

# THE EXCAVATION OF GOREFIELDS: A MEDIÆVAL NUNNERY AND GRANGE AT STOKE GOLDINGTON, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

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WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

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*Excavations were carried out between 1969 and 1971 at the mediæval moated site of Gorefields, near Stoke Goldington, Buckinghamshire, in advance of agricultural 'improvements'. The investigations revealed a chapel of the late twelfth century and a cloister range which gradually developed from the late twelfth to the early fourteenth century. It is argued that this was a nunnery and a cell or perhaps a retreat of the Cluniac Priory of Delapré, Northampton. In the fourteenth century the site appears to have declined, lost its monastic role, and served, perhaps, only as a grange. Evidence of fifteenth to eighteenth-century occupation was also recovered. The history of the site is discussed and the associated structures, water and waste management schemes, etc. described and discussed. It is argued the buildings were designed in such a way as to emphasise the isolation of the site, both physically and spiritually, from the secular world. The artefact reports consider the Roman, Saxon, mediæval and Post-mediæval finds with particular emphasis on the mediæval pottery which is shown to be of largely local origin and evidence is presented suggesting the parochial nature of much of rural mediæval society. A concentration of small monastic houses in north Buckinghamshire is noted and it is suggested that this is due to grants of marginal forest lands to monastic orders.*

## INTRODUCTION

*D. C. Mynard*

While researching Saxon nunneries the late Stuart Rigold came across a twelfth-century reference (Stubbs 1880, 431) to a Benedictine Nunnery at a place called Gore in Buckinghamshire.

In 1968 Stuart Rigold enquired whether I had any knowledge of this place and the first author carried out some local research for him. The most likely place was a moated site in Stoke Goldington parish called Gorefields which was believed to be the site of a grange belonging to Delapré Abbey (V.C.H. Bucks IV, 468).

By coincidence it was discovered that in the early eighteenth century, Dr Thomas Tanner had approached Browne Willis, the noted Buckinghamshire antiquary, with a similar enquiry. Browne Willis informed Tanner that, 'In this parish (Hanslope) situated on the edge of Bucking-

hamshire next to Northamptonshire, there is a very ancient edifice accounted extra parochial and called Gore Chapel, which might be this Nunnery' (Nasmith 1787, Bucks entry II, footnote).

By further chance, the village schoolmaster of Stoke Goldington, Roy Kitchener, had also approached the first author in 1968 to report that the owner of the Gorefields moated site intended to level it and fill in the moat and had already dug an exploratory hole which had revealed wall footings.

Although the moat had previously been largely filled in and the interior levelled, the farmer, Mr Fred Lane, still experienced difficulty in ploughing the site due to the large amount of stone present and had dug a trench to see how far down the stone went.

Mr Lane's excavation had exposed the footings of a substantial stone wall almost one metre thick which had Roman tile in its lower courses. This led to the immediate assumption that the structure might possibly be of Saxon or early mediæval date.

Since Mr Lane intended to level the site by bulldozing away all of the stone and rubble, an application was made to the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for a rescue excavation grant. The grant was made to the Wolverton and District Archaeological Society and an excavation under the direction of the first author was arranged to take place during the month of August 1969 and which subsequently continued in 1970 and 1971. English Heritage subsequently made a further grant towards the cost of preparing this report.

Gorefields is situated at SP 815490 on the south-west side of Stoke Park Wood, about one and a half miles west of the village of Stoke Goldington, on the edge of the parish adjacent to Hanslope (Fig. 1).

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY

### *D. C. Mynard*

The references to a Benedictine Nunnery at Gore all stem from a twelfth-century gazetteer of England by Gervase of Canterbury, who became a monk in 1163. Gervase's works were published in 1879–80 (Stubbs). The entry for Gore is listed under Northamptonshire and reads 'Prioratus Gore, Sanctae Mariae Magdalenaee, Moniales Nigrae'.

Whether Gore was initially founded as a nunnery is uncertain; the only documentary evidence available confirms it to have been a grange belonging to Delapré Abbey, a Cluniac house at Northampton, some eight miles north of Stoke Goldington. A confirmatory charter, dated 1328, records the possessions of Delapré and its holding at Gare (alias Gore) as consisting of 'Sixty five acres of pasture with wood and chapel thereon' (Dugdale 1817–30, Vol. V, 212). The charter records the original grant to the abbey by Richard de Besseville as follows:

'Traditionem, etc. quas Petrus de Staning per scriptum suum fecit praefatio abbatissae et conventui de toto jure suo quod habuit in terra de Gare cum pertinentiis.

Donationem, etc. quas Robertus de Salteya, per scriptum suum fecit praefatis monialibus de decem solidatis redditus percipiendis apud Stokes de terra quam Aiulfus tenuit in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Consessionem, etc. quam Richardus de Bosville per scriptum suum fecit praefatis abbatissae et conventui de aliqua domo in loco vocata la Gare per ipsum Richardum non edificando.'

The following translation was provided by the late Gerald Elvey.

'Tradition has it that Peter of Stoke Goldington by his own hand made over to the Abbess and Convent his whole jurisdiction in the land called Gare.

Robert of Salcey by his hand, made over to the Abbess and Convent ten pounds pertaining to land at Stoke which Aiulfus held in pure perpetual alms. Richard de Besseville, by his hand gave the Abbess and Convent another house in the place called Gare which the said Richard had not built.'

It is assumed that 'Staning' in the charter is a misreading of an abbreviation for Stoke Goldington and that the person referred to is Peter of Stoke Goldington, son-in-law of Robert de Salcey. A Peter de Goldington held the manor of Stoke Goldington between 1163 and 1177 (VCH Bucks IV, 1927, 467) and was succeeded by his son of the same name who died *c.* 1218; he in turn was followed by a third Peter de Goldington who held the manor in 1234 and died in 1252 (VCH Bucks IV, 1927, 467).

Robert de Salcey was the lord of Eakley Manor which lay in the northern part of Stoke Goldington parish. Robert is first mentioned in the records in 1182; he was holding Eakley in 1211 and his death is recorded in 1235 (VCH Bucks IV, 1927, 468). Richard de Besseville came from the nearby village of Hardingstone in Northamptonshire and was a considerable benefactor to Delapré Abbey (VCH Northants IV, 1937, 255). The donation of Gare to Delapré was very much a joint venture. Robert de Salcey gave the land and guaranteed an annual income, Peter de Goldington waived the rights that he had as Lord of Stoke Goldington and Richard de Besseville agreed to build another house on the site.

The donation by Robert de Salcey presumably refers to an annual income of ten pounds, paid for land and perhaps a house held by Aiulfus. Whether this occupied the Gorefields site is uncertain, but quite possible. In fact a house must have already existed since Richard de Besseville gave *another* one. The excavation confirmed the existence of a substantial east-west structure probably dating from the late twelfth century. The nature of this building is discussed below.

The date of the donation to Delapré is uncertain

but it was probably in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. At about this time other events were taking place in Stoke Goldington which may be relevant. In 1214 Peter de Goldington inclosed his wood and created the park there (VCH Bucks IV, 1927, 467). The site of the medieval park is preserved by Stoke Park Wood, an extensive area of woodland, almost two hundred acres in extent, which still survives and is situated immediately to the north-east of Gorefields. There are also references to a park, held by Robert de Salcey in 1230 (VCH Bucks IV, 1927, 468) which was part of Eakley Manor. This may well have been a second park within Stoke Goldington, and if so it suggests that most of the northern end of the parish was set aside for the purposes of hunting by the two local lords. Given these circumstances they may well have wished to ensure that the Gorefields holding of sixty-five acres was held by a friendly religious house and not a private tenant.

In the late thirteenth century, John Goffe, held six acres of land in Stoke Goldington, in free alms, from Delapré abbey paying an annual rent of eleven shillings (Rot. Hund. I, 38 and II, 348). This may be the same land previously held by Aiulfus and donated by Richard de Salcey.

There are no further references to Gore or land held by Delapré Abbey in Stoke Goldington until the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535-6 which recorded the possessions and income of religious houses (Caley and Hunter 1810-34, 321). At that time Gore was described as pasture which produced an income of £1 6s 8d per annum, and a priest was paid 13s 4d per annum to celebrate mass weekly in the chapel at Gore (Capella de Gore).

This is the first mention of the chapel at Gore, a building identified by the excavation, and which was constructed in the late twelfth century.

Later in 1536, Delapré was threatened with suppression and in order to avoid this, the Abbess surrendered Gorefields to the crown (Gardner 1888, 565, No. 1417).

This is the first reference to the name Gorefields and at that time the estate here was described, as 'A close of pasture with wood and underwood thereon growing called Gorefield, alias Mary Maudelyn, alias Chappelfield in Hanslope, Bucks'.

In 1540 the king granted a twenty-one year lease of 'Gorefield beside Sawsy Forest, Bucks' to Arthur Longville (Gardner and Brodie 1896, 556, No. 1032). Arthur Longville was one of the sons of

Sir John Longville of Wolverton.

In 1545 'Gorefyldes', said to be in the tenure of Arthur Longville, was granted in fee to George Tresham and Elizabeth his wife (Gardner and Brodie 1905-7, 661-2, No. 1335, entry 21). The Treshams soon transferred their rights at Gorefield to Thomas and Isobel Piggott of Beachampton (ibid. p. 673), whose second son George granted Gorefields to Anthony Chester in 1595 (BuCRO Gayhurst Deeds 12/1). The description of the property in 1595 was as follows: 'Messuage or tement in occupation of George Piggott with a moat encircling the messuage and a little close of pasture called Peartree Close, pasture called Stockys, pasture called Greate Close and a wood of ten acres'. George Piggott was the brother of Judith, the widow of Arthur Longville who had died in 1594.

The subsequent ownership of Gorefields is fairly well covered by the documents relating to the Gayhurst Estate, preserved in the Buckinghamshire County Record Office, and detailed references to the transactions listed below need not be given (but see particularly Cal. Gayhurst Estates pp 99-103).

In 1613 Anthony Smyth alienated a messuage, garden, orchard, seventy acres of pasture and four acres of wood in Gorefields to Christopher Winckles.

There were various tenants during the next half century, but in 1657 the property was sold to John Wilkinson junior, of nearby Tathall End.

In 1659 John Wilkinson paid a quit rent of eight shillings and seven pence for Gore Chapel which was assessed as part of Wolfsfields Manor (Lays Subs Roll Bundle 80, No 325). Wolfsfields Manor was part of the Manor of Eakley within Stoke Goldington parish.

The Wilkinson family retained Gorefields until 1769 when, after the death of Charles Wilkinson of Newport Pagnell, it was auctioned at the White Horse in Towcester (*Northampton Mercury* 6th November 1769). At that time it was described as

'The Freehold Estate and Manor of Gorefields in the County of Bucks, containing about sixty five acres of Old Pasture, divided into four grounds and inclosed by a Ring-Fence and now let at Sixty pounds per annum, and capable of improvement, is well watered, and has no buildings thereon but Hovels and Cow Houses for foddering of cattle. Gorefields in the parish of Hanslope, is a dis-

inct manor and extra parochial, a free Hay and Purlieu. The premises are tythe free but subject to a Chief rent of Five shillings and six pence per annum payable to the Crown.'

The tenant in 1769 was a Mr Kitelee of Hanslope.

Gorefields was purchased by George Wright of Gayhurst who mortgaged it for five hundred pounds in 1772 at which time the main house there was said to have been recently demolished. The house at Gorefields was never rebuilt; the early Ordnance Survey maps show only farm buildings and there are no further reference to people actually living there.

When Gayhurst estate was sold in 1912, Gorefields was included with other farms purchased by a Bedford land agent on behalf of a Mr Finedon. Gorefields then became part of Church Farm, Stoke Goldington, and was purchased c. 1918 by a Mr Belgrave. A local resident, Mr A. Clarke, recalls demolishing some of the farm buildings at Gorefields and carting the stone and rubble to Church Farm to form hard core for new farm-buildings in c. 1918-20. Later the farm was purchased by a Mr William Grainger, whose nephew, Mr Sid Harris, farmed it until 1954 when it was sold to Hesketh Estates of Towcester. In 1964, Church Farm was purchased by Mr F. Lane of Church Farm, Stoke Goldington, the owner at the time of the excavation.

There are no descriptions of the buildings that occupied the site apart from the brief mention by Brown Willis, who probably visited the site c. 1740 to 1750. Willis described 'a very ancient edifice called Gore Chapel' (above).

In 1900 the moat was so impressive that it was described as the original stronghold of Stoke and incorrectly thought to have enclosed a castle (Ratcliff 1900, 106). In 1910, the Royal Commission surveyors (R.C.H.M.(E) unpublished record) recorded that the moat was 20 feet wide with water 3 feet deep and that it enclosed an area 200 x 130 feet. Mr Harris, who farmed Gorefields from c. 1923 to 1954, told the first author that whenever building stone or rubble was required they would use material from the derelict farm buildings on the site. Mr Harris also knew of the existence of the well there which was still in use.

By 1964 when the writer first visited, the moat had recently been filled in and only one building, a south-facing open-sided stone-built hovel survived.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE

*D. C. Mynard*

The site lies about 107m above O.D. on a heavy clay soil of the Great Oolite series (Fig. 1). Early Ordnance Survey maps show a rectangular moat, aligned north to south with an entrance towards the southern end of the west side, and a small range of farm buildings to the south of the moated area. The moat, described by local people as being about twenty feet wide and with water three feet in depth, was filled in c. 1960 to enable ploughing of the whole field in which it was situated.

At the beginning of the excavation the line of the moat was still partly visible on the ground, showing that it had enclosed an area of 63.40 x 40.30m and had been approximately 6.70m wide.

## THE EXCAVATION

*D. C. Mynard*

The excavation was originally arranged to take place during a period of four weeks in July 1969. It was subsequently extended over two further seasons, work taking place for four weeks in July and August 1970, two weeks in October 1970 and four weeks in July 1971.

The labour force averaged ten people per day of which only three were experienced diggers. In the first season a Smalley excavator was used to remove topsoil; in 1970 a larger mechanical excavator, a JCB 3 with a toothless ditching-bucket was hired for two weeks, and in the final season the same machine was employed again for two weeks.

Apart from the inexperience of the labour force, the main problem experienced was that between each season the site became overgrown with thistles and other weeds which took several days to clear. Since the field was grazed by sheep at the time it was not possible to use a herbicide to control the growth.

Excavation was limited to the interior of the moated area and spoil also had to be dumped there since the budget would not have covered the hire of dumper trucks to remove it elsewhere.

A baseline was laid out running north-east to south-west along the longest axis of the moated enclosure. The site was then gridded into ten foot squares to enable recording. Once buildings were located they, and the rooms within them, were identified by individual letters.

A trial trench (T.L.) 1m wide was first dug along the east side of the base line. This trench sectioned the northern and southern arms of the moat and located a complex of wall and yard surfaces within the enclosure. Two further trial trenches (T2 and T3) were then excavated at right angles to T1 and finally the southern third of the enclosure was opened up and excavated as one single area. This exposed a central yard (D) with a range of buildings (A, B, C, and G) on its south and east sides.

In 1970 the excavation was extended to the north to reveal the north range (P, E, and F), beyond which further trial trenches located only traces of an ephemeral building (Q) in the north-west corner of the enclosure (Figs. 1 and 4).

In the final season, excavation of the main building complex was completed. In addition, the causewayed-entrance and area (M) between it and the yard (D) were examined as were the areas between the south and east ranges and the moat.

The excavation revealed a group of buildings (Figs. 1-2, 4) on the north, east and south sides of a square yard (D) with a pentice walk around, it giving the impression of a cloister. The yard had been totally enclosed by the construction of a wall linking the west ends of the north and south ranges.

Occupation on the site commenced in the late eleventh century and continued through to the eighteenth century. The infilling of the moat and levelling of the enclosure had destroyed most evidence of the latest phases of occupation. However, it was possible to identify four main phases (1-4) of the development of the building complex. Originally six phases were used (A-F), but it was subsequently decided that B and C, and D and E were merely sub-phases. Where appropriate, both systems are cited to allow identification of the sub-phases and for ease of reference to the site and post-excavation archive.

In the following account numbers in brackets refer to contexts. On Fig. 4 walls are indicated by e.g. W 9, rooms or spaces by the letters A-P, and graves by the codes G1-G15

#### **Phase 1 (A): late eleventh – late twelfth century** Figs. 1-2, 4

The earliest occupation levels on the site were mostly disturbed by later activities. However, sealed beneath the later (Phase 2) east range was an old soil level (234 and 258) which contained sherds mainly of late eleventh to twelfth-

century date and some dating to the late tenth to eleventh century.

The earliest building on the site was a large rectangular structure (the hall/chapel; Fig. 2 and Fig. 4 W 9) aligned east-west and which formed the north range of the later Phase 2 and 3 complexes. This building measured 18.20 x 6.10m internally and had substantial stone walls on cobble footings. The rubble core of the walls consisted of fragments of limestone-rubble and re-used Roman building material, including roof and hypocaust tile, opus signinum and even pieces of mosaic pavement. The walls were of varying thickness, in particular the west end of the north wall and the west wall were narrower than those of the rest of the building. The widths were: north wall western half one metre, eastern half 1.30m, east wall 1.10m; south wall eastern half 1.40m, and western half 1.30m, and the west wall only 0.92m. The thicker north-east wall can be explained by a deliberate thickening when wall 9a was added to wall 9 (Fig. 4). The date and reason for this rebuilding or strengthening are unknown, but as the corner was also buttressed we may assume a structural weakness. The other variations perhaps suggest that the building was erected in more than one stage, perhaps as funds permitted.

The east wall was largely robbed away, the west wall robbed down to the cobble footings, the north wall survived only towards the east end, but the south wall survived to a height of four courses. A doorway 1.50m wide survived in the south wall, 6.70m from the east end. East of this doorway the south wall was thickened to 1.90m for a length of 3.50m, possibly to accommodate a sedilia.

The cobble footings of the south wall had been laid directly onto a layer of small limestone fragments which also included fragments of Roman tile.

Internally the building had a series of clay floors, except at the east end where a mortar and rubble base extended for 3.30m from the east wall. The position of this base suggested a raised floor for an altar at the east end of the building. Set on this base was a narrow stone wall, 0.52m wide, built 1.20m west of, and parallel to the east end, of the hall/chapel. Its southern end had been destroyed by the seventeenth-century Wall 11, however, its northern end continued to within 1.15m of the north wall of the hall/chapel where it turned westwards through 90° continuing for c. 0.30m where it

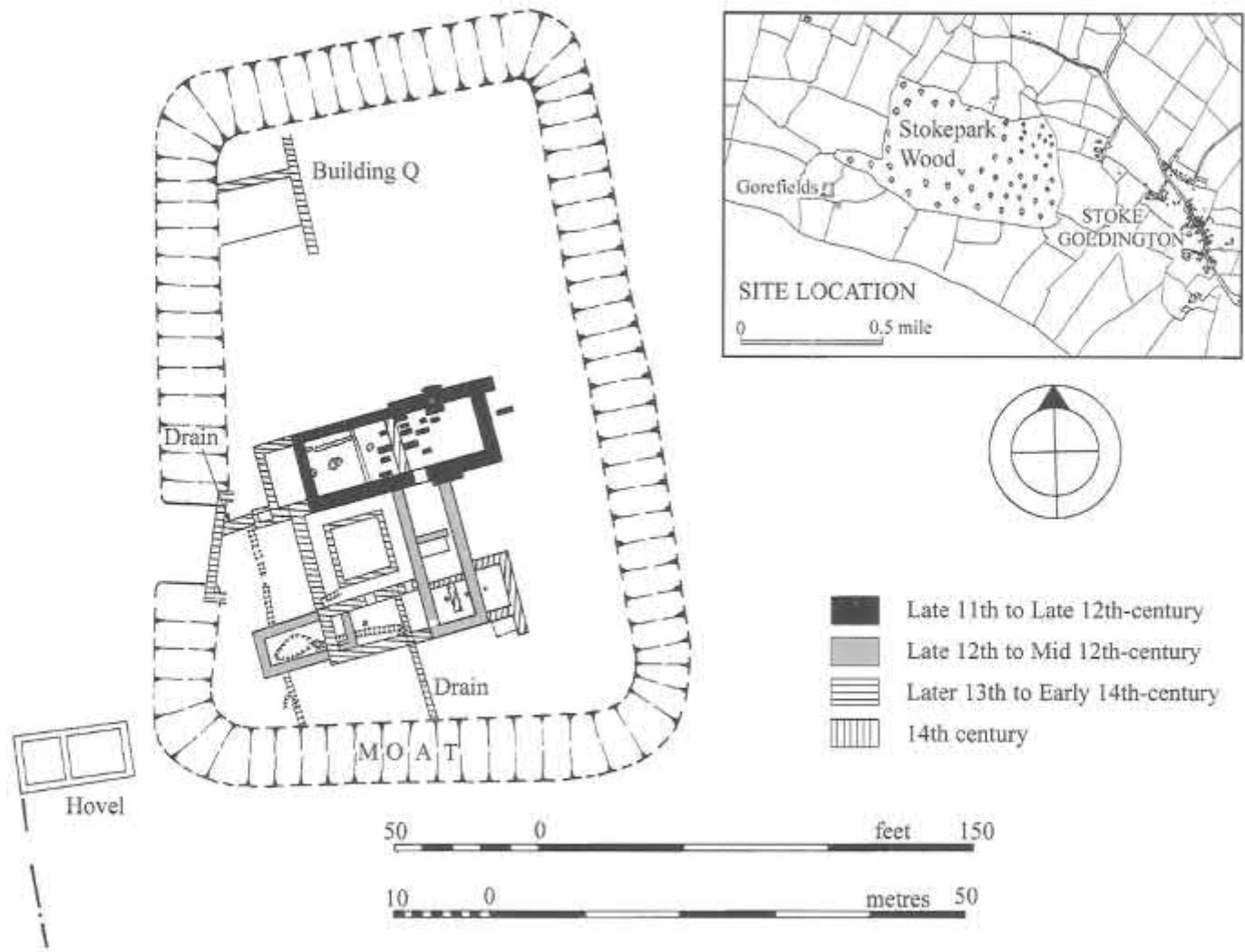


FIGURE 1 General site plan and location map.

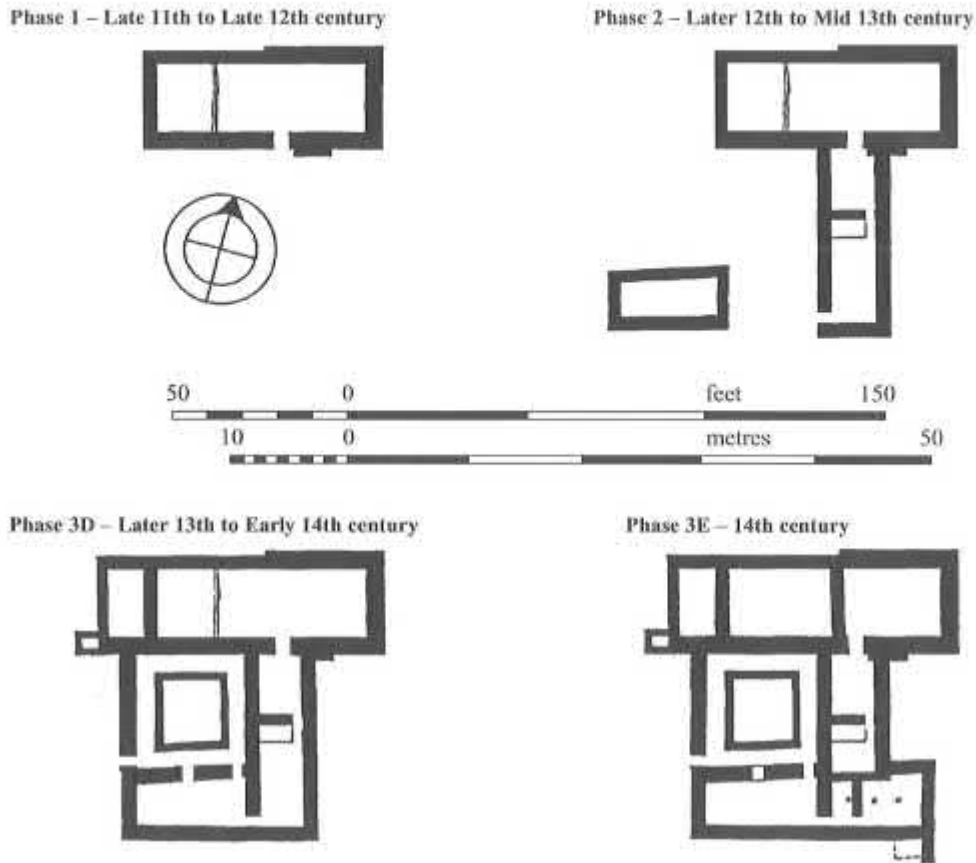


FIGURE 2 Diagram showing the development of the site.

appeared to terminate. Running north from the north-west corner of this structure was a line of stones, perhaps the base for a beam. This entire structure may well have been part of an altar and an associated screen.

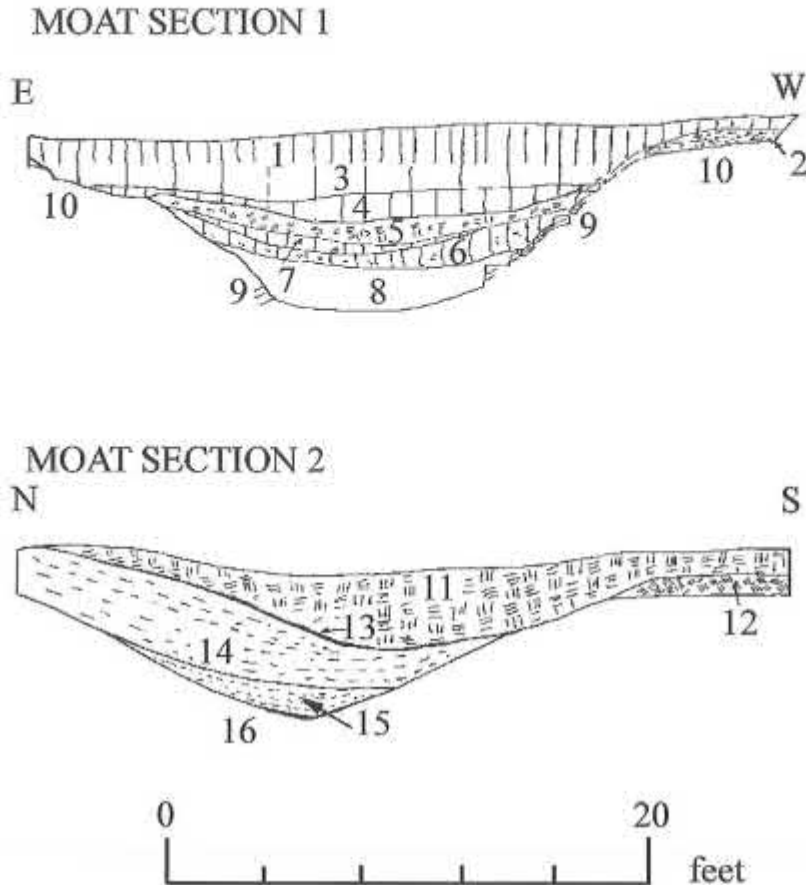
Taken together with the discovery of thirteen human burials within the building, all located towards the east end but stopping short of the mortar base, the evidence suggests that this building was the chapel of the grange mentioned in documentary references to the site.

The earliest floor in the west end of the building was of clay, and on this 4.80m from the west end were traces of an early partition wall which created a western chamber measuring 6.10 x 4.80m. The partition consisted of a line of yellow clay 0.41m wide. Several stones lay on this clay band and probably represent the lowest course of a wall or perhaps more likely the packing for a sleeper beam.

Two areas of the floor of this western chamber were burnt, one of which was cut by the partition wall. A timber slot, 4.20m long and 0.45m wide, survived as a darker feature within the clay floor; it ran almost parallel with and 0.76m from the north wall of the building. The remains of the timber slot and partition wall are marked as slots on Fig. 4 and the two burnt areas are stippled.

The burials, which were cut through the earliest floor levels (198 and 205), of twelfth to thirteenth-century date, contained no dating evidence apart from a Roman coin seemingly deposited on the breast of a child (G6), and occasional Roman sherds in their fill.

The internal arrangements within the building, the raised east end and the partition wall, certainly existed at the time burials took place since all were contained within the central part of the building between these two features.



**FIGURE 3** Moat sections.

Section 1 (Western moat): 1. Turf and topsoil; 2. Stony soil layer; 3. Clayey soil with deep brown clayey lenses; 4. Fine dark-brown soil; 5. Stones in light glutinous clay; 6. Dark stony-earth layer; 7. Dark soil layer; 8. Primary light-grey silt; 9. Stone revetting; 10. Natural clay.

Section 2 (Southern Moat): 11. Yellow clay; 12. Grey clay; 13. Organic deposit with twigs, etc. (old surface); 14. Dark silt (with post-medieval pottery); 15. Light-grey silt (with medieval pottery); 16. Natural clay.

Removal of the lowest clay floor (142, 178 and 198) at the west end of the building revealed three circular pits (Pits 1–3 on Fig. 4) on average 0.90m in diameter, 0.28m deep and all containing a dark brown clayey soil with small pebbles and fragments of Roman tile. Pit 1 (178) was also cut by the construction trench for the west wall (Wall 9) of the hall/chapel. This is the only certain evidence for occupation of the site pre-dating the building of the hall/chapel and these pits may be the post-holes of

a substantial earlier structure. Several small post-and stake-holes were also found below and to the south of Room P (a Phase 3D extension to the west of the hall/chapel) but none yielded any finds and their date is therefore unknown.

The best dating evidence for the hall/chapel is an architectural fragment, the waterleaf capital (Fig. 6, 9), which dates from the late twelfth century. This date accords well with the suggested late twelfth to early thirteenth-century date for the donation of



land and a building to Delapré Abbey. This capital was found in the destruction level over Room H, in the east range just to the south of its possible original location.

To the south-east of the hall/chapel several gullies may predate it or be contemporary with its earliest period of use. These gullies, 1, 2 and 6, and 4 which is set at right-angles, may have enclosed or drained a yard on the south side of the building. All of the gullies were of a simple V-shaped section and contained a dark brown silty fill.

Gully 6 on average 0.61m wide and 0.25m deep was aligned north-south at a distance of 5.50m from the west end of the hall/chapel. The gully only survived for a length of 4.80m as the northern end had been destroyed by the later (Phase 3) construction of the garderobe and its drain. The southern terminal was rounded off. To the south, Gully 2 (235), of similar size and depth continued on the same alignment for 6.96m, at which point it was cut by Pit 269. The north end of Gully 2 had a rounded terminal similar to that at the southern end of Gully 6 and this may indicate there was an entranceway at this point.

To the south of Pit 269, Gully 1 (221 and 225) continued south on the same alignment until cut by a pit which was in turn cut by the moat. Gully 1 was of similar form to Gullies 2 and 6, though slightly wider at its north end.

Gully 4 (248), 13.40m to the south of the hall/chapel, was of similar width to Gullies 1, 2 and 6. At its west end it was 0.24m deep reducing to only 0.10m at its east end; it was sealed by the floors of structures J (Phase 2C) and A (Phase 3D). It may have intersected with Gullies 1 and 2 under the floor of J but this area had been disturbed by the excavation of a large and shallow pit (269) in Phase 2.

The pottery from these gullies suggests that they were cut in the late eleventh or twelfth century, and all contained pottery which would suggest that they were infilled in the early thirteenth century. Gully 6 contained no artefacts.

All later contexts on the site whether yard surfaces or clay, laid to make-up floors within the buildings, contained much residual pottery including a small percentage of tenth and eleventh-century date.

#### **Phase 2 (B and C): later twelfth to mid thirteenth century Figs. 1-2, 4**

This phase is marked by an addition to the

hall/chapel (G-H) and the erection of a detached building (J), possibly a dairy to the south-west.

The addition consisted of a service range running south from the chapel. This measured 15.30 x 4.40m internally with stone walls 0.86m wide. It was built, like the hall/chapel, on cobble footings and was divided into two rooms by a cross wall (W 3a, 0.61m wide) with a doorway at its east end. The northern room (H), 5.10 x 4.40m, contained no internal features and could be entered from the south door of the chapel or the southern room. The southern room (G), 9.40 x 4.40m, contained a substantial hearth base measuring 3.20 x 1.40m and built of stone laid on the floor against its north wall (W 3a). Pit 4 (263) was cut into the floor of the building but contained virtually no finds. At the southern end of the building, a door in the south-west wall led to the yard on the west side. The south wall was well-preserved, surviving to a height of 0.46m. The construction of this wall was curious, for the foundation consisted of two courses of bunter pebbles above which were alternate thick and thin (150mm and 25mm) courses of limestone.

This building range sealed the earlier (Phase 1) ground surface previously noted (234 and 258) which contained pottery mainly of late eleventh and twelfth-century date. A small percentage of this pottery (2.7%) was of twelfth to thirteenth-century date and was considered to be intrusive. On this evidence the eastern range could have been constructed in the latter part of the twelfth century.

The detached building (J), to the south-west, measured 8.50 x 3.80m internally. The west wall was 0.91m wide whilst the north and south walls were only 0.61m. The floor was of clay with a circular hearth base (0.86m in diameter) constructed of small limestone-slabs set towards the east end of the building (marked as Pot Hearth on Fig. 4; Plate 3). Buried beneath the hearth was a sandy cooking pot (Fig. 29, 1) of late twelfth to early thirteenth-century date. At the west end of building J was a second, semicircular hearth (0.72m across) constructed of small limestone-slabs pressed edgewise into the floor in distinct circular lines.

The clay floor of building J covered a large depression (269), and three gullies 1, 2 and 4 (221, 225, 235 and 248) previously discussed, all of which were filled and levelled over by the earlier thirteenth century. The building was, therefore, erected at about that time and when first found was interpreted as a detached kitchen. However,

although a considerable quantity of pottery came from the building, there was an almost total absence of animal bone refuse, and it may have had some other domestic function, such as a dairy.

Three other fragmentary gullies were also located. The first, Gully 3, immediately north-east of building J, consisted of a short length 1.20m long, 0.30m wide and 0.20m deep, preserved under the south-west corner of the later pentice walk. The second, Gully 5, aligned north-east to south-west was 0.76m wide and 0.20m deep; a length of 2.80m of this gully survived. Its north end was sealed under building A, where it cut Gully 4, but was in turn cut by the drain from the pentice roof and by the south wall of building A. The third, Gully 7, was only traced for a length of 1.80m, was 0.30m wide and 0.20m deep. It was sealed by the yard surface L, north of structure J, but contained no artefacts. Gullies 3 and 5 were both infilled in the middle of the thirteenth century.

### **Phase 3 (D): later thirteenth to early fourteenth century Figs. 1-4**

The next phase of building works at Gorefields consisted of the demolition of the detached building (J), its replacement by the south range (A) and the building of a link-wall (W 14) from the chapel to the south range, creating the enclosed yard (D), Plate 4. The moat may also have been dug at this time.

The south range (A) measured 9.40 x 4.10m internally, with stone walls 0.91m wide built on cobble footings. The north wall (W 2) was the best preserved, surviving to a height of four courses above the cobbles, and contained a central doorway 1.22m wide which led to the yard (D). There may also have been a second contemporary door of similar size at its east end, but this door may be part of the post-medieval re-use of the building. The floor of Building A was mainly of clay, though a badly damaged area of rough stone-paving occurred in the south-west corner, amongst which was a possible stylobate (marked pad on Fig. 4) consisting of two end-set stones situated 2.80m from the west end of the building. The clay floor (20) contained a single sherd of Developed Stamford Ware. Sealed beneath the floor were the remains of the east end of the demolished building (J), Plate 3, and two gullies, the latest of which, Gully 5, was filled in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The link-wall (W 14) was 1.22m wide and ran

north from the north-west corner of (A) to a point 0.91m from the south-west corner of the chapel at which point it butted against the south wall of the western extension (P) of the chapel (see below).

The construction of Wall 14 created the yard (D) which was roughly 10m square. An inner wall 0.61m thick ran around the yard at a distance of approximately 1.50m from the enclosing buildings and Wall 14. This inner wall may have been the base for a series of posts supporting a pentice roof creating a covered walk-way around the yard and which would have given a strong monastic feeling to the building complex. An entrance into the yard at the south-west corner may have been original, although the cobble footings of the link-wall continued under it. This entrance was originally 2.10m wide but was later blocked by a wall only 0.61m thick.

The creation of the enclosed yard with its pentice roof created drainage problems which were overcome by a stone-lined drain which ran from the south-east corner of the yard. This drain, 0.30m wide and 0.25m deep, was capped with large flat limestone-slabs and constructed in a trench on c. 0.75m wide. The drain ran under building A to the moat and had presumably been constructed at the same time as the south range. Its presence confirms that the moat was already in existence at this period.

