

Excavations at Towcester 1954: the Grammar School Site

By A E BROWN and J A ALEXANDER

with contributions by A C Anderson, J. Bird, R A G Carson, B Dickinson, B R Hartley,
K F Hartley, A S Laughton, D F Mackreth, C Orr, J Price, B Spencer, G Webster

SUMMARY

Rescue excavations in 1954 on a site straddling the NW defences of Towcester uncovered levels yielding material of the late 1st/earlier 2nd century AD. They were succeeded by timber buildings. These were demolished when the defences were constructed across them c AD 175. The defences were formidable, consisting of a wall with contemporary backing bank, a ditch 23m wide but only 1.5m deep, and a zone of dumped clay outside it. No further occupation took place outside the defences, and within them there was no evidence for occupation again until c 300AD, after which a pair of timber buildings was put up, to be succeeded on the same site by a stone building which lasted into probably the early 5th century. The site then lay deserted until AD 917 when the Roman defences were refurbished for the purposes of the Anglo-Saxon burh; the archaeological evidence for this consisted of a heightening of the Roman town bank and possibly a cleaning out of the defensive ditch. No Anglo-Saxon structures were uncovered, but there was evidence for a building of the 12th century set into the burh rampart. The line of the defences was used again by the Royalists in 1643 when a narrower ditch was dug with an earth rampart revetted with stone behind. This was pushed into the defensive ditch when the Royalists abandoned Towcester in 1644. Subsequent activity on the site involved the robbing of the Roman walls and the digging of pits.

Notable finds were a piece of Roman military equipment and a 15th century lead pilgrim badge with a figure of Pieta.

This account describes the results of six weeks' excavation carried out in the summer of 1954 on behalf of the then Inspectorate of Ancient

Monuments, Ministry of Works, on a site to be levelled to form a playing field for Towcester Grammar School. The area available for excavation (FIG 1) consisted of a polygonal field which straddled visible earthwork remains which, it had recently been suggested by R Simms (1953, 212), were the defences of Towcester, 300m north of the Brackley Road and 340m west of the High Street (NGR SP 69004880). The site lay at approximately 91.5m OD and overlay blue upper lias clay.

The report has been prepared by A E Brown on the basis of the field notes, drawings and finds assembled by the excavator, J A Alexander. The reports on the samian ware and mortaria are the work of Mrs J Bird and Mrs K Hartley respectively; Mrs C Orr reported on the bones. The drawings were prepared by Mrs S Phillips. Specialist reports on individual small finds are presented at appropriate places in the finds section. Mrs C Woodfield kindly commented on a draft of this account.

The finds, notes etc have been deposited in Northampton Museum. Throughout, the layer and feature numbers used were those allocated during the excavation.

THE METHOD OF EXCAVATION

One complete (Trench 1) and two partial (Trench 2 and Quadrant 10), sections were cut across the defences in order to elucidate the complexities of their history. A grid of smaller trenches was excavated within the defences close to the eastern boundary of the site (Quadrants 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 and Trench 6), together with a long trial trench (Quadrants 8 and 9 and Trench 3). A similar grid and a few small trial trenches were excavated outside the defences to the west (Quadrants 12, 13, 15, 16,

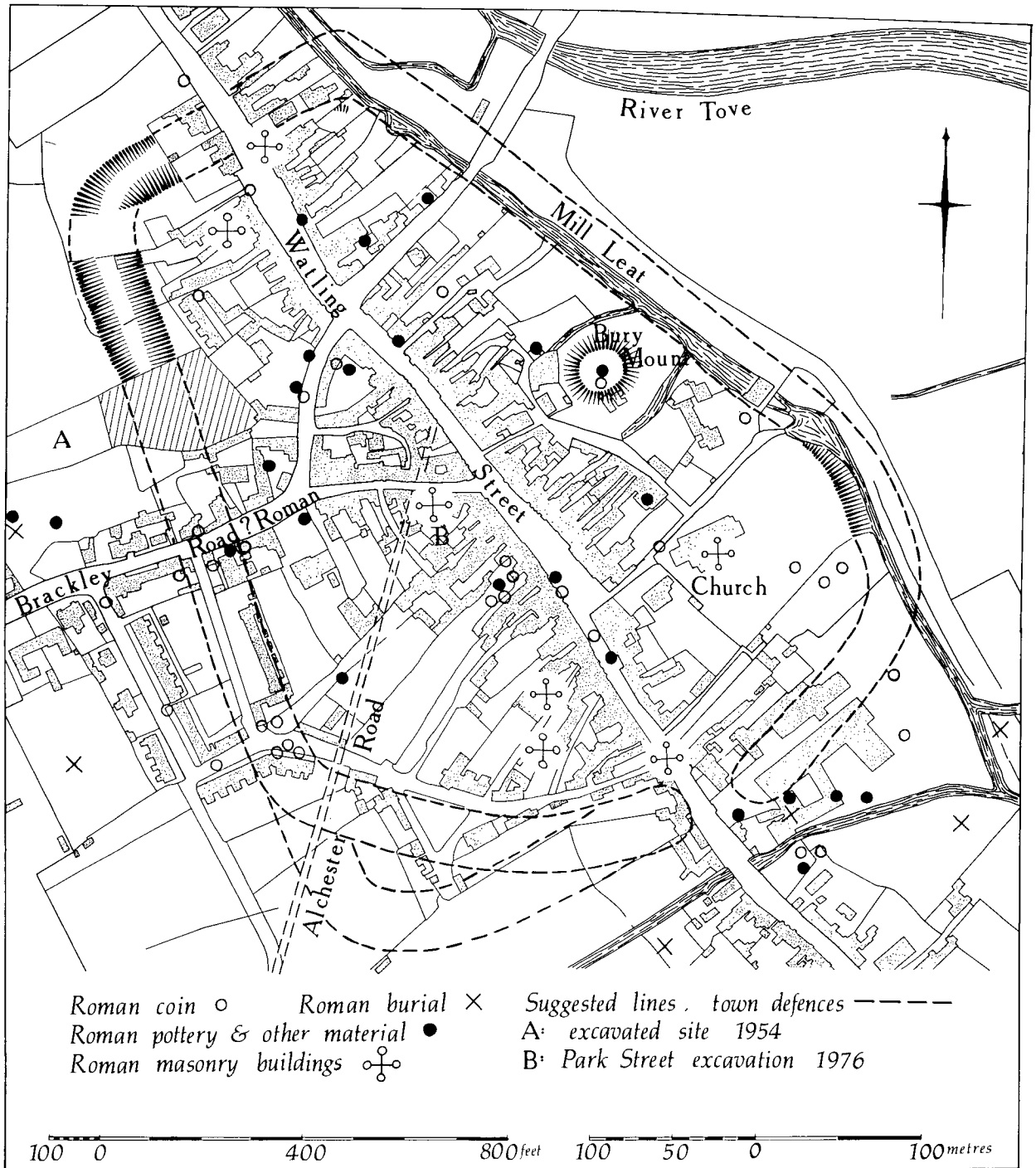


Fig 1 Map of Towcester to show location of excavation

17, 18, 20, 21, 25 and 26, and Trenches 4 and 5) (FIGS 2 and 5).

A layer list divided into phases is given in microfiche (M1-3).

THE EXCAVATION

PHASE 1 *The earliest occupation* (late 1st century to c AD 140). Trench 1 showed that the line taken by the western defences of Towcester at this point followed a slight natural hollow. On the western side of this the earliest phases consisted of a layer of grey/brown gritty loam up to 380mm thick noted in all the boxes, containing much pottery (layer list, M1). Towards the south of the area this had been cut through by a ditch running NE-SW, 900mm wide and 460mm deep, filled with grey clay; a junction with another similar ditch at the SE corner of Quadrant 17 suggests recutting (Quadrant 18, 5, 5a; Quadrant 26, 5). To the same phase of ditch digging can be linked a ditch 600mm wide and 300mm deep running along the grain of the hollow in Trenches 1 and 5, together with short fragments of others (FIGS 2-4).

On the eastern side of the hollow levels which can be attributed to the earliest occupation are poorly defined; in reality no sharp distinction between Phases 1 and 2 need have existed here. However, in Trench 2 a series of layers of yellow brown, grey brown and red brown clay (FIG 3, 4b and 5a) beneath the town rampart were cut through by a well and must represent early occupation.

No evidence of structures assignable to Phase 1 was found, although 11 tile fragments hint that such did indeed exist. The samian and coarse pottery indicate a date from the late Flavian period to cAD 140 (pp 33-38 and M4-6). **PHASE 2** (c 140 to final quarter of 2nd century). (a) West of the town defences. Occupation now took place directly on the grey clay of Phase 1 and over the silted up NE-SW ditch in Quadrants 17, 18 and 26. The evidence consists of a spread of gravel and small stones 50-130mm thick found in all the trenches in this area except Trench 5 and Quadrant 26 (layer list, M1). On it was a layer of grey gritty clay containing much pottery. There were denser spreads of limestone and gravel pebbles in some

trenches (Trench 4, Quadrants 13, 15, 18), and that buildings stood here was indicated by Quadrants 13 and 16, which contained alignments of large stones (up to 300mm x 250mm x 160mm in size) defining a sub-rectangular structure 5.5m by at least 3m (no footings were found on the NE side). There was a posthole 160mm in diameter in the SW corner and an area of clean yellow gravel close to the SW wall. The floor produced a coin probably of Hadrian (c AD 117-133; p 48). A circular hearth of reddened pebbles, 1.2m in diameter, lay close to the SW end of Trench 1 (FIGS 2-4).

(b) Below and inside the defences. Sealed by the town rampart in Trenches 1 and 2 and Quadrant 10 was a layer of stoneless brown loam up to 560mm thick, resting on the natural (FIG 3, Trench 1, UIRF 5f and RF5; Trench 2, 3d; Quadrant 10, 4). Two postholes in Trench 1, together with a layer of sandy clay and pebbles probably representing a floor (FIG 3, Trench 1, UIRF 5g), and a single posthole in Quadrant 10, indicate buildings. In Trench 2 was a well. This had been constructed to tap water which collected at the junction of a band of red sand with the underlying blue clay 2.7m below the Roman ground surface. Initially a pit 2m in diameter had been dug through the sand to the blue clay. On the bottom of this a pavement of five large flagstones was laid, fitting closely together. On the centre of this was erected a shaft of rectangular limestone blocks 900mm in diameter. The space between the shaft and the pit sides had been filled with angular fragments of limestone. When cleared, the well immediately filled with water to a depth of 800mm.

The brown loam sealed by the rampart extended beyond it to the east and was found in most of the trenches excavated on that side (FIGS 3 and 4; layer list, M1).

At the eastern end of Trench 1 a sleeper trench belonging to a timber framed building had been cut into it. The trench was 460mm wide, and had a posthole 250mm square set in it close to its termination, and ran for at least 7m north-east/south-west roughly parallel with the Brackley Road.

PHASE 3 *The construction of the defences* (c AD 170-180). This involved the following: (a) The excavation of a ditch, following the line of

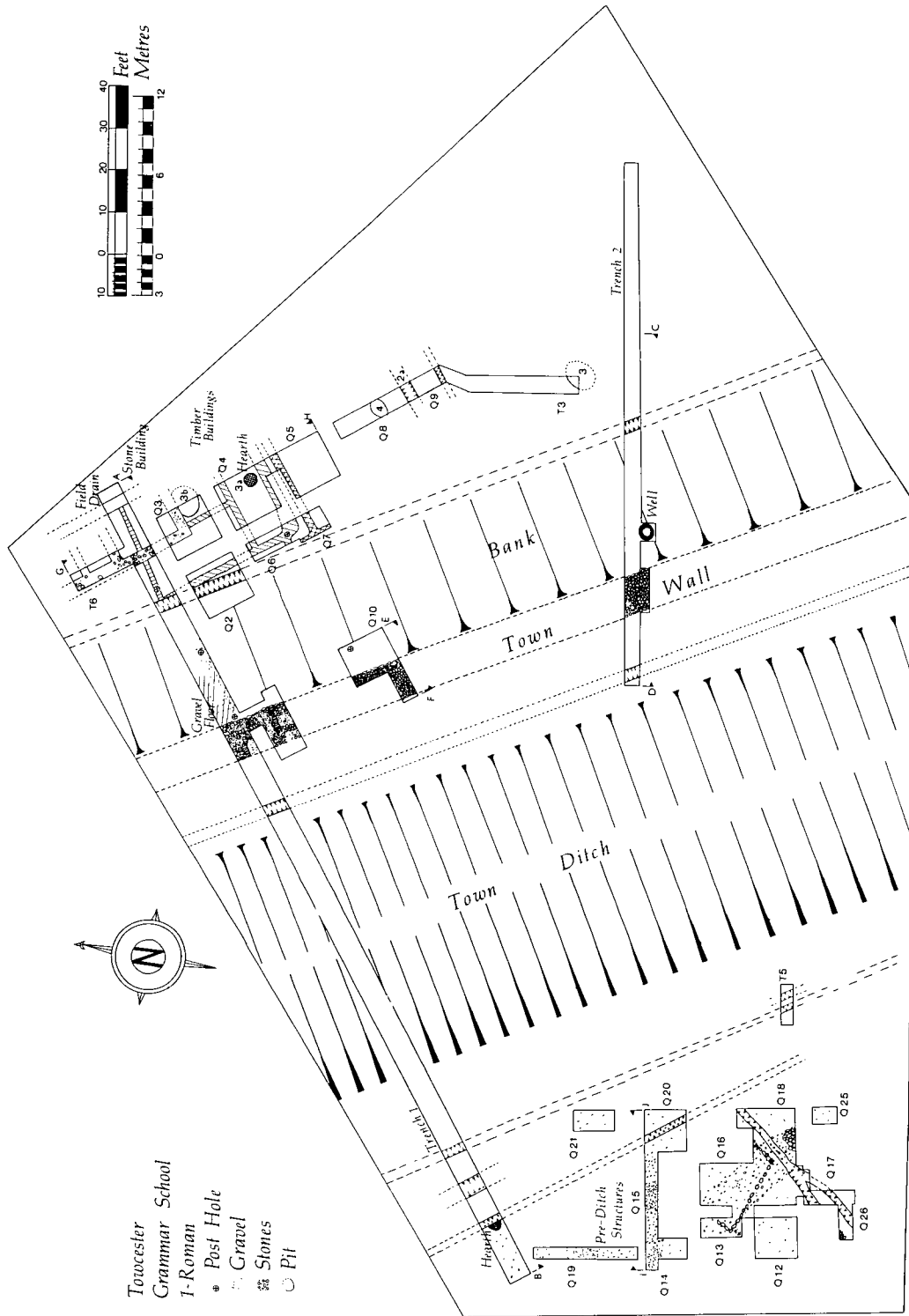


Fig 2 Towcester Grammar School: Roman period

the natural hollow. The precise dimensions of any Roman ditch are uncertain because of the possibility of later alterations (pp 31,57). If the eastern, deeper part of Ditch 5b (FIG 3) belonged to it, then it would have had a maximum depth of 1.8m on that side; in the centre its depth was only 1.5m. The width of the ditch as excavated was 23m. These dimensions certainly give an unusual profile for this period but since this shallow ditch encountered much the same geological strata as those which produced water in the well in Trench 2, it was probably wet at this point and this as well as width might have been regarded as sufficient compensation for relative shallowness, quite apart from the problems of actually excavating a deep ditch in such wet, clayey conditions. The location of the western marking out ditch and of the spread of clay outside it also imply a wide ditch at this time. Alternatively, more than one ditch may have been dug now.

(b) The excavation of the ditch produced considerable quantities of brown and yellow clay, with smaller quantities of blue clay from the bottom. Some of this went ultimately to provide a backing bank for the wall, but a quantity of yellow clay from the lower levels of the ditch excavation was spread beyond the ditch in a layer varying in thickness from 160 to 500mm, with an irregular upper surface (FIGS 3 and 4; layer list, M2). This completely blotted out the Phase 2 buildings in this area.

(c) The excavation of a pair of marker ditches on either side of the defensive ditch. That along the western edge was picked up in Trench 1 and Quadrant 20. It was 160-900mm wide and 160-300mm deep and not altogether parallel with the ditch. It cut through a Period 2 hearth in Trench 1 and before any silt had accumulated was filled with the same yellow clay as covered the Period 2 occupation layers. It marked the eastern edge of the clay spread. The corresponding ditch on the eastern side of the defensive ditch was 1.2m wide 870mm deep and filled with yellow-brown clay (FIG 3, Trench 1, RF6).

(d) The construction of the town wall. The foundations, 3m wide, were uncovered in Trenches 1 and 2 and Quadrant 10 (FIG 3). A foundation trench, 600mm deep, had been dug

through the Phase 2 layers; in Quadrant 10 the foundations penetrated the subsoil for 160mm. In Trench 2 and Quadrant 10 a layer of closely packed but unmortared pieces of limestone was found over the whole trench; the evidence from Quadrant 10 shows that at least three layers of stone were piled on top of this. In Trench 1 a wall 900mm wide with an outer skin of large stones and a rubble core formed a rear offset. In front of this rows of sloping slabs set on edge were arranged herringbone fashion to form the foundation layer, with clay and smaller stones dumped between the rows. These variations suggest the work of different gangs.

The brown loam derived from the foundation trench was dumped immediately to the east of it. In Trench 1 was a heap of brown loam 460mm high (FIG 3, UIRF 5a). In Trench 2 the corresponding layer not only formed a heap 250mm high but acted as the topmost filling of the well (FIG 3, 4a). Below, in descending order, the well had been filled with brown loam and gravel, yellow brown clay and 15 large pieces of limestone probably derived from the well head (FIG 3, Well layers 2, 3 and 4). The yellow clay (Well 3) contained the bones of two cows and the complete skeleton of a dog.

(e) The formation of a backing bank. In Trench 1 a bank at least 1.5m high of yellow clay (with a lens of blue clay) and yellow and brown loam ie material derived from the excavation of the ditch, was heaped up against the rear of the town wall (FIG 3, UIRF 4, 4b). It covered a layer of mortar produced by the construction of the wall which rested on the loam dug out of the foundation trench. The bank also covered the offset at the rear of the wall. It is very probable that bank and wall were part of the same operation.

In Trench 2 the bank layers — relatively stoneless brown loam and yellow and orange clay (FIG 3, 2a, 3a) — again covered the mortar layer which represented the construction of the wall, although the wide robber trench here had removed the evidence for the relationship between the bank and the wall itself. In quadrant 10 the brown loam from the foundation trench had been cut back to provide working space. The bottom of this space was covered with a layer of sand and mortar 50mm thick.

