graves here and removed the grave goods. Incidentally, the trenches, made in 1892-4 when searching for the graves, had left much of the ground undisturbed and so made it possible to gain the following valuable information.

1. A broken Saxon cinerary urn with many of the burnt bones still inside it and traces of four other cremation burials, patches of burnt bone and pottery mixed. In all five cases these burials were resting on bases of flints.

2. Parts of the foundations of walls of three separate huts. The latest of these consisted of post-holes for part of three sides of a late-third-century Romano-British hut,² datable by pottery lying about and by Roman coins, including two radiate coins, one of Tetricus and the other of Victorinus, found in one of the post-holes. These post-holes did not reach into the solid. Wherever the ground was undisturbed by later graves or excavations the pottery lay in two layers, Romano-British on the top and Early Iron Age A1 with a few stray Late Bronze pieces below.

3. In the solid and lying at a different angle were the foundations of a square hut of Iron Age A1 times. The trench and its flint packing came out easily from the surrounding material. Certain post-holes in the solid may have belonged to this; but later Saxon graves had greatly disturbed this side of the hut.³

4. Near at hand a little farther to the east was part

¹ Plate VIII.

² Plate IX, B.

³ Plate IX, A.

of the foundation of a wall of a circular hut whose date was not ascertained.

5. In connection with these huts there was a full range of Early Iron Age A1 pottery¹ whose significance is discussed in the conclusions.

6. The Saxon graves were not all orientated; some lay at right angles to others, so that the feet of one skeleton practically lay in the side of another grave.

CONCLUSIONS

These depend mainly on a study of the vast amount of pottery obtained from cuttings I and III and the lesser amount obtained from significant positions in cutting IV. Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., was generous enough once again to place his knowledge and his time freely at my disposal. He saw most of the significant sherds and criticized my notes on them. Unfortunately, I was unable to persuade him to write the pottery report, but much of its value arises from what he has taught me, not only now but also in connection with the Caburn. It is most pleasing to see such full and immediate confirmation of the main contentions he put forward in that report. Throughout the excavation and during the writing of this report Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., has allowed me to ask numerous questions about Sussex pottery. With this help I hope to have formed a reasonably accurate judgement on the history of Highdown Hill and its relation to other Sussex sites.

Highdown may be added to Park Brow and Plumpton Plain A as Late Bronze Age I sites occupied in the years following 1000 B.C. by settlers from northern France. From the hut-site beneath rampart 1 (cutting IA) came three examples of the Late Bronze Age bucket pot,² three sherds of a decorated pot of thinner brown ware of a type well known at Plumpton Plain and Fort Harrouard in northern France,³ one sherd with a raised lug,⁴ and one with an applied raised band⁵ and a slightly squeezed-out rim.⁶

¹ See Figs. 5, 6, 7.

⁴ Fig. 1, e.

² Fig. 1, a, b, c.

⁵ Fig. 1, g.

³ Fig. 1, d.

⁶ Fig. 1, f.

From cuttings III and IV came, besides numerous featureless Late Bronze Age sherds, several fragments

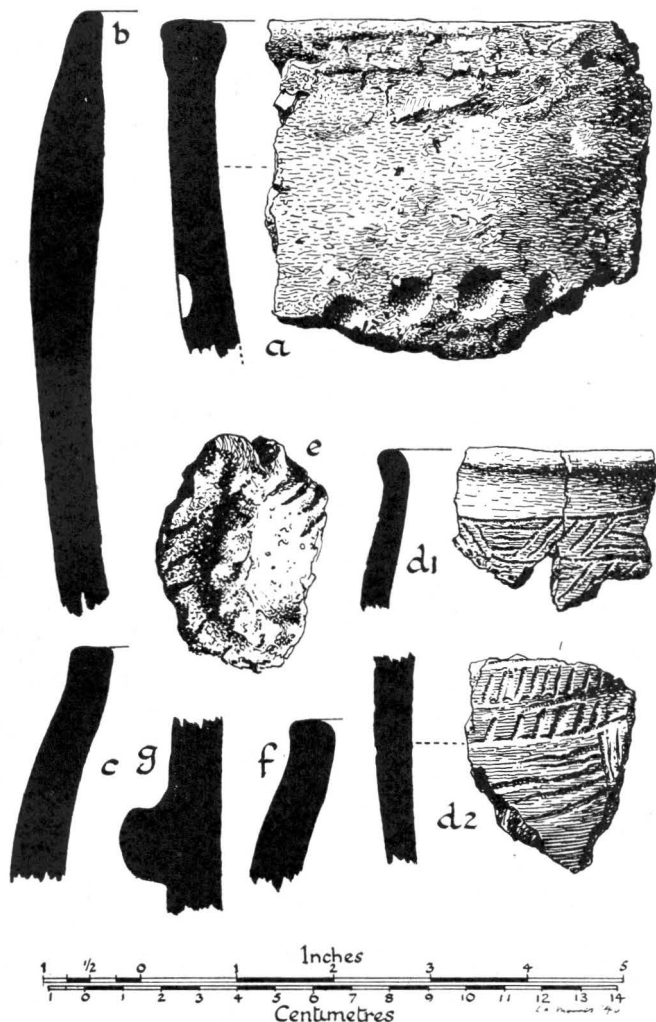


FIG. 1. LATE BRONZE AGE I POTTERY.

showing raised bands with finger impression of both types found at the Late Bronze Age II site at Plumpton Plain B, viz. that with constricted neck and that with

the band on the shoulder.¹ Here as well as in cutting I² is sufficient evidence for occupation in Late Bronze



FIG. 2. LATE BRONZE AGE II POTTERY.

Age II times from 750 B.C. onwards. Thus this phase of the history of Highdown fits into the same background as Plumpton Plain B, New Barn Down, Park Brow, Kingston Buci, and Newhaven.

¹ Fig. 2, a, b, c, d.

² Fig. 2, e, f, g, k.

Then followed the fortification of the site at the time of the first Early Iron Age invasions. This is the most important fresh addition to knowledge made as a result of excavation. Many Iron Age AI village sites are known and there is evidence that the forts such as Harrow Hill, Wolstanbury, and Thundersbarrow were fortified as places of refuge: but here is a clear incident of the Iron Age AI invaders capturing and occupying, as a hill fort, a Late Bronze Age II site.

Somewhere about 500 B.C. fresh sets of immigrants from the Continent mark the change from Late Bronze Age II to Early Iron Age AI. These immigrants came from different continental regions and brought with them various phases of Late Hallstatt Continental culture. Sussex sites (Park Brow I, Eastbourne, Kingston Buci, and now Highdown) do not yield the vast variety of forms that Wessex sites like All Cannings Cross can figure. At Eastbourne some haematite-coated ware accompanied the other forms, but the more exotic types died out.

A strong Late Bronze Age tradition survived to produce the local AI pottery with its coarse gritty paste, sharp shoulder, and finger-tip or finger-nail decoration on rim or shoulder.¹ Typical examples came from the turf-line 'A' and slow silt of the first ditch in cutting I, from the old turf-line beneath the rampart, and in considerable quantities from the hut-sites in cutting III.² This pottery continued to develop throughout the period until it merged into Caburn I ware, which a few sherds³ from this site closely resemble.

Alongside this coarse ware was a better-class ware of hard, smoother paste, well finished with everted rim and both the rounded-situla shoulder and the sharper shoulder.⁴ These compare well with Park Brow I. Another prolific type is the smooth and well-finished

¹ For fuller discussion on the merging of pottery traditions at the change over from Late Bronze Age II to Iron Age AI, see Castle Hill, Newhaven Report, *S.A.C.* LXXX, 271-3.

² Fig. 3, *a, b*; Figs. 5 and 6.

³ Fig. 4, *b, c*.

⁴ Fig. 3, *c, d, f, g, h, i, j, k, l*.

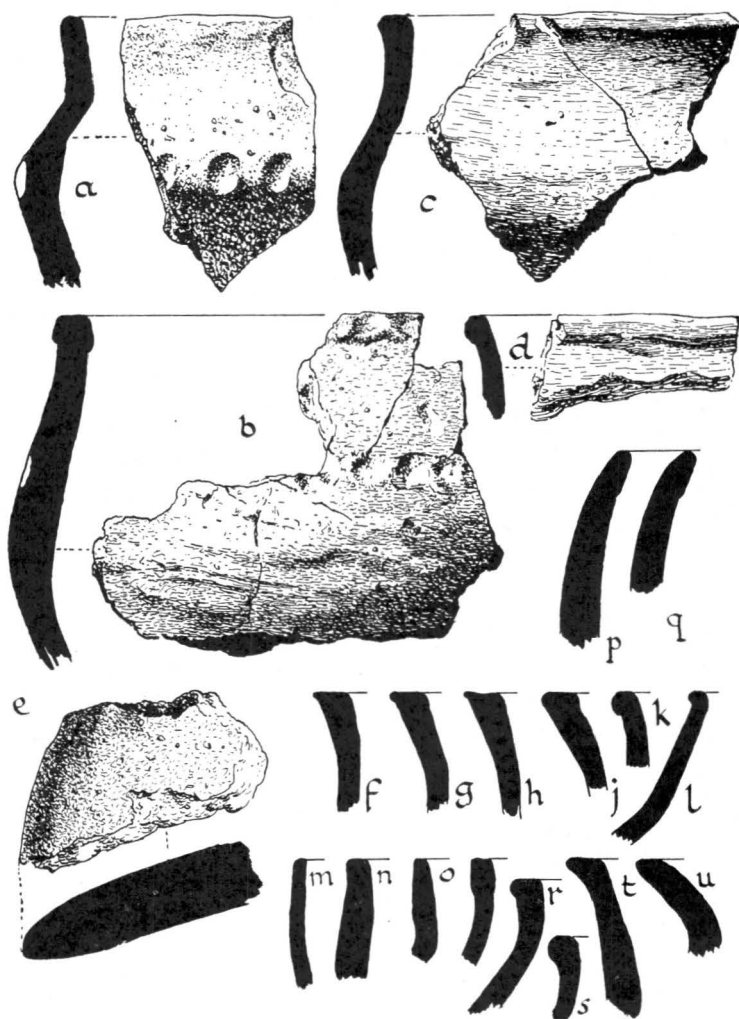


FIG. 3. EARLY IRON AGE A I POTTERY.

bag-shaped pots.¹ So great is the range of forms that Highdown may be said to rival Park Brow and Eastbourne as a representative Iron Age A1 site for Sussex. A good selection of sherds is illustrated in Figs. 5, 6, and 7.

The positions of many of these sherds in the ditches and ramparts show clearly that the site was occupied as a hill-fort, strengthened at least once, throughout the years 500 B.C. to 300 B.C. Towards the end of the period occupation seems to have thinned out. The later types of pottery occur less frequently than the earlier. Included among the pottery of this time is not a single sherd of haematite-coated ware. It only appears in cutting IV at the time when the small ditch was made.²

There is no sign of a similar ditch in cutting I. One is tempted to wonder if it was ever completed. When it was made there were close at hand in the ditch and inside the camp some sherds of Marnian type pottery,³ which confirm the conclusions reached by Mr. Hawkes in his Caburn Report.

Somewhere about 300 B.C. Wessex influence began to spread into Sussex. It was marked by the arrival of a fine, sandy ware (coated with a haematite slip); it often took the form of a very sharp angular pot. In the case of the well-known Caburn pot⁴ it had the typical incised line-decoration filled with white inset. Normally it dropped that decoration but developed in its place finger-nail or tooled incisions on rim, neck, or shoulder.⁵ Before it had established itself in west and central Sussex it was cut off by the pottery which a new set of Celtic invaders brought from the Marne Valley.

At Highdown not only is it possible to see the full force of the first Iron Age A1 invaders driven from the Continent by the great changes happening there between 600 B.C. and 500 B.C., but also the full force of this new invasion. All along the south coast there was frantic

¹ Fig. 3, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q*.

³ Fig. 4, *g*, *h*, *j*, *k*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 220, Fig. C, 8, 9, 11, 12.

² Fig. 4, *d*, *e*, *f*.

⁴ *S.A.C.* LXXX, 225, Fig. E. 72.

