

The Archaeology of Wiltshire's Towns
An Extensive Urban Survey

EASTON GREY

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1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1** Towns are an important component of the historic environment which have developed over many hundreds of years and are under constant development pressures. The archaeological resource within our historic towns is an invaluable and irreplaceable source of data about past societies and the evolution of our culture. Despite these factors the archaeology of many towns, especially the smaller market towns, is poorly understood.
- 1.2** An increase in the amount of archaeological and historical data available and changes in legislation, such as the introduction of Planning Policy Guidance note No16, have meant that a reappraisal of the situation is now due. The Extensive Urban Survey of Wiltshire has been commissioned by English Heritage, as part of a National programme, to address the need for a new assessment of urban archaeology in the county. The current structure of the historic county of Wiltshire is two-tier, with the County Council working in conjunction with the four District Councils (Kennet, North Wiltshire, Salisbury and West Wiltshire) and the new unitary authority of Swindon – historically part of the county. The survey aims to map the development of all of Wiltshire's and Swindon's historic towns (Fig. 1) and to assess the extent of the surviving archaeology and built heritage. It is also proposed that the threat of development on the historic environment within the county's towns will be examined.
- 1.3** The origins of urban centres in England reach back to the Iron Age. During the Roman occupation new urban centres were linked by an efficient road system. In the Saxon period, defended towns and royal boroughs were developed and later medieval towns grew around markets as economic conditions improved or were 'planted' as planned new centres.
- 1.4** As far as is known the first towns in Wiltshire appeared during the Romano-British period but all the known examples are now greenfield sites, although some may have given rise to nearby settlements. Most modern towns in the county have their roots as Saxon villages or defended settlements such as Cricklade and Wilton. Many of the villages grew into small towns after the Norman invasion, often focussed around a castle or market and in the early thirteenth century 'planted boroughs', in which individual plots of land were sold by the major landowner.
- 1.5** The definition of a town for inclusion in the survey follows the criteria laid out in Heighway (1972), by which the settlement must possess certain characteristics such as defences, a mint, a market, a street plan, or a judicial centre, and demonstrate such urban attributes such as high population, a diversified economic base or a central or key location. For the purposes of the survey, however, the towns should meet these criteria historically, even if they no longer do so. This allows, for example, the inclusion of the five Roman towns in the county, and settlements such as the village of Heytesbury, which was developed as a planned town in the 13th century, but which did not succeed as an urban centre. The full list of 34 towns included in the survey and the criteria for inclusion are included as Appendix 1 and 2. Easton Grey satisfies at least two of the

criteria: it has possible evidence of urban defences (*criterion i*) and it occupied a strategic position on the road network (*criterion vi*).

2 LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

- 2.1 The Roman town of Easton Grey or 'Whitewalls' lies 1 kilometre to the south-east of the village of Easton Grey and approximately 4.5 kilometres to the west of Malmesbury in the district of North Wiltshire. The site lies mainly on the north bank of the Sherston branch of the River Avon, but with evidence of a substantial area of settlement further south. (Fig.2).
- 2.2 The underlying geology consists of Cornbrash and Forest Marble. Alluvial deposits occur on the floodplain (RCHME 1997).

3 SOURCES AND HISTORY OF RESEARCH

- 3.1 The Wiltshire Extensive Urban survey is a desk-based study, using material available within the County Council research facilities in Trowbridge, namely the Sites and Monuments Record, Trowbridge Reference Library, the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, and the Wiltshire Buildings Record. In the case of the Roman towns data has been drawn from a number of academic studies, excavation reports and surveys, together with information from the SMR.
- 3.2 Since the level of information regarding each Roman town and the methods of its acquisition has varied substantially, it is appropriate to put together an historical description of the process, reproducing survey plans where available.
- 3.3 The town is aligned along the Fosse Way, a Roman road undoubtedly constructed early in the history of Roman Britain and representing the frontier zone to the new province for a brief period around AD50-70. This particular section of the road leads from Bath (*Aquae Sulis*) to Cirencester (*Corinium*), and eventually continues to Lincoln (*Lindum*). Colt Hoare (1821) refers to the site as a Roman posting station or '*mansio*' and the town's location would appear to support this view. The Roman road was a known Imperial thoroughfare or post route and a part of Roman law, known as the '*cursus publicus*', stated that accommodation and changes of horses had to be provided for imperial officials along all the principal roads in the empire. Many small towns in Britain grew up around settlements such as these.

4. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

- 4.1 After the Roman invasion in AD 43 a large number of the major towns we know today were created in relation to pattern of Iron Age communities in Britain. This ensured that the new province could be governed effectively by the Roman Empire. Easton Grey would have been in the territory under the control of the native tribe known as the '*Dobunni*' whose centre of government under the Roman occupation was at Cirencester (*Corinium*).

- 4.2 Unusually, Easton Grey is not mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, a Roman document dating to the 3rd Century AD giving routes throughout the Roman empire and the distances between the various named settlements on those routes. The town was first brought to light by the antiquarian Collinson in 1791 (Grinsell 1957) who noted the area as the location of the “ancient city of Whitewalls” and referred to the presence of possible ramparts, four gates, building foundations and considerable numbers of coins from the area. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, a 19th century antiquarian, suggested that the settlement may correspond with the Roman town of ‘*Mutuantonis*’ which is mentioned in a document describing Roman settlements known as the Ravenna Cosmography (Colt Hoare 1821). The reference is vague but states that there is a settlement of this name not far from Cirencester and that it is intersected by the River ‘*Antona*’ or Avon. This identification is now disputed (Rivet and Smith 1978,185-215).
- 4.3 There have been three assessments of the evidence for the town's extent and morphology, the results of which are analyzed below. To aid understanding of a somewhat complex situation, the survey plans stemming from these episodes are reproduced in this report.
- 4.4 The first event is the work of Colt Hoare who produced plans of the site which show earthworks both north and south of the Avon and to the east and west of the Fosse Way (Colt Hoare 1821, fig 6 below). Intriguingly, these are shown to be most extensive on the east side of the Fosse north of the river - the surviving earthworks are entirely to the west - and include numerous rectangular features which may represent buildings, or walled enclosures.
- 4.5 In 1997 a team from the former Royal Commission offices in Swindon (now English Heritage) surveyed the earthworks north of the Avon (RCHME 1997, fig 7 below), resulting in some valuable insights discussed below.
- 4.6 The third event is the work of Mark Corney (Corney 2001, fig 8 below), in which he reviewed significant finds from the site and also produced a transcription from available aerial photography. Corney was able to demonstrate both pre-Roman settlement of the area and the presence of Roman occupation to the south of the River Avon.

5. ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN THE AREA OF THE TOWN

- 5.1 Very little archaeological work has been carried out at Easton Grey but the following is a list of known archaeological events that have taken place at the town. This list is drawn from information in the County Sites and Monuments Record, excavations register, and the fieldwork reports kept in the County Archaeology Section in Trowbridge. The numbers refer to the map included in this report (fig 3).

Event	Year	Site Name/Location	Event Type	Author	Reference
1	1791	Easton Grey	Observation	Collinson	VCH 1957
2	1821	Easton Grey	Earthwork Survey	Colt Hoare	Colt Hoare 1821
3	1931	Easton Grey/Roman road	Watching Brief	Passmore	Passmore 1934
4	1997	Whitewalls Wood	Watching Brief	AC Archaeology	AC Archaeology 1997
5	1997	Easton Grey/west of Fosse Way	Earthwork Survey	Royal Commission	RCHME 1997
6	2001	Easton Grey	AP transcription	Corney	Corney 2001

6 ARCHAEOLOGY: SITES AND EVIDENCE

6.1 *SMR Entries and Survey Results - Prehistoric (fig 4)*

6.1.1 The air photography transcription produced by Corney (fig 8), has made it clear that the area of the Roman town at Easton Grey was settled before the Roman period, in all probability in the later Iron Age. The clue lies in a number of features which are crossed by the Fosse Way and are certainly pre-Roman. They appear to indicate agricultural divisions in the land, possibly a combination of field drainage ditches and trackways. There are a number of other features which are loosely aligned to this prehistoric landscape and indicate possible settlement, and there is a hint of the prehistoric landform in the surviving pattern of field boundaries. Two finds may relate to this period of occupation – an Iron Age decorated bone tube (**EG 001**) and an Iron Age coin belonging to the Dubunni tribe (**EG 002**).