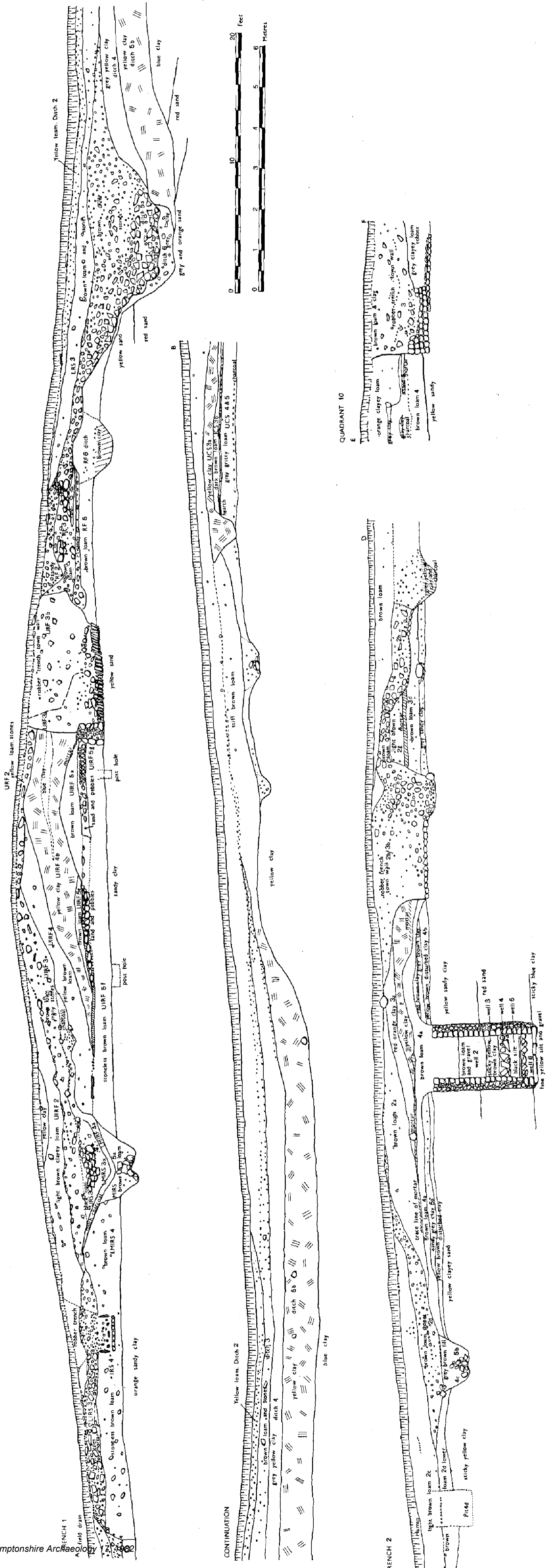
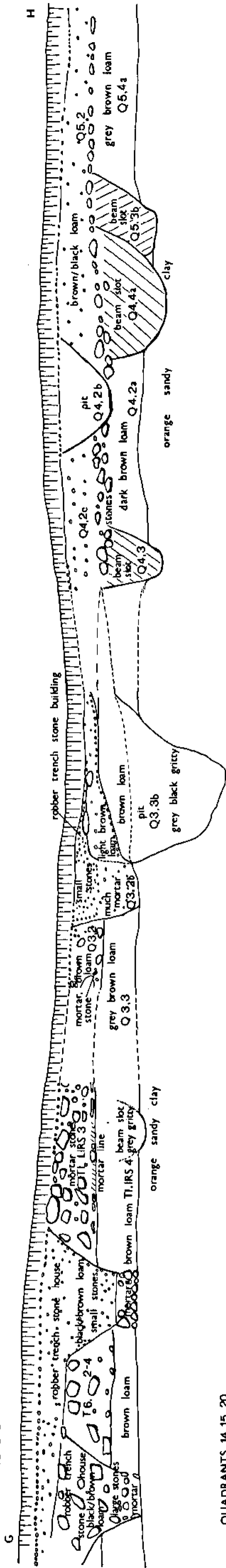


Fig 3 Towcester Grammar School: sections across the town defences

TRENCH 6
QUADRANTS 3-5



QUADRANTS 14, 15, 20

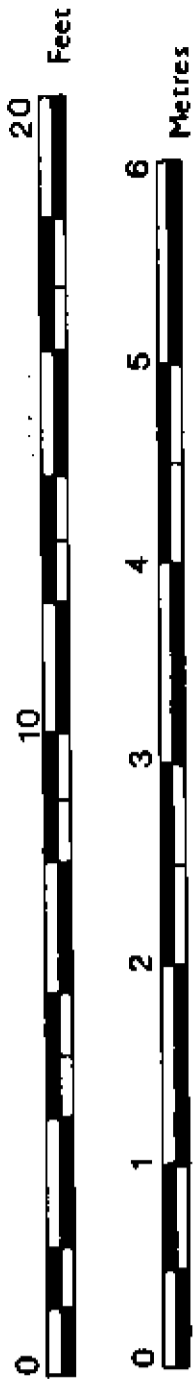
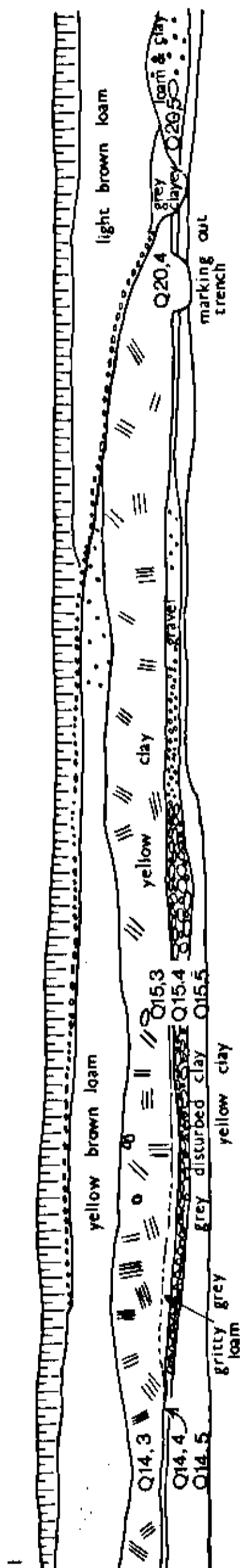


Fig 4 Towcester Grammar School: sections

The construction of the defences brought to an end the Phase 2 occupation in this area and no settlement features can be dated to the period immediately after the construction.

PHASE 4 *Timber buildings* (first half, 4th century). The boxes inside the town defences uncovered a sequence of timber and masonry buildings. These retain the same alignment throughout — not quite that of the beam slot of Phase 2 — and continuity can reasonably be inferred; this alignment is slightly askew to Watling Street and although set well back from it relates better to the Brackley Road (FIGS 1 and 2).

The earliest building is represented by a pair of beam slots in Quadrants 5 (3b) and 7 (6). The section along the eastern faces of Quadrants 4 and 5 (FIG 4) shows that this was replaced by the building represented by the slots in Quadrants 2, 3 (4a), 4 (3 and 4a) and 6 (4); a posthole 300mm in diameter belonging to this survived in its SW corner. The replacement involved a shift to the east away from the town rampart by 1m and towards the NW away from the Brackley road by 4.25m.

If these buildings were indeed laid out to face the Brackley road, then a courtyard building might be inferred. This could still apply if Watling Street was the determining factor but in this case a more modest winged plan could fit the known facts equally well. The building measured at least 11m by 6m.

Little can be said about the internal arrangements or appointments but a hearth belonging to the later of the two was found in Quadrant 4, represented by a charcoal patch 1m in diameter.

The date of this phase is not easy to establish since no occupation levels survived. The beams themselves seem to have been left in position with each rebuilding since in general the filling of the channels consisted of black loam, but some levelling off with clay took place. The relatively few fragments of pottery from the slots suggest that the earlier of the two buildings was replaced somewhere in the first half of the 4th century and that its successor came to an end round about 350. The phase as a whole might have started c AD 300.

PHASE 5 *Stone building* (mid 4th - early 5th century). This succeeded the later timber building 3m further out from the rampart and

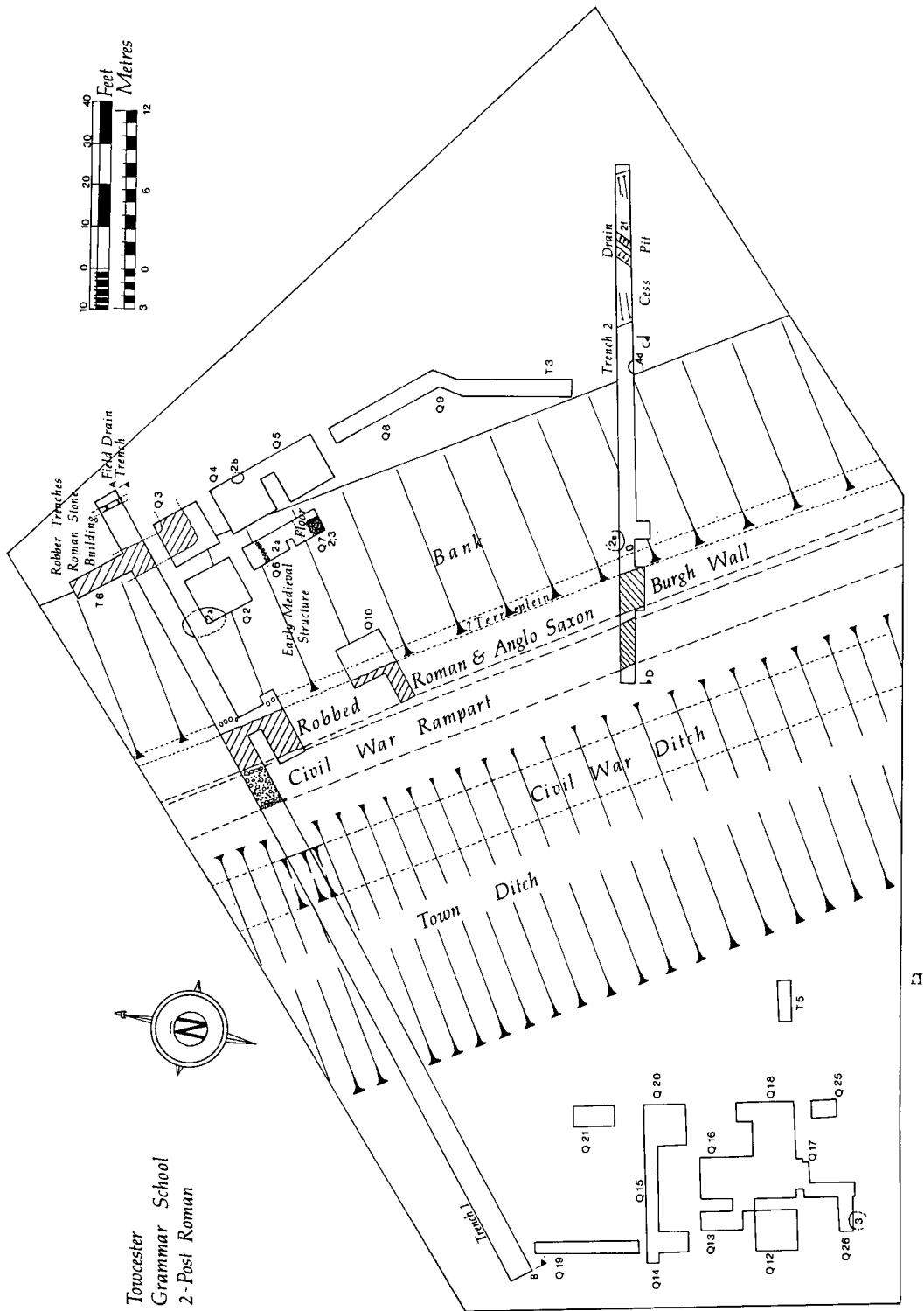
6.7m further to the NW. It was represented by the robber trenches of its walls; three rooms were identified (FIG 2). The building had a tiled roof and rough tessellated floors.

Probably contemporary with it was a ditch 1.2 - 2m wide and 600mm - 1.2m deep excavated along the inner foot of the rampart and picked up in Trenches 1 and 2 and Quadrant 2; it cut through the beam slots of Phase 4. This could have defined the property belonging to the stone building and carried away water running off the clay of the rampart as well as serving to check its spread, problems which might well have become apparent to the occupiers of the timber buildings. Determined efforts seem to have been made to keep it clean since the sections suggest that it had been recut twice and in the vicinity of the house, three times (FIG 3, Trench 1, MIRS 5a; Trench 2, 4c, 5b). After the latter occasion a layer of black soil 130mm thick containing much charcoal and a coin of Magnus Maximus (p 48) was allowed to accumulate in it (FIG 3, Trench 1, LMIRF 4a); this looks like domestic rubbish contemporary with the later occupation of the building. A human skull without its lower jaw was found near the bottom of this ditch in Quadrant 2 (p 55).

A couple of pits contemporary with Phases 4 and 5 were discovered in Trench 3 (3) and Quadrant 8 (4).

The pottery from the ditch indicates occupation throughout the rest of the 4th century. The area of the building generally in Trenches 1 and 6 and Quadrants 3-9 exhibited below the humus a layer of grey black loam up to 600mm thick, containing fragments of mortar, stones, tiles and much pottery going down to the end of the 4th century and possibly beyond. This must represent the collapse of the building; the only evidence that any violence might have been involved was the discovery of four human skull fragments from this layer (p 55). Stones found overlying the charcoal layer in the ditch parallel with the town rampart (FIG 3, LMIRS 3x) were thought to represent the collapse outwards of the western wall of the building.

PHASE 6 *The Anglo Saxon burh* (AD 917). No evidence was found for occupation of any sort between the collapse of the Phase 5 building



Towcester
Grammar School
2 - Post Roman

Fig 5 Towcester Grammar School: post Roman features

and the establishment of the Anglo Saxon *burh*.

For 917 the Anglo Saxon Chronicle tells us that:

'In this year before Easter (13 April) King Edward ordered the borough of Towcester to be occupied and built ... That same summer between Lammas and midsummer (24 June - 1 August), the army from Northampton and Leicester and north of these places broke the peace and went to Towcester and fought all day against the borough, intending to take it by storm, but yet the people who were inside defended it until more help came to them and the enemy then left the borough and went away ... Then very soon afterwards in the same autumn King Edward went with the army of the West Saxons to Passenham and stayed there while the borough of Towcester was provided with a stone wall. And Earl Thurferth and the *holds* submitted to him, and so did all the army which belonged to Northampton, as far north as the Welland, and sought to have him as their lord and protector' (Whitelock 1961, 64-66).

The evidence produced by the excavation for this important phase in Towcester's history relates to the heightening of the town bank. A layer of stony brown loam up to 610mm thick was at some stage laid down on top of the Roman bank and the collapse levels of the stone building (FIG 3, Trench 1, UIRF 3; Trench 2, 2d). In places this layer lay directly below the humus and a small fragment of medieval Northampton V6 ware (p 46) and a piece of post medieval flower pot were probably intrusive.

The rest of the material was Roman — 204 sherds of all periods down to the 4th century; three tile fragments and a coin of Valens (AD 364-78; p 48). This layer is clearly post Roman and seems to lie too far to the rear of the Civil War defensive rampart (p 32) to have had been Prince Rupert's work; it can best be regarded therefore as having some connexion with the fortification of the *burh*. Just where this material came from is a further problem, but one possibility is that the ditch was cleaned out if not actually remodelled at this time; a cleaning out of the silted up Roman defensive ditch now might explain why a fragment of

13th/14th century Potterspurly ware came from close to the top of Ditch 5 b (FIG 3), the bottom layer of the ditch fill.

There was no evidence from this excavation for the construction of a new stone wall or of contemporary structures inside the refurbished fortifications.

PHASE 7 *The Medieval borough* (12th - 14th centuries). In Quadrant 7 was a level area, overlain by humus, paved with limestone fragments similar to those used in the Roman town wall; an area of reddened clay and charcoal in the SW corner of the trench indicated a hearth (FIG 5). A building of some kind had evidently stood here, set into the stony brown loam of the Anglo Saxon rampart. This feature produced 20 fragments of St Neots and related wares dateable to the 12th century. In Quadrant 6, at a similar depth, was a fragment of walling of unmortared, unshaped limestone fragments (2a), set in a foundation trench 25mm wide and 22mm deep which may have belonged to this building.

Two pits (Trench 2, 4d and Quadrant 26, 3, FIG 5) yielded pottery of the 13th and 14th centuries and so could be Medieval.

PHASE 8 *Refortification during the Civil War* (AD 1643-4). Towcester achieved prominence during the Civil War in November 1643 when Prince Rupert fortified it as a base from which to operate mainly cavalry forces to pillage the surrounding countryside and deny provisions to the Parliamentary garrison at Northampton. Warrants were issued to require the provision of 'lusty pioneers or labourers with shovels, spades, pick axes and crows of iron, handbarrows to carry earth in' (Baker 1841, 323). The reports of the Parliamentary intelligence gatherers enable the progress of the works to be charted: by November 23 most of the earthworks had been thrown up and the rest marked out; they had been finished altogether by 27 November and were strongest along the southern side. The figures given for the number of guns present varied from 8 to 12; two of them were planted on a hill towards Northampton (Philipps 1952/3, 219). This is a reference to the levelling of Bury Mount to carry guns. The descriptions give little real detail but we are told that Rupert's defences were 'very strong, and brought the water about

the town'; Towcester was however 'entrenched round about but not fortified' (Philipps 1952/3, 195), ie there were no complicated bastions. In January 1644 the Royalists slighted the works and went to Oxford.

The archaeological evidence for this phase consists of:

(a) A narrow flat bottomed ditch 1.8m deep and 5.6m wide cut through Ditch 4 (FIG 3, Ditch 5a and 6). Since Ditch 4 contained abundant Medieval pottery the work of Rupert is indicated. The new ditch was filled and the zone between it and the crest of the town bank covered, with a cascade of limestone blocks with some pieces of sandstone forming a solid layer 1.5m thick. In the ditch the stones were tightly jammed but there was little soil between them. The ditch yielded a few fragments of samian and Roman coarse wares and an illegible 3rd-4th century coin. Its fill must represent the slighting of the fortifications by the Royalists.

(b) Directly in front of the robber trench of the Roman town wall in Trench 1 was a bedding trench 2.4m wide and 600mm deep (FIG 3, RF2 and 3). This contained on its outer side the remains of a dry stone wall 800mm wide and three stones thick. The stones were mostly large (up to 450 x 250 x 130mm) squared sandstone blocks with a few pieces of limestone. At the inner face was another drystone wall 600mm wide and four stones thick. The stony brown earth between contained 228 fragments of Roman pottery and tile, but also 48 sherds of medieval wares going down to the 14th century (p 49). All this seems to represent the slighted base of the Civil War defences; there were no remains of the Roman or Saxon wall above ground now. The earth which formed the bank held in place by these walls had been thrown into the ditch on top of the remains of the outer wall (stony brown loam, FIG 3, LRS3/Ditch 3); it contained 79 pieces of medieval pottery together with three fragments of 16th and 17th century Pottersbury ware.

Behind the robber trench of the Roman town wall in Trench 1 was a layer of yellow brown clayey loam with large pieces of limestone and sandstone 250mm thick which in addition to Roman pottery and 14 sherds of Medieval wares produced a 15th-16th century bung; this layer

might also be linked with the 17th century refortification (FIG 3, URF 2).

In Trench 2 a rather similar bedding trench containing limestone fragments was found in front of the Roman town wall, but less well defined; it yielded two pieces of medieval pottery (FIG 3, 2h).

PHASE 9 *Final stone robbing and recent* (late 17th century onwards). In the later 17th or 18th century the area, which remained open land into the 20th century, was systematically dug over for stone. The wide robber trench of the town wall was encountered in Trenches 1, 2 and Quadrant 10 (FIGS 2 and 3); it had been deliberately filled in with a mixture of clay and brown loam, with stones and mainly Roman pottery, but in Trench 2 and Quadrant 10 some pieces of 17th and 18th century pottery and tile. Trenches had been dug with great accuracy to take stone from the walls of the Roman house of Phase 5 but no dating evidence was forthcoming from them.

Several 18th or 19th century rubbish pits were found in Trench 1 and Quadrant 2 (FIG 5, Quadrant 2, 2a), Trench 2 (2e) and Quadrant 4 (2b). Trench 2, 2f was a cess pit 2.4m deep, containing 18th and 19th century pottery and cut by a drain trench serving the neighbouring stables. Above this several layers of mortar and brick fragments belonged to the 19th century.



Fig 6 Prehistoric pottery (1/2)

THE FINDS

POTTERY

PREHISTORIC (FIG 6)

Fragment of shoulder of jar in softish fabric with conspicuous calcareous inclusions, light brown exterior, grey interior. Like Skeleton Green FIG 42, 17 (Partridge 1981) or Wheathampstead, PL L1, 18-19 (Wheeler 1936); mid-late 1st century BC - early 1st century AD. Residual in Trench 1, 5a, Phase 3.