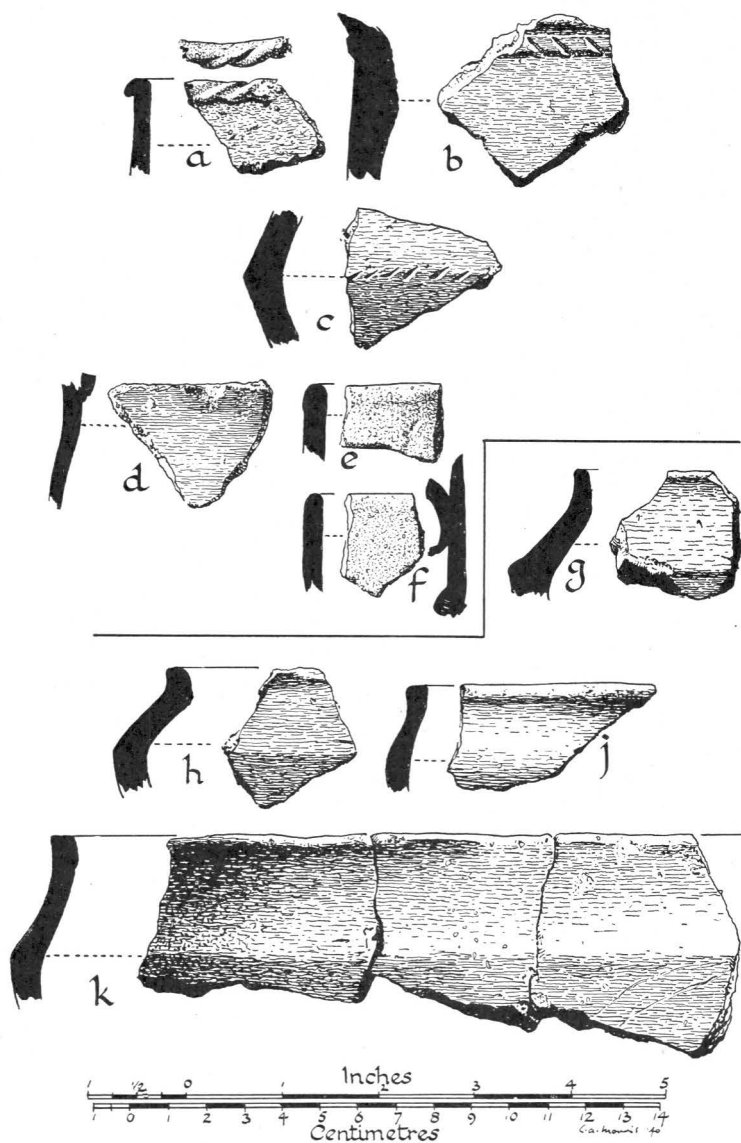


FIG. 4. POTTERY ILLUSTRATING INVASIONS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 3RD CENTURY B.C.

a-c, Prototypes of Caburn I ware.

d-f, Haematite-coated ware from Wessex.

h-k, Marnian-type ware.

building of hill-forts:—about 250 B.C. the first Maiden Castle, St. Catherine's Hill, the Trundle, Cissbury, Hollingbury, the Dyke, and many another such as

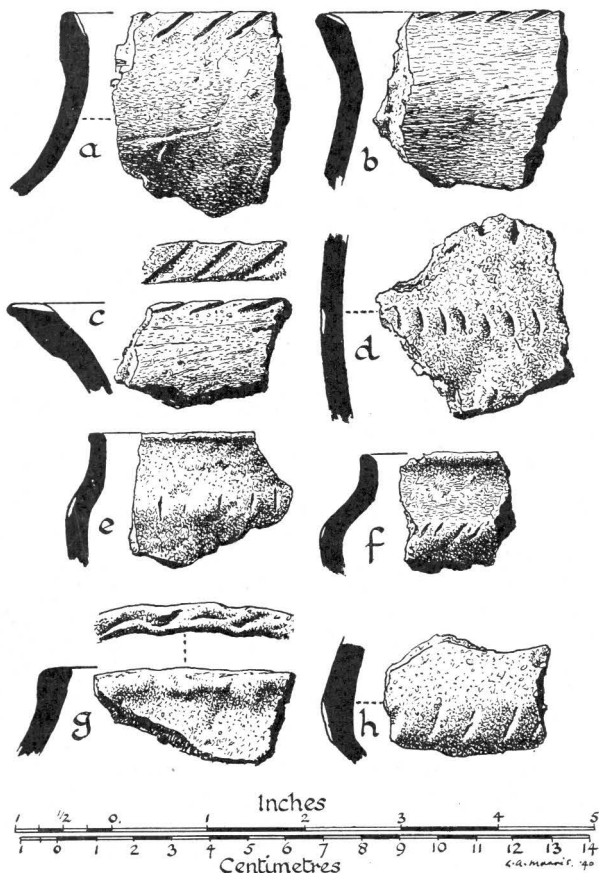


FIG. 5. EARLY IRON AGE A I POTTERY. EXAMPLES OF FINGER-NAIL AND INCISED LINE DECORATION.

Quarley Hill and the unfinished Ladle Hill. In central Sussex the invaders captured Highdown, leaving traces of their visit in the form of some of their imported ware alongside the freshly arrived haematite-coated ware and went on to make Cissbury the capital from which their Iron Age AB culture spread into the

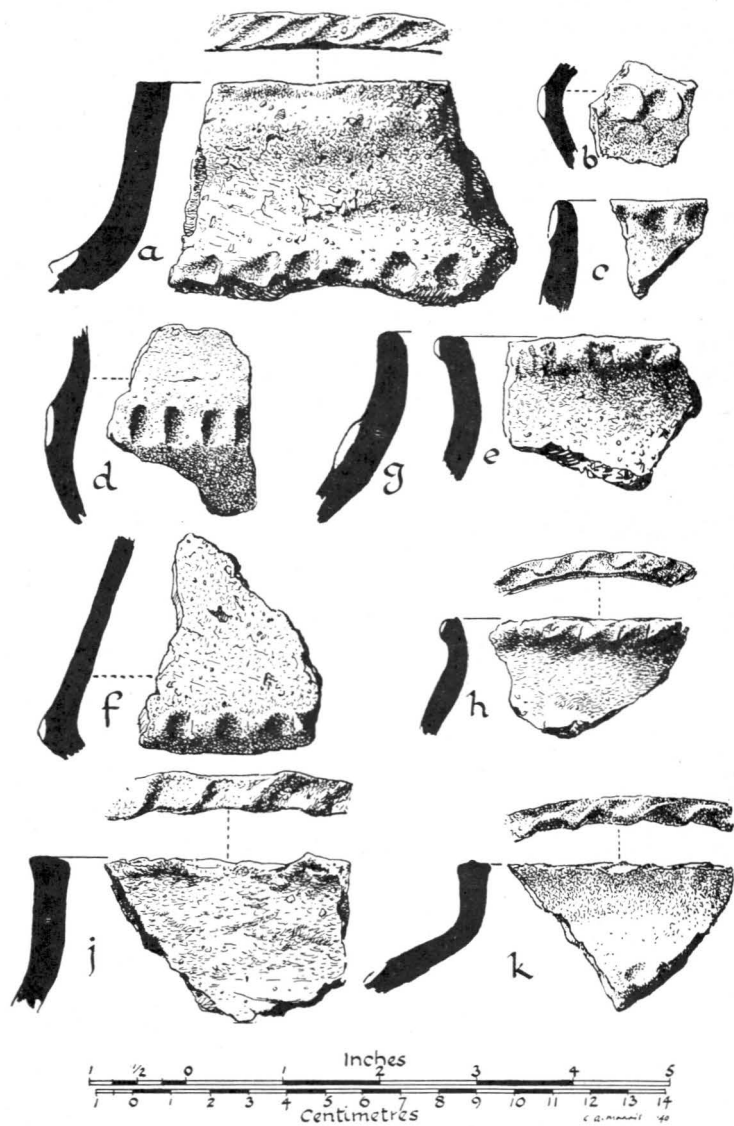


FIG. 6. IRON AGE A1 POTTERY. EXAMPLES OF FINGER-TIP AND NAIL DECORATION.

surrounding area.¹ They apparently laid waste the district to the east, for there is little evidence of their influence in the excavated village-sites. Hollingbury and the Dyke remained unoccupied. The Caburn went on its way as an isolated open village developing the A2 culture introduced from Wessex, but cut off early in its career in the rest of Sussex. From the hut-sites on cutting III there came a few incipient AB rims² but no signs of a genuine occupation.

The site seems then to have lain unoccupied well into Roman times. Of the Romano-British pottery found in cuttings III and IV almost all belongs to the late third or early fourth century. This reoccupation must be connected with the disturbances prevalent throughout Britain from A.D. 270 to A.D. 300. In the neighbouring field on the western slope of the hill were the remains of a small Roman bath-house which apparently ended its main history suddenly about the close of the third century. The pottery found in the ruins of the furnace room and in the top of the 'sumps' coincided closely with that found this year on the turf-line 'A' in the ditch of cutting IV and in the hut from which the coins of Tetricus and Victorinus came. Similar late Roman fortifications have been recognized at Cissbury and the Caburn. In those two cases no evidence of date was forthcoming. At Highdown the pottery and coins point strongly to those troublous times at the end of the third century when the government and economic organization of the Roman Empire broke down.

From Sussex alone there is enough evidence of this in the desertion of such villages as Park Brow II, the destruction of the villa at Wiggonholt, the strengthening of the walls of Chichester, and, after Carausius had temporarily restored order, the building of Pevensey by him or Constantius Chlorus as one of the forts of the Saxon shore. The refortification of Highdown and the building of huts within its defences illustrates only too well the state of affairs in the rest of Britain.

¹ *S.A.C.* LXXX, 230, sqq.

² Fig. VII, o3, p3, t3.

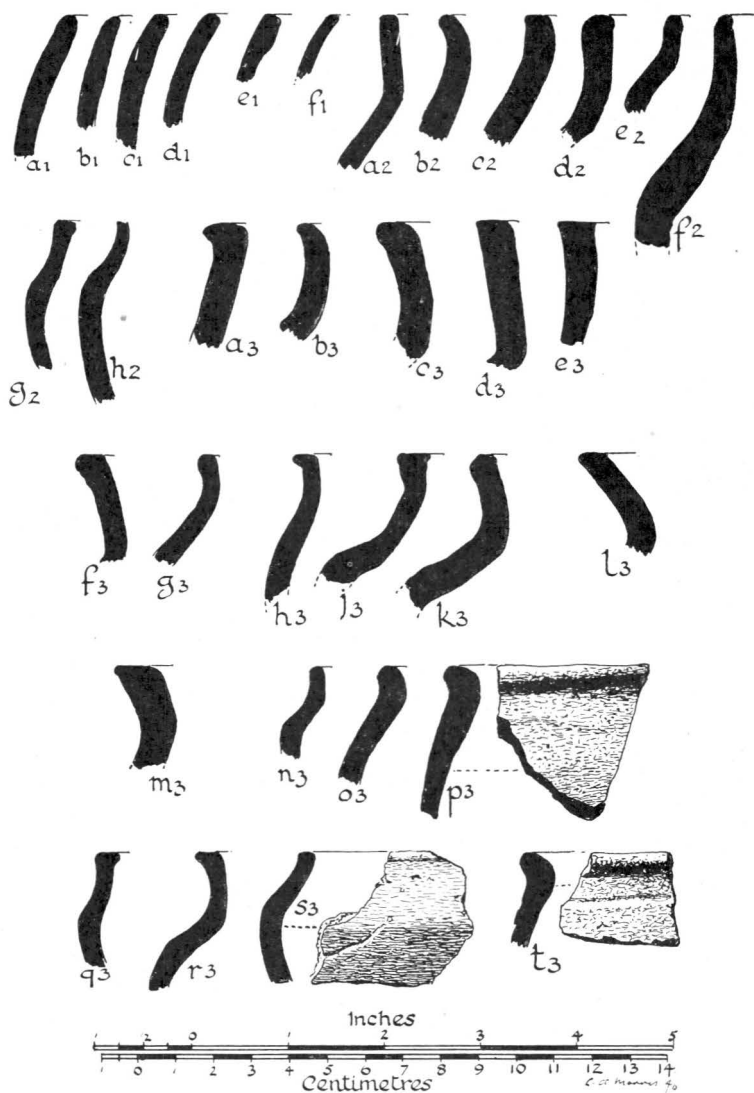


FIG. 7. EARLY IRON AGE A1 POTTERY. EXAMPLES OF VARIOUS RIMS AND TRANSITION TO A 2.

The main points of interest in the Saxon finds are:

1. The confirmation of the early date of the cemetery by the finding of further cinerary urn burials.
2. The stake-holes in the chalk above the grave on the outer rampart in cutting IV.
3. The extension of the cemetery to the outer rampart.

In this connection it is perhaps convenient to call attention to some of the scattered evidence for cremation burial at Highdown. Most of it is collected in a MS. note-book of the late Mr. C. H. Goodman, now deposited in Worthing Library. In summarizing the various accounts of the excavations he wrote: 'In the Report the burials are referred to as inhumed, but it appears that in the following seasons Mr. Henty carried out some excavations. No account of these operations has been published but they resulted in the finding of a number of cinerary urns which are now in the Museum.' He refers to the opinion of the late A. F. Griffith in his report on the Alfriston Cemetery:¹ 'At High Down no less than 19 (urns) were secured complete or nearly so, in addition to more than 20 containing burnt bones found in the south plantation in the last year of the excavations. These last were so decayed when found that only fragments were secured. One of them contained the remains of a circular fibula.'

