



CHELMSFORD ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST REPORT 4·2

**RIVENHALL: INVESTIGATIONS OF A VILLA,
CHURCH AND VILLAGE, 1950 – 1977**

VOLUME 2 – SPECIALIST STUDIES AND INDEX TO VOLUMES 1 AND 2

W J RODWELL and K A RODWELL



**Rivenhall:
investigations
of a Roman villa,
church
and village, 1950–77**

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Trust Report 4.2

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**Volume 2 – Specialist studies
and Index to Volumes 1 and 2**

by Warwick Rodwell and Kirsty Rodwell

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Front cover: French medieval glass from the chancel east window depicting 'the Entombment'

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Introductory note and acknowledgements

This is the second and concluding report on the archaeology and topography of Rivenhall parish, Essex. Basic topographical, stratigraphic and structural evidence was presented in the first volume, together with an analysis and synthesis of the history of human activity in parish, from prehistoric to modern times. This appeared as *CBA Research Report 55* (1985).

The present volume is devoted to the technical and specialist studies which amplify the evidence already given, and which support the conclusions offered. No attempt is made here to describe or evaluate the contexts of archaeological finds, where these have already been considered in the main report; hence, frequent cross-referencing is given to volume 1. A general summary and chronological outline will be found at the beginning of that volume.

Most of the basic study and analysis of the finds and thematic topics covered here was undertaken in 1977-78, although some revision and updating has been carried out subsequently. Administrative, financial and personal difficulties have all contributed to the unconscionable delay in the appearance of this report. It has also been necessary to revise the strategic approach to the publication of primary evidence, on account of the sheer bulk of data collected.

A highly selective approach has had to be adopted for the publication of excavated finds relating to the Roman and medieval periods; and no more than a small fraction of the historical research carried out on the fields, manors and other properties of the parish could be included here. Comprehensive publication could have filled another two volumes,

Since the publication of volume 1, Rivenhall church has undergone another substantial restoration, during the process of which areas that were previously unavailable for study have been opened up: this applies particularly to the roof spaces. The opportunity has therefore been taken to include an addendum, containing notes on the more important observations made by the Archaeology Section, Essex County Council. Thanks are due to Dr David Andrews and Howard Brooks for their assistance in this matter.

Unless otherwise stated, finds and associated records are housed in the Colchester and Essex Museum; the material from the 1950s excavations is in the Chelmsford and Essex Museum. The bulk of the cartographic and archival evidence referred to is in the care of the Essex Record Office, although certain manuscripts — most notably Rector Hawkins's *Annals of Rivenhall* — are in the Library of the Essex Archaeological Society at Colchester. A small number of documents remain at Rivenhall Rectory; and the fruits of continuing research by the Revd David Nash (lately Rector) into the important Rivenhall families of Hawkins and Western remain with him,

A full list of acknowledgements relevant to the Rivenhall project as a whole was given in volume 1. However, in the preparation of this volume we would like to pay tribute to the many scholars who have offered specialist reports and studies, and under whose individual names these appear. The project generally

has also benefited greatly from extended discussions — some of them carried out over fifteen years — with the contributors.

Post-excavation work and many of the specialist studies have been funded by English Heritage (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission), mostly organized through the Chelmsford Archaeological Trust. We are greatly indebted to the Trust's successive Directors, Paul Drury and Mrs Carol Cunningham, for the major contributions which they have personally made to the Rivenhall project over many years. Since the formal closing of the Trust in April 1988, administration of the final stages of the Rivenhall project was undertaken by Essex County Council, through the good offices of David Buckley, the County Archaeological Officer.

Finally, these two volumes are dedicated to the late Major John G S Brinson, FSA, *in memoriam*. He was the virtual founder of the Roman Essex Society, under whose auspices the excavations of 1950–2 were carried out; and he was instrumental in organizing the project that began in 1971. Brinson was truly the father of archaeology at Rivenhall.

Warwick Rodwell

Downside
March 1989

7 Structural materials and decoration

1 The Fabric of the Roman Villa

by K A Rodwell

Brick and Tile (Fig 1)

A great quantity of brick and tile was recovered from the excavations; most of it was fragmentary, owing to the wholesale robbing of the villa complex, and was discarded on site, after examination and classification. The following types were represented, almost all in a hard, orange to red fabric, slightly sandy with occasional lumps of flint. The nearest known Roman tiler is at Great Braxted, 4.5 km from Rivenhall (Rodwell 1982, 42–4, 73).

Tegulae

Several complete *tegulae* were found in the excavations of the 1950s: the example shown on Pl 1a is 40 x 30 cm and up to 25 mm thick, with tapered, knife-trimmed flanges and a finger-wiped semicircle on the lower edge. In the centre is a hob-nailed boot impression (Chelmsford Museum, B18309). There were three examples of *tegulae* with nail holes for fixing near the centre top of the tile.

Imbrices

No complete examples were found; some fragments were in a fine, hard, buff fabric containing grog and a few stones.

Bonding Tile

The only complete examples (39 x 28.5 x 3.5 cm) came from the brick foundation discovered in 1955 (Vol 1, p 58). This type of brick was extensively reused in the Period 5B church. Unintentional markings caused by animals were not uncommon. One example is illustrated (Fig 1.1): dog and cat paw-prints on the corner of an overfired tile, 36 mm thick with part of a finger-wiped semicircle; D, F527, Period 4A. There were nine other instances of dog paw-prints on tiles, five of cat, one of sheep or goat, and a child's heel.

Box Flue Tile

Two types were represented.

Type A Three fragments with knife-cut cross-hatching on one face and a rectangular hole cut in the adjoining plain face. Dimensions not known. C1E, F93 (robbed wall) and grave earth; H, un-

stratified. Tiles of this type were found in Chelmsford (Drury 1988) in 2nd century and later contexts.

Type B The majority (several hundred fragments) were from tiles of cubic proportions, measuring *c* 18 cm, with wall thicknesses of 15 mm. Two faces were combed, and circular holes *c* 5 cm in diameter were cut in the centre of the other two plain sides. Patterns included variants of a St Andrew's cross superimposed on three verticals, and groups of three vertical wavy lines (Pl 1b).

The combs used had between five and nine teeth, with an eight-toothed comb being the most frequently used. Tiles of this sort were found in association with both buildings, occurring in the Period 3A demolition layers in Building 2 and in the Period 3B hypocaust in room 10 of Building 1 (vol 1, p 51), where they had been filled with mortar and reused as *pilae*.

Keyed Flat Tiles

There were two fragments of flat tiles (Fig 1.2; Pl 1Ha) 2 cm thick, scored on one face with a round-ended blunt instrument to create a diamond lattice. These tiles were used as an alternative to box flue tiles for producing cavity walls, and have been found at Chelmsford and elsewhere (Drury 1988, and references). C1E, L147, Period 2, and grave earth.

Decorative Stonework

Fig 1

- 3 Purbeck marble moulding, burnt; cf Cunliffe 1971, vol 2, 17–21, where a variety of mouldings in this stone were used in both the Neronian and Flavian palaces. None is identical to this, the closest being *ibid* fig 7.4. C2, L11, Period 6.
- 4 Corner of a piece of red porphyry inlay 6 mm thick, the edges are slightly chamfered and the face polished. It has previously been suggested (Vol 1, p 41) that this fragment may be derived from *opus sectile* flooring, wall inlay or furniture inlay (cf Cunliffe 1971, vol 2, 24–37), and materials of this kind were certainly imported to Colchester, where a variety of foreign marbles including porphyry have been found (Hull 1958, 96,203). Since, however, the fragment was found in a late Saxon context, the possibility that it is a post-Roman import is equally strong, and in this connection its potential identification as the inset from an Anglo-Saxon portable altar must be considered.

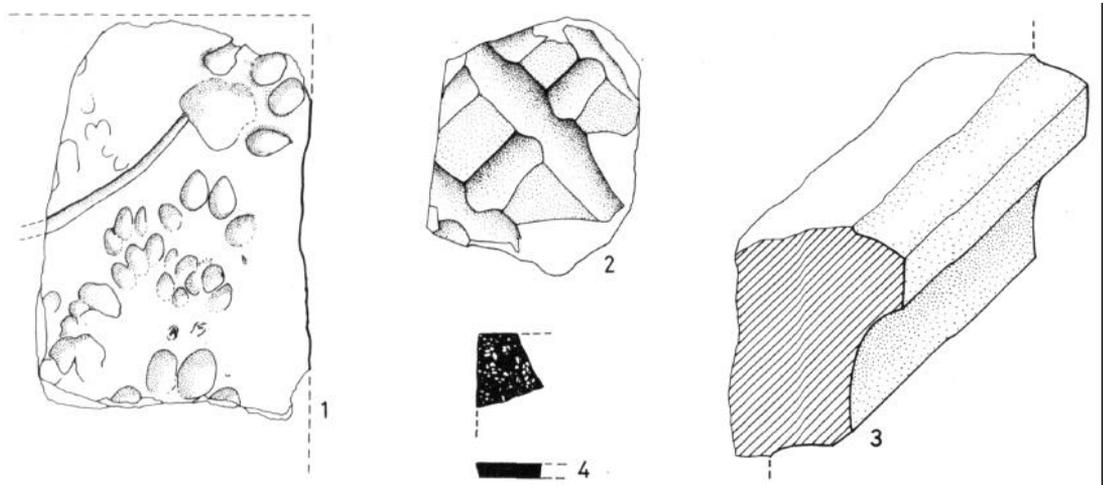


Figure 1 Architectural fragments: 1, 2, Roman tile; 3, Purbeck marble; 4, porphyry. Scale 1:3

Although few fragments have been identified from excavated contexts, portable altars must have been numerous, and some surviving examples illustrate how lavishly they could be decorated. An 11th century Anglo-Saxon portable altar with a porphyry inset is now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris (Backhouse *et al* 1984, cat 76), and there is another example from the Abbey of Adelhausen, near Frieberg in Breisgau (Wilson 1984, 137, pl 156). C1E, F85; Period 5A.

Not illustrated: five fragments of Purbeck marble wall sheathing 25 mm thick, the largest piece measuring 19 x 10 cm; generally with an equally good finish on both faces. One piece was stratified in Period 3A demolition layers (C1E, L37), indicating that it was used in the Period 2 villa. The remainder was unstratified from C1E or D. There was one fragment of Cipollino marble wall sheathing (white with bands of green mica) from Euboea, 12.5 x 8 cm, 15 mm thick. One face was polished, the other rough. Two edges were approximately straight, perhaps as a result of secondary cutting down, C2, L42; Period 4.

Mosaic Fragments

Building 2

Several thousand loose tesserae and a few small conjoined fragments were recovered; the majority were unstratified, but a dump of unused 15 mm square red tesserae was found in the primary Period 2 make-up of the podium in room 7; and cubes of every type occurred in the Period 3A construction levels. There were three sizes: 25-30 mm, the most numerous; 15 mm; and c 10 mm. These last were the most precisely cut and were less common than the other types, due in part to the difficulties of detecting them in a soil laden with fragments

of building debris. Nearly all the large cubes were of red tile but a few were cream, cut from mortaria or amphorae. Materials employed for the smaller cubes also included, for white, hard chalk; for cream or ochre, chalk, tile and septaria; for black, a sandy limestone possibly derived from the lower greensand; for grey, Purbeck marble, probably offcuts from wall sheathing, and a speckled greyish-green glauconitic limestone probably from the lower greensand. The stone identifications were kindly supplied by Dr Martyn Owen. Red, white and black were the commonest colours, occurring in roughly equal proportions; the others were much rarer. A cube of hard chalk c 45 mm square (C2, F58) from which smaller tesserae could be knapped suggests that they were manufactured on site. Similar blocks have been found in Chelmsford.

The conjoined fragments formed two distinct groups: small tesserae from a predominantly black and white pavement (Group 1), and medium-sized tesserae from a multi-coloured pavement (Group 2). Both were set in a very thin layer of fine white mortar on a bedding of rough pink concrete.

Group 1: small cubes (Pl IIb)

- 1 Black strip, two cubes wide, adjoining a tapering white panel. C1E, grave earth.
- 2 Concentric bands of black, white, dark grey (reduced tile) and ochre, perhaps part of a guilloche. C4, grave earth.
- 3 Black and white. C4, grave earth.
- 4 Greyish-green and white. C2, L326, Period 4A.
- 5 Black edging a tapering white zone. C4, grave earth.
- 6 Black meander, two cubes wide, on a white background. C1E, grave earth.

Not illustrated: Red and ochre C1E, F45, robbed wall 1/5. Black and white. C1E, grave earth.

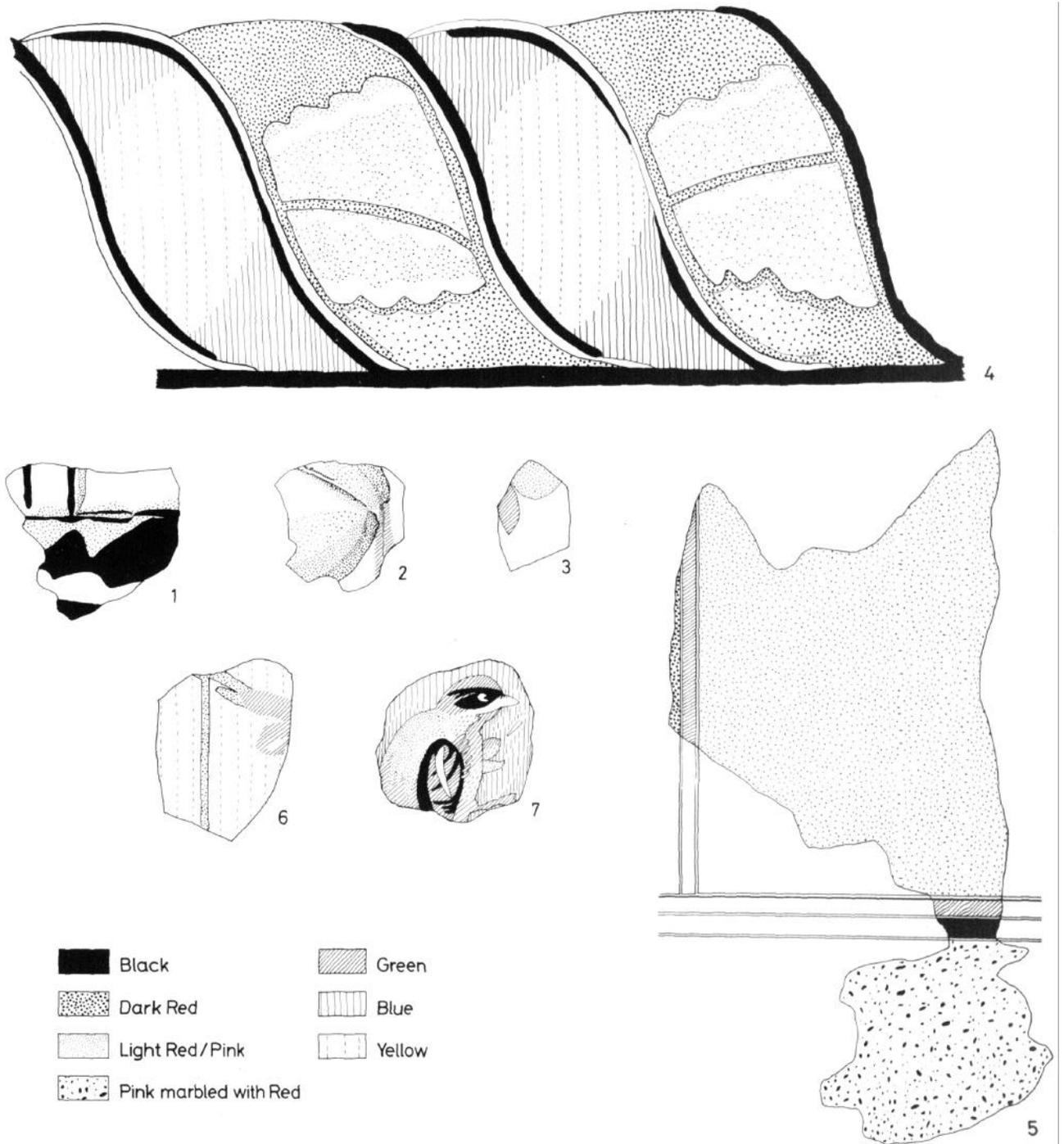


Figure 2 Wall plaster from the Roman villa: 1-6, Building 2; 7, Building 1. Scale 1:3 (except no 5, 1:15)

Group 2: medium cubes (Not illustrated)

The largest fragment comprised eleven conjoined cubes arranged in three rows, respectively, black, red and ochre. There were smaller fragments of c 5 cubes in red and white, plain red, and greyish-green. They were found in C1E and C4, grave earth; C4, L326; and the robbed wall 2a/3, C4, F234.

The evidence is too fragmentary to say much about design, but suggests that predominantly black and white geometric mosaics akin to some of those

from Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, vol 1, 149, 158) and Eccles (Neal 1981, 76) were laid in Building 2 during Period 2.

Building 1

Many loose black and white tesserae survive from the 1950-52 excavations; these were often rectangular, measuring 20 x 15 mm. There were none of the smallest size. Groups of white tesserae

on their bedding were found in the hypocaust in room 10a, and the corridor, room 16, had a plain red tessellated floor which was exposed in 1846 and again in 1950 (Vol 1, Pl VIIIc). Both these floors are likely to have belonged to Period 3.

Wall Plaster (Fig 2; Pls IIIa and XLIV-LV)

Building 2

Only about 5 sq m of wall plaster were recovered from Building 2, a tiny proportion of the total wall area; it is however possible to deduce something about the decorative schemes of a few rooms, notably 1a, 2a and 2b where plaster was stratified in Period 3 construction deposits. The composition of plaster of all periods was similar, consisting of a very thin coat (*c* 1 mm) of fine white, or occasionally pale pink, facing plaster on a much coarser backing plaster up to 5 cm thick. This was hard and sandy and contained small stones, lumps of chalk and occasional pieces of brick; it was usually cream, but some of the later plaster was pink, with a greater proportion of crushed brick. An account of the technology of Romano-British wall painting is given in Davey and Ling 1981, 51–62.

Plaster from construction mortar, wall 1/2b

Painted plaster was found in the primary construction mortar L30 on the west side of this wall and must therefore be derived from an earlier building (Vol 1, p 25; Pls XLIV–XLV). Fragments from the same decorative scheme also occurred in rooms 1a, 2a, 2b and the robbed walls of room 2, totalling 0.53 sq m. The predominant colour was plain dark red which occurred in combination with several other colours:

- a Plain yellow ochre panels, separated by a 3 mm white line; the red could enclose the ochre on two sides.
- b Narrow, over-painted black stripes edged with white.
- c Single over-painted 3 mm white lines.
- d Plain white, which could be enclosed on two sides by the red.
- e Green stripes separated by a 3 mm white line. These stripes were between 50 and 60 mm wide and were divided by a thin black line from a white panel on which was painted one narrow and one broader stripe in pale yellow ochre.

This plaster was of higher quality than the later material, with a fine, smooth glossy surface, and could be distinguished by its backing plaster which was slightly more orange. The red and ochre were fresco with the remaining colours overpainted. There were also a few pieces of plain white obtuse-angled window-splay. The overall scheme appears to have been a simple one of panels and stripes similar to the early plaster from Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971,

vol 2, 55) and to Flavian schemes from Boxmoor and Cirencester (Davey and Ling 1981, 82, 97).

Room 1a (Pls XLVI-L)

A total of 2.9 sq m of plaster was recovered from this room, both from residual deposits and stratified in the Period 3 construction layers. The plaster probably derives from the original east wall of room 1 which was demolished in the course of alterations. The surviving fragments suggest a decorative scheme along the following lines.

- 1 A pale pink dado stippled with dark red in imitation of marbling. This may have been one of a series of imitation marble panels, since a few fragments of other types of marbling were found. They included: salmon-pink stippled with red, grey and white; pale yellow ochre stippled with green; dark red stippled with pink; and mottled black, ochre and dark red stippled with white. A few of these fragments were separated by a narrow white line from a border which may have surmounted all the panels. The border was painted in dark red, pink and blue and was possibly related in design to the frieze described below (3). What is probably the upper part of this border is illustrated (Fig 2.1); it comprises a curvilinear, possibly floral, design in very dark red/black and white, on a pale pink background surmounted by a zone of white plaster on which are painted thin black and pale pink stripes.
- 2 Above the dado the decoration was executed on a white ground and consisted of stripes; either 15 mm wide in terracotta or dark red (which could meet obliquely or at right-angles), or 40–50 mm wide in terracotta, dark red, slate-blue or ochre. These were shaded across their width from dark to pale and were spaced 6–7 cm apart. The design cannot be reconstructed in detail, but also included more elaborate floral elements such as Fig 2.2, a two-petalled flower shaded from deep rose to pale pink on a green stem; or Fig 2.3, a terracotta flower or bud with a green leaf. Areas of plain terracotta and pale yellow seem to have been included. There were also obtuse or right-angled splays or reveals, some of which were white and some had one face painted pale pink or dark red.
- 3 A frieze (Fig 2.4) 18 cm high surmounted the preceding zone, separated from any decoration by at least 8 cm of plain white plaster. The plaster facing stopped 25 mm above the top of the frieze, indicating the start of a cornice or the ceiling. The design was a guilloche pattern with alternating backgrounds of plain yellow and pale pink mottled with grey. The former was overpainted at each end in bright pale blue, and the latter in dark red with fluted edges. The pink guilloches were outlined and subdivided by thin red lines, which were in turn emphasised by wavy lines in greyish-white. The whole design, including the bottom

of the frieze, was defined with further black and white lines. At some point in the room this design appears to have been reversed.

A somewhat similar design to the main zone, employing a panelled scheme of broad red and yellow stripes on a white ground interspersed with plant motifs, was discovered at Catterick (Davey and Ling 1981, 90). It belonged to the mid 2nd century. Guilloche designs in imitation of mosaic are known from several British sites including Bignor, Sussex; Lufton, Somerset (*ibid*, 44, fig 2) and Spars-holt, Hants (*ibid*, 158), although it is not clear on which part of the wall these guilloche designs were employed, perhaps the dado. There are, however, no parallels for a guilloche frieze of the precise type.

Room 2a (Pls LI-LII)

A sheet of wall plaster had fallen face down in this room; stratigraphically it could have been displaced either during the Period 3 alterations or at a later phase. However, its similarity to plaster from Period 3 layers in rooms 1a and 2b suggests the former, and it probably owes its survival to having been sealed beneath a suspended timber floor. The sheet measured a maximum of 1.7 m high and 0.8 m wide (Fig 2.5) and comprised a pale pink dado stippled with dark red, divided by black and green bands edged in white from a plain red panel. This was divided by another vertical green stripe edged in white from a dark red panel. The main red panel and the pink dado were executed in fresco and the remaining colours overpainted, with the junction of the two zones between the green and black stripes. The decorative formula of pink speckled dado, red fields and green and black borders is characteristic of the Flavian and Trajanic periods (Davey and Ling 1981, 33). Although similar in design to the plaster from the construction mortar (p 4), this panel is technically inferior, which possibly suggests that it is later in date. The stippled dado resembles that from room 1a.

Room 2b

Only a corner of this room was excavated, but the plaster differed from that in the adjoining rooms. There were two kinds of imitation marbling; yellow ochre on pale pink backing plaster stippled with white and dark grey, and a mottled grey-green with traces of ochre. Plain colours included red, as in room 2a, pale yellow, pale pink and white; the last two could be painted with broad purplish-red stripes.

The plaster from the remaining rooms was too fragmentary for useful comment; the only additional colour combinations were panels of red and slate-blue separated by a narrow white line, and a few pieces from a swagged design in red and green (Fig 2.6) on a pale yellow background. Although the facing plaster of the latter was white, the backing plaster was pink with many brick chips. It was found only in residual contexts and would seem to belong to Period 3 (Pl LIII).

Building 1

The majority of the wall plaster from this building is lost, and only a handful of fragments survive. Two are of interest; one piece shows good-quality panels of terracotta and white divided by a black line 7 mm thick (Pl LIV). It had been scored to provide a key, skimmed with another, rougher plaster coat, and subsequently lime-washed. The other shows part of a green bird with black and white streaks on its head and a red back (Fig 2.7; Pls IIIa and LV); its posture suggests that it is clinging to a vertical surface in a manner reminiscent of a woodpecker. The background is dark grey-blue with traces of yellow-green foliage. The plaster surface was very smooth, but the cream backing coarse, with lumps of chalk, stone and tile.

This piece, which was found on the spoil heap after the 1950s excavations, appears to have come from room 10; other fragments depicting leaves and branches were observed by H J D Bennett but not retained, suggesting that a woodland or garden scene was portrayed (Vol 1, p 7).

Window Glass

Almost all the window glass was pale blue-green, 3–5 mm thick, and had one rough and one smooth surface. There were a number of rounded corners with tooling marks, where the metal had been drawn to the corner of the mould in which the panes were cast; it was not possible to reconstruct the full dimensions of a pane. Most panes had been secured with mortar fillets applied to the rough face of the glass, but some pieces must have been set directly in a wood or metal frame as they bore no trace of mortar. A few pieces had been cut to form diamond quarries. This glass, which is of 1st and 2nd century type (Neal 1974, 203), was distributed all over the site with the greatest concentration in C1E, where it was stratified in Period 3A demolition layers.

There were also a few fragments of late Roman window glass from residual contexts in C2. This was thinner (2–3 mm), colourless and smooth on both faces as a consequence of being blown (*ibid*, 203). There was no evidence for the shape, size or fixing of these panes.

2 The fabric of the church and associated buildings

Architectural fragments (Fig 3)

by K A Rodwell and W J Rodwell

Architectural fragments were recovered from three locations: the foundations of the Period 7B tower (Vol 1, Fig 107); excavations around the church (C1E and C1W); and the rockery of the former rectory (p 178). The following fragments illustrate features no longer extant in the fabric, Stone samples were identified by Dr Martyn Owen.

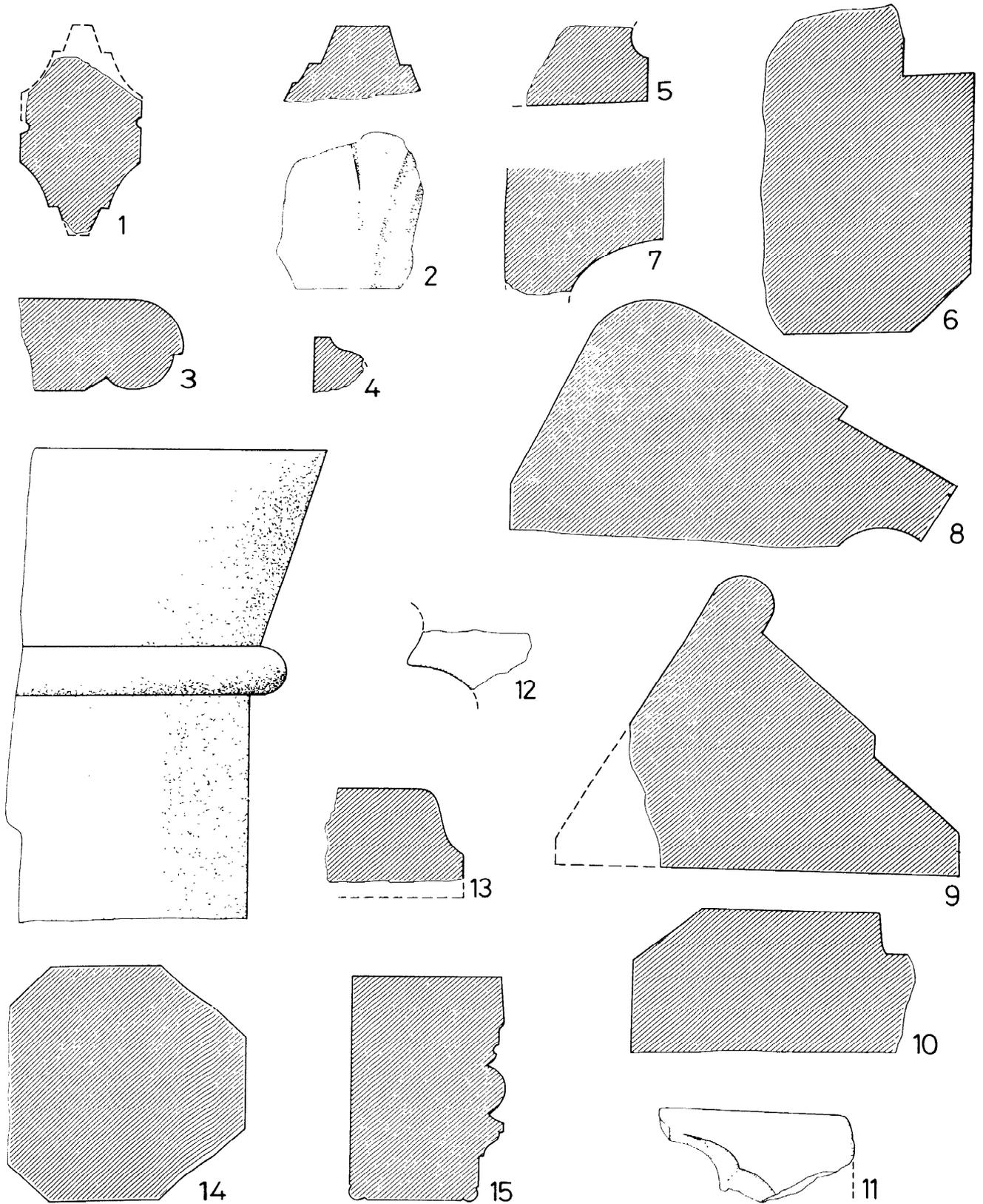


Figure 3 Architectural fragments from the church: 1-5, Period 6B; 6-10, Period 6C; 11-14, miscellaneous; 15, oak tie-beam. Scale 1:5

Fragments from the Period 6B church

Upper greensand, except for no 5, which is lower greensand.

Fig 3

- 1 Window mullion with cavetto mouldings which were probably symmetrical; glazing groove. C1E unstratified, east end. East window (Vol 1, p 141).
- 2 Face of the central springing stone for a pair of pointed and cusped tracery lights, showing setting-out lines. Topsoil, south side of church. East window (Vol 1, p 141).
- 3 Fragment of small, unweathered label moulding 7 cm long. Its size suggests a tomb, piscina or sedilia moulding, but it does not apparently belong to any of the known features of the Period 6B arrangement in the chancel (Vol 1, p 142). C1E, unstratified.
- 4 Hood moulding. Probably from a window at the west end of the nave (Vol 1, p 141). Period 7B tower foundation.
- 5 Fragment of jamb stone with a three-quarter hollow moulding. Probably from a window at the west end of the nave (Vol 1, p 144). C1W, L74, Period 7B construction.

Fragments from the Period 6C tower

All Caen stone, except for no 10, which is Barnack-type limestone.

- 6 Rebated and chamfered door jamb. Period 7B tower foundation (Vol 1, p 146).
- 7 Hollow chamfered window jamb. Period 7B south nave wall foundation (Vol 1, p 146)
- 8 Embrasure coping, 8.5 cm thick; one flat face roughly dressed with a claw chisel, the other sawn to within 1 cm of the bottom and snapped off. An offcut, the lack of weathering indicates that it was never used as a coping. C1W, grave earth (vol 1, p 146).
- 9 Corner merlon coping, the fractured internal angle jointed with a mason's mitre. Old Rectory; another fragment from C1W, L104; Period 7, (Vol 1, p 146).
- 10 Chamfered and rebated door jamb fragment 28 cm long. The rebate was primary and had been partially removed by secondary dressing back of the block. C1W, L274 (Vol 1, p 146).

Miscellaneous

- 11 Cusped tracery fragment from a panel over 5 cm thick. Period 6C, possibly part of an altar tomb, greensand. C1W, grave earth.
- 12 Fragment from the back face of a panel over 4 cm thick with a cusped head, possibly part of a sedilia or monument; greensand. C2, L103, garden soil below Building 9; Period 6A.
- 13 Fragment of a Purbeck marble slab with a chamfered edge. Probably part of a monument. C1W, L68, Period 7B.

- 14 Engaged, octagonal-shafted column and capital, Barnack limestone; larger, but similar in style to those on the south door at Witham church. Old Rectory. 15th century. There is no obvious context for this fragment at Rivenhall, which appears to be derived from a porch or doorway, in the Period 6C church. There is a possibility that it was only introduced as secondhand rubble; cf Fig 3.10 in similar stone.
- 15 Profile of a moulded oak tie beam, reused in the bell frame of 1717 (with angle beads added). Probably from the west end of the 14th century nave roof (Vol 1, p 144).

Ceramic building materials

by P J Drury

Brick

Coggeshall Abbey type

The fabric is coarsely sand-tempered (frequent grains up to 2 mm; occasional stone fragments to 5 mm), generally bright red in colour up to 10 mm from the surface, with a dark grey to black core. These bricks were made in a form in the usual way, and often show subsequent knife-trimming of the angles. Where appropriate, comparison is made with the series published from Coggeshall Abbey itself (Gardner 1955).

Fig 4

- A Flat tiles, 150, 165 and 220 mm wide, length unknown, 32–35 mm thick. C1W, Period 6C tower foundation; F219, Structure 5, Period 6C/7A. Cf Coggeshall 'hearth tiles' from Pleshey Castle, late 12th century, c 320 x 220 x 31 mm (Drury 1977, 91).
- B Long bricks, one complete, 320 x 145 x 50 mm; others 130 x 35, 140 x 45, and 130 x 50 mm in section. C1W, F219, Period 6C/7A; C1E and C4, grave earth.
- C Large bricks, none complete, so possibly moulded on one end, 150 x 55, 160 x 50, 170 x 45, 175 x 50, 175 x 55 mm. C2, F61, F97, F361; D, F530, all Period 6B; C1W, F219, Period 6C/7A. One example 170 x 55 mm (unstratified) had formed part of a metal-melting furnace (see p 102).
- D Bricks with one chamfered corner, 325 x 150 x 60 mm, Three examples unlocated; fragment from D F530, Period 6B. Cf those used in the window openings at Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall church, *in situ*, probably mid 12th century.
- E Segmental column brick, 145 x 55 mm in section. C2 F58, Period 5/6; C2, garden soil; H, F534, Period 6B; C1W, grave earth. Cf Gardner 1955, pl XIII.1, there dated 'pre-1167'.
- F Brick with chamfer, knife-cut on edge, not moulded: 140 x 55 mm in section. Two examples have a chamfer returning around the corner, as drawn. C1E, grave earth; C1W L60, 1839 construction. Two others have the chamfer abutting a square end. C1E, grave earth;

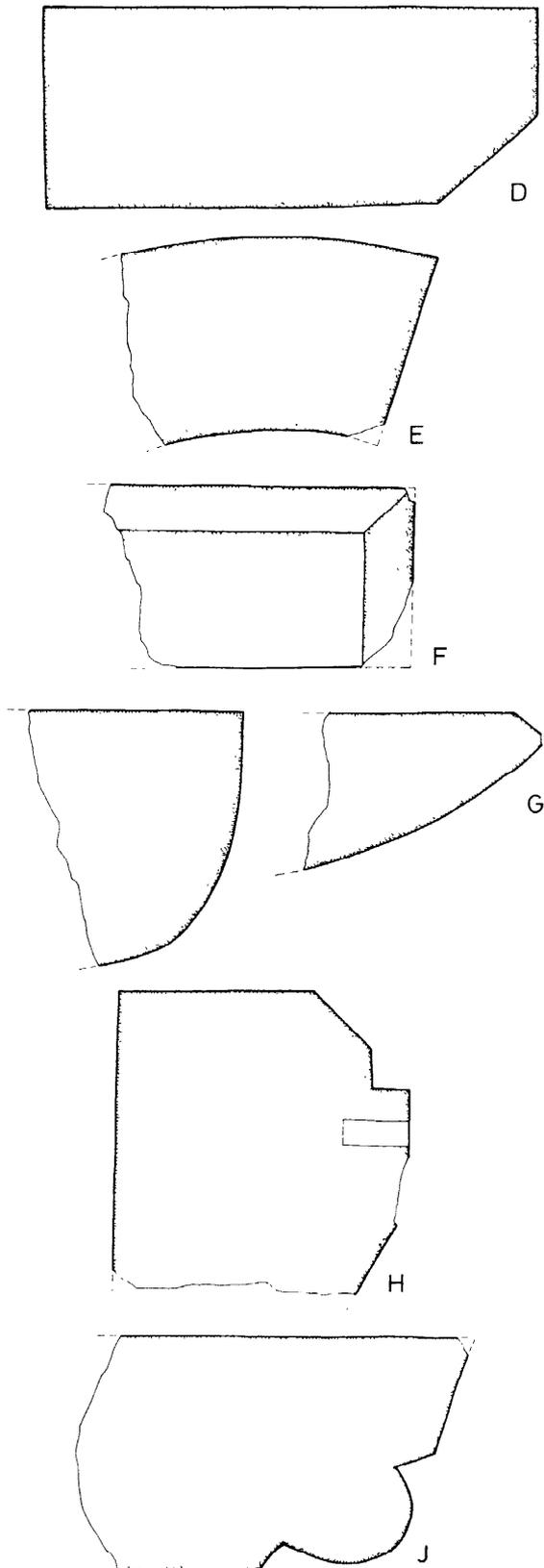


Figure 4 Medieval bricks of Coggeshall Abbey type. Scale 15

C1W, Period 6C tower foundation. Probably simple impost blocks for pilasters.

- G Segments of columns of possibly complex form, 54 mm thick. Unlocated, and north doorstep of church, respectively.
- H Window jamb brick, 50 mm thick, with a socket probably for a saddle bar 16 mm square, cut 42 mm deep after firing. C1W, Structure 4 foundation; Period 6B.
- J Roll-moulded brick for splayed reveal, 50 mm thick. Unstratified. For an approximation, cf Gardner 1955, pl XIII.7, from St Nicholas's Chapel, Coggeshall, dated c1220.

These bricks belong essentially to the first major phase of post-Roman use of ceramic building materials in north-western Europe, which began around the middle of the 12th century. They match in fabric and size those used in the surviving buildings at Coggeshall Abbey c 1150–1225, which were produced on an adjacent site (Drury 1981, 126–7). Identical bricks have also been found in sixteen churches distributed over an area of c 300 sq km centred on the abbey, including Rivenhall (*ibid*, fig 81). In some cases, for example, Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall, the bricks are clearly an integral part of a contemporary fabric, and the more complex forms found at the abbey are lacking, since they would have no appropriate use in such small and simple buildings. At Rivenhall, however, a diverse range of shapes, used at the abbey both early and late in the production period, is present, here associated with a structure which lacks at any stage in its development suitable contexts for their original use. It therefore seems likely that they reached the site as rubble derived from alterations to some larger building, perhaps part of the abbey itself, only some 5 km to the north-east.

If this suggestion is correct, it seems likely that all the material arrived on site at the same time. Its association with the second phase of Building 9 (F61, F361, F530) suggests a date not before the early 14th century, but earlier than c 1400 when the building went out of use. This agrees with the evidence from the church. The Period 6B reconstruction of the east end, completed in the 1320s (Vol 1, pp 139–42) contains no Coggeshall brick, suggesting that it arrived on site between approximately 1330 and 1380, presumably in preparation for the construction of a tower. These bricks occur in the tower foundation trench beneath the Period 6C tower, with no admixture of Flemish bricks (see below).

Flemish type (PI IIIb)

The fabric includes little sand, but some red grog and chopped vegetable matter. In colour the bricks range from pale yellow-buff through orange and red to deep purple, and are frequently streaky and rather yellow in section. Usually the bricks are hard-fired but distorted. They were made in a form, mostly on a surface covered with chopped vegetable matter, largely grass. The top is struck in the usual

Table 1 Dated post-medieval bricks

Date of context		Size (mm)	Fabric	Context
A	pre 1717 (?)	210 x 100 x 60	Red	Rebuilt W wall of nave
B	1717	200/210 x 100/105 x 50/55	Hard red	Tower, main build
	1839			Under base of buttress
	1878			Drain
C	1749	220 x 105 x 60	Red, black inclusions	Vault 21
	1839			C1E, scaffold pole hole
D	1781	220 x 105 x 65	Sandy red	Vault 16
	1782			Vault 17
	1794			Vault 8
E	1816	230/235 x 115 x 65/70	Yellow gaults	Vault 8, 2nd blocking
	1839			Base of buttress & capping of churchyard wall
F	1839	220/25 x 110 x 65	Red	Tower parapet
	1878 (?)			Culvert
G	1839	232/235 x 110/115 x 65/68	Red	Buttress
	1878			Boiler House
H	1878 (prob)	235 x 115 x 55	Yellow gaults	Open drain, N side of church

way, and has a sunk margin *c* 5 mm wide, formed by pressure from a wooden tool presumably used to force the clay into firm contact with the sides of the form. The size range is 240–270 x 105–120 x 45–60 mm, averaging 250 x 110 x 50 mm.

Flemish bricks were used, probably not new, in the bell-cage foundation (C1W, Structure 4), in the angles and quoins of the Period 6C tower, and in contexts derived from these structures in C1W (including L54, Period 7 path); also in C3, grave earth. One, 245 x 110 x 55 mm (C2, F58, Period 5/6), has a chamfer sawn on the lower edge after firing, and has two types of mortar adhering. A fragment of another (100 x 50 mm in section) had wear on the top face from use as a pavior (C1E, G5, Period 7). Both these latter lacked vegetable material.

Bricks of this type were made from fluvial and estuarine silts, both in eastern England and the Low Countries (Drury forthcoming). The earliest English examples belong to the 1270s and, where documentary evidence exists, for example for the Beauchamp tower at the Tower of London in 1278 (Curnow 1982), the earliest bricks can be shown to be imported. Imports continued to be significant until this type of brick was superseded by the standard 'Tudor' type during the course of the 15th century (Drury forthcoming). At present, in the absence of documentary evidence, there is no simple way of distinguishing imports from locally-made bricks in the same tradition. Save that the very

large bricks of the type used in the Beauchamp tower may be early in the sequence in England, there seems to be no close correlation between size and date.

These bricks are absent from Area C2, and so probably arrived on the site after the abandonment of the buildings there, *c* 1400. The association with the bell-cage (Structure 4) and Period 6C tower suggests that these are probably contemporary, the bell-cage doubtless providing a temporary home for the bells during the reconstruction of the tower.

Tudor type

The fabric is bright red throughout, containing very fine sand; 102 x 55 mm in section. C1W, L74 (1714 construction level), L80 (Period 7). One heavily lime-washed fragment has been cut or moulded to a *cyma recta*, and sawn to a length of 70 mm (used as packing around the fixing cramps of the Western Monument M13, erected 1701; p 21). This moulded brick probably derives from a later 16th century classical monument, a date compatible with the plain examples. Other fragments in a similar fabric, but with some black inclusions, 52–60 mm thick and over-fired (C1W grave earth; C1E) are probably contemporary, but an extreme date range of early 15th to late 17th century is possible (Drury forthcoming). For Tudor brickwork of *c* 1597, which was discovered in 1991 behind the Wyseman monument in the chancel, see p 194.

Post-medieval

The site provides a useful sequence of dated post-medieval bricks; none have frogs.

Some bricks with moulded chamfers, 70 mm thick, were used in the 1839 turrets.

Roof tiles

Large quantities of pegtile fragments were present, but only one complete tile, 270 x 180 x 14 mm (unstratified), which incidentally clearly showed the use of a hollow tool to cut the pegholes (cf Pleshey Castle: Drury 1977, 89, fig 21.2). The only other measurable tile, 180 x 15 mm in section, came from H, F577, Period 6. All were in the usual hard red fabric except a fragment from C2 (unstratified), which was in a fabric similar to Coggeshall bricks (p7) The standard pegtile had evolved in the region by the end of the 13th century, and remained more or less constant until the 18th century (Drury 1977, 89–90). At Rivenhall, pegtiles first appear in Area C2 in Period 6B, associated with the second phase of Building 9. Fragments were ubiquitous in the vicinity of the church, but here the lack of stratified later medieval levels makes it difficult to tell when tiles were first used on the building. The Period 6B reconstruction, however, provides a probable context for their introduction. A tiled roof was in need of repair in 1685 (Vol 1, pp 152–3) and was stripped completely in 1839 resulting in a demolition layer of peg-tile round the church (L60, 61).

Floor tiles (Fig 5)

Group 1 Line-impressed and stencilled

Tiles 115–125 mm, averaging *c* 120 mm square, 21–25 mm thick, in a red sandy fabric, usually with a grey core; slightly undercut edges, sanded bases partly or wholly smoothed after removal from the form. The position of the design on the tile varies considerably; little care was taken even with the large circular designs (eg Fig 5.8).

Line-impressed designs

The design was stamped 1–1.5 mm into the surface of the tile, which was subsequently glazed dark green (except for Fig 5.1). Examples from other sites are known to have been slipped before stamping.

Fig 5

- 1 A design based on the Solomon's Seal; unglazed, overfired and reduced, but mortared so probably used. C1W, unstratified.
- 2 Rose within a circle; behind Western memorial, 1701.
- 3 Rosette surrounded by dot in double circle motif; C1E, unstratified.
- 4 Quatrefoil within an inverted square, all contained within a circle; found in 1979 under font base in church.

One other design is known in this series, but is not represented at Rivenhall:

- 5 Sexfoil within a foliated circle.

All five show die faults, appearing on all known specimens, which are apparently due to the radial splitting of wooden stamps, except in the case of no 4 (which seems to suggest a metal die).

Stencilled designs

The pattern was formed by brushing cream slip through apertures in a stencil; brush-marks and ridges of slip which built up against the edges of the stencil are visible on the less worn specimens. The tiles were subsequently covered with a plain lead glaze, the pattern after firing showing cream against a brown background. Some tiles have a slight greenish tinge due to reduction.

- 6 Fleur-de-lys; fragments from C1E, G13, Period 7; and unstratified; also under the font base in the church, 1979.
- 7 Fragment of a circular design, probably complete on four tiles. C1E, L59.
- 8 Fragment of a simple circular design, overfired, dark brown surface, slightly worn. C1E, G3, Period 7.
- 9 Heraldically, an antique crown; two virtually complete tiles, from C2, L57, Period 6B; and unstratified. Both worn, the latter (illustrated) scored diagonally before firing to facilitate snapping, but in fact laid complete.

Designs using both techniques

In two designs, the pattern was stencilled in the usual way, and the fine details subsequently impressed by means of a sharply cut die. The two elements are not always correctly registered.

- 10 A tyger passant; the heraldic 'tyger', having a head similar to that of a wolf and the body and tail of a lion. Two fragments from behind the Western memorial, 1701.
- 11 A lion passant guardant; fragment from C1E, unstratified. A complete example was discovered behind the Wyseman monument in 1991: see Fig 91 and p 194.

Undecorated tiles

Numerous fragments of tiles were found with plain (brown) and dark green glazes over the body clay, and with plain (yellow) and pale green glazes over cream slips. Some tiles were also diagonally scored, in one case along both diagonals (Fig 5.12). None was significantly stratified, but six fragments came from Area C2. Two scored examples (worn) were found behind the Wyseman monument of *c* 1597 (see p 194).

Discussion

Tiles of this group (fully discussed in Drury and Norton forthcoming) occur over an extensive area of northern Essex, southern Suffolk and south-eastern Cambridgeshire; their source is unknown but the distribution pattern (Drury 1981, fig 93) suggests

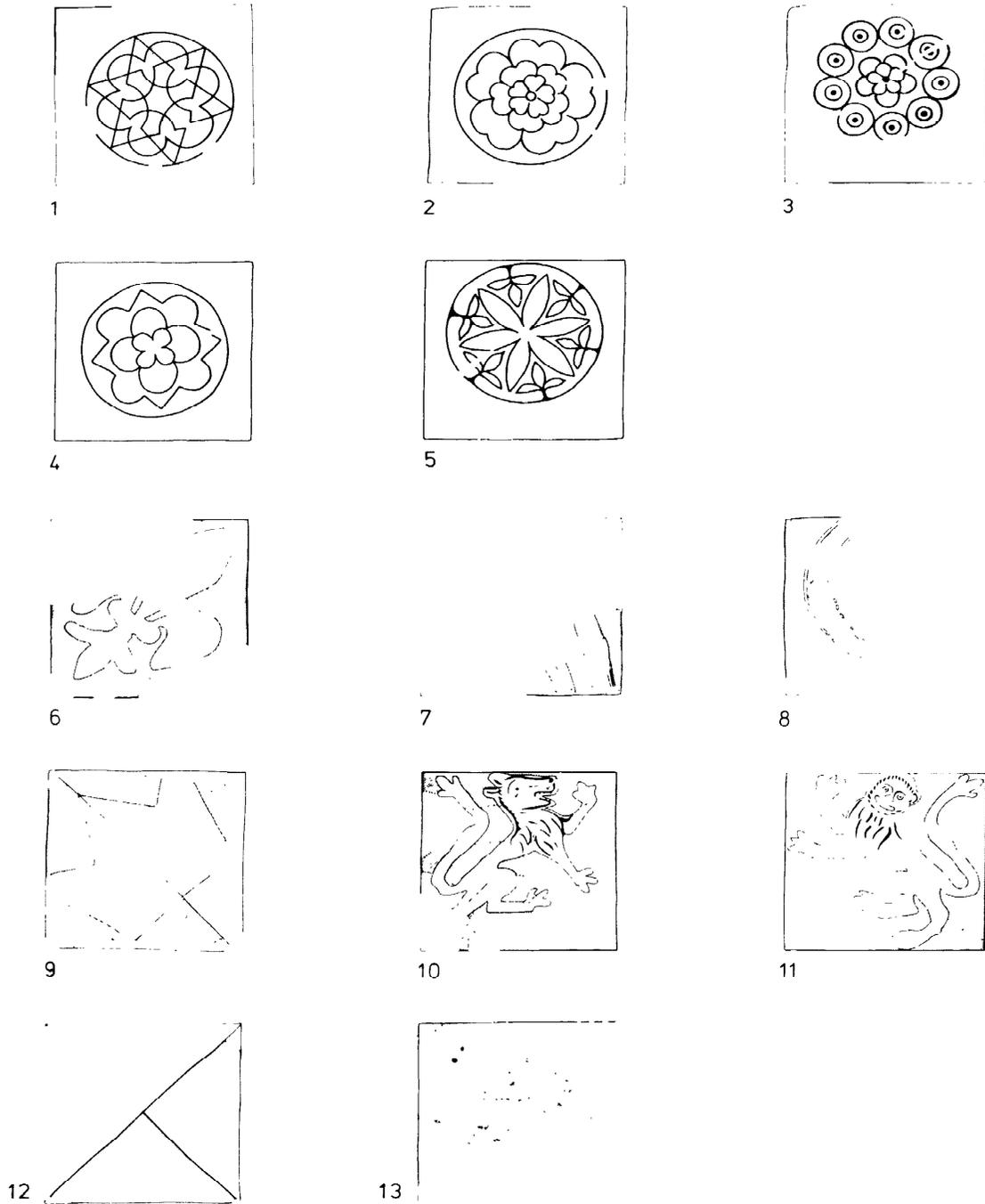


Figure 5 Medieval floor tiles: 1-5, line-impressed designs; 6-9, stencilled designs; 10-11, designs using both techniques. The drawings of nos 1-11 show the designs as fully as they are known from all examples so far located in East Anglia. The fragments from Rivenhall are indicated by a thicker outline (1-3) and darker tone (6-11). Scale 1:3

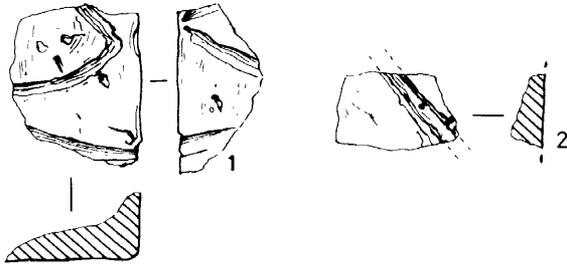


Figure 6 Medieval fired-clay spit support fragments. Scale 1:2

that it lay somewhere in the Stour valley. Dating evidence is sparse, but a substantial production period centred on the middle of the 14th century seems likely. This would be consistent with the incorporation of a worn tile of design 7 into a surface layer on the ultimate floor of Building 9 (Vol 1, p 113) between *c* 1300/20 and *c* 1400. The extensive alterations to the church completed in the 1320s would provide an appropriate context for the introduction of these tiles to the site.

Group 2 Plain Flemish tile

13 Fragment of a tile more than 108 mm square, 18–21 mm thick, in a moderately hard, brick-red fabric containing substantial lumps of grog and darker red flecks; edges slightly undercut; base retains some sand lining from the form. The surface has a lustrous dark green glaze, now very worn. Two large nailholes are present near the corner. C1E, unstratified.

Plain coloured Flemish tiles, distinguishable from local products by the holes caused by the nailed board used to grip the tiles during trimming, are common in southern and eastern England between the later 14th and mid 16th centuries (Drury and Norton forthcoming). The thickness of this example suggests that it was not more than about 130 mm square, and thus is likely to belong early in this date range. It may be indicative of the use of a small number of new tiles in repair work, or to pave a grave inserted into an existing floor.

Group 3 Plain local late medieval tiles

Several fragments of tiles were found, more than 140 mm square, 30–32 mm thick, in a brick-red, grog-tempered, somewhat sandy fabric containing occasional pebbles. There is minimal knife-trimming



Figure 7 The post-medieval wall painting. Scale 1:8

of the edges, the corners being rounded; the base retains the sand coating of the form. The surface bears a plain (brown) glaze; there are no obvious nailholes. Fragments came from C1E, G3, Period 7; L59; unstratified (3 examples); C1W, L56, L68, all worn.

The thickness of these tiles indicates that they were rather larger than the Group 2 tiles, probably *c* 200–250 mm square, which suggests a 15th or early 16th century date. Unusually for the area, they are of local rather than Flemish origin (Drury & Norton forthcoming). Comparably ill-finished early 16th century tiles are known from Waltham Abbey, *c* 200 mm square (Drury 1978b, 154–5). They are presumably indicative of major repair work in the church, although since worn tiles of Group 1 were used as packing material in the erection of the Western memorial in 1701, some examples seem to have survived in the church until at least that date.

Group 4 Post-medieval pavior

Orange-red pavior, 215 mm square, 55 mm thick. Topsoil, south side of church.

Decorated clay spit-support fragments (Fig 6 and Pl IIIb)

by P J Drury

Two fragments of chalky boulder clay, with smoothed surfaces ceramicized by exposure to heat. Both have the remains of a pattern executed with a pointed instrument before firing occurred. The larger piece (Fig 6.1) is from a slightly obtuse-angled corner of a clay structure, and comes from C2, F61, Period 6B; the other (Fig 6.2) is from C2, L43, garden soil.

These seem to be the remains of a fired clay spit-support. Stamped fragments from apparently similar structures have been reported from Coggeshall, Braintree and Colchester (Drury 1985). These fragments are probably derived from Building 9 (Vol 1, p 119).

The post-medieval wall painting

by E Clive Rouse

During alterations to reopen the Period 5B window in the north wall of the chancel in 1972, a small area of wall painting was found preserved behind a wall monument erected in 1701 (Pl IV and Vol 1, p 133): the rest of the interior was replastered in 1838–9. This fragment was removed by the Conservation Department of the Institute of Archaeology, London, remounted and rehung in the nave (Pl LVI). For an account of the conservation procedure by T Sturge, see fiche 1: A4–6.

The vestigial remains of a black-letter text above scrollwork (Fig 7 and Pl IVb) makes it clear that this is the lower part of the frame of a post-Reformation text or cartouche. The design consists of complementary scrollwork with a central pendant motif ending in a fleur-de-lys, executed in yellow

outlined in red. Of the black-letter text not a single recognizable word remains—A curious feature is the apparent use of Roman script in the bottom line. This suggests a date not earlier than the mid 17th century and may well be the actual text of the inscription — ?EZIAES (the spelling of the Prophets' names is often purely arbitrary and phonetic).

Texts and 'The Sentences' (Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments) were originally used to cover medieval, and consequently Popish, wall paintings. Their use extended over a long period, up to the 18th century and even into Victorian times. The use of black-letter extended well into the 17th century and the scroll, rather than the strapwork, suggests a fairly late date. The date of the monument is 1701, and therefore the framed text it covered is unlikely to be earlier than the mid 17th century.

Window glass

The windows of Rivenhall Church have been embellished with a remarkable collection of stained glass — English, French and Flemish — dating from the 12th to 16th centuries. While a few pieces are well known, the collection as a whole had not been studied until 1978. In addition to the extant glazing, a large quantity of window glass, medieval and Victorian, was recovered during excavation.

The English medieval stained glass

by David King

Two windows in the church contain remnants of what is almost certainly the original medieval glazing: the east chancel window (window I, Pls Va and LVII), and the easternmost of the three large south nave windows (window sV, Pl VIIIa).¹ In addition, some 200 fragments of early glass have been excavated from the churchyard and a few other pieces, which are possibly part of the former glazing, are in a box at the rectory. Most of the glass in the church was put into storage during the last war, but that in window sV (Victorian main-light glazing with medieval fragments in the tracery), was not removed, and was damaged by bomb-blast in 1941. The 19th century glass was totally wrecked (Pl VIIb), but the present tracery fragments appear to be little different from the pre-war arrangement, judging by a photograph of that period, except that the glazing of the central and eastern lights has been switched. The glass recorded in 1922 (RCHM 1922, 194), then probably in its original position in the easternmost window on the north side of the nave (window nV), was in 1948 placed in the east chancel window, and now occupies the three lozenge-shaped openings in the intersecting Y-tracery (Pls Via-c and LVIII-LX). Each panel consists of an oak-leaf quatrefoil with floral boss set on a coloured background bordered by a white fillet, and has been enlarged by a double border of toned modern glass.

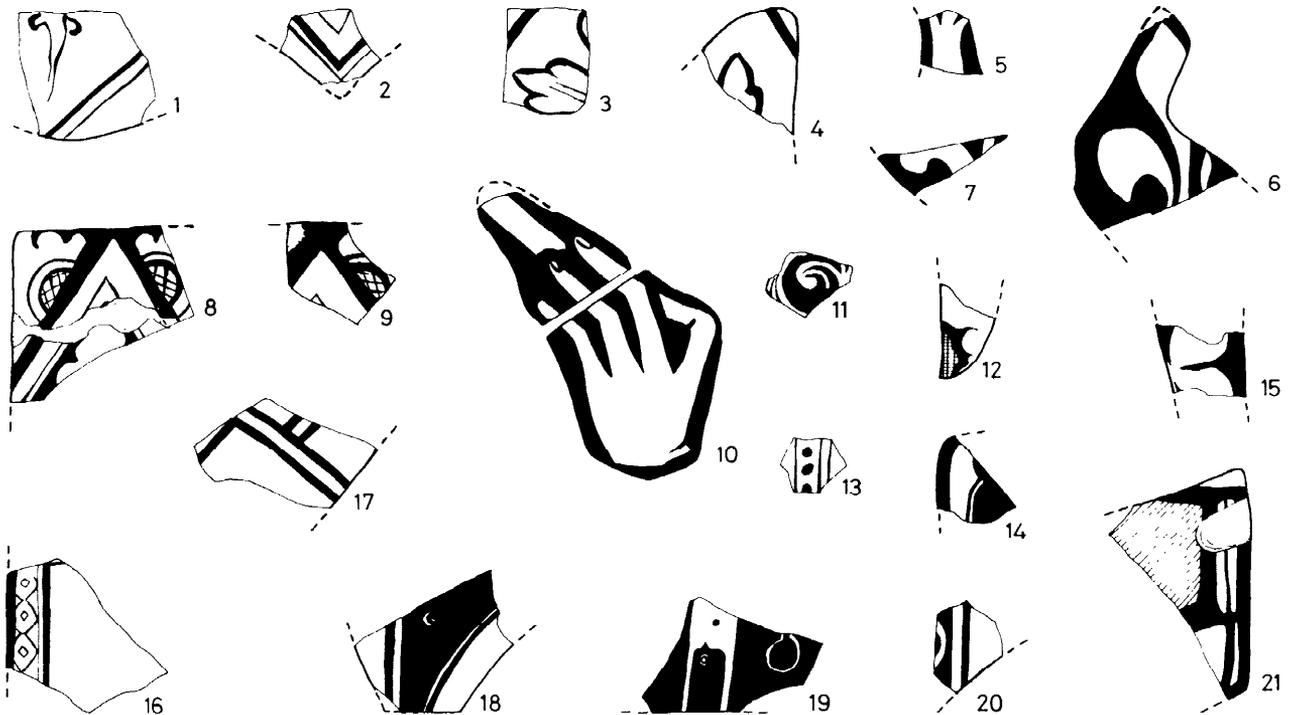


Figure 8 Excavated medieval stained glass. Scale 1:2

The glass in the three tracery lights of window sV is very fragmentary and of more than one period. Much of it consists of decorative tracery-filling with leaf or other patterns set on coloured glass; some is of similar style and date to the east window glass, while some is more ornate and a little later (PI LXI). There are also parts of 14th century canopy and border work from the main light glazing and a few fragments of late 15th or early 16th century date, including pieces of a pedestal and of a crown, and what appears to be part of a quarry bearing a wing, probably the badge of the Marney family.² Finally, there are a few pieces of Renaissance ornament of mid 16th century date and of doubtful provenance, and some intrusions of modern glass.

The style and design of the medieval glass in the tracery of the east chancel window, together with the similar fragments in window sV, is of the simplest type found in parish church glazing of the late 13th and early 14th centuries. There does not seem to have been any diaper work on the coloured glass background, although the condition of the glass precludes absolute certainty on this point, and the painting is confined to the central bosses and the rather crudely drawn oak-leaves. The absence of yellow stain may suggest a date before *c* 1310, or may be a function of the simplicity of the glazing. The combined evidence of style, technique, design, architectural and historical evidence would indicate a date of *c* 1300–1320.

As mentioned above, a few fragments in window sV are rather different in style and would appear to be a little later. They consist of a fairly complex quatrefoil motif decorated with yellow stain, and parts of others; pieces of two crowns from a border, drawn in perspective from below, modelled in smear shadings³ and decorated with yellow stain; a piece of blue glass with a relieved leaf diaper. All these features indicate that this glass comes from a window in the church which was glazed at a rather later period than the glass previously discussed, probably in the second quarter of the 14th century.

It is difficult to make a definite correlation between the fairly exiguous evidence of the surviving glass and the date of the building programme (Vol 1, pp 139–44), but a rebuilding of the chancel beginning in the very early 14th century would suit the bulk of the surviving glass, and is confirmed by the style of the excavated fragments found beneath the east window. The northern nave window at least was probably glazed at the same time, but the glass in sV is much more varied in date, including pieces from the second quarter of the 14th century. This suggests that the main light glazing of one window, from which these fragments more probably came, was later than that of the tracery. The few pieces of late 15th or early 16th century glass perhaps correspond with the building campaign of *c* 1500 (Vol 1, pp 144–52), and come from one of the two western chancel windows. The fragments of 16th century

Renaissance decoration may have been part of a late — perhaps heraldic — panel original to the church. They may be associated with some of the fragments kept at the rectory. Conclusions as to the original positions of the glass must remain tentative, and it should be remembered that all the smaller groups of fragments could have found their way to the church from a glazier's piece box.

The catalogue of glass in the window lights appears in fiche 1: A7–10.

The excavated fragments (Fig 8)

About 200 fragments of medieval glass were found during the excavations outside the church. The largest of them is 70 mm long, and they vary in thickness from 15 mm to 4 mm. Thirty bear visible traces of paint or yellow stain. Many are now completely opaque, having decayed in the ground, but of those whose colour is visible, most are of clear glass, a few of blue or amber. Some of the opaque pieces appear from their laminated cross-section to have been flashed ruby. If this is the case, the same colour range occurs in these fragments as in the 14th century glass still in the windows of the church. The glass was mainly found scattered around the three sides of the chancel, with a concentration of the painted fragments outside the east window. Odd pieces were found all over the churchyard. What can be seen of the design of the painted pieces suggests that they are of the same date and design as the earlier 14th century glass originally in the two eastern nave windows, nV and sV. However, although many of the pieces have the thickness and irregularity characteristic of 14th century glass, some of the opaque unpainted pieces are very even and thin and would more probably be from the c 1500 period, perhaps from the two western chancel windows.

Most of the fragments are too insignificant to warrant a complete and detailed catalogue (Fig 8.11–21), but the following are worth individual mention: Fig 8.1–2 may be part of 14th century patterned quarries; Fig 8.3–4 show parts of leaves from 14th century grisaille work, and Fig 8.5 is part of a stem from the same; Fig 8.6–7 are parts of 14th century fleur-de-lys from a border, and Fig 8.8–9 are parts of other border pieces; Fig 8.10 (in two pieces) is a hand, being the sole surviving piece of evidence for figure-work in the 14th century main-light glazing.

The fragments at the rectory

The fragments kept at the rectory are mainly parts of the 19th century memorial window by Wailes⁵ to John Croft Hawkins, who died in 1851 (Pl VIIb). This window was formerly in the main lights of window sV and was destroyed by bomb-blast in 1941. However, there are also a few pieces of old glass said to have come from the church.⁶ They are part of a Flemish roundel, and nineteen pieces cut to form parts of circular borders. The present form and provenance of these latter fragments are difficult to explain. They may be divided into two groups according to size and colour. The first consists of four ruby and seven blue pieces which could have formed

part of a border 45 mm wide with an overall diameter of c 18 cm. These pieces are probably 14th century glass, with one piece of 15th century or 16th century ruby, and are all unpainted. The second group is more interesting, consisting of seven larger purple pieces which could have formed part of a border of about the same width, but of larger diameter, perhaps 29 cm. These pieces moreover bear a painted decoration, now very faint. It consists of random sections of an overall pattern of Renaissance ornament, five of the pieces including motifs such as demi-figures issuing from trumpet flowers, flowerets, and animal grotesques, and two with 'capstain' motifs. There is also an isolated piece of clear glass bearing 16th century ornament of a different kind. All these border pieces give the impression of having been reused at some stage, probably in the 16th century as the edges are grozed, but for what exact purpose is unknown.

The French Medieval stained glass: a note

by Warwick Rodwell

In the east window of the chancel is a collection of high-quality French glass, purchased in 1840 by the Revd Bradford Denne Hawkins whilst on holiday, from the church of St Martin, Chenu (Sarthe). Chenu lay in the diocese of Angers and the church belonged to the abbey of St Martin of Tours. It was substantially rebuilt in the 16th century but retains Romanesque features, including windows, dating to c 1150 or a little later. Nothing is known about the history of glazing in Chenu church, or the circumstances of the sale of the glass, although details of its transport to Rivenhall are precisely recorded. It is reported that the Inspector General of French Churches had authorized the Cure of Chenu to sell some of his church's ancient glass to pay for repairs. It would appear that the Cure sold all his ancient glass, since there is none left in the church today. The acquisition of the Chenu windows must be viewed in the context of the wider phenomenon of trafficking Continental glass in the 18th and early 19th centuries (Lafond 1964).

The glass, described briefly by the RCHM (1922, 194), came close to destruction during the 1939–45 war. It was removed from the east window and concealed in an 18th century burial vault in the churchyard in 1941, a few months before a land mine exploded in a nearby field, destroying much of the other glass in the church. The east window was replaced and rearranged in 1948 by the late Miss Joan Howson, with the advice of Revd Christopher Woodforde (Pls Va, b and LVII).

In the centre light are four very fine roundels, in predominant shades of red, blue and green, depicting Christ in Majesty, the Virgin and Child, The Annunciation to the Virgin Mary, and The Entombment, which date to c 1170–80 (Pls LXII–LXV). The roundels are flanked by two bishops of the same period whose lower halves are modern restorations (Pls LXVI–LXVII). Beneath one is a mid 13th century

mounted knight in armour who is identified by an inscription as Robert Lemaire (PIs IXa and LXVIII), and beneath the other a 16th century bishop. Above these figures are two more 16th century scenes, the Adoration of the Magi and St Anthony. All were high-quality work of c 1530, on which the paint has now faded. The heads of all three lights are filled with pieces of 15th and 16th century glass, including a small 16th century figure of God the Father. This arrangement dates from 1948, prior to which there was a mixture of plain glazing and Flemish roundels in the window heads (PI Vb).⁷ The tracery lights are now filled with English medieval glass discussed above, pp 13–15.

The three main lights of the south-eastern window in the nave also contain French late medieval glass, placed there in 1948, one piece in each light. In the centre is a 16th century dove (PI VIIIb), flanked by contrived roundels: one contains a bearded male head (PI VIIIa), the other a skull and a bull's head separated by the inscription IL FAUT MOURIR (PI VIIIc). This last piece was previously in a window on the north side of the nave. Although Victorian accounts do not record the 15th and 16th century French glass as originating from Chenu, there can be little doubt that it arrived in Rivenhall at the same time as the more celebrated roundels.

Such is the quality and importance of the French glass that we invited Dr Françoise Perrot to undertake a detailed study of it in 1977–78. A full account of its iconography and stylistic affinities has now been published (Perrot and Ganboulan 1983–4),⁸ and only additional archaeological and historical evidence need be reported here.

Rector Hawkins spent much time in France, commuting in his undergraduate days between Tours and Oxford. His parents lived in Tours, and also had a house in the country. Bradford Hawkins's father died in January 1839, and it was whilst taking a holiday there to comfort his widowed mother that he heard about the proposed disposal of the glass at Chenu, and duly paid a visit. Negotiations to purchase the glass were protracted, and it was not until the following autumn that shipment and installation actually took place. By this time the restoration of Rivenhall church had been completed. In the now-lost second volume of his manuscript *Annals of Rivenhall*, Hawkins evidently gave 'an amusing account of the difficulties he experienced in obtaining the unanimous approval of the [Chenu] Vestry Meeting to the sale, and the obstacles that had to be overcome in taking the glass out, packing it, and conveying it by Diligence to Honfleur, and from there by steamer to Havre and Southampton'.⁹

A draft text, in Hawkins's hand, for a pamphlet on the 'Window of Ancient Painted Glass in Rivenhall Church' has however survived, and to this is appended a detailed account for the cost of acquiring the windows from Chenu. This is of sufficient interest to reproduce in full.

Painted Glass Acct.

Octr 1840		
17th		£
Pd for Painted Glass	400 francs or	16 . 0 . 0
Expenses incurred -		
Glazier - carriage &c.	24f	
Glazier & helpers	15f	
Carriage 7 - helpers		
& expenses	17	
packing at Chateau		
du Loire	6f	
Carriage to Lisieux	9	
Carriage to Honfleur		
& Porters	9	
At Havre	2	
Tot.	489fr English	19 . 11 . 8
Duty at the Custom House		4 . 14 . 9
Cleaning, portorage, carriage to		
London		1 . 1 . 6
Glazier's bill for self & man, 20 days -		
Lewis per day 4/-, his man 3/6		7 . 10 . 0
Lead & solder		2 . 15 . 0
2 stained glass crosses		1 . 4 . 0
19ft 6 blue stained glass at 6/6		6 . 6 . 9
18lbs stained glass at 3/6		3 . 3 . 0
Carriage of glass & moulds		9 . 5½
Wilson for wirework, ½, inch mesh,		
9 pieces		6 . 0 . 0
Extra wiring - 2 feet up		12 . 6
Chancel window, 3 pieces ½ inch mesh		18 . 6
Cook, cementing window		9 . 7
Ground glass (side window)		1 . 8 . 0
Lewis & man for work at do		3 . 11 . 3
Blacksmith 2/6. Mason 5/6		8 . 0
Wilson for wirework to do		1 . 12 . 6
Extra glass medallions		3 . 0 . 0
Painting wire		2 . 0
		64 . 19 . 5½

This account shows that not only was the east window glazed in 1840, but also another which must have been on the north side of the nave (east end), where the surplus French glass was first placed. Confirmation is also obtained that the Flemish roundels ('extra glass medallions', were introduced into the church at this time; see also p 17.

The arrangement of the glass in the east window was seen to be unsatisfactory, even from the outset. When the counter-restoration (Period 7D; Vol 1, p 162) was being promulgated in 1877, Andrew Hamilton, a local antiquary with a particular interest in stained glass, wrote to Hawkins, 'Pray never never have this relic of seven centuries in the least "Restored". If the divers little bits belonging to it could be collected from the other window and added to it, it would be well'. Hamilton offered a sketch design for an entirely new east window, based upon Romanesque proportions (PI IXb).¹⁰

In the event, no change was made to the window in the 1878 restoration, but correspondence between

Hamilton and the next rector (Bridges) continued, and another design sketch for the rearrangement of the east window was offered. Nothing further happened until 1921, when Rector Hunt appears to have entered into a provisional agreement with Dean Milner-White, to sell all the 15th and 16th century glass at Rivenhall to Kings College, Cambridge, for the sum of £400. The proceeds were to be spent on rearranging the 12th and 13th century glass in the east window. The ensuing furore lasted three years and, although it does not appear that the windows in the church were tampered with, some glass which had been installed by Hawkins in the Old Rectory (RCHM 1922, 194) was sold by Hunt in 1922, without diocesan consent.¹¹

One panel of French glass from Rivenhall Rectory — an early 16th century tracery light, depicting God the Father and the Holy Spirit — is identifiable in King's College Chapel (Wayment 1972, 119, pl 43.4), and other fragments may yet await recognition at Cambridge.¹²

These matters rested until 1941, when the Essex Archaeological Society commissioned a photograph (PI Vb) prior to the dismantling of the east window and its storage in a brick vault in the churchyard (Vol 1, Fig 69, vault V21). Photographs taken in 1947 under studio conditions comprise the best records of the four Norman roundels and the 13th century horseman, but these have not hitherto been published (PIs IXa, Xa, b and XIa, b).¹³

The Netherlandish post-medieval window glass

There are now seven roundels of Flemish painted and stained glass in the three main lights of the north-east window of the nave. The present arrangement dates from 1948, prior to which six of these pieces were included in the east window composition. It is extremely unlikely that the roundels came from Chenu, although they were evidently also purchased by Hawkins in 1840, probably in London. They are identifiable as the 'extra medallions' referred to above, which cost £3.0.0. This is a curious sum for seven roundels, but had there been eight, the unit cost would have been 7s 6d. In view of the local tradition that there was formerly another roundel at Rivenhall Rectory, it is not improbable that the eighth one was disposed of by Rector Hunt in 1922, perhaps to Milner-White at Cambridge. These roundels have not been previously described or illustrated.

Description of the Netherlandish glass

by *William Cole*

- 1 St Lawrence (PI XIIa)
Oval, 19 x 17 cm. 17th century.
Drawn in enamels and yellow stain. His deacon's vestment has a blue edging. Orange stain is used for the pillars, with yellow-stain bases;

the pavement pattern alternates yellow and white. St Lawrence holds his gridiron and a greenish-blue palm. The glass is plated on both sides.

- 2 St Nicholas (PI XIIb)
Roundel, 20 cm diameter. 16th century.
Drawn in paint and light yellow stain. The boys in the tub are on the saint's right, but only two of them are visible. He holds his crook with his right hand, and blesses with his left: the design is therefore taken from an engraving in reverse, since St Nicholas would not have been giving the devil's blessing! The background is a wall. A piece of glass in the lower right-hand side of the roundel is a replacement, as is a small piece higher up on the same side. The paint has faded somewhat, and the glass is plated on the inside.
- 3 Unidentified Female Saint in a Landscape (PI XIIIa, left)
Rounded, 19.7 cm diameter. 16th century.
Drawn in paint and yellow stain. The saint holds a palm and a book. Although the whole is in fairly good condition, it has been marred by slight overpainting. The glass is plated on the inside.
- 4 St John the Baptist (PI XIIIa, right)
Roundel, 20.3 cm diameter. 16th century.
St John has his symbols, the Lamb and Flag. The paint has badly worn and the whole has been strongly overpainted. This roundel therefore has no worth as a 16th century work of art. The glass is plated on the inside.
- 5 The Deposition (PI XIIIb, left)
Roundel, 20.3 cm diameter. 16th century.
Drawn in paint and yellow stain, with touches of red enamel. The glass has deteriorated so much that little is visible, over-painted (?). It is plated on the inside.
- 6 The Crucifixion (PI XIIIb, right)
Oval, 21.5 x 19 cm, cut down. 16th century.
Originally in paint and yellow stain, with touches of red enamel. In similar condition to no 4. The glass is plated on the inside.
- 7 The Last Supper (PI XIIc)
Large roundel, 25.5 cm diameter. Probably Netherlandish, c 1550. The drawing is in paint and two shades of yellow stain: yellow and orange. There are touches of red enamel. A well-designed composition with interesting detail, including the decorated tablecloth, the late Romanesque architecture and the chandelier. Probably a copy of an earlier design. The glass is plated on the outside.

3 Funerary monuments

There are only twenty funerary monuments remaining in Rivenhall Church, seven of which are floor-slabs, three are standing monuments, and the remainder are wall-tablets. The majority are of intrinsic interest, and several are outstanding works

of art. There are two reset medieval grave covers in the chancel, and a good alabaster chest-tomb of the 1590s. The Western memorials, associated with the family vault, also in the chancel, comprise a fine group, spanning the period from the late 17th to the mid 19th century. Of particular technological interest is the inclusion of an early cast iron floor-slab in this group; and there is another example under the tower.

The locations of the monuments are indicated on plan in Vol 1, Fig 121B.

The Medieval Grave Slabs (Fig 9)

by Lawrence Butler and Warwick Rodwell

In the floor of the chancel there are two stone coffin lids, set in front of the choir stalls either side of the central aisle. Christy (1900, 391) suggested that they are in their original positions, but this is most unlikely and is not confirmed by the only source of information (Bridges manuscript¹⁴): 'The Coffin lids (2) in Chancel were found when the Church was re-seated in 1877-8'. The entire church floor, together with the seating arrangements, dates from that time; the lids were clearly set in their current positions for display purposes. One of the lids (M2) was, however, previously visible somewhere in the chancel, being noted by Cutts (1849, lii) and Chancellor (1890, 334). It was presumably the same slab to which Holman made reference at the beginning of the 18th century, when he described a 'stone made coffin fashion with a cross upon it'.¹⁵

Part of a third coffin lid was found during the excavation of the Period 6C tower in 1972. This slab was *in situ* and formed part of the original floor of the tower, but since the tower was not erected before the end of the 15th century it is evident that the slab must have been removed from its primary position elsewhere in the church.

The Holman manuscript records the presence of an indent for a brass in the chancel floor, but this has long since disappeared; possibly the brass was associated with a 15th century tomb in the recess below the south-west window (Vol 1, pp 147-8).¹⁶ Location descriptions and basic details are by WR, and art historical comment by LB.

Fig 9.1 M1

Length 2.06 m; width 0.59 m tapering to 0.37 m; thickness unknown (contra Christy 1900, fig 23); broken into two pieces (perhaps at the time of discovery in 1877?), and the fracture filled with cement. This slab is made from an oolitic limestone of Barnack type; the surface is weathered suggesting that at some time it was ejected into the churchyard. Christy's drawing of 1900 is clearly idealized in part (and far from correct in the form of the edge moulding), but was produced when the slab was in much better condition than it is now, for the passage of feet and cleaning apparatus

have worn away the northern edge and much of the central cross. South side of chancel.

LB comment. Tapering slab with raised median shaft and bevelled edge, probably continuous bevel on all four sides. Short cross-bars are carved on the shaft at head, centre and foot. This form of cross-bar is later than the plain splayed arm (or 'double axe-head') and only occasionally appears at all three points on the cross-shaft, being more usually confined to the head of the slab. The nearest parallel is at Tixover, Rutland, where three cross-bars occur; those at the head and foot are enclosed in a U-shaped band. An early 12th century date is probable.¹⁷

Fig 9.2 M2

Length 1.90 m; width 0.53 m, tapering to 0.36 m; thickness unknown. The slab is of oolitic limestone of Barnack type and presents a well-worn and polished appearance. Two hollows crudely cut into the face of the slab (shown in broken outline on Fig 9.2) probably represent the bottoms of postholes excavated from some higher level whilst it was still buried. The stone is broken through the more easterly of these hollows. The central rib and the south-east corner are also damaged. The western end of the slab is heavily iron-stained.

Christy (1900, fig 24) shows the slab as having a continuous taper from end to end, whereas the taper is in fact confined to the eastern half of its length. He does, however, correctly indicate that the edge moulding, which is complete on the eastern half of the slab, runs out towards the west. North side of chancel.

LB comment. Tapering slab with raised median shaft and moulded edge. At the base is a pointed arch with cusped tracery; the same pattern under a semicircular arch is repeated at the head. The median shaft has a six-pointed star on the centre of the shaft at the head and two semicircular 'leaves'. The sparse decoration is typical of the Essex imitations of the Barnack designs, but is not found in Hertfordshire or further west. A date in the third quarter of the 13th century is probable. The head appears to have space for an inscription, which may explain the compressed design of the arch at the head.¹⁸

Fig 9.3

This slab was set in the north-east corner of the Period 6C tower, where it formed part of the original floor and threshold to the tower stair (Vol 1, Fig 67 and Pl XXVb). The north-west corner of the slab was *in situ* in its mortar bedding and the seating for the slab along its northern edge survived for a distance of 1.65 m (including the surviving fragment). The eastern end was truncated by the Period 7B west wall of the nave (1717) and the southern side of the slab had been removed by the Period 7B tower foundation trench. The

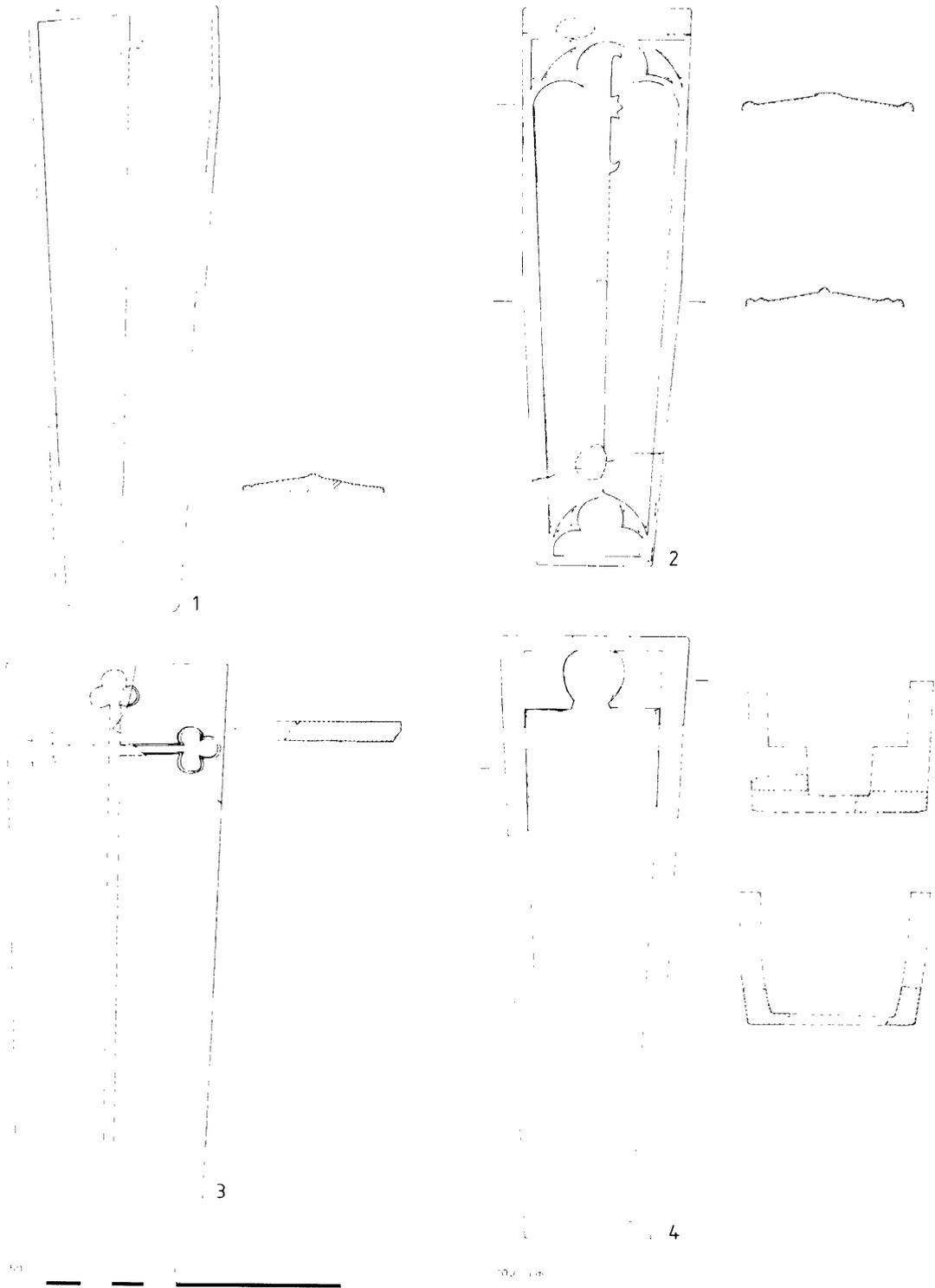


Figure 9 1-3, medieval grave slabs; 4, coffin fragments. Scale 1:20

original length of the slab may be estimated as *c.* 1.90 m; its width can be reconstructed as 0.69 m at the wider end; the thickness is on average 6.5 cm. The stone is Purbeck marble, well polished on the upper surface (into which the decoration was incised) and left rough on the underside; the edges are bevelled. Now in Colchester Museum.

LB comment. Flat slab with incised cross botonée. The incised line carving and the undercut chamfered edge suggest a local school influenced by the designs on Purbeck marble cross-slabs of the later 13th century. The slab would have had either a three-step base or a trefoil terminal at the foot of the shaft. The majority of the Purbeck designs have more elaborate edge mouldings, and have a raised cross motif.¹⁹

Fig 9.4

Fragments from a Barnack limestone coffin with a recess for the head. The dimensions suggest that it was perhaps formerly associated with slab M1. It was found in grave earth outside the north door of the nave (C1W, F228). Now in Colchester Museum.

LB comment. The form of the head recess is the commonest medieval shape, and the proportions of the reconstructed coffin walls are consistent with a 12th century date.²⁰ With so little surviving, closer dating is impossible.

The group of three slabs and a coffin fragment from this church are interesting, partly because of their date range and partly because they show how the influence of the major schools of monumental design (Barnack and Purbeck) was adapted to suit local preferences. The slabs M1 and M2 have been known for some time, one (M2) having been published by Cutts (1849, lli) and Chancellor (1890, pl CXX), and both by Christy (1900, 390–1). The other two items are recent discoveries. (LB)

*Post-Medieval Monuments in the Church
by Warwick Rodwell*

The full inscriptions on monuments are not reported here verbatim when they also appear clearly on the accompanying plates.

Monuments in Stone

M3 (not illustrated)

Purbeck marble floor-slab, 1.95 x 0.94 m, against the north wall of the chancel. Very long inscription, badly weathered and flaked, and now largely illegible. Possibly 17th century (?).

M5 (not illustrated)

Purbeck marble floor-slab, 1.87 x 1.00 m, in the central aisle of the nave, at the threshold to the chancel step; probably in original position and covering a brick vault. The inscription is somewhat worn, but remains easily legible.

SAMUEL HARRIS DD
Professor of Modern History
in the University of Cambridge
FRS

and Rector of this Parish
Died the 21st. of Decemr. 1733
AETatis 54

Also
Mary his Widow and Relict
Died Febry. the 10th. 1762

AETatis 78 and both lie
Interred underneath

M6 (not illustrated)

Black marble floor-slab set under the tower, in its south-west corner; now largely covered by furniture. Probably relocated here, from the central aisle of the nave, in 1878. Holman saw this slab in the nave in the early 18th century.²¹ The stone is not only worn, but also chipped and battered; possibly this damage was occasioned by the fall of the tower in 1717. Only the first line of the inscription is visible, but the remainder was transcribed by Holman, whose record is here reproduced.

[coat of arms]

Here lyeth Interred the body of JEREMY AYLETT
Late of Dorewards Hall in Ye Par[i]sh of Rivenhall
Esqe who intermarried w[i]th Frances Freshwater
The eldest Daughter of Richard Freshwater of
Heibridge Hall Esqe by whome he had issue two
Sonnnes Richard & Jeremy & two Daughters
Bridgett & Frances. He departed this life on
the 12th day of Aprill in the year of Our Lord
1657 aged 67 years

M8 (PI XIVa)

White marble, pedimented wall-tablet set centrally over the north door of the nave (inadvertently marked as M5, in Vol 1, Fig 121B); original position. A simple monument of classical form with a black-filled inscription; the elegance and restrained embellishment of the lettering are unrivalled elsewhere in the church. The plaque commemorates Judith Shepheard, daughter of Rector Hatsell, who died 28 January 1811. She was interred in a brick-lined tomb outside the north door (Vol 1, Fig 68, G6O).

M9 (PI XVa)

White marble wall-tablet with scrolled pediment and classical motifs, set between the north door and north-east window. It commemorates William Blackbone of Hoo Hall, who died 29 April 1831; he was not buried at Rivenhall, and this plaque is subsequent to the wall plaster of 1839.

M9A (not illustrated)

Scar in the wall plaster immediately east of M9 where a tablet 1.45 x 1.02 m (with an additional pedimented top) has been removed since 1839. Identity unknown.

M10 (PI XVb)

White marble wall-tablet surmounted by an urn and flanked by acanthus leaves, all on a grey slate backing. Commemorates Hannah Harriott, who died at Rivenhall Place, 27 October 1831. She was a school-mistress, and the memorial was erected by the fathers of three of her pupils. The local sculptor's name — CARR. MALDON — appears at the lower right-hand corner.

M11 (not illustrated)

White marble tablet on the east wall of the nave, south of the chancel arch. A First World War inscription, the person commemorated not being buried at Rivenhall.

M11A (not illustrated)

Scar in the wall plaster above the small 16th century window in the south side of the nave: rectangular tablet with basal moulding, 1.05 m wide by c 1.20 m high; removed since 1839. Identity unknown.

M12 (PI XIVb)

White marble wall-tablet, mounted on a grey slate backing; simple classical form with guilloche decoration; on the north wall of the chancel, adjacent to the chancel arch. Original position. This commemorates Sarah Hawkins, wife of Rector Hawkins, who died 17 July 1832. The sculptor's name — P ROUW, SCULPr. PORTLAND ROAD, LONDON — appears at the bottom of the slate. Peter Rouw was a major London sculptor, with many fine monuments to his credit (Gunnis nd, 332).

M13 (PI XVIa)

An exceptionally fine veined marble wall-tablet with cornice and arched pediment, surmounted by an armorial cartouche and flaming torch, all mounted on a cherub-bracket. The draped text, in small and now-indistinct lettering, is entirely in Latin (prefaced by a quotation in Greek). It commemorates Samuel Western, who died 20 August 1699; the monument was noted by Holman.²² Originally, the monument lay partly over the infilled Anglo-Saxon window on the north side of the chancel, but was relocated slightly to the east, in 1972. When dismantled, the date 1701 was discovered inside the monument, and the post-medieval wall painting was revealed behind it (p 13). Moreover, fragments of medieval glazed floor tiles had been used to pack the sockets in which the iron wall-cramps were bedded (p 10).

In Rector Hawkins's translation,²³ the inscription reads:

A Monument Sacred

to a most excellent man, Samuel Western Esq, eldest son of Thomas Western Esq, of high repute in the literary world as a counsellor, and three times chosen representative of the Commons House of Parliament by the unbiassed votes of the freemen of Winchelsea in Sussex. Obedient to his aged parents, more

faithful still to his most loving wife, a most tender father to his children (of whom out of three sons, he left only one surviving and heir, William the youngest, a most noble youth of excellent disposition, and the fairest promise). To his companions contributing equally to their enjoyment and his own honour - a treasurer for the poor - devoted to God and to Holiness, of inspired ardour, a lively pattern and example at home and abroad, diligent in the practice of unfeigned piety and the highest virtue, unremitting. So, continually keeping himself within the bounds of modesty, chastity and morality - that kind of person was Western considered to be amongst friends and people [around?]. The most upright, polite, agreeable, lover of the truth and of learning. Breathing quickly after that his body was worn out by a [dread]ful consumption, he rendered up his heaven-born spirit to God on 20th August in the year of Grace 1699, and in the 47th year of his age, rather from a longing for life eternal, than from the more oppressive [...]ness of disease.

Anne Mary Western, only daughter of William Finch Esqre, [...], as lately merchant in London, truly his most afflicted wife, erected this monument as a token of her loving attachment and unceasing affection. In this vault he awaits a happy resurrection.

M15 (Pls XVIb, XVIIa)

A major floor-standing monument against the north wall of the chancel, made of white and grey marbles, set against a pyramid of grey slate. A demi-sarcophagus on scrolled feet stands upon a tomb-chest, which bears the inscription to William Western (died 22 September 1729) and his son James, who died six months later; the incised lettering was formerly filled with ochre paint. This is a fine monument, 2.25 m wide at the base; there is no visible sculptor's signature. The monument straddles the Victorian sanctuary step and a plinth of Portland stone has been inserted beneath it, probably in 1878.

M16 (PI XVIII)

Another major floor-standing monument, of Caen stone, against the north wall of the sanctuary. It commemorates the first and only Lord Western (died 1844), and takes the form of an embattled gothick tabernacle, with flanking statuettes, standing on a panelled tomb-chest bearing the Western arms. The long, gothic-lettered inscription is on white marble. The majority of the lettering is filled with black paint, except for the name and rank of the deceased, where ochre has been employed. Ochre, edged with red, is also used to 'illuminate' the initial letters of all names. The inscription, which is an important document in the history of the Western family, reads:

In the vault beneath
are deposited the remains of
The Right Honble. Charles Callis Western,
Baron Western of Rivenhall,
eldest and only surviving son of
Charles Western,
of Rivenhall Place, Esqre.
who departed this life
on the iv day of November mdcccxliv,
in the lxxviii year of his age.

Lord Western served his Country
in the Commons House of Parliament,
for a Period of xlii years,
during xxii of which
he was member for the Borough of Maldon,
and during xx represented this County.
He was raised to the Peerage by His Majesty William IV
in the year mdcccxxxiii.

True to his Sovereign,
zealous for the rights and interests of the people,
foremost in every agricultural improvement,
and a benevolent friend of the poor,
his name will long be cherished
with esteem and gratitude.

This Monument
is erected to his memory
by his kinsman and successor,
Thomas Burch Western,
of Tattingstone Place, Suffolk, Esqre.

It is not impossible that Lord Western himself devised this wording. The sculptor's name, in red-filled gothic letters, appears on the east end of the monument: 'Clarke, Wigmore St, London'. Little appears to be known about the sculptor, whose work has hitherto been undervalued, and described by Gunnis (nd, 103) as a maker of 'large and very ugly "Gothic" tablets'. A funeral hatchment hangs over the monument.

M17 (Pls XX, XXI)

A great alabaster and marble monument, with tomb-chest, recumbent effigies, pilastered canopy, crest and funeral helm, in the south-east corner of the chancel. The tomb was first noted by Holman in the early 18th century;²⁴ it has been illustrated and briefly described elsewhere, but the detailed publication which is clearly merited has hitherto been lacking (Chancellor 1890, 271–2, pl lxxxix, xc: RCHM 1922, 194, pl opp 133 and opp 197). Fresh interest in the monument has recently been generated, and in 1991 it was dismantled for conservation and temporary display at the Victoria and Albert Museum (p 193); it is described in the Museum's exhibition catalogue (Llewellyn 1991). A brief account of the monument with observations on its regional significance, by Julian Litten, is given below.

The tomb, which is partially housed in a Period 6B window recess (vol 1, 141), has been variously

repaired but not restored. The monument retains some original restrained polychrome decoration, and Wyseman's helm, with a painted sea-horse crest, is mounted on an original iron bracket high on the wall above the tomb. The blade of the sword lying by Raphe's effigy is made of wood (the hilt is alabaster) and is presumably a substitute for a lost metal one. The whole monument rests on a deep limestone plinth, which has the appearance of being more recent in date. This suggests underbuilding of the tomb-chest when the chancel floor was relaid in 1877–8 (p 18). It is likely that the floor level within the chancel had risen a good deal by *c* 1597 and that a reduction was effected during one of the Victorian restorations (but for conflicting evidence as to the age of the plinth, see p 194).

The monument, which is to (Sir) Raphe and Elizabeth Wyseman, has usually been dated to *c* 1608, on the assumption that it must have been erected after the deaths of both parties. This, however, would not appear to be the case, for several reasons. In the first place, the inscription does not record the date of Raphe's death (20 August 1608), but that of Elizabeth is given as 23 July 1594. Secondly, since Raphe is described merely as 'Lord of ye Pish [Parish] and undoubted Patron of ye Church', it is clear that the monument must have been erected sometime after the death of Elizabeth, his first wife, but certainly before he received the knighthood on 11 May 1603. It is inconceivable that Wyseman's status would have been incorrectly recorded on a tomb of this magnificence. The commissioning of fine monuments by wealthy patrons, *ante mortem*, was commonplace. In all probability, the monument was ordered in 1594, and it is likely that two to three years elapsed before the commission was fulfilled; surviving accounts relating to other contemporary monuments attest the average length of production time. The erection of the Rivenhall monument would thus have occurred in *c* 1597.

The Raphe Wyseman monument, *c*1597

by Julian W S Litten

The monument to Raphe Wyseman and his wife Elizabeth (née: Barley) in Rivenhall Church falls into the general category of alabaster and black marble (touchstone) Mannerist funerary sculpture of the period *c* 1570–1620, mainly produced in the Southwark area of London, and relying heavily on late Renaissance motifs and stylized strapwork introduced into England from the Low Countries with the arrival of emigre artists and sculptors from the Netherlands in the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century.

With the Wyseman monument we have, in conception, an almost freestanding canopied monument, though being prevented from being wholly so by its placement against a wall, and provided with an ornamental backplate to complete the design. At the centre of the backplate is a touchstone inscription panel within a stylized strapwork border, flanked by

touchstone shields displaying the heraldic achievements of (right) Wyseman and (left) Wyseman quartered with Barley. This backplate, together with the two shallow side pilasters, is crested by a continuous frieze of alabaster and black marble, into which are set four semi-ogival brackets supporting a canopy whose underside is divided into twelve equal panels; in the centre of each is a stylized petalled rosette with raised calyx. Atop the canopy is a free-standing alabaster cartouche emblazoned with the arms of Wyseman and Barley. The leading faces of the supportive pilasters are panelled, with recessed plates of black marble; the rosettes between the panels are wanting.

Against the backplate, and proud of the canopy, is set the tomb-chest (now raised on a 19th century plinth) upon which rest the effigies of Raphe Wyseman and Elizabeth Barley, the latter being raised on a contemporary plinth — as was the style at the time — to afford its viewing by the spectator, rather than signifying any special importance to the deceased. Both effigies are supine, with hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, the thumbs being together rather than crossed. Raphe Wyseman is equipped in parade armour of the Greenwich type, and sports a heavily starched linen ruff around the neck. This effigy rests on a straw mattress, rolled up at one end to provide support for the head; this mattress is itself resting on a shallow plinth, the base of the block of alabaster from which the effigy was cut. On the mattress is placed a scabbarded sword, partly of alabaster. Though the effigy is devoid of the stiffness associated with the more provincial examples of this kind, it should not be compared with the less formalized poses adopted by the sculptors of the Southwark school. The griffin crest is independent of the effigy, though integral to the pose, and sits directly on the lid of the tomb-chest. The facial features are stiff and its seems unlikely that they were based on a contemporary portrait; the hair, with its layered curls, together with the treatment of the straw mattress and scabbarded sword, call to mind an almost identical effigy of *c* 1605 to Sir Christopher Hildyard at St German's, Winestead, Yorks.

The effigy of Elizabeth Barley, whose integral base is twice as thick as that of her husband, is set closer to the wall. This is a departure from the norm, for it was customary for the female to be placed against the male's left side rather than the right; however, its present positioning is contemporary and deliberate, to afford greater emphasis to Raphe Wyseman. Elizabeth Barley wears day dress fashionable at the turn of the 16th century, emphasized by the starched linen ruff and the coiffure, the hair being rolled back from the forehead. The features are more relaxed than those of Raphe Wyseman and an attempt has been made to give texture to the skin by highlighting the cheekbones and the sensuality of the mouth and eyes; it is not improbable that the sculptor was working from a death-mask in this instance. A less formal support has been used for the head of the Barley figure: a tasselled cushion.

The tomb-chest itself is remarkably plain, apart from the rolled moulding of the lid. Against the front of the tomb-chest are alto-relievo kneeling figures of the Wysemans' six children, two adult males and a youth to the left, two adult females and an adolescent girl to the right. These figures are almost in the round and have been ingeniously cut from two large blocks of alabaster, each forming half the width of the front face of the tomb-chest itself. The males wear short cloaks over their demi-armour of peascod breast-plate, whilst the females are clad in garb similar to that depicted on the Barley effigy, though the young girl does not sport a head-dress.

The quality of Essex monuments varies considerably. None is of outstanding national importance, such as the Royal tombs in Westminster Abbey, though the *c* 1580 monument by Cornelius Cure — the Crown Mason — at SS Edmund and Mary, Ingatestone, to Sir William Petre, Secretary of State of Henry VIII, comes close to the mark. The nearest comparison in style to the Wyseman monument is that of *c* 1600 at Waltham Abbey to Sir Richard Denny; however, this was repositioned in the 1970s at which time it was extensively 'over-restored and polychromed' and is, in any case, a pale shadow of its former self, having lost the supporting columns to its canopy.

The Wyseman monument is arguably the most complete example of its kind in the county. The subtlety of the combination of light alabaster with black marble, the elegance of posture of the formalized figures, together with the pleasing natural distressing of the polychromy and gilding, has a powerful visual impact. Its underbuilding with a plinth during the 19th century to accommodate the installation of a tiled floor in the chancel was done with great sensitivity and with a sympathetic professionalism usually missing in this type of re-ordering. Certainly the monument's simplicity of design and component parts has contributed to its stability; indeed, it remains one of a handful of Elizabethan monuments in the county to have survived the ravages of time and vandalism. Rivenhall is fortunate to possess such a unique example of late Renaissance/early Mannerist sculpture, a tangible witness to the power of private patronage — a patronage extended by a man of considerable taste and imbued with a sense of the aesthetic. It remains not only an example of high art of the period, but also a valuable resource for the funerary historian, the art scholar, and those interested in the development of armour, costume and coiffure in the Elizabethan period. Its importance cannot be overstressed.

M18 (PI XIXa)

White marble tablet with broken-arch pediment, on a grey slate backing; original colouring on arms. The monument commemorates Thomas Western (died 1 April 1733) and Mary his wife (no date of death given), their son Thomas (died May 1765) and his wife Anne (died January 1776), and eight of their children, the last of whom to be mentioned being

Rector Thomas Walsingham Western (died 2 September 1823). The inscription was first painted in black onto the marble, and the letters then cut through the painting. Commas were not incised after painting, although full stops were. The monument, which is in its original location on the south wall of the chancel, cannot have been erected before 1823.

M19 (PI XVIIb)

White marble tablet with classical details, surmounted by a serpent-ring, on a grey slate backing; original colouring on arms. Set immediately below M18, in its original location. The monument commemorates Charles Western (died 24 July 1771), Frances his wife (died 5 October 1815), an infant son, and another son, Rector Shirley Western (died 30 April 1824). The technique of lettering is identical to that of M18, and these two tablets are certainly products of the same workshop. The lettering of the motto beneath the arms was painted, cut and then blacked again. M19 cannot have been erected before 1824. It is likely that both tablets were erected in or soon after 1824, perhaps replacing an earlier series of individual memorials.

M20 (PI XIXb)

Composite wall-tablet of white marble and dark grey slate; arms probably recoloured in the later 19th century. This tablet was originally set above the priest's door in the south wall of the chancel, but was moved eastwards in 1973, in order to reopen the blocked Anglo-Saxon window. The monument primarily commemorates Olive Western (died 12 May 1823), but also recalls her parents, Maximilian and Dorothy Western. Although of closely similar date, and clearly intended to be part of a trio, this tablet is not by the same hand as M18 and M19.

Cast iron tomb covers

M4 (PI XXII)

A massive cast iron floor-slab, 2.11 x 0.91 m, lying midway along the chancel and towards its northern side. This is almost certainly not the original position, and Holman records that it lay 'in the middle of the chancell'.²⁵ The monument commemorates Thomas Western (died 11 January 1706), who married into the Gott family of London ironfounders. Although there is no foundry mark on the slab, there can be little doubt that it was at least nominally a 'London' product, although the actual casting is more likely to have taken place on the family's Sussex estate.

The Western slab is of considerable technological interest. It is a floor-casting, but was evidently not made by impressing movable type into a prepared sand bed, and forming the arms by trowel-work, as was often the case. This monument was cast from a

full-size pattern, prepared some time before Western's death. Gaps were left in the final two lines for the insertion of his age and date of death. Curiously, the inserted lettering is in two type-styles, and changes in the layout can also be detected.

The penultimate line reads:

AGED 83 YEARS *OBIT*

The age '83' is carried on a clearly visible insert and is in a light type-style. The same applies to '*OBIT*'; not only are the letters of slighter character and smaller in size, but they and the space-filling rosettes were also all cut on an L-shaped block, which was then inserted into the original pattern. The arrangement leaves no doubt that originally the pattern carried the word 'DIED' here, in bold letters. Presumably this became damaged during storage of the pattern, and had to be cut out.

The final line reads:

THE XI. [I]IAN:1706*

Although the lettering here is all bold, only the initial 'THE' and the erased letter 'I' (or possibly 'J') belong to the original composition of the pattern. The type-style of the inserted lettering is closely similar to the original, but not identical. The day of death, 'XI.', was cut on one inserted block, while the month, the year and the terminal rosette were on another, 'IAN:1706*'.²⁶

The insertions and alterations were plainly made to the pattern, and not to a finished casting, there being no brazed insets. The conclusion must be that the pattern was prepared some years prior to Western's death, and that before the slab could ultimately be cast, repairs and additions were necessary; however, the original type-supply was no longer to hand, and others had to be substituted. Even so, an error crept in: Western died on 11 January 1707, not 1706.

Thomas Western was a far-sighted and methodical man, who appears to have initiated the family's appropriation of the chancel for burial. He is recorded as having built a vault to hold sixteen persons. This substantial brick-built chamber lies under the centre of the chancel, but has not been opened for archaeological recording. It is likely that Thomas built the family vault in or shortly before 1699, since his son, Samuel, was the first recorded interment therein (M13). The last burial was that of Lord Western in 1844 (M16).²⁶

M7 (not illustrated)

This substantial cast iron slab, largely covered by furniture, is in the base of the tower, at the north-west corner. It was probably moved here in 1878 from the central aisle of the nave (cf M6). The inscription in raised lettering reads:

[crest]

Sacred to the Memory
of Mrs Anne Dolliffe
Relict of James Dolliffe Esqr
and formerly wife of William
Western Esqr of this Parish
This is inscribed

by William Hanbury Esqr
of Kelmarsh in the County of
Northampton
lineally descended from the deceased
A grateful testimony
of her virtues and
his affection
Ob. 14 June AD 1773
Aetatis 82

In the same grave next to the body of the unfortunate mother lie the remains of her only son James Western who died just in the morning of life. The distressed parent though in life divided from him earnestly desired that in death at least they might not be separated.

Carron 1776

As a work of art, this monument is inferior to M4 in design and layout; neither does it exhibit much interesting technological detail. It was clearly set out and cast in one, after the death of Anne Dolliffe. Unusually, however, it bears the name of the foundry, the Carron Iron Co of Scotland. While it would not have been surprising if the cover had been cast in a Northamptonshire foundry, in view of the family connection, it is remarkable that the commission should have gone to a Scottish firm;

moreover, it is one of their earliest products. The completed slab had to be transported, presumably by water, over a distance of some 430 miles.

A third cast iron tomb cover with a Rivenhall connection is to be found amongst the collection of some 30 examples in the parish church at Wadhurst, Sussex. One of the oldest in the group, the Wadhurst cover, commemorates Nicholas Fowle of Rivenhall.

The only other monument, now lost, for which there is any evidence, was 'At the church dore a grey stone which had a brass plate but now gone'. This was presumably 16th or 17th century, and was seen by Holman.²⁸

Brass Tablet (Fig 10)

Engraved brass sheet contained by a grey marble frame, 0.67 x 0.57 m, attached to the north wall of the chancel. Original position, fixed prior to the replastering of 1839. The plaque commemorates Lord Western's munificence in rebuilding the church in 1838-9 'at his own expense'. As a historical document, this is not entirely accurate (see Vol 1, p 161).

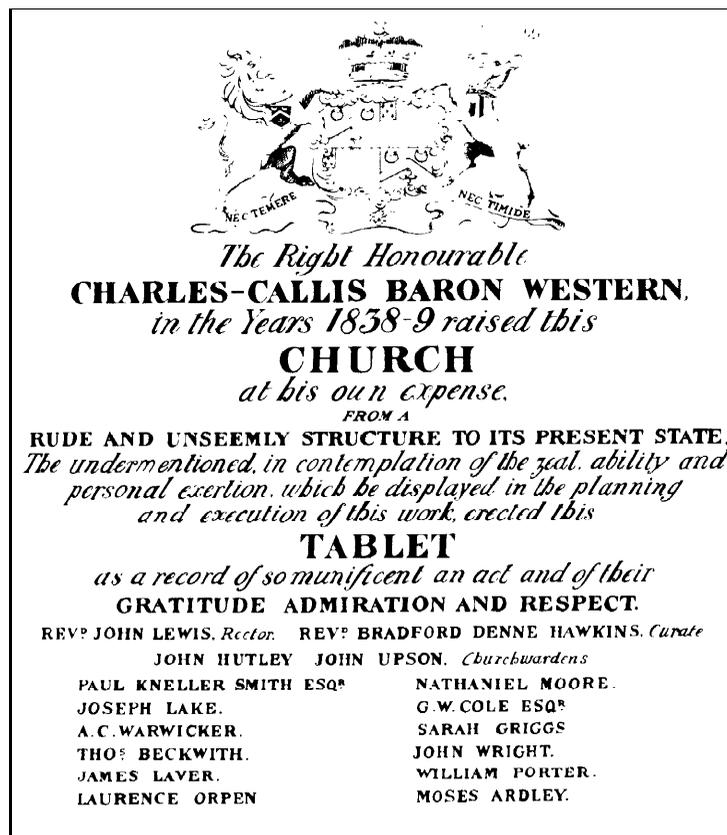


Figure 10 Brass plaque commemorating the restoration of 1839. See Vol 1, p 160. Scale 1:4

Monuments in the churchyard

No detailed survey of the churchyard monuments has yet been undertaken, an omission which needs rectifying.

There is a large number of monuments, from the 18th century onward. They are mostly run-of-the-mill products of no great artistic distinction, although a few are of intrinsic interest. There are eight cast iron crosses, ranging in date from the mid 19th century to the 1920s.

Notes

- 1 The system of numbering windows and panels, and the layout of the catalogue, follow those of the *Corpus Vitrearum*.
- 2 Similar, but not identical, quarries with the Marney badge remain in the east window of the Marney Chapel, in the church of St Mary the Virgin at nearby Layer Marney, in glass of the first half of the 16th century. There is, however, no known connection between the Marney family and Rivenhall.
- 3 For this and other technical terms of glass painting used here, see for example: Lasko and Morgan 1973, 68.
- 4 At the parish church of St Nicholas, Little Braxted, 2.5 miles from Rivenhall, there remain four quarries decorated with strapwork and hawthorn-leaf. The grisaille fragments at Rivenhall indicate that both the patterned quarry and running-leaf types of grisaille may have been used.
- 5 British Library Add MS 33524, C K Probert's 'Essex Collections', fo 170.
- 6 Most of this collection was recovered during unsupervised excavations in connection with landscaping against the south side of the nave; other pieces were discovered in a garden shed at the former sexton's house.
- 7 F S Eden's collection of drawings of the more important French glass at Rivenhall, made in the 1920s, is in the Dept of Prints and Drawings, Victoria and Albert Museum: cat E184/5/6-1924; E1603/4/5/6/1961926; E2581/82,1961930. The panel showing God the Father was then at the Rectory.
- 8 A full bibliography of the Rivenhall glass is given, but the illustrations are unfortunately neither complete, nor of sufficient size for the appreciation of detail.
- 9 Referred to by Rector Bridges in Rivenhall Parish Magazine, March 1891.
- 10 Correspondence in the Library of the Essex Archaeological Society.
- 11 The shocking story is revealed in the correspondence files of the Council for the Care of Churches (83 London Wall, London, EC2). Hunt apparently sold the Rectory glass as a gesture of defiance in response to the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Board's refusal to consent to the sale of glass in Rivenhall Church.
- 12 The King's College panel was overlooked by Perrot and Ganboulan (1983-4).
- 13 The photographs taken in Joan Howson's studio are free of ferramenta and other clutter. The plate negatives were rediscovered in 1978, and are now in the National Monuments Record. Miss Howson's associate, the late Miss M E de Putron, also kindly provided us with her own photographs taken in 1947.
- 14 Recorded in Rector Bridges' notebook, in the parish records. There is also a drawing of slab MI in the Library of the Essex Archaeological Society, with the note that it was found in November 1877.
- 15 Holman ms, fo 27. Essex Record Office, T/P 195/10. William Holman compiled his ms 'History of Essex' c 1710-30. His description of Rivenhall church is in his own handwriting, but that of the monuments is by another hand.
- 16 Holman ms, fo 27.
- 17 The Rivenhall slab is described by Christy 1900, 391. A plainer slab with a similar edge moulding is at Willingale Spain: Christy 1900, 373-4.
- 18 Described and illustrated by Cutts 1849, 82 and pl LII*; also described in Christy 1900, 391, with other references to illustrations. Occasionally the eclipsed sun and one or more stars are used to allude to the Crucifixion.
- 19 For a parallel at Navestock, see Christy 1900, 379. The distribution of Purbeck memorial stones in East Anglia was essentially coastal (Leach 1978, 34-40; fonts 69-83 with map, 81, though the Lea valley was the route used for western Essex (Butler 1957, 99).
- 20 For comparisons, see Stapleford Tawney (Christy 1900, 371-2) and Wix Abbey (Blake 1962, 105-10; Butler 1964, 263-4). More generally, see Wilmore 1939, 135-77, esp 142 (Type C).
- 21 Holman ms, fo 28.
- 22 *ibid*, ff 26-7.
- 23 A transcript and translation, prepared c 1840 by Rector Hawkins, are contained in his notebook (see note 14). Rather than offer a literal translation of the terse Latin text, we have followed Hawkins, who was able to capture the true spirit of the epitaph.
- 24 Holman ms, ff 24-5.
- 25 *ibid*, ff 25-6.
- 26 For an introductory article on the Western family see Smith 1909. Considerable further research has been carried out by the Revd David Nash, lately Rector of Rivenhall.
- 27 We are grateful to Mr Stanley Tyson for this and other information.
- 28 Holman ms, fo 28.

8 Loose artefacts from the excavations

1 Objects of copper alloy

The Bronze Age metalwork

by J P Northover and Warwick Rodwell

The Hoo Hall hoard (Fig 11; PI XXIIIa)

In or before 1841 a Late Bronze Age hoard of socketed axes was revealed during agricultural operations somewhere on the Hoo Hall estate: that is in fields to the east and south of Rivenhall church (Vol 1, Fig 14A, site 2). The find may have been made in 1839, perhaps during the ploughing up of old pasture. It is not clear how large the hoard was, but a process of deduction suggests that at least nine axes were found.

The Minute Book of the Chelmsford Philosophical Society (in the Chelmsford and Essex Museum) records the finding of an unspecified number of bronze 'celts' on the Hoo Hall estate. Two of these were exhibited at the Society's meeting on 11 May 1841 and donated to Chelmsford Museum by George Clapham, who also gave two more to Colchester Museum in 1846 (Butcher 1923, 265). In 1903 it was reported that Henry Mothersole, an antiquary living in Chelmsford, also possessed some 'bronze socketed celts' from Rivenhall (VCH 1903, 273). In 1906 he donated various items to Chelmsford Museum, which may have included a group of five socketed axeheads (B5 20/CPS), mentioned without provenance or donor in the register of the Philosophical Society for the same year. Another 'socketed bronze celt' is recorded without giving details. Thus a minimum of eight socketed axeheads passed into the Philosophical Society's hands between 1841 and 1906. All these ought to be in Chelmsford Museum, but in 1946 only the five 'bronze celts' mentioned in 1906 and probably donated by Mothersole could be traced. Postwar losses have reduced the number of unprovenanced socketed axes in Chelmsford Museum to one.

The two axes in Colchester Museum are described below, together with the single unprovenanced axe in Chelmsford Museum. An examination of its condition leaves little room for doubt that it is from the Rivenhall hoard, for its patination, corrosion pattern and blade damage closely match those on the provenanced axes. Finally, it may be noted that another socketed axehead was found c 1960, in a ploughed field in Kelvedon parish, close to its boundary with Rivenhall (Vol 1, Fig 14A, site 11). The axe is in Colchester Museum: accn no 152.60. This find was made a little way beyond the limits of

the Hoo Hall estate, and is thus presumably not connected with the hoard described here.

Description

by J P Northover

For metal analyses see Tables 2–4, 1964, fiche 1: A11–12

Fig 11.1; PI XXIIIa. 1

Looped, socketed axe, mouth subrectangular; large rounded mouth moulding; scars of runners largely removed; blowhole in mouth moulding; single horizontal rib at level of top of loop; outside edges of loop worn; rectangular body section; slightly waisted profile; cutting-edge curved, expanded, chipped or fractured at four points, asymmetrically worn at end away from loop; lower part of one face pitted from poor casting, possibly as a result of contamination of the mouldface; flash hammered, part ground; fine parallel striations on one face angled at c 5 degrees to the axis of object, sloping away from edge with loop towards cutting-edge; axe smooth from recent or semi-recent cleaning; one face polished; corrosion pattern in socket, with particle of bronze adhering; suggests that a small bar-like object had been pushed into the socket at the time of deposition; socket contains two ribs, one inside each broad face.

L = 101 mm; WB1 = 45 mm; Socket 39 x 38 mm; Wt. = 233.64 g.

Colchester Museum PC 1878.

Fig 11.2; PI XXIIIa.2

Looped socketed axe; mouth subrectangular; large rounded mouth moulding; scars of two runners; two horizontal ribs below mouth moulding, lower at level of top of loop; rectangular body section; slightly waisted profile; cutting-edge curved, expanded, asymmetrically worn away from loop, chipped in places, striations from grinding along blade faces and across cutting-edge for lowest 15 mm; each face decorated with two curved wing-ornament ribs, the lower ends extending around edges as horizontal ribs, a pellet on each face between upper ends; casting flashes generally left unaltered and mould valves misaligned vertically by about 1-2 mm; mixed patina with more severe spots of corrosion; two ribs cast inside socket.

L = 106 mm; WB1 = 40 mm; Socket = 35 x 3 mm; Wt. = 224.45 g.

Colchester Museum PC 1877.

Fig 11.3; PI XXIIIa.3

Looped socketed axe; mouth subrectangular; very prominent rounded mouth moulding with prominent scars of two runners; no horizontal rib below mouth moulding; rectangular body section; rather straight sides; cutting-edge moderately expanded, worn asymmetrically away from loop, burred over on one corner, chipped at the other; not so asymmetrically worn as in the other examples; each face decorated in upper third with two thick, gently curved wing-ornament ribs, joined at the bottom by a horizontal rib effectively outlining a rectangular panel; prominent flash largely

unaltered; axe bent to one side, perhaps from use as wedge although such use would be more likely to break the axe; two short ribs cast in socket; similar patination to the previous example, although coated with varnish.

L = 125 mm; WB1 = 39 mm; Socket = 42 x 43 mm; Wt. = 347.50 g.

Chelmsford Museum 1977.61.

Discussion

by J P Northover

Overall, the tin contents and impurity patterns of these axes are quite common among socketed axes

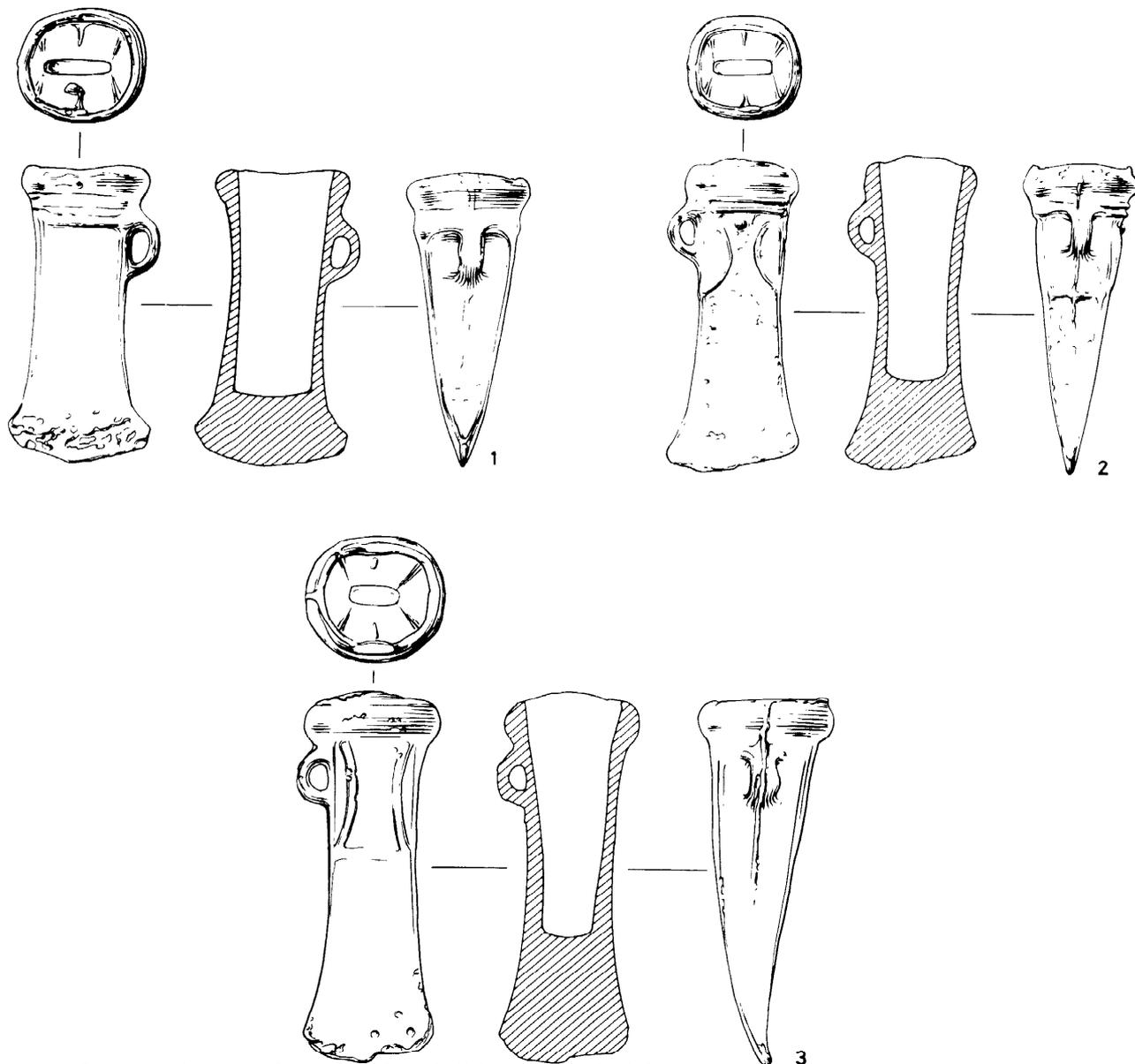


Figure 11 Copper alloy axes from the Moo Hall hoard. Scale 1:2

of south-eastern type (Butler 1963, 82–4, conventionally dated to c 8th century BC (Burgess 1968, 17–18, 38–9, fig 13, 5–7; 1974, 209–10). Typologically these axes form a continuum with the similar examples in northern France and the possibility must be borne in mind that they were originally made there. The lead content, were it not affected so much by corrosion, might have assisted in this argument; if the lead content had been high, say over 10%, more sign of it would have been visible in the microstructure and analytically in the corrosion product. This rules out one distinctive group of high-lead socketed axes of French origin within the overall south-eastern group, and consequently axes made in Britain from that metal. The use of lead in the Late Bronze Age is often oversimplified in discussion. It must be realized that the lead in axes such as these, probably less than 5%, is most likely to be residual from a previous casting. All that can be said in the case of these axes is that they were made in northern France or eastern England from a low-lead alloy to which it is likely that no further lead additions were made from English sources, in contrast to the practice with some other socketed axe types.

