Survey and excavations at Alnhamsheles deserted medieval village, on the Rowhope Burn, Alnham Moor, Northumberland

Piers Dixon

with contributions by A. Crowdy, B. A. Ford, R. F. Tylecote, S. Nye, J. Turner, Alison Donaldson, J. E. Roberts, and J. Weyman

SUMMARY

Between 1979 and 1983 a survey and excavation was carried out at the deserted medieval village of Alnhamsheles, near Alnham Moor in the Breamish Valley, Northumberland. The aim of the project was to answer questions about the nature of the settlement and its economy in the light of documentary evidence which had emerged during earlier research. Three successive phases of occupation were identified between c. 1280 and 1550, as well as a post-medieval phase of sheep-pens. Broad-ridged fields, separated by a deer-dyke from the forest of Alnham, suggest that the settlement began as an assart.

INTRODUCTION

The Alnhamsheles project was set up in 1979 to answer questions that arose out of doctoral research into the deserted medieval villages of north Northumberland (Dixon 1985). Documentary analysis and field survey produced evidence for the existence of a group of villages or hamlets in the foothills of the Cheviots that were deserted in the late medieval period. These included several in the Hethpool area of the College Valley adjacent to the Border with Scotland and a second group in the Breamish Valley on the east of the Cheviots. Documentary sources suggested that the main phase of desertion of these sites was the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as opposed to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the majority of the villages that were abandoned in the lowlands were deserted (Dixon 1985). Consequently, if the dating was correct, this group of sites in the uplands provided the opportunity to excavate a medieval village with no post-medieval phase of occupation. The main question, therefore, was not specifically directed at the cause of desertion, but rather at the economy and the nature of the occupation, as well as confirming the chronology of occupancy. The village of Alnhamsheles (as documented, see below), near Alnham Moor in the Breamish Valley (NT 965 154, fig. 1), was selected because of the easy access by car, and because recent cultivation had encroached on the west end of the village (fig. 2), giving an added 'rescue' impetus to its selection.

Alnhamsheles is situated 500 m west of Alnham Moor at a height of 230 m above sea level. Its main part is a row settlement, set along a ridge to the south of the Rowhope Burn, which comprises: five roughly square enclosures or tofts, each about 20 m across, arranged in a line from east to west with short spaces in between; and the footings of more than eight sub-rectangular buildings attached to them, also aligned east-west. In addition to this planned element, there were four less regular enclosures to the north of the Rowhope Burn and

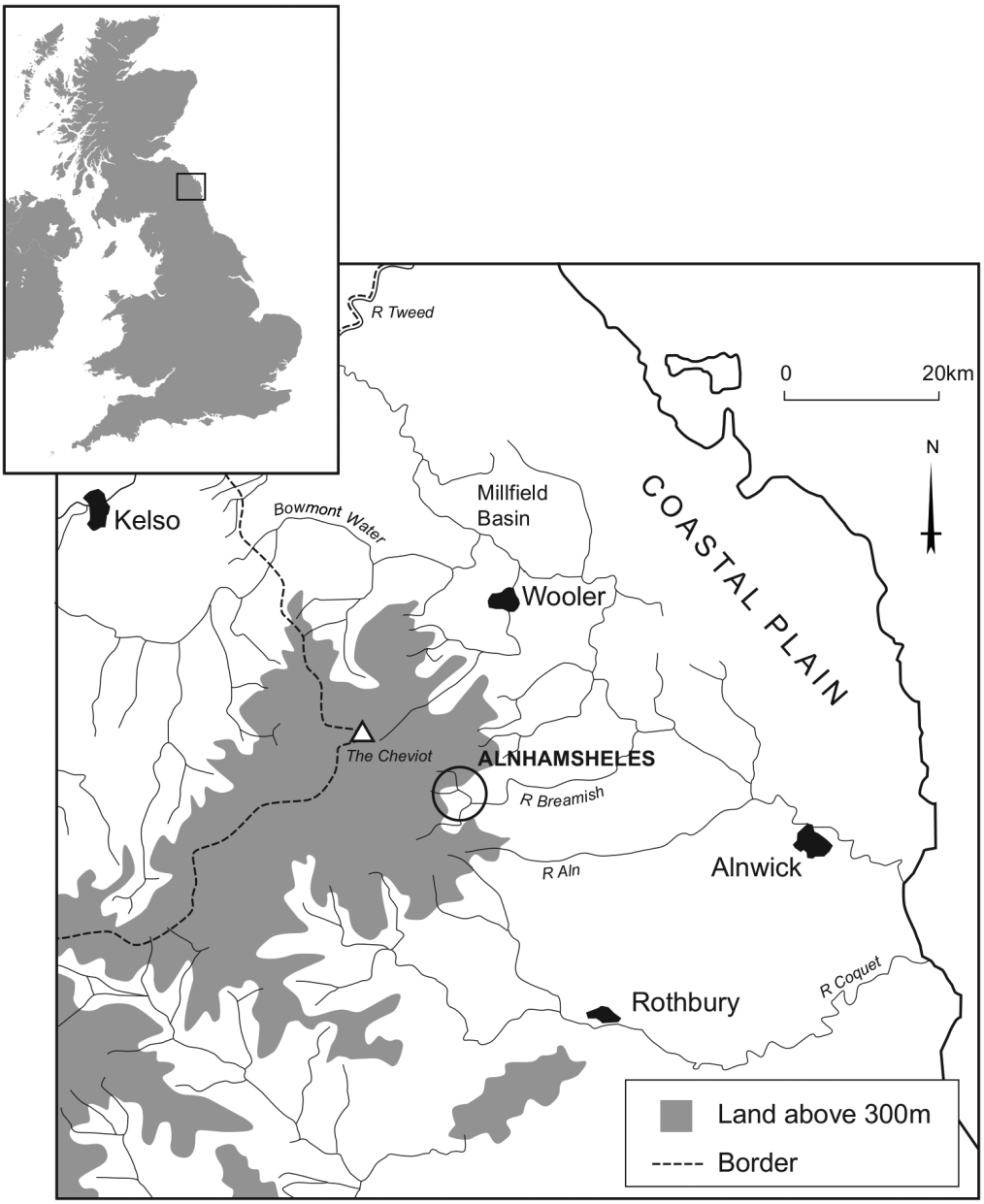

Fig. 1 Alnhamsheles: location.

another seven or eight buildings (fig. 3). Planned row villages are a common facet of medieval settlement in Northumberland, but the spaces between the tofts observed here is relatively rare, and most rows are composed of juxtaposed tofts (Dixon 1985 I, Ch. 3.2.4). A further six unattached buildings were scattered on either bank of the burn and two small round structures on the south, towards the west end, may be corn-drying kilns. Traces of earlier periods

Fig. 2 The site of the deserted village (marked by the tent), from the east. The post-medieval drove-way is visible as a narrow strip of grass and the head-dyke at the top of the modern cultivation. traces of ridge and furrow may be seen to the left and in the foreground.

of settlement on the site comprise an Iron Age scooped enclosure just beyond the westernmost square enclosure, across a small syke (fig. 4), and the curvilinear enclosure banks of another, overlain by the second square enclosure from the east end. A third settlement enclosure lay 200 m west of the site.

The strategy adopted was to excavate one enclosure and its adjacent buildings as a representative sample of the planned part of the village in order to address the questions of its length of occupation, the economy, and the nature of its occupation. The westernmost enclosure of the village and its adjacent houses were selected for excavation because it was the most accessible and was at risk of being disturbed by modern cultivation. It was further decided to analyse the relationship of the village to the wider landscape by surveying and recording the field-system that surrounded the site and by selectively excavating the field-banks that formed the boundaries of the field-system.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Alnhamsheles, a dependent hamlet of Alnham manor, was referred to in an Inquisition Post Mortem (IPM) of Henry de Percy in 1314–15, which records eleven tenants at Alnhamsheles who paid £6 rent in time of peace (National Archives C 134/41/1), suggesting that it was currently worth less. However, as the name suggests it may have been established at a shieling ground which is documented as 'the Seles of Alnham Moor' in an Inquisition of 1265 (National Archives C 145/29/38). In the same inquisition of 1314–15 that lists the village, the

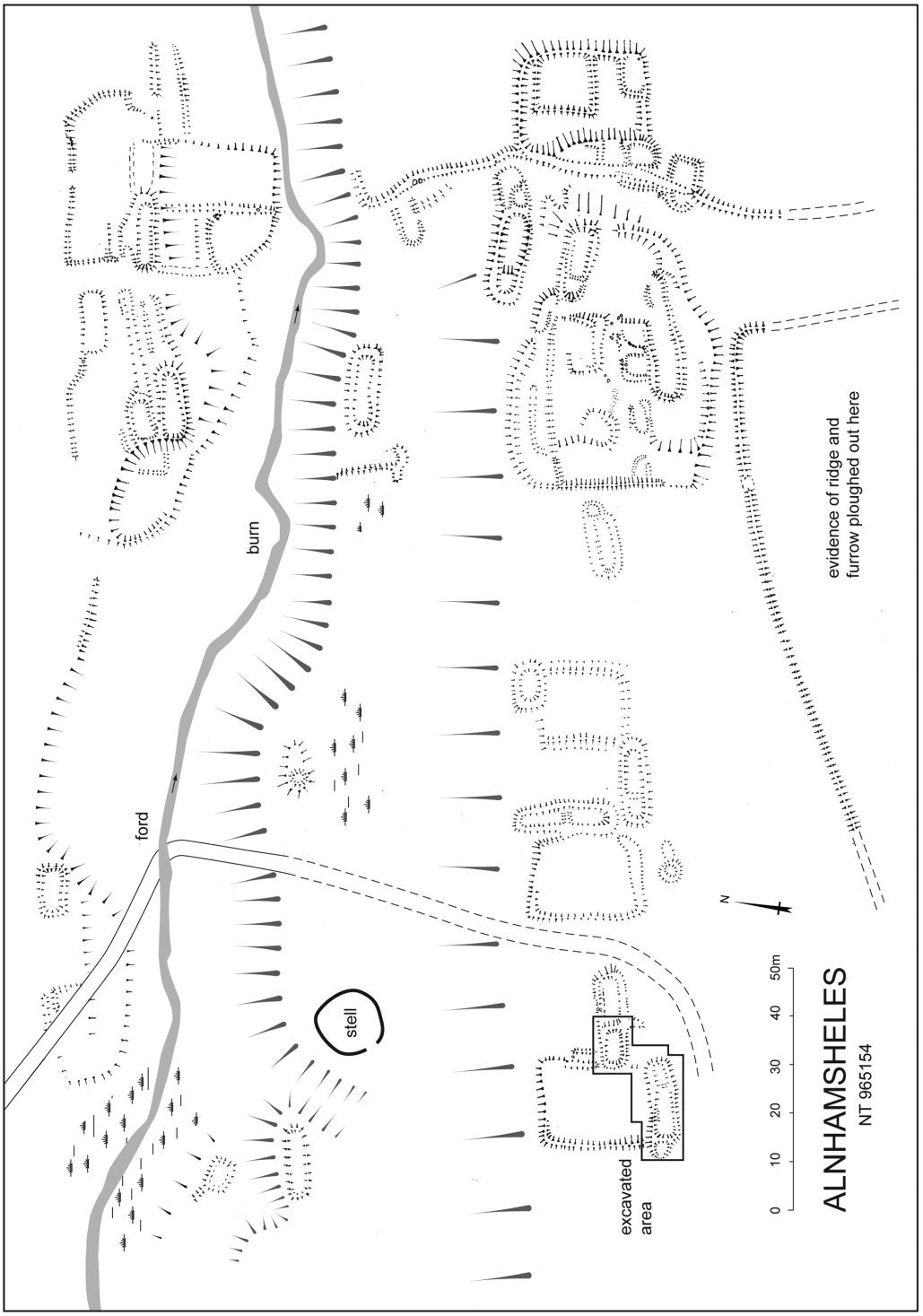

Fig. 3 Plan of the village of Alnhamsheles showing the outline of the excavated area (Trench A), within which House Site One is the building to the south of the enclosure, and House Site Two is that to the north-east.

forest of Alnham is recorded as having grazing value; this provides an important land-use context for the settlement. It is presumed from the extent of the parish boundary that this forest stretched north from Alnham village in Whittingham Vale into the heart of the Cheviots, and included the upper reaches of the Breamish valley which lay over the watershed from it. Alnhamsheles, and the area of land called Alnham Moor, is one of a number of intakes (eg. Leafield, Hartlaw, Cobden, and others) that occupied the fringes of the forest and later common of Alnham which is depicted on an estate map of 1726 (Alnwick Castle, AC: O. XI. 3).

The place-name Alnhamsheles is missing from subsequent inquisitions of the Percy family in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century the farm of Alnham Moor was listed as worth £10 per annum in time of peace (Bean 1958, 30), but it was let for £4 in 1472 because it had been devastated '*et edifica . . . ad terrain corruuntur*' (Hodgson 1921, 83). It is likely that this is the same area as the Alnham Moor referred to in the 1265 inquisition. By the mid-sixteenth century, the terminology of the records had changed. Clarkson's Survey of 1566–7 records a certain John Horsley who held the demesne lands of Alnham Moor for £4 per annum (Alnwick Castle, AC: A. I. 1). Alnham Moor is depicted on Saxton's map of Northumberland of 1579, lying on the south side of the river Breamish near Hartside. In Mayson's survey of 1615 the demesne infields of Alnham Moor comprised 229 acres (Alnwick Castle, AC: A. V. 5). These are depicted on the accompanying map (fig. 5) by Robert Norden of 1619 on the north of the Shank Burn and also a single building more or less at the site of the modern farmstead at Alnham Moor (NT 972 153). To the west of it, on the north bank of a tributary of the Shank Burn called the Rowhope Burn, the following words were written on the same plan: 'Here Stode the Towne' (Alnwick Castle, AC: O. XI. 1): a 'town' was standard English for a village at that time. At this location there are the earthworks of the deserted village described in this paper.

Later estate plans do not indicate any memory of the village settlement, either in 1726 or 1809 (Alnwick Castle, AC: O. XI. 3 and 9). Indeed, that of 1726 shows a hamlet of three long ranges of buildings on either side of the burn at Alnham Moor: one on the north and two to the south, traces of which may still be seen at NT 972 152. The 1809 plan, on the other hand, depicts a courtyard steading, where the modern steading lies, to the north side of the Shank Burn, near its confluence with the Breamish, and the ruins of the hamlet are annotated as an 'old village', immediately to the south of the same burn. The plan also shows some ruins in the field to the south, which is called the Barresse on Robert Norden's map of 1619.

THE FIELD SYSTEM

Field survey

Around the village to the north and south there is extensive ridge and furrow cultivation which was confined on its west or uphill side by an earthen bank with an external ditch. This head-dyke matches on plan (fig. 4) the limit of the infield of Alnham Moor which is depicted on the estate plan of 1619 by Robert Norton (fig. 5). The area enclosed lies on both banks of the Rowhope Burn that runs through the village, and includes all the land down as far as the modern farmstead at Alnham Moor (about 200 acres in all). The two arms of the head-dyke run north-west from the village to the north, and due west to the south of the burn, providing an expanded exit from the village to the hill ground (fig. 4). Sometime after 1726, but before

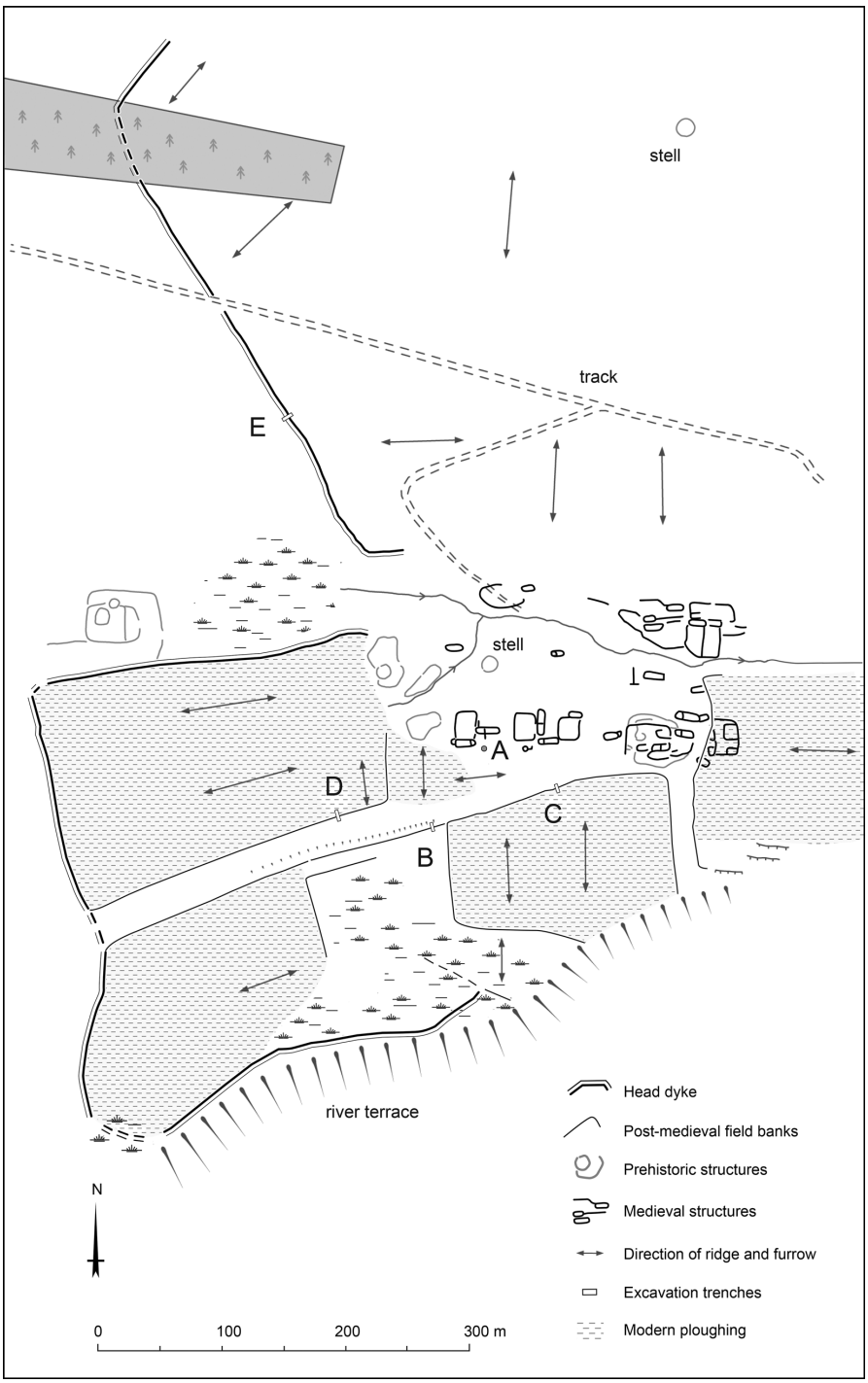

Fig. 4 Plan of the field-system and village, showing the location of Trenches A to E.

