

ARCHAEOLOGY IN EAST BERKSHIRE: A RESOURCE ASSESSMENT

Report for the Ardeola Charitable Trust



Acknowledgements

This report represents the fruit of a project undertaken in summer 2018, involving the collaboration of a wide range of societies, institutions and individuals, to whom thanks are overdue.

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Contents

	List of Figures	3
	List of Tables	4
1.	Introduction	5
	Previous Studies	7
2.	Archaeological Resources	8
	2.1 Aerial Survey	8
	Aerial Photography	8
	LiDAR	14
	2. 2 Archaeological Fieldwork	24
	Identifying Fieldwork in East Berkshire	24
	Excavations, Evaluations and Watching Briefs	25
	Fieldwalking Surveys	31
	Geoarchaeological Survey	33
	Geophysical Survey	33
	2.3 Artefact Collections	35
	Museum Collections	35
	The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)	41
	2.4 Other Resources	46
	Historical Maps	46
	Place Names	52
	Monuments and Listed Buildings	53
3.	East Berkshire Through Time	54
	3.1 Palaeolithic (500,000 – 10,000 BC)	56
	3.2 Mesolithic (10,000 – 4,000 BC)	59
	3.3 Neolithic (4,000 – 2,200 BC)	61
	3.4 Bronze Age (2,200 – 700 BC)	64
	Sites	65
	Artefacts	67
	Bronze Age Settlement in East Berkshire	67
	3.5 Iron Age (700 BC – 43 AD)	69
	Sites	70
	Artefacts	71
	Iron Age Settlement in East Berkshire	72
	3.6 Roman (43 – 410 AD)	73

Sites	74
Artefacts	79
Roman Settlement in East Berkshire	80
3.7 Early Medieval (410 – 1066 AD)	83
Sites	84
Artefacts	86
Early Medieval Settlement in East Berkshire	86
3.8 Medieval (1066 – 1540 AD)	88
Sites	89
Artefacts	94
Medieval Settlement in East Berkshire	95
4. Proposals for Future Work	96
4.1 Bringing Sites to Publication	96
4.2 Field to Forest: Relict Field Systems in East Berkshire	99
4.3 Thames Metalwork and the Thames Conservancy	100
5. Bibliography	101

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map showing the position of the study area (in yellow) within the modern ceremonial
county of Berkshire (Ordnance Survey 1:250,000 supplied by EDINA Digimap)
Figure 2 The distribution of aerial photographs in the study area
Figure 3 Images from Google Earth showing the Weycock Hill Temple in 2017 (left) and 2018 (right).
Dry conditions in the summer of 2018 have made the temple foundations clearly visible, and suggest
that their destruction in the 19th century was incomplete
Figure 4 Map showing the extent of 1m DTM LiDAR coverage (Environment Agency, 2017a)
Figure 5 Map showing the extent of 50cm DTM LiDAR coverage (Environment Agency, 2017b),, 16
Figure 6 Map showing the location of the fields surveyed (OS 1:25 000 map supplied by EDINA
Digiman)
Figure 7 LiDAR plot showing features at Pinkneys Green Maidenhead (1m DTM supplied by the
Environment Agency)
Figure 8 LiDAR plot showing features at Little Thicket and Maidenbead Thicket Maidenbead (1m
DTM supplied by the Environment Agency)
Eigure Q LiDAP plot showing features at Maidenhead Thicket Maidenhead (1m DTM supplied by the
Figure 9 LiDAR plot showing reatures at Maldernead Thicket, Maldernead (111 DTM supplied by the
Einvironnent Agency).
(1m DTM date supplied by the Environment Access)
(Im DTW data supplied by the Environment Agency)
Figure 11 Graph showing the number of interventions per 5-year period in the study area
Figure 12 Heat map showing the distribution of archaeological excavations in the study area
Figure 13 Graph showing the number of interventions by period
Figure 14 Graph showing the nature of reports of excavations in the study area (total = 327)
Figure 15 Graph showing the number of specialist reports from excavations in the study area 30
Figure 16 Map showing the location and extent of fieldwalking surveys in the study area
Figure 17 Map showing the distribution of geophysical surveys in the study area
Figure 18 Museum accessions in the study area, broken down by period
Figure 19 Museum accessions in the study area, broken down by collection
Figure 20 Heat map showing the distribution of museum accessions in the study area
Figure 21 The number of new PAS entries created annually in the study area (excluding Celtic Coins
Index finds)
Figure 22 Heat map showing the distribution of all PAS finds in the study area
Figure 23 PAS finds from the study area divided by broad period
Figure 24 The study area as it appears on John Rocque's (1761) map (Bibliothèque national de
France). The level of distortion needed to display this map accurately can be seen in the way the
joins between map sheets have beecome wavy 48
Figure 25 The distribution of enclosure maps in the study area (Digitised enclosure maps © Berkshire
Record Office)
Figure 26 The distribution of tithe maps in the study area (Digitised tithe maps ${\mathbb G}$ The Genealogist
and The National Archives)
Figure 27 HER monuments from the study area divided by broad period
Figure 28 Buildings in the study area recorded on the HER, divided by broad period
Figure 29 Graph showing the % of recorded resources available for each period
Figure 30 Map showing the distribution of Palaeolithic sites and PAS and museum accessions in the
study area

Figure 31 The Furze Platt Giant, found in 1919 (Copyright Trustees of the Natural History Museum, source: https://www.londoncalling.com/features/first-footsteps-early-human-history-at-the-
natural-history-museum)
Figure 32 Map showing the distribution of Mesolithic sites and PAS and museum accessions in the
study area
Figure 33 Map showing the distribution of Neolithic sites and PAS and museum accessions in the
study area
Figure 34 Map showing the distribution of Bronze Age sites and PAS and museum accessions in the
study area
Figure 35 Map showing the distribution of Iron Age sites, and museum and PAS finds in the study
area
Figure 36 Map showing the distribution of Roman sites in the study area73
Figure 37 Map showing the distribution of PAS finds and museum accessions in the study area 79
Figure 38 Contour map showing the distribution of Roman sites in the study area (contour data from
Ordnance Survey, supplied by EDINA Digimap) 81
Figure 39 Map showing the distribution of Early Medieval sites, and museum accessions and PAS
finds in the study area
Figure 40 Map showing the distribution of Medieval sites, and museum accessions and PAS finds in
the study area

List of Tables

Table 1 Aerial photographs from the study area	10
Table 2 Table showing the number of excavations carried out by different organisations in t	he study
area	
Table 3 Table showing the percentage of grey literature reports available online	
Table 4 Table showing the FLOs responsible for recording finds in the study area	
Table 5 Catalogue of one-off maps of the study area in the Berkshire Record Office	
Table 6 Catalogue of Enclosure Maps of the study area in the Berkshire Record Office	50
Table 7 Catalogue of Tithe Maps of the study area in the Berkshire Record Office	51
Table 8 Table showing the work needed to bring the Spencer's Farm site to publication	

1. Introduction

The impetus for the current project stems from the apparent lack of easily accessible information about the archaeology of East Berkshire. Those works that do exist either pre-date much of the recent developer-driven archaeology, and the advent of other sources of information, such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme and LiDAR mapping, or lack detail at a local level. The lack of recent synthesis work poses a risk to Berkshire's archaeology. An understanding of the available archaeological resources of the area will be a valuable tool to help to develop suitable research questions which can be used to target archaeological intervention and interpretative projects, whether they be undertaken by commercial units, local societies, or academic bodies. Further, it is felt that a poor understanding of the importance of the archaeology of the area outside of professional circles could be detrimental to sustaining long-term interest in the archaeology of the locality.

This project therefore aims to satisfy three primary objectives:

- To focus attention in the archaeological community on a compact area that, as an identifiable landscape, has considerable scope for new multi-period research.
- To promote outreach to members of the local community in that area, to generate interest in archaeology and local history/prehistory.
- To promote community activity in pursuit of new archaeological and historical research and local heritage protection, in partnership with professional and academic archaeologists.

In order to achieve these aims, a new desk-based project was designed. The parameters of the study were discussed at a joint meeting between heritage professionals and local archaeological societies at the University of Reading in February 2018. This appointed researcher (Owen Humphreys) conducted a desk-based resource assessment, identifying, collecting and quantifying all of the available archaeological resources available in a trial study area within East Berkshire. This report follows the structure laid out in Wessex Archaeology's recent Avebury Resource Assessment (Leivers & Powell, 2016). Following on from the introduction (Part 1), Part 2 details the available resources for studying the archaeology of the study area; what resources there are, how accessible they are, what has been done with them so far, and what more could be done to generate new resources. Part 3 breaks these resources down by period, whilst Part 4 sets out proposals for future research.

The study area for this survey comprised an 'island' of land in north-east Berkshire, around modern Maidenhead (Figure 1). The area is bounded by a loop of the River Thames to the north, east and west, and partially bounded by a number of smaller watercourses to the south; the River Loddon in the southwest, Twyford Brook in the south, and The Cut in the south and southeast. This study area crosses the modern unitary authorities of Wokingham and Windsor and Maidenhead, covering the parishes of Bisham, Bray, Cookham, Cox Green, Maidenhead, Remenham, Ruscombe, Shotttesbrooke, Twyford, Hurley, Waltham St Lawrence, Wargrave, and White Waltham. In order to maintain consistency with HER recording practices, the southern boundary of this study area was extended beyond the southern waterways to encompass the entirety of the modern parishes, giving a total area of 154km².



Figure 1 Map showing the position of the study area (in yellow) within the modern ceremonial county of Berkshire (Ordnance Survey 1:250,000 supplied by EDINA Digimap).

Geologically, the study area sits at the southern edge of a northeast-southwest band of chalk bedrock, which rises to form the Chiltern Hills to the north. Chalk forms the bedrock for the majority of the study area, giving way to the Reading Formation and London Clay at the southern edge of the study area. In several places, the chalk is overlain by Reading Formation and London Clay, creating hills. There are also small gravel hills at the western edge of the study area. To the north and east, the bedrock is overlain by the superficial gravels of the Thames river valley terraces.

This project was diachronic, collecting data from all periods of Berkshire's history and archaeology as covered by the HER and the activities of local societies. However, given the amount of supplementary historical research that would be required to interpret the archaeological evidence from more recent periods, only the Palaeolithic-Medieval periods are considered in detail. The research for this project was undertaken at the University of Reading over four months from May-September 2018.

Previous Studies

This piece of work is far from the first attempt to review the archaeology of East Berkshire. Resource assessment exercises similar to this one were carried out by local societies in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Thoyts, 1893; Windle, 1902), with Peake (1931) providing an account of the archaeology of the whole county, complete with a comprehensive gazetteer of sites. Subsequently, little synthesis work was carried out in the area until the 1970s, when the threat of development and minerals extraction led to the creation of the rescue archaeology movement. Over (1969, 1970, 1971) produced several syntheses of the archaeology of the Maidenhead area, whilst Astill (1978) conducted a desk-based survey of the Medieval towns of Berkshire. Other studies took a wider remit (Council for British Archaeology, 1972; Denington, Morgan, & Catling, 1966), with Gates (1975) reviewing aerial photography on the Thames gravels. Subsequently less work was conducted here, although Steve Ford (1987, 1997) conducted a series of important fieldwalking and desk-based surveys of the area. The Berkshire Record Society produced a concise edited volume, mapping the features of different periods (Dils, 1998), whilst the Berkshire Archaeological Society has produced syntheses of the Iron Age (Hutt, Goodenough, & Pyne, 2009) and Roman (Coombs, Sharpe, Davies, Harrison, & Byard, 2018) archaeology of the county.

Recently, several detailed regional surveys have been produced. The Thames Through Time series has produced three volumes synthesising the archaeology of the middle Thames valley from the Lower Palaeolithic to the Early Medieval period (Booth, Dodd, Robinson, & Smith, 2007; Lambrick & Robinson, 2009; Morigi, Schreve, White, & Hey, 2011). The Solent-Thames Research Framework (Hey & Hind, 2014) looked at the archaeology of all periods, but over a wide area of the country. During the writing of this framework individual reports were commissioned on the archaeology of Berkshire in different periods, and these are available online (Astill, 2006; Chisham, 2006; Clark, 2007; Ford, 2007b, 2007a; Greenaway, 2006; Hosfield, 2007). Most recently, Museum of London Archaeology and Berkshire Archaeology have produced an assessment of archaeological resources over a wider area of East Berkshire for the purpose of managing aggregate extraction (J. Platt, 2017).

These resources mean that the archaeology of the county as a whole is better understood than was thought at the outset of this project. However, none of these previous studies fulfil the remit of this resource assessment. Whilst these studies provide excellent academic context for understanding the wider middle Thames area, they lack detail at a local level. By providing a more comprehensive examination of specific archaeological resources at this local scale, this report is able to make more specific recommendations that are of greater use to the archaeological societies, commercial units and academic institutions operating at this local level.

2. Archaeological Resources

This section of the report details the resources available for studying the archaeology of East Berkshire. Each section contains a brief introduction to the resource, description of the available resources in the study area, a review of previous work using the resources from the study area, and recommendations for how each resource could be employed in the future.

2.1 Aerial Survey

Aerial Photography

Whilst there are a large number of historic photographic collections available for the study area, only aerial photography was examined for this project. Aerial photography is extremely useful for identifying archaeological features that may not be visible from the ground. Features can show for a number of reasons, including differences in elevation causing shadows and highlights, and the presence of underground features causing differential crop growth, scorching and snow cover (Gates, 1975, pp. 15–6; Riley, 1987, pp. 17–40). Aerial photography's usefulness for identifying archaeological sites has long been recognised. The first aerial photograph of an archaeological site was of Stonehenge in 1906 (Barber, 2011, p. 9), and the technology has been used in the Thames valley since the 1920s (Fenner, 1994, p. 8). Initially, the focus was on identifying individual sites, but since the 1970s their usefulness for characterising ancient landscapes has come to be more fully appreciated (Riley, 1987, p. 16). This long history of aerial observation has created a record of the landscape which may have been destroyed or damaged by later activity (Levick, 2015, p. 21).

Aerial photographs can be broken into three categories; oblique, vertical and mosaic. **Oblique** photographs are taken at an angle to the ground, usually between 30-50°. Oblique photographs have typically been the most widely used by archaeologists for photographing individual sites and features, as they allow the photographer to select the best view from which to photograph a feature (Riley, 1987, p. 48). **Vertical** photographs are taken using a fixed camera pointing directly downwards. These are most suited to large area surveys, when multiple overlapping shots are taken along a fixed path, and are rarely taken for purely archaeological purposes (Riley, 1987, pp. 50–2). Previously, the results of both types of photographic survey had to be transcribed by hand onto maps. Today, digital photography allows vertical photographs to be stitched together into continuous rectified **mosaic** images.

Aerial Photography Resources

Vertical and Oblique

Historic oblique and vertical aerial photographs are available from a large number of dispersed local and national sources. The most important national collections are those maintained by the CUCAP, Historic England, and the NCAP. The **Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography (CUCAP)** is a collection of c.500,000 vertical and oblique photographs collected by Cambridge University since 1947. Many of these were taken specifically for archaeological use (Gates, 1975, p. 17), and those showing known cropmarks are identified as such. The collection is unfortunately currently closed for consultation, but the online catalogue remains searchable (University of Cambridge, 2018).

The **Historic England** Archive contains several large collections of aerial photographs. One important collection, the Simmons Aerofilm collection (jointly owned with Historic Environment Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales), has been partially digitised. Oblique images from 1919-1953 are accessible through the Britain From Above website (Historic Environment Scotland, 2018a), whilst vertical photos are part of the NCAP (below).

Unfortunately, the majority of the other collections held by Historic England are not fully catalogued, although searches of these files can be requested through the Historic England Archive website. The most relevant collection to the study area is likely to be the Thames Valley Archaeology Services Aerial Photography Collection (TVA01); a group of 39 oblique cropmark photographs, which is uncatalogued.

The **National Collection of Aerial Photography (NCAP)** holds one of the largest collections of aerial photographs in the world. The majority of the collection consists of declassified vertical and oblique images taken by the Ministry of Defence and other military organisations during WWII and the Cold War (NCAP, 2013). The largest collections providing images of the study area are the Airbus Defence and Space collection (246 images) and the civilian Simmons Aerofilms Limited (100 images). The collection is accessible through an online database (Historic Environment Scotland, 2018b). Whilst large numbers of military reconnaissance photographs are now part of the NCAP, others are stored with the **Royal Air Force Museum** and **Imperial War Museum**. Images of Britain taken by the German Luftwaffe during WWII are now kept at the **US National Archives**, Maryland (Royal Air Force Museum Photograph Department, 2015). It is possible that these collections contain images of the study area, although they have not been searched.

The largest source of aerial photographs of the study area, and the most important local aerial photograph collection, is the **Berkshire Record Office (BRO)**. The BRO has archives of aerial photographs taken from 1964-1996, including 802 photographs of the study area. Unfortunately, there is no digital catalogue of these images. Appendix 02 contains a list of photographs from the study area, but these have not been plotted as there is no convenient source of coordinates for these images. The position of these images can only be obtained by consulting the paper index maps held at the BRO.

In addition, it is likely that a significant number of photographs are contained in smaller local collections. Gates (1975, p. 8) utilised aerial photographs from the **BAS** Air Photograph Group, **Reading Museum**, the **University of Reading** History Department, **Museum of English Rural Life** (MERL), Ashmolean Museum, and Dick and Jill Greenaway. The Air Photograph Group is no longer part of the BAS, and the location of these photographs is unknown (Andrew Hutt, pers. comm.). The Reading University photographs could also not be located. Reading Museum and the BAS both sponsored a number of aerial reconnaissance flights in the 1950s and 1960s (Berkshire Archaeological Society, 1961, p. 62; Reading Museum, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1964), although few of these covered the study area. Reading Museum retains a collection of aerial photographs, although these are not indexed on their main collections database. The MERL was contacted for this project, but did not respond in time to be included here. The **Maidenhead Heritage Centre (MHC)** also holds a collection of oblique aerial photographs, which are accessible online (Maidenhead Heritage Centre, 2018b), although the majority of these are of the urban area of Maidenhead in the 20th century. These photographs also lack coordinates, and so have not been collected for this project.

Mosaic

The earliest aerial photography mosaics for Britain were the **Ordnance Survey Photo Maps**, produced from 1944-51 as a cheaper alternative to traditional mapping. These images covered the study area at 1:10,560 scale (Board, 2004), but it was not possible to locate copies of these maps.

The most accessible modern aerial photography mosaics are those available through free online programmes such as **Google Maps/Earth**. At the time of survey, both the satellite images (Source: Landsat/Copernicus) and aerial photograph mosaics (Source: Google) used on Google Maps date from 2018. It is also possible to view previous versions of these mosaics through the Google Earth desktop application, which currently holds satellite imagery of the study area from 1984 onwards. This

combination of frequent updates and easily accessible archived material make these programmes an extremely useful if under-used resource.

Recent aerial photography is also available from the Environment Agency and Digimap. The **Environment Agency** provides vertical photograph mosaics at 20cm resolution, collected through targeted surveys since 2006 (Environment Agency, 2017d), and oblique photographs collected since 2010, both through dedicated survey and in a more ad-hoc manner during incident response (Environment Agency, 2017c). These images only cover part of the north-western corner of the study area. **EDINA Digimap** provides mosaics at 25cm resolution from 1998-2016 (Source: Getmapping), with the study area having complete coverage from 2010 and 2015, and partial coverage from 2013 and 2014.

Aerial Photography Coverage

The results of the searches of these institutions are given in Table 1 and Appendix 01. The locations of these images have been mapped onto the GIS database, but the photographs themselves have not been collected or georeferenced. Figure 2 shows the distribution of oblique and vertical aerial photographs in the study area. From this it is clear that aerial photography has concentrated on the Thames river terraces in the north of the study area, with considerably fewer photographs taken of the interior. Only the NCAP contains a significant number of photographs of the south of the study area (most of which follows the line of the M4 motorway), and this may indicate a more general dearth of aerial photographs in Berkshire away from the Thames. The photographs stored at the BRO do cover these areas, however.

Collection	Oblique	Vertical	Mosaic	Date	Search
	images	Images	coverage		date
CUCAP	123	75	-	1948-99	20/07/2018
EDINA Digimap	-	-	Full	2010-15	21/06/2018
Environment Agency	120	-	Partial	2014	08/06/2018
Google Maps	-	-	Full	2018	23/07/2018
Historic England/ Britain From Above	321	?	?	-	20/07/2018
NCAP	16	386	-	1966-99	20/07/2018
Total	580	461			

Table 1 Aerial photographs from the study area



Figure 2 The distribution of aerial photographs in the study area.

Previous Research Using Aerial Photography

Aerial photography has been utilised in the study area for the identification and characterisation of both individual archaeological sites, and ancient landscapes more broadly. In terms of individual sites, numerous monuments on the Berkshire Archaeology HER were first identified through aerial photography, and many are only known as cropmarks, having undergone no subsequent ground examination. Several individual site publications note the use of aerial photography (Barnes & Cleal, 1995; Bennett, 1962; M. Cotton, 1957; Over, 1984), and it is commonly used in DBAs within the study area.

Whilst the upper Thames valley and West Berkshire Downs have been extensively studied using aerial photographs (Benson & Miles, 1974; Darvill & Locke, 1988; Levick, 2015; P. Rhodes, 1950; Riley, 1944; Small, 2002), there has been considerably less work in the middle Thames valley. An aerial photograph transcription exercise was undertaken by the BAS in 1973 (Gates, 1975, p. 18), but this does not appear

to have been published. C. Stanley of the MAHS was collecting aerial photographs in the late 1970s (Berkshire Archaeological Society, 1978, p. 93, 1980a, p. 108), but this appears to have been for a popular book (Stanley, 1984), rather than for archaeological purposes. Aerial photography surveys were also included in the EBAS (Ford, 1987).

Nevertheless, two significant surveys of aerial photography have been carried out in the study area. The earliest was Gates' (1975) survey, which looked at 25 years' worth of aerial photography in the middle Thames valley, from Goring to Wraysbury. This survey was limited to the Thames terrace gravels, omitting the higher ground of the study area due to poor cropmark visibility (Gates, 1975, p. 11). As such, only a small amount of the study area was surveyed. Nevertheless, this survey identified a number of new features in Wargrave (Gates, 1975, p. 36, Map 17), Aston (Gates, 1975, p. 42, Map 21), Hurley (Gates, 1975, p. 42, Map 24), Cookham (Gates, 1975, p. 44, Mp 26), and Maidenhead (Gates, 1975, p. 44, Map 17).

Subsequently, the majority of the study area was covered by the **National Mapping Programme**'s (NMP) Thames Valley study (Fenner, 1994). This survey, conducted by English Heritage's Aerial Photograph Interpretation & Investigation team from 1992-3, was a highly detailed systematic review of all available vertical and oblique aerial photography (although some recent vertical images taken for planning or infrastructure purposes were excluded (Fenner, 1994, p. 3)), which resulted in a doubling of known archaeological sites within the areas studied. The NMP covered 1450 km² of land in the Thames valley (Fenner, 1994, p. 2), including 118km² (77%) of the study area. Unfortunately, the results of this survey are not easily accessible. Although publication was planned (Fenner, 1994, p. 5), only an interim report for internal use by English Heritage and the RCHME was produced (Fenner, 1994, p. 6). This report contains summary analysis of different feature types, as well as distribution maps of different feature types, but does not provide a full transcription of the results. The results of some NMP projects were incorporated into local HERs, but this has not yet been achieved with the Thames Valley NMP (Fiona MacDonald pers. comm.). The raw data in the form of transcriptions of crop marks is only available through the Historic England Archive (Reference Numbers; AF1030395, AF1009202).

Future Prospects for Aerial Photography

Whilst aerial photography has been part of British archaeology for over a century, there are still opportunities to exploit this data further within the study area. There are parts of the study area, away from the Thames River, that have never been the subject of systematic aerial transcription. This could be rectified, although it may be necessary to undertake new aerial surveys to counteract the lack of photographs taken of the southern part of the study area.

Even in the areas that have undergone previous survey, it may be fruitful to revisit the aerial photography. New features are often recorded from old photographs, where much of the interpretation depends on the knowledge and research interests of the researcher (Brophy & Cowley, 2005, pp. 16–7). It is also likely that large numbers of aerial photographs have never been examined by archaeologists (Barber, 2011, p. 10); particularly recent vertical photo mosaics, and recently digitised archive collections. Ideally, any features identified should be followed up by fieldwork (Brophy & Cowley, 2005, pp. 20–2), and LiDAR (see below) should be incorporated into any new study of aerial photography.

