The Middle Ages Revisited

Studies in the Archaeology and History of Medieval Southern England Presented to Professor David A. Hinton

edited by
Ben Jervis

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Archaeopress Archaeology

Cover: Holyrood Church, Southampton.

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David Hinton and Medieval Archaeology:
A Personal Appreciation

Ben Jervis

'An archaeologist interested in the Middle Ages has to have a grasp both of the range of contemporary documents and of the work of modern commentators' (Hinton 1977: 211).

It would be an understatement to say that David Hinton is one person with such a grasp, and who has also helped countless students to develop a similar appreciation for the wealth and diversity of evidence, both archaeological and historical, for the medieval period. What follows is a personal reflection on David's contribution to medieval archaeology, a contribution which resonates in all of the papers which follow.

When I made the decision to pursue postgraduate study at The University of Southampton in 2006, a key factor in my decision was the presence of the '3 Davids' (Hinton, Peacock and Williams) in the department. I had become familiar with the work of David Hinton principally through reading his *Archaeology, Economy and Society: England from the fifth to fifteenth century* as a part of my undergraduate module in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. As it turned out David was one of the first members of staff whom I met, taking my fellow fresh-faced MA student colleagues and me on a tour of the Highfield campus. Immediately I was struck by his dry sense of humour, for which I have developed a fond appreciation over the years.

I was fortunate enough to be able to sit in on David's MA module on early medieval archaeology (for the last time, I think, taught with colour slides rather than Powerpoint!), and also to benefit from his mentoring as I prepared my MA dissertation on the Anglo-Saxon pottery from Chichester. Like many other former students and colleagues of David's to whom I have spoken over the years, my over-riding memory of these interactions was of generosity, both of time and of knowledge. As I moved on to my doctoral research I would often appear at David's door with a simple question and end up staying for much longer, as he recommended reading and challenged me to think about the evidence differently. David was not a part of my viva panel, but was among the first to congratulate me as, ever the pragmatist, he tried to deal with a minor flood caused by dead pigeons in the guttering, with his jacket.

For many of us working on the archaeology and history of the Wessex region, David has been an ever present at local and national conferences, often as a speaker but equally as an audience member, supporting local research whilst taking every opportunity to expand his ever growing knowledge of the medieval period. On a personal note, I am grateful for David advancing a number of opportunities to me to speak at some of these conferences. David is a core member of the Oxford Medieval Diet Group and has often regaled us with entertaining summaries of food related topics, typically with matter of fact titles such as 'Offal'; his ability to synthesise evidence, sometimes drawn from the most obscure of sources coming across with every talk. David's interest in food is represented by two papers in this volume, those by Serjeantson *et al.* on monastic diet and by Robinson on wheat in medieval England.

David's work, as reflected in the contributions to this volume, has focussed principally on the archaeology of southern England, primarily Oxfordshire (whilst working at the Ashmolean Museum; see James this volume Mellor this volume; Serjeantson *et al.* this volume), Dorset, Hampshire (Biddle this volume; Brown this volume; Weikert this volume; Yorke this volume; Brisbane and Hodges this volume) and Wiltshire. As acting editor of *Oxoniensia* and honorary treasurer of the M40 Archaeology steering group, he took a leading role, along with Trevor Rowley, in the publication of the archaeological work undertaken in advance of the M40 motorway. This work represented a rare foray into pottery studies for David, with his definition of a type of pottery that he would term 'M40 Ware' so as not to imply a production centre for the ware.

By the time that the M40 archaeology was published, David had already joined the Department of Archaeology at Southampton University, where he would play an instrumental part in the development of archaeology in the city. With students from the University, David undertook the excavation of the house at 58 French Street and he was also an important member of the Southampton Archaeological Research Committee (see Brisbane and Hodges, this volume), which he joined in a personal capacity in 1973. He would go on to become a member of the Executive Committee and, in this role, would also edit the first of the volumes on archaeological work in *Hamwic*, that on the excavations at Melbourne Street, as well as The Committee's booklet on Saxon Southampton (1975). With members of the Southampton University archaeology department, David also undertook small excavations elsewhere in Hampshire, at Beaulieu Abbey, St Peter's Church Yateley and Otterbourne Old Church.

It was though, in Dorset, where David has undertaken his most extensive fieldwork projects. In 1974–1975 he, along with Richard Hodges, undertook a number of excavations within the late Saxon and medieval town of Wareham. This work revealed the first evidence of late Saxon buildings in the town, as well as locating the castle ditch, whilst the failure to locate the quay supports the suggestion of this feature being located further north, the area excavated in anticipation of locating it being the result of later land reclamation. In collaboration with David Peacock, David also established a research project on the Isle of Purbeck, which has both a distinctive topography and range of natural resources (chiefly Purbeck 'Marble') which offered opportunities to explore changes in land use as well as industrial development. The fieldwork and documentary research, undertaken with the support of English Heritage, were published as *Purbeck Papers*, a collaboration edited by David and including work undertaken by him and a number of colleagues from Southampton and English Heritage.

Between 2001 and 2006 David co-directed (with Chris Loveluck) excavations at the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Breamore on the Hampshire/Dorset border. In typical fashion, the report (co-authored with Sally Worrell) combines a comprehensive understanding of the local historical and archaeological context to underpin and weigh a number of possible interpretations of this important site, including assessing the prospect of its unusual character being the result of its location at the frontier between the West Saxons and the Solent 'Jutes' (see Yorke this volume). Other recent fieldwork has included supporting excavations at Tidgrove Warren (Hampshire) and work at Bodiam (East Sussex) and Scotney (Kent) Castles (see Johnson this volume).

It is though, for his work on medieval metalwork that David is perhaps best known. His publication list is littered with reports on finds of Anglo-Saxon metalwork and he has been a substantial contributor to excavation reports from the region, including the landmark report *Objects and Economy in Medieval Winchester*. His works on Anglo-Saxon smithing, including the analyses of the smith's grave from Tattershall Thorpe and the non-ferrous metalwork from *Hamwic* remain significant contributions to the study of early medieval material culture.

Yet, whilst David's associations with *Hamwic* and objects such as the Alfred Jewel may immediately make one think of the early medieval period, David has made equally important contributions to later medieval archaeology. Particularly towards the latter part of his career, David has engaged fruitfully with theoretical ideas including the application of 'closure theory' and its implications for understanding values and identities in the 15th century, medieval identity issues more widely and, more recently, the relationship between material culture and power. There is perhaps, a common perception that medieval archaeologists are 'anti-theory' and, indeed, David has himself been critical of interpretive excesses in the past (Richard Hodges recalls affectionately how David referred to his doctoral work as 'faction'), but these works show that David is much more than a top class synthesiser and writer of archaeological narratives, but is also equally happy to engage with difficult theoretical ideas, provided they can be substantiated by the archaeological and historical evidence. Indeed, I was once given the advice by a journal editor to write for somebody like David Hinton, who is open to ideas but needs to be convinced;

this is perhaps reflective of many of our experiences of David as the most (constructively) critical of critical friends.

In 2005 David produced his *magnum opus*; *Gold and Gilt: Pots and Pins*, a masterful work of synthesis and analysis of the possessions of the people of medieval England from the end of Rome to the Reformation. The book was rightly highly commended at the 2006 Archaeological Book Awards and is equally of use to undergraduate students encountering medieval artefacts for the first time and seasoned researchers needing a point of reference. A joy of this book, recognised by several reviewers, are the candid, often witty, endnotes in which David was not shy about highlighting his past errors and providing critical insights into the arguments of others. This book is important not only for its breadth but the ways in which David was able to explore the wider significance of individual artefacts, touching on issues of identity and belief, as well as economy, laying in place themes and ideas which have been picked up on and developed by other researchers as, over the last decade, a plethora of new approaches to medieval objects has emerged.

In 1979 David became the editor for the Society of Medieval Archaeology, overseeing not only the production of volumes of *Medieval Archaeology*, but also the volume produced to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Society (Hinton 1983), a work which remains a rich source of information for understanding the theoretical development of our discipline and its often problematic relationship with history. In 1987, as editor, David also oversaw the production of the society's recommendations to the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, published in the pages of *Medieval Archaeology*. This document represents what today we would refer to as a research framework, highlighting both general and specific research priorities and research practices for work on urban, rural, religious, industrial and manorial sites, as well as making recommendations for the preservation of surviving medieval monuments. David has continued to shape agendas for the societies with which he has been involved, most recently as president of the Royal Archaeological Institute between 2012–2015.

The volume offers a retrospective and review of medieval archaeology in southern England, with papers discussing the history of archaeology, revisiting old archives and addressing long established research questions, all inspired by the research and teaching of David Hinton. The first two papers focus on the history of archaeology. Tom Beaumont James presents a lively account of the life and work of the antiquary Richard James, a scholar whose life can be linked to that of David Hinton in a number of ways. In the second chapter two of David Hinton's former students, Mark Brisbane and Richard Hodges, discuss the development of archaeology and *Hamwic* and the changing ways that archaeologists have interpreted this site, emphasising, in particular, David Hinton's role in championing Southampton's archaeology. Staying with the topic of *Hamwic*, Barbara Yorke discusses the wider political context of the Solent region. The next five papers revisit sites and material with which David Hinton has some personal collection. Martin Biddle discusses Winchester Old Minster (as discussed above, David Hinton was a major contributor to the volume on finds from the medieval city), Katherine Weikert explores the household of Faccombe Netherton (the original report on the site being supervised by David Hinton), Duncan Brown revisits Cuckoo Lane (an important site from medieval Southampton) and Maureen Mellor discusses the distribution of later medieval tiles in Oxfordshire (a subject with which David Hinton concerned himself at the very beginning of his career). The following two papers, both by long standing colleagues of David Hinton, relate to his interest in medieval diet. Mark Robinson discusses the cultivation of wheat in medieval England and Dale Serjeantson *et al.*, contrast the faunal remains from two early medieval monasteries, St Albans and Eynsham. The final chapter by Matthew Johnson discusses work that David Hinton supported following his retirement, examining the landscapes of Bodiam and Scotney castles.

These papers follow are testament to David's influence and impact both on the development of medieval archaeology but also on his colleagues and students. We hope that he will find these reflections on the medieval archaeology of southern England stimulating and that his modesty will not prevent him from enjoying the appreciation that all involved in its production have for his insights, guidance and friendship.

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Author Biography: Ben Jervis is Lecturer in Archaeology at Cardiff University, where he specialises in the medieval archaeology of southern Britain. He undertook his doctoral research at the University of Southampton and his current research is concerned with the material culture of English rural households, medieval pottery and the study of urbanism in Wessex.

David A. Hinton: Principal Publications (until May 2018)

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1970
Excavation at Bicester Priory, 1968. *Oxoniensia* 34 (For 1969): 21–28.
A new tile design from Abingdon. *Oxoniensia* 34 (For 1969): 106–107.

1971
Two late Saxon swords, *Oxoniensia* 35 (For 1970): 1–4.

1972
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    Inlaid iron objects: 160.

    Ingots, cast bars, offcuts, and related objects: 129–30.

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    With M. Biddle. Miscellaneous personalia and jewel stones: 653–657.

    With M. Biddle. Copper-alloy bells: 725–728.

    With M. Biddle. Book-clasps and page-holder: 755–758.

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    Gold and gilt copper-alloy fragments: 781.

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Clips: 1094–1095.
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Richard James (1591–1638) 'that most famous antiquary': From the Isle of Wight to London via Oxford, Moscow, Meols, Newfoundland, Shetland and Elsewhere.

Tom Beaumont James

Summary

This chapter discusses the life and work of the antiquary Richard James (1591–1638), a native of the Isle of Wight and Oxford scholar. The evidence for Richard's early life, his travels in Russia and his antiquarian interests is discussed with a particular focus on his time in Russia (1618–1620) and his links with Sir Robert Cotton.

In the burial register of St Margaret's Westminster, with the entry of the death of 'Mr Richard James' (a rare appellation in the register at that time) in December 1638, are the words 'that most famous Antiquary' in a different hand (Figure 1). Despite his remarkably wide scholarship and achievements, James remains a comparatively unknown figure. Recent work (e.g. Cleminson 2016; ODNB) on Richard James makes a further interim publication on this noteworthy character timely, and it is hoped that in the future a full scale study of his life and work will be undertaken by an author with as wide a grasp of academic interests as Richard James himself.

Keywords: Richard James, Arundel Marbles, Ashmolean Museum, Russia, John Tradescant, Sir Robert Cotton
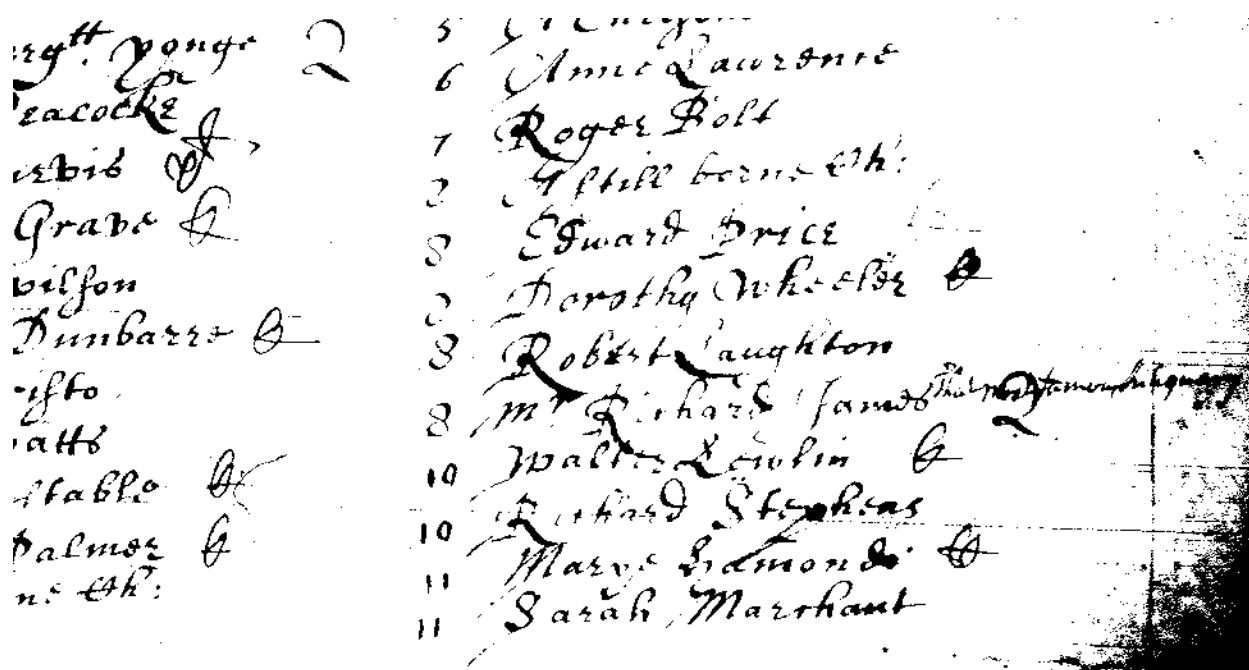
Figure 1. Burial of Richard James (December 1638). Courtesy of Georgina Colbeck-Peters, Archives & Local Studies Officer, City Management and Communities, MS Register of St Margaret's Westminster.