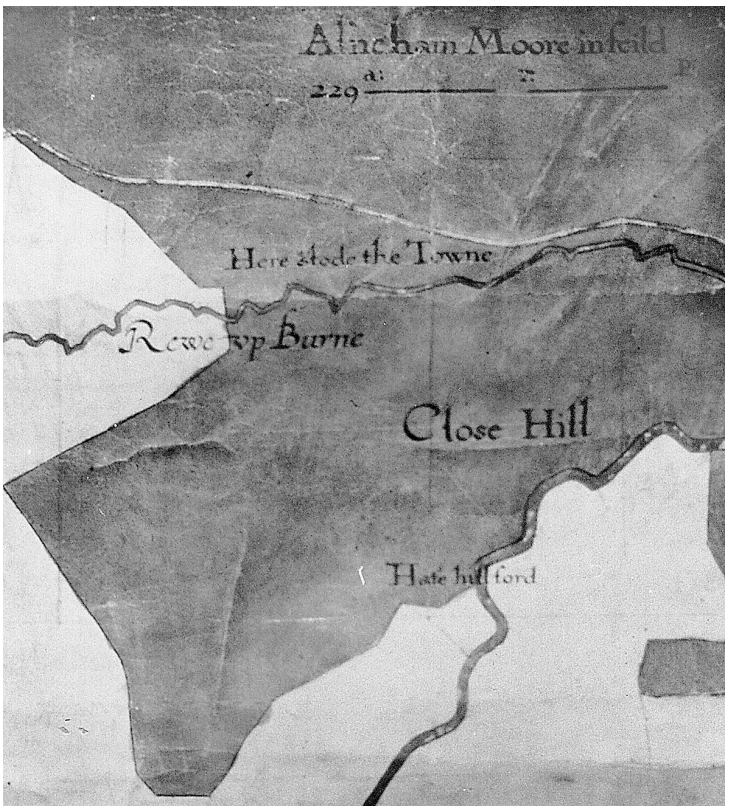

Fig. 5 A detail from an estate plan by Robert Norden, 1619, showing the site of the deserted village, annotated 'Here Stode the Towne'(Alnwick Castle, AC: Mss O. XI. 1; reproduced by courtesy of the Estate and Collections of the Duke of Northumberland).

1809, as depicted on the estate maps of these dates, the arable land within the head-dyke was sub-divided. The later map has a surveyor's comment that the fences are 'ancient fences now gone to decay' except where indicated. These enclosures included the construction of a drove way defined by two parallel banks, about 30 m apart, which ran south-west from the village site to the head-dyke, creating separate enclosures to the north and south, of which that to the south was further sub-divided into three fields by earthen banks (fig. 4). The drove way appears to have slighted the head-dyke at its west end since the drove way opens directly onto the hill, and no head-dyke is evident here. A second drove way that led south from the east end of the village was defined on the east by a third boundary that ran from north to south over the remains of the east end of the village, creating another field to the east. This third bank was built over the easternmost enclosure of the row of five, indicating that its construction post-dated the occupation of this part of the village. The banks of this field-system are earthen banks standing up to a maximum of about 1 m in height and spread to about 1.5 m in thickness, with a shallow ditch visible on the drove way side. There was well preserved evidence of cultivation to the north of the village on Meggrim's Knowe, a hill containing high-backed ridges set between furrows 12 m apart, with traces of an earlier field system beneath.

Recent cultivation, for root crops, of the lands around the village to the south has smoothed the ground right up to the edge of the village, particularly on the south-west, and levelled most traces of ridge and furrow cultivation.

Excavation of the field system

In the 1983 field season, the banks of the various parts of the field-system were sectioned to assess how they were built and to see if there were any differences between them that might reveal how the adjacent land was managed and, perhaps, when they were built. These trenches were focused on the drove-way to the south-west of the village, and on the head-dyke, since potentially the head-dyke should be much earlier, built to enclose the arable fields of the village or at the very least the demesne arable of the post-medieval farm of Alnham Moor.

THE DROVE WAY

The field-bank on the south of the drove way that led out of the village to the southwest was sectioned in two places (fig. 4, B and C) and that on the north side in one place (D). None of these sections produced any evidence of a buried soil, due to bioturbation, and the bank on the north side (D) had little visible structure or stratigraphy at all due to recent cultivation. The bank to the south stood up to 0.9 m in height from the bottom of the ditch in the best preserved section (B). At this point the bank was of earthen construction, that is, of earth and stone, with a rough face of boulders up to three courses in height on the north: the same side as the ditch. The bank matrix comprised orange-brown sandy silt, but this could not be distinguished from the surrounding soil. Only the fill of the ditch showed any difference in soil matrix: a grey-brown sandy-silt, presumably slightly gleyed. The limited height and earthen construction of this bank suggest that it may once have carried a hedge to make a more robust barrier. The other section of the south bank (C) showed a more reduced bank with no surviving stone facings, whilst that on the north (D) had a slightly greyer soil to the south of the bank suggesting a ditch. A row of stones that was visible on the surface to the south of the bank may have belonged to a stone face on that side.

THE HEAD-DYKE

A single section was cut through a well-preserved part of the head-dyke on the north side of the Rowhope Burn where the ridge and furrow ran right up to the inside of the dyke (fig. 4, E). The dyke comprised a bank that stood 1.02 m above the bottom of the external ditch, when the latter was fully excavated; the bank itself stood up to 0.6 m in height and was spread to 2.2 m in thickness. It had a stone revetment wall on the south-west, still standing three courses high (figs. 6 and 7). The stone of the wall had slipped forward slightly over the ditch fill, which comprised a dark-grey sandy silt with some medium-sized stones (2 on section), possibly fallen from the bank. The bank was constructed with two dumps of subsoil, the primary one of mixed yellow-brown and grey sandy silt and the other a yellow clay-silt (7 and 4 respectively), both presumably extracted from the ditch. Over this was a covering of friable brown silt, penetrated by bracken rhizomes, below an orange-brown soil, also thoroughly root penetrated. Under the bank material was a buried soil of yellow-brown silty-clay about 0.1 m thick (8), which appears to have been relatively undisturbed by roots due to the clay in the

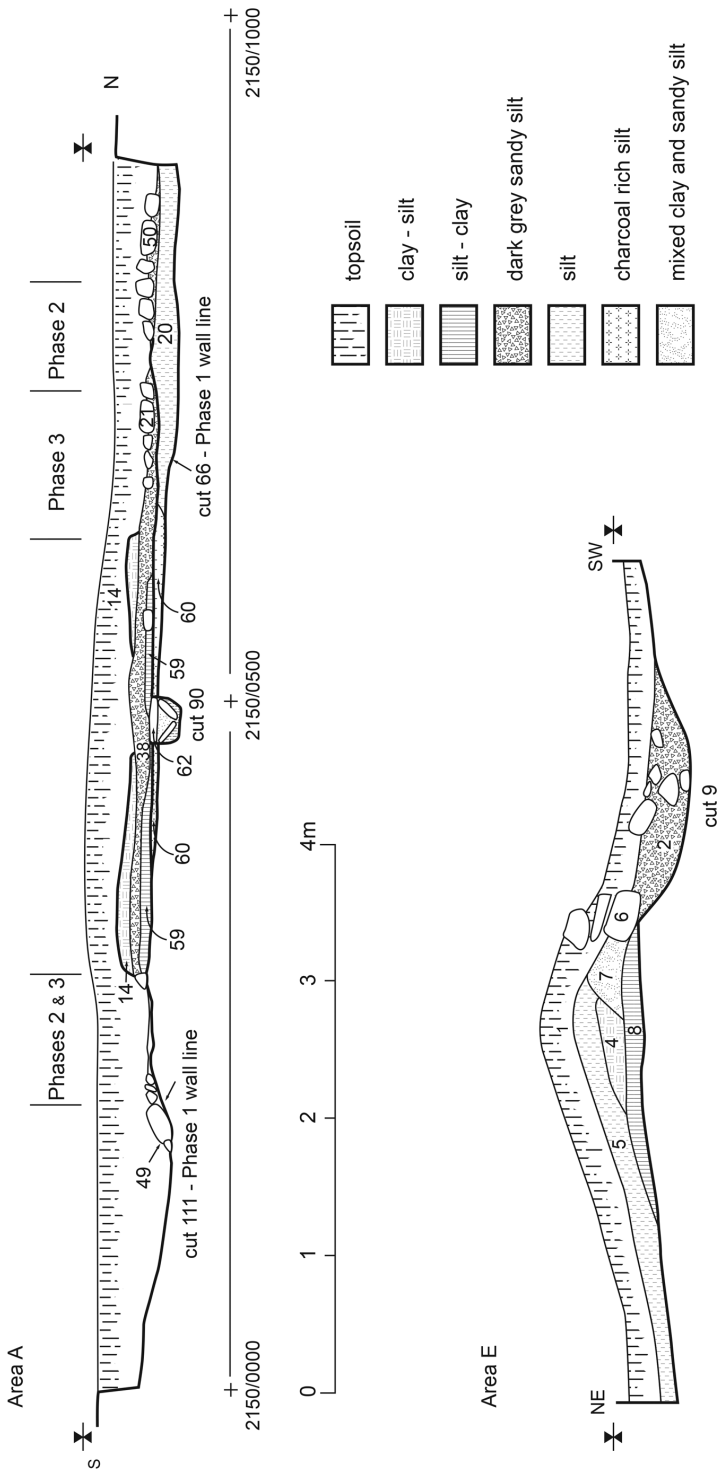

Fig. 6 Section drawings: Trench A: north-south section across House Site One looking west; Trench E: the section across the field-bank.

Fig. 7 View from the north-west of Trench E showing the section through the head-dyke of the fields of Alnham Moor. Note the buried soil, and the ditch to the right.

covering bank. On the surface of this buried soil was a thin patchy spread of charcoal, possibly the result of burning the turf preparatory to enclosure and cultivation. Pollen samples taken from the buried soil by Dr Brian Moffat (pers. comm.), were examined and found to be rich in tormentil (*potentilla* sp.), which still grows in the greensward across the site and adjacent area.

Interpretation

The field banks were all constructed with a ditch to one side; they each had a stone face on that same side, thus creating the major barrier which must have stood to more than its preserved height (0.9 m to 1 m) when originally constructed. The two banks lining the drove-way to the south-west were both ditched on the drove-way side, suggesting that it was designed to prevent access to the fields on either side. The bank of the head-dyke to the north of the burn was the only section in which a sealed soil was preserved, due to the clay of the bank material. The bank itself was faced on its south-west side to prevent animals straying within the field. The ditch had been dug through an uncultivated soil which comprised the basal structure of the bank, suggesting that that this was a primary enclosure of uncultivated ground. The banks of the drove-way to the south-west, by contrast, were built on ground already cultivated, where the depth of aerated soil was such that it precluded any clayey subsoil being excavated that would seal the soil under the bank. On this basis it is suggested that this drove-way was secondary to the original layout and to the cultivation of the field to

the south-west of the village. The form of the banks — with an external ditch and a revetment of stone — was designed to preclude access. With a paling of split timber or a hedge on the bank this would have provided an effective barrier to animals. However, the head-dyke to the north of the Rowhope Burn is also ramped up on the inside. Such a barrier, designed to ease passage in one direction and preclude access in the other, is typical of a deer dyke used to surround a park, or to enclose an intake, or assart, in a hunting forest (Dixon 2003, 61–3).

THE VILLAGE EXCAVATIONS

Method

Between 1979 and 1982 two adjacent rectangular areas were excavated at the west end of the village (fig. 4, A) as part of the strategy to explore a representative enclosure and its adjacent buildings. Over four seasons, the remains of one house and part of the enclosure were excavated to subsoil. Three phases of a medieval house on the same site (hereafter called House Site One) were revealed, together with the post-medieval re-use of the site as a sheep-pen. In 1982 a single season of work was carried out on the adjacent area to the north-east which was opened to explore the second building (House Site Two) attached to the same enclosure. This revealed the floor and foundations of a building that was a close parallel to the final phase of that in House Site One. This second building was covered with polythene and re-turfed.

The method of excavation was by open-area with no baulk sections, using single-context recording and multi-context planning. For practical purposes House Site One was divided into two parts, east and west. One section from east to west, and two from north to south, were constructed across House Site One by taking levels on all surfaces as excavation progressed along designated grid lines, of which one is published here (fig. 6, Trench A section), as well as at selective points. These points were noted on plan. In addition all finds were individually recorded as Small Finds to context and location, including pieces of charcoal (e.g. pottery locations, fig. 13).

The site was covered with bracken at the start of the excavation and the rhizomes penetrated most of the layers on the site except where the density of clay precluded it. The use of clay in floor construction helped to provide clear stratigraphic horizons for some parts of the site, but elsewhere bioturbation was extensive and stratigraphic definition doubtful. The soils on the site were mainly variations of friable brown sandy-silt derived from the subsoil. The yellow clay-silt layers were not derived from the site itself and must have been acquired from deposits nearby. The stones used in the construction of phases 2 and 3 were unworked weathered boulders of Cheviot granite, obtainable from the local boulder clay.

Phasing

Four main phases of activity were identified below the topsoil:
Phase 1 – a post-set timber and turf house, *c.* 1280–1350: a coin of Alexander III of Scotland in a residual context.
Phase 2 – a cruck-framed house with stone footings, *c.* 1350–1480: a late fourteenth century rowel spur in the destruction deposit.
Phase 3 – two long cruck-framed houses with stone footings, *c.* 1480–1550: a Raeren stoneware mug of this date range in floor make-up.
Phase 4 – stone-walled sheepfold and pens, eighteenth-nineteenth century

Stratigraphy

PHASE 1: HOUSE-SITE ONE: POSSIBLE TIMBER STRUCTURE (fig. 8)

At the north-east corner of the excavated area of House Site One, there was a shallow ditch (220), measuring 2.9 m in length by 0.8 m in breadth that was cut into the subsoil to a depth of 0.1 m. This ditch turned from a southeast-northwest alignment to a more northerly one about 1 m from its west end. About 0.5 m to the south-east of the ditch a terrace, doglegged on plan, continued the line of the inner edge of the ditch for about 1 m and then turned north-east, extending for another metre. This may be a relic of the same structure. One metre north of the gap between the two, there was a small oval pit, possibly for a post (221), 0.4 m in length by 0.28 m in breadth, which was not completely excavated.

Interpretation

Given the inconclusive nature of the features and the failure to recover any structural evidence from the gully or any associated occupation deposits, the function and date must remain unresolved, but are placed in Phase 1 since the features are overlain by the phase 2 enclosure wall (7), and are in the same stratigraphic context as the rest of phase 1.

