

THREE MOATED SITES IN NORTH-EAST SUSSEX PART 2: HAWKSDEN AND BODIAM

by David Martin

with a discussion of Hawksden and the Waleys family

by Nigel Saul, and contributions by the late G. C. Dunning, the late E. W. Holden and D. R. Rudling

Hawksden was probably built in c. 1337 by Sir John Waleys as a house or hunting lodge. The timber-framed building was set around a courtyard and surrounded by a moat. The kitchen was divided from the other rooms by substantial cob or masonry walls to serve as fire-breaks. In the late 15th/early 16th centuries a masonry wall was constructed around the building. Chimneys were inserted to heat the hall and parlour ranges, and the hall was probably floored over. Repair work of poor quality was undertaken in the late 16th century, but shortly after the buildings were allowed to fall into ruins.

The moated homestead at Bodiam was constructed in the late 13th century, possibly for the younger brother of the lord of the manor. Three buildings were excavated, which were identified as a messuage, detached kitchen and stable range. The site fell into disuse in the mid/late 14th century and was left to deteriorate.

After the first excavation at Glottenham, work on two further moated sites was carried out by the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological Society at Hawksden in Mayfield and at Bodiam. The work at Hawksden took place in 1973 and 1974. This site was threatened by the intended planting of trees, though after the quantity of masonry in the area of excavation was revealed it was decided that tree growth was likely to be poor and the planting did not take place. At Bodiam moated homestead work had been started by the Battle and District Historical Society (BADHS) in 1961. The exposed remains had not been backfilled and in 1970 the excavations described here were undertaken to conclude their work and salvage as much information as possible.

HAWKSDEN (TQ 61842674)

The moated site of Hawksden is situated within Hawksden Park Wood two miles east of

Mayfield church on the southern side of a tributary of the river Rother (Fig. 1). Built on rising ground, the moat was cut into the hillslope on the north-west and south-west, but on the north-east and south-east sides the water was retained by a high external dam. The excavated site was an almost square moated enclosure measuring 32 metres by 31 metres, the moat being fed by a spring some distance to the south.

HAWKSDEN AND THE WALEYS FAMILY (by Nigel Saul)

The sub-manor of Hawksden, together with the manor of Baintden and part of the lands called Winters, was held as a single freehold tenement of the manor of Bivelham. In 1271 Hawksden, together with other local lands was purchased by Sir Richard Waleys II of Glynde, and it has been a part of the Glynde estate ever since.¹

The principal seat of the Waleys family was, of course, Glynde itself. But in the 14th century

Bainden became a secondary residence of some importance. In 1347 Sir John Waleys and his household went there for two months in the autumn after attending the funeral of John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, at Lewes Priory.² Hawksden first appears as a place of residence in 1362, when Sir John enfeoffed a tenant there.³ Clearly there must have been a house on the site at that time; and if we assume that this was the moated enclosure which has been excavated, then we are justified in taking 1362 as a *terminus ante quem* for the date of construction.

There are other grounds for associating it with the lifetime of Sir John. He was the most active, and possibly the longest lived, member of his family in the 14th century.⁴ According to his descendants, 'he was a scendre mane and also a lusty knight in ys dayes as was any of ys age

wythin the reyme of Ingelond'.⁵ Knighted before 1340, he went on the Crecy-Calais expedition of 1346–47 in the retinue of a local lord, Sir Michael de Poynings, accompanied Roger Mortimer, earl of March on his chevauchée in Picardy in 1356 and rounded off his military career by going on Edward III's winter expedition of 1359–60.⁶ In the years of peace that followed the ending of this phase of the war he settled down to assume some of the many burdens of office-holding that fell to members of his class. He was sheriff in 1364, a justice of the peace from 1361 and a knight of the shire (i.e. an M.P.) in parliament from 1368 to 1371.⁷

There may also have been a less savoury side to John's character. In the 1330s he fell foul of John de Warenne, who caused him to be arrested

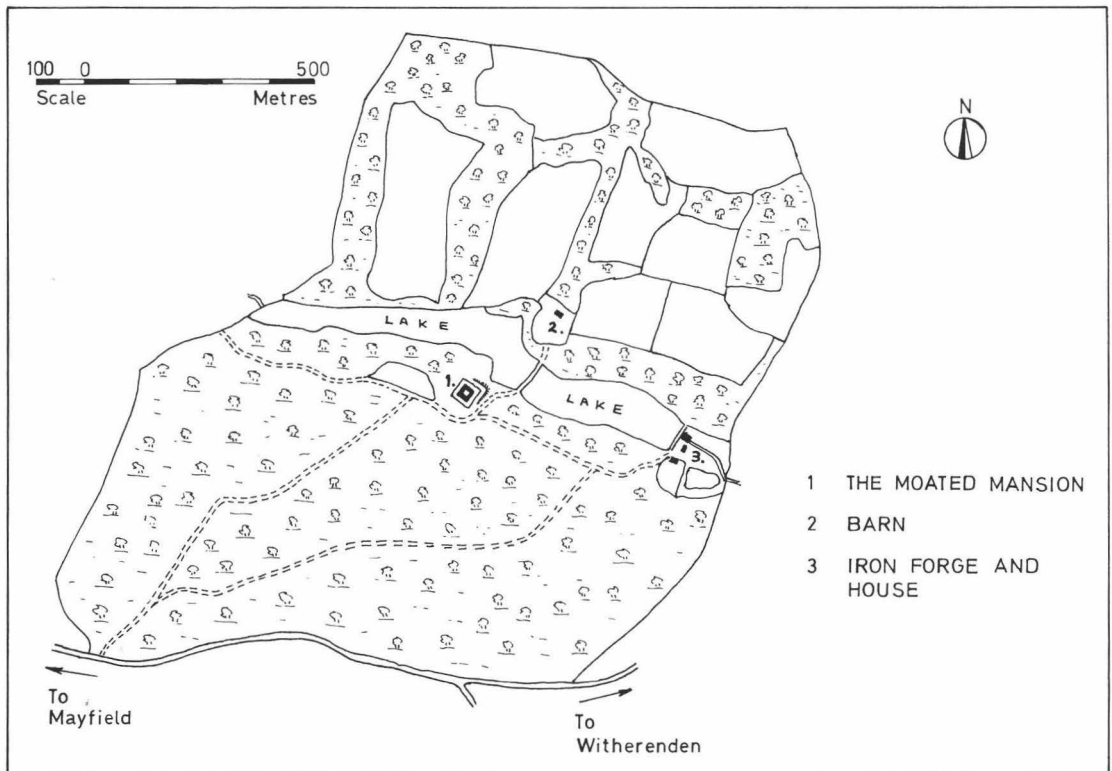


Fig. 1. Hawksden Park c. 1550 (based principally on a plan of c. 1650, E.S.R.O. GLY 3116).

for harbouring a nest of malefactors at Glynde. He was held in Lewes castle for the next eight weeks, and nursed his wounds sufficiently over the years to initiate legal proceedings against his captors after the earl's death a decade later.⁸ More to the point, in 1352 he was attached at the suit of Queen Philippa, as lord of the rape of Pevensey, to answer a number of charges, one of which related to extortion, another to concealment of feudal incidents and the remaining two to hunting the queen's chases.⁹ Hunting, indeed, seems to have been one of his major preoccupations. In the year 1347–8 he spent £2 2s 3d on the construction of two wooden lodges on the park at Glynde, presumably for the use of hunting parties or of spectators who gathered to watch them.¹⁰ Ten years earlier he had begun to construct and 'de novo emendere' a park at Hawksden, and in connection with this project he made an agreement with Robert de Sharnden, his neighbour there, laying down the procedures that were to be followed in deciding the line of the new boundaries.¹¹ The building of the house—or hunting-lodge as we are probably justified in calling it—must have followed fairly soon after the conclusion of this agreement. If 1362 is a plausible *terminus ante quem* then 1337 is an equally plausible *terminus a quo* for the period of construction.

The later history of the site need not detain us long. Indeed, there is little to be said. At Michaelmas 1394 Sir William Waleys I leased all the lands in the manor of Hawksden except the park to one Geoffrey Aleyn for nine years for an annual rent of £3 14s 4d.¹² The park with its messuage was presumably retained in hand specifically for the enjoyment of the game. Whether this lease ran its full course is, however, open to doubt, because within a few years Hawksden was to be one of the manors in dispute between Sir William and his son John. When the case came to the Court of Common Pleas Sir William said that he had made over to his son the manor of Hawksden and the reversion of that of Baiden, which he had already demised to his half-brother Richard. He then arranged for a

servant by the name of John de Croxton to deliver seisin to him. Croxton duly went to Baiden, and delivered seisin to the new tenant but, by an extraordinary oversight, omitted to ensure that Richard attorned to him. On this pretext John claimed that the transaction was invalid, and entered Baiden himself.¹³ Sir William took the side of his brother and initiated an action of trespass. However, the dispute was settled not by a jury's verdict but by resort to arbitration. Sir William recovered two other manors which he had granted to his son, and the latter was compensated with continued enjoyment of Hawksden and Baiden.¹⁴

When John succeeded his father, as he did in about 1409, Hawksden and Baiden were reunited with the other Waleys properties. It may have been leased out after that; but, if it was, the leases have not been preserved among the Glynde muniments.

THE LATER HISTORY

In about 1459 John Waleys IV of Devon sold the Glynde estates, including Hawksden, to Nicholas Morley, the husband of John Waleys II's daughter.¹⁵ The Morleys undertook the works of Period B described below and specifically it was likely to have been Thomas Morley who engaged in the improvement of Hawksden. Between 1531 and his death in 1558/9 he took a particular interest in the Hawksden lands, establishing and running an iron furnace and forge here. The business was later carried on by his second son Anthony, but by 1574 the iron works had been leased to Thomas Isted.¹⁶

In 1593/4 the messuage, barns and lands called Hawksden Park were leased out by Herbert Morley to Abraham Langham. The messuage referred to must be the Hawksden site, but the lease indicates the house was tenanted at this date by Thomas Beaumont and this may have been the situation since the 1570s.¹⁷ Although there are several later leases, none mentions the messuage, though references to the barn occur regularly. This suggests that on the

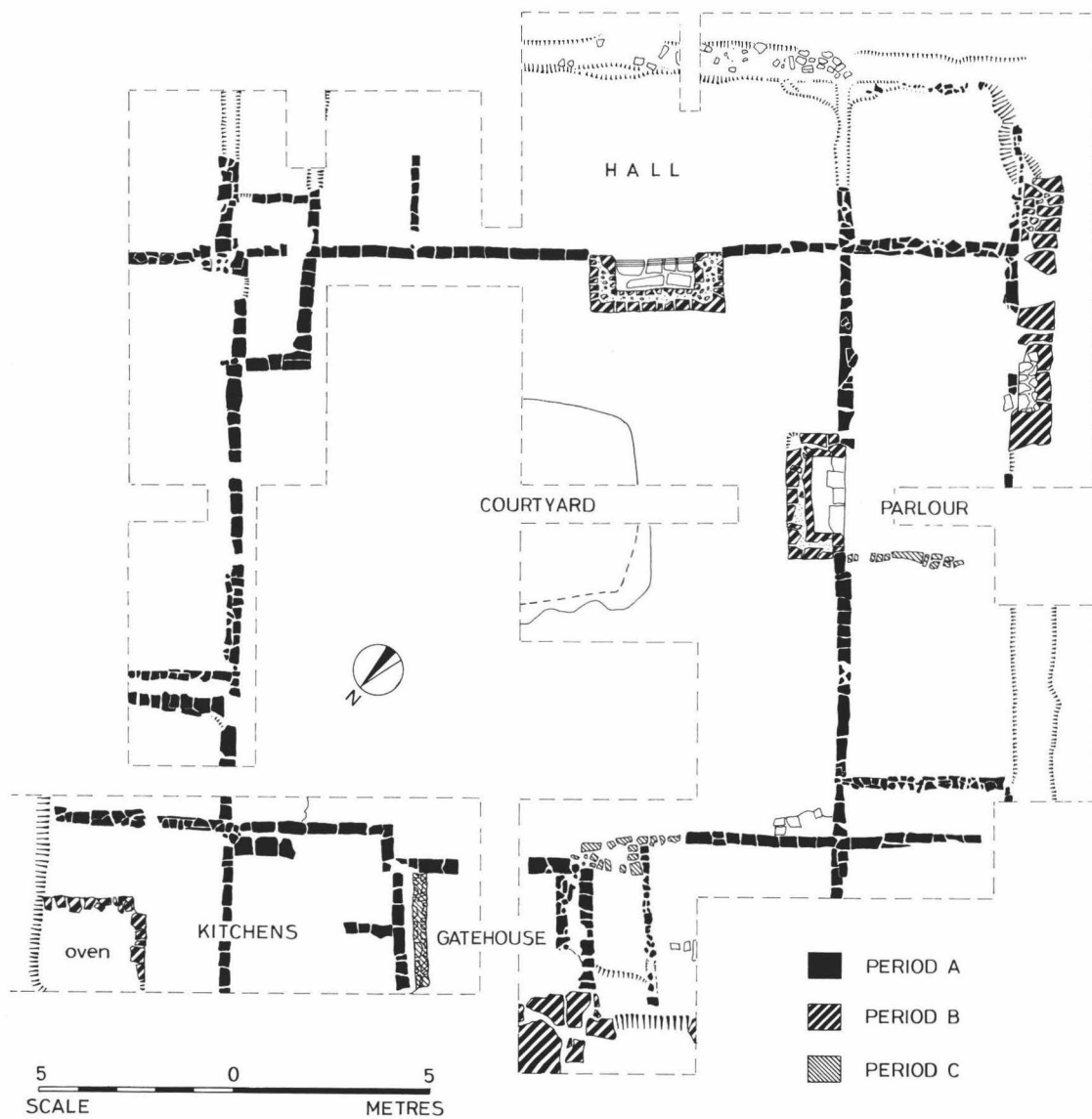


Fig. 2. Hawksden. Plan of excavations.

