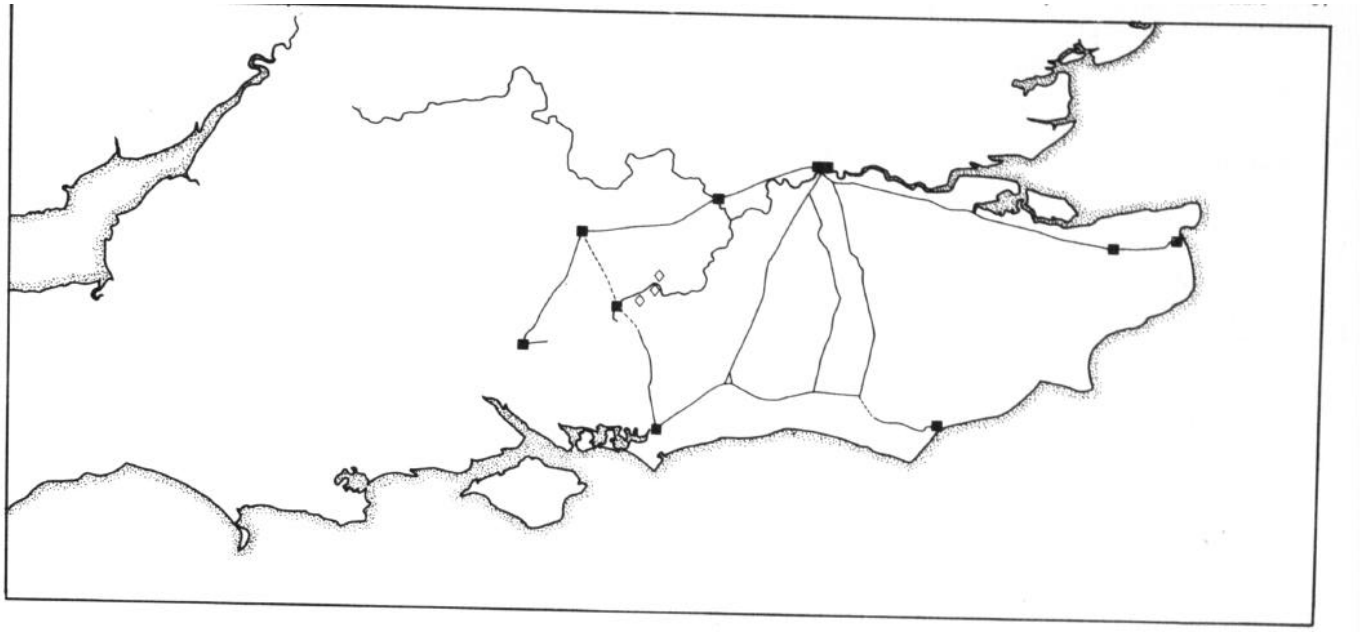

Fig 49 Trade routes used during the period 270 - 350

a significant manufacture of Classes 1A, lC, and 4 storage jars at Alice Holt, vessel types which were to become even more important during the late 4th century. These vessels, together with Class 8 flagons, were the most successful Alice Holt form at this time and travelled farthest. This factor introduces an important aspect of the Alice Holt/Farnham industry after 270 which might make it different from most of its contemporaries. There is evidence for the linear marketing of these vessel types along Roman roads beyond the main Alice Holt distribution area particularly, as will be seen in the later 4th century, suggesting that they may have been sold as containers for local produce. Otherwise, unless the potters were charging very high prices, it is difficult to see how such distant road marketing of coarse-ware vessels could be economical. The evidence of the probable wax mould lid from AH 58 (Lyne and Jefferies 1974), the large heathland areas to the east and south of the potteries which are ideal beekeeping country, plus the rope-rimmed Class 10 vessels with internal fingering, which have been thought to be beehives (Clark and Nichols 1960) suggest a trade in some honey-derived beverage of the mead variety and also perhaps in the transport of honey itself. If this was a large-scale industry it may imply a change of ownership, with new ideas and the injection of capital.