The high tin contents could relate also to either an English or European origin for the metal and indicate that there has been no dilution with ingot copper. The coppers used in the axes have more than one origin; the antimony contents would tend to rule out an English or Welsh origin and a Continental source is to be preferred. The metal may be a mixture of coppers from both Alpine/central Europe and Atlantic sources in France or Iberia. This is common for much of the metalwork in south-eastern England at this time.

The uniformity between the point counts for each axe is a measure of the working and annealing practice of the smiths making the cutting-edges, showing both a considerable amount of cold work and relatively high annealing temperatures, perhaps nearer 600 degrees C than 500 degrees C. The third axe described has not been quite as heavily worked as the other two.

The axes are all in a well-used and worn state but not worn beyond reuse. It is of course possible that they were regarded as being in scrap condition and were being collected for remelting; equally it is possible that they were being collected to have their cutting edges resmithed. This last would represent the lowest level of the bronze-working industry with, possibly, a truly itinerant smith at the tinker level. The size and nature of true 'founders' hoards' do not quite tally with the description of the Hoo Hall hoard. Ideas are still evolving about the organization of Late Bronze Age production; recent hoards of die-linked axes suggest that the cutting-edges were put on blades during the distribution process, perhaps at the point of exchange. The Hoo Hall hoard could represent the axes collected in exchange for new ones, but equally, they could have been collected either for resmithing or remelting as described above. A reappraisal of many bronze

hoards with careful regard being paid to the metallurgical condition of each object is needed before more progress can be made in this direction.

Metalwork from Silver End

In 1971 we were informed of the discovery of 'six ground bronze castings' during the building of the Crittall factory in the late 1920s (Vol 1, Fig 14A, site 12). Several local sources confirmed the discovery, but the whereabouts of the objects could not be traced; descriptions suggest a small hoard of Bronze Age axes.

During drain laying in 1971 in the garden of 'Warwickers', Boars Tye Road (Vol 1, Fig 14A, site 3), an irregular 'cake' of waste copper alloy (which analysis has shown to be brass) was found at a depth 2–3 ft (0.6–0.9 m), in the natural clay (PI XXIIIa, 4). At the same time, it was reported that several 'bronze ingots' had been found some years previous in the adjacent garden of 'Choates'; these had been disposed of as scrap metal.

PI XXIIIa.4

Irregular piece of waste metal with flowed, air-cooled cast surface; lower face rough. The zinc content of this metal indicates that it is not Bronze Age; it could conceivably date to the Iron Age or Roman periods, but the proportions of alloying elements would be unusual there. This composition would fit best in the Dark Ages; there is only a limited amount of comparative material, but a 5th–7th century date would not be unreasonable.

For metal analysis see Table 5, fiche 1: A12.
Overall dimensions = 172 x 102 x 32 mm Wt = 843.02 g
Chelmsford Museum 1972.63.

The Celtic mirrors by Glenys Lloyd-Morgan

Parts of two bronze mirrors have been found at Rivenhall, the first of which has long been known, while the second is previously unreported.

Mirror I (Fig 12; PI XXIIIb)

Chelmsford and Essex Museum, accn no B18303; 142/CPS.

The following notes on the Rivenhall mirror are intended to reconsider this neglected piece and assess its relationship to other examples in the British series of Celtic mirrors. The circumstances of its discovery are given in Vol 1, p 19. For metal analyses and discussion of their significance, see below pp 33–35.

The mirror consists of two pieces, a single tear-shaped loop handle, 82 mm in length and the internal fragment of the mirror disc with engraved curvilinear decoration on one side. The fragment of mirror disc measures 96 x 71 mm and is irregular in

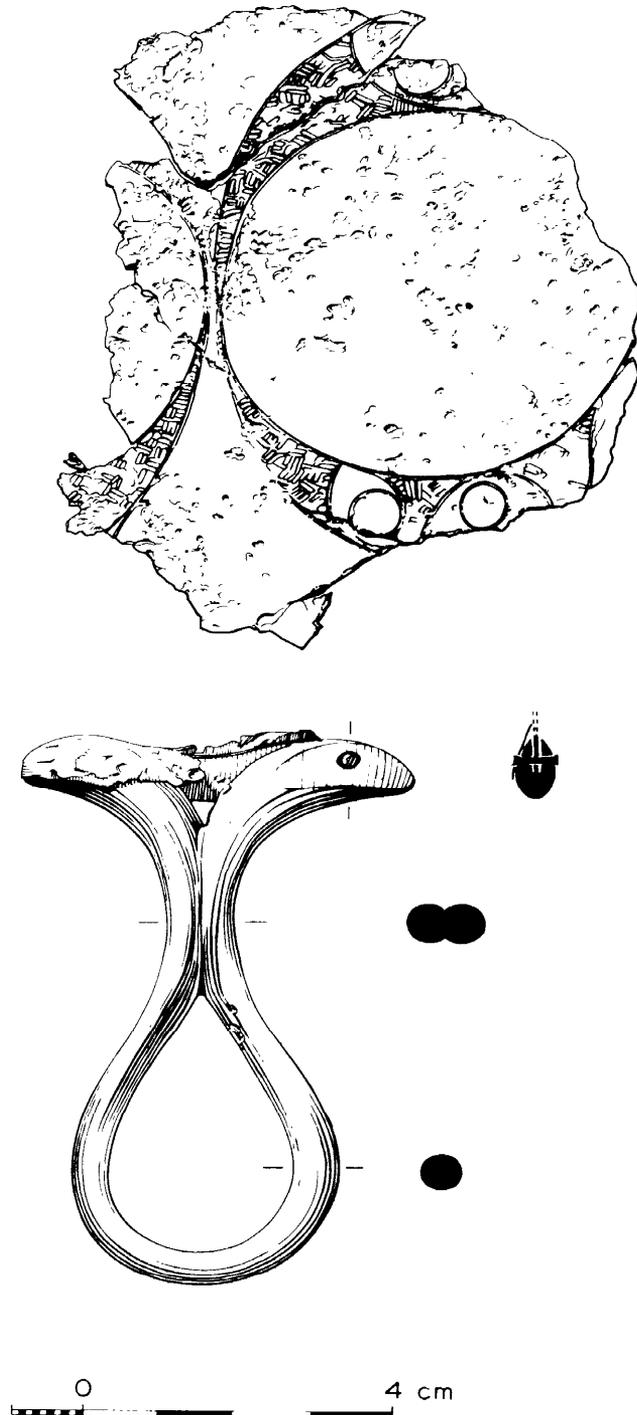


Figure 12 Celtic bronze mirror I. Scale 1:1

outline. It is approximately 1 mm thick. The engraving is usually shown as consisting of two adjacent roundels. The one on the right is the more complete, and appears to have been symmetrically balanced by the existing portion of a similar roundel. There is no indication of the placement of the fragment within the original mirror disc, nor of its size.

The disc was originally slotted into a prepared groove in the upper part of the handle, which rises from the loop to flare out like two sprouting leaves. It is uncertain how deep this slot was, but it seems that it was insufficient to take the size and weight of the mirror, for at some date in antiquity it was found necessary to strengthen the junction. A binding was applied, running over and partially concealing the upper handle. The join was completed by two rivets, one in each 'leaf', holding binding, handle and mirror disc firmly together. A third rivet in the middle held the binding and mirror. This suggests that the mirror had been designed in a similar fashion to the Gibbs, Mayer and Trehan Bahow mirrors, but unlike these pieces the disc was too large to be balanced and supported properly by the handle. Although the use of binding may have been influenced by mirrors such as the Desborough, Birdlip or Nijmegen examples, it is far more likely that their form was influenced by weakness discovered in the design of the Rivenhall mirror. It is perhaps worth noting that this slight weakness can also be seen in the Mayer mirror, but although the disc is bent and slightly torn at the junction with the handle, it never needed the type of repair necessary to consolidate the Rivenhall mirror.

The full development of the handle in other mirrors to take the protective binding without obscuring the design of the handle or the decoration of the disc is clearly seen in the Desborough, Birdlip, Holcombe and Nijmegen mirrors. The Old Warden I and Llechwedd Ddu pieces show less perfect attempts to solve the problem. An alternative solution was to heighten the upper part of the handle, to give greater support to a larger area of the disc, as for example in the Stamford Hill II mirror, which has two connected trumpet-shaped scrolls added to the basic loop handle. Another solution was to make the handle much stouter, with an upper ring deeply slotted to take a greater depth and area of the disc, as in the Ingleton and Ballymoney handles.

With such slight evidence for a binding strip to hold mirror disc and handle in place, it is difficult to judge whether this was one continuous rolled strip, as in the Desborough and other mirrors, or whether it was a folded strip, split at one point to insert mirror and handle. However, like other mirror bindings in the series, it appears to have been made of a slightly different composition alloy with a proportion of added lead to ease the working (p 33).

The mirror disc, as noted above, is decorated with the remains of two roundels, surrounded by arcs of larger diameter, with an emphatic infill of basketry. At two points on the left-hand side where roundel and arc diverge, a bud-like void, presumably part of an elaborate S-shaped scroll infill, has been added.

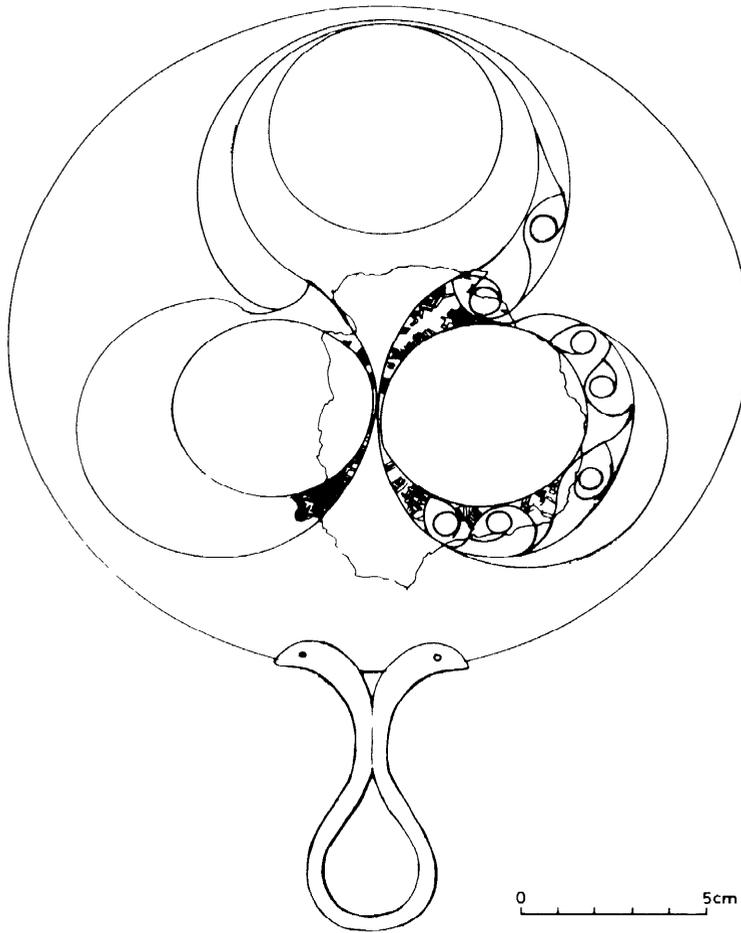


Figure 13 Celtic mirror I: reconstructed design. Scale 1:2

Smith's drawing of 1909 shows the disc fragment with the tangent to the two roundels at an oblique angle (Smith 1909, fig. 5). Subsequently Fox in his key set of mirrors illustrates the piece with a perpendicular tangent, inferring a central axis of symmetry for the design (Fox 1958, pl 566, N). This has been followed in the reconstruction drawing in Chelmsford Museum. Neither Fox nor Smith discussed the Rivenhall mirror in detail, or the reasons for the suggested position of the mirror fragment, though either case could be supported by reference to parts of complete mirrors in the series.

If Fox is correct, then the Rivenhall mirror could be reconstructed to give two roundels, as seen in the Chelmsford Museum reconstruction after the Trelan Bahow layout. Or it could be part of a three-roundel grouping, as in the Mayer mirror, with the fragment coming from the lower mid section of the mirror disc (Fig 13). A further alternative is that it may well be from a more developed pattern, and the fragmentary S-shaped void among the basketry infill brings to mind the elaboration of the Desborough mirror. The large pelta-shaped voids inside the lower two

roundels can be compared with the larger incomplete roundel on the right-hand side of the Rivenhall piece. These interpretations would suggest that the disc would have had a minimum diameter of at least 170–200 mm. In that case it is hardly surprising that additional strengthening was required to hold disc and handle together.

It should, however, be noted that the curvature of the arcs in the left-hand roundel is not precisely the same as those in the right-hand side of the fragment. That is, a tracing of the design, if reversed, does not quite match up arc for arc and line for line with the original. The outer wider arcs also appear to have been slightly flattened at the point of near contact, and are not part of the circumference of a perfect circle. The parallel with the Trelan Bahow layout must, therefore, be eliminated, as too the Stamford Hill I design.

The Rivenhall design must belong to a more elaborate scheme, either forming part of the internal design about an upright axis, perhaps like the two lower central roundels of the Nijmegen mirror, or the lower developed roundels as in the Desborough

mirror. Alternatively, if the axis is at an angle, as implied by Smith's drawing, the fragments could belong to one half of the mirror. The two sets of touching arcs could belong to the upper side of a finely developed scroll touching an elaborate upper roundel with internal detail, as in the Desborough, Birdlip and Holcombe mirrors; an upper central and lower roundel in slight contact, as in the Mayer mirror; or two similar adjacent roundels as in each half of the Nijmegen mirror. This latter solution, however, would give a reconstruction of a mirror of such size that not only would the handle be totally out of proportion, but also the disc would be of such unparalleled size and weight that not even the application of strengthening binding would be able to hold it securely.

A reconstruction of the original design must, therefore, lie somewhere between the three connected roundels of the Mayer mirror and the developed lyre-shaped patterning of the three fused roundels seen in the Birdlip, Desborough and Holcombe mirrors. The piece is probably closest to the Desborough mirror with its use of large, interestingly shaped voids, and small, S-shaped voids placed strategically among the basketry infill to break its heaviness, and to emphasize changes in the direction of flow of line.

This perhaps rather surprising link can also be seen in the relations between the two handles. The Rivenhall handle is a simple loop splaying out into two stylized leaves. The upper section of the Desborough handle can be seen as the development of this. The two leaves have become transformed into trumpet shapes, extending up and backwards to touch and merge together. Below is the single loop of a Rivenhall-type handle. The grip is extended by the simple addition of a complementary loop which echoes both it and the circle of the binding, attached solely by a plain transverse link. Although the binding is riveted on to the shaped ends of the arms on the upper part of the handle, the curved line and shape is imitated by the arms, giving the impression that the binding continues on and up to the upper loop, where it then gently curves back on itself. Thus, whereas the Rivenhall binding overlay the decorative form of the upper handle, the line of binding in the Desborough mirror becomes part of the decoration.

This was elaborated still further in the Nijmegen mirror where the curling line of the binding runs up into, and fuses completely with, the decorative motifs in the upper part of the handle and more simplistically in the Birdlip mirror, where it becomes part of the upper loop, and the disc support gives the illusion that it is there for no other purpose than artistically to balance the terminal loop. When the Holcombe mirror was produced, the aesthetic unity of design and its connections with the function of the parts of the mirror and their purpose had been lost or were ignored. The mechanical repetition of loops in the grip and the solidity of the upper section of the handle thus have little sympathy with the light, open scrolls of the engraving,

or the proportions of the binding which hold everything together.

The Rivenhall handle is, as Fox noted, closely related to the Billericay II and Disney handles with the same softly rounded outline to the upper section and no collar, as is found among the rest of his Group IIIa handles. In the same article he suggests that parallels and precursors for these handles should be sought on the Continent (Fox 1948, 43). Unlike Spratling, I do not believe that Roman patera handles can provide the complete answer (Spratling 1970, 11). There was a flourishing series of hand mirrors in production in Campania and north Italy from the time of Augustus, among them a rich variety of single- and multiple-loop handle forms. However, as Spratling points out (1970, 13–15), the dating of the British series of mirrors rests on very slender evidence, and recent finds have done little to clarify the situation. Nor are many of the parallels from Italy and the Provinces better dated, either through inadequate records of antiquarian activity, or simply because the tendency was for owners of luxury objects to hand them down as heirlooms over several generations.

However, it is likely that the knowledge of these pieces, such as the elaborate silver mirror from Boscoreale with its loop handle interwoven with willow-leaves (Louvre, Br 2158), the handle from Nîmes (no 1053) with its loop grip pinched in at the middle, or the Nijmegen handle (no XXI.f/M.1) so curiously similar to the Gibbs example, inspired local metalworkers to produce their own versions or copies in Britain. Spratling has rightly suggested (1970, 14–15) that the period after Caesar's invasion probably saw the development of this type of mirror. It is more likely that this occurred during the first years of the 1st century AD than the second half of the 1st century BC. Just before this, towards the end of the 1st century BC, there had been considerable activity in the Lower Rhine with the construction of a canal to protect water-borne traffic in the Rhine-Meuse delta area, and the active encouragement of the production of goods and supplies for the military establishment (Van Es 1972, 180).

With all this activity centred in the region, it would not be surprising to find enterprising merchants travelling thence to Britain not only with wine but also with luxury items such as the proverbial beads and mirrors. These would be copied, though the chaste concentric circles of the Roman product were quickly abandoned for multiple circles, interlocking roundels, hatching and basketry to make new and subtler forms.

The Rivenhall mirror occupies one of the more interesting places in the development of the British series. The enlarged disc with a developed and complex pattern of roundels was too large to be held adequately by the modest single-loop handle. A binding was added, and this led to the development of the classic forms of Celtic mirror where disc, binding and handle together made a structural and aesthetic unit of considerable beauty. It is probably for this structural reason alone that so high a

proportion of mirrors of this type have survived intact. The development of the type may have been accidental, but the clue to it is clearly demonstrated in the Rivenhall mirror. Links with the decorative form of the Rivenhall disc can also be seen in the Mayer and Desborough mirrors. This leads one to suppose that, if not necessarily by the same craftsman, then these pieces were made in the same workshop, probably within a relatively short period of time.

Bibliography for Mirror I, arranged chronologically
Smith 1909, 337, fig 5. Bulleid and Grey 1911, 222, no 9. Dunning 1928, 78, no 9. Leeds 1933, 36. Fox 1945, 217 note 2. Fox 1948, 29, 32, 34, 41, 43, fig 7.1, pl II n. Fox 1958, 99, 101, pl 56b. VCH 1963, 171. Toynbee 1964, 19 note 1, no viii. Stead 1965, 56. Fox and Pollard 1973, 37, no 11. Lowery et al 1976, 102, 105, 108–10, 113, pl XXIII c, d.

Mirror II

In c 1954–5, a second mirror handle was found at Rivenhall, but it has subsequently disappeared. The handle was given by Mr H J D Bennett, the finder, to Mr Raymond O'Brien, then a student at Oxford. The handle is now believed to be in Liverpool, although Mr O'Brien has not been able to find it. It was described as being of bronze, and consisting of three loops and having two rivet-holes for the attachment of the disc. There are seven complete triple-loop handles in the Celtic mirror series. Four pieces — the Colchester, Great Chesterford, Old Warden I, and the eccentric Old Warden II — have pronounced collars between the loops, while the loops of the Desborough, Birdlip and Llechwedd Ddu handles are connected by transverse links. Unfortunately, there is no record of the details of the design of the Rivenhall piece. Its description by Mr Bennett would tally most closely with the Colchester handle: Fox 1958, pl 56b, P. There is a possibility that the handle could be one of the small group of Roman multiple-loop handles produced during the period of an expanding export trade from north Italy during the first half of the 1st century AD. Practically each piece is different. For example, the triple-loop handle of Nîmes no 908.51.55, found at Vaison la Romaine, is interlaced with naturalistic ivy-leaves. A simpler, double-loop handle, such as British Museum 70.4-2.248 from Colchester, ex-Pollexfen collection, is more usual.

Much work still needs to be done on the Celtic series of mirrors, especially in the light of the recent discoveries of the complete Holcombe mirror, and the new single-loop handle from Billericay (noted in Weller *et al* 1974, 282). The disappearance of the Rivenhall handle and the lack of detailed information about the circumstances of its burial are greatly to be regretted for the light which might have been shed not only on the relative wealth of the Rivenhall site during the early 1st century AD, but also on the development of the multiple-loop types of mirror handle.

Analysis of Celtic mirror 1 from Rivenhall

(See also Tables 6–8, fiche 1: A13–14)
by J P Northover

With the permission of the Chelmsford and Essex Museum, three samples were taken for analysis from the mirror, from the plate, the handle and one rivet. The samples were taken using a miniature electric drill with a 0.7 mm diameter bit. The samples were mounted in a copper-filled acrylic resin and analysed using the CAMEBAX electron probe microanalyser in the Department of Metallurgy and Science of Materials, University of Oxford. The constraint of using a drilled sample means that there was no possibility of making a metallographic examination of any of the mirror components.

The analyses from the Rivenhall mirror are presented in Table 6 (fiche 1: A13), together with data from the Colchester mirror and two mirrors from Billericay, all in Essex. The table also shows results obtained from a number of other mirrors by the British Museum Research Laboratory, and published with the description of the mirror from Dorton, Buckinghamshire (Lowery *et al* 1983). Where only partial data are available, blanks are left in the table. Tables 7 and 8 (fiche 1: A14) show the compositions of the plates and handles in separate groups, roughly sorted by alloy type and impurity pattern.

The three components of the mirror are all made from medium-tin, unleaded bronzes. This is standard for much of the La Tène Iron Age: leaded bronze disappeared with the end of the Late Bronze Age, and did not become important again until the end of the 1st century BC, or beginning of the 1st century AD. The only significant occurrence of leaded bronze in the 1st century BC is in some of the cast bronze coinage (Northover 1988). The Rivenhall components show two different impurity patterns, which implies that the metals concerned were ultimately of different origins. Sufficient copper alloy metalwork from the Iron Age has now been analysed to show the existence of a number of well-defined impurity patterns, and a scheme of numbered groups has been developed (Northover 1991). The appropriate designations from that scheme will be used here.

The analysis of the plate is probably of most interest, and certainly provides some potentially useful chronological clues. The composition can be placed in group 1a*. Group 1 as a whole is characterized by Co>Ni and Sb<0.1%; those compositions with Sb between 0.05 and 0.1% are marked with an asterisk (*); the group is also subdivided *a/b/c* according to Cobalt content, with *a* indicating <0.1%. Group 1 is very characteristic of La Tène period metalwork in Britain. It is first seen in some La Tène I fibulae, and its use then expands until the 1st century BC. The copper involved almost certainly has its origin in south-west Britain and metalworking sites accessible to that area (eg Maiden Castle, Dorset, or Beckford, Hereford and Worcester) formed the main metal supply to the workshops. Further east its

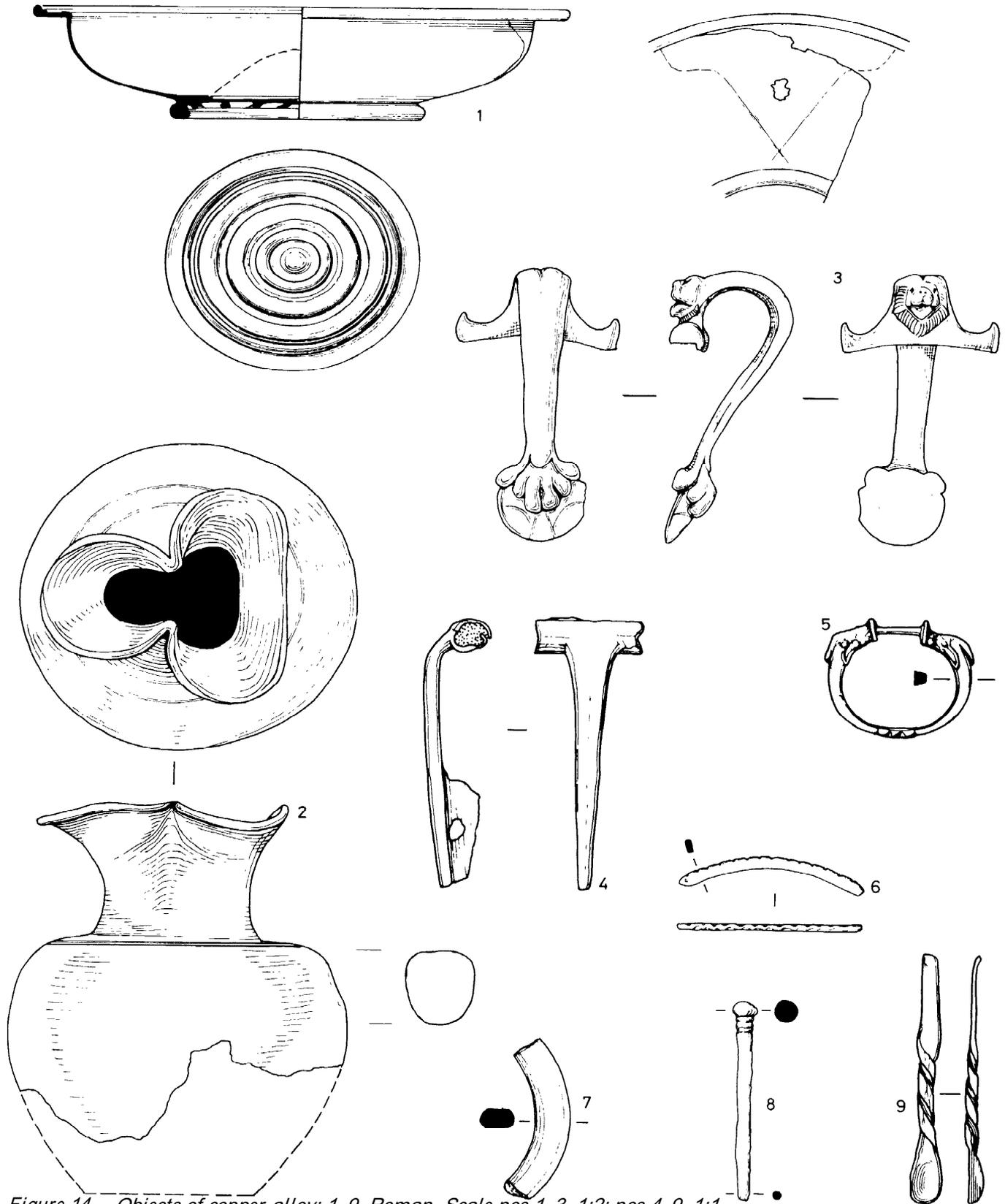


Figure 14 Objects of copper alloy: 1-9, Roman. Scale nos 1-3, 1:2; nos 4-9, 1:1

position is less important, but it certainly circulated to workshops as far away as Norfolk (Northover 1988).

Despite the importance of group 1 metal at the beginning of the 1st century BC, it had disappeared by the end of that century. Indeed, there are no significant occurrences after the middle of the century. Much of the metal in circulation in south-east England from, say, 50 BC onward is characterized by important Sb impurities, and Co disappears. It is reasonable to assume that compositions such as that of the Rivenhall mirror plate result from a mixing of the two types. Although such a composition could occur throughout the La Tène period it is probably most common towards the end of the use of group 1 metal, and reflects its decline and dilution by other metal stocks. Present evidence would suggest that the plate must be dated to the second half of the first century BC.

The handle and rivet both have an As/Sb/Ni/Ag impurity pattern which places them in group 2c in the Maiden Castle scheme. Although the group occurs sporadically throughout the Iron Age, it is most frequent in later contexts, for example in phase 6H and in an unphased La Tène III brooch at Maiden Castle, and in late Iron Age/early Roman contexts at Beckford. It is entirely reasonable that the two impurity patterns seen in the mirror should occur together in the second half of the first century BC. The handle and rivet also differ from each other in their tin contents, the handle being lower. There would be only a small difference in colour, however, between the handle and the plate.

With only partial analyses available for some of the mirrors, a detailed review of the analyses is not possible. Even with this limited data set it is apparent from Tables 7 and 8 that, as with Rivenhall, the handles and plates of several other mirrors differ in composition. In theory, this should not be surprising, given that most of the pieces are likely to have been assembled from scrap metal already in circulation. What is surprising, however, is that the differences in impurity patterns are so consistent. It is easiest to classify them in terms of antimony content: only two out of eight plates have $Sb > 0.1\%$, while only two out of nine handles have $Sb < 0.1\%$. At the same time the handles tend to exhibit lower tin contents, with an average of 9.7% against 10.7%. This in itself may not be particularly surprising, as bronze is such a flexible material that these relatively small differences in alloy content would not have any impact on their suitability for their task. But, taken with the evidence of the impurity patterns, the variation in alloy content strongly suggests different supplies of metal for the manufacture of the handles and the plates. To some extent this is reasonable as the manufacture of the plates and handles requires different processes and skills. It would be unwise to go so far as to suggest that they were made in different workshops, with the final assembly taking place in only one of them, but it might be possible that two separate craftsmen were involved in their manufacture, each establishing his own supply arrangements.

As with the Rivenhall mirror components, so all but one of the others are unleaded tin bronzes. Only the Holcombe, Devon, mirror has a significant zinc impurity, and this could easily derive from a copper ore rather than an admixture of brass scrap. Zinc contents began to rise in the first half of the 1st century AD as brass became more common in Britain, first appearing in brooches and the coinage (Northover 1988). The majority of the mirror plates have 10–13% tin and the handles 8–12% tin and, as mentioned earlier, there would be only a limited difference in colour between the two, but even after polishing there might be some difference in surface texture. The relative consistency of alloy content would mean that the polished mirror plate would be a constant pale yellow. No Iron Age mirror examined has the high tin content of Roman mirrors (Lowery *et al* 1983). There is no evidence from those analysed in Oxford that the mirror plates were tinned, although the craftsmen of the time were certainly capable of producing decorative tin plating. Nor is there any direct evidence of the use of solder in their manufacture. *Pace* Lowery *et al*, the approximate 0.5–1.0% lead in the mirror handles is not the result of an alloying process, but is probably a function of the different metal type used in the handles. The only significantly leaded item is the handle from the Colchester mirror with 5.78% lead. There are too few comparative data to make anything but the most tentative observation, but this could suggest that the Colchester handle is relatively late in the series.

It is possible to summarize the conclusions from this discussion very briefly. Metallurgically, the Rivenhall mirror is typical of the general range of mirror production in late Iron Age Britain. The composition of the plate tends to suggest a date in the 1st century BC, rather than later, and most probably in the second half of that century. The difference in composition between plate and handle is typical and hints at some separation in the manufacture of the two principal components of the mirror.

Roman and later objects

by K A Rodwell

The patera and ewer (Fig 14; PI XXIV)

Fig 14.1

Patera, cast and turned; a flat rim with a raised beaded lip, thin walls and a heavy footing of rounded section. The underside of the flat base has several boldly turned and undercut concentric ribs in high relief. The centre of the interior, which is recessed to hold an applied disc or an *umbo*, was not intended to be visible as it is less highly finished than the rest of the bowl. The centre-mark left by the lathe can be seen. There is a mass of fine scratches around the circumference of the recess, to serve as a key for solder. The handle is missing

but differential patination marks the point where it was formerly attached, together with two groups of lightly scored lines and what may be an enlarged rivet-hole. The handle escutcheon was triangular with projecting wings on both sides beneath the rim. The vessel is a dull gold colour, shading to dark grey in places, and much pitted as a result of over-vigorous cleaning at some time since its discovery. This activity has destroyed any unequivocal evidence for its relationship to the ewer when buried, or the degree of wear it may have had before burial. About one-third of the wall below the rim and above the base is missing and is probably due to corrosion rather than an accident in discovery, since the vessel is not otherwise distorted.

Chelmsford Museum, B18302, 117/CPS.

In form and overall dimensions, the patera is closely similar to no 77 in Den Boesterd's catalogue (Den Boesterd 1956, 29, although that has a kicked base), which was considered to be of 1st or early 2nd century Italian manufacture. The turned flat base and footring can be paralleled at Welshpool (Boon 1961, 22, no 2) and the same vessel also had an applied plain-domed *umbo* (*ibid*, 23 for discussion). It was thought to be Italian work of the late 1st century.

Fig 14.2

Trefoil-mouthed ewer, spun and hammered; the base and lower body are missing (now restored). The remainder of the body is only *c* 1 mm thick but the neck and rim are thicker (3–4 mm). On the shoulder, which projects sharply from the neck, are incised two pairs of fine concentric grooves. Beneath is the shield-shaped scar where the base of the handle was formerly attached. This vessel has been less drastically cleaned than the patera and in places retains a good dark grey-green patina. When viewed from the front, the left-hand side of the ewer is noticeably more pitted and corroded than the right, which suggests that it may have been lying on its side. The handle is considered separately below.

Chelmsford Museum, B18301, 117/CPS.

Trefoil-mouthed ewers are a well-known 1st and 2nd century type, which can be of Italian or provincial manufacture (cf Biddle 1967, 240–2), but this jug by itself is not closely datable.

Fig 14.3

Cast handle; at the top looking into the mouth of the jug is a lion's head, and projecting on either side are two arms with plain rounded terminals, grooved beneath to grip the lip of the ewer. The loop of the handle is slightly moulded on the crown and plain beneath. The base-escutcheon comprises an animal's paw resting on a flat disc engraved with lines probably representing rather debased tendrils. The

quality and sharpness of the casting are not particularly high. The patination is similar to that of the ewer and, like it, exhibits a greater degree of corrosion on the left-hand side. The handle is now slightly distorted but would formerly have fitted the ewer closely.

Chelmsford Museum, no accn number.

This type of handle is well known (cf Den Boesterd 1956, 62, nos 232–3 and references). A very fine example with silver and copper inlay was found in Barrow V of the Bartlow Hills (VCH 1963, 40, pl VIII) in an Antonine context. There are also examples from Thornborough, Bucks (Liversidge 1954, 31), an Antonine burial containing late 1st century bronzes, and from Santon or Santon Downham (Toynbee 1962, 175, pl 131), a mid 1st century hoard. By comparison with some of the examples cited, this piece is rather plain and indifferently moulded, which suggests that it is provincial and not particularly early. It is probably late 1st or early 2nd century.

Discussion

The circumstances of the discovery of these two vessels and other evidence for a barrow cemetery at Rivenhall is discussed in Vol 1 (pp 32–3). The patera and the body of the ewer were clearly found in close association and thumbnail sketches of both appear in the Chelmsford Philosophical Society's accession register (B18301). The handle, one of several unassociated examples in Chelmsford Museum, is not mentioned in any description of the discovery; nor is anything else known about its history. The discovery of the Hoo Hall Bronze Age hoard at about the same time and from the same locality (p 27) indicates how items found together could become dispersed. Lack of positive evidence therefore need not preclude the association of these items. In other respects such as size, style, patination and, perhaps most significantly, differential corrosion, ewer and handle are a good match. The last factor may also give some indication as to how the vessels were disposed in the ground, although subsequent cleaning prevents the evidence from being conclusive. The corrosion pattern indicates that the ewer lay on its side, in the patera, the handle being in partial contact with the latter, and that the wall of the patera corroded away completely where it was in contact with the ewer. If the vessels had lain in the soil at a slight angle, the lower side of the patera would have served as a trap for ground water, which in this locality would be acidic and laden with mineral salts. This would cause parts of the vessels to decay much more rapidly than others.

These vessels appear to be derived from a type of rich early Roman burial containing both patera and ewer, which number about twenty in Britain and are distributed chiefly in northern Essex (VCH 1963, 17) and north Kent. Their significance in establishing the native ownership of the villa is considered in Vol 1, pp 48–9.

A late 1st or early 2nd century date can be assigned to the vessels themselves. No other potential grave goods were recovered (or at least reported) to indicate their age at the time of deposition, and the burial may therefore have taken place at any time during the later 1st or 2nd centuries. There are no recorded 3rd century burials of this type.

Other Roman-period objects

Fig 14

- 4 Brooch: cylindrical spring cover, flat, tapered, slightly faceted bow, catchplate with single perforation, traces of tinning; cf Hawkes and Hull 1947, pl XCV, 110. Mid 1st century, C4, L312, buried soil below Building 2, Period 1.
- 5 Finger ring with shoulders in the form of dolphins, their tails touching and their heads, each with three well-defined fins, confronted across a thin bar. No signs of wear. Superficially this appears to be related to buckles of Hawkes and Dunning Type IIIA (1961, 59, fig 20), but it is smaller and more naturalistic. Nor is there any evidence on the tails of the wear which would result from contact with a belt or buckle pin. Finger rings with zoomorphic shoulders are rare but there are two very similar gold examples in the Thetford hoard, also a dolphin-shouldered bronze ring from Canterbury (Johns and Potter 1983, 83–4, cat 5 and 6, where parallels are fully discussed). The bezel is lost but was probably a box-setting containing a stone secured round the bar and on the flanges between the dolphins' snouts. All parallels are late 4th century. C2, L64, Period 4.
- 6 Fragment of a narrow bracelet of oblong cross-section, decorated on its outer face with a notched wavy line; cf Cunliffe 1975, fig 112, 41. 4th century. C2, L170, Period 3 topsoil.
- 7 Fragment of plain bracelet of flattened oval section, diameter 50 mm. C2, F58.
- 8 Flattened spherical-headed pin with four grooves and three ribs. Point broken off, cf Neal 1974, fig 64, 224. C2, grave 308, associated with skeleton, Period 4B.
- 9 'Ear-scoop' with twisted shaft, from a toilet set. C2, L64, Period 4.

Fig 15

- 10 Handle and fragment of bowl from an oval spoon. The handle has fractured at the point where it divided into two, and it may have been looped; cf Cunliffe 1971, vol 2, 47, 120–2. C1W, L150, Period 4.
- 11 Plain escutcheon for a vessel *c* 9 cm in diameter, suspension hole slightly worn by handle; cf Frere 1972, fig 40, 130 for a more elaborate example. Building 1.
- 12 Corner of a pierced rectangular sheet decorated round the edges with punched beading. C2, F58.

- 13 Sheet fragment, decorated around two sides with punched dots, two neat holes for attachment. Unlocated, 1950s excavations.
- 14 Rectangular sheet, one long edge roughly cut. Traces of two small rivet-holes. Unlocated, 1950s excavations.
- 15 Plain tapered strip. C1W, L150, Period 4.

Anglo-Saxon Period

Fig 15

- 16 Fragment of a ribbon-strip bracelet with a pierced terminal, engraved with linear ornament alternating with lozenges of ring and dot; cf Cunliffe 1975, fig 112.36–8. This is a 4th century type which has been reused as a ring, probably in the post-Roman period. Rings made from ribbon-strip bracelets have been found in Saxon burials at Wakerley, Northants (Jackson and Ambrose 1978, fig 65.11) and Reading (Hawkes and Dunning 1961, fig 14b).
- 17 Plain annular brooch 35 mm in diameter roughly cut from sheet bronze. Broken in the region of the pin attachment; pressure from the pin point has caused distortion opposite the fracture. The pin would have been of iron, secured through a simple perforation in the sheet. Base of L64 within Building 5, that is at floor level.

Annular brooches of this type occur in pagan Saxon cemeteries such as Sancton, East Yorks (Myres and Southern 1973), Holywell Row, Suffolk (Lethbridge 1931) and Little Eriswell, Suffolk (Hutchinson 1966, 5, fig 3.3) where there is an exact parallel. Leeds (1945) demonstrated that they predominate in Anglian areas and, where datable, they appear to be a 6th century type.

Medieval

Fig 15

- 18 Pin from an annular brooch. Cf Rogerson and Dallas 1984, fig 109.9. C2, L64.
- 19 Three-piece buckle with a pronged central section enclosed by plates. The buckle pin is missing. The face plate is decorated with a reserved leaf-shape, triangle and square against a background of zig-zag punching. Traces of leather survived between the plates, which had been secured at one end by a pair of rivets; cf London Museum 1967, 269, pl LXXV, 1, 2; 197, fig 63.7 where the type is dated to the 14th century; also Beresford 1975, 92, fig 43.i0. C2, L57, clay floor of Building 9.
- 20 Pair of buckle plates, the lower plain, the upper enriched around the edges with zig-zag punched decoration; joined by five ornamental rivets, three of which survive; the outer pair were plain elongated lobes, the other had a punched six-petalled flower added. C2, L11, Period 6.

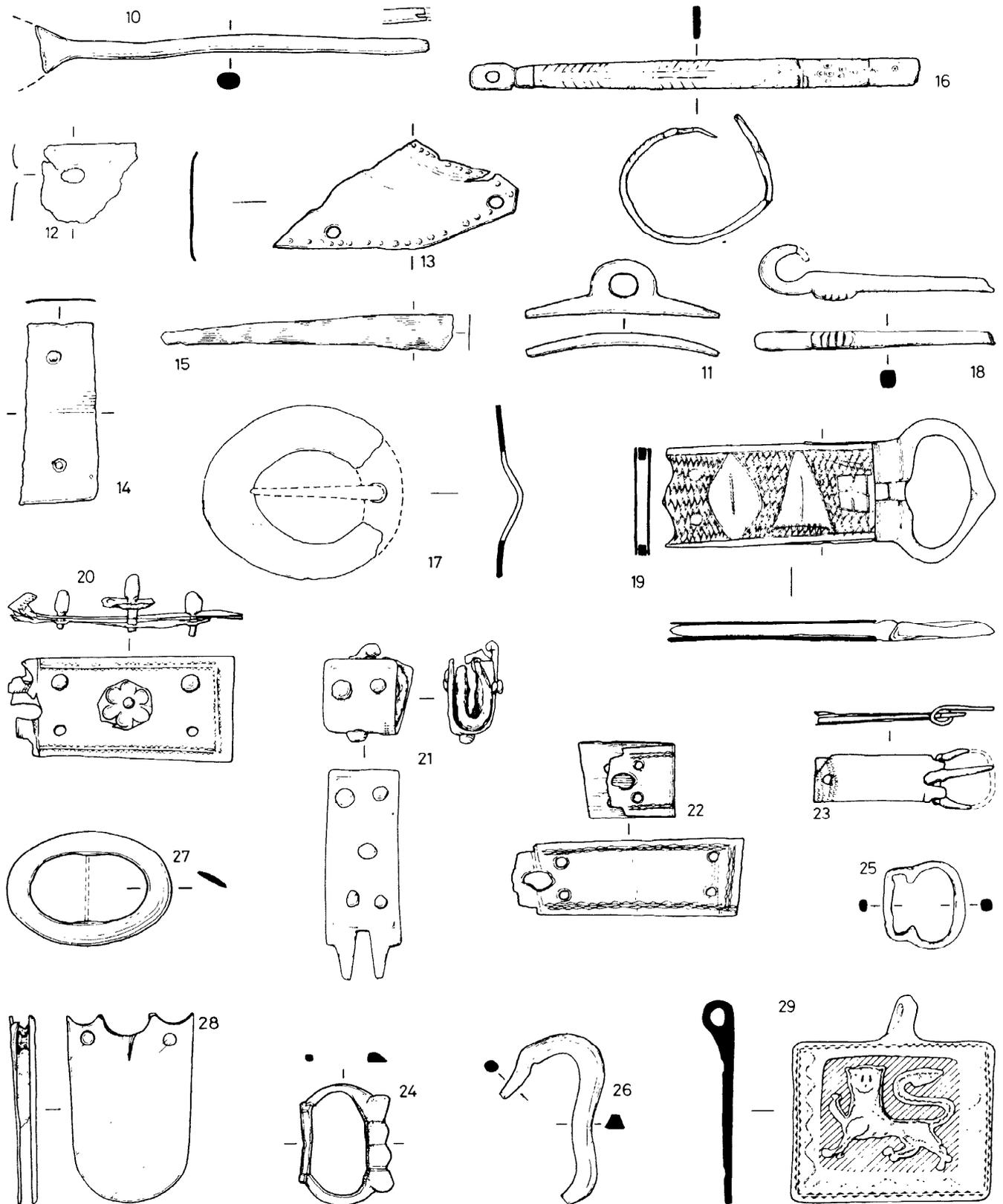


Figure 15 Objects of copper alloy: 10-16, Roman; 17-18, Anglo-Saxon; 19-29, medieval. Scale 1:1

- 21 Gilt buckle plate, bent double, with remains of leather inside, secured by five domed rivets; there is an incised line round the edge of the plate. C2, L103, below Building 9, Period 6.
- 22 Buckle plate with four rivet-holes, bent double, decorated round the edge with a punched wavy line; cf Beresford 1975, 92, fig 43.14. C1W, unstratified.
- 23 Small buckle, with loop broken, pin and one-piece double plate secured by a single rivet and decorated with four rows of square punching. C2, L11, Period 6.
- 24 Buckle, with pin missing, rear face flat, front face moulded; cf Hilton and Rahtz 1966, 123. C2, L57, Building 9, Period 6B.
- 25 Buckle, pin missing. C2, L97, gravel floor of Building 9.
- 26 Broken buckle, flat rear and moulded front face; cf London Museum 1967, 272; pl LXXVI, 2. C2, F58.
- 27 Oval shoe buckle, central pin broken. Post-medieval. Unstratified, 1950s excavations.
- 28 Belt chape of two plates riveted together at one end, with traces of leather between them; notch cut in the centre of the front plate; cf London Museum 1967, 269; pl LXXV, 9. 14th century. C1E grave earth.
- 29 PI XXVa. Gilt and enamel rectangular horse pendant with suspension loop. A gilt lion passant with punched detail on a green enamel ground in a gilt border with punched wavy line and dot decoration; cf London Museum 1967, 118, fig 38, type 3. C2, L103, below Building 9, Period 6.
- Fig 16
- 30 PI XXVa. Gilt horse pendant, in the form of a cross with latticed terminals and centre, hinged within a lobed quatrefoil with four small internal latticed knobs; cf similar examples illustrated in London Museum 1967, 119, fig 39.2 and Drewett 1975, 140, fig 28, 344. C2, F3, modern pit.
- 31 Gilt tongue with round domed terminal. Gilding applied to convex face. Probably an arm from a horse pendant similar to 30. C2, F15, Building 9, Period 6B.
- 32 Gilt annular brooch with raised line and dot ornament in imitation of a wreath; cf London Museum 1967, 273, pl LXXVII, 5; Biddle 1961-2, 167, fig 28.14, 15, where 14th century. C2, F3, modern pit.
- 33 Flat strip with a hooked terminal flattened at right-angles to the rest, the lower edge straight, the upper ornamentally cut. One face gilded and decorated with punched lines and triangles. Slight traces of cloth impressions on the rear face. Incomplete and distorted. Function uncertain but possibly a purse mount. It is unlike the late medieval mounts in London Museum 1967, 158H, but there is some resemblance in form, though not in date, to the 5th century Saxon purse mount from Porchester (Cunliffe 1976). C2, L103, below Building 9, Period 6.
- 34 Strip, one face gilded, sinuous outline with nine perforations; at one end a short straight section with a terminal loop, at the other a domed terminal with two triangular perforations. An ornamental binding strip of uncertain function; cf Goodall 1983, 235-7. C2, F57, clay floor of Building 9, Period 6B.
- 35 PI XXVb. Gilded signet ring, cast, hoop broken. Plain shoulders supporting an oval bezel defined by a groove and engraved with a capital letter 'I', crowned and flanked by sprigs. The ring was presumably the property of one *Iohannis*. The general type is common in the 15th and 16th centuries; cf Dalton 1912, cat nos 361, 384 and 427 (crowned letters I, W and T respectively). Probably late 15th century (information from Mr Brian Spencer). C1E, unstratified in G5.
- 36 Pair of tweezers; cf Beresford 1975, 94, fig 44.35. C2 F281.
- 37 Lower half of spherical bell. C2, unstratified.
- 38 Thimble, made from folded sheet, two grooves roughly incised round the base; cf Beresford 1975, 94, fig 44.31. C2, unstratified.
- 39 Domed sheet, with lines incised around the edge and across the top dividing it into four segments; each section filled with indentations, some perforating the sheet, the others blind. It is not clear whether the holes are deliberate or the result of wear. If the latter, it is probably the top of a two-piece thimble, if the former, the head of some kind of shaker. C2, L103, below Building 9, Period 6.
- 40 Cast S-shaped fitting with a central perforation, possibly for a strap. H, top of F554.
- 41 Strip fragment decorated with a crudely executed punched design. C2, L11, Period 6.
- 42 Fitting with central hole and flat back, small rivet-holes at each end, and the remains of a rivet in one moulded face; cf Rahtz 1969, 90, fig 49.104. C2, F58, churchyard ditch, southern butt.
- 43 Quatrefoil stud with central rivet. C2, L43, Period 6.
- 44 Stamped six-petalled flower with central rosette, rivet-holes in opposing petals. Probably a leather fitting; cf Drewett 1975, 143, fig 29, 394. C2, F57, clay floor of Building 9, Period 6B.
- 45 Domed stud with central rivet-hole and milled edge. CIW, F94, top of Period 6B tower foundation.
- 46 Stamped ornamental sheet with two rivet-holes, probably a coffin fitting, C3, grave earth.
- 47 Tripartite stud with central hole and rivets at each end. C2, L103, below Building 9, Period 6.
- 48 Two domed quatrefoil fittings with central rivet-holes. C2, F2a, path to Building 9; and C2, F58, ditch.
- 49 Square plate with rivets in opposite corners. C2, L11, Period 6.

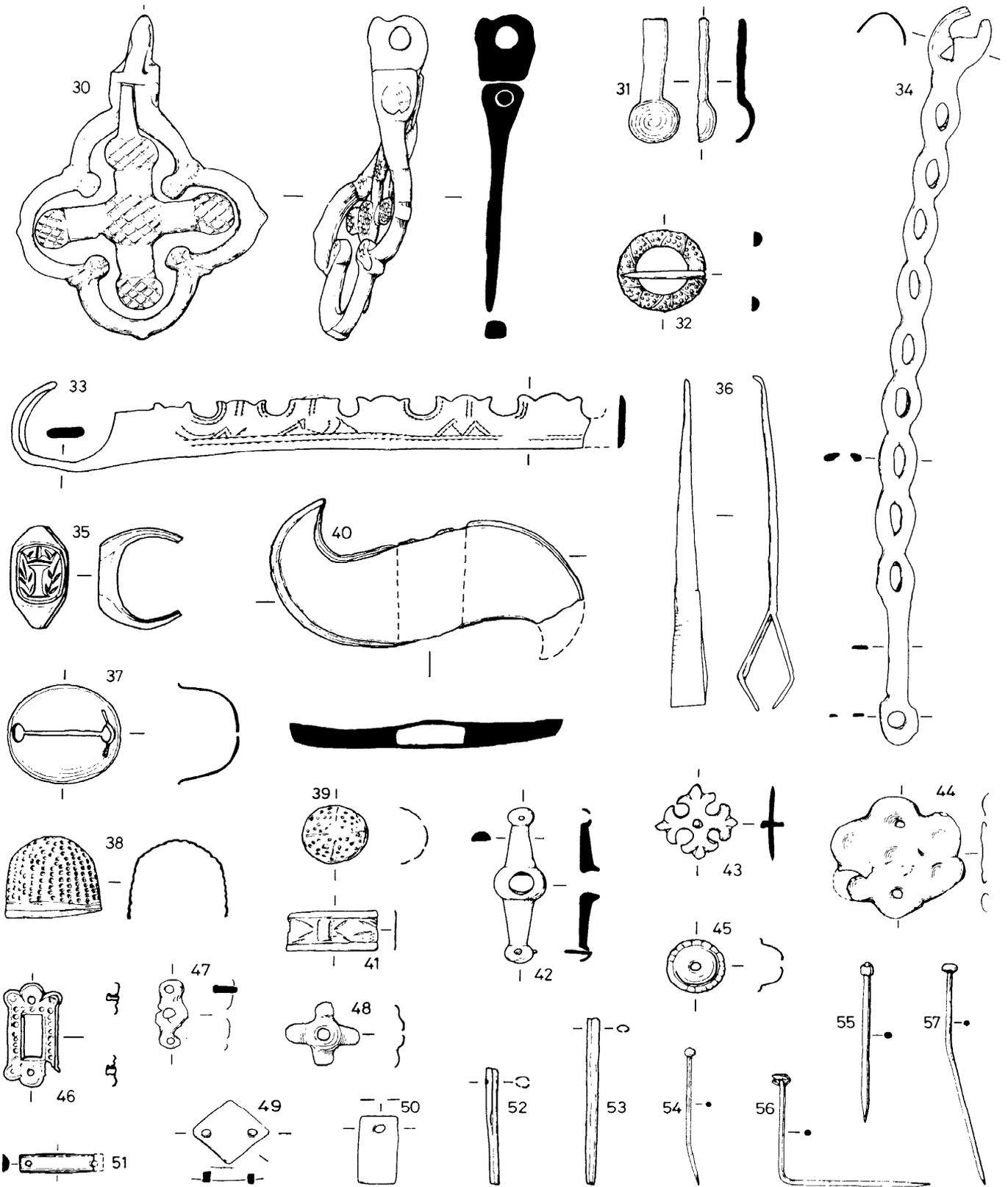


Figure 16 Objects of copper alloy: 30-57, medieval. Scale 1:1

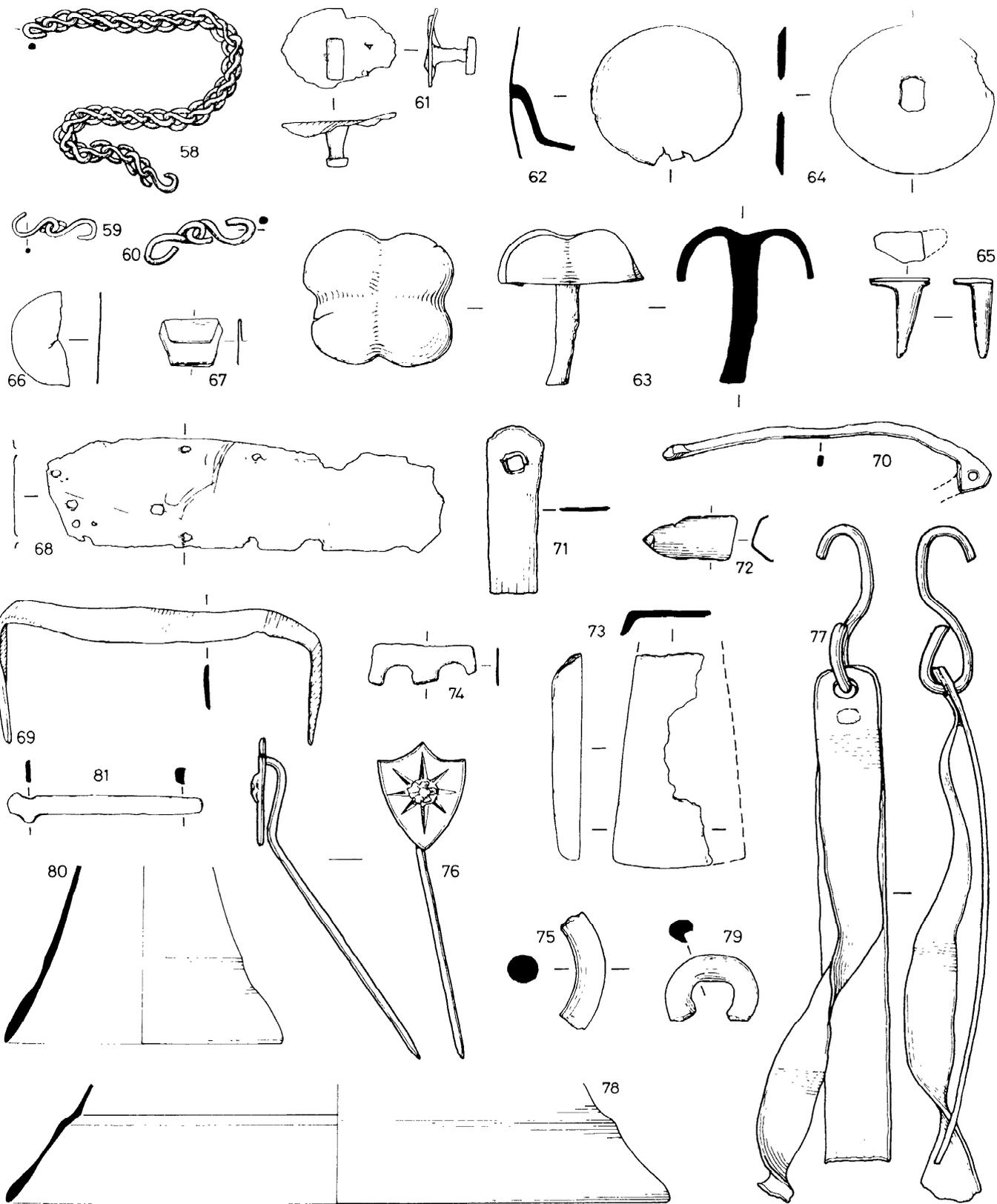


Figure 17 Objects of copper alloy: 58-81, medieval and Later. Scale 1:1

- 50 Rectangular plate with rivet-hole. C2, unstratified.
- 51 Bar with two rivet-holes, curved face, and flat back. C2, L11, Period 6.
- 52 Lace end. C2, F16, Structure 3.
- 53 Lace end. C2, L42, churchyard bank.
- 54 Pin, and another the same. C1E, grave 269.
- 55 Pin, and another the same. C4, grave earth.
- 56 Bent pin. C2, L42, churchyard bank.
- 57 Pin. C2, unstratified. Another three the same but headless: C2, L57, clay floor of Building 9; C2, unstratified (x 2).
- Fig 17
- 58 Chain with 27 links of open S-shape, twisted to give a three-sided appearance; cf Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, vol 2, 263, fig 243, 1791. C2, unstratified.
- 59 Two S-shaped links, each with one closed and one open end. C2, L11, Period 6.
- 60 Two flat S-shaped chain links. C2, unstratified.
- 61 Stud, flat circular head, T-shaped shank. C2, L103, below Building 9, Period 6.
- 62 Stud with slightly domed circular head, possibly a coffin fitting. C1E, grave earth.
- 63 Domed quatrefoil stud with long, stout shank, formerly gilded; cf Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 256, fig 240, 1704. C2, L103, below Building 9.
- 64 Cast disc with chamfered edge and rectangular hole cut in the centre. C3, grave earth.
- 65 Stud with triangular head and pointed shank formed from a piece of folded sheet. C2, F97, gravel floor of Building 9.
- 66 Circular sheet, broken. C2, unstratified.
- 67 Folded strip. C2, L29.
- 68 Sheet with rivet-holes. C2, L103, Building 9.
- 69 Angled binding strip. C2, L42.
- 70 Decorative stripwork, with flat back and rounded face; rivet-hole and scar of another strip at one end; part of a second rivet-hole at the other. C2, unstratified.
- 71 Strip with rivet-hole at rounded end. C2, L42.
- 72 Fragment of angular sheet. C2, F57, clay floor of Building 9.
- 73 Cast rectangular split-socket or three-sided sheath. C2, unstratified.
- 74 Part of a rectangular plate with two holes punched through, traces of gilding. C2, F58.
- 75 Curved circular-section rod, slightly flattened at one end. C2, unstratified.
- 76 Tie pin with shield-shaped head. An eight-pointed star engraved on the face, with a clear glass 'stone' set in the centre. 19th century. C5, unstratified.
- 77 Two plain strips, one slightly thicker than the other, riveted together at one end and suspended from an S-shaped link. CIW, L68, Period 7 construction level.
- 78 Well-cast and finished rim fragment from a bell 120 mm in diameter; cf Lambrick and Woods 1976, 215, fig 11.3. CIW, L68, Period 7B construction layer.

- 79, 80 Rim and loop from the top of a small bell 52 mm in diameter made of a high-tin bronze. The loop is a rough casting with the flashings still attached. Their findspots were widely separated but they appear to be part of the same, or at least identical objects. Loop, C2, L43, Period 6. Rim, CIW, L68 construction layer, Period 7.
- 81 Runner from a composite casting. C2, L57 clay floor of Building 9.

2 Objects of iron (Figs 18–22)

by *K A Rodwell*

The ironwork was in poor condition and many of the drawings have been prepared with the aid of X-radiographs. The majority of pieces are recognizably medieval, and many were associated with the buildings in Area C2. Only one item (68) is unequivocally Romano-British; the form and stratigraphical associations of some others are indeterminate.

Keys and lock mechanisms

Fig 18

- 1 Oval bow, hollow shank, toothed bit. London Museum 1967, type III. C1W, L60, Period 7 construction layer.
- 2 As 1, bit broken. C2, L103, under Building 9, Period 6.
- 3 Casket key, round bow, hollow shank, plain bit; cf London Museum 1967, pl XXX, 38. C2, L57, floor of Building 9, Period 6B.
- 4 Barrel padlock-key, looped end, broken, lateral bit; cf London Museum 1967, fig 44.5. C1E, grave earth.
- 5 Shank of barrel padlock-key; cf London Museum 1967, fig 44.1. C1W, L68, Period 7 construction layer.
- 6 Barrel padlock-key, quatrefoil bit, terminal loop broken; cf London Museum 1967, fig 45.5. C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
- 7 Padlock spine with double leaf spring; cf Williams 1979, fig 116.6. C2, unstratified.

Knives

Fig 18

- 8 Socketed. C2, unstratified.
- 9–13 With whittle tangs, all blades broken.
- 9 H, L577, ditch, Period 5/6.
- 10 C2, L66, pit, Period 4.
- 11 C1E, grave earth.
- 12 C2, unstratified.
- 13 C2, L58, churchyard ditch.

Shears

Fig 18

- 14 C2, unstratified; blade of another, C2, L42, churchyard bank, Period 4.
- 15 Broken. C2, L103, Period 6.

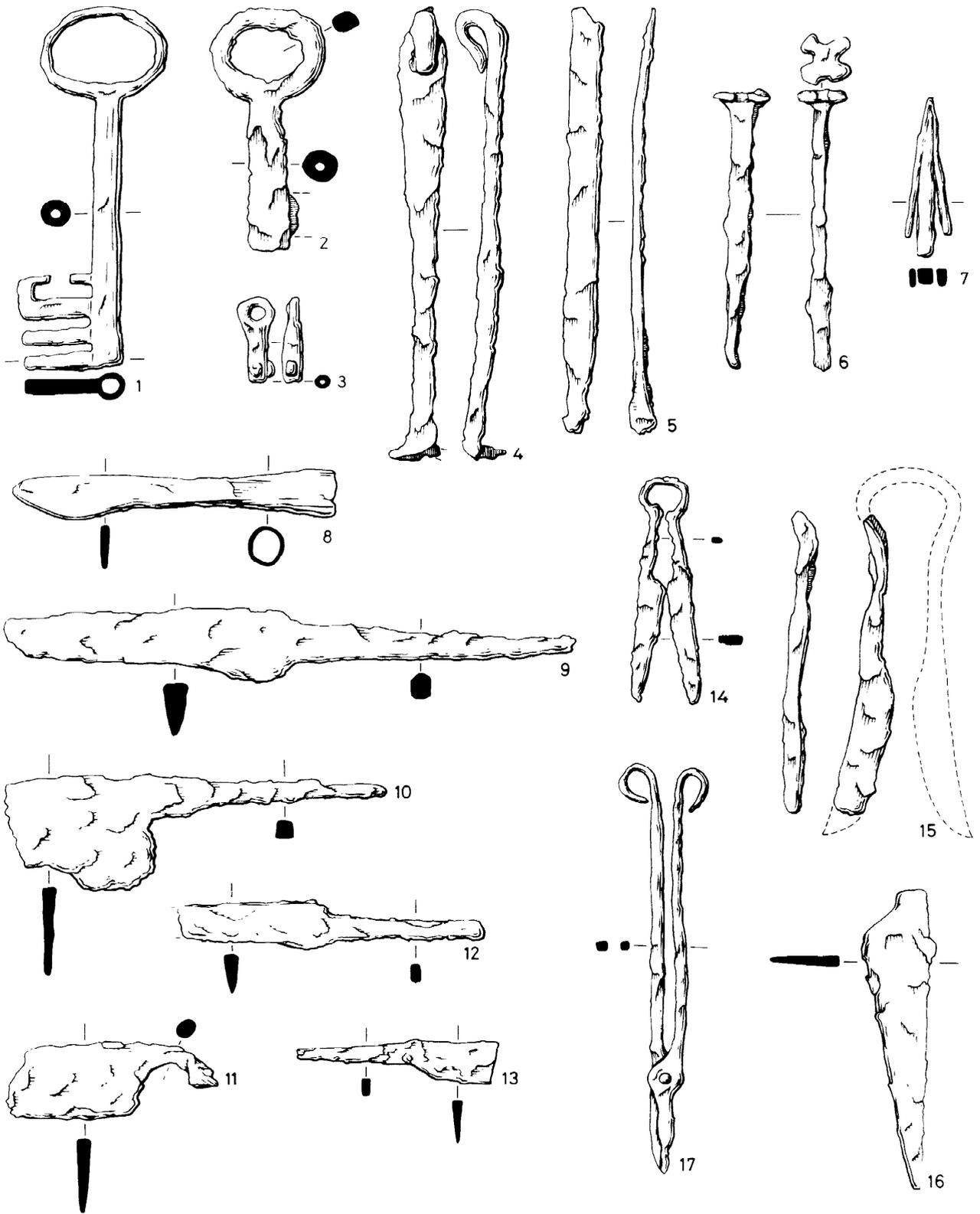


Figure 18 Objects of iron: 1-7, keys and locks; 8-13, knives; 14-17, shears. Scale 1:2

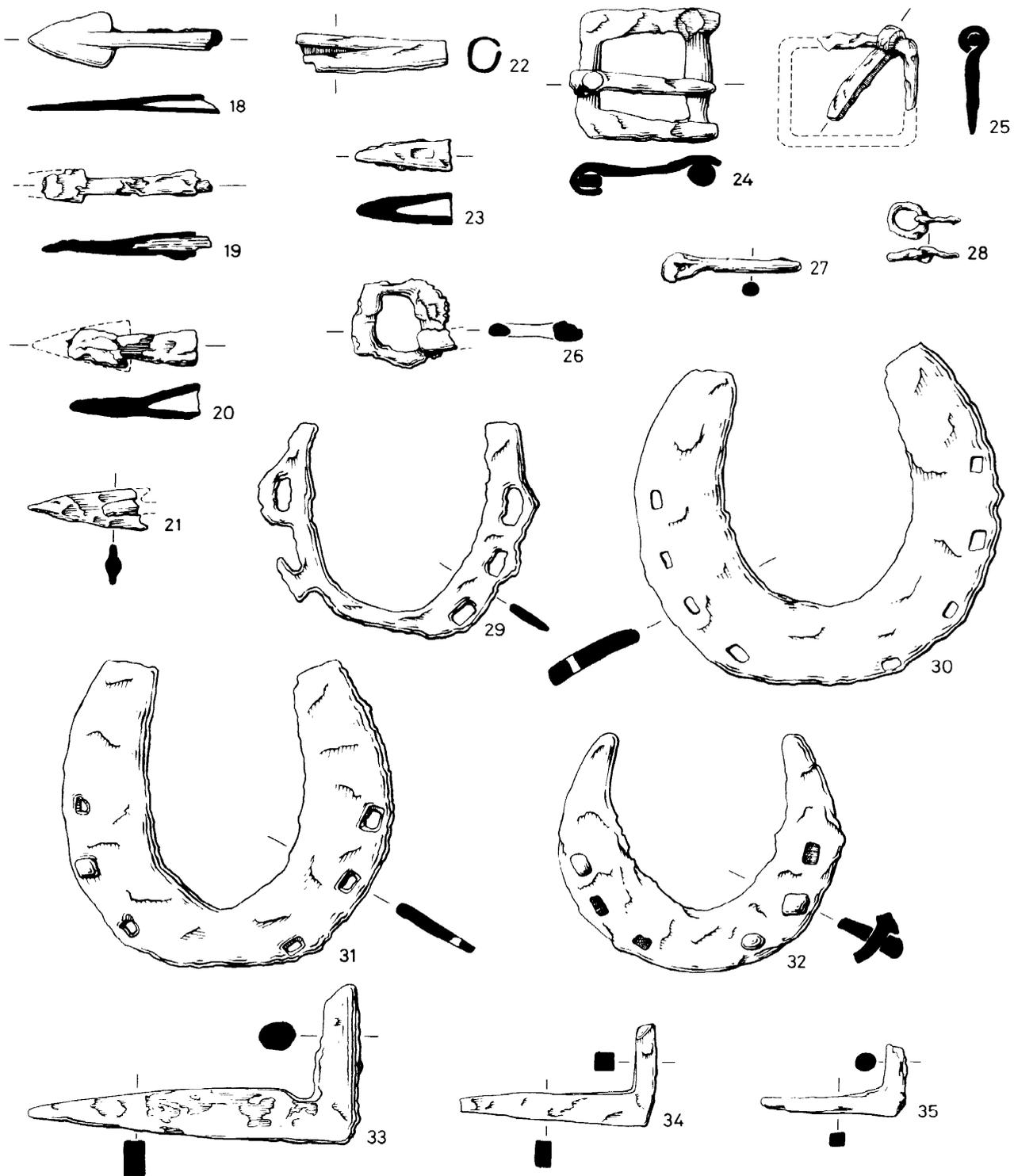


Figure 19 Objects of iron: 18-21, arrowheads; 22, 23, ferrules; 24-28, buckles; 29-32, horseshoes; 33-35, hinge pivots. Scale 1:2

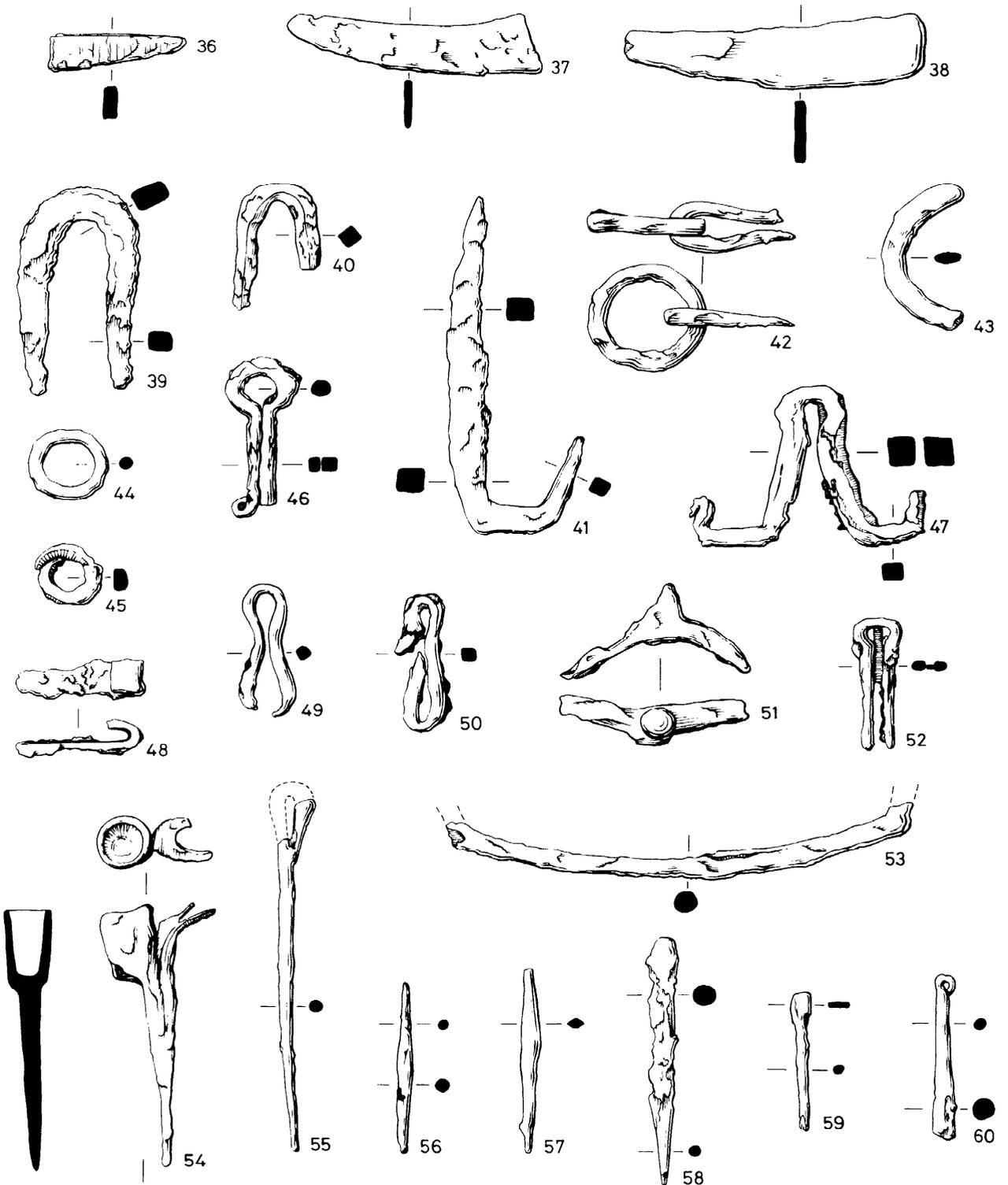


Figure 20 Objects of iron: 36-60, miscellaneous. Scale 1:2

- 16 Blade only. H, L549, rubble, Period 6.
 17 Scissors, long handles, looped ends. C2, L11, Period 5/6.

Arrowheads

Fig 19

- 18 Socketed, triangular blade. London Museum 1967, type 2. C2, L11, Period 5/6.
 19 Socketed with traces of wood, tapered blade. London Museum 1967, type 3. H, L537, ditch, Period 6.
 20 As 19. C2, L11, Period 5/6.
 21 Barbed, shaft broken. London Museum 1967, type 13. C2, L103 under Building 9, Period 6.

Ferrules

Fig 19

- 22 C1E, G223, Period 5C.
 23 Conical with traces of wood inside. C2, L16, floor of Structure 3, Period 6C/7.

Buckles

Fig 19

- 24 Harness buckle with swivelling bar; cf Williams 1979, fig 120, 90, 96. C2, L15, Building 9, Period 6B.
 25 Broken. C2, unstratified.
 26 D-shaped, pin missing. C2, unstratified.
 27 Pin. C2, unstratified.
 28 Small, circular. C2, L103; another from L57, floor of Building 9, Period 6B.

Horseshoes

Fig 19

- 29 Sinuous edge, countersunk holes, small calkins. H, L536/7, ditch, Period 6.
 30 Plain edges, rectangular nailholes. H, unstratified.
 31 As 30. C2, unstratified.
 32 As 30. C2, unstratified; another from C1E grave 1, Period 7. Four fragments, from C1W, 60(2), 68 Period 7; C2, 103, Period 6.

Hinge pintles

Fig 19

- 33 C2, L151, Building 9, Period 6B.
 34 As 33.
 35 H, L540 tank, Period 6.

Wedges

Fig 20

- 36 C2, L151, Building 9, Period 6B.
 37 C1W, L60 construction layer, Period 7.
 38 C1W, 104, Period 7.

Miscellaneous

Fig 20

- 39 Staple. C2, L58, churchyard ditch.

- 40 Staple. C2, L57, floor of Building 9, Period 6B.
 41 Hook. C2, L29, Period 6.
 42 Staple and ring. C2, unstratified.
 43 Part ring. C2, L29, Period 6.
 44 Ring. C2, L103, under Building 9, Period 6B.
 45 Split ring. C2, L64, churchyard bank.
 46 Split pin. C2, L42, churchyard bank, Period 4; another from C1E grave earth.
 47 Double hook. C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
 48 Hook. C2, L161, slot, Period 5C/6A.
 49 Chain link. C2, L61, ditch, Period 6B.
 50 Chain link. C2, L29; another C2, L11. Both Period 6.
 51 Spur fragment. C2, F269, ditch, Period 5B/C.
 52 Jew's harp; cf bronze example from London (Tatton-Brown 1974, 195 no 83). C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
 53 Curved bar angled at both ends, perhaps a purse mount. C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
 54 Candleholder on spiked shank with bifid prong; cf London Museum 1967, fig 56.2. C1W, L68, construction layer, Period 7.
 55 Bodkin, eye broken. C2, unstratified.
 56 Sack needle, eye missing. C2, unstratified.
 57 Awl. C2, L29, Period 6.
 58 Pointed rod, broken at one end. C1E, G235, Period 5C.
 59 Rod, flattened square end. C2, L16, Structure 3, Period 6C/7.
 60 Tapered rod with looped terminal. C2, unstratified.

Fig 21

- 61 Spoon bit. C2, L64, churchyard bank.
 62 Spoon bit. H, unstratified.
 63 Gouge. C2, L102, Period 2.
 64 Gouge. C2, L57, floor of Building 9, Period 6B.
 65 Spike. C2, unstratified.
 66 Round-section rod, tapered at both ends. C1W, L104, Period 7.
 67 Square-section rod. C1E, grave earth.
 68 Socketed chisel. Building 1, unstratified.
 69 Broken blade with upturned terminal, possibly the sheathing from a wooden spade. C2, L42, bank, Period 4.
 70 Heavy pointed tip. C2, L130, robbed wall 11/east, Period 4.
 71 Pointed tip. C2, L42, bank, Period 4.

Bindings

Fig 21

- 72 C2, L57, floor of Building 9, Period 6B.
 73 C2, L177, Period 5C/6.
 74 C2, L16, Structure 3, Period 6C/7.
 75 C2, L61, ditch, Period 6B.
 76 C2, unstratified.
 77 C2, L58, churchyard ditch.

Nails

A representative selection of types is illustrated.

Flat round-headed

Fig 22

- 78 C2, L4.
- 79 C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
- 80 C2, L64, churchyard bank.
- 81 C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
- 82 C2, L4, bank, Period 4.
- 83 C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
- 84 Cleated. C2, L58, churchyard ditch.

- 85 Large flat-headed. C2, L42, bank, Period 4.
- 86 Dome-headed. C2, L16, Structure 3, Period 6C/7.
- 87 Domed with lead shank; a stud rather than a nail. C2, L103, under Building 9, Period 6.

Heavy square-headed

- 88 C2, L57, Building 9, Period 6B.
- 89 C2, L16, Structure 3, Period 6C/7.

Cubical

- 90, 91 C2, L151, Building 9, Period 6B.

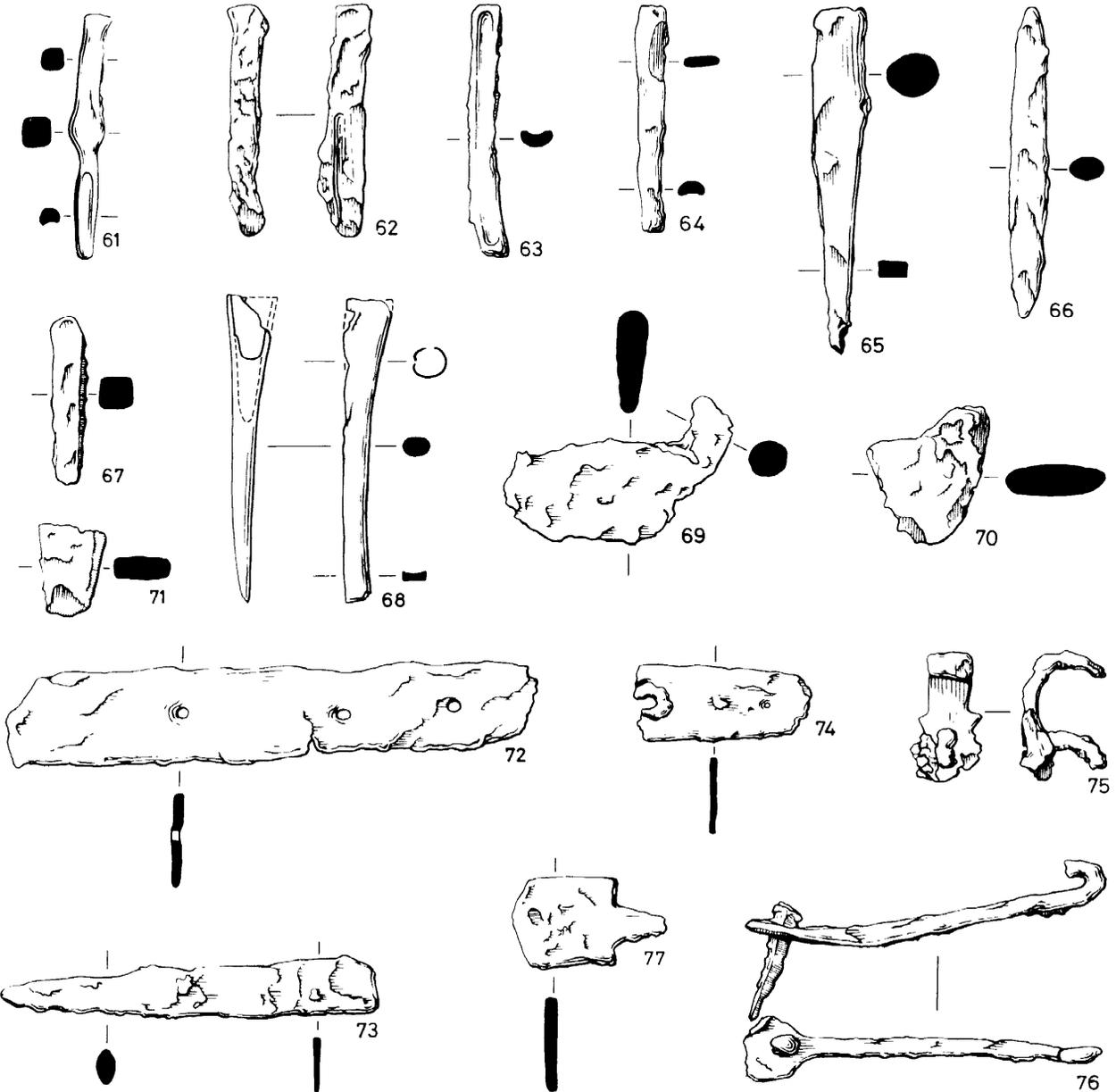


Figure 21 Objects of iron: 61-71, miscellaneous; 72-7, bindings. Scale 1:2

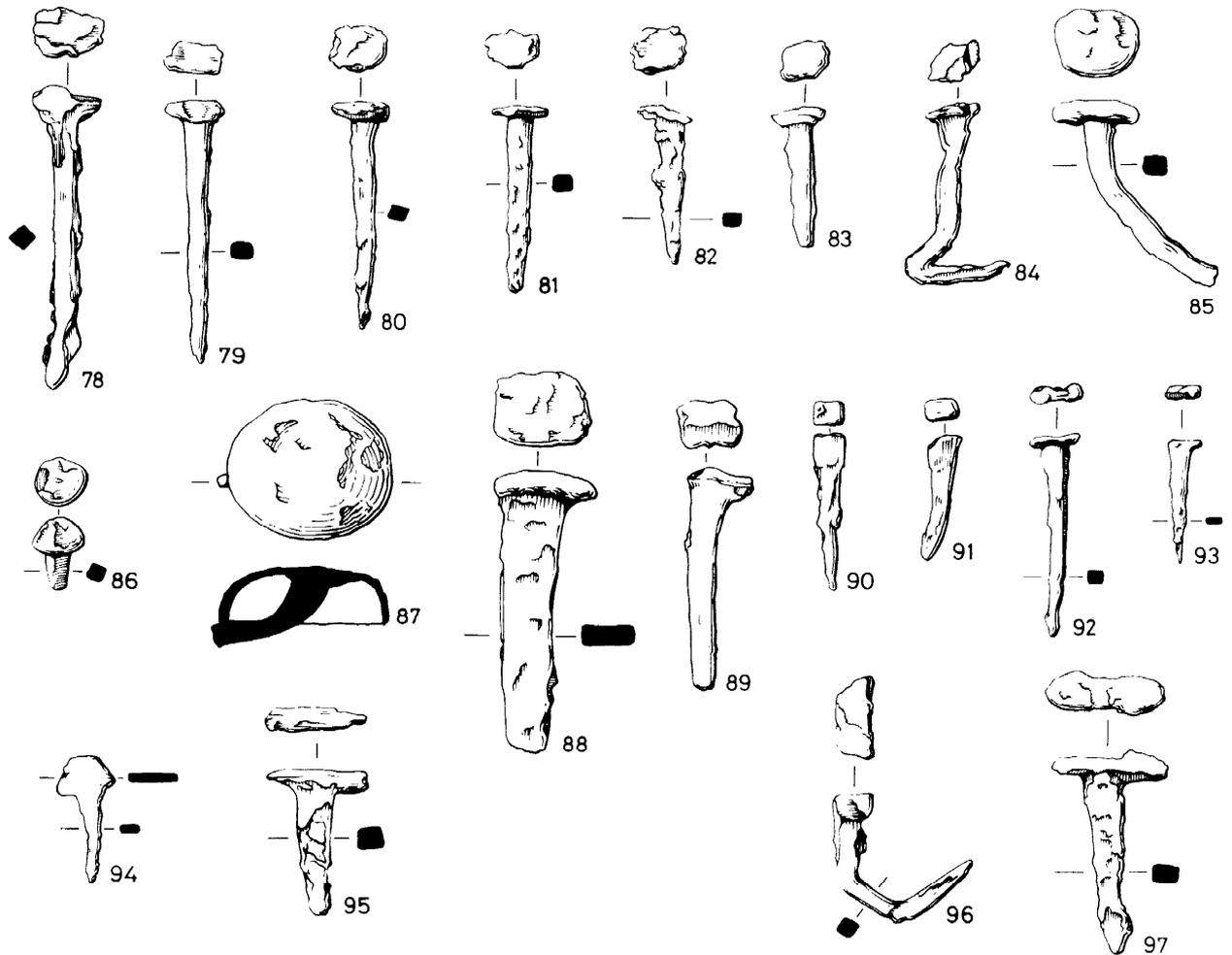


Figure 22 Objects of iron: 78-97, nails. Scale 1:2

Figure-of-eight

- 92 C2, L103, under Building 9, Period 6.
 93 C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
 94 Fiddle-key. C2, L42, bank, Period 4.

T-cramp

- 95 C2, L4, bank, Period 4.
 96 C2, unstratified.
 97 C2, L57, floor of Building 9, Period 6B.

Coffin fittings

The following examples illustrate the range of handles excavated, and a single coffin plate. Although the plate and a single handle are of brass, they are included here for the convenience of grouping coffin furniture.

Fig 23

- 1 Brass curvilinear backplate and rounded handle, stylistically mid 18th century. C1E, Vault 20, Period 7; see also no 11 below.

The following examples are all of wrought iron.

- 2 Waisted, with pointed terminals and an angular handle. C1E, coffins in G2 and G5, Period 7, pre-1816.
 3 A variant of 2, fragmentary. C1E, residual in G5, Period 7, pre-1816.
 4 Rectangular, with lobed terminals, pierced plate and angular handle; nos 5-7 are variants. C1E, coffin in G3, Period 7, pre-1794; similar, C1E coffin in G4, Period 7, pre-1878.
 5 As 4 but smaller. C1E coffin in G99, Period 7, pre-1839.
 6 As 4, but with narrower bowed plate. C1W, grave earth.

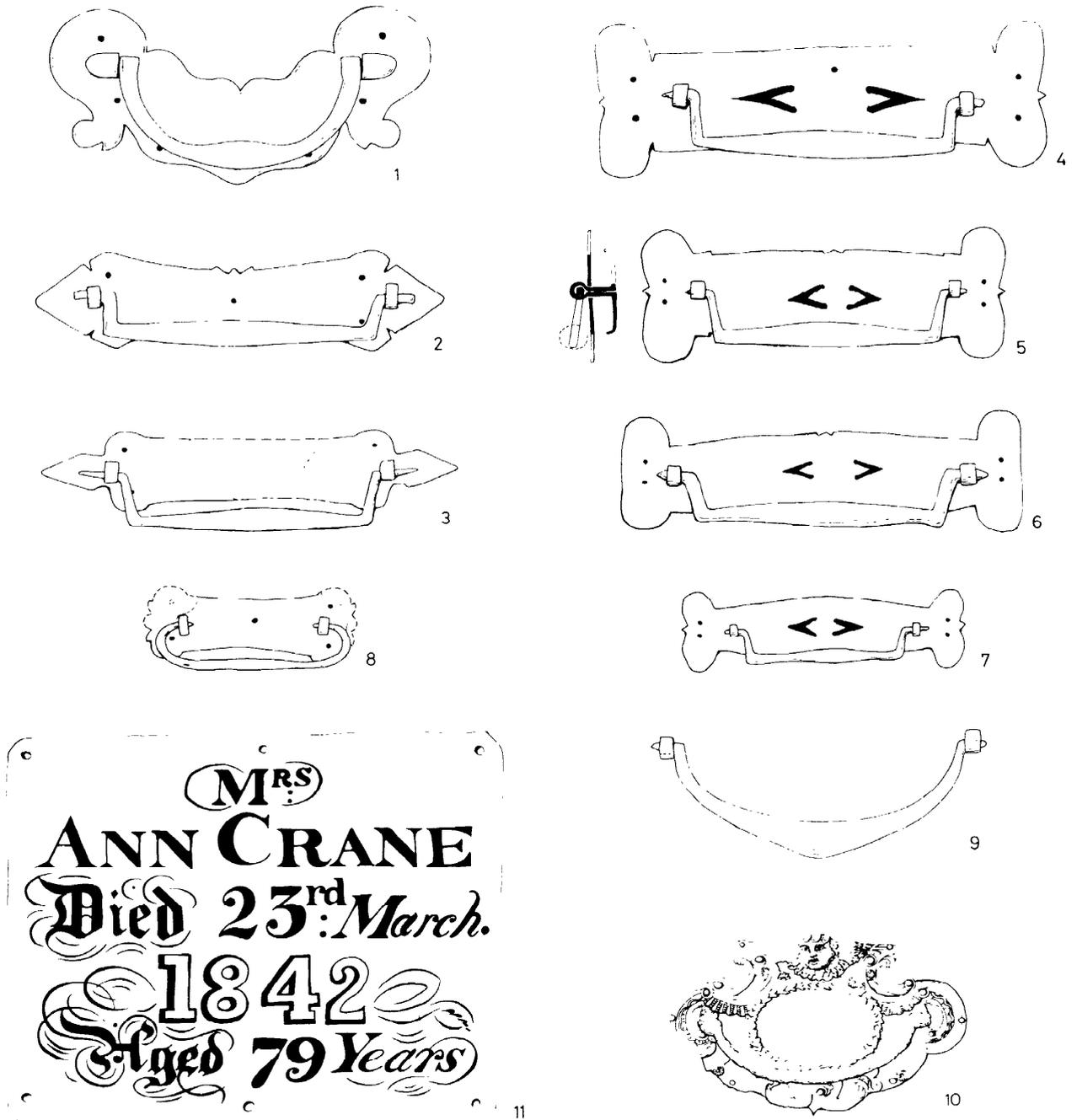


Figure 23 Coffin fittings. Scale 1:3

- 7 A small variant of both 4 and 6. C1E, residual in G5, Period 7, pre-1816.
 8 Small, waisted plate with notched and lobed terminals and a rounded handle. C1E child's coffin in G1, Period 7, pre-1839.

The following examples have stamped white metal backplates and iron drop handles.

- 9 Rounded handle, thickened towards the centre, secured by iron staples to a white metal backplate too corroded and fragmentary to illustrate. C1W, coffin in G64, Period 7; James

- Hatsell died 1781; similar, C1E coffin in G109, Period 7, pre-1878.
- 10 White metal backplate with cherub, scrolls and wreath, with a curved iron handle, C1E child's coffin in Gill, Period 7.
- 11 Engraved brass coffin plate inlaid in black (pitch?), dated 1842. C1E, Vault 20, Period 7; cf no 1 above.

Discussion

Excluding the brass handle (Fig 23.1), only three main types are represented, all of which appear to have been in contemporary use in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The earliest dated example is 1781 (Fig 23.9) from a burial which also had the most elaborate surface monument (Vol 1, Fig 68), comprising head and foot stones with a slab on a brick plinth between. The remaining burials were unmarked at the time of excavation, but may originally have had headstones. It seems clear from this that coffin fittings did not come into use in the majority of outdoor inhumations until the later 18th century at Rivenhall. The only example of an earlier and more affluent mode of burial is the brass handle from vault 20, dating to the later 18th century. None of the other vaults was opened or excavated, with the consequence that comparative material is lacking. The design of coffin fittings tended to be conservative so that they are not intrinsically closely datable. For an extended discussion of comparable excavated material from Wharram Percy, Yorks, see Harding 1987.

3 Objects of lead and pewter (Fig 24)

by K A Rodwell

Lead objects

Fig 24

- 1 Cast weight, 250 g, 65 mm in diameter; one face flat, the other crudely chamfered round the edge; a tapered, off-centre hole. Similar objects, thought to be loomweights, have been found in quantity in pagan Saxon contexts at Mucking; cf Jones *et al* 1968, 216; Barton 1962, 76, fig 17, 1-3. C2, F269; Period 5 ditch cutting Building 5.
- 2 Window came fragment. C2, F161, Period 6B.
- 3 Window came fragment. C2, unstratified. Not illustrated: seven similar window came fragments. C1E and C1W unstratified in grave earth; derived from the church windows.
- 4 Roughly cut, folded sheet with a hole at one end. C2, L64, Period 4.
- 5 'Hook', roughly cut from a piece of sheet. C2, unstratified.
- 6 Triangular sheet with criss-cross lines scored on one face. C2, L11, Period 6.
- 7 Square-section rod, flattened at both ends. C2, F61, Period 6B.

- 8 Strip with a pointed terminal. C1W, grave earth.

Pewter object

- 9 A small Roman pewter bowl 110 mm in diameter with a flanged rim and beaded foot-ring; corroded and fragmentary. The type is quite common: a very similar vessel was found in Grave 408 at Lankhills, Winchester (Clarke 1979 fig 97, 536F), and it also occurs in hoards such as Appleford, Oxon (*ibid*, 207 for further references). All known contexts including Rivenhall are very late 4th or early 5th century. It was found in the hypocaust of room 10a, itself a Period 3B addition to Building 1.

4 The coins

Roman coins

by Richard Reece

Nos

1, 2	Claudius I	Very corroded Asses, probably Claudian copies. Building 1, unstratified; C1E grave earth.
3	Trajan	RIC 121. C2, L103.
4, 5	Antoninus Pius	RIC 176, as 945. Unstratified; C1E, G8.
6	Marcus Aurelius	RIC 1109. Building 1, unstratified.
7	Septimius Severus	RIC 672. Building 1, trench 9.2.
8-10	Tetricus I	RIC 90, 100, 141. Building 1, unstratified (x2); C2, unstratified. Regular but illegible (1). Barbarous reverse from Pax (1). D, unstratified.
11, 12	Radiates	
13	Maximian I Herc.	RIC 6 Lon 17. Building 1, trench 3.2.
14	Constantine I	RIC 7 copy as Lon 221. C2, unstratified.
15	Constantinopolis	HK 71. C2, L16.
16	House of Constantine	Illegible copy. Unstratified.

This is a very unusual coin list with an obvious gap in the mid 3rd century. The coins which should link the sestertius of Severus to the radiates of Tetricus I are the base silver radiates of the decades 220 to 260. However, these are rare in Britain so that their absence does not mean a cessation of activity on the site at this time. A few sites such as Chelmsford and Braintree have produced them and there is a suggestion of particular coin use at this period in Essex. Rivenhall seems to fit into this picture for its *floruit* must, from coin evidence, be placed in the

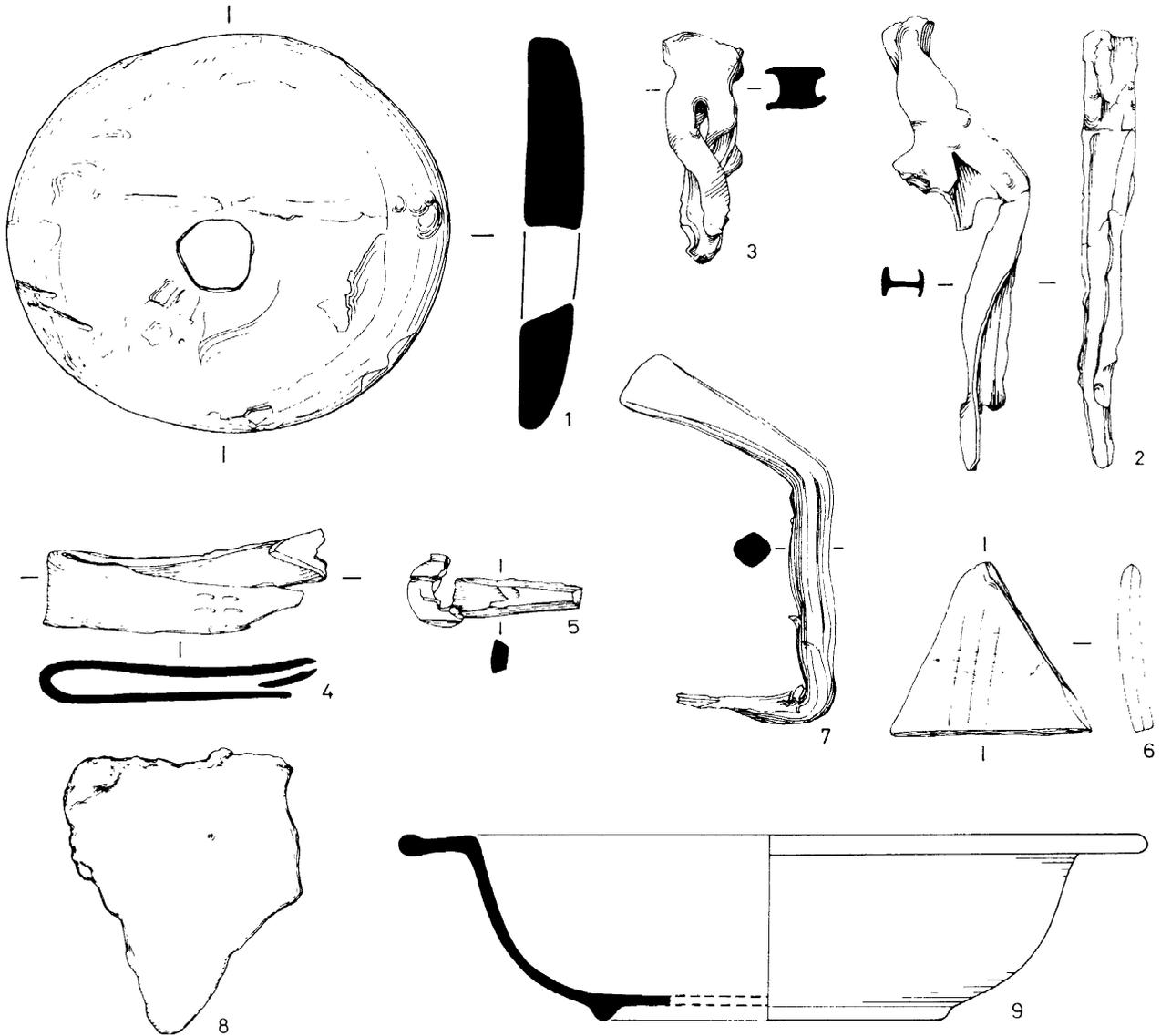


Figure 24 Objects of lead and pewter: 1-8, lead; 9, pewter. Scale 1:2

3rd century. The earlier coins consist of both bronze and silver, and are not therefore likely to be purely residual; the later coins of the 4th century tail off at just that time (*c* 330) when nearly every other site in the country is reaching its maximum coin loss.

This strange coin list therefore suggests a site which begins before the middle of the 2nd century, reaches a peak of activity in the 3rd century, and is virtually abandoned by 340. This conclusion is not reflected by the other evidence from the site.

Medieval coins and jettons by Marion M Archibald

PI XXVI

- 1 Henry III Short-Cross type
Cut Half-penny. Lawrence (1913) Class IVb.
Mint: Canterbury. Moneyer: Rodberd.
Wt: 0.65 g = 10.0 gr. C2, F61, Period 6B.
Class IV was struck between 1194 and 1205.
Coins of this class survived until the Short-

Cross coinage was replaced by the Long-cross type in 1247, giving an effective terminus of *c* 1250. The comparatively unworn condition of this coin suggests, however, that it was deposited sometime before the end of the coinage.

- 2 Henry III Long-Cross type
Cut Half-penny. Lawrence (1913) Class IIIa
Mint: Canterbury. Moneyer: uncertain.
Wt: 0.73 g = 11.2 gr. C2, F58, churchyard ditch, Period 5/6.
Class IIIa was struck *c* 1248, but Long-Cross coins of the earlier issues remained current until the end of the type in 1279 in comparatively unworn condition. Although cut coins tended to survive in circulation rather longer than the pennies of the same types, cut half-pennies were less likely to be acceptable after the introduction of the round sub-multiples in 1280. Apart from abnormal survivals, therefore, the terminus for the currency of this coin is *c* 1282. Half-pennies are much more common as site finds than they are in hoards, since hoarders preferred to choose the highest denomination available.
- 3 Edward I
Penny. Fox and Shirley-Fox (1909-12) Class III d
Mint: London
Wt: 1.33 g = 20.5 gr. C2, F61, Period 6B.
Class III was struck in 1280-1. This coin is relatively unworn and could well have been lost by 1300, but a later deposition date cannot be ruled out. It is unlikely in any case to have survived in this condition and at this weight after the reduction in the standard weight in 1351.
- 4 Edward II
Penny. Fox and Shirley-Fox (1909-12) Class XVb
Mint: Bury St Edmunds
Wt: 1.31 g = 20.2 gr. C2, F58, churchyard ditch, Period 5/6.
Classes XVa-c were struck between 1320 and 1327. This coin is relatively unworn and is likely to have been deposited somewhat earlier than the usual terminus for pennies circulating at this weight, in 1351. Since, however, condition and weight can be unreliable guides when a single coin is concerned, a later deposition date remains a possibility.
- 5 English jetton
Edward II. Berry (1974), obv. type 7 (var.); rev. type 5.
Obv: pellets in place of legend; rosette in centre of tressure of six cups with a pellet in each spandrel, all within a dotted inner circle.
Rev: pellets in place of legend; cross moline with a pellet in each angle, all within a dotted inner circle.
Tiny hole in centre as normal.
Diameter: 18 mm Wt: 0.44 g = 6.8 gr. C1E, grave earth.

The study of the duration in use of the various series of jettons is still in its early stages. It seems clear, however, that the early series of Edward I and II were superseded by the usually larger pieces of French inspiration during the reign of Edward III. The deposit date of this jetton and of no 6 may therefore be placed *c* 1310-50 and more probably around the middle of that period.

- 6 English jetton
Edward II. Berry (1974), obv. type 3; rev. type

Obv: Alternate Is and pellets in place of legend; star over crescent within dotted inner circle.

Rev: Large pellets in place of legend; three bezants arranged trefoil-fashion with three small pellets in the angles within inner circle in the form of a line with some dots visible along it. Large hole slightly off-centre.

Diameter: 22 mm Wt: 1.04 g = 16.0 gr. C2, F58, churchyard ditch, Period 5/6.

For currency see no 5 above.

- 7 Nuremberg jetton
Hans Krauwinkel *c* 1580-1610
Obv: Rosette GOTS. REICH. BLIBT . RWICK
E Reichsapfel within inner circle.
Rev: Rosette HANNSKRAUWINCKEL . IN
NVR . Three crowns and three lys around a rosette within inner circle.
Diameter: 21 mm Wt: 1.37 g = 21.1 gr. C1E, grave earth.

Such jettons are exceedingly common on English sites but the main period of their use was over by the early 17th century.

5 The worked flint

(Fig 25; see also Tables 9-12, fiche 1: B1-7)

by *Elizabeth Healey*

Circumstances of discovery

The worked flint was found as a light scatter in all the excavated areas, though it appeared to be concentrated at the east end of the church (Vol 1, Fig 9). It is from residual contexts and is without association; there are a few sherds of early prehistoric pottery (p 60).

Raw material

The flint selected for use is mainly dark or mid grey-brown in colour, although a few flakes of lighter brown flint were present. Cortex was observed on some 50 flints and is mainly rolled but a few examples of fresh, unrolled cortex were noted. The local glacial gravels in which pockets of large flint nodules occur would have provided an adequate and easily accessible source of raw material, but the occurrence of flint with unrolled cortex may indicate that some flint was brought from further afield. Four flints had patinated scars intersected by

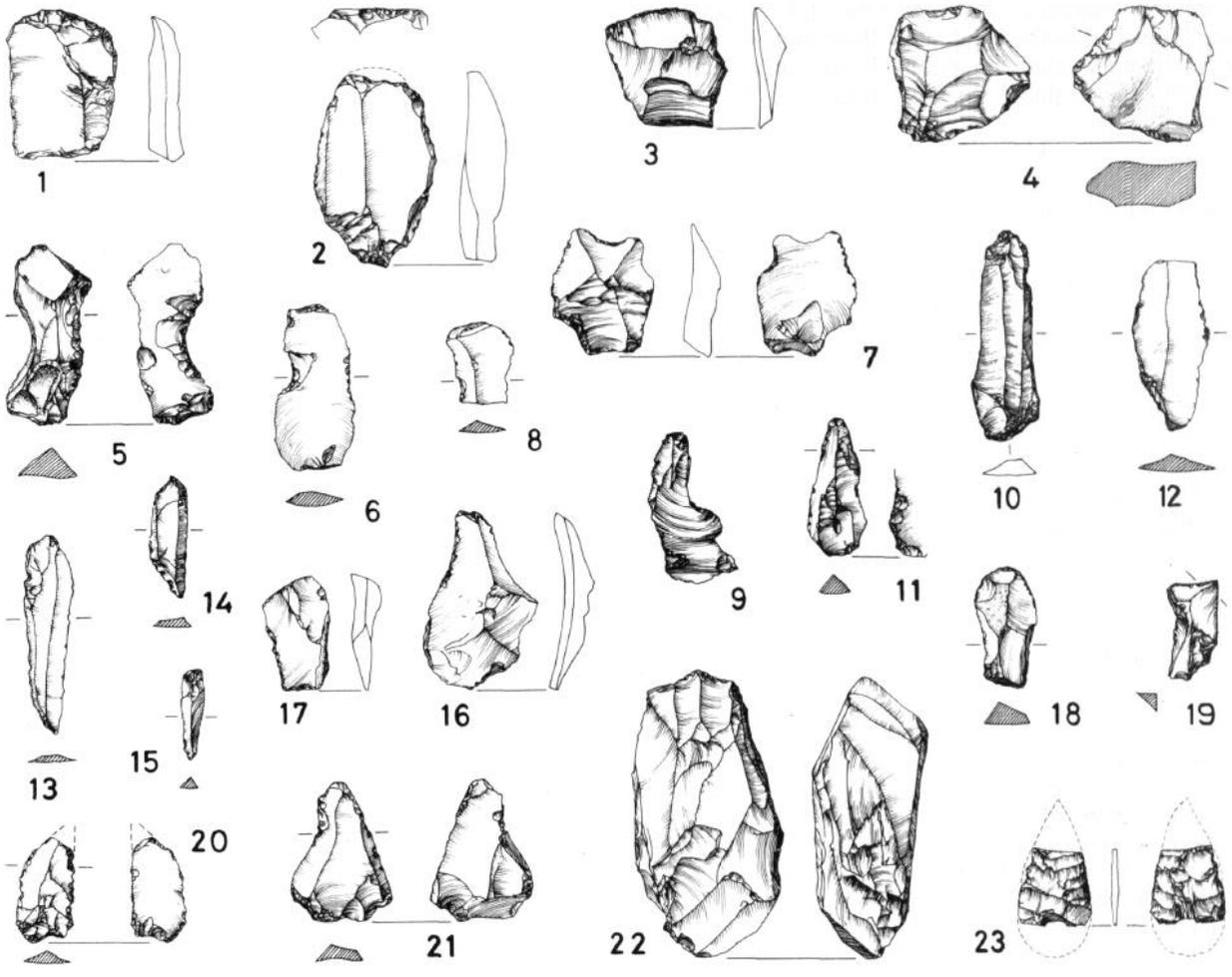


Figure 25 Flint artefacts. Scale 1:2

later working, suggesting the reuse of material. A light patina was observed on eighteen flints.

Typology

The assemblage is of mixed character and is too small to allow discussion of its composition or to draw any conclusions from the presence or absence of a particular type. It has been broadly classified as follows:

Unretouched flakes	62
(Incl. axe manufacture, flake and ?burin spall)	
Scrapers (f1-4)	4
Concave scrapers and notched flakes (f5-8)	6
Graver (f9)	1
Truncated flakes and blades (f10-19)	16
Awls (f 20, 21)	2
Axe (f22)	1
Arrowhead (f23)	1
Miscellaneous retouch	23

No cores were found, but the presence of a core-rejuvenation flake (f4), waste material and two flakes with abraded ends (f6) evidently struck from hammerstones, suggests that flint was worked in the vicinity. Flints f1-f23 refer to illustrated examples on Fig 25. For a more detailed analysis of the flint assemblage, together with a catalogue of the illustrated examples, see fiche 1: B4-7.

Summary and Conclusions

The number of flints from Rivenhall is small so that apart from the fact that they point to the presence of human activity or occupation in the area, little information can be obtained from them. There are, however, sufficient diagnostic types to suggest dates for some of that activity, though it has not been possible to date the industrial debris with any certainty. A Mesolithic horizon is represented by the tranchet axe, the graver and the truncated blades and possibly some of the blades; subsequent activity in the Neolithic or Bronze Age is documented by the leaf-shaped arrowhead (f23), and possibly the concave scraper (f5) and the scraper with non-

specialized retouch. None of the flint could be directly related to the Beaker or Bronze Age pottery. The wider context of the material will be discussed in a forthcoming paper on flint industries from this region of Essex.

6 Vessel glass

Roman Vessel Glass (Fig 26)

by N P Wickenden

Sixty-two fragments of probable Roman ware were found, mainly indeterminate colourless body sherds. The surfaces of many are iridescent and flaking, unusual in Roman glass, and due to the particular conditions of the soil. The paucity of glass and its undistinguished nature is surprising for such an imposing villa site. Only Fig 26.3, 6 and 7 hint at anything more than a modest standard of living.

Mould blown

Bottles

Fig 26

- 1 Multi-ribbed handle and shoulder of prismatic bottle, 'natural' blue-green in colour, some iridescence. C2, L3. A fragment of another handle came from C2, L58, churchyard ditch.
- 2 Angle of multi-ribbed handle from a one- or two-handled bottle, translucent colourless. Probably 3rd century. C2, unstratified.

Not illustrated. Nine body fragments, 'natural' blue-green. A possible corner fragment, light green, of a 'Mercury' bottle (Isings 1957, form 84), C1E, L134, Period 4.

Blown

Flasks

- 3a Pinched vertical trail from base of handle of flask, amber. Some surface iridescence. C2, L170, Period 3.
- 3b Lower side of flask, and part of open base ring, amber; good metal with no bubbles. Unstratified, 1950s excavations.

It is probable, given the survival of two similarly coloured fragments in a small, otherwise undistinguished assemblage, that Fig 26.3a and b came from the same vessel, a flask with a carinated body with handle trail and open base ring. For a discussion of the type (Isings 1957, form 55b), which is a variant of the conical flask, see Price 1977, 155f (with references). Harden (1967, 238–240) also discusses the conical flask and its variants. The upper part of the body is open ribbed. Dr Price writes, 'most [vessels of this type] have been found in burials in the eastern counties of Southern England. ...it is likely that they were manufactured within the Seine-Rhine

area from about AD 60–125, perhaps at several centres' (Price 1977, 155, 158).

- 4 Simple rounded base of straight-walled flask or bottle, light green, now frosted. C1E, G123.
- 5 Uprturned, everted rim of flask or bottle, colourless. C2, L126, Period 4.
- 6 Nine body sherds of a globular flask, colourless but much scratched. Decorated with zone(s) of close-set incised horizontal lines enclosed within two deeper wheel-cut grooves, and crossed by vertical pair(s) of incised lines. Three fragments are also decorated with circles, or arcs of circles, delineated by deep wheel-cut grooves. Lighter incised lines seem to surround one circle, yet fill another, so that it is possible that the circles are concentric, with the middle ground filled by close-set incised lines. From C1E grave earth and C1E, L101, Period 3A, c AD 190–230/40.

Without the rim or neck, it is difficult to identify the form. The decoration and shape of the body suggests that the vessel is Isings form 104, for a discussion of which see Harden and Green 1978, 163–70. One vessel from the Rhineland (*ibid*, fig 4, far right) clearly has similar wheel-cut circles. Isings also mentions wheel-cut circles appearing on form 103 (1957, 122). However, both forms are thought to be no earlier than the mid 3rd century, and are most common in the 4th century, save one example from Cologne that might be of early 3rd century date (*ibid*, 123, form 104a). An earlier form, decorated with horizontal wheel-incised lines and dated to the 2nd century, is Isings 92. It is not inconceivable that the vessel from Rivenhall represents a transitional stage between this and the later forms.

Beakers

Fig 26

- 7 Knocked off and carefully ground rim of beaker with groove just below rim, very light green. The rim is very slightly bent out (Isings form 106C); well made, probably late 3rd or early 4th century. C1E, grave earth.
- 8 Flaring everted rim, very light green, iridescent. C1E, grave earth.
- 9 Colourless body fragment (Isings form 34), decorated with a zone of at least six incised grooves. A long-lived type current from the later 1st to 4th century. C1E, G89.
- 10 Colourless body sherd with two grooves. C2, L4, Period 4.
- 11 Colourless body sherd, thicker than Fig 26.10, three grooves; some iridescence on surface. C2, L42, Period 4.

Bowls

- 12 Upright, externally thickened rim, colourless; from cylindrical bowl of 'Airlie' type, so called after a complete example found at Airlie, Angus (Thorpe 1935, 39, pl 6b). For a full discussion of the type, see Harden 1971, 102, 107,

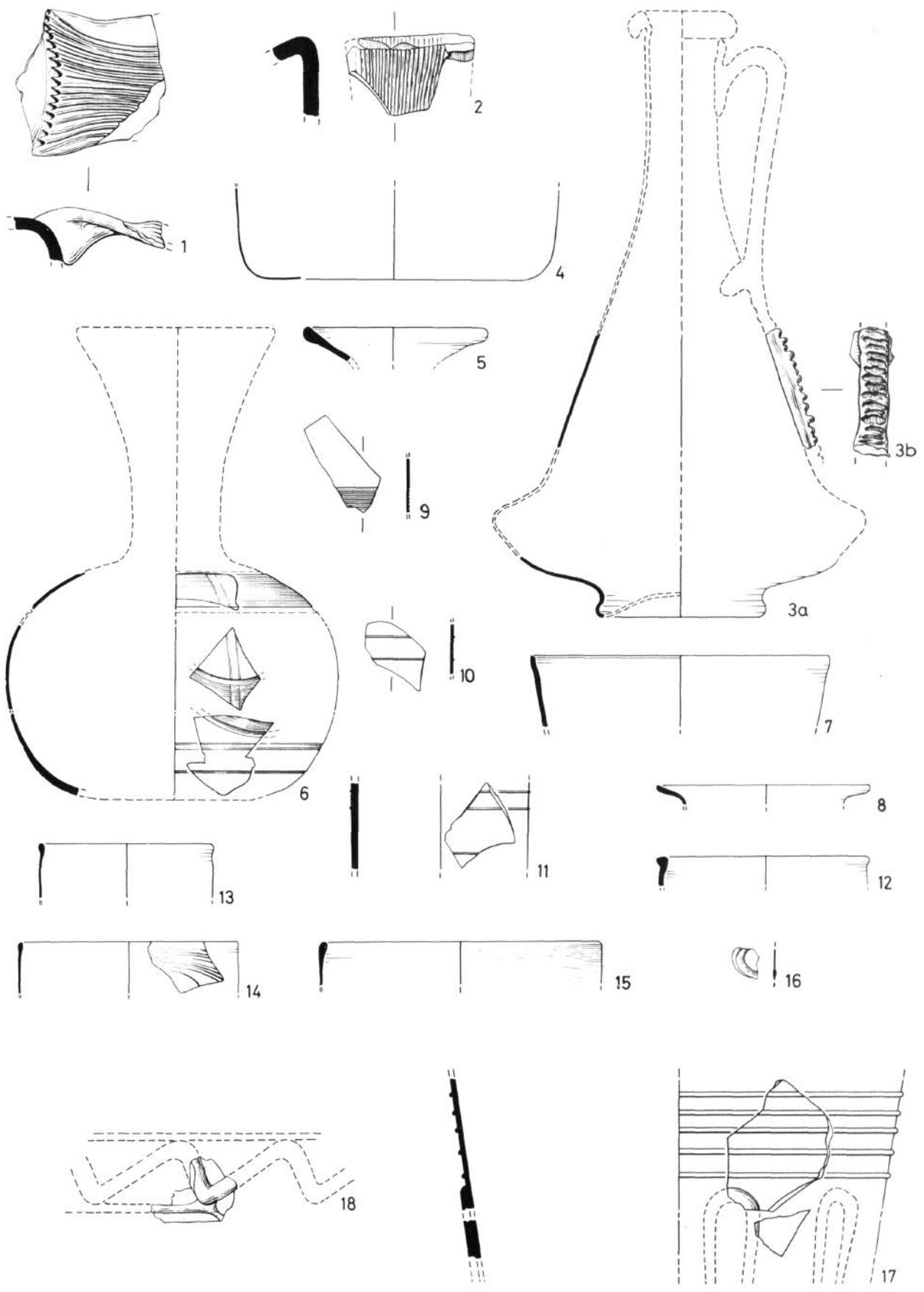


Figure 26 Vessel glass: 1-16, Roman; 17, 18, Anglo-Saxon. Scale 1:2 (except nos 17-18, 1:1)

nos 112–15, fig 44.55–6 with refs; Isings 1957, 102, form 85b; Harden and Price 1971, 352, fig 141.74. Very common in the later 2nd and 3rd centuries. C2, F58, churchyard ditch.

- 13 Colourless rim of Airlie bowl. C1E, L137, Period 3A.

Not illustrated. Colourless rim fragments of Airlie bowls from C1E, grave earth.

- 14 Cylindrical bowl, flame-rounded rim, colourless but flaky and iridescent surface; decorated with marvered white trails. Probably 4th century. C1E, grave earth.

- 15 Cylindrical bowl, internally thickened, upright rim, colourless; surface decorated with fine wheel-cut striations. Possibly 4th century. C1E, grave earth.

- 16 Small sherd, possibly basal; colourless with part of raised circular, turquoise-coloured trail. Unstratified 1950s.

Not illustrated. Part of plain colourless strap handle. C1W, G172.

The Anglo-Saxon glass

by Vera I Evison

Fig 26

- 17 Two fragments of light olive-green cone beaker, no doubt from the same vessel; on the larger piece there are four fine, applied trails parallel to each other and part of a slightly thicker trail in the form of a loop, while on the smaller fragment there is a curved part of another of the thicker trails. The profile of the larger piece is straight in the vertical plane, and its curvature in the horizontal plane gives a diameter of about 70 mm at this level in the wall of the vessel. All these characteristics accord with those of a 'Kempston-type' cone-beaker,¹ and exclude the only other likely form decorated in this manner, the 'York bowl'.² D, F526, Period 4A.

Glass beakers of the 'Kempston type' are mostly light green, but some are nearly colourless, and there are a few which are light olive-green. One is amber-coloured, and amongst new finds is a bright blue cone with zones of opaque white trails from Dankirke, near Ribe, Jutland, a settlement site of the 4th to 5th centuries.³ Examples of the olive-green colour in England were found in grave 56 at Guildown, Surrey,⁴ at Faversham, Kent,⁵ at Acklam, Yorkshire,⁶ and fragments of two more have lately appeared in cremations at Spong Hill, Norfolk.⁷ The Guildown (grave 56) and Faversham cones differ in proportions from most Kempston-type cones, where the height in relation to the diameter of the mouth is more or less 3:1, for the Guildown and Faversham beakers are relatively wider at the mouth, with proportions of about 2:1. The Acklam

cone proportions are nearer 5:2, but its tip has been slightly pushed in, a trait retained from late Roman cone-beakers which had a kick sufficiently pronounced to form a stable base. The associations of the Faversham beaker are not known, and the Acklam cone was found with another glass which cannot be closely dated, although it is probably Roman. In grave 56 at Guildown the cone was accompanied by a leaf-shaped spear with midrib and closed socket, a Roman derivative form.⁸

Consideration of these and other factors suggests a date for the manufacture of the olive-green cone in the early part of the 5th century.⁹ The number of olive-green cones, however, is too small for the distribution pattern to be significant in assessing the whereabouts of the production centre or centres. The distribution of the Kempston cone-type in general shows the greatest incidence to be in south-eastern England and the Rhineland.¹⁰ The Rhineland, with its tradition of glass-production from Roman times, is the more likely source, and was probably responsible for some of the Kempston-type beakers, but glass-blowers might have become established in Kent even by this early date. There were no doubt also other glasshouses at work on this pattern, and as a cluster of the nearly colourless type in northern France and Belgium seems to indicate a separate production centre in that area, it may be that the olive-green colour was a speciality of another manufacturer elsewhere.

- 18 Small fragment of a very light green, thin-walled glass vessel with a few small bubbles and iridescence. A horizontal trail was first applied to the wall, and then a thicker trail applied in zig-zag fashion pulled it out of place at the point of contact. This is part of the pattern which occurs on the 'Kempston' type of cone-beaker where the top of a long vertical loop reaches the lowest line of the horizontal zone of trails. Against this possibility, however, is the shape of the thicker trail, for the vertical loops are usually more rounded, although there are a few which are equally pointed. A more important factor is that the thicker trail is almost completely circular in section and free-standing, while the vertical loops of the 'Kempston'-type beakers have always lost their original circular section by being slightly melted to the wall of the vessel in the reheating processes carried out firstly to smooth in the loops near the tip of the cone and then to smooth the rim. The horizontal trail is also free-standing where it is not in contact with the thicker trail. For this reason it seems it must belong to a style that required no reheating after application of the trails, such as bowls and cones with a border decoration, just below the rim, of two horizontal trails about a centimetre apart with a zig-zag trail between. This style was in use about AD 400, often in polychrome,¹¹ but sometimes, as here, in monochrome, and the trails are not subjected

to reheating as the rim is left unsmoothed. Similar light green fragments have been found at Silchester,¹² and a date near AD 400 is most likely. However, there seem to be slightly later developments because a cone-beaker from grave 32, High Down, Sussex¹³ and a claw-beaker from Mucking grave S43¹⁴ are monochrome vessels with zig-zag borders which were probably made in the first half of the 5th century. C2, L16 residual.