Despite the previous studies of aerial photographs in the study area, new features continue to be found, including several features of possible Roman date identified in just the last few years (see below). The incredibly dry summer in which this project was carried out provides an excellent illustration of the need to revisit old and new aerial photography collections. During this project, Paul Seddon identified new Google Earth images showing the foundations of the Weycock Hill temple (Figure 3); the first time they have been visible from the air in decades.



Figure 3 Images from Google Earth showing the Weycock Hill Temple in 2017 (left) and 2018 (right). Dry conditions in the summer of 2018 have made the temple foundations clearly visible, and suggest that their destruction in the 19th century was incomplete.

Moreover, the focus of research could be shifted away from the identification of individual sites and towards an appreciation of the usefulness of aerial survey for characterising ancient landscapes (Bradford, 1957; Brongers, 1976; Fowler, 2000; Riley, 1980; Stoertz, 1997). A final key priority for the future should be the incorporation of the NMP survey data into the Berkshire HER.

Lidar

Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) is an airborne survey technique developed in the 1960s and 70s. LiDAR scans small variations in ground elevation using a laser device mounted to an aeroplane (Bewley, Crutchley, & Shell, 2005, p. 637; Devereux, Amable, Crow, & Cliff, 2005, p. 651; Levick, 2015, p. 56). The data produced from these surveys can be manipulated within GIS programmes into Digital Elevation Models (DEMs). Whereas the visibility of sites on aerial photography is limited by the possible positions of the sun, by using the 'Hill Shade' function in a GIS programme, it is possible to position the light source of a DEM in any position (Bewley et al., 2005, p. 637; Devereux, Amable, & Crow, 2008, p. 470). Two types of DEM exist; Digital Surface Models (DSMs) record the landscape as-is, whilst Digital Terrain Model's (DTMs) strip the vegetation from the surface of a landscape (Devereux et al., 2005). The twin abilities to manipulate lighting to highlight extremely subtle features, and to reveal features obscured by vegetation, make LiDAR an extremely useful tool for identifying features which may not be visible on the ground or in aerial photographs.

LiDAR Resources

The increasingly widespread availability and high quality of LiDAR data has been one of the most significant advances in landscape archaeology of the past decade (Verhagen, 2012, pp. 311–2). Whereas a decade ago LiDAR data was prohibitively expensive for archaeological use (Challis, Kokalj, Kincey, Moscrop, & Howard, 2008, pp. 1060, 1063), high quality data can now be sourced for free. The LiDAR data used in this project was sourced from the Environment Agency (2017a, 2017b), under an Open Government Licence. Other sources of LiDAR data include the NERC Airborne Research and Survey Facility (Natural Environment Research Council, 2017). LiDAR renderings are also viewable freely on the House Prices (2018), LiDAR Finder (2018) and Enfield Archaeological Society (2018) websites.

Unfortunately, LiDAR coverage is not currently available for the entire study area. 90% of the study area is covered by 2m and 1m resolution survey (Figure 4), with a significant (12km²) gap in the centre, and smaller gaps in the NE (1km²), SE (2km²) and SW (1km²) corners. 50cm data is only available for very small areas in the north-eastern corner of the study area (Figure 5), and no 25cm data is available for the study area. However, the Environment Agency has plans to provide full LiDAR coverage for all of England by mid-2020 (Winter, 2017).



Figure 4 Map showing the extent of 1m DTM LiDAR coverage (Environment Agency, 2017a).

Previous Research Using LiDAR

Whilst the systematic application of LiDAR to historic environments was 'still in its infancy' ten years ago (Challis et al., 2008, p. 1055), there are now a growing number of studies utilising the tool, which could provide a model for future research in the study area. Several studies have shown how incorporating LiDAR to archaeological surveys can significantly increase the number of archaeological features identified, leading to enrichment of local HERs (Challis et al., 2008; University of Reading, 2018). Although mainly used to identify ancient sites, LiDAR has also been shown to be a useful tool for investigating modern archaeology (Stichelbaut & Cowley, 2016). Moreover, interpretative projects have shown that, by providing a more complete image of ancient landscapes than aerial photography alone, LiDAR is an extremely valuable tool for investigating wide areas as integrated archaeological landscapes (e.g. Manley, 2016). For example, Levick (2015) has incorporated LiDAR into their analysis



Figure 5 Map showing the extent of 50cm DTM LiDAR coverage (Environment Agency, 2017b).

of landscape change in the Berkshire Downs. However, to the author's knowledge, no archaeological survey of the study area has previously made use of LiDAR data. As LiDAR data can now be freely acquired and used by anyone, it should prove a valuable tool in the interpretation of archaeology in the county by both professionals and amateurs alike. Exploring the potential of this data is therefore a key aim of this resource assessment.

Future Prospects for LiDAR

In order to explore the possibilities of LiDAR research in the study area, a small pilot study has been carried out. LiDAR was used to examine areas of National Trust common land near Maidenhead, at Pinkney's Green, Little Thicket, and Maidenhead Thicket (Figure 6), where Paul Seddon (pers. comm) had previously identified linear features. These areas are especially interesting, as there is no evidence from historic mapping for their ever having been anything other than uncultivated common land.



Figure 6 Map showing the location of the fields surveyed (OS 1:25,000 map supplied by EDINA Digimap).

Following Levick's (2015, p. 62) recommendation, the 1m DTM data from the Environment Agency (2017a) was processed into four hill shade images, showing light projected from the NE, SE, SW and NW (45^o altitude, Z factor 9). Others recommend using as many as 16 different lighting directions (Devereux et al., 2008, p. 471). These LiDAR plots were used to identify features not visible as paths, field boundaries etc. on modern maps or aerial photographs. These features were tagged in ArcGIS. Overlaying these plots with georeferenced historic maps allowed the features to be phased based on when they were first depicted. A field visit was conducted on 29/06/2018. This analysis revealed c.60 new linear features and 113 probable pits. The features which are most valuable to archaeologists are

those which do not appear on any historic maps. As these areas are depicted as waste ground on historic maps, the majority of the linear features discovered fall into this category.

On Pinkneys Green (Figure 7) and Little Thicket there are several linear features running roughly N/S and E/W. A few of these are visible on the ground as banks and scarps, but the majority could not be seen with the naked eye, and are only visible on LiDAR. These are convincing candidates for lynchets (Martin Bell pers. comm.), indicating the position of relict field systems. Their sub-square and sub-rectangular shape are characteristic of 'Celtic' fields, created by cross-ploughing with simple scratch ploughs (ards). Widespread field systems of this type have previously been identified on the Berkshire Downs (Ford, Bowden, Mees, & Gaffney, 1988; Levick, 2015; P. Rhodes, 1950), but these East Berkshire features were not previously recorded on either the Berkshire Archaeology or National Trust HERs. Whilst their date is uncertain, fields of this type have been found to date from the Bronze Age to the Roman period. However, it is also possible that these represent stock enclosures rather than ploughed fields, and as such they may be later in date, perhaps medieval (Grenville Astill pers. comm.). The fact that these features are so ephemeral may indicate an early date. On Little Thicket these features are overlain by numerous linear marks running NE/SW. These may indicate later ploughing on these fields; potentially during WWII, but also potentially earlier.



Figure 7 LiDAR plot showing features at Pinkneys Green, Maidenhead (1m DTM supplied by the Environment Agency).



Figure 8 LiDAR plot showing features at Little Thicket and Maidenhead Thicket, Maidenhead (1m DTM supplied by the Environment Agency).



Figure 9 LiDAR plot showing features at Maidenhead Thicket, Maidenhead (1m DTM supplied by the Environment Agency).

In the southern part of Maidenhead Thicket are a number of linear features defining longer, narrower enclosures, also oriented N/S and E/W. Due to obscuring tree cover, these are not visible on the ground. Fields of similar shape are also visible to the NW of Little Thicket. These are likely to be strip fields, dating the medieval period or later, although it is also possible that they represent earlier stock enclosures (Smith, Allen, Brindle, & Fulford, 2016). Their presence is interesting, as they suggest that this area of common land within a Forest was cultivated at some stage. Another possible earthwork in Maidenhead Thicket is not obviously associated with a field system. This feature runs E/W from the SE corner of the Iron Age enclosure at Robin Hood's Arbour. This association with the enclosure may indicate a prehistoric date for this feature. This feature was not easily visible from the ground. However, where it was crossed by a vehicle path, two parallel bands of disturbed chalk were visible. It is possible that these represent the truncated remains of banks either side of a hollow, perhaps a trackway. There was an entrance in the eastern bank of Robin Hood's Arbour, although not in the south-eastern corner (M. Cotton, 1961, fig. 1). Without further exploration this must remain a highly tentative identification.

The numerous pit features seen in this pilot study are much more readily visible from the ground, and have been noted on the Berkshire Archaeology HER (00587.00.000 - MRW949, MRM16513). The HER posits two possible explanations for these pits; as WWI trenching exercises, or as post-medieval chalk or flint quarries. The fact that several of those in the south of Maidenhead Thicket are visible on 19th century maps rules out the first option for some at least. The date of these features is unclear. The fact that they are more visible than the linear features may suggest that they are later, and the fact that some appear on 20th century maps but not earlier may suggest a late post-medieval or modern date. Nevertheless, in places they seem to respect the same alignments as the earthworks, and they could be of varied date. Borehole survey could reveal the purpose and date of these features with greater clarity than LiDAR alone.

This pilot exercise also highlights some limitations of LiDAR data. Some features visible through other methods are not be visible on LiDAR (Challis et al., 2008, p. 1055); the low resolution of available LiDAR in the study area means that several small earthworks in Maidenhead Thicket, identified through field survey by the EBAS (Matthews, 1988) and recorded on the Berkshire Archaeology HER as possible WWI features (01963.00.000-MRW3871, 01963.01.000-MRW7203) and a disused trackway (06412.00.000-MRW7202), are not visible. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the EBAS survey of the Thicket did not identify any of the ephemeral linear features visible on LiDAR. A further disadvantage of LiDAR is that, as a recently developed technique, there is no data preceding the widespread intensification of agriculture and construction in the 20th century; as such, many features will have been destroyed before there was the opportunity for LiDAR to pick them up (Challis et al., 2008, p. 1058; Levick, 2015, pp. 56–7). In the study area, features such as the prehistoric bank and ditch excavated at Maidenhead Thicket in 1982 (Bowden, Ford, & Gaffney, 1982) are only visible on LiDAR in a heavily truncated form.

There are other parts of the study area to which LiDAR can make a substantial contribution to our understanding. Even a cursory look at the LiDAR shows that relict field boundaries of the type observed in Maidenhead Thicket are widespread over much of the study area. Significant systems can be seen to the north of White Waltham, between Ruscombe and Waltham St Lawrence, at Wargrave, Remenham, Hurley, Cookham Rise, Cock Marsh, Stud Green, Frogmill Farm, White Place Farm and Shottesbrooke, and even on the high ground at Remenham Hill. This is a significant discovery. Previously, archaeological attention has been focussed on the chalk downland in the west of the county (Ford et al., 1988; Levick, 2015; P. Rhodes, 1950), or on the low lying Thames river gravels (Benson & Miles, 1974; Gates, 1975). This in part reflects the fact that aerial photography produces

clear images of these areas. However, LiDAR shows that these systems are more widespread in the comparatively underpopulated landscape of East Berkshire than previously thought (Grenville Astill pers. comm.). These systems provide the opportunity to examine how communities lived within atypical landscapes, and deserve further investigation.

Individual sites can also be usefully explored with this tool. LiDAR images of the possible DMV at Shottesbrooke show prominent boundary features and ridge-and-furrow. This provides a valuable supplement to the aerial photography used by Over (1984) in initially identifying the site, and deserves further attention. Another area where LiDAR could be important is the Cockmarsh barrow cemetery. Five barrows are currently recorded on the Berkshire Archaeology HER. However, LiDAR shows ephemeral changes in ground level to the south of these barrows. Whilst these features are not strong enough to rule out the possibility that they are merely natural anomalies, it is also possible that these could indicate the positions of further damaged barrows. Further exploration is required here to confirm this.



Figure 10 LiDAR plot of the Cock Marsh barrow cemetery. Arrows mark the position of anomalies (1m DTM data supplied by the Environment Agency).

2. 2 Archaeological Fieldwork

The aim of this section is to examine the extent and nature of various types of archaeological fieldwork in the study area. Characterising the state of publication and archiving of this material was also identified as a key aim of this project. More detailed analysis of the findings of these interventions can be found in the period discussion below.

Identifying Fieldwork in East Berkshire

Appendix 03 contains an index of interventions known to have taken place within the study area. This list includes Desk-Based Assessments (DBAs), building surveys, evaluations, excavations, fieldwalking, geoarchaeology, geophysical surveys and watching briefs, but excludes chance finds made during construction and agriculture unless they were followed up by archaeological fieldwork (although it is not always clear whether this was the case).

The primary resource used to collate this information was the **Berkshire Archaeology Historic Environment Record (HER)**. Maintained by Berkshire Archaeology at the Berkshire Record Office, the HER aims to be the primary and most comprehensive resource for identifying archaeological work in the East Berkshire. The HER holds information about archaeological interventions primarily as 'Event' data. Some information about archaeological interventions also come from the HER's 'Monuments' data.

However, in order to test the completeness of the HER event data, this was cross-referenced with information from a number of other sources. The **Excavation Index for England (EI)**, maintained since 1978, contains records of c.76,000 archaeological interventions; mostly fieldwork carried out since 1960 (Historic England, 2011). Recently, this has been supplemented with information from the **Archaeological Investigations Project (AIP)**, funded by English Heritage and run by Bournemouth University, which aims to provide a comprehensive index of archaeological work carried out from 1990-2010 (Bournemouth University, 2012a). The resource is currently incomplete, but stores details of c.700,000 archaeological interventions from 1990-2006. These are searchable through the AIP website and ADS. The **Berkshire Archaeological Journal (BAJ)** was consulted both for full reports, and for the 'Notes' section, which provides short entries of ongoing fieldwork in the county (although the notes section does not appear in every edition; see Chadwick, 1982, p. 95). Direct contact was also made with the BAS (Anne Griffin and Andrew Hutt pers. comm.) and BARG (Janet Firth pers. comm.; Firth, 2009), and the archive of the MAHS was searched. A search was also made of published works (Booth et al., 2007; Hey & Hind, 2014; Lambrick & Robinson, 2009; Morigi et al., 2011; Morrison, 2015; Over, 1969, 1971; J. Platt, 2017; Wymer, 1968)

The Berkshire HER event data was found to be the most valuable resource for identifying archaeological activity in the study area. 473 events are recorded in the study area, including Desk-Based Assessments (DBAs), building surveys and geophysical surveys as well as excavations, evaluations and watching briefs. The HER contains details of developer-funded excavations in the study are that are not available through the ADS or other resources. At the outset of this study, it was believed that some local society activities, such as the geophysical surveys undertaken by the BAS at Canhurst Farm and by the BARG at Ffiennes Farm, had not been incorporated into the HER (Andrew Hutt pers. comm.). However, both do in fact already exist as event data.

Nevertheless, this is not an entirely comprehensive resource. Searches of other resources identified 63 interventions which were not recorded as distinct events on the HER. The majority of these are, however, recorded on the HER as part of the monument data entries. All of these are interventions which pre-date the establishment of the Berkshire HER, and reflect the fact that older excavations seem to have been added to the HER in an ad-hoc manner. Most of these are small interventions by

local groups, and it is difficult to find detailed information about these excavations. Many of them are only reported in short entries in the 'Notes' section of the BAJ. Others (such as HER 00456.00.000 -MRW745, a rumoured excavation in c.1972) are only known about through oral testimony or correspondence recorded on the HER, and will be almost impossible to trace further. It may nevertheless be valuable to create stub event records for these excavations, in case more can be discovered in the future. More problematic is the fact that some major 19th and 20th century excavations are also missing from the HER event data. These include the important excavations at Camley Gardens, Cox Green, Hoveringham Gravel Pit, Hurley Priory and Spencer's Farm.

Excavations, Evaluations and Watching Briefs

Three types of archaeological excavation have taken place within the study area. True **excavations** include both modern interventions in which a large area is exposed and excavated, and older interventions in which features were excavated but the nature of the fieldwork is unclear. **Evaluation** refers to the modern commercial practice of excavating a series of small test trenches across a site in order to evaluate its archaeological potential. **Watching Briefs** are targeted archaeological monitoring of clearance work on sites identified as having low archaeological potential. 326 interventions in the study area can be classed as excavations, evaluations or watching briefs.

Only a small number of these interventions had been carried out in the study area before the 1990s (see also Gates, 1975, p. 18), after which the number increases greatly (Figure 11). There are some issues with comparing the figures from modern and historic interventions. A modern intervention might be recorded on the HER as several separate events, including pre-excavation assessment, geophysical survey, evaluation and excavation, whereas antiquarian excavations taking place over multiple years have only a single entry. Nevertheless, this increase in activity from the 1990s is without doubt due primarily to the effect of PPG16 and the institution of the commercial archaeological system, and reflects a wider national trend (Bournemouth University, 2012b, fig. 1). Currently, there are between 15-25 new interventions every year, with the vast majority being carried out by Thames Valley Archaeological Services (TVAS) and other commercial units (Table 2).



Figure 11 Graph showing the number of interventions per 5-year period in the study area.

Organisation	No. of Excavations, Evaluations and Watching Briefs
Thames Valley Archaeological Services	133
Oxford Archaeology	24
Wessex Archaeology	23
John Moore Heritage Services	22
20th Century Excavators	20
Maidenhead Archaeological and Historical Society	12
Foundations Archaeology	11
Antiquarian Excavators	10
Archaeological Solutions Ltd	10
Archaeological Project Services	9
AOC Archaeology	6
Archaeological Services & Consultancy Ltd	6
Cotswold Archaeology	6
Museum of London Archaeology Service	5
Berkshire Archaeological Unit	4
Pre-Construct Archaeology	4
Archaeology South-East	3
Berkshire Field Research Group	3
Middle Thames Archaeological Society	3
Berkshire County Council	2
Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust	2
Marlow Archaeological Society	2
Berkshire Archaeological Services	1
CKC Archaeology	1
Henley Archaeological and History Group	1
Icknield Archaeology	1
Minas Tirith Ltd	1
Reading Museum	1
RSK Environmental Ltd	1

Table 2 Table showing the number of excavations carried out by different organisations in the study area.

The majority (57%) of excavations in the study area have found nothing older than post-medieval remains. There is a general trend for more recent periods to show up in more interventions, although there are also notable dips in the Iron Age and Early Medieval periods (Figure 13).



Figure 13 Graph showing the number of interventions by period.



Figure 12 Heat map showing the distribution of archaeological excavations in the study area.

Even since before the institution of the commercial system, rescue has been the primary motivator for archaeological work in the study area; whether in advance of gravel extraction, infrastructure or construction. However, the modern developer-funded archaeological system does not produce the same type of excavation as earlier ad-hoc rescue archaeology. All sites are now monitored for archaeological potential, and this accounts for the high incidence of 'negative interventions', in which no features, or only recent features, were found. Earlier interventions of this type would not have been recorded. Unsurprisingly, as a result of the dominance of developer-funded excavations in the area, the distribution of excavations closely follows the modern settlement pattern, with dense concentrations around the centres of modern Maidenhead, Cookham, Bisham, Hurley, Twyford and Wargrave (Figure 12).

The antiquarian excavations at Weycock Hill and Hurley Priory, Molly Cotton's excavations at Weycock Hill and Robin Hood's Arbour, and the small interventions carried out by local archaeological groups are the only excavations to have been carried out for research purposes where there was no immediate threat of destruction to the site. The Spencer's Farm excavation could also be considered primarily a research excavation, although it was conducted under the threat of development of the site.

Of the 327 excavations to have taken place within the study area, 294 (89%) have been written up into a report of some kind. However, very few of these reports (only 5%) have been published as full reports in journals and monographs. Notes in the BAJ and other publications exist for some excavations, and in the case of excavations in which nothing was found, these are sufficient publication.



Figure 14 Graph showing the nature of reports of excavations in the study area (total = 327).

The majority of sites (83%) only exist as grey literature reports. However, this is no longer the barrier to dissemination that it once was. The majority (71%) of these fieldwork reports are available online through the Archaeological Data Service (ADS) and institutional repositories. Almost all of these can be downloaded for free, although some have a small charge (e.g. HOLB/17/09). These include both digital-native reports, and older reports which have been digitised by the excavators, although coverage varies between institution (Table 3), and reports from now-defunct organisations are rarely uploaded. Whilst older issues of the BAJ have recently been uploaded to the ADS (Hutt, 2011), none

of the 8 sites written up as reports by local societies are available online, and the societies themselves do not hold complete digital archives of these reports.

Organisation	% of Grey Literature Reports Available Online
Cotswold Archaeology	100
Icknield Archaeology	100
Thames Valley Archaeological Services	90
Archaeological Project Services	89
John Moore Heritage Services	82
Pre-Construct Archaeology	75
Archaeological Solutions Ltd	70
Museum of London Archaeology Service	60
Archaeological Services & Consultancy Ltd	50
Oxford Archaeology	46
Wessex Archaeology	35
AOC Archaeology	33
Archaeology South-East	33
Foundations Archaeology	18
Berkshire Archaeological Services	0
Berkshire Archaeological Unit	0
Berkshire County Council	0
CKC Archaeology	0
Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust	0
Minas Tirith Ltd	0
RSK Environmental Ltd	0

Table 3 Table showing the percentage of grey literature reports available online.

Owing to the dominance of negative interventions, 158 (48%) of these publications contain no specialist reports. Where they do, pottery reports are the most common (Figure 15). Smallfinds reports are dominated by reports on worked flint, with very few other registered finds having been published. Both of these types of report vary greatly in quality; most are only brief descriptions and tabulated quantifications of the material found, with only a few containing illustrations and discussions of the material. Reports on CBM and worked stone are mostly very cursory. Very few reports contain specialist discussions of faunal assemblages or environmental remains. As such, the palaeoenvironment of the study area is poorly understood. The rarity of coin reports reflects the low number of coins found. However, this is not entirely the case with human bone, as at least one excavation which uncovered human remains (SMW 06/28) lacks a human bone report.



Figure 15 Graph showing the number of specialist reports from excavations in the study area.

28 interventions (9%) have no known report. These are disproportionately older excavations, carried out between 1883-1979 by various independent excavators and the MAHS. Among these sites are a number of locally significant excavations, at Castle Hill, Cock Marsh, Feen's Farm, Hoveringham Pit, Prior's Pit, and Spencer's Farm. It is not clear whether it would be possible to bring these sites to publication. There is precedent for this in the study area. The Moor Farm site, excavated from 1970-72, was eventually published in the BAJ in 1993. The excavations at the Hoveringham gravel pit (1963-73) were reportedly written up for publication in the BAJ at the time, but this report was not published (Firth, 2009, p. 126). The whereabouts of this report is currently unknown, but if located it could be brought to publication. Of these sites, Spencer's Farm has the greatest potential to be brought to publication. The archive is complete, and currently in the possession of Janet Firth of the BARG, who have recently organised and deposited the finds archive with Reading museum. However, work on the publication of this site is not currently underway.

The archive location is only known for 81 excavations, almost all of which are stored at Reading Museum. Reading Museum was the main archive for archaeological material from the study area until 2011, after which budget restraints have forced it to cease accepting material from excavations outside of Reading itself (Reading Borough Council, 2016, p. 18). Some more recent excavation reports note that the excavating organisations will simply hold on to their site archives until a location can be found for them (e.g. LAGC 15), although it is unclear where this might be. The MAHS stores its finds archives at the MHC (Nick Forder, pers. comm.), although the location of the paper archives is unknown. The BAS does not have any archives of excavated objects, all of which have been returned to the owners of the land on which their interventions took place (Anne Griffin, pers. comm.). The Spencer's Farm paper archive is held by Janet Firth of the BARG, although the finds archive is held at Reading Museum.

Fieldwalking Surveys

Fieldwalking entails the systematic collection of archaeological material from recently ploughed fields. This section deals only with dedicated fieldwalking surveys only, excluding chance finds made when walking fields, although poor recording often makes it difficult to differentiate the two.

15 field walking surveys are recorded in the study area (Figure 16). The majority of these are small exercises undertaken by local societies and individuals, about which little information is available. However, two large scale fieldwalking exercises initiated by Steve Ford constitute some of the most significant archaeological work undertaken in the study area. The most important of these is the **East**



Figure 16 Map showing the location and extent of fieldwalking surveys in the study area.

Berkshire Archaeological Survey (EBAS) (Ford, 1987). Undertaken in 1983-85, the EBAS covered 82 fields (21km²) in East Berkshire, including 47 (13km²) in the study area. The **Loddon Valley Survey (LVS)** was conducted on similar lines to the EBAS (Ford, 1997), but only covered three fields (0.9km²) in the study area. Field walking has also been incorporated into commercial archaeological projects at Stubbings House, Hogoak, and Junction 8/9 of the M4. The HER records fieldwalking having taken place as part of the rescue work undertaken in advance of the Nuffied to Ascot Pipeline, however it is unclear from the report for this site how much of the area was walked, and there is no map of examined fields.