At another point in his note-book Mr. Goodman remarked: 'I have Mrs. Henty's authority for saying, that she assisted her husband in exploring the camp and she still retains one or two circular brooches which have been partly destroyed by fire and which were found in some of the urns together with calcined bones.'

To sum up shortly, the excavations of 1939 have shown that Highdown felt the effect of the following incursions into Sussex, from the Continent: Late Bronze Age I about 1000 B.C.; Late Bronze Age II from 750 B.C. onwards; Iron Age A1 at the opening of the fifth century B.C.; the Marnian invasions of c. 250

¹ *S.A.C.* LXVI, 222.

B.C.; and the Saxon raids and the disturbances in the Roman Empire just before A.D. 300. Then finally when the Saxons settled in the neighbouring villages it served as their cemetery from the sixth century onwards, probably till they began to bury their dead in the churchyards of Ferring, Goring, Angmering, and Patching and other surrounding 'ingas' villages—all of which, by their place-names, indicate early Saxon settlements.

NOTES ON POTTERY

Abbreviations used in the following notes:

P.P. Plumpton Plain Report in the *Proceedings of The Pre-historic Society*, 1935, pp. 39-59.

P.B. Park Brow Report in *Archaeologia*, LXXVI, 1-40.

C. Caburn Report in *S.A.C.*, LXXX, 217 sqq.

N. Newhaven Report in *S.A.C.*, LXXX, 264 sqq.

Late Bronze Age I (Fig. 1).

(a) From the hearth in cutting IA a big cylindrical bucket pot, with flat rim, black gritty paste; a row of finger-tip impressions about $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the way down the side. In this example the finger-tip is on the pot itself, not on applied strip. Cf. P.P. 'A.1.a', Fig. 1, p. 40, and P.B. Fig. 3, p. 16.

(b) A Late Bronze Age bag pot might either be L.B.A. I or II, but by its association with 'd' it is probably L.B.A. I.

(c) and (f) Two examples of L.B.A. I rims.

(d) Three sherds of a small brown pot of finer ware, still gritty paste with incised line decoration. Cf. P.P. Class 'A.4' (Fig. 3, p. 42) and P.B. Figs. 2 and 2A, p. 16. At P.B. this was found with the bucket pot referred to in (a) above.

(e) A sherd, similar in paste and style to (a), decorated with parts of a plastic 'horseshoe' strip and finger-nail ornament. Appears to be a variation of ordinary plastic strip found at P.B. Fig. 3, p. 16, and a primary feature of L.B.A. cinerary urns in Wessex.

(g) A sherd with applied strip.

These, together with numerous featureless Late Bronze Age sherds from hut-site, rapid silt of ditch, and cutting III point to an occupation of the hill in Late Bronze Age A1 times by a people using pottery similar to Plumpton Plain A and the earliest occupants of Park Brow.

Late Bronze Age II (Fig. 2).

Examples of Late Bronze Age II pottery came from the ditch and old turf-line beneath the rampart in cutting I and from cutting III.

(a) and (b) Two examples of finger-nail impressed plastic strip on constricted neck of pots. P.P. 'B.1.A', Fig. 6, p. 48.

(c) and (d) Two examples of finger-impression plastic strip on shoulder of pot. P.P. 'B.1.B', Fig. 6, p. 48.

(e) A sherd of coarse reddish paste with lug; it might be L.B.A. I or II.

(f) Two bag-shaped pots, black paste; similar to P.P. 'B.2' or 'B.3', Figs. 9 and 10, pp. 50 and 51.

(k) A sherd near base of a coarse reddish paste pot; either L.B. I or II.

(h), (j), (l), (m) Typical flat Bronze Age rims.

Iron Age A1 Pottery (Fig. 3).

These examples come from either the occupation level in the ditch or the old turf-line beneath the rampart in cutting I. They show the two types of ware—the better-class type with its smooth hard paste, finely finished and often with an everted rim, and the coarser 'kitchen ware' type with its rougher paste, poorer surface, and finger-impression ornament. Examples of both rounded situla shoulder and sharp shoulder with everted neck and rim are present. Bag-shaped pots occur frequently, but are easily distinguished from their Bronze Age equivalents by their smoother finish, showing that the potter used a knife or other tool rather than his fingers to give the final shape to his ware.

(a) Sherd of angular profile showing local development from Late Bronze Age under Hallstatt influence. P.B. Fig. 4, p. 16.

(b) Similar ware, but rounded shoulder form.

(c), (d) Smooth, finer ware. P.B. Fig. 5, p. 17.

(e) A lid of Iron Age fabric and finish, though similar to P.P. 'B.7', Fig. 13, p. 54.

(f) to (n) A selection of rims from these two layers showing the range of forms of Iron Age A1 pottery found on the site.¹

These three sets of pottery (Figs. 1, 2, and 3) again reinforce what Mr. Hawkes said in his Newhaven Report last year: 'Sussex Iron Age A1 series, both in its intrinsic features and its partial continuity with Late Bronze Age forms has more in common with eastern Britain than it has with Wessex, where the distinction between Late Bronze Age and Iron Age is much sharper.' (*S.A.C.* LXXX, 270.)

Fig. 4.

These sherds fall into three groups and illustrate the events which affected the site somewhere about 250 B.C.

(a) by its stylized cable-twist rim points to a late phase of A1.

(b) and (c) are prototypes of Caburn I ware. Cf. *S.A.C.* LXXX, Figs. 7 and 8, p. 280; Figs. L. 27 and 28, p. 260; Fig. C. 12, p. 220.

(d), (e), (f) are three of the sherds of many small fragments of haematite-coated ware found in the small recut ditch.

¹ Cf. Trundle Report, Plate X. *S.A.C.* LXX, 53.

(g) to (k) with their suggestive 'Marne-Valley' appearance belong to the 'B' invaders who captured the site and made Cissbury their head-quarters. (*S.A.C.* Fig. G, p. 234.)

These three groups confirm Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes's conclusion that at the end of A1 times, when Sussex was about to develop an A2 style (*a, b, c*), migrants from Wessex brought in haematite-coated ware (*d, e, f*). Before the new culture could mature 'B' invaders from the Marne Valley swarmed into west and central Sussex and dominated it from such hill-forts as Cissbury and The Trundle. (*S.A.C.* LXXX, 230 sqq.)

Figs. 5-7.

Selections of Iron Age A1 sherds to show methods of ornament, types of rims, and profiles. The last few sherds on Plate VII show definite A2 and AB influence. All these sherds are from cutting III inside the rampart.

SUMMARY OF NOTE ON SKELETON FOUND AT BOTTOM OF DITCH

From report by J. C. TREVOR

(University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge).

The cranium is of great size and was evidently that of a muscular man about 40 years old. Other comparative measurements show that the Highdown man's affinities are more likely to be with an Iron Age than a Bronze Age type. For comparison Mr. Trevor took 26 Iron Age skeletons from Maiden Castle and 27 Bronze Age skeletons. Mr. Trevor's full report will appear elsewhere.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first thanks of the excavation sub-committee are due to those who made the work possible: the local committee of the National Trust and the Worthing Corporation, who readily granted permission; Major Stern, who gave every help for camping on his ground near the site; to Mr. Basil Henriques, Dr. Smith, and others of the London Boys Camp, who were such excellent and helpful neighbours; to members of the Worthing Archaeological Society and others who subscribed so liberally to the expenses. I should like to express my personal thanks to Miss Gerard and Miss Dean for the numerous ways in which they eased my task in rather unsettled times.

So much work could not have been done in so short a time without the strenuous labour of a large, cheerful,

and very willing team of workers under Capt. Roper, Mr. Burstow, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Frere, and Miss Crook. Mrs. Roper, Miss Ellenband, and Mr. Treweeks relieved me of much of the plan and section drawing on the site. Miss Webber made the final drawings for publication, and in Mr. C. A. Morris I have been lucky enough to find a worthy successor to the late Mr. Gurd to make the pottery illustrations for this article. Capt. Roper was once again responsible for the official photographs. Mr. Burstow and Miss Smee assisted with much of the clerical work. Mr. Doe proved a willing and quite successful chief workman. Mr. and Mrs. King took charge of the camp cooking with excellent results.

During the fortnight forty people stayed in camp and worked on the hill. More than half of them were there for the whole time. They included Mrs. King, Mrs. Roper, Mrs. Wilson; the Misses Beechcroft, Cooper, Crook, Dodds, Ellenband, Fennell, Keeble, M. Richardson, Smee, Stuart, C. Wilson, M. Wilson; Messrs. Burstow, Comber, Cuddington, S. Frere, L. Frere, Holleyman, Holmes, Hucker, Lawford, Matheson, Milton, Parker, Pickard, Roper, Shanks, Swann, L. Swann, Tanner, Treweeks, and Wright; Dr. Cecil Curwen, Dr. Johnstone, and Dr. Kitchener. To all of whom I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for doing the work which has enabled me to submit such evidence to Mr. Hawkes and Dr. Curwen as to make this report possible.



THE FLANSHAM BRONZE HOARD.

A BRONZE HOARD FROM FLANSHAM, NEAR MIDDLETON

BY FRAZER HEARNE

WHILE making a drive for a new house, 'North Bank', Hoe's Lane, Flansham, in June 1936, the diggers came upon what is evidently a Late Bronze Age hoard.

Flansham is a hamlet about one mile north-west of Middleton (now called Middleton-on-Sea) and the same distance north-east of Felpham.

The finds were 3 ft. down in the south bank of the Lane¹ where the drive now comes into it—in the position of the left-hand gate-post from the house. The soil was loose earth to a depth of about 2 ft., and clay below to about 12 ft.

The discovery was reported by Mr. S. E. Winbolt in *The Times* of 9 May 1938 and in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, VII, 78–80, for August 1938, brief descriptions being given in each case. Since then, additional items from the hoard have been gathered in and the entire collection has been with the British Museum for inclusion in the Card Catalogue of Bronze Implements there. It is now on loan from the owners to the Littlehampton Museum, where it is on view.

On the urgent suggestion of Dr. Eliot Curwen and of Mr. Christopher Hawkes, the present writer now presents a more detailed paper, premising that the full descriptions and drawings of the various items were furnished by Mr. A. O'N. Osborne of the British Museum, to whom is due any credit that may be attached to this paper.

The hoard may be assigned to the period 1000–750 B.C.

Other bronze hoards recorded from the neighbourhood are from—

Barnham. 8 palstaves (*S.A.C.* XVII. 254, and *S.A.C.* LXXII).

Bognor. 6 palstaves (Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 80, and *S.A.C.* LXXII).

¹ 6 in. O.S. Sussex (west) sheet LXXIV. NE.—the north-west corner.

Bognór. 80 (or 81) palstaves (*S.A.C.* LXVI, and *S.A.C.* LXXII).

Yapton. 8 socketed celts; 'also a mass of metal, several pounds in weight' (*S.A.C.* XVIII. 195, and *S.A.C.* LXXII).

Of these hoards, it will be observed, only one—that from Yapton—contained specimens of the Late Bronze Age socketed celts. Taking all the hoards from Sussex, we find only three other socketed gouges recorded—one from Highdown Hill and two from Newhaven. Except in the present Flansham hoard there are no bronze ferrules recorded from Sussex.

DETAILS OF HOARD

1. Socketed celt. (figured *S.N.Q.* VII. 79). Length, 76 mm. Width, 45 mm. Weight, 128 grammes. Cutting-edge chipped and blunted. Faces quite plain without ribs. Prominent mould marks. Traces of (?) wood at inner end of socket. Spaces between loop and side filled with encrustment. Surface fairly smooth. Patina partly light green.

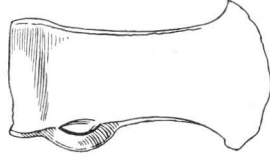
2. Socketed celt fragment. Length, 54 mm. Weight, 116 grammes. Upper part missing. Prominent mould marks. Near the mouth of the socket, on each face, are three projecting knobs; the central one of each group is very prominent, standing out 2 mm.; the others are less conspicuous. Casting flaw on side behind the loop. Surface smooth. Patina pale green.

3. Socketed celt fragment. (figured *S.N.Q.* VII. 79). Length, 56 mm. Weight, 105 grammes. Upper part missing. Prominent mould marks; loop slightly out of the straight, small casting flaw immediately above loop. Faces quite plain, without ribs. Surface rather rough. Patina light and dark green and khaki.

