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# SIDLESHAM ROMAN SITE

*By* A. H. COLLINS, A. E. WILSON and CLARE WILSON

## INTRODUCTION

In 1951 the Land Settlement Association decided to lay a water main from the Chichester-Selsey road across their small-holding No. 20 on the Keynor Estate to serve other holdings west of the road at Sidlesham (Fig. 1). The Southern Electricity Board had already erected an overhead power cable from an adjacent point on the road. Fig. 1, which is based on the L.S.A. estate map and Ordnance Survey map, shows the position of the Selsey road at the time. The line has now been changed, but the old road still remains as a service road. The pole E.P.1 was 66ft. west from the fence of the (service) road and E.P.2 (Fig. 2) 224ft. from the fence. The mechanical digger making the water-main trench soon met serious obstructions on the line first chosen. When, after investigation, it appeared that the obstructions were part of a substantial Roman building, the L.S.A. agreed to divert the line of the main as far as possible to the south on holding No. 20, and parallel to the small stream and footpath, in the hope of avoiding the greater part of the building. This second water-main trench cut the building area south of Room 10 (Fig. 2). Occupation material (worked stone, pink plaster, white mortar) was found in patches to the east of this area, and to the west patches of tile were found for 150ft. along this trench.

The tenant of small-holding No. 20 was a Mr. Watts, the local Scoutmaster. Some of his Scouts had found some Roman pottery at a point which later proved to be a hole in the tessellated floor of Room 1 (Fig. 3 and Plate I). Mr. Watts realised the possible importance of these finds and welcomed an excavation, which he continued to support in spite of much inconvenience for the five years we were able to dig there.

The site lies on the Selsey peninsula, which was formed by Tertiary deposits dipping gently towards the south, covered in most parts by a drift of Brickearth. London Clay underlies the Sidlesham area. The South Coast variety of Brickearth may be a fine-grained wash from the Downs decalcified by long exposure to weathering. The thickness varies from a few inches to 15ft.

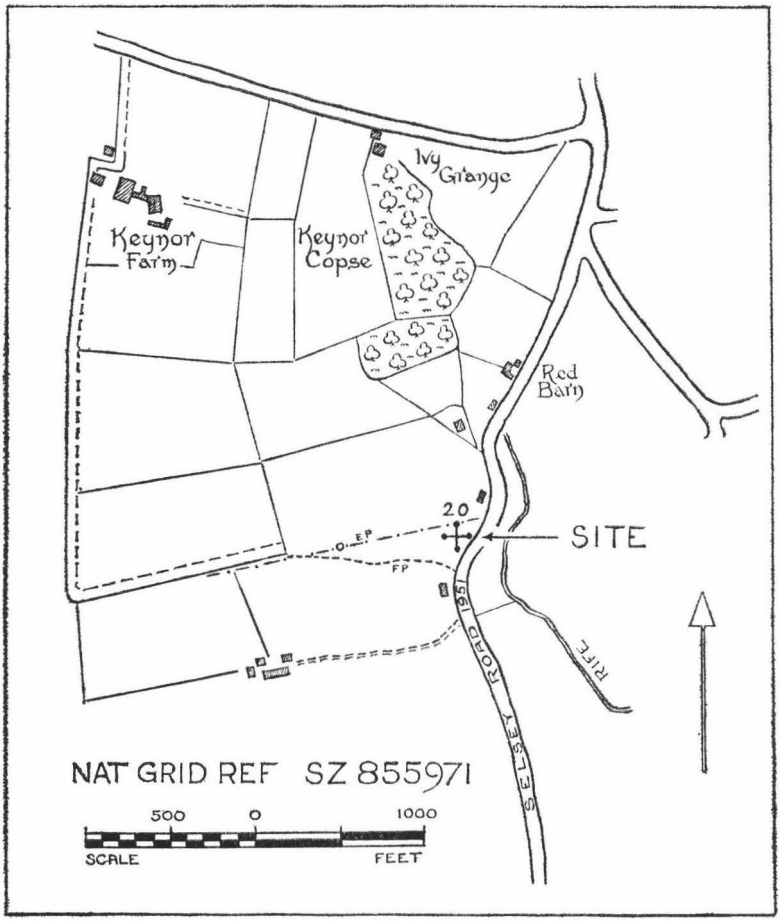



Fig. 1. Map showing location of site

## General Description

The building excavated proved to be a bath-house, which must have been part of a larger complex of buildings, as at Angmering (Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. 79 (1938) and vol. 80 (1939).) Pottery and other finds indicated the existence of the larger complex, but the limited area of the site prevented further excavation.

The walls of the bath-house had been severely robbed, but it was possible to distinguish two periods of building. The earlier foundations consisted of unmortared irregularly-shaped blocks of local

stone (mixen rock). In some places these appeared to have been laid directly on the natural clay or brickearth, but in others a layer of small flints seemed to have been used as a base. However it is difficult to generalise about the method of construction, as most of the walls had been rebuilt in the second period. These later foundations were of a different stone—some pieces well dressed, mortared, and in most rooms laid on at least one layer of cobble, broken flint or shingle. In addition the discovery of a ditch running beneath Room 9 (Fig. 2) showed that the site had already been occupied before the building of the first bath-house.

The difficulties of interpretation, created by the severe robbing of the site, were increased by the circumstances of the excavation. The various stages of the occupation did not become apparent until the third year of the dig, by which time it was impossible to re-open some of the cuttings made in the earlier years.

## The Ditch

The ditch first ran east-west under the southern range of rooms, and was found again in a cut 60ft. west of Room 9—the furthest west it was possible to excavate. A cut just outside the later west wall of Room 9 had first established the profile (Section H-H[1], Fig. 7) —an asymmetrical V-shape, sloping more steeply on the south side than on the north, cut to a depth of about 3ft. into the natural. It was then traced eastwards under Rooms 8 and 7.

Trial trench B54 (4ft. wide) was made along the outer edge of the east wall of Rooms 5 and 7 in the expectation of cutting the ditch again here. It showed that the ditch did not continue in an easterly direction, but turned southwards and ran approximately parallel to the wall. The western lip of the ditch was about 2ft. 6in. from the wall and the eastern lip about 9ft. from it (Fig. 2). Disturbance of the southern part of the site made it impossible to trace its course for much more than 10ft. (An extension of B54 northwards showed that there was no continuation of this north-south arm in that direction). The east-west arm was obviously filled in before Rooms 7, 8 and 9 were built, but the alignment of the room walls suggests that its course was known to the later builders. The quantity of pottery sealed in the part of the ditch below the building shows clearly that there was occupation of the site at an earlier date than that of the buildings, when the ditch was still open. Ditched enclosures were a common feature of farming in S.E. Britain in the late Iron Age and early Roman times. It may be assumed that this was such an enclosure, although only parts of two sides were traced, and no remains of contemporary buildings were found.

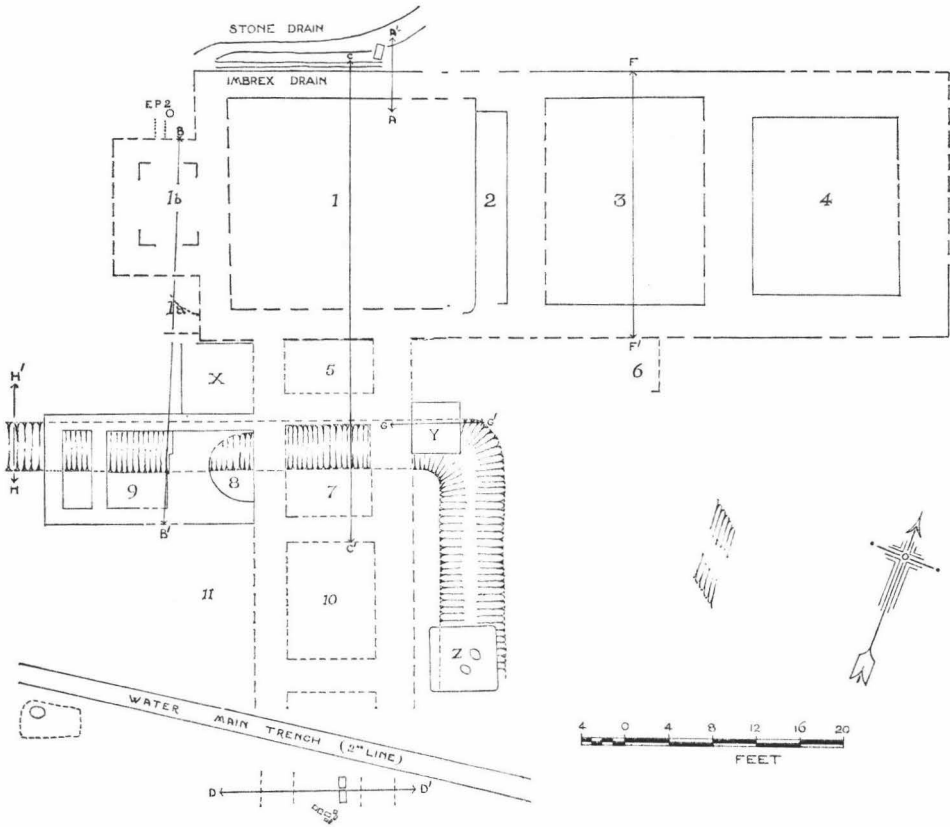



Fig. 2. General plan of buildings and earlier ditches showing lines of sections (A-A[1] &c.).

## Detailed Description

The general lay-out of the bath-house was the same in both periods. As in some other bath-houses (e.g. that at Chedworth) there were two suites, one of the Swedish type (the northern block, Rooms 1-4 and 6) and one of the Turkish type (the southern block, Rooms 7-9 and possibly 10 and 11) (Fig. 2). Room 5 linked Room 1, which possibly served as the frigidarium for both suites, with the southern block.

*Room 1. Frigidarium and Room 2. Lobby* (*Plate I*)

In the first period Room 1 was a rectangular frigidarium with an apsidal cold bath (Room 1a) on the west side. The south and west wall foundations of both periods had been severely robbed, and lines of these in the first period could only be conjectured from the general alignment of the south wall of the block and the position

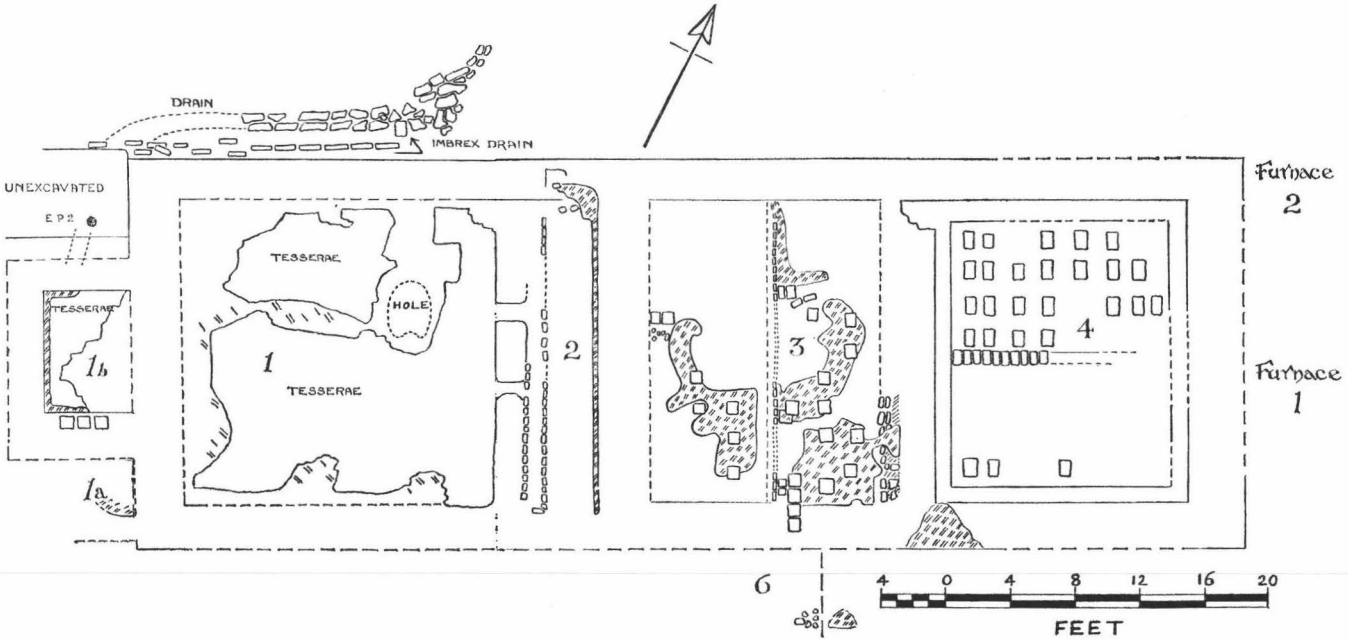



Fig. 3. Plan of Rooms 1-4 and 6

of the cold bath on the west. A small portion of the southern end of the wall foundation of this bath remained in position, with its mortar lining on the inside (Section B-B$^1$, Fig. 9). This remaining part was not sufficient to determine the exact shape and size of the wall of the bath, but it appeared to be apsidal inside and rectangular outside. The construction of the later cold bath and the erection of E.P.2 had destroyed any other first period structure outside the west wall of Room 1.

Part of the early foundations of the north wall of Room 1, about 18in. wide, remained in position (Section A-A$^1$, Fig. 8A). The thickness of the burnt layer above these foundations (about 9in.) suggested the use of timber in the construction of the wall; but the large quantity of debris from the earlier building used to support the later floor showed that a considerable amount of stone, tile and plaster had been used in the earlier period as well.

On the east, Room 1 was bounded by a lobby (Room 2). If any dividing wall had existed, all traces of it had been destroyed in the rebuilding. The main entrance to the bath-house was through a doorway at the north end of the lobby, where a mortared step with the impression of a door-post on the east side still remained at a low level.

The inside of Room 1 was not fully excavated, but some black-and-white tesserae, set in mortar, found beneath the later floor, suggested the existence of a mosaic floor in the first period.

Saxon raids about 200 A.D. caused much damage to buildings around the coast of Britain, and this may have been the occasion for the rebuilding of the bath-house, but at this time the water-level was still rising and making necessary the raising of floor levels of buildings on low-lying and marshy ground. The builders of the second period bath-house strengthened the foundations by spreading layers of closely packed large cobble before erecting the walls, and raised the floor levels with various materials. The cobble was particularly heavy along the south wall of Room 1. On the line of the walls they also laid a strip of white mortar about 2ft. 6in. wide in which to set the new stones.

Cobble was used under the west wall of Room 1, and to a lesser extent under the north wall, and here building debris partly took its place. The north wall was not rebuilt on exactly the same line as the earlier wall, but was moved slightly to the south (Section A-A$^1$, Fig. 8A). There was a thin burnt layer on top of the building debris immediately below the mortar spread for the wall. This may have been created during the preparations for the build-up of the wall foundation, or indicate a local fire and partial rebuilding.

The floor level of the lobby (Room 2) was not raised in the second period, and there was no sign of cobble under the mortar spread for the east wall. Two steps running the length of the lobby gave

access to Room 1, the floor of which was raised about 18in. on a bed of building debris. Red tesserae (approximately 1in. cubes) set in pink mortar, formed this floor (Plate I).

On the west of Room 1 a rectangular bath (1b) now replaced the earlier apsidal bath (1a) (Fig. 3). The floor of this later bath was 18in. below the tessellated floor of Room 1, and was also made of red tesserae set in pink mortar, which was spread on a layer of septaria. Part of the quarter-round plaster moulding remained in position where the floor had met the west wall, but the walls had been robbed to a lower level. This robbing had almost destroyed the outlet of the bath, and the channel outside the north wall could not be followed far because of the obstruction by E.P. 2, but the bath must have emptied into the drainage system which ran along outside the north wall of Room 1 for about 16ft. from the N.W. corner.

This system consisted of a drain covered by imbrices which followed the outer edge of the mortar of the foundation, and another drain covered by slabs of mixen rock which ran parallel to this about 2ft. 6in. further north. At its eastern end the imbrex drain emptied into the stone drain through a channel covered by a flat rectangular tile. The stone drain then curved away from the building to the north. The stones used for this drain probably came from the ruins of the first period building.

The amount of building material cleared from the higher levels over the whole of this area indicated a substantial super-structure at the later period. Roofing tiles had fallen over the drains, and the only trial trench to the north (in line with Room 2) revealed building tumble as far as 20ft. from the excavated rooms. The coin of the 20th Consulship of Constantius, found among the debris in the bath 1b, indicates that the building must still have been in use towards the middle of the 4th century A.D. A coin of Allectus lay amid a group of pottery on the line of the south wall of Room 1.

*Room 3. Tepidarium*

Rooms 3 and 4 had both been heated. Their positions suggest that Room 3 was a tepidarium and Room 4 a caldarium (Fig. 3).

Remains of first period foundations were found in the north and south walls of Room 3, and a coin of Vespasian was discovered in the foundation trench of the north wall.

A channel ran from north to south across the centre of the room. This was bounded along most of its east side by two layers of horizontal tiles set in pink mortar. Comparison with a similar channel in Room 4 (Plate II) where some tiles covering the channel were still in position, showed that this channel served as a drain under the flue. Similar features appear at Rapsley villa (Surrey A.C., vol. 65 (1968), p. 15) and Hucclecote, Glos. The channel

appeared to cross the south wall and there were some indications of a furnace room outside (Room 6). In the first period the floor of the room was covered with a hard grey mortar, laid apparently on the natural. All further traces of the heating system had disappeared (Fig. 8).

The N.E. corner of Room 3 showed that the builders of the second bath-house retained some of the earlier foundations of mixen rock and strengthened them on the inside with a lining of dressed stones, mortared in position. The wall between Room 3 and Room 4 had been lined on both sides. The south wall of Room 3 was too badly robbed to show the method of rebuilding.

To provide a foundation for the hypocaust the builders covered the grey mortar remaining from the earlier building with a layer of tiles and septaria. On these they spread white mortar in which to set the square tiles as bases for the pilae. In no case did more than three tiles of a pila remain in position and the floor they supported had been completely destroyed. The connection between the white mortar layer and the second period wall foundations was shown on both the east and west sides of the room. Some of the septaria supporting the mortar ran up to the inner edge of the western wall foundation. In the S.E. corner of the room the mortar layer covered the stones of the wall foundation, stopping presumably at the line of the wall itself. In laying the mortar the builders obviously took into account the line of the flue. This suggests that they may have retained the same flue in the second period. There were pilae of large tiles at the southern end of this channel, just inside the south wall.

An area of white mortar, similar to that used in Room 3, was found on the line of the south wall, at the end of the wall dividing Room 3 from Room 4, and another area outside the building, east of the possible furnace room (Room 6). It is difficult to see any structural significance in these.

*Room 4. Caldarium (Plate II)*

The position of the greenhouses prevented the excavation of the N.E. corner of Room 4, so that it was impossible to determine whether the first period foundations were still in situ here. Robbing had destroyed most of the south and east walls.

Trial trenches outside the east wall showed signs of a furnace (Furnace 1, Fig. 3), which must have supplied the heat to the early flue running east-west across the middle of the room at low level. As in Room 3, only the drain below the flue remained (Plate II), but the tiles covering the drain were still in position at the west end. These were flanked on the north by another row of tiles at the same level, and there were indications that a similar row had existed to the south. These two rows may have supported the tiles bounding

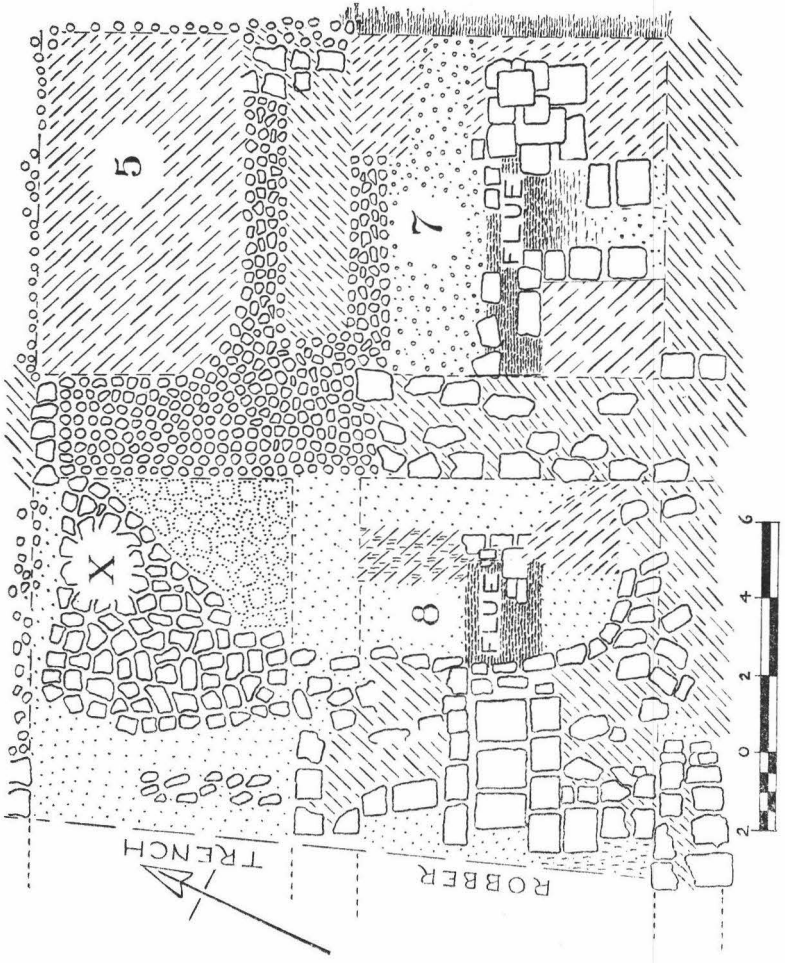



Fig. 4. Plan of Rooms 5, 7 and 8 (above earlier ditch).

the flue channel itself (cf. flue between Rooms 8 and 9) (Plate III). No more evidence of the construction of the floor or heating system of the first period remained, except a few black and white tesserae (similar to those from the first period floor of Room 1) found among the debris in the southern part of the room.

In the second period the foundations of the walls had been strengthened by lining them on the inside, as in Room 3. In the northern half of the room the bases, at least, of most of the hypocaust pilae remained, and some stood as much as six tiles high (Plate II). They were composed of large rectangular tiles (16in. x 11in.) instead of the smaller square tiles which were used for the bases of most of the pilae in Room 3. The builders had again spread a thick layer of mortar in which to set the bases of the pilae, but in Room 4 this extended over the tiles covering the drain beneath the flue, whereas in Room 3 it had stopped at that line. In the N.E. corner of Room 4 it was possible to trace the line of two converging ducts leading from a furnace (Furnace 2, Fig. 3) outside the building.

In the southern half of Room 4 the bases of only two pilae remained in position (in the S.W. corner). The whole area was occupied by a massive quantity of building material of all kinds—roof and hypocaust tiles, brick and building stone, hard mortar, red flooring and wall plaster. In the S.W. corner of the room some wall plaster was still in position. No box-flue tiles were found anywhere on the site.

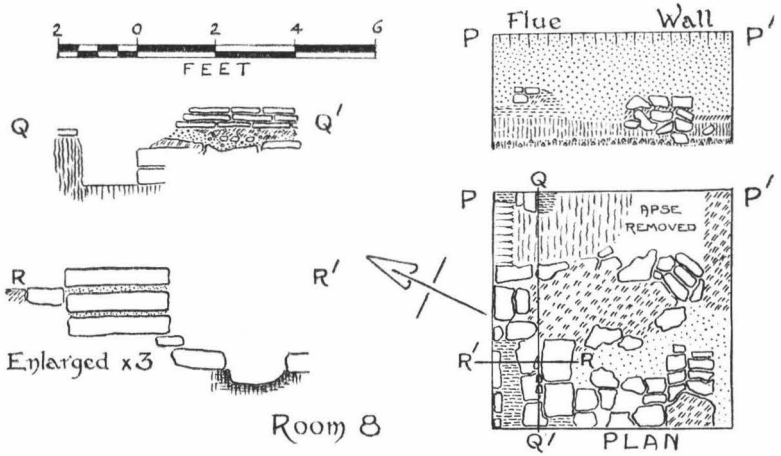



Fig. 5. Details of southern half of Room 8 at lower level

*Room 5.* (*Plate IV*)

All that remained of the first period building in Room 5 was the pink mortar floor, which was laid on small cobble (Section C-C[1], Fig. 9).

When the room was rebuilt in the second period, the builders put down heavy cobble for the foundations of all four walls. Some of these wall foundations set in white mortar remained in position (especially on the south side). The second period floor was also of pink mortar, but it was raised 18in. above the earlier floor, on a bed of building debris. Although half the interior of the room was excavated to the level of the earlier floor, no dating evidence was found in the building debris below the later floor, and nothing to suggest it served any purpose other than a link between the northern and southern parts of the bath-house.

*Room 7. Caldarium* (*Plate V*)

Nothing remained of the first period wall foundations of Room 7, but there were areas of pink mortar floor, similar to that in Room 5. On the north side of the room this floor was laid on fine gravel or shingle (Section C-C[1], Fig. 9), but the southern part of the floor was supported by a thin layer of building debris, over the gravel. A small piece of pink mortar flooring was embedded in this debris which may have come from the site of the earlier occupation (contemporary with the ditch). A flue ran from east to west across the floor of this room, and had a branch to the south (Plate V and Fig. 4). The bottom of the flue channel was of clay; the sides were lined with large stones and a few covering tiles were still in position. Signs of burning appeared along the length of the flue, and there was a band of burnt earth and flints extending north and south where the flue met the line of the east wall (no foundations of either period were in position here). This suggests there were other branch flues running along the E. wall.

Second period wall foundations were visible on the north, south and west sides of Room 7. The west wall showed clearly the method of setting stones in white mortar. This wall appeared to cut the line of the flue between Rooms 7 and 8. Inside the room all features of the second period building had disappeared.

*Room 8. Hot bath* (*Plate VI*)

In the first period Room 8 was an apsidal hot bath (Plate VI and Fig. 4). Much of the inner curve of the apse could be traced, but later rebuilding had obscured the line of the outside. Two small portions of pink mortar flooring (one burnt) remained. A flue, in line with that found in Room 7, ran under this bath. Where this

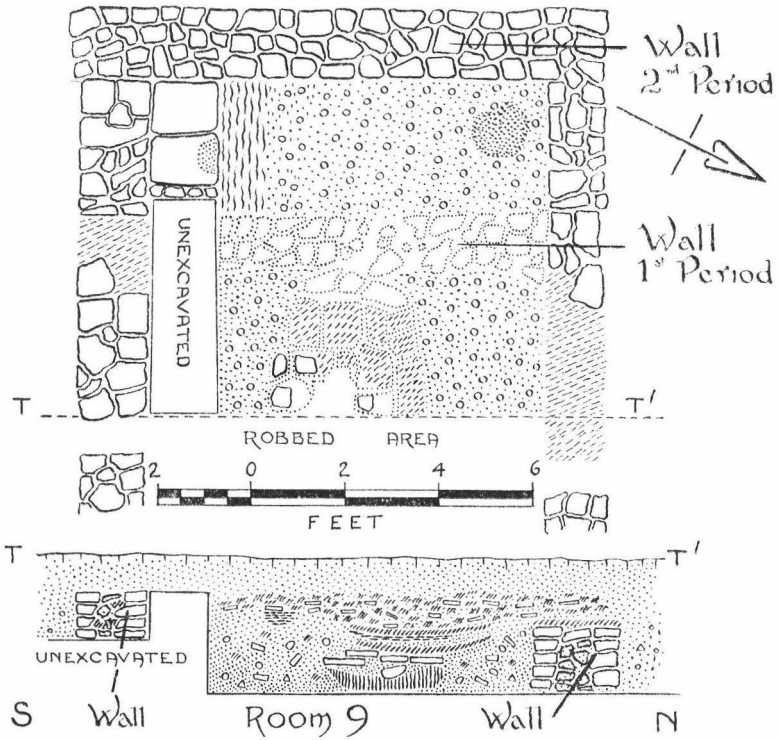



Fig. 6. Room 9, plan and section

flue crossed the western wall foundations, the stones of the foundations formed the bottom of the channel, but the sides were constructed with horizontal tiles (Plate III and Fig. 5). Some tiles covering the flue also remained in position. This flue brought hot air from the furnace room (9), to heat the bath (8) and caldarium (7). It may also have heated a tank of water standing on the tiles above the flue where it crossed the wall foundation.

The space bounded by the south wall of Room 1, the west wall of Room 5 and the north wall of Room 8 was filled by a foundation (X) composed of large cobble and flint (Plate IV). This position was suitable for a structure carrying a storage tank for rainwater collected from the roofs of the adjacent buildings, to supply both the cold bath (1a) and hot bath (8).

As in Room 7, all internal features of the second period had disappeared, but sections of the later wall foundations remained on the east, south and west sides. The channel formed by the tiles

covering the earlier flue and the two higher rows of tiles flanking them (Plate III) may have been part of the flue constructed to replace the lower one, the line of which was blocked by the foundations of the new wall between Rooms 7 and 8. The same position (on foundation X) would also have been suitable for the storage tank of the second period baths.

The roofs providing the catchment area for this storage tank may have exerted too great an eastward thrust on the east wall of Rooms 5 and 7. The laying of the foundations of this part of the building across the ditch may also have caused instability. It apparently became necessary to build a buttress (on foundation Y) to strengthen the east wall. This was constructed on the northern lip of the ditch, just west of the turn. It was composed of large undressed blocks of mixen rock (possibly from the ruins of the first bath-house). The lowest stones of this foundation were about 4ft. below the present surface and rested on a layer of flint, which had signs of a post-hole in it (Section G-G$^1$, Fig. 7). The top of the flint layer coincided with the water-table in 1954. The cobble laid for the east wall of Rooms 5 and 7 had been cut away when the foundation was constructed, and on the north side a few stones of the foundation overlapped the line of the wall itself, but one could not be certain that these were in their original position.

*Room 9. Furnace room* (*Fig.* 6)

The lowest courses of the foundation of the first west wall of Room 9 remained in position, unobscured by any later rebuilding on the same line. The junctions of this wall with the north and south walls remained intact, these sections having been incorporated in the later north and south walls. There was a mortared step near the east end of the north wall. At this level inside the room there were remains of tile flooring, covered with mortar. There were burnt areas above and below this. On the east side of the room this tile flooring was extended to form the bottom of the flue leading to Room 8 (Plate III). All the evidence pointed to the use of Room 9 as a furnace room.

The builders of the second bath-house enlarged Room 9 by demolishing the west wall and building a new one about 4ft. further west (Fig. 6). Five or six courses of this wall foundation remained and included slabs laid in herring-bone fashion. The builders had strengthened the north and south wall foundations, and made a new entrance at the west end of the south wall. This step was at a higher level than the old one, as the floor inside the room had been raised by filling in crushed building debris. Three tiles of this higher floor remained immediately inside the entrance. No signs of burning were found at this higher level, but the eastern part of the room,

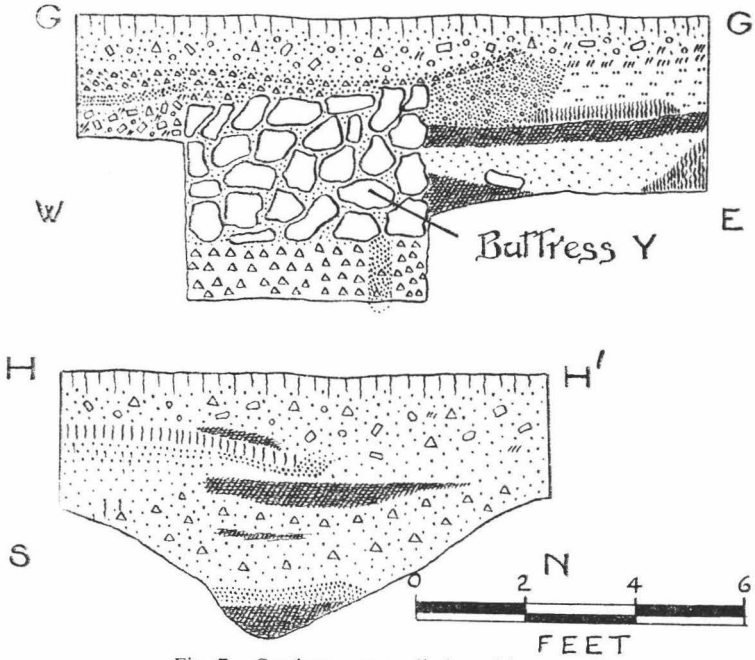



Fig. 7. Sections across ditch and buttress Y

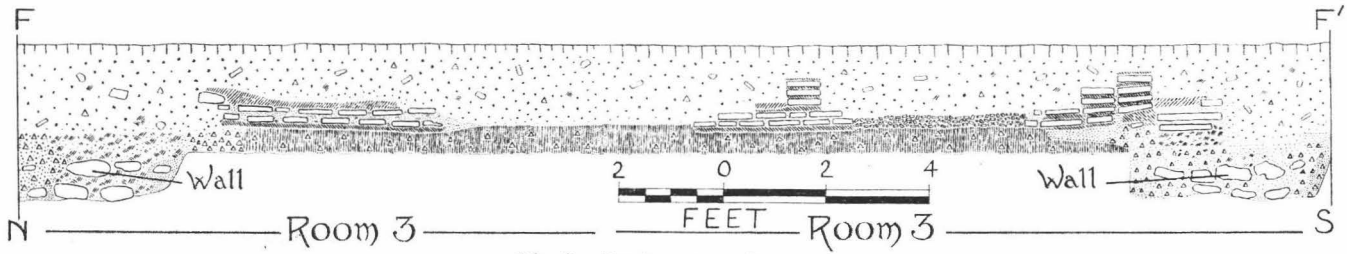



Fig. 8. Section across Room 3

adjacent to the wall dividing it from Room 8, had been robbed, so it cannot be determined whether Room 9 was still a furnace room in the second period.

*Rooms 10 and 11.* (*Fig.* 2)

Nothing that could be identified as first period building remained south of Rooms 7, 8 and 9. Cobble, usually covered by a layer of small flint, extended for approximately 20ft. south of Rooms 7 and 8, and on this there were traces of second period wall foundations and flooring. In particular the mortar spread continued on the line of the wall dividing Rooms 7 and 8 for 17ft. southwards, dividing Room 10 on the east from Room 11 on the west. Some stones remained in the foundations of the south wall of Room 10, and there were traces of its east wall, on the line of the east wall of Rooms 5 and 7. The part of the floor remaining in Room 10 showed a method of construction similar to that of Room 5 in the second period, with a few tiles set in the floor. Room 11, the extent of which was not clearly defined, appeared to have had a mortar floor at a slightly lower level than in Room 10. A considerable amount of painted wall plaster was found in this area, suggesting that Rooms 10 and 11 were severely robbed main rooms.

The cobble continued south of Room 10 and there was a mortar layer on the cobble for 2 to 3 ft. south of the south wall. This cobble and other traces of mortar, plaster and building material had already been observed in this section of the second water-main trench which was 4 to 6 ft. to the south of Room 10 (Fig. 2). It seemed likely that there had been another room south of Room 10, but no other wall foundations were found. South of the water-main trench extensive evidence of burning appeared. There were tiles (some of them burnt and covered with a white deposit) and burnt daub, resting on a layer of sand about 18in. thick, below which was a mortar layer, broken by flint foundations on the east and west (See D-D[1], Fig. 9). These finds suggested the presence of a kiln or furnace. The burnt tiles were at approximately the same level as the existing flooring of Room 10, so that, if they constituted the floor of a furnace room, it could have supplied hot air to circulate in a hypocaust system based on this flooring.

*Area south of Rooms* 2, 3 *and* 4

To the east of Room 10, about 16ft. south of foundation Y, lay a third foundation Z. This was larger than foundation Y, of similar material but less well constructed, and had two postholes in it.