THE ROMAN POTTERY

I THE SAMIAN WARE

By Joanna Bird; with notes on the stamps by B R Hartley and Brenda Dickinson

The excavations at Towcester in 1954 and 1974/76 (the St Lawrence Road site, to be published separately) produced sufficient samian pottery to allow an analysis of the ware by date. The resulting graph (FIG 7) is based on the 133 stamped and decorated vessels found, as it is possible to be reasonably certain of the number of pots involved. The graph shows a steady increase in the amount of samian from c AD 50 to a mid-Flavian peak, followed by a sharp drop at the end of the century, a much larger peak between c 100 and 145, and a second drop during the later Antonine period. At other sites for which this type of analysis has been carried out(1), there is generally a marked trough in the early second century followed by a peak in the Antonine period, with a fall towards the end of the century which accelerates sharply during the early third. The bulk of what late material there is comes from the small groups excavated from St Lawrence Road in 1976, while the material from the excavations at Park Street, Towcester (Pengelly 1980) follows the more usual patterns(2): the inference is that any unusual factors in operation applied to the Grammar School site. One explanation may be a rapid increase in occupation or use of this area during the early second century, followed by an abandonment, perhaps caused by the construction of the defences, after c 150.

The overall picture given by the graph is confirmed in detail by the potters whose work can be identified. The Graufesenque potters present are all of mainly Flavian date: there are single plain stamps of Germanus, Sabinus and Ponthieus, and decorated ware having stylistic links with Meddilus, Mommo and Passienus. The high proportion of Trajanic pottery from Les Martres de Veyre is notable: it includes eight bowls of X-13 ('Donnaucus'), four each of Drusus i ('X-3') and X-9 ('Medetus-Ranto'), two of Igocatus ('X-4', and one each of X-11, X-12 (both 'Ioernalis') and the Rosette Potter, and single plain stamps of Lentiscus, Reginus and Iulius Talussa. The majority of Lezoux potters represented date from the Hadrianic to mid-Antonine period, as does Cettus of Martres (four bowls). The decorated Lezoux vessels include five by the Sacer-Attianus group, four by Drusus ii, and one each by Butrio (from a stamped mould), Docilis (from a signed mould), X-5, Criciro, Caratillus and the Quintilianus group; there are plain stamps of Cerialis and Ruffus. Later bowls include 6 by the Cinnamus group and one each by Albuicis and Secundus, and a plain stamp of Soiellus; only Atilianus (one plain stamp) is present of the latest Lezoux potters. There are no stamped or decorated East Gaulish wares.

The plain and decorated forms present (a possible maximum of 623) also fit this pattern. There is only one sherd of a definitely pre-Flavian form, a Dr 24/25, the other South Gaulish vessels being mainly of immediately pre-Flavian date onwards. The proportion of Dr 15/17 to Dr 18 is 1:4, that of Dr 29 to (SG) Dr 37 is 1:2.5. The Central Gaulish wares emphasise the Trajanic to mid-

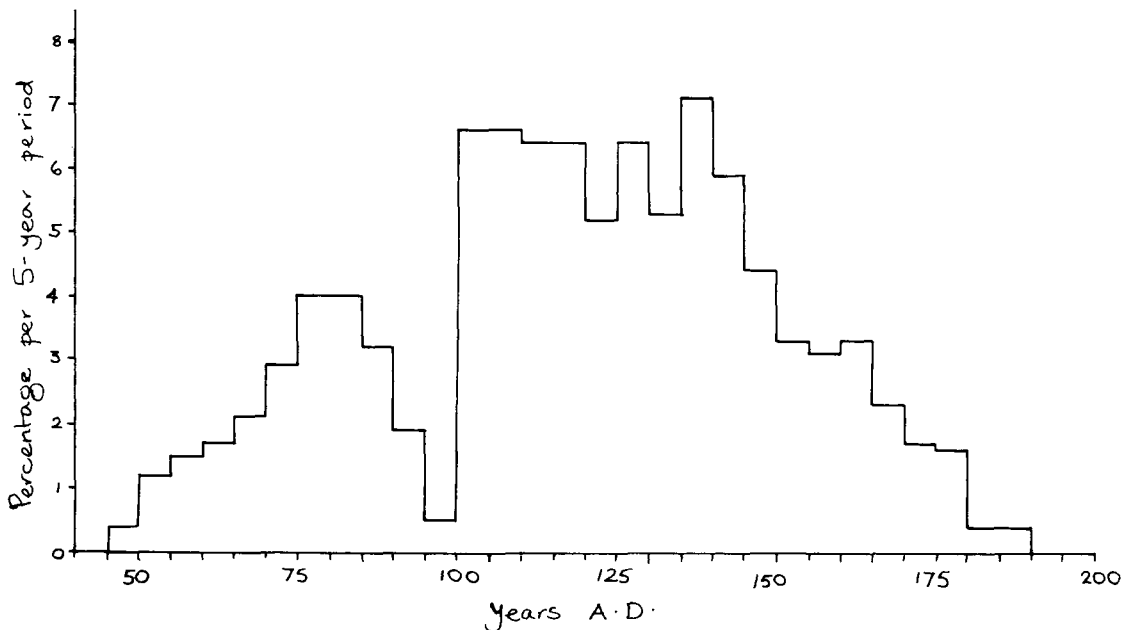


Fig 7 Towcester: incidence of samian ware from the excavations of 1954 and 1974-6

Antonine bias: the proportion of Dr 27 to Dr 33 is 1:2, that of Dr18/31 to Dr 31 is over 2:1. Of the late forms present, two of the four sherds of Dr 31R, five of the seven of Walters 79, and all the sherds of Walters 79R (2), Walters 80 (1), Ludowici Tg (4) and Dr 45 (4), which includes the three late East Gaulish sherds, are from the St Lawrence Road site.

A detailed catalogue of stratified sherds from Phases 1-3 is provided on microfiche (M4-13).

2 MORTARIA By K F Hartley

General Comments

Fragments from about fifty mortaria were examined. The suppliers represented and the dates when their products were being bought at Towcester are shown in Table 1. The sample is a very small one so that percentages can be misleading, nevertheless the results are entirely consistent with what one would expect in this area. The Oxford potteries were very well placed to take over the market when production in the Verulamium region began to dwindle c AD 150-170. The numbers from the lower Nene valley are smaller than one might expect but the dispersal of their mortaria was certainly mainly coastwise and Towcester is just too far away to be in the local market. Workshops in the Northampton area were producing mortaria mainly in the second century and early third century and there seems to have been little production at any other time.

The largest proportion of the mortaria appear to have been used in the second century (approximately 46%) and as samian mortaria would certainly have been used in quantity the proportion may be a little deflated. The number of mortaria which can be dated c AD 180/190-240 is very small indeed and it is unlikely that the import of samian mortaria or the difficulties of dating third and fourth century mortaria can entirely account for it. The fairly high proportion of pieces showing burning is worthy of comment.

TABLE 1

<i>Coarse ware mortaria, Towcester Grammar School</i>		
<i>Verulamium region</i>	AD 55-140 (12)	12
<i>Oxford region</i>	AD 100-182 (2); 150/180-300 (6); 240-400 (11)	19
<i>Probably lower Nene valley</i>	AD 130-190 (1); 240-400 (4)	5
<i>Northamptonshire region (upper Nene valley)</i>	AD 140-220 (12)	12
<i>Swanpool</i>	AD 240-400 (1)	1
<i>Unknown</i>	AD 140-200 (1)	1

Illustrated Sherds (FIG 8)

1. Verulamium region. A granular, greyish-cream fabric, pink core, in this case with a buff slip. The fabric can be brownish or reddish buff in colour but the texture is almost always the same and is the result of adding a vast amount of quartz to the clay. The trituration is composed of flint, red-brown material and a little quartz. Burnt and worn. AD 70-120. T4, 4, Phase 1.

2. Northamptonshire region, upper Nene valley. Slightly soft, fine textured, orange-brown fabric, drab grey core, thin white slip; red-brown quartz and flint tempering with very occasional chalk fragments; the trituration grit consists largely of quartz with a little black ironstone and occasional red-brown grit. This piece discoloured possibly by burning. Mid 2nd century. Q 13,3, Phase 2.

3. Nene Valley. Hard, fine-textured pinkish brown fabric with off white to pale grey core and a very little red-brown tempering; ironstone trituration grit. This example is an unusual type for the lower Nene valley potteries and is reminiscent in form to some mortaria made in the Oxford region. Finger depression spout. AD 240/300-400+. Intrusive in Q6, 3, Phase 2.

4. Castor-Stibbington area of lower Nene valley. Hard fine textured off white fabric with a little tempering of red-brown quartz and ironstone grit; the trituration grit consists of black ironstone, occasionally with some haematite.

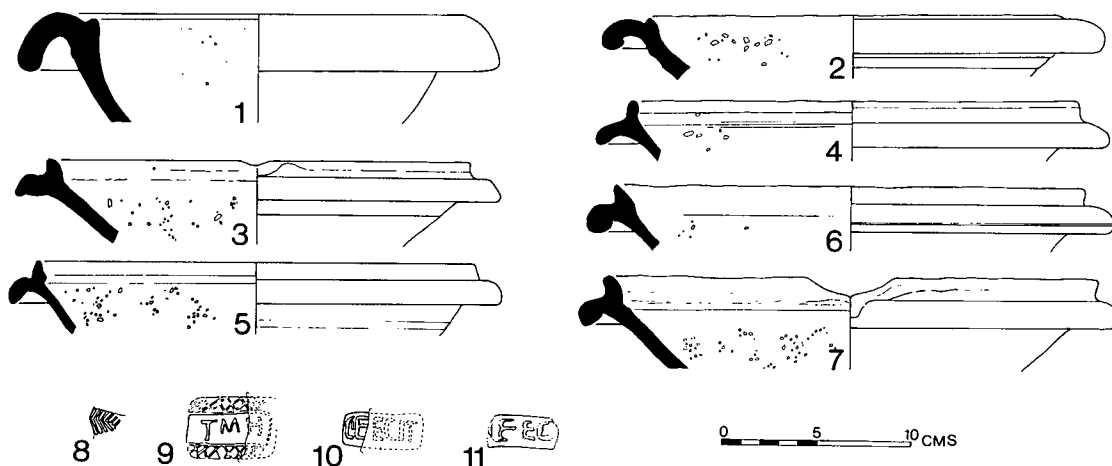


Fig 8 Towcester Grammar School: mortaria (1/4)

Unusual form for the lower Nene valley potteries and again reminiscent of some Oxfordshire mortaria. Slightly burnt. AD 240/300-400+. Q8, 4, Phase 5.

5. Cowley, Dorchester, Sandford, Baldern etc, Oxford (Young 1977). A fine textured, slightly micaceous, orange-brown fabric, sometimes with a grey core and a thin cream or white slip, abundant trituration grit, pink, brownish and transparent quartz. This example generally similar to Young, WC 7.3, AD 240-400+. Q8, 4, Phase 5.

6. Fabric as 5. Similar to Young 1977, M22.19, AD 240-400+. T3, 3, Phase 5.

7. Fabric as 5. Generally similar to Young 1977, W C 5.1 and M 22.18, AD 240-400+. T1, LIRS 3, Phase 5.

Stamps

8. The fragmentary impression of a herringbone stamp survives. The fabric of the mortarium clearly indicates manufacture in the Northamptonshire region. Stamps from at least two different dies of herringbone type (from the Ecton kiln-site and Moulton (3)) can be attributed to Northamptonshire but the Towcester stamp is almost certainly from another die; unfortunately all the impressions involved are fragmentary but there is no reason to doubt that it is of second-century date. Q13, 3, Phase 2.

9. When completely impressed this potter's stamp reads TMH, perhaps for *tria nomina*. His mortaria have been noted from Colchester (2); London (2); West Wickham, Kent; Rochester (2); Towcester; Usk, and Verulamium (5). The fabrics used point to activity in the Colchester region and the Verulamium region. The Colchester activity was probably the earlier and was fairly certainly of shorter duration than that in the potteries south of Verulamium (Hartley and Richards 1965, 41 no 223 and 42, no 222). Unfortunately the condition of the Towcester fragment does not make attribution certain through origin in the Verulamium region would be more likely. Stratigraphic evidence and the types of rim-form used support an overall date of c AD 110-150 to cover his working life. T1, UIRF 4, Phase 3.

10. The fragmentary impression preserves the beginning of a stamp which reads L.FECIT when complete, the L often poorly formed as here and the F having a bottom stroke like an E. The L could be the initial letter of a potter's name but it is more likely to represent the place name Lugdunum or Lugudunum which appears in abbreviated form on mortaria made by a number of potters like Albinus who worked in the Verulamium region (Frere 1972, 371-2, nos 2-11). The fabric and forms used by this potter point to activity in the Verulamium region in the period AD 70/80-110/120. T1, UIRF 3, Phase 6.

11. Broken stamp of L.FECIT from the same die as 10 and is more complete but it seems to come from a different vessel. Q4, 2b, Phase 9.

3 THE REMAINDER OF THE ROMAN POTTERY

The following list represents the broad pottery fabric groups identified on this site. Only these are described; the missing numbers relate to fabrics identified elsewhere in Towcester which will be described in the forthcoming report on the St. Lawrence Road/Abbey Homesteads site by A E Brown and C Woodfield.

Table 2 gives the number of sherds and minimum number

of vessels present in each fabric group within each phase. Much of the grey ware belonging to Phases 1 and 2 found below the yellow clay spread outside the defences could not be assigned to fabric groups because of its degraded condition.

The colour notation is derived from the Revised Munsell Soil Color Chart, 1967.

Notes on the imported fine wares have been supplied by Mrs A Anderson.

The numbers in brackets refer to the illustrations, FIGS 9-15.

1. Medium reddish/orange buff surfaces and break, 5YR 7/4 - 5YR 7/6, hard smooth, uniform, sandy. Decoration consists of rough casting, burnishing, rouletting; sometimes the external surface is a darker, greyish brown, 5YR 4/2. Pale cream slip occasionally. Mostly bag shaped beakers (99-100, 112-4) but occasional bowls (142, 160), jars (116-176) and lids (168). A little in Phase 1, very common in Phase 2, residual thereafter.
2. Pinkish, 2.5 YR 7/2, uniform, hard, slightly uneven surface with sand grains plainly visible. Lids, beaker (80). Phase 2, residual thereafter.
3. Light buff surfaces, 5 YR 7/4, grey core and sometimes grey interior; soft, smooth, mica dusted. Small fragments only in Phases 1-2, a bowl residual in Phase 4 (144).
4. Dull orange/buff surfaces, 2.5 YR 6/4, and break, soft, smooth. Lids. A little in Phases 1-2 plus subsequent residual pieces.
7. Rather coarse, rough, sandy, reddish brown surfaces, 2.5 YR 6/2, thickish grey core, mica dusted. Residual only in Phase 9.
8. Medium orange/buff surfaces, 5 YR 7/6, grey core, soft, smooth, fine sandy inclusions. Lids (32), but mainly imitation samian shapes (29, 75, 77-8). Phases 1 and 2.
9. Softish orange, 7.5 YR 8/3, surfaces, sandy, thickish grey core. Beakers (135). Phase 2, residual thereafter.
10. Hard orangy reddish buff fabric, 5 YR 7/3 - 6/8, finer than 8, sometimes reduced surfaces. Beakers. One sherd only in Phase 2, otherwise residual.
- 12a. Lower Nene valley colour coated ware. One sherd from the very beginning of production in Phase 3; does not appear in quantity until Phase 4. Common in Phase 5.
 - b. A lower Nene valley fabric, reddish orange, 10R 6/1, black lustrous slip. Beakers. One sherd Phase 5.
13. Oxfordshire colour coated ware. Phase 4 onwards.
14. Other colour coated wares: (c) Cologne (Anderson 1980); (f) North Gaul fabric 1 (*ibid*); (g) North Gaul fabric 2 (*ibid*); (h) Eastern Gaulish (*ibid*).
15. Black burnished ware, category 1. Present throughout, but not much before Phase 2.
16. Light bluish grey surfaces, N 7, margins and often inside surface a lighter grey. Thin core can be buff. Fine, hard, smooth. Phase 2, a little.
17. Very hard, sandy, light grey body; slate grey shiny surfaces, 5PB 5/1 - 3/1. Phases 1 and 2, ? residual thereafter. Necked jars, bowls, (25, 111, 122). Nene valley and ?Biddlesden (Woods *et al.* 1981, 386-94).

18. Dark to medium grey surfaces, 7.5 YR 6/1 - 7.5 YR 6/2, sometimes with buffish tinge or buff margins. Burnished; generally hard, fine glistening sandy temper. Jars (85), bowls with reeded rims, beakers (102). Earlier phases. Biddlesden?
19. Medium grey surfaces, 10YR 5/1 - 10 YR 6/1. Hard, rough feel, coarse sand inclusions plainly visible. Channel rim jars, necked jar (43). Earlier phases.
20. Medium to dark grey surfaces, 10 YR 4/1 - 10 YR 6/1, mostly uniform but sometimes with dark core. Very hard, smooth. A variety of jars (10, 11, 13, 39, 47-49, 58, 87, 158), bowls (65, 74, 94, 97, 123), lids (104). To Phase 5. The common rather featureless grey ware of the Nene valley and elsewhere.
21. Hard, dense grey sandy fabric with plentiful inclusions of haematite. Hand burnished on outside to give a smooth, dark grey, N4, finish. Mainly copies of BB1 forms. A little in Phase 2.
22. Medium to dark grey surfaces, N5-N6, sometimes with a blotchy steel blue tinge, 5PB 5/1, hard, rough sandy feel. Sometimes burnished. Upper Nene valley including Ecton. A variety of jars (7-9, 14, 55, 61) and bowls (27). Common in Phases 1-2, residual thereafter.
23. Exterior surface a medium greyish/buff, 10 YR 5/1; light buff core and interior, 10 YR 8/2. Hard, fairly smooth but sandy. Reeded rim bowls (23, 69, 95), channel rim jars, necked jars (131), lids (126). Phases 1-2.
24. Black, dark grey surfaces, 2.5 YR 3/1 - 2.5 YR 4/1, lighter grey core, can be softish, sandy. Wide mouthed and necked jars. Phases 1-2.
26. Very dark grey surfaces, 5 YR 2/1, buff/reddish brown core, sandy. Necked and channel rim jars. A little in early phases. ?Caldecotte, Bucks.
27. Highgate Wood fabric type C (Brown and Sheldon, 1974). Residual in late contexts.
28. Softish bluish grey, N7, rather coarse sandy fabric sometimes with black slip.
30. Coarse grey ware, 7.5 YR 4/1, often with a brownish tinge or margin, softish, sandy with large grains frequently visible. A few fragments only, Phase 5.
33. Light buff/brown granular surfaces, 7.5 YR 7/3, hard, gritty, sandy, roughish feel. Sometimes a grey core. Reeded rim bowls, jars. Phase 2 mainly.
34. Brownish grey surfaces, 7.5 YR 5/2, buff core, hard, sandy, finer than 33. Channel rim jars. Earlier phases.
- 35a. Medium reddish buff surfaces, 5 YR 6/4 - 5YR 7/4, grey in patches, sometimes grey core. Mostly hard, lumpy with roughish uneven feel; sparse shell inclusions. Generally thick, scoring and rilling. Large storage jars (2, 36, 115), channel rim jars (16, 51-4), wide mouthed bowls (19, 20, 64). Phases 1 and 2, residual thereafter.
- b. Orange/buff surfaces, 5 YR 6/4 - 5 YR 7/4, generally a thick grey core, smooth but sometimes irregular surface owing to large quartz, limestone and grog inclusions. Softish, friable. Sometimes burnished. Large jars (37-8), necked jars (89). Throughout.
36. Orange/light buff, 5 YR 7/4 - 5 YR 7/6, sometimes grey core. Softish rough and sandy. Flagons (82, 127), reeded rim bowls (21, 66-8) channel rim (12, 59) and necked jars (6, 40-1, 44-5), lids (31), cheese press, face urns (183-4), vessels imitating samian forms (30, 79). Very common in Phases 1-2. Verulamium and Upper Nene areas.
40. Reddish brown/orange surfaces, 5 YR 6/4, sometimes grey core, very hard, smooth, sandy; cream or pinkish cream slip, 10 YR 8/2. Small fragments only, later phases. Oxfordshire white colour coated ware (Young 1977, 117).
41. Yellowish cream fabric, 7.5 YR 8/4, uniform, hard, smooth, sandy. Channel rim (56) and necked jars (86), bowls, flagons (83). Earlier phases, residual thereafter.
42. Cream, 7.5 YR 8/2, hard, smooth, sandy. Flagons (35). As 41.
43. Parchment ware (Young 1977, 80). Very little, late phases.
44. Shell tempered ware.
- a) Salmon, YR 6/6, soft, frequent large white shell fragments, often scored. Large storage jars (1), necked jars (3, 4). ?residual in Phases 1-2.
- b) Reddish brown, 10 YR 5/4, dense, spiky shell fragments on surface, give a rough feel. Phases 1-2.
- c) Hard, shell visible but surfaces smoothed down, dark reddish brown, often rilled, 2.5 YR 6/3 - 2.5 YR 6/4. Surfaces can be greyish, 2.5 YR 6/1. Cooking pots (138-9, 147-50), plain bowls (154), flanged bowls (161). From Phase 1 but very common in Phase 5. Of the type made at Harrold, Beds.
45. Amphorae (128). Mostly a light yellowish buff, 7.5 YR 8/3, rough feel, sandy inclusions plainly visible. Some fragments are a light brown/orange, 5 YR 6/4, however, and a few have a thick grey core. All are of Dressel 20 form and come from the Guadalquivir region of Spain, where they were used principally for the carriage of olive oil (information from Dr D Williams, University of Southampton). Especially common in Phase 2.