6.1.2 The RCHME survey (fig 7) revealed that the area of earthworks at the core of the town included a number of Celtic fields defined by lynchets. The author pointed out (RCHME 1997, 3) that two of these lynchets extended beyond the line of the Roman road to the east, constituting further evidence of pre-Roman agricultural activity.

6.2 *SMR Entries and Results of Survey - Roman (figs 5-9)*

6.2.1 It is long been clear from the number and quality of archaeological finds discovered that the town was of some size. Collinson reported a large number of coins at Easton Grey or ‘Whitewalls’ in 1791 (Grinsell 1957), and other archaeological investigations have produced coins and pottery dating from the 1st to 4th centuries AD, indicating the site was in occupation over a long period of time. A range of small finds have been retrieved including bronze brooches, an iron signet ring, a finger ring with a jasper intaglio and an item interpreted as a discus (SMR ST88NE300 for sources, mainly Devizes Museum). Corney (2001, 25) lists two pieces of sculpture found on the site and there have been numerous reports of persons operating with metal detecting devices in field 2020 east of the Fosse. Much pottery and tile has been noted where the Fosse Way has become rutted and in field 9936 north of the earthworks (author and M Corney *pers comm*)

- 6.2.2** Recorded finds with an exact provenance include three Romano-British coins and a brooch fragment found near the Whitewalls earthwork (**EG003**, Anon 1986), and a collection of pottery and tile from the arable land south of the Avon and east of the Fosse (**EG004**, fieldwork by Pratt & Thompson).
- 6.2.3** The excavation of a gas pipeline about 50 metres to the east of and parallel to the Fosse Way revealed Roman pottery dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (**EG005**, Anon 1969). Five sherds of unstratified Roman pottery and an unstratified coin dating to the 2nd century AD were also discovered during the repair of a water pipeline that lies adjacent to the Roman road (**EG006**, AC Archaeology 1997). Coins ranging from 2nd to 4th century together with other metalwork is recorded for the eastern arable field 2020 (**EG007**, Anon 1979/80).
- 6.2.4** It is clear that buildings existed at Easton Grey and possibly some type of town boundary or defensive system surrounded the settlement. It may be that the place-name Whitewalls derives from a Roman town wall built from local limestone. Collinson, as cited by Grinsell 1957, reported the presence of ramparts, four gates and building foundations at the site. He also refers to a tessellated pavement at the site but the exact location of this feature is unknown.
- 6.2.5** It is also possible that a stone bridge with abutments may have crossed the River Avon at the site. Passmore (1934) recorded a section excavated across the Roman road at a point approximately 350 metres north of the river during the laying of a water pipe trench. He noted that the depth of the road foundation increased rapidly at this point and suggested that this may have been to carry the road over the wet ground of the floodplain and may also indicate the presence of a bridge. Passmore states that no evidence of a bridge was found in the river bed “by wading or observation from a height”. However, he does state that several unworked rough slabs of stone were lying about “as if collected at the spot” and his records in Devizes Museum (RCHME 1997) suggest that this could represent part of a bridge abutment. Corney (pers comm) has noted features on the south bank of the river that may represent a bridge abutment.
- 6.2.6** To the north of the town is a square earthwork enclosure some 80m across to which the name Whitewalls belongs. It has not been subject to excavation or survey and has long been regarded as a Medieval moated site. Corney (2001,25) suggests that it may be late prehistoric or Roman.
- 6.2.7** The survey evidence begins with the work of Colt Hoare (fig. 6) who plotted a series of earthworks east of the Fosse and north of the river. There is a distinctly rectilinear form to most of his features. It is unlikely that this is the remains of a Celtic field system since Colt Hoare was well aware of such earthworks which in his time covered most of chalkland Wiltshire. These features are probably the walls of buildings or small rectangular enclosures forming part of the town. A curvilinear feature forms the outer edge of this plot, possibly the remains of town defences or even the circuit of an Iron Age enclosure if such existed. However Colt Hoare also indicates the location of the Fosse with some confidence, at least to the north of the river. It appears to be some 15 – 20 metres wide and this would make sense as it must have approached the river