Two large Class 1C storage jars from late 3rd century levels at Winchester have *graffiti* on the shoulder. One of these is fragmentary and unintelligible, but the other could be read as 'Nicerius m(ensuravit) VIII (urnae)'. Eight *urnae* come to 6592in^3 (108 litres), the estimated volume of the jar to within 1%.[5]

The volume of the Snailslynch Class 1A storage jar (1A.13) of similar date has been calculated at 686in^3 (11.24 litres), which is fairly close to one-tenth of that of the Winchester Class 1C example, and it is quite noticeable that vessels of these two classes show very little size variation, suggesting standardization. Class 1B vessels of types 1B.3-1B.6 also seem to belong on stylistic grounds to this group of storage jars and indicate an even smaller unit of volume. An example (1B.4) from Linchmere was calculated to have a capacity of 69.15in^3 (1.13 litres), which corresponds very closely to 2 *sextarii* (68.66in^3; 1.10 litres) or almost a one-hundredth part of the Winchester Class 1C vessel.

Eight *urnae* are equal to 192 *sextarii* and, allowing for an inevitable slight error margin, this gives the following standards:

Class 1B = 2 *sextarii*
1A = 20 *sextarii*
1C = 192 *sextarii*= 8 *urnae* (200 *sextarii* approx.)

These are units of liquid measurement and it seems rather unlikely, from the wording, that the Winchester *graffito* could be a personal ownership marking. It appears to be either a shopkeeper's record of the volume of contained produce in a vessel or perhaps connected with excise control.

There is evidence that whoever controlled the potteries also controlled the goods that were put in the products, rather than the vessels being supplied on contract to a middleman some distance away. This evidence takes the form of odd Alice Holt vessels, not of the storage variety, being found along the routes associated with the storage jars and flagons. If some corroboration of this local wine production hypothesis may be given by the probable name of Neatham in Roman times, VINDOMIS, which might be translated as '(The *mansio)* of the wine country' (although this may equally be a Celtic name, with the prefix VINDO-'white').

This then may be the major difference between the Alice Holt/Farnham industry and others such as the New Forest and Oxfordshire. The latter industries were selling their wares purely as pottery products and thus endeavoured to make them as attractive as possible by use of colour-coat and painted decoration. The Alice Holt industry, however, although it did concern itself with mass production of kitchen wares, distributed its best and most distinctive products as commodity packaging. As such the cost of production and transport was no problem, being easily covered by the value of the contents, which may well

