MORTIMER WHEELER ARCHAEOLOGICAL LECTURE

THE PRE-CONQUEST BOROUGHS OF ENGLAND, NINTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES

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SIR MORTIMER WHEELER graduated in British Archaeology. His early work in this field contributed immeasurably to the formation and organization of the modern school of prehistoric and Roman research in this island. It is therefore with great pleasure that I offer to his memory a modest tribute concerned with the early medieval archaeology of England. Throughout his later years, when he was occupied with many and far-reaching duties, he never lost interest in our own country and continued to follow the results of current research. My subject tonight was one which we discussed at almost our last meeting. I shall be dealing with another facet of a problem, the importance of which he recognized over fifty years ago. I quote from the author's preface to the British Academy's reprint of the publication by Sir Cyril Fox on Offa's Dyke. 'My previous work on the Dykes of Cambridgeshire was known to the Director of the National Museum of Wales, Dr. (now Sir Mortimer) Wheeler, Secretary of the Academy, and I was greeted by him on taking up my post as Keeper of Archaeology there in January 1925, with the news that the Council of the Museum had approved of sufficient annual leave of absence for the field work involved in the research.'[1] Then the frontier problems of eighth century Mercia; today the frontier problems of England in the late ninth and tenth centuries. He would, I feel, have appreciated the sense of continuity.

For nearly two centuries before the Norman Conquest the burh or defensible centre of population, is often mentioned in contemporary documents. The typical burh of the eleventh century was plainly an artificial creation, in which the men of different lords lived together, emancipated in some degree from the agricultural preoccupations of the peasant, and taking advantage of such opportunities of trade as the conditions of their time afforded. They formed a body from which a

[1] C. Fox, *Offa's Dyke* (1955), pp. xxiii–xxiv.

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local garrison could immediately be drawn in time of need, and their predecessors had played a very important part in the defence of the land during the Danish invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries. There is, in fact, good reason to believe that the origin of the burh as a permanent feature of a national scheme of defence belongs to the reign of King Alfred. It is at least certain that no argument as to the nature of the primitive Old English burh can be drawn from the elaborate organization for the maintenance of local fortifications which existed in tenth century Wessex.[1]

This summary, written more than a generation ago by Sir Frank Stenton, sets out, succinctly and comprehensively, the basic historical concepts that must guide any investigation of the physical remains of the burh or, to use a more easily comprehensible term, the borough. Since the writer was there concerned with the origin of the system, the quotation emphasizes the military function of the later pre-Conquest boroughs. Trade merits only a passing mention and the picture may be filled out by a quotation, from H. R. Loyn, appropriately enough from a volume of studies presented to Sir Frank on his eightieth birthday. 'It is at this royal level that the two institutions of our title really cohere: the mint and the borough are the major institutions through which the king could benefit the trader, and could himself benefit from the trader's activity.'[2]

The origin of the system has been ascribed to Alfred and its centre was certainly Wessex. But it will be convenient to turn first to Mercia. The treaty between Alfred and the Danish king Guthrum, probably concluded in 886, laid down a frontier which, with minor variations, followed the line of Watling Street.[3] To the west lay English Mercia, which from at least 883 was ruled by an ealdorman, by name Æthelred, who recognized Alfred as his lord. Æthelred was a trusted ally, to whom Alfred ceded the 'borough' of London, which he occupied in 886.[4] Before 889 he had married the king's eldest daughter Æthelfleda, known in her widowhood, after 912, as the 'Lady of the Mercians'. Gloucester was the capital of Æthelred and

[1] Stenton, 288–9.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (ed. R. H. M. Dolley, 1961), pp. 122–35, quotation from p. 129.

[3] The treaty between Alfred and Guthrum (*EHD* i (1955), 380–1) must date between 886 and 890. For Æthelred of Mercia see Stenton, 257; for his part in the campaigns of 892–4, see ibid. 263–4.

[4] *ASC*, s.a. 886. The entry under 883 does not appear in the oldest version (A) (ibid., s.a. 883; cf. Stenton, 256 n. 1).

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Æthelfleda[1] and the core of English Mercia in the ninth century was formed by the triangle of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford.

The earliest detailed record of the foundation of a borough of the type under discussion is found in a charter granted to the church of Worcester.[2] This records that 'at the request of Bishop Wærferth, their friend, Ealderman Æthelred and Æthelfleda ordered the borough at Worcester to be built for the protection of the people', granting 'half of all the rights, which belong to their lordship, whether in the market or in the street, both within the fortification and outside'. The rights which are subsequently listed include the land rent, the fine for fighting or theft or dishonest trading, and 'contribution to the borough wall . . . exactly as it has been laid down as regards the market place and the streets.' The charter was witnessed by King Alfred (*ob.* 901) and all the councillors of the Mercians.

A priori it would be expected that the fortification of Gloucester and Hereford, both of which are recorded as boroughs in 914,[3] proceeded *pari passu* with that of Worcester. Their dating to the end of the ninth century is borne out by the Mercian Register, a record incorporated in texts C and D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[4] This gives a very full summary of the activities of Æthelred and Æthelfleda. The first entry in the register dates from 902. In 907 the annal states that Chester was 'restored'. This is followed by records of the foundation of a number of boroughs. Most of them lie in what had been Danish Mercia. Throughout the register there is no mention of the foundation of a borough at Gloucester, Worcester or Hereford, all of which must therefore have been in existence before 902.

As a result of the work carried out by Ron Shoesmith over a period of years, Hereford is one of the best explored of the boroughs of the later pre-Conquest period. His work is not yet published in full; further excavations may clarify the detail, but enough has already appeared to trace the outline of development on this site. Hereford—the ford of the army—commands a strategic crossing of the middle Wye. The city lies on the north bank of the river 5 km. (3 miles) downstream from Magnis

[1] The traditional role of Gloucester is reflected in its retention as one of the three cities in which William I 'wore his crown' each year (*ASC*, s.a. 1087).

[2] Sawyer no. 223 dated 884–901. Translated in *EHD* i (1955), 498 and dated 889–901. Historically a date after the campaigns of 892–4 might be suggested.

[3] *ASC*, s.a. 914 (main chronicle).

[4] *ASC*, p. xiv. The register is printed alongside the main chronicle.

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(Kenchester), a station on the Roman road linking the legionary fortresses of Deva (Chester) and Isca (Caerleon) and containing the highland dwellers of the Welsh mountains. Hereford was the seat of a bishopric soon after 700 and doubtless possessed some defences from an early date.[1] The rampart of the late ninth century has been located at several points. It enclosed the southern part of the later medieval walled city, the north side being delineated by Packer's Lane, known in the Middle Ages as 'behind the wall lane'.[2] The area of the borough was about 20 ha (about 50 acres), slightly over half that of the later walled city.