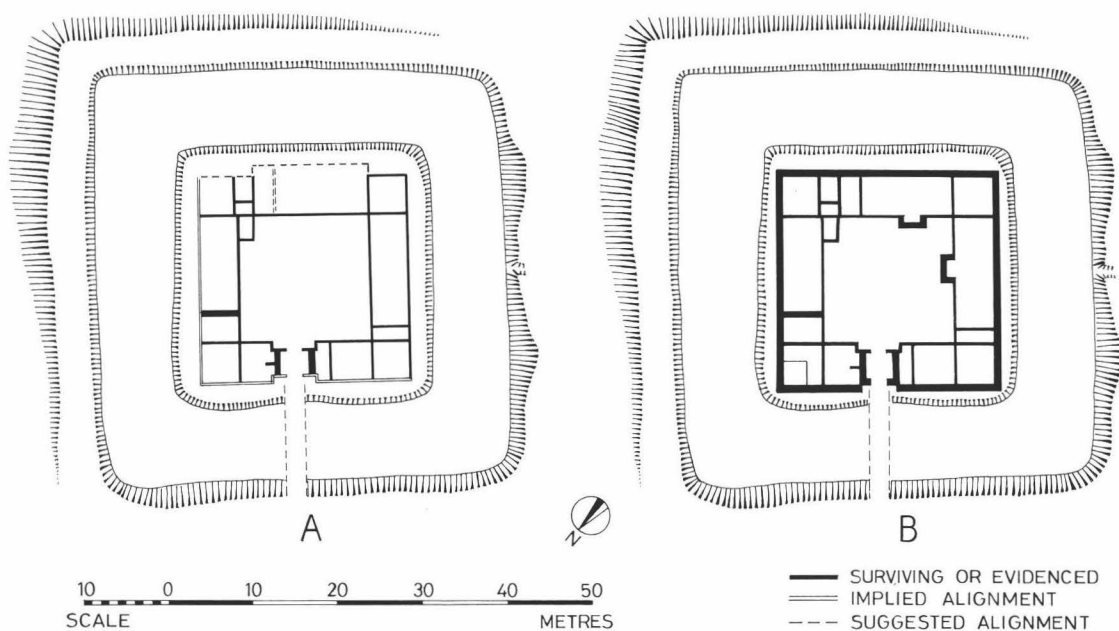


Fig. 3. Hawksden. Plan of Periods A and B.

termination of the 1593/4 lease the house was left to decay. Certainly a map of the estate of *c.* 1650 shows neither the house nor its site.¹⁸

THE EXCAVATED EVIDENCE PERIOD A (Mid 14th century)

The buildings of the first period were set around a paved courtyard inside the moat. The water of the moat did not lap against the walls, but were separated from them by a narrow grass berm or bank (Figs 3 & 4).

The hall building stood on one side of the courtyard opposite the entrance (Fig. 2). Adjacent to this, on the east, was the service complex and on the other side of the hall in the south-west wing, was the parlour range. The north-east range was identified as the retainers' quarters. On one side of the entrance passage was the kitchens and the guests' lodgings stood on the other side.

The building was of timber-framed construction and was built on ground walls of

neatly squared and tooled blocks laid on a rough sandstone slab foundation. The ground walls to the internal partitions were less well formed, being made of roughly squared sandstone blocks. Three of the crosswalls were unusually wide. These were made of a double row of clay-bedded blocks with a core of cob-like material, a total width of 0.95 metre. These supported either cob or masonry walls, rather than a timber-framed structure. The roofs of the building were covered with imported West Country slate, though this had been patched with Horsham stone and tile, especially in the northern corner.

The wide berm on the south-east side of the site, between the moat and the building, suggests that the Period A hall projected out further than the Period B building (Fig. 3). This is also indicated by the abrupt termination of the end wall of the parlour range where it met the end wall of the hall. The Period B curtain wall had completely obliterated all signs of the original rear wall of the hall. The general arrangement

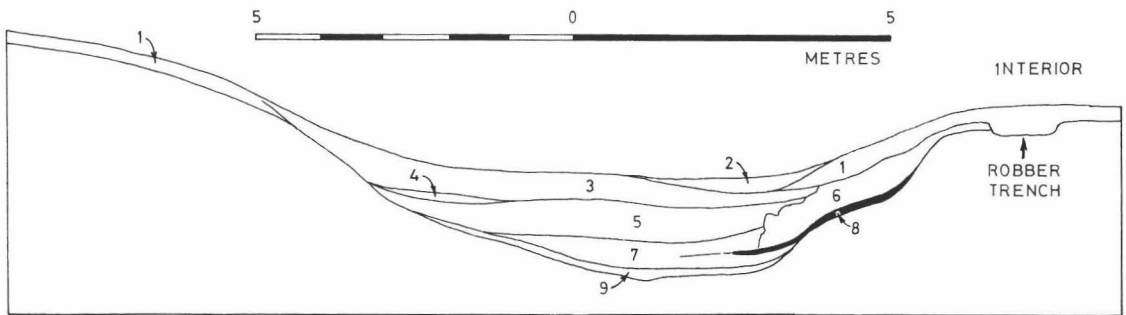


Fig. 4. Hawksden. Section through south-west moat. 1. Topsoil. 2. Sandy clay and soil. 3. Leafy silt. 4. Clean grey silt. 5. Dark silt. 6. Stone rubble. 7. Black organic material. 8. Collapsed roofing slate. 9. Clean light grey silt.

suggests some form of aisle or quasi-aisle on the outer side of the hall.

The hall was 10.60 metres long with a screened passage-way 2.40 metres wide beyond this. The screen was set on a slight ground wall laid directly on to the floor and may represent a later insertion.

In the eastern corner of the moat was a square room, and next to this, between it and the cross-passage, was a smaller room. These two were presumably the buttery and pantry. A small room partitioned off against the courtyard wall formed a passage way giving access to both the eastern room and the connecting projection in the corner of the courtyard.

A large hall-like building in the north-east range measured 10.40 metres by about 4.60 metres. This may be identified by comparison with similar surviving buildings as the retainers' quarters. At nearby Bodiam Castle, an almost contemporary building, the retainers' hall was floored over to form dormitories above.

In the north corner of the site was a kitchen of three rooms. The largest of these was at the junction of the north-west and north-east ranges. At the centre of the room was a large hearth of baked clay which had been relaid at least once (Fig. 5, 2). In the southern corner was the base of an oven of stones bedded in clay measuring 1.05 metres by 1.20 metres (Fig. 5, 3).

The main entrance to the kitchen was through the adjacent room on the south-east. In

this room were found a shallow pit and the remains of a lead vessel 0.90 metre in diameter, slightly set into the floor. The end of this room nearest to the gatehouse was divided by a short partition into two cubicles of uncertain use.

The third room in the kitchen complex was contiguous to the first at the end of the north-east range. This may have served as a larder. This,

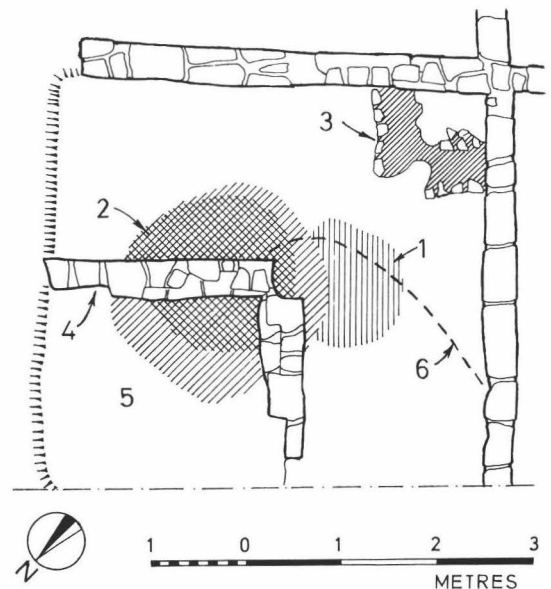


Fig. 5. Hawksden. Detail of fire room in kitchen. 1. Period A (1) Clay hearth. 2. Period A (2) Clay hearth. 3. Period A (2) Oven base. 4. Period B retaining wall to oven. 5. Period B rubble fill to oven base. 6. Period B ash spread.

and the other rooms of the kitchen were divided from the remainder of the building by a pair of walls with a base of stone blocks bedded in clay. These were presumably intended to act as fire-breaks around the kitchen area, for the courtyard plan precluded the construction of a separate detached kitchen.

Continuing around the courtyard, to the south-west of the kitchen was the gatehouse. This had an entrance passage 3.40 metres wide with doorways 1.85 metres wide at either end, flanked by clay-bedded masonry walls. Next to the gatehouse was a pair of guest rooms. A stairway at one end of the rooms suggests that there had been a similar pair on the first floor. There may have been a third room at this level above the entrance passage.

The whole of the south-western range was a single room measuring 13.40 metres by 3.90 metres internally. This parlour room was entered from the hall through an ante-chamber in the southern angle between the two ranges.

In the middle of the building was a courtyard paved with slabs of sandstone set in a random pattern. At the centre of this was an oval-shaped feature of smaller slabs, many laid on edge. This was set slightly lower than the rest of the yard. Around it was a kerb of more regular blocks.

The stone chosen for the paving was unsuitable and flaked badly in frosty conditions. After a short time a covering of earth was apparently either introduced deliberately or allowed to accumulate.

PERIOD B (Late 15th to early 16th century)

The most significant change to the site in the second period was the construction of a masonry wall around the outside of the building. This had the effect of transforming the site into a more impressive structure, but reduced the hall to an internal width of only 4.40 metres. The other alterations were more for comfort than prestige. A new oven and what was probably a fireplace were constructed within the kitchens, and within

the courtyard two chimneys were added to heat the hall and parlour ranges. It is probable that at this time the hall was floored over in order to form a first-floor chamber above.

The encasing wall, although impressive, was poorly constructed. The wall, 0.80 metre wide, was placed upon a foundation of massive stone slabs laid directly upon the levelled ground surface adjacent to the Period A wall. It could not have been long before settlement occurred and the angle at which the foundation stones were discovered suggests that massive cracks must have formed: some sections may have actually collapsed. The superstructure itself was of two skins of tooled ashlar blocks set either side of a core of stone rubble. Fragments of windows were recovered and these had splayed jambs, chamfered segmented rear arches, plainly chamfered sills and vertical iron dividing bars. All fragments were from single-light openings, but the shape of the heads remains uncertain. Surprisingly, the openings were not grooved for glass, though this may have been fitted another way. The segmental rear arches of the window fragments are a feature not normally found locally after the 15th century.

Two stone stacks were inserted into the courtyard wall to heat the hall and parlour. The hall chimney stack incorporated a fireplace 1.95 metres wide, with a hearth of iron-impregnated Paludina limestone slabs laid on edge and at the front a sandstone kerb with a chamfered and rolled upstand (Fig. 6). The walls of the fireplace were lined with Paludina slabs and the jambs were finely dressed chamfered sandstone blocks.

The stack to the parlour was similar, though the walls were lined only with halved clay tiles. The jambs were rebated externally, probably in order to insert the stack between the two principal posts in the courtyard wall. The courtyard wall continued into the rebate, whilst the later inserted cross-partition within the room at this point tends to confirm the bay divisions.