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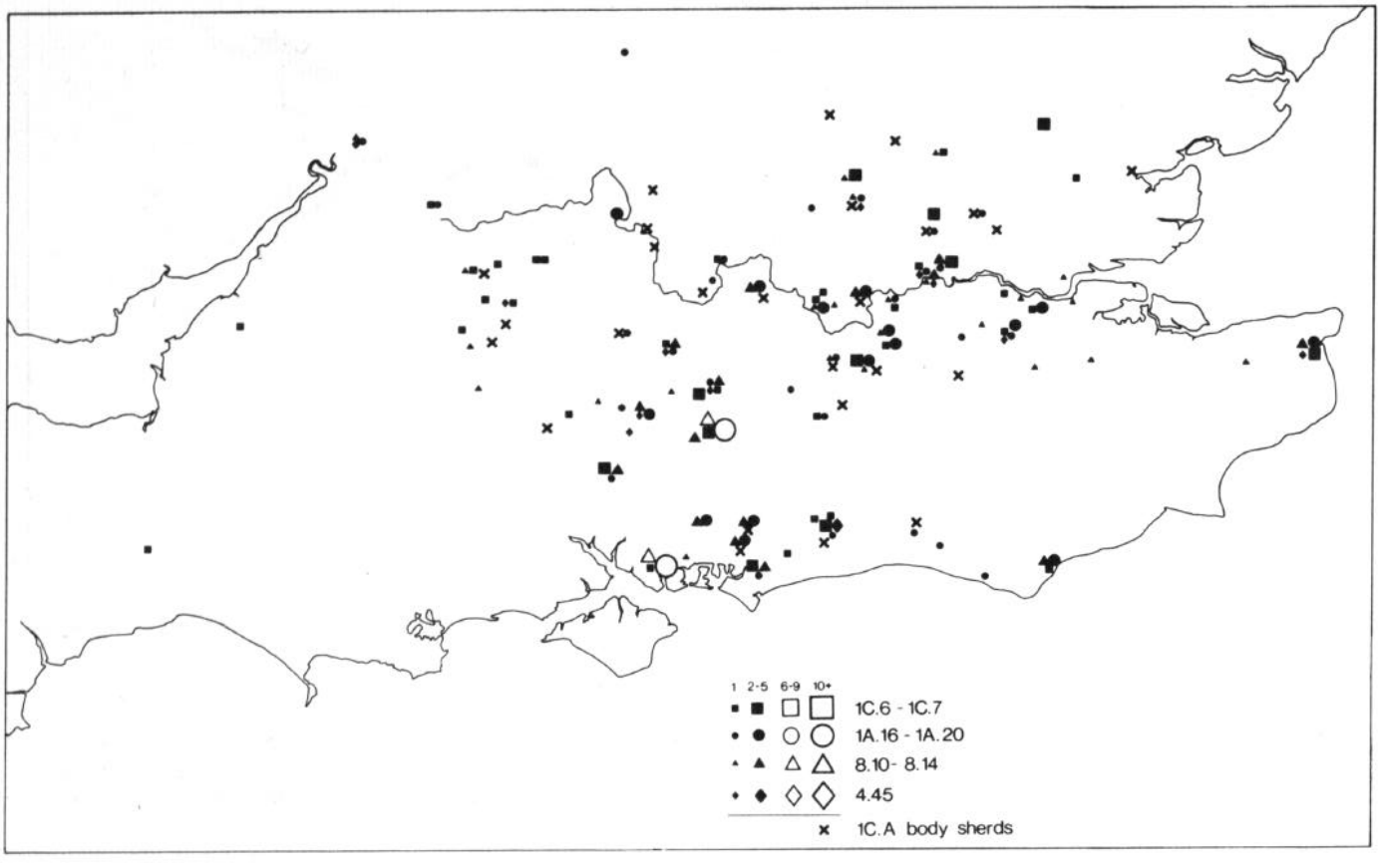

Fig 50 *Distribution of forms dared 350 - 420*

have been enough to cover part or all of the transport costs of cooking pots etc placed on the same cart or in the same boat.

The arguments for Neatham being the pottery marketing centre after 150 are progressively weakened, although as *Vindomis* it may well have been the administrative centre of a large estate associated with the potteries. Winchester and Silchester, the nearest large urban markets to Neatham and with direct road connection, have 11% and 48% Alice Holt pottery respectively during the 4th century, yet Staines and London, somewhat further away and without an obvious direct road link with Neatham but with a direct river link with the potteries, have 66% and 51% respectively. Clearly, river trade from the potteries themselves up the Wey to the Thames was the most important for the bulk of the pottery production, sold purely as pottery. Neatham, situated west of the potteries, is rather badly placed for this trade, although admittedly it is on the northern Wey.

Undoubtedly Neatham must have been a pottery marketing centre for its own population and the lesser distribution zone north and west of the watershed of the river Wey and its tributaries, which could only be supplied by road. If other reasons for its apparent prosperity in Roman times are sought, according to Domesday 600 years later, it was the most valuable market in Hampshire, without the aid of pottery sales. The answer may simply lie in the meaning of the Saxon *Neteham*- 'cattle market'.

The late 4th century (Figs 50 and 51)

After 350 there was a further great expansion in the Alice Holt/Farnham potteries' marketing area associated with the appearance of storage jar types lC.6 and 4.45. In London late 4th century deposits at the Billingsgate bath-house yielded 51% Alice Holt pottery and now, at last, this industry dominated the London pottery market. North and east of London a new marketing zone was established, apparently related to roads leading out of London and largely restricted to sites on or near them, and although other forms are present, the main types being marketed were lC.6 and lA.16.

