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Excavations at the King William IV site, Ewell, 1967–77

CLIVE ORTON

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1 Background

1.1 SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS WORK IN EWELL

Previous work in the area is summarized in the present volume (pages 123–141) by Abdy and Bierton, who list sites within Ewell village where evidence of Roman activity has been found, either by excavation, site-watching or as chance finds. Their 'Gazetteer of Romano-British sites in Ewell' forms the basis of the comparative evidence used in this report, and is referred to by the abbreviation Gazetteer.

1.2 SITE LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

The site comprises a block of land, running roughly north-west to south-east behind 19–29 High Street and 1–3 Cheam Road, Ewell, together with the foundations of 23–25 High Street, centred on point TQ 2207 6260 (fig 1a). The main part of the site is about 56m long (north-west to south-east) by up to 21m wide (north-east to south-west); the second part (23–25 High Street) lies about 30m to the south-west of the centre of the main part. The site takes its name from the King William IV public house (19 High Street), in whose garden much of it lies.

The site lies along the north-east side of a shallow valley that runs roughly south-east from The Spring, a source of the river Hogsmill, now some 150m to the north-west (Gazetteer, fig 2). The ground slopes gently (about 1 in 30) across the site and even more gently (about 1 in 100) along it. At its lowest the site is just above the 35m contour. The natural subsoil across the whole site is chalk; the depth of topsoil varies around 0.5m.

1.3 HISTORY OF EXCAVATIONS AND POST-EXCAVATION WORK

Attention was drawn to the immediate area by work for the erection of a new building on the site of 23–25 High Street. The previous (19th century) building was demolished and foundation trenches were dug down to the natural chalk. These works were observed by Mr L J Buckingham in May–June 1967, and referred to as Trenches A–D.

As part of this development, a car park was planned on the former garden of no 27. A trench in this area (Trench E–F) was excavated by Mr Buckingham and Mr A H Jenkins in July–September 1967. The finding of Roman pottery here was reported to the (then) Nonsuch & Ewell Antiquarian Society (NEAS), who immediately arranged for an excavation to the north-west, in the garden of no 19 (site code KW67). Six trenches (nos 1–6) were excavated under the direction of Mr R Caws, in the south-east end of the garden.

Excavations continued in two areas in 1968. Trenches 7–12 were excavated to the north-west of Trenches 1–6, occupying much of the remaining area of the garden. A second set of trenches, also numbered 1–7, were dug to the south-east; Trenches 1 and 6 in the garden of no 27 (near Trench E–F) and Trenches 2 to 5 and 7 in the garden of nos 1–3 Cheam Road. To prevent confusion, the former were coded KW68A and the latter KW68B. Direction was initially by R Caws and later by Mr M Morris. This phase of excavation was brought to a halt when the land was required for an extension to a municipal car park situated to the south-east of site B. Trenches 9, 10 and 12 in particular had to be hurriedly back-filled.

When in 1969 the proposed extension had not materialized, the NEAS obtained permission to continue excavations. Trenches 9, 10 and 12 were re-excavated under the direction of Mr I Mortimer, in an attempt to understand the previous year's excavation (Mr Caws having moved away from the district). These excavations continued into 1970, and included various extensions to the original trenches. A new trench in the north-west corner of the site, called 'Omega' but since re-named Trench 13, completed the 1970 excavations. Extensions to the main site were made to the north-west, in the garden of no 15 High Street (Miles the Chemist) and to the south-east (edge of the municipal car park).

In June 1972 an experiment was undertaken in the north-east corner of the site, to try to establish the purpose of digging pits into chalk. It revealed further archaeological features and became Trench 14; excavations continued until June 1973.

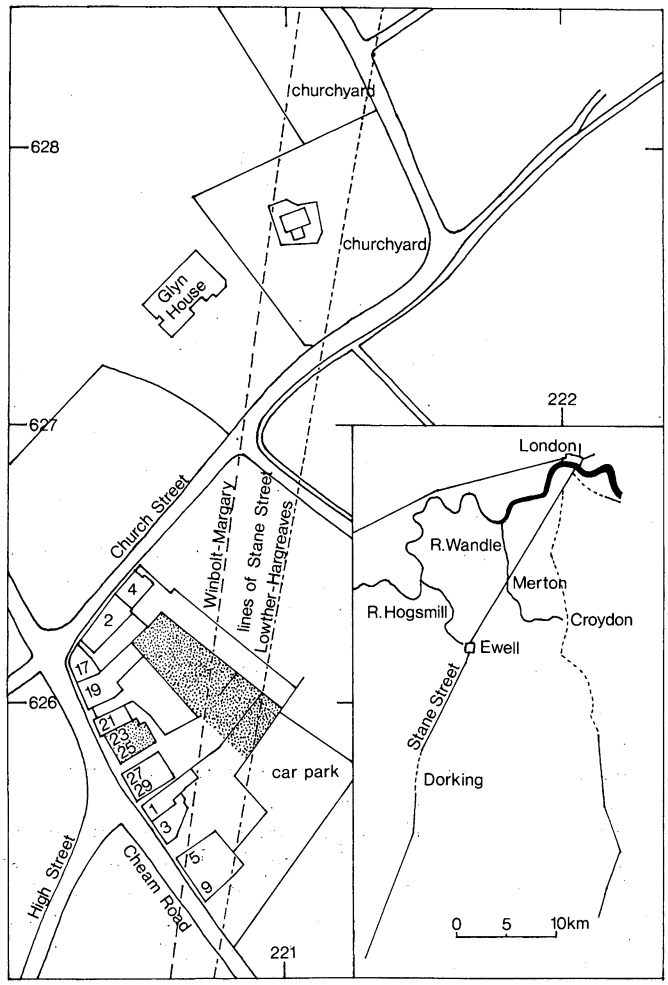

Fig 1a King William IV site, Ewell: location plan, showing site (stippled areas) relative to Ewell and Ewell relative to London. Sites mentioned in the discussion, and suggested alignments of Stane Street, are also shown. (Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey 1:1250 scale map with the permission of The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. © Crown copyright 87175M)

Excavation then lapsed until 1976, when a small trench was dug in the garden of no 4 Church Street, immediately to the north-east of the main site.

In 1977 it was decided to complete the excavation of the main garden area, and three further trenches (Trenches 15–17) filled the remaining unexcavated area. This work was directed by Mr R Temple.

In 1979 a small trench was dug in the garden of 17 High Street, under the direction of Mr R Temple (site code AOE79).

Thus, over eleven years, a total of 26 trenches had been dug in the main area (Trenches A1–17, B1–7 and E–F) under five directors, as well as ancillary investigation to the east, north and west. They are listed in table 1 and their locations shown in fig 1b.

Initial post-excavation work was carried out by members of NEAS. The finds were sorted by material and packed for long-term storage. The pottery was sorted by 'ware' (in broad terms, eg samian, mortaria, amphorae, grey wares, red wares). As far as possible, it was sorted to individual

TABLE 1 Summary of excavations carried out in the King William Area, Ewell, 1967–79

Area	Year	Code	Trenches	Director
23–25 High Street	1967	–	A–D	Buckingham
garden of 27 High Street	1967	–	E–F	Buckingham
garden of 19 High Street (SE)	1967	KW67	1–6	Caws
garden of 19 High Street (NW)	1968	KW68A	7–12	Caws
gardens of 27 High Street & 1–3 Cheam Road	1968	KW68B	1–7	Caws/Morris
garden of 19 High Street (re-ex)	1969–70	KW69	9, 10, 12, 13	Mortimer
municipal car park edge	1970	–	–	Mortimer
Miles the Chemist	1970?	M	–	?
garden of 19 High Street (NE)	1972–3	KW72	14	Mortimer?
garden of 4 Church Street	1976	–	–	Nelson?
garden of 19 High Street (centre)	1977	KW77	15–17	Temple
garden of 17 High Street	1979	AOE79	A	Temple

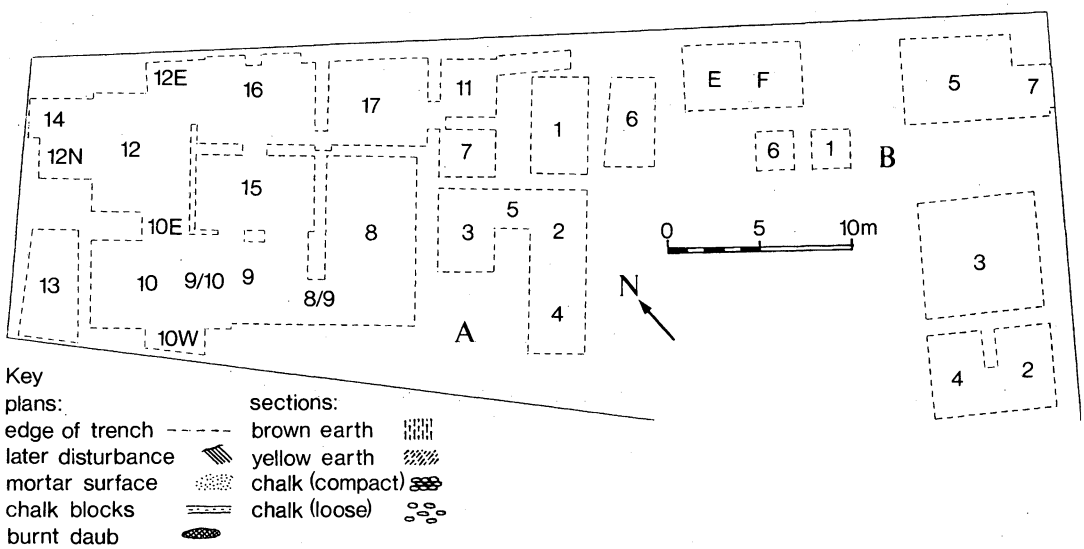

Fig 1b King William IV site, Ewell: plan of trenches (1:400) and key to plans and sections

vessels and reconstructed, and some was drawn. A report on the pottery from Trenches E–F was prepared by Mr A H Jenkins.

Work on the site records appears to have consisted of a correlation of context numbers between the 1968A excavation and that of 1969–70, and the production of various short interim reports.

In 1981 the Nonsuch Antiquarian Society (as the NEAS had become) invited the Archaeological Support Group of Sutton (an independent evening group at the Sutton College of Liberal Arts, convened by the author) to complete the post-excavation work on the material from the site, and to produce an overall report. The main task was the detailed cataloguing of the large amount of Roman pottery from the site; other tasks done by the Group included the correlation of all surviving site records, the integrating and checking of various small find catalogues, the bulk recording of Roman and medieval building materials (with detailed recording of large groups), cataloguing of the small amounts of prehistoric, medieval and early post-medieval pottery, and the drawing of selected pottery, building material and small finds. The samian was reported on separately by Mrs J L Bird and the animal bones by Mrs P Nicolaysen.

A series of thefts from the Bourne Hall Museum meant that not all the small finds were available to the Group for study. Also, the condition of other finds, particularly the ironwork, had deteriorated over several years of storage. The small finds report is therefore based on notes and drawings made at the time of excavation or shortly afterwards, and on examination by the Group of such finds as had survived into the 1980s.

It was decided not to study the post-medieval finds in detail, except as needed to resolve the dates of certain contexts. Large pit-groups of pottery, glass and clay tobacco pipes therefore remain to be studied; a report on the earliest and possibly the most interesting of them, a late 18th century pit in Trench 12 (the Queen Anne pit) is being prepared by Mr S Nelson.

The King William IV has since been renamed the Friend and Firkin and Miles the Chemist's is currently the *C'est la Vie* restaurant.

1.4 THE ARCHIVE

The finds, together with all associated documentation (plans, sections, notebooks, catalogues, etc) have been deposited with the Bourne Hall Museum, Ewell. In addition, an archival report has been prepared, giving descriptions of all site features, correlations of them with the original site recording system, and descriptions and quantification of all pottery fabric codes. Copies of this have been deposited with the Bourne Hall Museum, Surrey Archaeological Society and the Surrey County Archaeological Unit; further copies may be obtained from the author at the current cost of photocopying.

2 The site sequence

The chronological ordering of the features on this site is made difficult by:

(i) the general lack of stratigraphic relationships

(ii) the loss of much potential dating evidence by incompatible recording systems

(iii) the unsealed character of many features, leading to contamination by small abraded later sherds. It was considered advisable in these circumstances to date by the most complete pottery rather than by the apparently latest.

(iv) a tendency for pits to be reused at a later date (often much later), eg for burial of animals. In such cases, the stratigraphic record does not always allow a distinction between primary and secondary fills to be made.

(v) the absence of any of the finds from the 23–25 High Street excavation (ie trenches A–D)

What follows is a very tentative interpretation of the main site. In view of these limitations it has been kept as simple as possible.