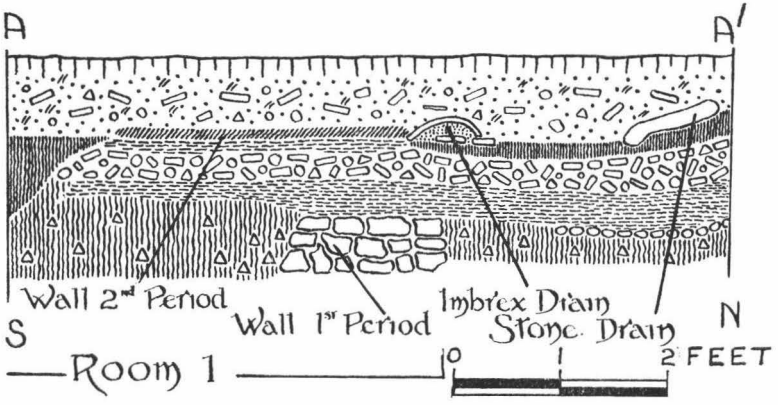



Fig. 8A. Section across north wall of Room 1

One of these was cleared to a depth of 5ft. 1in. below the present surface, where water and natural clay were found. The post-hole was not quite vertical (gradient about 4 in 1). Foundation Z was built on the line of the ditch, not quite touching the foundation of the east wall of Room 10.

South of Rooms 2, 3 and 4 there were various patches of cobble, some set on a yellow sandy plaster, but no outlines of walls. About 7ft. outside the S.W. corner of Room 3 there was an area of mortar and charcoal, suggesting the existence of a burnt timber building. A coin of Gordianus was found just outside the wall foundation of Room 3.

The trench A54 revealed the profile of another ditch which appeared to run from N.W. to S.E. This was full of building tumble, which could not have fallen from either Rooms 1-4 or Rooms 5-11 (Fig. 2). It must have come from an area to the south, where there was cobble and small flint foundations similar to that found in the area of Rooms 10 and 11. A trial trench (A55) eastwards from Room 10 across foundation Z showed that an occupation layer devoid of building material separated these two areas. This trench exposed more heavy stonework in the area south of Room 4, but there was no opportunity to explore this.

*Other areas outside the bath-house*

About 16ft. south of the S.W. corner (period 2) of Room 9, there was a large (c.18in. in diameter) well-packed post-hole, surrounded by an area of close-packed stone.

Trial trenches among the greenhouses north of Rooms 1-4 produced much building material and pottery (some from a pit) but hardly any traces of structural remains. There were signs of

PLATE I. Room 1 with tessellated floor

PLATE II. Hypocaust and channel beneath flue in Room 4

PLATE III. Flue between Rooms 8 and 9

PLATE IV. Room 5 with flint foundation in foreground

PLATE V. Rooms 7, 8 and 9 (looking west)

PLATE VI. Room 8 (1st period) with flue

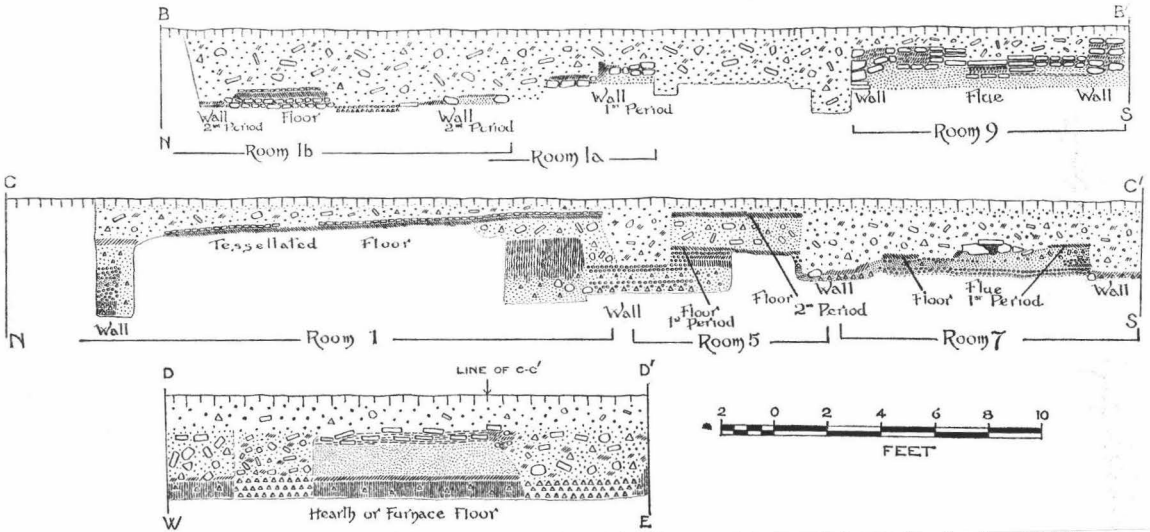
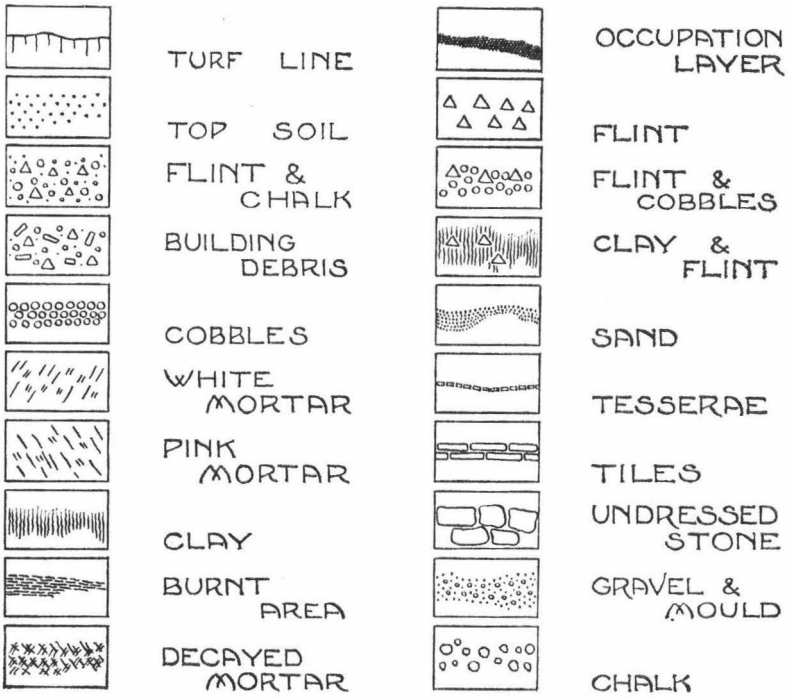



Fig. 9. Section (B-B¹) across Rooms 1b, 1a and 9. Section (C-C⁹) across Rooms 1, 5 and 7. Section (D-D¹) across burnt floor south of water main.

wall foundation about 12ft. north of the north wall of Rooms 2 and 3. The presence of all this building material, and the one wall foundation discovered, explain the northward course of the stone drain near Room 1. The obvious course for this would have been in a more easterly direction, in order to reach the Sidlesham Rife (Fig. 1), but its diversion would be explained by the existence of buildings to the north of the bath-house.




Key to strata in sections

## Conclusion

It is clear from the general run of the pottery and coin finds that there were three periods of occupation. The first, associated with the ditch, was during the first century A.D., before the bath-house was built. The second, in which the bath-house was erected, lasted until the end of the second century A.D., when there were many raids along the south coast and the walls of Chichester were built. The final phase continued until the middle of the fourth century A.D. Mrs. M. H. Rule, F.S.A., has examined the pottery, and considers there are not enough significant stratified sherds to make close dating possible for the three periods of occupation indicated by the rebuilds revealed in the excavation of the site. The most one can say from the pottery is that occupation started in the 1st century A.D. and continued into the 4th. All the pottery is now stored in the Chichester City Museum.

## Acknowledgements

*By* A. E. Wilson

In 1951, when the invitation came to examine the Roman remains at Sidlesham, the Chichester Excavations Committee had sufficient experienced volunteers to accept this, in addition to its tasks in Chichester.

Miss M. Collinson was working in Greyfriars Museum, classifying, marking and arranging for display the archaeological finds from the city and undertook a similar task for the Sidlesham site. Miss J. G. Pilmer was at work on her thesis on Roman Chichester and taking an active part in excavations. Students attending Dr. Morriss's lectures on Roman Britain at University College, London, offered their assistance. Some of them, including E. Wheeler and G. Putnam, had had experience of excavating on Hadrian's Wall. My students, including E. E. Barker and Sylvia Adams, had been working in the city and assisted at Sidlesham, as did students and staff from several other colleges and schools.

After Miss Collinson's sudden death, Miss V. Smith took over the arrangements of the Greyfriars Museum and assisted in the early preparations of the report. Mr. A. H. Collins, Secretary of the Chichester Excavations Committee, and my daughter both took part in work on the site, excavating and recording, and, when my sight failed, undertook the completion of the report. More recently Mrs M. Rule promised to prepare a report on the pottery, and Mr. C. W. Yeates has drawn the plans and sections for publication. Prof. S. S. Frere read the original draft of the report and made many constructive suggestions.

To all these, and to the Land Settlement Association, I express my thanks.

# SOME NOTES ON CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL

*By* W. D. PECKHAM

Like the original writing of a palimpsest, a ghost of Ralph Luffa's church is still traceable in the present-day fabric. In the course of a familiarity with it which goes back into the nineteenth century I have come to some conclusions about it which may be worth putting on record.

It is always accepted that the aisles of the original church were vaulted, though this vault has been destroyed and replaced by the present one; and beside such conclusions as may be drawn from the piers, which escaped damage by fire on the aisle side, there is a scrap of evidence surviving to-day. While the inner side of the arcades at aisle level have been re-faced, the triforium stage preserves the original work, save that wall shafts have been added to carry the spring of the high vault. But the outer face of the arcade, only visible in the triforium chamber itself, shows to this day the marks of scorching by the fire. (I have had opportunity to study the effects of more recent fires at West Dean and Donnington.) This means that the timber of the aisle roofs, when rafters had burned through, fell, still alight, on the upper surface of an aisle vault and not into the aisle itself below. The scorching is greater in the north triforium of the nave than in the south; evidently a north wind was blowing at the time, fanning the flames against the stonework on the north side and away from it on the south. Why stone, an incombustible material, should be damaged by fire long puzzled me; I offer an explanation with no certainty that I am right. Breakfast flakes are produced, I believe, by exposing maize (or possibly other grain) to sudden heat above boiling point, for too short a time to char the material but for long enough for the minute droplets of water contained in it to turn into steam, the pressure of which breaks the corn into flakes. (Similar treatment of talc produces vermiculite.) I suppose that our building stones, or those of them laid down under water, contain similar droplets, and that heat penetrating into stone would produce a like effect.

Perhaps the best idea of the appearance of the original vaulting may be got from St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, which preserves its original groined vault; but the bays of the nave aisles at Chichester are so far from being square (they measure about 20ft. by 12ft.) that each must have been part barrel, part intersecting.

The design of the great churches of the 12th century provided for access passages all round, at both triforium and clearstory level (but my knowledge of some, such as Tewkesbury and Gloucester naves, where the upper stages are much reduced in height, is not enough to allow me to include them in this). Their precise purpose escapes me; that at the latter would be, and was later, of great use for the up-keep of the glazing; but no window of Ralph Luffa's cathedral was glazed, if the partially open one between the south choir aisle and the priest Vicars' vestry and the surviving original ones in the triforium chamber are enough to base a generalization on. At three places to-day the original design is altered at triforium level; but just enough evidence survives to make it certain that its arcade, and consequently the chamber behind it, was carried round the apse, that is a single stone, part of the string-course continued from the abacus of the capital, at a higher level than that of the arcades west of it, and stones of the squared ashlar whose under side is curved to fit the extrados of the arch. But the transept ends present a more difficult problem. East of the south transept the newel staircase (Bishop Luffa's work) leading up from the west bay of the south choir aisle branches near its head; part leads into the triforium chamber over the south choir aisle, part into the loft over St. Pantaleon, the Canons' vestry, originally rebated for, and still having, a door. There is, however, no corresponding opening in the respond opposite, which is entirely of wide-joint masonry. East of the north transept the building of the large chapel, now the Treasury, has altered the design somewhat; but the difference is not material. On the west side it is the north transept which has best preserved the original design inside and outside; the addition of the former Treasury, and later the Song School, in the thirteenth century, and of the Upper Chapter House over it and its staircase in the fifteenth, has destroyed the evidence on the west side of the wall; and Lambert Barnard's paintings on the east leave us with practically no evidence in the south transept; but there seems no doubt that in the original access from the nave triforium chamber to the newel staircase in the corner was by a wall passage like that opposite.

In both transept ends the present large windows each replace a group of small ones of the original design; while Langton's masons on the south side rebuilt from ground level, as the Cathalogus expressly records, a single pilaster buttress and some wide-joint masonry below the sill of the north window show that there were two one-light windows at aisle, and presumably also at triforium, level.

In the outer west angle of each transept a newel staircase leads to roof level; each, except for the uppermost part where it was continued when a parapet and leaded walk replaced the original dripping eaves, is of the Romanesque form having its treads carried on a

rough, sometimes exceedingly rough, barrel vault built on a spiral. Each of these stairs branches at clearstory level, originally giving access to the sills of the windows on the west and south and west and north sides respectively; neither has like provision eastward at triforium level. These details prove that the way across neither transept end was, as might have been expected, by a wall passage crossing the sills of the windows of Bishop Luffa's time. (I have myself crossed a transept end by a like sill passage at Peterborough). For long this riddle baffled me; but I have found a satisfactory answer; in each transept there was originally a stone gallery like those that still exist at Winchester, and formerly did in several English churches and some in Normandy, including two in Caen with which our association was particularly close.[1] This feature has re-appeared in the modern cathedral at Guildford.

It is to be supposed that Chichester had a watching-loft for the shrine of St. Richard, like those which survive at St. Albans and Oxford; but it has perished long ago, at the sack of the Cathedral in 1642, if not earlier. In the Cathedral plan at the end of his *Statutes* Walcott marks a watching loft at No. 10, the line of Sherburne's altar screen; it is shown in the section of the Cathedral opposite p. 118 of Vol. I of Dallaway's *Western Sussex*. On p. 32 of Walcott's own copy of his *Statutes*, which I saw in the Cathedral Library, Bennett notes: 'It was three feet in breadth and reached by a flight of three steps on either side of the triforium. Traces of them still remain in the new masonry.' In *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 86, p. 159, O. H. Leeney in 1957 reproduces the mistake, 'This was really a watching-loft of the shrine of St. Richard; it was removed in 1829, possibly with other parapets, "because the choir boys used to run races across it"'; it was about as unsuitable for a watchman's stance or, for that matter, a race track, as can be imagined. To me it looks like a service gallery for attending to lights over the high altar; but this explanation, like the other, raises questions about artificial lighting not easily answered, whether it was the altar or the shrine that was to be lighted. In Mediterranean countries light can be maintained without continuous attention by a '*kandil*', a wick borne by cork floats over olive oil; I have known such both as my bedroom candle in a Greek inn, and over the tomb of St. Demetrius in Salonica (where, when first I saw it, the tomb-warden was a Moslem Mevlevi dervish). But English churches were lit by beeswax; and such

[1] A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest*, plate 4, pp. 13, 21, 22, 26, 31, 37, 38, and the plans of churches on pp. 10 and 11. The pier at Canterbury in this position comes into the story of the murder of Becket. The single pilaster on the north wall at Chichester shows that the gallery was of two bays, their arches being probably separated by a broad pier like those in the choir and nave.

candles (I have seen them being made, in Crete) before the nineteenth-century invention of the plaited self-snuffing wick, needed constant attention, or went out. My father has told me that the candles in the house of my grandfather (1801-73) needed to be snuffed twice during dinner; who snuffed the candles burning 'before the Sepulchre' or at High Mass?

Whatever the actual purpose of it was, for the accommodation of a watchman something less bleak was needed than a narrow gallery over the reredos (if there was such a thing in the Cathedral of the thirteenth century, which seems doubtful in view of the evidence for a free-standing high altar in great churches of the time); and the watching-lofts surviving both at St. Albans and at Oxford are, unless my memory is at fault, small rooms—cabins one might call them—from which the heat of a man's body, or of a brazier, would have far less space in which to be dissipated than in the open choir. But, I fear that neither that question, nor the other, how the watchman, lacking both firearms and means of summoning help from outside, could have protected the shrine from determined robbers, careless of Purgatory (or worse), may ever find a satisfactory answer.

I have, I think, seen it on record that the sextons were required to sleep in the Cathedral before the canonization of St. Richard, before even the windows were glazed, but can give no reference; their night's rest must, in any case, have been intermittent if Mattins, which called for some preparation in lighting candles, putting out service books and, perhaps, *Venite* loaves (if they were issued in the church itself), was said at the time prescribed by scripture ('At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee'—Ps. 119, 62). But there is no certainty when the service actually took place; in any case morrow-Mass must have been said early if it was followed, as it was in the 16th century, by six others, the last of which must have been begun before noon.[1]

Later there is definite evidence for their accommodation in the Cathedral; in about 1513[2] the communar accounts for repairs to the roof 'over the sextons' chamber'; and there is fairly good evidence to show where this was. Dallaway[3] writes 'Annexed to the north transept is a building which appears likewise to have contained chambers for the reception of chantry priests.' The evidence, as will be seen, is that the building was of 15- or 16-century date, when most, if not all, of the chantrists were Vicars choral who had, and were required to have, their quarters in their own Close.

[1] Sussex Record Society, vol. 52, No. 410. Walcott, *Statutes*, p. 25, quoting Dean Hayley's book (D.R.O., Cap. I/1/4), p. 189, says that morrow-Mass was sung at 5 a.m. in summer and 6 a.m. in winter.

[2] D.R.O., Cap. I/23/1, f. 130r.

[3] Vol. I, p. 127.

Lieut. Hammond,[1] who was in Chichester (at the *White Horse* in South Street) on Sunday 16 Aug. 1635, writes: ' In the [north] Ile by the wall . . . lyeth the Statue of an Anchoresse, or strict recluse Nun, neere unto which is a pretty little Roome for such a one.' This clearly refers to the effigy of a lady in the north aisle and to the building west of the north transept which has suffered, and continues to suffer, considerable changes since then, shown in King's drawing of the north side of the Cathedral as having a window at first-floor level, access to the ground floor of which was evidently by a doorway, now blocked, having a four-centred arch in the east wall of the easternmost of the chapels flanking the north aisle; its sole other remaining trace being the line of corbels on the west face of the transept which carried the roof plate. (The door giving outside access to the foot of the newel stair in the transept corner is modern.) Whatever the ground floor housed, the upper storey is more likely to have been the chamber of the sextons than of an anchorite.

The date of the ruin of the north-west tower can be established within very narrow limits. As already said, Lieut. Hammond was in Chichester in August 1635; he notes the spoilation of almost all the brasses, but has nothing to say about any damage to the fabric. Also Archbishop Laud's Injunctions, dated 20 Feb. 1635-6,[2] speak of several ruinous buildings in the Close, such as ' the house lately belonging to Dr. Andrewes'; but are equally silent about anything amiss with the fabric of the Cathedral itself. But the estimate for ' the new building of the Tower that is now fallen down at the West end of the Cathedral . . .' is dated in the same year, 1636.[3]

With some diffidence, I offer a suggestion of the cause of the ruin. King's view, already quoted, shows the Cathedral stonework intact, save that the north wall of the tower is rent from top to bottom by a gap of perhaps about 8ft. in breadth; the undamaged north-west angle and the windows which lit its newel staircase are distinctly shown. It is a curious ruin, and not easy to account for.

The glazing of the Cathedral must, in the 17th century, have been by leaded lights, our modern methods which give us windows to be reckoned in square rods not having been invented; about them, as about many other parts of the Cathedral fabric, our documentary evidence is scanty. Glaziers appear, along with masons, carpenters, and plumbers in a Chapter decree of 1616;[4] in the accounts for the repair of the fabric after the Interregnum during which, apparently,

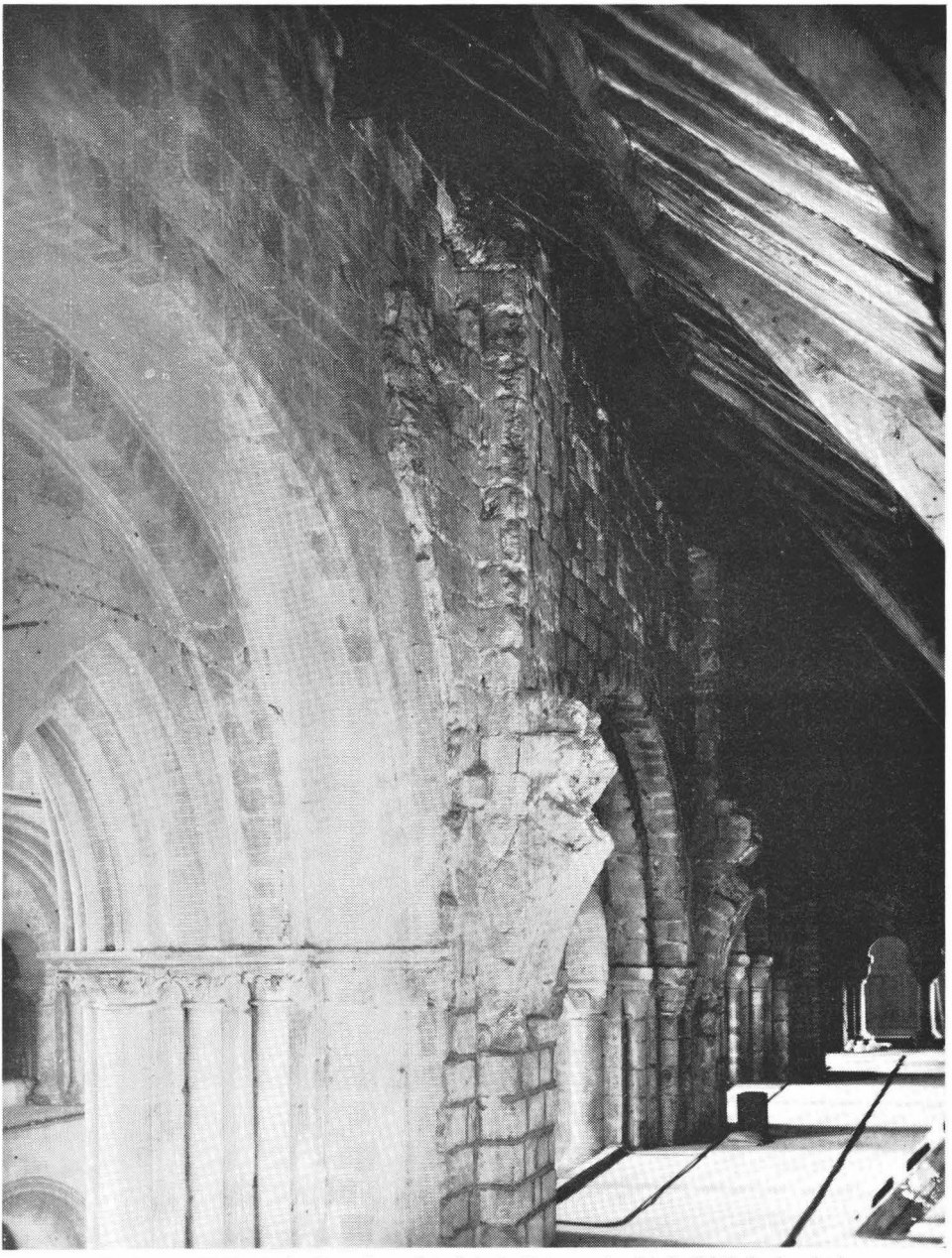
[1] Camden Society, *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 16, pt. iii, p. 5.

[2] Sussex Record Society, vol. 58, No. 1268.

[3] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 86, p. 185.

[4] Sussex Record Society, vol. 52, No. 1128.

PLATE I



Chichester Cathedral: Junction of Ralph Luffa's work with Seffrid's in the choir triforium (see note on p. 26).

no fund existed to meet the cost of upkeep, much the heaviest outlay in 1660-61 is for the glazier and plumber (who may well have been the same man[1]).

The communar's account for 1560 records payment of 7*s.* for carriage of a box of glass weighing 300lb. from London to Chichester, besides another for its carriage from London to Southwark; an inn there was evidently the starting point of the 'common carrier' (*communis auriga*).[2] In 1565 there was in stock 'in the plumbery' 316lb. of lead and 22 'bonches' of glass worth 2*s.* 1*d.* a bunch.[3] But probably the most relevant entry in our records is that of the payment on account to John Glasiare in 1473 'for mending 263 holes' (who counted them?) 'in the Cathedral windows, at 1*d.* each, great and small, 6*s.* 8*d.*'[4]

My own experience of lead lights (intact ones) is that they are not certainly waterproof; I have even known them (well-designed ones in a College building in Oxford) to have a leaden trough at the foot and a pipe to carry off any water that got through. Even with a periodical inspection (such as evidently had been delayed in 1473) leakage can call for some action; if the windows of the north-west tower had been overlooked for some time, and the masonry above and below them (with perhaps some rubble, loose and not set in mortar) was waterlogged, it might have been frozen (the Cathedral was not heated in Winter) with devastating effects when the thaw came.

If this explanation is correct, the ruin happened early in 1636, perhaps at the very moment when the Archbishop ordered the repair of a house in the Close.

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On the nave floor, presumably shifted from elsewhere, close to the arch of the south arcade, is a despoiled slab which measures about 7ft. 8in. by 3ft. 8in.; the missing brass included one full-sized effigy, the outline of the head being near circular, not unlike that of Sir Adam de Bacon, formerly at Oulton, Suffolk, that of the body suggests an ecclesiastic vested in chasuble rather than cope. There

[1] Stonemason £39, carpenter and joiner £21, glazier and plumber £138. D.R.O., Cap. I/23/4, f. 313 ff.

[2] Cap. I/23/3, f. 36. It is interesting to find evidence, not only for an organized road waggon service (so was known the predecessor of the railway goods train) which was probably brought to an end by the Civil War, but also for the freight charge.

[3] Ibid., f. 82; for bunches see L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, p. 184, note 6; *O.E.D.* has: 'Bunch, *sb.* A bundle of straw. *Obs.* Also a bundle of reeds or teasels, containing a definite quantity. *dial.*'

[4] Sussex Record Society, vol. 52, No. 415.

was a canopy, the arch of which had elaborate sub-cusping, unusual in work of its presumed early date; over this were figures, of Saints most likely; a marginal inscription was on a single fillet, not inlaid in separate letters; at each corner was a casement of the form of those in which later brasses showed the symbols of the evangelists. The brass was of a very early type, inlaid in the slab (with pitch?) without rivets, but having the larger elements united by brazing plates edge to edge and backing the joint by a batten of the same material about 2in. wide brazed to each plate, to receive this the casement is deepened; the brass, of uncertain date, of Margaret de Camoys at Trotton is of this type (except the inscription); for this see *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 80, p. 123.

Similar despoiled slabs can be seen in Salisbury Cathedral, Hever in Kent, Emneth in Norfolk (where the slab is exceptionally well preserved), and doubtless elsewhere.

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*Note relating to Plate I.* This shows the triforium chamber over the north Choir Aisle looking SW.; the difference between the earlier, wide-jointed, work and the later can be seen distinctly. The one remaining stone of the string-course which continued the former abacus under the arches of the apse can be seen at a higher level than that of the present; these triforium openings were narrower than those further west, and their arches consequently of less height; to keep their crowns level their springs were higher. This stone is about level with the V-shaped notch on the profile of the remains of the former arch which spanned the chamber from south to north; lighting placed at a lower level throws its shadow above it. About seven or eight courses of the ashlar whose curved surfaces fitted over the extrados of the former arch can be seen above this.

I am indebted for this photograph to the skill of the late Mr. C. W. Shippam, and for the permission to reproduce it to Mr. Charles Shippam, of Boxgrove.

# A ROMANO-BRITISH BLOOMERY AT PIPPINGFORD, HARTFIELD

*By* C. F. TEBBUTT, F.S.A. and HENRY CLEERE, F.S.A.

Pippingford Bloomery was discovered in 1969 by members of the Wealden Iron Research Group who noticed large lumps of iron slag protruding from the slope above Cinder Arch Lake, Pippingford,[1] in Hartfield parish at TQ 44573126. Further investigation by one of us (C.F.T.) showed that the slag came from a heap of similar material lying just below the surface higher up the slope. Just above this was found an irregularly shaped artificially levelled platform about 8 by 9m. in size, cut into the slope. Mr. G. F. Sargent, an employee of the Pippingford Estate for over 50 years, then told us that charcoal burners had used this place during the 1939-45 War. This accounted for the charcoal waste that was later found over part of the platform and slag heap.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are especially grateful to Mr. Alan Morriss of Pippingford Park for readily giving us permission to dig on his land, and for his great interest in the work. The significance of the excavation could not have been fully realised without Professor B. W. Cunliffe's report on the pottery, illustrated by Miss Jane Holdsworth's skilful drawings. For the carbon-14 report we are grateful to Mr. R. Burleigh of the British Museum Research Laboratory. Mr. M. R. Hull kindly wrote comments on the bronze brooch, which was drawn by Mr. E. W. Holden, and we have to thank Mrs. D. Cleere for identifying charcoal samples. Dr. R. F. Tylecote visited the site and gave valuable advice. Finally we must thank many members of the Wealden Iron Research Group for their hard work in digging trenches through the slag heap, and particularly Miss L. W. Funnell for drawing the plan of the smithy hearth, and an artist's impression of the furnace.

[1] Constructed in the 1930s.

## Description of the Site

This site is at about OD. 100m. on Ashdown Sand, and is on the S. facing side of a fairly steep uncultivated valley, once part of Ashdown Forest before the late 18th century inclosures. Fifty m. further down the slope is Cinder Arch Lake, which is fed by a small stream originating from springs near Wych Cross, and called Stony Brook in the Parliamentary Survey of 1654.[1] Sixty m. to the E. runs a small ghyll down which flows a constant trickle from a spring above. Thirty two m. to the SW. the steep valley side above Stony Brook (above the lake) appears to have been cut back, from stream level, to form a semi-circular pit or quarry, at right angles to the stream. This is believed to have been the quarry from which the iron ore was dug. Ironstone can be seen *in situ* in a section exposed by the nearby Millbrook (Nutley) to Newbridge stream below the bridge at TQ 44933082.

About 650 m. to the N. is Garden Hill, where small exploratory excavations at the hilltop camp in 1968 showed occupation, associated with iron working, from the mid 1st century AD.[2] Further excavations here in 1972 (as yet unpublished) uncovered a small 2nd-3rd cent. AD Roman bath house. From Garden Hill what appears to be an ancient trackway leads downhill to near the site, while a map of 1747 shows the " Horse Road from East Grinstead to Rotherfield " passing only a few m. to the N.[3]

## The Excavation (see Plan. Fig. 1)

The excavation was begun on the levelled area described above by stripping off the overlying turf and scraping down to the light yellow silty clay subsoil. Except where recent charcoal waste had been deposited this was found to be less than 15 cm. from the surface. All over the surface of the subsoil irregular areas coloured red appeared, indicating burning, some, no doubt, from the charcoal operations.

However, on the W. side of the platform the red areas increased and the shape of an oval pit, dug below the subsoil level, could be seen, with the outline of the stones of the circular furnace at its W. end. Nearby a much smaller pit of similar shape proved to be a smithy hearth (Fig. 3). Also nearby an irregular hole or pit had been filled with lumps of burnt sandstone. They were obviously not *in situ* and it can only be assumed that they had been dumped there in levelling the site, perhaps by the charcoal burners. They had

[1] *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*), vol. 23 (1871), p. 252.

[2] *S.A.C.*, vol. 108 (1970), pp. 39-49.

[3] *S.A.C.*, vol. 81 (1940), p. 130.

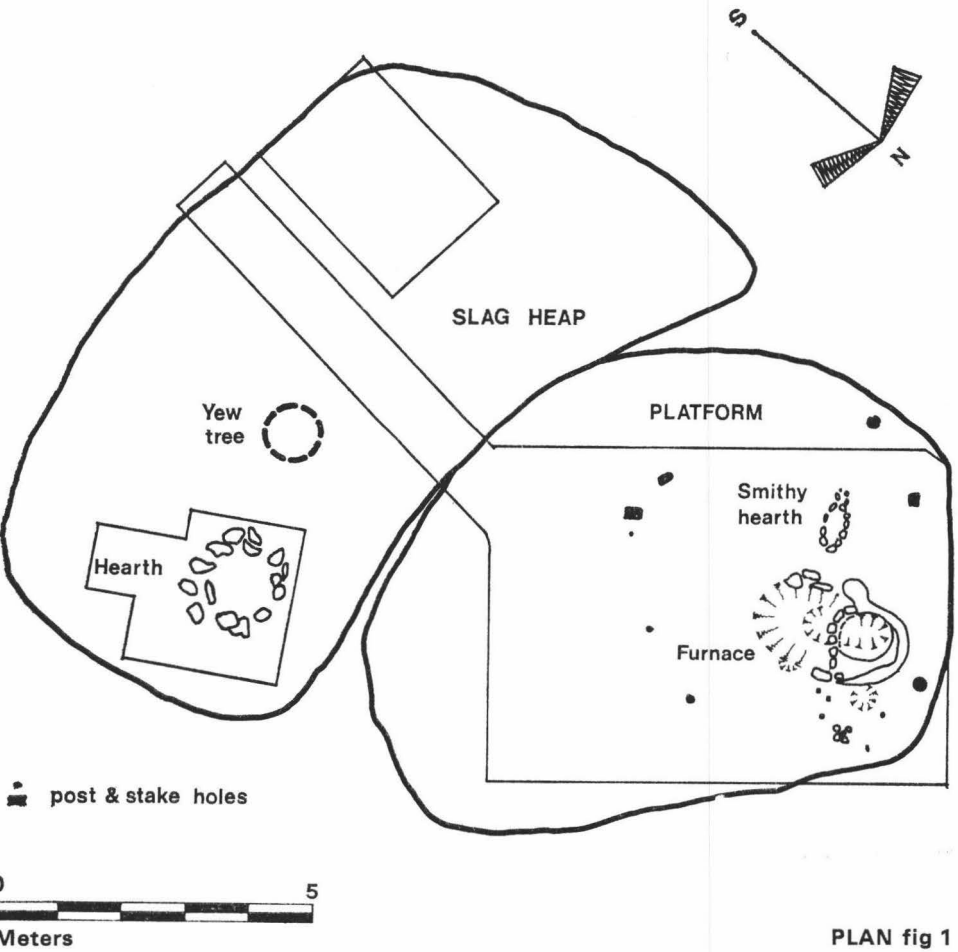



FIG. 1—PIPPINGFORD ROMANO-BRITISH BLOOMERY. The excavation

undoubtedly been used in the furnace. A number of postholes were found in the platform. Some still contained sound timber and so could be attributed to the charcoal period, others may have belonged to a structure contemporary with the furnace.

At the end of the excavation the furnace was left intact and back-filled. The finds will be placed in the Barbican House Museum, Lewes.

## THE FURNACE

The structure revealed by excavation, which is shown in Figure 2, consisted of a chamber about 60 cm. in internal diameter, with walls built of sandstone lumps bedded in and coated with clay, inside and out; the walls are about 40 cm. thick overall. The clay showed signs of having been exposed to considerable heat from the interior, graduating in colour from grey on the inside through red, orange and pink to the natural yellow colour on the outside of the structure.

In front of the furnace, which was sunk into the natural clay to a depth of about 35 cm., lay a shallow pit, measuring about 1 m. long by 80 cm. wide, with a deeper depression immediately in front of the furnace itself. This was lined on one of its longer sides with large sandstone slabs, 25-35 cm. long; two similar slabs of sandstone lay on the opposite side, and there is an indication that one or more additional slabs had originally been laid there but had been removed, perhaps in antiquity.

