

Notes

EXCAVATION OF A "TRIPLE DITCH SYSTEM" AT THE LARCHES, STOWE NINE CHURCHES

INTRODUCTION

The triple ditch system at the Larches, Stowe Nine Churches (Fig 1: SMR monument number 777/0/1 & 2) is approximately 25 metres across and survives as an upstanding earthwork for c.220 metres within an area of woodland overgrown with bracken and gorse, located on a Northampton Sand plateau (NGR: SP63235667). It is also visible as a crop mark in fields to the south (Hollowell S, pers comm) and to the north east as three parallel ditch cropmarks with a further multiple parallel ditched cropmark (SMR Mon No 797/0/0) lying 2.5km to the ENE. There is currently no public access to the site although it can be viewed from the road between Church Stowe and Preston Capes, in winter when the bracken has died back.

In December of 1972, Gwen Brown, an Archaeological County Correspondent to the Department of the Environment, cut a trench 24 metres in length and one metre wide, across the earthwork. The excavation took place because, despite being a scheduled ancient monument, the earthworks were due to be flattened and then ploughed in January 1973 (fortunately this never took place). At the time it was thought that the earthworks were likely to be part of a medieval deer park, although a civil war earthwork, a rabbit warren, and the remains of military trenching associated with the Weedon Depot were also considered possibilities. Mrs Brown employed two students to cut the trench, the section of which was drawn at the scale of one inch to five feet. An accompanying plan showed what was thought to be a hearth protruding from beneath one of the inner banks and in a letter of February 1973, Mrs Brown mentioned that the earthwork was palisaded with large post holes in the ditches. No dating evidence was found during this excavation and although the section drawing survives, there was apparently no written account. Presumably because of its' supposed

imminent destruction, the original trench was never backfilled.

LINEAR EARTHWORKS

In the 30 years that followed Gwen Brown's excavation, our understanding of the range, date and distribution of linear earthworks has greatly increased. Several examples of single bank and ditch systems survive as upstanding earthworks on the Wessex chalk and these have been increasingly associated with territorial division during the late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Ford 1982). Aerial survey in the Midlands had revealed many new examples some of which had multiple banks and ditches similar to those at The Larches. "Strange and puzzling" cropmark features of a similar nature have been observed during aerial surveys of Leicestershire and it has been suggested that these form part of an extensive boundary network spreading from Northamptonshire to the Humber that dates from the Middle Bronze Age (Pickering 1978 & 1995). At King Lud's Entrenchments, near Sproxtton in Leicestershire part of one such system survives as a short stretch of earthworks which have been sectioned although no dating evidence was recovered (Liddle 1982). At Ketton in Rutland, the period of use of an excavated triple ditch system has been placed from the late Bronze Age to middle Iron Age (Mackie 1993). More recently within the East Midlands region there has been a review of the evidence for prehistoric linear boundaries in Lincolnshire arising out of the work of the National Mapping Programme, (Boutwood 1998). In the Northamptonshire SMR there are currently five similar ditched systems (Pitsford, SMR Mon No 1285/0/1; Moulton 1290/0/1; Brington 1500/0/1; Harlestone 4611/0/0 & Brampton Ash 5848/0/1) and more will almost certainly appear in the future

THE 2001 EXCAVATION

In the light of these developments in the understanding of linear earthworks, it was suggested,

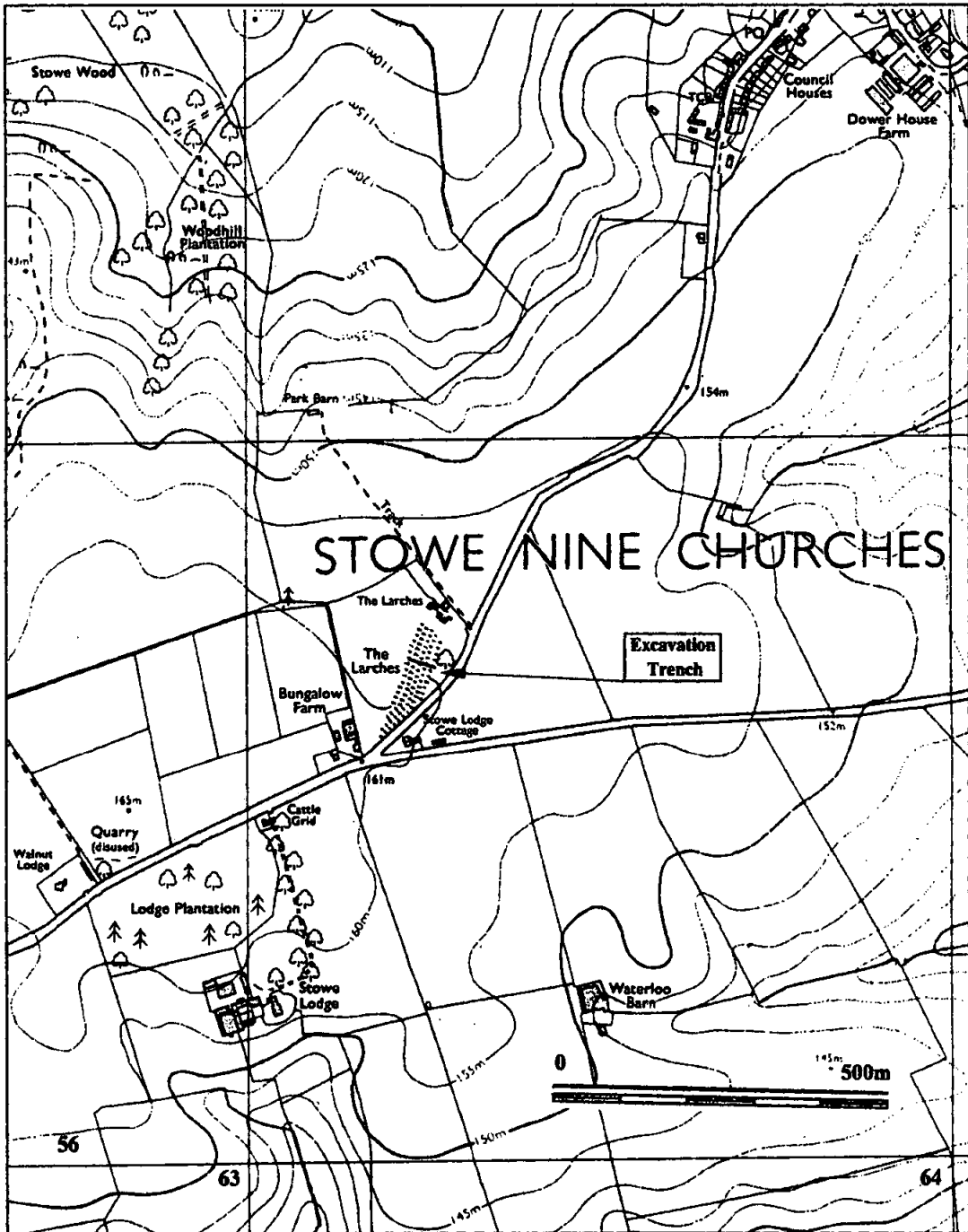


Fig 1. Location Map (Crown copyright. All Rights reserved. Licence No. WL6421).

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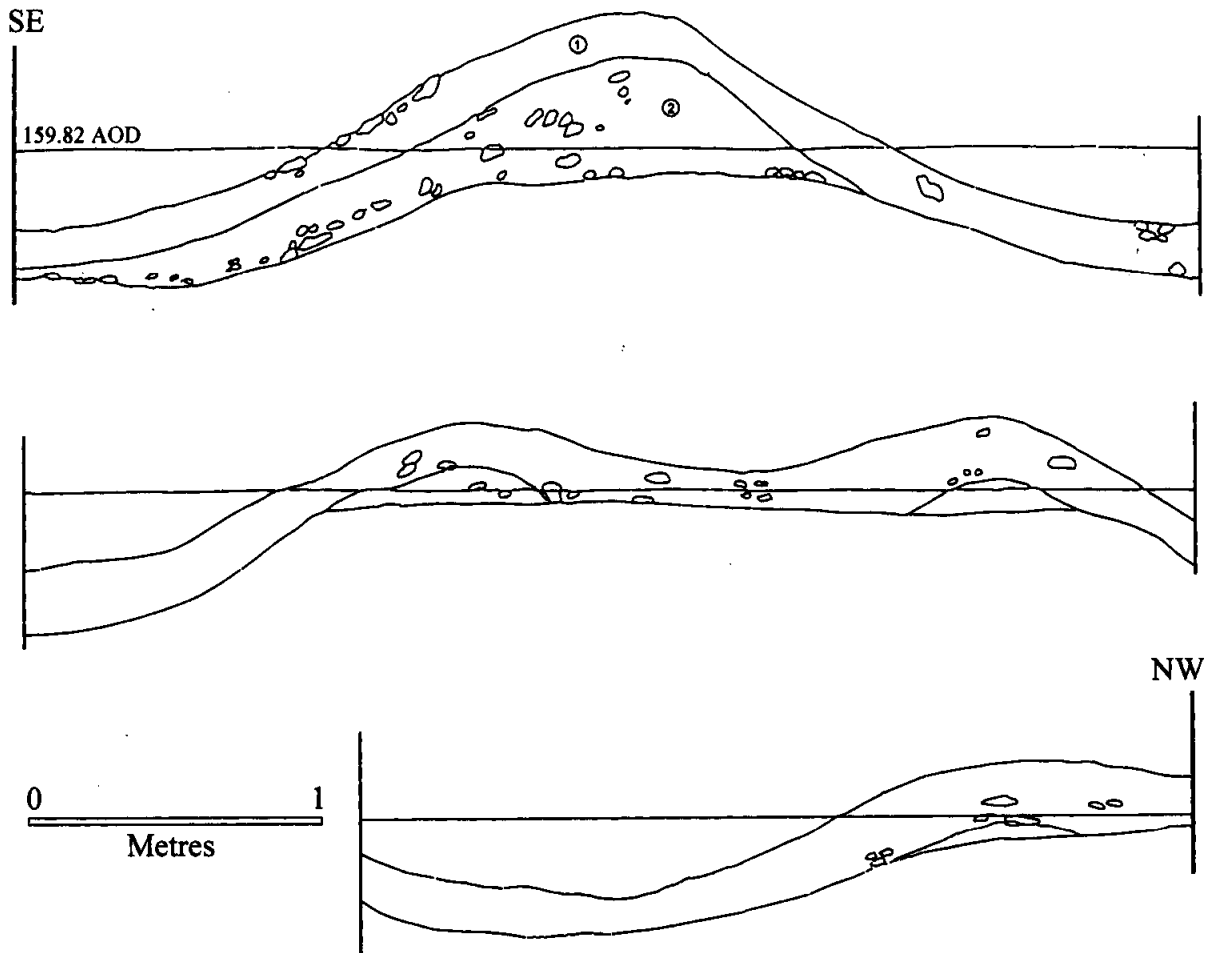


Fig 2 Section across the earthwork

following a visit to the site by English Heritage in 1998, that the open trench at the Larches should be re-excavated, the section recorded and then back-filled. It was proposed to cut back one of the sections by 30cms, then clean the bottom of the trench to determine whether the ditch profiles had been correctly established and re-examine the evidence for the hearth and the postholes. Finally, it was hoped to establish the how destructive the growth of bracken had been to the monument.

In June of 2001 the 1972 excavation was cleared of undergrowth and the section cut back. Once again, no

dating evidence was found within the ditches and banks, although a single piece of worked flint was sealed beneath one of the banks. Although incomplete, the piece appears to be a broken blade with several blade scars on its dorsal face, suggestive of early Neolithic origins at the latest. All of the four banks which make up the monument were composed a core of up-cast natural (Context 2 on Fig 2) over which there was a loose layer of disturbed topsoil (Context 1 on Fig 2). Re-cutting the section confirmed that the inner bank was in fact composed of two banks with a shallow depression between them

(Fig 2). This suggests that they were simultaneously constructed from the up-cast of their respective quarry ditches. The southernmost outer bank is a later addition although it is over twice the height of the inner ditches. If one accepts that this earthwork was de-marking some sort of territorial boundary then the southern bank could be seen as a re-statement of the boundary in such a way as to make it more visible. The northernmost bank is the least pronounced and may well have been constructed from a fourth ditch that lies outside the scheduled area. There was no surviving evidence of the hearth shown on the 1973 section or of the postholes mentioned in correspondence.

One rather obvious and troubling feature that was revealed by this excavation was the extent to which the root systems of bracken had penetrated the earthwork. These were found throughout the excavated area completely destroying the upper levels of the earthwork. Even if there had been a hearth surviving beneath the bank, carbon dating would have been impossible since any charcoal associated with it would have been contaminated by root penetration. A much more detailed study of the effects of bracken on archaeological monuments is currently being carried out on Dartmoor (Gerrard 2000). By measuring the root systems associated with each bracken plant it has been calculated that the amount of root penetration below ground is roughly equivalent to the amount of plant growth on the surface in high summer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the land owner, Mrs Starmer and her tenant Mr Franks for allowing the excavation to take place. Many thanks are also due to Graham Cadman, who helped to organise this excavation, dealing with all the bureaucratic niceties associated

with the excavation of a scheduled ancient monument and much more. English Heritage were kind enough to pay for the cost of surveying the trench by Northamptonshire Archaeology, as well as agreeing to the additional cost of backfilling the excavation. The excavation was carried out by members of the NAS, Dave and Gerry Mico, Ian Barrie, Steven Hollowell and Gill Johnston. In November of 2002 the site was finally backfilled and re-instated, a task that involved barrowing 15 tons of hoggin, uphill, through muddy bracken, in pouring rain. This was carried out by Graham Cadman, Myk Flitcroft (assisted by Rhiannon and Joseph) Tam Webster and Mike Wilkinson. Katie and William Tingle watched the pile of hoggin reduce and we were visited by Mike Rumbold who lent moral support to our actions and kindly supplied the workforce with Rollos.

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MARTIN TINGLE

AN IRON AGE SITE AT BRAFIELD ALLOTMENTS: POTTERY FROM EXCAVATIONS IN 1962

INTRODUCTION

The late Richard "Dick" Hollowell was a market gardener by profession and was well known as a pioneering amateur archaeologist. From the 1950s onwards he walked the fields intensively in the parishes around Cogenhoe and Brafield and as a result revolutionised our knowledge of ancient settlement

and activity in both this area and further afield. He recorded finding Iron Age or Roman pottery in no fewer than 16 locations in Brafield parish alone (Hollowell 1971).

To further his research and obtain dating evidence, Dick would occasionally open small trenches where burnt pebbles or blackened soil had been brought to the surface by the plough. He carried out one such excavation on his own allotment at Brafield in 1962 and the pottery from this work is the subject of this report. The former allotment field, (Fig 1) which is sited some 0.5 km NE of the parish church (SP 826592), was known as Brafield or Sandy Allot-

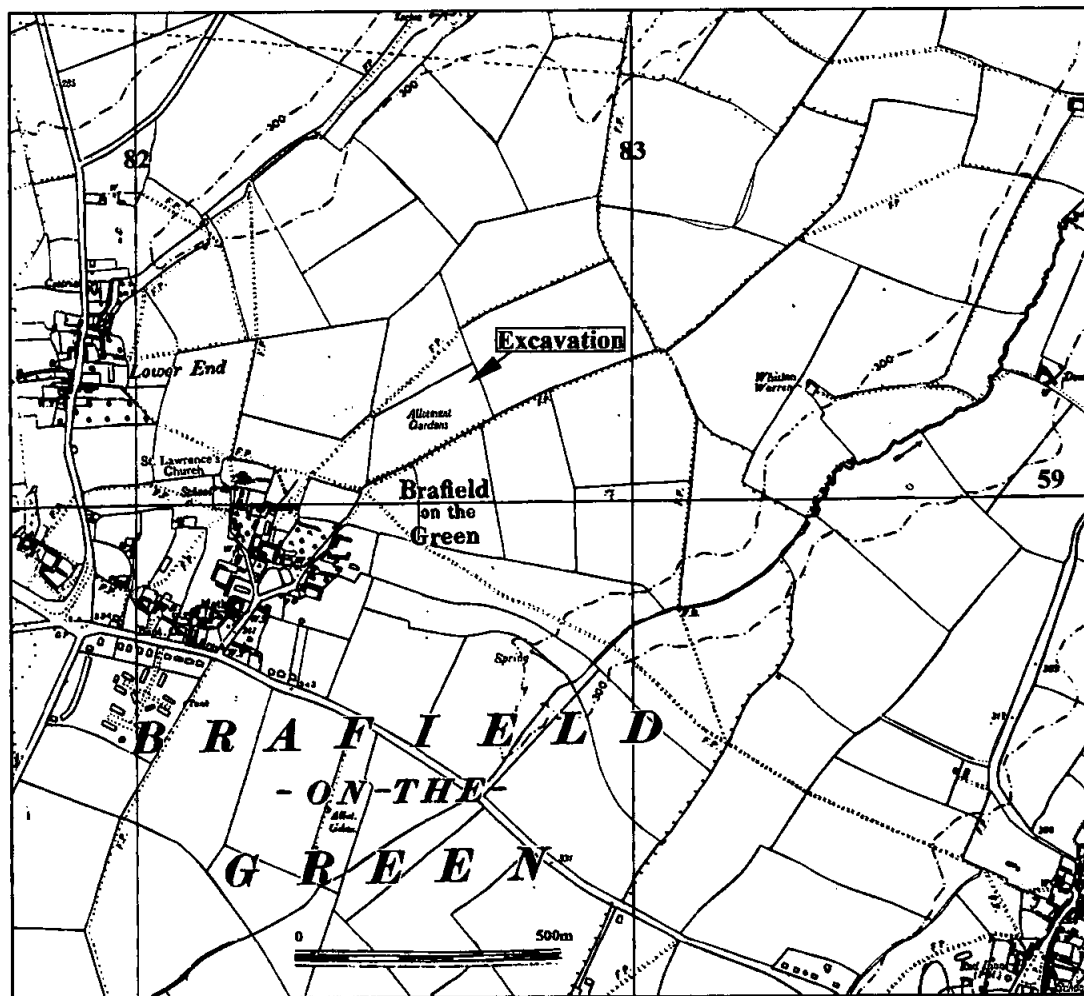


Fig 1. Location Map (Crown copyright. All rights reserved. Licence No. WL6421).

ments, but the area is now under arable cultivation. The surface geology is Boulder Clay, a mixture of sand, silt, and clay.

The excavations in 1962 were carried out by Dick Hollowell and a young student friend, Robert Moore, who provided valuable assistance in the preparation of this text. They recovered a considerable amount of EIA or EMIA pottery and in 2001 Northamptonshire Archaeological Society decided to re-excavate the area to try to put the features into a wider context, and hopefully find more dating evidence. The position of the trenches had been accurately recorded by Robert Moore and it was possible to locate them even though all traces of the former allotment boundaries had been lost. A geophysical survey carried out before work began revealed few other features in the vicinity of the excavations.

The excavations in 2001 were carried out in a short period between harvest and ploughing, and this restricted the work. The features excavated in 1962 were located, and some partially re-excavated, but few new features were found (Fig 2). The principal features excavated in 1962 were a deep pit and associated features (Pit F 1), another small pit or post hole (F2), and a linear ditch (Ditch A, Trenches 1-3).

Pit F 1 was roughly circular and 1.85m in diameter. It was in excess of 1 m deep in the bedrock but its full depth was not determined. There was a shallow ledge, some 4cm deep and 35cm wide, around the perimeter of the pit, and features that appears to have been eroded gullies running into it on its north side. The pit F2 was c. 60cm in diameter and 37cm deep in the bedrock. Both pits yielded a substantial amount of pottery

It is assumed that Pit F 1 and the features to the north were contemporary, but it is difficult to interpret the plan. After the removal of the topsoil in 2001 the backfilled complex looked like one large pit. One theory is that the deep pit served as a retainer or sump for surface water draining into it, with the ledge around the edge perhaps supporting a lid or cover. Whatever its original purpose however it seems likely to have served as a rubbish pit when it had gone out of use. It is possible that a house was sited nearby.

