

# MEDIEVAL TREASURE TROVE CASES: A LOST GOLD TORC FROM ISLEWORTH?

JOANNA MATTINGLY

## SUMMARY

A gold object weighing *c.* 1lb.av. and probably a prehistoric torc, was found in the vicinity of Isleworth *c.* 1467. It was judged to be treasure trove at the abbess of Syon's court of the manor, or hundred, of Isleworth. A find spot on the Thames foreshore may be suggested, but is not proven. The date of the object is more likely to be Middle Bronze Age than Iron Age or later. The case is important for two main reasons. First no other finds of this type appear to be recorded in Middlesex, and gold torcs are rare outside East Anglia, and secondly it illustrates the archaeological potential of court rolls and other medieval documents.

‘. . . Johannes Ruge de Istelworth predictus cordener invenit unum torquem de auro infra dominium istud ponderantem .i. solidis sterling que vocatur Tesaur’ invent’ Et ideo dicunt quod debet respondere domine de torque predicto.’

This may be translated as follows:—

‘John Ruge of Isleworth, aforesaid, shoemaker found one torc of gold within that demesne weighing 50 shillings sterling which is called treasure trove, and therefore they say that he ought to answer the lady (of the manor) for the aforesaid torc.’

The remarkable discovery is recorded on the parchment roll of a view of frankpledge held at Isleworth on Monday 19 October 1467.<sup>1</sup> The brief entry is the first presentment made by the eight sworn tithingmen of Isleworth at the autumn view or Court Leet, under the marginal heading of *Tesaur’ Invent’*, translated as treasure trove. Further presentments follow including a fight between two women, the keeping of illicit bawdy houses, breaking neighbours’ fences, felling trees without the lady of the manor’s permission, and failure to clean a ditch. These latter misdemeanours

represent the usual business of views, held twice a year, at this period.<sup>2</sup>

The manor was held by Syon Abbey from 1421 and its abbess was the lady of the manor. The jurisdiction of her courts of the manor or hundred of Isleworth covered a wide geographical area. The three parishes of Isleworth, Heston and Twickenham, that comprise the hundred, are each represented by a separate tithing and contain a total area of over 9,000 acres. This area is bounded to the E by the river Thames which forms a substantial part of the parish boundaries of Isleworth and Twickenham. Hounslow, then a small town, occupies a central position in the hundred, along the parish boundary between Heston and Isleworth parishes. Each parish includes sizeable tracts of Hounslow Heath in the W, where common grazing rights were enjoyed. The site of the Abbey is now occupied by Syon House in the N.E. corner of Isleworth parish.<sup>3</sup>

## THE FINDER

John Ruge was a newcomer in the manor of Isleworth, probably arriving there not much earlier than 1462 when he is first noted in the court rolls. At this date he was one of the ale