To the rear of the stack was discovered a pair of sandstone 'lintels' with 15th or early 16th century casement moulds. These may have

formed part of the overmantel to one of the fireplaces.

In the Period A kitchen the cooking had been done on an open hearth in the northern corner room. In the rebuilding this was overlain by a massive masonry oven set against the corner of the curtain wall (Fig. 5, 4). This had a base measuring approximately 2.80 metres by 2.90 metres. The surviving lowest two courses suggest that the structure was built of mortared ashlar blocks around a platform of rubble and clay. The floor of the room was partially covered by a thick deposit of ash (Fig. 5, 6), which was the thickest on the south-west side where the oven door was presumably located.

The Period A cooking hearth must have been replaced by a new cooking hearth and chimney, but no trace of this was found. Its most likely position would have been against the curtain wall. This area had been badly damaged by a number of tree stumps and was not available for excavation.

PERIOD C (Late 16th century)

The final period of occupation is characterized by a number of poor repairs. The

only work of good quality was in the reconstruction of the flanking wall of the north-east side of the entrance passage. The wall here was neatly rebuilt in mortared Paludina slabs. Several ground walls were patched in brick. The courtyard wall, immediately south-west of the gateway, and part of the fireplace kerb was reconstructed in rough stone. The parlour was divided into two by a flimsy stone ground wall set close to the chimney stack. In the hall, the fireplace, which had sunk 0.35 metre because of inadequate foundations, was raised with a brick and stone hearth laid above the original (Fig. 6).

In the later part of the period the parlour chimney, which had probably been settling for sometime, collapsed across the north-west end of the parlour range, apparently demolishing it. No attempt was made to rebuild it, but a new end wall was inserted immediately south-east of the stack and the ruined section simply abandoned.

DESTRUCTION OF THE SITE

The dense scatter of roofing slate over the courtyard and floors of the hall and kitchen show that for a long period little or no attempt was made to salvage the materials. A small group of

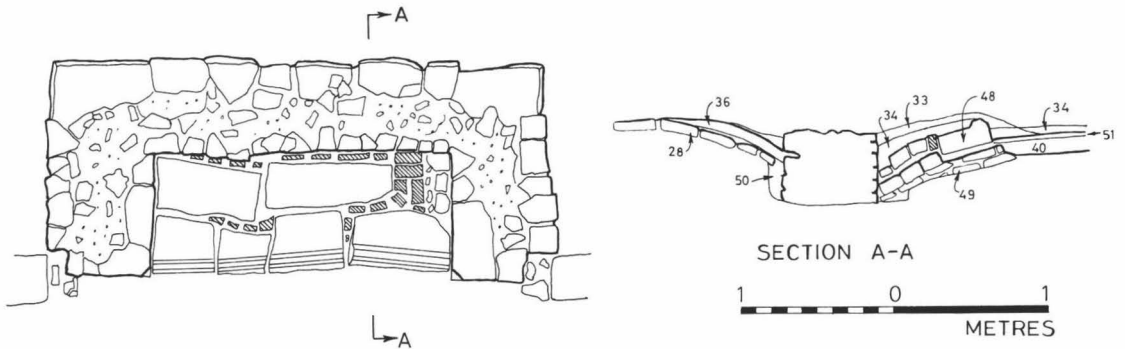


Fig. 6. Hawksden. Details of hall fireplace.

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|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| PERIOD A | 28. Stone courtyard |
| PERIOD B (CONSTRUCTION) | 36. Mortar spread |
| | 49. Paludina limestone hearth |
| | 50. Fill to construction trench |
| PERIOD B (OCCUPATION) | 40. Ash spread |
| PERIOD C (CONSTRUCTION) | 48. Brick and stone hearth |
| | 51. Clay floor |
| PERIOD C (OCCUPATION) | 34. Ash spread |
| DESTRUCTION | 33. Loam, ash and mortar parging. |

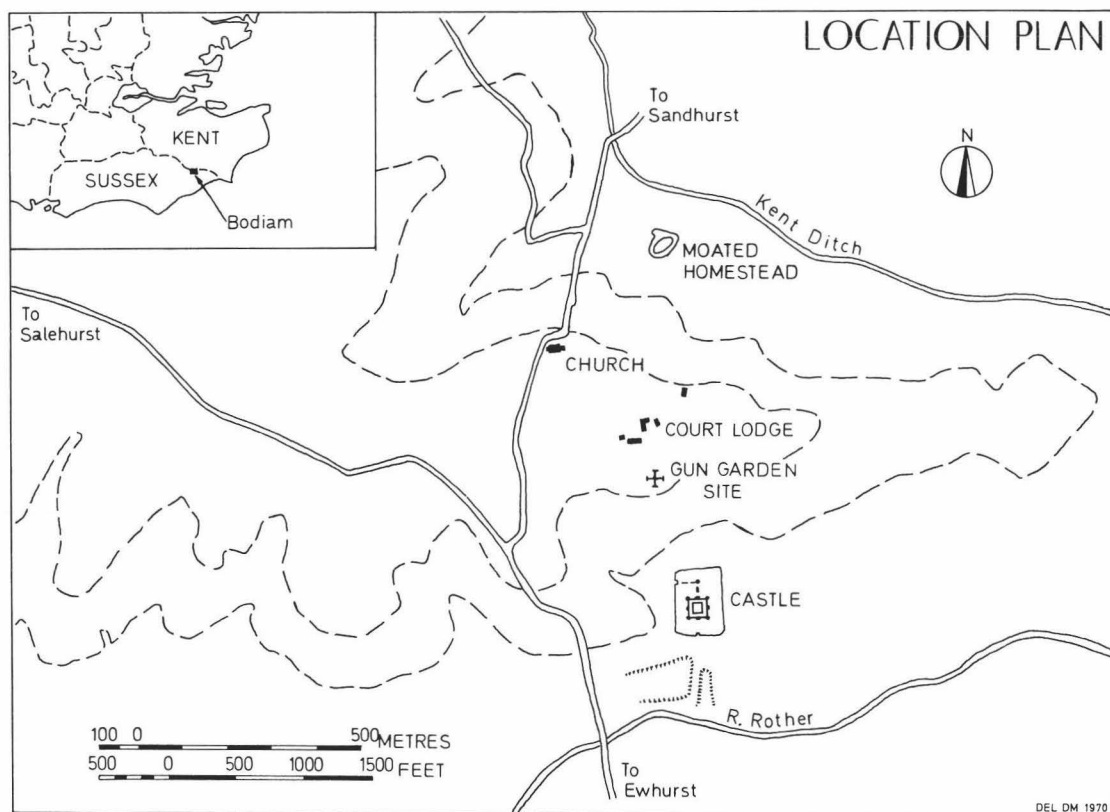


Fig. 7. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Location Plan.

slates was stacked together for carting in the south corner of the courtyard. The presence of stone from Hawksden in the cellar at nearby Hareholt Farmhouse and a barn at Fair Oak, both of which were built in the early 18th century, suggests the date at which the building material was finally salvaged. The lack of any form of causeway across the moat presumably indicates that the entrance bridge survived at the date of robbing: the present causeway across the moat was constructed during the excavation in 1973.

BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD (TQ 78472643)

The small moated enclosure on the valley floor of the Kent Ditch does not appear to have

been of manorial status, though it was situated within the demesne of Bodiam Manor. Since the archaeological evidence implies a period of occupation from the late 13th to the mid/late 14th centuries, it may be suggested that the site was the dwelling of Richard Wardedieu, younger brother of Nicholas, holder of the manor from 1287 to *c.* 1330. Richard's son, John still held lands in Bodiam during the 1340s, but after this date no further documentation concerning this branch of the family can be found.¹⁹

It has been argued that the moated homestead is the predecessor of Bodiam Castle, but this seems highly unlikely in view of the existence of a 13th-century settlement on the hill north of the castle, and near Court Lodge Farm (The Gun Garden site, TQ 784339) (Fig. 7). The moated homestead contains no periods which

predated the late 13th century, whilst Bodiam manor is known to have contained a hall before 1086.²⁰

The site comprises an oval enclosure having a slight fall to the north and surrounded by a narrow ditch or moat (Fig. 8). The moat averages 4.50 metres in width and has steep banks at its southern end where it cuts into rising ground (Fig. 9). To the north the water is only 0.45 metre below ground level and in the north-west corner an arm of the moat extends into the surrounding meadows. The buildings, a message and two

ancillary structures, were sited centrally on the southern end of the site, and varied little in plan from those of other contemporary non-moated sites. The low northern end of the enclosure appears to have been free of buildings, the space probably having been utilized for gardens. The site was not surrounded by a curtain wall or stockade, though a low earthen bank may indicate the position of a surrounding hedge. Access to the island was by way of a bridge on the western side, from which a gravel path led to the porch of the message.

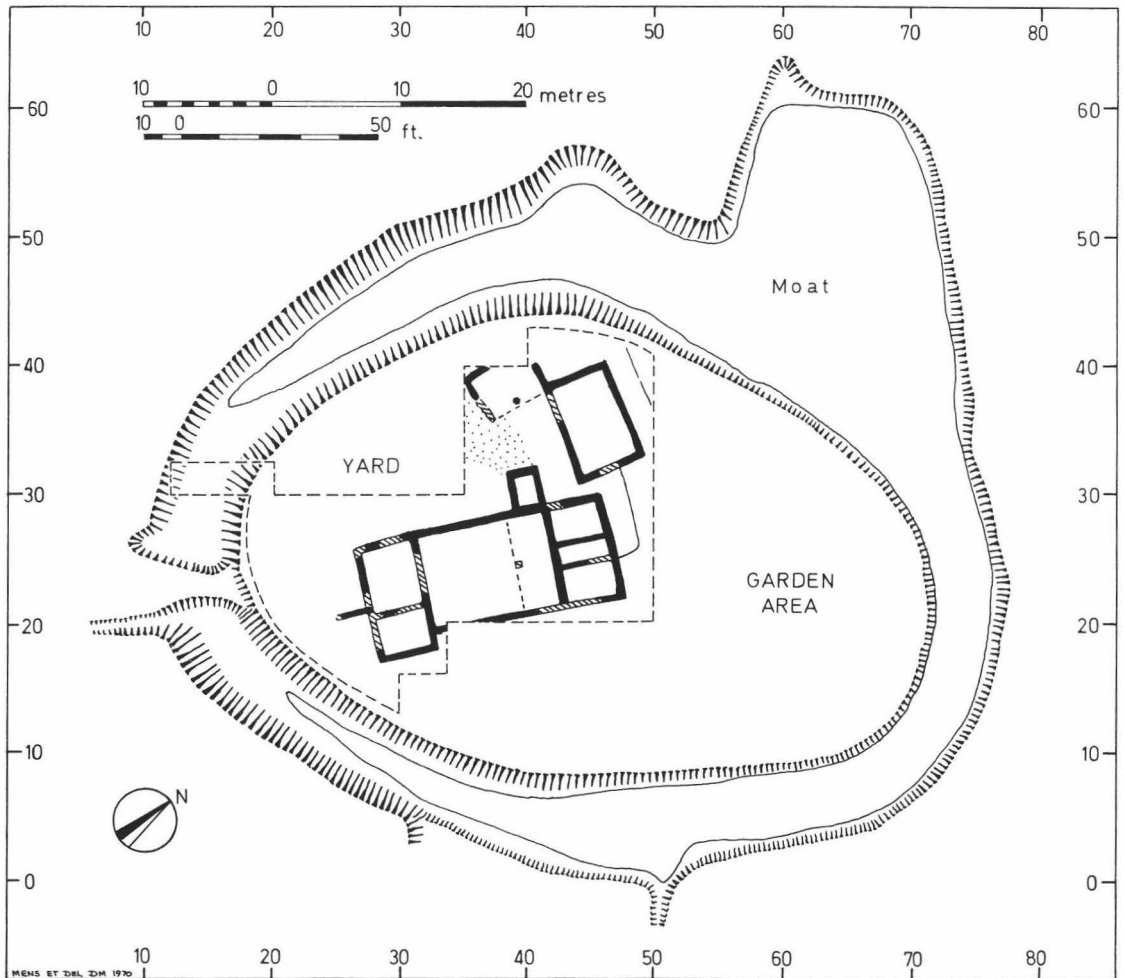


Fig. 8. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Site Plan.