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In celebrating the career and work, so far, of Professor David Hinton this short piece is designed to touch – if tangentially - on aspects of his life and academic interests. The Reverend Richard James offers a vehicle for discussing the selected Hintonian links between the medieval, objects, antiquarianism, collection and scholarship. James's life itself linked the south coast of England (where Hinton has worked), Oxford (where he studied), John Tradescant the elder, whose collection formed a basis for Elias Ashmole's eponymous later museum (where Hinton worked), the Arundel marbles (a noteworthy focus of antiquarian interest in the 1620s), and a surprising amount of travel. Apart from his polymath antiquarian interests, James made single-minded forays into the religious controversies of his age and made a contribution to Shakespearean studies, among much else besides, counting his older contemporary poet and playwright Ben Jonson (1572–1637) among his many friends and acquaintances.

Richard James was a native of Newport (Isle of Wight) where he was baptised in September 1591. He was a devotee of the Island signing himself 'Vectensis' and writing a history of that place. After studying at Oxford he travelled widely, for example with Sir Dudley Digges and John Tradescant the elder to Russia from 1618–1620, where he compiled a pioneering Russian-English wordlist (Larin 1959). Not only a classical languages scholar, he was also a student of Gothic and, as we will see, proficient in Slavonic. Latterly he worked with Sir Robert Cotton and his son, in whose house at Westminster he died in 1638. The most detailed recent account of James and some aspects of his life and work by Ralph Cleminson appeared in 2016 (see also Cleminson 2014), concluding that Richard James was 'a remarkable scholar who would merit our attention for his contribution to Russian Studies alone, or to the Cotton Library, or to British antiquities' (Cleminson 2016: 733). Richard James died of 'a quartan fever'. The burial register entry of St Margaret's, Westminster records his burial on 8 December 1638. At some later date another hand has added 'that most famous Antiquary'.

James's early life and his scholarship

Richard James the antiquary was the eldest son of Richard James, merchant and shipwright of Newport (Isle of Wight) and Southampton. The elder Richard James was MP for Newport Isle of Wight on several occasions between 1597 and his death in 1614. He was probably also the procurer of two Javanese palm leaf documents which found their way, via his mercantile activities, to Newport and were subsequently presented to the Bodleian library, where his younger brother Thomas (d 1629) was the first librarian; they are still there today. Although we have a portrait of Thomas, currently hanging in the Bodleian shop, there is no known portrait of Richard (the antiquary). Our physical description of him comes from the opinionated and egotistical Symonds D'Ewes, ten years his junior and who did not like him. He is described as 'a short red-bearded, high-coloured fellow, a Master of Arts, who had some time resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travelled — an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty and moderately learned' (cited by Corser 1845: lxxvi). Richard was certainly more learned than D'Ewes and no doubt red haired as he wrote a poem *A Defence of Red Haire*. He could be fierce and dismissive of his perceived foes in writing as a 'stormy opponent of Popish errors' for example about medieval Catholic monks and nuns as 'bucks and does' who were close in towns, he throws light on his own often strongly articulated prejudices (Corser 1845: cv). Anthony Wood, his biographer, concluded that apart from his skills as a linguist, 'critic, antiquary and divine' he 'though humorous [ie affected by the humours], was of a far better judgment than his uncle Thomas James' (cited by Corser 1845: cvii).

Richard the antiquary followed his father in seafaring, and his uncle Thomas in scholarship and librarianship. The Newport parish register unequivocally states that Richard son of Richard was baptised in the parish church on 21 September 1591 (see *ODNB*, where his parentage and some other observations on his life and career are corrected from the previous DNB research). James's genealogy is notoriously contested, not least because the Heralds who collected data for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight consulted factions of the family who were in dispute. Where Richard James the antiquary's early education took place we can only surmise, but it is very likely to have been at in Newport. He began his university career at Exeter College Oxford on 6 May 1608, aged 16. He became first scholar, and then took his BA and MA

from Corpus Christi College Oxford in 1611 and 1615 respectively. He became a fellow of Corpus in 1615, aged about 24. His collected manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian library Oxford (although some are elsewhere, for example at the Society of Antiquaries of London). He also left his mark elsewhere notably in the Cottonian Collection and in antiquarian, literary and theological studies more widely.

Richard James was highly skilled in languages: apart from Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French Spanish and Italian, in all of which he had a knowledge 'immense and beyond other men' according his uncle Thomas James (cited by Corser 1845: xxxviii), he also knew Anglo-Saxon and even Gothic and, of course, Russian. He left an incomplete history of the Isle of Wight in the Saxon and Norman periods, which is now to be found among his papers in the Bodleian Library. It runs to some seventeen pages, and includes a lengthy poem on the name of the Island and on the nature of its inhabitants. His work is suffused with the radical Protestantism to which his family subscribed as they embraced religious change in the Tudor and Stuart periods. Some had been religious refugees on the continent during Mary's Catholic reign. Among his writings Richard James produced much poetry. When in confinement in 1629 a poem (entitled *A consultation with myself, when I was confin'd into close keeping by ye Lords*) included the telling Calvinist lines 'Miters and croziers are not things/That to my ambition give wings...'

Thomas James of the Bodleian Library, his uncle (brother of his father, Richard), was fiercely anti Catholic: Richard was at least as anti-Catholic as his uncle and probably more so. Among Richard's surviving works is *Becket Decanonized*, in which, to quote his uncle, he strove to show that Becket was 'an arch rebel and not an arch prelate' (Corser, 1845: xxxviii quoting Parr's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*). Richard James seldom if ever forgot his Isle of Wight origins, at the end of his 760 pages Becket manuscript and elsewhere he signed himself Richard James 'Vectensis'.

Another work of local history, in a wider context, that he produced was *Iter Lancastrense* (1636), a poem on the scenery and local history of the two Palatine counties of Lancaster and Cheshire, which included information on the customs and family connections of that locality. This was edited from the Bodleian manuscript by Thomas Corser for the Chetham Society and was published in 1845. Although Corser found the style of the poem 'quaint and affected' he nonetheless found much of interest in James and his background to which he devoted 112 pages of introduction. This was followed by some 13 pages (390 lines) of the poem itself to which he added 84 pages of notes which contribute to an understanding of Richard's complex scholarly allusions.

Richard James was by no means interested solely in local studies but also took an interest in classical antiquity and began to study the decline of the Roman emperors (Sharpe 1979: 243). Nor did he merely involve himself with past history. During his life he was to be involved near the centre of political and diplomatic events in England and elsewhere. He first comes on to the wider canvas of 17th century affairs in 1618. when Sir Dudley Digges a judge from Kent, was dispatched by James I to Russia to negotiate terms for military supplies and aid to Tsar Mikhail, who was suffering reverses in a conflict with a Polish pretender. The English hoped to gain valuable trade advantages from this mission.

Richard James the traveller

In June 1618 the ambassadorial party set sail from Gravesend. In one ship were the two Russian ambassadors. In the other the 'Dianna of Newcastell' was Sir Dudley Digges's party which included 'Mr Jams an Oxford Man, his Chaplin': this was Richard. Also on board were 'on Briggas, Interpreter' and John Tradescant, the elder, the gardener, who had worked on Digges's garden in Kent. Richard James left an account of the trip, unfortunately now lost, but John Tradescant's account survives (Allen 1964: 65–83). From material in the Moscow archives we learn that Richard James was also an interpreter. Tradescant's account of the journey by ship on which Richard James was also travelling, and of subsequent events in Russia, are noted at length here as they provide unique insights into what James, as well as Tradescant and the ambassadorial party, experienced during that expedition.

With his maritime heritage it is hoped that Richard James did not suffer from seasickness, which Tradescant records quickly struck down the landsmen on the expedition including Digges himself. According to Tradescant it took two weeks to 'beate up and doune' from Gravesend to reach Newcastle, where the English sent their Russian travelling companions a present of 'two small salmons and nine gallons of Canary sack' to accompany their meal. The following day the expedition set sail northwards, only to be further battered by storms which made Digges 'extreem sick, in so much that all they in the ship mad question of his life'. A respite in the weather allowed contacts between the travellers on the two ships. On 29 July Digges sent a present of fresh meat to the Russian ambassador Volynski: one quarter of mutton, half a littill porker and three live pullets, ther' Lent being but then ended' and so the fasting associated with that season: not Lent as we generally understand it today, but the 'Apostles' Fast', which lasts from the second Monday after Whitsun to 28 June. In spite of further poor weather, the ships made 'Greenland' (*ie.* Svalbard, Norway) after about a month. Tradescant records that they saw many whales and that soon after were rewarded by the sight of the snowy North Cape of Scandinavia after five weeks at sea. In the region of the Cape 'we felt the ayre very cold, the land being high land, all islands with many bayes amongst the lande'. The diary records Tradescant's poor opinion of the climate endured by the Lapps and Sammoyeds whom he saw en route. Of the former he wrote that he would rather be a porter in London than endure the climate of Lapland where 'the snow is never off the ground wholly, but lieth in great packes continnewally, when it is no fogs, which most time it is'. James (like Tradescant) was impressed by the fog and wrote a poem while on the voyage which alludes to the difficulties of sailing through the desolate fogs of the northern seas. The travellers saw Sammoyeds hunting deer with bows and arrows, dressed in animal skins, which were one of the chief items of contemporary trade between Russia and England.

The ship came into harbour, in what seems to have been Archangel, on 16 July. A welcome had been arranged and presents were exchanged. The English received a bullock, two sheep, ten hens, two pheasants and six partridges. Some of these creatures, Tradescant observed, resembled their English counterparts. The travellers soon managed to go ashore and Tradescant immediately began to take an interest in the flora. He noted berries, like strawberries but with a different leaf, and he brought some of these plants home. He was astonished by the variety of fruit bearing plants and also was interested in animals and birds. During the voyage north he tried to keep alive various birds which had landed on the ship and when they died he acted as taxidermist, preparing and stuffing bodies for his collection. On the shore he quickly noted some snake skins and also some birds of which 'the ould ones were great to the bignes of a fesant, the wings whit, the bodies green of the tayll blewe or dove for coller. I would...' he added '... have given five shillings for their skins'. After one night ashore in a house constructed on very strong tree trunks laid one on top of the other with the space between in-filled with moss, Tradescant was given the use of a boat by the Russians. He visited various islands where he was delighted to see 'single rosses, wondrous sweet'. The local people kindly offered cakes, sour cream and oatmeal to the travellers. The embassy occupied the next few weeks until early August, when preparations were made to leave.

The embassy in the end achieved little. Digges himself never reached Moscow, although James was among those of the party who did make it there, meanwhile beginning to assemble his Russian word list, the value of which is that it was an early attempt at a written vocabulary of the Russian language which was not then a literary tongue (Larin 1959). Fears of the Polish forces forced Digges into a hasty retreat. Even his parting salute was a dismal failure as a cannonball wrecked a house on the quay, much to the dismay of the Russians. The hoped-for northern trade route was not established, although trade did spring up between the two nations along a southern route in the hands of the English East India Company.

James stayed behind after the ambassadors and Tradescant had left. He lodged with a diplomat and enlarged his wordlist over the winter of 1618–1619. James's account of his visit to Russia is now lost, although it may have existed *c.* 1700. Much evidence of what he saw can be gleaned from his wordlist (Larin 1959). He apparently aimed to make his list wide-ranging, starting with fish, vegetables such as turnips, and cucumbers, and moving on through wild and domestic animals all jumbled up with monks, nuns, pens, candlesticks, furniture and the seasons. Parts of the body come next, and there are detailed

lists of household accoutrements, tools, plants and occupations. A reference to oak trees around Novgorod records that they grew to such a massive size that four men 'cannot fathom one about'. Exotic animals are included, for example, lions, monkeys and parrots. Clothes are detailed such as boots and felt soles to put in them, garters, coats and accessories such as buttons. Musical instruments including kettle drums and a flute appear. Tools and weapons are listed with emphasis on those peculiar to Russia, such as the ragatine 'a kinde of weapon like an Irish darte which Vaivods use' for killing bears and other beasts. Fantastical beasts appear such as mors 'a sea horse of whose teeth Mr John Nash had four which weighed eight pounds valued at £40 sterling'. Detailed descriptions of birds are given for example 'jitwonke ... little burds much of the bigness of a larke and they have such a long clawe in the backs.... And bellies of the same colour but on the sides of the head they have as it weare two short hornes of black feathers and a black spot in the throate, blackish legs and bilde, and in the head and necke they are interlaide and spotted yellowe: and in taste also they are larkes, exceedingly fat'. A laconic note follows; 'we ate them on 4 October'. James clearly conversed with people familiar with far flung parts of Russia, we hear of terminology from the plains of Tartary on the Volga, fish from Astrakhan 'verie delicate and wholesome', and from 'the Bay of St Nicholas'. A dwarf from Siberia is noted. Great fences are referenced where the Russians maintained watch all summer 'against the Nagai Tartars', and also salt mines at the mouths of the great rivers, and great rocks of bay salt which resembled those found in Poland, near the border with Hungary. Local recipes are found for example for pancakes. Games are mentioned: chess men are referred to under the entry for mammoths, Maimanto a 'sea elephant which is never seene, but according to ye [Samoyeds], he works himself under ground and so they find his teeth or hornes.... of which they make table men in Russia'. Or could this be walrus or narwhal ivory? Another, if more obscure dice game, sem-odenaset, he records as played by Russians and their wives and children, which sounds like a form of strip-poker in which (presumably the losers?) 'they end up in their naked state, shirt and all'. There's nothing to say whether James actually observed this and maybe he was too credulous. Elsewhere a creature is described as 'a wolveringe, this beast after he hath filld his paunch, gets between two trees and squeezes till he vomit and then he feeds again'.