The furnace chamber was filled to a depth of about 20 cm. from the existing top (i.e. the presumed old ground level) with a large "bear," consisting of a fused mass of iron slag and cinder, which was firmly attached to the inner clay lining of the furnace. On the outside of the front wall (i.e. towards the pit) there was a further mass of slag, which appeared to have run or have been tapped over the side of the furnace; this had fused into the clay and stones making up the front wall of the furnace. It therefore appeared that this was the bottom half of the furnace, with the slag resulting from the last smelting operation still in position.

However, further excavation in the pit in front of the furnace disclosed that the external slag was lying on a bed about 15 cm. thick of ash and charcoal, which was itself resting on the base of the pit. This ash layer ran underneath the slag and the front wall of the furnace, into the furnace chamber, where it underlay the bear. It was therefore decided to remove the bear—a process which involved very heavy work with hammers and chisels in order to detach it from the inside walls of the furnace. It was adhering to the walls over about 300° of the circumference. When removed, it weighed about 50 kg.

Once this had been done, it became clear that there was an arch in the front wall of the furnace, which communicated with the pit; this arch was about 20 cm. high by 40 cm. wide. The base of the furnace, which sloped down towards the pit, had been heated to a very high temperature, as had the communicating arch floor and the base of the smaller pit; the clay had been fired to a hard brick-like consistency, and was grey in colour. The smaller pit lying within the larger was identifiable as the trough into which hot molten slag would have been run off from time to time during the smelting operation.

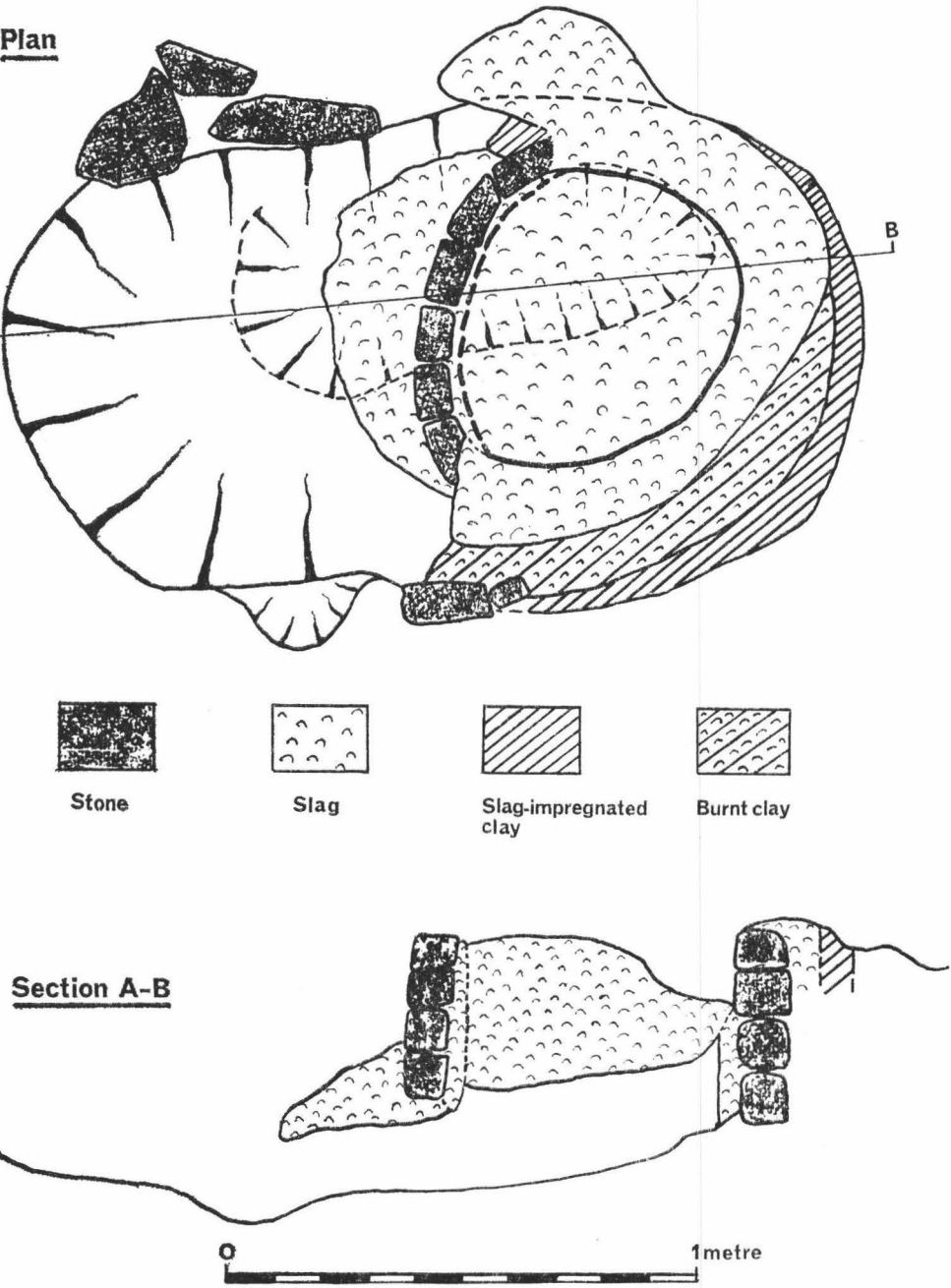



FIG. 2—PIPPINGFORD BLOOMERY. Plan and Section of Smelting Furnace

## The Slag Heap

The slag heap covered about 65 square m., just below the furnace platform, and contained about 11½ cubic m. of waste material. Three trenches were dug through the heap, mainly in the hope of finding dateable material, such as pottery, as nothing dateable was found on the platform. The heap was found to consist chiefly of broken up tap slag, that had been induced to run out of the furnace, and cinder taken from the furnace after each smelting operation. Some of the latter was in the form of very large " furnace bottoms," having moulded themselves, on one side, to the hollow shape of the base of the furnace. Some of these weighed up to 15 kg. With this was a small amount of roasted iron ore, and some hard-burnt clay from the furnace lining. Some of the latter had been vitrified, by strong heating in the presence of alkalis (i.e. from the charcoal) to exhibit a green glaze. From the middle trench the tap slag and cinder were separated and weighed, giving 866 kg. of tap slag and 410 kg. of cinder.

Also from among the slag was found a small amount of Romano-British pottery and in the middle trench a small bronze brooch (both to be described below).

The E. trench proved rather more interesting than the others. In it, at ground level, was found a rough circle formed of large lumps of cinder with some clay backed up against them on the outside. At first this was thought to have been a roasting furnace but it was soon evident from the colour of the burnt clay—red but not grey—that no great heat had been generated here. Furthermore there was a complete absence of any iron ore, roasted or natural. It was therefore concluded that it was the site of a hearth used for domestic purposes, a view strengthened by finding pottery scattered around it.

## Iron Smelting Technology

### *Typological characteristics of the furnace*

Two principal types of furnace are known from the Weald in the later Early Iron Age and the Roman period: the *cylindrical shaft furnace*, as exemplified by examples from Holbeanwood[1] and Crawley,[2] and the *domed shaft furnace*, of which the only previous example that is known was found at Minepit Wood, Rotherfield,[3] By reason of its structure and method of construction, the Pippingford furnace can confidently be assigned to the latter group.

[1] H. F. Cleere, ' The Romano-British Industrial Site at Bardown, Wadhurst.' *Sussex Arch. Soc. Occasional Paper* No. 1 (1970).

[2] J. Gibson-Hill, ' Crawley.' *Wealden Iron Research Group. Bulletin* No. 4 (1972), pp. 25-6.

[3] J. H. Money. To appear in the *Bulletin* of the Historical Metallurgy Group.

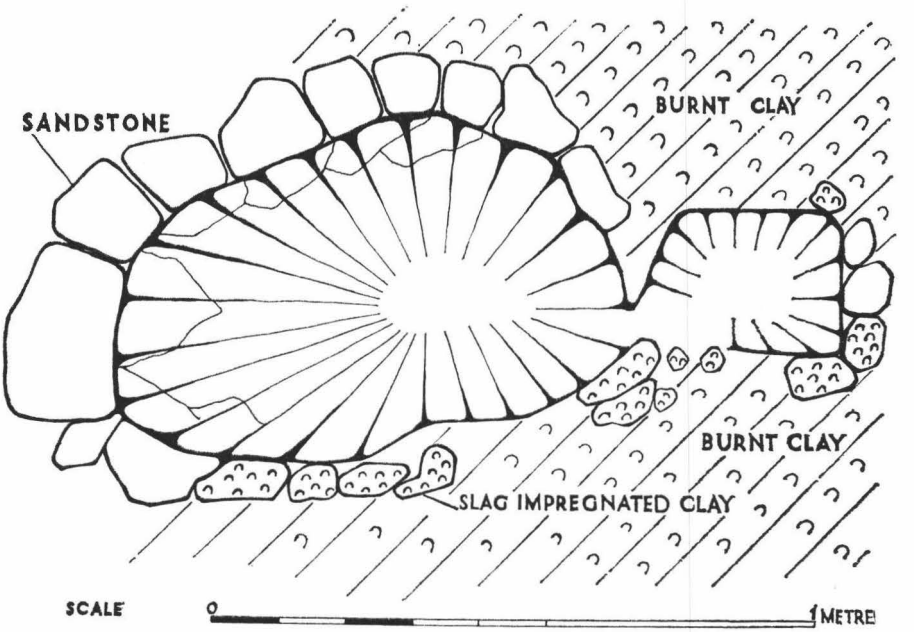



FIG. 3—PIPPINGFORD BLOOMERY. Plan of Smithy Hearth

One of the present authors has recently attempted to establish a classification system for early iron smelting furnaces,[1] and there is a full discussion of the diagnostic criteria in that paper. So far as the domed shaft furnace is concerned, these may be briefly summarized as follows: there is provision for molten slag to be tapped out of the furnace at its base; forced draught (by means of bellows) was used to achieve the high temperatures needed for the smelting of iron ores; and the furnace superstructure (which was permanent, not needing to be replaced after each smelting operation) was domed or tapering in section.

Provision for slag tapping is evidenced by the furnace arch and the pit in front of it. The arch afforded a means of access for air to the interior of the furnace and also a means of removing the molten slag. The reddened nature of the clay around the pit and its hard-burned base, combined with the large amount of tap slag found on the refuse heap, reinforce this interpretation.

[1] H. F. Cleere, *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 52 (1972), pp. 8-23.

For a furnace with an internal diameter of 60 cm. to operate on natural draught, its height would have needed to be well over 2 m., in order to promote a flue action sufficient to generate the high temperatures (1300°C and above) in the centre of the furnace needed to reduce the iron ore. The amount of furnace debris in the area does not support the assumption of a very tall furnace of this kind. Moreover, modern parallels from the ethnographic record show a multiplicity of air access points at the base, whereas the Pippingford furnace appears to have only one. Experiments with a laboratory facsimile of a shaft furnace[1] have shown that the air intake and flow rate is inadequate on a 2 m. high furnace if only one access point is used.

It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that in the present case the furnace was blown with bellows through a clay tuyere or nozzle inserted through the furnace arch, which would have been temporarily stopped up with clay. Details of the operations at the furnace arch and other aspects of the practical operations of a bloomery furnace have been published in several papers,[1, 2] and so will not be discussed in detail here.

It is relevant to mention at this point that the Minepit Wood furnace,[3] which parallels the Pippingford furnace in most particulars, was blown with three additional tuyeres, some 25 cm. above the level of the arch. No evidence of tuyeres at this level was found at Pippingford, but it is possible that these disappeared when the superstructure was levelled.

There is little doubt that the superstructure in this case was a permanent one, since there is evidence that the lining had been patched and remade on more than one occasion. The absence of *Schlackenklotze* and the presence of much cinder in relatively small-sized pieces on the refuse heap rule out the possibility of this having been a furnace of the Polish-Danish type,[4, 5] where a large mass of slag and cinder (*Schlackenklotz*) was left *in situ* at the end of the smelting operation inside the furnace, the superstructure of which was broken down so that the iron bloom could be extracted. In this case, a new furnace was built alongside the previous one.

[1] R. F. Tylecote, J. N. Austin and A. E. Wraith, *Journal of the Iron and Steel Inst.*, vol. 209 (1971), pp. 342-363.

[2] H. F. Cleere, *Britannia*, vol. 2 (1971), pp. 203-217.

[3] J. H. Money, ibid.

[4] K. Bielenin, ' Starozytne Hutnictwo Swietokrzyskie,' 1964.

[5] R. Thomsen, *Kuml* (1963), pp. 60-74.

There is slight evidence of curvature in the horizontal plane on some of the fragments of furnace lining found on the refuse heap or in association with the furnace, but these were for the most part too small to permit unequivocal identification. The presumption of a domed superstructure is based on the many parallels (method of construction, stone-lined working pit, hearth dimensions, etc.) with the Minepit Wood furnace, which was certainly domed.

One further point of interest relates to the large bear in the interior of the furnace and the slag above the furnace arch. These obviously result from the last smelting operation carried out in the furnace. They would suggest that this smelt was in fact carried out with the arch blocked up and that blowing was effected through a new furnace arch broken into the wall of the furnace above the original one. The presence of the slag above the original arch rules out the possibility of the bear being a *Schlackenklotz*, since in this type of operation no slag was run out of the furnace. It can only be assumed that this was a rough and ready operation, carried out when the furnace may already have been partly broken down and regular operations had ceased. It should be stressed, however, that it would be unrealistic to interpret this as evidence that the furnace was reworked again after some two centuries, as the carbon-14 date of the charcoal might imply. On the one hand, the charcoal would be expected to have the earlier rather than the later date, and on the other it would be extremely unlikely that a furnace structure of this kind would survive, even in a broken down condition, for so long a period.

*Archaeological significance*

The most common type of furnace in Britain in the Roman period was undoubtedly the cylindrical shaft furnace, of which examples are known from the Weald,[1, 2] Norfolk,[3] Yorkshire,[4] Northamptonshire,[5] and elsewhere. These furnaces generally seem to date from the early 2nd century AD and later. It would appear that this type of furnace was a Roman importation from Europe, and that it replaced the typical Early Iron Age furnace, the domed type, whose origins can probably be traced to Germany and other parts of Central Europe, where these are common (e.g. the Siegerland, in Germany).[6]

[1] H. F. Cleere, 'The Romano-British Industrial Site at Bardown, Wadhurst.' *Sussex Arch. Soc. Occasional Paper* No. 1 (1970).

[2] J. Gibson-Hill, 'Crawley.' *Wealden Iron Research Group. Bulletin* No. 4 (1972), pp. 25-6.

[3] R. F. Tylecote and others, *Journal of the Iron and Steel Inst.*, vol. 200 (1962), pp. 19-22.

[4] S. Cregeen, Private communication.

[5] I. M. Smith, *Bull. Hist. Met. Group*, vol. 4 (1970), pp. 24-7.

[6] J. W. Gilles, *Stahl und Eisen*, vol. 12 (1958), pp. 1690-5.

The Minepit Wood and Pippingford furnaces indicate that in the early 1st century AD ironmakers moved into the northern part of the Weald, bringing with them their characteristic metallurgical technology. At the time of the Roman Conquest in AD 43, iron making was in progress in this area, and continued until at least the end of the 1st century. However, the great expansion of the ironmaking industry in the south-eastern part of the Weald (under the control of the Classis Britannica) and perhaps also the large-scale " private sector " industry that developed during the 1st century along the Roman roads that ran north-south through the Weald, as evidenced by sites such as Oldlands (Maresfield)[1], Blacklands, Gt. Cansiron (Hartfield),[2] Ridge Hill (East Grinstead),[3] and elsewhere may well have driven these small-scale operations out of business, by capturing their markets in the London basin and the North Downs.

## Small Finds

### *The Pottery*

The pottery was submitted to Professor B. W. Cunliffe who reported as under:—

" The pottery was recovered from a slagheap covering a limited area. The excavator suggests that the deposit represents use over a short period of time not exceeding a year or two. There is nothing inconsistent with this in the pottery evidence.

The pottery illustrated here, fig. 4, typifies the collection. In addition to the illustrated sherds there are a small number of body sherds and bases in fabrics similar to those of the illustrated vessels.

*Description of the illustrated pottery*

1-3 Jars and bowls with out-turned lip. The fabric is smooth, grey/buff and tempered with soft grits.

4 Bowl. Smooth slightly sandy fabric: fired pale red.

5 Jar in smooth fabric with sand tempering: fired light grey.

6 Jar in grey sandy ware.

[1] M. A. Lower, *S.A.C.*, vol. 2 (1849), pp. 169-220.

[2] C. F. Tebbutt, 'A Roman Bloomery at Gt. Cansiron,' *S.A.C.*, vol. 110 (1972), p. 10-13.

[3] E. Straker, *S.A.C.*, vol. 70 (1928), pp. 183-5.

7 Jar or bowl. Smooth grey ware.

8 Jar in grey sandy ware.

9 Jar in grey sandy ware.

10 Jar in smooth slightly sandy grey ware.

11 Jar or bowl. Fine grey sandy ware.

12 Jar or bowl in fine hard grey sandy ware.

13 Large jar in smooth sandy ware: grey fired to light red on the surface.

14 Jar or beaker with rough corrugations on the shoulder. The fabric is smooth textured and dark grey but the sherd has evidently been refired and has contorted.

15 Beaker in hard white sandy fabric. There survives another sherd from the body of a similar beaker showing rouletting (not illustrated).

*Discussion*

The group is an interesting one which should be dated to the Claudian or Neronian period (roughly the twenty five years following the Roman invasion), on the basis of the butt beaker (no. 15). While butt beakers are known in pre-conquest contexts they only became common after 43 AD when local manufacturing centres at Camulodunum and Chichester began production. The only other vessel which clearly belongs to the Roman period is no. 12, apparently part of a shouldered bowl, made in a hard " romanised " fabric contrasting with the smooth and sandy wares of the vessels belonging to the native tradition. Although not diagnostic in itself a date in the second half of the first century would seem reasonable.

The remainder of the pottery is characteristic of the local native traditions which can be traced back into the first century BC, but continue into the early decades of the Roman era. These types occur on a number of sites in East Sussex and Kent. The most diagnostic are the jars and bowls with swag decoration shallow-tooled in a zone around the shoulder (nos. 1-3)—a type which is known as Southern Third B in the ABC scheme of terminology. The origins of the form and style probably lie in the local decorated types of the first century BC found in Sussex, with some influence from the Kentish wheel-turned Aylesford-Swarling assemblage. That they continued to be made after the conquest is demonstrated by a group recovered from a ditch at Horsted Keynes (Sussex)[1] containing a range of swag decorated jars associated with a Samian form 27 of Neronian date.

[1] H. R. Hardy and E. C. Curwen, 'An Iron Age Pottery Site near Horsted Keynes,' *S.A.C.*, vol. 78 (1938), pp. 253-265.

A second type which occurs in assemblages of this date and area is the jar or beaker with a furrowed neck (no. 14). A close parallel can be found on another East Sussex bloomery at Crowhurst Park.[1] These vessels may well be copies of Gallo-belgic butt beakers.

In summary it may be said that the collection of pottery from Pippingford is typical of the native wares of Sussex and the Weald and can be dated to the two or three decades following the Roman invasion."

### *The Bronze Brooch* (see Fig. 4)

The small bronze brooch was in good condition, probably because it was found in slag and not in contact with the local acid soil. A drawing was submitted to Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., who wrote as follows:— " I can only class your brooch with my type 91 which I have sometimes called ' the long-armed Colchester type '—but it often has short arms! I assume your brooch is in one piece and if so it is definitely my type 91, and the very small size agrees with this. There is some comment on the small examples in *Camulodunum* (p. 310. nos. 31-33), and note that they occur at Novaesium after AD 70. They are not early at Camulodunum either (period VI, c. AD 61-65), but we need not limit ourselves to looking at the very small examples only, and the normal size does occur early, e.g. *Camulodunum* No. 32, Pit D.1, AD 10-43, and there was another near it of the same date. The drawings of Type 91 at Camulodunum are nos. 25-33."

### *Identification of Charcoal*

A sample of charcoal from the furnace was submitted to Mrs. D. Cleere, who reported that it consisted of:— 50% Oak (Quercus sp.), 10% Hornbeam (Carpinus betulus), 2 small pieces of Birch (Betula sp.), and 40% powdered clay and charcoal.

### *Radiocarbon Dating*

A sample of charcoal from the furnace submitted to the British Museum Research Laboratory gave the following date (5570 year half life for carbon-14). BM-685. 1647 ±60 B.P. (c.AD 303).

[1] C. M. Piggott, ' The Non-Roman Pottery from Crowhurst Park,' *S.A.C.*, vol. 79 (1939), pp. 229-232.

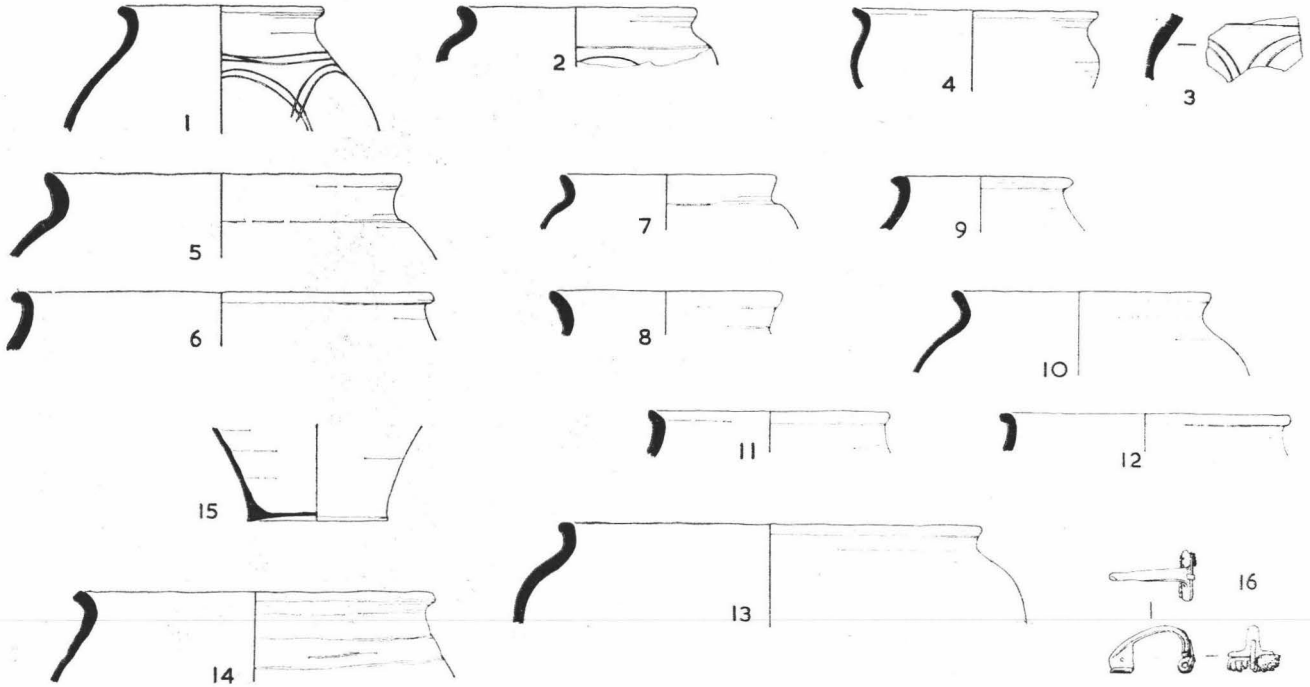



FIG. 4—PIPPINGFORD BLOOMERY 1-15, ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$); 16, BRONZE BROOCH (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$)

## Date of the Site

The following considerations are relevant to the dating of the site:—

(I) charcoal from the furnace with a radiocarbon date (BM-685) of 1647 ±60 years B.P. (c. AD 303).

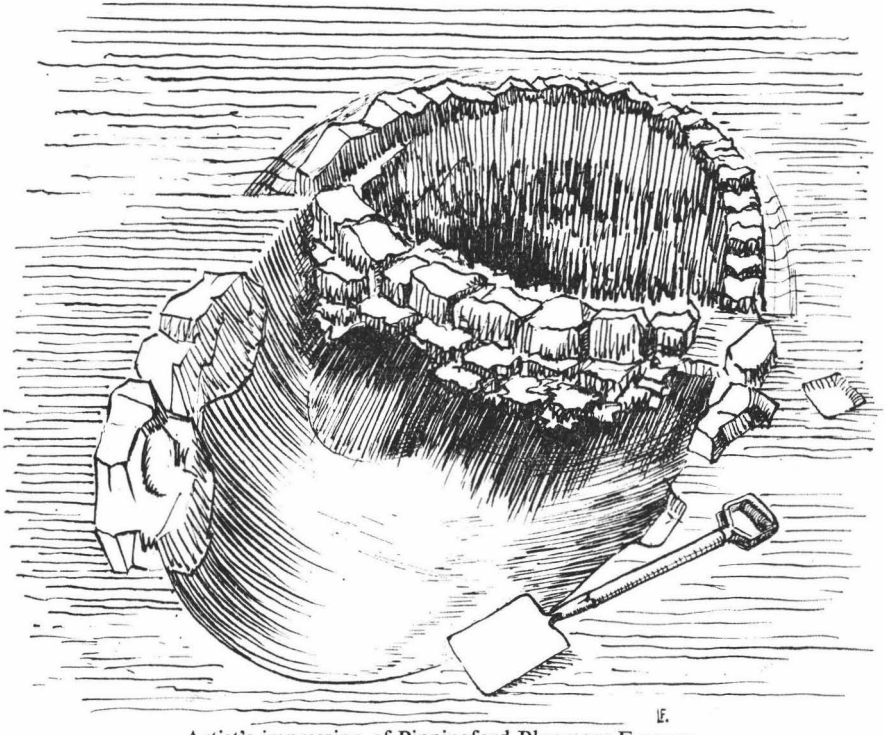
(II) a bronze brooch of the first century AD.

(III) pottery of the mid-first century AD.

(IV) a furnace basically similar to one at Minepit Wood, Rotherfield,[1] from which evidence points to a first-century date.

In view of the other evidence the radiocarbon date appears to be somewhat too late. Statistically there is always a chance that the true date lies outside the limits of probable error. It is also possible that the charcoal was contaminated with more recent material, especially in view of the known recent charcoal burning on the site, or that other recent humic material was not removed, despite careful pre-treatment of the sample before measurement. Any of these factors, or a combination of them, could be responsible for making the date younger than expected.

Taking all the above factors into account a date within three decades of the Roman conquest (AD 43), as suggested by Professor Cunliffe, would seem the most likely.



Artist's impression of Pippingford Bloomery Furnace

[1] J. H. Money. To appear in the *Bulletin* of the Historical Metallurgy Group.

# A FOURTH-CENTURY COLOUR-COATED FABRIC AND ITS TYPES IN SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND

*By* MICHAEL FULFORD

Recent work on the pottery excavated at Pevensey by Salzman[1] and Cottrill[2] has brought to light a colour-coated fabric which has not yet been recognised.[3] It is characterised by its hardness, which is almost that of a stone-ware, and its dark orange-red colour. Inclusions of haematite or limonite occur regularly throughout and can sometimes be seen on the surface. The colour-coat is either a deep red or an orange-red and the surface is uneven and bumpy to the touch. It is immediately possible to distinguish this fabric visually from other red colour-coated wares, such as those from the New Forest or Oxfordshire kilns. All illustrated sherds are from the Roman fort at Pevensey except No. 5, which is from Thundersbarrow.[4]

The forms of the bowls (Fig. 1, Nos. 1-13) are closely matched by those from the Oxfordshire region, but the walls are thicker and the general finish is not nearly so fine. The white painted decoration, common on the Oxfordshire bowls, appears carelessly applied, and running scroll patterns are often so badly executed that they are difficult to recognise. There seem to be five basic sorts of bowl, of which Types 1 and 2 are akin to Drag. 36 (No. 7) and 38 (not illustrated), while the other three are variations on a simple bowl with a slight convex profile. Type 3 has a simple rim and is probably carinated (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 12 and 13), while Type 4 has a rounded

[1] L. F. Salzman, ' Excavations on the Site of the Roman fortress at Pevensey, 1906-7;' *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, vol. 51 (1908), pp. 99-114; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, vol. 52 (1909), pp. 83-95.

[2] Unpublished excavations of 1936-9.

[3] Since the bulk of the material so far discovered comes from Pevensey itself, it may be appropriate to call the group Pevensey ware until the exact location of manufacture is known.

[4] K. P. Oakley, ' The pottery from the Romano-British site at Thundersbarrow Hill,' *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 13 (1933), p. 137, fig. 3.

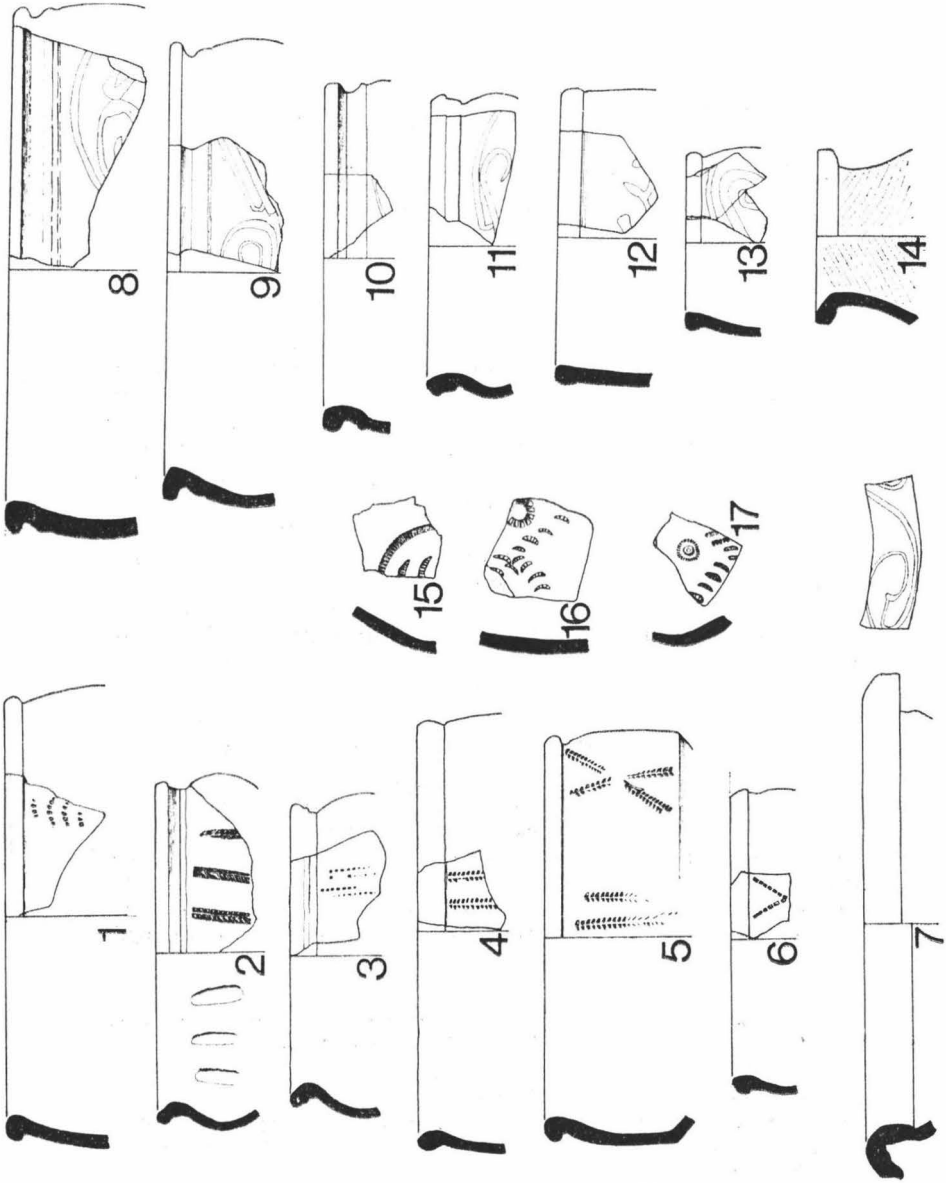



FIG. I. Scale ¼ full size

profile, which is markedly drawn in at the rim (Nos. 2, 3 and 11). Type 5 is similar to Type 3, but it does not appear to be carinated and the rim is thick and bent out (Nos. 8, 9 and 10). Decoration can consist of either white paint (Nos. 8-13), or a variety of impressed motifs. Rosette and demi-rosette occur, as do meandering 'cog' motifs (Nos. 1, 15, 16 and 17), but more common than these are parallel or diagonally opposed lines of wedge-shaped stamps in a /\ formation (Nos. 2-6). In many cases, especially the latter, these decorations appear to have been made using a single pointed instrument rather than a wheel or whole stamp. Besides the bowl forms, there is one example of a neck of a jar or beaker (No. 14).

The distribution of vessels in this fabric is restricted to the coastal area of Sussex and east Hampshire, while the largest amount comes from Pevensey itself. Less than a dozen sherds are known from Chichester,[1] and at Portchester,[2] out of a very large sample of fourth century pottery, representing some four to five hundred red colour-coated vessels only sherds belonging to perhaps seventeen vessels of this fabric type were recovered. This accounts for only about 2½% of the colour-coated bowls. Sherds have also been found at Chilgrove villa, near Chichester[3] and at Thundersbarrow.[4] A survey of sites in Kent produced no further material; in particular there appeared to be none at Richborough. Thin section and heavy mineral analysis[5] failed to give any indication of a possible location for the kilns, but a source either in east Sussex or near Pevensey seems likely, on the grounds that the largest amount of material so far identified comes from there.

The limited distribution suggests that it is a reflection of competition from the Oxford and New Forest industries, though at the same time the survival of the Pevensey fabric implies that the other two groups were unable to compete adequately in this corner

[1] Information from Mr. A. Down, Chichester Excavations Committee.

[2] From current work on the pottery from Prof. B. W. Cunliffe's recent series of excavations.

[3] Information from the excavator, Mr. A. Down.

[4] K. P. Oakley, op. cit.

[5] Thin section showed abundant rounded haematite grains and some quartz in an anisotropic matrix of baked clay. The diameter of the haematite grains averaged 0.168mm., while that of the quartz averaged 0.042mm. Heavy mineral analysis revealed a very few minerals whose characteristics had been distorted, apparently by the high temperature of the firing. Owing to the difficulty of characterising the fabric an experiment was carried out to see whether there was any possibility of Pevensey ware being a high fired version of an Oxfordshire fabric, since the resemblances in form were so close. A piece of the latter was re-fired up to 1200C., but did not show any effects similar to those present in Pevensey ware.

of the province, possibly because it was out of reach of the primary marketing area. The best route of access for the Oxfordshire products was via the Thames by sea, which, in the fourth century, was not perhaps very safe, while the New Forest products were best marketed by sea, or through a town like Chichester, which was remote to east Sussex.

Dating the group must at present be provisional, until much more evidence is available. At Chilgrove a late fourth or early fifth century date seems likely, while at Thundersbarrow No. 5 comes from a corn-drying oven and is associated with a coin of Constans, dated *c.* 348 50.[1] At Pevensey itself, as there are no well-dated groups, the dating must be vague and can only depend on general associations. Coin evidence points to the building of the fort wall after 335[2] and to intensive occupation in the middle of the fourth century.[3] There are also associations with Oxfordshire ware, current throughout the century, and with Argonne ware which falls in to Hübener's Groups 1, 2, 3 and 7, dated broadly 325-425.[4] At Portchester (*c.* 280-*c.* 370), of the thirteen stratified examples, five belong to contexts pre-340, while the rest are later.