At about the same time as these works, the north range was remodelled to create additional or improved accommodation on the site, Plate 2. An addition (P) to the west end of the chapel extended the building by a further 3.30m. The north and west walls (W 17) of this extension were not built on cobble footings like the earlier buildings, but on limestone-rubble. The north wall was 0.84m wide, the west wall narrower at only 0.61m but the south wall was much more substantial being 1.14m wide. This south wall (W 17a) was inserted, being butt jointed on to both the chapel wall and the west wall (W 17) of the extension. Similarly the west wall (W 14) of the yard also butted onto this wall suggesting perhaps that the extension (P) already existed at the time that the yard was enclosed. Attached to the south-west corner of (P), was the base of a stone-lined garderobe shaft (1.19 x 1.04m and 1.17m deep) from which a stone lined drain ran to the moat, Plate 4. This garderobe implies the existence of chambers above the north range.

Within the chapel, the insertion of a cross wall



PLATE 1 The east wing (Rooms C, H and G) from the south.



PLATE 2 The chapel/hall (Rooms P, E and F) from the west.

(W 21) 1.07m wide divided the building into two large rooms. The footings of this wall cut two of the graves (G3 and G4) suggesting that their presence had been forgotten or was not considered of any great importance at the time that the wall was erected. This wall like those of the west extension (P) was built on a footing of limestone-rubble not cobbles. The insertion of this wall may mean that a chapel was no longer required, and therefore the building was converted to secular use. Alternatively, it may be that the chapel had been reduced in size, and that the east end continued to be used as such.

#### *The Moat*

The date the moat was dug and the stone revetted causeway entrance constructed is uncertain.

The southern arm of the moat cut through Gully 1 and a later pit, both of which were out of use and backfilled by the early thirteenth century. It is not until the construction of the drains running into the moat, both of which belong to this phase and date from the middle of the thirteenth century, that we have any certain indication of the moat's existence. However, it is unlikely that the moat would have been dug just for the purpose of running drains into it and it probably already existed, perhaps being excavated in the early thirteenth century to enclose the house and its yards, etc. from the deer in the adjacent park created by Peter de Goldington I in 1214.

Three sections were dug across the moat and these showed that the north and south arms were originally 7.30m wide and 1.80m deep, but the one on the west side adjacent to the causeway was 7.40m wide and 2.40m deep (Figs 3 and 4).

The causeway was 8.20m wide and both sides were retained by a stone revetting-wall, which probably continued above ground level. A cobbled road surface, 7.50m wide, within the causeway led into the yard (D). On the inner edge of the moat a wall (W 20) crossed the causeway continuing north-south for a length of 1.80m on either side of it before turning east towards the yard. This wall was 0.91m wide and probably contained gates, since a centrally placed stone contained a hole to receive a bolt.

#### **Phase 3 (E): second quarter fourteenth to late fourteenth century Figs. 1-2, 4**

This phase commenced with a fire in the south-

east corner of the grange complex which destroyed Room G. The fire must have been quite intense, judging by the heavy burning on the internal face of the walls and the red-burnt soil deposit within the building.

After the fire the south-east corner of the building complex was extended to the east and a room (C) with an upper storey, possibly a first-floor hall was erected incorporating the southern half of Room G (Plate 1).

An east-west partition wall (W 8) 1.12m wide on limestone-rubble footings, was inserted in the north-south room (G) in an almost central position. The southern 4m of the former east wall (W 3) of Room G was demolished and an extension 4.20 x 3.30m, re-using burnt stone, was built onto the east side of the east range, creating a rectangular building (C) measuring 8.20 x 4.40m internally. The doorway which formerly led from Room G into A was probably blocked at this stage.

The partition wall (W 8) inserted in G and the new clay floor of C (27) covered the earlier burnt floor levels. On the clay floor of the new building, three column bases (marked pad on Fig. 4) were re-used as stylobates for posts to support an upper floor. Externally, the east wall of the building (Wall 7) continued beyond the south wall for 3.50m, and within the angle so created, an area of limestone-slabs 2.10 x 2.10m, formed the paved base for an external stairway leading to the upper chamber.

Within the ground floor or undercroft of the building a partition wall (W 4) 0.61m wide created a small room (B) 4 x 2.40m at the west end of the building. The partition wall, which was built between the central and western stylobates, did not extend as far as the south wall and the gap of 1.10m must have served as a doorway into the room. The restriction on movement created by the posts and the partition wall suggests that the undercroft was used for storage.

The fire, and the subsequent construction of the first-floor hall can be dated by pottery evidence to the earlier fourteenth century. Much of the pottery in the burnt floor and ash levels (Group 9) was of twelfth to thirteenth-century date. Sherds from a post-fire clay hearth (13) in Room G, which was a temporary structure certainly constructed before the rebuilding, date from the late thirteenth or fourteenth century. The post-fire floor levels (Contexts 16, 19 and 23) of the new building contained a considerable amount of residual material,



PLATE 3 Junction of Rooms A and J (note hearth) from south-west.



PLATE 4 The pentice walk from the north-west (note garderobe and drain in foreground).

which was the case with all the clay floors at Gorefields. However, the latest pottery from them suggests a period of use well into the fourteenth century.

There was no evidence that the fire extended into the south range, since neither the floor nor the internal face of the walls showed any sign of burning. However, at some date after the fire, the north wall of Building A (W 2) was demolished down to a height of 0.30m and a narrower wall (not marked on Fig. 4) only 0.61m wide, re-using stone burnt in the fire, was built on top of it. The date of this rebuild is unknown but the narrow width of the wall is similar to those of Phase 4, below.

#### **Phase 4 (F): fifteenth to eighteenth centuries** Figs. 1-2, 4

The excavation produced evidence of continued occupation of the site through to the eighteenth century. Documentary references confirm that the site was occupied until the house was demolished *c.* 1760.

The plan of the latest phase of the buildings on the site is uncertain. The demolition of the house, subsequent robbing of material from the site and the levelling of *c.* 1963-4 removed most evidence of the post-medieval buildings, of which only a partial plan was recovered. Browne Willis, writing in the early eighteenth century, described the buildings or a building on the site as 'a very ancient edifice' (Nasmith 1787). This description suggests that the chapel survived to that time. The evidence from the excavation for the demolition of the chapel comes from the robber trenches of the east wall (Contexts 65, 122 and 146) which contained pottery of mid to late eighteenth-century date.

Traces of narrow walls 0.61m wide were found over the chapel suggesting that it had been replaced by a later house, but no floor levels survived to date this. However, the footings of one wall (W 11) contained a seventeenth-century sherd and two clay pipe stems, confirming the date of the later structure.

The south range also appears to have been partly rebuilt. The north wall of A (Wall 2) and the north wall of C (Wall 8) were partly demolished and had narrower walls erected on top of them. Traces of a post-medieval flagged-floor (10) were found in the north-east corner of Room A, and it may be that the doorway in this corner, previously noted,

dates to this phase. The only other evidence for the later buildings consisted of fragments of walls 15, 16, 19 and 20 situated within the moated enclosure to the west of the yard and the south range. These walls were built on the medieval yard surface.

At some time during the late medieval period, a large stone trough 1.42 x 0.69m and 0.41m deep with a circular drain hole of 76mm diameter in the base was placed on the pentice walk on the south side of the yard (D). Originally it probably stood on a low platform (0.2m high), constructed mainly of pebbles with some stone fragments and set against the north wall (W 2) of Building A. It was presumably fed with water from the pentice roof and drained into the stone-filled sump on its east side, from which ran the drain under Building A to the moat. The trough was later moved to the west side of the yard (D), after the demolition of the west pentice wall (Wall 23) and stood on the footings of that wall.

Another late feature was a well, which served the last house on the site in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This well was in the north-east corner of the former yard (D), to the south of the later house which had been built on the site of the chapel. The well was stone-lined, 2.70m deep, the diameter at the top was 0.70m widening to 1.50m at the base which was formed of several large limestone-slabs. The well contained a pewter plate (Fig. 20, 166) of *c.* 1681-87, a shoe buckle (Fig. 19, 121) of *c.* 1750, a stone roof-slate and several glass window quarries of seventeenth to eighteenth-century date. In the upper fill was the complete skeleton of a sheep which had fallen into the well during the 1930s (pers comm. Mr S Harris), after which the well was filled in. A drain trench to take water from the top of the well ran across Yard D, through Building A and into the moat. The trench was 0.61m wide and deep; the fill consisted of yellow clay and limestone fragments only.

## THE FINDS

*D. C. Mynard*

Provenances of the finds are normally given after the description, and consist of Site Find no./Context no., description of context, and if necessary, Group no./Phase. Detailed catalogues of all

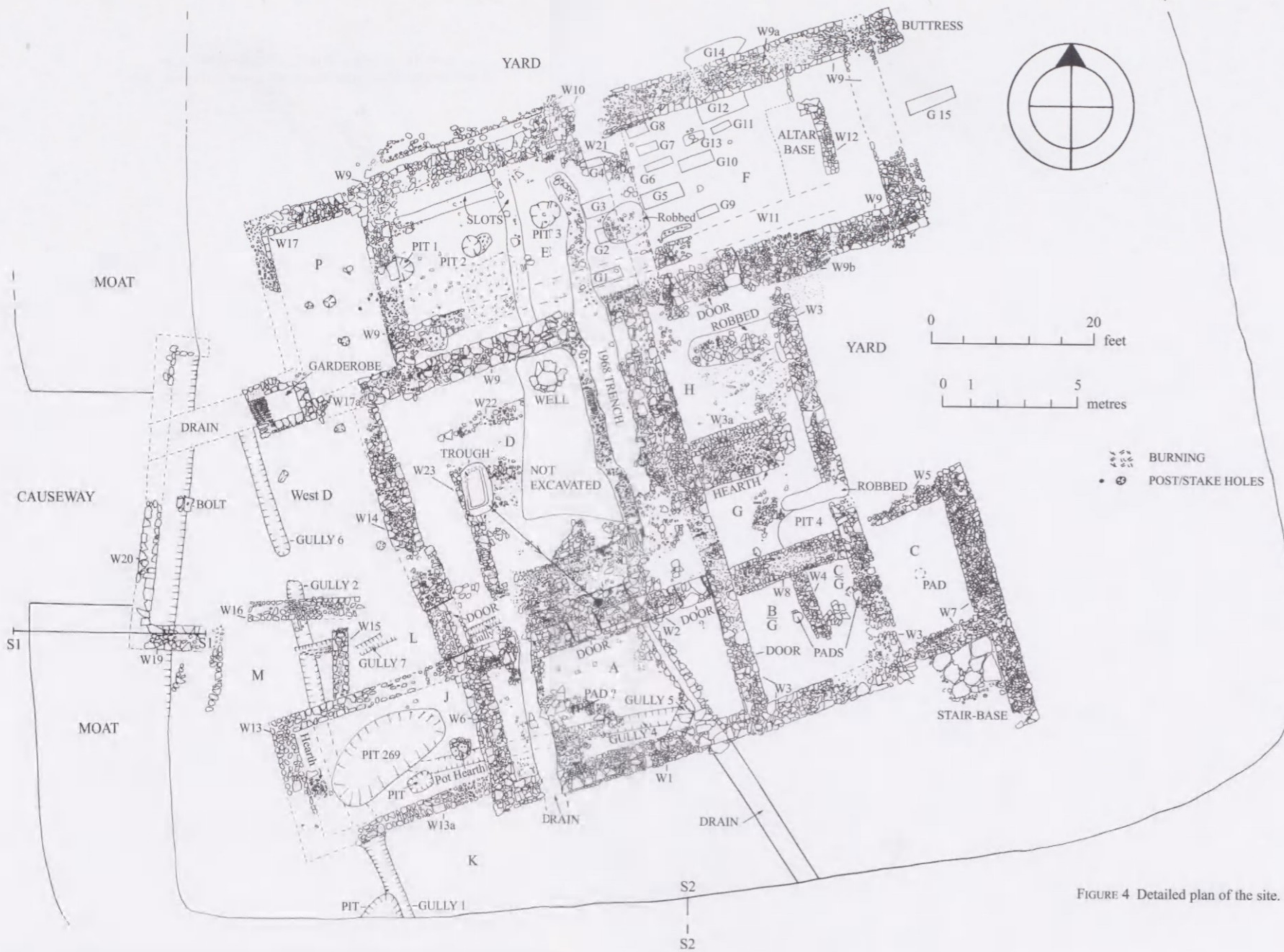


FIGURE 4 Detailed plan of the site.

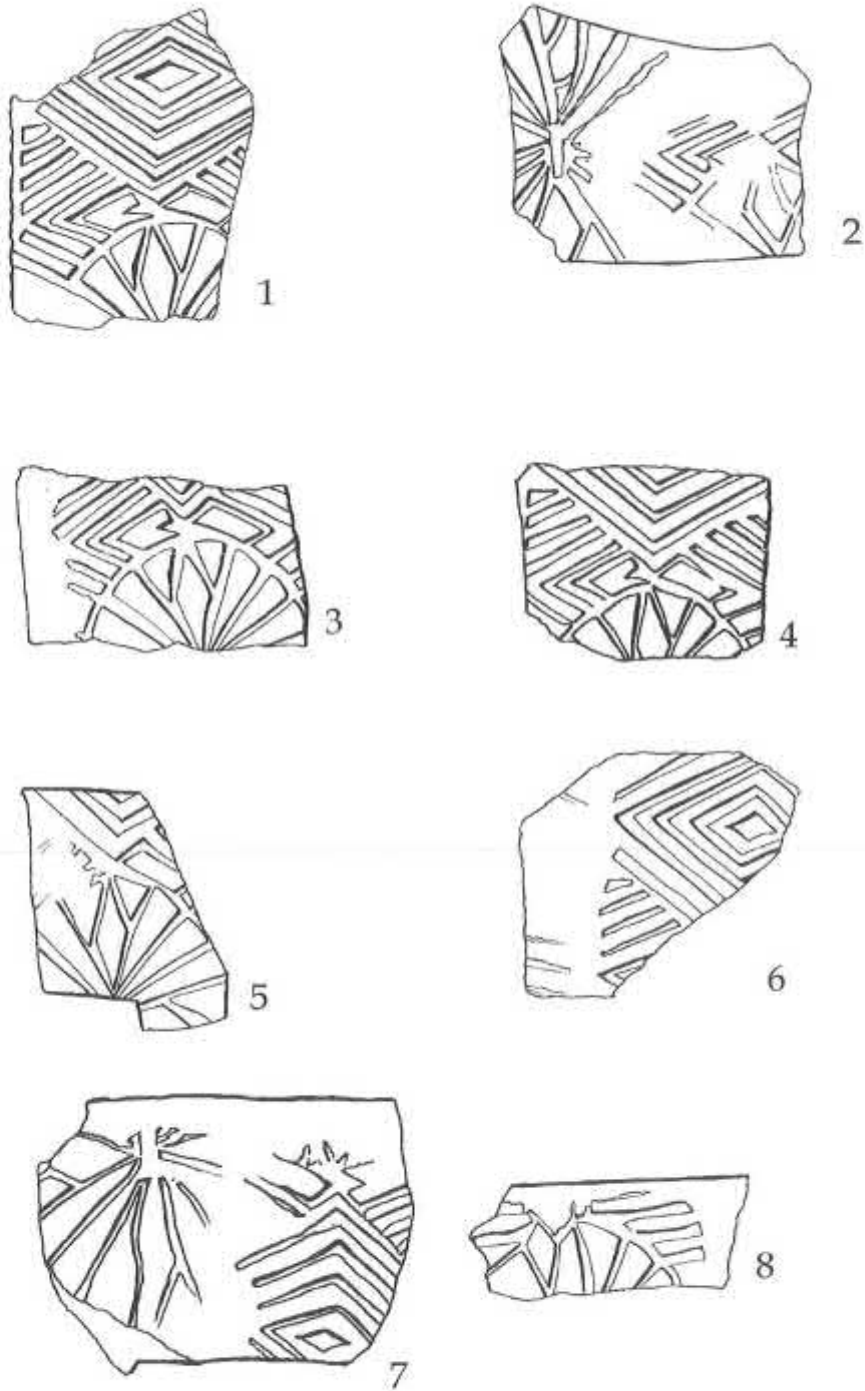


FIGURE 5 Roman relief-patterned flue tiles (1:2).



The stone slates found were of various sizes, and either rectangular or triangular in shape. The complete rectangular examples measured 220 x 110mm. and 175 x 100mm. Others were almost square, being 160 x 180mm. and 140 x 155mm. Most triangular slates were 190mm. across the bottom with sides 200mm. in length and only 50mm. wide at the top, though one was longer being 170 x 310 x 70mm. All examples had only one peghole, set in a central position.

One hundred and eight fragments of flat ceramic roof-tile and several complete examples were found. The tiles were of a red sand-tempered fabric, 150mm. thick, and had either round or square pegholes, or a raised nib. Complete examples with round pegholes (10–16mm. across) measured 255 x 140mm., while those with square pegholes (10 x 10mm.) measured 250 x 145mm. and 250 x 140mm. Those with a nib were slightly larger at 270 x 165mm. The distribution of these tiles was similar to that of the glazed ridge-tiles and stone roof-slates, but it was noticeable that the tiles with square pegholes were only found in post-medieval contexts.

Two unstratified examples of hip/valley tiles were found and a single floor tile. This latter was 155mm. square, 35mm. thick and may probably be associated with the post-medieval house.

The destruction of the site and removal of materials was so thoroughly carried out that only thirty fragments of worked stone, all local oolitic limestone, were recovered by the excavation. Eleven were moulded and nineteen were fragments of faced stone with diagonal tooling. No mason's mark was found. Evidence of burning suggesting that the stones had been subjected to considerable heat, possibly in the fire in the north-south range, was noted on one moulding and ten of the faced fragments.

Most of the stonework was commented on by the late Stuart Rigold during the excavation, and it was intended that he would report on the stonework but his untimely death prevented this. The author also grateful to Brian Giggins for discussion and comments on the worked stone. The principal item, the waterleaf capital (Fig. 6, 9) which had been reused as a door pivot and came from the destruction level (26) in Room H, the east range, is reported on by Paul Woodfield:

'The capital (Fig. 6, 9) is an interesting and unusual find. It is somewhat damaged, and the

lower half of the bell is missing entirely, but the abacus is 245mm. square. The mouldings and carving, where surviving, are sharp and well-preserved. The upper surface of the abacus is roughly cut-back at an angle, as if re-used as a springing for an arch, and is hollowed out also, possibly in a secondary role. The type is known as a waterleaf capital, i.e. having plain leaves sweeping up the shaft and turning into a tight inturned roll at the corners. Above, there is a simple fascia, 14mm. deep, with a cavetto above, rising to the shallow abacus 25mm. deep.

The waterleaves are distinctive in having a broad, blunt, bud rising from their junction in the centre of each face of the capital. The point of junction, which is also a variable feature in waterleaf capitals, is missing from the Gorefields specimen. The fourth face, which is taken to be the rear and closely set to a wall or other architectural feature, is roughed-out only in waterleaf form. The stone is an oolitic limestone with comminuted fossil-shell fragments, and probably originated in the Upper Jurassic beds of north Buckinghamshire or Northamptonshire. The comparative paucity of shelly fragments suggests a fairly local provenance, but a considerable variation may be had in any one quarry in this locality.

Waterleaf capitals are characteristic of the later Romanesque phase in England, the *locus classicus* being Byland Abbey, Yorkshire, founded in 1177, indirectly from Furness Abbey (Peers 1952, 3–4). A variety of waterleaf designs are employed throughout Byland, and the form also occurs in the transepts at Furness and the chancel of Roche Abbey, both Cistercian Houses. At Roche the chancel appears to have been completed by 1170 (Hope and Bilston 1907, 139). The form may be associated with other late Norman features such as keeled shafts, three dimensional chevron ornamentation, and quatrefoil piers, details which characterise the two decades up to the introduction of Gothic architecture, particularly associated with French Cistercian architecture as it appears in northern England (Sharp 1871).

The loss of the lower part of the capital from Gorefields makes precise parallels uncertain. Specifically, the large central bud, which is absent from any northern examples, e.g. Byland, Jedburgh and Loughton, is found amongst the numerous variations on the theme at Abbey Dore, also a Cistercian house, in Herefordshire, where rebuilding began in 1175–80. The upper mouldings at

Gorefields are a simplified version of the regular waterleaf capital, the lower bead on the hollow moulding being suppressed where more commonly it reads strongly.

The size of the capital suggests that it was originally designed for use at an intimate level. The fact that only one facet is roughed out suggests that the other three faces were equally visible, that is it was part of a wall arcade rather than a nook shaft. The lack of weathering indicates that it was probably sited internally, as for instance in a double seated sedilia rather than a central shaft to a window.

Application of waterleaf capitals on a small scale occurs at Durham Castle (wall arcading), Sutton Courteney, Berkshire (window mullion) and St. Mary de Castro, Leicester (sedilia).

It seems unlikely that so modest a building as the hall/chapel should have pretensions to wall arcading or a sedilia of the quality indicated by the capital, although the thickening of the early wall east of the south door could represent such a feature in the special circumstances of Gorefields. A secular application should however still be borne in mind. Context WS1/26, destruction level over H/22/3(E).

The remaining illustrated dressed stone consists of:

- Two fragments from capitals of engaged pilasters (Fig. 7, 10–11), late twelfth to early thirteenth-century. Context 214/post-fire surface, east yard/11/3(E).
- Fragment of string moulding (Fig. 7, 12), late twelfth to early thirteenth-century. Context 220/in the make up of the western side of the pentice walkway, under cobbles/16a/2.
- Moulding from around door or arch (Fig. 7, 13). Context 143, destruction level over yard/23c/4.
- Part of composite door-moulding (Fig. 7, 14). Context as above.
- Sections of two octagonal shafts (Fig. 7, 15–16) and one circular shaft (Fig. 7, 17). Context as above.
- End stone from parapet ridge (Fig. 8, 18). Context as above, actually found on entrance causeway.

Several other fragments (not illustrated) were also recovered including the following: seven fragments with diagonal tooling, mostly burnt, from context 45 over floor in west end of hall/chapel/2a/1. Three fragments of string moulding, all burnt, from context 63, destruction level of east end of

hall/chapel/23b/4. A fragment, 190 x 100mm., also with diagonal tooling from context 306, the foundation of the south wall of P, the west extension of the hall/chapel/15/3(E). One fragment of circular shaft, 90mm. in diameter, burnt at one end, from context 59, rubble over room G, east range/22/3(E). One fragment, with diagonal tooling, burnt, from context 252 lowest level yard towards causeway/17a/2.

Two whole and two part bricks were recovered during the excavation. All were from the destruction levels of the post-medieval house. The dimensions of the whole bricks were 220 x 110 x 45mm. and 210 x 105 x 40mm. The fragments were 45mm. and 55mm. thick.

Forty-five fragments of wall plaster were found in the destruction levels of the site. The plaster was an almost white lime mortar which had been painted with a white limewash on the surface. Several fragments had raised ridges on the reverse, showing that the plaster had been placed on a surface of lathes, either on a partition wall or a ceiling. Most of the plaster was about 20mm. thick, but several pieces were only 5–10mm. thick and were smooth on both sides. These were interpreted as being from a second or replastering coat. Most of the plaster must have come from the post-medieval house, demolished in 1760.

Forty-six fragments of quarries from medieval painted-glass windows were found. They came mostly from Phase 3(E) yard surfaces, particularly in the Pentice (D). Having been exposed to the elements their condition was generally poor, however, several still bore faint traces of painted decoration (Fig. 9, 19–22). The only stratified medieval pieces were: one from context 245, sealed by the Phase 3(E) post-fire stair-base of the first floor hall and four from context 81, the construction trench of wall 11, a late (Phase 4) wall running east-west in the hall/chapel.

A further 145 fragments of post-medieval diamond-shaped quarries were found. Generally the glass was very thin and clear or pale yellow-green in colour, although about fifteen per cent was darkened and completely opaque. It was found on yard surfaces and among destruction levels all over the site.

Only eleven fragments of window came were found, four came from Room G in the east range, one of which came from a pre-fire (Phase 2) floor level (135) and the other three from (103) a post-fire (Phase 3(E)) floor level. The remainder came

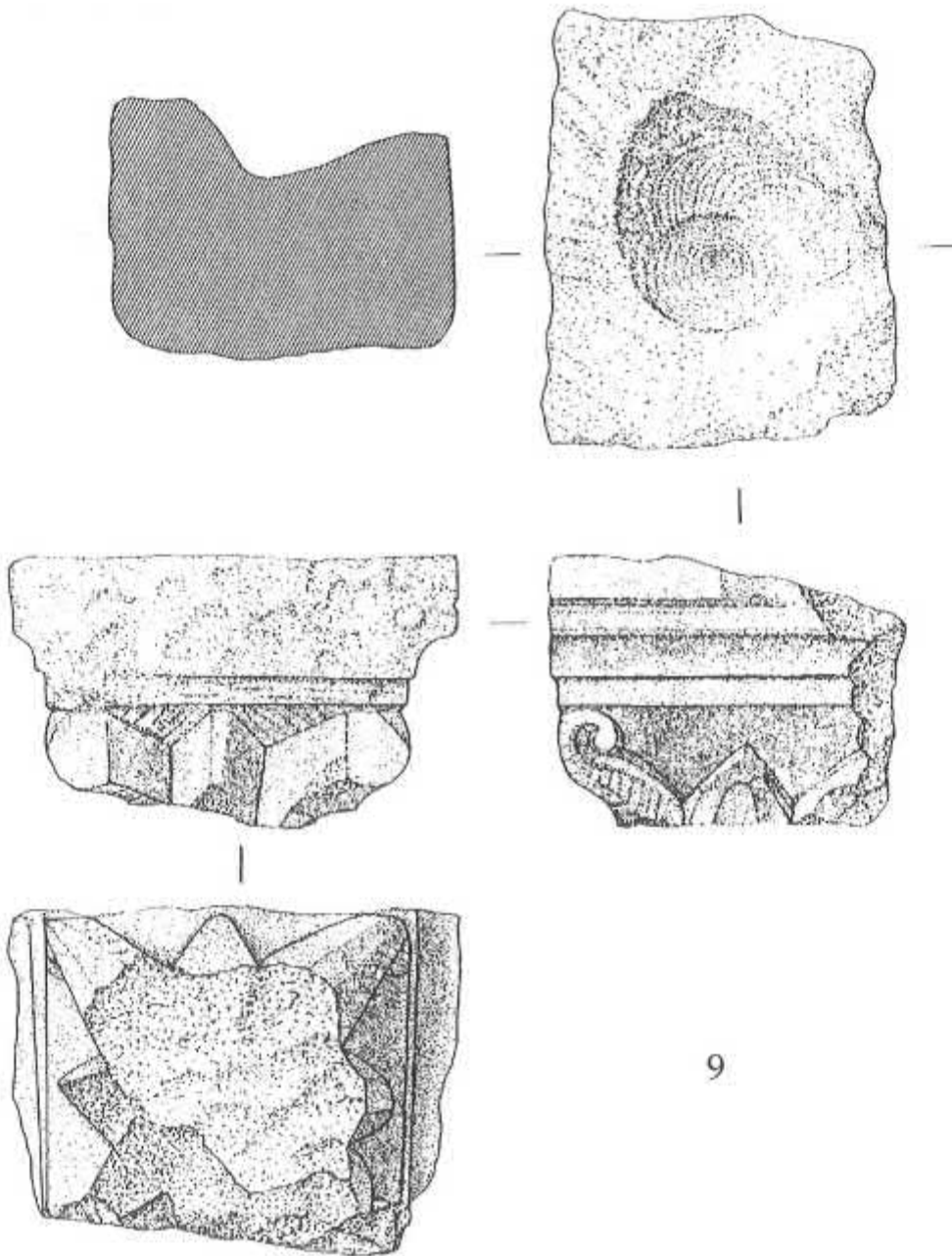


FIGURE 6 Waterleaf capital (1:4).

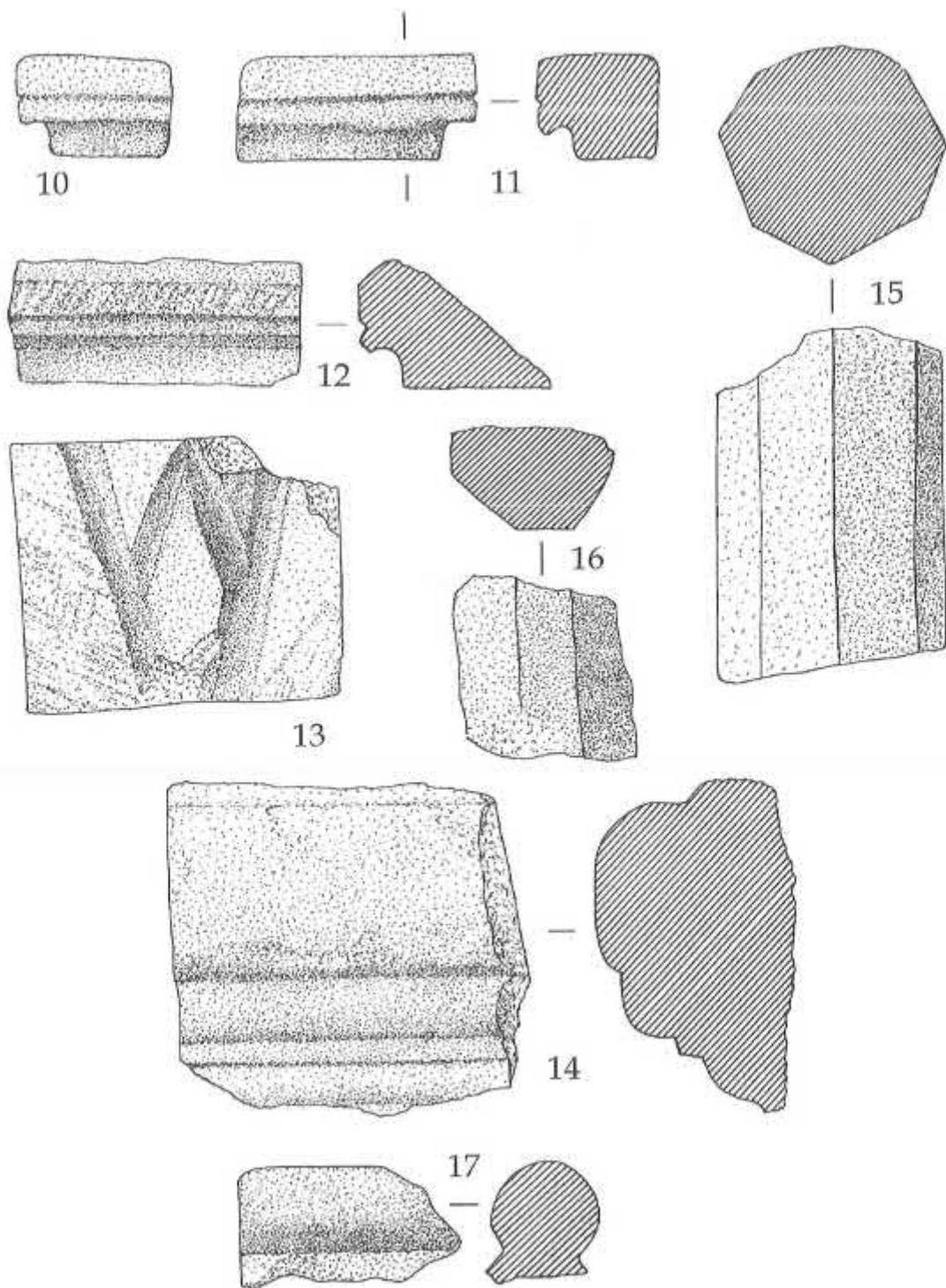


FIGURE 7 Dressed architectural stone (1:4).

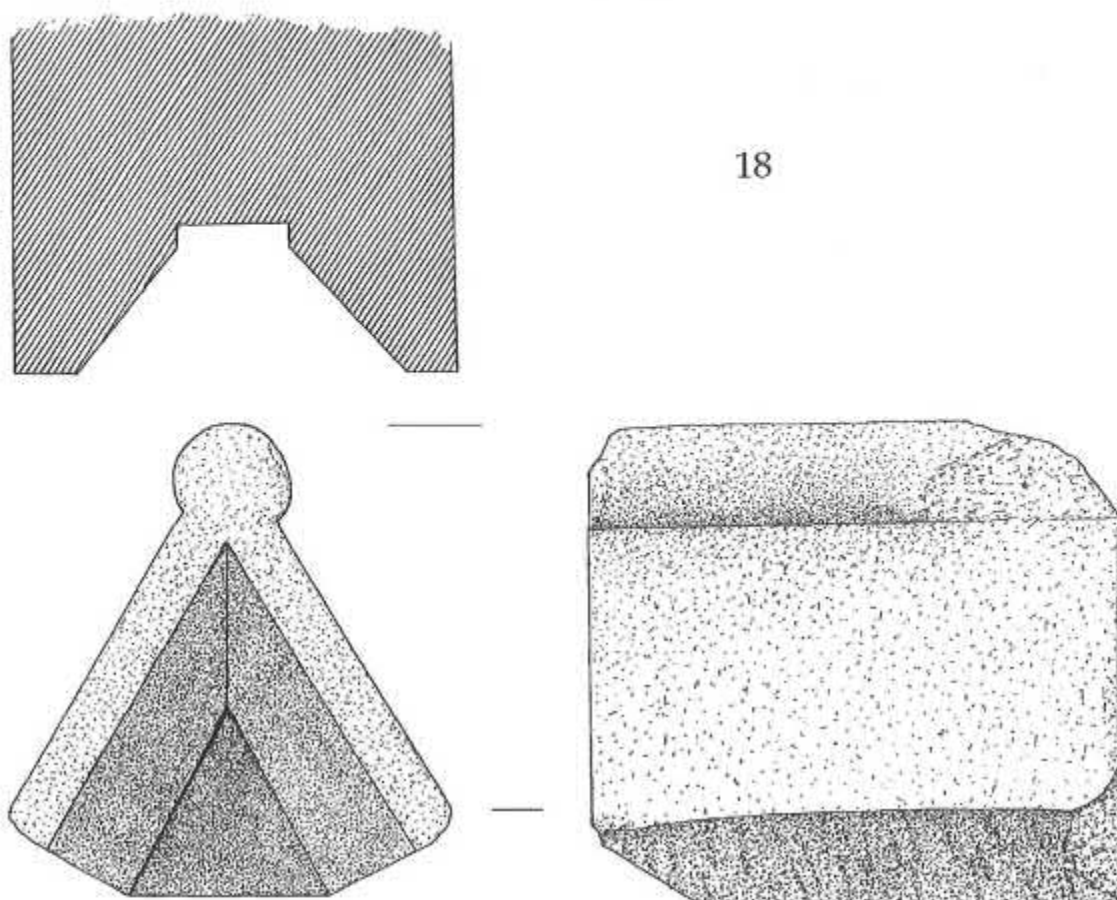


FIGURE 8 Parapet ridge-end stone (1:4).

from yard surfaces, one from the Phase 2 yard (154) under the pentice walk on the west side of the west range and the others from later yard surfaces, the causeway road surface and one was actually in the moat (160).

The small quantity of window lead suggests that the demolition of the buildings was thorough, with most of the lead being salvaged. The discovery of pieces of melted lead might suggest the melting down of window lead on site, however, none of it came from late destruction levels. Two fragments were found sealed beneath the Phase 3(E) post-fire extension on the Phase 2-3 yard surface (245). Three came from the floor of the detached building J (Phase 3, contexts 94, 113 and 255), and one came from the upper fill of Gully 3. 243/7b/2.

#### Clay tobacco pipes

Forty-one stem, and six bowl fragments, were found in late destruction levels. The majority came from the destruction levels of the post-medieval building on the site of the south range. No stamped pieces were found and the date range of the bowls was from the mid seventeenth to the late eighteenth century (Moore 1980).

Four of the bowls were identified to Moore type 5c, 1640-80; type 7c, 1680-1700; type 10c, 1700-40 and type 15c, 1760-1800.

#### Coins

Three Roman coins were found, one from the fill of the grave of burial G6 the others from the yard surfaces. The coin from G6 was found over the chest of the burial as though it had been placed there. The earliest medieval coin (No. 4) was a silver short

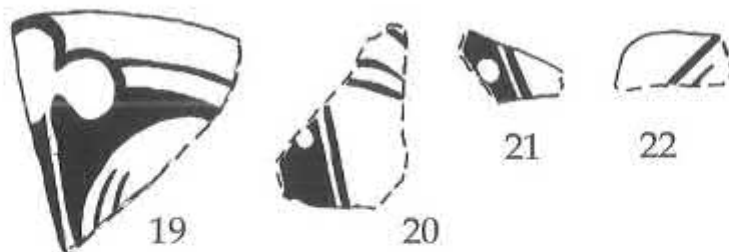


FIGURE 9 Medieval painted window glass (1:2).

cross penny of Richard I or John 1189-1216, which came from the early (Phase C) yard surface north of the hall/chapel.

Two other coins may date the destruction levels in which they were found. The first (No. 5) a silver penny of Henry VII 1485-1509 considered to have been lost c. 1530, came from the destruction level over the floor in F the east end of the hall/chapel. The second (No. 6) a Jetton of c. 1580-1610 came from context 302 the destruction level over room H in the east range.

