

# Medieval Settlement Research Group



Annual  
Report  
5  
1990



# **Medieval Settlement Research Group**

**Annual Report 5 1990**

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# AN EDITORIAL COMMENT

I am pleased to be able to present the fifth Annual Report of the M.S.R.G. (for 1990) to all Group members. This volume is rather shorter than the fourth Report: the Annual Conference for 1991 will not occur until 21st September and the Conference Report will, therefore, be included in the sixth Annual Report: additionally there has been no repetition of the large and very welcome number of papers on Continental issues which were such a feature of the fourth Report. Notwithstanding, there is a great deal of material, both in the short reports sections and in the several short discussion papers which have been included.

Like Reports Nos. 3 and 4, this volume has been printed by Silk and Terry Ltd. of Birmingham. My grateful thanks to Michael Silk for his professional advice and all the work undertaken by himself and his colleagues.

The Annual Report is the mouthpiece of the Group. It exists to enable members to exchange views and inform each other of research undertaken. Its contents are limited to what the editor receives. I would like to express my gratitude to all the many members who have sent contributions for this volume and to take this opportunity to urge members (and non-members) to send me their contributions for Volume 6. I am keen to receive short reports on work undertaken during 1991 (or earlier if unreported) and brief articles on any aspect of medieval settlement which they would like to share with other members. Let us try to keep the Annual Report as relevant, up-to-date, inclusive and stimulating as possible. Letters, Reports, Articles, Figures and Plates please to the Editor (address on page 2), by the end of April 1992, for the 6th Annual Report.

Nick Higham

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting will be held on **Friday, December 6th**, at the **Geography Department, Birkbeck College, London**. The theme of the seminar will be preservation.

### ANNUAL CONFERENCE: 1992

The Annual Conference will be held at **Middlesbrough** on the **6th-7th March, 1992**. The theme will be **Villages and Rural Settlement in North-East England**. Forms containing more information and details of application will be circulated nearer the time.

### GENERAL NOTICES

#### (i) ENQUIRIES TO THE NAR

The National Archaeological Record of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England is able to answer public enquiries concerning village and moated sites, both through its own records and as holder of the archives of the Medieval Village Research Group and the Moated Sites Research Group. In addition, the NAR maintains a computerised index, which provides both archaeological and documentary information for each DMV site in the MVRG archive. The records are available for public consultation by prior arrangement at the address and times given below. RCHME staff will answer written or telephone enquiries and provide guidance to visitors.

National Archaeological Record,  
RCHME,  
Fortress House,  
23 Savile Row,  
London W1X 2JQ.  
Tel: 071 973 3148  
Monday - Friday  
10.00am - 5.30pm

#### (ii) RESEARCH GRANTS

The Group has some limited resources for the support of research by members of the Group within its field of interest. Small grants are available annually up to a maximum of £500 for projects relating to medieval settlement. Preference will normally be given to field survey, documentary research and the preparation of graphics rather than to excavation and the preparation of reports for publication. A summary report of the work will be required within a year and, subject to editorial consideration, may be published in the *Annual Report*.

### APPLICATIONS

There is no special form. Applicants should apply by letter, summarising the proposed research and the costs involved. Mention should be made of other applications for funding. The names of two referees should be included. Letters should be addressed to the Treasurer (Dr R.E. Glasscock, Department of Geography, Downing Place, Cambridge, CB2 3EN) to reach him by 1st September in the year preceding that in which the work will be carried out. Applicants will normally be notified of the outcome in December.

Applications for work to be carried out in 1993 should reach the Treasurer by 1st September 1992.

# **THE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE RESEARCH GROUP ARCHIVE: AN INTRODUCTION**

by Elizabeth Man

The MVRG archive is a product of thirty five years of archaeological and historical research carried out between 1952 and 1987, principally by Professor M W Beresford, J G Hurst and other members of the group. The archive is now on permanent loan to the National Archaeological Record of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. It is available for public consultation by prior arrangement in Room 2.12 at Fortress House, 23 Savile Row, London, W1X 2JQ.

The archive is organised alphabetically by site name within pre 1974 counties. It contains individual reference cards for over 5000 sites which have been classified, using historical and archaeological evidence, to distinguish wholesale depopulation from population contraction or shrinkage. Individual files are available for many sites, which may contain detailed reports, surveys or photographs.

For every pre 1974 county there is also a file containing general information. There is a large collection of aerial photographs, both RAF verticals at a scale of 1:10,560 and Cambridge University Archaeological Committee obliques, taken by Dr J K St. Joseph.

For nearly all DMV sites in the MVRG archive the minimum information includes the National Grid Reference, 1 inch and 6 inch scale OS map sheet numbers, data from standard documentary sources, air photos, printed references, and brief reports of visits to the site to check on location, condition of the earthworks, standing buildings, and other features such as ridge and furrow.

The material in the archive is a reflection of the state of research into medieval rural settlement at the time and as such it is heavily weighted towards those areas which then attracted most attention.

Historical and archaeological evidence relating to the Midland counties, for instance, occupies a prominent place within the archive.

The objectives of the archaeological evaluation of sites undertaken by the group were to gain protection for surviving monuments and to record archaeological evidence prior to its destruction. The archive therefore holds a unique archaeological record; excavation reports, watching briefs, field notes and photographs, earthwork surveys and in the case of ploughed sites, surface debris analysis notes. The documentary material in the archive is substantial and much of it has been integrated into the site files. It consists of extracts from Ancient Deeds, Feet of Fines, Inquisition Post Mortems, Minister's Accounts, Rentals and Surveys, the British Museum Additional Charters, Lay Subsidy Rolls, Poll Taxes and Hearth Taxes. The source material available for an individual site varies in both quantity and quality according to the depth of research carried out by members of the group. The archaeological and documentary material which has been assembled in the archive provides a basis for further research into a wide variety of issues in medieval rural settlement studies.

As part of the archive, the MVRG also has a slide collection and various OS 1 inch scale maps: some of this archive has been microfilmed. There is also a small selection of reference books including, for example, "The Lay Subsidy of 1334, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series II", (Oxford University Press), edited by Robin E Glasscock. The former library of the group has now been transferred to the Local Studies Library, Leicester University. Much of the Manuscript material of Professor M W Beresford's published work has also been deposited in the archive.

Fieldwork and examination of documentary sources over many years have combined to create a record of wide appeal, of interest not only to students and academics but also to the general public, local authority planning officers, archaeological units and local history societies.

In 1987, the Medieval Village Research Group amalgamated with the Moated Sites Research Group to form the Medieval Settlement Research Group in order to address the wider issues of medieval rural settlement. At the same time a project was undertaken to create a computerised index to the MVRG archive. Information from the MVRG records was entered onto a specifically designed database, offering ease of retrieval and simplifying searches of the paper archive. To date it contains 3070 DMVs. For each site on the index there are five main categories of data, giving the following fields of information:

## **1. Location and Administration**

Site name/Alias  
National Grid Reference  
Present County, District and Parish  
National Archaeological Record number  
1 inch and 6 inch scale OS map sheets numbers  
Who suggested the site and when  
Status of the site (eg. deserted or shrunken, migrated or resettled, former village or failed town)

## **2. Archaeological Information**

Archaeological classification (visual quality of the site)  
Cartographic and photographic records  
Physical features of the site - surviving earthworks, field system, standing buildings

## **3. Historical Information**

Historical classification (quality of historical evidence)  
Presumed date for depopulation  
Former administrative units  
Presence or absence of village in national taxation records  
Existence of PRO or BL sources for the site

## **4. Archaeological History**

Visits to the site, when and by whom  
Excavation, when and by whom  
NMR Excavation Index number

## **5. Bibliography**

References to printed documentary sources and secondary works  
When information for a particular field is present

within the archive this is indicated by a Yes or No. Specific or general information is retrieved from the database using an enquiry system. Searches can be made, for example, for sites which possess certain features or for DMVs within a county. It is possible to print the records selected in an enquiry in abbreviated or catalogue form.

In addition, various reports are available from the index:

1. Summary report of sites by either pre 1974 or new county, containing the following information:
  - county code
  - site name
  - parish
  - status
  - archaeological classification
  - historical classification
  - period of desertion
  - 1 inch and 6 inch scale OS map sheet numbers
  - National Grid Reference

These county summaries now replace the old typewritten MVRG county lists.

2. Catalogue of sites by either pre 1974 or present county. Full catalogues of all the data can be produced for each site.
3. Catalogue of single site by Primary Record Number (a computer generated number unique to each site)
4. Summary of DMVs (totals per county). The total number of sites in each pre 1974 county is entered onto the database.
5. Summary of DMVs (density per county) A table is produced giving the relative local frequency of DMV sites in the pre 1974 counties. The county acreage (c 1951), number of sites and density per 10,000 acres are given.

Reports can be supplied on request from NAR staff for a nominal charge. This may be particularly useful to those unable to make a personal visit to the archive.

## THE ORIGINS OF THE VILLAGE IN SOUTH WALES: A STUDY IN LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY

by Jonathan Kissock

The debate on the origins of nucleated settlements is one of the most frequently encountered themes in landscape studies. To date little attention has been paid to this topic in a Welsh context. Over the last three years this author has aimed to make a contribution to redressing the balance by attempting to answer the question: why are there villages in south Wales [1]? This study was spatially limited to the four "old" counties of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire; there were no fixed chronological limits.

The first element of his research set out the background to the theme and defined the overall aim. This aim was then expanded into a number of lesser objectives. Each objective was presented in the form of a set of questions, which the author set out to answer. The questions related to the role of the Norman Conquerors in Wales, the possibility of pre-

Conquest village origins related to political and ecclesiastical factors, and the nature of the links between nucleated and dispersed settlement, and, open-field and enclosed patterns of land ownership. Underlying each set of questions was the premise that the village is the physical - and therefore usually the archaeologically recoverable - manifestation of a particular form of social organisation.

It was argued that several processes led to village origins. A morphological study of the type developed by B.K. Roberts [2] showed that a small number of villages were deliberately planted in south west Wales. Pembrokeshire was seized by the Normans in c. 1090. The two decades that followed were marked by bitter hostilities between the Anglo-Norman settlers and the native Welsh. The future county was eventually divided into two: the colonists held the southern portion (the Englishry) and the indigenous population retained the northern part (the Welshry.) The two areas were not separated by a distinct boundary, but by a frontier zone or march. In an attempt to stabilise the area a number of villages were planted. In each of these regularly laid out settlements Henry I deliberately placed a Flemish community, c. 1110. The founders of at least two of these villages - Wizo and Tancard - are known to have founded villages elsewhere in Britain, notably in southern Scotland. Hence it is proposed that they were *locators*: men who were regularly entrusted with the foundation of villages in return for substantial rewards. There is modest evidence that burgage tenure existed in some of the newly-founded villages. These villages may therefore have been given an inflated status in order to attract settlers. In this way these settlements were analogous to the Irish rural boroughs and the *bourgs ruraux* of Normandy. One example of a deliberately founded village is Templeton, on the boundary between the Norman lordship of Narberth and the Welsh



Figure 1: The planned and planted village of Templeton, as it would have looked c. 1100. Solid lines have been taken from the O.S. map of 1901; broken lines have been inferred. Sentence Castle, a ringwork, can be seen to the west of the village.

lands of Dheubarth. (Figure 1.) In this small, non-urban settlement plots of a standard size - two thirds of an acre - were being described as "burgages" in the thirteenth century. Further research into the landscape of the frontier revealed another pattern: mottes were the dominant form of castle here, but not elsewhere in Pembrokeshire. It was thought that the extra height of a motte gave it a defensive and psychological advantage over the native population along an unstable frontier. The position of the planted villages and mottes is shown in Figure 2.

Two processes contributed to village origins in the pre-Conquest period. It was argued that the need to increase agricultural production to support the emerging political elite of the Kingdom of Glywysing (modern-day Glamorgan, Gwent and south west Hereford) and to meet the growing demands of the powerful *clas* monasteries led to the nucleation of settlement in the period after c. 700. The bringing together of people in one settlement is one way of increasing the degree of power that can be exerted over them and hence making them work harder and produce more. Evidence to support this argument can be found in Wendy Davies's analysis of the Llandaff charter material [3]. Unfortunately this evidence may be atypical as it deals with one small selection of settlements: those that were, for whatever reasons, donated to the church. Nevertheless this material does show the contemporary appearance of a fully developed taxation system and the emergence of the first recognisable elements of the modern settlement pattern by c. 800.

The second process which led to the foundation of villages in the pre-Conquest period was the dissolution of the earlier multiple estates. The nature of multiple estates has been extensively discussed by G.R.J. Jones. They were groups of settlements, within which there existed a framework for the exchange of resources. Hence each individual settlement could specialise in the production of certain commodities, which could then be traded for other products. These frameworks broke down for various reasons. Jones has shown that the estate of Caec, in Carmarthenshire, began to break-up c. 850 when the parish of Llan-y-Crwys was granted to the church [4]. The author was able to demonstrate that substantial agricultural changes followed the dissolution of the estate structure here. The Domesday Book also shows that other estates, on the Anglo-Welsh border, were breaking-up; this is likely to have had similar consequences. As estates broke-up specialised production ceased to be possible. Individual communities needed to provide all their requirements. In some areas this would require the combination of agricultural and pastoral production on one area of land: cattle or sheep could be grazed on the stubble whilst manuring the field prior to the sowing of grain. This is one of the essential features of the open-field system. To ensure that everyone takes part in this system it is necessary to scatter each individual's holdings throughout the open-field area (another feature of open-field production.) If holdings are scattered then the optimum point to reside is - if other things are equal - at their centre; migration to this central point from a number of dispersed residences could also have led to village formation.

This author also examined other related topics. The evidence for the stability of village plans over time was also explored.

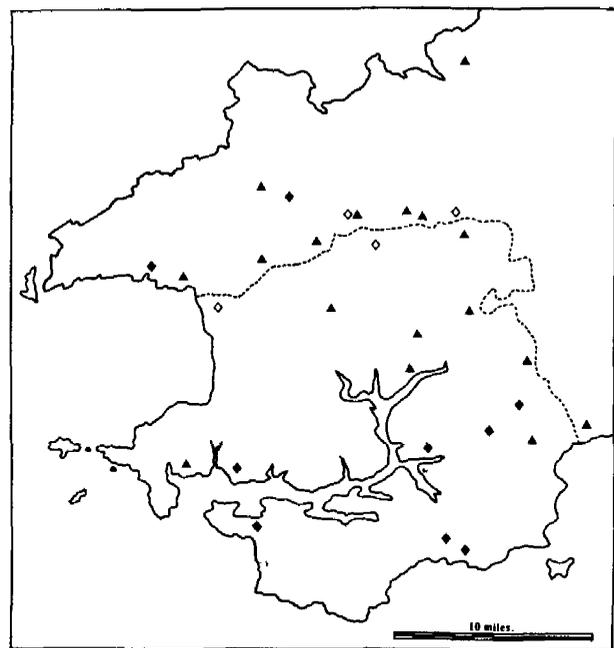


Figure 2: Planted villages and mottes along the Anglo-Norman/Welsh frontier in Pembrokeshire:

- ◆ Planned village.
- ◇ Partially planned village.
- ▲ Motte.

A wide range of material - maps, the degree of concentration of landownership, population figures and the shape and size of deserted villages - was discussed as part of this area of the study. It was argued that village shapes had not usually changed and hence the deductions made from morphological studies - for example deliberate plantation - were valid. Another part of the study examined the landscape of east Gower in some detail. The differences between the Anglo-Norman and Celtic landscapes of nucleation was demonstrated and the economy of the upland area in the later medieval period was shown to be vibrant. Some of this work used hedge-dating as one method of obtaining a chronology for the area; a successful attempt was made to differentiate between assart and enclosure hedges and so to develop the concept beyond the "one species per century formula."

This author's research tried to contribute to the wider debate in two ways: it gathered new information about, and offered new interpretations of, the origins of the village in south Wales. It also tried to develop and refine some of the approaches and assumptions made by landscape archaeologists.

#### Notes:

- 1) The Origins of the Village in South Wales: a Study in Landscape Archaeology. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, Dept. of English Local History, 1990.
- 2) For example in *The Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography*, 1987.
- 3) *An Early Welsh Microcosm*, 1978, and *The Llandaff Charters*, 1979.
- 4) 'Post-Roman Wales', in H.P.R. Finberg, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, volume 1 part 2, AD 43 - 1042, 1972, pp. 430 - 479.

**MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT SITES  
WHICH ARE ACCESSIBLE TO THE  
PUBLIC (Part 2)**

by **Christopher Dyer**

The first list of 'accessible' sites was published in the *Annual Report* 4, for 1989. As was explained then, 'accessible' can mean that the site is on land to which the public has already access - because the site is in the Guardianship of English Heritage or a local authority, or because it lies on a piece of public open space such as a park or village green, but in those cases where the letters (FP) follow the entry a public footpath crosses or runs near to the site. In these cases the site can only be viewed from the path, and publication in this list should not be interpreted by visitors as a licence to wander at will over the site. In

most cases the sites will be in agricultural use, and visitors are urged to follow the normal 'country code' in closing gates, safeguarding the welfare of animals etc. Once again the compiler wishes to thank the many county archaeologists who gave up their time to provide the information on which this list is based, and to members of the Group, Jane Croom, Peter Gulland and Brian Sheldrake, who provided and the information about Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire included in the second list.

A third stage of this investigation must be to establish how many sites are actually displayed to the general public. My impression from collecting this material is that there are relatively few: Godwick (Norfolk); Old Monkton (W.Sussex); Houndtor (Devon); Wharram Percy (N.Yorkshire).

County	Type of site	Modern location	Map reference	Medieval name (FP)
Avon	Moat	Parr's Court, Kingswood	ST 658720	—
Berkshire	DMV	Compton	SU 570778	Compton (FP)
Berkshire	Moat	Southcote Manor	SU 691717	Southcote
Berkshire	Moat	Brightwalton Manor	SU 429793	Brightwalton (FP)
Buckinghamshire	Shrunken village	Aston Sandford (eastern end)	SP 761077	Aston Sandford (FP)
Buckinghamshire	Moat	Hulcott	SP 854167	Hulcott ? (FP)
Buckinghamshire	Moat	Denham Lodge Quainton	SP 752205	Denham? (FP)
Buckinghamshire	DMV	Littlecote	SP 831241	Littlecote (road)
Buckinghamshire	DMV	Creslow	SP 811219	Creslow (FP)
Cheshire	Moat	Little Moreton Hall Congleton	SJ 828589	—
Essex	Moat	Cressing Temple	TL 799187	Cressing Temple
Essex	Moat	Southchurch Hall	TQ 894855	Southchurch Hall
Essex	DMV	Harlowbury	TL 478120	Harlowbury (FP)
Greater Manchester	Moat	Heaton Moor	SJ 874924	Peel Moat (FP)
Greater Manchester	Moat	Broad Oak Farm Hazel Grove	SJ 939875	Torkington Moat (FP)
Greater Manchester	Moat	Timperley Golf Course	SJ 777881	Timperley Hall
Greater Manchester	Moat	Aspull	SD 624070	Gidlow Hall (FP)
Greater Manchester	Moat	Peel Hall Rd Wythenshawe	SJ 837868	Peel Hall
Greater Manchester	Moat	Arley Lane, Adlington	SD 588107	Arley Hall (FP)
Nottinghamshire	DMV	West Burton	SK 799853	— (FP)
Nottinghamshire	Migrated vill	Langford	SK 821587	— (FP)
Nottinghamshire	DMV	Thorpe in the Glebe	SK 608257	Thorpe le Glebe (FP)
Nottinghamshire	Migrated vill	Crow Close, Bingham	SK 713398	— (FP)
Nottinghamshire	Fishponds, dovecot	Sibthorpe	SK 765454	
Oxfordshire	DMV	Nether and Over Chalford	SP 348252	Nether and Over (FP) Chalford
Shropshire	DMV	Heath	SO 557857	Heath (FP)
Shropshire	DMV	Cold Weston	SO 552830	Cold Weston (FP)
Shropshire	DMV	Abdon	SO 576876	Abdon (FP)
Shropshire	Moat	Shawbury	SJ 561212	Shawbury (FP)
Somerset	DMV	Nether Adber Mudford	ST 588213	Nether Adber
Somerset	Moat	Marston Magna	ST 595223	Marston Magna
Somerset	Deserted hamlet	Westbury sub Mendlip (Deer Leap)	ST 515 493	—
Wiltshire	DMV	Putnall Farm	SU 240168	Henset (FP)
Wiltshire	Moat	Marten	SU 281160	Mertone (FP)

# THE PROBLEM OF GOLTHO

by Paul Everson

## Introduction

In an extended review of Guy Beresford's excavation report on *Goltho: The Development of an Early Medieval Manor* [Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, Archaeological Report no. 4 (1987)] published in 1988, I attempted to explore the historical background and topographical context for those excavations which the two published excavation reports touch on but do not satisfactorily explain.<sup>1</sup> Some of the detailed comments and suggestions directed in that review at the report as the publication of an excavation are relevant to the wider questions, and in particular the dating of the principal phases of the manor. Excavation period 3 - the first phase of the enclosed manorial complex - appears to be dated too early by half a century or more, as the comments of specialist pottery workers have begun to assert,<sup>2</sup> putting it firmly into a context after the Scandinavian land-taking of the later 9th century. The first motte-and-bailey castle (period 6), too, not only plausibly historically belongs to the Anarchy as a creation of the Earl of Chester/Roumare connexion,<sup>3</sup> but also better conforms at that date with the pattern of finds associated with it and (in the case of splashed ware pottery) sealed beneath it. If correct, other phases of the sequence would need to be thought of on an adjusted timescale accordingly.

But the most unusual and puzzling aspect of Beresford's report and of its predecessor on the village remains is the way in which 'Goltho'<sup>4</sup> emerges as exceptional, almost

isolated from our wider understanding of the medieval settlement of the area. At the simplest level it seems almost inconceivable that the settlement should be so ill-documented as the reports portray. The rest of the 1988 review article concerned itself with this problem and a suggested solution, which, if correct, changes the context for understanding the excavations at 'Goltho' and may (one hopes) provide a new starting point for further research. The text of that discussion is reproduced here in an outline form and corroborative details must be sought in the earlier piece: page numbers quoted refer to *Goltho...manor*.<sup>5</sup>

## 'Goltho', Goltho and Bullington

Goltho as a place-name is not documented until the early thirteenth century. While the explanation that the settlement was returned, unnamed, under the heading of Bullington in DB and similar record sources is superficially reasonable, it has to be said that in practice in north-west Lincolnshire such a circumstance is quite exceptional for a settlement of such physical size and tenorial importance as 'Goltho'. Typically such a hidden existence is the province of the smallest hamlets and farms in the area. Worse still, such obscurity for Goltho is carried through the standard documentation of the later medieval period. In no other instance of a settlement in this area of such physical size as 'Goltho' does it prove so difficult to obtain any index of the population levels of the settlement. In RCHME's recent fieldwork on settlements in West Lindsey 22 sources have been used - from DB to selected census returns - in a tabulation to give a crude population profile through the medieval and later periods: Goltho appears only from the mid sixteenth century onwards.<sup>6</sup> In an area, too, where sub-

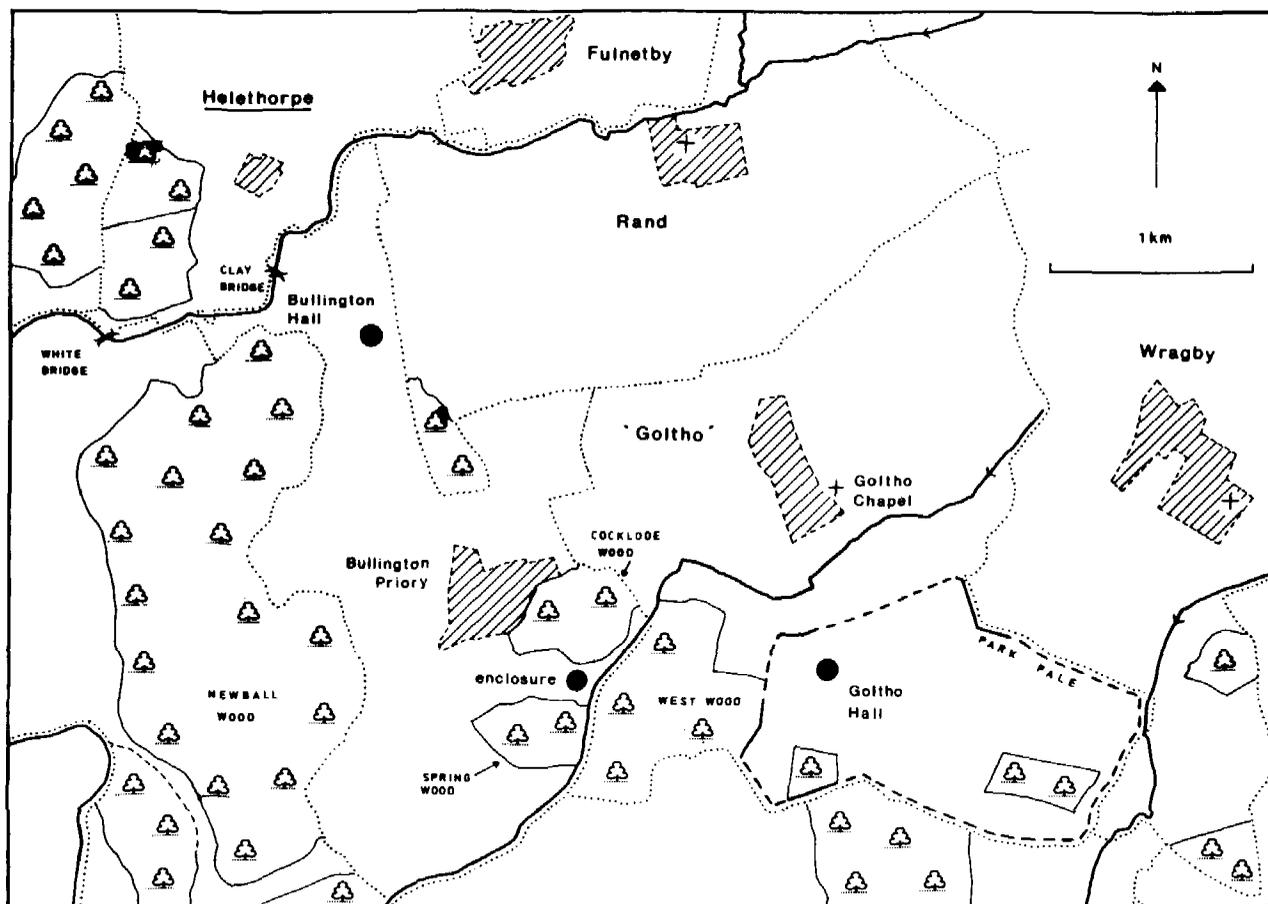


Figure 3: Goltho

infederation, manorialisation and ecclesiastical provision go hand in hand, and the medieval landscape was full of churches and chapels, it is difficult to find a comparable case of a large and tenurially important settlement with no evidence for such provision. No church is recorded at Goltho in DB, in 1254 in Bishop Norwich's valuation, in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* in 1291, in 1342 in the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, in the 1428 subsidy, or in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535: no chapel was revealed in Mrs. Owen's survey of medieval chapels.<sup>7</sup> No medieval institutions are recorded.<sup>8</sup>

In order for the full general significance of the excavations to be exploited, it is essential that their context be properly understood. Two levels of attempt to indicate a context have been made. Beresford's own is to list the principal settlement features of the parishes of Goltho and Bullington to its W (see fig. 00) - namely (1) 'Goltho' DMV (centre TF 116774), (2) the alleged site of Bullington DMV (at Bullington Hall TF 092779 or elsewhere), (3) the site of Bullington Priory (TF 101767), (4) the earthwork at Cocklode Wood in Bullington (TF 104764) which Beresford interprets as a castle that was the successor of the 'Goltho' manor site, (5) earthwork enclosures at Goltho Hall (TF 117766) conventionally called 'moats' and interpreted by Beresford as a lordly residence of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that was occupied as the successor in turn to the Cocklode Wood earthwork [ (4) above]. Two of these, therefore, are woven into an interpretation that sees the manorial/lordly residence successively shift from 'Goltho' manor, to Cocklode Wood (4), and then to Goltho Hall (5). Beyond this, the possibility is recognised that Goltho plus Bullington once formed a single parish (as ecclesiastically they did clearly in post-medieval and recent times) that is conjectured to have been subdivided at sometime in the twelfth century (p.2).