The key sequence was demonstrated by Philip Rahtz in 1968, in a section behind the medieval west wall, near the north-west corner of the pre-Conquest borough.[3] At the base were two corn-drying kilns, incorporating reused Roman material. Over these was a bank and ditch, later replaced with a small rampart of gravel. A substantial bank of clay, stabilized with turf and branches, covered the whole of the earlier sequence. The clay bank had a front revetment of timber, which was not found in the main section, but was located a short distance to the north, on the turn of the north-west corner of the defences. A small secondary wall stood in a nick cut into the slope of the rampart behind the crest. The bank stood long enough for the rear revetment of timber to collapse and the material to spread out, with sherds of Chester ware, a type of pottery in use as early as *c.*970 and continuing into the eleventh century, incorporated into the spread. The excavator's interpretation of the clay bank as 'part of Æthelfleda's defence of the Mercian town in 913–5', has been fully confirmed by subsequent work, though the precise chronology proposed needs modification (p. 135).

The development of the clay rampart is most fully illustrated by the section on the east side of the town, published rather later by Ron Shoesmith.[4] There the bank of clay, stabilized with

[1] An earlier rampart is recorded in the section behind the west wall described below. But it is probable that the earlier enclosure was smaller; cf. M. D. Lobel, *Historic Towns*, i (1969). C. Fox (*Offa's Dyke* (1955), pp. 182–3 n. 1), suggested that the eastern Rowe Ditch was a 'defence' covering the fields of the town. He suggested a date between 800 and 1066, but a date before the battle of Hereford (*Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 760 in Rolls Series, xx) would seem more appropriate.

[2] Woolhope, xxxviii (1966), 238. The earliest reference, from the Cathedral Muniments, dates from the second half of the thirteenth century.

[3] *Current Archaeology*, no. 9 (1968), 242–6; cf. Woolhope, xxxix (1967), 44–67.

[4] *Current Archaeology*, no. 33 (1972), 256–8. The chronology there suggested is modified in the present account.

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turf and branches, lay directly on a surface which showed no signs of earlier occupation. The revetment facing the bank had vertical posts about 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) apart and linked by horizontal timbers. It stood about 2.5 m. (8 ft.) high, with a breastwork rising above the surface of the bank. After an interval when the posts had not yet decayed, but the pressure of the bank had begun to force the revetment outwards, it was strengthened with an external wall of stone 2 m. (6 ft. 6 in.) thick and still standing to a height of 2 m. (6 ft. 6 in.). At the same time a slighter wall was set in a nick on the rear slope of the bank to retain a fighting platform, 4 m. (13 ft.) wide behind the breastwork; this was renewed on more than one occasion. After the masonry had collapsed, leaving a relatively smooth bank, a slot for a palisade was cut along the surface in front of the crest, to form a new defence. Finally the whole sequence was covered with a broad spread of gravel, antedating the stone wall of the thirteenth century.

The dating proposed by the excavator postulated an interval of about fifteen years between the initial bank and the addition of the stone wall. This is a reasonable estimate, but his starting date—*c.*915—must be revised. If the borough was founded before 900 (p. 133), the additions in stone are likely to be connected with the great Danish raid of 914, in the course of which the Welsh Bishop Cyfeiliog was made prisoner.[1] They were probably a reaction to this raid, designed to forestall any recurrence. Bishop Cyfeiliog was ransomed by King Edward and for much of the tenth century the Welsh princes regarded the King of England as their natural protector and lord. Many of them witnessed charters granted in the second quarter and middle of the century.[2] At the same time the English advance to the north (cf. p. 143) removed the Danish threat. The gradual decay of the rampart shown in the section must have occurred during this period, when the border was at peace. The renewal of the defences, represented by the palisade slot on top of the smooth bank, could theoretically be connected with the renewed Danish attacks at the beginning of the eleventh century. But the fighting was not greatly concerned with the Welsh border and a more likely occasion is afforded by the events of 1055.[3] In that year the Welsh leader Gruffydd ap Llywelyn,

[1] *ASC*, s.a. 914 (main chronicle). For Cyfeiliog see J. Gwenogwryn Evans, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav* (1893), pp. 231–7; his death is there attributed to 927. [2] For list see J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales* (1912), p. 353.
[3] *ASC*, s.a. 1055 (C, D, E); the fullest account is in C.

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aided by English dissidents, seized and sacked Hereford and burnt the cathedral, which had been newly rebuilt by Bishop Athelstan (*ob.* 1056). The English army under Harold Godwinsson assembled at Gloucester and advanced against the Welsh, but failed to bring them to battle. 'And Earl Harold had a ditch made about the town during that time.' The sentence only occurs in one surviving version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and does not mention Hereford though this is implied. But Florence of Worcester, describing the same events and perhaps using a lost version of the Chronicle, is more precise, naming Hereford, 'which he [Harold] forthwith fortified with gates and bars and with a broad ditch'.[1]

The much wider bank of gravel covering the clay rampart was tentatively identified as the work of Harold Godwinsson in 1055, but it is similar in character to the gravel bank found behind the north wall of the city and delimiting the extended borough of the twelfth century. In neither section was the dating evidence conclusive, but the implication that the extension took place in 1055 is hardly borne out by the historical record. The work was carried out in haste to renew the defences of a town that had just been sacked and burnt. It is more reasonable to suggest that Earl Harold repaired the existing ramparts. This interpretation is borne out by the Domesday record,[2] which states that in King Edward's day (i.e. in 1066) Hereford had 103 citizens dwelling within and outside the wall. The separate assessment of the latter implies that they formed a substantial proportion of the total number. A city that had doubled its size only ten years earlier would hardly have developed extensive suburbs in the interval; a wealthy borough recovering after a sack might well have expanded beyond the earlier defences. This expansion can perhaps be connected with the development of the market area beside St. Peter's Church, outside the north gate of the pre-Conquest borough. If this argument be accepted the gravel bank seen in the two sections should therefore be equated with the rampart explored in Bath Street and dated, on slight evidence, to the twelfth century.[3] This is in accordance with the phrasing of the charter of 1189, as argued by the excavator.

[1] *ASC*, p. 131 n. 2, gives a translation of the relevant passage.

[2] Pipe Roll Society, N.S. xxv (1947–8), 1.

[3] Woolhope, xxxviii (1966), 204–10; cf. *Med. Arch.* xxi (1977), 224. The bridgehead south of the river, enclosed by the western Rowe Ditch, is of uncertain date, but is generally considered post-Conquest (*Current Archaeology*, no. 33 (1972), 256).

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In Gloucester the borough is known to have been in existence as early as 914 (p. 133) and its foundation may be connected with the development of a new street plan and an increase in the intensity of the occupation about 900, but no clear evidence is available concerning the defences.