At Bow late 4th century deposits from the 1971 Appian Road excavations showed a rise from 3% to 20% Alice Holt pottery and continuing further up the road to Colchester there is 3% at Havering Park and type 1C.6 storage jars at Chelmsford and Heybridge near Maldon. Further limited storage jar traffic took place up the road to Great Dunmow via Little London and along Ermine Street as far as Ware.

The percentage of Alice Holt material at Verulamium is quite high, considering its distance from source; the theatre fill contains up to 10%, with a slightly higher figure of 11% at Netherwylde villa a short distance to the south. It is probable that in the case of Verulamium the pottery was not being marketed along Watling Street from London but more directly along the imperfectly understood road link with Staines. Beyond St Albans minute quantities of Alice Holt pottery found their way up Watling Street as far as Dunstable and also west to the Latimer villa.

Further west new routes were being exploited out of Silchester. Trade was now being carried out with storage jars along the Silchester-Alchester road at least as far as Cuddesdon in Oxfordshire, and a number of pots dredged by the Thames Conservancy Board from the river between Staines and Goring suggest possible river trade supplying

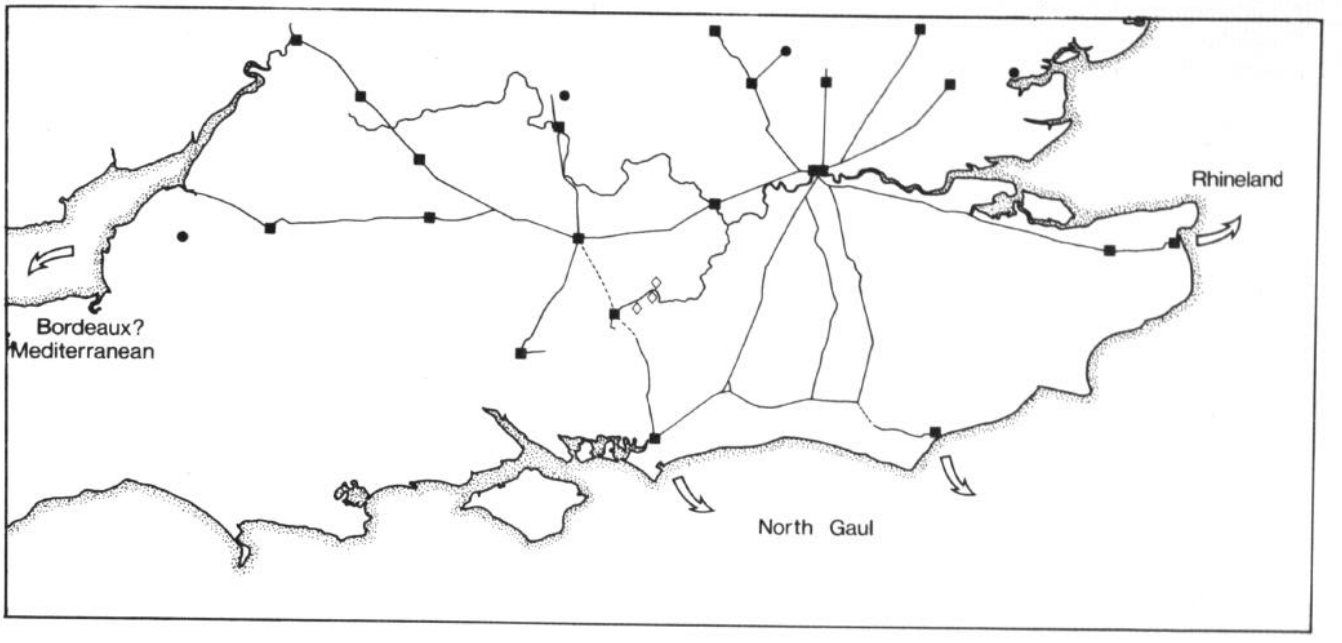

Fig 51 *Trade routes used during the period 350 - 420*

villa sites like Harpsden and Hambledon on the north bank. At Thatcham New Town, on the road from Silchester west gate, material from a small urban settlement excavated in the 1920s produced 27% Alice Holt ware, but to the north of the road this pottery is represented by only a scatter of vessels extending to the northern excarpment of the Berkshire downs.