ILLUSTRATED PIECES

PHASE 1

Large jars

1. F.44a An early type. Q17,5.
2. F.35a. Q26,6.

Necked jars in early shell-tempered fabric ?residual

3. F.44a. T1, UCS 4.
4. F.44a. Q18,5.

Necked Jars

5. F.36. *Verulamium* 464, AD 105-30 and 654, 130-150 (Frere 1972). Q18 5a.
6. F.36. Q16,5.
7. F.22. Q18,5.
8. F.22. Q18,5a.
9. F.22. Q17,5.
10. F.20. *Verulamium* 284, AD 75-105 (Frere 1972). Q18,5.

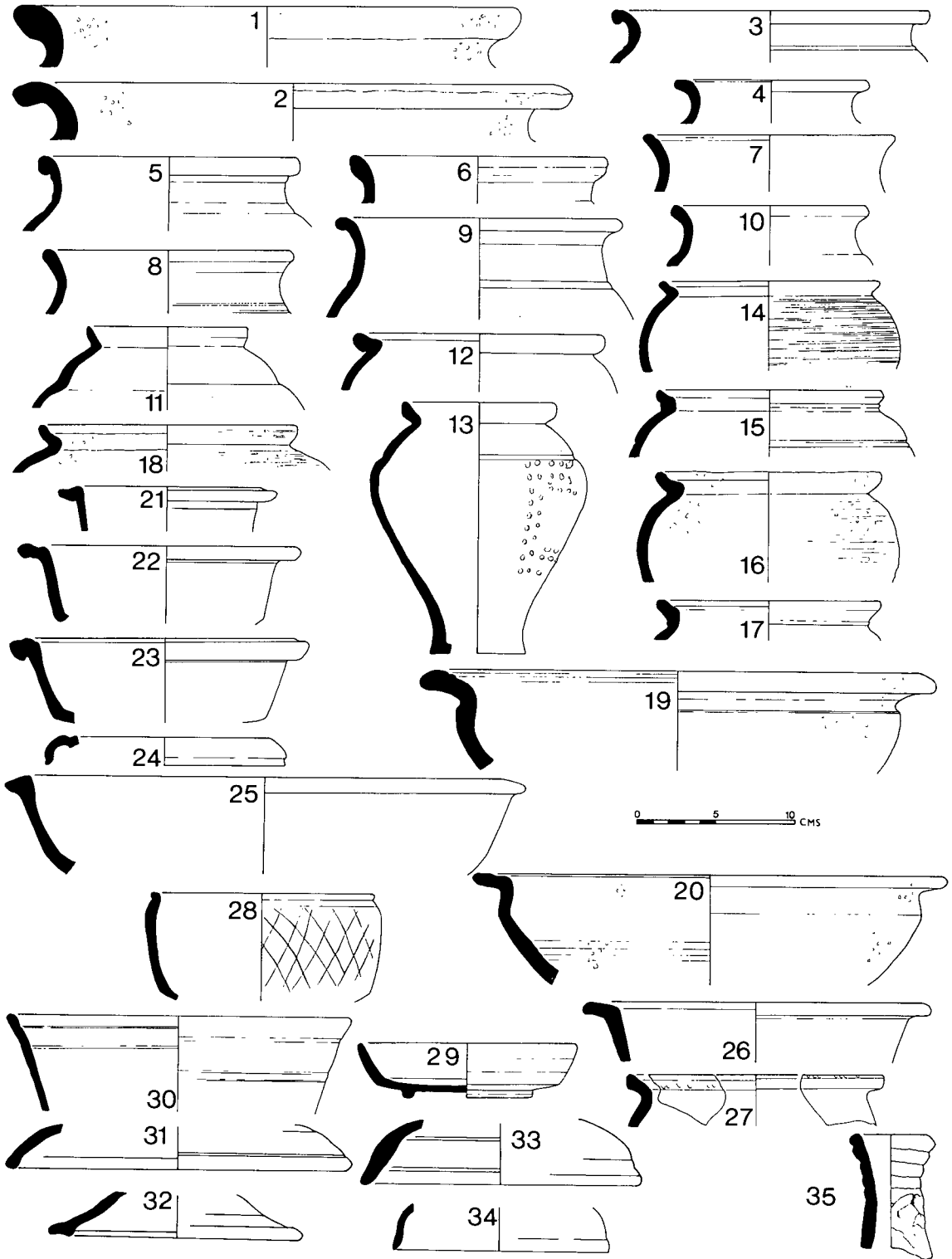


Fig 9 Towcester Grammar School: pottery from Phase 1 (1/4)

Jars with upright and channel rims

11. F.20. Q26,6.
12. F.36. Q26,5.
13. F.20. Q18,5.
14. F.22. Brixworth 209, Flav-Traj (Woods 1970). Q18,5a.
15. F.20. Q18,5a.
16. F.35a. Mileoak 20, (Green and Draper 1978). Q26,5.
17. F.22. T1, UCS5.
18. F.35a. Q17,5.

Large bowls

19. F.35a. Q18,5a.
20. F.35a. Q18,5.

Reeded rim bowls and related

21. F.36. *Verulamium* 501 AD. 105-30 (Frere 1972). T1 UCS 5.
22. Soft medium grey fabric lumpy surfaces. Q26,5.
23. F.23. *Verulamium* 938, AD 150-155/60 (Frere 1972). Q14,5.

Bowl with drooping flange

24. F.18. T1, UCS 5.

Flat rimmed bowls/pie dishes

25. F.17. *Verulamium* 958, AD 150-155/60 (Frere 1972). Q17,5.
26. F.15. Type 40 in Gillam 1976, mid-late 2nd century. T1, UCS4.

Other bowls

27. F.22. T4,4.
28. F.15. 52 in Gillam 1976, mid-late 2nd century. T1, UCS 5.

Vessels imitating samian forms

29. F.8. T1, UCS 5.
30. F.36. T1, UCS 5.

Lids

31. F.36. T1, UCS 4.
32. F.8. Towcester Park Street 132, late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). T1, UCS4.
33. Soft grey fabric, large brown ? grog inclusions Q16,5.
34. F.22. T4,4.

Flagon

35. F.42. Towcester Park Street 119, late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). Q17,5.

PHASE 2*A. Occupation levels outside Roman town defences covered by yellow clay**Large jars*

36. F.35a. Q13,3b.
37. F.35b. Q18,3.
38. F.35b. Q13,3.

Jars

39. F.20. Q17,3.
40. F.36. Q18,3.
41. F.36. Q18,4.
42. F.34. Overstone 28, AD 70-120 (Williams 1976) Q13,3.
43. F.19. *Verulamium* 649, AD 130-50 (Frere 1972) Q18,3.
44. F.36. Q18,4.
45. F.36. Q18,4.
46. F.22. Q18,4.

47. F.20. Q18,4.

48. F.20. Q17,4.

Small neckless jar

49. F.20. Q17,4.

Jars with upright and channelled rims

50. F.35a. Q26,4.
51. F.35a. Q18,3.
52. F.35a. Q18,4.
53. F.35a. Brixworth 212, Antonine or earlier (Woods 1970). Q18,3.
54. F.35a. Q17,4.
55. F.22. Q17,3.
56. F.41. Q17,3.
57. F.35a. Q17,4.
58. F.20. Towcester Park Street 74, late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). Q18,3.
59. F.36. Q26,4.
60. F.20. Q17,4.
61. F.22. Towcester Park Street 103, AD 140- late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). Q17,4.
62. F.35a. Mileoak 89, AD 140-160 (Green and Draper 1978). Q15,4.

Cooking pot with short rim

63. F.15. 118 in Gillam 1968, AD 125-60. Q18,3.

Large bowl

64. F.35a. Q17,3.

Reeded rim bowls and related

65. F.20. Q17,4.
66. F.36. Q18,3.
67. F.36. Towcester Park Street 111, AD 140 - late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). Q17,3.
68. F.36. Q18,4.
69. F.23. Q17,4.
70. F.36. Q17,4.

Flat rimmed bowls/pie dishes

71. F.15. *Verulamium* 711, AD 130-50 (Frere 1972) Q17,3
72. F.15. Q17,3.
73. F.15. 39 in Gillam 1976, mid-late 2nd century. Q17,3.

Bowls

74. F.20. Q17,4.
75. F.4. Q26,4.
76. F.36. Towcester Park Street 112, AD 140 - late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). Q13,3.

Vessels imitating samian forms

77. F.8. Q17,4.
78. F.8. Q17,4.
79. F.36. *Verulamium* 532, AD 105-30 (Frere 1972) Q17,4.

Beakers

80. F.2. Q26,4.
81. F.1. Greyish exterior. Q17,3.

Flagons

82. F.36. Q13,3.
83. F.41. Q17,4.
84. F.36. Q15,4.

*B. Levels sealed by Roman town rampart**Jars and cooking pots*

85. F.18. T1, UIRF 5f.
86. F.41. T1, UIRF 5f.
87. F.20. T1, RF5.

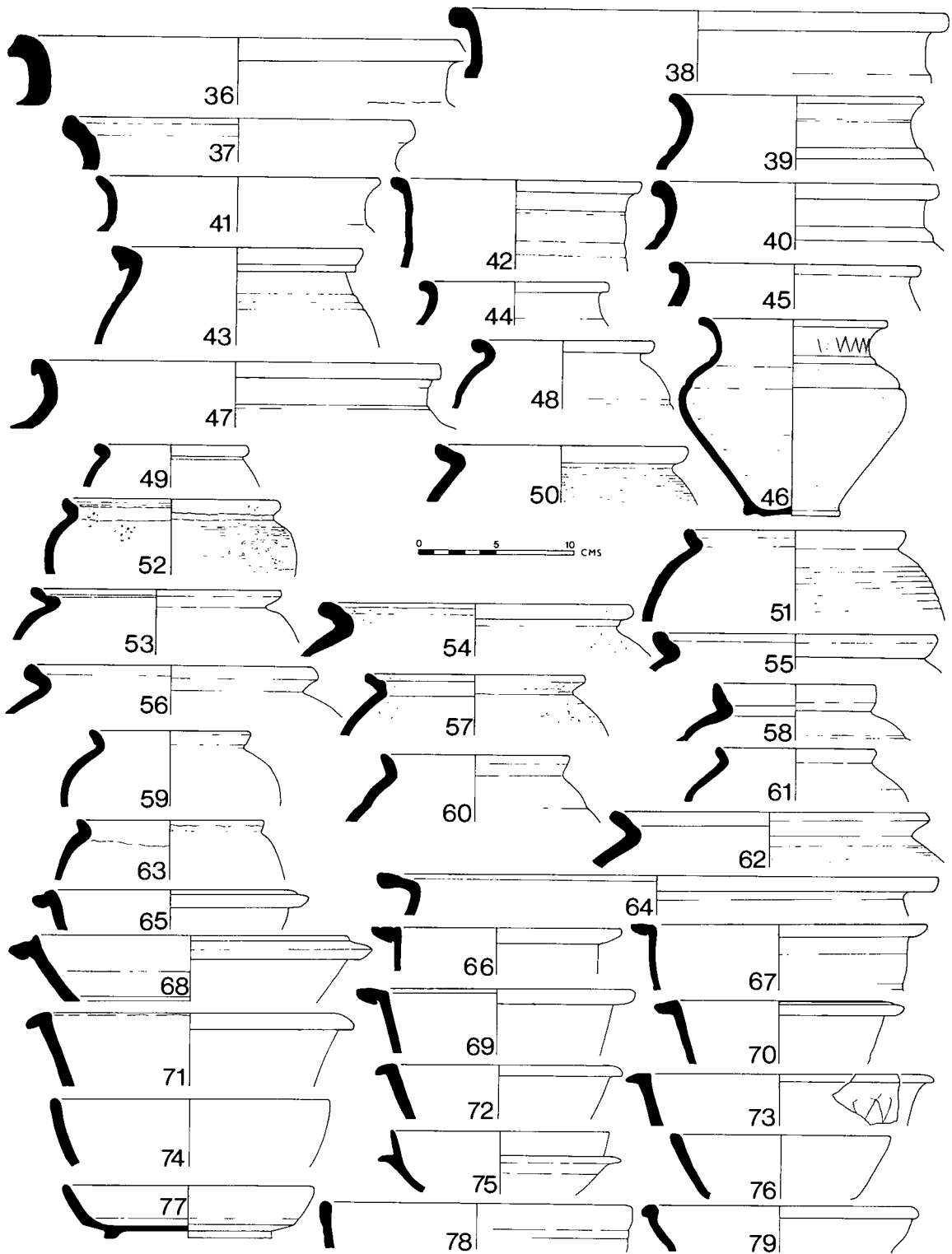


Fig 10 Towcester Grammar School: pottery from Phase 2, occupation outside the town defences (¼)

- 88. F.15. T1, UIRF 5f.
- 89. F.35b. Q10,4.
- 90. F.1. T1, UIRF 5f.
- 91. F.15. 2 in Gillam 1976, mid 2nd century. Q10,4.
- 92. F.15. 1 in Gillam 1976, early-mid 2nd century. T1, UIRF 5f.

Channel rimmed jar

- 93. F.22. Towcester Park Street 92, AD 140 - late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). T1, RF5.

Wide mouthed bowl

- 94. F.20. Mileoak 90, AD 140-160 (Green and Draper 1978). Q10,4.

Reeded rim bowl

- 95. F.23. T1, RF5.
- Flat rimmed bowls/pie dishes*
- 96. F.36. T2,3d.
- 97. F.20. Q10,4.

Plain rimmed bowl

- 98. F.15. 75 in Gillam 1976, early mid-2nd century. T1, UIRF 5f.

Beakers

- 99. F.1. Rouletted. Towcester Park Street 140, AD 140 - late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). T1, UIRF 5f.
- 100. F.1. Rough cast. *Ibid* 154, AD 140 - late 2nd century. T1 UIRF 5f.

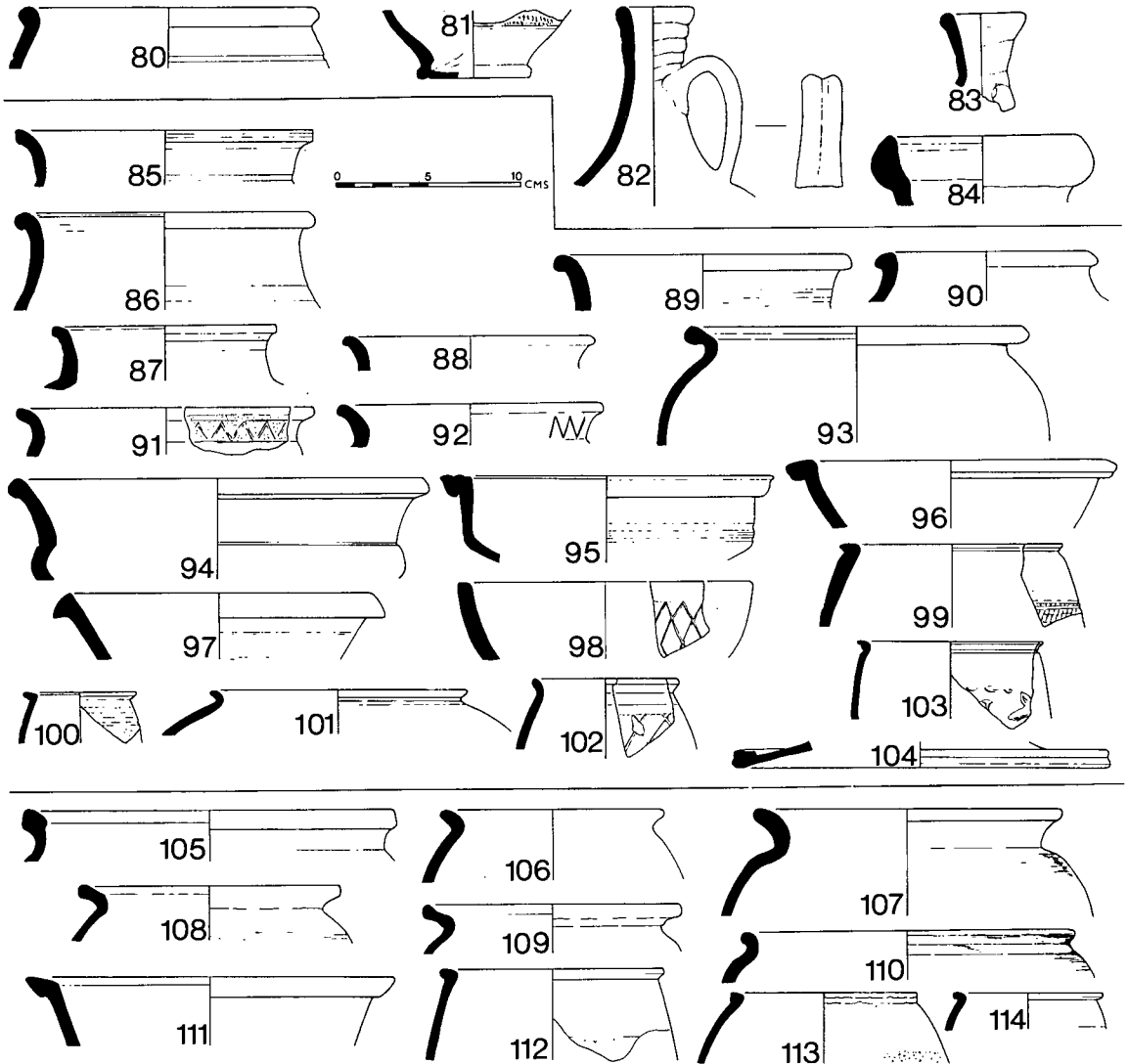


Fig 11 Towcester Grammar School: pottery from Phase 2, occupation outside the town defences (80-84); levels sealed by town rampart (85-104); from within the defences (105-114) (¼)

101. F.20. Mileoak 83, AD 140-60 (Green and Draper 1978). T1, RF5.
 102. F.18. *Verulamium* 856, AD 150-55/60 (Frere 1972) T1, RF5.
 103. F.14 (c) Cornice rim and barbotine decoration of early type (Anderson 1981) c AD 120-160. Q10,4.