The following list of coins was prepared by J Cribb of the British Museum:

1. Roman bronze sestertius, Commodus 177-192, Obv. bust of M.Aurelius facing right, DIVVS MA (NTONINUS PIUS), Rev. Eagle on globe (CONSECRATIO S.C.) memorial issue for Marcus Aurelius. SF28/311 fill of Grave 6/21/1.
2. Roman bronze dupondius, Trajan 98-117, both sides illegible. SF10/252 early surface in yard D/17a/2.
3. Roman bronze coin, Valentinian I. 364-375, Obv. bust right DN VALENT (INIANUS PF AUG), Rev. Emperor holding standard advancing to left dragging captive. GLORIA ROMANORUM: PCON. mint of Arles. SF11/260 early surface in yard D/16a/2.
4. Silver penny of Richard I or John, 1198-1216. Some wear but probably lost before the 1240s, Obv. Facing bust (HENRI) CUS R(EX), rev. Short cross (.....) N LUND class not identifiable, cut halfpenny. SF27/75 early yard north of hall/chapel/4/2
5. Silver penny of Henry VII, 1485-1509, clipped and worn. Probably lost c. 1526, but possibly as late as 1545, Obv. Sovereign type illegible,

Rev. Royal Arms CIVI(TAS) DURHAM Durham mint, Bishop Sherwood, (1484-1494) issued 1489-1494.

SF13/64 over floor in east end of hall/chapel/23b/4.

6. German reckoning counter, Hans Krauwinkel of Nuremburg, 1580-1610, contemporary loss, Obv. Orb (... )MANIO(...), Rev. Rose etc. HANNIS K(...). Ae42/302 destruction level in room H east range/22/3(E)
7. German reckoning counter, unnamed issuer, Obv. Orb. blundered legend of Wedges, Rev. Rose, 3 lis, 3 crowns, blundered legend as Obv., Issued c. 1600 and contemporary loss. SF 24/162, topsoil over roadway on causeway entrance/23c/4.
8. Copper farthing, Charles I, 1625-1649, Obv. Crown and Sceptres, CAROLUS D.G. MAG BRI (star mark), Rev. Crowned Rose. FRAN ET HIB REX (star mark) Rose type issued 1636-1644, contemporary loss. SF21/155 on cobble road surface on causeway entrance/23c/4
9. Copper halfpenny, George II, 1727-1760 usual type date 1750. The coin has been bent perhaps as a lovers' token. SF23/150 tile patch on causeway/23c/4.

#### Ironwork

The ironwork from the site was taken to the Ancient Monuments Laboratory immediately after excavation where it was X-rayed, but received no treatment.

#### *The Spurs by Blanche Ellis*

The iron spurs from Gorefields have suffered badly

from rust, and surface flaking continued as they dried after excavation. Despite this Nos 1–2 and 4–5 have very slight traces of what may have been non-ferrous plating. Medieval iron spurs were often enhanced and protected from rust by a thin plating of tin (Jope 1956, 35–42).

The spurs are measured in the position as worn, overall length from the end of the neck to the level of the terminals.

Fig. 10, 1: Rowel spur of small proportions. The D-section sides curve evenly under the wearer's ankle, one terminal remained when found, but has since partly disintegrated. The junction of the sides and neck rises into a point from which the straight tapered-neck projects very slightly downwards. Rounded rowel-bosses and the rowel pin remain but the rowel itself is lost. All surfaces are badly flaked by rust but high magnification reveals some very small traces of possible non-ferrous plating, probably tin, the presence of which is also suggested by the x-rays. Overall length 98mm. Length of neck 30mm. Length of rowel box 20mm. Span about 70mm. Typological date: second half of fourteenth century. Context IW25/35/Yard D/16b/3(E).

Fig. 10, 2: Rowel spur with its tapered sides curving gently under the wearer's ankle and rising towards their missing terminals. The sides were probably of D-section but rust has flaked their surfaces away; minute traces of brightness on the bottom edges may be the remains of non-ferrous plating, probably tin. A small crest point rises above the junction of the sides with the neck. The straight neck was divided for two thirds of its length by the rowel box, whose length (33mm.) suggests that the missing rowel was proportionately a large one. Severe rust has caused the collapse of the neck into a stump but it was still complete when x-rayed. Overall length 112mm. Length of neck (when found) 46mm. Span 93mm. Typological date: second half of the fourteenth century. Context IW7/17, destruction level over floor in room B east range/22/3(E).

Fig. 10, 3: Spur with sides of flattened-D section. One of them is very distorted with a broken single ring terminal, the other is similar to the complete side of Fig. 10.4, curving gently downwards then turning up to the single ring terminal. The neck is broken into a ragged stump and the junction of the neck with the sides is too badly damaged to tell whether there was originally a crest. Overall length

of fragment 97mm. Typologically this is probably a rowel spur of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century. Context IW82/195, post-fire yard surface east of the east range/11/3(E).

Fig. 10, 4: Rowel spur. Most of the original surfaces have flaked away leaving the neck and sides of flat section. One terminal and the rowel are missing. The complete side lies alongside the wearer's heel in a shallow curve, tapering a little towards its front end which turns up to its single-ring terminal. The crest curls above the junction of the sides and neck; its tip, which might once have had a ball finial (although none is visible on the x-ray), is now rusted on to the top of the fairly long, straight neck. Despite the severe rusting there are several minute traces of non-ferrous plating, especially on the incomplete side of the spur. These are most likely to be tin, or possibly silver. Overall length 155mm. Length of neck 65mm. Length of rowel box (from x-ray) 19mm. Typological date: early fifteenth-century. The spur may be compared with one excavated on the site of Clarendon Palace, Wiltshire (James and Robinson 1987, 130–131; Ellis 1991, 65 and 75, No. 23). The long-necked spurs fashionable in the fifteenth century were known contemporarily as 'long spurs' (Ellis, B. 1991, 60–1). Context IW14/32/destruction level of east range/22/3(E).

Fig. 10, 5: Rowel spur, the deep sides curve under the wearer's angle, their top edges are drawn up into a high pointed crest at their junction above the low set neck. When found one side still retained its large *figure-8* terminal. The front ends of both sides are now compressed, their terminals have rusted away and all surfaces have been flaked very badly by rust. Some bright specks among the rust and soil below the point of the crest may indicate that there was originally non-ferrous plating, probably of tin, but this is uncertain. The neck is broken with only part of its division of the rowel box remaining. Overall length of fragment 120mm. Length of neck-stump 48mm. Typological date: probably early fifteenth-century. The length of the neck which remains, up to the division for the rowel box, may indicate that the spur dates to the beginning of the fifteenth century, as the fashion for long spur necks developed. Context IW1/4/late yard surface (D)/16b/3(E).

Fig. 10, 6: Spur rowel, originally a star rowel of eight points, two are now broken off. Typological date: probably medieval. Rowel spurs first appeared

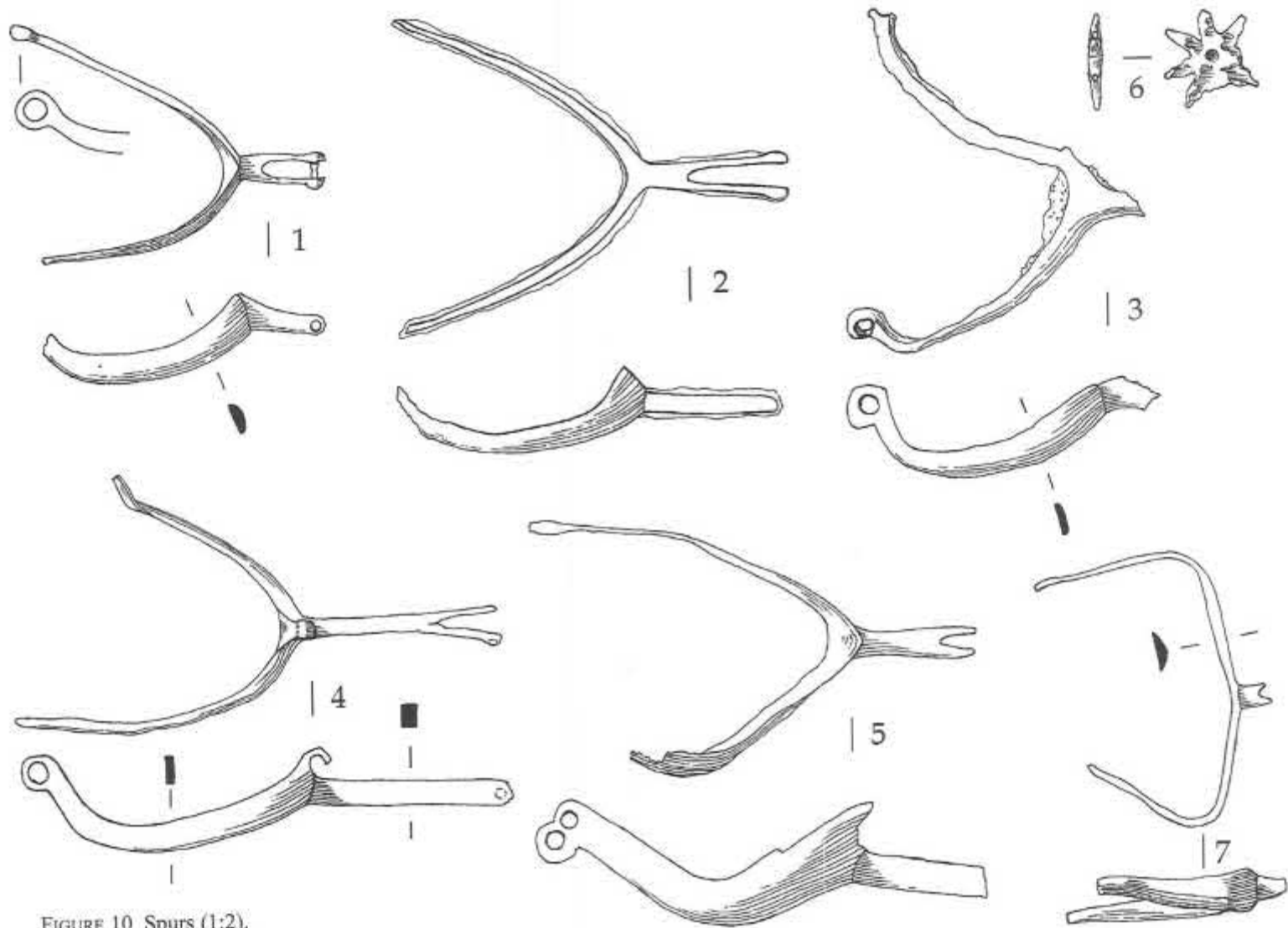


FIGURE 10 Spurs (1:2).



in the early thirteenth century but it is rarely possible to date detached rowels. Context IW43/61/late yard surface/23c/4.

Fig. 10, 7: Fragment of a spur consisting of its triangular-section sides tapering towards broken front ends, their terminals missing, and a small stump of its neck. The sides are distorted in having been pulled wide where they originally formed an arc around the back of the heel, then both front ends are bent inwards. Despite this, they appear to have originally been horizontally straight and never to have curved under their wearer's ankle. The neck stump is of round section, its break indented by what is probably the end of its rowel box. Maximum width of fragment measured across the bent sides 85mm. Typological date: mid seventeenth-century.

Spurs with straight tapered sides and small necks have been excavated from the Civil War period context at Sandal Castle, Yorkshire (Mayes and Butler 1983) and also from Beeston Castle, Cheshire (Ellis, B. 1993, 168–9, fig. 114, No. 28) where No. 28 has its neck broken close to the junction of the sides but still indented by the rowel box, suggesting a very short neck, as has this example from Gorefields. Context IW 62/127/upper cobble surface in yard (D) towards causeway/23/4.

*Iron objects by Ian H Goodall Figs. 11–17*  
This report was prepared in 1986 [RJI].

*Fig. 11*

1. Distorted auger-bit with broken tip, the terminal of lanceolate shape, the commonest medieval form. Context IW50/100, in floor of J/8b/2(C).

2–10 Teeth from combs used to prepare flax or wool prior to spinning. All are of rounded section, 5–6mm. in diameter. The complete teeth, Nos. 2, 3, 6 and 8 are 134, 115, 131 and 135mm. long; the broken ones (not illustrated 4–5, 7 and 9–10) are 96, 89, 78, 131 and 120mm. long. In use the teeth were generally set in rows in wooden handles.

Contexts: 2 and 4, IW22/41, destruction level of Hall/Chapel west end/2a/1; 3 and 5, IW124/231, fill of gully 2/7a/1; 6, IW106/246, fill of gully 5/7b/2(B); 7, IW48/113, in floor of J/8b/2(C); 8, IW23/42, on floor of room A/13-14b/3(E); 9, IW118/263, in Pit 4 room G/10-12/3(E); 10, IW96/unstratified.

11. Leatherworker's awl of diamond-shaped section, broken at one end. Context IW39/72, floor of

Hall/Chapel/2a/1.

12. Hoe with triangular blade and angled but broken tang. Probably a horticultural tool, but also capable of being used for mixing mortar. Context IW83/197, yard surface/17a/2.

13–14 Sickle-blade fragments both triangular in section. No. 13 is a blade fragment, 180mm. long, 20mm. deep; 14, which includes the tip, is 291mm. long, 17mm. maximum width. Contexts 13, IW37/68, topsoil/24/4; 14 (not illustrated), IW27/Unstratified.

*Fig. 12*

15. Whittle-tang knife with broken blade and tang, the latter with clusters of six and five oval-shaped sheet copper-alloy plates. The plates were originally separated by further organic plates, since decayed and together these formed a decorative handle to a good quality knife. Context IW113/258b, yard/20/1–3.

16–19 Scale-tang knives, 18 and 19 not illustrated, all with broken blades and tangs through which handles were riveted. No. 16 is the most complete and has a shaped tang; the tangs of 17–19 are parallel-sided, that of 17 retaining two hollow rivets. Nos 16 and 17 retain the solder by which shoulder plates were attached to the knives to provide a decorative front to the handles.

Contexts: 16, IW26/35, yard surface/16b/3(E); 17, IW25/35, yard surface/16b/3(E); 18, IW51/61, room G east range, destruction level/22/3(E); 19, IW19/39, Fill of drain in A/23c/4.

20–22 Knives, No. 20 has a whittle tang and Nos 21–2 scale tangs, each with a bolster between blade and tang. The bolster was an innovation in hafting in the early to mid sixteenth century, but the silver roundels and wire inlay on No. 20 link it to a group of objects, including other knives, spurs and swords, which belong to the first half of the seventeenth century (Ellis 1974).

Contexts: 20, IW120/40, Fill of Trough in Yard/23c/4; 21, IW16/34, destruction level/10–12/3(E); 22, unstratified and not illustrated.

23–28 Knife blades, Nos 23–5 and 27–8 not illustrated. Nos 23–6 with back and cutting edge tapering evenly to the tip, Nos 27–8 with horizontal backs.

Contexts: 23, IW92/222, earliest floor in J/8b/2(C); 24, IW21/33, destruction level/23a/4; 25, IW21/33, destruction level/23a/4; 26, IW69/ on causeway/23c/4; 27, IW73/in yard surface/16a/2; 28,

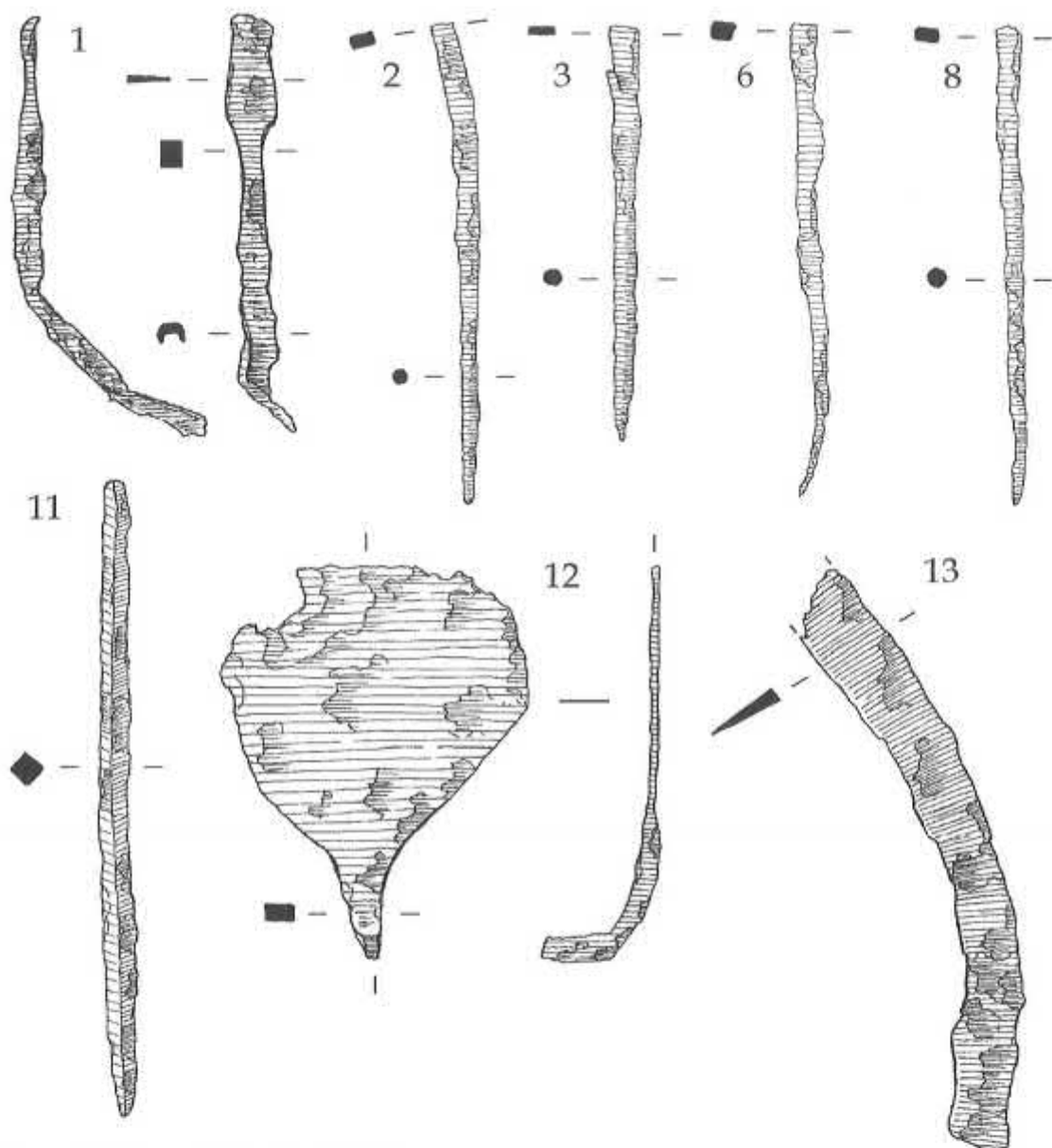


FIGURE 11 Iron agricultural tools (1:2).

IW25/35, on yard/16b/3(E).

29–31 U-shaped staples used to hold fittings in place. Nos 29 and 30 are broken. No. 31 is illustrated.

Contexts: 29, IW63/130, destruction of J/8c/2(C); 30, IW59/114, destruction of J/8c/2(C); 31, IW103/242, in construction trench, wall G/10–12/3(E).

32 Rectangular staple with broken side arms. Context IW21/33, destruction level/23a/F.

33–34 Hinge pivots. No 33 is complete. No. 34 (not illustrated) of similar form has a guide arm 25mm. high, the tapering shank 25mm. long but broken.

Contexts: 33, IW25/35, on yard/16b/3(E); 34, IW25/35, on yard/16b/3(E).

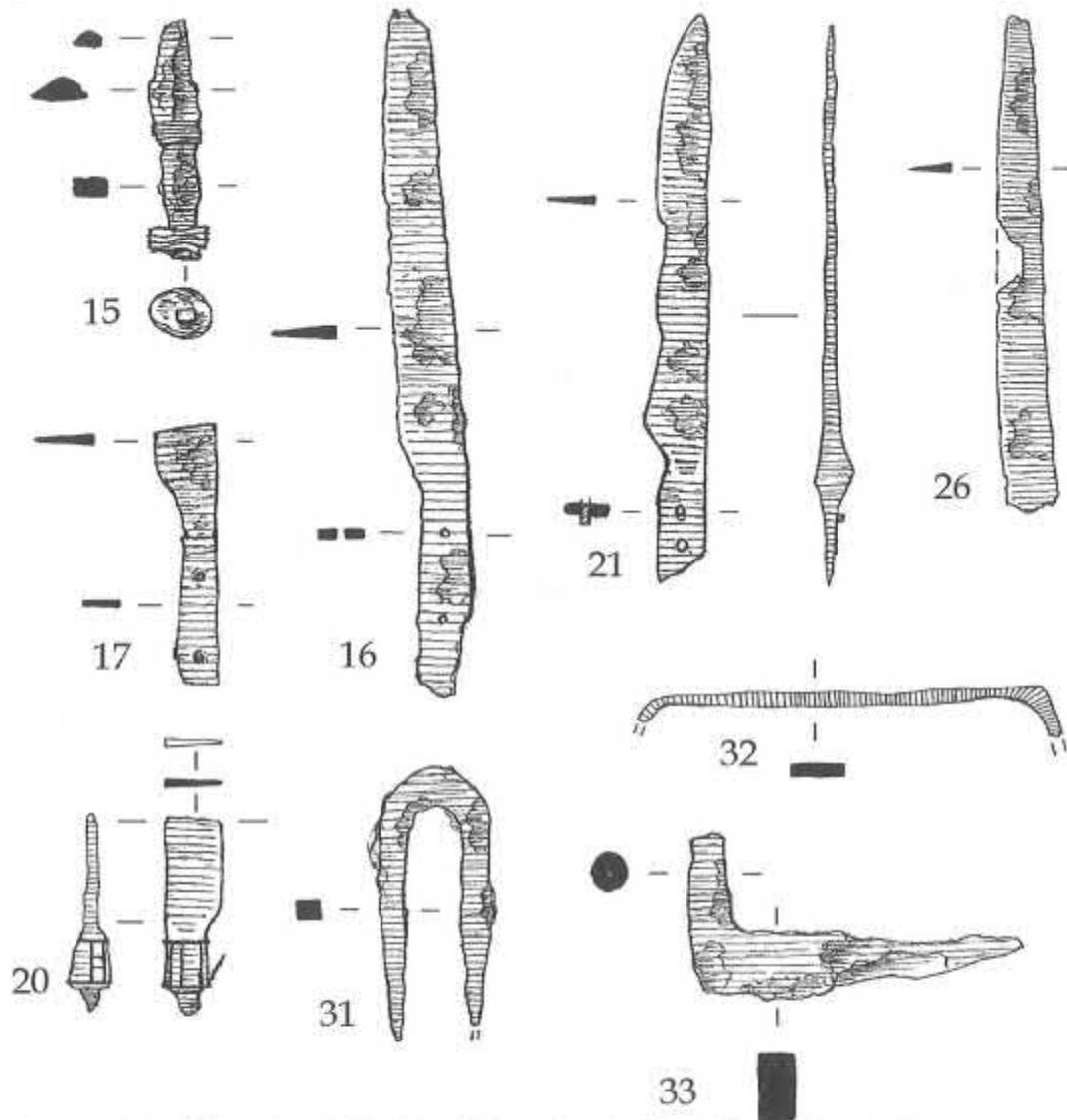


FIGURE 12 Iron knives (15-17, 20-21 and 26), staples (31-2) and hinge pivot (33) (1:2).

*Fig. 13*

35-39 Hinges. No. 35, a near-complete strap hinge with a looped-eye and broken terminal, is of comparatively small size and may be from a shutter or small piece of furniture rather than a door. Nos 36 and 37 are the terminals from far larger hinges, 36 simply shaped, 37 part of a scrolled end. Nos 38 and 39 are post-medieval in form with non-ferrous plating. No. 39 is from a cockshead hinge of characteristic seventeenth century date (Goodall in

Moorhouse 1971, 41, fig 18. 40-2.).

Contexts: 35, IW76, Unstratified; 36, IW46/83, topsoil/24/4; 37, IW39/72, Floor of Hall/Chapel/2a/1; 38, IW75/148, construction trench wall 11, post-medieval house/23c/4; 39, IW55/113, yard surface over J/23/4.

40-46 Strap fragments, not illustrated, most with parallel sides, 65-108mm. long, and 20-30mm. wide. No. 46 is longer, 161mm. in length, broken and tapers from 17 to 7mm. in width.

Contexts: 40, IW28/45, floor of Hall/Chapel/2a/1; 41, IW4/9, destruction level/23b/4; 42, IW105/245, pre-fire yard surface/6/2; 43, IW2/5, topsoil/23c/4; 44, IW25/35, yard surface/16b/3(E); 45, IW114/259, destruction level/23c/4; 46, IW25/35, yard surface/16b/3(E).

47 Window bar, broken at both ends but retaining the stub of what were originally a pair of offset shaped terminals, which were rounded in shape and perforated to enable the bar to be fixed to a timber window frame. The bar retains a loop of H-sectioned window lead which secured a panel of leaded glazing to it. Similar but more complete window bars include those from Clarendon Palace, Wiltshire (Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue, forthcoming). Context IW25/35, yard surface/16b/3(E).

48 Terminal from a piece of binding strip retaining non-ferrous plating in its decorative grooves (not illustrated). Context IW13/27, make up of post-fire hall floor/10-12/3(E).

49 Distorted, simply-shaped handle. Context IW83/197, medieval yard/17a/2.

50 Top of handle attachment plate or escutcheon from a bucket. Context IW21/33, destruction level/23a/4.

#### Fig. 14

51 Collar, 107mm. in diameter, 35mm. deep, pierced by at least one nail. Context IW111/252, yard/17a/2.

52-53 Rings, not illustrated, 52 oval, 53 circular but broken.

Contexts: 52, IW59/114/8c/2(C); 53, IW21/33, destruction level/23a/4.

54-5 Chain links, not illustrated, 54-5 both U-shaped fragments, 56-7 oval.

Contexts: 54, IW53/106, destruction level south of A/13-14c/3(E); 55, IW62/127, yard surface/23c/4; 56, IW18/unstratified; 57, IW18/unstratified.

58 Candlestick, the straight stem and socket both broken. Context IW90/214, medieval yard/11/3(E).

59-61 Padlock keys (60-61 not illustrated). All of similar type with shaped terminals and laterally-set bits, 59 and 60 being stem and bit fragments, and 61 a terminal and stem and bit fragments.

Contexts: 59, IW120/265, in gully 5/7b/2(B); 60, IW83/197, yard/17a/2; 61, IW124/235, in gully 2/7a/1.

62 Barrel-padlock case and U-shaped bolt. The cylindrical case, to which a fin and tube are

attached, is decorated and strengthened by a series of narrow, longitudinal strips. Context IW100/234, early ground surface/1b/1.

63 Strap from end of a barrel-padlock case, not illustrated. Context IW25/35, yard surface/16b/3(E).

64 U-shaped padlock bolt, the free arm and one of the pair of spines broken, the complete spine now without any leaf springs. Above the closing plate, which is circular in shape to fit a barrel-padlock case, is a decorative scroll. Traces of non-ferrous plating survive. Context IW91/215, yard surface in north west corner of moated inclosure/19/2(C).

65 Double-leaf padlock spring, not illustrated, 97mm. long, 15mm. wide. Context IW100/234, early ground surface/1b/1.

66 Key with internally kidney-shaped bow and solid stem moulded above and below the symmetrically cut bit. Typologically seventeenth or eighteenth-century in date. Context IW21/33, destruction level 23a/4.

#### Fig. 15

67-77 Buckles with variously shaped frames (69 and 77 not illustrated). Nos 67-8 are D-shaped, 68 retaining its pin. Nos 69-70 are circular, incomplete and identical in size. No. 71 is double looped, Nos 72-73 rectangular, and 74-76 trapezoidal. No 76 has a sheet iron cylinder to assist the movement of a leather belt. Nos 68, 72, 74-5 have pins, of which 74 is an isolated example with decorative grooves.

Contexts: 67, IW72/151, on floor of J/8b/2(C); 68, IW8/19, on floor room C/10-12/3(E); 69, IW28/45, on floor hall/chapel west end/2a/1; 70, IW22/41, destruction hall/chapel/2a/1; 71, IW8/19, on floor room C/10-12/3(E); 72, IW50/100, floor of J/8b/2(C); 73, IW83/197, yard/17a/2; 74, IW62/127, yard/23c/4; 75, IW88/209, yard surface north west corner of moated inclosure/19/2(C); 76, IW7/17, destruction east range/22/3(E); 77, IW124/235, in gully 2/7a/1.

#### Fig. 16

78 Double-riveted terminal from the iron ring from a patten, not illustrated. Context IW69/143, on yard/23c/4.

79-98 Horseshoes. Nos 79-81 are of the earlier type with countersunk nail-holes: 79 and 80 being arm fragments with wavy edges and three and two nail-holes respectively; 81 a complete horseshoe

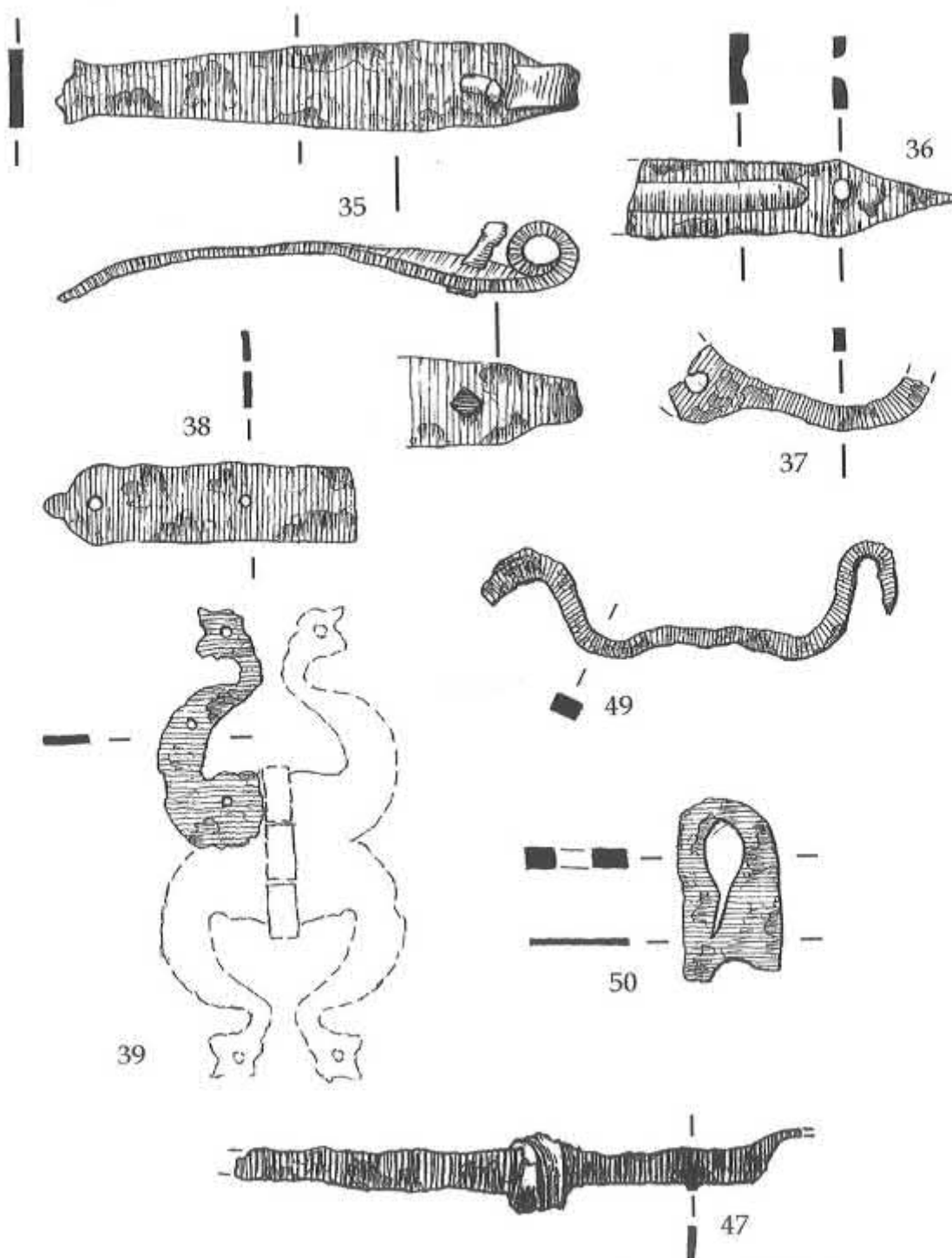


FIGURE 13 Iron hinges (35-9), window bar (47), handle (49) and escutcheon (50) (1:2).

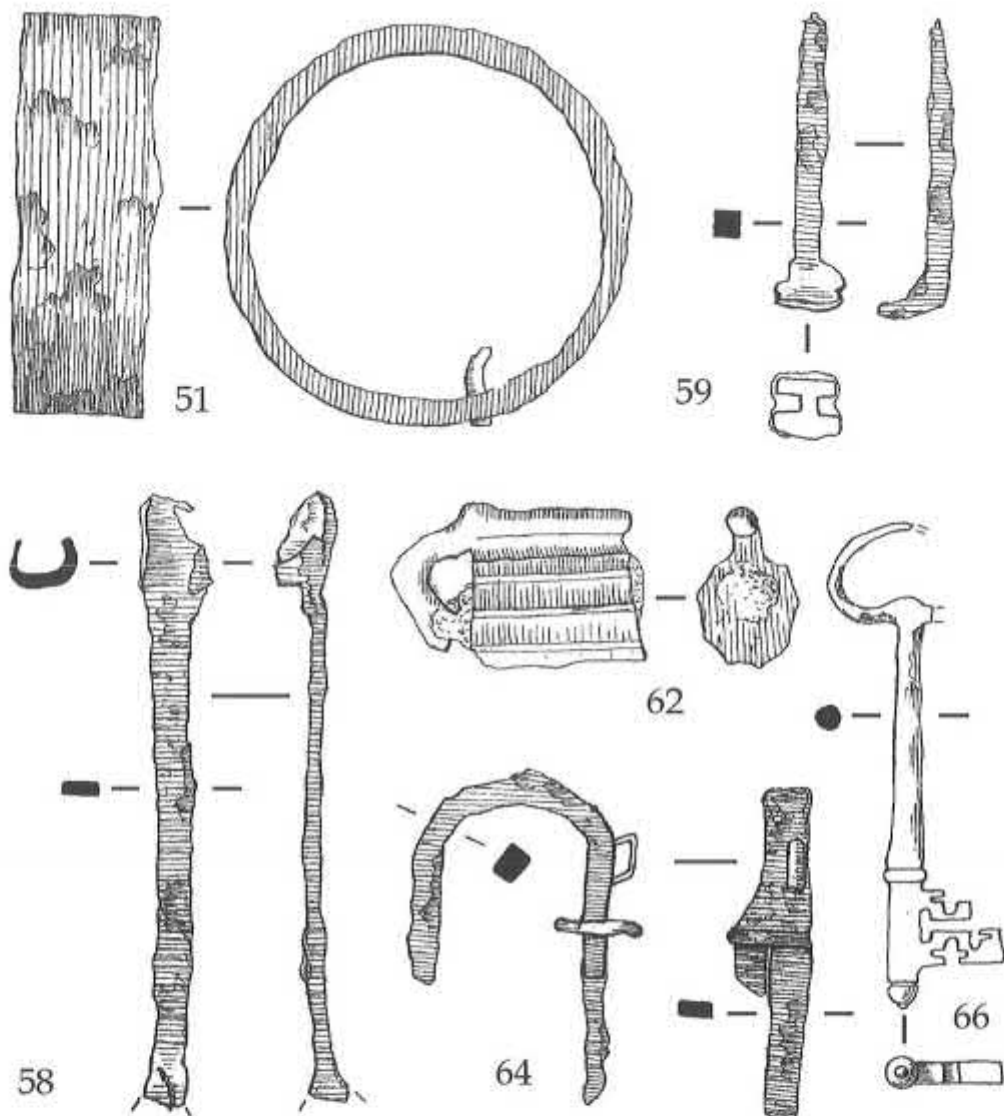


FIGURE 14 Iron collar (51), candlestick (58), keys (59 and 66) and padlocks (62 and 64) (1:2).

with only slightly wavy edges and three nail-holes. Nos 79 and 81 have arms over 20mm. wide, 80 is under 20mm. Nos 79 and 80 have calkins, 81 turned-up tips. Nos 82–92 have rectangular nail-holes, but are mostly represented by arm toe or tip fragments. Nos 83–84 and 92 are the most complete however, their complete arm having 3 or 4 nail-holes. Nos 94–8 are horseshoe tips without nail-holes. Nos 82, 84, 86, 88–91, and 93–98 are

not illustrated.