Making his way back from Russia in 1620, he presented, among other gifts, books to the Corpus Library. In 1623 he set off again, to Newfoundland, which was less interesting consisting of 'nothing but rocks, lakes or mosses, like bogs'. He then settled down to study and to write his *Decanonization of Becket*, a large Latin work of 780 pages, meanwhile taking his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in July 1624 (Cleminson 2016: 710–711). He also visited Shetland and Orkney. His aversion to prelates was temporarily cast aside when Richard enlisted his uncle Thomas to recruit Bishop, later Archbishop, Ussher in Ireland, as a patron for this work but without success. Ussher was a close friend and associate of Sir Robert Cotton, and his family signing himself '*totus tuus*' in correspondence.

Richard James the antiquary

Maybe Ussher recommended Richard James to Cotton and so facilitated his breakthrough in the world of classical antiquarianism, although Cotton had some acquaintance with the Isle of Wight having been MP for Newtown (now a largely abandoned medieval settlement) early in the century. It is likely that James met Sir Robert Cotton, probably at Corpus, in 1625, when Cotton visited the college and stayed there in July (although the President required him to bring his own 'linnen'!). Cotton may have renewed acquaintance with Corpus and James when, because of the virulent plague in London, the Westminster parliament adjourned to Oxford a month later, on 1 August. James I had died in March and this was an opportunity to establish links with, and obtain patronage from, the new and as yet uncrowned monarch, Charles I. In 1630 in the dedication to Cotton of 'A Sermon delivered in Oxford concerning the Apostles Preaching...' James urged Cotton to receive it kindly 'as you have done me for the space of more than foure yeares cherishing both my life and learning', signed 'Your most faithful servant Rich. James' and providing a timescale for their friendship (Grosart 1880: li).

The opportunity to be more involved in London arose when, because of his reputation as an antiquary and scholar, James was invited to help in the great antiquarian project of the day: the elucidation of

the Arundel Marbles collected by William Petty on behalf of the earl of Arundel, a long term friend of Cotton. The marbles were brought to England in 1627 to be displayed in the gardens of Arundel House in The Strand. This acquisition caused a sensation among scholars. This elucidation involved drawing on wider expertise and thus John Selden was sought to interpret the Greek inscriptions. Selden spread the net, drawing on the expertise of friends in common including Patrick Young, The Royal Librarian (self-styled Patrick Junius) and Richard James (Patrick Young later became vicar of Hayes in Middlesex, a post in which he was succeeded by Francis James of New College, son of Thomas, librarian and a noteworthy Chaucerian scholar at New College in the 1630s (Knox *et al.* 2016: 40–49 and notes 42ff)). The inscriptions were published by Selden in 1628. These connections and this work 'enlarged James's horizons' (Cleminson, 2016: 714–715). Not until a generation after Richard James's death, some of the marbles, much mutilated both by vandals and 'restorers', and their inscriptions found their way to the Ashmolean Museum, where they remain today.

In 1628 antiquarians were sufficiently high-profile to appear as a 'type' in John Earle's collection of character sketches *Microcosmographie* '...[the antiquary]... his estate consists much in shekels and Roman coins...Beggars cozen him with rusting things they have raked out of dunghills'. A play by Shakerley Marmion (1603–1639) who was at Wadham College from 1617–1624, was called 'The Antiquary'. It was probably performed in London *c.* 1635 and was published in 1641, not long after James's death. Marmion mocked collectors whom he said would sit 'All day in contemplation of a statue/With ne'er a nose ....'

This might well have applied to Arundel, not a scholar, but a collector. Richard James, however, was worthy of the approbation of Marmion who also noted 'Antiquities .... are the registers, the chronicles of the age they were made in, and speak the truth of history better than a hundred of your printed commentaries'; surely a resounding justification of antiquaries, archaeologists and finds specialists?

James, a polymath antiquary, was undoubtedly not only skilled in languages, both palaeography and diplomatic, but also in material culture and fossils. He was a clerk first, scholar second but not a political animal, content to scull along below the radar of the times. 'I was content in middle rancks/Of meaner sorte, to view the prancks/And feates of men more active, who /are better pleased in what they do/Than I (cited by Cleminson 2016: 734). However, his encounter with leading lights of the age in London, and in the new atmosphere of Charles I's reign, which was less enthusiastic about Calvinist non-conformity, there were dangers which he may not have anticipated. This was to land him 'in the custody of a justice of the peace in Westminster' (I am grateful to Ralph Cleminson for this information), along with other alleged conspirators who were variously detained: earls, Cotton, Oliver St John (the Tower), Selden (already in The Tower) and others, but James was spared The Tower. The complex case, which does not concern us here, depended on the existence of a certain seditious pamphlet which was traced to Cotton's library, which was closed down and shut up by the King's men. James's accommodation there was searched, although he denied knowledge of the pamphlet as a contemporary text. Those in the know were well aware that the pamphlet was written in another reign, and was not an attack on King Charles. However being ever short of funds in the ongoing struggle with parliament, in which Cotton and his Library furnished evidence in support of parliament, the King's men pursued the alleged conspirators especially, some of the wealthy earls who were as one of them wrote 'fatt geese... worth the pulling, this is the Court language'. Things were looking bleak for those accused when on 29 May 1630 the case came to Star Chamber. However, that very day saw the birth of a prince and heir to Charles I, Charles II to be, and the case was rapidly abandoned (Cleminson 2016: 728 and n. 85).

After his brief day in the glare of intellectual publicity with the Arundel Marbles, he became embroiled with the alleged plot and was committed to captivity from which, maybe in an allusion to his incarceration, James wrote (again in *A consultation with myself, when I was confin'd into close keeping by ye Lords*) 'Deare God, by whom in dark wombs shade/ I am to feare and wonder made/ Learne me what part I am to beare/ On this world's stage and theatre...'. It was not only his sojourn in confinement and the closing of the Library which beset him. His uncle Thomas died in August 1629, Richard's great supporter and helper in the early 1620s, and was buried in an unmarked grave towards the east of New College Chapel. Thomas

assisted Richard from beyond the grave by enabling his nephew's collation to, and income from, the benefice of Little Mongeham in Kent. Sir Robert Cotton died on 6 May 1631, having never regained access to his extraordinary library which was, in time, to become a foundation collection of the British Library. James however remained on good terms with Sir Thomas Cotton, Robert's heir, and continued to work on the library and it was in Cotton's house in Westminster, built on to the side of Westminster Hall, that he died in 1638 and was buried in the church of St Margaret's Westminster across the road, surely a sign of approbation?

The library was not his only work during the last seven years of his life. He retained his fellowship at Corpus Christi College and pursued various other projects which attracted him. It may have been in this period that he visited Orkney and Shetland. What is more certain is that it was in the mid-1630s that he travelled to and around Lancashire and Cheshire, collecting and writing up material on genealogy, history and topography with contributed to his 390 line poem *Iter Lancastrense* published in 1636 (Corser 1845). The exposition of what he saw provided, among much else, the opportunity to further challenge his bête noir, the Roman Catholic church.

If James's earlier career had afforded the opportunity and training to give him a deep knowledge and understanding for posterity of an impressive range of ancient and modern languages across Europe and beyond, his final project in Cheshire and Lancashire, *Iter Lancastrense*, provided a platform on which he demonstrated his depth of knowledge of English national history, local history and the genealogy of his Heywood patrons there and others, essential after the loss of Cotton senior in 1631. It also reminds us of the physical nature of antiquarianism at that time, as James and his hosts rode from place to place to see sites. They visited a Roman Road where he observed the 'agger' beside a surviving stretch. They visited medieval sites such as Middleton Church (lines 55–90) with its famous collection of brasses and 'Flodden Window'.[1]

Thence they travelled to 'Ormeschurch and ye Meales' [Ormskirk and the Meols]/ Are our next jorney; we direct no weales/ Of state to hinder our delight. Ye guize/ of those chasse sands, which do in mountaines rise,/On shore is pleasure to behould, which Hoes/ Are called in Worold: windie tempest blowes/ Them up in heapes:....' (lines 110–130, one etymology of Meols being a flat-topped, wind sculpted, hill). To what extent these visitors were aware of the treasure of small finds, hailed as second only to those recovered from London in recent years, mainly of the 12th–15th centuries which have emerged from these shifting sands from the deserted settlement below, especially in the 19th century, is unknown (Brown 2018; Standley 2018; Willmot 2018 citing inter alia, Hinton's (2010) contribution to deserted settlement finds studies). How these would have fascinated James, with his interest in artefacts, as it has been recently suggested that they were buried as a result of a natural disaster probably in the late 15th or early 16th century, so not many generations before the visitors in the 1630s had observed the storm-sculpted 'heapes' of 'chasse'/'chaffe'(?) (dry) sand.

In common with antiquarians of his generation, Richard James saw what he took to be evidence of the Biblical Flood strengthening belief in the veracity of the Bible:

But greater wonder calls me hence: ye deepe/Lowe spongie mosses yet remembrance keepe/ Of Noah's floode: on numbers infinite of firre trees.../And in summe places where the sea bate/Downe from ye shoare, tis wonder to relate/ How many thowsands of these trees now stand/ Black broken on their rootes, which once drie/ land did cover... (lines 305–310). ...

That God, offended with earth's crimes did raine/ Till all once drowned was in hurling maine...'

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[1] Beautifully illustrated in expensive colour in Corser 1845, now known to have been erected by Sir Ralph Ashton in 1505 so not, as once thought, as a memorial to those who fought at Flodden in 1513, although some of those depicted were no doubt among those present at the battle, referenced with Agincourt etc. as bowmen in *Iter Lancastrense* (see www.flodden1513.com and accompanying down-loadable text published by the Flodden Ecomuseum – how delighted James and his Lancashire patrons would be at the architecture of Middleton Church being now associated with the up-to-the-minute Ecomuseum of Flodden).

He proceeds to cite the discoveries of sea creatures (fossils?) in quarries and notes how at Connington 'threescore miles from wale of sea ... was fownd a whale/Upon a high downes browe, whose ribs and bones/ With chance and time were turned into stones. And oft earth's bosomme yeelds ye rich prizd hornes/ Of counter-poison sea fish unicornes' (lines 320-328) (a reference to a discovery on Sir Robert Cotton's estate in Conington, (now Northamptonshire formerly Huntingdonshire) of what is now thought to have been a narwhal's skeleton and horn, or more correctly tooth).

A 'Most Famous Antiquary'

All this demonstrates Richard James's curious, scholarly and extraordinarily broad knowledge, justification if any was needed of his praise as a 'most famous Antiquary'. The residual and unresolved puzzle is who might have written 'that most famous Antiquary' in the register of St Margaret's Westminster, and noted against Elizabeth James's burial in 1618 'wife of ye antiquary', and when these marginal additions were made? These comments are penned later, although at a glance they appear to be in a 17th century hand. 1618 was the year he sailed to Russia, and before he was well known at all. While we must agree with the comment on Richard, and as Ralph Cleminson has shown, it is highly improbable, and in fact impossible, to accept that he was married to Elizabeth, not least because his fellowship at Corpus Christi College, the requirement of which was that he should remain unmarried, continued until his death in 1638 (Cleminson 2016).

Because he was not married there is no suggestion that he was in any sense 'against' women. He wrote affectionate poems to 'Albina' later the wife of Philip Woodhouse (who believed that Richard James had been away so long he had died in Russia!). The poem opens 'Dearest Albina, my desire/Full readie were to kindle fire, and make a taper kindly flame/To Hymen's honour with your name'. In addition, probably between 1633 and 1635, James helped out 'a young Gentle Ladie' with a query - probably the first written reference - about the identity and
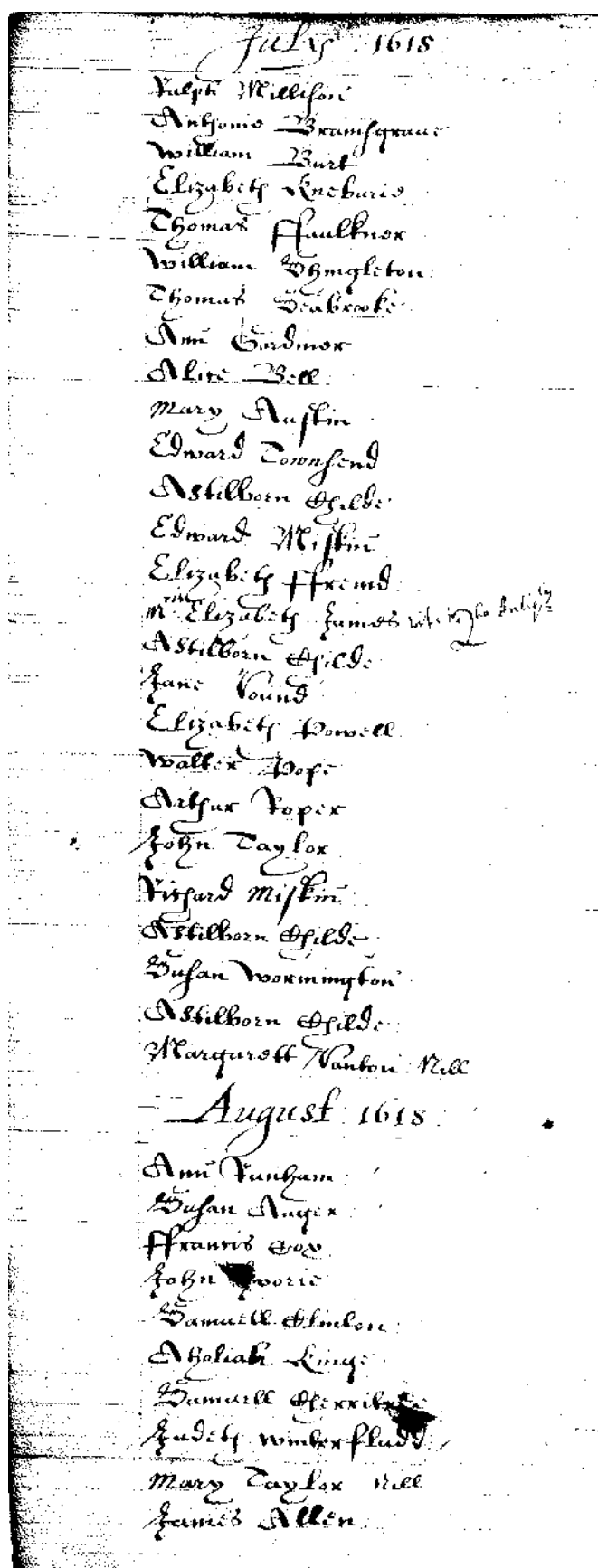

Figure 2. Burial of Elizabeth James (July 1618). Courtesy of Georgina Colbeck-Peters, Archives & Local Studies Officer, City Management and Communities, MS Register of St Margaret's Westminster.