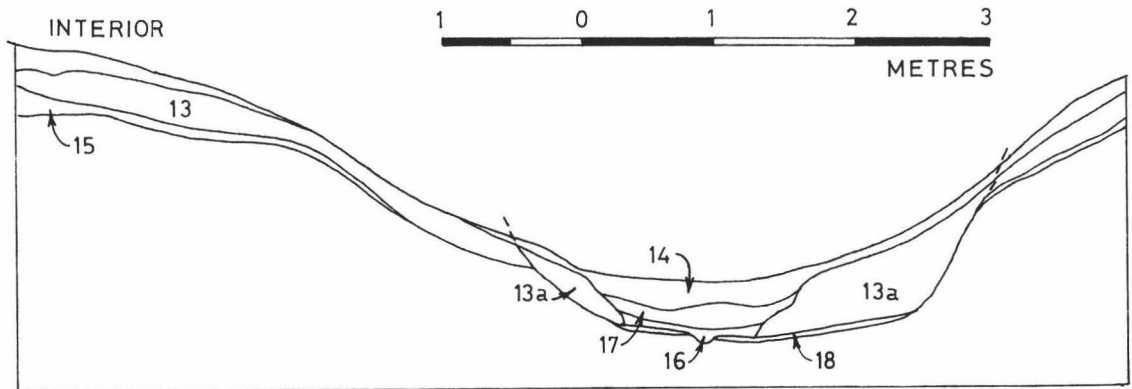


Fig. 9. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Section through moat. 13. Grey-brown loam. 13a. Ditto (slipped). 14. Leafy, dark silt. 15. Yellow-brown sandy soil. 16. Black consolidated silt. 17. Clean grey silt. 18. Blue-black sticky clay.

THE MESSUAGE (Building A) (Fig. 10)

The main house lay on a NE-SW axis and measured on average 20.30 metres long by 8.25 metres wide overall. The southern end incorporated a crosswing which protruded by 1.35 metres to the rear. The structure was of timber-framed construction built upon drystone ground wall and had a roof of West Country slate laid in diminishing courses. The drystone walls had been laid directly upon the ground surface, although in places the floor levels had been built up slightly within. The plan of the building is typical of upper vernacular and lower manorial houses, consisting of a central hall measuring 10.20 metres by 7.60 metres internally (Room 3), a parlour crosswing measuring 9.60 metres by 5.00 metres overall (Rooms 1 and 2), a 5.10 metres long service bay (Rooms 4, 5 and 6) and a 3.05 metres square porch (Room 7). A short section of wall protruding from the southern side of the crosswing may represent the remains of an attached garderobe. Attached garderobes appear to have been not uncommon even in relatively humble medieval houses. A good example can be seen at Bayleaf, now at the Wealden and Downland Open Air Museum, near Chichester.

The hall still retained its 1.70 metres square open hearth which was located towards the

upper end of the room. The hearth consisted of half tiles laid on edge at an angle of 45 degrees to the vertical. Amongst the roof debris in the hall were many sherds from at least two roof louvres which would originally have acted as smoke vents.

The service bay had ground walls of sandstone rubble, rather than the iron-impregnated Paludina Limestone used elsewhere in the structure. This, together with a massive block of stone in the middle of the northern wall of the hall, apparently for an intermediate post, may suggest that the services were an addition; there were, however, no signs of an earlier service area. The service bay consisted of a buttery and pantry divided by a through passage leading to an external pathway.

A post emplacement set centre span towards the northern end of the hall may indicate the existence of some form of screen dividing the cross-passage area. Any such cross passage may or may not have been overshoot by the service chamber. The emplacement was laid upon the Period A floor and represented a later insertion.

BUILDING B (Fig. 10)

Situated in front of the house at the northern end was a timber-framed building with

a roof of clay nib tiles measuring 7.70 metres by 5.50 metres. The structure, which was accessible from the house by way of an earthen path leading from the passage in the service bay, is likely to have been a detached kitchen, an interpretation which is supported by a centrally-set burnt clay hearth. The use of the building as a barn cannot be completely ruled out, though the existence of the hearth and the lack of waggon entrances makes this unlikely.

BUILDING C (Fig. 10)

Attached to the south-west corner of Building B were the scant remains of a structure measuring approximately 5.50 metres by 3.50 metres. This was apparently open fronted, though the building had been much robbed, which might have removed the front wall. Upon such slight evidence it is difficult to identify the use of the building, though both its proximity to the entrance and its proportions may suggest a stable.

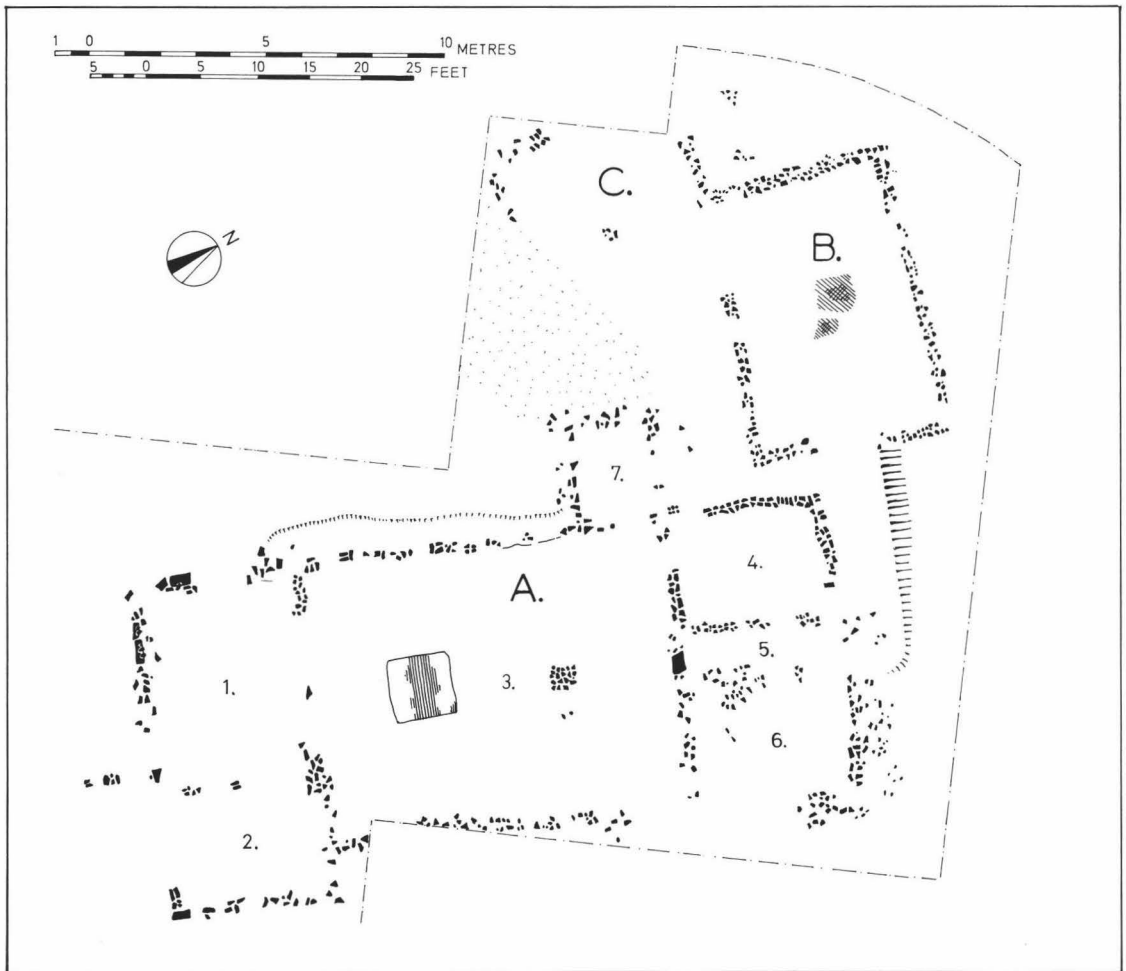


Fig. 10. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Plan of buildings.

A. Message (House) 1. Parlour. 2. Ante Room. 3. Hall. 4. and 6. Services. 5. Passage. 7. Porch. B. Kitchen (?). C. Stables (?).

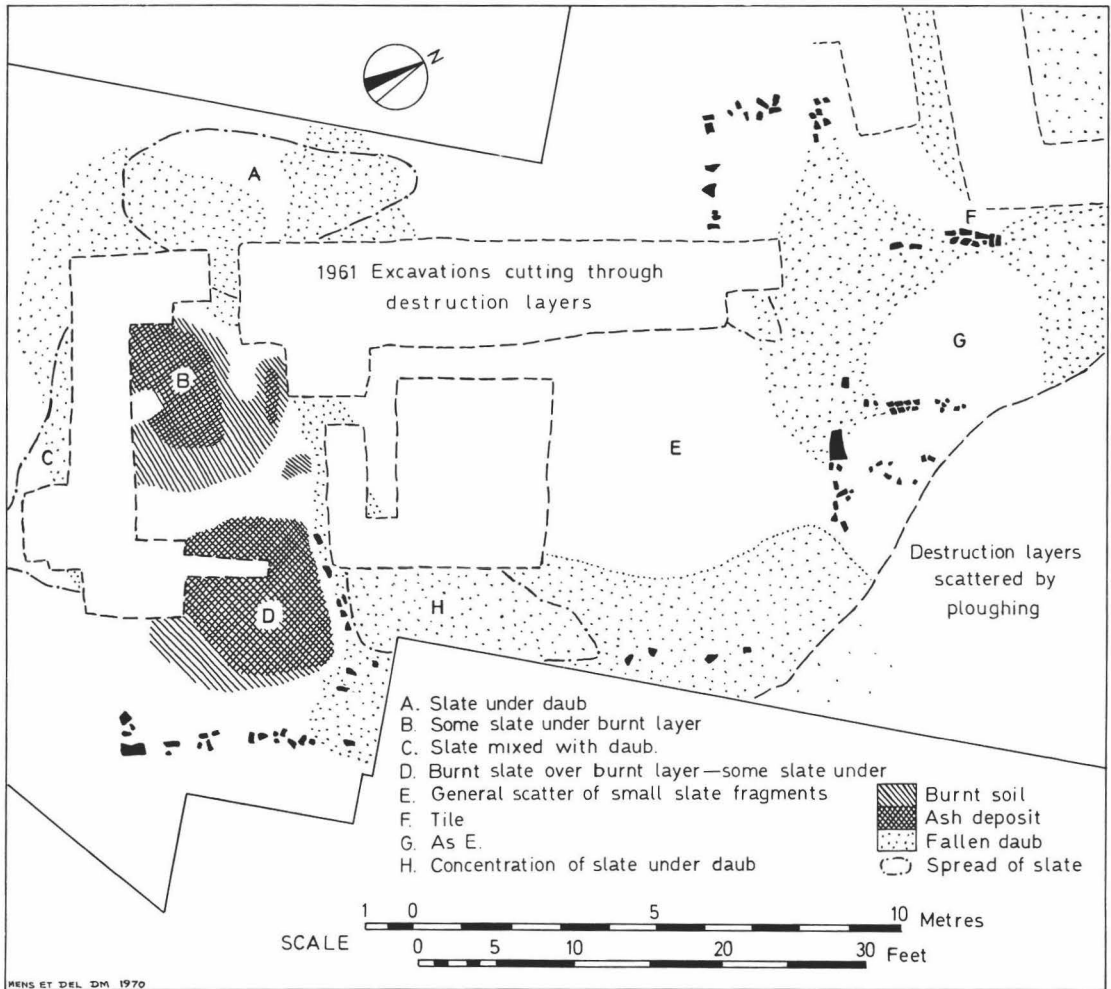


Fig. 11. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Destruction of site.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SITE (Fig. 11)

The considerable quantity of roofing slate and tile found on the site shows that when abandoned in the mid-late 14th century the site was not stripped of re-usable materials and dismantled, but merely left to deteriorate. A layer of charcoal and scorched daub and slate lying over unscorched destruction debris suggests that during the period of abandonment a small fire broke out in the parlour crosswing.

This did not spread and either extinguished itself or was put out.