Contexts: 79, IW66/135, floor east range, room G/5/2–3(D); 80, IW113/258, yard north or hall/chapel/20/1–3(E); 81, IW123/floor of J/8b/2(C); 82, IW50/100, floor of J/8b/2(C); 83, IW8/19, on floor room C/10–12/3(E); 84, IW11/16, on floor room C/10–12/3(E); 85, IW13/27, floor make up, post-fire, east range. Room C/10–12/3(E); 86, IW38/yard D/11/3(E); 87, IW45/yard D/11/3(E);

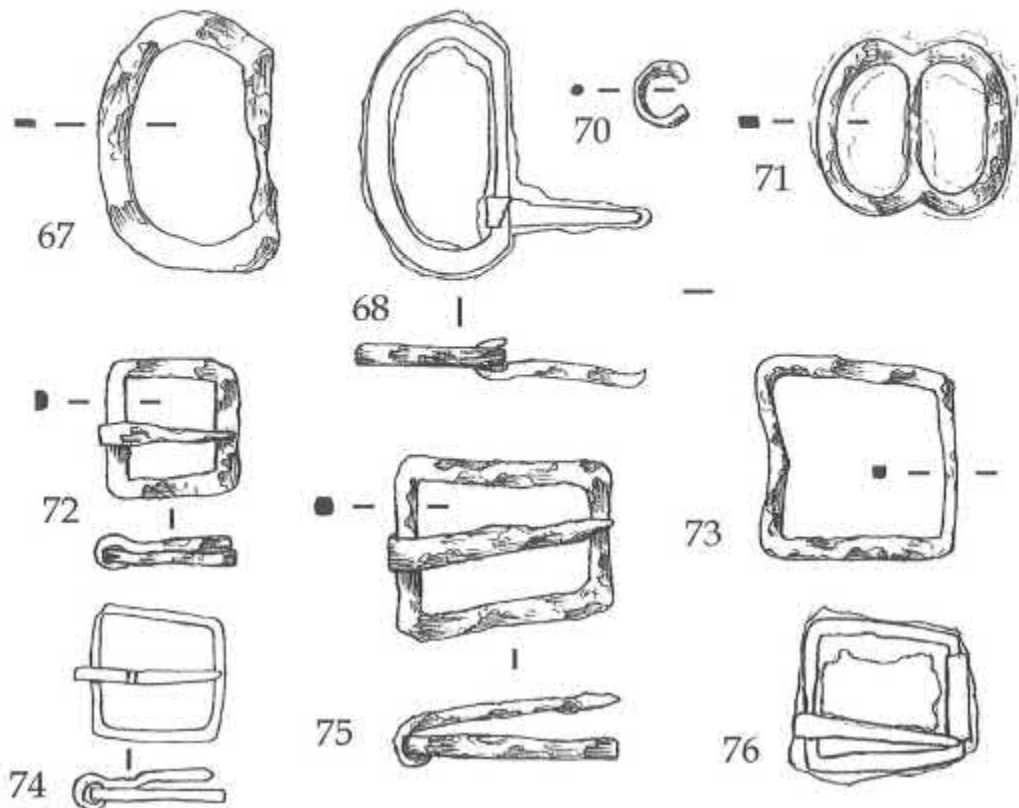


FIGURE 15 Iron buckles (1:2).

88, IW90/214, east yard/11/3(E); 89, IW2/5, on yard south of A/23c/4; 90, IW25/35, on yard/16b/3(E); 91, IW25/35, on yard/16b/3(E); 92, IW69/143, on yard/23c/4; 93, IW7/17, destruction east range/22/3(E); 94, IW64/131, on flag stones in H/10-12/3(E); 95, IW25/35, on yard/16b/3(E); 96, IW69/ on cobble road surface on causeway/23c/4; 97, IW69/ on cobble road surface on causeway/23c/4; 98, IW61/121, yard towards causeway/23c/4. 99-103 Horseshoe nails. Nos 98-102 are of fiddle-key type, with near semicircular shaped heads which do not expand in side view, used in horseshoes like 79-81. No. 103, with an expanded head, is one of the types used in succeeding types of horseshoe (Goodall 1973, 173-5, fig 13A-D). Nos 100-102 not illustrated. Contexts: 99, IW101/251, early yard south of hall/chapel/4/2; 100, IW100/234, early ground surface/1b/1; 101, IW97/231, east yard/6/2; 102,

IW107/248, in gully 4/7a/1; 103, IW99/233, room C east range, post-fire floor make up/10-12/3(E). 104 Arm from currycomb handle, not illustrated. Such handles had two or three arms branching from a tang and riveted to a comb in the manner of a complete example from Wharram Percy, Yorkshire (Goodall 1979, 121, fig 63.65). IW83/197, yard/17a/2.

#### Fig. 17

105-7 Arrowheads. No. 105 is socketed and barbed, retaining one of its barbs, 106 a fragmentary blade and 107 a socketed birding bolt with a crescent shaped blade designed to wound prey. Contexts: 105, IW16/34, destruction level east range/10-12/3(E); 106, IW38/yard D/11/3(E); 107, IW69/143, on cobble road surface on causeway/23c/4. 108-114 Not used.

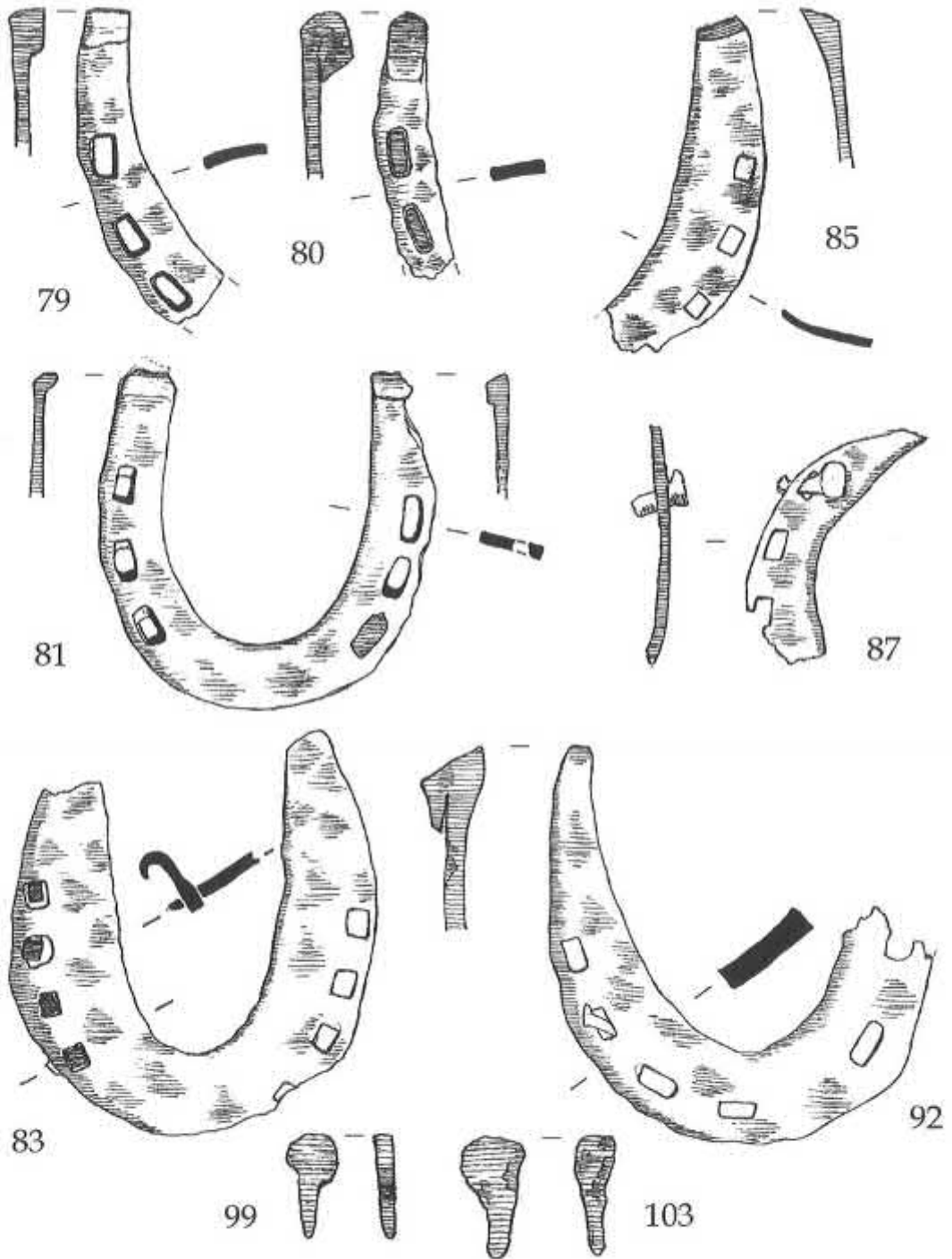


FIGURE 16 Iron horseshoes and nails (1:2).



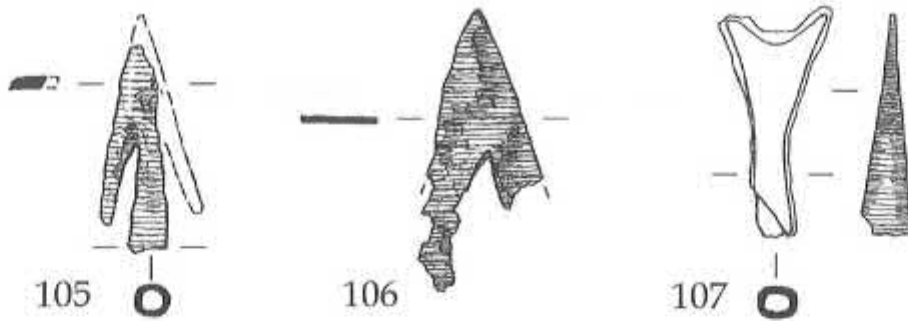


FIGURE 17 Iron arrowheads (1:2)

**Non-ferrous metal objects** by Alison R. Goodall with a contribution by John Cherry

Few of the objects can be associated with the earlier phases of occupation of the site. The function of the decorative fitting (No. 115) is unknown but it can be compared with various medieval brooches and ornaments. The two lead weights (147 and 148) are also of early date: their wide perforations suggest that they may have been fitted over spindles to be used as spindle whorls.

Late medieval objects include two buckles (118 and 120) and the purse frame (128); the rosette decorated buckle (119) probably dates from the early post-medieval period. The two fragments of kitchen vessels, the mortar rim (138) and the cauldron foot (139), could perhaps have been used in the kitchen on the site.

Most of the other objects are of post-medieval date and many, such as the buttons (123-125) and the eighteenth-century shoe buckle (121), were probably dropped after destruction of the buildings. The window lead may have come from the buildings on the site, but the illustrated lead cannot date from before the sixteenth century. This report was prepared in 1986 [RJI].

*Copper alloy*

*Fig. 18*

115 Openwork fitting. John Cherry writes:

"This object comes from the fill of Gully 2 which is dated by pottery to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Only just over half the object survives. The whole object appears to have been in the form of a ring with double projections at the four cardinal points. The ring itself is decorated with punched ring and dot impressions. In the centre of the ring is a figure of a bird with a long neck and a short



FIGURE 18 Copper alloy open-work fitting (1:1).

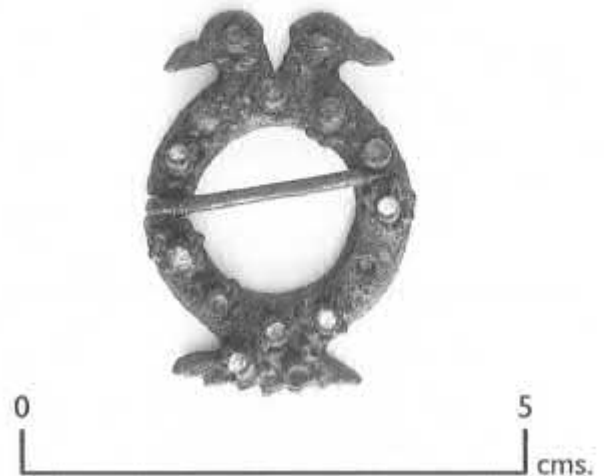


PLATE 5 BIRD BROOCH FROM SANDWICH.

beak. The back of the object is flat and undecorated and there is no sign of any attachment.

The function of the object is uncertain. There is no evidence of any fixture and it is very thin and fragile to have functioned on its own as a brooch. There are no rivet holes. The decoration on the front of the object certainly suggests that it was meant to be seen. It may have formed part of a larger object.

The closest parallel is an object from Aberdeen, which is in the form of a pelleted oval surmounted by two opposed birds' heads. The back is undecorated and is not described as having any form of attachment. The centre of the object appears to have been empty (Murray 1982, 186, i11 107, no. 52).

More distantly related are a group of three copper alloy brooches in the form of birds. One whose general shape may be compared to the Aberdeen fitting was found by Mr J. D. Powell near Sandwich in 1980 (see Plate 5). Here the ring is in the form of two addorsed birds with heads at the top and tails at the bottom. There are two others also in the form of birds. The first was in the Joseph Warren collection (Smith 1848–80, 3, 253) and the second in the Evans collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum'. Context Ae 49/235, Fill of Gully 2/7a/1.

*Fig. 19*

116 Fragment of ring, possibly a brooch or buckle frame. Context SF28a/41/destruction level west end hall/chapel/2a/1.

117 Hexagonal brooch with cast decoration; remains of hinge and catch-plate at the back. Context SF19/unstratified.

118 Double-looped buckle frame with moulded loops. Context Ae42/302/destruction level, room H east range/22/3(E).

119 Incomplete, damaged buckle frame with cast rosettes on the loops and a pin bar which projects above and below the frame. A similar buckle, also incomplete, was found in post-medieval demolition rubble at Waltham Abbey (Goodall, A. 1978, 161 and fig 24.2). Context Ae 9/17/destruction level, room B east range/22/3(E).

120 Asymmetrical double-looped buckle frame. Context Ae 48/244/floor room A/13-14b/3(E).

121 Undecorated shoe buckle frame with rounded corners and marked thickening on the sides. Some ferrous corrosion from the missing iron pin bar,

chape and pin. A buckle of this type from Colonial Williamsburg was found in a context of c. 1750 (Abbitt 1973, 39 and fig. 11.1). Context Ae 3/31/silt of bottom of well/23c/4.

122 Angled fragment possibly from a buckle frame, not illustrated. Context Ae 38/unstratified.

123 Button back with looped shank; corroded, not illustrated. Context Ae 43/301/destruction east range/22/3(E).

124 Possibly a button top; round with a convex top and flat back but no trace of a shank, not illustrated. Diameter 16mm. Context Ae 45/170/unstratified.

125 Large flat-topped button with looped shank, not illustrated. Diameter 32mm. Ae 40a/155/on cobble road surface on causeway/23c/4.

126 Oval-headed stud. Context Ae 40b/155 on cobble road surface on causeway/23c/4.

127 Incomplete wire hooked fastener with finer wire coiled round it, not illustrated. Context Ae 4b/35/yard surface D/16b/3(E).

128 Incomplete bar from a purse-frame with moulded terminal and swivelling suspension loop, slight peck marking along the bar. The purse does not seem to have had the usual pendant hoops. Purse bars of similar type come from London although these have differently shaped suspension loops. Context Ae 6b/33, destruction over room A/16b/3(E).

129–33 Pins. All probably have stamped heads made from coiled wire. The head of No. 133 has a flattened top and the shank is thicker than those of the other pins: similarly shaped heads were noted on seventeenth-century pins from Whitehall (Ward Perkins, 1954, 168). No. 130 has white metal plating. Nos 129 and 131–2 not illustrated. Lengths 129, 27.5mm, 130, 21.5mm, 131, 26mm, 132, incomplete, 133, 34mm.

Contexts: 129, Ae 2/300/destruction room C/22/3(E); 130, Ae 2/300/destruction room C/22/3(E); 131, Ae 1/33/destruction over A/16b/3(E); 132, Ae 1/33/destruction over A/16b/3(E); 133, Ae 5/195/east yard/11/3(E).

134 Wire twist loop, not illustrated. Context Ae 4a/35/destruction yard D/16b/3(E).

135–7 Sheet metal bells. Not illustrated. Nos. 135 and 136 have strip loops; the larger one, no. 135, is broken into a number of pieces. No. 137 is fragmentary, not illustrated.

Contexts: 135, Ae 39/155/on causeway road surface/23c/4; 136, Ae 8/33/destruction over A/16b/3(E); 137, Ae 41/195/east yard/11/3(E).

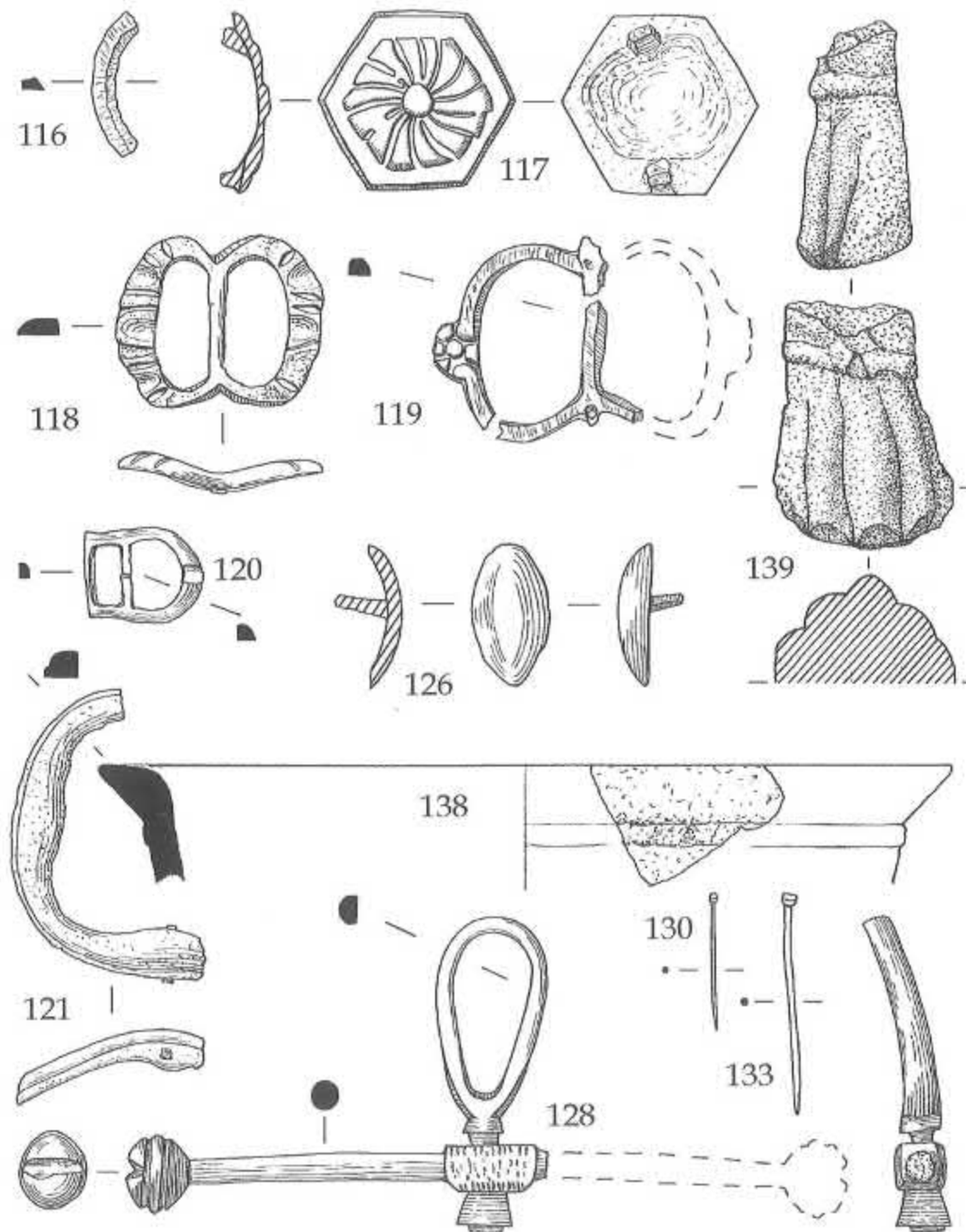


FIGURE 19 Copper alloy objects (1:1, No. 138 is 1:2).

138 Heavy cast rim fragment from a mortar; there is apparently a decorative band below the rim. Context Ae 47/204/on floor in H, east range/10-12/3(E).

139 Foot from a cast cooking pot, shaped like a lion's paw. Context Ae 44/unstratified.

140-6 Not illustrated:

140 Oval spoon bowl, lacking any distinguishing features. Context Ae 6a/33/destruction over A/23a/4.

141 Angled bar, perhaps a vessel handle. Context Ae 7/41/destruction level west end hall/chapel/2a/1.

142 Length of broad, U-sectioned strip with a hint of shaping along one edge. Context Ae 40c/155/on causeway road surface/23c/4.

143-4 Sheet fragments. Contexts 143, Ae 2/300/destruction room C/22/3(E) and 144, Ae 46/197/yard/17a/2.

145 Lump. Context Ae 7/41/destruction level west end hall/chapel/2a/1.

146 Slag. Context Ae 10/76/on hearth in east range/10-12/3(E).

#### *Lead and pewter objects*

##### *Fig. 20*

147-8 Perforated conical lead weights.

Contexts: 147, SF16/114/south of J/8b/2(C); 148, L13/231/east yard/6/2(B)

149 Pewter disc or cap, not illustrated. Context L3/78/destruction over east end hall/chapel/23b/4.

150 Cylindrical object with openings at one end. Context SF15/yard D/16b/3(E).

151-7 Fragments of window lead. Not illustrated. No. 156 contains fragments of clear glass, 1mm thick. The leads are ridged from the toothed wheels of the vice through which they were drawn to give the characteristic H-shaped section.

Contexts: 151, L7/135/floor make up east range, room G/5/2-3(D); 152, L6/103/post-fire floor level, east range room G/10-12/3(E); 153, L9/154/under yard surface in D/23c/4; 154, L11/197/medieval yard/17a/2C; 155, L2/35/yard surface D/16b/3(E); 156, L10/160/in moat south side of causeway/23d/4; 157, L8/143/on causeway road/23c/4.

158 Bar, bent in the middle and broadening towards both ends, possibly a plug from stonework, not illustrated. Context L12/227/yard north of hall/chapel/20/1-3(E).

159 Irregular disc with almost keyhole shaped per-

foration. Context L4/81/construction trench of post-medieval wall 11, in hall/chapel/23c/4. 160-165 Not illustrated.

160 Strip or cut-off, rolled at one end. Context L2/35/destruction level on yard/16b/3(E).

161 Off-cut or flashing. Context L1/19/on floor room C, east range/10-12/3(E).

162-5 Fused lead spillage.

Contexts: 162, L5/94/on hearth in J/8b/2(C); 163, L15/243/on floor in J/7b/2(B); 164, L16/245, pre room C/6/2; 165, L17/255, floor of J/17a/2.

166 Pewter plate, 22.5mm diameter, with owners' initials MG on rim, unfortunately these initials do not correspond to any of the known owners or tenants of Gorefields. The touchmarks enclosed in four shields identify the maker of the plate as Thomas King, who worked in London between the years 1681-87 and whose first recorded mark was struck in 1675-6. The plate was towards the bottom of the post-medieval well and was presumably a loss from the post-medieval house. Context SF4/31/bottom of well/23c/4.

#### **Vessel glass**

All of the vessel glass found was of seventeenth and eighteenth-century date apart from one small handle fragment which may be Roman (GL48/255/floor of J/17a/2).

The rest of the vessel glass consisted of one hundred and thirty-six fragments from at least sixteen vessels. Most were wine bottles of seventeenth and eighteenth-century date. The latest bottle of late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century date came from the fill of the moat (160).

Most of the glass was very fragmentary but the neck and rim of a wine bottle of late seventeenth-century date came from the robber trench (65) of the east wall of the hall/chapel. Fragments of three small bottles and the neck of a jar, all of eighteenth-century date were found in the construction trench of wall 11, contexts 81 and 148, which post-dates the demolition of the hall/chapel.

None of the vessel glass is illustrated.

#### **Glass objects**

One small post-medieval bead possibly, a side-bead from a lace bobbin spangle was found on the floor in room A of the south range, context 42. The bead was 15mm long, 3mm in diameter and waisted towards its centre. The glass, completely opaque when found, may have originally been blue in

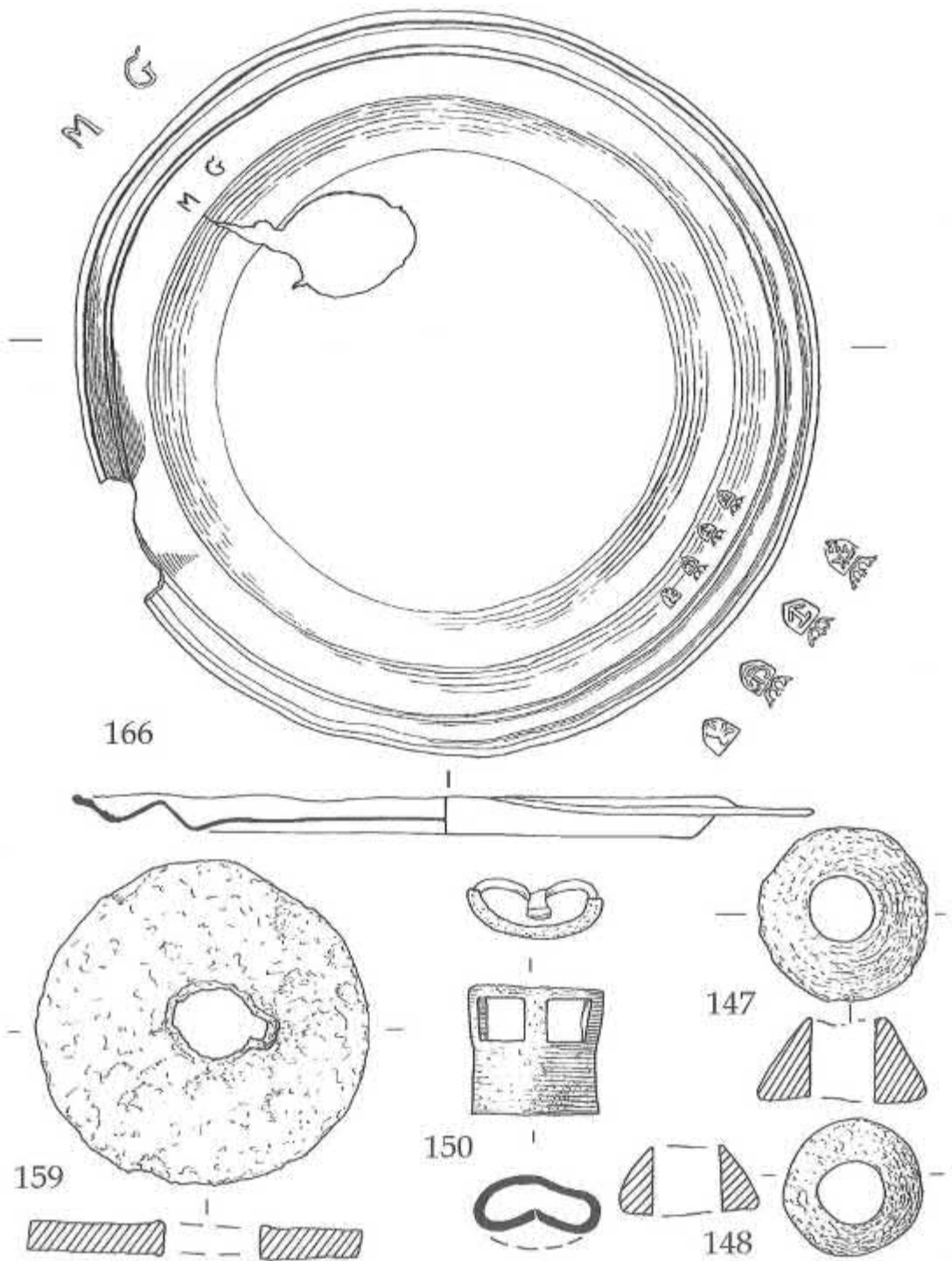


FIGURE 20 Lead and pewter objects (1:2; lettering on 166 at 1:1).

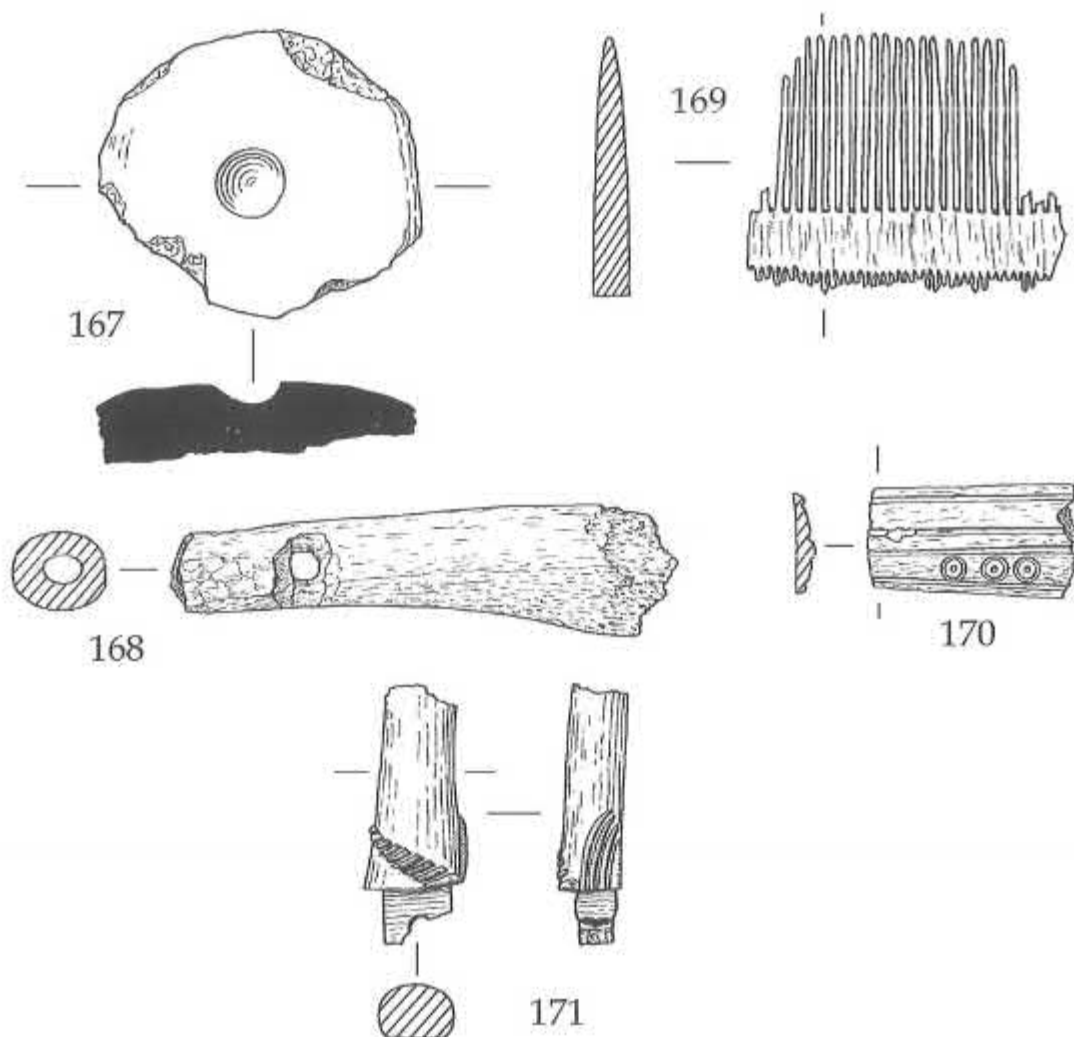


FIGURE 21 Fired clay and bone objects (1:1).

colour. Not illustrated. Context SF6/42/Floor of A/13-14b/3(E).

#### Fired clay objects

A sherd of Roman sand-tempered pottery (Fig. 21, 167) clipped to a roughly circular shape, 45mm in diameter with a central hole 7mm in diameter partly drilled through the sherd was presumably intended to be made into a spindle-whorl. Context SF43/235/fill of Gully 2/7a/1.

#### Worked bone

Fig. 21

168 Part of bone pipe possibly fashioned from a sheep tibia. The object is incomplete, the remaining length is 67mm and the single finger hole is of 4mm diameter. Context SF26/163/floor of J/8b/2(C).

Musical pipes made of bone are well known from Southampton (Megaw 1975, 252-3 and fig. 273) and Exeter (Megaw 1984, 349 and fig. 195) to quote just two sources. A thirteenth-century date is

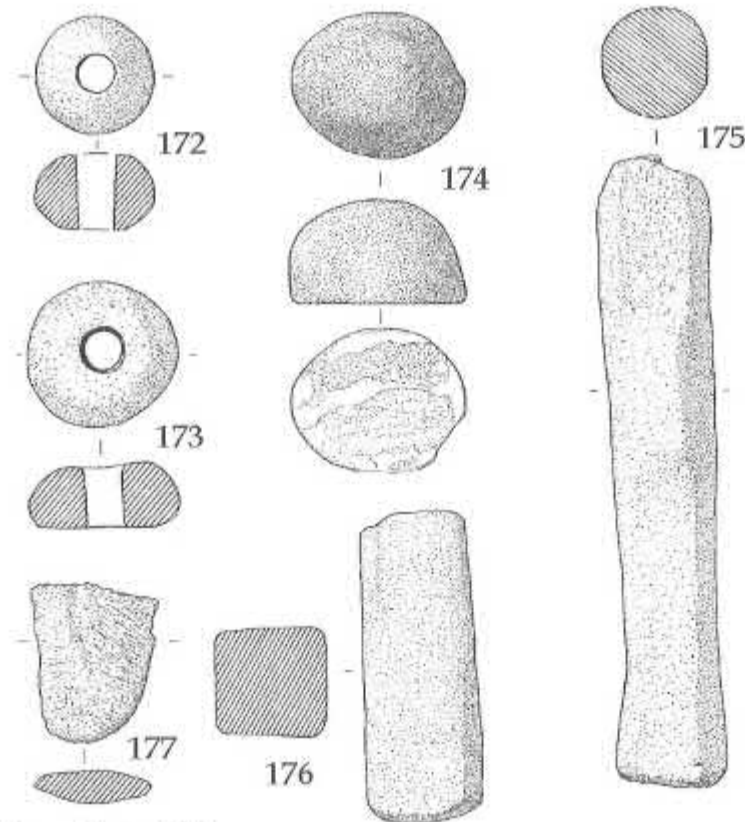


FIGURE 22 Stone objects (1:2).

perfectly acceptable for this example.

169 Part of an 'H' section comb of sixteenth to seventeenth-century date. Context SF5/35/yard D/16b/3(E).

170 Fragment of a thin flat-backed slightly ridged plate. Possibly from one side of a knife handle. The remaining part is 26 x 13mm, at the narrowest end, and is decorated with incised lines and a single row of ring and dot decoration. A central hole in the narrow end may have been for a securing pin, but has been eroded into an irregular shape. Context SF36/240/east range footings of Phase E wall/10-12/3(E).

171 Decorated plate roughly oval in section with one side sawn flat. The plate widens towards a stepped shoulder beyond which it has been cut to form a tenon 9 x 5mm which remains for a length of 8mm only and shows traces of a bored hole approximately 3mm in diameter. Context SF7/163/J/8b/2(C).

Not illustrated, the end of a bone pin, diameter 5mm remaining length 35mm. Context SF14/2 52/Yard towards causeway/17a/2.

#### Worked stone objects

*Fig. 22*

172 Globular spindle-whorl, diameter 30mm, of fine Oolitic limestone, height 20mm, with central hole 8mm diameter, weight 26gms. Context SF42/235/fill of gully 2/7a/1.

173 Hemispherical spindle-whorl, of chalk, diameter 40mm, central hole 11mm, height 15mm, and weight 37gms. Context SF35/231/yard, sealed under phase 3(E) extension of east range/6/2.

174 Pebble cut in half and used as a polishing stone. Traces of red dye(?) remain on the base. Context SF31/204/east range room H/10-12/3(E).

175 Micaceous schist hone, length 168mm. Context SF8/35/yard/16b/3(E).

176 Part of a gritstone hone, length 84mm, 29mm

square section. Context SF39/249/clay surface north of hall/chapel/20/1-3(E).

177 End of greenstone hone, length 40mm. Context SF34/214/east yard/11/3(E).

Not illustrated. Small fragment from a mortar of fine grey limestone, context SF50/211/yard north of hall/chapel/15/3(E). Three fragments of a Niedermendig lava quern, context SF3/3/topsoil/24/4, and BM101/143/yard 23c/4. Jet bead, 9mm diameter, pierced for stringing, context SF32/208/pentice walk surface/16b/3(E).

### Leather shoes

Parts of two leather shoes came from the moat (SF20/160/23d/4), neither are illustrated. The following report was kindly prepared by Miss June Swann.

a) Part leather (cattlehide) shoe insole, in two pieces, with square toe 35mm wide and quite a narrow waist. The size indicates it was probably a woman's. Although incomplete, the present remains suggest it was shaped for the right foot. Shoes in general were made 'straights' (for either foot) from c. 1600 - c. 1800, though a few continued to be shaped into the 1620s-30s. A square toe and narrow waist were fashionable in the 1610s, though the square toe was more typical of the 1620s-60s. The stitch length averages about 8mm, rather coarse stitching.

b) One fragment of blackish leather (cattlehide) upper, probably vamp also remains, with a similar stitch length, but it is insufficient to give an indication of the style of shoe.