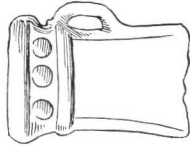
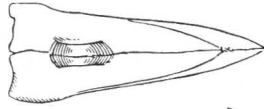
4. Socketed celt fragment. Length, 64 mm. Weight, 151 grammes. Cutting-edge broken off; socket crushed and has part missing; three ribs on each face. Surface smooth but with much encrustment around loop. Patina light and dark green and dull bronze colour.

5. Socketed celt fragment. Length, 53 mm. Weight, 88 grammes. Cutting-edge missing; a long narrow fracture, measuring 21 mm. \times 6 mm. runs from this broken edge towards the socket. Both faces are much worn; one has three (possibly four) short ribs, the other (not shown in the drawing) has five distinguishable ribs. Prominent mould marks. Upper end is slightly crushed. Surface mostly smooth. Patina dull green and brown.

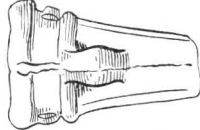
6. Socketed celt. Length, 81 mm. Width, 48 mm. Weight, 184 grammes. Edge sharp in the centre, blunt at each end. Marks of filing on both faces. Hollow end slightly crushed; mouth of socket broken off. Surface smooth. Patina greyish-green and brown.



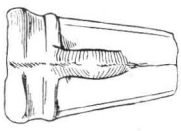
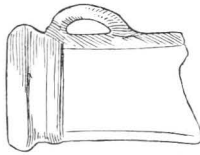
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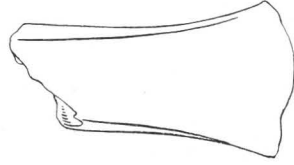
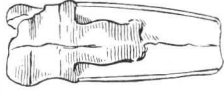
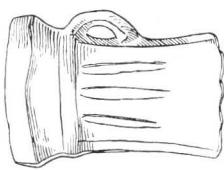
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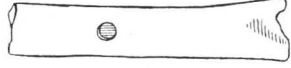
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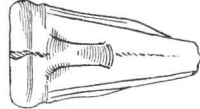
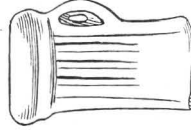
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16.



5.



7. Socketed celt fragment. Length, 40 mm. Width, 54 mm. Thickness, 17 mm. Weight, 95 grammes. Fragment consists of the cutting-edge of blade; edge itself is blunt and broken; one end is recurved to an unusual extent; the socket part is slightly crushed; socket partly filled with metal encrustment. Surface smooth. Patina apple-green on one side, green-white on the other.

8. Sword fragment. Length, 73 mm. Width, 45 mm. Thickness, 7 mm. Weight, 93 grammes. Shoulders and upper part of blade only. Two rivet-holes, one retaining the rivet, which has an over-all length of 12 mm. Blade somewhat bent. Pointed oval section. Rudimentary ricasso notches. Surface pitted round shoulders; large patch of encrustment on one side of blade. Patina dull green.

9. Sword fragment. Length, 61 mm. Width, 33 mm. Thickness, 6 mm. Weight, 52 grammes. Small piece of upper end of blade; pointed oval section; one edge is concave, the other nearly straight; concave edge is in good condition, the other rather rough. Surface smooth. Patina dull green and brown.

10. Sword fragment. Length, 50 mm. Width, 50 mm. Thickness, 6 mm. Weight, 60 grammes. Upper part of blade; two rivet-holes in shoulder, one of them torn; a concavity on the upper surface, corresponding with that part from which the missing hilt sprang; beside this is another small concavity representing a third rivet-hole. Pointed oval section, edges slightly rough. Surface smooth. Patina dull green and brown.

11. Spearhead VI fragment. Length, 53 mm. Width, 42 mm. Thickness, 11 mm. Weight, 53 grammes. Small part consisting of lower part of one wing of blade (including barb) and part of the socket. Flat oval section socket, with only very slight prominence for mid-rib, from which the blade tapers evenly towards the edge; small amount of socket occurs below the barb. Small notch missing from edge. Surface smooth, except for a few patches of crystallization. Patina thin green; most of surface is a dull brown.

12. Socketed knife fragment. Length, 51 mm. Width, 25 mm. Thickness, 14 mm. Weight, 32 grammes. Socket and small part of blade. The socket, which has concave sides, has two rivet-holes on each face. One of each pair is torn, on opposite faces. Casting flaw near the lower. Edges of blade sharp, with pointed oval section. Surface smooth with rough patches. Patina dull brown.

13. Socketed gouge. Length, 72 mm. Diameter, 14 mm. Weight, 59 grammes. Socket-end broken off, but the implement is very nearly entire. Fairly sharp, rounded cutting-edge. Circular socket. Surface partly encrusted, including two large lumps, one on the side, the other underneath, and smaller lumps on the grooved part of the surface. Patina dull green and brown.

14. Socketed gouge fragment. Length, 41 mm. Diameter, 14 mm. Weight, 36 grammes. Cutting-edge and greater part of socket broken off. Socket crushed and split. Surface smooth, but considerable rough patches. Patina green and brown.

15. Socketed gouge. Length, 34 mm. Width, 17 mm. Thickness, 14 mm. Weight, 29 grammes. Piece of gouge including edge; edge fairly sharp. Surface smooth generally, but with a little encrustment. Patina mostly dull bronze colour, with small traces of green here and there.

16. Ferrule. Length, 84 mm. External diameter 13 mm. Weight, 32 grammes. Tubular ferrule for spear-shaft. Circular section in centre; both ends crushed and broken off. One rivet-hole only. Surface smooth generally, but with much encrustment near rivet-hole. Patina dull green and bronze.

17. Ferrule fragment. Length, 47 mm. 16 mm. external diameter. Weight, 27 grammes. Small part of tubular ferrule; both ends broken off, and one of them crushed slightly; no rivet-holes. Surface smooth. Patina very thin green.

18. Copper cake (complete). Length, 131 mm. by 126 mm. Thickness, 33 mm. Weight, 5 lb. 5½ oz. Circular plano convex lump; rough and pitted all over, especially on the flat face. Surface rough and pitted. Patina fairly bright green.

Metal lumps—25 (all described, with weights, by B.M.).

Thanks are due to Mr. A. G. Mears and Mr. H. W. Waterman, who share the ownership of the hoard, for permission to publish it and for additional information as to the 'find'; and to Mr. A. O'N. Osborne and the British Museum for the full description and the complete set of drawings from which the illustrations to this paper have been selected.

SUSSEX BARROWS: SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER

BY L. V. GRINSELL

IN *S.A.C.*, vol. LXXV, an account of Sussex barrows was published which included a brief description of all the barrows marked on the 6 in. O.S. sheets and such other examples as were then known to me. It was pointed out that there were doubtless a number of additional examples awaiting discovery. The present paper includes a list of about thirty-five more barrows which have come to the knowledge of the writer during the six years that have elapsed since the publication of the previous paper.

As further finds of barrows are not likely to affect the distribution-pattern, the opportunity has been taken to include distribution-maps of the main types of barrow.

*Addenda and Corrigenda to 'Sussex Barrows', S.A.C.
vol. LXXV*

Early References (pp. 229-31).

The following extract is from a letter (26 Jan. 1716/17) from Dr. John Tabor to Dr. Thorpe, F.R.S., published in vol. III of *Stukeley's Memoirs*, issued by the Surtees Society:

'From the top of that very high cliffe, by the inhabitants called the Three Charles, and by Mariners Beachyhead, to Willingdon Hill, which is four miles, the ground is full of tumuli, or places of buriall.' Some more important references are contained in the British Museum Skinner MSS., some of which were first brought to my notice by Mr. Salzman, to whom I am much indebted. The manuscripts in question are in about 100 volumes, only some of which I have had the time to search for Sussex items. The following references to barrows have so far been found:

B.M. Add. MSS., 33649. Barrows near Brighton Church (St. Nicholas) and elsewhere, opened by Rev. J. Douglas.

33658. Barrow opened between Brighton and Rottingdean.
Beacon barrow on Wick Hill.

Skinner states that some of the urns found in the barrows
opened by Douglas were destroyed by the latter's successor
at Preston near Brighton.

Fols. 27-30. Views of tumuli on Church Hill, Brighton.

Fols. 34-8. Account and drawings of the Hove Barrow.

Fols. 61-3. Hollingbury and barrows near Ovingdean Farm,
with drawing of an urn removed from one of the latter.

Fols. 64-8 deal with Whitehawk Camp.

33665. Fol. 6. Letter from Douglas to Skinner regarding the
opening of a barrow on Church Hill, Brighton.

Barrow opened between Preston and Hollingbury.

Barrow opened on Fore Hill, east of Preston.

Fol. 27. Barrows on Iford Down, probably Saxon.

Distribution-Maps.

The work of Sir Cyril Fox and others has shown the great importance of studying the distribution of pre-historic material in relation to surface-geology. For the general principles of the subject the reader is referred to Sir Cyril Fox's *Personality of Britain*, 3rd edn., 1938, Dr. F. J. North's paper on 'Geology for Archaeologists' in *Arch. Journal*, xciv, 1937-8, pp. 73-115, and the *Historical Geography of England*, 1936, edited by H. C. Darby. The Sussex maps in the present paper may be studied in conjunction with similar barrow-maps of Hampshire (*Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, pt. i, 1938) and Berkshire (*Berks. Arch. Journal*, xliii, 1939).

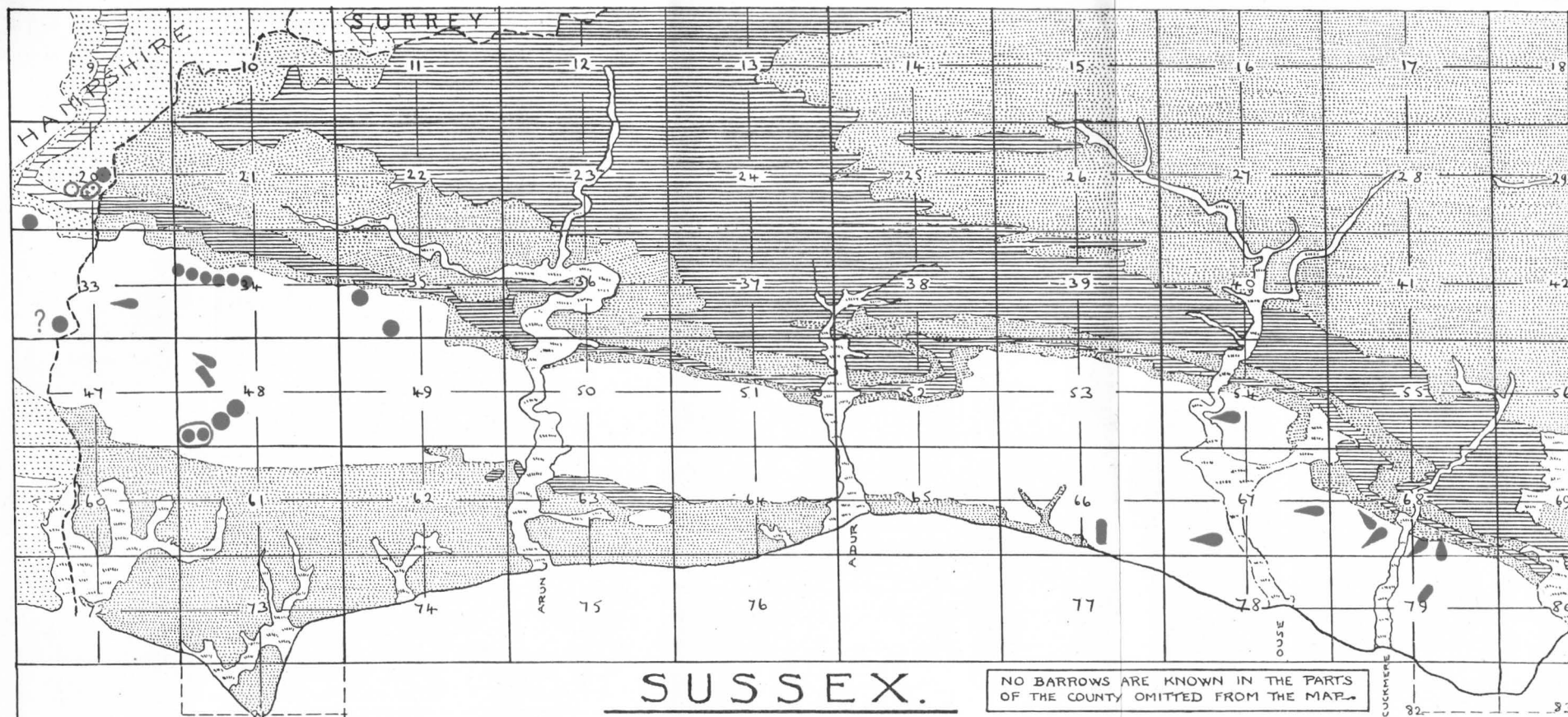
The Sussex Base-Map has been prepared with the aid of the Drift maps of the Geological Survey, the maps in Dr. E. C. Curwen's *County Archaeology of Sussex*, 1937, and the writer's own personal knowledge. The rectangles correspond to the sheet-lines of the 6 in. O.S. sheets.