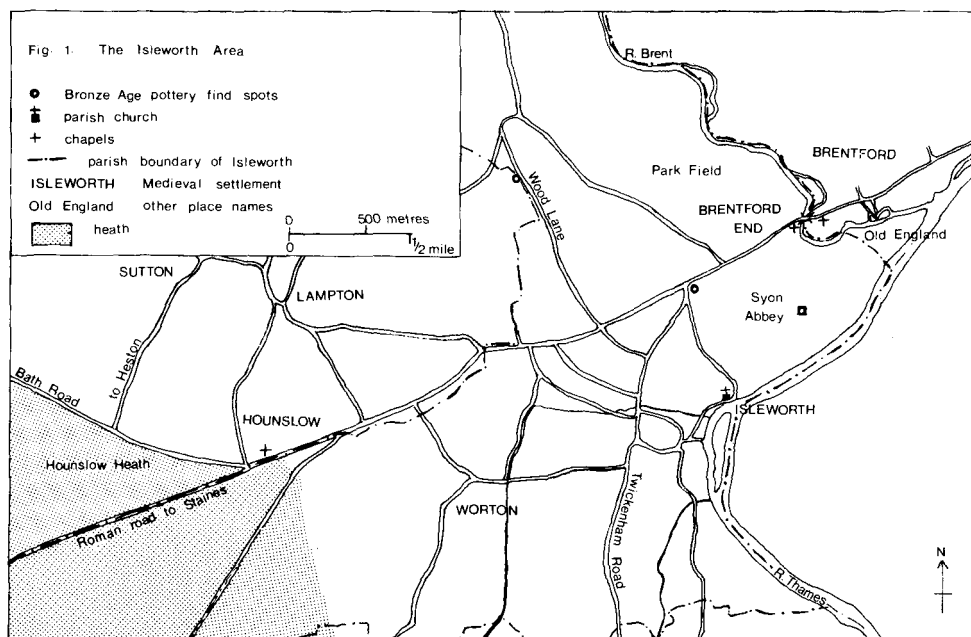


Fig. 1 The Isleworth Area.

brewers licensed by the court, but by 1466 was licensed only to sell ale. Probably both these activities were part-time employments. His main occupation by 1467 or earlier, as the treasure trove entry makes clear, was that of shoemaker. By 1467 he was wealthy enough to keep a servant/apprentice called Thomas Rase in his home. Thomas also seems to have been a newcomer as he had not yet become a member of Isleworth tithing. Both master and servant were fined for this oversight.<sup>4</sup> The following year John caused a public nuisance by leaving his dung heap in the highway. Usually this offence was punished with a fine, but John appears to have been let off. Presumably the court was still deciding what reward he was entitled to receive for handing over his find. By the 10th of January 1470 he was dead. He left no will but his goods were of sufficient value for his wife Isabelle to be appointed as his executrix. She is recorded as an ale seller later in 1470, but then disappears from the record. Probably she remarried or moved away from the area.<sup>5</sup>

The above account of John Ruge's life has two important omissions. Firstly he is nowhere recorded as a leaseholder or tenant of property, and secondly he held no manorial office. Most craftsmen in the vill or manor rented some land and served as minor officers, including tithingman or ale-taster, at this time. A shoemaker named White, dead by 1462 or earlier, had held an acre of land in Parkfield in the N of Isleworth parish adjoining the river Brent. The subsequent account rolls covering the period of John Ruge's residence from 1462 to 1470 do not survive. However subtenants are rarely recorded in the account rolls and in a subsequent account roll of 1485-6 mention is still made of the acre late belonging to White the shoemaker.<sup>6</sup> Office holders on this manor were chosen by rotation according to the location of their land, and people from established families were preferred. John could have been excluded from office on either of these grounds, or because his residence was too short for him to be liable.

A further problem is John's actual place of

residence. Although he is stated to be of Isleworth, he may in fact have lived in the neighbouring settlement of Brentford End. This is not distinguished as a separate settlement in the court rolls until 1489, when it acquired its own aletaster.<sup>7</sup> Its origins can be traced back to 1446 when a hospital was founded, by the new stone bridge over the Brent on the Isleworth side, opposite New Brentford. There is little evidence for a settlement before this date, but thereafter it grew rapidly, and contained at least 20 houses by the early 16th century.<sup>8</sup> This new settlement on the northern boundary of Isleworth manor would have been more attractive to newcomers than an older settlement like Isleworth where manorial regulation of crafts was still strong. Before 1489 it had no independent officers and hence most of its residents would not have served in any office before this date. Also noxious trades, like tanning, were tolerated here, and there is some evidence to suggest that shoemakers chose to settle close to the tanners who supplied them.<sup>9</sup> At least one shoemaker is recorded there in the 1490s.<sup>10</sup> Tanneries existed on the opposite bank of the river Brent by the late 16th century and probably earlier.<sup>11</sup>

#### CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY AND THE FIND SPOT

How did a shoemaker come to find a gold torc? Most of the extant gold torcs were uncovered during ploughing, harrowing or conversion of woodland to pasture or arable.<sup>12</sup> Deeper ploughing introduced in the 1940s also led to major discoveries in East Anglia in recent years.<sup>13</sup> No gold torc appears to have been found in a river, though some may have been found near water.<sup>14</sup>