The evidence points, then, to a date towards the middle of the fourth century for the floruit of this type, but the end can only be guessed at, perhaps in the fifth century. The tradition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives a date of 491 for the capture of Anderida (Pevensey) by Aelle and the Saxons, although this date is probably too old by twenty years,[5] and it is just conceivable that this local Roman industry continued well in to the fifth century. Presumably a concern which was only serving a local market might continue longer, being less susceptible to the widespread disruptions of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, which would be more likely to have an immediate effect on the larger industries dependent on a wider market.

[1] E. C. Curwen, 'Excavations on Thundersbarrow Hill, Sussex,' *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 13 (1933), p. 123.

[2] J. P. Bushe-Fox, 'Some notes on Roman Coast defences,' *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 32 (1932), p. 67.

[3] Cf. the evidence of the coin histogram (fig. 36) and the argument for a foundation date for the fort in the mid-fourth century in B. W. Cunliffe (ed.), *Fifth Report on the Excavation of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* (1968), pp. 265-7.

[4] W. Hübener, 'Eine Studie zur spätrömische Rädchensigillata (Argonnensigillata),' *Bonner Jahrbuch*, vol. 168 (1968), pp. 241-98.

[5] J. Morris, 'Dark Age Dates,' in M. G. Jarrett and B. Dobson (eds), *Britain and Rome* (1965), p. 157.

# AN INTRODUCTION TO DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGES IN EAST SUSSEX

By G. R. BURLEIGH

## INTRODUCTION

Previous published work[1] on the deserted villages of Sussex has been very restricted indeed.[2] The present paper only mentions sites known in East Sussex and is intended as a stimulus to more detailed work by local researchers into this neglected aspect of the history and archaeology of the county.[3]

Geographically this survey covers the modern region of East Sussex (Fig. 1). The study discusses the period from the compilation of Domesday Book (A.D. 1086) through to modern times, although there appear to be few desertions after the 18th century.

Any settlement which our documentary evidence informs us was occupied by more than five households (giving a population of between 15 and 25 persons; see below) at any time within the medieval period,[4] and which was probably nucleated, and which at

[1] This survey was completed while the writer was an undergraduate in the Dept. of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff. The original dissertation is available for consultation there.

[2] E. W. Holden published a list of deserted medieval villages in *Sussex Notes and Queries* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.N.Q.*), vol. 15 (1962), pp. 312-14, which included fifteen sites then known in East Sussex. There have been notes published on Aldrington, Barnhorne, Broomhill, Balmer, Balsdean, Exceat, and Northeye. The Winchelsea area and Hangleton have both been fully published. However, nothing comprehensive has so far been attempted for either East or West Sussex. Since completing this survey, Dr. P. F. Brandon has pointed out to me that a number of the deserted sites mentioned in this paper were noted by him in his unpublished University of London Ph.D thesis, ' The Commonlands and Wastes of Sussex', 1963, to which the reader is referred.

[3] The writer is currently preparing a similar survey of deserted villages in West Sussex.

[4] From A.D. 1086 to about the beginning of the 16th century for our purposes. This definition follows that adopted by Beresford, Hurst and other workers in this field, except that unlike them it does not include pre-Conquest material.

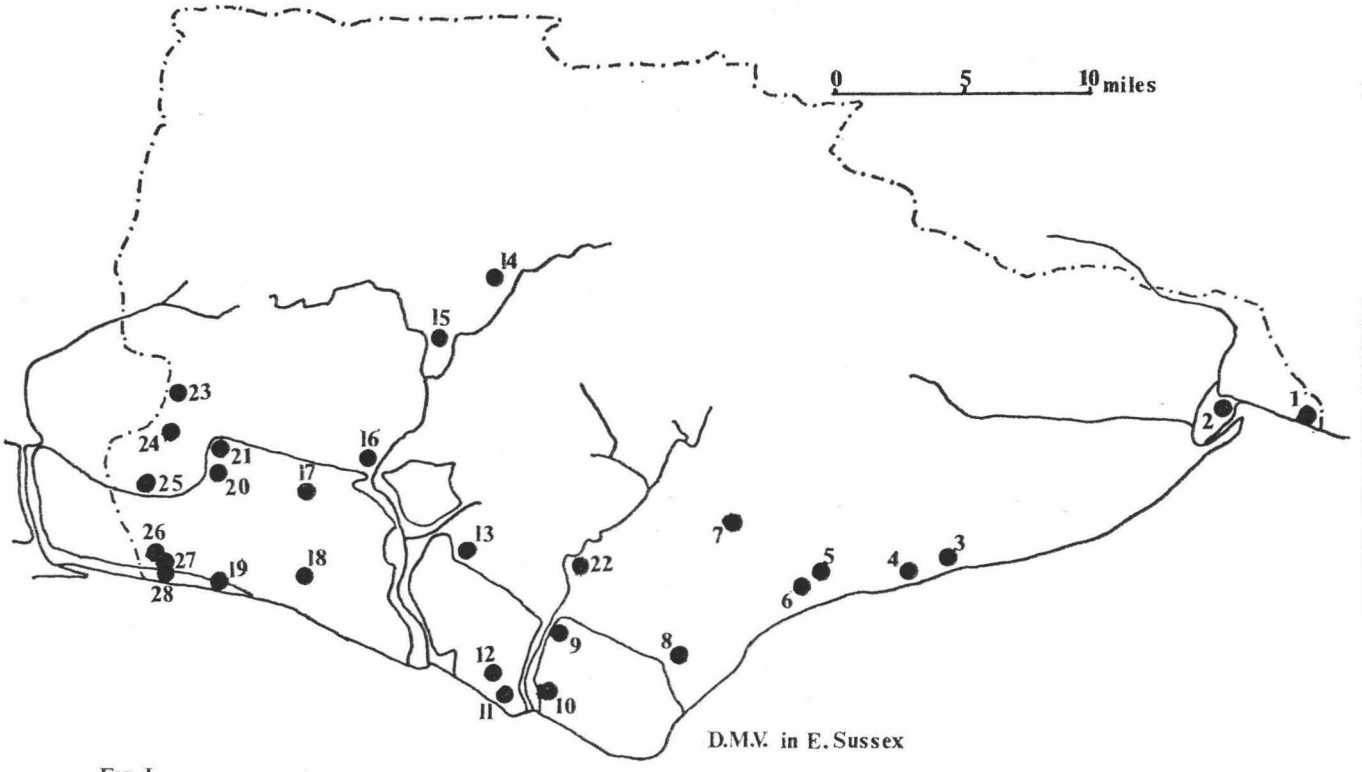



FIG. I.

Key to numbered sites: 1, Broomhill; 2, Iham & Old Winchelsea; 3, Hastings (7 parishes); 4, Bulverhythe; 5, Barnhorne; 6, Northeye; 7, Herstmonceux; 8, Hydneye; 9, Lullington; 10, Exceat; 11, Poyning's Town; 12, Sutton; 13, Heighton St. Clere; 14, Buxted; 15, Buckham; 16, Hamsey; 17, Balmer; 18, Balsdean; 19, Hove; 20, Pangdean; 21, Pyecombe; 22, Arlington (Shrunken); 23, Albourne; 24, Newtimber; 25, Perching; 26, Hangleton; 27, West Blatchington; 28, Aldrington. N.B. Arlington is included because of the importance of its earthworks. Domesday desertions are excluded from this distribution map.

some time subsequent to having a population of more than five households lost all or most of its population, is considered here a Deserted Medieval Village (abbreviated hereafter to D.M.V.). The figure of five households is arbitrary but convenient.

It is generally considered that the force making for nucleation has been principally one of agricultural practice: the typical nucleated village was one where the production of cereal crops was the principal economic activity. Scattered settlement is more commonly associated with pastoral activity, and with forest areas. Nucleated villages are obviously the easiest to detect archaeologically when deserted. If the local soils are light, a common association with non-nucleation the chance of detecting visible remains is reduced. Also, in forest areas, another association of non-nucleation, the prevalence of timber buildings minimises successful detection. It is for these reasons that the Wealden district of East Sussex is largely devoid of deserted sites: it was an area largely of non-nucleated settlement within our period, and in any case the evidence suggests that very little depopulation occurred at any period.[1]

Shrunken sites (i.e. those which have been partially depopulated) have been included in a detailed gazetteer because for one reason some of the best preserved archaeological remains in our area are at the shrunken site of Arlington, and because many deserted sites were once shrunken, since the process of depopulation was often a very gradual one.

## Reasons For Desertion

A factor which appears to have caused the destruction and/or depopulation of at least ten sites in East Sussex is the erosion and encroachment or the retreat of the sea, for instance at Hydneye and Northeye on the Pevensey marshes. Although the sites in this group are related in that they are coastal and were depopulated for similar reasons, they were not all deserted during the same period.

It is generally accepted that the early and middle 13th century was a period of land colonisation, and that many villages were expanding and utilising more marginal land, and this appears to have been true of East Sussex generally.[2] The reason for this may

[1] Deserted sites, however, do exist. Buxted (TQ 486231) is a good example of desertion, but here the reason appears to be emparkment. Arlington (TQ 543075) is a very good example of a shrunken site with good earthworks still visible. Other Wealden sites appear in the gazetteer.

[2] See three papers by R. A. Pelham: 'Timber exports from the Weald during the fourteen century', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.A.C.*), vol. 69 (1928), pp. 170-82; 'Some further aspects of Sussex trade during the fourteenth century,' in *S.A.C.*, vol. 71, (1930) pp. 171-204; and, 'The distribution of sheep in Sussex in the early fourteenth century', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 75 (1934), pp. 130-36.

not have been so much an increase in wealth as that land became scarcer (possibly because much was becoming unproductive and infertile) and more expensive while the population was increasing.[1] At Hangleton there is archaeological evidence for such an expansion,[2] and at least one D.M.V. (e.g. Drigsell) may have become non-nucleated through this need for marginal land to cultivate. However, by the latter part of the 13th and early part of the 14th centuries, a reversal of the situation had taken place, and a retreat from marginal land began which seems to have reached its climax in the second half of the 14th century. This is, apparently, the major period for desertions in East Sussex and there are as many as a dozen sites whose depopulation can be attributed to this period (e.g. Exceat, Hangleton, and West Blatchington). The contemporary documentary evidence comes mainly from the *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, A.D. 1341 (abbreviated hereafter to *Non. Inq.*).[3] Some of the results of the decline in prosperity and retreat from marginal land evidenced in *Non. Inq.* may be perceived in the evidence provided by the *Nominarum Villarum* of 1428 (abbreviated hereafter to *Nomin. Vill.*).[4]

Many of those sites which were greatly affected by the general economic poverty c.1300-50 probably had their depopulation aided by the plagues of the mid-late 14th century. We have definite evidence of the effect of the Black Death at the probable D.M.V. of Lullington and among the shrunken sites in the Alciston area (see Gazetteer). The only site for which there is a precise date was a victim of a later plague of 1603,[5] and it is possible that one or two adjacent sites (e.g. Pangdean and Newtimber) suffered depopulation at this time for the same reason.

A relatively minor cause of depopulation in East Sussex was the emparking of land and displacing of villages in consequence.

[1] J. Z. Titow, ' Some evidence of thirteenth century population increase', in *Economic History Review* (abbreviated hereafter to *Econ. Hist. Rev.*), vol. 14 (1962), pp. 218-23. Dr. Brandon tells me that work done so far in Sussex has shown that there was widespread advance of reclamation on to hill lands up to the eve of the Black Death. Although instances of settlement retreat are also found there appears to be no evidence of a general decline in settlement in the middle ages. References are cited in P. F. Brandon, ' Medieval clearances in the east Sussex Weald', in *Trans. Institute British Geographers*, vol. 48 (1969), pp. 135-53.

[2] E. W. Holden, ' Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Hangleton, Part I', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 101 (1963), pp. 54-182.

[3] *Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii*, ed. G. Vanderzee (Record Commissioners, 1807).

[4] *Feudal Aids*, (1908), vol. 5.

[5] I. R. Phelps, *Pyecombe Parish Church* (not dated).

Unfortunately, the exact date of the granting of a licence for emparkment at only one site (Herstmonceux) has been traced so far. A few possible cases of emparkment appear in the gazetteer.

Closely linked with emparkment is the migration of sites. Migration refers to a village being re-sited, often but not always because the original site has been emparked. Often the move was to a site not very far away (as in the case of Pyecombe). When migration occurs the village will continue to be named in tax assessments and other documents. This continuity of the name in documentation does not aid the detection of the migration itself and makes it even more difficult to establish the chronology.

In fact, research to date has found it impossible to give precise reasons for the desertion of many of the sites in the gazetteer. Equally, it has not proved possible to date the period of desertion at many sites even within one century. The reasons for this will become clear later.

## Documentary Evidence

The documentary sources used in this survey were employed in the hope of discovering whether possible sites were ever of village status, at what period they were in existence, how populated they were at various dates, and what was their general economic condition. Thus it was hoped their decline would be elucidated. Unfortunately, the survival of relevant documents is largely governed by chance and Sussex has had its fair share of disasters in this field. Also, most of the documents obviously were not intended as primary sources for the researcher into deserted villages, and individually are rarely reliable enough to allow valid conclusions. Collectively, however, they often do point the way to desertions.

In fact the written evidence for many sites is virtually non-existent, and for many others is not particularly informative. This, coupled with a disheartening lack of archaeological evidence at most sites, has meant that many sites are relegated to the position where neither the reasons for nor the period of their desertion may be reliably stated. Usually, as might well be imagined, depopulation has occurred over a long period of time, often centuries, culminating in desertion, general economic conditions being the most common reason.

In East Sussex the author has not been able to isolate any depopulations due to turnover from arable farming to sheep grazing, as has been demonstrated for many Midland villages.[1] It is now

[1] M. W. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (1954).

proposed to briefly discuss the individual documentary sources, the principal ones first and more fully.[1]

## DOMESDAY BOOK (1086)

So much has been said about the reliability and use of the Domesday survey that it is not the writer's intention of repeating common knowledge here.[2] It was hoped to learn from D.B. which settlements, taking geographical situation into consideration, would seem likely to have been nucleated villages by 1086. Where D.B. mentions a church in existence this has been taken as an added guide towards nucleation.

It is generally accepted that each person (i.e. villein, cottar, etc.) mentioned in D.B. would correspond to a householder with a family, and that to arrive at a reasonably accurate estimate of a village's population in 1086 the number of householders should be multiplied by a figure of about three to five.[3] In the Gazetteer the D.B. figures are simply quoted, allowing the reader to estimate the probable size of the community himself. In any case the number of householders recorded is often more than high enough to have formed a settlement of village size. D.B. is thus a document which allows a reasonably accurate idea of population size to be made for rural areas.

It should be noted that some villages which appear in twelfth and thirteenth century records may have existed in 1086 but were accounted for under other vills.[4] This is possibly true of settlements at Pangdean and Balsdean, for instance.

[1] Throughout the present section, and indeed through the entire essay, my indebtedness to the writers of two previous papers will be obvious. They are K. J. Allison, M. W. Beresford, J. G. Hurst, and other members of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group (abbreviated hereafter to D.M.V.R.G.), *The Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire* (1965); and by the same authors, *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire* (1966). Much that is not discussed in detail here will be found elaborated in those two works.

[2] See, for example, *Victoria County History* (abbreviated hereafter to V.C.H.), *Sussex*, vol. 1 (1905), pp. 351ff.; S. King in H. Darby and E. Campbell, ed., *The Domesday Geography of South-East England* (1962), pp. 407-82; and, F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897). Throughout I have used the translation of Domesday Book (abbreviated hereafter to D.B.) in V.C.H., *Sussex*, 1 (1905), pp. 387ff.

[3] S. King, op. cit., p. 435; C. C. Taylor, 'Three Deserted Medieval Settlements in Whiteparish', in *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, vol. 63 (1968), p. 39 This is no place to discuss the validity of the arguments involved.

[4] S. King, op. cit., p. 420.

LAY SUBSIDIES

The tax lists of 1296, 1327, 1332, 1334, 1524 and 1621 have been used where possible. There are not returns for every site since some sites were assessed with others, while other sites (e.g. dependents of the Cinque Ports such as Northeye, Hydneye, and Bulverhythe) were not assessed at all. Often not every site has returns in every subsidy; sometimes we suspect this is because the site has become depopulated, but in other cases a site might be assessed in 1327, not in 1332, then again in 1334. Often all the vills in each Hundred were assessed together and only the total for the Hundred recorded. This does not help in estimating the population of individual sites.

These subsidies used the units of Hundreds[1] within each Rape,[2] and vills or boroughs within each Hundred. These vills or boroughs are tax units whose boundaries often do not correspond to the boundaries of parishes, villages or manors,[3] but even where they do not they are usually near enough equivalent to village boundaries to enable us to use subsidy returns as a guide to village population. In some cases the names of vills or boroughs do not correspond to those of manors or villages.

It is well known that the amount each person paid was often 'cooked' by the collectors,[4] but in any case we know the total number of people mentioned at least in 1296 and 1327 was less than the total number living at each settlement.[5] These figures only refer to the householders, most of whom would have been the head of a family, and, as with the D.B. figures, we may multiply the number of taxpayers by between three and five to arrive at an approximate estimate of the true population. There is some evidence to suggest that, ignoring women and children, only about two out of every five persons were assessed to taxes; what proportion of others evaded or were too poor one cannot guess.[6] As an example Salzman refers to the 40 names which occur in the Court Roll for Herstmonceux in 1330, of which only eight can be traced in the Subsidies for 1327 and 1332, with another four instances of similar surnames.[7] What we have then is a minimum number of people for each vill.

[1] A. Anscombe, 'The Names of the Sussex Hundreds in Domesday Book', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 60 (1919), pp. 92-125.

[2] J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'The Domesday Hidation of Sussex and the Rapes', in *English History Review*, vol. 45 (1930), pp. 427-35; L. F. Salzman, 'The Rapes of Sussex', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 72 (1931), pp. 20-29.

[3] W. Hudson, 'Assessment of the Hundreds of Sussex to the King's Tax in 1334', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 50 (1907), pp. 153ff.; L. F. Salzman, 'Early Taxation in Sussex, I', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 98 (1960), pp. 29-43; 'Early Taxation . . . . , II', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 99 (1961), pp. 1-19.

[4] L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1960) & (1961).

[5] L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1961), p. 2.

[6] L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1960), p. 43.

[7] Ibid., p. 42.

The Rolls of 1296, 1327 and 1332 preserve the names of taxpayers as well as the contributing districts,[1] but that of 1334 (and most subsequent subsidies) preserves only the latter.[2] The reason is that for Lay Subsidy 1334 the amount chargeable for any particular district was fixed, and so if the sum from any particular district was accounted for, the King's Commissioners were not concerned to know the names of the people who paid it. This is rather unfortunate from our point of view since it means we do not have even a rough idea, using the 1334 list on its own, of how many people were paying tax in each district. However, one can get an idea by comparing the amounts with the previous Rolls of 1327 and 1332. The return for 1334 was in fact based on that of 1332[3] and only the payments differ; the 1296 and 1327 Rolls do not correspond to the same degree. The Lowey of Pevensey, Hastings, Rye and Winchelsea do not appear on these Subsidy Rolls, the Cinque Ports dealing directly with the King. These Subsidies were a tax on people's moveables, i.e. trade stock in towns and farm stock and produce in the country over the value of about ten shillings.[4] That of 1296 was 1/11th of the value; in 1327 1/20th; in 1332 1/15th; and in 1334 1/15th.

Although Salzman concludes[5] that conclusions based on these Subsidies (as with other medieval documents, e.g. *Non. Inq.*) may well be misleading, from the evidence he presents we may be fairly certain that the number of people taxed in any Lay Subsidy will be considerably less than the number of people actually inhabiting a vill, so that if five people are taxed the actual population may be five times or even more than that figure.

### Nonarum Inquisitiones, 1341

These enquiries were conducted in the early months of 1341 but were related to agricultural production during 1340.[6] Parliament

[1] 1296: W. H. Blaauw, 'Subsidy Roll of the Rape of Lewes in 1296', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 2 (1849), pp. 288-306; 1296, 1327 and 1332: W. Hudson, 'The Three Earliest Subsidies for Sussex', in *Sussex Record Society* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.R.S.*), vol. 10 (1909), pp. 1ff.

[2] W. Hudson, op. cit., (1907), pp. 153ff.

[3] Ibid., p. 159.

[4] Ibid.

[5] L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1961), p. 19.

[6] *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, pp. 350-403. These returns are commonly dated to 1342, but in fact the inquisitions were conducted in the spring of 15 Edw. III, which dates them to 1341. Since the returns are based on the previous 'harvest' year this makes the evidence relate to 1340. Baker, Yates and others appear to have mis-dated this return. The 1341 date is corroborated by the appalling winter and summer recorded in other sources for 1340. See P. F. Brandon, 'Late-medieval weather in Sussex and its agricultural significance', in *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geogr.*, 54 (1971), pp. 1-18. I am grateful to Dr. Brandon for bringing this fact to my attention.

was granted a ninth on the net yield for the year after payment of tithes, for it was expected to equal the amount at which the church of each parish was rated in 1291.[1] It was assumed the valuation of 1291 was based solely on the 'great tithes' of corn, wool and lambs.[2] The returns for the rural parishes of Sussex are very full. They give the names of the parishioners making the returns, the values of the ninths in that year, and the reasons why they do not reach the valuation of 1291. Most discrepancy arose because clerical incomes included more than the 'great tithes,'[3] but some because of changed agricultural conditions, most notably a reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands between 1291 and 1341.[4]

On the coast land had been destroyed by the sea (e.g. at Hoo, Rottingdean, Hove, etc.); land was lying uncultivated because of the poverty of the parishioners, and their inability to find seed (e.g. East Blatchington and Hoo); the weather had killed sheep and caused harvest failures (e.g. East Blatchington and Hangleton); and, finally, French raiders had destroyed property and killed villagers (e.g. at Seaford and Patcham). In fact these Nonae Returns record a year of great poverty and hardship throughout a wide area of Sussex,[5] and reflect the general economic poverty in many parts of East Sussex during the period which it seems coupled with the plagues of the mid-14th century, led to the depopulation of many villages. We will return to the question of a reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands in Sussex as evidenced by *Non. Inq.* later.

Having now covered perhaps the more complex of the documentary sources it is intended to treat the others as briefly as possible.

One or two references to sites not mentioned, at the earliest before Lay Subsidy (abbreviated hereafter to L.S.) 1296 have been found in the 1274 Hundred Roll for Sussex, [6]but the survey contains nothing of great significance for our purposes, in any case the returns for Sussex are not detailed, being only 'Extract Rolls.'[7]

[1] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV circa* 1291, Record Commissioners (1802).

[2] L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1961), p. 8.

[3] A. R. H. Baker, 'Some evidence of a reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands in Sussex during the early fourteenth century', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 104 (1966), p. 1.

[4] A. R. H. Baker, loc. cit. Also, A. R. H. Baker, 'Some evidence of a reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands in England during the early fourteenth century', in *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 19 (1966), pp. 345-65.

[5] W. H. Blaauw, 'On the Nonae of 1340, as relating to Sussex', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 1 (1848), pp. 58-63; E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), p. 63.

[6] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Record Commissioners (1812), pp. 201-20.

[7] L. F. Salzman, 'The Hundred Roll for Sussex, Part I', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 82 (1942), pp. 20-34.

The *Nomina Villarum* (abbreviated hereafter to *Nom. Vill.*) has been employed to check the existence of a township in 1316.[1] In 1428 there was a tax (subsidy of 6 Henry VI) on parishes and towns graduated in proportion to the sums at which their respective churches were taxed for ecclesiastical tenths. A parish of fewer than ten persons was not to be taxed, and a list of such parishes under their deaneries with the names of the inhabitants of each parish are recorded for Sussex.[2] They serve to show how certain parishes had become either depopulated or almost depopulated, and are thus extremely valuable for our survey. In fact each person recorded probably means each householder.[3]

Coming to the Subsidy of 1524-25[4] we are more in touch with reality than in the later 16th and 17th century subsidies. It was aimed at all classes and just about everyone over the age of 16 who owned property or lands or was paid a wage was taxed. Despite Salzman's reservations,[5] we are justified in taking the number of people recorded in each vill or borough (when they are given separately from the Hundred) as a rough guide to the total population, remembering that not all those taxed will be living in the villages and that the tax was not on every person.

Extracts from the *Liber Detectorum*[6] of 1586-87 have been used to depict the poor state of several of the churches at our sites during this period. This has been used as evidence for the poverty of the parishes concerned, thus weighing in favour of depopulation where this is suspected but uncertain.

The Ecclesiastical Returns from 81 parishes in East Sussex made in 1603[7] have been used as evidence of the size of population in the villages under discussion, since they record the number of communicants and dissenters in each parish, thus giving us a good idea of population size at the time.

[1] *Feudal Aids*, (1908), vol. 5, pp. 132-43; M. W. Beresford, op. cit., p. 282.

[2] *Feudal Aids* (1899), vol. 1, pp. xxvii-xxviii, and (1908), vol. 5, pp. vii and 165-66.

[3] M. W. Beresford, op. cit., p. 356.

[4] J. Cornwall, ' Lay Subsidy Roll for Sussex, 1524-25', in *S.R.S.*, vol. 56 (1956).

[5] L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1961), pp. 7-8.

[6] W. C. Renshaw, ' East Sussex Churches in 1586', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 53 (1910), pp. 1-4.

[7] W. C. Renshaw, ' Ecclesiastical Returns for 81 parishes in East Sussex made in 1603', in *S.R.S.*, vol. 4 (1904), pp. 5-17.

Despite the probability that it is only of doubtful validity, an L.S. of 1621 collected within the Rape of Lewes has also been utilised as it is readily available in print.[1] Salzman[2] has written on the 'farcical' nature of these 17th century assessments, and concludes that not only were individuals under-assessed but that the proportion of persons actually taxed to those who clearly should have been liable was very small. This presumably means we have a minimum of people taxed in each district and may take the size of the actual population to be substantially more than the numbers recorded for the subsidy.

The Hearth Tax returns for 1664-65[3] record the names of the owners of houses with taxable hearths in each parish and the number of such hearths. From this we arrive at a minimum population in each parish since most of the houses taxed would presumably have had more than one occupant. Calculations as with D.B. figures may be made to obtain a more realistic estimate of the total population. As the records are for parishes not villages we again have to decide whether or not we are in an area of nucleated villages if we are not already sure from other evidence that we have a nucleated village in the parish which would account for most of the inhabitants.

In 1676 a religious census was taken of all people over 16 living in each parish in Sussex.[4] For the 1377 Poll Tax (see below) it has been suggested[5] that 50% should be added to the numbers given and perhaps this figure should be added to the numbers recorded by this 1676 census.

The final documentary source used for most sites is the 1801 census,[6] the first full census taken in England. It is a record of the population of each parish in 1801. On occasion, use has been made of later 19th century censuses.

In addition to the documents discussed above a number of other sources have been used, mostly relating to individual villages, references to which occur in the Gazetteer in the appropriate place. Two important documents for tracing population size, which exist for some parts of the country have not been scrutinised for this

[1] W. S. Ellis, 'Subsidy Roll collected within the Rape of Lewes, 19 James I, A.D. 1621', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 9 (1857), pp. 71-88.

[2] Op. cit., (1961), pp. 4-5.

[3] Rape of Lewes: Public Record Office (abbreviated hereafter to P.R.O.), E. 179/258/15; Rape of Pevensey: P.R.O., E. 179/258/16; Rape of Hastings: P.R.O., E. 179/258/20 and P.R.O., E. 179/258/21.

[4] J. H. Cooper, 'A religious census of Sussex in 1676', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 45 (1902), pp. 142-8.

[5] M. W. Beresford, op. cit., p. 288.

[6] Population tables in V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 2 (1907), pp. 215-28.

essay. The Poll tax return for 1377 is either non-existent for parts of our area or in such an incomplete and unsatisfactory state as not to be worth using for our purposes. Although in 1517 an Enclosure Commission was formed to enquire into the number of deserted towns and villages in Sussex and the extent of enclosures, no report of this Commission appears to be extant.[1]

## Geology, Economy, and the Distribution of Settlement

The D.M.V. of East Sussex are directly related to the three geographical regions into which it is possible to divide the county: the Coastal area, the Downs and the Weald.

The coastal area in East Sussex consists of two distinct districts. In the west is the small area of valley gravels and brickearths, an extension of the West Sussex coastal plain. This was an important area for both corn and wool production in the medieval period, at least until the 15th century.[2] It is at the junction of these soils and the chalk of the Downs that settlements, e.g. Hangleton and West Blatchington, are sited, while other settlements actually lay on the gravels and brickearths. Today, of course, most of this area is within the conurbation of Brighton and Hove. Excluding the chalk which meets the sea, the other coastal strip runs from Eastbourne to the eastern border of the county. It comprises a mixture of badly drained Weald Clay, resistant beds of Wadhurst Clay (the 'eye' of Northeye, Hydneye, etc.), and various sandstones. There are also large tracts of alluvium on the Pevensey marshes and around the Rother estuary. The juxtaposition of sands and clays together with the low elevation provided a good basis for settlement and agriculture. Villages were numerous and there were saltpans on the Pevensey Levels.[3] This area included the boroughs and Cinque Ports of Pevensey, Hastings, Rye and Winchelsea.

In the 14th century these coastal districts contained the most productive cornland in the county. The *Non. Inq.* implies arable husbandry on the Pevensey Levels but by the mid-16th century this had given place to the modern pastoral regime.[4]

[1] E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), p. 65.

[2] A. J. F. Dulley 'The Level and Port of Pevensey in the Middle Ages', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 104 (1966), p. 37; E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), pp. 66-67; R. A. Pelham, 'Studies in the historical geography of medieval Sussex', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 72 (1931), pp. 157-84; R. A. Pelham, 'The exportation of wool from Sussex in the late thirteenth century', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 74 (1933), pp. 131-39; and R. A. Pelham, op. cit., (1934), pp. 130-36.

[3] A. J. F. Dulley, op. cit., pp. 31ff.

[4] Ibid., p. 38.

The higher levels of the South Downs have thin soils, but the lower slopes and dry-valley floors were both cultivated and settled in the medieval period (e.g. Balsdean, Atlingworth, Exceat). The South Downs must be regarded as one of the most fertile areas of medieval England, especially along the valleys which broke through the chalk. D.B. records substantial amounts of meadow along the Ouse valley, for instance, together with fisheries and saltpans.[1] The Downs, as might be expected supported a valuable sheep rearing economy,[2] especially in the 14th century. As this area was so productive it was also the most densely settled: in the scarp-foot zone of the Downs (e.g. Alciston area), along the spring-line at the junction of the Chalk and Gault Clay—and along the river valleys cutting through the Downs (e.g. the settlements in the lower Ouse valley).

There is, by contrast, a marked scarcity of Domesday and later medieval settlements in the northern half of Sussex, especially on the Weald Clay and High Forest Ridge of Hastings Beds except where the juxtaposition of sands and clays provided the basis for settlement, for example, around East Grinstead. It was the poor drainage of the Weald Clay and the heavy soils of this region which partly accounted for the lack of sizeable settlements. In D.B. much of the wood entered under the villages to the south (especially that of the Downs villages) was probably here.[3] In the medieval period the Weald was a wooded area with swine pastures and occasional centres of cultivation; a great timber producing area[4] with few nucleated settlements. The High Weald comprises sandstones yielding a poor soil; on them are the Ashdown and St. Leonard's Forests, which during the medieval period were wasteland.[5]

Before completing this section something must be said about the shrinkage in the area of arable land during the 14th century, as evidenced by the *Non. Inq.* In 1931 Pelham showed how there was an overwhelming predominance of corn-growing even among the settlements in the chalk zone, long regarded as primarily a sheep-rearing district.[6] There was a marked concentration of sheep on the South Downs, however.[7] In the Weald area, Gulley[8] found the existence of untilled land was not always indicative of declining

[1] S. King, op. cit., pp. 407-82.

[2] R. A. Pelham, op. cit., (1934), pp. 130-36.

[3] S. King, loc. cit.

[4] R. A. Pelham, op. cit., (1928), pp. 170-82.

[5] S. King, op. cit., pp. 407-82.

[6] R. A. Pelham, op. cit., (1931), pp. 157-84.

[7] R. A. Pelham, op. cit., (1934), pp. 130-136.

[8] J. L. M. Gulley, ' The Wealden landscape in the early seventeenth century and its antecedents', unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of London (1960).

prosperity. Gulley concluded that the early 14th century was one of general stability in Wealden agriculture (and presumably in population until the Black Death). But it is fair to say that there are less cases of untilled land in the Weald referred to in the *Non. Inq.* than on the coast and South Downs. However, the reduction in the acreage of cultivated lands must be ascribed largely to natural disasters (e.g. losses to the sea) rather than considered as indicating the onset of any general retrenchment in agriculture. On the coast neglect of drainage channels and embankments may have facilitated flooding.

Despite Beresford we know there was some positive correlation between villages having uncultivated lands recorded in 1341 and villages which were later to be deserted in Sussex, since several mentioned in this condition by *Non. Inq.* appear as depopulated by 1428 (e.g. West Blatchington), though of course the Black Death probably speeded their depopulation. In fact those villages which were deserted may have been so because they suffered more heavily from the plague than those villages mentioned as having untilled lands but which survived.[1]

After the 14th century plagues there may have been a retreat from more marginal areas, such as the upper slopes of the Downs, to the more productive lowlands, e.g. as occurred at Hangleton and probably at West Blatchington, Exceat and elsewhere. It is possible that the population of the Pevensey Levels was higher after the plague than before, perhaps because of a migration of population from the Downs.[2] Against this may be set the evidence in *V.C.H Sussex*,[3] where the Black Death and the plagues of 1361 and 1366 are said to have caused nine townships on the sea coast within the Rape of Pevensey to become desolate and uninhabited.

### Archaeological Evidence

From most of the sites under discussion the evidence in the field for former medieval settlements is very limited and often non-existent. In the cases of some of our sites (e.g. Broomhill) this is because they have been eroded by the sea, and therefore one would not expect to find visible remains anyway. In most cases it is because Sussex is such an intensely cultivated region that agricultural activities have removed all or most traces of former houses, roads and

[1] For more details see the two papers by A. R. H. Baker in *S.A.C.*, vol. 104, and *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, vol. 19; M. W. Beresford, op. cit., p. 204; E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), pp. 66-67; and R. A. Pelham, op. cit., (1931) and (1934).

[2] A. J. F. Dulley, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[3] V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 511; V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 2 (1907), pp. 180-83; Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers Accounts 442, No. 7117. As yet these nine sites are unidentified.

crofts. Since 1939 especially an agricultural 'revolution' has taken place[1] which permits good crops to be grown and cattle to be maintained on the thin soils of the chalk uplands which were previously used only for sheep. For example, most traces of Poyning's Town near Seaford have been removed. Elsewhere, on the dip-slopes and at the scarp foot of the Downs, and in the river valleys, more intense cultivation has meant that ploughing has removed remains of former settlements where it is known archaeological evidence existed, e.g. at Hamsey in the Ouse valley and at Alciston and Perching at the scarp-foot of the Downs. A more extensive archaeological air-survey than exists to date would undoubtedly reveal much evidence at sites where little or nothing is visible on the ground.

Some former village sites have been built over, for example, Hydneye near Eastbourne in the thirties of the present century and Hangleton near Hove in the fifties.

However at some sites earthworks are visible. At Arlington a site well inland on the alluvium of the Cuckmere valley, extensive earthworks may be seen. The site is a good example of a shrunken settlement and is not a full D.M.V. The earthworks survive because the land is poorly drained and used for pasture, while the mounds themselves make it difficult to plough the land. Even so, the site has been partially destroyed by the straightening of the river's course, while a farm track has also partly levelled some of the mounds.

At Northeye, on a gentle rise in the Bexhill marshes, the evidence consists of a few low mounds of no definite pattern, and although now pasture the land has been ploughed in the past. At nearby Barnhorne, former earthworks have been destroyed by recent ploughing. At other sites where there are visible remains,[2] these are neither extensive nor particularly informative, except perhaps at Balmer.[3] In fact, archaeological evidence for D.M.V. in East Sussex is on the whole rather disappointing.

