



SHEPPARD SUNDERLAND FRERE

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Sheppard Sunderland Frere

1916–2015

SHEPPARD FRERE WAS THE LEADING EXPONENT of the archaeology and history of Roman Britain for much of the second half of the twentieth century. His reputation was built initially on his superb archaeological excavation technique, which through a most exacting and meticulous attention to detail was able to extract the maximum information from the smallest and most unpromising of trenches; but this skill was reinforced by a flow of publications of the highest quality, written with forceful clarity and great felicity of expression, many of which will remain *ktemata es aei* for the discipline. He was also an influential teacher and mentor, whose profound impact has left its mark on a generation of pupils, friends and colleagues.

Sheppard was born, the eldest of three brothers, on 23 August 1916 in the west Sussex village of Graffham, near Midhurst, but the family was of Norfolk stock and moved there when Sheppard was still a boy, to the village of Shimpling on the Norfolk/Suffolk border. His father Noel served first as a District Commissioner, and later as Provincial Commissioner, in Sierra Leone,¹ continuing a strong family tradition of diplomacy and overseas service, of which the best-known ancestor was Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere (1815–84), who served with distinction in India and in South Africa; but a curiosity for antiquities was also in the blood. Sir Bartle Frere's grandfather, John Frere, FRS, FSA (1740–1807), for example, was a noted antiquary, as well as being High Sheriff of Norfolk and MP for Norwich. A plaque commemorating him, erected in 1999 at Finningham,

¹He was awarded the CMG in 1934 for distinguished service in Colonial and Foreign Affairs.

just across the county border in Suffolk, records that ‘he was the first to realise the immense antiquity of mankind’.² It was John Frere’s father who was the first (and only other Frere) to be called Sheppard, and so the origin of our memorand’s unusual first name. He in turn had been given it by his own father (John Frere’s grandfather Edward, our Sheppard’s great-great-great-great-great-grandfather) because of a family friend, a Mr Sheppard, who also became the first Sheppard Frere’s godfather. Why the name was revived six generations later, history does not record. Sheppard was proud of its distinctiveness, but was understandably irritated when, as sometimes happened, it was misspelt by others when citing him.³ His middle name Sunderland he owed to his mother, Barbara, whose maiden name it was.

Sheppard’s interest in antiquities was aroused at a tender age, kindled by long walks over the Sussex downs as a very young boy. It continued after the move to Norfolk, and some of his earliest publications were therefore, not surprisingly, concerned with that county’s antiquities, including his first, published when he was twenty-three, on flint tools from the very village, Shimpling, where he lived. Three early papers also reported on the results of work carried out at the nearby Romano-British village of Needham, where he had first excavated, together with his younger brother David, during his holidays while still a schoolboy.⁴

Sheppard’s interest in archaeology was further encouraged during his school days at Lancing College (1930–5), where the inspirational guidance of one of his teachers, B. W. T. Handford, played a critical part.⁵

²His fame was exclusively based on his only paper, which despite its brevity was immensely influential: ‘Account of flint weapons discovered at Hoxne in Suffolk’, *Archaeologia*, 13 (1800), 204–5.

³Usually as ‘Shepherd’. There seems to have been some resistance to the name in parts of the family. Sheppard’s aunt, Joan Sunderland, wrote disapprovingly to her mother: ‘You can’t call a baby Sheppard however much you may want to’ (Sarah Frere, pers. comm. 15 May 2015).

⁴Sheppard’s first was S. S. Frere, ‘Three flint implements from Shimpling’, *Norfolk Archaeology*, 27 (1939), 29–30. On Needham see S. S. Frere, ‘A food vessel from Needham, Norfolk’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 20 (1940), 272–4; S. S. Frere, ‘A Claudian site at Needham, Norfolk’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 21 (1941), 40–55; and S. S. Frere and R. R. Clarke, ‘The Romano-British village at Needham, Norfolk’, *Norfolk Archaeology*, 28 (1945), 187–216. See also S. S. Frere, ‘Axe-hammer from Loudon, Norfolk’, *Antiquaries Journal*, 23 (1943), 154–5. On his brother David, see further note 17 below.

⁵Already author of *Lancing. A History of SS. Mary and Nicholas College, Lancing 1848–1930* (Oxford, 1933), Basil Handford became a Lancing ‘institution’, a fount of knowledge about every aspect of the College’s history. Sheppard also acknowledged the help in these early days of E. Cecil Curwen, author of *The Archaeology of Sussex*, of which the first edition was published in London in 1937 (S. S. Frere, ‘Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond. A lecture delivered in All Souls College on 23 October 1987’, *History & Archaeology Review*, 3 [1988], 31–6 at 32), with whom he collaborated on a paper published in 1947 (E. C. Curwen and S. Frere, ‘A Romano-British occupation site at Portfield Gravel Pit, Chichester’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 86 [1947], 137–40).

Sheppard conducted fieldwork under Handford's direction in the immediate environs of the College during this time. The work was duly published a few years later,⁶ accompanied by immaculately drawn and meticulously labelled sections, which later were to become such a hallmark of Sheppard's work—early testimony not only of the clarity and elegance of his draughtsmanship, but also of the importance he attached to such drawings in the recording of stratigraphy, which is so vital to the proper interpretation of all archaeological excavation. Sheppard acknowledged his debt to Handford in his publication of that early work,⁷ but that his debt to his teacher went far deeper is indicated above all by the dedication to Basil Handford of his magnum opus, *Britannia: a History of Roman Britain*, thirty years later (see below).

At Lancing, Sheppard was also President of the school's Haverfield Society; this was named after Francis Haverfield, who taught at Lancing before becoming Student (Fellow) of Christ Church in 1892 and later Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford.⁸ Haverfield, as we shall see, was to become an important influence on Sheppard's intellectual development, but the two men never met, as Sheppard was only three years old when Haverfield died in 1919.

From Lancing Sheppard went up to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he read Classics (including Ancient History), but archaeology formed no part of his formal undergraduate degree. As Sheppard was many years later to remark,⁹ classical archaeology's contribution to our knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquity was seen in those days mainly in terms of

⁶S. S. Frere, 'A survey of archaeology near Lancing', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 81 (1940), 140–72.

⁷Frere, 'A survey of archaeology near Lancing'; the sections are figs. 7–8 on 150–2. C. M. Kraay, FBA, later to be one of Sheppard's Oxford colleagues (at the Ashmolean Museum) and an eminent Greek numismatist, is recorded here as the excavator of a Saxon inhumation grave at Lancing (170–1 with fig. 17). Many years later he was to contribute a coin report to Sheppard's publication of the Bignor villa excavations (S. S. Frere, 'The Bignor villa', *Britannia*, 13 [1982], 135–95 at 175).

⁸The Minute Book of the Society records that Sheppard in his final year as a pupil gave a lecture which was 'a clear and detailed account of . . . Natural Pit and Lake Dwellings'. In that year (1934/35) he was Captain of School. His extracurricular activities at Lancing also included athletics and cross-country running. I am grateful to Dr Janet Pennington, former Archivist of the College, for this information. On Colin Kraay at Lancing (who succeeded Sheppard as Captain of School the following academic year), see C. H. V. Sutherland, 'Colin Mackennal Kraay', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 68 (1982), 591–605, at 591–2. On Haverfield at Lancing, P. W. M. Freeman, *The Best Training-Ground for Archaeologists. Francis Haverfield and the Invention of Romano-British Archaeology* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 153–7.

⁹In S. S. Frere, 'Roman archaeology at the Institute: the early years', *Archaeology International, Institute of Archaeology UCL*, 6 (2002–3), 10–13 at 10 ('in those days at Cambridge Roman archaeology was considered a branch of art history').

architectural and artistic development, and excavations of many sites around the Mediterranean continued to be clearance jobs, with scant attention paid to archaeological stratigraphy or close contextual dating through small finds. Sheppard already realised that the prehistorians were streets ahead of classical ones in their archaeological methodology. Later he was to acknowledge the excavations of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, FBA, FRS, and of his wife Tessa, at Verulamium (St Albans) in 1930–4 as one of the first ‘scientific’ explorations of a Roman town in Britain,¹⁰ even though he was critical, as we shall see, of some aspects of that work.

The 1930s Verulamium excavations had already been concluded by the time Sheppard went up to Cambridge, and although Wheeler had by then moved on to the great Iron Age hill fort at Maiden Castle near Dorchester, Sheppard chose to gain more fieldwork experience during his university vacations not with Wheeler but with Gerhard Bersu. Bersu was a hugely experienced field archaeologist who rose to be Director of the German Archaeological Institute before being forced out by the Nazis in 1935; he later fled to Britain. His classic excavation of an Iron Age house at Little Woodbury in Wiltshire in 1938 and 1939 introduced a new standard for archaeological fieldwork in Britain, and it made a lasting impression on Sheppard, who dug with Bersu at Little Woodbury in 1938, as well as giving him a life-long admiration for German archaeology and its high professional standards.¹¹ The same cannot be said perhaps of another archaeological excavation in which Sheppard participated in his undergraduate years. In 1937 he spent a season excavating the crannog (prehistoric lake dwelling) at Island MacHugh, Baronscourt, near Newtownstewart in Northern Ireland. The dig was directed by his cousin, Oliver Davies, who had recently published a notable book, for long a standard work, on Roman mining.¹² Davies warned Sheppard to expect Spartan conditions: ‘nor will there be any great facilities for washing, save when we go into Newtownstewart and have a bath; we shall not otherwise be allowed more

¹⁰S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations, Volume II* (London, 1983), p. 1. Much as he admired Haverfield’s scholarly contributions to the study of Roman Britain, Sheppard admitted that Haverfield was a hopeless excavator, concurring with F. G. Simpson’s stern judgment that ‘he dug like a rabbit’: Frere, ‘Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond’, p. 31. Cf. also Freeman, *Best Training-Ground*, pp. 301 and 427, the latter citing a 1962 letter of M. V. Taylor to E. B. Birley: ‘Haverfield was never really a fieldworker or pretended to be; he was what you might call an expounder . . .’.

¹¹G. Bersu, ‘Excavations at Little Woodbury, Wiltshire. Part 1’, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 6 (1940), 30–111. Sheppard mentions his participation in these excavations in ‘Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond’, at p. 32.

¹²O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford, 1935).

than a basin of hot water each'.¹³ In another letter he advised Sheppard to bring some fairly respectable clothes as well as his digging gear, as 'the place is on the land of the Duke of Abercorn, who may ask us in to tea, as he is interested in archaeology . . . [but] I may say that the Duke himself normally wears clothes even older than mine'.¹⁴ Davies's interpretation of his crannog excavations, published in 1950,¹⁵ proved to be controversial, and his conclusions have, in contrast to Bersu's at Little Woodbury, been largely overturned by more recent work.¹⁶

Sheppard graduated from Cambridge with his BA in 1938. There was no thought of staying on for graduate study (in the Humanities the desirability of the PhD was in any case a post-war phenomenon), but Sheppard was clearly already drawn to the attractions of field archaeology. In the absence of full-time jobs as excavation directors per se at the time, Sheppard determined on a career as a schoolmaster, reckoning that the long summer breaks would give him ample opportunity to conduct archaeological fieldwork; so he accepted a teaching position in Classics at Epsom College in Surrey.