A second attempt at resolving the excavation's context is that of Professor Davis (pp.127-130) through the tenurial/manorial history of Bullington. This, too, is based on a presumption of the need to fit 3 DB manors and their subsequent history to 4 sites in the landscape that might be thought to be relevant to the 'manorial geography' - 'Goltho' manor, Bullington Hall, Cocklode Wood earthwork in Bullington, and Goltho Hall. It comes puzzlingly to no clear-cut conclusion.

These two approaches seem to stumble in both general conception and in detail. For in this area of Lincolnshire it is quite the norm for settlements to be characterised by multiplicity of manors or diversity of holdings in DB and later medieval records, and yet be nucleated entities as encountered in the landscape. To expect to find discrete settlement traces parcelled out across the landscape is far from an obvious presumption here.

In detail, RCHME fieldwork as part of the area study of medieval and later settlement remains in West Lindsey has produced assessments of a number of the sites relevant to this discussion with results different from that presumed by Beresford. Specifically, the detailed remains of the earthwork at Cocklode Wood in Bullington make its interpretation as a castle quite implausible.

Though it is difficult to categorise morphologically, its form, position and relationship to the medieval managed

woodlands among which it lies make it clear that its function relates closely to that context. It might be a park lodge, perhaps belonging to Simon de Kyme's early medieval park out of which he endowed the Gilbertine foundation at Bullington, or perhaps a later specialised grange of that priory.

Secondly, the surviving and destroyed earthworks at Goltho Hall are the remains of a formal garden layout of the later sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries that went with the residence created by the Grantham family of Lincoln, who bought the property by the time of Thomas Grantham (d. 1558) following the failure of the Tailbois line in the early sixteenth century. The site sits within a medieval park of some 169 ha (417 acres). A moated platform at the core of the garden earthworks is probably the remains of a medieval manorial residence, retained within the more extensive garden layout.

Thirdly, the building called Bullington Hall, as it stands a house of seventeenth century and later date,<sup>9</sup> and its outbuildings can be seen to sit on top of ridge-and-furrow. As a settlement, they are, therefore, a post-medieval creation and do not mark the site of the medieval settlement of Bullington. In consequence of this observation, RCHME have within its West Lindsey study categorised Bullington medieval village as unlocated, but an alternative proposal is advanced in the remainder of this paper.

The proposal put forward in the present paper (and the earlier review) is simple and radical. In short it is that 'Goltho' is not medieval Goltho at all, but medieval Bullington.

Such a proposal removes at a stroke many of the anomalies about 'goltho' with which this paper began. This physically large settlement, as Bullington, is then documented as early and as well, and in precisely the way from DB onwards throughout the medieval period, as one would expect of any settlement in the area. What is more, it is documented in respect of population profile much as one might anticipate both from the earthwork remains and from the excavated evidence, with a particularly severe decline in the 15th century. Just two households are recorded in 1563. From the mid seventeenth century, Bullington is joined with Goltho for both ecclesiastical and secular purposes.

As a corollary the proposal also affords an explanation of the failure by all fieldworkers to locate the remains of Bullington village convincingly anywhere within the present Bullington parish.

It also has a relevance to the puzzling question of ecclesiastical provision and the relationship of the medieval church of Bullington to the chapel of St. George that still stands on the former earthwork site at 'Goltho'. For Bullington church, dedicated to St. James, is as clearly documented through the medieval period as any church of Goltho is absent. In the twelfth century it formed part of the foundation endowment of Bullington Priory:<sup>10</sup> in 1254 it appears valued at 9 marks in Norwich's valuation, in 1291 it appears worth £10 in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, in 1342 worth 15 marks in the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, in 1428 the church exists but no subsidy was levied because the settlement was reduced to less than 10 households. Institutions to the vicarage under the patronage of Bullington

Priory are recorded in 1260/61, 1294, 1334, 1349, 1351, 1353 and 1393 but not subsequently: in the episcopal visitation book for 1500, the entry for Bullington reads, 'Ecclesia est in decasu et nulli sunt ibidem parochiani'.<sup>11</sup> In 1535 in the *Valor* no church is returned in the deanery list and the vicarage does not appear among Bullington Priory's spiritualities. Nevertheless, several pre-Reformation wills mention St. James's church at Old Bullington as if still in use.<sup>12</sup> There are indications, too, of Bullington church being served at least by a stipendiary curate in the early 16th century.<sup>13</sup> Burials also continued at least into the mid century.<sup>14</sup> In 1576 Simon Key, vicar of Wragby and resident there, was also curate of Bullington of the donation of William Metham.<sup>15</sup> In the 1585 *Liber Cleri* Bullington is listed but no entry made against it: even as late as 1634 John Welbye was admitted to the vicarage of Bullington, then in the patronage of Thomas Grantham.<sup>16</sup> By this date St. James's church may no longer have existed in its medieval form, the curacy might easily have been a sinecure: certainly the Metham family, who from 1560 held the Bullington monastic estates (and probably created and occupied Bullington Hall) and with them the advowson of St. James's, chose to be buried at Rand.<sup>17</sup>

But where was St. James's church? for it, no less than Bullington village, has hitherto been unlocated. The implication of this paper's proposal is undoubtedly that it stood at 'Goltho', and probably on the site subsequently occupied by St. George's chapel. Recent limited excavations on the chapel site by Miss Naomi Field revealed evidence that is readily intelligible in precisely these terms. For beneath the chapel's nave and of very similar dimensions to it was found the stone foundations of the chapel of a very much larger medieval church, whose nave lies off to the west of the present building.<sup>18</sup> The sixteenth- and early seventeenth century church documentation for Bullington just overlaps with the first consistent references to Goltho chapel, in a way that may reflect a transition of nomenclature. In 1603 Humphrey Barlow was described as vicar of Rand cum Goltho; in 1604 and 1607 Sir William Halsted was curate of Goltho chapel and early seventeenth-century wills can refer to the 'parish of Goltho'.<sup>19</sup>

In other circumstances the chapel building itself might be expected to reflect this transition in its form and fabric and to shed light on it. Unfortunately, the fabric of the early brick nave of St. George's at Goltho is difficult to assign a date to with any accuracy and has elucidated a wide range of opinions, from mid to late 15th century<sup>20</sup> to c. 1640.<sup>21</sup> Miss Field's excavation provided no independent dating, but recorded a time lapse between the standing building and its demolished predecessor and noted its orientation 30 degrees off true E-W. At one level, the coincidence of the medieval chancel and later nave marks a continuity of ecclesiastical function, perhaps specifically through the interest of the patron. The fabric may even bear no simple and direct relationship to the ecclesiastical status; yet, if an early seventeenth-century date could be reconciled with all aspects of the architectural evidence, it would sit comfortably with the sum of other evidence that the patronage by the Grantham family marks a decisive break in name and dedication, and in pastoral function (essentially as a detached chapel for Goltho Hall, that is reflected in its latter-day status as a donative), and through that a change in the name of the site. Even if the date and precise

circumstances of the transformation remain finally to be elucidated, it is plausibly this transition that lies behind the terms of the later puzzling administrative record of Bullington church.<sup>22</sup>

If this sequence of churches represents one thread of the explanation and mechanism whereby Bullington became 'Goltho', then there are at least two others, too.

One concerns the creation of the land block that is the present civil parish of Bullington (and the modern location of Bullington). This was formerly reckoned an extra-parochial tithe-free area. Its origin might plausibly be seen to lie in the demesne lands of the Gilbertine priory of Bullington (founded 1148x54). The priory's foundation grant from Simon son of William gave 'part of my park, that they may dwell there, and part of my wood and of my lands on the N side and on the E side of the said house'. This was subsequently confirmed and added to, for example by Philip de Kyme, and by his sons, Simon and William, in the time of Henry III.<sup>23</sup> That the demesne came to extend up to and beyond the present main road, into the township of Helethorpe and the parish of Rand - i.e. in that northern projection of the parish where Bullington Hall is located - is suggested by the details of the priory's involvement in the maintenance of the main road at Clay Bridge 'beyond memory' and the causeway W towards Langworth and by their interests (including intercommuning) in Rand.<sup>24</sup> After the priory's dissolution in 1538, the site was granted to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk,<sup>25</sup> and from about 1560 the manor of Bullington, i.e. the monastic demesne, was held by the Metham family. As a land block that became the later civil parish, the name Bullington stuck with it from the priory name. The usage 'Old Bullington' that was so persistent in the sixteenth-century documentation might not only reflect pejoratively that the medieval settlement was effectively deserted, but also that a new Bullington was in existence to contrast with it.

In the light of the terms of the foundation grant it seems quite probable that land block (except for the northern projection) had also in essence been the area of Simon de Kyme's early medieval park, and furthermore that the area's name had been *Lindeleya*, which is the name by which Bullington Priory is sometimes known in its early history.<sup>26</sup> The modern Bullington parish, with its noticeably sinuous boundaries and extensive parcels of ancient managed woodland along its own and adjacent parishes borders, is characteristic of those limited zones in West Lindsey where medieval parks occur intermixed with and apparently cut out from woodland.

A second thread of explanation concerns medieval Goltho itself. For it is clear that, just as the earliest record of the place-name clearly refers to a hall (*curia*) of Philip de Kyme in *Golthawe* in the first half of the thirteenth century,<sup>27</sup> there is subsequently well documented through the later middle ages a manor of Goltho held successively by the Kymes, Nicholas de Cantelupe, Gilbert de Umfraville, William de Mowbray, and in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century by the Tailbois family. This was the estate bought by the Granthams.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, when at the end of the thirteenth century the Kymes' rights of free warren noted in the Hundred Rolls were subsequently investigated, their manor called Goltho in the former was still referred to as the manor of Bullington on the latter occasion.<sup>29</sup> The site of

this manorial curia was no doubt at the later Goltho Hall, and it lay within the medieval park whose bounds can be defined occupying the southern third of the modern parish of Goltho. In 1206 Simon III de Kyme still had his hall at Bullington (*sic*).<sup>30</sup> This looks like the deliberate removal by the Kymes of a manorial residence from its former village situation to a more remote location with the additional lordly appurtenance of a hunting park. It may result from continuing gifts to Bullington priory within the old park rendering that unusable, or from a combination of fashion and political expediency (see below). Though not a common occurrence in this area, it can be paralleled by the removal of the manorial residence of the Trehampsons at Lea to the remote E end of the parish and replacement by the construction of an isolated moated site (at Hermit Dam Wood SK 843872) within a park carved out of woodland, or even by the creation of the bishop of Lincoln's great residence and park at Stow Park or by the castle and attached parks at Thonock outside Gainsborough.<sup>31</sup> all are located in a former woodland belt. It may be, therefore, that the first reference to Goltho, specifically in the context of defining the revenues of the perpetual vicarage of Bullington, far from being a casual matter of documentary survival arose in relation to this move as a recent event and to the altered or doubtful and potentially contentious situation created. If so, it may in turn raise the possibility that there has actually been no settlement of Goltho before the early thirteenth century, and indeed no settlement in the sense of a vill of Goltho at any stage. The IPMs, for example, consistently refer only to the manor and not to a vill or messuages: Goltho (unlike Bullington) is not listed in the *Nomina Villarum* in 1316,<sup>32</sup> or in the early fourteenth-century subsidies. Whereas the open fields of Bullington are documented, field names in Goltho are few and refer only to its emparked setting.<sup>33</sup> The earliest reference is quite explicit that at that date Goltho was part of the parish of Bullington, and Robert Sparke's will of 1528, 'made at the manor of Golthagh' where he appears to have been a priest in the Tailbois household, suggests that the same was the case in the early sixteenth century. The park may have been carved out of an area of woodland and wood pasture, as seems to have been the case at Lea and Stow, too. The name *Golthawe*, 'enclosure/fenced area where marigolds grow', might be thought to chime well with this suggestion since it is distinctively a topographical name with in itself no primary habitative connotation. If this perception too is correct, therefore, not only would the exercise in Domesday 'manorial geography' be further undermined, but also it shows how a part of the conjectured shift of name from Bullington to Goltho was occasioned in the early thirteenth century through the transfer of the Bullington manor (held by the Kymes) out of the older settlement of Bullington (i.e. 'Goltho') and its adoption of the name of its new location.

In summary the proposal put forward in this paper that 'Goltho' is in fact medieval Bullington conjectures something like the following sequence and mechanisms.

- (1) The existence of a substantial later pre-Conquest holding of Bullington focused on a manor-like hall, that may by 1066 have been subdivided, but at the Conquest was certainly more fragmented to give the situation recorded in DB and LS.
- (2) The holding was reunited as the manor of Bullington in the hands of the Kymes in the second and third quarters of the twelfth century. This followed the creation of an Anarchy period castle, whose earthworks were substantially modified to form a suitable lordly residence (*Goltho...Manor's* periods 6 and 7). Simon son of William, father of Philip de Kyme, endowed a Gilbertine priory with demesne land cut out of his hunting park in an area in the W of the parish with the topographical name *Lindeleya*. Continued gifts consolidated and expanded the monastic demesne in that area.
- (3) After 1206 and before c.1220-35 the manorial *curia* was removed from Bullington village to a location at Goltho Hall, into an emparked setting created in an area in the S of the parish with the topographical name Goltho. The former manor of Bullington thereby became known as the manor of Goltho.
- (4) The village of Bullington declined in the later middle ages and especially markedly in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Its church of St. James, lying in the village and adjacent to the old manor house, mirrored that decline. As a building, however reduced and worthless in respect of income, it may have survived into the later sixteenth century as indicated by burials and institutions. (If, despite the weight of argument, the brick nave is late medieval, physical survival may have been continuous.)
- (5) Because the Gilbertine priory stuck with the name Bullington (rather than Lindley) and because there was no existing manor of Bullington in the sixteenth century, the monastic demesne after the Dissolution became the manor of Bullington and subsequently the township of that name, while the settlement created within it at Bullington Hall, little more than a farm and appurtenant cottages though it has always been, became Bullington *tout court* - new Bullington in contrast to Old Bullington, in fact.
- (6) The Grantham's patronage (? and outright reconstruction) of the ecclesiastical provision at Old Bullington, which linked that directly in function to Goltho Hall, thereby changed its name with unerring logic to Goltho chapel.

The proposal has a number of further implications and interests, of which the most directly pertinent are perhaps:-

- (1) The excavated post-Conquest manor - Beresford's periods 6 and 7 - is identified as a castle of the Anarchy tenanted by the Kymes and later adapted by them as a quasi- baronial *caput*. If this puts the beginning of period 6 at earliest into the late 1130s, it in turn pushes period 7 markedly later than the excavator suggests. The excavated material finds appear perfectly consonant with this - indeed among other things it eases the allegedly exceptional date of some of those finds. It also makes it almost certain that the hall that Simon III de Kyme still had in use at Bullington in 1206 - a building suitable for an assembly of seven members of the local knightly society and their attendants - was the excavated period 7 hall. The well-known and vivid scene of early thirteenth-century lordly bullying, with

a wounded fugitive finding sanctuary in Bullington church (just a few yards away rather than at a distance), comes to life as it fits the field evidence perfectly.<sup>34</sup>

- (2) By the same token, if the excavated manor was occupied until after 1206 and the new *curia* at Goltho caused its first documentation c.1220-35, then it seems probable that the move was direct between the two rather than, as suggested by Beresford, *via* the earthwork at Cocklode Wood. This provides a probable date bracket for the abandonment of the period 7 hall, that is useful for fixing the end of 'Goltho's' long and otherwise free-floating excavated sequence. That bracket may even be tighter yet, if the immediate cause for the abandonment was in fact Simon and his son Philip's involvement in the rebellion against the Crown in 1215-17 in the civil war that closed the reign of John, which led to the capture of both of them and Simon's enforced submission to the king on disadvantageous terms.<sup>35</sup> Loss, even slighting, of his powerful capital residence would be a likely penalty. Perhaps the remarkable loss of the upper outer lip of the past phase castle mound and the corresponding clay deposit in the castle ditch, that Beresford reports but attributes to gradual erosion (p. 112 and fig. 120), and with it the loss (coincidentally of all evidence in excavation for the fortifications that Beresford is confident (surely correctly) must have existed, can rather be seen as the direct result of such slighting. The same cause might even lie behind the removal of all the posts of the bridge structure (p. 90) and the absence of all direct excavated evidence on which Beresford is forced to discuss and reconstruct a gatehouse (pp. 93-4, figs 111, 113). It is easy to believe that when Simon's son succeeded on his death in 1220 to the depleted estates, a new, non-military and perhaps less ostentatiously costly residence may well have been the first step to repairing the family fortunes.

#### Notes

1. P. Everson, 'What's in a name? 'Goltho', Goltho and Bullington', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 93-99. The earlier report was G. Beresford, *The Medieval Clay-Land Village: Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount* (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series no. 6 (1975); see also G. Beresford, 'The excavation of the deserted medieval village of Goltho, Lincolnshire', *Chateau Gaillard*, 8 (1977), 47-68; 'Goltho Manor, Lincolnshire: the buildings and their surrounding defences c.850-1150', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* 1981, 4 (1982), 13-36.
2. R. Hodges, 'Origins of the English castle', *Nature* vol. 333 no. 6169 (12 May 1988), 112-3
3. R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen 1135-1154* (1967), 47-65; for the link with the Kyme family see C.J. Wales, 'The knight in twelfth century Lincolnshire', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge (1984), Part 1, esp. 28-33.
4. For reasons that will become clear, in an attempt to avoid confusion I use the term with inverted commas to distinguish the excavated entity from the documented medieval and later settlements of Goltho and of Bullington (without inverted commas).
5. I am grateful to the President (Dr D.M. Owen) and Editor (Mr C. J. Sturman) of the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology for permission to reproduce the substance of that piece from *LHA*. Of the many people who were generous with their advice and support in the writing of the original paper I should wish especially to thank Miss K. Major, Professor K. Cameron, Dr D. Roffe, D. A. Stocker and C. C. Taylor. W.R. Wilson-North penned the diagram (fig.3) for publication.
6. For references see RCHME forthcoming publication, *Change and Continuity. Rural settlement in North-West Lincolnshire*, and its deposited archive.
7. W. E. Lunt, *The Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford 1926); *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae*, Record Commission (1802); *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, Record Commission (1807); *Feudal Aids* vol. 3 (1904), 310 ff.; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* IV, Record Commission (1821); D. M. Owen, 'Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire', *LHA*, 10 (1975), 15-22.
8. Canon Foster's Index to Institutions in LAO.
9. DoE relisting description.
10. *Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses*, ed. F.M. Stenton, LRS 18 (1922), 91; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817-30), VII, 952; VCH, *Lincolnshire* II (1906), 191-2.
11. LAO, Canon Foster's Index to Institutions; LAO, Vj 5, f. 94r.
12. *Lincoln Wills II*, ed. C.W. Foster, LRS 10 (1918), 80-81; also *Lincoln Wills III*, ed. C.W. Foster, LRS 24 (1930), 74 (1530).
13. LAO, SUBSID 3, f. 39v; *A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526*, ed. H.E. Salter (1909), 26.
14. LAO, Bishops Registers, Longland 38b, 92 (transcribed in Lincoln Central Library, Ross MSS X, 79); see *Calendar of Lincoln Wills*, ed. C.W. Foster, vol 1 1320-1600, British Record Society (1902), 185, 210.
15. References from Canon Harding's papers (letters from G.S. Dixon about Goltho chapel), LAO MISC DEP 33/IV/17/14 and 15; see A.R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Wills: First Series AD 1500-1600* (1888), 150.
16. *The State of the Church*, ed. C.W. Foster, LRS 23 (1926), 93; C. W. Foster, 'Admissions to Benefices in the Diocese of Lincoln AD 1587-1660, as recorded in the Bishops' Certificates returned to the Barons of the Exchequer', *AASR*, 30 (1909-10) 47-118 esp. 75, see LAO, PD 1634/25.
17. A.R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* II, Harleian Society vol. 51 (1903), 669-71; tombs in Rand church; *Lincolnshire Church Notes made by William John Monson 1828-1840*, ed. J. Monson, LRS 31 (1936), 294-8.
18. *Archaeology in Lincolnshire 1985-6*, 2nd Annual Report of the Trust for Lincolnshire Archaeology (1986), 3-5.
19. LRS 23, 328, 414, 428; LAO, LCC WILLS 1628/ii/179.
20. A. White, *Early Brick Buildings in Lincolnshire: a guide*, Lincolnshire Museums pamphlet (1982).
21. N. Pevsner and J. Harris, *Lincolnshire* (1964), 249-50; LAO, ANDR 1 records the delivery of bricks, tiles, pavings, lead etc. and payment for whitening and

paving of the chapel at that date at Thomas Grantham's expense.

22. LAO, REV/L/2/3, f.36; *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolnensis*, ed. R.E.G. Cole, LRS 4 (1913), 23, 52; J. Bacon, *Liber regis, vel thesaurus rerum ecclesiasticarum* (1786), 466.
23. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* VII, 952; LRS 18, 91ff; *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, ed. F.M. Stenton (1920), 2ff.
24. *Cal. Inq. Misc.* II (1916), 317; *Feudal Aids* vol. 3, 170, 225, 304; *Abbrevatio Placitorum*, Record Commission (1811), 206.
25. *Letters and Papers* 14 pt 1 (1894), 259; LAO, 3 ANC 8/1/3, p.34.
26. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, 2 (no. 1), 22 (no. 32); LRS 18, 56.
27. *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles. Vol. III*, ed. F.N. Davis, LRS 9 (1914), 83-4.
28. Summarised in Beresford, *The Medieval Clayland Village...*, 3-5; cf. *Cal. IPM VI* (1910), p.250; VII (1909), p.222; X (1921), pp. 41, 195; XV (1970), pp.177-80; XVI (1974), p.117; 2nd ser. I (1898), p.445; LCL, Ross MSS X, 95-6.
29. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, I, Record Commission (1812), 365; *Placita de Quo Waranto*, Record Commission (1818), 397.
30. *The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls, AD 1202-1209*, ed. D.M. Stenton, LRS 22 (1926), 261-3, 266, 269-70.
31. RCHME, *Change and Continuity*, forthcoming.
32. *Feudal Aids* vol. 3, 177ff.
33. BL, Harl Ch. 54 I 46; LAO, 3 ANC 8/1/3, p. 34; information from EPNS files by courtesy of Professor K. Cameron.
34. LRS 22, 261-3, 266, 269-70; cf. G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire vol. IV (1985), 251-2.
35. J.C. Holt, *The Northerners* (1961), esp. 241 (forfeiture of Kyme lands); B. Golding, 'Simon of Kyme: the making of a rebel', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 27 (1983), 23-36 and esp. 33ff.

## MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPES OF WARWICKSHIRE - MAPPING THE AIR PHOTOGRAPH EVIDENCE by Nicholas Palmer and Andrew Isham

Since 1988 the RCHME Air Photograph Unit has supported a project at the Warwickshire Museum to map air photograph evidence for medieval landscapes in Warwickshire. Generally the RCHME APU concentrates its efforts on plotting prehistoric and Romano-British cropmarks but medieval landscape evidence is virtually ubiquitous on air photographs, in Warwickshire and elsewhere, and its mapping, albeit a massive task, is one that needs to be addressed with urgency, given the current rate of attrition of the surviving evidence.

So far a total of 56 parishes in five groups has been mapped (Fig.4). Warwickshire consists of a number of district sub-regions characterised by differing patterns of medieval settlement<sup>1</sup>, and the groups of parishes have been chosen to reflect these.

For each parish a base map is prepared at 1:10,000 showing natural features (streams etc) (Fig 5). The extent of existing woodland is outlined, as are other features that obscure the evidence, like gravel pits, modern built up areas and market gardening. Roads (unless obviously post-medieval) and the extent of surviving villages and hamlets are shown as on the OS 1st edition 1:10,560 maps. Isolated farms are not shown unless known to be of medieval origin.

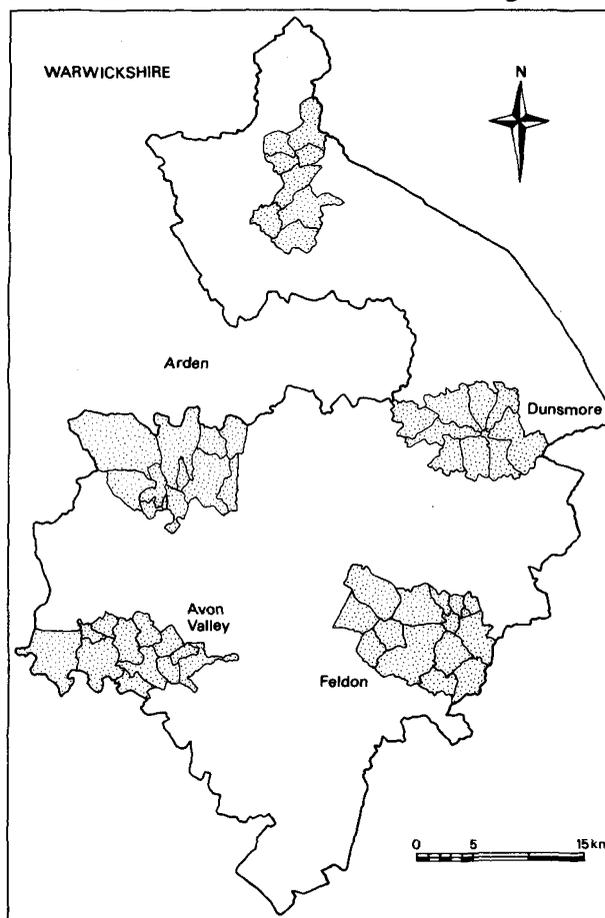


Figure 4: Parishes mapped 1988-1990

Field systems, village earthworks and other medieval landscape features are then added. Ridge-and-furrow is plotted in detail. Although it is impossible to show every ridge the plots do give a true indication of the direction, alignment and density of each furlong. Initially, accurate detailed plots were produced of village earthworks, but their complexity meant that at 1:10,000 the results were not commensurate with the effort put in. For useful results these sites need to be plotted at a larger scale (1:2500 or larger). RCHME policy is only to support plotting at 1:10,000 and it was consequently decided to change to sketch plotting designed to show only the extent, general layout and main features of each site. For most purposes this provides sufficient information and considerable time is saved.

The photographs used come mainly from the RCHME collection of vertical air photographs at Acton supplemented by the museum's own holdings of vertical and oblique photographs from various sources. The available coverage across the country varies markedly in quantity, photographic quality, weather conditions and in the time of year when taken. The best available survey for each area, generally

the 1946-47 RAF vertical survey, is selected and transcribed and then extra detail is added from other surveys, although it is not possible in the available time to check every photograph. For settlement earthworks the Cambridge University obliques often have the best detail.

It is when the evidence for each group of parishes is put together that their distinctive settlement patterns emerge with full clarity. The five areas so far sampled include the 'Feldon' of south east Warwickshire, the Avon valley, Dunsmore Heath to the west of Rugby (Fig. 3), and two areas of the 'Arden' to the north and north west of the county.

The medieval settlement of the 'Feldon' claylands was typified by large villages, many now deserted, with well preserved ridge-and-furrow field systems covering very high proportions of the parishes. A sample block of 16 parishes has been mapped, running from the Cotswold escarpment to the Fosse Way, and centred on Burton Dassett, scene of a recent large scale village excavation<sup>2</sup>. Much of this area has been permanent pasture since the middle ages and the medieval landscapes were very well preserved. However it is now being ploughed up at an

increasing rate.

The gravel terraces of the Avon Valley have been intensively settled since prehistoric times. The medieval village communities are comparable in many ways to those of the Feldon, although desertion was less common. Again many of the 11 mapped parishes had field systems covering a high proportion of their areas (eg. Dorsington, Fig 5).

The 9 'Dunsmore' parishes are situated on Dunsmore Gravel and surround the waste known as Dunsmore Heath (Fig 6). This area was densely settled in the later prehistoric period but apparently abandoned thereafter; there are hardly any Roman finds and the parish boundaries radiating out from the heath suggest late colonisation of marginal land. The absence of ridge-and-furrow over the central area emphasises the uncultivated state of the Heath.