The following phases have been distinguished:

1 Neolithic/Early Bronze Age
2 Late Bronze Age
3 Late Iron Age/Roman Conquest (AD 1–70)
4 Roman: late 1st to early 2nd century (70–120)
5 Roman: mid–late 2nd century (120–200)
6 Roman: early–mid 3rd century (200–250)
7 Roman: late 3rd–mid-4th century (250–350)
8 Roman: late 4th century (350–400)
9 Saxon and early medieval (400–1200)
10 High medieval (1200–1350)
11 Late medieval (1350–1500)
12 Tudor (1500–1600)
13 Early post-medieval (1600–1750)
14 Modern (1750+)

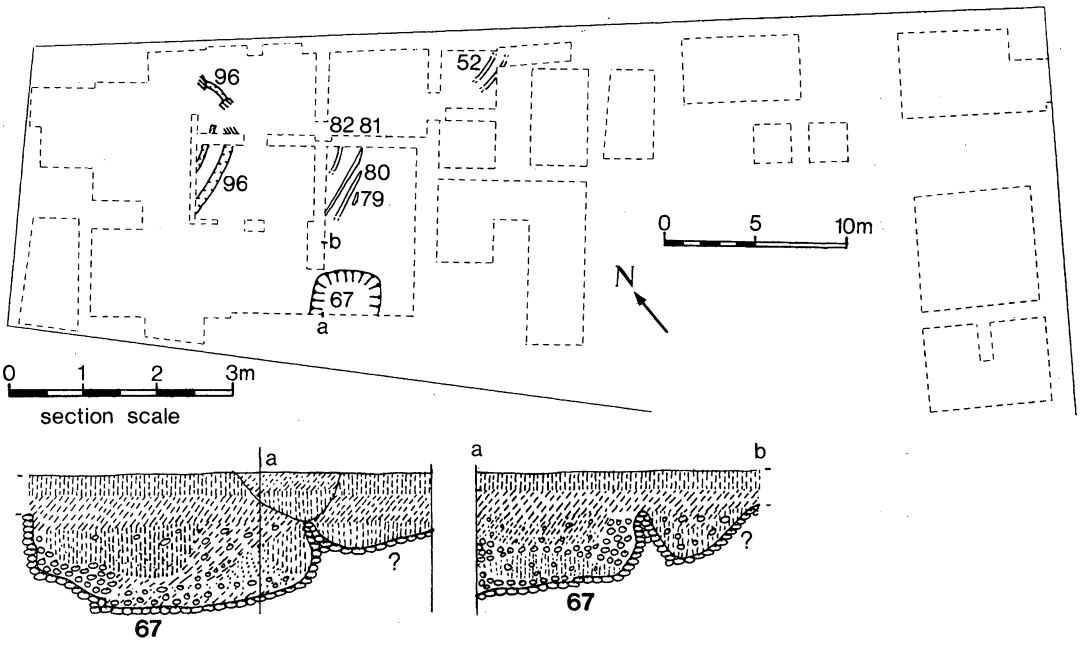

Fig 2 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phases 1–3 (1:400), and related sections (1:100)

PHASE 1 (fig 2, fig 12 no 1)

Apart from a few isolated items of flintwork (see 3.6.4), the earliest evidence for activity on the site is a beaker of Neolithic/Early Bronze Age date (no 1). Sherds of this were found in Roman and modern contexts in A8. It is very similar to an example from a burial at Chilbolton, Hampshire (Russel 1990, no 1), which was associated with a radiocarbon date that calibrated to *c* 2300–2000 BC. This example has been classified by Case (1993) as belonging to his chronological style 2 and regional group D. Reasonably complete beakers are usually associated with inhumations (Burgess 1980, 65), which can occur singly or in cemeteries (*ibid*, 70). There was no evidence of associated skeletal remains or other finds, unless the barbed and tanged arrowhead in A8/9 (see 3.6.4) is related, but as the area has been heavily disturbed and possibly robbed, this does not refute the interpretation as a burial. It may be significant that this trench also includes the large Late Iron Age burial pit F67 (see phase 3).

Beaker pottery is not common in Surrey, which lies between groups D (Midland and Wessex) and E (East Anglia, Kent and Sussex). The example from the King William IV site is an eastern outlier of group D. There are no recognized beaker burials in Surrey, although some may have gone unrecognized (Needham 1987, 101). Apart from along the Thames, beaker pottery is only known at Croydon, Chaldon and Limpsfield in Surrey (*ibid*).

There are also scatters of very abraded flint-tempered pottery, probably of Bronze Age date, in A2 and A8.

PHASE 2 (fig 2, fig 12 nos 3–13)

Sherds of fabrics and forms typical locally of the Late Bronze Age were also found in A8, but all in contexts of post-medieval date. The two basic types — jars in a coarse fabric (nos 3–9) and small bowls in a fine fabric (nos 10–13) — can be matched at local sites, eg Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton (Adkins & Needham 1985): see 3.1.1.

Possibly related are the sets of curved gulleys F52, F79–82 and F96, in the north-east of the site. Although the site records describe F79–82 as 'natural' and F96 as modern in date, no dating

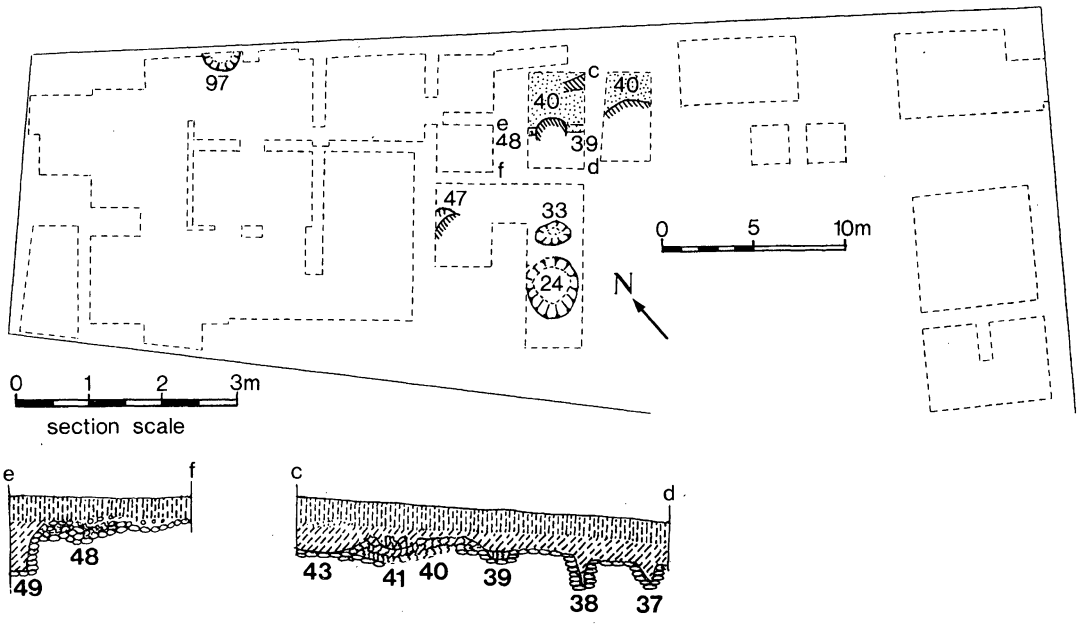

Fig 3 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phase 4 (1:400), and related sections (1:100). For sections of F24 and F47, see fig 4.

evidence survives. It is just possible that some of these features may represent eaves-drip gulleys belonging to circular buildings, such as those found at Beddington (Adkins *et al* 1987).

PHASE 3 (fig 2, fig12 nos 2, 14–22)

The large pit F67 in A8 appears to belong to this phase, although this trench is particularly confused by recording problems. Many sherds of two almost complete butt beakers (nos 19, 20) were found scattered through several contexts in this trench, apparently belonging to this feature. It is said (in the site notes) to have a 'false chalk floor', below which were found the now missing bases of the two beakers. In two of the contexts (L14, the pottery from which is G9, 2nd century, and L34) in which part of no 19 was found, there was a complete storage jar in a flint-tempered fabric (no 14). The hand-made bowl (no 2), found unstratified in A8, may be an ancillary vessel. These vessels are interpreted as the remains of a cremation burial of Late Iron Age type (although not necessarily pre-Conquest in date). Whimster (1981, 147–66) discusses cremation burials of this period (the Aylesford Culture) in South-East England, including some from Surrey: Sanderstead, Haslemere, Godalming and the Hogs Back (*ibid,* 151). They are usually in small burial pits (*ibid,* 154) but larger ones, up to about the size of F67, are also known (*ibid,* 157). Butt beakers were the most popular containers (in the later part of Whimster's period, *c* 15/10 BC to post-Conquest) and additional pots were the most popular supporting items *(ibid,* 158). The burial has clearly been badly disturbed; while this may be due to the general intensive pitting in the area, it is possible that it may have been deliberately robbed, either in the Roman period or later.

PHASE 4 (fig 3, fig 13 no 400)

Assigned to this phase are four pits (F24, F33, F47 and F97) and a building (F39–41). F33 contains a complete VRW flagon of this date; F24 and F97 are discussed in Section 4. The building consists of a mortared area (F40), at least 5.1m north–south by 2.5m east–west. Only one definite edge was located, a beam-slot (F39) on its western side. A small, apparently similar,

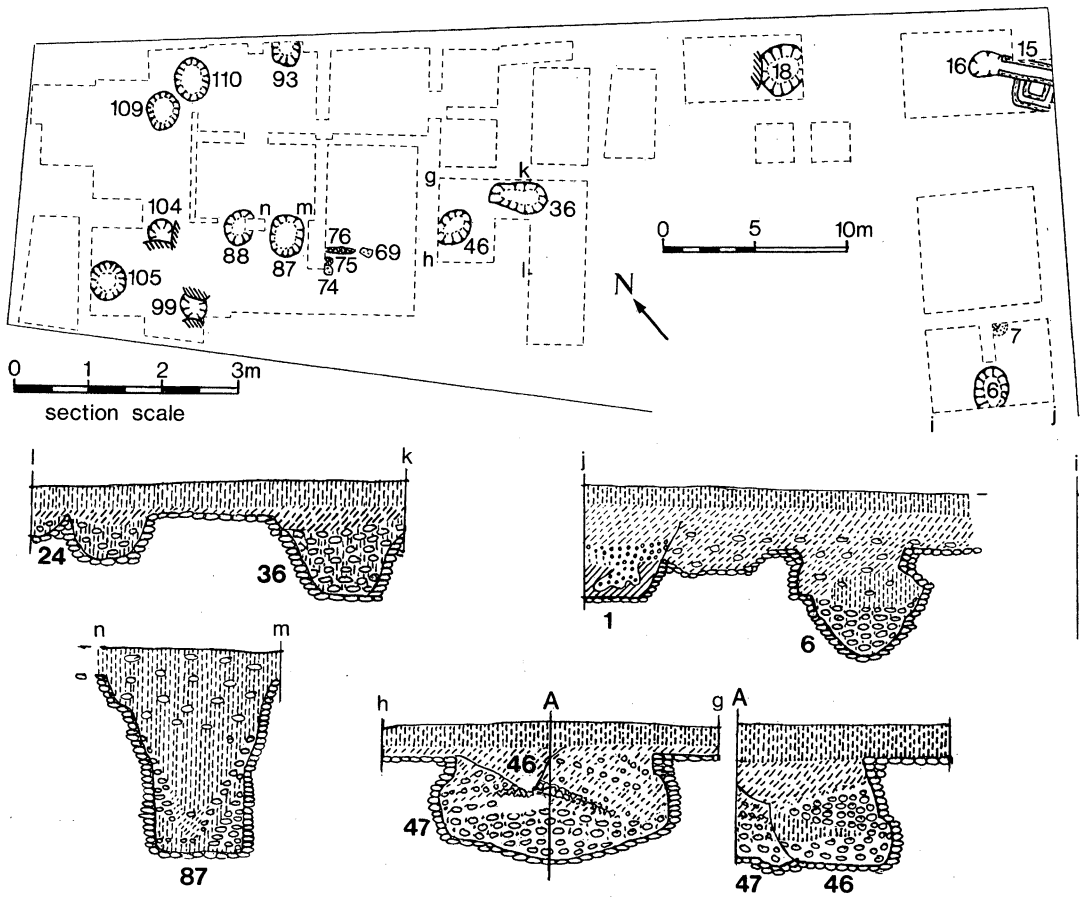

Fig 4 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phase 5 (1:400), and related sections (1:100)

area was recorded in section to the north (F48); if this is part of the same building, it would increase its length to at least 8.5m. The building seems to be of the light timber-framed type described by Goodburn (1991). The thickness of the floor (0.15 to 0.3m surviving) may indicate a specialized function, such as a granary (Morris 1979). Black (1981) has argued for a class of solid-floored granaries, often associated with 'corn-driers', which seem to be earlier than the better-known type with raised floor.

An enigmatic fragment of wall of mortared chalk (F41) was recorded in section only 1.2m east of F39, but it is not shown in plan. It appears to rest in a shallow foundation trench set in F40. Its relationship to the rest of the building is not clear. Apart possibly from this, none of the superstructure of the building survives *in situ*, but quantities of daub, plain plaster and roof tile were found in the fills of several features. These fills, especially F109, are assigned to phase 5. Indeed, this demolition debris provides the reason for assigning this building to phase 4.

PHASE 5 (fig 4)

In this phase the building of phase 4 seems to have been demolished. Small amounts of debris are wide-spread across the site, with larger amounts in F109 and in A8 (F69, F75 and F76; possibly also F68 and F74) and B2 (F7).