At once he used his vacations from the College to throw himself into hectic archaeological activity. In April 1939 Sheppard was staying with friends at Ewell and digging at Carshalton in Surrey on an Iron Age site; afterwards he returned to Needham in Norfolk, again with his brother David, for further excavations at the Romano-British village there.¹⁷ His

¹³This and the next quotation (and see also note 14) come from three letters sent by Oliver Davies to Sheppard in 1937, preserved in the Frere family archive. I am most grateful to Sarah Frere for bringing them to my attention and allowing me to quote them here (and also the letters cited in note 3 above and in notes 17, 18, 19, 22 and 23 below). Sheppard was to mete out the same treatment as an excavation director himself: at Verulamium, when asked if diggers could wash in the changing rooms behind the Museum, he indicated that the River Ver was perfectly fit for purpose (G. Dannell, in R. J. A. Wilson (ed.), *Romanitas. Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday* [Oxford, 2006], p. 147).

¹⁴In a third letter, written after Sheppard had left the site, Davies comments that a fellow-digger 'told you a lie when she said she was using your old shirt for cleaning the pony with. They have not done so, because they feared that it would make the pony dirtier than it already was'!

¹⁵O. Davies, *Excavations at Island MacHugh* (Belfast, 1950).

¹⁶Cf., e.g., R. J. Ivens, D. D. A. Simpson and D. Brown, 'Excavations at Island MacHugh 1985: interim report', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd ser., 49 (1986), 99–103 at 99 ('subsequent investigations [i.e. since 1950] on Irish crannogs and into Irish archaeology generally have left Davies's interpretation of Island MacHugh in an increasingly anomalous position').

¹⁷A. W. G. Lowther, 'Report on excavations at the site of the Early Iron Age camp in the grounds of Queen Mary's Hospital, Carshalton, Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 49 (1945), 56–74. On Needham, see note 4 above. Sheppard clearly encouraged David's interest in archaeology and it became a shared passion, not only at Needham, but at Lancing too, as well as at The Wrekin and at Highdown, at both of which they were digging together in 1939 (cf. notes 20 and 21 below). The Frere family archive contains further letters from Sheppard, in Cambridge, instructing David on how to draw pottery and how to do clear lettering on plans (pers. comm.

father was worried enough to feel that he had to remind his son that commitment to school work at Epsom College was essential as this was his ‘bread and butter’, and that he should not get carried away with his archaeological interests.¹⁸ By July his family could not keep up with him, and were unsure even where he was.¹⁹ He was in fact at The Wrekin in Shropshire, an Iron Age hill fort, digging with another superlative excavator, Kathleen Kenyon, FBA.²⁰ By mid-August 1939 he was at Highdown near Worthing in Sussex, a late Bronze Age and early Iron Age enclosure, where Saxon burials had also, not altogether unexpectedly, been found.²¹ This was the summer when the spectacular discovery of the Sutton Hoo ship burial had been announced, and national interest in all things Anglo-Saxon was at fever pitch. The team at Highdown felt that they had to post a night guard on their excavations in case of unwanted outside interference, and Sheppard did his stint, although he admitted that he may have fallen asleep at his post.²² All this activity was taking place, of course, against the backdrop of the gathering storm-clouds of war, but Sheppard acknowledged that he was out of touch with what was going on in the ‘crisis’, until the Highdown excavation was suddenly and forcefully abandoned. In the name of the war effort, the Army intervened, took over the camp where they were staying, and ‘pinched our cooking utensils, so we

Sarah Frere, 9 May 2015). Later the two brothers wrote a paper together, ‘Archaeology and education’, published in *History*, 27 (1942), 97–110. Sadly, however, David was to die prematurely of leukaemia, at the age of twenty-six, in 1947.

¹⁸ Letter of Noel Frere to Sheppard, 19 March 1939.

¹⁹ Letter of Noel Frere to Sheppard, 29 July 1939: ‘We seem to be in some doubt whether you go to Worthing or the Wrekin first for your digging. How long will you be at either place?’

²⁰ K. Kenyon, ‘Excavations on the Wrekin, Shropshire, 1939’, *Archaeological Journal*, 99 (1942), 99–109. Roger Goodburn reports (in ‘Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist’, *Britannia*, 46 [2015], 1–5 at 2) that among his duties there Sheppard had ‘the challenging daily task of driving the ancient expedition car, laden with provisions, up the steep grassy slopes to the summit’.

²¹ A. E. Wilson, ‘Report on the excavations on Highdown Hill, Sussex, August 1939’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 81 (1940), 173–203. Sheppard acted as a site supervisor here (p. 181). His brother David (D. H. S.) was also a volunteer, although he is wrongly called ‘L. Frere’ in the acknowledgements (p. 203). A wealth of late Roman and Anglo-Saxon finds, including an intact engraved glass goblet of the early fifth century AD (M. Russell, *Roman Sussex* [Stroud, 2006], col. pl. 26), had already been found at Highdown in the 1890s. The burials have been interpreted as representing an enclave of German settlers (M. Welch, *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, British Archaeological Report, British Series, 112 [Oxford, 1983], pp. 215–21; 461–84 with figs. 87–124), but this is not certain (Russell, *Roman Sussex*, pp. 276–7; cf. K. Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* [Stroud, 2000], p. 101).

²² ‘Certainly it was horribly cold and tiring’; but overall his ‘fortnight [at Highdown] was hot and dry, and very enjoyable. We found a great deal of stuff’: letter of Sheppard (by then in Shimpling) to his aunt, Joan Sunderland, 28 August 1939.

could not have gone on even if we had intended to'.²³ A few days later, on 3 September, war with Germany was declared.

After just two years at Epsom College, Sheppard spent the war years from 1940 to 1945 in the National Fire Service in London. His work exposed him at first hand to the harrowing devastation and loss of life caused by incendiary bombing, and gave him a life-long anxiety about the risks of fire, especially in a domestic context. Despite the war, his archaeological interests continued unabated. Free time was spent on a series of small-scale excavations on a wide variety of sites (prehistoric and medieval, as well as Roman) in the London area, mostly in Surrey, promptly written up in a series of notes and papers during the war years.²⁴ After the war he resumed his teaching career, but not at Epsom: the chance to return to his alma mater, Lancing, as a housemaster, was one that he seized with relish, and he taught there for nine years, from 1945 to 1954.

His prime responsibility was the teaching of Ancient History to Sixth Form pupils, but he was also 'skilled at Divinity and formidable at Latin with lower forms', while outside the classroom he took charge of cross-country running (reviving an interest of his school days) as well as swimming.²⁵ Not surprisingly the Haverfield Society, of which he was President, also flourished at Lancing under Sheppard's guidance. He gave many lectures to it himself and in addition invited distinguished outside speakers, such as Ivan Donald Margary, acknowledged expert on Roman roads in Britain, and the Near Eastern archaeologist Max Mallowan, FBA, an alumnus of Lancing. He also organized some memorable excursions to local monuments, such as the Roman villa at Bignor, where he

²³ Ibid.: 'our camp and excavation had suddenly to be abandoned owing to the crisis – of which, having been buried in the country for so long, I know very little'. The night guard at Highdown was 'to prevent anyone mistaking it for Sutton Hoo!' The finds at the latter had been declared Treasure Trove at a coroner's inquest on 14 August 1939, with extensive press coverage. The Army's subsequent Second World War defences at Highdown were to do serious damage to the archaeology of the enclosure (M. Russell, *Prehistoric Sussex* [Stroud, 2002], p. 97). Further excavations took place there after the war: A. E. Wilson, 'Excavations on Highdown Hill, 1947', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 89 (1950), 163–78.

²⁴ For example, S. S. Frere, 'A Roman ditch at Ewell County School', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 48 (1943), 45–60; S. S. Frere, 'An Iron Age site at West Clandon, Surrey, and some aspects of the Iron Age and Romano-British culture in the Wealden area', *Archaeological Journal*, 101 (1944), 50–67.

²⁵ C. Chamberlin, in his 'Valeté' published in the Lent 1954 issue of *Lancing College Magazine*, wrote that Sheppard's coaching in 1953 was so successful that his teams 'were hardly ever beaten' in competition against other schools. The quotation here about the quality of Sheppard's teaching is also from Chamberlin.

was later to excavate.²⁶ His mode of transport in those days seems to have been notoriously unreliable, adding extra excitement and uncertainty to such expeditions. On one outing in the summer of 1947, for example, Sheppard's motor car 'had a limited capacity for speed, as it had to be stopped at intervals to allow the engine to cool, the radiator to stop boiling and the radiator cap to be found from a neighbouring hedge'.²⁷

The school holidays at Lancing were used by Sheppard not as a period of recharging batteries in between his hectic duties as school- and house-master, but (as at Epsom) of ceaseless activity as a field archaeologist. The quality of his wartime excavations had not escaped notice—he had been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1944, at the early age of twenty-eight—and at the beginning of 1946 he took up an appointment as Director of Excavations in bomb-damaged Canterbury.²⁸ Canterbury, given its geographical location, lay in the front line of the Luftwaffe's aerial incursions during the war and was one of the most extensively damaged of Britain's major medieval cities, apart from London. In the face of this devastation it was greatly to the city's credit that it saw the destruction at a very early stage as an opportunity for exploring its past before rebuilding, and the Canterbury Excavation Committee was already up and running as early as 1944.²⁹ Although London was soon to follow, establishing its own excavation committee in 1947,³⁰ the work at Canterbury between 1944 and 1960, all but the first

²⁶The Society's Minute Book records that this visit (in October 1945) was not a great success since the custodian who gave the boys a guided tour was apparently 'all the while repeating her dissertation on the remains like a gramophone [sic] record'. For more detail on these expeditions, see J. Pennington, 'Professor Sheppard Frere, 1916–2015', *The Old Lancing Club Review*, forthcoming (a longer version is deposited in the College Archives). I am grateful to Dr Pennington for showing me a copy of this in advance of publication, and for the quotations in notes 25 and 28, as well as to Mrs Lesley Edwards, the current Archivist at Lancing, for permission to use this material from the College records.

²⁷Haverfield Society Minute Book, cited by J. Pennington (see note 26).

²⁸C. Chamberlin (in '*Valete*': see note 25) records: 'so vigorous was the schoolmaster, so kind, ingenuous and unassuming the man, that one almost forgot that he had another life, as strenuous in its own right, as a distinguished archaeologist ... all his holidays [being] spent excavating Roman Canterbury.'