The northern part of Warwickshire, traditionally known as 'Arden', was sparsely populated woodland having a dispersed pattern with few villages. Of the two mapped samples, the group of 12 parishes to the north west was the more typical, with large parishes, small settlements and isolated farms many of them moated. The fields were small and scattered, reflecting small scale encroachment into the

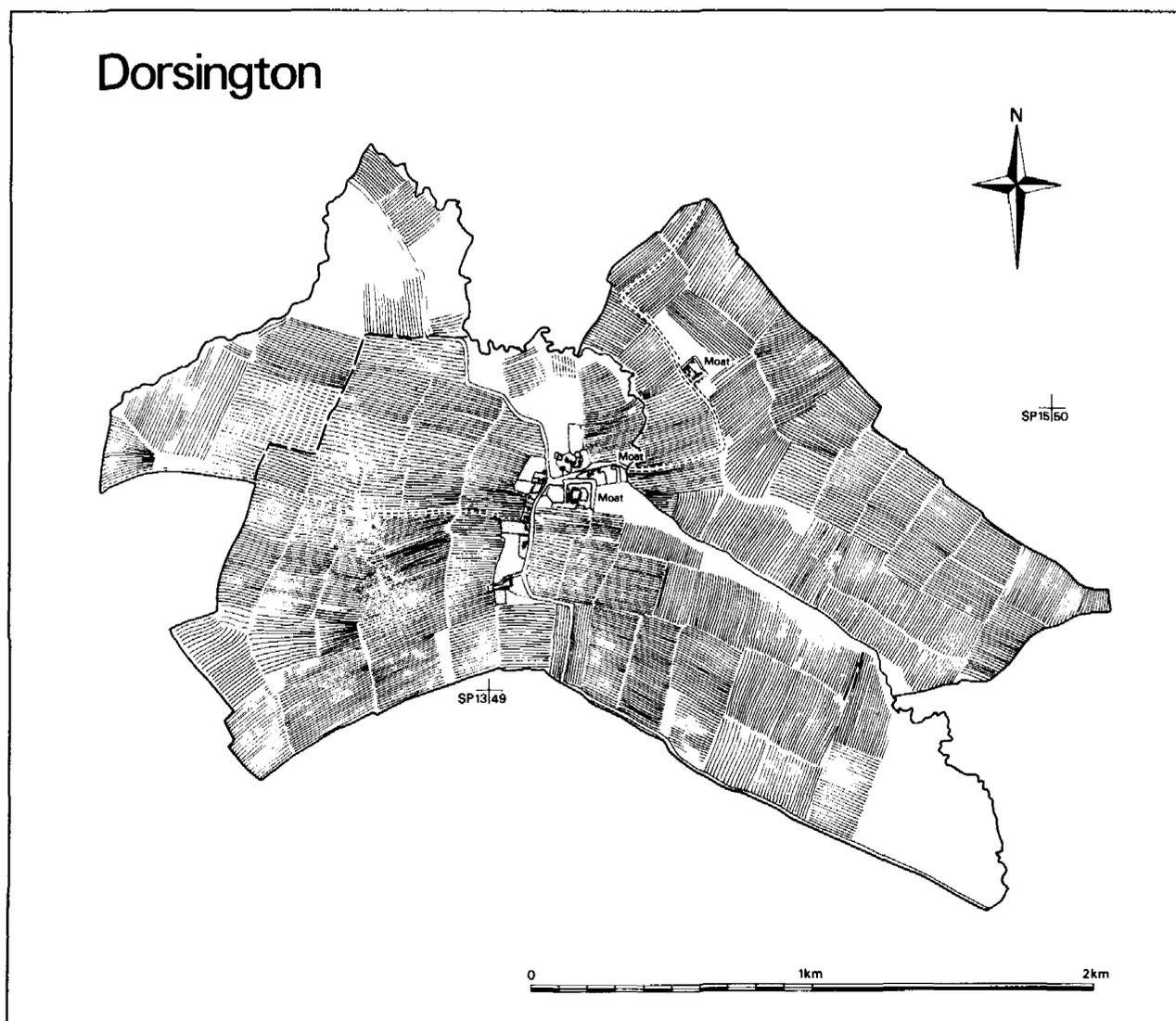


Figure 5: Dorsington, Warwickshire - medieval landscape evidence.

woodland. The northern 'Arden' group of 8 parishes contains a number with more extensive field systems, although there are still large areas of woodland and the settlements are also small and dispersed.

The work so far has by no means exhausted the distinct sub-regions of Warwickshire it is hoped that further groups of parishes can be mapped along the Stour Valley, the Wolds of north east Warwickshire and the Warwickshire Cotswolds in the south.

One drawback to the project is a lack of provision for site visits to check the correctness of the plotting on the ground, such fieldwork being outside the remit of the APU. This also means, in the absence of a readily accessible recent vertical coverage that it is not possible to assess the current state of preservation of the medieval earthworks. This will

obviously be necessary if a proper preservation strategy for the surviving remains is to be developed, but the basic mapping of the available evidence must be done first and there is no doubt that extensive use of air photographs is the most effective way of achieving this. In 1990 the work cost an average of £206 per parish, which is a small fraction of the cost of surveying the parish on the ground. The parish maps are now available for consultation at the Warwickshire SMR and copies can be provided for the cost of reproduction plus a handling charge.

**Footnotes:**

1. Hooke, D., 'Village Development in the West Midlands', Hooke D. ed., *Medieval Villages*, Oxford 1986, 125-54.
2. *MSRG Annual Rep.*, 2 (1987), 24-5; 3 (1988), 24-5.

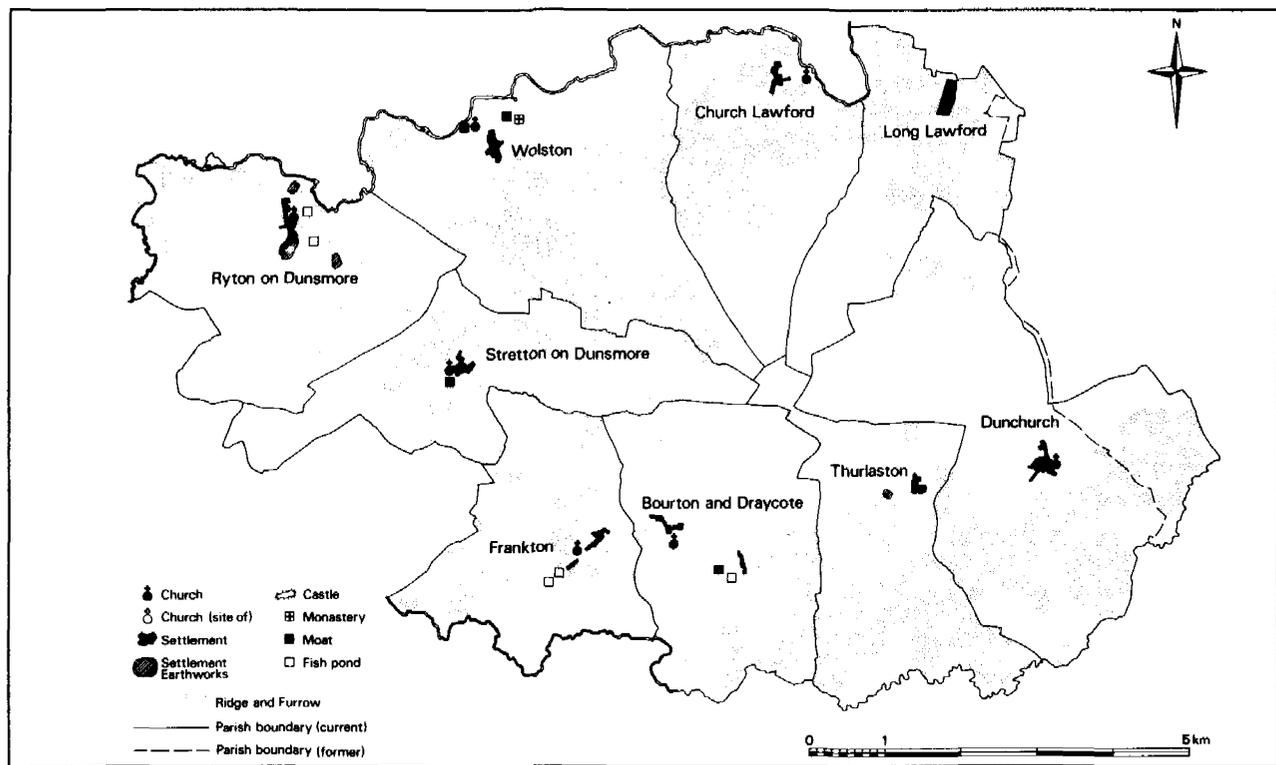


Figure 6: Medieval landscapes around Dunsmore Heath, Warwickshire.

**A CAMBRIDGE MOAT  
by Robert Taylor**

The study of moats has always been dogged by the difficulty of associating individual sites with the scant documentation, and also of dating their construction. It may therefore be of interest to consider a moated site which has long vanished, and the very position of which is only known approximately, but which nevertheless has those rare and valuable attributes of a firm date, a price and a function. It was constructed on the outskirts of Cambridge in 1574 at a cost of £14 18s. 4d., and served as a combination of concentration camp and isolation hospital.

Construction of the moat was the direct outcome of an outbreak of plague in the town in 1574 immediately following the annual influx of strangers to Midsummer Fair. At that time the control of infectious diseases was

attempted by the isolation of the victims by either barricading them in their houses or banishing them to huts remote from other habitation. In the 17th. and 18th. centuries many towns had "pest houses", usually isolated houses whose tenants undertook to either nurse the sick who were billeted on them or else to remove themselves to alternative lodgings, but in 1574 such arrangements appear to have been rare. Consequently, when the plague appeared in Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor, who shared the government of the town but hardly ever shared the same opinions, in a rare collaborative effort set to work to provide an isolation hospital. First they leased The Old Clay Pits, presumably a disused brickfield, from Edward Ball the Town Clerk for 1s. a year, and levelled the land by filling in the holes and hollows at a cost of £3 12s. The precise location of these clay pits is not known, but C.H. Cooper in 1843 argued plausibly that they were at the S.W.

corner of Parkers Piece, at TL459576, comfortably beyond the limits of the built-up area of the town. If he was correct, the plot of land was at most 150 yards square, and very probably less. It is also on the Gault Clay, here overlain by a thin layer of gravel. The next step recorded in the surviving accounts was to dig a ditch round the site, which cost a further £14 18s. 4d. The scale of this excavation can be guessed from the fact that it had to be spanned by a bridge. If labourers could be hired at 6d. a day, this could represent some 600 man-days of digging. As the clayey ground would have been heavy, the work would have been relatively slow, and calculations are further hampered by not knowing how far the spoil was carried. It would therefore be dangerous to extrapolate from the already questionable calculation of man-days that if four men could shift 30 cubic yards in a day, then the excavation involved the removal of 4500 cubic yards of earth and clay. With sides of the maximum possible length of 150 yards, the moat or ditch could thus have had a section of about six feet deep and nine feet across. Even a smaller amount of spoil would imply an excavation that in modern terminology would deserve the name of moat rather than simply ditch. Being dug into the Gault Clay, it would probably have filled with water at the first rainstorm, if not before.

Finally a timber-framed and thatched house was built within the moat and a bridge constructed over it, at a cost of a further £3 6s. 8d. The house was for the plague victims and their keepers; the ditch or moat was clearly intended to keep them within rather than to deter intruders, and so we may even surmise that perhaps the bridge was a draw-bridge that was worked from outside the enclosure rather than from within it.

The details of this moat, but not the interpretation, have been published before, in C.H.Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* volume 2 (1843), page 321. The calculations about earthmoving are deliberately taken from 19th. century sources, including Gwilt's *Encyclopedia of Architecture*.

## TACITUS, THE *GERMANIA* AND THE FUNCTION OF 'SUNKEN FEATURED BUILDINGS' <sup>1</sup>

by Nick Higham

*Grubenhäuser* or 'Sunken Featured Buildings' (henceforth SFB's) are the structures most commonly identified by archaeologists working on early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites. Their purpose has been under discussion ever since they were first recognized on the Continent<sup>2</sup> and in England<sup>3</sup> but there is still no sign of any consensus.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the Anglo-Saxon hall,<sup>5</sup> discussion of the lowly SFB has not been assisted by clear-cut allusions in contemporary literature. It might, therefore, be appropriate to re-examine Tacitus's description of sub-surface stores in his *Germania*, Written AD 97-8.<sup>6</sup>

In cap. 16 of the *Germania*, Tacitus described ground level buildings, noting the dispersed nature of Germanic settlements and the bright wash which was often applied to the exterior of halls. He went as follows:

...solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemis et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eius modi loci molliunt,

et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

This translates as follows:

...they are accustomed also to open up holes/hollows in the earth and pile much dung over them, as a refuge from the winter or a produce-shelter, because places of that type mitigate the stiffness of the winter cold, and should an enemy come, he destroys what is in the open but the concealed and buried things (i.e. produce) are either missed entirely or escape detection, because they have to be sought out.

Tacitus presumably obtained his information from one or more of the gentleman officers who were a normal part of his circle, who had seen service along the Rhine. His description derived, therefore, from first-hand but casual observers and the visual image, at least, is reliable. The entirety of his description of buildings of all types reads as a single anecdote, derived from a single source. The hollow-based structures should, therefore, be seen as an integral part of the same settlements as the scattered halls already described.

From Tacitus's description we can surmise that the storage of agricultural produce was the primary function of these structures. It would, therefore, have been necessary to seal them when full so as to minimize the decay of the contents.<sup>7</sup> This explains the use not of thatch but of dung for roofing, although it may be that dung was primarily intended as camouflage, the true seal being of clay beneath. If a seal was the desired effect, the entrance would be closed off once it was full. Such is implicit in the ease with which they could be overlooked by troops, who would presumably have been suspicious of dung heaps with doorways.

Only examples not in current use for storage would have been accessible as shelters but this secondary function does demonstrate that they were more sophisticated structures than mere capped holes in the ground. Some sort of superstructure necessarily supported the dung-covered roof, based on timber, wattle and posts. A store from which grain had recently been extracted would presumably have had a sizeable 'trap-door' cut into its superstructure which would be left open until re-used after the following harvest.<sup>8</sup> It would, therefore, be seasonally accessible.

That Pliny described German women weaving linen underground suggests that this type of secondary occupation may have been a normal occurrence.<sup>9</sup> Weaving requires plentiful light so the temporary access could presumably be substantial. A cover of dung implies, however, that such stores were not equipped with hearths nor designed primarily for habitation. Nor would there be much head height: that one could easily be mistaken by an enemy for a dung heap implies that the superstructure would be low, more akin in shape to a large up-turned coracle or basket than the ridged form adopted for the experimental reconstructions at West Stow and throughout the literature.<sup>10</sup> Excavation of complexes of this period at Ezinge,<sup>11</sup> Wijester<sup>12</sup> and Feddersen Wierde<sup>13</sup> have demonstrated that SFB's and halls were commonly juxtaposed within a single compound in a manner consistent with Tacitus's description. The scarcity of large pits of any other kind necessitates that it was SFB's which Tacitus's informant

had in mind when describing hollow-based structures. There are no difficulties in reconciling his description with the archaeological evidence deriving from numerous SFB's, with their vertical posts (generally paired so supportive of a superstructure), their less common side walls and the occasional rows of loom-weights identified within them. The charred planking found in a minority - hitherto interpreted as flooring<sup>14</sup> - might more convincingly be interpreted as elements of the superstructure supporting the weight of a dung/clay-clad roof.

Comparable post-supported roofing is a feature of some storage pits of the British Iron Age<sup>15</sup> and insular and continental structures were presumably parallel responses to the common need to store grain. The disparity between the great depth of the chalk-cut British examples and the shallow SFB of Iron Age Germany probably resulted from the very different environmental conditions pertaining. On the *turpen* of western Germany and Frisia, the risk posed to deep pits by flood water and the high water table would encourage precisely the concentration of storage facilities near surface level and above that the SFB's imply and this feature of their construction became a tradition retained even where conditions were very different. A structure as low as is here envisaged is unlikely to have been floored at ground level, since that would have diminished the storage space, cancelled out the value of excavating the hollow and made filling it next to impossible. In all likelihood, a more appropriate reconstruction would be to envisage a low structure over a hollow or pit containing a heap of grain or alternatively a larger silo based on a hollow, with sidewalls of wattle and daub or planking extending to the roof.

Tacitus's hollow-based structures can, therefore, be interpreted as low, unfloored, buildings externally dome-shaped erected over a shallow pit in which the harvest had been heaped up, with the storage space frequently extended vertically by wattle walls. Without doors and with air-tight covering they could be sealed and so fulfil their function as agricultural stores. The common juxtaposition of hall, one or more SFB and an above-ground granary (or raised hay/straw stack) in Iron Age Germany<sup>16</sup> exactly parallels British Iron Age practises.<sup>17</sup> In Britain these were superseded by the arrival of new forms of dwelling and barn during the Roman period but the demise of Romanized architecture in the 5th century led to the widespread adoption of the Germanic style of store in the British lowlands, to be copied eventually in the Celtic west.

As evidence for the Anglo-Saxon SFB, Tacitus's account is obviously open to criticism and it is easy to offer a host of reasons for putting it aside: his comments concern buildings in use on the continent over three centuries before the *adventus Saxonum*; even then, his may have been a less than definitive statement on the construction and use of the SFB: its function and form of construction may have changed - indeed, it may already have been more diffuse than Tacitus allowed. Buildings descending from the same tradition were, for example, used as residences in early medieval Bohemia.

Notwithstanding such reservations, the fact remains that Tacitus's description is the only one available, it is internally consistent and is easily reconciled with the archaeological evidence. SFB's are the only common structures of the German Iron Age to which that description can be applied.

Where divergence from the basic structure has occurred (as in Bohemia) the change of use is clearly evidenced in the excavated form. SFB's in Germany in the Roman period and in Early England exhibit identical characteristics and are archaeologically indistinguishable, even sharing the same ranges of size and architectural form. There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that their functions were the same, even though the buildings with which they were associated were significantly different.<sup>19</sup> Tacitus's description of hollow-based structure does, therefore, provide a firmer anchor for the origins and functions of the Anglo-Saxon SFB than archaeological interpretation alone.

The numerous and often contrary suggestions as to their function in England derive from two approaches: in part they are due to preconceptions of the *adventus* as a mass migration of low-status communities;<sup>20</sup> in part they derive from the interpretation of excavated examples. Unfortunately, the latter is wide open to vastly differing interpretations. By underlining the seasonal uses to which such structures would normally be put, the literary description discussed here does much to explain this diversity of evidence. Additionally, much of the archaeological evidence derives from secondary use of the hollows of SFB's after abandonment as stores. The primary function is unlikely to be well-represented in the archaeological record; uncarbonized grain has a poor survival rate in shallow, well-aerated and often rather acidic conditions; the presence of side walls or, occasionally of steps (in deeper examples) is entirely consistent with use for storage but wattle survives no better than grain. That such structures were used while temporarily empty for quite different purposes, that the hollows subsequently housed hearths, working areas or middens, is irrelevant to the primary role of the SFB. To that, Tacitus offers us the most valuable clue so far identified.

#### Footnotes

- 1 My thanks to Professor Christopher Dyer who kindly read and commented on an early draft of this paper.
- 2 For full references, see J. Chapelot and R Fossier, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages* (English edit. London, 1985) and M. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians* (revised edit. Oxford, 1987).
3. E.T. Leeds, 'A Saxon Village near Sutton Coutenay, Berkshire', *Archaeologia* 73 (1923), 147-92. Subsequent accounts are in *Archaeologia* 76 (1927), 59-80 and 92 (1947), 78-94.
4. C.A. Ralegh Radford, 'The Saxon House: A review and some parallels', *Med. Arch* 1 (1957), 27-38; C. Ahrens, 'Vorgeschichte des Kreises Pinneberg und der Insel Helgol and-Die vor-und fruhgeschichtliche Denkmaler und Funde in Schleswig-Holstein, VII', *Veroffentlichungen des Landesamtes fur Vor- und Fruhgeschichte in Schleswig*, ed. K. Kersten (Neumunster, 1966), 205-32; B. Stjernquist, 'Das Problem der Grubenhauser in Sudschweden', *Jahrbuch des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 14 (Mainz, 1967); P. Rahtz, 'Buildings and Rural Settlement', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976), 49-98 but partic. list of functions, 76; M.U. Jones, 'Saxon Sunken Huts; problems of interpretation', *Arch. J.* 136 (1979), 49-98; Chapelot and Fossier, *op.cit.*, 111-126.

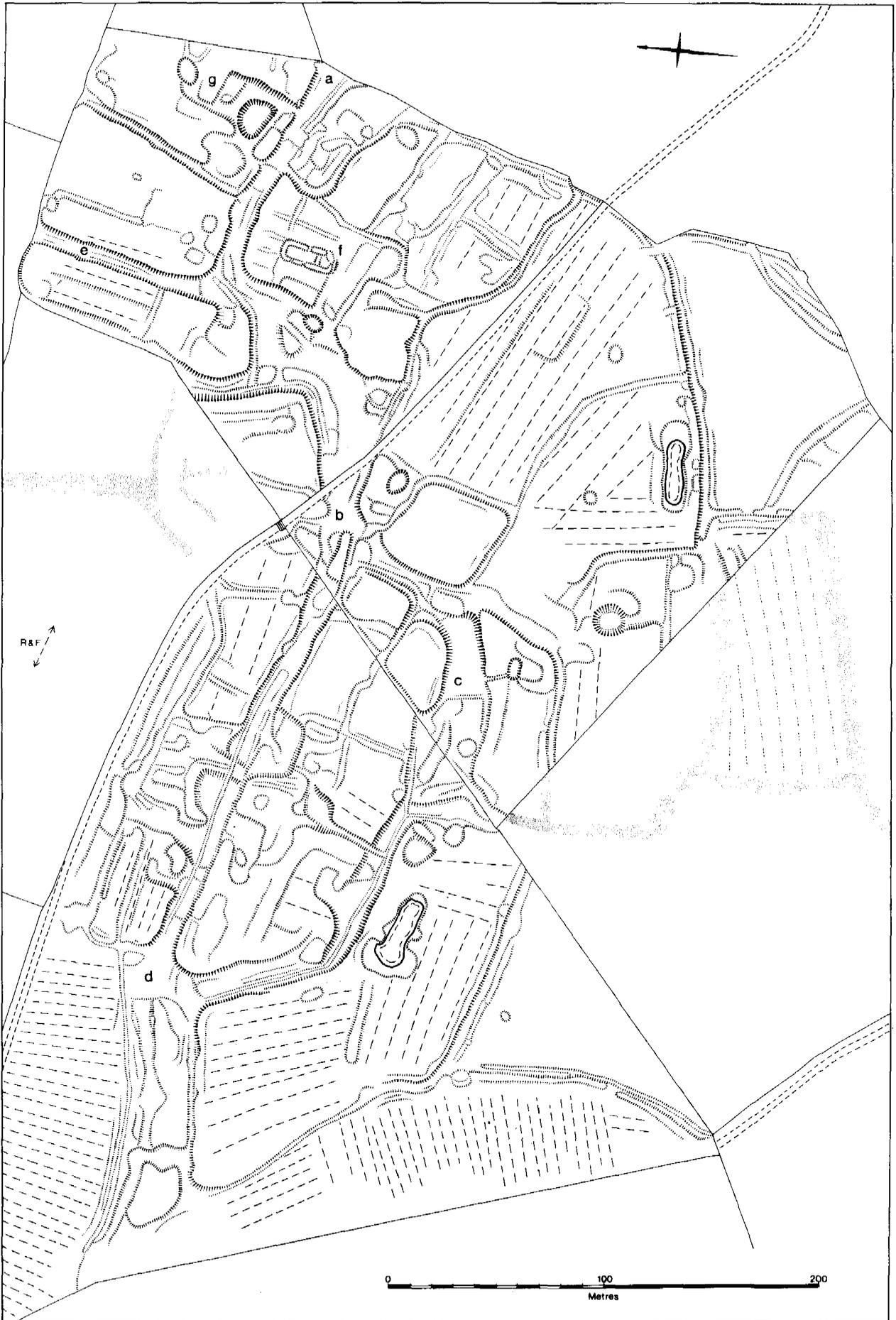
5. R.J.Cramp, *Beowulf and Archaeology* *Med. Arch.* 1 (1957), 57-77.
6. Publius Cornelius Tacitus *Germania*, in *Tacitus: Dialogus, Agricola, Germania*, ed. W.Peterson (London and New York, 1914), 16.
7. P.J.Reynolds, *Iron-Age Farm: The Butser Experiment* (London, 1979), 71-82.
8. This option has previously been discussed but discarded: S.West, 'The Anglo-Saxon Village of West Stow; an interim report of the excavations, 1965-68', *Medieval Archaeology*, 13 (1969), 4-8, but see Powlesland, this volume, 45-6.
9. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. H.Rackham, v (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1950), XIX, 9: 'in Germany however, (women) are dug in and undertake this work (linen weaving) below ground'.
10. E.g. Chapelot and Fossier, *op. cit.* fig. 33, 110.
11. A.E. van Giffen 'Der Warf in Ezinge, Provinz Groningen, Holland, und seine Westgermanischen Hauser', *Germania* 20 (1936), 40-7.
12. W.A. van Es, *Wijster - a native village beyond the Imperial frontier, 150 -425 AD* (1967). 77.
13. W.A. van Es 'Friesland in Roman Times', *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 15-16 (1965-6), 37-68.
14. E.g. hut 15, West Stow, where loom weights in rows were found both above and below charred planks. S.West, *West Stow: The Anglo-Saxon Village* (East Anglian Archaeology 24), . If weaving equipment had been stored above a plank ceiling then this would be entirely explicable by the the use of planks within the superstructure.
15. E.g. pit 1115 at *Danebury: B.Cunliffe ,Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age Hillfort* (London: 1983), illus, 55 and 57, 110-1, although this superstructure was interpreted as a shelter to protect while filling or emptying or support for lifting gear.
16. E.g. Ezinge or Feddersen Wierde, see notes 7 and 9 above.
17. The conjunction of residential buildings, post-built granaries or raised stacks and storage pits is precisely paralleled at Danebury. For discussion, see Cunliffe *op. cit.*, 125.
18. M. Gojda, 'The Current State and Future Direction of Early Medieval Settlement Studies in Bohemia', *M.S.R.G.*, 4 (1989), 48-9; Chapelot and Fossier, *op. cit.*, fig. 38, 118.
19. Most examples in England are without aisled halls or post-built granaries/raised stacks. See P.Dixon, 'How Saxon is a Saxon House?', in *Structural Reconstruction*, ed. P.J Drury (Oxford, 1982), 275-88.
20. Interpretation of the *adventus Saxonum* as a mass migration of peasants or refugees requiring immediate make-shift residences has encouraged some scholars to view SFB's as huts, despite the low levels of sympathy for this view on the Continent: Jones, *op. cit.*, 35; S.C.Hawkes, 'The South-East after the Romans: The Saxon Settlement', in *The Saxon Shore: A Handbook*, ed. V.Maxfield (Exeter, 1989), 85. For a minimalist interpretation of the *adventus*, see N.J.Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1992).

## ROTSEA

Fig 7 (overleaf)

Last year's MSRG *Annual Report* included a text by W.D. Cocroft, P. Everson and W.R. Wilson-North reporting on RCHME fieldwork at Rotsea (Humberside). Pressure of space caused the supporting survey diagram, though drawn for reduction to full page, to be reproduced far smaller within a column, thus rendering much of its detail less legible than was desirable. This was particularly unfortunate since the extended text was an attempt to explore the possibilities of analysing the evidence of the field remains and relating it to documentary evidence, in a way that required an interplay between text and drawing. Thanks to a grant from RCHME, the drawing is reproduced this year at full page as designed,

# ROTSEA



# RESEARCH IN 1990

## i. FIELDWORK

### BEDFORDSHIRE

#### RCHME Fieldwork

W.D. Cocroft reports that Ordnance Survey staff in the course of routine topographical map revision in SW Bedfordshire brought three earthwork sites to the attention of RCHME for survey.<sup>1</sup> The sites, like those in Hertfordshire noted below, lie in that part of the SE Midlands characterised by poorly nucleated villages associated with various forms of *dispersal settlement*.

**Stanbridge** (SP 963 242) lies at 105-115 above OD and is a large and complicated village, almost 1km square in extent, that appears to have evolved from development around and encroachment onto a series of interlocking greens which survived until enclosure in the 19th century. The area of survey was restricted to a group of earthworks lying NW of the church (Figure 8). The existing open area of The Green was formerly twice as extensive: its earlier N edge is now marked by a sinuous building line that passes in a SW-NE orientation along the S side of the present Hill Farm. From its NW corner a well-marked earthwork

hollow-way leads N: this was a road in use and reckoned part of the green prior to 1840.<sup>2</sup> It leads to the former site of Hill Farm ('a' on Figure 8), which was demolished at the beginning of this century although the outbuildings survived until recently. Along the W side of the hollow-way a series of terraces measuring 50m x 30m may have been to step up the hill-slope, until at their N end the plan is confused by the site of the farmstead of Hill Farm. On the E of the way there is a broad low bank along the edge of the way which is cut into at its N end by a rectangular hollow ('b'). This is probably the site of a second abandoned farm. The name 'Woodward's Close' for this field on the enclosure award may preserve its name. Further eastwards are remnants of ridge-and-furrow and old field boundaries. In the extreme NE corner of the survey ('c' on Figure 8), a property may be recognised against the lane at SP9642 2436.