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death of Shakespeare's Falstaff (I am grateful to Dr Philip Knox for discussing this reference from the James MSS at the Bodleian Library with me; also see Knox *et al.* 2016 for James's cousin Francis, son of Bodley's Librarian, at New College in the 1630s (esp 41–50 and n. 42, 43; also Cleminson 2016: 715, 730). These references belie Corser's comment that Richard James's 'learning and research' in which he was so 'wrapped up' appealed more widely than only to 'the graver members' of his acquaintances and congregations (Corser, 1845: xxxiv). There is yet much to be discovered and learnt about this remarkably able, fit and curious man who has left his mark on so much of English scholarship. To use his own modest words:

'I was content, in middle rancks/ Of meaner sorte , to view the prancks/ And feates of men more active, who/Are better pleased in what they doe/ Than I who skepticklye scarce dare/Of beare, of lyon, or of hare/ Or the worse race of malepard/ Loud speake what I have seen or heard' (cited by Cleminson, 2016: 734).

Words of wisdom indeed!

Acknowledgements

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An Emporium for all Eras: David Hinton and Four Institutional Phases in the Rise of *Hamwic*, Anglo-Saxon Southampton

Mark Brisbane and Richard Hodges

Summary

This paper starts from the premise that every generation gets the Saxon Southampton it deserves. After a brief summary of the history of 'the *Hamwic* creation myth', we explore how ideas on this 'mercimonia' have developed over the past 150 years or so. It begins in the mid-19th century when antiquarian interest started in earnest, largely due to the expansion of Southampton with the coming of the railway, through some of the first modern excavations in the wake of WWII bomb damage and site clearance, into the 1960s and 70s with the beginnings of professional archaeological units, through large scale open-area excavations and the rise of the heritage industry, and finally the post-PPG16 world of watching briefs and UPDs. The paper will chart the emergence of new ways of describing and explaining the morphology of the place and its associated economic functions. But are we any closer to an understanding of the place? Even its name still confuses generations of archaeologists and historians (was it *Hamwih*, *Hamwic*, *Hamtun* or perhaps a polyfocal shapeshifter?). No sooner is one myth debunked then another one takes its place.

'To understand the development of the Saxon port…, it must be seen in the context of developments both in Wessex and in England as a whole – indeed, in the whole of north-west Europe.' (Hinton 1975: 4)

David Hinton has been a constant counsellor, advocate and supporter of the excavations and research at *Hamwic* (or *Hamwih*, as it was once known[1]) since he arrived at the University of Southampton in 1972. Over more than forty years he has seen the excavations and related research take different forms under four institutional phases. In this essay we wish to pay tribute to David's focussed commitment and intellectual contributions to Anglo-Saxon Southampton.

Keywords: *Hamwic*, Southampton, Anglo-Saxon, *wic*, emporium, port, trade, professional archaeology, PPG 16, Brexit

Beginnings

Roman and Anglo-Saxon finds were discovered in Southampton and reported on by various antiquarians throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the mid-19th century, during a period of rapid urban expansion that included terraced house construction and brick-earth digging, Anglo-Saxon finds were noted by a number of collectors. Some of these objects found their way into print, as in the correspondence between John Keel with Charles Roach Smith about the finds from the St Mary's area and, more significantly, the Rev. Edmund Kell who was methodical in his notes and publications in the local press and the Journal of the British Archaeological Association (Morton 1992: 9, 225).

However, the history of *Hamwic* excavations is essentially a post-war story encompassing four institutional phases. The first phase was an extension of the pre-war operations of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works to selectively excavate places in danger of destruction. The story begins with salvage excavations prompted by wartime bombing of the St. Mary's district of Southampton, close to Southampton docks. An unlikely catalyst for these initial investigations was the founding editor of *Antiquity*, O.G.S. Crawford,

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[1] In the now largely forgotten debate over the correct way to refer to *Hamwic*/*Hamwih*/Saxon Southampton, David Hinton should be credited as one of the first to realise the inaccuracy of *Hamwih* and to use solely *Hamwic* in his book *Alfred's Kingdom* published in 1977, three years before Rumble's definitive paper on the subject (Rumble 1980).

who, as he worked for the Ordnance Survey, lived in Southampton. Crawford's interest stemmed from understanding his own city, the result of which was an important wartime essay he published in *Antiquity* (Crawford 1942).

As Crawford observed 'many excavations, some of them violent' (1942: 43) produced intriguing outcomes. With the end of the war, Crawford's interests grew and extended to understanding the Roman settlement at Bitterne Manor, usually known as *Clausentum*, on the east bank of the River Itchen (Morton 1992: 11), where a young Dudley Waterman had excavated trial trenches before the war (Waterman 1947). These connections led to the first modern excavation within *Hamwic* by Waterman in 1946. Working with local amateur archaeologist, M.R. Maitland Muller, Waterman with support from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works opened up a small area west of St. Mary's Street in the area known as Kingsland (Figure 1). It was the first of many seasons led initially by Waterman (until 1950) and then by Maitland Muller. Significantly, it led to the formation of the Southampton Saxon Excavation Committee, founded in 1949 as an advisory committee (Morton 1992: 11).

Waterman's transfer to the Northern Ireland Archaeological Survey proved to be a turning point in this first phase. A diligent excavator who published many sites in Ulster, his failure to report on his findings at *Hamwic* was compounded by the tantalising interim accounts published by Maitland Muller in local newsletters and journals. This failure weighed on Waterman, as he observed to one of us (RH) in a meeting in Belfast in December 1973. By then, the intriguing promise of *Hamwic* had been made evident in G.C. Dunning's masterly overview of Anglo-Saxon pottery published in 1959, which illustrated the presence of an exceptional range of imported wares in the excavations made by Waterman and Maitland Muller (Dunning *et al* 1959).

Small-scale investigations were to continue throughout the later 1950s and early 1960s (Morton 1992: 11–13), but these were overshadowed by the creation of the Winchester Excavations Committee and a ten-year series of large excavations at key Winchester sites starting in 1961 led by Martin Biddle. Over

Figure 1. Photograph of 1948 excavations at Kingsland (SOU 36) conducted by M.R. Maitland-Muller.
Photograph by M.G.C. Wheeler.

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this period and indeed beyond, Biddle established not only a new methodology for urban archaeology in Great Britain, but lent Winchester an historical status that tended to overshadow the significance of Southampton (cf. Biddle 1983). The regional pre-eminence of Winchester in the interpretation of Anglo-Saxon Southampton was to cast a long shadow until it was challenged in 1982 by Richard Hodges's *Dark Age Economics*.

Biddle's influence, however, indirectly led to a new chapter in the phase 1 excavations of Saxon Southampton, coinciding with major excavations in the medieval town lying *c.* 1.5km to the southwest of *Hamwic* by the historian Colin Platt (Platt and Coleman Smith 1975; see Brown this volume). New campaigns of excavations in *Hamwic* were launched in 1968 by Peter Addyman, the University of Southampton's first lecturer in Medieval Archaeology and David Hinton's immediate predecessor. Together with his doctoral student, David Hill, an erstwhile surveyor on Biddle's excavations at Winchester, and a proponent of post-Roman urban continuity and Winchester's exceptionalism (cf. Biddle and Hill 1971), Addyman undertook large-scale rescue excavations (cf. Morton 1992: 13–14). The new project, like the excavations of the medieval town, was keenly supported by the energetic new Keeper of Archaeology in Southampton City Museums, Robert (Bob) Thomson.

Following Biddle's new principles of open-area excavation, Addyman and Hill, deploying many veterans from the Winchester excavations as well as Southampton University students (including RH), over three years introduced new standards to *Hamwic* (Figure 2). More importantly, they published their results promptly in two ground-breaking reports (Addyman and Hill 1968, 1969). These reports established the urban significance of *Hamwic* and effectively showed that the Anglo-Saxon site was an emporium – as Dunning *et al.* (1959) had astutely intimated a decade earlier – similar to the historically and archaeologically familiar Continental emporia of *Dorestad*, *Hedeby*, *Kaupang* and *Birka*. To Addyman,

Figure 2. Photograph of 1968 excavations at Clifford Street (SOU 32) conducted by D. Hill and G. Lewis. Photograph reproduced courtesy of Southampton City Council. Copyright reserved.

in particular, who participated in Herbert Jankuhn's important conference at Groningen in 1972 and published a review of *Hamwic*, special tribute must be paid. In the celebrated company of Jankuhn, the excavator of *Hedeby*, Charlotte Blindheim, the excavator of *Kaupang*, and Wim van Es, the excavator of *Dorestad*, Addyman (1973) identified the historical significance of *Hamwic* as a pre-Alfredian West Saxon port belonging to the mid-Saxon period.

Addyman and Hill's excavations and reports coincided with a new era in British archaeology. In 1971 a group of university and professional archaeologists, including Peter Addyman and Martin Biddle, worked with the Conservative government to create support for rescue archaeology in the country. Effectively, this led to increased national support through the newly created (1970) Department of the Environment of the UK national government, as well as significantly increased local government support for excavations ahead of urban renewal and rural agricultural intensification. In many ways the emphasis upon government support for archaeology coincided with Britain's explicit intention to join the European Economic Community (later the EU) and emulated standards in countries such as the Netherlands and West Germany. This dramatic shift in the public resourcing of archaeology heralded a new institutional phase – phase 2 in this story – and had an almost instantaneous effect upon the archaeology of Southampton and *Hamwic*, in particular, as it did on many other British towns (e.g. Exeter, Gloucester, Norwich, Ipswich, Lincoln, London, York). Southampton Research Committee (SRC) was created in October 1971 and was soon to be re-named in 1972 Southampton Archaeological Research Committee (SARC). Under the chairmanship of a city alderman, John Barr, a professional archaeologist was sought as director. Lawrence Keen was to be the first of two directors during SARC's lifetime, which lasted nine years until 1981. SARC, as it happened, belonged to the last years of post-war public intervention in all aspects of cultural and economic British life before the 1979 Conservative government determined to roll back and downsize the central role and size of government.

A professional full-time archaeological unit

The full-time archaeological unit was a new concept. As John Barr wrote in 1975: 'No-one wants to stop urban renewal, but if archaeological information is not to be lost irretrievably, well-organized teams of excavators must be available, at moments not of their own choosing but which fit in with a development programme' (Barr 1975: 1). Ample government support led to a plethora of new excavations and the acquisition of an enormous body of new information about the mid-Saxon port. Publication followed, thanks in no small part to the active editorship and counsel of David Hinton. Inheriting Addyman's mantle his hand is evident in SARC's first pamphlet on its excavations and research in which he provides an overview that repeats but also enlarges upon Addyman and Hill's reports (Hinton 1975: 2–9). As the quotation at the beginning of this essay reminds us, Hinton championed an extra-regional view of *Hamwic*, taking Addyman's first sketch (1973) and significantly developing it. His hand is also demonstrably apparent in Holdsworth's publication of the Melbourne Street excavations (1980) and indeed in Morton's (1992) important overview that included reports on sites conducted by SARC and others. Most of all, over the course of SARC, Hinton asked questions of the archaeology, tying the expanded excavations to the purposes of historical research (cf. Hinton 1977). Gradually, as a consequence, through an attrition brought about by published research, *Hamwic* by the time SARC closed had attained a status in Anglo-Saxon archaeology alongside Winchester, not least because almost all of Biddle's ground-breaking investigations in the West Saxon capital remained unpublished aside from interim reports. As yet, though, in 1981 *Hamwic*, given the few historical references to the port, lay outside the scope of historians unlike its Continental peers, *Dorestad* and *Hedeby*.

By 1981, when SARC was replaced by Southampton City Council, the British Conservative government was tightening its grip on public spending, and was about to out-source the management of heritage to a so-called quango (quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation) overseen by the Department of the Environment, to be known as English Heritage and established in 1984. By stages, excavations at *Hamwic* were overseen directly by Southampton City Museums under the direction of Mark Brisbane, an erstwhile student of Hinton's. This third institutional phase instigated further major excavations in

Figure 3. Photograph of 1981 excavations at Six Dials (SOU 31) conducted by P. Andrews, showing backyard areas with pits in foreground and buildings fronting on to a street at top. Photograph reproduced by courtesy of Southampton City Council.

the Six Dials area (Figure 3). These extensive excavations totalling some 5000m^2 – a precursor of the 1998–2000 St. Mary's Stadium excavation – proffered a great deal of rich information on the topography of the emporium as well as its changing material culture, its industries and production (Andrews 1997). With local management, tacitly supported by Hinton, significant advances were made in recording and then publishing the exceptional material culture from *Hamwic*. In this period, a volume dedicated to the prodigious quantities of finds of pottery and coins was published (Andrews 1988), complementing the first overview of the imported ceramics supported by SARC (Hodges 1981). In this period, too, the groundwork was laid for the publication of *Hamwic's* glass (Hunter and Heyworth 1998), and Hinton's monograph on the metalwork (1996). In other words, twenty-five years after Hinton's arrival at Southampton University and the concurrent creation of the first dedicated unit to work on *Hamwic*, the town boasted an important body of high calibre reports unlike, for example, peer urban centres such as Ipswich and Winchester (cf. Brisbane 1988).