²⁹The first Director was Audrey Williams (later Mrs W. F. Grimes), who opened five trenches between 1944 and 1945. The Honorary Secretary of the Canterbury Excavation Committee was Canterbury's Town Clerk, demonstrating the close involvement of the City in, and commitment to, the enterprise. On the creation of the Committee and its formative early days, cf. S. S. Frere, *Roman Canterbury: the City of Durovernum*, 3rd edn. (Canterbury, 1962), pp. 1–2.

³⁰The 'Roman and Medieval London Excavation Council', established (by contrast with Canterbury) on the initiative of the Society of Antiquaries of London: W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Medieval London* (London, 1968), p. 1. Sheppard had been a pioneer there too, inspecting bomb sites in Southwark during the war at the instigation of the Society of

two years of it under Sheppard's direction,³¹ constituted a pioneering example of urban rescue archaeology prior to modern rebuilding. It was a model, even if only on a small scale, of the type of archaeological organisation that was later to be developed in many of Britain's leading cities, revolutionising in the process our knowledge of the earlier phases of Britain's urban development.

Large parts of the vacations between terms at Lancing were spent at Canterbury, his digging seasons there lasting from between six and ten weeks every year until the mid-1950s, and for a month in 1956 and 1957.³² It was not easy work, much of it conducted by means of small, deep cuttings, but the gains in knowledge were considerable. These excavations were the first to demonstrate the existence of an extensive late Iron Age settlement underlying modern Canterbury on both sides of the river Stour, as well as a wealth of new information about the Roman city of Durovernum—about its defences (built not before the later third century AD, unusually late for Romano-British towns), its gravelled street layout, some of its public buildings (including one set of baths, a theatre and some details of the forum area), and parts of private houses, some with mosaics.³³ Giant strides were also made in knowledge about Saxon and

Antiquaries, during which activity he was briefly apprehended by the authorities as a suspected enemy agent (R. Goodburn, in 'Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist', *Britannia*, 46 [2015], 1–5 at 2).

³¹ Cf. M. G. Wilson, 'Chronological list of Canterbury excavation seasons directed by S. S. Frere', in S. S. Frere, P. Bennett, J. Rady and S. Stow, *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume VIII* (note 33 below), p. 256 (Appendix 4). From this it is clear that Sheppard dug twenty-four separate sites (VI–XXX) in all between 1946 and 1957. Although he remained Director until 1960, the final work of the Canterbury Excavation Committee, consisting of two additional trenches opened in that year, was directed by John Wachter (XXXI) and by Marion Wilson (XXXII) respectively.

³² There were three excavations a year in 1946 and 1947, two (in April and the summer) every year from 1948 to 1955, and just one, in April, in 1956 and 1957 (cf. Wilson, 'Chronological List'), no doubt because of Sheppard's commitments also at Verulamium by then.

³³ The final reports on this work were written up with the close collaboration of Sally Stow in a series of volumes that also included reports of later fieldwork conducted by the Canterbury Excavation Committee's successor body, the Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Sheppard's excavations appeared (in order of publication) as P. Bennett, S. S. Frere and S. Stow, *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume I: Excavations at Canterbury Castle* (Maidstone, 1982); S. S. Frere, S. Stow and P. Bennett, *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume II: Excavations on the Roman and Medieval Defences* (Maidstone, 1982); S. S. Frere and S. Stow, *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume VII: Excavations in the St. George's Street and Burgate Street Areas* (Maidstone, 1983); S. S. Frere, P. Bennett, J. Rady and S. Stow, *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume VIII: Canterbury Excavations: Intra- and Extra-mural Sites, 1949–55 and 1980–84* (Maidstone, 1987); K. Blockley, M. Blockley, P. Blockley, S. S. Frere and S. Stow, *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume V: Excavations in the Marlowe Car Park and Surrounding Areas*, 2 vols. (Canterbury, 1995). The Roman theatre was published separately in S. S. Frere, 'The Roman Theatre at Canterbury', *Britannia*, 1 (1970), 83–113, and some of the early excavations were fully reported either in

medieval Canterbury. As with all the best archaeology, the results were obtained through meticulous attention to stratigraphy and to the observation of the tiniest scraps of evidence, as is clear from any study of his reports; but the importance of small details Sheppard also underlined in his summary of results written for the general public, to help explain the nature of archaeological research for a wider audience.³⁴

In 1954 Sheppard left Lancing for a post at Manchester University,³⁵ but soon moved on to a Readership in the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces at the Institute of Archaeology in London. The new position coincided also with his appointment in 1955 as Director of Excavations at Verulamium, the Roman city which lies on the edge of modern St Albans in Hertfordshire. Here major archaeological investigation was necessary in advance of the widening of a road that ran through the heart of the Roman city; the research was to continue there for seven years. The importance of these excavations is hard to overestimate, and they confirmed Sheppard's reputation as a superlative excavator.³⁶ One has to remember

Archaeologia Cantiana or else in separately issued fascicules, such as S. S. Frere and A. Williams, *An Account of the Excavations in Butchery Lane* (Roman Canterbury 4) (Maidstone, 1949), a reprint from *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 61 (1948), 1–45. Part of the last excavation, which included geometric mosaics in the corridor of a Roman town-house, is still visible today in situ as part of the Canterbury Roman Museum. Sheppard was particularly proud of his identification of the Roman theatre from exiguous evidence, and relished the fact that the quality of its Roman concrete defeated modern pneumatic drills (J. J. Wilkes, pers. comm. 29 February 2016).

³⁴E.g. Frere, *Roman Canterbury*, p. 23: 'it should always be remembered that the information that is needed can be obtained from quite unimpressive-looking sources . . . Witness the early Saxon sherd found near Rose Lane, which opened up exciting pictures of the arrival of the first Saxons as *foederati*, or even of trade with northern German lands before the Roman power ceased to exist in Britain. This one sherd is perhaps the most important single object yet excavated in Canterbury; yet it is entirely insignificant to look at.' The sherd in question (also *ibid.*, pp. 19–21), now recognised as imported from Jutland, was published in Blockley et al., *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume V*, II, p. 825, no. F34 with fig. 346, p. 827 (from the yard of the Rose Hotel, found in 1946). Later more sherds of the same ware came from Sheppard's excavations east of the Marlowe Theatre, west of Rose Lane (described by J. N. L. Myres as 'pure Hengist and Horsa' in date: I, p. 333; II, p. 825 with fig. 345, F1–26), and another in 1960 from Simon Langton Yard, east of Rose Lane (I, 343, and II, pp. 831 and 833, fig. 351, sherd F57). Cf. S. Stow, 'The Jutish Pottery from East of the Marlowe Theatre', II, pp. 825–7; also N. Macpherson-Grant on p. 885. I am grateful to Sally Stow for help with these references.

³⁵Sheppard appears to have enterprisingly and successfully negotiated an initial sabbatical year as part of his appointment, in order to make glass slides and prepare his lecture courses, but then left after a year without delivering any. I first heard this story forty years ago as a graduate student, and wondered whether it was apocryphal. John Peter Wild (Manchester), however, has kindly confirmed to me (pers. comm. 15 February 2016) that 'the rumour is accurate, so far as belief among archaeologists in Manchester University over the past 30-odd years stands'.

³⁶R. M. Robbins, President of the Society of Antiquaries, in his Anniversary Address on 20 April 1989, when Sheppard was awarded the Society's Gold Medal, stated that Sheppard had 'extended archaeological techniques and demonstrated the highest skills in the craft in a remarkable series of excavations' (R. M. Robbins, 'Anniversary address', *Antiquaries Journal*, 69 [1989], 1–9 at 2).

the state of knowledge about Romano-British urbanism as it was in 1955. Still dominant in discussion were the contributions of the Victorian and Edwardian excavations of large swathes of the Romano-British towns of Silchester and Caerwent, and of the slightly later ones conducted at Caistor St Edmund, all of which had been carried out with little or no awareness of archaeological stratigraphy or of chronology in general; and the picture derived from them was supplemented by observations obtained from mostly small-scale work at a number of other sites, including London and most recently Canterbury. The one exception was Mortimer Wheeler's investigation of Verulamium itself between 1930 and 1934, which did pay attention to stratigraphy and chronology through controlled excavation, and the Wheeler 'model' was correspondingly influential on interpretations of town life in Roman Britain for the next thirty years.³⁷ Sheppard's excavations there between 1955 and 1961, however, represented nothing other than a revolution in our knowledge of Romano-British urbanism. They rewrote completely, with a wealth of intricate detail, the history of the development of Verulamium as a Roman city, hugely amplifying, and in great part overthrowing, the conclusions of Wheeler's excavations there two decades before.³⁸

Their importance, however, was more than merely academic. They were among the largest excavations of their time, with up to a hundred volunteer diggers on site on any one day, and their role as a training ground in archaeological expertise was to have lasting impact on the

³⁷ R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium, a Belgic and two Roman Cities*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 11 (London, 1936). Cf. R. Niblett, *Verulamium. The Roman City of St Albans* (Stroud, 2001), p. 19: 'for more than thirty years after the Wheelers stopped excavating at Verulamium, the history of Roman Verulamium was seen as reflecting that of many of the towns, at least in the southern part of the province. This is hardly surprising. *Verulamium, a Belgic and Two Roman Cities* was the only published account of a Romano-British town that was based on the results of controlled excavation' (cf. also R. Niblett, in R. Niblett and I. Thompson (eds.), *Alban's Buried Towns: an Assessment of St Albans' Archaeology up to AD 1600* [Oxford, 2005], p. 49, and Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 32: 'his [Wheeler's] *Verulamium* was a very influential book'). For an additional perspective on Wheeler's interpretation of his results (that his reading of third-century decline at Verulamium might have been influenced by Rostovtzeff's powerfully argued view of the Roman Empire), cf. J. J. Wilkes, 'The Russian Revolution in Roman Britain', in P. Ottaway (ed.), *A Victory Celebration. Papers on the Archaeology of Colchester and Late Iron Age–Roman Britain Presented to Philip Crummy* (Colchester, 2006), pp. 121–8 at p. 124.