It has already been indicated (p. 132) that the borough as an integrated element in a national scheme of defence arose in Wessex and the dating established for English Mercia affords a *terminus ante quem*. The full development of the scheme is illustrated by the document known as the 'Burghal Hidage', which dates from the later years of the reign of Edward the Elder (901–19).[1] The Burghal Hidage lists in order the boroughs forming the defence of Wessex south of the Thames, but excluding Kent. It represents the full realization of the scheme, the origins of which are earlier. The first clear indication of such a scheme dates from 893, when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that Alfred 'divided his army into two, so that always half its men were at home, half on service, apart from the men who guarded the boroughs'.[2] The passage implies that the scheme, at least in part, was already in being. It may well go back to the recovery after the dark days of 878, when Alfred was forced to retreat 'through the woods and fen-fastnesses' and began his recovery with a construction of a fortress at Athelney.[3]

The full development of the scheme may best be illustrated by a further quotation from Stenton.[4]

> By the early part of the tenth century no village in Sussex, Surrey and Wessex east of the Tamar was distant more than twenty miles (32 km.) from a fortress which formed a unit in a planned scheme of national defence. These fortresses varied widely both in size and design. At Bath, Winchester, Portchester, Chichester and Exeter the plan was probably determined by whatever then remained of the walls of a Roman town or fort. At Wareham, Wallingford and Cricklade the Saxon fortress consisted of a large rectangular enclosure surrounded by a bank and ditch, and at Lydford in Devon, Christchurch in Hampshire and Burpham, near Arundel, a defensible position was created by a line of earthwork drawn across the neck of a promontory. Each fortress was kept in repair and garrisoned, when necessary, by the men of the surrounding country.

Those boroughs where the planning was not influenced by topographical considerations or pre-existing fortifications best illustrate the ideas of the ninth century. Two named by Stenton

[1] *Med. Arch.* xiii (1969), 84–92.
[2] *ASC*, s.a. 893.
[3] *ASC*, s.a. 878.
[4] Stenton, 262.

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have been recently studied in detail and the results may next be examined.

Cricklade[1] (Plate I) lies on the south bank of the Thames, at the point where the river ceases to be navigable. A Romano-British settlement occupied part of the site beside the river, it may well have served as an outlet for the produce of the rich villas in the Cotswolds. But there is no evidence of continuity. Early medieval ridge and furrow containing numerous fragments of abraded Roman pottery was traced under the defences of the borough. Cricklade figures in the Burghal Hidage and was therefore in existence in the second decade of the tenth century. In 903 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that the Danish army of East Anglia 'harried over all Mercia until they reached Cricklade. And they went then across the Thames and carried off all they could seize both in and around Braydon, and turned then homeward.'[2] The mention of the name and the fact that there was no deep penetration into Wessex suggest that the borough was already effective.

Cricklade, a rectangular enclosure of about 28 ha. (70 acres), is set on a gentle slope falling to the edge of the flood plain. This is marked by a slight rise, along which runs one of the shorter sides of the enclosure. There is no other natural defence. The ramparts were explored in a large number of cross-sections cut by the late Frederick Wainwright; a few supplementary trenches were dug under the writer's supervision. The defences consisted of a clay bank rather over 9 m. (30 ft.) wide and preserved in one place which could not be examined, to a height of nearly 2 m. (6 ft.). The front of the bank had everywhere been destroyed, but several sections showed an interleaving of turf, which seems to have been a normal, though irregular, feature. It was doubtless designed to relieve pressure on a vertical, or near vertical, timber revetment facing the clay. No post-holes were found, but a V-shaped beam slot marking the front of the bank was a constant feature. It could have carried a sill beam into which the uprights were fixed and tied back into the clay. A berm 6 m. (20 ft.) wide separated the front of the bank from a shallow ditch. The surface of the plough soil under the bank yielded a few fragments of middle Saxon pottery as well as the many abraded Romano-British sherds. The unabraded Saxon fragments cannot have been lost long before the building of the bank and are consistent with an Alfredian origin.

[1] *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* lxvii (1972), 61–111. [2] *ASC*, s.a. 903.

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At a later date the front of the bank was cut back and a stone facing added along the line of the timber revetment, the V-shaped space between the stonework and the cut-back bank being refilled with some of the clay which had been dug away. In a few of the sections the cutting away of the older bank, and therefore the sequence, was not recognized, but the stone facing was everywhere shown to have been present. It was 1.25 m. (4 ft.) wide, but only the shallow foundation trench and, occasionally, the lower courses of the masonry remained after a systematic robbing, which left a smooth bank about 1 m. (3 ft.) high, incorporating pottery dating up to *c.*1300, but nothing later. The pieces of an over-fired stone-ware bowl found at the base of the wall-trench are now known to be a modern 'plant'.[1] Technically the added wall, which externally has a slight offset at the base, closely resembles that of the borough at South Cadbury, erected in *c.*1010 (p. 147). On the basis of this comparison the reactivation of the defences at Cricklade may be dated to the Danish wars at the end of the reign of Æthelred II (978–1016), a conclusion which is historically acceptable.

Cricklade retains many internal features, as the settlement ceased to grow at an early date and the infilling of the space within the defences and expansion beyond has largely been the work of our own time. The streets indicate a gridded layout, which must date from the foundation of the borough. The eighteenth-century name 'Green Lane' designating a 'street' in the north-east quarter of the town is significant of an area undeveloped until the present century, though the road is now metalled and flanked by houses. In the south-west quarter excavation revealed a street line laid out, but never developed, and obliterated since the Middle Ages. Away from the main street from north to south and the street running east to join the line of the Roman road, large areas seem always to have been left empty or, possibly occupied by no more than flimsy shelters. In the north-east corner an area cut off by a bank and ditch (now largely obliterated) represents one of the 'hagas', that feature so largely in early municipal records. It may perhaps be identified as that formerly held by Ælfgar, the king's reeve, and granted to Abingdon Abbey in 1008. The church of St. Sampson in the south-west quarter of the borough incorporates work of the tenth century. The name points to a connection with Athelstan (924–39), who acquired many relics

[1] *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* lxvii (1972), 93; *Antiquity*, li (1977), 51–2.

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of Breton saints and may have presented one to the church at Cricklade. Finally it may be noted that there is slight evidence of a market-place outside the west gate, in an area to which access by water would have been easy.