Lid

104. F.20. T2, 3d.

C. Levels within the town defences

Jars and cooking pots

105. Hard dark brown sandy fabric, thick dark grey core Q3,3b.

106. F.1. Q3,3.

107. F.15. 121 in Gillam 1968 AD 125-60. Q3,3b.

Channel rimmed jars

- 108-9. F.22. Q3,3b

Cooking pot with short rim

110. F.15. 30 in Gillam 1976, early-mid 2nd century. T2, 2a lower.

Flat rimmed bowl

111. F.17. T1, IRS 4.

Beakers

112. F.1. Rough cast. Q3,3b.

113. F.1. Rough cast. Metallic light grey-brown exterior Q3,3b.

114. F.1. Q3,3b.

PHASE 3

A. Incorporated in town rampart

Large jar

115. F.35a. T1, UIRF 5a.

Channel rimmed jar

116. F.1. T1, UIRF 4.

117. F.35a. T1, UIRF 4.

118. F.36. Black exterior. T1, UIRF 4.

Cooking pot with short rim

119. F.15. 117 in Gillam 1968, AD 125-50. T1, UIRF 4.

Flat rimmed bowls/pie dishes

120. F.21. Burnished exterior and top of rim. T1, UIRF 4.

121. F.15. *Verulamium* 972, late 2nd century (Frere 1972) T1, UIRF 4.

Bowls

122. F.17. T1, UIRF 4.

123. F.20. Burnished bands. T1, UIRF 4.

Beakers

124. F.36. T1, UIRF 4.

125. F.15. 19 in Gillam 1976, early-mid 2nd century. T2, Well 4.

Lid

126. F.23. T1, UIRF 5a.

Flagon

127. F.36. T2, Well 4.

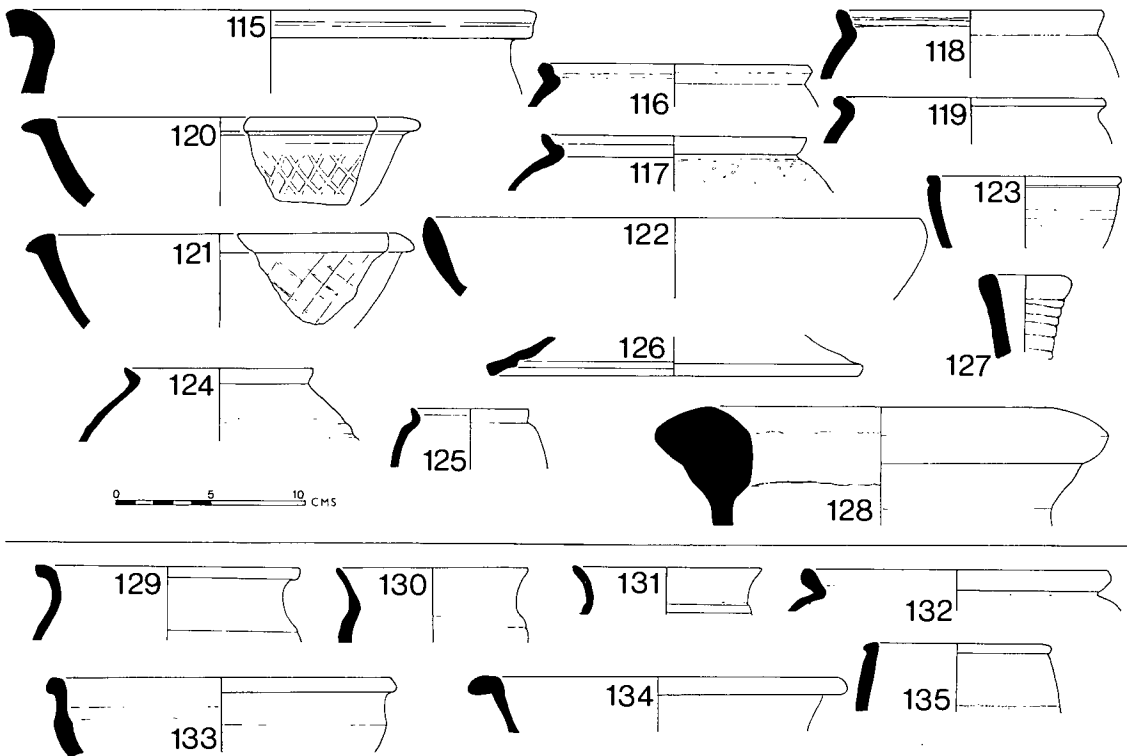


Fig 12 Towcester Grammar School: pottery from Phase 3, incorporated in town rampart (115-128); in clay spread over Phase 2 levels outside the defences (129-135) (¼)

Amphora

128. F.45. Towcester Park Street 68, 140 - late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). T1, UIRF 4.

B. Incorporated in clay spread over Phase 2 occupation levels outside town ditch

129. F.22. Q15,3.

130. F.18. T4,3.

131. F.23. Q16,3.

Channel rimmed jar

132. F.22. Q16,3.

Bowl

133. F.36. Q16,3.

Flat rimmed bowl/pie dish

134. F.36. Towcester Park Street 148, AD 140 - late 2nd century (Lambrick 1980). Q15,3.

Beaker

135. F.9. Greyish interior. Q16,3.

PHASE 4

A. Beam slots, earlier timber building

Cooking pot with short rim

136. F.15. 33 in Gillam 1976 — mid-late 3rd century Q7,6.

Flanged bowl

137. F.12. Buff fabric, brown/black colour coat. Wakerley 5, first half 4th century (Jackson and Ambrose 1978). Q7,6.

B. Beam slots, later timber building

Necked jars/cooking pots

138-9. F.44 (c) Both are 4th century types e.g. Wakerley 99. Constantinian (*ibid*). Q3,4a

140. F.33. Q3,4a.

Large bowl

141. F.35b. Q3,4a.

Flat rimmed bowl/pie dish

142. F.1. Rough cast and burnished. Q3,4a.

Flanged bowl

143. F.13. Q4,3.

Other bowls

144. F.3. Q3,4a

145. F.13. Young 1977, C.75, AD 325-400 plus. Q4,3.

Beaker

146. F.1. Q4,3.

PHASE 5

A. Levels contemporary with occupation of stone building

Cooking pots and jars

147. F.44(c) Common 4th century types: Irchester 55 -50. (Knight 1967). Q2,3b.

151. F.33. T1, MIRS 5a.

152. Grey: coarse sand grains visible, burnished. Q2,3b.

Bowls

153. F.13. Young 1977, C52, AD 350-400 plus. Q2,3b.

154. F44(c). T1, MIRS 5a.

155. F.18. T1, LMIRF 4a.

B. Pits contemporary with timber and stone buildings

Cooking pots and necked jars

156-7. F.44(c) T3,3.

158. F20. *Verulamium* 1156. AD 310/15 (Frere 1972) Burnished. T3,3.

159. F.13. Young 1977, C16, AD 270-400. T3,3.

Bowl with reeded rim

160. F.1. Burnished inside and out. Q8,4.

Flanged bowls

161. F.44(c). Common 4th century type: Irchester 65 (Knight 1967). T3,3.

162. F.13. Young 1977, C51, AD 240-400 plus. T3,3.

163-4. Coarse cream fabric, metallic brown colour coat T3,3.

Plain rimmed bowl

165. F.12a. Very hard cream/grey fabric, black metallic colour coat. Q8,4.

Other bowls

166. F.13. Young 1977, C83 AD 300-400 plus. T3,3.

167. F.13. Young 1977 C45. AD 270-400 plus. T3,3.

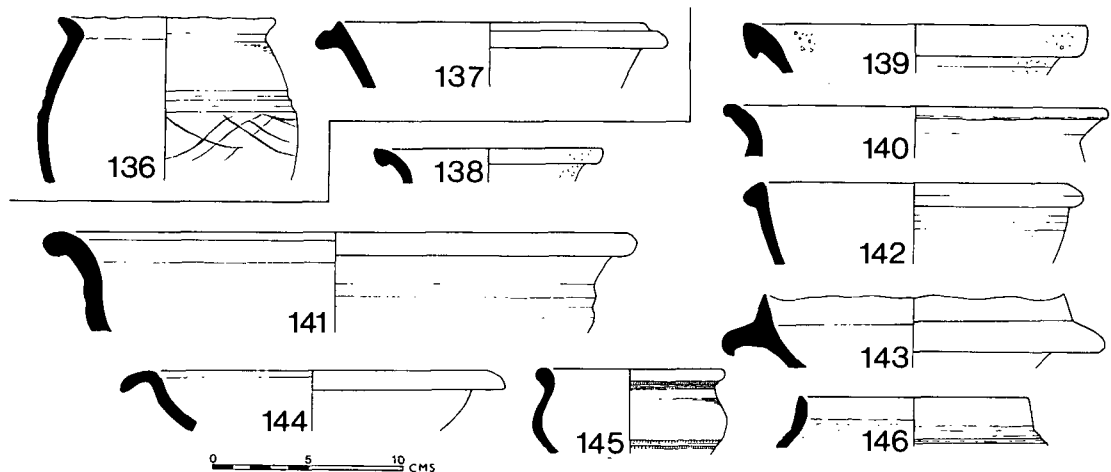


Fig 13 Towcester Grammar School: pottery from Phase 4, earlier timber building (136-7); later timber building (138-146) (¼)

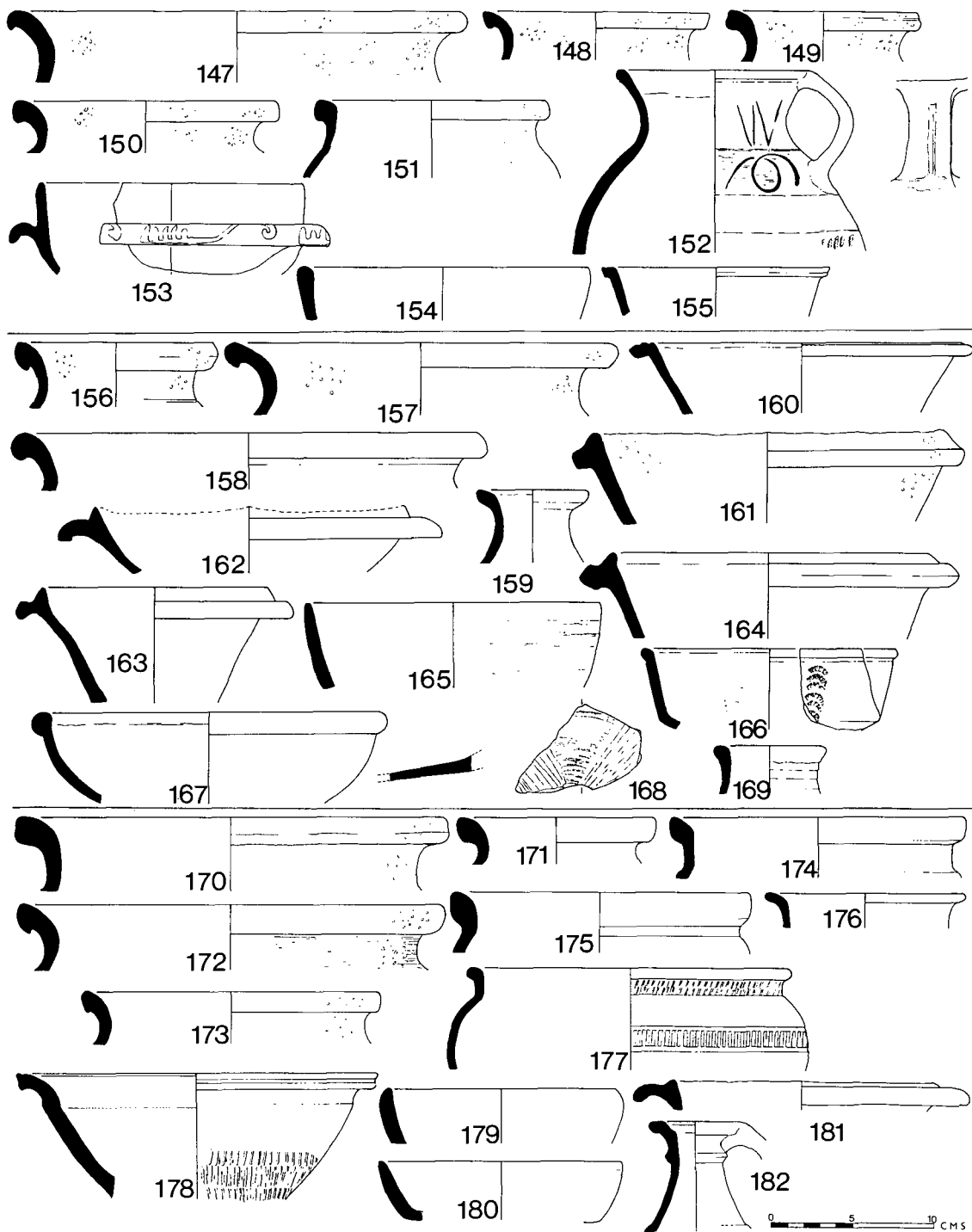


Fig 14 Towcester Grammar School: pottery from Phase 5, levels contemporary with occupation of stone building (147-55); from pits (156-169); from collapse levels of stone building 170-182 (¼)

TABLE 2 Analysis by sherd count of pottery fabrics by Phase
(Estimated vessel counts in brackets)

FABRIC	PHASE 1	PHASE 2 (outside defences)	PHASE 2 (below defences)	PHASE 2 (inside defences)*	PHASE 3	PHASE 4(a)	PHASE 4(b)	PHASE 5 (occupation)	PHASE 5 (collapse levels)	PHASE 6	PHASE 7	PHASE 8	PHASE 9	
1	1(1)	14(2)	91(22)	66(19)	69(11)	6(1)	33(9)	37(10)	49(13)	9(1)	7(1)	51(3)	28(5)	461(98)
2		1	1(1)	1	1(1)						1			5(2)
3	2(2)		3	1	1		1(1)		1		1			10(3)
4	1(1)	2(1)			1		1							5(2)
7													2(1)	2(1)
8	6(4)	3(3)		1(1)				1(1)		1			2	10(8)
9		7(1)	1	3(1)	3(1)							2		46(2)
10				1(1)										3(1)
12a				35(9)*	1(1)	4(1)	12(1)	100(16)	86(13)	7(1)	11(6)	31(4)	18(2)	305(54)
12b								1(1)						1(1)
13				18(4)*			12(1)	56(14)	62(12)	2	7(2)	11(3)	11(1)	179(37)
14c			4(3)	1(1)										5(4)
14f				2(2)	1(1)								1(1)	4(4)
14g	3(1)	1(1)												4(2)
14h												1(1)		1(1)
15	13(4)	16(4)	51(7)	42(12)	20(5)	5(3)	12(3)	12(5)	29(8)	8(3)	9(3)	17(4)	31(1)	265(62)
17	1(1)		1	1(1)	1(1)	1	1	3	8(1)	3		10	18	47(3)
18	9(2)	10(1)	18(1)	21(6)	21(1)		2	12(4)	4	1		16(4)	7	121(19)
19	4(1)	36(6)	7	7(1)	5(1)	1	2	2(1)	4(2)	1	1		1	71(12)
20	189(12)	232(39)	147(7)	212(16)	37(4)	3	104(16)	116(13)	184(29)	61(3)	64(11)	183(26)	119(17)	1599(185)
21			1(1)		1(1)			5(1)	5	2		12(3)	4(1)	30(7)

FABRIC	PHASE 1	PHASE 2 (outside defences)	PHASE 2 (below defences)	PHASE 2 (inside defences)*	PHASE 3	PHASE 4(a)	PHASE 4(b)	PHASE 5 (occupation)	PHASE 5 (collapse levels)	PHASE 6	PHASE 7	PHASE 8	PHASE 9
22	77(15)	48(9)	59(7)	129(16)	11-4(9)	4(17)	11(1)	11(2)	17(1)	13(4)	31(2)	47(3)	34(5)
23	8(3)	10(5)	8(2)	10(3)	2		1(1)	1	2(1)		1(1)		2(1)
24	44(9)	10(2)	27	35(2)	20(3)		1(1)	11(1)	13(1)	14(6)	6(1)	25(7)	17(2)
26	1(1)	2		7(1)	10(1)	3		8(1)	6(1)	1	5(2)	22(3)	8(2)
27								1				1(1)	2(1)
28				1(1)									1(1)
30								12(3)	9(1)				2
33		4(2)	3	12(5)	6(1)	6(1)	2(1)	35(1)	9(1)	1	1	4	5
34	2	8(2)	10(2)	14(4)	3	1(1)			2(1)				88(12)
35a	112(23)	240(17)	71	91(6)	63(4)	8(2)	16(2)	52(1)	44(6)	22(2)	31(2)	35(4)	67(8)
35b	69(6)	94(5)	39(2)	45(4)	49(3)	4	11(1)	35(2)	55(4)	4	9	15(2)	77(6)
36	331(43)	432(67)	31(3)	65	37(8)	2(1)	1(1)	7(1)	1(1)	1	94(6)	20(1)	45(3)
40				1(1)*	1	1		1	3(1)		1		1(1)
41	13(1)	34(5)	29(2)	29(4)	18(2)	5	5	11	40(3)	31(3)	4(2)	9(1)	29(2)
42	42(12)	38(9)	13	28(3)	49(5)		4	14	3(1)	2	8(2)	26(4)	26(3)
43				1(1)*								1	2(1)
44a	16(1)	13	9	5	9	1			4		1(1)		6
44b	1(1)	2		1	5(1)				1		1		11(2)
44c	7(1)	8	25	138(16)	19(1)	9	30(2)	213(11)	215(22)	18(3)	34(1)	100(6)	94(5)
45	15(3)	55	11	15(1)	10	4	3	6(1)	8(2)	2	4	5	5(1)
Undifferentiated grey ware													
	292(48)	124(24)			12(4)								
Misc	5(4)	4(4)	7(3)	16(15)	16(9)	2(2)	3(3)	10(6)	8(7)		6(3)	15(5)	11(7)
	1264	1448	670	1054	632	70	216	773	873	204	338	659	672
													8873(1218)

* The pottery in this group shows considerable contamination from later levels.

Lid

168. F.1. Burnished. Q8,4.

*Beaker*169. F.12a. Coarse cream fabric, brown/black metallic colour coat. *Verulamium* theatre 22, 4th century (Kenyon 1935). Q8,4.*C. Collapse levels stone building**Large jar*

170. F.44(c). T1, LIRS 3/4.

Cooking pots and jars

171-3. F.44(c). Q3,2.

174. F.12a. Light grey fabric metallic blue/black colour coat. Q3,2.

175. F.12a. Yellowish buff fabric, metallic brown colour coat. Q3,2.

176. F.1. Burnished. T1, LIRS 3/4.

Wide mouthed bowl

177. F.13. Young 1977, C75 AD 325-400 plus. Q3,2.

Shallow dish

178. F.13. Young 1977, C50 AD 325-400 plus. Q3,2.

*Plain rimmed dishes*179. F.12a. Cream fabric light brown colour coat. Howe *et al* 1981, 87, 4th century. T1, LIRS 3.

180. F.30. T1, LIRS 3.

181. F.13. Young 1977, C51 AD 240-400 plus. Q3,2.

Flagon

182. F.12a. Buff fabric, light brown colour coat. Q3,2.

Face urn fragments

183. F.36. Ditch 4, Phase 7; residual.

184. F.36. Fragment. T1, MIRS 5a, Phase 5; residual.

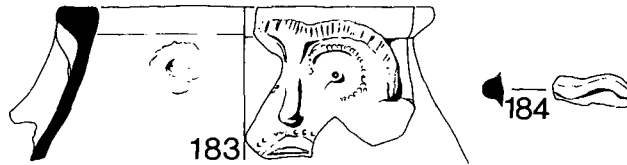


Fig 15 Towcester Grammar School: face urn fragments (1/4)

MEDIEVAL AND POST MEDIEVAL POTTERY AND TILES (FIG 16)

As far as possible this list has been compiled using the fabric type series established for Northampton (McCarthy 1979; Gryspeerdt 1979 and 1982). The assistance of Mary Gryspeerdt and Dennis Mynard is gratefully acknowledged.