It was hoped the architectural history of the churches at some of our sites might yield some information regarding the period at which desertion had taken place. Some evidence for the decay of churches came from documentary sources, but even those churches in ruins last century have since been re-built, thus preventing first-hand observations. Only the excavations of the churches at Exceat, today barely visible under heavily ploughed downland, and at Lull-

[1] E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), p. 66.

[2] For details see Gazetteer.

[3] But now see Buxted.

ington, the chancel of which is still standing, have been of real help.[1] The evidence of churches standing in, or virtually in, isolation has always been assumed to be possibly indicative of the former existence of villages, especially in those districts whose geology, water supply and economy would favour nucleation.

## GAZETTEER

### KEY

The entries in the Gazetteer follow a standard pattern. The name of the former settlement in its modern form, except in the case of Domesday desertions, is given first. The place-name is followed by the sheet number of the 1-inch O.S. map (7th Edition), and then by the two-letter and six-figure National Grid reference to each site. If the site has been only approximately located, the map reference is preceded by *c.* If there is doubt about the suggested location, the map reference is preceded by a question mark. Following the National Grid reference an abbreviation gives the period when each site is thought to have been deserted. This classification is based on the following broad categories.

I. Early desertion: no reference other than in Domesday Book, 1086.
II. *c.* 1100—*c.* 1350
III. *c.* 1350—*c.* 1450
IV. *c.* 1450—*c.* 1700
V. after *c.* 1700.
N. Uncertain date.

A further abbreviation gives the quality of the visible remains of the village. This classification in terms of field evidence is based on the following categories.

A+ Excellent visual quality: very good pattern of roads with house-sites visible.
A Very good pattern of roads but absence of clear remains of houses.
B Medium quality: good earthworks of roads (hollow-ways), but otherwise confused earthworks.
C Poor: either church or church ruins but no earthworks of precise identification, or uneven ground and vague bumps only.
D No visible remains.
E Lost to sea by coastal erosion.
U Location unknown.

[1] W. Budgen, 'Excete and its parish church', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 58 (1916), pp. 138-71; A. Barr-Hamilton, 'Excavations at Lullington Church', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 108 (1970), pp. 1-22.

The classification is qualified in some entries by an additional abbreviation.

P Site now ploughed.
REB Resettled, *c.* 1800-1918.
HOU Resettled since 1918.
M Migration of village to new site.
S Shrunk: a village that has been more extensive but now reduced to a few houses.

The next part of each entry consists of a series of dates followed by population or taxation statistics. Each of these has already been discussed in the Introduction.

1086 The year of the compilation of Domesday Book. The following figure refers to the number of householders recorded at the site.
1296 Lay Subsidy. The entry gives the number of taxpayers and the total paid.
1316 A settlement is listed in the *Nomina Villarum.*
1327 As for 1296.
1332 As for 1296.
1334 Lay Subsidy. The entry gives the total paid.
1341 Poverty of tenants or soil infertility is mentioned in *Non. Inq.*
1428 Parish had fewer than ten taxpayers.
1524 As for 1296.
1603 Total number of communicants and dissenters.
1621 As for 1296.
1624 Tax for Maimed Soldiers: amount paid.
1664 Number of houses with taxable hearths.
1676 Number of people in parish over 16 years.
1801 Total population of parish. Later censuses are sometimes also quoted.

After the main documentary sources examined have been noted in this form, a discussion of each site follows taking no standard pattern, and often varying considerably in length. The standard form used in the Gazetteer and set out above is adapted from that used by the D.M.V.R.G., for example in their monographs on the deserted villages of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire.

## DESERTED SITES

ALBOURNE. 182 TQ 257162. N. D.P.
1316. 1327: 35, 62*s* 3*d.* 1332: 24, 56*s* 4¼*d.* 1334: 68*s.* 1524: 33, 267*s* 10*d.* 1676: 100.

Historically parish in Rape of Bramber but in 1907 transferred to East Sussex. Today consists of three houses and medieval church on north-east edge of Albourne Place Park. About half-mile north-east on A23 lies Albourne Green, a fair-sized community

which was already quite extensive by the time the Tithe Map was made, c.1840. Although appearing in *Non. Inq.*, no mention is made there of any poverty in the parish. In 1586 the parishioners report their church in need of ' healinge '. Probable migration to Albourne Green (TQ 265165) at some unknown date, possibly when the land around Albourne Place emparked.

ALDRINGTON. 182 TQ 266053. V. E. REB.

1086: 73. 1332: 26, 56*s* 4*d*. 1334: 63*s* 4*d*. 1603: 8 or 9 (East Aldrington). 1624: 8*s*. 1664: 3. 1801: 2. 1821: 2.

In 1341 it is recorded that Hove, Aldrington and Portslade together had lost nearly 300 acres to the sea since about 1290. However, Aldrington was not one of those places granted tax relief in 1428. Church was in poor state in 1586. A further Hearth Tax of around 1680[1] records payment for only two houses in East Aldrington. Aldrington not named at all on Morden's map in 1695 *Britannia*, yet Thomas Cox in *Magna Britannia* (1738) says in 1700 Aldrington consisted of a row of houses by sea and had a population of 200. In consequence, I would refute Holden's judgement[2] that West Aldrington had been lost to the sea by 1624 and suggest that the place referred to in 1700 was West Aldrington and that East Aldrington ceased to exist by c. 1700. Leaves unexplained non-appearance of West Aldrington in 17th century record. Cox records that by 1738 few houses remaining in (West) Aldrington; rest destroyed in storms of 1703 and 1705. Budgen's *Survey of Sussex* (1724) notes that since 1699 sea had gained on that coast " six perches ". In 1724, according to Budgen, parsonage only house left yet in 1690 Aldrington was one of the places ordered to aid the poor of Brighton which was suffering from inroads of the sea and " foreign and intestine commotions ". V.C.H., *Sussex*, records last two houses disappeared between 1743-45, while in 1772 the church still existed. In 1821 only the tollgate keeper and his wife were left. Horsfield[3] writes that in 1835 there were two farms in the parish and no other buildings except the ruins of the church. Horsfield also records that according to old people in the vicinity a street still stood in 1742. It is recorded that the church was still in ruins 1860, though also still two farms in parish.[4]

[1] P.R.O. E. 179/191/416.

[2] E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), p. 65.

[3] T. W. Horsfield, *The History Antiquities and Topography of the County of Sussex* (1835), vol. 1.

[4] E. Turner, ' Domus Anchoritae, Aldrington', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 12 (1860), pp. 117ff. A Barr-Hamilton in *Sussex County Magazine* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.C.M.*), vol. 26 (April 1952), pp. 166ff., also inclines to the view that the 200 people said to inhabit the area in 1700 belonged to West Aldrington.

BALMER. 183 TQ 359102. N. B.S.

1086: 5. 1296: 29, 96*s* 6¾*d*. 1327 (with Falmer): 20, 42*s* 3*d*. 1332: see below. 1334 (with Falmer): 20*s*. 1341.

In 1086 there was a chapel (*ecclesiola*) in ' Burgemere ', a hamlet in Falmer parish. Subsidy Roll for 1332 under Balmer and Falmer records: *Lucia relicta Johis de Muston 5s 4d. Et non plures de istis villatis quia nativi. Prioris de Lewes quorum redditus et servicia excedunt taxationem.* In 1537 Falmer and ' tenements in Boromer ' were quitclaimed to the King and in 1538 were handed to Cromwell. In the records of the ' State of the Diocese of Chichester ' in 1563 there is no mention of Balmer chapel. In all probability it had been demolished between 1537 and 1563. From the evidence of *Non. Inq.* chapel probably in disrepair from mid-14th century.[1] Clear traces of former buildings on Upper Green Field, but Estate Map of 1819 and 1838 Falmer Tithe Map show no buildings. In 1838 map farm marked as ' Hamlet of Boromar ' and there is a ' Church Laine Field ' south of buildings then in existence. Farm and cottages remain.

BALSDEAN. 183 TQ 378059. N. C.

1327: 10, 39*s* 8¾*d*. 1332: 10, 33*s* 1½*d*. 1334: 41*s* 2¾*d*. 1664 (with Rottingdean): 26.

A hamlet in Rottingdean. Its history has been traced elsewhere.[2] Chapel came into being between 1121 and 1147, although ' Baldesdena ' is mentioned as early as 1091-98. Charter of 1180-1204 confirms chapel on vicar of Rottingdean. *Non. Inq.* records Rottingdean parish suffered from an abandonment of 240 acres of its arable land through the infertility of the soil and the poverty of those who used to cultivate it. It is probable that depopulation at Balsdean began about now as it was on marginal land. Manor formed part of possessions of Lewes Priory and in 1537 confiscated. In 1579 vicar of Rottingdean was required to hold service four times a year in the chapel of the ' village ' of Balsdean. Most of the houses assessed for Hearth Tax in 1664 must have been in the village of Rottingdean. Visitation report of Bishop Bowers in 1724 under Rottingdean refers to a ' farm called Baseden in which there is an old chappel and chappel yard and a small parcell of land leading up to the hill belonging as is said to the Vicar and called the Butt, but never enjoyed by the present vicar '. Nave of chapel (chancel having

[1] R. B. Tibble, ' The medieval settlement at Balmer', in *S.C.M.*, vol. 29 (1955), pp. 194ff.

[2] N. Norris and E. Hockings, ' Excavations at Balsdean Chapel, Rottingdean', in *S.C.M.*, vol. 25 (1951), pp. 222ff; and in *S.A.C.*, vol. 91 (1953), pp. 53-68.

collapsed) converted to a stable and in 1852 one writer claimed divine service had not been said there for centuries. Chapel and Georgian farmhouse and all adjacent farm buildings destroyed by army in 1943. Since then more farm buildings have been erected close by.

BARNHORNE. 183 TQ 695078.[1] III. P.

1296 (with Telham, Glasseye and Buckstep): 22, 58*s* 6*d*.

Earthworks marked on 1928 revision of O.S. 6in. sheet LXX. N.W. south of Barnhorne Cottages have been levelled by ploughing in recent years. On 1840 Tithe Map of Bexhill immediately west of Barnhorne Farm with its adjacent buildings (including an Old Town Barn) is the Old Town Field in which these earthworks were formerly situated. (For mention of previous investigation at the site see below under Northeye.) It was these earthworks presumably which constituted the last vestiges of the Barnhorne settlement. Recently medieval roofing slate was found in the upcast of a trench which had passed through the remains of a building on the site.[2] Apart from former earthworks there is little surviving evidence for the existence of a village at Barnhorne. The site was clearly related to nearby Northeye to which it is still linked by a sunken lane marked on the Tithe Map as the ' Droveway '. The mound interpreted in 1952 (see under Northeye) as a windmill (TQ 693079) was probably related to Barnhorne rather than Northeye. Apart from 1296 Subsidy there is little documentary evidence. By 1327 Barnhorne apparently detached from Half-Hundred of Battle and added to Bexhill.[3] 1539 Muster Roll for Hastings Rape shows Barnhorne with Mountjoy, Whatlington, Telham, Uckham and Bucksteep assessed for 40 men. However, as at least three of the others were sizeable settlements by this date, it seems unlikely Barnthorne supplied more than a few men and was probably already a farm.[4]

[1] In *S.N.Q.*, vol. 15 (1962), p. 314, this reference is the first of the two given for Northeye, but obviously refers to Barnhorne.

[2] E. W. Holden, ' Slate Roofing in Medieval Sussex ', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 103 (1965), p. 78.

[3] V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 95.

[4] Now see the recent paper by P. F. Brandon, ' Agriculture and the effects of floods and weather at Barnhorne, Sussex, during the late Middle Ages ', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 109 (1971), pp. 69-93. It appears the move from the site in Old Town Field began before 1305 when *Oldeton* first mentioned (P.R.O. E.315/57). By 1433 only one cottage existed at Old Town compared with a cluster of tenants' dwellings at new site (P.R.O. E.315/56). Brandon, p. 70. Depopulation at Northeye probably began at this time too.

BROOMHILL. 184 *c.* TQ 988183. IV. E.D.

This site was in Kent until 1895. It lay on edge of sea marshes between Rye and Dungeness, and was destroyed by coastal erosion. There is little documentary evidence. Silting and inroads of the sea caused the abandonment of Broomhill over a period of centuries. The main damage seems to have been done by the great storms of 1284-87, which destroyed Old Winchelsea. As late as 1474 and 1478 large tracts of land between Rye and Romney, including Broomhill, were in danger of inundation from the sea. Further massive inundations occurred both in 1570 and in 1627. Houses are shown at ' Promehill ' on Stonham's Map of 1599. It is interesting to note that there was a mill at ' Promhulle ' in 1335.[1] The exact period of abandonment of the settlement is not known, but probably its existence had ceased by the storms of 1627, certainly the church was in ruins by 1637.[2] By 1938 only a few stones served to indicate the site of the church.

BUCKHAM. 183 TQ 452206. N. B.
1296: 9, 16*s* 8¼*d.*

A hamlet in Isfield. Earthworks in grass field just south of Beeches Farm. Site is threatened by ploughing (Feb. 1972). See Buxted.

BULVERHYTHE. 184 TQ 768082. IV. E. HOU.
No D.B. or L.S. 1801: 20.

This part of coast for centuries subject to severe erosion by sea. Today area covered by modern settlement of Bulverhythe, although part of medieval chapel associated with original settlement still survives as ruin (TQ 765084). Bulverhythe was an attached limb of the Cinque Port of Hastings, but probably had lost its importance as a harbour to erosion by end of 14th century, and declined in importance, as did Hastings itself at this period (see below). The earliest mention of the place as a port is in the 13th century and the chapel is first recorded in 1372,[3] subsequently falling into ruin, it is not certain exactly when, and not rebuilt. Bulverhythe is mentioned as a port in 1500[4] and was still considered such in 1676,[5] though had lost any significance as a port long before the latter date. Indeed, by the end of the 17th century the greater part of the town had been eroded.[6]

[1] G. M. Cooper, ' Notices of the Abbey of Robertsbridge ', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 8 (1856), p. 156.

[2] V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 9 (1937), p, 149.

[3] *S.R.S.*, vol. 33, p. 23.

[4] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1494-1509, p. 214.

[5] W. D. Cooper, 'Notices of Hastings and its municipal rights', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 14 (1862), pp. 117-18.

[6] W. Jeake, *Charters of the Cinque Ports* (1728).

BUXTED. 183 TQ 486231. V. A.

A suspected emparkment. Hollow way with house platforms running NNW. and NE. of church across park. 13th century sherds recovered from mole-hills. Little documentary evidence for medieval village, but late 18th century illustrations show houses close to the church. By Sussex standards this is a well-preserved site and should be scheduled. Sketch surveys have been made of both Buxted and Buckham (*supra*) by C. F. Tebbutt who has published a fuller account of these two sites in *S.A.C.*, vol. 110 (1972), pp. 31-35.

EXCEAT. 183 TV 523988. III. C.

1086: 21. 1296: 24, 221*s* 0½*d*. 1327 (with Westdean): 17, 78*s* 1¾*d*. 1332: 26, 130*s* 1*d*. 1334: 149*s* 0*d*.

In the field the foundations of the church are still reasonably clear though the area is now ploughed. Field west of church shows disturbances. Church site excavated in 1913.[1] Despite the prosperity shown by the 14th century subsidy figures, Exceat was already shrinking in size. The 1342 *Non. Inq.* records poverty and destruction by French raids at other sites in the area (e.g. Friston and Seaford), and we may be fairly certain Exceat did not escape these troubles. By 1428 *in parochia de Excete* lived *Henrius Chesman et non plures*.[2] In 1460 the inhabitants of the two remaining houses said church in ruins.[3] These people declared parishioners of neighbouring Westdean, and in 1528 two parishes formally united.

HAMSEY. 183 TQ 414122. N. D.P.

1086: 30. 1316. 1327 (' villatta de Southborgh '): 34, 117*s* 2½*d*. 1332: (' Suthborgh '): 31, 121*s* 5½*d*. 1334 (' Southborgh '): 130*s* 4¼*d*. 1524: 42, 219*s* 0*d*. 1664: 25. 1676: 127. 1801: 367. 1831: 608.

Original settlement lay by present isolated church. Main settlement of parish today is at Offham. Little trace of former habitations around church, though in 1321 a manor-house was constructed east of church.[4] Ruins of latter still visible c.1780.[5] Slight disturbances apparent south and west of church, and medieval pottery, chimney pot and quern fragments have been retrieved.[6] It seems likely that

[1] W. Budgen, op. cit., pp. 138-70.

[2] *Feudal Aids* (1908), vol. 5.

[3] Bodleian Library, MS. Charter Sussex, 311; W. Budgen, op. cit., pp. 158-9

[4] *S.N.Q.*, vol. 3, pp. 133-6.

[5] T. W. Horsfield, op. cit., p. 335.

[6] By E. W. Holden and the writer.

an original nucleated settlement around Hamsey church gradually dispersed to other parts of the parish, possibly through lack of building space on the narrow neck of land above flood level on which the church is situated.

HANGLETON. 182 TQ 268074. III. HOU.

1086: 44. 1327: 25, 83*s* 6¼*d*. 1332: 13, 38*s* 8*d*. 1334: 58*s* 8*d*. 1341. 1428: 2. 1624: 6*s*. 1664: 5. 1801: 36.

This well-known site has both been recently excavated and fully published, and full references will be found in Part I of the excavation report to sources for the history of the parish.[1]

HASTINGS PARISHES. 184 *c*. TQ 800090. III. E & REB.

In Bishop Praty's Register, 1440, it stated parishes of St. Andrew, St. Leonard, St. Michael and St. Margaret destroyed by sea or depopulated. Already for two centuries at least there had been records of inundations in Hastings area. In April 1236 an inquisition said old church of St. Clement destroyed by sea.[2] Earlier to Praty's record there is evidence of *Nomin. Vill.*, 1428. This plainly states parishes of St. Leonard, St. Margaret, St. Michael, St. Peter and St. Andrew-sub-Castro depopulated. Site of St. Peter lost,[3] and as it is mentioned in 1428 but not in 1440 presumably sea totally washed it away between those two dates. In 1458 it is recorded there was a free chapel in St. Leonard's parish, but in 1548 it was stated that ' for time out of mind ' the inhabitants had attended the church of Hollington. Apparently the chapel survived depopulation of the parish. At beginning of 19th century St. Leonard's still ' a desolate little parish ' until founding of new town in 1828.

St. Michael's, St. Peter and St. Margaret grouped together in *Taxatio*, 1291 and valued at £10 but in 1341 value reduced to 20*s*. Foundations of church of St. Michael rediscovered in 1834.[4] From about 1656 (i.e. date of earliest reference) parish of St. Margaret became known as St. Mary Magdalen. In 1801 it had population of 51 and in 1824 13 houses, but by 1832 district entirely agricultural.[5] In 1870 reconstituted as parish in new town of St. Leonard's. St. Andrew's parish still desolate in 1832 with three inhabited houses, until in 1869 new church erected and gradually parish absorbed by spread of modern Hastings.

[1] E. W. Holden, op. cit. (1963), pp. 54-182; and J. G. Hurst and D. G. Hurst, ' Excavations at the D.M.V. of Hangleton, Part II ', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 102 (1964), pp. 94-142.

[2] T. W. Horsfield, op. cit., p. 454n.

[3] *S.A.C.*, vol. 39 (1894), p. 223.

[4] *S.A.C.*, vol. 40 (1896), p. 262.

[5] M. A. Lower, *The History of Sussex* (1831), vol. 1, p. 222.

HEIGHTON ST. CLERE. 183 TQ 478075. IV. C.

1296: (with West Firle): 21, 85*s* 8½*d*. 1316. 1327: 24, 54*s* 2½*d*. 1332: 24, 57*s* 6½*d*. 1334: 74*s* 6½*d*. 1341. 1524: 22, 49*s* 2*d*+.

Site in West Firle Park with group of houses known as Heighton Street being nearest settlement. Site marked by few irregular mounds and silted pond. It has been surmised that Heighton St. Clere manor-house was abandoned before 1496.[1] In 1517 John Gage leased ' to Richard Ballard of Westfyrle, husbandman, site of the manor of Heighton Sencler in the parish of Westfyrle, and all the demayne lands '.[2] Position of site among a line of shrunken settlements from Beddingham (TQ 436069) to Winton (TQ 517038), documentary evidence, such as it is, and existence of local tradition, all suggest here was once a sizeable settlement which was apparently depopulated between c. 1450 and c. 1600.

HERSTMONCEUX. 183 TQ 643103. III. M.

1086: 42. 1296: 30, 85*s* 2¾*d*. 1316. 1327: 13, 34*s* 8¾*d*. 1332: 11, 40*s* 7*d*. 1334: 54*s* 7*d*. 1676: 250.

Today settlement of Herstmonceux lies 2 miles north of church, which is mentioned in D.B., and Herstmonceux Castle and its park. Church Farm is the only other settlement in vicinity of church. Salzman drew attention to Court Roll for Herstmonceux of 1330 in which occur 40 names, of which only eight can be traced in subsidies 1327 and 1332, with another four instances of similar surnames.[3] On 5 February, 1441 Roger Fenys was granted permission to empark 600 acres of his land,[4] and it is this act which it is suggested led to the migration of the village to its present site. No traces of former houses are visible near the church on the ground. The newly-sited village quickly grew to a fair size.

HOVE. 182 TQ 286048. ?V. REB.

1296: 30, 148*s* 11½*d*. 1327 (with Preston): 32, 66*s* 7*d*. 1332 (with Preston): 33, 62*s* 5¼*d*. 1334 (with Preston): 80*s* 0*d*. 1341. 1603: several score. 1621: 4, 36*s* 8*d*. 1664: c.27. 1801: 101.

*Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas (1291) records tithe for Hove at 106s 8d. but ninth in 1341 well below this. Also, *Non. Inq.* records 150 acres eroded by sea and widespread poverty in parish. In 1586 parish reported ' Or churche is in such decaye that wee are not able to amende it '. Around 1700 Bishop Warburton refers to Hove as ' a ruinous village, which the sea is daily eating up; it is in a fair way of being quite deserted '.[5] Authors of *Magna Britannia* (1738)

1 *S.C.M.*, vol. 29, No. 4.
2 East Sussex Record Office (abbreviated hereafter to E.S.R.O.), Gage MSS.
3 L. F. Salzman, op. cit., (1960), p. 42.
4 *Cal. of Ch. Rolls.*
5 T. W. Horsfield, op. cit., p. 158.

said Hove 'almost entirely swallowed up by the sea'. In 1735, they write church stood away from any houses and was in mutilated and contracted state: side aisles and chancel destroyed. Quantities of molten lead around the ruins. Church already partly in ruins by 1724. In fact total desertion probably never occurred, and in 1801 Hove described as 'a small village consisting of one street, which runs inland from the sea shore'.[1]

HYDNEYE. 183 TQ 609028. N. HOU.

In early thirties of present century site described as "a rise of grassy land, bare and lonely",[2] but before 1940 area covered by houses. 1st edition O.S. 6in. Sheet LXXX. N.W. (1879-80) shows road system well, and nearby a circular mound. Until c. 1930 medieval church stood nearby. Practically no significant documentary evidence. Hydneye was port attached to Hastings from early times,[3] but when it ceased to function as port and was depopulated remains obscure. Turner[4] maintains earliest reference to Hydneye is in deed on Hastings dated 1229. There are mentions in charters throughout period 1235-60 of a Simon de Hidenie, and to a John de Hydenye in 1308.[5] Probably a small harbour here silted up in period 1250-1350 depriving the attending community of its livelihood.

IHAM AND OLD WINCHELSEA. 184 TQ 902174 & *c.* TQ 914177.

Iham: ?III. C. 1428. Old Winchelsea: II. E.

History of Old Winchelsea well known and no reason for it to be repeated here.[6] Suffice it to say a Patent Roll of 1280 states that old town of Winchelsea for most part submerged by sea, and another of 1283 says town threatened with total submergence. In 1292 New Winchelsea founded on Hill of Yham, and Old Winchelsea inundated by that date.

[1] J. Edwards, *A Companion from London to Brighthelmston, in Sussex* (1801), quoted in E. W. Holden 'Militia Camps in Sussex, 1793 . . .' in *S.A.C.*, vol. 108 (1970), p. 84.

[2] A. A. Evans, in *S.C.M.*, vol. 7 (1933), p. 25

[3] V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 39 (1937), p. 36.

[4] E. Turner, 'The Lost Towns of Northeye and Hydneye', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 19 (1867), pp. 1-35.

[5] *S.R.S.*, vol. 38, *passim.*

[6] W. MacLean, 'The marshes between Hythe and Pett', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 79 (1938), pp. 199-223; W. M. Homan, 'The founding of New Winchelsea', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 88 (1949), pp. 22-41; M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, (1967), pp. 14-28; M. W. Beresford & J. K. S. St. Joseph, *Medieval England*, (1958), pp. 221-25; and W. D. Cooper, *History of Winchelsea* (1850).

Little town of Yhamme appears to have principally covered the slopes west of St. Leonard's church and foundation walls of houses could still be traced there in 1949. It is not improbable that small church of St. Leonard is one of five mentioned in Domesday as being in ' Ramslie ', it stood where Winchelsea windmill is now.[1] There were eighteen houses on the part of the hill not belonging to abbey of Fecamp, of these only two on ground taken over for new town. Other sixteen probably on western slopes south of Iham.[2] Hill of Iham, therefore, probably fairly populous before New Winchelsea constructed. As coast inundated population moved up hill. In Patent Roll of 1283 New Winchelsea referred to as ' the new town of Yhamme '. Abbott of Fecamp's town was in contemporary documents mentioned as the little town of Iham or as South Iham. It has been suggested[3] this indicates another settlement on hill, and it may be parts of this other settlement's buildings which have turned up in and around St. Thomas' churchyard. Presumably this hypothetical settlement destroyed by laying out of New Winchelsea. Settlement of Iham gradually abandoned as New Winchelsea shrank and its harbour silted. Exact period of desertion uncertain as town of Iham does not appear in records after 1292. Iham recorded as depopulated in 1428.

LULLINGTON. 183 *c.* TQ 528031. N. C.

1296: 21, 79*s* 8½*d.* 1524: 29, 37*s* 10*d.* 1676: 20. 1801: 32. 1831: 49.

Excavation 1965-66[4] has shown the first church on the site was built c. 1180, and this building slightly enlarged and its tower dispensed with c. 1350. After the tower rebuilt following a fire in the 16th century, it collapsed during the second half of the 18th century. Lullington is first mentioned in 1192 and its church in 1249. The place-name is pre-Conquest, In *Non. Inq.* appears an entry for ' Alcystone cu' capell de Lullynton '. The settlement suffered badly from the Black Death,[5] and we may be fairly certain that at least half the population died in 1349, judging from the size

[1] W. M. Homan, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

[2] P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, roll 663, 1291.

[3] W. M. Homan, op. cit., p. 40.

[4] A. Barr-Hamilton, ' Excavations at Lullington Church ', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 108 (1970), pp. 1-22.

[5] J. A. Brent, ' Alciston Manor in the later Middle Ages', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 106 (1968), pp. 89-102.

of the population in 1296. The excavator of the church says[1] he knows of no visible sign of the village's former extent but believes that it may well have had houses in the vicinity of the church, aligned with ' lost ' road running from footbridge at Alfriston, past Lullington church, north-east to Windover Hill. Two dwellings remain on this line just south of the church, both of which are marked on a map of 1799.[2] Despite the fact that documents show Lullington had an active congregation until the 18th century, it is perfectly possible that a nucleated settlement around the church had been destroyed in 1349, and certainly in later centuries the population of the parish was scattered. Certainly any nucleated settlement had gone by the mid-18th century and the church was in ruins by 1780. Reasons have been given elsewhere for this 18th century decline in population.[3]

NEWTIMBER. 182 TQ 271134. N. C.

1086: 21. 1296 (with Pyecombe): 28, 76*s* 4½*d*. 1316. 1327: 12, 28*s* 3*d*. 1332: 15, 75*s* 7¼*d*. 1334: 82*s* 0*d*. 1603: 40. 1621: 2 paid. 1664: 12. 1676: 47. 1801: 148. 1831: 172.

Today heavily restored medieval church and rectory stand alone on southern edge of Newtimber Place park. On other side of park lies Newtimber Place with adjacent buildings. Though mentioned in *Non. Inq.*, there is no particular record of poverty at Newtimber. In 1586 church not in good condition and Horsfield (1835) says the ' village small '. There is a reference to the ' site of the manor of Nytymbr ' in 1395,[4] possibly indicating that the manor house shifted position. Evidence of church and rectory on their own, as well as slight archaeological evidence, suggests that population moved from vicinity of these two buildings. It is also possible from the evidence of 1603 and 1621 that Newtimber was badly affected by the plague of 1603 (of Pyecombe), and depopulation occurred between these two dates. In which case the evidence for repopulation in the latter 17th century refers to a non-nucleated settlement pattern within the parish, such as exists today.

[1] Private communication, 15/7/70; I am grateful to Mr. A. Barr-Hamilton for much of the material in this section.

[2] E. S. R. O., Adams MS. 51.

[3] A Barr-Hamilton, op. cit., p. 3.

[4] Lewes Priory Misc. Books: F. G. Duckett, ' . . . . History of the Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes ', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 35 (1887), p. 117. See also *S.A.C.*, vol. 37 (1890), p. 189, for abstract of a deed relating to land in Newtimber, dated 11th June, 1318.

NORTHEYE. 183 TQ 683072. III. B.

Revision of 1928 to the O.S. 6in. map (sheet LXX. N.W.) shows considerable banks, mounds and two large depressions on the site. Most of these earthworks are still visible (1970) in the area known as Chapel Field but the southern part of the site has been ploughed, although this has not yet removed all sign of earthworks. Compared with most East Sussex sites Northeye has received considerable attention in the past. In 1867 the Rev. E. Turner published an article[1] which, though confused, contains much important material on Northeye, as well as Barnhorne and Hydneye. Not least of Turner's discoveries was the existence of a tradition in the district of former settlements in both the Chapel and Old Towne Fields. Two unpublished excavations in the last forty years proved the existence of medieval structures in Chapel Field if nothing else.[2] There exists a small quantity of documentary evidence for the former presence of a village at Northeye. Foundation charter of the chapel dedicated to St. James and dated c. 1262 does survive.[3] This chapel survived as a ruin until the 1850s. Northeye is mentioned in a charter of c. 1229 as a dependent limb of the Cinque Port of Hastings. The site's position also suggests it was once a small port. A ' place called Northie Chappell ' is mentioned in the *Parliamentary Surveys*, 1649-53. As Hasting's Corporation lost all its records of Northeye and other dependent limbs of the Cinque Port in the 16th century, we do not know when the port of Northeye ceased to exist. There are numerous reasons why Northeye was depopulated. By 1100 the drainage of the Pevensey marshes had begun, so eventually the harbour would have been abandoned. This part of Sussex was badly hit by the late 13th century storms, which destroyed Old Winchelsea, and no doubt Northeye suffered too. The Nonae Rolls produce plenty of evidence for economic hardship and poverty in the early 14th century, especially on the Sussex coast, and nine townships on the sea coast within the Rape of Pevensey are reported as being deserted in the mid-14th century. The evidence seems to be overwhelming in suggesting a desertion for Northeye by 1400.

PANGDEAN. 182 *c.* TQ 294117. N. D.P.
1086: 28.

Under *Pinhedene* and *Pinwedene* in Domesday 20 villeins and 8 bordars are recorded. Charters of c. 1140 and c. 1147 refer to the church at *Pingeden*.[4] Today there is neither church nor village on

[1] E. Turner, op. cit., pp. 1-35. For discussion of Turner's paper the reader is referred to the writer's undergraduate dissertation.

[2] See Appendix, Table I.

[3] *S.R.S.*, vol. 11 (1910), p. 264.

[4] *S.R.S.*, vol. 38, Chart. of St. Pancras Priory, Lewes, A.D. 1444.

the site, only a farm. Tradition says that during the 1603 plague which destroyed neighbouring Pyecombe, a farmer of Pangdean lived in a cave at Waydown nearby in order to escape the plague. When he returned many weeks later he was the last to die from the disease. His monument was at one time visible in Pyecombe churchyard.[1]

PERCHING. 182 TQ 242115. N. C.[2]

1086: 14. 1316. 1327: 14, 40*s* 7½*d*. 1332: 11, 64*s* 8*d*. 1334: 80*s*. 1621: 7. 1664: 13.

On early editions of O.S. 6in. sheet LII west of Perching Manor farm is marked 'Supposed site of Perching Manor House' together with fairly extensive earthworks in the form of long banks. A visit to site showed some of banks still visible (1970) but others have been obliterated by ploughing. Only buildings on site now are those of Manor Farm.

POYNINGS TOWN. 183 TV 508985. III. C.

Much information on the history of this site comes from a paper published well over a century ago.[3] It appears from *Non Inq.* that Seaford suffered badly from French raids in the early 14th century and her trade had also suffered in consequence.[4] The town also seems to have suffered badly from the plague of 1349. In 1356 it was recorded Seaford 'has lately for most part been burnt down' and 'devastated by pestilence and the calamities of war'. One James Archer 'maliciously designing to destroy the better part of the remainder of the buildings not already burnt . . . from day to day does pull down many of them, and does sell and carry away timber, chalk, and stones, to the manifest destruction and disfigurement of the town'. The townsmen had petitioned the King to help them before they were compelled to desert the town. The King replied (1356) that the townsmen were not to let James Archer or anyone else dismantle their town, but if they themselves wished to rebuild their houses elsewhere they could.[5]

[1] I. R. Phelps, op. cit.

[2] Site listed in *S.N.Q.*, vol. 15, p. 314, as a D.M.V. consists of several small platforms which have produced medieval pottery. They are situated in a dry-valley on the Downs (TQ 243103) and probably constitute foundations of temporary dwellings.

[3] M. A. Lower, 'Memorials of the Town, Parish and Cinque Port of Seaford, Historical and Antiquarian', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 7 (1854), p. 84.

[4] *Nonarum Inquisitiones*, p. 355.

[5] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 30 Edward III, 18 May 1356, M.13 (1908), pp. 268-9.

Previously, in 1347, the family of de Warenne who formerly held Seaford, became extinct and the Poynings took possession. Lower suggests the Poynings erected a new town within the parish of Seaford with a view to restore the place to its former importance, and he goes on to imply he thinks the remains on Chington Farm are those of the Poyning's new town, hence ' Poyning's Town '.

What Lower records of the archaeological evidence is of the greatest importance. He says that two miles east of (the then) present day Seaford ' are the remains of a large collection of houses still traceable '. Foundations of buildings extending over 15-20 acres (*sic*) were visible in the irregularities of the turf. Lower described how the neighbouring land was cultivated but not the site itself ' in consequence of the foundations, which renders the operation of the plough impossible '. He maintained the area usually called ' the Walls ' but that the old name was ' Poyning's Town '. On the 1879 O.S. 6in. survey (sheet 79) both ' Poyning's Town ' and ' Walls Brow ' are marked. Lower claimed ' the series of mounds covering the foundations of buildings in all directions afford ample evidence of at least an incipient town '. While examining the site he found evidence of flint, brick, masonry, mortar, broken tile, and ' other debris of building '. He also claims all fragments bore traces of burning.

There seems no real reason to doubt the main evidence of Lower's account. That some 120 years ago there existed considerable earthworks and foundations of stone buildings on Chington Farm is corroborated by several pieces of evidence today. The place-names themselves are highly suggestive. On the site today (1970) are three or four possible house-platforms which, however, are rapidly being ploughed out. An air-photograph,[1] taken under poor archaeological conditions of an army camp which occupied part of the site during the last war (and which probably destroyed much of the archaeological evidence), reveals considerable indications of previous occupation of the site. Possible medieval structures, the army hutted camp, strip lynchets (still visible on the ground), and probable strip ploughing on the floor of the Cuckmere valley (TV. 514987), are all visible on this photo.