Large postholes (F6, F87, F105, and F110) were dug; also rubbish pits (F18, F36?, F93, F99 and F104) and features which may have been pits or large postholes (F46 and F88). There is also

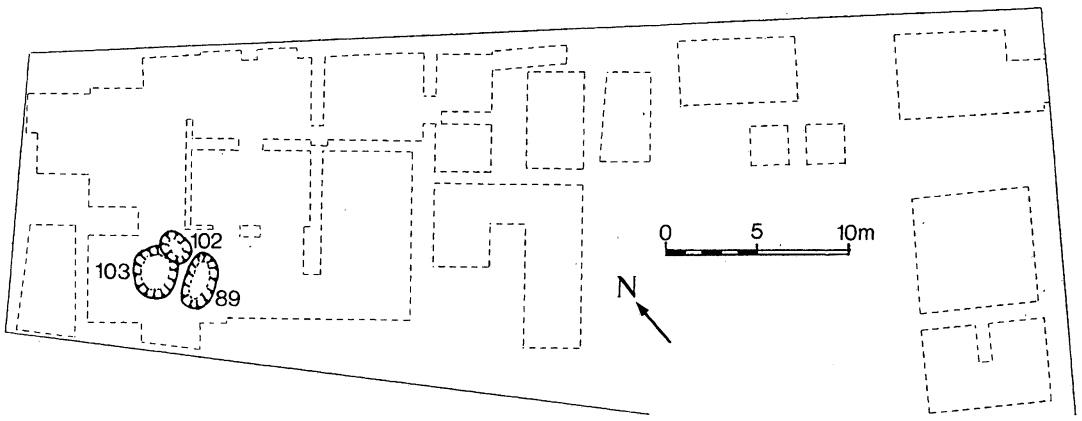

Fig 5 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phase 6 (1:400)

a well (F109) which was filled in this phase; it may have been dug in this or the preceding phase. The postholes presumably belong to one or more buildings, but do not fall into the pattern of Roman 'barns' with rows of closely-spaced large posts, as at Beddington (Adkins *et al* 1987); similar amorphous arrangements of postholes have been found at Sanderstead (Batchelor 1990). A large but light structure, on the lines of a Dutch barn, might be suggested, although no parallels are known. See 5.2 for further discussion.

There is also evidence for a stone-built structure nearby in this phase: it may be F15 (see below). Flint debris from the squaring of blocks for use in walling was found in F99, F101, F107, F110 and F120 (see 3.6.1) and abraded and burnt greensand blocks in F120 (phase 7). Chalk blocks were also found, and may have been used as foundations. A building of squared flint blocks, possibly half-timbered, with greensand used, for example, for quoins and details, is suggested to have been located near the site.

PHASE 6 (fig 5, fig 13 no 408)

This appears to be a phase of continuity from phase 5, with no major changes. The large posthole F117 and the second well F120 may have been dug in this period, although the dating evidence all relates to their back-filling. It could be argued that F120 was dug when the first well, F109, was back-filled (ie in phase 5), so that there was always one in use. F117 gives problems, as accurate measurements of it do not survive. It does not seem to be as deep as F109 and F120, and the description of its fill could fit that of a large posthole, which is its interpretation here, despite the opinions expressed in the site notes.

Three further pits, F89, F102 and F103, appear to belong to this phase.

PHASE 5 OR 6

The foundations F15 and the associated pit F16 are likely to pre-date phase 7, but are not likely to be as early as phase 4. They are interpreted as the foundations and stoke pit of a 'corn-drier', by analogy with a more complete structure excavated at Foxholes Farm, Hertfordshire (Reynolds & Langley 1979, fig 1). It has foundations of very similar construction and layout. Neither is of the T-shape usually associated with corn-driers (Morris 1979, 5–22). The Foxholes Farm example was experimentally reconstructed by Reynolds and Langley (1979) as a substantial chalk and flint shed-like structure with walls standing 1.6m high. Such a building could be the source of the debris found in F120 and elsewhere.

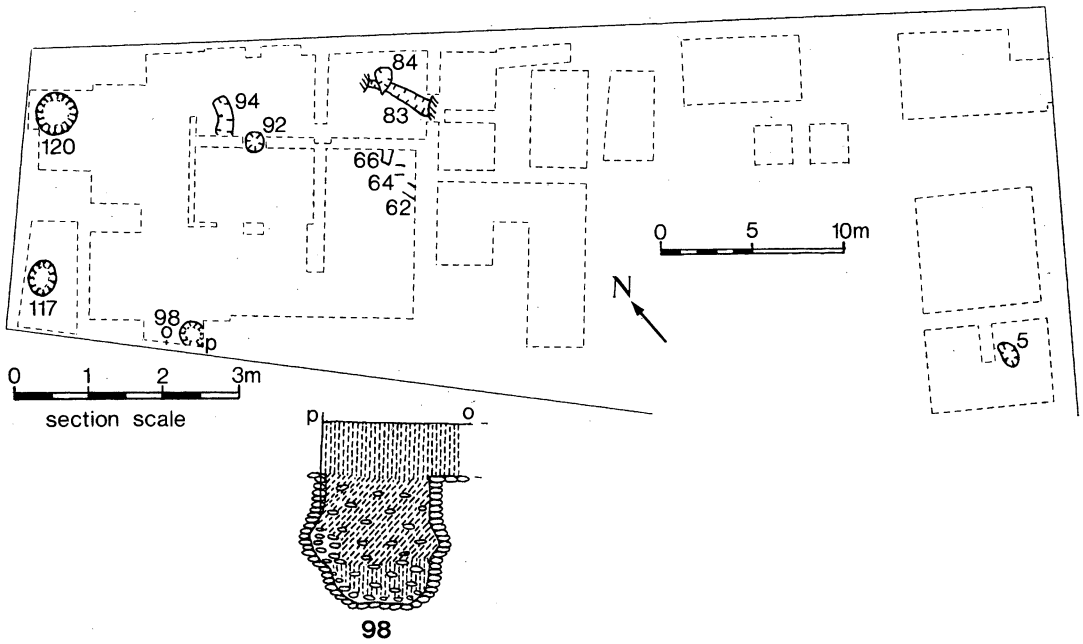

Fig 6 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phase 7 (1:400), and related sections (1:100)

PHASE 7 (fig 6, fig 13 nos 401–7)

There seems to be a major change of use around the beginning of this period. The large posthole F117 was back-filled, as was the second well, F120; the coin hoard from the gravel at the bottom of the well has a nominal closing date of AD 271–3 but probably dates to *c* AD 280 (see 3.4.1); the pottery from the back-fill is more loosely dated to AD 250–350. A stone building nearby (possibly F15, see above) was demolished, some of the debris being used to back-fill F120. This fill contains material of a wide range of dates, the earliest being very abraded. It is as if the site had been thoroughly cleared to provide material for the back-filling. For further discussion see 5.2.

Isolated fragments of stone walling in A8 (F62, F64 and F66) may be part of another building. It was commented that F62 did not appear to be *in situ*. F64 and F66 could be seen as two walls at right-angles to each other, their junction having been destroyed by the digging of the pit or posthole F65. Against this could be argued the lack of any continuation, either to the east (A11) or to the south (A3). They are best seen as large fragments of redeposited building debris, similar to fragments found in the fill of F120.

Other features in this phase are the pits F5, F83, F84, F92, F94 and F98, some of which may belong to phase 8; there is no further evidence for buildings.

PHASE 8 (fig 7)

There is little that can be definitely assigned to this phase, apart from some Portchester D ware (PORD, see 3.1) from G1 and 13 and soil layers in A3, A6, A8, A10 and B3, and coins from soil layers in A3, A10 and A16.

There are groups of pottery dated to phase 7 or 8 from G2, G4, G13 and G14, but there are often problems with medieval or post-medieval sherds which may be intrusive or which may actually date these groups.

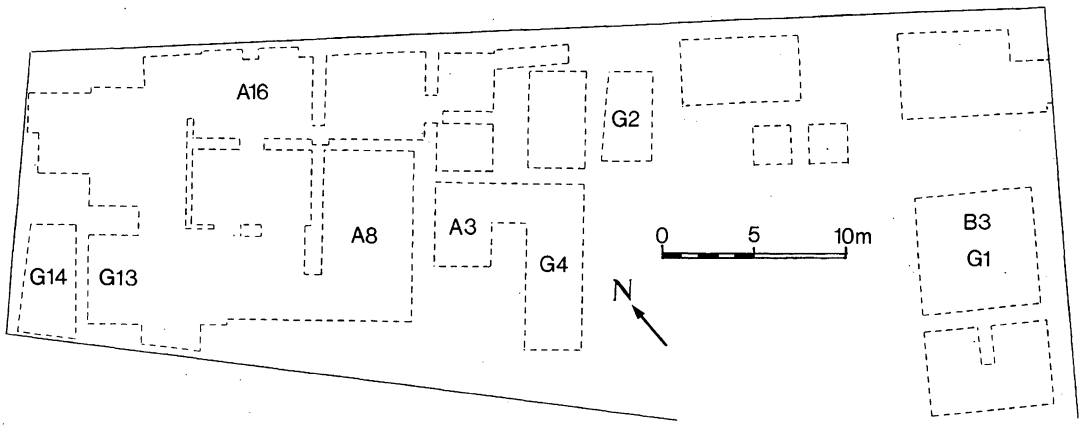

Fig 7 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of trenches and groups, phase 8 (1:400)

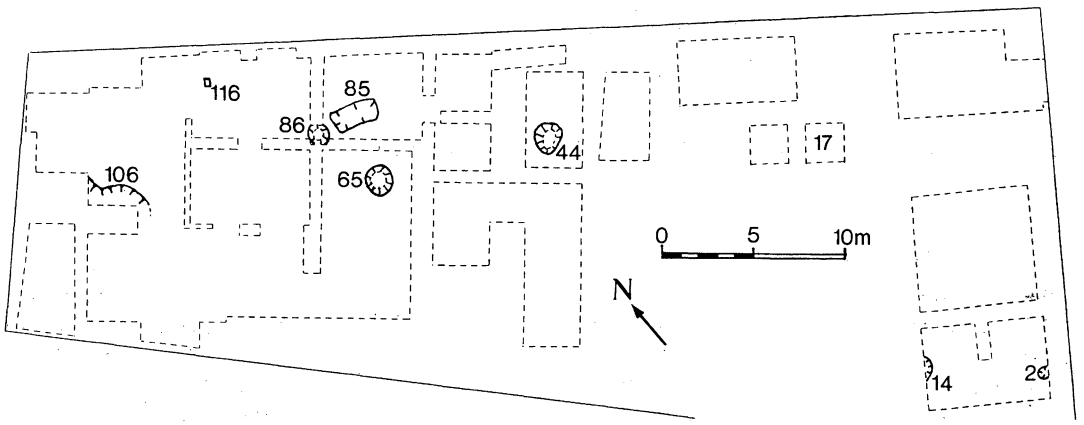

Fig 8 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phases 4–8 (1:400)

PHASES 4–8 (fig 8, fig 13 nos 409–10)

There are several features which can be given only a general 'Roman' date, either because they have become detached from their dating evidence, or because that evidence is equivocal. They include the pits or postholes F44, F65 and F86, and the pits F2, F14, F17, F85, F106 and F116, and probably F30. It could be argued that since most postholes seem to belong to phase 5, these should be assigned to it too.

PHASE 9

There is very little material from this period, and probably no features. There are two sherds of chaff-tempered ware (probably middle Saxon) and a few sherds of early medieval shelly ware, a coarse sandy ware and shelly/sandy ware.

PHASE 10 (fig 9)

Activity in this phase seems to be limited to sporadic pitting (F44; also probably F91, and possibly recuts to F86 and F93).

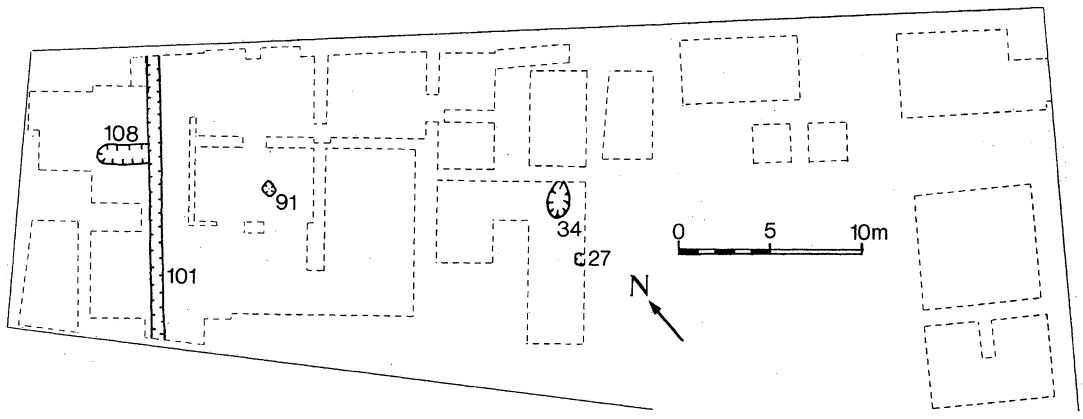

Fig 9 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of features, phases 10–11 (1:400)

PHASE 11 (fig 9)

There seems to be a reorganization of the site in this period, with a ditch (F101) dug east–west across the whole site. This runs parallel to Church Street, about 30m to the north, and may mark the rear boundary of properties there. The undated but supposedly medieval feature F108, which lies at right angles to F101 and appears to abut it, might be seen as marking a boundary between two such properties.

PHASE 10 OR 11 (fig 9)

Two features are dated by the presence of medieval roof tile — F27 and F34.

PHASE 12

There are no features, but small sherds of pottery of this date, eg Martincamp ware, are widely but thinly spread across the site, possibly indicating gardening activity.

PHASE 13

Again, there are no features, but sherds of 17th or early 18th century date are found in soil layers and intrusively in F83, F84 and F92, and G13.