PPG 16: part of a neo-liberal strategy for sustaining British culture

The shift to developer funding and competitive tendering as a result of the government's planning policy guidance note (known as PPG16 in England and Wales, produced in 1990) essentially placed Southampton City Museums in the role of curator of *Hamwic's* archaeological resource, but this responsibility soon passed to a new post within the City Council's Planning Dept. This fourth institutional phase, starting over 25 years ago, reinforced the concept of developer (both public and private sector) support for rescue excavations, which were conducted by professional archaeological units tendering for the work. It formed part of the

comprehensive introduction of a neo-liberal economic strategy intended to safeguard Britain's cultural assets (overseen by a new British ministry as of the spring of 1992, the Department of National Heritage), in anticipation of increasing integration into the EU market following the Maastricht treaty.

PPG 16 constituted a radical transformation in the institutional process but, in *Hamwic's* case at least, also led to a number of high calibre reports. Notable amongst these is Wessex Archaeology's report on the large-scale excavations in advance of the new St. Mary's Stadium in 1998–2000 (Birbeck 2005). These excavations found important new evidence for the occupation of the River Itchen shores immediately before the emporium was constructed, a detail that Hinton analysed skilfully in his *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins* (Hinton 2005: 75–78). Significantly, the excavator and Hinton drew parallels with similar earlier 7th century grave groups at Buttermarket, Ipswich (cf. Scull 2013) and various sites in *Lundenwic*, London (cf. Cowie and Blackmore 2012; Cowie and Whytehead 1989). This in turn launched new interest in the ethnic and territorial origins of the port, which has been intriguingly developed by Bruce Eagles in a ground-breaking essay on the beginnings of *Hamtunscir* and its possible relationship to the parish of St. Mary's (Eagles 2015: 129).

Impact of 2010–18 austerity and the implications of Brexit

Following the global economic turmoil of 2008–2009, the newly elected coalition government in the UK began a sequence of cost-cutting measures designed to reduce the UK's national deficit. These policies are continuing to this day and the implications for local authorities have been dramatic. Faced with reductions to services due to budget cuts, councils are no longer able or willing to support heritage to the extent they once did. In line with other sectors, such as housing and community care, council services are increasingly outsourced to private companies. This endangers the link between planning and curating the archaeological resource, a core principle of PPG16, as well as the ability of councils to monitor the quality of archaeological work being undertaken.

Figure 4. Photograph of 2012 excavations west of St Mary's Street (SOU 1553) conducted by M.F. Garner, showing penannular ditch with central grave. Photograph reproduced courtesy of Southampton City Council.

While the institutional structure of archaeological fieldwork, conducted by professional organisations tendering for work paid for by developers has not yet been directly affected, the support structure for archaeology certainly has. Primarily this means that archives and museums, often in the public sector, are increasingly facing drastic cuts to staffing levels, opening hours, collection care and access. In a number of instances, previously council-run archives and museums have been outsourced to a trust with a consequent and sometimes disastrous reduction in public financial support, while those remaining under council control have faced the chill winds of drastic cuts and staff reductions (see, for example, Council for British Archaeology 2014) .

Despite these far from ideal national circumstances, Southampton's archaeology continues to be well-served by independent units conducting watching briefs and excavations to generally high standards. This fortunately includes the expertise and in-depth knowledge of *Hamwic* maintained in the remnants of the City Council's archaeological service, now run partially at arm's length from the council itself, and presided over by Dr Andy Russel, who has been excavating in Southampton since the mid-1980s and whose recent investigations are adding considerably to our knowledge of settlement layout, burial practices and chronology (Figure 4).

In a wider context, Brexit presents further challenges that could well undermine current policies and procedures. Not least of these is the uncertainty about the status of what are currently crucial EU principles enshrined in law that underpin various aspects of environmental protection. While the post-Brexit world we will soon be living in is currently full of obscurity, these are potential and real threats that need to be considered seriously as they could have far-reaching implications for the way that archaeology will be conducted in the future. The benefits to archaeology of EU directives and regulations have been undeniable, if under appreciated. As Rob Lennox recently (2017) wrote in a statement on the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA) website, 'the loss of overarching environmental standards is a major long-term concern which will influence the scope and potential direction of future reform and regulation of the environment, planning system, and archaeology, particularly given recent policy trends towards deregulation.'

In the last twenty-five years or so, it has been encouraging to see so many international collaborations with European partners, coming about through universities and other organisations (e.g. CIfA, The European Association of Archaeologists, Council of Europe, European Science Foundation, the Medieval Europe conference, etc.). Some of these initiatives have been greatly assisted by EU funding through schemes such as INTERREG, Horizon 2020, etc. Continuing UK collaboration in these schemes post-Brexit is currently in doubt. Of course, only time will tell what the implications of austerity/Brexit will be for the research and study of *Hamwic*, but the environment will change and probably not for the better.

Discussion

Hamwic, in the forty-five years since the first professional archaeological unit was set up in Southampton, thanks to a large body of published reports, has emerged from the shadow of Winchester and indeed eclipsed it. Biddle's interpretation of the emporium as an outport for Winchester, thereby connecting the two places as one urban unit, is no longer widely accepted (Biddle 1973; see the shadow of this thesis on Hinton 1975: 6). *Hamwic* now belongs to a more extensive picture of Anglo-Saxon England and early medieval Europe (cf. McCormick 2001; Wickham 2005).

The lineage of this paradigm shift can be traced back to the articles published by Addyman (1973) and Hinton (1975). The latter's general synopsis of the emporium was modified in an anthropological interpretation with an emphasis upon urban discontinuity by Hodges (1982)[2]. This attracted criticism from archaeologists but concurrently interest from historians for placing emphasis upon the role of the

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[2] This processual account influenced by the writings of the New Archaeology, stemming from the author's thesis written under the supervision of David Hinton and David Peacock, was completely revised thirty years later (Hodges 2012). See Chris Wickham's perceptive appraisal of these two very different versions (2017).

West Saxon king – especially Ine – in the creation of the town. For example, Samson (1999) regarded it as a 'mad economic theory'; Palmer (2003: 50) denounced 'the 'Hodgean' model of development...because of the prevalence of kings and bishops' in the interpretation; but recently, Loveluck (2013: esp.14–22) has offered a critically nuanced overview based upon the wider Continental archaeological literature. In 1975 Hinton projected that *Hamwic* served a West Saxon role impacting upon neighbouring kingdoms, though reduced this to the coastal plain of southern Hampshire by 1999 (Hinton 1999: 59).

Historians and numismatists, by contrast, have reinforced the model of *Hamwic* as a tribal economic centre involving royal patronage and wide-ranging regional and extra-regional trading connections (e.g. McCormick 2001: 671–672; 2007; Wickham 2005: 681–686). Numismatists, however, remain divided: Grierson and Blackburn (1986) provide a minimalist perspective of *Hamwic's* strategic economic purposes based on the coin information whereas Metcalf continues to see it as a market centre driven by the circulation of millions of coins (2014: 245–246)[3].

In a Britain now fully engaged in globalisation and, having suffered the full economic consequences of this in 2008, there is not surprisingly given the amount of literature available on *Hamwic*, a new generation of archaeologists looking at this place (e.g. Augenti 2010: 64-69; Haour 2012). To some extent they have taken their point of departure from historians like McCormick and Wickham (as opposed to archaeologists from Biddle onwards) who have critically employed archaeology in their economic synopses (Lebecq 2012; McCormick 2012; Wickham 2012). Yet they have found rich research territory in understanding its urban procurement bases in the wide-scale agrarian evolution of post-Roman England by the 7th century (see Rippon *et al.* 2015: 34–41). Indeed international scholars have seen the rich promise for using actor-network theory to interpret patterns within the material evidence from the port to understand behavioural conditions within the topographical residential quarters of *Hamwic* (cf. Jervis 2011; Sindbaek 2007).

Conclusions

So what conclusions, if any, can be drawn from the identification of these four institutional phases and their bearing on the study of *Hamwic*? While the initial period of antiquarian interest shows the usual concentration on the finds themselves, it is the pre-war and immediate post-war work where the concept of recording contexts and archaeological features moves increasingly centre stage.

Nevertheless, these early, limited excavations sometimes led to quite serious misunderstandings, such as interpreting mid-Saxon rubbish pits as houses. One can see in these interpretations the assumption that life in the Dark Ages was 'nasty, brutish and short' being played out in the way archaeological features were explained (cf. Radford 1957: 27–28). An example and a warning to successor archaeologists that they find what they are looking for and that try as hard as they may, the past is interpreted through the construct of prevailing ideologies and beliefs.

So it follows that from around 1960 onwards, the post-war boom era increasingly laid the emphasis on trade and continental connections, often supported by the use of new scientific techniques in archaeology. With the formation of professional units and the expansion of academic archaeology in the universities from the late 1960s, new ways of thinking became possible as more site and artefact data became available and there were more students to tackle the growing amount of information. Encouraged by the 'New Archaeology', researchers put trade and exchange into a wider economic context through systems theory and processual approaches.

During the 1990s and 2000s, the topic and professional discipline of archaeology has expanded still further, producing yet more data, often in so-called (archived) grey literature. Thanks to the internet, these otherwise hard-to-find reports allow new interpretations of large datasets by a growing number of

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[3] See F. De Callataÿ's (2018) incisive deconstruction of mass production of coins by early medieval and Mid Byzantine mints.

worldwide specialists, not only from archaeology but increasingly from other disciplines. These specialists often have very different starting points ranging from environmental exploitation to migration studies. In this sense, *Hamwic* is recognized as a major example of an early historical town on a worldwide stage: not an inconsiderable achievement for somewhere largely unknown until its 20th century rediscovery.

Yet there remain intriguing prospects for research into the origins, evolution, decline and end of *Hamwic*. At a regional level, Eagles' (2015: 129) forensic study of the origins of *Hamtunscir* and, in particular, the apparent role of a minster (presumed to be in the vicinity of St. Mary's Church; cf. Morton 1992: 50–51; Stoodley 2012: 240–242) needs to be further examined. At face value this appears to be contradictory given the strong case made by Frans Theuws (2004) that the Church played a limited role in the making of *Hamwic's* Continental counterpart, *Dorestad*. Did the Anglo-Saxon Church play a similar detached role to that of its Continental counterpart in the making of the emporia (Hodges 2012: 96)?

Eagles' essay also begs the question of the extent of the earliest Anglo-Saxon habitation of the area that subsequently becomes *Hamwic*, possibly from as early as the late 6th century or first half of the 7th century. Recent excavations and archive work by Garner and Russel provide further archaeological substance to some form of habitation decades before the planned town was created (Garner and Russel forthcoming). This fits remarkably well with Eagles' pre-*Hamwic* phase when this emerging 'small shire' may have been centred on Hiltingbury, not proto-*Hamwic* (Eagles 2015: 128–129).

What is also becoming clearer is that the burial rites practiced within early *Hamwic* (latter half of 7th seventh, very early 8th century) and which have been investigated at a number of sites from Cook Street in the south-west of *Hamwic* (Garner 2001), SOU 1553 in the west (Garner and Russel forthcoming; see also Figure 4), Clifford Street in the north/north-west (Morton 1992: 171–179) and St Mary's Stadium in the north-east (Birbeck 2005), all show signs of either being strongly pagan or holding on determinedly to pagan traditions (e.g. grave goods, cremation burials, use of penannular ditches around central graves, prone burials). It is also worth noting that all four of these cemeteries go out of use by the early 8th century and are quickly obliterated by subsequent mid-Saxon occupation of later 8th century date. Is this shift away from settlement-edge cemetery use a signal of the arrival of a more strident and centralising form of Christianity, perhaps associated with the foundation of a minster?; is it contemporary with the shift from Hiltingbury to *Hamwic* as raised by Eagles and seen by him as direct royal involvement in a rapidly expanding trading centre?; or is it perhaps both?

Furthermore, resembling the early origins now established for Ipswich and London, did *Hamwic* evolve over several generations in the 7th century close to a safe beaching-point at a place with an ancient memory, the Roman fortified settlement at *Clausentum*? If so, like London, does the emporium owe its origins to being in Augé's sense, a place, only to evolve from the later 7th century into a non-place (Augé 1995; Hodges 2000: 79–83)?

The temporal evolution of the port through the 8th century also merits much closer scrutiny as the chronology of the *sceatta* coinage is seriously reviewed. For instance, was there a mid 8th century recession or is this a chimera created by the changing history of coin-use (Grierson and Blackburn 1986: 184–189, especially tables 13 & 14; Metcalf 2009: 30; Naismith 2012: 330–331)? Presently, a case can be made for the recession as a consequence of the multiplication of sub-regional periodic market sites throughout Wessex (Costen and Costen 2016). Equally, there is a case for interpreting the recession in coin-production as a response to changing management and investment of silver in the sacred accoutrements of the mid 8th century rise of a new cognitive system (cf. Hodges 2018). Forensic analysis of *Hamwic's* rich pit-groups, following Jervis's (2011; 2014) important work, is now needed to throw light on the economic vicissitudes of long-distance trade in this experimental era in post-Roman Europe.