The earthwork evidence therefore suggests that this part of the settlement latterly comprised two complexes served by the hollow-way. It is a further possibility suggested by the regular terraced plots on the W of the way that in origin it had been created as a planned row of village properties.

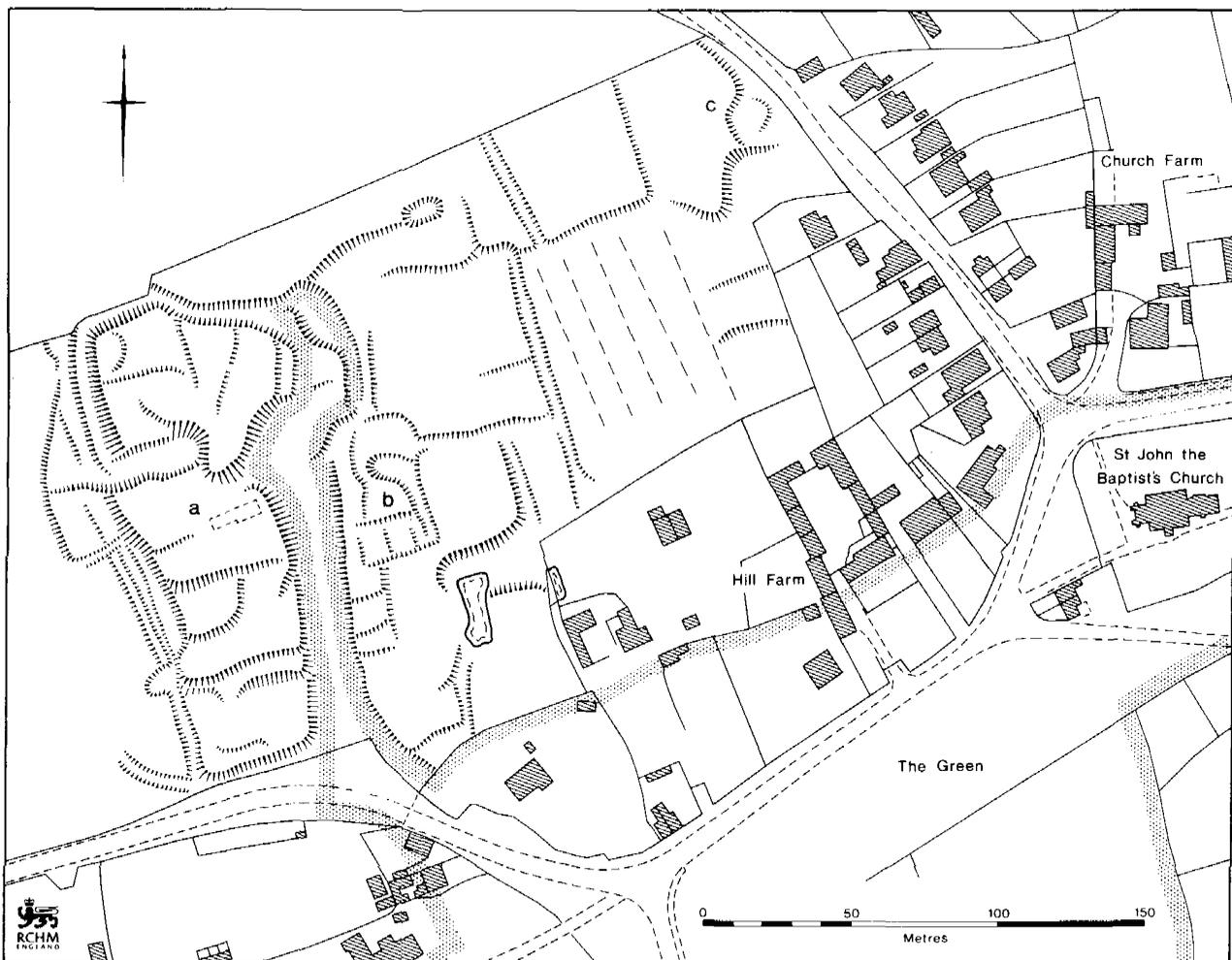


Figure 8: Stanbridge, Beds, settlement earthworks (RCHME copyright). The stippled band marks the edge of the green as mapped c. 1840.

Some details hint that a similar pattern may have existed on the E of the way. If this interpretation is correct, these smaller properties were subsequently engrossed to form two distinct farmsteads.

At **Battlesden** (SP9658 2874, Figure 9), the present settlement pattern of the parish is one of extreme dispersal. At the core is a non-working farm, Centre Farm, and two pairs of 19th-century estate cottages, lying at 125-130m above OD. This nucleus forms the hub of the parish with many route-ways converging upon it. Isolated to the E on rising ground is Hill Farm and in the extreme E of the parish Watergate Farm. On a hill some 800m to the NW is the parish church of St Peter and All Saints and the rationalised remains of the 19th-century Battlesden House. The place-name derivation from 'Badel's Hill'<sup>3</sup> suggests that the origins of the settlement may lie around the church, but no field evidence for desertion was seen in the vicinity at the time of survey.

In 1334 Thomas Fermbaud was licensed to empark 200 acres of land and wood in Battlesden and Potsgrove, which may have provided the impetus for the shift in settlement.<sup>4</sup>

In the 19th century, Battlesden was more populous than today, with 160 people recorded in the census in 1851.<sup>5</sup> The core of Battlesden as shown on the tithe award map of 1845<sup>6</sup> then consisted of a cluster of three farms: that is (1) Centre Farm (called Battlesden Farm in 1882), (2) a farm at 'a' on Figure 9, now marked by earthworks, (3) a farm,

then already uninhabited, lying 250m along the road N,NW of the lost cottage site on Figure 9. On this site to the N of centre was a single cottage, now demolished. To the S of the core was a straggle of cottages set against a now disused lane. The settlement underwent rapid contraction in the late 19th century after the Duke of Bedford purchased the manor, so that by 1901 the population had fallen to 72.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless the effect of his ownership was by no means only one of decline as two pairs of estate cottages were built, one pair occupying the site of the westerly farm.

The apparent loose agglomeration of the mid 19th-century plan may, however, be masking a more nucleated past. In a roughly triangular field adjacent to Centre Farm, which was glebe land in the 19th century, are the earthwork remains of a series of properties. A series of level platforms probably define building stances, with hollows perhaps representing crew-yards. To the SW, earthworks at 'a' mark the site of one of the post-medieval farms.

A shift in the orientation of the settlement brought about by changed communication priorities in the parish is also indicated by the field evidence. Across the N of the earthworks, an E-W hollow-way may be traced: its line is taken up to the W of the road by the N boundary of the earthworks of the former farm, and the orientation is continued W and SW by the modern hedgeline. The first stretch of the present lane leading off NW to the church and Battlesden House is also shown to be a realignment since it cuts obliquely through remnants of ridge-furrow.

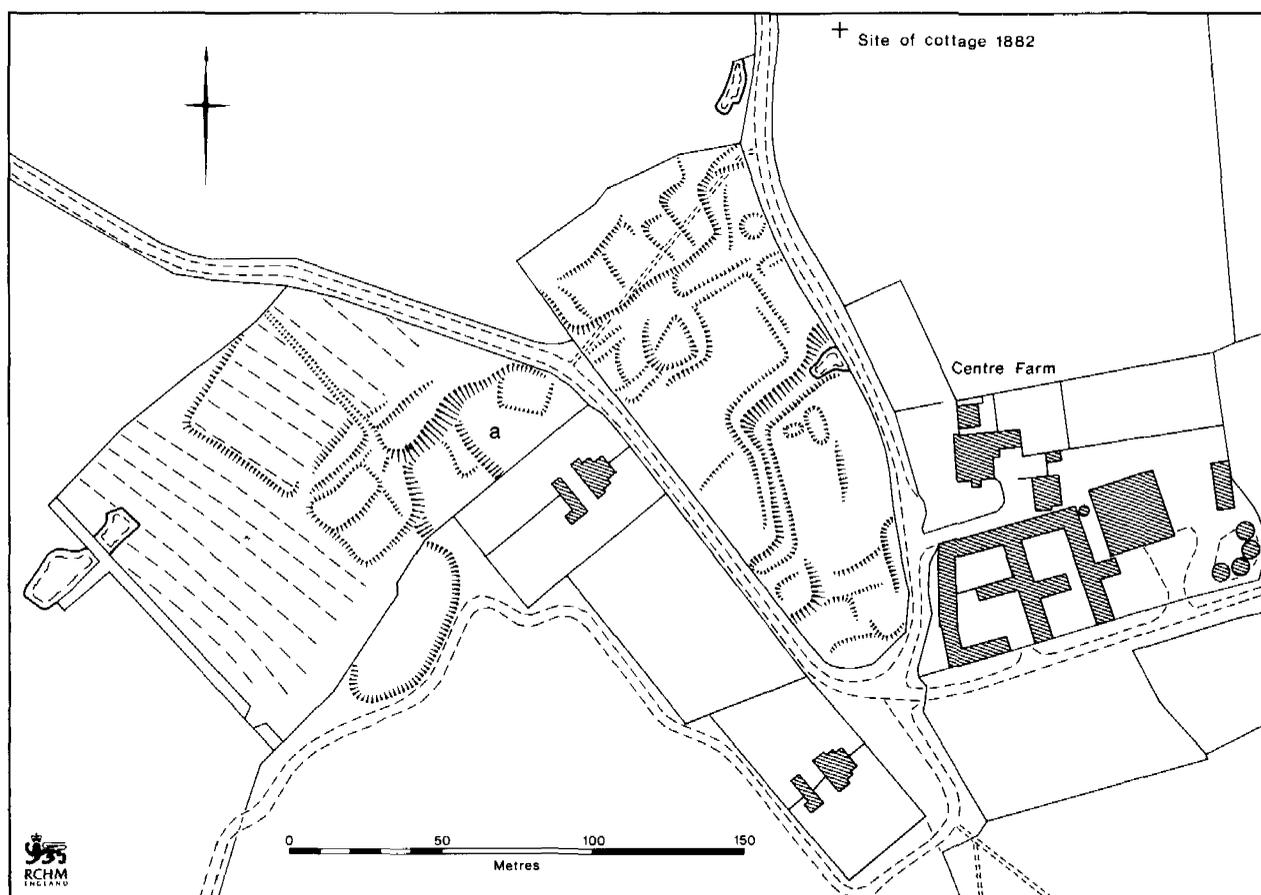


Figure 9: Battlesden, Beds, settlement earthworks (RCHME copyright).

At **Hockliffe** (SP 9665 2684), the earthworks of an alleged moat sit at 1.15m above OD, high on a spur end dominating the countryside in all directions except to the N. This site has already previously been surveyed for the purposes of OS basic-scale mapping; however, further observations cast doubt on the accepted interpretation of this feature and created the need for a revised diagram. The platform is approximately rectangular and measures 59m x 42m. Within it, an 'L'-shaped levelled area adjacent to a shallow hollow in the centre may mark the position of a former building. There is slight mounding to its SE corner; the NE corner has been so badly disturbed that its original form is lost. Its defining ditch is very narrow, with a maximum width of only 2.5m; the ditch slopes from E to W making the retention of water impossible. This complex lies within a sub-square enclosure, but the relationship between the two features is unclear. A small excavation carried out around the beginning of the century produced finds only of Roman date.

Though the excavated evidence may be unreliable, the topographical position of the earthwork, its narrow ditch and inability to hold water argue against its classification as a moat. A more plausible interpretation of this monument may be as Civil War battery commanding Watling Street (A5) and the road junction at Hockliffe 600m to the SE.

The original 1:2500 survey diagrams and site texts have been deposited with the NAR in Southampton.

#### Footnotes

1. The field surveys were completed with help of Simon Brereton on an Oxford in-service placement: Angelo Simco of Beds.C.C. was helpful in supplying background information from the Country's SMR.
2. Stanbridge Enclosure map, 1840, Beds. CRO MA 60.
3. A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire* (1926), 115-6.
4. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334-1338* (1895), 3.
5. *Bedfordshire Directory* 1853 Vol 2.
6. Beds. CRO MAT AT3.
7. *Kelly's Directory of Bedfordshire* (1910).

#### DORSET

##### Chantry Farm, Gillingham

Carenza Lewis reports that the earthwork remains at Chantry Farm, Gillingham, Dorset (ST806265) were surveyed by the RCHME in October 1990 subsequent to the excavation by Wessex Archaeology of a number of test pits along the line of a proposed road encroaching upon the site. Material recovered during these excavations had established that the site had been occupied during the medieval period. Following the completion of the RCHME survey the entire area threatened by the road, comprising about 30m wide was stripped and excavated by staff from Wessex Archaeology. The RCHME plan and full archive will be deposited in the National Archaeology Record.

The site lies in an area of dispersed settlement comprising scattered farmsteads and hamlets interspersed with a few larger villages. The parish of Gillingham lay within the Royal Forest of Gillingham which was not disafforested until 1624, and the settlement pattern may be the result of gradual encroachment into the Forest. Nine manors are recorded at Gillingham in Domesday and other settlements

were recorded by the 14th century (RCHME, *Dorset V* (1972), 27). The earthworks surveyed at Chantry Farm are evidently the remains of one of these small settlements.

The earthworks cover c. 4 hectares and lie about 200m S of the centre of the medieval town of Gillingham on clay at 72m above OD. The remains of several holloways of varying widths and depths are loosely associated with poorly preserved raised platforms, some of which yielded concentrations of medieval pottery and one of which carried a medieval kiln. The state of preservation of the earthworks on the site is poor, especially in the N part, which lies nearest to the town. The most coherent area of earthworks is the easternmost 1.2 hectares of the surveyed area, where two or three platforms are defined by a loosely gridded arrangement of ditches and holloways, which may have served to provide both access to and drainage from structures carried by the platforms. The most substantial and clearly defined of these is subsquare and measures 22m by 25m. It is defined on the S and E by the right-angle turn of a well-defined hollow-way and on its W side by a narrower, more sharply defined ditch which follows the natural contour of the site down to the N. A broad linear hollow along its N side is considerably lower-lying and appears to be the result of recent wear. Thus although the platform carries the superficial appearance of being moated, the surrounding hollow could never have held water and is not in any case a coherent feature. Other tofts are most likely represented by the sub-rectangular areas defined by the irregular gridded street pattern. These settlement features lie N of a well-defined, broad hollow-way extending E-W, but are on a different alignment and do not appear integrally linked to it. Linear scarps and hollows in the fields W of the area of settlement appear to be the remains of fields of probable post-medieval date.

This site forms an interesting example of a small settlement of medieval date in an area of Wessex claylands where few sites have been recorded and little is known of the morphology or development of the medieval settlement pattern.

#### EAST SUSSEX

##### Mountfield and Brightling Darwell Reservoir (TQ 7121)

Mark Gardiner reports that the Field Archaeology Unit (Institute of Archaeology) undertook extensive survey work directed by Simon Bryant in advance of enlarging Darwell Reservoir. A series of bank and pits were recorded within woodland. Some of the banks could be identified as the boundaries of former fields. The pits were mainly connected with the extraction of iron ore, though some saw pits were also recorded. A series of dams were found and these were evidently of post-medieval date, though some may have been enlargements of earlier medieval structures.

Documentary research undertaken as part of the survey showed that this area on the periphery on the Forest of Dallington was more intensively settled in the fourteenth century. The manor of Darwell, later called Hollingrove, was formed out of lands granted in 1315 by William de Etchingam to Alan de Buxhill. Settlement in this area contracted with the decline in population in the late fourteenth century and by mid-fifteenth century there were just four tenants compared to twenty in 1315. The remaining

land was taken into the demesne and eventually the entire area of the manor formed the lands of the demesne farm. A full report is in preparation for the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*.

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE

D. Aldred and C. Dyer have planned the earthworks of a deserted hamlet to the east of Bishop's Cleeve (at SO 982274). The site is likely to be that of the hamlet of Wick, which is recorded in the thirteenth century and may well have been abandoned by the late fifteenth. It probably never included more than two households. The site lies on the edge of the steep slopes of the Cotswold escarpment, but is associated with a good deal of ridge and furrow. There are clearly defined boundary banks on the W. and S. sides of the site, and it is approached by a track running E-W along the headland of the field system from the E. The earthworks consist of a number of irregular depressions and at least four building platforms.

On this part of the Cotswold escarpment there are nucleated villages on the lower slopes, but on the edge of the hills are a number of hamlets and farmsteads (besides Wick are

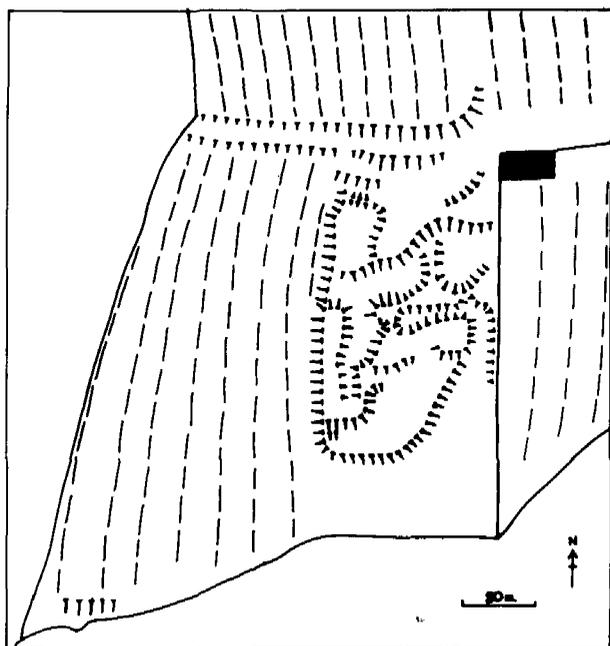


Figure 10: Wick, Gloucestershire

such places as Haymes and Cockbury in the immediate vicinity)

On the landscape context of this site see D.H.Aldred, *Cleeve Hill* (Alan Sutton, Gloucester, 1990)

## HERTFORDSHIRE

W.D. Cocroft reports that the staff of RCHME Keele revised the recording and portrayal of antiquities within Ordnance Survey sheets TL 21 NW and NE, and TL 22 NW, NE, SW and SE at basic map scales as part of an OS map revision programme.

The centre of the area is dominated by Stevenage New Town. To its S many of the villages have greatly expanded to form dormitories for London and Stevenage, but the majority of the villages within the remaining area are

relatively small, with the exception of Condicote and Walkern. Walkern is also noteworthy in that its plan is that of a very regular, and therefore probably planned, two-row settlement. Otherwise most of the settlements are characterised by isolated farms or farm clusters with associated cottages. A third form of settlement are the groups of perhaps late properties which appear to have been attracted to the principal routeways.

The density of moats in the area is low. Only 9 moats are known within the 150 square kilometres of the revision area. The map depiction of a number of these was amended and the field evidence for the alleged moat at Fairclough Hall was assessed as insufficient to justify the identification.

The settlement at Hall's Green (TL 2764 2886, Figure 11) may be seen as illustrative of the loose clusters of farms encountered to the NE of the area, and of the value of analytical fieldwork on such minor settlements. The hamlet is now dominated by two large farms, Irongate Farm and Fairclough Hall, both of which are at latest early 17th-century in origin. A Fairclough family had been present as early as 1461 and perhaps earlier.<sup>1</sup> Along the E side of the N-S lane are a series of council houses which occupy the sites of buildings shown on the map of 1633.<sup>2</sup> Four buildings are still depicted in this area in 1834, but in 1878 only the public house and a cottage to its E.<sup>3</sup> The chief loss compared with the 1633 map is that of Yardley Farm, which lay to the W of Fairclough Hall and had evidently disappeared by 1834. The farm is shown in 1633 as four buildings roughly occupying the four sides of a square. Earthworks surviving in pasture between the council houses and Fairclough Hall mimic this arrangement fairly well except to the E, where later disturbance has removed the evidence. In addition, to the rear of the public house are the earthworks of a cottage apparently not shown in 1633 but in existence until at least 1878.

In essence, the cartographic and field evidence here combine to indicate the former existence of a settlement of at least three farms and associated cottages, and the piecemeal changes in it over the last three and a half centuries. As in the Bedfordshire examples above, a process of engrossment appears to have simplified an older, more complex, settlement albeit still a small farm cluster.

Other areas of suspected medieval desertion were investigated at Graveley (TL 234 281): no evidence was found to suggest early settlement shrinkage. At Chesfield (TL 247 279) a similar picture was noted. The earthworks to the S of the church can be shown to be those of farm buildings that survived into the 19th century.

Benington also produced earthworks of a building complex at TL 2968 2352, that is shown in existence on an estate map of late 17th-century date.<sup>4</sup> To the S of the area, suspected DMV's were investigated in the field at Knebworth (TL 232 211), Condicote (TL 2185 1870) and Mardley (TL 259 185). None of these sites exhibited any field evidence for medieval desertion.

Detailed surveys at 1:1000 were undertaken of two sites within the revision area, in response to requests based on local management needs, namely at Wymondley Priory (TL 219 280) and at Boxford (TL 270 261). The site at Boxwood lies in dense woodland and has previously been assumed to be that of the lost medieval village of Box. 'Village' seems certainly the wrong term for it. At the centre of the complex of earthworks of several dates and

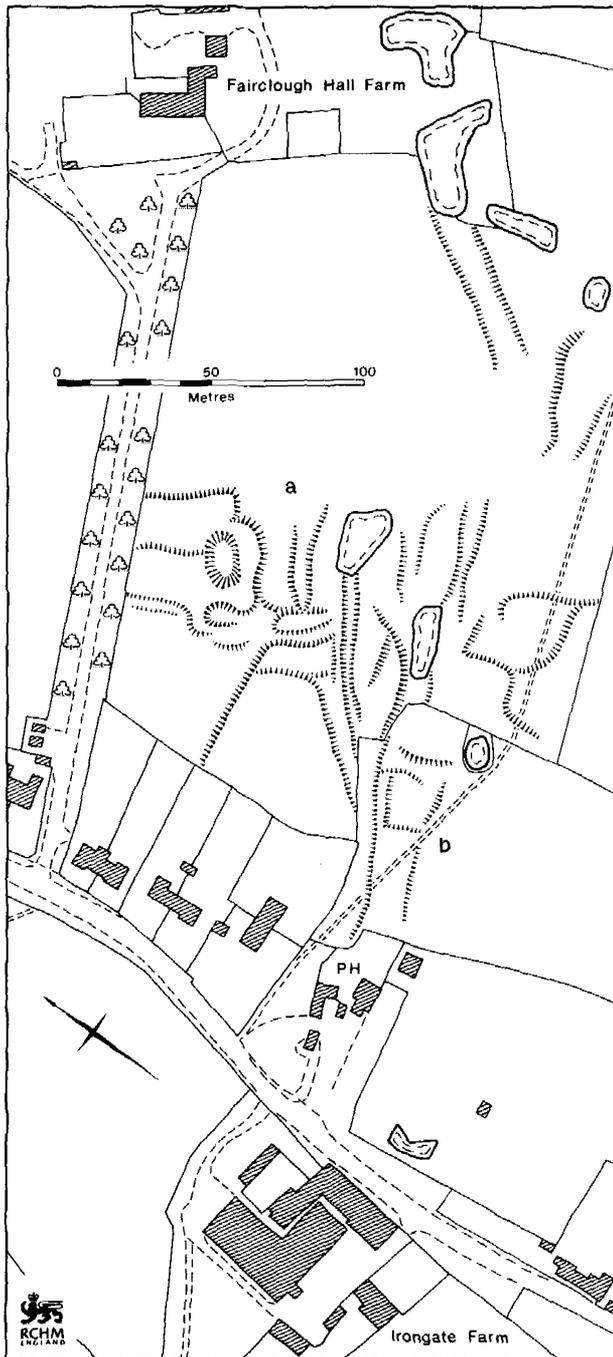


Figure 11:

functions is a sub-square enclosure which has produced medieval pottery. This is surrounded by woodland banks, and other features include disused track-ways and a possible site of a post-medieval cottage.

Survey diagrams and archive texts for these sites and others recorded within the area will be deposited with the NAR in Southampton.

**Footnotes:**

1. VCH, *Hertfordshire* Vol. 3 (1912), 175
2. Estate Map, 1633, in private possession.
3. Ordnance Survey, 1st edition 1" map, 1834; 1st edition 25" sheet HERTS 13-1, 1878.
4. Estate Map, late 17th-century, in the possession of Benington Lordship.

**MOATED SITES IN ODSEY HUNDRED**

by Elizabeth Hunter and S.M. Fletcher report that a group was established in 1986 to examine the 45 moated sites in the 17 parishes of Odsey Hundred, of which this brief report deals with 5.

In Hertfordshire, the greatest concentration of moated sites is in the east and north of the county but distribution varies from parish to parish. Of the five parishes in this study, three have one moat each (Caldecote, Newnham and Bygrave), Hinxworth has two, and Ashwell has no fewer than eight. Caldecote, Newnham and Bygrave moats are all sited close to the parish church; in Hinxworth, Bury End is within half a mile of the church whilst Hinxworth Place is in an isolated site well away from the church. In Ashwell parish, both Westbury and Gardiners lie on the edge of the present settlement, and although within half a mile of the church are not associated with it. The other six sites are isolated, well away from the settlement, although the two known by the name of Love's Farm (here called Love's Farm and Sansomes) are very close to each other, as are the nearby two at Bluegates and Ashwell End. Mob's Hole is the most isolated, sited as it is in the far north of the parish close to the junction of three counties. If we are to attempt to answer the question why Ashwell is so different from its neighbouring parishes, we must look to the details of the topography, landownership and land use of the parishes for clues.

Bygrave, Caldecote and Newnham were always single manor parishes, and the siting of the moat adjacent to the church in each place points to the manorial status of the moats. Hinxworth had a single Domesday manor which was later split and subsequently reunited. It would appear that Bury End was the site of the earlier manor, with the possible moat at Hinxworth Place being associated with the later manor.

Ashwell is much more complex. It had no fewer than four manors (Westbury Nernewtes, Digswell, Kirbies and The Manor). Of these, only the Westbury site has evidence of a moat, situated as it was at the western extreme of the modern built-up area of the settlement and possibly once isolated from it. Of the other seven moats in the parish, 6 are situated in areas which the Enclosure Map of 1862 indicates as 'areas of ancient enclosure', hinting at the possibility that these may represent independent farmsteads enclosed direct from woodland or waste which were not under manorial jurisdiction.

All the moats in this study are square or rectangular in shape, and most appear to be single, that is having one moat surrounding one platform. Two are more complex - Westbury was originally a series of three platforms, two square and one, which survives, a very long narrow rectangle; Mob's Hole has a square moat and a platform with a smaller square moat and platform in one corner. Fieldwork has shown that several moats had a short extension of one arm beyond the rectangle (Sansomes, Bury End). At Newnham this gathers water from hillside springs.

The sample includes two possible examples of the unusual three-sides-of-a-square moat, at Bygrave and at Bury End, Hinxworth. It has been suggested that this shape

denotes post-medieval ornamental moats, although some have early evidence for being three-sided. There is also the possibility that the shape was altered between the original construction and the nineteenth century mapping. The name and sitting of Bury End suggests a medieval origin, its position on a distinct slope obviating the need for a fourth side. On the other hand, at Bygrave, like Newnham, the moat appears much more clear-cut on the nineteenth century maps than most of the others, so whatever its origins it gives the appearance of later use, albeit for a different function than originally built.

For a fuller report with plans, see *Hertfordshire's Past* 30 (Spring 1990) pp 13-23.

## HUMBERSIDE (FORMERLY EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE)

### Nafferton (TA064591)

Ed Dennison reports that the earthworks of a hitherto unknown hamlet were surveyed by the Humberside Archaeology Unit.

The site, which lies on the western side of Blackcarr Lane to the east of Nafferton, comprises the well preserved earthworks of a hollow way (a-b), house platforms and enclosures (c-h) and areas of ridge and furrow (see fig. 12).