Notes

- 1 Harden 1956, 140, pl XVIId; Evison 1972, 48–66.
- 2 Harden 1956, 142, pl XVIg.
- 3 *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1972, coloured plate opposite p 48. For this and other new finds, see Evison 1981, 135, 146–8 and fig 10, and Evison 1987.
- 4 *Surrey Archaeol Collect* 39 (1931), pl VIII. Evison 1972, figs 2, 16.
- 5 Harden 1956, pl XVIIIb, fig 25; Evison 1972, fig 6.
- 6 *J Glass Studies* 9 (1969), 134, no 11. Evison 1972, fig 4.
- 7 Hills 1977, fig 128; nos 1025 and 1156 are olive-green, 1058 is a light bluish-green, nearly colourless, and 1602 is light green.
- 8 Swanton 1973, 41, fig 58a, b.
- 9 Evison 1972, 48–66.
- 10 Evison 1981, 135–6, fig 10.
- 11 Harden 1970, pl X, E.
- 12 Boon 1959, 81, A13–14, fig 41.
- 13 Wilson and Gerard 1947, fig XIII.
- 14 Evison 1974, 277–8, pl LVI.

7 Miscellaneous loose finds

by K A Rodwell

Objects of stone (Fig 27)

Geological identifications by Martyn Owen and R W Sanderson (whetstones).

Fig 27

- 1 Length of tracery from the face of a window mullion reused as a sharpening stone; three smooth faces, the fourth roughly dressed. Upper Greensand. C1E, unstratified. Late 13th century or later; from a mullion similar to that in Vol 1, Fig 98.
- 2 Broken broad, flat sharpening stone with all faces worn smooth. Lower Greensand. C2, L100, wall, Period 3B.
- 3 Whetstone fragment, dark grey finely bedded slate. Similar material can be found in the Lower Palaeozoic strata of Wales, Scotland and north-west Europe. C2, unstratified.

- 4 Whetstone fragment, a fine-grained finely foliated quartz-albite-muscovite-chlorite rock, composed of elongate grains of quartz and pinkish albite 0.02–0.08 mm in length with evenly dispersed flakes of muscovite up to 0.08 mm in length. Accessories include magnetite grains and granules of sphene. Thin laminae c 0.8 mm thick are composed of quartz-chlorite-calcite. This rock resembles Ellis's group IB (1) (Ellis 1969, 135–87), quartz-muscovite-metasiltstone, which David Moore (Natural History Museum) suggests has a German origin. 1950s excavations, unlocated.
- 5 Whetstone fragment. A laminated grey micaceous siltstone of Lower Palaeozoic type. Possibly of continental origin but more probably derived from the Drift deposits of East Anglia. C1E, L115/117, Period 3A.
- 6 Whetstone, bluish-grey siliceous schist from Telemark, Norway. A very common type from c AD 900 to 1300 (Evison 1975, 70). C2, L11, Period 6.
- 7 Fragment from a palette with a bevelled edge; cf Frere 1972, 156, no 229. Greenish slate, no provenance suggested but such material is found in the Lake District. C2, graves 290/299. Period 4C, residual.
- 8 Saddle quern fragment, worn smooth and concave on both main faces. Millstone grit. H, unstratified.
- 9 Saddle quern fragment, upper face smooth and concave. Medium- to coarse-grained iron-stained sandstone, not Sarsen but no other provenance suggested. H, unstratified. Both 8 and 9 are probably derived from Period 1 features at the west end of Area H (Vol 1, Fig 10).
- 10 Fragmentary upper stone from a Rhenish lava hand quern, worn very thin. C2, L42, Period 4.
- 11 Fragmentary upper stone from a large rotary quern. Millsbone grit. D, floor of Building 4, Period 3/4.
- 12 Fragment from a very large flat rotary quern of Rhenish lava. Probably a lower stone; one face had never been more than very roughly dressed. The radial ribs on the upper face had been worn flat and smooth. This quern and no 11 were clearly mechanically driven. The evidence for a Roman water-mill at Rivenhall is discussed in Vol 1, pp 59–60. Mechanically driven querns have been found at Fishbourne (Cunliffe 1971, vol 2, 153, 8–9) and Gadebridge Park (Neal 1974, 194, no 700) and there is a water-wheel spindle in the Chesterford hoard (VCH 1963, 84). 1950s excavations, unstratified.
- 13 Mortar fragment, with one surviving lug, the rim offset from the curved side of the bowl. Coarse, shelly and pelletal oolitic limestone, probably Lincolnshire, that is perhaps Barnack or Ancaster stone. The interior is ground smooth, the exterior rounded and abraded, although in a stone as coarse as this the detail

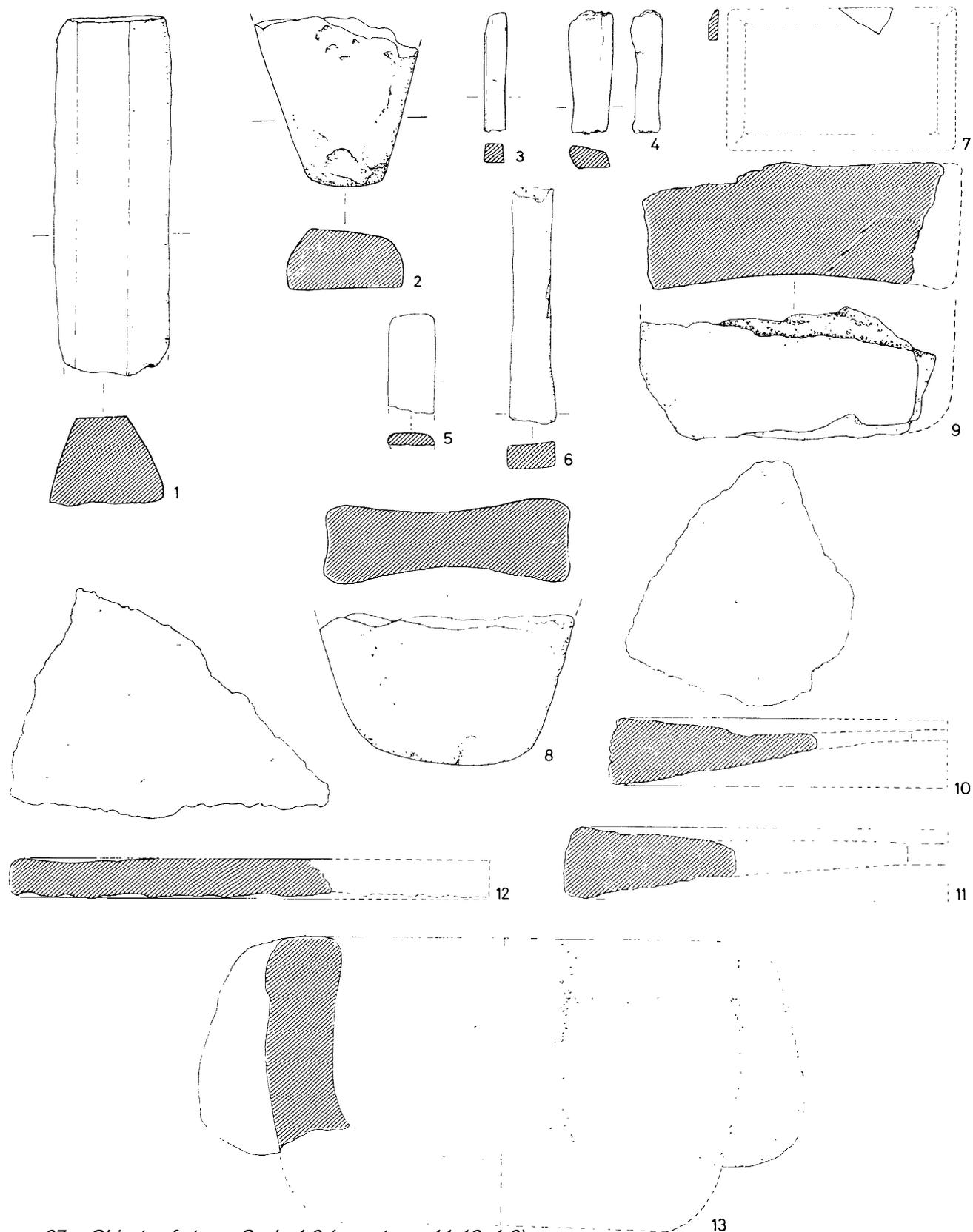


Figure 27 Objects of stone. Scale 1:3 (except nos 11-12, 1:6)

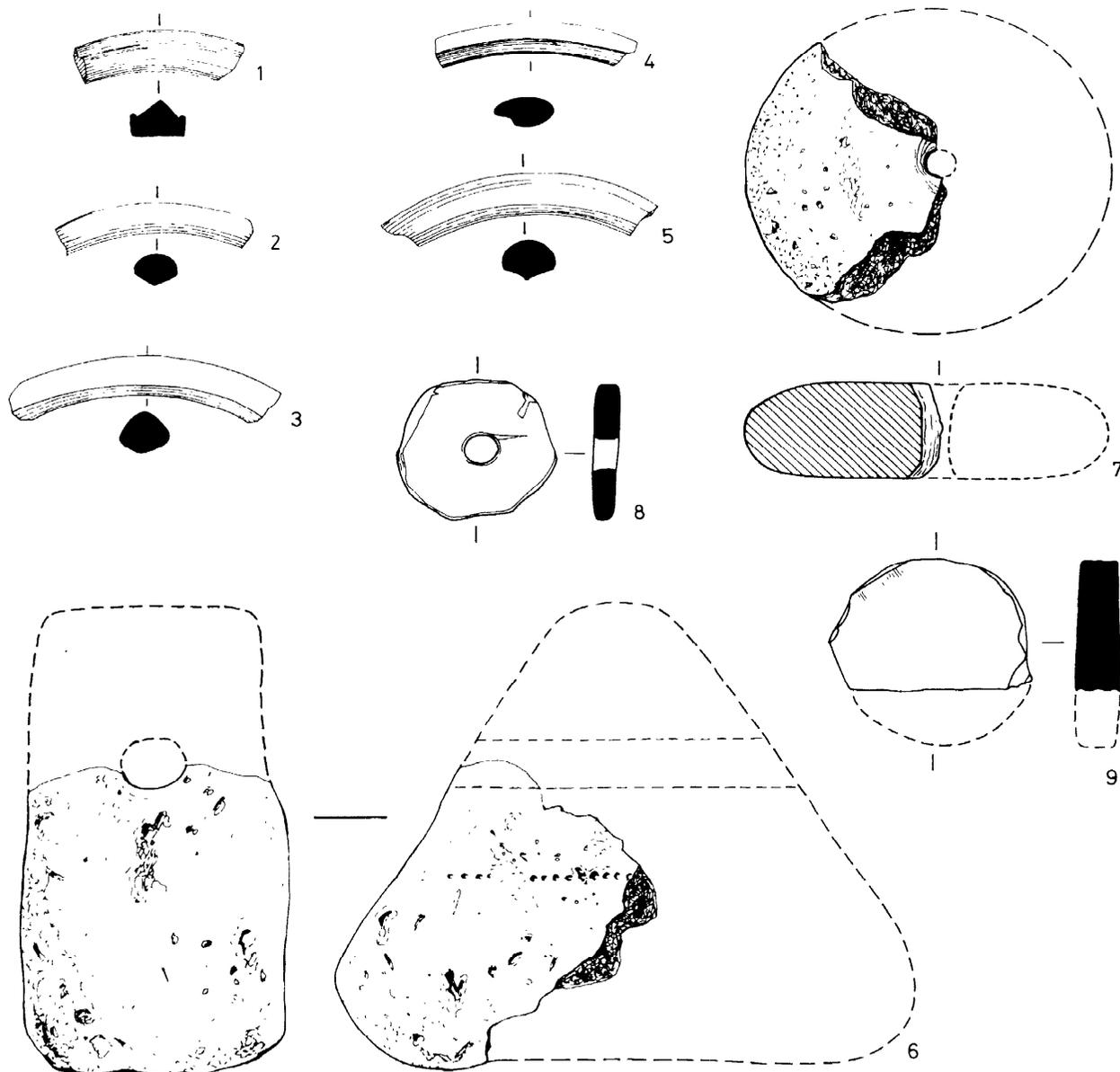


Figure 28 Miscellaneous objects: 1-5, bracelets of jet and shale; 6, 7, fired-clay loomweights; 8, spindle whorl (pottery); 9, counter (tile). Scale nos 1-5, 1:1; nos 6-9, 1:2

would never have been very fine, and the wall is thicker than it would be in finer stone mortars of the same size. There is a Lincolnshire limestone mortar of similar dimensions but without surviving lugs from Kings Lynn (Dunning 1977, 329, no 35) of later 13th or early 14th century date. C1W, unstratified.

Objects of jet and shale

The following are all of Roman date.

Fig 28

- 1 Bracelet, jet. C2, F58, churchyard ditch.
- 2 Bracelet, shale. C2, L94, Period 4.
- 3 Bracelet, shale. Building 1, unlocated.
- 4 Bracelet, shale. C1E, grave earth.
- 5 Bracelet, shale. C2, F58, churchyard ditch.

Objects of fired clay

Fig 28

- 6 Triangular loomweight with a single hole; a line of comb-stabbing on one face. A fairly hard-fired fabric tempered with coarse sand and vegetable material; cf Drury 1978a, 112. Later Iron Age. D, top of F520, Period 1.
- 7 Bun-shaped loomweight with a small central hole, Hurst's type 3, late Saxon (Dunning *et al* 1959, 23–5). Fairly hard fabric tempered with coarse quartz sand and small stones. C1W, L68 residual.

Spindle whorls and counters

Fig 28

- 8 Spindle whorl, hard grey coarsely sand-tempered fabric, cut from a Roman jar. C1E, grave 43.
- 9 Counter cut from a peg tile. C1E unstratified.

Objects of bone and antler

Fig 29

- 1 Circular counter, with concentric grooves on one face. Cf Cunliffe 1971, vol 2, 146; fig 67, 1–4; Frere 1972, 154; fig 56, 214. C2, unstratified.
- 2 Fragment with a hole cut through the centre, possibly a toggle. C1E, grave earth.
- 3 Whistle, made from an antler tine, with a well-cut lip and smooth internal bore; a diagonal notch cut through the wall on one side and the point of the tine pierced for suspension. 1950s excavation, Building 1, hypocaust.
- 4 Crudely shaped pin, swelling to its widest point just below the head; associated with the burial in grave 135; found with 5. Period 5, with a radiocarbon date of Cal AD 998–1153 (p 104).
- 5 Slender, round, slightly faceted shaft with a knobbed head covered in gold sheet. C1E, grave 135; found with 4.
- 6 Pin with slightly bulbous head. C1E, unstratified.
- 7 Finely worked pin tapering at both ends. Building 1, unstratified.
- 8 Conical-headed pin decorated with three grooves; cf Neal 1974, 154; fig 67, 312. Building 1, unstratified.
- 9 Flat-topped tapering pin; cf Neal 1974, 154; fig 67, 303, 304. C2, L64, base of bank, Period 4.
- 10 Pin as 9. C2, F80; Period 6 (or 7) but probably derived from earlier levels, perhaps grave 301.
- 11 Chamfered handle fragment with a bone rivet, the inner face knife-scored. C2, L43, Period 6.
- 12 Bowl of horn spoon. C2, L43, Period 6.
- 13 Strip, with one polished face and a finished end, the rear face knife-scored, probably part of an inlay. C2, L57 clay floor, Building 9, Period 6B.

8 The pottery

The prehistoric pottery

by N Brown, W J Rodwell and P J Drury

Neolithic

by Warwick Rodwell

Fig 30

- 1 Three non-adjointing sherds of a large thin-walled vessel. Dark grey fabric, very soft with heavily eroded surfaces with a small amount of fine sand tempering and lacunae caused by very finely chopped vegetable material. The rim form is distinctive of late Neolithic 'Grooved Ware', Longworth's form 24 (Wainwright and Longworth 1971, fig 20). The internal vertical bevel is decorated with a series of jabs; no sign of any external decoration survives since the surface has been heavily eroded.
C1E, L127, buried soil beneath Building 2.

Beaker

- 2 Abraded body sherd *c* 10–12 mm thick from a large vessel of unknown form. Dark brown-grey fabric with buff exterior; tempered with a small quantity of fairly finely crushed flint and a greater quantity of red and black grog. It is decorated externally by pairs of finger-nail impressions, with pinched-up ridges between. The nearest find is from Kelvedon (K A Rodwell 1988, fig 78.3). There are also close parallels amongst the Grooved Ware and Beaker pottery recovered from Lion Point, Clacton (Smith 1955, fig 2.1; Longworth *et al* 1971, 118, pl XXXVIII).
C1E, L29, buried soil beneath Building 2.
- 3 Abraded body sherd *c* 7 mm thick. Dark grey fabric with reddish-brown exterior; tempered as no 2; the decoration is also identical.
C1E, L29, buried soil beneath Building 2.

Not illustrated. Various undistinguished body sherds may, on the basis of fabric, be of early prehistoric date. One sherd in a black porous fabric (?formerly tempered with finely crushed shell) with a buff exterior is probably of Neolithic or Beaker date. C2, F39, residual.

Late Bronze Age

by N Brown and P J Drury

Pit F261 (in section in grave 344; Vol 1, Fig 11).

Fig 30

- 4 Many sherds of a very coarse and irregular bowl. Brown fabric, hard fired and tempered with much coarse flint grit, surfaces reddish-

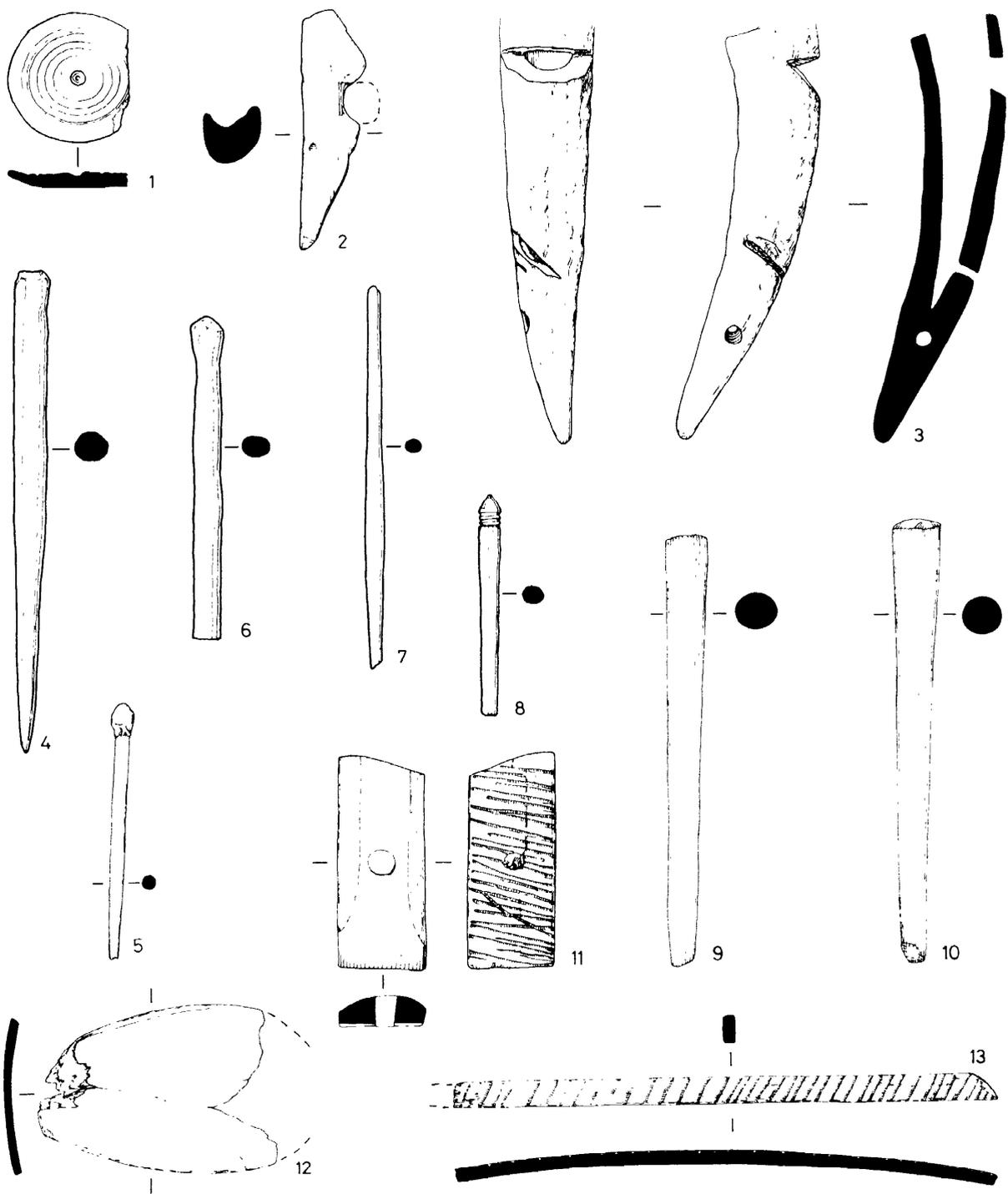


Figure 29 Objects of bone and antler. Scale 1:1

brown over grey. The vessel has been subjected to intense heat. Cf Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975, fig 3:5, 14).

- 7 Thin-walled bowl in hard dark grey fabric tempered with a large quantity of very finely crushed flint and some fine grog. The vessel is well made and is burnished externally and internally; the lamination of the wall and the flaking of the base, however, indicate that the vessel has been subjected to intense heat. In part, the surfaces have oxidized to a buff colour. Cf Lofts Farm (Brown 1988, fig 14.22) and Springfield Lyons (Brown 1987, fig 8.1).
- 8 Similar to no 7 in fabric and perhaps in form, although considerably larger. A well-made vessel with a reddish-brown burnished exterior surface only; one sherd exhibits a laminated fracture and another has oxidized edges. Cf Springfield Lyons (Brown 1987, fig 8.8).

Pit F320 (Vol 1, Figs 9 and 10, C1W)

Fig 30

- 9 Large storage jar, in a brown fabric, tempered with coarse flint grit, grog and a little vegetable material; there are diagonal incisions on the rim. A close parallel from Knight's Farm, Burghfield, Berkshire (Bradley *et al* 1980, fig 34.4) has finger-tip decoration on the body. Cf Springfield Lyons (Brown 1987, fig 9.11) and Mucking North Ring (Barrett and Bond 1988, fig 22.48).
- 10 Plain, round-shouldered hook-rim jar with simple inturned lip. Coarse brown-grey fabric tempered with large and small flint grits; reddish-brown surfaces. Cf Aldermaston Wharf, form 6 (Bradley *et al* 1980, fig 11.6) and Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975, fig 3:5, 9).
- 11 Simple jar with a flattened and slightly clubbed rim. Grey-brown fabric with reddish-brown surfaces, tempered with medium-sized flint grit and a small amount of grey grog. There are slight traces of finger wiping on the body.
- 12 Everted rim of a large jar. Reddish-brown fabric, hard fired, with dark grey-brown surfaces; contains some crushed flint and grey grog tempering. The lip has been neatly trimmed.
- 13 Base of a jar in coarse, grey, flint-tempered fabric; medium brown surfaces.
- 14 Tub, in brown-grey fabric, tempered with sand and flint; a few lacunae from the dissolution of inclusions (?shell). Cf Pingewood (Bradley 1983–5, figs 7.17, 18 and 8.80).

The pit also included a fragment of salting briquetage and two small Romano-British sherds, perhaps introduced in undetected grave disturbances.

Miscellaneous contexts

- 15 Globular jar with outward-curving rim; hard grey fabric with finely crushed flint tempering and black burnished exterior (cf no 7). There are slight furrows on the shoulder. For the

general form, cf Knight's Farm (Bradley *et al* 1980, fig 31.4).

A collection of sherds recovered from builders' trenches outside the north door of the nave. C1W.

- 16 Everted rim of jar in a dark grey fabric tempered with medium-sized flint grits, fingernail impressions on top of the rim; cf West Tilbury (Drury and Rodwell 1973, fig 13.9). C1E, L36, residual.

Discussion

The pottery clearly belongs to the Late Bronze Age plain ware assemblage (Barrett 1980), for which a date within the period 1000–800 BC may be suggested. Many of the techniques of manufacture noted in Late Bronze Age assemblages elsewhere (Adkins and Needham 1985) occur in the pottery from Rivenhall: for example, vertical finger wiping (Fig 30.11), and bases joined to pots by pinching, which occasionally produced a slightly protruding foot (Fig 30.13). One vessel (Fig 30.14) shows clear evidence of ring-building; the largest sherd has cracked along the joint where the rim was added as a separate coil, and some rim sherds have clearly broken along this joint.

As noted above, many of the sherds from pit F261 show signs of having been exposed to intense heat. While this may indicate a firing mishap, it might equally reflect subsequent burning. It may be doubted whether vessels as fine as nos 7 and 8 would have been fired at the same time as coarse vessels such as no 4. One vessel from pit F320 (Fig 30.10) has a patch of damage caused by exposure to considerable heat on the exterior of the lower wall; this may be a result of use as a cooking pot,

Middle pre-Roman Iron Age

by Warwick Rodwell

The local pottery fabrics distinctive of this period are sand and vegetable tempered (cf Little Waltham, Fabrics H and G: Drury 1978a, 56–9), but a minority of coarse wares retain crushed flint as a tempering medium. Examples of the first fabric groups are not numerous at Rivenhall, but nevertheless occur sparsely over the whole site (Vol 1, Fig 10), mainly in the form of shapeless body sherds.

Fig 30

- 17 Outward-curving rim with thickened lip; hard black fabric, tempered with fine sand (cf Little Waltham Fabric H). This is probably from a bowl of semi-fine ware; cf Little Waltham Form 13 (Drury 1978a, 55). C1E, grave earth.
- 18 Shouldered jar in hard, grey-black fabric, with a little fine sand tempering; dark brown exterior, reddish-brown interior; cf Little Waltham Form 4 (Drury 1978a, 53). C1E, grave earth.

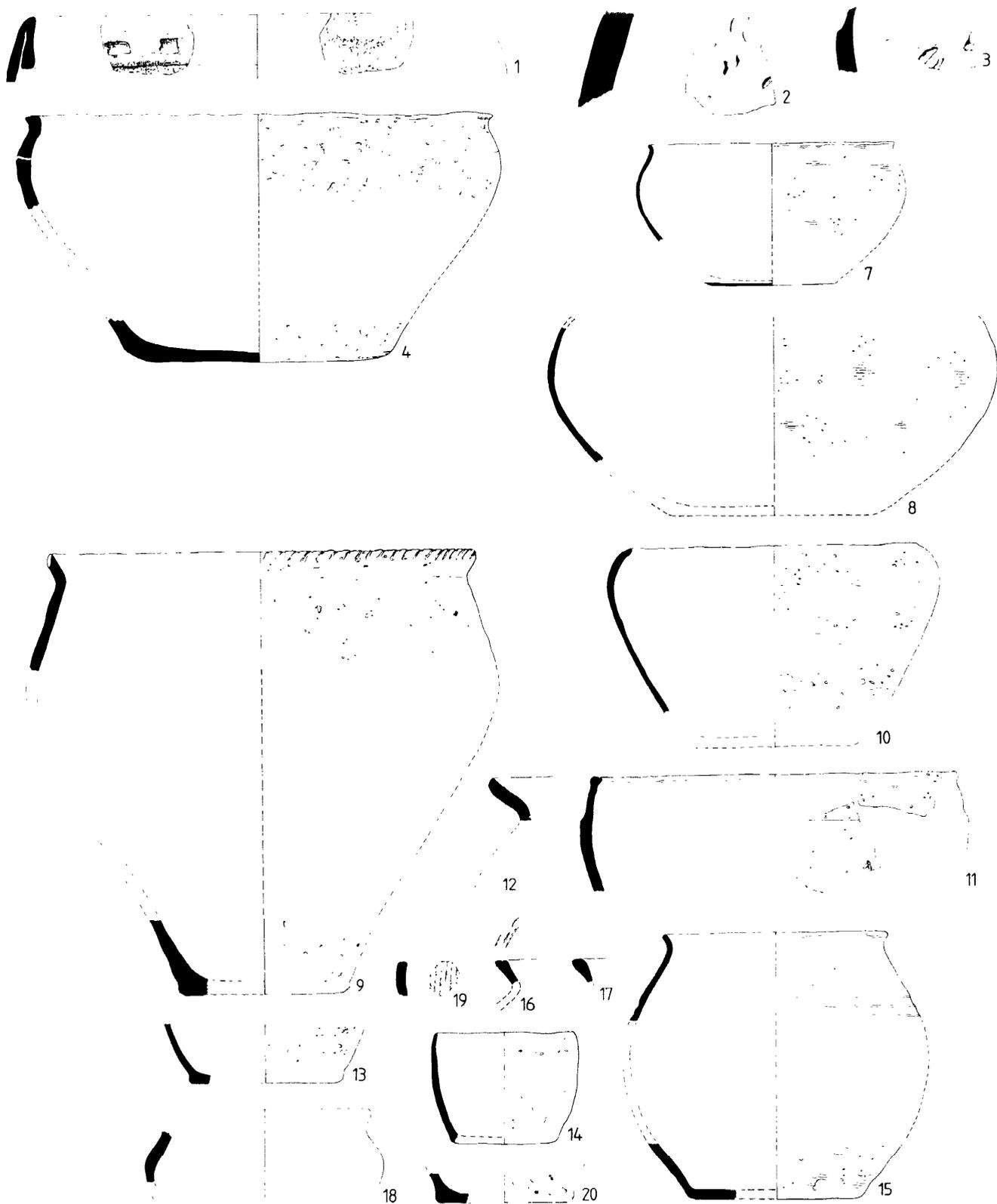


Figure 30 Prehistoric pottery: 1, Neolithic; 2, 3, Beaker; 4-16, Late Bronze Age; 17-20 Middle Pre-Roman Iron Age. Scale nos 1-3, 1:2; nos 4-20, 1:4

Not illustrated. Sherd from the shoulder of a similar but thinner-walled jar; crudely decorated with random striations on the body. C2, grave 332.

- 19 Body sherd of a vessel of indeterminate form; black sandy fabric containing the occasional fragment of crushed flint (Little Waltham Fabric H; Kelvedon Fabric A). The surface is decorated with well-marked combing. Similar vessels have been found at Kelvedon in transitional middle-to-late pre-Roman Iron Age contexts (K A Rodwell 1988, fig 79.12, 25). C1E, grave 279.
- 20 Base sherd of a jar of identical fabric and surface appearance to the last (Fig 30.19); these sherds could even be from the same vessel, although both are abraded and were found in different areas. C2, F58.

The Roman pottery

by C J Going

About 180 kg of pottery was excavated, one of the largest assemblages recovered from an Essex villa site to date. Its value, however, is limited, as most came from post-Roman contexts. Only a small proportion of the stratified material was derived from contexts of crucial importance for site dating. A highly selective approach has therefore been adopted. Contexts which date site phases are discussed briefly below and, where possible, the pottery from them is illustrated. In addition, one of the more important stratified groups (from Period 3A) merited more detailed examination. Form identifications follow the codes of the Chelmsford pottery typology (Going 1987, 13–54); and fabrics are identified by their common names, followed by the Chelmsford code (*ibid* 4). This code is also used in Fig 33.

Site dating

Pre-Conquest pottery

The excavations revealed a few Iron Age features, mainly ditches, scattered across the site (Vol 1, pp 14–17). The small assemblage of pre-Conquest and Conquest-period pottery they contained was closely comparable with the *Camulodunum* series (Hawkes and Hull 1947), and with material from Kelvedon (K A Rodwell 1988). Features in Areas D and H yielded only a few small sherds, mostly from closed forms, but slightly more pottery was found in Areas C1E and C4, including fragments of *Cam* f220 from ditches 344 and 352. Pit 346 contained a *Cam* f221 and a closed form with a ?cut-down rim (not illustrated). Of more interest is an unstratified Dressel 1 neck sherd. This was probably derived from ditch F162 in Area C2. It is discussed with the Roman pottery below (p 66, Fig 31.39).

A date range of *c* AD 10–50 probably encompasses this material, except for the Dressel 1 sherd, which suggests earlier occupation.

Pre-building features (Fig 31.1-2)

The pottery in the buried soil sealed by Building 2 was mainly 1st century in date, although L127 and L29/127 produced fragments of a G9 jar (Fig 31.1), which is unlikely to be earlier than Trajanic-Hadrianic in date on the evidence from Chelmsford (Going 1987, 23) and London (Marsh and Tyers 1978, 575–7). Other material included a sherd of a barbotine-decorated beaker (L334), and a fine greyware imitation f37 bowl datable to the Flavian period or later (Fig 31.2), from L127.

While material from the ditch 162 included abraded 1st century pottery, the presence of a sherd of an oxidized Hadham ware f38 suggests that the feature remained exposed for a considerable time — perhaps into the later 3rd century. It was not sealed by Building 2.

Thus while no definite *terminus post quem* can be offered on the evidence of 162, the latest material from the buried soil suggests that this phase ended some time after the Flavian period, probably during the earlier part of the 2nd century, *c* AD 110–30.

Building 1

A *terminus post quem* for this building is provided by a pit group underlying wall 13/19, which suggests a construction date after *c* AD 60–85 (Vol 1, p 24). Unfortunately this pottery and that from the yard surface west of rooms 1.1 and 1.2 is now lost. The latter (Vol 1, p 60) was also originally dated by comparison with the *Camulodunum* series, and a date of *c* AD 80 suggested. However, as this material cannot now be re-examined, the constructional similarities between Buildings 1 and 2 must be taken as the principal evidence that they were contemporary and erected in the first decades of the 2nd century.

Building 2 construction (Fig 31.34)

The sub-floor filling of Room 2.7 (Vol 1, p 28) contained an assemblage of 25 sherds which included the rim of a type B2 dish in BB2 with burnished lattice decoration (Fig 31.3), and a similar vessel in a sandy grey ware was found in the primary make-up (L109: Fig 31.4). While the type was once thought to date from the Flavian period (Hull 1963, 178, *Cam* f37), this is now regarded as too early (Marsh and Tyers 1978, 575–7; Going 1987, type B2). The type is unlikely to pre-date *c* AD 120/5, and Fig 31.3 is probably not earlier than *c* AD 130. Taking the material from the buried soil into consideration, a *terminus post quem* of *c* AD 120–30 may be suggested.

Period 3A reconstruction (Fig 31.5–37)

A considerable amount of pottery (8 EVEs) was found in contexts dated to this phase, of which the most substantial quantity was in the filling of Room 1a (contexts F77, 101, 103, 137, 143). This material is quantified and discussed below (p 68).

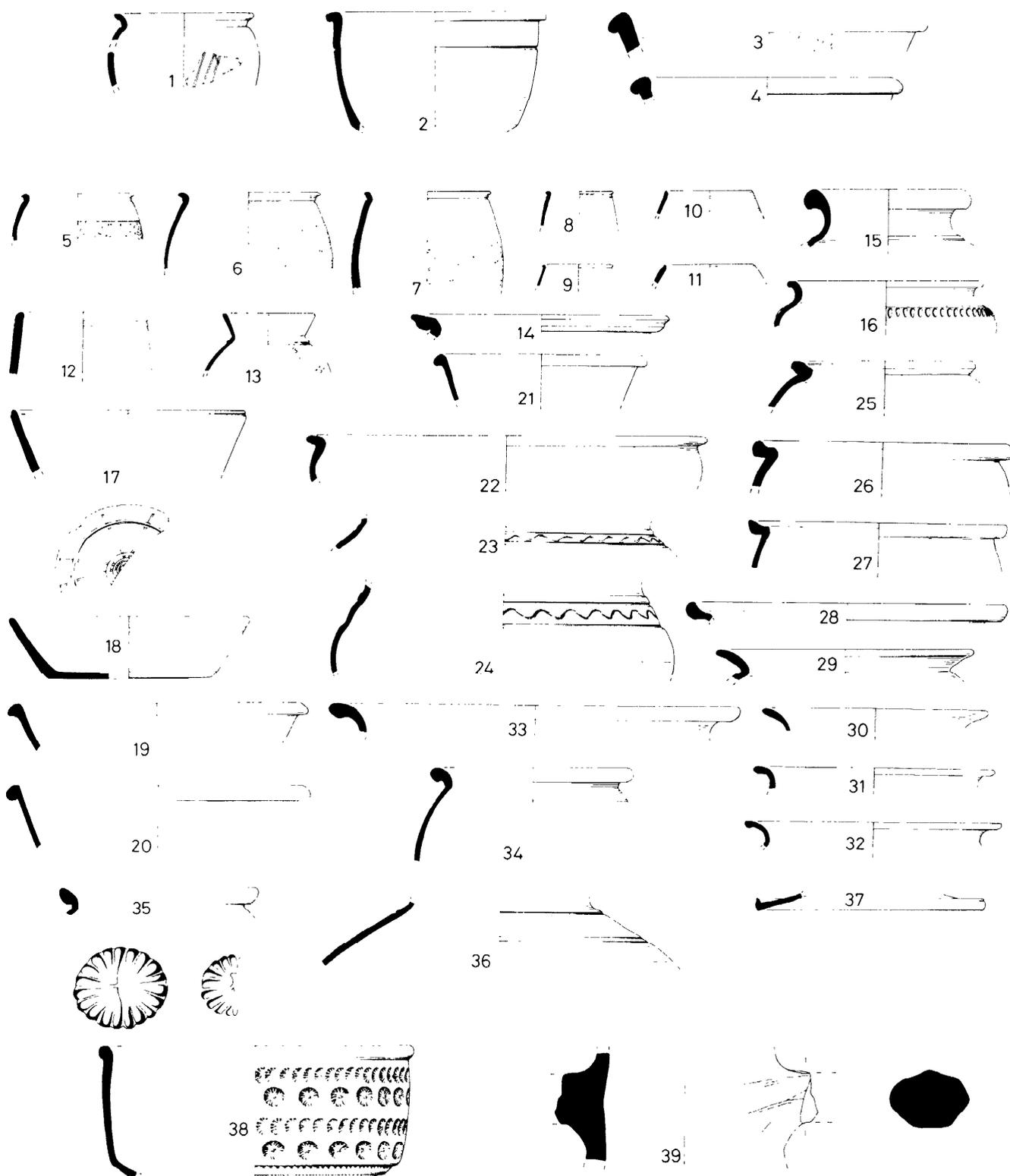


Figure 31 Romano-British coarse pottery: 1-4, Period 2; 5-37, Period 3A; 38, Period 3C; 39, residual. Scale 1:4 (except stamp 38, 1:1)

In summary, the presence of burnt Antonine samian suggests that the assemblage post-dates *c* AD 170–90, while the absence of incipient flange-rimmed bowls and Nene Valley colour-coat suggests that the phase ended before *c* AD 230/40. Rhenish ware, and the presence of fragments of early oxidized Hadham products, met with elsewhere in Essex and Hertfordshire in contexts of *c* AD 190–220/30 (M Pomel, pers comm) suggest a date probably commencing almost at the turn of the century, giving an overall date bracket of *c* AD 190–230/40.

Late Roman alterations (Fig 31.38)

Few contexts containing pottery are associated with alterations to the buildings subsequent to Period 3A. An exception is the blocking of the hypocaust stokehole in Building 1 (Vol 1, p 52), which yielded five sherds of an abraded and badly pitted bowl in Oxfordshire red colour-coat (cf Young 1977, fig 64, form C83). It bears rosette and crescentic 'demirosette' stamps; cf *ibid*, fig 39.12–15, 16, respectively. It is suggested elsewhere (Going 1987, 3) that Oxfordshire red colour-coat does not normally appear in Essex before *c* AD 360/70, and the abraded condition of the vessel suggests many years of use and wear before being discarded. Deposition around AD 400 may thus be suggested.

In view of the probable use of parts of the villa complex well into the post-Roman period, pottery from the post-Roman layers was examined for unusual fabrics, and the distribution of late shell-tempered pottery was plotted. The results, however, were inconclusive. Late Roman pottery was present in some quantity in the post-Roman levels but it was identical in both fabric and typology to the material from levels post-dating *c* AD 360/70 at Chelmsford. There was no evidence of local production to augment the flagging output of the major late producers and, on balance, it seems that supplies of Romano-British pottery to the site all but ceased by *c* AD 400 or shortly after.

Pottery of intrinsic interest

Fig 31

39 Dressel 1 amphora sherd: fragment of the neck with a handle scar, in Peacock's fabric 1 (Peacock 1971a). While the majority of Dressel 1 amphora finds are from funerary deposits of the pre-Roman Iron Age, their general dearth otherwise is likely to be the result of a lack of information from contemporary occupation sites. Indeed recent post-excavation work is redressing the balance, for sherds of Dressel 1 amphorae have been identified as site finds at Gestingthorpe, Kelvedon (K A Rodwell 1988, fig 84.156), Little Oakley (P Barford, pers comm), Tolleshunt Knights (P Sealey, pers comm), and possibly Witham (Rodwell 1993), all in Essex, and Burgh-by-Woodbridge, Suffolk (J Plouviez, pers comm). C2, surface of F162.

Not illustrated: North African red slipped ware. Fragment from a dish of Hayes form 6 (Hayes 1972, fig 3A.6.1). Late 1st/early 2nd century date. Building 2 (lost). (Rodwell and Rodwell 1973, 120–2).

40 Alice Holt jar resembling Lyne and Jefferies type IC4, (1979, fig 26) dated by them to *c* AD 220–300. While very little Alice Holt pottery has been found in Essex in contexts pre-dating *c* AD 350 (*ibid*, fig 48), there seems to be no reason why isolated earlier examples should not be found. Its intact state strongly suggests that this vessel accompanied a burial. North end of churchyard, found when grave-digging in 1951 (Chelmsford Museum, B18304; Vol 1, p 61).

41–4 Four vessels in a distinctive sandy grey ware with pimply blue-black surfaces. These were thin-sectioned by J S F Walker to try to determine their origin (fiche 1: D2–3). While they came from post-Roman contexts (CIE, L59, grave earth; CIE, unstratified; C2, L42, Period 4) they are in all probability derived from late Roman (ie 4th century) levels. The presence of a bauxite mineral, probably clachite, leaves little doubt that they are imports, but the question of their origin must remain open. The forms are not characteristic of any particular region, ledge-rimmed jars, for example, being found both at Mayen and in the Argonne. It is doubtful whether these products came from as far afield as other known sources of this mineral in Italy or Spain, and they are unlikely to be from the Puy-de-Dôme region of France, on the same grounds. A source in the vicinity of the Hesse Nassau district of Germany is also not likely, but if the mineral can be found in clays on the left bank of the Rhine, a source in that region is historically plausible. A visually similar sherd (unpublished) from the Saxon shore fort at Bradwell may be from the same source. It was found in a late 4th century level.

Colchester colour-coat (Fig 31.5–8)

Forms in this fabric are entirely restricted to folded or plain-bodied bag-shaped beakers (Chelmsford types H20, 23). All have cornice rims of Anderson's types 2–3, which are typically pre-AD 190 (Anderson 1980, 9). The absence of rim-type 4, dated *c* AD 190–220 (*ibid*, fig 8.3), and the complete lack of plain-rimmed types suggests that the group contains few late 2nd/early 3rd century Colchester products. While this is a small assemblage, it supports indications of a decline in Colchester's influence as a fine-ware producer towards the end of the 2nd century.

Oxidized red Hadham ware (not illustrated)

Fragments of three closed forms, probably flagons, were present. The surface and margin colour is red

Table 13 The Period 3A assemblage and pottery supply to Rivenhall, AD 190–230/40

Quantification Table	Wt kg	Sherds	EVE	% EVES
Colchester colour-coat (1)	0.185	33	0.85	10.62
Oxidized red Hadham ware (4)	0.040	09	—	—
'Rhenish' wares (8–9)	0.010	07	0.28	3.50
?Local 'mica dusted' wares (12)	0.010	01	—	—
Colchester buff ware (27)	0.080	09	0.19	2.37
Miscellaneous fine buff wares	0.065	21	—	—
?North Kent grey wares (32)	0.030	09	0.38	4.75
Hadham grey wares (36)	0.145	10	0.59	7.37
Misc fine grey wares (39)	0.060	12	0.39	4.87
Black-burnished 2 (41)	0.255	24	0.63	7.78
Storage jar fabrics (44)	0.205	03	—	—
'Romanizing' grey wares (45)	0.255	52	0.21	2.62
Sandy grey wares (45)	4.515	521	3.82	47.75
South Spanish amphora (55)	0.650	02	—	—
Samian	nd	nd	0.66	8.25
Total	5.890	713	8.00	99.97

EVE - Estimated vessel equivalent

(The numbers in bold refer to those given to the fabrics in Going 1987.)

(2.5YR 4/8-5/8), also light red (2.5YR 6/6) to red (5YR 5/4). The interior surface varies from red to dark brown (7.5YR 3/2). The exterior surface is usually burnished overall, with distinctive dark streaks. The fabric is generally duller in appearance, and less well fired, than the characteristic 'late' orange-red fabric, which is widely distributed only after *c* AD 270.

Rhenish wares (Fig 31.9–11)

Three vessels, all beakers, were identified. Two have plain rims and the third a small, beaded rim. Unfortunately the vessels are very fragmentary and the forms cannot be identified precisely. The plain-rimmed forms, and the presence of the fabric in the group, suggest a *terminus post quem* of *c* 180–200 for the deposit.

?Local 'mica dusted' wares (not illustrated)

A single sherd only was present, from an uncertain open form. Its origin, though not determined, is probably Colchester. Residual.

Colchester buff ware (Fig 31.12)

The group produced fragments of at least three vessels (although no mortaria). The form illustrated has few close parallels. It is finished in a patchily

applied dull, light red slip (IOR 6/6). The only other identifiable form was a flagon base.

Miscellaneous fine buff wares (not illustrated)

Hard, well-fired, slightly sandy fabric with sparse to moderate inclusions of calcite and mica. Surfaces and margins are reddish-yellow (5YR 6/6–7/6). Burnished overall. Three closed forms, either beakers or flagons, are represented. Origin uncertain; perhaps Colchester.

?North Kent Grey wares (Fig 31.13)

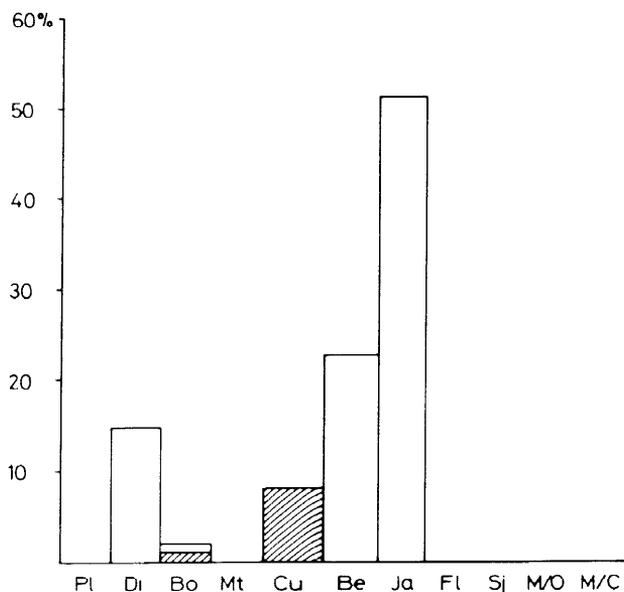
Fragments of two poppyhead beakers (H6) were noted. One (not illustrated) is reminiscent in its fabric of the Hoo potteries. The vessel illustrated is in a very hard-fired, slightly coarser fabric with black surfaces, burnished to a high overall gloss. A Kentish source for this latter vessel is also probable.

Hadham grey wares (Fig 31.14-15)

As noted above, Hadham wares are present in some quantity in the group, but are represented in terms of EVEs only in this fabric. Two vessels are illustrated: an angular-rimmed jar, and a narrow-necked vessel closely paralleled at Chelmsford (G36.2: fig 12). Hull dated this form at Colchester (*Cam* f280) from the early 2nd to the late 4th centuries. Both

**Table 14 Vessel classes in Period 3A group
cAD 190–230/40**

Vessel classes in period 3A group (800 Eves)
c AD 190–230/40 (Samian shown hatched)



forms were manufactured into the late Roman period with little apparent typological evolution.

Miscellaneous fine grey wares (Fig 31.16)

While not particularly common in this group, fine grey wares from a variety of sources form a substantial proportion of the site assemblage. The vessel illustrated is an unusual form in a micaceous, fine fabric. Its decoration is reminiscent of certain 2nd century Hadham products, and this may be an indication of its source.

Black-burnished 2 (Fig 31.17–18)

Fragments of several bead- and plain-rimmed dishes (B1, 2) were recovered, also examples of cavetto-rimmed (G9) jars. The former lack the typically pre- and early to mid Antonine lattice decoration found elsewhere (eg in Kent; Pollard, pers comm). BB2 is difficult to distinguish from the mass of grey-ware products in the same tradition, but most of the vessels are in a fabric resembling Williams's Group XII, for which a Colchester origin is suggested (D F Williams 1977).

'Romanizing' grey wares (not illustrated)

Mostly small, abraded sherds from a variety of closed forms, probably jars. The fabric is common on Essex sites in the 1st and early 2nd centuries, becoming considerably less so thereafter. Origin

unknown, but possibly the Ardleigh/Colchester potteries.

Storage jar fabrics (not illustrated)

A minimum of two vessels, both very fragmentary, is represented. Both are probably of standard types (G44–5), and almost certainly local.

Sandy grey wares (Fig 31.19–37)

By far the largest fabric group represented, and present in a variety of forms including plain and bead-rimmed dishes (B1, 2), bowl-jars (E5.4) and ledge-rimmed jars (G5). After ledge-rimmed jars, the most common jar type was *Cam* f268 and its variants (G22–4). The latter are characteristic of the Colchester industries, from which the majority of the fabric group probably derived, while the bowl-jar and ledged-rim types suggest a substantial central/south Essex influence.

South Spanish amphorae (not illustrated)

Two sherds only, from separate vessels. Both probably came from globular olive-oil containers (Dressel 20), from Baetica.

Pottery supply to Rivenhall, AD 190-215

A number of features about pottery supply to Rivenhall emerge from the consideration of this assemblage. While it would have been appropriate to compare Rivenhall with other Essex villa sites, with the exception of Wendens Ambo (the pottery from which was quantified by sherd count: Hodder 1982, 31), no such study is yet in print. The nearest site from which sufficiently detailed data exist is the 'small town' of *Caesaromagus*, 20 km south-west of Rivenhall.

A note of caution must be sounded at the outset. While work on groups quantified by sherd count suggests that 50–100 sherds is the minimum from which inferences about fabric proportions may reasonably be drawn (Hodder 1982, 13, 30–1), the minimum figure for groups quantified by EVE is as yet unknown. Certainly groups containing less than five EVES, unless used as composites, should be treated with caution. This Rivenhall group, although comparatively small for such an exercise, is admissible.

The fine wares (ie colour-coats, including samian) constitute 23% of the assemblage — a considerably higher figure than Chelmsford ceramic phase 4 (AD 160/75–200/10; 13.28%). Of this Rivenhall total Colchester supplied a minimum of 66%, while at Chelmsford, 20 km further from the potteries, the fabric share is 20%. Although the latter probably contains early 3rd century material, it is interesting to note the comparative absence from the Rivenhall group of Colchester forms post-dating c AD 190, suggesting a decline in supply by this date. Corroboration comes from Chelmsford ceramic phase 5 (c AD 210–260/75), where the proportion of Colchester

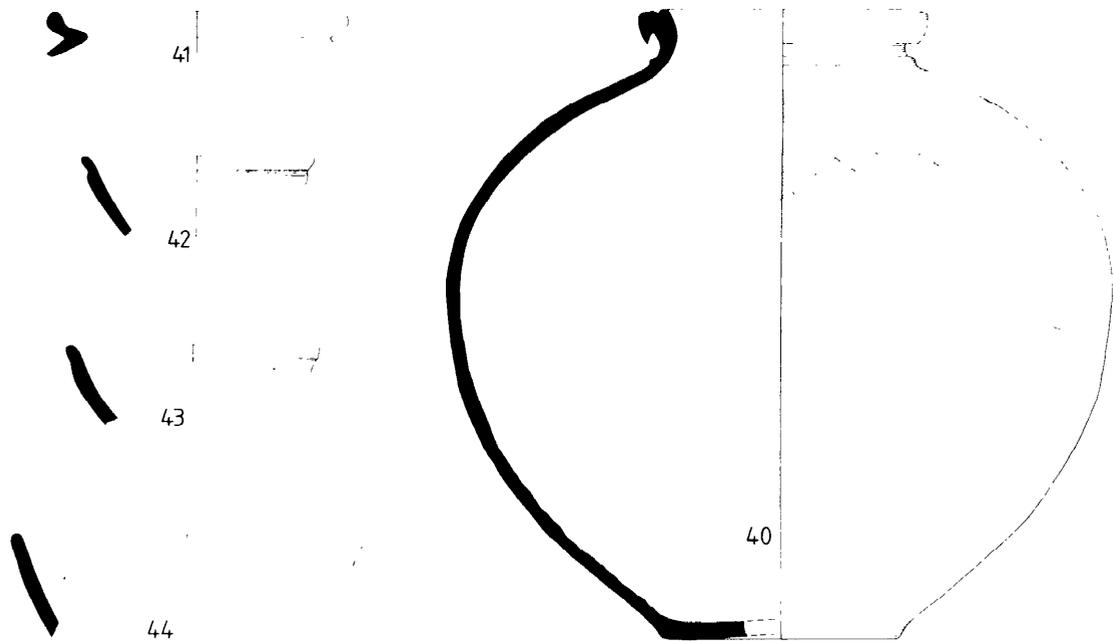


Figure 32 Romano-British coarse pottery: 40-4, miscellaneous. Scale 1:4

colour-coat had dropped from 20% to 4%. The earlier dominance of the Colchester fabric at Rivenhall may also explain the lack of fine-ware imports, from the Cologne region, which are present at Chelmsford. With the exception of samian the only imported fabric is Rhenish ware, conventionally ascribed at the earliest to the mid/late Antonine period or, if from the Trier area, an early 3rd century date when it occurs in Britain. The Rhenish ware forms in Group 3A — plain rimmed beakers (Fig 31.10-11) — are late Antonine, or later.

The proportions of samian ware are fairly evenly matched at both sites (Rivenhall: 8.9%; Chelmsford: 9.6%), suggesting roughly similar rates of supply to both small towns and villas at this time, a period when it is comparatively abundant (Marsh 1981); however, a roughly contemporary group at Great Dunmow, 21 EVES, yielded only 1.6% samian. The cup class at both sites was exclusively in samian, but there were no dish forms at Rivenhall. This is likely to be the result of the small size of the class (1 EVE) rather than a genuine difference.

Other fine wares are sparsely represented. Hadham oxidized red wares, while absent in terms of EVE, are evident by sherd count, and the pottery may have provided the majority of the flagon forms at this date. Certainly, Hadham fine wares were widely distributed from the Flavian period onward (Rodwell 1978a, fig 7.8; see Going and Ford 1988 for a later 2nd century bag-shaped beaker). Also occurring was a fragmentary (almost certainly residual) open form in a mica-dusted oxidized ware, either from Colchester or a product of one of the early

fine-ware industries which sprang up in the Flavian-Hadrianic period (Marsh 1978). Other fine wares occurred in the beaker class: a well-executed poppyhead beaker in a reduced fabric is another early 2nd century product from an unknown source, perhaps Hoo in Kent, although the fabric resemblance is superficial (Fig 31.13).

The dish class was mainly in BB2 or allied fabrics, but in Essex these shade imperceptibly into the grey-ware spectrum. However, the more characteristic BB2 sherds resemble group XII (D F Williams 1977, 180, 184) for which a Colchester origin is suggested, while other fabrics such as 44 probably also derive from Colchester or its environs. Reduced wares from Hadham (36 and perhaps some of 37) support the view of a well-established industry at this period, but like BB2, unless they are typologically or otherwise characteristic, are usually classified as grey wares. This latter fabric group undoubtedly contains wares of disparate origins, but the majority probably derived from the Colchester kilns. There are, however, some forms which owe their inspiration more to central/south Essex prototypes (eg the E5 bowl-jar forms, Fig 31.23-4 and G5 ledge-rimmed jars, Fig 31.25-7). The former were not classified by Hull although occurring in Colchester Kiln 24 (Hull 1963, fig 86,23). They are, however, fairly common in central and south Essex, usually in contexts of the late Antonine period and later.

The proportions of the form classes in the group match those of Chelmsford ceramic phases 4/5 fairly closely, with the exception of beakers, which at 23%

are remarkably high (Table 14). Of these, 80% were in colour-coated fabrics. The cup class, as at Chelmsford, was exclusively samian. It is odd that cup forms, for which there appears to have been a constant, if low, demand, were so ill-represented in the ceramic repertoires of the various local potteries. It might also have been expected that a group with a high proportion of drinking vessels (31%) would have yielded a substantial number of flagons. Their lack in terms of EVES is puzzling when, if anything, their presence should be exaggerated by this method. However, it is possible that flagons on this site were mainly of glass or metal. Mortaria were also absent. This may be an accident of survival, but ceramic phase 4/5 groups at Chelmsford also yielded very low percentages for the class. The most common vessel class at Rivenhall was the jar, which formed just over 50% of the group, a slightly lower proportion than at Chelmsford, but this figure is distorted by the unusually high incidence of beakers.

Not unexpectedly, Colchester products dominate the assemblage, supplying perhaps 50% of all the pottery (Fig 33). Hadham occupies a surprisingly large proportion, and may well have benefited from the faltering of Colchester towards the close of the 2nd century. Central/south Essex influences are marked, and perhaps a substantial portion of the grey wares derive from this area, as may some of the fine wares. In all, the tenor of supply is still overwhelmingly local, but as evidenced at Chelmsford, only after *c*AD 260 did more distant provincial

sources of supply make substantial inroads into the home markets of the major Essex producers.

The graffiti

by M W C Hassall and C J Going

Fig 34

1 Post-firing graffito scratched on the wall of a bead-rimmed dish in BB2 (Type B2-3). The graffito, neatly cut in capitals on the outside of the vessel, reads QVINTES[...], probably for *Quinte(n)sis*, a possible, though previously unattested, personal name. The suffix *-ensis* is used for the adjectival form of a place-name; and such 'geographical' personal names are not uncommon. Kajanto cites, among others, *Quintane(n)sis* (CIL xiii, 7749), probably derived from the name of the Roman fort at Kunzing, *Quintana*, which owes its origin to the unit in garrison, *cohors V Bracaraugustanorum* (Kajanto 1965, 180-210). Here, the original place-name will probably have been *Ad Quinturn* (literally 'at the fifth milestone'), an example of an extremely common class of name for *mutationes* and *mansiones* on Roman trunk routes: eg *Ad Quintum*, in Epirus (Cuntz 1929, Bordeaux Itinerary, 608). There is no obvious candidate for such a place-name near Rivenhall. C1E, L101, Period 3A reconstruction, *c* AD 190-230/40.

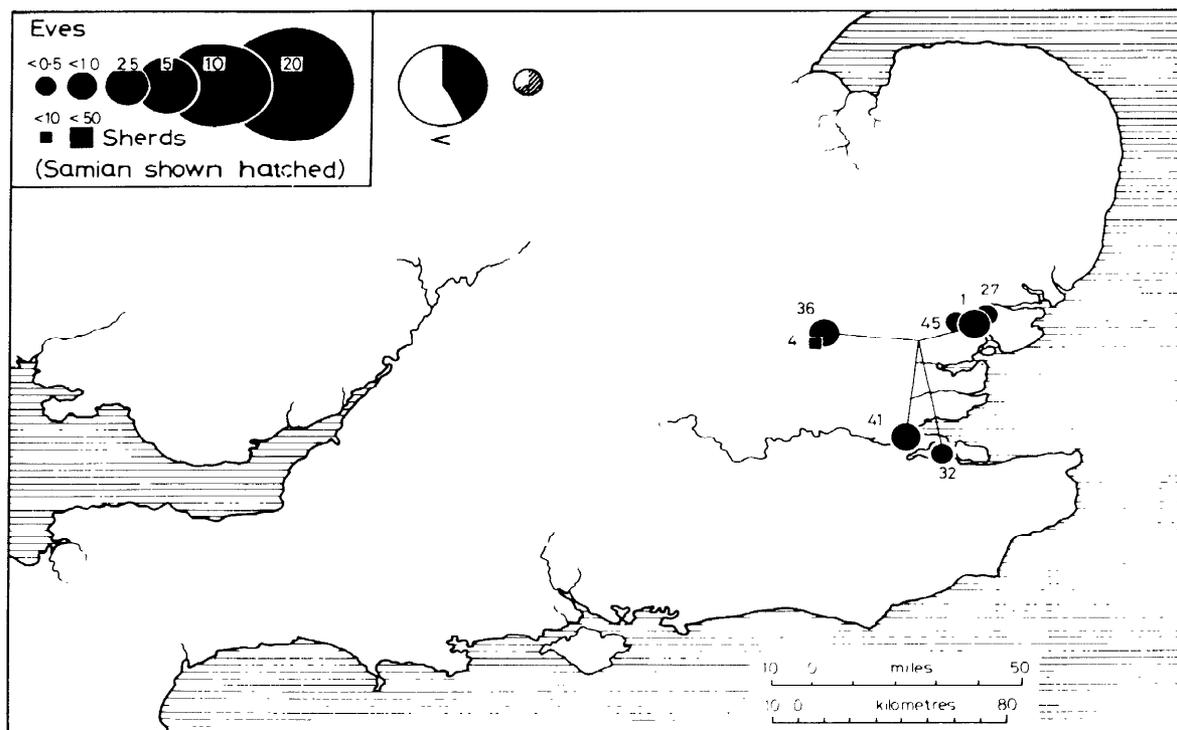


Figure 33 Roman pottery supply to Rivenhall, *c* AD 190-230/40

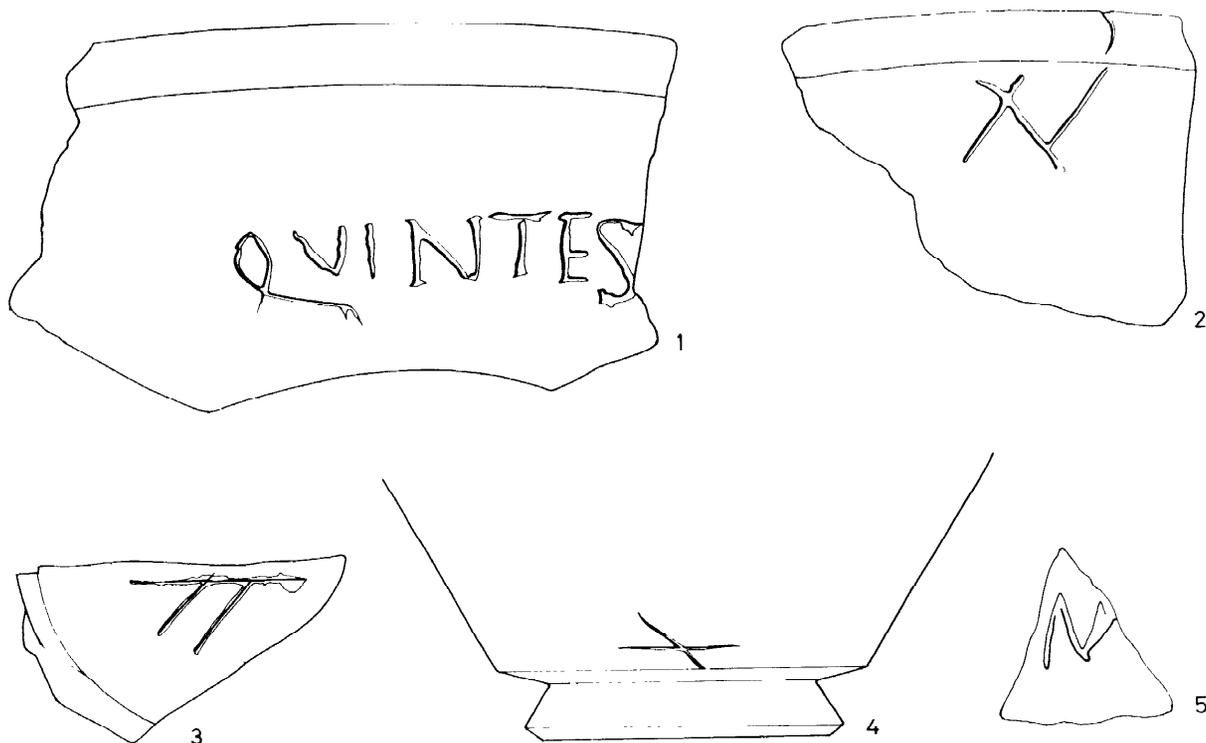


Figure 34 Graffiti on pottery. Scale 1:1

- 2 Post-firing graffito scratched on the wall of a bead-rimmed dish in sandy grey ware, burnished overall (B4.1), 'NI'. 1950s excavations.
- 3 Samian f33, Central Gaulish, stamped by Sabinicus (see S7, below), with post-firing graffito on basal interior 'A', ?blind A. 1950s excavations.
- 4 Samian f33, Central Gaulish, stamped by Iustus (see S4, below), with post-firing graffito on the side wall, 'X'. 1950s excavations.
- 5 Grey-ware body sherd with post-firing graffito 'IV'. Area H, L548.
- S3 Geminus vi of Lezoux. Form 31 part base, trimmed down for secondary use; stamped GEMINIF. Die 6a; c AD 160–95. Building 1, 1950s excavations.
- S4 Iustus ii of Lezoux. Form 33 base and part wall, stamped IVSTIM. Die 3f; c AD 160–90. For a graffito on the side wall see above. Area C2, L62, Period 4.
- S5 Reditus of Lezoux. Form 18/31R part base with some wear, stamped REDITI.M. Die 3a; c AD 135–65. Building 1, 1950s excavations.
- S6 ?Riomarus, probably of Lezoux. Form 31 centre fragment of base, stamped JOMARI.M. This cannot be matched with any die in the Dagomarus-Illiomarus series. There are, however, stamps from Caerwent and Chichester reading RIO[, which might be the front of the Rivenhall die. The lettering suggests Lezoux and the mid or late Antonine period. Area C2, unstratified.
- S7 Sabinicus, probably of Central Gaul. Form 33 part base, stamped SAB[INIC]. Die 1a; probably Antonine. This die is only otherwise recorded from Colchester (twice on form 33), but the fabric is not a local one. For a graffito under the base see above, no 3. Building 1, 1950s excavations.

The Samian pottery

by Warwick Rodwell

Potters' stamps

by B R Hartley

Fig 35

- S1 Aeternus of Lezoux. Form 33 base with little wear, stamped AETERNIM (retrograde). Die 2a; c AD 155–75. Building 1, 1950s excavations.
- S2 Albinus ii of Lezoux. Form 33 base with a little wear, stamped ALBINI.M. Die 6d; c AD 130–60. Area C2, F58, churchyard ditch.

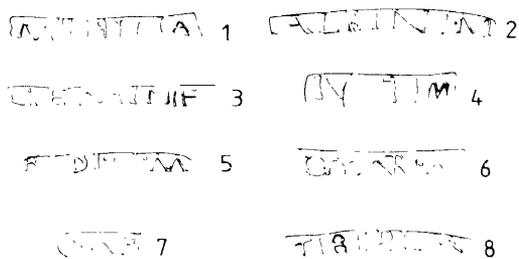


Figure 35 Samian potters' stamps. Scale 1:1

S8 Tiberius ii of Lezoux. Form 31 centre of base, stamped TIBERI.M. Die 1c; c AD 150–80. Building 1, 1950s excavations.

The decorated ware

by W J Rodwell

Abbreviations: EG — East Gaulish; CG — Central Gaulish; SG — South Gaulish; O — Oswald 1937; S & S — Stanfield and Simpson 1958.

Fig 36

D1 Form 37, SG. A common running scroll design, over a simple basal wreath. c AD 80–100. 1950s excavations.

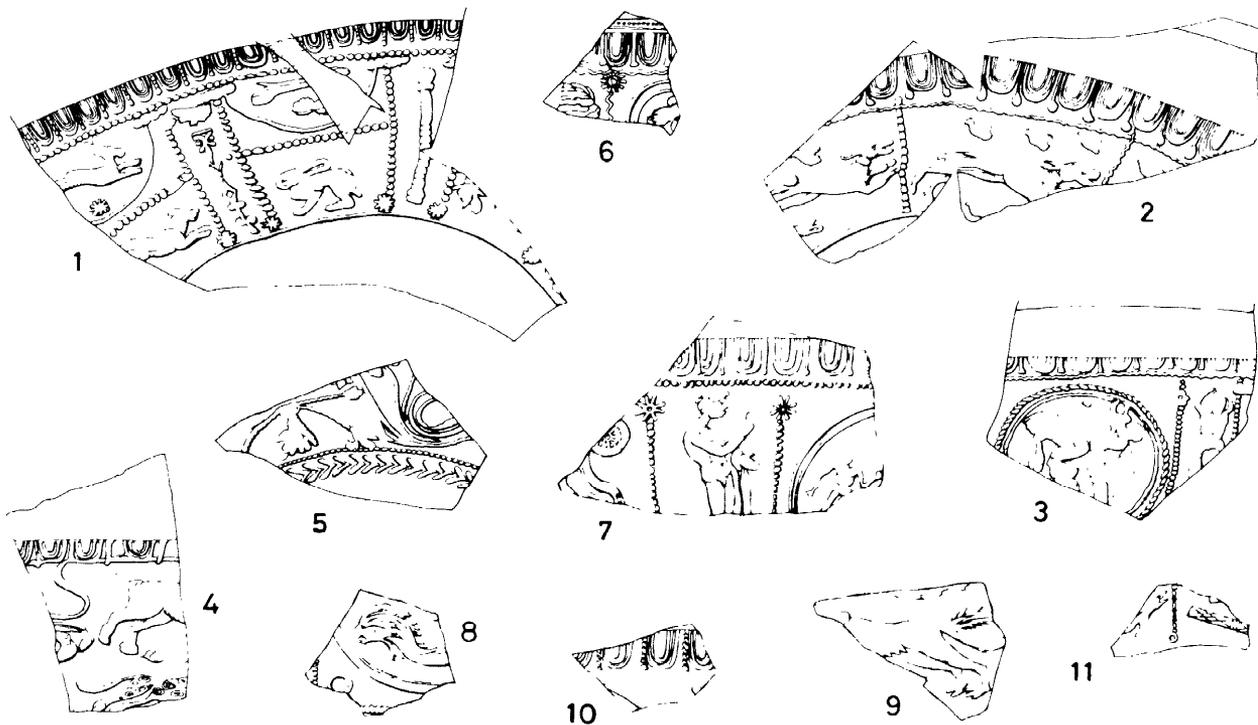


Figure 36 Decorated samian ware. Scale 1:2

D2 Form 37, CG. Distinctive sherd in the style of Igocatus (X4 Potter) of Les Martres-de-Veyre, with coarse wavy-line borders and large rosettes at the junctions. Dolphin facing right (0.2384) and panther's head (0.1537) in a small roundel. c AD 100–20. 1950s excavations.

D3 Form 37, CG. Abraded sherd of a small panelled bowl, with a double-bordered ovolo having a hammer-head tongue. This is smaller than Quintilianus' ovolo 2 and others of the same group, but like Butrio's no 3. Wavy line below the ovolo, and bead rows forming the panels. The medallion has one plain and one wreathed border and contains the most common erotic figure type (Oswald 1937, pl XC B). The caryatid is 0.1201A, c AD 120–50. 1950s excavations.

D4 Form 37, CG. Panelled bowl with a roundel containing dolphins, probably paired (0.2393), used by many Antonine potters of Lezoux. c AD 150–90. H, F554.

D5 Form 37, CC. Two sherds of a small panelled bowl with both wavy-line and bead-row borders. The ovolo is double-bordered and has the tip of the tongue bent slightly to the right; it appears to be the mirror image of Pugnus' ovolo no 1. The same potter also mixed bead rows and wavy lines. A dog (not matched by Oswald) is shown chasing a deer, with numerous small birds filling the field. Lezoux, c AD 150–90. 1950s excavations.

- D6 Form 37, CG. Freestyle bowl. Double-bordered ovolo with plain tongue, similar to Casurius' no 2. The line below the ovolo is also plain, a feature of bowls by Pugnus, whose ovolo no 4 is somewhat similar (cf S & S, pl 155.27). Lion to left (0.1537), boar(?) and panther (0.1507) to right. cAD 160–90. 1950s excavations.
- D7 Form 37, CG. Panelled bowl, with astragalus border ending in a small ring. This and the crossed bar may indicate the work of Albucius of Lezoux, cAD 160–90. C1E, L59, grave earth.
- D8 Form 37, CG. Freestyle bowl showing large lioness (not matched by Oswald, his nearest being 0.1537); small leaf in the field, as used by Albucius, Doeccus and other Lezoux potters, cAD 160–90. C2, unstratified.
- D9 Form 37, CG. A small panelled bowl, difficult to parallel. The panels are outlined with large bead rows, terminating in rosettes and astragali. One single-bordered festoon contains a deer (0.1732), the other a smudged figure, perhaps a running dog. Below are panels with a panther (0.1518) and a horse (0.2116). The upright motifs separating the panels are distinctive and unusual; the composite device was employed by Casurius (S & S, pls 133.18 and 134.29), together with the occasional curled leaf; and the ringed pillar occurs on work attributed to Caletus (S & S, pl 128.9). The small, neat ovolo with beaded tongue, might equate with Casurius' no 4. Probably made at Lezoux, cAD 160–90. 1950s excavations.
- D10 Form 37, CG. Partly burnt. Panelled bowls with beaded borders terminating in large eight-pointed rosettes were made by several potters of Lezoux, including Doeccus. His repertoire included both the large nude male figure (0.638) and the small one (0.687). He also used a figure of Minerva, but not this one, which is unmatched by Oswald. The ovolo is Doeccus' no 2 (cf S & S, pls 147.10; 148.22, 25; 149.27), cAD 160–95. C1E, L139 rubble (Vol 1, pp 53–4).
- D11 Form 37, EG. Ovolo with roped tongue (Ricken 1948, Taf 262.25), used at Rheinzabern by Comitalis. Antonine, cAD 160–200. C2, L94.

Discussion

There are few collections of sigillata from villas in Essex to compare with the substantial assemblages from the 'small towns'. Rivenhall and Gestingthorpe (Rodwell 1985) have provided the only two collections from villas which total more than one hundred sherds apiece. From Rivenhall there are c 180 fragments, the bulk of which comprise small sherds found residually in later Roman and post-Roman contexts on and around Building 2. The dozen or so large sherds are mostly from Brinson's 1950s excavations and these include all the sizeable decorated wares, excepting one. Brinson's material is unfortunately not located on site, but most of his later Antonine pottery is believed to have come from a pit

excavated in the villa yard. That is the only true rubbish deposit known on the villa site and it is unfortunate that the group cannot now be reassembled.

First century samian is sparsely represented, which is not surprising in view of the small amount of pre-villa occupation in the areas excavated. Brinson found more South Gaulish samian in Buildings 1 and 3 than was found in Building 2. Both pre-Flavian and Flavian sigillata are certainly present.

Trajanic pottery is poorly represented, but some critical pieces were found in the construction levels of Building 2. There is a marked upturn in the quantity of Hadrianic wares. Particularly noticeable is the high proportion of small cups, form 33, of Hadrianic and earlier Antonine date: they comprise more than 30% of the 2nd century wares.

Contrary to the trend noted in small towns and in the Gestingthorpe villa, there was no discernible increase in samian pottery on the site in the late Antonine period, at least not in the vicinity of Building 2. While distinctively late 2nd century pieces are present, such as form 79, these are few, as also are the normally ubiquitous forms 31 and 31R. Some of the latest Antonine material from both building areas had been engulfed in a fire, and is burnt black (see Vol 1, p 62).

As observed at Gestingthorpe, decorated samian is sparse, but Rivenhall has yielded a few examples of less common plain forms (eg forms 42, 37R, 15/31 and Lud TX), which might not have been expected in a relatively small collection. A plain sherd of probable Argonne ware (from the lower part of a bowl of form 37) is also noteworthy. Since Rivenhall is only 16 km from Colchester, it is not surprising that three or four vessels from the site are probably of British samian. This agrees with the observed level of Colchester sigillata at the nearby settlement at Kelvedon (W J Rodwell 1988). At Rivenhall at least 10% of the 2nd century wares are of East Gaulish manufacture, a figure similar to that calculated for Gestingthorpe, but double that for Kelvedon.

Considering that the Rivenhall samian is but a modest collection, it exhibits an interesting variety and composition of wares, contrasting the table wares of this substantial villa with the small towns of the region.

The early Anglo-Saxon pottery by Warwick Rodwell

About 275 sherds of hand-made pottery of the early Saxon period were found. Most are featureless body sherds, identifiable only by their fabric. The number of vessels represented cannot be assessed, but it was clearly in excess of 50 and may well be twice this number. The bulk of the pottery was recovered from three locations: the floor of the aisled barn (Building 4; Vol 1, p 68); the well immediately outside the barn

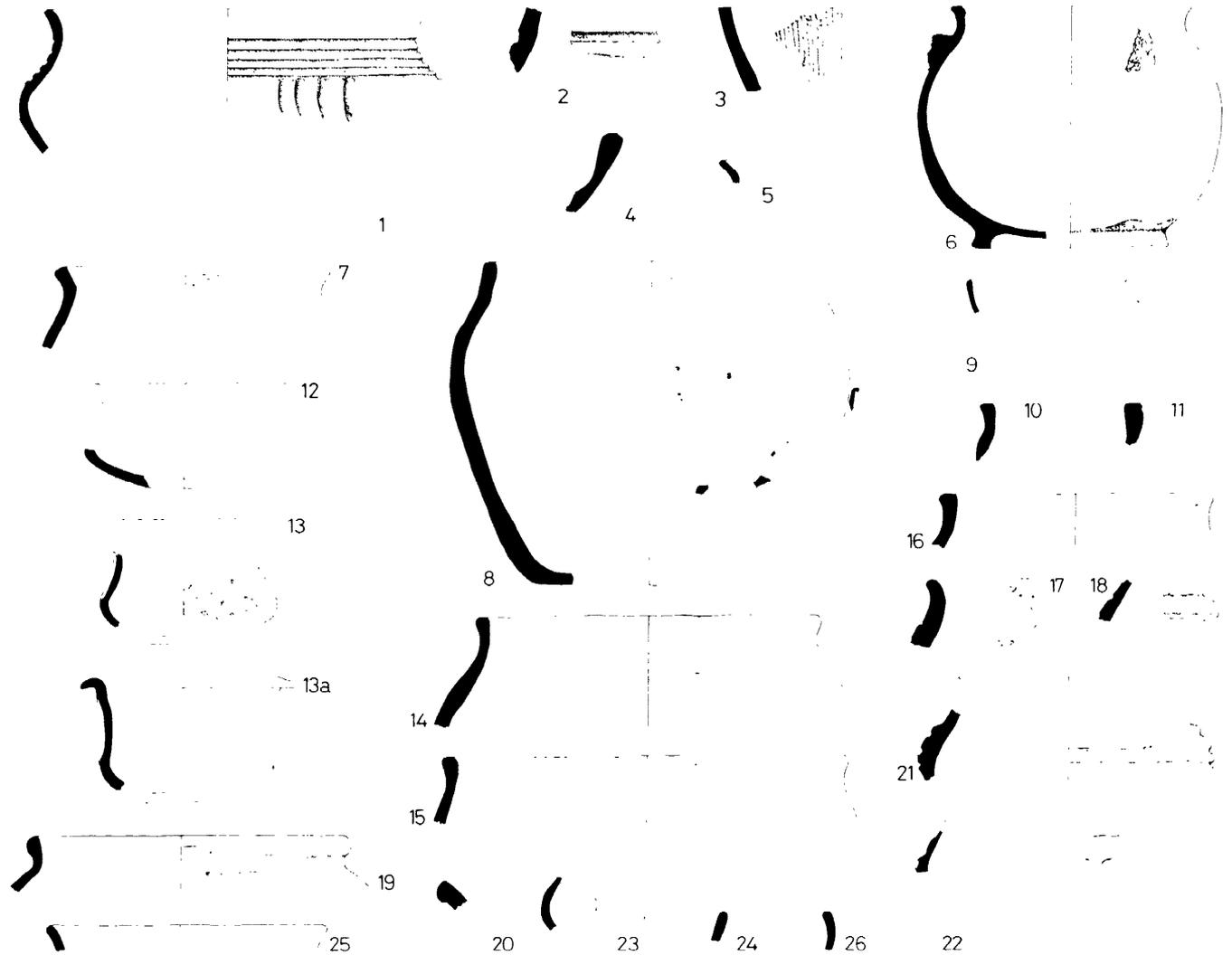


Figure 37 Early Anglo-Saxon pottery: 1–5, F526; 6–11, F527; 12, 13, Building 4; 14–26, Area C2. Scale 1:4

to the west (F526–7; Vol 1, pp 68–9); and in the vicinity of the post-built hall (C2, Building 5; Vol 1, p 69). A few sherds came from other parts of the site: for the distribution of findspots in Area C2, see Vol 1, Fig 52. Only the material from the well shaft and its subsidence filling can be regarded as securely stratified. For thin-section analyses of thirteen samples of early Anglo-Saxon pottery, see fiche 1: B8–11.

Well: subsidence filling F526)

Fig 37

1 Bowl of fine, hard, dark grey fabric; surfaces dark grey and now matt but with traces of original burnishing. The tall, markedly concave neck carries five horizontal grooves and

the shoulder is decorated with groups of four vertical slashes; only one group survives on the extant sherds. This distinctive vessel belongs to the widespread series of carinated bowls associated with the early part of the pagan period. In England, the style finds close parallels in the early Kentish cemeteries, such as Westbere 1068 and Canterbury Barracks 1078.¹ There is a closely similar vessel from the cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorks, where the vertical slashes are found in groups of three (Myres and Southern 1973, fig 27.143); while another vessel from the same site has a profile closer to the Rivenhall example and is decorated with slashes in chevron formation (*ibid*, fig 17.2356).

To date, very little decorated Anglo-Saxon pottery has been published from Essex, which precludes local comparisons, although see Drury and Wickenden 1982, fig 7.32 for a small grooved, carinated sherd from Heybridge. It has been noted elsewhere that the general principles of the decoration on the Rivenhall vessel are matched on a sherd from Canvey Island, although the form differs (Rodwell 1976b, fig 6.102). On the Continent the type is well represented by several examples from Fyn, Denmark (Albrechtsen 1968; cf Taule 113a, 112d and 127d), A similar vessel from Borgstedt has slashes in groups of two (Genrich 1954, Taf 6D). The Rivenhall bowl is clearly related to one of the earlier Jutish pottery styles to reach Britain and, if the date to which the Fyn examples are assigned is accepted, our vessel should belong to the first half of the 5th century.

- 2 Sherd from the shoulder of a large, thick-walled vessel, bearing a pronounced cordon and grooves. Reddish-brown fabric tempered with large sand grains; smooth surfaces, hard and well fired.
- 3 Body sherd in black, sand-tempered fabric; the interior is soot-encrusted and the exterior is reddish-brown in colour and decorated with vertical combing. Anglo-Saxon pottery decorated with combing is not especially common and a sherd such as this might easily be mistaken for an Iron Age ware, to which its general appearance is somewhat similar (cf fig 30.19).
- 4 Rim of dark brown, sandy fabric with a few flecks of calcite tempering; black surfaces, perhaps once burnished, but now abraded.
- 5 Small, everted rim in black sandy fabric, burnished internally and externally.

Well: lower filling (F527)

Fig 37

- 6 Coarse cooking pot of grey-brown fabric tempered with much coarse sand. The vessel is globular in profile, has a well-defined, thickened lip and sits on a footstand. On the shoulder are the remains of an unpierced applied lug, probably one of three originally. This vessel belongs to Myres's Class III Plain Domestic Wares and is paralleled at Kempston, Beds (Myres 1969, fig 12, 1977; but the lugs are lower on the body) and Caistor-by-Norwich (Myres and Green 1973, fig 32, urn K6a). A pierced-lugged vessel in a fabric similar to but finer than that of the Rivenhall pot was found at Bulmer Tye, Essex (Blake 1959, fig 99.5). Others are found at Heybridge (Drury and Wickenden 1982, fig 7.25) and Mucking (Jones and Jones 1975, 159). The rim profile is paralleled by another vessel from Bulmer (Blake 1959, fig 99.2).

Not illustrated. Unpierced lugs from two other vessels of similar fabric to no 6 have been found at Rivenhall: C1E, grave earth; C2, L119.

- 7 Everted rim, probably from a plain biconical jar; very hard, sand-tempered fabric, dark brown in section with smooth black surfaces; the exterior and interior of the lip would appear to have been burnished.
- 8 Plain domestic cooking pot of hard, dark grey, sandy fabric; the exterior shows a wiped surface finish and the upper part of the vessel, at least, was burnished. There is a similar vessel, with a plain upright rim, from Canvey Island (Rodwell 1976b, fig 6.104).
- 9 Rim sherd of reddish-brown sandy fabric, probably from a small hemispherical bowl similar to a vessel from East Shefford, Berks (Myres 1969, fig 10.2082).
- 10 Upright rim of a small jar in a black sandy fabric; surfaces well burnished.
- 11 Upright rim of a large jar in a coarse brown sandy fabric. Unstratified: either from F526 or 527.

Pit 514, inside Building 4

- 12 Sherd of a small carinated bowl of hard, dark grey, sandy fabric. Insufficient survives to ascertain whether the carination was decorated with faceting. There are many parallels for this specifically early to mid 5th century type, such as Frilford, Berks (Myres 1969, fig 6.2048).

Floor surface of Building 4, L516

- 13 Sherd of a small cup with a carinated body and probably a flared rim; hard, grey, sandy fabric with a roughly burnished black exterior. Above the carination is a series of shallow impressions or 'folds'. This remarkable little vessel may properly be called 'Saxo-Roman'.² It is hand-made and of Anglo-Saxon fabric; the form is uncommon but is not without parallels and locally it may be compared with a small carinated bowl from Little Oakley, Essex (Myres 1969, fig 36.1467; Farrands 1976, fig. 4d). The 'Roman' aspect of this vessel is seen in the series of 'folds' around the girth of the cup; such folds are very rarely found on post-Roman pottery, but comparisons may be drawn from the series of small oval 'folds' on the upper part of a biconical urn from Schleswig (Genrich 1954, Taf 23G), and the long narrow 'folds' on the lower part of a necked jar from Aalden, Netherlands (Van Es 1967, fig 160.15). In Britain, the closest parallel is an unusual little vessel from one of the latest 'Roman' levels at Cirencester. Miss Valery Rigby kindly contributed the following note:

13A Cirencester (Cir. 68, Ch VIII, no 6) Three rim sherds from a deep chamfered bowl, with closely spaced oval indentations; two of the sherds match giving a quarter of the rim circuit, with four indentations, suggesting that if they were evenly spaced around the bowl, the total would be twelve. The fabric has to be considered as a variety of black-burnished ware (BB1), being a coarse-grained gritty ware, with much quartz, shading from dark grey-black to brown. The bowl was wheel-thrown, partly finished, indented and then finished-off, so that while the rim-top and upper section of the wall on the inside have a highly burnished finish in a horizontal direction, the indentations are burnished vertically, freehand. In contrast, the exterior received a rather perfunctorily smoothed, less glossy finish.

The bowl appears to be an 'import' from the BB1 potteries of Dorset, or possibly Somerset. It is unlikely to be a local product, for coarse-grained sandy and gritty wares are rare at all periods except for BB1, while known local products are uniformly fine-textured and frequently sand-free.

The sherds were found in Building 2 of In-sula XIV, below the topsoil but above the destruction levels of the building (Brown *et al* 1969, 231). Nothing in the accompanying pottery need be dated later than the mid 4th century, and the size and condition of the sherds themselves suggest that the bowl is in context and is not residual. In adjacent trenches, pottery belonging to the late 4th or 5th century occurred in equivalent layers, so that it could date to the later rather than the earlier decades of the 4th century. The only coin from the layer is dated AD 330–45. Although there are no parallels from the area for an indented bowl, it may be significant that there are sherds from two different indented beakers, one in BB1, the other in a similar coarse gritty ware, which includes grog tempering. Both were found on the Beeches site, where buildings belonging to a substantial townhouse have produced the largest groups of the latest Roman pottery so far found in Cirencester, which may date to the early 5th century (excavations directed by Dr A D McWhirr).

Pottery from various features in and adjacent to Building 5

Fig 37

- 14 Rim of a plain biconical jar in a hard, medium-grey fabric tempered with much coarse sand; surfaces smoothed, light to medium brown; exterior burnished and wiped. L11.
- 15 Similar to Fig 37.14; exterior not so well finished; occasional traces of calcite-tempering in the fabric. G319.

- 16 Jar rim in dark brown sandy fabric, black surfaces, slightly rough. L11.
- 17 Outward-curving rim of a large jar with cordoned neck (cf no 2); dark brown sandy fabric, with a few lacunae where a tempering material (?calcite) has dissolved out; dark brown to black burnished surfaces. L75.
- 18 Sherd probably from the shoulder of a biconical jar, decorated with at least three broad grooves; brown sandy fabric with black surfaces, slightly rough. F195.
- 19 Upright, beaded rim of a large jar; black fabric, heavily tempered with sand; uneven surfaces, now light brown in colour, but this may be due to secondary burning since the same colour is apparent in some of the breaks. The relatively well-defined rim profile is reminiscent of Romano-British pottery forms. L103.
- 20 Rim in a very hard, black fabric, heavily tempered with sand; burnished black surfaces. The form of the vessel is unknown, but the profile of the lip is the same as that found on some Romano-British jars, This too should be classed as a 'Saxo-Roman' vessel (cf fig 37.13). F161.
- 21 Sherd from the shoulder of a jar of uncertain form; thick-walled and decorated with three heavy and crudely executed cordons; soft grey-brown fabric tempered with much calcite and grog and some chopped vegetable material; black exterior, well burnished. This is an unusual vessel and, being so fragmentary, is not easily paralleled; it is probably in the same general class as the cordoned sherd, Fig 37.17. L103.
- 22 Shoulder of a small bowl, decorated with a cordon and having a faceted carination. Medium-brown fabric containing much fine sand; dark brown burnished surfaces, The type is well attested in the early and middle years of the 5th century: cf a closely similar vessel from Abingdon (Myres 1969, fig 37.2035): this carries additional decoration on the cordon. L103.
- 23 Pressed-out boss of long or oval type, demarcated on both sides by vertical grooves. Medium-brown fabric containing much fine sand; black surfaces, well smoothed. The grooves hint at the possibility that this was more elaborate than a plain bossed jar. L103.
- 24 Simple upright rim in grey-brown sandy fabric with black burnished surfaces. L42.
- 25 Simple rim; fairly fine brown-grey sandy fabric; light brown surfaces, possibly so coloured by secondary firing (cf Fig 37.19). L103.
- 26 Simple outcurving rim in black sandy fabric; light brown surfaces, as Fig 37.25. L58.

Not illustrated. Shoulder of jar, as Fig 37.15. L103.

Shoulder of jar, as Fig 37.16. F195.

Fragment of everted or outcurving rim, as Fig 37.25. L43.

Rim, as Fig 37.15. L61.

Discussion

The study of Anglo-Saxon pottery of the pagan period in Essex is in its infancy on account of the remarkable dearth of material from the county, outside Mucking.³ A handful of excavations over the last two decades have yielded small stratified groups, but these are largely unpublished; see Drury and Wickenden 1982 for an early 5th century settlement at Heybridge. Dating in general is problematical and must for the time being remain fluid. Collections of sherds from settlement sites such as Rivenhall tend to be undistinguished and the paucity of decorated wares in relation to plain wares is notable.

On visual grounds the Rivenhall pottery may be divided into four groups:

- Group 1 Fine ware: black burnished, with no visible sand tempering. Fig 37.1 only.
- Group 2 Fine ware: smooth, black burnished surfaces, but sand tempering pronounced in fracture; cf Fig 37.22, 23.
- Group 3 Semi-fine ware: smooth, black burnished surfaces, sometimes 'soapy' to the feel. The fabric may contain a variety of tempering materials, notably chalk or calcite and possibly some shell, which has dissolved out leaving lacunae. There may also be a few lacunae resulting from the burning out of a small amount of chopped vegetable material. Grog is also recorded; cf Fig 37.17, 21.
- Group 4 Coarse ware: brown, black or grey fabric containing moderate or large quantities of coarse sand tempering. The quantity of tempering may vary greatly between different parts of a single vessel. Some of the coarse ware rims show signs of external burnishing, where they are not too severely excoriated by soil conditions. The burnishing seems to be confined to the rims and shoulders of vessels, which also show clear evidence of surface wiping; cf Fig 37.8, which demonstrates all these features.

The range of fabric qualities and surface appearances within group 4 is wide, but attempts to subdivide meaningfully have been of no avail. Twelve sherds, covering the entire range of fabrics were submitted to John Walker, together with a sample of fired brickearth from the well: his examination in thin-section showed that while the visual differences between sherds can be sustained, they are of little petrological significance (fiche 1: B10-11). All the early Anglo-Saxon pottery could have been produced on or close to the site, using the local raw materials, chalky boulder clay, brickearth and sand. Since these materials are freely available over most of central and northern Essex, there is no real future for the study of potential trading of Anglo-Saxon pottery in that area, based on petrological examination.

The fine pottery from the well and Building 4 may be assigned to the first half of the 5th century, and there is nothing amongst the coarse wares which need be at variance with this. It is particularly unfortunate that little can be said regarding the date-span for the vessels bearing blind lugs. Some have been found with 5th century associations, while the majority remain undated.⁴ The pottery from Bulmer Tye (Blake 1959) includes a pierced lug, but the 6th century date proposed in the report cannot be accepted without reservation. The pottery, which is not from a closed group, is probably of various dates and is not all even Anglo-Saxon.⁵ A pierced lug from Heybridge, however, clearly does belong to the early 5th century (Drury and Wickenden 1982, fig 7.25).

Pottery from the vicinity of Building 5 is mainly from unsealed or disturbed levels and can only be regarded as loosely associated, in the sense that much of it comes from two distinct concentrations of findspots in and adjacent to the hall. These collections include a number of sherds which are closely comparable to those from Building 4 and the well, but also include a greater quantity of sherds of slightly different type. The differences are difficult to describe objectively, but are apparent when handling the sherds. The best pottery from Area C2 is largely from plain vessels, in a hard, well-fired fabric, with 'leathery' brown burnished surfaces. There is much evidence for surface wiping (cf Fig 37.14). It seems likely that the dissimilarities between the two groups are a result of their being of different dates. The long boss, in particular, is unlikely to be earlier than the 6th century (Fig 37.23) and one might compare the collection in general with the equally plain and intrinsically undatable pottery from Maxey, Northants (Addyman 1964). Provisionally a 6th or possibly early 7th century date is suggested for the bulk of the pottery from Area C2.

No vegetable-tempered pottery was associated with the 5th and 6th century groups from the well or Buildings 4 and 5. Indeed, only one vegetable-tempered sherd was found, sealed below the Period 4B Structure 9 in the buried soil (see p 78). The absence of such material from the early group may suggest that this sherd is not early Saxon, of the type familiar elsewhere in Essex (eg Mucking and West Tilbury: Drury and Rodwell 1973, fig 18; Heybridge: Drury and Wickenden 1982, 13), but of middle Saxon date.

Notes

- 1 Catalogue numbers used in Myres 1977.
- 2 For discussion of this term see Myres 1969, 70f.
- 3 A recent distribution map in Drury and Wickenden 1982 shows only twelve sites in the Trinovantian civitas yielding 5th century Saxon artefacts.
- 4 We are grateful to the late Dr J N L Myres for discussion on this and other matters relating to the Rivenhall pottery.
- 5 Blake 1959, fig 99.8 is clearly a vessel of the middle Iron Age, as may also be fig 99.4.

The Later Saxon, Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery

by P J Drury, with contributions by C M Cunningham, K Kilmurry and J S F Walker

This section was written in 1976–7 by P J Drury, in accordance with prevailing methods. Detailed quantification along more recent lines was not carried out. It was extensively revised in 1983 by C M Cunningham and has been related to the Essex medieval pottery classification (Cunningham 1982a, 358; Cunningham and Drury 1985). The Stamford ware has also been classified according to Kilmurry 1978. A full catalogue of the illustrated material is available in fiche 1: B12–D1.

Saxo-Norman Pottery: Period 5

The dearth of middle Saxon pottery at Rivenhall is not surprising in view of the absence of occupation levels, and the aceramic nature of such levels elsewhere in Essex (Drury and Rodwell 1978, 137).

Recent work in Essex has done little to counteract the impression given by Hurst's maps (1956, fig 1; 1958, figs 5, 6) that Rivenhall lies on the periphery of the distribution zone of the three main types of Saxo-Norman pottery found in East Anglia: Stamford ware, St Neots ware, and Thetford ware. All three types are present in the excavated material, although none occurs in quantity.

Stamford ware (Fabric 11A)

by K Kilmurry

Fig 38.1 is part of a spouted pitcher of vessel form 5 (defined in Kilmurry 1978), and would be classified as form 5–77 in sandy Fabric A with Glaze Type 1. This vessel is most likely to be of mid 11th century date, although spouted pitchers with similar rim forms span the 11th century. Another sherd may be from the same vessel. C1W L96, Period 6 and unstratified.

Thetford-type ware (Fabric 9)

A general bracket of c.850–1150 for Thetford-type wares seems probable, their floruit being in the 10th and 11th centuries. Only one sherd (Fig 38.2, D unstratified) is clearly of this ware. Although petrological examination (fiche 1: D3) has shown that it is not closely related to any presently known production centre, it is derived from glacial drift deposits which cover much of East Anglia and its adjacent regions. The pronounced throwing lines on the body of the cooking pot find ready parallel at the nearest known source of Thetford-type wares (Hurst 1976, 285), the Carr Street kilns, Ipswich, probably active during the 10th–12th centuries (Hurst 1957, 33).

St Neots ware (Fabric 10)

The St Neots ware sherds generally have a black core and light brown surfaces, although some are reduced to darker colours, occasionally almost black. The body contains much finely divided, evenly distributed crushed shell, and is slightly 'soapy' to the touch.

The three rims (Fig 38.3, 4: C1W L68; 38.5: C1E G13, Period 5C) are all from cooking pots, while Fig 38.6 (C2, L103) is from a bowl with an inturned rim and an applied finger-pressed strip. Its reconstruction is based on Hurst 1956, fig 6.10 from Cambridge. Other sherds were distributed as follows: robbed Roman walls, C1E F45, F97; C4 F234, Period 4C/5A; C1E G24, Period 5C; and residual in later contexts.

The presence of sherds of this group in the robbing trenches of Building 2 indicates that the final clearance of that Roman building did not take place until the site was required for the construction of the Period 5A church. External dating evidence for St Neots ware suggests an origin by the late 9th century and its continuance into the 12th century (Hurst 1956, 53; 1976, 323).

Medieval shell, sand, and sand-and-shell-tempered wares (Fabrics 12 and 13)

Shell-tempered ware (Fabric 12A) has a rather soft fabric, generally grey with light brown or purplish surfaces. A considerable amount of crushed shell, varying in size (but not as fine or evenly distributed as St Neots ware) is included: this ware contains virtually no sand, and is smooth, indeed slightly soapy, to the touch.

Vessel forms (hand-made) comprise mostly cooking pots, similar in form to those of Fabric 13 (below), with plain, slightly thickened or beaded rims (Fig 38.7; C1W L292, Period 5; 8: C1E GE; 9: C2 unstratified; 10: C1W L104, Period 7; 12: C2 F74, Period 5C; 13: C2 L103, Period 6). Fig 38.11 and 14 (C2 unstratified; C1E) may belong to bowls. Body sherds appeared in C1E G165, and G24, Period 5C.

Sand-and-shell-tempered ware (Fabric 12B) still contains significant quantities of crushed shell, but also an increasing amount of sand tempering, giving a harder and rougher texture. Four cooking pots of this type are present (Fig 38.15–18; C1W L292, Period 5; C1E GE; C1W L292, Period 5; C2 F87, Period 6B).

The second type of sand-and-shell-tempered ware (Fabric 12C) is distinguished by the dominance of the sand tempering, with the shell becoming scarce, and usually superficial. In fact, there is little real difference between this ware and Fabric 13.

Again, cooking pots are the most common vessel type (Fig 38.19–21; C1W L104, Period 7; C1E GE; and C2 F61, Period 6B). One particularly interesting feature is the circular stamps on the rim of Fig 38.22 (C1E F12, Period 6; a similar example came from C2 F61, Period 6).

Stamps of this type are normally used on pitchers rather than cooking pots: Dunning (1959, 34)



Figure 38 Saxo-Norman and early medieval pottery: 1, Stamford ware; 2, Thetford-type ware; 3-6, St Neots ware; 7-28, fabric 12; 25-9, fabric 13; 30-6, fabric 20 cooking pots. Scale 1:4 (except stamp 22, 1:1)

asserts that they provide 'a striking resurgence of Saxon motifs in the Norman Period'. His distribution map (*ibid*, 35) shows Rivenhall to be on the northern limit of the range of what is essentially a feature of southern England. In the Oxford region, such stamps were in use 'from Pagan Saxon times through much of the middle ages, and they cannot be used for even approximate dating' (Jope 1953, 89). At the 12th century kilns at Middleburgh, Colchester, however, pitchers were made by adding spout and handles to the standard cooking pot (Cunningham 1984, 188a). It is most likely, therefore, that Fig 38.22 does indeed represent a spouted pitcher.

There is also one example of a large bowl with a thumbled rim (Fig 38.23, C2 L43, Period 6), and Fig 38.24 (C1W L292, Period 5), which, with its prominent thumbled strip and incised decoration, may be a fragment of a curfew.

'Early Medieval' wares (sand-tempered, Fabric 13) were first discussed by Dunning (1959, 44-8), but see also Cunningham 1982a, 362. Characteristically they have a light grey core with reddish-brown surfaces, although firing conditions can produce totally grey examples. At Rivenhall, they are represented by five cooking pot rims, Fig 38.25-29 (although none are stratigraphically contemporary; C1W L96, P6; C1W L60, 68, P7; C1E GE; C2 L43, P6; C2 L43, P6) representing several stages of the development of the vessel form.

Discussion of Saxo-Norman and early medieval wares

The two examples of Stamford and Thetford-type ware are either residual or unstratified. The St Neots ware, however, is present on the site certainly by the early 10th century, and occurs in graves of 11th-12th century date. It dominates the other two Saxo-Norman types, neither of which is rare in Essex. Other sites in Essex known to produce St Neots ware are Witham (Dunning 1962, 63), Springfield, Saffron Walden, in the extreme north-west corner of the county (Cunningham 1982b, 83), and Waltham Abbey (Huggins 1976, 103, figs 36, 37).

All varieties of sand- and shell-tempered wares (Fabrics 12A, B and C) first occur in Period 5; only some examples of Fabric 12A can be more closely attributed, probably to Period 5C. It is unfortunate that all examples of 'Early Medieval' ware (Fabric 13), closely related to Fabric 12C, are residual or poorly stratified. In view of the dearth of supporting evidence, their chronology must be inferred from typological comparison.

Sites in central and northern Essex occupied from the 10th to the 12th centuries, which have yielded Fabric 12A, include Waltham Abbey (Huggins 1976, 103) Witham (Trump 1961) Springfield, Colchester (Cotter and Cunningham forthcoming), Maldon and Rivenhall. Closely similar wares were produced in the Oxford region from the late 8th or early 9th century to the early 11th century, and have been

identified in London and the lower Thames (Mellor 1980, 17-19). In the Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire area, true St Neots ware gave way during the 12th century to Developed St Neots Ware, tempered with sand and shell (Hurst 1976, 323). At Rivenhall, however, the sand-and-shell-tempered wares conform, in all respects but fabric, to the tradition of 'Early Medieval' wares. They are generally much more prevalent in Essex than the sandless shelly wares, but this partly reflects the number of sites first occupied during the 12th century or soon afterwards (eg Writtle Churchyard and King John's Palace, Writtle: Rahtz 1969, 91-5; Pleshey Castle: F W Williams 1977, 146; and Chelmsford).

The 'Early Medieval' wares (Fabric 13) resemble both the late 11th and early 12th century groups from Colchester Castle (Cunningham 1982a, 362). External dating evidence suggests an origin for the type c1000 (Hurst 1976, 342-3), continuing until it merges with the medieval grey wares c1200.

The following conclusions may therefore be offered. St Neots ware is present on the site by the early 10th century. At some time during Period 5 (and perhaps not until 5C, 11th-12th centuries) the local shell-, or sand-and-shell-tempered fabrics appeared. The 'Early Medieval' wares (Fabric 13, must also have been current then, and in view of the marked similarity in form of all these types, it may be reasonable to suggest that their inception was contemporary, or perhaps slightly preceded by Fabric 12A, possibly in the early 11th century. It seems likely that Fabric 12A had disappeared by the mid 12th century and was not long outlived by Fabrics 12B, C and 13.

The distribution of Saxo-Norman pottery

The distribution of the Saxo-Norman material, although mostly in residual contexts, is probably significant. There were particular concentrations east of the chancel and in the north-west corner of C1W (including Fig 38.7, 15, 17 and 24), where sherds of Fabric 12A, B and C were loosely stratified with the remnants of a gravel surface (Vol 1, Fig 67). The distribution of Fabric 12 groups is particularly significant: the more shelly types (with a date range of c1000-1100/50, p 78 above) tend to be concentrated around the church, in C1E: and C1W, dominating the shelly wares there, whereas in C2 it is relatively thinly spread.

In contrast, sand- and shell-tempered wares, to which a slightly later date range has been assigned (p 78 above), show a concentration in C2, as well as being distributed around the church. It is clear that by the time occupation in area C2 began, within Period 5C, purely shell-tempered wares were falling out of use, but sand- and shell-tempered wares were still current, probably in the first half of the 12th century. The total of St Neots ware from the site is small, but nearly 30% was found east of Building 6 (Vol 1, Fig 78), with which it may be contemporary, since it was still in production in the 12th century (see above).

Medieval pottery: Period 6

Medieval coarse wares (Fabric 20)

These coarse wares comprise the hard grey fabrics tempered with varying degrees of sand, ranging from much fine rounded quartz, giving a surface like fine sandpaper, coarse sand tempering with pimply surfaces, through to extremely coarse tempering including some very large grains.

The fabric occasionally contains a small amount of crushed shell or, more rarely, crushed flint. Colour of core and surfaces varies according to firing conditions or subsequent burning, but is generally grey, though sometimes with brown surfaces. There can be little doubt that these vessels span the 12th–14th centuries, and derive from a variety of sources.

Cooking pots

The cooking pots have been divided into rim forms, according to the Essex classification (Cunningham and Drury 1985, 2). Seven rim forms are present in Fabric 20. As with local earthenwares of the 16th–17th centuries, grey ware fabric does not easily lend itself to chronological analysis from the late 12th to the 14th centuries. Form, however, and particularly rim form, provides the best opportunity to identify a chronological sequence.

Form B2 (Fig 38.30–6): simple, slightly developed everted rims, derived from 'Early Medieval' forms; sometimes accompanied by thumbled applied strips around the neck (eg Fig 38.36).

30, 31: C2 F61, Period 6B; 32: H F537, Period 6B; 33: C1E grave earth; 34: H F536/7, Period 6B; 35: C2 L103; 36: H F535, Period 6A.

Form C1 (Fig 39.37–47): everted, almost cavetto rims, usually ending in a rounded external bead, although some examples overlap with Form B2. Decoration comprises thumbled applied horizontal and vertical strips (39.45, 46) and one example (39.38) with combing on the body.

37: C1E grave earth; 38: unstratified; 39: C2 F61, Period 6B; 40: C2 F161, Period 6A; 41: H F537, Period 6B; 42: C2 L103; 43: C2 F97, Period 6B; 44: H F536, Period 6B; 45: unstratified; 46: C2 F281, Period 6A; 47: C2 F61, Period 6B.

Form B4 (Fig 39.48–56): developed rims with pointed ends and internal thickening or beading. A distinctive group (eg 39.48–51) have combing on top of the rim, sometimes accompanied by combing on the body (eg 39.51).

48, 49: C2 L103; 50: C1E GE; 51: C2 F61, F87, Period 6B; 52, 53: C2 L103; 54: unstratified; 55: H F537, Period 6B; 56: C2 L43.

Form H2 (Fig 40.57–62): similar to Form B4, but the rim is now squared, and always has a sloping top. One example (40.61) has traces of thumbing on the inside rim.

57, 58: C2 F109, Period 6A; 59, 60: C2 F87, Period 6B; 61: C2 L43; 62: C2 F61, Period 6B.

Form H1 (Fig 40.63–72): as Form H2, but the squared rim above the short upright neck now has a flat top. One example (Fig 40.63) has a vertical thumbled applied strip.

63: C2 F177, Period 6A; C2 F109, Period 6A; 65, 66: C2 L29; 67: H F539, Period 6A; 68: C2 F61, Period 6B; 69: C2 L29; 70: C2 L103; 71: C2 F61, F97, Period 6B; 72: C2 F57, Period 6B.

Form H3 (Fig 40.73–5): blocked rim, neckless. 73: C2 L43; 74: C2 L42; 75: C2 unstratified.

Form E5 (Fig 41.76–8): related to Form H3, but the rim is flanged rather than blocked. One example (41.76) has a vertical thumbled applied strip. 76: C2 F61, Period 6B; 77: unstratified; 78: C2 F58.

This sequence of cooking-pot rim types represents a loose development from the 12th to the 14th centuries, although some types (especially their disappearance) cannot be very closely dated within that chronology, and considerable periods of overlap are inevitable.

The B2 rims are clearly derived from 'Early Medieval' forms, and their fabric (especially 38.30–4), although grey, has the finely sorted heavy sand tempering reminiscent of 'Early Medieval' fabrics (Fabric 13). This suggests that they were current in the (later) 12th century and into the 13th, although no examples of this form have been found in a context pre-dating Period 6A.

Examples of rim B4 occur in contexts ranging from Period 5C to 6B; their early form and particularly the combed group would support a starting date in the later 12th century. This form is also found at Chelmsford in the early 13th century. The related form H2, now with the squared rim, probably represents its development into the 13th century, culminating in the flat-topped form H1. The group from Naylinghurst illustrates their coexistence in the middle decades of the 13th century (c 1230–60; Drury 1976), although rim H2 is still the dominant form. (As all of the fine ware in that group is Hedingham ware, it is quite likely that most of the coarse ware cooking pots are also products of those kilns.) Examples of H2 and particularly H1 occur at Writtle in the 13th century (Periods 1A and 1B; Rahtz 1969, fig 52), while at Chelmsford, H1 is common throughout the 13th century. The second phase of production at the Mile End kiln site (probably mid 13th century; Drury and Petchey 1975, 46, fig 10) comprised mainly cooking pots of rim type H1: this rim also formed a minor element of phase 1 production (for a discussion of dating see below, p 84).

Finally, the nearby kiln site at Middleborough must be taken into account (Cunningham 1984). Its kilns were probably active in the second half of the 12th century and the early part of the 13th, and the Middleborough fabric is transitional between the Norman sandy 'Early Medieval' wares and fully developed medieval grey wares. All of its main rim types are absent at Rivenhall, except for a product of its latest kiln, which is a rather undeveloped version of form H1.

Subsequent development of rim form is easier to chart. The neckless blocked or flanged types (H3 and E5) occur at Danbury (Drury and Pratt 1975, figs 57–60), Chelmsford and Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig 54.32), mostly in the 14th century, although possibly appearing before 1300. It is likely that most

of those examples are products of the Mill Green kilns (Pearce et al 1982, fig 17). Similarly, these rims are typical of pottery production at Great Horkesley (Drury and Petchey 1975, fig 13), for which a date early in the 14th century has been suggested.

Pig 40.75 (C2, unstratified) has the unusual addition of a bucket or basket handle, in this case with three raised ribs with two rows of piercing between. Such handles have an extensive distribution in Europe (Hurst 1974, 225, with refs), but are not common on British medieval vessels; Cruden (1952, 159, fig 47a) describes an example from Bothwell Castle, Scotland, and mentions examples at York, Reading and Nendrum, Co Down (*ibid*, 151). Jope and Hodges (1956, 78) provide an unannotated map

which confirms their widespread, if thin, distribution in Britain.

The dating of the remaining type, form C1, is more problematic. There is no doubt that many of these examples are products of Phase 1 at the Mile End kiln site (Fabric A, *ibid*, fig 5). The excavators tentatively dated this group to the late 12th to early 13th centuries, though a reconsideration would suggest a date not earlier than *c* 1200. Occasional examples can be found in contexts dated to the late 13th or indeed the 14th century (eg Writtle; Rahtz 1969, fig 54.35; Chelmsford), but if these are not residual, it would imply that this form persisted in small numbers over a long period. One may conclude that the majority of the examples at Rivenhall

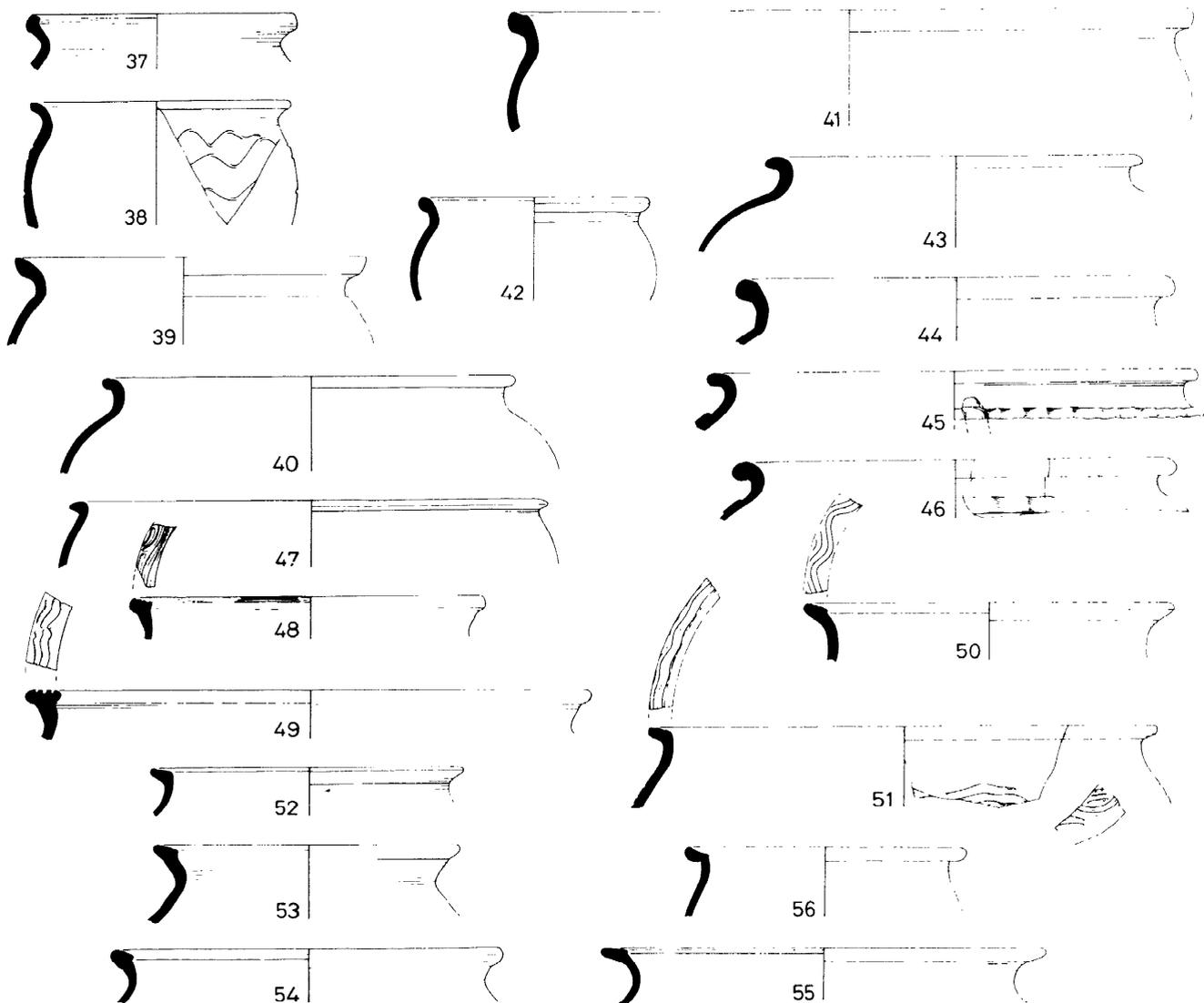


Figure 39 Medieval pottery: 37-56, fabric 20 cooking pots, forms C1 and B4. Scale 1:4

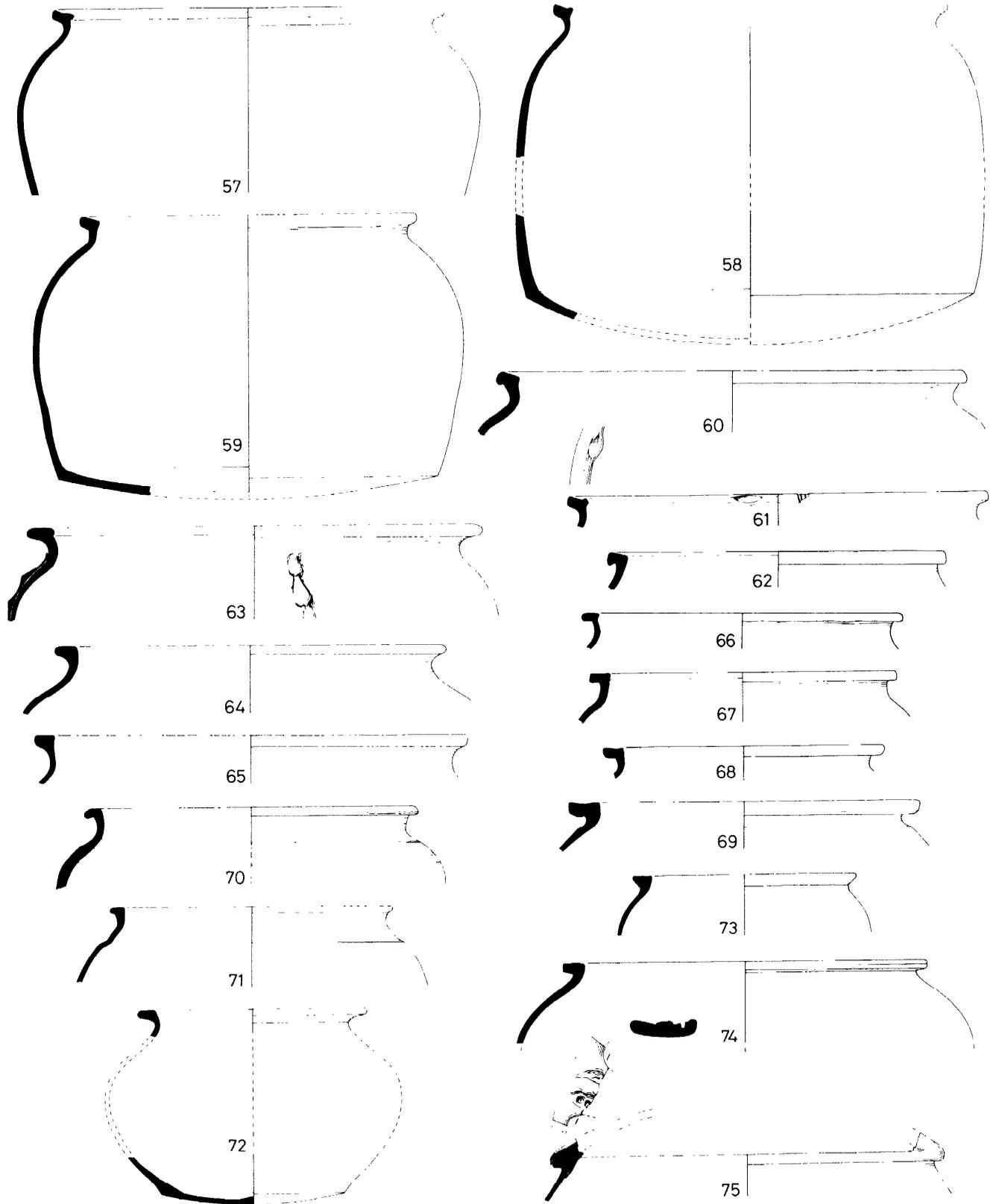


Figure 40 Medieval pottery: 57-75, fabric 20 cooking pots, forms H1-3. Scale 1:4

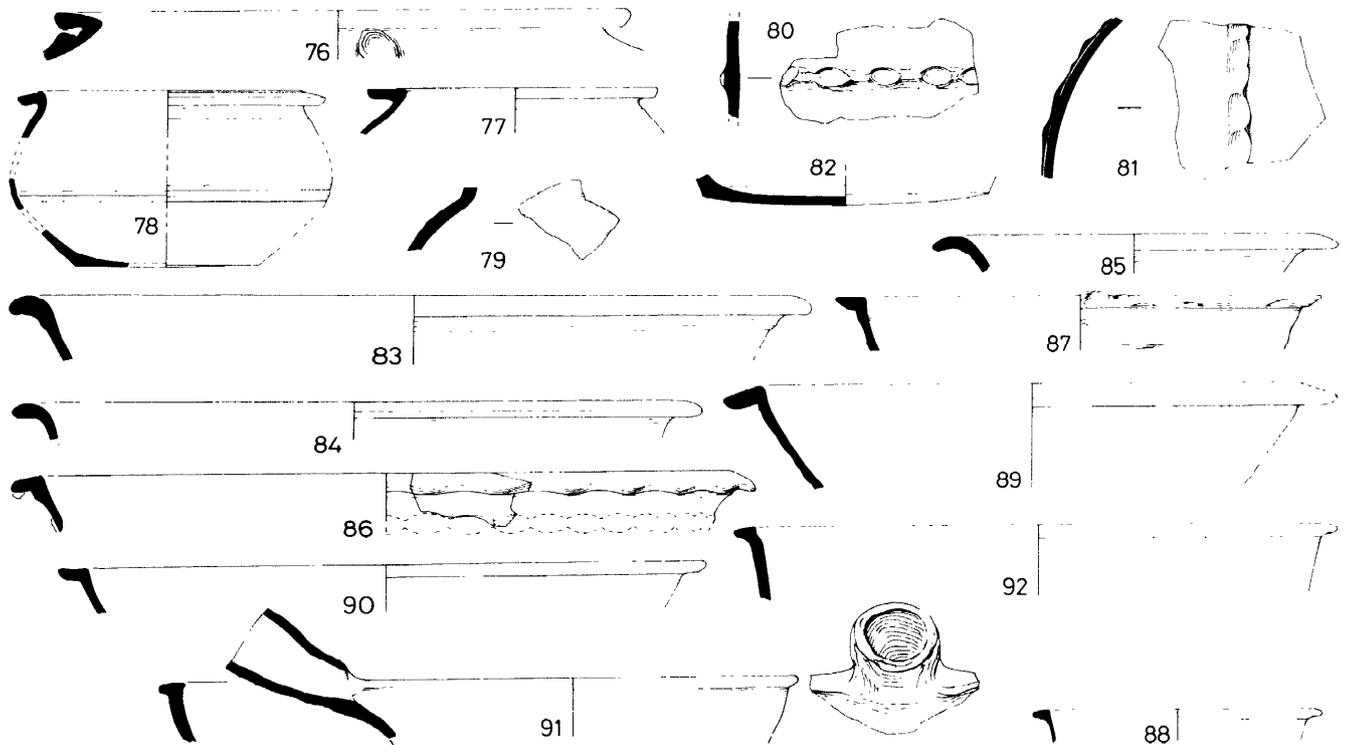


Figure 41 Medieval pottery: 76-82, cooking pots; 83-92, fabric 20 bowls. Scale 1:4

belong to the first half of the 13th century, possibly roughly contemporary with type H2.