Lastly, interpretation of the end of the emporium appears to resist re-appraisal (for the evidence see Morton 1992: 70–77). It is more than apparent that *Hamwic*, like its Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian peers, was in sharp decline by *c*. AD 820 (cf. Hodges 2012: 113–114; Theuws 2004), yet the ethnohistorical

mono-causal explanation provided by the Vikings remains appealing to many scholars (cf. Eagles 2015: 129; Hall 2000). Deconstructing this search for an explanation, *ex deus machina*, in an era where British archaeologists and historians have benefited enormously from EU support and connections may just throw a little tangential light on the roots of Brexit.

In this brief post-war history of *Hamwic* embracing four institutional phases, David Hinton has been a major factor in the second to fourth phases, ensuring above all, a suite of major publications, which have made this largely ahistorical place a key component in the new historical interpretation of post-classical western Europe. Modest by nature, David's role in this British post-war archaeological story is immense and deserves our profound gratitude.

Acknowledgements

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Richard Hodges (OBE FSA) is President of the American University in Rome, having previously been Director of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (2007–2012). He has directed excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno (Italy) and Butrint (Albania). He undertook his doctoral research on the Hamwic pottery at the University of Southampton, where he also co-directed excavations in Wareham with David Hinton. He has published widely on the archaeology and history of the early medieval economy.

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Competition for the Solent and 7th Century Politics

Barbara Yorke

Summary

One of the major contributions that archaeology has made to our understanding of early Anglo-Saxon politics has been the demonstration of the importance of access to trade, sea-crossings and trading-places in the emergent kingdoms. Written records rarely refer directly to such interests, but arguably they help make sense of some of the interaction recorded between kingdoms in the early 7th century. This paper examines two such aspects relevant to understanding what was happening in the Solent region in this period: namely, the competition between the leaders of the Mercians and the Gewisse (West Saxons) and the latter's alliance with the royal house of Bernicia. These events provide a background to the foundation of *Hamwic*, probably in the reign of King Ine of Wessex (688-725).

David Hinton's work has always been notable for his awareness of how archaeological evidence might relate to the written record, and the problems and complexities of seeking to combine the two sources of evidence. *Archaeology, Economy and Society* aimed to 'examine the contribution that archaeology can make to an understanding of the social, economic, religious and other developments that took place in England from the Migration period to the beginning of the Renaissance' (Hinton 1990: vi). *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins* has many notable examples of how references to artefacts in texts can help with their contextualisation, as in the discussion of brooches and other items in Anglo-Saxon wills (Hinton 2005: 143–147). Such examples could be multiplied from David's many other publications that demonstrate the symbiotic relationship that can exist between written texts and archaeological evidence. It is a relationship in which I too have always been interested from the perspective of the historian. Although there have been no new finds of written records to match the many archaeological discoveries that have enriched understanding of the early Middle Ages, those same discoveries can inspire, indeed require, new readings of the historical record which may in turn aid the interpretation of the archaeology.

It is in this spirit that my paper is offered for the volume in David's honour. Its subject concerns the area of southern Hampshire that has inevitably played a large part in David's academic career from his base in the University of Southampton. We have often appeared together at local conference over the years wrestling with facets of the Solent's early medieval past from our different perspectives. The written record is far from ideal; it is incomplete and enigmatic, as will become only too apparent in the discussion below. But recent considerations of the archaeological evidence for trade and its role in the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms provide a standpoint from which the competition for control of the Solent in the middle years of the 7th century can be reviewed and, it is hoped, be better understood.

Keywords: Solent, Wessex, Anglo-Saxon, *Hamwic*, Gewisse, Mercia

Trade and the early kingdoms

The identification of the mid-Saxon *wics* of *Lundenwic* (London), *Gippeswic* (Ipswich), *Eorforwic* (York) and *Hamwic* (Southampton) was one of the great archaeological achievements of the second half of the 20th century (see Brisbane and Hodges this volume). Early interpretations provided a model for the royal development of overseas trade through such centres as an extension of the systems of gift-exchange that underpinned early medieval kingship (Hodges 1982). Understanding of early medieval trading systems has moved on substantially over the last forty years or so (e.g. McCormick 2001; Pestell 2011; Wickham 2005). Trade and exchange are now seen as much more widely diffused through society and at a much earlier point, in areas of southern and eastern England at least (Moreland 2000). Kings are seen not so much as the initiators of trade, but as people who sought to utilise established networks to their advantage. Trade

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is still seen as a key element of the development of the early kingdoms of the south and east, but from a rather different perspective in which ability to control nodal points in the system and exact profits from trade and traders seems to have become increasingly significant (Harrington and Welch 2014; Middleton 2005). This has provided a new understanding of what lay behind Bede's reference to the shared Jutish identity of Kent and the areas bordering the Solent, that is the Isle of Wight and 'those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today [i.e. in c.731] called the nation of the Jutes' (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 50–51; Yorke 1989; forthcoming). What bound Kent and the Solent areas was not so much any common southern Scandinavian origin, but an alliance that controlled the two areas with the shortest sea-crossings to Francia and two of the best-protected and largest natural harbours, the Isle of Thanet and the Solent (Richardson 2016). The abundance of finds of imported material of the 6th century on the Isle of Wight, compared to more modest finds on the Hampshire side of the Solent, suggest that Wight was the more important centre (Harrington and Welch 2014: 185–193). Bede was aware that it had had its own royal house into the 680s (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 383).

It was not just kingdoms based on the south and east coasts that benefited from the profits of trade. The kingdom of the Gewisse, whose royal house subsequently became rulers of the West Saxons, was based in the Thames valley. Mapping of finds as part of the 'Beneath the Tribal Hidage' project suggests that its rulers would have been in a position to benefit from two main trade routes, one running from east Kent through to the Thames valley itself and another running south from the Thames valley through central Wiltshire to Christchurch harbour and the west coast of the Isle of Wight (Harrington and Welch 2014: 188–195). The accoutrements of royal power in the form of royal halls and wealthy burials with imported goods or other indicators of involvement in trade have been identified in the upper Thames (Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Hamerow *et al.* 2015; Scull 1992), confirming the inference from the foundation of the see at Dorchester-on-Thames in *c.* 634 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 232-233) that this was the original centre of Gewissan power. Ceawlin of Wessex, whose death is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 593 (Whitelock 1965: 14), is the second ruler in Bede's list of the great overlords of the southern English and was succeeded in that position by Æthelbert of Kent (Colgrave and Mynors: 148–149). Exactly how the rulers of Kent and the Gewisse interacted with each other is not known, and there were no doubt tensions. A battle between Ceawlin and Æthelbert is recorded in the *Chronicle* for 568 (almost certainly one of the 6th century *Chronicle* dates that has been placed too early) (Whitelock 1965: 13). Nevertheless, it would appear that both were part of an economic system that operated to their mutual advantage. Those arrangements would be blown apart by the activities of Wulfhere of Mercia (658–675) and the Gewissan reaction to it. What follows is an attempt to better understand and date the events that led up to the Gewissan take-over of the Solent, and place it in a broader pattern of political alliances, on both sides of the Channel, in the second half of the 7th century.

Mercia and the Gewisse

The location of the Gewissan province in the upper Thames valley meant a potential for conflict with the growing power of Mercia when both provinces sought to extend their territory. A battle in the vicinity of Cirencester recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 628 between Cynegils and Cwichelm of the Gewisse and Penda of Mercia after which they are said to have 'come to terms' (*geþingodan*) (Plummer 1892: 24–25; Whitelock 1965: 17) perhaps established, for the moment, separate spheres of interest. The temporary expulsion of Cenwalh, Cynegils's successor, by Penda of Mercia in 642, ostensibly, according to Bede, because he had repudiated his wife who was Penda's sister (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 232–235), would seem to represent an adjustment, or restatement, of these arrangements after the accession of a new king. Cenwalh returned after three years, and as Penda's preoccupations were based further north the Gewisse do not seem to have been unduly challenged by Mercia at this point. But the accession of Penda's son Wulfhere (658–675) was rather a different matter. Wulfhere was much more concerned to extend his influence to the south. In addition to extending territory and establishing overlordship, it has been suggested that Wulfhere was also motivated to develop the trading potential of Mercia through *Lundenwic* (Cowie and Blackmore 2012: 108–110; Maddicott 2005). Another aspect of his economic policy may have been to disrupt the trading patterns and alliance of the 'Jutish' provinces of Kent and the Isle of Wight. That would be one way to interpret his

own alliance with King Æthelwalh of the South Saxons which was sealed by the baptism of Æthelwalh with Wulfhere standing as his godfather, the reception of a delegation of priests from Mercia and the bestowal on Æthelwalh by Wulfhere of the Isle of Wight and the province of the Meonware (that is the inhabitants of the Meon valley in what is now Hampshire, but was then part of the mainland Jutish province) (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 372–373). An *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 661 precedes a summary of Bede's account with a statement of the harrying of the Isle of Wight by Wulfhere (Whitelock 1965: 21). The archaeological evidence for the importance of the trading activities in the Jutish provinces encourages the interpretation that Wulfhere was deliberately dismantling that alliance and placing a significant part of its western arm under the supervision of his own ally, Æthelwalh of the South Saxons, who may have had his own base in the Chichester harbour area (where he founded a religious community at Bosham and established the South Saxon see at Selsey) (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 372–377; Kelly 1994).

The date of 661 provided in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for Wulfhere's attack on the Isle of Wight and the placing of it under the authority of Æthelwalh may not be exact and seems to be too early. The previous entry under 660 recorded the departure of Bishop Agilbert from Wessex and the appointment of Wine as bishop for three years, and either this date, or the length of Wine's episcopate cannot be correct as Bede records that in 664 (and this is a date that seems unimpeachable) Wine as bishop of the West Saxons consecrated Chad as bishop of Northumbria with the aid of two British bishops (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 316–317). A couple of sources provide some support for 663 as the date for Agilbert's departure and Wine's appointment. Agilbert would seem to have moved to Northumbria in 663 when he probably ordained Wilfrid as a priest of Ripon and he was certainly there in 664 when he attended the synod of Whitby (Cubitt 2013: 342). The 12th century chronicle of John of Worcester recorded that Wine ceased to be bishop in Wessex in 666 which would fit very well with an appointment of Wine in 663, on the departure of Agilbert, for a three year period (though the source of this date in his chronicle is not known) (Darlington and McGurk 1995: 114–115). So if the relative chronology of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is correct, and the tradition that Wine was bishop of Winchester for three years is also valid, Wulfhere's hostile activities on the Isle of Wight are likely to have dated to 664, the year after Wine became bishop of Winchester.

The *Chronicle* account of Wulfhere's harrying of the Isle of Wight is preceded by a report (in the same year) of similar activity on Ashdown (the chalk down between Wallingford and Marlborough). This was Gewissan territory and as the annal suggests the two events are likely to have been linked. If Wulfhere was intent on reordering the control of southern trade, the Gewisse were part of the system that he sought to overturn, as well as rival contenders for control of the Solent. Since the founding of the Gewissan see at Dorchester-on-Thames in *c*.634 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 232–233; Whitelock 1965: 18), the royal house of the Gewisse had shifted its interests further south and west. One sign of this was the creation of a new Gewissan bishopric at Winchester by Cenwalh, probably, as considered above, in 663. The early stages of increasing Gewissan royal interest in Winchester cannot be charted as exactly as one might like. The area surrounding Winchester in the upper Itchen valley was undoubtedly an early area of Saxon settlement in which a concentration of cemeteries and settlement sites has been identified (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2007). However, at what point the area can be said to have been specifically under Gewissan control is not known. The late 11th or early 12th century bilingual version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* known as 'F' recorded that Cenwalh founded the Old Minster in 648, that is apparently some years before it was raised to be a cathedral (Baker 2000: xlvi–xlviii). The date may come from a lost Winchester chronicle, but its actual origins and reliability are uncertain. It is quite feasible that Gewissan rulers were active in the Winchester area by 648. The recent study of burial evidence from cemeteries in the vicinity of Winchester could be consistent with a new influx of 'Saxon' men during the 7th century when Gewissan rulers were cementing their control of the area (Stuckert 2017: 255–260). Perhaps one day further archaeological evidence will allow fine-tuning of exactly when significant re-occupation occurred within Winchester's Roman walls (Ottaway 2017: 202–204).

The specific point at which Dorchester-on-Thames was abandoned as a Gewissan see is not known. Neither the date of the death of Birinus (the first bishop) nor the length of his period as bishop is recorded in any source. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 650 records that: 'in this year Agilbert of Gaul received the bishopric of the West Saxons after the Roman bishop Birinus' (*Her Ægelbryht of Galwalum æfter Birine þam*

Romaniscan biscop onfeng Wesseaxna biscopdomes) (Plummer 1892: 28; author's own translation). As has been discussed, the reliability of some of these early *Chronicle* dates is questionable and it should perhaps be seen as only approximate. It is also uncertain whether Agilbert succeeded immediately after the death of Birinus or if there had been a gap of some years; lists of bishops create an impression of continuity which may not always have been the case (as the history of several sees as reported in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* demonstrates). Nor is it stated, either by Bede or in the *Chronicle*, that Agilbert was bishop with his see at Dorchester-on-Thames though this has often been assumed (including by myself). Agilbert was in fact already a bishop when he came to Cenwalh's kingdom having been ordained in his native Francia - as Bede implies when he says his successor Wine had also been ordained there (*et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum*) (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 234–235). Bishop Wilfrid's biographer Stephen may imply this as well by referring to Agilbert as *episcopus transmarinus* (Colgrave 1927: 18–19). Agilbert was a political exile from Francia when he arrived at Cenwalh's court after (as Bede states) a period in Ireland (Fouracre 2013: 192–193; Hammer 2011–2012: 53–66). It can be suggested that like, at times, Bishop Wilfrid (whom Bede has Agilbert call his *discipulus*), (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 300–301), Agilbert was a bishop without a fixed see who performed episcopal duties when and where required. In contrast to Bede's story that Cenwalh decided to divide the see because he was fed up with Agilbert's Frankish speech (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 234–235), Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* suggests that Agilbert left Wessex because he was invited to Northumbria (Colgrave 1927: 18–19). Bede's explanation (presumably from his main West Saxon informant Bishop Daniel of Winchester) for Agilbert's departure is singularly unconvincing, not least because Cenwalh subsequently invited Agilbert to return and was prepared to accept another Frankish speaker (Agilbert's nephew Leuthere) in his place (probably in 670).