THE FINDS

POTTERY FROM HAWKSDEN

Only small quantities of pottery were recovered from this site and only one small group was from a sealed deposit. A limited number of

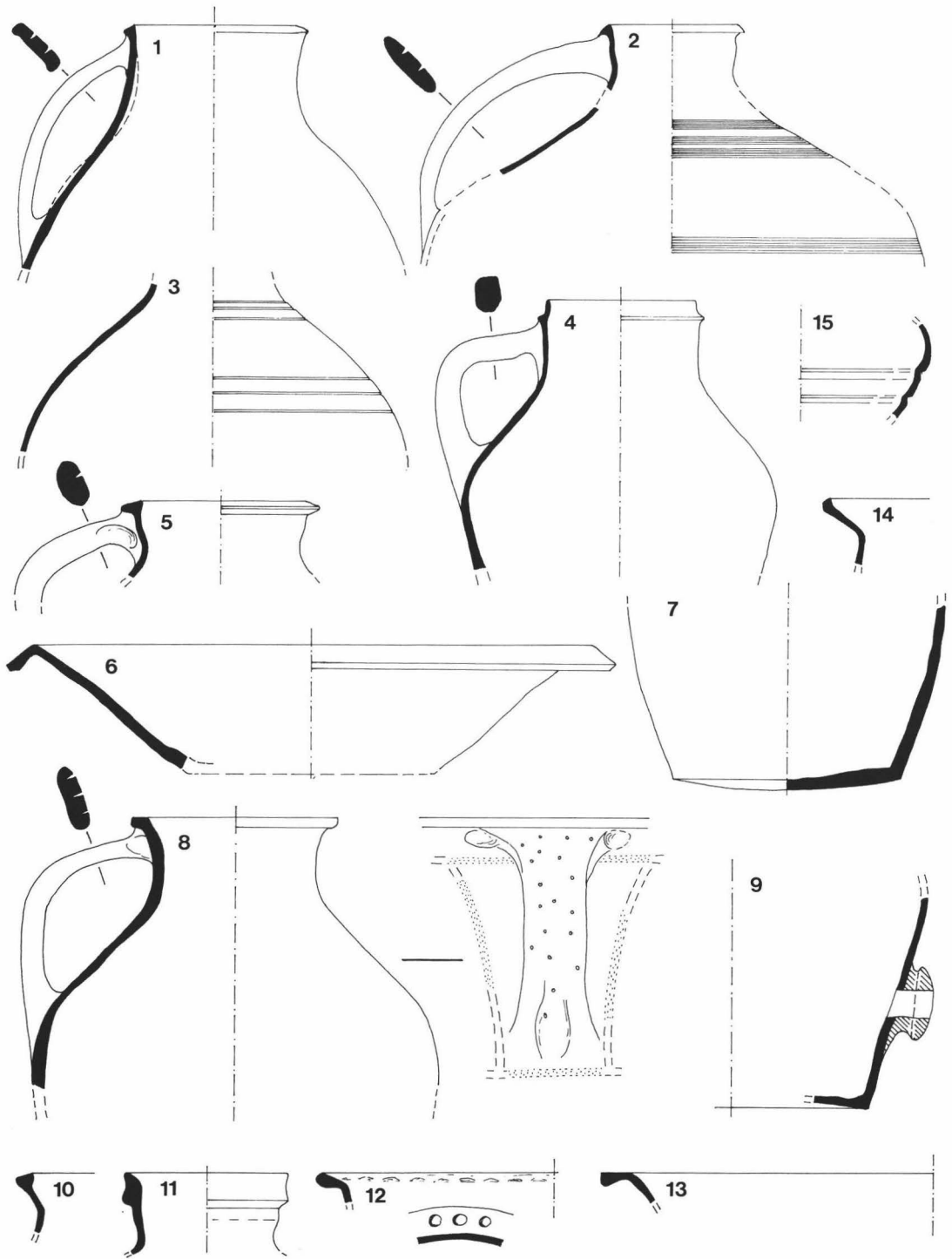


Fig. 12. Hawksden. Medieval pottery nos. 1-15 (1/4).

sherds (at Glottenham called Type II) were recognizable, especially from within the Period A sealed deposit (Martin 1989, 109). These do not necessarily predate the mid 14th century and may be as late as *c.* 1400. The type is known in limited quantities from Bodiam Castle, built under a licence dated 1385. There was also one sherd from a jug closely resembling a Glottenham vessel dating from the 13th century (compare Fig. 13, no. 20 with Martin 1989, Fig. 13, no. 26) and one of Glottenham Type I. The Glottenham Type III glazed vessels are completely absent and indeed glazed vessels of any kind were rare from Hawksden.

The bulk of the pottery was of a hard, fine texture, principally in two wares, a light orange/buff ware (here called Hawksden Type I) and a much darker, often brick-red ware with grey surfaces achieved by applying a slip (referred to as Hawksden Type II). There were also limited quantities of sherds in a light grey/light buff ware of similar texture to the above, but having traces of dark green external glazing (Hawksden Type III). Vessels in hard, orange/buff wares with much small surface grit were also present

(Hawksden Type IV). Types I and II are known from the excavations undertaken at Bodiam Castle in 1970, and Type II is similar to vessels in Group C at Pivington, Kent (Rigold 1962, 43). This similarity is most striking in the vessel illustrated in Fig. 12, no. 8, which has a white slip design on the body similar to that in vessels from Pivington. A limited number of Hawksden Types I and IV were recovered from the upper layer at Glottenham.

All the vessels from Hawksden are basically of medieval design. The flanged rims of the cooking pots and dishes are predominantly downbent as in Fig. 12, no. 6 and Fig. 13, no. 21. It is also notable that the jugs, except Glottenham Type II, have thumb impressions on either side of the handles at their junction with the rim. This is a feature present in only two vessels from Glottenham, both possibly of late date. These wares are likely to be of late 15th- to 16th-century date, which agrees with the dating given to similar material at Pivington. Pottery of this type has also been found on a house site south of the River Rother at Ewhurst (TQ 784251). The house, known as Swifts, had

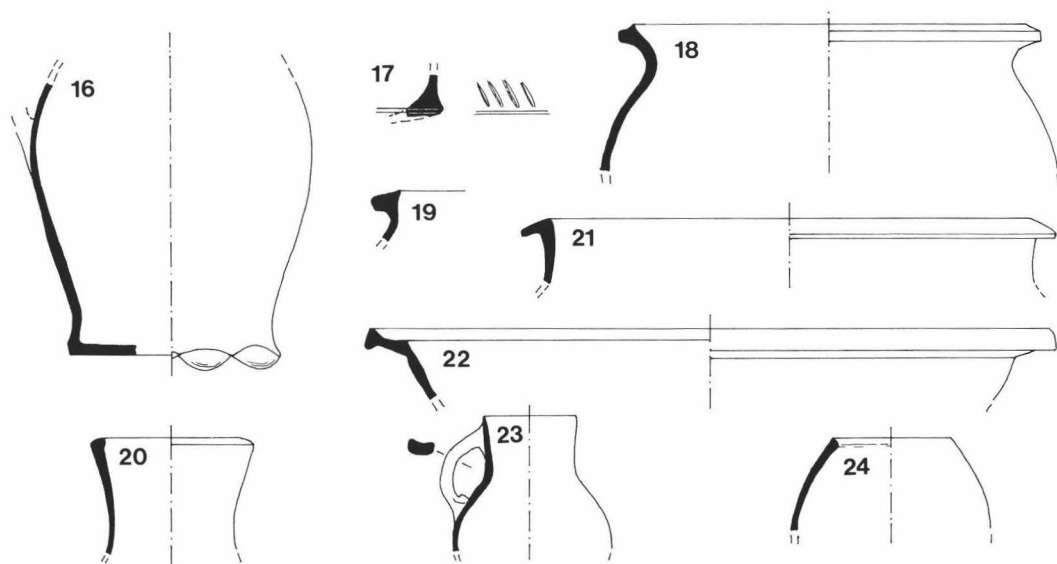


Fig. 13. Hawksden. Medieval pottery nos. 16-24 (1/4).

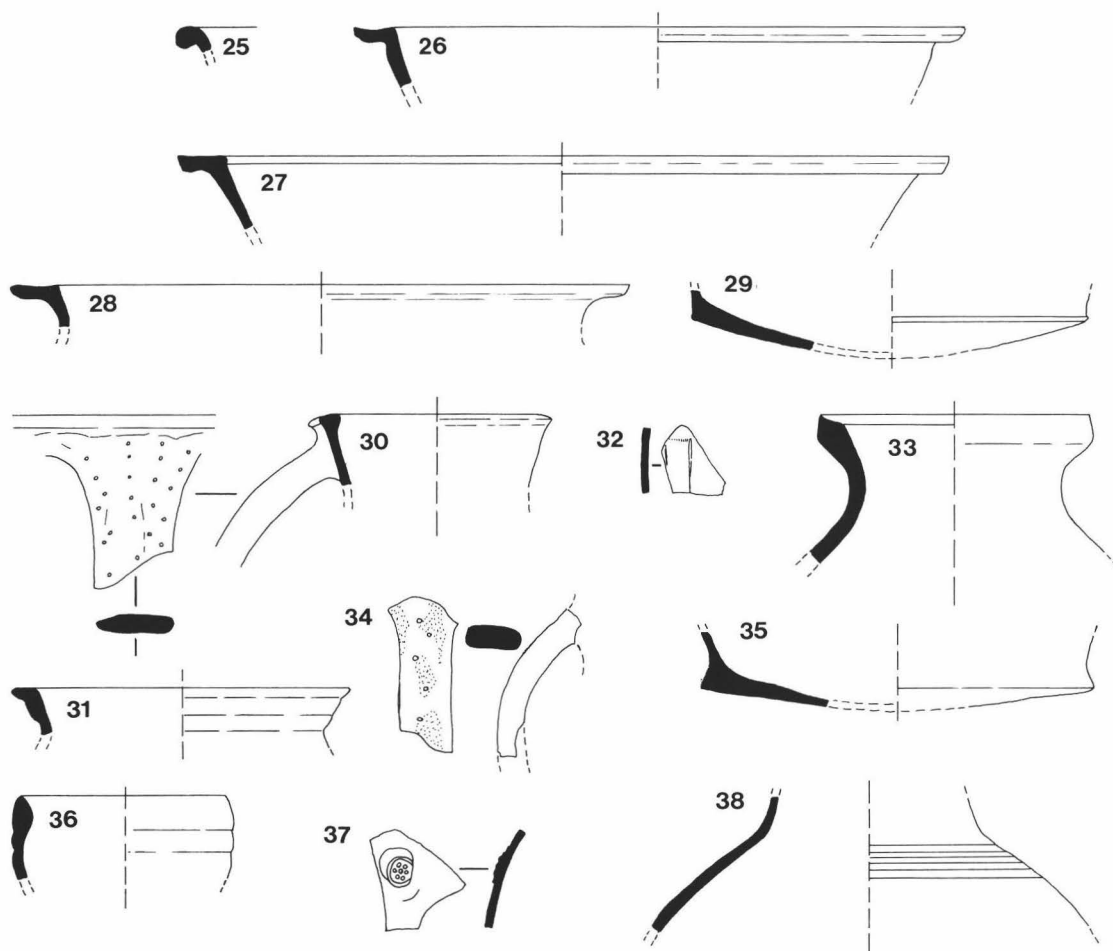


Fig. 14. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Medieval pottery nos. 25-38 (1/4).

been destroyed prior to 1567 (D'Elboux 1944, 33 (tenement 94)).

Other wares included sherds of thin white 'Tudor' ware with a deep green glaze, and fragments of Rhenish stoneware. All are apparently from small jugs having a date range similar to the Hawksden Types I-IV mentioned above.

The Sealed Group (Fig. 12, nos. 1-3)

This small group was sealed between the Period A and B floor levels within the kitchen adjacent to the fire-break wall in the north-east

range. All the vessels were of Glottenham Type II and represent the only sherds of this ware found on the site. Decoration was limited to incised horizontal bands set in zones, which consist in one vessel of widely spaced lines and in another of closely set ones. The handles were pricked.

Unsealed Pottery (Figs. 12-13, nos. 4-24)

From the entire site, excluding those from the sealed group, only 248 sherds were recovered. All these were found in either destruction layers or connected with the closing years of the site's occupation.

- 4-7 Hawksden Type I ware. No glazing or decoration.
- 8-10 Hawksden Type II ware. Decoration is present only on no. 8 in the form of a design applied in white slip. No. 9 has a bung-hole, as did another sherd of this ware (not illustrated).
- 11-17 Hawksden Type III wares. A collection of miscellaneous wares, all with traces of sporadic green glaze.
- 18-19 Hawksden Type IV.
- 20 Vessel similar in shape and ware to no. 26 from Glottenham (Martin 1989, Fig. 13).
- 21-22 Vessels in a ware somewhat like Glottenham Type I. No. 22 is the closer match.
- 23-24 Vessels in Rhenish stoneware.