From all this evidence we can only conclude a settlement of some size existed on the site. However, an acute lack of documentary evidence except *Non. Inq.* and the Close Roll of 1356 leaves the site somewhat of a mystery. Nevertheless, the most likely explanation is that suggested by Lower himself. On receiving the land around 1350 Lord Poyning saw the state Seaford had been reduced to by poverty, pestilence and French raids, and decided to construct a

[1] R.A.F., C.P.E./AK 1947, 3005. I am grateful to E. W. Holden for loan of a copy of this photograph.

new town on a different site overlooking Cuckmere haven. While this new town was in course of construction or soon after its completion, French raids utterly destroyed the new venture, or possibly a fire started by accident, and the venture was abandoned. The town gradually recovered on its original site. That the site was short-lived would account for the paucity of documentary evidence.

PYECOMBE. 182 TQ 293126. IV. D.P.

1296 (with Newtimber): 28, 76*s* 4½*d*. 1316. 1327: 24, 59*s* 5¼*d*. 1332: 8, 43*s* 6¼*d*. 1334: 46*s* 8*d*. 1603: 50. 1621: 4 paid. 1664: 14. 1676: 52. 1801: 134.

Pyecombe mentioned in charter of 1091-98,[1] and there is an entry for the village in *Non. Inq.*, but with no special reference to poverty. Parish Registers, which commence in 1561, record village suffered from plague several times, and in 1603 disease so serious that survivors fled, and later resettled village about a half mile from church (TQ 285129). Horsfield recorded houses in Pyecombe as 'few and scattered'.

SUTTON. 183 TV 494997. III. HOU.

1296 (with Chinting): 48, 195*s* 4¼*d*. 1316. 1327: 18, 42*s* 2*d*. 1332: 8, 32*s* 3½*d*. 1334: 50*s* 0*d*. 1341. 1428.

During medieval period and after there were two manors, Sutton-Sandore and Sutton-Peverall, on land now occupied by Sutton, a suburb of modern Seaford. *Non. Inq.* entry for *Sutton-iuxta-Sefford* refers to poverty of the inhabitants and severity of the weather; 99 acres lay uncultivated because of these troubles. Entry for 1428 reads *in parochia de Sutton non est aliquis ibidem inhabitans*. No clergy resident from about 1481 to about 1534 when parish joined with Seaford.[2] Church still survived in 1585,[3] and appears village growing again for what purports to be accurate survey of Sutton-Sandore manor in 1624 shows church and nine other buildings.[4] In 1645 church and rectory still existed for living sequestered from a Thomas Ballow, and a John Saxby had living in 1664.[5] Revision

[1] *S.R.S.*, vol. 38.

[2] M. A. Lower, 'Further memorials of Seaford', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 17 (1865), pp. 161-3. Also, see note by Lower in *S.A.C.*, (1861), p. 315, where he quotes the deed annexing Sutton to Seaford; Sutton church being desolate, and there being no inhabitants in the place except a few shepherds. The deed is undated but must refer to a date after 1508.

[3] H. Ellis, 'Crown presentations to rectories and vicarages in Sussex during the reign of Queen Elizabeth', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 12 (1860), p. 256.

[4] E.S.R.O., Seaford MS. 688.

[5] F. E. Sawyer, '. . . . Plundered ministers relating to Sussex', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 30 (1880), p. 130.

of 1624 survey dated 1740 does not seem to show church though marks churchyard and also nine buildings of earlier survey. By 19th century church in ruins; Horsfield writes 'part of Sutton church still survived'. By 1854 it could be said 'the church has long been destroyed, though its foundations are clearly traceable.'[1] Ruins of church depicted on early editions of both 6in. and 25in. O.S. maps.

WEST BLATCHINGTON. 182 TQ 278068. III. REB.

1296 (with Brighton): 32, 142*s* 10*d*. 1327 (with Patcham): 40, 143*s* 11¼*d*. 1332 (with Patcham): 34, 118*s* 11¾*d*. 1334 (with Patcham): 164*s* 5¾*d*. 1341. 1428. 1664: 2. 1676: 10. 1831: 58.

Church first mentioned in charter of c. 1147[2] and no doubt settlement existed by then. Documentary evidence indicates 'that West Blatchington church had been forsaken and neglected at some date before 1499',[3] and the village apparently by 1428. It is said that no rector was resident after mid-16th century,[4] and by that period parsonage house had ceased to exist or at least to be habitable. Church and parsonage house not kept in repair after that date, and Scrase family occupied only habitable place in parish. It is maintained that by 1596 the church had been disused for fifty years and manor-house only dwelling in the parish.[5] There were few marriages or baptisms in the 17th century. Church in ruins by 1686. Despite this, in 1690 Blatchington was one of the places ordered to help the poor of Brighton.[6] Horsfield says parish consisted of a village and large farm. Only the outside walls of the church were visible. The ruins of the church are shown on the 1876 O.S. 25in. map.

DOMESDAY DESERTIONS

Three places which had reasonable populations in 1086 do not appear thereafter in the documentary record as nucleated settlements. Their exact sites are not known.

[1] M. A. Lower, op. cit., (1854), p. 119.

[2] *S.R.S.*, vol. 38.

[3] *S.A.C.*, vol. 26 (1875), p. 268.

[4] W. C. Renshaw, 'Notes connected with the history of West Blatchington church', in *S.A.C.*, vol. 49 (1906), pp. 162-68.

[5] V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 7 (1940), p. 243.

[6] *S.A.C.*, vol. 12 (1860), pp. 117ff.

DRISNESEL. *c.* TQ 751232.

'Part of Salehurst Park Farm is still called Drigsell'.[1] In D.B. under Henhurst Hundred after Salehurst comes DRISNESEL, assessed for 3½ hides and one virgate. Land for eight ploughs. On demesne were two ploughs; 18 villeins and six cottars had 12 ploughs. This presumably gave a village of about 25 families. About 1210 Robertsbridge Abbey, a Cistercian House founded 1176, was moved from Robertsbridge itself to a site near Drigsell which was granted to the Abbey. From this time the estate was merged into the Abbey's Manor of Robertsbridge and by 1567 was known as the Farm of Parkhouse.[2] By 1567 there was only one house on the land. David Martin has suggested to me[3] that from the late 13th century onwards villeins and serfs were being granted copyhold and freehold land and were given tracts of waste-land to farm, consequently tenants moved away from the villages and into their own smallholdings. This is conceivably how Drigsell disappeared.

ESMEREWIC. ?U.

The place-name has not been identified, though Holden[4] maintains the entry in the Domesday Survey concerning 'Esmerewic' is probably the record of the manor of Benfields. In D.B. ESMERE-WIC was assessed for 1½ hides. There was land for four ploughs. On demesne were two ploughs, and there were four villeins and six bordars with two ploughs.

WILDENE. U.

Again the place-name has not been identified. The D.B. entry under Hartfield Hundred says assessed for two hides. Land for seven ploughs. On demesne two ploughs, and seven villeins and three bordars had five ploughs. Worth 70 shillings.

POSSIBLE DESERTED SITES

The following is a list of sites where there is evidence to suggest that at one time there were probably larger nucleated settlements.

[1] A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, and J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Sussex* (1930), vol. 2, p. 458; quoted by S. King, op. cit., p. 418. A survey of the manor of Robertsbridge (1567) refers to fields on the 'Farme of Parkhowse' called Great and Little Drigsell and Drigsell Medes (*S.R.S.*, vol. 47 (1944), pp. 146-7).

[2] *S.R.S.*, vol. 47, p. 144.

[3] Private communication.

[4] E. W. Holden, op. cit., (1963), p. 59. See also, V.C.H., *Sussex*, vol. 7, p. 280.

BIVELHAM. 183 *c.* TQ 633264.

1296: 25, 87*s* 2½*d.* 1316. 1327: 22, 50*s* 0¼*d.* 1332: 20, 59*s* 1¼*d.* 1334: 62*s* 3¾*d.* 1524: 44, 89*s* 6*d.*

V.C.H. *Sussex*, 9 records Bivelham " disappeared from the Hundred (Hawksborough) before 1624 ".

ORE. 184 *c.* TQ 836114.

1296: 26, 119*s* 11¼*d.* 1316. 1327: 19, 52*s* 3½*d.* 1332: 19, 84*s* 4¼*d.* 1334: 92*s* 4¼*d.* 1341.

As early as 1361 the manor house was in bad repair and there were few tenants on the land. At the time of the compilation of V.C.H. *Sussex*, vol. 9 both manor house and church of St. Helen were in ruins.

PARROCK. 183 *c.* TQ 457358.

1086: 2. 1296: 13, 49*s* 5¾*d.* 1316. 1327: 26, 40*s* 11*d.* 1332: 35, 54*s* 0½*d.* 1334: 68*s* 0½*d.*

Map reference given here refers to only one of three place-names incorporating ' Parrock ' on the one-inch survey.

PEASMARSH. 184 *c.* TQ 888218.

1664: 38.

A possible emparking case. Church today situated in an emparked area devoid of other buildings. Modern village outside park. There is said to have been a village near the church in the past.

SHERMANBURY. 182 *c.* TQ 215188.

1086: 7. 1428: 7.

A chapel (*ecclesiola*) here in 1086. Today there is a church by Shermanbury Place, but no village.

TOTTINGWORTH. 183 *c.* TQ 615219.

1296: 17, 61*s* 5½*d.* 1316. 1327: 21, 41*s* 6½*d.* 1332: 19, 50*s* 9¼*d.* 1334: 54*s* 0¼*d.*

National Grid Reference here refers to farm south of Tottingworth Park and east of Little Tottingworth (TQ 604219).

## SHRUNKEN SITES

ARLINGTON. 183 TQ 543075. N. A.S.

1086: 5. 1327: 7, 6*s* 11½*d*. 1341. 1664: 17. 1801: 472. 1831: 727.

Today comprises church (with pre-Conquest features) and no more than a dozen houses, mostly widely-spaced. South and west of the church in 'The Sluices' are numerous mounds and irregularities, some of which apparently are modern disturbances.[1] However, probable 12th century pottery has been recovered from the vicinity. Estate Map dated Sept. 1629[2] depicts buildings in perspective and gives field names. It shows most of buildings now in existence (or at least on same sites as present ones), and records three buildings including the old Parsonage House, and the pond, in the field where now there are only mounds to indicate former structures. Other documentary evidence includes a mention in the *Non. Inq.*, when it appears the value of the church had declined from 1291. In 1586 of the church it was reported the 'chancell in defalte of helinge', a common complaint of the period in this part of Sussex, indicating widespread poverty. 211 adults were recorded in the parish by the 1676 religious census, but the population was not concentrated in the village itself. In 1835 Horsfield says of Arlington that it was a 'small village but traditionally much larger'.

The following is a list of a few sites encountered during work on the deserted settlements. There are almost certainly many more and a great deal of useful work could be done on their history.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ALCISTON | TQ 506056 | PEVENSEY | TQ 648048 |
| BEDDINGHAM | TQ 445078 | PIDDINGHOE | TQ 436031 |
| & | TQ 446075 | RODMELL | TQ 420063 |
| BISHOPSTONE | TQ 472010 | SALEHURST | TQ 749243 |
| BODIAM *c.* | TQ 785259 | SOUTHEASE | TQ 423053 |
| CHARLESTON | TQ 491069 | SOUTH HEIGHTON | TQ 451028 |
| HOOE *c.* | TQ 683093 | TARRING NEVILLE | TQ 443039 |
| IFORD | TQ 408073 | TELSCOMBE | TQ 405034 |
| ISFIELD | TQ 444182 | TILTON | TQ 495066 |
| NEW WINCHELSEA | TQ 905175 | | |

[1] For a plan of these earthworks see the writer's undergraduate dissertation.

[2] Barbican House, Lewes. E/15. Acc. 1153.

## CONCLUSION

This survey is no more than an introduction to the deserted villages of East Sussex. Based on the fifteen sites listed by the D.M.V.R.G. and published in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 15 (1962) by Holden, the survey and recent work by other researchers, has added a further twenty-two sites, at least, which should constitute full D.M.V. In addition there are another six sites which are possible D.M.V., but for which there is very little evidence. In other words, there are about thirty-seven full D.M.V. in East Sussex recognised to date, besides numerous shrunken sites. Of these 37 only a dozen, less than one-third, had any visible earthworks in 1971, and only at four of these (Balmer, Buckham, Buxted and Northeye), again one-third, were the earthworks at all extensive.

Of the shrunken sites recognised so far a few have visible earthworks, e.g. Beddingham and Bodiam, while Arlington has particularly good field evidence of its former extent.

Something has been said in the introduction about the lack of good field evidence for our Sussex deserted sites, and it cannot be stressed too much that immediate and extensive fieldwork is needed to record those remaining sites with earthworks of any quality before agricultural activity and redevelopment obliterate the last traces for all time. Meanwhile new sites particularly in the Weald must be located through the documentary sources while the history and fate of known sites must be clarified by more detailed study.

Finally, two other steps should be taken. There is a pressing need for a far better aerial survey of Sussex deserted sites than exists to date.[1] Also, fieldwork alone is not sufficient. We must attempt to preserve our better sites now while we have the chance. For example, sites needing immediate preservation would include Buxted, Balmer, Northeye and Arlington. At the same time we must be ready to carry out rescue excavation at short notice on sites threatened by agricultural activity or any of the other everyday dangers of our times.

[1] In E. Sussex Dr. J. K. S. St Joseph of University of Cambridge has photographed Balmer, Balsdean and New Winchelsea. Although R.A.F. and other surveys do cover some sites (e.g. Poyning's Town) these photos were not taken for specifically archaeological purposes

## APPENDIX

### TABLE I

### Excavations at East Sussex D.M.V. sites[1]

BALSDEAN (TQ 378059) 1950; medieval church and structures; excavated; N. E. S. Norris and E. F. Hockings, ' Excavations at Balsdean Chapel, Rottingdean ', *S.C.M.*, 25(1951), pp. 222ff.; and *S.A.C.*, 91(1953), 53-68.

BARNHORNE (TQ 695078) 1960s, medieval structure; observed; E. W. Holden, ' Slate roofing in medieval Sussex ', *S.A.C.*, 103(1965), p. 78.

BULVERHYTHE (TQ 768082) 1861; medieval chapel; excavated; W. D. Cooper, ' Notices of Hastings and its municipal rights ', *S.A.C.*, 14(1862), pp. 117-18.

EXCEAT (TV 523988) 1913; medieval church; excavated; W. Budgen, ' Excete and its parish church ', *S.A.C.*, 59(1916), pp. 138-71.

HANGLETON (TQ 268074) 1952-54; six medieval structures; excavated; E. W. Holden, ' Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Village of Hangleton, Part I ', *S.A.C.*, 101(1963), pp. 54-182.
——— 1954; four medieval structures; excavated; J. G. & D. G. Hurst, ' Excavations at the D.M.V. of Hangleton, Part II ', *S.A.C.*, 102(1964), pp. 94-142.

HYDNEYE (TQ 609028) 1930; medieval structures; excavated; no report published, but see note in *S.A.C.*, 72(1931), p. 277.

LULLINGTON (TQ 528031) 1965-66; medieval church; excavated; A. Barr-Hamilton, ' Excavations at Lullington church ', *S.A.C.*, 108(1970), pp. 1-22.

NORTHEYE (TQ 683072) 1938; medieval structure; excavated; no report published, but see L. Beesley, ' Excavations at Northeye ', in *The Norman*, 1939, (magazine of Normandale Preparatory School, Bexhill).
——— 1952; medieval structure; excavated; no report published, but see *S.A.C.*, 103(1965), p. 78.

SUTTON (TV 494997) 1944; medieval burials and rubbish pits; observed; E. Cecil Curwen, ' Twelfth century burials at Sutton, Seaford ', *S.N.Q.*, 10(1944-45), p. 67.

[1] Cf. M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, *Deserted Medieval Villages* (1971), pp. 164-5.

TABLE II

Areas of desertion of East Sussex villages

| COASTAL | DOWNLAND | WEALD |
|---|---|---|
| Aldrington | Balmer | Albourne |
| Barnhorne | Balsdean | Buckham |
| Broomhill | *Esmerewic* | Buxted |
| Bulverhythe | Exceat | *Drisnesel* |
| Hastings parishes: | Hamsey | Herstmonceux |
| St. Andrew-sub-Castro | Hangleton | *Wildene* (6) |
| St. Clement | Heighton St. Clere | |
| St. Leonard | Lullington | |
| St. Margaret | Newtimber | |
| St. Mary Magdalen | Pangdean | |
| St. Michael | Perching | |
| St. Peter | Poyning's Town | |
| Hove | Pyecombe | |
| Hydneye | Sutton | |
| Iham & Old Winchelsea | West Blatchington (15) | |
| Northeye (16) | | |

TABLE III

Periods of desertion of East Sussex Villages

| | |
|---|---|
| Period I (soon after 1086) .. | 3 |
| Period II (*c.* 1100-*c.* 1350) .. | 3 |
| Period III (*c.* 1350-*c.* 1450) .. | 13 |
| Period IV (*c.* 1450-*c.* 1700) .. | 4 |
| Period V (after *c.* 1700) .. .. | 4 |
| Uncertain but probably III .. | 2 |
| Uncertain but probably IV .. | 3 |
| Totally uncertain date .. .. | 5 |
| Total .. .. .. | 37 villages |

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# JOHN PECKHAM, PRIOR OF BOXGROVE

*By* W. D. PECKHAM

Richard Chese was elected Prior of Boxgrove on 4 November, 1485[1]. He presented to Oakhurst's chantry in Chichester Cathedral a clerk instituted 17 June, 1501,[2] and made a grant of next presentation on which a clerk was instituted 12 August, 1504.[3] Thomas Miles, not yet Prior on 1 November, 1513,[4] had succeeded by 15 August, 1517.[5] Between these two John Peccam, in whom, for obvious reasons, I take considerable interest, was Prior; though there is, so far as I know, only one reference to him as such. This, as it stands, is the record of his collation to Donnington vicarage, void by the death of Robert Crawhurst and in Bishop Sherburne's gift, on 17 February, 1510-11.[6] I have, however, no doubt that he is identical with the John Peckam, vicar of Westhampnett (a benefice in the gift of Boxgrove Priory), on whose resignation John Magnet was instituted on 9 November, 1515.[7] These scanty details illustrate how incomplete our existing records are; for there are in existence registers of institutions and collations purporting to be complete from 1503-4. In that year Bishop Fitzjames was translated to Chichester; his Register of institutions and collations begins then and goes down to 1505-6; the record of the administration of the diocese *sede vacante* is in the Archbishop's Register and runs from March, 1506-7 to October, 1508; Bishop Sherburne's Register begins in December, 1508 and continues to February 1535-6. Nevertheless there is no record either of Peckham's institution to Westhampnett, nor of his successor's collation to Donnington. But in 1521, while Magnet was vicar of Westhampnett, Thomas Pende was vicar of Donnington.[8] and continued vicar till his death in about 1523.[9] I originally supposed that Pende succeeded Peckham, but that the collation had not been registered, perhaps because the Bishop had been going about without his secretary. There is, however, another explanation, distinctly disquieting to anyone who would put his trust in Bishops' Registers. For Thomas Pende is described as

1 Reg. Story I, ff. 84v.-87v.
2 Reg. Story II, f. 33 r.
3 Reg. Fitzjames, f. 39 v.
4 Reg. Sherburne I, f. 8 v.
5 *Ibid.* f. 127 r; Sussex Record Society, vol. 41, p. 195.
6 Reg. Sherburne I, f. 23 v.
7 *Ibid.*, f. 11 r.
8 Reg. Sherburne I, f. 105.
9 Reg. Sherburne II, f. 65 v.

vicar when, on 1 June, 1509, he was compurgator of a criminous clerk.[1] On the face of it, this implies that Pende held the vicarage twice, neither collation being on record; I now incline to the view that the Registrar, perhaps misled by the Bishop's scrawled notes (and rough notes of the early 16th century, to say nothing of formal Registers, could be shocking scrawls) wrote 'Donnington' for 'Westhampnett' in the record of Peckham's appointment. The respective clergy lists would, on that supposition, read:—

| | |
|---|---|
| DONNINGTON | Thomas Pende, occurs 1509, died *c.*1523. |
| WESTHAMPNETT | Robert Crawhurst died *c.* 1510-11. |
| | John Peccam instituted 1510-11, resigned *c.* 1515. |
| | John Magnet instituted 1515, occurs 1535-6. |

That a regular should hold a secular vicarage at all was clean contrary to the whole principle on which the establishment of vicarages was made; it would be more to the credit of Bishop Sherburne if he only acquiesced, however unwillingly, in the admission, by Papal dispensation, of the Prior of Boxgrove to a living in the gift of the Priory, and was not an active participant in the matter by collating to a vicarage in his own gift. (But what I think that Bishop Sherburne ought to have done is not evidence of what he did.) I have considered the possibility of the Papal Registers throwing light on the matter, but it is not likely; dispensations of this sort were sometimes issued in blank; and even if this particular one had been registered it is unlikely that the secular benefice concerned is specified.

Perhaps the most likely time for Peckham's succession as Prior is the episcopate of Richard Fitzjames. We have fairly complete records of the institutions and collations of the period; but the *Registrum Commune*, in which the confirmation by the Bishop of the election of a Benedictine Prior would have been entered, is missing. Peckham's name occurs in no episcopal record as that of a monk of the Priory; nor have I ever encountered his (and my) surname as occurring in the neighbourhood of Chichester before his appearance. (The collation, in 1280, to Tangmere rectory of Nicholas de Pecham by Archbisop John Pecham is an apparent, not a real, exception.) I infer that on the avoidance of the headship (probably by Richard Chese) an outsider was brought in, no monk of the Priory being thought fit for it. Nominally, of course, the Prior was elected by the monks (as the Bishop of Chichester still is by the Canons), actually they could not disregard either the 'recommendations' of the patron or, say, a very broad hint from the Bishop that if So-and-so was elected he would certainly find some ground for quashing the election. If he was an outsider, the most likely place for Peckham to have been professed in was Battle Abbey. He may have been

[1] Reg. Sherburne I, f. 121 v.

known as Peckham before entering religion—the Peckhams of Framfield, for instance, seem to go back to the 14th century;[1] or he may originally have been known by some other surname, may have been a native of East or West Peckham, near Maidstone, and have been known in religion by the place of his nativity. As will be seen, there is evidence, though very slender, to support this view.

In about December, 1633 the visiting Herald called on Henry Peckham, lord of the manor of Easthampnett (in Boxgrove parish), who had, it appears, been claiming the right to bear coat armour. Henry Peckham furnished[2] the usual particulars, his issue (two daughters[3]), his father Henry, his grandfather Edward, and their wives. So far the pedigree went when originally recorded; later, perhaps only a few minutes later, it was carried two generations higher, by adding Henry Peckham's great-, and great-great-, grandfathers, both named John, and some collateral relations, Richard, son of the elder John, and Robert and Richard, his son and grandson; but the wives of these, and the issue of Richard the younger, are not named. I surmise that, in the course of conversation, these cousins (who may be described as the Cocking-Compton branch of the family) were mentioned, and the pedigree carried higher to show their relation. There seem to be two distinct issues; had Henry Peckham the right, as a cadet of their family, to bear the arms of the Kent Peckhams and was the pedigree that he furnished correct? Myself, I believe the pedigree correct, and the claim groundless. It should be noted that he makes no attempt to identify his ultimate ancestor John with any of the Yaldham Peckhams, and that the time when they branched off, if they did, is one when ample information about the Kent family is available.

Wherever the pedigree can be checked it receives confirmation; I quote two cases. When John [younger] son of Edward Peckham was baptized at Boxgrove in 1676-7, Richard Peckham of Cocking stood sponsor, so the relation with the Cocking family was not vamped up for the Herald's benefit; the marriage of Edward Peckham to Grace Samburne ' of Berks.', interesting for both the Peckham and the Samborne pedigrees, stated at the Visitation, has never been traced; it is at least likely that it was that solemnized at Compton, Sussex, on 19 April, 1563 between, according to the parish register, John Peckham and Grace Samborne, and that the parish clerk who made the entry (in those days neither parties nor witnesses signed the Register) confused the two sons of the John Peckham who stands at the head of the pedigree.

[1] Sussex Record Society, vol. 10, pp. 39, 198, 307.

[2] MS. Coll. Arms, C 27, f. 59 v.

[3] Elizabeth, the younger, was baptized at St. Peter North St, Chichester, on 12 November, 1633; his son John was baptized there on 11 December, 1634; these facts fix the date of the pedigree.

# A LATE BRONZE AGE SOCKETED AXE-MOULD FROM WORTHING

*By* MIRANDA J. GREEN

A Late Bronze Age bronze bivalve mould for a wing-decorated Socketed Axe was discovered in September 1965 on a building site on the north side of Castle Road, Worthing (TQ 126038)[1] (Fig. 1). The mould was found during the work of digging drains for the second house east of the junction of Castle Road with Harefield Avenue. The two halves were found between three and four feet apart, and recovered from a depth of 18ins. The site was examined for indications of occupation but there was no sign either of darkened soil, daub or pottery.[2] At this stage it is appropriate to mention the hoard of bronzes discovered less than a mile away, in South Farm Road in 1928, among which was a socketed axe with wing-decoration, almost an exact fit for the Castle Road mould. It is tempting to think of the mould and the axe as being the work of the same founder.

*General Description*

The Castle Road mould is for a socketed axe with wing-decoration, the wing-markings appearing half-way down the axe, above a deep collar. In each half of the mould can be seen two chaplets or pins, presumably to hold a clay core vertically in position. In one half is an accretion of white metal. The mould and the white deposit have been analysed by the University of Oxford Research Laboratory. The deposit, as suspected, turned out to be a lead compound and the mould itself is made of a high tin bronze (around 15 per cent. tin). There are grooves round the edge of the empty half of the mould and a corresponding projection or tongue round the edge of the other, by means of which the mould's two halves would have fitted together prior to their being tied in position for the casting to be made.

[1] The axe-mould is now in Worthing Museum.

[2] Letter from Miss J. Evans of Worthing Museum to H. Hodges of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 10 December, 1965.

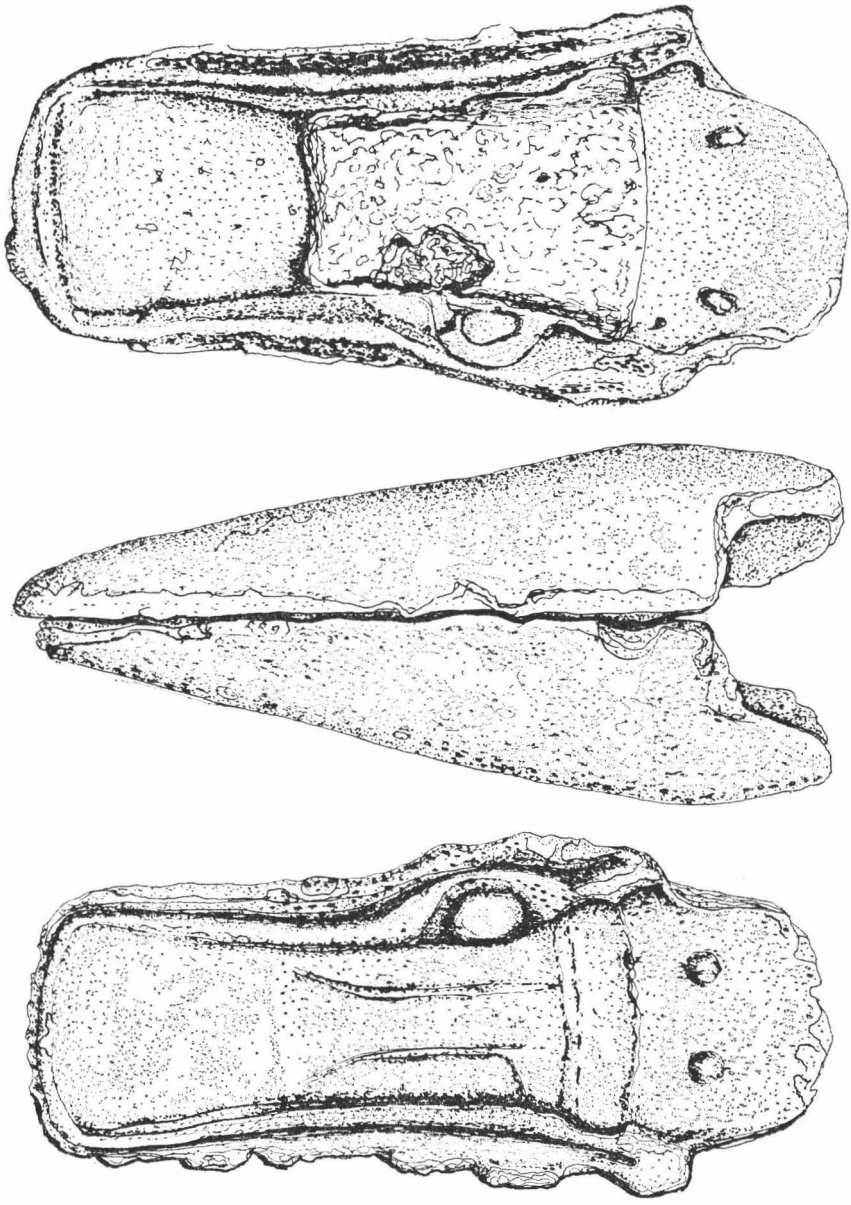

FIG. 1. BRONZE MOULD FOR WING-DECORATED SOCKETED AXE, from Castle Road, Worthing. Scale: actual size.

*Miranda J. Green, Worthing Museum*

*Bronze Socketed Axe-moulds and their Functions*

Other bronze moulds for socketed axes are known[1] mainly from South-Eastern Britain. In Sussex the only other known is that from the Wilmington Hoard.[2] A mould from the Isle of Harty (Kent) was for an axe with wing-decoration.[3] A few of these objects (like the Worthing example) show a lead deposit inside, that from Southall (Middx.) being an example;[4] a mould from Cambridge had half a lead socketed axe in it.[5] Complete lead socketed axes are known from Anwick (Lincs.)[6] and Seamer Moor (Yorks).[7] Hoards of lead socketed axes, as well as bronze axes with a high lead content are known from Northern France, all of Breton type.[8] They may have been used as currency based on weight; lead axes are non-functional, since they are far too soft for use as a cutting tool. Some of the French axes, moreover, have been cast so thin that even were they of bronze they would have been unusable.

There is another possible reason for the presence of lead socketed axes and deposits from lead casting in some Late Bronze Age axe-moulds, such as the Worthing example. The presence of lead in these contexts may be due to a process similar to ' Mercast ' where mercury is frozen into a mould and then itself used as a pattern. It has been suggested[9] that molten lead may, in some cases, have been poured into the bronze mould and allowed to cool and harden. Then the mould would have been removed and a clay mould built up round it. When the clay was heated for firing the lead would melt out (at 327°C) and leave a clay mould. By this process the relatively expensive bronze (pattern) moulds would have a considerably longer life, through not being constantly exposed to high temperatures required for casting bronze, than if they had been used direct. This hypothesis certainly fits the evidence in the case, for example, of the Worthing mould, with its lead accretion, but it is not necessarily the case for all bronze socketed axe-moulds.

[1] For comprehensive list, see R. F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology*, (1962), p. 124.

[2] E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex*, 2nd edition (1954), p. 197 (Lewes Museum).

[3] J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1881), p. 441 (British Museum).

[4] *Inventaria Archaeologica Great Britain 51* (British Museum).

[5] Cambridge University Museum.

[6] Leeds Museum.

[7] British Museum.

[8] Tylecote, op. cit., p. 127.

[9] Tylecote, op. cit., p. 127.

It has been pointed out[1] that it is perhaps strange to make an elaborate bronze mould merely to produce patterns, when a wooden pattern would have done just as well. Whatever the precise function of the bivalve bronze socketed axe-moulds, it is probable, on account of their relative scarcity, that they belonged to a fairly short-lived type.

*The Technique of Casting in a Bivalve Mould*

It is of value to consider the subject of bronze casting in relation to the Castle Road mould; the same method applies for bronze or lead casting. A clay core, for the socket, would have been made of a refractory clay, sometimes made to fill the whole of the mould, and then pared down according to the thickness of metal required. This core may or may not have been made at one with the clay sprue cup or funnel fixed at the top of the mould for ease of pouring in the molten metal. At the neck of the sprue cup would be channels for letting the liquid metal little by little, evenly into the mould. There may be pins, as in the case of the Worthing mould, above the casting surface of the inside of the mould to hold the core vertically in position. Air would have escaped during casting through the space between the two halves of the mould which would have been tied together. This space, or air-holes, would be most important since air inside the mould would expand when hot molten metal was poured in. Consequently, if there was no ventilation, the bronze would splutter up through the pouring channels. The mould, when casting was in progress, would probably be kept vertical by being stuck in earth or sand. When the casting was completed the sprue cup should have been partly filled as the metal would contract on cooling. Any superfluous metal still in the cup when the casting was finished—called the header—would be cut off. On a cast axe of this type there would also be casting flashes or extra ridges of metal where the two halves of the mould join. These and all other excrescences could be removed by hammering or grinding. The core would be broken up when removed from the solid casting but, if the core and the sprue cup were made separately, the sprue cup could be saved and re-used.

Experiments on bronze moulds have been made[2] to see, among other things, whether, in view of the doubt placed on their being used directly for casting bronze, they were in fact suitable for this process. The experiments showed no difficulties for instance, resulting from fusion between molten metal and mould. The

[1] H. H. Coghlan, ' Note on Prehistoric Casting Moulds,' in *Bulletin of the Historical Metallurgy Group*, vol. 2 (1968), p. 73.

[2] op. cit.

contraction of the casting whilst cooling freed it from the mould. Gas and ventilation were found to be a problem with bronze but not with lead, and this difficulty was largely overcome by tilting the mould before pouring in liquid bronze. In some bronze moulds, indeed, one half is shorter than the other, to facilitate pouring at an angle and, as this would not be necessary for lead castings, this should be evidence of direct bronze casting. However, the Worthing mould is shorter in one half than the other, even though the lead compound deposit suggests a lead casting. The experiments also showed that it was imperative for casting to be done in a pre-heated mould because, otherwise, the casting would be porous and useless. The heat required for the mould was found to be between 50°C and 100°C.

*Dating and Cultural Context of Wing-Decorated Axes*

The bivalve bronze mould from Castle Road, Worthing, was designed for a wing-decorated axe, whether first made as a lead pattern or not. These socketed axes belong to the second half of the Late Bronze Age—800-600 B.C.[1] Axes with this distinctive type of ornamentation have a mainly south-easterly distribution in the British Isles, for example, Worthing[2] and the Isle of Harty.[3] They are common on the Continent, in Belgium, North-West France and Hungary.[4] It is possible that the wing-decorated axe and the winged axe—a final type of palstave with a high flange—are connected in that, maybe, the one is an imitation of the other. The winged axe is a Northern Alpine type, coming to Britain from the Continent in the 8th-7th century B.C. Whether or not the wing-decorated axe is a copy of the winged axe, the fact is that the two types sometimes occur in the same hoards. The Forty Acres Brickfield (Worthing) hoard included a winged axe and a wing-decorated socketed axe found together in a pot.[5]

*Late Bronze-age Metalwork in the Worthing District*

There is considerable evidence of metalworking in the Late Bronze Age in and around Worthing; the Castle Road find is by no

[1] Information from Mr. Denis Britton; C. F. C. Hawkes, *A Scheme for the British Bronze Age* (1960); (Unpublished Lecture).

[2] Forty Acres Brickfield Hoard (Worthing Museum).

[3] J. Evans, op. cit.

[4] J. J. Butler, 'Bronze Age Connections Across the North Sea' in *Palaeohistoria*, vol. 9 (1963), pp. 81 ff.

[5] Worthing Museum.

means isolated. Hoards of Late Bronze Age tools attest the presence of bronze founders and tinkers. Evidence for this activity is outlined briefly below.*

1. *South Farm Road*, TQ 139045. Hoard, consisting of two socketed axes, one of which has wing-decoration and was very possibly cast in the Castle Road mould, and 11 looped palstaves.(1).