Calculating the total area covered by these surveys is unfortunately not possible, as detailed information about survey methods, and maps of the surveyed areas, could not be found for most sites. Nevertheless, the EBAS alone covered an impressive 8% of the entire study area, and it is likely that in excess of 10% of the study area has been covered by fieldwalking.

Unlike excavation, fieldwalking in the study area has been undertaken primarily for research rather than rescue purposes. The EBAS and LVS were research driven from the start, aiming to increase our understanding of the archaeology of neglected areas of the county. Both surveys discovered a large number of new archaeological sites, information about which has been incorporated into the Berkshire Archaeology HER as monument data. Both projects were published in full soon after completion, with discussions exploring the significance of these sites to our understanding of the area. There has been less interpretive work of this kind for the results of fieldwalking by local groups. A notable exception is Fairclough's (2006) unpublished report on Ruscombe Lake, which analysed finds located during fieldwalking by the MAHS in the 1970s, as well as material found by the EBAS. It is doubtful whether the results of other fieldwalking surveys could usefully be brought to publication, however. Information about these surveys is difficult to find; some are reported on the HER but nowhere else, whilst others are only known from unpublished local society reports. Five of these surveys are archived at Reading Museum, but the locations of the finds from smaller society surveys are unknown. Fairclough (2006 p.16) relates the existence of two worked flint archives from fieldwalking by the MAHS, the records of which have been completely destroyed by fire.

Fieldwalking in the study area seems to be a phenomenon of the previous century, with the most recent survey having been undertaken in 1995. However, whilst large parts of the study area have been subject to research-led fieldwalking surveys, there remain large amounts of ploughed land that could be fruitfully investigated. Fieldwalking allows large areas of land to be investigated quickly, whilst causing minimal disturbance to the archaeology. Unlike remote sensing techniques (aerial photography, LiDAR and geophysics), fieldwalking also provides dateable finds. Future work could also incorporate fieldwalking with other survey methods, such as geophysics and metal detector surveys. As fieldwalking requires minimal resources other than manpower, it is a potentially useful method for exploitation by local societies.

Geoarchaeological Survey

Geoarchaeology uses the methods of earth sciences to answer archaeological questions. Geoarchaeological analysis can provide important information about agricultural practices, land use, and the ancient climate. Understanding surface formation also helps us to identify archaeological sites. For example, accurately mapping floodplain alluvium could allow us to identify which areas show as blank on aerial surveys due to features being buried (Day, 2003; Fenner, 1994, p. 4). Through geological survey, we also have the opportunity to identify stratified later prehistoric sites, and identify geologies likely to produce evidence of deep prehistory. Unfortunately, only 11 dedicated geoarchaeological interventions are recorded on the field work index. These include the recording of sections through gravel pits in the 20th century (Harding & Bridgland, 1999; Harding, Bridgland, Madgett, & Rose, 1991; Wymer, 1968), and more recent test pits and auger surveys conducted by both commercial units and local societies. No sophisticated scientific techniques have been used here. However, there are other sources of geoarchaeological information in the study area. The British Geological Society's borehole data is freely available, providing information of hundreds of boreholes in the study area. Whilst these may not always have been recorded at a level of resolution desirable for archaeological purposes, they do provide widespread coverage. Topographical and geological descriptions are also part of most grey literature reports. As such, even negative interventions can be used as a source of information about soil composition in the study area.

Geophysical Survey

Geophysical survey is currently a popular method of archaeological work in the study area. 32 geophysical surveys are recorded on the study area fieldwork index (Figure 17), roughly half of which were carried out in the last decade. These surveys are split evenly between those carried out by commercial archaeological units as part of developer-funded interventions (16), and those carried out for research purposes by local societies and Universities (16). With key groups now owning their own survey equipment (Hutt, 2013), its use is likely to continue expanding. Whilst poor publication (see below) makes it difficult to establish what methods have been used, there appears to be a roughly even split between resistivity and magnetometry surveys, with no use of ground-penetrating radar in the study area.

Unfortunately, no geophysical surveys in the study area have been published. Of the 16 surveys undertaken by commercial units, only three have grey literature reports which are available on the ADS. Of those undertaken for research purposes, 9 have been written up as reports by local societies, but these are only available as hard copies circulated amongst the members. There are also some issues with using these reports. The report for Punt Hill gives no coordinates to locate the survey, whilst those given for Canhurst Farm appear to be inaccurate. It is not clear what has happened to the original data gathered in these surveys.

The lack of accessible information about these surveys means that it is impossible to comment on the scope or results of these surveys in a meaningful way at this stage. Nevertheless, it appears that survey work in the study area has focussed individual sites, with those by local societies being on a small scale. It would be possible here to suggest sites that would merit further exploration with geophysics; such as the Cock Marsh barrows, Hurley Priory, or Shottesbrooke DMV. However, geophysics can also be used to explore wider interconnected landscapes. With the potential for landscape archaeology in the area already having been highlighted through the field systems and other features visible on LiDAR, there is the potential for geophysical survey to make a major contribution to our understanding of the evolving landscape of the area (see Levick, 2015 for similar work in West Berkshire). As they now own the necessary equipment, local societies could be key to carrying out this work.


Figure 17 Map showing the distribution of geophysical surveys in the study area.

01) Hall Place - Stratascan 2016. 02) Pillar Lodge, Archaeological Project Services, 2013. 03) Park Place, Archaeological Project Services, 2011. 5) St Mary's Church, Wargrave, Berkshire
Archaeological Services, 2002. 06) Ruscombe Church, BARG, 2011. 07) Bear Ash, Stratascan, 2011. 08) Canhurst Farm, BAS, 2015. 09) Weycock Hill, University of Reading, 2013. 10) Lower Lovetts Farm, BARG 2010-1. 11) Park Place, Stratascan, 2004-5. 12) Ffiennes Farm, BARG, 2010-11. 13) MSA M4, Oxford Archaeotechnics Ltd. 14) National Sports Centre, Chiltern Archaeology, 2006. 15) Priory Church, Stratascan, 2001. 16) Great How Tumulus, BARG, ?. 17) Cox Green School, Wessex Archaeology, 2007. 18) Cox Green Villa, BFRG, 1959. 19) Punt Hill, MAHS, 1986. 20) M4 Motorway, Geophysical Surveys of Bradford, 1995. 21) Cookham Cemetery Extension, MAS, 2008. 22) Kidwells Park, MAS, 2005. 23) Braywick Park, TVAS, 2017. 24) Holy Trinity Church, Minas Tirith Ltd 2001-2. 25) Cookham Church Area, Stratascan, 2010. 26) New Oldfield Primary School, Durham University Archaeological Service, 2013. 27) Sashes Island, Minas Tirith Ltd, 1995. 28) Cookham SE Odney, MAS, 2001-2. 29) Manor Nurseries, TVAS, 1996. 30) Boundary Elms, Stratascan, 2016. 31) Camley Gardens, G. Pike, 1964. 32) Cockmarsh, Chiltern Archaeology, 2006-7.

2.3 Artefact Collections

Excavations in the study area have produced only modest assemblages of artefacts from stratified contexts. For artefact research in the study area, we therefore have to turn instead to two major sources of unstratified objects; museum collections and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS).

Museum Collections

The most obvious place to search for archaeological material is in a museum. Although Berkshire has a number of long-established museums containing important collections, all of these institutions have complex histories, meaning that not all finds have made their way to the nearest or most obvious museum.

For this project, a search was made of 13 museums in the vicinity of the study area. Where the databases allowed, these museums were searched initially for finds recorded as coming from each of the parishes in the study area. Keyword searches were then performed for a list of key place names in each parish. Finally, a search was made for the key word 'Thames'. These searches were restricted to excavated objects, coins, and excavation archives. Social history and natural history objects (including fossils and bones dredged from the Thames) were not recorded, although these could also make a contribution to the archaeology of the study area. Data from the four museums in the West Midlands came from Watson et al. (1997). Details of the nature of these museum collections are given below.

The results of these searches are given in Figure 19. It should be noted that these results show the number of *accessions* in each museum, not the number of *objects*. The nature of accessioning is highly variable both within and between different museum collections. In some instances individual objects have been accessioned, in others a number might denote an entire collection. In many cases, objects have been accessioned multiple times at different levels.

Despite the search of museum collections undertaken for this project, it is inevitable that there will be (perhaps substantial) collections of artefacts from the study area contained within other museums across the country. Identifying these collections will be extremely difficult, as the nature of museum acquisitions is such that it is not always clear why certain artefacts entered a given museum. For example, in 1982 a number of flint axes from Maidenhead were donated to the British Museum (Acc. Nos 1982,1004.1325-84) by the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine; objects from the study area in Reading Museum were once kept in Ipswich Museum (Reading Museum, 1960, p. 53); whilst the HER records finds from Pinkneys Green in a museum in Saffron Walden, Essex (00598.01.000 -MRW965). The HER (00634.00.000 - MRW1033) also records that palaeoliths from the Cannoncourt Farm Pit 'are in public and private collections throughout the world'. Finally, whilst this project has recorded all objects which came from the Thames at the boundary of the study area, it must be noted that most museums contained artefacts recorded only as coming from 'the Thames'. In most cases, these objects were not recorded as there is no guarantee that they come from the study area. However, an exception was made for the 39 objects recorded in this way from the Buckinghamshire County Museum. We may expect that many of these derive from the study area, as this is where the majority of the Buckinghamshire border reaches the Thames. However, this is by no means certain, as other Thames objects from the museum have provenances from outside the study area (e.g. a pottery vessel (AYBCM : 1924.53.1) from Walton-on-Thames, Surrey).

Museums in Berkshire

The only archaeological museum in the study area itself is the **Maidenhead Heritage Centre (MHC)**, Maidenhead. This small museum has a collections remit covering the eastern part of the study area; the former Maidenhead Borough, former Cookham Rural District Council area, Bray, Holyport and Taplow (which lies outside the study area) (Maidenhead Heritage Centre, 2016, p. 3). This organisation has a complicated history. Its deep origins are in the Maidenhead Museum, founded by a bequest in 1904. This was gradually dissolved in the mid-20th century, with the collections being dispersed. Only the coins and medals from this museum were catalogued (Williams-Hunt, 1949), and the location of this catalogue is unknown. Some finds entered private hands before passing to Reading Museum (Rutland & Greenaway, 1972, p. 129), whilst the HER records several objects which were once part of this museum, but whose whereabouts are now unknown (e.g. 00581.00.000 - MRW8356, 00607.00.000 - MRW8376, 00422.00.000 - MWK8142). Some objects from this museum were later acquired by Brian Boulter (former Chair, MAHS), and displayed in the 'local history room' of the Reitlinger Museum of art, alongside objects owned by the Maidenhead Archaeological and Historical Society, until that too was dissolved in 1987 (Boulter, 2007; Wargrave Local History Society, 1999). The MHC itself, and the governing Maidenhead Heritage Trust, were founded in 1993 by the merger of the collections of the Maidenhead Civic Society and Maidenhead Archaeological and Historical Society (MAHS), becoming an independent charity in 1995, and receiving MLA accreditation in 2009. The Heritage Centre has operated in seven successive locations, opening in its current home in 2008 (Maidenhead Heritage Centre, 2016, p. 3, 2018a), and is likely to move again in the near future. The MHC has remained closely allied to the MAHS, with Brian Boulter being the honorary curator until 2015, when the first professional curator, Nick Forder, was appointed. As such, there is little separation between the collections of the MHC and MAHS, both of which are stored in the basement of the MHC.

The majority of the archaeological finds in the MHC derive from casual finds and nine excavation archives donated by the MAHS (Maidenhead Heritage Centre, 2016, p. 3), although the MHC has no paper records of these excavations (Nick Forder, pers. comm.). The MHC also has a learning/handling collection made up of miscellaneous archaeological finds from unknown sites (Nick Forder, pers. comm.). The collections are not fully accessioned, although this is ongoing. Documentation of the collections is poor, and there is considerable mixing of finds and records in the combined MHC and MAHS material stored in the basement, presenting a challenge to the current curatorial team.

By far the most significant museum collection for the study area is **Reading Museum**, Reading. Founded in 1883, Reading Museum was the only large public museum in the county until the 1960s, and became a significant archive for local archaeological finds. The Museum also undertook rescue excavations in the study area during the 20th century. Subsequently, especially since the 1990s, its collections remit has become more local, focussing on Reading itself, and no longer undertaking excavations of its own (Reading Borough Council, 2016, pp. 3, 16). In addition to local antiquarian finds, casual finds, and the archives of local excavations, the museum holds the Thames Water Collection; a significant archive of artefacts recovered from the Thames upstream of Teddington Lock and reported to the Thames Conservancy Board (Reading Borough Council, 2016, pp. 4, 18). Reading Museum has also historically acted as an archive for developer-funded excavations in the county, but since 2011 has ceased archiving excavations from outside of Reading Borough (Reading Borough Council, 2016, p. 18).

Other small collections in Berkshire have a few relevant objects. **Eton College** maintains a Museum of Antiquities, which contains two objects from the study area, alongside a number of unprovenanced finds from the Thames which were not recorded for this study. The **West Berkshire Museum**, Newbury, does not focus its collecting on the study area, but nevertheless has ten accessions from the study area, mostly Palaeolithic handaxes. The **Windsor & Royal Borough Museum** was also contacted, as they are known to possess material from the Cox Green villa, but did not respond in time to be included in this report.

Museums in Buckinghamshire

The Buckinghamshire County Museum, Aylesbury, is the primary museum for the county of Buckinghamshire. Originating in the collections of the Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society (founded 1856), the museum subsequently moved into Buckinghamshire County Council control (from 1957), and since 2014 has operated as The Bucks County Museum Trust (Bucks County Museum, 2018a). As well as holding material from Buckinghamshire (including objects from the Thames at the boundary of the study area), the museum holds (on Ioan) material collected by the Thames Valley antiquarian Lord Hambleden (Buckinghamshire County Council, 2013). The museum is currently the main repository for archaeological excavations in Buckinghamshire and Milton Keynes, and the host institution of the Buckinghamshire FLO (Bucks County Museum, 2018a). Bucks County Museum uses a MODES database, which can be searched online (Bucks County Museum, 2018b). The museum contains a small number of finds from Berkshire, but most of those relevant to the study area were found in the River Thames. The majority of these objects are single archaeological finds, although some are group entries for multiple finds. These mostly have very poor provenance, and none has detailed archaeological context. The collection contains no relevant excavation archives.

The **Marlow Museum** and **Wycombe Museum** were also contacted for this project, but were unable to provide information about their collections in time for this report. Neither is likely to contain significant collections of material from the study area.

Museums in Oxfordshire

As a prominent University town, several museums in Oxford have acted as magnets for archaeological finds from the surrounding area and beyond, although the number of objects from the study area in these museums is small. A search of the **Ashmolean Museum**'s catalogue revealed 26 accessions, including pottery from Camley Gardens, the majority of which is stored at Reading Museum. The Pitt Rivers Museum has a searchable online database (Pitt Rivers Museum, 2012), which revealed 57 relevant objects, the majority of which are casts of post-medieval bell founders' marks.

The **River and Rowing Museum**, Henley, also contains material from the study area, although much of this is of a later period than that covered here. The only archaeological object on their online collections is the Early Medieval dugout boat from Shottesbrooke (Acc. No. 1997.138).

Museums in London

The **British Museum** contains the second largest number of accessions from the study area after Reading Museum. A search of the British Museum's Collections Online revealed 526 accessions, which derive from two main sources. The collection is mostly comprised of objects donated by prominent 19th and 20th century archaeologists, including a significant number of pieces donated by John Wymer, the prominent Palaeolithic archaeologist and local resident. Significantly, the museum also contains hundreds of objects purchased by the museum after being declared Treasure. 185 of these objects are Iron Age coins from a hoard at Waltham St Lawrence (Burnett, 1990).

The **Museum of London** was also contacted, as their collections contain a significant number of objects recovered from the River Thames. However, it was not possible to get a response in time for this report.

Museums in the West Midlands

Information about the collections of museums in the West Midlands comes from Watson et al. (1997), who have published a list of finds from Berkshire kept in public museums in the county. Four museums in this county contained 29 accessions from the study area. Whilst it is unclear how the majority of these finds came to be here, the largest acquisition, ten Iron Age coins from Waltham St Lawrence,

was donated to the Birmingham City Museum by a collector, who had purchased them in London (see Burnett, 1990).

Museum Collections in East Berkshire

In total, 4,040 museum accessions were recorded in the study area (Appendix 04). The largest collection was Reading Museum, distantly followed by the British Museum (Figure 19). By far the largest number of these objects date to the Palaeolithic period, although large numbers also come from the Roman and Medieval periods (Figure 18).



Figure 18 Museum accessions in the study area, broken down by period.



Figure 19 Museum accessions in the study area, broken down by collection.

Whilst most objects in museums have some form of provenance, there are issues with attempting to translate these into definite coordinates. Often only vague addresses, such as the name of a town or parish are given. In these cases, an arbitrary location in the centre of the relevant area has been assigned. In other cases, addresses are given for streets which no longer exist. Using the historic maps and HER data gathered for this project, it has been possible to locate most of these objects. A particular problem in this study area was identifying the exact locations of finds from gravel extraction pits. These are often given as the name of the company involved in extraction. Unfortunately, in many cases it was not possible to precisely identify the location of the pit.



Figure 20 Heat map showing the distribution of museum accessions in the study area.

The distribution of museum accessions in the study area neatly reflects the circumstances under which archaeological discoveries were made in previous centuries. The distribution of finds follows the modern settlement pattern, with a large concentration in the Maidenhead urban area. This differs significantly to the distribution of PAS finds (below). There are also large number of objects dredged from the River Thames. However, the densest concentrations of finds are collections of palaeoliths recovered from gravel extraction. It is also notable that Antiquarian and 20th century excavations show up far more prominently than more recent excavations accessioned at Reading Museum. This in large part reflects the greater number of objects found, but we also need to bear in mind accessioning practices. Some older excavations have individual accessions for each object, whilst more recent interventions may only be accessioned in bulk.

The ways in which these objects have been studied will be considered further in the period breakdown (below). However, it is worth noting that the sometimes chequered history of museum collections in the study area may have hampered research on these objects. Some collections are highly dispersed; the Camley Gardens material is split between the MHC (MAIHC : 1999.63), Reading Museum (REDMG : 1998.64), British Museum (1989,0305.1-25) and Ashmolean (ANTNB.3462), whilst coins from the Waltham St Lawrence hoard are found in both the British Museum and Birmingham Museum. This makes creating a comprehensive list or distribution map of these finds particularly challenging for researchers. The Berkshire Archaeology HER has records of 752 artefact findspots, forming a useful, if incomplete resource.

Beyond their use in academic study, museum collections are ideally placed to engage the public with archaeology. From this perspective, it is unfortunate that there are no major archaeology displays within the study area. The MHC has small displays of archaeological material, but the majority of excavated objects are kept in collections outside the study area, with the closest being in Reading Museum. Major finds from the area, such as the Waltham St Lawrence hoard, are not on display at all.

The Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)

One of the key new archaeological resources to have developed in the last two decades is the **Portable Antiquities Scheme** (PAS). Prior to the initiation of this scheme, it was estimated that as many as 95% of artefacts recovered through metal detecting in Britain were going unreported (Bland, 2009, p. 69; J. Williams, 2003, p. 55). The PAS was therefore established, between 1996-2003, as a nationwide voluntary recording scheme for archaeological discoveries made by the public. Under the scheme, Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs) based in local museums identify and record archaeological finds, most of which are made through metal detecting, onto a central online database (Bland, 2009; Pett, 2010). With the exception of finds legally defined as 'Treasure', there is no obligation on the part of the finders to report these artefacts, and those recorded by the PAS still represent only a sample of discoveries in the country. Nevertheless, the institution of the scheme has led to an expansion in the

number of finds reported (Byard, 2018, p. 103; J. Williams, 2003, p. 56).

Until recently, Berkshire currently had no dedicated PAS presence. A Berkshire FLO was appointed after the completion of this project, in late 2018. Previously, PAS duties were handled by the joint FLOs for Oxfordshire and West Berkshire, and Surrey and East Berkshire, although the Buckinghamshire FLOs have in fact recorded the largest number of objects from the study area (Table 4).

PAS Resources

Information about finds recorded by the PAS was downloaded from the finds.org database on 04/05/2018. 966 entries from the study area are recorded on the PAS (Appendix 05). The number of individual objects is slightly higher (1024) as some of these are group entries of multiple objects. The number of records was very low until 2009, when it suddenly increased, and has continued to increase most years since (Figure 21).

More than half (554) of the objects recorded are coins, with the remainder being a highly varied collection of mostly metal objects, none of which occurs in high numbers (the next most common objects are buckles, only 54 of which were recorded). There is currently some inconsistency between

Recorder	No. of entries
David Williams (SUR/BERK)	297
Margaret Broomfield (BUC)	246
Celtic Coins Index	227
Jennifer Moss (BUC)	58
Helen Hyre (BUC)	37
Ros Tyrrell (BUC)	27
Eleanor Ghey (BUC)	8
Kate Sumnall (LON)	8
Robert Webley (HAMP)	8
Kate Sutton (OX/BERK)	7
Sally Worrell (HAMP)	7
Arwen James (BUC)	5
Felicity Winkley (LON)	5
Richard Clark (BUC)	5
IARCH	3
Anni Byard (OX/BERK)	2
Julian Watters (BH)	2
Paula Levick (OX/BERK)	2
Angie Bolton (WAW)	1
Ciorstaidh Hayward Trevarthen (DOR)	1
Helen Fowler (CAM)	1
Jodi Puls (HAMP)	1
John Naylor (FAJN)	1
Liz Wilson (SUSS)	1
Sam Moorhead (FASA)	1
Vanessa Oakden (LVPL)	1
Vic Allnatt (WMID)	1
Walter (Jo) Ahmet (KENT)	1

 Table 4 Table showing the FLOs responsible for recording finds in the study area.

the terms used by different recorders, and therefore some of the identifications used here have been altered.

Method of discovery is recorded for 753 PAS finds, with the vast majority (744) having been recovered through metal detecting. Of the rest, six were discovered during gardening, and three during field walking. A further 213 finds were discovered by unrecorded methods. The vast majority of finds (702) remain in the hands of their finders, with only three having been donated to, or purchased by, a museum.



Figure 21 The number of new PAS entries created annually in the study area (excluding Celtic Coins Index finds).

Location coordinates are available for most finds (Figure 22). These were mostly identified using paper maps, based on the finders' own records or recollections, and may therefore be somewhat inaccurate. Where coordinates were not available, as with all finds from Twyford and one from Bisham (No. 900548), the finds have been assigned arbitrary coordinates in the centre of the parish. PAS finds are not distributed evenly across the study area (Figure 22). Some areas show dense concentrations of PAS finds in almost every period. The strongest of these concentrations is in the southern part of the study area, in the fields around White Waltham and Waltham St Lawrence. There is also a significant concentration on the southern bank of the Thames between Hurley and Marlow. Other areas are completely barren of PAS finds; particularly the high ground around Knowl Hill, Ashley Hill and Bowsey Hill in the north-west of the study area, and the Maidenhead urban area. It is important to remember that the circumstances of discovery will have had an effect on these distribution patterns. The major finds concentrations in the study area are all located on flat, accessible agricultural land around known archaeological sites. We can therefore infer that they have been created, in part, due to high metal-detectorist activity in these areas. As such they do not necessarily represent concentrations of activity in every period.



Figure 22 Heat map showing the distribution of all PAS finds in the study area.

Another consequence of the PAS focussing on metal-detected finds is that Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic (i.e. non-metal) finds are much less well represented than metal finds from later periods (Figure 23). These finds also follow different distribution patterns, and were much more likely to have been found through gardening or field walking (although the majority were still chance finds encountered during metal detecting).

When interpreting PAS data, it will be important to correct for these biases. One method would be to compare the finds of different periods to the overall distribution of PAS finds (Figure 22), to ensure that we are mapping changes in ancient activity within and between periods, and not only the activities of modern detectorists.



Figure 23 PAS finds from the study area divided by broad period.