POTTERY FROM BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD

Only a limited number of sherds were recovered from this site, because the midden area was not located. The material falls into four basic types:

- I Gritted wares (Fig. 14, no. 25). As Glottenham Type 1.
- II Fine sandy grey wares (Fig. 14, nos. 26-32). As Glottenham Type II.
- III Fine sandy red/buff wares with green glaze (Fig. 14, nos. 33-36). As Glottenham Type III.
- IV Hard grey fine wares (Fig. 14, nos. 37-38). This type is the only variety not represented at Glottenham, though examples of this ware are known from Bodiam Castle (1385 onwards) and Hawksden (mid 14th century onwards). No. 38 is unglazed, whilst no. 37 has a rich olive green glazing to its external surface and is stamped with a raised 'raspberry' pattern picked out in brown glaze. This stamp is similar to stamps found on pottery from the kilns at Rye, which may be the source of this vessel (Barton 1979, 242, B).

In total, 93 sherds of pottery were recovered

from the site, all from unsealed layers. Only three of these were from within the buildings, the remainder being from the occupation layers around the structures. Of these 90, 77 per cent not surprisingly came from the service end of Building A, with only 11 per cent from the parlour end of the house. A further 12 per cent were located to the south of Building B.

SMALL FINDS FROM HAWKSDEN

(Fig. 15)

Whetstones

- 39-40 Two whetstones; no. 39 was worn by use at both ends, not in the centre.

Copper alloy objects

- 41 Two fragments from a cauldron with everted rim and small handle. The external surface was thickly sooted. From the floor in front of the parlour fireplace.
- 42-43 Section of applied band with chamfered edges, having originally been applied to a chest or box with regularly spaced iron rivets. The upper surfaces show distinct signs of silver painting. From floor of hall.

Iron objects

- 44 Possibly part of a drawer handle.
- 45 Staple for a door-locking bar.
- 46 Iron ring of unknown use.
- 47-48 Nails. Many nails of these two types were recovered, their lengths varying considerably.
- 49 Three links of a chain. The outer two are broken, but the central link is long with the sides pinched close together. (Found within hall).
- 50 Rowel-spur body fragment consisting of parts of each side, bold point crest over junction and long, straight neck. (From corner of courtyard, near kitchens).
- 51-52 Fragments of knife blade, each with two rivets for attaching either wooden or bone handles. (Found near south corner of courtyard).

HAWKSDEN AND BODIAM MOATED SITES

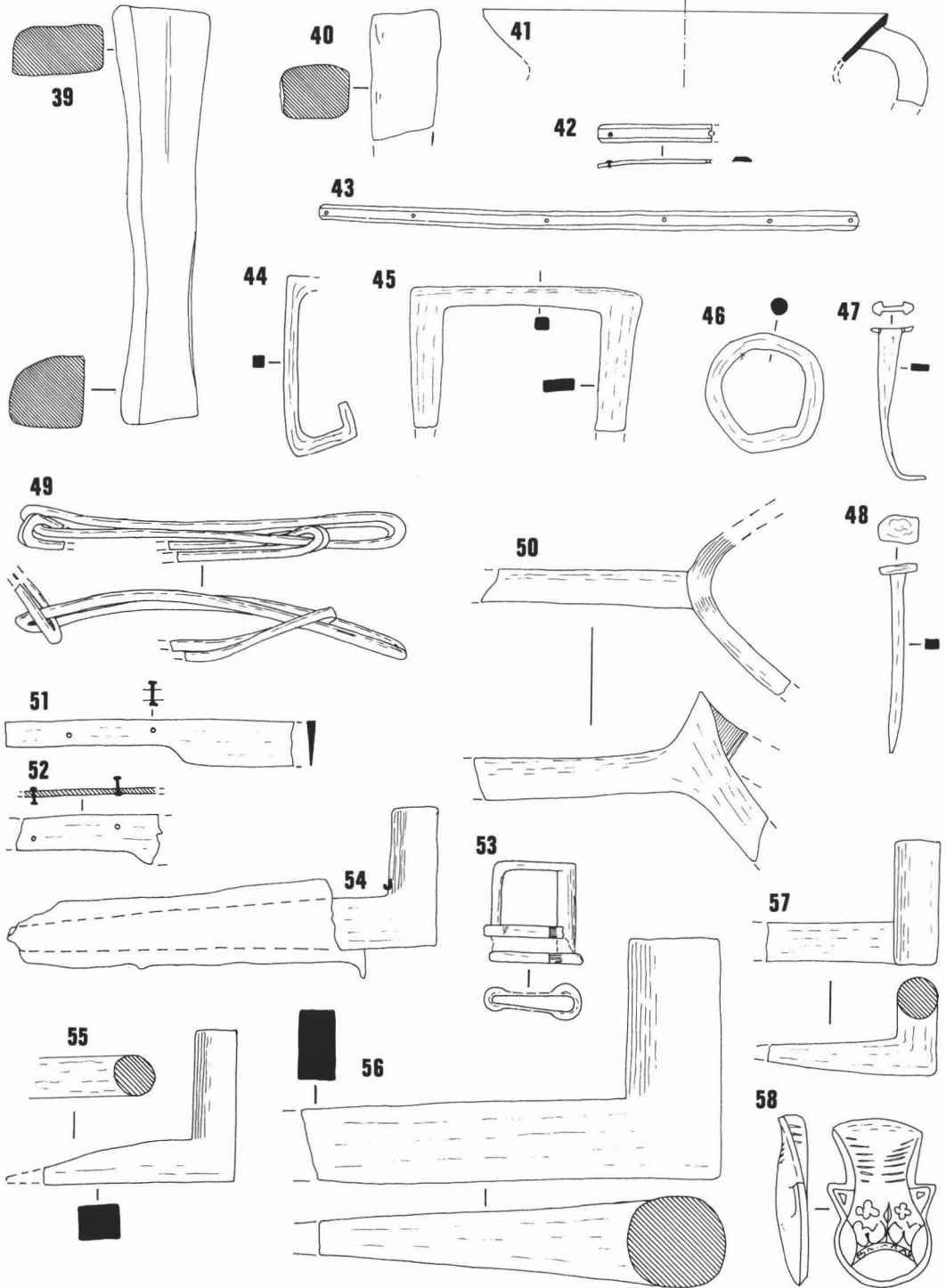


Fig. 15. Hawksden. Small finds nos. 39-40 (1/2), 41 (1/4), 42-58 (1/2).

53 Upper section of padlock with twin plates (not X-rayed). (Found north-east of gatehouse).

54-57 Hinge rides with rounded guide-arms and rectangular section tangs. No. 54 was from a masonry wall and still retained its lead caulking encasing the tang. The remainder were for use in conjunction with timber framing, the tangs being tapered either in depth (no. 55) or in thickness (nos. 56 and 57). No. 56, an exceptionally heavy ride, came from the gatehouse, and probably carried the inner door of the gate. The tang to no. 57 is cranked through 90 degrees, though the reason for this is now not apparent. Four other rides were recovered from the site, but these are not illustrated, being similar to nos. 54-57.

Not illustrated. Vertically-set window-bar, 13 mm. square and 1.06 metres long. The upper section is bent, as if to release it from its sockets. (From roofing destruction debris east of parlour).

Not illustrated. Similar window-bar, but not complete. (From destruction debris within hall cross passage).

Lead object

58 Ampulla in the shape of a vessel having opposing angular handles, which would have been used as fixings. The object, which has one convex surface, and one flat, is hollow internally. The crown cast on the convex surface may suggest that it contained water from the tomb of a royal saint. (From amongst destruction debris in the courtyard, near the parlour wall).

Coin (by D. R. Rudling)

Edward III, penny, London. Fourth coinage, Pre-Treaty Period, Series C (1351-52). An unusually heavy example weighing 22.8 grains. Only slight traces of wear; a coin that has had very little circulation and was therefore probably lost before the end of the 14th century. (From destruction debris).

SMALL FINDS FROM BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD

Copper alloy objects (Fig. 16)

59 Heavy flange rim of large vessel with relatively thick side walls. The rim is well

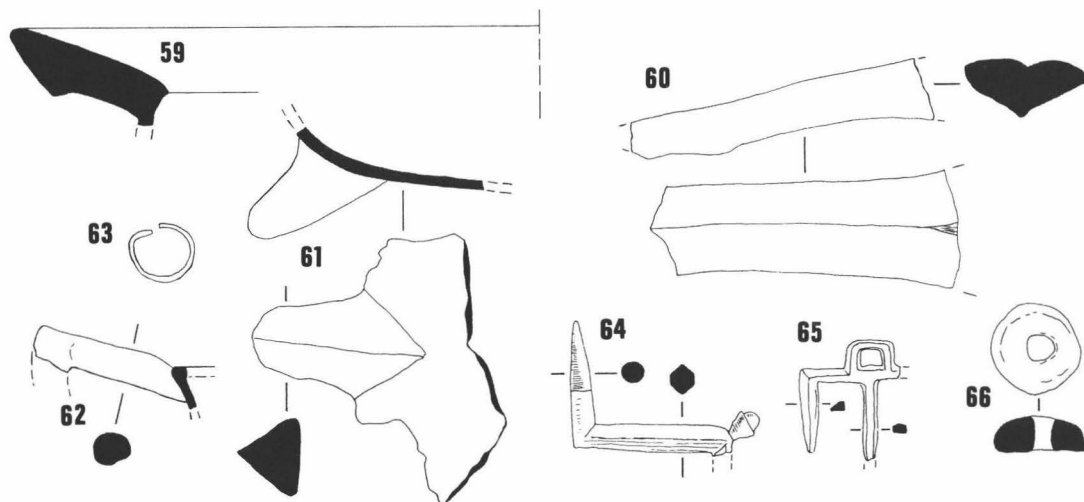


Fig. 16. Bodiam Moated Homestead. Small finds nos. 59-66 (1/2).

formed with the internal bead sharp (BADHS excavations, 1961).

- 60 Handle (?) of triangular section, the upper edge of which is fluted. Possibly from vessel no. 59 (BADHS excavations, 1961).
- 61 Body sherd and leg from a tripod cauldron. The leg, which is of stubby proportions, is of triangular cross-section. Many other fragments of this vessel were recovered, but none was of sufficient size or detail to allow further reconstruction. (From floor of hall, Building A).
- 62 Bead rim and upper section of angular handle from vessel no. 61. The handle is of cylindrical cross-section, and had a rough joint at its corner—possibly a repair. (From floor of hall, Building A).
- 63 Small plain ring broken at one point.
- 64 Part of a hinged pull handle.
- 65 Fragment of an object of uncertain use.

Iron objects

Very little iron was recovered and only one much broken and corroded knife blade could be recognized.

Lead alloy or lead object

- 66 Roughly formed spindle whorl (BADHS excavations, 1961).

Coin (by D. R. Rudling)

Edward III, penny, London. Fourth coinage, Pre-Treaty Period Series C (1351–52). Little wear, possibly lost before the end of the 14th century. (From north of building A).

French Jetton (based on information from British Museum)

A 14th-century reckoning counter (or jetton) made of brass alloy. Such counters were used in conjunction with a counting board to

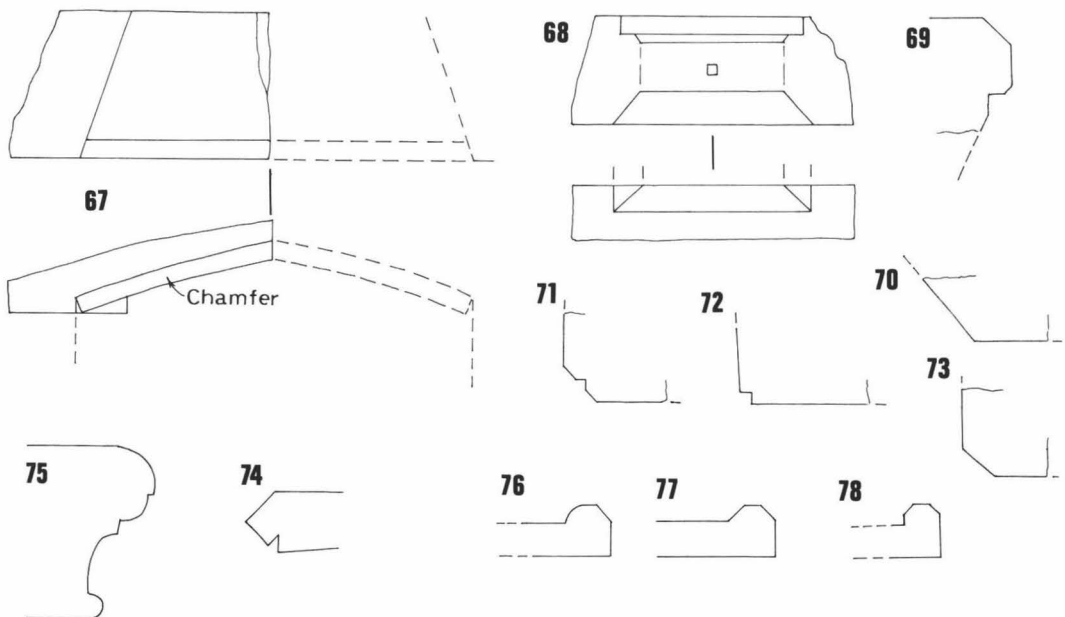


Fig. 17. Hawksden. Stonework nos. 67–74 (1/20), 75 (1/8), 76–78 (1/20).

undertake arithmetical calculations prior to the introduction of Arabic numerals in the 15th century. (BADHS excavations, 1961).

