

Excavations at the Medieval Village of Wythemail, Northamptonshire

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EXCAVATION of a single enclosure revealed a sequence from early 13th-century timber buildings to structures with stone foundations, or completely stone-built, in the later 13th and 14th centuries. A two-roomed long-house was replaced by a more complex four-roomed long-house built on a different alignment. Also in the enclosure were a sequence of six out-buildings rebuilt in various positions. In the 13th century there were changes in property boundaries and in the 14th century a road was cut obliquely across the enclosure leading to fundamental changes in planning. Evidence for climatic deterioration was given by the increasing use of drains and of paved and cobbled surfaces in the early 14th century. Finds included metal objects, animal bones, local shelly pottery, and 12th- to 14th-century sherds from Lincolnshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire.

INTRODUCTION

THE DESERTED medieval village of Wythemail lies at a height of 400 ft. O.D. (National Grid Reference: SP 840719) towards the southern edge of the Northamptonshire heights between the Welland and Nene valleys (FIG. 49). At present the only building in the area is Wythemail Park Farm and its outbuildings. Immediately adjoining is a moated site which presumably contained the medieval manor house. As this area was not threatened it was not excavated, nor was there an opportunity to survey it.

The main village site lay in the large field to the north named Wythemail Park. The Royal Air Force vertical air-photograph, taken in January 1947 (PLS. XXVI-XXVII), clearly shows the earthworks of the village forming the typical midland pattern of a network of sunken roads with rectangular tofts and crofts between them. West of the farm the moat is hidden by trees but, on the north, the manorial enclosure is visible. Beyond the village a single block of early ridge-and-furrow with characteristic reverse S-curve is clearly separated from it by a boundary-bank and ditch. At the N. end of the field is the start of another series of ridge-and-furrow at right angles to the first. The surrounding fields had already been ploughed for many years, but other areas of ridge-and-furrow were either still intact in 1947 or showed in air-photographs. The evidence for this has been plotted on FIG. 50, showing that almost all the area of the township was under

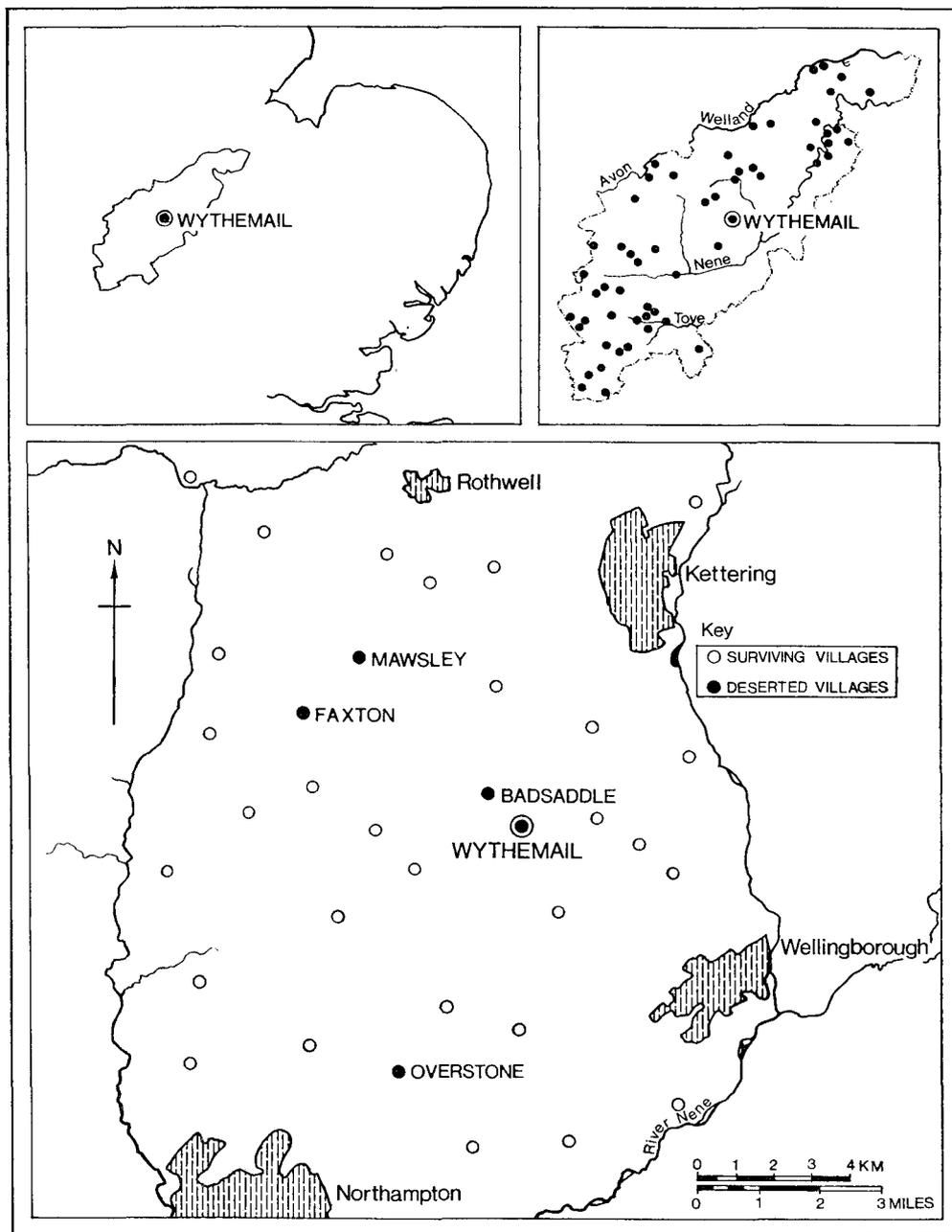


FIG. 49

SKETCH-MAPS SHOWING POSITION OF WYTHEMAIL

Above, l., Northamptonshire; above r., Northamptonshire with other deserted villages indicated by black circles; below, immediate area of Wythemail showing neighbouring surviving and deserted villages (p. 167)

plough at one time or another. The deserted village of Badsaddle is in the NW. corner of the same parish (of Orlingbury) with a smaller set of earthworks surrounded by ridge-and-furrow.

In November 1953 Mr. P. I. King of the Northamptonshire Record Office reported to the Ministry of Works that the village site had been ploughed. The site was visited by Mr. J. G. Hurst and Mr. King in December when it was observed that large areas of stone had been turned up by the plough and that there was a wide scatter of 12th- and 13th-century pottery. The sunken roads and crofts were still visible and a survey was carried out in January 1954 by the Ancient Monuments drawing office (FIG. 51). On this the visible earthworks and the spreads of stone were plotted. As the field was already sown no more could be done until after the harvest, when Mr. A. F. Flower, the farm manager, readily agreed to a sample excavation of a single croft. Excavation of the site chosen (see below, p. 172 f.) showed some of the difficulties of trying to plot buildings from surface indications where not only the buildings are of stone but the yards are cobbled with very similar material.

The excavations took place for seven weeks between 11 October and 30 November 1954. Mr. J. M. Lewis (now of the National Museum of Wales) was the assistant supervisor throughout. He visited the site again in April 1955 after the field had again been ploughed, and in May after harrowing and sowing (see below, p. 179 f.). In April 1956, after a third ploughing, oblique air-photographs of the village were taken by Dr. J. K. S. St. Joseph (PL. XXVIII, A-B). By this time the compact rectangular areas of stone were much spread but still clearly visible, although large quantities of stone had been carted from the field by the farmer.

The detailed records and field-plans of the excavation are in the files of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group. The finds have been deposited in the Westfield Museum, Kettering.

GEOLOGY¹

The village lies in a geologically complex area. The northern part rests on the Lower and Upper Estuarine Series and Great Oolite Limestone, which are separated (to the south) by an E.-W. fault from the Northampton Sand Ironstone and Upper Lias (partly covered in the west by Boulder Clay), and on which rests the southern part of the village. Thus a variety of rocks were available to the inhabitants: building stone from the Great Oolite Limestone, and possibly also from the Northampton Sand Ironstone which would have supplied iron ore; brick clays from the other formations mentioned; and perhaps also refractory sands from the Estuarine Series. In addition, the Boulder Clay is rich in erratics of various kinds, some of which were found among the artefacts and other specimens collected (p. 198 f.). The excavated site itself clearly lay on Boulder Clay over Great Oolite Limestone, which would have furnished both the 'blocks' and 'slabs' to which the excavation report refers.

¹ We are grateful to Dr. F. W. Anderson and Mr. R. J. Wyatt of the Institute of Geological Sciences for this information.

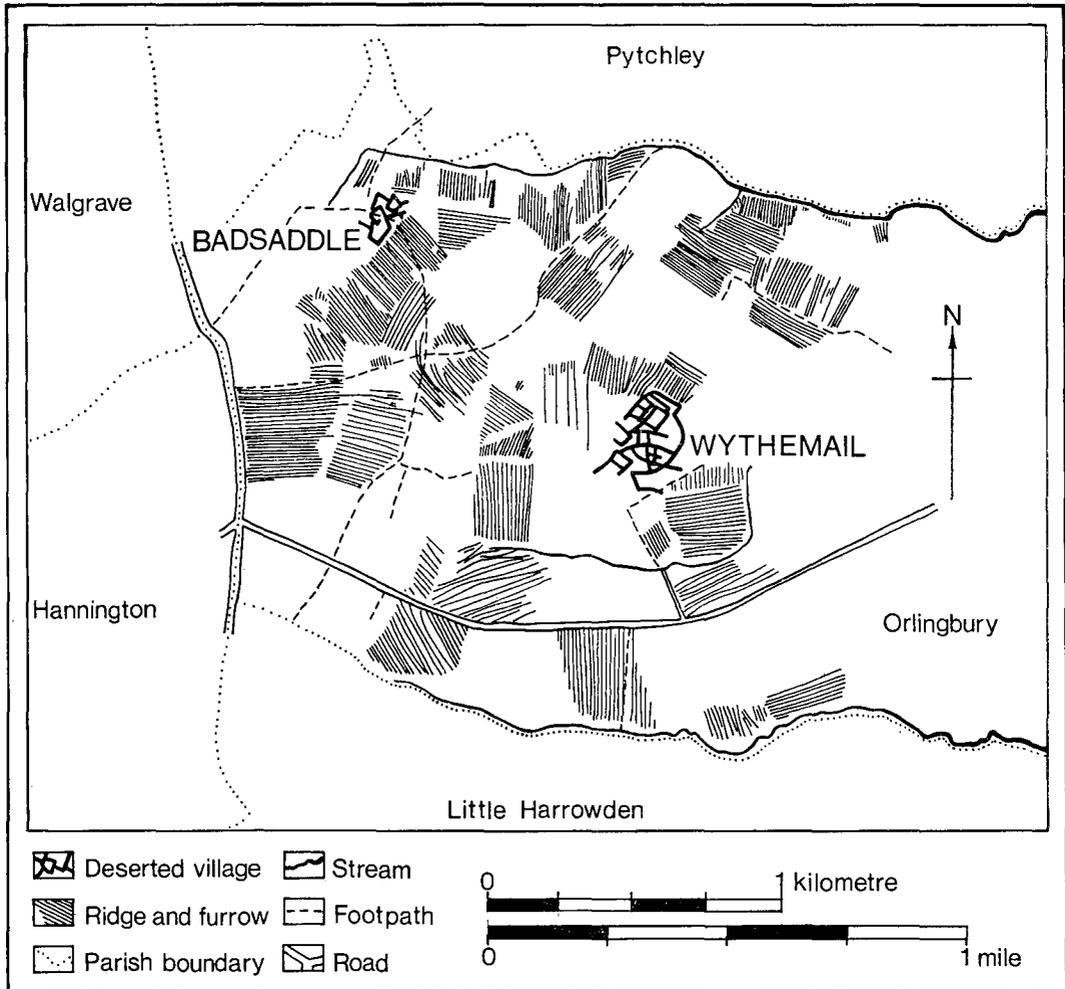


FIG. 50

WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

W. part of present parish of Orlingbury showing deserted villages of Badsaddle and Wythemail and evidence of ridge-and-furrow (pp. 167, 169)

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

A general survey of deserted medieval villages in Northamptonshire, which sets the background to Wythemail and its local problems, has been published.² The name Wythemail has been identified as meaning 'against (*wid*) the ridge (*mealo*)'³ since it is at the edge of the limestone ridge. Mawsley, a deserted village near by, has been identified as 'the clearing on the ridge'.⁴ The earliest documentary

² K. J. Allison *et al.*, *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire* (Leic. Univ., Dept. Eng. Loc. Hist., Occ. Papers, xviii, 1966).

³ J. E. B. Gover *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* (English Place-Name Soc., x, 1933), p. 129.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xx.

evidence is in Domesday Book in 1086 when *Widmale* was assessed for 2½ hides,⁵ but it appears from a survey of the time of Henry I that one of these hides was in Orlingbury,⁶ the parish in which Wythemail lies. The whole Domesday population data and the reference to a priest may not apply to Wythemail. There is in fact no evidence that there was ever a church at Wythemail; the chapel referred to in 1357 was probably only a manorial chapel.⁷

The manor was part of the honour of Odell and was held by the Malesoure family and by their successors the Trussells, as part of the manor of Lamport. The Withmale family were local tenants; they are recorded between 1284 and the early 16th century when the manor descended to Rose Withmale, wife of Sir William Pulteney⁸ of Misterton (Leics.), another deserted village, whose son sold the manor to the Vauxs of Harrowden in 1565. The full manorial descents are given in the *Victoria County History* and by Bridges.⁹

None of this documentation, however, gives any details of the size and history of the village itself. Examination of the tax data¹⁰ shows that it is impossible to trace the expansion and contraction of Wythemail as a distinct unit, for it was always linked with Orlingbury and the adjacent deserted hamlet of Badsaddle (FIG. 50). In 1316 the *nomina villarum* links Orlingbury, *Wethemale* and *Battishadil*. The 1301 lay subsidy is missing for Orlingbury Hundred but in 1334 Orlingbury and Wythemail were jointly assessed at 50s. There was no separate mention of Wythemail in the poll tax of 1377; it was probably included in the Orlingbury entry of 99 persons. Unfortunately the 1524 lay subsidy does not survive. It is anyhow likely that Wythemail was deserted before this, possibly by the time the male line of the Withmale family died out in the 15th century, although the pottery evidence from the excavated site suggests an earlier desertion.