crossing on a causeway - in fact a causeway can be discerned to-day. Colt Hoare's survey apparently indicates that the river crossing was centred on the location of a bridge. If the bridge on his plan is the present-day bridge, this is difficult to accept, since recent assessments suggest that the crossing was a little upstream.

6.2.8 The same survey shows a few features somewhat tentatively drawn about 150 metres south of the river crossing, but the nature of these is clear. The survey also shows earthworks in the north-west sector of the town, well to the north of the surviving earthworks plotted by RCHME. They continue the pattern of some of the features illustrated in that survey, and may represent buildings terraced into the hillside.

6.2.9 The RCHME survey of 1997 identified the lynchets of a pre-existing Celtic field system, and the details of a series of platforms on the hillside overlooking the river valley. This group formed the western complement to Colt Hoare's observations, and suggests the town was set out or developed equally on either side of the Fosse Way. These western features appear to be terraces on which buildings were constructed and it is difficult to avoid seeing a qualitative difference between these features and those plotted by Colt Hoare. These western earthworks have a lot in common with the Romano-British villages preserved so well on Salisbury Plain (MacOmish 2002).

6.2.10 Another interesting aspect of this survey is the detail relating to the Fosse which has clearly become much braided by later usage. The survey shows a distinct resemblance to the alignment recorded by Colt Hoare and it is possible that the eastern and western edges of this survey record the same causeway that Colt Hoare observed.

6.2.11 Corney (2001) demonstrated the pre-Roman activity in the area (fig 4) and also indicated what may be a street grid running through the area plotted to the east of the Fosse by Colt Hoare. Corney's most significant contribution is his plotting and interpretation of the remains of the settlement flanking the Fosse south of the Avon. The northern part of this occupation area coincides with the features plotted by Colt Hoare in this area but extends some 300 metres further south. There are clearly buildings in the plot and by the look of it a track or street (possibly two) parallel to the Fosse and the side streets also. This area is entirely arable and the information is therefore from cropmark phenomena.

6.2.12 A square enclosure has been noted slightly to the north of the site in Whitewalls Wood (Colt Hoare 1821) but it is still not clear whether this substantial earthwork dates to the Roman period or what function it may have held.

7. COMPONENTS OF THE TOWN

7.1 There is insufficient data to offer up a planform analysis of Easton Grey in the manner adopted for the Saxon and Medieval towns of Wiltshire and Swindon. The surveys however indicate some of the principal components and these are worthy of review (Fig.10).

- 7.2 COM1 - Western town.** This occupies the north-west quadrant of the town and consists of twelve sub-rectangular hollows measuring circa 6-8 metres by 3-4 metres and a number of terraced platforms measuring up to 30 metres in length and 6-15 metres wide (RCHME 1997). These features have been cut into or overlay a pre-existing (Iron Age ?) field system and it has been suggested that they may represent building hollows and accompanying garden plots or parts of domestic compounds (RCHME 1997). A ditch and bank system measuring circa 8 metres wide was also recorded running along side the holloway which has formed next to the line of the Roman road. It appears to run for a length of approximately 120 metres and terminates at the river edge. The earthworks on the flood plain were found to be confined to its eastern end and are bounded to the west by a bank 4-5 metres wide and up to 0.4 metres high.