Wareham[1] (Plate IV *a*) was a settlement of some importance in the Romano-British and post-Roman periods. The masonry of the pre-Conquest nave of Lady St. Mary, demolished in 1841–2, incorporated five memorial stones with Celtic names, dating between the sixth and eighth centuries. The plan and surviving pictures of the old building suggest an early Saxon date and the later history shows that it was a minster. The extent of the Romano-British and early Saxon settlements is unknown. The fortified borough formed a roughly rectangular enclosure bounded on the north and south by the Piddle and the Frome, which here approach close to each other, before again diverging to enter separately into Poole Harbour. The area enclosed is about 34 ha. (85 acres), with massive banks on the west, north, and east sides; the south front, above the Frome, must have been completed with a palisade along the top of the scarp marking the river terrace.

In 876 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, here a contemporary record, states that 'the (Danish) army slipped past the army of the West Saxons into Wareham'.[2] Asser, recounting the same events, states that Wareham had a very secure situation, except on the west, where it joined the mainland. Both records suggest that no fortifications had then been erected, but Wareham appears in the Burghal Hidage (p. 137) of the early tenth century.

Excavations in the west defences brought to light a bank of mixed gravels, earth, and sand, with the layers running level towards the front and tailing off at the back.[3] The front of the bank had been destroyed by later scarping, but the section indicated that there had originally been a revetment, probably of timber. The surviving height of rather under 3 m. (9 ft.), is original. In addition to Romano-British wares, the material of the bank incorporated a few sherds of post-Roman date.

[1] RCHM: *Dorset*, ii (1970), 304–14 and 322–4. The later inscriptions postdate the Saxon Conquest of the area and must commemorate land-holding 'Welshmen' belonging to the intermediate class with a wergild of 600 shillings, who figure in clause 24.2 of Ina's Laws, *EHD*, i (1955), 364–7½, dated 688–94).

[2] *ASC*, s.a. 876; *Asser de rebus gestis regis Aelfredi*, cap. 49 (ed. W. H. Stevenson (1904), pp. 36–7).

[3] *Med. Arch.* iii (1959), 120–38.

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At a later, but still pre-Conquest, date, the west bank was raised with a thick layer of river loam, on the crest of which remained traces of a slight wall. The new front had also been entirely destroyed by later scarping. The wall on the crest must, like that at Hereford (p. 135), be interpreted as the rearward revetment of a fighting platform. It implies that the new facing of the bank was also in stone. The date of the remodelling cannot be closely fixed; on general historical grounds the reign of Æthelred II (979–1016) would be appropriate.

Wareham has a gridded street plan which has been disturbed by the erection in the south-west corner of a castle dating from *c.*1100. In addition to the early Saxon church of Lady St. Mary, the small church of St. Martin on the bank beside the north gate, retains pre-Conquest work dating from the eleventh century. The scale of the bank here suggests that a heightening, corresponding to the second phase on the west side, had already taken place.

Wallingford (Plate III *a*), on the west bank of the middle Thames, resembles Cricklade. It is a rectangular enclosure defended by a bank and ditch, with a gridded street plan modified by the erection of a late eleventh-century castle. The site figures in the Burghal Hidage. It has been less fully studied than Cricklade and Wareham, but what is known conforms to the same pattern.[1]

A number of the fortresses listed in the Burghal Hidage were Romano-British towns. The most fully studied, both historically and archaeologically, is Winchester, about which Martin Biddle has published a series of ten very detailed interim reports.[2] The line of the late Roman wall was throughout followed by the medieval defences, including those of the later pre-Conquest borough.[3] Within these defences the street plan shows a gridded layout distinct from the lines of the Romano-British insulae. As at Wareham and Wallingford, the gridded plan was modified by the erection of the Norman castle. 'In summary, the present state of archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that the post-Roman street plan of Winchester was laid out as a planned rectilinear system not later than the mid-tenth century and probably before *c.*904.' A

[1] *Ant. Journ.* li (1971), 78–82; *Berkshire Archaeological Journ.* lxii (1966), 17–21.

[2] Full references are given in the Tenth and Final Interim Report (*Ant. Journ.* lv (1975), 96).

[3] For sequence see *Ant. Journ.* xlviii (1968), 252.

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similar, but less closely dated development is observable in other Romano-British towns, which later became pre-Conquest boroughs (p. 150).[1]

It has already been argued that the inception of the system described in the Burghal Hidage goes back to the reign of Alfred. Its completion must have been the work of his son, as Portchester (Plate V), one of the boroughs listed, only became a royal possession in 904.[2] In the text a number of hides are stated to 'belong' to each borough and one good version adds an elaborate calculation showing that for the maintenance and defence of a 'pole' of wall ($5\frac{1}{2}$ yards = 5 m.) four men are required and that each of the hides should be represented by one man. In many cases the allotted hidage corresponds approximately to the known length of wall, but in others this only holds true if those sides defended by water are excluded from the count. These sides needed both defences and manning, even if on a reduced scale. The siting of the defences, where not determined by older factors such as Romano-British town walls, was dependent on tactical considerations and cannot have been governed by the existence within reach of estates of the requisite assessment. It must be concluded that the figures in the Burghal Hidage can provide only a broad indication of the line and size of the fortifications in cases where the defences of the ninth-century borough cannot be identified on the ground.

The point is well illustrated by Lydford (Plate III *b*), where extensive investigations have been carried out by Peter Addyman. The borough lies on a wedge-shaped promontory, isolated on the south and west by the deep gorge of the river Lyd and on the north-west by a steep-sided tributary valley.[3] Some 350 m. (1,150 ft.) from the end of the promontory a bank and ditch, rather over 300 m. (1,000 ft.) long, run from scarp to scarp across the ridge. Within this bank is a spine road with the remains of a gridded plan older than the Norman castle. The Burghal Hidage assigns to Lydford 300 hides, a number sufficient to provide, on the scale laid down, for the maintenance and manning of the bank across the ridge and a short return on each side, but quite inadequate for the whole circuit of about 1500 m. (1 mile). But a bank similar in character to that crossing the ridge has been demonstrated by excavation both

[1] *Ant. Journ.* li (1971), 70–85, quotation from p. 78.

[2] Sawyer, no. 372.

[3] *Med. Arch.* viii (1964), 232; ix (1965), 170–1; x (1966), 168–9; xi (1967), 268; xii (1968), 155.

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under the bailey of the Norman castle half-way along the north-west side and under the early Norman earthwork at the point of the promontory. At Lydford the bank originally had a revetment of timber, but this was replaced with stone in the pre-Conquest period. Lydford is first recorded under this name in 997,[1] but there is no good reason for doubting its identity with the Hlidan of the Burghal Hidage.