In 1614 the site of the village was made into a park¹¹ and so remained until 1657. By 1720, when Bridges compiled his history, there was a 'lone house'; there has been only this single farm, preserving in its name the memory of the park, until the present day. The surviving documentary evidence, therefore, is of little help in assessing the size of the village at different periods. Desertion of villages commonly led to the dispersal or destruction of most of their manorial records.

An estate map of 1754 is the earliest large-scale map available.¹² This shows Wythemail Park Farm only. The northern field with the manorial earthworks is called *Homestead Close*, the main field with the village site *Park Close*, and the three fields west of the farm *Withmaile Park Wood*. In the 18th century, therefore, the wood must have covered a much larger area than now (PL. XXVI).

⁵ *Victoria County History, Northamptonshire*, 1 (1902), 340.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV (1937), 205.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 206-7.

⁹ J. Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* (1791), II, 121.

¹⁰ By Mrs. B. Grant, who, through the good offices of Professor H. C. Darby, held a research fellowship at University College, London, to study the main Public Record Office documents concerning Northamptonshire and other midland counties.

¹¹ Bridges, *loc. cit.* in note 9.

¹² Northamptonshire Record Office, map no. 1489. We are grateful to Mr. P. I. King for drawing our attention to this map and for informing us that no earlier documentation is available for Wythemail in the Northamptonshire Record Office.

As a result of newspaper publicity during the excavation, information was received about the recent history of the site from Mrs. Florence Bailey of New York; she is the daughter of Mr. Henry Hutchison who farmed the land for thirty years between 1880 and 1910, when he retired. Mrs. Bailey lived at Wythemail Park from 1881 till her marriage in 1900. The family were not aware that there had been a village there, but Mrs. Bailey remembers well the 'curious hills and hollows in the paddock in front of the house and in the large field adjoining it to the north and known as "Great Park". When Mr. Hutchison was enlarging the garden the men unearthed a quantity of large paving stones from the slope beyond the house, and these were said, I know not why, to be the remains of a chapel'. It is more likely that these stones were from the manor house. Mrs. Bailey also remembers the pond immediately south of the excavated site which was then fenced round and surrounded by trees. She thought that it had a stone lining but it was not possible to check this. As one of the medieval roads leads straight to it, it is quite likely that this feature is also medieval. There was also a 'curious hole in the turf, in the lowest part of the field, only visible sometimes, which might lead into a well'.

THE EXCAVATION

METHOD

The aim of the investigation was to excavate a sample toft area and obtain the plan of a medieval peasant house and its outbuildings. The site chosen was 100-ft. square, and lay on one of the main roads. It seemed to contain clear evidence for two buildings set at right angles, and looked as though it would make a very satisfactory unit. The northern building running east-west¹³ was also clearly visible on the R.A.F. vertical air-photograph taken before the site was levelled (PL. XXVII). None of the other scatters of stone had such clearly defined rectangular shapes and it was often hard to see where the property boundaries were. The 100-ft. square was divided into sixteen 25-ft. squares. Of these eight were fully excavated and three more to the north partially cleared. Each of these sixteen squares (numbered A1 to B4) was further divided into twenty-five 5-ft. squares for recording purposes. Ploughing had rounded all the contours and removed the turf-line so that it was impossible to reconstruct the original ground surface. Removal of the stubble and topsoil exposed a generally stony area over large parts of the site. It was fairly soon apparent that although the northern stony area and the northern end of the eastern area covered a long-house *c.* 60 ft. long, the stony spread to the south-east was a cobbled yard. At the southern end of the excavated area there was a further row of buildings which was not visible when the field was ploughed. This fact and the further stone areas which were observed only after the second ploughing show that a survey of structures exposed by ploughing

¹³ The grid was laid out at right angles to the features. These were not exactly east-west or north-south but for simplicity in the description it is assumed that the grid is so aligned.

WYTHEMAIL



FIG. 51
 WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
 Survey of main area of deserted village after ploughing, showing pattern of sunken roads and areas of stone thrown up by the plough. Excavation of sample area demonstrated that not all stony areas were houses; some may be cobbled yards (pp. 169, 173, 179 f.)

cannot give a true picture of a site; excavation is required to make certain. Many of the stony areas therefore marked on the general plan (FIG. 51) and not excavated may now be interpreted as cobbled yards.

SUMMARY

PERIOD I (early 13th century). Series of post-holes forming timber building bounded on the north by small ditch.

PERIOD II (late 13th century). Stone long-house, 37 ft. by 16 ft. internally, built of limestone slabs, set at right angles to period-I building and to the slope, and lying over earlier boundary-ditch. Upper room with central hearth separated by paved cross-passage from byre with drain at lower end.

PERIOD III (14th century). Stone long-house, 57 ft. by 13 ft. internally, built of limestone blocks, set at right angles to period-II long-house, and parallel with the slope. Main living-room with hearth; inner room also heated. Sunken cross-passage with two lower rooms for animals and farm use.

South of this main living-area was a sequence of six buildings, two of which may have been ovens and one a byre with a drain. In period II three of these were associated with the long-house, but in period III a road driven across the site separated them from the long-house, after which they fell into decay and were abandoned.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION (FIG. 52)

THE MAIN HOUSE AREA TO THE NORTH

PERIOD I

A small ditch 3 ft. wide ran across squares A2 and B2 until it was cut away by the low floor level of the period-III long-house. Its dark earth filling showed clearly against the brown natural clay on either side. Waterlogged conditions made it impossible to clean it completely, but it was about 18 in. to 1 ft. deep. On the projected line of the ditch in the SW. corner of B2 the partition wall of the period-III long-house was set 1 ft. deeper than elsewhere. Perhaps the ditch ran as far as this, and the extra foundation was built because the ground was unsafe. It could also be argued that the SW. corner of the period-III long-house in C2 was more massively built for the same reason. It is however more likely that it was so built because the ground here sloped westwards and southwards (see below, p. 176). As no features were seen north of the ditch it is likely that this was the boundary. On the other hand, as the ground to the north was cut into to form a platform for the period-II and -III buildings, any features may have been destroyed in the same way as the W. extension of the ditch.

To the south there were twelve pits or post-holes varying from 1 ft. to 3 ft. diam. No differences in their dark fillings which might have indicated their purpose were observed. Eleven of them were all in one rectangular area and probably held the major posts for a timber structure. They do not, however, form a regular pattern, and so, as with many similar remains on other sites, it is not

possible to do more than suggest the presence of timber buildings. It is reasonably certain that the smaller pits were post-holes. The larger ones could not have been rubbish-pits as they contained hardly any finds. In the wet clay it does not seem very likely that they were used for storage.

In general terms, therefore, these features suggest a timber building (or buildings of different periods) within a ditched enclosure of the type which may now be regarded as typical on village sites of the 12th century.¹⁴ As the pottery from the ditch and post-holes was not significantly different from that in the levels above, it is not possible to date this complex earlier than the 13th century. The nucleus of the earlier village must have been elsewhere, presumably nearer the manor site by the present farm. The excavated site would then represent an expansion of the 12th-century settlement.

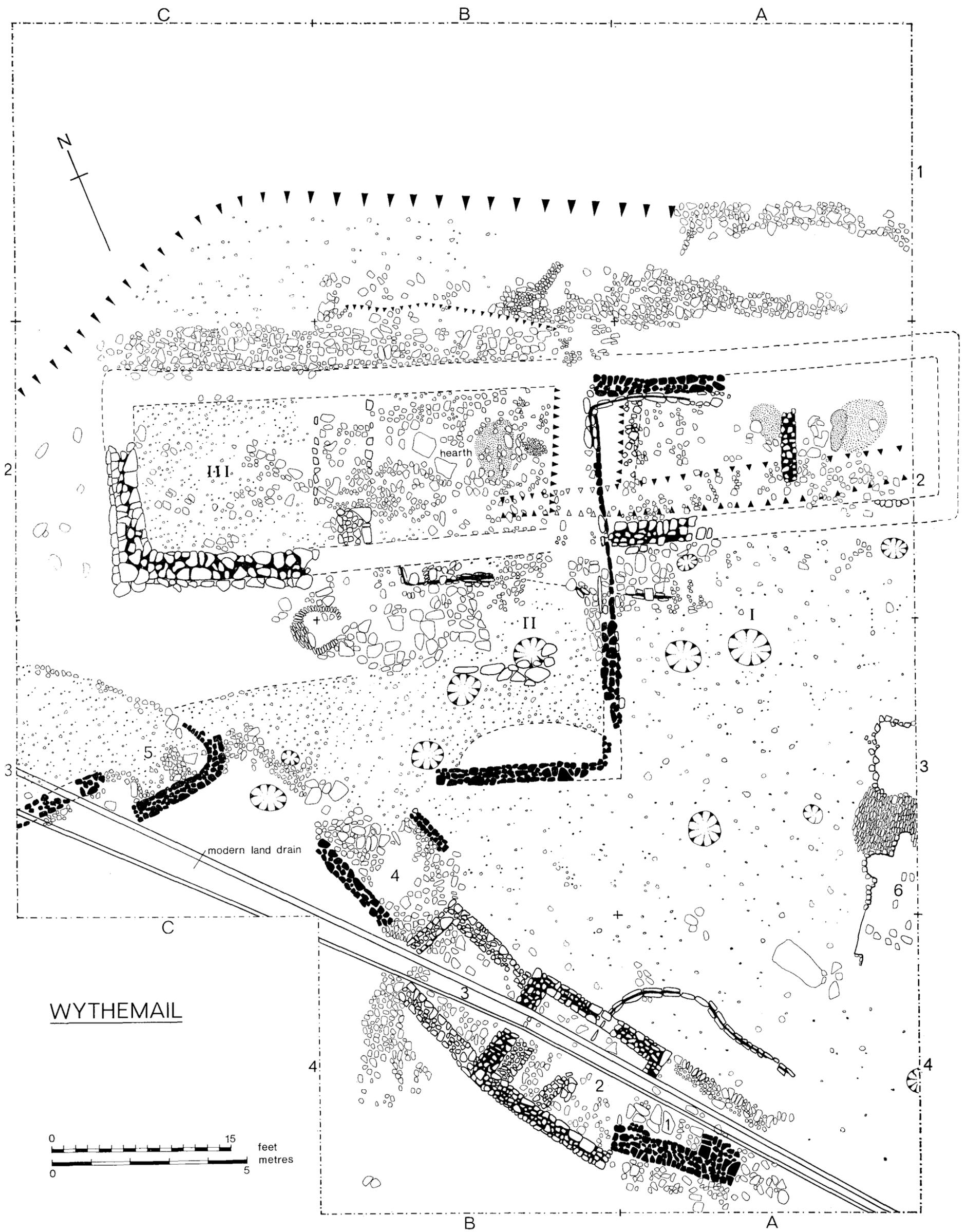
Dating. The pottery from the ditch is described on pp. 184 ff. and illustrated on FIG. 53, nos. 1-22. As this group includes wares of both Lyveden and Potterspury types, the ditch cannot have been sealed over until the middle of the 13th century. For the pottery from the post-holes (or pits) see pp. 188 ff (FIGS. 55-9, nos. 33, 49, 55, 59, 86, 101, 102, 109, 112, 117 and 123).

PERIOD II

Over these timber features a series of stone walls of roughly-cut limestone slabs was built. In B3 there was a well-preserved 14-ft. stretch of wall 18 in. wide and two courses high. To the west the wall was robbed but to the east there was an internal corner, and the wall, of exactly the same construction, survived intermittently for a length of 32 ft., along the B2/3 and A2/3 line. In some sections as many as five courses survived but, as the stone easily laminated into thin slabs, the wall here was only *c.* 18 in. high. It was quite impossible to locate the W. wall of this building. The N.-S. features at the W. end of B2 might be part of it but they are more likely to be subdivisions of the period-III long-house whose main walls were of similar construction. It is also not possible to be certain about the N. wall of the building. The scarp line in B1 is suggestive but it may be connected with the yard at the back of the period-III long-house.

The inside of the building may be divided into three parts. In B2 the N. part revealed no floor, though paving may have been removed. An area of burning, *c.* 4 ft. across, with charcoal and blackened stones, may be evidence of a cobbled stone hearth. The S. part in B3 also had no sign of a floor. Between, however, a large area of limestone paving extended not only across the building but also eastwards and westwards. To the S. a drain running east to west was constructed of two slabs set upright to form two sides of a triangle (\wedge). All the drains on the site were of this characteristic type (PL. XXXI, A). Over the E. end of the drain were a few paving slabs and it is possible that others were robbed from other parts

¹⁴ For a general synthesis of excavations on village sites see J. G. Hurst, 'Review of archaeological research to 1968' in Maurice Beresford and John G. Hurst (eds.), *Deserted Medieval Villages. Studies* (Lutterworth, 1971), pp. 76-144.



WYTHEMAIL

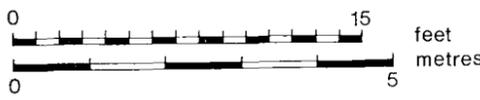


FIG. 52
WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
Plan of excavated area showing main buildings on N., with outbuildings on S. (pp. 173 ff.)

of the building. Most of the paving was of limestone slabs set horizontally but at the junction of A/B 2/3 an area was edged by smaller slabs set vertically.

This building may be interpreted as a typical long-house. An upper room contained a central hearth and at the lower end lay the byre for cattle with a drain. Between there was a wide paved cross-passage with a carefully made edge outside the W. door. The dimensions of the building are hard to determine, but, if the hearth was central, the upper room would be 20 ft. long (assuming that the N. wall ran along the line of the scarp) and *c.* 16 ft. or more wide. The exact positions of the doors were uncertain but the cross-passage appears to have been *c.* 6 ft. wide. The byre would then be 11 ft. long making the overall internal dimensions of the long-house 37 ft. by 16 ft. or more. If the building was, unusually, as much as 18 ft. wide the W. wall would run along the line of the features in B2 (see above, p. 174) and the edging just outside the door. Since the much better constructed long-house of period III was only 13 ft. wide, a narrower width is more probable. The walls, where fully preserved, were no more than 18 in. wide, and should therefore be interpreted as the foundations either for timber or cob superstructure as at Faxton near by.¹⁵

In square A2 there was an 11-ft. length of wall running east to west and constructed of limestone slabs in the same way as the long-house. There is not sufficient evidence to decide whether this was part of a different building, an outshut or an L-shaped extension of the main house. A parallel line of stones in A1, also running east to west, was of rough construction and is more likely to be a revetment wall for the slope on the north rather than the N. wall of a building of which the better-made wall formed a part. On the other hand the width of *c.* 12 ft. between them would be acceptable for a building. All evidence has been cut away by the period-III road but perhaps a separate building of a different date stood here; an extension of this size would be unlikely.