Fig 41.82 (C2 F57, Period 6B), however, is a base thinly glazed on the inside. This feature is commonly found on cooking pots at Mill Green, mostly datable to the late 13th and early 14th centuries (Pearce *et al* 1982, 289).

Bowls

Bowls in Fabric 20 occur in two types: those with rounded, ever-ted rims (Fig 41.83: C2 L11; 84: C2 F97, Period 6B; 85: C2 F61, Period 6B), and those with flanged rims (Fig 41.86-92). All examples of the first type are plain, while there is more variety amongst the flanged-rim bowls. One has a thumbled rim and a thumbled applied strip (Fig 41.86: C2 F97, Period 6B; C2 L103), one has a pouring lip (Fig 41.87: C2 L103), and Fig 41.91 (C2 F61, Period 6B) is distinguished by the addition of a hollow tubular handle. 88: L292, Period 5; 89: C2 F61, Period 6B; 90: C1E GE; 92: C2 F61, Period 6B.

Whilst it seems likely that bowls with rounded rims were introduced first (they also appear in Fabric 12A), and probably went out of use relatively early, both forms were in simultaneous production at Mile End probably in the early years of the 13th century (Drury and Petchey 1975, figs 6-8, nos 29-46, Phase I). Flanged rims can also be found among

the Great Horkeley products (*ibid*, fig 13.80). Flanged bowls are possibly related in rim form to cooking pots of rim form H3 and E5; they seem to have remained current throughout the 13th and 14th centuries (cf F W Williams 1977, figs 32-4; Drury 1974, fig 12.4, 6, c 1341-50, 1350-80/85+ respectively) and gave way to what is essentially the same form in other fabrics (below, 46.203-5) in the 15th century.

Jugs (Fig 42.93-114)

The detailed dating of the coarse ware jugs is not yet clear: both plain and thickened rim forms occur in the early 13th century phase at Mile End (Drury and Petchey 1975, fig 4) and in the late 13th or 14th century group at Danbury (Drury and Pratt 1975, eg figs 57, 58). Some of the coarse plain jugs, however, such as Fig 42.93, 94 (C2 L103), may belong early in the area C2 sequence, but others, such as Fig 42.97 (C2 F133, Period 6B), are probably relatively late.

95: C2 F61, Period 6B; 96: C2 L11; 98: H F536, Period 6B; 99: C5 L198; 100: C2 L103; 101: C2 L11; 102: C2 F58; 103: C2 unstratified; 104: C2 L43; 105: C2 L29; 106: C2 L61, Period 6B; 107: C1E, unstratified; 108: C2 L11; 109: topsoil; 110: C2 unstratified; 111: C1W L104; 112: C2 L42; 113: C1E grave earth; 114: D, unstratified.

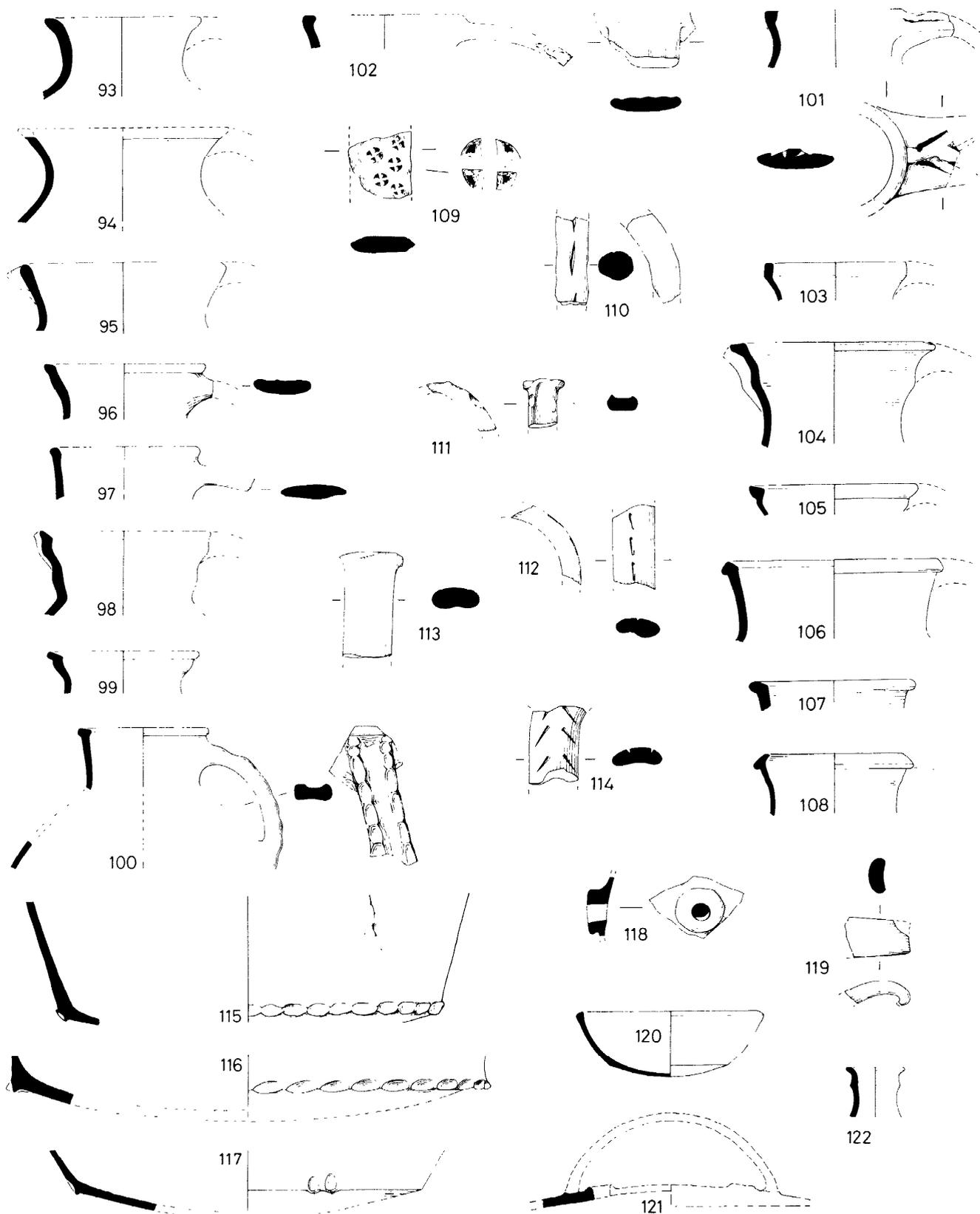


Figure 42 Medieval pottery: 93-113, fabric 20 jugs; 114-22, fabric 20 miscellaneous. Scale 1:4 (except stamp 109, 1:1)

A number of thumbled bases (Fig 42.115: C2 F109 and F161, Period 6A, C2 F87, Period 6B; 116: C2 L43; 113: C2 F133, Period 6B) are probably from jugs, although they could represent cisterns.

Other types (Fig 42.118-22).

Other types found in Fabric 20 include the bunghole from a cistern (42.118: C2 L42), a skillet handle (119: C2 F219, Period 6A), a small ?bowl (120: C2 F58), and part of a curfew (121: C2 F58, L29). This example is pierced by holes and is slightly smoke-blackened internally. Two other curfews are represented by fragments also with the characteristic small holes (C2 F61, Period 6B and C2 unstratified; C2 L43).

Fig 42.122 (C2 L11) is possibly from a bottle, a form known from the late 13th century onwards (Musty et al 1969, 134).

Hedingham ware (Fabric 22)

These readily distinguishable wares are in a fine, fairly soft, generally orange-brown or pink-buff, extremely micaceous fabric often covered with a deep green, slightly mottled glaze. Jugs are the most common product but costrels, pipkins, and possibly cups are also known. These vessels are products of the kilns at Sible Hedingham, some 20 km north-west of Rivenhall. Unfortunately, the excavations of 1958 (Wilson and Hurst 1959, 325) to 1971 (Webster and Cherry 1972, 205) are unpublished, and no general study of the Hedingham industry has appeared (but see Cotter and Cunningham, forthcoming). Nonetheless, its date and distribution range is becoming apparent. It occurs in Colchester during the second half of the 12th century in quantity, in Chelmsford in the 13th century, in early 13th century contexts at Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig 52.14–15), at Naylinghurst, Braintree (Drury 1976), and at many other sites in the northern half of Essex and in Cambridgeshire.

Hedingham ware products reflect influences from a wide variety of sources, but in general they follow very closely the development of London-type wares in the later 12th and earlier 13th centuries (cf Pearce et al 1985). Two main types of jug appear to be present in the Rivenhall assemblage: fragments of decorated rounded jugs (eg Fig 43.125, C2 F87 and 61, Period 6B; and Fig 43.130, C2 L103); and tall plain jugs (eg Fig 43.137, C2 F57, Period 6B).

Some examples have plain tubular spouts (eg Fig 43.123; C2 unstratified; 124: C2 L103). Tubular spouted jugs have a wide, if sporadic, distribution in Britain. The immediate inspiration for the Hedingham potters was probably the Developed Stamford Ware tubular-spouted jugs (cf Fig 45.179 below, and Hurst 1976, fig 7.20, 1), which were produced during the late 12th and early 13th centuries and had doubtless evolved from the spouted pitchers produced earlier at Stamford (cf Fig 38.1 above), or the London-type ware examples (Pearce et al 1985, fig 58).

Twisted rod handles (eg Fig 43.127, C2 unstratified) here and elsewhere is a characteristic feature

of Hedingham ware. It is noteworthy that this also typifies many Scarborough ware products (Farmer 1979), and it has already been demonstrated that some specific Scarborough ware vessels were closely copied at Hedingham (Cunningham et al 1983).

Plain and ribbed rod handles also occur (Fig 43.134–5: C2 F97, Period 6B), together with ribbed and decorated strap handles (Fig 43.136: C2 L11; 137,138: C2 F57, Period 6B).

Most of the decorative techniques used on the jugs can be paralleled all over England, particularly during the 13th century, and can be summarized as follows.

Strip decoration

The use of applied vertical strips is well known, but is sometimes made particularly effective at Hedingham by the use of brown background slips and white-firing clay for the strips themselves, to produce a polychrome effect when covered with a plain or green glaze.

Strip jugs form an important part of the Hedingham repertoire; an illustration of a complete example from Horningsea, Cambs, appears as Rackham 1972, pl 33. The most common type at Rivenhall uses a mottled green glaze over applied strips in the same clay as the body — fragments from Period 6A: H F539; C2 F57, 61, 151, 161; Period 6B: D F528–30; C2, L11 103. Occasionally the strips are more widely spaced, and there are three examples of a plain glaze over strips in the same clay as the body (C2 F61, F210, Period 6B); plain glaze over white clay strips over a brown-slipped background (C2 F281, Period 6A; C2 F61, Period 6B) and plain glaze over strips in the body clay, but on a brown-slipped background (Fig 43.126, D F528–30, Period 6B). Figure 43.125 has a light green glaze over white strips applied on the brown-slipped body. A variant of this technique can be found in Fig 43.148–9 (C2 unstratified, C2 L103), where lines of brown slip seem to have been applied over the glaze, and are thus matt on the finished vessel.

Applied work other than vertical strips

Several fragments illustrate the use of applied curving strips, either plain (Fig 43.145: C2 L29) or finger-pressed (Fig 43.144: C2 F61, Period 6B), and sometimes associated with pellets (Fig 43.146: C2 F97, Period 6B). These are usually found on the early rounded jugs with strap handles, often hand-made, of the second half of the 12th century, such as Fig 43.136.

Stamped and combed decoration

The use of stamps, particularly on the necks of jugs (cf Fig 43.128–30: C2 F61, Period 6B; C2 LA3; C2 L103) is particularly common; stamps are also used on applied pellets (cf Fig 43.147: C2 F58). A total of five stamps (Fig 43.130–3, 147) occur at Rivenhall (131: C2 F57, Period 6B; 132: D 1950 unstratified; 133: C2 L103). Combing was occasionally used (cf Fig 43.141, 143: C2 L11, C2 L2), and jugs are occasionally rilled or reeded (cf Fig 43.142, C2 F97,

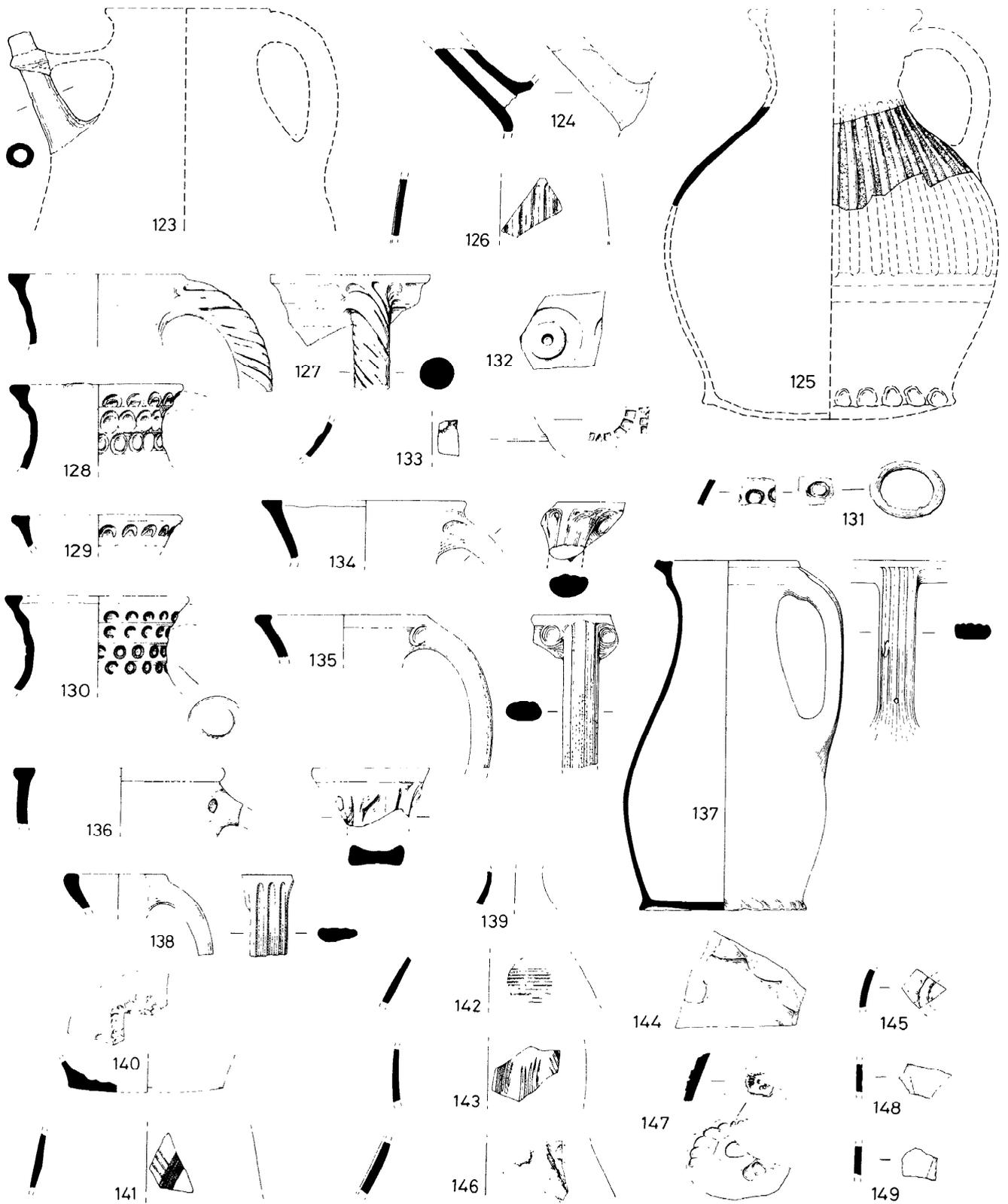


Figure 43 Medieval pottery: 123-49, Hedingham ware jugs. Scale 1:4 (except stamps 130-3 and 147, 1:1)

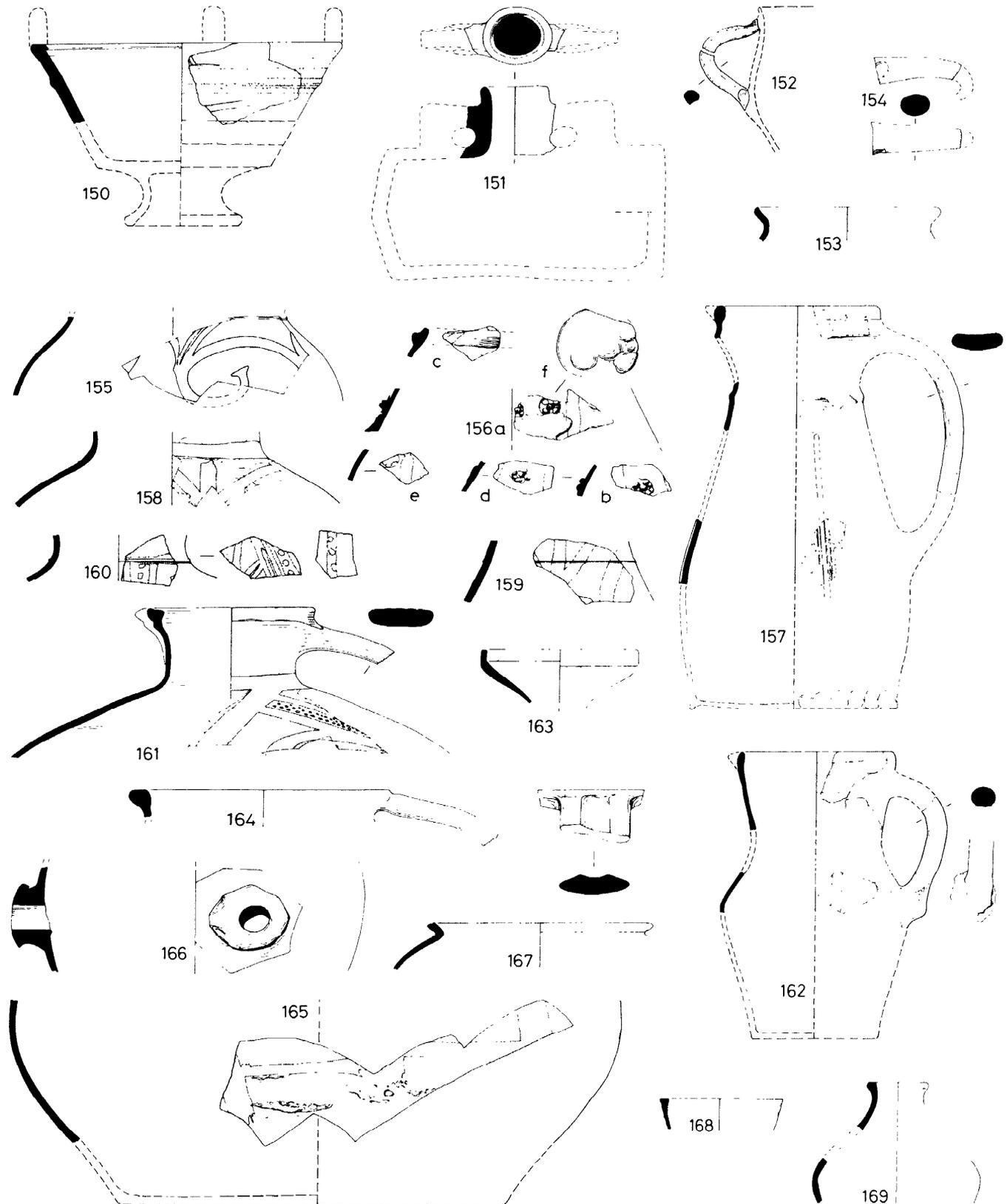


Figure 44 Medieval pottery: 150-4, Hedingham ware miscellaneous; 155, 156 Mill Green ware; 157-69, Colchester-type ware. Scale 1:4 (except stamp 156, 1:1)

Period 6B, and the jug from Cambridge; Rackham 1972, p141).

In addition to the jugs, there are a number of individual examples of less common vessels. Fig 44.150 (C2 L103) is one of these. The diameter, wall thickness and internal glazing militate against this sherd being from the neck of a jug, as does its general form. However, these features would be explicable if it were part of a chafing dish, and such an identification would also account for the internal burning. In shape, the vessel resembles that illustrated by Hurst (1974, fig 5.3, p 238) from Paris, but there can be no doubt that this example is in Hedingham ware.

Fig 44.151 (C2, unstratified) is the first costrel to be recorded in Hedingham ware, but re-examination of an unprovenanced costrel in Saffron Walden Museum, published by Dunning (1964, fig 48.4) has shown that it is in a similar fabric. Thus it is no longer necessary to assume that the latter is derived from London; indeed a find spot in the Saffron Walden area seems more likely.

The most likely source of Fig 44.152 (D F528–30, Period 6B), a small, rod-section curved handle, seems to be a cup. Lobed cups copying French forms, and a fragment of the probable prototype, are known from the kilns at Nash Hill, Lacock, Wilts, dated to the late 13th to early 14th centuries (McCarthy 1974, 124–6), and the reconstructed profile is based on his fig 20, 261–2, At Cowick, Yorks, a lobed cup and its local copy were found on a kiln floor (Bellamy and Le Patourel 1970, 113, n 16). However, this may not be a typical Hedingham product.

Production seems to have begun at Hedingham by the middle of the 12th century, and finds of Hedingham ware in Essex are known from then until the mid 13th century. At Chelmsford, near the southern limit of its distribution, Hedingham ware is almost entirely superseded by Mill Green in the second half of the 13th century. Apart from this, there is as yet little evidence available on which to date the disappearance of this industry.

At Rivenhall, the vast majority of the phased provenances belong to Period 6B (only a handful of examples were found in Periods 5C and 6A), and yet most of the features found on the jugs can be paralleled in early 13th century groups elsewhere. The indeterminate nature of many of the contexts means that much, if not all, of the Hedingham ware may be residual: in the case of the virtually complete jug, Fig 43.137, it may be argued that the vessel was old before deposition. Thus on the evidence presently available, there is no conclusive proof that this assemblage of Hedingham ware jugs need necessarily post-date c1300.

The small group of other vessel types (Fig 44.150–4) needs special consideration. Sgraffito chafing dishes were being made by d400 (p 92 below); one wonders whether the combing on this example provides a link with such vessels. The repertoire of Colchester ware, provisionally dated to the late 13th to early 14th century (Cunningham 1982a, 365–7), includes the chafing dish (*ibid*, fig 28.39).

It can be suggested, therefore, that the majority of the Hedingham ware jugs are of early 13th century date, and that the range of more 'unusual' vessel types perhaps represents the final expression of the main pottery industry at Hedingham.

Mill Green ware (Fabric 35)

The Mill Green fabric is usually brick-red with a grey core, although variations in reduction or oxidation frequently occur. Characteristically it is hard, fine, thin-walled, and virtually without tempering, although slightly sandy or gritty variants are known. The kilns were situated 8 km south-west of Chelmsford, and their products are distributed throughout the southern half of Essex and around the Thames estuary, with the major part destined for the London market. Rivenhall lies near the northern limit of distribution.

Excavations of timber revetments along the Thames waterfront have shown that Mill Green wares first appeared there between c1240 and c1270, probably nearer 1270, and were dying out by c1330, certainly by c1360. A full consideration and type series is to be found in Pearce *et al* 1982. Jugs and miniature jugs are the only fine-ware forms known to have been produced.

Fig 44.155 (unstratified) represents a squat jug with foliate slip-painting under a partial clear glaze (*ibid*, fig 14.35). Fig 44.156 (C2 L103) is much more ornate, with vertical painted strips and applied stamps in white-firing clay, and applied decoration in the body clay, under a clear glaze. A similar example from Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig 57.108) is probably of the second half of the 13th century. These are all very fragmentary, but may well belong to anthropomorphic jugs similar to one from London (Pearce *et al* 1982, fig 8).

Colchester-type ware (Fabric 21A)

Colchester ware was produced in Colchester between the late 13th century and the mid 16th century (see Cunningham 1982a, 365–7, for an introduction to this ware). Its orange or red fabric usually has a grey core and is heavily tempered with white quartz inclusions. The characteristic surface treatments include thick cream slip and mottled glaze in the late 13th and 14th centuries, and slip-painted decoration, usually unglazed, in the 15th and early 16th centuries. A range of undecorated 'coarse wares' is also found.

The examples found at Rivenhall share most of the Colchester ware characteristics, although the fabric is less obviously quartz-tempered than most examples from Colchester itself. However, similar and related material was produced extensively in Essex (Couchman 1979, 67–9), and so this group is best called 'Colchester-type' ware.

There is only one example of a slipped jug with a mottled glaze (Fig 44.157; C2 F133, Period 6B, C2 L43, L58); it closely resembles the Mill Green conical or pear-shaped jugs with inturned rims, but the fabric and the applied strip decoration rather than

vertical combing shows that it is probably an imitation. Fig 44.158–62 (158: C2 L43, 103; 159; C2 L11, 103; 160: C2 L29, L103; 161: C2 L11, 29, 43, 57, Period 6B, 103, 407; 162: C2 L103) illustrates glazed jugs with slip-painted decoration (cf Cunningham 1982a, figs 29, 30). Fig 44.161 particularly, with its painted dots, exhibits Colchester-ware characteristics, and Fig 44.162 is clearly influenced by metal forms (cf *ibid*, fig 31.71). The Period 6B context of Fig 44.161, the vessel forms and the occurrence of glazing, suggest that this group is earlier than most of the jugs found at Colchester Castle. Other forms include a glazed lamp (Fig 44.163, C2 unstratified), cisterns (Fig 44.164: C1W L68, 104; 165: C2 L43; 166: C2 F57, Period 6B), undecorated jars (Fig 44.167: C2 F58), jugs (Fig 44.168: C2 L43) and flasks (44.169: C2 unstratified).

Other local fine wares (Fabric 21)

The remaining group has a consistently hard and oxidized fabric. Although its range of inclusions is similar to that of Mill Green, it is visually distinctive, and thin-section analysis (fiche 1: D8) shows that clay pellets and much larger fragments of mica are present in the fabric. This indicates that a (minor) industry, whose source is as yet unknown, was operating in the area, perhaps after the demise of Mill Green ware.

Fig 45.170–1 (C2 F281, Period 6A and C2 F58) shows jugs with distinctive rod handles with small finger impressions at either side of the top. Rims are externally thickened, like Fig 45.171 and 174, or triangular like Fig 45.172 and 173. Fig 45.175 (C2 L29) has a grooved handle, an inturned rim and slip-painting; superficially a Mill Green squat jug, it is likely that it belongs to this group. All of these vessels have a thin clear glaze restricted to the body.

Developed Stamford ware (Fabric 11B)

by K Kilmurry

The remaining Stamford-ware sherds are all of fine, whitish Fabric B and bear green, copper-coloured glaze (Glaze Type 3). Six sherds seem to derive from a spouted pitcher (Vessel form 24, Fig 45.179: C2 F361, Period 6B) and its lid (Form 22, Fig 45.178: C2 L11; C2 F61, Period 6B). On both technical and typological criteria, the Rivenhall vessel seems to be fairly early in the development of the tubular-spouted pitcher form. The flat strut which joined the spout to the body is relatively short and narrow. Its upper surface bears two simple rows of finger pressings along the edges, while later examples are more ornate. Unlike jug handles which usually spring from the rim edge, the handles on this spouted pitcher may be presumed to spring from below the rim edge to avoid distorting the lid fitting.

The lid is of simple conical shape as paralleled at Rings Lynn (Clarke and Carter 1977, fig 97.6,7). The terminal is missing and cannot be reconstructed reliably, as few examples have been recovered. Hollow bulbs seem to be the typical type, though an example of a bird decorated with incised

patterns is known. The rarity of excavated lid terminals would be more understandable if they were highly decorated and so likely to be removed and kept after the breakage of the vessel itself. The presence of grooving on the lid is a very typical feature and further grooves are often found on the vessel indicating where handles and spouts were attached. The described features suggest a date in the second half of the 12th century for the pitcher and its lid.

The base of another jug or tubular-spouted pitcher came from area C1W L68, L136 (Fig 45.180).

The Rivenhall sherds represent at least two chronologically separate trading contacts with Stamford (p 78 above). The vessels belonged to the luxury part of Stamford production, which was more widely traded than were the unglazed types. Rivenhall is outside the area which received unglazed Stamford ware; it is along the southern fringe of glazed Stamford ware distribution.

Lincoln (Developed Splashed Glaze) ware (Fabric 25)

Fig 45.181 (C2 F61, F137, Period 6B; HF 535, Period 6A) is the neck of a jug in a hard, light grey, sandy fabric with a partial light olive-green glaze and applied pellets.

Glyn Coppack and Lauren Gilmour agree that this vessel almost certainly derives from Lincoln (see fiche 1: D5); it would fit into the category of Developed Splashed Glaze wares, although close to Lincoln ware, and Dr Gilmour (*in litt*) suggests a date in the first quarter of the 13th century, with an extreme range of c1200–50. For descriptions of this fabric in groups of early and mid 13th century date, see Adams 1977, 23, 27; for brown scales, fig 13.103, pp 24–5 and fig 16.132–3, pp 30–1. For jugs of similar form in a group with a terminal date of c1200, see *ibid*, fig 12, 89, 93, pp 22–3.

Scarborough ware (Fabric 24)

Fig 45.182 is part of a polychrome jug with alternate applied strips in the body clay, and scales in pink clay, with a partial green slip and an all-over green glaze (C2 F87 and F61, Period 6B; C2 unstratified). This is in Phase II fabric, which can still be dated c1225–1350, despite the difficulties over the dating of Phase I (see Farmer *et al* 1982). At Rivenhall a late 13th century date seems probable. The form of the vessel is restored after Rutter 1961, fig 3.9; he also figures a sherd from a vessel similar to this one: fig. 3.18/1.

Another sherd (C2 137, Period 6B) in Phase I fabric has applied decoration under a thick olive-green glaze.

London ware (Fabric 36)

Fragments from a strip jug (Fig 45.183, C2 F57 and F97, Period 6B; C2 L11, L103) have brown applied strips over a cream slip on the upper body, under a thin greenish glaze. For a corpus of London wares produced from the late 12th to the early 14th centuries, see Pearce *et al* 1985. A piece of late 13th

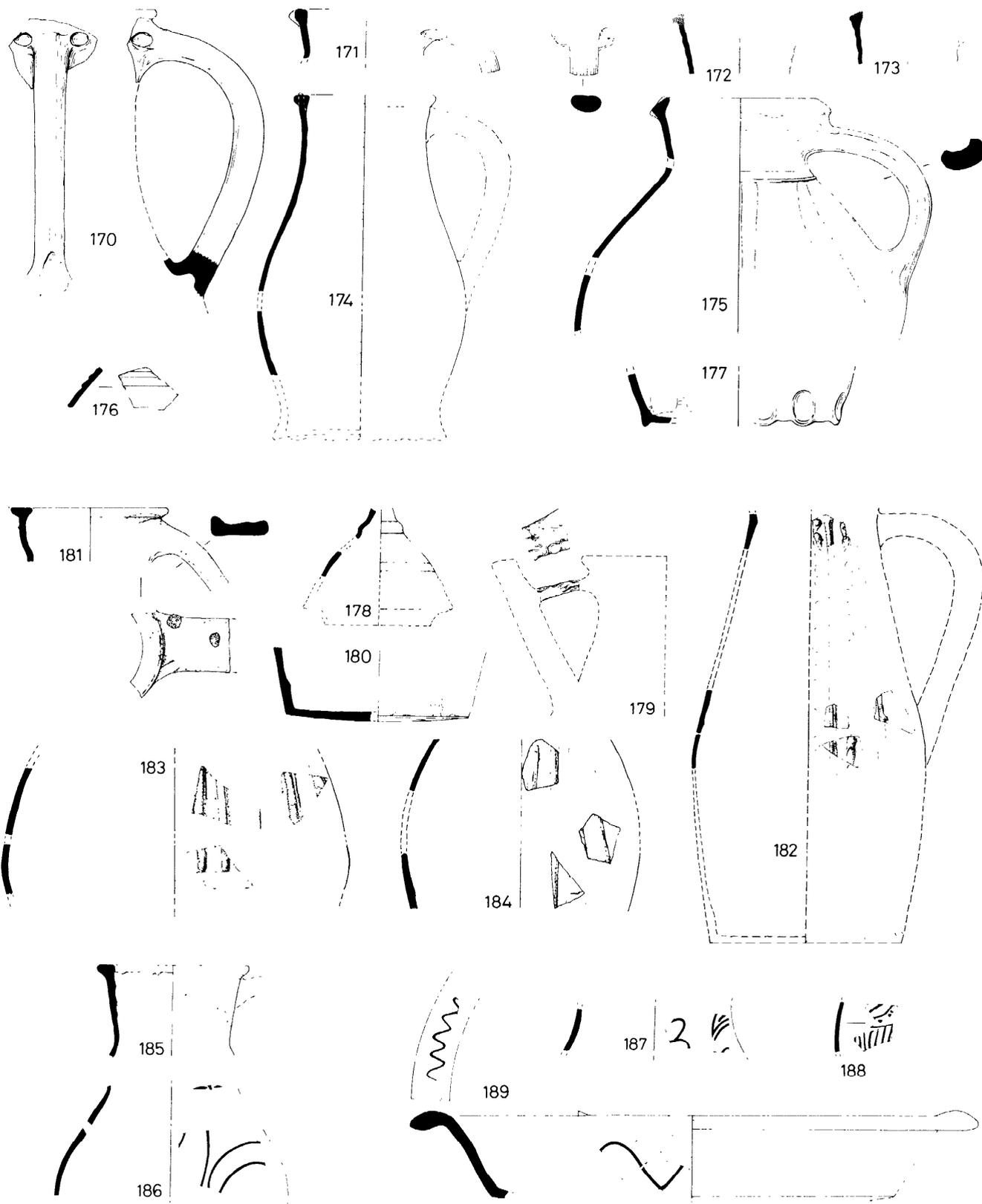


Figure 45 Medieval pottery: 170-7, local fine wares; 178-89, non-local fine wares. Scale 1:4

or early 14th century Surrey-ware strip jug was also found (Fabric 23A: Fig 45.184; C2 F58, L11).

Sgraffito ware (Fabric 21C: Fig 45.185-9)

This is a red sandy fabric, with incised decoration through a thick cream slip, and covered in a lustrous plain glaze with occasional green flecks. It is the normal form of sgraffito ware found in the area, and there is little reason to doubt that these vessels were manufactured in Cambridgeshire (Bushnell and Hurst 1952, 26). In that paper a 14th to 15th century date range was suggested. In Essex, sgraffito ware closely comparable with the Rivenhall material has been found in appreciable quantity at Writtle (Rahtz 1969, fig 54.42-8) in contexts which suggest that it was in use there by *c* 1350; there were two face-jugs, datable on the evidence of hairstyles to *c* 1400, but it does not seem to have been current during Period III, after *c* 1425. However, fragments of large jugs from Chelmsford (unpublished) are probably 15th century on the evidence of vessel form. The shape of the jugs represented by Fig 45.185-8 (185: C2 unstratified; others: C2 F57, Period 6B) would certainly be consistent with a late 14th century date.

At first sight, the bowl Fig 45.189 (C2 L43 and unstratified) seems to be much later, but the similarity of its fabric and finish to those of the rest of the group suggest that it is likely to be contemporary. The upstanding lug on the rim, and the thick walls of the vessel, suggest an interpretation as a chafing dish. Whilst these vessels seem to become common in England in the late 15th and 16th centuries (Hurst 1974, 238) the *chauffoir* or *chauffouer* was certainly current in 14th century France (Lewis 1973, 60, with refs) and there is an example of a sgraffito chafing dish from North Elmham bearing the arms of Bishop Henry le Despenser, a bespoke piece thus dated between 1370 (or perhaps even 1387 when he received licence to crenellate the manor) and 1406 (Rigold 1963, 69, 101, fig 37.10). Perhaps significantly, Dunning (1950) has suggested a western French source for English sgraffito decoration, as early as the late 13th century. Cumulative dating evidence from the site suggests that occupation of area C2 had ceased by *c* 1400, which would not be too early a date for this vessel.

Imports

Definite imports include the rim of a Saintonge-ware jug (Fabric 27: Fig 46.190, C2 F281, Period 6A; C2 unstratified), and part of a Langerwehe stone-ware rouletted jug (Fabric 45A: Fig 46.191, C2 L29 and unstratified), whose context suggests an association with the final occupation of the Period 6B (ii) building, *c*1400. Fragments of similar vessels have been found in contemporary levels in Southampton (cf Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, ii, fig 194.1144 and p 155). The jug belongs to Hurst's types I-III, but in the absence of the neck and rim, closer attribution is impossible. They were current between the early 14th and mid 15th centuries, and imports occur in Southampton and elsewhere from the beginning of this period onwards (Hurst 1977).

It is more difficult to attribute a source to Fig 46.192-3 (Fabric 21D: C2 L43). This is in a hard, quartz-tempered red fabric with a grey core. The cream slip is pierced by shallow foliate sgraffito decoration, with leaves added in a coarse green slip; elsewhere there are green flecks in a rather brownish glaze. The fabric is visually quite distinct from the Cambridgeshire type (Fig 45.185-9), although petrologically, the two fabrics are virtually identical (see fiche 1: D6).

It is therefore possible that both types originated in Cambridgeshire, conceivably the products of adjacent kiln sites. J G Hurst comments (*in litt*) that, to the best of his knowledge, the jug Fig 46.192 is unique. The vessel is similar in design to these sgraffito jugs and again is consistent with a late 14th century date. The cup Fig 46.193 is presumably based on a French prototype and, like the chafing dish, seems to anticipate popular 15th century taste. However, it is now clear that cups were being made in England in the 14th century (cf p 86 above).

Sgraffito technique is also found on Colchester ware, but as yet there are no close parallels to suggest an origin there.

It is more likely, however, that the Rivenhall pieces are imports, possibly from the Low Countries; see, for example, Bruijn 1979, figs 51-2 for kilns producing both sgraffito and foliate slip designs with trefoil dots *c* 1400.

Fig 46.194 (C2 L29), which has a curious flange, a suggestion of handle attachment and traces of cream slip and glaze, may come from a similar source.

Fig 46.195 (Fabric 31: C2, unstratified) is from a cauldron. The fabric, which is light and sandy, is quite compatible with a Low Countries origin, although the form of the handle is less typical. Part of the tripod base of a Low Countries red ware cooking pot came from C2 L1.

Fig 46.196 (C2 L43, L29) is an unglazed flask in a fine grey fabric with brown exterior surfaces. Although the form is not unlike Fig 45.177, of Colchester type, its fabric is unlike any other group in this assemblage.

Post-Medieval pottery

All post-medieval pottery found was in red earthenware (Fabric 40), with the exception of a few pieces of mainly 16th century stoneware (Fig 46.197: C1W 1,104; 198: C1W L114; 199: C1W L60, 68).

Of particular interest is Fig 46.200 (C1W L60, 68), a glazed jug with a delicate slip-trailed pattern. Metropolitan slipware, produced at Harlow, does not occur in quantity until the early 17th century, but at Chelmsford very similar examples have been found dated to the later 16th century (Drury 1974, fig 14.28).

The rest of the assemblage includes jar or skillet rims (Fig 46.201, 202: C2 L43 and unstrat), bowls (Fig 46.203-5: C1E unstratified; C1W L104; C2 unstratified), a dripping dish (Fig 46.206; C2 unstratified), jugs (Fig 46.207-9: C1W L68; C1E

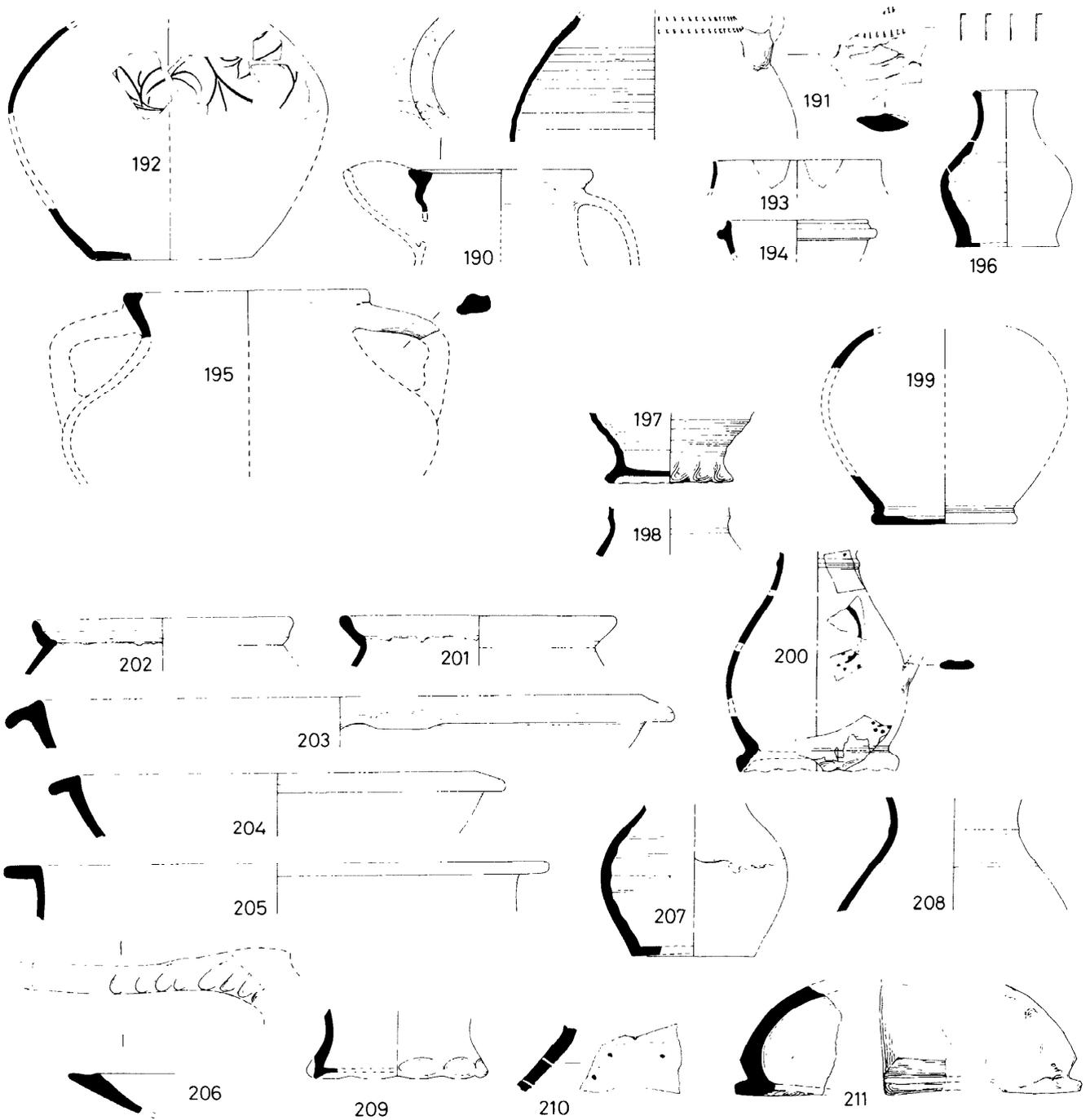


Figure 46 Medieval and post-medieval pottery: 190-6, medieval imports; 197-211, post-medieval. Scale 1:4 (except rouletting 191, 1:1)

unstratified; C2 unstratified), and Fig 46.210 (C4 unstratified) and 211 (C2 unstratified).

The stratified groups

Period 5B

The first masonry church was constructed in Period 5B. There are no groups of pottery within Period 5 which can be sufficiently closely phased to attribute to Period 5B. However, the sole presence of St Neots sherds in the Period 4C/5A robbing trenches suggests a starting date in the early 10th century, and on architectural grounds an upper limit of c 1100 is likely (vol 1, pp 133–8).

Period 5C: Building 6 and associated features

There is relatively little material from Period 5C features, and all belongs essentially to the end of the phase. Fabric 20 cooking pots begin to appear, in rim forms B4 (both combed and plain: probably late 12th century, see above, p 81) and C1 (including Fig 39.44). This, and the presence of a few sherds of Heddingham ware, point to a terminal date c 1200.

It is worth noting that only one of the combed B4 cooking-pot rims came from C1, suggesting a clear association of this material with activity in C2.

Period 6A: Building 10 and associated features

Again much if not all of the material from Period 6A features must be associated with the end of the phase, or at least belong late in it. All of the Fabric 20 rim forms, except E5, are now present, and in fine wares, Mill Green appears as well as Heddingham, Lincoln and Saintonge. A terminal date in the second half of the 13th century seems probable.

Period 6B: Building 9

There are two phases of Building 9, represented by the gravel floor 97 (Period 6Bi) and the clay floor 59 (Period 6Bii). Other features are rather loosely related to these phases.

The cooking pots associated with the Period 6Bi floor (97) are now dominated by blocked and 'cavetto' rims, and a jug base of late 13th to early 14th century Colchester-type ware was present. The situation in the main filling of ditch 61 is similar, although probably complicated by much residual material, and especially so in its early silts (127, 137, 141). The total quantity of material from other features was not great, although pit 87 contained a sherd of Scarborough type 2 ware, probably of the late 13th century.

Thus at the end of Period 6Bi, rims of form H3 and E5 are in use, but do not dominate assemblages accumulated during the phase, and fragments of probably late 13th century polychrome ware are also present. A terminal date of c 1300–20 seems likely.

The clay floor of Period 6Bii itself contained very little, but the surface deposits are more enlightening. Sgraffito ware is certainly, and Langerwehe stoneware is probably, associated with the latest levels. The sgraffito chafing dish (p 92) need not be

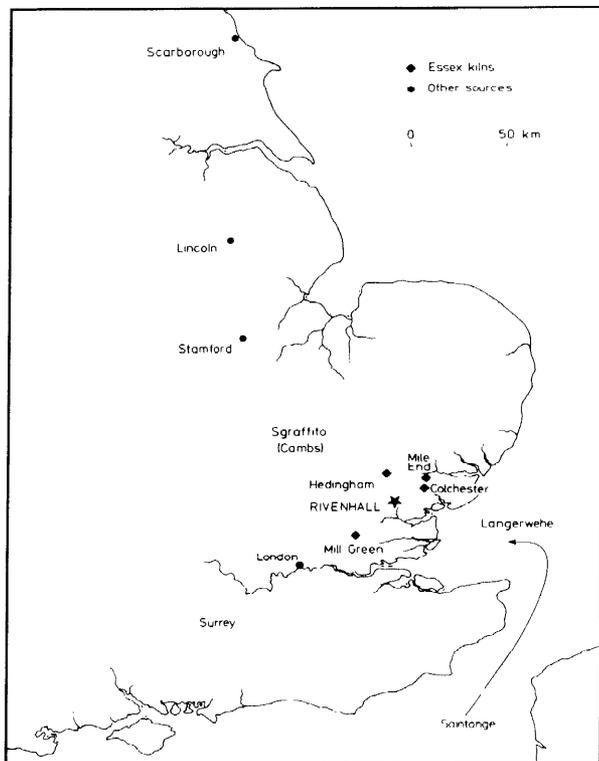


Figure 47 The sources of supply for medieval pottery at Rivenhall

later than c 1400, but equally cannot be much earlier; the Langerwehe stoneware is not closely datable, but its appearance on a modest rural site before the end of the 14th century seems unlikely. There is no 'Tudor Green' from the site at all; this was typical of Period III (c 1425–1521) at Writtle (Rahtz 1969, 94–5), and first occurred in occupation levels of the final phase of the preceding period. On this evidence we can be reasonably certain of a terminal date for Building 9ii of c 1400.

There was a general scatter of later material over the whole site, of which most illustratable pre-1800 vessels are described (fiche 1: C13–D1).

The pattern of supply of Medieval pottery at Rivenhall

In the Saxo-Norman period, Stamford, Thetford and St Neots wares are all represented, but the predominance of St Neots, perhaps at the expense of Thetford, is particularly interesting. With the possible exception of the hand-made shelly wares, all the fabrics represented are presumably local, until the end of the 12th century. Throughout Period 6 (Fig 47), all the coarse wares derive from sources in Essex, and the changing relationship between the Heddingham and Mill Green fine wares is typical of assemblages in central Essex. Only the presence of

Colchester ware outside the north-east corner of Essex is remarkable. The proportion of wares from outside Essex is very small. The occurrence of Lincoln wares is rather unusual, although Scarborough ware is now being increasingly recognized around the British coastline, and is not uncommon in Essex generally. Indeed, the pattern and proportion of supply of non-local wares and imports are typical of inland sites in central Essex.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Maureen Mellor for commenting on Fabric 12A; to the late Dr Gerald Dunning for the basis of the drawing of Fig 42.121, and for his comments on the fragments; to Jean le Patourel and to P G and N Farmer for their identification of the Scarborough ware; to Drs C J Young, G Coppack and L Gilmour for their assistance in identifying Fig 45.181; to F W Holling and K J Barton for their comments on Fig 45.184; and to J G Hurst for his comments on the sgraffito ware and Fig 46.199, and for confirming the sources of Fig 46.197–8.

9 Environmental and technical studies

1 The human skeletal material

by *T P O'Connor*

Introduction

The dataset described below was recorded in 1976–7, and the report revised in 1984, as Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report no 2202. Constraints of time and funding dictated that the original record was made much more rapidly than would be acceptable today. It should also be noted that the definition of certain skeletal disorders for diagnostic purposes has been substantially revised in recent years, and it has therefore been necessary to add appropriate caveats to parts of this report.

In total, 229 skeletons or partial skeletons were submitted for examination and report, from all parts of the cemetery. The burials have each been attributed to one of seven chronological groups. These groups, and their equivalent archaeological periods, are:

A - Period 4C	Mid to late Saxon	46 burials
B - Period 5A–B	10th–12th century	28 burials
C - Period 5C	12th–14th century	37 burials
B–C - Period 5A–C	10th–14th century	4 burials
D - Period 6	14th–17th century	39 burials
E - Period 5–6	Pre–18th century	31 burials
F - Period 7	18th–19th century	44 burials

The state of preservation of the bones ranged from good to poor, the best-preserved specimens not necessarily being the most recent burials. Some *post-mortem* damage and deformation had occurred, such as twisting or flattening of skull bones in poorly preserved skeletons. Fresh breaks were noted in an appreciable proportion of skull and limb bones, and this reduced the extent of metrical analysis.

Methods

Each skeleton was recorded on a prepared form, which allowed standardized notation of dentition, bone measurements, and a number of discontinuous traits, and also gave scope for description or illustration of evidence for disease, injury, or unusual abnormalities. The original record forms are retained at the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of English Heritage. Examination and recording followed procedures subsequently described by Brothwell (1981). Sex was determined by an examination of the pelvis and skull, sexing criteria on the

pelvis being taken as the more reliable. In all uncertain cases, the skeleton was recorded as of indeterminate sex, and this was usually the case with immature individuals. Age was estimated on the basis of tooth eruption and attrition, the state of fusion of appendicular epiphyses, and on the extent of obliteration of cranial sutures (Todd and Lyon 1924). Where adult stature has been reconstructed, this was obtained from the regression equations by Trotter and Gleser (1952; 1958), and should be regarded as an approximate estimate.

Results

The information obtained for each burial is summarized in Table 15 (fiche 1: D9–E2), and Table 16 gives a more condensed listing of information by chronological group.

Sex ratios

The proportion of males to females varied considerably from group to group, although the high proportion of individuals of uncertain sex must be taken into account. The variation observed could have arisen randomly. Overall, 74 skeletons were identified as male, 76 as female, leaving 79 of uncertain attribution.

Mortality

The number of cases in each of nine age classes is given in Table 16, and in Table 17 these data are further subdivided by sex. Overall, the figures show an appreciable mortality in all age groups, including children and teenagers. The proportion of perinatal individuals may well have been higher than appears from Table 17, as preservation and recovery of infant bones would understandably be poor, and many small babies may not have been conventionally buried. Most child skeletons could not be assigned a sex. Exceptions were a total of ten cases in groups B, C, E and F which were clearly female, identified as such because of the form of the greater sciatic notch and the presence of a well-marked pre-auricular sulcus. Of the individuals assigned as children of indeterminate sex in Table 17, some could be females in which diagnostic pelvic features were not apparent and the remainder would be males. It would be erroneous, therefore, to take the figures in Table 17 as evidence for a higher mortality of female children than male, since the indeterminate cases could all be males.

Table 16 Summary of sex, mortality and stature estimation data

Groups	A	B	C	B-C	D	E	F
Numbers							
male	20	5	12	1	14	13	9
female	12	12	15	1	13	8	15
indeterminate	14	11	10	2	12	10	20
Age							
0-1 years	2	1	1	0	0	2	3
1-5	4	4	6	0	4	3	6
5-10	4	6	4	1	5	3	3
10-18	3	0	3	0	1	3	3
18-25	3	1	5	0	4	2	4
25-30	5	1	1	0	1	1	0
30-35	5	2	1	0	1	2	4
35-40	3	1	2	1	1	3	0
40+	4	4	7	2	9	5	5
Stature estimates							
mean	171.1	165.6	168.1	(172)	166.3	166.6	166.2
standard dev	10.0	8.0	8.3	—	7.9	7.9	7.6
no of cases	26	12	19	1	22	14	18

Table 17 Proportions of males and females in different age classes

Groups	A			B			C			B-C		
	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I
0-1 years	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
1-5	0	0	4	0	1	3	0	1	5	0	0	0
5-10	0	0	4	0	3	3	0	2	2	0	0	1
10-18	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
18-25	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0
25-30	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
30-35	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
35-40	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
40-50	2	1	0	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	1
50+	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Groups	D			E			F					
Sex	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I			
0-1 years	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3			
1-5	0	0	4	0	1	2		1	5			
5-10	0	0	5	0	1	2	0	0	3			
10-18	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	2			
18-25	2	2	0	0	2	0	1	3	0			
25-30	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0			
30-35	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	1			
35-40	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0			
40-50	4	3	0	2	3	0	1	1	1			
50+	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0			

M - male F - female I - indeterminate

Table 18 Comparison of stature estimates for male and female skeletons, showing greater sexual dimorphism of group A individuals

	A	D	F
Males			
mean	175.7	170.4	169.8
standard deviation	8.6	6.2	6.0
no of cases	16	12	6
Females			
mean	163.7	161.4	163.6
standard deviation	7.7	7.1	7.8
no. of cases	10	10	11

Individuals aged between puberty and the mid twenties show a predominance of females overall, even if all indeterminate cases are assumed to be males. Although only speculation, it seems likely that this greater mortality of young women was caused by complications related to pregnancy and parturition. Two burials included the skeleton of a woman with that of a perinatal infant. In burial 227, the adult skeleton lacked head and feet, and an accurate estimate of age at death could not be made. The associated infant bones were those of a foetus in the ninth month *in utero*. Death could have been the result of complications in late pregnancy, or a difficult, slightly premature, birth. Burial 187 contained the body of a woman aged about 18–22 years. with

the bones of a perinatal infant. Labour complications seem highly probable in this case: the woman was of very gracile build, with a reconstructed stature of only 1.48 m (4 ft 10 in). Why she was so small is not clear, although hypoplastic disruptions of the enamel of the upper premolars may indicate periods of illness in childhood.

Turning to the older individuals, the modern pattern of women outliving men is not apparent. Most of the older individuals were male, although 'old' in this context only means 50 years or more. Individuals of over 40 years become increasingly difficult to assign to an age class by conventional means, but taking into account sutural obliteration and the rare incidence of senile osteoporosis, it seems likely that few, if any, of these individuals lived much beyond their sixtieth year. To calculate a precise life expectancy from such modest samples would be misleading. What can be said is that about half of the individuals in these groups died by their twenty-fifth year, and that there is no clear evidence for any change in this mortality pattern through time.

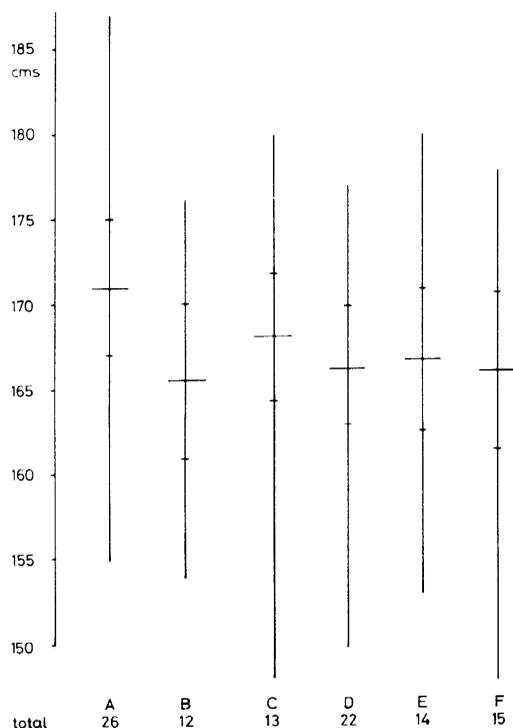


Figure 48 Estimated skeletal stature: the graph shows mean .95 confidence limits, and range

Estimated stature and biometry

The values given for estimated stature in Table 16 show the mean for group A to be higher than that for the other groups. This is illustrated in Fig 48, which shows group A to be characterized by the presence of several markedly tall individuals (6 ft being 1.83 m). The mean for this group is clearly higher than for groups B–F, but it may be an oversimplification to suggest that this shows the Saxon inhabitants to have been taller than their successors. Table 16 shows group A to include more males than females. If male skeletons were consistently yielding higher stature estimates than females, then the sex imbalance in group A could account for the higher mean and larger range of this group. Table 18 gives mean estimated stature separately for males and females from groups A, D and F. The figures show the mean for males in group A to be significantly higher than for groups D and F, but little or no difference in the means for females. A better interpretation of Fig 48 might be that Saxon males were, on average, taller than males in later periods, and that the high proportion of males in group A has produced a high sample mean. The

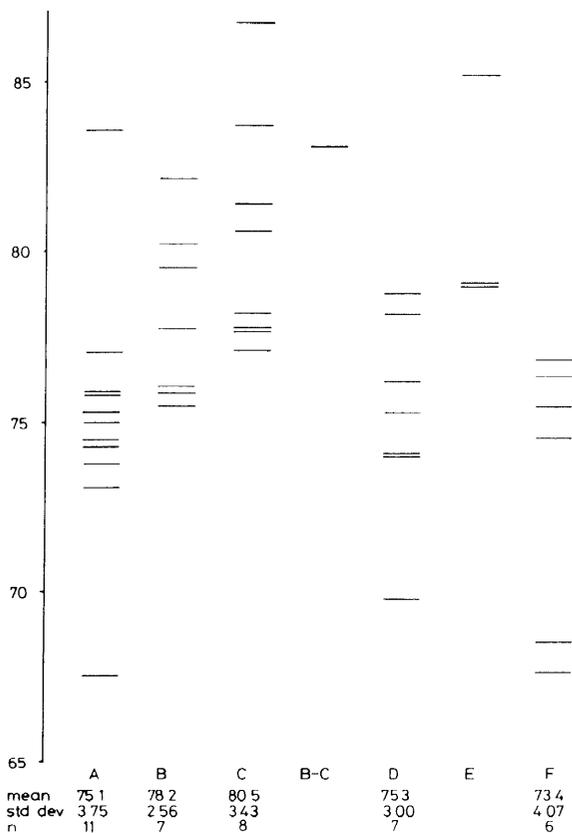


Figure 49 Values obtained for cephalic index (100 x skull breadth / length)

decline in sexual dimorphism in height with time is difficult to explain in purely environmental terms, unless a fall in dietary standards suppressed the growth of potentially tall males, but there is no evidence to support such an interpretation.

A number of crania were sufficiently complete to be measured, and these measurements are listed in Table 19 (fiche 1: E3). The samples obtained were too small to be used on their own for any multivariate analysis, but may be of value for future research given the application of estimation techniques to compensate for missing values. The cephalic index (100 x cranial breadth/cranial length) was investigated to see if the Saxons of group A showed any clear difference in skull shape from the later inhabitants. The results are plotted in Fig 49, which shows the mean cephalic index for group A to be markedly lower than that for groups B and C. Given that the samples are small, it would be unwise to draw firm conclusions, but considering the apparent change in cephalic index with the change in stature described above, there is tentative evidence for some phenotypic change between Periods 4 and 5.

A third metrical trait which was investigated was the robusticity of the humerus. For each complete

adult humerus, the length (HuL1) and maximum and minimum shaft diameters (HuD1 and HuD2) were measured. Samples were drawn from groups A and C to determine whether there was any significant difference in upper arm robusticity between males and females, and whether this difference changed through time in parallel with the observed changes in stature dimorphism. As an index of robusticity, the product of the two shaft diameters (HuD1 x HuD2) was calculated. The results are given in full in Table 20 (fiche 1: E4). In brief, a large and significant difference between males and females was noted in group A and a smaller difference in group C, the males being the more robust. The mean obtained for the female humeri is almost the same for the two samples (381.5 in A, 381.6 in C), but that for male humeri differs considerably (513.4 in A, 431.8 in C). As with estimated stature, the results indicate a much greater degree of sexual dimorphism in the Saxon population than subsequently, the medieval males being generally shorter and more gracile than their forebears. Incidentally, a comparison of values obtained for pairs of humeri in Table 20 indicates a marked propensity for right-handedness, assuming a right-hand bias to lead to a greater robusticity in the right humerus.

Disease and trauma

The most frequent disease symptoms in all groups were those of degenerative joint disease. In a valuable survey of joint disease, Zivanovic (1982, 142–55) describes some of the numerous causes of joint disease, and concludes that it is 'more than probable' that a definitive diagnosis of ancient arthritic clinical signs will not be possible. So it is with Rivenhall, for which few firm diagnoses can be offered. Table 21 summarizes the anatomical sites afflicted. There is an obvious concentration of cases in the lower back, hips and knees, group F showing a particularly high incidence of cases involving the hips.

Tubercular arthritis is one cause of joint damage in the spine, involving necrosis or collapse of vertebral centra. A few cases from Rivenhall can possibly be attributed to tubercular arthritis, namely skeletons 293, 237, 208 and 252. The vertebral column of skeleton 52 showed progressive ankylosis of the spine, with distortion of normal curvature. The small number of cases involving hands and feet can perhaps be attributed to rheumatoid arthritis, rather than gonococcal arthritis which will also attack the extremities, but differential diagnosis has not been attempted for these cases. Burial 301 exhibited severe peripheral exostosis development and eburnation of the articular surfaces of both knees, probably to a crippling extent. In 218, only the right knee was thus afflicted, and this may indicate osteoarthritis following an injury to that knee. Overall, symptoms of joint disease were more frequent in older persons, although individuals under 30 years of age were occasionally afflicted. Degenerative joint disease was probably common at all times, and

Table 21 Incidence of degenerative joint disease

Group	Total	C	T	L	S	A	K	F	G	E	H
A	20	1	6	14	0	8	6	2	3	1	1
B	6	0	1	4	0	1	2	0	0	2	1
C	13	4	8	8	0	5	1	1	1	1	2
D	18	2	8	10	0	6	6	0	1	3	0
E	11	3	7	8	3	2	3	0	1	0	1
F	11	1	2	4	1	8	0	1	3	1	0

Key

Total = total number of individuals displaying signs of joint disease
 C = in the cervical vertebrae
 T = in the thoracic vertebrae
 L = in the lumbar vertebrae
 S = at the sacro-iliac joint

A = at the hip joint
 K = at the knee joint
 F = in the joints of the feet
 G = at the shoulder joint
 E = at the elbow joint
 H = in the joints of the hands

people accepted a bad back and aching hips as symptoms of growing old. In addition, a smaller number of individuals acquired damaged joints as a consequence of trauma or bacterial infection.

Oral disease was the next most frequent category. Table 22 lists the occurrence of four common oral conditions: caries, periapical abscesses, calculus accretion and periodontal disease. The results are summarized in Fig 50. There is a general fall in the incidence of calculus and periodontal disease from group A to group F, matched by an increase in caries and periapical abscesses. It can be argued that this shows a shift from predominantly alkaline mouth conditions in the Saxon period to predominantly acid in late and post-medieval times (Hillson 1979, 149–50). Such a change could have been a consequence of varying dietary habits or oral microflora, or, more probably, a combination of the two. Two individuals showed evidence of traumatic damage to the teeth. In burial 243, the crown of the upper left lateral incisor had broken off during life, leading to some secondary dentine response in the tooth and

an inflammatory reaction in the alveolar bone. In 198, the left upper canine was displaced lingually, with fracturing and a healing response in the alveolus. In both cases the damage could be attributed to the individual having been struck in the mouth.

Returning to post-cranial disease and injury, six individuals (8, 103, 200, 202, 214 and 299) showed bowing deformations of the tibiae or femora indicative of childhood rickets or its adult form osteomalacia. Burials 106 and 218 each had a small compact osteoma, one in the centre of the frontal bone, the other high on the right parietal. This is a non-malignant form of neoplasm or tumour. Only one example of possible senile osteoporosis was noted, most conspicuously around the feet and ankles of the elderly woman in burial 204.

Fractures were rare. Two examples were found (235, 273) of a healed spiral fracture of the left fibula, in each case about 90mm above the distal articulation. The skulls from burials 137 and 283 showed injuries suggestive of blows to the head. In 283 a healed linear trauma ran from the left frontal

Table 22 Incidence of dental diseases

	A	B	C	B-C	D	E	F
Age 0-18 years							
no teeth examined	101	110	118	17	65	82	42
no teeth with caries	0	0	1	0	11	4	3
Age 18+ years							
no teeth examined	379	138	198	19	178	164	140
no teeth with caries	18	22	48	3	30	36	46
Age 12+ years							
no mouths examined	19	7	13	1	15	12	7
no with calculus	13	5	4	1	8	6	3
no with periodontal disease	10	2	3	0	4	2	2
no with periapical abscesses	2	1	1	0	3	0	2

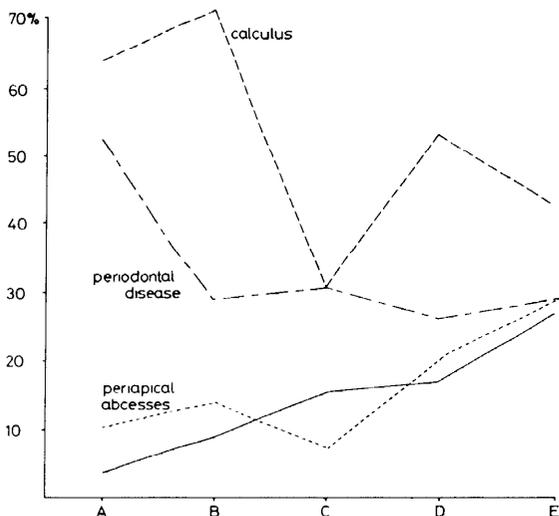


Figure 50 Incidence of dental diseases (data drawn from Table 22)

bone across the coronal suture to the parietal bone, whilst in 137 the injury was located obliquely across the sagittal suture about 60 mm posterior to bregma. In both cases the injury appeared to have been caused by a long, sharp-edged implement such as a sword, scythe or large knife, and was not fatal. A left femur from burial 200 exhibited an area of superficial hyperostosis on the anterior aspect of the proximal end, suggestive of a very severe bruise leading to subperiosteal bleeding. Similar symptoms were noted on the medial aspect of the proximal end of the right tibia from burial 232.

It is important not to exaggerate the extent of disease and injury symptoms in these skeletons. Most cases were of uncomfortable but not excruciating joint disease; there were few signs of violent injury, and not a single case showed an obvious cause of death.

Non-metrical anomalies

Wormian bones (supernumary sutural ossicles) were common in all groups. Table 23 (fiche 1: E5) summarizes the frequency in different sutures for skulls in which the whole vault could be examined. The sagittal suture was less commonly affected than the coronal or lambdoidal sutures, and there is no simple change in frequency from group to group. Overall, the majority of skulls exhibited these additional bones. Epipteric and parietal notch bones were present in a small number of skulls, again with no concentration in one period. In seven skulls the mesofrontal or metopic suture had been retained into adulthood, a very common anomaly. Wormian bones and metopic suture retention are developmental anomalies which, it has been argued, might be linked with low life expectancy and poor nutrition (Zivanovic 1982, 90, 94–5). If so, the high

frequency of these sutural anomalies should perhaps be viewed together with the mortality data in Table 16 and the possible cases of rickets or osteomalacia referred to above.

Less commonly recorded is the presence of a perforation in the olecranon fossa of the humerus. This trait was recorded in eight individuals. In seven cases the sacrum had six segments instead of the usual five. This was usually attributable to sacralization of the lowest lumbar vertebra, although in one specimen (305) the extra segment was derived from the coccyx. At the other extreme, in two individuals the first sacral segment was not fully integrated with the rest of the sacrum. In one of these (241), this condition was associated with remodelling of the lumbar vertebrae so as to cause the spinal axis to deviate slightly to the left. Three specimens exhibited incomplete closure of the sacral canal.

Three dental anomalies were noted. In burial 280, crowding of the upper incisors had displaced the left upper medial incisor distally, pushing the left upper lateral incisor in a lingual direction. The condition observed in burial 245 may possibly have had a traumatic origin. The left upper medial incisor had been lost during life, the adjacent lateral incisor was displaced distally, and the left upper canine had 'leaned over' mesially such that the crown of the canine approximately occupied the resorbing alveolus of the medial incisor. No less bewildering was the palate of burial 152, for which no teeth remained *in situ*. Only one alveolus could be located for the right upper incisors. It was not clear whether this was for the medial or lateral incisor, nor what fate had befallen the other one. Of a total of 74 'mouths' examined, only one was found (175) in which the third molars were all apparently congenitally absent.

Conclusions

The conclusions which have been reached for the Rivenhall bodies hold little that is surprising or unusual. These skeletons represent the dead of a small community seen over a long time, and few changes are apparent over the period represented. Most notable, perhaps, is the evidence for a change in the morphotype of males between the Saxon and early medieval periods. This could have an environmental or demographic explanation, and, of the two, the latter seems the more probable. Other trends are shown in the changing frequencies of oral disorders. The rise in caries during the later part of the medieval period could reflect an increase in the proportion of carbohydrate in the diet. The low frequency of caries seen in the Saxon group A certainly indicates a different oral environment from that typical of modern Essex.

Life expectancy was quite low in all periods, suggesting conditions to have been arduous. There is some evidence that the stresses of childbirth despatched some of the younger woman, while the sparse evidence for serious injuries or lethal skeletal diseases suggests that soft-tissue disorders

and infectious diseases killed many people of both sexes. For those who survived to their fortieth year, the future held the promise of aching joints and, in later periods, bad teeth.

The possible association between sutural anomalies in the skull and extrinsic or intrinsic factors retarding growth remains unproven. If the sutural anomalies are an expression of epigenetic polymorphism, then a high frequency might be expected in a small, inbred community. On the other hand, if these anomalies are predisposed by poor nutrition and a high disease load, then the high frequencies in this community match other evidence for a low life expectancy and generally sub-optimal quality of life.

2 The animal bone

by *Rosemary M Luff*

Fragments of animal bone were distributed thinly throughout most layers and features on the site, and it is probable that much of the material found in Saxon and medieval levels is of Roman origin (cf the pottery). A detailed report on the animal bone is not therefore warranted. A total of 677 fragments were collected, and 511 identified; the remainder

Table 24 Number of bone fragments per species

	Iron Age & Roman	10th– 12th century	13th– 14th century
Bos	25	6	110
Ovis/Capra	11	1	117
Sus	5	1	48
Equus	4	—	10
Cervus	1	—	10
Capreolus	—	—	6
Canis	—	—	1
Lepus	—	—	1
Fish	—	—	1

Medieval features also yielded the following species of bird:

Fowl (F47, 68, 644, 878, 931, 937, 960, 979, 1101, 1130, 1188, 1468)

Goose (F644, 648, 961, 1188, 1459)

Duck (F1369)

Dove (F644)

Stockdove (F951)

Lapwing (F644)

Jackdaw (F275)

were too small to be assigned to a definite species. Since such a small sample was analysed, only the number of bone fragments per species was calculated.

Soil conditions were generally not conducive to the preservation of bones of small mammals, and the only ones recovered were hare (F191, 1019, 1188). A single frog bone was also found (F1354).

Two animal interments were excavated: a practically complete skeleton of a foal and an incomplete skeleton of a dog. From the evidence of tooth eruption, an age of 7 to 9 months has been given to the foal. However it must be remembered that this is only an approximation, since the medieval breeds of horse are not known. Most of the long bone epiphyses were not fused. No evidence of disease or bone fractures was found, and it is not possible to suggest a cause of death. H, F539, Period 6.

The incomplete skeleton of a dog comprised the torso and forelegs. The head and hind-quarters had been destroyed by intercutting features. There was no sign of butchery to the dog. Buried in its own grave in Saxon cemetery 1. C2, F324, Period 4B.

3 The evidence for industrial activity

by *Justine Bayley*

The excavations yielded a small quantity (5–6 kg) of slag (AML 776991), all from secondary deposits. This was mainly ironsmithing slag and fuel ash slag, together with a few pieces of overheated clay and hearth lining. Although these came from Roman, Saxon and later features, there was no significant difference between material from contexts of different date. The material could all have been produced at one time (ie all Roman), but some could equally well be Saxon or later. The small-scale iron working which it represents is a common feature of settlements of all these periods, so that slags are not unexpected finds.

Two further finds suggest non-ferrous metalworking. The first is a medieval brick (AML 776988. C1, unstratified, south of nave). The brick had been part of a structure that was subjected to intense heat. Leo Biek describes its appearance as: 'typical of the thoroughly vitrified, vesicular, multicoloured "slagging" of a refractory body in the presence of charcoal ash, merging into a metallurgical slag carrying a number of small green, but only superficially, corroded prills of copper alloy'.

A portion of this slag containing one large and many very fine prills was removed and examined metallurgically by Professor R F Tylecote, who reported: 'In the unetched state the large prill showed some dendritic segregation of what appeared to be lead in one place. Upon etching, the structure was equiaxed, of coarse grain size and the majority copper-rich phase was not dendritic. The only other constituent, apart from the copper-based solid solution was a fine, light precipitate which could be iron.

If so, it is not sufficient to make the prill ferro-magnetic; it is certainly not the delta phase of the copper-tin system. The hardness is 93 HV 0.5. This is a copper-lead solid solution with 1–5% lead. The colour is more that of a bronze than a brass and, in view of the high hardness, I would suggest that it is a bronze with about 10% tin. It is homogenized, either by slow cooling or by reheating after solidification. The enveloping slag is a brown crucible slag, a glass with some crystallization, no doubt coloured by cuprous oxide.'

The metallographic examination supports the visual impression that this brick was part of a metal-melting furnace; the structure of the prill would have developed as the furnace slowly cooled after use. What the molten metal was used for is problematical, but a small piece of fired clay (AML 825418) found at the west end of the church (C1W, unstratified) has an appearance similar to that of bell or cauldron moulds. The tin level of the bronze suggested by the metallographic examination is lower than that normally used for bells, while other large castings were more often made from lead-containing alloys. No firm conclusions concerning the identity of the casting can be made on the basis of these two pieces of evidence but their conjunction, together with another lump of vitrified refractory found among the slags (C2, F354, Period 6C/7), does suggest that metalworking was carried out near the church, rather than the brick being an accidental 'import' to the site in a load of rubble.

The radiocarbon determinations and their significance

by Warwick Rodwell

Eight samples of bone and one of wood were submitted to Harwell Laboratory for radiocarbon assaying. The results are given in Table 25, where they are expressed both in Radiocarbon Years and in calibrated form, to one sigma deviation. The samples were selected in an attempt to provide objective dating for some of the earlier phases of Rivenhall church and churchyard.

Six of the bone samples were taken from skeletons in the earlier horizons of the two separately excavated areas of graveyard (C1E and C2), three from each. Apart from the fact that the cemetery clearly originated in the post-Roman period, and areas of it were sealed in the early Middle Ages, there was effectively no evidence to date the lowest horizon of graves, and no means of determining which area was the earlier, or whether both were in contemporary use. In terms of the topographical development of the churchyard it seemed highly probable that Cemetery 1 was the earlier, and that in origin it antedated the formal churchyard layout of the later 10th century. Likewise, stratigraphic and topographic considerations pointed to the likelihood that Cemetery 2 was associated with the trench-built

wooden church, for which a 10th century date also seemed certain.

The other two bone samples were taken from burials which had identifiable early medieval associations, one being a markedly skewed grave that tangentially aligned with the Saxo-Norman apse.

The timber fragment came from an oak window-sill which was a secondary insertion into one of the original openings in the north wall of the Anglo-Saxon chancel. The window was sealed up in the early 14th century.

Discussion of radiocarbon dates

The dates obtained were briefly discussed under the relevant sections of the report in Vol 1. They were expressed there in the conventional form of the 1970s, and were uncalibrated. Advances in calibration since that time have significantly refined the probable date ranges in certain cases, and an additional comment now seems justified.

Radiocarbon dating has confirmed the topographic deduction that Cemetery 1 is likely to be the earlier in origin, and the oldest date obtained, Cal AD 789–980 (HAR–2404), belongs appropriately to a burial (G326) in the primary stratigraphic horizon. The origin of the cemetery in or by the later Middle Saxon period thus seems certain. The primary horizon was overlain by Structure 1, which has been interpreted as an Anglo-Saxon shrine or oratory, antedating the foundation of the 10th century church (Vol 1, pp 80–3, 121).

The next two samples came from graves (G284, G316) that appeared to belong to an orderly cemetery and these returned dates of Cal AD 979–1150 and Cal AD 999–1160 (HAR-2019 and 2021) respectively. All three graves included arrangements of stones around the head (Vol 1, pp 82–3), and in at least the case of G284 interment was fairly certainly in a nailless timber coffin. There is now extensive evidence for such coffins in the late Saxon period.

The final date from Cemetery 1 came from G298, an uncoffined burial which was cut through the foundations of Structure 1. The radiocarbon date is Cal AD 1166–1265 (HAR–2326). The four dates from Cemetery 1 area thus comprise a stratigraphically consistent series.

Three of the radiocarbon determinations from Cemetery 2 were from burials that appeared stratigraphically to belong to a cemetery around the east end of the first stone church (Building 8). Grave 165 was not only associated with this, but was cut across the foundation trench of the earlier timber church (Building 7; Vol 1, Fig 60), and therefore post-dated its destruction. This burial yielded a date of Cal AD 990–1157 (HAR–2017).

Grave 135 lay in relative isolation, east of the stone church, and aligned on its central axis (Vol 1, Fig 60). Its radiocarbon date is Cal AD 998–1153 (HAR–2015). By contrast, a little to the north lay the tile-lined grave, G89, which was the latest in an

Table 25 Radiocarbon dates from Rivenhall

Harwell ref	Site ref	Sample type	Age BP	Error 1 sd	Calibrated Date Range Cal AD: 1 sd	Page Ref Vol 1
2015	C1E, G135 Period S/B	Bone	980	60	998-1153	91
2016	C1E, G89 Period SUB	Bone	970	80	990-1163	91
2017	C1E, G165 Period 5A/B	Bone	980	70	990-1157	90
2018	C1E, G257 Period 5C	Bone	860	80	1039-1260	93
2019	C2, G284 Period 4B/5	Bone	1000	70	979-1150	83
2021	C2, G316 Period 4B/5	Bone	970	70	999-1160	83
2326	C2, G298 Period 5C	Bone	820	60	1166-1265	83
2404	C2, G326 Period 4B	Bone	1140	70	789-980	83
2427	Window-sill Period 5B	Wood	950	60	1015-1163	138

intercutting chain of five: it yielded a similar date, Cal AD 990–1163 (HAR–2016).

Statistically, the three dates are identical, and all belong to the Saxo-Norman or Norman cemetery antedating the apsidal phase of the stone church. The fourth determination was taken from a grave that was firmly associated with that apse (G257). Here, a date of Cal AD 1039–1260 was returned (HAR–2018).

The dated timber sample, from the north-east window of the chancel, belongs to the first glazing period of the church; this was subsequent to the Period 5B construction, although the matter was previously discussed under that heading (Vol 1, p 138). It is most unlikely that Rivenhall would have received glazing in the 11th century, and the inserted sill must either belong to Period 5C, or possibly 6A. The radiocarbon date for the sill, Cal AD 1015±1163 (HAR–2427), fits well with the apsidal phase of the church, and the introduction of

glazing as part of a Norman refurbishment would be entirely appropriate.

Thus the four burials and the sill timber have yielded an internally consistent series of dates for activity in the 11th and 12th centuries, associated with the use of the first stone church and its apsidal modification.

In sum, the nine radiocarbon dates provide an entirely satisfactory series which is consonant with the stratigraphic and architectural evidence. They demonstrate that the two excavated cemetery areas were in contemporary use. Calibration of the dates has made them marginally younger than was at first thought: this does not materially change the arguments set out in Vol 1, but merely adds fine tuning. Retrospectively, it is appreciated that additional samples from the earliest graves, in both cemetery areas, should have been dated in an attempt to secure further evidence for the origins of Rivenhall graveyard.

10 Landscape analysis

Introductory note

by *Warwick Rodwell*

It became evident at an early stage in the Rivenhall project that no boundaries with any academic validity could be drawn around the immediate area of the excavated site: it was therefore necessary to search for historically and topographically meaningful limits, and these were found — not surprisingly — to be coterminous in large measure with estate and parish boundaries. Likewise, the pursuit of chronological limits to the study of the landscape was found to be an artificial exercise. Here, as in much of Essex, there are no readily definable cut-off points in landscape history: medieval agriculture did not seriously embrace the open field system and, consequently, there was no requirement for parliamentary enclosure as a vehicle for the destruction of that system. The pattern of moderate-sized, enclosed rectilinear fields has formed the basis for the subdivision of the landscape for the past two millennia (Vol 1, p 171).

The development of the Rivenhall landscape was briefly outlined in Vol 1, part 6, the conclusions being drawn from a series of detailed historical and topographical studies which were carried out over the course of a number of years. Full publication of the evidence is impracticable, but a digest of some of the more important classes is offered here.

Apart from standing structures and buried archaeological deposits, there are three major historic landscape elements that can still be studied today, although the resource is rapidly diminishing. First, there is Rivenhall Park, now totally destroyed except for a few lengths of denuded boundary. Although it has long been appreciated that Humphrey Repton replanned the park in *c* 1790, neither the extent of his work nor the history of what preceded it have previously been studied. While, superficially, it might appear that the park was a relatively late intrusion into the landscape, study has shown that three major phases of emparkment preceded Repton's activities, and the earliest may have been pre-Norman.

Secondly, the surviving, but much depleted, woodland of Rivenhall is of fundamental importance to an understanding of the morphology and management of the landscape; recognition of the fact that these ancient woods are not primeval but are re-generations over former enclosed fields has profound consequences for the study of early land clearance and field systems of the boulder clay. Thirdly, study of the fast-disappearing hedgerows and boundary

banks of the parish has demonstrated the value of this class of evidence to archaeological mapping. Finally, the integration of place-name and field-name evidence has permitted the identification of archaeological sites, ancient land uses, and other private and community activities.

In sum, the evidence suggests that Rivenhall parish in the Middle Ages was well populated, there was long-term general stability, and the landscape was fully managed. Moreover, the lack of recorded evidence relating to the emergence of this modestly thriving community is a powerful, if silent, argument in favour of its ancient ancestry which, it has already been argued, is likely to belong to the Roman period. Post-medieval activity in the landscape of Rivenhall was clearly limited to fine tuning. For a parish whose lands lie extensively on the boulder clay, the implications for landscape archaeology are far-reaching.

1 The place-names of Rivenhall parish

by *Margaret Gelling*

Introduction

Rivenhall means 'at the rough hollow'. The topographical feature referred to is clearly shown by the contours: it is the depression which runs from field 191 to the Crossing Brook, passing between Rivenhall Hall and the church (Fig 62). Rivenhall cannot contain the word *hall*, as that would have given a majority of early spellings with *-ll-*. The predominant spellings are those in *-hale* and *-ale*, and these indicate that the final element is the dative (*hale*) of the word *halh*, 'nook, sheltered place, valley', which is a very much more common place-name element than *hall*, 'hall'. OE *halh* is often used in place-names of a side valley opening out of a larger one, and the word may have been used here because the small valley in question opens out of the valley of the Crossing Brook. A similar use is seen in the neighbouring Coggeshall, which lies in a side valley opening off that of the River Blackwater. Kelvedon, another adjacent parish, contains OE *denu*, 'valley', referring to the valley of the main river.

Crossing Brook, which flows through the parish, has probably given its name to the neighbouring settlement and parish of Crossing, rather than *vice versa*. The name means 'stream (or place) where cress grows', and an exact parallel is to be found in Clavering, on the north-west boundary of Essex, which means 'stream (or place) where clover grows',

Such names (which in many instances referred originally to streams) are formed by the addition of the singular suffix *-ing* to a significant word, or occasionally to a personal name. This is probably a very early type of English place-name, and care is needed to distinguish it from the type represented by Messing and Feering, which consists of the plural suffix *-ingas* added to a man's name to give a tribe-name meaning 'the followers of Maecca or Fera'. The distinction between the two types is difficult in Essex, and there is room for a new study of all the place-names in the county which now end in *-ing*. The singular or plural status of some is uncertain, and the nature of the first elements has not been firmly established in all instances. Cressing, however, is clearly a singular name, referring to the water-cross which a source of 1858 states to have been common there.

The plural tribal names, such as Messing and Feering, were once considered to be indicative of the first English settlements, but are now taken to refer to secondary settlements of appreciably later date.

In the immediate vicinity of Rivenhall there is a notable lack of linguistic continuity from Romano-British times. Wickham Bishops, not far to the south, is a name which may indicate Anglo-Saxon cognizance of a Romano-British settlement still flourishing when English speech was first used in Essex, but the Anglo-Saxons do not appear to have adopted any of the Celtic place-names which must have been in use. In a different context the name *Whalesland*, recorded in 1383, might have been considered to have OE *Walas*, 'Welshmen' as first element, but in the absence of any trace of a pre-English stratum in the local names it seems safer to interpret it as deriving from the surname *Wale*. A high proportion of both field-names and farm-names in Rivenhall are derived from surnames.

Names of farms, manors and houses

For the locations of the major properties, see Fig 63. Many of these names are derived from surnames (eg Archer's; Bower Hall, earlier *Bouchershall*; Durward's Hall). The following are genuine place-names:

Appleford Farm. Atlingefordia, 1272. (Reaney 1935, 295) There is little to add to the discussion in Reaney 1935. The name means either 'ford of the people of Aetla', or 'ford of the princes'. This is a part of Essex where *-ingas* place-names are well evidenced (Feering, Messing, Ulting and Terling are quite close), so an *-inga-* formation, from the personal-name Aetla, *-ingas*, and *ford*, would be appropriate.

Boarstye Farm. The final element is *tye*, from OE *teag*. Reaney (1935, 591) says that this word is very common in the county, with some 30 instances on the 6 inch OS map, and surviving field-names in 35 parishes. It 'seems to have meant originally an outlying common, and later to have been applied to individual enclosures, such examples becoming

numerous in the 14th-15th centuries, chiefly in old woodland districts'. The first element of Boarstye is the surname *Bowcher*. The place-name is first recorded in the 16th century; it was probably coined in the 14th or 15th century.

Brookhouse, 1727. Self-explanatory; close to Cressing Brook.

Ford Farm. Self-explanatory. Previous to the third phase of emparkment, this was the place where the road to Kelvedon crossed the Cressing Brook.

Halfhydes Farm. Halfhide, 1185 (Reaney 1935, 302). An estate assessed for taxation at half a hide. The name probably arose in the pre-Conquest or immediate post-Conquest period.

Hoo Hall. OE *hoh*, 'spur of land', referring to the low promontory made by the 100 ft contour. First recorded 1185, probably a pre-Conquest name.

Parkgate Farm. Self-explanatory.

Pond Farm. Self-explanatory. The pond was in the silted ditch of the former *burh* earthworks; see p 169.

Sheepcote Farm. Self-explanatory.

Silver End. The meaning of 'silver' in place-names appears to vary from name to name. Cf Smith 1956, pt 2, 119, 'In some place-names and stream-names it might allude to the colour or appearance, and in field-names and some place-names there might be a jocular reference to the richness of the ground or an allusion to the rent paid'.

Field-names

Bracketed numbers refer to land parcels (LPs), indicated on the 1839 map, Fig 62; for the full schedule of land parcels, see fiche 1: E12-G5.

Leaving aside self-explanatory names (eg 12 Acre Field, Hop Ground, Church Field, Spring Mead, Rye Pightle) and those which are probably or certainly derived from surnames (eg Raglands, earlier *Wragdins*, *Rodgdens*; Sparkes; Paynes; Pincher Field, earlier *Pinceys*; Rochford Ley), the following categories of field-names can be discerned in the Rivenhall lists:

Field-names of possible archaeological significance

Barrow Field (LP 290). There are cropmarks of a large ring-ditch. The name may indicate that a tumulus was visible in the field; but LP 234 is Little Barrow Field in 1716, and this extends the area to cover the whole curve of the 125 ft contour, so perhaps *beorg* means 'hill' in this instance (but for a probable barrow cemetery, see Vol 1, pp 32-3, Fig 24).

Blacklands, 1575 (LP 156). Usually considered to refer to soil darkened by occupation material. Roman pottery has been found on the surface.

Blackmere, 1583 (LP 428). 'Black pool'. This was the mill pool, formed in a bend in the River Blackwater, at Appleford Farm.

Buggy Field, Great and Little Burgy Field (LP 329, 330, 333). The early spelling *Burgate Field* (1646, 1692) shows that this is one of a group of names discussed by Reaney (1935, 263). Reaney quotes *Burgettfeild*, 1596, in Rivenhall, probably another early reference to this land. OE *burh-geat* 'manor gate' was a gate in the enclosure surrounding the defensible residence of a thegn or earl. The name could indicate the presence of a pre-Conquest manor house: the site has been identified as that of a minor Domesday manor, and potentially also the *burh* of 912 (Vol 1, pp 180–2, fig 127; this vol p 167; Rodwell 1993). Probably Burgy Brook, which flows through these fields, is named from the land and not *vice versa*.

Links (LP 111). This could refer to strips.

The Lowes (LP 419). Low is a more specific term than barrow for a tumulus. This and the adjacent fields contain the remains of several ploughed-out prehistoric burial mounds (Buckley *et al* 1988).

Pokers Spring Wood (LP 409), *Pokers Mead* (LP 388). Probably connected with *Pocketts Lane*, 1582. This might contain puca, 'goblin', and such names may be a vague reference to burial sites or finds of artefacts, such as worked flints.

Port Field (LP 298–300). These three fields could be part of a larger unit called Port(way) Field, referring to the Roman road near which they are situated.

Whomsteds (LP 237, 280) is a particularly interesting name. It is discussed by Sandred (1963, 152–3) where the first element is derived from OE *wamm* 'stain', referring to marshy ground. Dr Sandred establishes (*ibid*, 160–3) that field-names in *-stead* in Essex and Hertfordshire sometimes belong to open fields, and that this type of field-name is likely to have arisen at a very early date. The staining resulting from an extensive spread of Roman occupation and industrial debris associated with the villa was prominent after ploughing, until very recently.

Field-names indicative of communal farming

Common Meadow (LP 422,424).

Hitchens (LP 411). This refers to part of a field ploughed and sown while the rest lies fallow.

Parish Waste (LP 440). Waste was very scarce in Rivenhall, being confined entirely to roadside verges.

Sharplands (LP 379), *Shortlands* (LP 153, 155), *Whitelands* (LP 352). In these names *-lands* may refer to strips in open fields. But for *Whitelands* see p 168.

Field-names referring to other farming activities

Hoppet (LP 224). A term for a small enclosure.

Rainbow Field (LP 39, 167,442). This refers to land ploughed concentrically with a curved boundary.

Reedings (LP 9–10) and *Stump Field* (LP 20–1). *Reedings* is from OE *ryding*, 'clearing', and these two names may refer to clearing of woodland east of Boarstye Farm.

Tarr Croft (LP 207). Cf Tarecroft Wood on 1 inch OS map, an enclosure in which vetches were grown.

Derogatory names for poor fields

Mugbeggars (LP 314). Mockbeggar is a fairly common term for poor land or inhospitable buildings.

Plaguesomes (LP 463).

Smallhopes (LP 456).

Names descriptive of the position or type of ground

Barrow Field (LP 290). See under 1.

Camica Leys (LP 396). Pasture on which rest-harrow grows.

Cartlodge Field (LP 449). A field with a cart shed.

Castlings (LP 79). *Clasland*, 1716. Field next to a chase-way.

Dunmore Bottom 1820 (LP 178). Second element OE *mor*, 'marsh'.

Eaves (LP 202–3). Usually refers to the edge of a wood.

Fore Field (LP 45, 63). In front of Egypt's Farm.

Hoop (LP 107). OE *hop*, 'valley'.

More or Moor Field (LP 304-6). OE *mor*, 'marsh'.

Paddocks Ley (LP 126). This is *Puttokkyslegh*, 1413, 'wood or clearing of the kite'.

Parlar Field (LP 441, 481). Apparently used in Rivenhall for a field adjacent to a farm. *Parlour* occurs in field-names in most counties, but has not been satisfactorily explained.

Perry Field 1556, 1716 (LP 315, 317). OE *pirige*, 'pear-tree'.

Slades (LP 229–30). OE *slaed*, 'small valley'.

Slipes (LP 455), *Long Slipe* (LP 418). A term for a narrow strip of land.

Thicks (LP 150). Probably 'thickets'. The name for Rivenhall Wood.

Water Gall (LP 458). A term for spongy ground.

Names which cannot be interpreted without earlier spellings

Cozelings, *Goslings* (LP 13, 13a). *Cusland Field*, 1688.

Doley Field (LP 172a, 173).

Fulley Field (LP 112). Possibly the name Fuller.

Grazeley (LP 11820).

Horselings (LP 428).

Lander Wood and *Field* (LP 174, 175); but see discussion of Rivenhall Park, p 126.

Moulstram LP (506). *Mowsom*, 1820, possibly manorial, a surname from Moulsham. But this name is not otherwise attested in the parish.

Pesley (LP 88).

Pig Hogs (LP 344). *Pyggeges*, 1556. Apparently derived from the surname Picket; see p 169.

Whistick (LP 56-8). See p 148.

2 Rivenhall Park

by Warwick Rodwell

The dominant feature of the medieval and later landscape at Rivenhall was the park. This is first mentioned in 1295, but is likely to be much earlier in origin. Although parks were occasionally recorded in the Domesday Survey (eg Rayleigh, 1086; VCH 1903, 484), or even earlier (eg Chipping Ongar c 1045; Whitelock 1955, 83), we know effectively nothing about their origins and early history in Essex.

The history of emparkment at Rivenhall is very complex in the post-medieval period, with consider-

able boundary changes recorded by surviving maps. It is clear that the angular outlines of the 17th century and later formal parks did not follow medieval boundaries; furthermore, the park had by this time encroached on Boarstye Green and engulfed Bourchier's Hall moat.

By good fortune, maps from 1688 onwards show features which can confidently be interpreted as lengths of old park bank. These, together with field boundaries, certain field-names, kinks in roads and other topographical indicators, enable the outlines of two successive medieval parks to be discerned. They, and the two post-medieval parks which followed in succession, permit the remarkably interesting and complex history of emparkment at Rivenhall to be charted in some detail.

Rivenhall is of particular interest to park studies because the four principal English types are all represented, providing an eloquent demonstration of the amount of money and effort which successive lords of the manor were prepared to put into the maintenance of their private grounds. The history of the park is also intimately connected with the complex movement of the seat of the manor of Rivenhall (p 151). For a general bibliography of Rivenhall Park, see Desmond 1988, 224.

Rivenhall Park I (Fig 51A)

Although there was no prescribed reason why a medieval park needed to be particularly close to the manor house — and it often was not — at Rivenhall one must question why the park was so far removed from the Hall, and why it impinged upon lands of the manors of Archer's and Bourchier's. The possibility that the park was relocated in the medieval period needs serious consideration, especially since there are two significant field-names north and east of the Hall. To the east is Park Field (LP 232–3) which presumes the proximity of a park; to the north is Lander Field (LP 175, later Lander Field) and adjoining it an ancient wood called Lander Field Wood (LP 174, Fig 57; see also p 126). This is a specific name which refers to a laund, an unwooded tract of pasture for grazing inside a park (Rackham 1976, 146). On the south side of Lander Field was a grove and narrow slade through which ran the old road to Kelvedon (LP 229, 230). By 1716 the road and grove had been eradicated for half their length. The identification of these features as a park bank and perimeter road is not seriously in doubt. This road was, however, part of an almost continuous circuit of lanes enclosing an irregular parallelogram with rounded corners, the plan of which is typical of a medium-sized early medieval hunting park (Rackham 1986b, 122–5). The only part of the circuit which does not survive in landscape features is the west end, where the Tudor mansion was built. The position of the end can be roughly estimated from the physical relief of the area (now destroyed by the Silver End gravel quarry), and features of the mansion garden.

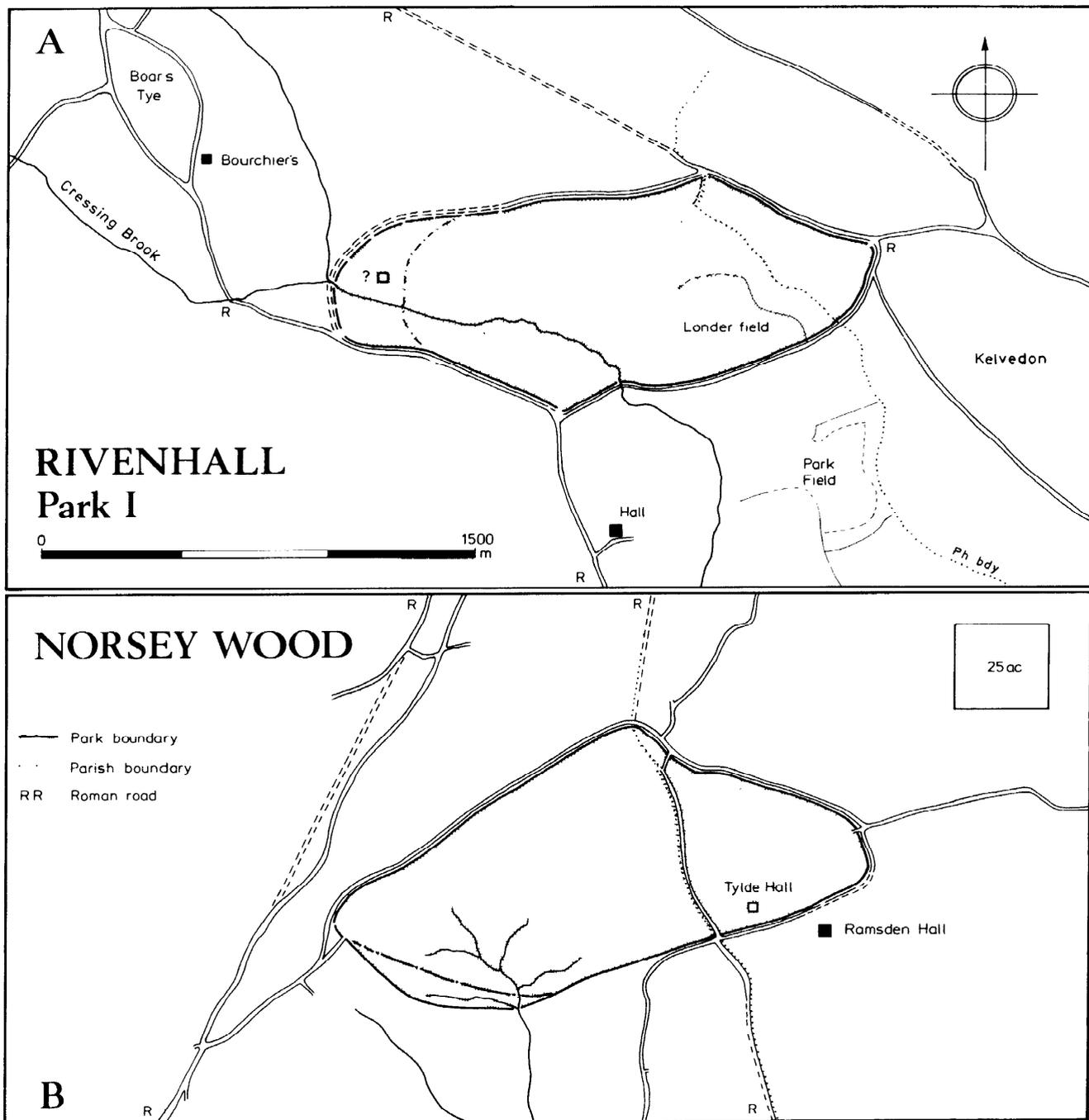


Figure 51 Plans of early medieval parks: A, Rivenhall Park I; B, Norsey Wood, Great Burstead

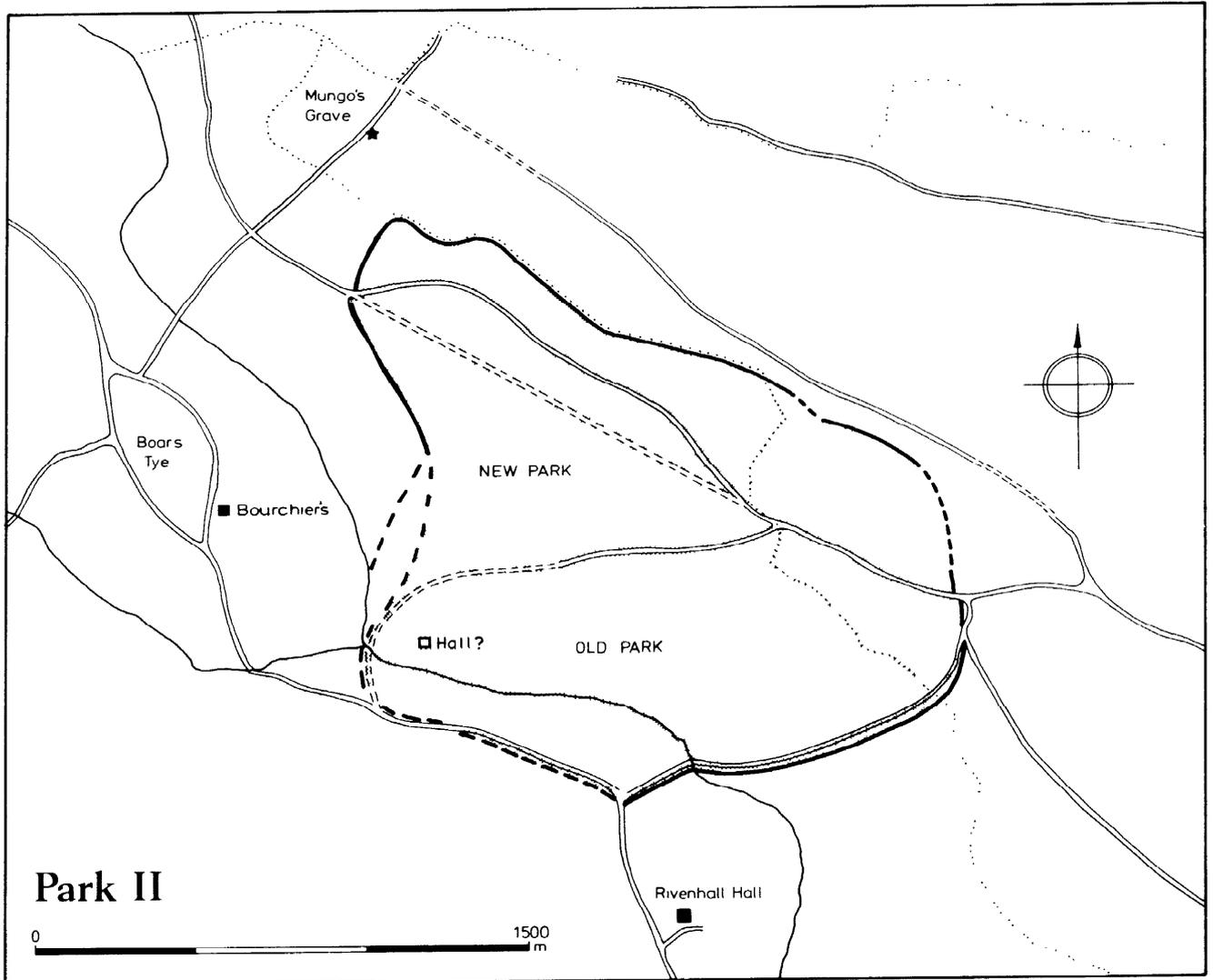


Figure 52 Plan of Rivenhall Park II, probably 12th century

The boundary of this park may have been in the form of a pale, rather than a bank and ditch. The earthwork enclosure, which in part lay outside the perimeter road, may belong to the next park phase. One, or possibly, two lengths of the road incorporated in the boundary were of Roman date.¹ The Crossing Brook runs through the park, and the parish (estate) boundary is clearly older than the park, apart from a slight modification at the north corner. There were probably four original entrances to the park, one at each of the salient angles, as was usually the case. Little has been published about Essex parks, but one particularly relevant example may be cited by way of comparison, the park at Norsey Wood, Great Burstead (Fig 51B). The lanes defining its boundaries survive around three-quarters of the perimeter; there probably was no road (but

there is still a footpath) around the south-west corner owing to boggy ground: several springs rise in this corner of the park. There are two circuits of the boundary here; the inner, known as 'The Deerbank', is possibly the earlier. This park was enclosed by an earthwork boundary of 'deerleap' type, which has twice been archaeologically sectioned (Kimball 1938); in one cutting a bank and U-shaped external ditch were found, in the other the bank and a scarp only. A section of the Deerbank on the south showed it to be a double bank with a slight ditch between.

At Norsey Wood, as at Rivenhall, there were four entrances, three at salient angles. Here, too, the parish boundary (marked by an internal division) antedated the laying out of the park.² It will be apparent that Rivenhall I and Norsey Wood parks are remarkably similar in size and general layout: if

the reconstructed west end of Rivenhall is correct, then the area enclosed was *c* 250 acres (101 ha), which is the same as that contained within the main circuit at Norsey Wood.³ The comparison is even more remarkable since both measured 6,000 ft (1829 m) in length and had a maximum width of *c* 2,800 ft (853 m). All these similarities cannot be coincidental, and there can be little doubt that they betray evidence of careful park planning in the early medieval period. For the purposes of valuation, these parks were constructed with a prescribed area in mind, evidently 250 acres, or perhaps two hides if that was the unit of measurement then in use.⁴

There is no direct dating evidence for either Norsey Wood or Rivenhall park, and the lack of recorded information presupposes an origin before the 13th century, when the registration of parks began. Since both parks overlie parish boundaries, they should therefore post-date the formalization of the parochial system, suggesting a *terminus post quem* in the later 10th century. Since Rivenhall park had to undergo another two phases of development, to bring it into the 13th century (see below), an early date is implied, probably in the 11th century. This accords well with the general history of early emparkment in the South-East; in particular, comparison may be made with the similarly shaped, but larger (1200 acres) pre-Conquest park at Chipping Ongar (Rackham 1986b, 125, fig 6.2).

Rivenhall Park II (Fig 52)

In the next phase, Rivenhall Park was doubled in area, becoming one of the large and wholly irregular enclosures typical of the full medieval period. The plan (Fig 52) demonstrates how the land being emparked was constrained in various ways, particularly on the west, where the manor of Bouchier's must have lain. Here the boundary is again lost by the expansion of Park III, but the general location of this side can be estimated. On the east side, a further small area of Kelvedon parish was enclosed, with several points on the boundary being recoverable from the tithe map. The new north-east side followed the parish boundary to a point just east of Sheepcote Farm; here it turned a tight bend, swinging south-west and, after being pierced by an entrance, ran south. The north-west corner of the park survived late enough as an uncleared bank to appear on the *1688* map (between LP 510–11 and 513). The most southerly part of the west bank was also the boundary for a detached portion of Crossing parish within Rivenhall, and it divided later medieval holdings.

A sinuous road ran through the park from north-east to south-west, almost the full length of which can be traced as boundaries (field and estate) and tracks on the *1716* map. The new road must have been a conscious deviation from the Roman alignment, which can be seen to stop abruptly at the northern entrance to the park. The 'loss' of Roman roads inside hunting parks is a common phenomenon, undoubtedly resulting from the desire to

expunge straight lines which had an adverse effect on the sport.

The area enclosed by the new park was in the order of 550 acres (223 ha)⁵ and it is unlikely that this would have been entirely surrounded by a pale; a bank is more probable. As already mentioned, it seems that this bank was constructed externally to the perimeter road on the south-east side. A slight misalignment of the road on the south-west may be noted, adjacent to Archer's; this may be explained by the need for the external bank of phase II to switch to the opposite side of the road at this point because there was insufficient room for it to pass between Archer's and the road. In contrast to the old park, there is no evidence for a perimeter road, either internally or externally, around the new parts.

There is no dating evidence for this park phase, save that it must lie between phases I and IIA, when reductions in the enclosed area began to take place. A 12th century date would not be at variance with the evidence; had this extension occurred in the following century, registration would have been likely.

Rivenhall Park IIA (Fig 53A)

Two substantial encroachments mark the beginning of disparkment, both connected with the construction of moated farmhouses. 'You have Dis-park'd my Parkes, and fell'd my Forrest Woods':⁶ this was happening in the late 13th century, when Rivenhall Park made its first recorded appearance. In 1295 some unnamed persons 'broke the park of Robert de Scales at Rowenhale'.⁷

The east corner of the park was reduced by *c* 80 acres, removing most if not all of the land which lay in Kelvedon parish, and in the midst of this block the large rectangular moat containing Porter's Farm was constructed (Fig 53A; Vol 1, Fig 129). The rounded angle of the new north-east corner of the park survived as a field boundary until recent times, and the bank running south from this corner gave rise to a narrow strip crossing two fields, separately designated on the Kelvedon tithe map. The new section of road between Woodhouse Farm and Porter's Farm was probably constructed at this period; it turned tightly round the new north-east corner of the park.

The north-west projection of Park II was cut off by a new boundary which, until recently, formed one edge of Storey's Wood. The reduction effected was just over 50 acres, which became the lands of the new moated farmhouse of Storey's (or 'Mote Croft *1716*, see p 154 and Vol 1, Fig 129). Like Porter's, the moat was constructed alongside the existing road through the park. The two most north-westerly parcels (LP 510–11, 519) were annexed, at an unknown date, to Sheepcote Farm,⁸ leaving Storey's with 25 acres.

In addition to the two moats mentioned, at least three others — Bouchier's Hall, Woodhouse Farm and Marylands — were constructed nearby⁹ and

several farms such as Sheepcote are probably of similar date. This period is taken to span the 13th and 14th centuries (see also p 149).

Rivenhall Park IIB (Fig 53B)

Disparkment of the previous phase reduced the enclosed area to c 420 acres (170 ha), but by the early 15th century Ford Farm had been built, resulting in a further phase of disparkment. The south-east projection was cut off, largely to become the lands of Ford Farm (p 157). The new south-east boundary of the park followed Long Meadow (LP 171), but the line it took between the Crossing Brook and Archer's is uncertain; the most likely is that shown behind Ford Farm. This was the boundary of the farm lands; it was also a significant line in the next park phase.

The successive acts of disparkment reduced the enclosed area from 550 acres to 300 acres (121 ha); the outlying areas were relinquished first, leaving

the core of the park nearest to Rivenhall Hall and Archer's largely intact. Approximately half of Park I had been given over to agricultural land by this period. However, a fundamental change occurred in the history of the park in the 16th century when Rivenhall Place was built. The red-brick mansion, seat of the lords of the manor of Rivenhall, was erected inside the park, near the south-west corner, and close to the Crossing Brook. The house was later known as Wyseman's Hall alias Archers', being renamed 'Rivenhall Place' in conjunction with the development of Park III. The shift of the physical seat of the manor from Rivenhall Hall to Wiseman's Hall alias Archer's, is complex and is discussed on pp 151-3. The significant point here is that by the mid 16th century the seat of the capital manor had moved away from the old hall-church centre, to be resited inside the park.

The new house was approached by a drive which branched from the Rivenhall-Crossing road nearly opposite Archer's. The drive continued north, past the house (which faced south), presumably to

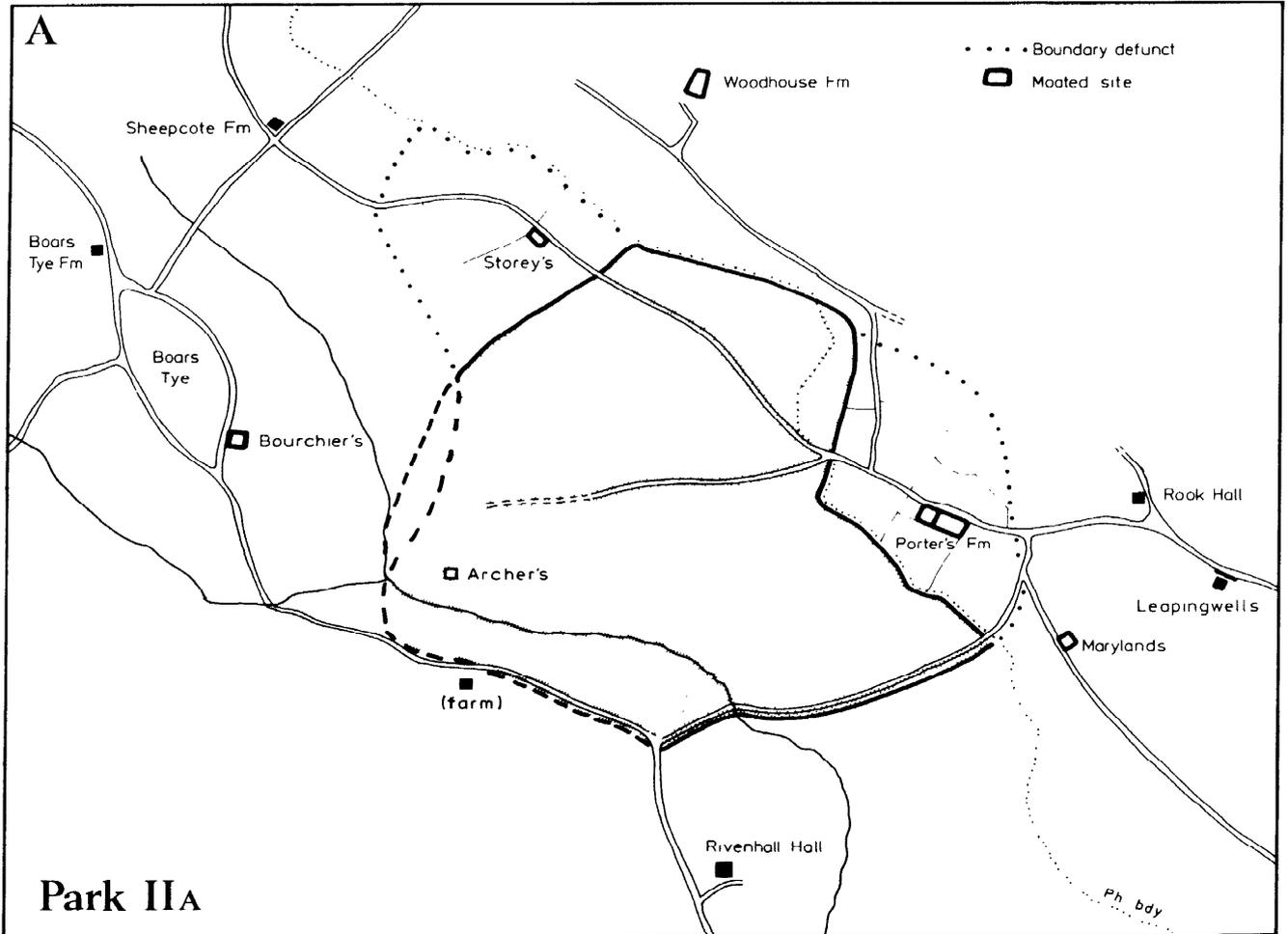


Figure 53A Plans of Rivenhall Park II: A. Period IIA, showing encroachments by Storey's and Porter's Farm, 13th-14th century

connect with the existing ride through the park, as shown in Fig 53B. It is not known whether there was a medieval lodge in the park and no site can be suggested for one, unless it was a predecessor of the Place. Late in the 16th century a new east wing was added to the mansion, presumably by the Wysemans, giving rise to the appellation Wyseman's Hall.

Rivenhall Park III (Fig 54)

The progressive acquisition of the Rivenhall manors by Sir Ralph Wyseman in the second half of the 16th century (p 153) marked a turning point in the history of the park. He was the first resident owner of substance for many years and was a notable benefactor of the parish (see p 22). Sir Ralph probably extended the Tudor house, and his successors continued to embellish both it and the park. 'Two cast iron firebacks, dated 1651 and 1652, respectively, hint at work in progress by Sir Thomas

(grandson of Sir Ralph) or Sir William (great-grandson).

William Wyseman, who was created a baronet in 1660, must have been the progenitor of Park III (Fig 54A). This was of the distinctive and formal 'goosefoot' plan which was introduced from France, becoming popular in Britain after the Restoration (PI XXVII; Emmison 1947, pl XIII). The concept of the medieval hunting park was abandoned in favour of a massive formal layout of tree-lined walks, ornamental garden features, fountains and vistas. The plan was in two parts. First, there was the house with a courtyard against the east front and a walled formal garden on the north, complete with two summerhouses. To the west of the house was the orchard and flower garden, while to the south lay the kitchen garden, fishpool, stables, barn, mill, dog house (kennels) and sundry other buildings (PI XXVIII).

Secondly, there was the park itself, the main axis of which ran north-south from the centre of the walled garden. Tree-lined walks also ran east and

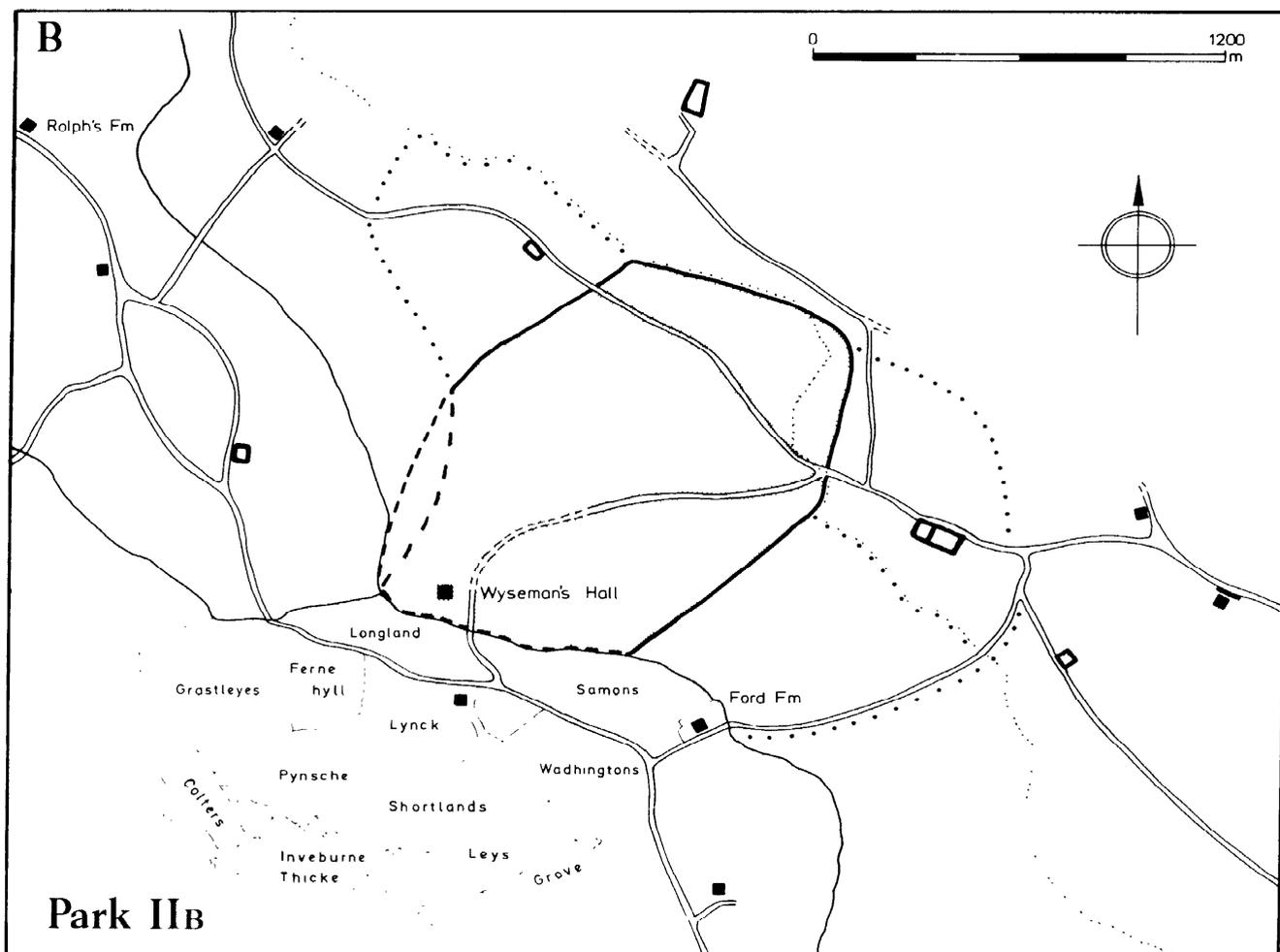


Figure 53B Period IIB, showing further disparkment and the fields farmed from Archer's alias Wyseman's Hall in the early 16th century

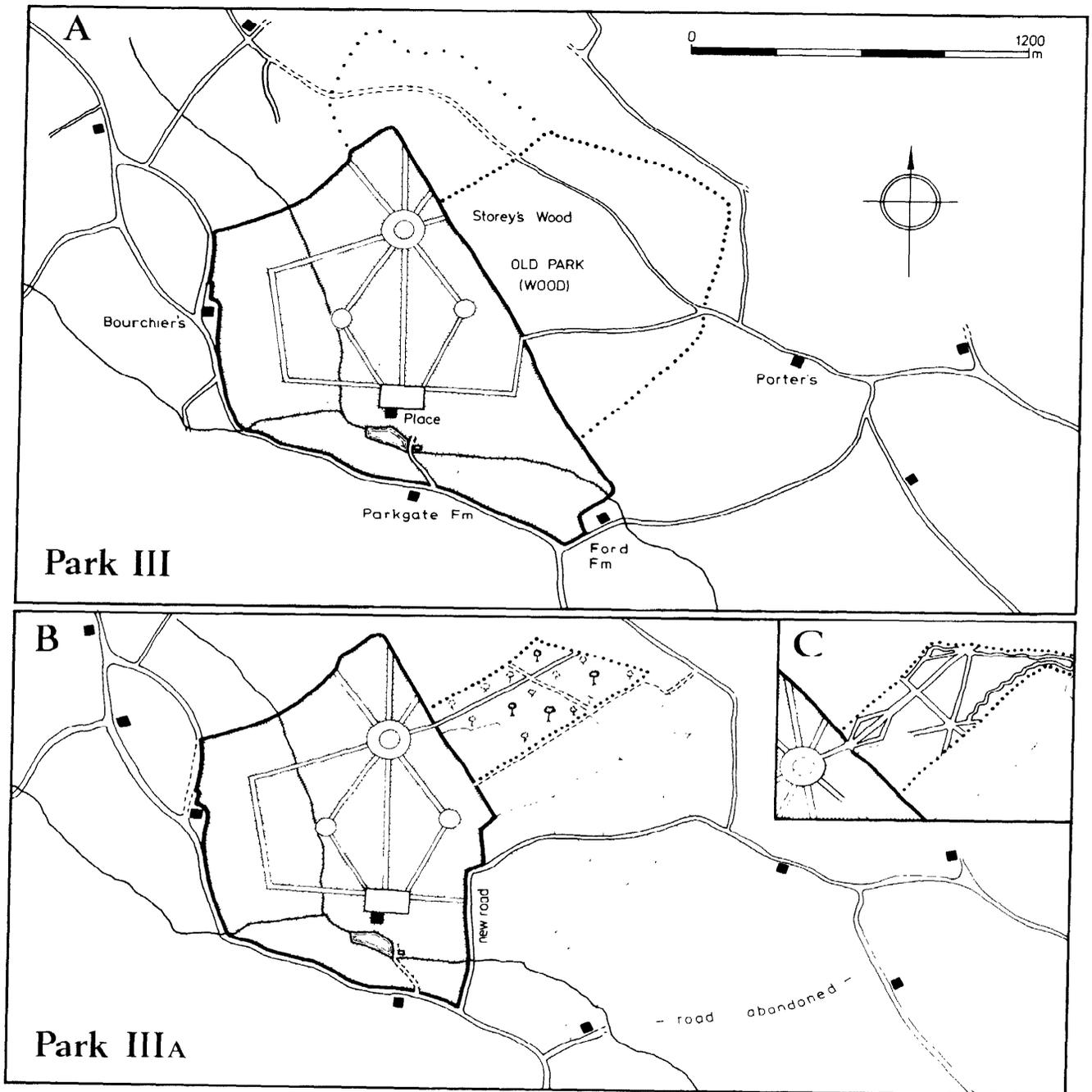


Figure 54 Plans of Rivenhall Park III: A. Period III, the later 17th century park at the maximum extent of its creation; B. Period IIIA, showing early 18th century disparkment. C. Period IIIB, showing the (?)mid 18th century layout of Storey's Wood

west from the summer houses (which were situated at the north-east and north-west corners of the garden), forming a base-line for the geometrically laid out park. The 'goosefoot' park was recorded in meticulous detail in the survey of 1716 (Pl XXVII), but was clearly then in a state of decline. At its zenith, Rivenhall Park must have been comparable in size and intricacy of layout to other prestigious parks of the contemporary nobility: several comparisons may be seen in the landscape depictions of Knyff and Rip, made at the turn of the 18th century (Harris and Jackson-Stops 1984). In particular, analogues may be drawn with the relatively simple goosefoot plan at the Earl of Essex's park at Cassiobury, Herts., and with the more complex one at New Park, Surrey, the seat of the Earl of Rochester (*ibid*, pls 33 and 40). In both cases, George London, the royal gardener, is believed to have been at least partly responsible for the design. London's presence at Rivenhall may also be indicated by the layout.