The defensive system of boroughs erected in Wessex by Alfred and his son Edward and in western Mercia by Æthelred and Æthelfleda must have been completed soon after 900. The territory thus protected provided a secure base for a concerted advance against the Danish armies holding the east and north of the country. The reconquered lands were secured by the erection of boroughs. In the west the gradual advance of Æthelred and Æthelfleda is recorded in the Mercian Register (p. 133). The entries begin in 907, when Chester was 'restored'. Æthelred died in 912, but his widow, Æthelfleda, the 'Lady of the Mercians', continued to rule till her death seven years later. Their daughter and heiress, Ælfwynn, was deposed in 919 and Mercia was incorporated in the English kingdom. Concurrently though less fully, the advance of Edward is recorded in the main chronicle.

Far less is known about the boroughs erected during these campaigns, but it may be assumed that they varied little from the earlier fortresses, though the problem is complicated by the existence of Danish fortifications on many, if not all, of the sites chosen. Two Mercian boroughs at which work has recently been carried out—Tamworth and Stamford—may be noted. Something must also be said concerning York, though work currently in progress in the city—one of the great trading centres of the Scandinavian north—makes a proper appreciation difficult at the present time.

In 913 Æthelfleda 'went with all the Mercians to Tamworth and built the borough there in the early summer'.[2] Tamworth (Plate II) had been the principal centre of the Mercian kings before the Danish invasions, but little is known of the layout of the settlement of that date. A number of excavations in recent years have brought to light parts of the defences of the borough antedating the erection of the early Norman castle. The street plan is determined by the crossings of the rivers Teme and Anker, which gave the site its importance as a centre of communications;[3] it

[1] *ASC*, s.a. 997 (C (DE)).
[2] *ASC*, s.a. 913 (Mercian Register).
[3] *Arch. Journ.* cxx (1963), 267–9.

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probably goes back to a very early date. Near the centre of the town stands the parish church, an old minster named in honour of St. Edith. The fabric still retains traces of the cruciform plan and some masonry of the tenth or eleventh century.[1] Tamworth was a mint as early as the reign of Athelstan (924–40),[2] and it was at Tamworth that his unnamed sister was married to the Scandinavian king Sihtric (of York) in 926.[3]

The published excavation carried out by Jim Gould on the western defences of the tenth-century borough[4] shows a triple line of post-holes for uprights providing the framework for the bank, which had been almost entirely destroyed. It provides one of the best plans of these timber revetments yet published in England and provides the closest English parallel to the technical method used in a rather later series of fortresses in Jutland, of which Aggersborg may serve as an example.[5] At Tamworth these excavations also provided half the plan of the west gate of the borough. The outer line of uprights curved in along the line of the road-way, where stouter posts provided the abutment for a bridge spanning the entrance. More recent excavations at Tamworth have established the line of the circuit at other points, including a section on the north side, with remains interpreted as those of a mural tower. The correlation of the work carried out by various hands is in progress and a com-

[1] *Arch. Journ.* cxx (1963), 295–6. It has been assumed on the authority of the source of Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora*, s.a. 925 in Rolls Series LVII, i, 446–7), that the sister of Athelstan, who was married to the Northumbrian king, Sihtric, at Tamworth, was named Edith, that she became a nun after his death (St. Edith of Polesworth) and that the church of Tamworth is named after her. But neither the Anglo Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 926 (D)), nor Florence of Worcester (English Historical Society, xiii (1848), s.a. 924) gives her name, which was also unkown to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum* in Rolls Series, XC, i, 136). The Chronicle (*ASC*, s.a. 924 (D)) records the marriage of a sister, unnamed, of Athelstan to the son of the king of the Old Saxons in 924. The reference is clearly to the marriage of Athelstan's sister Edith to the future Emperor, Otto I. According to the Polesworth legend St. Edith was a daughter of Egbert, King of Wessex (*VCH: Warwickshire*, ii (1908), 62); the story is clearly apochryphal. The Bollandists suggest that St. Edith of Polesworth represents a confusion with St. Edith of Wilton, a daughter of King Eadgar (*Acta Sanctorum mensis Julii*, iv (1868), 6) who is probably the saint commemorated at Tamworth.

[2] South Staffordshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, *Transactions*, xi (1970), 32–57.

[3] *ASC*, s.a. 926 (D).

[4] South Staffordshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, *Transactions*, x (1969), 32–42.

[5] *Copenhagen, Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (1949), pp. 91–108, figs. 1 and 2.

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PLATE I

Photo: University of Cambridge. Copyright reserved

Cricklade looking south along main street. (West side of defences not visible.)

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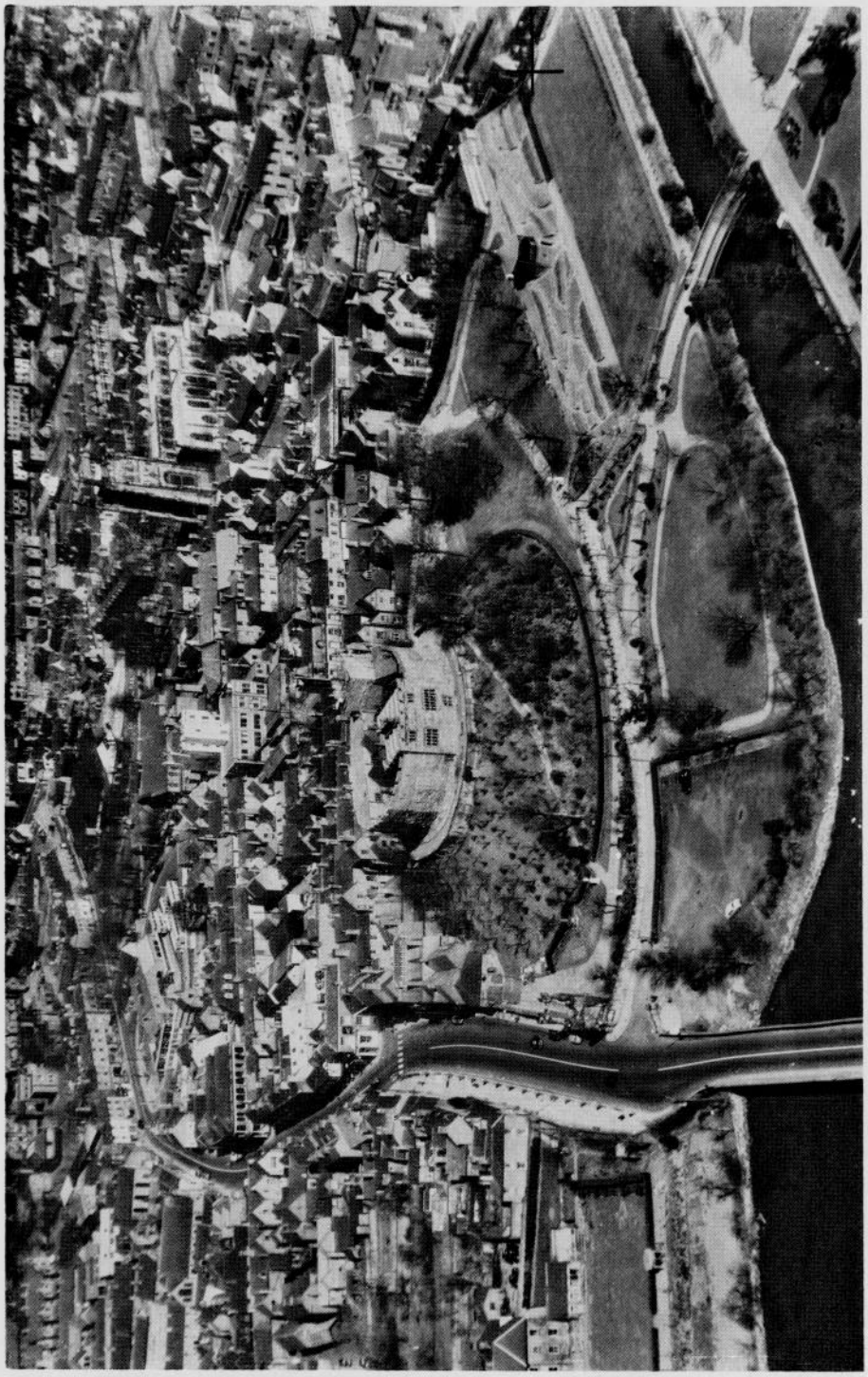
PLATE II