PHASE 14

The significant groups of finds will be the subjects of a separate report.

UNPHASED FEATURES (figs 10, 11)

There are several features which cannot even be assigned to a broad period. These comprise animal burials and cut features.

Animal burials (fig 10)

A surprisingly large number of animal burials was found. They were thought by the excavators to be post-medieval (the presence of an inn being thought to be a sufficient explanation) and were treated accordingly. Except where stated in the list below, there was no dating evidence.
F19: dog. Covered with 'chalk fragments set in mortar'.
F28: 'animal'.

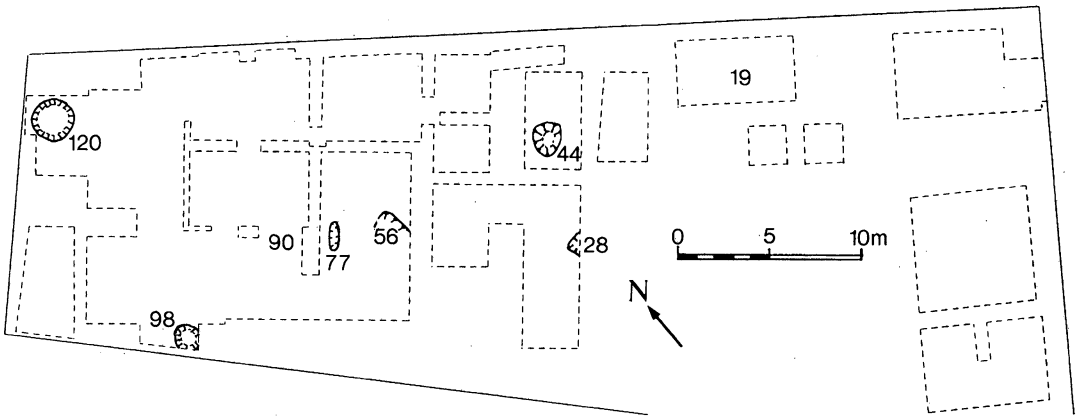

Fig 10 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of animal burials (1:400)

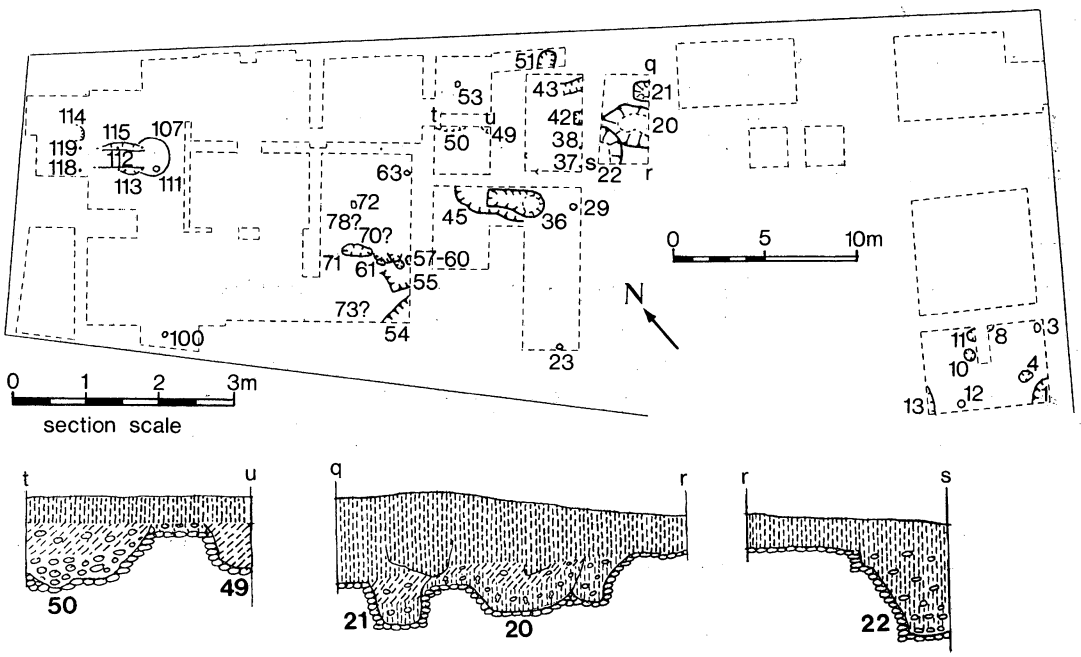

Fig 11 King William IV site, Ewell: plan of unphased features (1:400) and related sections (1:100)

F44: 'animal'. Apparently buried in a disused posthole. Roman and medieval pottery.
F56: horse.
F77: pigs.
F90: 'animal'. Modern pottery, possibly a re-cut of F87.
F98: dog. Late Roman pottery (phase 7 or 8).
F120, cuts into or above top of fill: pigs (described as 18th century) and horse heads.

Cut features (fig 11)

The following cannot be dated:
pits: F1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 36, 42, 45, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 113, 114, 115.

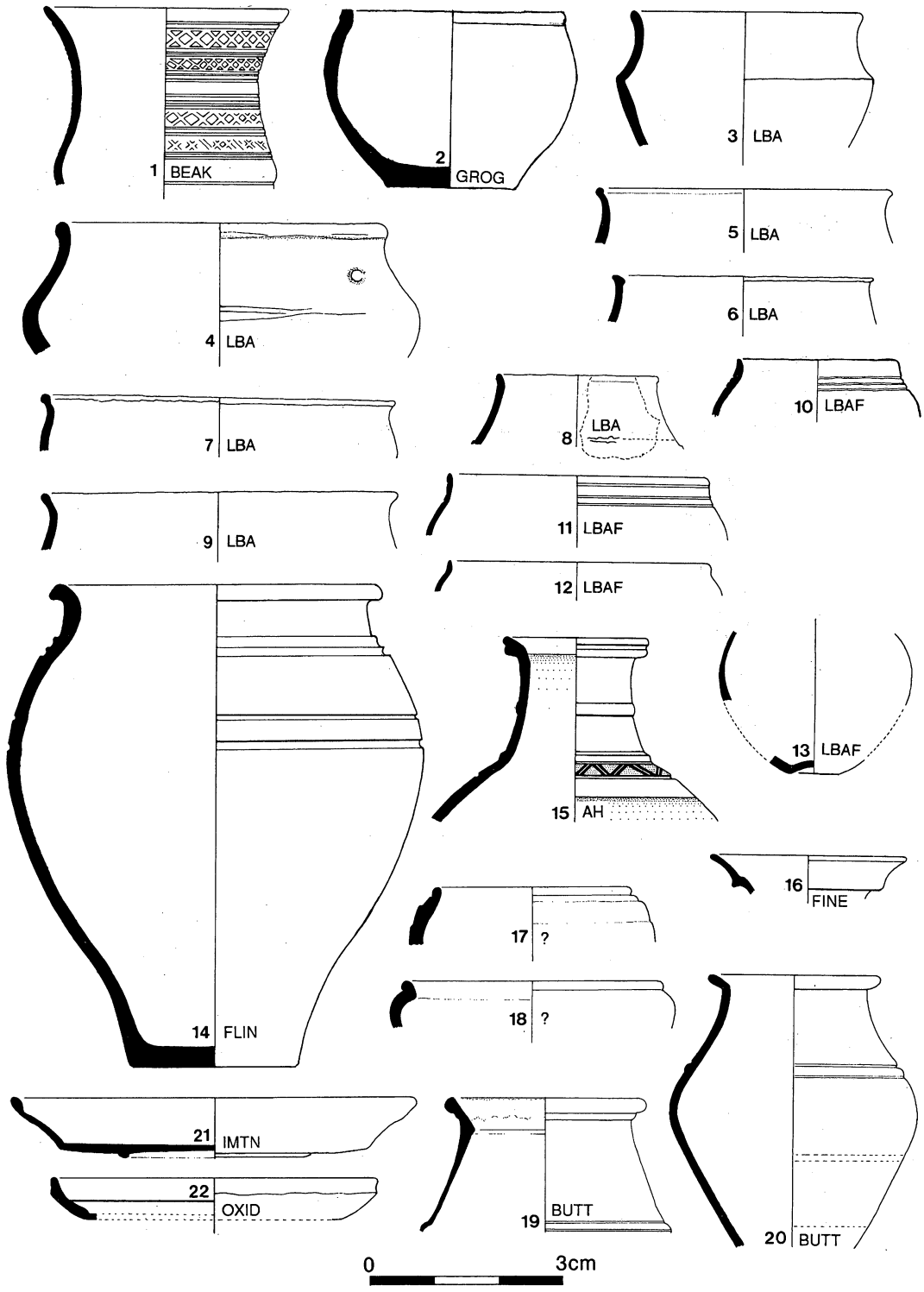

Fig 12 King William IV site, Ewell: pottery from phases 1–3: phase 1, no 1; phase 2, nos 3–13; phase 3, nos 2, 14–22. (1:4)

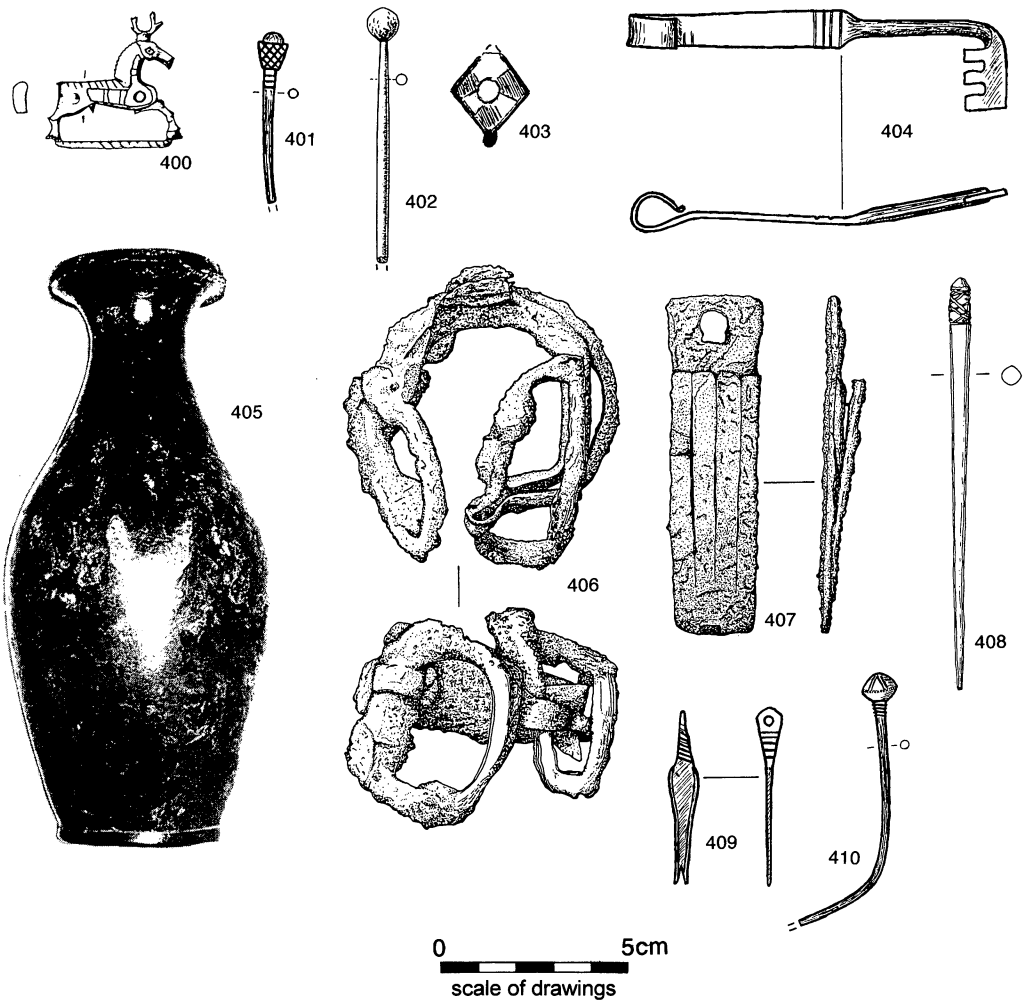

Fig 13 King William IV site, Ewell: Roman small finds: F24, no 400; F117, nos 401, 402; F120, nos 403–407; G12, no 408; A14, no 409; probably A10, no 410. (Scale 1:2, except for no 405, whose scale is unknown).

small postholes or stakeholes: F29, 37, 38, 63, 100, 107, 111, 112, 118, 119.
gulleys: F43.

3 The finds (figs 12, 13)

3.1 POTTERY

In the pottery catalogue all pottery is classified by fabric and, where possible, by form. Standard Museum of London Department of Urban Archaeology (DUA) fabric codes are used (Davies *et al* 1994, 233), with some simplification where difficulties were experienced in distinguishing between types. Some codes were slightly changed and a few new ones were created.

For forms, by contrast, an independent system was set up by the Group, using broad form types for as much of the pottery as possible, form numbers for the more complete or distinctive examples, and parallels to them for repetitive examples.

The amounts of pottery in various fabrics and forms are summarized in tables 2–4 (Section 4).

3.1.1 *Fabric types*

The names, codes and definitions of the types used are given in the archival report in alphabetical order. Where the code differs from that in use at the former Department of Urban Archaeology the latter is given in square brackets; where there is no corresponding DUA code a [*] is shown. The descriptions given there are abbreviated, and should be seen as references to standard descriptions rather than in their own right.