Two aspects of the Rivenhall plan merit discussion: the form of the park as originally constructed, and the intended form had the plan ever been fully executed.

The Tudor hall stood in the south-west corner of Park JIB and there was no room around it to lay out a formal park, with the house as an integral element. The house now faced east, but the terrain would not permit a regularly planned garden in that direction; thus, there was little alternative to setting the axis of the park at right-angles to that of the house, and to enclose further land. The western limits of the park had to be generously exceeded. It would appear that all the lands of Bouchier's Hall, east of Boarstye, and the lands of Archer's north of the road on to which it faced, were taken into the park. By this time, medieval Bouchier's Hall had been demolished and replaced by a new house nearer the road. The deserted moat was eventually engulfed within the park. The Wyseman family acquired Bouchier's in 1576, and there are indications that the estate had its own (unenclosed) parkland, known as The Downs and Park Leys Close, over which there was free warren (see p 149).

A new north-eastern park boundary, 1 mile in length, was created, cutting through the former wooded park and adjoining fields. On the south some of the land which had been lost to Ford Farm was recovered¹⁰ and a small extension northwards was made to bring back into the park a field which had become part of Storey's Farm (LP 505).¹¹ There is no doubt that the new park was enclosed by a pale *ab initio*, rather than by a bank and ditch, and the area emparked was c 290 acres (117 ha). At least four-fifths of the perimeter of 3 miles (4.8 km) constituted an entirely new boundary. The timber for the pale would have been readily available as a result of the necessary felling of many acres of woodland park. The surviving eastern part of Park II was retained as enclosed woodland, and became known as Storey's Wood (Fig 54A).

There is little doubt that the new park, conceived and partially created in the third quarter of the

17th century, never fully materialized: consideration must now be given to reconstructing its intended form. It is obvious that the long, straight, eastern boundary sliced across the goosefoot plan in a manner which ruined its symmetry. Moreover, the tree-lined drives running north from the central circus stopped abruptly at the park pale, with a gate being provided in only one instance, into Storey's Wood. The initial impression given is that of a park which has been drastically reduced in size, but a careful search of the topographical and documentary evidence revealed no hint of a larger park of this period. That the full plan was never realized must be inferred from a late 17th century list of the estates belonging to the manor of Rivenhall in which it is recorded: 'The Parke conteyning 300 Akers good land and well paled in, valued att 13s 4d per acre p.a. - £200'.¹² This was Park III in its heyday; by the beginning of the next century it was in decline. The extant estate plan, made in 1716, records the uncompleted park just after the area around Ford Farm had been disparked yet again.

The straight eastern boundary to which reference has been made may be seen as a temporary stopping point in an ambitious plan to create one of the largest and earliest formal parks in Essex. That the Wysemans intended to re-empark most of the old medieval parkland is not only evident from the plan, but also from the fact that they gradually bought back all the land which had earlier been lost. Storey's, it seems, was simply acquired and left derelict, awaiting the day when the northern park extension would be completed.¹³

A careful examination of the 1716 plan of the park shows clearly how the original design was drawn up, and allows a confident reconstruction to be made of the greater part of the missing plan (Fig 55). Neither the name of the landscape architect nor his master-plan has survived, but this is not uncommon for the period. Presumably the Wysemans patronized one of the several London-based landscape architects. The plan was a simple geometric one, comprising an east-west base-line with a medial perpendicular which also formed the long axes of a pair of adjoining parallelograms. At the junction between the two parallelograms was the major circus, while at the other acute angles lay the two principal foci of the site, the walled garden to the south, and an unknown feature to the north. The four obtuse angles of the parallelogram were marked by small circuses (Fig 55A). The theoretical geometry also allowed for each half of the lower parallelogram to be contained within a rectangle, with the small circuses lying at the intersection of the diagonals.

While the theory of the design is clear enough, the setting out at Rivenhall was not quite so simple (Fig 58B). Following the current fashion, Wyseman obviously wanted the long axis — that is, the principal vista — to be as great as possible. Hence the design envisaged the ultimate vista being at the most northerly point ever reached by emparkment at Rivenhall. The axial line, set out at right-angles to the house, permitted a ride 6 furlongs in length

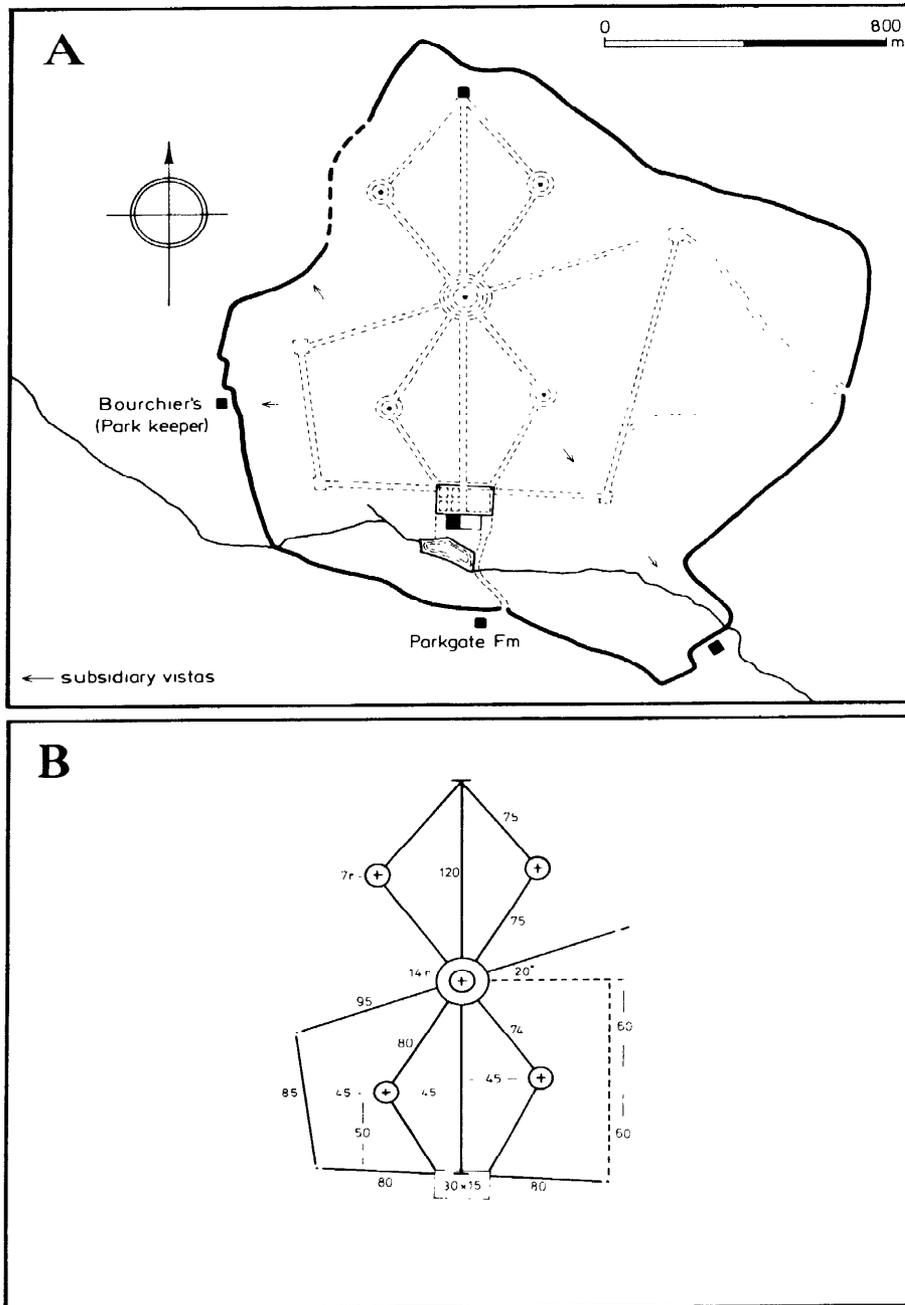


Figure 55 Plans of Rivenhall Park III: A. Reconstruction of the original plan for the creation of the park; B. The geometry, theoretical and actual, of the park layout. Measurements are given in English poles

(240 poles or 1.2 km),¹⁴ with the principal circus at the midpoint. Thereafter, the prescribed geometry should have determined the layout, but topographical obstacles forced amendments. It was not possible to construct the base rectangle on the west side of this axis owing to the proximity of property which Wyseman never owned, while on the east side lay

the old wooded park, part of which was to be retained and to which some connection was evidently deemed desirable. Hence the solution adopted was to swing the cross-axis at the central circus through 20 degrees, which allowed the formation of two quadrilaterals (instead of two rectangles) on the base-line, a small one to the west which did not

encroach beyond the hounds of the Wyseman property, and a large one on the east which facilitated direct connections with the woodland roads.

The solution was a clever one which, although unbalanced on the drawing board, would scarcely have been noticeable on the ground. Crucially, there were no blind-ended rides, and however one approached the central circus the vista always appeared to continue in a direct line ahead. In solving one problem another was created: if the southern parallelogram was laid out correctly, the circus at its western angle would be markedly off-centre to the small quadrilateral; and since this was designed to be an area of open grassland, the discrepancy would be detectable. Another compromise had to be adopted: the eastern half of the parallelogram was set out according to plan while the western was distorted just sufficiently to bring the circus to the *apparent* centre of the quadrilateral. Visually, the result was then acceptable. The geometry — theoretical and actual — is shown in Fig 55B.

Thus, it may be deduced that the plan drawn up for Wyseman's Park III was as shown in Fig 55A. The eastern part of the plan envisaged the retention of old wood-pasture, the boundary bank of Park IIb and existing internal roads; the northern part anticipated a return to the boundary of Park II, prior to the encroachment of Storey's Farm. Why the scheme was never completed is unknown: it might have been through a lack of finance, or the inability to purchase the necessary fields from Sheepcote Farm, but a more likely explanation is that the park had not been finished by the time of Sir William Wyseman's death in 1692. His only daughter produced no male heir and the baronetcy became extinct (Chancellor 1890, 272). The estate was then sold to Thomas Western, whose insufficient fortunes did not enable him to complete the ambitious plan for Park III.

Hence the principal vista never materialized: it was presumably intended to terminate at a classical temple or some other currently fashionable structure. The plan of 1716 shows that subsidiary vistas were also created between groups of trees, to buildings beyond the park; there were 'surprise' vistas which would be lighted upon whilst perambulating the park. There was a westward view to Bouchier's Hall, where the park keeper lived; another to the north-west, into Little Meadow (LP 95); and a third across the valley to the south-east with Ford Farm in the distance (Fig 55A).

Rivenhall Park IIIA (Fig 54B)

Not only did the Westerns fail to complete the park but also, from the early years of the 18th century, they began successively to reduce it. The first part to go was the south-east corner, behind Ford Farm. Sometime after the estate inventory mentioned on p152 was drawn up, but before 1716, a new road was cut through this corner of the park and the old road from Rivenhall to Kelvedon, which had run

from Ford Farm to just north of Marylands, was abandoned and partly eradicated from the landscape. The area of the park was thus reduced to 245 acres (99 ha).¹⁵

A substantial part of the old wood-pasture of the medieval park was grubbed out and a series of new fields established (Fig 54B). A small area (50 acres, 20 ha) was retained in the form of Storey's Wood and linked to the park by a drive. Even the south-west corner of this had been grubbed out by 1716 (LP 103).

Rivenhall Park IIIB (Fig 54C)

Thereafter, the history of the park is uncertain until the 1790s, when it was totally redesigned. The geometrical park was meanwhile maintained, although falling out of fashion, and it was probably allowed to run down slowly. There was, however, one curious development which remains unexplained: sometime between 1716 and 1773 the surviving part of Storey's Wood was laid out with a series of rides and walks (Fig 54C). These are shown on the 1773 map (PI XXIX) and confirmed by the tithe map of 1839 (Fig 62). The plan adopted is reminiscent of the 17th century park, although jumbled and on a miniature scale; there was a bisected parallelogram and a six-way junction of rides, several of which were blind-ended. There was never any more to the plan than this, and we can only suppose that it was a landscape folly created as an adjunct to the park, sometime in the first half of the 18th century. There may thus have been a modest revival of interest by a member of the Western family in emparking, but no new areas were taken in.

Little is known of the adornments of Park III, except what we are told by Coller (1861, 389); although writing long after its demise, he actually visited the site and described what he saw of the earlier remains: 'a quaint old garden, ornamented after the fashion of other days, with its parterres of flowers, raised walks, statues and vases; the form of this enclosure being still traceable by the foundations of its terrace walls'. He also says that tradition asserts that the park once included a racecourse (most unlikely). One item which adorned the park, probably introduced in the early part of the 18th century, has been found; it is a rectangular marble basin which was recovered many years ago from the Cressing Brook beside Ford Farm. It is now a garden ornament at Cressing Temple Farm.

Rivenhall Park IV (Fig 56)

In 1771 Charles Callis (later Lord) Western inherited his father's estates; he was the most prominent member of the Western family and his remodelling of the church has already been discussed (Vol 1, pp 156–60). His impact on Rivenhall Place and Park was equally devastating: he transformed both out of all recognition in the period *c* 1790–5. Western

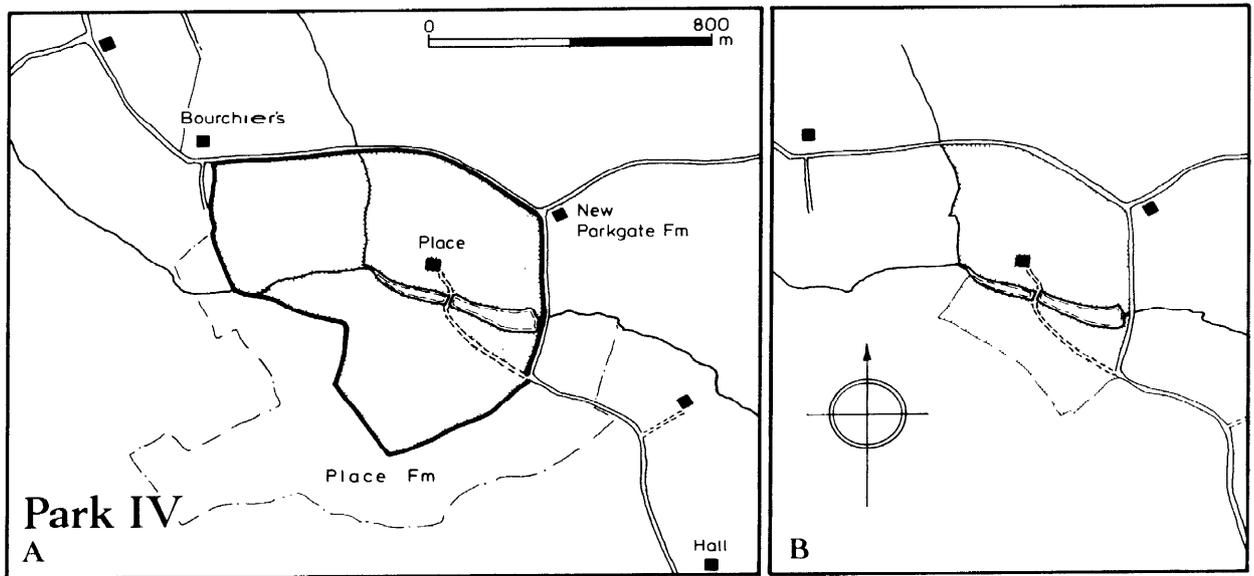


Figure 56 Plans of Rivenhall Park IV: A. Its maximum extent, c 1800; B. Its minimum extent, c 1920

became Member of Parliament for Maldon in 1790, and it was probably this political and social elevation that aroused his desire to improve the mansion at Rivenhall. It was almost certainly in the same year that he called in Humphrey Repton, landscape gardener and architect, to advise on a 'facelift' for Rivenhall Place.

In accordance with his usual practice, Repton produced a 'Red Book' for Rivenhall which contained watercolour drawings of the house (from the south-east) in its existing state, and in the improved form which he proposed. In the case of Rivenhall Place two alternative 'improved' versions were offered. The watercolours were prepared as a series of overlays so that various alternatives for the form of the lake and vegetation could be considered. Repton's drawings of Rivenhall are undated but belong to his earliest years as a freelance landscape designer, 1789–91. Work on the improvements must have been put in hand immediately. The Rivenhall 'Red Book' has not been published, but primitive sketches based on its watercolours were used to illustrate principles in *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (Repton 1795; Loudon 1840, figs 6–8).¹⁶

The first view (Pl XXXIa) shows the Tudor mansion with later additions; there are stables and trees in front. Repton described it thus:

'The present character of Rivenhall Place is evidently gloomy and sequestered, with the appearance of being low and damp. The interference of art in former days has, indeed, rendered the improvement and restoration of its natural beauties a work of some labour; yet by availing ourselves of those natural beauties, and displacing

some of the encumbrances of art, the character of the place may be made picturesque and cheerful, and the situation, which is not really damp, may be so managed as to lose that appearance. The first object is to remove the stables, and all the trees and bushes in the low meadow, which may then with ease be converted into a pleasing piece of water in the front of the house. In its present state, two tall elms are the first objects that attract our notice: from the tops of these trees the eye measures downwards to the house, that is very indistinctly seen amidst the confusion of bushes and buildings with which it is encumbered; and the present water appearing above the house, we necessarily conclude that the house stands low: but instead of this confusion, let water be the leading object, and the eye will naturally measure upwards to the house, and we shall then pronounce that it no longer appears in a low situation' ('Red Book' ms and Loudon 1840, 43–4).

These words brought about the eradication of the formal park, now long out of fashion, and the creation of an entirely new layout, the English landscape park. Repton's plan envisaged a large open area of grassland in front of the house with an expanse of water in the hollow. This meant that the park had to be in front of the house rather than behind it, and all traces of geometric formality, other than in the mansion, were of course expunged.

Landscaping was concentrated on the southern end of the old park, where a new setting was

created with the house standing in the centre, visible from many angles. The park as it was in c 1825 is recorded in fair detail on a survey plan (PI XXX).¹⁷ It is not clear whether Repton initially felt it necessary to embark on such massive changes to the landscape, which included resiting the main road from Rivenhall to Braintree, and there is reason to believe that the project was not conceived and carried out in one phase. Repton had achieved what he set out to do before 1794 (and probably by 1791), when C C Western left Rivenhall Place and moved to Felix Hall, Kelvedon. The Place was acquired by his brother, the Reverend Thomas Walsingham Western, and it was not until 1796 that permission was sought to realign the road.¹⁸

The road from Rivenhall to Kelvedon had been rerouted through the south-east part of the park in Period IIIA, so that it was now relatively simple to create a new link between this road and Boarstye; this was done and a length of '260 perches' (1.3 km) of the old road closed. Most of this was taken into the park, and Parkgate Farm was also destroyed so that an extension of the park to the south could be undertaken. The new road, north of Rivenhall Place, cut off most of the old formal park, and Parkgate Farm was built anew at the three-way junction east of the Place. Although there is no information recorded on this point, it is likely that Repton was called back to landscape the new area. Thus by 1800 Rivenhall Park had reached its fourth and final form (Fig 56A and PI XXX), occupying an area of 150 acres (60.7 ha).

Much of Repton's park comprised open grassland on which sheep and cattle were grazed, interspersed with irregular clumps of trees (PI XXXIIa). Iron gates, hung on stone pillars, were erected at the new entrance to the park, from which a long drive ran to the house. A three-arched brick bridge took the road over the Crossing Brook, now enlarged to form a pair of ornamental lakes. Trees and shrubs were planted along the northern side of this 9 acre (3.6 ha) expanse of water; there was a waterfall and screen of shrubs alongside the road at the eastern edge of the park. Another screen of shrubs was planted along the south-east side of the extension and also around the new enclosed garden to the rear of the house, or the site formerly occupied by the orchard. The old enclosed garden north of the house was left to crumble (Coller 1861, 389). Between the house and the new road to the north were two regular avenues of wych elms, noted by Coller. While at first sight these avenues might be taken to be survivals from the Period III park (PI XXX), they are not, however, correctly positioned to be associated with its plan. Possibly they might relate to some intermediate phase. One further statement by Coller requires comment: 'The park, which we see beautifully undulated in front of us, was laid out by the master-hand of the celebrated Gilpin, but was formerly much more extensive.' (Coller 1861, 389). William Gilpin (died 1804) was renowned for his writings on landscapes, particularly in western Britain, but there is nothing to connect him with

Essex or with landscape gardening at Rivenhall. Presumably this attribution was an error, and Caller actually meant Repton.

Finally, before leaving the subject of Park IV the house itself must be briefly considered. Repton's alternative sketches for its improvement obviously represented the expensive and the inexpensive. The expensive version (PI XXXIIa) envisaged a complete remodelling of the exterior to assume the appearance of a gothick castle. On the east elevation there were to be gabled projections with a crenellated facade between, and a centrally placed crenellated porch. On the south elevation the Tudor porch was to be raised to form a crenellated tower, and the facade generally remodelled. The cheaper version, on the other hand (PI XXXIb), envisaged a completely new eastern facade in the simple neo-classical style, while the south elevation was left untouched.

There is unfortunately no evidence to show when the work of transformation began or whether there was any intention on the part of C C Western specifically to adopt either plan, except that there is yet another watercolour in existence which shows Rivenhall Place as a gothick house (PIs XXXIIb and LXIX). This illustration is contained in Hawkins's *Annals of Rivenhall* (Hawkins nd, 116); it was evidently painted for an oval mount, but has been trimmed, is (now) unsigned, and is clearly not in Humphrey Repton's style. Hawkins simply entitled it 'Rivenhall Place'. An initial reaction might be that this is no more than a slightly coarse copy of Repton's design sketch, but closer inspection shows this not to be the case. The 'gothick castle', although very similar in most respects, even down to the exact fenestration, has no eastern gables in the anonymous illustration, the east porch is slightly different and so is the detailing of the south tower (no entrances in the base). The artist's viewpoint was not quite the same and the anonymous picture shows evergreen trees beside the bridge and to the south-west of the house, whereas Repton's drawings show only deciduous trees. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the trees shown in the anonymous sketch correspond to what was actually there in 1831 (PI XXXIII; Wright 1836, opp 255), whereas Repton's do not. The anonymous sketch, which must be the later one, appears to be a modification of Repton's original. The question arises: was this a true representation of Rivenhall Place and Park after Repton's plan had been put into operation? There are several reasons for believing that this is not so, principally that if C C Western had embarked upon this major programme of rebuilding, he is unlikely to have left Rivenhall Place so soon in favour of Felix Hall. Furthermore, if the gothick transformation had been undertaken, or even been begun, some evidence should have survived, at least until 1818, the date of the earliest post-Repton illustration of the house (Anon 1818).

The likely explanation is that Humphrey Repton laid out the park around the turn of the 1790s, but did not touch the house. Somebody closely associated with him then produced a revised drawing for

the gothicization of the house, in the period 1790–5. But before C C Western could implement this (or any other scheme for the 'improvement' of the house) Felix Hall came on the market (1795–6) and he decided to move to this altogether more elegant seat. Rivenhall Place was made over to rector T W Western who had no use for such a rambling mansion, and demolition of the south wing ensued. This must have taken place in the period 1796–1800 and is confirmed by Collier (1861, 389): The house itself was an extensive pile, forming a large quadrangle, and contained a picture gallery 100 feet in length. So extensive was the establishment even up to nearly the beginning of the present century that rumour asserts — and an old veteran employee who still lingers about the estate confirms it — that thirty retainers of the household sat down daily to dinner in the servants' hall. Much of the building has since been demolished'. Thus, T W Western reduced Rivenhall Place to its present form, adopting Repton's plain, classical east facade, the less expensive scheme (PI XXXIVa). The south wing was rebuilt to be in keeping with this, but the north side largely retained its Tudor aspect (PI XXXIVb). The much-reduced Rivenhall Place was first illustrated (with a certain amount of artistic licence) in *Excursions in Essex* (Anon 1818, opp 255) in 1831 (PI XXXIII) and again in an excellent watercolour of 1836 (PI LXXI; Hawkins nd, 20).

One detail remains unresolved: the authorship of the anonymous painting of the gothic house, which must have been produced by an associate of Repton's, as a 'second thought' on the matter. Although the artistry is less accomplished, the 'castle' itself has been improved architecturally and made more in keeping with the kind of medieval fortification which it was meant to emulate; this gives a possible clue to the authorship of the illustration. It is surely an early work of John Adey Repton, eldest son of Humphrey Repton. In the early 1790s John Adey was only in his late teenage years but was studying Gothic, and writing for the *Gentleman's Magazine* by 1795. In the following year he entered the London Office of John Nash, taking with him a useful knowledge of Gothic (Colvin 1954, 491). From 1802 John Adey worked in partnership with his father, so that there is nothing improbable in seeing the anonymous drawing as a manifestation of an embryonic collaboration of the mid 1790s. J A Repton's later associations with Rivenhall have already been discussed (Vol 1, p 160) and we may imagine him giving this early watercolour to rector Hawkins in c1840 for his *Annals*.

The later history of Rivenhall Park is one of steady diminution. By c1825 20 acres had been given over to arable and another 13 acres converted into an enclosed field;¹⁹ by 1839 further subdivisions had been made, reducing the park to 100 acres or less (Tithe map 1839; Fig 62). The first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1:2500 shows the park in the same condition (1875) and by 1921 a slight further reduction brought it down to 84 acres (34 ha).²⁰ The terminal act of disparkment took place during the

Second World War. Rivenhall Place now has no more than a modest garden.

3 The Rivenhall woods

by *Oliver Rackham*

Saue elme, ash and crabtree, for cart and
for plough,
saue step for a stile, of the crotch of the
bough.
Saue hazel for forks, saue sallow for rake,
saue huluer²¹ and thorne, thereof flaile for
to make.

Thomas Tusser,
Five hundred points of good Husbandry
(1573), 48, 10.²²

Tusser was a native of Rivenhall; the parish contains the remains of seven ancient woods (Fig 57). They bear witness to its social and economic history down the centuries; they are also the nearest approach to natural vegetation remaining in the parish and provide our only evidence for what it may have looked like in prehistoric times. These particular woods are unusually complex and difficult to interpret, both in their biology and their archaeology. Essex is a county of very varied woodland, and these are a microcosm of Essex woods: the four larger woods at Rivenhall, although now totalling only 70 acres (28 ha), contain eight main types of woodland. The woods have remained largely unchanged, save for reductions in size, for at least 300 years, and they retain evidence of a complex and chequered history in the remoter past.

This account is concerned with the four larger woods: Lanham (or Lanham's) Wood, Storey's Wood (largely destroyed in recent years), Rivenhall Thicks, and Tarecroft Wood (Fig 58). There are also three small woods: Park-Pale Grove (Ashfield Wood), Landerfield Wood, and Barrowfield Wood. Three other woods have been completely destroyed: Rolph's Wood, Kitchen Field Wood and Poker's Spring Wood (Fig 59).

Documentary evidence

The Western Estate maps of 1716 (Fig 61) depict six of the seven surviving woods. Except for Barrowfield, which then had exactly its present outline, all of the six were larger than they are now; they have since lost definite portions of their area, but at least half of the 1716 boundaries survived into modern times. In 1716 there was a remarkable jumble of woods and farmland in the south-west of the parish, with many fields and one small farm virtually surrounded by woodland; Parkpale Grove, the Thicks, and Tarecroft are survivors of this arrangement. There were also many other small groves and shaws — strips of woodland around fields — which

RIVENHALL PARISH and FIELDS

1839

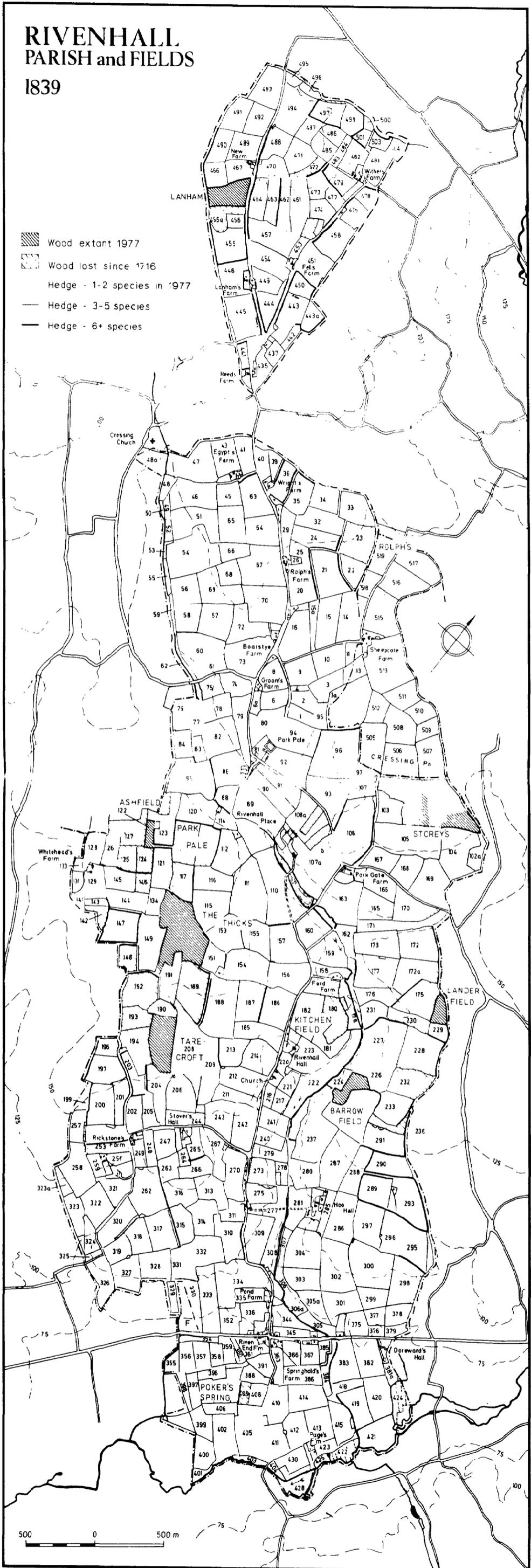


Figure 57 Woods and hedges in Rivenhall parish: a survey of the surviving evidence in 1977

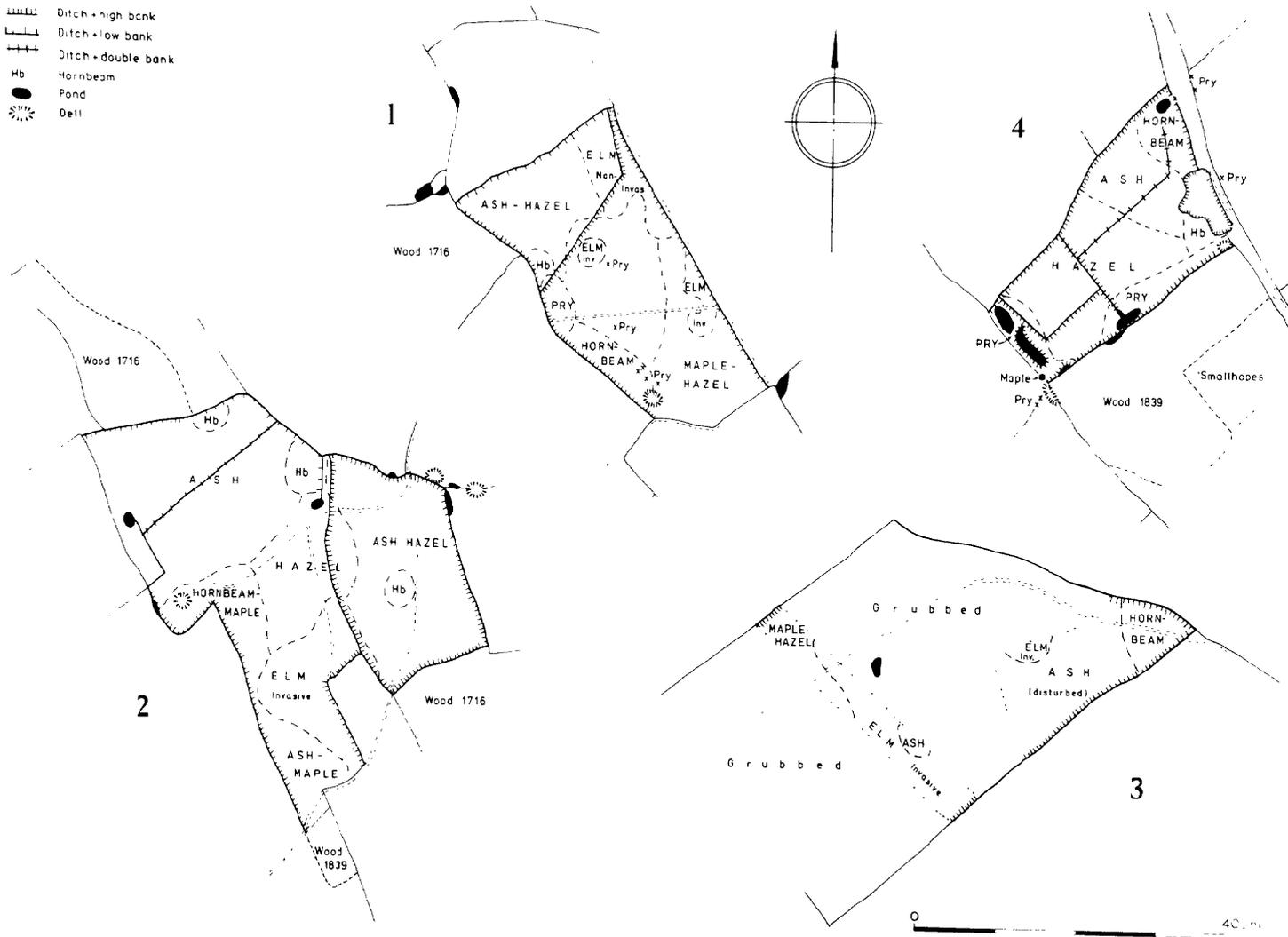


Figure 58 Plans of Rivenhall woods: 1. Tarecroft Wood; 2. Rivenhall Thicks; 3. Storey's Wood; 4. Lanham's Wood. Surveyed May 1977

have disappeared altogether since 1716. The title map of 1839 shows that about half the loss of woodland took place before that date; the missing woods are still there (although less accurately represented) on the first edition Ordnance Survey of 1805, and their destruction is probably to be attributed to the great plough-up during the Napoleonic Wars.

Lanham Wood lies outside the area covered by the 1716 maps, and is first shown on the 1805 OS map, but there is no reason to suppose that it originated later than the other woods. Called Right Forward Wood, in 1839 it abutted southwards on another wood since vanished (Fig 58.4). The destruction of part of the wood appears to have taken place in 1676, when timber was felled in 'Lanham's Chase next (to) Right-forward-wood' (probably in LP 456).²³

There is little evidence for the earlier history of the woods. By analogy with other Essex woods one might expect them to be of at least medieval antiquity (cf Rackham 1986a). The many Rivenhall entries for the 13th–15th centuries in the Calendar of Inquisitions contain frequent references to small woods, but with the multiplicity of manors and woods in the parish it is difficult to identify them.

Field evidence: archaeology^{2 4}

All the Rivenhall woods have a woodland, rather than a wood-pasture or plantation, history.

Woods in Essex are bounded by banks with external ditches which, in general, are more substantial the older the wood outline. The four larger woods all have broad rounded earthworks, irregularly sinuous in direction, characteristic of medieval wood boundaries. In three cases, however, the banks no longer form the perimeter of the wood, which must have been greatly altered since it was first demarcated.

In the Thicks the ancient woodbank forms a complete circuit — lower, and perhaps later, on its east side — enclosing about a third of the present wood (Fig 58.2). The remainder has a much less substantial and presumably later boundary bank and also has an internal subdivision; these features suggest that the area was at one time farmland, in at least two enclosed fields, which went out of cultivation and became an extension of the original wood. The orientation of the fields conforms to the roughly rectangular grid of hedges in this area. Lanham Wood has an ancient woodbank on the south-east and north-east sides; the other sides are evidently of later date and there are several internal banks and ditches (Fig 58.4). Evidently the medieval wood was larger than the present one, was reduced to a fragment by the formation of at least two fields inside the old boundary, and was later increased again before being truncated to its present size. Tarecroft Wood has a relatively modern and insubstantial outline, much of it post-1716, but running across the wood is a quite unrelated woodbank; evidently its history, too, has involved both subtractions from, and additions to, the original woodland area (Fig 58.1; see also pp 162–3). Storey's Wood, to judge by the fragments of it that are left, had rather less

massive boundary banks than the usual medieval wood; whether it had internal earthworks cannot now be told (Fig 58.3).

Essex woods often contain ponds and pits, which in many cases appear to be of natural origin, occupying hollows in the boulder clay; they often occur in pairs or in groups. Lanham Wood in and near its 7 acres has no less than nine such features, to which, indeed, it probably owes its survival as a wood. One pond is unusually large and steep-sided, and — whatever its origin — has probably served as a roadstone-pit for the adjoining road. The two large rectangular ponds in the south-west part of the wood, one surrounded by a bank, appear also to be partly artificial, although there is no obvious use in the vicinity to which the excavated material might have been put. The other six ponds in Lanham, together with a group of four and two single ponds in the Thicks, have the rounded shape and sloping sides which are presumed to be natural.

Field evidence: vegetation

These are all ancient coppice woods. Their vegetation has a history of several centuries of continuous development and may, in part, be primary woodland derived from the prehistoric forest. Like other ancient woods they consist of timber trees, mainly oaks, and underwood of a great variety of species; it is chiefly the underwood which gives them their character and historical continuity. Until recently these woods were intensively managed, the underwood being felled (as Tusser describes) every few years, but only in parts of Tarecroft and the Thicks is the underwood still in rotation. Many of the stools are gigantic and of great age, the result of centuries of coppicing.

The only evidence of planted trees is in the oaks which form the timber trees of Lanham Wood. These are all about 80–100 years old (much younger than the wood), genetically uniform, and much more numerous than are the wild-type oaks that are thinly scattered through the other woods. Presumably the oaks result from a late 19th century attempt to turn the wood into an oak plantation.

The woods are best characterized by the dominant trees of the (now mostly overgrown) underwood, indicated in Fig 58. All of these are native species and, with a few exceptions, have probably been present for centuries in roughly the same proportions as now. Most of them are mentioned by Tusser, as well as in medieval documents for similar woods elsewhere. In prehistoric times a comparable mosaic of woodland types may well have extended over the entire parish.

Soils

The soils are derived partly from the boulder clay and partly from loess and other thin overlying deposits. In Lanham Wood the loess appears to have been relatively thick and forms a large part of the

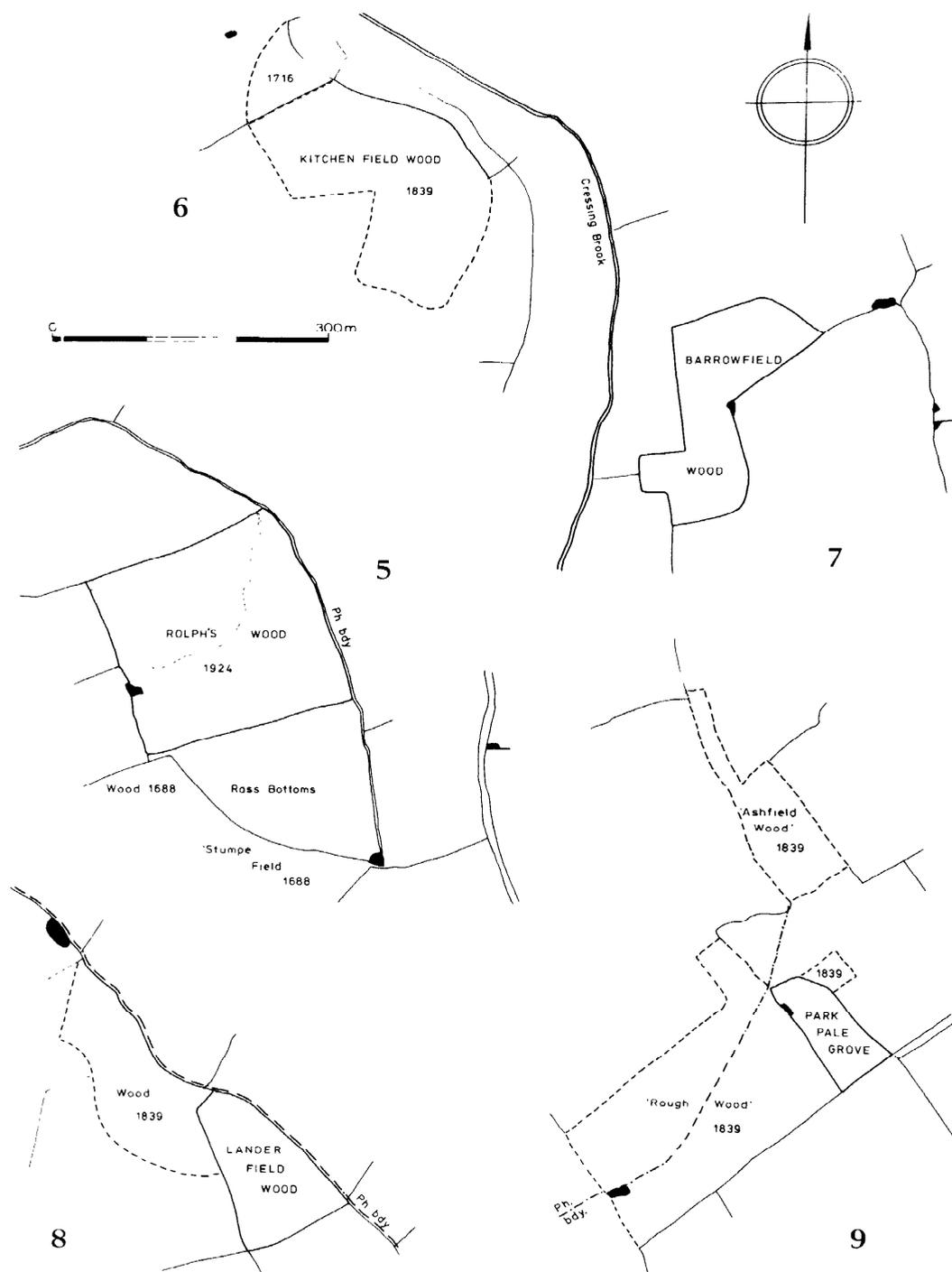


Figure 59 Plans of Rivenhall woods: 5. Rolph's Wood (destroyed); 6. Kitchen Field Wood (destroyed); 7. Barrowfield Wood; 8. Landerfield Wood; 9. Park Pale Grove and Ashfield Wood (destroyed)

present strongly acidic topsoil. In Tarecroft and the Thicks the loess is scanty and the soils are unusually clayey for this part of Essex. All the soils are poorly drained to varying degrees. This variation in soil composition and drainage, with the historical complexity of the woods, has produced a great variety of types of woodland.

The pry tree

The pry or small-leaved lime tree, *Tilia cordata*, is one of the characteristic dominant trees of ancient woods in mid north Essex. There are stands of it in Lanham Wood, in its typical habitat of ill-drained, acid, loessy soils, and also in Tarecroft.

Pry was one of the most common trees of the prehistoric forest; it is nowadays rather rare on a national scale (Rivenhall is almost at its southern British limit) and is strongly associated with ancient woodland. Here it occurs, significantly, in or very close to those parts of the woods which on earthwork evidence are the original woodland. A few stools are over 15 ft (4.58 m) across and must be several centuries old.

Tusser is one of the earliest literary sources to mention this tree:

Lop popler and sallow, elme, maple, and prie,
well saued from cattle, til Sommer to lie. (35, 15)

As we know from other sources of evidence, pry had already shrunk to roughly its present distribution by Tusser's time. Of all the places in which he lived, Rivenhall is where he is most likely to have known it. The mention of lopping (pollarding) implies hedgerow rather than woodland trees, and pry, although usually confined to woods, does occasionally still grow in the local hedges. The hedges of the ancient lane past Lanham Wood, which Tusser probably knew, since he lived in this part of the parish, contain several stools of pry, as well as elm, maple, and sallow (though 'popler', ie black poplar, is no longer the familiar tree that it was in Tusser's day, and is probably extinct in the parish).

Other types of woodland

All the woods contain patches of hornbeam woodland. Hornbeam is probably the most common woodland tree in Essex; it is gregarious and tends to form pure stands; it is less restricted to acid soils and to ancient woodland than pry. In mid north Essex there is a tendency for the plateau woods to be dominated by pry and the slopes by hornbeam; this can just be discerned in Lanham.

Ash, maple, and hazel are the characteristic trees of heavy soils, especially in north-west Essex. Here they occur in all possible combinations: maple woodland in parts of Tarecroft, ash woodland in the Thicks, hazel woodland in Lanham, together with various mixtures. Lanham also contains an unusual type of woodland, acid ashwood on light soil;

presumably the ashes are rooted deeply into the underlying boulder clay, whereas the rest of the vegetation results from the acid surface deposits.

Two kinds of elm wood are represented. In the Thicks there is a large area occupied by an invasively suckering kind of elm.²⁵ On the evidence of the earthworks, most of the area is secondary woodland; presumably the predecessors of these elms, centuries ago, suckered into an abandoned field from an adjoining elm hedge. There are smaller elm invasions, evidently into existing woodland, in Tarecroft. Such invasions are common in Essex woods; the Thicks is an unusually good example.

Tarecroft also has an example of non-invasive elm wood. The elm concerned is a gregarious tree, suckering weakly if at all, which coppices and forms pure stands much like hornbeam.²⁶ This is near the south-eastern limit of a type of woodland which is frequent in north Essex, extending into Hertfordshire.

Other trees and shrubs

As well as pry, there are two other trees strongly associated with ancient woodland. The woodland hawthorn, *Crataegus laevigata*, is particularly abundant here and is much more common than the ordinary hedgerow species; the Rivenhall woods are possibly the best locality for it in Essex. The wild service grows in small quantity in Lanham.

Aspen — characteristic of wet sites — occurs in several places, but not in sufficient quantity to give rise to a separate woodland type as it does elsewhere in Essex. Holly — another Tusser tree — is thinly scattered. Elder is particularly abundant in places; its significance is considered below.

Herbs and undershrubs

The ground vegetation of the woods is almost as varied as the trees and shrubs; the plant communities of the two layers are largely independent of each other.

The more acid areas, especially in Lanham, tend to be dominated by brambles, the more calcareous areas, especially in Storey's and the Thicks, by dogs mercury. There are occasional small tracts of bluebells. Primroses, a rather uncommon plant in Essex, are thinly scattered.

In many areas, particularly of Storey's and the secondary part of the Thicks, there is a suite of plants indicating a soil relatively rich in phosphate and perhaps in other plant nutrients. These include nettles, elder, goosegrass, and the grass *Poa trivialis*. Being common to all the woods, this feature is probably in part of natural origin: these woods happen to be on more fertile ground than woodland is generally allowed to survive on. In places, however, there may be local enrichment by a history of cultivation and manuring.

The ivy which is abundant in Tarecroft and parts of the Thicks is usually associated with secondary

woodland.²⁷ It has possibly been admitted by some kind of severe disturbance in the past (pp 162–3). Once present, ivy would persist in the vegetative state for ever.

A mysterious and unexpected plant is the deadly nightshade at the edge of the secondary part of Rivenhall Thicks. This is a rare plant in Essex and should not occur in this type of woodland. It often occurs near buildings and is sometimes supposed to be a relic of medicinal cultivation. One is tempted to associate it with the unnamed little farm in the woods which was very close to this spot in 1716 (Ager's Farm, p 162).

Conclusions

The woods of Rivenhall have had a remarkably unstable history. Since 1716 they have steadily diminished, but the field evidence points strongly to an increase of woodland at some time before then. This phase must have been sufficiently long ago for the old boundaries to have been forgotten by the time of the 1716 map, on which there is no trace of them. I therefore conclude that the secondary parts of the Rivenhall woods must be at least 300 years old; this is borne out by the fact that not many differences are now discernible between the vegetation of the original woods and the additions.

Presumably the woods which have disappeared since 1716 had a similarly complex history. The mosaic of woods and fields around the Thicks in 1716 looks at first sight like piecemeal assarting into a forest remnant; but to judge from what remains, it must in fact have resulted from the opposite process of a field system declining and being partly replaced by woodland (for discussion, see p 163).

Most Essex woods do not have such a complex history. A more typical example is Chalkney Wood in Earl's Colne, whose boundaries were fixed in the Middle Ages and remain unaltered to this day.

Rivenhall appears to have been a highly agricultural parish for some 2000 years. In Domesday Book it is stated that there was wood for 410 swine in 1066 and for 360 in 1086; this is an enigmatic statement, for Domesday records only 62 actual pigs in the vill, but however arrived at, it presumably implies a few hundred acres either of woodland or of wood-pasture. Table 26 summarizes what we can estimate of the woodland area at different periods.

As well as woodland, Rivenhall has had a great many hedgerow trees. These were an important source of timber and underwood, and of emergency fodder. Tusser says, when comparing the 'champion' (ie open-field country) of Norfolk and the Midlands with the 'woodland' (ie land growing 'wood' in the form of hedges) of Suffolk and Essex:

T'one laieth for turfe and for sedge,
And hath it with woonderful suit;
When t'other in euerie hedge,
Hath plantie of fewell and fruit.

(63, 26)

Table 26 Extent of woodland in Rivenhall parish

Date	Acres	Percentage of parish
1066	c 600?	c 17?
Period of minimum woodland	c 100?	c 3?
1716	240	6.9
1805	222	6.5
1838	156	4.6
1950	105	3.1
1977	76	2.2

And in another place:

If frost doo continue, this lesson doth well,
For comfort of cattle the fewell to fell:
From euerie tree the superfluous bows
Now prune for thy neat thereupon to go brows.

.....

Now lop for thy fewell old pollenger²⁸ grown,
That hinder the corne or the grasse to be mowen.
In lopping and felling, saue edder²⁹ and stake,
Thine hedges as needeth to mend or to make.

(35, 11, 13)

In recent years Rivenhall has lost more of its hedges than most Essex parishes (pp 128–9). Those that remain appear to be highly mixed and to be typical of the medieval hedges that are common in Essex (p 128). Tusser's words would undoubtedly have been applicable to his home parish. Only a few of the 'pollengers' remain.

When account is taken of hedges, as well as woods, it is clear that Rivenhall could have been self-sufficient in timber and wood on as little as 3% of woodland. For much of its history it could have exported wood to towns or to woodless parts of Essex.

The 'lost' woods of Rivenhall: a note

by Warwick Rodwell

Rolph's Wood (Fig 59.5)

The last vestiges of this wood appear on the 1924 OS map, when it occupied 14 acres, the same area as in 1839. The field-names adjoining show that the wood was once much larger. In 1688 another small wood adjoined to the south-west, while to the south were two substantial fields called Great Stumpe Field and Little Stumpe Field (LP 20–1A), evidently referring to clearance that had taken place at some earlier date. These names cannot be taken to imply that clearance was necessarily recent in 1688, since their usage has continued into modern times. A smaller cleared area adjoining Rolph's Wood, known as Rass Bottoms (LP 22), implies timber preparation

(OE *raesn*, 'a plank'), perhaps the site of a wood yard.

A few records of felling have been traced. In 1676 21 oaks were felled 'in Shippcotts', which must refer to some part of Rolph's Wood towards Sheepecote Farm. In a letter of 1805 it was reported that 102 oak trees had been felled in Stumpfield Wood and a field adjoining Sheepecote's.³⁰ Another possible allusion to Rolph's Wood may be indicated by a reference in 1575 to *Norffolkes Wode*. Wright's Farm, alias Norfolk's, was a small unit adjacent to Rolph's, and without sufficient land to have possessed a separate wood.³¹

The former extent of Rolph's Wood was clearly not less than 50 acres, and the surviving hedgerows around the fields here contain high species counts. To the north and west of the wood is a series of nameless fields (LP 24–5, 32–5; recorded only by their acreages) with angular boundaries. These almost certainly bespeak the post-medieval destruction of a further tract of woodland of at least 49 acres, extending into the north-east corner of the parish. The full reconstructable extent of Rolph's Wood is therefore *c* 100 acres.

Kitchen Field Wood (Fig 59.6)

This irregularly shaped piece of woodland on the west bank of the Cressing Brook occupied 5.25 acres in 1839, having been reduced from 6.5 acres in 1716. It is evident from the plan alone that this wood was once much larger, and perhaps occupied *c* 30 acres. The fields cut out of this wood were called Kitchen Field and Pasture Kitchen Field (LP 180–1); they adjoin Rivenhall Hall.

Barrowfield Wood (Fig 59.7)

This irregularly shaped wood of *c* 7 acres survives, but is plainly no more than the core of a much larger wooded tract into which encroachments have been made from all sides. One of these encroachments is Little Barrow Field (LP 234), in which the Roman cemetery appears to have lain (Vol 1, pp 32–3). In this instance, there can be little doubt that Barrowfield Wood is a post-Roman regeneration on what was previously cleared land. At its maximum extent, it seems likely that this wood was contiguous with Landerfield Wood.

Landerfield Wood (Fig 59.8)

Also known as Londer Field Wood, 4 acres of woodland survives alongside the parish boundary. In 1839 the wood occupied 9.75 acres, and exhibited an irregular outline indicative of encroachment; it was the same in 1716. Fields to the west and south are undoubtedly post-medieval formations, and in several cases these still had substantial wooded margins in 1716. It seems likely that Landerfield and Barrowfield woods together comprised an extended area of wood pasture ('Lander'), which was at some time managed as parkland (LP 232–3 'Park Field, 1716). At its maximum extent, this probably occupied *c* 200 acres (cf Fig 57 and Vol 1, Fig 125).

Park Pale Grove, Ashfield Wood and Rough Wood (Fig 59.9)

A large area of the western margin of the parish was lightly wooded: Rivenhall Thicks and Tarecroft Wood are the two principal areas of survival (p 122; Fig 58.1, 2). However, at the northern end of this wooded tract is a further small survival — less than 3 acres — in the form of Park Pale Grove. In 1839 this was adjoined on the west by a larger area known as Rough Wood, which extended into the neighbouring parish of Cressing. On the east was a clearing called Boutwood's, and just to the north another small grove, known as Ashfield Wood.

The 1716 estate maps depict clearly both a jumble of abandoned holdings and fresh assarts in this wooded tract along the west side of Rivenhall parish, and continuing beyond its bounds into Cressing and Faulkbourne. This tract of woodland was probably once contiguous with Vicarage Wood in Witham parish (p 179; Fig 89). The collective evidence suggests that, although this woodland was extensive in the post-medieval period, much of it was not of great antiquity.

4 The hedgerows of Rivenhall parish (Fig 57)

by Michael D Astor

Here lies Giles Thorn, honest hedger and ditcher,
Who was born poor, and never grew richer.

Anon

This survey of the hedgerows of the parish of Rivenhall was carried out during the autumn of 1977 and was accomplished in nine days of field walking.³² With the exception of a few derelict fields, and LP 217 and 220–3 which are sheep pasture, the entire farmed area of the parish is arable; the woodlands are discussed by Dr Oliver Rackham on pp120–5. Corn, sugar beet, potatoes and peas for processing are the main crops grown, with a small area of rape from the seeds of which oil is extracted. The land south of the railway has been cleared of hedges to a greater extent than the rest of the parish. The present occupier, who rears a large number of pheasants, regrets this clearance and has to plant small areas of maize to provide cover for the birds. Every accessible field in the parish was walked.

The systematic recording of every hedge in a given area is a recent extension of archaeology (Hooper 1971; Pollard *et al* 1974; Rackham 1976, 191–204) and a short description of the method by which the survey was carried out is in order. To avoid walking over the same ground twice the route was worked out in advance, and sufficient record cards were numbered for the fields to be surveyed. Copies of the 1839 tithe map and the most recent 1:10,560 Ordnance Survey map were carried, the former for the field numbers (see Fig 57) and the latter with its wealth of topographical detail for accurate identification of fields. On approaching a hedge a point

was chosen, a tree, a gap or a telegraph pole, from which the 27 m (30 yd) length could commence. This reference point was chosen where possible from a sufficient distance to avoid any bias towards the most interesting part of the hedge. The different species in this standard length were counted and recorded; climbing shrubs (*Clematis*) were recorded but not included in the species count. Standard and pollard trees, coppice and felled stumps were recorded for the whole length of each hedge. In about 50% of the fields the type of topsoil was noted. The presence of lynchets was recorded, and where the hedge was planted on a bank (defined as a hump along the line of the hedge having two sides) this was noted. No attempt was made to apportion ownership of a hedge to a particular field on the basis of where the ditch lay, but in those cases where two adjacent fields have a ditch between them, this fact was recorded. Some boundaries had a double hedge with no ditch, such as LP 21E and 22W.³³ Once the record cards had been completed, the extant hedges were plotted in different colours according to the numbers of species onto a copy of the 1839 tithe map. For details of the survey record form see fiche 1: EB.

The most significant fact to emerge from the survey is the extent to which the parish has lost hedges since the 1839 map was drawn. This loss is not even throughout the whole parish, and as a generalization is greatest near the present-day roads.

Considering the parish in greater detail, and starting at the southern end, the first useful division is a line from the Old Rectory through Hoo Hall to the eastern edge of the parish. The land from the river Blackwater to this line has lost approximately 75% of its hedges. The oldest hedges, those with six or more species, make no particular pattern: one is on the parish boundary along the old course of the river near Appleford bridge, another lines the west side of the road near Hoo Hall. The Crossing Brook south of the A12 road is lined for part of its course by two old hedges and to the west of the road to Braxted a small copse, now cleared, in field 409 has left a hedge with six species on its west side. A large proportion of the hedges cleared in this area were grubbed between 1839 and 1875. This must have been due to the introduction of steam ploughing, and may have been given added impetus by the construction of the railway.

North of this area, to a line from Whitehead's Farm, through Rivenhall Thicks to Parkgate Farm, and then along the road to the parish's eastern boundary, hedge survival is much better, some 35% remaining. The field pattern of 1716 is still recognizable, and many of the enhanced number of fields that had arisen through subdivision prior to 1839 have one or more hedges remaining. The eastern parish boundary in this area is marked by an almost continuous hedge with five or more species, as is the margin of the Western estate where it is not contiguous with the parish boundary (from LP 298 to 234). The area excluded from the Western estate has all but two of its 1839 hedges intact and, with the exception of field 295W, they have five or

more species. Field 295W is 80% *Crataegus* (hawthorn-whitethorn) and has one other shrub. The north hedge of field 227 and the south hedge of field 229 both have seven species which can be explained by the fact that the road to Kelvedon followed the edge of these fields. The hedge between 226 and 227 is probably older than the survey suggests, but it has been so mutilated by modern machinery that only two species survive.

To the west of the central north-south road, the parish boundary is furnished with hedges having from three to eight species, and the hollow way from Rickstone's Farm to the site of Oliver's Cottage has hedges on both sides with four to eight species; for most of their length the hedges meet in the centre of the road, making it impassable. The north and east hedges of field 189 are the surviving remnants of a former part of Rivenhall Thicks. The solitary *Pyrus communis* (pear) in the east hedge of this field must be derived from the dwelling that once stood in the corner of field 151. The old hedges around 147 and the north hedges of 145 and 146 are all that remain of two shaws in the case of 147, and a small wood that used to occupy fields 146, 124 and 125.

Also in this area are two hedges whose appearance belies their age. The road westwards from Rickstone's Farm to Witham was built *de novo* c 1850, across the centre of field 253: the hedge flanking this road on the north has only a single species, yet the hedge on the south has seven shrubs, plus *Clematis* and *Hedera* (ivy). This anomaly, however, is simply explained by the fact that the southern hedge formed part of the boundary of Rivenhall Rectory and Glebe Farm, and was deliberately enriched by ornamental planting.

The other anomaly is the hedge between fields 186 and 187: according to the maps, this was planted post-1716, but it has six species. Does this hedge represent a conscious effort by someone to plant hedges that matched the old ones, or was a farm-hand simply sent out to dig up whatever he could find to plant a new hedge?

The next section of the parish, northwards through Silver End to the northern limits of the main block of Rivenhall parish, has lost about 75–80% of the 1839 hedges. Three large areas, one west of Rivenhall Place, one to the south of Storey's Wood, and virtually the whole of the land north of Boarstye and west of the spinal (Witham) road, have lost the bulk of their hedges for farming reasons during the last twenty-five years. The light industrial and housing settlement of Silver End has been developed during the last half-century and has caused the destruction of many hedges. Several hedges between Whitehead's Farm and Silver End are remnants of old copses and a system of small fields. The hedges of fields 121 and 123 line a track between them and have six species at their east ends, but there is evidence of 18th or 19th century planting at the west ends. Prior to 1839, this track ran from Whitehead's Farm to the old Parkgate Farm; this farm was situated in what later became field 110. North of the road that runs from the

present Parkgate Farm to Silver End is the area that in 1716 was Rivenhall Place park: the area had reverted to agriculture by 1839. The east hedge of field 106 and the north hedge of field 96 represent the sole surviving hedges of the pre-18th century park era. The hedge between fields 93 and 106 has six species, and could be a survival from this period that was incorporated into one of the park rides, or it could have been planted with multiple species at the time the park was laid out; it is in the correct position to be part of a ride.

The fields to the east of Rolph's and Wright's farms have the best hedge survival in this part of Rivenhall. The oldest hedges are those around three sides of field 21, and along the northern boundary of the parish. The few hedges that remain on Egypt Farm are so mutilated by mechanical trimmers that the survey probably does not reflect their true age. The one hedge that remains in a complete state is the northern boundary of field 63 which flanks the track leading to the farm. There are very few standard trees in this part of the parish, but along the western edge of field 62 there are three standard *Pyrus sp* (pear) and the stump of a fourth. These trees are about 6 m tall and approximately 40 cm in diameter. Although seen whilst dormant, the writer feels that they may be the old cultivar which he has always known as the Hazel pear.

The final part of the parish is the detached area roughly triangular in shape and including Lanham's, Fell's, and Wither's farms. This is an area of mainly acidic soils with a sandy or gravelly subsoil and appears to be an older landscape than the main part of the parish. The area is divided north-south by two roads, the western one being an ancient green lane which is distinctly hollow at its northern end before it leaves the parish; the other is the modern road from Lanham Green to Bradwell. At nearly 40%, the survival rate of hedges here is the highest, and of those hedges a greater proportion are older — containing six or more species — than those elsewhere in the parish. The green is lined for most of its eastern side by hedges with six or more species, and the two remaining hedges on the other side of the road are of equal age. The east and west parish boundaries both have several old hedges, those of fields 450 and 443a possibly being derived from a small wood, parts of which remain in the adjacent parish. The northern boundary, marked by a stream for most of its length, is devoid of hedges, but at the eastern end there is an assemblage of wet-ground trees and shrubs that could indicate a boundary of some age when viewed in conjunction with the hedges at right-angles to it. The land rises up steeply to the south of this stream and for 300 m east of the green lane there is a definite scarp. On part of the ridge is a plantation of native trees, but including *Aesculus hippocastanum* (horse chestnut) and *Castanea sativa* (sweet chestnut), the latter being found nowhere else in the parish. The south hedge of field 472 is the remnant of a small copse that once occupied this field. The west hedge of field 497 and the hedge between fields 462 and 463 line

up fairly well and are roughly parallel to the green lane. They may represent an early land boundary. The fields around the now-demolished New Farm were to a large extent cleared of hedges between 1839 and 1875, no doubt to facilitate cultivation by the newly introduced steam traction engines.

Arthur Young, writing in 1805, observed 'Our Essex fences consist of hedgerows of various kinds of wood, Hazel, Maple, Oak, Ash, Blackthorn, Whitethorn and brambles. Timber and pollard trees interspersed' (Young 1805, 179). He would still have recognized his hedges today, and he might even have understood the reason for the clearance of so many. Young recorded that hedges were cut down at nine-, ten- or twelve-year intervals, and fifty years before (in *c* 1750) had provided enough fuel for all the inhabitants, but not at the time of his writing, when the use of coal had started. Since there had been no reduction in the number of hedges during the period *c* 1750-1800, this must reflect either a rising standard of living or, more likely, an increase in population. The species mentioned by Young are the most common today, with the addition of elm which he says was found only near Colchester.

No single species can be said to be dominant, but *Acer campestre* (field maple), *Crataegus oxyacantha* (hawthorn), and *Prunus spinosa* (blackthorn) are the most common and are about equal in frequency; *Rubus spp* (blackberry) was found in every hedge. Where *Ulmus* (elm) is found in quantity it is in the hedges with one or two species. Apart from the obvious use as a boundary, the principal benefit derived from the hedges must have been a supply of fuel; also nuts, fruits and berries must have assumed a greater importance than they do now, when the only one gathered in quantity is the blackberry. The assemblage of hedging plants in the main part of the parish could be said to exhibit a more tenuous affinity with primeval woodland than those in the Lanham Green area. There also is a greater number of species that can be propagated vegetatively, principally by digging up suckers from established plants. This last quality is of importance when planting a hedge as it gives quicker results than seed. *Acer* (elm), *Corylus* (hazel), *Cornus* (dogwood), *Malus* (crab apple), *Euonymus* (spindle), *Sambucus* (elderberry) and *Ulmus* (elm) diminish in frequency in the Lanham area, whereas *Alnus* (alder), *Rosa* (dog rose), *Crataegus* (hawthorn), *Carpinus* (hornbeam), *Quercus* (oak), *Ilex* (holly), *Sorbus torminalis* (wild service), and *Viburnum opulus* (guelder rose) assume a greater importance. *Tilia* (lime), *Cytisus* (broom), and *Ulex* (gorse) appear only in Lanham. *Daphne laureola* (spurge laurel) was rare throughout, but marginally more numerous in this detached part of the parish. *Clematis vitalba* (wild clematis) was common in the main part of Rivenhall but occurred only twice in the Lanham area.

Some of this variation can be attributed to the differences in the soil. *Ulex* (gorse) and *Cytisus* (broom), for instance, thrive only on a sandy acidic soil. *Carpinus* (hornbeam), on the other hand, a species which thrives on clay, was found rarely on

the heavy soils in the bulk of the parish. *Euonymus europaeus*, the spindle tree, occurred frequently in the centre of the parish but sparsely in the north and south. This plant owes its name to the wood being used for the manufacture of spindles, for wool spinning, and could be indicative of the area of the parish where spinning was carried on during the heyday of the Essex wool trade. The timber of the crab apple was used for ploughs and carts, and in the 16th century the fruit was used for a product of sufficient importance to be accorded a verse by Thomas Tusser. Fermented crab juice was distinguished from cider and called 'verjuice'.

Be suer of vergis (a gallon at least),
So good for the kitchen, so needful for beast:
it helpeh thy cattle, so feeble and faint
if timely such cattle with it thou acquaint.

(19, 42)

Of the other species found during the survey, *Alnus* (alder), *Cytisus* (broom), *Ulex* (gorse), and *Sambucus* (elderberry) all produced dyestuffs which would have been used in the wool industry (Edlin 1949). Elderberry was also held in high esteem for its medicinal qualities up to the present century. *Humulus lupulus*, the hop, was found in three places, fields 496, 237 and 384. The list of recorded field-names gives four locations for hop gardens, fields 29, 221, 306a and 502; fields 221 and 502 are close enough to the first two findspots for the plants to be seedling survivals from these hop gardens. In discussing earnings, Young (1805, 370) says, 'the wages for Rivenhall farmhands at the harvest were 10/6 to 11/- per acre to do everything, and three bushels of malt and three pounds of hops.' None of the hop gardens was very large, and they must have catered for local demand only.

The fields in the main block of the parish have a greater number of small pits at one corner or along the sides; these are generally dug into clay subsoil, although some are gravel pits. Quoting from Arthur Young again (*ibid*, 218), he refers to 'Evidence of marling at Rivenhall, Chepping Hall [Witham], and Kelvedon. At Rivenhall the soil is found chiefly to consist of a light friable loam upon a tender brown clay, containing a vein of rich marley clay, this has been applied with equally good effect, as well on the wet heavy land as on the more dry and light soils'. Two thousand bushels of marl were applied per acre at a cost of £2.15.1d. The numerous surviving pits must be the evidence for this practice: some now contain water, others merely have a muddy bottom. All are to a lesser or greater extent surrounded by an assemblage of trees and shrubs, which may have arisen from seeds dropped by birds attracted to the water.

The mileages of hedgerow for the parish in 1839 and 1977, and the mileage in a selected area centred on the church for 1716 and 1839, are given in Table 27. As far as is known, the early 19th century was the period of maximum hedgerow development. A start was made on clearing hedges in about 1860 in both the south of the parish and the detached part

Table 27 Comparative mileages of hedgerow in Rivenhall parish

The total length of hedgerow measured from the 1839 map, compared with that surviving in November 1977, is as follows:

1839	1977
122 miles (196 km)	44 miles (71 km)

to the north. The next 75 years saw a few new hedges planted and some grubbed, principally for housing development. The greatest loss of hedges has taken place since about 1950 and was continuing in the Sheepcote's and Wither's Farm area whilst this survey was being carried out: possibly some 50% of the 1839 hedges have been cleared in the last quarter of a century. Whilst in many of the 44 miles of hedgerow extant in 1977 it was possible to count the species, in no way could they be called true hedges, as the shrubs are mown down annually to within a few inches of the ground. Certainly, poor Giles Thorn (p 126) would not have made a fortune in the late 20th century.

It is instructive to compare the composition of the hedges of Rivenhall with samples elsewhere in Essex (Chelmsford and Mucking), and in neighbouring counties; the results are shown in Fig 60.

To obtain a valid comparison for the extent of hedgerows between 1716 and 1839, a square mile was marked on the 1839 map, centred on the parish church, and a similar square was drawn on the 1716 map. It was found that, apart from small areas in the south-east and south-west corners, this square was fully mapped. A measurement of the hedges in this square mile (omitting the unmapped parts) gave the following results:

1716	1839
11 miles (18 km)	14 miles (23 km)

5 Fields and land parcels in Rivenhall parish

by Warwick Rodwell

A detailed study of the fields and all other parcels of land in Rivenhall was carried out using tithe and estate maps, parish rate books, and topographical, archaeological and toponymic evidence. A near-exhaustive search was also carried out by Miss G E Sheldrick of every class of accessible public and private record which it was felt could embody topographical evidence. The material thus gathered

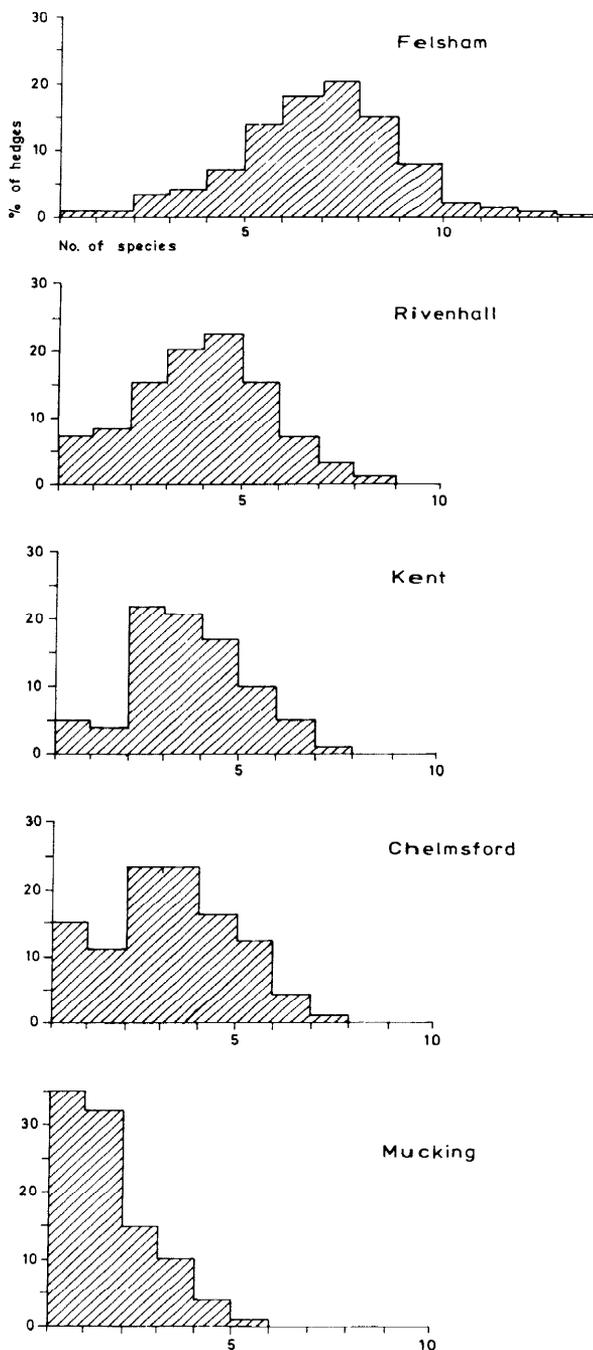


Figure 60 The species composition of hedgerows at Rivenhall, compared with other sample areas in Essex (Chelmsford and Mucking) and adjoining counties (Felsham, Suffolk, and Kent). The bar charts are arranged in descending order of antiquity of the hedgerow groups they represent. (Compiled from data given in Rackham 1986b, fig 9.4, and field surveys by M D Astor)

forms a substantial dossier which is deposited with the Rivenhall archive. Here, it will suffice to mention some examples which illustrate the development of field systems and land holdings in the parish. A schedule of all known land parcels, namings and dates has been prepared (fiche 1: E12-G5). A good deal more evidence relating to fields is contained in the sections dealing with individual properties and estates in chapter 11.

The basis for the land parcel (LP) schedule is the tithe map of 1839, which was surveyed at a time when Rivenhall possessed its maximum number of fields and other enclosures; the map is redrawn here as Fig 62. The land parcel numbering employed in the schedule follows as closely as possible that used in the Tithe Award, where each field, farmyard, tenement, etc, was distinguished by a number. The tithe series ran from 1 to 504, with a few original gaps (apparently where fields in adjoining parishes were inadvertently included, and subsequently deleted), and the occasional use of a lower-case suffix letter (to rectify initial omissions).

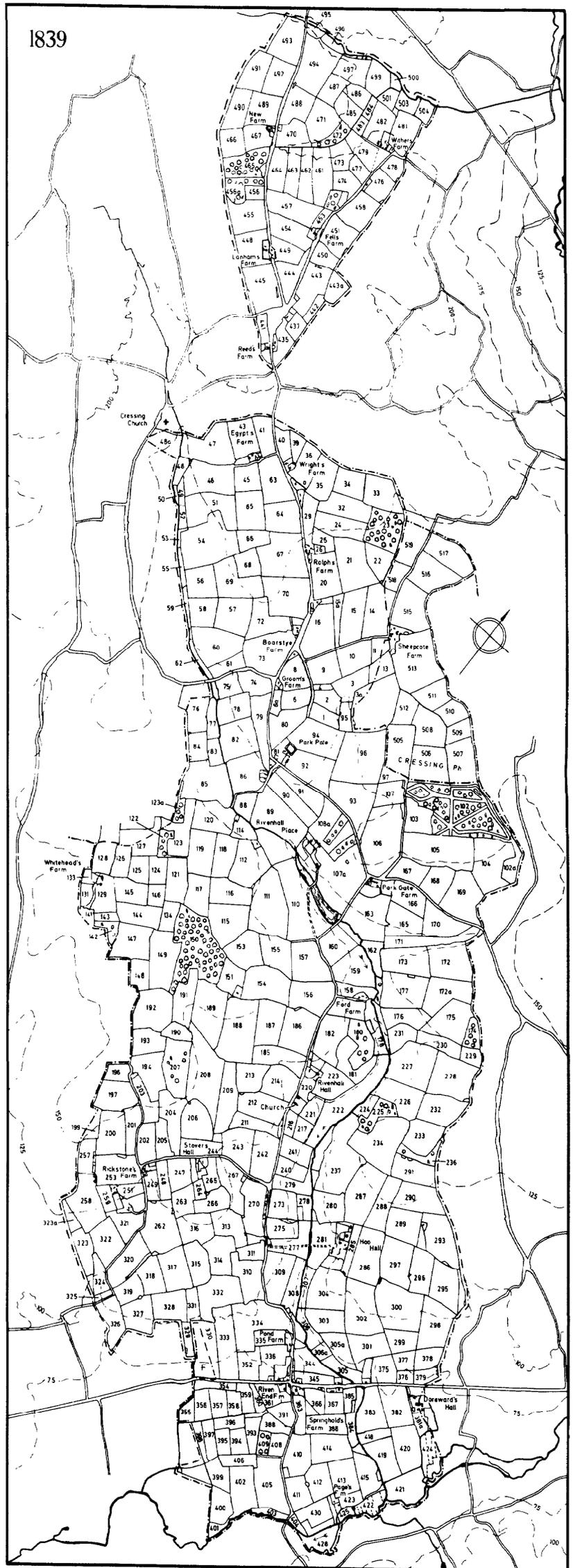
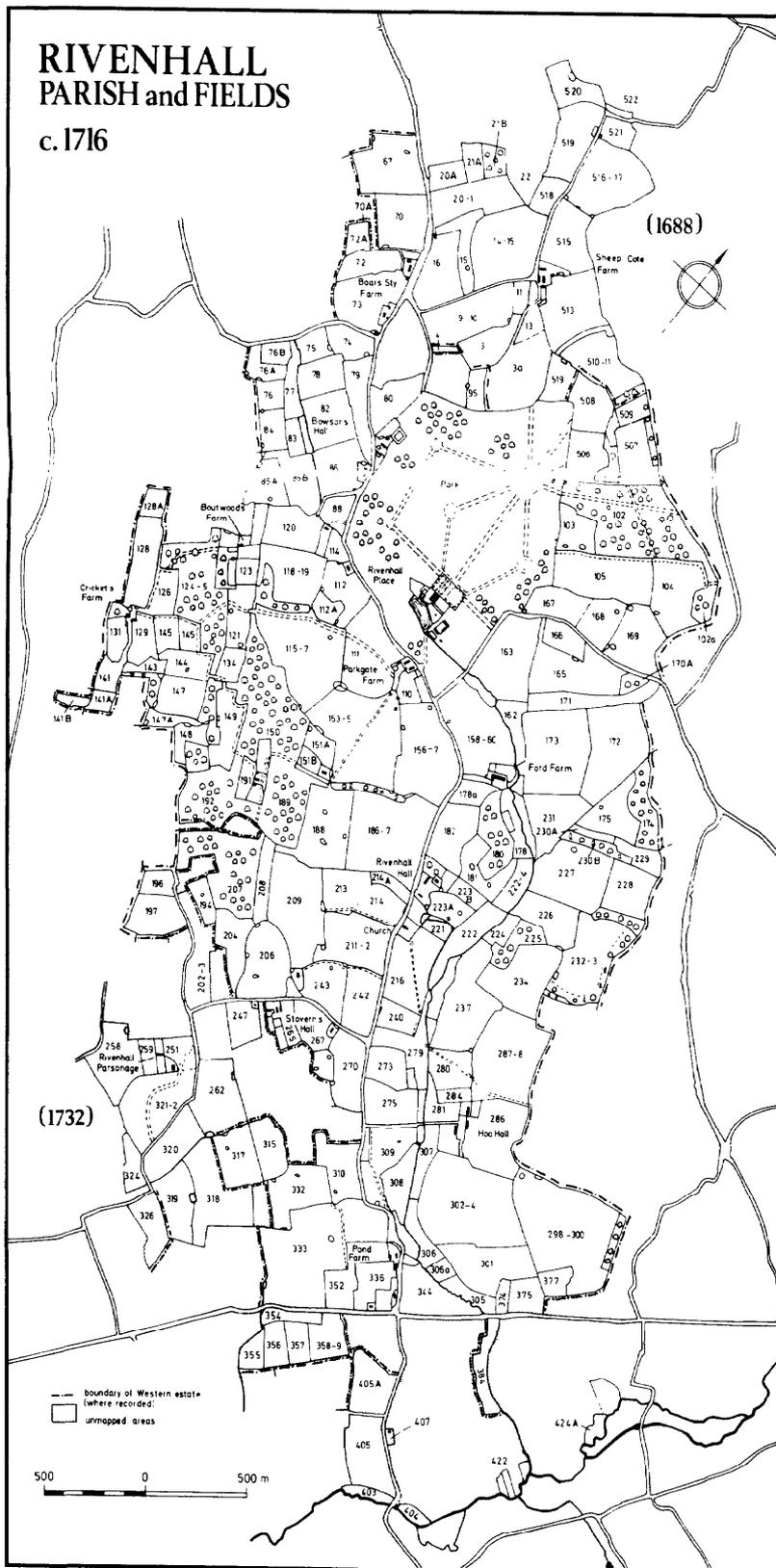
The extensive estates in Rivenhall and adjoining parishes which belonged to the Western family (p 117) were meticulously surveyed in 1716, and the resultant volume of plans has survived.³⁴ By piecing together all the separate farm plans, it has been possible to prepare a map covering some two-thirds of Rivenhall parish in 1716, and this forms the basis of Fig 61. One of the excluded areas was Rivenhall Parsonage estate, the 1732 survey of which has been used to supplement the composite map. The only other excluded area for which an early survey exists is Sheepcote Farm, at the northern end of the parish (and partly in Cressing parish). The Sheepcote estate was surveyed in 1688, and its bounds tie in neatly with those of the Western estate; it has therefore been added as a supplementary area on Fig 61.

Other surveys, such as that of Boars Tye Farm, in 1773, merely replicate earlier information, showing that field patterns remained virtually unchanged throughout the 18th century. At the very end of the century, and in the opening years of the next, there began a new era of cosmetic changes in the field and tenement patterns: some large parcels were subdivided, areas of secondary woodland were once again cleared, some irregular boundaries were straightened, and new cottages began to encroach on roadside verges and waste land. But there were very few instances where the basic pattern of boundaries was changed (excepting those associated with Humphrey Repton's creation of a new park in the early 1790s).

Thus, in preparing the map of Rivenhall at the beginning of the 18th century, it has been possible very largely to replicate the tithe numbering system for land parcels; in the few instances where a direct equation between parcels in 1716 and 1839 could not be made, the most appropriate tithe number has been used, with the addition of an upper-case suffix letter. Where an early estate map shows significant land parcels that were just outside the bounds of the parish, as defined in 1839, these have been appended

Figure 61 (below) Reconstructed map of the central and southern portions of Rivenhall parish at the beginning of the 18th century, assembled from the Western Estate surveys of 1716 and supplemented by maps of 1688 and 1732. The numbering of the land parcels correlates, as closely as possible, with the system in Fig 62

Figure 62 (right) Map of Rivenhall parish in 1839, prepared to accompany the Tithe Award (redrawn to correlate with the OS 1:10,500 map of 1924). The numbering of the land parcels follows the system used in the Award. For details of the land parcel schedule see fiche 1: E9-G6



to the schedule and distinguished either by the addition of an upper-case suffix letter to an existing number or, in the instance of Sheepcote's Farm where a large block of fields is involved, by creating fresh land parcel numbers, 505-22 (fiche 1: G5).

The pattern of Rivenhall fields at the beginning of the 18th century shows no sign of overall planning, or of relict elements of a medieval open field system. Instead, it displays evidence for a diverse series of developments relating to the individual histories of the manors and farms. It has been argued that some field boundaries and roads are relict elements of an extensive agricultural system of Roman date (Vol 1, pp 65-8; Fig 50; and this volume Fig 72), while others appear to represent piecemeal medieval enclosure, and re-enclosure of previously abandoned land. Many stratigraphical relationships can be deduced from study of the composite map of 1716 (Fig 61), revealing interesting episodes of landscape history, for which there is neither documentation nor surviving field evidence. For example, fields defined by straight boundaries and sharply angled corners are not necessarily as late as might generally be supposed. Thus, the angular group which appears on the tithe map to the east of Ford Farm (LP 172, 172a, 173, 175-7), and which might be casually dismissed as late 18th or early 19th century in origin, was already in existence by 1716. The fact that the names include New Field and Second New Field might be taken as an indication of very recent creation, but other names in the group are Londer Field and Doley Field, neither of which is likely to be an 18th century appellation; these are medieval names. What we probably see here is an act of 16th century enclosure of former parkland and common meadow, associated with the development of Ford Farm (p 157).

There are many instances too where a large field shown on the 1716 map had been divided by 1839 into two or three smaller units. Thus Shortlands of 1716 became First Shortlands, Further Shortlands and Doctor's Field by 1839 (LP 153-5). This act of subdivision may be datable to the period 1720-33, since the last field may have derived its name through an association with the Revd Dr Samuel Harris (p 184). It was not, however, an 18th century subdivision *de novo*, but was a modified re-establishment of a system of smaller fields that had existed at a much earlier date, and had been amalgamated by 1716. This is deducible from sharp steps in the east and west boundaries of the field. Precisely the same applies to the adjacent pair of fields to the east (LP 156-7), known collectively as Wadlington's in both 1716 and 1839. But before the otherwise unknown Mr Wadlington (or Wadington) acquired them, sometime before 1575, they were called Blacklands. This is, of course, a name which tends to be found in association with ancient occupation sites; not only is this field adjacent to the manorial site of Archer's, but it has also yielded a sprinkling of Roman pottery from the modern ploughsoil.

On the west side of the Shortlands group of fields is the 'Pincher' group (LP 115-17): these were called First, Second and Third Pincher Field in 1839. The irregular boundaries of the single Pincey Field, 1716, suggests that it was an amalgamation of older land parcels. Since the field was already called Pinceys in 1570, the amalgamation cannot have been recent.

Amongst the small group of fields belonging to Boarstye Farm is Great and Little Grove Lands (LP 67 and 70), a markedly rectilinear pair of fields whose form remains unchanged on the maps of 1716, 1773 and 1839. Moreover, their existence can be back-projected into the Middle Ages through documentary references to 'Groveland' in 1582-3 and 1495. However, the origin of these particular fields is probably very much earlier, since they form distinctive elements in the rectilinear system for which a Roman date has already been advanced.

On the west side of the parish lay an area of marginal land which has had a chequered history. It has already been noted that Tarecroft Wood and Rivenhall Thicks are the remnants of a much more extensive tract of light woodland or wooded pasture which is shown on the 1716 map in a highly fragmented state (p 126). There can be little doubt from the curious patchwork of cleared fields and wooded fields that most if not all of this area was under cultivation in the Middle Ages, and that abandonment resulted in a reversion to woodland, but by 1716 the clearance and recovery of an earlier field system was in progress. Today, this is a virtually unpopulated part of the parish, in consequence of the recovered fields being absorbed by the surrounding estates, as opposed to being worked by newly established homesteads in the immediate area.

In 1839 there was only one farm (Whitehead's) on the western margin of the parish, and two or three isolated cottages in the formerly wooded area. But the survey of 1716 recorded the last throes of a tightly knit group of minor farms and small-holdings. Whitehead's was then called Crickett's Farm; to the north of this lay Boutwood's Farm, and between the two were small enclosures known as Collier's and Harwood's Grove (LP 121, 134). Further south was the deserted Porter's Farm, then described simply as 'Old House' (LP 147A, 148), and its former fields. Desertion had long since taken place, for Porter's Field (LP 149) was described as 'now wood'. Several other unnamed cottages and closes are also shown in the vicinity on the 1716 map: one was probably called Ager's (LP 191), and another was Oliver's Farm by 1808 (LP 195). These are further considered on pp 162-3.

Self-evidently, the smaller holdings and their fields were nearly all known by the names of their owners, and to the above list may be added Appleton and Reynolds. Since they all lack documentation, the establishment of these farms cannot be closely dated, but an origin in the 16th century seems most likely; their demise must have set in no later than the middle of the 17th century. To what extent any of this evidence dates the skeletal pattern of the fields is uncertain, and a hint of a yet earlier

1413 to a field intriguingly named *Puttokyslegh*. This is identifiable as a 5 acre plot (LP 126) between Crickett's Farm and Boutwood's Farm, which in 1716 was still called 'Puttocks Lay'. Dr Gelling points out that this is a medieval reference to a woodland clearing (p 107).

Elsewhere in the parish, several recorded medieval field-names are firmly identifiable. The earliest dates from 1185, and refers to *Halfhyde*, a field (LP 325a) with the same name as the Domesday manor to which it belonged (vol 1, p 174). Another early reference is to the cow pasture on the south side of Rivenhall church: in 1396 this was called *Le Cowlase*, and in 1716 it was still 'Cow Leaves' (LP 216-17). Straddling the boundary between Rivenhall and Witham, close to Halfhydes, was Elm Hall, and its lands in 1478-9 included *Elmesfield*, later to become Great and Little Elm Field (LP 196-7).

In summary, there is a scatter throughout the parish of recorded medieval and early post-medieval field-names, some of which can be located on the ground with precision, some identified to a general locality, and some are now wholly unlocatable. There is nothing in these names, or in the physical or cartographic evidence relating to the fields themselves, to support any suggestion of fundamental change in the agrarian landscape of Rivenhall since the early Middle Ages. The estate maps of 1716 clearly record an interlocking series of developed medieval (or earlier) field systems.

Comparison between the 1839 and earlier maps shows that there was a tendency for ancient field-names to be lost or significantly distorted when the subdivision or rearrangement of land parcels took place at a late date. While there are early examples of names which recall only the acreages of fields, a high proportion of this class of namings clearly belongs to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Consequently, there are many interesting field-names recorded in documents which cannot now be located, and which probably belong to areas of the parish for which no pre-tithe map survives. A case in point is 'the ground called The Temple', which in 1562 had been ploughed by Robert Beckwith. He lived at Boars Tye, where a whole block of fields on the western margin of the parish had formerly been the property of the Knights Templar of Cressing. Although long since divorced from any religious foundation, this land was still exempt from tithes in 1839. The area was defined on the tithe map (LP 54-62, 69), and included a field simply described as '20 acres' (LP 54), and four fields named 'Whisticks' (Whistock, personal name): these latter could well have been 'The Temple', prior to subdivision. Unfortunately, this area is not served by any earlier map.³⁶

Notes

1 That is, the south-west boundary and probably the north-east. Being more or less parallel,

these two roads served to determine the regularity of the plan.

- 2 This may have been created to serve as an external boundary when the eastern end was disparked, presumably when the moated house called Tylde Hall was built. The parish boundary seems originally to have followed a Roman road, but to have deviated slightly within the park.
- 3 263 acres, if the south-west extension is included.
- 4 Nominally 240 acres.
- 5 This could represent a calculated increase of 300 acres.
- 6 Shakespeare, *Richard II*, III.i, 23.
- 7 *Cal Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, 162.
- 8 Before 1679, the earliest mention of 'Mowshams' field by name; ERO D/DYr 48.
- 9 Leapingwells Farm is moated along the road edge, but it remains uncertain whether there ever was a complete moated circuit.
- 10 Between 1529 and 1588 the Wysemans purchased Ford Farm, then called Sammons. This probably happened nearer the latter date.
- 11 Ralph Wyseman had purchased Storey's in 1569 and probably demolished the house in 'Mote Croft' shortly afterwards.
- 12 ERO D/DYr 48. Although not dated, this document refers to Samuel Western who died in 1699.
- 13 It was still more or less derelict in 1716.
- 14 The park was entirely laid out in units of poles of 16.5 statute feet (5.03 m).
- 15 That is, as shown on the 1716 map (Fig 61; Pl XXVII). Benjamin Fallows, the surveyor, gave the area as 245 acres, 2 rods and 19 poles. The circumference of the park pale was given as 'Two mile, a half, three pole, three yards and one foot'.
- 16 The present whereabouts of the original 'Red Book' is unknown. The illustrations reproduced here (Pls XXXI and XXIIa) are taken from a copy of Repton's *Sketches and Hints...* (1795) in the ERO.
- 17 ERO D/DFg 9. The plan is undated but is earlier than the 1839 Tithe map.
- 18 ERO Q/5B6 365/36.
- 19 See note 17.
- 20 Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 map, 1924 edition.
- 21 Holly.
- 22 Tusser quotations are from the edition of his works by Payne and Herbage (1878).
- 23 ERO D/DU 191/31.
- 24 For the technical aspects of this and the next section, see Rackham 1976.
- 25 One of the *Ulmus carpinifolia* group, mainly non-woodland elms.
- 26 One of a characteristic, and so far undescribed, group of woodland elms intermediate between *Ulmus glabra* and *carpinifolia*. It appears to be resistant to Dutch Elm disease.
- 27 Tusser refers to ivy as emergency fodder:

If snowe doo continue, sheepe hardly that fare
 craue Mistle and luie for them for to spare.
 (35, 12)

He is probably our earliest source for the
 superstition that it strangles the tree it grows
 up:

Where luie imbraceth the tree verie sore
 kill luie, or else tree will addle (yield) no 'more.
 (51, 6)

28 Pollard.

29 Thin straight rod to be interwoven between
 stakes to make a fence.

30 ERO D/DU 191/31.

31 PRO Cal Essex Assize files 35/18/4B: 36.

32 At the request of the gamekeeper, the writer
 was asked to avoid a small area in the south-

east of the parish, on account of the game in
 the fields. Certain fields around Rivenhall Hall
 had also to be avoided, but here many of the
 hedges had been grubbed and some of those re-
 maining could be observed from the road or
 from adjacent land.

33 Field boundaries are identified by adding the
 directional indicators N, E, S and W to the
 land parcel numbers.

34 For a full list of relevant manuscript maps, see
 p 195.

35 ERO D/ACR 5, fol 89.

36 'The Temple' is not to be confused with 'Tem-
 ples' in Witham parish. This was also
 Templars' land (Rodwell 1993).

11 Secular and ecclesiastical property

1 Manors, Farms and Tenements

by Warwick Rodwell

In this section a summary of the evidence for the morphological and tenurial development of the manors and farms of Rivenhall parish is presented and analysed. The aim has been to demonstrate the post-medieval history of settlement and land use in Rivenhall and, where records permit, to carry this study back into the medieval period. It is impossible, owing to the nature of the evidence, to obtain comprehensive coverage. However, all significant properties — and some minor ones too — are described, using a combination of historical, cartographic, place-name and archaeological evidence.

A topographical approach has been adopted for convenience of presentation: properties are described as far as possible in interrelated groups, working progressively from the north of the parish to the south. Each group is accompanied by a plan showing the principal features and numbered land parcels. For a general introduction to the field systems and the land parcel numbering system, see section 10.5. Parcels mentioned in the text but not shown on the accompanying plans may be located by reference to the overall parish maps, Figs 61 and 62. Rivenhall Rectory and related ecclesiastical property in the western part of the parish (including Rickstone's Farm) is discussed in the second part of this chapter (ecclesiastical section, pp 177–84).

For general topographical reference, the manor houses and farms discussed below are numbered parenthetically (1–34), and are indicated on the key-map, Fig 63. A representative selection of dated spellings is given for each named property, drawn from the sources cited in section 10.5 (fiche 1: E9-10, from Reaney (1935), and from maps (these are listed on p 195, and referred to in the text simply by italicized dates).

The Lanham Triangle

Lanham Green (Fig 65)

The 'Lanham triangle' is a wholly detached portion of Rivenhall, lying just to the north of the main block of the parish (Fig 62). It is utterly unlike other detached areas of parishes in this part of Essex, which normally comprise no more than a few fields. The Lanham triangle, on the other hand, is *c* 325 acres in extent and is defined on all sides by continuous lines of field boundaries that are plainly

of great antiquity, and the hedgerows have high species counts (Fig 57).

At the southern point of the inverted triangle is Lanham Green, also of triangular form.¹ From this, two roads run north, diverging towards the other corners of the triangle; both roads are flanked by ancient banks and hedgerows. The left-hand road was known as Lanham's Chase in 1676.² Lanham Farm moat lies alongside it No1 1, p 184). Curiously, the chase, beyond Lanham Farm, was omitted from the 1777 map, apparently because it was then a private road. The right-hand road (Withie's Green Road) leads to another triangular green (Fig 65).³

There is no doubt that the Lanham triangle was part of the early medieval parish of Rivenhall, and it seems likely that it was coterminous with the extent of the original holding of Lanham's. The early clearance of the area is implied by the use of the OE description *ryden*; this reference survives only in a mid 16th century rental, 'laynams reden' (Reaney 1935, 285, 588). The appellation 'manor' in respect of Lanham's appears to be an entirely post-medieval usage, and may be no more than an acquired courtesy title, since reference back to the manor of Rivenhall Hall is frequently encountered in records.

This detached portion of Rivenhall parish has seen very little change in the post-medieval period, apart from internal adjustments to some boundaries, and it has therefore been possible, through a combination of topographical analysis and historical research, to reconstruct in outline the medieval and later development of the landscape.

Lanham (Manor) Farm (3)

Lenham 1305; Leynham 1396; Laneham 1585; Leinhams alias Lanhams 1645; Laneman 1701; Lavenham 1768; Langham 1801; Lanham's 1839, 1875 OS.

It has already been suggested that Lanham's may be identifiable in the Domesday record with one of the lesser holdings listed under Witham (Witham 'X'; Vol 1, p 173). This was rated in 1086 as one hide of land with one plough, woodland and meadows; there were also two bordars (VCH 1903, 560). The first specific reference to Lanham's appears to be in 1305, when Thomas de Staunton sold a messuage and 120 acres to Edmund de Lanham and his wife.⁴ The acreage suggests that the size of the holding was, at least nominally, unchanged, since the Domesday Survey, as indeed it remained in 1701 when Lanham's appeared in the Rivenhall Manor Court Rolls as 'the manor called Laneman's containing 120 acres'.⁵ The actual acreage was certainly

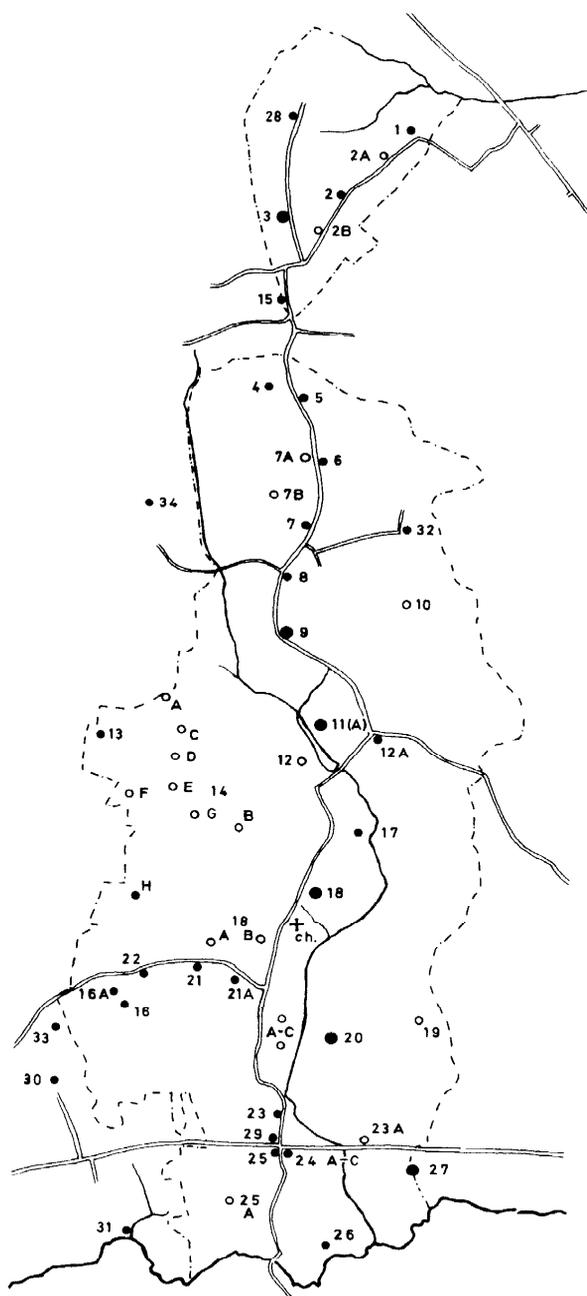


Figure 63 Key map of manor houses (bold) and farms in Rivenhall, and those in adjacent parishes which held lands in Rivenhall. Properties eliminated before 1839 are represented by open circles

- 1 Withie's Farm
- 2 Field's Farm
- 2A Archer's Farm
- 2B Lane's and Payne's
- 3 Lanham Farm
- 4 Egypt Farm

- 5 Wright's Farm
- 6 Rolph's Farm
- 7 Boarstye Farm
- 7A Groveland
- 7B Cutt's
- 8 Groom's Farm
- 9 **Bowser's Hall or Bower Hall**
(also Bourchier's)
- 10 Storey's Farm
- 11 Rivenhall Place
- 11A **Archer's**
- 12 (Old) Parkgate Farm
- 12A (New) Parkgate Farm
- 13 Whitehead's Farm
- 14A Boutwood's Farm
- 14B Greve's Farm
- 14C Collier's
- 14D Harwood's
- 14E Appleton
- 14F Porter's Farm
- 14G Ager's Farm
- 14H Oliver's Farm
- 15 Reed's Farm
- 16 Rivenhall Rectory
- 16A Glebe Farm
- 17 Ford Farm
- 18 **Rivenhall Hall**
- 18A Shipcock's Croft
- 18B Reynold's
- 19 Old Barn Farm
- 20 **Hoo Hall**
- 20A Little John's Farm
- 20B Webb's
- 20C Shippen's
- 21 Stover's Hall
- 21A The Thatched Cottage (Bouner's Hall)
- 22 Rickstone's Farm
- 23 Pond Farm
- 23A Gilgrove's Farm
- 24 Springholds
- 24A Brookhouse
- 24B Inham's
- 24C Trigg's
- 25 Matchyn's Farm
- 25A Wragdins
- 26 Appleford (Page's) Farm
- 27 Durward's Hall, Kelvedon
- 28 Lower Farm
- 29 The Fox (Goodwin's alias Godsolve's)
- 30 Half Hides, Witham
- 31 Coleman's Farm, Witham
- 32 Sheepcote Farm, Cressing
- 33 Little Elm Farm, Witham
- 34 New House Farm, Cressing

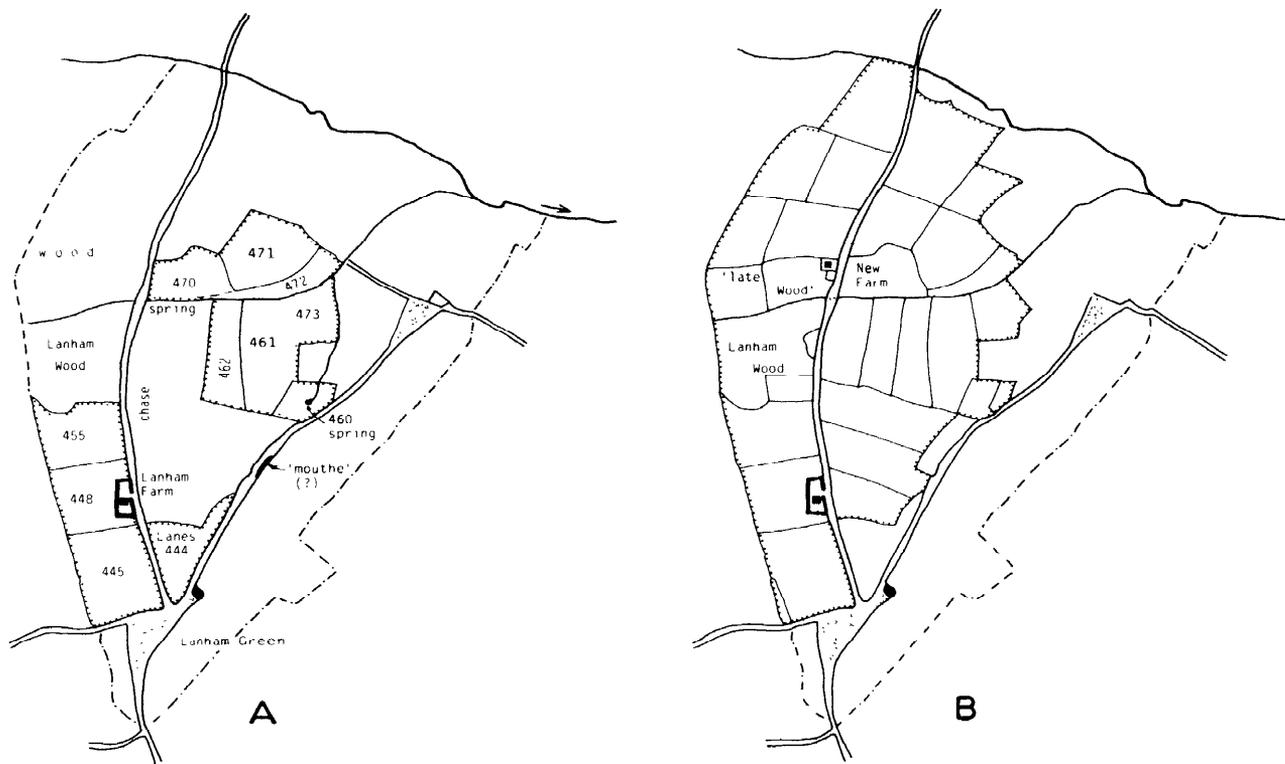


Figure 64 Reconstructions of the extent of Lanham Manor Farm, based on inventories: A. c 1645 (subholdings were omitted from this inventory); B. 1820. The latter shows the intact, smooth boundary of the Anglo-Saxon estate on the west, and the ragged effect caused by medieval farms being carved out on the east

over 200. If the posited identity of the Domesday holding is correct, the presence of the two bordars would provide a neat explanation for the emergence of two small medieval farms within, but on the edges of, the Lanham triangle: these are Withie's and Archer's (pp 137–40).

Although Robert de Leynham was described in 1396 as simply holding lands and tenements, his house was nevertheless of sufficient significance to have been attacked during the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 (and for the attack to have merited recording).⁶ There appears to be no use of the term 'manor' in connection with this property until after the Middle Ages, the first recorded instance being in John Watson's will of 1585, when he left, amongst other property, the 'mannor of Lanehams' to his son William.⁷ William was a minor, who had been preceded by another son of the same name. The first William had died in 1576, aged 8 years: at 4.00 pm on 23 April he went out of the house of John Watson, to play near 'le mote', fell in and was drowned.⁸

The same John Watson appeared before the Essex Quarter Sessions in 1578 for encroaching upon the highway with a moat. He and some labourers dug 'a great ditch called a "mouthe"', and they also broke into the close of Francis Harvyne,

destroying grass and carting away timber.⁹ It is impossible to reconcile this act with a moat-clearing operation at Lanham's, not least because the description states that the obstructed road lay on the common route towards the River Blackwater. This must mean that the incident took place on Withie's Green Road, and the 'mouthe' is perhaps identifiable as the trench-like feature shown on maps opposite Field's Farm (Figs 64A and 65).

The deeds of the manor of Lanham's¹⁰ show that the property, then comprising 95 acres, was sold by William Watson in 1601 to Thomas Crowe,¹¹ and then perhaps to Richard Caswell who leased it in 1645 to John Slany. It was described as the 'mannor of Lordshipp and capital messuage commonly knowne or called by the name of Leinhams alias Lanhams'. The fields adjoining the house were listed (LP 445-8, 455), together with Lane's meadow opposite (probably LP 444), and then a separate and irregular block clustered around Wrongspring,¹² alias Wither's Spring (LP 472; Fig 64A). Woodland was excluded from the schedule, as was a prominent group of fields in the centre of the triangle, which seem to have been in other occupations at the time (LP 449, 454, 457). The total area accounted for was only 87 acres, but deeds of 1674, 1711, 1792, etc,

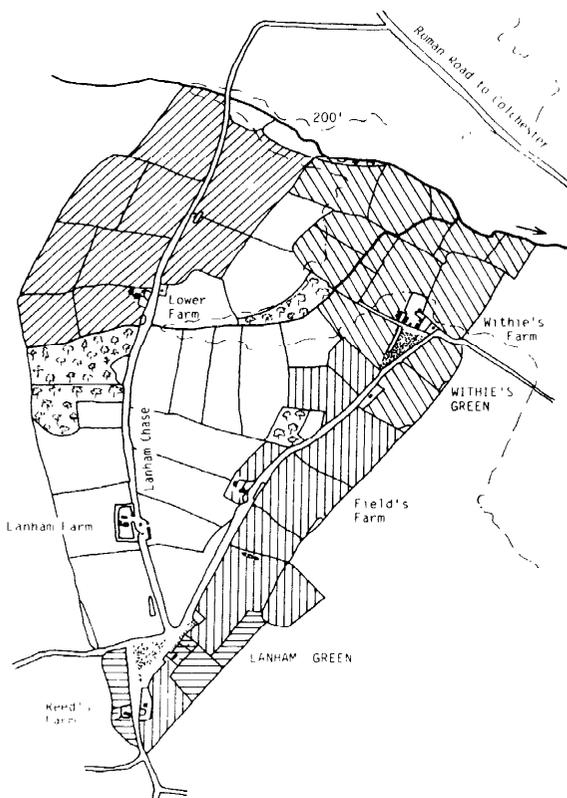


Figure 65 The Lanham triangle in 1839, showing the extents of the five farms which comprised the principal holdings; Lanham Green and Withie's Green are stippled. The lands of Lower Farm were exempt from tithes

make it clear that the 120 acre manor was still essentially intact. The difference must be accounted for in unspecified subholdings (see below, p 141). In 1654 Chudley Cooté was the owner of Lanham's, and he sold it to Samuel Royle.¹³ By c 1670 Francis Frenche was the owner, in whose family Lanham's remained for many generations.¹⁴

Lanham's evidently prospered in the 13th and 14th centuries sufficiently to acquire a substantial moat which still survives in part (Vol 1, p 129), and in due course the title of 'manor'. The existing house is a reduction from a larger structure (PI XXXVa); it is partly timber framed (15th century) and partly of Tudor brick, with later additions.¹⁵ In the 17th century Lanham's was clearly a very substantial house, with eight hearths recorded in the 1662 Hearth Tax returns,¹⁶ and nine in the 1671 and later returns. This number was only exceeded at Rivenhall Place.

The full extent of the Rivenhall holding of Lanham's Manor¹⁷ is reconstructable from the 1820 Parish Rate Book; it was a cohesive block of land occupying the western and central portions of the Lanham triangle. The ragged eastern edge of this block plainly resulted from several small holdings

being carved out of the original medieval or earlier unit (Fig 64B). Within Lanham's land was a subholding known by 1801 as New House, and listed in 1820 as comprising 45 acres. Rating exemption was claimed for this and a further 33 acres which were listed as 'land late woodland', in addition to the extant wood. The use of 'late' here is as imprecise as 'new': the woodland had gone by 1799.

The Tithe Award of 1839 confirms the peculiar status of New House and its lands (c 78 acres): they were exempt from tithes by virtue of having once been held by the Knights Templar of Cressing (Fig 65). For other occurrences of this phenomenon, see p 148.

Withie's Green (Figs 65 and 66)

Topographical evidence suggests that the green was formed in the angle between two ancient roads that crossed at right-angles, or met at a T-junction. Withie's Farm appears to have been the more important of two medieval properties abutting this junction, and was at least partially an encroachment on the north-west corner of the triangular green. This shows well on the maps of 1777 and 1801.

A post mill was erected in the centre of the green in 1823, when the surrender of 2 acres of common waste for this purpose was recorded in the Rivenhall Hall Court Books.¹⁸ There had already been an encroachment along the west side of the green, in the form of a long narrow gravel pit, which was probably dug in connection with road repairs.¹⁹ The adjoining field was known as Kiln Field (LP 479) by 1822, although no structure was shown on the map of that date; and another nearby field was called Clamphills (LP 486). The names may be associated with the manufacture of post-medieval roofing tiles for Withie's Farm.

Withie's Farm (1)

Wythescroft 1386/7; Wythes temp Hy VIII; Withies 1613; Wythers, Wethers 1639; Wither's 1777, 1839; Withie's 1875 OS.

The plan of 1822 shows clearly how Withie's Farm must once have abutted the north-west side of the green, and how a farmyard was subsequently enclosed in front of the tenement, forming a square encroachment in the angle of the green (Fig 66). References to the tenement first appear in the 14th century, with Brungor le Wythe (Reaney 1935, 285); and before 1386/7 Wythescroft had belonged to Robert de Coggeshale.²⁰ In the early 16th century the property was held by John Cokerell, and abutments included 'Wythys Wood', to the west.²¹ Although the property concerned was not named, a transaction took place in 1520 between William Pery and William Tusser, conveying 1 messuage, 70 acres of land and 4 acres of meadow 'in Rewenhale, Bradwell, Cressyng and Stysted'. It is difficult to see how this could relate to anything other than Withie's Farm or, less plausibly, its neighbour, Archer's (William Tusser certainly held both at about this

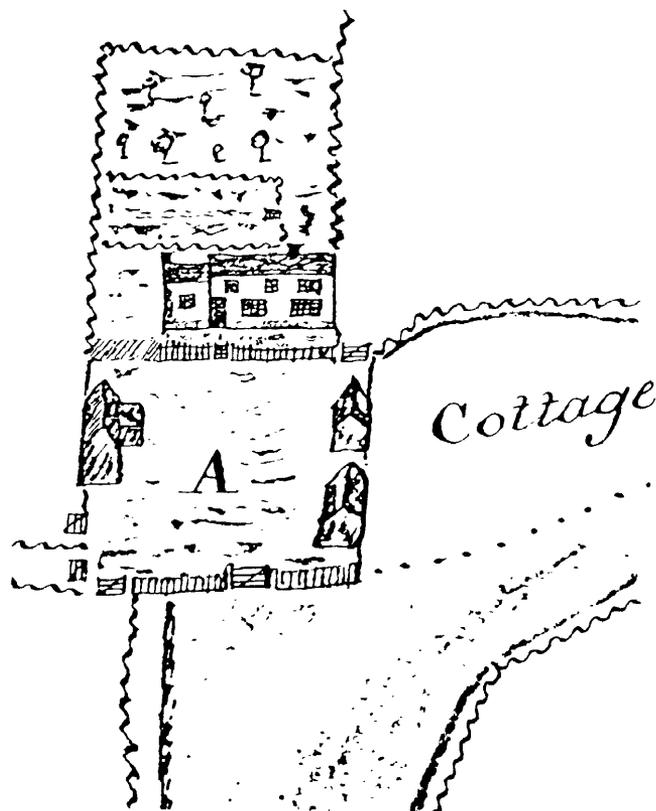


Figure 66 Withie's Farm. Detail redrawn from the 1822 estate map, showing the medieval croft with a 16th or 17th century house on the frontage, and the farmyard (A) which was an encroachment onto Withie's Green

time, see below). In 1613 Withie's was described as a 'dwelling house'.²² and in 1639 as a 'now [new?] dwelling house' and farm.²³

Withie's was one of the most historically stable and compact holdings in Rivenhall parish, and was the only property for which the individual parcels were not listed in the 1820 Parish Rate Book: it was deemed sufficient merely to note that in the Rivenhall Manor Court Rolls the holding was recorded as being 60 acres, 'a very antient measurement'.²⁴ Nevertheless, it was noted that the 'parish account' recorded the acreage as 64, and an addendum reads 'The Bailiff says 70 acres'. Withie's provides another example of a medieval land measurement — actual or nominal — being recited long after the true size of the holding had been increased.

In this instance it is possible to chart the growth. There are hints in the landscape of surviving elements of a rectilinear plan of the Roman period, in the form of the roads and rectangular fields north and east of Withie's Green (which is less than 0.5 km from the main Colchester to Verulamium Roman road, Fig 67A). The Anglo-Saxon or early medieval tenement was built on the extremity of this field system, adjacent to LP 481 (the tenement's

first parcel?), and a new pasture field with rounded corners created as an appendage to the west, biting into Withie's Wood (LP 482-6). In the next stage it is likely that the wooded margins of the stream forming the parish boundary to the north of Withie's Farm were annexed and partially cleared (Fig 67B; LP 497, etc).

It was perhaps in the 15th century that the next phase of expansion followed: a new arable field (LP 479) was created in the awkward triangle between the green and Peg's Spring, and the acquisition of another field flanking the south-east side of Withie's Green (Stable Field, LP 476, 478) meant that the triangular green was now completely enclosed by Withie's farm land, bringing the total holding to 75.5 acres (Fig 67C).²⁵ These additional fields were certainly in existence in the early 16th century, when they were mentioned in abutments, the first (LP 479) being described as 'Rewn, parcel of Wythes'.²⁶ The property was then held, along with Archer's Farm (p 139), by William Tusser, father of Thomas Tusser the Elizabethan poet and agricultural writer.²⁷

Inevitably, encroachment onto the green then began. The farmhouse was rebuilt in the early 17th century, and probably around the same time a new farmyard in front of the house was created by making a substantial encroachment onto the green.²⁸ In 1813 a further small parcel of the waste was enclosed in front of the farmhouse for a cottage, and in 1815 Rivenhall Manor Court made a retrospective grant of an adjoining parcel, where two farm cottages had lately been erected (p 175).²⁹

By the time the first large-scale plan was made of this area in 1822, the stable had gone from Stable Field, the wooded margin on the north side of the farm had been effectively cleared, the medieval pasture field had been parcelled, and a sizeable portion of Withie's Green had been enclosed (Fig 67D). The Tithe map of 1839 shows that further fragmentation of the fields had occurred, the 17th century house had been replaced, the farmyard had been changed around, and a post windmill erected in the centre of the green (Fig 67E).

Despite these developments Withie's was still nominally a 60 acre holding: it was recorded as such in 1740,³⁰ and again in 1829.³¹

Field's Farm (2), Archer's Farm (2A) and 'Lanes' (2B)

These names are all associated with the second, and less important, of the subsidiary holdings in the Lanham triangle, the site which may possibly have been occupied by the second bordar recorded in 1086 (p 134). The history of the initial holding is entangled with that of two other tenements. All three were separately detailed in the 1820 Parish Rate Book. Field's Farm is the survivor today, but is almost certainly not the site of a medieval tenement. It is necessary to consider separately the three elements that make up this conundrum.