PHASE 1: HOUSE SITE ONE, TIMBER HOUSE (figs. 8 and 9)

A number of subsoil-cut features were excavated which belonged to a large rectangular timber building. The building, which measured *c.* 13.5 m by 5 m transversely overall, was orientated from east to west and occupied a platform that sloped gently down from west to east for 0.6 m over the length of the building. It was defined by two parallel trenches, one on the north (66 and 87) and the other to the south (111), and by post-holes on the other two sides, three on the west (99, 71, and 63) and two on the east (44 and 51) respectively. The northerly of the two trenches contained a post-hole (65) that was oval on plan (fig. 8) about half way between the two ends of the building, measuring 0.45 m in length by 0.3 m in breadth and 0.24 m in depth, aligned directly between the two most northerly of the post-holes at each end. On this basis, the building was wider at the west end than at the east, suggesting that a post-hole on the south-east corner might have been removed by the later re-use of gully 111, if one assumes posts were structurally significant in framing the corners of the building. The trench along the north side (66), which was 0.8 m in breadth and 0.08 m in depth, extended from the north-west corner for almost 9 m to a point 2.5 m east of the mid-post (65). From here, it merged with a shallow ditch (87) that was offset 0.7 m to the north of the previous line and diminished progressively in depth to a point due north of the post-holes at the east end, where it became indistinct. Similarly the ditch on the south side (111), which had a straight edge on the north (unlike its south side that had been eroded by its reuse as a drain in Phases 2 and 3), became less distinct about 4 m from the east end, opposite the offset to the north of trench 66. At this point the north side of the ditch returned 0.4 m to the south and became progressively less well defined, until it was no longer possible to detect it south of post-hole 44. The reuse of ditch 111 may also have removed any trace of a post-hole midway along the ditch to match that to the north. The post-packing that survived in the middle post-hole 71 at the west end indicates a post of 0.25 m in thickness set to a depth of 0.35 m in the ground. None of the other pits displayed any evidence of a post-pipe; they were filled with

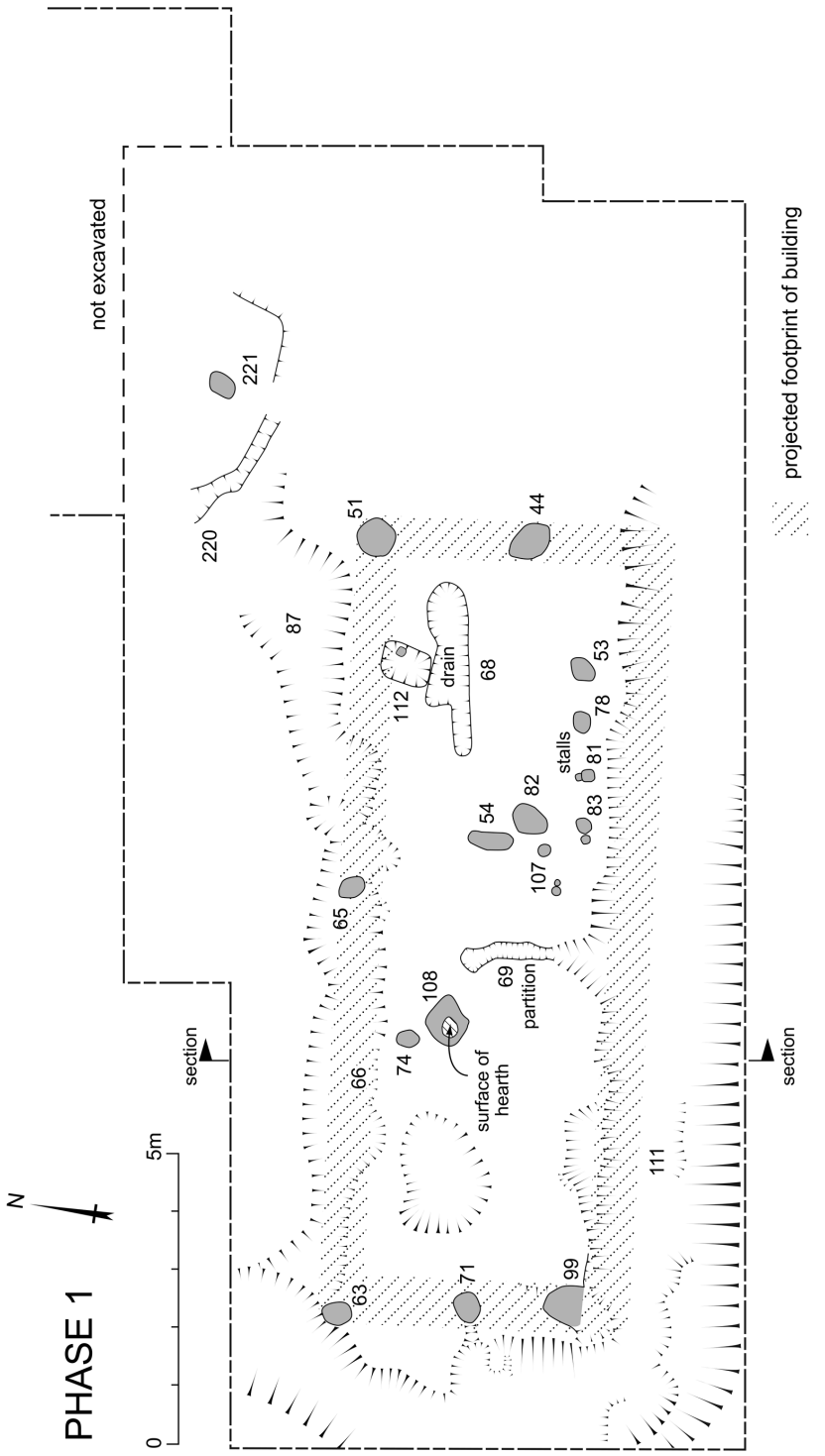

Fig. 8 Plan of phase 1 features of House Site One.

Fig. 9 View from the north of the features belonging to phase 1 cut into the subsoil, House Site One. Note the line of three post-holes and the shallow ditch (66) marking the north wall of the house.

homogeneous soils, suggesting that all the other posts had been removed on abandonment of the building. The pits were oval or circular on plan (fig. 8) and ranged from about 0.4 m to 0.8 m in diameter by about 0.3 m to 0.4 m in depth, except for that at the south-west corner (99) which was shallower at only 0.18 m, barely deep enough for an earth-fast timber. The fill of these post-holes was typically a light- or grey-brown clay-silt, with many small stones and charcoal fragments. However, the fill of the northerly post-hole at the east end (51) contained a dark brown sandy-silt (52) as did the upper fill (45) of the other post-hole (44) at that end, including some medium-sized stones that may have been packing. The lower fill of the latter was a light brown sandy-silt (55).

Internal features

There are several internal features that may be related to this building. The most significant was a beam-slot (69) about halfway along the building, which measured 2.5 m from north to south by 0.25 m in breadth and 0.15 m in depth, dividing the building into two compartments. The slot broadened and deepened at its south end without any change in its fill, which was a friable grey-brown clay-silt with frequent fragments of charcoal, similar to the fill of most of the post-holes. Access between the two parts of the building was provided by a gap at the north end, about 1.4 m in breadth, between the northern end of this partition and the trench marking the north edge of the building. At its south end the slot opened directly into trench 111 that defined the limit of the building on that side.

To the east of the partition there may have been a byre. A row of four small post-holes aligned with the long axis of the building (83, 81, 78, 53) was found on the south side. The posts had been set just under a metre from one another, 0.3 m to the north of trench 111. All but one was filled with light or grey brown silt like that of the structural post-holes. A packing stone remained *in situ* in the westernmost post-hole (83), indicating a post about 0.15 m in thickness in a hole about 0.22 m deep. Whilst the middle two post-holes were about the same depth, about 0.25 m, the easternmost post was only 0.15 m in depth which appears to be too shallow to hold a post on its own. Each of these holes, it is suggested, held an upright tethering post. The possible stake holes besides post-holes 83 and 81 suggest the need for repairs. What may be a related feature (82) lay 0.9 m to the north of the westernmost post of the row, forming a right angle with it, and may have been another post-hole, measuring 0.65 m by 0.5 m across. Filled with a dark-brown, charcoal rich, sandy-silt (110), its shallow depth (0.16 m) appears to preclude an earth-fast post but, combined with the westernmost post (83), it may have been sufficient to provide support for the planks of a stall divider at this end. A small group (107) of what may have been stake-holes was located immediately to the west. Another feature immediately to the north-west was a short slot aligned north-south (54), measuring 0.9 m in length by 0.45 m in breadth, with a depth of 0.15 m. This too was filled by a friable dark brown sandy-silt, suggesting that both features were filled at the same time. The fill is similar to the make-up layer (60) that covered much of the middle of the building after its abandonment. In this end of the building there was a sub-rectangular gully (68), aligned from east to west and measuring 2 m in length by up to 0.7 m in breadth and 0.15 m in depth, that may have served as a sump, collecting the run-off urine from tethered animals that would drain slowly into the subsoil. A shallow sub-square feature of unknown function filled with light brown silt lay immediately north of this (112).

About 1 m to the west of the partition, the west compartment contained a shallow pit (108), measuring 0.9 m across, in which there were the incomplete remains of a clay hearth (98) with a concave surface that was reddened with heat. The pit was subsequently backfilled with the charcoal-rich make-up layer (60) of the next phase. A small post-hole (74), about 0.5 m to the north of the hearth, that measured 0.25 m by 0.2 m in extent by 0.15 m in depth, was also filled by the same charcoal-rich silt; it may have provided a support for a cooking arm. About 2 m further to the west there was a shallow hollow measuring about 2 m from east to west by 1.5 m transversely; this possibly served as a work area.

Interpretation

These features suggest a building that was essentially a timber structure of two compartments with a domestic area to the west and a byre to the east. Each gable was stabilised by posts set in holes at each corner which, in conjunction with a post midway between the northerly posts, created a stable frame for a wall of wattle and turf, or wattle and daub. The equivalent posts in the middle and east end of the south wall may have been destroyed by later activity. The frame supported wattles set in a beam resting on the ground against or on which external turf walls were laid, or the wattles were daubed. However, in the absence of daub being recovered it is argued that the spread of light brown sandy-silt (20/77), which appears to have been used to create a platform for the phase 2 house, comes from the demolished turf walls of this house. Since this layer was also spread under the phase 2 enclosure bank, it is suggested that the enclosure bank may also have been of turf in its primary phase.

The exact form of the structure at its east end is difficult to reconstruct. The narrow span of the post-holes suggests that the building narrowed, whilst the offsetting of the wall-trenches about 4 m from the end would suggest the opposite. The role of the shallow trenches is uncertain; whilst they could have held a beam, the breadth of the trench appears to be too great for stability, unless this was the bedding-trench for the turf wall. The offset of the trenches to north and south towards the east end may indicate a change in the construction of its walls and perhaps in the use of the interior. The absence of a trench at either end suggests they were not necessary for the superstructure of the building. The charcoal-rich layer (60) spread over the middle of the floor of the house may represent collapsed roof material, derived from a layer of turf divots and overlying thatch, possibly of heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) which occurred in the botanical sample from the upper fill of post hole 44 (see below). The gully (68) in the east end interpreted as a sump to collect the urine from cattle is an interesting variation on the byre drain, providing the opportunity to make use of the liquid for other purposes such as tanning and dying. However, the subsoil is a relatively freely drained sandy-silt, so the sump may simply have drained away any standing liquid.

PHASE 2, HOUSE SITE ONE: CRUCK-FRAMED HOUSE (figs. 10 and 11)

The stratigraphic separation of phases 1 and 2 is most clearly demonstrated by the level make-up layer (20/77). This sealed all but one of the structural features of the phase 1 house (except post-hole 44), and provided the base for the construction of the stone walls of the phase 2 house and the adjacent enclosure (7). The make-up comprised a compacted layer of light-brown sandy-silt (20/77), up to 0.2 m in thickness, which was almost devoid of artefacts and not much penetrated by roots. It did not cover the interior of the phase 1 or phase 2 houses, and occupied a sub-rectangular area with a hollow centre. It was patchy on the south and east of the house site, but a spread of similar deposits was recorded up to about 5 m beyond the east end of the phase 2 house. The interior of the house site was partly covered by a friable dark brown sandy-silt with frequent charcoal flecks up to 0.08 m in depth (60), which extended from the hollow in the west compartment of the phase 1 house for at least 3.5 m to the east. This deposit post-dated the make-up layer (20/77), filled the hearth pit (108), and was similar to the fill of some other subsoil-cut features in the centre of the house (54 and 82). That the interval between the two phases was brief is indicated by the re-use of the hearth pit as the base for the stone hearth (106) in the new house and the close alignment with the old one.

The new building was a slightly bow-sided sub-rectangular structure, measuring 5–6 m in breadth by at least 12.5 m in length overall. It had a squared west end, but the south side appears to have drawn in slightly towards the south-west corner by about 0.5 m. Unlike its predecessor, its walls were based upon a stone footing. Surviving parts of the north, south and west walls (50, 31, 22) indicate that they were faced with orthostatic boulders in-filled by a core of earth and medium-sized stones. The walls varied in thickness from 0.75 m to 1.25 m and stood to two courses or 0.5 m in height. The return of the east wall had not survived except perhaps for a single edge-set stone. Beside it, there was a spread of closely packed, small cobble-stones (12), some of which had been discoloured by heat, possibly from the destruction of the house. The south wall (31) was partly supported by medium-sized stones (49) set end-on and at right-angles to the exterior face of the wall, much in the same fashion as the packing of a post-hole. A pair of shears was found next to them after the removal of the stones of the wall (Objects of iron, no. 14).

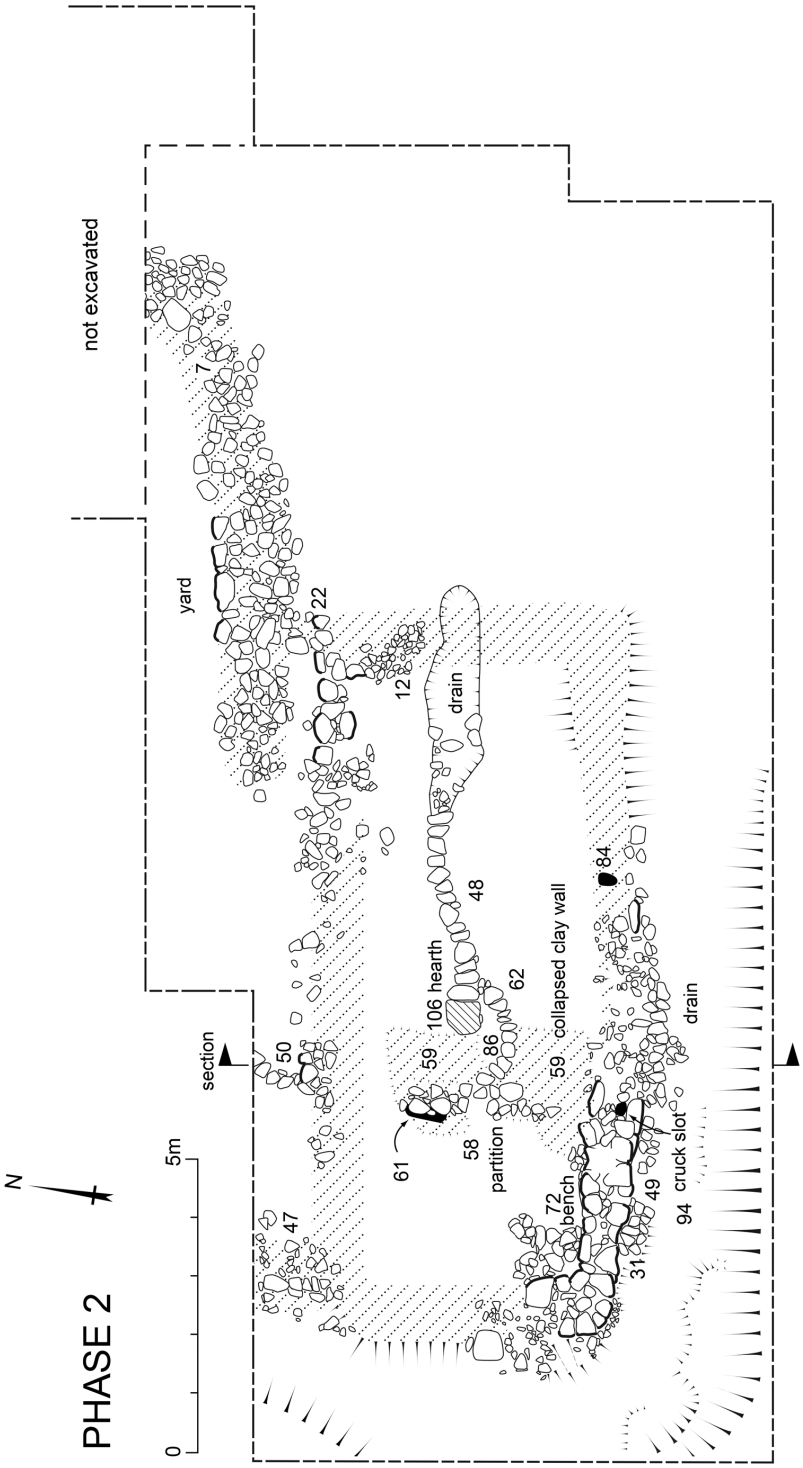

Fig. 10 Plan of phase 2 of House Site One; the hatching indicates the suggested line of the robbed walls.

Fig. 11 View of phase 2 of House Site One, from the west, showing the burnt floor.

A setting for a post (94) was found in the south wall between the inner and outer facing stones, 4 m from the west end. This well-defined post-hole, 0.25 m by 0.2 m across, was formed within the structure of the wall, that is, between facing-stones on the north and south and smaller stones placed on the other two sides (fig. 12). In addition there was a shallow depression in the subsoil below the wall, giving a depth of at least 0.3 m to the setting. An irregularly defined hole cut in the clay below the wall-foundations, 4 m to the east, may be the location of another post (84).

The building was divided into at least two parts by a partition of timber and clay, set on a foundation of stone and clay (58 and 61), measuring 0.15 m in height by 0.6 m in breadth, that extended north for 2.9 m from the south wall. This left a gap about 1 m wide between it and the north wall, providing access between the east and west compartments, and a smaller gap 0.4 m wide on the south. There were three indentations in the clay foundation on the west side of the partition, about 0.1 m across, made by the base of upright posts, possibly for wattles. A north-south row of small holes (0.1–0.2 m across) filled with friable dark-brown silt, three of which penetrated the subsoil immediately adjacent to the partition on the west, may also have been made by posts. However, some of the holes were irregular and were thought to be animal burrows. The daub for this wall (59) had collapsed and was spread to the east and west of the stone base, the greater part lying to the east, extending 1.3 m across and 40 mm in thickness.

The small western compartment measured 2.8 m from east to west by 4 m internally. At its south-west corner there was a platform of stone (72), 0.15 m in height and 1.3 m across, making a bench which may once have been more extensive, since its north edge was irregular,

Fig. 12 The cruck slot in the south wall of House Site One, phase 2.

suggesting it had been robbed and had extended further. The compartment to the east contained a stone-lined and capped drain (48), 4 m in length, which emptied into the northwest corner of the re-used phase 1 sump (68) at its lower, eastern end. The sump and the drain together measured about 7 m in length from its head, 0.8 m short of the partition. The lining of the drain was set in a gully (89) of U-shaped profile, 0.15 m in depth and 0.35 m in breadth, to which a tributary drain (62) of slightly smaller scale was joined. This led from a gap in the middle of the partition, 0.15 m wide. After describing a semi-circle around the flat hearth stone, which occupied the west end of the main drain, it joined it on its south side, 0.8 m from its head. The two drains were lined and capped by medium-sized flat stones about 0.05 m in thickness (96 and 97) and the triangular cavity was filled with friable dark brown silt (92). The hearthstone (106) was a large sub-square slab, 0.6 m across and 0.1 m in thickness, which had been cracked and discoloured by heat. Between this and the drain of the west room was a floor make-up of mottled yellow clay (86), spread over the dark brown, make-up layer (60) to a depth of 0.1 m. The hearthstone was laid over the hollow in which the phase 1 clay-hearth sat and over the gully for the stone-lined drain (48) cut into the east side of the same hearth pit, which was partly filled by dark-brown silt similar to the floor make-up layer (60).