Previous Research Using PAS Data

The PAS database can be accessed by anyone, although some objects are restricted to approved users. The PAS database is therefore used for a wide variety of research projects. At the time of writing, 617 research projects (including this one) are listed as taking place using restricted PAS data (Portable Antiquities Scheme, 2018b), and several published studies rely on PAS data (Brindle, 2014; Worrell, Egan, Naylor, Leahy, & Lewis, 2010). These are largely typological artefact studies (Brindle, 2014, pp. 1, 10), including significant regional and national surveys of objects and coins of all periods, by researchers based in Britain and abroad. The coins added to the PAS as part of the Celtic Coins Index are particularly well used (even before the PAS itself was established), and those from the study area have been incorporated into significant archaeological studies. For example, the Waltham St Lawrence hoard has been published (Burnett, 1990) and incorporated into wider coinage studies (Allen & Haselgrove, 1979; de Jersey, 2001). Studies which use this data to study landscapes are less common, but Brindle (2014, pp. 1, 10–14) and others have recently highlighted the usefulness of PAS data in assessing settlement patterns and characterising sites. Restricted PAS data is also now available to local HERs, ensuring that the evidence from these finds is taken into consideration when planning decisions are made (Portable Antiquities Scheme, 2018a; Fiona MacDonald pers. comm.).

However, with the PAS only having produced significant numbers of finds in the study area for the past 10 years, it is not surprising that this resource has been little used in local archaeological discussion within the study area. Recently, the PAS has produced a series of popular books in the '50 finds from...' series, but whilst neighbouring Oxfordshire (Byard, 2017), Hampshire (Hinds, 2017) and Surrey (D. Williams, 2016) have entries in this series, Berkshire does not. The Roman copper alloy PAS finds from Berkshire have recently been the subject of a cursory examination by Byard (2018), who highlights the main classes of object and picks out some interesting examples. Byard (2018, p. 109) also gives a call for further work quantifying and examining the distribution of these objects. With the PAS finds being such a new and growing resource, however, it is noticeable that Byard's distribution maps (Byard, 2018, fig. 8.1-2) are already somewhat out of date; the number of recorded finds in the study area having increased by c.40% since her data were collected in 2014.

Future Prospects for PAS Data

With PAS data having been little used at a local level, there is obviously considerable room for expanding the use of this resource within Berkshire. At its best, the PAS can be seen as a vast informal fieldwalking survey. The data certainly has its limitations and biases, and researchers must bear these in mind when drawing conclusions from this heavily selected dataset (Brindle, 2014, pp. 15–29;

Robbins, 2012, 2013). Nevertheless, following Byard, I would recommend that future studies look at these objects in a systematic way; both to understand the patterning and types of objects found here, and to identify archaeological sites and landscapes, and understand their character. The study area (and Berkshire itself) has been predominantly rural for most of history, and the PAS has considerable power to illuminate the lives of rural communities of the sort that are rarely subject to research excavations (Brindle, 2013, 2014, p. 14). A model for future integrated research in the area may be provided by a recent project in the Berkshire Downs (Levick & Sumnall, 2010). Here, the data from a series of large metal detecting rallies, carried out with PAS involvement and on-site recording, has been integrated with aerial photography data from the NMP, and data from local excavations, to reconstruct the agricultural landscapes of c.5.25 km² of land in the Berkshire Downs. This survey uncovered previously unknown Bronze Age occupation, ancient trackways, and Roman military presence (Levick & Sumnall, 2010, pp. 40–3).

Research at a national level on the PAS finds will no doubt continue, and the PAS has its own recommendations for future research projects using this data (Portable Antiquities Scheme, 2018c). The PAS is a model of open data, and can be researched by anyone, making it an ideal tool for study by local societies, students and researchers alike. Training for volunteers is available under the PASt Explorers scheme.

A significant change for the future is that Berkshire has recently been given its own dedicated FLO. Whilst it is a contentious issue whether archaeologists should actively promote metal detecting (Bland, 2009, p. 70), there is no question that encouraging engagement with the PAS is hugely beneficial to local archaeological research. The appointment of a Berkshire FLO will hopefully lead to even better engagement with local metal detectorists, and ensure a greater volume of accurately recorded archaeological finds from the county. As a particularly active area of local archaeology, the PAS has the opportunity to promote this archaeology to the general public; in particular to groups that have less engagement with traditional museums (Pett, 2010, p. 16). This can be achieved both through displaying PAS finds, and through engagement with metal detectorists and metal detecting societies. An entry in the '50 finds from...' series for Berkshire could also help spur interest in local archaeology.

2.4 Other Resources

Historical Maps

For the purposes of this project, only maps of the 19th century and earlier were considered relevant, although some later maps, particularly the Land Utilisation Survey maps of the 1930s-40s, have been used in other archaeological landscape studies (Levick, 2015, p. 34). Historic maps were identified by searching a number of different resources. The largest repository of relevant historic maps was the **Berkshire Record Office (BRO)**, whose collections can be searched online. This collection is not entirely comprehensive, however, and at least one map formerly held here has since been disposed of (Shottesbrooke (1716), D/EOS/P1; Wordie, 2000, p. 136). A smaller number of maps, mainly of the Cookham area, are kept at Maidenhead Library. A search was also performed of the online catalogue of the National Library of Scotland, which contains significant collections of historic maps in other institutions, including the British Library and National Library of Australia. A number of published sources were also consulted (Kain, Chapman, & Oliver, 2004; Kain & Oliver, 1995; Levick, 2015, pp. 34–6, 212; Oliver, 2013; Walne, 1955; Wordie, 2000).

Only a few detailed maps of the study area are known before the 19th century. Maps of small areas within parishes were produced sporadically for a variety of purposes. The earliest are estate maps, with several surviving from the early 17th century onwards (Table 5). A number of maps of 'waste' ground in Cookham (1825) were drawn up to accompany a court case (Matthews, 1988, Appendix C, 3-11), whilst others were made to accompany sales of land.

BRO Cat. Ref	Parish	Date	Title
D/EX1128/1	Bisham	1609	Map of the manor of Bisham surveyed by Elias Allen.
D/EX278/P1	Hurley	1609	Survey of the manor of Hurley in the Forest of Windsor, 'taken by Commissioners for the said purpose', by Elias Allen.
D/EN/P1	Wargrave	1686	Map of Wargrave, by Lew Andrewes, junior.
D/ESOS/P1	Shottesbrooke	1716	Described by Wordie (2000, 136) as 'a map formerly held at the BRO but now withdrawn, which according to the finding lists depicted about 900 acres of Shottesbrooke 'north of the commons'
D/EZ9/P1	Hurst	1723	
D/EX266/2/1	Cookham	1742	Plan of Knight Ellington manor (endorsed as Spencers Farm), Cookham.
D/EPC/P1	Bray	1744	Map of Bray.
D/EBK/P1	White Waltham	1750	Map of White Waltham by Josiah Ballard.
D/ESK/P1	Cookham	1762	Survey of estates in the manor of Cookham.
CPC113/18/3	Ruscombe ; Hurst	1763	Plan of estates in Sonning, Hurst, Ruscombe and Wokingham.
D/QR22/4/6	Bray	1774	Plan of Stroud manor, Bray.
D/EG/P8	Bray	1800	Map of Ockwell's Farm, Bray.
D/EZ9/P5	Waltham St Lawrence	1816	Map of The Park, Gardens, Lawns and Plantations at Billingbear the seat of the Right Honourable Lord Braybrooke, together with the adjoining Farms and Woods situate in the parishes of Waltham St. Lawrence, Binfield, Wokingham, and Hurst. By Frs. Hawkes.

D/EZ9/P6	Waltham St Lawrence	1816	Map of The Park, Gardens, Lawns and Plantations at Billingbear the seat of the Right Honourable Lord Braybrooke, together with the adjoining Farms and Woods situate in the parishes of Waltham St. Lawrence, Binfield, Wokingham, and Hurst. By Frs. Hawkes.
D/EBK/P4	Bray	1821	Map of Bray.
D/EN/P3	Windsor	1823	Map of Windsor Forest, by H Walter.
D/EX43/3/4	Cookham	1825	Maps of waste by G.J.R. Taylor.
D/ESK/P2	Cookham	1829	Map of Swineshead tithing and glebe lands in Cookham (Rogers Tything).
D/EX266/2/3	Cookham	1830	Map of Knight Ellington Farm, Pinkneys Farm and Langtons Farm, Cookham.
D/EX73/1/1/2	Bisham	1845	Plan showing land in Bisham.
D/EG/P7/1-2	Bray	1856	Map of Lowbrook's Farm, Bray.
D/43/28/3	Cookham	1859	Map of Cookham by James Bateman.
D/EX1187/1	Bray	1860	Map of Hawes Hill Farm, Bray, the property of Joshua Bates Esq., surveyed by Josiah Parkes C.E.
D/EG/P6/1-2	Bray	1863	Map of Foxley's Farm, Long Lane Farm in Touchen-end and Mount Skippet's Farm, Bray.
D/EG/P5/1-2	Bray	1890	Map of Cresswell's Farm and lands near Monkey Island, Bray.
C/CL/G1/17/2	Hurst	1894	Hurst, Broad Hinton and Whistley: formation and amalgamation map.
D/EX73/1/1/3	Bisham	1896	Plan of part of the parish of Bisham showing footpaths, 1856, copied by Frederick W Howard from the map deposited at quarter sessions [Q/RHI2/1856/4], and certified as a true copy by F Morland, Clerk of the Peace [1896].
D/EZ132/1	Cookham	1600- 1700	Map showing the Thames and its channels and surrounding fields between Cookham and Payes Wharf in Taplow.
D/ESK/P3/1	Cookham	1860- 1900	Plan of property at Winter Hill, Cookham.
D/ESK/P5	Cookham	1860- 1900	Plans of property at Winter Hill, Cookham and at Stubbings.
D/ESK/P6	Maidenhead	1892- 1898	Rough sketch maps of clay pits on Pinkney's Green.

Table 5 Catalogue of one-off maps of the study area in the Berkshire Record Office.

From the late 16th century, the study area appears on a number of maps showing overviews of Berkshire and neighbouring counties. These include maps by Christopher Saxton (1574), John Speed (1611), Joan Blaeu (1646), Herman Moll (1724), Thomas Badeslade and William Henry Toms (1741), Thomas Bowles (1761), and Emanuel Bowen (1756). However, these maps have very little detail, showing only the major towns and rivers, and are not useful for archaeological map regression. Some later maps (e.g. by John Carey (1789), Henry Teesdale and Co (1832)) show roads and land divisions in more detail, but the earliest of these, 'A Map of the County of Berks' (1762), is only a less detailed version of the larger John Rocque (1761) map (see below). More notable but equally problematic for their lack of detail are early maps of the Windsor Estates, including a 1595 map from an atlas belonging to William Cecil Lord Burghley, and a 1607 map by John Norden. The earliest map to show the whole county in detail, including the entirety of the study area, is John Roque's (1761) 'A Topographical Map

of the County of Berks...'. This map shows roads, buildings and town plans, but it is less accurate than later maps of the county. As such, it is difficult to rectify this map in a GIS programme without distorting it considerably (Figure 24). Part of the study area also appears on Thomas Pride's (1790) map of Reading.



Figure 24 The study area as it appears on John Rocque's (1761) map (Bibliothèque national de France). The level of distortion needed to display this map accurately can be seen in the way the joins between map sheets have beecome wavy.

From the early 19th century, a number of accurate maps are available for the study area. The most comprehensive of these are the **Ordnance Survey maps** (Oliver, 2013, pp. 232–3), multiple editions of which are available for the entire study area. The study area was mapped early on in the initial Ordnance Survey, with the first **Old Series** (one inch) map published in 1822 (Sheet 7; surveyed 1808-13, partially revised 1827-8). However, a preliminary drawing for this map, 'Reading 19' (c.1809), now held at the British Library, is an invaluable addition to the final printed version, showing more detail of land divisions, and areas of unenclosed land which had become enclosed by the time of the final publication. The Old Series map was later replaced with the 6 inch (1:10560) and 25 inch (1:2500) **County Series** maps (Sheets XXIII (surveyed 1875-8), XXIV (surveyed 1875), XXX (surveyed 1872-5) and XXXI (surveyed 1870-5); revised 1897-9, 1909-12, 1919-23, 1930-3), and later by the 1:2500 **National**

Grid maps (surveyed 1968-80). The most detailed 19th century OS maps are the **Town Plan** series, at 1:500 scale. Within the study area, only Maidenhead (1874) has a plan at this scale. Plans are also available for Henley-on-Thames (1877-8) and Marlow (1874), although these do not extend to the south bank of the Thames, and as such fall outside the study area.



Figure 25 The distribution of enclosure maps in the study area (Digitised enclosure maps © Berkshire Record Office).

Two further important sets of maps were produced in the middle of the 19th century as a result of the wide-ranging government-sponsored land reforms of the period. The earliest are the **enclosure maps**. Enclosure is the process of converting land from having common ownership and access rights to having a single owner with exclusive rights, or 'severalty' (Kain et al., 2004, p. 1). This involved both the reorganisation of open fields and meadows, and the enclosure of 'common' or 'waste' land (Kain et al., 2004, p. 3). Enclosures could be both 'informal' arrangements between landowners, or 'formal' parliamentary measures, although generally only the latter resulted in the drawing of enclosure maps (Kain et al., 2004, p. 9). Enclosure maps are available for 40% of the study area (62km², Table 6); slightly less than the 47.6% average for the county (Kain et al., 2004, p. 49). No maps are available for Bisham (which was already significantly enclosed by 1600 (Wordie, 2000, p. 20)), Hurley (which was enclosed

informally between 1733-1840 (Wordie, 2000, p. 87)), or Remenham (which was enclosed at an unknown date between 1634-1800 (Wordie, 2000, pp. 126–7)). These maps vary considerably in date; some are very early, but the Cookham maps significantly post-date the local tithe maps. This distribution of dates is typical of enclosure mapping in Britain and Berkshire more generally (Kain et al., 2004, fig. 6, Table 4; Wordie, 2000, p. xxviii). Pre-enclosure maps are generally uncommon (Kain et al., 2004, p. 40), but maps of Cookham from 1840 and 1859 allow the pre- and post-enclosure landscapes to be compared (Wordie, 2000, p. 51).

Cat. Ref	Parish	Map date
Q/RDC/78B	Binfield	1817
Q/RDC/101B	Bray	1817
Q/RDC/101C	Bray	1817
Q/RDC/94/A	Cookham	1852
Q/RDC/94/B	Cookham	1852
Q/RDC/94/C	Cookham	1852
Q/RDC/94/D	Cookham	1852
Q/RDC/94/E	Cookham	1852
Q/RDC/94/F	Cookham	1852
Q/RDC/61B	Hurst	1812
D/P100/26A-B	Ruscombe	1832
Q/RDC/34B	Sunninghill	1817
D/P141/26/1	Waltham St Lawrence	1805
Q/RDC/73B	Waltham St Lawrence	1815
CPC145/20/1	Wargrave	1818
CPC145/20/1	Wargrave	1818
D/P142/26A-B	White Waltham and Shottesbrooke	1810
MPA1/60/13	Windsor Forest (Bray)	1817

Table 6 Catalogue of Enclosure Maps of the study area in the Berkshire Record Office.

Contemporary with enclosure, and partly in response to it, was the reorganisation of the system of tithe payments given to the church following the Tithe Commutation Act (1836). This Act necessitated a detailed survey of agricultural land in Britain, leading to what has been described as 'the most complete record of the agrarian landscape at any period' (Kain & Oliver, 1995, p. 2). The **tithe maps** produced following the Act provide accurate field-by-field coverage of three-quarters of the country. Berkshire as a whole is particularly well served by tithe maps (Kain & Oliver, 1995, fig. 14), which are available for the entirety of the study area (Table 7). Although produced by a number of different cartographers, these maps are close contemporaries, all having been produced in the space of six years.

BRO Cat. Ref	Parish	Date
D/D1/19/1 ; D/EX365	Bisham	1852
D/D1/23/1B	Bray	1844
D/D1/43/1B ; D/43/28/1B	Cookham	1844
D/D1/72/1 ; D/EX278/P2	Hurley	1843
D/D1/100/1	Ruscombe	1841
D/D1/99/1	Remenham	1841
D/D1/111/1	Shottesbrooke	1844

D/D1/145/1	Wargrave	1841
D/D1/141/1	Waltham St Lawrence	1840
D/D1/142/1B	White Waltham	1846
D/D1/73/1	Hurst	1842
D/D1/113/1	Sonning	1852
D/D1/18/1	Binfield	1839
D/D1/73/1	Hurst	1842

Table 7 Catalogue of Tithe Maps of the study area in the Berkshire Record Office.

Also potentially relevant are maps of the Thames created for waterways management. The Henley Rivers and Rowing Museum contains large numbers of maps detailing short stretches of the Thames in the study area; others are held in the Berkshire Record Office (for example, in the Treacher collection; D/EX1457). Maidenhead Library contains 19th century maps of proposed bridges and



Figure 26 The distribution of tithe maps in the study area (Digitised tithe maps © The Genealogist and The National Archives).

footpaths. As these maps do not give many details of the land adjacent to the river, they have not been collected for this project.

Whilst OS maps are easily accessible from a number of sources, including most libraries, other maps are less easy to obtain. The Berkshire Records Office holds copies of all of the tithe and enclosure maps available for the study area (Tate, 1943; Walne, 1955). Digital copies of the enclosure maps can be downloaded for free from a dedicated website (Berkshire Record Office, 2018), whilst digital copies of tithe maps from the National Archives are available at a charge through the Genealogist website (Genealogy Supplies (Jersey) Ltd, 2018). The other maps housed in the BRO have not been digitised. Photographs were taken of these maps as part of this survey, but they are a poor substitute for professional digitisation, which should be a priority for the future.

Historical maps are used frequently by both local societies and commercial units in desk-based assessments prior to archaeological work in the county, and in the few research projects to have taken place here (e.g. the EBAS). However, these often rely heavily on the more accessible OS maps, and (understandably) make less use of the undigitised maps in the BRO. Historic maps, and other sources of information, have also recently been used by Berkshire Archaeology to undertake a Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) of the county (Herring, 2009).

It is hoped that the catalogue of maps provided here can be used to ensure a more systematic use of all relevant historic maps in future desk-based work by local societies and commercial units to inform future archaeological fieldwork. However, there are other ways in which historic maps could be exploited in the county. GIS opens up significant new opportunities to utilise historic maps alongside other evidence (e.g. aerial survey) in archaeological map regression exercises. Some of the older maps from East Berkshire show strip fields, making them especially useful for reconstructing agricultural history and land ownership. Historic maps could also be more fully exploited as a source of place name evidence.

Place Names

The etymology of place names has been a key source of evidence for land use from the Early Medieval period in the study area. Whilst historical resources are not part of this resource assessment, it is worth noting that place names have been well studied since the 19th century (Huntingford, 1934, 1935; Skeat, 1911; Stenton, 1911; Thoyts, 1891). The most comprehensive resources available are Gelling's (1973, 1974, 1976) survey, and the Survey of English Place-Names website (The English Place-Names Society, 2018).

Monuments and Listed Buildings

The Berkshire Archaeology HER records 1,269 monuments in the study area; significantly more than was listed for the entire county in the 1950s (Anon., 1955). Whilst the number of monuments increases over time, there are notable periods (the Iron Age and Early Medieval period) in which the number of monuments is conspicuously low. These monuments are discussed in more detail in the period breakdown below.



Figure 27 HER monuments from the study area divided by broad period.

Only 66 standing buildings are recorded on the Berkshire Archaeology HER. Only four of these predate the 17th century; surely an underestimate of the number of medieval buildings in the study area, some of which will have been recorded as monuments instead. Historic buildings have been surveyed by a number of local groups, and for the EBAS project (Ford, 1987). The fieldwork index records 27 building surveys. One area for future expansion would be the more widespread use of dendrochronological dating to provide accurate dates for the original construction of these buildings.



Figure 28 Buildings in the study area recorded on the HER, divided by broad period.

3. East Berkshire Through Time

This section will review the resources discussed above by period. A common refrain in earlier work is that this area of East Berkshire is not considered to be immensely archaeologically significant. From the text below, it should be clear that this can no longer be regarded to be the case. The amount of resources available for each period is variable, with different periods being represented more or less in different types of data (Figure 29). In some periods (the Palaeolithic, Bronze Age, Roman and Medieval periods) the study area contains sites of great interest, which can be used to further nationally-significant research agendas. In other periods, the archaeology is less spectacular, but no less important for what it tells us about the changing dynamics of the occupation of this area.



Figure 29 Graph showing the % of recorded resources available for each period.

At the outset, it was envisaged that this project would provide a new historical narrative for the study area. However, it soon became apparent that this would not be practical for several reasons. The first is that a large number of works already exist which provide up-to-date, academically-focussed understandings of the development of Berkshire and the middle Thames as a whole. These include the Solent-Thames research framework (Hey & Hind, 2014) and its accompanying county essays, the Thames Through Time series (Booth et al., 2007; Lambrick & Robinson, 2009; Morigi et al., 2011), the East Berkshire Terrestrial Minerals Resource Assessment (J. Platt, 2017), and a raft of works on various aspects of the middle Thames valley in different periods (referred to throughout the text below). The key shortcoming of these works for our purposes are their wider remit, and lack of a local focus. However, it will be seen below that there are considerable impediments to writing a local archaeological narrative at the current stage. Many key excavations remain unpublished, whilst other important sites have been subject to only a minimal level of exploration. As a result, rather than providing either a comprehensive narrative, or exhaustively reviewing the research priorities of each period, this report will instead:

• Identify the resources available for archaeological study in each period, and identify key emerging trends in the generation of this evidence.

- Characterise how these resources have been explored, identify shortcomings in our current understanding of them and suggest ways in which future work can develop these resources further.
- Discuss how these resources can be used to answer the key archaeological questions of each period.

The following section is broken down into eight conventional periods (Forum on Information Standards in Heritage, 2018); the Palaeolithic (500,000 - 10,000 BC), Mesolithic (10,000 - 4,000 BC), Neolithic (4,000 - 2,200 BC), Bronze Age (2,200 - 700 BC), Iron Age (700 BC - 43 AD), Roman (43 - 410 AD), Early Medieval (410 - 1066 AD) and Medieval (1066 - 1540 AD) periods. Breaking time into these artificial blocks is not always the best fit for the available evidence; a fact underlined by the decision of the Solent-Thames framework to use different period groupings. Nevertheless, this is considered to be the easiest way to organise the discussion of so many disparate resources without undertaking significant data cleansing and standardisation. Due to time constraints, and the need to integrate a wide range of documentary sources, Post-Medieval archaeology is not considered here. There are also a large number of poorly dated 'prehistoric' features, and undated features, recorded on the HER and elsewhere, which have been excluded from this analysis due to lack of time to reassess them.

3.1 Palaeolithic (500,000 – 10,000 BC)

Palaeolithic archaeology operates on a larger scale to that of other periods. Accounting for 99% of human history, changes in this period occur in geological time, and geological processes have heavily shaped the survival and present distribution of Palaeolithic material. The key questions of this period are big; concerning the evolution of modern humans, the extinction of species, and the repeated occupation and abandonment of Britain in the face of huge shifts in climate. At the same time, there are very few resources available for answering these questions; largely stone artefacts, fossilised bone, occasional environmental evidence, and a lot of gravel. As such, there is little that any study focusing solely on the study area could contribute to our understanding of this important time period.

This is not to diminish the importance of the study area. The study area is in fact highly significant for Palaeolithic archaeology at both a local and national level. Locally, the study area is noted as being the most productive area in the county for Lower and Middle Palaeolithic artefacts (Hosfield, 2007, 4.1).



Figure 30 Map showing the distribution of Palaeolithic sites and PAS and museum accessions in the study area.

At a broader level, the study area is home to a number of nationally important sites and individual finds. The importance of the area is highlighted by the key position that these sites take up in the most significant works exploring this period. Particularly notable are the works of the celebrated Palaeolithic archaeologist, and one-time curator of Reading Museum, John Wymer. Wymer's first major work (Wymer, 1968) was based on the evidence of the Thames valley, and the Thames valley continued to dominate his last major survey of the period (Wymer, 1999). In the last decade, the archaeology of the area has been expertly surveyed for the Thames Through Time (Morigi et al., 2011) and Solent-Thames Research Framework (Hey & Hind, 2014) projects. Hosfield (2007) provides a concise overview of the period in Berkshire for the Solent-Thames Research Framework, including its geological background. As we shall see below, there have been few subsequent discoveries in the study area, making this a useful up-to-date piece of work for understanding this period.