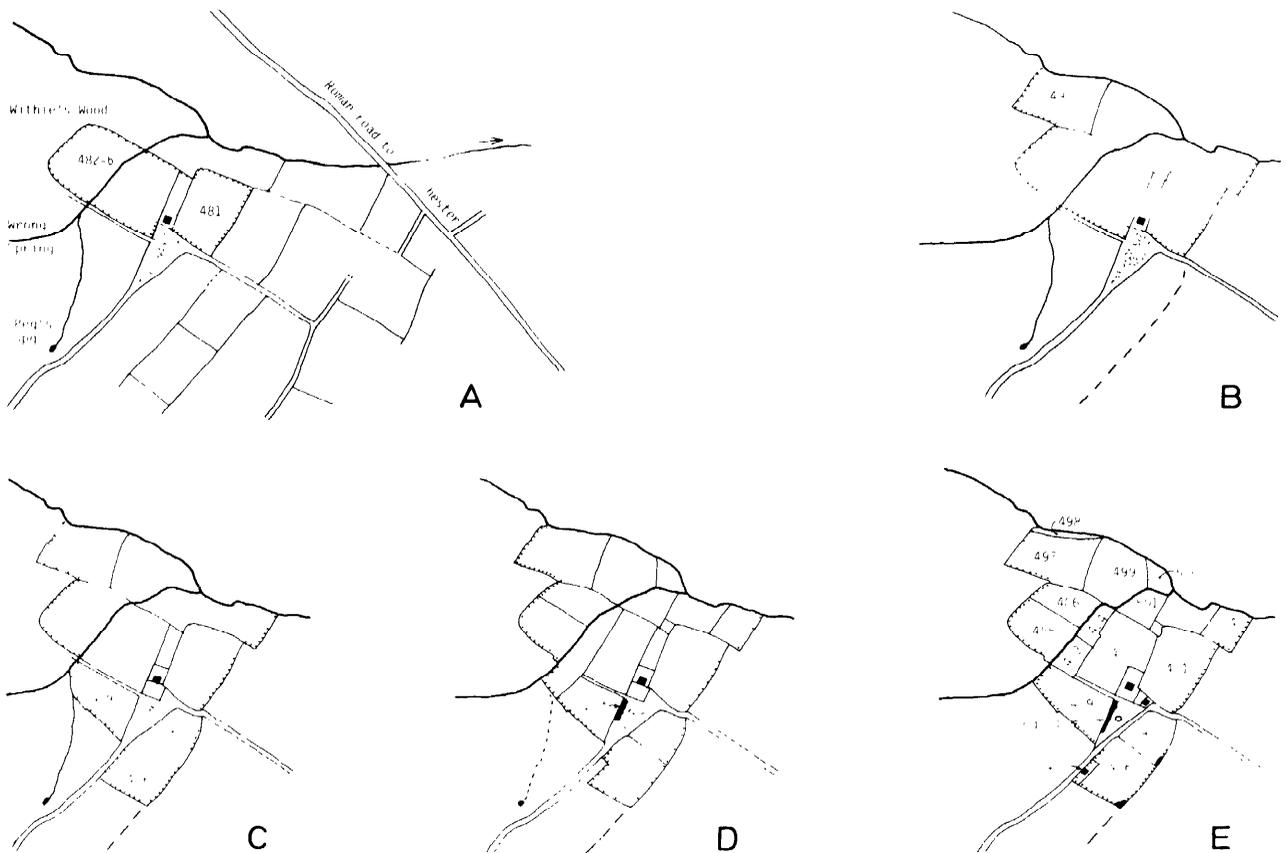


Figure 67 Suggested development of Withie's Green Farm: A. Anglo-Saxon or early medieval, showing the relationship of Withie's Green and Farm to a relict field system, antedating the layout of the parish and estate boundaries; B. Late medieval; C. 15th-18th centuries; D. 1822; E. 1839

Field's farm (2)

Teales 1730; Sayer Walker's Farm 1820; Fell's 1839; Field's 1875 OS.

In 1820 this comprised a tenement in the central portion of the Lanham triangle (LP 453), a line of four fields on the opposite side of Withie's Green Road (LP 443A-B, 450-1) and one field which projected into Bradwell (Hook Field, LP 443a; Fig 68B). The total area was 40 acres. The parish boundary departed from what was palpably its ancient line in order to loop around the 'hook'. One further parcel, a detached field called 'Sparks' (LP 435) abutting Lanham Green, was also part of Field's Farm in 1820; this was previously a separate holding (Fig 68A).³²

Archer's farm (2a)

An unnamed farm was listed next after Field's in the 1820 Rate Book; it comprised 19 acres, being four fields and the site of a tenement (LP 458A-B, 474A-B, 477). Although unnamed, the house is marked on the 1777 and 1801 maps, but had been completely cleared and its site lost before 1839. By

chance, one of the few precise and detailed descriptions of medieval lands in Rivenhall enables this farm to be identified with certainty: it was the lesser of two holdings both called 'Archer's', the other being a manor in the centre of the parish (p 151). The description is contained in a fragment of a court roll of the Manor of Rivenhall, late *temp* Henry VIII. The holding comprised a tenement and two crofts (9 ac; LP 474A-B, 477) on the west side of Withie's Green Road, three crofts called 'Watergores' (8 ac; LP 458) on the opposite side of the road, and two parcels of meadow called 'Archer's Medwe' on the northern boundary of the parish (Fig 68A). One was a 2 acre meadow (LP 496), and the other may have been the smaller adjoining field (LP 495).³³ Both meadows abutted Millfield ('Millwfeld') in Stisted, and possession of them must have passed out of the hands of Rivenhall families upon the demise of Archer's; these are the only land parcels in the parish to have been held by a Stisted landlord in 1839 (Baytree House).

Archer's Farm thus comprised *c* 20 acres. It remained intact, and was partially described on several

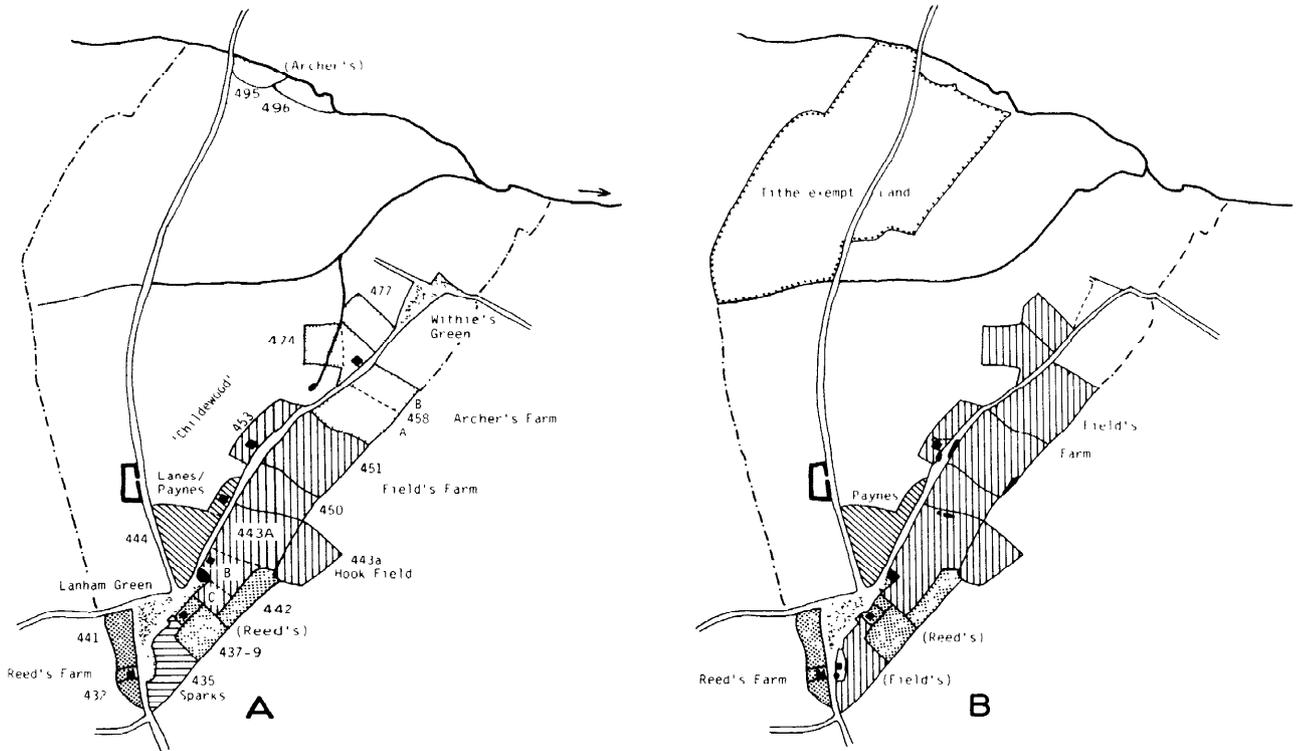


Figure 68 The post-medieval development of small farms and tenements between Lanham Green and Withie's Green: A. 16th-18th centuries; B. 1839

occasions: the Rivenhall Manor Court Roll for 1684 records George Bridge as holding Archer's and 20 acres.³⁴ He also appears in the Hearth Tax returns in 1671 with three hearths, but not all of these are likely to have been all in Archer's.³⁵ Archer's in 1708 was 'a messuage, a garden, an apple orchard, 20 acres of land, and 10 acres of pasture-cum-meadow'.³⁶ In 1828 Sayer Walker (of Withie's Farm) died seized of Archer's tenement and divers parcels of land totalling 20 acres; this is the last recorded mention of the site, and within a decade the tenement had been eradicated.³⁷

Several equivocal earlier references also survive: a mention of 'Archeresgardyn' in 1440 does not appear to relate to this site,³⁸ and it is likewise uncertain whether a rent of 6d which was paid in 1384-5 by Robert Archer for a tenement in Rivenhall is relevant to this property.³⁹ The Archer family presence must, however, go back at least to the early part of the 16th century, prior to the Tussers owning the property; the connection hereabouts was not terminated, for in 1575 John Archer, yeoman, was accused of forcibly entering into the house and close of Margaret Wheler,⁴⁰ who was a neighbour, presumably the widow or descendent of the John Wheler who is mentioned in other documents (p 141).⁴¹

Lane's and Payne's (2b)

Lany 1504; Lanes 1645, 1701, 1727, 1800
Paynesland *temp* Henry VIII; Pains 1733; Paynes 1820, 1839.

These are two names which occur several times, in relation to what must surely be the same 8 acres of land near Lanham Green. The Rivenhall Manor Court Roll of 1701 describes 'Lanes' as a garden and three parcels of land containing 8 acres, making it clear that this is not part of Lanham Farm.⁴² A rental of 1727 mentions 'lands called Lanes',⁴³ and in 1800 Lanes was only 'a garden and 8 acres of customary land'.⁴⁴ By c 1900 local memory acknowledged the former existence of Lanes, but its site had been forgotten.⁴⁵ It is likely that the family name of S lany is connected with this property (John S lany lived hereabouts in 1645: p 136).

Mention of 'Paynesland' first occurs in the early to mid 16th century,⁴⁶ then as Pains (7 acres) in 1733,⁴⁷ and Paynes (8 acres) in 1820 and 1839. These all refer to the prominent triangle in the fork between Lanham Chase and Withie's Green Road (LP 444), and must surely be the same as the 8 acre 'Lanes Meadow' in the 1645 survey of Lanham Farm (p 136). On the Tithe map, this plot has a curiously narrow tongue of land annexed to its north-east corner, presumably the site of a lost tenement (Figs 65 and 68).

The conclusion must be that there were three small medieval juxtaposed holdings with separate identities. Lanes/Paynes is the most enigmatic and was the first to fall into decline, with the house gone before 1701; Archer's Farm disappeared in the 1820s, leaving Field's as the survivor. It is not surprising that a certain amount of confusion has subsequently ensued, as in 1755, when William Raven of Cressing died seized of half a tenement called 'Lanes or Lanhams'.⁴⁸

Returning to Field's Farm, it appears to have come into existence as a roadside tenement cut out of the central block of the Lanham triangle, halfway between the two greens, perhaps on the edge of 'Childewood', which lay hereabout. All the land associated with this farm lay on the opposite side of Withie's Green Road, and there can be little doubt that Field's was initially no more than a tenement belonging to Lanham's or Archer's.

Field's Farm and Lanes may have been one and the same in the 16th century, being perhaps first identifiable in the records as 'Lany' and then as 'Teales', from which 'Field's' is a corruption. A connection between the two holdings may be hinted at in 1504, when Walter Tele died, leaving his house called 'Lany', together with lands in Rivenhall and Bradwell, to his wife.⁴⁹ The description implies that the lands then belonging to Lany were on the south-eastern side of the Lanham triangle, spilling over into Bradwell parish, as was still the case with Field's four centuries later. These parcels may have been acquired at a yet earlier date from Archer's.

There is a probable reference to Field's in 1709 in the will of John Prentice,⁵⁰ while in 1730 it was described as 'lands and tenements called Teale's near Lanham's Green'.⁵¹ The existing house of Field's is timber framed and dates from the 16th or 17th century.

It is tentatively concluded that Withie's and Archer's were the two early medieval holdings here, that they were both cut out of Lanham's, and that Archer's became subdivided into two or three holdings in the late Middle Ages. The new holdings may also have acquired extra lands from the main Lanham block.

Reed's Farm (15)

Reed's 1688, 1691; Red Barn alias Read's 1778; Tyrrel's 1820; Reed's 1839; Doctor's 1875 OS.

By contrast with Field's, this is relatively straightforward. Reed's was a small farm occupying land on both the south-west and south-east sides of Lanham Green. The earliest allusion to part of this farm is apparently contained in a Manor Court Roll, *temp* Henry VIII, in which John Wheler is recorded as having a pond ('1 mere') and two crofts (4 acres) hereabouts.⁵² The abutments are not easily understood, but the property was evidently on Lanham Green; the crofts could have been LP 437 or 443B. The latter was called Pond Croft in 1820, and adjoining it was a prominent roadside pond, shown on the 1839 map. The first unambiguous references

are in 1688 and 1691, when Reed's was described as a tenement and five parcels of land, containing 10 acres.⁵³ The holding is identifiable as LP 432-4, 437-9, 441, and 442, perhaps a later addition (Fig 68).

The interlocking of Reed's with 'Sparks' (LP 435) may be interpreted either as a single holding that had been divided before 1688, or more likely, as two separate holdings, one of which fell into decline at an early date. Indeed, the pattern of further small plots fronting Lanham Green (LP 438-9, 443B) suggests the possibility that there were between four and six medieval tenements here, plausibly all encroachments on a once larger green.⁵⁴

A tenement is shown on another of Reed's parcels on the 1801 map (LP 438), and an admission dated the following year refers to 'two messuages called Red Barn otherwise Reads'.⁵⁵ The building of the second tenement may have given rise to the description in 1747 of Reed's as having 'four parcels of land, formerly five parcels'.⁵⁶ A third Reed's tenement was created in 1808, when it was reported that James Sack had encroached on the waste of Lanham's Green by building a cottage opposite the farm (p 174; LP 436).⁵⁷ With the exception of Sparks field, Sack owned all the lesser properties in the Lanham triangle, including Withie's. In 1811 he was reported for digging a clay pit in the roadside waste outside Field's Farm.⁵⁸

By 1839 the various holdings had been consolidated into three: Reed's and Field's Farms (then called Fell's), and Payne's field which was held by a landowner in Cressing. Sparks had become part of Fell's (Fig 68B). In the late 19th century Reed's was renamed Doctor's Farm, and was demolished without record sometime prior to 1924 (OS map).

Lower (New) Farm (28)

New House 1801;⁵⁹ Lower Farm 1828; New Farm 1839; Lower Farm 1875 OS.

This was carved out of the north-west corner of the Lanham triangle, almost certainly in the late 18th century. The farm is not shown on the 1777 map. Although part of the Lanham Farm holding, the fields assigned to New Farm were coterminous with the tithe-exempt lands that had formerly been held by the Templars (Figs 65 and 68B, and see p 148). The pattern of field boundaries and the names of the parcels (LP 466-9, 488-94) all suggest 18th century clearance of woodland, probably an extension of Templeborder Wood in Stisted parish. The farmhouse was demolished without record sometime prior to 1977.

Summary of Development in the Lanham Triangle (Fig 69)

It is suggested that the parish boundaries which delimit the Lanham triangle also define a discrete Anglo-Saxon estate, perhaps identifiable in the Domesday record as *Witham X* and assessed at one hide. This triangle is also clearly superimposed on

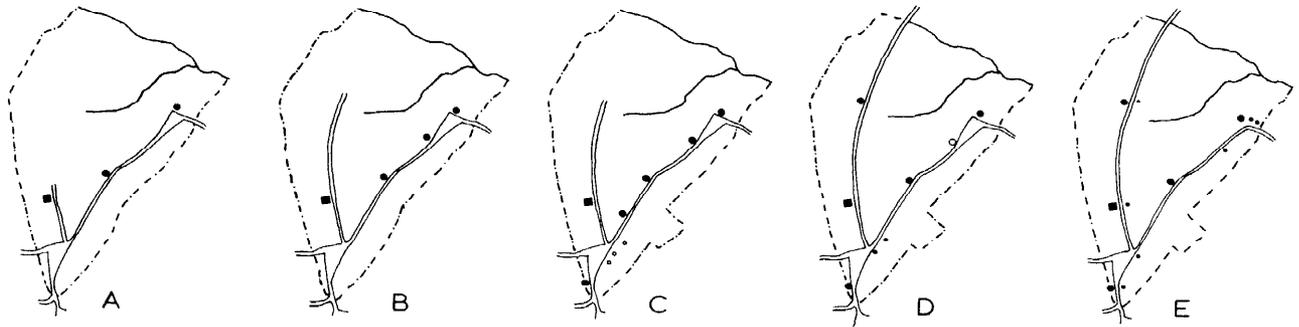


Figure 69 The development of settlement in the Lanham triangle. Lanham Farm is represented by a square, other farms by a large circle, and tenements with less than 5 acres by a small circle. A. Early medieval; B. Late medieval; C. 16th-17th century; D. 18th century; E. 19th century

an earlier — arguably Iron Age or Roman — system of fields and lanes. The point of entry on to the estate was marked by Lanham Green, and the focal messuage was Lanham Manor Farm. The border who was present in 1066 may have been assigned land in the north-east corner of the estate, at Withie's Green; but by 1086 there was a second border, whose tenement was probably sited halfway between the two greens.

During the Middle Ages Lanham Farm prospered, probably on the strength of sheep farming, and in due course it acquired a substantial house, a prestigious moat, and quasi-manorial status. A parcel of *c* 75 acres of woodland in the north-west corner of the estate was assigned for the support of Cressing Temple. The two subsidiary holdings within Lanham's developed as independent farms. The older established one remained a more-or-less static unit of 60 acres, while the other was subjected to a succession of changes. Either it fragmented in the late medieval or Tudor era, or additional holdings were created out of the mother estate; either way, by the end of the 16th century there were probably not less than four or five small holdings of *c* 5–15 acres apiece.

These were perhaps supplemented by several even smaller tenements around Lanham Green, and the first phase of encroachment on both greens may have been in the 17th century. By the 18th century the smallest tenements were in decline, and several of the houses disappeared, leaving only 'gardens and lands'. Two of these — Lanes and Sparks — maintained their individual identities down to the later 19th century. Agricultural prosperity at the beginning of that century led to the erection of additional housing for farm workers, and a new phase of encroachment on the greens and roadside waste ensued. Several quarry pits and a windmill similarly encroached.

Only the north-west corner of the Lanham triangle retained any woodland into the post-medieval period, and this was not primeval, as study of the surviving portion of Lanham's Wood has shown (p 122). The partial clearance of this area

made way for New (Lower) Farm to be built in the later 18th century. The remainder of the triangle comprised fields, most of which can hardly have originated later than the Middle Ages, and there is reason to believe that the principal elements of the road pattern, together with at least a few of the rectilinear field outlines, are yet earlier. These are most plausibly interpreted as relict features of the Romano-British landscape.

The medieval fields were apparently fewer in number and larger in size than their 19th century counterparts, and the process of subdivision may be glimpsed through the entries in the Parish Rate Book for 1820. Changing agricultural patterns in the 20th century have once again reduced the numbers of farms and tenements, and the casualties include Lower Farm and Reed's Farm.

Environs of Choat's Green

Choat's Green (Fig 70)

No early references to this green by name have been found, and it may derive its present name from John Choat, who was tenant at Parkgate Farm in 1716. The area is marked on the 1777 map as Chote's Green, and a simple line of four adjoining tenements is shown on the east side of the road. The more detailed 1801 OS map shows a fifth tenement at the end of a short lane which formed the north side of an infilled triangular green, and this is depicted more clearly on the 1839 map, but the fifth tenement had gone by this time. Two of these properties appear to be encroachments on the north side of the green, and one known as Cutt's is datable to *c* 1800.

The Tithe map also reveals how the green had once been very much larger, and that a substantial triangular field (LP 29, Hop Ground) had been enclosed at some earlier date, perhaps in the 16th or 17th century. Three farms, tenements and other identifiable lands lay around Choat's Green in the late Middle Ages (Fig 70).

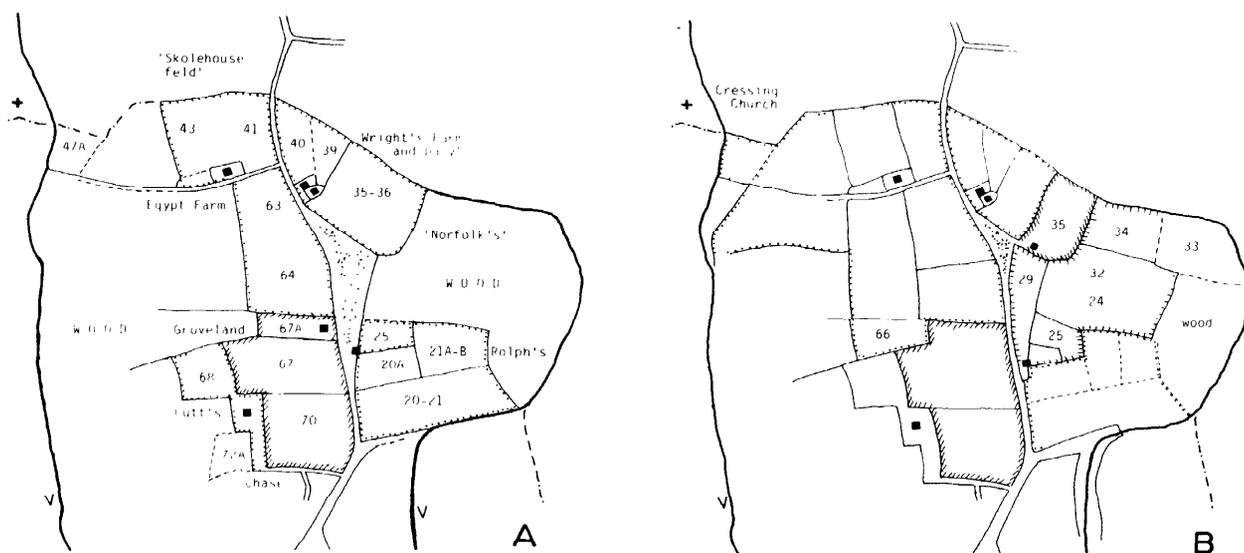


Figure 70 Reconstruction of the extents of the principal properties abutting Cheat's Green (stippled): Egypt Farm, Wright's Farm, Davy's, Rolph's Farm, Groveland and Cutt's A. 14th–16th centuries; B. 17th–18th centuries

Wright's Farm (5)

Vendewright's 1523; Ashwell's alias Wright's 1570; Norfolk's 1575; Norfolk's 1739; Brickworth 1780; Beckwith's 1781; Beckworth 1820; Wright's 1839; Norfolk's alias Wright's 1872.

The first description of the holding dates from 1395/6, when John Couper's widow granted a messuage with its appurtenances to John Davey and John Godard.⁶⁰ The description records that the 'length' of the property lay against the road, and that the other sides abutted the Cressing boundary and John Chapman's property. This description, which is consistent with later accounts of the 24 acre Wright's Farm, would not have been applicable after the first phase of infilling on Choat's Green (Fig 70A).

A year later Davey and Godard granted the property to Richard Grigge.⁶¹ In 1570 Ashwell's alias Wright's was bought by Ralph Wyseman,⁶² but a reference in 1575 to 'Norfolke's Wode' shows that the second alternative name was then in use.⁶³ The wood did not belong to Wright's, but merely abutted it. A will of 1585 and a rental of 1729 simply call the property Norfolk's,⁶⁴ as do the Court Rolls in 1739, where it is also specified that the lands total 24 acres.⁶⁵

Wyseman's ownership of the property must have been brief, since in John Watson's will of 1585 he bequeathed his 'manner of Lanhams, Norfolk's and Mynges' to his son. He may not, however, have owned the freehold of Norfolk's, which Wyseman might have sold to Isaac Ardley of Bradwell, along with the neighbouring parts of Rolph's Farm (see p 144). In 1780 Moses Ardly appears in the Churchwardens' Accounts as the owner of 'Brickworth

('Beckwith' in 1781). The implication of the re-naming of the property is that the Beckwiths were tenants in the 17th or 18th century: the Hearth Tax Returns of 1662 and later record John Beckwith as having two hearths.⁶⁶

Around this time, a separate tenement was created on part of Wright's land, in LP 35, and this is the property which was set back from the road on the 1801 map (Fig 70B). The house was demolished before 1839 and its land combined with Rolph's Farm, leaving Wright's with only 17 acres at the time of the Tithe assessment.

In the 1820 Parish Rate Book Wright's Farm was called 'Becksworth' and assessed at only 15 acres (Fig 71). Some additional land must have been acquired before 1872, when the holding comprised 20 acres.⁶⁷ The present house is partly timber framed, and of the 16th or 17th century.

Davy's (5A)

A tenement with unspecified and thus presumably modest lands called Davy's was closely associated with Wright's. The Davy family were first mentioned in this area in 1395/6, and in 1529 John Davy's widow sold several messuages and gardens, including 'Davye's',⁶⁸ mentioned in 1706,⁶⁹ 1729,⁷⁰ and 1739,⁷¹ it seems likely that Davy's was the tenement and garden immediately adjoining Wright's farmhouse on the south (LP 37), and clearly cut out of its land (Fig 70A). It was still a separate holding in 1839.

Rolph's Farm (6)

Rolfe 1413; Chapman's alias Rolfe's 1578; Chapman's 1588; Ralph's 1875 OS.

Rolph's Farm adjoins Wright's Farm on the south, and the first recorded hint of its existence is in 1395/6 when it was owned by John Chapman and formed one of the abutments to Wright's.⁷² The earliest mention of the Rolph family is in 1413.⁷³ In 1578 the property was called Chapman's alias Rolfe's,⁷⁴ and in 1584 Ralph Wyseman purchased 'Chapmans and Rolfes', comprising the tenement and 27 acres.⁷⁵ The land is identifiable as LP 20-1, and seems to have excluded a plot of four or five acres, adjoining the house on the north (LP 25), which was possibly held separately at that time. This may hint at the subdivision of the property before the end of the 16th century, and would account for its being known as Chapman's and Rolph's.

It would appear that Wyseman resold the house, but not the land. Then, in the middle years of the 17th century, Isaac Ardley, yeoman of Bradwell parish, was reported as having converted two farmhouses — Ralph's and Wright's, it seems — into cottages. Richard Rolfe was still the tenant in the former property, which was described as 'not having 4 acres of land'.⁷⁶ Although undocumented, another farm was essentially created in conjunction with the division of Rolph's, its new fields being carved out of former woodland in the north-east corner of Rivenhall parish (probably comprising LP 24-6, 32-4. Fig 70B). In effect, Rolph's Farm was moved, excepting the house itself. This presumably took place in the mid 17th century, at the same time as the greater part of Choat's Green was enclosed (LP 29). Thus by 1820 Rolph's Farm, then owned by Moses Ardley, comprised an estimated 56 acres, including one field that originally belonged to Wright's, and on which an unnamed house had been built (LP 35). By 1839 this house had disappeared.

Rolph's Farmhouse, which is a late 15th century timber-framed hall with cross-wings, was evidently built as an encroachment on the eastern margin of Choat's Green.

Egypt Farm (4)

Godardy's 1460; Godardis 1495; Goddard's alias Cotall's 1609; Egypt Fm 1777, 1801, 1820; Egypt's 1839; Egypt Fm 1875 OS.

The intriguing name 'Egypt Farm' superficially suggests extreme remoteness, or a late foundation for this site: naming after faraway places was common in the late 18th and 19th centuries (eg Antioch, Pennsylvania, Scotland). Such an explanation is not, however, entirely satisfactory in the present circumstances. Egypt Farm was certainly not a late foundation: the present house is a good 15th century timber-framed building comprising a hall and cross-wings. It was the medieval holding of Godard's. Renaming took place in the 18th century, sometime before 1777, and at a time when development

around Choat's Green was active. Arguably another explanation should be sought for the name, perhaps connected with an antiquarian tour, or artefacts brought back from one, although there is no record of such.⁷⁷

John Godard has already been mentioned as one of the grantees of Wright's Farm in 1395/6, and in 1460 'Godardy's' tenement and lands were described as 'lately' in his occupation.⁷⁸ A grant of 1495 gives a detailed description of the property as comprising 40 acres. The chase leading from 'the kings highway' to 'Godardis' was called 'la entere', and abutting this on the north was one field of 24 acres (LP 63-4), and on the south another field of 16 acres (Fig 70A; LP 41, 43).⁷⁹ Further details of abutments are given, including 'Groveland' on the south and 'le moche skolehouse feld' to the north. The latter lies immediately beyond the parish boundary in Cressing, and is a remarkably early and interesting reference to a nearby schoolhouse, which may have been a little to the north of Cressing church, in the vicinity of Skills Farm.⁸⁰

The sale of the property in 1609 names it as Goddard's alias Cotall's, but does not specify its extent.⁸¹ With it, however, went 5 acres of meadow in 'Ryvenhall Smythe'. This must refer to meadow belonging to the Smiths of Cressing, probably some of that which was later included in the enlarged Egypt Farm (potentially LP 47A). Expansion had certainly occurred before 1684, when one of the outlying fields (LP 66) was called 'Cocksalls', that is, Cotalls (Fig 70B).⁸²

The 1820 Parish Rate Book records details of the lands, based on sale particulars of 1819; the farm then comprised 114 acres (Fig 71). It was unchanged in 1839.

Groveland (7A) and Cutt's Tenement (7B)

On the opposite side of the road from Rolph's Farm was a pair of fields known in the Middle Ages as Groveland, and later as Great and Little Grove Land (LP 67, 70). This land was always held as a discrete parcel, although there are no references to a tenement here. However, examination of the boundaries shows that there was formerly a three acre tenement parcel, set end-on to the road, at the northern extremity of Great Grove Land (LP 67A). The house must have disappeared before 1495, and the southern boundary of the plot had been erased before 1716, leaving only an isolated pond as tell-tale evidence (Fig 70A).

The 1495 description of Egypt Farm includes the abuttal on Groveland, noted above. The next reference, in 1582-3, records Ralph Wyseman's annoyance that 'evil doers and perturbors of the peace' were active in Groveland. It appears that they were driving carts loaded with timber through the chase-way that ran along the southern edge of Groveland, separating it from Boarstye Farm. Wyseman owned this farm and a small backland plot (LP 72A), to which the same chase-way gave access, and hence his concern over 'riotous breaking and entering' is

explained. By 1588 Groveland too had been purchased by Ralph Wyseman.⁸³ The disturbance and carting of timber is doubtless an oblique reference to the clearance of woodland in conjunction with the formation of new tenements in the backland.⁸⁴

Thus we may surmise that the activity of 1582–3 was connected with the awkwardly situated tenement and two fields, totalling 9 acres, later known as Cutt's (Fig 70A; LP 68, 70A). The first named reference to this property is in the Rivenhall Court Roll for 1684, where its abuttals on Groveland, Cocksall's and Wistock's are given.⁸⁵ John Raven's will of 1705 bequeathed Cutt's tenement 'without the chaseway', the ownership of which went with Groveland.⁸⁶

Cutt's evidently fell in due course into two occupations, as shown by rentals for the three acre plot in 1727 and 1730.⁸⁷ In a surrender of 1747 the property was described as tenements, two crofts, lands and 'one chaseway leading from the king's highway'.⁸⁸ The outline of Cutt's is reconstructable from the 1716 Western Estate maps by virtue of

being an excluded parcel from the Western (formerly Wyseman) property (Fig 70B). The tenements were still intact in 1801, but had been destroyed before 1820, when the Parish Rate Book records that their lands (then 'Sutton's, late Light Acres') had been absorbed into Boarstye Farm. The historic topography of this area was obliterated through a rearrangement of the property boundaries, as seen on the Tithe map.

Memory of Cutt's did not, however, entirely disappear, since a new property by this name was built as the final act of encroachment on the east side of Choat's Green (LP 30). By 1873 the tenement had been divided into two.⁸⁹ This is one of several instances in Rivenhall of the transference of a name.

Environs of Boarstye Green

Boarstye Green (Figs 71-4)

The large, spindle-shaped green, set axially on the road from Rivenhall to Braintree, must have formed

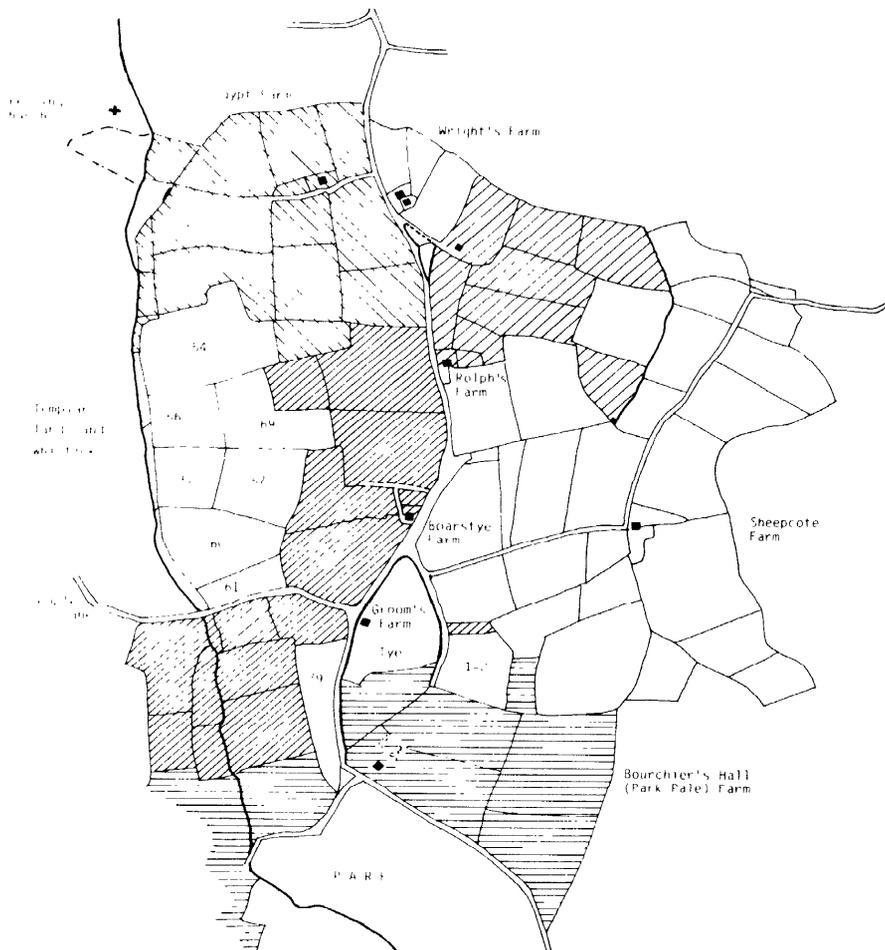


Figure 71 Reconstruction of the extents of the principal farms around Choat's Green and Boarstye Green in 1820. The variously shaded and unshaded areas serve only to distinguish groups of associated land parcels

a prominent focus to this northern section of the parish. The green measured 650 m in length, by 230 m in breadth and was defined all round by a road, the 'chaseway' (Fig 71). The layout of the green must predate the construction of Bowser's Hall moat (Vol 1, p 1841, which is probably a late 12th or early 13th century feature, and the *tye* name in any case suggests an Anglo-Saxon origin. There are, moreover, clear topographical indications that the Tye was laid down over an earlier, presumably Roman, pattern of rectilinear fields and lanes (Fig 72A). Alongside one of the major axes of this system lay a great glacial boulder ('sarsen stone'), known locally as Mungo's Grave.⁹⁰

The first mention of Boarstye — then *Bourghier's Tye* — is in the time of Henry VIII,⁹¹ and it is marked on both the 1777 and 1801 maps. The 30 acre Tye was probably unencumbered until part of the southern end was enclosed by Bourchier's Hall (in the 15th century?), and the remainder was lost when Groom's Farm was established, sometime in the 16th century. Thereafter, the name Boars Tye Green was applied to a small triangle at the road

junction at the northern end of the former Tye. In this triangle stood an ancient and noted local tree, the Boars Tye Oak (PI LXXI), which was only felled in the 1960s. Another equally venerable and noted tree, Ring Stephen's Oak, stood 180 m east of the green.⁹² The village lock-up was also sited at Boarstye (LP 8a), and was called 'Hellhoused' in the 16th century (p 148).

There were formerly relict features of several medieval crofts abutting the perimeter of the green, only two of which survived into modern times (Fig 72C). The historic topography of the entire area has been destroyed since 1926, when the construction of the Crittall Factory and Silver End Model Village began.

Boarstye Farm (7)

Bourghier's Tye *temp* Hy VIII; Bowcher's Tye 1588; Boars Sty 1716; Boars Tye 1777; Boarstye 1801; Boarstye 1839, 1878 OS.

This lay just beyond the northern limit of the green, on the west side of Boarstye Road. Unfortunately, it



Figure 72 Reconstruction of the earlier phases of development of Boarstye Green: A. Relict features of the Romano-British landscape, with the spindle-shaped tye superimposed across them on a diagonal axis; B. The green in the earlier medieval period, with the chase on the east side interrupted by the construction of Bourchier's Hall moat; C. The green in the late medieval period, showing certain (solid squares) and probable (open squares) farms and tenements. The position of the Boars Tye Oak is also marked

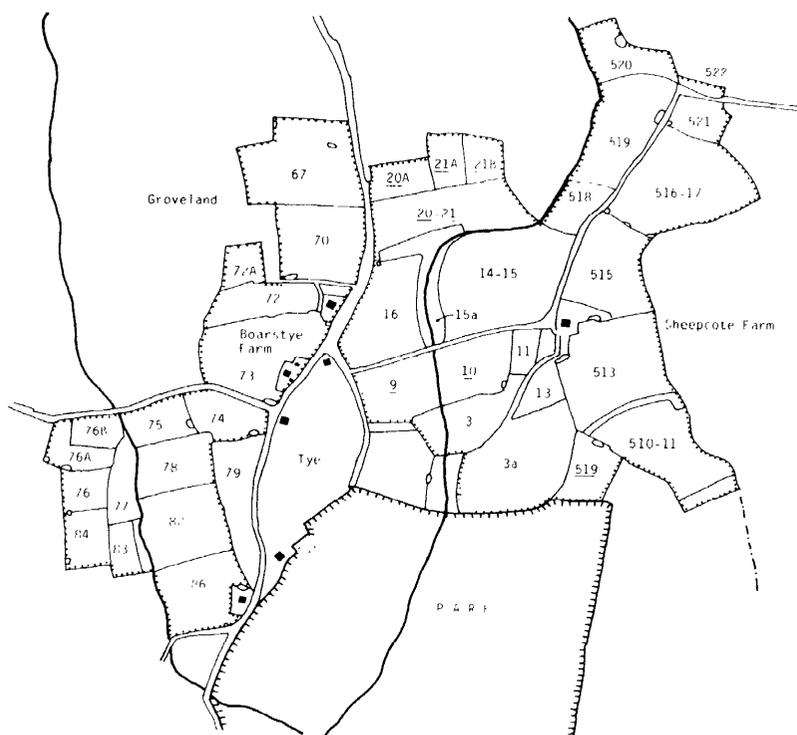


Figure 73 Boarstye Green in the later 17th and early 18th centuries, showing the principal holdings: Rivenhall Park, Boarstye Farm (incorporating Groveland) and Sheepcote Farm. Underlined land parcel numbers refer to woodland names where recent clearance had taken place

is very difficult to distinguish this property in records from Bowser's or Bouchier's Hall, which lay at the southern end of the green. The earliest unequivocal reference to the farm is in Thomas Wyseman's marriage settlement of 1588, where it is separately recorded as 'one tenement . . . called Bowchers Tye'.⁹³

The property was purchased by Ralph Wyseman in the 1580s, and was first mapped in 1716. The late 16th or early 17th century timber-framed farmhouse still survives, albeit much altered. There were two contemporary barns, for barley and wheat; the latter still survives. The site plan indicates that the farm began its existence as a simple tenement on the frontage of an end-on plot that was no more than c three acres in original extent. On the north was the chaseway and Groveland (p 144), and on the south a 16 acre parcel called Lond Field (LP 73). The name suggests that this was an area of wood pasture, a *laund*, on the edge of the medieval deer park.⁹⁴ South of Lond Field was Temple Lane, which ran from Boarstye Green to Cressing village and Cressing Temple.

It was to the south of this lane that the main block of fields assigned to Boarstye Farm lay, and these were doubtless piecemeal acquisitions, derived from the absorption of other tenements: Old Anderson's Field, Weaver's Field and Gardiner's Field (LP 74, 86, 76) all recall previous occupants (Fig 73). The farm also owned a single, small, tenement plot on the east side of Boarstye Green, known as Ayre's Croft (LP 4). The complete holding was recorded on plan in 1716, and again in 1773. When it was listed

in the 1820 Parish Rate Book there was one addition, the former site of Cutt's tenement (p 144).

Another small holding surrounded by Boarstye Farm land, but independently held, was an elongated triangular field called 'Chaseland' in 1716 (LP 79). This had previously been in not less than two parcels (a detail recalled in 1839, when it was styled Great and Little Castlings), and any associated tenement — potentially at the southern tip — had long been lost. Both the name and the topography of the site suggest that Chaseland was an early enclosure of waste alongside the *tye*.

Groom's Farm (8)

Grascroft 1552; Graiscroft 1588; Gracescroft 1699; Johnson's 1716; Winter's 1731; Groom's 1753; Winter Farm 1770; Groom's 1839 1875 OS.

This farm was established as an encroachment on Boarstye Green not later than the mid 16th century, since the former timber-framed house had a cross-wing. Still surviving is its 17th century barn, which has been converted into the church of St Francis, Silver End.

The farm probably began in a modest way, as a tenement and one field (LP 8; Fig 74A). If the proposed identification of Groom's with Graiscroft is correct (p 153), the first reference to the site is datable to 1552, and it was one of several properties acquired by the Wysemans, c 1588.⁹⁵ The next identifiable reference is in 1671, when William Johnson held it of the manor of Rivenhall. In the Hearth Tax Returns of this and subsequent years, Johnson was

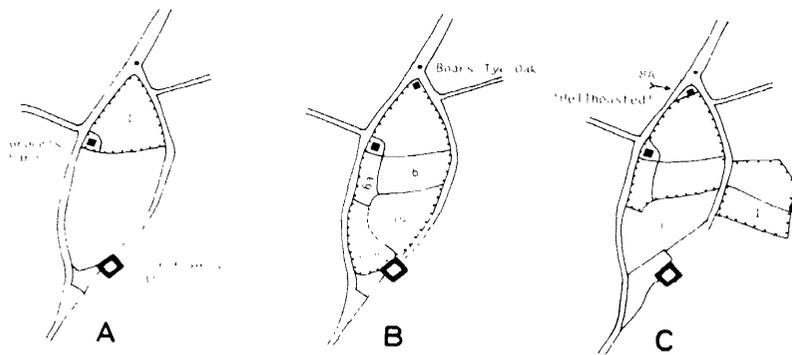


Figure 74 The suggested development of Groom's Farm on Boarstye Green: A. Mid 16th century (or earlier?); B. Late 16th century; C. Late 17th century

assessed for three hearths, implying that his house was more than a mere tenement. In *c* 1700 his land called Gracescroft was assessed at £2 per annum.⁹⁶ The full extent of Johnson's lands (26 acres) can be mapped from 'blanks' in the 1716 Western Estate surveys.⁹⁷ By 1731 the property was called Winter's and apparently comprised 29 acres.

Not all of the farm was located — at least in later centuries — on the site of the former green: two additional fields (totalling 9 acres), called Mayes and Selland (LP 1, 2), had been acquired immediately east of the chaseway circumscribing the green.⁹⁸ These were probably the sites of other lost tenements, including possibly 'Hellonfields', which was formerly associated with Archer's manor (p 152). One additional tenement known to have been acquired by Groom's is Cutt's, which was resold before 1820 (p 145). It is also conceivable that Groom's itself arose out of a merging of two or three medieval tenements on the former Tye; the configuration of boundaries certainly hints at more than a single house plot here (Fig 72C).

In summary, the development of Groom's seems to have been thus: the farm (then Graiescroft) was established before the mid 16th century, and its lands of 26 or 27 acres were virtually coterminous with the extent of the former green. Only a three acre parcel at the southern end, Dovehouse Field, was held by Bouchier's Hall. Then, in the later 17th century, when most of Bouchier's land was engulfed by the new park, a land-swap appears to have been effected (p 151). Bouchier's extended Dovehouse Field (LP 80) to 10.25 acres, and Groom's received Mayes and Selland (LP 1–2) in exchange (Fig 74B–C).

Sometime before 1777 a tenement was erected on the northern tip of Groom's Farm, perhaps as an encroachment on to the last remaining fragment of waste belonging to the former Tye (LP 8a). This tenement, which was on or close to the site of 'Hell-housted', the village lock-up (p 152), was poorly illustrated in 1836.⁹⁹

Whisticks and Temple Land (34)

(Part of New House Farm, Cressing)

West of Boarstye Farm, between its lands and the Cressing Brook, was a block of fields and a strip of meadow which were held in the early Middle Ages by the Knights Templar of Cressing and which thereafter remained as a tithe-exempt unit, like the lands in Lanham Chase (p 137).¹⁰⁰ The Boarstye lands were known as 'The Temple' in 1562, and had a short abutment on Temple Lane, which is still so called.¹⁰¹ The holding apparently consisted of three large fields and a narrow strip of meadow alongside the brook. The central field (43 acres), later divided into four (LP 56–8, 69), was called Wistocks in 1684,¹⁰² and subsequently Whisticks. To the north was a 22 acre field, probably wooded until the post-medieval period, and to the south a further 19 acres of pasture and wood.

The earliest map of The Temple lands is 1839, by which time the internal field boundaries had been modified, although not significantly since 1808 (Fig 71).¹⁰³ This holding, which totalled *c* 91 acres, may possibly be equated with the principal part of Peter de Rossa's gift of 100 acres of land to the Knights Templar. De Rossa was both rector and lord of the manor of Rivenhall, and became a Knight of the Order before he died in 1255.

The local name *Wistok(halke)* is recorded in 1428 which Reaney suggests is a reference to a recessed or concealed place with withy-stumps.¹⁰⁴ This would have been a wholly appropriate topographical description for Whisticks. The Rivenhall surname Wistick presumably came from this site.

Sheepcote Farm (32)

Shepene 1386–7; Shepcot 1428; Shepcoteyerd 1569; Shippcotts 1676; Sheep Cote Farme 1688; Shipcoates 1689; Sheepcotes 1839.

Sheepcote Lane is a relict fragment of the the pre-Saxon rectilinear landscape, which in the Middle Ages led from the east side of the Tye to the parish boundary. Just over the boundary, in a detached portion of Cressing parish, Sheepcote Farm was built astride the lane, blocking its line into Kelvedon

(Figs 71 and 72A). On purely topographical grounds Sheepcotes might be considered as a 'late' development on marginal land, and so it probably was, relative to the chronology of many other farms in the area. But in the Rivenhall context 'late' is a term applicable to the 14th century.

Sheepcotes is one of the few stable names in the parish, with no known alternatives. The first reference to the holding is in 1386–7, when it was described as 'a tenement formerly of Robert atte Shepene'.¹⁰⁵ There was also a wood here, to which frequent reference was made, up to the 17th century. It is not always easy to distinguish between the tenement and the wood in documentary references; the latter was in the last stages of being felled in 1676.¹⁰⁶ The field-names of the farm are replete with references to former woodland, the oldest being The Reedings, or Readden Field (LP 9–10). There were considerable boundary changes introduced between the fields at the end of this piecemeal clearance operation, the Parish Rate Book of 1820 capturing the process before it was completed. Many of the fields listed in that account would not now be recognizable on the Tithe map of 1839, without the evidence supplied by an estate map of 1688.

Sheepcotes belonged to Cressing Temple, but was not tithe-exempt land; it came into the occupation of Isaac Ardley in 1689, thus extending his holdings in the north-east corner of Rivenhall parish.¹⁰⁷ Although half of the Sheepcote land lay in Cressing, the farm's affinities were with Rivenhall; it was also the subject of the earliest estate map prepared in the area, 1688. This map reveals the extent of Sheepcote Farm as being 263 acres, which was far larger than any of the other holdings so far discussed (Figs 71 and 73). All but 3.5 acres of its woodland had gone, and 165 acres were under the plough. The 27 acres which had been taken away from Rolph's Farm in 1576 by Ralph Wyseman (p 144) had at some unspecified time been united with Sheepcotes, but neither the Wysemans nor the Westerns ever possessed any part of the latter.

Herein lies the answer to the curious, and manifestly incomplete, plan of Wyseman's Rivenhall Park: the layout was conceived as embodying the greater part of Sheepcotes land, and presumably beyond — hence the purchase of the fields south of Rolph's Farm — but the plan was thwarted by Wyseman's inability to acquire the intervening land (pp 113–17). Soon after he came to Rivenhall (1566) he began to purchase neighbouring estates — large and small — with a view to creating an extensive, consolidated holding.¹⁰⁸

The present farmhouse and adjacent barn are 16th century timber-framed structures, but the house was refronted in brick in 1785.

Rivenhall Place and its environs

The central portion of Rivenhall parish presents many problems of interpretation, both on account of

the bewildering confusion in the documentation, and the considerable physical changes that have taken place through successive phases of emparkment. Since the later Middle Ages manorial seats have shifted, farms have been moved to new sites, and property names have been reallocated. The following account can therefore be no more than a summary and possible interpretation of the evidence. The topographical development of Rivenhall Park has already been considered (section 10.2).

Bowser's (Bourchier's) Hall (9)

Borchers 1421; Bourghchiers 1435; Bourchiershall 1492; Bowsor's Hall 1716; Boucher's 1815; Park Pale 1839; Bowser's Hall 1875 OS.

This was the seat of one of the lesser manors of Rivenhall in the later Middle Ages, and it has been suggested that the origin of Bourchier's may be found in the 30 acre estate held by a freeman in 1066 (Vol 1, p 174). There is nothing to support a claim for equating Bourchier's with one of the Domesday period manors.

History of the manor of Bourchier's Hall by G E Skeldrick

Bourchier's seems to be the earliest name known for this manor, from its owners the de Bourchiers or de Burghchiers, created Earls of Essex in 1461.¹⁰⁹ Later this name appears to have become corrupted into 'Bowsers', or 'Bower'. Alternatively, this form may be a survival of the name 'de Bousser', also used by the 14th century de Bourchiers.¹¹⁰ The name seems to have become confused with 'Bounsers', which was being held of the manor of Cressing Temple in 1670, an entirely separate property in the southern part of the parish (p 159).¹¹¹

The earliest reference to the manor of Bourchier's by name occurs in 1485, when all the lands held by Henry, Earl of Essex (died 1483) were granted to his brother Thomas, the Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1486), except for certain named manors including Bourchier's in Rivenhall.¹¹² But as early as 1330 Robert de Bousser (Henry's grandfather, died 1349), who also held the manor of Rivenhall of Robert de Scales,¹¹³ held a demesne in Rivenhall, where he was granted free warren,¹¹⁴ as did his son John de Burgher, Henry's uncle (died 1400).¹¹⁵ John's son Bartholomew (died 1409) and granddaughter Elizabeth (died 1433) took precedence over Henry in the inheritance of the title, so they probably held Bourchier's before him.¹¹⁶

It seems likely that William, Henry's son (died 1471) who married Anne Wydeville, the queen's sister, and Henry their son (died 1539),¹¹⁷ held Bourchier's after Thomas took the other lands of Henry Earl of Essex for Anne, Henry's only child. She brought it with her upon her marriage to William Parr,¹¹⁸ Marquess of Northampton. William was attained in 1553 for his support of Jane Grey and his estates were confiscated, but in 1556 two Royal Councillors were leased this manor, along with

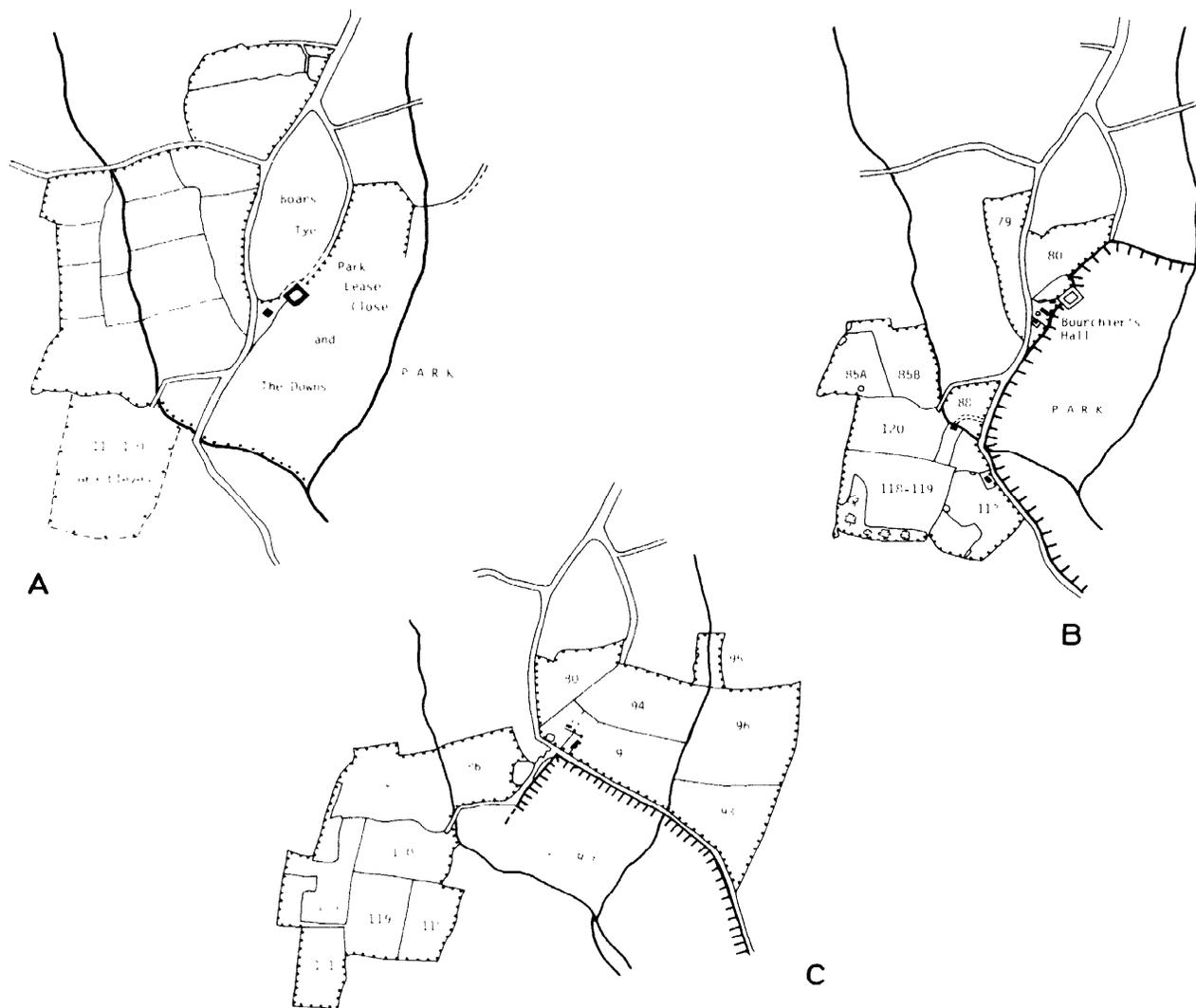


Figure 75 The decline of Bouchier's Hall Manor: A. Probable extent of the rump of the holding at the beginning of the 16th century; B. The farm at its minimum extent in the later 17th century, following additional emparkment; C. The farm in the 1790s after partial disparkment and the reallocation of land

many others, for the term of Northampton's life. This was presumably for the use of Anne, who was separated from her husband, since the grant was made 'in consideration of the intimate kindness towards her borne by the King and Queen, and also for the support of her estate and rank'.¹¹⁹

William Parr died in 1571, when the lands were inherited by Walter Deveraux,¹²⁰ created Earl of Essex in 1572. He was the great-grandson of Cecily, the sister of Anne Parr's father, and the father of Robert Deveraux, Earl of Essex.¹²¹

In 1576, Walter sold his Rivenhall estates for £700 to Ralph Wyseman.¹²² Bouchier's was thus added to the steadily accumulating property owned in the

parish by the Wyseman family, who kept it together with the manor of Rivenhall and who had sold it, along with the latter manor, to Thomas Western by 1693,¹²³ by which time it was merely another constituent of the Western estates, to be fragmented and sold off in the 20th century. Alternative names continued in use until well into the 19th century; for example, in 1790 C C Western leased 'Bowser's Hall' to Anthony Blackburn,¹²⁴ who in his will of 1815¹²⁵ referred to it as 'Boucher's Hall'.

The development of the estate

In physical terms this property would appear to have come into existence as a modest holding which

abutted Boarstye Green at its southern end, probably with the tenement built hard against the chaseway. A small square moat was then dug around the house in the late 12th or 13th century, completely cutting through the chaseway, so that in due course the useless section of lane to the north of the property disappeared, while the short southern section became a private road into the enclosure, crossing the moat near the south-west corner (Fig 72).

By the end of the 16th century the confined space within the now-unfashionable moat was abandoned, and a new hall and farm buildings were erected outside to the south. The present Bower Hall appears to be a 16th century L-shaped, timber-framed hall and cross-wing, to which later additions have been made (PI XXXVb).¹²⁶ Nearby is a detached granary, an important survivor of the new group of farm buildings.¹²⁷

A little to the west of the hall, and inevitably on the former Tye, a dovehouse was constructed at an early date, one of only two recorded in the parish. In due course, more than one-third of the Tye was enclosed to become part of Bouchier's land, and was appropriately named Dovehouse field (LP 80; Fig 74). The earliest reference to this field is in 1574, which might hint that the dovehouse was part of the new suite of 16th century manorial buildings, but 'Dowhouse Feild' was then only three acres in extent. By the beginning of the 18th century it had been increased to 10 acres, apparently by combining two parcels.¹²⁸ However, in an *Inquisition post mortem* dated 1350, Robert Burghcher is recorded as holding a manor, 300 acres of land, eight acres of pasture and a dovehouse.¹²⁹ Thus the ancestry of the dovehouse at Bouchier's is carried back another 250 years. The structure had gone before 1716, and its exact site remains unknown.

If the entire 300 acres of Robert Burghcher's holding was attached to Bouchier's Hall, a massive reduction in the curtilage of this property must have occurred sometime before 1716, when it was first mapped. The creation of the 17th century formal park by the Wysemans provided the principal context for this reduction. The 1716 survey apparently depicts the estate in the last stages of fragmentation, and it is not therefore surprising that Bouchier's Hall was then regarded as no more than a farm. The likely sequence of events may be posited thus. The nucleus of the original holding was a cohesive unit around the west, south and east sides of Boarstye Green (Fig 75A). By about the 15th century a quarter of this holding had been hived off to form Boarstye Farm (Fig 73), and probably several other plots had become detached (eg Chase-land, LP 79); then, when the formal park was laid out, c 1670, a large slice was removed from the eastern side of the remaining estate. In fact so much was taken that the park boundary skirted the edge of the farmyard, and even encompassed the site of the earlier medieval moat (Fig 75B). This left Bouchier's Hall with no immediately adjoining land, except the encroachment on the Tye. Only the

south-west corner of the original estate remained recognizably intact, and that was now a detached parcel. The bounds of that corner were noted *en passant* in a description of the 1590s of the abutments of the lands of Archer's Hall (p 152).¹³⁰

Two of the named lands belonging to Bouchier's manor were 'Parke Lease Cloes' and 'The Downs', which lay to the east of the manor house and which were entirely swallowed up by the later park.¹³¹ One of the principal land parcels which in due course became attached to Bouchier's Hall was a field of some 27 acres called Grastleyes; in 1552 it belonged to Archer's manor, but by 1572 it had been divided into Great and Little Grasley (LP 118–20),¹³² and by the 1590s it had evidently been transferred to Bouchier's where it remained (Fig 75A).¹³³

The reorganization of Rivenhall Park in the 1790s released some land which had formerly been part of the home fields of Bouchier's Hall. These and other fields were restored to Bouchier's (LP 92–6; Fig 75C).

Archer's Hall and Manor (11A)

Archer's 1498–9; Archer's and Hellonfelde 1566; Archer's alias Smyth's Hall 1572; Wyseman's Hall alias Archer's 1588; Rivenhall Place 1716,

There were two separate holdings in Rivenhall called 'Archer's': one was the 20 acre Archer's Farm in the Lanham triangle, already discussed (pp 138–40); the other was a lesser medieval manor known as Archer's Hall. The latter presents complex tenurial problems, the understanding of which are fundamental to the later medieval history of the capital Manor of Rivenhall and of Rivenhall Park. J H Round incorrectly identified the tiny Domesday manor held of Robert Gerno by Ascelin as that later to be called 'Archer's', but it was almost certainly 'Godsalves' (p 1671).¹³⁴ It has been argued that Archer's is to be equated with the second largest Domesday manor in Rivenhall (Vol 1, p 174, *Rivenhall ii*), but it must be admitted that an alternative view might see the development of Archer's deriving from the sokeman's holding on the principal manor (*Rivenhall i*).

Whichever may be the case, there is no identifiable mention of Archer's as a manor until the end of the Middle Ages. The earliest reference to the name 'Archer' in Rivenhall appears in 1349, when one Robert le Archer of 'Tey atte Elmes' (Marks Tey) bought 35 acres of land and a moiety of one messuage in the parish.¹³⁵ In 1360 his holding consisted of 'a moiety of a knight's fee',¹³⁶ and by 1389 he (or perhaps his son) was granting lands in Rivenhall, Witham and Bradwell.¹³⁷

References to land holdings by the Archers appear intermittently in the records,¹³⁸ until 1498–9 when the first mention of lands called 'Archer's' occurs, owned by Thomas Smith.¹³⁹ Descended from the Smiths of Cressing, he became a major landowner in Rivenhall, and was previously mentioned in 1440 as having a tenement called 'Archeresgardyn' on

'Archeresgrene'.¹⁴⁰ The context seems to suggest that we are not dealing here with Archer's Farm in the north of the parish (p 139).¹⁴¹ This being so, Archer's Green was perhaps a small area of waste at a road junction adjacent to Archer's Hall.

Archer's then disappears from the records until 1552 when Clement Smith held the 'manor of Archer's', and this was a substantial estate, totalling 425 acres in the centre of Rivenhall parish.¹⁴² In 1562 his son John sold it to Thomas Nevyl and Thomas Crackbone, who in 1566 sold to Ralph Wyseman their two separate halves of 'the manor or capital messuage called Archer's and Hellonfelde'.¹⁴³ Archer's thus became the first of many properties to be owned by the Wyseman family in Rivenhall, and was known in 1572 as the 'manor of Archer's otherwise called Smyth's Hall'.¹⁴⁴ By 1588 it had become 'Wyseman's Hall alias Archer's',¹⁴⁵ and was still so called when the estate was sold to Thomas Western in 1693,¹⁴⁶ and was absorbed into the extensive Western properties. The hall was renamed Rivenhall Place before 1716.

A reference in 1623 to the manor of 'Bowchier's Hall cum Archer's' supplies the crucial evidence to confirm that the Wysemans had merged the two manors.¹⁴⁷

Identifying the extent of the lands of Archer's is now only possible in generalized terms, since successive phases of emparkment have drastically altered the field patterns in the centre of the parish, leaving many recorded field-names now unassignable on the ground. The earliest description of the manorial estate is given in 1563, when 'Archer's and Hellonfeilds' comprised eight messuages, six cottages, ten tofts, one pigeon house, six orchards, eight gardens, 264 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 80 acres of pasture, 60 acres of wood, and 24 rent.¹⁴⁸ Hellonfeilds must have been a property of some significance which was amalgamated early on with Archer's, and the name was soon dropped from the records. Hellonfeilds seems to have been close at hand, and it is possible that a plot on the east side of Boarstye Green, later named Sellond (LP 1-2), was the site of this lost tenement.

There is, however, a further ambiguity which cannot be satisfactorily resolved: Thomas Smyth, who owned Archer's, also owned 'Halelond' in 1536, and that must have been in the Lanham area since it was recorded as abutting lands in Stisted parish.¹⁴⁹ There is no obvious reason to link Halelond with Hellonfeilds, but the former may hint at a connection with 'Hewell House', a property that was apparently near the north-west corner of the Lanham triangle.¹⁵⁰ While it is tempting to equate Hewell House with the 'Hellhoused' mentioned in the extent of 1552 (below), this is untenable because the latter is described as being next to Grascroft Field. That and other evidence certainly place Hellhoused close to Archer's, probably at the northern tip of Boarstye Green (Fig 74C). The dilemma remains.

The full extent of the manor of Archer's in 1552 was given in the 1566 sale particulars, with the

field-names and acreages;¹⁵¹ some parcels are readily identifiable:

Rokohylles 11-0-1 (acres-roods-perches) [high ground where rooks roost, location uncertain and possibly not in Rivenhall]¹⁵²
 2 parcels next to Hellhoused called Grascroft field 27(?) - 2-12 [probably LP 6, 7, 8 & 80; p 153]
Backefylde 8-2-10 [Great Backfield, LP 42, later part of Godard's Farm]
another field 6 ac [probably Little Backfield, LP 42]
The More 3 ac¹⁵³
Colters 8-3-30 [perhaps later Collier's, LP 121, see p 162]
Teynter fylde 17-0-10
Sawyers Croft 4-0-3
Samons 27 ac [LP 159-60]
Wadhingtons 26 ac [LP 156-7]
Grastleyes 20-2-31 [LP 118-20]
Persevelles 25-1-9 [this must be Pinces or Pynsche, LP 115-17]
Shortland and the *leyes* next to *Inveburne Thicke* 8-2-0 [LP 153-5]
a parcel of meadow towards the church of Ryvenhall 2 ac [part LP 220 or 221]
Shortland Grove 3-1-13 [LP 151A]
Samons 3 ac [cf Samons, above]
parcel of land next to Bradfylde [probably LP 213] and *Holeshots* 2 ac [LP 186-8]
Samondes 9-0-33 [part of Ford Farm; cf Samons, above]
Newburne Thicket 50-1-5 [LP 150, Rivenhall Wood]
land in Pages meade 0-3-10 [LP 422]
 [all the above held by Thomas Clarke]

tenement and land 16-3-6
croft 3-0-1
 [held by John Dyves]

tenement and croft 5-1-26
land 4 ac
Polcattes Fylde 5-2-15 [probably Crossing parish]¹⁵⁴
croft 6-0-14
woods 15-3-10
croft 4 ac
lands 30-0-12
 [held by John Burton]

Total 425-1-29¹⁵⁵

A few fields belonging to Archer's were mentioned in 1572: *Greate Grasley* (LP 118-19), *Little Grasley* (LP 120), both later transferred to Bouchier's Hall, *Ferine Hill* and *Longland*.¹⁵⁶ Then, in the 1590s, *Fernehyll* was again mentioned (27 acres), together with *Pynsche* (LP 115-17) and *Lynck* (LP 111). *Fernehyll* is later to be identified in part with Fulley Field (LP 112) and several other adjoining parcels.

In broad terms it is apparent that the 1552 extent included not only the lands around Archer's house but also an unidentified estate on the north-west or; western fringes of Rivenhall parish, part of Godard's

Farm, and another unidentified holding known as *Grasecrofte*. This last property, which was clearly not connected with the fields known as the Graslays, receives a few brief mentions in records: in 1583 it was described as one croft and tenement,¹⁵⁷ and *c* 1700 as land called *Grasecroft*, held by William Johnson.¹⁵⁸ The context indicates that the holding was near the centre of the parish, while the naming of the tenant provides the clue to its later identity. Johnson, who held his property of the Manor of Archer's and not Rivenhall Hall, appears in the Hearth Tax Returns in the 1660s–70s, and his son was at Groom's Farm in 1716. *Grasecroft* is therefore almost certainly to be equated with Groom's (p 147).

The 16th century demesne lands of Archer's clearly lay to the south of the park, and are reconstructable in broad outline (Fig 53B). In essence, they were equivalent to the recorded early 18th century holding of Parkgate Farm (qv; Fig 76A) which, in practical farming terms, was Archer's successor,

Rivenhall Place (11)

The medieval house of Archer's was presumably a timber-framed building standing on or very close to the site of the present Rivenhall Place, at a spot possibly known as Archer's Green; whether it lay just within or immediately outside the western end of the medieval park is uncertain since the line of the boundary here can only be conjectured (the former arrangement is suggested in Figs 51–3). The residence of the Lords of the Manor of Rivenhall, at least since the mid 16th century, has been Rivenhall Place (Wyseman's Hall), and it is not difficult to comprehend the sequence of events which led to the supremacy of this site, and the consequent abandonment of Rivenhall Hall as the principal manorial seat. The origin of the process must lie in the fact that Archer's was the first property to be acquired by Ralph Wyseman, in 1566; he added lands to the east and west in 1569–70, and then Bourchier's Hall in 1576. Thus he was able to unite the two minor manors in his possession as 'Archer's cum Bowcher's'. Wyseman consolidated his holding with further purchases of farms and tenements in the 1580s, and it was not until 1590 that he purchased the Manor of Rivenhall Hall and the advowson of the rectory. By this time he had already rebuilt Archer's on a grand scale, and renamed it Wyseman's Hall.

Wyseman's Hall was now a substantial late Tudor manor house, built of fashionable red brick. Whether the work was begun by the previous owners, the Smyths, or by Ralph Wyseman in the earliest years of his occupation is indeterminate, but the appellation 'Smyth's Hall' might just hint at the former. No references to the fabric of the house have survived, it merely being noted in 1588 that Wyseman was in residence.¹⁵⁹ It was therefore entirely logical that this great house should become the manorial seat for the whole of Rivenhall, and that

the more humble timber-framed Rivenhall Hall should be downgraded to the status of a farmhouse.

In 1654 Wyseman's Hall was described as 'the new mansion house',¹⁶⁰ and in the late 17th century Hearth Tax Returns it was assessed at 20 hearths, more than twice the number of any other property in Rivenhall. A good deal of the Tudor house still survives behind the Georgian facade, but it is also recorded that substantial parts — notably the south wing — have been demolished. Some indication of the general appearance of the multi-gabled Tudor mansion can be gleaned from Humphrey Repton's sketches of *c* 1790 (PI XXXIa) and the miniature depiction of the house on the 1716 plan (PI XXVIII). It is apparent that the house was not of a single build. The south-facing range, with its plain gables and centrally placed three-storey porch, may well belong to the first half of the 16th century, and equate with Smyth's Hall, while the five-bay east front with its crow-stepped gables and formal entrance is likely to have resulted from an enlargement and reorientation of the house by Wyseman.

Rivenhall Place was given a facelift in the early 1790s, when the south and east fronts were refenestrated and stuccoed in the prevailing classical fashion (PIs XXXIII and XXXIVa); much of the Tudor exterior survives on the north (PI XXXIVb). When the Western family moved away, the building fell into dereliction and stood empty for many years, until restored by the Bradhurst family early in the present century. It was slightly damaged by fire in the 1980s.

Parkgate Farm (12 and 12A) and Place Farm

Less than 300 m to the south of Rivenhall Place, on the boundary of the medieval and later park lay a farm, appropriately known as Parkgate. Little can be gleaned of its history, since its first recorded appearance is on the 1716 Western Estate survey. Topographically, it is clear that Parkgate Farm was not created *de novo* in the 17th or early 18th century, but was probably the successor to an unidentified medieval tenement or farm associated with the Archer's complex. It is not inconceivable that this was even the site of the original Archer's, and that the move into the park accompanied the late medieval or Tudor expansion of the estate. The residue of Archer's lands, after 17th century emparkment, was farmed from Parkgate (Fig 76A).

Another residual area of the great medieval park fell outside the 17th century pale on the east side; this included Storey's Wood and Farm, but there were no buildings remaining here at that time. This group of parcels, known as The Place Farm, was attached to Rivenhall Place itself (Fig 76A).

When Humphrey Repton created the new landscape park, *c*1790, Parkgate Farm was one of the inconveniences which had to be removed; the site was razed and a new farm built on virgin land at the three-way road junction to the east of the park.

The same name was retained for the farm. The junction was created as part of the rerouting of the Silver End road around the perimeter of Repton's new park (Figs 54 and 56).

A confusing land swop also took place. New Parkgate Farm included a few fields from the old (LP 162-6, 171), the whole of the land formerly designated as Place Farm, and some additional fields released by disparkment (LP 106-7, 505; Fig 76A). Other fields formerly belonging to the old Parkgate Farm, but not emparked in the 1790s, were now farmed from Rivenhall Place (Figs 56A and 76B). In effect, Parkgate Farm and The Place Farm had exchanged names.

Storey's Farm (10)

Storers 1552; Stown's alias Story's 1569; Stories 1588, 1716, 1839; Storey's 1875 OS.

When Clement Smyth died in 1552 he held certain crofts called Rokelles and Storyer's,¹⁶² and the latter was eventually bought by Ralph Wyseman in 1569, when it was referred to as 'Stown's alias Storys'.¹⁶³ The property then disappears from the record, but the name has carried on to the present day in connection with Storey's Wood. The site of Storey's croft was, however, recorded on the 1716 Western Estate survey. The abandoned homestead, labelled 'Motecroft' (LP 508A), appears amidst a remnant of uncleared woodland, between Mowsom Wood and Storey's Wood.

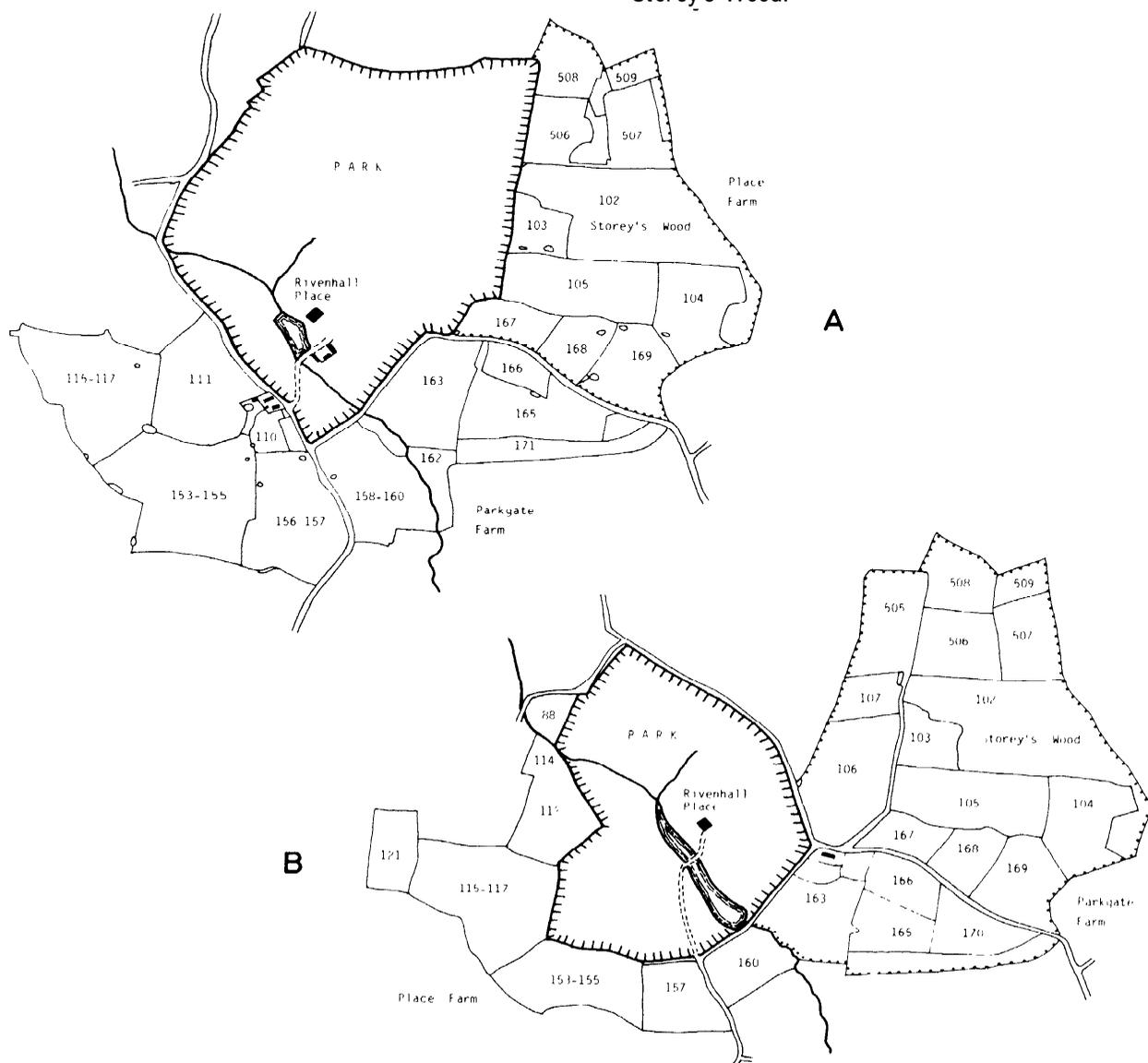


Figure 76 Rivenhall Place and its home farms, Parkgate Farm and Place Farm: A. Late 17th century; B. Late 18th century

It would appear that Storey's was a more substantial farm than the few fleeting references to it might lead us to suppose. The fact that it was moated is noteworthy (vol 1, p 184); it also gave its name to several fields and the wood, and it seems likely that the medieval extent of the holding was *c* 50 acres (Fig 53A; comprising LP 505–9), all in a detached portion of Cressing parish. Storey's, like the moated Porter's Farm (Kelvedon), was carved out of the great medieval park of Rivenhall, probably around the end of the 13th century (p 111; Fig 53A). The abandonment of Storey's Farm is likely to have occurred soon after 1569, and must be associated with the ambitious beginnings of the Wyseman park. The woodland around the croft, which was obviously in the process of being cleared in 1716, could only have been *c*140 years old, at most. This provides further confirmation that some of the woods of Rivenhall are young (see further p 125).

By the late 17th century Storey's and an adjoining area of former parkland had been combined to create Rivenhall Place Farm, as noted above (Fig 76A). It was first mapped as part of the 1716 survey.

Rivenhall Hall and related properties

The manor of Rivenhall

It has been argued that Rivenhall Hall is the ultimate successor of the Roman villa, in an unbroken line of occupational descent, and more or less on the same site. The processes of post-Roman contraction have been followed, as has the progressive move of the residence to its medieval (and probably late Anglo-Saxon) position 200 m north of the villa (summarized, Vol 1, pp 121–4).

In the Middle Ages Rivenhall Hall was the seat of the capital manor of Rivenhall, and is identifiable with the largest of the several Domesday villas, a manor and 2.5 hides held by Count Eustace of Boulogne (*Rivenhall i*, Vol 1, p 174).

History of the manor of Rivenhall Hall by G E Sheldrick

As might be expected, this is the manor to which the earliest references can be found, and to which the adwoson of the church was attached.

The early post-Conquest history of the manor is unfortunately lost, but in *c* 1249 William de Roffa (de Rossa; de Rochester; de Roucestre) died holding it in chief by the service of one and a half knights' fees.¹⁶⁴ However, as early as 1217 his father, Ralf of Rochester, was holding 'lands in Rivenhall' in chief.¹⁶⁵ William's brother Peter, who was also rector of Rivenhall, leased the manor to the Knights Templar,¹⁶⁶ but before he died in 1255 he granted it to his nephew Robert de Scales, giving other lands to the Templars.¹⁶⁷ (Robert's father, also Robert de Scales, was possibly married to Alice, sister of Peter and William.)¹⁶⁸ Robert de Scales died in 1267 and was succeeded by his son, another Robert, who was created first Lord Scales in 1299.¹⁶⁹ In 1271 this

Robert was granted the manor by one Robert de Weston.¹⁷⁰ Possibly he had inherited as a minor and de Weston was holding the lands during the wardship, for in 1275 the king allowed him to enter into his lands after doing homage for them.¹⁷¹

Robert, first Lord Scales, died in 1305 and the manor remained in the direct male line of the de Scales family,¹⁷² through Robert (died 1325), Robert (died 1369), Roger (died 1386), to Robert (died 1402). In 1403 Elizabeth, his widow, was custodian of the manor for her son, yet another Robert de Scales¹⁷³ who had inherited as a minor and who died in 1419 without issue, being succeeded by his brother Thomas (died 1460).¹⁷⁴ His daughter Elizabeth brought the manor in marriage to Henry Bourchier,¹⁷⁵ second son of Henry, Earl of Essex (see manor of Bourchier's, p 149). Henry died without an heir, and Elizabeth then married Anthony Wydeville, brother of Edward IV's Queen, and her first husband's brother-in-law. Wydeville was created Lord Scales in 1462.¹⁷⁶

In 1466 Wydeville sold the manor for 400 pounds to Sir Geoffrey Gate,¹⁷⁷ who died in 1477 holding it of Cecily Duchess of York;¹⁷⁸ she was presumably Cecily the third daughter of Edward IV (died 1507), Wydeville's niece. Gate's great-grandson Sir John Gate (or Gates) held Rivenhall,¹⁷⁹ having probably inherited it from his father Geoffrey (died 1526).¹⁸⁰ In 1553 Sir John was beheaded as a result of his support for the cause of Jane Grey,¹⁸¹ and Rivenhall was granted by Queen Mary to Susan Tonge, First Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber, to hold in chief.¹⁸² In 1557 she was granted a license 'to deliver and confirm to Francis Englefield [*et a*] her lordship and manors of Runwell and Rivenhall [and other lands] . . . to hold to Englefield and the others in fee to the use of Susan for life, with remainders . . . successively to George White esq; kinsman of Susan, and the heirs of the body of George'.¹⁸³

This George White was the son of Richard White, Susan's brother, already deceased by the time of the granting of this license. He inherited the lands¹⁸⁴ and on his death in 1584 they passed to his son Richard (died 1614).¹⁸⁵ The White family lived at Runwell until 1679,¹⁸⁶ but in 1590 Richard sold Rivenhall to Ralph Wyseman,¹⁸⁷ in whose family the manor remained for a century.

On Ralph's death in 1608, his lands passed through the possessions of his son Thomas (died 1654),¹⁸⁸ and his grandson Thomas (died 1659), to his great-grandson William (died 1688), whose only surviving child was a daughter, Elizabeth.¹⁸⁹ It appears that the family was by now encountering financial difficulties, for when William had married Elizabeth Mansell in 1652, his inheritance, 'The manors of Rivenhall [*et a*] . . . limited to the use of the honorable James Mountague esq, Sydney Mountague esq, Sir Francis Mansell bart and Bussey Mansell esq, for 200 years . . . in case there should be no issue male between the said Sir William Wyseman and the said Dame Elizabeth'.¹⁹⁰ From at least the 1670s Samuel Wyseman (William's brother) appears to have been running up debts, hoping to repay them

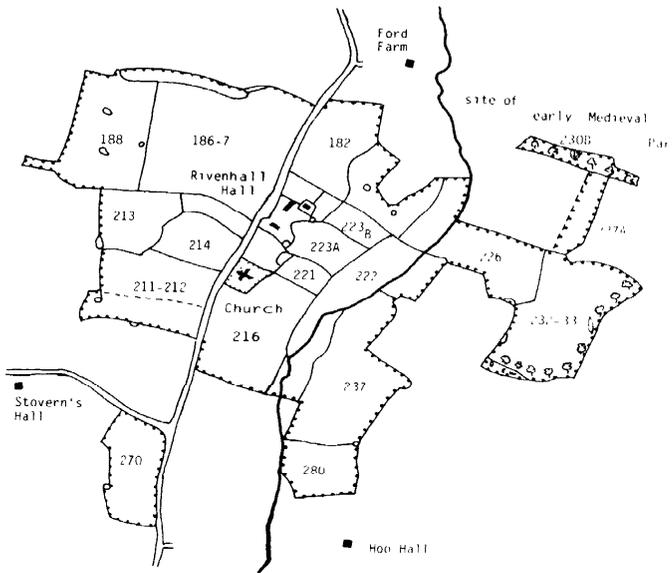


Figure 77 Reconstruction of the extent of Rivenhall Hall farm at the beginning of the 18th century, showing the convoluted boundary resulting from the progressive erosion of the former estate of the capital manor of Rivenhall. The churchyard is shown stippled

from his brother's estates after his brother's death;¹⁹¹ so it seems that he was acknowledged his brother's heir. In 1685 William and Samuel Wyseman sold some of their lands and mortgaged the whole of the remainder.¹⁹²

It was Samuel Wyseman who in 1692 sold the manor of Rivenhall to Thomas Western (died 1707),¹⁹³ whose family were to hold the vast estates centred on Rivenhall Place and, later, on Felix Hall, Kelvedon, into the 20th century.

From Thomas Western, the estates passed first to William Western (died 1729) and then to James (died 1730), the son and grandson of Thomas's eldest son Samuel, who predeceased his father in 1699. The property then passed through four generations descended from the second son, Thomas, to Charles Callis Western, created Baron Western of Rivenhall in 1833. It was he who moved the family seat from Rivenhall Place to Felix Hall, Kelvedon,¹⁹⁴ and when he died unmarried in 1844, the Western estates passed to a fairly distant relation, Sir Thomas Burch Western, a descendant, of the first Thomas Western's third son.¹⁹⁵

In 1883 Sir Thomas Burch's grandson married Elizabeth Newton, but died in 1917 without issue.¹⁹⁶ and from this time onward the family began to sell off their estates. Thomas Charles Callis's heir in 1917 was the son of his great uncle, an Australian,¹⁹⁷ but even without this passing of Rivenhall to an owner who had no cause to take an interest in British landowning, the estates would probably have

been dismembered. From the 1880s the lands were mortgaged¹⁹⁸ and in 1883 Thomas Charles Callis was adjudicated bankrupt,¹⁹⁹ although in 1895 this was annulled and the Western family still held Rivenhall.²⁰⁰

By 1933, the manorial rights of Rivenhall had become detached from the lands which had comprised the manor, being in the hands of John Beaumont, a solicitor at Coggeshall, and the Rivenhall estates were dispersed.

Rivenhall Hall (18) and its sub-holdings

It is clear from the foregoing account, of the descent of the manor that none of the lords of the manor is likely to have resided on the spot at any time in its post-Norman history. The first Rivenhall resident to possess the manor and its lands was Ralph Wyseman, in 1590. But by this time he had lived in the parish for twenty-four years, had bought up two of the lesser manors, and had apparently enlarged an already substantial Tudor house, gracing it with the title of Wyseman's Hall (pp 151–3). It is therefore entirely understandable that Wyseman and his successors chose to maintain their manorial seat at that hall, later renamed Rivenhall Place. The several manors of Rivenhall were thus gradually merged into one.

While the messuages and lands belonging to the Rivenhall manors remained distinctly separate for a time, boundaries became blurred as parcels were sold off, farms amalgamated, and reallocations of land made in response to successive phases of emparkment and disparkment. Some of these changes are followed in detail in subsequent sections.

An attempt has been made to assess the likely extent of the lands of Rivenhall Hall and the neighbouring manors in the 11th century (Vol 1, pp 176–8), but there are unfortunately no surviving medieval extents to assist with charting the process of fragmentation (as there are for Archer's manor, p 152). The earliest map, the Western Estate survey of 1716, shows what is plainly only the core of a once much larger holding. Even more revealing is the evidence of the 1820 Parish Rate Book. Here the full lands of Rivenhall Hall are listed in a form that must have obtained sometime prior to the 18th century, and separate computations made to account for lands that were farmed from elsewhere. Thus three fields and some tenuous fragments, that had long been associated with Ford Farm for practical purposes, are found really to belong to Rivenhall Hall (LP 222A, 226, 227A, 230B, 232–3).

When the extent of the holding is mapped, it is seen that the boundary is very irregular and sharply indented on all sides, showing how the outlying portions had been parcelled off leaving a core of home fields (Fig 77). It is interesting to observe that the 'arms' of this estate extend to within one field of each of the medieval houses associated with the interlocking holdings: Hoo Hall, Stovern's Hall and Ford Farm.

A further detail of interest emerges: the churchyard (LP 218) was listed as though it were one of the Hall's fields, but it was then deducted again as an adjustment to the final rating. The nominal inclusion of the churchyard must be a relic from an era when it was physically one of the manorial parcels and the church was proprietary. Such a situation had probably not obtained since the 11th century, and the conclusion must be that this small deduction had been regularly carried forward since the Anglo-Saxon period. It is further interesting to note that the exact measure of the churchyard is given as 1 acre, 3 roods, 36 perches (and a generous deduction of 2 acres was made), whereas the true area in 1820 was somewhat over 2 acres. Surely we see here a measurement of the churchyard as it was prior to its slight enlargement in the late Middle Ages, after the removal of the parsonage house (Vol 1, Figs 85–6). Other instances of ancient land measurements being carried forward into the 1820 Rate Book have been noted.

The fields of Rivenhall Hall include some interesting topographical names which are worthy of comment. Park Field (LP 232–3) is against the eastern parish boundary, and is so far removed from the post-medieval parks that it would appear to be a potential misnomer. This field was, however, relatively close to the south-eastern boundary of the early medieval phases of the park (Parks I and II, Figs 51–2). Park Field must therefore be a pre-15th century naming. Next to it is Lady Field (LP 226), a relatively common English field-name which is normally associated with endowments for the support of a church or chapel dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mary. This field has never been glebe land, and has no known connection with the support of the parish church. It must surely pertain to the endowment of John Carrington's chapel and chantry of Our Lady, which he founded in Rivenhall churchyard (Vol 1, p 120). Carrington held Lanham's manor, and it is not clear what relationship he had with the manor of Rivenhall Hall. He died in 1446, and chantries were suppressed in 1547; Lady Field must therefore have been so named since the middle of the 15th century.

Two more names with a religious connotation are Great and Little Nunnery Field (LP 220, 223A); they were so called in 1716 (Vol 1, PI XXXVa), but there is no record of when these names were first applied, or why. They predate the era of romantic antiquarian nomenclature, and should therefore be of medieval origin. The fields in question are archaeologically rich, lying as they do between the medieval hall and the church (and Roman villa), and probably include most of the Anglo-Saxon manorial nucleus. No record exists of any medieval nunnery at Rivenhall or neighbouring parishes, and while it is not impossible that there was an abortive attempt by one of the earlier medieval lords of the manor to found a convent here, this seems unlikely. Records, however, provide several glimpses of enigmatic transactions between Rivenhall manor and religious houses in connection with lands and the

advowson of the church (p 181), and it is with one of these that the solution to the conundrum apparently lies. Robert de Scales, lord of the manor, received a license in 1336 to alienate the advowson to the Benedictine nunnery at Stratford-le-Bow, but within 60 years the advowson had been returned to the de Scales family (p 181). The assignment of two plots of land next to the church, to the nunnery, was compatible with this act of alienation.

The pasture field to the south and east of Rivenhall church (LP 217) has one of the oldest recorded field-names in the parish: in 1396 and 1416 it was called 'le cowlase', becoming Cow Leaves by 1716, and Cowell Eaves by 1839. This field too was specifically granted along with the advowson by de Scales in 1396, to a five-man consortium (p 181). Another pair of fields with an Anglo-Saxon or early medieval descriptive naming are the Wornsteads (LP 237, 280). Here, the name recalls the black areas (or 'stains', p 107) of Roman occupation debris on the valley slope that were readily visible after ploughing; these have been largely obliterated by modern agricultural activity since the Second World War.

So much for the fields to the east of Rivenhall Hall; across the road to the west is a block of others with names that are also likely to be of medieval origin. Opposite the church are Great and Little Church Field (LP 211–12, 214), and opposite the Hall are Great and Little Hall Field (LP 186–8). The latter were referred to in an abuttal of 1552 as 'Holeshotes'.²⁰¹

Throughout its later medieval and subsequent history, Rivenhall Hall has never been more than a farmhouse, and the extant building, timber framed with two jettied cross-wings, dates from the early 16th century, or perhaps earlier (PIs XXXVIa and XXXVIIa). It is structurally the most complete and least altered of all the timber-framed buildings in Rivenhall. There are scarcely any references either to the hall or its occupants, and the earliest specific mention is in 1679, when Robert Everard, gentleman, lived in 'my ferme that I hold called Rivenhall Hall'.²⁰² He appears in the 1662 and later Hearth Tax Returns as Robert Everett, with four hearths.²⁰³

Ford Farm (17)

This derives its name from the ford over the Cressing Brook, just north of Rivenhall Hall. The ford disappeared along with the back road to Kelvedon, during the late 17th century phase of emparkment (Fig 53). The line of the old road was partly preserved and shown on the 1716 map as a narrow strip of woodland (LP 230B) along one edge of 'The Slades' (LP 229, 230A). Closer to Ford Farm, however, the line of the road was eradicated by a new field layout. The Kelvedon road and its ford must have ceased to exist by c1700, and the naming of Ford Farm can hardly have originated much later than the mid 17th century.

The name, however, is absent from the historical documentation of Rivenhall before the early 19th century.²⁰⁴ Although the holding was individually

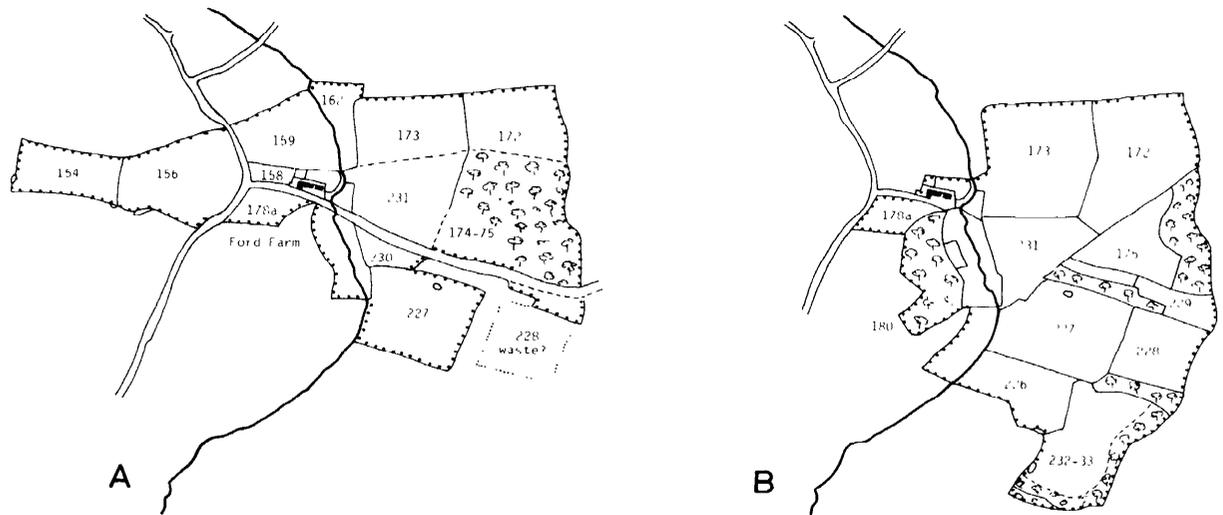


Figure 78 Ford Farm: A. Reconstructed plan of the land parcels held by the farm in the later 16th century; B. The farming unit as operated in 1716

mapped in 1716, the name was left blank in the titling of the survey sheet. There are no extant 16th century descriptions of lands which can be identified unequivocally with Ford Farm in the way that has been possible for some other seemingly enigmatic holdings. Several named but so far unidentified lands of unspecified extent do, however, occur in 16th century documents, connected with the Wysemans and their holdings in the central region of the parish.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Ford Farm may be equated with Salmons (or Sammons), a surname derived from Solomon. The earliest reference dates from 1529, when four small holdings were sold as a group: these included 'Samondys' and Westwoddysgardeyn'.²⁰⁵ The purchasers, John Oke and Robert Dover, are unheard of again, but they may have sold to Clement Smyth of Archer's, and in the 1552 extent of his manor the name Sammons appears no less than three times, all clearly relating to different parcels of land (p 152).

The first entry for 'Samons' (27 acres) refers to a pair of fields between Archer's and Ford Farm (LP 159–60). The name appears on the 1716 and 1839 maps. The second entry, 'Samons' again, but only 3 acres, is, from the context, plainly in the same area. The size would fit the croft containing Ford Farm (LP 158), which is otherwise omitted from the extent. The third entry, this time 'Samondes', refers to a parcel of 9 acres 33 perches. No satisfactory identification of this field can be offered, and it may have been lost through emparkment or the subsequent reorganization of parcels to the east of Ford Farm.

Finally, a Wyseman marriage settlement of 1588 lists 'Salmons' amongst the affected lands.²⁰⁶ Ford Farm lay on the boundary between the manors of Archer's and Rivenhall Hall, both of which belonged

to Ralph Wyseman, and the lands associated with the farm in 1716 were derived in part from each. At the same time John Westwood was the tenant at Ford Farm (cf Westwoddysgardeyn, 1529, above).

Ford Farm is another example (like Rivenhall Hall) where the information contained in the 1820 Parish Rate Book apparently reveals details of tenurial arrangements from a much earlier date. The 1716 survey, on the other hand, shows the parcels that were being worked from Ford Farm at that time. Thus the fields belonging tenurially to the farm — and accumulated during the 15th and 16th centuries — were not coterminous with the compact land block that was delineated in 1716 (Fig 78). Re-allocation of parcels between adjacent holdings, for the convenience of efficient farming, was of course possible once the Wyseman's had acquired title to them all (by 1599).

Ford Farm is a substantial timber-framed house, the core of which comprises a 15th century single-storey hall with two cross-wings (PI XXXVIIb).²⁰⁷

Shipcock's Croft (18A)

This is identifiable as one of the now-vanished sub-holdings of Rivenhall Hall. It comprised a 60 acre unit, which at an unspecified date — presumably in the early Middle Ages — had been separated from Rivenhall and become copyhold land of the manor of Newland alias Witham. The separation may originate in one of the gifts of Rivenhall land to the Knights Templar. In 1599, when the holding was bought by the Wysemans, it was described as a tenement and three crofts called Dunsington alias Dustington, Romefylde and Shipcoke Croft.²⁰⁸ But when Thomas Wyseman was admitted to the property in the following year, it was Dunssindon,

Bridfeild (alias Burdfeild, or Bindfeild) and Shipcockcroft.²⁰⁹ A series of rentals covering the years 1609-29 confirms the integrity of the unit, always referring to Romefeild and never Bridfeild,²¹⁰ the latter name must by this time have been superseded. Further confirmation is supplied by a reference to *Bradfylde* in 1552.²¹¹

On the 1716 map only *Dozenton* and Round Field appear (Fig 79; LP 209, 213), which are equatable with Dustington and Rome Field; one belonged to Stoverns Hall and the other to Rivenhall Hall. In 1744 a dispute arose over this holding, 'touching . . . the distinguishing of certain copyhold lands', which had to be settled in the high court of Chancery. Contemporary examination of the various manor court rolls revealed a confused situation. Dustington was an ancient land holding that had hitherto been divided into three fields — Dustington, Long Croft and Reynold's — which had recently been partially reunited by removing the hedge between the first two. Roundfield (alias Romefield) was also part of the holding. The judgement of 1744 then goes on to refer to Great and Little Church Fields (LP 212-14), 'heretofore one field called Shipcock's Croft'. The size of the holding was reaffirmed as being 60 acres, and it was also noted that 'there was anciently a House on the said premisses, many years ago pulled down'. The abutments of the property were then listed, accompanied by a map.²¹²

While the dispute may have been settled, justice had plainly not been done to history. The holding thus defined was well over 80 acres; in part the abutments on the south do not tally with other evidence, and it seems generally improbable that Great and Little Church Fields — an important component of Rivenhall Hall — would have been assigned to this minor holding. Once again, the 1820 Parish Rate Book (p 11) supplies the critical clue. Without giving any explanation, Rivenhall Hall was allowed a 7 acre deduction from the gross value of Great Church Field, and topographically this can be recognized as a strip across the southern end of the field. This must have been the site of Shipcock's Croft and the house which was pulled down in the 17th century. In due course, the site of the croft became incorporated in Great Church Field, and thus arose the confusion over naming, and the excess acreage. The true bounds of the 60 acre holding are shown in Fig 79.

Reynold's (18B)

Both the field-name Reynold's (LP 206 and 244 together) and the configuration of the boundaries strongly suggest that there was once another small holding here, fronting onto Rickstone's Road, probably with a tenement in the tiny attached plot which is shown vacant in 1716 (Fig 79; LP 206A). Historically, nothing is known of Reynold's, which is likely to indicate that the holding lost its individual identity before the 17th century, and part of its land (LP 206) was included within the bounds of the former Shipcock's Croft in the 1744 extent.

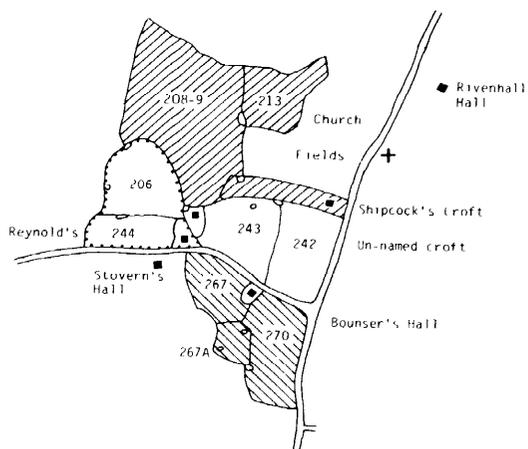


Figure 79 Holdings detached from Rivenhall Hall by the 17th century: Shipcock's Croft, Bounser's Hall, Reynold's, and an unnamed croft

Next to this on the east was another pair of fields (LP 242-3), also with a small attached plot containing an unnamed tenement in 1716 (LP 210). The cottage was still extant in 1820, but had gone by 1839.

Bounser's Hall (21A)

In the 1820 rating of Rivenhall Hall there was one further field which was considered as a separate holding; by this time it was also physically detached from the estate and was farmed from Stoverns Hall. It was referred to as 'Bouncor's Land' (Fig 79; LP 270),²¹³ and in a rental of c 1670 as 'Bounser's'.²¹⁴ More remarkable is its appearance in a Crossing Temple rental of 1689 as 'Bounser's Hall and land belonging to it'.²¹⁵ The tenant was then Robert Birdseye, who appears in the Hearth Tax Returns of 1662 only, having one hearth.²¹⁶ The earliest reference to the holding is probably in John Cokoke's will of 1556, in which he refers to 'a cotype called Bounser's Crofte'.²¹⁷

Why Bounser's should have been dignified with the title 'hall' is unrecorded, but the property is identifiable with the mid or late 16th century timber-framed house of three bays, now known as The Thatched Cottage (LP 268). In the late 17th century the house was extended and converted into three tenements, called Stoverns Hall Cottages. While the remaining garden of the cottage abuts Bounser's Land, it is nevertheless plainly a parcel cut out of the adjoining pasture known as Old Leys (LP 267). There is little doubt that the 17th century extent of Bounser's holding was one field of arable, one of pasture, and an orchard (LP 267A), totalling 22.5 acres (Fig 79).

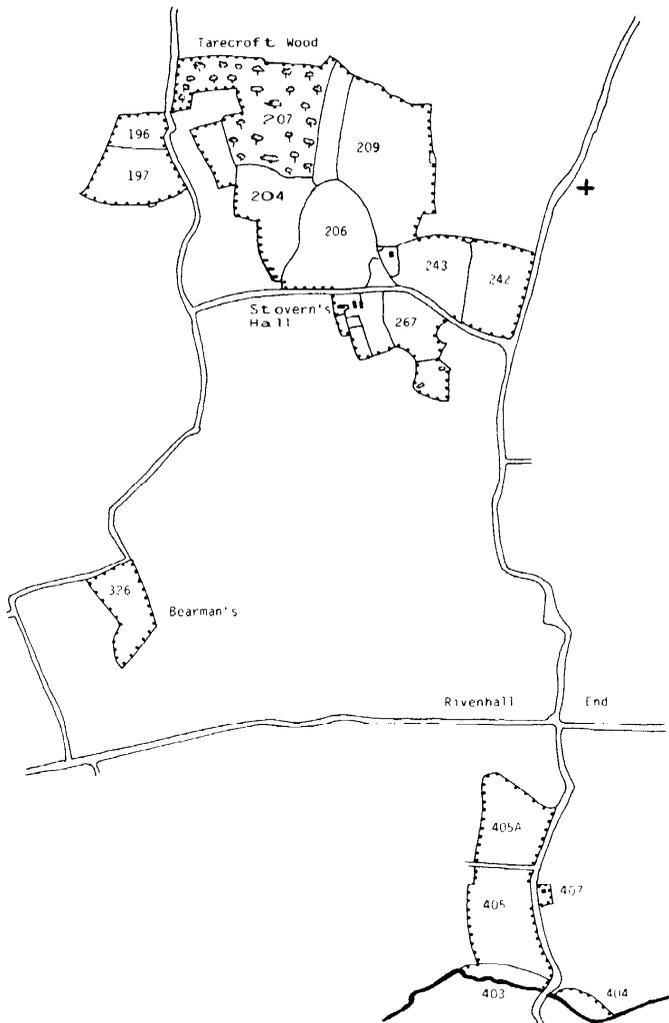


Figure 80 Extent of the Stovern's Hall estate in 1716

Stovern's Hall (21)

Stubberds 1588?; Stovern's 1716; Stover's 1839

Next to Bounser's is another holding close to the street frontage, from which a curiously disparate collection of lands was farmed at the time of the Western Estate survey in 1716. Apart from Bounser's former pasture, which had evidently been appropriated as a home field (LP 267), there was no associated land immediately adjoining Stovern's Hall. Its tenurial history has been eclipsed, but the wide distribution of its lands hints that its former status was not lowly (Fig 80). The fields which, topographically, should have belonged to Stovern's, were farmed either from the Rectory or Rickstone's Farm. Stovern's Hall Farm in the 18th century was an agricultural amalgam of lesser holdings which had fallen into the hands of the Western family, including Reynold's, part of Shipcock's (p158), Bearman's (p 180), land in Witham parish, and recently cleared parcels of Tarecroft Wood. By 1839 there were

further additions, including the former Oliver's Farm (LP 194B) and Greves's Farm, and freshly cleared land accumulated as inroads were made into Rivenhall Thicks. The clearance process is recorded in the 1820 Parish Rate Book, where entries include 'Woodfield, part of the Thicks stubbed' (LP 189, 191) and 'Seven acre wood stubbed' (LP 193).

Stovern's Hall was a late medieval timber-framed farmhouse, very little of which survived the 18th and 19th century mutilations. Parts of the original hall and a cross-wing remain, including one truss of a crown-post roof, all much altered and encased in later work. The house was converted into two or more tenements in the 17th or 18th century. There is no documentation to suggest how or when the present name was acquired. It is likely that the Wysemans owned it (although no record of purchase has survived), in order for the property to have come into the hands of the Westerns. The only possible reference to it may be as 'Stubberds' in a marriage settlement of 1588.²¹⁸



Figure 81 Farms and small holdings in Rivenhall Wood: A. 15th–17th centuries; B. Early 18th century; C. Early 19th century. Key: 13 Whitehead's Farm; 14A Boutwood's; 14B Greve's; 14C Collier's; 14D Harwood's; 14E Appleton; 14F Porter's; 14G Ager's; 14H Oliver's; 14J unnamed; 14K Chismel; 18B Reynold's

Rivenhall Wood and associated farms

It has already been noted that the wooded western margin of Rivenhall has been subjected to many piecemeal changes in the post-medieval period (p 126). Small farms and tenements, for which there is very little documentation, have come and gone. Woods were cleared and fields laid out. Some of these were subsequently abandoned, and woodland regenerated over them; later still these were cleared again, and lost boundaries were reinstated (Fig 81). At least ten small holdings can be inferred from documents, none of which is now extant; these are listed collectively as 14A–K.

Whitehead's Farm (13)

Crichatt 1588; Creckett's 1617; Crickett's 1669; Whitehead's 1689, 1796; Cricket's Farm 1716, 1804; Whitehead's 1801, 1839

Lying on the parish boundary with Witham, this was the most significant of the medieval and later holdings in the area, to which the earliest reference is contained in a Wyseman marriage settlement of 1588; the position of 'Crichatt's' in the list suggests that it was already a substantial farm by this time,²¹⁹ and its existence by c1413 is probably implied by a Cressing Temple rental to John Adgor, who may have been the tenant (see below). The Wyseman's did not own the property, but paid rental to Witham manor for it and in 1669 Crickett's and its 'diverse lands' contained 30 acres.²²⁰ The occupier was then Thomas Stonard, who appears in the 1662 Hearth Tax Returns with only one hearth, indicating that the farmhouse was not as commodious as others in the parish.²²¹

By 1689 the property was alternatively known as Whitehead's, a duality which was long maintained. When mapped in 1716, the extent of Whitehead's was given as 92 acres, the increase having resulted from the incorporation of several smaller holdings that had fallen into demise, as well as newly cleared woodland (Fig 81B).

Boutwood's (14A), Greve's (14B) and Collier's (14C) farms

Two other farms were mapped with Whitehead's in 1716, but listed as separate holdings. John Boutwood's Farm (14A) was recorded as containing 21.25 acres, and John Greves's Farm (14B) as 13.25 acres (Fig 81B). By 1839 Boutwood's had entirely disappeared, its lands being added to Bouchier's Hall Farm (p 149), and Greves's was reduced to a cottage in the corner of a field (LP 152) on Stovern's Hall Farm. Boutwood's appears to have been an amalgam of three separate units: two little tenements of 6.5 acres each side by side, and a 7.5 acre field called Collier's (14C; LP 121). The latter was probably once a separate tenement too, and may be identifiable with 'Colters' in the 1552 extent of the manor of Archer's (p 152); this equation is especially attractive since Collier's formed part of the holding

of Parkgate Farm (the successor to Archer's) in 1820, and was not immediately consigned — like the rest of Boutwood's — to Bouchier's Hall Farm. An ancient distinction was evidently being recognized, albeit that this was overridden by 1839.

Harwood's (14D), Appleton (14E), and Porter's (14F) farms

Between Boutwood's and Whitehead's was a single 4.5 acre field known in 1716 as Harwood's Grove (14D; LP 134). This parcel appears regularly in 17th century rentals as a distinct unit, but often juxtaposed to Whitehead's. The earliest extant lease of 'Hayward's' was granted by the manor of Witham in 1603, for 60 years, with no indication that there was then a tenement on the site.²²²

South of Harwood's was an entirely isolated parcel of irregular outline, surrounded by wood and known as Appleton Field or Appleton Yard (14E; LP 149); the site of a former tenement is suggested at the southern end. Alongside this was a group of fields which by 1716 had been absorbed into Cricket's (Whitehead's) Farm, but which had previously comprised Porter's Farm (14F; LP 144, 147A, 148), a holding abandoned in or before the 17th century. The names are evocative: 'Old House Croft', 'Old House Wood' and 'Porter's Field, now wood'. The 1716 map depicts both the engulfing of Porter's in woodland, and the reclamation and reordering of the site by the expanding Whitehead's Farm. The medieval origin of Porter's is plausibly indicated by a reference to the rector of Rivenhall holding 1 acre in Portersmead between 1434 and 1441.²²³

Ager's (14G), Oliver's (14H), Reynold's (18B), and un-named (14J–K) farms

On the eastern edge of The Thicks was another 6 acre holding — a tenement and two small parcels, already mentioned — called Greves's Farm (14B; LP 151); and held along with that in 1716 was a physically distinct unit of similar size, known as Ager's (14G; LP 191). Between The Thicks and Tarecroft Wood were two conjoined parcels (LP 190) which did not belong to the Westerns and were mapped in 1716 by virtue of exclusion. Another woodland tenement must have lain here, but its name and ownership are unknown (14J).

Moving further south, into Tarecroft Wood, another little tenement, called Oliver's Farm is found (14H). This too was in decay in 1716: the tenement and one small parcel (LP 194B, 198) were outside Western ownership, while another (LP 194A) had been acquired for Stovern's Hall Farm. Finally, at the southern tip of Tarecroft Wood was another uninhabited croft called Reynold's 18B; p 159), and a 5.5 acre plot (LP 205), mapped by its exclusion from the Western Estates. The earliest name recorded for this parcel is Chismel Croft (14K), in c1750.

It is impossible to date the beginnings of this sequence of farmsteads and tenements. The earliest

reference to cleared land in the area is a solitary mention of *Puttokyslegh* in c1413; this was a 5 acre parcel on Whitehead's Farm which was rented by Cressing Temple to John Adgor (Ager). The field retained its boundaries into modern times (LP 126). The existence of Portersmead by 1434 has been noted above, and the only other pre-1716 reference of specific value is to Cressing Field (LP 128) in c1670.²²⁴ In general terms it must be acknowledged that farmsteads were being cut out of Rivenhall Wood in the 15th and 16th centuries (and perhaps earlier), and that they were being abandoned again by about the middle of the 17th century (Fig 81A). The holdings were linked by a network of woodland paths, many of which remained and were mapped long after the tenements that they had once served had been abandoned (Fig 81B). By the early 18th century amalgamation and reclearance was in progress, and by 1820 the system of fields that was to appear on the Tithe map (1839) was in being (Fig 81C).

Virtually all the parcel names were associated with the individuals who held them: Ager, Appleton, Boutwood, Chismel, Collier (Colter), Crickett, Greves, Hayward, Oliver, Porter, Reynold(s), and at least two more whose names are now lost.

Hoo Hall and related properties

Hoo Hall

Hoo Hall was one of the larger and more important holdings in Rivenhall. It has been argued that this manor originates from a division of the principal Domesday holding (the manor of Rivenhall Hall), and that Hoo Hall might have been the home of the sokeman who was recorded on that manor (Vol 1, p 174). The possibility that Hoo Hall, and not Archer's, was the second of the Domesday manors (*Rivenhall ii*) seems remote, but perhaps should not be ruled out (see also p 151). The way in which the lands of Rivenhall Hall and Hoo Hall interlocked — and especially the fact that a tongue of the former's land almost reached the house of the latter — would appear to confirm the nature of the relationship (Fig 84).

History of the manor of Hoo Hall by G E Sheldrick

This manor was commonly called 'Hoo Hall' from the family of de Ho who seem to have been among its earliest holders: the first mention is *How* in 1185 (Reaney 1935, 296). The manor was also called 'Martells' from the Martell family and, more unusually, it seems sometimes to have been known as 'Coggeshalls' after the de Coggeshalls who apparently held it jointly with the de Hos and Martells early in its history.²²⁵

In 1217 Felicia, wife of William Martell, and Matilda granted lands inherited from their father Eustace de Ho to William de Fraxin.²²⁶ Felicia died after her husband, in 1252, holding 'Rywehal town'

in chief,²²⁷ as did her son Ralph Martell when he died in 1259, and his son John in 1261.²²⁸ In 1307 John Martell (possibly a nephew) died holding 'a moiety of a manor in Rivenhall in chief, leaving his heir a minor.'²²⁹

Meanwhile Jervase de Ho (possibly a brother of Felicia?, or a cousin?) and Ralph de Coggeshall were holding the manor of Ho in Rivenhall of the honor of Bolougne in 1227,²³⁰ and Ralph Martell was, in 1248, holding a carucate of land in Rivenhall in partnership with John de Coggeshall. This demonstrates that the Martell family flourished in Rivenhall, and in 1383 Hoo Hall was referred to by name: Thomas Martell died holding land called 'Whaleslond' of Roger de Scales and 'le Hohalle'.²³¹ His widow claimed his lands²³² and in 1412 she was still holding lands called 'Merteles' in 'Ardele, Dovercourt and Rivenhall'.²³³

In 1226 Hoo Hall was delivered to Alice Martell after the death of her husband Thomas.²³⁴ Perhaps this Thomas was a nephew or a grandson of the first Thomas. His heir, William Doreward, was still a minor in 1431, and the estate was committed to the care of William Babthorpe.²³⁵ However, in 1465 a William Babthorpe died holding Hoo Hall, leaving a four-year-old daughter as his heiress.²³⁶ His father, also William, and probably the guardian of William Doreward, had died in 1444 leaving property in Rivenhall, Faulkbourne, Witham and Kelvedon. The location and acreages given approximate to later descriptions of Hoo Hall.²³⁷

By the mid 16th century the manor seems to have come into the hands of the Smyth (Nevill) family, who also held the manor of Archer's (p 151).²³⁸ It is not clear from the *Inquisition post mortem* whether Clement Smyth, who died in 1552, actually held this manor as Morant suggests,²³⁹ and in 1567 one John Ellyott received a licence to alienate the manor of 'Holehall alias Howhall alias Martilles'.²⁴⁰ But William Smyth also received a licence to alienate it in 1606,²⁴¹ although he appears to have kept it, dying in 1631 holding the manor in chief.²⁴²

In 1647 Henry Nevill and his son William sold the manor of 'Holehall alias Houldhall alias Martells' to John Throckmorton,²⁴³ who leased it to Robert Everard in 1657,²⁴⁴ and Elizabeth Slingsby in 1692.²⁴⁵

Thomas Western purchased the manor from Elizabeth Throckmorton, widow of John, in 1698,²⁴⁶ and settled it on his daughter Sarah. She sold it to Francis Brydges in 1715,²⁴⁷ and he in turn settled Hoo Hall on his wife Anne (Bateman) in 1723.²⁴⁸ She married George Dolliffe after William Western's death, and in 1748 and 1763 'Anne Dolliffe, widow' leased the 'capital message called How Hall and lands in Rivenhall and Faulkbourne' to Benjamin Lake,²⁴⁹ whose family lived there from the late 17th century to the early 19th.²⁵⁰ The next family to occupy the hall were the Blackbones, and William Blackbone died there in 1831.²⁵¹ But by 1848 George Clapham held the manor.²⁵²

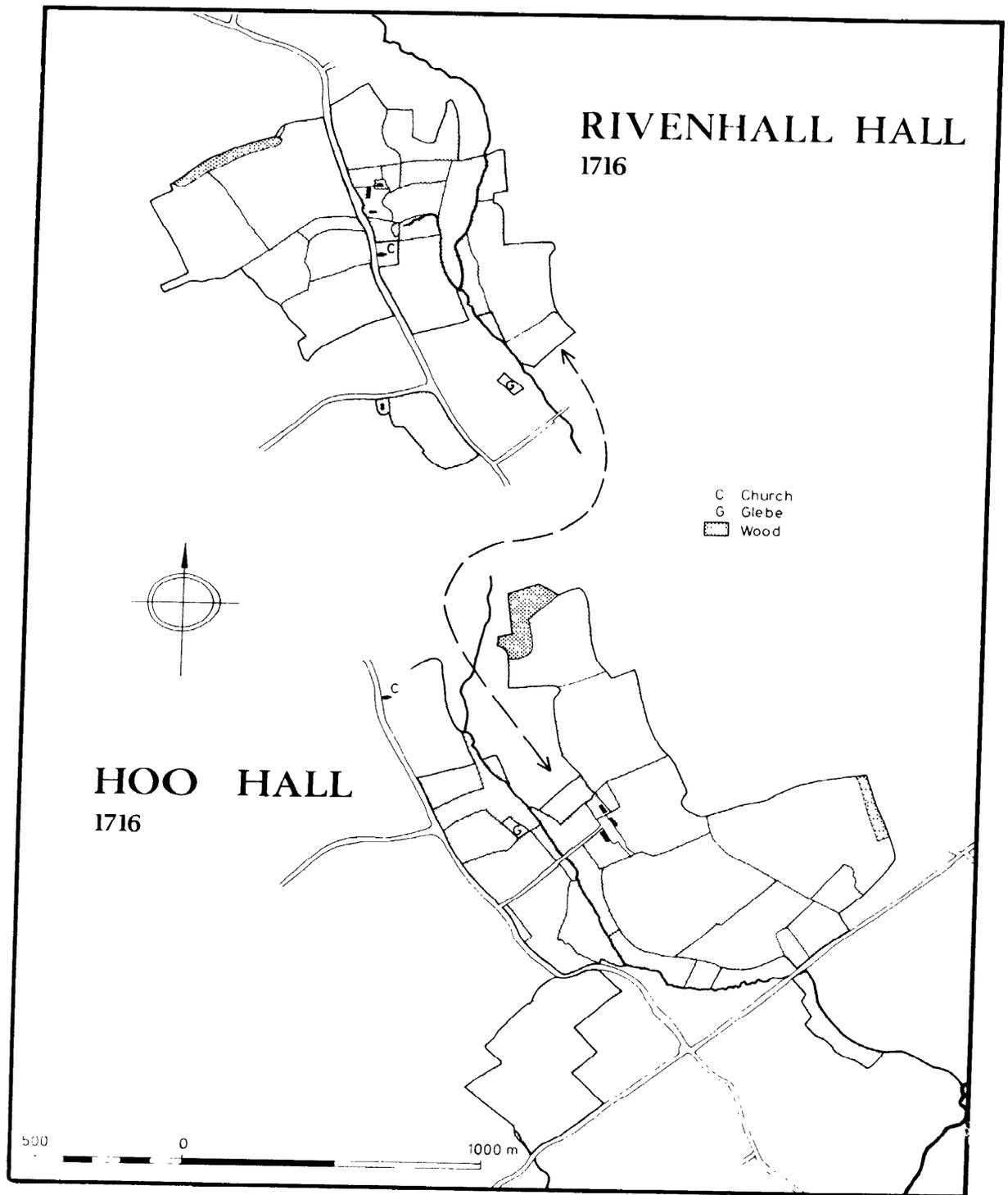


Figure 82 Extent of the estates of the manors or Rivenhall Hall and Hoo Hall in 1715, showing the complex interlocking of their boundaries

Hoo Hall Farm (20)

The Western Estate Survey of 1716 depicts the Hoo Hall lands as a reasonably cohesive unit which, apart from a tiny parcel of meadow, lay wholly within Rivenhall parish; no tenements or other sub-holdings appear on the plan. The picture is not, however, as straightforward as might at first appear. It has already been noted that the estate was split from Rivenhall Hall (p 156), and indeed the lands of the latter reached within 60 m of the gardens and yards around Hoo Hall (Fig 82). The reason for this is not difficult to appreciate: Rivenhall Hall retained as long a stretch as possible of the water meadow beside the Cressing Brook, as well as some of the better-drained and more sheltered arable.

The form and distribution of fields on the Hoo Hall estate suggest that several small units had been combined and tenements had disappeared. Some light is cast on the matter by a schedule of lands attached to Hoo Hall, made in 1692, which is almost identical to an account contained in a conveyance dated 1606.²⁵³ The estate comprised 262.5 acres in Rivenhall (and sundry parcels elsewhere), the great majority of which was arable, with pasture and meadow being confined to the flanks of the Cressing Brook.

A curiosity of Hoo Hall is its isolated situation and the need to approach it via a 500 m drive, which crosses these meadows and the brook. All the other medieval manors and farms in the parish were on or close to road frontages, but it is clear on topographical grounds that no through-road has existed near the hall in medieval or later times (although it is likely that it lay close to a minor Roman road, which was expunged at a very early date).

In terms of the medieval topography, Hoo Hall was on a backland site, and it seems not improbable that the hall's fields were initially sited only to the east of the Cressing Brook. The fields west of the brook — that is between it and the road to Rivenhall Church — were still part of the manor of Rivenhall Hall. Support for this suggestion comes from the 1692 schedule of lands, which reveals that there had formerly been no less than three separate holdings along this road frontage; moreover, these holdings are traceable by name in yet earlier documents.