No precise find-spot or context is given in the brief record. It is not clear whether the word *demesne* is being used here in a topographical or more general administrative sense. The *demesne* was concentrated in the north of Isleworth parish and contained c. 320–40 acres in 1539, as well as weirs and watermills. A further 30 acres were enclosed by the monastery walls and 90–100 acres of park land lay at Syon Hill. If the more general meaning is preferred then the find could have

been made anywhere in Isleworth manor, but probably within the parish of Isleworth.<sup>15</sup>

Two general locations may be suggested: a site in the common fields or pastures of the manor or just possibly Hounslow Heath, or a site close to water, such as the banks of the river Brent or the Thames foreshore between the mouth of the Brent and Isleworth Ait, including Syon Reach. The term *foreshore* describes that area lying between high and low water marks alongside the channel, and is usually composed of shifting banks of gravel, sand, silt and mud. In view of John Ruge's occupations, in particular brewing which required a good fresh water supply, a site near to water seems more likely. Further support for this view is provided by the larger number of prehistoric finds from this section of the Thames foreshore, as compared to land finds.<sup>16</sup>

#### THE FATE OF THE TORC

The court roll entry makes it clear that the torc was to be delivered to the abbess of Syon for her own use. Syon Abbey had acquired the right to inquire for and retain any treasure found on its *demesne*, by its royal charter of 1448. Almost certainly the value of the torc would have been recorded alongside the profits of court on the account roll for 1467–8, perhaps with an indication of its ultimate fate. This does not survive unfortunately. In the absence of records it seems likely that the torc would have been melted down for its gold content.<sup>17</sup> This might have been converted into coin or perhaps into an ornament for the Abbey.<sup>18</sup>

#### THE MEDIEVAL LAW OF TREASURE TROVE AND THE ROLE OF THE CORONER

Two aspects of this case are of particular interest. What constituted treasure trove in the later medieval period? and, why was a case of this type brought before a manor court without resource to a coroner?

By the 13th century any object of gold or silver, or occasionally baser metals or coin, hidden or below ground, could be claimed by the King's Exchequer, except where, as in the case of Syon, landowners had acquired the

right for themselves by royal grant. Concealment of treasure was a treasonable offence. There is no insistence, as in the modern definition, that the treasure should have been hidden with the intent to recover.<sup>19</sup>

The role of the coroner in treasure trove cases has been overstressed. No cases occur on the Coroner's Rolls after the mid 13th century and only rarely before that. The Statute of Exeter of c. 1285 is the last statute to include this among the duties of a coroner. The duty was generally performed by the sheriff or hundred bailiff at the County Eyre in the later 13th century, and by the escheators after the mid 14th century. After c. 1324 it also became a statutory obligation for tithingmen to inquire, about treasure found, at Views of frankpledge.<sup>20</sup> Instructions concerning the holding of manor courts and views dating from 1340, c. 1400 and c. 1440 all include this among the articles of inquiry. In the latest of these, the court was charged to inquire, on behalf of the king, of 'All treasure found under the earth or above the earth, as gold silver or any other riches, and whether the lord has been answered thereof'.<sup>21</sup> The inquiry held at Isleworth differed from these instructions only in that it was held on behalf of the abbess of Syon and not the king.

The coroner's duty of inquiring into treasure trove was restored by the Coroners Act of 1887. This replaces the Statutes of 4 Edward 1 (1275) and that of c. 1285 mentioned above, and is the modern form of inquiry.<sup>22</sup>

#### THE TORC AND POSSIBLE PARALLELS

The word *torc* was used by Roman authors and modern archaeologists to describe the metal necklet, usually twisted, popular among the Celts and other prehistoric peoples. Medieval writers used the word in this sense too, but its contemporary meaning was simply a twist or twisted rope used to construct a scaffold. Another meaning derived from this was that of a hangman's noose. It is not a word used in the medieval period to describe gold chains or other contemporary jewellery.<sup>23</sup>

The former meaning appears preferable, and in addition, the weight of the object can be estimated and compared with that of other

gold twisted neck collars and bracelets.