### Oyster Shells

Twenty three oyster shells were found mostly from topsoil although five came from levels associated with the post-medieval house.

### The Burials

Fifteen graves, G1-G15, were located during the excavation, thirteen inside the hall/chapel, one (G14) on the north side of the building and another (G15) to the east of the building.

The wishes of the owner of the site were that since normal agricultural activities would not disturb the burials they should be left *in situ* and not disturbed. Some of the graves were opened before this decision was taken but were backfilled soon afterwards. Since there was no bone specialist on site or immediately available, no detailed study of

the remains was possible.

No evidence of coffins or coffin nails was found in any of the excavated graves. The fill of the graves occasionally contained a few fragments of Roman tile and/or pottery and one (G6) contained a Roman coin.

The general condition of the children's bones was poor, little remaining of the smaller bones, the adults were better preserved.

All the burials were aligned east-west and only one (G15) retained a grave marker. Of the eight graves excavated inside the hall/chapel, five were of children and of the five unexcavated, three were certainly children's graves, making a total of eight children and five adults. The other two graves were both of adult males. The position of the burial (G15) to the east of the hall/chapel suggests that it may have been that of one of the benefactors to the grange.

All of the graves within the hall/chapel appeared to have been cut through the earliest floor levels (142 and 198) which date from the later eleventh to early thirteenth century. No burials took place within the raised east end of the hall/chapel but all were within the main body of the building towards the east end. Two graves G3 and G4 were partly covered by the cross wall inserted into the building in the late thirteenth century (Phase 3).

The following notes prepared by the first author give the dimensions of the graves, the depth below the floor of the hall/chapel (G1-13) or below the external medieval ground level (G14-15), and some brief details of the burials.

G1 1525 x 458mm. Not excavated.

G2 763 x 560mm. Not excavated.

G3 Remaining length 1525mm., total length obscured by the cross wall inserted in hall/chapel. Width 610mm. and bottom of grave only 610mm. below floor of hall/chapel. Adult male.

G4 Also obscured by cross wall, remaining length 965 x 305mm. and 590mm. deep. Adult female.

G5 1525 x 535mm. Not excavated.

G6 1068 x 305mm. Child probably male.

G7 763 x 380mm., shallow grave only 305mm deep. Child with enlarged skull.

G8 840 x 305mm. Not excavated.

G9 763 x 305mm. and 330mm. deep. Child.

G10 1295 x 458mm. Not excavated.

G11 763 x 255mm x 300mm deep. Possibly young male, only major bones survived.



G12 1905 x 610mm. Not excavated.

G13 458 x 300mm and 200mm. deep. Remains of small child disturbed in antiquity.

G14 1830 x 458mm. and 300mm. deep. Shallow burial outside of and up against the north wall of the hall/chapel. Skull removed in antiquity, possibly adult male.

G15 1830 x 600mm. and 840mm. deep. Elderly adult male. Grave at medieval ground level, covered by simple limestone slab tapering towards one end, and with chamfered edges, possibly a re-used coffin lid.

### The Animal Bones

The following summary of the report on the analysis of the animal bones by Douglas P. Burnett, was prepared by R. J. Ivens. The full text of the original report has been deposited as part of the site archive. The author's (RJI) thanks are due to Simon Davis (English Heritage) for commenting on draft summaries.

#### Introduction

A total of 1550 fragments was examined. These consisted of mammalian, bird and human bone, and a little shellfish material. Sieving was not carried out during excavation and therefore some bias must be anticipated against the recovery of smaller bones and bone fragments (Payne, 1972). Identification of bone type and species was made using a comparative collection and Schmid's (1972) *Atlas of Animal Bones*. Wherever possible fragments were unified and therefore counted only as one entity.

Animal remains were recovered from the following occupation phases:

Phase 1 (late eleventh to late twelfth century)

Phase 2 (later twelfth to mid thirteenth century)

Phase 3 (E) (second quarter fourteenth to late fourteenth century)

Phase 4 (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries)

#### Phase 1: late eleventh to late twelfth century

A total of 89 fragments was found in the Phase 1 contexts. These contexts were typically a thin spread of material occurring on the floor levels associated with the hall/chapel and the fills of several gullies. The largest accumulation (63 fragments) was in Gully 2.

The state of preservation of the bone was good. No fragments were recovered which showed signs

of gnawing, weathering, or burning. Loose teeth formed 16% of the total material from cattle, sheep/goat, and pig and for these species, long bone fragments with epiphyses present formed 44% of the total limb bone material.

#### Species representation and exploitation

The fragments count for the Phase 1 material is given in Table 1. Cattle, sheep/goat, and pig are the most common species. However, the predominance of pig is not supported by the minimum numbers analysis (Archive Table 2) and is most likely a spurious result due to the small sample size. No other mammalian species were represented. Domestic fowl was represented by two fragments.

A single mandible of sheep/goat and a single mandible of pig constitute the dentition data for the Phase 1 material (Archive Tables 4 and 5). Epiphysial fusion data were extremely limited for each of the major domesticates and are therefore not tabulated. All recovered limb-bones were fused. Pig sexing, based on the canines, indicated the presence of two males and no females.

The evidence for butchery was very limited. Amongst the sheep/goat material, two radii had been chopped in mid-shaft, a single tibia had been chopped just above the distal articulation, as had a single humerus. One pig humerus had been chopped in mid-shaft as had a single cattle metatarsal.

#### Phase 2: later twelfth to mid thirteenth century

A total of 417 fragments was found in the Phase 2 contexts. These bones were thinly spread over a considerable number of individual contexts, ranging from internal floor levels to external yard surfaces. The sheep/goat bones seemed to be more fragmented than those of the cattle: loose teeth formed 35% of the sheep/goat assemblage but only 7% of the cattle assemblage. Of the sheep/goat limb bones 41% had epiphysial surfaces while 52% of cattle limb bones had epiphysial surfaces. Differential fragmentation may be due in part to differential attack on the bone residues by dogs: 14% of the sheep/goat assemblage had been gnawed but only 6% of the cattle assemblage. Only two fragments of pig bone had been gnawed. A single burnt cattle bone was noted.

#### Species representation and exploitation

The fragments count for Phase 2 material is given in Table 1 and the minimum numbers are given in

TABLE 1 Number of Bone Fragments (N)

Phase	1		2		3		4	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cattle	14	17	94	22	39	15	22	3
Sheep/Goat	8	9	113	27	59	24	251**	34
Pig	16	18	28	7	26	10	7	1
Horse	0	0	8	2	5	2	0	0
Dog	0	0	3	1	0	0	2	0
Red Deer	0	0	2	0	18	7	4	0
Roe Deer	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Rabbit	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
Domestic Fowl	2	2	5	1	8	3	3	0
Goose	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
Dove Sp.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Crow	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Human	0	0	2	0	5	2	0	0
Oyster	0	0	2	0	5	2	0	0
Scallop	0	0	1*	0	0	0	0	0
Frog	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Key: \* = Scallop derives from Phase2-3; \*\* = includes several partial skeletons

Archive Table 2. According to both quantification methods, sheep/goat forms the most common species followed by cattle and then pig. Sheep/goat distinction was possible on only a single horn-core and one metacarpal. The horn-core was identified as goat, while for the metacarpal, Boessneck's (1969) index was found to be 68.3, thus indicating that it is sheep. Of the other domesticated mammalian species, horse was represented by eight fragments, and dog by three fragments (all from different individuals). A small tibia from one of these had a considerable curvature, which is a true lap-dog characteristic (Noddle, 1983).

Very few wild mammalian bones were noted, with Red Deer and rabbit being represented by only two fragments each and Roe Deer by one fragment. The rabbit bones show several cut marks. Bird species were represented by domestic fowl (five fragments), crow (one fragment), and a dove species (one fragment).

Two species of shellfish were identified: the common oyster (*Ostrea Edulis*) and the common scallop (*Pecten Maximus*). The latter was found in a Phase 2 or 3 context. Whereas the oyster is known

to inhabit estuarine areas, the scallop is more commonly found in deep waters (Vevers, 1969). The nearest water from which these species are likely to have been obtained is towards the Thames estuary.

A wide range of slaughter ages was noted for cattle and sheep/goat and, particularly for the latter, an emphasis on mature animals may be suggested. The minimal ageing evidence for pig suggested a greater proportion of younger animals (see Archive Tables 3-6 and 8 for dentition and epiphysal fusion data). The sexing of the pig remains, on the basis of the canines, indicated the presence of three males and two females.

Butchery patterns followed those typically associated with meat extraction and were found only in association with the bones of the main domesticates. No evidence of butchery was noted in association with the horse bones. Longitudinal cleavage of vertebrae was noted in a few cases but most were too fragmentary to allow definite identification of the form of butchery employed.

A single sheep/goat metacarpal showed definite signs of having suffered a break which had then healed, and a phalanx revealed signs of excessive

bone growth which is typical of an arthritic condition.

### Phase 3 (E): second quarter fourteenth to late fourteenth century

A relatively small number of fragments (247) was found in Phase 3 contexts. As with preceding phases, the bones were spread through many contexts with no substantial accumulations of material. The bone-yielding contexts were mainly floor levels and yard surfaces. The taphonomic characteristics of the Phase 3 material differs from that of the Phase 2 material, there being less fragmentation of the sheep/goat material but loose teeth formed 16% of the cattle assemblage. Only 13% of the cattle limb bones had epiphyses present as compared with 42% of sheep/goat limb bones. On the other hand, only 8% of the cattle material had been gnawed by dogs, whereas 23% of the sheep/goat material had been gnawed. No burnt or weathered fragments were found amongst the Phase 3 material.

#### *Species representation and exploitation*

Species representation in the Phase 3 material was very similar to that in Phase 2. Despite the fact that the sample sizes involved are small, this may point towards strong continuity in animal husbandry practices in the Gorefields locality. The fragments count and minimum numbers are given in Tables 1 and Archive Table 2 respectively. In both assessments sheep/goat predominate, followed by cattle, and then pig. The only other mammalian domesticate present was horse, represented by five fragments. Two bird species were present: domestic fowl (eight fragments) and goose (two fragments); five fragments of oyster were also recovered.

Red Deer was represented by some 18 fragments. Twelve of these bones were found to be parts of a single individual; they formed the lower parts of the hind limbs (metatarsal and phalanges) of both sides of the body and in addition a single metacarpal and articulating phalanges formed part of the left fore-limb of the same animal. These bones were found in the construction trench of wall 6 (context 242) of the north-south range and probably represent an early stage of carcass dismemberment.

Ageing evidence was very limited but showed similarities with the Phase 2 material. Pig sexing analysis, based on the canines, indicated the presence of six males and two females. Sheep/goat dis-

tingtion analysis was possible only in the case of a single horn-core, which was identified as sheep.

### Phase 4: fifteenth to eighteenth centuries

A total of 738 fragments was recovered from the Phase 4 contexts. As with the two preceding phases, the bones were recovered from a variety of contexts including yards and the moat. However, the numbers of bones from these contexts were too small to allow for any analysis of lateral variation. Preservation of the bone material was quite good. Loose teeth formed 11% of the sheep/goat material and 10% of the cattle material. Two gnawed bone fragments were noted amongst each of the cattle and pig bones, and a further three fragments amongst the sheep/goat bones. Only a single weathered fragment, cattle metatarsal, was recovered.

#### *Species Representation and Exploitation*

The fragments count for the Phase 4 material is given in Table 1, while the minimum numbers are given in Archive Table 2. The fragments count grossly exaggerates the importance of sheep/goat owing to the presence of three partial sheep skeletons at the top of the stone-lined well, which served the final house built on the site (occupied during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). The skeletons exhibited no signs of butchery or pathology and, furthermore, all major areas of the anatomy were represented. The reason for the deposition of these carcasses in the well is therefore uncertain, though a sheep was reported as falling into the well (and dying there) as late as the 1930s (see The Excavation Report, above).

Apart from these partial skeletons the various species were represented by only a small number of bone fragments: sheep/goat was represented by only thirty bone fragments, cattle by twenty-two fragments, pig by seven fragments, red deer by four fragments, dog by two fragments and rabbit by one fragment. The only bird species, domestic fowl, was represented by three fragments.

Six fragments of human skull were found in the yard area, towards the causeway (see the Human Burials, above).

Limited dentition data were obtained from the Phase 4 and this is presented in Archive Tables 3 to 5. The epiphysial fusion data for cattle and pig were limited to a couple of bone elements and is therefore not tabulated. The sheep/goat bone (Archive Tables 4 and 10) suggests the presence of some

young animals as well as a number of mature ones. Pig sexing, on the basis of the canines, indicated one male and one female. Only very limited evidence of butchery was noted.

### Conclusions

The Gorefields material would appear to be an unspecialised spread of bone fragments occurring in a wide variety of contexts. The isolated occurrence of many of the fragments may indicate that the bones derive from table or kitchen waste which was haphazardly discarded. There was no evidence of actual slaughter and primary butchery.

Using Teichert's (1974) withers height formulae, withers calculations were carried out on cattle and sheep/goat material. For the Phase 2 sheep/goat material, a withers height of 54.2cm was calculated for the metacarpal and 42.2cm for the radius. For the Phase 4 material a wide range of heights was calculated ranging from 35.5cm for a metacarpal to 55.1cm for a tibia. Withers height for cattle could only be calculated on the basis of a single metacarpal which gave a withers measurement of 129cm. These measurements generally reflect the size of medieval livestock, which were usually quite small.

The Gorefields bone assemblage is too small a sample from which to try and reconstruct an economy, however, the species ratios do reflect generally those from other medieval rural sites such as those at Lydden in Northamptonshire (Grant, 1971), and Foxcote in Hampshire (Coy, unpublished). It may therefore be legitimate to suggest an animal economy in the Gorefields area wherein there was a greater emphasis on sheep husbandry at the expense of cattle husbandry, with pig also being of some importance.

Finally, it may be observed from the balance of domestic as against wild species, that hunting activities did not figure greatly in providing meat for the Gorefields inhabitants. Such activities would appear to have been very occasional.

## THE POTTERY

R. J. Ivens

### Introduction

At the time of excavation the pottery was recorded and bagged by contexts. This material was examined during the 1970s by the excavator (DCM) and

various records were made relating to the form, fabric and quantity, etc. Subsequently (c. 1986) Mr T. Pearson took over the preparation of the pottery report and produced an extensive archive of manual data-sheets recording the details of the pottery (sherd count, form, decoration, etc. and an elaborate site-specific fabric system), all following on from Mynard's initial work. These data were also entered into a computerised database (dBase), though apart from selective print-outs that record is now lost. During these various studies 1,454 individual medieval and post-medieval vessels were drawn.

In the course of the general post-excavation analysis of the site, individual contexts were assembled into Groups of contemporary or related contexts. These Groups formed the basis for the phasing of the site. As part of this process the pottery was physically placed into the relevant Groups and bagged and stored in this form. Marking of individual sherds with their original context identification was inconsistent and sporadic, consequently, when this author (RJI) took on the task of completing the report in 1999 it proved impossible to allocate many of the pottery sherds to their original contexts.

From the start it was the author's intention to make extensive use of the existing records, only using the pottery itself to check details. In essence this report was intended to be (and indeed is) a summary and analysis of the recording work of Mynard and Pearson. The analysis was to be directed particularly at examining the distribution of the pottery (both form and fabric) through time and space, i.e. through the various yards and rooms which comprise the site as a whole.

In order to facilitate this aim the information on the manual-data-sheets (and dBase print-outs) was assembled into a computerised database, to which was added all the available context, stratigraphic and phasing information. The site-specific form and fabric series were also correlated with that of the former Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit (Mynard 1992, 245–286) by comparing samples from both systems. The medieval and post-medieval pottery is described below using this Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit system, in order to more easily allow comparisons with their extensive publication of medieval and Post-medieval pottery from sites in the neighbourhood of Gorefields.

On completion of the new database, checks were

made against the original site finds records which document the categories of finds found in each context, and it was discovered that neither detailed records nor actual pottery existed for a considerable number of contexts. The total number of missing sherds does not seem to be large (in terms of the total site assemblage) but all were from significant contexts, floor levels, etc. and one can only presume that this material had been removed for further study and never returned to the site archive. It must now be assumed to be irretrievably lost.

Therefore, this report is only a consideration of the material and information that has survived the various vicissitudes of post-excavation, and is not an analysis of all the excavated material. The loss of these significant groups also means that any opportunities for time/space studies distribution of the pottery about the site are greatly reduced and any conclusions must be treated with some caution.

### Roman pottery

A number of Roman sherds were recovered from several medieval (mainly Phase 1) contexts and these were submitted to Mrs C. Woodfield to whom I am grateful for the following comments.

'A total of thirty-two sherds, all apparently residual or unstratified, were submitted for consideration, together with a piece of Roman roof tile and a coarse and a fine tessera.

The pottery, described below, made a second-century AD occupation certain, continuing into at least the mid third-century. It also made a later first-century occupation possible, but not certain; a later third and fourth-century occupation was less likely from the pottery evidence, although it could be expected in general terms. Moreover, the figures given by Mynard in *Roman Building Materials* (above) of 13% of the tegula and 40% of the imbrex being shell tempered would support a fourth-century occupation.

The presence of mid second-century century roller-stamped flue tile (*Roman Building Materials*, above), together with (presumably) sand-tempered pilae and box flue, represents debris from a substantial building of that date, and this may explain the presence of imported Cologne beakers, not common in these parts, but found in a wealthy late Antonine pit at Towcester.

A fine tessera, unusually made from a samian sherd, was recovered on which H. Pengelly has contributed the following note: "Lezoux sherd 8mm

thick with virtually straight sides and carrying a fine whitish-grey mortar spatted to a maximum thickness of 2mm. The form used appears to be a thick dish, most probably form 31R, as employed by, for instance, the mosaicist in Room 13 of Building G at Winterton Villa (Hartley and Pengelly 1976, 116). The slip is of relatively good quality for such vessels, though surviving only on the extant section of the slightly curving inside wall (the exposed matrix of the slipless outside wall is heavily rubbed and smooth to the touch; it appears lightly scored or scratched). The fabric appears basically mid Antonine (c. AD 150–175)."

The presence of a fine mosaic is supported by the presence of two 15 x 11mm and 15 x 13mm stone tesserae on the site (*Roman Building Materials*, above).

The majority of the sherds represented grey wares (twenty sherds). The date range concentrated in the second century (late first and second centuries, nine sherds; mid to later second century, eight sherds). It then tailed off, e.g., late second to early/mid third-century, two sherds, plus one sherd of a possible third or fourth-century grey-ware.

A further yellowish grey-cored sherd appeared to be of the second century.

The next group in frequency was colour-coated wares. Imported wares from Cologne were represented by two sherds of the mid to later second-century, and by Nene Valley colour-coated wares, two sherds, of the mid third and late second-to-fourth centuries (Fig. 23, 2–3).

There were two sherds of a mixed-tempered fabric and uncertain form. These are possibly late first and second-century. The form appeared to be from a long-necked vessel, resembling those on certain forms of amphorae, but the fabric was anomalous.

There was one samian sherd of a Dr. 33 cup, heavily burnt, of late first or more likely second-century date (Fig. 23, 1). A second fragment had been re-used in a fine mosaic.'

A detailed description of this material has been deposited in the site archive.



FIGURE 23 Roman pottery (1:4).

### Saxon pottery

Six sherds of probable Middle-Saxon pottery are noted in the site records, but four of these are now missing. All six are described as small body sherds, though one is noted as being part of a globular vessel, and all are said to be of the same fabric type (Gorefields fabric 27). The surviving sherds show this class to have been hand-made with an even-textured, fairly hard fabric showing a grey-buff core (4–6mm) and thick dark-red surfaces layers (1–2mm). The fabric is gritted with: sub-round to angular quartz grains (up to 0.3mm) some iron-stained red; occasional larger sub-angular quartz grains (up to 0.5mm); and fragments of calcium carbonate, possibly fossil shell (generally up to 0.5mm and vary rarely up to 3mm) also occur. All six sherds were from medieval contexts.

This group of sherds is the only evidence for Early or Middle-Saxon activity on the site and it seems likely that the sherds were introduced during the Middle Ages, perhaps along with the Roman materials also recovered from secondary contexts.

### Medieval pottery

Over 14,000 sherds of medieval pottery are recorded from the excavations at Gorefields. This material is presented here using the form and fabric classification developed by Mynard for the Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit (Mynard 1992, 245–286).

### The Form Series

The MKAU Form Series is based on vessel type, body form, rim form and decoration. The rim and handle forms are illustrated in Fig. 24.

The alphabetic code used by Mynard for vessel types is retained for cooking pots/jars (A), bowls/dishes/pans (B) and jugs/pitchers (C). Other types of vessel are relatively rare and are described by conventional and self-explanatory terms such as fish dish, bottle and curfew.

Cooking pots/jars, bowls/dishes/pans and jugs/pitchers are further divided by rim forms. In the case of cooking pots and bowls the terminology used by Mynard is followed, with minor additions and some absences (compare Fig. 24 with Mynard 1992, fig. 122).

### The Fabric Series

As many of the fabrics from the area have no generally accepted common name, a system of codes which indicates the approximate date range and

basic fabric-type was adopted. Where common names exist these are also quoted in the following description of the fabrics. The forms listed are those found at Gorefields, not those known to have been produced in any particular fabric. The number of sherds of each fabric found at Gorefields is also listed.

### SNC1: *St Neots type ware*

Figs. 25, 1, 14; 26, 1; 28, 1, 12–17; 29, 2–3; 30, 1–2

The local source of manufacture is unknown, but was probably located in the upper Ouse Valley area. The characteristic features of this fabric are the smooth 'soapy' surfaces and the speckled 'shelly' appearance. The core is dark grey with numerous white inclusions (fossil limestone fragments) and there are also occasional quartz grains. The inclusions constitute 50% of the fabric. The surfaces range in colour from buff-brown and reddish-brown to a dark grey-brown.

Date: Tenth to mid eleventh-century.

Sherd Count: 309.

Forms: A1a, e, f; A2a, b, d; A4c, g; B1–4 (bowls and jars).

### MCI: *Medieval shelly ware*

Figs. 25, 2–7, 15–22; 26, 2–21; 27, 7–15, 17–18; 28, 2–10, 18–24; 29, 10–26; 30, 3–6, 22–25; 31, 3–9

As with fabric SNC1 the location of the kilns producing this ware is unknown, but is probably in the Ouse valley. This fabric is similar to SNC1 but with coarser surfaces, and contains *c.* 30% calcareous inclusions with only a small amount of quartz. Shell and fossil limestone (up to 1.25 mm long) are the most common inclusions. The fabric is not unlike later fabrics produced at Olney Hyde (Mynard 1984, 56–85) and Harrold (Hall 1972).

Generally this is quite a plain ware but occasionally decorated pieces occur. The commonest form of body decoration is simple, usually vertical, applied strips (Fig. 26, 21). Other techniques are: thumbbed base-angles; incised lines sometimes wavy but more usually straight and occasionally arranged in Z or triangle shapes or as cross-hatching (Fig. 26, 18) and; rouletting (Fig. 28, 5). The most common form of decoration, however, is finger-tipping on jar rims (Figs. 25, 17; 26, 4 and 9; 28, 6 and 9; 29, 14 and 22). A heavily-thumbbed jug handle was also recovered (Fig. 26, 20). Decoration appears to occur equally on all types of

A. Cooking pots and jars:

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
A1							
A2							
A3							
A4							
	Λ5	Λ6	Λ7	Λ9			

B. Bowls and dishes:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

C. Jug rims and handles:

C	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CH	1	2	3	4	5	6	

FIGURE 24 Medieval pottery form diagram. For a detailed explanation of the forms see Mynard 1992, 246–9.

vessel and through most periods of the site's medieval occupation, though only finger-tipped rims were noted in Phase 1 contexts.

Date: Eleventh to late thirteenth-century.

Sherd Count: 7,211.

Forms: A1a-c, e-g; A2a-b, d; A3a-d, g; A4a-d, f-g; A7; A9; B1-5, 7; C1-4, CH1-2, 4-5 (bowls, jars, jugs and cisterns).

**MC3: Olney Hyde 'A' ware**

Figs. 25, 13, 23; 28, 25; 30, 21

This fabric was produced locally in the Olney Hyde kilns (Mynard 1984). This is a 'shelly' fabric with buff brown to pink surfaces and grey core, occasionally completely reduced (grey) throughout. The inclusions are similar to, and occur with the same frequency, as those in MC1.

The only decorative techniques noted on this small group are applied thumbed strips, both vertical and horizontal (e.g. Fig. 25, 13) and incised lines (Fig. 25, 23).

Date: Early thirteenth to early fifteenth-century.

Sherd Count: 568.

Forms: A1a, e-g; A2d; A3e; A4g; C3-4; CH3 (jars and jugs).

**MSC1: Sandy and shelly ware**

Figs. 26, 22; 29, 4

The source of this pottery is unknown. It has a hard sandy fabric with many fine white grits. The body is normally completely reduced to a dark grey, but occasionally the surfaces are reddish-brown. Calcareous and, less frequently, silicate inclusions make up 40-45% of this fabric. The calcareous fragments appear to be fossil in origin. The quartz inclusions are predominantly sub-rounded; some flint and very occasional feldspars are also present. Most of the inclusions occur in the 0.1 to 1.25 mm range, though some are between 0.3 and 0.6 mm.

Date: Late eleventh to mid thirteenth-century.

Sherd Count: 34.

Forms: A1a; A3b; A3f; B1-4 (bowls and jars).

**MSC3: No common name**

Figs. 26, 23; 29, 5; 30, 17; 31, 10-12

TABLE 2 Percentage of Medieval Pottery Fabrics in each Phase.

Fabric	Total Site	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3D	Phase 3E	Phase 3	Phase 4
SNC1	2.2	2.6	2.2	0.0	2.4	2.2	2.4
MC1	50.9	53.6	52.8	52.9	38.4	39.9	53.3
MC3	4.0	4.9	2.2	41.1	3.3	7.0	3.6
MS2	0.9	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.7	1.5	3.1
MS3	33.8	37.7	37.1	3.9	36.8	33.6	20.0
MS6	4.0	0.0	2.1	1.8	8.6	8.0	10.3
MS9	1.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	3.4	3.1	3.4
MS19a	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0
MS33	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2
MSC1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4
MSC3	2.3	0.7	2.5	0.0	4.5	4.1	3.1
MSC4	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
TLMS3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
TLMS9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2

Note Phase 4 also contains Post-medieval pottery which is not considered here

Total sherds on site 14173

Total sherds attributable to a single Phase 10,984

Remaining 3,189 sherds from yards, etc. in use through two or more periods



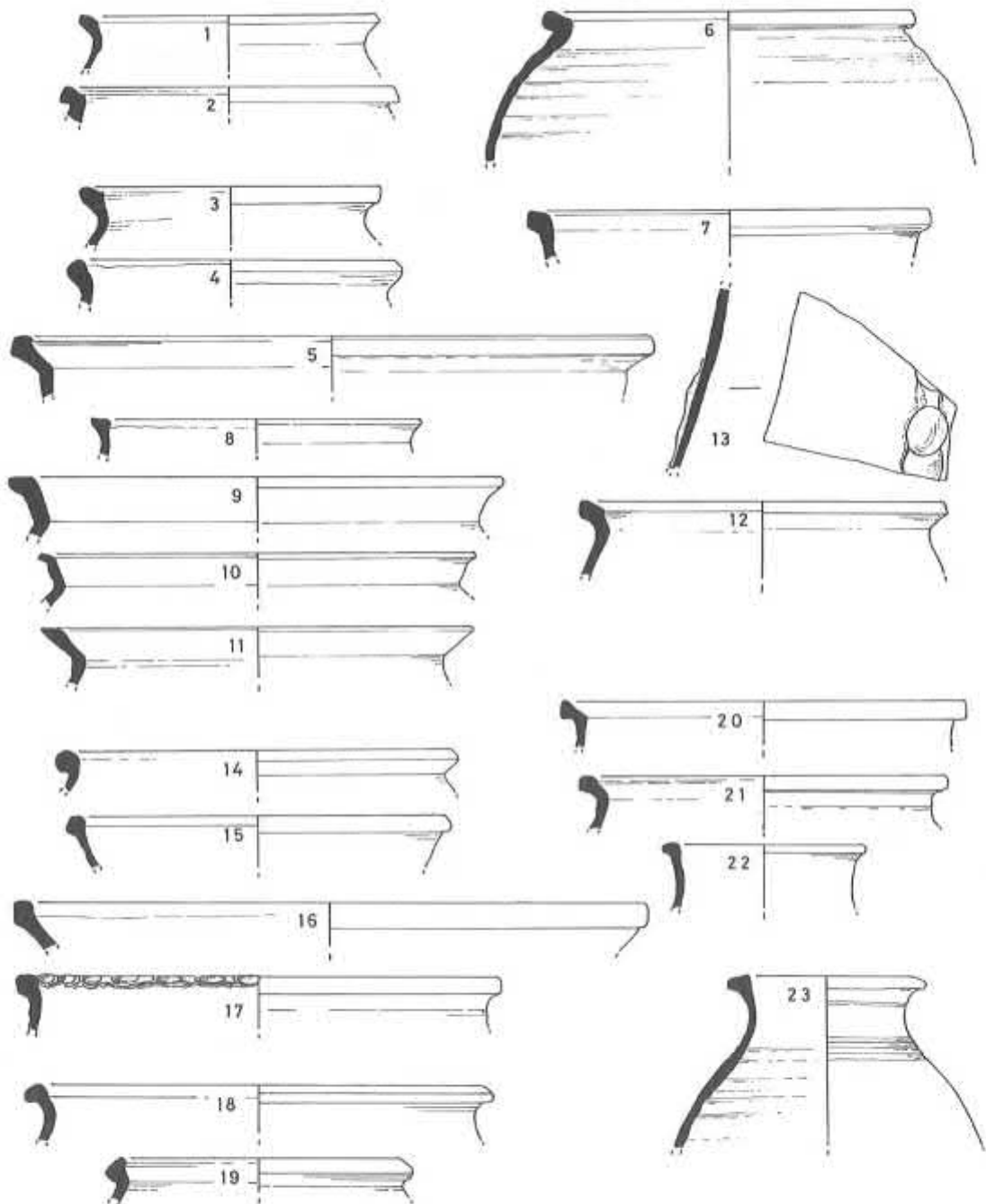


FIGURE 25 Medieval pottery from Gully 1: 1–13 from lower fill (225) and 14–23 from upper fill (221).  
 Fabrics: SNC1 (1 and 14), MC1 (2–7 and 15–22), MS3 (8–12), MC3 (13 and 23) (1:4). Forms: 1 (A1f),  
 2 (A3b), 3 (A1f), 4 (A1e), 5 (A1c), 6 (A4g), 7 (A3d), 8 (A1e), 9 (A2d), 10 (A2b), 11 (A2a), 12 (A4g),  
 13 (NA), 14 (A4g), 15 (B4), 16 (B2), 17 (A3b), 18 (A2d), 19 (A4g), 20 (A4f), 21 (A4g), 22 (C2), 23 (C2).

This pottery was possibly produced at Potterspury, Northants. It has a pink-buff sandy fabric with dark grey core and buff margins and may be an early and coarse product of the Potterspury industry. There are mixed siliceous and calcareous inclusions, the calcareous inclusions (5% of the fabric) include limestone fragments with some shell, and are probably fossil in origin.

Date: Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Sherd Count: 333.

Forms: A1e, f; A2a-c, f; A4g; B1-4; C4 (bowls, jars and jugs/cisterns).

**MSC4: Lyveden ware**

Figs. 28, 11; 30, 18

This fabric was made at Lyveden or Stanion, Northants. (Steane and Bryant 1975). The Gorefields' sherds have a grey core with orange-buff surfaces and an olive-green external glaze. The characteristic feature of this ware is the presence of fine white grits and a vesicular inner surface. The body is calcareous, also containing abundant small angular quartz. A single sherd decorated with rouletting, incised lines and a circular cross-hatched stamp was recovered from a yard surface north of the hall/chapel.

Date: Twelfth to thirteenth-century.

Sherd Count: 28.

Forms: A4g; B1, B4 (bowls and jars).

**MS2: Medieval coarse sandy ware**

Not illustrated

The source of this pottery is unknown. The characteristic feature of its fabric is the presence of large quartz grits which are visible on the surfaces, giving the fabric a coarse texture. The body can be light grey, buff-brown or orange-red throughout. The inclusions are small angular quartz and larger, more rounded quartz grains.

Date: Late thirteenth to early fifteenth-century.

Sherd Count: 128.

Forms: A3c, f; B1-3 (bowls and jars).

**MS3: Medieval grey sandy ware**

Figs. 25, 8-12; 27, 1-6, 16; 28, 26-8; 29, 1, 6-8; 30, 7-9, 16; 31, 1-2

Many sherds of this ware are similar to TLMS3, the late medieval reduced ware produced at Great Brickhill, Bucks., which suggests that this ware may also have been made there. The fabric is a hard-fired medium to coarse-surfaced sandy ware

with a light-grey body whose surfaces range in colour from buff-brown to orange-brown, often with light-grey external patches. The fabric is slightly micaceous, containing small angular quartz, and some larger quartz. These larger inclusions range from 0.3 to 0.8 mm, and are predominantly sub-angular and sub-rounded; flint fragments are also occasionally present.

This is a very plain ware but rare examples of incised swags and applied thumb-strips and finger-tipped rims (Fig. 27, 4) were recorded.

Date: Mid to late eleventh to early fifteenth-century.

Sherd Count: 4,792.

Forms: A1a, e-g; A2a-b, d; A3a-d, f-g; A4c, g; B1-4; C1-2, 4; CH1-2, 6 (bowls, jars, jugs, cisterns).

**MS6: Potterspury ware**

Figs. 29, 9; 30, 10-14, 19-20

This fabric was produced at Potterspury and Yardley Gobion, Northants. (Jope 1949 and 1950; Mynard 1970; Jope and Ivens 1995; Ivens 1998). It is a fine sand-tempered ware with a thick grey core (generally dark grey) and reddish-pink and buff or buff-brown surfaces. The glazes are generally olive-green or clear. The fabric contains abundant quartz, and some flint, calcite or limestone, and a few black opaques; the inclusions range in size from 0.01 to 1 mm, but the mean is around 0.3 mm. Most are sub-angular, but the few larger ones are more rounded.

Apart from the glaze, body decoration was limited to incised swags and lines and applied thumb-strips; handles were decorated with diagonal slashing (Fig. 30, 13).

Date: Mid thirteenth-century, common in fourteenth, with the height of production during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Sherd Count: 568.

Forms: A1d-e; A2b; A3b, f; A4d; B1-5; C1-5; CH1-2 (bowls, jars, jugs, bunghole cistern).