Little John's Farm (20A)

In 1657 the manor and capital messuage of Hoo Hall was leased, along with 'lands belonging to a late farmhouse called Little John's, in Rivenhall, Kelvedon, Faulkbourne and Witham'.²⁵⁴ The inventory of Hoo Hall lands in 1692 followed a logical sequence, listing first the fields that formed the nucleus of the estate, and then those which comprised 'additions' to the holding. The first of the latter group reads, 'Two crofts of arable land and one other orchard, to the same adjoining, called Little John's (9 acres)'.²⁵⁵ Little John Meadow is identifiable in 1839 as LP 308, suggesting that the

croft of this name lay in LP 309, and that the 'late farmhouse' may have been in the empty and unlabelled parcel which is shown on the 1716 map (LP 309A). An isolated barn shown in LP 309 on the 1716 map was probably the last remnant of Little John farm (Fig 83). There is another reference to the farm, as 'Lyteltones' (presumably its original name) in 1529, when it was sold as part of a group of smaller properties, and was clearly not then associated with Hoo Hall.²⁵⁶

Webb's and Shippen's (20B–C)

Returning to the 1692 inventory, this went on to describe, 'One close of arable land sometimes divided into severall parcellls and now being divided into two closes, late Webbs, with one house about the same or upon one of them built . . . one parcell is called Shippens (9 ac)'. These descriptions relate to two more frontage holdings (Fig 83; LP 273, 275), but by 1716 no buildings remained here. Benjamin Fallowes, the surveyor who drew the map, was clearly uncertain how to label these fields, and so he left the group unnamed. A subsequent 18th century hand has added to two of them 'Gt Netal Fd' and 'Middle Netal Fd', presumably a descriptive naming of the condition of these abandoned holdings. By the time the 1820 Parish Rate Book was compiled field boundaries had been considerably rationalized, but the sites of these lost crofts are apparently referred to as 'The 3 Reckfords'.

Holdings by Webb and Shippen can be traced back, for the conveyance of 1606 described their lands as 'two closes formerly Webbes, one now Shyppons'.²⁵⁷ So 'Webbe's' was already an archaic naming by the beginning of the 17th century. The earliest surviving reference to this pair of modest holdings is found in a Cressing Temple rental of c 1413, where it is learned that John Stafford and his wife held a messuage and 1.5 acres adjacent to the former holding of Thomas Webbe.²⁵⁸ Thereafter Stafford's or Stratford's became an alternative name for one or both of the crofts. In 1549/50 John Josselyn was admitted to a tenement called 'Rookestenement' and two crofts of land called 'Stratfords alias Staffords'. By 1571 there were also 20 acres of land attached to the two crofts.²⁵⁹ The same Cressing Temple rental also supplies the earliest reference to Little John farm: it was then (c 1413) being held by Johe Cukhook of Pond Farm (p 169), but had previously been in the occupation of Johes Lytilgomssone.

An important point to emerge from these admissions and leases is that they were not in any way connected with Hoo Hall: the crofts and lands belonged to Cressing Temple and, after the suppression of the Knights Hospitaller, to the manor of Witham. Stafford's and its 20 acres is listed in the 1608 survey of Witham manor. Thirteenth century gifts of land in Rivenhall to the Knights Templar came from the manor of Rivenhall Hall, not from Hoo Hall, thus reinforcing the hypothesis previously advanced that the road frontage was originally the property of the former manor. It was presumably

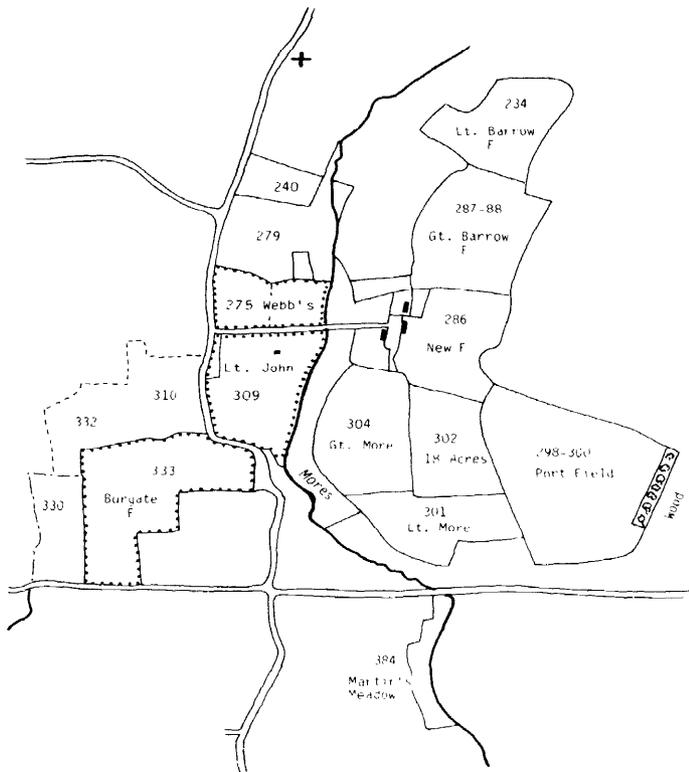


Figure 83 The lands of Hoo Hall between 1606 and 1692, showing the core of the estate lying to the east of the Crossing Brook and the accumulation of lesser holdings to the west

the Templars or the Hospitallers who developed these three, or more, crofts near Woo Hall as revenue-producing units.

The 20 acre parcel referred to above, which a deed of 1646 calls 'Wellcroft', does not appear to have been subsumed by the Hoo Hall estate, and its site is potentially identifiable on the opposite (west) side of the road leading to Rivenhall Church (LP 310, 332).²⁶⁰ At an unrecorded date, probably around the turn of the 17th century, the remains of Stafford's crofts and Little John's farm were purchased by Hoo Hall, but the elusive 20 acre parcel was acquired by Pond Farm (p 169).

In 1698 Thomas Western purchased Hoo Hall and an associated estate which probably comprised Little John's and its neighbours, now all derelict and unnamed;²⁶¹ leases of 1748 and 1763 also make it clear that additional lands went with Hoo Hall.²⁶²

The 1692 (1606 derived) inventory included one further parcel, the L-shaped, 34 acre Burgate Field (LP 333), which had been held by Thomas Martelle with Hoo Hall before his death in 1383.²⁶³ This was part of the lost manor of Godsaves, which must have been merged with Hoo Hall in the early Middle Ages (p 168).

Hoo Hall Park

By the time of the 1716 survey further consolidation of the estate had taken place: an extra parcel (LP 330) had been taken into Burgate Field (LP 333),

increasing its size from 34 to 45 acres, and the site of yet another former medieval tenement — Gilgrave's — had been incorporated with Hoo Hall (LP 374–5, p 169). Then, sometime in the later 18th century, the hall underwent improvement, both structurally and in its setting. The house was rebuilt in red brick, in the style of a (modest) gentleman's seat; the principal remaining element of the previous farmhouse (which was evidently timber framed) is its detached Tudor brick kitchen, now an outbuilding.

In terms of Georgian landscape gardening, Hoo Hall had a enviable setting: the house was on rising ground, with a stream passing in front of it, and was approached via a long drive through pasture land. These were the ideal components for the creation of a park — house, lawn and water — all in the correct relationship. A small park was duly created, but unfortunately no associated documentation survives (Fig 84; PI XXXVIb). A lodge was built at the entrance to the drive (LP 276); the sites of the various medieval tenements discussed above were cleared and turned into wood pasture; the unsightly barn (relict of Little John farm) was demolished; the stream was enlarged to form a small lake, and was crossed by a brick bridge. Towards the northern end of the lake was an island with a fowl house. Finally, the domestic and farm buildings were separated as far as practicable, the latter being screened by trees.

There is no hint of Hoo Hall park on the 1777 map, but it was clearly in existence by 1799 in order

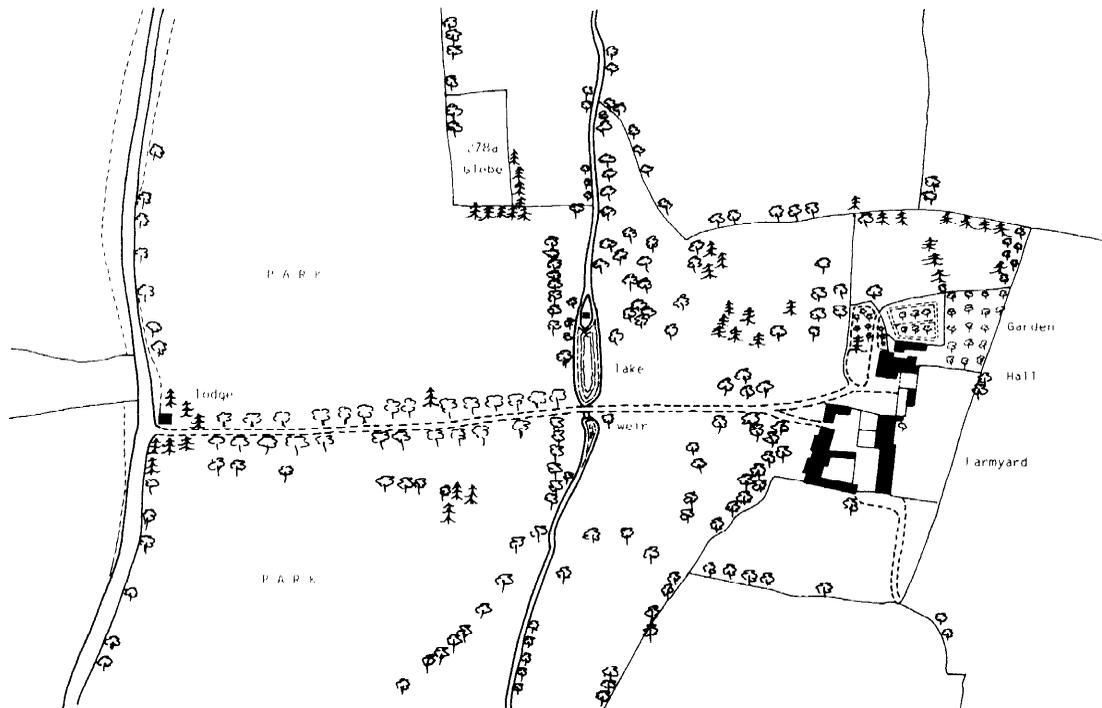


Figure 84 Layout of the late 18th century park in front of Hoo Hall

for the lake to appear on the 1801 OS map. A view of the house, looking across the park from the west, was drawn in 1835, and while this shows some mature trees, many others were relatively young at the time.²⁶⁴ Little detail is shown on the 1839 Tithe map, but it is evident that the distant parts of the park were then being parcelled. The tithe names Hither Park and Further Park (LP 281, 277) constitute the sole documentary evidence for the Hoo Hall park, some further details of which may be gleaned from the 1875 OS map.

Opposite the entrance drive to Hoo Hall was a group of nine cottages, known in 1848 as The Gatehouses, and which then formed part of the estate (LP 275a, 276a), as they had done in 1839.²⁶⁵ One of these (LP 276a) was also shown on the 1777 map. This parcel was not, however, part of the Western Estate in 1716, and was therefore excluded from mapping at that date. The site is potentially that of an early tenement, but no name can be assigned to it with certainty.

Finally, it should be mentioned that there was one small rectangular parcel of Rivenhall glebe land 0.75 ac, LP 278a) lying in the midst of the Hoo Hall pasture, with no apparent means of access. This parcel was not on the earliest part of the holding, but amongst the Webbs/Staffords/Shippens crofts on land that was ultimately derived from the manor of Rivenhall Hall. This is far removed from the principal block of Rivenhall glebe (Fig 89), and presumably relates to an early medieval (pre-13th century) gift to

the church by the manor. The size and disposition of the parcel suggest that it once held a tenement, or other building. The only recorded mention of the site appears to be in a lease by the rector in 1789 to Hoo Hall.²⁶⁶ Although a tenement-sized plot, the possibility should be considered that there may once have been a building here with a specifically ecclesiastical function. In particular, we may wonder whether this was the site of a proprietary chapel belonging to Hoo Hall. The context for such a chapel has discussed elsewhere (Rodwell 1993).

Properties at Rivenhall End

The name Rivenhall End has been applied, since at least the beginning of the 18th century, to the hamlet around the crossroads at the southern extremity of the parish (PI LXXII).²⁶⁷ There were frontage farms in three of the angles, of which two were certainly medieval in origin, and several backland tenements are also recorded. The further development of the frontages and encroachments on the roadside waste did not begin until the mid 18th century.

The Manor of Godsaves and Rivenhall 'Burgate'

The north-west angle of the crossroads was occupied by a succession of structures of great archaeological and historical interest, the most important of which has already been described in Vol 1 (pp 180-2; Fig

127). This was an earthwork enclosure of *c* 35 acres which, it has been argued, is the site of Edward the Elder's Witham *burh* of 913 (probably more correctly, 912). The enclosure, which lay within a very extensive parcel called Burgate Field (Fig 85A; LP 333, etc), was laid down upon, and conformed with, the structure of the pre-existing Roman landscape. The history of the parish boundaries in this area is difficult to disentangle, but the sequence of changes may be determinable in broad outline. At least since the 17th century, the earthwork enclosure has lain wholly within Rivenhall, but the parish boundary runs immediately to the west, in fact touching the south-west corner of the enclosure.

Beyond the boundary lay a small detached strip of Faulkbourne parish, and next to that a detached square block of Witham glebe, then another narrow strip of Faulkbourne and Rivenhall, before the main part of Witham parish was reached (Fig 89). Portions of Burgate Field were entered in the Tithe Awards for Rivenhall, Witham and Faulkbourne. This situation obtained by the 18th century, but may have been a much older arrangement. Thus, it is recorded that in the 14th century Burgate Field itself was at least partly in Faulkbourne.²⁶⁸

Faulkbourne is a small parish which was evidently cut out of the large minster parish of Witham in the 10th or, more likely, 11th century. If the several parcels of Witham and Faulkbourne land are considered as a single entity it becomes clear that in the pre-Conquest period there must have been a tongue of Witham land which stretched north-eastwards along the Roman road, towards Kelvedon. The Burgate earthwork stood at the very end of this tongue. In fact it could be argued that the original parish (previously estate?) boundary coincided with the Roman crossroads at Rivenhall End, or was even further east, on the line of the Cressing Brook. Even in post-medieval times the jurisdiction of the

manor of Chipping Witham extended, albeit fragmentarily, as far as the brook (see Staffords, p 165). These boundary complications were to become a source of confusion for centuries. For a full discussion of the burh question, including the relationship to it of other lands in Rivenhall, see Rodwell 1993.

By the middle of the 11th century the abandoned earthwork had been granted to Ulsi, a free man who held it as a manor and 30 acres. In 1086 it was the only land in the Witham Hundred held by Roger *Deus Salvet Dominas* ('God Save the Ladies'), whose distinctive name was carried down through the history of the tenement (known as 'Goodin's alias Godsalve's') that was to succeed the manor (Vol 1, p 174, *Rivenhall iv*). Nothing is subsequently heard of this tiny manor, and its amalgamation with Rivenhall Hall must have occurred by the 13th century. Its lands continued, however, to be recorded as separate entities, under the names of 'Burgate Field' and 'Whaleslond', the earliest references being in 1383 and 1384.²⁶⁹ The extent of Burgate Field was given as 30 acres lying in Faulkbourne parish, and Whaleslond as 5 acres in Rivenhall. By 1445 'Burgeys' had been adopted as a family name in the locality (p 172). The next reference, in 1551, called the site 'Burgeslond', being indicative of possession; but it had reverted to 'Burgettfeild' in 1596.²⁷⁰ The name Whaleslond disappeared, re-emerging later as Whitelands (Fig 85A, LP 352).

Goodwin's alias Godsalve's (29)

Thus by 1383 the interior of the former burh was divided into two or more parcels of land and, almost certainly, a croft with a tenement, although this is not mentioned in surviving records until 1590. The majority of Burgate Field was attached to Hoo Hall,

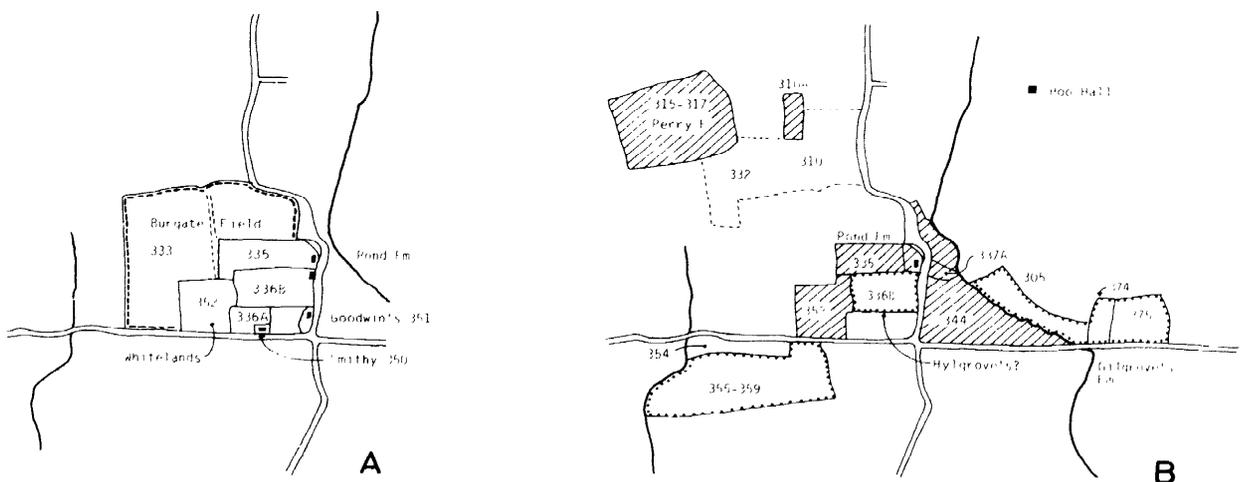


Figure 85 Properties at Rivenhall End, north of the main Colchester road: A. Burgate Field and its subdivisions, as recorded between the 14th and 18th centuries; B. The constituents of Pond Farm and its associated tenements, as recorded between the late 14th century and 1556

but a plot in the south-east corner of the enclosure was held of the manor of Rivenhall Hall as a separate tenement called 'Goodins' (LP 351). This belonged to William Pigget, who lived across the road at Matchyn's Farm (p 170).²⁷¹ Further indication that the site had already been fragmented into several ownerships is found in 1583, when the first reference to the Rivenhall smithy occurs.²⁷²

The location of the smithy is precisely known: it lay on the north side of the Colchester road, immediately west of Goodwin's tenement (LP 350). It was mentioned as a landmark in 1603,²⁷³ taxed for one hearth in 1673,²⁷⁴ willed as the 'forge' in 1695,²⁷⁵ and was illustrated on the 1716 map. Behind the smithy was an 8 acre parcel known as Blacksmith's Land (Fig 85; LP 336). However, the pattern of field boundaries in this area suggests that the smithy was initially set on the frontage of a 2 acre croft (LP 336A), and that it was united with a second croft (LP 336B) at a later date. In 1794 the smithy was moved to a new site (p 174).

The next two references to the tenement called 'Goodwin's alias Godsvalves' are in 1698 and in a will of 1709, while a rental of twenty years later noted that a parcel of adjacent waste was included with it.²⁷⁶ By 1772 the name 'Foxes' had appeared, but the property was still known by its old name in 1797.²⁷⁷ In 1835 it was described as a 'tenement called Goodwins otherwise Godsvalves, now used as a Public House . . . called . . . The Fox'.²⁷⁸

The Fox Inn was rebuilt in the 1930s, closer to the main road than its predecessor, which was a late 17th century timber-framed structure with 18th century brick additions.²⁷⁹

Pond Farm (23)

This lies immediately beyond the east side of the Burgate earthwork, taking its name from the pond that, until recently, marked the enclosure ditch here. The history of Pond Farm *per se* is effectively undocumented, since it is a post-medieval amalgamation of half a dozen earlier tenements and crofts. The original holding appears to have been a croft of *c* 4 acres, carved out of the former *burh* (Fig 85A; LP 335). Reaney suggested that the first mention of the site may be implied in 1415, through John atte Ponde.²⁸⁰ The earliest specific description of the holding — then already composite — occurs in 1556 in the will of John Cokoke.²⁸¹ The property was then called Gryges, and its components were listed in some detail, but the will is unfortunately incomplete and some items have been lost. The disparate nature of the holding adds to the difficulty of interpreting the will, but most of the land parcels can ultimately be tracked down.

The will refers to: 'my house and lande called Gryges and to [two] parcels of ground called Pyggegges . . . the tenement called Gylgroves and the medowe called Gyllgroves meade, with xx akers of ground be yt more or lesse wt. yn ye strete crofte gate . . . and a garden called Cokkes garden, a parcell of the same and all ye howsynge pertey-

nynge to ye tenement called Hyllgroves . . . a cople called Bowsers crofte and a nother called Whytte land contaynyng viii acers . . . a grofe called Busshe aker contaynyng ii akers . . . Pery fyld'. A good deal of assistance in locating the lands can be obtained from the 1716 Western Estate Survey, even though many names had been changed in the interval. The fact that Ralph Wyseman was leasing out Perry Field (LP 315-17) in 1592 suggests that he may have bought Pond Farm: hence its passing to the Westerns.²⁸²

The ground called *Pyggegges* refers to the pasture occupying the north-east angle of the Rivenhall End crossroads (LP 344), and probably the adjacent strip of meadow beyond the Crossing Brook (LP 305-6A). This seemingly curious name immediately takes the history of Pond Farm back into the 14th century, because this same field was cited in 1385 in relation to another property as an abuttal in the possession of John Pikitt (*Pyggegges* being derived from Pikitt's or Pigget's).²⁸³ That property was Gilgrove's.

Gilgrove's Farm (23A)

Gilgrove's was a small holding, comprising a tenement, a meadow and 20 acres of land, all subsequently absorbed into Gryge's (Pond Farm). The origins of Gilgrove's are precisely recorded in a deed of 1385, when John Coggeshall of Hoo Hall granted Thomas Gyldegroom a parcel of moor and adjacent meadow alongside the 'royal street' from Chelmsford to Colchester.²⁸⁴ The tenement is recognizable as an empty plot on the 1716 map (LP 374), with a croft on one side (LP 375) and a parcel of meadow on the other (LP 305-6A). The 20 acres of land were not part of the original grant, and must have been added sometime before 1556. This land was not adjacent to the tenement, but was located some distance along the road to the south-west, and here the detailed description gives the clue: 'be yt more or lesse wt yn [within] ye strete crofte gate'. *Strete Crofte* was a narrow plot running alongside the road (LP 354, later Road Field), and in the backland behind it was a parcel of *c* 20 acres which had been divided into four plots by 1716 (Fig 85B, LP 355-9).

Several other references to Gilgrove's have survived, and the name in its earliest form, as might be expected, was *Gildegromescrofte* (1428).²⁸⁵ In 1564 it was separated from Pond Farm, when Francis Coohucke sold 'Gilgram's' to William Aylett of Hoo Hall, who resold it to Ralph Wyseman in 1599.²⁸⁶ The last mention of 'Gilgrave's Farm' is in connection with the purchase of the Wyseman estates by Thomas Western at the turn of the 18th century.²⁸⁷ The tenement was demolished before 1716.

Miscellaneous lands

The location of Cokke's Garden, mentioned in the will of 1556, is uncertain: it could have been *Strete Croft* (LP 354), or more likely the empty garden directly opposite Pond Farm (LP 337A). This garden may have been all that remained of 'two tenements

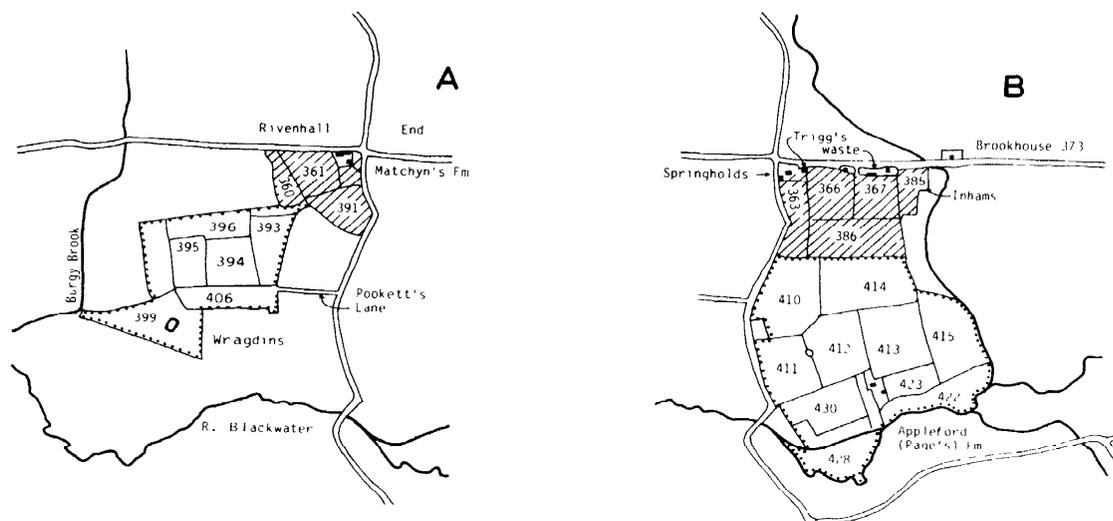


Figure 86 Properties at Rivenhall End, south of the main Colchester road: A. Matchyn's Farm and Wragdins in 1820; B. Springholds and its associated tenements, and Appleford Farm in 1820

called Cobbet and Cokyt', mentioned in a will of 1509.²⁸⁸ The name continued until the beginning of the 17th century as Cocke's alias Cobb's.²⁸⁹ Hyll-grove's also cannot be located with certainty, and several sites could be suggested for it, but none is more plausible than the croft next to Pond Farm (Fig 85B, LP 336B), which sometime before 1716 had been added to the Blacksmith's land (LP 336A).

Also mentioned in the will was Bowser's Crofte, which has already been discussed, being the earliest reference to Bouncer's Hall (p 159). Whytte Land was the street frontage croft, formerly Whalesland (LP 352), adjacent to the blacksmith's shop (LP 336A).²⁹⁰ The 2 acre grove called Bussh Aker is probably a reference to a small rectangular plot (LP 310A) adjacent to LP 310 which, by 1716, had been cleared and incorporated in the latter.²⁹¹ The final surviving croft name in the will is 'Pery Fyld', the 'pear tree field' (LP 315, 317), a backland plot which from time to time appears in the records as an individual unit.²⁹²

There was thus a very close correspondence between the holding of Pond Farm in 1556 and that in 1716, the only significant addition being the 20 acres which, it has been argued, belonged to the defunct crofts of Webbe's and Stafford's (Fig 85B, LP 310, 332; p 165). The evidence relating to Pond Farm is a particularly valuable demonstration of the general phenomenon seen throughout Rivenhall, that the decline of the small holdings was well advanced by the middle of the 16th century, leading to the total disappearance of many by the turn of the 18th century.

The name Pond Farm was in being by 1716 and has continued thereafter, with occasional variations; thus, in 1750 the property was simply called The Pond,²⁹³ and sometime before 1848 the house was

divided into two cottages and the old name of Grigg's was revived.²⁹⁴ The farmhouse is timber-framed and was formerly a fine 15th century building, comprising a single-storey hall and two jettied cross-wings. A drawing of 1836 shows not only the house in its original form, but also the bank of the former *burh* on which it was built and the ground in front falling rapidly into the silted ditch (PI XXXIXa).²⁹⁵ However, a fire in the early 20th century destroyed the southern cross-wing and half the hall (PI XXXIXb).

Matchyn's Farm (25) and Wragdins (25A)

Machens *temp* Henry VIII; Machins 1590; Machyn's 1681, 1729; Matchin's 1731; Matchidy 1820; Rivenhall House 1828; Rivenhall End Fm 1820, 1839; Matchyn's 1875 OS.

Matchyn's occupied the south-west angle of the Rivenhall End crossroads. The name is first recorded in a rental *temp* Henry VIII,²⁹⁶ and next in William Pigget's will of 1590, where he described it as 'my house I dwell in called Machins with all my copy hould land there to belonyinye'. He then added, as a separate item, 'all my fre lande called Wragdins and one other tenement called Goodins'.²⁹⁷ Matchyn's itself was the corner plot occupying 10 acres (Fig 86, LP 361, 391, etc), Goodwins was a smaller holding on the opposite (north-west) corner, the history of which has been recounted above (p 168), and Wragdins was a defunct medieval farm occupying a backland position close to Matchyn's.

Wragdins was a holding of 44 acres, comprising a rectangular block of land (LP 393-7), and an attached triangular field which bore the farm name (LP 399; Fig 86A). Aerial photography has revealed two rectangular enclosures in this field, one having

rounded corners (Vol 1, Fig 3); while these features may belong to a prehistoric or Roman site on the banks of the Blackwater, it is equally possible that the evidence may represent a tiny medieval moat, akin to that of Marylands or Storey's (Vol 1, Fig 129). The other alternative for the site of Wragdins tenement is LP 406, which was served by Pookett's Lane, apparently the original means of access to this farm before a connection was made to the south-west corner of Matchyn's.

Wragdins was hemmed in, on the north by 20 acres of land belonging to Gilgrave's Farm (p 169), on the west by Burgy Brook, and on the east by Pokers Spring Wood and various parcels of 'More'. Pookett's (or Pokers) Lane was first mentioned in 1582, when William Pigget (the owner of Wragdins) obstructed it by erecting a hurdle. The Essex Quarter Sessions found that the lane was a 'common highway' and that obstructing it was 'a great annoyance to the people'.²⁹⁸ This may indicate that Wragdins had long ceased to exist as a separate farm with its own access, and that the lane had become a general right of way to other lands in this area.

The next mention of Matchyn's is in 1681, when details of the lands were given, totalling 56 acres.²⁹⁹ Wragdins was not separately mentioned, but must have been included. It turns up again as Wragdens alias Newfields' in the Rivenhall Manor Court Book for 1701,³⁰⁰ and in later rentals the property is recorded as Matchyn's and Wragdens (eg in 1729).³⁰¹ 'Newfields' is an interesting appellation, probably implying that the abandoned medieval croft had become wooded and had to be recleared. When Matthew Saunders died in 1731 he held 'Matchin's . . . of the manors of Rivenhall and Falkbone Hall'.³⁰² The reference to Faulkbourne shows that Wragdens was still included, because it was only half of that named field, LP 399, that lay outside Rivenhall parish. Nevertheless, the old name persisted, recurring in 1802 as 'Rogdens otherwise Newfields',³⁰³ and similarly in the 1820 Parish Rate Book, as an adjunct to 'Matchidy'. Unusually for the Rate Book, the fields were not listed individually, but cited by reference to the manor court rolls. The holding was given as 50 acres, plus Wragdens (a 7 acre field).

By this time the name Rivenhall End (or Rivenhall House) Farm had come into being, as an alternative for Matchyn's which was not to persist. Never having been part of the Western Estate, the earliest map of the property is a private survey of 1828.³⁰⁴ The house was a late 16th or early 17th century timber-framed building with triple gables fronting the main road; it was substantially modified and fronted on the west in brick in the early 19th century. Two old illustrations of the house from the north exist: the first, probably dating from the 1830s (PI XLa) shows the rendered facade, while in the second (1872) the fully exposed timber framing is seen (PI LXXII).³⁰⁵ The house was extant, although hemmed in by high walls; it has now been demolished and the site built upon.

Springholds (24)

This farm occupies a neat rectangular block in the south-east angle of the Rivenhall End crossroads (Fig 86B). Its buildings and northern boundary were set back a little further from the Colchester road edge than was the case with Matchyn's, with the result that there was a long, narrow strip of waste here which was progressively encroached upon during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The derivation of the name Springhold is uncertain, first appearing in 1602, when John Beckwith willed his 'message or tenement called Springhold'.³⁰⁶ William Boyton seems to have been in occupation at the time of the 1662 Hearth Tax, and his widow in 1673; they were assessed for three hearths.³⁰⁷ Boyton gave his name to one of the fields on the farm (LP 367).

Apart from a reference to Springholds having 18 acres of land in 1727, and a rental of 1729,³⁰⁸ nothing of consequence is recorded of the farm or its occupants, until the 1820 Parish Rate Book referred to it as a malting. An adjacent field was then called Malthouse Field (LP 363), which became Kiln Field by 1839. How early the malting activity began is unknown, but in 1775 license was given to Samuel Porter 'to pull down the old ruined building lately used as a malt office'.³⁰⁹ The profits of malting paid for the construction (in the 1860s?) of the formerly imposing gault brick house and extensive outbuilding ranges of Springholds (now a motel). The character of the newly built house was captured in a contemporary watercolour (PI LXXIII).³¹⁰ Nothing is known of the earlier structures on the site. A stable and a cartlodge were both erected as encroachments on the roadside waste close to Springholds (p 174). Robert Crane built the stable in 1727, probably on LP 369-70.³¹¹ By 1822 the stable had been turned into cottages.³¹² These were illustrated in 1855,³¹³ demolished in 1880, and replaced by a row of four cottages called Brook Tenements (on LP 370).³¹⁴

Brookhouse, Inham's and Trigg's (24A-C)

A property that was sometimes listed with Springholds was Brookhouse, which appears in the Rivenhall Manor Court Book in 1727, both under this name and as Brookland. It seems likely that Brookhouse was being built in that year and occupied the former site of Gilgrave's (LP 373, Fig 86B), which had lain vacant for many years (p 169).³¹⁵ In 1768 Brookhouse was described as a tenement with a yard and garden.³¹⁶

Another tenement called Inham's, with a 2 acre parcel of land was described in 1729 as 'now used and letten . . . with Springholds'.³¹⁷ This is almost certainly to be identified as LP 385. The earliest reference to Inham's is an admission of 1684 when, as later, it was described only in terms of a parcel of land;³¹⁸ any tenement on the site had obviously gone. Other 18th century references give the names Jugham's and Juhame's.

Finally, there was a property called Trigg's at Rivenhall End which, although clearly a separate entity, was sometimes listed along with those just described. Thus, a rental for 1729 combined Trigg's, Brookhouse and Inham's under a single entry, followed immediately by Springholds, and then Matchyn's.³¹⁹ In 1768 Trigg's was described as having 'an additional tenement hereunto adjoining and lately built';³²⁰ this might have seemed applicable to one of the otherwise undocumented properties in the north-east angle of the crossroads, were it not for the fact that no buildings are shown here on the 1716 map. Trigg's had an earlier ancestry, being mentioned in Robert Straite's will of 1587 as 'one messuage or tenement wherein I now dwell called Trigg's . . . with all the lande and houses thereunto belonging'.³²¹ There seems to be only one site where such a property could have been accommodated, and that was the plot adjacent to Springholds, which became the malting yard (LP 365). Trigg's is last heard of in 1775, the year in which the ruined building lately used as a malt office was pulled down (see above). Trigg's was surely absorbed into the malting.

Appleford (Page's) Farm (26)

Atlingfordia 12th cent; Attlingford 1287; Page's 1414, 1507, 1588; Appleford Bridge Fm 1804; Page's 1818, 1839; Appleford Fm 1897 OS.

Appleford Farm lies on the north bank of the Blackwater, on a site which is likely to be of great antiquity; its position is anomalous in relation to the medieval road pattern (Fig 86B). The name indicates an Anglo-Saxon settlement (p 106), and the connection between the mill mentioned in the Domesday Survey and Appleford has already been discussed (Vol 1, p 175). The nature of the settlement at Appleford is not specified in early documents, but was presumably no more than a farm, as in the late Middle Ages.

The first reference to the place is contained in an undated (mid 12th century) charter of St John's Abbey, Colchester, which mentions the *molendino de Riewehale juxta Atlingfordia*.³²² The place is mentioned in 1272,³²³ and the mill specifically in 1287.³²⁴ The first reference to the farm (and the mill) is in 1414, when it was occupied by William Hankoc.³²⁵ Then in 1415, and again in 1418, Witham Manor Court Books refer to tenements called Page's, suggesting that the site was then split, into two or more occupations.³²⁶ The occurrence of these entries under Witham manor implies that Appleford was one of the properties formerly assigned to Cressing Temple. A tenement and land in 'Pagesmeade' was conveyed in 1507/8,³²⁷ and another tenement in 'Black Mere' was demised in William Aylett's will of 1583.³²⁸ Blackmere (LP 428) was the island formed between the main channel of the river and the mill leat, and this reference to a tenement there must relate to the mill or millhouse.

There is no evidence to indicate that the mill was functioning as late as the 16th century, and so its

buildings too may have become tenements; by 1839 the mill site was a vacant plot (LP 429). In 1588 Page's was listed amongst the lesser properties 'lately purchased' by Ralph Wyseman.³²⁹ Page's did not, pass to the Western family, and nothing further is heard of the property until 1804, when it was described in a rental as Appleford Bridge Farm.³³⁰ Hence the old name had been resuscitated, and was thereafter used in tandem. The holding was evidently operating once again as a farm, which is also clear from the 1820 Parish Rate Book.

Page's also gave its name to a water meadow, evidently the most important one in Rivenhall (LP 422; Vol 1, Fig 128). The Manor of Archer's held land there in 1552,³³¹ and there are numerous later references.³³²

Durward's Hall (27) and Old Barn Farm (19)

Doreward 1285; Dorward's 1686; Durrant's Hall 1716; Durward's Hall 1777; Doreward's Hall 1839; Derwant's Hall 1850; Dorward's Hall 1875 OS.

This substantial house, sometimes accorded the title of 'manor' in the post-medieval period, lies on the boundary between Rivenhall and Kelvedon, immediately south of the Roman road to Colchester (Fig 87). It is certainly a site of great antiquity, which has yielded important late Roman finds, including the Rivenhall strap-end decorated with probable Christian motifs.³³³ Aerial photography has revealed a series of Romano-British fields and smaller enclosures abutting the Roman road on the opposite side.³³⁴

There is no firm evidence to associate Durward's with a named Domesday holding or a medieval manor, and the paucity of documentation for this site in general is unfortunate. However, it was clearly a holding of substance, named after the Doreward family. The earliest reference is in 1284, when Roger de Shaldeford granted Henry le Doreward 8 acres of land in Rivenhall.³³⁵ In 1382 John Doreward is recorded as granting lands,³³⁶ and in 1389 as a grantee.³³⁷ The names of various members of the family occur as witnesses to medieval deeds, particularly in connection with Hoo Hall manor (eg in 1385).³³⁸ In fact William Doreward was heir to Hoo Hall in 1437 (p 163). In 1445 Robert Burgeys bought from Edmund Delamare two parts of two messuages, late of Robert Doreward; this must surely refer to some minor component of the Durward's estate.³³⁹

In due course, Durward's passed to the Ayletts, a substantial family in this part of Essex, and this evidently occurred in 1546, when William Aylett purchased an unnamed estate of 154 acres in Rivenhall and Kelvedon from Thomas Burges.³⁴⁰ William Aylett died holding Durward's in 1583.³⁴¹

The first reference to Durward's as a manor is in a will of 1638, when Thomas Aylett described the property as 'my manor or cheife mancon',³⁴² and in Richard Aylett's will (1686) it appeared as 'my capitalle messuage or tenement or now mansion called Derward's Hall'.³⁴³ It seems clear from these

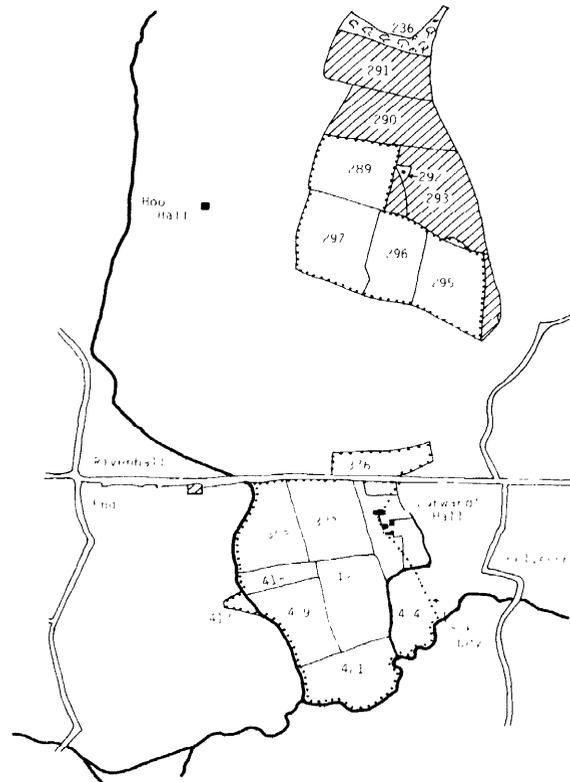


Figure 87 Durward's Hall and Old Barn Farm in 1820; the portion of the estate in Kelvedon parish is not mapped

references that 'manor' was no more than an acquired courtesy title.

The old Durward's Hall is known only from a drawing made in 1841, which shows a large and complex house, obviously of many periods (Pl XL1a). It was assessed for six hearths in the 17th century Hearth Tax Returns, the fourth largest number in the parish.³⁴⁴ It was at least partly timber framed (some of the materials were reused for the construction of a cottage) and appears to have had a 16th century multiple-gabled facade, remnants of which, including a two-storey porch, existed in 1841.³⁴⁵ The hall was demolished and replaced by a new house of ponderous proportions in 1850, which the parish rated at £25 per annum (Pl XL1b).³⁴⁶ The external appearance of the old building suggested a 17th century date, but this may have concealed a much older core.

The house itself lies partly in Rivenhall and partly in Kelvedon, with the parish boundary running through the yards, and cutting across the centre of the Hall (actually passing through the front door and porch; Fig 87). This is a curiously contrived line which makes a loop into the farmyard, taking most of it and the outbuildings into Kelvedon parish. Tampering with the boundary must have taken place, but at what date is uncertain: Durward's Hall was apparently not considered to be in Kelvedon in

the 1670s, but the relationship between boundary and buildings suggests a pre-17th century arrangement. The plan seems to indicate that the core of the hall lay in Kelvedon, but an added west wing — perhaps of the 17th century — pushed part of the house into Rivenhall.

Two substantial blocks of land belonging to Durward's lay in Rivenhall, one basically to the south of the Colchester road, straddling the parish boundary, the other at a slight remove to the north (Fig 87). The northern block is interesting in that it appears to be an 85 acre holding that has been cut out of the Hoo Hall estate in the Middle Ages, and is likely to have resulted from the Doreward connection with Hoo Hall in the early 15th century (p 163). Although the earliest list of Durward's Hall lands dates only from 1820 (Parish Rate Book), it is clear from the evidence of the 1692 schedule and 1716 Western Estate map of Hoo Hall (p 165) that the boundary between the two holdings was the same in the 17th century as it was in the 19th.

One change, however, had occurred in the interim: in the 1820 Parish Rate Book approximately half of the 85 acre block was assigned to Durward's Hall (LP 289, 294-7), while the remainder (41 acres) was separately assessed (LP 236, 290-3). The same was true at the time of the Tithe Award, when the latter part was held by 'Old Barn Farm'. The remains of

this former homestead were shown on the 1839 map (LP 292).

Minor buildings and encroachments (18th–19th century)

Numerous minor buildings were erected in the 18th and 19th centuries, most of which seem to have been encroachments on the roadside waste. A chronological list of references to these works, down to the middle of the 19th century, has been prepared from the available records.

1727

Unlocated. Admission of Abram Greene to a parcel of waste (8 perches) with a cottage erected thereon. Greene died 1731.³⁴⁷

1727

Rivenhall End (LP 369-70). Robert Crane built a stable on the waste.³⁴⁸

1822 Surrender of a parcel of land and two cottages, which had been converted out of a stable and a cartlodge, built on the waste.³⁴⁹ The cottages were illustrated in 1855 (PI XLIIa).³⁵⁰

1880 Refers to the parcel of waste upon which a stable was formerly built. Some years since George Taber pulled down the buildings then standing, and rebuilt a row of four concrete cottages, called Brook Tenements.³⁵¹

1736

Rose Cottage, near Rivenhall Church (LP 215). Grant of a parcel of waste with a cottage built thereon (20r x 2r).³⁵²

This is a good example of an early 18th century red brick tenement, with four rooms, a central stack and three hearths (PI XLIIIa). The front elevation was completely rebuilt c 1980.

1789 Admission of William Stacey to the above, who surrenders on a mortgage in 1814.³⁵³

1817 William Stacey died seized of the above, on which there were then two tenements (not mentioned in 1814).

A timber-framed and weather-boarded cottage had been added to the north end, c 1815 (LP 215A).³⁵⁴

1831 Admission of John Hutley, referring to additions made to the building, and that it was previously in three occupations, now two.³⁵⁵

The additions comprise a lean-to range of the 1820s, across the back of Rose Cottage.

1878 Admission to the above cottages which had lately been in the occupation of the Revd John Charles Burnside (Curate) and Francis Davey.³⁵⁶

1927 Weather-boarded cottage demolished (LP 215A). It appears in a photograph of 1854.³⁵⁷

1737

Unlocated. Grant of a parcel of waste (6r x 2r) with a house built thereon.³⁵⁸

1770 Surrender of the above, adding that it was 'inclosed with pales and hedges'.³⁵⁹

1738

Near Rivenhall Hall (LP 184a). Grant of a parcel of waste (25r x 3r).³⁶⁰

1760 Surrender of the above, and also a new-built tenement lately erected on same.³⁶¹

1760–1801 Francis Ring held the above.³⁶²

1753

Near Rivenhall End (possibly LP354). Faulkbourne rental for 'Seward's land', being 4 acres with a 'tenement and barn built thereon'.

1806 Similar rental for 'Steward's Land'.³⁶³

1768

Brookhouse, Rivenhall End (LP 373). Alienation of tenement; see p 171.³⁶⁴

1768

Trigg's, Rivenhall End (LP 365?). Surrender of the messuage with the additional tenement adjoining, lately built; see p 172.³⁶⁵

1784

The Workhouse (Poorhouse), Rivenhall End (LP 371). In 1770 it was reported that there were no almshouses in Rivenhall.³⁶⁶ The Workhouse was built c 1784, when William Bolland gave a donation of £218 towards the cost.³⁶⁷ An unidentified building is however shown on the site on the 1777 map, but there was nothing here in 1716.³⁶⁸ The Workhouse was illustrated in 1835 (PI XLb).³⁶⁸

1837 Sale of above by Witham Union to Abraham Bilney, victualler.³⁶⁹

1880 Sale of above, then described as 6 freehold cottages.

1938 Declared a clearance area under the powers of the Housing Act 1936.

1944 The six cottages were still present (nos 5–10 London Road).

1961 Reported 'all now demolished'.

1794

Blacksmith's Shop, Rivenhall End (LP 340). William Cook lately encroached upon the waste, erecting a smithy and enclosing 20 rods of garden.

1795 Grant of the above (100 yds long x 7 yds wide at south end, and 4 yds wide at north end), on east side of road.³⁷⁰

1796 Surrender of the above, referring to a messuage and blacksmith's shop lately erected.³⁷¹

1797

Rivenhall Oak (LP 272). Philip Griggs lately enclosed a parcel of waste (12r x 1r) on the south-west side of the road, whereupon two tenements have been erected.³⁷²

1808

Lanham Green (LP 436). James Sack lately encroached on the waste and erected a tenement thereon; see also p 141.³⁷³

1813

Withie's Green (part of LP 480). Admission to a parcel of waste lately enclosed (1 rood 5 perches), with a tenement lately erected thereon.³⁷⁴

1813

Chalk's Cottages, Rivenhall Oak (LP 272a). Surrender of a parcel (20 rods) and cottage on the west side of the road.³⁷⁵ Illustrated in 1836 (PI XLIIb).

1855 Surrender of the above, and of the double tenement on part of the same land (LP 271–2), now consisting of 5 cottages.³⁷⁶

All demolished.

1813

Rivenhall Oak (LP 273a). Grant of a parcel of waste (19 x 1 perches) on the east side of the road.³⁷⁷

1815

Rivenhall Oak (parts of LP 271–2, etc). Parcels of 12 x 1 rods and 1 x 1 rod on the west side of the road, upon which 2 tenements have been erected.³⁷⁸

Demolished.

1815

Withie's Green (part of LP 480). Grant of a parcel of waste (10 rods) on the north-west side of the green, together with two cottages lately erected.³⁷⁹

1822

Rivenhall Oak (LP 269). Two cottages built on the road to the Rectory; cost £171-18-2d.

1860 Reference in Churchwardens' Accounts to letting the above at an annual rent of £3 each.

1823

Withie's Green (LP 479A). Surrender of a parcel of waste (2 acres 2.5 perches) whereupon a post windmill is to be forthwith erected.³⁸⁰

1829 Surrender of the above, *inter alia*, on which a windmill had been erected.³⁸¹

1823

Boarstye Green (LP 17?). Obediah Aylow lately encroached on the waste by enclosing a parcel on the road side.³⁸²

1834

Rivenhall End (LP 368). William Porter encroached on the waste on the south side of the turnpike, and erected two cottages.³⁸³

1835

Rivenhall End (part of LP 348 or 349). Parcel of waste (1 rod) enclosed between the stables of the Fox Inn and the turnpike gate.³⁸⁴

1839

Church House, near Rivenhall Church (LP 212A). New cottage built for sexton, using materials from

the former sexton's house in the churchyard (LP 219).

1878 Mention of the above cottage, as 'former School House'. This is a double-pile house, with a weather-boarded upper storey on a brick base, now privately owned.

1844

Lanham Green (LP 438–9). Mention in a will of three cottages with two gardens.³⁸⁵

1848

Unlocated. House newly erected by Edward Scales to be rated at £10.³⁸⁶

1853

Rivenhall Schools, near the church (LP 216A). Schools built in the north-west corner of LP 216 (architect: probably George Buckler). Illustrated by Buckler, 1855 (PI XLIIIb).³⁸⁷

1872 Extension to school buildings (architect: Harcourt Runnacles).³⁸⁸

Much altered, but still in use.

1873

Choats Green (LP 30). Two tenements, formerly one (Cutt's tenement).³⁸⁹

1873

Workmen's Hall, Rivenhall End (LP 345A). Hall built in the south-west corner of the allotment field (LP 345). Photographed in the 1870s.³⁹⁰

Much altered, and now used as a community hall.

c 1880

Congregational Chapel, Rivenhall End (LP 368). A cottage was built here, encroaching on the waste, before 1839; it was demolished before 1875 (OS map). The chapel was built sometime after 1875, but before 1897. Redundant, and now converted into a house. A nonconformist chapel is recorded in Rivenhall by Kelly's Directory in 1855; site uncertain.

Summary

The foregoing study has concentrated on the manors and principal farms of the parish, and a general account of the development of the landscape was given in Vol 1. Drawing all the evidence together, a broad picture now emerges of continuous and coherent development throughout the entire Middle Ages and into modern times. Documentary and toponymic evidence accords well with archaeological, topographical and botanical observations. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that the developed landscape which is clearly appreciable by the 12th or 13th century was a recent or spontaneous creation. The principal holdings of that era are potentially reconcilable with those of the Domesday Survey (Vol 1, pp 171–80), and recent research has now defined

more clearly the great extent of the block of ecclesiastical land which straddled the boundary between Rivenhall and Witham, providing not only the glebe lands for both parishes, but also an even greater tract of land for the support of the Knights Templar and their preceptory at Cressing.

The realization that Edward the Elder's *burh* of 913 may have lain at the Rivenhall End crossroads is not only of intrinsic interest, but also for its implications for settlement history. The *burh* lay at the interface between the ecclesiastical and secular manorial estates, and its separate identity in tenurial terms was maintained — even after fragmentation — well into post-medieval times. It has been argued elsewhere that elements of the field systems around Rivenhall End are relict from the Edwardian burghal era, and that we may glimpse here the skeleton of early 10th century land holdings (Rodwell 1993). Collectively, the evidence suggests an abortive attempt to found a late Saxon town.

Since the principal roads and many (if not most) of the field boundaries of the parish in the early Middle Ages were relict from the Roman period, it would come as no surprise to find that some tenurial units may also have had a long line of descent as identifiable entities. Thus, it has been suggested that the Lanham triangle represents an intact Anglo-Saxon estate, and that the combined holdings of Rivenhall Hall and Hoo Hall make a plausible unit for approximate equation with the Roman villa estate.

The evidence from the Rivenhall woods demonstrates that none is primeval, and there is nothing to suggest the survival of forest or of large-scale woodland clearance in the Middle Ages. Clearance took place at times of optimum exploitation of the land, and regeneration occurred when agricultural activity slackened; this was a recurrent cycle.

Field boundaries and the botanical composition of hedgerows demonstrate the substantial antiquity of both individual parcels and field systems. Apart from the subdivision into strips of two water meadows on the banks of the Blackwater, there is not hint in the written record, or in the local topography, of medieval open-field farming. The few names that are sometimes indicators of communal farming do not appear to be so connected at Rivenhall. The majority of individual field names recorded in medieval documents are readily identifiable on the ground (the earliest being Halfhyde Field, 1185). In particular, the field-names of Rivenhall Hall's lands are both intrinsically interesting and have enjoyed impressive stability since the Middle Ages.

The formation processes of field-names may also be followed through the surviving records. The seemingly nonsensical 'Pig Hogs' (LP 344) of 1839 is found to be derived from Pikitt, the owner in 1385 (via Pigetts, and Pyggeges, 1556). Some possessive names have changed from one recognizable form to another which is entirely unconnected: Anderson's Field (LP 74) in 1716, became Annison's by 1820, and Anne's Field by the 1930s. Other changes from

straightforward topographic naming, like Chase-land (field beside a chaseway, LP 79) to the less readily explicable Castlings, can be traced. The process continues: in 1951 the script of a radio broadcast on the excavations at Rivenhall recorded the name as 'Wribbenhall'.

It is clear that there never was a nucleated village at Rivenhall, but a widely dispersed pattern of manors and substantial farms, each with its own dependent tenements, field system, meadows and, sometimes, woodland. Several of the lesser-ranking sites were moated. It is curious that, considering its size and tenurial complexity, Rivenhall possessed only one mill (Appleford) in the Middle Ages, whereas adjacent parishes tended to be better provided in this respect. Even so, in the 11th century Rivenhall mill was shared with Great Braxted, and by the 16th century it had probably ceased to exist altogether. Why that loss occurred is a mystery. The only evidence for a windmill concerns one built on Withie's Green in 1823.

No commons or substantial areas of wasteland are recorded in Rivenhall: waste was confined to roadside verges. In the early Middle Ages a large spindle-shaped green lay at Boars Tye, but this was soon encroached upon. The other greens in the parish — Choat's, Lanham, and Withie's — were tiny; and Archer's Green had disappeared by the 16th century. Medieval and post-medieval exploitation of the land was extensive.

Nineteenth century directories refer to Rivenhall as comprising fourteen or fifteen farms, a complement which had scarcely changed since the 15th century. Indeed the number of substantial 15th and early 16th century timber-framed houses of the hall-and-crosswing type which have survived into modern times is impressive.

Documentary, cartographic and field-name evidence all clearly reveal that below the manors and principal farms was another settlement tier of smaller subholdings. The proliferation of these was probably a late medieval phenomenon, but it could have begun earlier; the evidence is simply lacking. These properties, which ranged from about two acres to six acres in extent, fell into steady decline in the 16th and 17th centuries, as holdings were amalgamated and crofts abandoned. The fortunes of some of the minor holdings have been traced where documentation permits, and where the evidence can be related to identifiable sites. The list of sites and property given in this chapter is by no means exhaustive, but to have presented the very scrappy information relating to other minor medieval and later holdings would not have been justified here.

The estate maps of 1716 captured Rivenhall properties at their lowest ebb; abandoned crofts are everywhere apparent. From *c* 1730, however, a steady trickle of new dwellings began to be built, almost entirely tenements on the roadside waste. Throughout the 18th century the recorded additions amounted to no more than about two per decade, but by 1813 a vigorous spate of encroachments had begun, and continued until *c* 1840, by which time all

the available roadside waste had either been built upon or taken into cultivation. The surviving records of new works in the 18th and early 19th centuries are far from comprehensive, but they are certainly representative of contemporary building activity, and a full check on the number of properties in 1839 is provided by the Tithe Award. A few of the new cottages were built of brick, but the majority seem to have been timber framed, with either a plastered or weatherboarded exterior. Both thatched and tiled roofs were common. The majority of these humbler dwellings have been demolished, and are now only recoverable from mid 19th century illustrations.

Some of the manor houses and other large farm-houses were rebuilt or modernized in the 18th and 19th centuries. The first to receive attention was the Rectory in the 1730s, and Sheepcote Farm was given a new brick facade in 1785. But it was not until the 1790s that Rivenhall Place was remodelled and its new park laid out by Humphrey Repton. This was the fourth phase of emparkment associated with the property. A few years later Hoo Hall followed suit: the house was rebuilt and a miniature park created in the adjoining meadows.

Building in the 19th century was carried out, perhaps surprisingly, on a modest scale. The church was dressed with a mantle of gothick stucco in 1838–9, more Georgian than Victorian in aspiration. The church schools of 1853, illustrated and probably designed by George Buckler, are distinctively mid Victorian, as is the rebuilt Durward's Hall (1850). A decade or so later Springholds was rebuilt in a style reminiscent of William Butterfield. The few other structures of the era — such as the Workmen's Hall (1873) and the Congregational Church — are architecturally insignificant. In a sense, the poverty of the Georgian and Victorian contributions to the built environment has been an asset: it allowed many medieval and Tudor timber-framed houses to survive.

The medieval landscape did not fare so well. Much of it is recorded in detail in 18th century surveys, and the entries in the Parish Rate Book of 1820 show that major changes were only just beginning. But the Tithe Award of 1839 shows that the agricultural revolution had happened in Rivenhall: everywhere, boundaries had been straightened, woodland cleared and a multiplicity of field divisions created. Even so, medieval and earlier patterns are still distinguishable: nothing resembling parliamentary enclosure has ever been implemented at Rivenhall.

The ancient, accretive pattern remained intact until the later 1920s, when the few farms and tenements huddled around Boarstye Green (then a hamlet called Silver End) were superseded by a factory complex and a newly planted settlement: the Silver End Model Village. A wartime airfield and Polish encampment obliterated Storey's Wood and the site of the moated Storey's Farm. Since the Second World War, disparkment, gravel quarrying and the destruction of scores of kilometres of hedgerows have altered the Rivenhall landscape beyond recognition. Added to this, housing estates for London

overspill have been created on green-field sites, and many of the roadside cottages have been swept away in pursuance of slum clearance orders or improvement schemes, such as the trunking of the London to Colchester road (A12). Moreover, thirty years ago the earthwork circuit of Edward the Elder's posited *burh* was intact, and the site very much as described in 1556. Now there is virtually nothing remaining.

2 Ecclesiastical property

Rivenhall Rectory and church lands by Warwick Rodwell

The slight excrescence on the westernmost edge of the parish contains the Rectory, glebe land and Rickstone's Farm. There is a complex interlocking of Rivenhall land here with Witham glebe and with several farms in Witham parish, most notably Half Hides and Little Elm Farm. The pattern suggests the early fragmentation of a once-large holding. Rickstone's Farm would appear to have been a critical component.

Rickstone's Farm (22)

Dodd's 1732; Ruckesten's *c* 1750; Ruckestone's 1839; Rickstone's 1839; Ruckstone's 1848.

Like its near neighbour Stovern's Hall (p 160), the history of this property is difficult to unravel, since it cannot be identified in early records. Superficially, it too would appear to have come into existence as a farmhouse with modest lands, later being augmented with parcels from other separate holdings. Rickstone's never belonged to the Wyseman or Western families, and consequently was not mapped until *c* 1750.

The abutments of the Western Estate refer to Rickstone's in 1716 as 'Mr Blackman's land of London', while on the 1732 Rectory map it was 'Dr Dodd's lands'. The enigmatic 'Ruckesten's' estate map of *c* 1750 has unfortunately lost its associated documentation.³⁹¹

On topographical considerations, it might be posited that Rickstone's was merely a tenement with 9 acres of land, set in the angle of a road junction (perhaps originally comprising LP 248–9), and that a second holding which might have been named 'Sammons' (LP 311, Sammons Pightle, see p 158) was later amalgamated with it, giving rise to the irregular, straggling nature of the holding. However, an examination of the Witham Tithe Award reveals that Rickstone's also had disparate holdings of land in that parish, totalling 68.5 acres.³⁹² Moreover, these lands were widely separated, and patently not the result of amalgamating farms or tenements (Fig 88).

Rickstone's Farm, together with half its lands, lay firmly within the parish of Rivenhall; the other half lay in Witham. If Rickstone's had been held as part of any Rivenhall manor, since the 16th century, it is

most unlikely that we would fail to recognize it amongst surviving records, even under a different name. Some parcels are, however, recognizable from the 1608 survey of the manor of Chipping Witham as belonging thereto.³⁹³

There can be no doubt about the antiquity of Rickstone's Farm. The existing farmhouse is timber framed and dates from the early or mid 16th century, but has undergone a series of drastic modifications. The original house evidently comprised a hall and two jettied cross-wings, with the 'front' to the north-east. It was probably in the 19th century that the house was reversed, being given a new facade to the south-west. The house was substantially altered again in the 1930s. There is also a surviving 16th century barn, close to the house.

The clue to understanding the history of Rickstone's must lie in resolving its relationship to neighbouring lands. The nine acre core holding is bounded on two sides by roads, and on the other two by Rivenhall glebe land. Moreover, on the opposite sides of the roads are further fields of glebe. Thus Rickstone's was totally land-locked by church property. A glance at the plan of detached lands held with Rickstone's reveals that these too were either interlocked with, or adjacent to, other church lands (Fig 88). The inescapable conclusion must be that Rickstone's was cut out of the large block of church land which straddled the boundary between Witham and Rivenhall. It may well have originated, therefore, as a medieval ecclesiastical farm. If Stovern's Hall lands (Fig 80) are brought into the equation too — recalling that these not only interlocked with Rickstone's and with ecclesiastical holdings, but were also partly appendant to the manor of Witham — further evidence³⁹⁴ for a consolidated land block begins to emerge.

Rivenhall Rectory (16) and Glebe lands also Half Hides Farm (30), Coleman's Farm (31) and Little Elm Farm (33)

The history of the Rectory, which lies immediately across the lane to the west of Rickstone's, is not easy to unravel, despite being the earliest recorded house in the parish: Rivenhall rectory received no less than three mentions in late 13th century grants. Moreover, the earliest mention of a Rivenhall field by name is in 1185, when Robert, the first recorded rector, leased a field called Halfhyde (LP 325a).

Of the 13th century grants, the first was of 1.25 acres of land on the borders of Rivenhall and Witham in *c* 1280; it included a reference to the proximity of 'land of the vicar of Witham' and the 'house of the rector of Rivenhall'.³⁹⁵ This at once establishes the medieval ancestry of the block of ecclesiastical land which combines the glebes of both Rivenhall and Witham, and for which there was otherwise no terrier until 1610, and no map until 1732 (Figs 88 and 89).

The small parcel of land referred to in the grant is potentially identifiable as a rectangular projection

at the north-west corner of LP 258 (Fig 89). The two other mentions of Rivenhall rectory in the Middle Ages are contained in undated grants concerning a single parcel of 6 acres of land in Witham. This land was first granted to Henry, 'chaplain of Bluntestone', by Roger Bacon of Witham. It was then regranted by Henry de Bluntestone, 'vicar of the church of Brightlingsea', to St John's Abbey, Colchester.³⁹⁶ These transactions must have antedated de Bluntestone's being presented to the rectory of Rivenhall in 1300, following the granting of a papal dispensation to be a pluralist (p 182).

The six acres given by Roger Bacon were in *Wynefeld*, lying between his own land (probably Half Hides Farm) and a croft belonging to Agnes Payn. One head of the field abutted the road from Witham 'towards the house of the rector of Rivenhall', and the other abutted the Templars' land called *Wynefeld*. This interesting field-name, which refers to the growing of vines, had been lost before the Tithe Award was drawn up, but circumstantial evidence permits its placement in the area between Half Hides Farm and Little Elm Farm. In 1608 a parcel in this area was referred to as 'Great Wingfield'.³⁹⁷ Moreover, the site of Agnes Payn's croft was still recalled in the tithe name 'Pains alias Herveys'.³⁹⁸

The road referred to in Roger Bacon's grant is identifiable. There were two medieval lanes leading from Witham to Rivenhall (excluding the Roman road to Colchester): the principal one (Cuthroat Lane) ran to the south-east of Half Hides and the Rectory, arriving at the three-way-way at Rickstone's Farm.³⁹⁹ The other followed a course to the north-west of Little Elm Farm and the Rectory, petering out near two fields of Witham glebe (LP 200, 253) and the parcel which was the subject of the grant of *c* 1280 (discussed above). It is clear that the latter road was being referred to in the 13th century land grants; this was abutted by 'Pains' and 'Wynefeld' (Fig 89).

Little Elm Farm and Half Hides Farm are two small holdings straddling the border between Rivenhall and Witham, and they lie principally in the latter parish; this almost certainly results from post-medieval boundary changes. The histories of these farms are of marginal relevance to the present study, and it will suffice to note that a portion of Rivenhall land in this area has apparently been taken into Witham since the early 17th century. A conveyance of Little Elm Farm in 1608 lists the extent of the holding, and gives some details of field-names. Although the wording is ambiguous, it appears that at least three of the six parcels lay in Rivenhall parish.⁴⁰⁰ An *Inquisition* of 1636 referred again to the six parcels as being in Rivenhall and Witham, giving the total acreage as 52.⁴⁰¹ This accords with a detailed survey of the farm in 1792.⁴⁰²

Little Elm, Half Hides and Coleman's Farms were all enmeshed with the multiple land holdings of Cressing Temple, as well as detached portions of Witham glebe and Faulkbourne parish (in which Coleman's lies). It is thus apparent that Rivenhall Rectory and Rickstone's Farm lie at the centre of a

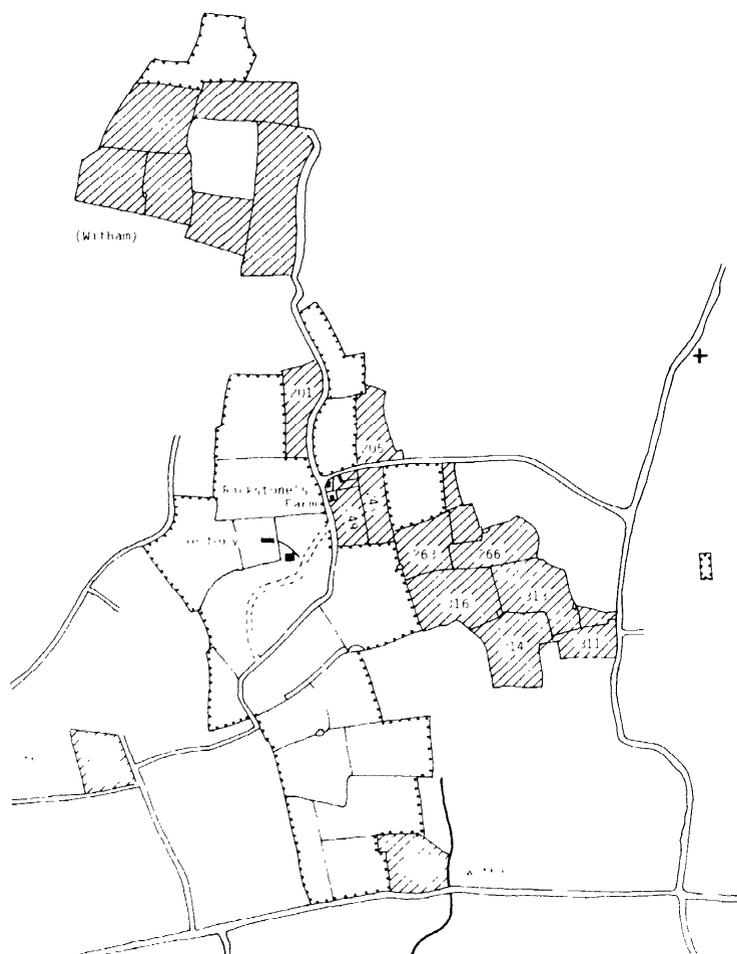


Figure 88 Rickstone's Farm (shaded) in relation to Rivenhall and Witham glebe lands, c 1750

substantial tract of land, most (and perhaps all) of which was in some form of ecclesiastical ownership in the early Middle Ages. The tract in question stretches from the Witham–Colchester Roman road in the south, to Vicarage Wood (beside Whitehead's Farm) in the north, a distance of 2.9 km. The Templars' land continued still further north. Even in the early 19th century, the entire glebe land of Rivenhall (save one tiny parcel, LP 278a) lay here, along with a substantial part of Witham's glebe. Curiously, two fields of Witham glebe lie wholly within Rivenhall parish (LP 200, 253, Great and Little Rivenhall Field).

A full study and reconstruction of this ecclesiastical estate — the origin of which is almost certainly pre-Conquest and associated with a minster church at Witham — would be invaluable (see Rodwell 1993). However, it seems likely that, apart from Rivenhall Rectory, the only substantial farm within the posited bounds of the early medieval estate, on the Rivenhall side, is Rickstone's. Stovern's should almost certainly be included too, but is possibly only an amalgam of small holdings. Others, lying on the periphery, include Whitehead's and Oliver's.

Rivenhall Rectory is itself a building of considerable historic interest, and the next mention of it (after the 13th century references) is in the Glebe Terrier of 1610.⁴⁰³ This is sadly a fragmentary document from which much detailed information has plainly been lost. Of the Rectory building only the hall and kitchen are mentioned, in a context which suggests that they were separate buildings. The hall was part of a 16th century timber-framed building, and the kitchen may well have been a detached Tudor brick structure, as at Hoo Hall, and commonly elsewhere in Essex. The terrier confirms that Witham glebe lay on the north side (LP 200, 253), and Kitchen Field (LP 323a) lay on the west; the latter was mostly in Witham parish, being part of Little Elm Farm.

The bounds on the south refer to a field called 'Longe Leese' (perhaps LP 323?), abutting on Half Hyde Field (LP 325a, again largely in Witham parish). Finally, a 9 acre field called 'Brareman's' is mentioned, although whether it was part of, or an abuttal to, the Rectory is not now decipherable. It was presumably the latter, in view of its being described as 'the kinge's lands belonging to ye manor of Witham'. Brareman's (LP 326) was part of

and thereafter the rectory was presumably the sole residence. Although the glebe was substantial, Rector John Keynell personally held a one acre parcel of meadow near Whitehead's Farm called Portersmead, between 1434 and 1441 (p 162).⁴⁰⁹ This probably implies that he was resident in the Rectory.

By 1662 the Rectory was certainly a substantial residence, being taxed for seven hearths, the third highest number in the parish; in 1671 there were eight hearths.⁴¹⁰ A survey of the Rectory estate was prepared in 1732, when William Fitch was the occupant (the Revd Dr Harris then being resident in Cambridge, where he was Regius Professor of Modern History). The survey plan showed only a square house in a park-like setting, with gardens and yards to the rear, and a long stable block; there appear to have been no farm buildings, although one of the fields was labelled 'Old Barn Field' (LP 258), presumably indicating the site of the tithe barn. It seems likely that the glebe was being farmed from elsewhere, perhaps Rickstone's.

When William Hatsell was presented to the rectory in 1733 he declared the house to be uninhabitable, and had it pulled down and rebuilt. The new Georgian brick house, which is still extant (now The Old Rectory), was being fitted out in 1738.⁴¹¹ A fragment of its timber-framed predecessor was permitted to remain, as the servants' quarters. In 1822 the rectory house was reported to be in good repair and to comprise 22 rooms. It was the subject of several 19th century illustrations (PI XXXVIII).⁴¹²

In 1824 John Lewis, another absentee rector, was presented and he lived on his second benefice at Ingatestone. He appointed Bradford Hawkins in 1831, as curate, who resided in the rectory, becoming rector himself in 1853 (died 1882). The building was surveyed in 1883 by the architect Frederic Chancellor, and some improvements carried out.⁴¹³ Nevertheless, Glebe Farm and the Rectory were sold in 1921,⁴¹⁴ and the latter again in 1927.

Glebe Farm (16A)

Glebe Farm lay in the grounds of the Rectory, directly on the site of the old stable block. The building today is a humble 18th century structure, containing much recycled timberwork, some of which is derived from the former stables, and may even be *in situ*. There is no record of the formation of Glebe Farm, but it was probably around the turn of the 19th century, under the influential Thomas Walsingham Western (rector 1772–1820). Glebe Farm does not appear on the 1801 OS map (surveyed 1799). The farm was captured in its heyday in an illustration of 1835.⁴¹⁵ The ultimate ancestor of Glebe Farm could well have been Rickstone's.

History of the advowson

by G E Sheldrick

The advowson of Rivenhall Rectory seems to have been held with the manor of Rivenhall, but its history is much less simple than that of the manor, since the right of presentation was several times granted away.

William de Rossa held it,⁴¹⁶ and perhaps it was he who presented his brother Peter, though possibly Peter himself did not hold the advowson, for William had given the right to the prior and convent of Cruceroy at Royston.⁴¹⁷ In 1262 the prior granted it for life to Nicholas de Audele,⁴¹⁸ who in 1268 gave it to Robert Burnell (died 1292), Edward I's Chancellor, together with an acre of land,⁴¹⁹ which is mentioned again in 1280 as being connected with the advowson.⁴²⁰ However, when Peter de Rossa died in 1255, Henry III not only claimed that the advowson was in his gift 'by reason of his wardship of the lands of Peter de Roucestre', but also seized the opportunity to present John de Antioch, clerk of Geoffrey de Lezingham, who was the king's brother.⁴²¹

Robert de Scales, the son of Peter de Rossa's nephew, certainly held the advowson, for he affirmed in 1280 that he had regranted it to Robert Burnell.⁴²² If he had indeed inherited as a minor (see manor of Rivenhall, p 155), entering into his lands in 1275, this might indicate a confirmation of his father's grant of the advowson soon after reaching his majority.

His grandson Robert de Scales received a licence in 1336 to alienate the advowson in mortmain to the convent of St Leonard's, Stratford-le-Bow,⁴²³ but either this grant was never made, or the right of advowson was returned to the de Scales family, for in 1396 this Robert's grandson, another Robert de Scales, granted the advowson with 'land lying under Rivenhall cemetery, in a pasture called le Cowlase' to John de Cley (already rector of Rivenhall), William Bateman, Nicholas de Massyngham, Robert Rekedoun and William Lampet.⁴²⁴ In 1398 Robert de Scales granted it to Roger Walden (the king's treasurer and Archbishop of Canterbury: died 1399) together with his brother, John Walden and Nicholas Danyell.⁴²⁵ These three probably presented John Dyne in about 1400.⁴²⁶ In 1406, Nicholas Danyell released his right in the advowson to John Walden,⁴²⁷ who then granted it to William Bryght, John Dreyton, John Teynton and Robert Warner.⁴²⁸ Dreyton and Teynton are mentioned by Newcourt as having presented John Whitacre in 1407 together with 'J Woodward, civis & Aldem. Lond'.⁴²⁹ It is not clear where J Woodward and the city of London obtained their interest in the Church of Rivenhall; none of the men involved was a mayor of London.

In 1416 the men who had been granted it in 1406 released their right of presentation to Thomas Frampton, John Ingoldsby, Robert Boleyn and John Northwich,⁴³⁰ who in 1421 granted it to the convent of Brysyerd, Suffolk, 'provided that the vicarages [in

Rivenhall and elsewhere] be sufficiently endowed'.⁴³¹ However, in 1461 John Wodde was presented by Anthony Wydeville, the lord of Rivenhall manor,⁴³² so at some point the advowson must have returned from the convent. Perhaps the terms of the license in mortmain were not complied with.

In 1466 when Sir Geoffrey Gates bought the manor from Wydeville he also received the advowson,⁴³³ which was given to Simon Baxter and Gilbert Hogh to hold of the chief lords.⁴³⁴ These two must have sold their interest, for, according to Newcourt, John Osplete was presented in 1496 by Thomas Ormond and his wife, the right having been bequeathed to them by the will of her previous husband.⁴³⁵

Gates must have kept the advowson with the manor, for after he was attainted in 1553, the advowson as well as the manor was granted to Susan Tonge.⁴³⁶ In 1590 Richard White, the great-nephew of Susan Tonge, sold the advowson to Ralph Wyseman, together with the manor of Rivenhall, 437 but before that, in 1579, Wyseman together with William Draper presented Henry Crane.⁴³⁸ Since Wyseman was a resident and substantial landowner in Rivenhall by this date, holding the manors of Archer's and Burchier's, it is perhaps not surprising that White, whose family lived at Runwell, should have sold his right of presentation to Wyseman.

The Wyseman family continued to be named as patrons⁴³⁹ and when, in 1693, Thomas Western bought the Wysemans' estates, he also received the advowson.⁴⁴⁰ Notwithstanding, in 1853 and 1882 those presenting rectors do not appear to have been members of the Western family.⁴⁴¹ The Western family, however, seems to have held the advowson from the 17th century until at least 1921.⁴⁴²

The rectors of Rivenhall

by G E Sheldrick

The names of nearly 40 men described as 'parson' or 'rector' of Rivenhall can be traced between 1185 and the present day, in addition to two or three who may have been curates. Few of these played a significant part in national history — only two (Samuel Harris and James Goldwell) appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography* — but at least eleven of them were educated at Cambridge between 1261 and 1900 and two at Oxford between 1500 and 1886.⁴⁴³ Several of these educated men appear to have been resident, though it is evident that many were not. The lengths of incumbencies seem to have varied considerably, but the 19th century rectors in particular seem to have remained at Rivenhall for long periods.

Only a brief account of some of the more interesting incumbents of Rivenhall is given here, down to the time of B D Hawkins (died 1882).

The earliest clergyman at Rivenhall whose name is known is Robert, *persona de Riwenhale* who in 1185 paid 6s to the Knights Templar, who held large estates in Witham, Cressing and Rivenhall, for the

'field which is called halfhide'. 'Half Hide Field still existed at the time of the 1839 Tithe Award as the name of a field on the west of the parish, on the borders of Witham and Rivenhall (LP 325a).

There follows a gap of over fifty years before the next incumbent, Peter de Rossa, is heard of. He died in 1255 having been lord of the manor of Rivenhall as well as rector.⁴⁴⁵ His successor, John de Antioch, was almost certainly nonresident, being the clerk of Geoffry de Lezingham, the brother of Henry III.⁴⁴⁶ Similarly, Henry de Bluntestone, Edward I's almoner, who was granted a papal dispensation to be a pluralist in 1300, held several churches including Rivenhall, in addition to the Archdeaconry of Dorset.⁴⁴⁷

William de Lalleford, 'parson of Rivenhall', on the other hand, may well have resided in his parish. Certainly he was closely connected with the lord of the manor, being appointed one of Robert de Scales's attorneys in 1337 when he went overseas on the king's service.⁴⁴⁸ It is likely that the Period 6B chancel was built under de Lalleford (Vol 1, pp 139–45).

One of the most eminent pluralists to hold Rivenhall was James Goldwell. Rivenhall, to which he was presented in 1456, was amongst his earliest benefices.⁴⁴⁹ He resigned this in 1461, upon becoming Archdeacon of Essex.⁴⁵⁰ Among the posts he held during his life were that of Canon at, Windsor (1463–72), Prebendary of St Pauls (1457–61) and of Hereford (1461–4), and Dean of Salisbury (1463–72).⁴⁵¹ He was also Edward IV's secretary of state, and it was after a successful mission to Pope Sixtus IV that he was created Bishop of Norwich in 1472.⁴⁵² In his will of February 1499,⁴⁵³ Goldwell left bequests to various causes including his old college of All Souls, but he made no mention of Rivenhall.

The will of his successor, John Wood (Wode or Wodde), who was presented by Anthony Wydeville and his wife Elizabeth (de Scales) in 1561,⁴⁵⁴ is almost as unhelpful. Wood was Archdeacon of Middlesex from 1450 and rector of Chelmsford in 1456⁴⁵⁵ and in his will, proved 24 November 1475, he left his vestments to the altars of Chelmsford, 'Renale' and two other churches, presumably to be divided amongst them.⁴⁵⁶

William Love was presented to the church of Witham in 1537 and to Rivenhall in 1539.⁴⁵⁷ Possibly he held both benefices simultaneously, for it was at Witham that he requested to be buried 'if I fortune to dye thereabouts' in his will dated 6 March 1559 (ie 1560). Though he was a post-Reformation priest, it is evident from his will that Love died unmarried.⁴⁵⁸

It seems likely that Henry Crane, rector from 1579 until his death in 1612,⁴⁵⁹ held only Rivenhall and was resident there, for in 1590 one of his parishioners left in his will money for the poor, to be distributed by 'Mr Crane'.⁴⁶⁰ In 1588 he is mentioned in the Act books of the court of the Archdeacons of Colchester in connection with a 'Query touching the chancel',⁴⁶¹ though the nature of the query, and whether it was made to or by Mr Crane, is not recorded.

Crane's successor George Boswell, presented in 1612,⁴⁶² or his churchwardens, were in trouble with

Table 28 List of rectors of Rivenhall from 1185

Name	Dates		Source
Robert	here 1185		1
Peter de Rossa		d 1255	1
John de Antioch	p 1255		1
Henry de Bluntestone	p 1300		3
William de Lalleford	p 1330	here 1337	3;1
John de Cley	here 1382		4
Andrew Newport		r 1405	3
John Dyve (Dyne; Dunn)	p 1405	r 1407	3
John Whitacre	p 1407		2
John Keynall	here 1435		5
James Goldwell, DCL	p 1456	r 1461	1
John Wood, STB	p 1461	d 1475	2
Henry Healthwatt			2
Robert Underwood		d 1496	2
John Osplete, AM	p 1496		2
Clement Rochester, MA		d 1539	2
William Love	p 1539	r 1560	2
William Dawes, LB	p 1560	d 1565	2
John Faunt	p 1565	d 1579	2
Henry Crane, AM	p 1579	d 1612	2
George Boswell	p 1612	d 1654	3;7
George Lisle, MA	p 1647	expelled 1662	3;1
Richard Argall, AM	p 1662	d 1670	2
Richard Strutt, BA	p 1670	d 1675	2
John Rawlins, AM	p 1675	here 1718	2;3
Samuel Harris, DD, FRS	p 1720	d 1733	3
William Hastell, MA	p 1733	d 1722	3
Thomas Walsingham Western, MA	p 1772	r 1820	3
Shirley Western, LLB	p 1820	d 1824	3
John H Lewis, MA	p 1824	d 1853	3
Bradford Denne Hawkins, MA	p 1853	d 1882	3
F B H Bridges, MA	p 1882	1896	3
Herbert H Willmott	p 1897	1921	6
Andrew A Hunt, MA	p 1921	1939	6
C G A Swann, MA	p 1939	1953	6
Joseph P Lankester, AKC	p 1953	1960	6
A David King, AKC	p 1960	1966	6
David Nash, AKC	p 1966	r 1983	6

Key to abbreviations

p: presented
r: resigned
d: died

4 Cal Close Rolls
5 P H Reaney, 'Early Essex Clergy', *Essex Review* 49-55
6 List provided by the Revd David Nash
7 See text for successors of Boswell

Sources

1 See notes to text above
2 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495
3 ERO T/A 547

the same court for 'suffering a strange minister to preach in their church w(ith)out shewing his license & after sermon he openly beg'd in the Church'. It is not clear, however, whether this was by invitation of Boswell or in his absence.⁴⁶³

Boswell died in 1654, but George Lisle was apparently presented in 1647, and before this there seem to have been at least two other clergymen in Rivenhall: Francis Woret in 1616 and Richard Ward, who in 1646 described himself as 'minster of Rivenhall'. It is not clear whether either of these was a successor to Boswell or his curate.⁴⁶⁴

George Lisle, rector from 1647 to 1662,⁴⁶⁵ was ejected because of his nonconformist preaching in Witham. He was excommunicated in 1665 and licensed as a nonconformist in 1662, but on his death in 1687 he was buried in the chancel of Witham church.⁴⁶⁶

His successor Richard Argall presumably died at Rivenhall and in his will, proved 1670, he asked to be buried at the discretion of his wife, either at Great Baddow amongst his ancestors or in the church of Rivenhall, the place of his habitation. He also left 'my Bookes in my Study or elsewhere whether printed or manuscript', presumably referring to the study at Rivenhall Rectory.⁴⁶⁷

Samuel Harris was presented to Rivenhall in 1720 and held it until his death in 1733, when he was buried in the nave (p 20). Harris was also the first Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.⁴⁶⁸ He may not have spent much time in the parish.

At the beginning of the incumbency of Harris's successor, William Hatsell (rector 1733–73), it was reported to the bishop that the rector's house was uninhabitable and must be pulled down, perhaps resulting from neglect on the part of Harris. However, in 1738 Hatsell was living in the 'Rectory House'. In 1736, Hatsell evidently tried to take services twice on Sundays, but reported that 'they will not come pm in winter', and thirty years later there was still only one service on Sundays.⁴⁶⁹

Hatsell's two successors were Thomas Walsingham Western (1772–1820) and his nephew Shirley (1820–4), uncle and brother of Charles Callis Western, Thomas, in particular, was a landowner in his own right. Shirley died at the 'Glebe House', where his uncle had possibly lived too.⁴⁷⁰

Shirley Western's successor, John Lewis, presented in 1824, was also rector of Ingatestone to which he had been presented in 1796. He lived at Ingatestone and held both benefices until his death there in 1853.⁴⁷¹

Bradford Denne Hawkins had been curate at Rivenhall since 1830 under Lewis,⁴⁷² living at the 'Rectory House'.⁴⁷³ At the time of the census in 1851 he was a widower living in the rectory with his four children and five servants. The parsonage (curate's cottage?) was occupied by a labourer.⁴⁷⁴ In 1872 Hawkins offered £10 towards altering the school building, to add to Thomas Western's £100, on condition that it should continue to be conducted as a Church of England school.⁴⁷⁵

Hawkins died in 1882. He was succeeded by F B H Bridges (1882–96), since whose time there have been a further eight rectors of Rivenhall.

Notes

- 1 Lanham Green is first recorded by name in 1709: ERO D/ABR 16/49. It is also marked on the maps of 1777 and 1801.
- 2 ERO D/DV 191/31.
- 3 Withie's Green is first recorded by name on the 1777 map.
- 4 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 120.
- 5 ERO D/DU 309/1.
- 6 PRO *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1396, 42. For reference to the Peasants' Revolt, see W H Liddell and R G Wood (eds), *Essex and the Great Revolt of 1381*, 1982, ERO Publ'n 84, 95.
- 7 He also left Norfolk's (Wright's Farm) and 'Mynges alias Minches' (Stisted parish). PRO Wills PROB/11, 68; PRO Inq post mortem C 142/207/66.
- 8 ERO QB Cal.
- 9 ERO QSr 68/25.
- 10 ERO D/DU 751/15.
- 11 ERO D/DHt T254/3.
- 12 The name is descriptive of the crooked shape of the field containing the spring — Old Norse *vrangr* — cf Field 1972, 262.
- 13 ERO D/DU 751/23.
- 14 ERO D/DU 191/11.
- 15 An illustration of 1842 is contained in Hawkins nd, 36.
- 16 ERO Q/RTh 1, Q/RTh 5.
- 17 It also held lands in Cressing, Stisted, Braintree and Bocking.
- 18 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 19 Shown on the 1822 map and, following enlargement, in the OS 1:2500 map (1875).
- 20 ERO D/DYa 2.
- 21 PRO SC2/173/50.
- 22 ERO D/ABW 26/247.
- 23 PRO Wills PROB/11, 181.
- 24 Parish Rate Book [1820], p 30. The same source names the property as 'Porter's Farm', an appellation which seems to have lasted less than five years. There was no connection between this and the other farm known as Porter's in the southern part of Rivenhall. Also short-lived was the name Sack's Farm, after the occupier in the early 1800s.
- 25 The figure supplied in the detailed survey of Withie's Green Farm by its new owner in 1822. ERO D/DDw P19.
- 26 PRO SC2/173/50.
- 27 While there is no doubt that Thomas Tusser was a native of Rivenhall, and that he lived in the Lanham triangle, it has not been possible to pinpoint his birthplace. It has been claimed by J Tarlton that Lanham Manor Farm was his home (*Essex Review*, 47 (1938), 15), no

- supporting evidence has been cited. The Tussers do not feature in the recorded history of the manor, and it seems more likely that they were connected only with the more modest farms in the vicinity of Withie's Green.
- 28 First recorded on the 1777 map.
 29 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 30 ERO D/DBm M482.
 31 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 32 The Churchwardens' Accounts for 1723 separately record the rental for 'Sparksland'.
 33 PRO SC2/170/50.
 34 ERO D/DU 309/1.
 35 ERO Q/RTh 5.
 36 ERO D/DU 309/1. Other mentions include: a rental of 1730, D/DNm M482; and John Summerson's will of 1733, D/ABR 21/221.
 37 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 38 PRO D/L 30/58/723.
 39 ERO D/DPr 145.
 40 ERO Q/Sr 56/53, p 227.
 41 Wheler's lands were described *temp* Henry VIII: PRO SC2/173/50.
 42 ERO D/DU 309/1.
 43 ERO D/DBm M482.
 44 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 45 As is shown by a pencil annotation on a copy of the 1875 OS map, used as an estate map for Field's Farm (ERO).
 46 PRO SC2/173/50.
 47 ERO D/ABR 21/221.
 48 ERO D/DU 309/4.
 49 ERO D/ACRI 91.
 50 ERO D/ABR 16/49. Nicholas Prentice appears in the 1662 and later Hearth Tax returns, having one hearth, ERO Q/RTh 1.
 51 ERO D/DBm M482.
 52 PRO SC2/173/50.
 53 ERO D/Du 309/8.
 54 There was a cottage on LP 443B in 1801.
 55 ERO D/DU 309/6.
 56 ERO D/DBm M482.
 57 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 58 *ibid*.
 59 There may have been a confusion here between New Farm, Rivenhall, and New House Farm, Cressing, which is nearby but unconnected; see Fig 63, nos 28 and 34.
 60 ERO D/DYa 6.
 61 ERO D/DYa 7.
 62 ERO D/DWe T49.
 63 PRO Cal Essex Assize Files 35/18/4B: 36.
 64 PRO Wills PROB/11, 68; ERO D/DBm M482.
 65 ERO D/DU 309/3.
 66 ERO Q/RTh 1, etc.
 67 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 68 *Feet of Fines for Essex*.
 69 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 70 ERO D/DBm M482.
 71 ERO D/DU 309/3.
 72 p 143; ERO D/DYa 6.
 73 ERO D/DBw 81; also in 1435, Reaney 1935, 296; and in 1460, D/DYa 8.
- 74 ERO D/DWe T49.
 75 ERO D/DWe T48.
 76 PRO Cal Essex Assize Files 35/18/4B: 36.
 77 Imported antiquities are not rare in the vicinity: Felix Hall, Kelvedon was packed with Classical artefacts; and there are hints that there may have been some at Rivenhall Place, together with the fragments of old London Bridge, which were later moved to Rose Cottage; p 174.
 78 ERO D/DYa 8.
 79 ERO D/DYa 10.
 80 See also Reaney 1935, 286.
 81 ERO D/DDw T42.
 82 ERO D/DU 309/1.
 83 ERO D/DWe T48.
 84 ERO Q/Sr 84/41, 63.
 85 ERO D/DU 309/5.
 86 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 87 ERO D/DBm M482; also for 1727, and perhaps 1736 'Cutley Croft'.
 88 ERO D/DU 309/3 and 309/8.
 89 ERO D/DU 309/8.
 90 A mid 19th century pencil drawing of the boulder is preserved in Hawkins nd, 92; the accompanying note is, however, unreliable, since Hawkins confusingly wrote about the occurrence of septaria, not sarsen. Sarsen boulders occur naturally in northern Essex and Hertfordshire, but many of them have clearly been used as boundary markers at some early date (probably pre-medieval); others have been placed as foundation corner stones in Anglo-Saxon churches. The name 'Mungo' suggests an early naming of the stone; it was still *in situ* in the 1950s, when M R Hull recorded its position in the county map archive at Colchester Museum.
 91 Reaney 1935, 296.
 92 Boars Tye Oak was marked on the 1875 OS map, and magnificently illustrated in 1836 (Hawkins nd, 90). King Stephen's Oak which, according to local tradition, was supposed to have been planted in the reign of that monarch, was similarly marked by the OS and illustrated by a watercolour in 1836 (*ibid*, 140). The oak was then in an advanced state of decline, although it survived into the present century. The tree that is today known as the Rivenhall Oak, at the three-way junction between Church Road and Rickstone's Road, was only planted in the 1920s, but apparently recalls the site of another lost and notable tree; it had gone before 1875, but the cottages adjoining were then known as Oak Place.
 93 ERO D/DWe T34 and T48
 94 Not to be confused with Launderfield and Wood, near Rivenhall Hall; see p 126.
 95 ERO D/DWe T34, T48.
 96 ERO D/DYr 48.
 97 ERO D/ABR 9/78.
 98 ERO D/DBm M482.
 99 Hawkins nd, 90.

- 100 Former Templars' lands in Cressing parish were also tithe-exempt, and separately distinguished in the Tithe Award of 1842. ERO D/CT 109. The same applied to a limited extent in Witham parish: see Rodwell 1993.
- 101 ERO D/ACR 5; the land was then being ploughed.
- 102 ERO D/Du 309/1.
- 103 The Tithe Award agrees with sale particulars of 1808 recorded in the 1820 Parish Rate Book.
- 104 Reaney 1935, 20, 616.
- 105 ERO D/DYa 2.
- 106 ERO D/DU 191/31.
- 107 ERO D/DU 191/12.
- 108 Details of Wyseman's acquisitions are not fully recorded. He purchased the manor of Archer's and its park in 1566 (p 152); in 1569 he bought Storey's Farm (p 154), and in the following year the small holdings of Wright's Farm (p. 143), Pynceys (LP 115–17), Skinners and Busthold (unidentified). A 2 acre plot called Pettie Croft was added in 1573, and the manor of Bourchier's Hall in 1576 (p 150). He bought Chapman's, Rolph's Farm and 27 acres in 1574 (p 144); and in 1588 had 'lately purchased' Groveland (p 145), Page's (Appleford, p 172) and Groom's Farm (p 147). In 1590 Wyseman bought the manor of Rivenhall Hall and the advowson of the rectory (p 155), while in 1592 he was leasing out Perry Field (LP 315–17), which suggests that he had also acquired Pond Farm (p 169). The final record of purchase comes in 1599, when he acquired two further properties in the same part of the parish, Gilgrove's (p 169) and Shipcock's Croft (p 169).
- 109 *Complete Peerage* 5, 137.
- 110 *Eg Cal Charter Rolls*, 1327–41, 191.
- 111 *Eg Reaney* 1935, 295–6; and ERO D/DU 191/11.
- 112 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1476–85, 495.
- 113 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 9, no 239.
- 114 *Cal Charter Rolls*, 1327–41, 191.
- 115 *Cal Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, 296.
- 116 *Complete Peerage*, 2, 250.
- 117 *ibid*, 248–9.
- 118 *Eg Feet of Fines for Essex*, 4, 250.
- 119 *Cal Patent Rolls* 1555–7, 550.
- 120 *Complete Peerage*, 9, 674.
- 121 *ibid*, 5, 140.
- 122 ERO D/DWe T36.
- 123 ERO T/A 264/1, 2.
- 124 ERO Q/SBb 365/36.
- 125 ERO D/ABR 31/198.
- 126 RCHM 1922, 194.
- 127 For a report on the granary, see ERO T/P 198/7. A photographic record of the buildings was made by the National Monuments Record in 1967: BB68/2479–85.
- 128 ERO D/DBw M86.
- 129 PRO Inq post mortem E152/72/11.
- 130 ERO D/DWe T37.
- 131 ERO D/DWe T48.
- 132 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 133 ERO D/DWe T37. Although not named, the description leaves no doubt where the boundary lay.
- 134 VCH 1903, 514.
- 135 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 3, 95. Robert's seal was illustrated in *Trans Essex Archaeol Soc* 2, 55.
- 136 Morant 1768, 2, 514.
- 137 ERO D/DYa 4. See also the rental of a tenement by Robert Archer in 1384–5, p 140; ERO D/DPr 145.
- 138 Eg another Robert Archer is mentioned in 1438–9, ERO D/DPr 145.
- 139 *ibid*.
- 140 PRO D/L 30/58/723.
- 141 If 'Archeresgrene' was at the north end of the parish, it would have to be regarded as an alternative name for Withie's Green. The enigma remains.
- 142 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 143 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 144 ERO D/DWe T41. For Wyseman's property acquisitions, see note 108.
- 145 ERO D/DWe T34, T48.
- 146 ERO T/A 264/2, 358–64.
- 147 ERO D/DWe T42.
- 148 ERO D/DWe T49.
- 149 ERO D/DHt T254/3.
- 150 PRO SC2/173/50.
- 151 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 152 Clement Smyth's property in 1552 included a croft called *Rokelles* (PRO Inq post mortem C142 98/9). Rook Farm, Cressing, is one possible location, and Rook Hall, Kelvedon, is another; alternatively the croft may have been near Rolph's Wood which in the 19th century was also known as Ruggles Wood. The Ruggles family did not have property in this part of Rivenhall, and the name could easily be a corruption of *Rokelles*.
- 153 In 1440 'le moore' abutted 'Archeresgardyn' and 'Archeresgrene'.
- 154 Clement Smyth's property in 1552 included land called *Polcattes*: PRO C142 98/9. The only certain record of this name locally is in Cressing.
- 155 The stated total amounts to c 73 acres more than the apparent sum of the components, but there are severe difficulties in reading some of the entries.
- 156 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 157 PRO Wills PROB/11, 65.
- 158 ERO D/DXr 48.
- 159 ERO D/DWe T34.
- 160 ERO D/P 107/25/1.
- 161 ERO Q/RTh 1, 5, 8/9, etc.
- 162 PRO Inq post mortem C142 98/9.
- 163 ERO D/DWe T42.
- 164 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1, no 854.
- 165 PRO *Book of Fees*, 1, 236.
- 166 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1247–58, 124.
- 167 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1, no 367.
- 168 See references given in *Complete Peerage* (1916), 11, 499, note g; but cf *ibid*, 11, appendix

- J. Complete Peerage* makes William the father of Peter, but cf *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1, no 367.
- 169 *Complete Peerage*, 11, 499–500.
- 170 *Feet of Fines for Essex* 1, 278.
- 171 *Cal Close Rolls*, 1272–9, 207.
- 172 *Complete Peerage*, 11, 500–4; *Cal Inq post mortem*, 6, no 593.
- 173 *Cal Fine Rolls*, 12, 215.
- 174 *Complete Peerage*, 11, 507.
- 175 *ibid.*
- 176 *ibid.*
- 177 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 4, 61.
- 178 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1476–7; Morant 1768, 2, 146.
- 179 ERO D/DWe T50.
- 180 Morant 1768, 2, 146.
- 181 *Dictionary of National Biography*, 7, 942.
- 182 ERO D/DU 99/12.
- 183 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1557–8, 50–1.
- 184 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 185 Morant 1768, 2, 146.
- 186 Morant 1768, 2, 42.
- 187 ERO D/DWe T37.
- 188 ERO D/DE T1.
- 189 ERO D/DE T1.
- 190 ERO D/DWe T48.
- 191 ERO D/DWe T37.
- 192 ERO D/DWe T37.
- 193 ERO D/DWe T16.
- 194 ERO D/DWe T16.
- 195 *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage* (1892 edn), 1437.
- 196 ERO C/TS 85.
- 197 ERO C/TS 85.
- 198 ERO C/TS 85, 124.
- 199 ERO C/TS 85, 124.
- 200 ERO C/T 1247.
- 201 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 202 ERO D/ABR 10/286.
- 203 ERO Q/RTh 1, etc.
- 204 The earliest recorded mention of the name would appear to be in the 1820 Parish Rate Book.
- 205 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 1529.
- 206 ERO D/DWe T48.
- 207 Illustrated in 1835 in Hawkins nd, 46.
- 208 ERO D/DFa T73.
- 209 ERO D/DBw M86.
- 210 ERO D/DBw M83.
- 211 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 212 Northants Record Office BH (K) 368.
- 213 Parish Rate Book, 1820, 11; it appears similarly in the 1818 account.
- 214 ERO D/DU 191/11. This was a Cressing Temple Rental.
- 215 ERO D/DU 191/12.
- 216 ERO Q/RTh 1.
- 217 PRO Wills D/ACR 1.
- 218 ERO D/DWe T48.
- 219 ERO D/DWe T48.
- 220 ERO D/DBw M83.
- 221 ERO Q/RTh 1.
- 222 ERO D/DBw M83, M86. These include further leases of 1669 and 1686.
- 223 PRO D/L 30/58/723.
- 224 ERO D/DU 191/11.
- 225 Eg Morant 1768, 2, 147.
- 226 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 1, 49.
- 227 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1, no 239.
- 228 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1, nos 444 and 489.
- 229 *ibid.*, 4, no 429; *Cal Fine Rolls*, 2, 180, 187. John Martell's heir in 1261 was his brother William.
- 230 *Book of Fees*, 1347.
- 231 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 15, no 1015.
- 232 *Cal Close Rolls*, 1381–5, 471.
- 233 *Feudal Aids*, 6, 439.
- 234 *Cal Close Rolls*, 1422–9, 231.
- 235 *Cal Fine Rolls*, 16, 42. According to Morant (1768, 2, 147), after the death of William Doreward in 1439, Hoo Hall went to his sister, Elizabeth Mortimer.
- 236 Morant 1768, 2, 148.
- 237 *ibid.*
- 238 *ibid.*
- 239 PRO C142 98/9. *Inq 7EdVI*, Jan 30.
- 240 *Cal Patent Rolls* 1566–9, no 383. The acreage of his estates (*c* 500 acres) is rather higher than later estimates (*c* 400 acres), eg ERO D/DHt T2 18/1. Other lands may have been included in the earlier figure, perhaps Durward's Hall.
- 241 NRO (Northants Record Office) BH (K) 342.
- 242 Morant 1768 2, 148.
- 243 NRO BH (K) 343.
- 244 NRO BH (K) 352.
- 245 ERO D/DHt T218/1.
- 246 NRO BH (K) 344–5.
- 247 NRO BH (K) 65.
- 248 NRO BH (K) 302.
- 249 NRO BH (K) 353–4.
- 250 Rivenhall Parish Registers (inf Revd D Nash). However, in 1789 Henry Blackbourn was described as 'of Hoo Hall', though in 1793 Benjamin Lake died there: ERO D/DU 309/7.
- 251 Memorial plaque M9 in Rivenhall church, Pl XVa.
- 252 ERO D/DBw T34.
- 253 ERO D/DHt T218/1 and D/DSx 229.
- 254 ERO T/A 264/2, no 352.
- 255 ERO D/DHt T218/1.
- 256 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 1529.
- 257 ERO D/DSx 229.
- 258 ERO D/DBw 81.
- 259 ERO D/DBw M86.
- 260 ERO T/A 264/2, no 365. It is not unlikely that 'Wellcroft' could be an erroneous rendering of 'Webbcroft'.
- 261 ERO T/A 264/2, nos 342–5.
- 262 *ibid.*, 353–4.
- 263 PRO Inq post mortem C138/32/14 and *Cal Close Rolls*, 1384.
- 264 Hawkins nd, 30.
- 265 ERO D/DBw T34.
- 266 ERO D/P 107/3/1.

- 267 The earliest mention of the name is on the 1716 map.
- 268 PRO Inq post mortem 1383, C138/32/14 and *Cal Close Rolls*, 1384.
- 269 *ibid*.
- 270 Reaney 1935, 616, 263.
- 271 ERO D/ABW 29/152.
- 272 ERO Q/Sr 87/37 159.
- 273 ERO Q/Sr 163/31, 19.
- 274 ERO Q/RTh 9/7.
- 275 ERO D/DU 742/514.
- 276 ERO D/DU 309/1, D/ABR 16/49 and D/DBm M482.
- 277 ERO Churchwardens' Accounts 1772, and D/DU 309/8.
- 278 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 279 RCHM 1922, 195.
- 280 Reaney 1935, 296.
- 281 ERO D/ABW 8/235.
- 282 ERO D/DWe T34.
- 283 ERO D/DYa 1.
- 284 ERO D/DYa 1.
- 285 Reaney 1935, 296. This is not to be confused with Groom's Farm.
- 286 ERO D/DWe T44.
- 287 ERO T/A 264/2, 1693–1706.
- 288 ERO D/ACR 1/159.
- 289 ERO D/DWe T43.
- 290 The name Whiteland probably superseded Whalesland simply as a contra-distinction to Blacksmith's land, a medieval pun.
- 291 Busshe Aker is not to be confused with Bushey Piece, LP 392, which was only half an acre in extent and was never associated with Pond Farm.
- 292 Eg in 1592, when it was leased out by Ralph Wyseman: ERO D/DWe T34.
- 293 ERO Parish Rate Books 1749 and 1750.
- 294 ERO D/DBw T34.
- 295 Hawkins nd, 48.
- 296 Reaney 1935, 296.
- 297 ERO D/ABW 29/152.
- 298 ERO Q/Sr 80/63, 112.
- 299 ERO D/DU 309/1.
- 300 ERO D/DU 309/1.
- 301 ERO D/DBm M482.
- 302 ERO D/ABR 20/500.
- 303 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 304 ERO D/DVb 15.
- 305 Hawkins nd, 44, 134.
- 306 ERO D/ABW 6/128 (1602); also D/ABW 7/269 (1619).
- 307 ERO Q/RTh 1, 8/9.
- 308 ERO D/DBm M482.
- 309 ERO D/DU 309/5.
- 310 Hawkins nd, 28; the watercolour is undated.
- 311 ERO D/DBm M482; and rental was paid in 1730.
- 312 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 313 Hawkins nd, 56.
- 314 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 315 ERO D/DBm M482.
- 316 ERO D/DU 309/5.
- 317 ERO D/DBm M482; likewise in 1796, D/DU 309B.
- 318 ERO D/DU 309/1.
- 319 ERO D/DBm M482.
- 320 ERO D/DU 309/5; and again referred to in 1775.
- 321 ERO D/ABW 35/16.
- 322 S H Moore (ed), *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste* (1897).
- 323 Reaney 1935, 295.
- 324 Sheffield City Libraries, Will D 182.
- 325 British Library Computus Eg Roll 2181.
- 326 ERO D/DBw M86.
- 327 ERO T/AS.
- 328 PRO Wills PROB/11, 65.
- 329 ERO D/We T34.
- 330 ERO Churchwardens' Accounts.
- 331 ERO D/DWe T41.
- 332 Eg ERO D/DWe T34 (1588) and Q/Sr 196/33 (1611).
- 333 VCH 1963, 150.
- 334 Some are shown in Vol 1, Fig 3, but surface finds and subsequent aerial photography show that Durward's lies amidst this roadside settlement.
- 335 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 1284.
- 336 *Cal Close Rolls*, 1382.
- 337 ERO D/DYa 4.
- 338 ERO D/DYa 1, where John Doreward witnessed the granting of land to Thomas Gyldegroom, the originator of Gilgroves Farm p 169).
- 339 Feet of Fines for Essex, 1445.
- 340 Feet of Fines for Essex, 1546.
- 341 Morant 1816, 2, 148.
- 342 PRO Wills PROB/11, 177.
- 343 ERO D/ABR 12.
- 344 ERO Q/RTh 1, etc.
- 345 Hawkins nd, 34.
- 346 Churchwardens' Accounts 1850. An illustration of the house in 1855 is contained in Hawkins nd, 32.
- 347 ERO D/DU 309/3.
- 348 ERO D/DBm M482.
- 349 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 350 Hawkins nd, 56.
- 351 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 352 ERO D/DU 309/3.
- 353 Deeds of the property, privately owned.
- 354 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 355 Privately owned deeds. These tenements were known as Rivenhall Hall Cottages, a name which was later applied to tenements north of the Hall.
- 356 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 357 Hawkins nd, 70.
- 358 ERO D/DU 309/3.
- 359 ERO D/DU 309/5.
- 360 ERO D/DU 309/3.
- 361 ERO D/DU 309/4.
- 362 ERO D/DU 309/8.
- 363 ERO D/DOp M7.
- 364 ERO D/DU 309/5.

- 365 *ibid.*
366 Guildhall Library ms 9556.
367 Wright 1836, 1, 259.
368 Hawkins nd, 74.
369 ERO C/TR A12 165.
370 ERO D/DU 309/7.
371 ERO D/DU 309/8.
372 *ibid.*
373 *ibid.*
374 *ibid.*
375 *ibid.*
376 *ibid.*
377 *ibid.*
378 ERO C/T 1247.
379 ERO D/DU 309/8.
380 *ibid.*
381 *ibid.*
382 *ibid.*
383 *ibid.*
384 *ibid.*
385 ERO D/ABR 35/446.
386 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1848.
387 Hawkins nd, 96.
388 Churchwardens' Accounts, 1872.
389 ERO D/DU 309/8.
390 Hawkins nd, 24.
391 This map is marked no 4, and was clearly part of a set, about which nothing whatever is known.
392 ERO D/CT 405, surveyed 1839: LP 497, 508, 535–9, 541, 542.
393 ER0T/B 71.
394 Excluding LP 403–5 and 407, clearly a separate holding which was later amalgamated with Stovern's.
395 PRO *Cat Ancient Deeds*. T/A8, deed no L 1012.
396 See note 322.
397 *op. cit.*, note 393.
398 Witham Tithe parcel 506. In 1608 this was three closes (12 ac) called 'Paines Hearne', *ibid.*
399 Referred to in 1608 as 'Patrige Lane', also 'Thurt overway', *ibid.*
400 ERO D/DB 89.
401 ERO D/DA E8.
402 ERO D/DQs 14; the farm was then temporarily called Porter's
403 Guildhall Library ms 9628/4.
404 ERO D/DBw M83.
405 ERO D/DBw M83. The name derives from the Cressing family; latterly called Bareham.
406 See note 393.
407 A possible site for this is discussed in Rodwell 1993, and fig 23.
408 Noted in the Churchwardens' Books.
409 PRO D/L 30/58/723.
410 ERO Q/RTh 1, 5.
411 Guildhall Library, Diocese Books 9556.
412 Hawkins nd, 14, 40, 71.
413 ERO Chancellor plans, no 49.
414 ERO C/TE 2200.
415 Hawkins nd, 42.
416 *Cal Inq post mortem*, 1, 293.
417 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1266–72, 283. *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 1, 259.
418 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1266–72, 283.
419 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 1, 279. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1265–72, 283.
420 *Feet of Fines for Essex*, 2, 31.
421 Probably the king claimed the wardship because Peter was a cleric; *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1247–58, 410.
422 *Cal Close Rolls*, 1279–88, 57.
423 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–8, 240.
424 *Cat Ancient Deeds*, 3, 538.
425 *ibid.*, 536.
426 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
427 *Cat Ancient Deeds*, 3, 539.
428 *ibid.*, 539, 543.
429 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
430 *Cat Ancient Deeds*, 3, 538.
431 *ibid.*, 538. *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1416–22, 365.
432 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
433 *Feet of Fines*, 4, 61.
434 *ibid.*, 62.
435 Newcourt 1710, 2, 494–5.
436 ERO D/DU 99/12.
437 ERO D/DWe T49, 50.
438 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
439 *ibid.*, 495.
440 ERO T/A 264.
441 ERO T/A 547.
442 ERO C/TE 2200. In 1921, the Revd A Hunt was presented by A E Western.
443 J Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1924): James Goldwell; John Wood; Clement Rochester; Henry Crane; Richard Argall; Richard Strutt; William Hatsell; Shirley Western; Thomas Walsingham Western; John Lewis; and F B H Bridges.
J Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (1891): George Lisle and Bradford Denne Hawkins. James Goldwell also attended Oxford before 1500.
444 A B Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the twelfth century* (1935), 4.
445 *Cal Inq post mortem* 1, no 367.
446 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1247–58, 410.
447 P H Reaney, 'Early Essex Clergy', *Essex Review*, 49–55.
448 *Cal Patent Rolls*, 1334–38, 528.
449 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1.2, 230.
450 Newcourt 1708, 1, 71.
451 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1.2, 230.
452 *Dictionary of National Biography*, 8, 96.
453 PRO PROB/II.
454 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
455 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1.4, 452.
456 PRO PROB/II.
457 Newcourt 1710, 2, 677; 2, 495.
458 ERO D/AER 88/146.
459 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
460 ERO D/ABW 5/194.
461 ERO D/ACA 16, fo 128.
462 Newcourt 1710, 2, 495.
463 ERO D/ACA 51, fo 48.
464 ERO T/A 547.

- 465 ERO T/A547.
466 A G Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934).
467 PRO PROB/II/334.
468 *Dictionary of National Biography*, 25, 24;
Guildhall ms 9556.
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- 470 *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.
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473 Guildhall ms 9556.
474 ERO T/Z 124.
475 Rivenhall Churchwardens' Account Books
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Addendum to volume 1

Watching briefs at Rivenhall Church, 1988–91

by David Andrews and Howard Brooks

This brief addendum has been compiled from notes and archive reports lodged in the Sites and Monuments Record, relating to watching briefs carried out in 1988–91 by the Archaeology Section, Essex County Council, during a series of works which included: partial replastering of the nave walls, a major restoration of the roofs, and the dismantling of the Wyseman monument in the chancel. These observations augment the evidence and reinforce (and in some details modify) deductions made in Vol 1 concerning the structural history of the church.

(WR)

The tops of the north and south nave walls

Removal of the cornices at the base of the 19th century lath and plaster ceiling, to enable timber treatment to be carried out, exposed the tops of the walls on the north and south sides of the nave. The westernmost 5 m of both walls had been rebuilt in brick subsequent to the collapse of the tower in c1714. Before that date, it seems, the wall tops had already been rebuilt since the wall-plates bedded on the rubble masonry on the eastern parts of the walls were not original, but were composite, and made up of reused timbers. Features noted included a splayed scarf joint and housings for rafter feet, the latter indicating that the timber probably came from a domestic context rather than elsewhere in the church. At the time of the c 1717 rebuild, the plaster on the wall was carried up and over the face of the wall-plates. The 18th century plaster was whitish, whereas the 1838–9 plaster was brownish, and had added horse hair. There was a similar difference in the colour of the mortar in the 18th and 19th century brickwork. The early 18th century bricks, which were laid in English bond, measured 205–10 x 100–5 x 55–60 mm, and tended to be dark red and well fired. The 1838–9 bricks measured 225 x 110 x 65 mm.

A tie-beam was exposed in the west wall of the nave, now contiguous with the tower. The relationship of the beam to the wall-plate and adjacent brickwork indicated that not only had the wall top been rebuilt in Period 7B, but so had the west end of the roof, presumably as a consequence of the fall of the tower in c 1714 (Vol 1, p 154).

In the south-west corner of the church, the foot of an earlier roof truss was exposed, incorporated in

the west wall. The inclination of this suggested a roof pitch of about 52 degrees.

The masonry of the north and south nave walls

The plaster was removed from the inside faces of these walls to a height of 1.9 m for treatment against dry rot. The south wall showed a clear rebuild in its western half, the earlier masonry having Roman brick levelling courses, and the later work being built over the earlier and being characterized by neatly coursed flints of fairly uniform size (50–80 mm). Both builds were bonded with what seemed to be little more than brickearth with a small amount of added lime, a rather harder and better mix being present in the earlier build.

Apparently contemporary with the later build was a holy water stoup 30 cm wide and 45 cm high, beside the east jamb of the south door (Fig 90). The top of this was plastered and had once been painted red. The bottom was rough and misshapen, representing the void left by the removal of the stone stoup. It had been filled with bricks which looked 19th century in character, and perhaps dated from the 1838–9 restoration (when the south doorway was infilled and became disused: Vol 1, p 161).

Towards the east end of the south wall there was another recess, very damaged but approximately rectilinear in shape, c 45 cm wide and 60 cm high, with some surviving fragments of internal plaster. This feature seems to have been cut into the earlier masonry at the time the wall was rebuilt. A void in the back of the recess, covered by a Roman brick, could have been a putlog hole. Since this feature corresponded with both a (Roman) brick course and the level of the rebuild, it could be that the wall was taken down to the top of a former lift. This seems to have been the case in the western portion of the wall, where the rebuild began above a brick levelling course. The lifts in this section seem to have been c 30 cm high.

The eastern recess was blocked with bricks which looked 17th–18th century in date. The feature may be interpreted as a piscina or aumbry associated with a medieval altar that stood at the east end of the nave, against the southern flank of the chancel arch.

The north wall did not have such an obvious story to tell, partly because it was badly stained with chemicals when inspected. The masonry, which includes a little Roman brick, is coursed, but not in the characteristically regular fashion of the south

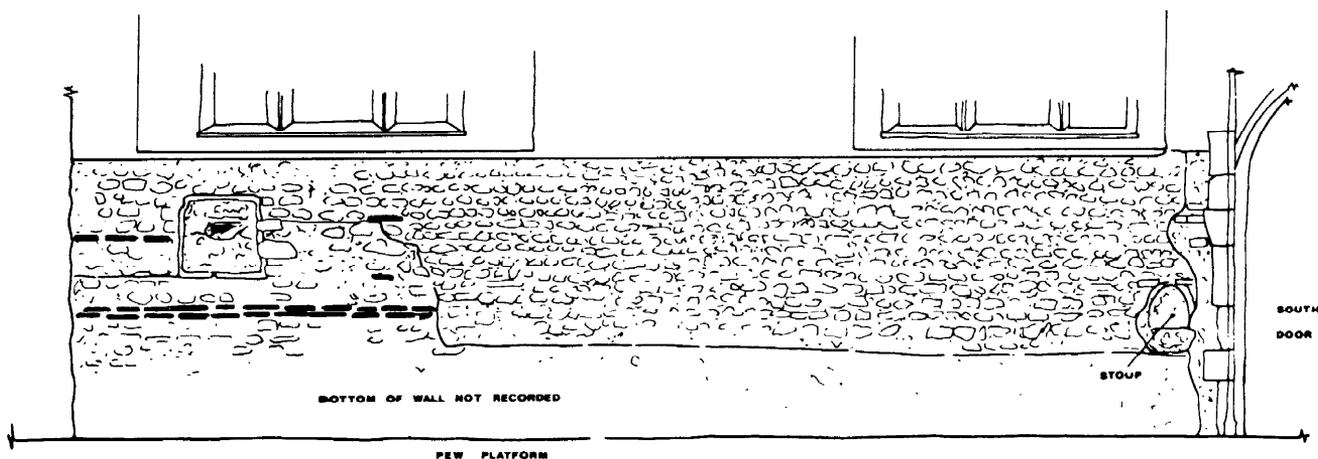


Figure 90 Sketch elevation of the lower part of the south wall of the nave, showing the remains of a rectangular piscina (left) and a small stoup with an arched head beside the south door. The level from which the wall was rebuilt, probably in the 14th century, can also be seen. Scale c 1:48

wall. It is bonded with a harder and more sandy mortar than the builds in the south wall.

The integration of these builds into the structural sequence proposed for the church is not a straightforward matter, beyond saying that they are earlier than the doorway arches and the windows (Period 6), but they cannot be related directly to the previously observed builds. However, the contrast in the south wall between the earlier build with the Roman brick levelling courses, and the later one with the neatly coursed and well-sorted flints, may be compared with the north chancel wall where a similar contrast exists between the masonry at the bottom of the wall and that higher up (Vol 1, Fig 90). This change in masonry has been discussed (Vol 1, p 136), and the possibility considered that it represents either a different period of work, or a temporary stoppage. If the analogy made between these two walls holds good, then the masonry change undoubtedly indicates a rebuild. It is one that must have occurred fairly early in the life of the stone church; the origins of this are assigned to the 10th century. The window in the north chancel wall, with its 'Tredington' fashion head which cannot be dated much later than the 11th century, is located in masonry which seems to represent a later phase than that with the neatly coursed flints.

Chancel roof

Repair of the chancel roof in 1990 enabled observation of the wall top on the north side. When the moulded plaster cornice of the 1839 ceiling vault was cut away, a medieval inner wall-plate was revealed behind it. This was infested with death watch beetle, and was totally removed; a section was retained for dendrochronological study. The building contractor reported that there was a simi-

larly positioned plate on the south wall of the chancel, but this was not examined in detail.

The surviving north wall-plate was set on the inner edge of the wall, and was in three lengths; in cross-section it measured 14–15 cm square. The south (inner) face of the plate was ornamented with a simple ogee moulding and a small bead. The roof was of three bays, and the two tie-beams supporting the intermediate trusses were removed during the 1839 restoration: their housings were infilled with brickwork. The tie-beams were shown in a watercolour of the church interior in 1835 (Vol 1, Pl XXXIIa).

The wall-plates were set between the tie-beams, into the sides of which the plate ends were tenoned (not trenched, as hypothesized in Vol 1, Fig 104). The tenons had been sawn off in 1839, in order to withdraw the tie-beams without disturbing the wall-plates. The width of the eastern tie-beam was established as having been 20 cm. There was a regular series of small dovetail housings cut into the top surface of the wall-plate, and these had later been infilled with pieces of tile and mortar, presumably when the old roof was removed. The dovetails were outward-pointing, indicating that there had once been sole-pieces tying the inner wall-plate to an outer one (now missing, and presumably removed during the 1839 restoration). The arrangement where the plate abutted the east and west chancel walls was not seen, but there cannot have been full trusses at the ends, owing to the presence of the chancel arch and east window. The architect reported an upright timber embedded in the west wall of the chancel: this must have been one of the medieval ashlar pieces.

The conclusion must be that the construction of the chancel roof at Rivenhall was closely similar to that at the nearby church of St Nicholas, Little Coggeshall (Hewett 1982, fig 7); the reconstruction

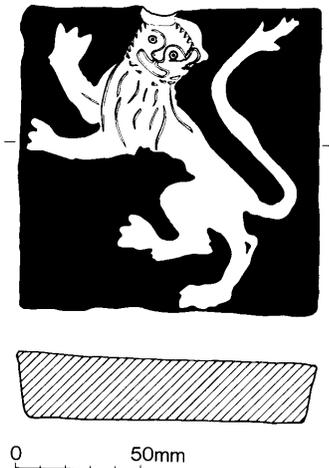


Figure 91 Medieval floor tile with stencilled and line-impressed design (cf Fig 5). Scale 1:3

proposed in Vol 1 (Fig 104) needs only slight modification.

Dendrochronological examination at London Museum, by Ian Tyers, of two sections of the Rivenhall wall-plate demonstrated that the latest extant growth ring dated to 1284. Allowing for sapwood, a felling date around 1300 would seem to be indicated. This provides confirmation that the roof structure destroyed in 1839 belonged to the Period 6B reconstruction of the chancel, for which a date of c 1325 has been argued on architectural grounds (Vol 1, pp 143–4).

It was noted that a reddish-brown paint had been applied to the wall-plate, and was later covered by limewash. The paint was probably associated with an 18th century decorative scheme.

The nineteenth century chancel roof

Opening of the previously sealed roof space for repair allowed the early Victorian construction to be examined and recorded. This was entirely of softwood, with no reused timbers. Carpenters' assembly marks were observed near the feet of the rafters at the north-east corner of the roof: the numbers seen were 32-4. Three vertical strokes crossed horizontally indicated 30, while the units were added in conventional Roman numerals: II, III and IV

The chancel arch

The crown of the medieval (Period 6B) chancel arch was discovered in the roof space, above the chancel ceiling. The moulding profile was recorded and found to match exactly that of the inserted lower arch of 1839 (Vol 1, Fig 110.19). This discovery implies that the medieval responds were retained in

1839, being reused to carry the new arch: the crown was lowered and the responds were heightened in order to accommodate the flattish three-centred profile, in place of the tall pointed arch (cf Vol 1, Figs 104 and 120).