Map I. Neolithic Period (Long Barrows and other sites). There are twelve reasonably certain long barrows in the county (I have thought it well to omit the alleged example on the outskirts of Brighton, described in *S.N.Q.* vii. 73-6). They are in two groups, the western group containing three and the eastern nine; but the presence of Neolithic A sites on the chalk downs

between these groups leads me to believe that long barrows may well be found in the intervening areas some time in the future. It is noticed that, in Sussex as in Berkshire and Hampshire, nearly all the Neolithic A material comes from the chalk downs. The only two Neolithic sites in Sussex off the chalk are of the Neolithic B culture which appears to have been unconnected with the long barrows (these sites are marked in the map on Fig. 13 of Dr. E. C. Curwen's *Archaeology of Sussex*). Among the advantages offered by the chalk downs to Neolithic man were open grassland resulting from porous soil; good pasture for sheep and cattle; an excellent supply of flint for implements; good water-supply; and, perhaps above all, the many benefits which nearly every one experiences when walking over the downs, including a sense of safety and freedom, and also the tonic properties of the air.

Map II. Barrows of Bell, Disc, and Saucer Types (Early and Middle Bronze Age). This map is remarkable for its negative evidence. Although there are about 700 round barrows east of the Arun, shown on Map III, none of them belong to the bell, disc, or saucer types. There are only twelve bell-barrows known in the county, and all are west of the Arun. There appear to be no barrows of disc and saucer types in Sussex, although both are to be found among the Petersfield Heath group just over the Hampshire border. Reference to the writer's Map II of Hampshire in vol. xiv of *Hants F.C.* shows that Hampshire contains about 30 bell-barrows, 25 disc-barrows, and 17 saucer-barrows. My figures for Wiltshire are still incomplete, but I have a record of at least 80 bell-barrows and 60 disc-barrows, and 25 saucer-barrows (probably an underestimate of the latter) in that county. There can be no doubt that barrows of all these types are essentially a Wessex product, and the Sussex bell-barrows are therefore an eastern extension of the Wessex culture they represent: that is why they are confined to the western part of the county.

Map III. Round Barrows of All Periods. This map



SUSSEX.

NO BARROWS ARE KNOWN IN THE PARTS
OF THE COUNTY OMITTED FROM THE MAP.

CHALK
ALLUVIUM



OPEN
GRASSLAND
LIGHT
VEGETATION

SAND AND
GRAVEL
CLAY



LIGHT
WOODLAND
DENSE
FOREST

MAP I.

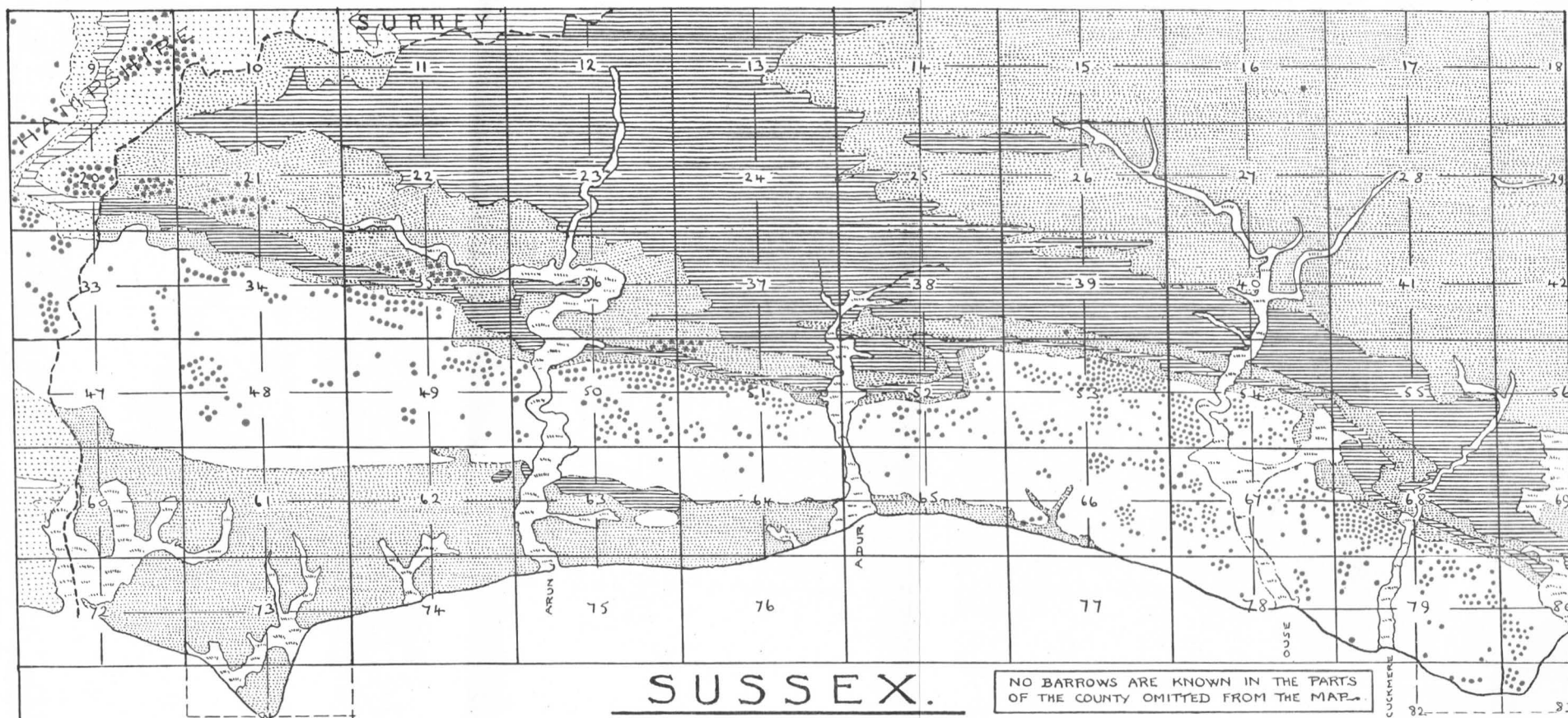
LONG BARROWS
Orientation Certain
Orientation Doubtful



MAP II.

BELL-BARROWS
DISC-BARROWS
SAUCER-BARROWS





CHALK		OPEN GRASSLAND	SAND AND GRAVEL		LIGHT WOODLAND
ALLUVIUM		LIGHT VEGETATION	CLAY		DENSE FOREST

MAP III.

ROUND BARROWS ●

shows several interesting features. It will be seen that of about 950 sites marked,¹ nearly all are on the chalk excepting 56 on the Sussex part of the Lower Greensand and about the same number on the Hampshire part of the same formation. While working Hampshire for barrows in 1937-8 I was impressed by the number of barrows on the Lower Greensand, and as a result of this I made a further search of the Lower Greensand in Sussex, and was successful in finding a number of unrecorded barrows which form the bulk of the supplementary list in the present paper.

As in Hampshire and Berkshire, there appear to be no barrows on the clay: this is due to the large amount of woodland with which it was covered in prehistoric times. The almost complete absence of barrows on the Tunbridge Wells sand in the north-east part of the map is probably due to the fact that it was almost encircled by clay, and there are also a number of small patches of clay in this area, which have been omitted from the map as their distribution is very complicated.

A glance at Map III also shows:

- (i) the tendency for barrows to be grouped along the Ridgeway just above the northern escarpment; this is well shown in 34 NW., SE.; 35 SW., SE.; 49 NE.; 50 NW., NE.; 51 NW., SE.; and so on eastwards along the Ridgeway.
- (ii) the tendency for barrows to become more numerous on the eastern part of the downs; this is due to the fact that east of the Arun the downs are much more free from woodland than they are to the west of that river.

In conclusion, a word must be said in regard to the coastal littoral. The Hove barrow (66 SW.) was, I believe, the only certain example near the coast that was off the chalk. Some slight evidence of three barrows, or hills, near Selsey is furnished by a Saxon charter (Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, 1937, p. 153);

¹ It has not been possible to mark every barrow on quarter-sheets 50 NE., 53 NE., 54 SW., and 68 SW.; the groups of small barrows on 66 SE. and 67 SW. are much larger than shown.

but I have omitted these possible examples from the map as it is not certain whether the Anglo-Saxon *beorh* in this context referred to barrows or natural eminences.

ADDITIONS TO LIST OF SUSSEX BARROWS

An asterisk (*) following the name of the parish indicates that the site is not marked on the 6 in. O.S. maps. The absence of such an asterisk can be taken to indicate that the 6 in. O.S. map marks the site as a mound but not as a tumulus.

6 in. O.S. Map	Number	Inches from left inner margin	Inches from bottom inner margin	Parish	Type	Ditch	Diam- eter in Paces	Height in feet	Other details
16 SE.	1	14.4	10.0	Hartfield*	Bowl	..	26	2½	Found by Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A.
20 SE.	11	12.6	8.8	Harting*	"	..	18	3	On West Heath Common
20 SE.	12	12.6	8.65	"*	"	..	18	3	"
21 SW.	5	14.8	5.35	Trotton*	"	..	11	2	Hollow in centre. "
21 SW.	6	14.95	5.45	Trotton—	"	..	27	7	"
21 SW.	7	15.05	5.5	Iping	"	..	13	3	Nos. 6 and 8 have hollows in centre.
21 SW.	8	15.1	5.53	bdry.	"	..	18	5	
21 SW.	9	16.05	6.3	Iping	"	..	18	3	
21 SW.	10	16.2	6.3	"	"	..	21	4½	
21 SW.	11	17.55	5.1	"	"	..	20	3	"
21 SW.	12	17.6	5.0	"	"	..	16	3½	? unopened.
21 SE.	1	0.1	4.0	Stedham	"	..	25	9	No. 1 is certainly a barrow, and Nos. 2 and 3 are probably barrows.
21 SE.	2	0.3	3.9	"	"	..	18	3	
21 SE.	3	1.1	3.7	"	"	..	36	9	
39 SW.	1	13.2	1.2	Ditchling*	"	..	25	4	On Lodge Hill, formerly called Moot Hill (information from Dr. Eliot Curwen). Hollow in centre.
50 NE.	26	12.0	1.6	Storrington*	"	..	13	2	Dip in centre.
50 NE.	27	12.15	1.57	"*	"	2½	
50 NE.	28	12.2	1.5	"*	"	..	7	1	? unopened.
50 NE.	29	16.85	2.5	Sullington*	"	..	10	2	Hollow in centre.
50 NE.	30	16.9	2.6	"*	"	..	8	1	"
50 NE.	31	16.95	2.7	"*	"	..	7	1	"
50 NE.	32	17.1	2.75	"*	"	..	9	1	"
50 NE.	33	17.6	11.4	"*	"	..	17	3	Part of the Sullington Warren group, the whole of which is National Trust property.
50 NE.	34	17.7	11.1	"*	"	..	30	4	
50 NE.	35	17.7	10.9	"*	"	..	9	1	
50 NE.	36	17.8	10.7	"*	"	..	30	6	
50 SE.	34	15.8	9.65	Patching— Sullington bdry.	"	..	18	1	Track goes over barrow. Ditch indicated by ring of molehills.
50 SE.	35	16.2	7.6	Patching*	"	D	10	1	
51 NW.	1	0.15	11.95	Sullington*	"	..	10	1	Part of the Sullington Warren group, the whole of which is National Trust property.
51 NW.	2	0.2	11.7	"*	"	..	22	5	
51 NW.	3	0.3	11.55	"*	"	..	35	6	
51 NW.	4	0.35	11.35	"*	"	..	15	2	
51 NW.	5	0.55	11.15	"*	"	..	22	6	
63 NE.	1	13.9	8.6	Patching*	"	D	8	21	Information from Mr. E. J. F. Hearne.
64 NW.	1	11.0	11.2	Findon*	"	The beaker was probably found in this barrow, and not in No. 2 as I stated in S.A.C., LXXV, p. 263.

FLINT-CHIPPING SITES AND HEARTHES ON BEDHAM HILL NEAR PULBOROUGH

BY P. A. M. KEEF, F.S.A.Scot.

BEDHAM I FLINT-CHIPPING SITE: BEDHAM MANOR FARM

DURING 1931 and the four following years the writer found flint implements scattered on the surface of arable land at Bedham Manor Farm (by permission of the tenant farmer), $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Petworth and north-west of Pulborough in west Sussex (site I on map). Flints had been found here in former years, first by Miss Moody and then by the Hon. Lady Maxse.