Mercian aggression in the Dorchester-on-Thames area cannot definitely be said to be the reason for Agilbert's departure, but the fact that Wine was created bishop of Winchester soon after can more certainly be taken as evidence that by the 660s Gewissan royal interests were no longer centred on the upper Thames. It may have been in this same period that Ætla from Whitby was appointed as bishop of Dorchester-on-Thames; Bede refers to the appointment, but does not say who was behind it or when the appointment was made (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 408–409). As the early Mercian church was staffed by Northumbrians, some of whom were transferred by Wulfhere to the South Saxon kingdom, it is a reasonable hypothesis that Ætla's appointment to Dorchester was made by the same king and at about the same time.[1]

Wulfhere may have taken his harassment of the Gewisse further, for, in what may have been 666, Bede records that Wine was expelled by Cenwalh, took refuge with Wulfhere and purchased the see of London from him (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 234–235). Bede's account reflects a West Saxon perspective and stresses the agency of Cenwalh and the simonimous actions of Wulfhere and Wine. Possibly what actually occurred was that, as part of his manoeuvrings to take control of trade in the south, Wulfhere attacked Winchester and despatched its bishop to London which seems to have been developed under his overlordship. Evidence of the blocking of the South Gate in Winchester might potentially belong to this period of conflict between the Mercian and Gewissan rulers (Ottaway 2017: 189). If Winchester did fall to Wulfhere it can have been only a temporary setback. In 670, or thereabouts, Leuthere, the nephew of Agilbert, was appointed by Cenwalh as bishop of Winchester and consecrated by the new archbishop of Canterbury Theodore (669-90): the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states Leuthere was appointed in 670, was bishop for seven years and that his successor Haedde was appointed in 676 (Whitelock 1965: 22). Among the activities that can probably be associated with Leuthere's period as bishop was the setting up a system of minster districts in southern Hampshire, the former Jutish province minus the Meonware (the easternmost portion of that province which Wulfhere had placed under the control of Æthelwalh of the South Saxons) (Hase 1988). This network can best be explained as consolidation of the Gewissan take-over of the area.

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[1] John of Worcester related Ætla's appointment to a major creation of new Mercian bishoprics in 679, but it is far from certain that his deduction was correct especially as Dorchester – unlike the other sees in John's account – did not become a permanent Mercian bishopric after the appointment of Ætla (Darlington and McGurk (eds) 1995, 130–131).

The Gewisse were too big a grouping to be defeated by Wulfhere in one campaign. They were already expanding their interests westwards by his reign from their bases in what became Wiltshire and, as in Mercia slightly earlier, the rapid acquisition of British-held areas would underpin their development as one of the major powers in Anglo-Saxon England (Yorke 1995: 52-60). Wulfhere's arrangements for Wight and the Meonware survived for about twenty years. In 685 Ceadwalla of the Gewisse invaded and slew Æthelwalh of the South Saxons and brutally subjugated the Isle of Wight (Colgrave and Mynors (eds) 1969: 380–385; Sharpe forthcoming). His actions paved the way for the foundation of *Hamwic*, probably under his successor Ine (688-725) (Morton 1992: 26-28).

The alliance of the Gewisse and Bernicia and the Solent crossing

Another reason why Mercia could only go so far in repressing the Gewisse was a long standing alliance between the Gewissan rulers and the other growing power of 7th century England, the royal house of Bernicia, who by the middle of the century had made themselves kings of Northumbria. The origins of the close ties of the royal houses of Bernicia and the Gewisse may lie in the period prior to that recorded in written texts and so cannot be explained precisely. But they endured throughout the 7th century, underpinned by several marriages and links with leading churchmen, and survived shifts in power between different branches of the Gewissan royal house. The alliance can in part be explained by the joint interest of the two royal houses in containing the spread of Mercian power. But an additional advantage for the Bernicians was that it allowed them access through Gewissan territory to one of the shortest crossings to Francia, and so provided an alternative to access via Kent with whose rulers they were not always on the best of terms.

The depth of the Bernician-Gewissan alliance can be seen in these brief summaries of the evidence from texts composed before 900:

- In 626 Cwichelm of the Gewisse sent Eomer to assassinate King Edwin of Deira (rival of the Bernician kings whose territory he had taken under his control). Eomer was unsuccessful and when Edwin's wounds had healed he marched against the West Saxons and slew all who had plotted against him or forced them to surrender (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 164–167). According to the E version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* this included five kings (Whitelock 1965: 17).
- 635 King Cynegils of the Gewisse was baptised by Birinus with King Oswald of Northumbria standing as his godfather. Subsequently Oswald married the daughter of Cynegils (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 232–233).
- *c.*663 King Cenwalh of Gewisse (son of Cynegils) described as *fidelis amicus* of King Alhfrith (son of Oswiu the brother and successor of Oswald). He recommended Wilfrid to him (Colgrave 1927: 16–17)
- *c.*672 after Abbot Benedict Biscop's fourth visit to Rome he returned via friends in Vienne and decided to confer with King Cenwalh whose friendship (*amicitia*) he relied on and whose kindnesses had helped him more than once before. But Cenwalh had just died unexpectedly so he returned to Northumbria (Grocock and Wood 2013: 30–31).
- *c.*681 driven out of Northumbria by King Ecgfrith (son of Oswiu) and of the territory of Berhtwald, nephew of Aethelred of Mercia, Bishop Wilfrid took refuge with King Centwine of Wessex (brother of Cenwalh), but the king was married to the sister of Ecgfrith's wife Eormenburg and so Wilfrid was obliged to move on (Colgrave 1927: 80–81).
- 685 Ceadwalla of the Gewisse (rival of Centwine) formed an alliance with Bishop Wilfrid following his defeat of the latter's patron King Æthelwalh of the South Saxons (Colgrave 1927: 84–85; Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 38–35).
- Cuthburh, the sister of King Ine of Wessex (688–725) (successor to Ceadwalla) married King Aldfrith of Northumbria (686–705), brother and successor of Ecgfrith (Whitelock 1965: 27).

As only a brief selection of interactions made it into the surviving written record these can be taken as representative of many more, as, for instance, is implied in Bede's description of relations between Cenwalh and Benedict Biscop (Grocock and Wood 2013: 30–31). There are references to three intermarriages between the two royal families of Bernicia and the Gewisse in a 60 year period (when only

some marriages are recorded): the daughter of Cynegils and King Oswald of Northumbria; Centwine and the sister-in-law of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria; the sister of Ine and King Aldfrith of Northumbria. The description of the baptism of Cynegils is informative. Oswald was overlord of the English and stood sponsor to Cynegils. Bede also says that both kings 'gave' (*donaverunt*) Dorchester-on-Thames to Bishop Birinus as his see (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 232–233). But other aspects of the ceremony differed from many of the conversion narratives involving overlordship included in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Oswald came to Cynegils's own territory rather than making him travel to his kingdom as his brother and successor required some of his underkings to do. Cynegils also made his own appointment as bishop – the newly arrived Italian Birinus; Oswald had not imposed some of his own (Irish or Irish-trained) clergy as the Bernicians did in other cases. The West Saxon see was originally independent of both Lindisfarne and Canterbury. Then, on the same day as the baptism, Oswald married Cynegils's daughter so that Cynegils became his father-in-law. This reads more like an alliance of equals – or near equals – rather than an imposition of overlordship. The alliance may also have been marked by the incorporation of part of the furthest reaches of the Bernician royal genealogy into that of the West Saxons – in a comparable way to that in which the Kentish royal genealogy claimed descent from the same son of Woden as that of their allies in the Deiran royal house (Dumville 1977: 79–81).

These strong links continued under Cynegils's son and successor Cenwalh (642–672) and included not only members of the Bernician/Northumbrian royal house, but also some of their leading ecclesiastical nobles. Cenwalh seems to have had particularly strong associations with Alhfrith, the son of Oswiu, and his own nephew. He is also recorded as having a formal tie of friendship (*amicitia*) with Benedict Biscop who had formerly been a member of King Oswiu's *comitatus* and was subsequently abbot of the royal foundations of Wearmouth and Jarrow (Grocock and Wood (eds) 2013: 30–31). Both Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid are recorded as visiting Wessex on their way back from trips to mainland Europe when they had presumably been taking advantage of the crossing from France to the Solent (Wood 2013: 202, 205).

After conversion to Christianity travel between England and Rome became increasingly necessary and the crossing from the Solent to *Quentovic* gave access to one of the major routeways (Lebecq *et al.* 2010). This was the route that Willibald and his party from Bishops Waltham in southern Hampshire followed in 721 having crossed on a merchant vessel from the mouth of the Hamble (Talbot 1954: 157). It is the most likely route taken by King Ceadwalla of Wessex when he left for Rome in 688 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 468–472). Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid can be presumed to have used the *Quentovic*-Solent crossing when they returned from the continent via Wessex (as noted above). These journeys are ones for which accounts survive and they can presumably be taken to stand for many others. Bede records, for instance, an exchange of messages between Cenwalh and Agilbert as bishop of Paris before his nephew Leuthere was appointed to the West Saxon see (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 236–237). Although individuals like Willibald as pilgrims or traders could make the crossing relatively informally, this was not always the case and some journeys were closely monitored. This seems to have been especially likely with the crossing from Kent to northern Francia. When Theodore and Hadrian were travelling from Rome in 688 to take up their positions as Archbishop of Canterbury and abbot of St Peter and St Paul, Canterbury their journey through Francia was carefully supervised. King Egbert of Kent sent his reeve to escort Theodore to England with the permission of Ebroin, mayor of Neustria, but Hadrian was detained by Ebroin on suspicion of being a spy (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 330–333). Bishop Wilfrid's enemies expected him to take this shortest route to Rome in 678 and sought to persuade Ebroin to detain him, but Wilfrid took a longer route and the unfortunate Bishop Winfrith of Mercia was reputedly attacked instead of him (Colgrave 1927: 30–31).

There were periods when Northumbrians may not have wished to travel via Kent at all as Bernician kings and Kentish rulers were sometimes part of opposing alliances. In the first part of the 7th century Kentish kings appear to have been supporters of the Deiran royal house against their Bernician rivals.

Eanflaed, a daughter of King Æthelbert of Kent married King Edwin of Deira, and when Edwin was killed she returned to Kent. There was a Frankish dimension too, underpinned (though probably of older and broader foundation) by the marriage of Æthelbert and the Frankish princess Bertha (Wood 1983). When Oswald of Bernicia became king in 634 Eanflaed sent her son and another young child of the Deiran royal house to Francia and the care of her *amicus* King Dagobert I to get them out of Oswald's reach (sadly both died in infancy) (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 204–205). This network is also visible in the later 7th century during the regency of Queen Balthild (655–666/7) who had been married to a son of Dagobert I. Balthild was of Anglo-Saxon birth and a major patroness of nunneries both in Francia and England (Yorke 2017). Several kingdoms, or at least well-connected women from them, benefited from her largesse including Kent, Deira, the East Angles and the Hwicce. One of the most important noblemen at her Neustrian court, the mayor Erchinoald seems to have had his own links with many of these same provinces. Conspicuous by their absence from the list are Bernicia and Wessex. Instead we find these two kingdoms at this time harbouring and supporting an avowed enemy of Balthild, Agilbert whose family nunnery at Jouarre seems to have been annexed by the queen.

In the words of Paul Fouracre, 'in the 650s Balthild and Erchinoald were one side and Agilbert was on another' (Fouracre 2013: 192). Agilbert's family were part of the Faronid clan, one of the dominant aristocratic groups in the Frankish kingdom of Neustria, but in the 650s and early 660s out of power (Fox 2014: 63–81; Hammer 2011–2012;). Agilbert seems likely to have been a political exile when he travelled first to Ireland and then to the royal courts of Wessex and Northumbria. One reason why he did not return to episcopal duties in Wessex was that the Faronids had regained their position when Balthild was forced into retirement in 666 or 667, and Agilbert was appointed bishop in Paris in 668 (Fouracre 2013: 191). However, the links with the Gewissan royal house were retained by the appointment of his nephew Leuthere as bishop of Wessex (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 236–237).

We may not be able to understand all these political intrigues as well as we would like. We only have part of the story, and that is thanks to particularly good coverage of events in the latter part of the 7th century because of their relevance to Northumbrian ecclesiastical politics. But what we have is enough to suggest that what seem to be long-standing links between the royal houses of Bernicia and the Gewisse also had a Frankish dimension and were part of wider ramifications of politics in England and Francia. The point to be made in the context of this paper is that the crossing between the Solent and Francia (principally via *Quentovic*) would have been one of some importance in these political manoeuvrings. Gewissan control or supervision of the crossing was not just concerned with trade, but was also part of the wider politics of the 7th century.

Conclusion

Reviewing 7th century politics as it affected southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in the context of recent work about travel and trade, much of it based on archaeological evidence, helps to make sense of what is recorded as having occurred, and suggests that competition to control the Solent was a major motivator of the aggression and alliances that are such a feature of the written sources. Might this overview have in turn something to offer interpretation of the archaeological sites and finds from the Solent region? How, for instance, might the competition between Mercia and Wessex fit with the evidence for the 7th century decline in imports to the Isle of Wight (Arnold 1982; Harrington and Welch 2014: 192–201), or with the pre-*Hamwic* occupation implied by the cemetery revealed in the St Mary's Stadium excavations (Birbeck 2005; Yorke forthcoming)? Can evidence be found from the archaeological evidence for an alliance between the elites of Bernicia/Northumbria and Wessex? A coin of King Aldfrith found at *Hamwic* is one of the few items that has been identified so far (Metcalf 1988: 20, 51-2). As new archaeological finds are made and are assessed so further adjustments and interpretations of what we think we know can be expected. I fully expect that David Hinton will be one of those making them.