The weight given as 50 shillings sterling was presumably that of 600 (50 × 12) contemporary pennies. Before 1464 a penny weighed 15 grains, but following devaluation in that year dropped to 12 grains. There are 480 grains per Troy ounce and 12 ounces in a Troy pound. The post-devaluation weight was used and this gave a weight of 1 lb. 3 oz. Troy, just over 1 lb. av. or 467 grammes.<sup>24</sup>

No twisted bracelet at present known weighs as much, whereas neck rings of 2 lb. and over are not uncommon. The closest parallel both in terms of weight and provenance is the Moulford torc of Middle Bronze Age date. This consists of four bars of gold alloy twisted in pairs to form a two strand collar. It weighs c. 1 lb av. and is 185 mm (7½ ins) in diameter. It was found during ploughing at Moulford, West Berkshire in 1960, which like Isleworth is by the Thames.<sup>25</sup> Another Middle Bronze Age gold torc of comparable weight is that from Ickleton in Cambridgeshire. It weighs 391.8 grammes.<sup>26</sup>

Finds of gold torcs and other gold objects, apart from coins, from the Thames valley are extremely rare. One incomplete gold torc, that may not have been twisted, was found at Chatham Lines, Kent in 1872 and weighed 1 lb. 10 oz. Troy.<sup>27</sup> A bronze torc, hitherto said to have come from the river Thames at Westminster, Middlesex, is now believed to have been found in Somerset.<sup>28</sup> Gold twisted arm rings have been found in neighbouring counties including Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, and possibly Great Stanmore in Middlesex.<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, the gold arm ring, misleadingly described as a *fibula*, found at Park Street near St. Albans, Hertfordshire in 1744, also had its weight expressed in terms of current money. It weighed 20 florins, equivalent to c. 5 oz. Troy.<sup>30</sup> There are also a pair of gold earrings of Middle Bronze Age date and reputedly from the London area which appear to have stylistic similarities with the Moulford torc.<sup>31</sup>

Iron Age torcs tend to be heavier and none have been found in the Thames valley. However the two Staffordshire torcs from Needwood and Glascote, and one of the torcs from Snettisham, Norfolk are of comparable

weight to the Isleworth one.<sup>32</sup> Torcs of Viking Age date are also known, though most are of silver, weigh less than 1lb. av. and seldom occur in the S of England.<sup>33</sup>

Other finds of both Bronze and Iron Age dates have been found in this part of the Thames valley. Bronze Age finds appear to be more common, but the Iron Age ones include some notable objects.<sup>34</sup> A small hoard of Bronze Age scrap metal was recently found at Syon Reach. It was buried about 3 ins into the gravel bank of the foreshore between the low tide and extreme low tide marks.<sup>35</sup> Another larger hoard of bronze founders tools of Bronze Age date were found in the same field near Hounslow as a collection of small bronze animals, mainly boars, of Iron Age date.<sup>36</sup> At least some of the finds from the collection of Thomas Layton, a 19th-century resident of Brentford and avid collector of antiquarian objects, may have come from the Thames foreshore, but few of his items are provenanced. These include the so called 'Brentford horn cap', possibly found during construction of the dock there in the 19th century, and the tankard reputedly from Brentford, both of Iron Age date.<sup>37</sup>

Iron Age coin hoards, notably gold Gallo-Belgic B staters and Class 1 potin coins of tin, are particularly concentrated in this area of W London suggesting an important centre just W of London. The potin coins also occur in the Snettisham hoard, but the heaviest concentration of these is in the vicinity of a possible Thames crossing point at Brentford.<sup>38</sup>

There is some evidence for Bronze Age settlement in this area, but no trace of an Iron Age settlement has been found as yet. A recent find of Bronze Age pottery to the W of Wood Lane near Osterley, and also previously from Busch Corner, Syon Park, may represent settlement sites away from the river channel.<sup>39</sup> Hut sites on the Thames foreshore at Syon Reach and Old England appear to be Romano-British in date rather than Iron Age. Similarly the oak piles once cited as evidence of a defended ford over the Thames at the latter place now appear to be part of medieval and later fishing weirs.<sup>40</sup>