The site lies 400 ft. above sea-level on the south side of the hill-top, just below the highest point, within a few hundred yards of a large number of springs on the north side of the hill.

The implements were found mostly on the field marked 'X' on the map. They also occurred to the south of that field, but thinly scattered. As the slope is fairly steep they may have been washed down. In fact, many of the smaller flakes were found washed down at the place where rain-water drained naturally off the field. The implements occur on the surface and in the soil (humus) down to the bottom of the plough-level. Three small trial trenches failed to find any below the plough-level, but in each trench the stones immediately above the natural sandstone were found immediately below the plough soil. There was no sign of clay, nor of stone floors, nor of any other object than flint chippings and implements and the natural soil and stones below the surface.

The site at Stopham, on the lower slopes of Bedham Hill, contained microliths, mostly published by Dr. G. Clark.¹

The flint used on the site, in fact, on all the sites of

¹ *The Mesolithic Age in Britain.*

this hill, is of three colours, opaque grey, translucent buff, and black. The majority of the implements are black. All the implements have a gloss from weathering, the black showing most. A few are slightly patinated blue.

The implements are in a good state of preservation

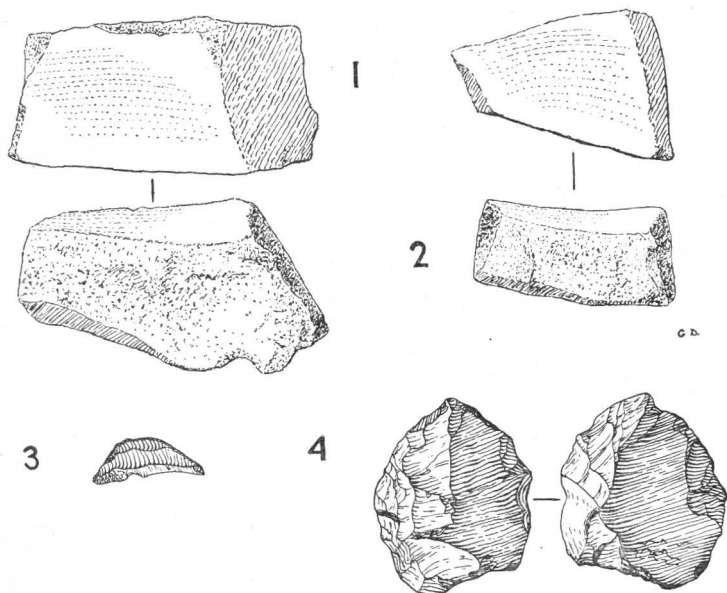


FIG. 2. RUBBING-STONES AND FLINTS FROM SITE I.

except for a certain amount of chipping from wear and tear. Many of the scrapers have been struck in half and some of the broad blades have been broken into lengths, all at a later date. Perhaps this site has been used as a source of gun flints, as was the case at the flint-chipping site at Blackdown Hill,¹ only a few miles to the north-west; the surrounding villages used the place as a source of flint for strike-a-lights, gun flints, &c., within living memory. The only other object in Bedham I site found where the flints were thickest, on the surface, were two pieces of chert rubbing stone. When tested by Dr. Cecil Curwen the

¹ *The Mesolithic Age in Britain*

pieces showed a silica gloss on the smoothed surface—the inference being that they had been used for the grinding of polished flint axes.

In Dr. Eliot Curwen's opinion the Bedham flint industry resembles in character the flint industries found on the Lower Greensand hills of east Surrey—west Sussex district, but especially the site at Selmeston,¹ east Sussex, revealed by Dr. G. Clark. On this site a great quantity of microliths were collected by Dr. E. Curwen and Mr. Davis from unstratified sand. Microliths, &c., were excavated by Dr. G. Clark from stratified levels on the same site—the levels showing in a section of a sand pit.

At Bedham III only has it been possible to find flints stratified and in association with other objects.

Bedham I Flints

		<i>Per cent.</i> <i>(approx.)</i>
Scrapers	11	3·5
Halberds	8	2·5
Narrow blades	14	4·5
Points (not microlithic)	4	1·5
Arrow-heads	6	2
Microlith flakes	6	2
Broad blades	9	3
Borers	8	2·5
Cores	17	6·0
Waste	200	70·5
	<hr/> 283	

Fig. 3.

No. 1. Tranchet arrow-head. No. 2. Triangular arrow-head. No. 3. Single wing or tranchet derivative arrow-head. No. 4. Arrow-head—incomplete—beautifully worked, broken at butt end, so that original shape is uncertain, and it may be the point of a spear-head (the butt end of a spear-head was found at Bedham II) or dagger. No. 5. End-scraper. No. 6. Round thumb scraper. No. 7. Working end of neolithic polished axe. No. 8. Microlithic flake. No. 9. Saddle core. No. 10. Narrow blade. No. 11. Broad blade, one of three alike—having a high arch, almost a plunging flake shape on the side struck off. No. 12. Point—not microlithic. There are several so strikingly alike and resembling so

¹ *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. XIV.

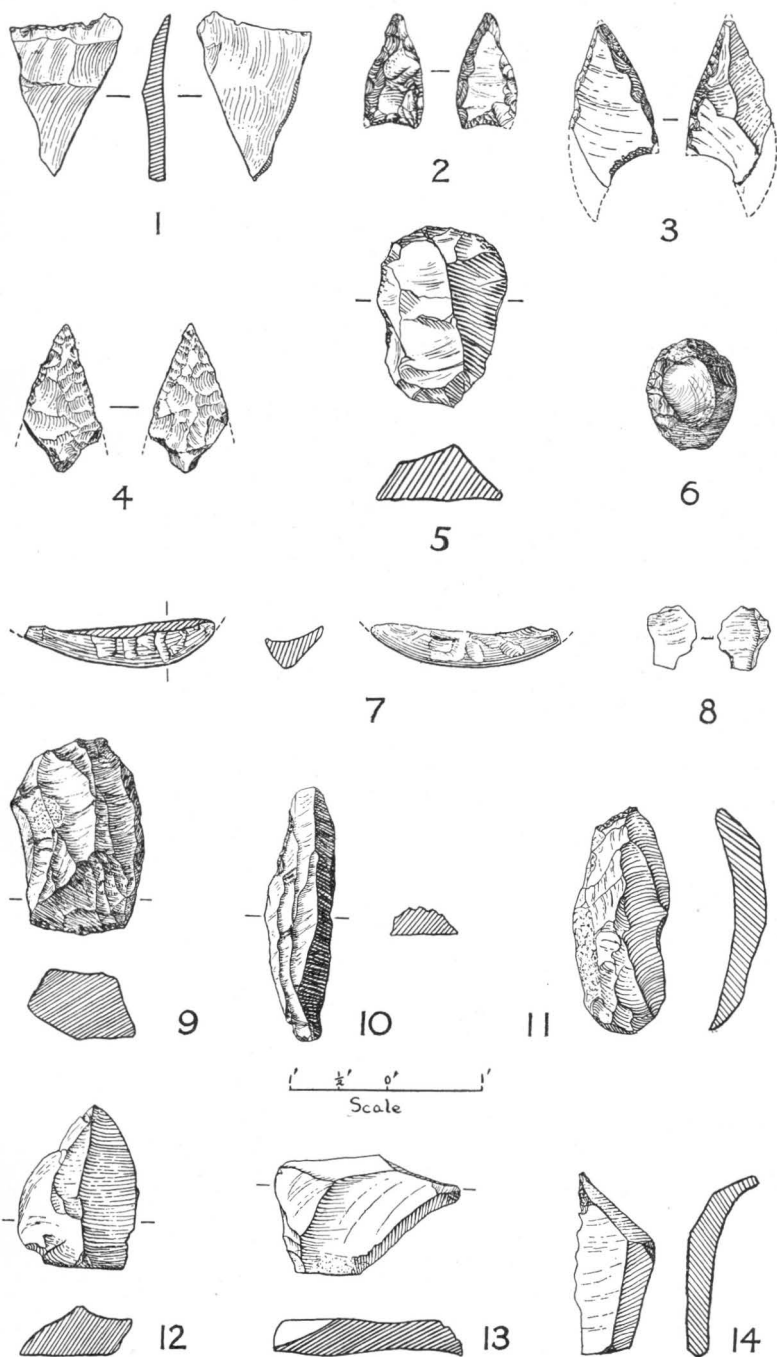


FIG. 3. FLINTS FROM SITE I, BEDHAM MANOR FARM.

closely others found by the writer on other sites, that they have been figured here as a class. No. 13. Rough halberd shapes. No. 14. Borer, an implement finely pointed at one end—the specimen shown has been made apparently by four blows and secondary working. Another one nearly as simple and accurately made was found at Bedham II.

BEDHAM II: LITTLE BOGNOR

This site lies on the 200-ft. contour line above sea-level, on the south slopes of Bedham Hill (site II on map), just below large springs.

Flint implements and flint-chipping waste have been found on these fields for many years, first by Miss Moody of Fittleworth, later by Lady Maxse of Little Bognor, in whose possession are all the implements, &c.

Figure 4 will show that the implements from this site and those from Bedham Manor Farm are strikingly alike—here again we have an industry resembling the Selmeston one. All the flints are from the surface of plough-land and the orchard;—on the latter when dug for addition to the gardens belonging to Little Bognor.

These flints show the same gloss from weathering, except the narrow blade (No. 13), which has no gloss and is quite sharp. This looks as though the plough or spade had struck into a chipping floor at some point, hitherto undisturbed. A very few flints have a bluish patina.

Little Bognor (Bedham II) Flints

		<i>Per cent. (approx.)</i>
Scrapers	17	39.5
Narrow blades	6	13.95
Broad blades	4	9
Waste	12	27.9
Cores	4	9
	43	

Fig. 4.

No. 8. Butt end of spear-head—fine work. No. 9. Round scraper—a double scraper occurred on this site. No. 10. Leaf arrow-head—Neolithic. This arrow-head is in perfect condition and is an

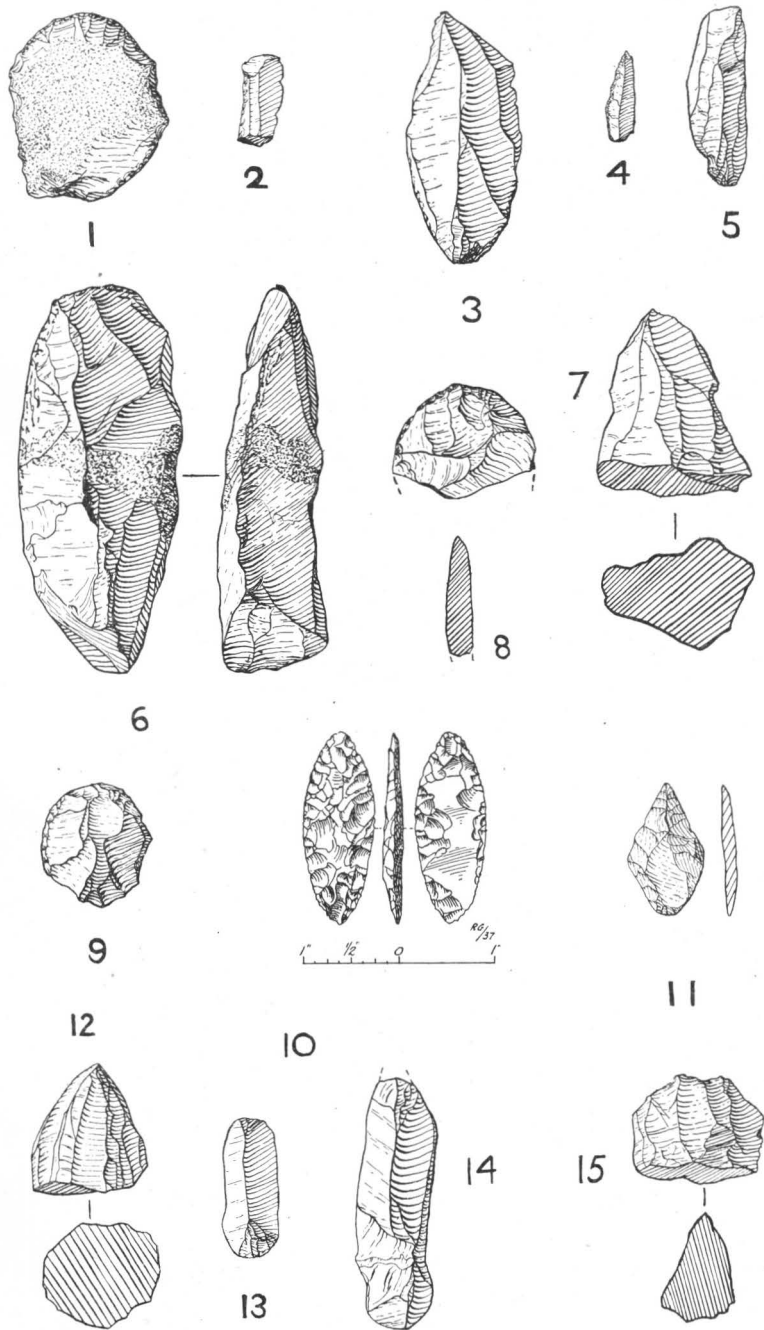


FIG. 4. FLINTS FROM SITE II, LITTLE BOGNOR (8-15); AND FROM STOPHAM (1-7).

extremely fine specimen. No. 11. Lozenge-shaped arrow-head—the rarest shape in Sussex, this is one of only twenty-four found in the county.¹ No. 12. Conical microlithic core. No. 13. Narrow blade, in mint condition. No. 14. Broad blade. No. 15. Core.