A number of platforms and enclosures lie on the eastern side of the hollow way. The three enclosures to the south

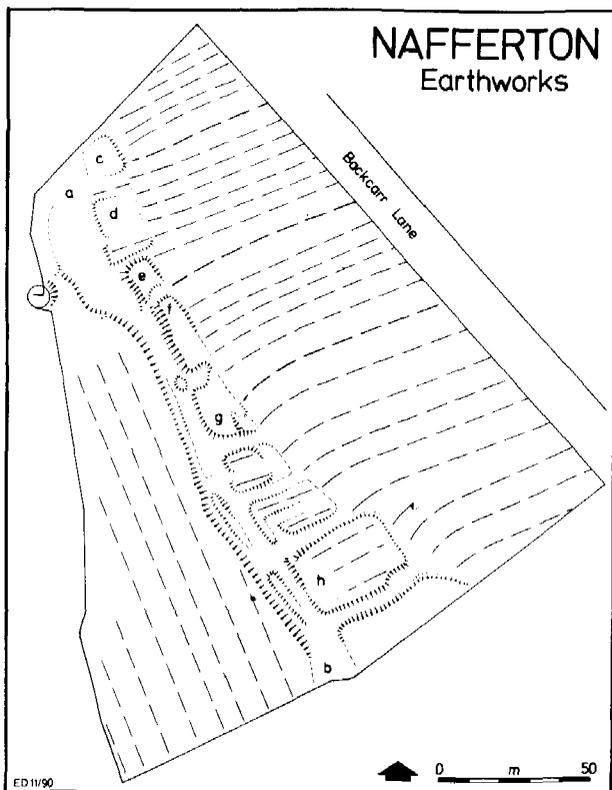


Figure 12: Hall's Green, Herts., earthworks of the former Yardley Farm (RCHME copyright)

now contain ridge and furrow; this is especially marked in enclosure h which measures 25m by 30m and on either side of platform d.

Well preserved ridge and furrow, truncated by the later enclosure road to the east, survives behind the building line. Two distinct types can be seen. To the south of platform g are broad 0.75m high ridges occurring every

10m with a characteristic curve and headland, while to the north the ridges occur every 5-6m and are only 0.25m high with little or no curve. Large broad ridges 0.75m high (shown on the plan as thicker lines) divide this area into closes. These are approximately 40m wide and reflect the position of the house platforms arranged along the street frontage.

The earthworks seem to suggest the gradual desertion of a small hamlet with the southern platforms appearing to have been taken into arable cultivation as an extension of the existing open fields. The narrower ridge and furrow in the closes to the north also suggests two phases of use, possibly being cultivated when the closes were abandoned. Another possible ridge in the bottom of the hollow way may also indicate the re-use of the abandoned road.

## WOLMERSTY - A DESERTED VILLAGE IN THE LINCOLNSHIRE FENS

David Start and Tom Lane report for Heritage Lincolnshire that the site of one of the few deserted Medieval settlements in the Lincolnshire Fens was located in 1988 during the Fenland Survey. The site, which straddles the Wrangle-Friskney boundary, is thought to be that of Wolmersty. (TF 445533)

Finds of pottery sherds made during field survey suggest the village was founded in the Late Saxon period. At that time, Wolmersty was a significant place for it provided an early, if short lived, name for the wapentake later called Skirbeck (Fellows Jensen 1978, 344; Foster and Longley 1976, 68).

A Seaward location for Wolmersty, on the borders of Wrangle and Friskney, is suggested by historical sources; sometime before 1186, Simon le Bret gave Waltham Abbey four acres of meadow in *Wrangelcornfen* next to *Wlmersti* abutting on the boundary with Friskney (Hallam 1965, 170); in 1274 the Abbot of Waltham claimed in Wrangle 'wrecks and wayffs and the goods from felons from Leake Bank (on the western parish boundary) to *Wolmersley*' (Thompson 1856, 594), presumably tying in the latter place to the western parish boundary. The location of Wolmersty is almost certainly that of the pottery scatters recorded as WRA 17, 26 and 27, near Greenfield Farm (Fig 13). WRA 17, which aerial photograph evidence indicates was once enclosed by a ditch and stands on a subcircular, low mound of glacial clay, surrounded by marine silts. The earliest pottery from the mound has been dated to the Late Saxon period (H. Healey pers. comm.) and other finds include a lava quern and 70 animal bones. Some 'brick features' were apparently noted when the farmer dug into the mound some years ago.

Across Ivery Lane, nearer to Greenfield Farm, are the ploughed remains of an area once surrounded by a moat-like ditch (WRA 26). It is called The Iverys on the 1807 Enclosure map where the moat is indicated by dotted lines. Ivery is a Lincolnshire corruption of ivy, a plant which often invades old or ruined buildings (H. Healey pers. comm.). Finds of pottery from the site were not especially numerous and chiefly late medieval or early post-medieval in date. However, many tile fragments were noted, some of which were overfired.

To the north lies a further site, WRA 27, which has plentiful Late Saxon pottery. Sherds are also relatively densely scattered over the remainder of the field. An aerial photograph taken by the RAF in 1946 (3204 RP 1069/UK/1730 12 SEP46 20IN 19/85) clearly shows the remains of a second moat further north within the same field. This part of the site was unavailable for fieldwalking. There are also traces of strips (ridge and furrow or dylings) to the north and east.

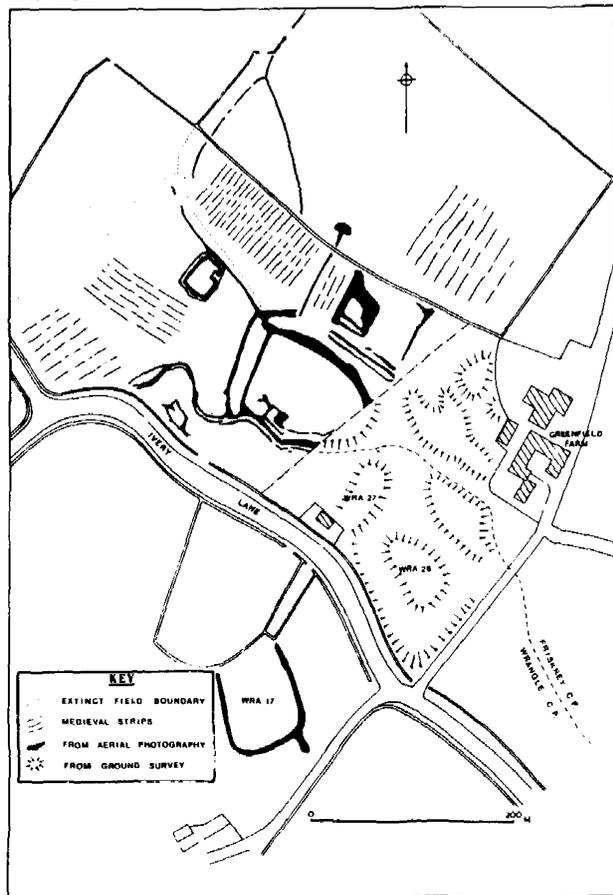


Figure 13: Wolmersty in Friskney/Wrangle: Plan of earthworks and crop/soil marks. (Drawing by P. Sidebottom).

Evidence for the Greenfield Farm/Wolmersty area being a Late Saxon foundation is overwhelming. Examination of the background scatter of sherds from the general area (by H. Healey) has resulted in the identification of Late Saxon and early medieval wares including Stamford wares. Fields to the north and east of the Wolmersty site are in Friskney parish, an area not investigated as part of the Fenland Survey. However, fields to the south and west, in Wrangle, were walked and yielded a widespread scatter of sherds, indicative of manuring and arable agriculture. The sites and scatters flank a sinuous, shallow depression created by a now-extinct watercourse, the line of which still delineates the Wrangle-Friskney boundary. Low islands of pre-Flandrian soils protude through the marine silts around the area and no doubt contributed the 'ey' element to the Wolmersty place-name.

Some late and post-medieval sherds are present but, by that time, Wolmersty had declined in population. Wolmersty survived as a manor until at least the reign of Henry IV (Foster and Longley 1976). Evidently the place was still recognised until after 1529 (Thompson 1856, 593) but by the turn of the 19th century had become deserted and the name lost.

### Acknowledgments

Permission to conduct fieldwalking was freely given by Mr Roughton and the late Mr Doleman. I would also like to thank Mr Danby of Wrangle for arranging a re-visit to WRA 17 and to Philip Sidebottom who executed the illustration.

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### NORFOLK

Alan Davison reports that Norton (TL 708010) has long been listed as a deserted settlement<sup>1</sup> on the strength of an entry in the Nomina Villarum (1316) as 'Stoke cum Nortone'. It seems that 'Norton' is a phantom. An alternative copy of the document<sup>2</sup> gives the entry as 'Stoke cum Rottone!' 'Rottone' is clearly the existing village of Wretton (TL 690000) near Stoke Ferry (TL 703000). It was not recorded in Domesday but is probably accounted for under entries for Wereham (TL 681016) and Stoke Ferry with which it had manorial links.

**Narford** (TF764138). An examination of documentary evidence has suggested some revision of previously published information. This relied in part on a 16th-century copy of a survey of 1462<sup>3</sup>. Two sections of this concerning fields and common grazing were dated, a third, describing the village was not. The previous count of 81 houses based on this may be incorrect. Terms used to describe properties vary: 'tenement', 'messuage not builded' and 'messuage with a croft not builded' may represent houses while six properties are still 'void'. Other documents suggest that the third section may have been added in the early 16th century. The copy was from the Beckham Family papers. The Beckhams lived in **Little Fransham** (TF 902120), two were mentioned in 1576 as purchasing tenements in the decaying township. It may be, then, that a smaller village began its protracted decay, if not in 1462, at least by the early 1500s. Some occupation continued at least until 1664 when the Hearth Tax return showed 35 hearths in 12 houses. Sir Andrew Foutiane's purchase of Narford in 1690 was followed by landscaping.

A survey of **Custhorpe** (TF 785148), a former hamlet in **West Acre** (TF 780153), also exists in the Beckham papers<sup>4</sup>. It dates from some time between 1538 and 1582. It records a common and sixteen furlongs but no dwellings are mentioned apart from an empty messuage and part of another; depopulation appears to have been already accomplished. The chapel of St. Thomas Becket, of which foundations survive, appears to have stood in isolation.

**Oxnead** (TG 229240), associated with the Paston family, consists of little more than the church and the surviving service wing of Oxnead Hall. Always a small place, judging by the size of contributions to lay subsidies, it appears to have been largely depopulated by the end of the 15th century. One of the Paston Letters<sup>5</sup>, dated 1478,

describes the church as being only small though 'reasonable plesaunt and repayrd' and goes on to say that the priest's duties were easy as there were no more than twenty persons receiving the sacrament in a year. No doubt the manorial household would account for many of these.

Alan Davison, for the Norfolk Archaeological unit, field-walked arable portions of the park at **Wolterton** (TG 164320) before they were returned to grass. The site of the deserted village was discovered. It was grouped round a rectangular green of regular form and corresponded closely to the vestigial settlement shown on Corbridge's map of 1732. Finds showed that the village had been in that form at least as early as the 13th century with another cluster of settlement c.500m to the west near two existing post-medieval buildings. Although a church was recorded in Domesday and Wolterton church, now ruined, lay close to the southern end of the green, little Late Saxon/Early Medieval pottery was found. Other discoveries included a small concentration of pre-historic pottery close to an edge of the former green and a small Romano-British site in the western part of the park, remote from the village site. The survey, with funding by English Heritage, is being extended to the remainder of the Mannington (TG 144320) and Wolterton Estates in 1991 and 1992.

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3. Norfolk Record Office MS 11353; MS 11352 includes a second copy, the original is untraced.
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### **OXFORDSHIRE**

#### **Hardwick Farm, Banbury**

The medieval and post-medieval earthworks at Hardwick Farm, Banbury (SP 460430) were surveyed by RCHME in January 1990 following a request from Oxford County Council when the earthworks came under threat from the proposed expansion of the industrial plant immediately to the S. The site lies on Lias clay at 100m OD in the parish of Banbury and was recorded as Hardwick Deserted Medieval Village by Maurice Beresford in 1971. The earthworks surveyed by the RCHME comprise a number of rectangular enclosures associated with a major N-S holloway, medieval field systems containing well-preserved ridge and furrow, a series of irregular earthworks N of the existing farm complex and two ponds S and E of the farmhouse, one of which has been described as a moat. The full archive will be deposited in the National Archaeological Record.

#### **History**

The documentary evidence, examined by C J Bond for Timothy Darvill Archaeological Consultants, is not particularly illuminating for the medieval period because of the inclusion of Hardwick within the larger estate of Banbury and 11th century references to Prior's Hardwick in Warwickshire. The available evidence suggests that Hardwick may have developed from a specialised pastoral unit in the pre-Conquest period into a small hamlet

containing a maximum of five holdings in the 14th century when it was a separate township within Banbury parish. There is no evidence for a church, chapel or manor house at Hardwick. In 1496 the demesne land which probably included most of the township, was leased to William Cope, who was responsible for the depopulation of the village of Wormleighton in Warwickshire. Only 3 holdings remained in 1509-10 and by c. 1518 it was attested that Cope had turned the hamlet into a single enclosed farm and evicted the four remaining customary tenants. When the overlordship was transferred in 1547 from the Bishops of Lincoln, who had held it throughout the medieval period, to the Duke of Somerset the Copes retained the lordship. Some limited re-establishment of the settlement, probably only labourer's cottages, is recorded in the mid 16th century. The manor was held by the Copes into the late 18th century as an increasingly subsidiary residence to their larger house at nearby Hanwell. During this time Hardwick Farm was leased to yeoman farmers, and by the early 19th century formed one of the larger mixed farms in the county.

#### **Survey**

The earthwork remains around Hardwick Farmhouse fall into four blocks around the existing farm complex. They are articulated along an E-W road, now overlain W of the farmhouse by the modern driveway. Its original line to the E has been obliterated by 19th century farm buildings.

The first two blocks (A and B) both lie N of the farm complex, which may have destroyed the greater part of their original extent, and are separated by a well-defined holloway (g-h).

Block A comprises a pair of well-defined closes measuring c. 40-50m wide which has been cut through and partly destroyed on its SE side by the holloway (g-h). Ridge-and-Furrow is contained within both closes. Later reoccupation of these closes is indicated by the well-defined traces of buildings (e and f). This suggests that the documented rebuilding of the mid 16th century may have taken place in this area, subsequent to abandonment and overploughing of the medieval properties.

Block B comprises a group of amorphous, poorly preserved earthworks forming a block extending c. 150m E of the holloway. Although the original morphology has been confused by recent quarrying and dumping, the earthworks appear to represent the remains of a small number of closes, now truncated at their S ends by an irregular scarp oriented WSW-ENE. They have been overploughed subsequent to their abandonment and traces of ridge and furrow can be seen overlying the settlement earthworks. Consequently the close boundaries are not discernable amidst the later plough ridges. The morphology and extent of the earthworks, however, suggests that they are likely to represent the remains of perhaps three individual properties of the same width as those in block A. The closes within this block, combined with those in block A, appear likely to represent the site of the documented medieval occupation at Hardwick of a maximum of five holdings.

The third block of earthworks (C) is located W of Hardwick Farmhouse and comprises a sub-rectangular enclosure within which there are a number of well-defined building platforms and hollows. The N side of this enclosure abuts the E-W road now overlain by the driveway to the

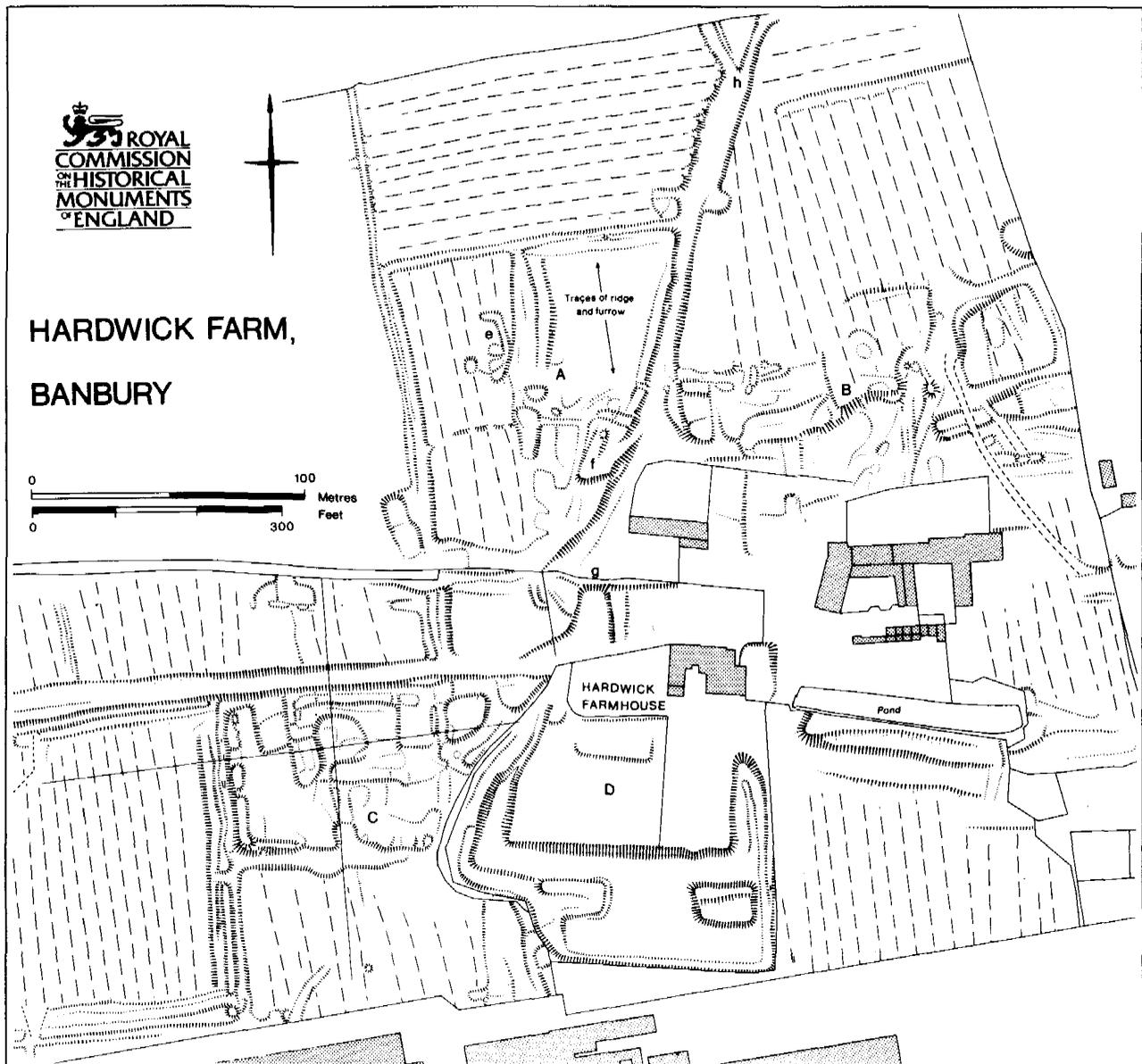


Figure 14: Hardwick Farm, Banbury

farmhouse. The enclosure appears to overlie broad ridge and furrow, of which poorly defined traces survive to its S. To the W of the enclosure a small field contains narrow, sharply defined plough ridges which are evidently later than other ridge and furrow cultivation around the site. The E side of the enclosure is formed by the S continuation of the linear boundary which itself forms the W limit of surviving earthworks to the N. The enclosure and the features within it differ in both their morphology and their arrangement from the settlement earthworks in blocks A and B, and appear to represent the remains of a large late or post Medieval complex, perhaps associated with the development of the farm residence.

The fourth block of earthworks (D) comprises the remains S and E of Hardwick Farmhouse. The two armed anvil-shaped pond has been described as a moat of possible medieval origin. The RCHME survey revealed no sign of a fourth enclosing side to the feature and the topography of the site makes its presence unlikely. Additionally, the documentary evidence gives no indication of a high status residence or manor house at Hardwick during the medieval

period and it is consequently more likely that the pond is an ornamental feature dating to the Copes' early tenancy of Hardwick. The house was occupied by members of the immediate family at this time, whose predilection for decorative water features is attested by their creation of a series of elaborate water gardens at their main residence at Hanwell. The alignment of the W arm of the moat suggests that it may be reusing the S continuation of the holloway (g-h). The terraces immediately S of the farmhouse are garden features and it is also possible that the broad form of the S side of the pond may be the result of modification to the original. A rectangular pond E of the farmhouse was created recently and the spoil from it is clearly visible to its S.

#### Summary

The earthworks of the small medieval settlement at Hardwick indicate the former existence of a fairly regularly arranged hamlet of no more than six properties, corresponding with the documented size of the settlement in the 14th century. The presence of earlier arable as well as the re-use of boundaries may indicate the presence of an

earlier and less regular settlement which was subsequently reorganized. This new settlement was later engrossed by the Cope family and reduced to a single farmstead by the early 16th century. Parts of the former settlement were overploughed and some partial reoccupation, perhaps only by labourers, also took place in the 16th century at a time when the Copes rebuilt their farmhouse and gave it an ornamental setting.

## SOMERSET

### The Shapwick Project

The multi-disciplinary project based on the parish of Shapwick begun in October 1988 was continued in 1990. The following is a very brief summary of the work, submitted by Mick Aston.

#### 1) Fieldwork

No new areas of land were examined in 1990 fieldwork being concentrated on further fieldwalking of the land attached to Beerway, Church, Coppice Gate and Northbrook Farms in the east of the parish. More field walking exercises were carried out. Some areas were walked on the basis of ten by ten metre squares with twenty minute collecting times in each with total retrieval of all finds of all dates; this was the method in 1989. However in line with recommendations by Dr Christopher Gerrard who has been analysing the finds, other areas were subjected to line walking with lines 25 metres apart (in one case ten metres apart) and divided into 25 metre lengths being subjected to ten minute total collecting times. In this way much larger areas of the parish were sampled and it is hoped that a more general picture of a larger area will emerge using this method (M Aston, M Costen, W Horner and many others).

A detailed ground survey of the area of the shrunken village earthworks was undertaken in May by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (M Corney and D McOmish).

The material from the 1989 season has now been fully analysed and is published in the 1989 report (see below). All small finds of some interest have been retained for further study and a pottery fabric series has been started. All the rest of the material has been deposited at the Country Museum at Taunton where it will be available for study in future. The finds indicate occupation in the eastern half of Shapwick parish from the Mesolithic period onwards. There are flints, not a native material in the parish, for the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze age, pottery for the Iron age and the Roman period, from first to fourth centuries, and medieval and post-medieval pottery and finds from the 12th to the 20th centuries. Of considerable interest is the finding of significant pottery fragments of the late Saxon period - the tenth and eleventh centuries (C M Gerrard and A Gutierrez).

#### 2) Geology and Botany

The geological and botanical studies continued with detailed surveys of particular fossil beds being undertaken and the mechanism for recording the species in hedges being investigated in a pilot survey. The recording of areas of marl at the north end of the village and in areas south of the low line of hills, the Nidons,

to the north of the village has led to the suggestion that there may have been a lake or at least a marsh in that area in prehistoric times. This has interesting implications for settlement and land use in that part of the parish in earlier times (P Hardy, C Harris, D Hill and M Williams).

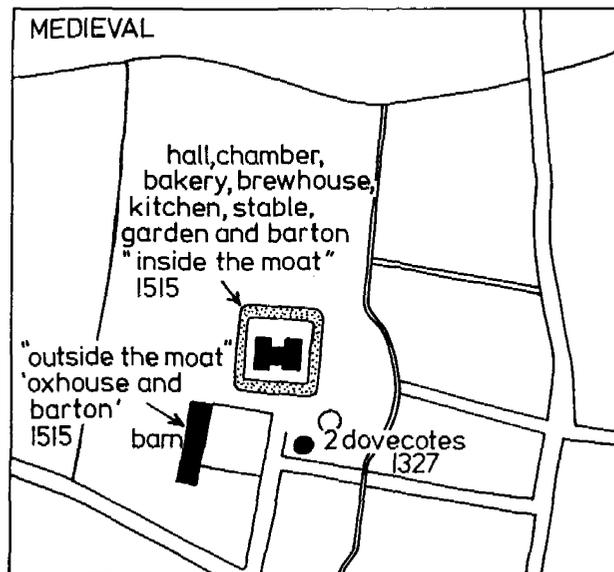


Figure 15: Shapwick Moated Manor House, Late Medieval

#### 3) Air Survey

A single flight was undertaken in May after a long period of drought to see if there were further cropmarks to be seen in the areas examined in 1989. There were further marks in the vicinity of the early church site at Beerway Farm and to the south of the farm there were additional areas of both geological and early field boundary marks. In the area of the shrunken village parchmarks outlined many former field boundaries, roads and house sites; this information was used to supplement the RCHM ground survey. Elsewhere there was little to be seen although some new geological information was observed (M Aston).

#### 4) DOCUMENTARY and MAP evidence

The 1327 Abbot Sodbury's survey continued to be studied and some analysis of its social, tenurial and agricultural aspects was begun. A general survey of the enclosure history of the parish based on the abundant documentary evidence was produced (M Costen and N Corcus).

The analysis began of the fine series of maps of the village. There are eight of these dating from around 1750 to around 1785 in the Country Record office in Taunton. They enable us to reconstruct the earlier village plan before the alterations which produced the park in front of the manor house. From this earlier layout an attempt can be made to analyse the pattern of properties and streets to examine if the village was planned originally or not. Preliminary work suggests that it was, and that the units of measurement were based on modules of multiples of 20 feet. Blocks of properties seem to have been fitted into a pre-existing pattern of east west roads, along each side of a stream flowing north to the Levels.

The park around the manor house (now Shapwick

House Hotel) seems to have been completed by 1791 when a print was published in John Collinson's *History of Somerset* while the map of c1785 shows the demolition of some houses by that date. This may not have been the first park at the manor however as map evidence suggests that north of the house there was a garden with two fishponds, an ornamental moat and a banquetting house; this itself might be a former area of the medieval village. It is thus likely that what was a medieval moated manor house belonging to the abbots of Glastonbury (surely with at least a herb and vegetable garden attached) had a formal garden added on its north side in the sixteenth or seventeenth century over what might have been already abandoned village crofts. In the late eighteenth century, following the change in fashion, a less formal landscape park was created to the south of the house by stopping village roads, pulling down cottages and diverting roads. The rest of the village seems to have been rebuilt as an estate village (see below) (M Aston).

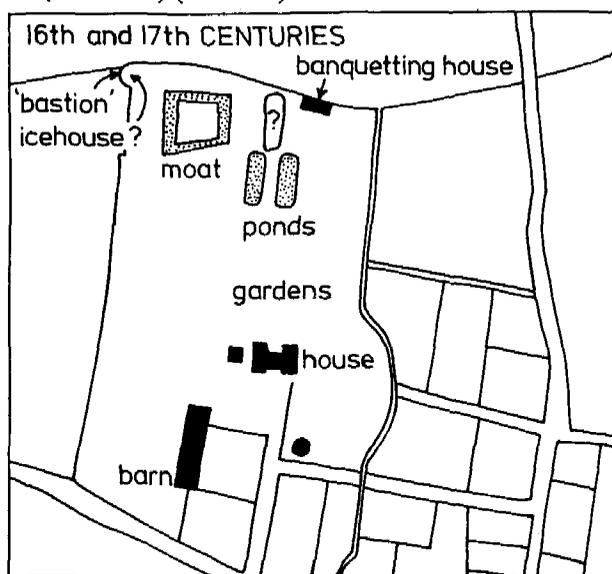


Figure 16: Developments on the site of Shapwick moated Manor House

### 5) Buildings

The survey of standing buildings by members of the Somerset and South Avon Vernacular Buildings Research Group continued. Further work at Shapwick House Hotel the former manor house showed that it had a detached kitchen, probably of 16th century date. Renovations revealed a large open fireplace in one of the rooms on the ground floor. A photographic survey was made of the dovecote at Shapwick Manor school during its resoration. A number of farm buildings, farm houses and cottages were examined in the village. The most interesting was Forsters, a sixteenth century former open hall house. This is the only early house that appears to have survived in a village which seems to have been totally rebuilt around 1800 in what may turn out to be a phase of model, or closed, village development (J Dallimore, J and J Penoyre).

### 6) Future Work

In 1991 there will be further field survey as the land of the farms in the west of the parish is examined. More fieldwalking will be undertaken over the whole

parish in a more intensive way. The geological survey will continue and it is hoped more botanical work can take place. Surveys of buildings may well be completed and a final report produced. More air survey will be undertaken at different times of the year and geophysical and geochemical work will begin in an attempt to locate areas of earlier activity not obvious from cropmark, field evidence or finds scatters. There will be further analysis of the abundant documentary evidence with an attempt to locate the possible early farm site names within the common field furlong names.