The primary resources for understanding Palaeolithic activity in the study area are the stone artefacts recovered from major gravel pits during the 19th and 20th centuries. Pits in the Lynch Hill and Boyn Hill gravel terraces (e.g. Cannoncourt Farm/Cooper's Pit, Cookham Rise, Lower Mount Farm, Remenham and Switchback Road) have produced hundreds of handaxes. These pits proved especially productive when gravel extraction was carried out by hand (HER 00634.00.000 - MRW1033), and during the late 19th-mid 20th centuries these pits were monitored, and their spoil heaps searched (Tyldesley, 1982), by local archaeologists and archaeological societies. Two figures in particular, Llewelyn Treacher (an antiquarian and archaeologist living in Twyford, see Treacher, 1897a, 1897b) and John Wymer, were key to recovering significant collections of this material. The Cannoncourt Farm Pit (HER 00634.00.000 - MRW1033) has been described as one of the most prolific Palaeolithic sites in Britain (Harding & Bridgland, 1999, p. 311). Hundreds of further flint tools accessioned in Reading Museum from 'Maidenhead', 'Furze Platt' and 'Cookham' also likely derive from these gravel workings. It is unknown exactly how many handaxes have been recovered, and exactly where they all are now. These objects have been widely traded amongst antiquarians and museums, and many are now found in museums outside of the study area. Nevertheless, 1,384 Palaeolithic accessions were recorded from local museums in this study; by far the largest number of accessions of any period. Among these flints is the Furze Platt Giant (now in the British Museum); the largest handaxe found in Britain.

Few of the interventions carried out in these pits are well documented. Whilst the pits were in use, most interventions seemingly consisted of the collection of artefacts with no further recording. Wymer conducted a series of excavations, recording sections through the gravels at Lower Mount Farm Pit (Reading Museum, 1960, p. 52), Remenham Church (Berkshire Archaeological Society, 1964, p. 110; Reading Museum, 1962, pp. 114–5), Nightingale Pit (Berkshire Archaeological Society, 1980b, p. 115) and Cannoncourt Farm Pit. Only some of these appear to have been published (e.g. in Wymer, 1968), but further details may be found in Wymer's notebooks, which are available through the ADS (Mepham, 2008).



Figure 31 The Furze Platt Giant, found in 1919 (Copyright Trustees of the Natural History Museum, source: https://www.londoncalling.com/features/first-footsteps-earlyhuman-history-at-the-natural-history-museum)

Despite this abundance of Palaeolithic artefacts recovered up to the mid-20th century, subsequent activity in the study area has revealed little. The PAS records only one Palaeolithic find from the study area; a pointed handaxe of Early-Middle Palaeolithic type, uncovered in a Maidenhead garden. Very few recent excavations in the study area have uncovered significant Palaeolithic archaeology, although recent evaluation work at Furze Platt (Harding et al., 1991) and Switchback Road Pit (Harding & Bridgland, 1999) have produced more detailed information about the extent of these artefact scatters.

Many of these flints are in a 'rolled' state, indicating that they have been moved by geological processes. Nevertheless, Treacher (1897a, p. 17) claimed to have located a flint knapping surface somewhere in Furze Platt. Other implements found in the study area away from the gravel terraces may indicate the location of ancient activity (Treacher, 1897a, p. 18), although it should be noted that much gravel has been moved around the study area for construction use, and this may account for the location of some artefacts (Treacher, 1897b, p. 40). Intriguingly, the Berkshire Archaeology HER records possible Palaeolithic fire pits at the **Bray Triangle** site (HER MRM17495). If true, this would be significant, as the majority of the archaeology from this period exists only in secondary contexts, or completely unstratified. However, none of the grey literature for this site is available online, and as such it is not possible to comment here about the certainty of this identification.

With so few recent discoveries, future work on the Palaeolithic in the study area is best focussed on understanding what has already been found. It may be helpful to attempt to track down the missing palaeoliths; both to aid future research on these important artefacts, and potentially as an exercise in understanding 19th and 20th century collection practices and research networks. Similarly, it would be helpful if more information was available about the gravel pits in which they were found; exactly where they were located, how they were worked, and when. More ambitious projects could carry out new fieldwork around these pits to establish the true extent of the surviving artefacts, and locate sites suitable for further geoarchaeological or palaeoenvironmental characterisation.

3.2 Mesolithic (10,000 - 4,000 BC)

As in the Palaeolithic, our understanding of the Mesolithic in the study area is heavily limited by the nature of the available resources. Ford (1987, pp. 59–61) was able to list only a very small number of Mesolithic sites, and whilst recent developer-funded archaeology has produced more material scatters and isolated artefacts, no new major sites have been found. The wider concerns and broad research questions of the period have been discussed recently elsewhere, using larger datasets (Chisham, 2006; Morigi et al., 2011).

The Mesolithic period is represented almost exclusively by unstratified flint scatters identified through field walking or developer-funded interventions. The lack of stratigraphy means that these can only be dated typologically. As such, their chronology is poorly understood, and many can only be assigned



Figure 32 Map showing the distribution of Mesolithic sites and PAS and museum accessions in the study area.

a general prehistoric date. No scientific dating of Mesolithic material has been carried out in the study area. One notable exception is **Moor Farm**, Bray (HER 00463.00.000 - MRW770; Ames, 1993). Excavations by the MAHS revealed *in situ* flint scatters, including finished objects and manufacturing waste. The site was thought to represent an occupation site on the edge of a palaeolake, although the full extent of this site was not established, and further exploration of the area may be fruitful. The site could only be dated typologically, and is thought to have been occupied c.6500-7000 BC, spanning the Mesolithic/Neolithic transition. However, uncertainties about the stratigraphy of the site mean that it is not impossible that this material represents a mix of earlier and later occupation (Ford, 1987, p. 59). Ford (1987, p. 59) also highlights possible stratified material from **Prior's Pit** and **Hoveringham Pit**, but unfortunately both sites remain unpublished.

The overall distribution of sites is heavily focussed on the very low ground of the Thames river valley, particularly on the eastern edge of the study area. This tallies with Ford's (1987, p. 61) suggestion that other geologies were occupied less intensively in this period. However, isolated finds from across the central study area do suggest some form of occupation on the chalk high ground in the centre of the study area. There is also a notable concentration of flint scatters in the south-west of the study area, on the clay and silt geology around **Ruscombe Lake**. These scatters have recently been studied by Fairclough (2006), who suggests that they represent multi-period prehistoric occupation around the shores of a palaeo-lake.

The greatest boon to our understanding of the Mesolithic within the study area would come from the identification and excavation of further stratified sites. Numerous nationally-important Mesolithic sites have been excavated nearby, in the Kennett valley (Froom, 2012), and there is reason to suppose that similar archaeology might be found here. The areas around Moor Farm and Ruscombe Lake are the obvious candidates for such exploration. As both sites are thought to be associated with palaeolakes, there is the possibility that waterlogged, stratified deposits survive. The palaeo-stratigraphy of the area is not well understood, but a new campaign of coring could establish whether the surface scatters previously identified are likely to be related to stratified Mesolithic layers.

The distribution of artefacts from museums is heavily skewed towards the Thames, where large numbers of tools, particularly tranchet axes, have been recovered through dredging. This is particularly the case around Maidenhead and Cookham, close to the areas of dense flint scatter finds. The deposition of objects in the Thames is a key feature of the prehistoric archaeology of the study area, and these finds may indicate that the practice had deep roots.



Figure 33 Map showing the distribution of Neolithic sites and PAS and museum accessions in the study area.

61

3.3 Neolithic (4,000 – 2,200 BC)

The Neolithic period sees substantial change in the nature of the occupation and use of the landscape in Britain. Associated with this change are new types of artefacts, new settlements, monuments, and new types of archaeological features. However, within the study area the change in the nature of the archaeology from the Mesolithic period is modest. As before, the Neolithic settlement of the study area is primarily known through scatters of flint and pottery. Further investigation of these sites could reveal more about the changing nature of occupation in this period. Particularly important will be the collection of more environmental data.

The Neolithic period sees the emergence of the first funerary monuments in the Thames valley. However, despite a notable complex of monuments in nearby Sonning, none has been identified with certainty in the study area. A possible mortuary enclosure was identified through geophysics at **Cock Marsh**, Cookham (HER MRM16139), on the site of the later Bronze Age barrow cemetery (see below), but has not been excavated.

The Neolithic period does see the emergence the first identifiable man-made features in the study area. Most of these are isolated pits. However, a dense area of Neolithic features has been found in Bray. These features indicate occupation spanning the whole period. At Moor Farm (HER 00463.00.000 - MRW770 ; Ames, 1993), stratified flint scatters indicate a site which spanned the Mesolithic and Neolithic transition. Mesolithic occupation also possibly preceded the Neolithic pits and shafts excavated by the MAHS at Cannon Hill (HER 00467.00.000 - MRW774; Bradley, Over, Startin, & Weng, 1976) in the 1970s. These features are thought to have been dug for ritual rather than prosaic purposes, and one of them, Pit 1, was the largest and possibly (on the basis of a single radiocarbon date) the earliest of its type excavated in Britain at the time of publication. Occupation at Weir Bank Stud Farm (HER 00086.00.000 - MRW132) consisted of both Early Neolithic pits (HER 00086.03.000 - MRW15470) and hollows (HER 00086.03.100 - MRW15471), and Late-Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pottery (HER 00086.04.000 - MRW15472) redeposited in later features, perhaps indicating continued occupation. Late Neolithic/Bronze Age activity was also identified during several phases of recent developer-funded interventions at the Bray Triangle site (HER MRM16408), consisting of posthole, pits, short ditches and dense scatters of knapped flint. A radiocarbon date from a wooden post gave a range of 3214-2928 or 3272-3017 cal. BC. Slightly further to the west, at Little Lowbrook Farm, Cox Green (HER 06052.00.000 - MRW6725), commercial evaluation revealed ditches and postholes loosely dated through worked flint from the Early Neolithic to Late Bronze Age.

The earliest human remains from the study area also come from this period. Excavations at **Hoveringham Pit** (HER 00121.00.000 - MRW166; Reading Museum, 1964, pp. 99–100) in 1963 uncovered a skullcap and broken femur *in situ* close to a Neolithic antler comb at the north end of the site, whilst a further skull fragment and Windmill Hill ware pottery fragments were found beneath the mechanical screening plant. These remains were thought to have derived from the same area of site as the stratified remains, but in both cases the loose association between the bones and dateable finds means that their Neolithic date must be in some doubt. Radiocarbon dating could provide a more secure estimate of the age of these bones, which are currently stored at Reading Museum (REDMG : 1963.227.2-3). A partial skull of possible Mesolithic or Neolithic date was found in the Thames at **Monkey Island**, Bray (HER 02994.00.000 - MRW12660).

This project recorded 128 museum accessions of Neolithic date. Only 10 finds (all groups of struck flint) of probable Neolithic date, and 5 of Mesolithic or Neolithic date, are recorded on the PAS. The deposition of Neolithic artefacts in the study area has recently been studied in considerably detail by Lamdin-Whymark (2008), with a particular focus on ritual deposition, and their findings do not need to be repeated here. However, we can observe that these finds are widely distributed across the study area, with the only notable gap being the hills in the west of the study area. This may suggest more

widespread occupation in the area than the small number of excavated sites suggests. As in the Mesolithic, dredging of the Thames has been a major source of artefacts (Adkins & Jackson, 1978).

3.4 Bronze Age (2,200 - 700 BC)



Figure 34 Map showing the distribution of Bronze Age sites and PAS and museum accessions in the study area.

The Bronze Age sees a considerable increase in the number of resources available in the study area. Although they were present in other parts of the country at an earlier date, the Bronze Age is the first period in the study area from which standing monuments have been found, identifiable structures, formal burials, and field systems. The Bronze Age archaeology of the Thames is particularly notable, and as such there is a wide body of recent work relating to Bronze Age occupation here (Davies, 2018; Ford, 2007b, 2007a; Lambrick & Robinson, 2009; Yates, 2007; York, 2002).

Sites

Settlements

The Bronze Age represents the first period in which clearly definable settlements are known in the study area. The densest settlement is recorded on the Thames river gravels at Bray, where a major site has been excavated at **Weir Bank Stud Farm** (HER 00086.00.000 - MRW132; Barnes & Cleal, 1995). Structures from the site include a roundhouse with associated occupation layers, and a four-post structure, possibly a granary. A number of other pits, hollows and post holes were also found, along with artefact scatters and environmental remains. The site was enclosed by ditches and fences, which defined square 'co-axial' fields (see below) and activity areas. Although the chronology of the site was unclear, the excavators considered it likely that these features represented more than one phase of an evolving settlement in the Middle Bronze Age, with an earlier earthwork dating to the Early Bronze Age (HER 00086.01.000 - MRW15468). Nearby, at **Bray Triangle** (MRM16790), a number of pits and postholes may represent further circular Late Neolithic or Bronze Age structures.

Settlements have also been excavated on the higher chalk geology. The most substantial of these was found at **Switchback Road**, Cookham (HER 00618.00.000 - MRW1006 ; Lobb, 1980), where a number of pits, wells, hearths and post-holes were excavated. The layout of the site is ambiguous, and most post holes could not be assigned a clear function. However, two possible circular buildings could be identified. The site is thought to represent a single brief phase of occupation in the Late Bronze Age (c.900-700 BC). Less substantial evidence of settlement has been found at Cox Green. At **Little Lowbrook Farm** (HER 06052.00.000 - MRW6725) a number of pits, postholes and gullies were excavated. These are recorded on the HER as being Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age in date, although the excavators considered it likely that the flints used to date these features were residual (Pine, 1995, pp. 6–7). Nearby at **Holyport Manor Special School** (HER MRM16321) a single Mid-Late Bronze Age posthole and a number of undated postholes were found, alongside a scatter of Bronze Age artefacts.

In addition to these sites are a number of isolated pits, which may hint at as-yet undiscovered settlements in their vicinity. Pits have been excavated at the **Sheeplands Nitrate Removal Pipeline**, Wargrave (HER 01158.06.007 - MWK15565), **Thyme Cottage** (HER MRM15811), **White Place Farm** (HER MRM15937) and **13 Lower Cookham Road**, Cookham, and **Cannon Hill** (HER 00467.07.000 - MRW781) and **Longlea** (HER MRM18269), Bray. Those at Cannon Hill may represent continued ritual activity from the Neolithic (see above). Other settlements in the study area are possibly evidenced by ring ditches observed as crop marks. As none of these have been excavated, it is often unclear which represent hut circles rather than barrow ditches (see below), and none is securely dated. Nevertheless, ditches at **Mount Hill** (HER 00576.01.000 - MRW925) and **Winter Hill** (HER 00536.03.000 - MRW878, 00536.05.000 - MRW880), Cookham, and at **Wargrave** (HER 01158.03.200 - MWK2061), have been suggested to represent Bronze Age hut circles.

As in earlier periods, many more Bronze Age sites are known only through unstratified flint and pottery scatters. Partially due to the difficulty in distinguishing between Neolithic and Bronze Age flints, these show a similar distribution to those of the preceding period, with major concentrations of activity along the Thames valley on the eastern edge of the study area, and in the south-east around

Ruscombe Lake (Fairclough, 2006). However, these scatters also support the notion that this period sees settlement on the raised chalk geology in the centre of the study area. Alongside artefact scatters which may represent settlement are a number of concentrations of burnt material, interpreted as 'burnt mounds'. These enigmatic features are poorly dated, but are generally interpreted as Bronze Age.

Cemeteries

The Bronze Age provides the study area's first securely identifiable burial monuments, in the form of round barrows (see Grinsell, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939 for an early analysis). The most significant of these are in the Cock Marsh barrow cemetery, Cookham (HER 00508.00.000 - MRW839). Four barrows are extant here (HER 00508.01.000 - MRW840, 00508.02.000 - MRW842, 00508.03.000 - MRW843 and 00508.04.000 - MRW844), one heavily truncated, but there may be more. A small pond barrow (HER MRM16138) was recently identified through geophysical survey, and is visible on LiDAR (Figure 10). OS maps from the early 20th century (County Series, 3rd (1909-12) and 4th (1930-33) revisions) record the position of another 'tumulus' to the south (HER 00508.05.000 - MRW845), but nothing is visible on the ground. LiDAR from the area additionally shows the position of raised areas immediately to the south of the visible barrows, which would benefit from further examination (Figure 10). A ring ditch (HER 00508.06.000 - MRW846) to the east of this group, visible on aerial photographs, may be associated with the cemetery, although it is potentially a natural feature. The site has been examined on several occasions. The visible barrows were excavated by Napier and Cocks in 1874. These interventions revealed two Bronze Age burials; a stone cist (HER 00508.01.010 - MRW841) containing a cremation, flint flakes and ox bones, and a cremated child with flint flakes. One barrow contained Anglo-Saxon remains (usually interpreted as a later insertion, but see Pollington (2008, p. 172) for a suggestion that these barrows are Anglo-Saxon in date), whilst the fourth contained horse bones and 17th century bottle fragments. These excavations were never published in full (see Peake, 1931, pp. 189–90 for a bibliography of notes relating to the site). The cemetery has subsequently been subject to a contour survey conducted as part of the EBAS, and an unpublished geophysical survey by Chiltern Archaeology in 2007.

Isolated barrows are also found in Maidenhead, at **Maidenhead Thicket** (HER 00448.00.000 - MRW718) and **Great How** (MRM16115). Neither has been excavated, and the Great How Tumulus is now no longer visible. However, local societies are currently planning a new geophysical survey of the site in a bid to locate it (Andrew Hutt pers. comm.). Other potential barrows monuments are represented only as ring ditches visible on aerial photographs. Isolated ring ditches are widespread, but at **Widbrook Common**, Maidenhead (HER 00304.01.000 - MRW364 ; Gates, 1975, pp. 44–5, Map 27 ; see also HER 00622.00.000 - MRW1013 and 00622.01.000 - MRW1014 for further cemeteries recorded nearby, possibly referring to the same site), several have been found close together (HER 00304.01.100 - MRW365, 00304.01.200 - MRW366, 00304.01.300 - MRW367, 00304.01.400 - MRW368), indicating the position of a barrow cemetery. None of these ring ditches has been subject to further examination since their initial identification.

Finally, excavation at **Weir Bank Stud Farm** (HER 00086.05.701 - MRW15485 ; Barnes & Cleal, 1995) revealed an isolated cremation. No dating evidence was found, although it is believed to be Bronze Age based on its association with a nearby Bronze Age field boundary.

Field Systems

The Bronze Age is the first period in Britain from which substantial agricultural features regularly survive. In the study area, only **Weir Bank Stud Farm** has produced significant evidence of the layout of field systems in this period. Whilst these field systems have been interpreted as suggesting stock raising rather than cereal cultivation (Yates, 1999), the charred plant remains from Weir Bank Stud

Farm indicate that cereal cultivation was also taking place here (Barnes & Cleal, 1995). The Bronze Age field systems of the wider Thames valley area have been studied in detail by Yates (1999, 2007). Yates suggests that by the Late Bronze Age, field systems were centred on elite settlements, forming zones which were linked to other activities, such as the deposition of metalwork in the Thames, and pottery manufacturing traditions. In this scheme, the Weir Bank Stud Farm site would be on the western periphery of a group extending eastwards, centred on Runnymede. Further field systems just to the west of the study area, at Charvil, mark the eastern extreme of another group. If the study area formed a cultural boundary zone in this period (Yates, 1999, fig. 3), this might explain the comparative lack of Bronze Age settlement sites here.

Artefacts

Despite the increase in other forms of evidence, the number of artefacts recovered from the Bronze Age does not increase from previous periods, with the collection comprising of only 126 museum accessions and 10 PAS finds. This modest collection reveals little about the settlement pattern. However, the low numbers of artefacts belie the fact that amongst them are large amounts of metalwork deposited in special circumstances. The most significant of these is the deposition of objects in the rivers. Whilst objects are found in the Thames in most periods, the concentration is strongest at this time, with the overall distribution of artefacts heavily focussed on the Thames, especially on the eastern edge of the study area. As with field systems, the study area appears to sit at the boundary between two zones of river deposition (York, 2002). The other key special deposit type of the Bronze Age are hoards. Two hoards are recorded from the study area, both from Bray (HER 00109.00.000 - MRW7621, 03510.00.000 - MRW5092). A collection of objects from Hoveringham Pit (HER 00124.00.000 - MRW7646) is also thought to constitute a hoard. The deposition of these objects in rivers and hoards are well-explored phenomena (Bradley, 1998, 2013; Davies, 2018; Ehrenberg, 1977, 1980; York, 2002), and are now often interpreted as ritual practice. Whilst the deposits from the study area have been incorporated into this work, there remains room for further research. Recent work has shown how a more sophisticated approach to landscape features can be beneficial (Bradley, 2016; Yates & Bradley, 2010b, 2010a), and there is therefore scope to reopen examination of the Berkshire finds by integrating the information already known about them with GIS landscape modelling.

Bronze Age Settlement in East Berkshire

The Bronze Age of East Berkshire is well understood, and the archaeology is such that interpretations of the landscape in this period can be more detailed than before. For the first time we can see the effect of human politics on landscape organisation, with the eastern part of study area being aligned with a group of settlements and ritual activities extending eastwards, and the western part appearing to be marginal land at the boundary with another cultural group to the west. Beyond mapping the distribution of settlements, this is also the first period in which it is possible to accurately characterise settlements, and begin to approach the diversity of lived experience in the study area. For example, Lobb (1980, pp. 16–7) suggests that there is differentiation between the settlements on the river gravels (e.g. Bray), and those on the higher ground (e.g. Switchback Road). Those on the higher ground appear poorer, with less material culture (i.e. no bronze artefacts), and are thought to represent the colonisation of marginal land as part of agricultural intensification in the Late Bronze Age. Whilst sites such as Little Lowbrook Farm could indicate that these areas were colonised at an earlier date, the evidence from these sites is ambiguous.

It is likely that commercial excavation will be key to the identification of further Bronze Age sites in the study area. However, as before, the investigation of flint scatters could also yield results, particularly around Ruscombe Lake. There is much greater scope for researchers to improve our knowledge of the area as a ritual landscape. The barrow cemeteries of the study area are little explored, and our understanding of them would benefit greatly from even a small amount of excavation of crop mark features. Researchers could also make use of developments in GIS technology to improve our understanding of depositional practices in the area.

3.5 Iron Age (700 BC – 43 AD)



Figure 35 Map showing the distribution of Iron Age sites, and museum and PAS finds in the study area.
Evidence of Iron Age occupation is comparatively limited in the study area, perhaps even representing a drop-off compared with earlier periods, and with other parts of the Thames valley (J. Platt, 2017). There are no known hillforts in the area, despite a number being positioned on the north bank of the Thames, just outside of the study area. This would appear to indicate that the study area was marginal land near a significant cultural boundary at the Thames. Nor are there any burials known from the study area, although this reflects a wider lack of Iron Age human remains in Britain. With key site types lacking, the key question then becomes one of what is happening in this marginal landscape. The most significant features are small enclosures, although commercial excavation has recently uncovered evidence of several other rural settlements.

Sites

Enclosures

By far the most significant Iron Age site in the study area is the Late Iron Age rectilinear enclosure at **Robin Hood's Arbour**, Maidenhead (HER 00584.00.000 - MRW944). The site was excavated in the 19th century, without publication. Around 30% of the interior, and the entrances, were excavated by Cotton (1961) in 1960. These excavations uncovered domestic waste and daub (HER 00584.01.000 - MRW945), but no buildings. Morrison (2015) suggests that the site would merit further excavation to locate the buildings from which this material derives, and characterise this occupation. This feature may relate to other Iron Age activity in **Maidenhead Thicket**. A substantial bank and ditch to the east of the enclosure are thought to form a Mid-Late Iron Age territorial marker (HER 00585.00.000 - MRW947; Bowden et al., 1982). An Iron Age hearth (HER 00585.00.004 - MRW948) was associated with this structure. Another faint E/W linear feature projecting from the south-east corner of the enclosure is visible on the LiDAR (Figure 9), but further work would be needed to establish the nature of this feature. Another rectangular enclosure in Maidenhead Thicket is recorded on the HER (02613.00.000 - MRW4291), but was destroyed without record during WWI. A probable chalk pit (HER 00587.01.000 - MRW950) was also once thought to be an Iron Age earthwork.

There are also several possible enclosures in the Cookham area, although none is well understood. A rectangular ditched enclosure, dated to the 1st century BC, was excavated during rescue work at **Prior's Pit**, Cookham (HER 00592.00.000 - MRW957). This feature was associated with a number of post-holes (HER 00592.01.000 - MRW958), which could not be resolved into clear structures. Unfortunately, the site has never been published, and no plan or precise location is available. At **Mount Hill** (HER 00576.00.000 - MRW924), a small Early Iron Age settlement consisting of two round buildings (HER 00576.01.000 - MRW925) was excavated in 1907. This has been referred to as a small hilltop enclosure (Over & Tyrell, 1994, p. 22), although as the site was not been published in detail this is not certain. Darby (1909, pp. 16–9) records the excavation of a possible fortification at **Windmill Shaw**, Cookham, alongside possible Iron Age pits, although nothing else is known about this site. It is possible that these features are recorded on the HER (00578.00.000 - MRW927) as undated chalk pits.