BEDHAM III: MOCKBEGGARS

This site is the only one of the three on Bedham Hill that does not lie on the south slope of the hill.

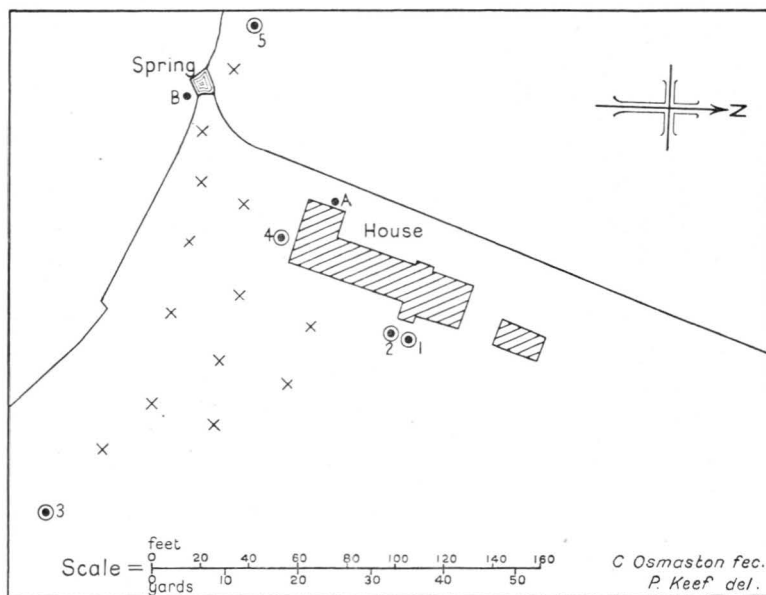


FIG. 5. MOCKBEGGARS (BEDHAM III): Plan showing position of Hearths—●; and Polished Flint Axes—•.

The area marked X was scattered with flints and small hearths. The ground slopes from West to East.

It faces south-east (III on map) and is situated on the west side of the valley of the River Arun, with a clear view to Chanctonbury Ring on the South Downs. The site is at the spring level about 200 ft. below the top of the hill and well above flooding from the river. The waters of the River Arun cover the whole of their flood plain practically every winter at this point at the present time, and may well have done so in prehistoric times.

¹ S.A.C., vol. LXXVII: Dr. E. Curwen, F.S.A.

The site appears to have been a stopping-place in Neolithic times (and perhaps Mesolithic) to judge by the presence of the hearths near springs. Unfortunately the ground has been so disturbed that it was useless in excavating this autumn to look for post-holes; but the fact that neither hearth excavated was on a trodden clay floor seems to make it unlikely that post-holes existed. Probably the hearths were in the open or sheltered by a temporary screen.

Mockbeggars position in the Arun Valley and at the same time at the eastern extremity of the Bedham ridge would make it a suitable place for travellers coming up the river valley from the Downs to turn on to the sandstone of Bedham ridge. Once there their way would lie through comparatively clear country, to the Haslemere-Farnham district, where many chipping sites have been found.¹

The River Arun, at Pallingham, immediately below Mockbeggars, is navigable, so that in ancient times boats could go up and down the Arun to this point from the sea. Thus the river provides a natural route—the only one between Shoreham and Portsmouth—between the South Downs and the Sandstone highlands, both of which districts have produced such voluminous stone-age material.

The flint-chipping sites lie round a large spring in the gardens of 'Mockbeggars', the house of Colonel Osmaston, C.B., C.B.E., and it was in constructing the gardens ten years ago that the site was found. It seems to have been directly connected with the spring, as no archaeological remains of any sort have been found in the fields and woods belonging to the place.

A series of hearths and isolated objects were discovered by Col. Osmaston in levelling the lawn (see plan), all at about 2 ft. below the surface. Hearths 2, 4, and 5 were dug out at the time and the polished axes were found. Hearths 1 and 3 were uncovered, but the earth was replaced so that they might be

¹ Prehistoric Distribution Maps prepared for the Haslemere Educational Museum's Regional Survey by the writer.

excavated scientifically later. This was done by the writer in October 1937.

Scattered in the space between hearths 1, 3, and 5 were small areas of charcoal and flint implements, apparently small hearths; and it was in one of these that the sickle flakes and claystone celt were found. Mr. S. E. Winbolt saw hearth 2 open and published a short account of it in *The Times*, including the polished flint axe A.

Hearth 1.

This hearth was one of the two preserved by Col. Osmaston to be excavated, and its excavation this autumn showed that it lies at the present time immediately under the turf and about 1 in. of modern made-up soil. Hearth 1 itself was made of pieces of sandstone, including one enormous piece (local), and contained a thick layer of ash, charcoal and puddled clay with some animal bones. The latter were of ox and pig. The hearth rested on the natural clay and sand. Just under the charcoal and on the clay three half jaws of pig and ox were found. Unfortunately the fragments were too small for the breed to be identified. The charcoal was from the following trees: Hawthorn, Beech, Holly, Common Oak, and Sweet Chestnut (?), i.e. the trees that grow in the district at the present day.

This hearth is so indeterminate, owing to objects from near-by Tudor rubbish-pits having been trodden into the hearth and to the bones being unidentifiable, that the hearth's period must remain an open question at present. So the plans, &c., are not shown in this paper.

Hearth 2.

Uncovered and dug by Col. Osmaston in 1927; and seen and published shortly by Mr. S. E. Winbolt at the time.

Hearth 2 lay at the same depth as hearth 1. This was ascertained during this autumn's excavations. It was

far the biggest of the hearths and consisted of pieces of sandstone and one flint nodule firmly embedded in ash and charcoal on the natural clay, over an area measuring 6 ft. by 4 ft. At one end the stones showed traces of burning. The hearth has been open since 1927. The writer understands that the flint implements and chips, &c., were scattered round the edge of the paved area, and the whole covered with a layer of charcoal and ash. The majority of flints found on the Mock-beggars site were found here. Perhaps there was a pile of ash at the burnt end originally and it collapsed all over the paving, thus accounting for the burnt stones being at one end and the ash being found all over the paved area.

A few bones in the hearth were identified for Mr. Winbolt as ox bones, again the amount found being too small for the breed to be determined.

The plan is not shown in this paper, as the hearth has been open so long on ground constantly walked over.

Hearth 3.

A small portion of this hearth was uncovered in 1927 and was filled in till excavated in 1937 by the writer, when the whole hearth was opened and planned, &c.

This hearth lay at 10 in. to 1 ft. below the surface when found and lay at the same depth when excavated, as it had not been found necessary to cut down the ground at this point, in making the gardens, more than a few inches.

The hearth consisted of charcoal and flints. The charcoal occurred as a thick scatter in a sandy silt, the whole measuring 5 ft. by 4 ft., the charcoal appearing thicker in one place (see plan and section).

The same hearth mixture ran under trees on the west and north sides, so that the whole of the hearth could not be uncovered. The charcoal lay on the same sandy silt that was above it and that was mixed with the charcoal to form the hearth itself. Just above the

hearth and in the hearth were a few microlithic flakes showing some secondary working; two of them were in mint condition (see Fig. 8, Nos. 10-15). The trees

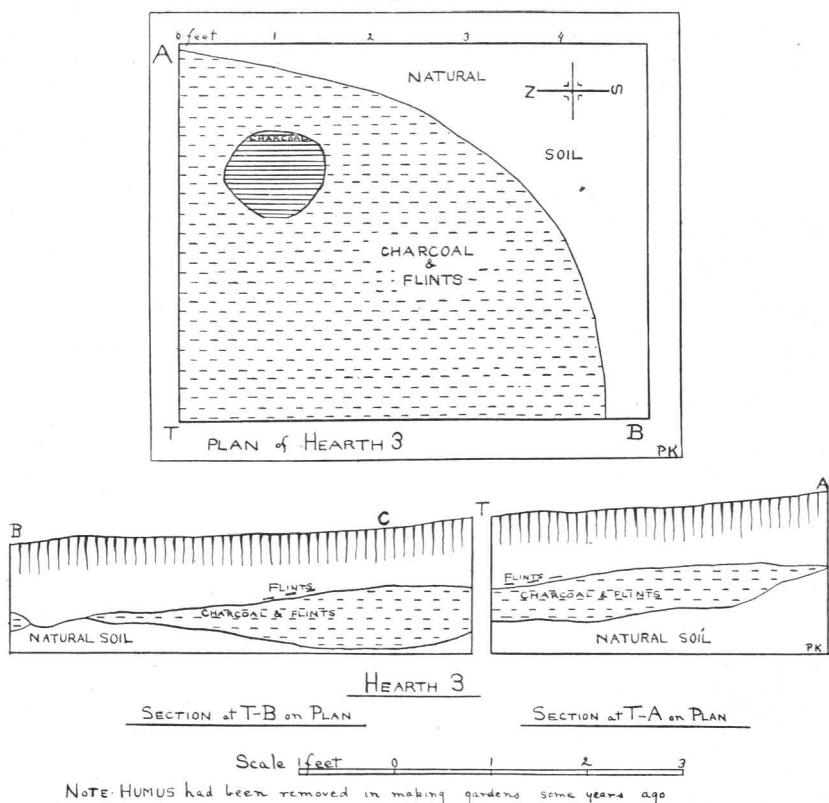


FIG. 6.

used for the charcoal were Alder, Beech, Hawthorn, and Common Oak.

At B (on section) the hearth was higher than at C, and the bottom of it was uneven. This suggests that the hearth had been invaded by floodwater from the spring, so that the charcoal floated upwards, but settled down in practically the same place, as the charcoal and flint appear over a round area and at B—the end where the water would naturally pour off down the hill—the hearth tapers off, so that it evidently

could not wash away. Thus this hearth was to all intents and purposes, undisturbed till excavated.

Hearths 4 and 5.

These hearths were dug in making the garden. The writer understands that they were small and contained no hearth-stones, but charcoal and flints.

The Flint Industry and its State of Preservation.

There are two distinct industries represented on this site, Neolithic and Mesolithic.

Some of the implements, including the axes and the majority of flints round hearth 2, Dr. Eliot Curwen considers neolithic and to have been made of Downland flint, with a lavish amount of waste chips and nodules. Many others, however, are the implements and waste material typical of microlithic chipping sites on the Lower Greensand Hills of Surrey and Sussex.

Unfortunately it is not possible now to learn at what levels in relation to each other the two industries lay, as they were dug out without this being recorded ten years ago. All we can be certain of is that in hearth 3 in 1937 mesolithic implements were found stratified in direct association with charcoal showing an Atlantic climate. And that a large proportion of the neolithic implements and waste material came from round hearth 2, in association with charcoal and ox bones.

The flint industry is in about the same state of preservation as in the other sites. Some of the neolithic implements show signs of having been used as hammer-stones, especially the chisel-shaped one, and two of hearth 3's flints appeared very sharp and to have very little polish from weathering, so that it seems likely they were in about the same state as when they were made and had probably only been disturbed by the flooding of the hearth.

The sickle flakes (see Fig. 7)—a type of implement only lately identified by Dr. Cecil Curwen—are very different from each other—the larger one has an unmistakable gloss, so shiny that one would think the flint was wet, from the polish made by the straw

stalks it had been used to cut. This gloss is shown by stippling in the drawing by the late Mr. Gurd.