The following fabric types were identified; Table 3 shows how the 374 sherds are distributed by phase and fabric.

1. St Neots ware, Northampton T1, c AD 850-1100 and its derivative T1-2. A small group including a base and the rim of a cooking pot (1; from Q2, 2b, Phase 7) paralleled in 10th/11th century contexts on St Peters Street, Northampton (McCarthy 1979, 29 and 484), comes from a medieval layer which overlies the possible heightening of the rampart in AD 917. Since the pottery from the Phase 7 structure (Q7, 2 and 3) consists of a mixture of Northampton T1 (3,5,8) and T1-2 wares (2,4) a date in the 12th century is to be preferred for the building.
2. Black surfaces, plentiful calcareous inclusions, hard and rough, Northampton T11, c AD 1100-1300. No.6, Q 7,3, Phase 7.
3. Medium brown surfaces (7.5 YR 4/2), dark grey core, many black inclusions, rough pimply surface, a local type probably, not appearing at Northampton. ? 12th century. One cooking pot rim only, residual in Trench 1, Ditch 3, Phase 8 (7).
4. Hard black sandy, white quartz grains, Northampton V5, later 10th-11th century at Chalk Lane, Northampton (Gryspeerdt 1982, 115).
5. Light grey (10 YR 5/1), pimply surface, much quartz tempering: similar to Torksey ware, 11th century. One bowl rim only (9), with squared rouletting along top and on inside; residual from Trench 1, Ditch 3, Phase 8.
6. Shelly wares, Northampton T2, c AD 1100-1400. No 10 is from Trench 1, Ditch 4, Phase 7.
7. Reddish buff/brown, contains sand and limestone, grey core, Northampton V1/V6, c AD 1100-1400.
8. Dark grey sandy, Northampton V3, c 1200-1450.
9. Hard reddish brown surfaces, grey core, Northampton V7, c AD 1100-1500.
10. Light brown sandy, green glaze, Northampton W11, c AD 1200-1500.
11. Brill type ware, Northampton W14, c 1250-1500.
12. Potterspurty type ware, Northampton W18, c 1250-1600. Overwhelmingly the commonest type. Six sherds are illustrated, all from Trench 1, Ditch 4, Phase 7. For the bowls, 11-13, see Lambrick 1980, FIG 30, 24 and Mynard 1970, 36, 37: 13th-14th century. The cooking pot (14) is Mynard type (a) (late 13th/early 14th century). The handle (15) resembles that in Mynard 1970, 13 and is of similar date. The bung (16) can be paralleled on the Mare-fair site in Northampton (Gryspeerdt 1979, FIG 13, 114) and is of 16th century date.
13. Reddish brown, grey core, sandy, brown glaze, Northampton W29, c AD 1350-1600.
14. Cistercian ware, Northampton X2a, c AD 1470-1550.
15. Midland black ware, Northampton X2b, c AD 1550-1700.

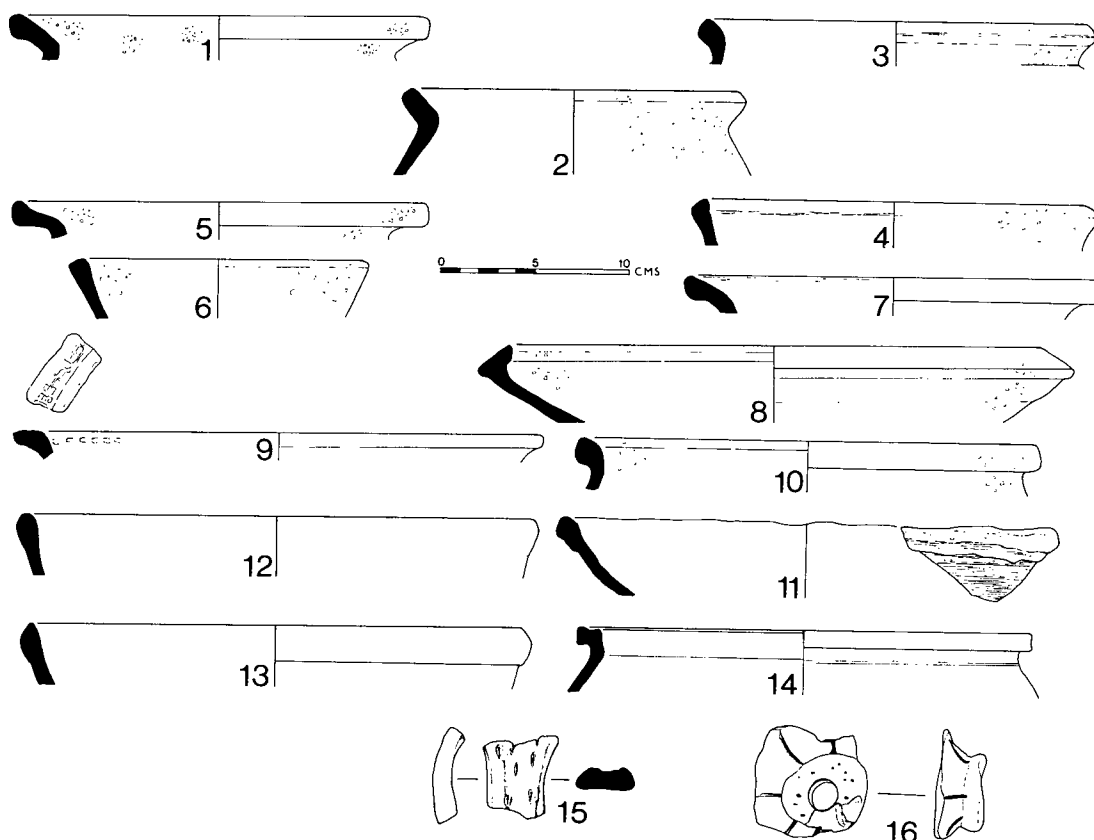


Fig 16 Towcester Grammar School: Medieval and Post-medieval pottery (¼)

16. Hard, fine textured sandy fabric, buff, brown/-yellow glaze. 17th-18th centuries. A harder, denser version belongs to the 19th century.
17. Black iron glazed ware, hard buff fabric, many coarse inclusions, surface a bright reddish brown where unglazed, 18th/19th centuries.
18. Salt glazed stoneware, 17th/18th centuries.
19. Staffordshire transfer printed ware, annular ware and willow pattern: 19th century.
20. Tiles. Very coarse, rough, hard, buff, sandy, laminated in section. 17th/18th centuries.

- (a) Imbrex tiles ranging in thickness from 9 to 18mm but falling mostly within the bracket 11-14mm.
- (b) Tegulae with flanges ranging in exterior height from 37 to 53mm but mostly within the 40-46mm bracket and with tile thicknesses spread between 14-18mm. The one example giving a complete length (1) is 319mm long. Flange tops are usually rounded and there is a broad but shallow groove where it meets the body of the tile (2). One flat fragment presumably from a tegula has the imprint of a dog's paw (3).
- (c) Voussoir flue (4).
2. Hard light buff/brown sandy (2.5 YR 7/2 - 2.5 YR 7/4), grey core, occasional large pieces of stone. Three fragments only in Phases 2 and 3 plus residual pieces in Phases 6 and 7. Resembles pottery Fabric 35b.
- (a) Tegula fragments ranging in thickness from 12-22mm, with a flange, with a rounded top, 150mm high on the outside.
- (b) Small fragment scored flue tile 18mm thick.
- (c) Voussoir flue (5).
3. Bright brick/reddish brown, 2.5 YR 7/6, sometimes with a grey core; often uniform, sandy. Common in Phase 1 (11) and 2 (19), residual thereafter.

ROMAN TILES AND BUILDING MATERIALS

1. Tiles (FIG 17)

The following broad fabric types were recognized:

1. Shell tempered. Dull light brown/buff, as pottery fabric 44(c), with reddish brown surface blotches, many small shell fragments visible on surface with occasional large pieces. ?Harrold, Bedfordshire. Six fragments occur securely stratified in Phases 2 and 3 but this fabric becomes dominant in Phase 5. The following tile types were recognized:

- (a) Tegulae with flanges 39mm high, flattish top, tile thickness within range 15-17mm (6).
- (b) Imbrex tiles 12-18mm in thickness, often with wavy line at end (7).
- (c) Building tiles 32-35mm thick.
- (d) Flue tiles, scored (8).
- 4. Very hard, harsh, dense dark reddish brown (5 YR 5/4) sometimes with a thick grey core. Six fragments in Phases 2 and 3, residual thereafter.
- (a) Imbrex tile 15mm thick.
- (b) Tegula flange 59mm high, top squared off, another 40mm high, tile 15-16mm thick.
- (c) Building tile 40mm thick.
- 5. Very rough, coarse, buff (2.5 YR 5/6), large fragments of stone and flint clearly visible. Two fragments of building tile 44mm thick from Phase 2.

2. *Tesserae*

Forty four tesserae were found, a few intrusive in layers of Phases 2 and 4 but overwhelmingly in deposits of Phase 5 (the stone building). They were very crude and irregular and fell into two broad size groups: roughly 20mm square and more or less rectangular ones some 30 x 40mm. They were cut from tile fabrics 1 (3), 2 (7), 3 (5), and 4 (29); it looks very much as if old tiles were used.

THE COINS

(identified by R A G Carson, British Museum)

- 1. Copper as, late 1st/early 2nd century, probably Hadrian (117-133). Quadrant 17, layer 3, Phase 2.
- 2. Magnus Maximus (383-388), *Spes Romanorum*, mint of Arles, *LRBC* 2, 560. Trench 1, LMIRF 4a, Phase 5.
- 3. Tetricus 1 (271-274), rev *Pax Aug*, *RIC* 100. Trench 6, layer 3, Phase 5.
- 4. Valens (364-378), *Securitas Reipublicae*, mint of Lyon, *LRBC* 2, 319. Trench 1, UIRF 3, Phase 6.
- 5. Illegible Roman coin, 3rd/4th century. Trench 1, Ditch 6, Phase 8.
- 6. Tetricus 1 (271-274), rev *Hilaritas Augg*. *RIC* 79. Trench 1, URF 3 b, Phase 9.
- 7. Gratian (367-383), *Gloria Novi Saeculi*, mint of Arles, *LRBC* 2, 517 ff. Quadrant 3, layer 2 b, Phase 9.
- 8. Domitian (81-96), dupondius, rev type uncertain. Quadrant 9, layer 2 b, Phase 5.
- 9. Probable imitation of late 4th century coin. Trench 3, unstratified.

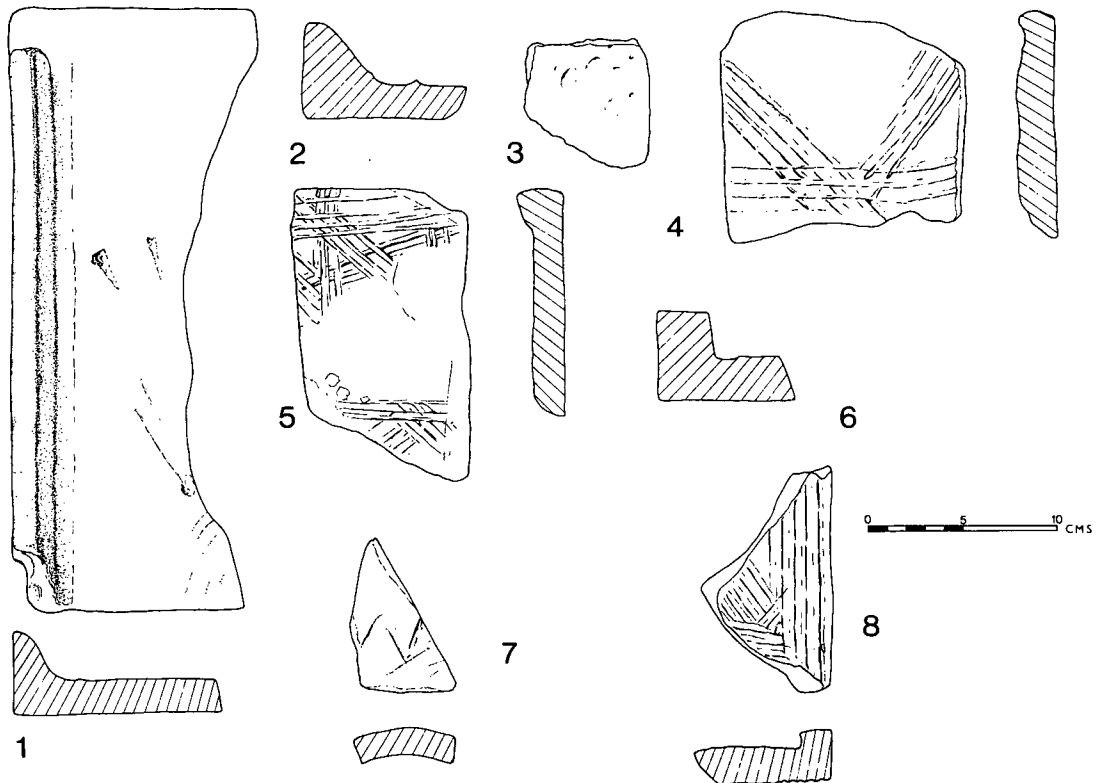


Fig 17 Towcester Grammar School: Roman tiles (¼)

TABLE 3 *Medieval and Post Medieval Pottery*
(minimum vessel totals in brackets)

PHASE	Fabric																					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
PHASE 2	1(1)										1(1)				2(1)	1(1)				5(4)		
PHASE 5	4(1)					1(1)		9(1)			3(3)	2(1)			3(1)			1(1)	1(1)	2(1)	26(11)	
PHASE 6							1(1)								1(1)					2(2)		
PHASE 7																						
PHASE 7 (a) Structure Q 7.2/3	17(4)	3(2)																			20(6)	
(b) Ditch 4 & 5b						11(1)	2(1)				62(8)										75(10)	
(c) Pits										1(1)	2(2)										3(3)	
(d) Elsewhere	7(1)			1(1)							1(1)	1(1)				1(1)				1(1)	13(7)	
PHASE 8	1(1)		1(1)	2(1)	1(1)	18(4)	13(4)	1(1)		1(1)	109(18)										147(32)	
PHASE 9																						
(a) Upper levels of town ditch						1(1)					2(1)				2(1)			1(1)			6(4)	
(b) Robber trenches	1(1)					9(4)	4(2)	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)	10(1)	1(1)			2(1)	6(1)	2(1)	2(1)	1(1)	3(1)	42(17)	
(c) Pits etc	2(1)			1(1)		3(1)			1(1)		6(1)		1(1)	1(1)	5(1)	2(1)		1(1)		12(1)	35(11)	
	33(10)	3(2)	1(1)	4(3)	1(1)	43(12)	21(9)	2(2)	10(2)	2(2)	3(3)	196(36)	3(2)	1(1)	15(6)	10(4)	5(4)	2(2)	18(4)	374(107)		

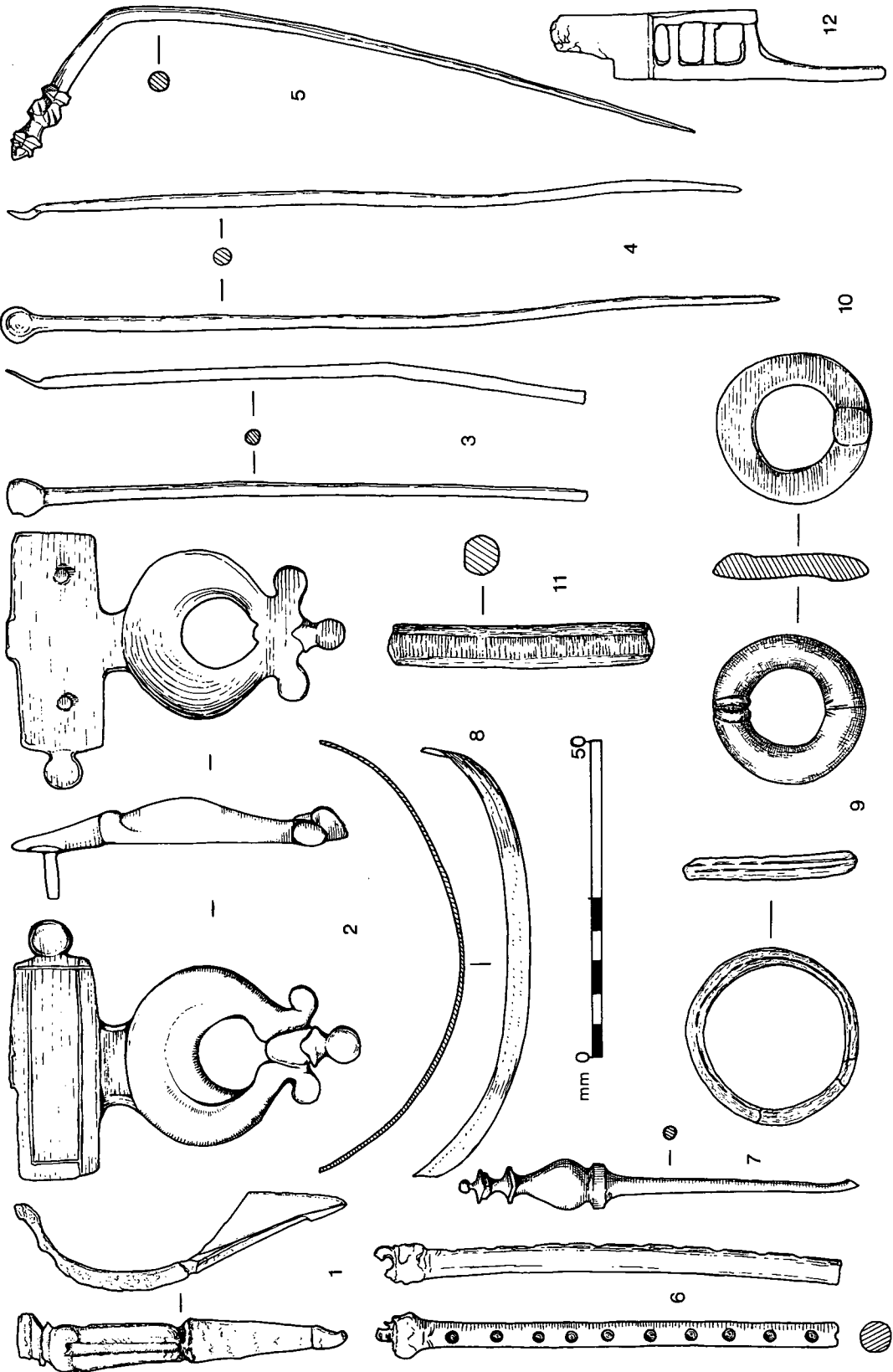


Fig 18 Towcester Grammar School: objects of copper alloy (1/1)

SMALL FINDS

Copper Alloy (FIG 18)

1. Hod Hill type brooch. Mr D F Mackreth writes:
In poor condition with much of the original surface now missing, the bow design falls into the usual two parts. The upper bow is stopped at top and bottom by a flute and a cross-moulding and has, between, a swelled front down the centre of which runs a deep flute with beaded borders. The lower bow is flat and tapers to what is left of a two part foot-knob. At the top of the flat surface are traces of a punched dot design.