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Tamworth looking north-east. Church of St. Edith stands on north side of main street to west gate

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PLATE III

Photo: University of Cambridge. Copyright reserved

(*b*) Lydford looking south-west along spine road

Photo: University of Cambridge. Copyright reserved

(*a*) Wallingford looking north

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PLATE IV

Photo: University of Cambridge. Copyright reserved

(*a*) Wareham looking south across Piddle

Photo: University of Cambridge. Copyright reserved

(*b*) South Cadbury looking north-west

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PLATE V

Photo: University of Cambridge. Copyright reserved

Portchester looking north-west

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Stamford looking north-east across Welland. Left: All Saints (with spire). Centre: St. Mary (with spire) and St. Michael on High Street. Right: St. George with St. George Street to east. Foreground: St. Martin.

prehensive survey should provide a clear picture of the borough and perhaps throw some light on the earlier royal seat of the Mercians.

Stamford (Plate VI), which has recently been the subject of a comprehensive survey by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and also the scene of excavations directed by Christine Mahany, illustrates the interrelation of the Danish and English factors. In 877 the Danish army shared among themselves this part of eastern Mercia. A borough, probably founded soon after this date, is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 918, when its inhabitants submitted to Edward the Elder and recognized him as their lord. At the same time he 'ordered the borough on the south side of the river to be built'.[1] This marks the emergence of the dual focus of Stamford with settlements both north and south of the river Welland and straddling the medieval county boundary.

The Danish borough[2] lay on a gravel terrace on the north bank of the river. On the north it was delimited by Broad Street. Post-holes associated with a bank interleaved with turf and brushwood were found east of St. George's Street and interpreted as a part of the defences on this side. On the west the bank probably followed the crest of a shallow valley now occupied by Red Lion Square. The street plan indicates that to the south the defences ran along the crest of the slope falling to the flood plain of the main valley, a line now marked by St. Mary's Street. The area so defined is about 6.2 ha. (15 acres) in extent and is roughly bisected by a spine road running east and west, now High Street, with cross streets running north and south; many of these only survive as narrow lanes or passages. The market area lay outside the defences near All Saints Church and was approached by the main road to the north, which crossed the flood plain of the Welland on a causeway, still visible in the fields above the bridge.

The Saxon borough south of the river is perhaps reflected in the rectangular layout of the streets in St. Martin's parish, with High Street forming the central spine road.[3] The probable area

[1] *ASC*, s.a. 918 (A).

[2] RCHM: *Stamford* (1977), no. 8; cf. ibid. xxxvii–xl and *Chateau Gaillard*, viii (1976), 236. Northampton affords interesting comparisons, but the evidence is less clear and the dating conjectural (*Arch. Journ.* cx (1953), 164–74).

[3] RCHM: *Stamford* (1977), no. 9. A bridge at Stamford is mentioned in Domesday Book (ibid., no. 64).

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is between 4 and 5 ha. (10–12½ acres). This is very small and suggests that Edward's foundation of 918 was the fortification at one end of a bridge crossing the Welland from the Danish borough. This would imply that the latter was extended down to the edge of the flood plain at or before this date, nearly doubling its size.

The legionary fortress of York was rebuilt in the fourth century with substantial walls flanked by towers. On the opposite side of the Ouse was an extensive civil settlement—the colonia. York remained an important trading centre, the seat of the second metropolitan church after the conversion of the English in the seventh century. The Roman walls were clearly in decay in 867, when the Danes seized the city and the Northumbrians later broke in. For, as Asser, writing a generation later, comments 'that city had not, as yet in those times, strong and stout walls'. The implication that the defect had been put right by the time he wrote is borne out by the record that the Danes restored the walls in 876. The new defences took the form of a palisade set on a broad earth bank which completely covered the standing Roman masonry on three sides of the legionary fortress. On the fourth side to the south-east, the line was extended as far as the marshy area bordering the Foss.[1]

The list of boroughs was not static. Some failed to prosper. The Burghal Hidage itself affords instances. Chisbury and Eashing, both set up with the military object of filling the gap between the Thames-side fortresses and those on the south coast, never developed into towns. Chisbury is a hill-fort and could easily be adapted for use in an emergency. But as trade became more important, the borough was moved to the neighbouring royal manor of Bedwyn. From this town fragments of the guild regulations of the last quarter of the tenth century have survived; in the eleventh century it was a mint.[2]

Archaeologically the best explored of these temporary boroughs is South Cadbury, near Ilchester in Somerset. Late in the reign of Æthelred II a mint is found with the mark CADANBYRI. Detailed studies have shown that it temporarily replaced Bruton, Crewkerne, and Ilchester, evidently thought too exposed in face of the mounting scale of the Danish attack.

[1] RCHM: *York*, ii (1972), 7–9 and 58; *Yorkshire Archaeological Journ.* xliv (1972), 38–64.

[2] *Med. Arch.* viii (1964), 75–9.