3.1.2 *Forms*

A simple division into broad groups of forms, based on the ratio of height to diameter (complete profiles) and the apparent open or closed nature of the pottery, was adopted as follows: B = bowl; BEA = beaker; D = dish; J = jar; LID = lid.

In addition, specifically functional forms were recognized: AMPH = amphora; AMST = amphora stopper or seal; BOX = 'caistor box'; CUP = cup; FL = flagon; FLJ = large flagon; LAMP = lamp; MORT = mortarium; PL = platter.

3.2 OTHER CERAMIC FINDS

3.2.1 *Weights*

Several fragments of a badly-wedged fired clay can be identified as fragments of weight(s) by reference to a large part of a triangular weight from F70. Although widely scattered across the site (F24, F101, F108, F110, G3) they appear to be concentrated in A8, and could all be part of the same large weight.

Of the weight in F70, Martyn Morris (pers comm) writes 'A large fragment of a triangular burnt clay loomweight, with equilateral sides probably some 10in (250mm) long and about $3\frac{1}{2}$in (90mm) thick. Most of one of the three pierced holes remains and part of a second. The fabric is only lightly fired to a deep red colour and is very lightly chalk tempered. The holes appeared to have been made by moulding the weight around a rod, rather than by piercing the shaped clay triangle.' The weight appears to be a large example of Danebury type 1 (Cunliffe 1984, 401), and may not be a loomweight. Similar examples are known from several Iron Age sites in Surrey, eg Hawks Hill, Fetcham (Hastings 1965, 12), but they are also found in Roman contexts, eg at Wanborough (O'Connell & Bird 1994, 130).

3.3 GLASS

There is a collection of Roman vessel glass from F109. This has not returned after being submitted for specialist report, and must be considered lost. Apart from this group, Roman glass is not common on the site, but there are small fragments from F6, F87, F89, F98, F99, F110 and probably F120.

Some 18th and 19th century pits contain large assemblages of bottle glass; these will be the subject of a separate report.

3.4 METAL ARTEFACTS

3.4.1 *Coins and jettons*

Roman

Tiberius (23–37) or Galba (68): dupondius, obv. bust of Livia, rev. Livia standing, unstratified
Vespasian (69–79): denarius, yoked oxen, mint mark Roma, from F120
Vespasian (71): as, IMP CAEE VESPASIAN AVG COS III, SECURITAS AVGVSTI S C, Lyon mint, from A16
Trajan? (98–117): ?, ?, from F98
Hadrian (117–38): ?, frag, from F117
Sabina (117–38): sestertius, Vesta holding palladium, from F120
Antoninus Pius (138–61): ?, ?, from F120
Antoninus Pius (156): sestertius, LIBERTAS COS III, from F120
Antoninus Pius (160): sestertius, PIETAS, from F120
Marcus Aurelius (161–80): ?, PIETAS AVG, from F103
Marcus Aurelius (161–80): dupondius?, ?, from F120
Commodus (176–92), dupondius, ?, from bottom of F120

Julia Domna (193–211): antoninianus, CONCORDIA, from F120
Septimus Severus (207–8): denarius, P M TRP XV COS III PP, from F117
Severus Alexander (222–35): antoninianus, VICTORIA AVGVSTI, from F120
Gallienus (253–68): antoninianus, VICTORIA, from F120
Postumus (260–69): antoninianus, VIRTVS AVG, from F120
Claudius II (268–9): antoninianus, ?, from F120
Victorinus (268–70): antoninianus, PROVIDENTIA?, from A10
Victorinus (268–70): antoninianus, AVG, from A14
Tetricus I (270–73): antoninianus, SPES PUBLICA, from A12
Tetricus I (270–73): antoninianus,?, from A14
Tetricus I (270–73): antoninianus, Laetitia? holding wreath, from F94
Tetricus I (270–73): antoninianus,?, from F120
3rd century (270–73?): mimim, ?, two from F120
Barbarous radiate (270–93): antoninianus, ?, three from F120
Hoard of 120 3rd century coins in bronze flagon (see 3.4.2) described as 'counterfeits, mostly of the Tetricii, other identified as antoniniani of Gallienus (253–268) and Postumus (260–69), unusual *limes* forgery of an as of Herennia Etruscilla, wife of Trajan Decius (249–51). These coins are very poorly made, and are for the most part cast. They vary in shape enormously and weigh as little as 2 grains. Most cannot be identified for certain but the British Museum agrees with the Tetricii, ie 275 AD.' This hoard can be classified as a 'Barbarous radiate type B hoard' (Davies 1992). Davies dates this type to between the later 270s and 287 (*ibid*, 214). From F120.
Carausius (286–293): antoninianus, radiate bust, from A3
Constantinopolis (330–5): ?, helmeted bust, victor, from A16
Constantine I (336–41): ?, two soldiers and one standard, from A10, possibly from F102
Unidentified 4th century: from A16.
Whether the coins in the flagon can properly be called a hoard is open to doubt. The flagon was found in L14 of F120, a layer of clean gravel beneath about 0.15m of silt and several metres of rubble. It is unlikely to have been buried with intent to recover it, and must therefore be seen as a deliberately permanent deposit, probably votive.

Illegible and unidentified Roman

Copper alloy, unstratified, from 1967 excavation, described as small
Copper alloy, unstratified, from 1968 excavation
Unidentified, from A1
Copper alloy, one from A11, four from F120

Medieval

Jetton, unidentified, copper alloy, from A3

Post-medieval to modern

William III (1689–1702): silver, two shillings and a sixpence, all from A13
Anne (1702–1714): copper alloy, ?, from A6
George I (1719): copper alloy, farthing, from A12
George III (1775): copper alloy, halfpenny, from A10
George III (1777): copper alloy, halfpenny, from A13
Victoria (1868): silver, florin, from A14
George V (1914): copper alloy, farthing, modern pit in A2
George V (1917): copper alloy, penny, from A6
George V (1919): copper alloy, halfpenny, from A12N
George V (1931): 'silver', sixpence, from A13
George VI (1948): 'silver', half-crown and sixpence, from A14
Elizabeth II (1955): copper alloy, halfpenny, from A12
Modern: copper alloy, halfpenny, from A6

Unidentified

Copper alloy, one each from F46, A3, A4, A10, B1, B2, and unstratified
Silver, from A5, or possibly from A11
?, two from A1, one from F84

3.4.2 *Bronze/copper alloy*

Roman

Lid of a seal box. Lozenge-shaped, with enamelling in simple geometric design. Bateson (1981, 49–54 and fig 7) group 3. The majority are found on urban and military sites (*ibid*). This appears to be the first example recorded from Surrey (Holmes 1995). From A14 (probably F120). (fig 13, 403)
Brooch in the form of a stag running to the right, modelled in flat relief. The antlers are broken but may have joined to form a ring. Length 35mm. It is very similar to an example from the 1923–27 excavations at Wroxeter (Atkinson 1942, 200, fig 36, H26), which was found in a context dated *c* AD 160. From F24. (fig 13, 400)
Fragments of three fibulae-type brooches from A4, A8, and F117
Bracelet from F87
Tumbler lock lift key, of rather light construction compared with those shown by Crummy (1983, 124–5), but very similar to an iron example shown by Manning (1985, 90 and fig 25, 3). From F120. (fig 13, 404)
Flagon, containing coin hoard (see 3.4.1). Handle missing. From F120. (fig 13, 405)
Nail-cleaner, Crummy (1983, 58, cf no.1872) type 2a, dated mid-1st to 2nd century. From A14. (fig 13, 409)
Pin, broken, with conical head set with a glass bead. Cool (1990) group 14B, especially fig 9, no 5. Found in 3rd and 4th century contexts (*ibid*). From F117. (fig 13, 401)
Pin, broken, with spherical head decorated with radiating lines. Cool (1990) group 12, found mainly in north Kent and London, but also at Colchester (Crummy 1983, 30, no 500); probably from A10. (fig 13, 410)

Post-medieval

Two thimbles, from B3 and B4

3.4.3 *Iron*

There are some very distinctive items:
Axe from F103
Bucket fitting from F98
Barb-spring padlock bolt (Manning 1985, 95–6), probably for a type 1 padlock; probably from F120 (fig 13, no 407)
Two fetters or manacles, Manning (1985) type 7. Thompson (1994, 117) refers to them as the Bavay type. The pair would have been joined by a barb-spring padlock, of which no 407 may well be the bolt. Examples have also been found at London, Silchester and Great Chesterford. From F120 (fig 13, no 406).
Weaving comb from F33.
There are several knives, three from F98, one each from A2, F93, F99 and F120.
There are fragments of apparently structural ironwork from G8, F103 (two), F120 (three) and hooks from F87 and F98.
Studs from a boot or sandal are found in F117.

Post-medieval

A key from F97 is probably intrusive.

3.4.4 *Lead*

Pendant of lunate shape from F97
Four scraps and fragments of lead, but only one is from a Roman context (F87).

3.5 BONE ARTEFACTS

Roman

By far the most common bone artefacts are the pins, of which there are at least 25. They are found in F87 (two), F92, F98 (five), F117 (four or five), F120 (three definite examples and four probably from this feature), and G12 (three), as well as two unstratified examples.

Illustrated examples are one with a spherical head, Crummy (1983) type 3, 3rd–4th century, from F117 (fig 13, no 402), and one with pointed head and lattice decoration, closest to Crummy type 5, 4th century, but more complex, from G12 (fig 13, no 408).

Other classes are:
Needles and awls (one each from G8, G12, F99 and F117)
Handles (two from F117)
Counters (one each from A9, F98, F117 and one unstratified)
Bead (from F98)
Die (from F98)

Post-medieval

Needle-case from A12, toggle from B7, two dominoes from B2 and B4

3.6 STONE

3.6.1 *Building stone*

Retention of excavated building stone seems to have been variable, but from the notes and the surviving material it appears that three types of stone were in common use: chalk, flint and sandstone.

Chalk

Squared blocks of chalk are recorded *in situ* as part of F15, and isolated fragments, some with a worked surface and some with traces of mortar, are known from elsewhere on the site. Also recorded (but not retained) are large quantities of 'false chalk', ie upcast from the digging of pits and wells into the chalk subsoil. The difficulty of distinguishing between abraded worked blocks and this upcast means that the use of chalk as a building material may be substantially under-recorded.

Flint

Squared and mortared flint blocks are known from the notes and from the memories of workers on the site, but do not appear to have been retained. They seem to have been particularly common in F120, giving its fill a very loose open structure. However, flint flakes which appear to be debris from the squaring of blocks for building purposes have been retained, although it is not known if this was done consistently. Such flint is recorded from F99, F101, F107, F110 and F120, as well as soil layers in A9 and A12.

Greensand

Many large pieces of Upper Greensand, probably Reigate stone from some 10km to the south-east, are recorded from F120. Much smaller amounts are found in soil layers in A2, A3, A9 and A11. Most are very broken and abraded, and very few show signs of working.

3.6.2 *Querns and whetstones*

Fragments of quern stones are found in two materials: (i) Mayen lava and (ii) a gritty stone, possibly Millstone Grit.

Mayen lava

Small fragments are known from F27, F109, F117 and G4, as well as soil layers in A2, A3 and A7.

Gritty stone

A group of fragments, apparently of both rotary and saddle quern shapes, is known from F120. There are also pieces from G7 and soil layers in A3.

Whetstones

Also, there are fragments of three whetstones from Roman contexts: F109, F110 and F120.

3.6.3 *Decorative stone*

There is a jet bead from F120, and fragments of a shale bracelet, probably also from F120.

3.6.4 *Flintwork*

A few flint tools are recorded as small finds from contexts in which they are clearly residual: barbed and tanged arrowhead from A8/9; blade from A4; burin from A17; end-scraper from A10; microlith from F116; two points from A3 and G8. There is no record of any débitage.

3.7 OTHER BUILDING MATERIALS

The following classes of other building materials were identified:

(i) Roman brick and tile, including imbrex, tegula and flue tiles
(ii) daub
(iii) plaster, both a coarse yellow plaster and a finer white wall-plaster
(iv) medieval and post-medieval roof tile

Fragments of all classes were found scattered widely across the site; none could be described as being *in situ*. In general, fragments were small and many were abraded.

3.7.1 *Roman brick and tile*

This category was catalogued very selectively, only the group from F120 being thought large enough to merit detailed recording. The system described by Betts (1986) was used, with fabric codes as used by the then Department of Urban Archaeology, Museum of London.

By far the bulk of the tile appears to be of tegula form; imbrex is relatively rare. There are examples of box-flue tile, with either roller-stamping or combing, and of voussoir tiles, from F120. The only recognizable pattern is the W-chevron (Lowther 1948, group 1, die 5). There are also examples of roller-stamping from F87, G3, and soil layers in A9 and A11. Signatures (Betts 1986, 8) are found on fragments of brick from F120 and G4. As well as the large group in F120, there are smaller groups of tile in F24, F44, F46, F87–9, F98–9, F103, F105, F109–10, F117.

Of the example in A11, Martyn Morris (pers comm) writes 'a fragment of the decorated surface and the edge of a roller-stamped box-flue tile in hard red gritty fabric. The pattern is a rather poor print of Lowther's Group 5 die 14 (Lowther 1949). This die has previously been reported from Ashtead (two sites), Ewell (Purberry Shot), and Boxmoor (Hertfordshire). These finds, in so far as they have been datable, have been assigned to the end of the 1st century (*ibid,* 8). There appears to be no reference in the Purberry Shot report to this fragment of flue tile, and the only reference is Lowther (1949, 13).'