**MS9: Brill/Boarstall wares**

Not illustrated

This ware was produced at Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. (Farley 1982; Ivens 1982). Several fine sand-tempered fabrics, all slightly different in appearance, have been identified as products of the Brill/Boarstall industry, all producing somewhat similar vessels. The principal inclusions are quartz,

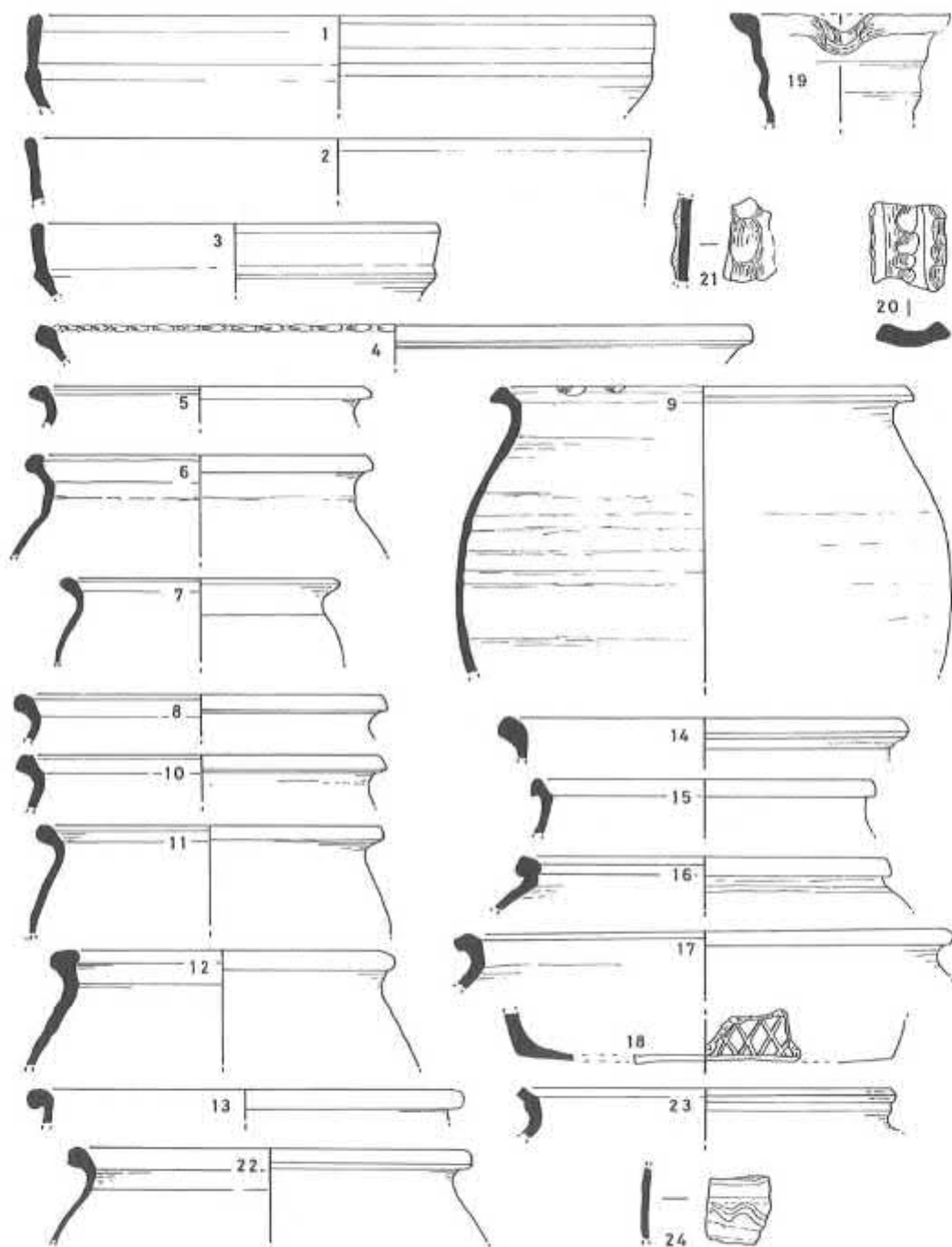


FIGURE 26 Medieval pottery from Gully 2: Fabrics: SNC1 (1), MC1 (2-21), MSC1 (22), MSC3 (23) MS19a (24) (1-4). Forms: 1 (B1), 2 (B1), 3 (B1), 4 (B2), 5 (A1a), 6 (A1c), 7 (A1a), 8 (A1c), 9 (A1f), 10 (A4g), 11 A4g), 12 (A1c), 13 (A1g), 14 (A3a), 15 (A3c), 16 (A4g), 17 (A4g), 18 (NA), 19 (C3), 20 (CH2), 21 (NA), 22 (A1a), 23 (A2a), 24 (NA).

with occasional iron-oxide streaks and concretions.

The small excavated sample showed little decoration except for an example of rouletting and another sherd with incised lines.

Date: Mid to late-thirteenth to fifteenth century.

Sherd Count: 168.

Forms: A1e; A4g; CH2 (jars and jugs).

**MS19: Stamford ware**

Fig. 26, 24

This well known ware was produced at Stamford, Lincolnshire (Kilmurry 1980). The examples from Gorefields are all in a characteristic fine, sandy, fabric, ranging from off-white to a pinkish white and all the sherds are covered with the typical pale yellow or light green heavily-crazed Glaze type 1 (Mahany *et al.* 1982, 56). Examples of MS19a (Developed Stamford Ware) were also recovered with a pinkish exterior, similar inclusions to MS19, but a light to dark green glaze; this variation is probably twelfth century in date. One sherd of Fabric 19a was decorated with an incised swag (Fig. 26, 24).

Date: Eleventh to thirteenth century.

Sherd Count: 12, Fabric 19 (1); 19a (11).

Forms: C2 (jug/pitcher in Fabric 19a; only body sherds in Fabric 19).

**MS33 Coventry or Nuneaton ware**

Not illustrated

This is a pink-buff sandy fabric with plentiful grey, red and colourless quartz grits, and a mottled dark green glaze externally. It was probably manufactured in the Coventry area, at the Chilvers Cotton kilns (Mayes and Scott 1974).

Date: Thirteenth to fourteenth century.

Sherd Count: 14.

Forms: only body sherds found.

**TLMS3: Late-medieval reduced ware**

Not illustrated

This fabric was probably produced at Great Brickhill, Bucks. It is one of a series of fabrics first termed 'East Midlands late medieval ware' (Moorhouse 1974) and now more commonly known as 'Late medieval reduced wares'. Quantities of sherds including wasters have been collected since 1957 (Mynard 1971, 40, note 16) from a site at Great Brickhill, which is certainly one of the sources for this material. Similar material was also produced at Flitwick, Beds. (Mynard *et al.*

1983) and at Higham Ferrers, Northants. (Hall 1974a). The pottery has a dark grey reduced sandy fabric with occasional red-brown oxidised surfaces or margins. The matrix contains abundant quartz and some small flint inclusions, mostly about 0.3 mm; they are predominantly sub-angular and sub-rounded.

Date: Probably first produced in late fourteenth century, but most common in the fifteenth and early to mid-sixteenth century.

Sherd Count: 6.

Forms: only body sherds found.

**TLMS9: Late medieval Brill/Boarstall ware**

Not illustrated

This type of pottery was produced at Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. It is a hard-fired smooth-surfaced red earthenware which occasionally has a thin grey core. The glaze is generally clear, with brown speckles. The fabric is very fine, with few inclusions, apart from fine quartz and occasional iron oxide nodules.

Date: Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Sherd Count: 2.

Forms: only body sherds found.

**Medieval pottery assemblage: discussion**

The medieval pottery has been classified into fifteen fabrics. The distribution of these fabrics through the five interpretative phases of the site's history is presented in Table 2. This table lists the percentage of each fabric, over the whole site and for each phase, including the sub-phases 3D and 3E. It should be noted that Phase 3D yielded only 380 sherds, hardly sufficient to allow any valid generalisations. The history of Period 4 concerns post-medieval occupation, robbing and demolition and consequently the medieval pottery from this phase must be regarded as residual.

The most striking element of this distribution is the dominance of two fabrics throughout the medieval occupation at Gorefields, medieval shelly ware (MC1) and medieval grey sandy ware (MS3). In Periods 1 and 2 these two fabrics account for about 90% of all the pottery recorded. In Phase 3 this declines to about 75%, almost entirely accounted for by a decline in the occurrence of medieval shelly ware (MC1); medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) continues with a fairly steady proportion.

The predominance of medieval shelly ware

(MC1) also occurs during contemporary phases at the nearby deserted villages of Great Linford, Westbury and Tattenhoe (Mynard 1992, 253; Ivens and Hurman 1995, 247), and again there is a decline from the mid thirteenth century (i.e. the end of Gorefields Phase 2).

Similarly, medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) is common in contemporary phases in these village sites, but not to the same degree as at Gorefields (Ivens and Hurman 1995, 255). It is not clear whether this is a function of the different character of the sites, their geographical position in relation to kilns and markets, or a reflection of the slightly later foundation of the medieval settlement at Gorefields.

In Phase 3 there is a marked increase in the variety of fabrics. Most are very minor components consisting of only a few sherds and are of types current during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Two types from major local kilns (MS6 from

Potterspury and MS9 from Brill) are of interest as they appear either for the first time, or at least for the first time in quantity, and both these types are thought have origins in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Potterspury ware (MS6) does appear earlier in Phase 2 levels, mostly from contexts relating to the final occupation of Building J, which was not demolished until Period 3 even though the main period of its use was in Period 2. The remaining six sherds were found in Gully 3 which was not sealed until the construction of the Phase 3 pentice walk.

There is a similar situation with the occurrence of Olney Hyde 'A' ware (MC3) in Phase 1. Here, almost all the Phase 1 Olney Hyde 'A' ware pottery came from the fills of Gullies 1, 2 and 4. These gullies were not sealed until the construction of the Phase 2 and 3 buildings J and A and so may have been still partly open long after their initial Period 1 excavation. The few remaining Period 1 Olney

TABLE 3 Frequency of MC1 and MS3 Jar Rims.

Form	MC1 Jan			MS3 Jars		
	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
A1a	0	5	5	-	0	0
A1b	-	0	-	-	-	-
A1c	5	10	0	-	-	-
A1e	5	0	5	5	5	5
A1f	10	10	10	-	0	0
A1g	0	0	0	-	0	-
A2a	0	0	-	10	10	10
A2b	0	0	0	6	10	0
A2d	5	5	5	0	0	0
A3a	5	0	0	0	-	-
A3b	0	-	0	0	0	0
A3c	5	0	0	-	0	5
A3d	0	0	0	0	0	5
A3f	-	-	-	-	-	0
A3g	-	0	0	-	0	-
A4b	0	-	0	-	-	-
A4c	-	0	0	-	-	5
A4g	10	10	10	0	10	10

- Form absent

0 less than 5%

5-9%

10 10% or greater

Hyde 'A' ware sherds came from yard surfaces. The origins of Olney Hyde 'A' ware are conventionally placed early in the thirteenth century, so its appearance in Period 1 features that probably remained partially unfilled until Phase 2 is not really surprising.

The distribution of Fabric MSC3 is also of interest. It has been suggested that this is an early product of the Potterspurty industry and a precursor to MS6 (Mynard 1992, 245–86). However, at Gorefields its use seems to increase even after the introduction of MS6 wares. Perhaps we should see Fabric MSC3 not as a direct predecessor of Fabric MS6 but as one, perhaps slightly earlier, element of the complex of small-scale potteries centred about Potterspurty, which may have been in competition with each other.

The only exotic material is the few sherds (14) of Coventry/Nuneaton ware (MS33) scattered widely across the site; these may have derived from a few casually introduced vessels. Otherwise all the fabrics found at Gorefields are absolutely typical of the local wares found in North Buckinghamshire. The pottery, therefore, suggests that the inhabitants had little in the way of contact with the world beyond their immediate neighbourhood.

Finally, we must draw attention to the persistent but low level occurrence of St Neots ware (SNC1) through all levels of the site. This material is presumably residual and surely suggests a Late Saxon site, if not below medieval Gorefields then at least very close by.

A very limited range of vessel types was found at Gorefields, nearly all vessels being jars or cooking pots, or bowls, with a small number of jugs (in fabrics MC1, MC3, MSC3, MS3, MS6 and MS9) and occasional cisterns, evidenced by fragments of bungholes (in Fabrics MC1, MC3, MS3 and MS6). Jars and bowls were found through all levels as were jugs, though in lesser numbers. Jugs make up 11% of the Phase 1 pottery, 13% of the Phase 2 pottery and 16% of the Phase 3 pottery. Bowls comprise 25, 13 and 20% of the Phase 1, 2 and 3 pottery, respectively, while jars/cooking pots make up 64, 74 and 64% of the Phase 1, 2 and 3 pottery, respectively.

These figures are at variance with those calculated for contemporary phases at several deserted villages in the area, where there is a much higher proportion of bowls (Ivens and Hurman 1995, 295). This may be due to the difference in the char-

acter of the settlements, with the villages having specialised functions such as dairying which would have needed many bowls.

Overall, the type and frequency of the vessel forms found at Gorefields suggest a modest lifestyle, not dissimilar to that lived by contemporary peasant communities. Perhaps the major difference is the almost total absence at Gorefields of specialised ceramics, bottles, curfews, chafing dishes, skillets, pipkins and the like, particularly in the later phases when one might have expected more variety of form.

Any further analysis of forms is limited by the small numbers and fragmentary nature of the sherds involved, for most fabric types, and for jugs and cisterns in particular. There is, however, a sufficiently large sample of medieval shelly ware (MC1) and medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) bowls and jars.

Bowls in medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) are relatively infrequent, perhaps only one sixth of the number of medieval shelly ware (MC1) bowls, and only occur in forms B1, and B3 (see Fig. 24) In Phases 1 and 2 about 70% of these are of form B1, while in Phase 3, the ratio is reversed with form B1 accounting for about 60% of the Fabric MS3 bowls. It is doubtful whether this reversal is significant given the small numbers involved, but it may be worth testing against other assemblages. It does seem certain, however, that bowls were a minor component of the MS3 inventory, at least at Gorefields.

The greater number of bowls in medieval shelly ware (MC1) presents a greater opportunity. In Phase 1, forms B1–4 are present, although 85% are of form B1. A similar pattern is seen in Phase 2, with forms B1–4 and 7 present, of which 50% are of form B1 (22% of B2, 19% of B3 and 4.5% each of B4 and 7), and again in Phase 3 when only forms B1–4 are present with 48% being of form B1 (40% of B2, 9% B3, 3% B4).

Bowl form B1, perhaps the simplest of the seven types, seems to have had an enduring popularity in both fabrics, but especially among the users of medieval shelly ware (MC1). Indeed it may be the very simplicity and robustness of the form which led to its persistent use. Note that all simple rims were classified as B1, whether carinated or not.

The situation with jars is slightly more complex due to the greater number of forms involved but in compensation it offers indications that some

TABLE 4 Distribution of Medieval Pottery through Phase 3 Rooms

Fabric		Building or Room						
		A	B-C	E & F	G-H	G&H Destruction	p	Q
MC1	Count	285.0	467.0	17.0	232.0	-	124.0	52.0
	Percent	56.0	30.9	28.3	42.6	-	71.7	31.0
MC3	Count	-	55.0	-	159.0	-	2.0	2.0
	Percent	-	3.6	-	29.2	-	1.2	1.2
MS19a	Count	1.0	3.0	-	2.0	-	-	-
	Percent	0.2	0.2	-	0.4	-	-	-
MS2	Count	-	43.0	-	1.0	-	-	1.0
	Percent	-	2.8	-	0.2	-	-	0.6
MS3	Count	213.0	578.0	14.0	61.0	4.0	45.0	96.0
	Percent	41.8	38.2	23.3	11.2	44.4	26.0	57.1
MS33	Count	-	4.0	1.0	-	1.0	-	-
	Percent	-	0.3	1.7	-	11.1	-	-
MS6	Count	-	127.0	13.0	72.0	3.0	-	1.0
	Percent	-	8.4	21.7	13.2	33.3	-	0.6
MS9	Count	-	97.0	-	5.0	1.0	-	-
	Percent	-	6.4	-	0.9	11.1	-	-
MSC1	Count	-	0.0	-	1.0	-	-	-
	Percent	-	0.0	-	0.2	-	-	-
MSC3	Count	8.0	101.0	3.0	7.0	-	1.0	9.0
	Percent	1.6	6.7	5.0	1.3	-	0.6	5.4
MSC4	Count	1.0	2.0	-	-	-	-	5.0
	Percent	0.2	0.1	-	-	-	-	3.0
SNC1	Count	1.0	34.0	12.0	3.0	-	-	2.0
	Percent	0.2	2.2	20.0	0.6	-	-	1.2
TLMS3	Count	-	1.0	-	1.0	-	1.0	-
	Percent	-	0.1	-	0.2	-	0.6	-

chronological differences may be detected.

The medieval shelly ware (MC1) and medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) rim-form types securely identified as occurring within one or more of the site phases are listed in Table 3 (note some forms found on the site are not included as their contexts were uncertain and came, for example, from yards which were long used). The table also gives an indication of the frequency of each form/fabric type. In general most jars in both fabrics are relatively straight-sided, though a smaller number show weak shoulders.

Some forms are clearly much more frequent than others, for example, A1f and A4g shelly ware (MC1) rims were commonly found throughout the

site's history as were A1e and A2a medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) forms. Still other types are present throughout but at a low level, for example, A1g and A2b shelly ware (MC1) forms and the A2d grey sandy ware (MS3) form, and yet others never occur in one or other of the fabrics, for example shelly ware (MC1) form A3f and sandy ware (MS3) form A4b (neither did these combinations occur amongst the unstratified or doubtful material).

The frequency or indeed absence of a particular form/fabric combination, may offer some clues as to the use of the pottery, or perhaps the cultural perceptions of the potters or of the occupants of Gorefields. More likely, the controlling factors are

TABLE 5 Distribution of Medieval Pottery through the yards.

Fabric		Yard D	Western Yards and Causeway	Yards S of Room A	Yard SE of Room C	Yards E of N-S Building Range	Yards N. of Rooms E & F
MC1	Count	705.0	492.0	90.0	125.0	243.0	632.0
	Percent	60.9	46.9	51.7	46.3	42.1	61.8
MC3	Count	32.0	4.0	0.0	10.0	2.0	5.0
	Percent	2.8	0.4	0.0	3.7	0.3	0.5
MS19	Count	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
	Percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
MS2	Count	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	3.0	19.0
	Percent	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5	1.9
MS3	Count	288.0	456.0	30.0	108.0	218.0	315.0
	Percent	24.9	43.5	17.2	40.0	37.8	30.8
MS33	Count	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Percent	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MS6	Count	76.0	39.0	25.0	8.0	69.0	10.0
	Percent	6.6	3.7	14.4	3.0	12.0	1.0
MS9	Count	1.0	32.0	1.0	3.0	7.0	2.0
	Percent	0.1	3.1	0.6	1.1	1.2	0.2
MCS1	Count	0.0	3.0	5.0	1.0	0.0	5.0
	Percent	0.0	0.3	2.9	0.4	0.0	0.5
MSC3	Count	20.0	11.0	21.0	4.0	4.0	21.0
	Percent	1.7	1.0	12.1	1.5	0.7	2.1
MSC4	Count	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
	Percent	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
SNC1	Count	33.0	10.0	1.0	10.0	29.0	8.0
	Percent	2.8	1.0	0.6	3.7	5.0	0.8
TLMS3	Count	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
	Percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0

practical and concerned with the technical possibilities of the fabrics and the skills of the potters.

It is in the often less frequent forms which occur only in the earlier or later phases that we may have a useful archaeological tool; the beginnings of a

form chronology. This is an aid which is badly needed to help the finer dating of these often enormously long-lived coarse fabrics (MS3 for example occurs from the eleventh to the fifteenth century). From the assemblage at Gorefields we might sug-



gest, for example, that form A1a did not appear in the shelly fabric MC1 until the later twelfth century, conversely the shelly ware MC1 form A2a may have fallen into disuse by the later thirteenth-century.

The range, quality and quantity of the Gorefields pottery does not really permit firm conclusions to be drawn, but does, perhaps, point the way for future study.

The variety of rim forms found in the shelly ware (MC1) remains constant throughout the occupation of the site, but there is an explosion in the number of grey sandy ware (MS3) types during Phase 2, the late twelfth to mid thirteenth century (see Table 3). We have already noted that the use of medieval shelly ware (MC1) declined from the middle of the thirteenth century and one may suspect that this actually happened a little earlier, the effect being masked by existing stocks continuing in use. The decline in the use of medieval shelly ware (MC1) and the expansion of the range of forms available in grey sandy ware (MS3) perhaps being part of the same general trend.

A similar phenomenon occurred in North Oxfordshire at about the same time, or perhaps a little earlier. The gravel-tempered ware (Oxford Type AC) which had been dominant in the eleventh and early twelfth-centuries declined from the middle of the twelfth century and seems to have been largely out of use by the beginning of the thirteenth century. This decline was mirrored by the increasing use of Oxford Medieval Ware (Oxford Type AC) another sandy fabric (Haldon and Mellor 1977; Mellor 1994; Ivens forthcoming). The later twelfth-century therefore seems to have been a time of great change in the ceramic traditions of these South Midland counties, with a shift from the rather coarse wares of the eleventh and earlier twelfth-centuries.

An attempt was made to examine any possible variations of vessel size, by form, fabric and Phase. All measurable vessels were used and the mean diameter for each fabric/form type was calculated by phases. The results were disappointing. All jug rims measured between 12 and 14cm, though here the sample size was far too small to be significant. Bowls mainly measured between 30 and 40cm though extremes as low as 20 and as high as 55cm were noted and there seems to be no changes through time, nor any associated with fabric or form. Cooking pot or jar rims did show some signs

of clustering into two groups, one about 20 to 25cm in diameter and one about 25 to 30cm in diameter. These two groups showed no correlation with fabric nor did there seem to any change with time, the grouping being purely with rim form. The smaller group consisted of forms A1a, A1b, A1e, A1f, A2b, A4b, A4c and A4g and the larger one of forms A1c, A1g, A2a, A2d, A3a-d and f-g. A more sophisticated analysis on a larger sample covering a longer time span and range of settlement types might prove more rewarding, but for the moment we might conclude that size is a function of use rather than of style.

Turning now to an examination of the spatial distribution of the pottery across the site. The location of the pottery was not recorded in a form that permits a precise gridded distribution, but we can at least see the types of pottery associated with structural units, i.e. individual buildings or rooms, yards and other features.

There are only two structural units in Phase 1, the hall/chapel and, Gullies 1, 2, 4 and 6. There was very little pottery associated with the hall/chapel, only 27 sherds of medieval shelly ware (MC1), grey sandy ware (MS3) and St Neots type ware (SNC1). The gullies produced a much greater quantity and this is discussed in more detail, under *The Illustrated Pottery* (below), but in brief these gullies yielded 2,593 sherds of which 54% is medieval shelly ware (MC1), 38% grey sandy ware (MS3), 5% Olney Hyde 'A' ware (MC3) and 2% St Neots type ware (SNC1); there are also three sherds of Developed Stamford Ware (MS19a), nine sherds of the sandy and shelly ware (MSC1), nineteen sherds of medieval coarse sandy ware (MS2) and a single sherd of Lyveden ware (MSC4).

Given that there are only two elements in Phase 1 and that almost all of the pottery came from one of these (the gullies) this does not add at all to our understanding of the pottery distribution about the site.

In Phase 2 there are rather more elements: Rooms H and G of the North-South wing, Building J, Pit 269, the Phase 2 gullies, and of course the hall/chapel remained in use. No finds were recovered from contexts that could be certainly associated with this phase of the hall/chapel, no pottery at all was found in Room H (which itself may be of significance) and no record survives of any pottery from this primary phase of Room G. Pit 269 contained only eleven sherds of grey sandy

ware (MS3) and twelve sherds of medieval shelly ware (MC1). Once again we are reduced to two elements which does not help any analysis of the distribution of pottery about the site. The Phase 2 Gullies and Building J are considered more fully under *The Illustrated Pottery* (below). The gullies yielded 775 sherds of which 57% is medieval shelly ware (MC1) and 32% medieval grey sandy ware (MS3), and there are also ten sherds of Olney Hyde 'A' ware (MC3), one sherd of Developed Stamford ware (MS19a, two sherds of Coventry/Nuneaton ware (MS33), six sherds of Potterspurty ware (MS6), twenty-four sherds of fabric MSC3, four sherds of Lyveden Ware (MSC4) and twenty sherds of St Neots type ware (SNC1). Building J contexts yielded 687 sherds of which 49% is medieval shelly ware (MC1) and 41% medieval grey sandy ware (MS3), and again there are also small numbers of MC3 (17 sherds), MS19a (1 sherd), MS6 (14 sherds), MS9 (Brill/Boarstall ware, 5 sherds), MSC3 (19 sherds) MSC4 (5 sherds) and SNC1 (10 sherds).

A series of destruction levels overlay Building J, presumably connected with the demolition of J and erection of Building A at the beginning of Phase 3D (in the later thirteenth century). The pottery associated with these levels is very similar to that found in the Phase 2 gullies and with Building J, and quite probably is Phase 2 material from Building J. This group comprised 220 sherds of which 52% is of Fabric MC1 and 36% Fabric MS3, and there are also small numbers of MC3 (6 sherds), MS6 (1 sherd), MS9 (1 sherd), MSC3 (10 sherds) MSC4 (1 sherd) and SNC1 (6 sherds).

In Phase 3, when the site achieves its fully developed form with a range of buildings surrounding three sides of a courtyard, closed-off by a wall and with extensive external yards, we at last have enough building elements to offer some hope of detecting spatial differences.

All the pottery that could be associated with these Phase 3 elements was considered and the Tables 4 (the Buildings or Rooms) and 6 (the Yards) summarise the resulting distribution of fabric types.

The most striking difference is the lack of fine wares (Potterspurty and Brill) recovered from Buildings A, P and Q, Figs. 2 and 4. Building Q is the complex of 'ephemeral building' identified in trenches in the north-west corner of the moated

enclosure. The excavation evidence suggested no clear functions for Buildings A and P but demonstrate that they were erected late within the building sequence. The pottery may suggest that they had a lower social status than other rooms on the site; what exactly this might be depends on how the site as a whole is interpreted (see *Discussion and Interpretation*, below).

The destruction levels over Rooms G and H which predate the rebuilding of the south-east corner as Rooms B and C, in the earlier fourteenth century, show a very narrow range of fabrics with a significant element of fine wares, and in particular a lack of earlier fabrics. This very small group may be representative of the pottery actually in use on the site in the early fourteenth century.

Excavation has established the special character of the hall/chapel (Rooms E and F) and this is reflected in the tiny amount of pottery recovered.

Rooms G, H, B and C (the North-South range) do show a marked contrast with Rooms A, P and Q in that they have a significant element of the finer wares produced at Potterspurty and Brill which in practice means a substantial element of jugs, for bowls and jars were rare in these fabrics at Gorefields. From this we may conclude these rooms of the North-South range were not only different to Rooms A, P and Q but of a rather higher status (see *Discussion and Interpretation*, below). In this context the very low proportion of medieval, grey, sandy ware (MS3) in Rooms G and H should be noted, though medieval shelly ware (MC1) was found at its usual Phase 3 level, and is perhaps largely residual.

There are also some minor differences between the pottery from Rooms G-H and B-C, which may to a degree be due to chronological factors, for example the increase in the late thirteenth to fifteenth-century fabric MS2 in Rooms B-C.

The various yard areas which surrounded the site show some extreme differences in the pottery found on their surfaces and in their make-up, not only between each other (Table 5) but also from the general Phase 3 pattern (Table 2). The meaning of these variations is obscure, which difficulty probably results from the fact that many of these yard areas were used through several, if not all, the occupation phases of the site, and quite possibly for several different functions.

The material was then examined to see if there was any variation in the distribution of vessel

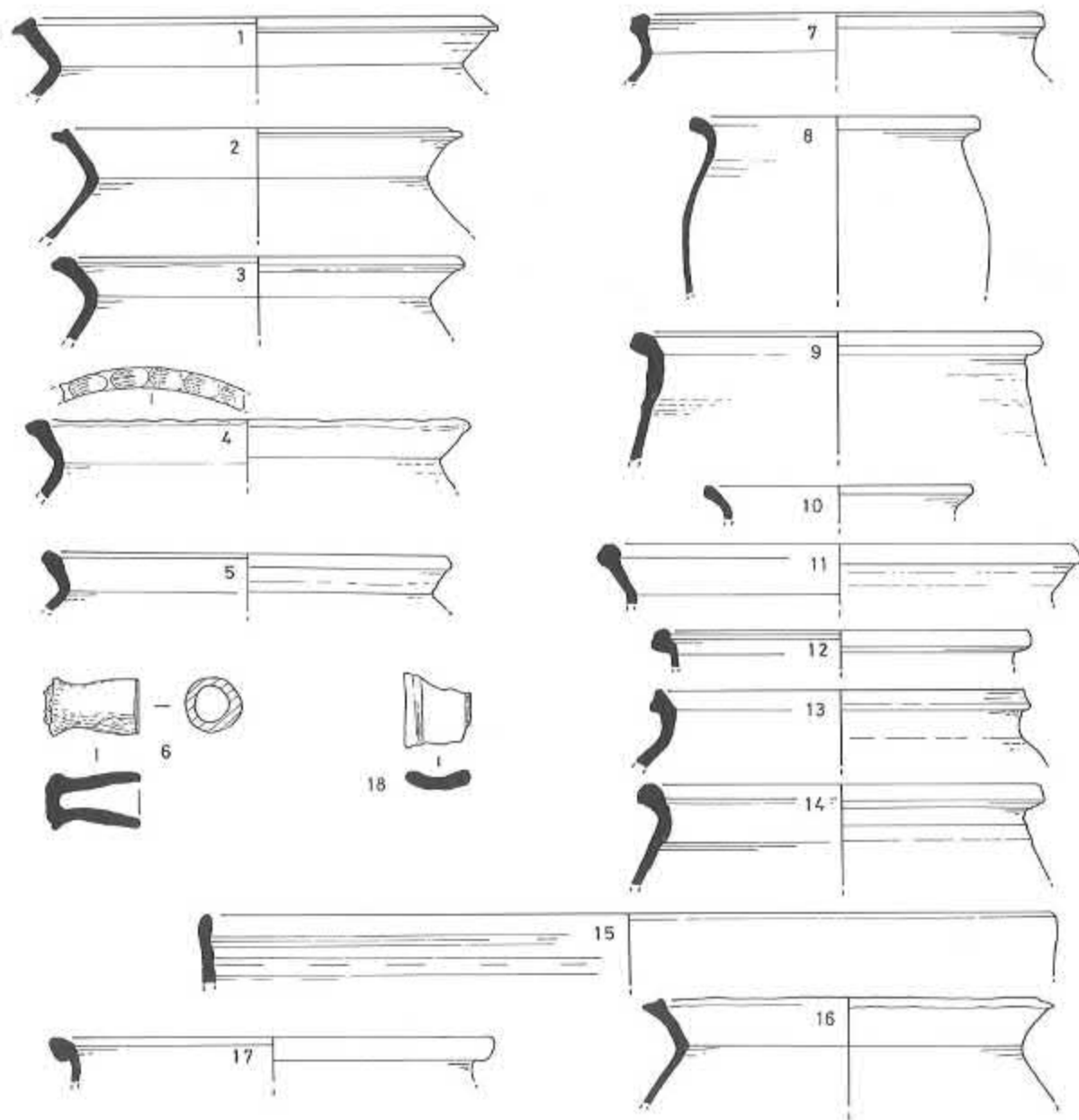


FIGURE 27 Medieval pottery from Gullies 2 and 4 and Pit 269: 1-6 fabric MS3 from Gully 2; 7-15 fabric MC1 and 16 fabric MS3 from Gully 4; and 17-18 fabric MC1 from Pit 269 (1:4). Forms: 1 (A2a), 2 (A2a), 3 (A2a), 4 (A2a), 5 (A2b), 6 (CH6), 7 (A1c), 8 (A1e), 9 (A1f), 10 (C1), 11 (A1c), 12 (A3a), 13 (A3c), 14 (A4g), 15 (B1), 16 (A2a), 17 (A3a), 18 (CH1).

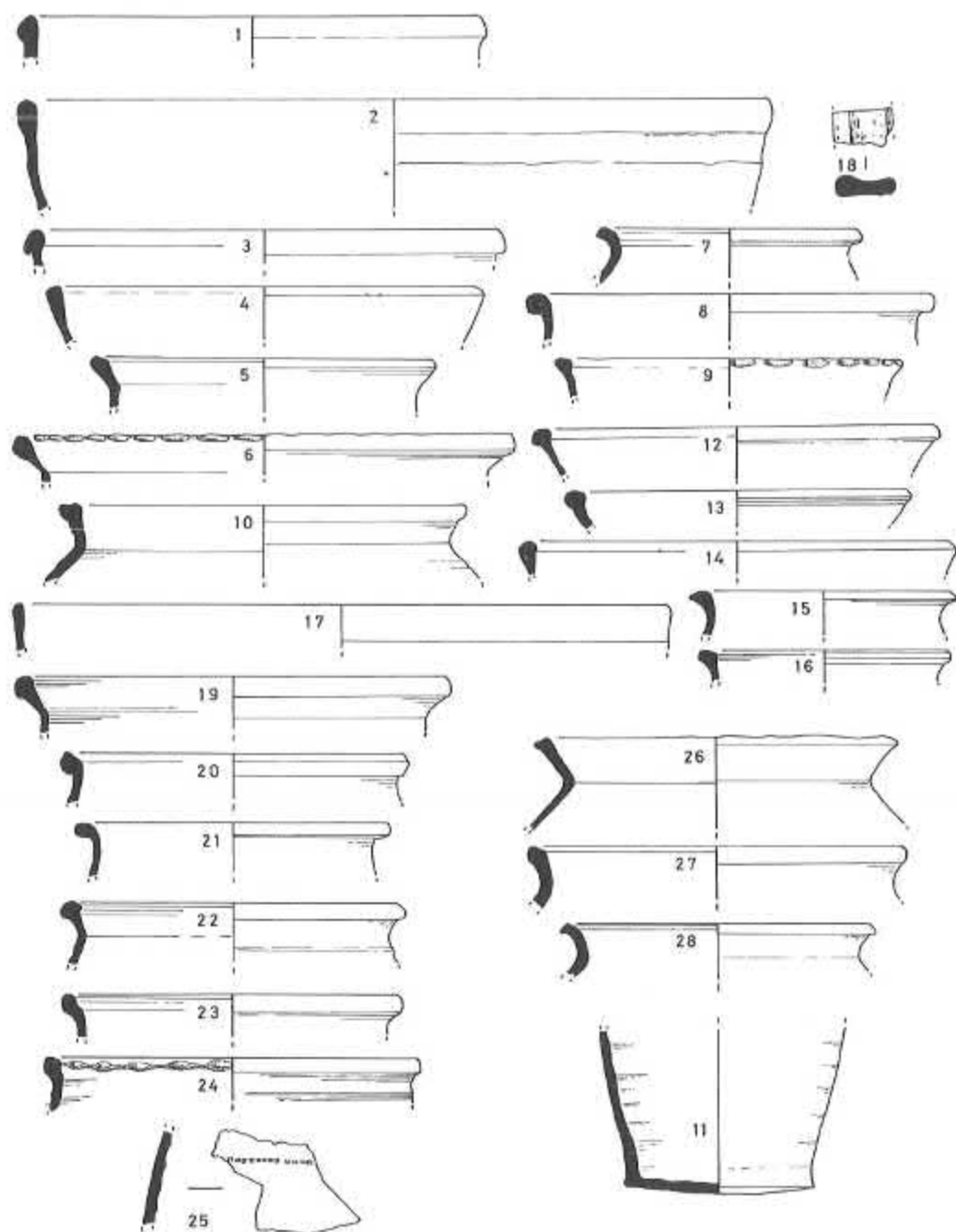


FIGURE 28 Medieval pottery from Gullies 3 and 5: 1 fabric SNC1, 2–10 fabric MC1 and 11 fabric MSC4 from Gully 3; 12–17 fabric SNC1, 18–24 fabric MC1, 25 fabric MC3 and 26–28 fabric MS3 from Gully 5 (1:4). Forms: 1 (B2), 2 (B2), 3 (B2), 4 (B1), 5 (A2a), 6 (A2a), 7 (A4g), 8 (A3a), 9 (A2a), 10 (A2d), 11 (NA), 12 (B4), 13 (B4), 14 (A2d), 15 (A1a), 16 (C3), 17 (B1), 18 (CH1), 19 (A1c), 20 (A1f), 21 (A1f), 22 (A2d), 23 (A1g), 24 (A3c), 25 (NA), 26 (A2a), 27 (A1a), 28 (A2b).

types, but no distinction could be detected beyond that noted under the consideration of the fabric distribution.

Finally, the rim form type was considered and again there was no detectable difference.

This is not to say, of course, that there were no differences in the use of different pottery forms over the site, merely that the evidence available did not allow any such differences to be detected.

### The Illustrated Medieval Pottery *Figs. 25–31*

The pottery illustrated was selected to provide a representative sample of as many of the forms and fabrics as possible, while at the same time care was taken to choose from significant contexts (rather than from the largely unstratified yard material) from all phases of the main periods of occupation. Thus, the illustrated pottery may be viewed as a section through the ceramic material recovered from Gorefields.

Although a certain amount of Roman, Middle Saxon and Late Saxon (St Neots ware) was found during the excavations this all appeared to be residual or redeposited. We take this material to indicate pre-medieval settlement close to the excavated area, perhaps even, in the case of the Late Saxon Period, in unexcavated parts of the medieval settlement. However, the ceramic history of Gorefields really begins with the gullies of Phase 1 (Gullies 1, 2, 4 and 6; see Fig. 4 and *The Excavation: Phase 1*, above).

#### Phase 1

These gullies may be contemporary with or perhaps a little earlier than the first stone building, the hall/chapel, but are the start of a stratigraphic sequence of pottery-bearing deposits. Since these gullies appear to be dug into what was essentially a 'green field' site and are at least partly sealed by Pit 269 and Building J, they provide an assemblage of pottery of Phase 1, unadulterated by earlier and redeposited material; we can separate out the St Neots ware quite easily as the remnant of either an earlier and nearby settlement, or as the last fossils of a ceramic tradition which had passed away.

The Phase 1 gullies contained the following pottery fabrics (sherd numbers in brackets):

Gully 1 (upper fill, 221) MC1 (156), MC3 (29), SNC1 (4).

Gully 1 (lower fill 225) MC1 (130), MC3 (38), MS19a (1), MS3 (189), MSC1 (3), SNC1 (5).

Gully 2 (235) MC1 (757), MC3 (1), MS19a (1),

MS2 (1), MS3 (630), MSC1 (6), MSC3 (18), SNC1 (38).

Gully 4 (248) MC1 (279), MC3 (2), MS19a (1), MS3 (153), MSC4 (1).