To the west of Thatcham the Roman road to the west forks and Alice Holt vessels, chiefly storage jars, appear to have been traded along both routes. Along the Sea Mills road, Cunetio has given a reading of 9% Alice Holt pottery from the 1912 excavation, and other sherds are known from Marlborough, Pewsey, Silbury, Bromham, Bath, and Gatcombe. Slightly larger quantities of pottery were traded

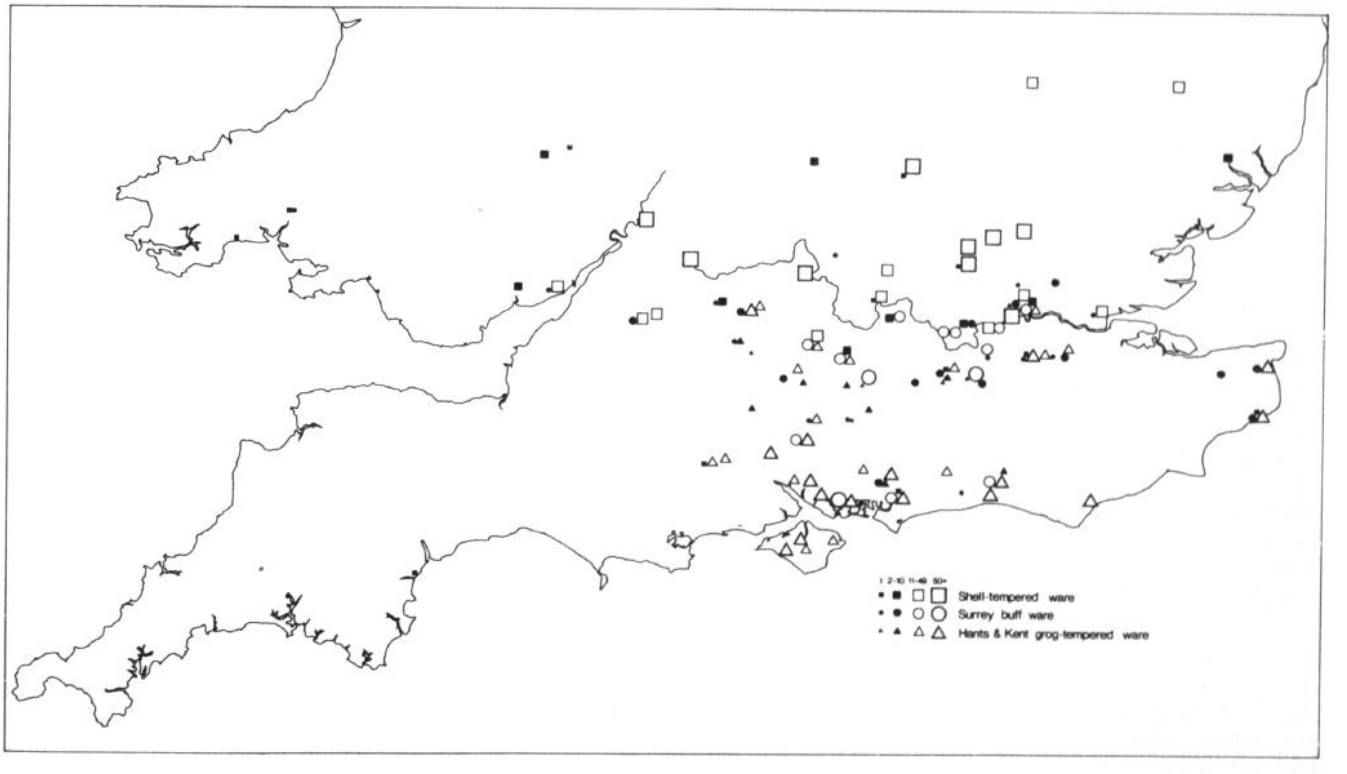

Fig 52 *Distribution patterns of chief sub-Roman pottery industries in southern Britain*