This building was evidently destroyed by fire. The greater part of the floor area was covered by a thin layer of charcoal and carbonised material (57) and included an unusually large amount of pottery which had been broken during its destruction. Some of this pottery and a rowel spur (Objects of iron, no. 12) were found under the yellow clay of the partition wall (59), most of which fell into the east compartment and was discoloured red by heat. Much of this

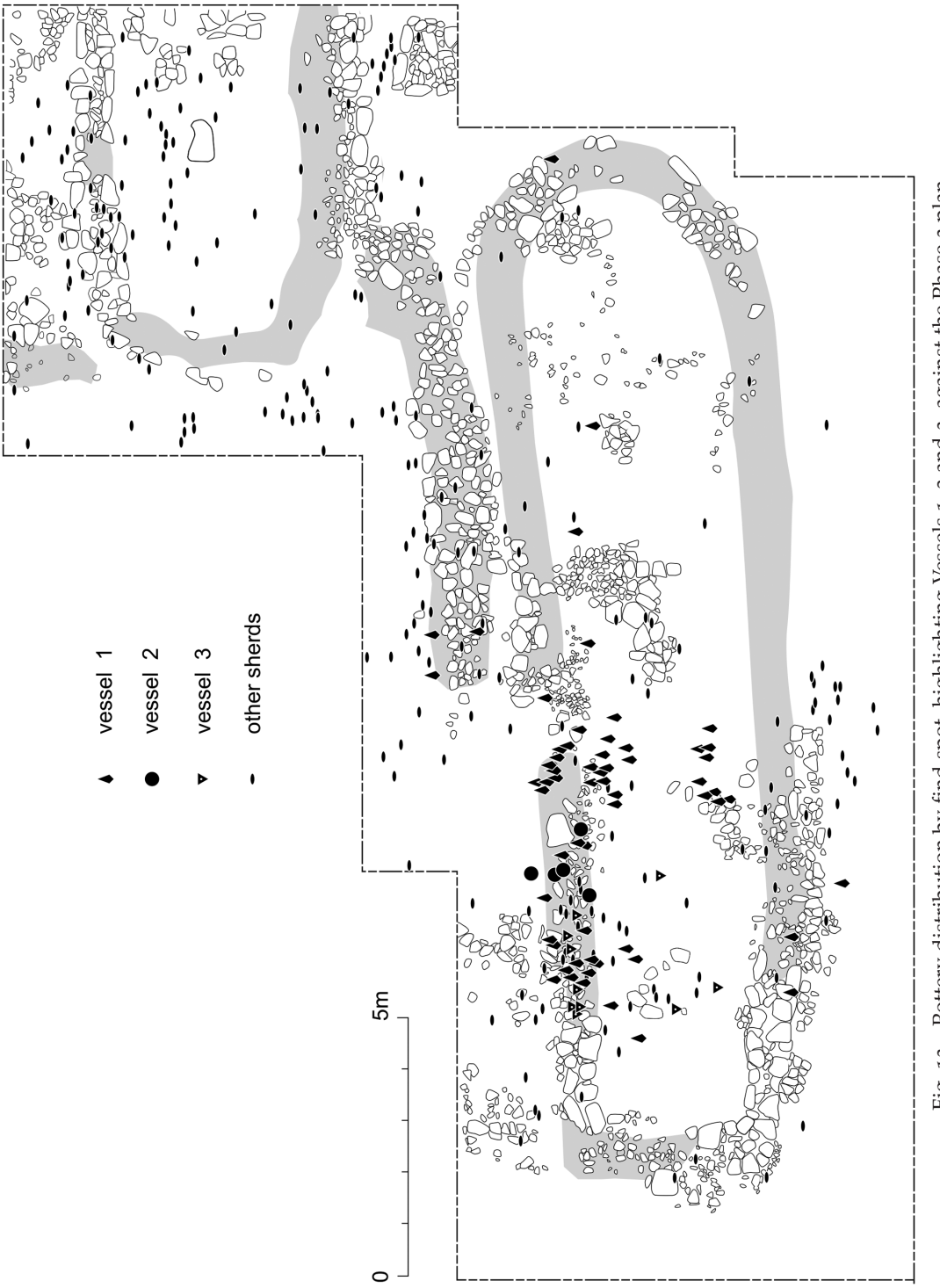

Fig. 13 Pottery distribution by find spot, highlighting Vessels 1, 2 and 3, against the Phase 3 plan.

pottery belonged to a single vessel, a large green-glazed three-handled pitcher of late medieval date (vessel 1). A second vessel (vessel 2), a lead-glazed jug, was smashed and mostly lay under a fallen orthostat along the north wall, which was re-used as a foundation stone for the wall of the Phase 3 building (fig. 13).

THE ENCLOSURE (fig. 10)

An enclosure, which was contemporary with this period of occupation, lay to the north of the house and measured 20 m by 20 m overall. The south wall of the enclosure comprised an earthen bank (47 and 7), 1.5 m in thickness and up to 0.35 m in height, crudely faced with courses of stone on its exterior. The interstices of the stones of the wall comprised a light brown sandy-silt, often mottled in appearance with compacted bands of dark-brown soil (6), possibly indicating an interleaved turf and stone construction. As described above, the south side of the enclosure (7) came to an end just to the north of the surviving fragment of the north wall of the building (22) and stratigraphically it is contemporary with the building in this phase.

Interpretation

This building was divided into three bays on the presumption of roughly equal distances between the cruck-couples suggested by the settings in the south wall. Evidence for two cruck-settings was recovered along the south wall, marked by the cavity in the wall in one instance and by a shallow post-hole in the other, where the footings had been robbed. The feet of the cruck-blades were set within the stone footings of the building, penetrating only a few inches into the make-up layer below. Whilst it is not certain if the building was roofed with hipped or gabled ends, the suggestion of a bowed side and the lack of any evidence for a post-setting at the south-west corner would favour a hipped roof for the building. Although the building had been extensively robbed, the lack of much small debris like that from the wall infill suggests that the superstructure above the stone footing had been built with turf, making a gable end less likely. The entrance was not located due to robbing, but if there was one in the north wall it must have been to the west of the end of enclosure wall (7) to allow direct access to the yard. The interior was sub-divided into two unequal parts by a wattle and daub partition on a stone base aligned with the westerly of the two cruck settings. The presence of a hearthstone in the middle of the building suggests the main living area lay here, between the two cruck frames and not in the small west room. Part of a low stone bench was revealed in the west room against the west wall, possibly to support a box bed or a chest. The central drain (and its tributary) that drained the west room indicate that excessive wetness could be a problem, as was observed when it rained during the excavation. The drain emptied into an open sump, and, while it is possible that this end was used to house a small number of cattle, perhaps in winter, it is too small for very many, with only a small area of metalling and no evidence of stalls. However, a partition could have been hung on the cruck frame at this end, providing the necessary barrier between the living area and the cattle.

PHASE 3, HOUSE SITE ONE: CRUCK-FRAMED HOUSE (figs. 6, 14, 15)

Following the destruction of the phase 2 house by fire it was rebuilt, re-using the earlier stone footings of the south and west walls, implying a similar method of construction. The house

Fig. 14 Plan of phase 3, House Sites One and Two; the hatching indicates the suggested line of the robbed walls.

Fig. 15 View of phase 3 of House Site One from the west.

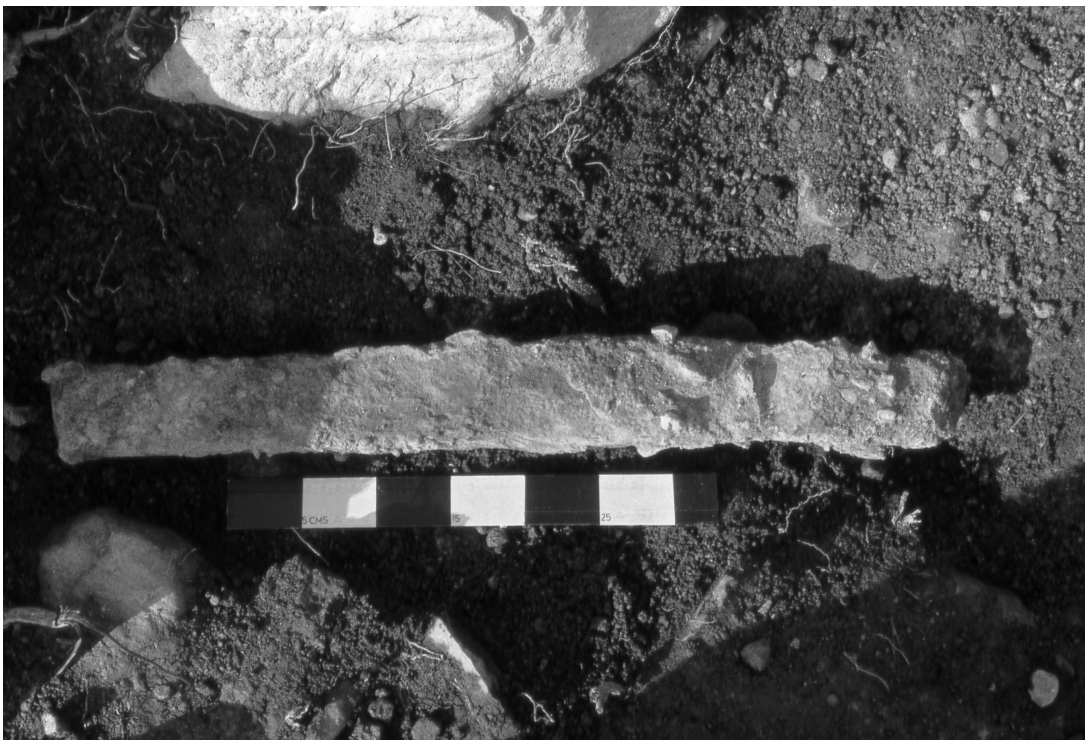

Fig. 16 The broken coulter found under the paving of phase 3 of House Site One.

was extended a further 8 m to the east to make a building 20 m in length that was slightly narrower at about 5 m to 5.5 m overall. The east end (32) was constructed with a rounded shape on plan (fig. 14) as opposed to the squared west end, strongly suggesting a hipped roof. The rebuilt north wall (46/21/22) was constructed just inside the line of the earlier stone house. The best-preserved section was a 2.5 m length of wall (46) close to the north-west corner, one course in height; beyond this the remains of the wall-core and its clay-matrix (21 and 23) extended for a further 4.8 m to the east as far as a cobbled surface (56) (see below). A loose, charcoal-flecked, dark-grey brown silty-sand that overlay the wall-core to a depth of 0.12 m and abutted the clay-floor 14 (see below), may be the backfill of a robbing episode, shortly after abandonment. The best candidate for the entrance is marked by the area of cobbling (56), comprising densely packed small to medium-sized stones that lay in line with the north wall about half way along the building. The cobbles extended over an area of about 1.3 m from east to west by 0.9 m transversely, suggesting a broad entrance suitable for animals. There was a concentration of charcoal from a destruction episode over the cobbling (56) as there was amongst the robbed remains of the core of the north wall (21). A second possibility for an entrance, lying opposite to the cobbled area along the north wall, was marked by a concentration of potsherds (fig. 13) midway along and just outside the south wall-line; this suggests that there may have been opposed entrances.

The interior was divided into two parts. The western compartment, which measured 6 m in length, was floored with yellow clay about 0.12 m in thickness (14) over a make-up layer of

dark-brown silt about 0.1 m in thickness, containing frequent charcoal fragments (38), that was spread over the destruction layers (57 and 59) from the previous house (similar to the infill of the robbed north wall 18). About 2.5 m from the west end and midway between the north and south walls there was a semi-circle of medium sized stones in the middle of which were patches of red and yellow clay and smears of charcoal, probably marking the location of a hearth stone (see House Site Two below). The extensive reddening on the surface of the clay-floor is evidence for a burning episode. The location of any partition has been entirely lost to robbing, but probably lay at the east end of this clay-floored room, like that in House Site Two (see below). To the east of the presumed partition there was an area of paving (8) set in a matrix of dark brown silt (67) that in-filled the sump of the previous phases, and extended some 2 m from east to west, with a north-south row of four stones defining its east edge. Some of the paving stones (8) that filled the south edge of the sump of the phase 2 house sealed a broken plough coulter (fig. 16; Objects of iron, no. 19). Between the paving and the east end, there was a layer of gravel in a matrix of light brown sandy-silt (11) that extended beyond the robbed north wall-line. This may have served as make-up for the walls and floor surface, or at least a mixed floor of gravel and paving slabs where hollows required to be levelled up. Indeed, an area of paving (41) lay adjacent to the east-end wall, and it is possible that this paving extended across much more of the east end. Fragments of a Rhenish stoneware drinking vessel (Pottery catalogue, no. 9) were found in the make-up of the floor of the house (38), suggesting a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century date for this period of occupation.

Following destruction by burning, evident in the reddening of the clay floor and the charcoal where the north wall had been robbed, House Site One was abandoned until it was re-used as the location of a sheepfold (phase 4 below). A grey brown sandy-silt layer (6/10/19/37), with lenses of dark brown or black silt, possibly derived from the collapsed turf superstructure of the phase 3 house, overlay the western half of House Site One to a depth of up to 0.4 m. This layer also formed a bank along the line of the enclosure wall 7 and appears to have been responsible for the shape of the earthwork that was visible before excavation.

Interpretation

This appears to have been a longer, slightly narrower building of similar construction to that in phase 2, but of two compartments. That to the west is interpreted as a living area with a clay floor and central hearth. On analogy with House Site Two, it was divided from the east end by a partition that had been completely robbed. The sump and drain from phase 2 was paved over with flat stones. It appears to have had opposed entrances. That to the north opened where there was a cobbled surface and to the south is inferred from the cluster of pottery finds outside the south wall-line (fig. 13). To the east of this central paved area was a surface that was variously of gravel or paved, extending as far as the east end. The floor surface sloped down to the east and it is possible that the whole compartment was used as a byre, although there was no clear-cut drain or sump to aid the flow of urine. Like the earlier stone-walled house, it is interpreted as a cruck-framed structure based upon a footing of stone, probably with a turf superstructure, suggested by the overburden of silt that covered most of the west part of the house site and the enclosure wall to the north. The stone-footings of the building had been largely robbed. Some of this was shortly after its destruction, especially the north wall west of the entrance, where there was the fill of a robber trench. The rounded east end suggests that the roof of the building was hipped rather than gabled.

Fig. 17 View of House Site Two from the west. Note the hearthstone and the partition wall by the east baulk.

PHASE 3, HOUSE SITE TWO: CRUCK-FRAMED HOUSE (figs. 14 and 17)

House Site Two was occupied by a second building that lay to the north-east of House Site One and was stratigraphically coeval, since a section of the earthen enclosure built to go with the phase 2 house had been removed to make way for the west end of this second building.

The excavations revealed the western part of a building on the same alignment as that of House Site One, extending 6.5 m in length by 4 m in breadth within a stone wall about 1 m in thickness, of similar construction to that in House Site One. There was a stone hearth (216) in the centre of this space, 2 m from a clay partition (214), on a base of stone (215). To the west of the partition the floor was of yellow clay (200), which provided a concave surface similar to that in House Site One. Most of the south and west walls of the building had been robbed, leaving a vestigial ledge about 1 m wide, but the north wall was better preserved. Enough survived to show that the west end was roughly squared, but both sides narrowed by about 0.5 m towards the corners. The north wall, constructed of large orthostatic stone facings with an earth and rubble core (205), was 7.5 m in long by up to 1 m thick and one course (0.3 m) high. In the area around the partition there was some paving (217), especially on the north side where there was a gap for an entrance, about 1 metre wide, between the north wall and the partition; this led to the eastern compartment beyond (which was not excavated). The partition (215) itself comprised a base of large flat-topped stones, capped by a layer of clay or daub (214); it measured 2.2 m from north to south by 0.6 m transversely. No external entrance was identified. However, a storm-drain (210) was cut in an arc around the west end; measuring 0.5 m to 0.8 m in breadth by up to 0.35 m in depth, it cut through the

adjacent enclosure bank (203), to run out along the north side of the house platform with its butt end at the southwest corner. A second drain (219), which served the south side, started at a second butt-end about 1 m to the east and ran alongside the platform from west to east; it was partly filled with tumbled stones (202) from the south wall. A small circular pit 1.5 m from the southwest corner (218), measuring 0.3 m across by 0.1 m in depth may be the setting for the foot of a cruck. The surface of the clay floor (200) showed extensive signs of burning in the form of reddening, deposits of charcoal, burnt clay, or daub and lumps of dark brown sandy soil that may be the remains of collapsed and burnt turf from the roof of the house. Much of the charcoal and burnt clay from the surface of the floor was recorded to the overlying layer of brown sandy-silt (201). About 1 m south of the building, on the other side of the drain (219), there was a stone platform standing to 0.3 m in height (206) and extending at least 1.5 m in length and breadth, within the excavated area, which may have served as a stack stand.

Interpretation

House Site Two displays similar characteristics to that of phase 3 of House Site One. These included a footing of rubble-faced, earth-bonded stone walls that narrowed towards the corners suggesting a hipped roof, and a living area comprising a clay floor with a concave surface and a central stone hearth. A stone base for a clay-walled partition divided this domestic area from the unexcavated east compartment. The overlying layer of brown silt (201) that covered House Site Two, like the silt layers over House Site One (6/10/19), is interpreted as a collapsed turf roof and wall material from the building.

PHASE 4, SHEEPFOLD AND PENS, *c.* 1750–1850

Two small sheep pens, and a sheepfold were recorded in this phase, built on top of the remains of the phase 3 building of House Site One. These post-dated the overlying silt layers of the phase 3 house, where these were found, but disturbed the medieval deposits elsewhere, especially at the east end. There was no sign of any equivalent re-use of House Site Two.

One sheep pen, which comprised a small sub-circular stone structure, was built over the silt layer at the west end of House Site One. It measured 5.5 m from east to west by 4.5 m transversely over stone footings, 1 m in thickness, standing to two courses or 0.3 m in height, and there was a layer of orange-red sandy-silt, which occupied the interior of this feature to a depth of 0.1 m. A spread of medium-sized stones immediately east of it would appear to be tumble either from this or the sheepfold to the east of it.