³⁸ *Verulamium Excavations, Volume II* (London, 1983), pp. 1–25. Sheppard had first aired his radically different interpretation of Verulamium's development in two papers published in 1964, both tellingly entitled: S. S. Frere, 'Verulamium, three Roman cities', *Antiquity*, 38, 103–12; and S. S. Frere, 'Verulamium – then and now', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London*, 4, 61–82. For assessments of both the Wheelers' and Frere's work, cf. Niblett, *Verulamium*, pp. 18–26 ('today most elements in this "Wheeler model" have been discarded': p. 19); Niblett in Niblett and Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns*, 2005, pp. 47–50.

discipline of archaeology the length and breadth of the land. Many who later went on to distinguished academic careers of their own cut their archaeological teeth, as it were, under Sheppard's guidance (and that of his trusted supervisors) at Verulamium.³⁹ Methodologically, too, the excavations were path-breaking. From 1958, for example, Sheppard pioneered the use of what is now called 'open-area excavation', instead of the box-grid system of trenches favoured by Wheeler with which Sheppard's Verulamium excavations had started.⁴⁰ Another inspired innovation was Sheppard's invitation to Martin Aitken to trace by means of a magnetometer the outline of the buried line of Verulamium's earliest urban defences (the '1955 ditch').⁴¹ the result was an early and triumphantly successful application of what is now called geophysics, firmly established as standard procedure in archaeological research. Inexplicably, sixty years were to elapse before the baton was picked up again and a comprehensive programme of geophysical research covering the whole of the Roman city of Verulamium was attempted.⁴² Another novelty was Sheppard's devising of a new technique for rolling mosaics entire onto a drum when lifting them, rather than cutting them up and so partly mutilating them, as had hitherto been the practice.⁴³ And the Verulamium excavations also marked a watershed in developing new ways of saving and raising large areas of fallen wall-plaster, masterminded by Norman Davey, and building on techniques first pioneered only a few years before in the recovery of painted wall-plaster from the Roman villa at Lullingstone.⁴⁴ In all these aspects

³⁹ At the risk of invidiousness, I name just four archaeologists who dug with Sheppard Frere in the 1950s: Professor Lord Renfrew of Kaimsthorn, FBA, at Canterbury (A. Harding, 'A conversation with Colin Renfrew', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 11 [2008], 143–70 at 144); Professor Martin Biddle, FBA, also at Canterbury (M. Biddle, 'Winchester uncovered', *Current Archaeology*, 300 [March 2015], 34–41 at 41); Professor John Wilkes, FBA, who dug at both Canterbury and Verulamium in 1957 (pers. comm. 29 February 2016); and Professor Sir Barry Cunliffe, FBA, at Verulamium (B. Cunliffe, 'Digging for joy', *History Today*, 50.9 [September 2000], 62–3 at 63: 'Verulamium provided a hothouse where would-be young archaeologists were brought, hardened and, if they survived, transplanted').

⁴⁰ Frere, *Verulamium Excavations II*, p. 1; also commented on by C. Higham, 'Life at the Institute of Archaeology, 1957–59', *Archaeology International, Institute of Archaeology UCL*, 7 (2003–4), 10–13 at 11.

⁴¹ For a photograph of this in use, cf. Frere, 'Roman archaeology at the Institute: the early years', 13, fig. 8.

⁴² Cf. K. Lockyear, 'Verulamium revealed: sensing the city', *Current Archaeology*, 310 (January 2016), 12–19. Sadly, of course, Sheppard did not live to see these results in print.

⁴³ S. S. Frere, 'Lifting mosaics', *Antiquity*, 32 (1958), 116–19.

⁴⁴ N. Davey, 'The conservation of Romano-British painted plaster', *Britannia*, 3 (1972), 251–68; on the pioneering nature of his work, see also N. Davey and R. Ling, *Wall-Painting in Roman Britain*, Britannia Monograph, 3 (London, 1981), pp. 27–8. The work on the plaster at Lullingstone was carried out by C. D. P. Nicholson between 1949 and 1957; cf. M. Unwin, 'New method for the treatment of wall-plaster,' *Archaeological News Letter*, 3 (1951), 119.

Sheppard's work at Verulamium made a colossal impact on Romano-British archaeology,⁴⁵ reinforced by his magisterial publication of it between 1972 and 1984 in three detailed and authoritative volumes of reports, which continue to be of immense value.⁴⁶

Sheppard's work at Verulamium, then, completely changed our knowledge of the origins, growth and decline of this Roman city, and overturned Mortimer Wheeler's vision of it put forward in 1936. It might be asked what the relationship between the two men was like. While the 1950s excavations were in progress, relations were mostly cordial,⁴⁷ and it seems unlikely that Sheppard would have been appointed as Director of Excavations without a nod from Wheeler, who would have appreciated the quality of Sheppard's work at Canterbury and his qualifications as director of the new and much larger project at Verulamium. A decade later, however, relations had clearly soured. A turning point came in 1968, and was sparked by Wheeler's review in the pages of the journal *Antiquity* of the Hod Hill report written by Sir Ian Richmond, FBA,⁴⁸ in which Wheeler not only criticised the book but also wrote negatively about the entire career of its author, who had died three years before its publication.⁴⁹ This outburst prompted a letter of protest signed by four of Richmond's friends, one of whom was Sheppard—the principal letter-writer, Wheeler opined in his response.⁵⁰ Wheeler dismissed the competence of the four

⁴⁵ Niblett, *Verulamium*, p. 23: 'it [Sheppard's excavation work at Verulamium] had, and continues to have, a profound influence on a whole generation of Romano-British archaeologists'.

⁴⁶ S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations, Volume I*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 28 (London, 1972), pp. xiv and 384; S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations, Volume II*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 41 (London, 1983), pp. xvi and 346; S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excavations, Volume III* (Oxford, 1984), pp. viii and 298.

⁴⁷ Cf. the 1958 photograph of them both in Frere, 'Roman archaeology at the Institute: the early years', 11, fig. 5; but even then there appear at times to have been tensions (cf. G. Dannell, in Wilson, *Romanitas*, p. 147), and wheelbarrows painted with the label 'Single-Wheeler' were hidden away when Wheeler was due to make a site visit (Frere, 'Roman archaeology at the Institute', 11, caption to fig. 3). Other barrows were named 'S. S. Frere Demolitions' (*ibid.*)!

⁴⁸ R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Review of Ian Richmond and others: Hod Hill, Vol. 2', *Antiquity*, 42 (1968), 149–50.

⁴⁹ On I. A. Richmond, FBA, cf. E. Birley, 'Sir Ian Archibald Richmond, 1902–1965', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 52 (1967), 293–302. By coincidence Sheppard died exactly fifty years after his friend Ian Richmond, of whom he was very fond ('a lovely man', as he once described Richmond to me; for Sheppard's own published tribute to him, cf. S. S. Frere, 'Ian Archibald Richmond, 1902–1965', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 55 [1965], xiii–xiv).

⁵⁰ 'Richmond, Wheeler and Hod Hill', *Antiquity*, 42 (1968), 292–3; there was also a separate letter from George Boon, 293–5. Wheeler's response was at 295–6. The controversy is discussed by J. Hawkes, *Mortimer Wheeler. Adventurer in Archaeology* (London, 1982), pp. 353–6; Freeman, *Best Training-Ground*, pp. 560–1; A. Snodgrass, 'Antiquity, Wheeler and Classical Archaeology', *Antiquity*, 76 (2002), 1102–4 at 1103.

signatories to mount any valid defence of Richmond as a field archaeologist: ‘the testimony of a distinguished art historian, a superb air-photographer, and of two defaulting excavators adds nothing to his case’.⁵¹ Wheeler then launched an attack on Sheppard, calling him ‘probably the world’s champion non-publisher’⁵² and bemoaning the absence of definitive reports on Canterbury and Verulamium, which still at that time lay a little way into the future.

The relationship between Wheeler and Frere never recovered from this very public spat. Their approach to archaeological research was fundamentally different. Wheeler was always keen to create a clear, colourful and decisive ‘story’ for a site that he had excavated, however flimsy the evidence, often published only a very short time after the conclusion of digging. Frere, by contrast, always the meticulous and painstaking excavator, sifted and assessed every scrap of detail before coming to a judicious conclusion, based on sound judgement and the totality of the evidence, and publishing it only when he was ready. By contrast with the publicity-seeking Wheeler, Frere was essentially a modest and private man who shunned the limelight and his own self-promotion, gaining rather his fulfilment from pursuing his archaeological goals with quiet determination and thoroughness, and devoting much time to helping others do the same. Wheeler’s own book on Verulamium had in fact itself been savagely reviewed by J. N. L. Myres, FBA, soon after its publication in 1936, with complaints about the shakiness of the dating evidence, over-hasty compression, treating hypotheses as certainties and inadequacy in the presentation of ceramic evidence.⁵³ In *Verulamium I* (1972) Sheppard drily observed: ‘it is a regrettable fact that Wheeler’s five-year excavation in the city, 1930–4, resulted in the publication of only seventy-nine pieces of Roman pottery, including five plain but no decorated samian vessels: indeed most of the material still lies unpublished in the museum’.⁵⁴ That situation remains the same to this day. A more extensive critique of Wheeler’s methods was reserved for *Verulamium II* (1983), when Sheppard

⁵¹ *Antiquity*, 42 (1968), 295. The art historian was J. M. C. Toynbee, FBA, the aerial photographer J. K. St Joseph, FBA, and the two ‘defaulting excavators’ Sheppard and Lady Aileen Fox.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ J. N. L. Myres, ‘Verulamium’, *Antiquity*, 12 (1938), 16–25; discussed in Hawkes, *Mortimer Wheeler*, pp. 159–62. In marked contrast with the Frere/Wheeler fracas, Wheeler was to remain on good terms with Myres and even accepted that some criticism of his 1936 Verulamium report was justified (‘J. N. L. Myres very properly rapped me over the knuckles for it’), which Wheeler blamed on his being ‘fatigued and disgusted’ by Roman civilization: M. Wheeler, *Still Digging. Adventures in Archaeology* (London, 1955), p. 91.

⁵⁴ Frere, *Verulamium I*, p. 3.

referred pointedly to the shortcomings of *celeritas Wheeleriana*;⁵⁵ but Wheeler, who died in 1976, did not live to see those words in print.

A felicitous event during the last year of the Verulamium excavations (1961) was the marriage of Sheppard to Janet Hoare, an architect who was responsible for reconstruction drawings in Sheppard's publications of both that site and a Roman bath-house at Canterbury.⁵⁶ The couple had met through a Lancing connection, Janet being the sister of Sheppard's Head of House there, Derek Hoare. They had two children: a daughter, Sarah, who became a legal secretary, and a son, Bartle, who went on to become an airline pilot.

The other excavations that Sheppard conducted over the course of his career, alone or in partnership with others, read like a major roll call of some of the key sites in Romano-British archaeology: the Roman villa at Bignor in Sussex, where the successive building phases of this great rural mansion, first explored by Samuel Lysons between 1811 and 1817, were for the first time established and dated;⁵⁷ Dorchester on Thames, where an especial highlight was the evidence for sub-Roman occupation, with early Saxon sunken dwellings (*Grubenhäuser*) erected beside still-used Roman streets;⁵⁸ Longthorpe near Peterborough, still the only example to have been extensively excavated of a category of military base (the so-called 'vexillation fortresses'), which were probably intended for a mixed unit of both legionaries and auxiliaries, and which belong exclusively to the period of early Roman military campaigns in the mid-first century AD;⁵⁹ Brandon Camp in Herefordshire, on the Welsh border, another early military base, with a ramshackle collection of timber buildings which

⁵⁵ Frere, *Verulamium II*, p. 1; cf. also Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 33: 'close dating was still left obscured by Wheeler's dictum that publication must be immediate—leaving him no time to study the indications of his coarse pottery, an uncongenial and laborious though very necessary task'.