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Early in the reign of Cnut, when peace and security returned, the moneyers withdrew from the exposed hill-top and returned to the boroughs from which they had been driven. The mint and borough at South Cadbury had existed for barely ten years (*c.*1010–20).[1]

South Cadbury (Plate IV *b*) is a massive hill-fort with a long pre-Roman and Romano-British history.[2] The excavations disclosed a late Saxon refortification of the old inner rampart, which had last been remodelled in the sixth century A.D. The new defences, about 1.1 km. (1,200 yards) long, consisted of a bank between 4.5 m. (15 ft.) and 6 m. (20 ft.) wide piled over the earlier rampart. The material used was that locally available from the interior, mainly stone from the hill top and earlier occupation earth. In front was a contemporary stone revetment and there were traces of a slight retaining wall at the back. The south-west gate, on the site of the earlier entrances, was substantially built in masonry and the levels show that a bridge carried the wall walk across the entrance. Inside the circuit the foundations of a small cruciform church had been dug and refilled before building started. The plan was typical of a late pre-Conquest date with a crossing wider than any of the four arms.[3]

The foregoing summary indicates that the borough as an ordered and systematic element in English political life arose in the course of Alfred's struggle against the Danish invaders. In origin the military element was dominant and the defences, which have figured so prominently in these pages, were an essential part of the borough. Wessex was the stage on which the system took shape and the Wessex list compiled at the end of the initial generation gives the only clear picture of its formative military period. A series of strategically placed, interlinked fortresses protected the countryside and were sustained and garrisoned by that countryside. The Burghal Hidage states that to each fortress belongs a number of hides, each supplying one man for the maintenance and manning of the borough.[4]

[1] *British Numismatic Journ.* xxxviii, i (1955), 99–105. For Bruton see *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (ed. R. H. M. Dolley, 1961), pp. 146–8.

[2] *Ant. Journ.* xlviii (1968), 6–17, fig. 2 and xlix (1969), 39–40.

[3] RCHM: *Dorset*, i (1952), xlvii–l.

[4] The restored figures proposed by David Hill (*Med. Arch.* xiii (1969), 87, col. 10) are accepted for the purpose of this argument. For the connection of the lost Eorpeburnham with the estuary of the Rother and the half-built fort mentioned in 892 (*ASC*, s.a. 892) see *Med. Arch.* viii (1964), 81–6.

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Most of these figures are expressed in round figures of 500 or more, generally very much more. But there is a group with lower figures, often expressed to an exact unit. This group is confined to Somerset and Devon, the basic heartland to which Alfred was driven back at the nadir of his fortunes in 878, with a few outliers covering harbours along the south coast. They represent the beginning, the tentative organization with means that were immediately available. With the re-establishment of English rule over Wessex a more systematic planning became possible, covering the line of the Thames and the intervening lands down to the south coast. The figures for Worcester and Warwick, included in an appendix to the Burghal Hidage, suggest that the system was extended to English Mercia (p. 137) only in the second stage.

Though the scheme was in origin military, many of the boroughs were already administrative and trading centres. As the Danish menace receded in the tenth century, these aspects became more important. This development is expressed in the coincidence of borough and mint, a coincidence that can be seen at least as early as Athelstan's Ordinance of Grateley.[1] Wessex, into which Mercia had been incorporated after the death of Æthelfleda (p. 143), quickly established its domination over the whole of England and was recognized as the dominant power by the British rulers. An era of internal peace set in and this is reflected in the decayed defences noted at Hereford (p. 135) and Cricklade (p. 139). The badly destroyed defences of many of the sites examined precludes the recognition of this stage, but the single system of timber work in the west wall of Tamworth (p. 144) can hardly have lasted more than a generation, indicating that on this site also a period of neglect followed soon after the establishment of the borough.

The new foundations, such as Cricklade and Wallingford, are those which provide the best evidence for the preferred form of the defences of *c.*900. Natural features, such as the promontory at Lydford, or earlier defensive systems such as the walls of Romano-British towns, inevitably controlled the layout and form of the borough walls. Where these factors were absent the norm seems to have been rectangular, with an area of between twenty-five and thirty-five hectares (62–82 acres). Many of the chosen sites controlled river crossings, the river or the scarp defining its flood plain serving to cover one of the sides of the defences. In some cases there were wooden bridges,

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (ed. R. H. M. Dolley, 1961), pp. 127–8.

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which played an important part in warfare at this period. Not only did they facilitate the movements of the defending army, but they blocked the water-borne attacker, an important point well illustrated by the saga account of an attack on Danish-held London Bridge in the early eleventh century.[1]

From an early date bridge building and work on fortresses, together with army service, had formed one of the three basic obligations on all free men, from which exemptions were seldom, if ever, granted.[2] A charter of Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 811 and surviving in a contemporary form,[3] speaks of these obligations as directed against the Scandinavians, and continental sources of the middle of the ninth century show the part played by fortified bridges in restricting similar attacks up the rivers of northern France.[4]

The inclusion of Southwark in the early tenth-century Burghal Hidage (p. 137) implies that London Bridge was already in existence. The list also includes Axbridge in Somerset (Axanbrycge in the Nowell Transcript (1562) of the lost Cotton Otho B xi of *c.*1025). Against this background the dating of the bridgehead south of the Wye at Hereford (p. 136 n. 3) needs reassessment.

The defence of the borough consisted of a bank of earth–clay, sand or loam used as available—some 10 m. in width and about 3 m. high. The vertical—or nearly vertical—outer face was revetted with timber and the back sloped down apparently with a low revetment retaining the tail. A fighting platform, also probably of timber and a breastwork of timber or wattling, was probably standard practise, but the evidence has almost everywhere disappeared either through the denudation of the bank or, when the upper levels are preserved, by a later replacement in stone (p. 135). In front of the bank a wide berm was bounded by a comparatively shallow ditch, sufficient to stop a rush, but not an impassible obstacle. Replacement of the timber

[1] The vivid and detailed account of the attack on London Bridge occurs in the much later Saga of St. Olaf, cap. XII translated in M. Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents relating to the reign of Æthelred the Unready* (1930), pp. 154–8. The text implies a date *c.*1014–15, but there is confusion concerning the part played by Olaf. That he took part in an attack on London Bridge is borne out by the inclusion in the saga of a skaldic verse commemorating the episode.

[2] Nicholas Brooks in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock* (ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes, 1970), pp. 69–84.

[3] Sawyer, no. 1264; *British Museum Facsimilies*, ii (1876), 11.

[4] By Nicholas Brooks, op. cit. (n. 2 supra), pp. 71–2.

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revetments with stone is recorded as early as the first quarter of the tenth century and later became common. Stone seems to have been used from the beginning in new defences erected after *c.*1000. The sequence needs illustration.