Both the E. wall of the long-house and the S. wall of the second structure were cut through to insert a drain which ran along the S. line of the E.-W. wall and along the W. side of the N.-S. wall, and then turned east through the entrance of the long-house. It is hard to see what purpose this drain served. At the time of excavation it was thought that the drain was constructed in the actual wall thickness but a later insertion is more likely because it changes direction from the outside to the inside of the walls and lies not at the bottom of the wall but two courses up. But insertion presupposes an extra period between periods II and III. The drain is unlikely to be associated with the period-III long-house because it cuts obliquely across the cross-passage instead of being built along the partition wall.

Dating. It is difficult to distinguish late 13th- from early 14th-century pottery in Northamptonshire as so little stratified material has been found in the area. As there is no obvious difference between the pottery finds from periods II and III, on general grounds a date in the 2nd half of the 13th century may be assigned to

¹⁵ Excavations by Dr. L. A. S. Butler, For interim reports see *Med. Archaeol.*, XI (1967), 307-9, fig. 86, XII (1968), 203, and p. 279 of this volume.

the period-II long-house. It is a pity that this crucial stage, at which timber building, on or into the ground, was replaced by building on stone foundations, cannot be more closely dated. Pottery from the living-room is illustrated on FIGS. 55, 57, nos. 48 and 91; from the byre, FIGS. 55, 57-9, nos. 45, 96 and 100; from the cross-passage, FIGS. 58-9, nos. 108, 121 and 122; from the yard, FIG. 57, no. 87.

PERIOD III

A new and much larger building was constructed at right angles to the period-II long-house. The walls were preserved only in two short sections along the S. side and at the SW. corner (in c2), where it was inserted into a foundation-trench *c.* 1 ft. deep. The rest of the walls were robbed leaving a hollow all the way round which was clearly visible after the topsoil was removed (PL. XXIX, A). This presumably formed the rectangle which can be seen on the R.A.F. air-photograph (PL. XXVII). The wall-construction of this building was quite different from that of the period-II long-house. It was built of much larger blocks of limestone which were thicker and more rectangular in section (PL. XXX) rather than slab-like (PL. XXXI, A, building 2). The wall in the SW. corner was $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide with an external plinth at the bottom making a total foundation width of just over 3 ft. It stood up to five courses high in this section. The rest of the wall was not set in a foundation-trench; perhaps for this reason it was not robbed. The extra strength at this corner was presumably required as the ground sloped away southwards and westwards. In A2 two stones in place south of the wall might suggest that the plinth went all the way round.

The inside of the building, whose total internal dimensions were *c.* 57 ft. by 12 to 13 ft., may be divided into five parts. To the east in A2 a room *c.* 12 ft. square contained a central hearth made of large slabs of limestone burnt red and surrounded by fire-reddened clay. Only a few stones remained *in situ* on the line of the S. wall, the dotted lines for this and for the N. wall being determined by the visible line of the robber-trenches (FIG. 52). The E. wall was not excavated, but has been shown by a dotted line in a position which would make the room square. It could not have been much farther east as a few feet eastward there is a rise in the ground. The second room, also *c.* 12 ft. square, was divided by narrow stone footings for timber or cob partitions. The hearth was placed against the E. partition wall and there seemed to be access between the rooms both to the north and south. A scatter of stones over both rooms may have been the remains of paving or of debris from the destruction of the building.

West of the partition, in B2, was the cross-passage defined by a slightly worn way, *c.* 3 to 6 in. below the other floor levels. To the north a small piece of cobbling over the threshold survived. To the west was a room 15 ft. by 12 ft. with a further room (c2) beyond, of similar size. The first of these was paved with limestone slabs, some of considerable size. The W. room had paving in the centre but smaller cobbling on its N. and S. sides. Between the two rooms there was a partition wall at the S. end, of solid construction, possibly because it was built over the period-I ditch (see above, p. 173). Immediately north of this the passage

between the rooms was clearly defined by paving. To the west was a feature 5 ft. wide, which was too wide for a partition. It may have been a hard standing for a manger.

This building may be interpreted as a long-house more complex and larger than that of period II. East of the cross-passage were two living-rooms of roughly equal size, both of which had hearths, the inner one being more important than the other. This is unusual since the main living-room, with its hearth, was usually immediately beyond the cross-passage, while the inner room was usually unheated.¹⁶ West of the cross-passage was the byre, itself divided into two compartments. The different type of flooring may perhaps suggest that cattle used the far end and that the other room adjacent to the cross-passage was put to some other farm use. No drains were definitely associated with this period but as the two lower rooms were unheated they were presumably designed for some farm activity. The ground dropped gradually from east to west and it is possible there was a drain in the robbed part of the wall. As the foundation-trench ends at exactly the same place as the wall there might well have been an additional feature at this point.

South of the long-house the whole area, except at the far W. end, was covered with small limestone cobbling of quite different character from the period-II paving (PL. XXIX, B). To the north there was a long narrow paved yard with large stone paving on the east and smaller cobbling on the west as far as the slope up to the croft behind. Between this area and the byre there was a 5-ft.-wide strip with tumbled stones. It is not clear whether this was debris from robbing (and if so why the stone was left), whether it was a feature belonging to the period of the long-house, or whether it was a soak-away to prevent water running down the slope and into the house. It was not another paved area, since the stone had the appearance of being roughly thrown down and there was no sign of wear.

Dating. As it is hard to distinguish between the pottery from periods II and III a general date may be proposed in the 1st half of the 14th century. The absence of any certain 15th-century forms indicates that the long-house went out of use before 1400.

Pottery from the living-room is illustrated on FIGS. 55-6, nos. 35, 51 and 61; from the byre, FIG. 57, nos. 73, 85 and 89; from the cross-passage, FIG. 55, no. 47; from the wall and robber-trench, FIGS. 55-7, nos. 36, 44, 52, 65 and 98; from the N. yard, FIGS. 55-6, nos. 38 and 67; from the S. yard and road area, FIGS. 55-9, nos. 30, 34, 41, 53, 56, 58, 66, 68, 69, 71, 74, 75, 78, 81-4, 88, 90, 94, 103, 104, 111, 114-16 and 119.

LESSER BUILDINGS TO THE SOUTH

South of the excavated area there was a complex series of superimposed structures. These are described separately since it is impossible to link them with

¹⁶ J. G. Hurst, *op. cit.* in note 14, p. 114.

the three periods of the main house area. The wall in A₄, made of limestone blocks, formed the SE. corner of the earliest building, 1. One length of wall was 2 ft. wide but beyond the corner it increased to over 3 ft. There was no trace of the other walls. The floor was paved with large slabs heavily reddened by fire. In the second phase a rectangular building, 2, 10 ft. by 8 ft., was erected to the west. The walls were much thinner, *c.* 18 in. wide, and also made of limestone slabs (PL. XXXI, A). The S. wall abuts on the earlier building and so the S. wall of building 1 was presumably still standing. The N. wall of building 1 had already been destroyed, since the NE. corner of building 2 makes a free-standing right angle. The entrance must have been in the E. wall, although this part and many other details of this series of structures were destroyed when recent land drains were dug across the site. A Δ drain goes through the N. wall and curves round to the east (PL. XXXI, A). Unfortunately the S. end of the drain was cut away by a land drain. A length of wall was inserted into the SW. corner of the building, either as strengthening or as a base. It was certainly later as there were straight joints on both sides. Some time afterwards a short wall was built projecting from the centre of the S. wall; it divided the S. part of the building into two roughly equal halves. The fact that this wall was constructed over built-up rubble suggests some lapse of time.

At some later date building 3 was added to the W. end of building 2, the W. wall of which must still have been standing. An occupation-level under building 3 confirmed its secondary nature. The walls of limestone blocks (PL. XXXI, B) were similar to the cross-wall in building 2, and may therefore have been contemporary with this remodelling. The paved floor of building 3 had a marked fall to the N. but there was no drain. Farther north-west in B₃ building 4, very badly ruined, was built of thin limestone slabs, very similar to those used in the period-II long-house. They may have been contemporary, though there was not much room between them. In c₃ there was an arc-shaped foundation for building 5, again constructed of thin slabs like the period-II long-house. The wall was still standing five courses high and was 18 in. wide. The inner face was intensely reddened at the apex of the curve, to a depth of about 2 in. into the stones.

Later a line of cobbling was constructed over the N. wall of building 2 and extended east for a further 10 ft. so that both buildings 1 and 2 must have already been destroyed. As a paved road was built between the walls of buildings 3 and 4 neither building could still have been in use. To the north-west a paved road lay over building 5 in c₃. In the final stage, which was contemporary with the period-III long-house, a cobbled road was constructed obliquely from south-east to north-west. It skirted the ruins of the S. buildings and covered the S. end of the period-II long-house. East of the excavated area in A₃ there was another building, 6. This was defined only by straight edges in the cobbling, so that it may have been of timber or cob. Between the uncobbled areas there was a patch of pitched paving which may have been the entrance (PL. XXIX, B).

All six structures were small and may be interpreted as outbuildings. Building 1 apparently had a hearth or, in view of its unusual construction of walls of differing widths, an oven. Building 2 may have been a byre because of its well-constructed drain, but, as Mr. P. A. Rahtz has suggested that the lower end of

the long-house at Upton ¹⁷ may have been used for fulling or some other industry, it is possible that some other use was made of building 2. It must not be assumed that every drain denotes a byre; there are many other possibilities. Buildings 3, 4 and 6 show no clear sign of their use, but building 5 must have been an oven or corn-drying kiln. Building 1 was built of limestone blocks. Buildings 2, 4 and 5 were built of limestone slabs in the same way as the period-II long-house; building 3, of limestone blocks, may be equated with the period-III long-house.

Dating. The finds stratified with these structures are described on p. 187 f. and illustrated on FIG. 54, nos. 23-8. A late 12th- and early 14th-century date may be given for these buildings. Other associated pottery includes, in building 1, FIG. 55, no. 43; in building 2, FIGS. 55-6, 58-9, nos. 50, 62, 110 and 113; by building 2, FIGS. 55-9, nos. 40, 42, 57, 60, 64, 70, 76, 105, 118 and 124; in building 3, FIGS. 55, 57, nos. 31 and 95; by building 3, FIGS. 55-9, nos. 37, 39, 54, 77, 80, 92, 93, 99 and 125; in building 4, FIGS. 55, 57, nos. 29, 32, 46, 72 and 79; in building 5, FIG. 58, no. 107; by building 5, FIG. 58, no. 106; by building 6, FIGS. 56-7, 59, nos. 63, 97 and 120.

LATER FIELDWORK

The site was visited by Mr. J. M. Lewis at the beginning of April 1955 after it had been ploughed to a depth of 1 ft., and again in May after cultivation and planting.

After the second ploughing many more stony areas were visible than after the first. Relief features and stony areas were added to the plan (FIG. 51). Some pottery, similar in fabric and form to that found in the 1954 excavation, was collected. No structures were observed *in situ* in the stony areas, which were composed almost entirely of slabs of limestone. Where a concentration of large slabs survived it has been noted on the plan.

More details were visible in the area west of the pond and south of the main street, especially in the extensive stony area noted by the surveyors of the Ancient Monuments drawing office (see above, p. 169). A series of mounds and hollows with stony areas on the mounds lay north of the drinking-trough. These probably represented the remains of buildings along the W. side of a street running south from the main street. At the N. end of this series were two areas which included concentrations of small stones, reminiscent of the ground above the courtyard area before excavation in 1954, as well as larger building stone (limestone slabs up to 2 ft. by 1½ ft.). North-west of the area excavated in 1954 a similar series of mounds and hollows, with stony areas, was seen. Stone here included large limestone slabs up to 2½ ft. by 1½ ft. Many stony areas were visible along both sides of the street, which ran north to south, and cut the main street on the E. side of the village. On the W. side of this street, north of the main street, were areas of dark

¹⁷ P. A. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1964-1968, second report', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, LXXXVIII (1969), 74-126; interim note in *Med. Archaeol.*, XII (1968), 201.

soil and pottery without stone. East and west of the pond was an area c. 160 yd. by 50 yd. without stony patches.

On his second visit Mr. Lewis found that the cultivation and planting had almost obliterated the details of relief visible earlier and had spread the stone, so that it is doubtful whether further details of the plan are now recoverable in this field. On this type of site where so many of the structures are either close to the surface or on raised mounds which are very soon levelled and the stone spread (PL. XXVIII), any survey or excavation should be done as soon after the original ploughing as possible.¹⁸

CONCLUSIONS

This sample excavation of a single toft of a medieval village in the midlands has provided important evidence which confirms and amplifies the results from similar areas in other parts of England. There is still very little evidence from the midlands, but recent work at Faxton near by¹⁹ and at Barton Blount (Derbys.)²⁰ suggests that some of the basic changes discovered at Wythemail may be common to the region.²¹

CHANGE FROM TIMBER TO STONE CONSTRUCTION

The excavation at Wythemail confirms the supposition that, even in areas where stone was readily available, buildings were constructed of timber as late as the mid 13th century. Although the evidence is slight, it does suggest that these timber buildings were set in enclosures defined by small ditches of a type which are now being recognized as typical of the late Saxon and early medieval period.²²

This timber construction period was then succeeded by buildings with dwarf stone walls of limestone slabs, which raised the timberwork off the ground. In the final period there was more substantial building in limestone blocks. This sequence should not be regarded as necessarily typical of the area. It may have been a question of the prosperity or status of the villager as to whether he lived in a stone house or in one of timber built on dwarf walls. In view of the different sequence found on the two sites excavated at Wharram Percy,²³ it is dangerous to suggest an overall development at Wythemail from timber to timber on dwarf walls to solid stone walls. Excavations in other parts of the village might produce quite a different result. In fact the thick stone wall of the first outbuilding in A4, which seems to be earlier than the thin walls of period II, suggests caution, but the change from timber to stone foundations of some kind seems to have been general.