The only new features located during the 2001 excavations were a silt filled V-shaped ditch or gully (Ditch B) and a shallow deposit of dark soil (F3). Neither features produced diagnostic dating evidence. A further trench was cut across Ditch A at this time (Tr. 4). The ditch, which was 70cm deep, appears to have silted up naturally.

THE POTTERY

A total of 948 sherds of Iron Age pottery came from the excavations at Brafield in 1962. They were derived from the following areas or features: Pit F1 and adjacent features: 737 sherds. Pit F2: 109 sherds. Ditch A: 172 sherds

The pottery was drawn by Patrick Foster in 1994 and notes were made on the fabric by one of the authors (DJ) at that time. More recently some of the assemblage has been dispersed and because of this it has not been possible to weigh the pottery and complete the overall analysis of the fabrics

The late Professor C.F.C. Hawkes was an admirer of Dick Hollowell's work and when Dick sent him a selection of the pottery from the area of Pit F1, Professor Hawkes supplied him with a brief report describing the individual sherds (Hawkes 1962, see below). He dated most of the sherds to the EIA or EMIA period, which in 1962 was thought to be from the late 6th to the early 3rd centuries BC. Unfortunately some sherds from a nearby site (Gravel Pit field), dating to the LMIA, became mixed with the material from the allotment site and caused some confusion. Although some caution is needed, the later material can however be fairly easily distinguished, both typologically and from the later dates in Professor Hawkes's report. It is basically of globular type (compare Hunsbury) and is not described further. In the report below Professor Hawkes's comments and descriptions are followed by a general description of the assemblage by the present authors.

Large assemblages of pottery dating to the EIA or EMIA are not common in Northamptonshire, the most obvious examples being the material from the hillfort at Rainsborough (Avery et al 1967), and the pottery from parallel ditches at Gretton (Jackson and Knight 1985). Further afield there are good assemblages to the east from Fengate (Hawkes and Fell 1945 and Pryor 1974/5), and Wandlebury (Hartley 1957), two sites in Cambridgeshire.

THE 1962 EXCAVATION POTTERY

[Editor's Note. The following report was written by the late Professor Christopher Hawkes in July 1962 and as such it reflects the state of Iron Ages studies at that time. Some alterations have been made to the text by Dennis Jackson, including the renumbering of pottery illustrated in Fig 3. Apart from this the

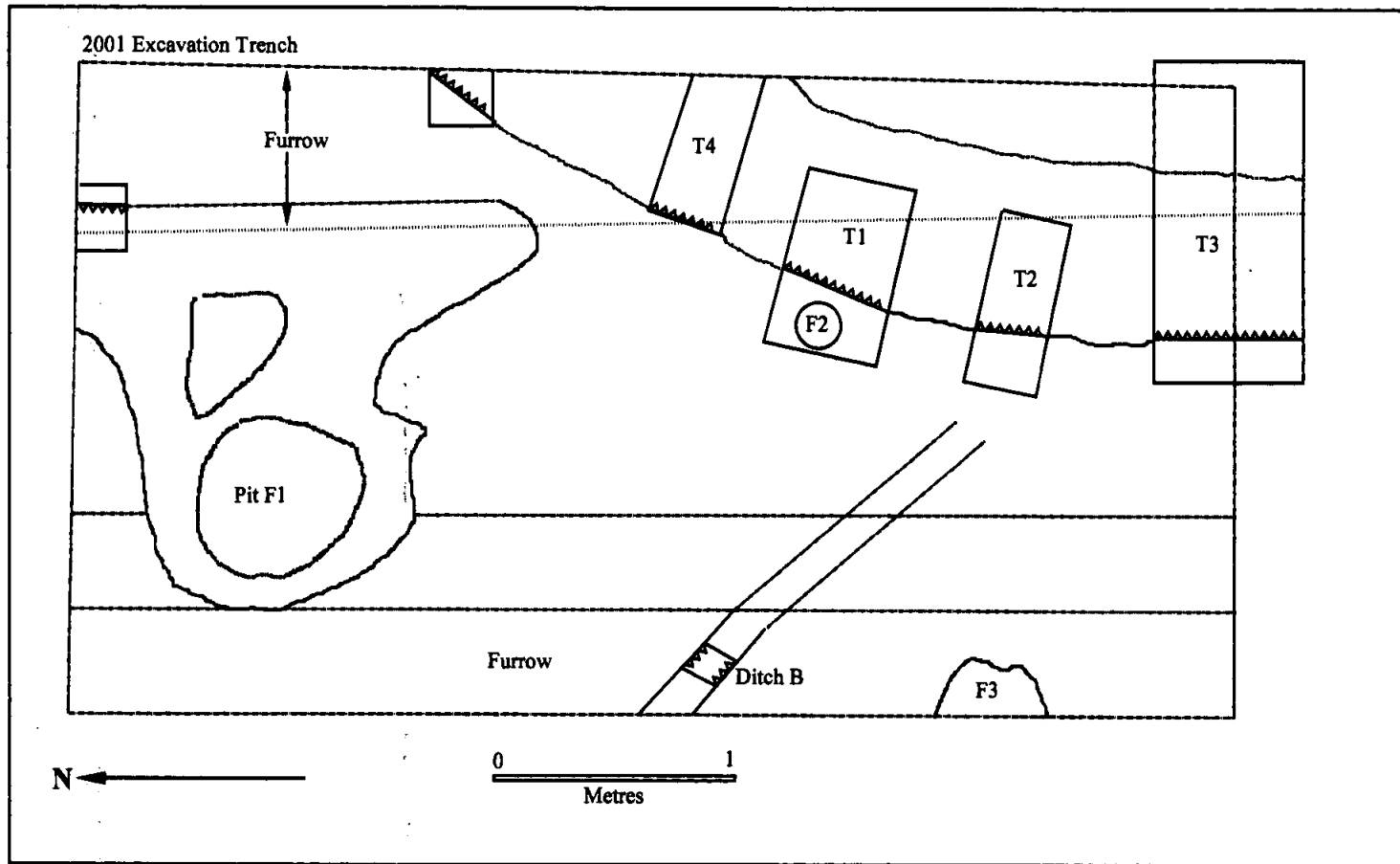


Fig 2 Trench plan of 1962 and 2001 Excavations

report is reproduced here, as it was originally written.]

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE IRON AGE MATERIAL FROM BRAFIELD

I have examined with interest this series, mainly of pottery, which I take to be fully representative of Mr R. Hollowell's Iron Age site in Brafield parish, Northants. The pottery, taken as a whole is likewise earlier than the late phase of Iron Age, when the occupation of Hunsbury reached its height and was brought to an end, presumably by the Belgic newcomers from further south who came up and took possession of all the iron-bearing districts across Northamptonshire, taking in the Nene valley and having their headquarters no longer at Hunsbury but most probably at Duston.

The Brafield pottery overlaps, to some extent, with the Hunsbury series, but apparently only with its earlier part, and for the beginning of the occupation here, it points to a date well back beyond that, and within the early phase of the Iron Age altogether. The typical site for really early pottery in the county is down the Nene at Peterborough on the gravels at Fengate on the east side of the town. This was published by me and Miss Fell in collaboration, and while the Brafield material is not at all so rich in the range of early forms, it does show this site was already established before the Fengate one was given up.

In writing the following notes, I have taken the Iron Age as divided into early, early-middle, and late which is not here represented. Early starts before or around 500 B.C. with its later part within the 4th century B.C. Early-middle starts a bit before 300. Middle goes from within the 3rd century into the 2nd, and late-middle from the 2nd into the 1st century. Thus the Brafield occupation might be dated from somewhere near or after 400 B.C. till towards 100 B.C. on the evidence offered by this pottery.

Of course the more pottery is obtained the better the chances of accurate dating became. I do not claim any very great exactitude for these notes; they are simply meant as pointers in the right direction.

The three works that I have quoted in them for comparison are these:-

Fengate: 'The Early Iron Age Settlement at Fengate, Peterborough' by C.F.C. Hawkes and Clare I. Fell, *Archaeological Journal* Vol 100 (for 1943), pp 188-233.

Hunsbury: 'The Hunsbury Hillfort. A New Survey of the Material', by Clare I Fell, *Archaeological Journal* Vol 93 (for 1936), pp 57-100.

Barley: 'The Aldwick Iron Age Settlement, Barley, Hertfordshire', by Mary Craster, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Vol 54 (for 1961), pp 22-46.

NOTES ON POTTERY SUBMITTED BY MR R HOLLOWEL, 1962

1. HAND-MADE WARES

Gritted with white, often shelly undecorated.

(a) Large pebble grit

1. Two pieces of bagshaped jar, red surfaces over grey core. Middle to late in the period, and a coarse version of Hunsbury pp. 87-8, C9; Barley pp. 37-8, 42? Or really not like these, and early? I am not sure.

(b) Grey to brown, with brown to red exterior

2. Piece of shouldered jar, rim bent out, shoulder projecting below neck hollowed with the fingers. Dark grey ware, shell-gritted., outer face fired red. Early to middle period; compare Fengate pp. 213-4, 11, W 2.
3. Piece of flat-topped rim. in light brown ware with some shell grit from large shouldered jar. See no. 4.
4. Piece of flat-topped rim, in grey ware with much shell grit, from large shouldered jar. This and no. 3 have the early flat-topped form of rim and were perhaps from fairly well-shouldered jars, of early to middle date at latest.
5. Rim of similar but finer ware, with some shell grit, black smoothed exterior; flat-topped, with slight lip on inside; it slants out above a neck, which must have led out again to a shoulder. Earlyish: compare Fengate, pp. 213-14, W 1.
6. Rim-to-shoulder piece of jar, hard dark grey ware, very sparsely shell-gritted; rim flat-topped, running out to a ledge lip., neck shallow, shoulder very blunt, A later form than 3, in the same 'family'. Date, middle part of period.
7. Two rims in less gritted grey ware, rather like no. 5, though smaller and with rim no longer flat-topped, and not probably earlier than middle period.
8. a-d. Four rim and shoulder pieces of small dumpy jar with short humped shoulder, in brown-grey sparsely shell-gritted ware badly finished: rim no longer flat-topped, and lipped unevenly either side. Middle part of period: compare Hunsbury pp. 211- 214, U8.

(c) Hand-made, partly shell gritted wares fired reddish-buff and with plastically applied bands or ledges

- 9, a-b. Two pieces of gritless ware with parts of applied bands, 'arched' as if for handles. on exterior. Compare Hunsbury pp. 78, 88, C6, where the band is horizontal but expands into a circle, hollow as if to take the fingers, just as are these 'arches'. Applied bands in origin are definitely early: how late this rare elaboration of them

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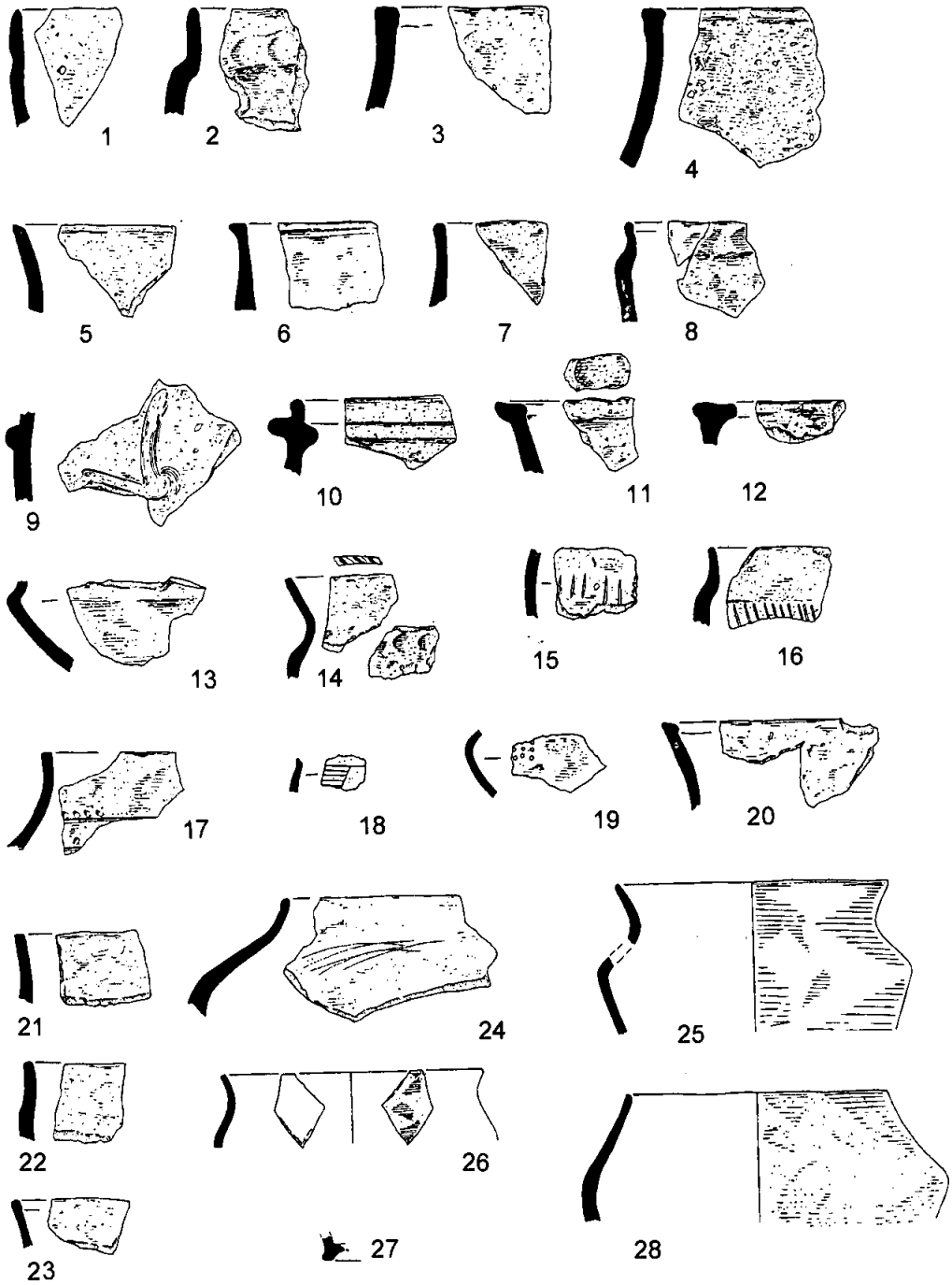


Fig 3. Iron Age pottery from feature F1 excavated in 1962 and reported on by the Late Professor Christopher Hawkes.
Scale 1:4

may last, one can only guess, but here I should put it still early in the period.

- 10, a-d. Four pieces, in similar ware though with some shell grit, all probably from one large vessel with plain rim upstanding above an external ledge, plastically applied presumably for lifting by the fingers, and an internal similar ledge evidently to take a lid. On two of them, the external ledge has come off. See Hunsbury pp. 10, 78-81, type C.L5 and 6, which however have the internal without the external ledges. They also have perforated lugs projecting upwards from the rim, to hold a hoop handle as in a modern pail or bucket; perhaps this had those too. Date, I suppose, can be early middle to late-middle; the hoop-handle lugs perhaps last later than the ledges, but the type altogether is very rare.

(d) Similar ware (shell gritted) heavy expanded rims

11. Piece of flat-topped rim, on an outward slanting neck (like that of no.5), expanded slightly inwards and much more outwards; top decorated by shallow transverse finger impressions.
12. Piece of rim expanded both in (and more thickly) out; neck perhaps also outward-slanting. Compare Hunsbury pp. 85-7, C 1, C 2, C 4; but the outslanting neck here should be earlier than these, and put them well into the middle period.

(e) Better quality grey ware, finely shell gritted, with smooth dark-grey surface slip

13. Rim fragment of a bowl. This should at latest be early in the middle period when this form had come in through influence from France.

II SIMILAR SHELL-GRITTED WARES

Grey to brownish vessels with decoration.

- 14 a-b Two pieces giving shoulder and rim of badly-finished shouldered jar with diagonal finger-nail decoration on top of rim. Early to middle period
15. Piece of jar with row of uneven vertical slashes along gently-rounded shoulder Probably middle period.
16. Piece of jar with flattish rim concave neck and blunt shoulder row of close-set diagonal very gritty ware with brown-grey smoothed interior Early-middle period

All these three show in varying degrees, the persistence of slashed or fingernail ornament, beyond the outset of the early period when it was commonest (as Fengate figs. 3-4), on through the middle period. At Hunsbury and Barley, late in this, it survives seldom except on top of rim (examples on Hunsbury fig 9 and Barley fig 7, all later than these three pieces).

17. Rim-to-shoulder piece of large shouldered jar, rim, flattish topped and slightly expanded, neck curving evenly out towards broad shoulder, in grey ware with dark-grey smoothed surface, decorated with two rows of blunt-triangular punch-marks, each above a shallow horizontal groove.

Such punch-marked designs are an early feature beginning sharp and crude, and seldom surviving when shallower technique came in during the middle period. Thus this example is later than Fengate pp. 201-2, C 3, and the punch-marks at Hunsbury have been replaced entirely by shallow circular dimples (fig 6, there,

of late-middle period). This example is presumably early-middle, with which the form of the jar would agree.

III. WARES WITHOUT ANY SHELL GRIT

Grey to brownish: vessels with decoration.

18. Piece in thinnish finer grey ware, of shouldered bowl with incised 'hatched triangle' decoration. Surviving from the earlier period (Fengate fig 2 etc), this becomes rare later but appears at Hunsbury on one such bowl (pp. 77-8, D14), presumably in late-middle period, though the form of bowl is not at all a late one.
19. Shoulder-piece of bowl in dark grey fine ware, broad and neatly rounded, decorated with three rows of irregular punch-marks. These, like the triangular ones on no. 17 are such as were developed into the Hunsbury shallow dimples; so here again the period seems early-middle at latest.

IV. THINNER GREY-BROWN WARE

Surfaces fired reddish

20. Rim pieces of six shouldered jars or bowls, early to middle period (in order). No. 20, (two pieces) is like Fengate pp. 213-14, W1.1

V. BROWN-GREY WARE

Varying from coarse to smoothed.

- 21-22. Rim or shoulder pieces of small shouldered jars: early to middle period.
23. Three scraps of rims: middle to late middle
24. Rim-to-shoulder piece of large shouldered jar in grey ware with brownish smoothed interior, baked unusually hard (and thus quite like some Anglo-Saxon pottery, though I am in no doubt it is Iron Age). Rim not flat topped, as at Fengate in the early period; date early middle, and distinctly before Hunsbury. Marks made by scoring on the shoulder with a thin blunt point might just be called 'decoration' but are very casually done.

VI. FINE WARE, THIN FABRIC

Well smoothed outer surface.

25. Rim and shoulder piece, in dark grey with some tiny specks of white shell, hardly amounting to 'gritting', exterior burnished black; from a sharp shouldered bowl like Fengate (pp. 207-8 0.1). This superior ware and thin walled, sharp shouldered form were features introduced from northern France, into Britain beginning before the end of the early period, and surviving into the middle period, adapted more or less into the British potters repertory. This example is not probably later than early-middle

- 26 Rimpiece of rather similar fine bowl or jar.
a-b. Two rim pieces I think not of the same vessel, but showing type similar to no. 26, or else with the shoulder rounded off (middle period), as Fengate (pp. 21 f, 1-14, V1).
27. Piece (in two fragments, joining) of low hollow pedestal base, elegantly shaped in fine ware, brown in colour.

The pedestal base was introduced as part of the same run of north-French influence as the sharp shoulder, etc., noticed under no.25. It is hard to say, without the rest of the vessel, about what point this example should come in the story of its occasional use in Britain from that time onwards, but it looks to me not probably later than the early-middle period.

VII. MEDIUM-QUALITY WARE.

Somewhat gritted but with smoothed surfaces pitted where grits have jumped out in the heat of the kiln; fabric normally thick.