Other Rural Settlements

Several unenclosed settlements have recently been uncovered through developer-funded interventions in the study area. Repeated interventions at **Park Place** (HER MRM15943) and **Aspect Park** (HER MRM15782) have revealed extensive Middle Iron Age occupation, including numerous storage pits, postholes (which could not be resolved into structures), and ditches, some forming a rectangular field enclosure. Evidence of Late Bronze Age and Early Roman occupation in the same area suggests long-term continuity in this landscape.

Recent developer-funded excavations at **Manor Cottage**, Bisham (HER RW15706 - MRW15706), have revealed numerous pits, a ditch and a possible round-house gully, dating from the Mid-Late Iron Age.

This site may have had some status, as it produced imported Italian pottery and evidence of ritual activity. At **White Place Farm**, Cookham (HER MRM15938), a concentration of Mid-Late Iron Age pits, and post-holes which may have been part of a four-post structure, were excavated, alongside another pit which may have been Early Iron Age or Late Bronze Age (HER MRM15937).

Recent geophysical survey around the Roman site at **Ffiennes Farm**, White Waltham (HER MRM16604), identified two elliptical anomalies, interpreted as possible Iron Age roundhouses. However, as no further fieldwork has been carried out to investigate these features, their function and date must remain in doubt. Nearby, at **Knowl Hill**, Wargrave (HER 00442.00.000 - MWK707; Over, 1974), hearths or ovens were found, along with clay pits and possibly linear ditches destroyed by earlier clay extraction. Morrison (2015) suggests that the site may have been enclosed, although this is not clear. The site may represent the periphery of an agricultural settlement dating to the early 1st century AD, and could potentially be related to the Early Roman building excavated nearby at Canhurst Farm (see below).

Other evidence for Iron Age settlement in the study area consists of isolated features, which may hint at as-yet unidentified remains in the vicinity. There is a concentration of activity around Bray. A Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age pit was found at **Cannon Hill** (HER 00467.07.000 - MRW781 ; Bradley et al., 1976), alongside other poorly dated but potentially Iron Age features. A Middle Iron Age pit (HER 06360.01.000 - MRW6949) and ditches (HER 06360.02.000 - MRW6951) were found at **Manor Nurseries** (HER 06360.00.000 - MRW6948), and a Mid-Late Iron Age pit at **Braywick School** (HER MRM18271). At **Weir Bank Stud Farm** (HER 00086.06.000 - MRW15488 ; Barnes & Cleal, 1995) a pit (HER 00086.06.100 - MRW15489), hollow (HER 00086.06.200 - MRW15490) and hearth (HER 00086.06.300 - MRW15491) dating to the Late Iron Age or Early Roman period were found. A dense scatter of pottery and animal bone was found at **Hoveringham Pit** (HER 00126.00.000 - MRW7659) in 1965. Isolated pits were also excavated at **Summerleaze Pit** (HER 00623.00.000 - MRW1030) and **Shoppenhanger's Pit** (HER 00597.00.000 - MRW1066) and kiln (HER 00669.02.000 - MRW1067) were found during the construction of the **Nuffield to Ascot Pipeline** (Site NA511).

Artefacts

As with the small number of archaeological features, the number of Iron Age artefacts recorded from the study area remains modest; 259 museum accessions and 248 PAS finds. Whilst the number of PAS finds is larger than for the succeeding Roman period, this is entirely due to the inclusion of objects from the Celtic Coins Index; most importantly the 200+ coins from the Waltham St Lawrence hoard, which are duplicated in these records as they are also part of the British Museum's collection. When these are excluded, only 21 PAS finds are recorded, including 12 coins. This small number of objects does not reveal anything significant about the distribution of Iron Age settlement. These finds are heavily biased in date towards the Late Iron Age; largely due to the presence of the Waltham St Lawrence Hoard (although the same is true for the modest number of PAS finds).

The **Waltham St Lawrence Hoard** is the most significant Iron Age find from the study area. More than 200 coins were found, mainly gold staters and quarter staters, and silver units and minims. The exact size of the hoard is unknown, as there is a suggestion that part of the hoard was sold to collectors under a false provenance. Whilst the contents of the hoard are well studied (Burnett, 1990), little is known about why it was deposited here. The fact that a Late Roman temple later occupied the same site may suggest that there was some continuity in religious activity at this site, but further exploration of the site will be needed to properly characterise this activity (see below). There is the possibility that another small hoard of gold staters (c.5 coins) was found 'near Maidenhead' in the 19th century,

although the only evidence for this is a British Museum acquisitions label attached to a single coin in their collections (PAS 2567 ; de Jersey, 2015).

As in the Bronze Age, a significant number of objects from this period have been dredged from the River Thames. These are dominated by high quality pieces, such as weapons (including the decorated 'Henley sword') and currency bars, and may represent ritual deposition. These objects have been less intensively studied than those of other periods (Fitzpatrick, 1984; Haselgrove & Hingley, 2006). The focus only on metalwork means that the significance of other deposits (such as the concentration of pottery from Hoveringham Pit, thought to represent material from the ancient Thames bed) has not been assessed.

Iron Age Settlement in East Berkshire

With so few resources, it is difficult to characterise the Iron Age occupation of the study area other than to say it may represent an underpopulated landscape (J. Platt, 2017). That said, it is notable that sites are found across all geologies, indicating that the higher ground remained occupied (in contrast to the apparent abandonment of this land in the Early Medieval period). There may be some evidence that occupation increased in the Late Iron Age. Understanding the use of this landscape is probably best done at a broader level, as Morrison (2015) has recently done. Nevertheless, this is the first period in which a significant number of sites (e.g. White Place Farm, Manor Cottage, Park Place) have produced environmental evidence, allowing agricultural regimes to be approached. Whilst the number of Iron Age sites known in the study area is small, there is clearly considerable scope for expanding our understanding of the few that are known.



Figure 36 Map showing the distribution of Roman sites in the study area.

Roman archaeology over the past two centuries has been dominated by the excavation of a few site types, disproportionately selected for the quality of the remains found: towns, forts, and villas. The Roman archaeology of Berkshire in particular is dominated by discussions of the major *civitas* centre at Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*) (Fox, Hope, & Reid, 1901; Fulford, 1984, 1989, 2011, 2018; Fulford, Clarke, & Eckardt, 2006; Fulford & Timby, 2000; Thompson, 1924). However, there are no urban or military sites in the study area (speculation of a 1st century fort on Sashes Island (HER 00255.01.000 -

MRW6527), is not supported by evidence on the ground). We are therefore looking at a rural landscape; but one in which ritual and industrial features are present alongside agriculture. As Roman archaeology moves away from these over-investigated site types, and towards an appreciation of the importance of the rural landscape, it is worth considering what opportunities the resources available in the study area might present for future research.

Whilst nationally the onset of developer-funded archaeology has led to a massive increase in the number of known Roman rural settlements (Smith et al., 2016; J. Taylor, 2007), our understanding of the Roman settlement of the study area has increased only modestly through excavation in recent decades. Commercial excavation has revealed largely fragmentary remains (although see below for discoveries at Bisham), whilst key excavations by local societies have remained unpublished for decades. As such, our understanding of Roman sites in the study area has not progressed significantly since the 1960s (Over, 1969).

Sites

Villas

Traditionally, discussion of Roman rural settlements has been limited to villas, and numerous villas have been identified or postulated in the study area. However, the only ones identified with certainty are two villas in Maidenhead. The best understood is the **Cox Green villa** (HER 00458.00.000 - MRW750), excavated by local societies in 1959 and published in the BAJ (Bennett, 1962; Over, 1969, pp. 27–8). This excavation revealed several phases of occupation over c.200 years, with the site evolving from a small rectangular building to a winged corridor villa with bath house and outbuildings. This is also one of the few Roman sites in the study area to have produced a significant assemblage of finds, including 110 coins. Excavations by local groups at nearby **Altwood Bailey** uncovered a well (HER 00458.06.000 - MRW760) and corn-drier (HER 00458.05.000 - MRW759). These are thought to be associated with the Cox Green villa estate, although Morrison (2015) suggests that these and cropmarks in the area may indicate the position of a larger rural settlement. Excavations at the site have never been published, although a booklet containing the pottery report is available (J. Taylor & Over, n.d.).

The **Castle Hill villa** (HER 00579.00.000 - MRW929) is less well understood. Excavation in 1886 uncovered a hypocaust, midden, and an unknown number of other rooms. Pottery and two 3rd century coins were also recovered. Whilst an account of the excavations was published (Maidenhead and Taplow Field Club, 1891, pp. 50–2), the reporting is very vague and there is no surviving plan. As such the form and location of this structure cannot be established with certainty (Over, 1969, pp. 28–9). Further foundations were uncovered in the vicinity during construction work in 1896 (HER MRW939), the laying of a gas main in 1960 (HER MRW940), and a watching brief at 161 Grenfell Road in 1987 (HER MRW941-MRW943).

Other Excavated Settlements

Whilst there are only two certain villas in the study area, the term has been used to describe fragmentary evidence of Roman occupation on a number of other sites. Often there is little evidence to support this suggestion, and it appears that any trace of Roman settlement has been interpreted as evidence of a 'villa'. This is despite the increasingly-recognised diversity of Roman rural settlement types in Britain (Smith et al., 2016; J. Taylor, 2007). More attention could be paid to these sites to properly characterise them with reference to this recent literature, and to improve our understanding of the diversity of rural settlement in East Berkshire.

At **Boundary Elms**, Burchett's Green (HER 00551.00.000 - MRW892 ; 00551.02.000 - MRW894), excavation by the Maidenhead District Archaeological and Historical Society in 1965 revealed evidence

of buildings and pits, probably constituting a farmstead or settlement. Artefacts uncovered through earlier interventions, and geophysical survey conducted on the lawn, may suggest that the site is quite large (Over, 1969, p. 26). Unfortunately, the site has never been published, so little is known about it beyond what is recorded on the HER.

At **Canhurst Farm**, Knowl Hill (HER 00429.00.000 - MWK673), a substantial barn-like building is thought to be either a simple basilican villa or an agricultural outbuilding for a larger settlement or estate. The HER records a villa-like building visible on an aerial photograph nearby, although this is not mentioned by Over (1969, pp. 29–32) as stated on the HER. Excavation in the 1930s (Seaby, 1932; Seaby & Pollen, 1934) revealed masonry walls with evidence of occupation from the 1st-2nd centuries AD. Recently the site was revisited by the BAS, who uncovered evidence of field boundaries through geophysical survey (Hutt & Griffin, 2015).

Masonry foundations, artefacts and burials have been uncovered in some quantity at **Down Place**, Bray (HER 00075.00.000 - MRW115 ; Over, 1969, pp. 32–3), leading to the suggestion on the HER of a riverside villa here. Nearby, at **Hoveringham Pit** (HER 00127.00.000 - MRW170 ; Over, 1969, p. 41) a Roman cemetery has been excavated, with further finds including CBM leading to the suggestion of a villa here. At another location in Bray, a villa is suggested based on the evidence of a single pit (HER 00459.00.000 - MRW762). Whilst the case for villas at these sites is not convincing, there is clearly some form of substantial Roman settlement in the Bray riverside area, which deserves further exploration.

There is also significant settlement around Cookham. Excavations at **Prior's Pit** (HER 00592.10.000 - MRW959) in the 1960s revealed ditches, pits, wells and a corn-drier, indicating a rural settlement in the vicinity from the 1st-3rd centuries (Over, 1969, pp. 35–6). This settlement appears to have continued from Iron Age occupation at the same site (M. Cotton, 1961, p. 25). A farmstead consisting of postholes, pits, ditches, a well and corn drier, was also found nearby at **Strand Castle Pit** (HER 00616.00.000 - MRW997). Given the proximity of these sites it is probable that they form part of a single settlement. Unfortunately, neither of these sites has been published.

Significant occupation at Bisham has been identified by recent developer-funded archaeology. At **Manor Cottage** (HER MRM16630), excavation by TVAS revealed a series of ditches spanning the Late Iron Age to late 3rd-4th centuries (Pine, 2013). Post holes appeared to indicate the position of a Late Roman structure, although the core of the settlement was not located. Roman ditches, possibly constituting field systems, were also found at **Bisham Abbey** (Hunn, 2017), and an Iron Age or Roman ditch (Her 03009.10.000 - MRW6343) and hearth (HER 03009.10.002 - MRW6344) at **Bradenham Lane**.

Recent commercial work has also produced more fragmentary evidence of Roman settlement elsewhere in the study area, at **Cruchfield Manor** (HER 00491.01.001 - MRW6400) and **Weir Bank Stud Farm** (HER 00086.06.000 - MRW15488 ; Barnes & Cleal, 1995), Bray, and **White Place Farm**, Cookham (HER MRM15939). Several excavations at **Park Place**, Remenham (HER MRM15783, MRM15984, MRM17511) have revealed extensive boundary features, forming field systems. Rescue work in advance of the **Nuffield to Ascot Pipeline** (Site NA511 ; HER MRW1065-1067) uncovered a possible kiln and spread of pottery in White Waltham. A Roman floor observed at **Hurley Priory** (HER 00556.01.000 - MRW915) indicates Roman occupation here.

There have also been several suggestions of Romano-British 'pile dwellings' in the study area; **New Lock**, Bray (HER 00112.00.000 - MRW150; Peake, 1931, p. 183), **Cookham Lock**, Cookham (HER 00245.00.000 - MRW332; Over, 1969, p. 20), and **Hedsor Wharf**, Hedsor (HER RW15733 -

MRW15733 ; Over, 1969, p. 20). All of these were excavated in the 19th century during construction work, and there must therefore be considerable doubt about their identification. It has also been suggested that these may represent wharves or bridges, which may be a more likely interpretation.

Unexcavated Settlements

Ephemeral evidence of Roman occupation is widespread across the study area in the form crop marks, pottery scatters, PAS finds, and artefacts in local museums (Greenaway, 2006, p. 7). Resolving this scatter of material into a clear settlement pattern is difficult, however, as many tentatively-identified sites have not been confirmed through fieldwork.

A concentration of CBM, pottery and metalwork revealed by fieldwalking near **Aston**, Remenham (HER 00653.07.000 - MWK1049), coupled with aerial photograph evidence from the NMP for a building and associated enclosures of probable Roman date, make a convincing case for a Roman settlement of some kind here. Aerial photography has also recently been used to identify large buildings and enclosures at **Heywoods Farm**, White Waltham (HER MRM15972), and near **Hurley** (HER MRM17609), which may be villas.

Gates (1975, p. 37, Map 17, Plate 10) identifies a potential Roman settlement at **Wargrave** (HER 01158.01.000 - MWK2052), although nothing is visible on the ground and no finds have been recorded here. A number of features visible on aerial photographs at **Hill Grove Farm**, Cookham (HER 00536.00.000 - MRW875), may be related to scatters of Roman artefacts also found here (HER 00506.00.000 - MRW837). At **Shoppenhangers Road**, Maidenhead (HER 00615.00.000 - MRW996) a villa has been proposed, possibly due to a potential Roman enclosure (HER 00609.00.000 - MRW991) recorded from aerial photographs here in 1945, which has subsequently been destroyed. The HER considers this suggestion dubious. The HER also records a rectangular earthwork enclosure at **Ockwell's Manor**, Cox Green (HER 02595.00.000 - MRW4286), although it is unclear how this was identified as Roman.

At **Feens/Ffiennes Farm**, White Waltham (HER 00418.00.000 - MRW643, MRM16603), a dense concentration of CBM and pottery known since the 17th century, and associated earthworks and masonry fragments, have been interpreted as the site of a villa (Over, 1969, p. 33). Geophysical survey was recently undertaken here by the BARG (Hutt & Griffin, 2012), who identified anomalies which may relate to the Roman building and earlier roundhouses (HER MRM16604).

The **East Berkshire Archaeological Survey** identified six Roman sites in the study area through pottery scatters (Ford, 1987, Sites 1, 3, 4, 9, 11 and 20). Site 3 is the already-known site at Weycock Hill (see below). Site 1 is at Bisham. Whilst this site was unknown at the time of the survey, subsequent commercial excavations at Manor Cottage and Bradenham Lane have confirmed the existence of Roman settlement here (see above). Further investigation of the other EBAS sites is therefore desirable to improve our understanding of their character. Although Roman pottery was found during the Loddon Valley Survey, no significant sites were identified in the study area.

Roman settlements have also been suggested on the basis of Roman building material at **Church Paddock**, Cookham (HER MRM16274 ; Griffin, 2005) and **Berry Grove**, Waltham St Lawrence (HER 00454.00.000 - MRW734 ; Over, 1969, p. 32). A scatter of pottery has been used to suggest Late Iron Age to Early Roman occupation at **Mount Scippett Farm**, Bray (HER 00461.00.000 - MRW765).

Temples

Probably the most important Roman site in the study area is the **Weycock Hill Temple**, Waltham St Lawrence (HER 00420.30.000 - MRW656). The temple has been investigated on at least three occasions. An antiquarian excavation by Neville (1849) uncovered the plan of the central structure; a

substantial octagonal masonry tower of Late Roman date. However, this intervention also resulted in the Temple's partial demolition. The exact location of the temple was subsequently forgotten (M. Cotton, 1957, p. 51), leading Cotton's 1953 excavations to instead excavate a series of trenches in nearby fields. Whilst they did not locate the temple (subsequently re-identified on aerial photographs), they did identify further Roman occupation in the vicinity, including earlier 1st-2nd century levels. Most recently, a geophysical survey carried out at the temple by the University of Reading in 2013 revealed anomalies thought to represent the *temenos* wall, and potentially the position of an altar. This survey has not been published.

There is also evidence of a larger settlement around the Weycock Hill Temple, although this remains poorly understood. The digging of a nearby railway cutting in 1837 revealed a possible burial ground, and a series of stone-lined wells, although these are poorly documented. The area is noted for the dense spread of artefacts observed there since the 18th century (M. Cotton, 1957, pp. 48–9), and a scatter of pottery was identified by the EBAS (Ford, 1987, Site 3). There is also a concentration of PAS finds in this area. Over (1969, pp. 40–1) and Cotton (1957, pp. 54–5) suggest that this could constitute a roadside settlement on the 'Camlet Way'.

Further work is clearly needed to understand this site more fully. Re-excavation of the temple building itself would be desirable, in order to identify the condition of the surviving remains. Ideally such an intervention would also examine the features identified by the University of Reading survey. Survey of the surrounding area using geophysics and LiDAR would also be desirable to determine the extent of any associated settlement, especially as the site may be being damaged by unauthorised metal detector activity.

Cemeteries

Whilst a number of possible Roman burial places have been identified in the study area, all of these are poorly understood. The best documented of these is at **Hoveringham Pit**, Bray (HER 00131.10.000 - MRW189, also recorded on the HER as Water Oakley, 00131.00.000 - MRW172). Excavation of the site by the Middle Thames Archaeological Society (1969-70) uncovered a mixed cremation and inhumation cemetery dating to the 4th-5th centuries. A brief report of this cemetery is made in the Middle Thames Archaeological and Historical Society Newsletter (Hall, 1987), and the human bone was apparently written up by H Carter (Hall, 1987, p. 45), although a full report was never published. The archive for this excavation, including the human bone, is stored at Reading Museum (REDMG : 1986.146). The true extent of this cemetery is unclear. The Berkshire Archaeology HER records that rescue work in the early 1970s also uncovered c.60 skeletons to the east of this site, at **Down Place** (HER 00075.00.000 - MRW115). Human remains were also found at Down Place in the 19th century (Over, 1969, pp. 32–3). Unfortunately, no detailed report of these excavations exists, and it is therefore unclear whether these form part of the Hoveringham Pit cemetery or a separate burial ground.

At **Weycock Hill** (00420.20.000 - MRW655), during the digging of a railway cutting in 1837, a number of E/W aligned skeletons were found by workmen (Neville, 1849, pp. 121–2; Over, 1969, p. 37). No associated dating evidence was found, but they are presumed to have been Roman due to their association with the Weycock Hill temple. The bones were reburied in a local churchyard. Elsewhere along the line of the cutting were found a lead coffin containing a coin, which was sold for scrap before it could be examined, and a pit containing 40 skeletons. Again, no dating evidence is reported, and the pit was thought to date to the English Civil War.

A travel anecdote from 1877 records the apparent discovery of a number of skeletons and Roman weapons at **Sashes Island**, Cookham (HER 00254.00.000 - MRW337) during the cutting of a channel in

1830 (Lowndes, 1877, p. 400). However, it is far from clear that the writer intended this to convey that the items were found together (Over, 1969, p. 36). Given that this report was made almost 50 years after the original discovery, it is not strong evidence of a Roman cemetery on the island. The location of these artefacts and bones is unknown, although an index card from Buckinghamshire County Museum (CASS 0142) records them being in the possession of Lord Boston.

An isolated cremation was found at **Braywick**, Bray (HER 02618.00.000 - MRW12063). Finally, it is worth noting that the ditch around the possible round barrow at **Great How**, Maidenhead (HER MRM16115), has produced Roman pottery. Although usually thought to be Bronze Age, it is not impossible that this feature belongs to a later period of mound building in the Roman period (Eckardt, Brewer, Hay, & Poppy, 2009).

These possible burial grounds are clearly very poorly understood. The lack of survival of human remains means that there is little opportunity to study the demographics or health of the Roman population of East Berkshire, although this may be possible with the Hoveringham material. The HER records that many of these skeletons had unusual pathology, including missing limbs, arthritis and trepanned skulls. Re-examining and publishing this site could therefore be very beneficial to our wider understanding of health in the Late Roman period. This cemetery, with its mix of cremation and inhumation graves, may also provide the opportunity to study changing burial practices, or the interaction between different belief systems, in a rural setting. If the reports produced at the time of excavation can be located, it may be possible to bring this site to publication with relative ease, although it may also be possible for this material to be re-examined as an MSc thesis. The other cemeteries would benefit from further fieldwork aimed at identifying their exact location, the extent of any surviving remains, and establishing their date with greater certainty. Until such work is carried out, it will be impossible to make any meaningful interpretations of these burials.

Infrastructure

One research topic that has attracted particular attention within the study area is the search for the region's Roman roads. Many local societies have produced unpublished documents exploring the potential routes of these roads. However, whilst several have been postulated (HER 02883.00.000 -MWK4805, 02883.03.000 - MWK4808, 02883.04.000 - MWK4809, 02883.05.000 - MWK4811, MRM16518), few have been observed. Roads have been observed in two places in Wargrave; at Marsh Mill (HER 02883.02.000 - MWK4807) in the 1920s, and at Wargrave Church (HER 02883.04.100 -MWK4810) in 1987, although detailed reports are not available for either of these (see also Climenson, 1902). Hard surfaces have been observed at Windmill Shaw (HER 00602.00.000 - MRW968) and Cock Marsh (HER 06414.00.000 - MRW7207; Over, 1969, pp. 42-3), Cookham, and are thought to represent parts of Roman roads. Peake (1931, p. 183) records two Antonine coins found near 'supposed traces of Roman road' at Braywick (HER 06414.00.000 - MRW7207). Considerable attention has been paid to possible roads in Kidwell's Park, Maidenhead (HER MRM15784), including geophysical survey by the MAS in 2005. However, watching briefs by TVAS (A. Taylor, 2005; Wallis, 2006) indicate that the gravel under observation was relatively modern. Whilst considerable attention has therefore been devoted to the Roman roads of the area, this research remains largely speculative. The precise course of these roads is of negligible interest for wider Roman archaeology, but is relevant to considerations of the settlement pattern within the study area itself.

A more holistic approach to transport and communication in the area could fruitfully incorporate information about the Roman roads. Other evidence for the infrastructure of the study area in the Roman period includes the jetty excavated at **Hoveringham Pit**, Bray (HER 00131.01.000 - MRW174), piles at **Phyllis Court**, Henley (HER 02883.01.000 - MWK4806), and the possible evidence for bridge piers (or pile dwellings) at **New Lock**, Bray (HER 00112.00.000 - MRW150; Peake, 1931, p. 183),

Cookham Lock, Cookham (HER 00245.00.000 - MRW332; Over, 1969, p. 20), and **Hedsor Wharf**, Hedsor (HER RW15733 - MRW15733; Over, 1969, p. 20). An Iron Age or Roman dugout was found in the Thames near Bourne End Station (HER 00518.00.000 - MRW8286).