⁵⁶ E.g. Frere, *Verulamium I*, p. 16, fig. 5; p. 79, fig. 18; Frere, *Verulamium II*, p. 64, fig. 25; p. 66, fig. 26; p. 68, fig. 28. Canterbury: *The Archaeology of Canterbury, Volume VII*, pp. 36–7, figs. 6–7.

⁵⁷ S. S. Frere, 'The Bignor villa', *Britannia*, 13 (1982), 135–95. For a recent summary and assessment of Sheppard's work at Bignor, cf. D. Rudling and M. Russell, *Bignor Roman Villa* (Stroud, 2015), pp. 62–71. John Wilkes tells me (pers. comm. 29 February 2016) that Sheppard never mentioned Bignor without allusion to the sumptuous feasts laid on by Captain Tupper, Bignor's landowner. Sheppard was someone who appreciated good food all his life (and was not slow to hide his disappointment when a meal fell short of expectations!).

⁵⁸ S. S. Frere, 'Excavations at Dorchester on Thames, 1962', *Archaeological Journal*, 119 (1962), 114–49; S. S. Frere, 'Excavations at Dorchester on Thames, 1963', *Archaeological Journal*, 141 (1984), 91–174.

⁵⁹ S. S. Frere and J. K. St Joseph, 'The Roman fortress at Longthorpe', *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 1–129.

bucked the usual trend of orderly military planning;⁶⁰ Bowes, a fort at the eastern end of the Stainmore Pass, where the defences and part of the interior were examined and a long sequence of occupation established;⁶¹ and Strageath in Perthshire, where another fort occupied in both the Flavian and two Antonine periods was extensively investigated over fourteen seasons, the last six directed by John Wilkes, FBA.⁶² These sites, together with Canterbury and Verulamium, demonstrate the huge scope and variety of his contribution to our knowledge of Romano-British archaeology, and of the range of his archaeological expertise: they embrace military sites as well as civilian ones; they cover the full chronological span of the Roman period in Britain, from the invasion phase in the mid-first century AD to the gradual transformation of the province into sub-Roman Britain in the fifth century; and geographically they extend from the very south to the far north of Britain. Nor does this roll call represent the entire list of his digging activity: he found time to excavate on Iron Age sites as well, including a small *oppidum* at Camp du Charlat, in the Département of Corrèze in the Limousin (France),⁶³ and at Ivinghoe Beacon, a hill fort in Buckinghamshire,⁶⁴ and he collaborated also on other excavations on the Continent, including the Roman pottery-production centre at Lezoux near Clermont Ferrand,⁶⁵ and at the Roman town-site at Xanten (Ulpia Traiana) in the Rhineland.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ S. S. Frere, 'Brandon Camp, Herefordshire', *Britannia*, 18 (1987), 49–92.

⁶¹ S. S. Frere and R. L. Fitts, *Excavations at Bowes and Lease Rigg Roman Forts*, Yorkshire Archaeological Report, 6 (Leeds, 2009).

⁶² S. S. Frere and J. J. Wilkes, *Strageath. Excavations within the Roman Fort, 1973–86*, Britannia Monograph, 9 (London, 1989).

⁶³ O. Brogan and S. S. Frere, 'Le camp du Charlat, Corrèze', *Antiquaries Journal*, 38 (1958), 218–22; M. A. Cotton and S. S. Frere, 'Enceintes de l'Âge du Fer au pays des Lémovices,' *Gallia*, 19 (1961), 31–54.

⁶⁴ M. A. Cotton and S. S. Frere, 'Ivinghoe Beacon, excavations 1963–65', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 18 (1968), 187–203.

⁶⁵ S. S. Frere and B. R. Hartley, 'Fouilles de Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme) en 1963', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 9 (1966), 557–63. David Brown (former Senior Assistant Keeper of Antiquities at the Ashmolean, and founder of Oxbow Books) recalls that while team members, who had been instructed to bring their own shovels (French shovels being deemed unsuitable), all travelled to France by train, Sheppard arrived in style in his Bentley. They stayed at the Hotel des Voyageurs where the cooking was superb; after dinner they took rubbings of decorated and stamped samian pottery far into the night, propped up by Gauloises and black coffee. Sheppard and Brian Hartley both sported French-style berets as well as pipes on site, and were a magnet for local pipe-smokers hoping to cadge free tobacco whenever they lit up.

⁶⁶ Excavations directed by H. von Petrikovits, Director of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. These excavations were conducted when the site of the Roman *colonia* was still threatened with industrial development, long before the creation of the current Archaeological Park.

Up to 1967 Sheppard was mainly known for his excavations and for publications that were related to them or were concerned with wider issues arising directly out of them.⁶⁷ In that year, soon after his transfer from London to become the second holder of the Professorship of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire in Oxford⁶⁸—the chair created in 1956, first occupied by Sir Ian Richmond—was published his great book, *Britannia: a History of Roman Britain*.⁶⁹ This work immediately established itself as the definitive statement of its subject, and was universally acknowledged as such in reviews.⁷⁰ The subtitle is important: Sheppard firmly believed that archaeological evidence was to be evaluated for the information it could provide for social, economic and military history, and that, along with literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence, the overall goal was to construct a narrative account which took due account of all forms of available evidence. In his historical approach he was very much following in the footsteps of Francis Haverfield, who had made some of the first attempts at synthesis of Roman Britain in the early part of the twentieth century,⁷¹ and Sheppard duly acknowledged his debt to

⁶⁷ An important service to Iron Age studies had been his editorship of a dense London conference proceedings, published as S. S. Frere (ed.), *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain. Papers given at a C.B.A. Conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, December 12 to 14, 1958*, Occasional Paper, 11 (London, 1961).

⁶⁸ In 1966; with it came Fellowship of All Souls College. He had earlier (in 1963) been promoted in London from Reader to Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces.

⁶⁹ S. S. Frere, *Britannia: a History of Roman Britain* (London, 1967). It was intended to be the first volume of a major monograph series, 'History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire', with Sheppard a member of its Editorial Committee, but in the event only three further volumes were issued in the same format and by the same publisher (*Dalmatia, Noricum and Pannonia and Upper Moesia*). Although four other volumes appeared later in smaller formats from other publishers, the series, which has now fizzled out, sadly failed to match its ambitious conception.

⁷⁰ Reviewers commented on Sheppard's 'lucid presentation, firm reasoning and steady judgment . . . [his] command of the minutiae is really amazing' (C. E. Stevens, *Antiquaries Journal*, 48 [1968], 322); '[readers] will neglect it at their peril, because this is now the standard history of Roman Britain' (A. L. F. Rivet, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 59 [1969], 247); 'this is by far and away the best introduction to the subject, a volume full of insight, which repays rereading time and time again. Indeed, one suspects that, in another twenty years, [it] will have been cited just as much as it has been over the last twenty: the ultimate accolade of fine scholarship' (T. W. Potter, *Classical Review*, 38 [1988], 439, on the third edition). Cf. also 'an extremely well documented account which immediately became the standard work' (P. Salway, *Roman Britain* [Oxford, 1981], p. 766).

⁷¹ F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 1st edn. (London, 1909; a reprint from *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 2 [1906], 185–217); 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1912); 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1915); more fully in F. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 304. The only other early syntheses of substance, F. Sagot, *La Bretagne romaine* (Paris, 1911), a book to which Sheppard acknowledged his debt in the preface to his *Britannia* (1967, p. xiii), and J. Ward, *The Roman Era in Britain* (London, 1911; 2nd edn. 1920), are largely forgotten today.

Haverfield, among others, in his preface.⁷² Sheppard's book was the first full-length study of Roman Britain since Collingwood's of thirty years before,⁷³ and its impact on the subject was huge. Revised editions were issued at intervals;⁷⁴ the fourth and last, handsomely produced in hardback and in a slipcase, and now with twenty illustrations in colour, was published in 1999, over three decades after the first.⁷⁵ In the preface to this fourth edition, he unapologetically stressed the importance of evaluating the primary evidence, which included the literary sources, and poured scorn on those who thought that the latter were a distraction, or that histories of Roman Britain should be based on archaeology alone;⁷⁶ he was equally dismissive of theoretical archaeology and of its potential to offer new and different perspectives.⁷⁷ There have been many attempts at writing monographic accounts of Roman Britain since, but not one of them has established itself as having quite the same *auctoritas*, quite the same level of judicious balance, as Sheppard's *Britannia*. Its place as a 'classic overview' in the historiography of Roman Britain is secure.⁷⁸

Another aspect of the impact of Sheppard's contribution to scholarship was his extraordinary selflessness, his willingness to give huge amounts of his time to help his colleagues, and to get their work to completion, in order to enrich Roman and especially Romano-British studies as a whole. This took many different forms. The most obvious was his contribution as Founding Editor of the journal *Britannia*, published

⁷² Frere, *Britannia* (1967), p. xiii.

⁷³ R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1936; 2nd edn. 1937). I. A. Richmond was due to write a replacement for this, but died before starting it; his concise *Roman Britain* for the Pelican History of England (Harmondsworth, 1955; 2nd edn. 1963; 3rd edn. revised by M. Todd, 1995) is, however, a classic in its own right on the smaller scale.

⁷⁴ 2nd edn. (paperback by Sphere Books, London) 1974, lightly revised and issued in hardback in 1978 by Routledge and Kegan Paul (London); 3rd edn., also by Routledge and Kegan Paul (London, 1987; 'extensively revised'), and issued in paperback by Pimlico (London, 1991); 4th edn. (London 1999; see next note).

⁷⁵ It is, however, regrettable that this edition was published in London by the Folio Society for its members only, and not in a commercial publication at all; as a result this edition, which is rarely cited, did not receive the widespread circulation that it deserved at the time, and still deserves.

⁷⁶ He railed there against the view that 'ancient writers were too full of bias to be allowed any credence, or that archaeology and history cannot blend . . . It is folly not to use the material to construct a history, however provisional'; also against another belief that 'military archaeology is of little or no value compared with social archaeology' (Frere, *Britannia*, 4th edn., pp. xvi–xvii).

⁷⁷ Cf. his concluding comments in Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 36: 'we want fewer Central Places, Gift Mechanisms and such-like Models and more study of the almost illimitable resources of the archaeology of the Roman Empire'.