To discover extant features relating to a Roman town is a rare circumstance and presents some difficulties in the matter of interpretation. As stated above, there is a distinct similarity between the rectangular hollows noted at Easton Grey and similar features on a series of Romano-British villages surviving as extant earthworks on Salisbury Plain. In view of the identification of lynchets apparently predating the Fosse (and therefore the town) in this northwest complex, there arises the possibility that these earthworks represent a prehistoric settlement which has possibly continued in use during the Roman period without any major restructuring.

- 7.3 COM2 - Eastern town.** We rely here on the survey of Sir Richard Colt Hoare. The regular form of the features he plotted has more in common with the expected layout of a Roman town site than the earthworks to the north-west. The area is entirely in arable and is now difficult to judge whether Colt Hoare was observing large earthen banks or lynchets, or alternatively the line of stone walls which had grassed over. The less regular earthworks forming the eastern tip of this complex may possibly be the remains of a prehistoric enclosure and related features.
- 7.4 COM3 - Street grid.** Occupying the same area as the Colt Hoare survey, this was plotted by Corney from aerial photographs and has presumably become visible as a result of the arable ploughing. It is noteworthy that the alignment of the grid fits with Colt Hoare's survey and the one could indeed be rectified to the other. It reinforces the temptation to see this eastern part of the town as an area possessing a formal layout firmly in the Roman urban tradition.
- 7.5 COM4 - Southern earthworks.** These are features plotted by Colt Hoare some 120 metres south of the Avon crossing. It is interesting to note that they are symmetrical about the centre line of the Fosse and possess a certain regularity suggesting that they belong with the Fosse and the Roman settlement. Again it is not clear what Colt Hoare was observing – either earthen embankments or the remains of walled enclosures.
- 7.6 COM5 - Southern settlement.** This is an area of very special interest plotted by Corney from air photographs. It contains linear features which may be indications of a street grid running in a line with the Fosse, and Corney has identified buildings visible

as cropmarks. It is a substantial area of settlement and may possibly be interpreted as an early development in the town's history.

- 7.7 COM6 - Earthwork enclosure.** Situated to the north of the town, this site is difficult to assess. On a working hypothesis that it is a Roman feature, there arises the possibility that it had a military function. This could be early - a fortlet associated with the construction of the Fosse Way and the defining of the new frontier zone - or a late feature housing an army unit established to protect the town from raids in the third and fourth centuries AD.

8. EASTON GREY IN ITS WIDER CONTEXT.

- 8.1** A large number of cropmark features have been discovered by means of aerial photography in the area of Easton Grey. The SMR plot covers over 6 sq km, and represents a unique complex of archaeological evidence on the Wiltshire limestone. The complex includes ring ditches, field systems, trackways, enclosures and areas of settlement. How much of this is of prehistoric date and how much is Romano-British is far from clear. Features which pre-date the Roman Fosse Way are present only in the study area around the Roman town.
- 8.2** Several prehistoric finds have been retrieved from the area of Easton Grey including a number of Iron Age bronze and silver coins, attributed to the native tribe of the 'Dobunni'. These presumably relate to the cropmark evidence.
- 8.3** Two archaeological finds from Easton Grey suggest there may be some sort of religious building within or near the site. One of these is a stone sculpture which was discovered in a nearby quarry portraying three men approaching a seated female figure (Colt Hoare 1821 and Passmore 1934). The woman has her hands on her knees and her hair is coiled. Passmore suggests she may represent a mother goddess or a local deity.
- 8.4** The other sculpture found is that of a woman's head, measuring six inches high by five inches wide. The woman is wearing a head-dress and a cross has been inscribed above the centre of her forehead. Passmore (1934) suggests that this head could have been one knocked off a group of three of the 'Deae Matrones', or mother goddesses, which were a popular form of worship in Roman times. He also suggests that the cross could symbolise a later conversion to Christianity by the inhabitants of Easton Grey.