Artefacts

In the 1960s, Over (1969, p. 44) was able to list only a small number of isolated Roman artefacts from the study area. However, whilst excavations in the study area have provided very few Roman artefact assemblages, hundreds of Roman museum accessions and PAS finds can now be plotted. 799 museum



Figure 37 Map showing the distribution of PAS finds and museum accessions in the study area.

accessions and PAS finds were recorded for this project. With 178 records, there are slightly fewer Roman PAS finds than there were for the preceding Iron Age (although this is entirely due to the addition of older finds from the Celtic Coins Index to the Iron Age PAS list). 135 of these are coins, including two unquantified hoards, with the remaining 41 comprising a diverse group of small finds. Of the 621 museum accessions, only 23 are coins, suggesting that, before the advent of the PAS, most were kept or sold by the finders. Most of the datable coins come from the 3rd and 4th centuries, although a small number of Republican coins were also found. Some of these are recorded as being worn, implying long curation rather than early occupation.

These artefacts can provide a useful resource for identifying, characterising and dating rural settlements. The distribution of these artefacts closely matches the distribution of known Roman sites (Figure 37). The only clusters not already accounted for, in Bray and Cookham, appear to have been caused by the uncertainty around the provenance of museum accessions (see above), and likely relate to the known sites at Strand Castle/Prior's Pit and Hoveringham Pit. Whilst these objects therefore do not obviously reveal new potential sites, it must be remembered that this pattern is partially the result of antiquarians and metal detectorists having focussed their collecting activities around known sites. The largest concentration of PAS finds comes from the fields around the Weycock Hill temple. Future work could examine the distribution of objects of different dates, especially coins, to map the changing use of landscape through the Roman period.

Beyond their use in identifying sites, there is a current academic interest in Roman small finds. Assemblages are increasingly being used in discussions of identity and practice (Allason-Jones, 2011; Eckardt, 2014; Hoss & Whitmore, 2016; Swift, 2017; Van Oyen & Pitts, 2017). Like settlement excavations, these studies have tended to focus on large assemblages from towns, military sites and villas. However, there is a growing interest in applying these approaches to rural assemblages (Brindle, 2014; Smith et al., 2016). Currently the only work exploring these objects in Berkshire is Byard's (2018) recent overview of copper alloy PAS finds, and this remains an area for future expansion.

There is little evidence in the study area for the deposition of Roman objects in the Thames, despite recent research in London having found evidence for this (Humphreys, 2018). Nevertheless, an axe from the Thames at Bray (HER MRW7556) may represent a significant find.

Roman Settlement in East Berkshire

Despite the fragmentary nature of the available evidence, it is possible to propose a preliminary characterisation of Roman settlement in the study area. The area has been seen as one of low density occupation, but whilst it is difficult to clarify the settlement pattern suggested by recent finds, they certainly indicate a well populated landscape (Greenaway, 2006, p. 9). Overlaying the evidence of Roman occupation in the study area with a contour map (Figure 38) reveals that occupation here may be split between two 'zones' of valley settlement; settlement in the Thames river valley to the north, and settlement along the slopes of an east-west valley towards the south. However, this occupation is not restricted to the valley floors, and it is also the Roman period in which we see the first significant sites on the chalk high ground. The most significant sites in the study area (Weycock Hill, Cox Green, and Castle Hill) are all located in this southern valley, whilst the cemeteries at Hoveringham Pit/Down Place are located where the two zones intersect. Further research using GIS could provide an opportunity to study the interrelatedness of this landscape, moving us beyond the current focus on individual sites.

Examining the chronology of each of the sites in the study area is beyond the scope of this resource assessment, but it should be born in mind that this would have been a changing landscape, with not all sites being occupied at the same time. Rural settlement in the Thames valley at the Iron Age-Roman transition has recently been studied by Morrison (2015), although none of the sites in the study area are used in Morrison's case studies. Several sites (e.g. Weycock Hill, White Place Farm, Prior's Pit, Canhurst Farm and Ffiennes Farm) nevertheless show evidence of both Iron Age and Roman occupation, opening up the possibility of studying landscape change in this important transition period. The late Roman burials at Hoveringham Pit, and the Roman remains found at Hurley Priory and Bisham Abbey open up the possibility of studying continuity between the Roman and Early Medieval periods. Recent studies in the region have shown that the Roman landscape influenced the modern landscape more than was previously thought (Clark, 2005; Rippon, Smart, & Pears, 2015).



Figure 38 Contour map showing the distribution of Roman sites in the study area (contour data from Ordnance Survey, supplied by EDINA Digimap).

With few Roman field systems having been identified and characterised, the agricultural practices of this rural area remain poorly understood. Most are only known through aerial photography, and there is a chance to expand our understanding of these features through LiDAR and fieldwork. Nevertheless, corn driers at Altwood Bailey, Prior's Pit and Strand Castle Pit indicate investment in agricultural technology, possibly by the villa estates of the Maidenhead area. Ditches and environmental remains at Bisham Abbey indicate stock rearing and cereal cultivation (Hunn, 2017). Environmental remains have also been recovered from Park Place, Remenham (HER MRM15984). There is very little evidence for other industries in the study area. A forge was excavated at Cox Green, and evidence of metalworking found at Hoveringham Pit. A kiln or oven was found at White Waltham (Site NA511).

The Weycock Hill Temple is the most important site in the study area, and deserves further attention. However, there is other potential evidence of ritual activity in the study area. Recent work has highlighted the importance of pits and wells for ritual deposition (Fulford, 2001; Haynes, 2013; Hingley, 2006; Humphreys, 2017; Ross, 1968; Woodward & Woodward, 2004), and potential structured pits include deposits excavated at Prior's Pit (Over, 1969, p. 35), and the wells or shafts excavated near Weycock Hill. The Iron Age coin hoard from Waltham St Lawrence may indicate that the area was significant in pre-Roman times. A 4th century coin hoard was also found at Forest Farm, Bray (HER 00068.00.000 - MRW7523).

With new sites of possible Roman date having recently been identified through aerial prospection, it is not impossible that further discoveries are still waiting to be made in the study area. However, the priority for future work should be in exploring known sites further. Local societies have made strides towards re-examining these sites in recent years, and further work could include LiDAR survey and ideally excavation. It may be possible to locate the core of the Bisham settlement through geophysical survey (Hunn, 2017, pp. 127–8). Bringing the many unpublished sites of this period to publication is also a key priority.



Figure 39 Map showing the distribution of Early Medieval sites, and museum accessions and PAS finds in the study area.

3.7 Early Medieval (410 – 1066 AD)

The Early Medieval period sees the emergence of a range of new sources of evidence, with documentary sources (e.g. the Burghal Hidage, Domesday Book, Charters) and place names being particularly important for reconstructing the settlement pattern in this period. Despite the issues with these sources, they continue to dominate our understanding of the study area in this period (Clark, 2007, p. 1). The archaeology of the period is particularly challenging, as there is noticeably less evidence for the Early Middle Ages than for preceding and succeeding periods (J. Platt, 2017), even when documentary sources indicate that settlements should be found (Clark, 2007, p. 4). The best approach to this shortfall is to use archaeological and historical techniques in tandem; for example in using map regression and boundary surveys to trace the charter boundaries around Waltham St Lawrence, White Waltham and Shottesbrooke (Clark, 2005, p. 158; Ford, 1987, p. 97). Nevertheless, this assessment will focus on physical archaeological resources; excavated features, standing buildings and smallfinds.

Sites

Settlements

The Early Medieval period is the first period in which the modern settlement pattern begins to emerge. The Domesday Book records 11th century settlement at all of the study area's current major settlements; Bisham, Bray, Cookham, Maidenhead, Remenham, Shottesbrooke, Waltham St Lawrence, Wargrave and White Waltham (Ford, 1987, Table 64). Etymology has also been used to suggest a Saxon origin for some settlements, such as Paley Street (HER MRW5430). However, the archaeological evidence for Early Medieval occupation at many sites is slim. Only a few excavated sites have produced significant evidence for Early Medieval occupation. However, amongst these are some significant Early-Mid Saxon sites uncovered through developer-funded interventions. With new sites continuing to appear, the archaeology of the Early Middle Ages shows the value of the developer-funded system to improving our understanding of the study area.

The most significant archaeological evidence for Early Medieval settlement in the study area comes from Cookham. Cookham was the site of an early Minster (see Clark, 2005, p. 135 for documentary evidence, although no archaeological evidence has been found), and there have been suggestions of other significant site features here, including a fortified Burgh, royal palace and battlefield. The most frequently cited of these is Sashes Island (HER 00255.00.000 - MRW338). This site has been suggested, on etymological grounds, to be the site of Sceaftesege, a fortified Burgh mentioned in the Burghal Hideage (N. Brooks, 1964; Clark, 2007, p. 23). Several Early Medieval weapons were found here in the 19th century. However, the cutting of a lock through the island in 1830, and the deposition of spoil on the surrounding land, have meant that any potential archaeology is now buried (Clark, 2007, p. 23). Geophysical survey, test pits and evaluation trenches (Champness, 2009) on the island have not identified any features associated with this possible Burgh, which, if it does exist, is therefore likely to sit on the unexamined eastern end of the island. The suggestion of a nearby Early Medieval battlefield at Batlynge/Bartle Mead (HER 00285.00.000 - MRW360), is also unsupported by archaeological evidence (Clark, 2007, p. 24). The MAS has suggested, based on the evidence of a charter (995x999) for a witan being held here, that a royal palace may have existed close to the present church (Clark, 2007, p. 18). No evidence of this has been found.

Nevertheless, there is archaeological evidence of Early Medieval occupation in Cookham (HER 00520.03.000 - MRW853). Pottery was found at **Church Paddock** (HER MRM16276) and **Riverdene** (HER 00520.03.200 - MRW855), and a Late Saxon ditch was found at Bridge House (HER MRM16280). A watching brief at **Spencers, The Pound** (McNicoll-Norbury & Milbank, 2013) revealed Early-Mid Saxon pits and gullies indicating occupation several hundred metres to the west of the current settlement centre. This may be an outlying settlement, although it could also indicate that the

settlement was bi-focal, or moved eastwards over time. Clark (2005, pp. 145–57) has also conducted a hedgerow survey of Cookham, suggesting that some may be c.1,200 years old, although this is obviously not a precise measure of date.

Significant Early Medieval occupation has also been identified in Bray. Excavations at **Braywick Park** during the summer of 2018 have recently revealed a number of sunken-feature buildings (SFBs/*Grubenhauser*); the clearest evidence for settlement in the study area. Earlier interventions also revealed less substantial evidence for Early Medieval settlement. Sub-Roman or Early Saxon settlement, including a vehicle-worn cobbled surface (HER 00131.02.000 - MRW187) and a pit containing evidence of metalworking (HER 00131.20.000 - MRW199), was found by the MAHS at **Water Oakley/Hoveringham Pit** (HER 00131.00.000 - MRW172), possibly continuous with Roman activity at the site (Clark, 2007, p. 8). Excavation by the MAHS (Ames, 1993) also revealed a small amount of Saxon material at **Moor Farm** (HER 00464.00.000 - MRW771), including wooden stakes (HER 00464.01.000 - MRW772) radiocarbon dated to 753 AD (+/-155), and 7th century pottery at Moor Farm Barn (HER 00471.01.000 - MRW788). Much of the evidence for Early Medieval occupation at these sites remains unpublished.

At **Manor Cottage**, Bisham (HER MRM16598), developer-funded interventions uncovered an Early Medieval midden and ditch (Pine, 2013). Pottery was also found at **Bisham Abbey** (HER 00492.00.000 - MRW809) during commercial work, indicating that occupation at the site continued uninterrupted from the Roman period (Hunn, 2017, p. 129).

In Wargrave, several pits and postholes dating to the Early-Mid Saxon periods were found during the construction of the **Sheeplands Nitrate Pipeline** (HER 01158.06.000 - MWK15558). Small amounts of Anglo-Saxon material were also found nearby at **St Mary's Churchyard**, Wargrave (HER WK15670 - MWK15670, WK15698 - MWK15698, WK15699 - MWK15699, WK15700 - MWK15700), although no Saxon burials are reported.

Other remains are fragmentary. A possible Early-Medieval ditch at **Glengariff** (HER MRM15897) and pottery scatter at **Cox Green** (HER 02596.00.000 - MRW12045) may indicate an as-yet unlocated settlement in this area. Late Saxon occupation at **Heywood's Farm** (HER 00470.00.000 - MRW786) is referred to in documentary sources, but it is unknown whether evidence of this was located during rescue excavation at this site by the MAHS, as the site remains unpublished.

Churches and Minsters

Whilst a number of the churches in the study area are thought to have had pre-Conquest origins, very few have any surviving structural evidence of this. Excavations at **Hurley Priory** in the 1930s revealed possibly pre-Conquest foundations and masonry in the nave (Clark, 2007, p. 20; Rivers-Moore, 1939, pp. 24–5), whilst there is some surviving 11th century masonry in the parish church at **Waltham St Lawrence** (Ford, 1987, p. 99).

Cemeteries

Only a small number of Early Medieval cemeteries are known in the study area; all of them inhumation cemeteries, and all of them regrettably unpublished (although see Over, 1971). An Early Saxon cemetery of six burials, some furnished with weapons, was found at **Noah's Ark Field**, Cookham (HER 00505.00.000 - MRW836), during the construction of a railway in the 19th century.

There are several confused reports of burials at **Aston Rise**, Remenham (HER 00652.00.000 - MWK1041). Peake (1931, p. 127) reports the discovery of a human skull accompanied by a spear and brooch, as well as other weapons and urns from the same site. However, Meaney (1964, p. 44) reports a single inhumation furnished with weapons, horse harness and jewellery. The British Museum

contains several weapons, brooches and pottery vessels from this site; presumably those reported by Peake. These finds may suggest a wider burial ground at Aston Rise, the true extent of which is not currently known. During the course of this research, a further furnished Early Saxon burial was uncovered in **Bisham** by a metal detectorist, and recorded by the PAS (HER MRM18303).

A furnished Early Medieval inhumation accompanied by a dog was also found in one of the Bronze Age barrows at **Cock Marsh**, Cookham (HER 00508.00.000 - MRW839), when they were excavated in the 1870s. This would appear to be a clear example of the well-documented practice of re-using earlier monuments in this period (Semple, 1998, 2013, H. Williams, 1997, 1998). However, Pollington (2008, p. 172) has also recently suggested that the Cock Marsh barrows may in fact be Saxon. The re-use (or continued use) of earlier sites is also demonstrated at Bray, where Early Medieval inhumations overlay the Roman cremation cemetery at **Hoveringham Pit** (Ford, 1987, p. 99; Hall, 1987, p. 41).

Few Late Saxon burials are reported from the study area, although early 11th century burials are recorded from the 1930s excavations at **Hurley Priory** (HER 00554.11.000 - MRW909).

Artefacts

The Early Medieval period is notable for the comparative lack of artefacts recovered. Only 44 PAS finds (including only five coins) and 74 museum accessions are recorded; fewer than for any other period. The EBAS also failed to locate any Anglo-Saxon pottery (Clark, 2007, p. 3; Ford, 1987). This may indicate lower density settlement of the area, although the period is known to have been less material-rich than the Roman or Medieval periods. Amongst these are very few Middle Saxon finds, with the majority being Early or Late Saxon. The distribution of finds follows the usual PAS pattern for the area (Figure 22), but the concentration of finds around Bisham is especially notable in this period for its density, and reinforces the suggestion given by pottery from the site (above) that occupation here continued from the Roman to Early Medieval periods. It is worth noting that 1/3 of all museum accessions (25 objects) are recorded as having come from the River Thames or Loddon. This reflects a wider pattern of deposition of weapons in the Thames in the Early Medieval period (Naylor, 2015); an apparent resurgence of a practice which was widespread in prehistory (see above), but not obviously so in the study area during the Roman period.

Early Medieval Settlement in East Berkshire

Examining the Early Medieval settlement pattern of the study area is challenging. Whilst documentary sources indicate that by the end of the period the modern nucleated settlement pattern (with the exception of Maidenhead) was fixed, the lack of ground evidence means that the date at which these sites were founded, their early character and developmental history are not well understood. Partially this lack of evidence reflects the nature of settlement. Many sites of the period continue to be occupied, meaning that they are damaged by later activity and unavailable for excavation or field walking (Ford, 1987, p. 97).

Whilst the influence of the Early Medieval settlement pattern on later settlement is clear, the continuity or otherwise of Roman landscapes has only recently been examined. This subject is dealt with by Clark (2005), who looks at the entire middle Thames valley using case studies from the study area, whilst the Fields of Britannia study recently examined land immediately to the north of the study area (Rippon et al., 2015). Both studies suggest that there is greater continuity since the Roman period than was previously appreciated. It nevertheless appears that settlement of the study are in this period was less dense than in the Roman period (Clark, 2005, pp. 155–6). Sites such as Hoveringham Pit and Bisham Abbey (above) have shown evidence for continuity between the Roman and Early Medieval periods, but the lack of landscape survey in the study area means that the continuity or otherwise of the wider landscape cannot be easily approached.

With the exception of the possible settlement at Cox Green, there is no evidence of Early Medieval occupation on the chalk geology of the central study area (Ford, 1987, p. 98). Known occupation is instead heavily focussed on the Thames river valley, with a few sites extending to the clay geology in the south of study area; again indicating a decrease in settlement density. Further work could investigate the link between geology, communication lines and settlement in the study area by integrating geological information, LiDAR and bathymetry into GIS models of local settlement. Recent work elsewhere has already highlighted the influence of rivers and watercourses on Anglo-Saxon landscapes (Hyer & Hooke, 2017).

The economy of the study area in this period is poorly understood, as few agricultural facilities or field systems have been identified. No evidence of industry was recovered, with the exception of 5th century metalworking at Hoveringham Pit. No sites show conspicuous evidence of high status occupation, although this may be implied by the number of furnished burials (Clark, 2007, p. 8). None of the sites in the study area appear to have taken on any great regional significance compared with nearby sites at Old Windsor, Hambleden, Sonning, and Taplow. However, there is considerable evidence for the ritual use of the landscape, in the siting of churches, deposition of weapons in rivers, and the re-use of earlier burial grounds.

Currently, developer-funded interventions provide the best opportunity to identify new sites in the study area, as demonstrated by the recent discoveries at Braywick Park. Future research work may benefit from shifting attention from the conjectured features of Cookham towards a greater focus on finding tangible evidence for the early history of continually-occupied settlements. The identification and dating of field systems and other boundaries would also be beneficial to our understanding of this period.

3.8 Medieval (1066 – 1540 AD)



Figure 40 Map showing the distribution of Medieval sites, and museum accessions and PAS finds in the study area.

The Medieval period has many of the same advantages and limitations for archaeological study as the Late Saxon period. There is a great increase in the amount of evidence, with a much wider range of documentary sources, and the first standing domestic and industrial buildings. Astill (2006) has provided a recent summary of the strengths and weaknesses of each evidence type in Berkshire. These sources indicate that the study area formed a unique landscape in the middle ages; comparatively underpopulated, with little industry, in an area covered largely by Forest and Park land (Grenville Astill pers. comm.). These factors combine to produce an unusual situation, in which models of Medieval settlement developed from more typical type-sites elsewhere may not apply. The purpose of archaeology in this situation is therefore to illuminate how these unusual circumstances manifested in the reality of settlement, economy and lived experience within the study area.

Sites

Towns, Villages and CORS

All of the major settlements in the study area were established by the end of the middle ages, and most have been occupied ever since (sometimes referred to as Currently Occupied Rural Settlements (CORS)). None appears to have ever been substantially more than a village in the middle ages, although Cookham, Maidenhead and Wargrave at least had some market function, and were incorporated as towns (Astill, 1978, p. 1, 1998). The evidence available with which to review these sites is considerable, comprising maps, charters, place names, churches, standing buildings, as well as excavated archaeological remains. There is unfortunately not sufficient space within this project to review all of the available evidence for these settlements individually.

Whilst the medieval archaeology of much of the study area is poorly studied, medieval history has been a subject of considerable interest to local historians and groups, with many village history publications beginning with the documentary sources and standing buildings of the middle ages. More serious research has also been carried out on these sites. Wethered (1909b) used documentary sources to study White Waltham and Shottesbrooke. Astill (1978) conducted an archaeological survey of three places in the study area; Cookham, Maidenhead and Wargrave. This survey assessed the physical and documentary evidence available for each settlement, sketched its development and medieval topography, considered the threat from development, and set out priorities for further work. Later surveys, such as that of White Waltham by the MAHS in 1977, or Kupferman's 1989 survey of Cookham, are used as sources of evidence by the Berkshire Archaeology HER, but were never published, and are not available online. More up-to-date assessments of these historic village and town centres can be found in the Conservation Area Appraisals produced for local government, such as those for Cookham (Director of Development and Regeneration, 2016a) and Maidenhead (Director of Development and Regeneration, 2016b). As centres for modern occupation, most of these settlements have also been subject to a number rescue interventions. Regrettably, those conducted before the onset of the modern developer-funded system are poorly recorded.

Whilst the fact that these sites continue to be occupied hampers our ability to explore them archaeologically, continuing development will ensure that further medieval remains are recorded through the commercial system. There are also ways in which we could actively enrich our understanding of these settlements. Astill (2006, pp. 5–6) calls for more desk-based survey of medieval townships and parishes. Map regression exercises, incorporating LiDAR, could be used to more accurately map how the medieval villages of Berkshire grew and shrank over time. Valuable information about the chronology of these settlements could also be obtained by the more widespread use of dendrochronological analysis of timbers in standing buildings (Astill, 2006, p. 7). Most of these sites have parish churches which retain some medieval features. These were widely studied in the 19th and early 20th centuries, with numerous papers appearing in the BAJ and its

predecessors. Nevertheless, modern surveys of these buildings may prove fruitful in identifying earlier features and re-used masonry. In terms of fieldwork, Lewis (2007) has recently shown how small test pits, widely dispersed across CORS, can reveal important information about changing settlement patterns. Such schemes are useful both as a means of better understanding the development of settlements, and as a way to engage local communities with field archaeology.

DMVs

In addition to the settlements that have survived into the modern period, there are two Deserted Medieval Villages (DMVs) in the study area; Shottesbrooke (HER 00432.00.000 - MRW695) and Crutchfield (HER 00491.00.000 - MRW808). Interest in DMVs has remained strong in Medieval settlement studies since the mid-20th century (Beresford & Hurst, 1971; Dyer & Jones, 2010; Fenwick, 2014), to the detriment of studies of CORS (Lewis, 2007). Unfortunately, very little research has been carried out on either of the settlements in the study area. A preliminary list of DMVs in Berkshire was produced using the evidence of OS maps, with the aim of stimulating further research (Beresford & Hurst, 1962). However, whilst Brooks (1982, 1998) has studied the DMVs of north Berkshire, those in the study area have rarely been revisited. In a preliminary report, Over (1984) compiles historic maps and documentary evidence for the history of Shottesbrooke, and identifies features visible on aerial photography. The Nuffield to Ascot Pipeline passed through the site at the same time, producing scatters of 13th-15th century pottery. The only known work on Crutchfield, an unpublished assessment by RPS Clouston in 1991, is not easily available (e.g. through the ADS). There therefore seems to be considerable scope for expanding our understanding of these sites. The historic maps identified and georeferenced for this assessment provide a good basis for more detailed map regression exercises to be carried out using GIS. Another key resource will be LiDAR, as the features identified by Over from aerial photographs show up very clearly. Further work could include geophysical survey. However, with so little fieldwork having been carried out, some level of excavation will be required to confirm the date of these features.

Religious Houses

The study area contains two particularly important medieval religious sites; Hurley Priory and Bisham Abbey. In addition to these is the collegiate church at Shottesbrooke (HER MRW698), noted for its Decorated Gothic style (O'Callaghan, 1998).

Hurley Priory (HER 00554.00.000 - MRW896) was founded as a Benedictine abbey in 1086, although excavation in the 1930s revealed evidence of earlier Anglo-Saxon and Roman structures at the site. Following the dissolution, the church became the parish church of Hurley, and is still in use. Some of the cloister buildings also survive, having been converted into a private house. The remaining buildings were incorporated into a Post-Medieval manor house, Ladye Place, which was demolished in the 19th century. A 14th century dovecote and barn, and a 12th century timber building (now Ye Olde Bell pub, potentially originally the abbey's guesthouse), also survive in Hurley village. Intriguingly, Ye Olde Bell is apparently connected to the abbey remains by an underground tunnel.