2. *Forty Acres Brickfield, Ham Road*, TQ 163032. Hoard, found in 1877 containing 28 palstaves and 10 socketed axes, of which one had wing-decoration and was discovered in a pot with a winged axe.(2)

3. *Durrington*, TQ 124053. Hoard consisting of a palstave and a socketed axe found 3 feet below the surface.(3).

4. *Sompting Hill Barn*, TQ 176063. Hoard, consisting of a sheet bronze cauldron (Class B), (4) pieces of another, larger cauldron, a shield boss and 17 socketed axes found 5 feet down in 1946.(5)

5. *Highdown Hill*, TQ 093043. Lost hoard including a socketed axe, palstave and gouge.(6)

6. *East Preston*, TQ 068018. Hoard of eight palstaves and one socketed axe found 8ins. below ground surface.(7)

* Most of the objects listed above are in Worthing Museum.

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1 M. Frost, *The Early History of Worthing* (1929), pp. 23-28.

2 P. H. G. Powell-Cotton & O. G. S. Crawford, ' The Birchington Hoard ' in *Antiquaries Journal* (abbreviated hereafter *Ant. J.*), vol. 4 (1924), pp. 220-1.

3 G. D. Lewis, ' Some Recent Discoveries in West Sussex ' in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 98 (1960), p. 12.

4 G. Eogan, ' The Later Bronze Age in Ireland in the light of Recent Research ' in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, vol. 30 (1964), p. 300.

5 E. C. Curwen, ' A Bronze Cauldron from Sompting, Sussex ' in *Ant. J.* vol. 28 (1948), pp. 157-63.

6 Col. Lane-Fox ' . . . . an Account of Excavations in the Forts of Cissbury and Highdown ' in *Archaeologia*, vol. 42 (1869), p. 76 ff.

7 G. D. Lewis, op. cit.

# THE TAUKE FAMILY IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES*

By J. B. POST

In the late medieval period the Tauke family was prominent among the gentry of Sussex and Hampshire.[1] While it is not possible to trace all the ramifications of their kinship, and several members of the family cannot be related exactly, it is nevertheless possible to improve very considerably upon the inaccurate pedigrees among the sixteenth-century visitations.[2]

One branch of the family became established at Basingstoke early in the fourteenth century, when William Tauke married Maud Worting, and acquired the family holding which became known as 'Taulkes,' in 1311.[3] Maud was the daughter of Thomas Worting, whose father Philip had married Christine, sister of Walter Merton, Bishop of Rochester, chancellor, and founder of the Oxford college.[4] Taulkes must have been dower, because Maud seems to have had a brother, the second of three successors named Thomas. The first Thomas was bailiff of Basingstoke in 1319;[5] the second, who died in 1361,[6] was probably son of the first,[7] and serjeant on behalf of Merton College at the hospital of St. John in Basingstoke, in 1330.[8] His son was clearly Sir Thomas Worting, who retained a strong interest in Basingstoke,[9], but actually dwelt at Warneford in the household of Isabella Poynings, Baroness St John,[10] whom

[1] The name was spelt variously Tauk(e), Tawk(e), and—mainly in the sixteenth century—Talk(e); cf. H(arleian) S(ociety) P(ublications), lxiv, 64. Editors frequently read it as Tank(e).

[2] British Museum, Harleian Mss 1052, 172[b]; 1544, 58-59; 1562, 42. Cf. HSP, liii, 58; lvii, 134; lxiv, 34 and 64. A fine copy of this last is in W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Add. Ms 1552.

[3] *V(ictoria) C(ounty) H(istory): Hampshire*, iv, 134; cf. *C(alendar of) I(nquisitions) P(ost) M(ortem)* (H.M.S.O.), ii, 247.

[4] F. J. Baigent and J. E. Millard, *A History of the Ancient Town and Manor of Basingstoke* (Basingstoke and London, 1889), 194n.

[5] Ibid., 434.

[6] *CIPM*, xi, 220.

[7] Cf. HSP, lxiv, 64-6.

[8] Baigent and Millard, 639.

[9] Ibid., 213, 218.

[10] P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), E.179/173/54, 1*d*.

* I am grateful to Dr. R. F. Hunnisett, to my wife, Margaret Post, and to the editor of these *Collections* for their constructive criticism of this paper in draft.

he later married.[1] From William Tauke and Maud, however, the immediate descent is obscure for nearly a century. In 1409 a William Tauke was a substantial landholder in Basingstoke,[2] and it is likely that the basis of his holdings was the Worting inheritance.[3] This William was bailiff of the town in 1412-13,[4] and can be traced by his lands until 1433-4.[5] A year later, the odd sum of 11*s.* 10*d.*, which had been his annual rent, was being paid by Edmund Tauke,[6] who may thus be postulated as his son and heir, perhaps by his wife Alianora, mentioned in 1413.[7] Edmund was bailiff in 1437-8,[8] but his principal traces in the records, from 1427 to 1440, arose from his brawling.[9] Another William, caught poaching in 1455,[10] may have been one of Edmund's sons, but the rent of 11*s.* 10*d.* indicates that the family holding descended to John Tauke,[11] probably the eldest son;[12] this John was responsible for the family deeds in 1457,[13] and died in 1480, apparently without male heir, since he was succeeded by his daughter Joan, wife of William Beauservise.[14]

A more notable branch of the family, whose descent for a time is reasonably clear, was the line of Sir William Tauke of Westhampnett in Sussex. Sir William was a serjeant in the common law courts from 1346 onwards,[15] and, despite some obscure vicissitude which landed him in the Tower,[16] he was appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer,[17] only a year before his death in 1375.[18] From two fines, made in 1356 and 1368,[19] it appears that he had two brothers, Robert and John, two sons — also Robert and John —

[1] T. F. Kirby, ed., *Register of William of Wykeham 1366-1404* (Hampshire Record Society, 1896-9), i, 160. He was dead by December, 1390 (ibid., ii, 430) and she three years later: *CIPM* (Record Commission), iii, 176 no. 45.
[2] Baigent and Millard, 200, 201, 203.
[3] Ibid., 201n.
[4] Ibid., 434.
[5] Ibid., 378-9, 621.
[6] Ibid., 380.
[7] Ibid., 257.
[8] Ibid., 435.
[9] Ibid., 261, 263, 266, 271.
[10] Ibid., 282.
[11] Ibid., 381.
[12] As claimed at visitation: HSP, lxiv, 64.
[13] Baigent and Millard, 285.
[14] Ibid., 380.
[15] E. Foss, *Lives of the Judges of England* (London, 1848-51), iii, 522.
[16] *C(alendar of) C(lose) R(olls) 1364-1368* (H.M.S.O.), 298.
[17] *C(alendar of) P(atent) R(olls) 1370-1374* (H.M.S.O.), 204, 207.
[18] His will was dated 28 December 1374 (Ms 49 *recte* 48 Edward III) and proved 16 July 1375: Lambeth Palace, Archbishops' Registers, Sudbury, 85.[a–b]
[19] L. F. Salzmann, ed., *Feet of Fines relating to the County of Sussex 1307-1509*, S(ussex) R(ecord) S(ociety), xxiii (1916), 2169 and 2345.

by his first wife, Isabella St George,[1] and a third son, Luke, by Alice, his second wife. His will provides subsequent information. Since he bequeathed a silver-gilt cup which had been given to Luke, it is likely that this son predeceased his father; the absence of any reference to Robert the brother or John the son suggests that they, too, may have been dead by this date. John the brother, Alice, and Robert the son, however, were still alive—Robert, acting as executor, must have been of full age—and there were additionally two young sons, William and Richard, who were still of school age, and two unmarried daughters, Isabella and Joan. The wardship and marriage of Joan were left to John, heir of Lawrence Pagham, whose guardian Sir William had been;[2] there was a hint that John might marry her himself. The principal family holdings in Sussex descended to Robert, who died in 1401, leaving a son, Thomas;[3] this Thomas died four years later, leaving a son, Robert.[4] Robert died in 1440;[5] his son Thomas died in 1493;[6] Thomas's son William died in 1505, leaving two daughters—Anne, later married to Thomas Devenish, and Joan, later married to Richard Ryman and then to Edward Bartlett—with whom the Tauke succession lapsed.[7]

There is no doubt that these branches of the family were closely linked, although the exact relationship is obscure. In the first place, there were clear connections between the Sussex Taukes and the Poynings into whom the Basingstoke branch married. Sir William

[1] Her identity is postulated plausibly in *VCH Sussex*, iv, 177.

[2] *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium* (Record Commission), ii, 336.

[3] PRO, Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, C.137/23, 42. Comber attributed to him a younger brother James, whose daughter Alice married Robert Burton of Eastbourne, but no source is given: WSRO, William Berry, *Pedigrees of the Families of the County of Sussex* (London, 1830; with manuscript annotations by John Comber), 57.

[4] C.137/52, 11. For assignment of dower to his widow Margery, see *CCR 1405-1409*, 28, and PRO, C.146/9145.

[5] *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 459. He was accused of forging deeds for his lands in Hampshire, temp. Henry VI: *List of Early Chancery Proceedings*, i (PRO Lists and Indexes, xii, H.M.S.O.), 12/22.

[6] His will, dated 10 June 1493, was witnessed by Edward Bartlett: *Archaeologia*, xlv, 177. Apparently he had a younger brother, name unknown, whose descendants were the Taukes of Funtington, Appledram, and Windsor: WSRO, Comber's Berry, 57.

[7] L. Fleming, *History of Pagham* (privately, 1949-50), 144-6. Sir William's son Richard went into the church and occupied a Poynings living: C. Deedes, ed., *The Episcopal Register of Robert Rede 1397-1415* (SRS, viii and xi), 109, 113, 117, 294, 343; G. Hennessy, *Chichester Diocese Clergy Lists* (London, 1900), 107. His brother William disappears from the records; but see below, p. 107 For cadet branches of uncertain relationship, see WSRO, Comber Papers, xiv, 98.

was attorney for Luke Poynings in 1358;[1] the unusual forename of Alice Tauke's first son suggests that this patron may have been his godfather; the family manor of Westhampnett was held of the Poynings family.[2] In the second place, Sir William's will made a bequest to Merton Hall, Oxford, and left a *corpus legis civilis* to 'my cousin John Tauke dwelling at Oxford,' who may thus be identified with one of the fellows of Merton who were admitted as founder's kin in this period;[3] Sir William was thus closely aware of his Merton relationship and so, necessarily, of his Basingstoke kin. In the third place, the scrambled Hampshire visitation pedigree of 1573 assumed that the branches were of the same family,[4] an assumption which may be regarded as supportive evidence, even though the descent as traced there is chronologically absurd.[5] It seems probable, therefore, that the Basingstoke Taukes and the Westhampnett Taukes were close collaterals of the same stock. The simplest hypothesis in correction of the 1573 pedigree, that William and Maud Tauke were the parents of Sir William, is chronologically plausible, but proves doubtful on other grounds. The Sussex visitations provide plenty of evidence that the arms of Tauke of Westhampnett are *Argent, a tau gules, in chief three chaplets vert*;[6] while this has been claimed for the Hampshire family,[7] a fifteenth-century roll of arms show that Tauke of Basingstoke is quite distinct: *Per pale azure and gules, four chevronels countercoloured, a cross botonnée fitchée argent.*[8] The distinction implies that the branches had traced their several development from their earliest armigerous period, which was probably at least one generation before that of Sir William. In support of this, an early reference shows one Simon Tauke serving as juror at an inquest *de walliis et fossatis*, held at

[1] *CPR 1358-1361*, 32. He witnessed a Poynings deed in 1361: Francis W. Steer and J. E. Amanda Venables, ed., *The Goodwood Estate Archives*, i (Chichester, 1970), 107 no. E1057. The family connection persisted in the fifteenth century: ibid., 83 no. E676 (1433).

[2] *VCH Sussex*, iv, 143, 176-7.

[3] Cf. A. B. Emden. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957-1962), s.v.

[4] HSP lxiv, 64; this accounts for the errors in B. B. Woodward, T. C. Wilks, and C. Lockhart, *A General History of Hampshire* (London, n.d.), i, 219. Berry's *Hampshire Genealogies*, as cited in *VCH Hampshire*, iv, 134, adds to the confusion by identifying Maud Worting's husband with Sir William.

[5] It makes Sir William marry Isabella Overton and father the first William of Basingstoke.

[6] E.g. HSP liii, 50, 54, 57, 58, 140, 217.

[7] J. and J. B. Burke, *General Armory of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1842), s.v. Tauke; but cf. their alarming attribution of very similar arms to 'Tanke.'

[8] J. Foster, *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (London, n.d.), 52. The 1573 visitation refers these arms to Worting, but the Taukes of Basingstoke may have appropriated them undifferentiated when the Worting succession lapsed in the male line: cf. HSP lxiv, 63-66, and WSRO, Add. Ms 1552.

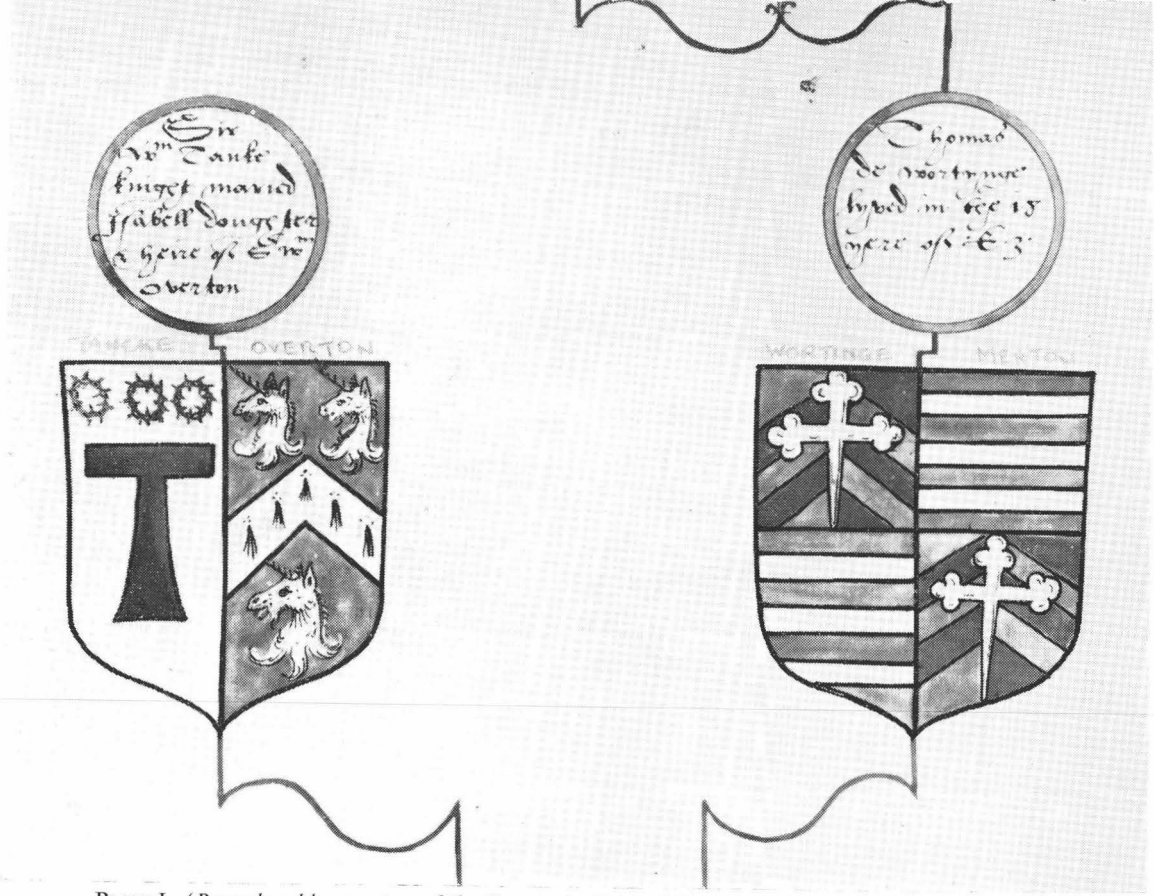



PLATE I (*Reproduced by courtesy of the County Archivist of West Sussex*)
Shields from the Tauke pedigree in the West Sussex Record Office (Add. MS. 1552). The left-hand shield shows Tauke impaling Overton and the right-hand shield shows Worting quartering Merton.

Winchelsea *c.* 1300,[1] suggesting that the Sussex Taukes were established in that county at least as early as their known kin were in Basingstoke, and that they were correspondingly unlikely to be descended from that line. In view of the nearness of kin which is implied by the terms of Sir William's will, it is tempting to guess that Simon Tauke was the father of Sir William and brother of William who married Maud Worting, but this is no more than a plausible speculation.

The problems of the Tauke genealogy are not limited to the relationship between the main branches; there are several persons, known or very likely to be members of the family, whose precise identity is ambiguous or obscure. Robert Tauke, resident in Chichester suburbs in 1332,[2] may well have been Sir William's brother of that name; it was probably he who, in 1352, sold land in Pagham to the man who sold Crimsham to Sir William eight years later.[3] Richard Tauke, plaintiff in a trespass case over land in Strettington (in Boxgrove) in 1328,[4] was perhaps of the same generation; although his appointment on a commission *de walliis et fossatis* for Sussex in 1358 makes it less likely that he was another brother,[5] since he was not mentioned in the fine two years before, the reference could be to a son of the earlier Richard. Mentions of a second Robert Tauke are less doubtful. Early in Richard II's reign he received royal commissions on various business in Sussex,[6] and his name occurs as witness to a charter at this time;[7] later, his appointments took him further afield, on an inquisition at Southampton,[8] and as a supervisor of the reconstruction of the Canterbury diocesan archives, which had suffered in the Peasants' Revolt.[9] Meanwhile he had served a turn as knight of the shire for Sussex,[10] acquired the undemanding position of bailiff of Pagham,[11] and secured an appointment (which he never filled) as escheator for Surrey and Sussex in 1399.[12] It is clear that he is to be identified with the son of Sir William who was executor of his father's will and himself died in 1401. His marriage to Elizabeth Warner may be accounted another distinction for the Tauke connection. Elizabeth

1 PRO Ancient Correspondence, S.C. 1/28, 148.
2 He paid 1*s* 6*d* in a lay subsidy: SRS, *x* (1910), 250.
3 SRS, xxiii, 2119; cf. 2231.
4 *Index of Placita De Banco 1327-1328* (PRO Lists and Indexes, xxxii), 673.
5 *CPR 1358-1361*, 69.
6 *CPR 1377-1381*, 424; *CPR 1388-1392*, 268.
7 *CCR 1377-1381*, 122.
8 *CPR 1396-1399*, 365.
9 Ibid., 509.
10 *CCR 1389-1392*, 512.
11 Fleming, op. cit., 62.
12 *C(alendar of) F(ine) R(olls) 1399-1405* (H.M.S.O.), 3.

was the daughter of Thomas Warner, one of the most powerful Hampshire worthies of his day,[1] by his first wife, Isabella Overton, who ultimately brought the Overton inheritance to the Taukes.[2] Warner's second wife, Joan, was granddaughter of William Wickham's aunt Agnes;[3] two sons of the marriage, Reginald and Thomas, who can be traced at Winchester College between 1393 and 1402, as founder's kin,[4] and subsequently at New College, Oxford,[5] seem to have died young without issue, but a daughter, Agnes, married Walter Sandys, scion of another distinguished Hampshire family.[6] By the time of his death, therefore, Robert Tauke was very well-connected, as well as having local status in his own right.

Several contemporaries of Robert Tauke, all named John Tauke, present the greatest difficulty in tracing the family. Many of the references to persons of this name are not immediately attributable to any one of the distinguishable individuals, and it is desirable, as a preliminary, to establish such distinctions as are reasonably certain. Firstly, a John Tauke, described as son of William Tauke, held a fellowship as founder's kin at Merton College, before occupying the rectory at Warneford in Hampshire (the advowson belonging to the Poynings family as lords of the manor)[7] from 1369 to 1376;[8] it is chronologically probable that the same man was the rector of Nuthurst in Sussex, briefly in 1365, before being succeeded by Thomas Tauke.[9] Secondly, another John Tauke also held a Merton fellowship as founder's kin, again before occupying Warneford rectory, this time from 1381 to 1387.[10] The latter is not distinguishable from his predecessor merely in College records; Sir William left to his cousin John at Oxford, as well as the *corpus legis civilis*, various stock ' which belonged to Thomas his father.'[11] Only the second

[1] For example, he was sheriff of Hampshire twice, a justice of the peace, and a substantial landowner: *List of Sheriffs* (PRO Lists and Indexes, ix), 54-5; *CPR 1396-1399*, 99, 233; *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 225, 226, 229, 250-1, 372.

[2] *CIPM*, xi, 153; xii, 400; xvi, 882; *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 279.

[3] Ibid., iv, 610; T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College* (London, 1892), 94-5. There is a Wickham pedigree in G. H. Moberly, *Life of William of Wykeham* (Winchester and London, 1887), facing 272.

[4] Reginald and Thomas were clearly brothers: Kirby, *Annals*, 94-5; cf. Wickham's will, in R. Lowth, *Life of William of Wykeham* (London, 1758), 394. Kirby's earlier opinion, that Reginald was grandson of Thomas and Joan, seems to have rested on Moberly's erroneous suggestion: T. F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars* (London, 1888), 20; Moberly, op. cit., 279-80.

[5] Emden, op. cit., s.v.

[6] *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 372.

[7] Ibid., iii, 272.

[8] Emden, op. cit., s.v.

[9] *CPR 1364-1367*, 179, 295.

[10] Emden, op. cit., s.v.

[11] See the will, loc. cit.

John would have been dwelling at Oxford in 1374, and the bequest was evidently to a man of education, if not learning, making the identification fairly certain. One or other of these clerics was probably the brother of St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, mentioned early in Henry IV's reign.[1]

A welter of other references to persons named John Tauke cannot at once be attributed so easily, but some broad segregation is possible. Sir William's brother John was, as the fines already mentioned indicate,[2] closely involved with Sir William's affairs in 1356 and 1368,[3] and survived at least until the making of the will. This involvement suggests that it was the same John who acted as his brother's attorney for a Sussex fine in 1365,[4] and as his co-witness to a Sussex charter in 1373.[5] Such business compares significantly with another group of references to a John Tauke, sometimes but not invariably described as ' of Sussex.' This person acted as attorney and mainpernor for the Duke of Aumale and others,[6] served on various commissions (including peace commissions) in the county,[7] traded heavily in the lands of alien priories there,[8] and held lands worth twenty pounds a year, including the manor of East Hampnett, in 1411.[9] A further two references, one as witness to a charter at Itchingfield in 1375,[10] the other as a local agent for the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1396-7,[11] can also be associated with this group.

A third category of references invites comparison with the previous two. One John Tauke was prominent in the affairs of the Earls of Arundel. He was steward to Earl Richard in the lordship of Lewes,[12] and correspondingly appeared among those quitclaimed of responsibility for the Earl's estates, but nevertheless answerable to the King and Council, after the Earl's attainder and execution in 1397.[13] He also appeared as Earl Richard's feoffee,[14] and as

[1] *Rede's Register*, 127.

[2] SRS, xxiii, 2169, 2345.

[3] The 1356 fine is ambiguous, referring to ' John brother of the said Robert,' when both Sir William's brother and son have been mentioned; since, however, descent to John is distinguished from descent to the right heirs of Sir William, John is probably brother of the elder Robert.

[4] SRS, xxiii, 2304.

[5] *CCR 1377-1381*, 196.

[6] *CFR 1391-1399*, 291; *CPR 1396-1399*, 519; *CCR 1377-1381*, 123, 331; *CCR 1392-1396*, 284-5.

[7] E.g. *CPR 1388-1392*, 440; *CPR 1391-1396*, 292, 438, 524, 548.

[8] *CFR 1383-1391*, 299, 301, 331.

[9] *S(ussex) A(rchaeological) C(ollections)*, x, 136.

[10] *SAC*, xl, 115.

[11] SRS, xxiii, 2672.

[12] *CPR 1396-1399*, 111.

[13] *CCR 1396-1399*, 72, 84, 277.

[14] *CPR 1391-1396*, 548; *Rede's Register*, 267, 311.

trustee for Earl Thomas in 1411 when the latter was fighting in France.[1] The likelihood of his involvement with Sir William's family is emphasised by this last role, since he was trustee of Westhampnett, which the Taukes held, ultimately, of the honor of Arundel;[2] the identity of the Sussex attorney with the Arundel administrator is indicated by his mainprise of Thomas Blast, one of his fellows in the Countess of Arundel's quitclaim.[3] The agency of John Tauke in the custody of the lands of Sir Thomas Camoys, an Arundel satellite,[4] in 1390,[5] increases the probability that these three categories of reference apply to a single person, the brother of Sir William.

This hypothesis allows plausible interpretations of some other allusions. In 1366 John Tauke was among those appointed to investigate the Wiltshire holdings of John Malemayn, the inquisition on whose death was suspected of concealment;[6] others appointed included the sheriff and the escheator, so that the actual responsibility carried by Tauke would be consistent with a rising lawyer. Such a career also warrants the inclusion of a reference similarly far afield: in 1390 John Tauke was commissioned, in the distinguished legal company of two professional justices and the King's attorney in the court of Common Pleas, to investigate the robbery of Geoffrey Chaucer, while on royal business, at Hatcham in Surrey.[7] Such range of identification, however, needs careful scrutiny, since there are numerous references to John Tauke of Hampshire.

John Tauke ' of Hampshire ' is designated thus only once, as mainpernor for the prior of Hayling in the custody of this alien priory, the entry on the roll being adjacent to one mentioning Robert Tauke in a similar capacity.[8] The attribution of a county to a person in this context is not necessarily significant—mainpernors were often ascribed to whichever county was convenient;[9] but in many cases one John Tauke was certainly ' of Hampshire.' He was a subsidy collector there in 1379;[10] more notably, he was escheator

[1] *SAC*, x, 132.

[2] *VCH Sussex*, iv, 143, 176-7.

[3] *CCR 1392-1396*, 284-5; *CCR 1396-1399*, 72, 84.

[4] Ibid.; Camoys was also an executor of Arundel's will: *A Collection of All the Wills . . . of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1780), 142-3.

[5] *CCR 1389-1392*, 170.

[6] *CPR 1364-1367*, 359; cf. *CIPM*, xi, 138.

[7] The records of proceedings following this robbery are printed in M. M. Crow and C. C. Olson, ed., *Chaucer Life-Records* (Oxford, 1966), ch. 22.

[8] *CFR 1377-1383*, 161.

[9] Cf. G. O. Sayles, ed., *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, vii (Selden Society, 88, 1971), 246, where two of the mainpernors, said to be from Shropshire, are said later in the same case to come from Oxfordshire and Surrey respectively.

[10] *CFR 1377-1383*, 147.

in Hampshire and Wiltshire from 1395 to 1399.[1] There was also a Hampshire coroner of this name; elected in 1390,[2] he presented a roll of his inquests (now lost) at the King's Bench sitting at Winchester in 1393.[3] At the same time an order was issued for his removal from that office, on the grounds of insufficient qualification.[4] This does not seem to have been carried out; he was still hearing inquests in 1396 and 1398,[5] and his removal was again ordered in 1400, because he was imprisoned in the Fleet for debt and was therefore unable to carry out his duties.[6] On general grounds it would seem unlikely that a coroner would hold an escheatry at the same time,[7] but there are two reasons for supposing this case to have been an exception. Firstly, some differentiation might have been expected in the forms of address, had two namesakes of roughly comparable status held royal office within a single county. Secondly, the imprisonment of the coroner for debt followed—at least in its mention on the Chancery rolls—very closely upon the incurrence of a substantial private debt by the escheator. The debt was incurred in a roundabout fashion. John, Lord Cobham, as a supporter of the lords appellant in 1388, was attainted and sentenced to life imprisonment during the parliament of 1397-8;[8] among those appointed to supervise the forfeiture of his possessions in Wiltshire were John Tauke (evidently the escheator), and John Frank, a royal clerk, who were more particularly charged with disposal of the possessions and accounting for the proceeds.[9] At the accession of Henry IV Cobham returned to favour, and the proceeds of the Wiltshire forfeitures, which had yet to be paid into the Exchequer, were assigned to him by way of restitution.[10] John Tauke's share of the debt was just under forty pounds. The debt was thus rendered a private one in November, 1399; a few days later Tauke,

[1] PRO *List of Escheators for England and Wales* (List and Index Society, 72, 1971), 144. For his activity throughout this unusually long tenure of office, see *CCR 1396-1399*, 8, 15, 144, 252, 274, 332, 461, 510. For inquisitions held by him over the same period, see his files: PRO, E. 153/1714 and E.152/2631; cf. C.136/108, no. 6, mm. 2 and 4, no. 7, mm. 2 and 4, and C. 136/107, no. 46, mm. 21-2.

[2] PRO, C.242/7, 21 (returned writ *de coronatore eligendo*).

[3] The deodands and felons' chattels arising from his roll were entered on the Coram Rege Roll, PRO, K.B.27/529, fines 8-10.

[4] *CCR 1392-1396*, 26. This may have been connected with Tauke's conviction and fine, at the 1393 sessions, for accepting a bribe at a homicide inquest: PRO, Ancient Indictments, K.B.9/108, 5.

[5] PRO, Just. 3/179, 11*d*, 13.

[6] *CCR 1399-1402*, 214.

[7] R. F. Hunnisett, *The Medieval Coroner* (Cambridge, 1961), 168-171.

[8] *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (London, 1783), iii, 381-2.

[9] *CPR 1396-1399*, 363.

[10] *CCR 1399-1402*, 107.

like his fellow escheators, was superseded in that office;[1] eleven months later the Hampshire coroner was in the Fleet for debt. The coincidence is improbable in the extreme; the identity of the coroner with the escheator becomes a strong likelihood. This simplifies the attribution of some further details. In 1373 John Tauke had a wife, Margaret, with whom he was owed twenty pounds' worth of chattels by the rector of Upham in Hampshire;[2] in a land deal of 1420 she was said to be widowed,[3] which strengthens the identification of her husband with the Hampshire official who was dead by February, 1413.[4]

On this basis it is reasonable to consider the possibility of identifying John Tauke of Hampshire with John Tauke of Sussex. Apparently arguing against this is the evidence that one John Tauke survived after 1413. John Tauke of Chalcroft in Sussex occurred in an enrolment from 1416, but it is by no means clear that the person mentioned was still living at this date.[5] More to the point, John Tauke held a quarter of a knight's fee in Stanbridge, Hampshire, in 1428,[6] and was the owner of a pipe of wine imported via Southampton in 1443.[7] These allusions may perhaps be explained in conjunction with a commission of 1398, appointing among others 'John Tauke the younger.'[8] This is the only occasion on which a qualification of the name necessarily implies a namesake from whom the person in question must be distinguished; 'the elder' must thus be the person normally associated with such appointments. Since this isolated commission was headed by Sir Bernard Brocas the younger, some connection with the court party, rather than with local administration, may be deduced,[9] particularly as the business in hand was a (nominally) nationwide hunt for a wealthy widow. In general, then, it may be assumed that only one John Tauke would have been executing local business in Sussex and Hampshire, but that he left a surviving namesake to explain Stanbridge and the pipe of wine. Nevertheless, a further problem is posed by the possessions of John, Lord Cobham: since John Tauke of Sussex was an Arundel agent, he might have been expected to deal more kindly with Cobham, who was not only Earl Richard's political supporter, but one

[1] *CFR 1399-1405*, 2.

[2] *CPR 1370-1374*, 277.

[3] *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 300.

[4] *CCR 1409-1413*, 432.

[5] *CCR 1413-1416*, 348.

[6] *Feudal Aids* (H.M.S.O.), ii, 351.

[7] O. Coleman, ed., *The Brokage Book of Southampton 1443-1444* (Southampton Records Series, iv, 1960), 87.

[8] *CPR 1396-1399*, 507.

[9] M. Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court* (London, 1886), II. iv.

of the ' treschiers amys ' of his will.[1] Cobham, however, was both out of favour and elderly,[2] and the Arundel interest was suspended, Earl Richard being executed in 1397 and his heir, a minor, being in exile;[3] there may well have been some opportunity to attempt the sort of misappropriation involved, with the hope of impunity.

There are, however, various factors in favour of the identification. First and foremost, the likelihood that two members of the same family could occupy similar stations in life, executing similar tasks in adjacent counties, is again slender in the absence of contemporary distinctions in the forms of address. This is underlined heavily by certain parallel entries on the Close Rolls. The reference showing the Hampshire John Tauke to have been dead by February, 1413 is a *supersedeas omnino*, revoking any process against his executors in respect of a commission issued to him twenty years earlier. The commission was to inquire into customs evasions in the port of Southampton; the revocation of process was ordered on the grounds that the commission never came into Tauke's hands.[4] This entry corresponds very closely with an earlier one in which John Tauke, appointed to investigate customs evasions in Surrey and Sussex, obtained a *supersedeas* on the grounds that the commission never reached him. This entry is followed on the roll by a similar one in respect of Tauke's appointment as a justice *de walliis et fossatis* in Sussex.[5] Such close correlation is only explicable if the Sussex man and the Hampshire were the same. Moreover, the chronology fits: an active career from the Wiltshire job in 1366 until (presumably) late in 1412, some forty-six years, would have been long for the period, but not nearly as long, for example, as that of John, Lord Cobham.

References to persons named Thomas Tauke cannot be related so uniformly to identifiable members of the family. Only three Thomases are clearly related: Sir William's grandson, who died in 1405; *his* grandson, who died in 1493; and a third Thomas, apparently son of the second, who was alive in 1485,[6] but was not his father's heir.[7] The second Thomas was escheator in Sussex in 1449,[8] and knight of the shire in 1460.[9] This appears to leave

[1] *Wills of the Kings and Queens*, 142-3.

[2] G. E. C[ockayne], ed., *The Complete Peerage* (new ed., London, 1910-1940), 3. ii, 344-5.

[3] Ibid., 1, 245-6.

[4] *CCR 1409-1413*, 432. The commission seems not to have been enrolled.

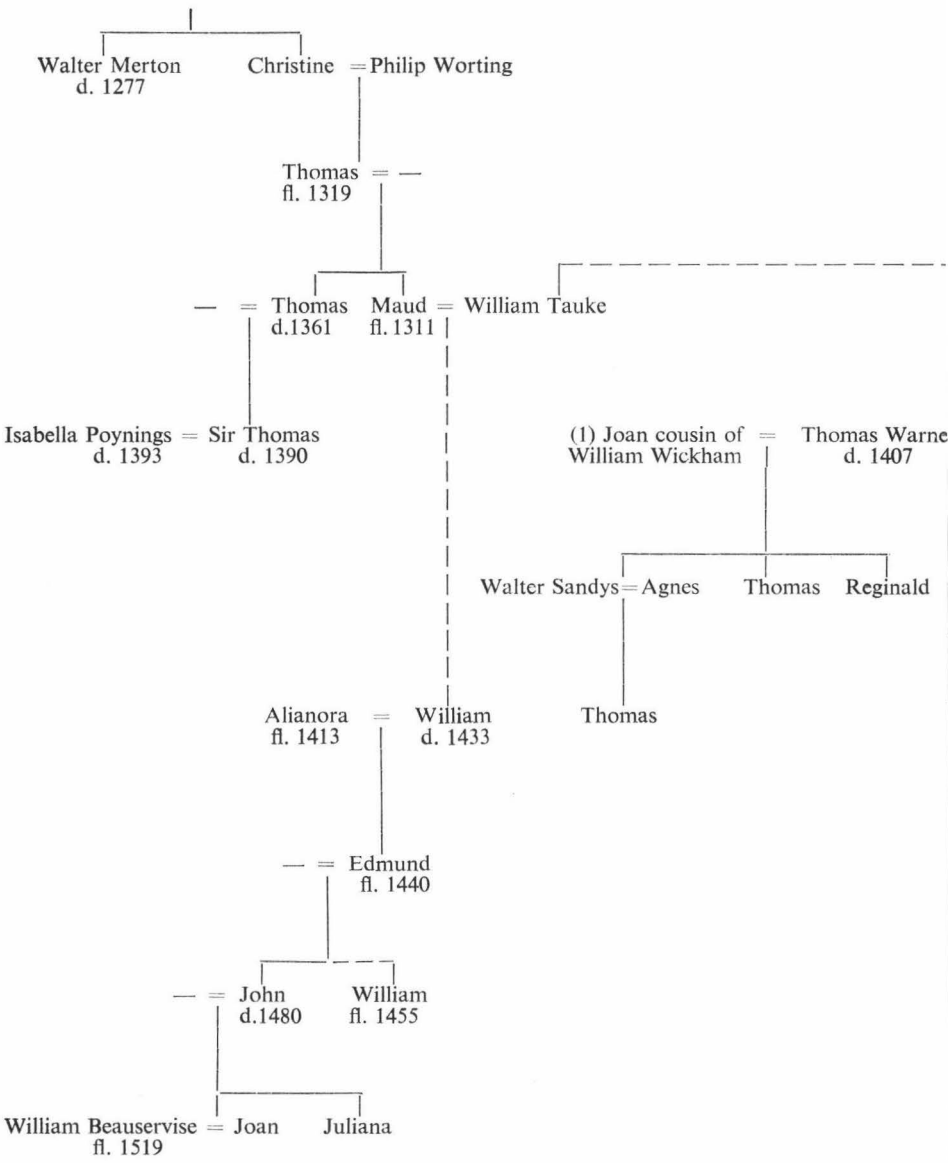
[5] *CCR 1405-1409*, 77-8.