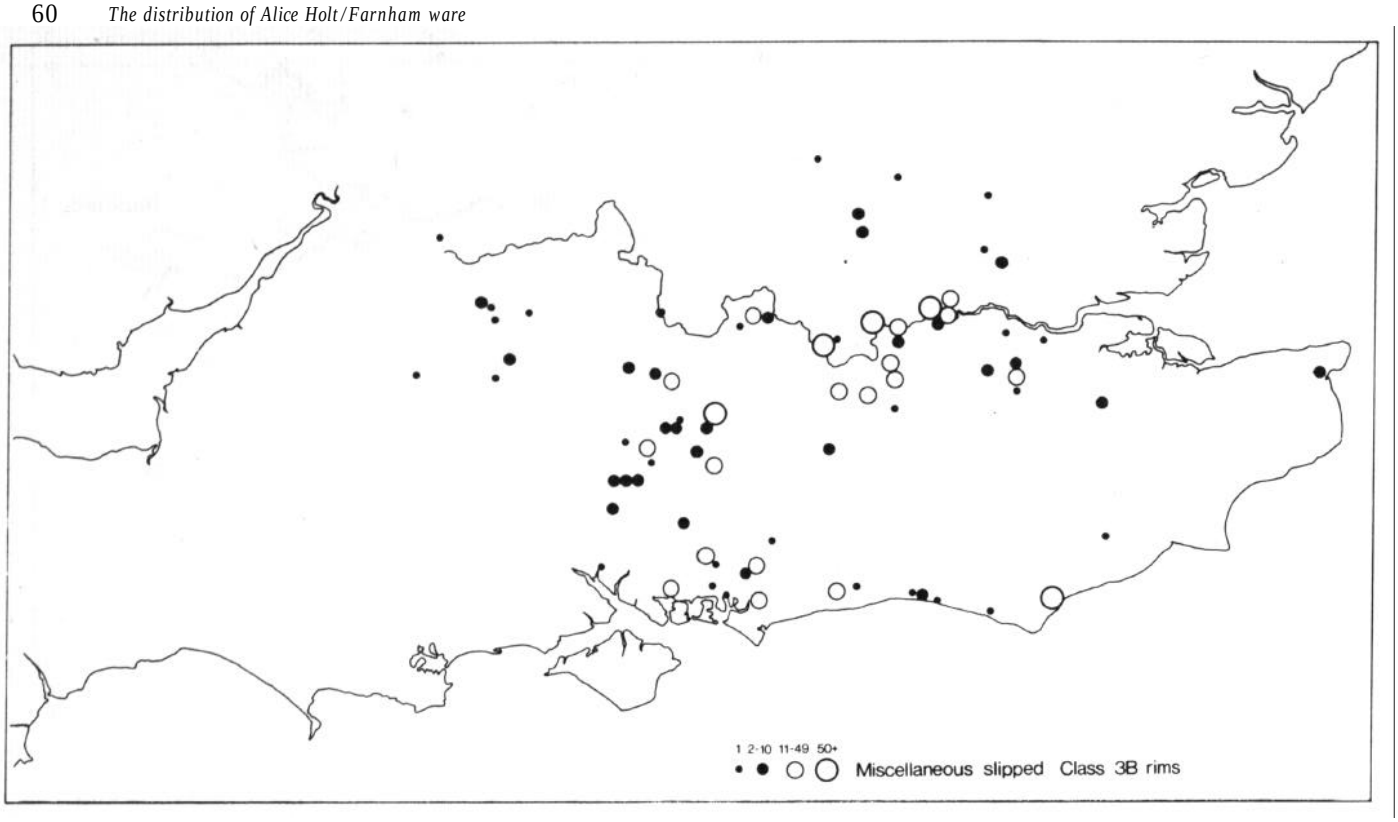

Fig 53 Distribution of slipped Class 3B cooking pots dated 270 - 420

along the Gloucester road, and material, mainly storage jars, has been found at Wanborough, Swindon, Cirencester, and Gloucester.