There was a different post-occupation stratigraphy at the east end of House Site One. Much of it was covered by compacted, sticky dark grey-black silt, from 0.1 m to 0.15 m in thickness. The walls of the sheepfold and another pen in its south-east corner appear to have been built over it. The sheepfold was visible as a footing of medium-sized stones, some set on edge, enclosing a sub-rectangular area, extending some 9 m to the west by 4.5 m transversely. There were patches of paving stones within it, much of it probably re-used from the medieval house. The small drystone pen, which was built immediately inside the east end of the phase 3 house, measured roughly 3 m square over walls 0.8 m in thickness. Like the other pen it stood to two courses or 0.3 m in height. Its south and east walls were dilapidated, but it had a partly paved interior, probably made of stones re-used from the medieval house.

Interpretation

These fragmentary walls are interpreted as the last vestiges of a turf and stone walled sheepfold enclosing a partly paved area about 7 m in length by 3 m in breadth that incorporated a working pen in one corner. The matrix of the walls was similar to the dark grey-black silt (26) that was under it. This dark soil may be derived from the destruction of the medieval house, but as it produced no finds this seems unlikely. An inter-leaved turf and stone superstructure may account for the loose quality of the stone walls of the sheepfold and pen. The floor of the fold and pens was partly paved and some re-laying of the paving from the medieval house may have been carried out to make a more suitable interior for the sheepfold.

Phase 5

Following the abandonment of the pens, the site was overgrown with grass and bracken and a layer of topsoil accumulated. That part of the site to the south and west of the sheep pens was ploughed and cultivated in the 1970s. This latter layer was well drained and undifferentiated down to the subsoil. The topsoil in the area of House Site Two directly overlay the silt layer that was interpreted as collapsed turf walls (phase 3 above), and there did not appear to have been any re-use of this area.

THE PALEOBOTANICAL EVIDENCE

Botanical Report

Sandra Nye and Judy Turner

The contexts sampled for environmental analysis from Alnhamsheles included floor deposits, and fills from post holes, drains and ditches. Apart from the fill (92) of the phase 2 byre drain (48), the samples had been wet sieved and sorted on site. One kilo of the byre drain fill was wet sieved using 1.7, 0.5, 0.25 mm mesh sieves and dried. The plant remains were picked out using a stereoscopic microscope (x10 magnification). The material was identified using Dr Nye's charcoal and seed reference collections. The species noted in each context are presented in Tables 1–3. The results are summarised by phase.

PHASE 1

The taxa noted from the upper fill (45) of post-hole (44) were sedges; sheep's sorrel; and heather, which are heathland species. The species identified from the fill (103) of another post-hole (83) included fat hen, sheep's sorrel, barley and birch. Heather and birch were recovered from the fill (80) of post-hole (71).

PHASE 2

From a sample of the fill of the byre drain (48) in the phase 2 house there were two oat grains and some small (less than 1 cm) pieces of charcoal which were identified as alder/birch (*Alnus/Betula*), birch, hazel (*Corylus avellana*), and holly (*Ilex aquifolium*). These are all native species, which could have been growing in the local woods. In the sample prepared by Nye and Turner from the same fill (92) there were more cereal remains than in the destruction layer

Table 1 Species by context sampled.

Seeds		201 SF403	201 SF414	201 SF428	48/92	92	45	103
Phase		3	3	3	2	2	1	1
Cruciferae of Brassica	wild cabbage			1				
Raphanes raphanistrum	wild radish		12					
Viola sp	violet			1				
Caryophyllaceae	pink family		1					
Stellaria media	chickweed	6	11					
Spergula arvensis	corn spurrey		24	6				
Chenopodium sp	fat hen	11	64	4				2
Atriplex sp	orache		1					
Rubus fruticosus	blackberry		1					
Potentilla sp	tormentil		1	1				
Polygonum aviculare	knotgrass		1	1				
Polygonum lapathifolium	Palepersicaria		2					
Rumex sp	dock	1				2		
Rumex acetosella	sheep's sorrel	9	25	9			6	1
Caleopsis tetrahit	hempnettle		4	6				
Lapsana communis	nipplewort		4					
Luzula sp	woodrush			1				
Cyperaceae	sedge family							
Carex spp	sedges	1		2			3	
Gramineae	grass family					1		
Cereal indet.		2	23			1		
Triticum sp	wheat	1	13			23		
cf *Triticum* sp						1		
Hordeum sp	barley	2	22					1
cf *Hordeum* sp						2		
Avena sp	oat	2	14		2	1		
Indet.		3						

from phase 3 of House Site Two (see below). Charcoal was also found, additional species identified being native ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*), elm (*Ulmus glabra*) and willow (*Salix* sp.). Ash and elm provide durable timbers, and so the charcoal may have been structural in origin. The other species noted do not usually grow into large trees, but are useful in basketry and thatching.

PHASE 3

These samples were entirely from House Site Two. From the layer immediately over the floor of House Site Two that was believed to contain destruction material (201), four samples were taken (Small Find nos. 403, 414, 428 and a sample labelled with the number of the floor layer

Table 2 Miscellaneous species by context sampled.

Context		201 SF403	201 SF414	201 SF428	200	209	92	45	80
Phase		3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1
Calluna vulgaris	capsules		5						
Calluna vulgaris	stem tip		2					2	
Calluna vulgaris	stem frags								1
Calluna vulgaris	flowers	1	27	1	1	3	6	7	2
Calluna vulgaris	leaves		2						1
Gramineae	Straw		4						
Gramineae	lemma – chaff		2						
Raphanes	pod segments		4						
Raphanes	pod fragments	2	32	25					

Table 3 Charcoal fragments identified to species by context sampled.

Context		201	209	14	48/92	92	103	80
Phase		3	3	3	2	2	1	1
Alnus/Betula	Alder/Birch				2			
Corylus/Alnus	Hazel/Alder					12		
Betula	Birch				7	12	2	1
Corylus	Hazel				2	2		
Fraxinus	Ash					1		
Hex	Holly				1			
Salix	Willow					2		
cf *Salix*						2		
Ulmus	Elm					2		
Indet.		+	+	+	+	+	+	

200). Grains of oats (*Avena* sp), barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and wheat (*Triticum* sp) were recovered, but in the absence of floret bases the species of oat could not be determined. The barley grains were hulled and two were slightly twisted suggesting a 6-row variety. The wheat appeared to be emmer (*T. dicoccum*), which favours lighter, drier soils than spelt and is less hardy. There is no evidence to indicate whether the cereals were being cultivated separately or as mixed crops. There is not enough chaff to indicate threshing and it is possible that clean grain had been brought on to the site. The other plants found include the weed species corn spurrey (*Spergula arvensis*) and wild radish (*Raphanes raphanistrum*), the heathland species,

heather (*Calluna vulgaris*), tormentil (*Potentilla* sp) and sedges (Carex spp), and the woodland, or hedgerow species blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus*) and nipplewort (*Lapsana communis*). The weeds indicate the presence of a range of soil conditions; corn spurrey and wild radish favour light sandy soils, hempnettle (*Galeopsis tetrahit*) and knotgrass (*Polygonum aviculare*) damp conditions, whilst fat hen will grow on enriched soils such as those near middens. Some of these species e.g. fat hen and corn spurrey, have been used in the past for food, and wild radish and wild cabbage are thought to be the progenitors of modern vegetables. The remains of heather might mean that this species was being collected. Traditionally heather has been used for thatching, as a dye plant, and for fodder (Grigson 1975). The sedges could also have been used for fodder and thatching. The samples from the floor (200) of House Site Two included heather flowers. The fill (209) from the storm drain around House Site Two also included heather flowers and indeterminate twig fragments.

SUMMARY

The plant remains recovered from Alnhamsheles included cereal grains, the seeds from weeds of cultivated and wasteland plants, the remains of heathland plants and small fragments of charcoal. The cereals included a hulled, 6-row variety of barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) and an indeterminate oat species (*Avena* sp). It is not possible to say whether the oat was a weed of the other cereal crops or was being grown separately. The lack of chaff could indicate that the grain was not threshed on site. The weeds identified suggest a range of soil conditions. Corn spurrey (*Spergula arvensis*) favours light, sandy soils, knotgrass (*Polygonum aviculare*) seasonally wet conditions, and chickweed (*Stellaria media*) moist, rich, well-tilled land. The large number of seeds and cereals in the floor deposit from House Site Two may indicate that food was being prepared or stored there. Vegetative remains of heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) and the seeds of sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*), sedges (Carex spp), woodrushes (*Luzula* sp) and tormentil (*Potentilla* sp) suggest exploitation of nearby heathland. Heather has many uses, including roof covering. The remaining species could have been collected accidentally. Although sedges and woodrush might have been used for bedding, tormentil has medicinal properties and sheep's sorrel has culinary uses. The charcoal is from native species and probably represents firewood. That found in the byre drains and post-holes may have originated in domestic fires and may even have been deliberately thrown into the drains to help absorb odour.

Charcoal fragments: comment

Piers Dixon

The charcoal fragments from the site (see Table 4) are mainly from phases 2 and 3, which is no more than a reflection of the few features that belong to phase 1. Willow (*Salix*) is most common followed by alder (*Alnus*) and hazel and hazel nuts (*Corylus*). Oak (*Quercus*), rowan (*Sorbus aucuparia*) and ash (*Fraxinus*) are present too, of which oak and rowan uniquely so, ash being also present in the botanical report above. The quantity of hazel and especially willow support the argument for wattles, particularly in phase 3. Alder is suitable for timber in the absence of good oak. This may be a reflection of local production in an upland valley, although the wider Percy estate probably provided the timber for the roof couples (see below, p. 216).

Table 4 Charcoal fragments identified to species. (These charcoal fragments were recorded as Small Finds and analysed separately from the soil samples.) *By Alison Donaldson and J. E. Roberts*.

Species	Phase	Context	Fragments	House Site
Alder (Alnus)	2	101	1	1
	2	57	1	1
	3	200	1	2
	3	201	6	2
	3	209	1	2
	3	23	2	1
	3	38	2	1
	3	10	2	1
	3	18	2	1
	5	1	4	1
			Total: 22	
Ash (Fraxinus)	3	201	1	2
			Total: 1	
Birch (Betula)	1	69	1	1
	3	201	3	2
	3	38	1	1
			Total: 5	
Hazel (Corylus)	3	201	2	2
	3	202	2	2
	3	10	1	1
			Total: 5	
Hazel nut (Corylus)	3	201	1	2
	3	209	1	2
	3	210	1	2
	3	214	1	2
			Total: 4	
Mountain Ash/Rowan (Sorbus aucuparia)	3	205	1	2
	3	209	1	2
			Total: 2	
Oak (Quercus)	3	200	1	2
			Total: 1	
Willow (Salix)	1	105	1	1
	1	51	1	1
	3	14	2	1
	3	200	2	2
	3	201	9	2
	3	205	1	2
	3	210	1	2
	3	38	1	1
	3	10	3	1
	3	19	1	1
	5	1	5	1
	5	2	1	1
			Total: 28	

THE SMALL FINDS

Coins

D. Caldwell

1. A cut half-penny of Alexander III, first issue (1250 × 80), moneyer Alexander, Aberdeen (Burns 1887, class III, Vol. 1, 140–1). It is unlikely to have remained in circulation for long after 1280 and must be residual in this context. Small find No. 334, context 201, House Site Two, phase 3.

2. Edward II penny, London mint (Folkes 1890, class X, c-f), *c.* 1310–1311. Wear suggests it had been in circulation a long time. Small find No. 4, context 1, House Site One, phase 5.

Objects of non-ferrous metal

B. A. Ford

Item 1 (fig. 18) is the foot from a copper alloy vessel such as a cauldron or skillet. It is identical in form to the feet seen on a skillet from London of fourteenth-century date (LMMC 1940, plate LV). Items 2 and 3 are both lead fragments. Item 2 came from topsoil (Phase 5) and 3, the lead sheet, from post-occupation deposits on House Site Two.

1. Copper alloy vessel. Cast ribbed leg fragments. Length 49 mm, width 34 mm; Small find no. 150, context 2, House Site One, phase 5.

2. Lead waste. Irregular shaped lump. Length 57 mm; Small find no. 45, context 1, House Site One, phase 5. Not illustrated.

3. Lead sheet fragment. Length 13 mm, thickness 3 mm; Small find no. 417, context 201, House Site Two, phase 3. Not illustrated.

Objects of iron

B. A. Ford

HORSE EQUIPMENT

Horseshoes (fig. 19) are the largest category of objects from the site, with one complete example and six fragments. All were associated with House Site One. Item 9 comes from the floor make-up of phase 3 and item 10 from under the tumble of the walls of phase 3 of House Site One. All the horseshoes are in a very corroded condition. However, it is possible to see from the X-rays that they all have straight-cut edges. There are no examples of early medieval horseshoes with wavy edges. Horseshoes with straight edges are typical of the mid-thirteenth century onwards, but they had a very long life. It is not possible to distinguish any more specific types due to the condition of the fragments. However, the horseshoe nail (11) is of a type used with later medieval horseshoes introduced before the middle of the fourteenth century (Clark 1986), and was found in a post-occupation layer on House Site Two.

Item 12 is a fragment from a rowel spur (fig. 18). It was found in the collapsed party wall of Phase 2 of House Site One. Rowel spurs first appear in the early thirteenth century, gradually replacing prick spurs. The length of the rowel box suggests that it probably had a large rowel. There is a very similar example represented on a brass of Sir Andrew Louterell who died in 1390 at Irnham, Lincolnshire (LMMC 1940, 104, fig. 32.4).

4. Horseshoe. Very corroded fragment from a quarter. Length 56 mm; Small find no. 200, context 38, House Site One, phase 3. Not illustrated.

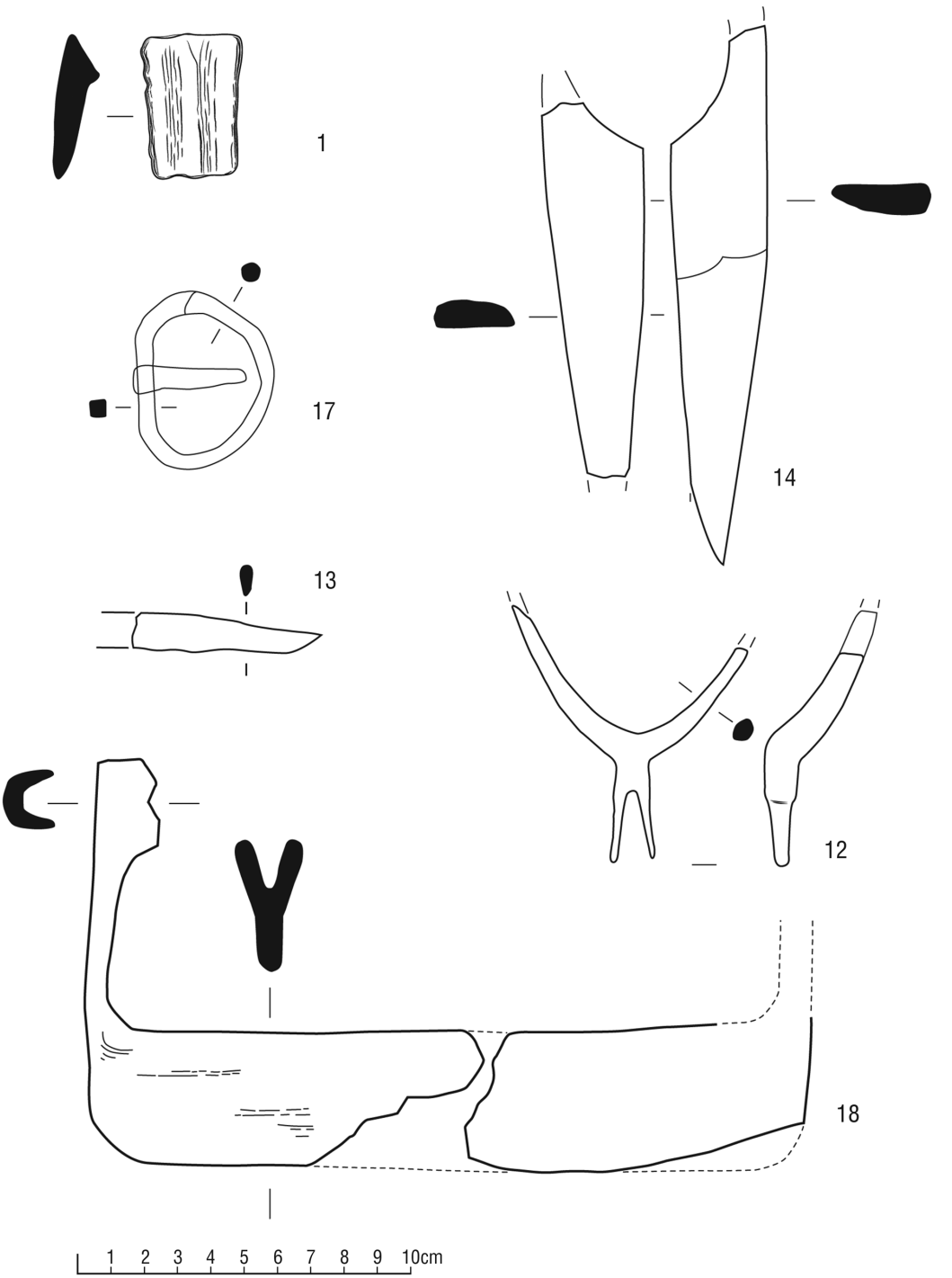

Fig. 18 Objects of copper alloy and miscellaneous iron objects.