A second interim report is now available:-

M Aston (ed) *The Shapwick Project: A Topographical and Historical Study* 1989 (second) report, University of Bristol, Department for Continuing Education, October, 1990. Price £5 post free,

## SUFFOLK

### South East Suffolk - Heathlands Survey

John Newman reports that, over the last few years, it has been possible to examine areas that the Forestry Commission is re-planting thanks to the co-operation of their local officers. The fieldwork has covered parts of the Dunwich, Rendlesham and Tunstall Forests and to date just over 500 hectares has been examined. The main objective of this fieldwork has been to locate surviving earthworks on these old heathland areas that now make up the forestry plantations. These earthworks have survived because the Suffolk heathland is such poor, dry marginal land and until recently it has escaped extensive arable cultivation. Once identified the earthworks can be incorporated into management plans which ensure their future protection.

During this survey scatters of lithic and ceramic material have also been located which give some clues as to the past use and settlement of this very marginal land type. However, as the 500 hectares examined so far do not form a continuous block of land the conclusions reached must be seen as provisional. In this area a general pattern of land use is emerging which indicates little visible use of the heathland in the pre-historic and Romano-British periods and a peak of obvious settlement activity in the 13th/14th century period. The latter period being a general population peak in the country as a whole when marginal resources, such as heathland, appear to have been exploited to the full. In this respect it is interesting to note that this is also the only period producing evidence of possible manured arable on the old heathland areas. The evidence coming in the form of stray, abraded Medieval pottery sherds in the general area of the denser pottery scatters that appear to represent small settlements. From ceramic evidence the level of activity on the heathlands then dropped rapidly in the later Medieval period. This period coinciding with a drop in population and retreat from marginal areas in the country as a whole. On the heathlands specialised sheep farming then appears to have become increasingly important. To date one pre-historic lithic scatter, two Romano-British pottery scatters, one Early Anglo-Saxon to 13th/14th century, one 9th to 13th/14th century and six 13th/14th century pottery scatters have been located on these old heathland areas.

# RESEARCH IN 1990

## ii. EXCAVATIONS

### BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

MILTON KEYNES, Tattenhoe (SP829339). Excavation was carried out by Nick Shepherd for Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit on the site of Tattenhoe D.M.V. (*Medieval Archaeol.* XXXIII (1989), 171). A sequence of crofts and associated enclosures were recorded, dating from the 11th- through to the 15th-century. Limited evidence for iron-smelting was also recovered.

MILTON KEYNES, Shenley Brook End (SP830357). Eighteen months of large scale, open area excavation has now been completed on the Westbury D.M.V. by Peter Busby in advance of its total destruction by development. This and the neighbouring site of Tattenhoe will be published c.1994 in Buckingham Archaeological Society Monograph Series Volume 8.

The excavation has revealed a complex landscape, developing over the last 2000 years, from a Late Iron Age field system with dispersed occupation to the Post Medieval enclosed and predominantly pastoral landscape. This landscape was extensively modified in the 3rd/4th-century, although some elements of the earlier landscape appear to survive well in to the Medieval period. The 7th/8th-century activity is represented by flaxretting pits and an inhumation cemetery, whereas the 10th/11th-century activity appears to consist of two separate foci of domestic activity, with the building tradition being one of rectangular post-built structures with associated 'yard' areas. This building tradition appears to evolve into one of timber frame structures by the 14th/15th-century, forming multi-building farmsteads with 'yard' or open areas strung loosely along a number of hollow-ways, surrounded by their ploughlands (*Medieval Archaeol.* XXXIV (1990), 170).

### CAMBRIDGESHIRE

#### Stretham Rectory, Medieval Stone Building, TL51127455

Wendy Horton & Gavin Lucas, for Ely Diocesan Board of Finance, report that an early 12th century building, 9m x 11 with stonefaced walls 1m thick and surviving up to 1m high was excavated in the garden of Stretham rectory, adjacent to the churchyard. It was almost certainly an ecclesiastical enterprise, possibly a tower house, built to give suitable protection to the incumbent, who had been sent from Ely, at a time of insecurity in the Fens. By the 14th century this building was replaced by a rectangular ashlar faced parsonage, portions of which survive in the present (now redundant) rectory. Most of the pottery was Saxo-Norman. Almost all pottery was pre-13th century, with 3 Pagan Saxon sherds.

### CHESHIRE

#### Willaston Moat near Nantwich SJ 6705 5248.

Susan Reynolds reports on the rescue excavation in November 1989 and watching brief in March 1990 at Willaston Moat (SJ 6705 5248) for Cheshire County Council. The work was funded by English Heritage and

Cheshire County Council in advance of the construction of the A51/52 Nantwich By-pass. The excavation was preceded by an earthwork survey by RCHME Keele and a geo-physical survey by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of HBMCE.

Machine stripping of the topsoil followed by machine trenching revealed part of the North and East arms of the moat ditch. These were between 14-6m in width and 2.5 - 3m in depth. Leats and ponding were recorded to the North and South of the moat ditch. Hand dug trenches on the moat platform revealed a fenceline 6m in length on the Southern edge of the island, three postholes were found to the North.

The majority of the finds were recovered from the topsoil. These were mainly 17th-18th century date, with only six sherds of medieval pottery. From the ditch deposits a leather shoe sole, a wooden handle and 17th-century pottery were recovered. The tailing off in finds after the late 17th/early 18th century probably indicates that the moat was abandoned at this time. This would fit well with the nearby construction of Willaston Hall around 1713-1737<sup>1</sup>.

Mechanical removal by the contractors of the ditch deposits of The Northern arm produced large oak timbers forming the foundations of a bridge. Dendrochronological dating of the timbers by Sheffield University suggested a felling date after 1215 but probably before the end of the 14th-century.

The recording of the timbers was funded by the Department of Transport, and carried out by Roland Harris and Susan Reynolds.

An archive report has been prepared and has been lodged with C.C.C. S.M.R. 1971/1.

### Reference

1. Pevsner N. and Hubbard E. 1978 Cheshire, 390.

### DYFED

#### Trial Excavation at Wiston, 1990

Kenneth Murphy reports that trial excavations were undertaken in Church Field (SN 021180, 100m W of St. Mary's Church, 200m SW of the castle), Wiston, Preseli District, Dyfed (formerly Pembrokeshire). The settlement, possibly a borough, was founded in the early 12th century, but it was not a successful plantation, and seems to have been virtually abandoned by the end of the Medieval period.

Topography offers little help in tracing the former plan of the settlement. Documentary evidence is almost non-existent.

A geophysical survey in Church Field prior to excavation suggested the existence of regular property boundaries, 'burgage plots', fronting on to the main road through the present village of Wiston. 15 trial trenches were excavated in what appeared to be key areas as indicated by the geophysics.

Evidence was discovered for a least one phase of timber

buildings fronting on to the present main road. Stone foundations overlay these timber building remains. Once abandoned, the area of this settlement was given over to a strip-field system; the strip divisors following the line of the earlier property boundaries.

The 3000 sherds of Medieval pottery from the excavations indicate that the main period of occupation was in the 12-14th centuries, and that the dwellings had been deserted by, at the latest, the 15th century and the land given over to agriculture.

## **ESSEX**

### **Harlow, Harlowbury (TL 47801213)**

D. Andrews (Essex County Council) reports that six trial trenches, aligned east-west, were excavated in the field to the east of Harlowbury manor prior to development. Waterlogged grey silts found in the eastern half of the trenches related to the former course of the Harlowbury Brook. Modern infill above these silts, up to 1.5 m or more deep in places, derived from the levelling of the field in the late 19th century, a process which involved scraping off the deposits above the subsoil in the western half to raise the level in the eastern one. This levelling operation was followed by the laying down of a succession of metallised surfaces to consolidate the ground for stock or wheeled traffic.

A few concentrations of features were found, cut into the natural subsoil, on orangey silty clay. The most distinctive had vertical sides and a blackish organic fill, and contained 11th-12th century pottery, including types not seen before though generally classified as early medieval ware. The smaller features may have been post-holes, whilst the larger could have been rubbish pits. They imply some form of occupation in the immediate vicinity, being too far away from the manor house to be directly connected with that. Unfortunately, the truncation of the archaeological deposits meant that any traces of the context in which they were located had been removed. Other features, best described as pits, produced 13th-14th century pottery, whilst others were of post-medieval date. In the north-east corner of the field, a layer of grey silt contained 13th-14th century pottery, implying the silting-up or reclamation of a pond or part of the stream course at that period. The silts in the other trenches seemed to be more recent, directly underlying late-19th century levelling layers. However, the history of this valley bottom, the stream course, and the ponds that seem to have formed in it must be very complex. This became particularly evident when examination of a timber revetment at the edge of the silts in one of the trenches revealed it to be the wheel race of a breastshot water mill. Pottery finds, and the carpentry, which was nailed rather than jointed, showed this to be post-medieval, perhaps 17th-century in date. This mill has vanished leaving no obvious trace in the landscape (there is nothing to hint at the former existence of a dam) nor historical records, even though it clearly went out of use in the 18th-19th centuries. Though there were no obvious indications of an earlier structure on the site, it is likely that there had been a mill in the vicinity for many centuries, no doubt since Domesday. This would provide a context for the medieval cut features nearby. Hitherto, it has always been supposed that Harlowbury mill was located to the north of the Stort.

Finds: E.C.C.; to go to Harlow Museum

Final Report: Essex Archaeology and History

### **Maldon, Maldon Friary (TL 850069)**

S. Bryant (Essex County Council) reports that excavations in advance of the extension of a car park, prior to construction of a new library in the car park itself, revealed the remains of a substantial masonry building. This measured 5.4 x 9.2 m and dated to around the founding of the Carmelite friary in 1293. A 12.5 m long timber extension was added later, possibly in the middle of the 15th century, along with an associated brick drain. No clue was found as to its function. This building was demolished, probably in the later 16th century when a Tudor mansion was built nearby. A large brick culvert related to this had bisected most of the earlier structures. After demolition of the medieval buildings, the site was used for rubbish pits and open ground with only a few small timber sheds being built during this period. One of the surviving walls of the first building was used as a base for a timber wall. The site was eventually used as a garden from about 1800.

Finds: with E.C.C.; to Chelmsford and Essex Museum

### **Halstead Area Water Main Replacement**

By arrangement with the engineering subcontractors the route of this project was walked after topsoil stripping. The work has been piecemeal, dependent on when individual lengths were stripped. Work began in October 1990 and finished in March 1991. Information of archaeological interest was recorded along the route. This had varied from finds of individual potsherds and pieces of worked flint to two areas of late medieval settlement (dating from around the 13th and 14th centuries). The latter were subjected to excavation. One was near Hopkins Farm, Belchamp St Walter, the other alongside Church Street at Belchamp St Paul.

At Belchamp St Paul, the church and the medieval hall are about 1 km north of the village itself, separated by Church Street. The newly discovered evidence indicates that, in the later Middle Ages, the village was spread along Church Street from the church to the site of the modern village, and only in more recent times has Belchamp St Paul contracted to its present site.

In addition to the above discoveries, at Great Henny, several early medieval (12th-13th century) rubbish pits, disturbed hearths, and a possible building have also been examined. Iron Age and Roman pottery has also been found.

### **Colne Engine, Gosfield and Bardfield Saling Mains Replacement**

Work took place under similar circumstances as the Halstead area mains replacement from December 1990 to March 1991. Similar evidence was recorded.

#### **Colne Engine**

A further area of late medieval settlement was excavated near Black Bats. Two nearby houses were of perhaps 17th-century date. The evidence from the excavation indicates that settlement in the locality extends back a further 300-400 years. Minor concentrations of finds came from the north end of Brickhouse Lane and Boose's Green.

#### **Gosfield**

Only isolated finds were recovered.

### **Bardfield Saling**

Several Roman sherds from near Crow's Green suggest that a Roman settlement lies in the vicinity.

### **KENT**

The Canterbury Archaeological Trust report that at **Starkey Castle, Wouldham, near Rochester (TQ 714 656)** an evaluation took place to determine whether a proposed extension would encounter archaeological remains. Foundations for a cellared or undercrofted building, forming an east-west range with the main building, were exposed. The range was probably contemporary with the main late fifteenth-century structure and may have housed a chapel. Numerous post-medieval brick walls associated with farm outbuildings were also exposed in the evaluation trench.

At **Rochester Cathedral (TQ 743 685)** trenches cut in the former Lay Cemetery of Rochester Cathedral revealed an interesting sequence of deposits ranging from the Late Iron Age to modern times. Sixty-three burials were uncovered, the earliest within stone-lined cists. One cist burial contained the fragmented remains of a pewter chalice, deliberately placed in the hands of the deceased at burial.

At **Dover Castle (TR 325 419)** building operations in the Inner Bailey were monitored. This involved a minor excavation below the floor of a Napoleonic barrack block and inspection of service trenches across the inner court of the castle. Within the barrack block excavated cobble surfaces and a central drain indicated an earlier phase of building, perhaps a stable or wash-house. A number of Caen stone blockwork jambs, identified fossilised in the Napoleonic building, also indicated that the foundations of a pre-existing structure were re-used when the barrack block was constructed.

At **Aylesham (TR 230 530, centred)** a watching recording brief during the laying of a new water pipe, was remarkable for the lack of archaeological discoveries given the 10 km. length of the pipeline and the evidence of large cropmark sites in the vicinity. Traces of an earlier course of the B2046 road, with mid thirteenth century pottery in its ditch, were noted.

### **LEICESTERSHIRE**

#### **Orchard Lane. Great Glen (SP 655 973) Harborough**

Deborah Sawday reports for Leicestershire Archaeological unit that a contour survey and excavation were undertaken in advance of the installation of a pipe trench across earthworks slightly less than 1km. from the church of St Cuthbert, which contains Anglo Saxon carvings of 8th and 9th century date. Unfortunately the truncation of the earthworks by later ploughing makes any interpretation of their function highly speculative. One may be the product of landscaping, associated perhaps with the creation of a fishpond or lake to the immediate south. The other, which produced pottery dating from c1100 in the upcast from the mound, may have been used as a house platform or windmill mound. An associated ditch contained late medieval pottery. Spreads of stone, possibly the remains of footings for a building, were found in proximity to the mound and ditch. Pottery dating from c900 was also recovered.

The presence of earthworks and pottery dating from the

10th or 11th centuries at some distance from the church may suggest either that the village was already large by a relatively early date, or the possibility of two separate settlements. However, the small scale and nature of the excavation means that either interpretation must remain tenuous. Publication in *Trans Leicestershire Archaeol Hist Soc* LXV 1991. Finds and records with Leicestershire Museums.

### **MERSEYSIDE (KNOWSLEY DISTRICT) [FORMERLY LANCASHIRE]**

#### **Roby Road, Roby (SJ 431 905)**

Excavations by R.A. Philpott for the Field Archaeology Section, Liverpool Museum on the site of the 'failed' medieval seigniorial borough of Roby revealed evidence of occupation and possible industrial activity within one of two adjacent burgages. At least one building of beam-slot construction was succeeded by series of five or more large pits of uncertain function with organic fills. A series of post-holes may belong to an intermediate structural phase. The main phases of activity are provisionally dated on the basis of associated pottery to the 14th-15th century. The pottery largely consists of local splash-glazed sandy wares, but there is a small component of gritty fabrics, possibly from the Greater Manchester area. The site was subsequently ploughed in the late medieval period and remained a croft until the 19th century.

The final place of publication is to be decided, either in the *Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society* or in a Liverpool Museum Occasional Paper.

### **NORTHAMPTONSHIRE**

#### **Higham Ferrers**

Brian Dix reports that important Saxon settlement evidence was revealed as part of an evaluation undertaken between April 1989 and October 1990 by the Contracts Section of the Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit for the Duchy of Lancaster.

Fieldwalking on the north-western outskirts of Higham Ferrers revealed large, dense concentrations of early/middle Saxon and late Saxon pottery (295 and 710 sherds respectively) spread over an area of up to 3 ha centred at NGR SP 959 693. Trial trenches revealed postholes of probable early/middle Saxon date and a post-in-trench structure and a probable sunken-featured building of late Saxon date.

Air photography and magnetometer survey revealed a large, incomplete, oval enclosure c .1.2 ha in area. The western side of the enclosure ran southwards to a linear ditch but did not continue beyond it. The eastern side of the enclosure could be traced as far south as a short length of curvilinear ditch. Trial trenches suggested that both the enclosure and the Linear ditch were of early/middle Saxon date and that a palisade trench may have been present around the inside of the oval enclosure. Both ditches were c .2.5 m wide and 0.5 deep. The curvilinear ditch was of a similar size and may also have been accompanied by a palisade. It appeared to be late Saxon and had been recut in the medieval period. It could be that the oval enclosure was never completed or possibly its southern continuation has become so eroded that it cannot be detected by air photography or geophysical survey.

## UPTON

Evaluation for the Commission for the New Towns by the Contracts Section of the Northamptonshire Archaeology Unit in autumn 1989 located an early/middle Saxon settlement at NGR SP 713 603 towards the end of a spur of land at the north side of the Nene valley. The site lies some 200 m to the north-west of the large sunken-featured building reported in *Antiq J*, xlix (1969), 202-21.

Trial trenches within a concentration of Saxon pottery discovered by fieldwalking revealed (1) a sunken-featured building, 4 m long by 3.5 m wide and up to 0.4 m deep; (2) a ditch, 0.8 m wide and 0.35 m deep, lying 3 m to the north; (3) two adjoining narrow gullies, c.0.4 m wide, set at right-angles and possibly foundation trenches for a timber building; (4) a series of postholes and a post-pad from a separate structure; and (5) miscellaneous pits, postholes, hollows, and ditch-lengths.

## TYNE AND WEAR

### Jarrow

S speak reports that excavations at Church Bank, Jarrow, (NZ 337654) adjacent to St. Paul's church, took place over 36 weeks during 1989-90, over an area of 36m<sup>2</sup>. The excavation was undertaken by the Archaeology section of Tyne and Wear Museums Service, funded by Tyne and Wear Urban Development Service. Scant traces of Roman occupation and two periods of medieval settlement were recorded.

The west side of Jarrow Slake opening into the river Tyne is overlooked by an area of land rising to c.20m above sea level. To the south the land falls gently to the river Don, on the north side of which lies the church and monastery of St. Paul. The excavation area was until recently occupied by nineteen oil tanks, whilst fifteenth century ridge and furrow and a demolished nineteenth century chemical works had ensured that in places only the bases of the deepest archaeological features remained.

Before excavation took place the only indication of archaeological remains on the site was provided by a reference in John Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* (1840, 230) to 'Roman masonry' found in 1800 when Jarrow Hall was built. Reused Roman material in the seventh century monastery includes two fragments from one or more monumental inscriptions (RIB 1051a and b), and a number of blocks of *opus quadratum*. Recovered from the excavations were roofing tiles, squared blocks of buff sandstone and a fragment of an amphora strengthening the possibility of a Roman site in the area, perhaps associated with the Wrekendyke.

A series of ditches and gullies cut by post-Conquest features presumably belonged to the Saxon/Early Medieval period, along with a fragment of 7/8th century pottery and a human burial orientated north-south.

The features which cut these levels consisted of a further series of ditches and gullies associated with a metalled road with several buildings to either side and a short length of a hollow way, with cart ruts on its surface. Large amounts of 12-15th century pottery, a bronze brooch and an open-work mount were recovered. Further north towards the Tyne the original ground surface fell away sharply to the

river, and overlooking this drop lay a complex of large recut ditches several metres wide containing twelfth-fourteenth century pottery in its fill. It lay c325m from the church, but it is possible that it formed an enclosure within the bend of the river Don which contained the monastery. The ditches were replaced by a stone kerb faced on the river-wards side but not to its rear, where thin bands of clay may have represented the remnants of a turf bank. At one point a lean-to structure on its landward side was defined by a single course of stonework, including many reused squared blocks, set upon a pitched stone foundation. It may have been a small stock enclosure.

This later medieval occupation must represent only a portion of a large village surrounding the monastery, and it is amongst the building and fields of this village, a secular *vicus* that the excavations seem to have been located.

## WARWICKSHIRE

### Coughton Court

Jeremy Evans reports that excavations and a watching brief were conducted at Coughton Court (SP081 604) by Warwickshire Museum, commissioned at very short notice by the National Trust, in advance of sewerage works. A trench was cut across the manor house platform locating walls of the demolished east range of the early 16th century houses. Yard surfaces of the preceding manor house were excavated and a small part of a primary timber cill beam structure of the 12th to 13th century. Some worked stone was recovered from the watching brief in the moat, which probably relates to a stone manor house preceding the present 16th century structure. Some Roman enclosure ditches were also located.

## WEST SUSSEX

### Origin of Villages study

Alec Down reports that work during 1990 consisted mainly of the 4-week excavation at Robin Wood and field walking in selected areas near Stoughton and UpMarden churches. A few more scraps of early Saxon grass-tempered pottery were found near the well in the field south of UpMarden church (SU794140) and an excavation on the site of the old Farm, known to be there in 1710 but now completely demolished, is planned for August, by which time the crop will be harvested. The main objective will be to examine as wide an area as possible to get more early Saxon pottery and, hopefully, traces of pre-conquest timber buildings. At North Marden (SU807161) we have now surveyed the earthwork which still survives in part around the church and about which nothing is known. Copies of the survey have been sent out to the landowner and English Heritage and the area has been photographed from the air by John Magilton.

## WILTSHIRE

### Knook (ST 940419)

Richard Newman reports that during autumn 1990 Ian Barnes and Duncan Coe carried out salvage excavations and evaluations for Wessex Archaeology at the shrunken village of Knook, near Warminster. Attention was focused initially on earthworks recently surveyed by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments

(England), where 12th-13th century pottery was recorded. An assessment of the surrounding area revealed further previously unrecorded earthworks again associated with medieval pottery.

Documentary research indicated that the already surveyed earthworks related to crofts and closes still in existence in the later 18th century. The medieval pottery found and the results of a geophysical survey suggest that evidence for earlier occupation exists beneath the extant earthworks. It was concluded that whilst settlement activity may have peaked in the 13th century, the present shrunken state of the settlement is due to decline during the past 150 years.

#### **Chapel Farm, Lower Widhill (SU 123193)**

During the laying of the pipeline from Calne to Fairford in the summer of 1990, Richard Newman observed medieval settlement remains at Lower Widhill. A spread of limestone rubble and probable metalling had been

revealed by topsoil stripping for the pipeline easement. A rectangular area of rubble, c 3m in width by 7m in length to the edge of the easement and orientated north-west by south-east, may have been indicative of building foundations. A 7m by 12m spread of smaller limestone pieces to the south probably represents a metalled yard surface. Butting this on the eastern edge of the easement were the substantial remains of a limestone rubble wall, apparently of drystone construction. Large quantities of thirteenth-fourteenth century pottery were visible on the surface across the whole of the site. A local metal detector user reported finding two medieval brooches at this site to Charles Chandler, community archaeologist for Thamesdown Borough Council.

Prominent banks and platforms are visible in a pasture field to the south-east of these remains. High-backed, aratorally curved ridge and furrow, was clearly visible in the surrounding area. The furrows formed distinct soil marks within the easment.

## **Archaeological Excavations 1987-90: An Interim Report on The Anglo-Saxon Village at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire**

### **Summary**

The Heslerton Anglo-Saxon Settlement Project is one of the largest excavation projects ever to be undertaken in Britain. Excavation at this major site has revealed a wealth of new evidence on a scale which could not have been anticipated in 1985 when the project was first proposed. This will necessitate a radical reappraisal of Early Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns in England. The very large scale of the excavations has provided an unprecedented opportunity for the examination of the overall plan and development of a site of this type. It is the only example in the North of England to be examined using modern techniques.

Fundamental questions regarding settlement plan, development sequence, function, economy and trade as well as the pattern and purpose of the structural elements of settlements of the Early Anglo-Saxon period already demand reappraisal in the light of the evidence accrued. The limits of the site have now been defined through a series of geophysical surveys, undertaken by English Heritage, which clearly show that substantial areas of even greater complexity survive to the south of the excavation limit.

The unique nature of the evidence recovered at West Heslerton emphasises the inadequate nature of the evidence recovered from similar sites in the past. This has contributed to the development of an established model of Early Anglo-Saxon settlement which is both primitive and far from complete. The site has been shown to occupy twice the area originally estimated from these simplistic models. The wealth of new evidence recovered is admirably satisfying the project objectives which were to excavate, comprehend and interpret an entire Early Anglo-Saxon settlement, its economy, ecology, and evolution.

### **Excavation**

The Early Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Heslerton was discovered in 1982 during a sampling programme associated with the excavation of the associated cemetery which lay some 450 metres to the North. Following stripping and trial work undertaken in 1987, full scale excavation of the settlement began in 1988 which covered the North Eastern corner of the site, Areas 2CA, 2CB and 2CC. During 1989 and 1990 work continued in the North Western and Western parts of the site, Areas 2DA, 2DB, 2DC, 2DD, 11AA, 11AB, 11AC, 11AD and 11AE.

Altogether more than 10 hectares have been examined in detail. At the outset of the project it was suggested that the maximum possible size of the settlement complex could not extend beyond 10 hectares. A series of geophysical surveys undertaken by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of English Heritage have, however, demonstrated that the village extends over more than 15 hectares.

### **Methodology**

The primary objective of the excavation is to recover the complete plan of the settlement and large scale open area excavation has provided the most cost effective method for satisfying this aim. Once each area has been exposed it has been possible to adopt varying levels of excavation in response to the variation in preservation and return over different parts of the site. Had this methodology not been adopted and a sampling strategy applied without the prior stripping of the site, the results achieved so far would not have been forthcoming.

### **West Heslerton:- Village or Farmstead?**

It has become increasingly clear that the traditional model of an Early Anglo-Saxon settlement, with its small cluster

of farmsteads, cannot be applied to the evidence at West Heslerton; instead we have a well organised planned village. Whilst the traditional model as presented, for instance in the case of West Stow or Mucking, is inappropriate for the evidence recovered at West Heslerton, a reappraisal of past evidence from partially examined sites can readily be explained within the planned village model now offered for West Heslerton.

The structural remains of Early Anglo-Saxon England include two basic building types, rectangular post hole structures, often described as 'Halls' and Grubenhäuser which are readily identified on account of the distinctive rectangular pit from which the name is derived. On many sites examined in the 1940's and, 50's it has been assumed that the absence of post hole structures is simply because they were overlooked. At West Heslerton one area covering more than 2 ha. contained no post hole structures although large numbers of grubenhäuser were discovered.

The evidence of planning shows that the village comprised a number of functionally distinct zones. At the centre a natural boundary, a stream which is now a relict channel, emanating from a spring at the foot of the Wolds divides the village in two. To the East and West of the stream further subdivisions have emerged as the excavation has progressed.

The area so far examined can readily be divided into four zones. Further zones can be identified in the geophysical evidence; only excavation can reveal the functional details in these areas.

#### **Zone 1: Housing**

To the East of the stream the ground rises gradually onto a chalk knoll which gives a commanding view out towards the cemetery and the centre of the Vale of Pickering to the North. More than 70 post-hole structures in this area indicate that this zone was primarily given over to housing. These structures which can readily be classified into four basic types, according to plan and size, generally follow an East-West alignment coinciding with the natural contours of the knoll. Along the periphery of the knoll where chalk bed-rock gives way to lighter sandy soils a number of Grubenhäuser provided ancillary storage, primarily it appears for grain.

There is no evidence of associated property boundaries. In one case, a post hole structure was identified cutting through the preserved old lane surface where any associated boundary fence would have left at least some trace. This layout contrasts with that of contemporary sites on the continent such as Vorbasse in Denmark where individual property boundaries were easily identified. Only one major phase of rebuilding has so far been identified, a picture which may be further refined once detailed work on the archive is underway. The lack of rebuilding and property boundaries contrasts with the picture of the preceding Romano-British settlements in the Vale which appear to have been in a constant state of change.

#### **Zone 2: Craft & Industry**

The examination of Zone 2, undertaken in 1989/90, produced completely unanticipated results. In this area post-hole structures were completely absent but more than 50 Grubenhäuser were examined. Associated with these

were metal-working furnaces, a malt-kiln and extensive deposits of butchery waste which indicate some of the activities carried on in this area. There is no reason to believe that the Grubenhäuser provided housing of any sort, rather they were used as storage sheds. The traditional view that these structures were weaving sheds is not supported by the evidence from West Heslerton. Most contain fragments of loom-weights and weaving equipment; however these items were invariably mixed in with thousands of discarded animal bones and other assorted rubbish and represent a secondary not a primary deposit. As with Zone 1 there is no evidence that any of the Grubenhäuser were enclosed in fenced areas of any sort.