9. ASSESSMENT

9.1 Summary of Research

- 9.1.1** Although there is much anecdotal evidence of the discovery of Roman pottery and metalwork around Eastern Gray, particularly in the fields to the north of the river Avon, there are very few precise records of these discoveries and there is very little stratified evidence from archaeological excavation.

9.1.2 By contrast the survey evidence is substantial and underlines the advantages of re-examining the work of antiquarians like Colt Hoare, who had the advantage of visiting the area before the impact of modern arable cultivation. The common theme arising from these surveys is that the area was in active use before the Roman arrival in the 1st century AD and it is even possible that the town earthworks are formed upon a prehistoric settlement.

9.1.3 There are several strands of evidence which suggest Roman urbanisation, ranging from the sculpture fragments to the street grid and most recently in excavations close to the river crossing which revealed substantial and well-built stone structures (English Heritage Centre for Archaeology, unpublished).

9.2 Growth of the town

9.2.1 Very little is known about the growth of the Roman settlement at Easton Grey. Prior to the Roman occupation it appears that the area was used for agriculture as a ‘Celtic’ field system has been recorded (Royal Commission 1997) at the site. Roman finds from the area, such as ceramics and coins, indicate that the site was occupied between the 1st and 4th centuries AD. This is a long period of occupation and suggests the settlement was successful. However, no excavation has taken place to help distinguish the different stages of development in the town.

9.2.2 It has been suggested that the Roman settlement may have had a military origin (Griffiths 1982), perhaps as a fort protecting the communication and supply routes along the Fosse Way. Evidence for this military base however, is practically non-existent although the town’s position is in a logical place for a fort or marching camp, being placed strategically next to the river crossing and the road. Easton Grey is located at a point where a fort would be expected but no significant number of military remains have been found to this date to prove this theory.

9.2.3 Colt Hoare (1821) describes Easton Grey as a “Station” implying that a posting station may have existed here. The Royal Commission (1997) suggests that a rectangular earthwork to the east of the Fosse Way may have held the function of a ‘*mutatio*’ or ‘*mansio*’ but this still needs to be clarified. There was an early reference to defences, no such element has been detected in recent survey work. It is possible that the southern settlement mapped by Corney represents an early expansion of the town but in the troubled times of the 3rd and 4th centuries defences may have become necessary and concentrated on the settlement north of the river.

9.3 The Archaeological Potential

9.3.1 The archaeological potential at Easton Grey is extremely high as the area is a greenfield site and remains unaffected by modern development.

9.3.2 The first priority is clearly finding the extent of the town. At present the most secure area in our understanding is perhaps the southwest quadrant where Corney worked successfully from aerial photographs. The work of Colt Hoare hints at a southeast

quadrant but little is known from cropmark photography. Evidence for the northwest and northeast quadrants has come in from earthwork survey, cropmark evidence, and anecdotal reports of surface discoveries. The north-eastern extent of the town is often clearly visible when the land is fresh ploughed, represented by a wide swathe of dark soil. A campaign of aerial photography and geophysics survey will be necessary to secure a better picture.

- 9.3.3** There will always be the intriguing question of a potential military origin for a major site on the Fosse Way. The intensive survey campaign recommended above could well offer hopes of detecting a military origin.
- 9.3.4** There is clearly a need to relate the origins of the Roman settlement and the prehistoric activity. The 1997 survey is of particular value in the form of the earthworks revealed, and the presence of an ancient field system. Excavation of carefully selected zones in the earthwork complex may well indicate a relationship between prehistoric and Roman settlement activity.
- 9.3.5** From the remarks of Collinson in the 18th century, there is the potential for revealing a defensive circuit to the town, but frustratingly aerial photography has contributed nothing on the subject. A possible way forward would be limited excavation targeting some of the features plotted by Colt Hoare.
- 9.3.6** As to the content of the town itself, it has been suggested above that the north-east quadrant of Easton Gray with its indications of rectangular structures and street grid may well represent a more formal urban sector of the town, potentially contrasting with the settlement zones plotted as earthworks in the north-west and as cropmarks in the south-west. Some possible insight here may be gained by systematic field surface collection (only possible in the arable north-east and south-west) in order to characterize the nature of the occupation from the artefact distribution.
- 9.3.7** Some mystery remains attached to the square earthwork site north of the town (para 6.2.6). It has attracted no interest or attention over the years, a Corney's remarks about a possible prehistoric or Roman origin are a challenge. Roman material has been found close to it (EG012).