There are no examples of tesserae, but F103 contains some sherds of Dressel 20 amphorae which appear to have been deliberately trimmed to a roughly square shape, 20–30mm in size.

3.7.2 *Daub*

This was identified as a low-fired sandy clay showing one finished surface and impressions from the frame around which it had been packed. Small fragments can be difficult to distinguish from pieces of loomweight (see 3.2); experience suggests that the loomweight fragments are harder (higher-fired) and more intensively wedged. The impressions suggest packing around wood of cylindrical section of up to 20–30mm diameter, but no fragments are large enough to indicate the spacing between such formers. Many examples are burnt, and it may be that only the accident of burning has preserved them. The flat surfaces are generally plain, but a few show traces of plaster or what appears to be whitewash (F110, F116). No traces of roller-stamping, as studied by Russell (1991), were recorded but the material was generally so fragmentary that it could easily have been missed. Although daub is widespread across the site (F6, F46, F87–9, F98–9, F105, F109–10, F116–7), there is a particular concentration in F109 (late 2nd century).

3.7.3 *Plaster*

A white plaster, of the type commonly recognized as Roman wall-plaster, occurs in small fragments in several contexts (F87–9, F98, F105, F117), but never in large quantities. None is decorated. A coarser yellow plaster, possibly a layer between the wall material itself and the white surface plaster, occurs in F87 and F110.

3.7.4 *Medieval and post-medieval roof tile*

Fragments of thin (10–15mm) hand-made roof tile, some with peg holes, occur across the site, mainly in soil layers but also in F24, F27, F34, F44, F101 and F108. They are thought to be medieval or early post-medieval in date.

3.8 ANIMAL BONE, by Pat Nicolaysen

The animal bones and teeth have been examined and recorded and details entered on a database. The majority came from Roman contexts and can be considered to be Roman; those from later contexts may be contemporary, or may be derived from the disturbance of Roman contexts. The groups studied were all in the former category. The majority of bone fragments are from the large domestic animals, certainly the remains of food consumption. Cattle are the most numerous species represented, with considerable numbers of pig and sheep bones. Many of these bones showed evidence of butchery; several have also been gnawed by carnivores, probably dogs. Dog bones appear in many contexts, in stages of growth ranging from very young puppies to adults. Horse remains are also present, as are those of one or two cats.

Edible wild animals identified include red and roe deer, and hare. There is one rabbit bone present, but it is almost certainly intrusive. Other wild animals identified are weasel, hedgehog, house mouse and black rat. The presence of these small mammals, and also of frogs and toads, indicates that they would have used the layers of rubbish in the pits as living quarters or for foraging until the pits were finally covered over.

Small numbers of bird bones were present in several contexts; edible birds present are geese, chicken, mallard, a domestic dove and a small wading bird, probably woodcock. These are all commonly found on Roman sites in Britain (Parker 1988, 209–10). Woodcock is known to have been a favourite food item on Roman tables in Britain, and can still be found living in the Epsom and Ewell district. Other birds identified are raven, crow and jackdaw, all common or fairly common on Roman sites (*ibid,* 212–3).

A few unidentifiable fragments of fish bone are present, together with one salmon vertebra — was this fish brought from Londinium or was it perhaps caught in local waters, possibly the Thames?

The main area of further study of this bone assemblage is concerned with the butchery evidence from the cattle carcasses, seeking comparisons and parallels from other Roman sites in Britain and north-west Europe.

3.9 THE MOLLUSCS, by David Orton

Several hundred mollusc shells were recorded from Roman contexts. It is not known whether they had been retained consistently or selectively. The most common were oysters; shells were found from across the site, but the only large assemblages were in F97, F109, F117 and F120. The largest (F117) had only 137 shells.

The next most common were mussels; again widespread but with only two large assemblages, from F109 and F117. Snails of various types were very widespread but never abundant in any one feature. There were small numbers of cockles in F109, F117 and F120, whelks in F109 and a solitary winkle in F117.

It is interesting that the two features with the most oyster shells (F109 and F117) also had the most mussel shells and almost all the other marine molluscs. This suggests that there is a general

marine mollusc assemblage of about 75% oyster shells, 25% mussel shells, with a small percentage of cockle, whelk and winkle, which therefore are only found in large assemblages. Snails on the other hand do not fit this pattern.

4 Comparison of selected major assemblages

4.1 POTTERY

Fourteen assemblages, spanning phases 4 to 7, were selected as being of sufficient size for a statistical comparison — more than 3 eves (estimated vessel equivalents), but this figure should not be taken as a general criterion of size. Together the assemblages contained about 220 eves, roughly two-thirds of the Roman pottery from the site. The amounts of pottery of each form/fabric combination in each assemblage are given in the archive report. It should be noted that this quantification includes the samian.

In order to look for chronological trends and any marked deviations from them, the assemblages were compared in terms of

(i) proportions of broad form groups
(ii) proportions of different forms within the form groups
(iii) proportions of different fabrics

4.1.1 *Proportions of broad form groups* (table 2)

The proportions of the main groups of forms — jar, beaker, bowl, dish, lid, flagon, mortarium, cup, and amphora — for each assemblage and each phase are shown in table 2. The jar is by far the most common form, at about 50% of the total, followed by bowl and beaker at about 15%; no other broad form is more than 10% of the total. The proportion of amphora is very small, never more than 2% of an assemblage.

The proportions of most forms are remarkably consistent chronologically. The only large differences between phases are for dish, which increases steadily from 1% to 9%, and for lid which decreases similarly. The increase in dish is partly due to the form PD (plain dish, see

TABLE 2 Percentages of pottery in broad forms groups, for selected features and totals of selected features in phases. The final column shows the total amounts of pottery (measured in eves) in each feature and each phase.

	Jar	Beaker	Bowl	Dish	Lid	Flagon	Mort	Cup	Amph	Total
F24	50	14	11	–	7	–	5	10	–	7.73
F97	50	12	4	2	14	12	1	3	–	8.40
phase 4	50	13	8	1	10	6	3	6	–	16.13
F109	50	12	13	4	4	5	6	2	2	26.68
F6	48	11	34	2	3	–	–	3	–	3.33
F87	50	23	15	1	5	4	2	1	–	5.25
F88	26	23	25	11	8	5	2	–	–	4.43
F105	44	11	31	5	2	–	2	2	–	9.62
F110	52	6	8	4	2	20	–	4	2	11.84
phase 5	47	12	17	4	4	7	3	3	1	61.15
F89	50	16	13	13	1	3	–	–	–	20.84
F103	45	6	18	5	3	6	1	18	–	8.85
G12	51	9	20	5	3	9	2	–	–	18.33
phase 6	49	12	17	9	2	6	1	3	–	48.02
F117	60	13	12	6	2	3	3	1	1	35.25
F98	44	11	31	7	1	2	2	3	–	7.61
F120	51	16	14	11	1	4	1	1	–	47.18
phase 7	54	14	15	9	1	3	2	1	–	90.04

4.1.2) and it may well be that some (or even all) pots of this form are mis-identified lids. If so, there are no chronological trends at all. This contradicts the observation (Cunliffe 1971, 250) that bowls seem to increase at the expense of jars through the Roman period.

Even at the level of the individual assemblage, where one would expect the figures to be more variable, there are few large fluctuations. A possible exception is the 60% of jars in F117, which can be traced to an excess of hook-rimmed jars (HRJ, table 3a), discussed below (see 4.1.2). Flagons (FL) are apparently unusually common in F110, but their proportions are more variable than those of other forms because they are a chunky form, ie their rim-eve tends to be either 100% or nothing, while other forms can take a wide range of intermediate percentages.

Overall, the picture is one of remarkable stability. If proportions of broad form groups can be taken to reflect function, then the function of the site would appear to remain constant over phases 4 to 7 (AD 70 to 250/350).

4.1.2 *Proportions of forms within broad form groups* (tables 3a and 3b)

By contrast with the above, the proportions of individual forms within their groups vary widely. Table 3 shows these proportions for the two most common groups, jars and bowls: there is not enough pottery of other groups for such a breakdown to be viable. It should be remembered that the presence of various forms was used to put the features in sequence and date them, so the patterns are to some extent defined by expectations.

Jars

Overall, the most common form is the black-burnished style jar (BBJ), associated with the black-burnished fabrics (BB1 and BB2), but also found in other fabrics. Absent from phase 4, it increases rapidly in phase 5 to a peak of over 50% of all jars at the end of that phase and the start of phase 6, before declining in phase 7. The unusually low percentage (20%) in G12 is probably due to the unusually high proportion of residual early forms (eg everted cordoned and flat-rimmed cordoned jars (ECJ, FCJ)) in that group. F87 is also unusually low in this form. The next most common form is the everted cordoned jar (ECJ), which comprises about a quarter of

TABLE 3(a) Percentages of pottery in jar forms, as proportion of all jars, for selected features and totals of selected features in phases. The final column shows the total amounts of jars (measured in eves) in each feature and each phase. See text for codes.

	BBJ	BRJ	ECJ	FCJ	FRJ	HRJ	LSJ	JAR	total jars
F24	–	6	47	–	9	–	4	34	3.87
F97	–	35	10	9	–	–	6	40	4.16
phase 4	–	21	27	5	4	–	5	37	8.03
F109	32	2	41	5	4	–	1	15	13.29
F6	41	–	23	–	4	–	–	32	1.60
F87	12	21	22	15	3	–	–	27	2.61
F88	41	4	15	–	15	–	–	25	1.16
F105	41	1	14	–	11	4	–	29	4.20
F110	66	5	5	4	4	–	–	16	6.19
phase 5	40	4	26	5	5	1	–	20	29.05
F89	53	5	6	3	10	11	5	8	10.42
F103	55	1	9	–	11	–	4	21	3.95
G12	20	2	22	17	13	–	1	25	9.34
phase 6	40	2	12	8	11	5	3	16	23.71
F117	31	2	12	3	7	40	–	5	21.09
F98	31	8	12	–	20	14	5	11	3.33
F120	34	4	20	1	7	25	3	7	24.18
phase 7	32	3	16	2	8	31	2	6	48.60

TABLE 3(b) Percentages of pottery in bowl forms, as proportion of all bowls, for selected features and totals of selected features in phases. The final column shows the total amounts of bowls (measured in eves) in each feature and each phase. See text for codes.

	ATB	FB	PB	RRB	BOWL	total bowls
F24	57	–	–	6	37	0.86
F97	54	–	–	–	46	0.35
phase 4	56	–	–	4	40	1.21
F109	–	–	14	67	18	3.55
F6	–	–	–	76	24	1.13
F87	–	–	–	66	34	0.79
F88	9	–	5	57	29	1.09
F105	5	5	–	63	27	2.97
F110	–	–	–	68	32	0.96
phase 5	2	2	2	68	26	10.49
F89	–	–	13	73	14	3.18
F103	–	6	–	49	45	1.59
G12	–	20	–	43	37	3.68
phase 6	–	10	5	55	30	8.45
F117	–	55	3	13	29	4.35
F98	–	20	6	18	56	2.36
F120	1	58	–	9	31	6.77
phase 7	–	51	3	12	35	13.48

the jars in phases 4 and 5 before declining in phases 6 and 7. Unusually high proportions in G12 and F120 may reflect above-average residuality.

The hook-rimmed jar (HRJ) is a late form, only common in phase 7; occurences in phase 5 may be intrusive. As noted in Section 4.1.1, F117 has a very high proportion (40% of all jars) of this form, due to the presence of four near-complete vessels.

In contrast, the bead-rimmed jar (BRJ) is only common in phase 4, although it also occurs in phases 5 to 7, probably as residual material. Other forms occur in small and fairly consistent proportions throughout the sequence.

Finally, the unclassified jars (JAR) show a steady decline from 33% of jars in phase 4 to only 6% in phase 7. This is probably due to increasing standardization and a corresponding ease of definition of forms, leaving fewer vessels unclassified in later phases.

Bowls

The patterns for the bowl forms are even stronger than those for the jars. The most common form, the rolled-rim bowl (RRB), is scarcely present in phase 4, dominates phases 5 and 6, and declines sharply in phase 7. The start of the sequence is dominated by the Atrebatic bowl (ATB), over 50% of phase 4 bowls but scarcely occurring later, while the flanged bowl (FB) dominates phase 7 but is rarely present earlier. There is thus a clear picture of three successive dominant forms. Plain bowls appear to increase gradually until phase 6, but are never a major element of an assemblage. However, a large minority in all phases is taken up by other bowls (BOWL), mostly samian forms and their imitations, which fluctuate but show no clear trend.

4.1.3 *Proportions of fabrics* (table 4)

Care must be taken in interpreting these figures, as fabric was often more difficult to identify than form, and a higher error rate must be expected. Nevertheless, some patterns are clear. The ratio of coarse to fine ware is reasonably steady, as is the total proportion of samian. This reinforces the idea of a consistent 'function' of the site in ceramic terms.