Gully 6 No pottery

The small proportion of St Neots ware (SNC1) probably indicates that these gullies were not dug earlier than the middle of the eleventh century. Perhaps the most significant component of this group is Olney Hyde 'A' ware (MC3), which while small (c. 5%), does provide a closing date for the group in the early years of the thirteenth century; the few sherds representing the fabrics other than MC1, MC3 and MS3 need be no later than the early thirteenth century. Therefore, in all probability, the pottery from the Phase 1 gullies dates to a time between the middle of the eleventh and the beginning of the thirteenth century, and this complex of gullies was therefore still open, if not functioning, into Phase 2. This is a rare example of a reasonably tightly dated group from this area.

A wide range of jar-rim forms was found in the two most common fabrics (MC1 and MS3), together with bowls, the rare jug rim and heavily thumbled strap handle (Fig. 26, 19–20, MC1), and a single example of a small socketed-handle (Fig. 27, 6, MS3); most are illustrated on Figs. 25–7. Forms found in the various fabrics are: MC1 (A1a, c, e–g, A2a, d, A3a–d, A4f–g, B1, 2, 4; C1–4 and handle type CH2; MC3 C2–3); MS3 (A1e, A2a–b, A3a, d, A4g, B3–4, CH6); MSC1 (A1a; MSC3 A2a; SNC1 A1f, A4g, B1–2).

The group was very plain overall. Examples of finger-tipping occur on the rims of MC1 vessels, Figs. 25, 17; 26, 4, 9, and rarely incised lines on the body or base angle, Fig. 26, 18. Light finger-tipping was occasionally noted on the rim tops of MS3 jars, Fig. 27, 4. Examples of applied thumbled strips were found in fabrics MC1 and MC3, Figs. 25, 13 and 26, 21, and incised lines, Fig. 25, 23, on MC3 vessels.

It remains to be seen whether any of the forms found in this group prove to have a more limited date range than that attributed to their fabrics, and thereby permit identification of, for example, middle thirteenth century and later MS3 pottery or middle thirteenth century MC1 types.

#### Phase 2

The Phase 2 deposits richest in pottery are Gullies 3 and 5, and Pit 269. Pit 269 was cut into the Phase

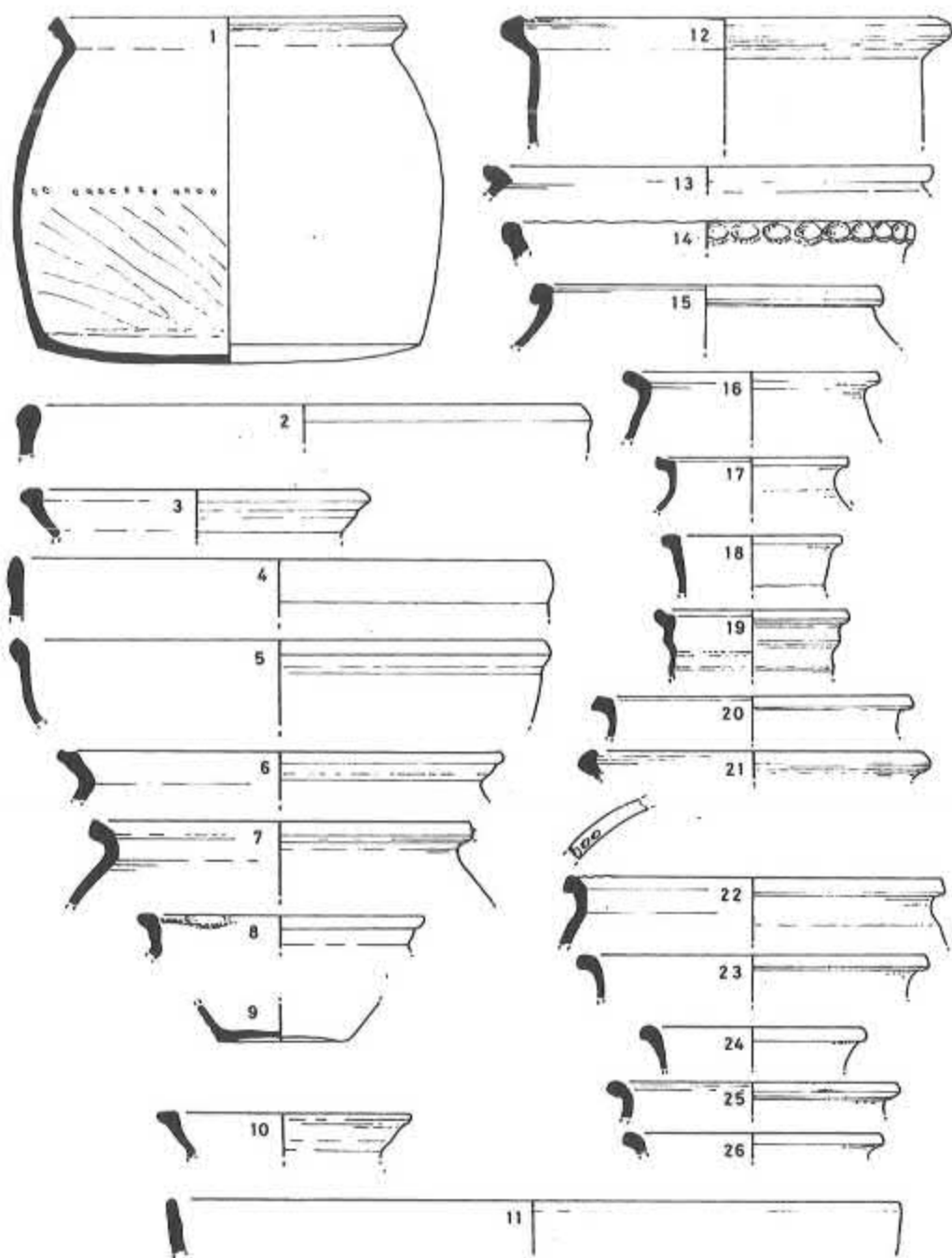


FIGURE 29 Medieval pottery from the occupation of Building J: 1 fabric MS3 from the hearth; 2-3 fabric SNC1; 4 fabric MSC1; 5 fabric MSC3; 6-8 fabric MS3; 9 fabric MS6; 10-26 fabric MC1 (1-4). Forms: 1 (A2a), 2 (B4), 3 (A2d), 4 (B2), 5 (B2), 6 (A2b), 7 (A4g), 8 (A3d), 9 (NA), 10 (A2a), 11 (B1), 12 (A1c), 13 (A4g), 14 (B2), 15 (A1f), 16 (A4c), 17 (C3), 18 (C3), 19 (C3), 20 (A1f), 21 (A2d), 22 (A1g), 23 (A1g), 24 (A1a), 25 (A1a), 26 (A1a).

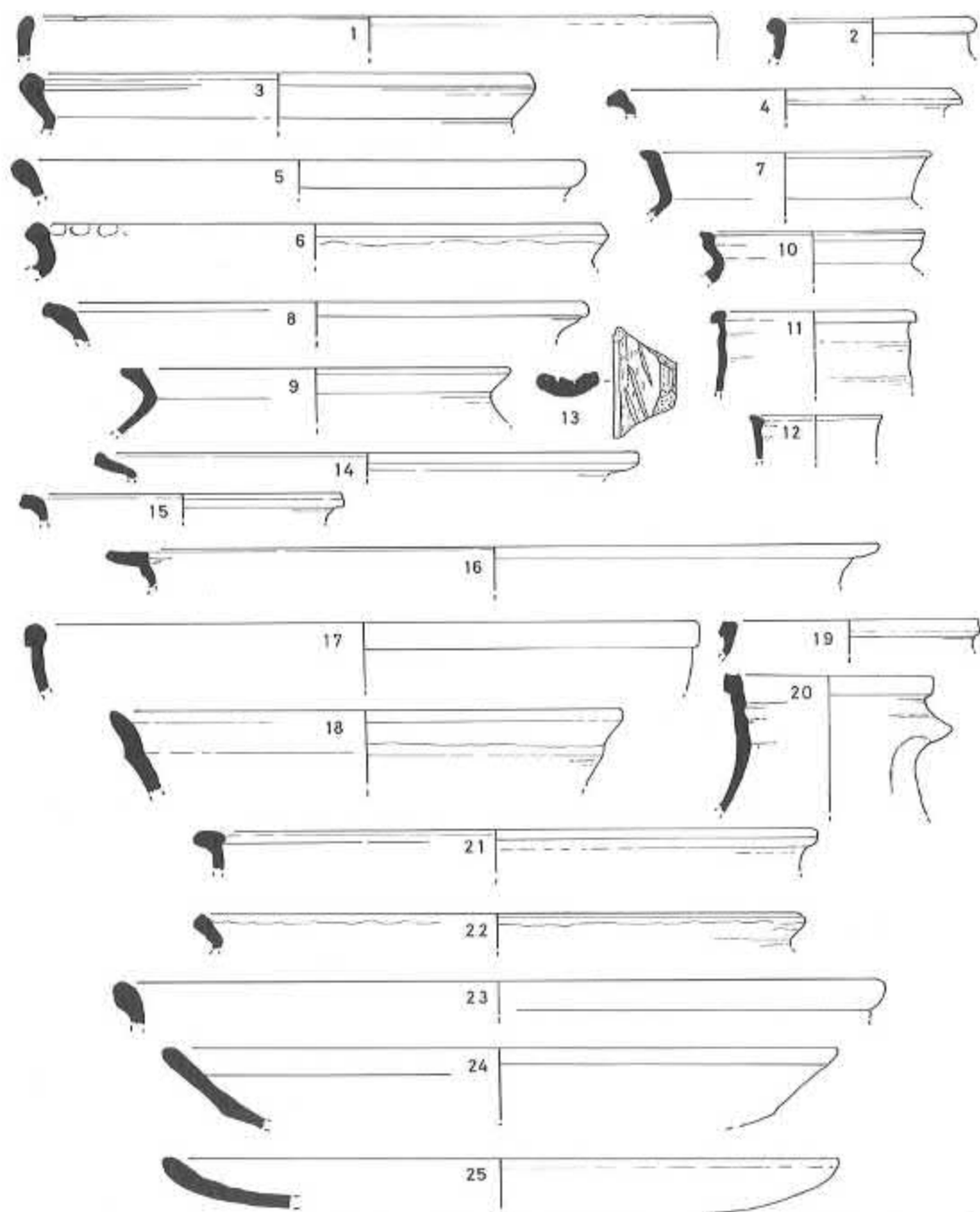


FIGURE 30 Medieval pottery from the floors of the Chapel (1–9), Room A (15–20) and Room P (21–25): 1–2 fabric SNC1; 3–6, 15 and 22–25 fabric MC1; 21 fabric MC3; 7–9, 16 and 21 fabric MS3; 10–14 and 19–20 fabric MS6; 17 fabric MSC3 and 18 fabric MSC4 (1:4). Forms: 1 (B1), 2 (C4), 3 (A1c), 4 (A3c), 5 (B2), 6 (A3c), 7 (A2a), 8 (B3), 9 (A1e), 10 (A1d), 11 (C4), 12 (C2), 13 (CH1), 14 (B3), 15 (A1e), 16 (A3d), 17 (B4), 18 (B1), 19 (A4d), 20 (C3), 21 (B5), 22 (A1e), 23 (B2), 24 (B1), 25 (B1).

1 Gullies 1, 2 and 4, and the latter gully was also cut by Gully 5. Gully 3 was cut into natural and only sealed by the Phase 3D pentice walk, and consequently is not securely placed within the stratigraphic sequence. Pit 269, and therefore sections of Gullies 1, 2 and 4, was sealed by the Phase 2 Building J and Gully 5 by the Phase 3D Building A.

These Phase 2 features contained the following pottery fabrics (sherd numbers in brackets):

Pit 269 MC1 (12), MS3 (11).

Gully 3 (246) MC1 (141), MC3 (3), MS3 (116), MS6 (6), MSC3 (10), MSC4 (5), SNC1 (11).

Gully 5 (250) MC1 (291), MC3 (7), MS19a (1), MS3 (132), MS33 (2), MSC3 (14), SNC1 (9).

Gully 7 No pottery

Pit 269 and Gully 5, can be no earlier than the early thirteenth century, as the Phase 1 gullies were still being filled in this period. In terms of the fabrics present the only difference between these contexts and the earlier Phase 1 gullies is the presence of two sherds of Coventry/Nuneaton ware MS33; Gully 3 did contain a small number of mid thirteenth-century or later Potterspury (MS6) sherds. There is the same similarity in terms of forms, although examples of CH1 handles appear (Figs. 27, 18 and 28, 18) in contexts 269 and 250, as do forms A3g (MC1) and A1a (MS3) in context 250. Decoration too, is similar, apart from a rouletted sherd (Fig. 28, 25). There is no real evidence that Pit 269 and Gully 5 are significantly later than the Phase 1 features, though Gully 3 almost certainly is. The pottery from Pit 269 and Gullies 3 and 5 is illustrated in Fig. 27, 18–19 and Fig. 28.

The next steps in our sequence are the erection and use of Building J at some time no earlier than the first decades of the thirteenth century. The occupation levels of this building contained the following pottery fabrics (sherd numbers in brackets): MC1 (423), MS3 (265 plus one whole pot), MS6 (5), MS9 (4), MS19a (1), MSC1 (3), MSC3 (12), MSC4 (5) and SNC1 (14).

In general the fabric range is similar to that seen in the earlier stages of the sequence, with MC1 and MS3 dominant and small numbers of MS19a, MSC1, MSC3, MSC4 and SNC1. However, small amounts of Potterspury (MS6) and Brill (MS9) wares appear for the first time. Neither of these are known to occur before the middle of the thirteenth century and so carry the sequence forward a little.

No new forms appear in any of the fabrics, apart from the MS6 base (Fig. 29, 9) and the same deco-

orative techniques continue. The range of vessels is illustrated in Fig. 29.

One individual pot is worthy of mention, not because of any intrinsic quality for it is a standard A2a form of a medieval grey sandy ware (MS3) jar or cooking pot (Fig. 29, 1) but because of its position. This vessel was found buried, mouth upwards, beneath the stone base of the hearth at the east end of building J (Fig. 4 and Plate 3).

Such buried pots are quite well known from medieval sites, though still fairly rare, and seem to have fulfilled a variety of purposes. At Writtle (Essex) an almost complete vessel seems to have functioned as a sump to a kitchen drain (Rahtz 1969, pl. III), at Lyveden (Northants), several examples were found associated with workshops (Bryant and Steane 1971, 14, 20, 22, 28 and 93) and a large inverted pot was found sealed beneath a hearth in an open-gorged tower at Deddington Castle (Oxon.) and may be an example of a 'witches pot' (Ivens 1980, 201). Several upright examples were recorded at Sadler's Wood (Oxon) where the excavator suggested they were for the storage of grain (Chambers 1973, 162). Locally, ten examples, all within buildings and connected with hearths were found at Westbury (Ivens and Hurman 1995, 272–5). Moorhouse (1978, 12–15; 1993, 130) lists a number of other similar finds and discusses documentary evidence for the use of such features and in particular he describes the medieval practice of placing pots on top of each other in small pits, in order to ferment various ingredients for medical and industrial purposes and this may be the explanation for the Gorefields example.

Finally, Figs. 30–31, illustrate a range of material from the floors of Rooms E–F, P, A, C and G–H. All of this pottery belongs to Phase 3 levels and is therefore the next stage in the pottery sequence. Only small quantities of pottery were recovered from these levels and there is nothing to be added to the comments made earlier.

#### Post-medieval pottery

Infilling and levelling of the moated site had destroyed most of the post-medieval occupation of the site, apart from a few wall footings (see above and Fig. 4) and virtually nothing survived of the buildings demolished shortly before 1772. However, in clearing the demolition debris and other disturbed deposits a considerable amount of post-medieval pottery was recovered (along with



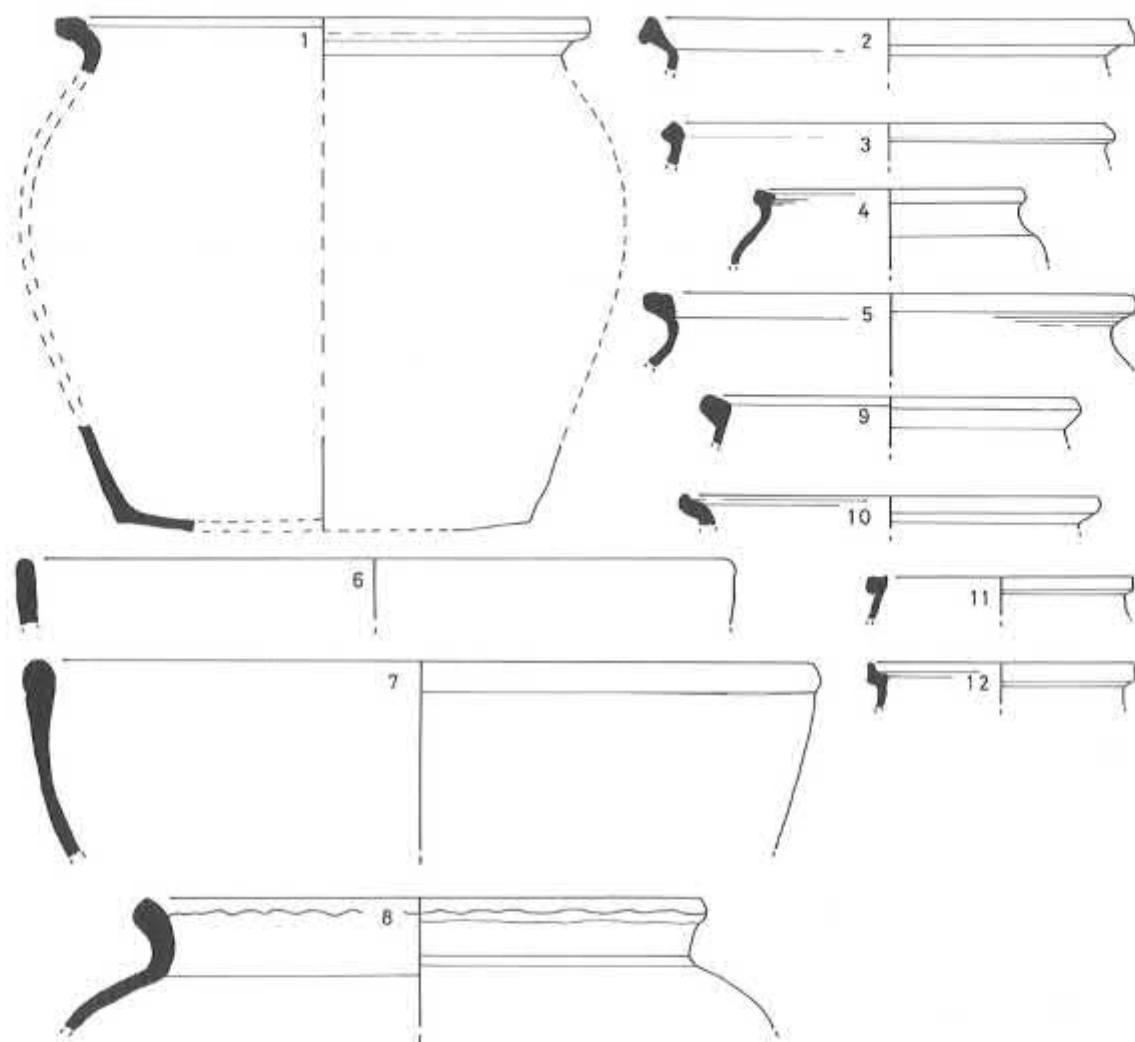


FIGURE 31 Medieval pottery from Rooms C (9–12), H (5–6) and G (1–4 and 7–8): No. 9 from construction level; 1–6 from primary floor levels; 7–8 from fire level; and 10–12 from post-fire floor. Fabrics: MC1 (3–9) MS3 (1–2) and MSC3 (10–12) (1:4). Forms: 1 (A2d), 2 (A2d), 3 (A3c), 4 (A3c), 5 (A2d), 6 (B1), 7 (B2), 8 (A2b), 9 (A4d), 10 (A4g), 11 A3b), 12 (A3f).

other artefacts, above). This material shows that the site was occupied after the abandonment of the medieval buildings (Phase 3) until the eighteenth century, though perhaps not continuously for there is a dearth of fifteenth and sixteenth-century material. Since the post-medieval pottery has no secure contexts it was not considered worthy of full publication, however, it did seem worthwhile presenting a brief summary as an indication of the lifestyle

and associated artefacts of a modest farm on the Buckinghamshire – Northamptonshire borders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Far and away the commonest pottery type recovered was the local red-earthenware of seventeenth and eighteenth-century date (PM9). Less frequent though still quite common were the local black-glazed wares (PM1) and PM5, the slip trailed variant of PM9.

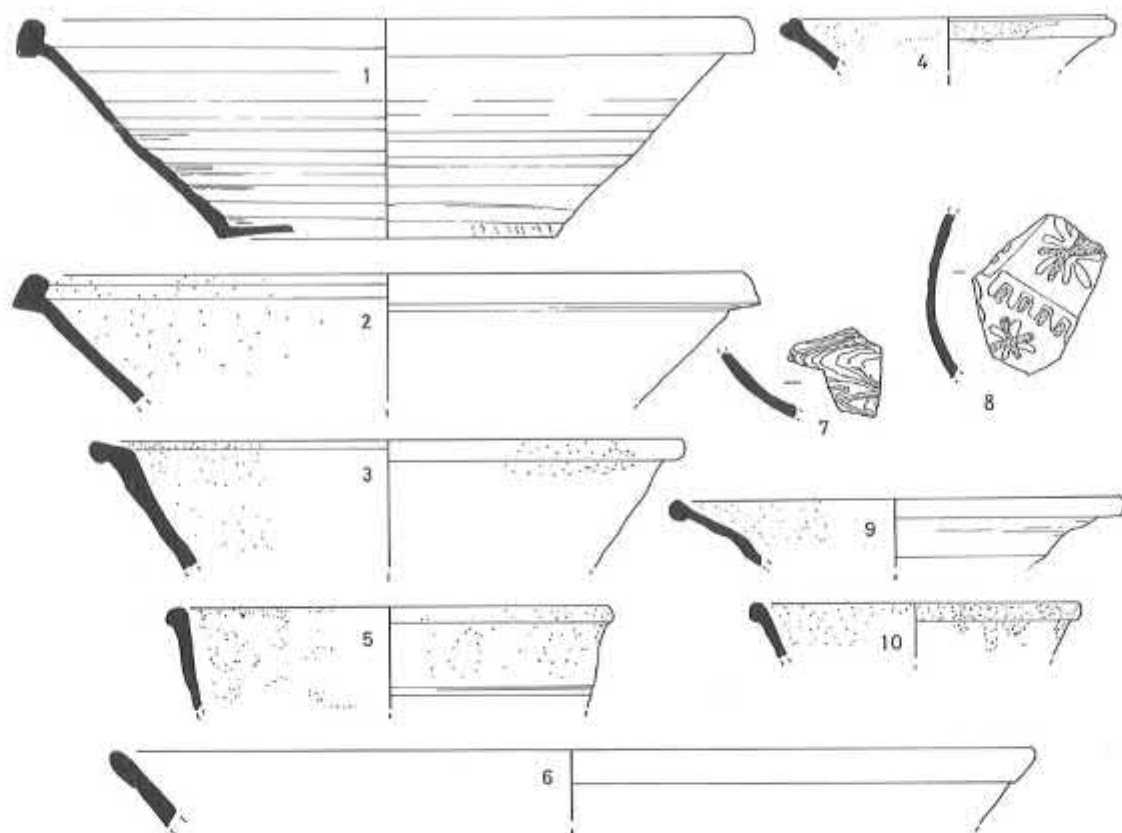


FIGURE 32 Post-medieval pottery from Phase 4: Nos 1-4 fabric PM1 and 5-10 fabric PM5 (1:4).

The local black-glazed wares (PM1) vary according to the temperature at which they were fired and the types of glaze used. The low fired body is brick-red in colour, with a dark brown or black glaze. When fired at a much higher temperature the body is a dark purple-brown in colour, with a dark olive-green to brown or black glaze. The glazes can be either dull or shiny. The dark green to brown glazes are lead-based, whereas the black glaze is iron-rich.

Fabrics PM9 and 5 are identical and vary in colour from orange-red to a dark or purple-red, and the glazes from clear through pale green, pale brown-orange to a dark olive-green, sometimes with brown tones. The standard slip-trailed ware (PM5) has a clear orangey glaze and a creamy-yellow trailed slip.

A wide range of forms is known to have been produced in these wares: jars, bowls, jugs, cups and

mugs, chamber pots, costrels, dishes, strainers, skillets and pipkins, butter pots, chafing dishes, lids and bottles (Mynard 1992, 282-3). The Gorefields assemblage is very limited by comparison and consists mainly of bowls, pancheons and dishes (Figs. 32-3).

The industry that produced these wares seems to have been centred in South Northamptonshire in and around the villages of Potterspury (Mayes 1968), Paulerspury (Hall 1974b) and Yardley Gobion (Hurst 1969); medieval industries are known in both Potterspury and Yardley Gobion (Jope and Ivens 1995).

This South Northamptonshire industry also produced a variety of finer wares and occasional examples were found at Gorefields (see Mynard 1992, 245-286 for the range of forms produced).

Fabric PM13 (Fig. 34, 6-7) is a fine hard red-earthenware with smooth shiny dark-brown to

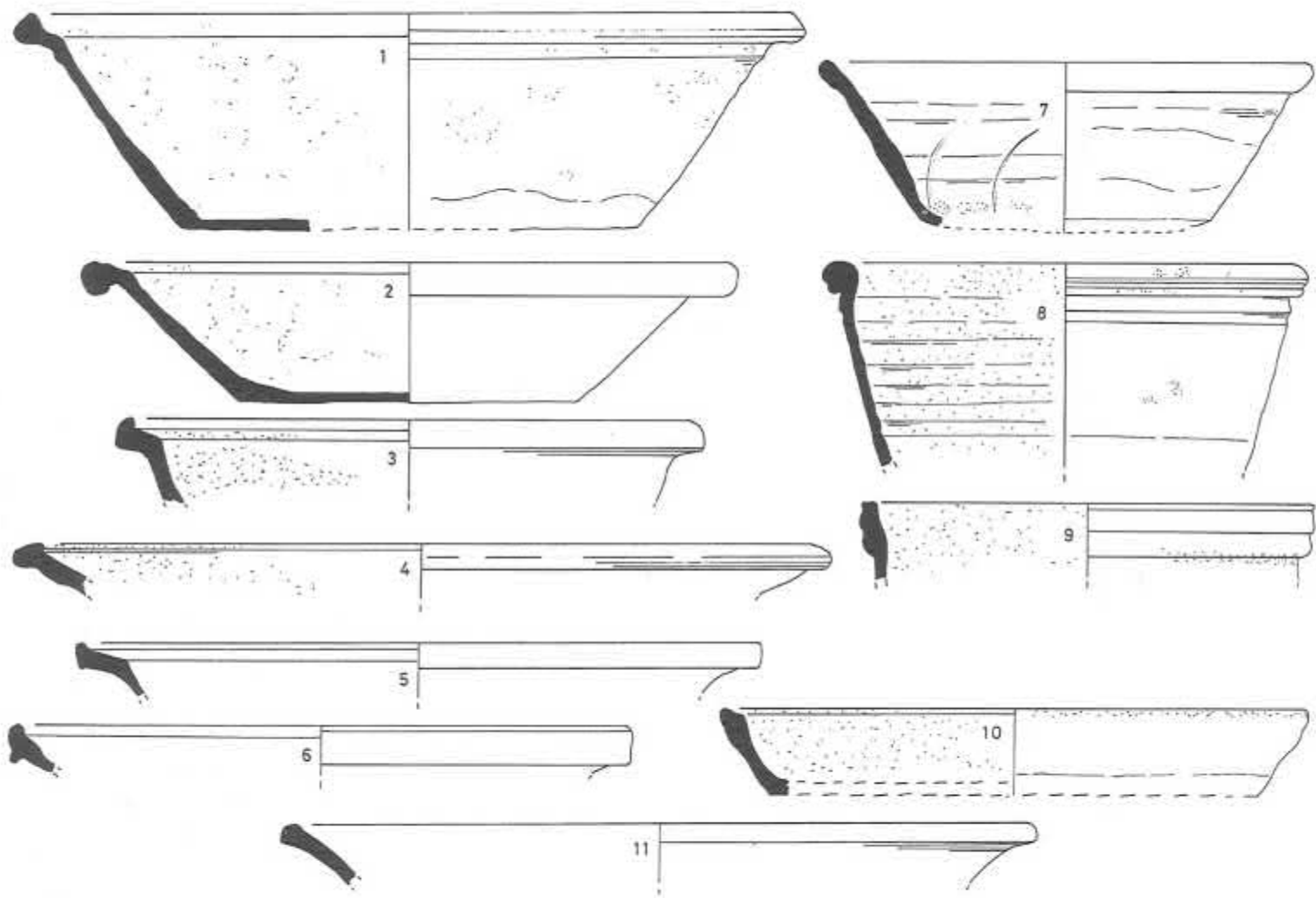


FIGURE 33 Post-medieval pottery of fabric PM9 from Phase 4: (1:4).

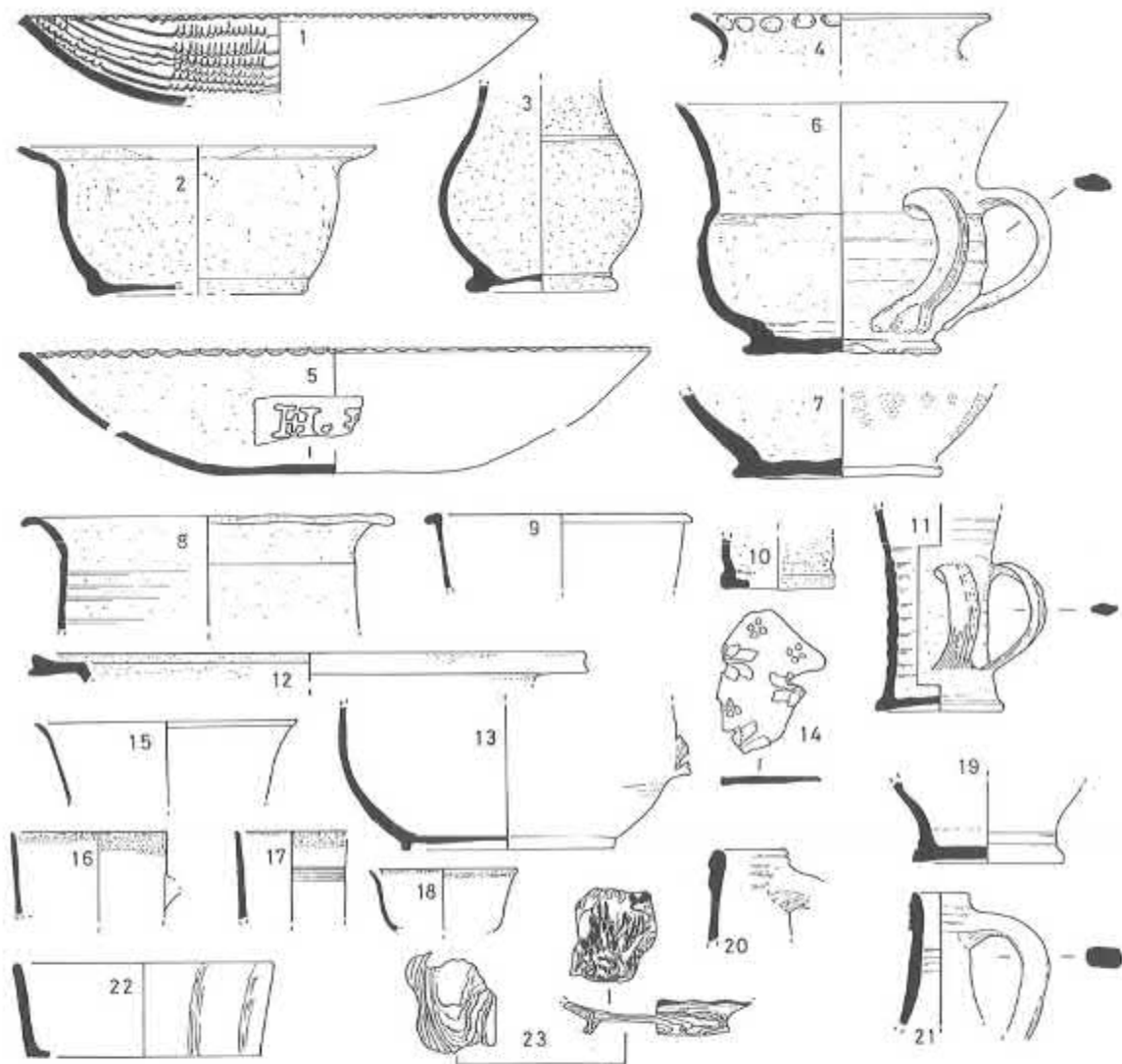


FIGURE 34 Post-medieval pottery from Phase 4: Nos 1–4 fabric PM2; 5 fabric PM6; 6–7 fabric PM13; 8–11 fabric PM15; 12 fabric PM18; 13–14 fabric PM21; 15–18 fabric PM22; 19–21 fabric 29; 22 fabric PM 38 and 23 fabric PM66 (1:4).

black glaze and yellow-slip decoration, and dates to the seventeenth century.

Fabric PM15 (Fig. 34, 8–11) is like PM13 but very hard fired, giving a purple-red body and lustrous black glaze. Some vessels are plain, but decoration occurs on others in the form of yellow slip, which occasionally has applied black pellets on it. The ware was produced from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

Fabric PM18 (Fig. 34, 2) is a smooth off-white fabric, with an occasional light grey core, pinkish tones and a medium to dark green glaze and is of seventeenth-century date.

Fabric PM38 (Fig. 34, 22) is more of a cream colour than PM18, and the glaze is yellow with occasional greenish or brown tones and was produced during the seventeenth century.

Fabric PM41 (not illustrated) is a pale buff-

brown with orange tones, the glaze is a medium brown with darker brown speckles, giving a mottled effect as on the Staffordshire earthenwares of which this appears to be a local seventeenth-century copy.

Use of local fine wares was supplemented by the import of several Staffordshire products, though again in small numbers.

Fabrics PM2 (Fig. 34, 1-4) and PM6 (Fig. 34, 5) are similar late seventeenth and eighteenth-century wares, smooth textured and creamy-buff in colour. Various slipware techniques were employed to create a wide variety of colourful effects, the most common of which was achieved by covering the body with a dark brown slip and trailing a white slip over it. The white slip could then be combed, marbled or feathered to create the desired finish. A single sherd of Staffordshire Agate ware, PM66 (Fig. 34, 23), and several sherds of eighteenth century Staffordshire white salt-glazed stoneware, PM22 (Fig. 34, 15-18) were also recovered.

The remaining English wares found, are examples of tin-glazed earthenware (PM21) probably made at Lambeth in the seventeenth century (Fig. 34, 13-14) and Fabric PM28 (not illustrated) an English brown salt-glazed earthenware made in London, Staffordshire and Nottingham during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Finally there are occasional sherds of imported German stoneware (PM29) of uncertain origin but probably from one of the centres in the Rhineland; the illustrated examples (Fig. 34, 19-21) are all of Frechen type.

The range of imported wares (from England and Europe) and finer local wares found on the site may suggest that the occupants were moderately affluent. They were thus able to afford a modest standard of domestic pottery while continuing to use the standard local wares (PM1, 5 and 9) for the kitchen and perhaps for the dairy, and so forth. Such a differential use would explain the very limited range of forms found in fabric PM1, 5 and 9 when a much wider variety was available.

## DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

*R J Ivens*

Throughout this report the development of the site has been described using a phased structure; in fact, for much of its history, the site was continu-

ally evolving.

The primary stone building, the hall/chapel, was most probably built in the later twelfth century. A series of gullies were also laid out, though these could be somewhat earlier and perhaps even date back to the later eleventh century. There are other hints of early activity on or in the immediate vicinity of the site: the few sherds of Middle Saxon pottery, the small but persistent element of Late Saxon material in all phases of the pottery assemblage, and the presence of three pits (1-3) which clearly predate the hall/chapel (Fig. 4). There is also, of course, evidence from the artefacts, of a Roman building of some pretension in the neighbourhood (*Roman Building Materials* and *Roman Pottery*, above).

In the early thirteenth-century Building J was erected to the south of the hall/chapel. Some decades later, in the middle part of the thirteenth century, Building J was demolished and Building A built over its east end. It does not seem to be the case that only the east end of J was rebuilt to accommodate the wider Building A, for the finds associated with the debris over Building J do suggest that it was completely demolished at this stage.

The north-south wing, Rooms G and H, was added to the south wall of the chapel before Building A was erected, for that building butts up to the west wall (W 3) of Room G and so the north-south wing must date to the late twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century.

Immediately after the construction of Building A, or perhaps more probably as part of the same remodelling, a pentice walk was laid out bounded by Building A, the north-south wing, the hall/chapel, and, to complete the enclosure, a wall (W 14) was built along its west side terminating against Room P, which was in turn built against the west end of the chapel.