⁷⁸ So described by Simon James in *The Sunday Times*, 22 December 2006. John Creighton consciously paid tribute to Sheppard's book the same year in choosing the title of his own monograph (*Britannia. The Creation of a Roman Province* [London, 2006], at p. 10).

by the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, the first volume of which appeared in 1970. Sheppard was the driving force behind persuading the Society, initially in the teeth of strong opposition,⁷⁹ to launch the journal, and obtaining the necessary funding each year, both from the Society and elsewhere, was a constant struggle. He served as Editor for ten years, twice the length of the tenure of his successors; and having given it up he then became Founding Editor of the accompanying *Britannia* Monograph series, editing its first ten volumes between 1981 and 1989. Sheppard served, in fact, on the journal's editorial committee for forty years, resigning only in 2009 at the age of ninety-three. He was to reprise the role of journal midwife twelve years after the launch of *Britannia*, when in 1982 he became one of the three founding editors of *The Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, produced out of the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford on behalf of what was then Blackwells Publishing (now Wiley-Blackwell); he served in that capacity until 1985. The deployment of his literary skills and his desire to polish and improve the work submitted by others, as well as the many other myriad tasks that fall to anyone who takes on an editorial role, was one that he greatly enjoyed.⁸⁰ In the same vein was his work on preparing the final English text for publication of a volume in the 'History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire' series (launched in 1967 with his *Britannia*), that on *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*.⁸¹ One of his enduring legacies in Oxford is the Celtic Coin Index, an invaluable record of every Iron Age coin found in Britain, which he curated first in London together with the late Derek Allen, and which then transferred to Oxford when Sheppard himself transferred there in 1966.⁸² He spent countless, selfless hours over the years working on it in

⁷⁹ Some hint of the battle between the pro- and anti-*Britannia* factions within the Society (the 'Britons' versus the 'Romans'), and of Sheppard's leadership of the former, is provided by C. Stray, 'Patriots and professors: a century of Roman studies', *Britannia*, 41 (2010), 1–31 at 21, also in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 100 (2010), 1–31 at 21–2. Even the title of the new journal was a matter of dispute. Sheppard preferred *Britannia Romana*, so echoing John Horsley's great work with the same title, published in 1732; but the simpler *Britannia*, in line with its long-established sister journals on the Continent, *Germania* and *Gallia*, won out in the end.

⁸⁰ As was made clear in the paper jointly written with Roger Goodburn to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the journal's first publication: 'Some papers involved editorial personnel in more than desk-work . . . overall the variety of tasks to be performed in those days of un-specialization provided a very wide range of interest and satisfaction for those involved' (S. S. Frere and R. Goodburn, 'Britannia 40 years: Roman society 100 years', *Britannia*, 41 [2010], 33–5 at 35).

⁸¹ A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London, 1974), pp. xxii and 453. On this series, see note 69.

⁸² *Pace* <<https://finds.org.uk/ironagecoins>>—accessed 23 March 2016—which states that the year of transfer was 1961; rather the latter was the year of publication of the first, and at the time comprehensive, list of such coins by Derek Allen, as part of the conference proceedings which Sheppard edited (Frere, *Problems of the Iron Age*, pp. 139–308). The project was conceived by the

order to keep it up to date, as did also his research assistant Roger Goodburn. Another valuable service was the annual round-up of ‘Sites explored’ that he compiled for *Britannia* for ten years, from 1983 to 1992. A largely unsung labour of love was his part in the compilation, sponsored by the British Academy, of the two sheets covering Britannia in the international mapping project *Tabula Imperii Romani*, in which the maps themselves are accompanied by booklets containing brief notes on every site marked, together with full bibliographies—an extremely useful research tool.⁸³ Another British Academy project that he was responsible for driving forward was publication of the British volumes of the international *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, which aims ambitiously to catalogue all pieces of Roman sculpture found within the confines of the Roman Empire.⁸⁴ Then there was the writing up of the work of others, such as Sir Ian Richmond’s re-excavation in 1961 of the Romano-British church at Silchester, or Donald Atkinson’s exploration from 1929 to 1934 of the forum, baths and south defences at Caistor St Edmund.⁸⁵ Perhaps most remarkable of all was his readiness to travel hundreds of miles to visit the excavations of others, putting his vast archaeological experience at their disposal—a vivid illustration of his unselfish personality, the strength of his resolve to serve and the sheer quantity of his indefatigable energy.

His service to the discipline in a national context was equally dedicated. He served on the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) for the entire sixteen-year-long tenure of his Oxford professorship (1966–83), and sat almost as long on the Ancient Monuments Board for England. He cared deeply and passionately about Britain’s heritage

two in 1959, and Sheppard started it as a card index a year later. It is now a computerised database comprising over 50,000 coins. For a history of the Coin Index, published to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary, cf. C. Rudd, ‘50 years of Celtic Coin Index’, <<http://www.coinsweekly.com/en/50-Years-of-Celtic-Coin-Index/8?&id=130&type=a>>—accessed 24 March 2016.

⁸³ *Tabula Imperii Romani. Condate–Glevvm–Londinivm–Lytetia* (London, 1983), p. 116; *Britannia Septentrionalis* (London, 1987), p. 96. The first sheet covering northern France and southern Britain had twenty other contributors (more than half of them, understandably, from France), but Sheppard worked with just two collaborators (A. L. F. Rivet and N. H. H. Sitwell) on the second, with Rivet as chair of the committee taking ultimate responsibility.

⁸⁴ His significant role is acknowledged in the forewords to Volumes i.6 (J. C. Coulston and E. J. Phillips, *Hadrian’s Wall West of the North Tyne, and Carlisle* [Oxford, 1988], p. vii), i.7 (M. Henig, *Roman Sculpture from the Cotswold Region* [Oxford, 1993], p. xiii), i.8 (J. Huskinson, *Roman Sculpture from Eastern England* [Oxford, 1994], p. ix), and i.9 (M. Henig, *Roman Sculpture from the North West Midlands* [Oxford, 2004], p. vii).

⁸⁵ On Silchester, S. S. Frere, ‘The Silchester church: the excavation by Sir Ian Richmond in 1961’, *Archaeologia*, 105 (1975), 277–305; on Caistor St Edmund, S. S. Frere, ‘The forum and baths at Caistor by Norwich’, *Britannia*, 2 (1971), 1–26; S. S. Frere, ‘The south gate and defences of Venta Icenorum: Professor Atkinson’s excavations, 1930 and 1934’, *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 311–27.

and about the importance of vigilance at all times in ensuring its protection. He was scathing when he found wanting in their duty those charged with such responsibility, and believed in direct action if necessary to protect a monument under threat.⁸⁶ He was equally scathing about what he saw as the scandalous abrogation of responsibility at the highest level, when Michael Heseltine in 1983 hived off care of the heritage from government control to a separate, independent organisation, which became known as English Heritage (now Historic England).⁸⁷

It was as part of his service on the Ancient Monuments Board that he chaired a committee which produced in 1975 an influential report, *Principles of Publication in Rescue Archaeology*, which came to be known informally as the 'Frere Report'.⁸⁸ The context was as follows. The growing volume of archaeological work in the 1960s and early 1970s, especially in Britain's medieval cities in advance of new building, together with the growth of specialisms such as environmental and other branches of scientific archaeology, which gave rise to increasing numbers of specialised appendices being expected of any high-standard excavation report, led to a crisis in publication which the Ancient Monuments Board saw fit to investigate. On the one hand, there were the increasing backlogs and delays in publication which both the complexities of archaeological excavation itself and the need to involve multiple collaborators only further increased; on the other hand (and Sheppard as editor of the journal *Britannia* saw this particularly clearly), there were huge pressures of space on journals, and the costs of printing them were soaring, as submitted

⁸⁶ John Wilkes tells me (pers. comm. 29 February 2016) that while on honeymoon Sheppard and Janet visited the striking earthworks of Roman military camps at Burnswark in what is now Dumfries and Galloway, and on seeing freshly planted saplings trespassing on the Roman counterscarp of a defensive ditch, he started pulling them up. John Wilkes also tells me of a visit to the Earl of Lansdowne when he witnessed Sheppard's attempt to persuade the Earl as landowner to restrict the area of plantation around Blackhill Roman signal station near Meikleour.

⁸⁷ Cf. Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 34: 'it was one of the great and unforgivable political misjudgements of Michael Heseltine to abdicate the State's responsibility for Ancient Monuments . . . the passage of responsibility has been a catastrophic disaster . . . even the responsibility to preserve national monuments is being shirked, with scheduled sites being destroyed year by year without action or excavation. The organization – if that is an apt description – is disintegrating in a welter of incompetent administration . . . This is no way to run a State archaeological service.' Heseltine's decision coincided with Sheppard's last year on the RCHM Board, so these words, in a lecture delivered in 1987, reflect the situation as Sheppard saw it in the years immediately after his retirement.

⁸⁸ Its subtitle was *Report by a Working Party of the Ancient Monuments Board for England, Committee for Rescue Archaeology*, and it was published in London by HMSO for the Department of the Environment.

papers intended to publish such excavations became themselves ever longer and more detailed. One of the Report's assertions was that 'publication in printed form of all the details of a large modern excavation is no longer practicable',⁸⁹ but it still stressed the absolute necessity of having a full dataset from an excavation in archival form available for future researchers, and so the issue of time-management and delay in the preparation of both this and the envisioned shorter printed report was something that remained, and continues to remain, a problem in archaeological publishing.⁹⁰ Although now superseded by later reports which tackled other aspects of what essentially was the same problem,⁹¹ the influence of the Frere Report on archaeological publishing in the 1970s and 1980s was considerable.

In 1983, when Sheppard retired from his Oxford Chair, he was presented with a Festschrift, *Rome and her Northern Provinces*⁹² (he was to receive another on his ninetieth birthday, in 2006⁹³), in which John Wachter, one of its editors, wished Sheppard and his wife Janet a long and happy retirement. Sheppard's productivity in the period that ensued was little short of astonishing. This was no *otium* of the traditional kind: no fewer than twenty-one books and over two dozen major papers flowed from his pen (some in collaboration with others) in the twenty-eight years between 1983 and his last publication in 2011. Many of these volumes and some of these papers have already been mentioned or cited above. Of the books that have not, one is *Roman Britain from the Air* (1983), co-authored with J. K. St Joseph, with whom Sheppard had collaborated, not always very

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2 (§2.1). This was designated as the 'Level-4' report, the accompanying archive being 'Level 3'. For a table of the 'Four Levels', cf. *Report*, p. 3 (§2.5) and p. 14 (Appendix I); for the summary of its recommendations, pp. 15–16 (Appendix II).