None of this evidence is conclusive, but a Middle Bronze Age date for the torc appears to

be more likely, based on its recorded weight. If this is accepted, then it is likely to be among the earliest recorded finds of such an object. At Walesby in Clee, near Grimsby in Lincolnshire in 1385 three gold *bees* or *byas* were found and valued at 10 marks. They appear to have been torcs or rings. The words *beah* and *sweorbeah* occur in Anglo Saxon wills, and may refer to ancient armillae and torcs. Some other gold torcs and arm rings found before the mid 18th century are noted by Richard Gough in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*. One found in a garden by Harlech Castle in 1692 still survives, another found at Pattingham, Staffordshire in 1700 and the arm ring from Park Street, Hertfordshire, already noted, found in 1744, do not, although the last was drawn.<sup>41</sup>

#### SOME FURTHER TREASURE TROVE CASES IN THE ISLEWORTH AREA

A second case of treasure being found in the hundred of Isleworth is recorded at the spring View of 1468. On Tuesday 10th May 1468, barely 6 months after John Ruge's find was judged to be treasure trove, the tithingmen of Heston reported that:—

'John Hicberd and John Abrey found one casket with £4 10s. and divers *perlis* and divers *bills* and 1 knife decorated with silver.'<sup>42</sup>

The case is again in Latin and the meaning not entirely clear. The word *perlis* may mean pearls or beads and the term *bills* may refer to documents. The marginal heading of treasure trove is almost totally obscured by a recent repair. Probably the case represents the increased vigilance of the tithingmen following the find of the gold torc in the previous year. Possibly the second find had been made a few years previously. No other cases of treasure trove occur in any other court roll covering the period 1422–1558, when every year survives.

Both the finders were, unlike John Ruge, from established families and were probably young men at the time, possibly in their early twenties. John Hicberd failed to attend court in 1470 and was the victim of an assault in 1476, but thereafter disappears from the record. John Abrey or Aubrey occurs regularly in the court rolls from 1466 when he was elected as one of the eight tithingmen of

Heston. He may be the same as the John Aubrey sworn in the tithing of Heston in 1458, when aged 12 or more, or the man elected beadle of Sutton in 1464 with a certain William Hicbyrd of Cranford. In 1468, at any rate, he was excused from serving as tithingman of Heston on account of his find. At the same court, he and his wife are recorded as purchasing a messuage and a half acre of lane in *le Brache*, by the Hounslow to Colnbrook stretch of the London-Bath road. This lay to the S of the hamlet of Sutton and adjoined Hounslow Heath to the N. It is not clear whether the land purchase preceded or followed the discovery. However Hounslow Heath would be a likely find spot.<sup>43</sup>

This view is reinforced by two further cases. In an earlier find of treasure trove of 1384 it was reported to the Mayor of Reading that:-

‘Robert atte Lee, *brasyer*, and Roger his servant found upon *Hundesloweheth* a certain sum of money, which belongs to the king  
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In 1861 a further hoard of late medieval groats and half groats, presumed to have been deposited *c.* 1490–1500, was found at Hounslow.<sup>45</sup> The 1384 and 1468 finds were probably also Medieval and may have been near contemporary, as in the former case there is no record of the treasure being buried and in the latter the sum of money was calculatable. They may therefore represent hoards hidden in periods of disorder. The 1861 hoard may well be related to Perkin Warbeck’s ill-fated revolt.<sup>46</sup>

One of the main purposes of this paper has been to suggest that early treasure trove cases may contain information of archaeological value. Medieval treasure trove cases fall into two groups; the majority give insufficient detail or appear to be near contemporary as in the two last cases cited above and are therefore of little archaeological significance, a few like the main case under discussion here appear to be finds of ancient treasure. George Hill’s *Treasure Trove in Law and Practice* mentions a few discoveries of ancient treasure including a probable Roman burial in a lead cist found at Warthill in Yorkshire in 1218–19. A search through most printed court rolls and some secondary works covering the period