There is little point in citing parallels as, by the time of the Conquest, the Hod Hill had fully evolved in all its many forms and was passing out of manufacture by c 50 AD. That very few were still in use by c 70 AD is shown by the small number of the type found in those parts of Britain taken into the Province from 72 AD. (T4,3, Phase 3)

2. Fragment of military equipment. Dr G Webster reports:

This object appears to be a pendant since there are two stout pins projecting 8mm from the rectangular panel at the top, with no obvious points of attachment below. The rectangular panel has carefully marked border lines and flat projecting knobs at each end, only one of which survives. There is a trace of a projection at the top but with a broken edge, probably for a loop. The lower element is lunate with out-curling terminals joined in the centre by a small panel with a round knob at the base.

There is a similar rectangular panel on a strange bronze from York, published with the Fremington Hagg hoard (Webster 1971 FIG 15, no 80). This example has marks on the panel which could be interpreted as the name of a centurion, but the letters make no sense as such. The Towcester panel appears to be plain, but the possibility remains that it is the kind of space suitable for the name of a centurion to be inserted and resembles the panels in stone, commonly bearing inscriptions (*cf RIB* 1107, 1347, 1358 etc). The lunate pattern is very common on military equipment; of the closest parallels with both panel and crescent, two come from Colchester, one of which is very similar (Webster 1960, FIG 4, no 70), and the other was found by Rosalind Niblett in the 1970 Sheepen excavations (No 72230 185 from Pit 132; report forthcoming); in this case, however, the large axis of the panel is vertical and the simple crescent has loops at each end for suspending smaller pendants. More elaborate forms have been found at Saham Toney, Norfolk (report forthcoming), and Novaesium (Taf xxxiv, No 27). In both these examples there is a small inverted crescent attached to the top end of the panel, which indicates what may have been lost on the Towcester pendant.

The pendant has been well made but there is no obvious indication of tinning. It is a piece of mid-first century equipment but whether these things come from infantry or cavalry units is not clear from the objects themselves or from the contexts of the

discoveries, but clearly from Towcester, the object is residual in a second century deposit. (T2, 3d, Phase 2)

3. Unguent spoon (Q3, 3, Phase 2)
4. Unguent spoon (T1, LMIRS 3X, Phase 5)
5. Pin (T1, LMIRS 3X, Phase 5)
6. Pin (Q3, 4, Phase 2)
7. Pin (Q3, 2, Phase 5)
8. Bracelet (T1, LMIRS 3X, Phase 5)
9. Brooch, medieval. London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue*, Pl LXXVII, 1. (Q10, 3, Phase 9)
10. Penannular brooch, Roman (Q17, 4, Phase 2)
11. Bronze bar (Q3, 3, Phase 2)
12. Lock (Q7, 6, Phase 4)
13. (unill) Fragment of binding (T1, RF2, Phase 8)
14. (unill) Tiny fragments corroded bronze sheet (T2, W3, Phase 3)

Iron (FIG 19)

15. Wedge or chisel (Q17, 3, Phase 2)
16. Knife (Q3, 4a, Phase 4)
17. Object of uncertain use (Q17, 4, Phase 2)
18. Spur, 13th-14th century. London Museum *Medieval Catalogue* type BB7. (Q17, unstratified)
19. Tanged arrowhead, Roman or medieval type: Bushe-Fox 1949, PL 60, 329; within the range of types 17-20, London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue*, 70, (T2, 2b, Phase 9)
20. Socketed arrowhead, Roman or early medieval: Bushe-Fox 1949, PL 59, 290; London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue*, FIG 16, 1 (T1, Ditch 3, Phase 8)
21. Nail, type 2 (Manning 1974, 173) (Q2, 3b, Phase 5)
22. Nail similar to 21 (Q3, 4, Phase 2)
23. (unill). Group of 4 small nails, Type 1, largest 61mm long, shank 5mm thick, head 16mm across (Q17, 4, Phase 2)

Lead (FIG 20)

24. Pilgrim badge. Mr Brian Spencer writes:
This leaden hat-badge, measuring 32 x 22mm and having a pin and clasp cast in one piece with it, shows the Virgin Mary at the foot of the Cross with the dead Christ in her lap. Now generally called a Pieta, this subject went by the more appealing name of Our Lady of Pity in medieval England. It was a concept that grew naturally out of the Descent from the Cross and contrasted poignantly with the ubiquitous figures of the Virgin with the infant Christ on her knee. It was also a subject that presented such daunting problems of composition and proportion that probably Michelangelo alone, in his Pieta in St Peter's, Rome, was entirely successful in resolving them.

The badge is a far cry from Michelangelo, being a cheap devotional trinket of the sort mass-produced for the medieval tourist trade and commemorating almost certainly, a pilgrimage to a particular image of Our Lady of Pity. Such images were known in England by c 1350 and during the fifteenth century the subject was widely used for wall and glass paintings as well as for free-standing statues. By 1450 alabaster figures of the Pieta appear among the

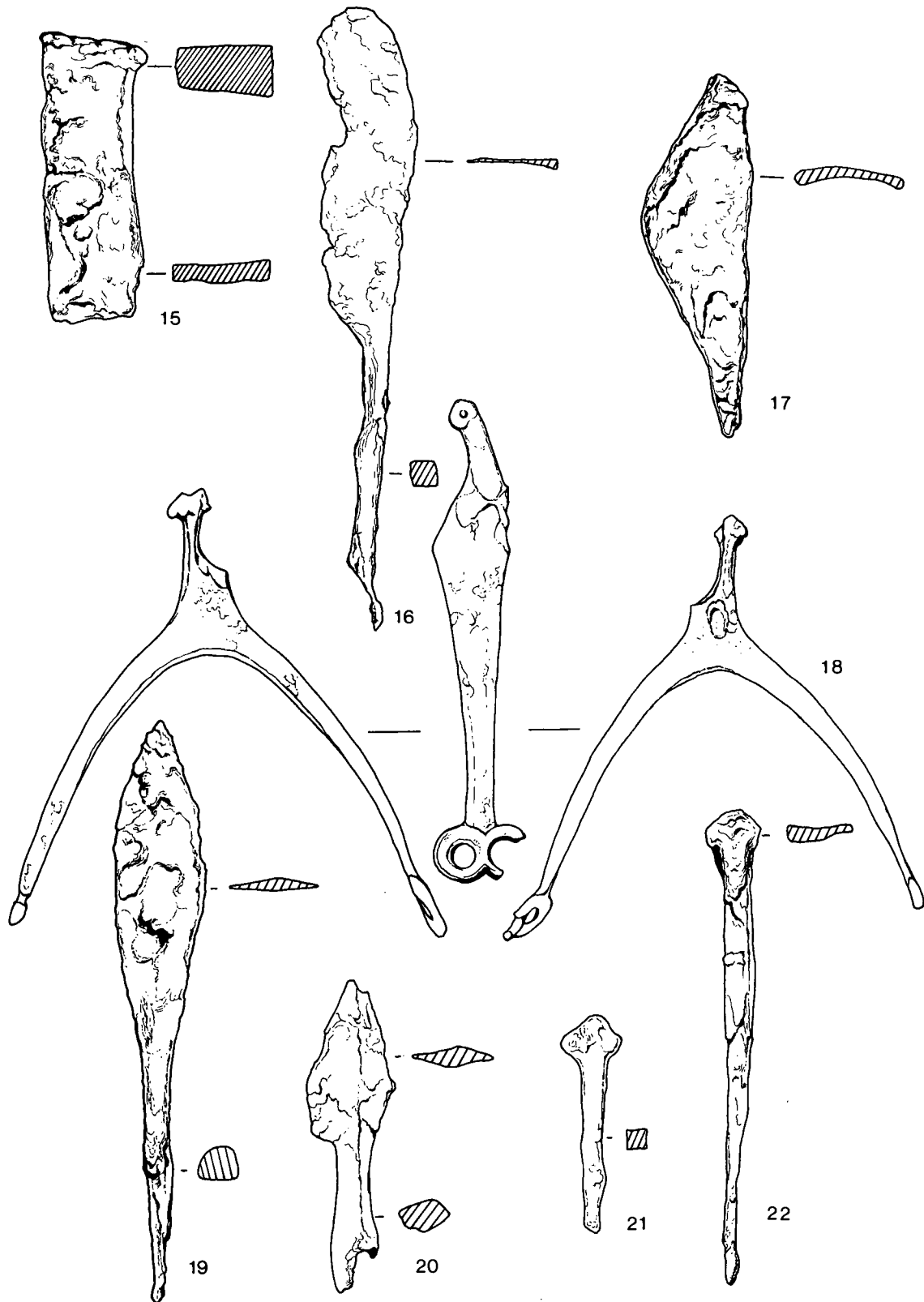


Fig 19 Towcester Grammar School: iron objects (nos 15-18, 21-22 ½; nos 19-20 1/1)

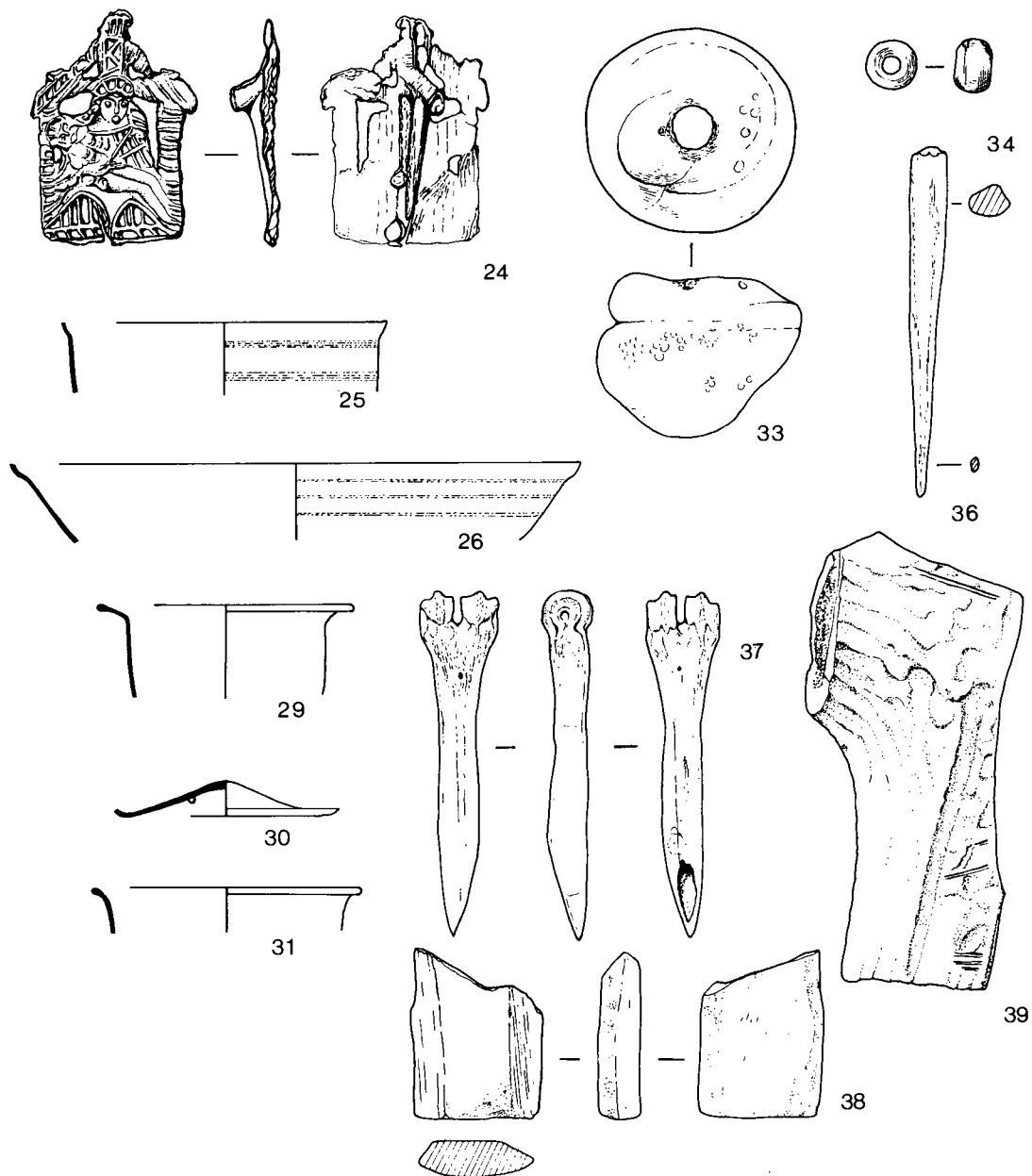


Fig 20 Towcester Grammar School: objects of lead, glass, bone and antler (nos 25-31, 37 and 39 1/2: rest 1/1)

possessions of the well-to-do and growing numbers of testators willed that candles should burn before Our Lady of Pity in their respective parish churches. It was inevitable that some images would gain a reputation for miraculous virtues and bring a rush of pilgrims from the neighbourhood and perhaps beyond. The badge from Towcester is likely to be the souvenir of such a local pilgrimage that came briefly

into fashion about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Support for this suggestion comes from the discovery of a very similar badge in the Beauchamp Chapel at St Mary's Warwick(5). This badge is slightly more complete than its companion from Towcester in that the ribbed pillars flanking the Virgin and supporting the triangular canopy above

her are still topped by their crocketed finials. The circumstances in which the badge was found, beneath the timber platform of the medieval stalls, are perhaps to be taken as further testimony that pilgrim badges were occasionally put to magical use by the building trades(6) and, since work on the chapel's stalls seems to have been undertaken in the 1450s, as corroboration that the badge belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century. Apart from the two souvenirs from Warwick and Towcester, however, no other evidence has yet come to light to suggest the likely whereabouts of the attraction that they commemorated(7).

This situation is interestingly paralleled in central Germany. Here, following a widespread practice that was also magical in purpose, bell-founders frequently incorporated pilgrim badges in the moulds of bells and thereby produced facsimiles of the badges on the bells themselves. A type of pilgrim sign depicting the Pieta that is stylistically akin to the Towcester badge is reproduced on bells in six different places in northern Hesse and Thuringia. Five bells bear dates between 1470 and 1475 and the sixth was cast in 1504. The replicas of the badges that appear on them are labelled with the place-name 'Wylarhusen', now Willerhausen, a small village to the east of Kassel, and to that extent they are more helpful than their unincised English counterparts from Towcester and Warwick. Yet these likenesses of pilgrim souvenirs preserved by bell-founders are also virtually the only evidence for the existence of a church at Willerhausen, let alone a miracle-working Pieta that was venerated by pilgrims from the surrounding region during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century(8). (Q14, unstratified)

Glass (FIG 21)

Miss Jennifer Price reports:

Thirty five fragments of glass were found, twenty nine of which were from vessels; in addition, there were five pieces of blown window glass. Most of the glass dated from the 4th century AD, though three pieces came from 1st or 2nd century bottles. All the 4th century vessels represented are cups or bowls, with the exception of one fragment from the pouring spout of a jug, and are made in the yellowish green or greenish bubbly glass commonly used for late Roman ordinary, everyday vessels.

25. Fragment of cup, slightly curved rim, edge cracked off and smoothed, cylindrical upper body. Bands of abraded lines below rim and on upper body. Pale greenish colourless. Present ht. 20mm; rim diameter 90mm; thickness 0.8mm (Q2, 3b, Phase 5)
26. Fragment of segmental bowl; strongly curved rim, edge cracked off and smoothed, slightly convex curved upper body tapering inwards. Three bands of abraded lines on body. Pale yellowish green. Present ht. 22mm; rim diameter c 160mm; thickness 1mm. (T1, LMIRF 4a; another similar fragment from LMIRS 3X, Phase 5)
27. Five body fragments (unill) of greenish, greenish colourless and yellowish green conical cups and seven (four joining) fragments of yellowish green or

pale green barrel shaped cups. (T1, LMIRF 4a, LMIRS 3X, Q2, 3b, all Phase 5)

28. Six fragments (unill) of yellow-green cups or bowls (Q3, 4a (Phase 4), T1, LMIRF 4a, Q2, 3b (Phase 5), Q4, 2b (Phase 9)).

Cups and bowls of these forms are very frequently found on 4th century sites in the north western provinces of the Roman empire (Isings, 1957, Forms 106, 116-7), and fragments have been noted on many sites in Roman Britain, such as Portchester (Harden 1975, 369-71, FIGS 197-8, nos 1, 9-12), Bradwell Roman villa, Milton Keynes (Price 1975, 12-3, FIG 33, 5-6, 8-9), Frocester Court Roman villa, Glos (Price, 1980, 41-2, FIG 16, 8-12, 15), and Shakenoak Roman villa, Oxon (Harden 1973, 102-4, FIG 52, 209-10, 216, 221, 225).

29. Two fragments from cup or bowl, everted rim with fire rounded edge, nearly cylindrical side with slight convex curve. Yellowish green. Present ht. 27mm; rim diameter 70mm; thickness 1-1.5mm (Q2, 4, Phase 2 inside defences).
30. Fragment from cup or bowl, junction with side, concave base with high central kick and pontil wad. Yellowish green. Present ht 10mm; base diameter c 60mm; thickness 1-2.5mm (Q2, 4, Phase 2 inside defences).
31. Fragment from cup or bowl, slightly everted rim with fire rounded edge and cylindrical upper body. Pale greenish. Present ht. 13mm; rim diameter 74mm; thickness 1mm (T1, FDT, Phase 9).

Vessels with fire rounded rims do not occur very frequently on late Roman sites until the 4th century AD, but they become more common in late 4th century contexts, being used on a variety of cup and small bowl forms. Such rims have been noted at all the Romano-British sites listed in connexion with nos 25 and 26, above, but perhaps the most important group of late Roman glassware showing fire rounded rims is the one found in a pit at Burgh Castle, which has been dated to the late 4th or very early 5th century AD (Harden 1978, 2, PL.1, A).

32. Fragment from jug (?), part of curved trefoil mouth with fire rounded edge. Pale yellowish green. Dimensions 28 x 14mm; thickness 1mm. Too little of this vessel survives for precise identification of its form to be possible, but it may come from a late Roman jug with shaped pouring spout, as such vessels are known in later 4th century contexts in the Rhineland (Isings 1957, Form 124) (T1, LMIRS 3X, Phase 5).

Beads

33. Large green bead (Q12, unstratified).
34. Small blue glass biconical bead. Of the type described by Guido 1978, 97, FIG 37, 2; mostly late Roman (T1, LMIRS, 3X, Phase 5).
35. (unill). Small five sided dark green glass bead. This example, though squatter than most polygonal beads, and from Phase 2, belongs to a group of green glass beads which were most popular during the late Roman period (Guido 1978, 96-7, FIG 37, 8). (Q17, 3).

Bone and Antler (FIG 19)

36. Pin (T1, LMIRS 3X, Phase 5).
37. Pointed tool made from sheep metacarpal (T4, 4, Phase 1).
38. Piece shaped bone (Q2, 3b, Phase 5).
39. Fragment of antler with piece sawn off (Q4, 4, Phase 4).

HUMAN BONES

By Cristine Orr and Dr A S Loughton

(a) *Skull from Quadrant 2, 3b, Phase 5*

Sex: Female Age: About 30 years

This cranium has rather large mastoid processes, and the upper margins of the orbits are round; these are male features. But the cranium is small, and the rest of the features are of the female sex, so this was probably a female cranium.

All molar teeth except one had been lost before death and the cavities healed on the right, and in the process of healing on the left side. The left lateral incisor was lost before death and the cavity healed. All the rest of the teeth were probably present at death, though only one tooth and a root are left in the jaw. There are signs that this individual might have suffered from abscesses.

There are marks on the left parietal bone, which look as though they were caused by a sharp instrument, and are not of recent origin.

(b) *Other bones*

There were four human skull fragments from the collapse level of the stone building, Quadrant 7, 4, Phase 5.

ANIMAL BONES

By Cristine Orr

The few animal bones were mostly very fragmentary. There were bones of sheep, cow and dog from Phase 2 and cow, sheep, horse, deer and hare from Phase 3. From the filling of the well in Trench 2 (Well 3) were the complete skeleton of a dog and bones from two cow carcasses. Phases 4 and 5 produced cow and sheep bones respectively. There were horse and sheep bones from Ditch 6, Phase 8.