⁹⁰ The situation with regard to the financing of post-excavation work and publication was dramatically improved after 1990, when the UK Government's Planning and Policy Guidance Note 16 enshrined the principle that, in developer-funded archaeology, both these phases would also be paid for by the developer; but the absence of published reports of excavations continues to be a *bête noire* for the discipline, not only in Britain but worldwide. For a British perspective today, cf. M. Fulford and N. Holbrook (eds.), *The Towns of Roman Britain. The Contribution of Commercial Archaeology since 1990*, Britannia Monograph, 27 (London, 2015), p. 206: 'It is evident from all the contributors to this volume that publication, or lack of it, has remained a serious problem for Roman urban archaeology since 1990.'

⁹¹ S. Jones, A. MacSween, S. Jeffrey, R. Morris and M. Heyworth, *From the Ground Up. The Publication of Archaeological Projects: a User Needs Survey* (York, Council for British Archaeology, 2001).

⁹² B. Hartley and J. Wachter (eds.), *Rome and her Northern Provinces. Papers presented to Sheppard Frere in Honour of his Retirement from the Chair of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, University of Oxford, 1983* (Gloucester, 1983).

⁹³ Wilson, *Romanitas. Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday*.

happily, over many years.⁹⁴ Stunningly illustrated with a selection of the latter's air photographs taken over the previous three decades, this book represented the fulfilment of a project originally conceived some twenty years earlier. The book, beautifully produced on coated art paper, remains a compelling and extremely useful introduction to the Romano-British landscape, of continuing value to students and experts alike. Another collaborative product of Sheppard's retirement was his monograph with Frank Lepper on Trajan's Column, to which Sheppard contributed above all his expertise on Roman army organisation, fortifications, arms and equipment, and their Dacian counterparts, as well as the organisation of the Trajanic province of Dacia. The authors described it as 'an old men's book', but they confidently (and correctly) claimed that the 'reader will detect in it more evidence of mature wisdom than of senile amnesia!'⁹⁵

Sheppard's final book, 203 pages on his excavations at Bowes fort in 1966–7 and 1970 with Brian Hartley, was, remarkably, published when he was ninety-three.⁹⁶ The site notebooks, plans and drawings had all been deposited with Hartley, who had agreed to take the principal responsibility for publication of their joint excavation; but when his friend and colleague unexpectedly died, Sheppard immediately summoned the scattered material to his home, hounded those who were due to write specialist reports,⁹⁷ and worked feverishly on getting the volume out. His last paper, a trenchant defence of his late dating of a mosaic at Verulamium, characteristically underlining the superior value of stratigraphical evidence over arguments based on artistic style, was published in 2011,⁹⁸

⁹⁴ S. S. Frere and J. K. St Joseph, *Roman Britain from the Air* (Cambridge, 1983). There had been disagreements between the two over the archaeological direction of the Brandon Camp excavations, and later there was to be a falling out over the publication of St Joseph's and Richmond's fourteen-seasons-long excavation of Inchtuthil in Scotland. The work on this unique site, a Flavian legionary fortress of timber, unencumbered by later Roman or modern overbuilding, would almost certainly have languished unpublished had it not been for Sheppard's determination, and his inspired selection of his pupil Lynn Pitts to work up the field notes as a doctoral research topic, published as a *Britannia* monograph in 1985.

⁹⁵ S. S. Frere and F. Lepper, *Trajan's Column: a New Edition of the Cichorius Plates. Introduction, Commentary and Notes* (Gloucester, 1988), p. ix.

⁹⁶ Frere and Fitts, *Excavations at Bowes and Lease Rigg Roman Forts*. Sheppard was responsible for the first 203 pages on Bowes, which included specialist reports from sixteen collaborators; Lease Rigg (written by R. L. Fitts) was a separate project altogether.

⁹⁷ Cf. F. Grew in 'Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist', *Britannia*, 46 (2015), 7–10 at 9–10.

⁹⁸ S. S. Frere, 'The saga of Verulamium Building XXVII 2,' *Britannia*, 42 (2011), 263–74 (with an appendix by P. Witts). His last published words were 'instead of attempting to overturn stratigraphical evidence for the dating of mosaics, it may be wiser for students of these designs to take on board the new evidence as an aid to improving the theory'. A reply to that reply has now

when he was ninety-five, an astonishing seventy-two years after his first, which appeared in 1939.

One project of Sheppard's retirement, however, stands out from the rest. His achievement in bringing the whole of *Roman Inscriptions of Britain (RIB) Volume II* to fruition in eight separate fascicules in six short years, after many years of delay at the hands of others, was truly *mirabile dictu*: it was carried out with the help of Roger Tomlin, in an extraordinary surge of academic activity between the late 1980s and the mid-1990s.⁹⁹ *RIB I*, covering monumental inscriptions (mostly) on stone found or notified down to the end of 1955, had been published by Oxford University Press in 1965, but the entire corpus of the *instrumentum domesticum* (the technical epigraphical term for non-monumental inscriptions inscribed on materials other than stone), awaited publication, although preliminary work on it had been started many decades before by R. G. Collingwood and Richard Wright.¹⁰⁰ Progress was not helped by the

been published by S. Cosh and D. Neal, 'The dating of Building 2, Insula XXVII, at Verulamium: a reassessment', *Antiquaries Journal*, 95 (2015), 65–90, too late alas for Sheppard to respond further to the debate.

⁹⁹S. S. Frere and R. S. O. Tomlin (eds.), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain: Volume II Fascicule 1. The Military Diplomata; Metal Ingots; Tesserae; Dies; Labels; and Lead Sealings (RIB 2401–2411)* (Gloucester, 1990); *Fascicule 2. Weights, Gold Vessels, Silver Vessels, Bronze Vessels, Lead Vessels, Pewter Vessels, Shale Vessels, Glass Vessels, Spoons (RIB 2412–2420)* (Stroud, 1991); *Fascicule 3. Brooches, Rings, Gems, Bracelets, Helmets, Shields, Weapons, Iron Tools, Baldric Fittings, Votives in Gold, Silver, and Bronze, Lead Pipes, Roundels, Sheets and other Lead Objects, Stone Roundels, Pottery and Bone Roundels, and other Objects of Bone (RIB 2421–2441)* (Stroud, 1991); *Fascicule 4. Wooden Barrels, Stylus-tablets, Miscellaneous Objects of Wood, Leather Objects, Oculists' Stamps, Wallplaster, Mosaics, Handmills, Stone Tablets, Stone Balls, Stone Pebbles, Small Stone Votives, Miscellaneous Objects of Stone, Jet Figurine, Clay Figurines, Miscellaneous Clay Objects, Antefixes, Tile-stamps of Legion II Augusta, of Legion VI Victrix, of Legion IX Hispana, of Legion XX Valeria Victrix, Tile-stamps of the Auxiliaries (RIB 2442–2480)* (Stroud, 1992); *Fascicule 5. Tile-stamps of the Classis Britannica; Imperial, Procuratorial and Civic Tile-stamps; Stamps of Private Tilers; Inscriptions on Relief-patterned Tiles and Graffiti on Tiles (RIB 2481–2491)* (Stroud, 1993); *Fascicule 6. Dipinti and Graffiti on Amphorae, Dipinti and Graffiti on Mortaria, Inscriptions in White Barbotine, Dipinti on Coarse Pottery, Samian Barbotine or Moulded Inscriptions (RIB 2492–2500)* (Stroud, 1994); *Fascicule 7. Graffiti on Samian Ware (Terra Sigillata) (RIB 2501)* (Stroud, 1995); *Fascicule 8. Graffiti on Coarse Pottery cut before and after Firing; Stamps on Coarse Pottery. Addenda and Corrigenda to Fascicules 1–8 (RIB 2502–2505)* (Stroud, 1995); *Combined Epigraphic Indexes and Concordance with Major Printed Sources* (Stroud, 1995). In 1987 Sheppard had clearly miscalculated the volume of work required: he expressed the hope that *RIB II* would 'before too long see the light of day in two fascicules' (Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 32). For an assessment of Sheppard's herculean achievement in seeing *RIB II* to publication, and of the nature of his collaboration with Roger Tomlin, cf. R. Tomlin in 'Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist', *Britannia*, 46 (2015), 6–7 (at 7: 'if Sheppard had been less modest, he might have declared, like the Duke of Wellington, that it would not have been done if he had not been there').

¹⁰⁰Work had started on *RIB II* as long ago as 1929: *Fascicule 1. The Military Diplomata* (1990), p. vii.

publisher's lack of enthusiasm, so Sheppard forced the issue by getting the Press to agree to the transfer of the project to a separate publisher, Alan Sutton, who reprinted *RIB I* and published the eight fascicules of *RIB II*, as well as an additional index volume, to a high standard with a minimum of fuss or subsidy. To put the amount of work required into perspective—had the separate fascicules been published as a single volume, *RIB II* would have constituted a book of 1,329 pages, bigger than *RIB I*.¹⁰¹ Its publication meant that not only is Britannia unique among Roman provinces in having its entire corpus of inscriptions, including its *instrumentum domesticum*, so readily accessible in one place,¹⁰² it also gave Sheppard immense satisfaction that he was able to oversee the completion of a project (to compile a corpus of every known Roman inscription in Britain) that had originally been envisaged by Francis Haverfield—that other Lancing schoolmaster and later Oxford professor, whom he so much admired,¹⁰³ and who had trodden a similar path to Sheppard two generations earlier.

The impact of Sheppard's scholarship was of course felt internationally, and he was frequently invited to French colloquia; but his closest Continental links were with Germany, where he was Corresponding Fellow of the German Archaeological Institute,¹⁰⁴ and where he remained lifelong friends with Harald von Petrikovits, one-time Director of the Rhineland Archaeological Service and of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, and with his successor, Christoph Rüger. In editorials for early issues of the journal *Britannia*, he drew attention to important German scholarship which anyone interested in Roman Britain should read,¹⁰⁵ and it is not surprising that he could count among his pupils a succession of German students who made the pilgrimage to his door at Oxford to study with him, pupils who have since gone on to notable careers in the German archaeological service and in German academia.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Excluding the prelims (which are similar in each fascicule); there are fifty-six plates.

¹⁰² The cut-off date for the discovery or publication of the material to be included in *RIB II*, originally intended to be 1956, was advanced by Sheppard to 1986, in order to make *RIB II* as up to date as possible. The accessibility of Romano-British inscriptions has since been further enhanced by the publication by R. S. O. Tomlin (with R. P. Wright and M. W. C. Hassall) of *Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Volume III* (Oxford, 2009), which presents monumental inscriptions on stone found or published between 1955 and 2006.

¹⁰³ Cf. Sheppard's comment that 'one reads Haverfield because what he wrote is still true' (Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 32).

¹⁰⁴ Corresponding Member from 1964; Fellow from 1967.