¹⁸ For results of a more successful survey, in which actual house-plans were obtained, see J. G. Hurst, 'Seventeenth-century cottages at Babingley, Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeol.*, xxxii (1961), 332-42.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* in note 15.

²⁰ Excavations by Mr. G. Beresford; interim note on p. 276 of this volume.

²¹ For other examples and for general discussion of the evidence for changes of alignment, replanning and climate see J. G. Hurst *op. cit.* in note 14, pp. 122-31.

²² J. G. Hurst, *op. cit.* in note 14, pp. 117-22.

²³ J. G. Hurst, interim note and plan in *Med. Archaeol.*, viii (1964), 291, fig. 95.

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HOUSE-TYPE

There is clear evidence for the period-II building being a long-house, and strong circumstantial evidence for the period-III building being the same. They provide useful new examples of this house-type in the midlands, although it was clearly not the only type built, as is shown for example by the excavations at Faxton. Before any general conclusions can be drawn far more work is needed on the neglected subject of deserted villages in the midlands.

EVIDENCE OF REPLANNING

There are several indications of the complete replanning of the site. The period-II long-house was not only set at right angles to the period-I complex but also clearly cuts across the earlier property boundary-ditch. In period III the position of the house was again changed through an angle of 90°. This constant changing of position is still imperfectly understood. It has been noted that in many cases earlier houses built parallel with the contours were set at right angles up and down the slope when the long-house was introduced, presumably to facilitate the drainage of the lower end. At Wythemail, however, while this could be argued for the change between periods I and II, the period-III building reverted and was built parallel to the contour.

There was also a more fundamental change in village plan, more important than the changing property boundaries, which might simply be the amalgamation of two adjoining crofts, if excavation is not on a large enough scale to prove wholesale redevelopment. In period II the excavated site seems to have included buildings which were replaced and rebuilt with considerable frequency. In period III, however, a cobbled road was driven obliquely across the site. In its last stages the village plan clearly suggests that this was one of the main thoroughfares and not simply a cobbled access to the farmyard. Because they had become separated from the house area, the outbuildings south of the excavated area were apparently abandoned and replaced by new outbuildings farther north-east. This change in village plan may explain the change in the alignment of the house in period III because the period-II house ran across where the new road was to go. This demonstrates the danger of trying to find economic or climatic reasons for changing house alignments which may simply be caused by personal decisions of the various peasants or of the *seigneur*. Sometimes whole areas were replanned, but at Wythemail the fairly haphazard nature of the planning of the crofts suggests that these changes may have been limited to this part of the village.

EVIDENCE OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

Evidence from Wythemail confirms that from a steadily increasing number of sites which suggests that the climate deteriorated during the later 13th and 14th centuries. In period I (12th century) the house, as on many other sites, was surrounded only by small drainage ditches. In period II, even though the house

was not sited at right angles to the contours to facilitate drainage, the appearance of complex drainage systems and paved surfaces suggests very much wetter conditions. Finally in period III the yard surrounding the house, both on the north and the south, was cobbled.

THE FINDS

DESCRIPTION OF POTTERY, *by* D. C. Mynard²⁴

The pottery may be divided into the following type fabrics:

FINE UNTEMPERED WARES

A. STAMFORD WARE

Fine off-white smooth fabric with yellow-green glaze. 11th or 12th century.

SHELLY WARES

B. FINE SHELLY FABRIC

Tempered with plentiful fine shell grits; grey core with surface ranging from buff-brown to purple-brown; the most characteristic feature is the smooth soapy surface which is thought²⁵ to be due at least in part to a scarcity of quartz. 12th or 13th century.

C. COARSE SHELLY FABRIC

Similar to type B but with harsher surface. Dr. Peacock suggests that it may be the same fabric, the apparent differences being caused by variation in firing. 12th or 13th century.

D. COARSE SHELLY 'CORKY' FABRIC.

Tempered with sparser larger grits (some of which appear to be limestone) than types B and C; grey core with buff-brown to pink-brown surface. Sometimes the tempering material has been eroded leaving a 'corky' appearance. 13th or 14th century.

These shelly wares are local, coming mainly from undiscovered kilns. Types B and C are derivatives of St. Neots ware, and are widely distributed in the Cambridge, Bedford, Northampton and upper Ouse areas; it is not known where they were made. Both are common at the kiln site at Olney Hyde (Bucks.) which is twelve miles south-east of Wythemail, but whilst it is likely that they were made there, it is not as certain as Miss Millard considers.²⁶ Numerous sherds from that site have been examined but no certain wasters of these types from Wythemail were found.²⁷ Type D is similar to sherds collected from the surface scatter at the kiln site at Lyveden,²⁸ twelve miles north of Wythemail, and certainly some of this fabric was made there. Olney Hyde also produced a fabric tempered with shell and limestone²⁹ which on visual examination alone appears to be of type D. As Wythemail is equidistant between these two sources it could easily

²⁴ Thanks are due to Mr. J. R. Fox and the pupils of Westfield County Secondary School who washed and marked the pottery. In the spring of 1967 Leicester University (through Mr. A. E. Brown) arranged a series of three weekend courses on medieval pottery at Knuston Hall. The sorting, describing and drawing of the Wythemail pottery formed the basis of the courses under the direction of Mr. J. G. Hurst. We are grateful to Mr. K. J. Barton, Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel and Mr. P. A. Rahtz who lectured at the courses; to the 20 students who worked on the pottery; and to Mr. D. C. Mynard who has correlated all the results into the final report.

²⁵ We are indebted to Dr. D. P. S. Peacock for examining the various fabrics and for his comments on them.

²⁶ L. Millard, 'Some medieval pottery from North Bucks.', *Records of Bucks.*, xviii (1967), 109, 111 and 118.

²⁷ By D. C. Mynard.

²⁸ By the late R. Cross, and D. C. Mynard.

²⁹ Excavation of kiln in 1967 by P. Mayes and D. C. Mynard: publication in preparation.

have used pottery from both, and from other kilns in eastern Northamptonshire as yet unidentified.

E. LYVEDEN WARE

This fine limestone-tempered glazed fabric was probably made at Lyveden; wasters have been found there,³⁰ one being in the possession of the late Mr. R. Cross. The ware has a buff to red surface with a grey core; it is tempered with plentiful fine limestone grits *c.* 0.5 mm. across.³¹ The glaze is generally olive-green; the characteristic decoration is of strips of white clay either stamped with a grid or a wheel pattern, or stabbed, and applied under the glaze (FIG. 57, nos. 92-4). Decorated jugs in this fabric are found in the E. midlands³² and as far north as S. Lincolnshire. It does not, however, seem to penetrate far south; out of numerous sherds examined from many sites in N. Buckinghamshire only one of this fabric has been found.³³ Perhaps this area was unpromising for the sale of Lyveden ware, since it was already well served with good-quality pottery from Potterspurty and to a lesser extent from Brill. 13th and 14th century.

SANDY WARES

F. COARSE SANDY FABRIC

Grey fabric with dark grey surface and occasionally red-brown margins; the surface is harsh to the touch. Wasters of a similar fabric have been found at a kiln site at Great Brickhill (Bucks.)³⁴ which is some twenty-six miles south of Wythemail. This fabric may come from Great Brickhill or from another nearer kiln as yet undiscovered. 13th and 14th century.

G. POTTERSPURY-TYPE WARE

Grey core with buff to pink smooth surface. It is exactly like the ware made at Potterspurty (Northants.)³⁵ which has a distribution in N. Buckinghamshire and S. Northamptonshire. Wythemail is only nineteen miles north-east of Potterspurty. The ware could also have been obtained in Northampton, the obvious market centre for Potterspurty. 13th and 14th century.

H. NUNEATON WARE

Several sherds of off-white fabric tempered with red-brown to grey grits, with mottled light green external glaze. A series of kilns producing a variety of fabrics was excavated at Chilvers Coton near Nuneaton in 1967 by P. Mayes.³⁶ Late 13th and 14th century.

I. BRILL-TYPE FABRIC

Fine sand-tempered creamy white fabric with mottled green glaze, typical of the products of the Brill kilns,³⁷ common in the Oxford area but traded over a large part of the country from Cambridge to Gloucester.³⁸ Late 13th and 14th century.

³⁰ J. M. Steane, 'Excavations at Lyveden 1965-7', *J. Northampton Museum and Art Gallery*, II (1967), 13. Hereafter called *Lyveden*.

³¹ Recently identified by Dr. Peacock; previously thought to be shell: *ibid.*, and J. G. Hurst in Mary D. Cra'ster, 'Waterbeach Abbey', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, LIX (1966), 89-94, discussion of distribution on p. 93.

³² J. G. Hurst, *op. cit.* in note 31.

³³ From a field near Lavendon Castle (N.G.R. SP 916546).

³⁴ By B. Blake and D. C. Mynard in 1957; sherds are in Buckinghamshire County Museum, acc. nos. 67 and 69, [19]62; 46, 70 and 71, [19]64.

³⁵ Sherds and wasters collected by D. C. Mynard from building sites and gardens in the village, and kiln excavated in 1970: publication forthcoming.

³⁶ Interim report in *Med. Archaeol.*, XII (1968), 208-10; sherds identified by R. Thomson and S. Moorhouse.

³⁷ E. M. Jope, 'Medieval pottery kilns at Brill, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks.*, XVI (1953-4), 39-42. Wasters from Brill in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are not from Professor Jope's excavation.

³⁸ E. M. Jope, 'Medieval pottery from Whittington Court Roman villa', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, LXXI (1952), 61-76, fig. 11.

J-L. MISCELLANEOUS SANDY FABRICS

Represented by only a few sherds, and identified as presumably non-local wares. 13th and 14th century.

J. Medium sand-tempered grey-buff fabric, possibly coarse version of type G.

K. Brown medium sand-tempered fabric.

L. Grey sandy fabric with buff surfaces and green glaze.

CATALOGUE OF POTTERY

The pottery is dealt with in four groups:

I. From period-I ditch sealed by the long-houses of periods II and III

II. Stratified, from buildings 1-6 on the S. part of the toft

III. From the buildings and yard surfaces

IV. Surface finds

Wares will be referred to by their fabric letter only (see above, pp. 182 ff.) unless the vessel varies considerably from the description given. All rim diameters are in centimetres with the prefix d. To avoid repetition shelly cooking-pot rims have been classified into nine types (Table I). This classification is used throughout the catalogue.

TABLE I. TYPE OF SHELLY COOKING-POT RIM

1. Simple rims slightly everted
2. Everted rounded rims
3. Everted with external bevel
4. Thickened with external bevel and undercut, hollow internally
5. Squared rims
6. Various flanged rims
7. Various rims with internal beading
8. Various rims with thumbled decoration
9. Upright rims with external cordon

GROUP I. POTTERY FROM THE PERIOD-I DITCH (FIG. 53, nos. 1-22)

This group is of late 12th- to early 13th-century date. The shelly cooking-pot rims, the bowls, the jug handles, and the decoration of applied strips and rouletting all derive from St. Neots ware forms³⁹ and continue in use into the 14th century.⁴⁰ The date of this group is that of the latest sherds, which must be those from decorated jugs in Lyveden ware (FIG. 53, no. 21). The earliest date for their use should be during the 1st half of the 13th century, when the ditch was sealed by the buildings erected over it.

SHELLY FABRICS (B, C and D)

The fabric is mainly coarse; only a few sherds have the distinctive soapy surfaces of B. *Cooking-pot rims* (FIG. 53, nos. 1-10) of the following types were found:

TABLE II

TYPE (TABLE I)	NUMBER FOUND AND FABRIC LETTER	
2	1 in B,	4 in C
3	3 in C,	1 in D
4	4 in C,	1 in D
5	4 in C,	1 in D
6	2 in C,	1 in D
7	1 in C,	1 in D

³⁹ J. G. Hurst, 'Saxo-Norman pottery in East Anglia', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, XLIX (1955), 43-70.

⁴⁰ The kiln excavated at Olney Hyde (see above, note 29) was producing jugs with similar handles and decoration; it belongs to the period 1250 to 1350.