1275–1617 found only 12 treasure trove cases, but none appear to be of much archaeological interest.<sup>47</sup> No cases of treasure trove were found in a search through *c.* 130–40 annual views, in court rolls, for the two hundreds of Cookham and Bray in Berkshire for the period 1409–1558.<sup>48</sup> Despite the rarity and miscellaneous nature of such records, it is at least possible that in archaeologically rich areas a search through surviving Court Leet records may be worthwhile.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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#### NOTES

1. Greater London Record Office (GLRO): Acc. 1379/10 mem. 15.
2. *Ibid.* See also F. W. Maitland *Select Pleas in Manorial and other Seigniorial Courts I*, Selden Society, 11 (1899).
3. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Middlesex 3* (London, 1962) 85ff., 139ff.
4. All male inhabitants of 12 years of age or more had to be sworn into a tithing group (Visus Franciplegii xxiii *Statutes of the Realm* i. 246, article 3).
5. GLRO *op. cit.* in note 1, *passim*. Guildhall Library (GL) MS 9191/6 48<sup>v</sup>. For an example of a 16th century reward payment in a treasure trove case see R. N. Worth *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records* (Plymouth, 1893) 128.
6. Public Record Office (PRO), SC 6/916/22, SC 6/Henry 7/377.
7. GLRO Acc. 1379/13 mem. 8, where it is called Latelbraynford.
8. M. B. Honeybourne ‘The Leper Hospitals of the London Area: with an Appendix on Some other Medieval Hospitals of Middlesex’ *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 21 (1967) 55–60, Appendix 2. ‘Brentford, the Hospital of All Angels’; PRO SC 11/Roll 435.
9. John Lawlesse, a tanner who fled outside the demesne rather than repay a debt in 1460, is also stated to be of Isleworth spelt ‘Istilworth’ (? Brentford End), see GLRO Acc/1379/9 mem. 111<sup>v</sup>.
10. John Talworth *cordwyner* tried to combine shoemaking and victualling in 1491–5, but with unhygienic results! (GLRO Acc. 1379/13, mems. 14, 31).
11. VCH 7 (Oxford, 1982) 140. See also C. E. Allin ‘The Medieval Leather Industry in Leicester’ *Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Record Service Archaeological Report* No. 3 (1981) 3, for general comments on the location of tanneries.