28. Rim-to-shoulder piece of bowl with shallow neck tapering down outwards to broad shoulder carrying the top of a handle which will have been one of a pair set on opposite sides; beneath the shoulder the side bends in for the handle's horizontal perforation; apart from the handles. These handles or lugs are well known from Hunsbury (pp. 80-1, L 1-3: see above); this one is closest to L 3, and the date should be late-middle period.

FINDS: APPENDIX

Two flint flakes, each with some secondary human working. Date probably not same as that of the pottery.

Bone weavers beater made from a metacarpal or metatarsal bone of a sheep or goat, sheared obliquely to give a point, and with a the butt end slightly trimmed and bored lengthwise to give socket for a wooden handle, held in place by a peg passed through a pair of transverse perforations, drilled across half an inch from the end, which is the smaller or distal end (the lower end) of the bone.

These implements are common on British Iron Age sites; there are two main groups, one of early to middle date. Where the butt end is the distal end of the bone, as here, the other, mainly of late-middle to late date where it is the proximal or top end of the bone. This second group was normal in the Glastonbury Lake Village, and the later phases of Maiden Castle, Dorset, while the first group was normal e.g. at the largely early sites at All Cannings Cross, near Deves, Wiltshire, where the excavator Mrs N.E. Cunningham, classified the specimens found, according to their perforation and trimming. Your example belongs to her Class A, with butt end bored and transversely perforated, and only slightly trimmed; compare her All Cannings Cross (1923), pp 82-7, plate 8; also Sir Mortimer Wheeler's Maiden Castle (1943), pp 303-5 and plate XXXIV, A.

Though the purpose of these implements was long unrecognised, the Maiden Castle examples were discussed in 1945 by Mrs G.N. Crowfoot, a leading authority on weaving (*Antiquity*, XIX, 157-8), who showed that they must more than probably have been 'beaters', used by hand weavers to beat the treads of the weft into place, as the weaving proceeded along the warp, to keep the web compact. Their fine but not sharp points were so made to thrust neatly between the warp threads yet to beat the weft without risk of cutting it.

July 1962.

THE ASSEMBLAGE AS A WHOLE

The majority of the pottery from Brafield was not sent to Professor Hawkes and the following is a description and discussion of the assemblage as a whole.

FABRICS

In common with most other assemblages of Iron Age pottery from Northamptonshire, the principal inclusion in the fabric is shell. The following breakdown of the fabrics has been produced from the notes made in 1994.

Fabric 1	Common or abundant coarse shell: 15%
Fabric 2	Rare to moderate amounts of fine or medium shell: 64%
Fabric 3	Fabric with voids where probable shell has not survived: 11%
Fabric 4	Fabric with no visible inclusions: 10%
Fabric 5	Coarse orange fabric (flower pot colour), with sparse to moderate inclusions of medium shell or voids, and some small gravel flints (4 sherds from 3 vessels)

Grog or stone grits occur with shell in some sherds but is not common. The low proportion of coarse shell in the assemblage is noteworthy and in this respect it closely compares with the material from the EMIA and MIA site at Twywell, Northants (Harding in Jackson 1975).

There are five black burnished vessels in the assemblage, each containing rare or sparse fine shell. These are detailed below under surface treatment.

VESSEL TYPES AND FORMS

There is only one vessel with a complete profile from Brafield but there are 22 examples where the rim to shoulder outline survives. There are in all a total of 70 rim sherds in the assemblage and many of them plain and direct, and derive from vessels with long or flaring necks. There are 29 flat topped rims at Brafield, 40 with a rounded profile, and one that is bevelled internally.

With many of the rim sherds broken at the neck, or base of the neck, it is difficult to equate the proportion of jars to bowls. However if the vessels with flat topped rims, and /or thicker walls are regarded as jars the percentage of bowls at Brafield is no more than 17 % A low number of bowls compared to jars is a feature of the Rainsborough pottery, although bowls are common in the Gretton assemblage (*op cit*).

The following is a description of the 18 principal rim, or rim to shoulder forms, that occur at Brafield.

Group 1. Types that commonly occur on both EIA and EMIA sites

- Type 1 Jars with a high sharp, or rounded shoulder (Fig 3/2). The rims can be flat or rounded, and the neck is usually long. This type is often decorated with finger tip impressions on the shoulder.
- Type 2 Jars with a long neck and gently rounded profile (Fig 4/42, 49). Vessels often slack sided. Rims flat or rounded but more often the latter.
- Type 3 Jars of bipartite form with a concave neck and sharp shoulder (Fig 4/41). Decorated with finger tip impressions on the shoulder.
- Type 4 Jars or bowls with a long concave neck and wide bodied profile (Fig 3/24).
- Type 5 Jars or bowls with a neckless incurving upper wall (Fig 4/48). Rims flat or rounded.
- Type 6 Jars or bowls with a shorter medium length neck (Fig 4/30). Necks upstanding or everted. Rims rounded or flat.
- Type 7 Bowls of tripartite form (Fig 3/25, 4/47). The shoulders can be sharp or rounded, the neck is long and usually everted. Rims direct.
- Type 8 Vessels where only a direct rim and part of a long neck survives (Fig 3/21, 23). There are 23 examples in the assemblage (18 not illustrated). They derive from vessel types 1, 2, and particularly 7.

Group 2. Jars with expanded rims

- Type 9 Jars with heavy rims, expanded both externally and internally (Fig 3/12).
- Type 10 Jars with rims expanded internally. (Figs 4/42, 4/45). Necks upstanding or flaring.
- Type 11 Jars with rims expanded externally (Fig 3/6). One example only.

Group 3 Vessels in orange-red fabric (Fabric 5)

- Type 12 Vessel with an unusual cross-shaped rim (Fig 3/10). For a detailed description see Professor Hawkes' notes above. Appears to have a wide diameter?
- Type 13 Essentially a Type 5 jar but with a wide groove in the vessel wall (Fig 3/1).
- Type 14 Another Type 5 form but with the wall thickened at the shoulder (Fig 4/48).

Group 4 Miscellaneous types.

- Type 15 Jar with a wall thick at the shoulder, but with a thin upstanding neck. The flat topped rim is expanded internally (Fig 4/38).
- Type 16 Similar to Type 15 but the neck is curved or hook shaped (Fig 4/34).
- Type 17 Vessel with a curved profile below the neck. The rim folds over at the top to form a slight internal bead. (Fig 3/8). Two examples.
- Type 18 Vessels with flat rims widening at the top (Fig 2/40). Three examples.

Base forms

There is one fragment of a pedestal base (Fig 3/27). All the other bases are flat

SURFACE TREATMENT AND DECORATION

The surface of the pottery from Brafield ranges from moderately hard to moderately soft and the external

colour is predominately a shade of brown or grey-brown. A majority of the sherds are smooth faced but only the seven vessels, including the five in fine black ware, referred to above, retain traces of burnishing. The seven vessels include four bowls and three that could be either bowls or jars. There is no scored ware in the assemblage.

The following six types of decoration occur on the Brafield pottery.

1. Rim decoration. Two examples only (Fig 3/14).
2. Fingertip decoration on the body or shoulder. Four examples (Fig 4/44).
3. Slash decoration on the shoulder. Three examples from two vessels (Fig 3/15, 16).
4. Vessel decorated on the neck with horizontal grooves and lines of dots. Black burnished ware (Fig 3/17).
5. Zone of hatched decoration on the shoulder of a jar or bowl (Fig 3/18).
6. Zone of close set stab marks on the shoulder of a bowl (Fig 3/19).

CHRONOLOGY AND AFFINITIES

Six Iron Age sites have been excavated on a large scale in the Northamptonshire region in the past two decades, and when the results are published they should help to throw light on the ceramic sequence in the area. Most of the sites originate at least by the EMIA and two with particularly long ceramic sequences are those from Wilby Way Wellingborough and Coton Park, near Rugby (Blinkhorn and Jackson forthcoming) The other four sites in Northamptonshire are those at Courteenhall, Crick, Stanwick, and Wollaston.

When reading Professor Hawkes' dating and comments (above), one must bear in mind the changes that have occurred in our understanding of the Iron Age, in the light of more recent excavations and radiocarbon dating. Nevertheless he has provided a basic chronology for the pottery he examined from the area of Pit F I. The pottery from this pit appears to have a date range spanning 200 to 300 years, and it is possible the feature or features were not all filled at the same time. In contrast the pottery from the small pit, Pit 2, may have all been deposited at broadly the same time, and may provide closer dating. There is little diagnostic pottery from Ditch A, and it may have accumulated over a period of time. The sherds appear darker in colour and some of it looks late.

There is no scientific dating from Brafield, but as much of the pottery can be paralleled at Gretton and Rainsborough, it seems relevant to quote the radio-

carbon dates from these two sites. Although radiocarbon dating is regarded as unreliable in this part of the Iron Age, the dates from these two sites are closely bunched, and appear to provide a good guide to the date range.

Table 1. Radiocarbon dates from Gretton and Rainsborough

<i>Gretton</i> . Charcoal from two parallel ditches (<i>op cit</i>)	
Ditch A	460 +/- 80 (Har 3015) and 440 +/-60 (Har 2760)
Ditch B	290 +/- 70 ((Har 3014) and 260 +/- 70

Rainsborough hillfort (Cunliffe 1978, 391)

540+/-35	(UB737)
510+/-60	(UB736)
500 +/-50	(UB855)
480+/-75	(UB853)

The date of the pottery from Ditch A at Gretton is supported by the discovery of an iron ring-headed pin in the ditch filling. The pottery from Ditch B on this site however contains no scored ware and should perhaps be dated to the 4th century.

In line with much of the pottery from the early phases at Rainsborough, and from Ditch A at Gretton, a large part of the assemblage from Brafield is likely to date to the 6th and 5/4th centuries BC. The two sherds decorated in the post DR tradition and perhaps other sherds that can be paralleled at Rainsborough, should date to the earlier part of this date range.

Group 1: vessels

The eight rim to shoulder profiles in this class occur in both EIA and EMIA assemblages and are therefore of limited value for closer dating. A squat bipartite jar (Type 3) can be closely paralleled at Gretton and the wide bodied jar or bowl (Type 4) at Rainsborough.

Group 2: jars

Tripartite jars with expanded rims most often occur in the period from the 6th to 3rd centuries. They are common at the beginning of this period in the Thames valley (Harding 1972), and continue into the MIA period on sites such as Twywell, Northants (*op cit*). The jar with the heavy expanded rim from Brafield (Type 9, Fig 3/12) has a precise parallel at Rainsborough, and the form continues in a devolved form in the EMIA and MIA periods (cf Twywell, Fig 23.27)

Vessels with internally expanded rims and upstanding or everted necks (Type 10), do not appear to extend into the MIA period in the Northamptonshire region. Their limited date range was noted at Abingdon in Oxfordshire where it was said the proportion of internally expanded rims gradually declined during Phase 1 (650-300 BC) (De Roche in Parrington, 1978). A probable early example of the form was found at Staple Howe, Yorks (Brewster 1963) whilst a similar vessel occurs in the assemblage from Bancroft, Milton Keynes (Williams, 1994). In the Northamptonshire region there are examples from Penvale Park, Northampton (Jackson 1983/4), Fengate, Cambs (Hawkes

and Fell 1945) Coton Park, Warks (*op cit*) Wilby Way (*op cit*) and Crick Hotel (forthcoming). The associated pottery found on the sites at Coton Park, Wilby Way and Crick Hotel suggests the forms may date to the EMIA. Further afield similar rim and neck forms occur at Pitstone, Bucks (Cotton and Frere 1968) and on sites in Suffolk such as Darmston (Cunliffe (1968), and Kettleburgh (O'Connor 1975).

There are several vessels from Gretton with an internal flange and other examples of this type occur at Rainsborough, Coton Park, and Wilby (*op cit*). Harding has dated vessels with internal flanges to the period 550 to 450 BC (Harding 1972).

Group 3 and 4 vessels (Types 12-18)

The rim or rim to shoulder form of the vessels in Groups 3 and 4 are rare or unusual in Iron Age pottery assemblages and can be discussed individually.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Type 12 | There are two vessels in the assemblage of pottery from Hunsbury hillfort (Fell 1936) with cross shaped rims, and one of these is in a similar course fabric to the sherd from Brafield. The type is probably no later in date than the EMIA period (c.f. Hunsbury). |
| Type 13 | The upper section of a large jar found at Willington, Derbyshire, is of similar form (Elsdon in Wheeler 1979). |
| Type 14 | Vessels with a wide groove or neck positioned in the wall of the pot occur on MIA sites near Northampton (eg Courteenhall and Pinehams Barn, forthcoming), but here the groove is nearer to the rim of the vessel. |
| Type 15 | Rim expanded internally with a thick shoulder, as Type 16 below. |
| Type 16 | This rim to shoulder profile is found on slack sided jars at Rainsborough and Borough Hill, Daventry. |
| Type 17 | Vessel with very weak shoulder and slight internal bead. This form occurs at Wilby Way, with other vessels dating no later than the EMIA (<i>op cit</i>). |
| Type 18 | Neck widening at the top to a flat topped rim. Not diagnostic. |

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATED POTTERY (Fig 4)
(Not described above by Professor Hawkes)

PIT 1

- | | |
|----|--|
| 30 | Fine to medium shell. br,-dk gr,-dk gr. |
| 31 | Fine shell. Smooth black ware. |
| 32 | VOIDS. Dk gr/br-br-br. |
| 33 | Sparse medium shell. br,-gr,-dk gr. |
| 34 | Dense medium shell. dk gr,dk gr,-br. |
| 35 | Sparse fine shell. Smooth black ware. |
| 36 | Sparse medium shell. Sooted externally. It br,-gr,-br. |
| 37 | VOIDS. gr,-br,-br. |
| 38 | Sparse fine shell. Grey/brown ware. |
| 39 | Fine to medium shell. Smooth grey/brown ware. |
| 40 | Sparse fine shell. Smooth ware. dk br,-dk gr,-dk gr. |

PIT 2

- | | |
|----|---|
| 41 | Sparse fine to medium shell. or/ br, -br, -br |
| 42 | Sparse medium shell. Dark grey/brown ware. |
| 43 | Fine shell. Coarse dark grey ware. |

NOTES

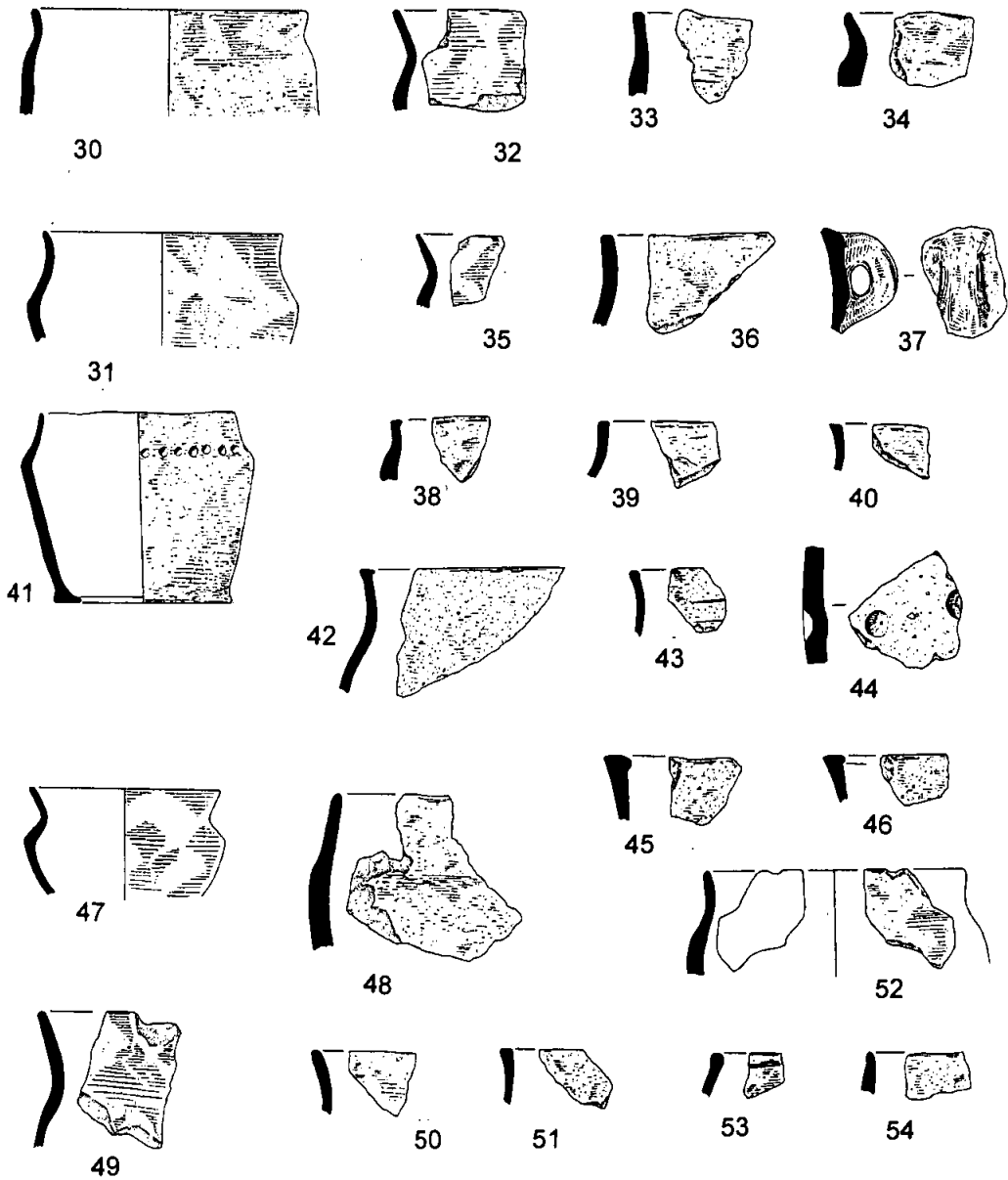


Fig 4. Iron Age pottery from feature F1(30-40), Pit 2 (41-51), Ditch A (52-4).

NOTES

- 44 Medium shell. or/br,-gr,-dk gr.
45 Medium shell. Coarse dark grey ware.
46 Fine shell. Dark grey ware.
47 Sparse fine shell. Smooth dark grey ware.
48 Few if any inclusions. or,-gr,-or.
49 Fine to medium shell. bl,-dk gr/br,-dk gr/br. Diam. 22cm
50 Not recorded.
51 Medium shell. Dark grey ware.

DITCH A

52-54 Not recorded.

(Colour abbreviations: bl = black, br = brown, gr = grey, or = orange, dk = dark, lt = light)

CONCLUSIONS

As stated above the majority of the pottery from Brafield is likely to date to the same period as the earlier material from Gretton and much of the assemblage from Rainsborough, and thus defines a useful regional group dating to around the middle of the 1st millennium BC. Although some of the forms and decoration do occur in earlier or later assemblages and have a long history, the period can be assessed from the stage of typological development as Professor Hawkes has implied. Away from Northamptonshire, parallels for the pottery occur on sites to the east and south, and particularly in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.

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DENNIS JACKSON & MARTIN TINGLE

THE PREBENDAL MANOR RESEARCH PROJECT, NASSINGTON

The purpose of this report is to give a short account of the 1997 excavations at the Prebendal Manor House, Nassington. A full account of all the excavations at the manor and the archive will be found in the final publication.

Excavations in and around the Prebendal Manor at Nassington have been in progress since 1984. The accumulated archaeological data now demonstrates that the area around the Prebendal site has been used and occupied since early prehistoric times.

Currently there is no evidence of Mesolithic activity, however a fragment from a polished stone axe and a collection of worked flint from the recent field excavations away from the manor demonstrate a Neolithic and Bronze Age presence. An Early Iron Age field and fence system crosses obliquely under the manor house and Roman pottery, most likely deriving from a manuring scatter; indicate that the fields of a Roman farmstead also occupy the site.

At present actual occupation begins with a series of the Saxon timber post buildings dated to 850 AD - 950 AD revealed under the great hall of the present stone manor and the demolished north end solar (Foster et al, 1989). The site develops with the construction of an aisled Late Saxon timber hall that was one of king Cnut's royal manors. In 1107 Henry I granted the manor to the bishop of Lincoln for the endowment of a Prebend.

The modern village property boundaries still retain much of their early medieval origins and the manorial plot may still be distinguished as a large block of land with the church occupying the north east corner. The church, which may have been a Minster, may have had two Saxon building phases (RCHM 1984).

In 1984 excavations took place in an area close to the southern boundary of the church and on the eastern boundary of the Late Saxon timber aisled hall. The area excavated was in the northern half of a modern enclosed agricultural yard, generally called the "Bullock Yard". There were considerable Post Medieval and modern disturbances in the excavation area, including a very compacted limestone trackway. Beneath all of the more recent material was a Late Saxon stone pit from which a thinly bedded limestone had been extracted. This pit was provisionally dated by the abundant Stamford Ware pottery to the mid tenth century, pre-dating any stone

building on the Prebendal Manor site. It is therefore probable that the thinly bedded limestone was used for the infilling for walls of an earlier stone church in Nassington. A similar situation was found during the excavations of the Raunds manorial complex (pers. obs). A number of Late Saxon marl clay pits have been recorded on the Prebendal Manor site, which would have provided daub for the timber building on the site, fertilizer in the fields, and may also have provided lime plaster for the stone church.

The southern end of the "Bullock Yard" was enclosed by a back stone wall and a large barn, which was demolished in 1972. The north and east side were enclosed by boundary walls and the rear wall a stone building known as "The Lodgings" provided the boundary to the west. It is thought that The Lodgings was built in the late 15th century at a time when prestige demanded an increased retinue. The prebendaries were also obliged to accommodate six clerics for twelve days annually and to provide fodder for the horses for the duration of these visits (Gordon 1890). Originally the Lodgings was twice its current size but during the eighteenth century the north end was demolished and the east entrance of the cross passage was blocked in. The west entrance was also filled in and a new larger entrance was inserted almost adjacent to the earlier west entrance. At this time it is probable that the lower floor was used for stabling cart horses and the upper floor as a granary. The Lodgings is parallel to the manor at the service south east end, and a cobbled surface was laid between the two buildings.

In 1997, as a condition of a planning consent to extend the Lodgings on its east side, excavations were undertaken by a team of Czech MA students from Charles University, Prague and also from the universities of Opava and Plzen. The site covered an area of 16m x 8m and was directed by P. Foster and J. Baile. During the 1984 excavations the limit of the 10th century stone pit had not been revealed. However at the western boundary wall of the "Bullock Yard" the pit had become very shallow and it was doubtful that it would extend much further west. To the north the modern road prevented further exploration and to the east the property boundary blocked that direction for excavation. The topography of the pit showed that from a shallow west edge it became progressively steeper to the east. This incline was also maintained in the southern profile section. It was therefore hoped that the 1997 excavation would provide the full extent of the stone pit to

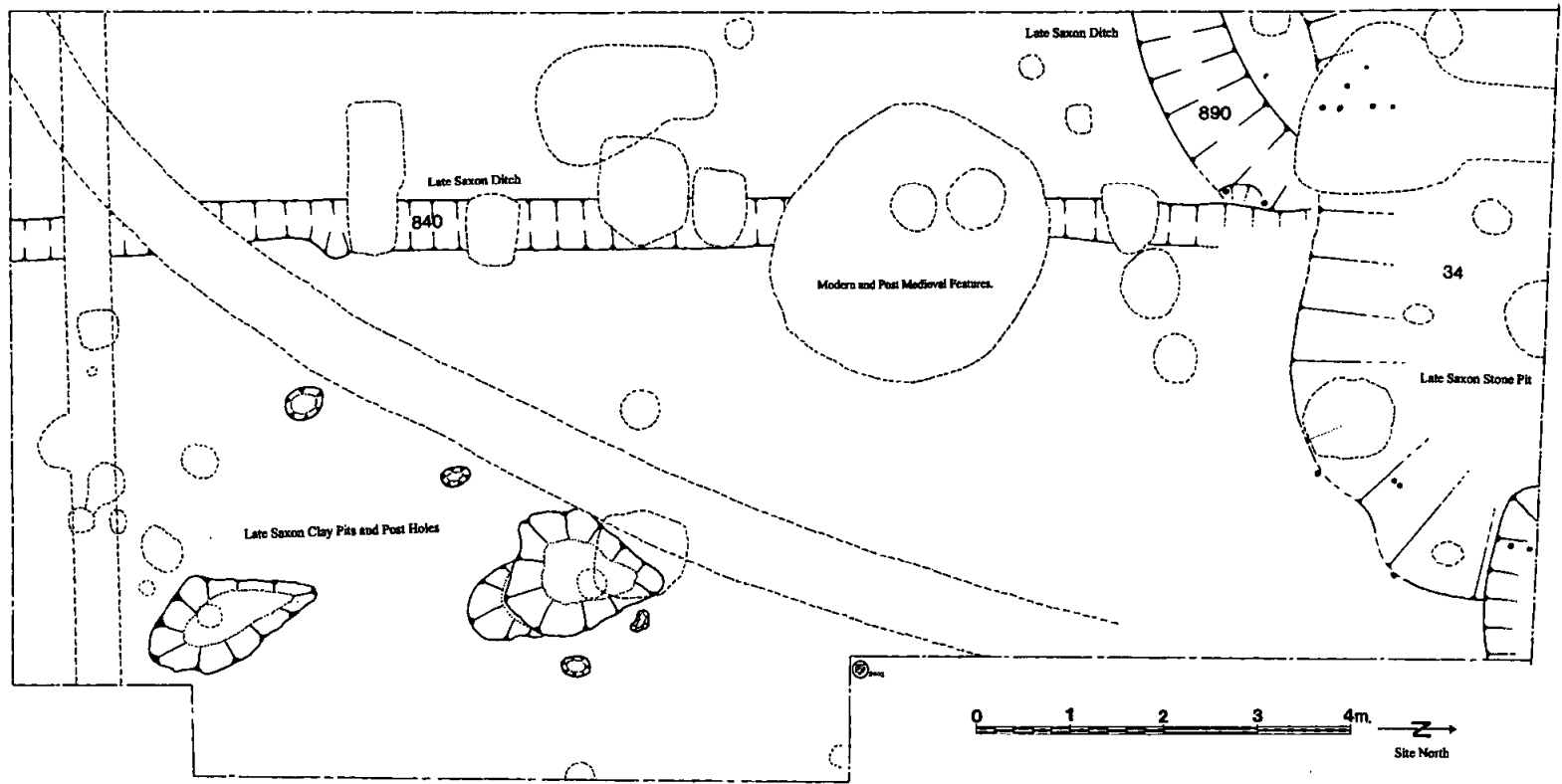


Fig 1 The Prebendal Manor, Nassington. The 'Bullock Yard' Excavation 1997

the south. Removing the layers of a compacted modern farm yard and rubble surfaces and also the 19th century trackway surface proved extremely difficult. The same 19th century trackway that crossed along the east side of the excavation proved equally difficult. Numerous large and deep modern post pits, some with cement bases and some so deep that they went below the water table, had to be taken out. These post holes are associated with a range of modern and late 19th century barns that covered this area during the past century. A deep modern water pipe trench had been cut diagonally across the site to provide water to an animal trough in a barn south of the Lodgings.

There was almost a total absence of deposits between the modern layer and the Late Saxon layer, which was probably caused by "mucking out" over a number of years in the "Bullock Yard". The footings of Lodgings were also covered only by modern deposits, again probably due to the cleaning out of the yard. There was limestone edging that may have belonged to a modern pigsty that was excavated in 1984.

Surprisingly pre-modern features were not numerous. The Late Medieval ditch, first recorded in 1984 that traversed north-south close to the west wall that had been recorded in 1984 was verified. However it ended abruptly a metre into the new excavation sloping down into a deep pit, which may have been dug as a soak-away. As a structural element its position in the order of the overall manorial site and its relationship with the lodgings is at present not understood.

Evidence of the Late Saxon period, proved in some ways disappointing, the stone pit (Fig 1, 34) extended into the site by 2.6m and then became quite shallow. The geology of the site changed to marl clay just south of the pit, rendering further limestone extraction impossible. The dark greasy fill of the pit appears to have been "walked out" for several more metres. At the bottom of this section of the pit were a number of stake holes identical to those recorded during the

1984 excavations. These were probably created by the use of an iron point driven into the limestone to fracture and loosen the stone for removal. The back-fill of the pit contained a large amount of Stamford ware.

There were two small pits that cut marl clay both containing Late Saxon pottery that may have been small clay pits. Of interest are two Late Saxon ditches. A metre wide ditch (Fig 1, 890) appears from under the northern end of the Lodgings and was recorded inside the Lodgings in 1992 during structural repair work to the building. The ditch curves northwards towards the stone pit where it appears to terminate. The terminal was masked by the large pit at the end of the late medieval ditch (Fig 1, 37). The other Late Saxon ditch (Fig 1, 840) traverses almost the entire length of the site in a north south direction and it too is truncated by the large stone pit. This ditch is very ephemeral and only a 0.3m cut for most of its length. The later Post Medieval lowering of the surfaces has contributed greatly to the lack of depth to this ditch. The purpose of both the ditches is as yet not determined but ditch (Fig 1, 840) is parallel to the Late Saxon aisle hall and extends at its south end past the limits of this excavation.

There will always be problems with residual finds when excavating a site with such longevity and intensive use, however the 1997 excavations produced 4,480 finds of which Stamford ware forms the largest ceramic group and can be counted as a valuable addition to the ceramic potential for the site.

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JANE BAILE

NORTHAMPTON: THE DOUBLE STREETS AND THE NORMAN TOWN

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines evidence for a 13th-century date for the double streets, long supposed to represent a Saxon defence. Consequently the paper challenges the theories of Frank Lee (Lee 1954), that identify a late Saxon town contained within this circuit. It was Frank Lee who pointed out that, starting in the north-west, the curved alignment of Bath Street, Silver Street, College Street and Kingswell Street might be within the Saxon palisade, and the curved alignment of Scarletwell Street, Bearward Street, the Drapery and Bridge Street might be outside. The basis for challenging this idea is not only that there may be a 13th century origin for these coincidences of streets, but that the intensity of activity in medieval times was such that this could be no pristine survivor of Saxon times. The paper also looks at evidence for an earlier street pattern that might indicate the early Norman layout.

This exploration of Northampton's early past has been aided by the analysis of post medieval to recent documentation as a key to the geography of the earlier sources. It is based on a project commenced in 1997 to study the documentary evidence of the 17th to 19th century in order to elucidate medieval topography. It achieves this by tracing individual plot histories, including burgages and urban estates. To facilitate interpretation, properties with long title deed or rental histories are used. In the latter category charities are most useful. In this context the project has been used to investigate the Town Rentals of c 1300 and 1503-4 (PRO SC 12/13/38; NRO Borough Records 29). The project takes into account the pioneering work in this field, carried out by Alderman Frank Lee in the 1940s (NRO Box X1055).

THE MARKET SQUARE

The striking feature of Northampton is that the Market Square, containing All Saints Church on the south, is bounded by burgages north, south, east and west. The east side of The Drapery and Mercers Row are based on shop units, which were within the square. On the west side of Market Square the burgages extend from Drapery to College Street, and are

more likely to have been part of the plan around the square than confined between the intra and extra-mural streets of an earlier defensive line. The east side of Market Square has burgages aligned to Abington Street. These have then been extended flush with Market Square. The pattern is defined back to 1479 by the south boundary of the Welsh House, preserved in plans in 1768 and 1828 (Paget 1934; plans obtained from Whitgift Foundation, Croydon). South of Abington Street, Dychurch Lane, up until the Fire of 1675, extended to Wood Hill, the former Guildhall lying between the two, but southwards Wood Hill also has burgages.

Beyond Market Square, burgages occur eastwards as St Giles square, then north-eastwards between Abington Street and St Giles Street, as far as Fish Street. They extend a little further along the north side of Abington Street. Westwards there are burgages on the north and south of Gold Street, and on Bearward Street. However there is little evidence of comparable burgage patterns outside this area.

There is one documented part burgage on Abington Street east of Wood Street, in 1397 (St Giles Charity Trustees 25), where one of two parts of a message is 13.5 feet broad and 160 feet long. On a 6:1 length to width ratio the original burgage could have been 27 feet wide, which suggests a true half is described. Tracing properties back to the 17th century and interpreting their dimensions as burgages or half or third part burgages in some cases, the pattern seems consistent with that example, or slightly larger, up to 180 feet by 30 feet, approaching the standard two perch width. Those on St George's Row and the Parade, south and north of Market Square, look significantly longer, but both acquired plots behind them. There was a garden of St John's Hospital on the south of the Bell (later the County Hall) in the 1583 Rental. The property between the Judges Lodging and the Constable's House (now the west part of the Rat & Parrot) acquired a garden and a house re-used as stables in 1713 opening to Angel Street (NRO NPL 2291).

The instruction to remove the market from the cemetery of the church of All Saints to the empty and waste place (*vacua et vasta*) on the north of the church (Close Rolls 1234-7 p206-7), might give a date for the establishment of the present market place. It is possible that the empty and waste space arose from the removal of something else. One possible candidate is St Andrew's Priory, which was originally situated more centrally, near the Chapel of

St Martin, but relocated to Semilong, some time before 1222 when they began closing off areas near Semilong (Hundred Rolls). Another possibility is an administrative focus, not necessarily a castle, prior to the construction of the castle in the 1140s.

LOCALITY STUDY 1: THE ORIGIN OF BRIDGE STREET

Figure 1 shows the main features: Crackbole Street (CBS), St Johns' Hospital (SJH) and the site of the Master's House (MH); the site of the South Gate (SG) and the site of St Thomas's Hospital (S.Thos); Kingswell Street (KWS), Angel Street (AS) and St John's Street (SJS). The research has established that the entries for Bridge Street in the Town Rental of 1503-4, after first describing Balmesholm, starts from the junction of Kingswell Street northwards. It returns on the east side from Angel Street (The Angel is under Kingswell Street entries) down to the South Gate, then back up the west side to Kingswell Street. The key plots are numbered on Figure 1 in the Rental sequence.

2. Arderne's House. The tenement of Thomas Arderne, now of the Chapel of St Mary, lay within a block belonging to St John's Hospital, demolished in the 1930s to widen the junction of Kingswell Street (Charity Commission 1888; 1878 & 1906 Rate Books, checked retrospectively). It was part of the St Mary Magdalen lands included in an inquisition of 1404 reciting a mid-12th century grant to the Hospital (Cal Patent Rolls 1401-5, p368). It occurs in subsequent St Mary Magdalen leases (NRO, YZ 3655 for 1537, YZ 3630 for 1555, & Finch Hatton 1118 for 1568).
4. 'late of John Asshebourne': This figures in his will in 1461 (Close Rolls Edward IV vol I p82-83). It appears to have been within the block later granted to the Corporation (Freeman's Charity), and was known as the Red House (NRO Borough Records 2 & Frank Lee's notes).
14. The house of Alice Coweyn, now of the Hospital of St John. Although this refers to the corner opposite the infirmary of the hospital this appears to the Three Potts on the corner of St John Street.

15. In the Rental, the gate formerly of Adam de Staunford in the aforesaid street, after of John Dalynghton by the south gate towards the west, now the Hospital of St Thomas the Martyr. This charity property is well documented. It was acquired by the town in 1438 (NRO NPL 387). The acquisition comprised "*a messuage formerly of John Dalynghton situated in Bridge Street within the South Gate, and also a messuage called 'le Yatehous' situated in the same street within the South Gate, between the wall of the town on the south and the said messuage on the north*". The charity is shown on Plan 17 of the Plans of Estate of the Trustees (NRO Maps 6054) and had a frontage 39 feet to Bridge Street, extending 100 feet west, known in the 19th century as the Pheasant Inn. It was removed in the 1980s by the widening of the junction of Bridge Street with St Peter's Way.

- 17 Agnes Caysshoe on the corner next the Friars, 1 horn for blowing. The site of the Austin Friary lay between this and entry 15 (Welsh 1999b).

Bridge Street is closely flanked on the east by the line of a former lane, within thirty metres from the present frontages, which may be the course of Crackbole Lane (CBL). It appears in the 1586 Terrier as three parts of "*one litle lane lying on the backsyde of Brydewell and leadinge to Sainte Johanes*", though the Brydewell behind The Bell was not established until 1634. It appears again in 1622 (NRO Boro Records 99) as a lease of one part 35 by 4 yards. The lowest part is depicted in Plan 9 of the Plans of Estate of the Trustees (NRO Maps 6054), as 85 feet by 13.

In 1266 St John's Hospital was granted permission to enclose a lane (Crackebolle Strete) between their church and their grange. The Master's House (MH), demolished in 1874, is likely to have been part of that grange, but lies so close to the chapel that there is little space for such a lane. Both Angel Street and Fetter Street appear in documents as both Crackbole Street and Fetter Street. The latter is towards the eastern edge of the Hospital gardens, acquired in several stages, the last in 1500 (YZ 3649). Swan Street (Cow Lane) had charity gardens along its west side. It is more likely that the former lane from Brydewell to St John's is part of Crackbole Street.

Prior to granting closure there was an inquisition (Serjeantson 1911). The jurors decided it would not

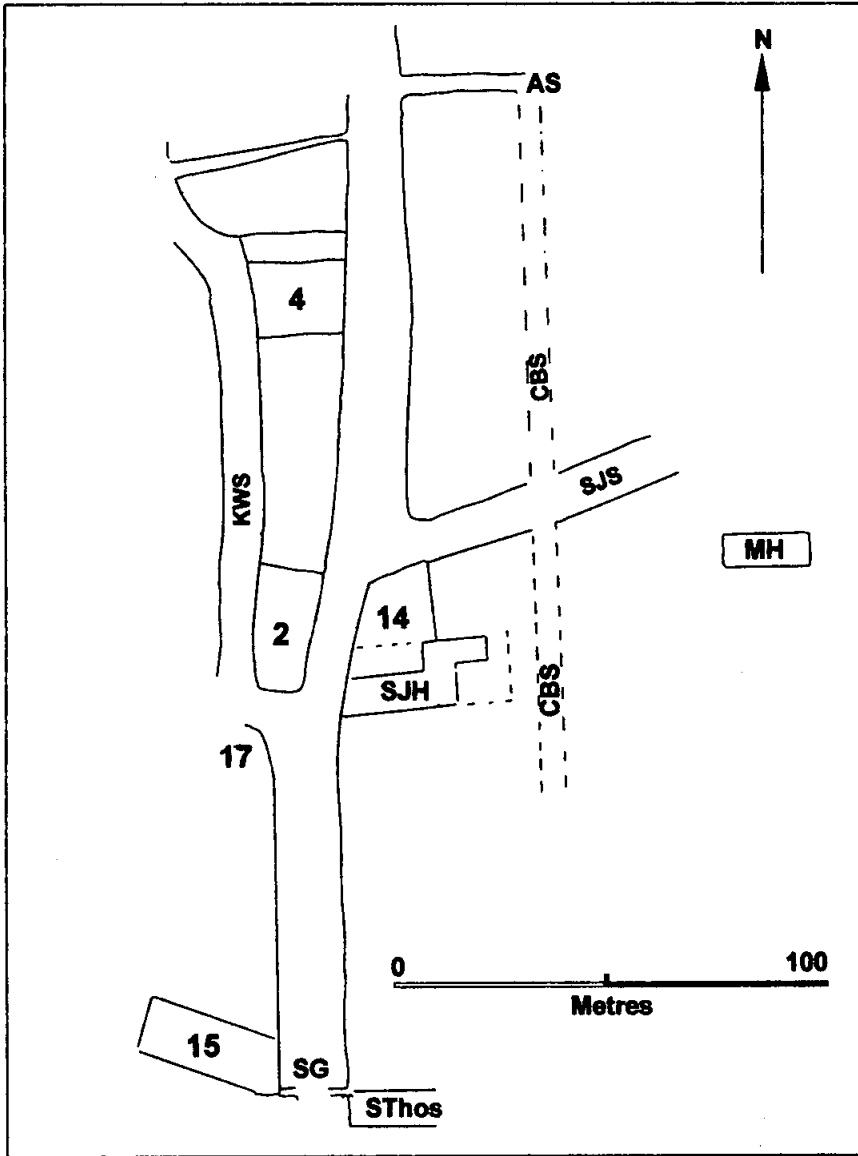


Fig 1 Principal locations in locality Study 1

cause hurt, provided the brethren make a new street between the house of Robert de Ardern, and that of Isobell Dod, opposite St John's Street, so that those dwelling in the said lane may have free ingress and egress to the market. In the Hundred Roll it is reported that Crackbole Street had been thus enclosed

eight years past, and Serjeantson suggests that, though the jurors say they know not by what warrant, this might have been because the brethren had neglected to make the new street. The likely candidate for Robert de Ardern's house was west of Bridge Street opposite the Hospital. Does this mean that

Bridge Street was not actually there in 1266 or 1274? If Bridge Street did not exist before 1274, perhaps neither did the town gate on that alignment. Was the obsolete gatehouse, acquired for St Thomas Hospital, the original South Gate?

OTHER EVIDENCE FOR A 13TH-CENTURY BRIDGE STREET

St John's Hospital seems neither aligned in relation to Bridge Street nor originally to have been bounded by it. The chapel and domicile are contained within a plot that was 20 degrees away from a normal alignment to Bridge Street, which is deflected eastwards here. The east side of Bridge Street below St Johns' is west of the west side above. In addition, the west end of the domicile is about 22 degrees out of alignment with the east end, as if cut back to accommodate the deflection of Bridge Street. Dryden (1873-4) reckoned that the west end was the oldest part (14th century), and that at some stage the domicile had been extended eastwards and joined to the chapel. That raises the question whether it had at one time extended further west-south-west encroaching on the line of Bridge Street. Indeed the coincidence of property to the west suggests that it may have been part of the same block of land on which the chapel is built.

Watching briefs of contractor's trenches in the mid-70s found that, while a section at the bottom of Kingswell Street had 2.7 metres depth of road surfaces (Hunter et al 1976), one to the east on Bridge Street encountered waterlogged black clay layers at 1.26 metres (Moore & Giggins 1977). The lowest surfaces on Kingswell Street were heavy limestone slabs, and natural was not observed even at three metres. Though natural was not reached on the Bridge Street site, dug to 2.4 metres, much medieval material was found in the clay layers, including leather off-cuts, fragments of shoes, several pieces of wood, animal bones, a piece of iron slag, a fragment of coarse fabric and several early medieval sherds. Could this indicate Bridge Street was laid down across previous domestic and industrial activity?

Dryden (1873-4) records that, in making a cellar in 1874 at the house on the other side of the street from the west front of the domicile (which would have been within the St John's Hospital property at 2 on Figure 1), workmen found encaustic tiles, green and brown glazed pottery and stained glass, as well as a

skeleton. Could this indicate that the burial was within the original precinct of the Hospital?

All this suggests that Bridge Street was a late 13th century insertion. As previously noted by this writer (Welsh 1996-97), Bridge Street outside the medieval wall is closely aligned to Kingswell Street. Even Frank Lee observed in 1954 that until the 1675 Fire led to its removal there was a bottleneck at the top of Bridge Street because All Saints Church extended fully across The Drapery leaving only a narrow passage. He concluded: "*the existence of the 'bottleneck' helps to explain why the vehicular route in the medieval period from South Bridge to the Castle and to the Mayorhold was not via Bridge Street and the Drapery*".

Lee, like Cox in 1898, was aware of the tradition that Kingswell Street, College Street and Castle Street had formed a processional route. Cox went one step further (Cox 1898, p. 517), speculating that Bridge Street: "*was not made until the enlargement of the town, about 1300, when Bridge Street took the place of Kingswell street as a highway of first importance.*"

Lee's theory argued that the Norman and Saxon towns shared a town centre at Mayorhold until his theoretical Saxon river crossing was superceded by the present South Bridge, after 1100. Hence his theory happily accepted the tradition of a processional route along Kingswell Street, without any anxieties about Cox's theory. If Bridge Street is a 13th century creation, it cannot be the extra-mural road of the late Saxon defences.

THE CURVE IN SILVER STREET

Amongst the most crucial evidence for the Saxon origin of the double streets is the curve in Silver Street and to a lesser extent its apparent mimicry by Bearward Street. It claimed that this forms the north-east corner of the theoretical late Saxon town. Hence any evidence of a medieval origin for the curve would be an anathema to the Saxon town theorists. One possibility is the realignment of streets owing to eastwards expansion of the Dominican Friary in the 14th century, for which there is clear evidence of disruption such as Cappe Lane.

South of the curve of Silver Street was a lane taken into Corporation ownership: Cappe Lane. In the section of the Rentals headed 'Next the Friars Preachers' is "*the gate of Stephen Cappe*". Two parts of Cappe Lane, leased as gardens, are described in the 1586

terrier of town lands. It was sold in 1645 (NRO Borough Records 104). It abutted at one end on Silver Street and at the other on Kingshead Lane, and it appears to have run east-north-east to west-south-west. In the Hundred Roll in 1274 it is recorded that the Friars Preachers (Dominican or Black Friars) had enclosed fifteen years earlier, a common way six feet wide from St Martin's Street to the New Cemetery. The latter was on Horsemarket south of King Street. In a paving act of Henry VI in 1431 (Markham 1898), the roads of the town are described, first north-south and east to west, then clockwise from Bearward Street, ending with St Martin's Street, before concluding with the Way called the Market Place. As Kingswell Street is included it seems odd if the last were not College Street and Silver Street. St Martin's Chapel, the original location of St Andrew's Priory, may have been on College Street (Welsh 1999a).

Henry Lee referred to a friary "*in possession now of Mr Robert South between the Colledge Lane and Horsemarket*" (1716, 1931-2 transcript). A set of deeds (NRO AAC/96-98) describes the site of the Dominican Friary, granted to Robert South in 1691. The deeds relate that a stable and parcel of ground lay between College Street and the east side of the precinct (Welsh 1998), and also describe what became the Kings Head Inn, south of the junction of King Street and Horsemarket. The Dominicans expanded eastwards and northwards from around 1300. The fourth of these acquisitions in 1301, was a gift of land 60 feet by 40 feet by Robert Kyne, eastwards and contiguous to the house of the Friary (Serjeantson 1911). This may be the property described in the 1503-4 Rental, following the Synagogue of the Jews (Silver Street). This is given as the chamber of a capital tenement, once of John Kynne, now of the Friars Preachers, and the corner of their garden there. The same description occurs in the Rental of c1300. As has been demonstrated with Gyselgot, and the intra-mural road following the medieval town wall south of St Giles (Welsh 2000-1), the Borough seems to have acquired streets that had been encroached at the time of the Hundred Roll. In the Terrier of 1586 the Town held Cappe Lane, and Cappe Lane would appear to have passed between the friary and Kynne's Silver Street. Therefore the expansion of the Dominican Friary may well be the cause of the curve on Silver Street.

LOCALITY STUDY 2: AN EARLIER STREET PATTERN- ROLKES LANE AND LEWNYNS LANE

For the double streets to represent a Saxon defence, the early street patterns should differ either side of this boundary. Cappe Lane, seems to have been an early routeway and is also unusual in that it appears to have run east-north-east to west-south-west, out of character with the prevalent grid implied by Market Square and Gold Street. There are other such alignments in Northampton such as Abington Street, which strikes north-east from the eastern façade of Market Square. There is also the near co-alignment of part of Woolmonger Street with the upper part of Abington Street. Woolmonger Street shows a striking nonconformity with the southern boundary of the burgages on Gold Street. Are these alignments indications of earlier street patterns?

There are, of course, other possible explanations for Woolmonger Street. It could be a compromise where earlier east-west streets have been blocked, for example a lane at the rear of the Gold Street burgages. However this would have meant substantial re-organisation of property boundaries along Woolmonger Street.

However documentary research by this writer identified a second lane which appears to have been parallel to Woolmonger Street. Figure 2 shows the main features on Woolmonger Street (WMS) and Kingswell Street (KWS). The other main elements are Pond Yard and Parsnip Ground (PY) and the Austin Friary (AF); RL is the proposed Rolkes Lane and RMH the proposed site of Rookes Muck Hill (see below). There are two key charity properties on the south side of Woolmonger Street. One belonged to St Thomas Hospital (2) as far back as 1586 (Town Terrier); the other St John's Hospital (4) as far back as the 1535 Rental (Charity Commissioners 1837).

1. Several cottages taken out of Pond Yard and Parsnip Ground (PY), which fills the space between Woolmonger Street and Kingswell Street up to the boundary of Paynter's Austin Friary close (AF), not occupied by the under-noted properties. The earliest description is in 1645 (NRO NPL 425), with further detail in 1742 (NRO YZ 5269) while the later history is in NRO Box X1309. The ground between 1 and 2 was not developed until the late 18th century.

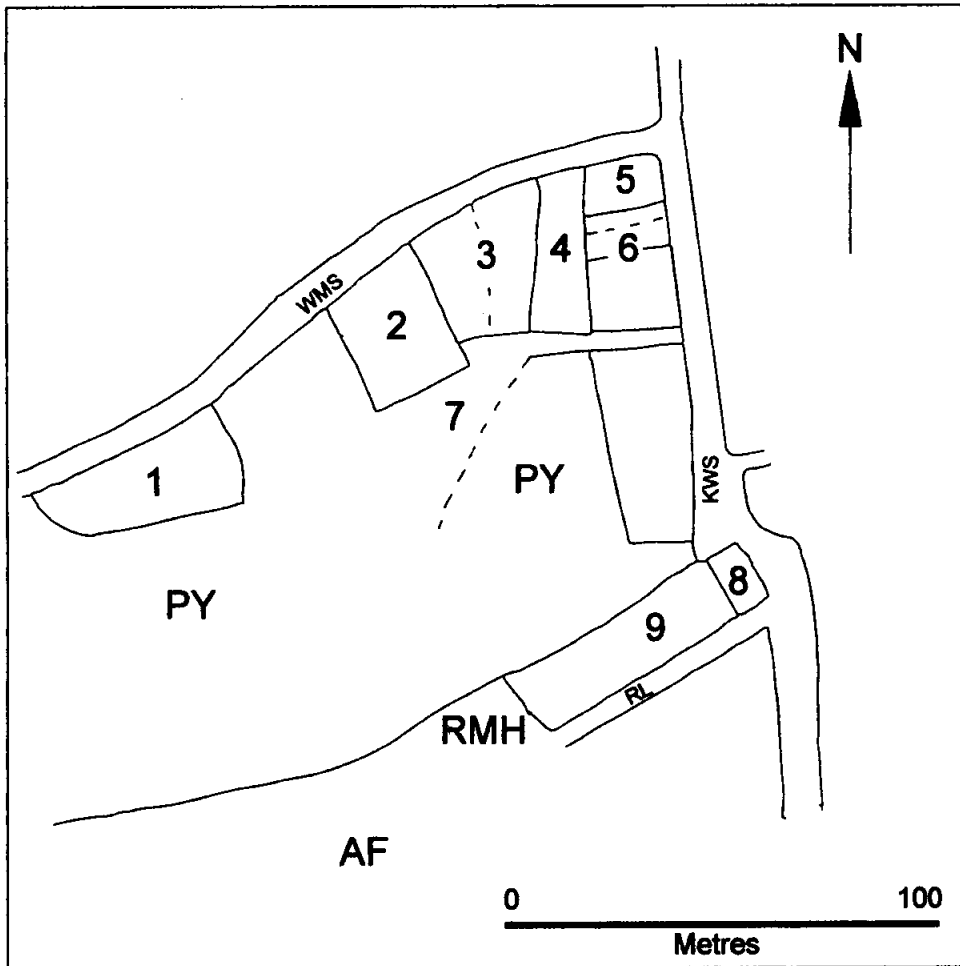


Fig 2 Principal locations in locality Study 2

2. Described in the 1586 Town Terrier, the earliest reference to it as St Thomas Hospital land is in 1597, when it was in three parts (NRO Assembly Book I p. 517). There is a plan (NRO Maps 6054), and a detailed rental history showing the development of the three parts.
3. These two properties were combined as one before 1787 and are documented as far back as 1611 in a Vernall's Inquest (NRO Assembly Book I, p. 827) through to the 19th century (NRO Box X1309), with frequent abutments to both 2 and 4.
4. As it was tenanted by Dominis de Dalington, this St. John's Hospital property may have been part of John de Dallington's bequest of 1340. There is a plan attached to a conveyance in 1877 (NRO YZ 9037), and an extensive rental history.
5. Corner house. Documented in 1695 and 1697 (NRO NPL 2216 & 2002).
6. St John's Hospital, part of 14 Kingswell Street, in Charity Commission 1888 and NRO YZ 9055-9108.
7. This rather complex ribbon of ground along the backs of 2, 3 and 4 was possibly taken out

of Pond Yard and Parsnip ground and is mentioned in 1611 as a garden (NRO Assembly Book I p. 827), and again in 1787 and 1856 (NRO Box X1309). It subsequently became Wilson's Yard the first home of Absalom Bassett's factory (Bassett-Lowke).

8. Hogstye & garden belonging to the Corporation, and recorded as far back as 1584 (NRO Assembly Book I p. 423) and 1586 (Town Terrier), it lay south of the King's Well, on the corner of a lane sometimes known as Barker's End (ie Rolkes Lane). It measured 9 yards long (deep) by 20 yards in breadth in 1798 (NRO Osborne 77), but appears to have been sold after 1804, and has mostly been removed by road widening.
9. St Johns Hospital. In the Fire Court Minutes (p. 157) in 1676 is a part of a St John's Hospital property on the west side of Kingswell Street described as a stripe of ground sometime being two gardens in Rolke Lane. This property is known from subsequent rentals and rate books, but while the extent fronting Kingswell Street is unclear, the gardens are shown on Noble & Butlin's Map of 1746 as a tapering ground (Figure 2). At the street end, it may extend further north, encompassing three tenements and a barn in the 1676 reference, as it was involved in the formation of Kingswell Terrace in the mid-19th century.

The Town Terrier of 1586 describes, in the South Quarter, a "*Sponge of grownde lying from his broad gate from his Kingswell Street to a grownde called Rookes Mucke hyll*". In 1617 the town sold to William Paynter, who had been tenant for many years: "*all that parcel of ground called Rowkes Muckhill*" and other lands in his occupation (NRO Assembly Book I, p. 706). From this it would appear that both the muck hill and the access lane were acquired by Paynter. At the time Paynter owned the site and gardens of the Austin Friary, and both the Muckhill and the lane seem to have been absorbed within it; he sold the whole, amounting to 8 acres, in 1696 (NRO NPL 111). The south side of St John's Hospital garden (8) lay along Rolkes Lane, as indicated in Figure 2, which must have become the north boundary of Paynter's Austin Friary. At the end of this is an angular projection from Paynter's land which is probably the location of Rookes Muck Hill (RMH on Figure 2).

The evidence suggests that Woolmonger Street and Rolkes Lane, being closely parallel, are remnants of an early street pattern. Lewnys Lane, the two halves of which had been absorbed into adjoining properties by the time of the 1503-4 Rental, opened onto Woolmonger Street and passed behind what had been Sir John Vinter's tenement in Kingswell Street. John Vynter married the widow of John Dallington, benefactor of St John's, after 1340 (NRO A.81 and A.97). It is possible that part of the Vynter property is St John's holding here (9). That means the lane is more likely to have been north-south, or given the angular boundary of Rookes Muck Hill and the alignment of the St Thomas Hospital holding (2), north-north-west to south-south-east, in keeping with Woolmonger Street and Rolkes Lane. This earlier street pattern might represent the original Norman new town. If so it is west of the double streets.

CONCLUSIONS

To be of Saxon origin, the double streets, that first appear on Speed's plan of 1610, should not have been greatly disturbed by medieval activity up until that time. In reality there was too much activity in the medieval period along the axes of the double streets for it to have been a pristine survivor of late Saxon defences.

The evidence provided here suggests that Kingswell Street preceded Bridge Street as the axis of the town from the south gate, and that Bridge Street was the result of restructuring. It also identifies possible causes of structural change that might have led to the diagnostic curve of Silver Street. Finally this paper demonstrates that there appears to have been an earlier street pattern underlying the formal pattern of burgages around Market Square, represented by Woolmonger Street and Rolkes Lane on one side of the double streets, and Abington Street on the other. Market Square itself appears to have been a 13th century creation, as earlier writers have suggested, rather than an 11th-century market place as claimed by some recent ones.

It is not suggested that any of this evidence is conclusive, or that there is one particular manifestation of Saxon and Norman Northampton. Much more research is needed to find such answers. However this paper does set out to challenge the late Saxon Town theory expounded by Frank Lee in 1954. Most

importantly, what this writer would like to see is that, until positive evidence comes to light, a wider view of early Northampton should be under discussion, accommodating different patterns of evolution of both Saxon and Norman Northampton.

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T.C. WELSH

THE LUFFIELD PRIORY GRANGE AT MONKS BARN, WHITTLEBURY, NORTHANTS

The origins and development of the monastic demesne of Monksbarn can be traced in nineteen documents contained in the Luffield Priory cartulary. These provide valuable information regarding the nature of the agricultural resources of the grange, its general location and size. Cartographic analysis and archaeological fieldwork has allowed the site of the grange and its lands to be accurately identified and the arrangement of landuse to be defined.

Monksbarn has its origins in a grant of 80 acres of land in a corner of Norton Wood made by William de Clairvaux to the priory in c. 1220-5 (Luffield Charters: no. 167). This land lay between two assarts, one made by Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, from his wife's land, the other by Henry de Perie from land owned by Count Baldwin. The land also neighboured an arable holding of Geoffrey de Pavilly. A second document of the same date allowed the monks to cultivate these

80 acres, saving one third of the crop for William himself, and to fold their animals thereon (Luffield Charters: no. 171). The demesne was further added to either at the same time or immediately thereafter (1225-35) with the acquisition of an assart and two acres of woodland from John Marshal from whom William de Clairvaux held his original gift (Luffield Charters: no. 166). This close landholding tie between the two grantors might suggest that the grants were made together and thus should be dated to 1225. John Marshal endowed the grange with a further two small pieces of land in the early 1230s: the first was 12 acres of wood said to lie between the assart of the monks and *Burchotrode*; the second was two acres next to the assart of William de Pavilly between the ditch of Perry and the ditch which runs from Lillingstone to Paulerspury (Luffield Charters: no. 224). A further addition was made in c. 1240 or before with the grant by Henry de Perie of his small assart lying between his great assart and that of the priory, located on the road called *Wodekespat* (Luffield Charters: no. 174). This accumulated landholding remained in the priory's hands for a further

110 years until it was finally leased in 1351 to Adam de Cortendale and his wife for two lives, the first document to mention the manor by name (Luffield Charters: no. 177).

LOCATING THE GRANGE

There is sufficient evidence contained within these grants to begin the identification of the monastic estate. Whilst known to lie within Norton Wood, this covered a large area. At Domesday it was assessed at four leagues by three (4-6 miles in length by 3-4.5 miles in breadth) contained within a number of later parishes from Whittlebury in the southeast to Adstone in the northwest. The lease of 1351, however, places Monksbarn in the manor of Paulerspury and thus in the more southerly portion of the wood.

The first named feature identifiable with accuracy is *Wodekespat*, which formed part of the bounds of Whittlewood Forest according to a perambulation of 1299 (Baker 1867: 75; PRO C67/6A). The section from Silverstone to Watling Street reads in translation: 'Then to *Heggesmulne*, including the park of *Hanle* (Handley) within the old ditch, and then by a certain way to *Newbrigge*, excluding *Docwellehay*, and the vill of Towcester with the parish thereof, and then to *Pavelyshegg*. Then to *Wodekespath* by the fee of Norton, and between the fees of *Pavely* and Norton to *Odewell* and Watling Street...' This course can largely be reconstructed from the modern footpath system. Arcing north from Silverstone (SP 666 446), the bounds must have passed through Handley (SP 673 472) and on towards Mileoak Farm (SP 676 477) before turning southeast to *Newbrigge* which must have crossed a tributary of the river Tove northwest of the Roman town (close to SP 684 478). The bounds then follow the bridleway southeast into Wood Burcote (SP 696 470) and thence to the corner of the modern arrangement of Whittlebury and Paulerspury parishes (SP 701 461). This was the start of *Pavelyshegg*, the hedged boundary of Paulerspury which runs in a straight line south east before hitting the green lane from Pury End to Sholebroke Lodge at SP 704 453. This is *Wodekespat*. The boundary then turns back to the east close to the lodge to follow its route north of Buckingham Thick Copse (SP 707 433) to The Kennels (SP 730 434) and out to Watling Street close to Oakley Spinney (SP 745 441).

The second identifiable name appears in a lease dated to 1424 wherein the priory granted the manor

of Monksbarn to Sir John St John with all its lands except *Monkeswode* (Luffield Charters: no. 182). Two Monks Woods appears on the c. 1608 map of Whittlewood Forest (NRO Map 4210). The first lay on the boundary of Syresham and Silverstone parishes (centred on SP 651 435). This is first mentioned during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307) and belonged to Biddlesden Abbey from which it must have acquired its nomenclature (Mawer and Stenton 1933: 60). The second lies 700m north-west of the Whittlebury (SP 700 447) and is bound to the northwest by the lane identified as *Wodekespat*. The juxtaposition of these two named features thus firmly locates the area within which the grange and its associated fields once stood. To the north of the wood, eight irregularly shaped enclosed fields are depicted on the c. 1608 map, five to the south of the lane and three to the north (Fig.1).

Aerial photographs (RAF VAP CPE/UK/1926, 3235-6, 5235-6) clearly show a rectangular enclosure c. 150m x 90m, lying in a large bowtie-shaped field (SP 699 451, see Fig. 2), but which must formally have lain within the smallest of the enclosures shown on the map of c. 1608. This earthwork has now been totally destroyed, but the aerial photographs taken in 1947 show that it was surrounded by a low bank and exterior ditch. It was unequally divided into two halves, the smaller northern part containing prominent linear earthworks, the larger southern division containing a number of apparent depressions and a less distinct platform to the east. Ridge and furrow is clearly discernable immediately to the west of the enclosure and ground inspection within the small copse to the north reveals a sunken area fed by a stream which might have acted as a fishpond or water reservoir.

Previously identified as a medieval forest-edge farmstead, the enclosure must now be regarded as the site of Monksbarn grange and later manor (RCHM(E) *SW Northants*: 169). Typologically, the enclosure bears a remarkable resemblance to other known grange sites, for example Barton Court, Oxon, (Allen 1995), Holeway, Worcs. (Dyer 1991: 35), Thrussington, Leics. (Hartley 1989: fig. 32), Burton on the Wolds, Leics. (Hartley 1989: fig. 5; Platt 1969: 194), and Braughton, Yorks. (Platt 1969: 193-4) amongst many others.

Some of the internal arrangements of the late medieval manor of Monksbarn can be gleaned from a lease dated 1376 (Luffield Charters: no. 179). After a description of the lands belonging to the manor the

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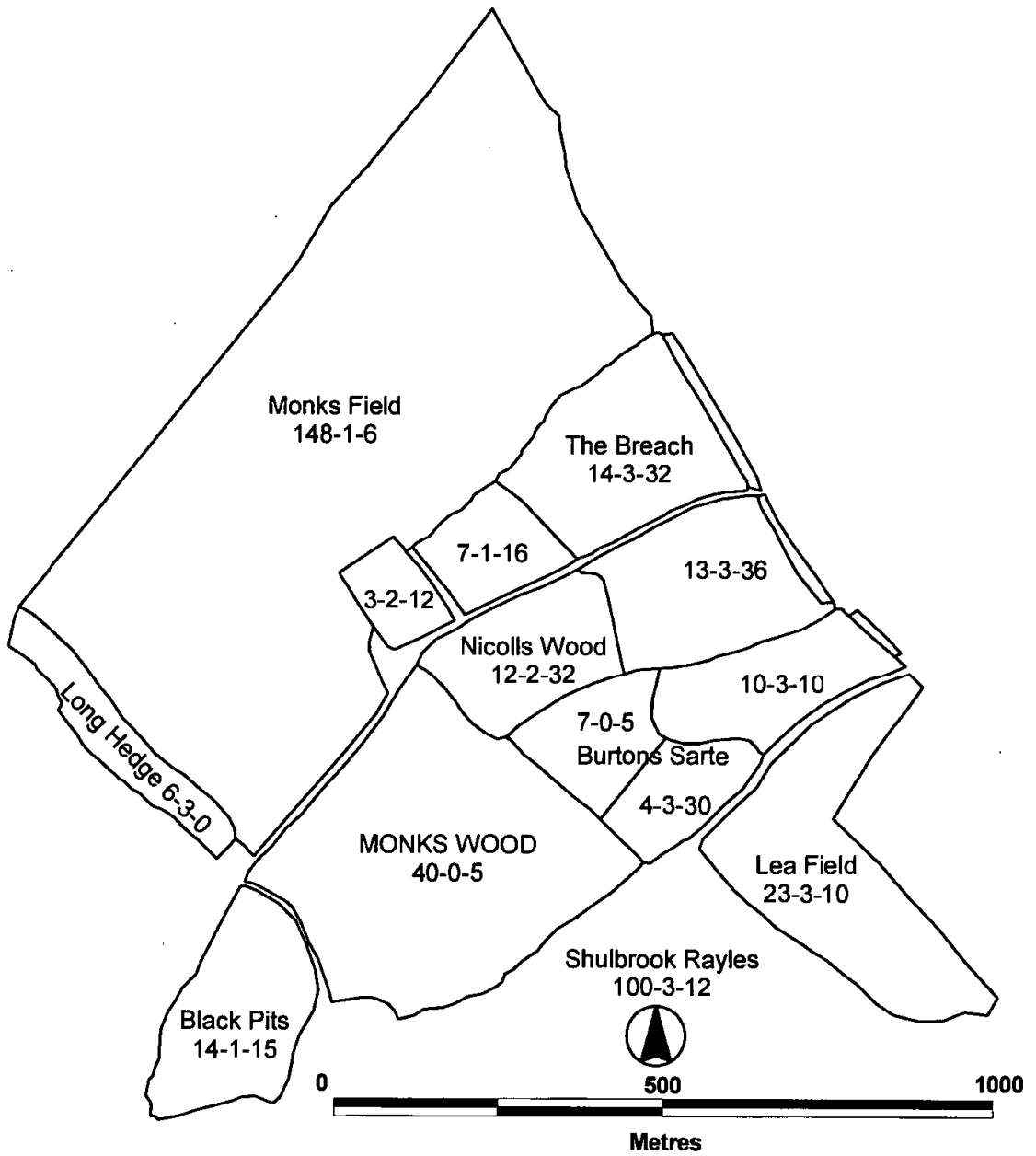


Fig 1 Fields in vicinity of Monks Wood as depicted on the c. 1608 map of Whittlewood (NRO Map 4210)



Fig 2 Aerial photograph of the enclosure (RAF VAP CPE/UK/1926, 3236)

following structures are described: *illas domos vocatas aulas tres bayes uersus austrum extendentes versus boream et vnam bayam et dimidiam alterius domus versus aquilonem* (those buildings called halls, three bays long southwards extending to the north and one and a half bays in the other building towards the north). This suggests that at least two large buildings stood within the complex, both set on a north-south axis. Although the earthworks visible on the aerial photographs cannot be assigned to these two buildings with confidence, both could have easily be accommodated within the enclosure, the halls' north-south orientation following the long axis of the enclosure. These buildings were probably in existence in 1351 when Adam de Cortenhale and his wife were said not to be liable to maintain the greater and lesser buildings (*domos*) unless they wanted to (Luffield Charters: no. 179), and could well have served the earlier grange as chambers or barns.

THE GRANGE ESTATE

It is clear that the c. 1608 map preserves the arrangement of the surrounding land and allows the clear

development of the grange to be followed (Fig. 1 and Fig. 3). To the south-west of the track to Pury End, six enclosures are depicted and their acreages given (Monks Wood, 40a-0r-3p; Nicolls Wood, 12-2-32; Burtons Sart, 7-0-5 and 4-3-30; and two unnamed plots, 13-3-32 and 10-3-10). Together they cover an area of c. 86 acres, a figure which accords well with the original 80 acre grant of William de Clairvaux in c. 1225. To the north of the track, the grange earthworks lie in a small enclosure of 3-2-12 acres, and this might well represent the small grant of an assart and two acres made by John Marshal. The c. 1240 grant of a small assart made by Henry de Perie specifies that this lies between his great assart and that of the monks and abutting the Wodekespat. Wodekespat, as already identified, is the name of the track running from Whittlebury to Pury End shown on the c. 1608 map. Henry's great assart must be the open field called Monks Field in c. 1608 to the north-west, while his small assart can only be one of the two enclosures to the north-east of the grange (in c. 1608 The Breach, 14-3-32; and an unnamed close, 7-1-16). If this arrangement is accepted, this also locates the assart of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter mentioned in c. 1225 to the southwest of Monks Wood in

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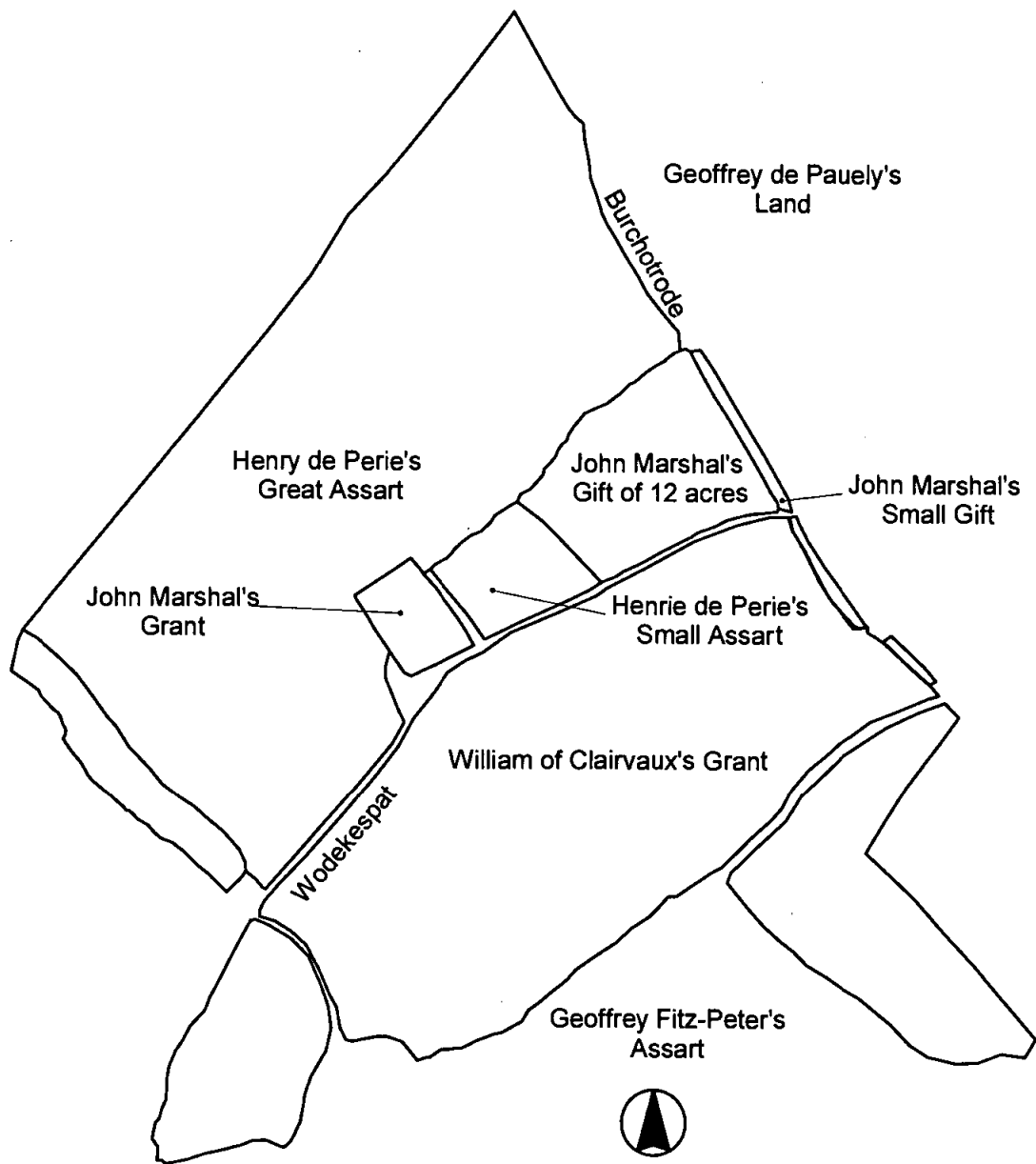


Fig 3 Medieval Assarts mentioned in the Luffield Charters

parkland depicted on the seventeenth century map, and implies that Geoffrey de Pauley's land must lie in the open fields of Paulerspury to the north-east, a position that would be consistent with the Whittlewood perambulation following Pavelyshegge ('de Pavilly's hedge'), at this point.

John Marshal's gift of 12 acres must have been added to the main block of landholding since it is said to run between the assart of the monks and Burchotrode (Luffield Charters: no. 224). Burchotrode must lead eventually to Wood Burcote but its route is far from clear except where it was followed by the perambulation of Whittlewood Forest in 1299 and where it now forms the modern parish boundary between Paulerspury and Whittlebury. One possible location would be field named The Breach in 1608, lying between Henry de Perie's small assart (if a date earlier than c. 1240 is accepted for the granting of this small plot) and the road in breadth and between the stream which feeds the pond at the grange (the ditch of Paulerspury) and le Stonilow which must stand on high ground (stony + *hlaw*) near Wodekespat. Certainly the 1608 acreage of 14 acres is remarkably close to the thirteenth century assessment. It is clear from the second grant that the same stream borders the smaller as well as the larger of the two Marshal allotments. Curiously, however, the grant also mentions the ditch or stream which runs from Lillingstone to Paulerspury. Since these two settlements are separated by the Great Ouse/Tove watershed, no single watercourse connects them on the ground. The brook which runs through the centre of Lillingstone Lovell issues from a source that historically falls within Paulerspury manor and parish (SP 705 438), however this is located as some distance from the other holdings of the monks and far from the Paulerspury ditch and is thus unlikely to be that mentioned here. A second stream running into the southern side of Pury End also rises outside the manor and parish, this time close to Sholebroke Lodge although this is historically Whittlebury rather than Lillingstone. Ignoring the irresolvable problem of identifying the second stream, one obvious possibility is that these two acres are located in the thin strip running between the main stream and the lesser stream beginning close to Sholebroke Lodge. Their inclusion together as a single grant might in fact imply that the two pieces of land were coterminus with each other. If so, they may have survived to be depicted as Catchpole's Acres, three small parcels

of land marked on the c. 1608 map. This would be consistent with their proximity to de Pavilly's holdings which had been mentioned earlier belonging to Geoffrey, and now perhaps in the hands of a successor William. The original grant of William de Clairvaux and the Whittlewood perambulation of 1299 both locate the de Pavilly holdings abutting the monks' gift to the northeast and thus adjoining these three small plots (Luffield Charters: no. 167).

THE GRANGE ECONOMY

The documents make clear that the grange supported a mixed agrarian system of arable and pasture from the outset. Arable production is made explicit in the agreement made between William de Clairvaux and the priory in c. 1220-31 (Luffield Charters: no. 169). This system certainly predates the creation of the grange, the monks inheriting rather than creating *de novo*, a working landscape. Immediately after the transfer of this land, for example, the priory made an arrangement with Geoffrey de Insula concerning access to pasture on their new estate, conceding that eight of his demesne oxen and the animals of his manor of Hecumdecote (Heathencote) might be folded on the fallow arable, implying that this was an existing customary right (Luffield Charters: no. 180). Woodland or wood pasture also appears to have been preserved within the demesne throughout the priory's tenure. Woodland was mentioned explicitly in the original grant of John Marshal in c. 1225 (Luffield Charters: no. 166), again in a release and quitclaim made by William de Stapleford in c. 1235-45 (Luffield Charters: no. 165) and much later in the lease of 1351 (Luffield Charters: no. 177). This appears, however, to have been restricted to one part of the grange lands since no woodland was included within the half of the manor leased in 1376 to John Hauerkus (Luffield Charters: no. 179). This lease records the presence of arable, meadow, feedings and pasture but woodland is absent from this detailed list.

The reconstruction of the estate relies upon evidence gleaned from aerial photographs and from systematic fieldwalking. Ridge and furrow, for example, can be clearly defined immediately south-west and north-west of the grange itself (Fig. 4). This runs downslope towards the stream which forms the north-western boundary of the demesne. The selions terminate, however, 20-30m from the stream and

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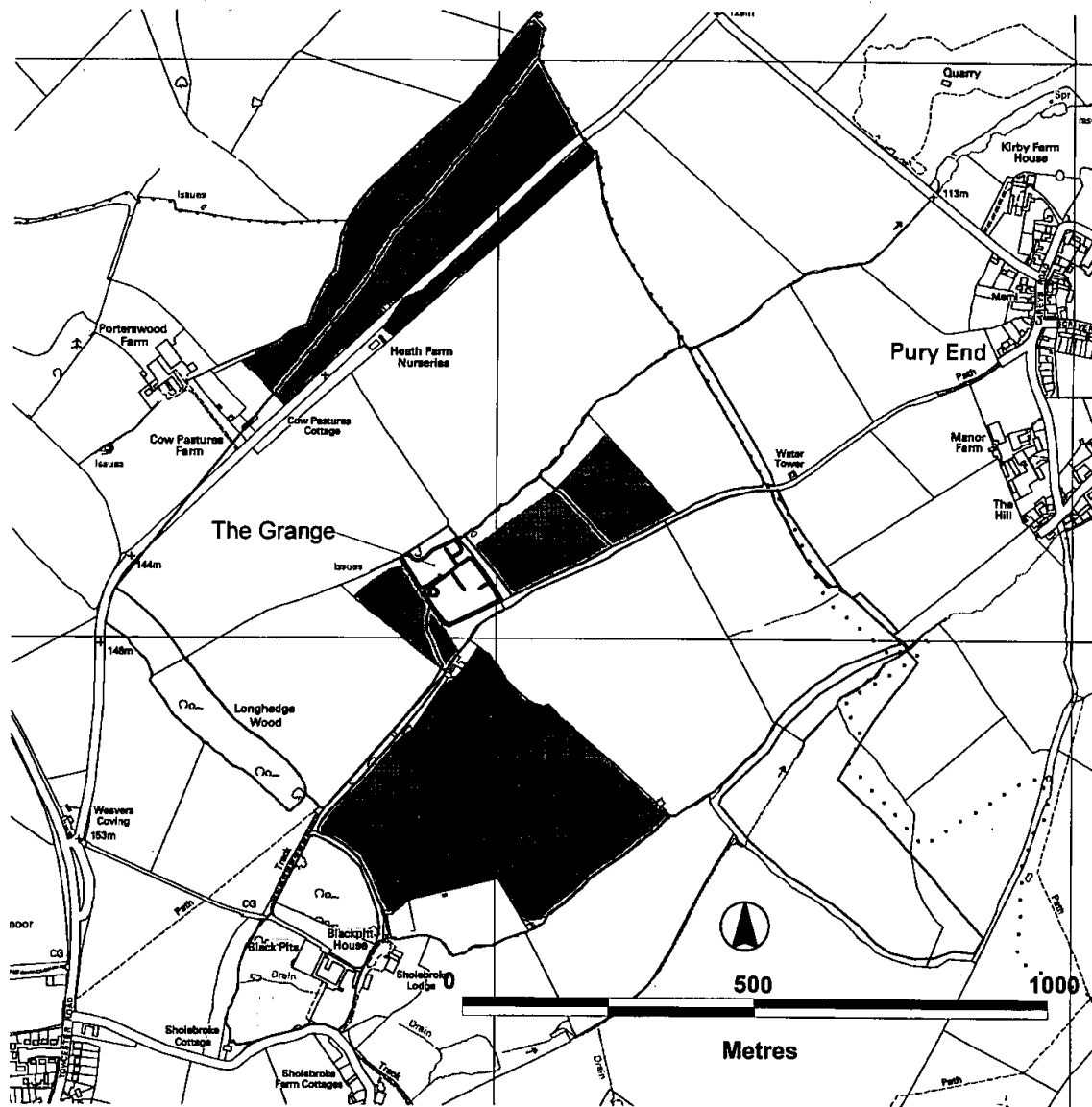


Fig 4 Ridge and Furrow located from RAF VAP CPE/UK/1926, 3236 & 5236. © Crown Copyright. All Rights Reserved

suggest that beyond the headland an area of meadow was preserved along the stream banks. Southeast of Wodekespat, interlocking furlongs can also be found in the two modern fields south of the grange, again arranged to run predominately downslope towards a second stream flowing north-east towards Pury End (RAF VAP CPE/UK/1926, 5236). Further evidence

for ridge and furrow, lying elsewhere within the monks' estate, may well have been destroyed by modern ploughing. Those earthworks that can be identified can only provide at best the minimum acreage that had been brought into arable cultivation by the end of the medieval period.

The recovery of low-density scatters of medieval

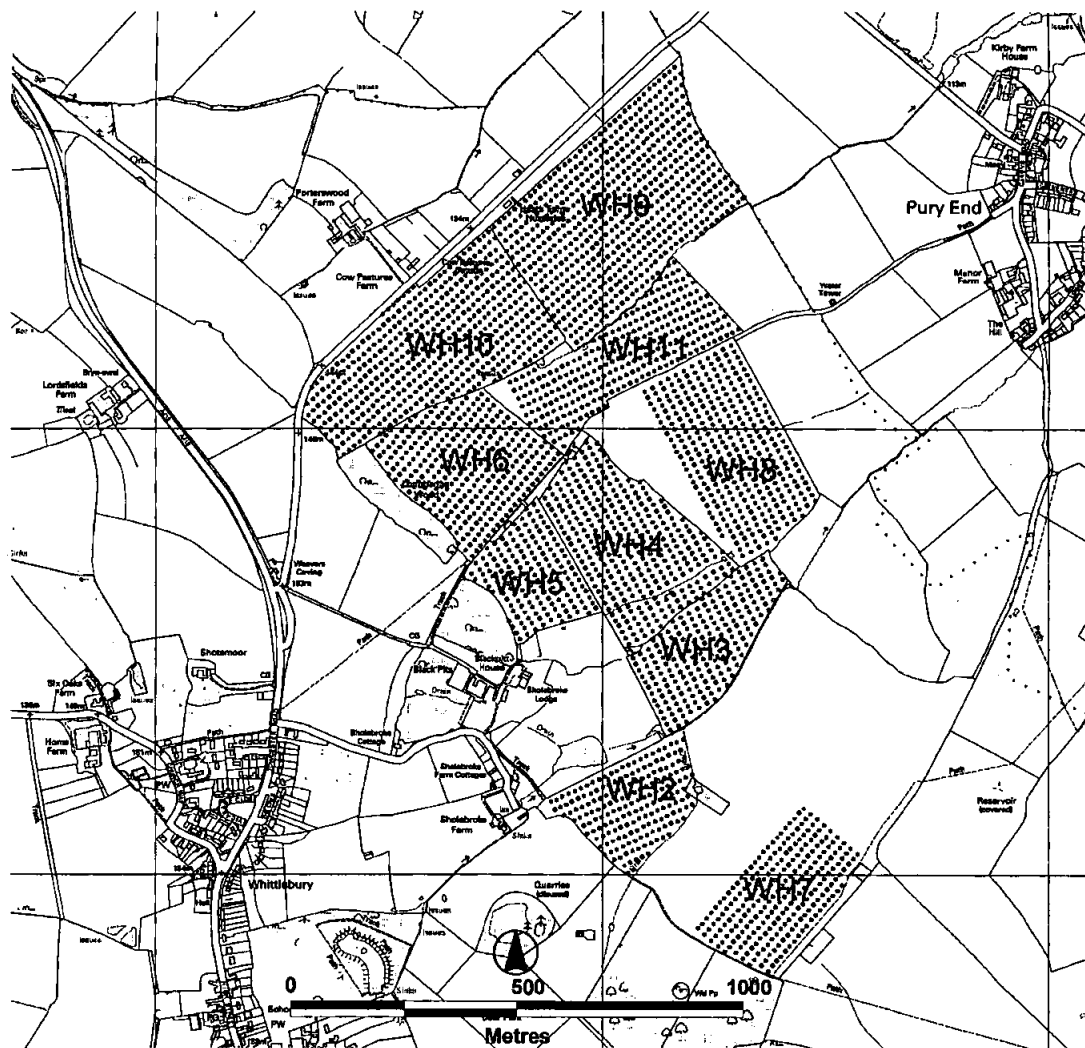


Fig 5 Location of fields systematically surveyed in 2002. © Crown Copyright. All Rights Reserved.

pottery both in areas shown to contain ridge and furrow and beyond provides another clear indication that a greater area had formerly been ploughed. The pottery will have arrived in the fields during manuring. It was common practice to transport domestic rubbish, rich in nutrients but also containing the remnants of earthenware vessels broken in the home, onto the fields. Again, however, this type of evidence can only be used to reconstruct the minimum rather than maximum area of ploughland since there were

other available sources of manure which contained no such material, for instance farmyard manure, or the folding of animals onto the fallow after harvest, while some areas of ploughland may never have been manured at all.

A large part of the demesne estate and many of the adjoining blocks of land has been systematically walked (Fig. 5). The number of sherds of each fabric have been tabulated within each of the modern fields surveyed (Table 1).

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Table 1: Sherds counts by fabric and field.

Field/ Fabric	F329	F330	F360	F403	F404	F407	F413	F420	F425	F426	F1000	F1001
WH2	3											
WH3	2				1	3	2	1			12	4
WH4	1		2	1		4				3	3	
WH5			1							4	4	
WH6	4					1				1	1	
WH7												18
WH8	23	1	1	1	3	16			2	6	41	3
WH9	14		1								2	7
WH10	4					1					12	3
WH11	9			1	1						11	1

Pottery fabrics present in the assemblage area as follows:

F329	Potterspurry Ware	1250-1600AD
F330	Shelly Coarseware	1100-1400 AD
F360	Miscellaneous Sandy Ware	1100-1400 AD
F403	Midland Purple Ware	1450-1600 AD
F404	Cistercian Ware	1470-1550 AD
F407	Red Earthenwares	1500+ AD
F420	Westerwald/ Cologne stoneware	17th +
F425	Staffordshire Trailed Slipware	Late 17th-18th
F426	Iron-glazed earthenware	Late 17th-19th
F1000	Miscellaneous Wares	18th-19th
F1001	Romano-British Wares	AD 43-400

The presence of medieval pottery on the majority of the fields attests to ploughing and manuring at this date (Fig. 6). Simple sherd counts, however, mask subtle but important variations. A more accurate

expression of the levels of manuring is gained by looking at the density of sherd presence by hectare (Table 2) and by plotting distribution against the seventeenth century rather than modern fields (Fig. 7). A general picture emerges of a low density of finds across the landscape. Certainly, in contrast to other areas of Whittlewood, the medieval fields of Monksbarn appear to have received much less than might be expected (Table 3). However, the documents make clear that the principal manure source was the animals that could be folded onto the fallow arable and after the summer ploughing and this would leave no archaeological trace (Luffield Chart-ers: nos. 165 & 180).

The relative dearth of ceramics within the plough-soil might also be accounted for by a real unavailability of domestic refuse containing such material. It is probable that the grange housed very few people, using very little pottery, and as a consequence adding only small amounts of broken

Table 2: Monksbarn: sherds per hectare

Field No.	Hectares	Sherds	Sherds/hct	F329	F330	F360	Date Range
WH2	5.9	3	5.1	3	-	-	1250+
WH3	6.5	2	3.3	2	-	-	1250+
WH4	10.3	3	2.9	1	-	2	1100-1400
WH5	5.1	1	2.0	-	-	1	1100-1400
WH6	8.6	4	4.7	4	-	-	1250+
WH7	6.0	0	0.0	-	-	-	-
WH8	10.5	26	24.8	24	1	1	1100-1400
WH9	17.8	15	8.4	14	-	1	1100-1400
WH10	13.4	4	3.0	4	-	-	1250+
WH11	8.3	9	10.8	9	-	-	1250+
	92.4	67		61	1	5	

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Table 3: Village open fields in Whittlewood area: sherds per hectare

Field	F329	F330	F360	Sherds/hct
LD2	33	1	1	35
LE3	311	65	56	432
LE10	173	15	18	206
LL1	63	14	18	85
LI2	34	6	4	44
ST2	107	10	36	163
W15	18	7	10	35
W16	44	2	1	47

vessels to their manure heap. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that fieldwalking on the grange site itself only produced a single sherd of medieval pottery. Clearly, little pottery was being used. The remoteness of the estate from other domestic manure sources must have increased the value of whatever organic waste could be found on the

grange itself. It is highly probable that this commodity was as a consequence carefully collected, stored, and then systematically spread onto the surrounding fields. Thus the grange itself, kept clean of detritus, is revealed in the archaeological record by the absence, rather than the presence, of ceramic sherds.

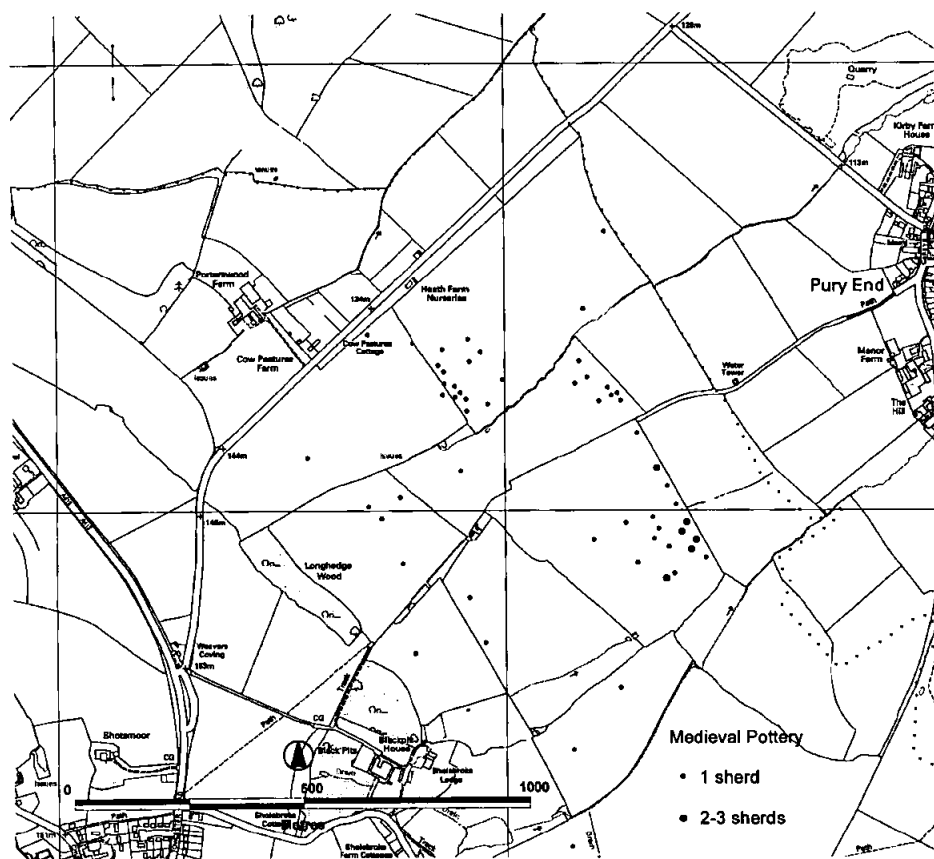


Fig 6 Medieval pottery plots against modern fields. © Crown Copyright. All Rights Reserved.

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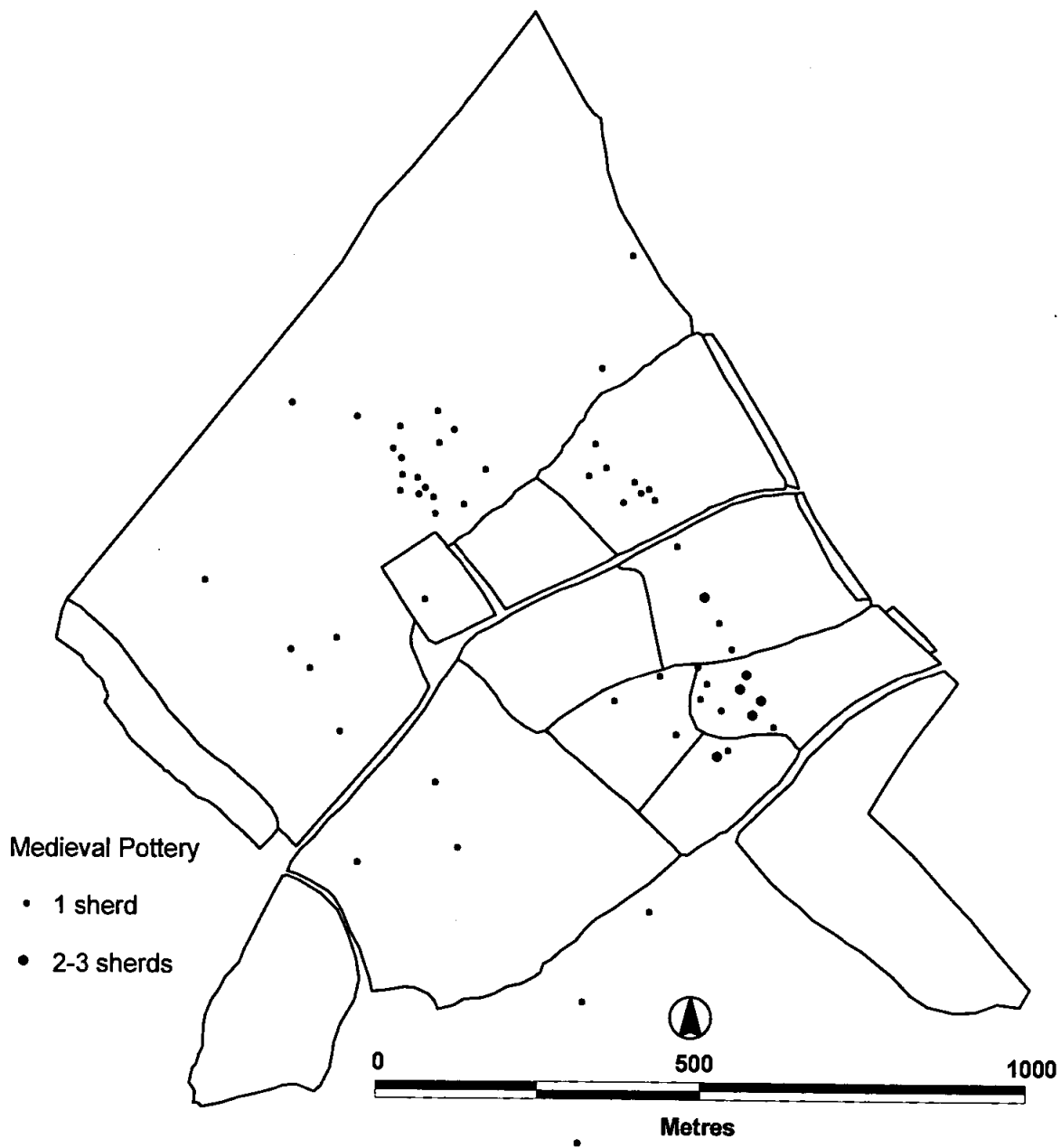


Fig 7 Medieval pottery plots against 1608 fields.

The pottery spreads reveal two last points of note. The relatively dense concentration found to the north of the grange appears to have been the result of dumping material here before it was spread laterally onto other parts of the field. This was Henry de Perie's assart: from a source in Paulerspury, this ceramic-rich manure must have been carted along Wodekespat and then by way of the holloway on the eastern side of the grange, to the nearest access into this plot where it was left to be distributed by hand. Secondly, 200m to the east of the grange, and again 400m southeast of it, other clusters of pottery were recovered. These concentrations relate well with the c. 1608 fields, and might suggest that some parts of the estate were selected to receive proportionally more domestic manure than others. Whether this was an attempt to maintain fertility to allow constant cultivation without the need to leave these areas fallow, or whether these plots were naturally less fertile and therefore needed greater attention to maintain yields, is not known. In the absence of ridge and furrow evidence, this close spatial association between pottery clusters and the field patterns may suggest that the hedgelines preserve earlier furlong arrangements.

Finally, the fieldwalking reveals that the area appears to have been cleared and ploughed in the Romano-British period (Fig 8.). Again low-density pottery scatters reveal this activity and a discrete scatter found 1.1km south of the grange may represent a small settlement or farmstead of this period. The lack of material around this site, however, suggests that this farm must have had a pastoral or woodland economic base, and therefore it is likely that the arable cultivation around the grange would have been managed and undertaken from elsewhere. Paulerspury is rich in Romano-British sites, the closest of which might be proposed as an estate centre for this activity (RCHM(E) *SW Northants*: 112-3). That the area had largely been cleared of woodland suggests that the medieval assarts mentioned in the charters must have been carved from secondary woodland or wood pasture rather than dense primary woodland. The task of converting the land to arable would therefore have been easier to undertake than if this was the first clearance.

The high proportion of the estate containing ridge and furrow and pottery scatters suggests that woodland was not extensive and may have been restricted to the peripheries of the demesne, perhaps managed in long and thin blocks such as Long Hedge

just to the south-west (NRO Map 4210). Fieldnames from the early seventeenth-century Whittlewood map do not help the reconstruction of the medieval landscape since it can be shown there had been significant changes of use. Monks Wood, for example, contains ridge and furrow and pottery scatters attesting that it had formerly been arable land. In fact this landuse change had already taken place by 1424 when Monks Wood was precisely described as a wood (Luffield Charters: no. 182). A slightly different chronology can be surmised in the enclosures north of Monks Wood. Granted to Sir John St John in 1424 this was, as has already been noted, exclusively arable, meadow and pasture land. It is also an area which has produced medieval pottery from fieldwalking. Yet the names Nicolls Wood, Burtons Sarte and The Breach all have woodland connotations and must therefore imply regeneration of woodland between 1424 and the enclosure of the fields at some point before 1608.

CONCLUSIONS

Few blocks of land within Whittlewood Forest can be identified and their medieval landscape histories traced so precisely as that of the grange at Monksbarn. Several key points emerge from documents and the archaeological fieldwork. First, it is clear that the process of assarting here was well underway by the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Three large assarts, those of Henry de Perie, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and William de Clairvaux (held from John Marshal) can be identified, together with two smaller assarts of John Marshal and Henry de Perie. These two small assarts and that of William de Clairvaux, forming a discrete estate lying on both sides of Wodekespat, became the grange demesne, an area of some 110 acres. This assarting was taking place within an area of secondary woodland which had regenerated since the end of the Romano-British period and not in areas of dense primary woodland. Secondly, it is important to note that the monks inherited, rather than created, this estate. It was already largely cleared of woodland and was under the plough by 1225. The agricultural framework had thus been established before the foundation of the grange and this was to alter little before the leasing of the manor in the mid-fourteenth century. Woodland regeneration, witnessed by the fieldnames which appear on the c. 1608 map, must therefore have taken place only once the

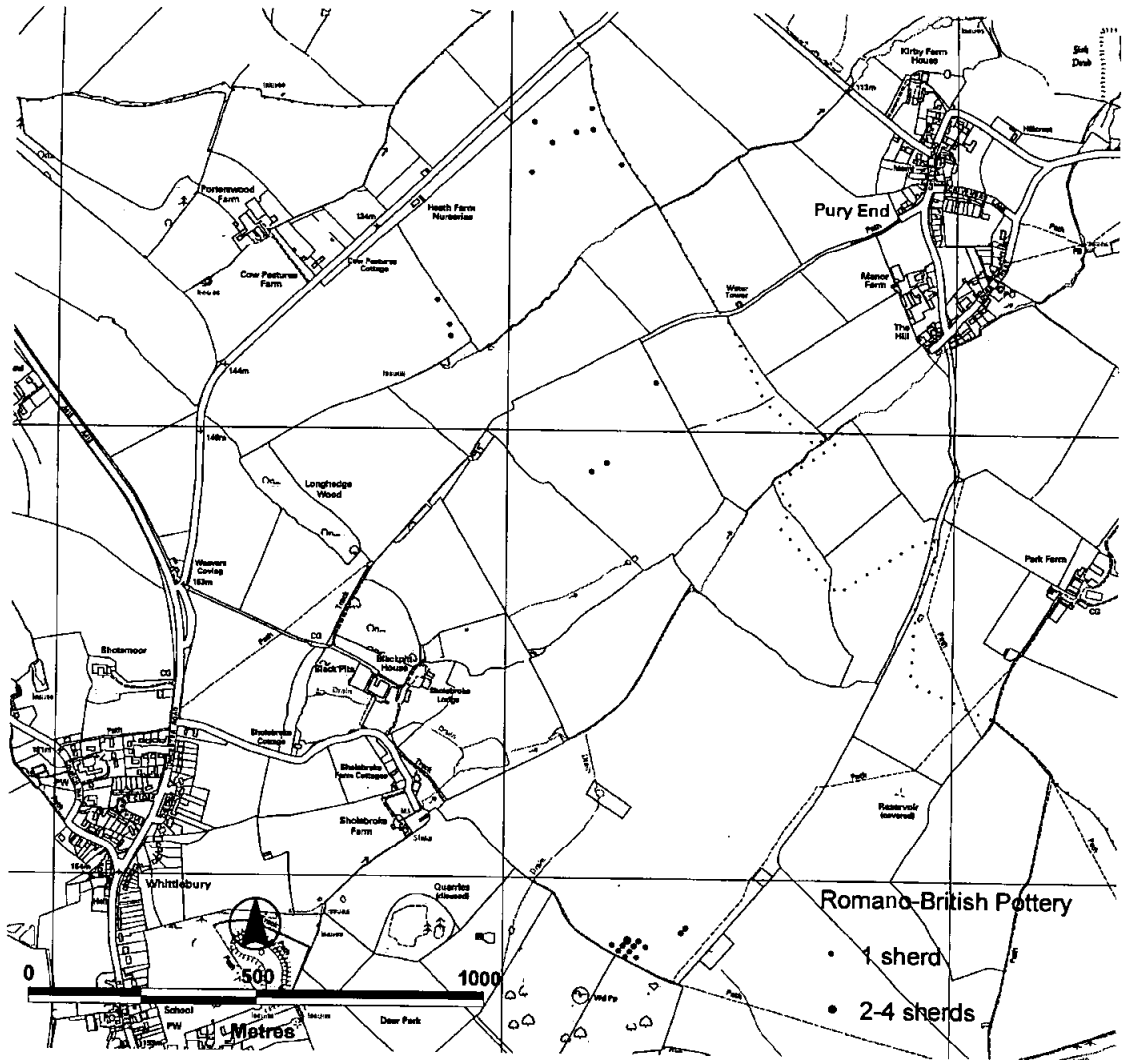


Fig 8: Roman pottery plots. © Crown Copyright. All Rights Reserved.

estate had been taken out of demesne. Thirdly, it is clear that the boundaries between Whittlebury and Paulerspury have changed considerably. The documents specifically state that the grange lay in West Perry or Paulerspury but by 1608 it lay in Whittlebury. The complication appears to arise from the fact that this part of West Perry and large parts of Whittlebury were held as detached parts of Norton. It can be noted, however, that the fossilization of parish

and manorial boundaries often occurred later in wooded areas than in the arable-producing champion regions and this may be a fine example of this process. Finally, the practice of folding animals onto the fallow arable as the principal means of manuring, rather than using farmyard manure containing domestic refuse, warns against the strict use of medieval pottery scatters as a definitive indicator of the location and extent of arable fields.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Christopher Dyer for comments offered on a very early draft of this article. I am also indebted to Mark Page for providing the prosopographical details for those named in the charters. Finally, and most especially, I should like to thank Mr Marston of Wild House Farm, Syresham, and his family, for the interest they have expressed in this work and for permission to walk the fields discussed above.

Reader's Note: Results from fieldwalking have been expressed as sherds per hectare. As fields have been line walked at 15m intervals, screening a 1.5m wide section along each line, only 10% of any field has been investigated. To calculate the number of sherds per hectare, the following formula is used: (actual sherd count x 10) / hectares.

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APPENDIX 1: People mentioned in the charters

Geoffrey Fitz-Peter

Earl of Essex (1199-1213), he married Beatrice daughter of William de Say, by whom he acquired a large estate. William de Say was descended from Geoffrey de Mandeville, the Domesday holder of land in Silverstone and (possibly) Whittlebury (Luffield Charters: xvii). In the early thirteenth century Geoffrey Fitz-Peter held a number of assarts within Whittlewood Forest, eg. 36½ acres in Abthorpe and 36 acres in Towcester in 1209 (PRO, E32/249, m. 17). According to another list of Whittlewood assarts, probably a little later than that of 1209, Geoffrey also held 22 acres sown with oats in *Peria* of the fee of the earl of Ferrers (almost certainly Potterspury) and 32 acres (13 of wheat and 19 of oats) in Burcote from the assarts of Aubrey the Forester (PRO, E32/249, m. 6d). Aubrey held land in Whittlebury in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (eg. Luffield Charters: no. 265).

Baldwin de Béthune

Count of Aumale (1195-1212), he held the manor of Greens Norton in right of his wife Hawise, daughter and heir of William le Gros, count of Aumale. Assarts in Whittlebury and *Peria* held of the fee of the count of Aumale are listed in PRO E32/249, mm. 6-6d, but none under the name of Henry de Perie.

Geoffrey de Pavilly

Held a number of assarts in *Peria* (PRO E32/249, mm. 6-6d) including one of 100 acres (50 of wheat and 50 of oats) held of the fee of the count of Aumale. He also held a wood in Paulterspury (*Westperia*) of the fee of Nottingham (PRO E32/249, m. 6d).

John Marshal

Illegitimate son of John Marshal II, he died in 1236. He was thus the cousin of William Marshal (II) earl of Pembroke.

RICHARD JONES

FOTHERINGHAY : A NEW PERSPECTIVE FROM THE 1640s

This note arises from the discovery of a map of circa 1640 showing what appears to be the only surviving depiction of both the Castle and the College at Fotheringhay (see the cover of this volume).¹ It was found during research for the Rockingham Forest Project and contains a vast range of information on the character of the landscape of the Cliffe Bailiwick, covering the eastern third of Rockingham Forest.² If ever used before in the study of the county is certainly not widely known. It will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming article but the map, together with an associated smaller scale map of the whole of the forest, will provide a valuable research resource for many other future studies of aspects of the Rockingham Forest landscape.³ The present note relates solely to Fotheringhay village, using earlier and later sources to interpret the map, drawing upon work done by the author for NCC as part of the English Heritage funded Extensive Urban Survey project for Northamptonshire.⁴ This evidence has then been combined with that from the survey of 1548 and the map of 1716 to produce a reconstruction of the early plan of Fotheringhay village.⁵

Fotheringhay lies in the Nene valley between Oundle and Peterborough, on the edge of Rockingham Forest, within which the manor held substantial woodland and a deer park. During the Saxon period Fotheringhay, the settlement on the 'island', was overshadowed by the nearby royal manor of Nassington.⁶ However from the conquest Fotheringhay, a substantial manor of 6 hides, was held by the Earls of Northampton who built a castle there. In 1308-9 the Earl of Richmond acquired the manor and obtained the grant of a market in the village, but this was a very unfavourable time for town foundation. Not only had earlier towns 'cornered the market', the next decade saw disastrous famines which led to population decline and a major recession. In 1348 the Black Death brought an even more dramatic death toll and a massive recession followed. Fotheringhay's was one of a number of markets founded in the later 13th and early 14th century to expire in this harsh new economic climate.

Surprisingly however, the best was yet to come for this small Northamptonshire village. Its heyday was in the 15th century under the Dukes of York, who had acquired the manor in 1377 and made Fotheringhay a

major administrative centre for their estates.⁷ These powerful magnates, who soon acceded to the throne, rebuilt and enlarged the castle to create a major residence which dominated the village. They re-founded the market and totally rebuilt the parish church to create a large secular College which served as the mausoleum of the House of York. Richard III was born here but, when his brief reign was brought to an end with his death on the battlefield at Bosworth, the new Tudor monarchs granted the Fotheringhay estate to a succession of queens who maintained the castle as a significant residence.

Despite its high ranking patronage, the settlement never gained truly urban status because Fotheringhay was always overshadowed by the ancient market town of nearby Oundle. The College was closed at the Dissolution in the 1530s and later in the 16th century, after the death of Catherine of Aragon, the castle itself fell out of favour as a residence and went into decline. Its last great claim to fame was as a prison and place of execution of Mary Queen of Scots. The market was revived once more in the earlier 17th century but was never significant and decayed again later in the century, leaving Fotheringhay today as a small, picturesque and wonderfully quiet village. But it is a place that betrays its former glory in the splendid surviving fragment of the great collegiate church.

The Cliffe Bailiwick map, despite its small scale, contains a remarkable amount of detail. It is true that the village plan is distorted, reflecting the limitations of 17th century surveying, with for example the water mill appearing to lie by the north east corner of the castle when in fact the 1548 survey & 1716 map show it lay behind the New Inn. However, they also show that much of the rest of the detail is otherwise accurate, such as the number of tenements depicted in various sections of the tenement rows, which corresponds closely to the number recorded in 1548. Most importantly the buildings are three dimensional representations and with the church and castle the cartographer has paid particular attention to detail. As the church survives we can check the accuracy. He has had to simplify the building, but the general character is correct. For example, there is the correct arrangement of windows but not the right number; he shows the correct number of stages, and form to the tower and shows aisles and clerestory, but he omits the porch. This can give us considerable confidence that his depiction of the castle is also reasonably faithful. So one may assume that the general layout is correct and that where he shows one

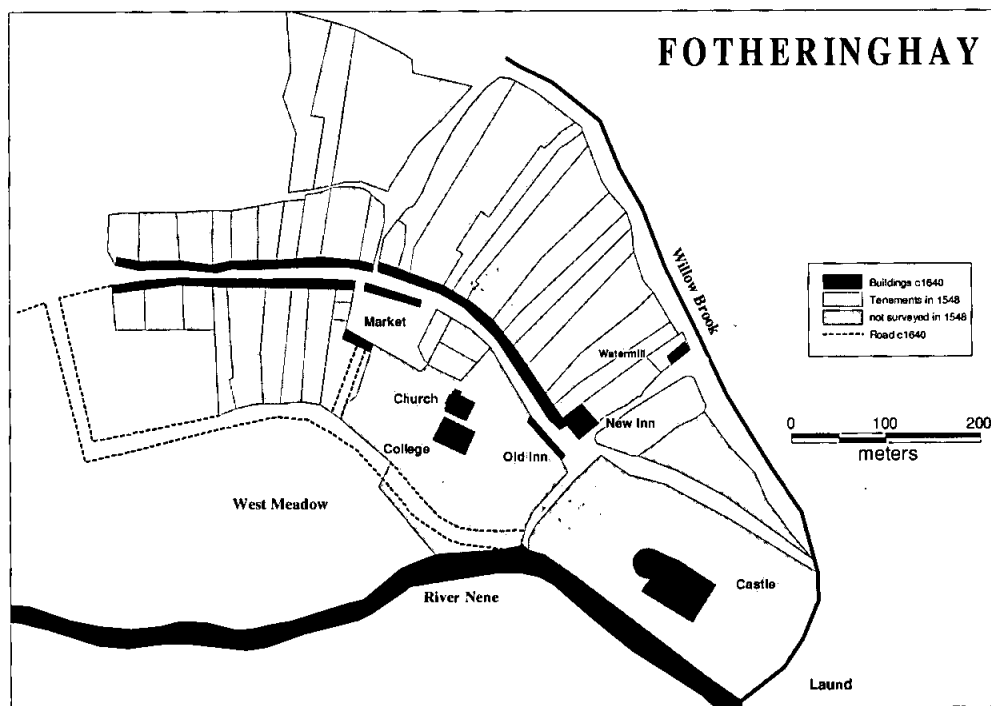


Fig 1 Fotheringhay in the 1640's

storey not two then this is also genuine, but it cautions against accepting the exact number of chimneys or windows shown.

The shell keep of the castle can be clearly distinguished, containing a ring of rooms around the interior shown by the roof and chimneys. Interestingly the main courtyard lacks any corner towers, suggesting that the earlier inner bailey defences had already been swept away and replaced by a mansion. The gateway is obvious at the centre of the north range but no gatehouse is shown. On the opposite side of the courtyard the large windows on the south front show that the south range contained the great hall, not as had been thought the east range, which like the other ranges has two storeys. The complete absence of any buildings outside this inner bailey is problematic, given the evidence in the 16th and early 17th century surveys.⁸ However it can be seen that the church, which has been turned through 90 degrees and shifted slightly in position, obscures houses to the north that certainly existed in 1548 and 1716. It

may be that the depiction of the main castle buildings does the same. However it is equally possible that much had already been demolished by 1640, for the buildings that are shown were also soon to be swept away. By combining this illustration with the earlier written surveys of the structure and with the archaeological evidence, both earthwork and stratified, it should be possible to significantly improve our understanding of the character of this important royal castle. In the surrounding landscape yet more is revealed, with the quite well wooded Lawn (Laund) and enclosing pale of the Little Park shown to the east of the castle, while the pale of the Great Park can be seen to the north of the village.

The New Inn, that was guest accommodation belonging to the castle, also survives today. It can be seen that the map correctly shows a central gateway and chimney above but omits the windows. Behind this range, where no buildings exist today, the map shows buildings completely enclosing a courtyard, only three sides of which remained in 1716. The

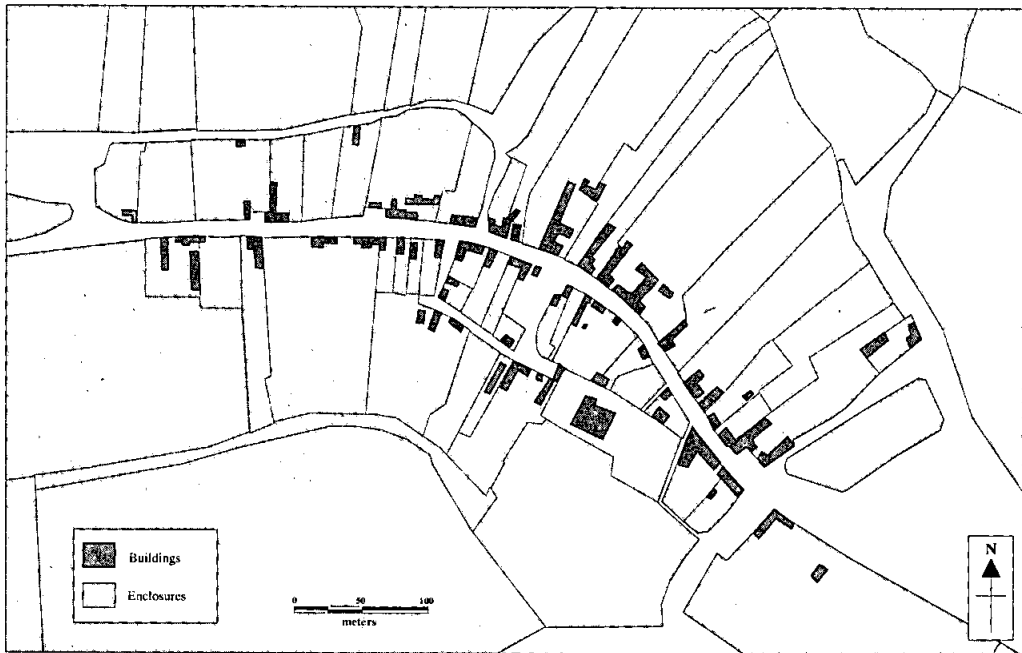


Fig 2 Fotheringhay in 1716

small isolated building to the right of the New Inn is the water mill, shown extending out over the Willow Brook. It is approached by a road running down the side of the New Inn. Its correct position can be seen on the 1716 map which corresponds with its description in the 1548 survey. The College, immediately behind the church and now surviving only as an earthwork platform, had been converted into a residence after the dissolution. This is also represented on the map as a complete courtyard of buildings, with a single building projecting at the south east corner, while between this and the river is an orchard. The layout of the rest of the village is much as depicted in 1716, but the cartographer has taken the trouble to shown a step in the frontage on the north side of the street which must represent the north west corner of the market place. This seems to be the point where the road from Nassington entered the village, as it still did in 1716, but although this road can be seen approaching the village from the north side it is not shown actually entering the main street, perhaps because it has been obscured by the depiction of the church. A short row of houses is also

shown behind the main frontage on the south side of the street. This marks the southern limit of the market place, the main frontage apparently being the successors of a row of buildings actually on the market place itself. There are still buildings on this southern market edge today while an earthwork scarp in the field to the north of the church marks the eastern edge of the former market place.

Some of the buildings fronting south onto the market and to the road further west, appear to be shown as two storey whereas almost all of the others, including the College and New Inn, are shown as single storey. These buildings also appear to be much larger the closer they are to the market. The significance of this is as yet uncertain as it may be a stylistic trait of the cartographer but may equally be an accurate depiction of the size and arrangement of the buildings (see above).

The kind of detail seen for Fotheringhay is repeated for all the villages of the Cliffe Bailiwick. For example, there is a plan of Apethorpe Hall, another of the Fineshade Priory manor at Woodnewton, the small town of Kings Cliffe is shown with

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the market cross at the road junction. Then there are the numerous park lodges, mills and other buildings scattered across the landscape, as well as extensive detail on the wider landscape of open fields, woodland and forest, much of which will be discussed in the publication of the Rockingham Forest Project currently in preparation.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Map of Cliffe Bailiwick, Rockingham Forest circa 1640: PRO MR 1/314.
- 2 The project, which is producing digital mapping of the medieval and post medieval landscape of Rockingham Forest, is being undertaken by Tracey Britnell, David Hall and Glenn Foard on behalf of Northamptonshire County Council (NCC) and the Rockingham Forest

Trust, with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage.

- 3 A major article on the map by Tracey Britnell and Glenn Foard will be published in NP&P in 2004.
- 4 G. Foard, *Northamptonshire Extensive Urban Survey: Fotheringhay*, 2001, unpublished report in Northamptonshire SMR.
- 5 Rental of manor of Fotheringhay, 1548-9, parcel of the Jointure of Queen Catherine, PRO SC12/13/27. Map of Fotheringhay, 1716, NRO Map 467.
- 6 Gover, 1975, *The Placenames of Northamptonshire*, 1975, 2002.
- 7 Colvin, 1963, *The History of the Kings Works: Vols. 1 and 2: The Middle Ages*, 1963, 649-50. RCHM, 1975, *An Inventory of the Archaeological Sites in North East Northamptonshire*, 1975, 63.
- 8 RCHM, 1975, *An Inventory of the Archaeological Sites in North East Northamptonshire*, 1975.

GLENN FOARD AND TRACEY BRITNELL

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