BUILDING MATERIALS FROM HAWKSDEN

Architectural fragments (Fig. 17)

As the Period B curtain wall and fireplaces are the only masonry structures excavated on the site, apart from the clay-filled firebreak walls, it can perhaps be assumed that all the architectural fragments came from these features.

- 67 Half of a segmented-headed rear arch to a single-light window. The leading edge is chamfered, the chamfer having a plain stop in line with the jamb. The jambs were set to a 20 degree angle. (From near the curtain wall in parlour).
- 68 Sill of 38 cm. wide single-light window. The front leading edge has a wide chamfer, which originally returned up the jambs. The rear edge is similarly treated, but with a much narrower chamfer, whilst beyond is a 4 cm. by 5 cm. rebate, possibly for shutters. There is an absence of grooves for glazing, but a 3 cm. by 3 cm. centrally-set socket shows that there was originally an iron window bar. (From same location as no. 67).
- 69 Jamb stone to window described above. As with the sill, the stone is rebated at the rear, possibly for shutters. Beyond the rebate is a short length of splayed jamb set to a 20 degree angle.
- 70 Rear splay of window jamb.
- 71-73 Fragments of window, door or cupboard jambs.
- 74 Chamfered string-course, or hood mould.
- 75 Two stones with one edge having a casement-type moulding and a small roll at the base and large scroll moulding at the head. A line on the soffit shows that the wall below was set flush with the commencement of the roll mould; the wall above was set slightly forward. One stone is short, but the

other is almost one metre long. The use is unknown, but it was possibly either a fireplace overmantel or string-course. From rear of parlour fireplace.

- 76-78 Kerbs to fireplace hearths. No. 76 is from Period B hearth to the hall, no. 77 Period C hall hearth and no. 78 was reused in the rebuilt Period C courtyard wall south-west of the gatehouse.

Bricks

Thirty bricks and brickbats were recovered from the site, all apparently from Period C contexts, having been used both for repairing the ground walls and in the reconstruction of the hearth to the hall fireplace. All were of deep pinkish-red colouring and were fired medium hard; some had traces of vitrification. Sizes varied only slightly, ranging from 92-100 mm. wide and 44-52 mm. thick. Only in three instances could the length be ascertained, two of these being of 200 mm. and the third 206 mm. These measurements are of some interest, as from 1571 onwards brick sizes were regulated by act of parliament. Although there are several acts, all of which vary the widths and thicknesses, in all instances the length remained static at 9 inches (228 mm.). As the Hawksden bricks are considerably shorter, this may indicate a pre-1571 date, though in actuality it is not known whether all brickmakers conformed to the regulations. Certainly a mid to late 16th-century date is not out of keeping with the other archaeological and historical evidence.

Roofing Slate (Fig. 18, nos. 79-84)

Large quantities of roofing slate were recovered from all parts of the site, many lying in extensive spreads where they had fallen. Either their fixings had failed, as in the retainers' hall and parlour where they had slid on to the courtyard below, or the roofs collapsed, as in the hall, services and the passage at the north-west end of the parlour and within the kitchen where they had fallen inwards. Further details are given in the Appendix.

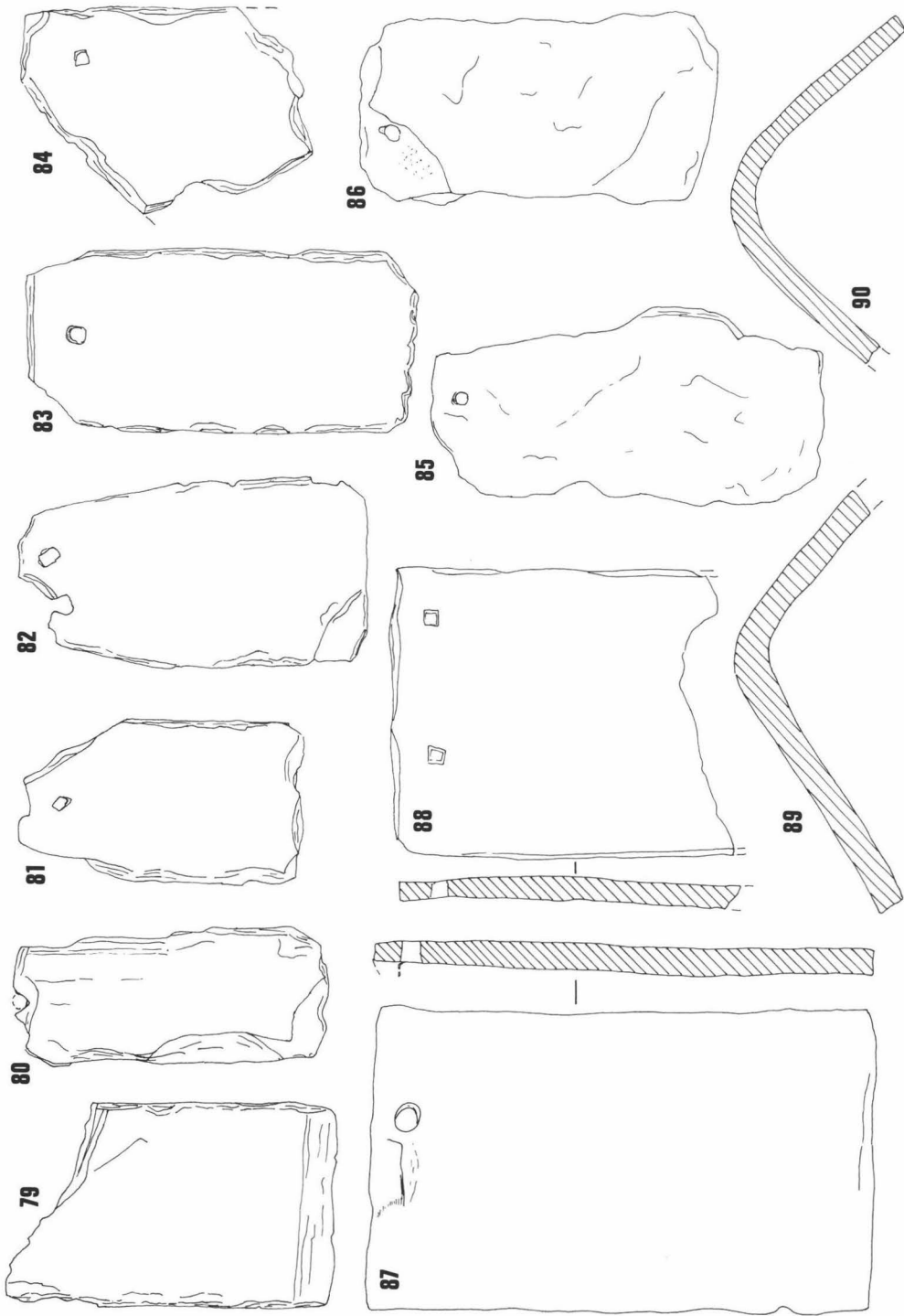


Fig. 18. Hawksden. Building material nos. 79-90 (1/4).

'Horsham' Stone Roofing (Fig. 18, nos. 85–86)

Although far less common than slate, considerable quantities of fawn-coloured 'Horsham' stone roofing slabs were recovered from the site. The material was not geologically analysed, but compares closely with known examples of Horsham Stone. None was found in a Period A context, and it seems that they were used as a slate substitute when undertaking repairs. Further details are given in the Appendix.

Clay Tiles (Fig. 18, nos. 87–90)

Two types of plain roofing tiles were present at Hawksden, nib tiles (no. 87), mainly found in association with the rear wall of the Period B parlour fireplace and tiles with square peg holes and no nib (no. 88), mainly from the tile hangings added to the courtyard wall of the hall. The latter were by far the more numerous. Six pieces of ridge and one of hip tile (nos. 89–90) were found during excavation in a similar fabric to the plain roofing tiles. Fragments of nine paving tiles were also recovered. Further information is given in the Appendix.

BUILDING MATERIALS FROM BODIAM

Brick

A small number of yellow bricks of 'Flemish' type were discovered upon the site. They were very similar to those from Glottenham (Martin 1989, 116–7).

Roof Furniture (Fig. 19, nos. 91–92)

The remains of at least two louvres were recovered. One of these (no. 91) was found in association with discarded pottery within the occupation layers north of Building B; it had apparently been broken and was thrown out prior to the site's abandonment. The others (no. 92) were discovered amongst the destruction debris within the house and were evidently in position on the hall roof at the time of abandonment. The following notes summarize a more detailed report by the late G. C. Dunning.

- 91 Louvre with two tiers of apertures, manufactured in a hard fired sandy ware with a grey core, light brown/buff surfaces and rich lustrous medium green glazing on its external face. There were also some traces of internal glazing. Eight sherds were recovered, three of which join. Although no sherds were present from either the base or the top of the louvre, these have been added in dotted outline on to the drawing, the reconstruction of these parts being based on comparable louvres found elsewhere. It should be noted that for the sake of clarity the flange over the upper set of apertures had been shown only on the aperture to the right. At its lowest surviving point the louvre measured 300 mm. in diameter.
- 92 Over 100 sherds were recovered from perhaps two apparently identical louvres manufactured in a very sandy, light red ware. The external surfaces were green glazed, the mottled glazing being darker on the body sherds than on the canopies over the apertures. Over half the sherds measured less than 50 mm. across, whilst their edges had been so badly abraded that only six joins could be found. Although sufficient remained to allow a reconstruction drawing to be made of the base (f) and upper portion of the louvres, insufficient detail survived to accurately indicate the precise position of the upper portion above the base.

The base was very fragmentary; it had a diameter of *c.* 320 mm. and possessed a curved, cut edge running obliquely upwards, thus indicating that the vessels sat over special, separately manufactured ridge tiles. The profile of some of the body sherds having attached bands (e) and remains of apertures indicate that the louvre(s) possessed more than one tier of apertures. In all, the remains of 12 canopies were recovered, shown in side view (a), longitudinal section (b), front view and cross-section (c) and top view (d). It is the