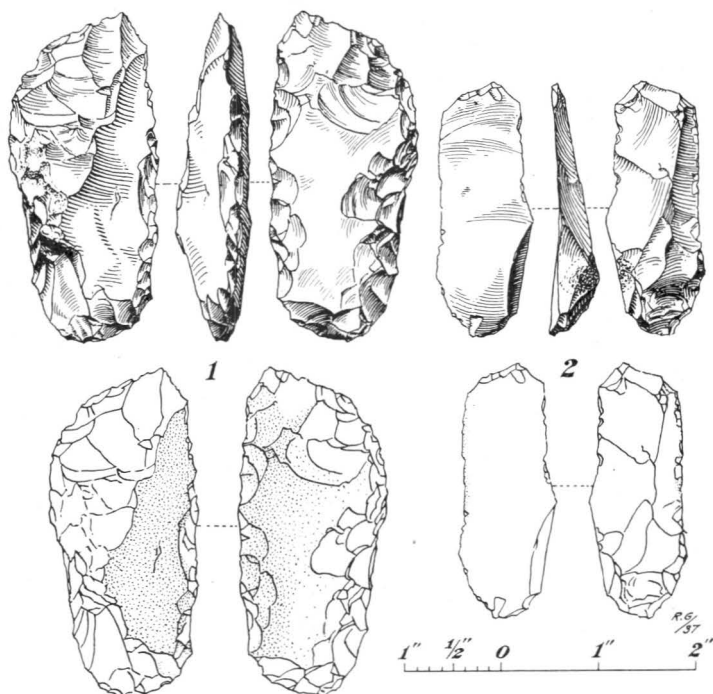


FIG. 7. SICKLE FLAKES FROM SITE III, MOCKBEGGARS (stippling indicates gloss).

The other has a much smaller glossy area—and is, in fact, only just identifiable.

Bedham III (Mockbeggars) Flints

		<i>Per cent. (approx.)</i>
Scrapers	23	6
Narrow blades	21	5.5
Flakes	21	5.5
Arrow-head	1	0.26
Hammer-stone	1	0.26
Cores	25	6.5
Waste	273	72
Microlithic flakes	10	2.5
Chisel	1	0.26
Sickle flakes	2	0.5
	<u>373</u>	

Fig. 8.

Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6 appear to be neolithic work and to be made of Downland flint. The other implements shown have the usual glossy appearance and economical working of the mesolithic industry in the sandy sites of Sussex, Surrey, &c.

No. 1. Square scraper. No. 2. Hollow and end scraper. No. 3. Round scraper. No. 4. Double scraper—an unusual type. No. 5. Microlithic core. No. 6. Chisel-shaped and much used implement. No. 7. Narrow blade. No. 8. Borer. No. 9. Oblique ended scraper (possibly boring end broken). Nos. 10–15 were in two levels in hearth 3. Nos. 10 and 12 are sharp and have no gloss. Nos. 10, 11, 14, and 15 are from level 1 (natural soil), marked flints in section, and Nos. 12 and 13 from level 2 (charcoal and flints).

The flint ground and polished axes.

Of the two fine polished axes found, one (A) was presumed to have been found in the soil immediately surrounding the new portion of the house, as it was produced by one of the workmen as a suitable piece of stone to fill in a hole! A workman had found it round about the spot during the morning. The other axe (B) was in the spring itself.

The broken clay ironstone axe (C), a thin-butted neolithic celt (Figs. 10 and 11), from one of the small indefinite hearths, shows clearly the marks of the prehistoric maker's tools on it, as may be seen in the photograph. All the axes were at the same depth below the surface as the hearths, 1, 2, 4, and 5.

The flint polished axes are typically neolithic. It has not been possible in England to find a working typology of polished axes, although attempts have been made, so the difference in shape between them at present means nothing.

They are all three interesting, as the flint axes are beautiful specimens and must have come from a flint district. The flint is pale buff and in a fair state of preservation, especially the polish. The piece of polished axe from Bedham I was also pale buff. Clay ironstone is not a usual stone for making axes, and does not seem to have been a successful experiment, as this example broke so long ago that the edges of the break are quite rounded.

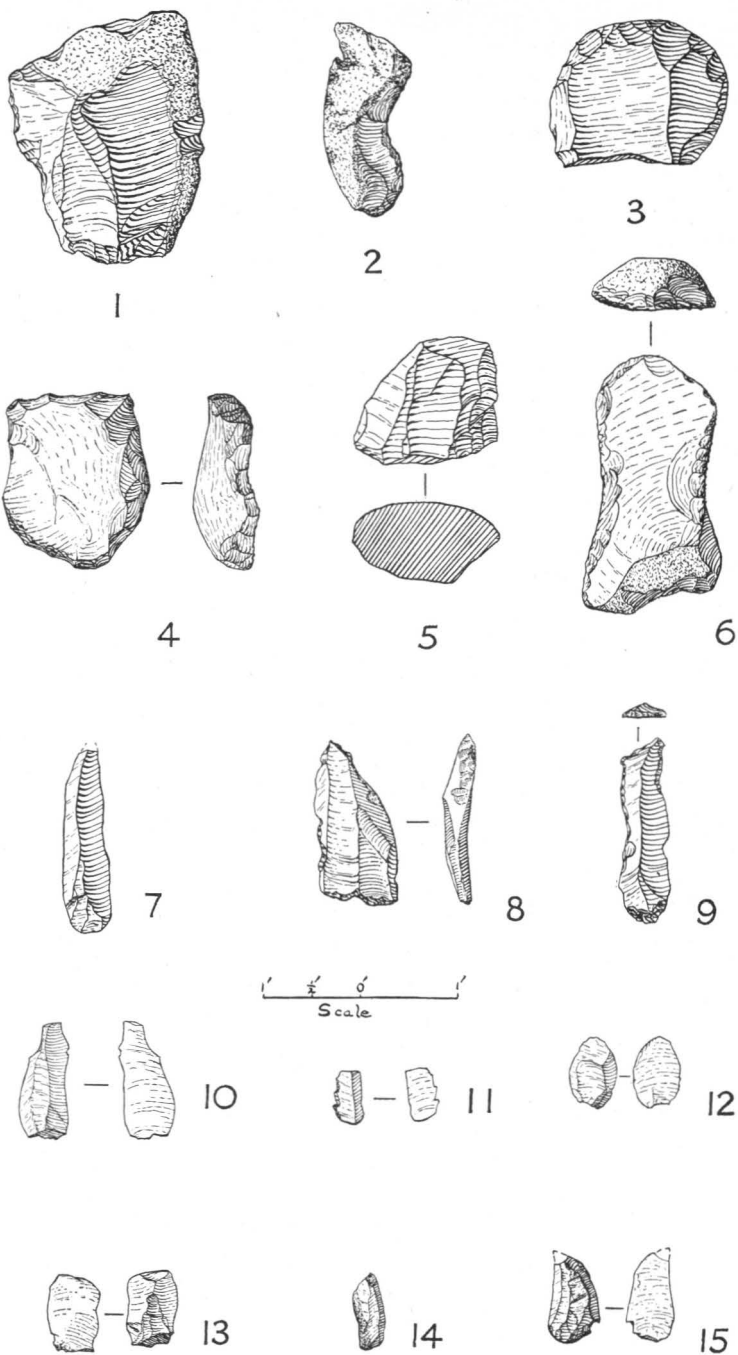


FIG. 8. FLINTS FROM SITE III, MOCKBEGGARS.
(Nos. 10-15 from 1938 excavations.)

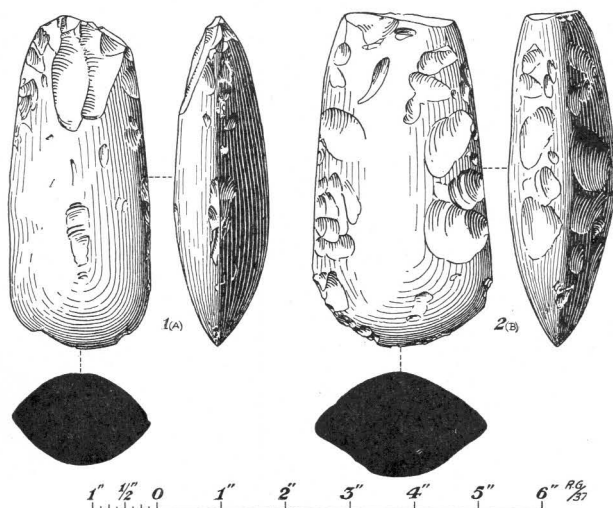


FIG. 9. POLISHED AXES FROM SITE III, MOCKBEGGARS.

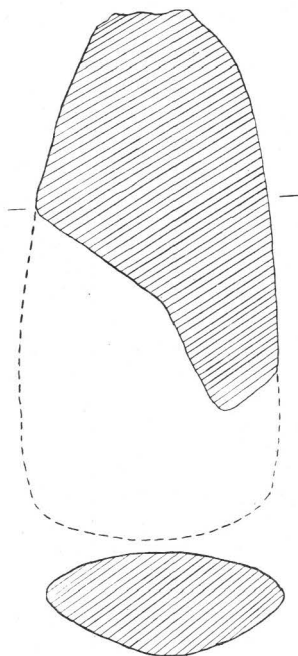


FIG. 10. SHAPE AND SECTION OF CLAY IRONSTONE AXE.



FIG. 11. GROUND AXE MADE OF CLAY IRONSTONE (BROKEN).

STOPHAM.

The exact position of this site is not known, as the flints were collected in 1908-9 by the late W. E. Martin and no record seems to have been kept of the place. However, as a good deal of Stopham lies on the lower slopes south-east of Bedham Hill, it seems appropriate to include the industry, in this paper, in the Bedham Hill flint industry.

A short account of the Stopham industry's microliths and end-scrapers has been published by Dr. G. Clark,¹ with drawings. All the flints are in the Lewes Museum, and drawings of them are shown here by kind permission of the Hon. Curator.

This industry resembles the others on Bedham Hill very closely, both in character and in its state of preservation, except that microliths are found on this site. The flint has the same gloss from weathering and is, on the whole, in a good state of preservation. None of the flint is patinated.

Dr. G. Clark² considered the industry to resemble the other industries in this district that he examined.

Stopham Flints

		<i>Per cent.</i> (approx.)
Narrow blades	5	10.5
Cores	5	10.5
Scrapers	17	36
Waste	4	8.5
Broad blades	8	17
Microliths	8	17
	<hr/> 47	

Fig. 4.

No. 1. Round scraper. No. 2. Microlith (blunted back). No. 3. Broad blade. No. 4. Microlith point—this flint and No. 1 were figured by Dr. Clark.³ They are shown again here in order that the whole industry may be represented. No. 5. Narrow blade. No. 6. Mesolithic axe (poor specimen; of Downland flint). No. 7. Typical microlithic core—all the cores resemble No. 7 except one roughly worked, made of Downland flint.

¹ *The Mesolithic Age in Britain*, by Dr. G. Clark.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The writer wishes to acknowledge most gratefully the following help in the preparation of this paper.

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GEOLOGICAL REPORT ON CHIPPING SITES AND HEARTHES
ON BEDHAM HILL, NEAR PULBOROUGH

BY J. F. KILKALDY, M.Sc.

Sites I and II (on map Bedham Manor Farm and Little Bognor) are both situated on the outcrop of the Hythe beds of the Lower Greensand.

Site III (Mockbeggars) lies on the Weald Clay at the foot of the prominent escarpment formed by the Hythe beds. The site is just below the line of springs thrown out where the porous sandy Hythe beds rest on the impervious Atherfield and Weald clays.

The specimens from site III submitted to me consist of: *a rubbing stone from hearth 1*, which is composed of rough brownish chert showing traces of sponge spicules on the weathered surface and a considerable amount of detrital quartz grains. This is of local origin, for there is a development of chert in the upper part of the Hythe beds between Harwoods Green and Petworth. The fresh chert, mostly black in colour, is exposed to-day in several pits; and weathered fragments, similar to the piece submitted, can be picked up on the surface of the fields and woods. These cherts do not occur to the east of the River Arun.

Broken axe and a rectangular block of pale brownish clay with darker dendritic markings, from hearth in area marked XXX in plan. They appear to be composed of the same material. A microscope slide was cut from the rectangular block. The material was seen to consist of bedded clay locally stained with manganese and more rarely with iron oxides. They are most probably pieces of very impure clay ironstone from the Weald clay. The nearest exposure that I know of is in the banks of the stream to the west of Fernhurst village, but the material might well have been obtained from near at hand, for any slightly iron-stained layer in the Weald clay would probably yield similar material.

Soil samples from Hearth 1. Layer in hearth: brownish weathered Weald clay mixed with sand; probably derived from the Hythe beds. Also fragments of charcoal and some reddened pieces of clay which have been burnt. Layer below hearth: whitish clay with scattered sand grains. A mixture of Hythe bed sand and Weald clay.

Soil samples from Hearth 3. Layer in hearth: similar to layer in hearth of hearth 1. Layer under hearth: similar to layer under hearth in hearth 1.

The mixture of clay and sand may be due to either scarp drift of the sand from the face of the escarpment formed by the Hythe beds, or to deposition from floods when the small pool formed by the spring near the site was bigger than it is to-day. From the evidence of the specimens alone it is impossible to decide between these two possibilities.

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