#### **Zone 3: Agricultural processing**

Zone 3, excavated in 1990, is the first part of the site to incorporate any major internal boundary features. To the West of the stream a large subrectangular enclosure was defined by a series of shallow ditches, and possibly in one part by a palisade. The most remarkable aspect of this enclosure is that for the most part it appears to have enclosed an apparently open space. In the North West corner of the enclosure a post-in-slot structure of Middle Saxon type was aligned parallel to the northern edge of the enclosure. A number of associated pits and other features confirmed the Middle Saxon date of this structure which on the basis of coins recovered would appear to date to the late eighth/early ninth century. The function of the enclosure, which was re-defined during the Middle Saxon period, remains unclear. It might perhaps be viewed as something like an embryonic village green, where stock was assembled and into which crops were brought for primary processing. A more detailed assessment will not be possible until the finds and particularly the ceramics recovered are examined in detail.

#### **Zone 4: Mixed**

Zone 4 located to the South of Zone 3 around a natural spring tool contains a considerable increase in the complexity of the archaeological deposits, indicating this to be the most intensively used part of the site so far examined. Work in this area will not be completed until 1991, however post-hole, post-in-slot and post-pad structures as well as Grubenhäuser have already been identified over an area in which enclosure ditches and fence lines are a dominant feature (Plate 1). Evidence of a large number of furnaces indicate that metalworking was taking place. The density of activity and very broad range of finds produced indicates that a wider range of activities occurred in this area; perhaps this indicates a communal focus nearby.

The frequency of Roman pottery in this area is at its highest, suggesting that the spring may have provided a focus for earlier Roman occupation as it clearly did for the Early Anglo-Saxon village. There is no evidence so far of continuity of occupation from the Roman to Anglo-Saxon periods, the majority of the Roman material coming from 2nd. century deposits. One of the most important features in this area, a timber-lined well, has been dated by dendrochronology to AD.724/25. Archaeomagnetic dating of a damaged furnace has also provided a date between AD 500-900.

## Settlement Duration

Initially it was believed that the village was occupied from the mid-Fifth to mid-Seventh centuries AD, a date range derived from the excavated associated cemetery. Whilst the foundation date of the village still appears to be in the mid to late Fifth century the identification of a major Middle Saxon component during the 1990 season indicates that some level of activity continued until after the early to mid ninth century. The details and extent of activity during the later period are as yet unclear. Present evidence indicates that the intensity of activity is reduced, perhaps indicating the continuation of the settlement as a manor after partial desertion of the village. In any case any interpretation presented now is likely to be radically altered once more work is done in Zone 4 and to the East of the spring in 1991.

Since there are profound difficulties in establishing the date of Early Anglo-Saxon material in general the detailed development sequence of the village will rely heavily on the analysis of the very large assemblages derived from the Grubenhäuser. For the later period dates derived from dendrochronology, archaeomagnetic dating and coinage all concur; by AD 850 the areas so far examined had been deserted presumably in favour of the present village site. Many would find it convenient if we could show a gradual expansion of the village during its early stages; this is not possible and it appears that the village was established on a grand scale right from the start. The evidence would rather suggest that it contracted through time rather than expanded.

## Economy and Trade

The huge quantity and range of finds recovered in the excavation demonstrates a highly successful agrarian economy with extensive trade links with Northern Europe bringing in high volume "low value" products such as niedermendig lava, together with the occasional exotic items from further afield such as cowrie shells from the Red Sea.

The very large quantity of animal bones and plant remains recovered has been considerably greater than was anticipated on the evidence and advice originally available. No other site of this early period has produced environmental samples which remotely compare with those from West Heslerton either in scope or scale. The discovery in 1990 of waterlogged deposits has broadened the environmental potential of the site and will form an important focus of work in 1991.

Work on assessing the huge faunal assemblage is now being undertaken by David Berg of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service and an interim report will be available in the spring of 1991. Preliminary results indicates that the distribution of finds across the site varies tremendously with remarkably few from the occupation area (Zone 1). The Grubenhäuser of course provide the largest quantity of finds including domestic and craft/industrial waste. In addition to this day to day rubbish a number of complete animal skeletons have been recovered from Grubenhäuser. Sheep/goat, cattle and horse are all present in large numbers with pig apparently becoming more important during the Middle Saxon period. A number of dogs of deer-hound type have been discovered, usually carefully buried as one might expect in the case of pets. Wild animals are

represented by deer, wild boar, duck and other wildfowl and also by a kite probably kept as a hunting bird.

It is clear that the combined study of the remarkable faunal and floral assemblage will provide us with a new and detailed understanding of Dark Age agrarian economy, the importance of which extends beyond the simple interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon village at West Heslerton.

Urban rescue excavations undertaken in York and other major urban centres have generated a wealth of economic evidence for both the Roman and Medieval periods; this evidence, however, has frequently been recovered from poorly stratified and disturbed deposits. West Heslerton is providing a well stratified comprehensive Dark Age environmental assemblage against which the urban assemblages may be compared in detail.

Steve Mrozowski of UMASS Boston is currently engaged in the examination of the floral assemblage recovered in a very large scale soil floatation programme. The majority of attention so far has been devoted to samples recovered from the rubbish deposits in the Grubenhäuser. Although there is detailed evidence of which crops were grown and how they were processed this is only part of the story. By examining the weed seeds a picture of the wider landscape is emerging with the cereal crops being grown most extensively on the light sandy soils to the North of the site. Climatic indicators such as the presence of grape seed will throw new light on the climate during the formative period of Anglo-Saxon England. Additional evidence in the form of pollen from the waterlogged deposits may help to provide a more detailed picture.

The importance of medicinal plants in Anglo-Saxon England is well attested and it is hoped that the floral study may provide more tangible evidence of wild plant collection and processing. The presence of the malt-kiln, a feature built on the old land-surface rather than cut into it which survived as a consequence of fortunate circumstances, indicates that brewing was taking place and was probably more widespread than this single surviving malt-kiln suggests. During the Middle Saxon period a domed bread oven was inserted into a partially filled grubenhaus, a shallow pit nearby, with posts at each corner, may represent some types of grain storage structure. The detailed examination of the carbonised cereal grains recovered from the Grubenhäuser gives support to the suggestion that their primary use was as grain stores with wheat apparently being the dominant species in Zone 1, domestic, as opposed to barley in Zone 2, industrial.

The pre-eminence of the textile industry in Anglo Saxon England is demonstrated both by documentary and archaeological evidence; its nature is not, however, clearly understood. At West Heslerton surviving and mineral-replaced textiles from the cemetery represent an important new body of evidence to which we must now add the manufacturing evidence from the village.

Woollen textile manufacture was certainly a major craft/industry component in the settlement's economy as is demonstrated by the large quantity of weaving equipment, particularly of loom-weight fragments, recovered mostly from the rubbish deposits in the Grubenhäuser. This material, which is widespread across the site is frequently intermixed with large quantities of freshly discarded

butchery waste which tends to argue against any suggestion that the Grubenhäuser themselves were weaving sheds. Additionally no post settings with interpretation as a loom base has yet been identified.

Although the apparently large numbers of loom-weights identified may give an impression of textile manufacture being a constant thriving industry this impression is almost certainly false. We may need to reconsider exactly how large a part of daily life is taken up by this craft; certainly enough textiles were produced to provide a surplus for trade but how big this surplus was will need careful consideration.

The two metal-working furnaces examined in Zone 2, one of which was particularly well preserved, appear to be of bee-hive type. Although examination of the slags and waste products by Gerry McDonald is still in progress it would appear that they are associated with secondary working rather than with smelting. A number of new furnaces have been isolated in Zone 4 these await excavation in 1991. Ash and debris from these was identified filling pits cut by an enclosure ditch in Zone 3. It was suggested from a surface examination that these may be of Roman origin, a suggestion that is not supported by an archaeomagnetic date of the Early/Middle Saxon period. To date, all the evidence of metal-working except for one or two mould fragments points towards iron working rather than the production of luxury items in bronze.

In addition to metal-working bone and antler working provided weaving equipment and a wide range of domestic items from combs to spoons. Bone and bronze awls coupled with the extensive evidence of leather found in the cemetery indicates that leather-working was taking place. It is hoped that examination of further waterlogged deposits in 1991 may produce preserved leather items as well as wood.

That the Early Anglo-Saxons were skilled carpenters is demonstrated by the elaborate methods of house construction and we must assume that there were many wooden tools, cups and bowls, fragments of which have often survived in the grave assemblages. Unlike the factory made wares of the Roman period Anglo-Saxon pottery was hand made and fired in bonfire kilns. Although specialist potters have been identified through the discovery of their pots dispersed in cremation cemeteries most of the pottery was probably made in the village. We hope in the future to discover more detailed evidence of pottery manufacture which may lie in the currently unexcavated areas.

## **The Structural Remains Post Based structures**

Over the last decade, particularly following the excavation of a number of structures by Martin Millett at Cowdery's Down, Hants., a very high degree of uniformity of design has been identified within the post based structures of Early and Middle Saxon England. At West Heselton both Early Saxon post hole structures and a single Middle Saxon post-in-slot structure have been examined. The post hole structures clearly divide into a number of sub-types of standard size and post hole arrangement as if they were derived from a pattern book. Within a single site this may be unremarkable; that this level of standardisation is found in all parts of Early Anglo Saxon England is quite

remarkable. The traditional view that the rectangular post built buildings derive from continental antecedents has been questioned by Philip Dixon who has identified native Romano-British antecedents. Certainly there is little evidence on the continent for structures matching those found at West Heselton. Where the presentation of the detailed typology of these structures will have to await the final report, four basic types have been identified in the field.

Type 1: Houses measuring 9 x 4 m. to 10 x 4.5 m.

These structures had one or two opposed entrances at the centre of the long axis and internal dividing wall at one end, perhaps indicating the presence of a stair well providing access to an upper storey or perhaps more likely a half storey. Where the evidence could be tested the external post holes contain a pair of substantial vertical set planks. As in all the structures the lack of any floor deposits indicate that these structures had supported timber floors. No structure has so far produced any evidence of an internal hearth; external rectangular pits filled with charcoal, burnt stone and food debris were probably used for cooking, however, the total number of such pits is rather limited. There is widespread evidence of quarrying for fine soft chalk which, mixed with clay, was used to build the many furnaces located. This material would have been suitable for the fabrication of well-insulated hearths on top of the timber floors. The paucity of finds within and around the main post-hole structures indicates that this part of the site was generally kept very clean and that rubbish did not accumulate; a complete contrast to the industrial/craft Zone 2.

Type 2: Out-Houses: measuring 6 x 4 m. to 5 x 3 m.

It is difficult at the best of times to determine the function of any post-hole structure and thus the term Out-House should be seen as a useful identifier rather than a detailed interpretation. These structures are of considerable interest as in a number of cases shallow pits have been identified, located just inside one end of the structure and containing quite unusual artefact assemblages, frequently containing broken bronze objects. As with the Type 1 structures the flooring appears to have been supported and the pits would have been sealed beneath the floors, perhaps representing some form of foundation deposit. In contrast to the Type 1 structures the walls comprise single post settings rather than the double plank arrangements in the larger structures. There is no evidence to suggest more than a single doorway again located in the centre of one of the long walls.

Types 3 & 4: Storehouses

Type 3 Measuring 3 x 4 m.

Type 4 measuring 3 x 3 m.

The two smaller post hole structure types are too small to be seen as providing any form of accommodation. It is likely that they served as storage buildings and their similarity in floor area with many of the grubenhäuser may indicate that these structures were functionally similar.

## **The Grubenhäuser**

The most widely recognised structure of the Early Anglo-Saxon period, the Grubenhäuser, was a major feature of the

village at West Heslerton. These structures, so named on account of the large subrectangular pit which provided a dry air space beneath the floor, are frequently filled with distinctive domestic and craft/industrial rubbish deposits and have been found in all parts of the site investigated.

The full interpretation of the grubenhaüser and their many functions in the daily life of the village will have to await the detailed examination of the artefacts recovered from the adjacent surfaces and the environmental samples recovered from their fillings. Only one of the types generally represented in England has so far been identified, the Two-Post type with a gable post at each end; frequently repairs and additional supports have been demonstrated by the presence of secondary post holes and re-cuts of the master post holes. Although there is a slight indication of wear in the base of two of the grubenhaüser examined all appear to have had a supported wooden floor over the pit.

The grubenhaüser nearly all contain large, though frequently distinctive, rubbish assemblages comprising mostly of animal bone. Where the quantity of finds is very small it may relate to the abandonment of the site. There is no reason to believe that the finds recovered from any of the grubenhaüser have a direct bearing on the interpretation of the structure which once covered the pit. Only in the case of the environmental evidence and in particular the macroscopic carbonised plant remains is there any indication of a connection between the excavated fills of the pit and the primary function of the structure which once stood above. It appears that many of these structures, particularly those found in Zone 1 initially served as grain stores. The rubbish deposits may yet tell us much about activity around or nearby the structures as they stood. In one case, the origin and ultimate resting place of a single deposit, parts of a clay dome/cover from the malt kiln, have been identified more than five metres apart, dumped into the partially filled pit of a grubenhaus.

Whilst a function as grain stores may account for a number of these structures the remainder were apparently used as a general storage sheds associated with craft, industry and food processing which were probably carried on outside in the open air. The grubenhaus has posed problems of interpretation for archaeologists since their first discovery in the 19th century. In the last two decades they have frequently been referred to as weaving sheds. The balance of the current evidence argues against this interpretation. Certainly many contain fragments and complete unfired-clay loom-weights as well as items of weaving equipment, however, there is no reason to believe that these represent anything more than a particular class of rubbish. The discovery of loom-weights, apparently once held on a stick, at Sutton Courtney in the 40's would seem to show how these rough doughnuts of clay were stored rather than give a direct testament to the presence of a loom in the structure that once stood above.

In a number of cases a secondary function can be identified where for instance a grubenhaus has been converted into a smoke house or the exposed pit provided a partially sheltered location for the construction of a bread oven.

## Conclusions

Excavation undertaken on a seasonal basis over the last four years has produced an unprecedented wealth of new evidence concerning Early Anglo-Saxon settlement. Where once we may have interpreted the evidence as a few farmsteads we now have a whole village, a carefully planned village which extended over more than 40 acres of ground around a spring and alongside the stream which drained away from it. As each season has progressed fundamental changes in interpretation have become necessary as the site has produced new and entirely unexpected evidence. In West Heslerton we now for the first time have a typesite for this period; certainly there is no evidence to suggest that the site is in any way exceptional. It is likely that this is in fact the norm and it is our own concepts and interpretations, based on very limited evidence, that have in the past painted a rather minimalist picture of the life and times of our Dark Age forbears. The interpretations of today are likely to be radically altered following excavation in the remaining areas, areas which may well reveal even more specialised functions. It is surprising that we have not yet identified any high status properties, or communal or ritual structures. If such existed these must lie in the areas currently uninvestigated.

## Acknowledgments

Any large scale project of this type is a team effort, the project has benefited from the hard work and long hours put in by hundreds of staff and volunteers to all of whom we are indebted. The funds have been made available by English Heritage, from the national rescue archaeology budget, and thanks are due to Dr's Bewley, Fraser and Wainright of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments without whose support the project could never have been undertaken. The financial management facilities of North Yorkshire County Council and the constant and energetic support of the County Archaeologist, Mike Griffiths, have provided most of the foundations upon which the project has been built. The project would by now have failed without the support of a number of companies, particularly in the information technology sector. The Commodore computers, Citizen printers, Atari Portfolio hand-held computers, Microsoft and Aldus software and Sony video equipment have ensured that the massive amount of data generated is properly recorded and archived. In 1990 we are most indebted of all to Dean Smith, a volunteer who, seeing us struggling to survey with old equipment, donated a Nikon EDM without which our recording system would have had to be reduced to an almost ineffective point. Lastly but not least thanks are due to Christine Houghton who has handled all the administration and ensured that targets are maintained in addition to recording all the finds.

**Dominic Powlesland.**

# INTERIM REPORT ON THE FORTY-FIRST SEASON OF THE WHARRAM RESEARCH PROJECT NORTH YORKSHIRE

During the last year publications by members of the Project on aspects of its work included *Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village*, by Maurice Beresford and John Hurst (1990); R. Gulliver, 'Reconstructing a Historic Landscape', *Landscape Design* 181 (June 1989), 38-41; R. Gulliver, 'Remaking a Medieval Landscape', *The Countryman* 95 (4) (1990), 74-9. Old Wharram hands especially may like to be aware of *Wharram Remembered: a social view of 40 years of excavations at Wharram Percy* (1990), available at 34.50 plus 60p P.&p. from its compiler Dr. C. Hayfield, Dept. Geography, The University, Birmingham B15 2TT.

The final season of excavations by the Project at Wharram Percy D.M.V., between 7 July and 4 August, was under the direction of J.G. Hurst.

1. **Parish Survey.** C. Hayfield co-ordinated projects including a study of local village morphology. Most work this year was on the post-medieval landscape.
2. **Sites 95 and 98 - North Manor.** Site 95 was opened under the supervision of J. Richards to investigate further the 8th-century metalworking debris reported last year. That proved to derive from a sunken building cut into the top of a Romano-British ditch. It measured c. 3.5 by at least 7 m; post- and stake-holes defined the wall edges, and further post-holes were cut into the floor of the structure. In the centre of the floor lay a hearth of vitrified chalk and patches of ash, surrounded on three sides by a screen, evidenced by lines of stake-holes. Further evidence of metalworking included crucible fragments.

3. **Sites 85 and 93 - Toft 10.** P.A. Stamper and R.A. Croft completed the excavation of these sites and re-excavated Site 81 which lay between them. From among a large number of post-holes and slots a mid Saxon building, c. 6 x 4 m, could be isolated. It was post-built, with opposed entrances in the middle of the long sides. The grain dryer reported last year proved to be of 12th-century date, and thus to be associated with the early medieval South Manor rather than the peasant house which occupied the site subsequently.
4. **Site 77 - Glebe West.** J. Wood completed work on the early post-medieval vicarage house and its outbuildings. Two decades' excavations on the village's successive post-medieval vicarages has revealed a complex sequence of partial and complete rebuildings. The late medieval layout included a vicarage house with a separate barn aligned parallel to it, the two later being linked by a solar block. Earlier medieval buildings proved elusive.

While excavations within the Guardianship Area have now ceased the Wharram Project is continuing its work on the area. A detailed programme of post-excavation publication, managed by S. Wrathmell and A. Clark, has been agreed with English Heritage. Final reports will appear in eight or nine volumes over the next eight years. Active fieldwork, co-ordinated by C. Hayfield, is also to continue from a new headquarters, Vessey Pasture, an improving farm of the 18th century. Initially this will concentrate on expanding the Parish Survey undertaken over the last 15 years.

Edited by Paul Stamper

# SCOTLAND

## A Report on Work By The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland



Figure 17: The post-medieval farm of Stroan, Kirkcudbrightshire, Galloway (NX 645 695).

The Commission is now advancing its recording of medieval and later settlement on two fronts, the National Archaeological Survey (NAS), continuing the Commission's programme of systematic topographic survey, and the Afforestation Land Survey (ALS), set up in 1989 by the Secretary of State for Scotland to carry out strategic survey of archaeological sites in afforestation areas throughout Scotland. In effect this means all land outside the major conurbations and below the tree-line. The brief requires that the team of six (four investigators and two surveyor/draughtspersons), work in all regions of Scotland and carry out survey at mapping scales, i.e. 1:10,000 and 1:2500, as appropriate.

The approach is extensive. Mapping is carried out by a mixture of EDM plotting, digitising of aerial photographs, and taped survey: the combined approach allowing field-systems to be tackled in the most efficient way. Furthermore, all monuments up to the 19th century are included. This permits the mapping of industrial landscapes of the Industrial Revolution and, indeed, agricultural landscapes up to the Agricultural Revolution, as well as the more traditional archaeological concerns with prehistory.

More pertinently for the Medieval Settlement Research Group, the programme will map extensive areas of pre-improvement and pre-Clearance settlement throughout Scotland, and complement the work of the National Archaeological Survey in Perthshire and Annandale.

In the year of establishment, 1989-90, surveys were carried out of relatively small areas in the Stanhope Valley of Peeblesshire, the Caterthuns area of Angus and in Strathrusdale, Easter Ross: a total of about 175 square kilometres.

During 1990-91 a total of some 450 square kilometres has been surveyed in the Gatehouse area of Galloway, between Huntly and Dufftown in Grampian, on the Waternish peninsula of Skye, near Muirkirk in Ayrshire and on the Cleish Hills of Fife.

The greatest impact made by working in the different regions of Scotland is the diversity of rural settlement. This diversity is apparent in the types of buildings, their lay-out, the types of cultivation-remains, and the overall pattern of settlement. Thus, for example, on Skye on the west coast, the ridges are spade-dug, narrow, steep-edged and short, whilst in Fife on the East Coast there are plough-ridges up to 14m in breadth, displaying the classic reverse-S curve. There can be little doubt that there is a geographical imperative at work, significantly differentiating the agricultural economy of the west coast settlement from that of the south-east, and this is reflected in the archaeology.

While it is too soon to present a general view of the medieval rural settlement of Scotland, this opportunity is taken to provide a survey example of a settlement unit in Galloway, south-west Scotland.

In the hinterland of Gatehouse, Galloway, the settlement pattern of farms surrounded by a sea of upland moor and bog, is well illustrated by Stroan, a farm, which is documented as early as 1513, and was finally abandoned in the second quarter of the 19th century. The site (see figure 17) extends for some 1200, from north to south and

700m from east to west, comprising at least five groups of globular fields, amongst which are a number of buildings and agricultural structures.

The latest farmstead, situated at the north end of the site, is composed of two parallel ranges of buildings, with an adjoining enclosure or garden on the east side. This occupies an earlier terraced enclosure, bounded by a wall 1.2m thick. A second such enclosure, covered with rig, lies 20m to the west. In addition to this evidence of longevity, there are the remains of a small township of thirteen buildings, scattered amongst the fields. This includes at least four substantial buildings (c. 10m by 5m), two attached to small enclosures, and a corn-drying kiln; some of these lie in the midst of the ridge cultivation.

The cultivation ridges, between 2m and 4m in width, not only display both reverse-S plough-curves and headlands, but also patches of steep-edged, spade-dug ridges. The field-system appears to both pre-date and post-date the rig; for example, there are signs that in some places the rig runs under field-banks, while in other places there are lynchets built-up against them. The full extent of rig cultivation is no more than 8.5 hectares, representing only about 50% of the area of the field-system.

In addition to this post-medieval landscape, there are also elements of earlier land-use, such as small groups of clearance cairns on the fringes of the fields and a burnt mound (bm on plan), as well as of later activity in the cutting of the abandoned railway and a pair of adjacent cottages, each of two rooms.

During 1990, NAS survey in northern Annandale, Dumfries and Galloway Region, located numerous pre-Improvement farmsteads, but relatively recent improvement of upland pasture has removed much of their attendant field systems and cultivation remains. Only in Moffat Dale, a tributary valley of the Annan, do continuous areas of medieval and later landscape survive.

Three possible moated sites have been identified, Cotes Burn (NY 0505 0402), Frenchland (NT 1010 0602), and Garpol Water (NT 0529 0896), the latter only 150m from a fine motte-and-bailey castle. Frenchland, within which there are the footings of two substantial buildings on opposite sides of a yard, may be a grange, and, like Garpol Water, lies very close to a motte-and-bailey.

Amongst the medieval buildings in the area two stand out as being of particular interest. At Kinnelhead (NT 0278 0168) examination of what was formerly thought to be a tower-house has shown it to be a hall of late 15th-or 16th-century date, whilst the tower at Blacklaw (NT 0521 0673), with its accompanying buildings, represents a remarkably intact late medieval estate centre.

# REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

## Research on Medieval Settlement in 1990

The Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement held its annual conference at Ballyvaughan, Co. Clare from 4th-6th May 1990. Over forty people attended the conference papers and went on the field trips in the surrounding area. Among the papers was one on the early medieval settlement of Co. Clare given by Mr Leo Swan and another on the later medieval settlement pattern of the county given by Mr K.W. Nicholls of University College, Cork.

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Compiled by Christopher Dyer

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On a less happy note, the *sheelagh na gig* (female fertility symbol) was stolen from the tower of the church of Kiltinan deserted medieval village in Co. Tipperary. However, it now looks likely that the Gardai have retrieved it and that criminal charges should follow.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Medieval Rural Settlement in North-east England*, ed. B.E. Vyner (Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, Research Report: No. 2, 1990, vii + 150 pp, £12.75)

This volume of nine articles is dedicated to the memory of Leslie Still, who died in 1988. Formerly Assistant County Librarian for Cleveland and Chairman of the Teesside Archaeological Society, his life-long commitment to medieval archaeology meant that he held 'a key position . . . between a small number of professional archaeologists and a relatively large number of enthusiastic amateurs'. The first contribution, by Alan Pallister, is a pleasant and appreciative memoir of work done with him at West Hartburn and other Lower Tees Valley sites.

The other contributions to the book are varied and are all of great interest. They include two straightforward excavation reports: from David Heslop and Alan Aberg on all the work at the hamlet of Tollesby in 1972-4, and from Alan Pallister and Stuart Wrathmell a continuation report, covering a single house site, from West Hartburn. These underline the advantages, in interpretation, exposition and sheer economy of effort, of making a single report on a site if this can possibly be achieved. There are two important articles on the general area of the North York Moors: Barry Harrison examines the process of settlement expansion, 1066-1340, through three case-studies which show it as the work of manorial lords and of large-scale freeholders rather than piecemeal colonisation, and Robin Daniels examines the settlements in the township of Kilton, where in the later middle ages there were probably at least four isolated farmsteads, a castle, a hamlet and a nucleated village. Interesting points in Blaise Vyner's survey of air photography as evidence for medieval settlement and land use in the Lower Tees Valley include the difficulty of identifying roads on air photographs (but - another question - what was a road in the middle ages?) and the temptation to regard lost boundaries they reveal as more ancient than those that survive. Two articles consider the region as a whole: Brian Roberts looks at village plans in general, and in particular at back lanes as one element in settlement planning and structure, and Peter Ryder makes an admirable systematic survey of the area's fortified buildings, from castles to farm-houses, that brings out clearly how much work needs to be done on standing structures. In the final article David Austin offers a 'Retrospect, Summary and Prospect' which predictably provokes thought and should provoke discussion and argument as well.

The book is well illustrated and the drawings and photographs are all very clear. There are some signs of a last-minute rush (p.75 has had to be wholly replaced by a loose inserted leaf) and in a few places style and punctuation - and thus clarity - might have benefited by tougher editing. Even for so varied a group of papers an index, even just of proper names, would have helped many of the book's readers. But as evidence of what is going on in north-east England in work on medieval settlement and as a point of reference for continuing research it could hardly be bettered.

P.D.A. Harvey

D. Austin, G.A.M. Gerrard and T.A.P. Greeves, 'Tin and agriculture in the Middle Ages and beyond: landscape archaeology in St Neot parish, Cornwall' (with contributions by D.H. Brown, J.C. Crowther, P.J. Davey, S. Litt, C. O'Mahoney, C.C. Park, R. Scrivner, A. Vince and M.J.C. Walker), being pp. 4-251 of *Cornish Archaeology: Hendhyscans Kernow* 28 (1989) (the whole volume, 260pp. at £10 from County Museum, River Street, Truro, TR1 2SJ).

This, by any standards, is a report of the finest quality, its disparate findings well integrated by a clearly stated model, the work of an impressive team not shy of experimenting with new techniques. The milieu is St Neot parish on the flanks of Bodmin Moor; a constant leit-motif is the interaction between farming and tin extraction in a moorland setting; field survey, excavation and analysis of environmental data are combined. The connections between

agriculture and industry and between upland and lowland, landscape archaeology, environmental history — the report contains frequent references to all of these, not as the catchwords of the moment but because the authors are deeply committed to a wide ranging approach. Field survey involved scrutiny of the whole parish and more detailed planning of a deserted medieval hamlet at Bunning's Park and of earthworks associated with tin extraction at Colliford. This last survey is a magnificent attempt by G.A.M. Gerrard to provide a terminology and topology for remains which, to the uninitiated, appear only as a nightmare landscape of rubbish. As he points out, there is no present-day or historical terminology for tips. The rural component of the excavation programme was at Bunning's Park where pottery, expertly examined by Cathy O'Mahoney, revealed outside dates for occupation of between 1250 and 1400: the settlement was a creation of the Early Middle Ages and a casualty of the Later, although it was set within an antecedent enclosure of unknown origins. There were also innovative excavations at Colliford, revealing evidence for the rebuilding of four tin-crushing mills and a leat system which was re-aligned, recut and recast in at least seventeen phases, a sequence reconstructed with great ingenuity and novelty of method by Gerrard. Excavation of industrial sites also included work on another mill and on a turf-walled tinnern's shelter. The latter is important because there has always been something of a mystery about the accommodation used by tin-workers in Devon and Cornwall both at night-time (in the case of workers coming from a distance) and for temporary shelter against the elements (this case); the structure excavated was probably one of the 'many little howses buylte for the Stannerie men to shroud them in neere the workes' noted by the observant John Norden in the sixteenth century. Environmental work involved analysis of shallow peat profiles, phosphate analysis and study of the leat system's palaeohydrology: 'reconstruction of past hydrological conditions from evidence preserved in surface and sub-surface morphology, from stratigraphic and depositional evidence'.