The walls of Room P show some complexity and this author disagrees slightly with the excavator's interpretation. The critical section of the Room P wall had been heavily robbed but the following sequence seems to fit the observed data. In the first instance the north end of the west wall of the pentice turned east to meet the hall/chapel in a butt joint. Subsequently a wall was built off the corner of the pentice to form the south wall of Room P, and it is noticeable that this wall narrows towards the west, to the width of the narrower west and north walls of Room P. Finally, a garderobe was

added to the south-west corner of Room P, thus explaining the butt joint between the south and west walls of Room P. This means that Room P and its garderobe are additions to the pentice walk, though there is no reason to suppose that these were significantly later.

The enclosing moat was dug no later than these mid thirteenth-century developments and perhaps as part of same the refurbishment. The slight building traces (Q) identified in the north-west corner of the moated enclosure may also be of this date, judging by the associated finds.

The excavated area then seemed to remain unchanged until the second quarter of the fourteenth century when the south-east corner of the complex was rebuilt following a fire. This rebuilding involved the addition of an external stair, a small but very significant modification. The division of the hall/chapel by Wall 21, again a small but significant modification, might best fit into the developmental sequence at this time, though could be later.

Therefore, rather than a series of rigid phases we see a gradual evolution and extension of the buildings from the later twelfth century into the middle of the thirteenth century (Phase 3D) after which there was a period of stasis until perhaps the second quarter of the fourteenth century when there were minor but significant changes (Phase 3E). After this things seem to have stabilised until the site was abandoned or swept away by undocumented Post-medieval developments.

Gorefields has been referred to variously as a grange (Coppack 1990, 125) and as a priory (Platt 1978, 24, 157–60), in truth it was probably both. The two views stem partly from the possession of the property by Delapré Abbey in the late thirteenth century (VCH Northants IV, 1937, 468; Rot. Hund. I, 38 and II, 348), partly from the very monastic plan of Phase 3, and from an outdated but formerly widely accepted model of granges.

It used to be assumed that the observance of a form of monastic rule on a grange would require a modified monastic building plan of the hypothetical St Gall type (Zarnecki 1966, 44–5), however, Platt (1969, 16–48) and subsequent workers (see Coppack 1990, 125) have shown this to be a fallacy and generally the structural remains of granges are little different to those of contemporary lay manors.

The concept that a grange required specifically

monastic buildings has coloured the interpretation of Gorefields since its excavation, hence the description of Rooms E and F as hall/chapel with the implication that the east end was a chapel and the west end some form of residential accommodation, perhaps even a first floor hall.

There is an alternative explanation, namely that the entire building was the chapel of a resident monastic community settled on the site in the late twelfth century. This community could well have been a small nunnery as indicated by Gervase's claims, the grant to the Cluniac female house of Delapré and the general layout of the buildings (below). Such a scheme has the disadvantage that there are no domestic or other buildings before Building J was erected in the early thirteenth century, however, these buildings could have been of quite slight construction and have been destroyed by later developments, or even positioned outside of the excavated area (Greene 1992, 58–9, 63). The chapel, as the centre of monastic life, would have been the first substantial and permanent structure to have been built.

The whole of the hall/chapel building at Gorefields was 18.20m (60ft) long and 6.10m (20ft) wide and this is somewhat larger than the chapel of the nearby hermitage of Grafton Regis (five miles South-west) to which the whole site bears more than a passing resemblance; the Grafton Regis chapel measured only 48 by 15ft (Parker, 181–2, 247). The entire Gorefields building could have fitted inside the chancel of the equally close Bradwell Priory, five miles to the South (Mynard 1974, 37; 1994a, 11). The hall/chapel building thus falls well within the size range of monastic, parish and private churches of the post-conquest period (e.g. Blair 1991, figs. 31, 33–4, 36 and 39) and ranks along with smaller nunnery churches such as Baysdale and Thicket, Yorks. (Gilchrist, 1994, 45, table 2).

Turning now to the plan of the hall/chapel we find it is a simple parallelogram with no aisles but divided into three (Fig. 4). At the east end is evidence of an altar and perhaps the stone base for a reredos with a space behind, and the south wall to the east of the south door, thickened perhaps to house a piscina and sedilia. All of which are typical of the presbytery. There seems to have been no architectural division between the presbytery and the choir, where the monastic community sat, and perhaps the south door served as a demarcation; this simple plan is a characteristic of the more aus-

tere orders (Bottomley 1995, 270). All the burials identified within the building were located in this section and a similar pattern may be noted at Grafton Regis (Parker 1981–2, fig. 1; Wilson and Hurst 1966, 203–4, fig. 83). The west end was divided off from the choir by a beam-slot, presumably the base of a screen (pulpitum) possibly to separate the laity. All in all this interpretation of the building at Gorefields accords well with a simple monastic chapel and is, for example, quite similar to the plan of Linlithgow Friary, Lothian (Greene 1992, 169). The simple plan, suggestion that the laity were admitted, the lack of aisles, etc. to house secondary altars and the burial of both sexes and all ages are all characteristics of a nun's church (Gilchrist 1995, 121–2, 146).

In addition to the thirteen burials found inside the chapel, two more were located outside, one to the north which had been disturbed by the widening of wall 9 and one to the east covered by a stone slab. One may only speculate on the reasons for the exclusion of the former, but the latter was evidently of some importance and could be the burial of a founder, perhaps Peter de Goldington whose family were long associated with the neighbouring village of Stoke Goldington. Eight of the fifteen burials are either certainly or probably children, a high proportion.

It would be foolish to expect a small house, such as we appear to have at Gorefields, to show every detail, and every specialist building observed in the greater monasteries. Nonetheless the plan, particular in its fullest form (Phase 3D), does show many of the expected elements (see Coppack 1990, 72–8 and Gilchrist 1994, 92–120; 1995, 118–40 for discussions of the layout of cloister buildings).

The north-south range is divided into two. The northern room (H) gave access directly to the south door of the chapel and excavation found this room to be virtually devoid of finds. The southern room (G) contained a great hearth and there was a narrow passage giving access to Room H. The character and position of these rooms suggest that H was the chapter-house and G the warming-room (perhaps doubling as a parlour). Conventionally the dormitory would be placed at first floor level in the eastern cloister range, and this may have been the case at Gorefields; certainly the addition of an external stair and internal post-pads as part of the fourteenth-century (Phase 3E) rebuilding of Room G suggest that it had an upper storey.

The south range of the cloister was normally occupied by the refectory and this was probably the function of Room A, perhaps the direct successor to Room J. There is no evidence that this room had an upper floor, though refectories especially those of nunneries were commonly at this level. The thickness of the surviving foundations of Rooms J and A certainly suggest walls capable of carrying a first floor and there is a hint of a post-pad from the west end of Room A.

There was no west range at Gorefields, merely a closing wall, and it was probably too small a house to require the additional accommodation normally positioned there. This closing wall completed the physical and symbolic separation of the cloister area from the curia and hence the outside secular world, and the door at its southern end provided the only means of communication. Room P which was outside of the enclosed cloister, in the curia, may have served as a guest-house or perhaps as lodging for the priest whose services a nunnery would have required. The garderobe attached to this small building again suggests a building with a first floor.

The low walling found surrounding the inner courtyard, may best be explained as the base for a series of posts or pillars supporting a pentice roof leaning against the enclosing wall and buildings of the cloister, a simple technique often seen at nunneries (Gilchrist 1995, 121).

The pre-occupation of male monastic houses with their water and waste-management systems has received considerable attention in recent years and has been shown to be elaborate beyond that seen on all but the greatest secular houses, even in the smallest of monasteries (Coppack 1990, 81–99; Greene 1992, 107–32; Bond 1989, 83–111; 1993, 43–78). In contrast, nunneries often only possessed basic sanitation (Gilchrist 1994, 113, 189).

The excavated remains at Gorefields are few and relatively simple, consisting of stone-built drains connecting the garderobe to the moat, and the south pentice walk to the moat, which incidentally proves the moat to have been in existence by the middle of the thirteenth century. The drain from the south pentice walk may have been to remove surface water from the courtyard as suggested by the excavator, but more likely was connected to the laver. Evidence for the required water supplies is scarcer. There is no stream near the site so the only possible sources are rain-water and spring or well-water. The moat itself must have been supplied mainly

from ground-water and according to Ratcliff's (1900, 106) account 'has its full complement of water, however dry the weather may be'; Ratcliff also makes reference to a fish-pond and other 'contiguous moats' and the last trace of a small pond was filled following the excavations. No doubt the moat provided much water for flushing drains, etc. and may even have doubled as a fishpond but another source must be sought for clean drinking water. The excavated well was filled during the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, but functioned perfectly well after it was cleaned out and one must wonder whether it was of medieval origin, especially given its position in the north-east corner of the pentice walk. Finally, there is the find of the large stone tank which the excavator suggests originally stood on a low platform outside the north wall of Building A (the refectory) and in this position it could have served as a laver, though there is no evidence of how its was supplied; it was probably emptied via the stone drain which ran from the south pentice under Building A. No evidence of pipes to distribute water was found and it is difficult to see how sufficient pressure could have been achieved for such a system. Rainwater could have been collected from roofs of the cloister buildings but gutters would have been required, for which no evidence was found, and presumably stone or ceramic tile roofs for which there is some evidence.

One final architectural characteristic of the monastery needs to be considered and that is the means of passage from one part to another. As with many badly-robbed sites there are many possibilities for totally destroyed-doorways and of course nothing can be said of first-floor passages. The surviving evidence suggests that there was a single entrance through the west wall of the pentice walk and that this was the only connection between the cloister buildings and the outside world. From this inner court the only doorway led into Room A and it was necessary to pass from Room A (refectory) through Room G (warming-room) and H (chapter-house) to reach the chapel. There must have been at least one other entrance into the chapel, perhaps in the north wall, to provide access for the priest and laity. This all gives an impression of a house isolated from the outside world and even internally difficult to penetrate, and this level of enclosure is more typical of nunneries than male monasteries (Gilchrist 1994, 152, 160-7).

The rebuilding and modifications of Phase 3E,

following the fire in Room G, consist of the construction of Room C over the southern end of G and the provision of an external stair. The insertion of the second door into Room A and the division of the chapel by the inserted Wall 21 may also have occurred at this time. All of these seem to indicate a change of use with the tight enclosure being broken and the chapel either abandoned, or greatly reduced in size, to include only the presbytery and part of the choir. Perhaps the monastic community abandoned the site in the earlier fourteenth-century, allowing it to relapse to a grange-like settlement.

So far we have only considered the cloister and associated buildings which all appear to be part of a small nunnery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Further domestic buildings such as the kitchen, and perhaps also farm buildings, might also be expected in the curia which, of course, is demarcated by the moat enclosing the entire precinct. No substantial evidence of any of these structures was found in the excavated area, though slight remains in the north-west corner of the moated platform suggest their existence. Ratcliff's (1900, 106) report of 'contiguous moats' may indicate that there once additional fishponds or enclosures next to the main, excavated, moated site.

The picture that emerges of thirteenth-century Gorefields, is of a moated site with a chapel and cloister at the southern end of the island and possibly domestic and agricultural buildings in the northern part. The entirely-enclosed monastic buildings seem to have been well planned and built, and in a rather plain and simple way must have appeared quite impressive, especially with the hints that several if not all the buildings were of two storeys. The surviving fragments of dressed stone and the roofs, with their ceramic and stone tiles topped by glazed ceramic ridges, must have added to the imposing nature of the site and helped separate it from the homes of the common folk, and thereby glorified God.

The remains of the material culture found on the site portray a similar picture of a simple life, with only the planning and architecture of the settlement linking it the 'gentry' rather than the peasantry. No evidence was found of any special craft or industrial activities.

The architectural fragments of stonework were probably largely from the chapel and, aside from a few sherds of painted glass, are the only artefacts



which suggest the site had a any form of religious function. The roofing materials do set the site apart from village settlements of the area which seem to have been largely thatched, certainly in the thirteenth century (Ivens *et al.* 1995; Mynard and Zecpvat 1992, 207-8) and suggest Gorefields can be regarded as of a status akin to a manor house.

Most of the ceramic tile was of a type made at Potterspurty and this is unlikely to pre-date the middle of the thirteenth century, so we see at Gorefields the use of the latest available building material in the Phase 3 buildings and refurbishments; elsewhere the use of tiles is known at least from the beginning of the thirteenth century and is first mentioned in the London building regulations of 1212 (Salzman 1976, 223).

A number of medieval potteries in the region produced roof tiles: Penn (Cherry 1991, 194; Earldom of Cornwall Accts., *Camden Soc.* 65 (1942), 19), Potterspurty (Jope and Ivens 1995), Olney Hyde and Lyveden (Steane and Bryant 1975, 97-105) and there is documentary evidence for Nettlebed (Jope 1951, 88). Despite this, a difficulty in identifying the source of all roof tiles found on a site is quite common; for example only one of the five types recognised from St Peter's Street, Northampton could be attributed to a known source (Williams 1979, 322-325).

Over much of Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire laminated stones, mainly belonging to the Great Oolites, suitable for splitting into stone slates may be found. These beds include the famous slate quarries at Collyweston (Northants) as well as those of Stonesfield in Oxfordshire (Salzman 1952, 232-233), though there is no evidence of this latter place working in the medieval period. There are important differences between medieval stone slates and the Stonesfield slates of later times. The early slates were presents, that is, they were hammer-split along natural cleavage planes, and had drilled holes; the Stonesfield slates were frost-split, and the holes were made by tapping through with a light hammer, and this latter mode was probably first introduced in the later sixteenth century.

These stone slates, being made of a highly fossiliferous stone are potentially an ideal material for the study of the distribution patterns of local building materials, unfortunately relatively little work has yet been carried out in this field. The widespread and frequent outcrops of these laminated beds also means that one can never be sure of their

exact source. There is a little information available which indicates at least some of the sources, for John Morton noted that stone slates were dug at Brackley and Aynho in Northamptonshire, in the later seventeenth century (Morton. 1712, 109). Petrographic analysis (Finlayson, B., McKerow, W. and Palmer T., School of Geography, Oxford University) of some of the slates from Deddington Castle, Oxfordshire, shows that they are made of the Sharps Hill beds (Ivens, forthcoming); these outcrop within the parish of Deddington and so could be of very local manufacture, but could equally come from one of the other outcrops in the North Oxfordshire or South Northamptonshire area. Analysis of a number of slates from Northampton has shown them all to be of north Northamptonshire origin (Williams 1979, 327).

The Merton College Rolls record a number of purchases of stone slates: 1,750 were purchased in 1309/10 (MR4070), and in 1315 Gilbert Slatter was paid for many thousands of slates; the same year the carters of Cuxham spent five days carting slates for the College (MR3642). In 1307 Ralf Slatter was paid on three separate occasions for drilling 3,000, 2,000, and 4,500 slates, always at a rate of 6d. per thousand (MR3635); a year earlier a man was paid 1/1½d. for drilling slates for five days (MR4065b); in 1300 one man was paid 10d. for drilling slates for four days (MR4062), that is 2½d. per day. If Ralf was paid at the same rate in 1307 then we may conclude that it took about two and a half days to drill 1,000 slates. Merton paid Gilbert of Woodstock three shillings for making 2,000 slates and William of Woodstock twelve shillings for making 15,000 slates, both payments being made in 1307 (MR3635). Since Gilbert and William of Woodstock are described as making slates, it seems reasonable to assume that they were being made in Woodstock, and that they are the medieval predecessors of the Stonesfield slaters; an Adam Slatter of Woodstock is recorded as early as 1279 (Rot. Hund II, 840a).

The several references to slates being drilled suggests that the slate makers did not carry out this task themselves, indeed the find at Deddington of a partially drilled slate may indicate that this job was undertaken on the building site. There is a significant difference in price between the slates made by Gilbert and those made by William, and this may be a reflection of the size of slate being made; stone slates are carefully graded by size, the largest being

used on the lowest part of the roof and the smallest next to the ridge.

In reviewing the finds from medieval nunneries, Gilchrist (1994, 87) noted a high proportion of ceramic table-ware and of imported pottery but this does not agree with the discoveries at Gorefields. This discrepancy may be due to the later date and higher status of the reviewed sites.

The pottery from the site has been considered at some length and the overriding impressions are of a very narrow and simple range of forms and fabrics, even compared to local rural settlements. Especially noticeable are the absence of any specialised vessels. The sources of the pottery are also almost entirely local, a few sherds of Coventry/Nuneaton ware being the exception, and this situation is not uncommon on medieval settlements and perhaps reflects the relative immobility of most medieval people (contrary to Moorhouse 1993, 134–7); some of course did travel extensively.

The Bursar's Accounts of Bicester Priory, Oxon. (Blomfield 1882, 1884) show just how parochial medieval society could be. Many of the entries in these accounts refer to building and agricultural materials being brought in from the Priory's estates, all of which lay within fifteen miles of Bicester (Fig. 35). Apart from occasional references to long distance trade such as the sending of carters to London or Scotland all the recorded trade was with local markets. Sometimes the market is not named and it may be that some if not all these entries refer to Bicester itself. Of those named Oxford is by far the most frequent, followed by Aylesbury, Buckingham, Banbury and Bicester (Fig. 35). There are also many references to the hire of craftsmen who are usually named by craft and place, e.g. Thomas the slater of Kirtlington, and are also generally local. It has not been possible to tie any of these craftsmen to a known production centre or source of material and perhaps the craftsmen produced their own materials, or they (or the Priory) purchased them directly from specialist centres. The latter seems to have been the common practice of medieval masons and other building workers (Ivens 1985). Or was there a general marketing network in operation!

Generally it seems that Bicester Priory was able to exist within very confined limits and supplied nearly all its needs from local markets, craftsmen and estates. In fact the Bursar's Accounts suggest that commercial contact was limited to within fif-

teen miles of the Priory.

A large proportion of the other finds from the site are of post-medieval date and need not concern us here and many of those of medieval date were found on the various yard surfaces and cannot therefore be securely tied to particular buildings or activities.

Only one medieval coin, a silver penny of 1198–1216, was found during the excavations.

The surprisingly extensive collection of spurs (Fig. 10) is of some interest but it is noticeable that none can be dated earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century and consequently all belong to Phase 3E, that is to a time when we have already suggested the site had probably lost its resident monastic community and was operating as a grange, or some similar and largely secular residence.

Other ironwork is less informative. Teeth from wool or flax combs were found in all medieval horizons (Fig. 11 and Nos 2–10) and indicate some form of textile manufacture throughout the site's history. Fragments of barrel-padlocks and padlock keys were also found throughout (Fig. 14 and Nos 59–65) perhaps a little surprising when the closed nature of the site is considered. Only three arrowheads (Fig. 17) were recovered, all from fourteenth century or later contexts and one of these, No. 107, was certainly from a hunting arrow. No horseshoes were found from Phase 1 contexts but several early types with countersunk nail-holes and wavy edges (Fig. 16, 79–81) were recovered from later contexts, and as one would expect, horseshoes and nails came almost invariably from yard surfaces. Various iron buckles occurred in all levels (Fig. 15). Tools were rarely found and include: a leatherworker's awl from Phase 1 (Fig. 11, 11) and a hoe from Phase 2 (Fig. 11, 12). Scale and whittle-tang knives were recovered from Phase 3 contexts (Fig. 12, 16–18 and 21) but only blades from earlier levels, Nos 23 and 27. Otherwise medieval objects from medieval contexts are limited to hinges and hinge-pivots (Figs. 12, 33; 13, 37); staples (Fig. 12, 31 and Nos 29–30); a collar (Fig. 14, 51); a handle (Fig. 13, 49); a window-bar (Fig. 13, 47) and a candlestick (Fig. 14, 58).

Numerous post-medieval non-ferrous metal objects were found in contexts attributed to Phase 3E and one can only assume that these were lost when the medieval site was in a state of disrepair, and due to their small size, slipped down amongst

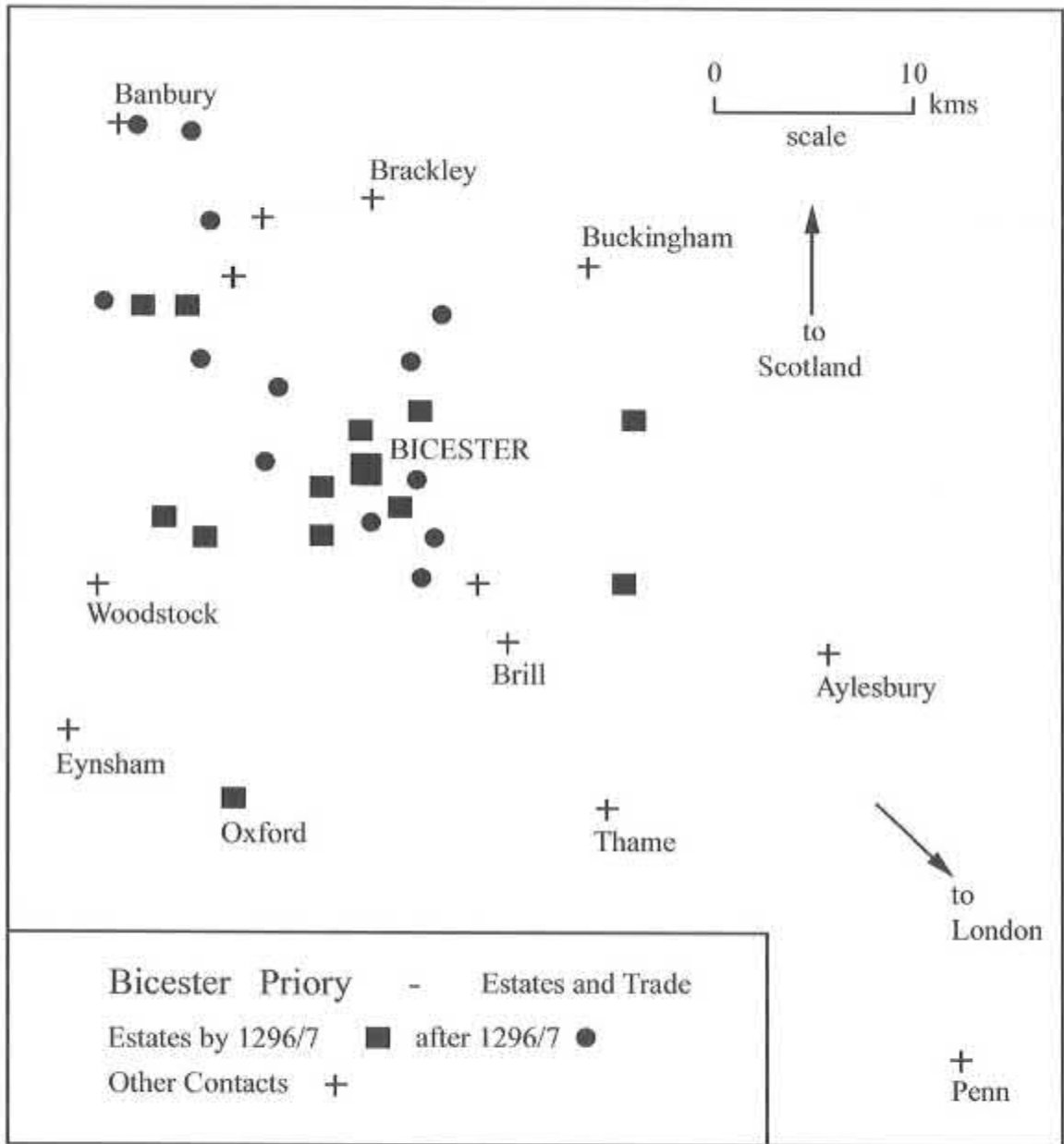


FIGURE 35 Bicester Priory: estates and trade.

the rubble. This, perhaps, supports our view that the site declined in importance in the fourteenth century and the evidence from the pottery which suggests there was little activity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The only certain medieval objects are the two buckles (Fig. 19, 118, 120), the purse frame (Fig. 19, 128), the two lead weights or spindle whorls (Fig. 20, 147–8) and the decorative fitting (Fig. 18, 115 and Plate 5). The buckles and purse frame are of late medieval date, the whorls rather earlier, and the decorative fitting (115) is certainly no later than the early thirteenth-century. This latter object is the only indication of personal adornment found anywhere on the site.

Medieval objects in other materials include: an unfinished spindle whorl made from a sherd of Roman pottery (Fig. 21, 167) from the Phase 1 Gully 2; a fragment of a bone musical pipe (Fig. 21, 168) from the floor of the Phase 2 Building J; a fragment of a bone knife plate (Fig. 21, 170) from Phase 3E; a small bone peg (Fig. 21, 171) possibly part of a stringed instrument from the Phase 2 floor of Building J; stone spindle whorls (Fig. 22, 172–3) from Phases 1 and 2; a polishing stone (Fig. 22, 174), several hones (Fig. 22, 175–7), a fragment of a mortar and a jet bead, all from Phase 3E contexts. Three unstratified fragments of *Niedermendig larva quern* may also be of medieval date.

The only environmental evidence recorded during the excavations consists of larger animal bones recovered from a wide variety of contexts, probably from table and kitchen waste discarded somewhat haphazardly across the site. No evidence of butchery or slaughter was found, and the sample size was far too small to attempt any reconstruction of the economy. Cattle, sheep/goat and pig bones were present throughout all phases, with sheep/goat being the most common. Occasional domestic fowl bones were found in all three medieval phases, horse bones in Phases 2 and 3 (not necessarily as food) and dogs in Phase 2 (including one that may be interpreted as a lap dog). Oysters and scallops were evidently only rarely eaten and the same seems to be true of venison (red and roe deer) and rabbit, despite or perhaps because of the proximity of Salcey Forest and the parks of Peter de Goldington and Robert de Salcey. All in all the meat diet seems to have been largely sheep/goat, with some beef and pork but only occasionally enlivened with shellfish, domes-

tic fowl or game and one might also suspect that a large proportion of the nuns' diet was grain, beans, peas, etc.

The moat had been filled in during the early 1960s and at the time of excavation only its line could be traced. The moat was only slightly investigated (Fig. 4) but found to be over seven metres wide, up to 2.40m deep and crossed by a causeway bearing a cobbled road 7.50m wide.

Moated sites are one of the commonest types of field monument in England with over 5,300 recorded (Steane 1985, 58). In shape they vary enormously from the classic rectangular, through D-shaped to circular, and not all were continuously moated. In date they are known to have been constructed from the twelfth to the eighteenth century (Clarke 1984, 49). Various purposes have been claimed for the moat, from the purely defensive, to the utilitarian: water storage, fishponds, firebreaks, etc., and no doubt they did fulfil all of these functions (Steane 1985, 59; Clarke 1984, 56; Emery 1962, 378–88). Climatic deterioration has also been suggested but as so many moated sites date to the thirteenth century when the climate was still favourable that this seems unlikely and a more probable explanation is that they reflected the status (or aspirations) of their owners, separating 'gentry' from peasantry or in the case of monastic sites, secular from religious (Clarke 1984, 56–62).

Moated sites commonly contain some form of building, though there are always exceptions, e.g. that at Willen, Milton Keynes (Mynard 1994b, 108–120). The scale and nature of the buildings contained within such moats varies considerably, from modest manor houses and associated agricultural buildings such as those at Bradwell Bury, Milton Keynes (*ibid.* 2–59) or more extensively at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire (Webster and Cherry 1979, 270–1) to royal sites such as King John's hunting lodge at Writtle, Essex (Rahtz 1969; Colvin 1963) and the Black Prince's manor at Risborough, Bucks. (Pavry and Knocker 1957–8, 131–178). Moated sites have also been shown to contain monastic granges (Platt 1969, 72), monastic houses (Gilchrist 1994, 189) and other ecclesiastical properties such as the Bishop of Hereford's manor at Prestbury, Glos.; it was on the way from Prestbury to London that the kitchen cart of Bishop Richard de Swinfield so famously overturned in January 1290, at Buscot, near Lechalade (O'Neil 1956).

The great period of building moated sites was

the late twelfth, thirteenth and perhaps early fourteenth-centuries when growing population brought marginal land into cultivation and large concentrations of moats are found in low lying claylands, or sometimes where woodland was being cleared, there are 164 in Buckinghamshire, 206 in Bedfordshire and only 49 in the much larger Northamptonshire (Clarke 1984, 53–55); Gorefields lies close to the borders of both Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire.

Not all moated sites had wet ditches, though most do and these were watered either by diverting a stream (the commonest type in Milton Keynes; Croft and Mynard 1993, 30) or by siting on low lying wet ground or where there was a high water-table. This last appears to be the case at Gorefields for the site lies at 107m OD atop a flat-topped east-west ridge and Ratcliff's (1900, 106) description of the site makes it clear that it was well supplied with water; a similar situation may be seen locally at Tattenhoe (Ivens 1993).

In general terms Gorefields fits perfectly into the pattern of moated site construction phases, internal features, function and even to details of its location, though its ridge-top groundwater-fed situation is less usual there are two other nearby moated sites, at Church Farm and Stokelodge Farm, both in Stoke Goldington parish.

Whether the initial medieval settlement at Gorefields was moated has not been established, but it was certainly so enclosed by the middle of the thirteenth century. The choice of a moated perimeter may have been a dictate of fashion, the current and popular means of distancing one social or religious class from another. However, one might postulate that the foundation had as much to do with the exploitation of newly assarted land along the margins of Salcey forest as with the cultivation of more spiritual fields and Gorefields might then be seen to have fulfilled functions similar to those of a grange, as well as having what appears to be a resident religious community.

We have already established that granges could be built within moated sites and that their physical form is often indistinguishable from lay manors, so what makes a grange different?

The reformed orders of the twelfth century were given great tracts of land, often in sparsely settled areas which had to be cleared of wood, drained or otherwise brought into production. The grange was the method which first the Cistercians and later

other orders used to bring the wilderness into order. Essentially, the grange was a consolidated and independently controlled estate, supposedly not more than a days journey from the mother house, and run by a team of lay brothers who were responsible to the cellarer. By definition this type of grange is associated with marginal land. The term grange can be applied to the whole estate and to the buildings from which it was run. Later the term was adopted for almost any land which a monastery retained for its own use, rather than let out for rent, and this could include discreet blocks of land as well strips within the open-fields.

It is in this later sense that Gorefields might be regarded as a grange of Delapr e, certainly in the fourteenth century when the cloister seems to have changed function.

There is no archaeological evidence that Gorefields had any of the agricultural buildings necessary for it to be regarded as a grange, even in the loosest sense of the term, but it does seem quite likely that the northern part of the moated enclosure fulfilled this function.

The estates of Delapr e have not been the subject of the type of intensive study which, for example, Bond has carried out on the estates of Evesham Abbey (1973 and 1975) and without these fundamental studies and the accompanying fieldwork little can be said of medieval agricultural practices around Gorefields, particularly in the absence of any excavated evidence for barns, etc. from the site itself.

In the late eleventh century the Buckinghamshire–Northamptonshire borders formed part of a densely wooded area recorded in Domesday Book and of which relics survive as Whittlewood and Salcey Forests and Yardley Chase (Terret 1954, 402, fig. 142). The parish of Stoke Goldington, wherein lies Gorefields, is situated on the southern fringes of this area of forest. The exact process of clearance of this woodland still requires study but the emparking of a wood by Peter de Goldington in 1214 and indications that Robert de Salcey also had a park in northern Stoke Goldington certainly suggest it was still an area substantially wooded in the early thirteenth century, but in the process of clearance.

In general, clearance of Domesday woodland began on a major scale at the end of the twelfth century, with extensive assarting and emparking (Poole 1955, 29–30; Stenton 1965, 113). Monastic

houses took a leading part in this clearance as can be seen from the charters of the Whittlewood Priory of Luffield (Elvey 1956–7 and 1975, Charter Numbers 126, 137–140, 157, 165–168, 170, 172, 174–176, 180–181, 224, 254, 272, 453, 567); Peterborough Abbey was equally active in the north of Northamptonshire (Steane 1974 106–107).

In considering the foundation of Gorefields within what appears to be an area of active reclamation, the potential role of other religious houses in this area came to the fore.

There are seventeen religious houses within ten miles of Gorefields (excluding hospitals and colleges), mainly in north Buckinghamshire, but with a small number in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. Stoke Goldington is situated in a tongue of Buckinghamshire that extends north into Northamptonshire and is bounded on the east by Bedfordshire, the village is in fact only 2 miles from the Northamptonshire border and six miles from Bedfordshire.

Such a number of houses within such a small area seemed exceptional and indeed this proved to be the case when the density of abbeys and priories over the three counties was calculated (only those listed in the relevant VCH volumes were considered). In fact, in this tiny border area lie 29% of all the religious houses in the three counties, and ten of these lie within the borders of historic Buckinghamshire. Over all three counties there is one house per 36 square miles, varying from 32–40 for the individual counties, but for a circle of ten miles radius around Gorefields the density is one house for every 18 square miles. The inclusion of Northampton within this circle distorts the figures somewhat, but even if this section of the circle is excluded there is still a very marked concentration in north Buckinghamshire, along the southern fringes of the former forests. It is not claimed that Gorefields is in any way central to this distribution, merely that it happens to lie in the middle part of the detected cluster.

This appears to be deliberate granting of marginal land to monastic houses, and in some cases the actual founding of these houses. The reasons for granting land to the church are complex, involving the socio-religious beliefs of medieval society but what we see in north Buckinghamshire seems to be a case of gaining maximum spiritual credit for the lowest worldly cost, i.e. granting land of low value and using the resources of the church to open areas up for development.

Gorefields shows the archaeological characteristics of a small nunnery, is set in a moated site, may have functioned as a grange and is set in the heart of an area of intense monastic activity, all of which may be associated with the clearance of ancient woodland and agricultural expansion.

The excavation evidence suggests that the first buildings on the site were erected in the later twelfth-century, but several gullies could date back as far as the later eleventh-century and there is even slight evidence in the form of residual pottery of Late Saxon activity in the vicinity.

The late twelfth-century buildings on the site correlate very well with the grant of land at Gare to Delapré Priory by Peter of Stoke Goldington, Robert de Salcey and Richard de Besseville in the late twelfth or early thirteenth-century.

If the foundation of Gorefields stems from this charter and the land was granted to the Cluniac Delapré Priory, why was such a substantial chapel constructed, surely far beyond the needs of any grange that Delapré may have established?

Why, too, was the site established on top of a broad ridge with no natural water-course, not the ideal site for a monastic establishment, and what is the origin of the Late Saxon pottery found throughout the site?

Could it be that Gervase was right and there was some sort of Benedictine nunnery already established in the twelfth century, perhaps a group hermitage — the type of monastery which Thompson has suggested were the origins of Delapré itself (Thompson 1984); on the other hand perhaps Gervase had confused Benedictine and Cluniac or not considered the distinction significant. Cluny was originally a Benedictine foundation of 909 and the reformed 'order' was in reality an autonomous group within the unorganised Benedictine houses (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 96). If this hypothesis is correct, then Peter de Goldington's grant may be seen as a *de jure* recognition of a *de facto* situation and such a regularisation is not unparalleled (Gilchrist 1994, 90–1).

If on the other hand de Goldington's grant did mark a new foundation then we must look for some other reason why Delapré should establish a resident community, and at intervals spend considerable sums on creating a miniature monastery when a more modest grange would seem to have sufficed.

Perhaps the clue is the commitment of Richard de Besseville to build another house and that the

intention of the donors was that there should be a resident cell.

Finally, we might speculate that Gorefields was used as a place of retreat by the nuns of Delapré, perhaps similar to Burryholms, Glam. (Wilson and Hurst 1966, 181–2; Hague, D. unpublished *MS*; pers. comm. E. M. Jope).

The archaeological evidence suggests that the character of Gorefields changed in the early fourteenth century, with the abandonment of the enclosed cloister and a reduction in the size of the chapel. Evidence of occupation through the later fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was slight, though a number of dateable objects such as spurs attest to the continued use of the site. We have interpreted this evidence to argue that the resident community abandoned the site in the early fourteenth-century and the buildings were used as a grange, or perhaps even let out.

The reasons for this suggested 'desertion' may have much in common with the general desertion of rural settlements, particularly clay-land villages, at this time (Clarke 1984, 20). These same factors seem to have influenced nunneries in general to lease out all their granges, other than the home farm (Gilchrist, 1994, 73).

These general difficulties must have been exacerbated for the Cluniac (and other alien) monasteries by the onset of the French wars at the end of the thirteenth century. The rigidly hierarchical structure of the Cluniac order meant that all their houses in England were subservient to the Abbot of Cluny and paid a small tax. In 1289 Edward I forbade the forwarding of sums of money abroad and in 1294 seized the temporalities of all alien houses; further restrictive legislation followed in the early decades of the fourteenth century. While these measures were not consistently applied to all Cluniac houses, there was a price to pay, often a lump sum fine and annual tributes (Knowles 1979, 159). It is hardly surprising that such houses had to retrench, especially nunneries which were rarely well endowed.

Whatever the exact details of the foundation and desertion of Gorefields might be, the archaeological evidence remains as a rare portrait of a small Cluniac nunnery of the thirteenth century of which there were a maximum of ten in medieval England (Gilchrist 1994, 38).

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