12. A. Way 'Ancient Armillae of gold recently found in Buckinghamshire and in North Britain: with Notices of ornaments of gold discovered in the British Islands' *Archaeol. J.* 6 (1849) 48–53. The Iron Age torc from Needwood Forest, Staffordshire was found beside a new fox-earth in 1848 (*Archaeologia* 33 (1849) 175–6), and the Yeovil torc was found in a garden (*Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist.* 55 (1909) 66).
13. R. R. Clarke 'The Early Iron Age treasure from Snettisham, Norfolk' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 20 (1954) 27–8; for the Bawsey torc found in 1941 see *Antiq. J.* 24 (1944) 149; I. H. Longworth 'The Ickleton Gold Neckring' *Antiq. J.* 52 (1972) 358.
14. For the gold torc from Romsey, Hampshire found in or near the river Test see *Archaeologia* 39 ii (1863) 1505; also there are three armlets reputedly from the Medway in Kent (*Archaeol. Cantiana* 5 (1862–3) 41) and the Glascoate torc was found in a boat building yard c. 1943 (K. S. Painter 'An Iron Age gold-alloy torc from Glascoate, Tamworth, Staffordshire' *Trans. S. Staffordshire Archaeol. Hist. Soc.* 11 (1980) 1–2).
15. VCH 3 (1962) 105. There are also some fine early 17th century maps still kept at Syon House. The earliest of these is dated 1606 and is 'A plot of the cite and manor of Sion' drawn by Ralph Treswell the younger. It includes the settlements of Isleworth and Brentford End (Syon House MS. B. xiii, 1d). Two maps cover the whole of Isleworth Hundred or Manor. That of 1607, also by Treswell, clearly marks the Duke of Northumberland's possessions, in green, which include much of the former demesne of the Abbey (Syon House MS. B. xiii, 1a). Moses Glover's map of 1635 includes interesting antiquarian comments on many of the places depicted (Original at Syon House, but copies of a late 19th century copperplate engraving may be obtained there, or from the Map department in the British Museum or GLRO).
16. L. F. Salzman *English Industries of the Middle Ages* (London, 1913, reprinted 1970) 291. See notes 34 to 39.
17. G. J. Aungier *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840) 61. As recently as 1863 a gold torc was melted down at Mountfield in Sussex without even its weight being recorded (*Sussex Archaeol. Collect.* 15 (1863), 238–40).
18. At the time of its Dissolution in 1539, however, Syon Abbey only had a small pyx of gold weighing 4¾ oz. (PRO LR 2/112).
19. G. Hill *Treasure Trove in Law and Practice* (Oxford, 1936) 187–94. Note A, pp. 244–51 is a list of exempt places including Syon.
20. R. F. Hunnisett 'Pleas of the Crown and Coroner' *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.* 32 (1959) 130–7; and Visus Franciplegii *op. cit.* in note 4, article 23.
21. F. W. Maitland and W. Paley Baildon ed. *The Court Baron* Selden Society 4 (1891) 95; J. S. Beckerman 'The Articles of Presentment of a Court Leet and Court Baron, in English, c. 1400' *Bull. Inst. Hist. Res.* 47 (1974) 230–4; 'The manner of holding a (manorial) court with view of frankpledge, c. 1440' A. R. Myers ed. *English Historical Documents, 1307–1489* (London, 1969) 548–553, particularly p. 552.
22. Hill *op. cit.* in note 19, 198, 227.
23. R. E. Latham *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965, reprinted 1980) 487.
24. R. E. Zupko *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures* (Madison, 1968) 119.
25. J. J. Wymer 'The Discovery of a Gold Torc at Moultsford' *Berkshire Archaeol. J.* 59 (1962) 36–7.
26. Longworth *op. cit.* in note 13, 358. There is also a Corpus of Bronze Age gold, but unfortunately this does not include the weights of the objects (Joan J. Taylor *Bronze Age Goldwork of the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1980)).
27. C. Roach Smith 'Notes' *Archaeol. J.* 30 (1873) 97–8.
28. VCH 1 (London, 1969) 47 gives a Westminster provenance but this is refuted by two recent articles (M. J. Rowlands *The Organisation of Middle Bronze Metalworking* *Brit. Archaeol. Rep.* (Brit. Ser.), 31, (1976) 205–6; B. O'Connor *Cross Channel Relations in the Later Bronze Age* *Brit. Archaeol. Rep.* (Int. Ser.) S91 (1980) 461, List 40).
29. Way *op. cit.* in note 12; *Archaeol. Cantiana* 5 *op. cit.* in note 14; C. Roach Smith 'Gold torques and armillae discovered in Kent' *Archaeol. Cantiana* 9 (1874) 1–10; 'Gold torques from Dover', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 12 (1878) 317–20; R. Holt-White 'The Discovery of Gold Bracelets near Crayford' *The Antiquary* 43 (1907) 126–8; R. Gough ed. *Camden's Britannia* 2 (1806) 174.