TABLE 4 Percentages of pottery in major fabrics, for selected features and totals of selected features in phases. For totals on which these figures are based see table 2.

	coarse	AH[1]	BB[2]	SAND[3]	VR[4]	SW[5]	FG[6]	BLEZ[7]	OX[8]	NV[9]
F24	65	33	–	31	5	9	14	–	–	–
F97	80	11	–	45	19	5	11	–	–	–
phase 4	72	21	–	38	12	7	12	–	–	–
F109	91	8	12	51	11	3	2	–	1	–
F6	85	60	7	18	–	4	–	–	–	3
F87	70	5	4	48	5	1	9	–	–	2
F88	66	24	8	35	–	9	1	23	–	–
F105	79	32	13	32	2	8	5	2	–	–
F110	89	23	27	13	23	7	–	–	–	–
phase 5	85	18	14	39	10	5	3	2	–	–
F89	82	43	18	20	1	2	8	1	–	–
F103	69	32	2	34	–	23	4	–	–	–
G12	75	25	8	41	3	9	3	1	–	1
phase 6	77	35	11	30	2	11	5	1	–	1
F117	84	58	7	19	–	6	1	2	1	2
F98	70	21	9	38	–	15	9	–	2	1
F120	88	51	9	25	2	3	–	1	2	2
phase 7	80	51	8	24	1	5	1	1	2	2

Notes:
1 Alice Holt ware
2 black-burnished wares, types 1 and 2
3 'other' sandy wares, including OXID (oxidized wares)
4 Verulamium region wares, both red (VRR) and white (VRW)
5 samian ware
6 fine grey ware
7 black Lezoux ware, and including moselkeramik (MOSL)
8 Oxfordshire wares, both red (OXRW) and white (OXWW)
9 colour-coated wares from Nene Valley (NVCC) and Cologne (KOLN)
For definitions, see the archive report or Tyers (1996)

Within the coarsewares, Alice Holt (AH) appears to increase from about 20% in phases 4 and 5 to 50% in phase 7, though this may be because the later fabric (AHFA at the Museum of London) is easier to recognize than the earlier (AHSU at the Museum of London).

Black-burnished ware (BB1 and BB2) is not present in phase 4, reaches a peak of 14% in phase 5 and declines gradually thereafter. The other major coarseware fabrics, SAND and OXID, are best seen as balancing items comprising a number of unidentified fabrics.

The Verulamium wares (VRR and VRW) decline from about 10% in phases 4 and 5 to only 1 or 2% (probably residual) in phases 6 and 7. There are large fluctuations in some features, because the main form is the flagon, which is chunky (see 4.1.1).

Fine grey ware (FG) is also most common in phase 4 (over 10%), but declines in later phases. The Oxfordshire wares (OXRW and OXWW) and Nene Valley wares (NVCC, including Cologne (KOLN) which is difficult to distinguish) are characteristic of phase 7, occur rarely in phases 5 and 6 and not at all in phase 4. Even in phase 7, neither ever comprises more than 2% of an assemblage. The so-called 'Rhenish' wares from Lezoux (BLEZ) and the Moselle area (MOSL), by contrast, are slightly more common in phase 5 than in phase 6 or 7, owing mainly to a relatively large group in F88.

4.1.4 *Overall characteristics of the assemblage*

The pottery from the site as a whole can be characterized in terms of (i) proportions of different forms and (ii) proportions of different fabrics. In themselves, such figures give little information,

TABLE 5 Percentages of pottery in main form groups in 2nd–3rd century assemblages at Ewell, compared to those at Neatham. The symbol ... indicates a number less than 1 but greater than 0.

	Ewell		Neatham	
	range	mean	range	mean
jar	40–60	50	20–70	45
storage jar	0–5	2	0–15	6
beaker	5–20	13	0–10	2
bowl	10–30	15	15–50	20
dish	1–15	8	10–50	20
lid	1–8	2	n.a.	n.a.
flagon	0–10	5	0–5	1
mortarium	0–3	2	0–10	2
cup	0–4	2	n.a.	n.a.
amphora	0–2	...	n.a.	n.a.

but can be compared with assemblages from other sites, at least in principle. Unfortunately, very few other sites have been quantified: one that has been, in terms of broad form groups, is Neatham, Hampshire (50 km west-south-west of Ewell) (Millett & Graham 1986, 92). Although the proportions of fabrics can be expected to differ between the two sites for locational reasons (especially the proximity of Neatham to the Alice Holt kilns), any differences in proportions of forms should reflect differences in the functions of the sites.

Forms

A comparison of the 2nd–3rd century aspects is given in table 5: the percentages for jars and storage jars are best taken together, as the storage jar category comprises only large storage jars at Ewell.

The main differences appear to be (a) more beakers and flagons at Ewell, (b) more storage jars and dishes at Neatham, and (c) generally greater variability at Neatham. Of these, (c) is probably due to size of assemblages, only the larger assemblages being chosen for analysis at Ewell, and is therefore probably not significant.

Fabrics

Quantification of comparable assemblages by fabric is even harder to make, due in part to the use of different fabric typologies in different areas, whilst the broad form groups are well established. However, comparisons with Londinium sites suggest a lower proportion of samian (5–7% in phases 4 and 5, compared with 27% in the 1st–2nd century groups at Billingsgate Buildings, (Green 1980, 82)), and a low proportion of imports (about one-third of the Billingsgate Buildings groups consist of imported wares (*ibid,* figs 43–44)).

This is what would be expected, given the relative status and geographical location of Londinium and Ewell. This relative lack of imported wares extends to amphorae, which never exceed 2% of a King William assemblage, and are often completely absent. Urban assemblages, by contrast, frequently include relatively high proportions of amphorae, especially Dressel 20 (Tyers & Vince 1983, 303).

However, the King William assemblages do include a long 'tail' of very small proportions of unusual and exotic fabrics. Amongst the imports are examples of Lyon ware, Cologne colour-coat, Moselkeramik, pentice beaker, and Palestinian amphora, while there are also unexpected examples of regional imports from north of Londinium, such as Highgate ware, and Much Hadham fine and coarse wares.

TABLE 6 Numbers of coins from the King William site by Reece's (1993) periods, compared with the Ewell gazetteer sites and national proportions

	KW		Gazetteer		Reece-all	Reece-army
period	no.	‰	no.	‰	‰	‰
1	1?		5	34	6	12
2	0	30	2	14	12	1
3	1?		1	7	6	7
4	2	61	17	117	31	69
5	1	30	5	34	20	58
6	2	61	5	34	16	41
7	3	91	4	28	19	41
8	2	61	2	14	12	22
9	1	30	0	0	5	9
10	2	61	3	21	15	34
11	1	30	1	7	7	15
12	1	30	1	7	8	16
13	10	303	32	221	144	168
14	4	121	10	69	121	82
15	0	0	4	28	17	31
16	0	0	18	124	44	70
17	2	61	10	69	246	192
18	0	0	5	34	98	75
19	0	0	10	69	118	50
20	0	0	3	21	5	2
21	0	0	7	48	50	6
15–21	1	30	–	–	–	–
Total	33	1000	145	1000	1000	1000

The general impression, and until more comparative data become available it can only be an impression, is of a site at which the pottery is for utilitarian purposes, such as cooking, rather than for either storage or display. Bulk materials do not seem to be brought on to the site in any quantity, but occasional unusual examples may reflect a passing trade or relatively long-distance contacts.

4.2 COMPARISON OF COIN AND SMALL FIND ASSEMBLAGES

4.2.1 *Coins*

The distribution of the coins across Reece's periods (Reece 1993) is shown in table 6, where it is compared with the coin list from the Gazetteer (this volume, page 140), and with national figures given by Reece (1993).

The King William site differs from the Gazetteer sites in having very few 4th century coins (period 15 and later): only 3 (9% of the total) compared with 57 (nearly 40% of the total). Up to this date (ie for periods 1–14) the distributions are broadly similar. In terms of coin loss, there is very little activity on the King William site after period 14, which includes the likely date of deposition of the hoard (see 3.4.1). Some local reason must be sought for this difference between the King William site and the Gazetteer ones (see 5.2). It therefore seems more sensible to compare the Gazetteer sites with the national figures. Table 6 shows that the Gazetteer sites differ strongly from the national totals, and in particular are high in periods 1, 4, 13 and 16, and low in periods 17–19. The category of site with the most similar coin distribution to the Gazetteer sites is Reece's 'Army' category, although even here the Gazetteer sites are high in periods 4 and 16, and low in 17 and 18. The next most similar category to the Gazetteer sites is Reece's 'Eastern good towns' category.

TABLE 7 Counts of small finds in selected assemblages, classified by material and type

	bronze	iron			bone		lead	stone	total
		knives	struct.	other	pin	other			
F24	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
F97	3	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	4
phase 4	4	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	5
F109	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	3
F6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F87	1	–	1	–	2	–	1	–	5
F88	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F105	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F110	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	2
phase 5	1	1	2	1	2	–	1	2	10
F89	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F103	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	3
G12	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	3
phase 6	–	–	2	1	3	–	–	–	6
F117	6	–	–	3	5	4	–	–	18
F98	–	3	1	–	5	3	–	–	12
F120	3	1	3	4	7	–	–	3	21
phase 7	9	4	4	7	17	7	–	3	51
total	14	5	8	9	22	7	2	5	72

4.2.2 *Small finds*

The same features that were used in the comparison of pottery assemblages (Section 4.1) were also used in a comparison of small find assemblages. 'Small find' is here taken to mean the objects listed in Sections 3.4 (excluding coins), 3.5, and 3.6 (excluding quern fragments because they cannot at present be quantified). Table 7 shows total numbers in assemblages, broken down into materials, with knives, structural ironwork and bone pins (ie the most common classes) shown separately. The numbers clearly increase from the early Roman (phase 4) to the late Roman (phase 7). That this is not solely due to an overall increase in activity, or to differences in the lengths of the periods, can be shown by comparing the numbers of small finds with corresponding amounts of pottery. The ratios of numbers of small finds to the total measure of pottery (in eves) for each assemblage and each phase are given in table 8. There is a large and statistically significant jump in the ratio of small finds to pottery in phase 7 (ie at about AD 250). It is tempting to seek reasons for this increase, but without comparative data from other sites, one cannot tell whether it is a general late Roman phenomenon, or a peculiarly local one.

This increase is matched by an even more pronounced increase in the number of coins found in assemblages of phase 7, although the coins themselves are much earlier and follow a 'military' pattern (see 4.2.1).

5 Discussion

5.1 THE PROBLEM OF STANE STREET

The generally accepted line of Stane Street through Ewell is that given by Winbolt (1936, 155, 171) and repeated by Margary (1956), based mainly on work by Lowther and Winbolt in the 1930s. Winbolt showed two alignments:

(i) a northern one, on the west side of the London Road Plantation and extended by observations at Castle Parade on Ewell By-Pass (Lowther's 'shop site' (1935, 17)).

(ii) a southern one, extrapolated north and south from Lowther's work at Fair Field (now Staneway) in 1934 (Lowther 1935; Winbolt 1936). Interpretation of this work is hindered by

TABLE 8 Numbers of small finds (s.f.), compared to corresponding amounts of pottery, for selected features and totals of selected features in phases

	s.f.	pot (eves)	sf./pot
F24	1	7.73	0.13
F97	4	8.40	0.48
phase 4	5	16.13	0.31
F109	3	26.68	0.11
F6	–	3.33	0
F87	5	5.25	0.95
F88	–	4.43	0
F105	–	9.62	0
F110	2	11.84	0.17
phase 5	10	61.15	0.16
F89	–	20.84	0
F103	3	8.85	0.34
G12	3	18.33	0.16
phase 6	6	48.02	0.12
F117	18	35.25	0.51
F98	12	7.61	1.58
F120	21	47.18	0.45
phase 7	51	90.04	0.57
total	72	215.70	0.33

discrepancies between Lowther's and Winbolt's accounts. The former (Lowther 1935, fig 4) shows five trenches over a length of 150m establishing the line of the road. This alignment, if extrapolated, would cross King William site B, pass to the east of the Old Church Tower (TQ 2210 6277), and intersect with the northern alignment at TQ 2215 6291. In contrast, Winbolt (1936, 165, plan 9) shows only four sections across the road, spread over a length of 90 yards (*ibid,* 167), from which he extrapolated an alignment passing just to the west of the Old Church Tower (*ibid,* 169). He locates the 'alignment angle' where this alignment meets the northern one at about TQ 2211 6287 on Church Street, a view followed by Margary (1956). This alignment crosses King William site A (fig 1a).