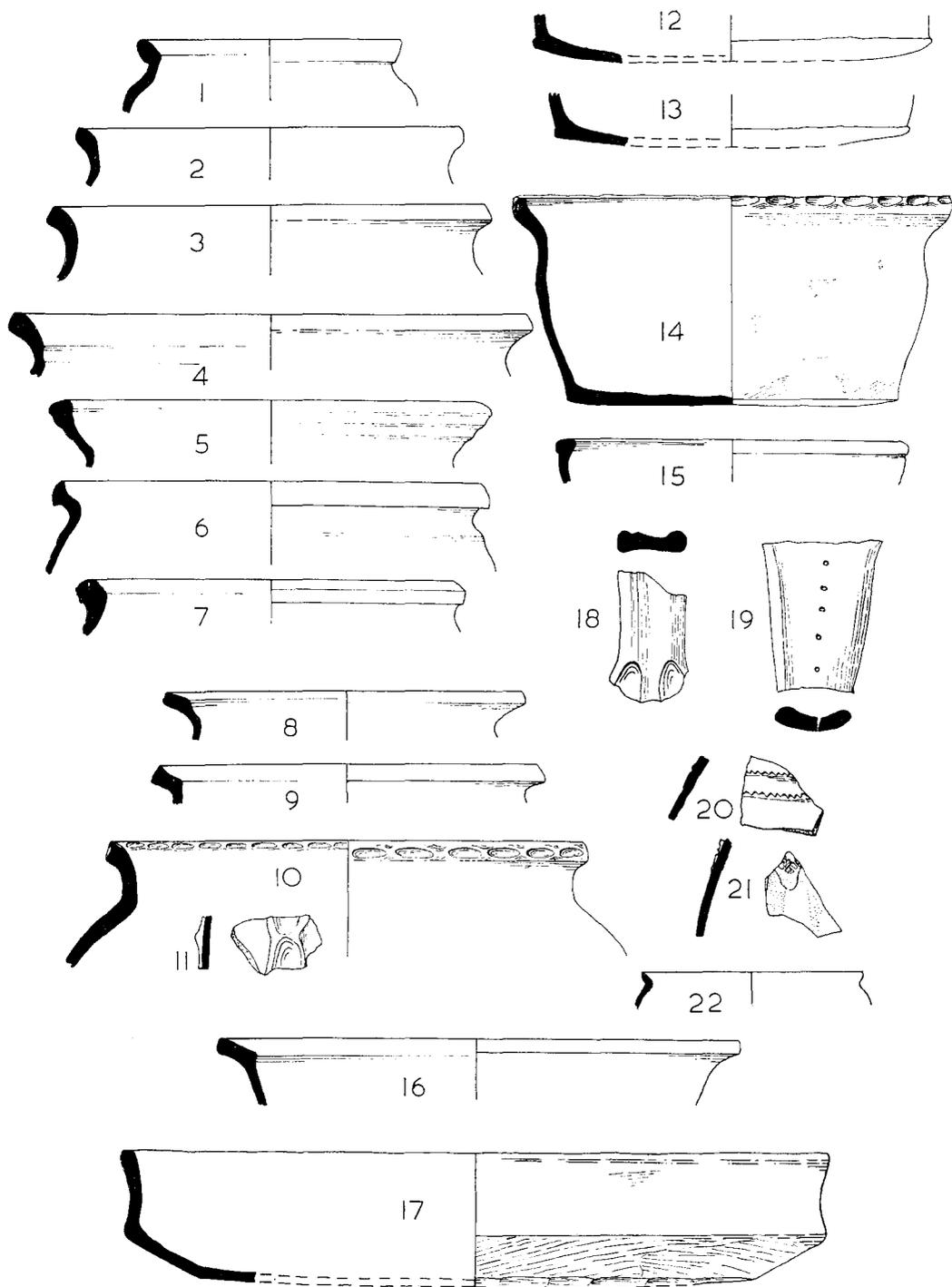


FIG. 53

WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Group-I pottery from period-I ditch, 13th century (pp. 184, 186). Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

TABLE III. DETAILS OF ILLUSTRATED SHERDS (FIG. 53)

NO.	TYPE	FABRIC	RIM DIAM. IN CM.	NO.	TYPE	FABRIC	RIM DIAM. IN CM.
1	2	B	15·3	6	4	D	25·5
2	2	C	22·5	7	5	C	22·5
3	3	C	25·8	8	6	C	21
4	3	D	30·3	9	6	C	23
5	4	C	25·8	10	8	D	28

There were 82 *wall-sherds* altogether, 69 in C, and 12 in D. One sherd, perhaps from a storage jar in C, was decorated with an applied strip running up the body (FIG. 53, no. 11). *Cooking-pot bases* were represented by 23 sherds, 1 in B, 18 in C, and 4 in D. They were all from sagging bases, apart from 2 in C which were flat; generally they had been smoothed off from underneath towards the side creating a slight projection at the basal angle (FIG. 53, nos. 12 and 13 in C, ds. 23·2 and 20·5).

Bowls (FIG. 53, nos. 14–17)

- 14 Sherds of deep bowl or cooking-pot in C, d. 25·4 cm., blackened on the shoulder and under the rim which is everted and upturned with a slight internal hollow; thumbed decoration around outer edge of rim; rough smoothing externally towards the base.
- 15 Inturned rim in C, d. 20·5 cm., with particularly dark surfaces.
- 16 Flanged rim in C, d. 30·3 cm.
- 17 Rim of bowl in C, d. 41 cm., but more sandy than usual, knife-trimmed around base. Rim, type 3, see Table I, p. 184.

Jugs (FIG. 53, nos. 18–20)

- Sherds of three strap-handles and one decorated wall-sherd were found.
- 18 Simple strap-handle with two thumb presses at base, fabric C, in form and decoration typical of the products of the Olney Hyde kiln.
 - 19 Simple strap-handle with stabbing, fabric D; the handle sprang from the rim; common at Olney Hyde among surface scatter.
Fragment of another strap-handle in fabric D, not illustrated.
 - 20 Wall-sherd, fabric C, with rouletted decoration of small triangles; this type of decoration was used at Olney Hyde, and is common in N. Buckinghamshire.

LYVEDEN WARE (E) (FIG. 53, no. 21)

- 21 Wall-sherd from jug with wheel-stamp decoration on applied strip under olive-green glaze (glaze shown dotted). There is a jug with similar decoration from Leicester.⁴¹
Six other wall-sherds from jugs, three with applied white strips.

POTTERSPURY-TYPE WARE (G) (FIG. 53, no. 22)

- 22 Rim of small cooking-pot, d. 12·8 cm., with internal green glaze.
Six other small wall-sherds.

OTHER FINDS OF PERIOD I

The pottery from the period-I post-holes will be described under fabric types under group III (pp. 188 ff.) (FIGS. 55–9, nos. 33, 49, 55, 59, 86, 101, 102, 109, 112, 117 and 123).

⁴¹ G. C. Dunning, 'Medieval pottery' in Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (Rep. Research Cttee. Soc. Antiq., xv, 1948), p. 244.

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GROUP II. STRATIFIED SHERDS FROM BUILDINGS 1-6 (FIG. 54, nos. 23-28)

PERIOD I

Under E. wall of building 1 (A4)

Fabric C, two sherds

Fabric G, rim of bowl, d. 30·6 cm. (FIG. 54, no. 28)

Under SE. wall of building 2 (B4)

Fabric C, two wall-sherds

Fabric E, rim of jug, d. 20·4 cm. (FIG. 54, no. 23)

Fabric G, two sherds, one of which joins sherd from core of NW. wall of building 2 (period II or earlier), below

Under wall of building 5 (c3)

Fabric C, four sherds

Fabric E, two sherds, one with applied strip

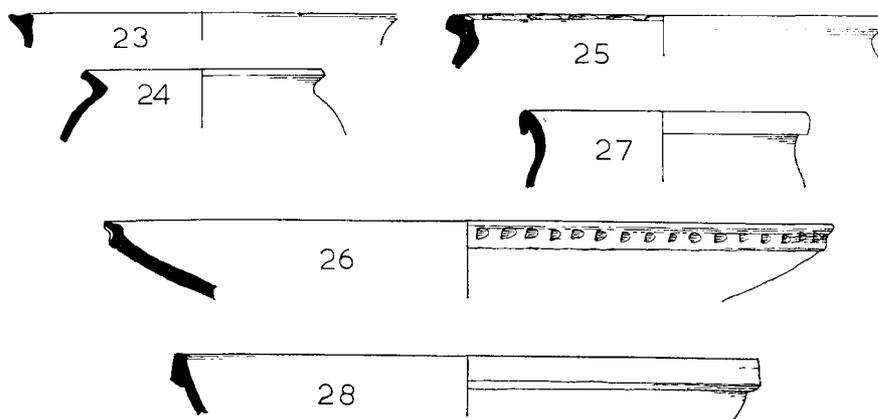


FIG. 54

WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Stratified sherds of group II from outbuildings, 13th to 14th century (p. 187 f.). Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

PERIOD II (OR EARLIER)

Core of NW. wall of building 2 (B4)

Fabric B, cooking-pot rim, type 6, d. 12·8 cm. (FIG. 54, no. 24)

Fabric C, cooking-pot rim, type 8, d. 23 cm. (FIG. 54, no. 25); five wall-sherds

Fabric E, one wall-sherd

Fabric F, one wall-sherd

Fabric G, one wall-sherd, joins with sherd from SE. wall of building 2 (period I), above

Core of SE. wall of building 2 (B4)

Fabric C, cooking-pot rim, type 5, d. 15·2 cm. (FIG. 54, no. 27)

PERIOD II

Core of wall added in SW. corner of building 2 (B4)

Fabric D, rim of bowl, inturned with thumbing around outer edge, d. 38 cm.
(FIG. 54, no. 26)

Under wall projecting from centre of SE. wall of building 2 (B4)

Fabric D, two sherds
Fabric F, one sherd

Under SE. wall of building 3 (B4)

Fabric C, seven sherds
Fabric D, one sherd
Fabric E, one sherd with applied strip

PERIOD III

Core of NW. wall of building 3 (B4)

Fabric C, two sherds, one from sagging base

Core of SE. wall of building 3 (B4)

Fabric C, two sherds

GROUP III. POTTERY FROM BUILDINGS AND YARD SURFACES

(FIGS. 55-9, nos. 29-125)

This group includes pottery used during the occupation of the buildings in the late 13th and 14th centuries, together with some residual material. As there are no obvious differences in date amongst this pottery, which is all rather loosely associated with various features, it will be described under fabrics (see above, pp. 182 ff.) with cross-references to features and structures in the main text, and from the main text to the pottery section in the dating paragraphs on each building or period.

Of a total of 3,580 sherds, 2,788 were of shelly fabrics (B, C and D) and the remainder were of non-shelly fabrics in the following proportions: G, 455; E, 212; F, 94; I, 13; H, 10; J, 6; A, 2. The bulk of the shelly ware was of fabric D, suggesting that shelly wares became coarser during the 13th and 14th centuries in this area. The next largest group (G) confirms that most of the fine ware on the site came from Potterspury, although a fair proportion came from Lyveden (E). It is likely that Potterspury ware was produced on a much larger scale than Lyveden ware, and that apart from being of a superior fabric it could be offered at more competitive prices. The coarse sandy ware (F) does not appear in large quantity. It may not, therefore, be a local ware and might come from Great Brickhill, some twenty-six miles away. The remaining fine wares are all presumably non-local, being represented by only a few sherds each.

SHELLY FABRICS (B, C and D)

Cooking-pot rims (FIG. 55, nos. 29-53)

TABLE IV. NUMBER FOUND OF EACH RIM TYPE IN THE THREE FABRICS

FABRIC	RIM TYPE (SEE TABLE I, p. 184)								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
B	4	13		10			2		
C	1	6	4	5	3	3	6	8	
D		5	3	4				3	16

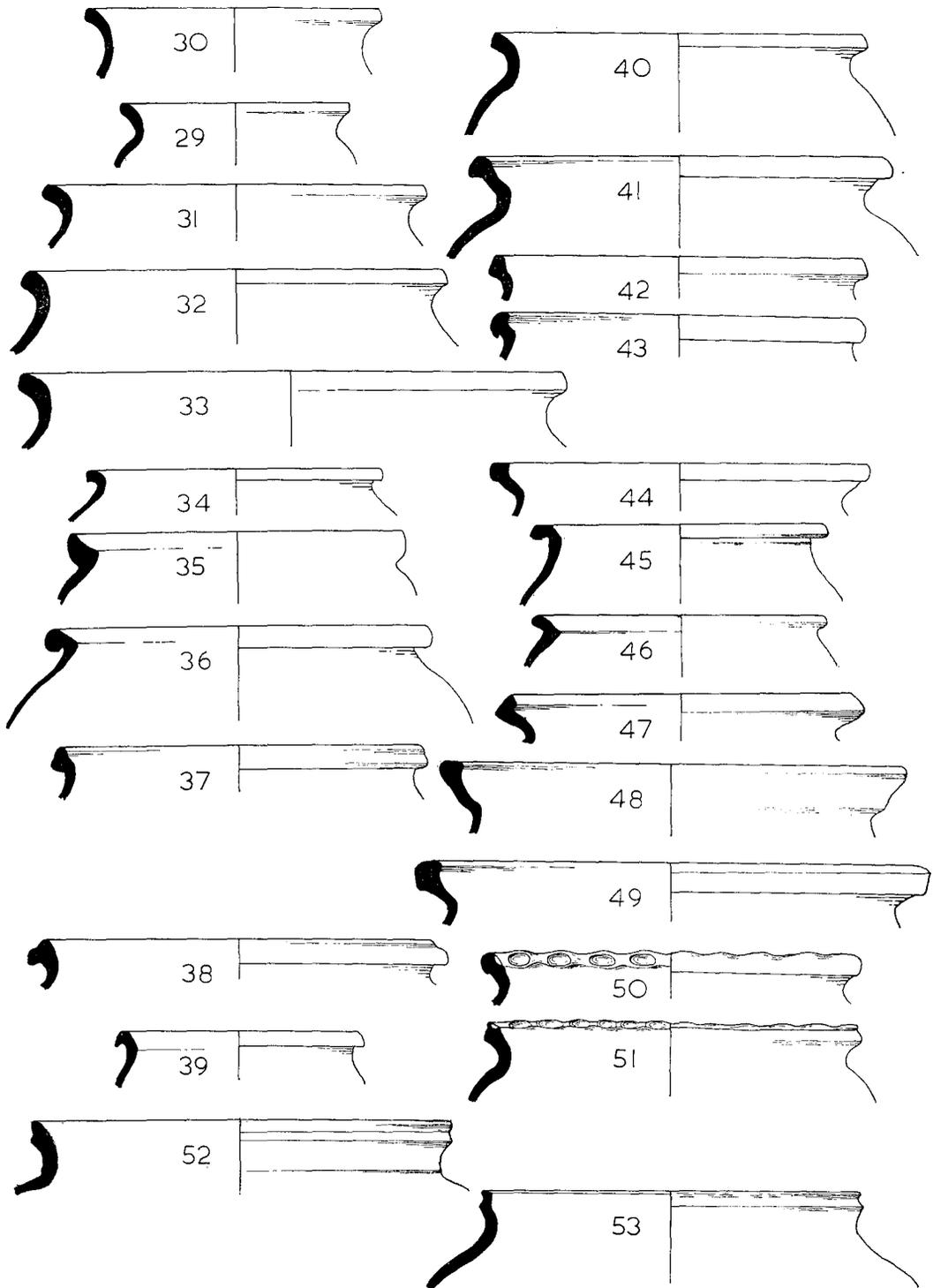


FIG. 55

WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Shelly cooking-pots of group III from various buildings and yard surfaces, 13th to 14th century
(pp. 188, 190). Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

TABLE V. DETAILS OF ILLUSTRATED SHERDS (FIG. 55)

NO.	RIM TYPE	FABRIC	DIAMETER IN CM.	POSITION
29	1	B	13.9	Building 4
30	1	C	17.8	Period-III yard
31	2	B	23.2	Building 3
32	2	B	25.8	Building 4
33	2	B	33.0	Period-I post-hole (A4)
34	3	D	17.9	Period-III yard
35	2	C	20.4	Period-III living-room
36	2	C	23.4	On period-III wall
37	3	C	22.8	By building 3
38	3	C	25.4	Period-II N. yard
39	3 (undercut)	C	15.2	By building 3
40	3	D	22.6	By building 2
41	4	D	25.5	Period-III yard
42	4	D	23.0	By building 2
43	4	C	22.5	By building 1
44	5	C	22.9	Period-III robber-trench
45	6	C	18.0	Period-II byre
46	7	C	17.7	Building 4
47	7	B	22.0	Period-III cross-passage
48	7	C	28.0	Period-II living-room
49	7	C	30.4	Period-I post-hole (A4)
50	8	C	22.8	Building 2
51	8	C	22.6	Period-III living-room
52	9	C	25.2	On period-III wall
53	9	D	23.0	Period-III yard

Bowls (FIG. 56, nos. 54-61)

Five types of rim were found:

1. Turned
2. Turned with external bead
3. Thickened upright
4. Upright with external cordon
5. As 4, but with thumbled decoration externally

TABLE VI. NUMBER FOUND OF EACH RIM TYPE IN THE THREE FABRICS

FABRIC	RIM TYPE				
	1	2	3	4	5
B	2	4	3		
C					
D			5	7	12

TABLE VII. DETAILS OF ILLUSTRATED SHERDS (FIG. 56)

NO.	RIM TYPE	FABRIC	DIAMETER IN CM.	POSITION
54	1	B	35.3	Path over building 3
55	1	B	30.2	Period-I post-hole (A3)
56	2	B	27.8	Period-III yard
57	4	D	42.7	By building 2
58	3	B	30.3	Period-III yard
59	3	D	35.4	Period-I post-hole (B3)
60	4	D	40.2	By building 2
61	5	D	40.4	Period-III living-room

Jugs (FIG. 56-7, nos. 62-70)

- 62 Part of strap-handle with wide groove down centre and thumbing at sides, fabric B. Building 2

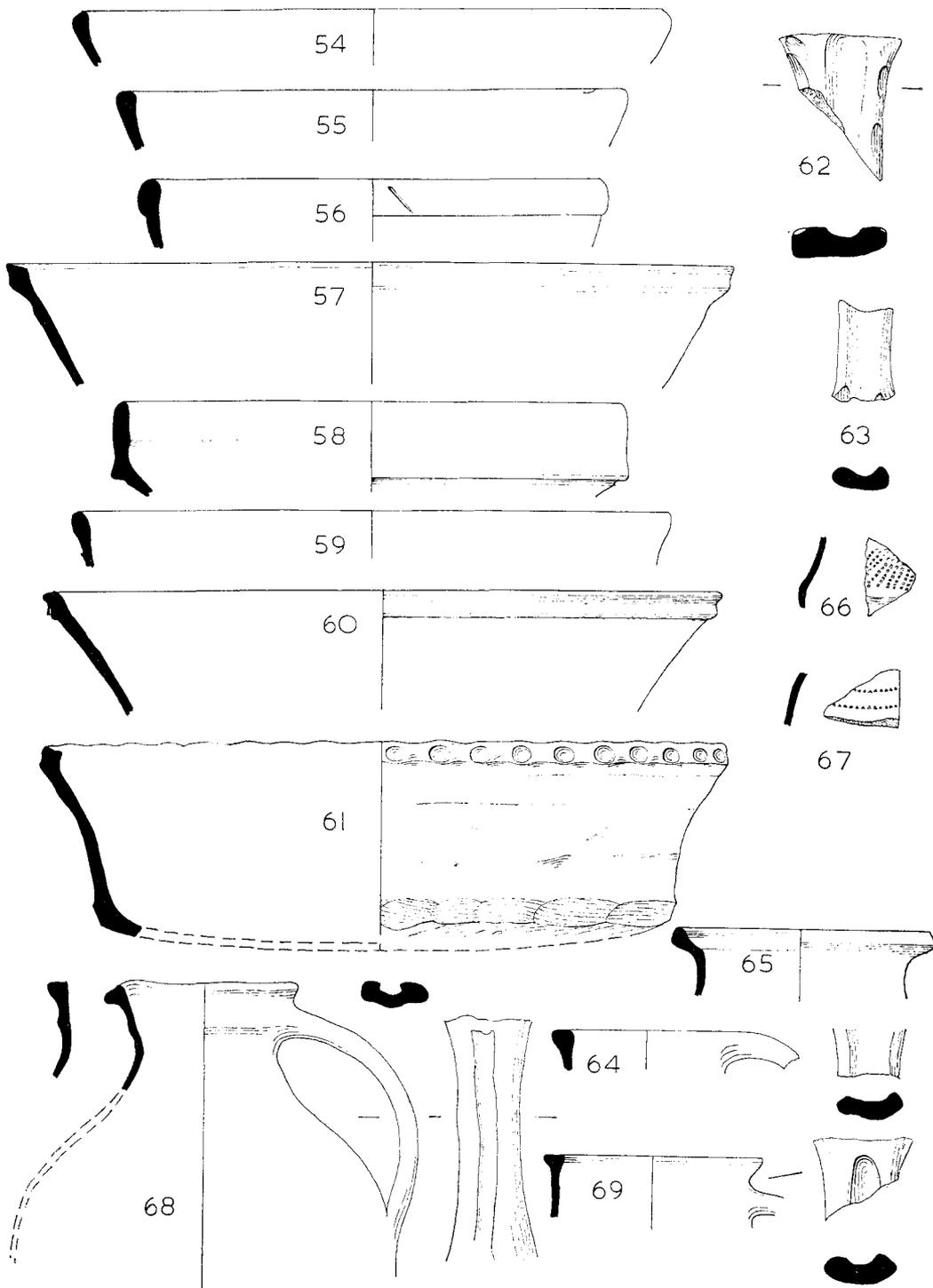


FIG. 56
 WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Shelly bowls and jugs of group III from various buildings and yard surfaces, 13th to 14th century
 (pp. 190, 192) Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

- 63 Part of narrow strap-handle, fabric B. Building 6
 64 Part of strap-handle which springs from rim, fabric C. Building 2
 Sherds of two others not illustrated
 65 Everted rim, d. 15·1 cm., fabric C. Period-III robber-trench
 One other sherd not illustrated
 66 Wall-sherd with rouletted decoration. Period-III yard
 67 Wall-sherd with rouletted decoration. Period-III N. yard
 68 Rim, d. 15·1 cm., fabric D, with grooved strap-handle. Period-III yard
 Four other sherds not illustrated, two of which are like no. 64 above. All in fabric D
 69 Rim, d. 12·8 cm., fabric D. Period-III yard
 70 Base of jug or bottle, d. 6 cm., fabric D. Building 2
 All are typical of the products of the kiln at Olney Hyde, apart from no. 68, which does not have the characteristic thumb presses at the junction of handle and body.

Decorated wall-sherds (FIG. 57, nos. 73-7). Nos. 71-2 are not illustrated, as they are similar to nos. 74-5.

TABLE VIII. NUMBER OF DECORATED SHERDS FOUND IN EACH FABRIC (FIG. 57)

DECORATION TECHNIQUE	FABRIC FOLLOWED BY NO.		
	B	C	D
Applied vertical strips			3(73)
Horizontal rouletting	1(71)	2(72, 74)	2(75)
Combed wavy line, horizontal			1(76)
Fine horizontal rilling		1	
Knife-slashing			1(77)

Applied vertical strips are found on storage jars at Lyveden and Olney Hyde. Horizontal rouletting was used on a small proportion of the jugs produced at Olney but was not found at Lyveden in the 1965-7 excavations. Knife-slashing is rarely seen on shelly fabrics in this area, but is so common on the finer wares from Brill and Potterspury that it is bound to have been copied.

Nos. 71, 74 and 75, from period-III yard; no. 72, in building 4; no. 73, from period-III byre; no. 76, by building 2; no. 77, by building 3

Bung-hole (FIG. 57, no. 78)

- 78 Sherd from bung-hole jar, in fabric C but rather soapy surface and less shell than usual, decorated with stab marks; the type is common at Lyveden. 13th to 14th century. Period-III yard

Shelly bases

Thirty-four sherds from bases were found of which half were in fabric C and the remainder in fabric D. Most of those in C are similar to those from the ditch (FIG. 53, nos. 13 and 14); those in D do not have the slight projection at the basal angle created by smoothing off the under side. All are from sagging bases.

LYVEDEN WARE (E)

Cooking-pots (FIG. 57, nos. 79-81)

Three rim types were found; all are common at Lyveden.

- 79 Flanged rim with rounded under side, grooves around top edge, d. 23 cm. Building 4. Cf. *Lyveden* (*op. cit.* in note 30), fig. 5, *d* and *e*
 80 Flanged rim sloping down internally, green glaze internally, d. 20·5 cm. Building 3. Cf. *Lyveden*, fig. 5, *c*.

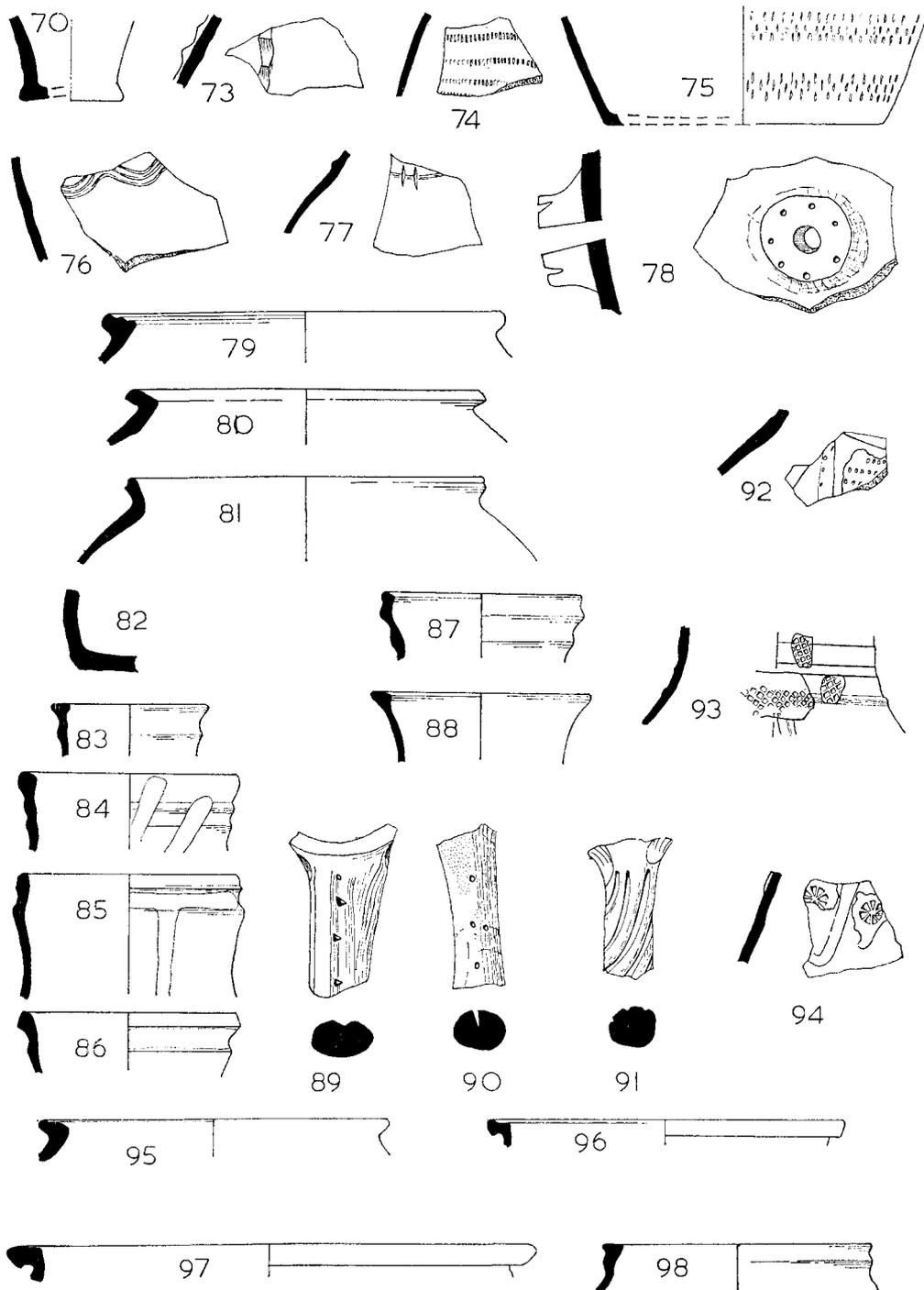


FIG. 57
WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Group-III pottery from various buildings and yard surfaces, 13th to 14th century: nos. 70-8, decorated shelly jugs; nos. 79-94, jugs in Lyveden ware; nos. 95-8, cooking-pots in coarse sandy ware (pp. 192, 194 f.). Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

- 81 Upright rim with external collar, d. 20·5 cm. Period-III yard. Cf. *Lyveden*, fig. 4, *a-f*, for the general type which is characteristic of Lyveden products.

Bowl (FIG. 57, no. 82)

- 82 Rim of fish dish with internal green-brown glaze, d. uncertain. Period-III yard. Not paralleled at Lyveden

Jugs (FIG. 57, nos. 83-94)

Six rims were found (FIG. 57, nos. 83-8):

- 83 Flat top with bead below externally and hollow internally, d. 9 cm. Period-III yard
 84 Similar, with rounded top, painted lines of white slip, d. 12·8 cm. Period-III yard
 85 Upright with external bead, white slip around neck between bead and top of rim, vertical line of slip down neck, d. 13 cm. Period-III byre
 86 Square with external bead, white slip around neck, d. 12·8 cm. Period-I post-hole (B3)
 87 Everted and more angular than before, collar around top and bevel below, d. 11·5 cm. Period-II yard
 88 Everted flat top with internal brown glaze, d. 12·7 cm. Period-III yard

Several of the rims have simple pulled-out lips; none appears very similar to the types illustrated in *Lyveden*.

There are two main types of *handle* (FIG. 57, nos. 89-91), which can be further subdivided by technique of decoration:

1. Rod-handles

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>a.</i> With triangular stab-marks | <i>c.</i> Plain |
| <i>b.</i> With round stab-marks | <i>d.</i> Twisted |

2. Strap-handles

- a.* With knife-slashing

- 89 Type 1, *a.* Two examples, both riveted to body. Period-III byre. Cf. *Lyveden*, fig. 2, *a*
 90 Type 1, *b.* Five examples with evidence of riveting. Period-III yard. Cf. *Lyveden*, fig. 2, *b* and *d*, but more round and less oval in section
 Type 1, *c.* one example, not illustrated, pushed on to body and secured by stabbing through the body from inside
 91 Type 1, *d.* one example, not paralleled at Lyveden but characteristic of East Anglian jug handles. Period-II living-room

Type 2, *a.* two small sherds, not illustrated. Cf. *Lyveden*, fig. 1, *c-g*. This type of decoration is common on Brill and Potterspurty wares.

Of forty *wall-sherds* found only eleven were decorated. This (FIG. 57, nos. 92-4) took the form of strips applied under the glaze, with three types of ornament:

- a.* Simple stabbing. No. 92 is typical, from building 3. Four examples
b. Grid stamp. No. 93, from path over building 3. Five examples
c. Wheel stamp. No. 94, from period-III yard. Two examples

Plain sherds in this ware were found at Lyveden. Decoration *b* is found on a jug of this ware at Waterbeach Abbey,⁴² and *c* on a jug not of this ware at Leicester,⁴³ both of which belong to the 14th century.

Twelve flat *base-sherds* were found; none is illustrated.

⁴² *Op. cit.* in note 32, fig. 11, no. 21.

⁴³ *Loc. cit.* in note 41.

COARSE SANDY FABRIC (F)

Cooking-pots, bowls and jugs were made in this ware; knife-trimming was frequently used in finishing off the bases.

Cooking-pot rims (FIG. 57, nos. 95-98)

These are of three types:

1. Flanged. No. 95, d. 20·1 cm., from building 3. One other example
2. Flanged and undercut. No. 96, d. 20·2 cm., from period-II byre; no. 97, d. 30·3 cm., from building 6. One other similar
3. Upright with external bead and internal hollow. No. 98, d. 15·2 cm., from period-III wall. One other similar

Bowls (FIG. 58, nos. 99-104)

Five rim types were found:

1. Straight-sided. No. 99, d. 40·6 cm., by building 3. One example
2. Rounded external bead. No. 100, d. 40·1 cm., from period-II byre. One example
3. Thickened with internal hollow. No. 101, d. 23·3 cm., from period-I post-hole (A2). Two examples
4. Undercut bead. No. 102, d. 43·4 cm., from period-I post-hole (B3). One example
5. Pointed flange. No. 103, d. 17·8 cm., from period-III yard; no. 104, d. 46 cm., from period-III yard. One other example

Jugs

No rims or handles of jugs were found in this ware but several wall-sherds (not illustrated) were decorated with horizontal grooves around the shoulder.

Base-sherds

Three base-sherds come from sagging-base cooking-pots or jugs; all were knife-trimmed.

POTTERSPURY-TYPE WARE (E)

Cooking-pot rims (FIG. 58, nos. 105-108)

The most common rim form is everted with an internal hollow and generally with a rounded external bead (no. 105, d. 15·1 cm., seven examples), but sometimes the bead is pointed (no. 106, d. 20·5 cm., two examples). Another rim is everted and upturned (no. 107, d. 20·7 cm.). An almost complete cooking-pot (no. 108, d. 22·2 cm.) has a rim like no. 105, with internal green glaze at the base, rilling on the body and knife-trimming towards the base. These rim forms are common at Potterspury and in N. Buckinghamshire.⁴⁴

No. 105, by building 2; no 106, by building 5; no. 107, in building 5; no. 108, from period-II cross-passage

Bowls (FIG. 58, nos. 109-112)

Four types of rim were found:

1. Upright with flattened bead. No. 109, d. 22·8 cm., from period-I post-hole (B3). One example
2. Similar with squared-off bead. No. 110, d. 38 cm., from building 2. Three examples
3. Flattened external bead and internal hollow. No. 111, d. 38·3 cm., from period-III yard. Two examples
4. Flanged. No. 112, d. 35·4 cm., from period-I post-hole (A3). Five examples

⁴⁴ D. C. Mynard, 'Medieval pottery from Stantonbury, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks.*, forthcoming.

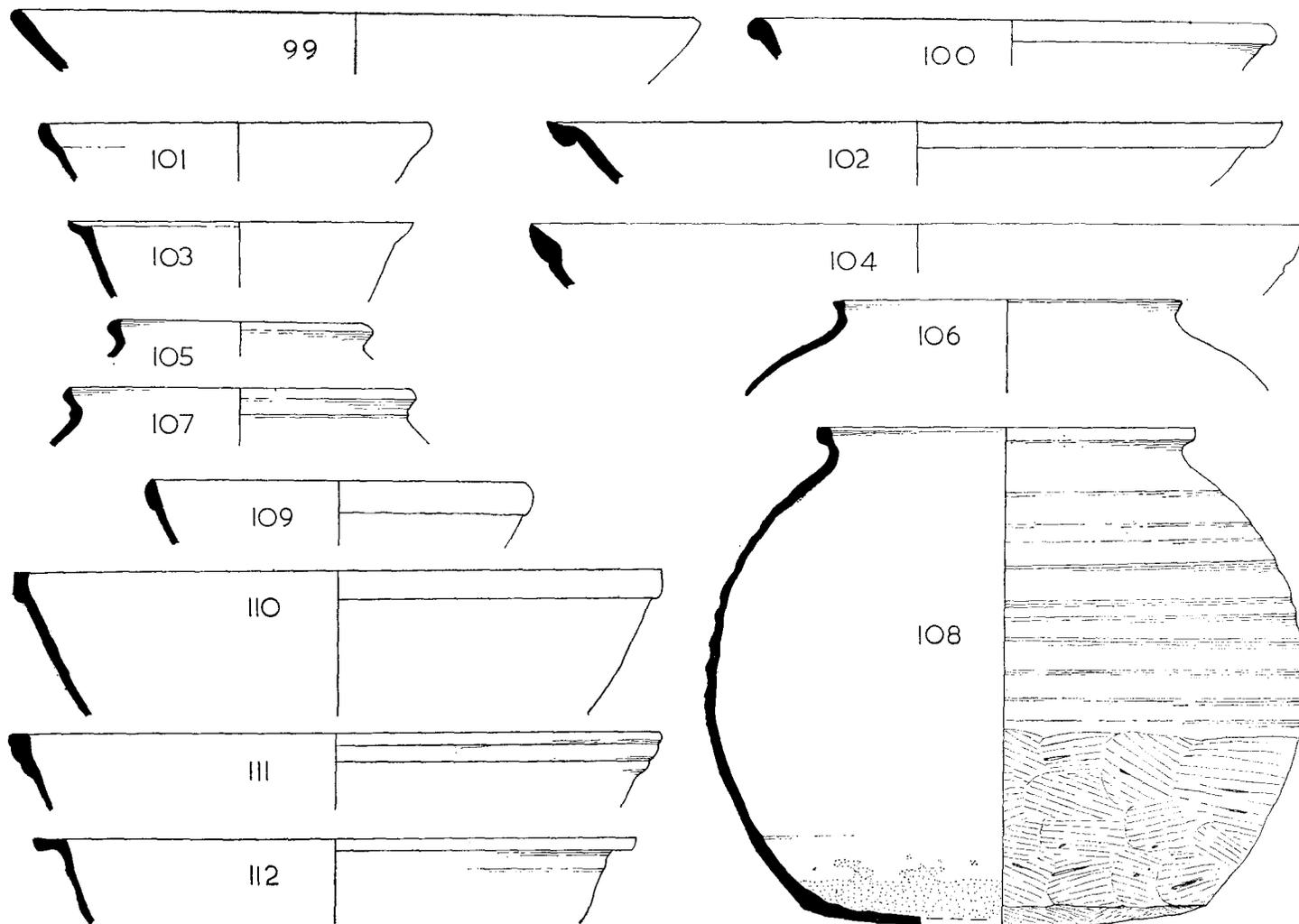


FIG. 58

WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Group-III pottery from various buildings and yard surfaces, 13th to 14th century: nos. 99-104, bowls in coarse sandy ware; nos. 105-12, Potterspurty-type ware (pp. 195, 197). Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

Like the cooking-pot rims all are paralleled at Pottersbury and in N. Buckinghamshire.

Jugs (FIG. 59, nos. 113-121)

113 Square rim, d. 10.4 cm. Building 2. Two others similar

All the *handles* are of strap type with knife-slashing and stabbing.

114 Stabbed strap-handle with olive-green glaze, pink surface. Period-III yard. One example

115 Similar but wider. Period-III yard

116 Knife-slashing down centre groove, stabbing down sides, pink surface. Period-III yard. One example.

117 Rim, 10.2 cm., and part of handle with row of knife-slash marks across top. Period-I post-hole (A2)

118 Lower part of similar handle. By building 2. Two similar.

119 Bottom of handle with knife-slashing. Period-III yard

120 Handle with knife-slashing down centre and groove down each side. By building 6

Of these handles nos. 117, 118 and 119 are paralleled at Pottersbury, where the typical decoration is a row of vertical knife-slashes across the top and bottom of the handle with oblique slash marks running down the handle. Nos. 114 and 116 have stabbing as well as slashing; this is not common at Pottersbury but has been noticed on a handle of this ware from Stoke Goldington (Bucks.).⁴⁵ No. 120, in addition to oblique knife-slashing down the centre, has a groove down either side. This groove is typical of the products of Brill and may mean that this handle came from the Brill kilns; its fabric, however, is not distinguishable from ware of Pottersbury type on visual examination alone.

Several *wall-sherds* were found, all with patchy light-green glaze. Some have finger-rilling, which is typical of sherds in this ware found at Stantonbury.

Thirteen *base-sherds* from apparently flat bases were found; all were knife-trimmed. Another was a baluster type (no. 121, d. 15.5 cm., from period-II cross-passage).

Miscellaneous sherds

Fragment of skillet handle with end turned under, and sherd, d. 12 cm. and 3.7 cm. thick, possibly knob from lid.

NUNEATON WARE (H) (FIG. 59, no. 122)

122 Two sherds from jug with incised wavy-line decoration and mottled green glaze. Period-II cross-passage. Typical of the products of kiln 6 at Chilvers Coton during 1st half of 13th century.

Another sherd with similar decoration has applied red-brown strip and yellow-green glaze, typical of the products of kiln 7. Another seven sherds were like Nuneaton ware but not positively identified.

BRILL-TYPE FABRIC (I) (FIG. 59, no. 123)

Baluster base (no. 123, d. 15.4 cm., from period-I post-hole (A2)) and five wall-sherds from jug with mottled light green glaze.

Seven sherds from neck of jug (not illustrated), fine sandy orange ware with green-brown glaze and rilling on shoulder, are exactly similar to Brill wasters in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ From ploughed house-platforms in Dag Lane, and preserved with other sherds in the village school.

⁴⁶ Examined through the kindness of Mr. D. Hinton.

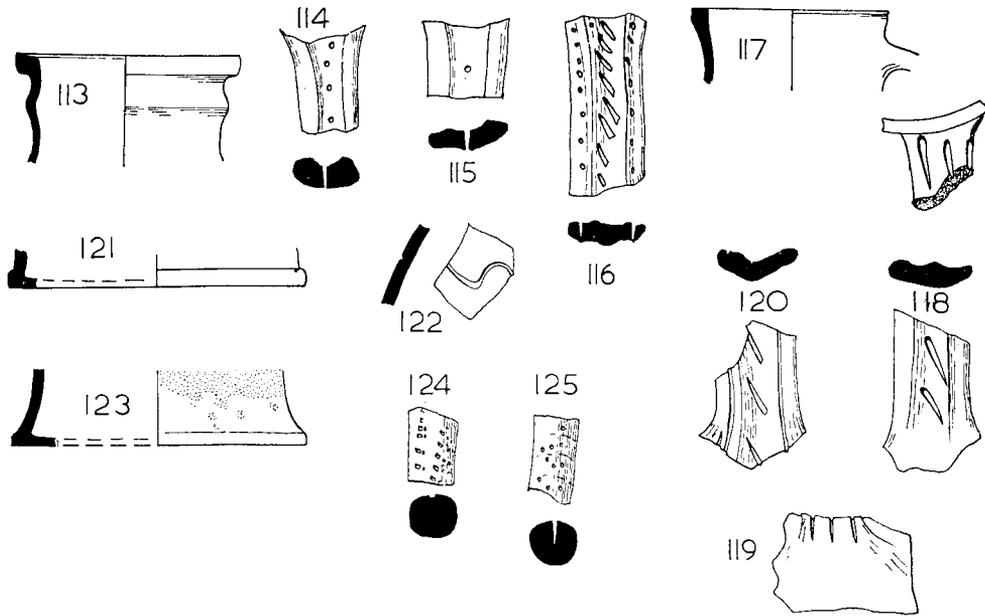


FIG. 59

WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Group-III pottery from various buildings and yard surfaces, 13th to 14th century: nos. 113-22, jugs in Potterspurty-type ware; no. 123, jug in Brill-type ware; nos. 124-5, miscellaneous sandy wares (p. 197 f.).
Sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

MISCELLANEOUS FABRICS (J, K and L) (FIG. 59, nos. 124-5)

J. Four sherds

K. Rod-handle, no. 124, with rouletted decoration. By building 2

L. Stabbed rod-handle, no. 125. By building 3

GROUP IV. SURFACE FINDS

This group includes two sherds of Stamford ware. Other sherds of fabrics B to G confirm the dating evidence for the occupation of the site from the 12th to the 14th century, as suggested by the pottery from Groups I, II and III.

STONE

In addition to the usual building stone, that is limestone and ironstone (see above, p. 169), Dr. F. W. Anderson reports the presence of a number of boulders from the Drift (selected quartz pebbles, etc.). Built into the wall of the main building, in square c2, was a fragment of barytes. This almost certainly also came from the Drift.

WHETSTONES (FIG. 60, nos. 1-4)

Miss Helen A. H. MacDonald, then of the Petrographical Department of the Geological Survey and Museum, reports that three of the whetstones are mica-schist erratics of Scottish or Scandinavian origin:

1. Yard south of period-III long-house (A2)
2. Road over building 5 (c3)
4. Period-I pit or post-hole (A3)

Two other fragments of schist whetstones (identified by Dr. F. W. Anderson) are not illustrated. One comes from the centre of the house in square B2, the other from the corner of the wall in A2.

Miss MacDonal reports that another fragment is a fine-grained micaceous sandstone, probably an erratic of Coal Measure sandstone from the Pennines.

3. South-east of building 5 (c3)

FLINTS

Four flints were found scattered over different parts of the site. Mr. R. M. Robertson-Mackay reports that three of them are struck flint flakes of indeterminate date. Their presence may indicate a prehistoric, possibly post-mesolithic, occupation-site, but if so one would expect to find many more than three. They are not implements.

The presence of these flakes without any definite signs of prehistoric occupation raises the question whether they may be medieval. Several examples have been found on medieval sites.⁴⁷ It is possible that the medieval villagers collected them as curiosities or that they used flint for limited purposes. This question might well be examined further.

COPPER ALLOY (FIG. 60, nos. 5-11)⁴⁸

- 5 Remaining half of a simple buckle-plate. Cross-passage of period-II long-house (A2)
- 6 Length of strip, possibly fragment of bowl. Yard north of period-III long-house (c1)
- 7 Buckle. Living-room of period-II long-house (B2). Although traces of tin or alloy (identified by Mr. G. C. Morgan) remain now only in the valleys of the decoration, microscopical examination shows the object was once plated all over.
- 8 Chape. Cross-passage of period-II long-house (B2). Earthy filling contains charred and part-bloated fibrous residues, probably leather.
- 9 Fragment of cast rim of bowl. Living-room of period-III long-house. Thick layer of (?fuel) soot on outside, and traces inside
- 10 Fragment of bowl. Yard south of period-III long-house (A2)
- 11 Possibly part of platter or flat rim of dish. Yard south of period-III long-house (A3)

IRON (FIG. 60, nos. 12-15)

- 12 Hook. Byre of period-II long-house (B3). From appearance of surfaces and (minute) traces of charred fibrous residues (almost certainly of wood) passage through a fire is indicated. It would seem from residues on upper nail that woody grain was running across its length; on lower nail they curve 'upwards' towards the head. In either case, it is impossible to determine direction of grain relative to plate since exact (rotary) position of nail in hole is not known. However, the grain on lower nail, provided it is not due to distortion during hammering, would seem to suggest that woody residues had decayed and object had probably been removed from structure before it passed through fire. From present evidence, state of preservation (despite known effects of fire), nature of metal, letter on nail head and (one) countersunk hole, all combine to throw doubt on the antiquity of this object.
- 13 Rowel-spur. Building 3 (B4). No traces of non-ferrous metal
- 14 Part of ?spur-buckle. Building 3 (B4). Found with no. 13 and may belong.

⁴⁷ A worked flint was found at the manor of Northolt (Mdx.), not as a stray find but firmly stratified on a 14th-century floor level. This part of the site has not yet been published, but see *Med. Archaeol.*, v (1961), 211-99.

⁴⁸ We are grateful to Mr. L. Biek for technical comments on the metal finds.

- 15 Single-edged hunting-knife. Living-room of period-III long-house (A2). Copious vegetable debris mineralized into corrosion products suggests burial with decaying 'grass' (i.e. in ?rubbish-pit, ?ditch). Handle was almost certainly removed before burial. Such vestigial traces of it as remain, on tang and (copper alloy) guard, suggest tang was 'cemented' into bone, rather than driven into wood.

Other ironwork, not illustrated, includes the following:

- a. Period II. *Hook-shaped ?fitting*, possibly bent (10 by 1 by 0.6 cm.) with 'shoulder' between 'hook' and very short 'tang'; cross-passage of long-house (B3), with nos. 5 and 6. *Horseshoe fragment* (6.5 by 2.2 by 0.6 cm.), with one square hole and edge of another; byre (B3), with no. 11.

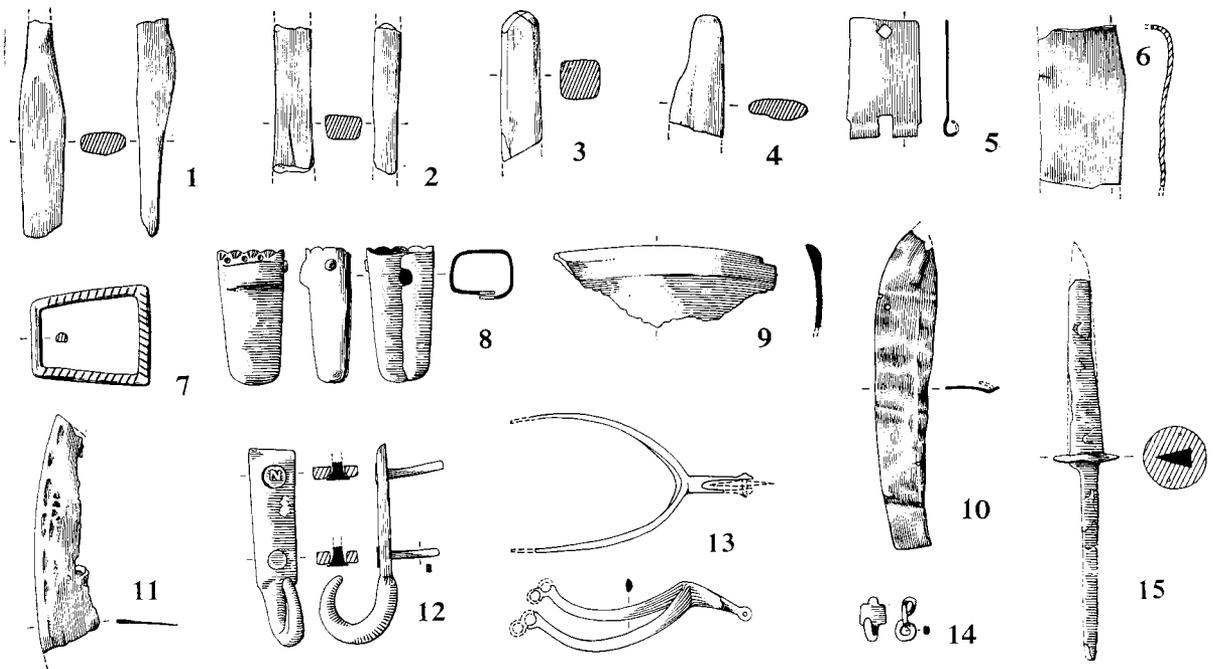


FIG. 60

STONE AND METAL OBJECTS, WYTHEMAIL, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (pp. 198 ff.)

Nos. 1-4, whetstones, sc. $\frac{1}{4}$; nos. 5-10, objects of copper alloy, sc. $\frac{1}{2}$; nos. 11-15, objects of iron, sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

- b. Period III. *Fiddle-key-shaped fitting* (3.2 cm. long), with irregular pentagonal head, square hole punched through centre, slightly tapered curve at end; yard south of long-house (A2). *Nail* (7.5 cm. long), with large head (3.5 by 3.0 cm.) and *horseshoe fragment* (6 by 2.5 by 0.5 cm.), with edge of one ?square hole (C1) and *horseshoe fragment* (8 by 2.5 by 0.3 cm.), with two rectangular holes (A1); all from yard north of long-house. *Small axe-head* (5 by 3 max. by 1 cm. max.); outside N. door of long-house (B1). *?Horseshoe fragment* (6 by 2 by 0.8 cm. max.) and *small fragment of ?fitting* (3.5 by 1.2 by 0.7 cm.), reminiscent of a fragment of ?terret ring; living-room of long-house (B2), with nos. 9 and 15. *Door hasp* (11.5 by 3 by 1 cm. max.); on threshold of door between two rooms in long-house (B2).

c. From building 1. *Fiddle-key-shaped fitting* (head flat, 2 cm. diam.), shank rectangular in section (0.7 by 0.5 cm.; total length 3.2 cm.), with two symmetrically placed holes in head (2 by 1 mm.) containing remains of non-ferrous rivets (from X-radiograph), possibly part of ?chest binding or similar; (A4).

ANIMAL REMAINS, by R. A. Harcourt

INTRODUCTION

The bone material was in two groups, from the 13th-century ditch of period I and from the 13th- and 14th-century long-houses and yards of period II. The period-I collection weighed only 2 lb.; the species present were cattle, sheep and dog. The other group weighed 20 lb. and there were the usual four species of farm animals (sheep, pig, cattle, horse), together with dog and domestic fowl. The wild species were red deer, roe-deer and hare.

METHOD

All measurements are in millimetres to the nearest millimetre.

Proximal and distal widths are measured across articular surfaces only. The ageing of animals has been based on the eruption and degree of wear of teeth and the fusion of the epiphyses of long bones without any attempt to express ages in years but merely in age-groups—juvenile, young adult and mature adult.

DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL

WILD ANIMALS

The remains of both species of deer consisted only of a few teeth together with the cast antler of a first-season roe-buck. This seems to suggest that the carcasses were not consumed on the site. Several long bones and part of the skull of the hare suggest that it was consumed on the site.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Dog

The dog was represented in the period-I collection by a single damaged bone. This was an ulna very similar in size to that of a labrador. The 13th- to 14th-century remains were more numerous but probably all came from the same animal, a dog as big as a large Alsatian, or possibly from a wolf, which cannot always be certainly distinguished on bone evidence. It is interesting that a canid metatarsal (100 mm.), quite large enough to be a wolf was found at Gomeldon,⁴⁹ a site of similar date to Wythemail. As the earliest date given for the extinction of the wolf in England is the end of the 13th century,⁵⁰ this is historically possible. A later date, between 1485 and 1509, is given by Harting.⁵¹

Sheep

A minimum of five animals is represented.

There were no remains of juvenile animals. The fact that the lower third molars present are all, with one exception, fully erupted and show wear on all three cusps indicates fully mature adult animals. This is supported by the fusion of the proximal epiphyses of the humerus and tibia and the distal epiphyses of the radius.

Measurements are shown in the following table:

⁴⁹ R. A. Harcourt in J. Musty and D. Algar, 'The excavations at the deserted mediaeval village site of Gomeldon', *Salisbury Mus. Res. Citee, Interim Rep.*, III (1966).

⁵⁰ H. A. Macpherson, *Fauna of Lakeland* (Edinburgh, 1892), xiv, cited by J. W. Jackson, *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Archaeol. Soc.*, n.s. xiv (1914), 262-71.

⁵¹ J. E. Harting, *Extinct British Animals* (London, 1880), p. 150, cited by J. W. Jackson, *loc. cit.* in note 49.

TABLE IX. MEASUREMENTS OF LONG BONES OF SHEEP

	tl ⁵²	pw	msd	dw	
Humerus	—	—	—	24-28(6)	Wythemail
	130	—	15	28	Soay ram 0·361†
	123	—	11	26	Soay ewe 63·10†
Radius	136	26	16	23	Wythemail
	140	25	15	22	„
	—	29·30(3)	—	—	„
	145	31	21	22	Soay ram 0·361†
Metacarpal	133	—	14	26	Soay ewe 63·10†
	113	20	13	21	Wythemail
	111	20	11	21	Soay ewe 63·10†
	—	—	—	—	„

† 0·361, University of London, Institute of Archaeology collection; 63·10, my private collection

Pig

This species provided only twelve fragmented specimens.

Cattle

The remains of not less than five animals were present.

Two of these were fully mature adults, one a young adult and one a young calf which was so small that to have killed it deliberately for meat would have been pointless. It therefore probably died naturally.

The few measurements that were possible are shown in Table X, together with those of similar bones from other sites and a comparable modern breed—the Chillingham cow which stands *c.* 4 ft. at the shoulder (122 cm.).

TABLE X. MEASUREMENTS OF CATTLE BONES

BONE/SITE		WYTHEMAIL	GOMELDON ⁵³	NORTHOLT ⁵⁴	CHILLINGHAM ⁵⁵ COW
Calcaneum	tl ⁵²	125	—	—	—
Astragalus	tl	53-63(3)†	57	62-67(3)	60-74(3)
Metacarpal	pw	59-60(2)	51-67(4)	51-55(2)	—
	dw	50	—	50-68(2)	53-61(9)

† Figures in brackets indicate the number of specimens measured.

Fowl

There were only three bones.

Horse

Two are represented, one markedly larger than the other. A complete metacarpal from the smaller animal closely resembles that of a New Forest type pony of *c.* 12½ hands (50 in.: 127 cm.). The measurements were: 214 tl; 46 pw; 31 msd; 46 dw.⁵²

DISCUSSION

The number of animals on this site, five of both sheep and cattle, is too small for any attempt at analysis. However, the remains of cattle and sheep, given suitable soil conditions, survive well and as well as each other, so that the numbers represented are probably a true picture of the relative numbers of the two species if not of the original absolute totals. Bone measurements suggest that the cattle/sheep weight ratio was

⁵² tl—total length; pw—proximal width; msd—mid shaft diameter; dw—distal width.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* in note 49.

⁵⁴ Judith E. King in J. G. Hurst, 'The kitchen area of Northolt Manor', *Med. Archaeol.*, v (1961), 295.

⁵⁵ P. A. Jewell, 'Cattle from British archaeological sites' in A. C. Mourant and F. E. Zeuner (eds.), *Man and Cattle* (Symp. Proc. Roy. Anthropol. Inst., 1964), p. 80.

about 10:1. It is evident, therefore, that much the greater part of the meat that was eaten was beef.

The object of keeping sheep in the 13th or 14th century was the production of wool⁵⁶ and in consequence they would only have been killed when their usefulness in this respect was at an end. This would normally be at an age of seven years or more. At any site where this is the pattern of sheep husbandry the majority of the bone remains will be those of fully mature animals. Such is the case at Wythemail. At sites where it occurs the presence of the bones of younger animals, especially among sheep, may be explained by the culling of those which have suffered premature loss or excessive wear of incisor teeth. Another possibility is the eating of animals some of which will inevitably have died from natural causes. It is far too readily assumed that all the bones of food animals found on archaeological sites are from stock deliberately killed. There is no evidence for this belief. In some protein-starved areas of the world today the eating of dead as opposed to killed meat is commonplace; whether or not peoples of earlier times followed the same practice is uncertain.

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⁵⁶ R. Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry to 1700* (London, 1957), pp. 133 ff.