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11 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Towns included in the Extensive Urban Survey of Wiltshire, with reference to urban criteria defined by Heighway (1972).

	Town	Criteria
1	Amesbury	iii, xi
2	Bradford-on-Avon	iii, vi, viii, xi
3	Calne	iii, v
4	Chippenham	iii, viii, x
5	Cricklade	i, ii, v, xii
6	CUNETIO	i, ii, vi
7	Devizes	i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, ix, xi
8	Downton	ii, iii, v
9	DUROCORNIVM	i, ii, vi
10	EASTON GREY	i, vi
11	Great Bedwyn	iii, iv
12	Heytesbury	ii, iii
13	Highworth	ii, iv
14	Hindon	ii, vi, ix
15	Lacock	ii, iii, xi
16	Ludgershall	v
17	Malmesbury	i, iii, iv, xi
18	Market Lavington	ii, iii, v
19	Marlborough	ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, ix, xi
20	Melksham	iii, vi
21	Mere	ii, iii
22	Ramsbury	viii, xi
23	Salisbury	i, ii, iii, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi,
24	Sherston	ii, iii
25	SORVIODUNUM	i, vi
26	Swindon	iii, viii
27	Tilshead	iii, v
28	Tisbury	vii, xi
29	Trowbridge	ii, iii, viii
30	Warminster	ii, iii, iv, vii
31	Westbury	iii, viii
32	Wilton	i, iv, v, vi, vii,
33	Wootton Bassett	ii, iii, v, viii
34	VERLUCIO	ii, vi

Appendix 2: Urban Criteria set out in Heighway (1972)

- i) *Urban Defences*: A town, at some time in its history, might have a wall, or bank and ditch with wooden defences.
- ii) *Internal Street plan*: A town may be planned at any moment in its history; part of its street pattern may display evidence of deliberate planning, such as a grid lay-out. A street plan with provision for a market place will also distinguish a town.
- iii) *Market*: Perhaps the only indispensable criterion, although a market alone does not distinguish a town. The date of a market charter is usually taken in this study as indicating the date by which the place had become a town.
- iv) *Mint*: The existence of a mint often denotes a town.
- v) *Legal existence*: This aspect of the town was one of the first to be studied and formed the basis of most of the early studies of towns. It has long been evident that legal history, once a favoured method of study does not provide the only clue to urban origins, in which economic causes play an important part. However, the date of a borough charter or the dates of taxation at borough rates or of the town's parliamentary franchise may provide a date from which the place may be called a town.
- vi) *Position*: A town may have a central position in a network of communications and this can be a clue to its importance. This can be a difficult criterion to assess as it involves knowledge of the age of the road system in relation to the town itself, the past navigability of rivers, and other related problems.
- vii) *Population*: A town will often have or have had a high density and size of population compared with surrounding places.
- viii) *Diversified economic base*: Archaeological or documentary evidence might suggest a diversified economic base, particularly a concentration of various crafts in one area, and evidence of long distance trade. For earlier periods, only archaeological evidence can determine this; it is a reflection on the state of urban archaeology that so little is known of this aspect.
- ix) *House plot and house type*: The town-plan may show long, narrow 'burgage-type' plots; surviving houses will be urban rather than rural in form.
- x) *Social differentiation*: A town should contain a wide range of social classes and especially possess a middle class. House types, demonstrated in the earlier periods by archaeology, again form part of the evidence.
- xi) The presence of a *complex religious organisation* may also denote a town; i.e. the possession of more than one parish church or the existence of other institutions, especially monastic.
- xii) *Judicial centre*: A town may be a centre for courts of national or local status.