A number of these peripheral storage-jar road trading routes end in known or suspected seaports, suggesting some kind of export trade. So far as is known no Alice Holt storage jars have been found on the Continent, which would indicate that whatever was in the vessels was transferred to barrels or other containers at the ports of transshipment. The next problem lies in the lack of large deposits of storage jars at these ports. It is possible that after the contents had been removed the carrier sold off the used empties on the return trip. The road distribution of these jars could thus represent reverse trading. The exploitation of these routes to various ports is very illuminating (Figs 49 and 51) and may in part support Dr Fulford's hypothesis of increased south Gaulish trade in the late 4th century (Fulford 1978). In the period 270-350 there are storage-jar trade routes to London, Dover, Richborough, Pevensey, and Chichester, all ports admirably suited for trade with northeast Gaul and the Rhineland. After 350 another easterly route to the coast at Heybridge, near Maldon, is added, but more important, the westerly routes to the two ports of Gloucester and Sea Mills on the Bristol Channel, thus exploiting the Atlantic sea lanes for the first time. A recognized trade route from southern Gaul and the Mediterranean via Bordeaux to the west of Britain is indicated by pottery and amphorae distribution, and it may be that British merchants were using this route in reverse during the late 4th century carrying the contents of the Alice Holt storage jars. Although the expansion of the Alice Holt industry after 270 was in these loaded storage jars, some other contemporary products found their way in very small quantities to the very limits of the distribution range.

The evidence from the more peripheral sites producing Alice Holt/Farnham ware would indicate that the establishment of some of the trade routes was very late indeed. At Verulamium, for example, the evidence from Kenyon's theatre excavation and those of Frere would indicate the appearance of Alice Holt pottery after 370. At Dorchester on Thames the few storage jar sherds belong to a deposit later than 388, and possibly post-400,[6] a pattern similar to Cirencester, where the only fragments known are from the Beeches site and from the latest deposit there- Theodosian or early 5th century.

The early 5th century and the 'Surrey buff ware' industry (Fig 52)

By the second decade of the 5th century most organized pottery manufacture had come to an end, but there are a few notable exceptions in the midlands and south of Britain. If the profit behind the Alice Holt/Farnham industry lay in the contents of loaded vessels and the export of such goods, a disruption of bulk trade in the early 5th century may have been caused by the breakdown of the currency system.

All the sub-Roman industries had one thing in common: sub-Roman pottery displays a very limited repertoire, consisting of a jar, flanged bowl, and a rather deep straight- or convex-sided dish. Most of these industries had their origin in the 4th or even late 3rd century but only achieved prominence in the late 4th and early 5th century. Two basic cultural traditions seem to be present. The first was hand-made grog-tempered, everted-rimmed cooking pots, flanged bowls, and convex-sided dishes, as represented by a number of very similar industries, one base in south-east Hampshire, probably sited near Botley, and others supplying

east Sussex and Kent. The fabric is usually brown or black, with the appearance of bonfire firing. The second cultural tradition, which, as already described, had exerted increasing influence on the Alice Holt/Farnham potteries during the 4th century, favoured wheel-made, horizontally rilled, hook-rimmed jars, flanged bowls, and convex-sided dishes in two main fabrics. To the north of the Thames the shell-tempered wares were probably manufactured in the Lea valley, whilst to the south there was a buff sand tempered ware, previously referred to as the 'Surrey buff ware' industry.

As a percentage of any pottery assemblage, the 'Surrey buff ware' fabric is usually insignificant, but it extends its range across south-east England south of the Thames with, like the true Alice Holt buff ware, no penetration north of that river except in the London area (Fig 52). The few sites which have produced large amounts are in mid-Surrey, particularly Leatherhead (Woodlands Park), which may have been near the source. As can be seen from Fig 52, westwards distribution is greater than that of the Alice Holt/Farnham industry, extending across South Wales to Caerwent and Carmarthen, although in most places quantities are restricted to the odd sherd, and always in the latest deposits.

During the 4th century, when this industry still had the large and well organized Alice Holt potteries to contend with, its very limited range of coarse and unattractive vessels seems to have sold very successfully, making considerable local inroads into the Alice Holt market in Surrey and, as mentioned, even progressively influencing the larger concern's form range.