The findings of this report, whose richness can only be hinted at here, are set within the framework of a model for moor-edge exploitation; this is outlined in an introductory chapter which also discusses the documentary and place name record in an exemplary way. The model seeks to move away from the concept of moorland as 'passive desert' towards the idea that there have always been interdependencies between upland and lowland, although the nature of these changes along with changing social systems. In a first phase, stretching from prehistory to pre-Norman 'Celtic' society, and under 'pre-manorial systems of lordship and land tenure which have been characterized as tribal', extensive tracts of moorland were regarded as the common property of large groups of people, like the shire moors of the North of England. Communal use of moorland involved low levels of activity leaving traces which are very few and very indistinct: temporarily occupied summer sites for pastoral use (nor firm evidence from St Neot unless the first enclosure at Bunning's Park falls into this category) and tin working by free tinnerns, probably part-timers who left few visible remains (some palaeobotanical evidence from St Neot pointing to pre-medieval tinning). The first phase of the model is plausible enough, although as the

tutors point out no recent scholar has been brave enough to attempt to construe Celtic pre-manorial territorial divisions in Cornwall with the exception of a tentative but instructive essay by Ann Preston-Jones and Peter Rose (also in *Cornish Archaeology*, 25 1986). The best evidence for the equivalents of shire moors in the South-West in fact comes from Dartmoor and from East Devon where all the men of one hundred had common rights on one of the wastes; the way in which the east Cornish hundreds converge on Bodmin Moor is also suggestive. The second phase of the model develops within the context of 'a more centralized, more hierarchical system with ownership based not on kin, but on lordship and individual client tenure', beginning perhaps in the centuries immediately before the Norman Conquest. Now individual lords in eastern Cornwall met the demands of the state not by higher control over dependent populations as in some other parts of England but by appropriating to themselves parts of the formerly common moors and by exploiting their diverse resources as vigorously as possible. This is an attractive idea, entirely supported by my own work on appropriation of wastes on pre-Norman Dartmoor and by a good deal of evidence in this report, not least the clear and unequivocal documentary references to partition and delimitation of wastes in the thirteenth century. I would quibble only with the idea that the new moor-edge hamlets and farms which arose in this period of intensified use were 'relocated': there is as yet no evidence of relocation by lords as opposed to spontaneous colonization with seigneurial approval. The third phase of the model, beginning perhaps in the fourteenth century, saw the weakening of seigneurial control over the moorlands, amalgamation or decay of many of the smaller moor-edge farms (such as Bunning's Park) and intensification of the application of capital and specialist labour at industrial sites like Colliford. By this stage most of the tinnerns working in the fastnesses were probably not local farmers, a question about which David Austin is excessively modest in his conclusion, despite his penetrating observations earlier in the report on the pottery assemblages at Colliford. These strongly suggest that the tinnerns ate preserved rather than prepared foodstuffs: the finds point to the equivalents of take-away cartons not ploughman's lunch-boxes.

H.S.A. Fox.

*The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* Edited by Michael Aston, David Austin and Christopher Dyer X + 318pp, 45 figs., 19 pls Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989. Price £55.00

This varied collection of sixteen essays is given an overall unity by forming a *Festschrift* to the two major figures in the study of medieval rural settlement, Maurice Beresford and John Hurst. It is given some internal unity by its division into three (unequal) parts, history and geography, fieldwork, and excavation, reflecting the inter-disciplinary approach of its dedicatees.

The first part begins with an essay by Della Hooke in her customary research area of Anglo-Saxon documents and the data they provide for estate and settlement patterns, including 'linked' territories and interrelated holdings, and farming practices and associated settlement types. P.D.A. Harvey's paper on 'Initiative and Authority in

'Settlement Change' addresses the problem, over which historians and archaeologists do not always see eye to eye, of who thought up and brought about changes in settlement in the Middle Ages? The manorial lord or members of the vill collectively? The answer seems to be that from the eleventh to the fifteenth century the manorial lord was increasingly willing to leave certain aspects of such decision making to the vill provided that his interests were not adversely affected. The next essay, by Christopher Dyer, is a neat test of the long-held 'retreat from marginal land' theory, in which are raised such problems as the defining of 'marginal', the way in which what is marginal can change from one period to another, and the fact that most D.M.V.S are found in established champion districts rather than on later-colonised poorer soils. Factors other than marginality have to be considered in explaining the rise and fall of settlements, such as emparking, the attraction of assarts because of their lower rental, and the upsetting of the delicate relationship between animal and cultivation. Brian Roberts' contribution has a familiar ring, and discusses distribution maps and place-names and their value in examining morphological change. Part I ends with a particularly interesting and convincing essay by H.S.A. Fox on the Wold countryside of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and the evidence for early pastoral farming, which later gave way to an emphasis on arable, and finally, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as a result of desertion, to a return to pastoralism not dissimilar to the early situation.

Part II comprises seven essays on fieldwork, the first three of which deal with specific areas of the country. Michael Aston summarises the history of work done on deserted settlements in Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire, examines the sources of evidence for such settlements and ends with some observations on the origin and development of sites in the three counties; James Bond, concerned with Oxfordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire, looks at the value of field survey, and its limitations, in the interpretation of earthworks; and Pater Wade-Martins reviews fieldwork, past and present, on settlements in East Anglia, followed by a discussion of excavated sites in the region, both Saxon and later Medieval. The next essay, by David Baker, takes up the more managerial aspects of medieval settlement, such as the problems involved in the storage and retrieval of data from, for example, parish surveys, the protection of earthworks and, particularly, historic landscapes from damage or destruction, and finally the communicating of knowledge of historic landscapes to the public at various levels. David Wilson's contribution, on alterations to ridge and furrow, makes the important point that the pattern of ridge and furrow was not a static feature of the landscape but one subject to alteration according to circumstances. Not surprisingly his essay is accompanied by excellent aerial photographs. David Hall, looking mainly at Northamptonshire, concludes that the ordered layout of field systems indicates a single planning operation for each township. The major part of his essay deals with his research into field systems and documents in determining the structure of the parish and townships of Watford, and this is presented as an *exemplar* for work needed throughout the country. The final essay in Part II, by Christopher Taylor, is a fascinating picture of the way in which the ever-increasing acquisition, often by chance,

of information concerning an 'undistinguished English village' can produce in the mind of a distinguished fieldworker not a clearer idea of the village's development but a progressively changing and confused one. An enjoyable and salutary essay, and one with a great deal of underlying wisdom.

Part III begins with well-merited complaint by David Austin about the all-too-frequent lack of strategy in small excavations of dispersed settlement and a dismal record of research generally in this field. What is needed in the future is an interdisciplinary project, well-funded, to be carried out on particularly dispersed, rather than village settlements. Stuart Wrathmell shows in a constructive essay that documentary evidence indicates that the earlier-held view of the insubstantial nature of medieval peasant buildings is far from valid, and that model-based excavation would do much to develop our understanding; this is followed by an informative discussion of the structures and functions of peasant dwellings in North East England. Martin Bell approaches the medieval landscape in quite a different way from all of the other contributors, through environmental archaeology, and presents an extremely useful discussion of the importance of environmental evidence in the question of continuity of land usage, and makes a plea for greater use of environmental work in future medieval projects. The final essay of this Part, and of the book, is by Richard Hodges, the basis of which is the nature of the 'relationship' between archaeology and history in the process of revealing the past, particularly that of low-status people. By way of illustration Hodges uses the different sampling techniques employed in three of his projects: San Vincenzo and Montarrenti in Italy, and Royston Grange in the White Peak of Derbyshire.

All in all, in spite of some lack of originality here and there, this is a splendid collection of essays, illustrated in most cases by high quality half-tones and line drawings. The volume is beautifully produced and is a credit to the editors and publishers - it is just a pity that its excessive price will prevent many from owning such a fine tribute to two outstanding scholars.

**David Wilson**

*Hanbury: Settlement and Society in a Woodland Landscape*  
**Christopher Dyer** (University of Leicester, Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers: Fourth Series, No. 4, 1991, vii + 73 pp, £8.95).

What place could be more quintessentially English than Hanbury, a nucleated village with pub, post office, garage and council estate, the reputed model, indeed, for Ambridge, home of the sturdy Archers and the feckless Grundys. In fact, Professor Dyer shows the village to be a development of the last 300 years, but the latest chapter in a long history of shifting settlement patterns and land use - a story that by now will come as no surprise to readers of this journal. None the less the publication is to be warmly welcomed as a notable addition to the still small canon of detailed studies devoted to the non-champion landscapes of the British Isles.

The parish lies in north-east Worcestershire, and takes its name from an Iron Age hillfort *Heanburg*, 'the high

fortification'. Archaeological evidence, principally from a major fieldwalking campaign, suggests a fairly densely settled prehistoric landscape, and up to 60 Romano-British sites within the area of the later parish (31 sq km), a population level close to that of the Middle Ages. The Roman landscape was one of isolated farmhouses and perhaps some 'ladder' settlements, but no nucleated villages. Nor was any evidence found of villas, and it is suggested that Hanbury may have lain within an imperial estate (cf. the fenlands and Cranborne Chase), possibly centred on Droitwich, three miles to the west.

Between the 5th and the 11th centuries Hanbury's landscape was transformed as up to two-thirds of the Roman farms reverted to scrub and wood. Pays can, and do, change their character from age to age, sometimes radically. Such regeneration has been noted elsewhere, for instance in Wychwood by Schumer, but this is a valuable further example. Whether it was a gradual and piecemeal surrender of land or a more cataclysmic wholesale abandonment is unclear, as is the date for it. It would certainly seem likely to have been before Hanbury became a royal estate and minster parish, which it had by the mid 7th century; unfortunately the one Saxon sherd from the parish is a mute witness on this point.

The early Middle Ages saw an intensive assarting movement, with about a thousand acres, and eighth of the parish area, being cleared in the 13th century. Alongside the re-expansion of the cultivated area went population recovery and a growing tenurial complexity, and eight separate sub-manors or 'units of land management' had been created by 1240. The 14th-century settlement pattern can be mapped with some confidence, and Dyer's comments on this are the real meat of the book. Many, but by no means all of the houses (Hanbury had a large number of isolated dwellings) lay in roadside 'greens' or 'ends'. The ends seem to be the earlier, and some may in fact be pre-Conquest in origin. Here dwelt many of the customary tenants, and there are hints that, as in bigger and better settlements, a re-ordering of the landscape went hand-in-hand with the imposition of, or redefinition of, servile tenures. The greens on the whole seem to be new settlements of those largely free men involved in the early medieval assarting movement.

The history of Hanbury in and after 1348 has few surprises, but again the evidence is well marshalled and will be much cited in future more general studies. Two-thirds of the bishop of Worcester's holdings in the parish lay vacant in 1349, and despite rallying later the 1544 population total was only half that of 1299. Some 80 deserted messuages post-dating 1350 are known, almost half of them late medieval desertions. Another 40 or so documented desertions of 1300-1540 cannot be located topographically. Interestingly, the 'last in first out' principle does not seem to have held good; long-established holdings in prime locations were as likely to be abandoned as more recently occupied grey-clay sites. For those with drive and capital that survived purgation these were times of opportunity, and in Hanbury farmhouses set among or next to their farmlands were appearing as early as the 15th century. The splendid example is given of William Wybbe, esquire, who died in 1446 holding eight freeholds (c. 200 acres), on five of which the buildings had apparently been allowed to collapse.

What propelled change in the medieval landscape? While he is careful to eschew monocausal explanation, readers familiar with Professor Dyer's work will not be surprised to find him arguing that it was the voice of the peasant community and not that of the lord that dominated the countryside.

Assarting, he proposes, was usually initiated by the peasantry, 'the role of the lord was merely to buy the already cleared land' (p.31). Similarly, in the 14th and 15th centuries when engrossing, inclosure, and even some new encroachment on the commons were seen, 'the impetus and initiative came from the tenants, and the lord sensibly swam with the tide of events' (p.57).

The history of Hanbury after the 16th century is only sketched in, with hints of further episodes of regrowth and abandonment. Full publication, one sincerely hopes, is to follow. Apart from the intrinsic interest of Hanbury's story there are many similarities in the wooded pays of the west midlands between what went on in the 12th and 13th centuries and in the 16th and 17th centuries. No one is better qualified to pursue this line of enquiry than Professor Dyer.

**Paul Stamper**

L. Butler and P. Wade-Martins. *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thrupton, Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Report No.46. 1989 (Dereham). ISBN 0307 2460. viii. 69pp.. 28pls. 38 figs. 2 tables. microfiche.

This is the report of survey and excavation undertaken jointly in 1963 and 1964 by the two authors on a fairly large Norfolk DMV which was then in the process of total destruction. It is very much a pair with the excavations at Grenstein which have already been reported by Wade-Martins (in 1980). Indeed the data and conclusions in this report are presented with an eye on the Grenstein results which they appear to resemble in many important ways.

Thuxton, therefore, is another piece of the early history of deserted medieval village studies finally finding its way into print, but it is also a monument to the frenetic years of rescue when new evidence was ripped from the ground hastily, with meagre resources and with little opportunity for mature reflection and return. Of course, under these circumstances, the results were fragmentary, small-scale on large sites, biassed towards certain kinds of feature, with little real contest established in advance and, consequently, with only the most rudimentary of research designs. Put like this, hindsight might suggest that excavations such as Thuxton had little to offer. The real worth of these exercises, however, has been their contribution both to wider fabrics of regional understanding, often conducted by dedicated individuals, and to the establishment of the next generation of research into later medieval settlement and landscape. For this reason the report on Thuxton must be seen in the light of one of the most impressive and sustained regional programmes of survey and excavation yet undertaken in this country, as well as in the light of considering where we go from here.

Peter Wade-Martins in the 1960s and 1970s conducted fieldwork in the clay and alluvial lands of central Norfolk where the earthworks of DMVs and their associated field systems were rapidly disappearing under the modern plough

prairies. Thuxton lay at the beginning of this field research which culminated in the large-scale excavations at North Elmham (Wade-Martins 1980s) and in the thesis of settlement creation and decline published most fully as a study of Launditch Hundred. Indeed one of the major regrets of this report must be that Thuxton, which lay in the adjacent hundred of Mitford, has not been properly absorbed within the general thesis, principally because comparably intensive fieldwork was not carried out, but partially also because the eighteenth-century estate maps, so important for the morphological analyses in Launditch were not available here. Thus although there are allusions to the broad thesis of settlement migration in references to the isolated church of Thuxton parish, they are not explicitly explored. This is a missed opportunity because vital elements of the site's temporal and spatial contexts are consequently missing.

What emerges as explanation, therefore, is weakly linked to three familiar categories of interpretation used to give meaning to excavation results such as this: topographical history, economic history and vernacular architectural history. The essential problem of these approaches is that they are each derived from disciplines founded in data substantially different from that derived from archaeology. This means that it is difficult to sustain convincing lines of argument leading from the details of material culture recovered in excavation or field survey to the generalities of other history. I will give three examples from this text.

First, the air photographs, especially the RAF 1946 verticals, are a rich source for revealing the spatial arrangement of features at Thuxton and the authors have created an interesting text about the problems of reconstructing morphology and about the process of destruction. The latter is important and stands in its own right as a political observation, but the former is a way of reducing complex archaeological information to a few mapped lines (figure 4) so that it can be absorbed into a simplified statement of landscape. Yet the lines are formed by archaeological features (ditches and banks) difficult to date and defining spaces which contain structures and traces of activity revealed by the excavations as complex and problematical. Thus the lines may be of different dates, have different functions and meanings at different times and enclose areas unstable and changing in their role in the landscape. Yet none of this, despite the detailed evidence from the excavations, is accounted for in the reduction to the mapped lines. In effect, the mass of archaeological evidence once collected is ignored. Why is this done? In part, I think, it is because, in our culture, static maps which suggest permanence and long-term social stability are easier and safer to present and understand than spatial and temporal dynamics which suggest impermanence and social volatility, and this is difficult, although not impossible, to remedy. But in part also, it is because this form of reduction allows archaeologists to insert their account into the long stream of topographical history and hence raise its significance as a source of understanding the evolutionary development of the "English landscape". The link of argument from material culture to history, however, is not established through the process of analysis.

The second example is drawn from the pottery report. Almost the only conclusion offered from the analysis,

apart from the conventional listing of types and forms, of interest only to the ceramic specialist is the suggestion that the range of material "demonstrates restricted access to the major markets and fairs" (p.42). For this, however, there is no archaeological justification whatsoever. No evidence is offered for comparing this assemblage with what was on offer in contemporary markets. Indeed it is unlikely that we will ever know what was on the market stalls. Unless perhaps we strike lucky and find a pottery stall with its complete stock crushed beneath a collapsed burgage wall! What is happening at this point in the report is that there is an attempt to relate the pottery in a vague way to economic history and hence to general observations by historians about the nature of peasant markets in a feudal society. The archaeology simply cannot sustain the argument, but a need is perceived for linkage to the legitimating power of economic history, and so again the archaeological evidence once recovered is substantially ignored for the sake of subsuming the account into the great stream of "real" history. The proper kind of analysis is simply not performed. As an example of this the pot report states that the pottery was recorded in blocks and could be related to the different spaces on the site, but we are not shown the results of this interesting analysis. We will ask in vain what are the taphonomic implications on such thinly stratified sites. Can the location of different pots in different places be shown to have significance? Does the material have semiotic structure relateable to social behaviour and action? In short, what meaning can we assign to the pottery from analysis of the data in relation to the site? Such analysis is not present.

Another example of this kind of leap into economic history can be found in the report in general where it comes to the conclusion that we are dealing with a mixed agrarian economy at Thuxton (p.62). Such a conclusion is based in broad terms on the existence of both bones in the archaeological record and arable fields mentioned at very specific moments in the documentary record. This may be right but it is only an assumption rooted more in the generally accepted statements of economic history than it is in the analysis from data from the site. Here again thin stratigraphy and massively disruptive taphonomic problems make it impossible to assign any of the material with confidence to any specific period of time or to any particular space at least in terms of use and primary deposition. Yet these are nowhere discussed however much they may seriously undermine conclusions about the contemporaneity of arable and pastoral evidence. In essence the forms of evidence, documentary and archaeological, are incompatible and incomparable. Nevertheless they are thrown together in a very haphazard attempt to create a unified economic history. There are, however, even more serious problems with such conclusions: these are the underlying assumptions about process which lie at their heart. For example, the presence of animal bones in the refuse spread in yards and buildings is taken as evidence of pastoralism, but they are, in fact, in the locations where they are found, primarily evidence of consumption not production. Thus the important point about the horse bones is their presence as food either for humans or other animals. This is not explored in the report. Furthermore it is assumed that the animals were produced by the farms on which they were found. Why? On the basis of the archaeological

evidence alone there is no reason why the bones could not be the result of either flesh or livestock trading or other exchange. If, therefore, we take the archaeological evidence alone as evidence of economic activity, the farms may have functioned essentially on the basis of cash grain crops. That this is unlikely is because of the great weight of largely ecclesiastical documentation and not because of the archaeological evidence as such. The specific lesson here is that bone in the kind of quantities from Thuxton may tell us something about domestic consumption, micro-ecology and post depositional processes, but almost nothing very clear about economic history of the sort usually written by economic historians. Archaeology is ill-suited to this task and should not be forced beyond its capacity. It does however have other no less important revelations about the past to offer if only we can escape from the desperate self-inflicted compulsion to write the sort of history "real" historians write.

The third example is buildings. One of the most lasting contributions that this report will make is contained within figures 17, 18 and 37. These show the layout of the most substantial plan of buildings recovered during the excavations: the farm-yard complex of Toft 2. The outlines timber and clay structures were preserved in patterns of cobbles and soil as well as fugitive bits of flint walling and post-holes. Much could have been made of the various spaces thus created and the related material culture to give some account of social behaviour. Something of this is attempted, but firmly restricted again to the problems identified by agrarian and economic history, such as the over-wintering of cattle. More importantly, however, the majority of the interpretation is directed towards techniques of construction in a forlorn attempt to convert the two dimensional plans, particularly the post-holes, into three-dimensional structures so that they can be compared to the architectural studies of still-standing buildings and related to vernacular architectural history. In this way meaningful sense can be derived from terminology and ideas derived not from the archaeology but from the terminology and accounts given by vernacular architectural historians. The fact is, for example, that the post-holes, interpreted precisely in functional terms and related together to identify "acceptable" architectural features are in reality confusing and enigmatic. A case in point is the post-holes in Toft 2 House 1 (18,21,23 & 24: p.26) identified as roof beam supports. They are identified and distinguished from the other 50 or so, one suspects, because they lie vaguely down the central axis of the building plan, yet they are each different in shape, are not consistent in spacing, may not have been contemporary and may even have had little to do with the buildings at all, since the stratigraphy is thin and not explained in any detail for the structural areas of the toft. The relevant section across the area (figure 19. p.33) is not even referred to in the written text. the truth of the matter about the post-holes is that there were a lot of them and only a very small number of them could be related in any convincing way to the outlines of the buildings found. So the attempt to reconstruct the buildings in three-dimensions again pulled the archaeology beyond its capacity, largely to align it with the agenda set by another discipline.

Now all of this may sound negative in relation to the report

on Thuxton, but, in fact, the comments are not intended to be so specific. Much of what I have said could be applied to many other reports of medieval settlement excavations, including my own. The lesson from this first generation of work must be that we become more aware of what archaeology can actually tell us, and to do this we must explore the theoretical and methodological framework within which we operate in a much more penetrating and self-critical manner, before we can build the next generation of research designs. In particular, the critique must disengage us from facile linkages with other forms of history. A relationship there must be, but much more in terms of what we as archaeologists can actually say about the human condition of the past.

The report on Thuxton, therefore, is a good example of its type. It is well presented in the familiar EAA livery, and can stand its ground alongside all the other reports produced from the first decades of digging on high medieval settlements. But I still can't stand microfiche. If it is worth publishing, print it. If it is not, then leave it out.

**David Austin**

## MEMBERSHIP CHANGES 1990

A list of Founder Members with their addresses was published in **Report No.2** (1987) and subsequent changes in the membership in **Reports Nos. 3 and 4**. Listed below are changes recorded in 1990. Members are asked to send any corrections, further changes etc., to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. R.E. Glasscock (Department of Geography, Downing Place, Cambridge CB2 3EN) who maintains the membership records.

### New Members 1990

Peter Austin,  
24 Church Street.,  
Byfield,  
Northants., NN11 6XN.

Mr. R.G. Brown,  
Harvest House,  
Quarry Bank,  
Hartlebury,  
Worcs. DY11 7TE.

Mr. M.V. Cooper,  
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Mrs. P. Croft,  
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Hants. GU34 2BH.

Miss. S.P. Day,  
68 Gaynes Park Road,  
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Essex RM14 2HU.

Mr. Peter. Dorling,  
Oxford House,  
Oxford Road,  
Hay-on-Wye,  
Herefordshire.

Dorset Natural History and Archaeology Society,  
Dorset County Museum,  
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Mr. J.D. Foy,  
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Towcester,  
Northants. NN12 7BP.

Mr. P. Gulland,  
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Haddenham,  
Aylesbury,  
Bucks. HP17 8BL.

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39 Highsett,  
Hills Road,  
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Dr. R.J. Horton,  
24 The Paddock,  
Hitchin,  
Herts. SG4 9EF.

N.V. Instone,  
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Mr. Brian Lamb,  
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Holton Le Clay,  
Grimsby,  
S.Humberside DN36 5AJ.

Clive Leigh,  
22 Whitehouse Street,  
Birchills,  
Walsall,  
West Midlands.

Mr. J.A. Lewis,  
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Wootton Bassett,  
Swindon,  
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NORTHERN IRELAND.

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Sawyers,  
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Mrs. P.M. Taylor,  
Fennel Wood,  
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Mrs. B. Thompson,  
Rawdon,  
Copt Hewick,  
Ripon,  
N. Yorks. HG4 5DB.

#### **Deceased**

I.P. Horsey (Poole)

#### **Resignations**

Dr. A. Harris (Beverley)  
A. Lewison (London NW3)  
Mr. T.C. Maile (Honiton)  
Mr. R.H. Willis (Blackpool).

#### **Lapsed (and therefore reluctantly struck off)**

Catherine Black (Lyndhurst)  
D.H. Brookes (Winchester)  
Mrs. I.G. Campey (South Ascot)  
Dr. Ivan Clout (Crawley)  
James Debney (Solihull)  
Miss A.P. Du Bois (Barton-on-Humber)  
I.G. Freshwater (Clifton)  
David Gaimster (London)  
R. Johnstone (Newark)  
H. McCardle (Sandbach)  
Mrs. E.R. Mussell (London)  
J.F. Rubidge (Nuneaton)  
V. Russett (Cheddar)  
S.J.L. Turner (Southampton)

#### **Change of address**

Prof. B.W. Blouet,  
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Dr. L.A.S. Butler,  
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Carmel,  
Llanelli,  
Dyfed SA14 7SG.

Mrs. J. Summerson,  
7 Wellington Road,  
Nairn,  
Inverness IV12 4RE.

Dr. John Williams,  
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Horsmonden,  
near Tonbridge, Kent.

Avice Wilson,  
5 Cotter Drive  
New Brunswick,  
N.J. 08901, USA.

W.R. Wilson-North,  
R.C.H.M.(E).  
Rose Duryard,  
Lower Argyll Road,  
Exeter EX4 4PB.

A.J.R. Wood,  
c/o Dept. of Tourism,  
Bournemouth Polytechnic,  
Wallisdown Road,  
Poole,  
Dorest BH12 5BB.

#### **Information Wanted**

Mail for the following members has been returned "Gone Away". Would any member knowing their present address please send it to The Treasurer or ask the member to make contact.

Carolyn Atkins was in Barrow-on-Humber  
David Beard was in Museum of London  
P.J. Dixon was in Blyth  
B.W. Dollin was in Norwich  
Mrs. I.M. Gray was in Limpley Stoke  
D.J. Griffiths was in Grimsby  
N.P. Harden was in London N17  
J.L. Minkin was in London SE22  
R.A. Norris was in Liverpool 19  
J.B. Wright was in Bourne, Lincs.,

**M.S.R.G. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT,  
1.1.90 — 24.12.90**

<b>INCOME</b>		<b>EXPENDITURE</b>	
<b>Subscriptions</b>		<b>Printing of Report No. 4</b>	2390.00
by cheque/cash	894.00	<b>C.B.A. Affiliation Fee</b>	45.00
by bankers order	<u>1427.00</u>	<b>Postage (incl. Stationery)</b>	396.34
<b>Donations</b>	107.00	<b>Secretary's Expenses</b>	46.73
<b>Sales</b>	227.31	<b>Refunds of Subs. Paid in error</b>	25.75
<b>H.B.M.C. payment</b>	<u>68.30</u>	<b>Bank Charges</b>	<u>20.36</u>
	2723.61		2924.18
<b>H.B.M.C. grant to Wharram Percy</b>	47686.18	<b>Excavations and Post Excavations</b>	
		Wharram Percy	47686.18
<b>Balance in Current Account 1.1.90</b>	490.90	<b>Balance in Current Account 24.12.90</b>	490.90
	<u>£50900.69</u>		<u>£50900.69</u>

R. E GLASSCOCK (Hon. Treasurer) 24.12.1990

Audited and found correct when read in conjunction with the National Savings Account.

C.M.P. JOHNSON (Hon. Auditor) 21.3.1991

**National Savings Investment Account** (as at 21.3.1991)

As at 16.1.1990	9829.68
Interest 1990	<u>1228.42</u>
	<u>£11058.10</u>

**Acknowledgement**

The Group is again grateful to Dr. C.M.P. Johnson, Senior Bursar, St. John's College, Cambridge, for auditing the annual statement.