Wherever evidence is available from excavation, timber has been shown to be the original material used for the revetments and other structural features of the ramparts of *c.*900. This evidence is borne out by the documentary record. The verb timbrian used in the early tenth-century entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and generally translated as 'built' could refer to work in either timber or masonry. But the annal for 917 (text A) is explicit: 'In this year before Easter King Edward ordered the borough at Towcester to be occupied and built . . . in the same autumn . . . the borough at Towcester was provided with a stone wall.'[1] It is a fair inference that the work in the spring—and other works similarly recorded—was carried out with timber. At Shaftesbury there is epigraphic evidence of a considerable work in stone carried out between 975 and 1050. The inscription copied by William of Malmesbury had been brought from 'an old wall' in the town; its dating is established by a fragment recovered during excavations earlier in this century. It recorded the foundation of the borough by King Alfred at a date noted as 880, but the figure is possibly incomplete.[2] The work was probably a replacement of the original timber revetment and the early eleventh century provides a suitable context. Finally it may be noted that there is evidence of destroyed masonry at Old Sarum in strata antedating the refortification of the Norman outer bailey.[3]

An important article by Martin Biddle and David Hill, published in 1971, drew attention to the planned towns of later Saxon England.[4] The authors showed that several of the forresses listed in the Burghal Hidage, as well as other towns of the same period, have a gridded layout that is not of Roman origin. The article is illustrated with plans of Winchester (p. 141), Chichester, Bath, Exeter, and Colchester showing the late Saxon gridded layout imposed on and distinct from the plan of the known Roman insulae. Wareham, Cricklade, and Wallingford also figure as examples of the same type of street plan. To the examples cited it is now possible to add Hereford and

[1] *ASC*, s.a. 917 (A).
[2] RCHM: *Dorset*, iv (1972), 57.
[3] *Wilts Arch. Mag.* lvii (1960), 353–70, Layer 15 in sections B and H.
[4] *Ant. Journ.* li (1971), 70–85.

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Gloucester. At Hereford the gridded layout is associated with the early north bank, identified as dating from *c.*900 (p. 134). At Gloucester evidence is emerging which tends to associate the gridded layout with an increased intensity of occupation under Æthelred and Æthelfleda. On general grounds it would normally be assumed that a layout of this type goes back to the foundation or refoundation of a town and the evidence suggests that a gridded street plan was normal in the boroughs set up in *c.*900.

Pre-Conquest churches, generally minsters, survive in several boroughs. The evidence afforded by Derby and South Cadbury is significant in this context. The borough at Derby was a Danish foundation, captured by Æthelfleda in 917, apparently after a stiff resistance.[1] There had been a Mercian settlement called Northworthy on the site and this settlement had a minster church later named after St. Alkmund. The church stood within the north-east corner of the post-Conquest town and presumably lay in the same relative position in the pre-Conquest borough. This church survived the Danish occupation and appears in Domesday Book as a wealthy minster. Domesday Book also records a second minster in Derby, the church of All Saints, now the cathedral, little more than 100 m. (100 yards) south of the cathedral; subsequent history makes it clear that this was the parish church of the town, St. Alkmund serving a large suburban area.[2] South Cadbury was only in existence for about ten years, but excavation has brought to light the foundation trench of a cruciform church of typical late pre-Conquest character with a crossing wider than any of the four arms. No building was started and the trench was refilled.[3] The plan would suggest a minster, a conclusion supported by the Domesday record of an endowment larger than would be expected in a small village church. Exceptionally it may be noted that the post-Conquest record at Langport, a borough included in the Burghal Hidage, shows no evidence that the church was ever more than a chapel of the mother church of Huish Episcopi, which stands only ½ km. (500 yards) to the east of outside the east gate of the borough.[4]

The market was, from the beginning, an important element in the borough. In the Worcester charter quoted at the beginning of this article there is mention of the rights belonging to

[1] *ASC*, s.a. 917 (Mercian Register).
[2] *Derbyshire Archaeological Journ.* xcvi (1976), 26–61.
[3] *Ant. Journ.* xlviii (1968), 12–13
[4] *VCH: Somerset*, iii (1974), 32–3.

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the lordship 'whether in the market or in the street, both within the fortification and outside' (p. 133). The market was clearly a distinct area, to which strangers could resort. On security grounds alone it might be expected that the market lay outside the borough wall. The archaeological evidence is slight, but consistent. At Stamford (p. 145) the market-place by All Saints Church is contemporary with the Danish borough. At Hereford (p. 136) the later market area by St. Peter's Church lay outside the north gate of the pre-Conquest borough, in an area which has yielded pottery of this date, though there is no evidence of the existence of a market here before 1066. At Cricklade the evidence from the earlier excavations is tenuous, but points to a position outside the west gate, possibly in the enclosed area west of the borough wall, now known as 'Long Close'.[1] The evidence from York is also suggestive. In 1318 the abbot and monks of St. Mary's Abbey had the right to hold a weekly market in their vill at Bootham, outside the north-west gate of the city. The name is Scandinavian, meaning 'the (market) booths'.[2] St. Mary's Abbey was founded in 1088 and received, as part of its endowment, the earlier minster which Siward, Earl of Northumbria, 'had built and consecrated in the name of God and Olaf' and in which he was buried in 1055.[3] The market held by St. Mary's Abbey may well go back to the minster founded by Siward or even earlier.

The picture of the pre-Conquest borough, as it is now emerging from the archaeological record, affords yet another illustration of the strength and capability of the English monarchy that rose out of the turmoil of the Danish invasions of the ninth century. The organization of the labour and the assembly of the materials, above all the provision of the timber, must have imposed a considerable strain on the royal officials. In terms of the more primitive age, it may fittingly be compared with the effort expended four centuries later in the construction of the Edwardian castles in Wales. In its own day it formed a fitting complement to the organization of the mints.

[1] *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* lxvii (1972), 89 and 99.

[2] English Place Name Society, xiv (1937), 283–4; E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (1947), p. 50.

[3] *ASC*, s.a. 1055 (D). The naming of St. Olaf illustrates the Scandinavian sympathies of Earl Siward. Text C reads 'built to the glory of God and all His saints'.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ant. Journ.	*Antiquaries Journal.*
Arch. Journ.	*Archaeological Journal.*
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. Dorothy Whitelock 1961). Where necessary the text is cited in the form used in this edition, which is also the source of all dates given.
EHD	*English Historical Documents*, vol. i (1955).
Med. Arch.	*Medieval Archaeology*
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).
Sawyer	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (= Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 8 (1968)).
Stenton	F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd edn., 1947).
VCH	Victoria County History.
Wilts Arch. Mag.	*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine.*
Woolhope	*Transactions of the Woolhope Field Club.*

The author records his best thanks to the University of Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography and its Director, Professor J. K. St. Joseph, for permission to reproduce the accompanying plates, which remain the copyright of the Committee.

P. 150. Since this article was completed, it has been possible to consult the page proof of the forthcoming volume of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), which contains the best modern account of Old Sarum, including a new interpretation of the plan (City of Salisbury I (1980), pp. xxix and 1–15).

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