The voussoirs of the arch were noted to be brick, probably of 'Tudor' type. This would suggest that if had been rebuilt, an observation which would be consistent with the change in the character of the mouldings at a height of c 2.5 to 3.0m (Vol 1, p 142).

The east window

Also visible in the roof space was part of the arch of the medieval east window of the chancel, together with the tops of the jambs, just below springing level. This demonstrates that the present east window is smaller and set somewhat lower in the wall than its Period 6B predecessor (as proposed in Vol 1, Fig 117).

When the internal vertical cracks flanking the east window were raked out, prior to repair in 1988, it was established that these coincided with the reveals of the medieval window, as anticipated (Vol 1, 141, Pl XXXIIIa).

Flue at north-east corner of nave

Upon removal of the wall plaster in the north-east corner of the nave, what looked like a soot trap was found. This connected with a flue which ascended the adjacent angle-turret, and also descended into the floor, where it curved slightly. The flue was lined with stoneware pipes (nine inches in diameter), set within the brickwork of the turret. The scar in the floor could have been connected with a stove, but such a free-standing apparatus is unlikely to have had a flue into the floor.

The church was provided with an under-floor central heating system, installed in 1877 (Vol 1, p 164), the principal duct of which runs under the central aisle. It is likely that subsidiary flues rise from this, and their encapsulation in the corner turrets of the nave would be unexpected. The crenellated tops of the turrets could well have accommodated chimneys. None of the turrets, however, is preserved in its original form: they have either been reduced in height and capped with little 'domes', or the area within the crenellations has been infilled and made solid (this work was carried out in the 1950s).

Discoveries made on the removal of the Wyseman Monument

This monument (p 22, M17; Pls XX, XXI), dating from the turn of the 17th century, was built into a former window embrasure (Vol 1, Fig 105), and it has been suggested above (p 23) that a certain amount of reconstruction may have taken place when the chancel was repaved in 1877-8. Further observations in 1988 showed that there was 18th-19th century brickwork around the monument, and that plastered studwork had been used to infill the

head of the window arch above. On the top of the cornice there are the initials IN, which could be a signature.

In October 1991 the monument was totally dismantled by Harrison Hill Ltd and removed for conservation and temporary display at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the 1992 exhibition 'The Art of Death: Objects for the English Death Ritual, 1500–1800'.

Behind the monument, set back *c* 50 cm from the wall face, two areas of limewashed plaster were exposed. The top of each is curved, and around the more easterly there is a curved pattern in the adjacent rubble walling. It is clear that these features represent the backs of two arched recesses, and since they are at the same level and of similar height, they must be sedilia. A third sedile, found during plaster repairs in 1974 and subsequently left as an open recess, is located immediately to the west.

On the evidence available in 1974, an arrangement of three sedilia and a piscina was postulated (Vol 1, pp 142–3, Fig 101D). There is no trace of the piscina in the area exposed, but a rectangular patch of mortared rubble infilling indicates the site from which it was removed. The more westerly of the plaster patches bears traces of red paint, beneath which are at least two layers of limewash. The painting was in turn covered in limewash.

The blocked chancel window above the monument has now had the lath and plaster removed, which had formed the inside face of the blocking. The upper part of the rear arch of the window is well preserved. It has a low, two-centred arch with chamfered vousoirs; these and the jambs are of green-sand. The dressings of the external window arch itself survive, although the tracery has been removed. The soffit between the outer and inner arches is turned in neat blocks of chalk cut to about the size of a brick. The original plastered and sloping window sill survives at a level which would only just have cleared the sedilia, and which corresponds closely to the sill level of the surviving Romanesque windows in the chancel. The top of the Wyseman monument would originally have projected just above the level of the sill.

On account of the infilling of the outer window arch with 18th–19th century brick, it was suspected that the monument may have been moved. However, Paul Harrison, who dismantled the monument, believed it to be in its original position. The lower part of the structure seemed not to have been disturbed, and the alabaster panels forming the chest clad a core built of Tudor brick. The back of the monument was also 'secured' to the rubble wall by oyster shells, a technique which has been observed elsewhere. The canopy, however, showed clear signs of having been overhauled: the masonry was jointed with iron cramps set in plaster of Paris,

and there was rough brickwork behind, covered with relatively modern cement.

At the same time, the plinth on which the monument stands may also have been renewed, for it consists of a single course of large slabs of grey limestone which look out of character with the rest of the monument, and show very little evidence of wear. The posited renewal ought to have occurred at the same time as the chancel floor was raised slightly in the 1877–8 restoration. However, when the brick base was dismantled, the limestone blocks did not appear to be of a different build, and Llewellyn (1991) considers them an original feature.

The recess cut into the chancel wall to accommodate the monument is lined with Tudor brickwork, in which there is a vertical straight joint. This does not obviously represent two phases of work; instead, it is probable that the inner part was a temporary lining to retain the wall core, and the outer part was erected with the monument.

The brick work

The Tudor bricks measure 235 x 105 x 55–60 mm. They are pale orange-red, regular in appearance, and well made, with creased but fairly smooth surfaces.

The bricks in the window blocking measure 215 x 105 x 60 mm. They are red to dark red in colour, regular in appearance with sharp arrises and smooth but slightly irregular sides (cf Table 1, brick type C, dated 1749). A very few Suffolk Whites (gault bricks) occurred in the blocking; they were smaller than those used in the 1838 restoration (Table 1, brick type E). The window had already been blocked before that date, as a watercolour of 1835 reveals (Vol 1, Pl XXVIII).

Medieval floor tiles

Five floor tiles which had been used as packing material in the construction of the monument were found when it was dismantled. Three measure 120 mm square, and are 22 mm thick. The other two are slightly larger, being 125 mm square and 25 mm thick. The tiles are all in a red fabric with brown glaze. The larger ones, from which most of the glaze has been worn away, were plain and diagonally scored for cutting.

The other three tiles had all been decorated with stencilled patterns in cream slip, although in two cases very little of this survives. The third is decorated with a lion *passant*, using the combined techniques of stencilling and line impression (Fig 91). This is a finer and more complete example than that illustrated on Fig 5.11. These five tiles all belong to Drury's Group 1, discussed on pp 10–12.

References

Abbreviations

ERO	Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford
PRO	Public Record Office, London
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)

Locations of sites and findspots of objects are given according to Areas (A to W), as defined in Vol 1, with Layers, Features and Graves numbered in separate series prefixed L, F and G, respectively

List of Manuscript Maps

References to published Ordnance Survey plans are given according to scale and date of edition. Frequent reference is also made to *A Map of the County of Essex* by John Chapman and Peter André, 1777; there are several published editions. All other maps, unless a specific reference is given, are in manuscript form in the Essex Record Office. These are conveniently identified here in the text by italicized dates. The two most frequently referred to are the Western Estate Survey of 1716 and the Tithe map for Rivenhall of 1839. For a full list of manuscript maps relating to the parish, see F G Emmison (ed) *Catalogue of maps in the Essex Record Office, 1566–1855* (Chelmsford, 1947), together with *First Supplement* (1952), *Second Supplement* (1964), and *Third Supplement* (1968). In chronological order, the maps cited are:

1688

'A True Platt and Description of the Farme called Sheep Cote', by Daniell Bayley. D/DBs.

1716

'Surveys. William Western Esqr, 1716', by Benjamin Fallowes of Maldon. D/DFg 1/1 – 1/25. A very accurate and detailed set of estate surveys from which most of the parish can be reconstructed (Fig 61). The following plans relate to Rivenhall: (6) Parkgate Farm; (7) Rivenhall Place Farm; (8) Ford Farm; (9) Rivenhall Hall; (10) Hoo Hall; (11) Pond Farm; (12) Stoverns Hall; (13) Bowsor's [Bouchier's] Hall; (14) Cricketts [Whitehead's] Farm; (15) Boars Tye Farm; (18) Rivenhall Park (reproduced as Pl XXVII).

1732

'A Survey of Rivenhall Parsonage', by Jer Nicholls. D/DFg 5.

c 1750

Map of Rickstone's Farm, without title, date or surveyor's name. D/P 30/28/17.

1773

Two contemporary surveys of 'The Place Farm' (reproduced as Pl XXIX) and 'Boars Sty Farm', by Robert Dallinger. D/DFg 7 and D/DFg 6.

c 1825

'Rivenhall Place Park', by R Baker of Boreham. Undated. Reproduced as Pl XXX D/DFg 9.

1828

'Rivenhall Estate', unsigned. D/DWe. Shows the extent of the Western estates in Rivenhall.

1839

'Map of the Parish of Rivenhall', by Alfred Rush of Messing. D/CT 290. The Tithe map, redrawn here as Fig 62.

1839a

'Map of the Parish of Bradwell [next Coggeshall]', by Messrs Norris & Dickinson of Wincanton, Somerset. D/CT 45. The Tithe map for Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall.

1842

'Ph of Cressing', unsigned but initialled. D/CT 109. The Tithe map for Cressing.

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Plate 1a Tegula, showing impressions made on the upper face by a hob-nailed boot. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

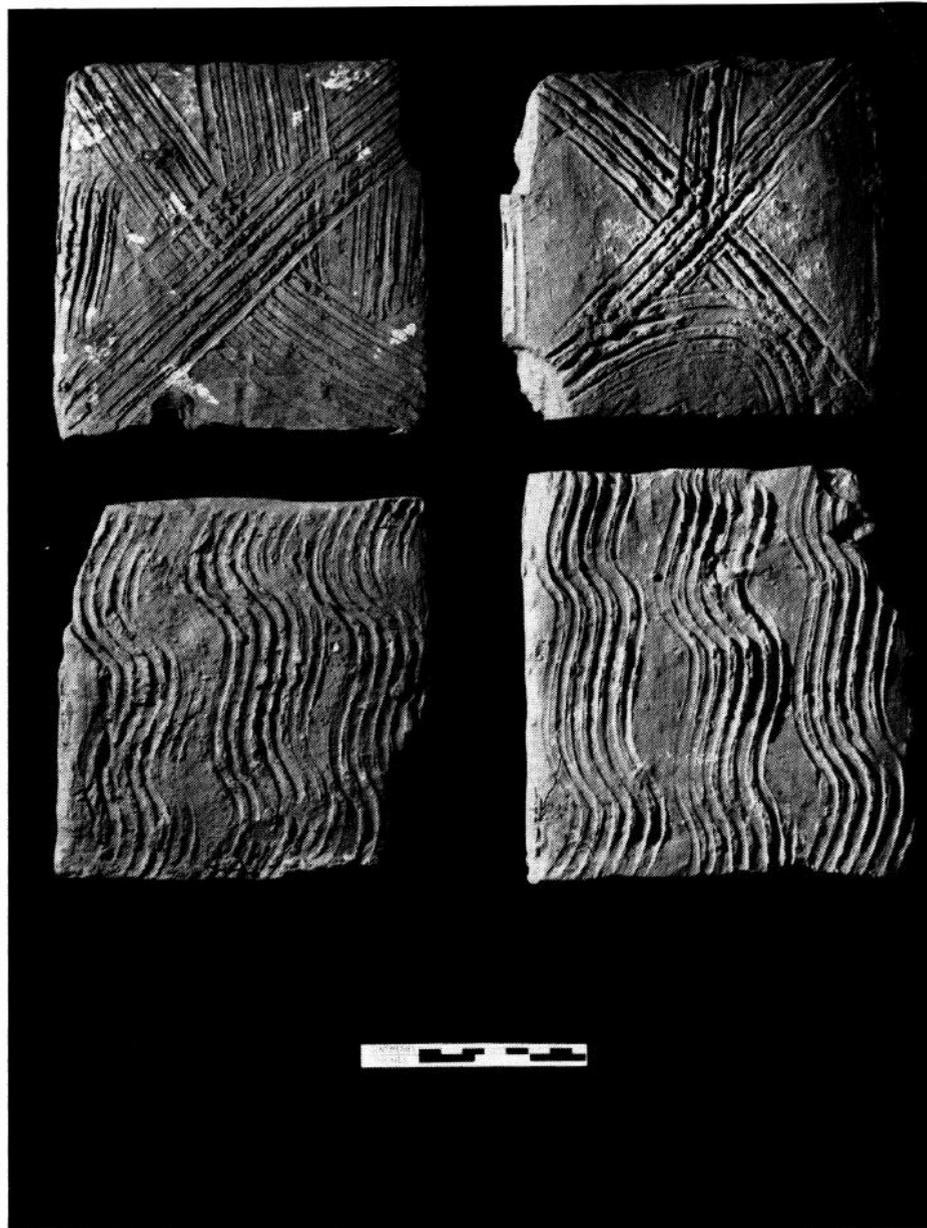


Plate 1b Examples of combed decoration on box flue tiles, from Building 1, Period 3. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

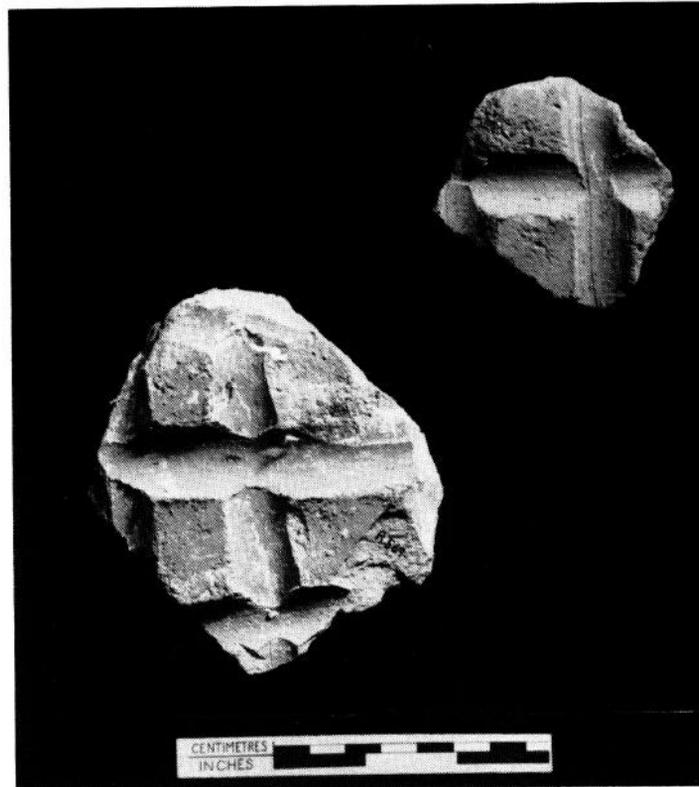


Plate 11a Fragments of Roman keyed tiles, associated with Building 2, Period 2. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

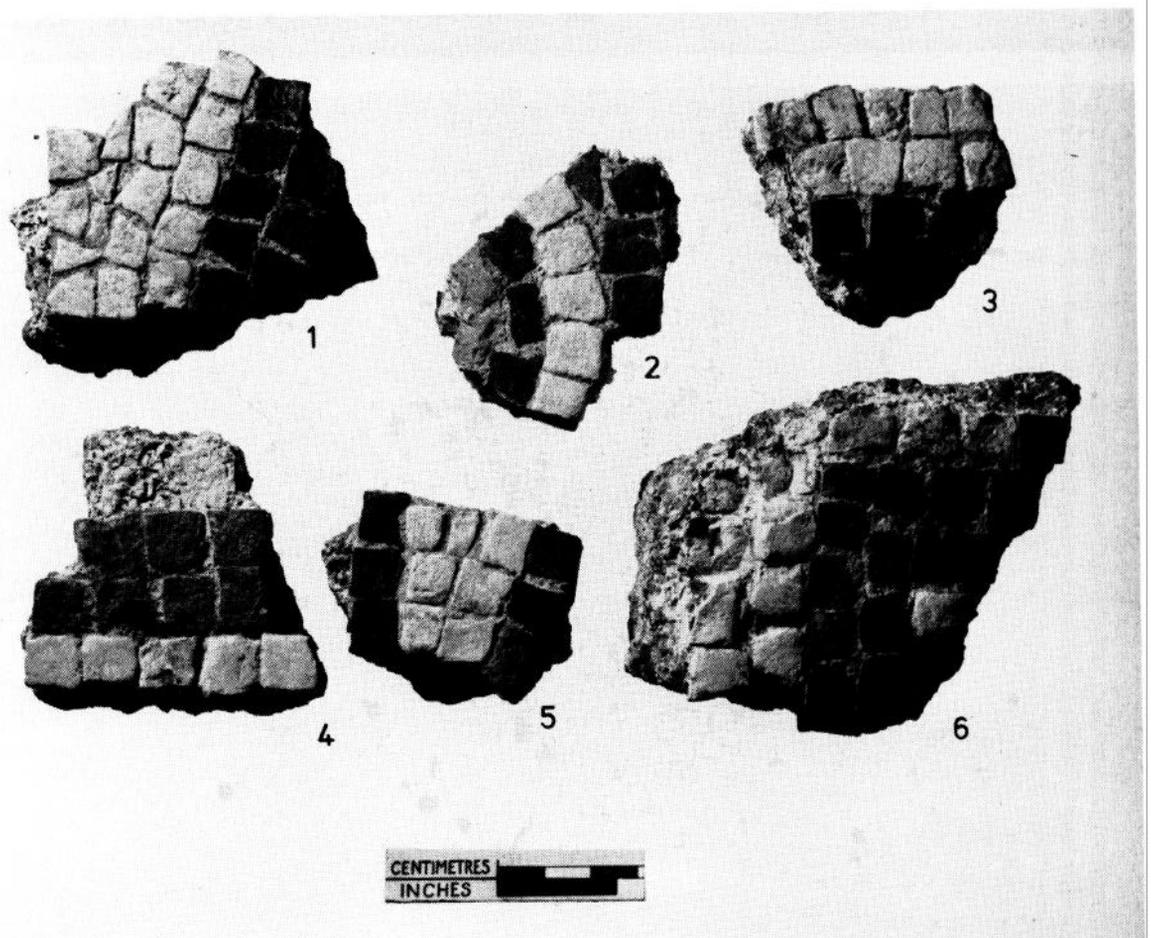


Plate 11b Fragments of geometrical patterns in black and white mosaic, from Building 2, Period 2. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate IIIa Roman painted wall plaster depicting a woodland scene with a bird, possibly a woodpecker; from Building 1, room 10. See also colour PI LV (fiche). (Photo: Colchester and Essex Museum)



Plate IIIb Examples of early 15th century Flemish bricks, showing the grass-marked underside, and the smooth upper face with sunk margins. From the bell-cage foundations in the churchyard, Period 6C. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate IVa Square of medieval wall plaster revealed on the north side of the chancel, following the removal of a monument dated 1701 (M13; Pl XVIa). On the left can be seen the partly concealed rear-arch of an Anglo-Saxon window. (Photo: T Sturge)

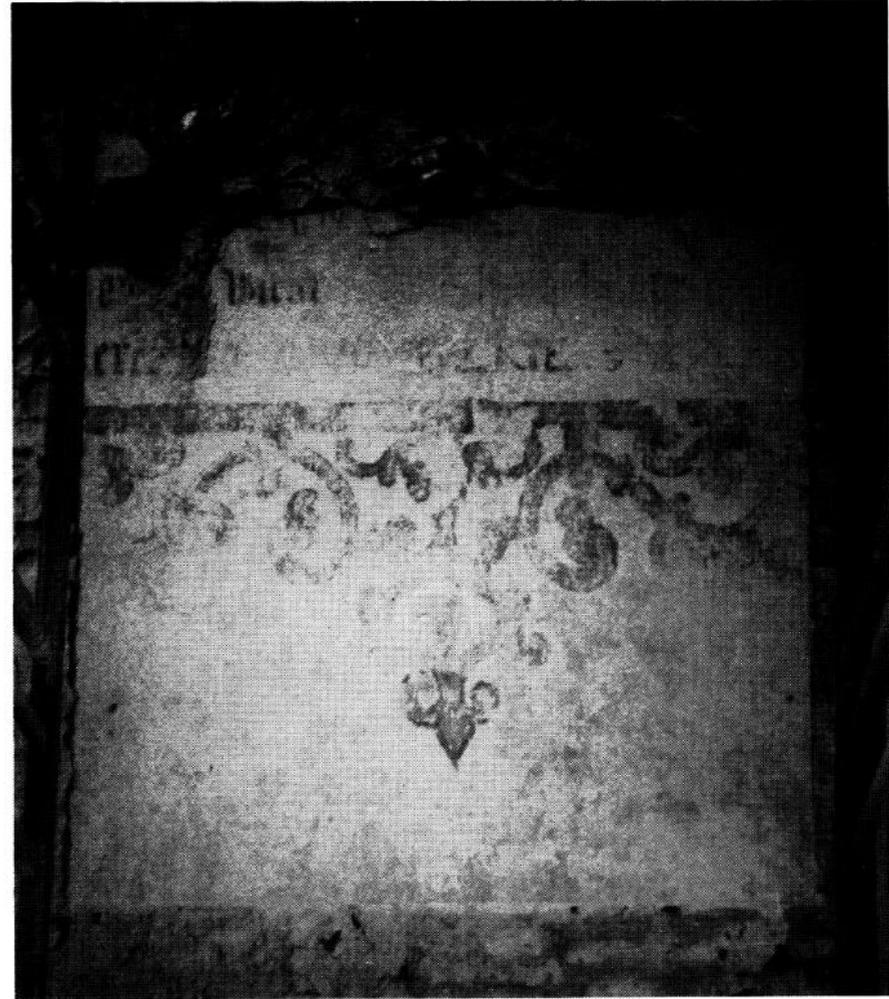


Plate IVb The same area of plaster, after removal of limewash, revealing a post-medieval painted frieze and black-letter text. (Photo: T Sturge)

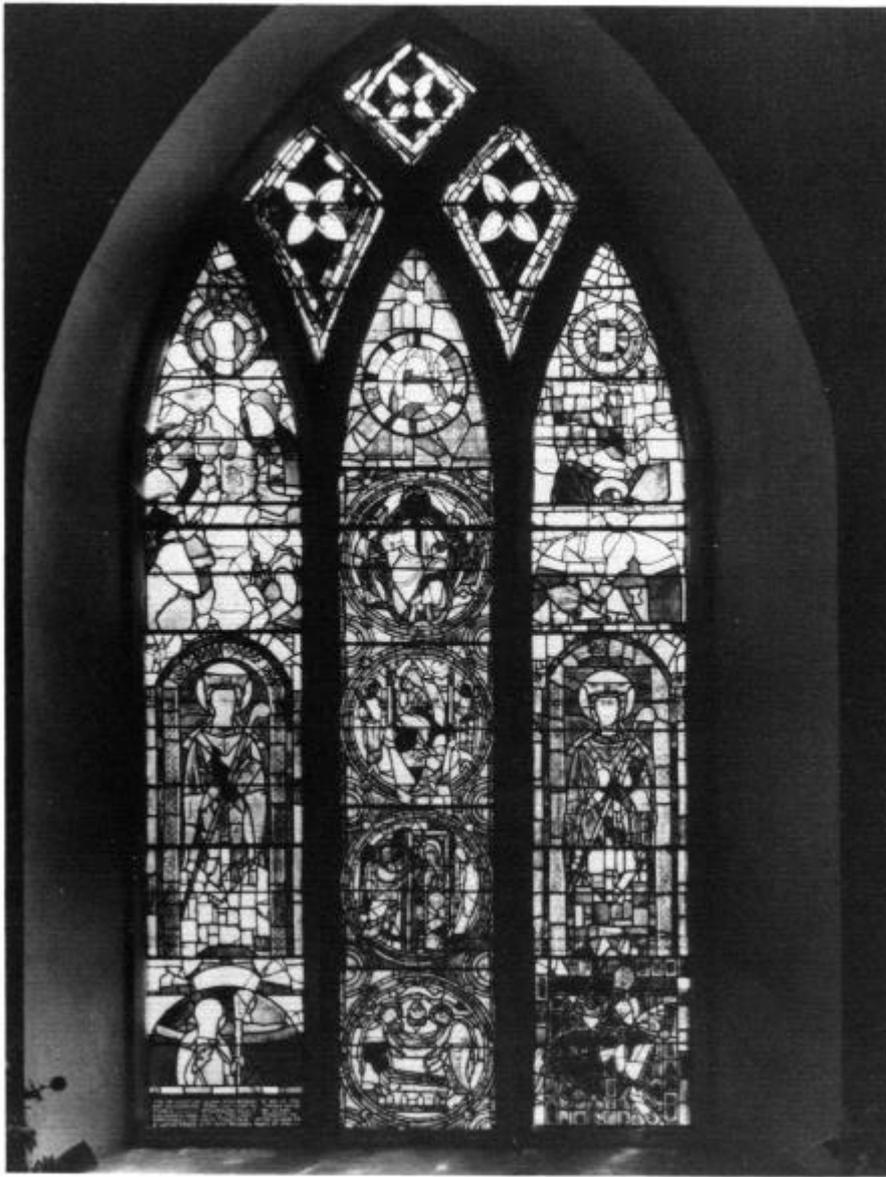


Plate Va Chancel, the east window, showing the English and French medieval glass, as rearranged in 1948. Compare colour Pl LVII (fiche). (Photo: David Swann)

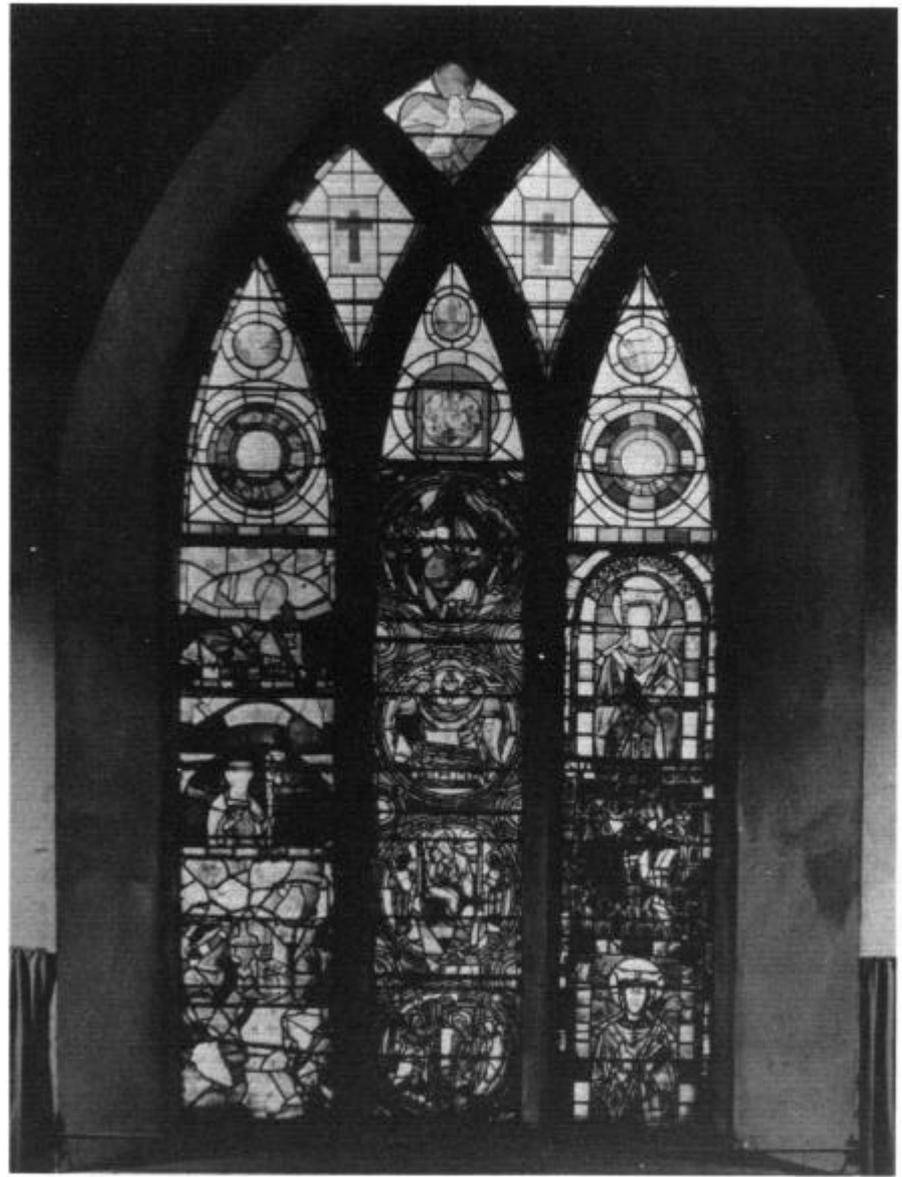


Plate vb Chancel, the east window in 1941, showing the arrangement of French and Netherlandish created in 1840. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)

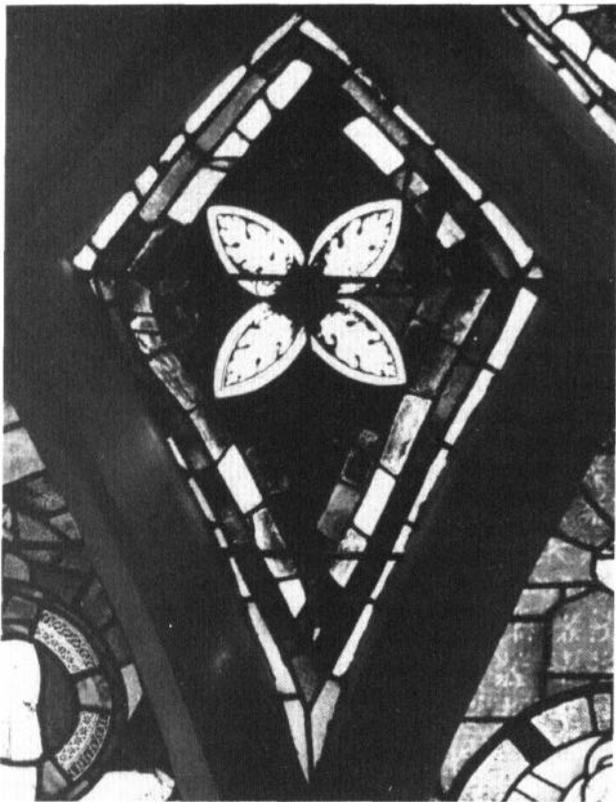


Plate VIa Chancel, east window: detail of left-hand (north) tracery light, showing English medieval glass. Compare colour Pl LVIII (fiche). (Photo: Gordon Ager)

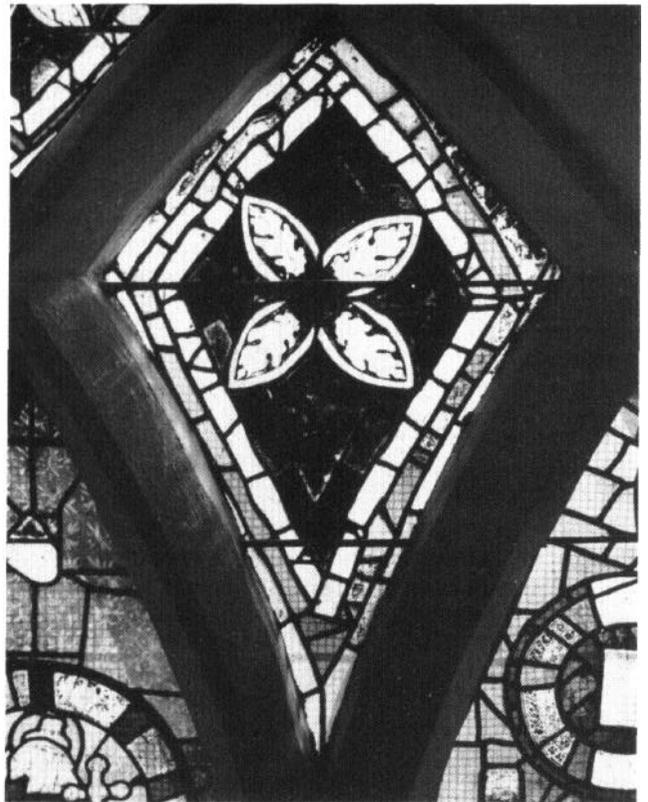


Plate VIc Chancel, east window: detail of right-hand (south) tracery light, showing English medieval glass. Compare colour Pl LX (fiche). (Photo: Gordon Ager)

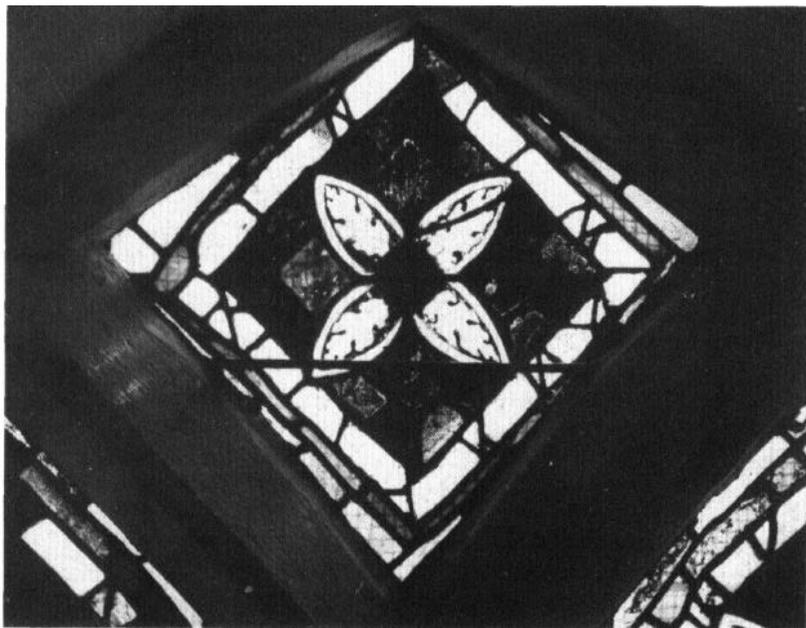


Plate VIb Chancel, east window: detail of centre tracery light, showing English medieval glass. Compare colour Pl LVIX (fiche). (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate VIIa Nave, south-east window: detail of English medieval glass in tracery lights. Compare colour Pl LXI (FICHE). (Photo: Cordon Ager)

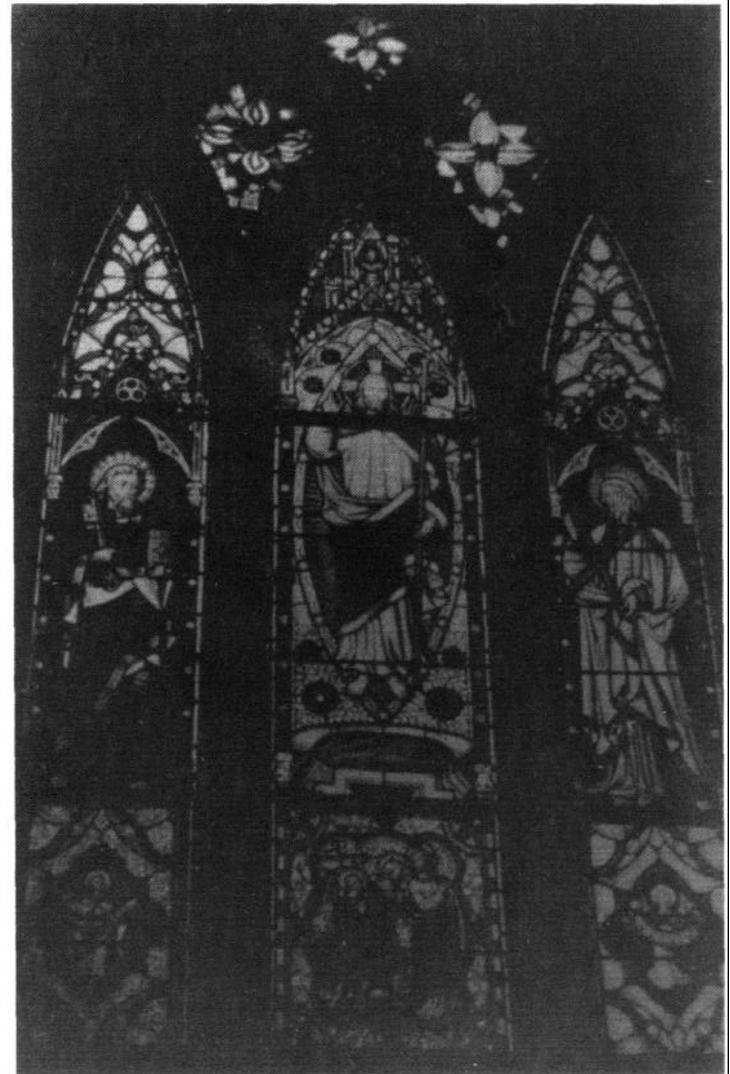


Plate VIIb Nave, south-east window: a photograph taken in the 1920s, showing the 1850s glass by Wailes in the main lights, and English medieval glass in the tracery lights. The Victorian window was destroyed by bomb-blast in 1941. From a photograph in private ownership

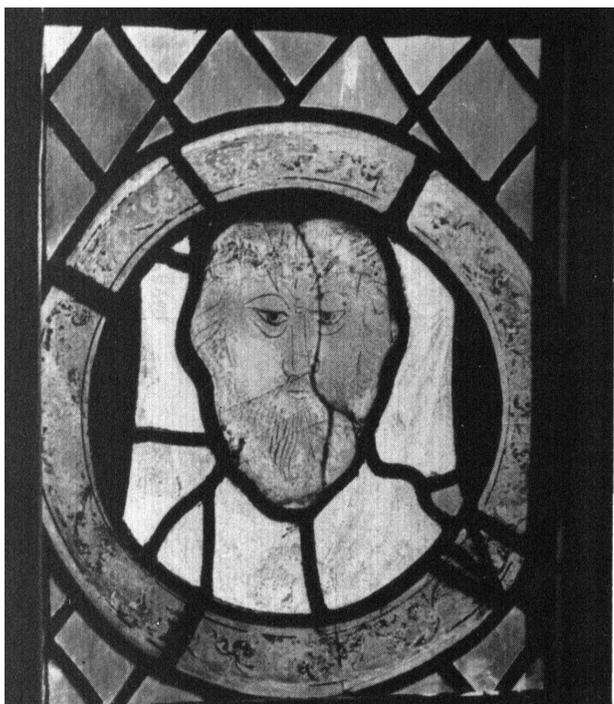


Plate VIIIa Nave, south-east window, left-hand main light: bearded male head; French, late medieval. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

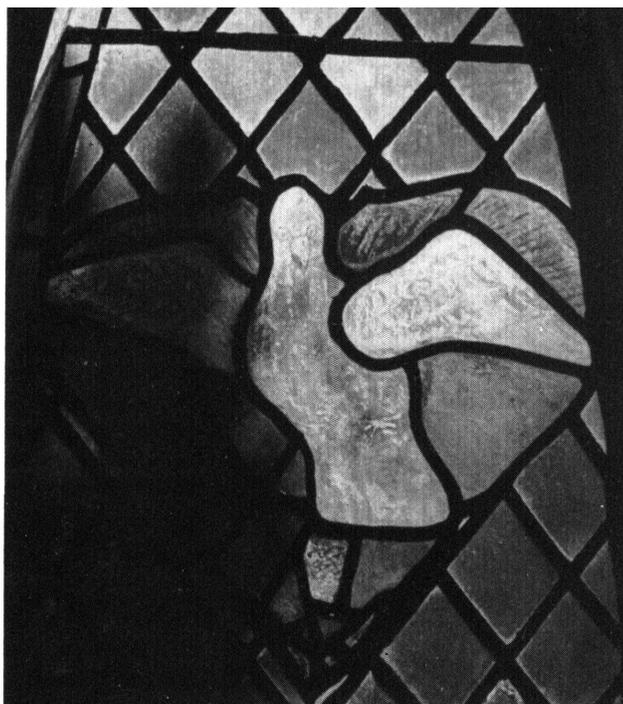


Plate VIIIb Nave, south-east window, centre main light: dove; French, 16th century. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate VIIIc Nave, south-east window, right-hand main light: winged bull's head surmounted by a skull and inscribed IL FAUT MOURIR; French, 16th century. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate IXa Chancel, east window: knight on horseback inscribed *ROBT. LE MAIRE*; French, mid 13th century. Compare colour PI LXVIII (fiche). (Photo: Howson Coll, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)

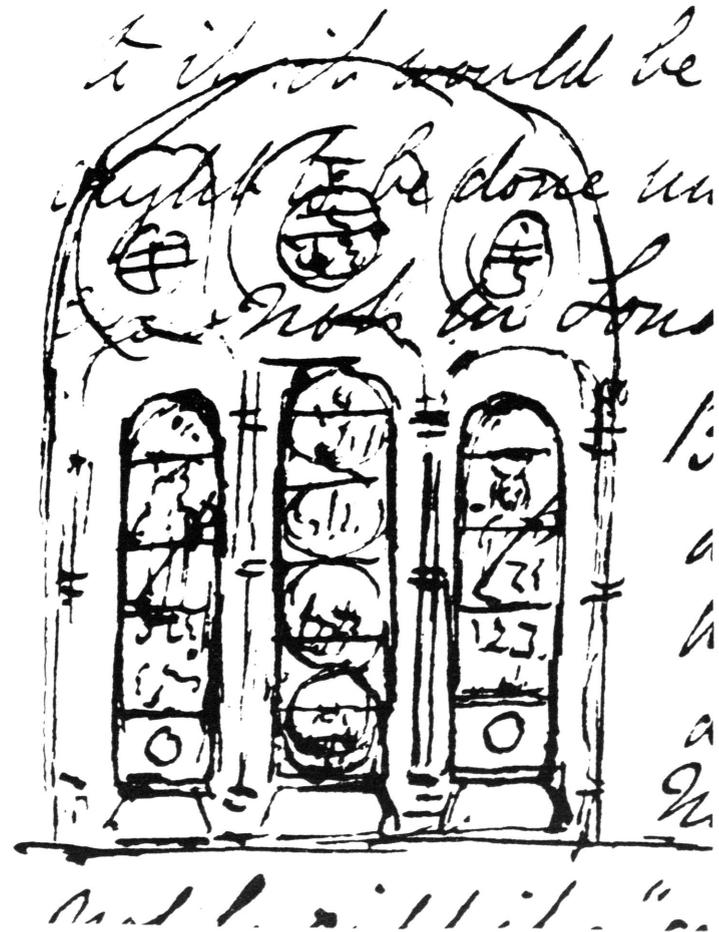


Plate IXb Chancel, east window: sketch by Andrew Hamilton for redesigning the tracery and layout of the French medieval glass



Plate Xa Chancel, east window: centre light roundel depicting Christ in Majesty; French, mid 12th century. Compare colour Pl LXV(fiche). (Photo: Howson Coll, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)

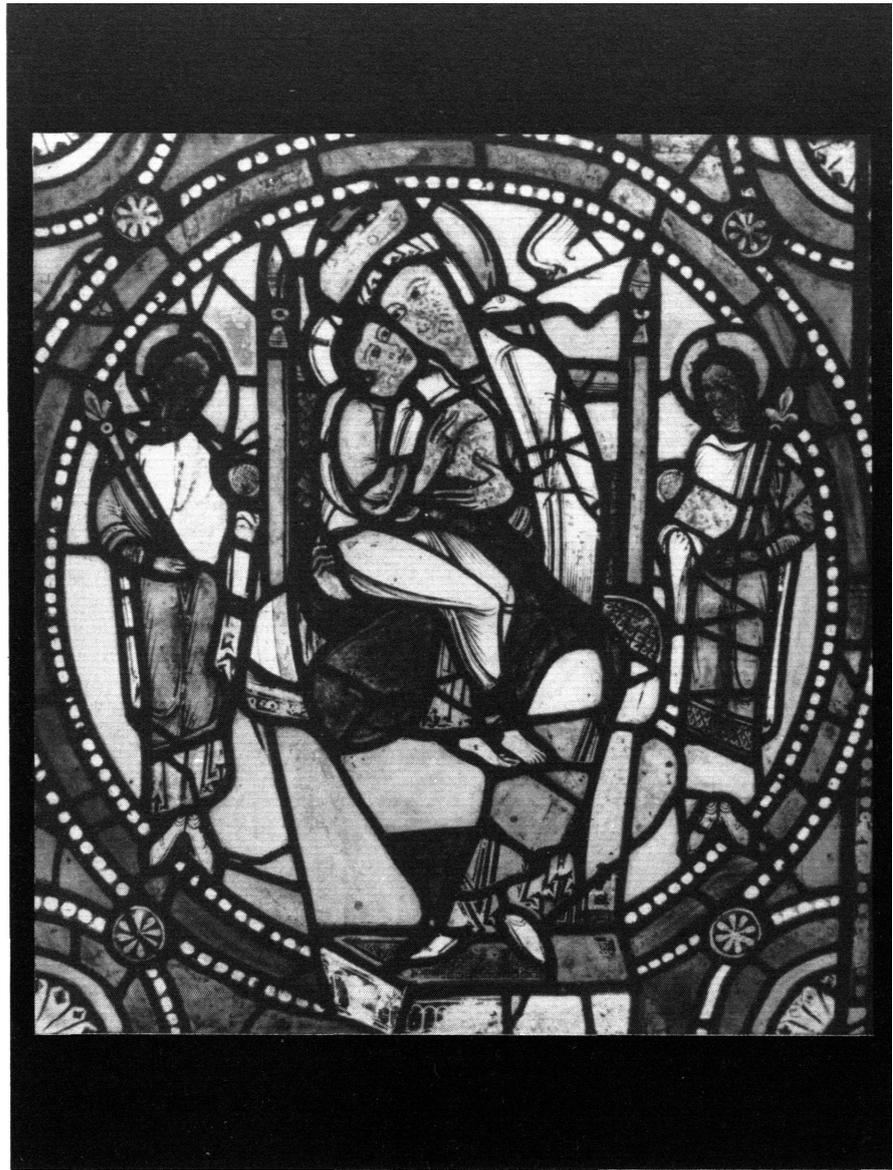


Plate Xb Chancel, east window: centre light roundel depicting the Virgin and Child; French, mid 12th century. Compare colour Pl LXIII (fiche). (Photo: Howson Coll, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)



Plate XIa Chancel east window central roundel depicting The Annunciation to the Virgin Mary; French, mid 12th century. Compare colour PILXII (fiche). (Photo: Howson Coll, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)



Plate XIb Chancel east window central roundel depicting The Entombment; French, mid 12th century. Compare colour PILXIV (fiche). (Photo: Howson Coll, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)



Plate XIIa Nave, north-east window: Netherlandish roundel depicting St Lawrence, 17th century. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

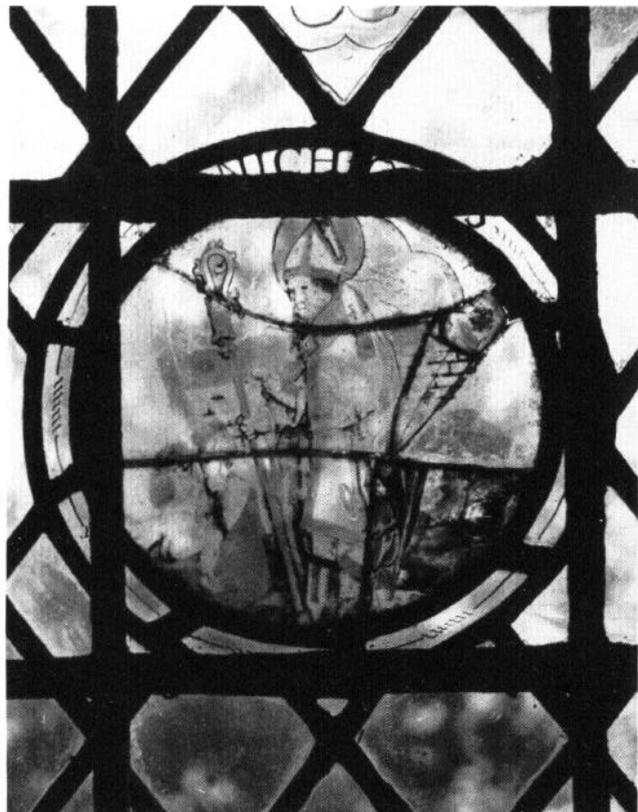


Plate XIIb Nave, north-east window: Netherlandish roundel depicting St Nicholas, 16th century. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XIIc Nave, north-east window: Netherlandish roundel depicting the Last Supper, c 1550. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

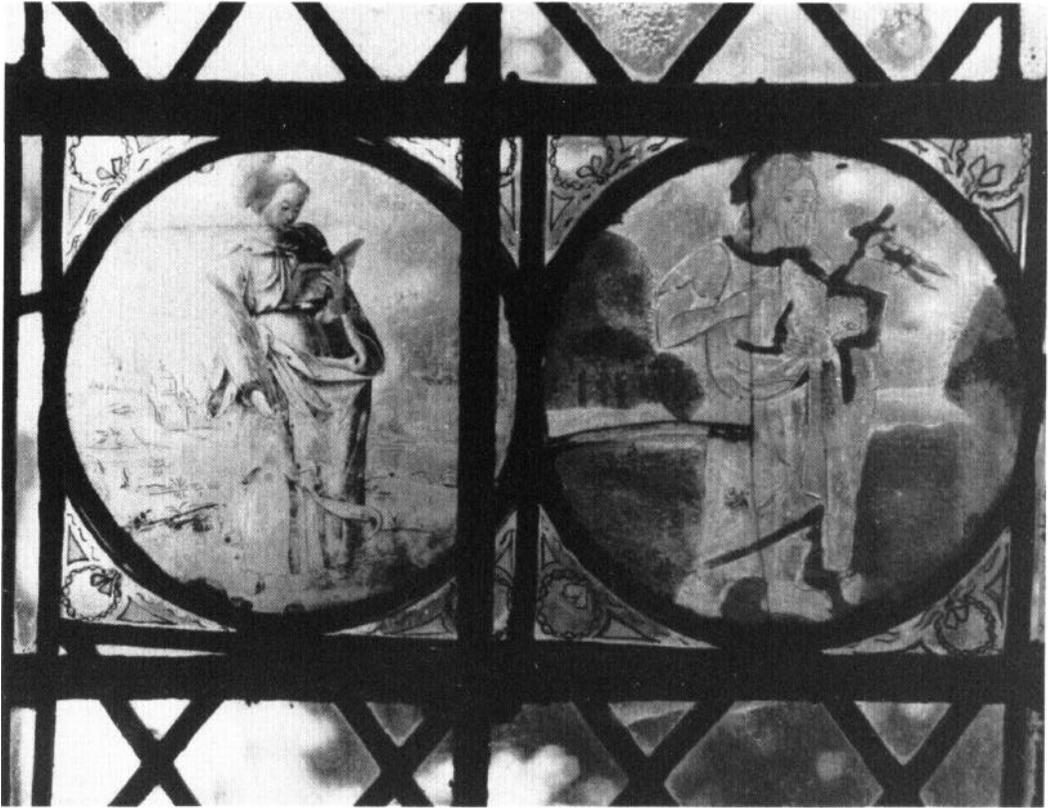


Plate XIIIa Nave, north-east window: Netherlandish roundels depicting an unidentified female saint in a landscape, and St John the Baptist, 16th century (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XIIIb Nave, north-east window: Netherlandish roundels depicting *The Deposition* and *The Crucifixion*, 16th century. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

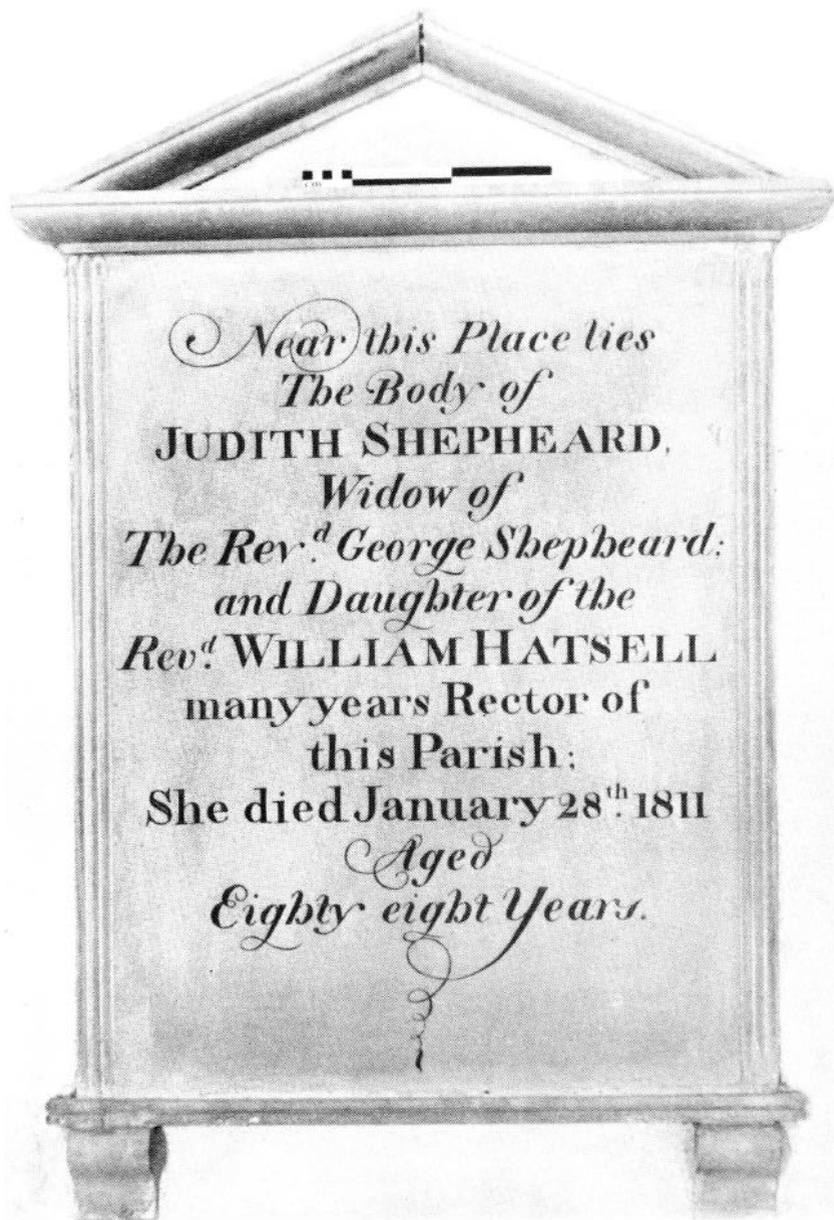


Plate XIVa Nave, north wall: monument M8, Judith Shephard, 1811. Scale of 25 cm. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XIVb Chancel, north wall: monument M12, Sarah Hawkins, 1832. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

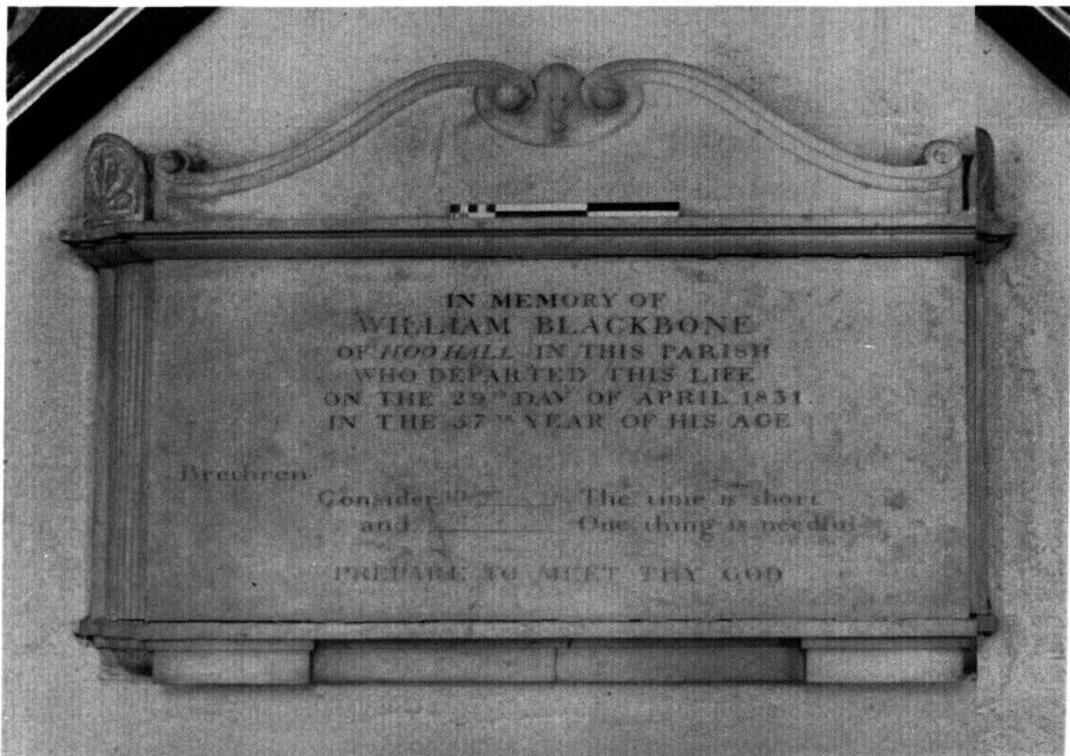


Plate XVa Nave, north wall: monument M9, William Blackbone, 1831. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

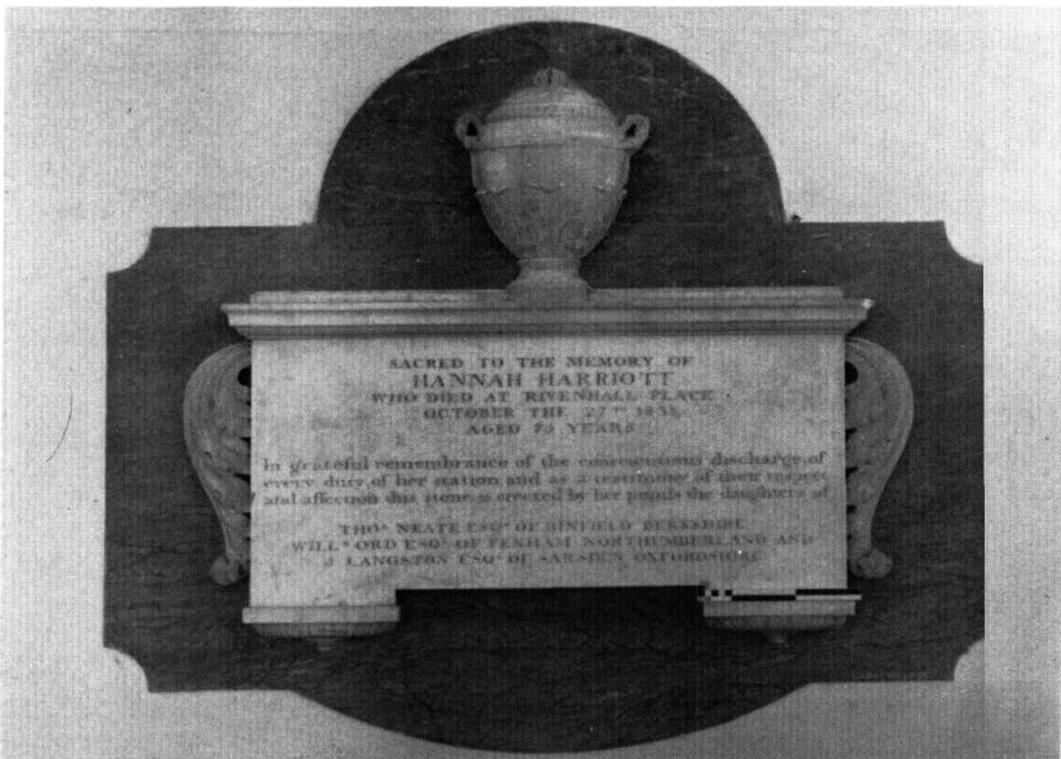
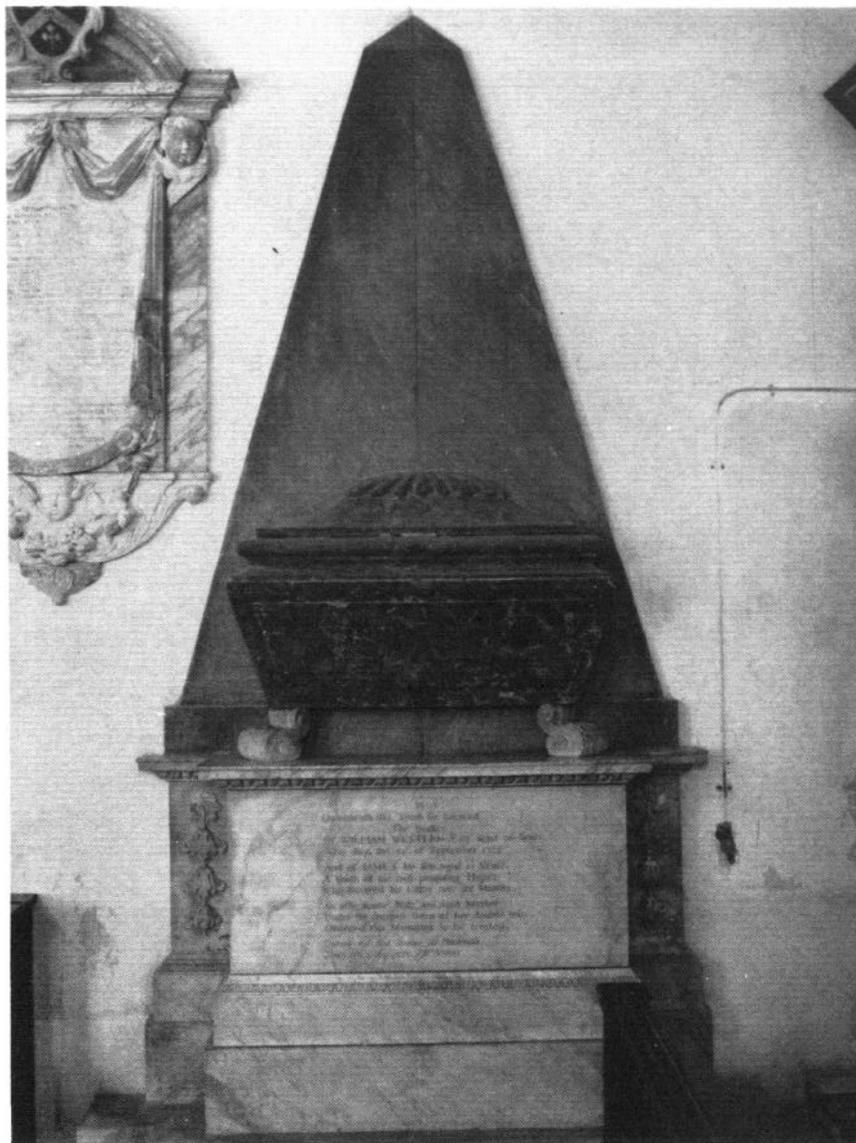


Plate XVb Nave, south wall: monument M10, Hannah Harriott, 1831. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



PlateXVIa Chancel,northwall:monumentM13, SamuelWestern,
erected 1701. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



PlateXVIb Chancel,northwall:monumentM15, WilliamWestern,
erected 1730. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

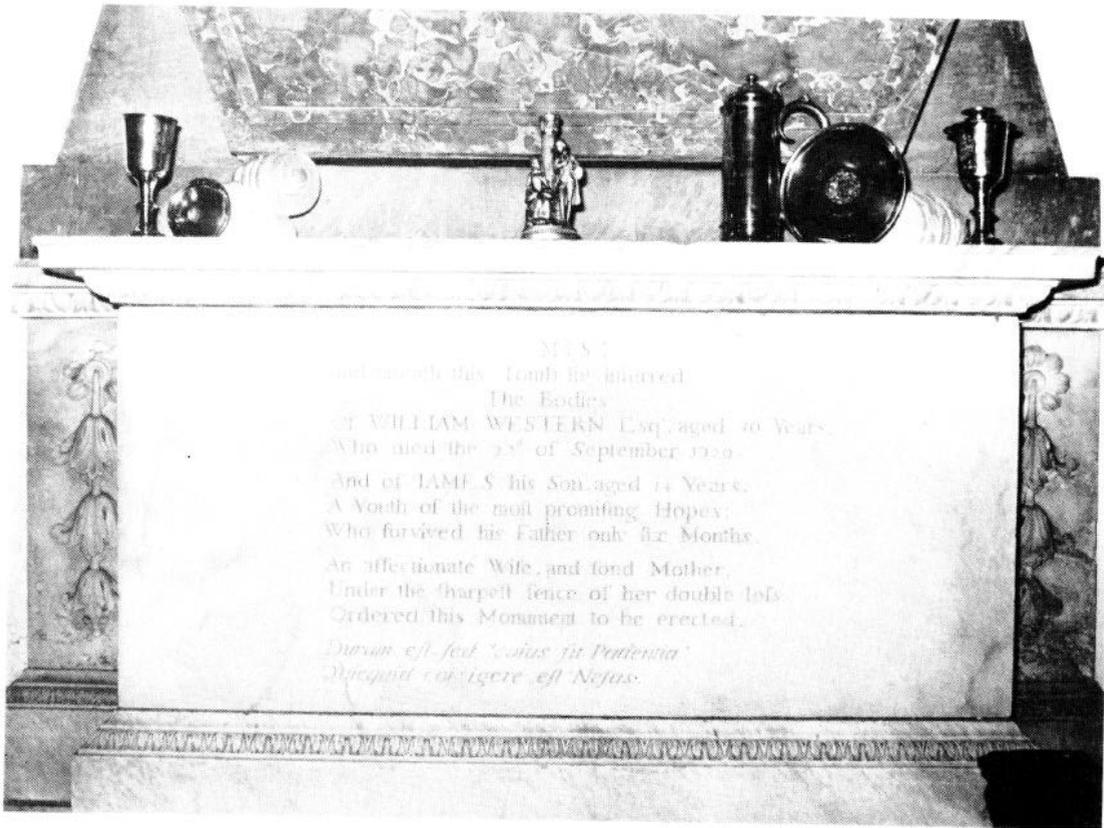


Plate XVIIa Chancel, north wall: detail of tomb chest of monument M15, 1729. The full complement of contemporary communion plate is also shown here. (Photo: Stephen Wooler)

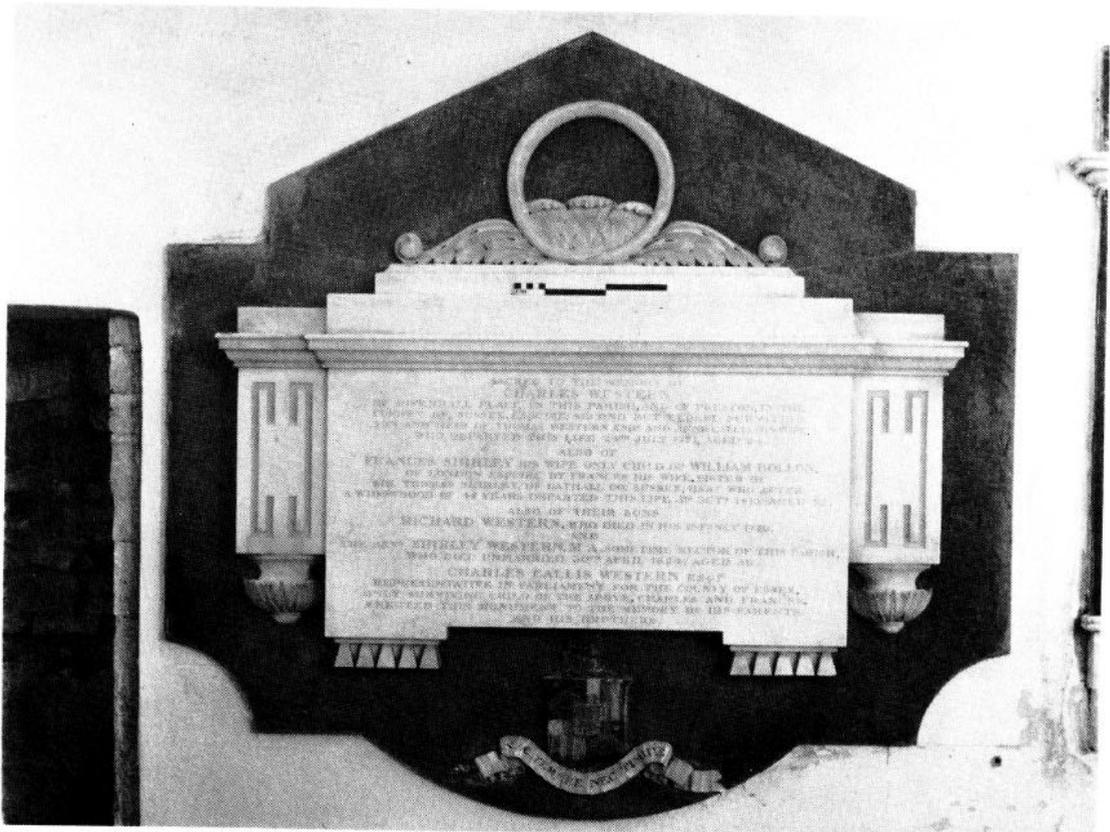


Plate XVIIb Chancel, south wall: monument M19, Western family, erected c 1824. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

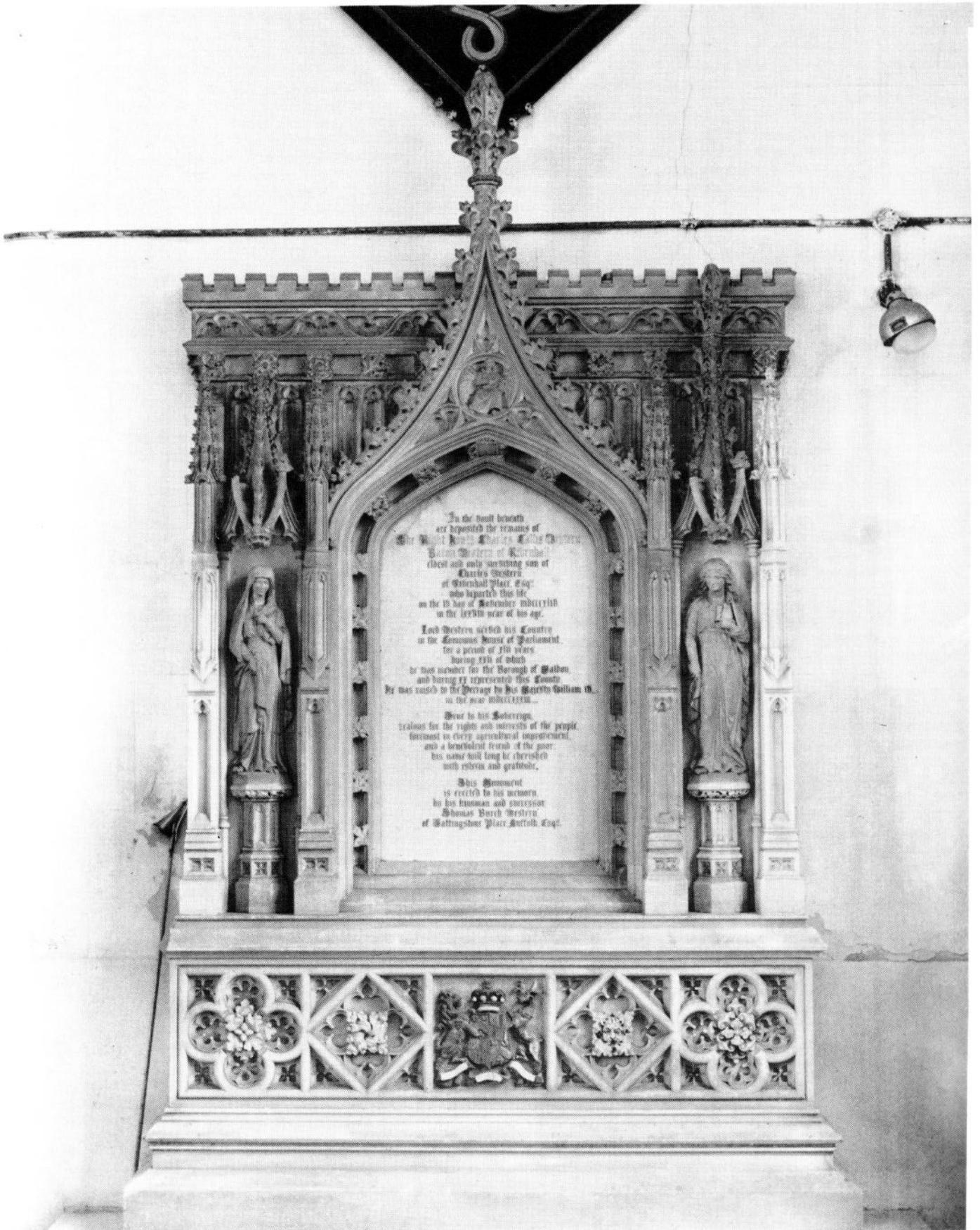


Plate XVIII Chancel, north wall: monument M16, Baron Western of Rivenhall, 1844. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

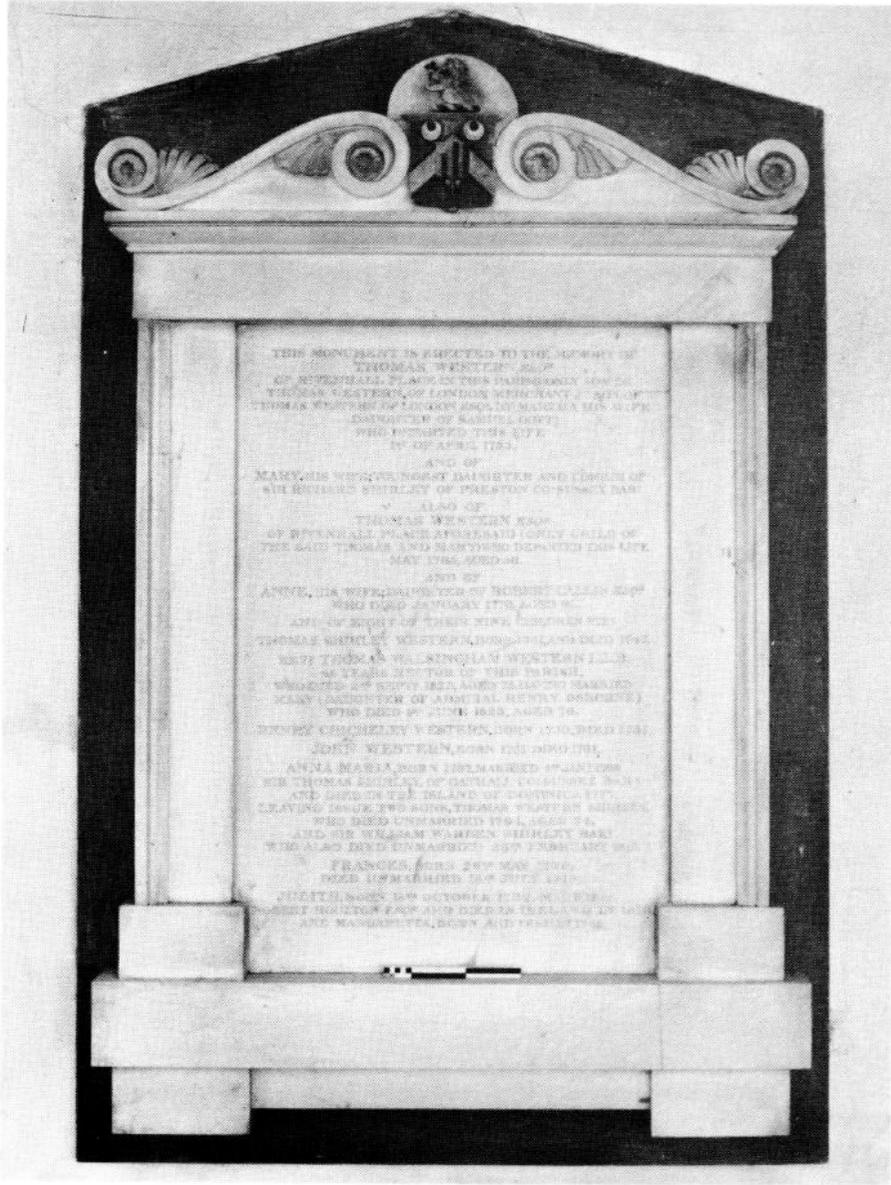


Plate XIXa Chancel, south wall: monument M18 Western family, erected c 1823. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XIXb Chancel, south wall: monument M20, Olive Western, 1823. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

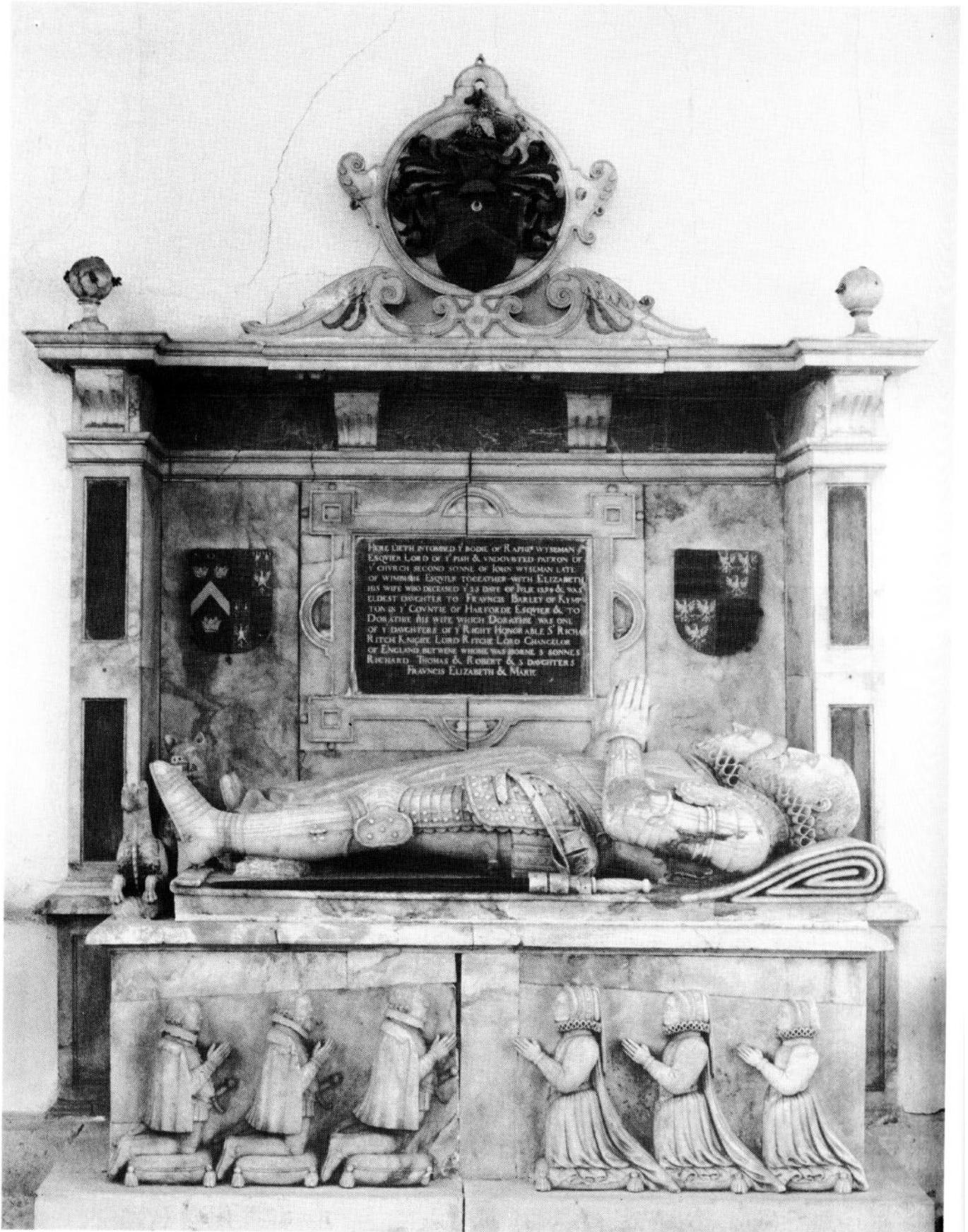


Plate XX Chancel, south wall: alabaster monument M17, Raphe and Elizabeth Wyseman, c 1597. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

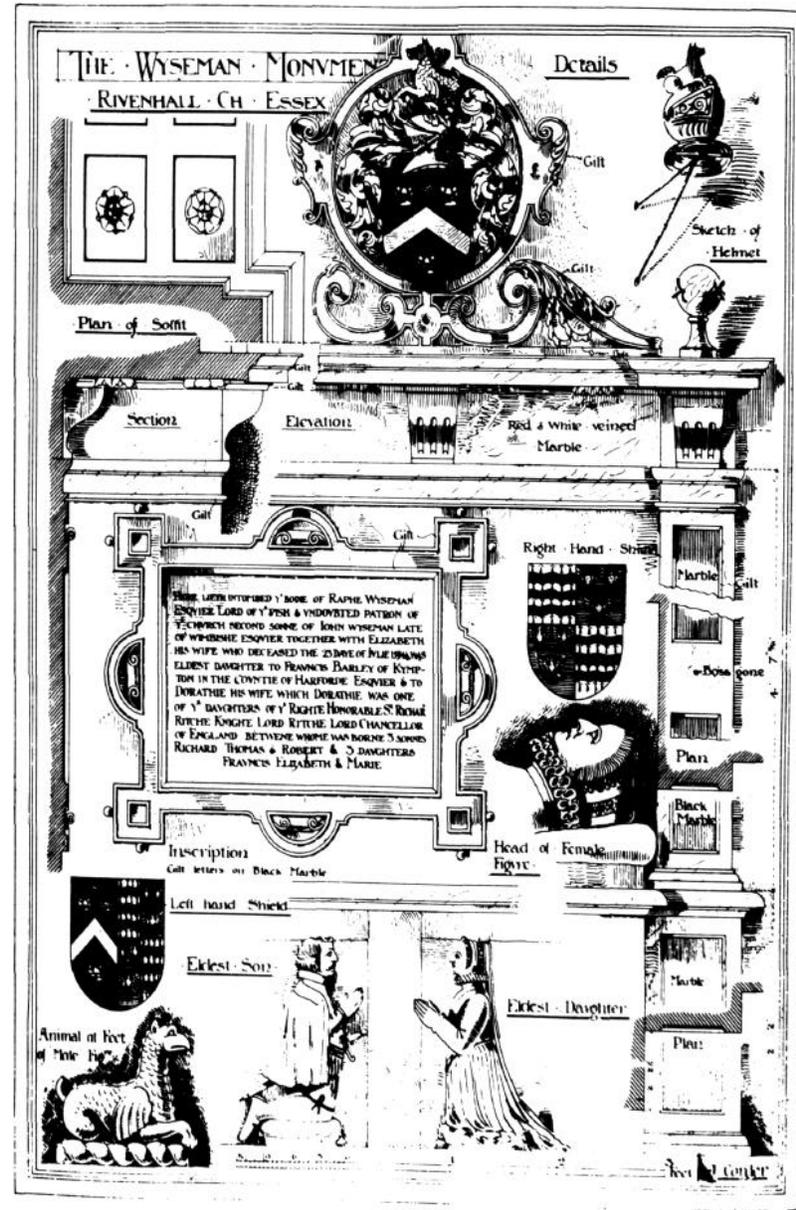
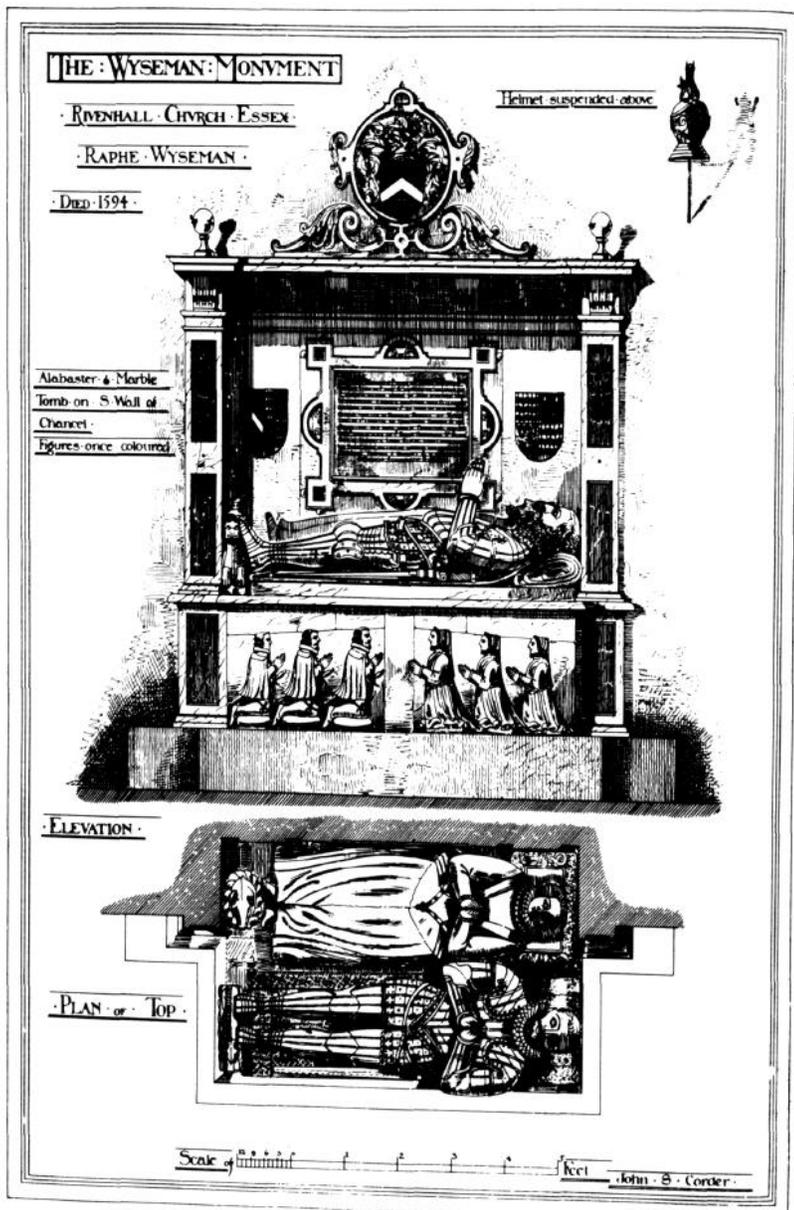


Plate XXIa, b Chancel, south wall: details of the Wyseman monument, M17. After Chancellor 1890



Plate XXII Chancel floor: cast iron tomb cover M4, Thomas Western, 1706. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

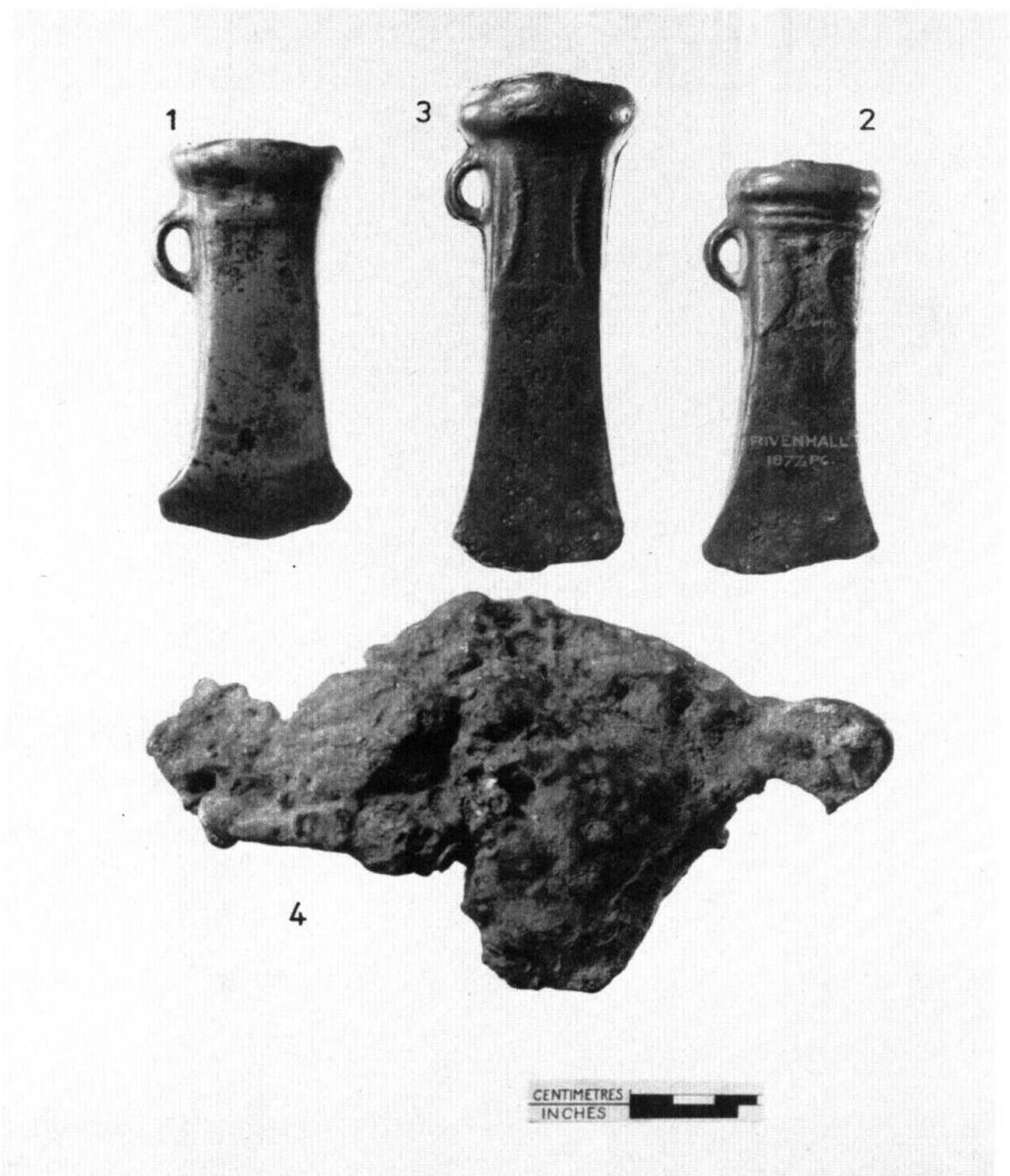


Plate XXIIIa Bronze Age axe heads from the Hoo Hall hoard, and brass 'cake' from Silver End.
(Photo: Gordon Ager)

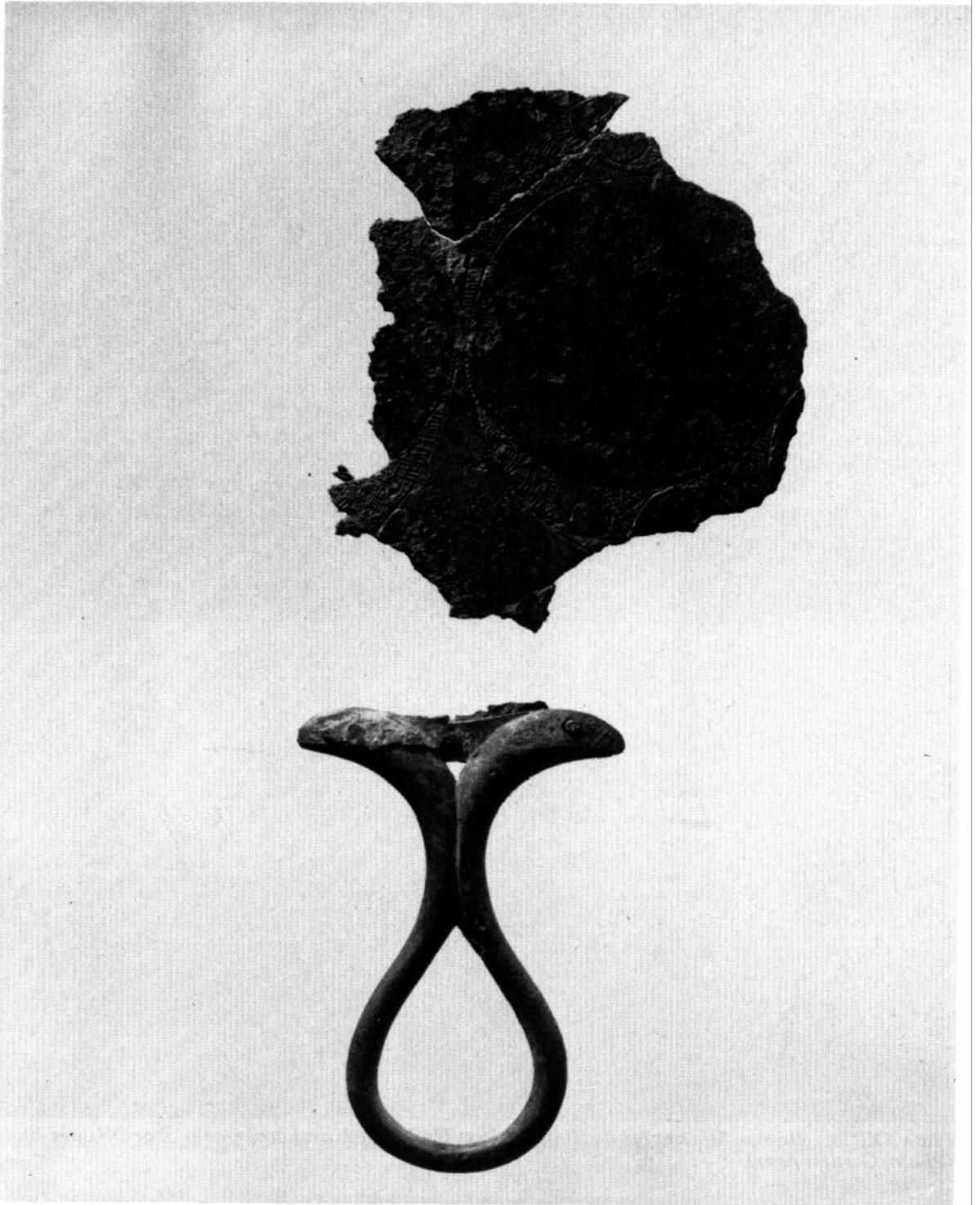
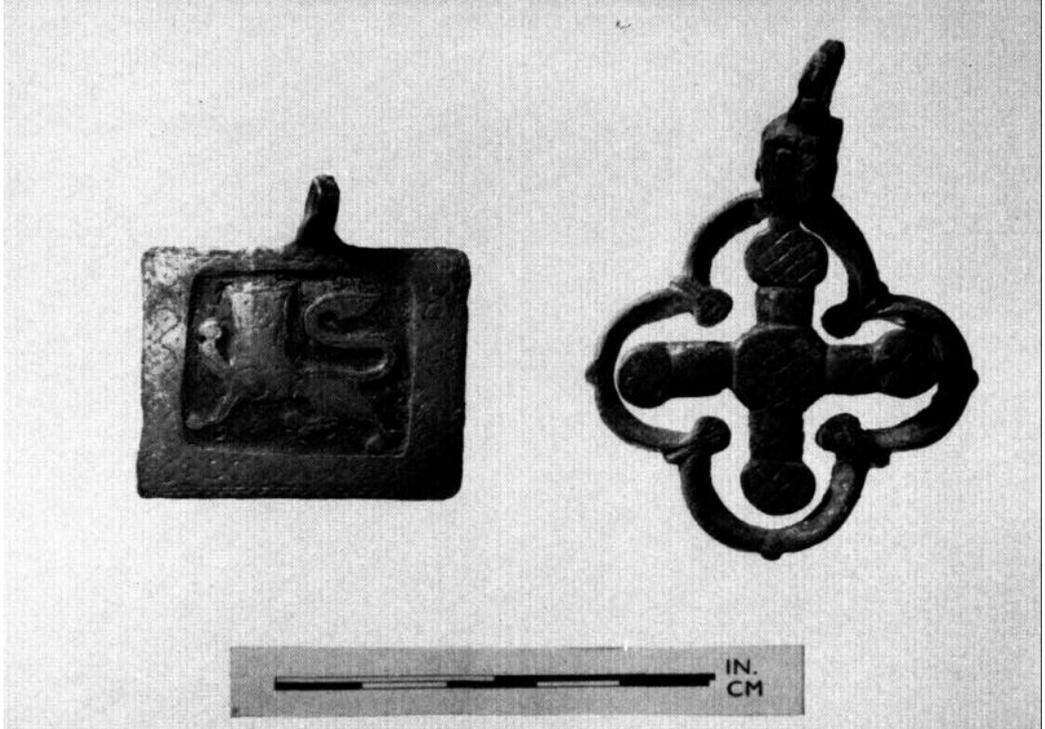


Plate XXIIIb Celtic bronze mirror I, remaining fragments of disc and handle. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XXIV Roman bronze patera and ever from Barrowfield. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



*Plate XXVa Gilded bronze pendants, from the site of the medieval priest's house
(Photo: Gordon Ager)*



Plate XXVb Gilded bronze signet ring, and plasticine impression. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XXVIa Silver pennies: obverses, cat nos 4, 3, 1, 2. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XXVIc Nuremberg and English jettons: obverses, cat nos 7, 5, 6. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XXVIb Silver pennies: reverses, cat nos 4, 3, 1, 2. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XXVI d Nuremberg and English jettons: reverses, cat nos 7, 5, 6. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

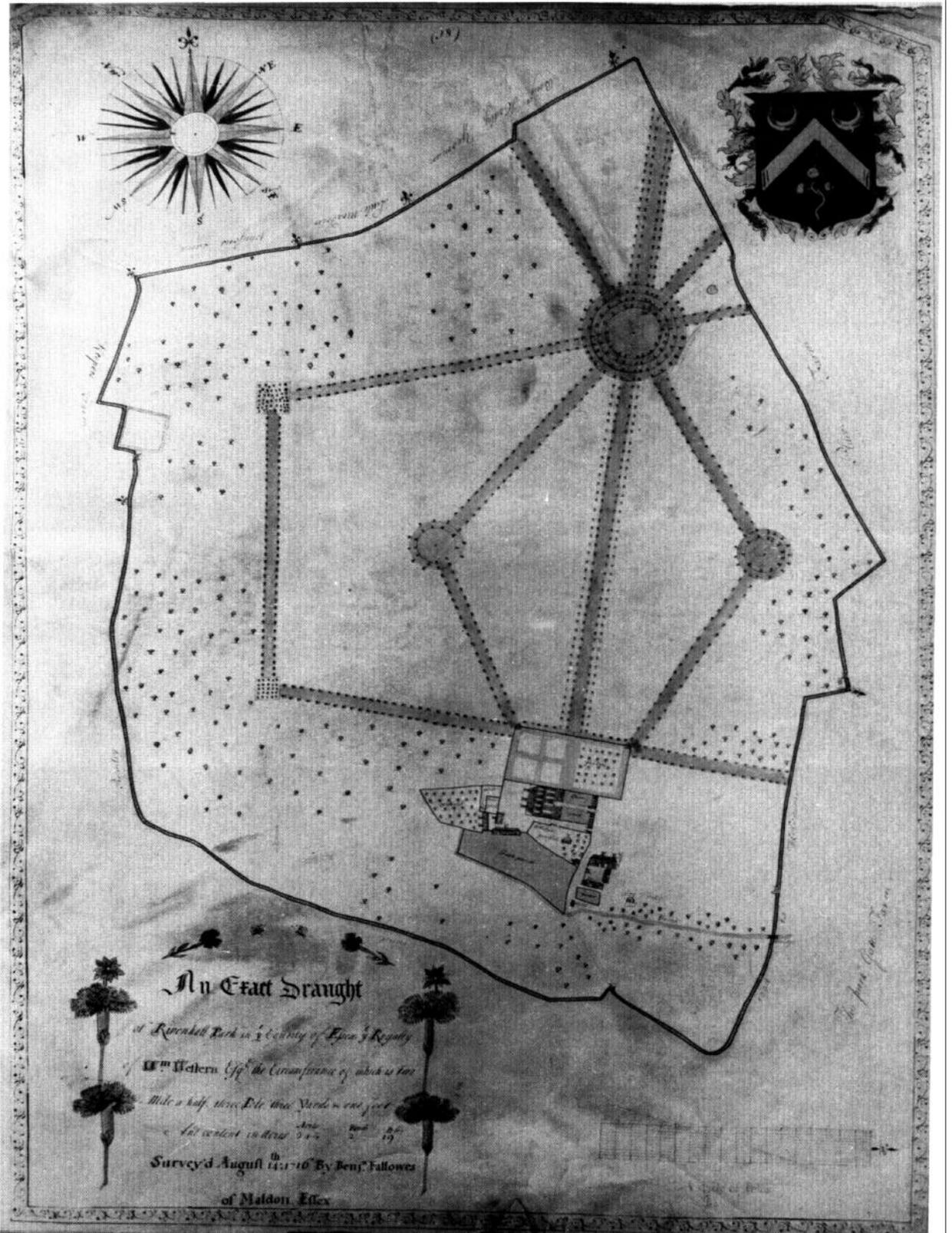


Plate XXVII Survey of Rivenhall Place and Park for William Western, by Benjamin Fallowes, 1716.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office)

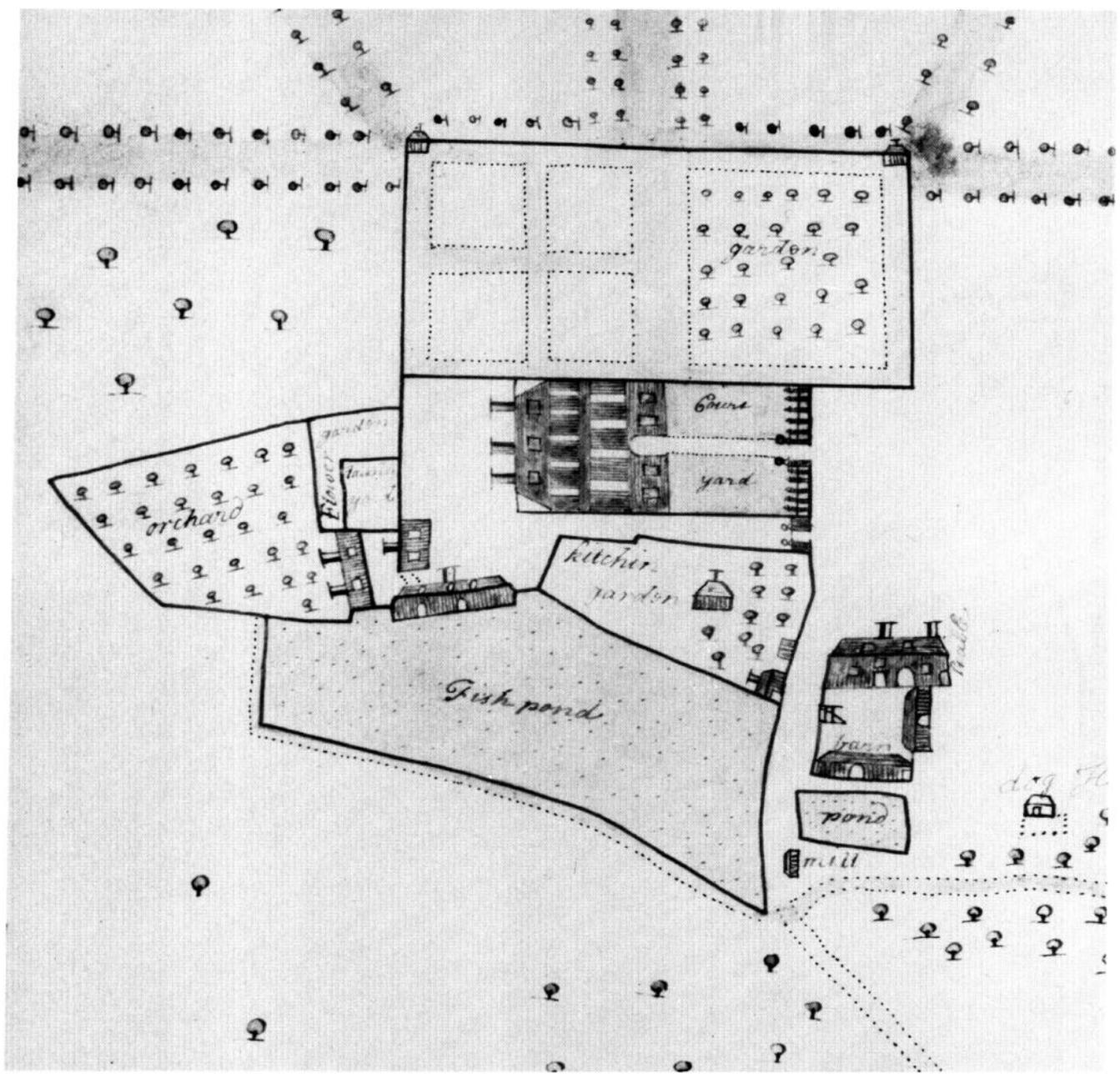


Plate XXVIII Rivenhall Place, 1716. Detail from survey plan, PI XXVII, showing the Tudor house, formal garden, fishpond, orchard and outbuildings. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office)

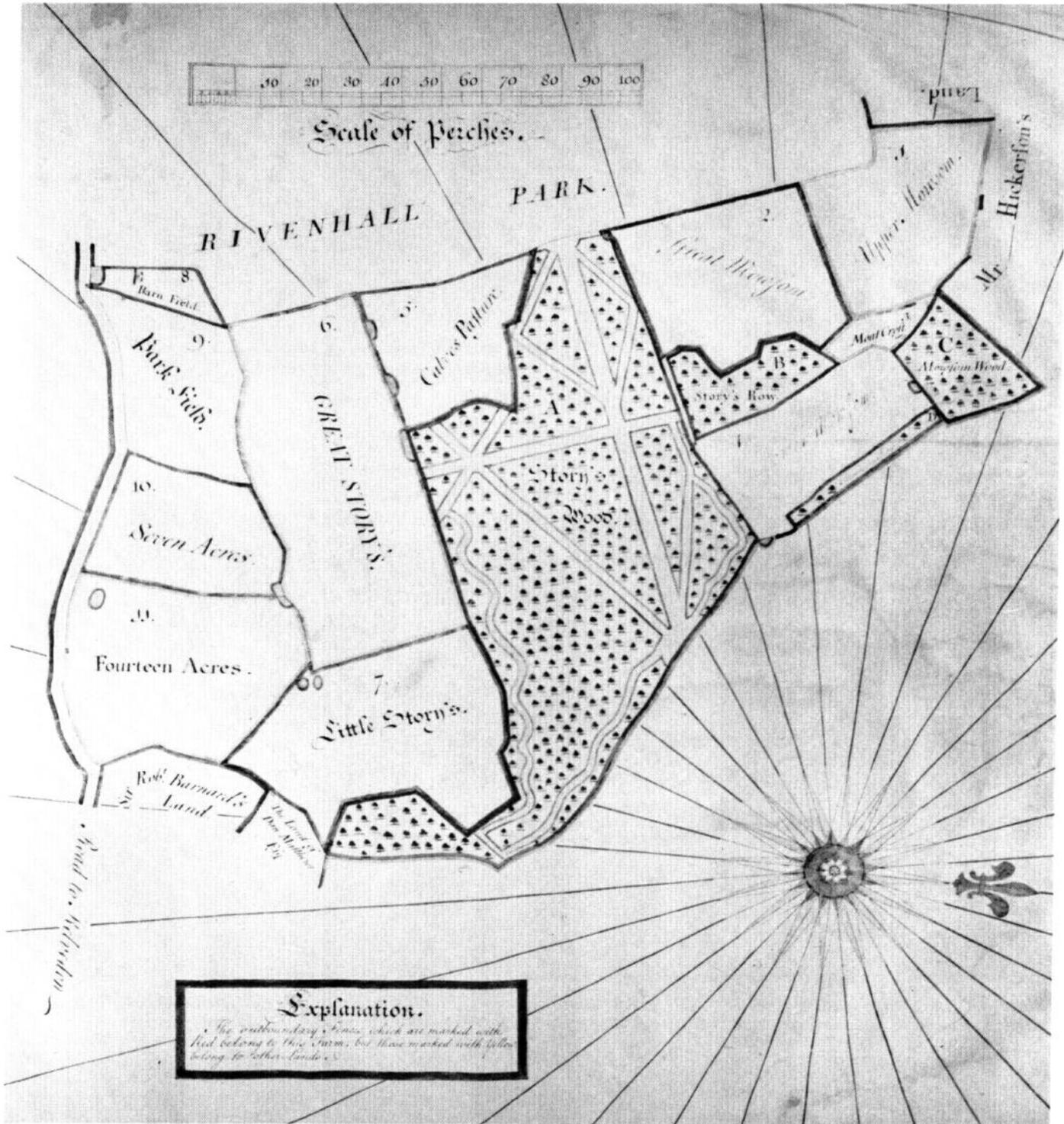


Plate XXIX Rivenhall Place: fragment of the formal park surviving in Storey's Wood. From a survey by Robert Dallinger, 1773. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office)



Plate XXXIa Rivenhall Place: watercolour by Humphrey Repton, showing the house and grounds from the south-east, as existing c 1790. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office)



Plate XXXIb Rivenhall Place: watercolour by Humphrey Repton, showing his scheme for Landscaping the park and introducing a plain classical facade to the east face of the house. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office)

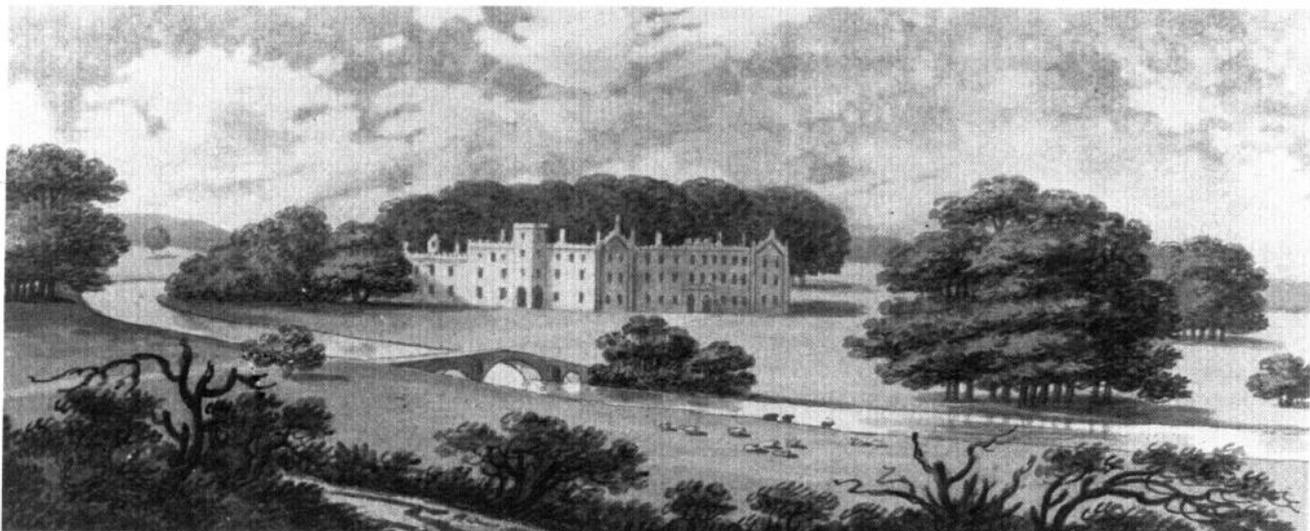


Plate XXXIIa Rivenhall Place: watercolour by Humphrey Repton, showing his alternative scheme for landscaping the park and remodelling the house in the gothick idiom. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office)

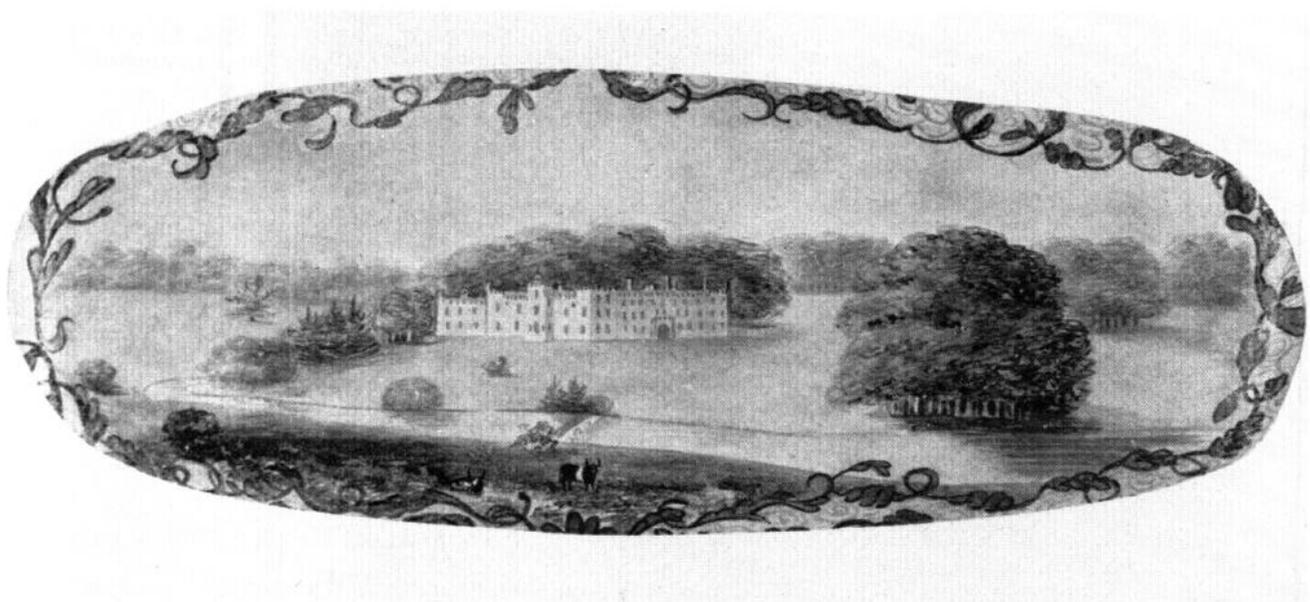


Plate XXXIIb Rivenhall Place: watercolour drawing, possibly by J A Repton, c 1795, showing a revised scheme for remodelling the house in the gothick idiom. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXII Rivenhall Place: engraving published 1831, showing the house and park as remodelled by Humphrey Repton. After Wright 1836



Plate XXXIVa Rivenhall Place: the east front of c 1796, taken in 1952. (Photo: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)



Plate XXXIVb Rivenhall Place: the Tudor north range, taken from the north-west in 1952. (Photo: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)



Plate XXXVa Lanham Manor Farm: pencil drawing showing the east front in 1842. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXVb Bowser's (Bourchier's) Hall Farm: view from the south-east showing the 16th century core, taken in 1967. The low hall is seen on the right, the cross-wing in the centre, and an added 'front' on the left. (Photo: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)

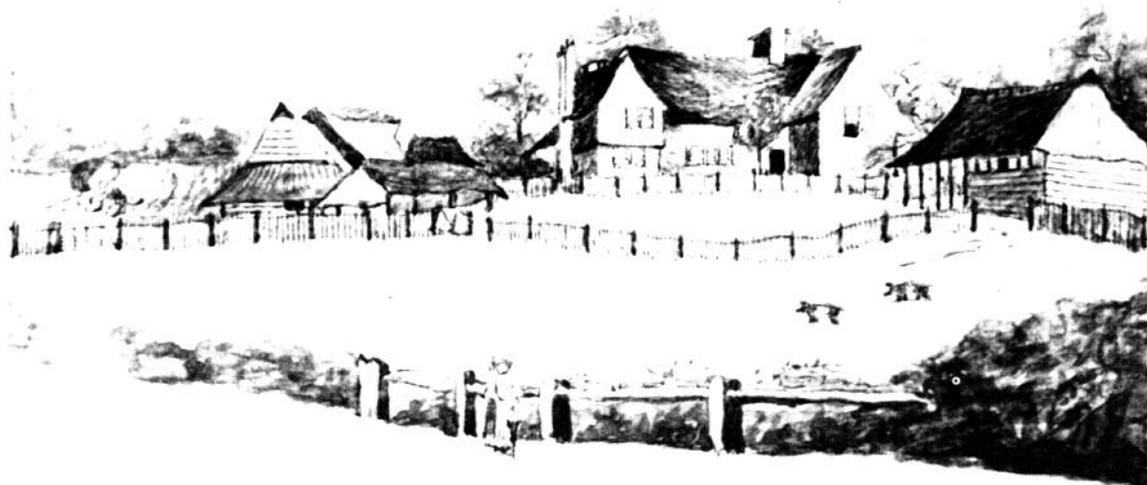


Plate XXXVIa Rivenhall Hall: sepia watercolour showing the hall and farm buildings from the south-west in 1835. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXVIb Hoo Hall: pencil drawing of the Georgian west elevation, seen across the late 18th century park in 1835. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXVIIa Rivenhall Hall: the early 16th century timber-framed house from the south-east in 1914. (Photo: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)



Plate XXXVIIb Ford Farm: pencil drawing showing the south elevation in 1835. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXVIIIa Rivenhall Rectory: pencil drawing from the south-east in 1836. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXVIIIb Rivenhall Rectory: the south elevation in 1977. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

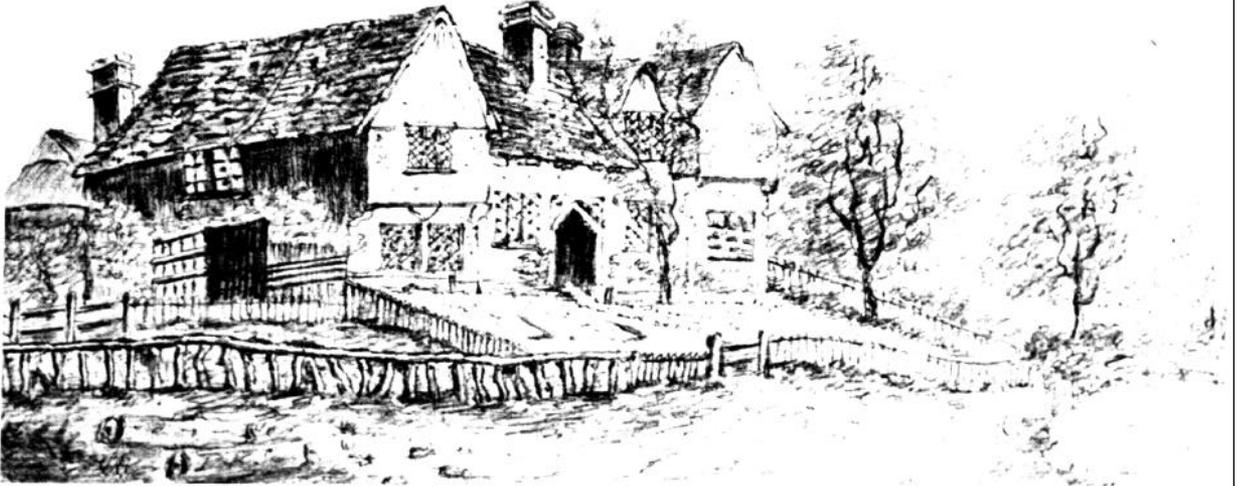


Plate XXXIXa Pond Farm: pencil drawing of the 15th century timber-framed house from the south-east in 1836. The silted up ditch of the probable burh is visible in the foreground. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XXXIXb Pond Farm: the remains of the hall and one cross-wing from the east in 1977. (Photo: Gordon Ager)



Plate XLa Matchyn's Farm: 1830s watercolour view of the triple-gabled 16th century house with the Georgian wing on the right. The main Colchester road is in the foreground. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XLb Rivenhall Workhouse: pencil drawing of the south elevation in 1835. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XL1a Durward's Hall: pencil drawing of the north elevation in 1841. The Rivenhall-Kelvedon parish boundary passed through the porch and hall. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XL1b Durward's Hall: pencil drawing (1855) of the north elevation, following the rebuilding of the hall in 1850, (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XLIIa Rivenhall End: pencil drawing (1855) of a group of cottages built on the roadside waste, adjacent to Springholds. The left-hand block had been built in 1727 as a stable, and converted into cottages by 1822. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XLIIb Chalk's Cottages, Church Road: pencil drawing (1836) of two of the 18th century cottages built on the roadside waste between Hoo Hall and Rivenhall Oak. These typify the forms of construction used: plastered timber framing and thatch (left and centre), and weather-boarded timber framing and clay tiles (right). (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)



Plate XLIIIa Rose Cottage, Church Road: this brick-built cottage of 1736 was one of the more substantial encroachments on the roadside waste. In the 19th century it served as the curate's cottage. Seen here in 1977, before rebuilding. (Photo: Gordon Ager)

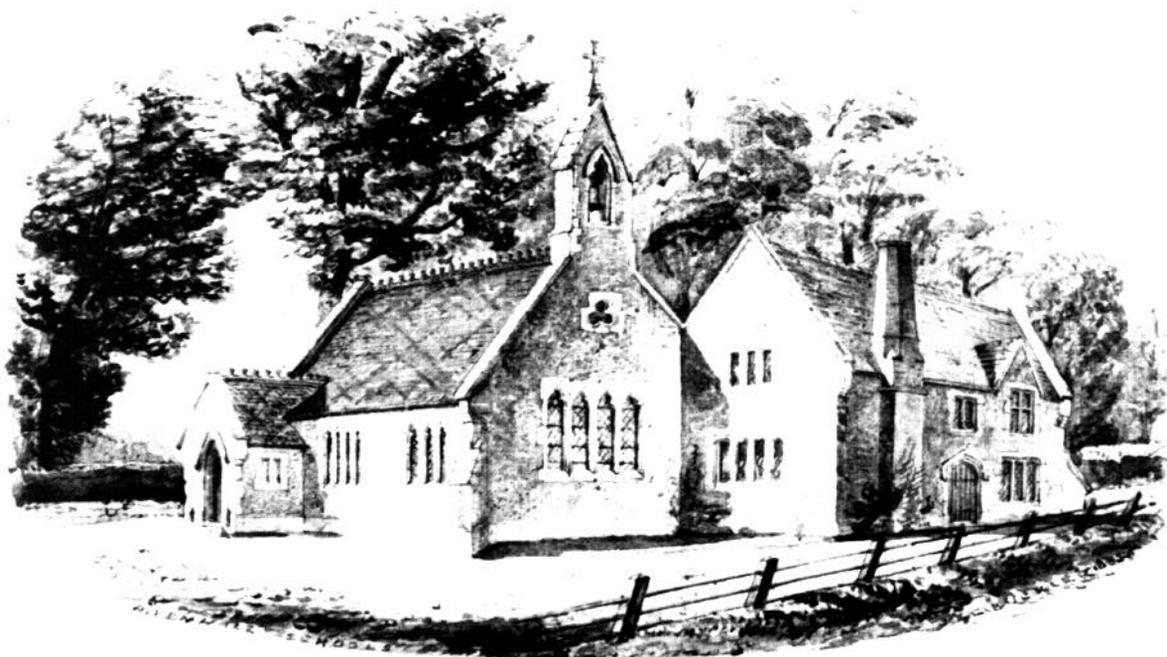


Plate XLIIIb Rivenhall Schools: watercolour by George Buckler, 1855, showing the recently completed separate buildings for girls and boys. The church is just glimpsed in the background. (Photo: Essex Archaeological Society)

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compiled by Lyn Greenwood

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