30. Way *op. cit.* in note 12, 52.
31. These are in the Reserve Collection at The Museum of London; information from Jean MacDonald.
32. C. F. C. Hawkes 'The Needwood Forest Torque' *Brit. Mus. Quarterly* 11 (1936) 3; Painter *op. cit.* in note 14, 2; J. E. Burns 'Additional torcs from Snettisham, Norfolk' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 37 (1971) 228. See also 'The Later History of Iceniarm Electrum Torcs' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 45 (1979) 175, for useful list of torcs.
33. J. Graham Campbell *Viking Artefacts* (London, 1980) 62; H. Shetelig *Viking Antiquities* 4 (1940) 29ff.
34. G. F. Lawrence 'Antiquities from the Middle Thames' *Archaeol. J.* 86 (1928), 78–80.
35. J. Barrett and R. Bradley ed. *Settlement and Society in the British Later Bronze Age* *Brit. Archaeol. Rep.* (Brit. Ser.), 83 (1980) 445, rough location sketch on p. 443.
36. C. E. Vulliamy *The Archaeology of Middlesex and London* (London, 1930) 110, 133–5.
37. D. Whipp and L. Blackmore 'Thomas Layton, F. S. A. (1819–1911): A misguided Antiquary' *London Archaeol.* 3 (1977) 91; J. P. Bushe Fox *Pattern and Purpose* (1958) 4.
38. J. P. C. Kent 'The origins of coinage in Britain' in *Coinage and Society in Britain and Gaul* ed. B. Cunliffe (CBA Research Report No. 38) 40–2 and Fig. 12; Clarke *op. cit.* in note 13, 79–86. See also R. Canham *2000 Years of Brentford* (London, 1978) 3.
39. J. Cotton 'Bronze Age Pottery from Wood Lane, Osterley' *Trans. London Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 32 (1981) 18–23.
40. Canham *op. cit.* in note 38, 3, 147–8; M. Sharpe *Middlesex in British, Roman and Saxon Times* (London, 1919) 35–9; Fred S. Thacker *The Thames Highway* 1 (1914; reprinted New York 1968) 48–9, mentions great weirs at Isleworth and Twickenham.
41. Hill *op. cit.* in note 19, 320; for the Anglo-Saxon references see Roach Smith *op. cit.* in note 29, 10; D. Whitelock *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930) 25–31; T. Wright *A Volume of Vocabularies from the 10th to the 15th century* (1857) 16, 40, 74, give some meanings for *beah*. Gough *op. cit.* in note 29, 3 (1806) 174, now in National Museum of Wales; *ibid.* 2 (1806) 72, 500 and Plate III fig. 9.
42. . . . Johannes Hiebert et Johannes Abrey invenerunt unum casketum cum iiii s<sup>8</sup> et diversis perlis et divers[is] bill[is] et i cultell[is] bernes<sup>8</sup> cum argento ideo etc.' in GLRO Acc. 1379/10 mem. 18.
43. *Ibid. passim*.
44. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1381–5*, 426.
45. J. D. A. Thompson *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* (1956) 71; J. B. Bergne 'On a hoard of Coins discovered at Hounslow' *Nimis Chron.*, NS1 (1861) 140–3. The hoard may be that illustrated as 'Saxon' in G. S. Maxwell *Highwayman's Heath* (Hounslow, 1935, reprinted 1949) plate facing p. 112.
46. Bergne *op. cit.* in note 45, 143.
47. Hill *op. cit.* in note 19, 203 (footnote). *Rolls of the Justice in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218–19* Selden Society 56 (1937) no. 1141. Hill also cites many other cases from cyres and Escheators' records, 185–238 *passim*.
48. Manor of Wakefield (Wakefield Court Rolls 1) *Yorkshire Archaeol. Soc. Record Series*, 29 (1901) 131; W. Hudson ed. *Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich during the 13th and 14th centuries* Selden Society 5 (London, 1892) 2, 19, 39, 52 and one of these cases is cited in Hill *op. cit.* in note 19, 229; S. C. Ratcliff ed. *Elton Manorial Records 1279–1351* (Cambridge 1946) 96, 106; C. Howell *Land, Family and Inheritance in Transition: Kibworth Harcourt 1280–1700* (Cambridge, 1983) 27, where two small sums of money are mentioned; C. Charles Cox ed. *The Records of the Borough of Northampton 2* (Northampton 1898) 112–113; *The Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester: 1552–1586* (Manchester, 1884) 171; Worth *op. cit.* in note 5; F. J. C. and D. M. Hearnshaw ed. *Southampton Court Leet Records A.1D, 1578–1602, 1 pt. 2* (Southampton, 1906) 369; *Ibid.* A.D. 1603–24, 2 (1906) 528.
49. These are mainly at the Berkshire Record Office, though a few strays are in the PRO.