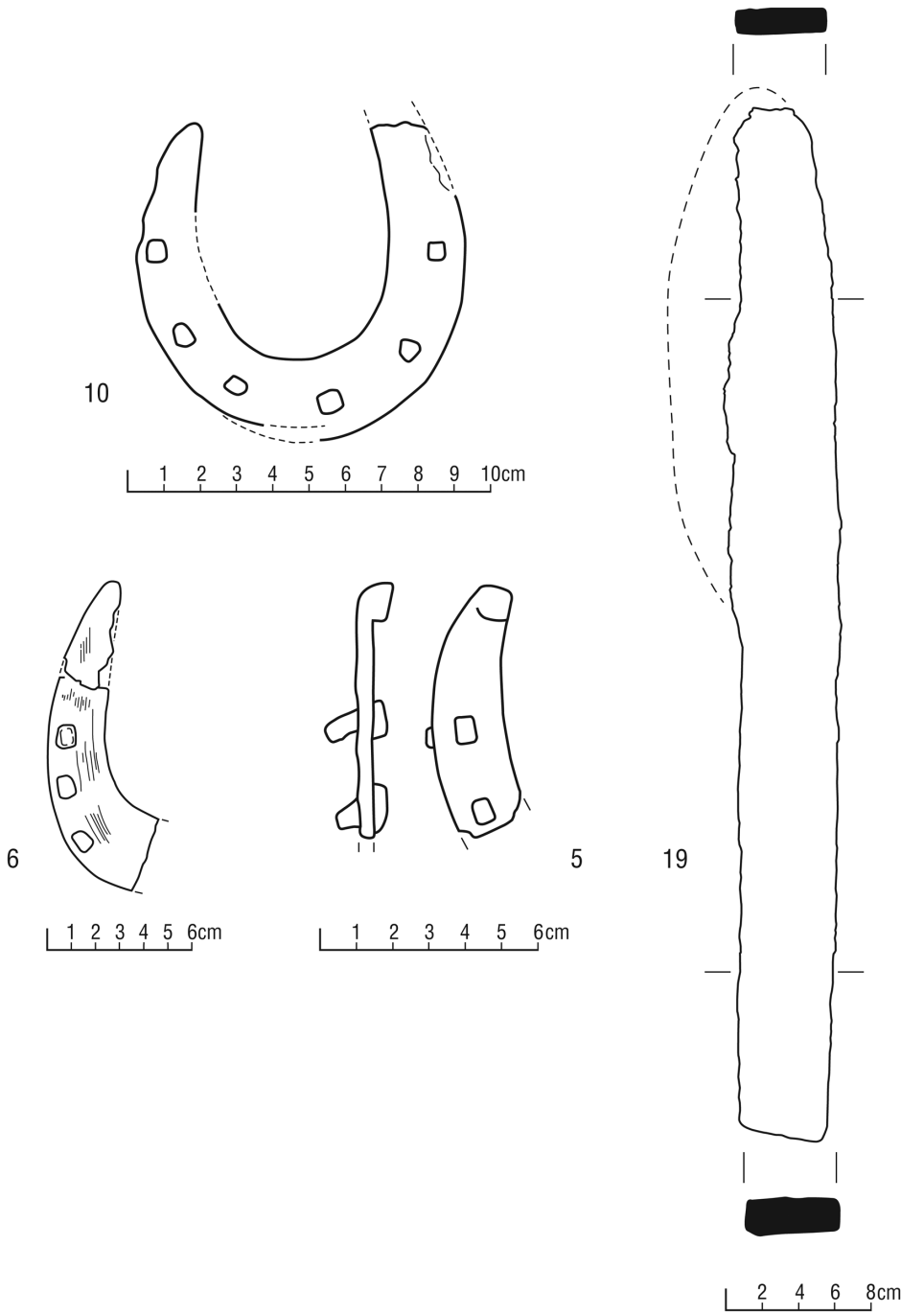

Fig. 19 Objects of iron: horseshoes and plough coulter.

5. Horseshoe. Fragment of a quarter and heel with calkin from a corroded horseshoe. Two rectangular nail holes each with part of a rectangular head nail in place. Length 68 mm, width of arm 24 mm; Small find no. 307, context 1, House Site One, phase 5.

6. Horseshoe. A very fragmentary part of a quarter and heel with three rectangular nail holes. Length 130 mm; Small find no. 136, context 2, House Site One, phase 5.

7. Horseshoe. A fragment from the heel of a corroded horseshoe. Length 56 mm; Small find no. 140, context 6, House Site One, phase 3. Not illustrated.

8. Horseshoe. A very corroded fragment of a quarter and heel, with one rectangular nail hole. Length 95 mm; Small find no. 100, context 10, House Site One, phase 3. Not illustrated.

9. Horseshoe. Two fragments from a quarter, heel missing, very corroded with the remains of two square nail holes. Length 88 mm, maximum width 30 mm; Small find no. 218, context 38, House Site One, phase 3. Not illustrated.

10. Horseshoe. One heel is missing. Six rectangular nail holes. Length 105 mm, width 97 mm; Small find no. 162, context 43, House Site One, phase 2.

11. Horseshoe nail. Very corroded, the shank has a square cross-section expanding to a flat head. Small find no. 398, context 201, House Site Two, phase 3.

12. Rowel spur (fig. 18). The terminals and rowel are missing. The thickest part of the spur is behind the wearer's heel, where the top edges of the sides rise up. The sides have a D-shaped cross-section, they plunge into a curve under the ankle. The neck is slightly down-pointing and is divided for most of its length by the rowel box, which has D-section sides. Overall length of spur body 80 mm, length of rowel box, 40 mm; Small find no. 233, context 59, House Site One, phase 2.

KNIVES AND SHEARS (fig. 18)

There is a fragment from a knife with a triangular shaped blade (item 13), recovered from topsoil (phase 5). Many examples of this type can be seen from London in thirteenth to fifteenth century contexts (Cowgill *et al.* 1987).

The shears (item 14) are fragmentary but when complete would have been a large example. Large shears were probably use for cloth cutting or sheep shearing. They were found in the make-up for the south wall of phase 2 of House Site One. A pair of similarly proportioned shears from Seacourt, Oxfordshire, have been described by Goodall as suitable for cloth cutting (Biddle, 1961–2, 172, fig. 29.1; Goodall 1981).

13. Knife. Triangular shaped blade. The tang is set central to the blade. The blade is fragmentary and the tip is missing. Length of blade 56 mm, width 13 mm, thickness 4 mm, length of tang 25 mm; Small find no. 279; context 1, House Site One, phase 5.

14. Shears. Fragments of two blades from a pair of large shears. The tops of the blades are curved. The handles have a circular cross-section. Length 157 mm, maximum width 34 mm; Small find no. 265; context 49, House Site One, phase 2.

STRUCTURAL IRONWORK AND MISCELLANEOUS FITTINGS

Item 15 was part of a collar probably used to bind and strengthen a wooden staff or pole. It is unstratified. Eight nails came from the site. Seven are fragments of nail shanks, six with square cross-sections and one with a circular cross-section. Only one nail has a head, it is flat and T-shaped. This is a medieval type seen at Perth (Ford and Walsh 1987). It was found in wall-tumble on House Site One. Six of the remaining nails were also associated with House

Site One. Two came from topsoil (phase 5) and four from a phase 2 floor layer. The remaining nail came from a post-occupation layer on House Site Two.

15. Collar. Diameter 42 mm, thickness 24 mm. Unstratified. Not illustrated.

16. Nail. Flat, T-shaped head, the shank is rectangular in cross-section. Small find no. 323; context 202, House Site Two, phase 3. Not illustrated.

Miscellaneous (fig. 18)

The buckle (item 17) is D-shaped, which is the most common type of buckle in the medieval period. Buckles like this are usually forged in one piece, but this example has been made from a bent and hammered rod which has overlapping free ends. There are two examples from Winchester which also have overlapping free ends but on both those buckles, unlike this example, the overlapping ends form the pin bar (Biddle *et al.*, 1990, 527, fig. 136, nos. 1266–7). A buckle of this size was probably used on a horse-harness. It was recovered from post-occupation material on House Site Two.

Item 18 is a rectangular spade iron which was found in the floor make-up in phase 3 of House Site One. The wooden blade of a spade was often fitted with an iron edging to make it stronger and to give a sharper cutting edge. The wooden blade of the spade would fit into the groove in the spade iron and would be secured by a rivet through the lug at the top of the arms. Rectangular shaped blades occur mainly in the fourteenth century and later contexts (Goodall 1980). Further examples of rectangular spade irons occur at Sandal Castle (Goodall 1983, 242, nos. 52, 53) and at Eyemouth (Dixon 1986).

17. Buckle. D-shaped buckle frame with overlapping ends. The frame has a circular cross-section, the pin bar is square in cross-section. The iron pin is made from a rod bent around the frame. Length 53 mm, width 40 mm; Small find no. 397, context 201, House Site Two, phase 3.

18. Spade iron. Rectangular shaped blade with rounded corners. The rectangular shaped mouth is grooved (depth of groove 14 mm). The remaining straight arm extends to a curved lug, which is pierced. Small find no. 192, context 38, House Site One, phase 3.

PLOUGH COULTER

Piers Dixon

Finds of coulters are rare and its function was not immediately recognised (Tylecote below). Indeed it was the reporting of the Lyminge Anglo-Saxon plough coulter that led to its interpretation (Thomas 2012). The size of the shank, its slight curvature towards one end (fig. 19) and the Neuman bands suggest that item 19 is a broken coulter, the blade having broken off from the shank in use. Two coulters, described as possibly of medieval date, one of which has a rectangular cross-section of similar size, were found in excavations at London (Goodall 2011, 77, 84–5). However, the shank of this coulter is longer than either. Another example of a coulter, said to be thirteenth-century, with a similar shank of rectangular section, was found in excavations at the keep of the castle at Newcastle (Castle Keep Museum). A coulter was one of two iron components of a heavy mould board plough, the other being the share.

Note by R. F. Tylecote The wrought iron bar (*sic*) has a uniform and low carbon content, probably from an efficient smelting process. The slag content is unusually low, so it is of good

quality. The hardness is in the range 162–181 HVl which suggests that it contains some phosphorous (about 0.3%). At some time it has received some heavy deformation as it contains Neuman bands which indicate either heavy cold work or an explosion.

19. Wrought iron coulter. Length 585 mm, 53–63 mm in breadth, 15–21 mm thick, and 4.1 kg in weight. This object was sealed under a paved floor of phase 3 of House Site One (fig. 16). Small find no. 190, context 67, House Site One, phase 3.

Objects of stone (fig. 20)

STONE OBJECTS

B. A. Ford

Item 1 is a possible gaming counter. It was recovered from topsoil (phase 5). Item 2 is spindle whorl, which is highly decorative, and has been nicely finished with surface burnishing. It came from post-occupation material on House Site Two.

1. Counter. Roughly circular made from Old Red Sandstone. Maximum diameter 35 mm, thickness 8 mm; Small find no. 47, context 1, House Site One, phase 5.

2. Spindle whorl. A burnished ornate spindle whorl. Diameter 32 mm, diameter of the hole 8 mm; Small find no. 312, context 201, House Site Two, phase 3.

FLINT OBJECTS

Joan Weyman

The arrowhead and blade suggest an early Neolithic context. The core is interesting in that it would produce tiny flakes of one centimetre or less in both length and breadth. Since attempts were made to do so it implies that such flakes were needed or desired. These could only be used practically by mounting them in some form of base such as wood or bone, perhaps to produce a form of harvesting knife to cut herbage, at which the fine thin flakes would be very effective. This could also be fitted into an early Neolithic context in such a situation, rather than the Mesolithic.

3. Piece of good dark honey-brown flint of almost square form without signs of tool preparation but some edges are worn. Cortex is of thin chalky character. Dimensions 19 × 16 × 6 mm; Small find 146, context 2, House Site One, phase 5.

4. A tiny core of Clark's class A1 (Clark *et al.*, 1960, 216), of honey flint with a pebble cortex. Scars are of flake rather than blade form and attempts have been made to remove even further flakes in spite of the small size of the residual core. Dimensions 21 × 18 × 12 mm; Small find 294, context 1, House Site One, phase 5.

5. A small blade of good honey-grey flint with fine speckles and a chalky cortex. The distal end has been steeply worked across, and the right side is worked down the whole length while still leaving traces of the cortex. The left side is partly trimmed on both faces. The piece appears well used. Dimensions 29 × 9 × 2 mm; Small find 344, context 201, House Site Two, phase 3.

6. A thin flake of mottled grey flint, which has been flaked on part of the face and along three margins. There is no work on the reverse, which still retains the bulb. It is probably a leaf arrowhead of not very skilled workmanship. Dimensions 27 × 19 × 2 mm; Small find 164, context 11, House Site One, phase 3

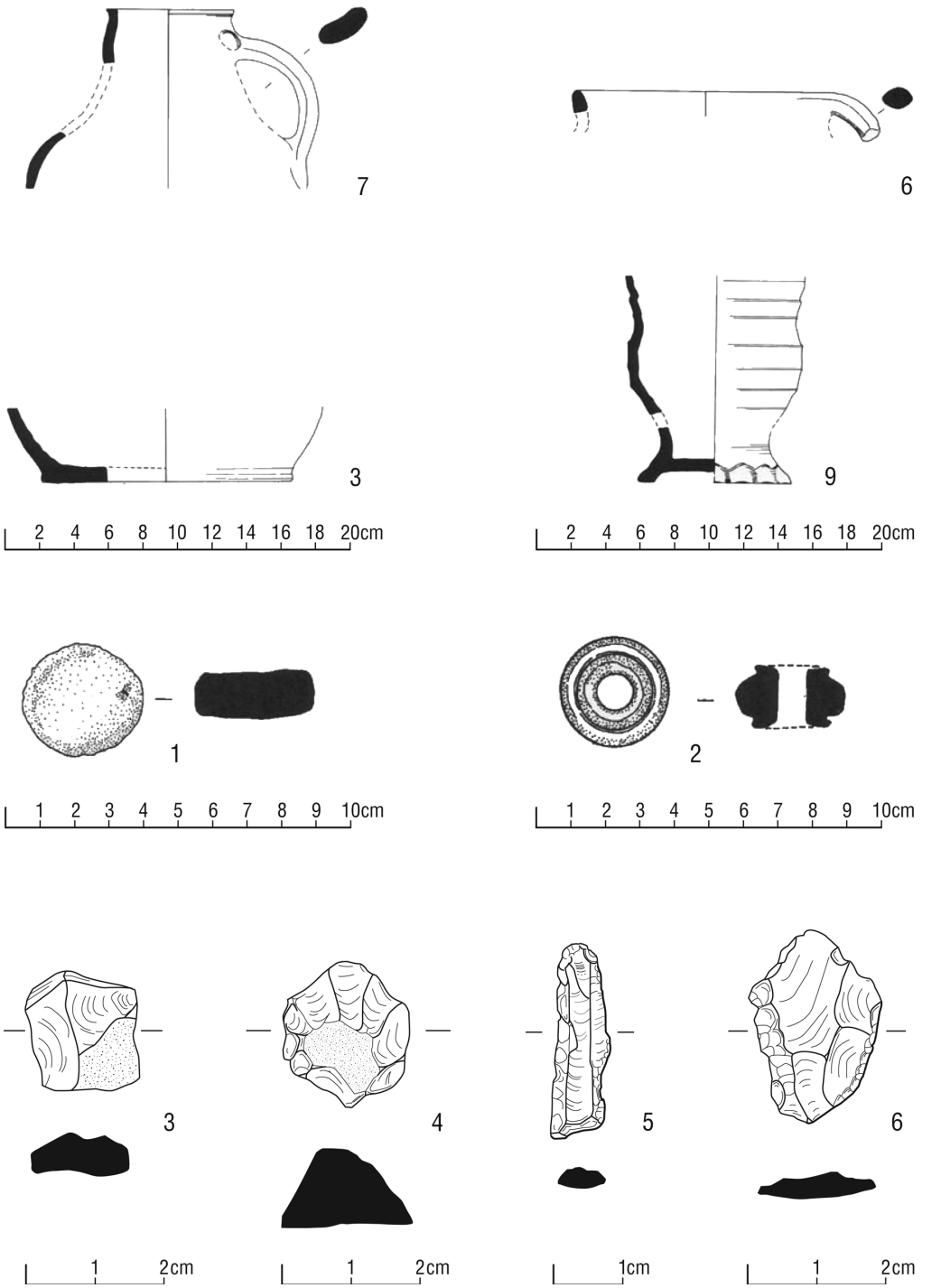

Fig. 20 Objects of stone, and pottery vessels 3, 6, 7, 9.

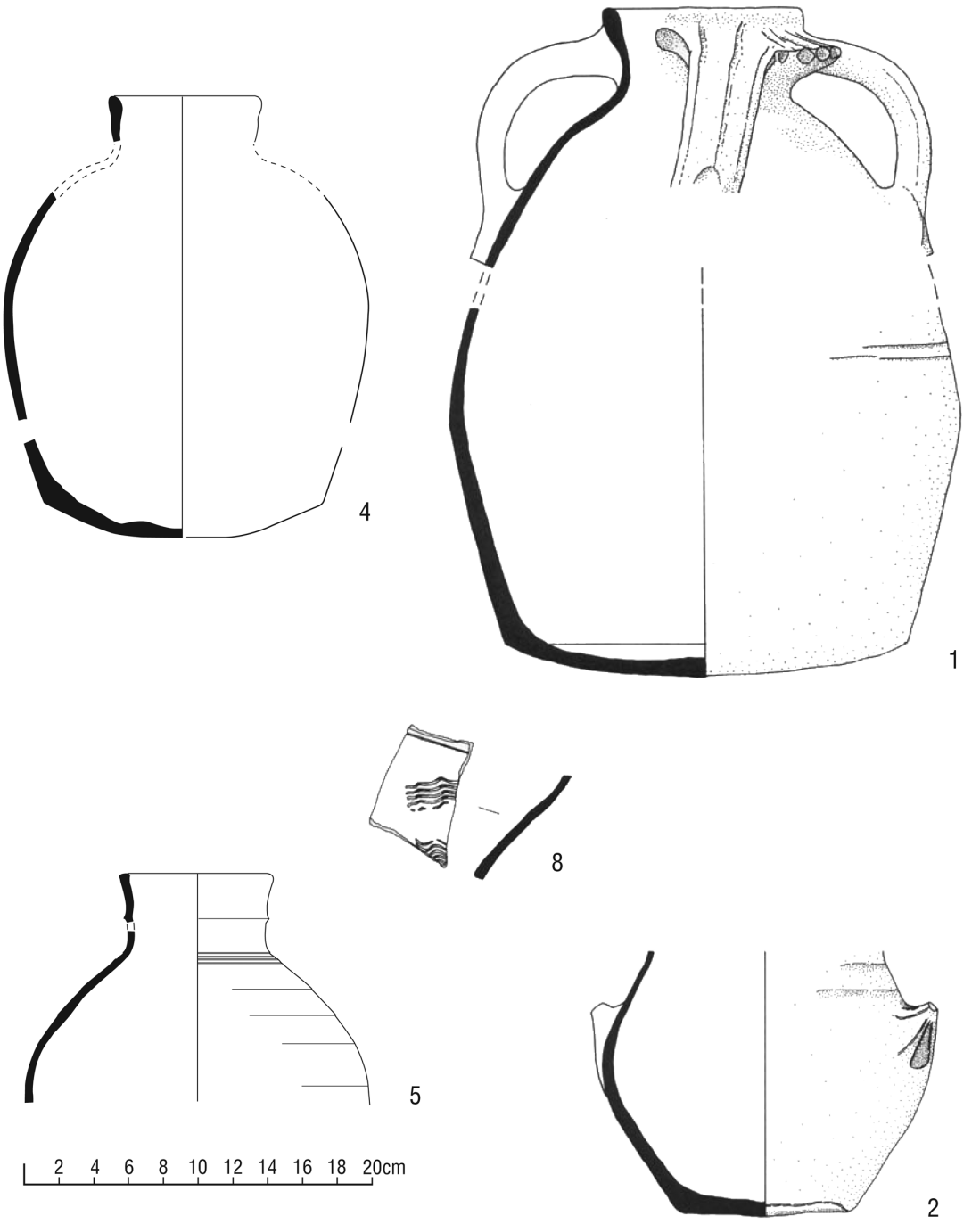

Fig. 21 Pottery vessels and decorated sherd, items 1, 2, 4, 5, 8.