Much of our understanding of the site comes from excavations by the site's then-owner, Colonel Rivers-Moore, in the early 20th century. These excavations were published in summary form (Hancock, Cunningham, & Rivers-Moore, 1917; Rivers-Moore, 1934, 1939; Ward-Perkins & Williams-Hunt, 1938), although there is reason to be cautious about Rivers-Moore's findings. Rivers-Moore collaborated with Bligh Bond, whose own excavations at Glastonbury have recently been shown to be problematic (Gilchrist & Green, 2015). Bligh Bond and Rivers-Moore conducted séances within the abbey (Hopkinson-Ball, 2007, p. 189), detailed in *Revelations of a Priory*, posthumously published in an edited form by Mary Howarth (Rivers-Moore, 1990). These seances and visions of ghosts apparently guided Rivers-Moore's excavations (Palmer, 2011), although there is no record of this in the published

reports. Several developer-funded interventions in Hurley have since revealed a scatter of Medieval features across the village, including parts of the moat bounding the site, and probable Tudor remains in the Chapter House garden, but the core of the priory itself has not been subject to major investigation since the 1930s. The West Berks Museum holds an archive of material from fieldwalking at Hurley Priory in 1976 (NEBYM : 1980.164). Documentary evidence for the site has been extensively studied by Rev. Wethered (1898b, 1898a, 1909a, 1910, 1917a, 1917b), then-vicar of Hurley.

Bisham Abbey (HER 00492.00.000 - MRW809) has an even more complicated history. It was founded as a preceptory of the Knight's Templar in 1134-5, dissolved in 1307, reoccupied as an Augustinian Priory in 1337, dissolved again in 1536, and re-founded as a Benedictine Abbey for only six months from 1537-8. Following the dissolution, the site was occupied by the Hoby family, and recently saw major redevelopment as a National Sports Centre. None of the abbey buildings remain, although the original Templar structure survives as part of the present manor house. Unlike Hurley, there has never been a dedicated campaign of archaeological investigation at Bisham Abbey. However, owing to its recent re-development, the site has been subject to numerous developer-funded interventions (Hunn, 2017). Documentary evidence for the site has been examined by Hone (1895) and Dormer (1906).

As sites with long occupation histories, but which have been subject to very little archaeological intervention, these are prime locations for further work. Ideally, this work should take a *longue durée* approach, establishing with greater certainty the nature of the Roman and Early-Medieval occupation, and the ways in which the priories were used after the reformation. Local societies are currently investigating the possibility of using geophysical survey to understand the exact location and extent of Hurley Priory's buildings. This is an excellent place to start a new period of investigations at these priories, as the extent of their precincts within the moated areas, and of occupation without, are currently unknown. Future work could also usefully incorporate a survey of the standing buildings, as well as of building stone in Hurley and Bisham villages, in order to identify any re-used Early-Medieval or Roman masonry (Grenville Astill pers. comm.). Both sites have been noted for their unusual topographic position (Astill, 2006, p. 8), and this could be explored further through a wider landscape survey. Whilst these methods have the advantage of being non-invasive, a new campaign of more focussed excavation would also be highly fruitful.

Moated Sites

One of the most common Medieval site types in the study area are moated sites, with 15 likely moats and moated sites recorded on the Berkshire Archaeology HER. Moated sites are not uncommon nationally, with a recent study identifying 8,452 in England (Coveney, 2014), and others suggesting more remain to be discovered (Dean, 2014). As with DMVs, moated sites have been a subject of interest in Medieval archaeology (Aberg, 1978; Coveney, 2014), with debates considering whether they were built primarily for defence or display. Recent interpretations have highlighted the extreme range of motivations, functions and dates for moat building (Aberg, 1978; Coveney, 2014; Johnson, 2015; C. Platt, 2010). Unfortunately, the sites of the study area are poorly understood.

The moated sites of both East (Kupferman, 1986) and West Berkshire (McCardle, 1988) were studied in dissertations in the 1980s. Unfortunately, despite being heavily relied upon as sources of evidence by the Berkshire Archaeology HER, neither document has been published, and copies are not available online or through their respective universities. The Berkshire Archaeological Journal also records that a member of the BFRG was undertaking a survey of moated sites in the county in the early 1980s, although nothing appears to have been published (Chadwick, 1982, p. 104).

Very few of these sites have been subject to field investigation. Moats at **Botany Bay Copse**, Ruscombe (HER 00425.00.000 - MWK667), **Bear Place**, Wargrave (HER 00423.00.000 - MWK665, which may be

post-medieval), **Fifield House** (HER 00113.00.000 - MRW151), **Hyden's Manor** (HER 00450.00.000 - MRW725), and **Mills Farm** (HER 00087.00.000 - MRW136), Bray, and **Goosenest Cottage** (HER 03440.00.000 - MRW5009), **Callin's Bridge** (HER 00426.00.000 - MRW669) and **Beenham's Farm** (HER 00426.02.000 - MRW671), Waltham St Lawrence, have been recorded from visible remains, and subject to no further investigation. At **Gibstroude Farm** (HER 00659.00.000 - MWK1052) and **Maplecroft** (HER 00658.00.000 - MWK1051), Wargrave, and **Grove House**, Bray (HER 00115.00.000 - MRW153), moats have been identified from old maps. Their identification as moats is therefore suspect, with other suggestions including fish ponds or clay pits. Others, at **Remenham** (HER 00650.03.000 - MWK1040) and **Shoppenhangers** (HER MRW5010), have been postulated by earlier antiquaries, with no evidence of their existence currently known. Further investigation of these sites is desirable, as they can often turn out to be post-medieval (C. Taylor, 2014).

Nevertheless, a small number of these sites have been excavated. The moated site at **Heywoods Farm** (HER 00469.00.000 - MRW784, 00470.00.000 - MRW786) was excavated by the MAHS in advance of development in 1976-9, revealing a 16th century building (HER 00469.01.000 - MRW785) on the platform area. Unfortunately, this site is unpublished, with the HER citing Kupferman (1986) as the main source of information. The location of the archive for this site is unknown. It is also possible that excavations of some kind took place on the moated site at **Foxley Green Farm**, Bray (HER 00456.00.000 - MRW745), in the 1970s, although this cannot be substantiated.

By far the most significant moated site in the study area is that excavated at **Spencers Farm**, Maidenhead (HER 00588.00.000 - MRW951). Visible as a series of earthworks, and long-recognised for its archaeological significance, the site was subject to a small excavation in the 19th century, a large volunteer and student excavation co-directed by Dr Cecil Slade (University of Reading) and Luke Over during the 1960s-70s, and a smaller intervention by Oxford Archaeology in 1998 (Muir, 1998). The 1960s excavation is the most significant, covering the majority of the core area of the Spencer's Farm site, and uncovering a series of buildings from c.1100-1500 AD (Muir, 1998, p. 1). Prompted by the threat to the site posed by the expansion of nearby housing developments, the Spencer's Farm excavation was a key event in the archaeology of Berkshire; it can be seen as the first field school of the University of Reading, and was the longest running modern excavation in the study area, bringing together all of the key local societies.

Unfortunately, the excavation has never been published. The excavation archive was retained by Cecil Slade before passing to the Maidenhead Archaeological and Historical Society (MAHS), and then to the Berkshire Archaeological Research Group (BARG) in 1994. The BARG aimed to bring the site to publication in monograph form, but the writing of this has not progressed significantly since the mid-2000s. The BARG have cleaned and recorded c.80,000 finds from the site, depositing them with Reading Museum. Specialist reports have been commissioned on the metalwork, pottery, faunal remains, slag, wood, charcoal, glass, worked flint and CBM. These exist in draft form, but have not been completed. The BARG has drawn up a matrix of the site, and carried out phasing with reference to the pottery.

Other Settlements

Beyond these easily definable site types are a number of instances of more fragmentary archaeological features and less easily characterised occupation. Whilst many of these may in time resolve into clearer settlements, it is also worth considering what contribution they might make to our understanding of scattered occupation in the Medieval rural landscape (Rippon, Fyfe, & Brown, 2013); especially in light of the comparatively small size of the towns and villages of the study area.

Rescue excavations by the MAHS at **Norden's Farm** (also known as Altwood Road/Great Hill Crescent), Maidenhead (HER 00617.00.000 - MRW1003), revealed pits and evidence of buildings (HER 00617.01.000 - MRW1004) dating to the 12th-13th century. Unfortunately, the site remains unpublished. 12th-13th century occupation has also recently been uncovered by commercial work at **Forest Green Road**, Bray (HER MRM17640). 86 Medieval features, were uncovered, mainly pits and postholes. Although no buildings could be clearly identified, these remains appear to constitute a farmstead.

Earthworks at **Punt Hill**, Maidenhead (HER 02174.00.000 - MRW4032), **Cresswells Manor**, Bray (HER 00462.00.000 - MRW766), and **Bartle Mead**, Cookham (HER 00287.00.000 - MRW362) are thought to indicate the position of further Medieval buildings. None has been excavated, and geophysical survey at Punt Hill failed to find evidence of foundations.

Agricultural and Industrial Features

Despite the wider Thames valley being well-surveyed, we still have a poor understanding of the degree to which the landscape was exploited in the middle ages (Astill, 2006, p. 5). This is particularly true of the study area, although there are a number of identifiable resources which could allow this issue to be addressed.

Fragmentary evidence of agricultural features is scattered across the study area. Remnants of ridge and furrow have been identified at **Park Place**, Remenham (HER MRM17505), **Snowball Hill**, Maidenhead (HER MRM17529), **M4 Great Wood**, Shottesbrooke (HER MRM16309), and **White Waltham** (HER 00455.03.000 - MRW739), and possible field boundaries at **Cresswells Manor**, Bray (HER 00462.03.000 - MRW769) and **Wargrave** (HER MRM15987). **Silver Firs Farm**, Bray (HER MRM15979) is recorded on the HER as a 13th century assart, possibly associated with a farmstead, although it is not clear how this identification was made. There is considerable scope for expanding the number of known Medieval field systems in the study area. A preliminary analysis of the LiDAR from Maidenhead Thicket has highlighted a number of features which appear to be Medieval strip fields (see above), and it seems likely that more field systems of this date could be identified if this resource was better exploited.

Other archaeological features associated with agriculture include the standing barns at **Hurley** (HER 00554.09.000), and the possible tithe barn identified through geophysical survey by the BARG at **Ruscombe** (HER MRM16490). A number of sites also possess features identified as fishponds, at **Billingbear Park** (HER 00474.02.000 - MRW794) and **Beenhams Farm** (HER 00426.02.000 - MRW671), Waltham St Lawrence, **Botany Bay Copse**, Ruscombe (HER 00425.01.000 - MWK668), **Bear Place** (HER 00423.01.000 - MWK666), **Maplecroft** (HER 00658.00.000 - MWK1051), and **Gibstroude Farm** (HER 00659.00.000 - MWK1052), Wargrave, **Hurley Priory**, Hurley (HER 00554.08.000 - MRW906), and **Heywoods Farm**, White Waltham (HER 00469.00.000 - MRW784). These are usually associated with moated sites; some may in fact be moats, whilst other moats may also have functioned as fishponds. As with moats, some are only known from old maps. Unfortunately most are poorly dated, and many may therefore be post-medieval. These features would benefit from further analysis using LiDAR, geophysics and excavation to confirm their form, function and date.

The only significant medieval industrial site in the study area is the kiln site at **Camley Gardens**, Maidenhead (HER 00610.00.000 - MRW992 ; Pike, 1966). Construction work here in 1964 revealed 11 kilns in two groups. Four of the seven kilns in the Hardwick Close group (HER 00610.02.000 - MRW994) were excavated, and found to have been producing 13th century domestic wares. None of the kilns in the Arlington Close group (HER 00610.01.000 - MRW993) were recorded in detail, although one of them produced 15th-16th century pottery. The site was published shortly after excavation with a

preliminary report on the pottery itself. However, press cuttings and correspondence from 1999 and 2000 archived by the MAHS indicate an effort by the society to reopen post-excavation work on the site, and bring it to full publication. The 'bulk of the excavation material' (at least one box, Maidenhead Heritage Centre Box 14) was passed to Lorraine Mepham (Wessex Archaeology) for further analysis 'a few years' before 2006. However, it is not clear from this correspondence if a final report was produced, and nothing further was published. The paper archive of the site is currently held by the MAHS. The pottery itself appears to be split between the MHC (MAIHC : 1999.63), Reading Museum (REDMG : 1998.64), British Museum (1989,0305.1-25) and Ashmolean (ANTNB.3462).

Brick kilns of possible Medieval or Post-Medieval date were also excavated by the MAHS at **Smewins Farm**, White Waltham (HER 02579.00.000 - MRW4281). Unfortunately, as the site remains unpublished its chronology is unclear. A later evaluation by TVAS did reveal a nearby hearth of medieval date, however (HER RW15681 - MRW15681).

There have been suggestions of industrial features elsewhere, although none are confirmed. Treacher recovered medieval pottery from a 'kiln' at Bisham (HER 00605.00.000 - MRW990), although this may refer to pottery recovered from the later brick and tile kilns at the site. Mills are recorded at Twyford (HER 05083.00.000 - MWK6220) and Cookham (HER 00246.01.000 - MRW6529) in historic documents and maps, although no archaeological evidence of medieval mills has been found. It is also possible, given the Forest setting of the study area, that woodland crafts and landscape management tasks formed a greater-than-usually-prominent part of the local economy (Grenville Astill pers. comm.). Further collection of environmental sequences would be needed to establish this.

Infrastructure

As in the Roman period, the HER records a number of pieces of Medieval infrastructure in the study area. Many of these are river crossings known only through documentary sources or place names (HER 00546.00.000, RW15750, MRW15732). Actual archaeological evidence for Medieval infrastructure is limited to a number of roads and trackways (HER RW15732 - MRW15732, MRM16657, MRW7202, MRW3873, MRM17661, MRW742), and a dugout boat excavated at Shottesbrooke in 2003, and now in the Henley River and Rowing Museum. Although conserved by the York Archaeological Trust, to the author's knowledge details of this boat have never been published.

Artefacts

The number of artefacts dating to the Medieval period increases significantly from the Early-Medieval period, to become roughly equivalent to that recorded from the Roman period; 566 museum accessions and 213 PAS finds (of which 101 are coins or tokens). Whilst Medieval small finds have typically been under-exploited, this is beginning to change. One example is the use of PAS finds to identify temporary settlements, such as markets (Oksanen & Lewis, 2015). In the study area, however, the distribution of these artefacts closely follows the known settlement pattern. The only concentration not accounted for, in Twyford, is the result of a large collection of medieval stone from Reading Abbey having been moved to that location in the Post-Medieval period.

One notable aspect of the finds from this period is that there remains a significant number of pieces dredged from the Thames. As in earlier periods, these include large pieces of metalwork, including weapons. Also as in earlier times these are mainly (although not exclusively) found along the eastern edge of the study area, with a number of axes, daggers, spears, pikes and billhooks amongst the material from between Cookham and Maidenhead. Smaller objects and pottery are also recorded. Unlike the Thames finds from earlier periods, these objects are largely unstudied, despite recent work having explored the possibility of votive deposition in rivers in the Medieval period (Garcia, 2003).

Medieval Settlement in East Berkshire

The study area constitutes a highly atypical Medieval landscape, making it an ideal location for a study examining Medieval settlement and economy in an atypical setting, highlighting the diversity of lived experience across the period (Grenville Astill pers. comm.). With this in mind, it is unfortunate that the resources for understanding the use of this landscape have not been more fully explored. Future work should focus on providing archaeological evidence of the changing use of urban and rural space in this period, with LiDAR being a key resource in the initial identification of features for further exploration. Whilst this landscape approach has the most opportunity to contribute to the major debates of the Medieval period, there are also several sites of local interest that deserve to be reopened and brought to full publication (e.g. Spencers Farm, Heywoods Farm, Hurley Priory and Bisham Abbey).

4. Proposals for Future Work

It is hoped that this report will provide a useful basis on which to design and carry out further archaeological research projects in East Berkshire. Recommendations for further study and the generation of new resources can be found throughout the text of this report. These recommendations have been collected together by Paul Seddon, and are presented in Appendix 06. From this, it is clear that there is scope for future work on varying scales by academics, local societies and commercial contractors using almost every resource, and in almost every period. In lieu of an overall conclusion, this section will instead present three more detailed proposals for future work that have been developed with the cooperation of the University of Reading. These proposals demonstrate the sort of work that could be undertaken at various scales to improve our understanding of the history of East Berkshire.

4.1 Bringing Sites to Publication

One of the key issues with compiling this resource assessment has been the lack of publications in the study area. This is not particularly problematic for developer-funded interventions, as the majority of their work is now available through the ADS. It may nevertheless be helpful to have more comprehensive reporting of local interventions in the BAJ.

Activities carried out by local societies are more problematic. A number of geophysical surveys have been undertaken in the past decade, but with the exception of a roundup by Hutt (2013) there is no information about these in the public domain. Most have already been written up as internally-circulated reports, but it is unclear where these will be archived in the long term. The ADS provides a useful repository for such work, although publication of these studies through the BAJ would be more desirable.

Most problematic is the fact that a large number of important excavations carried out by local societies in the mid-late 20th century have remained unpublished for decades. Key sites that should be brought to publication include Boundary Elms, Burchetts Green, Down Place, Heywoods Farm, Hoveringham Pit, Priors Pit, Spencer's Farm, and Strand Castle Pit. Many of these sites appear to have been written up to some degree already, although the locations of some of these reports are unknown, as are the locations of some site archives.

As part of this assessment, the Spencer's Farm site was explored further, in order to assess its suitability for publication. After passing through several hands, the archive was placed in the care of the BARG in 1994, who have subsequently cleaned and recorded c.80,000 finds from the site, depositing them with Reading Museum. The BARG retains the paper archive, has prepared a phased matrix, and has commissioned specialist reports on the metalwork, pottery, faunal remains, slag, wood, charcoal, glass, worked flint and CBM. These exist in draft form, but have not been completed. Given that the majority of the finds have been written up, the core phasing established, and finds illustrations made, it may be possible, with the permission of the BARG, to bring the site to publication in a relatively short period of time. Seven months of full-time work may be sufficient to complete the structural sequence, edit the available finds reports, and create basic plans and illustrations. This could produce a report publishable in journal form, for example in the BAJ or on Internet Archaeology, but would not be sufficient to complete a monograph. The work needed to complete this is summarised in Table 8.

Section	Chapter	Progress
Introduction	Site background and excavation circumstances	Written in draft
	Illustration - site location and overall plan	Site location map and overall site plan drawn but not digitised
Methodology	Excavation methodology	-
	Description of trenches	-
	Finds retrieval policy	-
	Post-excavation methods	-
	Archive location	-
	Illustration - plan of trenches	Site plan available but not digitised
Stratigraphic sequence	Description of stratigraphic phases	Matrix and phasing written by C. Slade and BARG - will require checking with software
	Description of key features and finds	Lists of features available but not written up
	Illustration - digitisation of site plans and sections	-
	Illustration - digitisation of site photographs	-
	Illustration - drawing of site phase plans	-
Finds reports	Metalwork report	Written in draft?
	Pottery report	Written in draft?
	Faunal remains report	Written in draft
	Slag report	Written in draft
	Wood report	Written in draft
	Charcoal report	Written in draft
	Glass report	Written in draft
	Worked flint report	Written in draft
	CBM report	Written in draft
	Coins report	-
	Statuary report	-
	Illustration - digitisation of finds illustrations	-

Table 8 Table showing the work needed to bring the Spencer's Farm site to publication.

	Illustration - digitisation of finds photographs	-
Discussion	Spencer's Farm and Medieval moated sites in England	-

Proposed researcher: Post-Doctoral Researcher

Proposed duration: 7 months

Proposed funding stream: Local grant (Bayliss Trust, Prince Philip Trust, Local Societies) or charitable donation

4.2 Field to Forest: Relict Field Systems in East Berkshire

Throughout this resource assessment it has been highlighted that, in the past 30 years, the focus of archaeology has increasingly shifted from examining individual sites towards examining integrated landscapes. Coupled with this is a renewed interest in rural settlement and economy in all periods, together with an explicit focus on continuity and change in the *longue durée* (Clark, 2005; Levick, 2015; Morrison, 2015; Rippon et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2016; Yates, 2007).

When studying rural landscapes, the most important resources are relict field systems. Whilst this shift in perspective can be seen in studies using all types of data, the primary method for identifying field systems has traditionally been aerial photography. Partly because of this, landscape studies in the Thames valley have tended to focus either on the chalk high ground of west Berkshire, or the low-lying Thames valley gravels; geologies in which aerial survey is particularly useful. This creates a significant gap in our understanding of the rural settlement of mixed landscapes. The study area itself is particularly notable in historic times for its mixed geology, low population, lack of industry, and status as Forest; but the effects of these atypical circumstances on the settlement pattern and agricultural regime have been largely unexplored.

Whilst aerial surveys have previously identified extensive relict field systems on the Berkshire Downs (Ford et al., 1988; Levick, 2015; P. Rhodes, 1950), far fewer systems are currently recorded on the Berkshire HER for the east of the County. However, this resource assessment has highlighted significant potential for field systems to be identified in east Berkshire. The most important new resource for studying field systems is LiDAR, which has dramatically increased in availability over the past decade. The preliminary analysis of the LiDAR data presented here has revealed a number of linear features on common land near Maidenhead, which appear to be the boundaries of relict field systems. This is a significant discovery, showing that relict field systems are more widespread and better preserved in east Berkshire than previously thought. This is possibly due to the area having been Forest for much of the middle ages and early modern period.

Whilst this preliminary study has identified new field systems, their extent, nature, and date are currently unknown, and they deserve further investigation. Levick (2015) has recently shown the value of an integrated approach to field systems in the Berkshire Downs, utilising a combination of aerial photography, LiDAR, historic maps, field surveys, geophysics and metal detected finds; all resources which are also available for east Berkshire. Fieldwork in the form of site visits, boreholes and test pits could further enhance this data and provide dates for some features. Working with the National Trust opens up the opportunity to carry out community projects investigating these features.

Proposed researcher: Archaeology PhD Student

Proposed duration: 3 years

Proposed funding stream: DTP

Proposed supervisor: Martin Bell, Duncan Garrow (also under consideration: Steve Rippon, National Trust)

4.3 Thames Metalwork and the Thames Conservancy

One of the most famous and well explored features of the archaeology of the Thames valley is the large number of artefacts recovered from the River Thames itself. These objects include large, prestigious pieces of metalwork that are unlike those commonly found on excavations of settlement sites. Studies in the past have looked at objects from the Thames from the Mesolithic to the Early Medieval periods (J. Cotton & Green, 2004; J. Cotton & Wood, 1996; Ehrenberg, 1980; Field, 1989; Humphreys, 2018, pp. 321–8; Naylor, 2015; Raffield, 2014; M. Rhodes, 1991; Schulting & Bradley, 2013; R. Thomas, 1984; York, 2002), with many suggesting that the river acted as a focus for various types of ritual deposition (Humphreys, 2018, pp. 327–8; Naylor, 2015, p. 133; Raffield, 2014; M. Rhodes, 1991; York, 2002, pp. 90–1).

However, there is still much to be understood about these objects. Whilst some periods (e.g. the Bronze Age) are well studied, the Roman and Medieval periods have almost never been examined. More importantly, no studies have looked at deposition in the Thames in its totality, spanning prehistoric and historic periods. As such it is difficult to distinguish significant patterns of continuity and change in depositional practices from coincidences caused by the nature of the evidence. This is compounded by a lack of understanding about the formation of the record itself. Most of these finds were made during the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of the dredging of the Thames (Ehrenberg, 1980, pp. 1–5; Naylor, 2015, p. 126; M. Rhodes, 1991, pp. 179–82; York, 2002, pp. 77–9). In a recent study of similar finds from the Rhine, Kappesser (2012) has shown the value of integrating a detailed study of dredging practices into studies of archaeological artefacts from river channels, but nothing so detailed has been carried out for the Thames. Studies of the Thames artefacts also lag behind current thinking about deposition in watery places, which has recently adopted a more complex understanding of the significance of different types of water (Bradley, 2016; Yates & Bradley, 2010a).

Berkshire contains two important resources that could allow these problems to be addressed; the Thames Water Collection (held at Reading Museum) and the Thames Conservancy Records. The Thames Conservancy was an organisation set up in 1857 to manage the Thames River upstream of Teddington. The Conservancy was the primary organisation responsible for dredging the river, and also took responsibility for the recording of archaeological finds recovered through dredging. The records of the Conservancy are formed of two archives held at the Berkshire Record Office. One, the personal records of the Treacher family, is catalogued and accessible. However, the institutional archive of the Thames Conservancy itself is currently uncatalogued, and not accessible to researchers (the BRO is currently seeking funding to catalogue this archive).

Cataloguing these records is essential to future work being carried out on the highly significant Thames metalwork. Once completed, it would be possible to integrate the analysis of these archives with the re-examination of the artefacts in the Thames Water Collection in order to significantly improve our understanding of the formation and meaning of this remarkable archaeological resource.

Proposed researcher: Archaeology PhD or Post-Doctoral Student

Proposed duration: 3 years

Proposed funding stream: Research grant

Proposed supervisor: Hella Eckardt

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