The latest detailed study, by Hargreaves (1990), favours Lowther's line. In a sense, the choice between these two lines does not affect the interpretation of our site, since there is no trace of a road or side ditches, as described by Winbolt (1936, 167) at Fair Field and found at St Mary's Churchyard (Pemberton 1973a), on site A or site B. It could be argued that the road had followed one of the lines, but had been entirely robbed within the limits of the excavation. The western line would pass through trenches 1 and probably 2 and 6 of site A: this part of the site is occupied by the phase 4 building F39–41 (see 2), as well as several pits of the Roman period. On site B, the southern trenches (B2 and B4) contain a large posthole (F6) of phase 5 (AD 150–200), as well as several smaller cut features, at least some of which may be Roman. The central trench (B3) contains no features, but the northern one (B5/7) contains the 'malting house' F15–16 (see Section 2.2). A road about 4m or more wide (Winbolt 1936, 167, gives a width of 21ft (6.4m) at Fair Field), centred on this alignment, would coincide with one or more of these features, which are 2m or less from the line. We conclude that Stane Street did not cross the King William site; the alternative is that it was unusually narrow here, had no side ditches, and has been completely robbed away.There is thus a sighting only 100m or so south of the King William site, and a twin sighting some 300m to the north. The latter is on the northern alignment and may mark its alignment angle with the Lowther/Hargreaves southern alignment, but not with the Winbolt/Margary one. Winbolt suggested (1936, 232) that Stane Street changed direction to go in at right angles in the centre of the south-east side of his supposed 'township' (see Gazetteer fig 2), but that it left the north-east side at an angle, in the Church Street area, rather than clipping the

south-east corner of the settlement, as the southern alignment does. This hypothetical route would turn north-west from the southern alignment just south of the King William site, and pass instead through the High Street/Church Street crossroads. If his argument is not accepted (and it would run into topographical problems in the area of the springs, in the very centre of Winbolt's township), then a route to the east of the King William is the more likely. In this case, the deviation must again be deliberate, to avoid either the site or some nearby feature, and cannot be explained as part of the general layout of alignments in the area. There are no obvious topographical features to be avoided; the shallow valley to the south-west of the site is no obstacle, and there appear to be none to its north-east (see Gazetteer figs 1 and 2). A purely local deviation for reasons unconnected with the lie of the land seems to be the most plausible reason for the road's absence from the site. Possibly relevant to this case may be Winbolt's observation of an 'Old Road' under Church Street at about TQ 2216 6276 (1936, 173, 231), used by Bidder (1934) as evidence for an alternative southern alignment (before the Fair Field discoveries), but discounted by Lowther (1935, 34). The extent of an eastwards deviation is constrained by the failure of an excavation in 1952 to locate Stane Street in Glyn Close, TQ 2212 6265 (Gazetteer site 45), and by the presence of a tiled Roman floor at Holman Court, Church Street, TQ 2214 6281 (Gazetteer site 60).There is a more detailed discussion of these points in the archival report.

5.2 INTERPRETATION OF THE SITE

The evidence from the site is equivocal, allowing (at least) two rival interpretations. Both are presented here: the first interpretation treats the evidence as economic or functional, while the second interpretation treats it as symbolic or ritual.

5.2.1 *First interpretation*

The earliest event on the site is a Beaker period burial, represented by disturbed fragments of a bell beaker (see 2, phase 1), and possibly also by a barbed-and-tanged flint arrowhead (see 3.6.4) found nearby.

There is evidence for domestic activity in the late Bronze Age, in the form of curved gulleys, which may be the remains of eaves-drip gulleys of round houses (see 2, phase 2), and associated pottery, none of which however is in a contemporary context. Fragments of triangular loomweights (see 3.2) may also belong to this period.

The late Iron Age is represented by a large pit, F67 (see 2, phase 3), apparently containing a cremation burial in one or two butt beakers, and possibly with associated vessels. This had, however, been seriously disturbed, and it is not possible to reconstruct the original assemblage from the pit.

It could be commented that the occurrence of one of the few Beaker burials found in Surrey away from the Thames, and the largest Iron Age burial pit in Surrey, in the same trench (A8) is a remarkable coincidence that demands explanation. On the other hand, it could be argued that:

(i) these two events are separated by an interval of about 2000 years and a period of domestic activity. It is therefore very unlikely that the position of the Beaker burial was known when the Iron Age pit was dug.

(ii) isolated burials such as these are very difficult to locate. Neither of them would have been found if the site had not been excavated for its Roman remains, and in particular because of its supposed proximity to Stane Street. Both types may therefore be far more common in Surrey than is generally recognized, and their co-occurrence be far less of a coincidence than it appears.

The earliest related Roman event is the construction of Stane Street, usually dated to about AD 50 (Bird 1987, 165), which should pass through the site but fails to do so (see 5.1). The reason for this is not clear: there are now no obvious topographical features requiring a deviation, but further work may show the existence of one in the construction period.

The earliest Roman activity on the site appears to be represented by a well (F109) and a mortar-floored building (F39–41), possibly a granary. Dating their construction is difficult, but debris from the demolition of the latter is found in the fill of the former, in association with pottery of mid to late 2nd century date: see 2.2, phases 4 (construction) and 5 (demolition/fill). They appear to have been replaced by a second well (F120) and one or more barn-like structures (see 2.2, phases 5 and 6). A stone building resembling a corn drier (F15–16) may be contemporary with either the 'granary' or the 'barn'. The function of such structures is contentious. An experiment (Reynolds & Langley 1979) indicated that they could only dry small amounts of grain, very inefficiently, and it was suggested that they might be malting floors. Morris, while arguing that 'most were used for corn processing' (1979, 21), also suggested the smoking of meat as an alternative function (*ibid,* 8), as did Evans (1984). Black (1987, 31–2) has argued that they were used to prepare corn for grinding. What can be said is that they were quite substantial structures, and were used for some sort of agricultural processing. Here, smoking of meat could relate to the butchery evidence, while processing of grain could strengthen an interpretation of F39–41 as a granary. The building will here be referred to as a malting house: its date of construction is not known, but debris from its demolition appears in the fill of the well F120, which is dated to *c* AD 280 by a hoard of coins (see 3.4.2).The last of the postholes of the 'barn' appears to have been back-filled at about this time. The postholes cannot be reconstructed into a pattern resembling barns elsewhere, but the excavated area is small in comparison with the likely size of such buildings, and it may well have exposed small parts of two or three large buildings rather than an unrecognizable part of one building.

There are several large assemblages of pottery dated to between *c* AD 70 and 280, from wells, back-filled postholes and rubbish pits. They show a very consistent functional pattern, with no trends in the proportions of different forms in the assemblages (see 4.1.1). Within this, there are strong trends in the proportions of different fabrics, and of detailed forms within broad form groups, reflecting changes in the broader patterns of supply through this period, and changing fashions within functional forms. The stability in the functional forms, however, suggests a constant activity throughout the period. The stability is apparently contradicted by the small finds evidence (see 4.2), which shows a sudden increase at the time of the demolition of the stone structure. However, this probably reflects the flushing out of small objects such as bone and metal pins from the corners of buildings when they are demolished.

The activity represented by the buildings and the finds appears to be the storage and processing of agricultural products. The 'granary', malting house and well could all relate to the production of beer. The animal bone evidence suggests the heavy butchery of cattle, and the removal of meat from certain joints, eg the shoulder. The destination of all this produce is of interest. Three possibilities can be suggested:

(i) a community, such as a villa estate, self-sufficient in these items, producing them for its own use.

(ii) a unit bringing in the raw materials and processing them for use nearby. This could relate to a postulated *mutatio* on Stane Street. The locations of the *mutationes* on the London–Chichester route have been a source of much contention. Ewell is some 21km (13 miles) from Londinium, and thus well placed to be the first stop from there. This is supported by the finding of the first seal-box lid from Surrey; Holmes (1995) sees seal boxes as closely related to the operation of the *cursus publicus*. However, starting from Chichester, the stops seem to leap-frog Ewell, the nearest to Londinium being at Merton (Bird 1987, 167–71).

(iii) a unit bringing in raw materials, and processing them for onward distribution. The excellent access to Londinium might support this idea, as might the existence of other sites around Londinium at which cattle were slaughtered for the Londinium market (eg Old Ford, interpreted by Merrifield (1983, 129) in this way). The chronological pattern of the coins (see 3.4.1), with its distinctive military bias, is supporting evidence for close links with Londinium, perhaps of an official nature. However, Old Ford is only 3.5km (2 miles) from Londinium, a much more appropriate distance for this sort of activity. A study of sites at similar distances from Londinium (eg Crayford, Croydon, Enfield, Staines) might show whether there is further

evidence to support this idea of 'gateway' settlements around the capital, collecting and processing agricultural products for onward transmission to the major market.

Whatever the reason for this activity, it seems to end about AD 280. Buildings were demolished and pits and wells back-filled. This could reflect simply the relocation of these activities elsewhere in Ewell, or the end of them in Ewell as a whole. The coin figures for the Gazetteer sites (see 4.2.1) suggest that at least part of Ewell had a reasonably normal supply of coins for a military site, but that some special factor is operating at King William which makes it differ from this pattern. Only further excavation and analysis will provide a definite answer, but the presence of a hoard of coins of this date beneath the rubble fill of F120 has an air of finality, as does the presence of a pair of manacles (see 3.5.3) in the rubble. Overall, this could be a termination deposit, as described by Merrifield (1987, 49). Later use of the site is restricted to a few pits (see 2, phases 7 and 8), a little pottery and a few coins. This sudden change, if of more than local significance, could be seen as marking a change in the relationship between town and country. The prosperity of villa estates in the late 3rd and 4th centuries may have made the function of 'gateway' settlements redundant; these estates may have become large enough to interact directly with the towns, without the need for intermediate stages to aggregate and process their products. These ideas should be seen as hypotheses for further investigation, both in Ewell and in other sites in similar locations around Londinium, rather than as a definite interpretation.

5.2.2 *Second interpretation*

The location of the largest late Iron Age burial pit in Surrey within a few metres of one of the few Beaker burials in the county cannot be dismissed as a coincidence. The chance of such a co-occurrence, unless the location of the latter was known when the former was dug, is so small that the idea of coincidence can be ruled out. The location of the earlier burial must have been marked in some way, or in successive ways, that were still visible (or remembered) some 2000 years later when the location of the late Iron Age burial pit was chosen. This identifies the site as a particularly sacred location, hallowed by usage and a long folk memory. The gulleys assigned to phase 2 are either natural or modern, as suggested by the excavator, and do not represent domestic occupation. The late Bronze Age pottery reflects activities consistent with the nature of the site, such as ritual feasting.

This use of the site helps to explain the peculiar deviation in Stane Street. Faced with local opposition to the desecration of a sacred site, it was decided expedient to take the road round it rather than through it. The local nature of the deviation, in contrast to a more widespread but gradual realignment of the road, suggests that the strength of the opposition may initially have been understated or ignored. An analogous layout can be seen at Silchester, where the forum was aligned on the main road from the east, but not directly connected to it. Boon (1974, 55) commented 'It seems likely that the forum-basilica was aligned in accordance with a proposal to extend the Roman road directly across the site. . . . But, as the *temenos* of *Insula* XXX remained inviolate, . . . the Roman road was connected to the street plan of the Flavian town by a dog-leg bend.'

The purpose of the mortar-floored building is unclear; the 'malting house' represents agricultural activity at some distance from the focus of the site. The main activity in the Roman period, however, is represented by the large postholes of phases 5–6 (AD 120–250). Typically from 1.5 to 2m in both diameter and depth, with a post-pipe of *c* 0.6m diameter, they would hold posts of great height. The obvious interpretation as a building is difficult to sustain because they do not form alignments — not even a row of three is apparent. An alternative explanation must therefore be found for a series of large free-standing posts in an apparently random pattern. It is suggested that the posts fulfilled a ritual, not a structural, function, and may have been, for example, an artificial grove. At the Hayling Island temple, for example, Downey *et al* (1980, 289–90) suggest that postholes and stakeholes forming no recognizable pattern may have been an open-air shrine, resembling a grove, with free-standing posts. This was in an Iron Age

context; here they would represent a continuation of the ritual nature of the site from pre-Roman times, the maintenance of a native religious focus.

Slofstra and van der Sanden (1987) published six examples of 'rural sanctuaries' of the Roman period in the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt area (ie northern Belgium and southern Holland). All but one consist of a rectangular ditched enclosure, from about 20m square to at least 30m x 50m in extent. In the interior are 'one or two settings of aligned posts, pits and "unusual finds" (*ibid,* 162). They appear to have been constructed in the 1st century AD and to have continued into the 2nd (two examples), 3rd (three examples) or 4th century (one example). The authors suggest (*ibid,* 163) that they represent the survival of a native cult of the dead, well into the Roman period. Although no evidence for an enclosure was found at the King William site, these are interesting parallels in terms of alignments of free-standing posts and the continuation of such practices until the late Roman period.

Of the associated features, F109 does appear to be a well, suggesting an element of water in the religious rituals. The site is near a spring, now some 150m to the north-west (see 1.2), which would have been nearer if the water table had been higher; a falling water table has been a feature of the dip-slope spring line since the 19th century (Orton 1989). The lower fill of F120, by contrast, meets several of Wait's criteria (1985, 52–4) for a ritual shaft: apparently deliberate layering of deposits (two layers each of gravel and silt), organic material (context L15), cattle bones (see 4.3), pottery, jewellery, coins, and a minimum depth of 2.5m. The bone and pottery would be expected in a normal rubbish deposit; Wait sees the layering as particularly important. Wait applied these criteria only to Iron Age and 'early Roman' shafts; their application to a 3rd century feature raises interesting questions, which will be discussed further below. There are other hints of votive deposits in the complete flagon in F33, the complete beaker in F92, and the four near-complete jars in F117 (see 4.1), for example. There are also several animal burials: at least two dogs, a horse and a deposit of horses heads, as well as various unspecified animals (see 2.2). Taken as a whole, this evidence suggests a native religious centre devoted to the worship of Celtic gods of wood and water.

All this activity came to an abrupt end between AD 280 and 350, when the remaining features, particularly F120, were back-filled, mainly with rubble from demolished buildings, and the site was cleared. This may relate to social and/or military conditions, eg troubles at the time of Allectus, which are thought to have affected Silchester (Frere 1978, 381), but in view of the nature of the site, a more likely explanation is iconoclasm. The thoroughness of the levelling of the site suggests a wish to wipe out all traces of the former activity. This may be due to the progress of Christianity in the area, perhaps after it had gained Imperial toleration in AD 313. For example, the marbles in the London mithraeum were hidden below the floor *c* AD 310–20 (Grimes 1986, 2).

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