[6] *CFR 1485-1509*, 62.

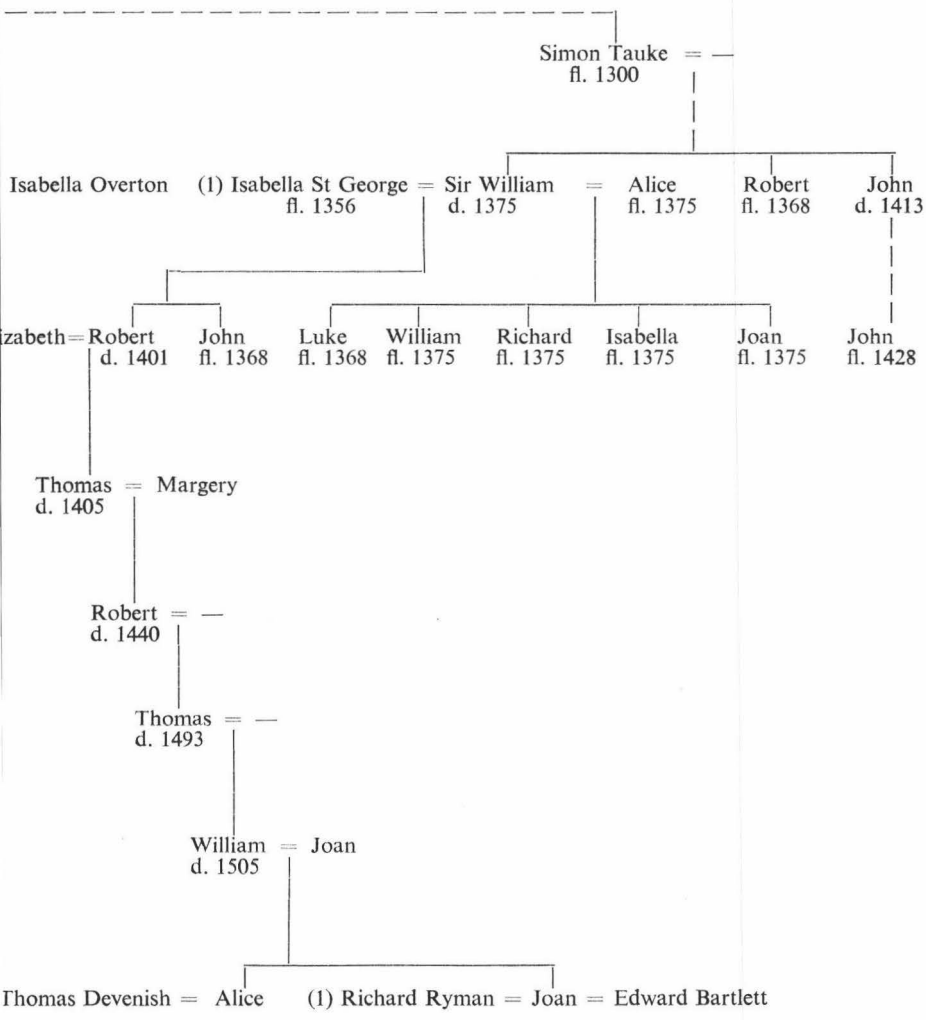
[7] Ibid., 707, where William Tauke is named as heir.

[8] *List of Escheators*, 162.

[9] *Parliaments of England 1213-1702* (London, 1878), 356.




*N.B. Broken lines indicate conjectural connections.*


Simon Tauke = —
fl. 1300
Isabella Overton
(1) Isabella St George = Sir William = Alice Robert John
fl. 1356 d. 1375 fl. 1375 fl. 1368 d. 1413
izabeth = Robert John Luke William Richard Isabella Joan John
d. 1401 fl. 1368 fl. 1368 fl. 1375 fl. 1375 fl. 1375 fl. 1375 fl. 1428
Thomas = Margery
d. 1405
Robert = —
d. 1440
Thomas = —
d. 1493
William = Joan
d. 1505
Thomas Devenish = Alice
(1) Richard Ryman = Joan = Edward Bartlett

five namesakes unaccounted. One Thomas Tauke, the father of John the younger of Merton, was certainly dead by 1375.[1] Another Thomas was rector of Nuthurst in 1366,[2] and later of East Grinstead;[3] he is likely to have been the Dom Thomas Tauke mentioned in Sir William's will. References to another cleric of this name, ordained in 1424 and said to be from Shalstone in Buckinghamshire,[4] are clearly to a different person. Different again was a Hampshire Thomas. Described as ' of Shalfleet, Isle of Wight,' he was involved in a doubtful wool transaction in 1396,[5] and he received the issues of lands in Netherwallop in 1394.[6] In the early years of the fifteenth century he fell into serious debt through nonpayment of rents,[7] and it may have been in this connection that an order for his arrest and summons before the Council was issued in 1409.[8] Perhaps in reaction from such peccadilloes, he sought and obtained papal indults for plenary remission by his confessor, as many as four times, in 1397.[9] Lastly, Thomas Tauke, who might perhaps be the Hampshire man, held part of Todham in 1428.[10] There is no evidence for the relationship of any of the last four Thomases to Sir William; it must be presumed that the father of cousin John was fairly close kin—perhaps an uncle, since closer kinship might have produced another word than ' cousin ' for his son—and the feckless man from Shalfleet is more likely to have been a Basingstoke Tauke than a Sussex one. On the other hand, Sir William's grandson Thomas held the family lands in Hampshire after his father's death in 1401, and might, therefore, account for references to a Hampshire Thomas until his death in 1405.

The Basingstoke branch can probably account for a William Tauke of Hampshire. He first occurs in 1387, as a servant of William, Earl of Salisbury, seeking men who had fled from Carisbrooke.[11]

[1] See Sir William's will, loc. cit.

[2] A. C. Wood, ed., *Registrum Simonis de Langham* (Canterbury and York Society, liii), 376.

[3] *CPR 1374-1377*, 95.

[4] E. F. Jacob, ed., *Registrum Henrici Chichele*, iv (Cant. and York Soc., xlvii), 361, 364.

[5] *CPR 1396-1399*, 73.

[6] *CPR 1391-1396*, 428.

[7] *CCR 1405-1409*, 178, 180; *VCH Hampshire*, iii, 328.

[8] *CPR 1409-1413*, 177. He was probably the armiger from Durley acquitted of burglary in 1405 by a sympathetic jury: PRO, Just.3/194, 4, and Just.3/218/1, 227.

[9] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters* (H.M.S.O.), v, 38, 43, 50, 59.

[10] *Feudal Aids*, v, 152.

[11] *CCR 1385-1389*, 208.

He appears in a commercial capacity at Sandwich in 1389;[1] subsequently he occurs as a subsidy collector and as a mainpernor,[2] while on one occasion he served at Winchester on an inquest held by John Tauke the escheator.[3] As before, lack of qualification in forms of address is suggestive, and he may therefore be identified, tentatively, with that William Tauke whose local career can be traced in the Basingstoke records from 1409 to 1433. It was this person, described as ' gentleman,' who was litigating against London merchants in 1424,[4] and it is not impossible that he was also master of the Shipwrights' Company in 1431-2.[5] It is chronologically possible that he was Sir William's son, of whom nothing is heard after his father's death, but there is no evidence for this.

On the basis of this William's career, one further and highly suppositional hypothesis must thus be mentioned. This William provides the first information about the Basingstoke connection since the descent of the Worting holding in 1311. It is not, therefore, impossible that its intermediate descent, and the corresponding history of a Hampshire line, run directly through Sir William. The absence of an Inquisition Post Mortem on such a distinguished man suggests that his lands may have been enfeoffed to use; at all events there is no record of his family's lands until 1401. It is conceivable (and, in default of evidence, no more than that) that Taulkes in Basingstoke descended to the knight and thence, by way of feoffees, to his son William, whose early maturity would have coincided with the first mention of William of Hampshire. There is more against this hypothesis than for it—it would, after all, make it difficult to explain the different blazons, as well as several miscellaneous Taukes—but the lacuna in the Basingstoke descent invites the consideration of all possibilities. Unless and until further evidence can be found and sifted, much of the history of this active family in the later medieval period will remain equally uncertain.

[1] *CCR 1389-1392*, 72.

[2] *CFR 1391-1399*, 138; *CFR 1399-1405*, 23; *CCR 1409-1413*, 305.

[3] PRO, C.136/108, no. 7, m.2 (17 August 1398).

[4] *CPR 1422-1429*, 154.

[5] A. C. Knight, ed., *Records of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights*, i (London, 1939), s.v.; R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: Letter-Book K* (London, 1911), 149. References this remote can only be noted with interest; similarly, the mention of a Northampton coroner named Nicholas Tauke, in 1358: *Calendar of Ancient Deeds* (H.M.S.O.), iv, A.8107. Agnes Tauke, the decadent prioress of Easebourne in 1478, was more likely to have been related, but there is no evidence of this: *SAC*, ix, 14, 18.

# SHORTER NOTICES

This section of the *Collections* is devoted to short notes on recent archaeological discoveries, reports on small finds, definitive reports on small-scale excavations, etc. Material for inclusion should be sent to Mr. H. F. Cleere, F.S.A., Little Bardown, Stonegate, Wadhurst, Sussex. Those without previous experience in writing up such material for publication should not be deterred from contributing; Mr. Cleere will be happy to assist in the preparation of reports and illustrations.

PALAEOLITHIC FLINTS FROM HENFIELD—Two artefacts of Lower Palaeolithic age were found in 1972 by Mr. P. Spear at Catsfold Farm, Henfield, about half a mile east of the River Adur at TQ 197156. They were probably brought to the surface by ploughing, from no very great depth: the soil overlies Weald Clay, and the findspot is at about 60 ft. O.D. The two pieces may be described as follows:

1. A sub-rectangular heavy worked fragment, maximum dimensions 115mm. long, 102mm. broad and 54mm. thick, deeply ochre-stained and heavily abraded. It could possibly represent the end-product of an unsuccessful and quickly abandoned attempt to make a handaxe, or it might be classed as a crude chopper; however, it is not particularly convincing as either and is perhaps better regarded merely as a somewhat amorphous item of flint-working debris. The rather cherty flint bears traces of cortex on each face, so the object originated as a pebble rather than a flake from a larger block. Each face shows a few large scars and a fair number of smaller ones: among the latter are some which are not necessarily the work of man (especially in view of the object's battered and abraded condition), and the question of formal ' retouch ' does not arise. Nevertheless, the number of scars and the several directions from which they have been struck certainly suggest that the object is an artefact rather than a product of natural forces.

2. A small, thick, irregular waste-flake, maximum dimensions 46mm. long by 35mm. wide by 18mm. thick, deeply ochre-stained, cracked and somewhat abraded. The thick striking-platform is unprepared and bears some small recent scars. The flake's dorsal surface has two primary scars, which between them take up over half of it, the remainder being cortex. The bulbar face is plain, with the bulb fairly pronounced. Both faces show a number of small edge scars, but these clearly constitute damage rather than retouch or utilisation and most are less heavily stained. The flake was struck across a natural cortex-covered cavity on the parent block, and one edge incorporates part of it.

It is regrettable that the two artefacts are such uninformative pieces in themselves, as well as being in a derived state, but one need only reflect for a moment on the quantity of waste flakes and other debris produced during the manufacture of any Lower Palaeolithic implement to realise that the majority of artefacts found would be like those described here if collectors had bothered with them. At rich and undisturbed sites, large quantities of such material can yield important technological information. But Mr. Spear's two flints seem worth recording, as additions to the still surprisingly small quantity of Sussex Palaeolithic finds, on which the writer and Mr. E. W. Holden published a note recently (see *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. 106 (1968), pp. 206-212).

From Henfield itself, only one other extant Palaeolithic artefact is known to the present writer: an ochreous, abraded, small pointed ovoid handaxe, flat and well made, anciently damaged. This is now in the British Museum. The accession number is 1932: 10-12, 1 and the register records it as 'found on the surface at 100′ O.D. at Furner's Farm, Henfield, Sussex.' It was given to the British Museum by Major A. G. Wade, of Bentley, Hants. Mr. Holden has kindly checked the Society's 6in. O.S. map of the Henfield area at Barbican House, and reports that a single unsigned note records 'a palaeolith of the river drift type,' found east of the High Street at about TQ 221162. No further details are available, but since this area is part of Furner's Farm at about 100′ O.D. it seems highly likely that the British Museum's handaxe is the artefact referred to.

The two artefacts described in this note remain in Mr. Spear's collection, but two transparencies of No. 1 have been deposited in the Society's library at Barbican House, Lewes, by Mr Holden.

DEREK ROE

THE POSSIBLE REMAINS OF A NEOLITHIC CAUSEWAYED CAMP ON OFFHAM HILL, HAMSEY, NEAR LEWES, TQ 3988175—This earthwork, which is partly destroyed by an old chalkpit and is subject to cultivation, is Scheduled Ancient Monument, Sussex, No. 170, quoted in the *List of Ancient Monuments in England and Wales* (H.M.S.O., 1965), p. 99, under *Camps and Settlements: Hamsey, earthwork on Offham Hill.* During the course of archaeological fieldwork in 1964 our member, Mr. David Thomson, inspected the remains of the earthwork and he considered that despite scrub clearance and degradation over the years by ploughing the configuration of the ground resembled that which might be expected at a Neolithic causewayed camp. Mr. Thomson invited the writer to inspect the site in 1965 and he agreed with Mr. Thomson's diagnosis. At that visit a few undatable struck flint flakes, patinated white, and some burnt flints were found. Ordnance Survey (Archaeology Division) were invited to survey the site when it fitted into their programme of work for Sussex and this was done in 1972 by Mr. Peter Stevens of that Division. Mr. Stevens has kindly supplied the following report:—

'There is a sub-circular earthwork situated on a N. facing slope about 120m. NE. of the hill summit. Quarrying has encroached upon the E. side of the work. There are two concentric ditches about 10m. apart and not more than 0.5m. deep, in places reduced to a vegetation mark only. On the SE. side at the quarry edge, a section of the ditch can be seen 0.6m. below the turf line and 2.6m. wide. There is slight evidence of an inner bank, and elsewhere a low swelling, apparently containing a heavier content of chalk rubble, suggests a continuation of the bank. Interruptions of the vegetation mark in the ditch possibly indicate at least four causeways across the outer ditch and two across the inner. The whole work has been reduced by ploughing and scrub clearance; the northern part is within a wood and here shows an outward facing scarp 0.5m. high. The work shows many features of a Neolithic causewayed camp, but without excavation positive identification is uncertain.'

Since writing the above a further note of caution has been found in a letter written by the late Dr. E. Cecil Curwen to the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments in 1935. The former had been consulted as to the advisability of Scheduling the site as an Ancient Monument and his reply is reproduced here by courtesy of the Inspectorate:—

'Re the half-circle on Offham Hill—I have had a look at this, and it is certainly part of an ancient concentric-ringed enclosure with at least two ditches. But it is so overgrown that it is difficult to make much out of it. The outer ditch fades out on the north before reaching the quarry, and the terminal part of it is interrupted by several causeways. But it does not look to me convincingly Neolithic! It should be preserved—obviously! One day I'll try and get someone to dig it.'

It is a sad reflection on the efficacy of Scheduling that this procedure failed to prevent subsequent scrub clearance and ploughing. Acknowledgment Payments to farmers, introduced in 1972 by the Directorate of the Environment, it is hoped may help to reduce such damage to Scheduled earthworks in the future.

At present, known Neolithic causewayed camps in Sussex are (from E. to W.): Combe Hill (nr. Eastbourne), Whitehawk (Brighton), Barkhale (Bignor Hill) and The Trundle (Goodwood).

E. W. HOLDEN

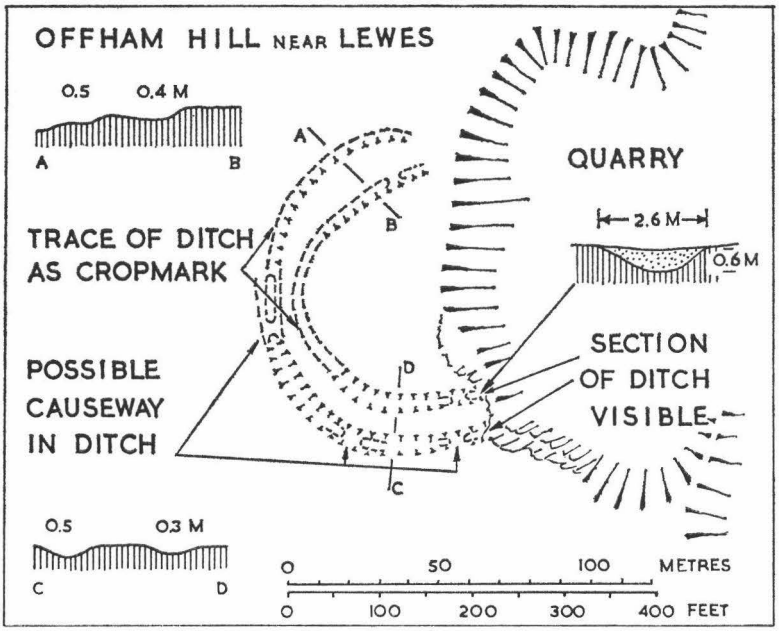



FIG. 1. OFFHAM HILL EARTHWORK. The sections are not to scale.

A LATE BRONZE AGE SPEARHEAD FROM PETT (TQ 888128)—A Late Bronze Age spearhead was found by a Mr. O'Dowd on the shore at Pett among stones about 50ft. below high-water mark, and has been purchased for the Hastings Museum (Ref. 971.4). The total length of the spearhead is 204mm. The leaf-shaped blade is tapered, with a slightly concave edge, and has a maximum width of 30mm. There are rivet holes in the socket, which is 23mm. in diameter.

In 1937 parts of a Middle or Late Bronze Age dagger were found on the shore at Pett by Mr. F. J. Britt-Compton, and are now in the same museum. The maximum width of the dagger fragments is 18mm. and the three pieces total 178mm. in length. The finder could not be more precise about the position than to state that it was " resting on clay amongst the rocks at low tide ".

A flat bronze celt " dug up at Silverhill " completes this meagre list of single finds from the area. The nearest Bronze Age hoard is that comprising palstaves and a standard holder (?) found at Marina, St. Leonards-on-Sea (*Ant. J.*, xv, 466-7).

J. MANWARING BAINES

SURFACE FINDS ON HOUNDEAN/ASHCOMBE FIELD (TQ 389099)—In the course of a systematic surface investigation of the above field between 23 January and 31 July, 1972, I collected over 1,130 sherds of pottery, nine flint artefacts, pot boilers, struck flints and skeletal remains, representing a man, woman and baby.

The field lies on the spur that slopes down from the Lewes Race Course to the Brighton-Lewes road between Houndean Bottom and Ashcombe Farm. It is marked ' Field System ' on the 1in. O.S. map and includes a cluster of tumuli marked ' 30 ' on the Society's 6in. map (Sheet LIV, SW.) at Barbican House. The examination was undertaken in two phases: first, when the field lay fallow under partial weed cover early in the year, and secondly during a series of ploughing and raking operations from mid-April through to July. On the evidence of the pottery, the area seems to have been the site of a series of settlements beginning in the LBA/EIA and culminating in the Roman period, with which the bulk of the finds have been identified. Occupation appears to have ceased at the opening of the IVth century A.D. The bones could be Roman or Saxon. Permission has been obtained to put down a trial trench.

Mr. E. W. Holden, F.S.A., Mr. N. E. S. Norris, F.S.A., and Mr. A. B. Page very kindly identified the finds for me, and Mr. H. C. F. Brazenor helped by giving me his opinion on the skeletal remains. All the finds have been deposited at the Society's Museum at Barbican House; they are accompanied by a short explanatory note and sketch plan of the area.

J. T. M. BIGGAR (Lewes Archaeological Group)

ROMANO-BRITISH IRONWORKING SITE AT LUDLEY FARM, BECKLEY (TQ 848208)—The site is located in Burnthouse (or ' Burntis ') Wood, on a steep slope runng E-W and ending in a tiny ditch that remained dry throughout the summer of 1972. It is at present secondary woodland (mostly hornbeam and ash), with a thick cover of brambles and thistles over the apparent ironworking area.

The deposit of slag, cinder and other refuse varies in thickness from about 1m. at the S. end to 10cm. at the N. end. There is no covering of topsoil at the S. end, which suggests that this end of the deposit has been removed for road-making. At the N. end there is a covering of yellow sandy soil, containing pieces of slag and cinder, which is some 75cm. thick at its greatest depth. Surface examination suggests that the refuse area measures about 50m. N.-S. and possibly 200m. E.-W.

A good deal of pottery has been recovered. This is mostly coarse ware, but some small sherds of Samian have been found. A number of these have been discoloured by heat, which means that they were probably deposited at the same time as the slag and cinder. Mr. H. F. Cleere, F.S.A., has examined the pottery and has identified it as being IInd century A.D. material, with parallels at Bardown and Beauport Park, both ironmaking settlements.

Excavations have been carried out over an area 10m. square; the amount of pottery present suggests that there was a permanent settlement nearby. One coin has been found, just above the natural soil (i.e. in an early deposition layer); this has provisionally been identified as a *sestertius* of Hadrian. Further field exploration in the area has revealed a series of small depressions in Oak Wood (TQ 852209), which may be filled-in ore pits.

W. J. BOTTING

BUGSELL ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT, SALEHURST (TQ 738233)—This site, which was discovered in 1969, is situated on the W. bank of the River Rother above Robertsbridge. Here the river has cut away the bank, exposing a layer of dark soil, charcoal and occupation debris about 6ft. below present ground level. The layer is steeply inclined towards the river, and may be a rubbish dump from a nearby settlement. There is a large platform in the fields above the tip, which may be the site of the settlement.

Finds from the tip layer include coarse wares and decorated Samian dating from the IInd century A.D.

DAVID MARTIN

A Medieval Jug Dredged from the River Ouse near Lewes—The jug was not complete, and its surface was covered by an iron deposit acquired in the river. The fabric is coarse, grey and sandy, and a green glaze can be seen at various points on the body. Of the neck, only the area around the handle was recovered, but three horizontal grooves are visible on the section revealed by the handle scar. The handle consists of a solid rod with fine piercing. There is light thumbing around the base.

The jug, which appears to be late 14th century in date, has been presented to the Society's Museum at Barbican House.

Tony Brian Page

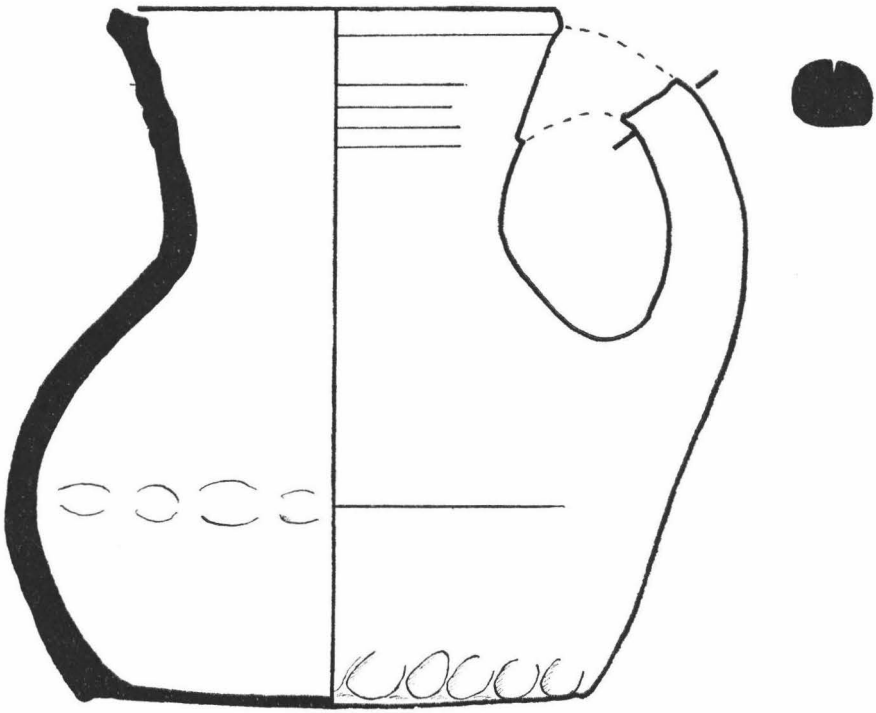


Fig. 1. Medieval Jug from River Ouse, Lewes

EXCAVATIONS AT EDWARD STREET, LEWES, 1971—The excavation took place on the site of the Co-operative Society Dairy, the building of which (and of earlier structures on the site) had removed much of the archaeological evidence. Natural sandy clay was visible all over the site, but at one point two pits (Fig. 1) had been dug into it, presumably from a higher level, and it is these pits and their contents that are the subject of this report.

*Pit I* was shallow and contained a brown clay fill with several sherds of pottery dating to the late 13th and early 14th centuries, although the latter predominated.

*Pit II* was much deeper, 4ft. at the point where it ran into the section, and its fill was much darker. This was due to the presence of a large quantity of oak charcoal. It also contained a similar assemblage of pottery to that in Pit I and also many small pieces of copper slag. When the pit had been filled to a depth of 2ft., filling was temporarily halted and a small smithing furnace with an integral tuyere was constructed (Figs. 2 and 3). There were several large pieces of impure copper and melting slag. Analysis showed no trace of bronze or brass, and it is considered that this material represents spillage from the melting of copper,

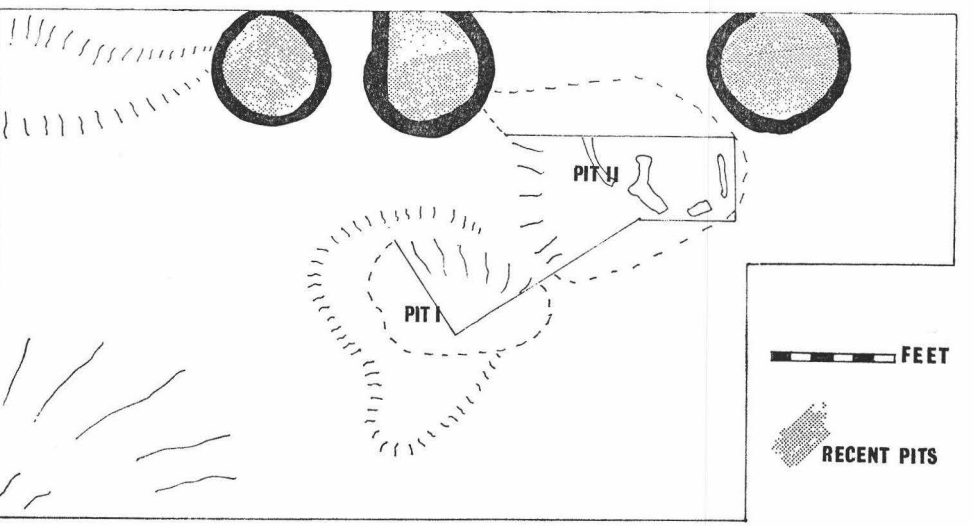



FIG. 1. EDWARD STREET, LEWES, 1971. Site plan

After the furnace had gone out of use, the filling up of the pit continued, the filling material being identical to that which went before. There is enough evidence to suggest that there were at least three successive furnaces on the site. The first antedated the example that was excavated, refuse from it forming the lower part of the filling of Pit II. The second in sequence was that which was excavated, and the third is represented by the filling in the upper part of Pit II.

This is in agreement with the little that is known about the early history of Lewes, for if, as is thought, the area of domestic occupation had migrated to the top of the hill around the Castle by the late 13th century, this part of the town would be free for the type of industrial operation shown to have been in progress on this site.

It was not possible to excavate the whole of Pit II owing to the proximity of late 19th-century cess-pits and the retaining wall at the back.

I am indebted to Mr. J. Tilbury for permission to excavate on the site, to Dr. R. F. Tylecote, of the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, for identification of the slag and for his comments on the structure, and to Mr. D. F. Cutler, of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kews, for identification of the charcoal.

TONY BRIAN PAGE

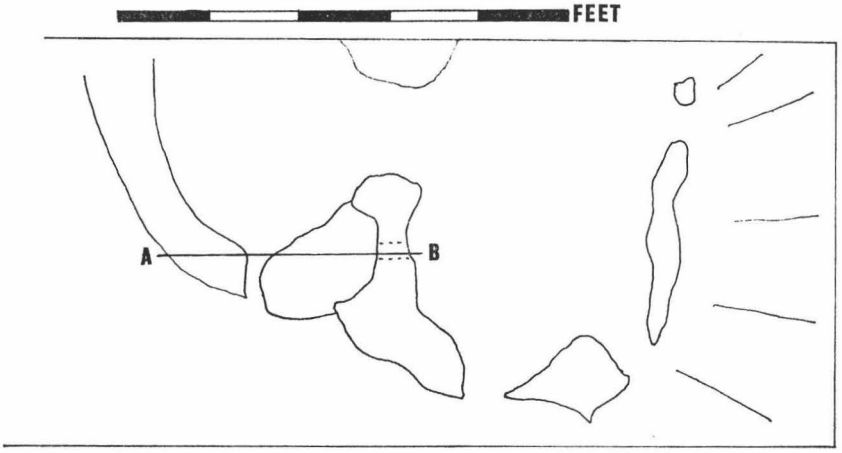



FIG. 2. EDWARD STREET, LEWES, 1971. Plan of furnace

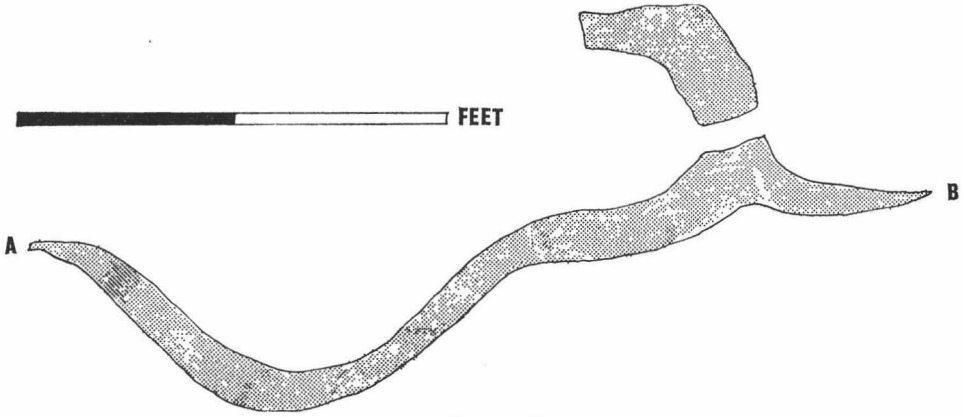



FIG. 3. EDWARD STREET, LEWES, 1971. Section of furnace

ROBERTSBRIDGE VILLAGE (TQ 738233)—In the fields on the E. side of George Hill, Robertsbridge, can be seen the platforms to four houses. The buildings are described in the 1567 survey of Robertsbridge Manor, at which time one is said to have been in a state of decay. The buildings appear to have been destroyed in the 17th century, when John Levett acquired the area.

DAVID MARTIN

DAMAGE TO KING'S STANDING EARTHWORK, ASHDOWN FOREST (TQ 474301)—The site known as King's Standing, on Ashdown Forest, was traditionally a rendezvous for Royal hunting parties and is now marked, as are other high viewpoints on the Forest, by an enclosed group of pines. However, unlike other such plantations on the Forest, which are round, this enclosure is square (approximately 40 yards by 40 yards), with a bank and ditch surrounding a raised central area. The site was discussed by Mr. I. D. Margary in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, vol. 3 (1930), pp. 72-76, where he describes his excavations within the enclosure. He found flints, Iron Age, Roman and Medieval pottery, iron slag and broken bricks and tiles.

In 1972 the Ashdown Forest Conservators bulldozed away almost all the bank surrounding the site and filled in the ditch, leaving only a small section of bank on the W. side on which a holly tree stands. This was done in ignorance of the antiquity and historical importance of the earthwork and was intended only to increase tidiness. They have expressed great regret at what has been done. When I discovered the destruction I found that a great deal of ancient scattered building material had been exposed or removed at the S.W. corner of the earthwork and along its S. side; there appeared to be none elsewhere. This consisted of broken bricks, about 2¼in. thick, and nibbed and holed clay roof tiles. There were also some small pottery sherds, probably post-Medieval in date. My impression was that they had all been associated with a building of the Tudor period. The Department of the Environment have been requested to schedule the site.

C. F. TEBBUTT

A ROMAN SITE AT HOWBOURNE FARM, HADLOW DOWN.—Roman sites on the Weald are not common and, in view of the increasing interest in the Wealden iron industry, new Roman period sites, associated with that industry, are especially worth recording. I therefore wish to express my gratitude to Mr. N. E. S. Norris, who has brought the following facts to my notice and given me permission to publish them.

Sometime between 1952 and 1954, the then occupier of Howbourne Farm, Hadlow Down, showed him some Roman pottery, and other objects, that he had found in digging or enlarging a ditch separating the two fields immediately S. of his farmhouse. He visited the site, where he saw the ditching operation, and a further hole dug by the farmer just outside the bank of the ditch on its E. side, at TQ 51632488. In both the ditch and the hole pottery was found, and he also saw, in the ditch section, remains of a mortared stone wall, associated with the pottery, together with much bloomery iron slag. The concentration of pottery suggested a rubbish pit.

In November, 1972, Mr. Norris took me to the place, which was still identifiable. We found that the fence separating the two fields had no ditch except N. of a slight corner angle, and it was a few yards N. of this that the finds were made. The hollow in the field, made by the farmer's excavation, could still be seen. We also found some bloomery slag there, and more in the shaw bordering the stream about 100 yards away on the E. side of the E. field.

The finds, Mr. Norris tells me, consisted of many sherds of Samian, Nene Valley and coarse pottery, and fragments of both window and vessel glass, all probably of the 2nd century A.D. It therefore seems reasonably certain that at Howbourne there had been a Roman house, with an owner of some wealth, concerned with the iron industry in either a private or official capacity.

C. F. TEBBUTT,

(There would appear to be parallels between this site and that at Garden Hill, Hartfield, at present being excavated by Mr. Tebbutt and Mr. J. H. Money, F.S.A., where a substantial Roman building has been found in close association with a bloomery site.—ED.)

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