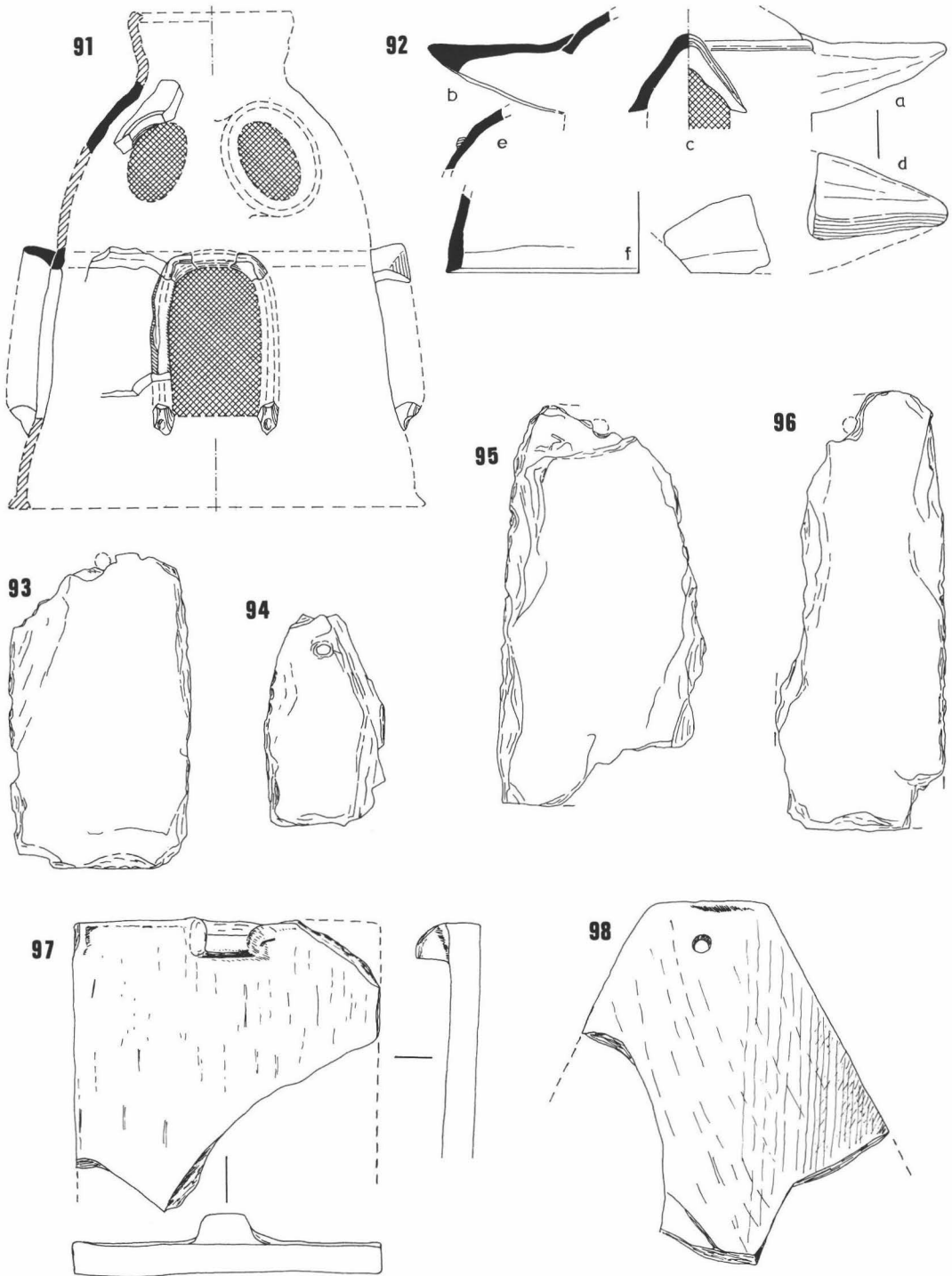


Fig. 19. Bodiam moated Homestead. Building material nos. 91-92 (3/16), 93-98 (1/4).

number of canopies, together with the relative locations in which the sherds were discovered, that suggest the presence of more than one louvre.

Although the design of these louvres is comparable with that of roof-fittings elsewhere in southern England and the Midlands, the shape and exaggerated length of the canopies are without parallel. The louvre may therefore be assigned to a local or regional source in East Sussex. (Hall of Building A, layers 1 and 2; also BADHS excavations, 1961).

Roof Coverings (Fig. 19, nos. 93–98)

Two materials had been used to roof the buildings upon the site, slate for the house (Building A) (nos. 93–96) and clay nib tiles absent of fixing holes for the ancillary buildings

(Buildings B and C) (nos. 97–98). Both types of material were recovered in large quantities. Further details are given in the Appendix.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the Glynde Estates for permission to excavate at Hawksden and the late Mr Hilton to excavate at Bodiam moated homestead. The author would like to take this opportunity of thanking Mrs R. Haldon (assistant site director at Bodiam) together with the numerous volunteer workers who have helped with the excavations and the specialists who have advised and reported on many of the artefacts. Special thanks to Mark Gardiner for his help with the preparation of this article. The project was financed by the Robertsbridge and District Archaeological Society.

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APPENDIX

Hawksden and Bodiam Moated Sites: Roofing materials

ROOFING MATERIALS FROM HAWKSDEN

Slate (Fig. 18, nos. 79–84)

The material in general is similar to that described below by E. W. Holden for Bodiam Moated Homestead. A sample of 96 slates was available for analysis. As at Bodiam the slate lengths (from fixing to tail) varied from 127 mm. to 257 mm. with a roughly equal size distribution of lengths. Widths also varied from only 44 mm. on a slate 143 mm. long from fixing to tail, to 159 mm. on one of 222 mm. There did, however, seem to be some standardization of widths; for example, the majority of slates with a fixing to tail length of between 178 and 203 mm. had widths of between 89 and 114 mm., whilst those between 127 and 140 mm. long were between 73–102 mm. wide. This shows that, on the whole,

as the courses diminished in depth going up the roof, slate widths also decreased.

As at Bodiam, no original fixings survived in situ, though rust stains on several of the slates suggest the use of nails. At Hastings Priory there was definite use of nails (Holden 1973, 38 and Fig. 16, nos. 2 and 4). Many slates retained their mortar bedding and nine were sufficiently intact to gain an estimation of the gauge used. The sample covered the entire range of lengths and apart from two, the approximate margins ranged from 32% to 37% of the fixing to tail measurement. The gauge would have been the same. The exceptions were 23% on a 140 mm. slate and 47% on a 250 mm. slate. One slate, Fig. 18 no. 84 had one edge cut raking to abut against a hip.

'Horsham' Stone Roofing (Fig. 18, nos. 85–86)

The slabs were most common within the kitchen area, where a roof containing mostly 'Horsham' slab and very little slate had collapsed

inwards. It is significant that 'Horsham' stone tiles were used as packing beneath the initial hearth of the Period B hall fireplace, and it is probably to this period that the repairs date.

In shape and size the slabs compare closely with those of West Country slate, though due to the material's structure the slabs are thicker and the faces much rougher. The drilled fixing holes are small.

Clay Tiles (Fig. 18, nos. 87–90)

Nib tiles (Fig. 18, no. 87)—Apart from the nib tiles found within the destruction layers, tiles of this type were used exclusively to form the rear wall of the Period B parlour fireplace. A single tile was also found within the construction of a Period B floor. Both facts suggest a Period B date for this material, though possibly some tiles are of Period A date. In general, the tiles are of the same type as those from Glottenham and Bodiam Moated Homestead.

Out of a sample of 43 analysed, 11 contained a fixing nib and one large round fixing hole, one had a nib and no fixing hole, whilst the balance of 31 contained a nib, but no signs of fixing holes, though in no instance could it be shown that no such hole existed. A further two tiles contained two large circular fixing holes, but no nib, a feature also found at Bodiam Castle. All tiles from the Period B fireplace contained both a nib and single fixing hole.

The tiles with a nib and one fixing hole varied between 177–184 mm. in width and from 14–16 mm. thick. In only one instance could the length be ascertained, this being 302 mm. The one tile with nib, but no fixing hole measured 171 mm. wide and 13 mm. thick.

Peg Tiles (Fig. 18, no. 88)—Apart from isolated examples, tiles with two square peg holes were concentrated in a mass along the courtyard side of the hall's north-western wall in the upper destruction layers. As the roof of this room was of slate and collapsed inwards, it is likely that these tiles represent tile hanging to the walls, probably undertaken near the end of the building's life. No tiles of this type were found in

an early context, that is Period B or earlier.

The tiles were less sandy than the nib tiles and generally fired harder. Fixing was by means of square wooden pegs, for which two roughly square holes had been made by pushing a blunt wooden stick through from the upper surface when green. Sizes varied only slightly, being between 159 and 171 mm. wide and within 2 mm. of 13 mm. thick. The lengths could be ascertained in five examples and of these four were between 251 and 254 mm., the exception was 273 mm. and measured 162 mm. wide.

Ridge and Hip Tiles (Fig. 18, nos. 89–90)—In size the ridges had a girth varying from 165 to 171 mm. and a consistent thickness of 16 mm. Only one survived to its full length of 435 mm. Four were bent for a roof pitch of about 45 degrees, whilst the other two were for 35 and 50 degree pitches. The bonnet hip tile was too incomplete to give any details.

Paving Tiles—Of the nine fragments of paving or hearth tiles found, all but one were from the southern corner of the site. These eight were of a fabric similar to the nib tiles and were about 37 mm. thick, though the dimensions of their surface is not known. One tapered from 115–135 mm. The ninth, which was found within the kitchen, is of a darker fabric and apparently octagonal in shape with sides measuring 73 mm. long. (Not illustrated).

ROOFING MATERIALS FROM BODIAM MOATED HOMESTEAD

Roofing Slate by the late E. W. Holden (Fig. 19, nos. 93–96)

Ten pieces of slate were examined, all from the destruction layer around Building A. In colour they were grey, or a mixture of grey and olive-green and some have reddish-brown iron stains. They resemble many of the pieces found elsewhere in Sussex and were probably derived from quarries in South Devon or Cornwall, brought by boat along the Channel to the nearest port, and thence by river as close as possible to their destination (Holden 1965; Murray 1965).

The slates generally are rectangular in shape, though nearly all are damaged and not quite complete, some with clipped-off bottom corners and with a tendency to 'shoulder' the upper corners, a feature illustrated in Fig. 19, no. 95. All slates have roughly bevelled (spelched) edges on the upper side (known as the 'back'), which is the side visible when the slates are fixed on a roof. This feature is caused by the method of cutting and shaping slates at the quarry. Those slates still retaining fixing holes have had these holes punched by a pointed tool, punched from the underside (the 'bed') so that a rough countersinking was left on the upper surface (the 'back') to accommodate a nail head; this preventing the nails from touching the slates above to cause 'riding', permitting the passage of rain or snow. Holes are irregular in shape, about 8–10 mm. either way. There is no evidence whether nails or wooden pegs were used in the fixings, but nails are known to have been used elsewhere in Sussex.

Where lengths could be measured, slates from this site varied from 265 mm. long by 105 mm. wide, down to 130 mm. long by 75 mm. wide. As a rule the widths of the slates increased as they became longer, no. 28 may be an exception, though it may have been broken and could have been wider at one time. The sizes present suggest that the slates were laid in diminishing courses with the larger slates near the eaves. The small slate (no. 94) may well have been fixed near the ridge.

None of these sample showed signs of lime mortar on its surface, though two pieces seen in 1961 from the BADHS excavations did have tiny fragments of mortar adhering near the tail, which shows that some of the slates, at least, were bedded.

Clay Tiles from Building B (Fig. 19, nos. 97–98)

All of the clay plain tiles from the site were fixed by means of an attached nib set centrally at the upper end of the tile. There was a complete absence of fixing holes. The texture was sandy, pink/red in colouring. Widths varied from 175

mm. to 190 mm., but the thickness was constant at about 16 mm. In no instance could a length be ascertained.

Several fragments of bonnet hip tile were also recovered, the most complete being illustrated in Fig. 19, no. 98. All were of the same fabric as used for the plain tiles and were undecorated.

Notes

¹ *The Glynde Place Archives: A Catalogue*, ed. R. F. Dell (1964), xi.

² E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Glynde Place Archives, (hereafter GLY) 1072 (account roll of the manor of Glynde, 1347–8), 'Expense hospicii'.

³ E.S.R.O., GLY 1221.

⁴ According to a deposition made on behalf of his descendant William Walesy III in the 15th century he lived to be a centenarian. The same claim was also made on behalf of his son Richard (E.S.R.O., GLY 24).

⁵ E.S.R.O., GLY 24.

⁶ He had been dubbed a knight by 18 June 1340 (E.S.R.O., GLY 1139, no. 74). For the Crecy campaign, see *Crecy and Calais*, ed. G. Wrottesley (1898), 85. For the campaigns of 1356 and 1359–60, see P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), C76/33, m.10 and C76/38, mm. 5, 13.

⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1361–4*, 63; *1367–70*, 194. Sir John's career is discussed in detail in N. Saul, *Scenes From Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280–1400* (1986), passim.

⁸ P.R.O., KB27/357 Rex, M. 30, and 358, m. 16. The circumstances are discussed in detail in *Scenes From Provincial Life*, Ch. 3.

⁹ P.R.O., JUST 1/941A, mm. 25, 29d, 45d, 46d.

¹⁰ E.S.R.O., GLY 1072, 'Custos novi logg'.

¹¹ E.S.R.O., AMS 5896/5, m. 2. Sharnden, incidentally, was not a man to be trifled with. He was in the service of the Abbot of Battle for 20 years and for at least part of that time was also a bailiff of the liberty of the archbishop of Canterbury (E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066–1538* (Toronto, 1974), 420. For his employment in the archbishop's service, see *Cal. Close Rolls 1333–7*, 44).

¹² E.S.R.O., GLY 1223.

¹³ P.R.O., CP40/562, m. 106.

¹⁴ E.S.R.O., GLY 1140 (v).

¹⁵ *The Glynde Place Archives*, xii–xv.

¹⁶ H. Cleere and D. Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (1985), 334–5. In 1590 the Morleys leased other lands near the forge to Thomas Isted (E.S.R.O., GLY 1224).

¹⁷ E.S.R.O., GLY 1225.

¹⁸ E.S.R.O., GLY 3116.

¹⁹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem Edward III*, 8, 232; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* 2, 463; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1346–9, 154.

²⁰ *Victoria County History Sussex* 1, 406b.

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