The pottery

Amanda Crowdy and Piers Dixon

SUMMARY

Three fabrics were identified in the assemblage of pottery from Alnhamsheles of which one is an imported ware from Raeren in Germany and another is Scarborough Ware, both in small quantities. The remainder comprises 32 vessels of the local Late Medieval Reduced Ware. The non-local wares give a broad date range of mid-thirteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries, matching the dating evidence of other artefacts from the site. The vessels are predominantly jugs, storage jars and drinking vessels typical of a late medieval assemblage.

All sherds found in the topsoil (phase 5) and phase 4 are residual. Only four sherds were found in Phase 1 contexts and they were mainly from subsoil cut features, of which at least one, from vessel 1, is likely to be intrusive in this context. The majority of the assemblage therefore derives from phases 2 and 3 (see Table 5). All sherds were recorded as small finds and in some instances more than one sherd was found together.

THE FABRICS

Scarborough Ware Types 1 and 2

There are nine sherds from a minimum of two vessels (33 and 34), dating from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth centuries (Pearson 1982). The sherds, which include applied decorative strips, were found in phase 3 and the topsoil (phase 5), and are likely to be residual in these contexts. Not illustrated.

Raeren Ware

There are 12 sherds from one vessel (35), dating to the period, AD 1480–1550 (Gaimster 1997), which has a characteristic thumbed base. It is found in phase 3 and in phase 5. It was particularly evident in the make-up for the floor of House Site One in phase 3, either suggesting it originated in phase 2 and is residual, or was broken during construction. Catalogue no. 9.

Local Late Medieval Reduced Wares

There are at least 32 vessels of a type similar to that described in the Jedburgh Friary (Crowdy 2000), Eyemouth town (Crowdy 1986), West Whelpington deserted village (Evans 1987) and

Table 5 Number of pottery find-spots per type by phase.

PHASE	1	2	3	4	5
Scarborough Ware	0	0	2	0	2
Raeren Stoneware	0	0	8	0	1
Local Reduced Ware	4	42	165	6	101
Total	4	42	175	6	104

the Castle Ditch, Newcastle upon Tyne (Ellison 1981), as well as others on the Anglo-Scottish border.

They are part of a broad fourteenth to sixteenth century tradition of partially reduced coarse wares, with a variation in its basic proportions of inclusions (quartz, mica etc.), dependent on the local clay properties and the form of the vessel. Galena glaze is used to partially cover the vessels and are probably dipped or dusted. There are a lot of splashes, although the upper sections of the vessels are often dipped and left unglazed below. The forms here are jugs and storage jars with characteristic sagging bases, thickening walls towards the base, thumbed handles, prominent wheel markings and rilling marks on the interior and exterior of the vessel, often near the base. However, some vessels have flat bases (e.g. vessels 3, 7). Some of the sherds are sooted, but this could be post-depositional. The fabric ranges from a hard, partially reduced, mostly oxidised buff pinkish-white to a reduced grey ware with a smooth to finely irregular fracture, and from 3 mm to 12 mm in thickness. The fabric is filled with sparse to moderate, fine to medium quartz; sparse to moderate fine mica, sparse fine iron ore. The galena glaze can vary in colour from a dull olive green to dark yellow. A white slip was identified on the exterior surface of one vessel (vessel 8). The forms represented show a range in size, vessel 1 being the largest form. Decorative rilling on the upper shoulder of the jugs is also evident.

The distribution of the Late Medieval Reduced Wares on site shows several interesting concentrations, both overall and by vessel. Clusters of sherds just outside the middle of the south wall of House Site One suggest the location of an entrance here in phase 3 (fig. 13), as does a cluster outside the south wall of the building in House Site Two. No sherds from the 18 vessels represented in the area of House Site One were found in House Site Two and vice versa with respect to the 15 vessels found in House Site Two. Sherds of vessels 1, 2 and 3 were only found in House Site 1 (fig. 13) and mainly in the destruction deposits of phase 2, or the construction deposits of phase 3. One sherd of vessel 1 was found in a stake hole (107) interpreted as phase 1, but this may be intrusive, since the larger part of it was found in the destruction deposits of phase 2 (see above). Vessel 2 in particular was squashed under a fallen stone from the wall of the phase 2 house.

POTTERY CATALOGUE

Items 1–8 described in the catalogue (figs. 20 and 21) have reduced grey fabrics and green glazes unless otherwise stated; they are selected to illustrate the range of vessels. A further 24 Reduced Ware vessels were identified but have not been illustrated here. Number 9 is Raeren stoneware.

1. Large storage jar with at least two strap handles set at right angles to each other on the neck, with a sagging base. The glaze is partly discoloured brown by the soil and the fabric grey. Rim diameter 120 mm, base diameter 250 mm and height 390 mm; contexts 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 14, 18, 19, 20, 38, 56, 59, 92, 107, House Site One, phases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, vessel 1.

2. Globular glazed jug with a single strap handle and a very slightly sagging base; its rim is missing. The fabric is unusual in being oxidised orange with a clear-glaze; Height >150 mm, base diameter 100 mm. Many of the sherds came from under a collapsed orthostatic stone from the north wall of House Site One at the destruction of phase 2. Contexts 18, 20, 38, House Site One, phase 2 and 3, vessel 2.

3. Flat base of a jar, rim missing, 140 mm in diameter; contexts 1, 57, 59, 38, House Site One, phases 2, 3, 5, vessel 3.

4. Storage jar with a sagging base, similar in section to vessel 1, but 25% smaller. Rim diameter 90 mm, base diameter 165 mm; contexts 1, 6, 38, House Site One, phases 3 and phase 5, vessel 4.

5. Storage jar, rim 97 mm in diameter, base missing. Contexts 2, 38, 57, phase 2, 3 and 5, House Site One, vessel 6.

6. Pot with small calibre rod handle. Rim diameter 142 mm, House Site One, Small find 170, context 28, House Site One, phase 4, vessel 25.

7. Narrow necked jug with strap handle. Rim diameter 72 mm, base missing. Context 2, House Site One, phase 5, vessel 27.

8. Body sherd from shoulder of storage jar decorated with wavy incised, combed marks. Small find 3, context 1, House Site One, phase 5.

9. Raeren stoneware drinking vessel with thumbed base. Contexts 2, 10, 37, 38, House Site One, phases 3 and phase 5, vessel 35.

DISCUSSION

Dating

The documentary sources relating to the village of Alnhamsheles suggest that it was occupied from *c.* 1265–1550 in one form or another, and the archaeological evidence from the excavations of this part of the village complements this conclusion. Apart from the coin of Alexander III, and this is not in a primary context, there is little archaeological data that may be securely dated before 1300, and there is very little artefactual material from phase 1 contexts at all. The documentary reference to the 'the Seles of Alnham Moor' in 1265 suggests a shieling site rather than a permanent settlement at that date. This is not the form of occupation revealed by the excavation. According to the documentary sources there were eleven tenants at Alnhamsheles in 1314/5, suggesting a village. However, the name does not appear in subsequent Inquisitions of the Percy family in the fourteenth century, suggesting but not conclusively confirming a period of abandonment in the mid-fourteenth century (Dixon 1985 II, 32–4). The destruction of buildings at Alnham Moor referred to immediately prior to 1472 provides circumstantial evidence for at least one destruction episode. The village had apparently been abandoned by the mid-sixteenth century when the lands of Alnham Moor were converted to a demesne (ie. land managed directly by the lord of the manor) that were leased to John Horsley in 1566–7 (Dixon 1985, II, No. 7). Such a tenancy does not preclude any form of dependent settlement, but it is unlikely to have taken the form of tenant farmers, since these are not documented. What is certain is that the village was deserted by the time of Mayson's survey in the early seventeenth century, and the demesne lands of Alnham Moor, which were once again leased, were based at a single steading at the mouth of the Shank Burn. The annotation of the estate plan with 'Here stode the towne' at the site of the village is unequivocal evidence for its abandonment. Subsequently, a small hamlet, comprising three long building-ranges, was established on the banks of the Shank Burn near its confluence with the Breamish by the early eighteenth century, replacing it would seem, the steading on the north bank.

The excavations indicate that there were three phases of occupation and a subsequent phase when part of the site was used as a sheepfold, probably in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. The *floruit* of the two coins, *c.* 1250–1400, and the late-medieval pottery, complement the dating suggested by the documentary sources of *c.* 1265–1550, but can the individual phases be more closely dated? The *floruit* of phase 1 is strongly suggested to be around AD

1300 from the absence of many artefacts that should be dated pre-1300. The coin of Alexander III is perhaps the best example of that with a loss date of around AD 1280, indicating a late-thirteenth century foundation for the settlement. The pottery vessels found in the Phase 2 destruction deposit of House Site One, however, are Late Medieval Reduced Ware, a type of glazed domestic ware generally dated to the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries, which cannot be more closely dated (Pottery catalogue nos. 1 and 2). Only the Scarborough Ware has a date range from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century that would support an occupation around 1300, but the lack of cooking pots is significant, making it difficult to argue for the settlement starting much earlier than 1300, when cooking pots were common.

Of late-medieval date, and specifically dated by comparison with a similar one of the late fourteenth century, is the rowel spur that was found under the collapsed wall of phase 2 of House Site One. The dating suggested for this artefact is consistent with phase 2 (fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century), pre-dating the devastation recorded in 1472. Good archaeological dating for the start of phase 3 rests with the German stoneware drinking mug, most of which was incorporated into the make-up of the floor of phase 3 of House Site One, suggesting a recent break. This indicates a date no earlier than the late fifteenth century for the construction of phase 3. The squared spade shoe, also incorporated in the make-up of the same floor, is a type that dates from the fourteenth century and later, and could have been in use during a phase 2 of fourteenth to fifteenth century date. Like the mug, it could either have been lost during construction, or else be residual in this context. The end of phase 3 is not as well marked by datable, stratified artefacts, except for the absence of any definitively seventeenth century or later material.

Housing

There were three successive phases of building on House Site One and a single phase of a second building (House Site Two) that was built immediately to the north-east. House Site One occupied the south side of a square enclosure, and the building on House Site Two was built over the east wall of the same enclosure, its accompanying ditch cutting the wall, indicating that it postdates it. This places the building on House Site Two in phase 3, since the enclosure is coeval with the phase 2 house, suggesting that the use of the enclosure was shared between two households in phase 3.

Sufficient stratigraphic continuity exists to suggest that none of the intervals between the three phases of occupation of House Site One was long lived enough for the earlier sites to be forgotten. This is evident in the re-use of the same hearth site in phase 2 and the re-use of the south and west walls in the construction of the house in phase 3. This degree of continuity of occupation and use of the same house-site is significant, suggesting that reoccupation was carried out by those who were the former inhabitants.

The primary building, phase 1, was constructed with perishable materials. The major structural supports were post-hole set timbers, *c.* 0.25 m across, with walls in-filled with wattle panels and weatherproofed with turf. Measuring *c.* 12 m by 4 m internally, giving a floor area of *c.* 48 square metres, it was a byre-house, partitioned into two unequal parts. The byre occupied the east or down slope end, with an oblong sump and a row of four posts suggesting stalls or tethering posts for cattle arrayed along the south side. The partition wall, also of timber, was based on a beam set in a slot, as a base for a wattle and daub frame. A hollow clay hearth in the west end indicates this was the living area.

In phase 2 a cruck-framed building of three bays was constructed with footings of stone up to 0.5 m in height and 1 m in thickness, with large stone facings and a rubble core bonded with clay. The superstructure of the walls may have been of turf. The crucks appear to have been set on the ground and incorporated within the stone footings, on the evidence from the south wall of phase 2 of House Site One, where a slot was preserved within the core of the wall and a shallow hollow in the ground underneath. The slight narrowing of the house at the west end near the corners, and the lack of any sign of a cruck-setting there suggest that the roof was hipped. The house provided an internal floor-area *c.* 10.5 m by 4 m internally, or 42 square metres, a little smaller than the previous phase. The house was divided into two compartments like that in phase 1. The stone-lined drain in the east end indicates that there was a problem of damp and drainage within the house. It is not an open drain suitable for a byre, but a covered drain of narrow draught. Indeed, the hearth at the head of the drain suggests that the east end was not used as a byre at all and that there was a living area in the east end and a private chamber to the west. A stone bench provided a base for a bed or chest in the west room, while the hollow beside the partition inherited from phase 1 was prone to wetness and also required drainage. Perhaps this room provided sleeping and storage space and the central area around the hearth was the main living area. Carbonised cereal grains found in the drain add weight to this interpretation, suggesting the processing of cereals for food. The east compartment displayed no evidence of separation of the hearth area from the putative byre to the east that might be expected if cattle were kept indoors at any time, nor much trace of a hard stand. However, the cruck-frame at this end provided the opportunity for a screen or partition that might leave little or no trace in the ground, and it is possible that the east end was at least used as a byre in winter.

In phase 3 the two buildings of House Sites One and Two were also divided into two main compartments and constructed with similar footings of stone and a cruck-framed roof. House Site One was about a metre narrower than in phase 2 at its west end, incorporating the west and south walls of the previous house, but appears to have been up to *c.* 3.5 m wide towards the east end, where it included part of the north wall of phase 2. House Site Two, however, was as broad as phase 2 of House Site One at 4 m internally and, if the unexcavated surface indications are accurate was as long as that of House Site One at *c.* 20 m overall. House Site One made up for its narrowness at the one end by being broader at the other, giving a floor area of *c.* 54 square metres, larger than phases 1 and 2. The new east end was noticeably rounded rather than squared, which confirms that it had a hipped roof construction. The gravel and paved east compartment suggests a barn or byre use of the east end. The sump at the end of the phase 2 drain was paved over, and there is no constructed drain or sump. However, the east end was lower and this may have been sufficient to allow the cattle urine to drain, but its use as a barn also remains a possibility. A line of four paving stones laid across the middle of the building on the east edge of the paved area might indicate internal partitioning of the east compartment, dividing a central paved barn from a byre end. The House Site One building was much robbed of stone, particularly in the middle, where the partition, on analogy with the House Site Two building, had been, but enough remained to define its overall plan.

The west compartment in both houses was floored with clay and survived largely intact in each house. The floors of both had a concave surface in the middle of which sat a hearthstone in House Site Two, but it had been robbed from House Site One, leaving a stone edged hollow where it was located. The partition wall surviving in House Site Two was based on a stone

foundation and had a superstructure of clay or daub, the base of which was still present. Space for access to the byre is evident to north and south of the partition, and the likely site of an external entrance must have been outside the area excavated, in the byre end. In House Site One the entrance is suggested by cobbling, midway along the north side. The presence of a cluster of pottery finds outside the wall on the opposite side of the house may indicate the presence of an opposed entrance and a through passage. The roof may have been covered with heather, which is well represented in the botanical samples from the surface of the floor of House Site Two, but this material could also have provided floor covering or bedding. The use of turf in the roof as an under layer is suggested by the presence of tormentil (*Potentilla* sp) in botanical samples from the same stratified deposits, which were assessed for the presence of pollen by Brian Moffat (pers. comm.). Tormentil grows in profusion in the grass around the site.

The architectural context of the houses

The phase 1 house with its post-set, turf-and-wattle walls does not have obvious parallels in the region. The closest parallel is Period 1 at West Whelpingon, a medieval village with a similar upland edge location, which is also closest in date. Although the internal arrangements are similar, with accommodation for cattle and humans, the walls were different with timber, wattle and daub on dwarf stone sills (Evans and Jarrett 1987, 292–4). A burnt cruck found in a Period 1 house at West Whelpington led to the suggestion of cruck roof architecture, but this need not be the case at Alnhamsheles where the turf walls could have been used to support the roof. Although turf buildings have not been found elsewhere in the region, post-set structures have. For example, part of a post-and-slot based timber building was excavated beside a pottery kiln of twelfth-century date at Eshott, near Morpeth (Dixon 2004, 27–44). On the Scottish side of the border, smaller post-set houses preceded the cruck-framed thirteenth-century houses at Springwood Park, near Kelso, Roxburghshire (Dixon 1999, 742), suggesting an architectural change to cruck-framed construction, which it appears is evident here too.