The scale and nature of the excavation did not allow quantitative analysis to be undertaken.

DISCUSSION

An early military phase?

In the Roman period Towcester lay at the junction of several roads. Not only did the important artery of Watling Street pass directly through it, but a road is known to have linked the place with the town of Alchester in Oxfordshire. Another, hitherto undiscovered, can fairly be presumed to have joined Towcester with the Nene valley, aiming probably for

Duston; its general line might be indicated by the spread of Roman material running north eastwards from the former railway station in the direction of the Roman building at Gayton, noted by Sir Henry Dryden in 1864(9). A fourth road, approaching Towcester from the west and in part represented today by the road to Brackley(10), probably linked it with the large Roman settlement known from old records at Blacklands, Kings Sutton (VCH). Most of these roads, known or hypothesized, can be expected to have had an origin in the military requirements of the conquest period. It would be surprising therefore if a fort had not been established at Towcester in the mid 1st century. The presence of the military somewhere in Towcester is suggested from this excavation by the piece of military equipment (SF2) and probably the Hod Hill type brooch (SF1).

The excavations described here produced a total of 667 pieces of samian. Only 12 can be described as pre-Flavian in date, and only two of these come from stratified deposits of Phase 1. Most of the early pieces are plain. These could have belonged to an early military phase, but not perhaps necessarily so; only one antedates the immediately pre-Flavian period (p 33). Moreover, very little coarse pottery of a date appropriate to an early military phase was found (Fabric 44a). The fort site seems not to have been particularly close to the site excavated in 1954.

The excavations in Park Street in 1976 recovered traces of structures of the mid 1st century, as well as a scabbard mount from a *gladius* (Lambrick 1980), but these could have belonged to a *vicus* rather than to the fort itself. A thin scatter of early samian and pottery has been noted in Towcester at various times, but with no obvious concentration. The early fort need not actually have stood directly on the line of any of the roads, although it would have required ready access to them. A recent suggestion has been to place it somewhere on the higher ground to the south of the town (Webster 1980, 156), where, however, little Roman material has yet been found. Attention might also be drawn to the site of the former allotments along the Brackley road to the west of the present site (around SP 687486), where a number of early coins have been picked up at

various times in the past(11). The early fort still remains elusive.

Phases 1 and 2

The 1976 excavations showed that occupation on the Park Street site took on a fresh character during the final quarter of the 1st century, with the construction of a stone, and therefore presumably public, building, perhaps a *mansio*. The Grammar School site follows the same general pattern in that it is the Flavian period which marks the beginnings of intensive occupation. The real character of the buildings of these phases was not established, but the beam slot in Trench 1 might lead one to suppose that they might have been more impressive than the bare record suggests. The various ditches suggest enclosures set out from the Brackley road.

The face urn fragments, and possibly also the skull residual in Quadrant 2 hint that a cemetery may not have been far away.

Phase 3, the defences

Their date The dating of the defences depends upon the 212 sherds of samian and 3172 sherds of other pottery belonging to Phase 2, and the 45 samian and 632 other sherds actually incorporated within the defences themselves. Of the samian fragments, none need be any later than c 170 AD (M6-13). There are a few pieces of imported mid 2nd century colour coated beakers; the only possible fragment of Nene valley colour coated ware belongs to the very beginning of production. There are many pieces of cooking pots and bowls in BB1 of mid 2nd century type and grey ware jars and bowls which belong to the middle of the Antonine period rather than the end. On the evidence provided by this site alone, a date not before c 160-180 could be suggested for the defences of Roman Towcester.

The difficulties of dating Roman town defences are well known and have produced an extensive literature (summarized with references in Wachter 1975). The material within and below them provides a *terminus post quem* only and in the absence of suitable stratification there is no way of knowing how long after the presumed date of the latest sherd the defences were actually put up. In the light

of this, the defences of Towcester could be seen as falling towards the end of the 2nd century, forming part of the defensive measures thought to have been taken by Clodius Albinus before his bid for the supreme power in AD 196 (Frere 1978, 285-6). Yet if the buildings below them were in use right up to the time of the construction of the defences, and there is no real reason to suppose that this was not the case, then perhaps rather more material belonging to the final quarter of the 2nd century might have been expected. Both Mrs Bird and Mrs Hartley comment on the marked absence of late 2nd century samian and mortaria. Account must also be taken of the observations made by Mrs C Woodfield along the line of the northern defences, where the town bank was itself cut by a pit containing pottery no later than 180 AD (C Woodfield, pers comm). On these grounds therefore a date somewhere around the turn of the 3rd and final quarters of the 2nd century might be advanced.

The character of the defences The defences of Towcester were substantial; the bank, wall, berm, ditch and counterscarp covered a strip of ground 60m wide. A very large effort was involved in their construction; on the assumption that the wall was 6m high, something of the order of 97,000 loads of stone each weighing 500kg would have been required(12). The line followed seems to have been dictated by considerations of military effectiveness, following the edge of the higher ground on this low lying site(13); many areas which were occupied, mainly straggling along the roads, were left out, and buildings which stood in the way of the defences were apparently ruthlessly demolished. If, as seems likely, concern with establishing secure communications was among the reasons for the fortification of small towns in Roman Britain, then the situation of Towcester made it inevitable that it would be walled sooner or later.

The manner in which the defences were built also requires comment. There seems little real doubt that wall and bank were contemporary. Towcester thus joins Alchester, the next walled town to the south west, in having defences built in this way, at around the same time or somewhat later (Young 1975). Another late 2nd

century east midlands parallel is Great Casterton (Corder 1954), and just possibly Water Newton, where however the evidence is as yet much less secure (Greenfield 1958); also Cambridge in the 4th century (Alexander 1975, 108) where the wall and bank are contemporary. It is interesting to observe that had the only section dug been in the area of Quadrant 10 (FIG 3), then Towcester would undoubtedly have been added to the large number of Romano British towns considered to have had an earlier earthen defence cut back to receive a wall at a later date (see the remarks in Bidwell 1980, 60 on this point).

Phases 4 and 5

There is no evidence for occupation again at this site until the early 4th century. At Park Street however, there appears to have been no break in occupation in the 2nd century. The building there was at first extended: a small part of it was demolished more or less at the time the defences were put up but the main portion was apparently rebuilt at some time and was not taken down until the 3rd or 4th centuries. But whereas its successors were modest, on the Grammar School site a sequence of substantial timber and stone buildings was uncovered, set well back from both the Brackley road and Watling Street and going down to the end of the Roman period.

The profile of the town ditch, wide and shallow, is completely in accord with other 4th century ditches, as at Great Casterton (Corder 1954) and Lincoln (Colyer 1975), and it would be surprising if Towcester had been left out of account in the scheme for fortifying the line of Watling Street during this period (Webster 1971); but there is no positive evidence for the refurbishing of the 2nd century defences. No bastions have yet been identified.

Phase 6, the Anglo-Saxon burh

The conversion of Towcester into a *burh* in 917 formed part of a systematic policy on the part of Edward the Elder and Aethelflaed to establish bases to prevent Danish incursions into English territory and to facilitate the conquest of the Danelaw. It was carefully chosen because of its position in relation to Northampton and its surviving Roman

defences. These were however in need of repair and the Anglo Saxon Chronicle records two phases of refortification; an initial one, for which the word *tymbran* is used, a verb which simply has the general meaning of 'built' whether in masonry or stone (Radford 1978), and a later in which a stone wall is specifically mentioned. Although definite proof is lacking, the possible cleaning out of the ditch, and the heightening of the rampart noted during this excavation might be attributed to the first phase; no trace of timberwork, as has been seen in similar circumstances at Chester and Bath, was found (Thompson 1969 and O'Leary 1980). The second phase has left no archaeological traces, neither should any have necessarily been expected, since despite the apparent precision of the Chronicle's language, it would have been unlikely in the extreme for an entirely fresh wall to have been required and repairs of one sort or another would be all that were effected. The absence of below-ground evidence for Saxon work in town walls known to have been repaired and used in this period has often been commented upon (Biddle 1976, 128 with specific examples at Winchester (Biddle 1975), and London (Schofield and Dyson 1980, 35)).

Phase 8

The brief reappearance of Towcester as a place of importance in the Civil War and its relationship then with Northampton forms an interesting parallel to its role in the Danish wars of Edward the Elder. Its defences were formidable and find a parallel in the siege lines constructed according to established 17th century practice by the Parliamentarians around Newark on Trent. There contemporary drawings show a steep sided turf bank 4ft wide at the top; its base might have been something of the order of 6-7ft wide, which would correspond well enough with the bank at Towcester. The berm, flat bottom and general dimensions of the Newark ditch also closely resemble those of the Towcester example. At Towcester the stony layer behind the bank constituted a wide terreplein on the Newark pattern (RCHM 1964, 37).

NOTES

- 1 The results and implications of these analyses are discussed in Marsh 1981.
- 2 From a total of 92 stamped and decorated vessels, 5% are pre-Flavian, 33% Flavian to Flavian-Trajanic, 14% Trajanic, 27% Hadrianic to early Antonine (this includes an important well group), 12% mid-Antonine and 9% late Antonine.
- 3 Die found at kiln site.
- 4 Kiln site presumed from fabric, distribution, etc.
- 5 I am indebted to Mr Charles Brown, FRIBA, for bringing this to my notice. The badge was found in the 1920s. After being conserved at the Museum of London, it is now on display in the Beauchamp Chapel.
- 6 Cf a badge of St Christopher in the church at Westbury-on-Trim, where it had been mortared into the 15th-century stonework. For other instances of the concealment of pilgrim signs in foundations, etc of churches and secular buildings, see Brian Spencer 'King Henry of Windsor and the London Pilgrim' in Joanna Bird *et al* 1978, 263, n78; and 'Medieval pilgrim badges' in Renaud 1968, 147, n64.
- 7 Only two other pilgrim signs of the Pieta are known to have been found in England, one at Dunwich (Bury St Edmunds Museum), the other at the Carmelite convent (Ipswich Museum). Both are of brass, date from the early 16th century and almost certainly came from the continent. They are akin to a badge depicted in the border of an early 16th century Flemish Book of Hours in the Gulbenkian Museum, Oeiras, Portugal; Kürt Köster in *Buch und Welt: Festschrift für Gustav Hofmann*, Weisbaden, 1965, 474-475.
- 8 Kürt Köster 'Pilgerzeichen-Studien ...' in *Bibliotheca Docet: Festgabe für Carl Wehmer*, Amsterdam, 1963, 90-91.
- 9 MSS notes by Sir Henry Dryden in Central Reference Library, Northampton.
- 10 Road surfaces have been reported at SP 68444838 between the present roads to Brackley and Abthorpe (BNFAS 3, 1969,2).
- 11 Coins of Tiberius, Claudius, as well as Domitian and 4th century emperors; note in *Northampton Mercury*, August 14, 1908 and information collected by Dr Alexander.
- 12 This calculation follows that worked out for Silchester in Boon 1974, 319. The height of the wall has been taken as 6m and its length 1304m. Perhaps some of the stone could have come from the villa at Mileoak nearby, which was demolished at about this time (Green and Draper 1978, 42).
- 13 The line taken by the defences at the SW corner of the town is open to argument (RCHM 1982, 152); it is also possible that the Roman and Anglo Saxon lines diverged.

ABBREVIATIONS

BNFAS *Bulletin of the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies*

- H Hermet, F, *La Graufesenque, (Condatomago)*, 1934
 LRBC Carson, R A G and Kent, J P C, *Late Roman bronze coinage*, AD 324-498
 O Oswald, F, *Index of figure types on terra sigillata (Samian ware)*, 1936-37
 RIB Collingwood, R G, and Wright, R P, *The Roman inscriptions of Britain*
 RIC *Roman imperial coinage*
 S and S Stanfield, J A, and Simpson, G *Central Gaulish potters*, 1958
 VCH *The Victoria history of the counties of England: Northamptonshire*, 1

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, J A, 1975 The development of urban communities: the evidence from Cambridge and Great Chesterford, in *The small towns of Roman Britain* (eds W Rodwell and T Rowley), *Brit Archaeol Rep* 15, 103-9
 Anderson, A C, 1980 *A guide to Roman fine wares*
 Atkinson, D, 1914 A hoard of Samian ware from Pompeii, *J Roman Stud*, 4, 27-64
 Baker, G, 1841 *The history and antiquities of Northamptonshire*, Vol 2
 Biddle, M, 1975 Excavations at Winchester 1971; 10th and final interim report, part 1, *Antiq J*, 55, 96-126
 Bidwell, P T, 1980 *Roman Exeter, fortress and town*
 Bird, J, *et al*, 1978 (eds) *Collectanea Londiniensia, studies presented to Ralph Merrifield*
 Boon, G, 1974 *Roman Silchester*
 Brown, A E, and Sheldon, H L, 1974 Highgate Wood, the pottery and its production, *London Archaeol*, 2, 222-231
 Bushe-Fox, J P, 1949 *Fourth report on the excavation of the Roman fort at Richborough, Kent*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 16
 Colyer, C, 1975 Excavations at Lincoln 1970-72: the defences of the lower town, *Antiq J*, 55, 227-66
 Corder, P, 1954 *The Roman town and villa at Great Casterton, Rutland*, second report for the years 1951-3
 Frere, S S, 1972 *Verulamium excavations I*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 28
 Frere, S S, 1978 *Britannia, a history of Roman Britain*
 Gillam, J P, 1968 *Types of coarse pottery vessels in northern Britain*
 Gillam, J P, 1976 Coarse fumed ware in north Britain and beyond, *Glasgow Archaeol J*, 57-80
 Green, C, and Draper, J, 1978 The Mileoak villa, Handley, Towcester, Northamptonshire, *Northamptonshire Archaeol*, 13, 28-66
 Greenfield, E, 1958 Note in *J Roman Stud*, 48, 1939-40
 Grimes, W F, 1930 Holt, Denbighshire: the works depot of the twentieth legion at Castle Lyons, *Y Cymmrodor*, 41
 Gryspeerdt, M, 1979 The pottery, in F Williams, Excavations on Marefair, Northampton, 1977, *Northamptonshire Archaeol*, 14, 57-67
 Gryspeerdt, M, 1982 The pottery, in J H Williams and M Shaw, Excavations in Chalk Lane, Northampton, 1975-78, *Northamptonshire Archaeol*, 16, 87-133

- Guido, M, 1978 *The glass beads of the prehistoric and Roman periods in Britain and Ireland*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 35
- Harden, D B, 1973 The glass, in A C C Brodribb *et al*, *Excavations at Shakenoak*, IV, 97-106, privately printed
- Harden, D B, 1975 The glass, in B Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle, Vol I, Roman*, 368-74, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 32
- Harden, D B, 1978 Anglo-Saxon and later Medieval glass in Britain: some recent developments, *Medieval Archaeol*, 22, 1-24
- Hartley, K F, and Richards, E E, 1965 Spectrographic analysis of some Romano British mortaria, *Bull Inst Archaeol Univ London*, 5, 25-43
- Howe, M Perrin, J R, Mackreath, D R, *Roman pottery from the Nene valley: a guide*, Peterborough City Museum occasional paper No 2
- Isings, C, 1957 *Roman glass from dated finds*, Groningen
- Jackson, D A, and Ambrose, T M, 1978 Excavations at Wakerley, Northants, 1972-5, *Britannia*, 9, 115-242
- Kenyon, K M, 1935 The Roman theatre at Verulamium, St Albans, *Archaeologia*, 84, 213-61.
- Knight, J K, 1967 Excavations at the Roman town of Ircchester 1962-3, *Archaeol J*, 124, 100-128
- London Museum, 1954 *Medieval catalogue*
- Lambrick, G, 1980 Excavations in Park Street, Towcester, *Northamptonshire Archaeol*, 15, 35-118
- Manning, W H, 1974 Objects of iron, in D S Neal, *The excavation of the Roman villa in Gadebridge Park, 1963-8*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 31, 157-187
- Marsh, G D, 1981 London's samian supply and its relationship to the development of the Gallic samian industry, in *Roman pottery research in Britain and NW Europe* (eds A C and A S Anderson), Brit Archaeol Rep International Series 123 (1), 173-238
- McCarthy, M, 1979 Gazetteer of ceramic types, in J H Williams, *St Peters Street, Northampton, excavations 1973-6*, Northampton Development Corporation Archaeological Monograph 2, 153-165
- Mynard, D C, 1970 Medieval pottery of Potterspurty type, *BNFAS*, 4, 49-55
- O'Leary, T J, 1981 Excavations at Upper Borough Walls, Bath, 1980, *Medieval Archaeol*, 25, 1-30
- Partridge, C, 1981 *Skeleton Green, a late Iron Age and Romano-British site*, Britannia monograph series No 2
- Pengelly, H, 1980 The samian, in G Lambrick, *Excavations in Park Street, Towcester, Northamptonshire Archaeol*, 15, 69-76
- Phillips, I G (ed), 1952/3 *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke, Scoutmaster general to the Earl of Essex 1643-4*, Vol 3, *Oxfordshire Record Society*, vol for 1952/3
- Price, J, 1975 The glass, in M J Green, *The Bradwell Roman villa*, 12-16, Milton Keynes Development Corporation
- Price, J, 1980 The glass, in H S Gracie *et al*, *Frocester Court Roman villa, 2nd Report 1968-77: the courtyard*, *Trans Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol Soc*, 97, 9-64
- Radford, C A R, 1978 The pre-conquest boroughs of England, 9th to 11th centuries, *Proc Brit Acad*, 64, 131-53
- Renaud, J G N, 1968 (ed) *Rotterdam papers: a contribution to medieval archaeology*
- RCHM, 1964 *Newark on Trent, the Civil War earthworks*
- RCHM, 1982 *An inventory of archaeological sites in SW Northamptonshire*
- Schofield, A, and Dyson, T, 1980 *The archaeology of the City of London*
- Simms, R S, 1953 Towcester, note in *Archaeol J*, 110, 212-14
- Terrisse, J R, 1968 Les céramiques sigillées Gallo-Romaines des Martres de Veyre (Puy-de-Dôme), *Gallia Supp* 19
- Thompson, F H, 1969 Excavations at Linenhall Street, Chester, 1961-62, *J Chester Arch Soc*, 56, 1-21
- Wacher, J S, 1975 Village fortifications, in *The small towns of Roman Britain* (eds W Rodwell and T Rowley), Brit Archaeol Rep 15, 51-2
- Webster, G, 1971 A Roman system of fortified posts along Watling Street, Britain, *Roman frontier studies 1967*, Tel Aviv, 38-45
- Webster, G, 1960 The Roman military advance under Ostorius Scapula, *Archaeol J*, 115, 49-98
- Webster, G, 1971 A hoard of Roman military equipment from Fremington Hagg, in *Soldier and civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (ed R M Butler), 107-125
- Webster, G, 1980 *The Roman invasion of Britain*
- Wheeler, R E M and T V *Verulamium, a Belgic and two Roman cities*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 11
- Whitelock, D, 1961 (ed) *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle*
- Williams, J H, 1976 Excavations on a Roman site at Overstone, near Northampton, *Northamptonshire Archaeol*, 11, 110-133
- Woods, P J, 1970 Excavations at Brixworth, Northants, 1965-70, Part 1, The Roman coarse pottery and decorated samian ware, *J Northampton Mus Art Gallery*, 8
- Woods, P J, Turland, R, Hastings, S A Romano-British pottery at Biddlesden, Bucks, in *Roman pottery research in Britain and NW Europe* (eds A C and A S Anderson), Brit Archaeol Rep International Series 123 (ii), 369-395
- Young, C J, 1975 The defences of Roman Alchester, *Oxoniensia*, 40, 136-70
- Young, C J, 1977 *Oxfordshire Roman pottery*, Brit Archaeol Rep 43

This paper has been published with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment