

## Excavations in the area of Mill Street, Bedford, 1971

DAVID BAKER with G.C. DUNNING and ELIZABETH S. EAMES

Part I	The Excavations and the Finds by David Baker . . . . .	99 and 125
Part II	The Horse and Knight Roof Finial, with a Discussion of Knight and Rider Finials in England and on the Continent by G.C. Dunning . . . . .	112
Part III	The Decorated Tiles by Elizabeth S. Eames . . . . .	122

### SUMMARY

*Rescue excavations in 1971 on four sites fronting medieval streets in the north-east part of Bedford showed no positive evidence of structures before the late medieval period, though Saxo-Norman pottery was found. At 43 Mill Street, three or more buildings had occupied the site from the fifteenth century. Footings for a post-medieval cottage were found in the south of the former Litson's Timber Yard, sealed in the nineteenth century by the dumping of earth from the adjacent Bunyan Meeting House basement. Notable finds from 43 Mill Street included 14th century floor tiles with line figures, a fifteenth century knight-on-horseback roof finial which is discussed in relation to other finds of this type, an early medieval lamp bowl, and a group of fifteenth century pottery containing both local and non-local wares.*

### INTRODUCTION

The rescue operations reported here are part of a series on sites within the historic core of Bedford. In 1971, four sites were excavated in or near Mill Street, formerly School Lane, in the eastern half of the town to the north of the Ouse. They were part of a larger series of investigations in Bedford between June and September of that year, sponsored by the Department of the Environment, the former Borough and County of Bedford, and the Bedford Archaeological Society.

I am most grateful to all those who took part and who gave permission for work on their land. The site at 43 Mill Street was excavated and recorded in June and July by Geoffrey Summers, assisted by Susan Linger and Katherine Nichols, and by kind permission of H.F. and R.G. Gale (Investments) Ltd., who made a donation towards excavation costs. The other sites, part of the main

summer session, were supervised by Susan Linger, Katherine Nichols, Anthony Couchman and William Annan. Permission to excavate on the former Litson's Timber Yard was kindly given by The Trustees of the Bunyan Meeting and Headway Construction Co. Ltd., and in Howard Street by the Borough of Bedford.

The specialists contributing to this report are acknowledged with their sections. Corinne Renow and Peter Woodward drew the small finds, and Evelyn Baker drew the tiles. Jane Hassall discussed the pottery and a draft of this paper.

Routine rescue excavations such as these, on medieval (or earlier) street frontage sites, are a continuation of the process of site-watching undertaken by F.W. Kuhlicke in his years of responsibility at Bedford Museum. The small contribution which these excavations have made towards the history of Bedford, as well as their discovery of important late-medieval pottery, roof and floor decorations, is presented as a tribute on the occasion of his retirement and 80th birthday.

The material, marked with the under-mentioned site codes, has been deposited in Bedford Museum, together with copies of the notebooks. Another copy of the notes has been placed in the Bedfordshire County Record Office.

### THE EXCAVATIONS (FIG 1)

#### 43 MILL STREET (BMS 71 TRENCH 19:FIG 2)

The main trench was as wide across the frontage of the plot as safety and access allowed. Several southward extensions gave an irregular rectangle having dimensions of about 7.40m by 5.20m with an extension 2.40m by 1.20m on the south-west side. Mechanical plant removed the compacted demolition layers and latest concrete floors. The trench was not totally excavated to natural sub-soil throughout, due to problems

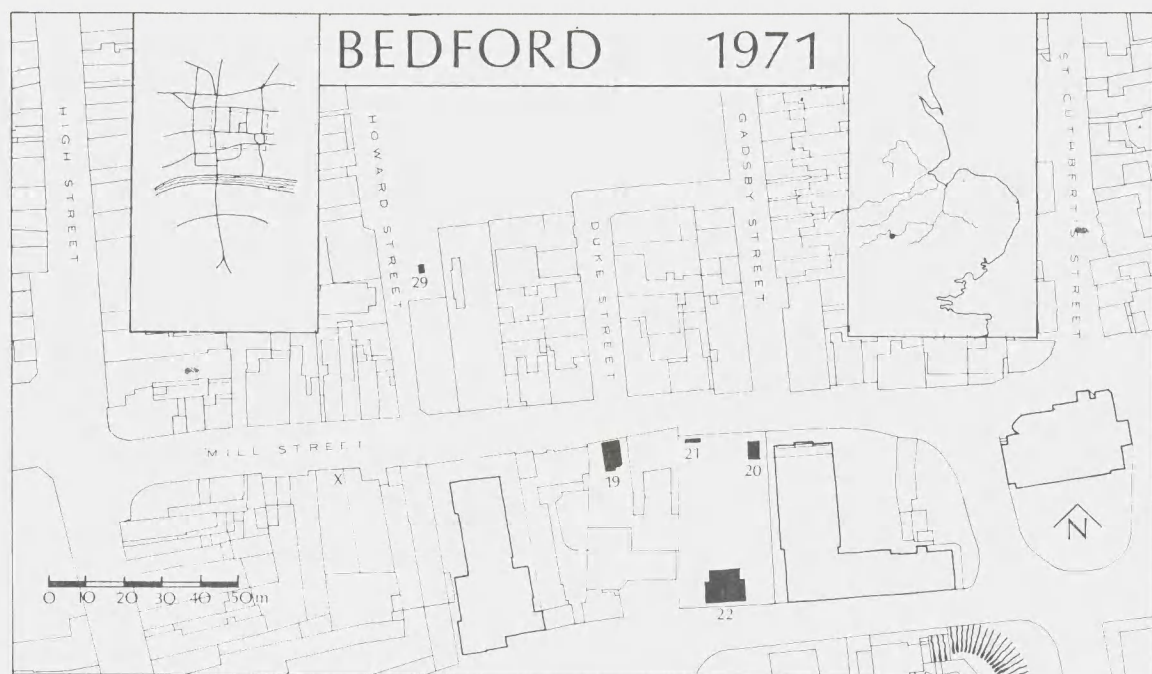


Fig 1 Location plan: Bedford Mill Street area with insets of Eastern England and Bedford town

of safety and the retention of some wall footings. Though back-filled in summer 1971, this site was not finally re-developed until 1974.

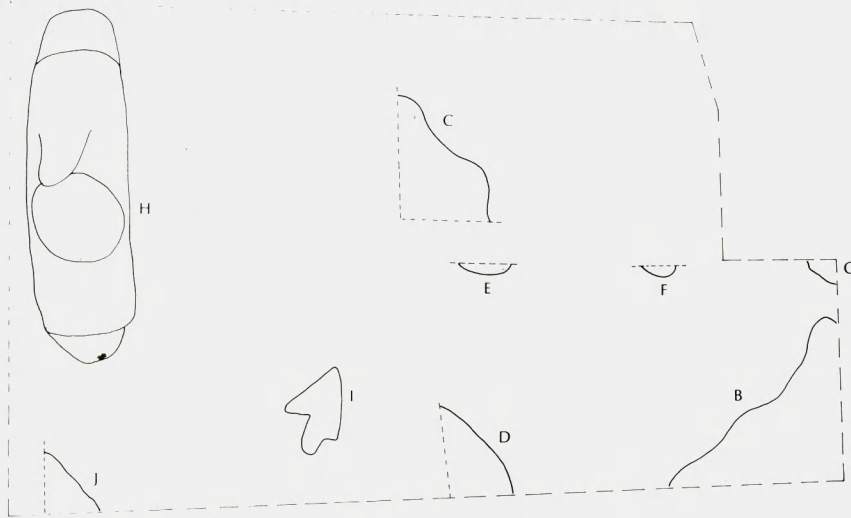
Natural sub-soil, dirty river gravels with some sand, was encountered at about 2.5m below pavement level at the north of the site. It sloped downwards to the south, and in the south end of the trench was partially below water table. Where not cut by pits, it was overlaid with black sticky marsh-like material (layer 61) through which the water table must have regularly risen. The upper part of this (layer 59) was more humus-like and less sticky, perhaps representing an early turf or silt line. Pottery of thirteenth century date was found in it, probably deposited as occasional rubbish rather than as occupation material. There are traditions of a stream running parallel with and south of Mill Street: the slope of natural sub-soil and the silty material may be evidence for it though unevenness in the valley-side terracing is as likely an explanation.

At least 9 pits cut into natural sub-soil through the silty layer, but sealed by later occupation layers, were partly or completely excavated. Their distribution over the trench leaves little room for buildings contemporary with them. Only 2 pits, 43 – D, 57 – H, contained significant deposits of

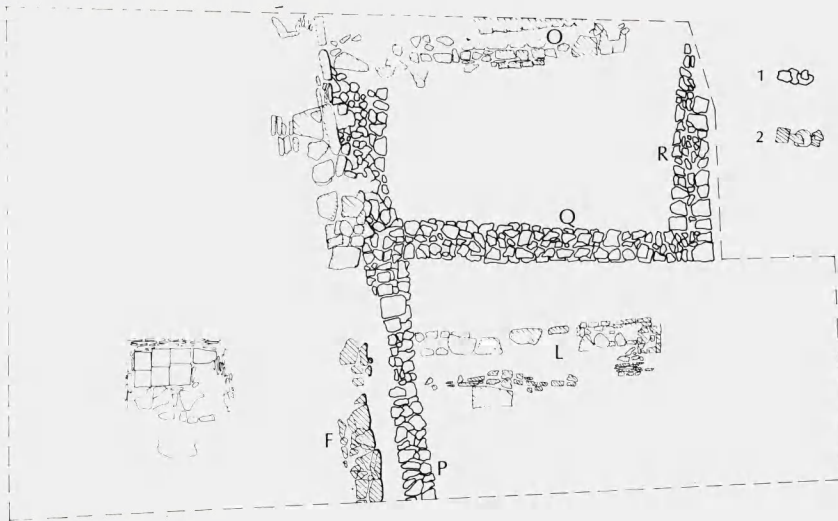
pottery, dating respectively to *c.* 1200 and the later thirteenth century.

The earliest recognisable structure, Building 1 (Pl. 11a) was represented by Walls P, Q and R. These were made of rough limestone chunks and some large pebbles. The width and depth of footing suggested a dwarf or sleeper wall for a timber framed building, perhaps made more substantial to deal with the boggy conditions. Wall P ran east-west and seemed to be the rear wall of a structure built side-on to the street. No front wall was seen within the limits of excavation, nor were side walls recovered: this could suggest the present property boundaries are of some antiquity. Wall Q abutted wall P, was of similar construction and may be close in date. With wall R it represents a wing added to the rear of the main unit, perhaps giving a courtyard space in the angle on the west side. No eastern foundation was seen, so it may have returned on the property boundary, or on a line with the main front unit.

Building 1 cannot be precisely dated, but it was late medieval at the earliest. 35, a layer of top soil and pebbles, lay under its three walls, and contained pottery up to the thirteenth century. The courtyard surface layer 34, probably put down to consolidate the soft ground before the



PITS EARLIER THAN BUILDINGS



BUILDINGS 1 & 2

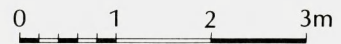







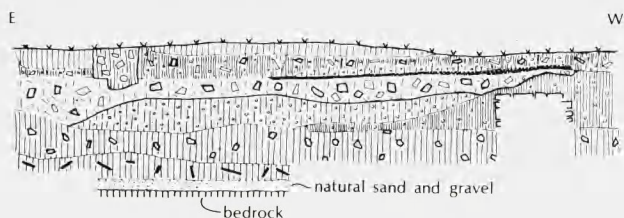
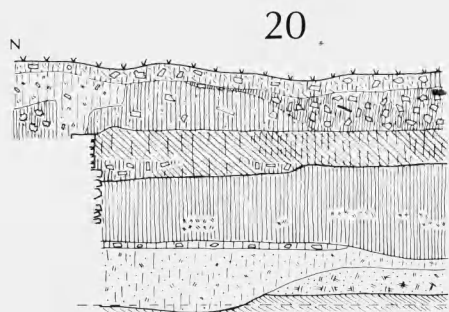


Fig 2 43 Mill Street: plans



-  earth and pebble
-  ash
-  rubble
-  tile
-  sand
-  clay
-  gravel

0 1 2 3m



22

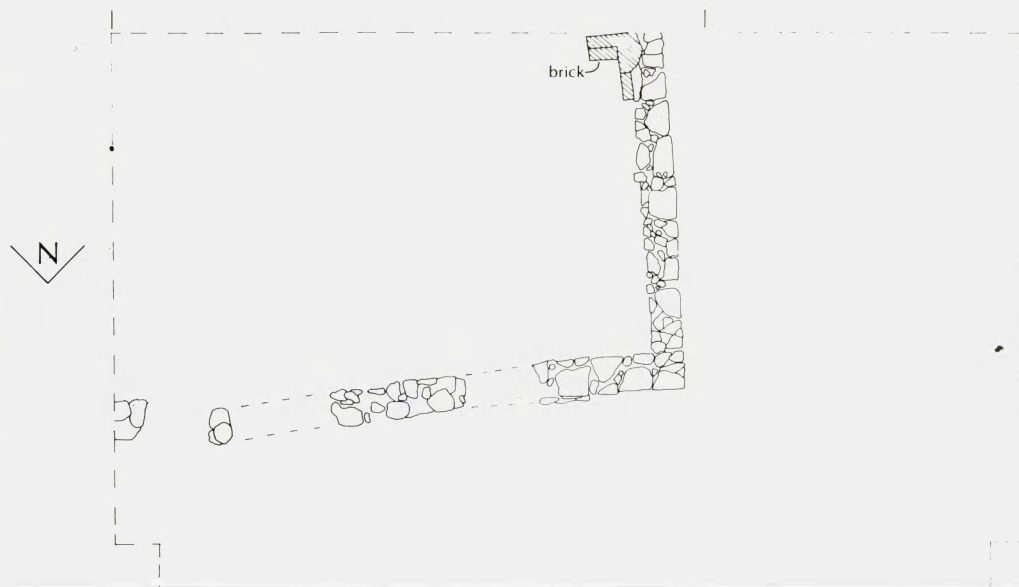


Fig 3 Litson's Timber Yard: plan and sections

erection of building 1, contained fourteenth or fifteenth century Potterspurty type products. A thick occupation layer, 32, lay on the courtyard surface, representing the use of Building 1: a large

group of pottery from it was dated on internal evidence to the middle or later fifteenth century. The latest use of the building was represented by layer 31 containing pottery from about 1500 to

the early eighteenth century: this underlay or was cut by the footings of building 2.

Contemporary with Building 1, was a small hearth about 1m by 1m (Pl. 11 b, c). This was made of stone and tile laid over a wad of yellow clay: it had been re-built at least once. The floor of the hearth in its latest form included 4 re-used incised floor tiles dating to the early fourteenth century. These, and a fifth which had been broken in half and placed upright in the tile surround, are discussed below. Its position, free of any side walls suggests a hearth central to its room whose axis lay parallel to Mill Street. Another area of burning lay to the east. The layers overlaying the hearth had a number of shallow slots or floor joist imprints running west to east.

Building 1 was demolished: its replacement was represented by various walls relating to a structure also fronting onto Mill Street. It would seem that several modifications of plan took place, but the evidence is not clear: the last building on the site also disturbed some of these footings. The rear wall for the front unit was wall F, a badly robbed limestone footing set in sandy clay. Walls O and L, running south at right angles from wall F, represent structures at the rear, but no return south wall was seen. There was some brick in these two footings.

About 1m of stratigraphy above this included tips, spreads, layers and footings associated with the latest building on the site and the last 100 years.

### *Discussion*

Single plot excavations surrounded by standing buildings give only a limited understanding of structural history. The finds on this site were the outstanding feature.

The apparent lateness of house building this far east on Mill Street is notable, particularly in conjunction with the evidence from the Timber Yard site further to the east. Nonetheless, timber buildings with sill beams laid on the ground surface, leaving no detectable trace, pre-dating the first structure with stone footings, should not be ruled out. However, the lack of building until the late medieval period is not inconsistent with the evidence of the earliest maps of Bedford.

### **LITSON'S TIMBER YARD, MILL STREET (BMS 72 TRENCHES 20, 21; BCL 71 TRENCH 22) (FIG 3)**

Three trenches were excavated on this site,

consequent upon the removal of the Timber Yard buildings in the summer of 1970, and the understood intention of the then owners to redevelop it rapidly. In the event, the site is still not built upon in October 1974. Two trenches were on the northern or Mill Street frontage, and one larger area on the southern frontage to Castle Lane.

There were high expectations of recovering early, possibly pre-Conquest evidence of occupation in Bedford. These had been encouraged by finds of Saxon pottery further south under Bedford Castle in 1970 and by the knowledge that the earliest documentary references described it as open land. In 1506-7 the Newnham Rental described it as "open . . . a garden lying in School Street, between a horse mill east, and the prior of Chicksand's garden west; and it abuts north on School Street and at the other end on the castle ditch or land . . ." In 1672, title deeds of the Bunyan Meeting described it as an orchard and garden with a barn.<sup>2</sup> Brayley and Reynolds maps of 1807 and 1841 show buildings on the north and south frontages. Mechanical trial trenches were therefore dug in a number of places to test the stratigraphy. These immediately showed that over most of the whole site, soil and rubble had been dumped to a thickness of up to 1.5m within the last two centuries. Few finds and no apparent structural evidence came from below the covered ground surface. Whilst this accumulation may have been the product of casual dumping on open space over a period of years, it is more likely to have been chiefly derived from the excavation of cellars for the Bunyan Meeting House, immediately to the east, restored and extended in 1849.

Systematic investigation was therefore confined to enlarged mechanical trial trenches in the north of the site, and to a large area in the south where it was intended also to see if the castle ditch had run that far north.

### *Trench 20*

The upper 1.3m of the trench was mechanically removed and consisted of disturbed layers of earth with rubble, and contained a mixture of pottery reaching well into the nineteenth century. It sealed and abutted a footing in the north of the trench; this was five courses of brick set more broadly on six courses of stones. A horizon was seen at this depth, but no indication of settlement or occupation, in spite of somewhat mixed layers at about the level of natural gravel.



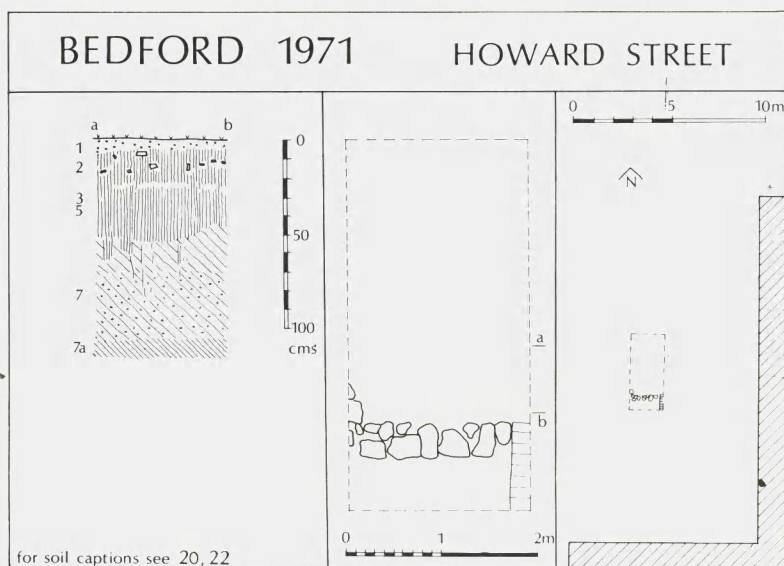


Fig 4 Howard Street: plans and section

#### *Trench 21*

This trench was excavated mostly by machine, and cleaned up for recording by hand. It showed the same confused stratigraphy as in Trench 20. There were no signs of early occupation apart from casual finds.

#### *Trench 22*

Initially this trench was mechanically excavated to a general depth of about 0.75m below ground surface. The various layers of earth and rubble removed included broken pottery, china, earthenware and glass of nineteenth century date. It lay on top of the presumed old ground surface. The trench was subsequently extended northwards.

The north and west foundations of a building were seen. These were of stone and brick and need not have pre-dated the eighteenth century. (Pl. 11 d).

Natural sand and gravel lay close under slight external cobbling layers associated with this building. Beneath this was bedrock. Silt was mixed in with the layers above the rock, and contained a few sherds of pottery, including two Lyveden ware jugs (Fig 6, Nos 38, 39). There was a deep pit filled with black silt cut into the rock, but it was not the northern castle ditch.

#### **REAR OF 22 MILL STREET/HOWARD STREET (BHS 71 TRENCH 29: FIG 4)**

The land at the rear of the former Bedfordshire

Times Office was vacant pending the redevelopment of the whole site. The opportunity was taken to excavate a trial trench in an area apparently not built upon until the nineteenth century. In 1807, the Brayley map of Bedford shows it as fields, though surrounded by established roads; on the Reynolds map on 1841, development on the north side of Mill Street appears to be only just starting.

The trench was 2.0m by 4.0m, running north-south. A limestone footing went across the south end of the trench, perhaps belonging to the outbuilding associated with the nineteenth century predecessor of the Bedfordshire Times Office, which had been built in 1896. The trench was excavated to natural sub-soil which consisted of mixed sandy clay and gravel.

No occupation layers were seen under the mixture of brick, earth, stone and mortar (layer 2) found under the destruction layer (layer 1). 20-30cms of old turf line (layers 3, 5) lay over natural sub-soil under the nineteenth century layers. It contained small pieces of abraded St Neots type pottery (Fig 5 Nos 5, 28, 31) as well as five sherds of Saxon pottery, doubtless derived from nearby occupation in the town at a time when this was probably open ground. The top of natural sub-soil was uneven, though no clear features such as pits, post holes or plough marks could be seen.

## 21-23 MILL STREET

('X' on Fig 1)

In 1970, Mr. G.J. Dring kindly drew my attention to a series of features cut into natural sub-soil, exposed by foundation trenches for building construction. These appeared to be mostly large pits of medieval date, and few sherds of St Neots - type pottery were recovered. Such features are to be generally expected to the rear of street frontage sites.

### THE FINDS

The table below provides a key for significant features of layers and their contents as published below.

Arabic numerals refer to pottery drawings, Italic numerals to small finds, and Arabic numerals prefixed by C to coins.

### THE POTTERY (FIGS 5-8)

These four sites produced a range of material mainly dating from the Saxo-Norman period onwards. Residual sherds from earlier dates consisted of one Romano-British rim from 43 Mill Street and five small body sherds in the local Saxon tradition from Howard Street.

I am grateful to the various people who have commented on the pottery: J.G. Hurst and S. Moorhouse saw it soon after excavation, and Denis Myrard gave extensive guidance, especially on the large late and post-medieval deposits. G.C. Dunning has written in detail on two pieces.

Excavations in Bedford, upon sites in the Castle and in the Town, have continued since 1967, with the exception of 1968. A large amount of pottery has been recovered, probably enough to draft a ceramic history for the town. Yet this is only the second large report to be published on excavated sites.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in order not to prejudice a future summary, the pottery report for the Mill Street area sites has been kept as simple as possible. Pit groups and other deposits showing a narrow date range are published, as are any individual pieces of special interest. Early medieval shell-filled pottery has been published fairly extensively, but larger later deposits, particularly those extending over several centuries into the later post-medieval period, have been briefly described in text alone: the occurrence within them of types and fabrics is better discussed together with similar deposits from other sites in a later report.

In the Saxo-Norman period, shell-filled wares

<i>Number</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Illustrated Finds</i>
19	1	Demolition rubble
	6	
	7	19th century garden soil
	9	
	15	
	20	
	21	
	27	
	31	
	32	Contemporary with Building 1
	32a	
	34	Contemporary with Building 1 construction
	35	Predates Building 1
	36	
	38	Destruction of Building 1
	39	
	41	
	42	Early marshy build-up
	43	Pit D: Late 11th - early 12th century
	46	
	54	
	55	Pit I
	56	Predates buildings: 13th century
	57	Pit H: Late 13th century
	59	Predates buildings
	61	Predates buildings: lower silty layer
	62	
	63	
	68	Pit J
	69	
20	1	
22	2	
	11	Silt above natural sub-soil
29	2	
	3	
	5	

of St Neots type predominated over sand-filled wares of Early Medieval type. In the best pit group (Pit D, Trench 19, 43 Mill Street) the proportion was 57 shell to 1 sand. In shell-filled fabric were represented many cooking pots (8-33), some bowls (3-7) and a few jugs (36-41): it has not seemed worthwhile to attempt the working out of an overall proportion between fabrics for the sites.

There is no independent dating evidence for the St Neots type sherds, though the reconstructed



diameters of vessels may suggest that there is little from the earlier part of the period. Comparisons with the pottery from the St John's Street and Cauldwell Street sites<sup>4</sup> show different examples of bowl rim form but closer similarities in the more anonymous cooking pot rims. The shelly tradition continues into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with examples of glazed and unglazed Lyveden ware jugs (37-39).

Sand-filled fabrics of Early Medieval ware are present in developed forms (42-46) for cooking pots and jugs though the lamp bowl (42) and jar (43) are residual finds dating from the twelfth century. Residual fourteenth century jug or cooking pot sherds (47-50, 55, 56), were also present in the main fifteenth century deposit.

A good group of late medieval pottery came from layer 32, associated with the use of the first stone-footing building at 43 Mill Street. It includes local and non-local wares, and one import, a small Siegburg mug (91). It, and five small sherds of Tudor Green type, are the only glazed fine wares.

This group includes both oxidised and reduced local coarse wares, with the latter in a greater proportion. There are three kinds of bowl with large flanged rims (57-60), smaller flanges (61-64) and thickened rims (65). These and Jugs (66, 67) are paralleled by finds at Hall Place, St Neots.<sup>5</sup> Bases with finger printed frilling (73-77) belong to cisterns, though (74-76) could be jugs. At least one (72), possibly two, sherds, probably from jugs, have slip-trailed decoration. There are cooking pots from the Potterspurty area (78-79) and some are probably included in a number of body sherds from the Great Brickhill kilns. Cooking pots (80-82) are probably more local products. 87 and 88 are plain bases in reduced fabric with heavy knife trimming. Other forms represented in this deposit are chafing dishes (89-90), a small cup handle which may be non-local (92) a possible pipkin (93) and a fish dish (94).

The dating for this group has to rely on internal evidence and parallels from outside Bedford. The absence of fine ware of the types and in quantities associated with the sixteenth century suggest an earlier date: the Siegburg and Tudor Green will allow the fifteenth century. There are many coarse wares of late medieval form, and the dominant fabric is still hard and sandy. Parallels from St Neots (the Priory and Hall Place<sup>6</sup>) are ascribed to the sixteenth century. At this stage of knowledge, this group gives a general impression of having been laid down in the middle or later fifteenth century.

Four other deposits with pottery deserve mention here, though publication of examples is reserved for a future occasion. Layer 32a was slightly later in date than the main group discussed above, but was contaminated. Layer 38 had a range of wares going into the seventeenth century, including the dish (95) which might be an import. Layer 31 contained a wide range of pottery from about 1500 to the early eighteenth century, though the bulk could be ascribed to the seventeenth century. In addition to a considerable range of coarse ware, there were examples of Cologne stoneware, Midland purple and Metropolitan slipware.

Layer 7 contained the widest range, from the late sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. One example, an early eighteenth century Delft plate (96) is published. Stonewares included Cistercian ware, Nottingham salt-glazed stoneware, German imports from Cologne, Frechen and West-erwald. There was a variety of slipwares and some Staffordshire examples. Other Delft ware sherds included Manganese speckled examples. Seventeenth century tygs were present, and brown lead-glazed vessels from Staffordshire. There were also eighteenth century and nineteenth century cream wares and yellow glazed vessels.

#### 1. PRE SAXO-NORMAN WARES

Rim sherd of cooking pot, with flange below rim level. Grey shelly fabric with leached out inclusions: residual Roman. (not drawn) Five small body sherds from Howard Street: (not drawn). Fabrics are:

- (a) Hard grey sandy fabric with black surfaces (5, 6, 11mm thick).
- (b) Lighter grey, more gritty fabric with brown orange buff surfaces (7, 8mm thick).

A mid-late Saxon date is likely.

#### 2. SHELL-FILLED WARES OF ST NEOTS TYPE AND DEVELOPED ST NEOTS TYPE:

(Fig 5, 1-33, Fig 6, 34-41)

1-2 Dishes or Shallow Bowls.

3-7 Bowls

8-33 Cooking Pots

The fabric is normally dark grey and shell-filled, quite hard, with surface colours varying in the pink/buff/brown/grey range: some sherds have been blackened in use. Descriptions of fabric, colour and form are omitted from Nos 1-33: there is a strong element of subjectivity in comparisons of the first two, and the third can be seen from the drawings. In view of the large amount of comparable material from Bedford excavations



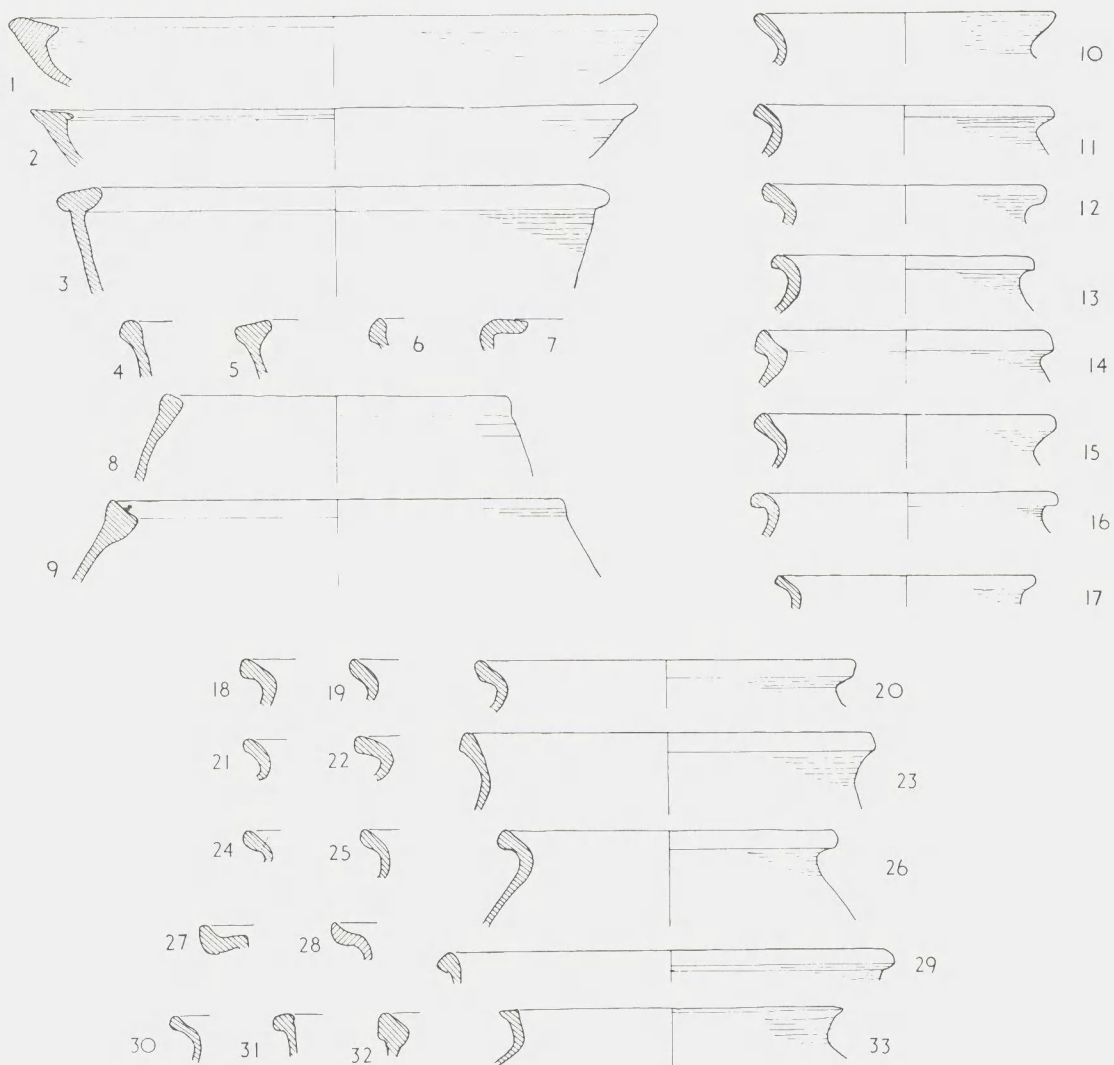


Fig 5 Pottery: Nos 1-33 (Scale ¼)

1967-74 currently in publication preparation, it is felt desirable to avoid the appearance of creating categories on the basis of a small proportion of the material.

34. Bowl with part of bar lug; dark grey shelly fabric with pink exterior and some burning.

35. Lid or base of jug, dark grey shelly fabric; brown/buff exterior; cut out before firing, residual.

36. Jug; rim and upper part of strap handle; dark grey shelly core, light grey/buff smooth exterior.

37. Jug rim; unglazed; olive green and yellow (stippled on drawing) glaze. Grey shell-filled fabric

with light pink orange surface, Lyveden ware.

38. Jug with small part of spout; external light and middle (stippled on drawing) yellow/green glaze; vertical ridges of yellow slip starting below shoulder; Lyveden ware.

39. Jug rim and twisted rod handle; external light (stippled on drawing) and dark olive green glaze, with part of small rosette; Lyveden ware.

40. ? Jug rim; hard shelly fabric.

41. Jug strap handle; hard shelly fabric with grey core and orange surface; single vertical groove. Lyveden Ware.

3. SAND-FILLED WARES PRE-DATING FIFTEENTH CENTURY. (Fig 6 42-56).

42. Bowl of lamp; re-used. by *G.C. Dunning*.

The bowl from Mill Street is made of black ware; the fractured edges show a laminated structure and the impressions of grass-tempering. The outside surface is light reddish-brown, uneven, and pitted where the grass-tempering has fired out. The distinctive fabric is unusual on pottery at Bedford, and does not belong to any of the main groups of Saxo-Norman wares. It is identified as one of the two varieties of the so-called 'Early Medieval Ware', recently recognised in the south and south/eastern counties, in East Anglia, and in the Midlands as far north as Nottingham.<sup>7</sup> One of the fabrics of this group is usually sand-filled, while the other is grass-tempered.

The inside surface of the Mill Street bowl is stained grey to black, mostly on the upper part near the rim. This discolouration shows that it was used as a cresset lamp, on which the staining in this position is present almost invariably. In its existing form, the slightly convex base is not in the same plane as the level of the rim. Moreover, the reddish brown colour of the outside stops at the margin of the base, which itself is black like the core of the pot. These irregularities and differences strongly suggest that originally the bowl stood on a stem or a pedestal base. Evidently the lower part of the lamp was broken after it had been in use for some time, and the stump was trimmed roughly flat so that the lamp could still continue to be used.

In the Saxo-Norman period there are three types of lamps, all provided with bowls which differ slightly in shape. The forms comprise: lamps with a pointed spike foot; lamps with a low pedestal base and moulded foot; and lamps with a tall stem, sometimes with prominent ridges, and also ending in a moulded foot.<sup>8</sup> The three forms of lamps continued into the medieval period, until the thirteenth century or later.<sup>9</sup>

The restoration of the lamp from Bedford is achieved by a process of elimination. The spiked lamp can be ruled out, since its bowl is conical and the lower part of the Mill Street example is too wide for this type. In deciding between the two types of lamps, both with pedestal bases, the selection is less easy to determine. However, on lamps with a low pedestal base the profile of the bowl is usually more conical and deeper than those on lamps with a tall stem, which have a bowl more rounded in shape. For these reasons, the

Mill Street bowl is identified as belonging to a lamp with a tall pedestal stem. In the drawing it has been restored accordingly, making the lamp about 7" in height; it was thus one of the larger of this type. In the shape of its bowl the Bedford lamp is very closely matched on tall stemmed lamps from Thetford and Cambridge,<sup>10</sup> which have therefore been used as the basis for details of the complete vessel.

It may be added that cresset lamps of the types described above are known from the major towns of the later Saxon and early Medieval periods over most of England. The principal sites are: London,<sup>11</sup> Winchester,<sup>12</sup> Oxford,<sup>13</sup> Bristol,<sup>14</sup> Cambridge,<sup>15</sup> Norwich,<sup>16</sup> Northampton,<sup>17</sup> Leicester<sup>18</sup> and York.<sup>19</sup> The lamp found on the Mill Street site is the first example of any of the Saxo-Norman type of lamps to be recorded at Bedford. Its discovery is thus an event of some significance in the medieval archaeology of the town.

The finding of this lamp as a survival in a later deposit is compatible with its re-use at a later time. An initial date for it, in its complete state, early in the 12th century, would be consistent with the available evidence elsewhere.

43. Base of small jar hard dark grey fabric similar to 42 with a few shelly inclusions; sharply cut base; rough eroded external surfaces.

44. Jug with thick stabbed strap handle with part of attachment; dark grey sandy fabric; residual.

45. Jug with upper attachment for strap handle; dark grey sandy fabric with black exterior.

46. Jug with strap handle; dark grey sandy fabric with stabbing on two surfaces; residual.

47. Cooking pot; hard grey sandy fabric; residual.

48. Small cooking pot; hard buff/orange fabric.

49. ? Jug; hard dark grey fabric with dull orange exterior.

50. Jug strap handle; dark grey sandy fabric.

51. Cooking pot; hard dark grey sandy fabric; slightly frilled top.

52. Cooking pot; hard black sandy fabric.

53. Cooking pot; hard sandy grey core, pink/orange surfaces, some black burning on outside.

54. Cooking pot; hard sandy fabric with medium grey core, light grey outer fabric and dark grey surfaces; sharply cut rim.

55, 56. Cooking pot; hard dark grey sandy fabric; residual.

4. LOCAL AND IMPORTED WARES OF MID TO LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY DATE 57-65. Bowls.<sup>20</sup>

57. Large flanged rim; hard grey sandy fabric with



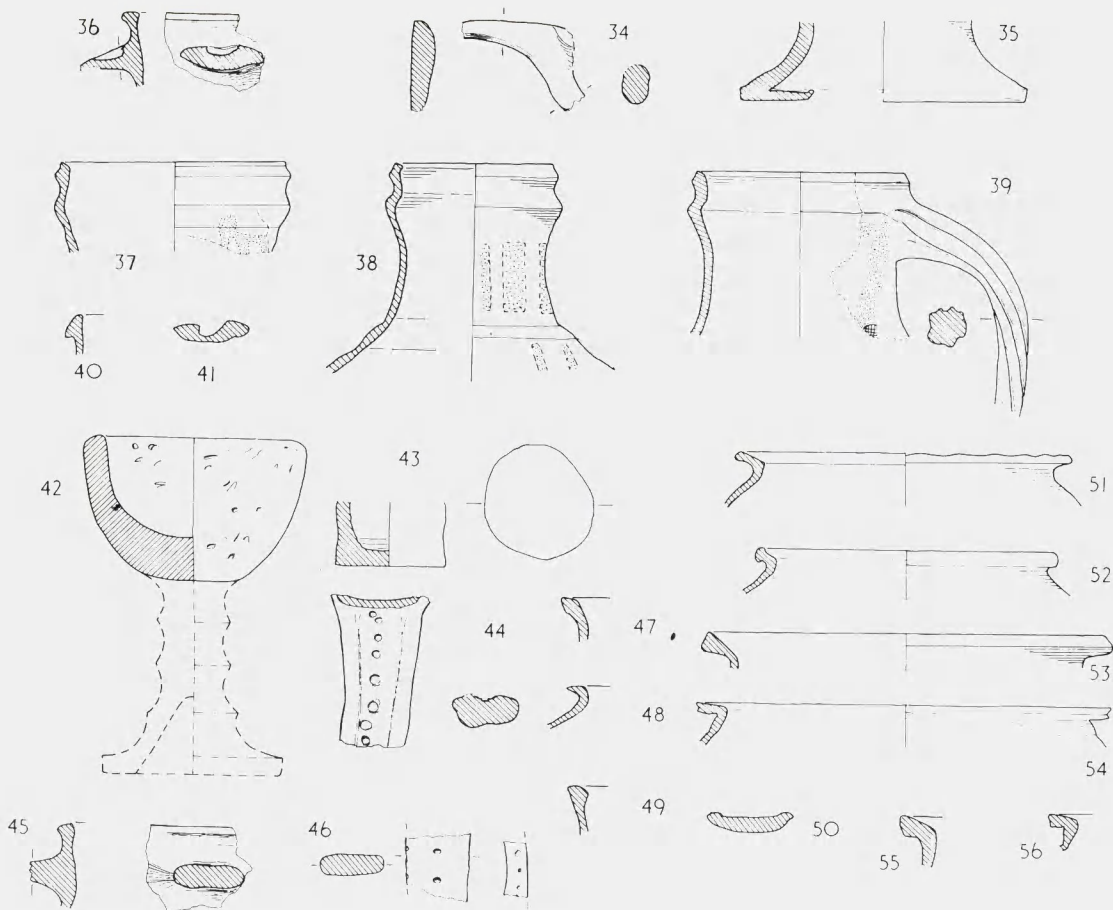


Fig 6 Pottery: Nos 34-56 (Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ )

thumb print on rim top.

58-60. Large flanged rim; hard grey sandy fabric with red outer core and black exterior.

61, 62. Flanged rim; hard grey sandy fabric with black surfaces.

63. Flanged rim; Hard grey sandy fabric; brown-buff surfaces with some burning.

64. Thickened rim; Hard grey sandy fabric with reddish outer core and black surfaces.

65. As 64; rim slightly flanged.

66-67. Jugs, cisterns or jars.<sup>21</sup>

66. Jug with strap handle (missing); hard orange sandy fabric, dull orange surfaces.

67. Possibly a cistern; fabric as 66 with small specks of glaze on outer surfaces.

68, 69. Jug or jar rim; hard sandy grey and red fabric with dark grey exterior.

70. Jug or jar rim; hard sandy grey fabric.

71. Jug body sherd with applied strap handle attach-

ment with thumb print; grey fabric with pink/buff exterior.

72. Jug body sherd; sandy fabric with grey core, red outer core and grey surfaces; yellow, wavy slip - trailed decoration, of type occurring on late medieval East Anglian jugs.

73. Cistern base with frilled rim and bung hole; sandy fabric with grey core, reddish outer core and black surfaces.

74. Base of cistern with slightly frilled rim; hard grey sandy fabric with orange surfaces.

75. Cistern base with frilled rim; light grey fabric and dark grey exterior.

76. As 74.

77. Cistern bung hole sherd, applied to body with heavy thumbing; fabric as 73.<sup>22</sup>

78. Cooking pot with small pourer; smooth salmon pink/buff fabric with grey reduced core. Potters-pury type.

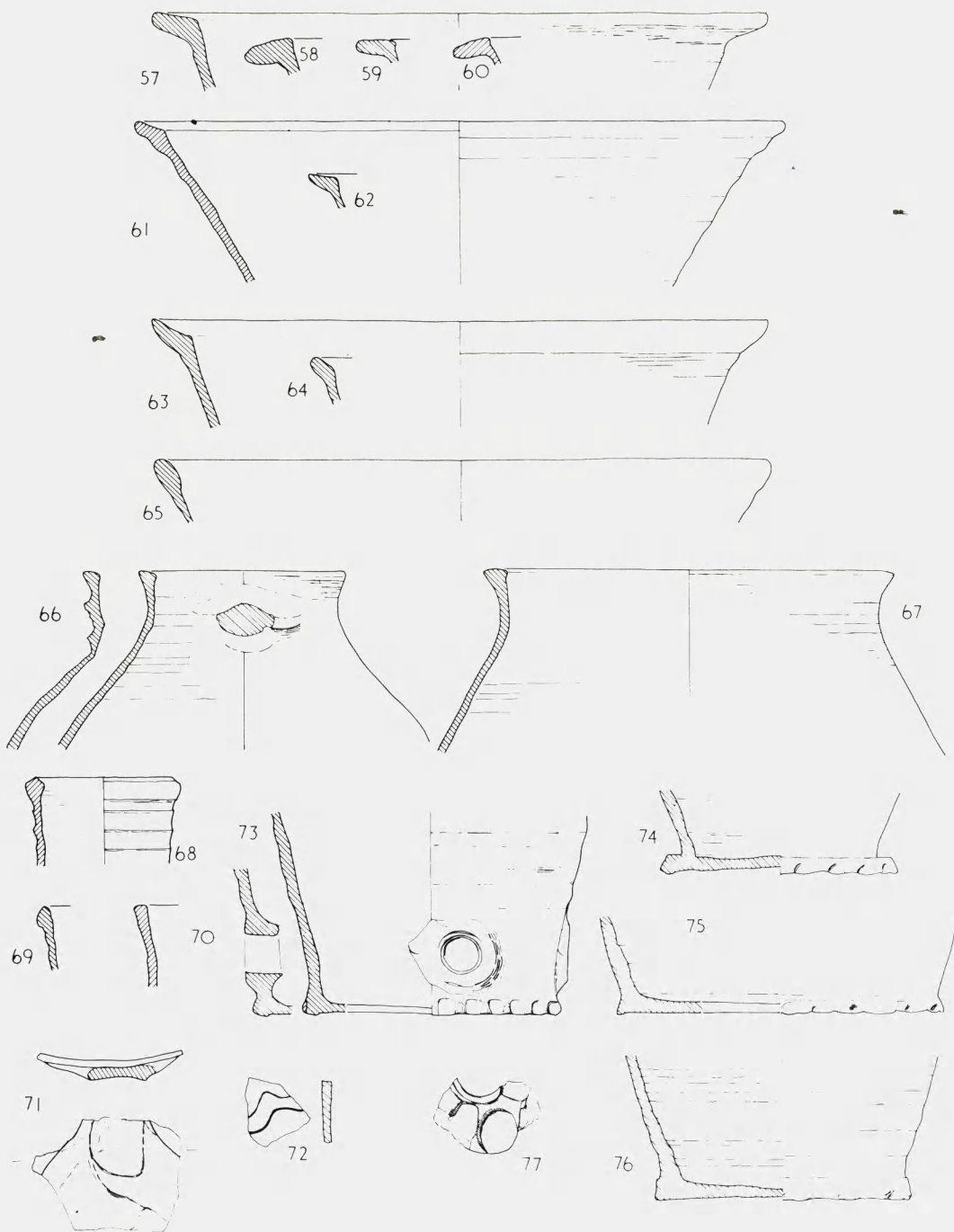


Fig 7 Pottery: Nos 57-77 (Scale ¼)



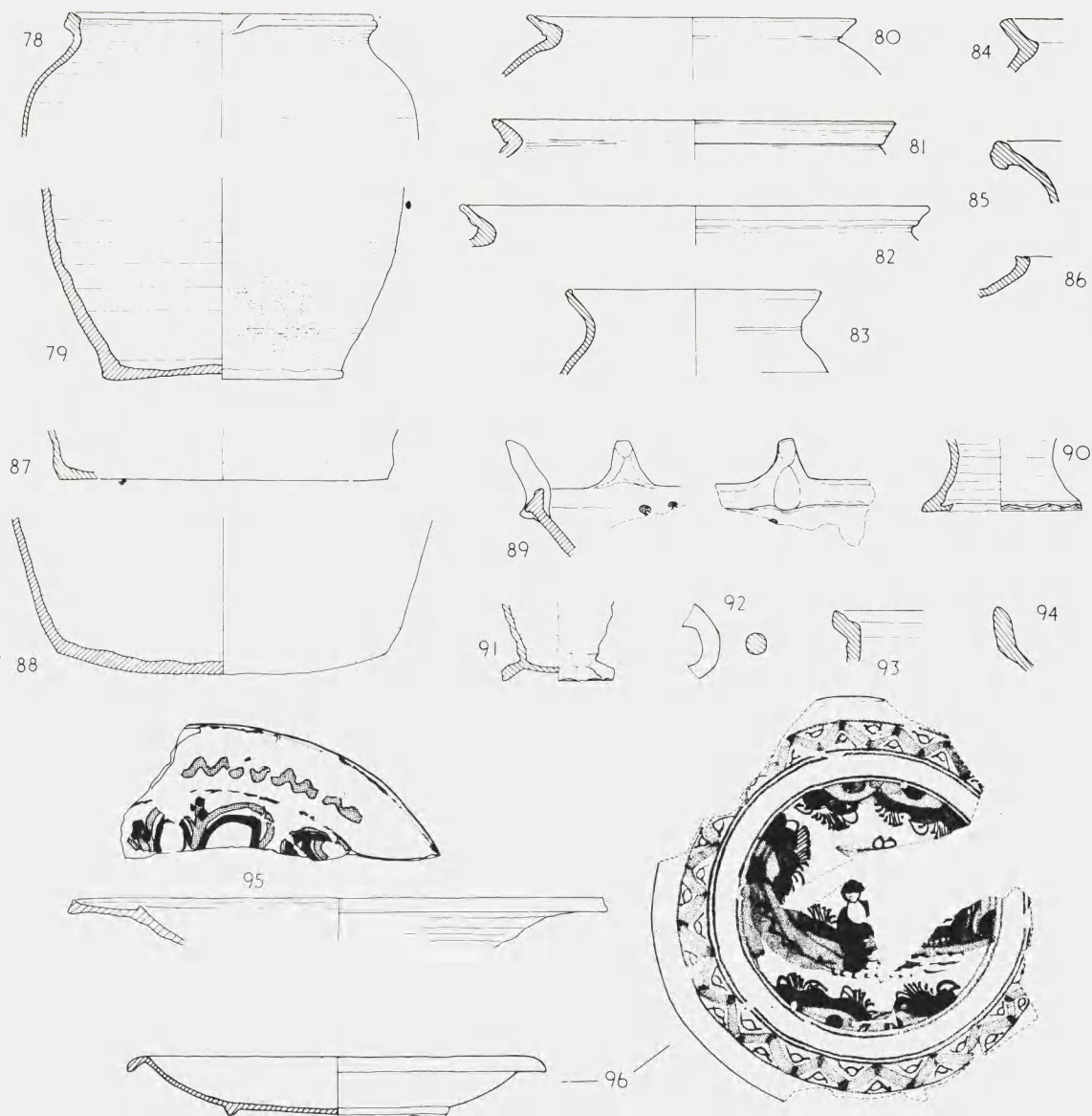


Fig 8 Pottery: Nos 78-96 (Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ )

79. Cooking pot base; fabric as 78 but slightly coarser; splashes of glaze under base and on side; Potterspur type.<sup>23</sup>

80-82. Cooking pots; hard grey sandy fabric; dark grey core: outer core dark brown, dark grey surfaces; trimming under rim.

83. Cooking pot; hard grey sandy fabric with orange surfaces; external splashes of grey slip.

84. Cooking pot with internal seating for lid; hard dark grey sandy fabric.

85. ? Cooking pot (or lid?) dark grey sandy core and orange exterior.

86. Cooking pot with inturned rim; brown/dark grey/brown sandwich sandy fabric with dark grey surfaces.<sup>24</sup>

87. Cooking pot; fabric as 88.

88. Cooking pot with sagging base; hard grey sandy fabric with black surfaces; thumb prints on inside base.

89. Chafing dish; upper part with stub handle; hard

orange fabric.

90. Chafing dish base; hard fine red fabric.

91. Small mug with frilled base; grey stoneware with some brown external glaze; Siegburg.

92. Rod handle of cup; fine orange fabric with specks of brown glaze.

93. Rim of ? pipkin; dark hard grey fabric.

94. Fish dish; dark grey sandy fabric with burnt exterior.

95. Plate; fine pink fabric with orange exterior surface, glazed yellow slip with orange and brown trailed decoration; not English ?

#### 5. LATE SEVENTEENTH OR EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

96. Plate; Delft.

### THE HORSE AND KNIGHT ROOF-FINIAL, WITH A DISCUSSION OF KNIGHT FINIALS AND RIDER FINIALS IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT

By G.C. Dunning

The finial came from a large deposit which accumulated to the rear of Building 1 at 43 Mill Street. The associated pottery is referred to the middle or second half of the fifteenth century; the character of the finial is consistent with this period, and it is therefore dated *c.* 1450.

#### DESCRIPTION

(Pl. 12 fig 9)

The thirteen large sherds, of which eleven conjoin, comprise the greater part of the body of the animal with the two back legs and between them the male genitals. At the front, only the right side is present in front of the saddle, which is complete, as far as the right front leg. The three legs are broken off at roughly the same level, not far above their attachment to the summit of the ridge-tile. Of the rider only the lower part of the body remains inside the saddle, together with both legs complete down each side of the animal's body. A few separate sherds belong to the animal. The largest comprises part of the tail and the adjacent portion of the hind-quarters. The tail was made separately and secured by a dowel passing through a hole in the rump.

The finial is made of sandy ware, dull red in colour in section and on the surface. It has a greenish brown glaze applied over the upper part and sides of the animal and on the legs. On the underside of the animal's body are streaks of the same

glaze, which has hardened to darker brown due to thickening in this position. The saddle is glazed similarly, and also the extant parts of the rider; probably the figure was glazed all over.

The basic construction of the animal is a wheel-thrown cylinder, with separate hand-made additions for the posterior and for the neck and head, and the legs applied separately. The rider's body was made separately and wheel-thrown. Other parts such as the rider's legs, his sword, and the saddle, were also made separately and then applied before firing and glazing.

The cylinder is 7.65in. (19.4cm.) in length; internally the vertical diameter is 1.3in. (3.1cm.) at the middle, widening at each end to about 2.25in. (5.7cm.). At the front it is open, where a separate portion for the neck was attached. A structural break in front of the saddle shows that the animal's mane was also made separately. In the longitudinal section (Fig 9, B), the cylinder and posterior are shown in solid black, and the other additions at both ends are hatched.

Four circular holes, from 0.5. to 0.8in. in diameter, were cut through the cylinder. One of these is on the top, below the body of the rider, the second is in the rump beneath the tail, and the other two are on the underside, at mid length and near the front legs. The position of the holes is shown in the longitudinal and cross sections (Fig 9, B and C). The purpose of the holes was functional, in order to allow the free escape of steam from inside the finial during firing. Incidentally, the presence of these holes confirms that the object is a finial and not a container, such as an aquamanile.

The legs are solid and simply luted on to the body, and not secured by a dowel. At both ends the inside surface of the body is marked by pressing with the fingers. The marks are deeper at the front end, where they form long channels and secure a large pad of clay added to strengthen the junction between the body and the neck. The outer part of each leg is connected to the flanks of the body by an applied strip running obliquely. These strips emphasize the anatomical structure of the horse, and also form a strong brace between the legs and the body. All the legs have deep stab-marks on the outside. Finally the genitals, three separate pads of clay, were applied to the surface between the back legs, and shaped by the fingers.

The rider is a separately thrown cylinder joined to the body of his mount, and supported by the saddle. His legs are broad strips passing down the



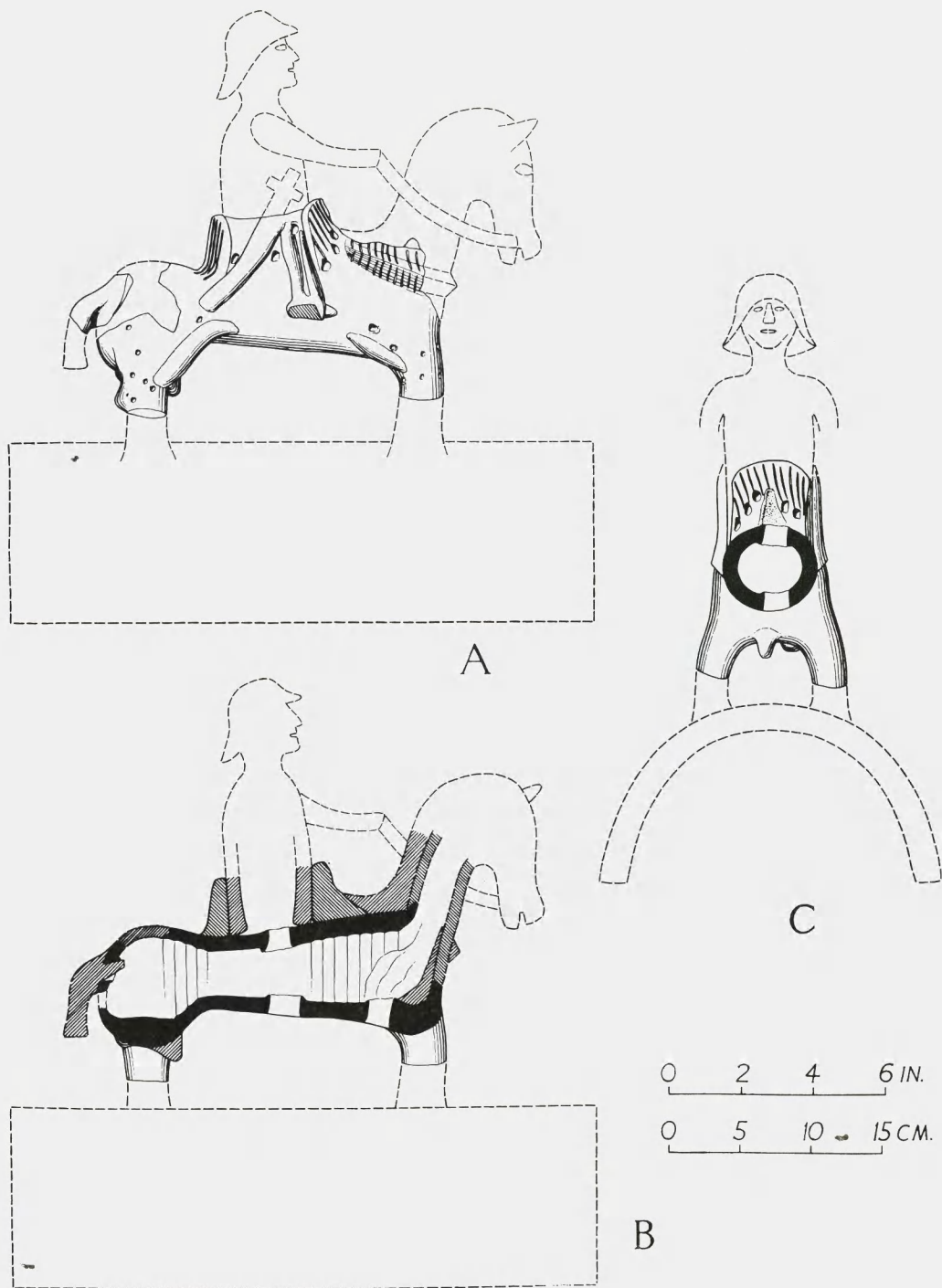


Fig 9 Knight finial. 43 Mill Street, Bedford. A, side view; B, longitudinal section; C, front view and cross-section at middle (Scale  $\frac{1}{5}$ )

flanks of the horse. In front of each leg is a narrower strip for a leather strap, ending in a thicker transverse piece, chamfered below, for the stirrup; the rider's toe projects in front of the stirrup.

On the right side of the figure is a heavier applied strip, crossing the thigh and passing obliquely backwards to end in a blunt point. This is identified as a sword in its scabbard, by comparison with this feature on the aquamanile in the form of a mounted knight found at Mere, Wiltshire,<sup>25</sup> and also, more relevantly, the knight finial from the Château de Sarcus (Oise), illustrated on pl 16, a. On both the Bedford and the Sarcus figures, the sword is on the right side of the body and not as usual on the left, but no significance can be given to this transposition of the weapon. On the basis of these comparisons, the rider on the Bedford finial is identified definitely as a knight.

The saddle has tall bows, curved along the top, in front and behind the rider. The bows are 1.6in. (4.1cm.) high, but that in front (the arçon) appears higher than the other (the cantle) due to the slope of the horse's back. Each bow is a separately made piece applied above the join of the knight's figure and the body of the horse. Both bows are decorated with a series of vertical incised lines, ending below in a line of deep stab-marks.

In front of the knight is an applied ridge, decorated with incised lines in a herringbone pattern. The ridge passes from the saddle obliquely towards the horse's neck. It represents a laminated crinet of leather round the neck for the protection of the horse.<sup>26</sup>

Lastly, there is an unglazed scar along the top of the horse's body behind the neck and overlapping the base of the saddle. This must be where the lower part of the horse's mane was attached, and extending up the back of its neck and neck, as restored in Fig 9 A and B.

It remains to explain the basis for the reconstruction of the knight's figure and the ridge-tile, shown in Fig 9, A-C. The closest analogy for the Bedford example is the complete horse and rider finial found at Hitchin (pl 13, b). This figure wears a sallet, the helmet typical of the 15th century, and is thus contemporary with the Bedford finial. The Hitchin finial surmounts a ridge-tile of the inverted semicircular form of the late medieval period. The Bedford finial and tile have been restored accordingly, and the knight's arms and the horse's reins added on the drawings. The total height of the finial was thus about 12in. (30.5cm.), and the ridge-tile about 16.2in. (41 cm.) in length.

## HORSE AND RIDER FINIALS IN ENGLAND

Roof-finials in the form of mounted human figures are first known in England in the thirteenth century, and continued to be made for three centuries. The figures of knights, identified as such by their armour are, however, distinctly uncommon; the evidence is both archaeological and documentary.

In the thirteenth century, the earliest examples of knights are two figures clad in chain mail, both found in Cambridge, one at St John's College and the other in Petty Cury.<sup>27</sup> Pieces of another knight finial were found in excavations at Pakesham manor house, near Leatherhead; the fragments, dated c. 1290, comprise the right foot in a stirrup, parts of his body, one leg of the horse, and the attachment of the finial to the ridge-tile.<sup>28</sup>

The manufacture of knight finials in Surrey is given by a documentary reference to the supply by John Pottere of Cheyham (Cheam) of two crests made in the fashion of mounted knights, bought for the hall of Banstead manor house in 1373.<sup>29</sup> This record is valuable as showing that knight finials were placed in pairs on the roof, probably one at each gable end of the hall, in the late fourteenth century. Moreover, the source of the finials is stated to be Cheam, where pottery kilns of this period have been found and excavated.

Next in the series is the Bedford finial, which demonstrates that knight finials continued to be made during the fifteenth century; as yet, no finial in this style is known of later date. The range in date of knight finials in England is thus from the thirteenth down to the fifteenth century.

The few knight finials should be considered in the wider context of horse and rider finials in general in England. The material varies greatly in character in different regions, and most of it, in the south-western counties, is later in date.

The only finials, datable on style to the same century as the Bedford finial, are two formerly on the roof of the Brotherhood House in Bancroft, the main street of Hitchin. The surviving finial is in the Hitchin Museum, and a cast, made in a two-piece mould, is in the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery at Bedford. The Brotherhood House is a structure of the late fifteenth century, with an upper hall on the first floor. The building has been much altered subsequently, though the date 1588 is in plaster outside and a staircase is of this date. It is recorded that the finials were fixed on the gable ends of the building, though as often happens, they were pro-



bably replaced on a roof of later date.<sup>30</sup>

The finial in the Hitchin Museum (pl. 13, b) is complete. It is made of light red ware, with yellow glaze on the figures and the ridge-tile. The tile is semi-circular in section, 12.5in. (31.8cm.) in length, 10in. (25.4cm.) wide at the base, and 4.5in. (11.5cm.) high. The total height is 14.25in. (36.2cm.), and the horse is 9in. (23cm.) long.

The rider wears a close-fitting jacket with short sleeves and a prominent collar at the neck. His helmet, without a vizor, has a rounded skull with a low crest; the brim is pointed in front, and at the back it covers the whole of the neck. The seven large bosses round the base of the skull are the heads of rivets fastening the leather lining. The helmet is a sallet, typical of the fifteenth century.<sup>31</sup> The Hitchin figure has neither sword nor shield, so that it represents a horse-soldier or squire rather than a knight.

Only one leg survives of what was an exceptionally large knight finial. It was found in dredging the moat of the manor house of the Bec and Willoughby families at Eresby, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire, in 1966. I am greatly indebted to Mrs E.H. Rudkin for information and the photograph reproduced on pl. 13, c.

This right leg is made of red ware, and is 9in. (23cm.) long. It is slightly bowed, with the scar mark of the saddle at the top of the thigh; the figure was therefore mounted. A padded doublet, with incised lines for the quilting and a row of stamped circles along the lower border, extends to just below the hip. Armour is indicated by a poleyn with a circular side-wing on the knee.<sup>32</sup> The figure was thus a mounted knight in armour, and it may be dated late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. In size and details of the armour, the Eresby figure is the only find in England at all comparable with the Sire of Sarcus (pl. 16).

The only other horse and rider finials known in eastern England are the body of a horse, 12in. (30.5cm.) long, with the lower part of the rider, found in Leicester (Leicester Museum, no. 64/1951); and a complete finial and ridge-tile at Bury St Edmunds, recorded by a drawing in the Buckler collection (no 1686) in the British Museum. In neither instance are the details sufficient for the status of the rider to be determined.

In southern England the current excavations of the manor house at Netherton, north Hampshire, have produced horse and rider finials in a dated context.<sup>33</sup> One nearly complete example and pieces of several others, numerous roof-tiles, and a

much clipped penny of Edward I, lost c. 1350-60, were in a pit dating from the first phase of the fourteenth-century manor. The rider is a male figure, not a knight, wearing a close-fitting garment and a hood covering the head and neck; no details of the dress are shown. The horse is about 12in. (30cm.) long and the total height of finial and ridge-tile 15in. (38cm.).

Elsewhere, horse and rider finials occur only in south-west England. With one exception, the figures are rather lacking in distinctive features and difficult to date closely; none of them is likely to be medieval. However, the finial in the Totnes Museum, formerly on the roof of 9 Fore Street, Totnes,<sup>34</sup> merits detailed description.

The Totnes finial and ridge-tile are complete (pl. 14, a), and made of light red ware with traces of green glaze on the figures. The ridge-tile, an inverted V in section, is 21.75in. (55.3cm.) long, 10in. (25.4cm.) wide at the base, and 5in. (12.7cm.) high. Along the top are low peaked crests, a devolved form of the tall crests, moulded by hand, current in the extreme south-west during the medieval period and later.<sup>35</sup>

The horse wears a cloth trapper, coloured red, and the reins are held at each side by both of the rider's hands. Details of the horse's head are shown with care, and the mane is a crest pierced by holes, extending the whole length of the neck.

The rider has a dignified poise. He wears a three-cornered or cocked hat, coloured black, with a large peak in front, and a frock-coat with a broad turned-down collar. Slung over his right shoulder is a shoulder-belt or baldric, from which is suspended a sword on the left side. The total height to the crown of the rider's hat is 17.25in. (43.8cm.).

The style of the rider's dress is that worn by gentlemen for riding in 1680-90, though the cocked hat continued in fashion until about 1750.<sup>36</sup> The wearing of a sword, 'the grand distinguishing mark of a fine gentleman,' was the fashion during the seventeenth century and continued in the next century until about 1730, after which it ceased to be the symbol of gentility.<sup>37</sup> The rider's dress and accessories thus date the Totnes finial to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

The Totnes finial closes the series which depict the upper levels of English society; knights, squires and gentlemen. The range in date, from the thirteenth century down to the late seventeenth century, is reflected in the styles of dress, from military suits of armour to civilian dress with only a sword.



### OTHER FINIALS IN SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

Compared with the finials considered above, the other examples of horse and rider finials in south-west England are crude and lacking in character. However, a few of them, in Dorset, Devon and Cornwall, can be dated by the style of the rider's dress and head wear. This applies to the finials at Polperro, East Looe, Bridport and Plymouth, which will be briefly described in chronological order. For the rest, the figures are too generalised for close dating to be possible; though two finials are as late as the nineteenth century.

The four datable finials belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The rider at Polperro, called the Devil on Horseback (pl. 14, b), wears a close-fitting doublet and baggy knee breeches, fashionable in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> Slightly later is the figure from East Looe, wearing a hat with a round crown and a wide brim.<sup>39</sup> To the end of this century belongs the finial at 9 East Street, Bridport, formerly the George Inn built in the seventeenth century,<sup>40</sup> with more detail (pl. 14, c). The rider wears a frock-coat with turned-up collar and a flared skirt reaching to the knees. Vertical slashes on the coat and skirt represent pleats or vents. His cocked hat has the brim up-turned at the sides. The dress was worn for riding in the period 1680-90.<sup>41</sup> The horse's body is a wheel-thrown cylinder, apparently a bottle, to which the head, modelled by hand, has been added. The horse's legs have been repaired and lengthened by metal rods inserted in lead plugs, which are fixed into a re-used ridge-tile with shallow cresting. The Plymouth finial (pl. 14, d) was formerly on the roof of an inn in High Street, opposite the Old Guildhall. The rider wears a round hat with flat brim, and a frock-coat with wide turned-down collar; the coat is fastened from neck to waist by buttons. A shoulder-belt passes from the right side down to the left hip. The style of dress is that introduced for sport and riding about 1770,<sup>42</sup> so that the finial is late eighteenth century or soon after.

Reference to the distribution map (Fig 10) shows that in extreme south-west England horse and rider finials are known from the astonishing number of 18 sites; one in Dorset, 11 in Devon, and 6 in Cornwall. Four of the more interesting examples have been described above.

This abundance of finials attracted attention in the nineteenth century and since; they have been discussed with more or less relevance, and much speculation.<sup>43</sup> Many of the finials were

still on the roofs in the late 19th century but have been removed since, and are only recorded by outline sketches. Two factors make the evaluation of the finials difficult; lack of datable characteristics, and the fact that finials were replaced after drastic alterations to the original building, or even removed to another site. It may be noted that at three places, Okehampton, Tavistock and Padstow, the finials were in pairs and set up at both ends of the roof, thus continuing a practice derived ultimately from medieval times. The majority, however, were placed on the gable end of the building fronting the street.

The range in date of the finials in Devon and Cornwall is from the early seventeenth century down to the late nineteenth century. It is unlikely, then, that a single explanation will account for all of them. Those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been mentioned already. For the rest, with three exceptions, it can only be said that they represent horses and riders. A finial at Truro, now lost, differed from all the others in depicting a horse with a load of skins on its back; this has a special local significance, because pack-horses formed the chief means of transporting goods in Cornwall, even into the eighteenth century.

The most recent figure of the series is on Mayflower House, West Street, Ashburton. It was placed on the roof by J.S. Amery in 1896, as recorded by a tablet below the gable. The ridge-tile and figure are made of brick-red terracotta. The rider wears a tall hat with rounded crown, a close-fitting coat, and gaiters buttoned up on the outside. A shoulder-belt is slung over the right shoulder, and from it hangs a satchel on the left hip. A bird is perched on the right hand, with straps attached to it hanging below. The horse has a bridle and reins, and wears a saddle cloth. The figure represents a squire or country gentleman dressed for riding and sport, and here shown as hawking. The hat is a 'high bowler,' fashionable in the decade 1880-90, and the long gaiters or 'spatterdashes' are also typical of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

A finial of the same character was on one gable of the Chevalier House, 78-80 Fore Street, Exeter, a half-timbered sixteenth-century building, destroyed by enemy action in 1942. To judge from the small woodcut published by Baring-Gould, the figure was more finely modelled than most of the finials in Devon and Cornwall. The horse has pricked-up ears, a bushy tail and slender legs; the

rider wears a tall hat with rounded crown, but no other details of the dress are shown. These features invite comparison with the Ashburton finial, and suggest a mid or late nineteenth-century date for the Exeter figure.

Among the various theories put forward to explain the finials only two need be considered here. It is supposed that they marked houses which sheltered Charles II in his flight after the Battle of Worcester in 1651, or were secret signs to indicate hospitality for fleeing Royalists. If either of these theories was correct, it might be expected that more finials of late seventeenth-century date would exist than is the case. The negation of these romantic theories lies in the fact that some finials are earlier, while several others are considerably later than this time. Moreover, the evidence is of the slightest that even in the medieval period, the heyday of such things in England, finials were put on roofs for any purpose than as ornaments, still less that a secret meaning was given to them.

Another theory which has gained some credence

in the West Country is that the finials were a kind of inn sign, denoting that the rider and his mount could be accommodated or that the inn carried a livery stable, or possibly that it was a house supplying post-horses. This explanation is worth more serious consideration, to see if it is supported by the development of the road system in Devon and Cornwall.

A striking feature of the distribution map (Fig 10) is that about three-quarters of the sites are strung out along the coastal and southern parts of Devon and Cornwall, while the remainder also form a group across the central part of Devon, radiating from Exeter. The pattern at once suggests that the sites may be related in some way to communications, and invites comparison with the lay-out of the road system. For this purpose the road system of these counties, as it existed in the sixteenth century and was developed in the seventeenth century, must be examined.

In the 16th century, as previously, only one through road formed a connexion between Lon-

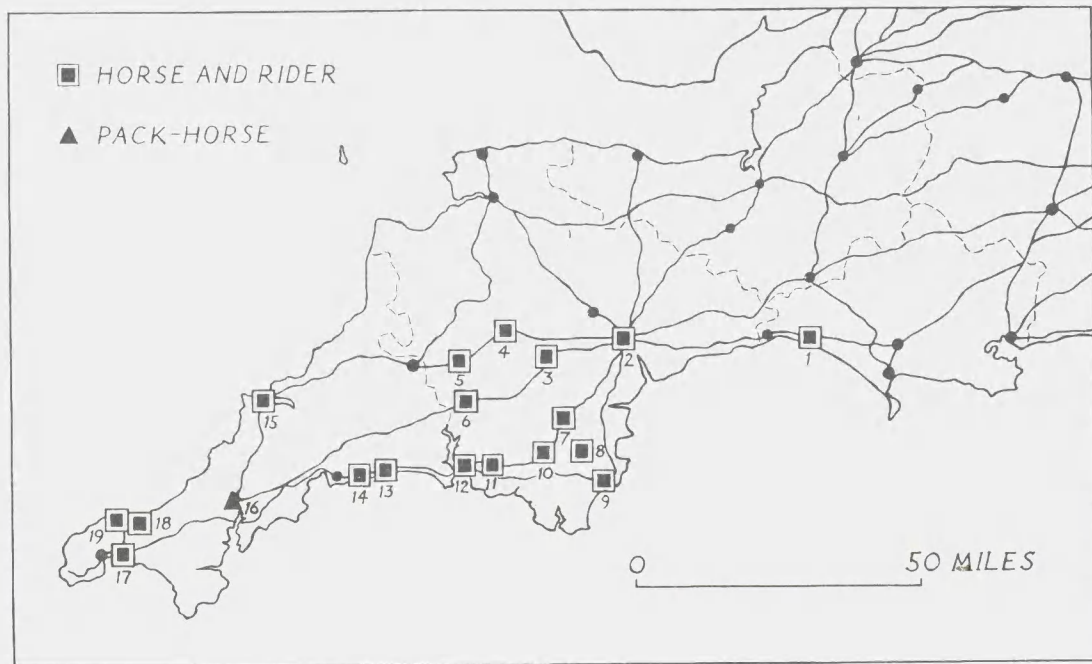


Fig 10 Distribution map of post-medieval horse and rider finials in south-west England.

<b>Dorset</b>	4 Okehampton	10 South Brent	15 Padstow
1 Bridport	5 Lewtrenchard	11 Plympton	16 Truro
<b>Devon</b>	6 Tavistock	12 Plymouth	17 Marazion
2 Exeter	7 Ashburton	<b>Cornwall</b>	18 Hayle
3 Chagford	8 Totnes	13 East and West Looe	19 St Ives
	9 Dartmouth	14 Polperro	



don and the extreme south-west.<sup>45</sup> It entered the region with which we are concerned in a fairly straight course from Salisbury to Exeter. Thence it continued westwards to Okehampton, and skirted the north side of Dartmoor to enter Cornwall by Polston Bridge over the river Tamar, and reached Launceston. The road then crossed Bodmin Moor to Bodmin, and kept to the lower ground north of St. Austell Moor on to Truro, where it curved to avoid Wendron Moors, and so reached the south coast at Penzance. The road thus followed a fairly central line through Devon and the Cornish peninsula.

The road system of the late 17th century is known in detail from the survey made by John Ogilvy, which forms the basis of the roads shown on *The Map of XVII Century England* (Ordnance Survey, 1930). By this time, three main roads ran westwards from Exeter through Devon and Cornwall, and a network of minor roads linked the lesser towns (Fig 10).

The central road still connected Exeter, Okehampton and Launceston, where it diverged to pass over Davidstow Moor, and thence to Rock for the ferry across the river Camel to Padstow. The peninsula was now crossed by a road between Padstow and Truro.

The second road ran from Exeter to Chagford, and then crossed the middle of Dartmoor to Tavistock. It then continued round the south side of Bodmin Moor in a direct line through Lostwithiel to Truro.

The third and most southerly route ran south-west from Exeter to Ashburton, then skirted the southern end of Dartmoor to South Brent and on to Plympton and Plymouth.<sup>46</sup> The mouth of the Tamar was crossed by a ferry to Torpoint, whence the road kept near to the south coast of Cornwall as far as Looe, crossing the river by a late medieval bridge, and again kept to the coast to cross the Fal at Bodinnick ferry.

In South Devon another road ran south from Exeter to Dartmouth, and connected Dartmouth to Plymouth.

In general, the expansion of industries and trade in the seventeenth century, and the consequent increase in traffic led to the development of better roads. The numerous minor roads between the inland towns of Cornwall were co-ordinated with the main roads, and their condition improved for stage-coach traffic. By the end of the century, Cornwall had three direct roads connecting the county with Devon and the rest of England. The

importance of the medieval and later bridges of Cornwall, and the ferries, should be stressed as the means of maintaining through traffic across the rivers and their estuaries.<sup>47</sup>

We may now return from the road system to the horse and rider finials plotted on the same map (Fig 10). It is at once apparent that in Devon the finials are located at the larger and smaller towns along the three main routes from Exeter across and around Dartmoor, to enter Cornwall at Launceston, Tavistock and Plymouth. In Cornwall the finials are also located at the major ports and towns such as Padstow, Truro, Marazion and St Ives. Along and close to the southern coastal route there are finials at both East and West Looe, marking the crossing of the river, and at Polperro. There is, in fact, a remarkably close correlation between the pattern of the main roads and the distribution of the finials.

The theory that in origin the finials in south-west England denoted inns or hostelries along the stage-coach routes is thus fully supported by their occurrence and spacing along the roads. In detail this explanation receives further support from the location of finials at the sites of former inns; the George at Bridport, an inn in the High Street at Plymouth, and the Ship Inn at Padstow. The Truro finial, which differs from the others in representing a horse with a load of skins, commemorates the pack-horses which played a leading role in carrying goods in Cornwall.

It would, however, be misleading to regard the inn-sign theory as the sole explanation, which is certainly not the case, either in Devon and Cornwall. Some of the finials are much later in date than the seventeenth century; for instance, late eighteenth century at Plymouth, late nineteenth century at Ashburton, and probably about this date at Exeter. Moreover, while the finials at Bridport, Plymouth and Padstow are associated with inns, and that at Polperro was placed on an inn from another house, the latest members of the group are on buildings very different in character and use; a private house at Ashburton, Noall's Manor House and the Manor House at Ayr, St Ives, and finally several placed on private houses at St Ives in modern times. These more recent examples show quite clearly that by the 19th century the original purpose of the horse and rider finials was long obsolete, and they had then become simply ornaments on the roof.

The custom of preserving old finials on roofs is stronger in Cornwall than anywhere else in



England. Indeed, it has been reinforced there in the 20th century by the skill of Mr Bernard Leach, who has reproduced the old style of finial and these have been set up on modern houses.

#### *ANALOGIES ON THE CONTINENT*

In the regions of the Continent nearest to England, roof-finials in pottery of the medieval and later periods are frequent.<sup>48</sup> The finds extend in a broad zone from southern Holland and Flanders as far west as Normandy. The finials comprise many of the types known in England, including knights on horseback.

The earliest knight finials abroad are thirteenth-century in date, and form a small group in East Flanders and in extreme northern France. Although fragmentary, the finials are remarkable for their large size, the attention given to detail, and vigour.

The most informative is the finial in the Gruuthuse Museum at Bruges (pl. 15, a-b). It is made of grey sandy ware with light red surface, covered overall by dark green glaze. The lower part of the knight's body remains, the right arm and part of the right leg. The horse's head and neck are complete. The knight wears a long shirt of chain mail, covering the arms, with skirts down to the knee.<sup>49</sup> The mail is shown conventionally by lines of square rouletting. The horse's head and neck are also protected by trapping of mail; a feature well shown on ivory chessmen, a mural in the Painted Chamber at Westminster Abbey, and in north French and English miniatures.<sup>50</sup>

The lower part of a shield remains on the knight's left side. His right arm is extended, and the hand grasps the horse's reins. The forearm is pierced by a hole about 1 in. across to hold a lance, probably of metal; its lower end was secured by a socket in his right thigh.

The knight's armour is well shown by a figure found in the *Marché du Vendredi* at Ghent, now in the Bijloke Museum at Ghent (pl. 15, c).<sup>51</sup> The fabric is similar to that of the Bruges finial, and the overall glaze is dark green and streaky. The knight also has a mail shirt, indicated by lines of square rouletting. On his head is a flat-topped helmet with two slits for the eyes.<sup>52</sup> His left side is protected by a long heater-shaped shield curved to fit the body, and charged with three bars of notched lines. The shield is suspended from the knight's neck by a looped strap (guige). The figure is broken off at the waist, but even in its incomplete state is 15 in. (38 cm.) high.

The Ghent knight has recently been illustrated and discussed in relation to parts of similar figures in East Flanders. Documentary evidence shows that statuettes, presumably made of pottery, were used as ornaments on the bridges of Ghent in the fourteenth century.<sup>52a</sup> This usage broadens the application of the term 'finial,' at least in Belgium, but does not exclude the placing of mounted knights on the roofs of medieval houses and buildings on the Continent.

The last finial of this group is the head and neck of a horse in the Musée Municipal at St Omer (Pas-de-Calais), also of grey ware with dark green glaze (fig 11). It is about twice the size of the horse's head on the Bruges finial. Notched lines on the neck indicate a mail trapper, and strips in high relief show the straps of the headstall, with a decorative knob on the brow in front of the ears.

Also to be associated with the group is the figure of a knight formerly on the roof of the Cloth Hall at Ypres. The only record of it states that it was similar to the Ghent knight, but no details are available. The Cloth Hall was begun in 1201 and not completed until 1304; these date brackets confirm the stylistic dating of all the finials to the thirteenth century.

These knight finials form a concise group in Flanders and the adjacent part of France; they have many features in common. In fabric, and in the quality and colour of the glaze they are remarkably uniform. Moreover, the use of rouletting for mail armour on the knight and his mount is consistent on the three extant figures. Everything points to a common source for the finials, probably somewhere in Flanders.

In Belgium and northern France, knight finials of large size continued to be made during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The finials are outstanding for the attention paid to details of the arms and armour of both rider and horse. Four examples are known, two in Belgium and two in France.

Both the Belgian finials are in the Bijloke Museum at Ghent. The first, found in Ghent, is referred to the fourteenth century (pl. 15, d). It is made of red ware, with dark green glaze shading off to light green or yellow at the margins. The knight wears mail, shown by elongated notches of rouletting on the body and legs. The horse has a cloth trapper extending to the legs, emblazoned twice on the sides with the lion rampart of Flanders. The horse's body is 14 in. (34.5 cm.) long; the



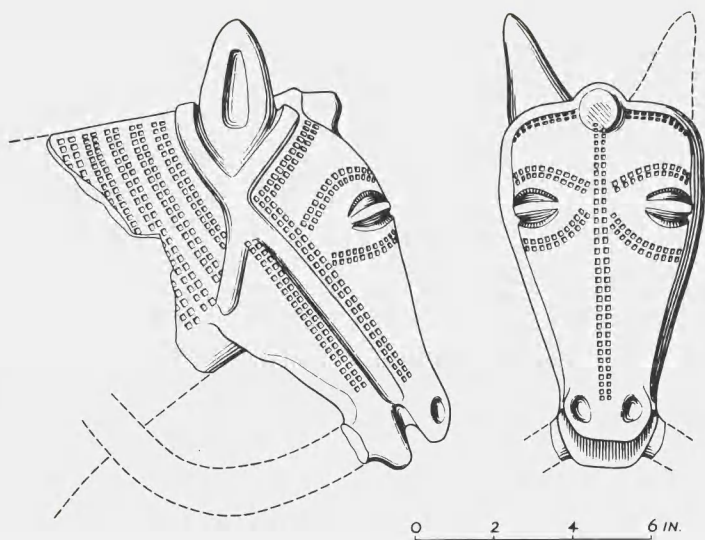


Fig 11 Horse's head of finial. St Omer (Pas-de-Calais). ( $\frac{1}{5}$ )

rather slender legs are broken off above the attachment to the ridge-tile.

The other finial, found at Tournai, is only the body of the knight. Circular stamps represent mail, under a mottled green glaze. On the left side is a large heater-shaped shield, charged with three fleurs-de-lys, suspended by a strap. It is labelled as fifteenth century.

Turning to France, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lille is a nearly complete finial found in Lille. Only the knight's body remains, lacking a shield, but the horse is complete, 10.5in. (26.7cm.) long. Both figures have stamped decoration for mail, under a green glaze.

The most splendid of the knight finials on the Continent is in the Musée Départemental de l'Oise at Beauvais. It is known as the Sire of Sarcus, and was originally on one of the towers of the Château de Sarcus, near Granvilliers (Oise), a medieval castle largely reconstructed in the sixteenth century and destroyed in 1834.<sup>53</sup>

The finial is complete (pl. 16, a-c), made of whitish ware with overall yellow glaze. It is 18.5in. (47cm.) long, and 22in. (56cm.) high. The finial was secured to the tower by a hollow conical pedestal under the horse, to which the horse's hoofs are attached in front and behind. It is identified as a product of the pottery industry at Savignies, near Beauvais, which operated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>54</sup>

The armour of both knight and mount are shown in some detail, and in fact are a remarkable

record of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century accoutrements. The rider wears a bascinet helmet with a mail aventail covering the neck.<sup>55</sup> His left forearm bears a small, almost triangular shield (*petit écu*). It is charged with a saltire and rosettes, within an indented border; the device is not correct heraldically. On his right side is a sword, but its hilt is too high up on the body for use. As noted above, the sword is on the same side as on the Bedford finial, not as usual on the left side, but this does not seem to be significant. The legs are protected by long, curved rectangular plates with three bosses, probably made of moulded leather.

The horse's body is protected in front by a peytral with three large bosses, and on the flanks and behind by flanchards, curved to the shape of the body, fluted vertically, and standing out stiff to protect the legs. These defences were probably made of cuir-bouilli or moulded leather.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, the horse's head is completely enclosed by a chanfron, as shown by holes for the ears, eyes and nostrils; this was probably also made of moulded leather. Apparently a chanfron is also on the horse's head at St Omer (fig 11), which has rouletted lines round the eyes. This rare form of horse armour is known mainly by an extant fourteenth-century chanfron of iron at Warwick Castle.<sup>57</sup> The straps of the headstall on the Sarcus horse are shown by applied strips across the brow and the nose-band.

The only medieval finial other than those with

knights is a figure from Sainte-Marie-les-Anvers, Antwerp, in the Cinquantenaire Museum at Brussels.<sup>58</sup> It is rather smaller than the other finials and depicts a musician playing a violin, seated on a horse; the legs of the horse are broken off above the attachment to the ridge-tile.

#### DISTRIBUTION AND SUMMARY

On the distribution map (fig 12) are plotted the knight finials and horse and rider finials in England and on the adjacent regions of the Continent. The incidence, as far as known from the comparatively few examples, is limited to Flanders in Belgium and to northern France as far west as Picardy; and in England to the south Midlands, East Anglia,

and the southern counties. Both abroad and in England the range in date is about the same, from the thirteenth century down to the fifteenth century. This correspondence is not restricted to the knight and rider finials, but applies to various types of roof finials in pottery on both sides of the English Channel.

On the Continent the knight finials are divided into two groups according to style. The majority from 5 sites, Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, St Omer and Lille, are the earlier in the series. The knight and his mount are clad in chain mail. On the later finials, at Ghent and the Château de Sarcus, the armour is more elaborate and the heraldry is shown in some detail.

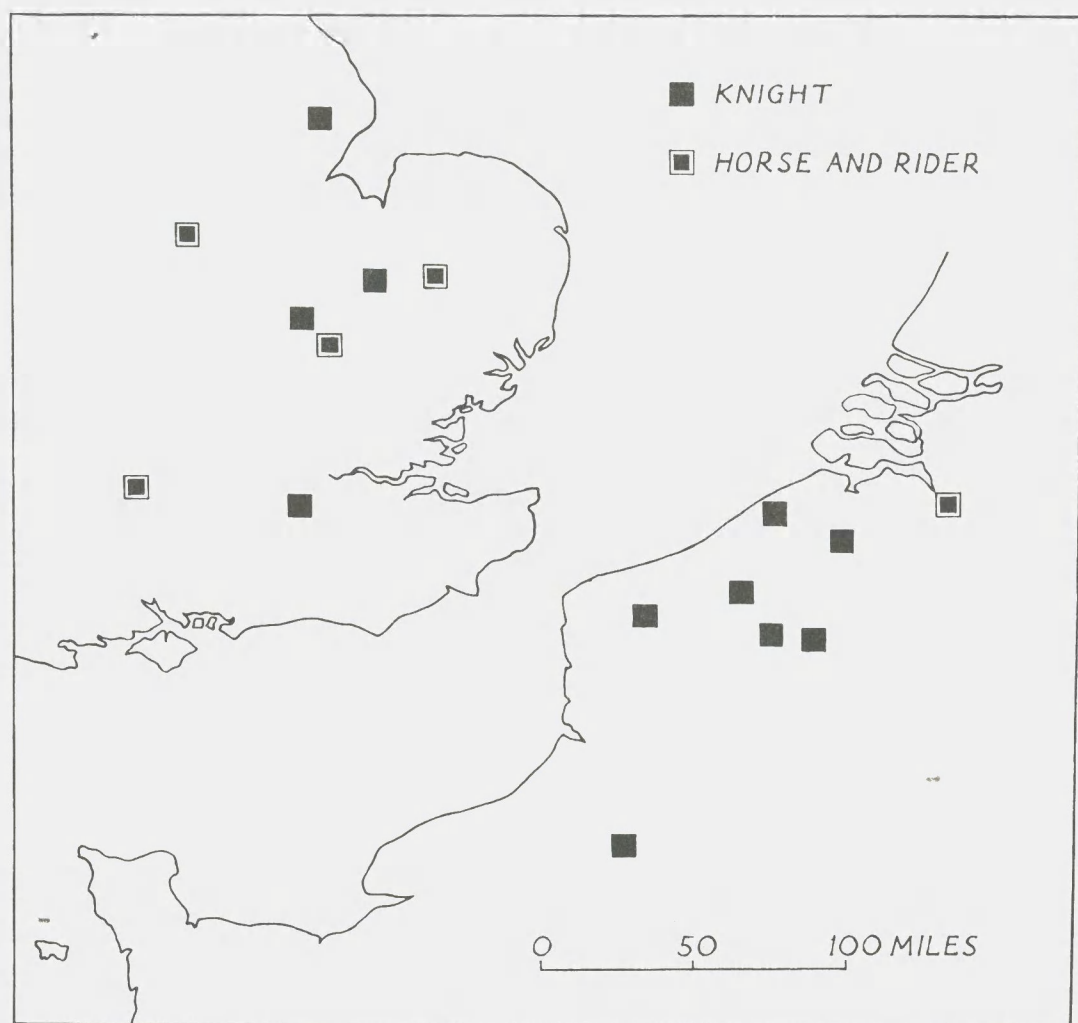


Fig 12 Distribution map of medieval knight finials and horse and rider finials in England, Belgium and France.



In both groups abroad, some of the figures are more imposing and larger than the counterparts in England. The fragment from Eresby, Lincolnshire, is an exception to this statement, since the complete figure must in size have equalled any of those on the Continent.

Although knight finials were placed on the roofs of at least one castle, in France, and on manor houses in England, and some of them bear heraldic devices, the evidence is slight that the figures can be related to the distinguished occupants of these places.

In post-medieval times, horse and rider finials continued to be made in France down to the early nineteenth century. Several in eastern France, notably at Reims and Troyes, represent soldiers of Napoleonic times and convivial scenes of figures astride barrels of wine. In Normandy and Brittany the figures depict huntsmen blowing horns.<sup>59</sup>

In England the custom of placing horse and rider finials on roofs also persisted in and after the seventeenth century. The figures are particularly numerous in Devon and Cornwall, where their character and distribution (fig 10) point to their use as inn-signs related to the road system.

In England the pottery finials thus demonstrate a long-lived tradition in this form of roof ornament, starting with knights in armour and ending with bowler-hatted gentlemen.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper owes much to a preliminary description and drawings of the Bedford finial by Mr David H. Kennett, which were of great assistance in the final study of the finial.

My grateful thanks are due to the curators of museums in England, Belgium and France, mentioned in the text, for permission to study and photograph the material in their charge. Mrs E.H. Rudkin kindly brought the Eresby knight to my notice, and supplied the illustration. It is a pleasure to record my thanks to Mrs E.M. Minter for information and details about the finials in Devon and Cornwall, and for hospitality during visits to take photographs.

I am also greatly indebted to Mr Claude Blair, Keeper of the Department of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, for discussing the armour on the knight finials, helpful comments and references.

#### OTHER ROOFING MATERIALS

In addition to the roof finial, a number of roof tiles were found, reused in the hearth 21. These were made in buff yellow fabric and were about 1.8cms thick. Four types were represented.

- (a) Two end peg holes: 33cm by 20cm.
- (b) Three end peg holes: 21.5cm wide.
- (c) Two end peg holes and ridge: 21.5cm wide.
- (d) One end peg hole: 21.5cm wide.

## THE DECORATED TILES

by Elizabeth S. Eames

Five decorated tiles are of great interest. All were broken and have been repaired. They measure about 19 x 18.8 x 2.3cm. The sides are slightly bevelled. There are no keys in the back.

Two of the tiles form part of a larger composition, which was probably complete on four tiles. They show the rear of a lion with a foliate tail. A small part of the mane is present. (fig 13a). The lion is outlined by a V-shaped channel 2 – 8mm wide. The irregularity of this channel suggests that it was cut by hand with a V-shaped gouge. It may have been cut after an outline had been scored on the surface of the tile round a template or through a stencil, or possibly it was stamped on. The same V-shaped channel is used to indicate internal detail in the mane and tail. Two colours were obtained by coating the area of the lion with a red slip and the rest of the surface with a white slip. The whole surface was glazed with a lead glaze, which, after firing, produced a brown lion on a yellow ground. It was necessary to use a red slip to obtain a good brown because the clay used for the body of these tiles fired to a pale grey, buff or pink, colours which look olive green or greenish brown when glazed. An area of red slip has fallen away at the top left corner of the lower tile revealing the smooth surface of the tile body beneath it. At this point the red slip is less than 1mm thick. The white slip covers both sides of most of the V-shaped channels that outline the lion.

Tiles decorated with linear designs are known from a number of places in Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties, but all are a single colour: yellow, green, black or very occasionally brown. The only tiles, which I know, with comparable decoration, in two colours, outlined by a V-shaped channel, have been found in Kent: on the site of Faversham Abbey, at Blackfriars and St Augustine's in Canterbury, and with other wasters at a possible kiln site exposed during drainage operations and investigated by Louise Millard in Clowes Wood, about two miles north of the important tile and pottery making centre at Tyler Hill.<sup>60</sup> Some of the designs from Faversham range over a number of tiles and at least two depict parts of animals which might be lions.<sup>61</sup> Brian Philp kindly allowed me to inspect some of the tiles from Faversham. The designs are outlined by a deep, V-shaped channel in the same manner as the lion from Bedford. At Faversham also the background was covered in white slip, but it had not



been necessary to cover the design with red slip because the body clay of the tiles fired to a good red. It is possible that these tiles from Bedford were made by the same craftsmen as the tiles in Kent because the same decorative techniques were used, but the decorative designs were not the same and the marked difference in the body clay indicates that the Bedford tiles were not made in Kent, while the discovery of the wasters in Clowes Wood indicates that some at least of the Kentish examples were made there. The pale body colour of the Bedford tiles is typical of the fourteenth-century tiles known in Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire (decorated with linear designs) and the Bedford tiles are likely to have been made somewhere in that region.

Both of the lion tiles from Bedford have been damaged by contact with fire, possibly during secondary use. The upper tile retains very little of its original surface colour, the lower one retains its chestnut brown and deep yellow over about half of the surface.

Two of the three other tiles found, placed one above the other, form a panel decorated with the figure of a lady. She is standing, holding a fleur-de-lis in her raised right hand. Her hair is in a net. (fig 13c) The upper tile of the pair has been in contact with fire and the surface is badly damaged. Only the top left corner retains its original colour. The surface of the lower tile is very well preserved and its glaze is still present. At first one has the impression that the whole of the surface of the lower tile was covered in white slip and that it is a yellow tile with a few brown patches where the slip has given imperfect cover to the body, but a closer examination shows that these brown areas are on the clothing and that the tile body is not red and would not look deep brown if it showed through the slip. It seems therefore that areas of red slip were introduced to differentiate the clothing from the rest of the surface, but this was not done very systematically. The only part of the design on the upper tile that has not been damaged and retains its colour is the top petal of the fleur-de-lis. This is brown on a yellow ground so we may assume that this tile also was treated to give a two-colour effect.

Tiles of fourteenth-century date, decorated with linear designs, already known in this part of the country, have been mentioned above. They are normally a single colour and the linear decoration was stamped on to them; the various examples of one design show the same idiosyncracies, indicat-

ing that they were mechanically reproduced. It is possible that the design of the lady was stamped on to these tiles from Bedford, but if it was, some of the lines were recut by hand. There is evidence of this in the raised right hand, where two different lines were cut one outside the other. The outer line ends outside the main cavity. The bottom of the unusually wide space created by the two lines has been pecked out, probably with the point of the gouge with which the lines were cut. On the lower part of the lower tile the principal lines are wider and deeper than those usually made with a stamp and the bottom left corner of the drapery shows a double line that is likely to have been made by hand. No other examples of either of these tiles are known to me so it is not possible to compare the detail of more than one example.

The remaining tile is the upper one of a pair, comparable to the last, decorated with the figure of a king. He holds a flower in his raised right hand. (fig 13b) I do not know of any example of the lower tile of this pair, although it may be assumed that a lower tile existed at Bedford, but other examples of the upper tile are known. Part of one was found during excavations of the site of Elstow Priory in 1968; a tracing of a small piece of another, then in Elstow church, was made by Lord Aylwyn Compton in 1848; and a tracing of a complete but worn example at Old Warden Abbey was made by Lord Aylwyn Compton in 1854.

The tile from Old Warden is shown as about 14.5cm square. The piece from Elstow Abbey is complete at the left edge, which is about 14.2cm long. Because they are smaller both of these tiles lack the lower part of the design present on the tile from Bedford. The tile from Old Warden apparently lacked part of the right side and it is probable that the tile from Elstow Priory also lacked part of the right side because, although the design is placed closer to the left edge, the tile is even smaller. Neither could be used with one other tile to make the complete panel and it is probable that only the upper tile was produced in the smaller size.

A comparison of the designs on the tiles from Elstow church and Elstow Abbey with that from Bedford demonstrates that there are only very minor variations such as would be due to varying amounts of shrinkage during firing. It is probable that all were decorated with the same stamp. The tile at Old Warden, from which the tracing was made, was obviously very worn because parts of the design are missing. A comparison of this with



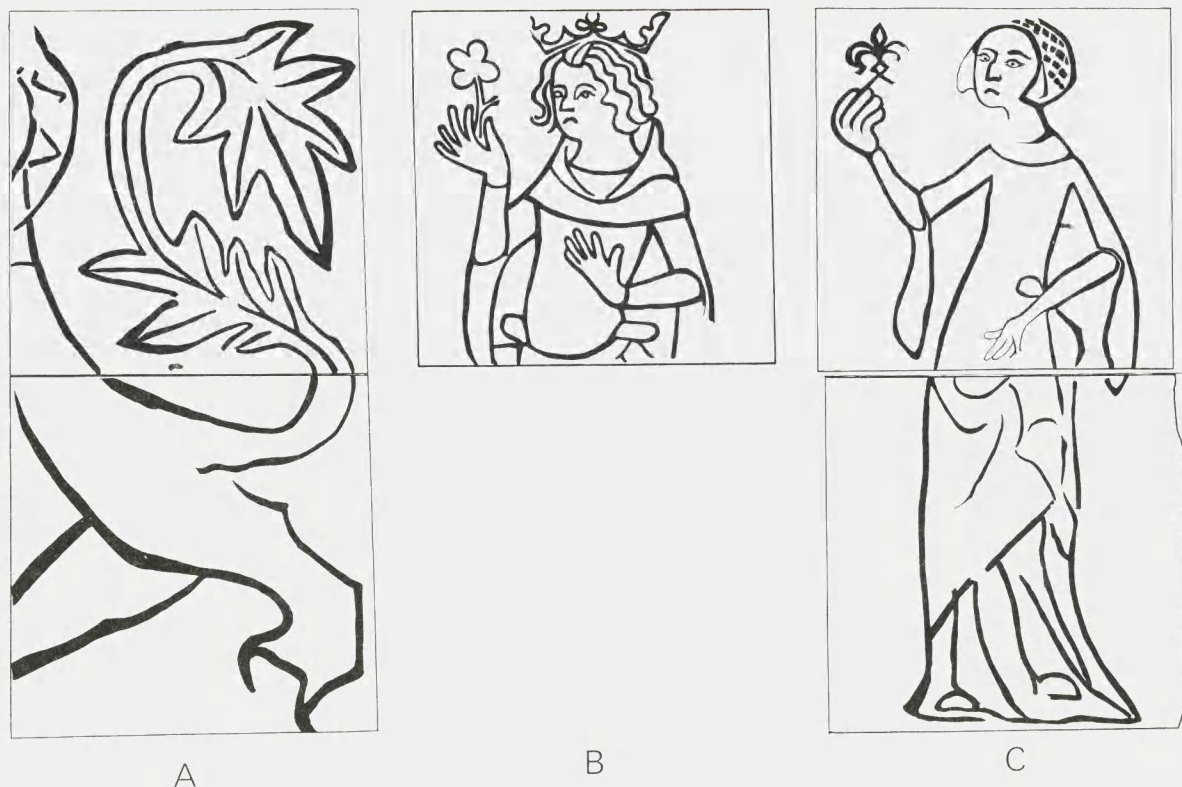


Fig 13 Decorated tiles. A lion, B King, C Lady

the others suggests that it was decorated with the same stamp but that the tile had shrunk more than the others from top to bottom during firing.

Most of the lines on this tile from Bedford look as if they were stamped on, but the line at the back of the hood and cape shows the V-shaped cavity that I associate with a gouge. The similarity of the different examples of this design suggests the existence of a stamp, but at Bedford at least some hand finishing was undertaken. This applies not only to the lines but also to the colour. As on the tiles decorated with the lady, so here, some treatment was given to the clothing by the insertion of areas of red slip, but again here this was rather scantily applied and the result is quite different from the clear two-colour effect of the lion tiles.

Ridges of glaze at one edge indicate that the three tiles decorated with the lady and the king were set upright on their lower edges to be fired. There is no clear indication of the way in which the lion tiles were set.

The similarity of the tiles with the king and the lady to the well-known series of tiles with linear

decoration including human figures referred to above, suggests that these tiles from Bedford were made in the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The clothing depicted would be compatible with such a date. There is no reason to suppose that the lion tiles are not contemporary. The similarity of technique between the lion tiles and the Kentish series referred to above suggests that the Kentish tiles should also be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, later than I originally thought probable.

I interpret the method of decoration of the Kentish tiles and the lion tiles from Bedford as an attempt by the tile maker to obtain the appearance of a mosaic, while avoiding the difficulties of making a true *opus sectile* in tile. In *opus sectile* the tiles are cut to shape before they are fired; special kiln furniture is needed to support them in the oven and extra skill and care is needed to lay them correctly. Square tiles can be stacked in the oven and laid on the floor with far less trouble. I think that the deep V-shaped channels were intended to look like the mortar joints between

the pieces of a tile mosaic. The true mortar joints between the square tiles would of course also be present, but it is possible that the carrying on of colour over these true joints would make them less conspicuous than the false joints of the V-shaped channels. Thus the appearance of an *opus sectile* pavement could be obtained without the trouble and expense involved in actually making one. Although the tiles decorated with the king and the lady have received some hand treatment, particularly in the addition of the patches of red slip, distinguishing them from the general run of tiles with linear decoration, no effect of mosaic was achieved by it.

It is not possible at present to say exactly where these tiles were made, or whether they were made at the same place as the comparable tiles from Elstow and Old Warden, but the fact that the tiles with the king from Elstow and Old Warden are smaller and do not have the complete design, suggests that they were later than the Bedford examples. It is to be hoped that before long a kiln site where such tiles were fired will be found.

#### OTHER FLOOR TILES

In addition to the line-impressed floor tiles discussed above from hearth 21, this feature also included fragments of large plain floor tiles. A typical example was 23cms x 23cms x 3cms, made in a reduced sandy fabric. Though mainly laid on end as edging tiles, these were originally intended for use as flat hearth floor tiles.

#### CLAY PIPES

Fragments of clay pipes, including parts of stems and bowls, were found at 43 Mill Street. None however occurred in contexts where associated pottery gave the deposit a close date. Apart from one bowl in layer 31, all were plain, as were stems. The decorated bowl showed the "Mulberry" pattern.

#### SMALL FINDS (Fig 14)

##### Copper Alloy

- 1 Spur rowel with six points.
- 2 Part of spur: rowel attachment and one side of straightsided shank, with double-eyed attachment to boot.
- 3 Rectangular double buckle.
- 4 Strap end with shallow engraved decoration on upper plate.
- 5 ? Belt fitting.
- 6 ? Belt fitting.

- 7,8 Stud covers.
- 9 Fragments of stud cover.
- 10 Nail with decorated square head.
- 11 Plain ring.
- 12-16 Pins.
- 17 Bent square sectioned rod with flattened end and 7 concentric circle decorations: ? spoon handle.

##### Iron

- 18 Rectangular buckle with grooved decoration on top side.
- 19 Ring: inscribed copper alloy on iron.
- 20 Pins.
- 21 Knife blade with tang.

##### Bone

- 22 Domino with copper alloy spots inlaid, and central copper alloy rivet.
- 23 Handle ringed decoration.

##### Stone

- 24 Whetstones. Mr P. Woodard, Minerals Officer in Bedfordshire County Council Planning Department reports that they were made out of phyllites, a metamorphic rock which is generally found bordering granite intrusions. Their origin is probably non-local, unless they had been found as erratics in the boulder clay.

##### COINS

- 1 Henry III short cross halfpenny 1242-47.
- 2 Charles I farthing, after 1636.
- 3 Commonwealth token  
*Obv* FRM ROBERT FITTZHUGH  
*Rev* 1654 IN BEDFORD  
Robert FitzHugh was Mayor of Bedford in 1656.
- 4 William and Mary bronze, 1693.
- 5 William and Mary sixpence, debased silver: Scottish issue 1693/4.
- 6 Louis XIV denier.
- 7 George III penny.
- 8 Medallion with small hole pierced at rim.  
*Obv* THE "TAIL-WAGGERS" CLUB. I help my PALS. *Rev* 313324 PERKINS SOUTHLANDS, GUILDFORD AVE, GUILDFORD 37, TEMPLE CHRS. E.C.4. TEL CITY 2429.

I am grateful to Mr F.W. Kulicke for reporting upon 1-2, 4-7 and to Mr D.J. Gaunt, Secretary of the Bedford Numismatic Society, for advising on 3.

##### SLAG

Metal working slag was recovered from most of



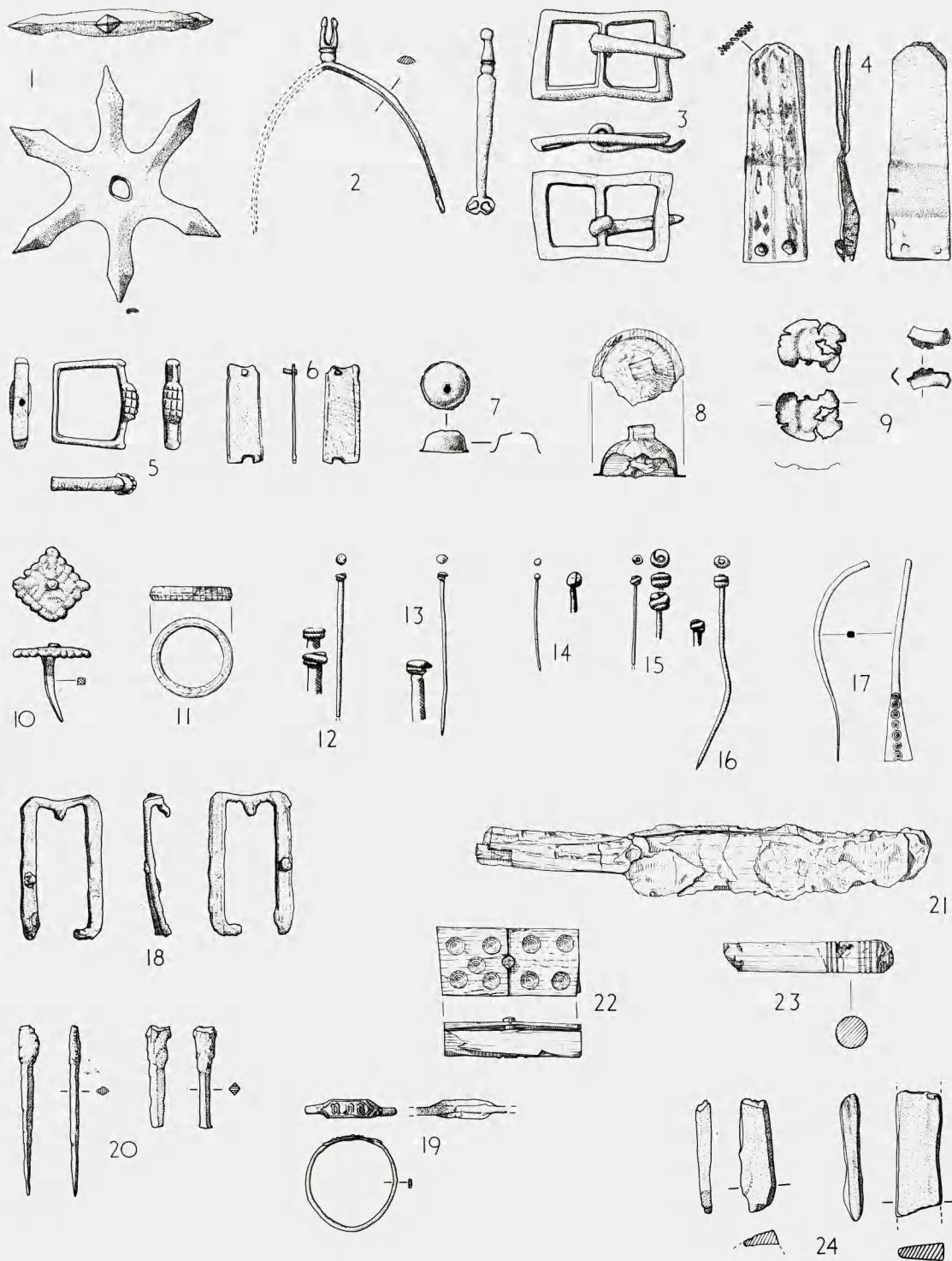


Fig 14 Small Finds (Scales: All  $\frac{2}{3}$  except Nos 2,3,7,9,17,18,24 which are  $\frac{1}{3}$ ).

the medieval and late medieval layers in Trench 19 at 43 Mill Street. Since only samples were kept, and since few layers lay totally within the area of excavation, detailed analyses by weight are not presented here. No features directly connected with metal-working were recognised in excavation. A variety of slag-with-ore and dross with residual ore was present. All pieces except one, which was copper ore, related to iron-working.

### ANIMAL BONES

By Annie Grant

The only group of animal bones submitted for study was that recovered from the occupation layer 32 at 43 Mill Street, dated by its pottery to the middle or later 15th century. Some 300 bones were recovered and their identification indicated the presence of cattle, sheep, pigs, birds, horses and rabbits. Approximately half the bones recovered were from cattle, and sheep and pig bones each formed nearly a quarter of the total. Bird bones accounted for approximately 5% while horse and rabbit were each represented by just two bones.

Almost all parts of the carcasses of cattle, sheep and pigs were represented, but there were no horn cores of either cattle or sheep. This could indicate the presence of a horn working industry in a neighbouring area, but the small size of the samples does not allow any firm conclusions to be made.

Most of the bones were from apparently mature animals, but there were three cattle bones from a very young animal, and there was some evidence to suggest that the majority of the pigs had been killed at about two years of age.

Chop marks resulting from the butchery of the carcasses were seen on the bones of cattle, sheep and pigs. The tool used seemed to have been a sharp, heavy chopping tool.

Although no dog bones were found, some of the bones have been gnawed by a dog or another similar animal, and this may show that dogs were in fact kept at the site. The bones were from apparently healthy animals, with the exception of a pig bone, a calcaneum, which had a tumour on the anterior surface of the tuber calcanei. This bone collection would appear to represent the domestic refuse of a society with a mixed economy based on cattle, with sheep and pigs also of considerable importance. The bones recovered from the 15th farmer's toft at the deserted medieval village at Lyveden in Northamptonshire<sup>65</sup> indicated a similar type of mixed economy, although

there are slight differences in the exact proportions of the three main feed animals at the two sites. At Lyveden there is evidence for a small amount of hunting in the presence of deer bones, but we have no evidence for this at Bedford Mill Street except possibly in the bird bones.

### NOTES

- 1 W.N. Henman (ed) Newnham Priory: a Bedford Rental 1506-7. *Beds Hist Rec Soc* 25 (1945) 34.
- 2 Title deeds of the Bunyan Meeting: Beds. C.R.O., documents.
- 3 See David Baker, 'Excavations in Bedford, 1967' *Beds Arch J* 5, 1970, 67-100.
- 4 Baker, 1970, 78-79.
- 5 P.V. Addyman and J. Marjoram, 'An Eighteenth Century Mansion, a Fishpond and Post-Medieval Finds from St. Neots, Huntingdonshire' *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 6, 1972, 82, fig 36; 85, fig 38, 34-39.
- 6 J.G. Hurst in C.F. Tebbutt, 'St. Neots Priory', *Proc Camb Ant Soc* 59, 1966, 58-9, fig 8, 44.
- 7 *Med Arch J*, 1959, 31-4 and 44-8; *Ant J*, 42 1962, 63-6; and *Wiltshire Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.*, LXI (1966), 31-7.
- 8 The three types of lamps, found at Thetford, are illustrated in *Med Arch*, 3, 1959, 36, fig 12, nos. 7-9.
- 9 London Museum *Medieval Catalogue* (1940), 174, fig 54, nos. 5-8.
- 10 Thetford, *Op. cit.* in note 8; Cambridge, *Op. cit.* in note 15.
- 11 *Op. cit.* in note 9. Other examples are in the Guildhall Museum.
- 12 Barry Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949-1960* (1964), 103, fig 33, nos 7-8.
- 13 *Oxoniensia*, 15 (1950), 57-60, fig 21, 1-3; see also *ibid.*, 17-18 (1952-53), 105, fig 35, 54-56.
- 14 *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 48 (1926), 266-7, pl VII. The illustration is upside down.
- 15 *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, 58 (1965), 110, fig 15, A1/1 and A1/2.
- 16 *Norfolk Archaeology*, 30 (1952), 317, fig 14, no. 2; *ibid.*
- 17 *Reports of Assoc. Architect Soc.*, 16 (1881), 243, pl 1, 6-7, *J Northampton Mus* 3, 1968, 7, 11 and fig 3, 21-29.
- 18 Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, XV, 1948)*, 228, fig 61, 4-6; also figs 56, 40, 57, 4, and 60; 9.
- 19 *Archaeologia*, 97 (1959), 101-2, fig 24, nos. 10-17.
- 20 *vide Note 5 supra.*
- 21 *ibid.*
- 22 *vide Note 6 supra.*
- 23 D.C. Mynard 'Medieval Pottery of Potterpurty type' *Bull Northants Fed of Arch Soc* 4 (1970) 49-55
- 24 Hurst *B.N.F.A.S.* 4 (1970), 65, fig 13 no 112.
- 25 *Arch Journ.*, 59 (1902), 5-6, fig 2.
- 26 Cf. horse-armor in the Tower of London, illustrated by Sir James Mann, *An Outline of Arms and Armour in England* (1960), 20, pl 12.



- 27 For the first see *Studies in Building History* (ed. E.M. Jope, 1961), 79, fig 5, no. 2. For the other see *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc.* 8 (1892), 41, pl V, 34.
- 28 Interim report in *Proc Leatherhead and District Local Hist. Soc.*, 1 (1949), 6. A full report is in preparation.
- 29 L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (1952), 231.
- 30 R.C.H.M., *Hertfordshire* (1910), 123 (25). I am indebted to Mr. O.J. Weaver, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, for further information.
- 31 Claude Blair, *European Armour* (1958), 85-6, figs 103-15.
- 32 Blair, *Op. cit.*, 76, fig 27 and figs 217 ff.
- 33 Jon Fairbrother, *Summary of Excavations at Nether-ton, Hampshire, in 1973*, 8, fig 6, no. 1.
- 34 *Western Antiquary*, 2 (1882), 157, 160.
- 35 *Arch Journ.*, 121 (1964), 68, fig 8. *Post-Med Arch.*, 4, (1970), 26, fig 7, no. 36.
- 36 C.W. and P. Cunnington, *Handbooks of English Costume: Seventeenth Century* (1955), 136; *Eighteenth Century* (1957), 58, 85.
- 37 Cunnington, *Op. cit.*, *Seventeenth Century*, 22, 168; *Eighteenth Century*, 100.
- 38 Cunnington, *Op. cit.*, *Seventeenth Century*, 13, 47.
- 39 Cunnington, *Op. cit.*, *Seventeenth Century*, 143, 162-3.
- 40 R.C.H.M., *West Dorset* (1952), 51, pl 124.
- 41 Cunnington, *Op. cit.*, *Seventeenth Century*, 136.
- 42 Cunnington, *Op. cit.*, *Eighteenth Century*, pp 196, 238.
- 43 S. Baring-Gould, *Strange Survivals: some Chapters in the History of Man* (1892), Chap. II, 'On Gables,' 55-6. Frontis-piece and figs 9-10 (Totnes), fig 11 (West Looe), and fig 12 (Exeter).
- 44 Cunnington, *Op. cit.*, *Nineteenth Century* (1959) 73, 223, 249, fig 94, a (gaiters) and 283, 309, fig 125, g (bowler).
- 45 H.C. Darby, *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973), 289, fig 62. Cf. the route on the 14th-century Gough map, fig 39.
- 46 The section of this road from Exeter to Plymouth was, however, in use in the 16th century. Darby, *Op. cit.*, fig 62.
- 47 For the development of Cornish roads and other communications see W.G.V. Balchin, *Cornwall: The History of the Landscape* (1954), pp 112-22. Also Cyril Noall, *A History of Cornish Mail - and Stage-Coaches* (Truro, 1963).
- 48 G.C. Dunning, 'Medieval Pottery Roof Ventilators and Finials found at Aardenburg, Zeeland, and Post-Medieval Finials at Deventer, Overijssel, *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, 18 (1968), 209-25.
- 49 Sir James Mann, 'Arms and Armour,' in *The Bayeux Tapestry* (ed. Sir Frank Stenton, 1957), pp 60-63. Blair, *Op. cit.*, *passim*.
- 50 Helmut Nickel, 'Sir Gawayne and the Three White Knights,' *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (December, 1969), 174-78, figs 4-14.
- 51 *Inventaire Archéologique de Gand*, II (1898), 102.
- 52 Blair, *Op. cit.*, 30, figs 9 and 79.
- 52a A. Van Doorselaer and F. Verhaeghe, *Excavations at the XIVth century village of Roeselare (Sint Margriete), East Flanders, Belgium. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses*, XV (1974), 61-2, figs 31-2.
- 53 A.G. Houbigant, 'Description du Château de Sarcus tel qu'il devait être en 1550,' *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Oise*, 4 (1859), 188-220. The finial is mentioned on pp 197-8 and illustrated by a small figure.
- 54 Emile Chami, 'L'Art céramique du Beauvaisis,' *Cahiers de la Céramique, du Verre et des arts du feu*, 30 (1963), 79-116. For the Sarcus finial see p 83 and fig 15.
- 55 Blair, *Op. cit.*, pp 67-8, figs 24-27.
- 56 Blair, *Op. cit.*, pp 185-6.
- 57 Nickel, *Op. cit.*, in note 25, p 180, fig 18.
- 58 *Bulletin Monumental*, 73 (1909), 63, fig 27.
- 59 F. Poncetton et G. Salles, *Les Poteries Françaises* (1928), pl 39.
- 60 L. Millard, 'Investigations and excavations during the year. Notes from Canterbury Museum', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 83 (1968) 267-8.
- 61 Brian Philp, *Excavations at Faversham, 1965*, figs 14 and 15, particularly numbers 65 and 66.
- 62 This was found during David Baker's excavations, and he kindly supplied a tracing for comparison.
- 63 These tracings are preserved in a volume of tracings of tile designs made by Lord Aylwyn Compton and now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.
- 64 Elizabeth S. Eames, *Medieval Tiles, A Handbook*, (1968) 29-30.
- 65 Annie Grant in G.F. Bryant and J.M. Steane, 'Excavations at the Deserted Medieval Settlement at Lyveden 1971-73' *J Northants Mus* (forthcoming)

*The Bedfordshire Archaeological Council is indebted to the Department of the Environment for a grant towards the costs of the publication of this paper.*