The Alnhamsheles houses from phases 2 and 3 compare well in size and architecture with the Period II houses at West Whelpington, ranging from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The West Whelpington houses had an average floor area of 50.5 m², broadly comparable with the floor areas of *c.* 42 and *c.* 54 m² respectively at Alnhamsheles. Like the houses at West Whelpington the living room was to the west and the byre on the downhill side to the east, and they were by definition longhouses, although the cross-passage that was *de rigeur* at West Whelpington was only evident in phase 3 at Alnhamsheles (see Housing, above). The construction was also superficially similar with walls of clay-bonded stone, faced with boulders and in-filled with a core of small stones and clay, which, apparently, stood to the eaves at West Whelpington, and it was inferred there were cruck roofs (Evans and Jarrett 1987, 294–6). However, at Alnhamsheles the even height of the low stone walls, the limited quantity of tumble and the post-occupation spreads of silt suggest a turf superstructure on a stone base. Unlike West Whelpington Period II (Evans and Jarrett 1987, 294) there is evidence for wood and clay partitions on a stone base in phase 3 between the living room and the byre and in phase 2 between a retiring area and the main living area and possible byre, suggesting late-medieval variations in domestic arrangements not seen at West Whelpington until the seventeenth century.

The cruck-based vernacular architecture observed here has been recognised on both sides of the Scottish border. For example, it was evident at Springwood Park, Scottish Borders (Dixon 1999) and also Eldbotle, East Lothian (Hindmarsh and Oram 2013; Morrison *et al.* 2008) in medieval contexts of similar date in Scotland as well as in northern England (Evans and Jarrett 1988, 170–175; Wrathmell 2012, 252). At Alnhamsheles, the clearest cruck-setting was evident as a slot within the core of the stone wall, the foot resting on the ground, leaving a shallow pit in the surface underneath. There were three other examples of a shallow pit on the robbed wall line of the houses that suggest the position of crucks. However, at Springwood Park and Eldbotle, the crucks were based on flat stones in the line of the wall, either raised above ground level, or at or even below ground level on a flat stone in a pit.

Putting the difficulty of defining entrances at Alnhamsheles to one side, there appear to be longhouses in all three phases. However, the paving with an open, recessed drain that was a common feature at West Whelpington, providing clear evidence for a cattle byre, is more equivocal in phases 2 and 3 at Alnhamsheles. The phase 1 sump and stalls presents good evidence for the management and housing of cattle, if on a small scale, there being tethering posts for only four cattle. Phase 3 had a patchily paved area that sloped downhill, allowing for the run-off of slurry, but in phase 2 the covered stone-lined drain had a relatively small bore of 0.15 m across the top of its V-shaped profile. Such a narrow drain would seem unlikely to function as efficiently as an open drain, since it would easily clog up with slurry. The closest comparison with this kind of drain is in the easternmost building at Eldbotle (Morrison *et al.* 2008) and two of the phase 3 buildings at Springwood Park. It is suggested that this type of drain was constructed to remove surplus water from the interior in wet conditions when the water-table rose, rather than for the removal of cattle slurry (Dixon 1999, 746–7). Indeed, the lack of any clear evidence for a partition between the living area around the hearth and the rest of the east end, except by inference (see Housing, above), or of much of a stone stand in the phase 2 house has led to the suggestion that the east end was not used for cattle at all. At the very least the number of cattle cannot have been great, perhaps three or four per side at most in the space available. In phase 3 the extra length and paved areas suggest the practice of housing cattle in winter returned on a larger scale than before. A progressive increase in building size and of byres too, was observed from Period I through to Period III at West Whelpington, as holdings increased in size (Evans and Jarrett 1987, 292–7). Such engrossment of holdings finds parallels in villages across Northumberland (Dixon 1985; Wrathmell 1975), but is not documented here and the construction of a second house in phase 3 suggests quite the opposite, an increase in cattle as well as an increase in holdings.

Economy

Too few artefacts can be attributed with confidence to phase 1 to enable any assessment of the economy at that stage. Since phase 2 followed quite closely on phase 1 it may not be possible to separate the two anyway. Carbonised grains were found in both phase 2 and 3 contexts. These included emmer wheat, hulled barley and oats, but no chaff, so they may have been imported — especially the wheat in such as high location. However, there is some basis here for the raising of cereal crops, especially when placed in the context of arable land extending to some 220 acres and clear traces of broad ridge and furrow. Furthermore there are two small round structures in the settlement that may have been corn-drying kilns, although no mills are known in upper Breamish valley. Confirmation that the inhabitants were engaged in

cultivation of the fields comes from the broken shank of a coulter, presumably from a heavy, mould-board plough. The spade shoe is an also indication of cultivation, but was not a necessity in the kind of plough-based ridge cultivation indicated here. However, the garden plot provided the opportunity for spade-dug cultivation, and the flat-ended style of the shoe is comparable with one found in the medieval midden site at Eyemouth (Dixon 1986, 36–7). Horses were evidently kept (on the basis of the shoes), and it is inferred that stock, whether horses or cattle, were stalled or tethered in the phase 1 house, if not subsequently, since the evidence for a byre, or indeed stable, in phases 2 and 3 is equivocal.

Together, the shears and the spindle whorl indicate the production of wool and cloth, probably from sheep, although goats cannot be ruled out. The large size of the shears led to the suggestion that they were for cloth finishing, and by inference weaving, using the yarns produced by the spindle whorl, was being carried out at the site. This suggests a mixed farming economy, if not its balance.

The domestic economy is evident in the presence of glazed pottery vessels for the storage of liquids and solids, but cooking pots were not present. Although some sherds showed signs of sooting indicative of cooking pots, this was not the norm and may be attributable to the effects of destruction by fire. Indeed, the foot of a copper-alloy tripod skillet provides a good alternative method of cooking food. Almost two whole pots (a small jug and a large multi strap-handled storage jar) were found under the collapsed walls of the phase 2 building, showing the range of vessel size in use. There were vessels with sagging bases as well as some with flat bases, which may indicate the presence of trestle tables, or some other furniture with flat surfaces on which to place them. The relative wealth of the inhabitants is evident from the copper-alloy tripod skillet (a kitchen utensil), but also from the rowel spur and horseshoes that indicate the riding and ownership of horses. There were two silver coins, indicating ready access to coinage in circulation. Charcoal fragments of willow, hazel and alder were common in phases 2 and 3 with some oak, ash and birch. While this might be accounted for as firewood to be burned in the hearths, wattles may be constructed from the rods of hazel and willow, and alder and oak make suitable timber for crucks and other roof timbers. Timber used for building was controlled by the Percy estate, as indicated by estate records of the late-fifteenth century (Hodgson 1921, 24–43), which refer to the roof couples (i.e. a pair of roof timbers that make an A-frame, as in a cruck-frame) that were supplied to the tenants, and Clarkson's survey of the Percy estates in 1566/7 refers to the use of alder for roof timbers at a number of its villages (Alnwick Castle, AC: A. I. 1).

The fields

The fields around the village were enclosed by an earthen dyke; this was faced on the outside (or uphill side) by stone with an external ditch making a deer dyke that could have been topped with a hedge or paling of which no trace was recovered. However, the narrowness of the trench may have precluded the location of post-holes for a fence, such as those found in excavations of the park pale at Buzzart Dikes in Perthshire (Derek Hall pers. comm.). The dyke was built directly on an uncultivated soil with evidence for burn-off, suggesting it was an original feature of the enclosure of the fields. Altogether this indicates a new intake or assart. Such a deer dyke is paralleled on Dartmoor, where it was known as a corn-ditch, and, it was argued, the demands of the royal forest dictated the form of intake (Fleming and Ralph 1982, 106). Similar intake boundaries have been found in the forests of Jedburgh and

Annandale in the Scottish Borders (RCAHMS 1994 and 1997, 37–9). Since the hunting of deer in the forest of Alnham was a prerogative of the lords of Alnwick, the maintenance of a suitable barrier to the ingress of deer that also eased their egress was necessary. It would seem unlikely that this head-dyke dates any earlier than the establishment of the village in the late thirteenth century; it could be later, although it evidently predates the estate plan of 1619.

The trenches through the two dykes that line the drove way to the west of the village were evidently constructed after cultivation had taken place, suggesting that they are secondary to the village occupation. Confirmation that these dykes post-dated the settlement is supported by the cartographic evidence. It is also evident that ridge and furrow cultivation, visible on aerial photography, ran close to the excavated buildings on the south, and may have been in operation when the village was occupied. Both the dykes on the drove way were ditched on the drove-way side, presumably to prevent animals gaining easy access to the fields on either side. If one includes the total area enclosed within the head-dyke, there are in excess of 220 acres between the head-dyke and the river Breamish on the east and the Shank Burn to the south (229 acres according to Mayson's survey). This would have given the 11 tenants of 1314–5 about 20 acres each, which is a little smaller than the typical holding of a tenant elsewhere in Northumberland of two bovates of 12 acres each (Dixon 1985, I, App. 1).

Most medieval farming communities were mixed, and there is no reason to think that this settlement with its eleven tenant farmers in 1314/5 was anything other than a mixed farming enterprise; the eleven tenants would have worked a communal system in which the demands of arable and grazing were interrelated. Apart from the unequal division of the town lands to the north and south of the Rowhope Burn, no other obvious division was apparent in the ridge and furrow, except for the different furlongs indicated by the blocks of adjacent ridges on the same axis. The presence of a large expanse of upland grazing on its doorstep provided the opportunity for a pastoral bias to the farming, but with the hill ground of Alnham being managed as a hunting forest, access to it may have been circumscribed. The relatively late date at which the settlement started may be related to the desire of the lords of Alnwick to maintain the venison and vert of the forest.

Abandonment

There were three abandonments as well as three phases of occupation. The first does not appear to have been a destructive process and was not especially long-lived in view of the subsequent occupation. It may be surmised that this occurred in the years after 1314–15 and the Inquisition reference to Alnhamsheles being worth £6 in time of peace (Documentary Evidence, above), when Border warfare was at its height following Bannockburn. Other factors that may also have affected a marginal settlement like Alnhamsheles, such as the cattle panzootic of 1318–25 (Newfield 2009), or the Black Death pandemic of 1349, have left no trace in the archaeological record. Despite these threats, resettlement followed, indicating it was still a viable farming community. The data suggests that the two later phases of houses were destroyed by fire, with particularly dramatic consequences at the end of Phase 2 when the internal partition collapsed and the whole floor was carpeted with a thin layer of charcoal. The estate records of 1472 suggest that the village had recently been destroyed by the Scots — presumably in the campaigns associated with the Wars of the Roses — and this would best fit the end of phase 2. The final phase, dating to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, shows signs of having been destroyed by fire too, with reddened clay floors and higher than

usual quantities of charcoal, but no event has been identified from documentary searches that might be responsible. However, the reasons for it being abandoned following this event may be attributed to a decision of the Percy estate in the mid-sixteenth century to lease the lands to a single tenant, who appears to have built a new farm at Alnham Moor, about 500 m to the east. This decision typifies a trend that is evident across Northumberland of creating demesne holdings that were let to a single tenant in lieu of multiple tenancies. This went hand-in-hand with the clearance of villages and the turning of arable land to pasture from the mid-sixteenth century onwards (Dixon 1985, I, Ch. 5).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the Duke of Northumberland for permission to excavate, and the tenant, Mr R. Elliot, for allowing access and for his general practical support. I could not have carried out the project without the financial support of the Universities of Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne Archaeological Research Committee, and of the Department of Archaeology at Leicester University. I should also like to thank all those volunteers and undergraduate students who worked on the site during the five seasons of work at the site. In particular, I would like to register my debt to Kevin Brown, the site assistant, who kept things going when I was otherwise engaged on administrative matters, and who provided a vital interpretative foil. I should also thank Danny Dutton who turned my scanned pen-and-ink drawings into acceptable modern digital form and James Hepher who digitised and drew up the field-survey plan. The finds and site plans were originally drawn by staff of the Borders Burghs Archaeological Project, a Community programme funded by the Manpower Services Commission in the 1980s, for whom this provided useful training. This report has taken many years to come to fruition due to inexperience on the one hand and employment commitments elsewhere on the other, with my career taking me north to Scotland and divergent priorities in the 1980s. The excavation was my first opportunity at directing, and I had to learn on the job. While this is not to excuse it, it was a factor in the delay in the production of this report, as was the need to produce graphic illustrations suitable for publication as technology changed. I only hope that in the final analysis this will have made the report better for having been so long in gestation. Last but not least, my wife Rosemary, for helpful support over the years and reading my obscure text and turning it into English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Alnwick Castle, AC: Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, Class A, Surveys and Class O, Plans.

National Archives C, Chancery Records and Inquisitions Post Mortem.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BEAN, J. M. W., 1958, *The Estates of the Percy Family, 1416–1537*, Oxford.

BIDDLE, M., 1961–2 'The deserted medieval village of Seacourt, Berkshire', *Oxoniensa*, 26–7, 70–201.

BIDDLE, M., GOODALL, I. H., and HINTON, D. A. 1990, 'Object and economy in medieval Winchester (Artefacts from medieval Winchester part ii)', *Winchester Studies*, 7(ii), 527.

BURNS, E. 1887, *The Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh.
CLARK, J. G. D., HIGGS, E. S. and LONGWORTH, I. H. 1960 'Excavations at the Neolithic site at Hurst Fen, Mildenhall, Suffolk, 1954, 1957 and 1958', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 26, 202–45.
CLARK, J. 1986 'Medieval horseshoes', Finds Research Group 700–1700, Datasheet 4.
CROWDY, A. 1986 'The pottery' *in* Dixon, P. J., *Excavations in the Fishing Town of Eyemouth*, Edinburgh, 38–55.
CROWDY, A. 2000 'Pottery 1983–5', *in* Dixon P. J., O'Sullivan J. and Rogers I. *Archaeological Excavations at Jedburgh Friary 1983–1992*, Edinburgh, 32–8.
COWGILL, J., DE NEERGAARD, M., and GRIFFITHS, N., 1987 *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 1. Knives and Scabbards*, London.
DIXON, P. J. 1985 *The Deserted Medieval Villages of North Northumberland: A Settlement History From The Twelfth To The Twentieth Century*, unpublished PhD thesis, 2 volumes (Volume II, Gazetteer of Townships), University of Wales.
DIXON, P. J. 1986 *Excavations in the Fishing Town of Eyemouth*, Edinburgh.
DIXON, P. J. 1999 'A rural settlement in Roxburghshire: excavations at Springwood Park, Kelso, 1985–6', *PSAS* 128 (1998), 671–751.
DIXON, P. J. 2003 'Champagne country: a review of medieval settlement in lowland Scotland', *in* Govan, S, *Medieval or Later Rural Settlement in Scotland: 10 Years On*, Edinburgh, 53–64.
DIXON, P. J. 2004 'A medieval pottery clamp kiln, possible workshop and settlement at Eshott, Northumberland', *Medieval Ceramics*, 25, 27–44.
ELLISON, M., 1981 'The pottery', *in* Harbottle, B. and Ellison, M. 1981 'Excavations at the Castle Ditch, Newcastle upon Tyne 1974–6', *AA*^{5}, 9, 95–164.
EVANS, D. H., 1987 'The pottery', *in* Evans D. H. and Jarrett, M. G., 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: Third Report, Part One' *AA*^{5}, 15, 255–79.
EVANS, D. H. and JARRETT, M. G. 1987 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: Third Report, Part One', *AA*^{5}, 15, 199–308.
EVANS, D. H. and JARRRETT, M. G. 1988 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: Third Report, Part Two', *AA*^{5}, 16, 139–92.
FLEMING, A. and RALPH, N. 1982 'Medieval settlement and land use on Holne Mooor, Dartmoor: the landscape evidence', *Medieval Archaeology*, 26, 101–37.
FORD, B. A. and WALSH, A. 1987, 'Iron nails', *in* Holdsworth, P. 1987, *Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Perth, 1979–1981*, Edinburgh, 139.
FOLKES, M. 1890 *English Coinage*, London.
GAIMSTER, D. R. M. 1997, *German Stoneware 1200–1900: Archaeology and Cultural History*, London.
GOODALL, I. H. 1980 *Ironwork in Medieval Britain: an Archaeological Study*, 3 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, Cardiff University.
GOODALL, I. H. 1981 'The medieval blacksmith and his products'. *in* Crossley D. W., *Medieval Industry*, London, 51–62.
GOODALL, I. H. 1983 'Iron Objects' *in* Mayes P. and Butler L., *Sandal Castle Excavations 1964–1973*, Wakefield, 240–52.
GOODALL, I. H. 2011 *Ironwork in Medieval Britain: An Archaeological Study*, London.
GRIGSON, G. 1975 *The Englishman's Flora*, London.
HINDMARSH, E. and ORAM, R. 2013 'Eldbotle; the archaeology and environmental history of a medieval rural settlement in East Lothian', *PSAS* 142, 245–300.
HODGSON, J. C. (ed.) 1921 *Percy Bailiff's Rolls of the Fifteenth Century*, Surtees Society, 134 (1921).
LMMC 1940 *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, London.
MORRISON, J., ORAM, R., and OLIVER, F. 2008 'Ancient *Eldbotle* unearthed: archaeological and historical evidence for a long lost medieval East Lothian village', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian & Field Naturalists' Society*, 27, 21–45.
NEWFIELD, T. P. 2009 'A cattle panzootic in early fourteenth century Europe', *Agricultural History Review*, 71.2, 155–90.
PEARSON, T. 1982 'The dating of Scarborough Ware', *Medieval Ceramics*, 6 (1982), 88–93.

RCAHMS 1994 *Southdean: An Archaeological Survey*, Edinburgh.
RCAHMS 1997 *Eastern Dumfriesshire: An Archaeological landscape*, Edinburgh.
THOMAS, G. 2012 'Ploughs, Kent and the Anglo-Saxon Conversion: excavations in Lyminge, Kent', *Society for Medieval Archaeology Newsletter*, 47, Spring 2012.
WRATHMELL, S. 1975 '*The Deserted and Shrunken Villages in Southern Northumberland*', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales.
WRATHMELL, S. 2012 'Northern England: exploring the character of medieval rural settlements', *in* Christie, N. and Stamper P., *Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800–1600*, Oxford, 249–69.

Leithen Mill Lodge, Leithen Crescent, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire EH44 6JL.

piers.dixon@rcahms.gov.uk