¹⁰⁵ *Britannia*, 1 (1970), xvii; 3 (1972), xvi.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Dr Clauss-Michael Hüssen, Research Fellow of the Römisch-Germanische Kommission (RGK) of the German Archaeological Institute since 1986, and Director of its Ingolstadt

Sheppard's influence as a teacher was profound. He supervised numerous doctoral theses over the years that were published after due revision as books, and an extraordinary number of his pupils went on to distinguished careers in archaeology, in itself a yardstick of his stature as a teacher and of his ability to inspire and motivate others.¹⁰⁷ Their gratitude

Forschungstelle for twenty-five years until its closure in 2015; Prof. Dr Wolfgang Czysz, who was head of the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege's Außenstelle, first in Augsburg and then in Thierhaupten, until his retirement in 2014; Prof. Dr Michael Mackensen, Professor of Roman Provincial Archaeology in the University of Munich, until his retirement in 2014; and Prof. Dr Sebastian Sommer, who is Director of the Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege and also currently Chairman of the Deutsche Limeskommission.

¹⁰⁷Ten of his Oxford pupils are named in a tribute by Michael Fulford in 'Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist', *Britannia*, 46 (2015), 11–13 at 13, but that list (Simon Esmonde Cleary, Elizabeth Fentress, Martin Henig, Stephen Johnson, Martin Millett, Lynn Pitts, Boris Rankov, Warwick Rodwell, Roger Wilson and Christopher Young) is far from complete. Others include David Kennedy, Winthrop Professor of Classics and Ancient History in the University of Western Australia, and prolific author of major studies on the eastern Roman frontier, especially in Jordan; David Davison, author of a comprehensive study of Roman barracks and now Director of Archaeopress in Oxford; Denys Pringle, who has written on the Byzantine fortifications of North Africa and on both the churches and the secular buildings of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, and was a Professor at Cardiff University until his retirement in 2013; Timothy Bruce Mitford, RN, whose two-volume magnum opus on Rome's north-eastern frontier in Turkey was published by OUP in 2016; Roger Finch Smith, who published a revised version of his doctoral thesis on roadside settlements in lowland Roman Britain in 1987; Sally Stow, who as noted above worked very closely with Sheppard on the final publications of his Canterbury excavations; and the late Ian Sanders, lecturer at Sheffield University, whose Oxford DPhil thesis on Roman Crete was published posthumously in 1982. Pupils from Sheppard's London days were equally numerous, and include Charles Higham, Professor at Otago University, energetic excavator and prolific authority on south-east Asian archaeology (to whom Sheppard donated his trowel, still in active use); William Manning, excavator of the Roman fortress at Usk, an expert on Romano-British ironwork, and Professor (now Emeritus) at the University of Wales at Cardiff; Mark Hassall, authority on the Roman army and on Roman inscriptions in Britain, who was later to teach at the Institute in London as Lecturer and then Reader; Henry Cleere, who researched the Roman iron-workings in the Weald and subsequently became Director of the Council for British Archaeology (1974–91); the late Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, who was to teach Anglo-Saxon archaeology in Oxford for many years and so was a colleague of Sheppard there; Joan Alcock, author of a number of books on Roman Britain and on local history who taught at London South Bank University; Peter Webster of Cardiff University, specialist in Roman and especially samian pottery; the late Margaret Roxan, whose expertise in Roman military diplomas was *sans pareil*; Roger Goodburn, later the excavator of the Roman villas at Winterton and Chedworth, and Sheppard's research assistant in Oxford for a decade; Roy Canham, who worked in the Museum of London and later served for many years as county archaeologist for Wiltshire; and Bruce Eagles, an expert on the sub-Roman/Anglo-Saxon period, who was employed by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in Salisbury. Then there are those who went on to museum careers, such as the late Kenneth Painter, authority on Roman glass and silver (British Museum); the late Gordon Davies, who directed the Hertford Museum for twenty-five years until his retirement in 1989; Mark Davies, long-time Head Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum; Jean Mellor (Field Archaeologist at Leicester Museums), who excavated and recorded important sites in the heart of Roman and medieval Leicester

was real and much appreciated.¹⁰⁸ One of his most important legacies was his demand from his students for the same lucidity and clarity of expression that he showed in his own writing. He was a great stickler for the correct usage of English grammar and punctuation, and insisted on instilling this in all his pupils' writing;¹⁰⁹ he also declared war on jargon, indeed on any obfuscation of expression, often deleting verbiage and suggesting simple, concise and elegant phraseology in its place. In this capacity alone he rendered signal service to a generation of grateful students. The words he himself used to describe R. G. Collingwood ('he could write English like an angel') could apply equally to his own masterly and fluent writing style.¹¹⁰ Behind the sometimes gruff exterior, as students, friends and colleagues alike soon came to realise, lay an immensely warm and kind individual who gave so much of himself to help others, but who was rightly intolerant of, and outspoken about, shoddy work or bureaucratic idiocy. Like all great teachers he dispensed wisdom in unobtrusive ways—words of advice were often offered without his always appreciating the significance of their impact on his students. He strove for excellence in all that he did himself, and expected his pupils to have the same high goals.

Being a student of Sheppard was, therefore, always demanding, but also immensely rewarding; he was quick to give encouragement where encouragement was due. Whether in the classroom, on an excavation or visiting another site, he was ever the consummate teacher, and his ability

between the 1960s and 1980s; and Jill Greenaway (Reading Museum), who has curated the archaeology collections there, including the wealth of material from the Romano-British town of Silchester, for many years. Chrystal Bennett and Richard Harper, both of whom later served as Directors of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, were also Sheppard's pupils in London. Although not a doctoral student, Christopher Lightfoot, excavator of Amorium and Curator of Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, attended Sheppard's lectures on the Roman frontier in the East in Oxford which 'inspired me to work in Turkey, so I am eternally grateful to him' (pers. comm. 15 October 2015).

¹⁰⁸ Let the comments of Dr Clauss-Michael Hüssen stand for many similar such sentiments. He writes (pers. comm. 9 February 2016): 'Sheppard opened for me all the doors in Oxford and enabled me to study in the British Museum . . . my year at Oxford influenced my professional life very positively, and I think back in great gratitude.'

¹⁰⁹ For two examples, cf. my comments in Wilson, *Romanitas*, p. 1, and those of F. Grew, in 'Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist', *Britannia* 46 (2015), 7–10 at 9.

¹¹⁰ Frere, 'Roman Britain since Haverfield and Richmond', 31. Sheppard never met Collingwood, who died in 1943, but acknowledged his multi-faceted contribution to the study of Roman Britain. For an excellent, balanced assessment of Collingwood's contribution to Romano-British studies, cf. recently A. Birley, 'Collingwood as archaeologist and historian', in D. Boucher and T. Smith (eds.), *R. G. Collingwood. An Autobiography and Other Writings, with Essays on Collingwood's Life and Work* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 271–304 (contrast the more hostile assessment in Freeman, *Best Training-Ground*, pp. 537–58).

to read and interpret an archaeological landscape in the field was awesome. For those of his students with offices in the attics of the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford, who wondered whether or not he was in the building, they had only to open the door to find out—the evidence being the unmistakable whiff of pipe tobacco smoke rising up the stairs. The pipe was an ever-present part of his persona.¹¹¹ Certain mild eccentricities in his behaviour, especially as a younger man, were reported by those who excavated for him or were his students—that his trousers were sometimes held up by a tie serving as a surrogate belt,¹¹² for example, or that he sometimes picked up sausages by spearing them with a six-inch archaeological nail fished out of his pocket,¹¹³ or that he attended a Christmas party in Oxford wearing a pretend laurel wreath consisting of a tie to which paper leaves had been stapled.¹¹⁴ But such stories, told always with amusement and without a hint of malice, only underline the affection in which Sheppard was held, even by those who did not know him well.

Sheppard Frere died on 26 February 2015, at the age of ninety-eight. His outstanding career had been recognised by his peers in many ways. He was elected to the Presidency of various societies—the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (1972–80), the Royal Archaeological Institute (1978–81) and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies (1983–6);¹¹⁵ he was elected an FBA in 1971; he was appointed CBE in 1976 for his services to archaeology; he was given the Gold Medal of the Society of Antiquaries in 1989 for distinguished achievement;¹¹⁶ and he

¹¹¹ Dr Clauss-Michael Hüssen has also remarked: ‘I was deeply impressed how he was able to stuff his pipe in his pocket with one hand (while driving), and to empty it by heavy knocking on the thick outer sheet metal of his Volvo.’ On Sheppard’s pipe-smoking, see also note 65.

¹¹² Laura Ford, *The Times*, 13 March 2015.

¹¹³ G. McNally, *The Times*, 10 March 2015 (observed in the ‘Rose and Crown’ pub in St Michaels, Verulamium).

¹¹⁴ I am grateful to Professor David Kennedy (Perth, WA) for this recollection. I was once expected at a dinner party at Sheppard’s house to which he had forgotten to invite me (Warwick Rodwell informed me the next morning about the empty place-setting). When I protested my innocence, Sheppard replied, ‘Oh dear, I am getting old and very decrepit’. That was in 1974 and far from the truth: he was to live for another 41 years!

¹¹⁵ He was also Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries between 1962 and 1966.

¹¹⁶ Cf. note 36 above. For a full list of Sheppard’s published work, cf. R. Goodburn and S. Stow in Wilson, *Romanitas*, pp. ix–xx, supplemented by R. J. A. Wilson, ‘Obituary: Sheppard Sunderland Frere, 23 August 1916–26 February 2015’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 28 (2015), 968–73 at 972–3. For other tributes commemorating the life of Sheppard Frere, cf. M. Fulford, <<http://antiquity.ac.uk/tributes/frere.html>> (accessed 24 March 2016); M. Fulford, ‘Professor Sheppard Sunderland Frere, CBE, FBA: a tribute’, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 34 (2015), 205–6; R. Goodburn, W. Manning, R. Tomlin, F. Grew and M. Fulford, ‘Sheppard Sunderland Frere: Historian and Archaeologist’, *Britannia*, 46 (2015), 1–13; D. Rudling, *Sussex Past and*

was awarded honorary doctorates by the Universities of Leeds, Leicester and Kent.¹¹⁷ Sheppard bestrode Romano-British studies like a colossus, inheriting the mantle of the leadership of the field worn in turn by Francis Haverfield, R. G. Collingwood and Sir Ian Richmond before him, and wearing it with enormous distinction. His legacy to the subject will long endure. And those who were privileged to have been his pupils and close friends will remember, with gratitude and deep affection, the sagacity of his advice, his ever-present sense of humour, his many personal kindnesses and the warmth of his humanity.

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Present, 137 (December 2015), 12; and Wilson, 'Obituary: Sheppard Sunderland Frere', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 28 (2015), 968–73. Newspaper obituaries include those in *The Times* (9 March 2015), *The Guardian* (10 March 2015, by William Manning) and the *Daily Telegraph* (13 March 2015).

¹¹⁷Hon. LittD Leeds 1977; Leicester 1983; Kent 1985.

Plate