A parallel situation apparently prevailed during the late 4th century with the New Forest industry. Dr Fulford has made a good case for a decline in its pottery production during the late 4th century with a related decrease in the number of types and deterioration in quality (Fulford 1975). This decline was seemingly due, in the case of its coarse wares, to its being unable to stand up to the advances of the rapidly growing, crude, grog-tempered ware industry of south-east Hampshire.

The Alice Holt industry does not seem to hat-e suffered as much as the New Forest, and this may have been due to its other products requiring containers, but, quite clearly, these crude, limited forms from the new potteries succeeded when the larger, more organized industries failed. There appear to be two possible explanations for the phenomenon. The first may lie with the restricted range of vessels, involving easier marketing and the choice of a few simple forms, which helped in mass-production, as with the Dorset industry.

From the mid-4th century base-metal currency became chaotic, making retailing very difficult. Add to this the growing system of payments in kind rather than money and the diminishing purchasing power of the masses, and it is hardly surprising that the large, centrally organized industries found it increasingly difficult to operate efficiently and at a profit.

The second explanation may be that these industries were changing to meet the demands of alien cultural groups being settled in eastern areas of Britain. There are several references to settlement of such groups during the late 3rd and 4th centuries, particularly Alamanni by Constantine in 306 under their chief Crocus. There is also reference to Alamannic *numeri* serving in Britain in 372. Such movements of barbarian people must surely have had their effect on local potteries in the areas where they were settled.

In relation to this, recent excavations at Fareham (Holmes 1975) have suggested strongly that much of the Portchester rilled buff ware was manufactured there, specifically supplying the garrison in the later 4th century.[7] The *Notitia Dignitatum* records Portus Adurni as being garrisoned by the *Numerus Exploratorum*, a barbarian unit, during the mid-4th century, and such units of *exploratores* are recorded along the Rhine frontier earlier.

Whatever the reason, it led to the survival of these industries after the collapse of the large more sophisticated potteries and their survival into the mid-5th century.

Sub-Roman pottery trading had its own peculiar phenomena, the first such being that of very few industries with no real competition apart from the occasional import. In the case of the 'Surrey buff ware' industry the level of production probably declined, but products were distributed more thinly over a wider area. A major drawback to any increase in production to take advantage of the pottery vacuum was the second phenomenon, a non-monetary economy probably based on barter, which would have been a major factor in the collapse of most of the 4th century large industries. At Shakenoak it has been claimed (Brodribb *et al.* 1972) that a calcite-tempered horizontally rilled jar variant was circulating at least as late as 450. Shell-tempered ware seems one of the last, if not the last sub-Roman industry to die out, but whether 'Surrey buff ware' and other industries lasted as long is an unanswered question. It is probable that no sub-Roman pottery manufacture continued much after 450, and by this date Saxon wares are being found in deposits with shell-tempered pottery as in the *Grubenhäuser* at Barton Court, Abingdon, and at Mucking. and in the ditch deposits at Shakenoak.

The date of the end of sub-Roman pottery production is bedevilled by the lack of closely dateable objects such as coins, during the 5th century. At Wroxeter the highest stratified level of occupation above the demolished basilica and bath-house produced fragments of two buff Alice Holt rilled vessels and five Surrey buff ware examples, and it would be difficult, on present evidence, to date this level before the early 5th century.

Alice Holt pottery from continental sites

Information supplied by Dr M G Fulford

Although more investigation is needed, there appears to be a scatter of isolated vessels along the north French and Belgian littoral associated with Gallic Shore forts. The number of vessels is so small as to make regular trade unlikely, and could be interpreted as evidence for transference of individuals with their baggage from Saxon Shore forts to their Gallic counterparts.

Schedule

Belgium	5B. 10: Oudenbourg	1			
France	3B slipped rims: Alet		6A.4: 1 Kervennenec		1
	3B.13: Boulogne		6A. 12: 1 Boulogne or Etaples		1

Link to next section