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44

Old Minster at Winchester and the Tomb of Christ

Martin Biddle

Summary

The relationship between Wulfstan the cantor's verse account of the building of Old Minster, the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church of Winchester, and the contemporary late 10th century image of the minster in the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold* has never been fully explored and the significance of the precise form of the uppermost stage of the minster's late 10th century tower has not previously been explained. The Anglo-Saxon cathedral church of Winchester, known as Old Minster, was founded in the mid-7th century by King Cenwalh of Wessex (643–672). In 903 King Edward the Elder (901–925) founded a second church immediately north of the cathedral to serve as a burial church for his mother Eahlswith, his father Alfred, and their dynasty: this second church became known as New Minster (see Biddle 2018; Biddle and Keene 2017: 31–37, 86–87, 93). Comparison of text and image shows that the writing of the *Benedictional* was probably not completed before the 990s. Text, image, ivory panels and a drawing from the monastery of Fleury show that the uppermost element of Old Minster's tower, high above the main altar, was itself in the supposed form of the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem.

Figure 1: Winchester: the Norman and later cathedral looking east from the air in 1969 showing the excavation of Old Minster, the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, in progress along the north side of the present nave. Photograph R.C. Anderson. © The Winchester Excavations Committee.

Keywords: Tomb of Christ, Winchester, Old Minster, *Epistola specialis. The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*

The demolition and discovery of the Old and New Minsters

Old Minster was demolished in 1093–4 following the completion and dedication, probably on 8 April 1093, of the east end, transepts, and easternmost bays of the nave of the new Norman cathedral. These parts of the new cathedral (Figure 1) lay immediately to the south of Old Minster and had been built without requiring its demolition. Three months later, on the Feast of St Swithun, 15 July 1093, the body of the saint and those of at least eight kings and many bishops were carried in procession from Old Minster into the newly dedicated eastern parts of the new Norman cathedral. Demolition of Old Minster began the next day and was completed the following year. Some sixteen years later, in or about 1110, the Anglo-Saxon
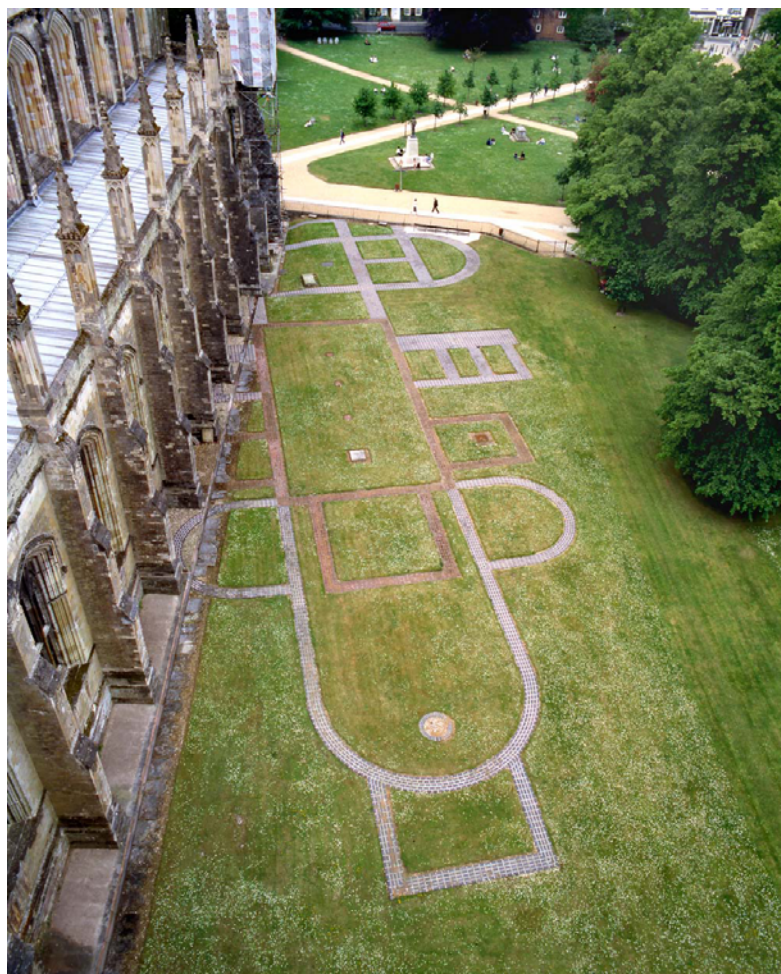
Figure 2: The plan of Old Minster as established by excavation marked out in brick along the north side of the present nave, looking west. Photograph © John Crook.

New Minster was also demolished. The community of New Minster moved to a new site at Hyde in the northern suburb of Winchester, taking with them the bodies of their royal dead, of their saints, and of some at least of their abbots.

The demolition of the two Anglo-Saxon minsters had been so thorough that all but a vague memory of their presence was lost. As recently as 1960 it could be argued that the Anglo-Saxon Old Minster had stood either north, south, or on the axis of the present cathedral or even under its east end, and the site of New Minster was almost equally uncertain (Quirk 1957: 64–68; 1961: 47–54).

In 1961, as a direct response to Roger Quirk's view that this was the most likely site of New Minster, an excavation took place in the then Cathedral Car Park in advance of the construction of a new hotel directly north of the cathedral (Figure 1, the hotel is the large modern building beside the Cathedral Green, north of the transepts and east end of the cathedral). The excavation demonstrated the depth and remarkable preservation of Winchester's archaeology and led directly to the foundation of the Winchester Excavations Committee, but it also showed that while this was perhaps the site of some of the minster's domestic buildings, it was not the site of the New Minster church (Biddle and Quirk 1962).

The next year, 1962, three small trenches were opened in the Cathedral Green, immediately north of the cathedral. One of these, half-way along the nave, uncovered an intact but empty stone coffin sited in a secondary position beside the massive foundation of what seemed most likely to be an altar. The demolition rubble covering the coffin and earlier altar contained smooth-surfaced pink wall plaster and glazed relief-decorated tiles of previously unknown type, and nothing later than Anglo-Saxon in date (Biddle 1964).

The following year, 1963, the line of this trench was continued north across the Cathedral Green. This established the north side of the building discovered the year before and the presence of a second, aisled, building immediately to its north, 20.6 m. (67.6 feet) in width, of completely different construction, with burials within its walls (Biddle 1964). A review of all the evidence, written and archaeological, suggested that the southern building was probably Old Minster, the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, and that the northern was probably the nave of the early 10th century New Minster. And so it has proved to be.[1]

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[1] For the excavations of 1964-9, see the successive interim reports, *Antiquaries Journal.* 44 (1965) [Third Interim report] to 52 (1971) [Ninth Interim Report].

Over the next six years it was possible to establish the plan (Figure 2) and structural sequence of Old Minster, but only to examine the south wall and part of a south 'transept' of New Minster and to confirm its identity (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1990).

Old Minster had been systematically demolished in 1093–1094 leaving only its foundations more or less intact. It proved possible however to establish the long sequence of its structural development and to reconstruct from the evidence of archaeology and written descriptions its changing appearance over the four centuries up to its destruction.

As it stood in 1093 Old Minster had two towers: a westwork over the site originally outside the west door of the church where Bishop Swithun had been buried in 863, and a second tower to the east above the high altar where from 971 onwards the remains of St Swithun (as he had become) rested in a shrine on or adjacent to the altar (Figure 3) (Kjølbye-Biddle 1993). The eastern tower, presumably of timber, had three receding stages, each with its own roof, with a peel of bells in the lowest level. Nothing of this tower survived the demolition of 1093–1094 and its presence could not have been deduced from the excavated foundations, but a written description and a drawing provide contemporary evidence for its form and appearance (Figs. 4 and 5).

Wulfstan's *Epistola specialis*

The description was written in 994 by Wulfstan, precentor of Old Minster, in his *Epistola specialis*, the preface to his 'Metrical Account' of Saint Swithun.[2] After describing the works carried out by Bishop Æthelwold (d. 984) and their dedication, Wulfstan devotes thirty-five lines to the works undertaken by Bishop Ælfheah II between 984 and 994: the building of a tower (lines 177–186) crowned by a finial and weathercock (lines 187–212).

To deal first with the tower:

> [l. 177]   *Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum*
> *quo sine nocte manet continuata dies.*
> *Turris ab axe micat qua sol oriendo coruscat*
> [l. 180]   *et spargit lucis spicula prima suae.*
> *Quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris,*
> *per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique uias.*
> *Stant excelsa tolis rostrata cacumina turris,*
> *fornicibus uariis et sinuata micant;*
> [l.185]   *quae sic ingenium docuit curuare [sic] peritum*
> *quod solet in pulchris addere pulchra locis.*

> Moreover, you have undertaken to add a lofty structure where perpetual day abides without night. From the axis a tower gleams, on which the rising sun shimmers and sprinkles the first rays of its light [180]. It has five storeys furnished with open windows as if with eyes, and it opens out ways through four sides. The upper reaches of the tower stand beaked with roofs and glisten with the curves of various arches; experienced acumen showed how this could be done [185], which is accustomed to add beautiful touches to beautiful places.[3]

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[2] For the Latin text with parallel translation and discussion, see Lapidge (2003: 335–551). The suggestion (Lapidge 2003: 336) that the epistle had been revised as late as 996 is not justified by the assertion that the location of the burial of Bishop Æthelwold was then 'in the chancel', i.e. in the new east end of Old Minster. The text (line 269) says only *in medio templi*.
[3] *Epistola specialis*, lines 177-86 translation modified. The interpretation of the tower presented here differs somewhat from that put forward by Michael Lapidge (2003: 386–387), to which reference should be made.
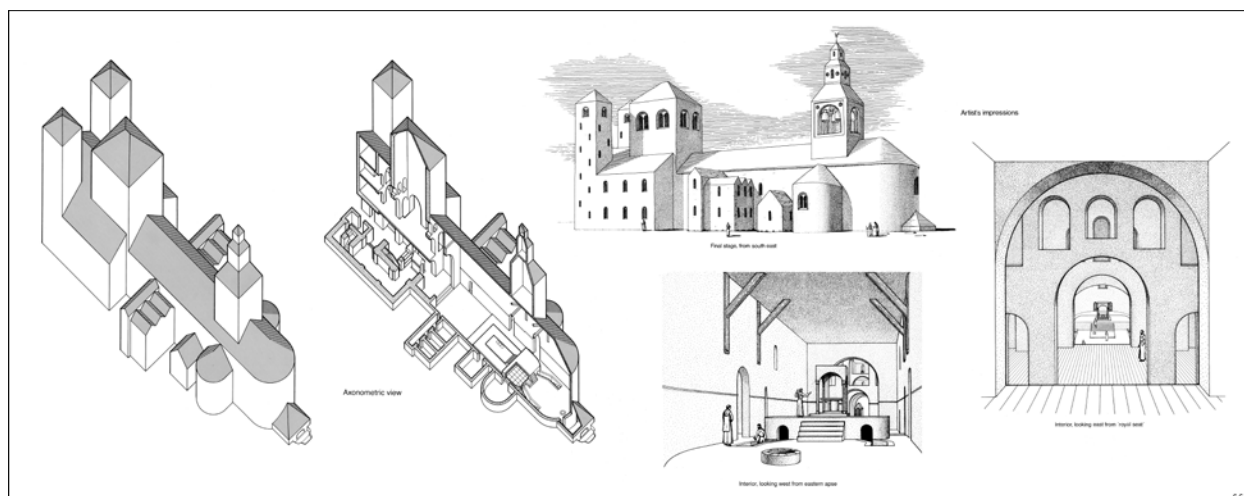
Figure 3: Old Minster in its final form by 993-4: reconstruction studies after Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle 1993.
Drawn by Simon Hayfield. © The Winchester Excavations Committee.

Lines 177–180 deal with the tower in general, for which the word *templum* is used in its widest sense, and define its height and location. The tower is very high, *excelsum*, so high indeed that by poetic licence it reaches up into the regions where there is no night but only perpetual day. In line 179 the tower, here called *turris*, gleams *ab axe*, 'from the axis', i.e., 'from the axis of the building'.

Lines 181–186 continue the description of the tower itself. It has five storeys (*segmenta*), 'furnished with eyes' (*oculata*) by means of open windows (*patulis … fenestris*), and everywhere it opens out ways (*pandit ubique uias*) through four sides (*per quadrasque plagas*): in other words, a four-sided five-storeyed tower, with openings in all directions, with windows in each storey. The upper parts of the tower (*excelsa… cacumina turris*) are 'beaked with roofs' (*tolis rostrata*) and 'glisten curved with various arches', a work of accomplished skill (*ingenium … peritum*), accustomed to add 'beautiful touches to beautiful places'.

The next twenty-six lines (187–212) describe the finial of the tower and its weathercock.[4] Two lines (187–188) describe the finial:

> *[l.187]* *Stat super auratis uirgae fabricatio bullis*
> *aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.*
>
> Higher still stands the structure of a rod with its gilt knops, and its golden splendour adorns the entire edifice.

The crucial words are in line 187: *auratis uirgae fabricatio bullis*, 'the structure of a rod with gilt swellings'. These words and the description of the weathercock which follows in lines 193–212 suggest that the *uirga* may have been a vertical rod of wrought and gilded iron, such as in later centuries formed the top element of a spire and carried the weathercock. The *bullae* may have been expansions, perhaps best described as a knop, set at intervals up the rod. The verisimilitude of Wulfstan's description is borne out not only by the presence of knops on the rod holding the left-hand of the two weathercocks in the picture on f. 118ᵛ of the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold* (Figure 4), but also by drawings of weathercocks in a manuscript datable to the second and third decades of the 11th century from Christ Church, Canterbury (now London, BL, Harleian MS. 603).[5] The drawings in

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4 *Epistola specialis*, lines 187-212, translation modified. Michael Lapidge's (2003: 386–389) commentary to lines 193-210 should be read in conjunction with the analysis presented here.
5 For weathercocks in Anglo-Saxon England, see Lapidge (2003: 388–389). Drawings of weathercocks appear in two other Anglo-Saxon MSS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11 (the 'Caedmon manuscript', *c*.1000, Canterbury, Christ Church; Temple 1976: no. 58, p. 66), showing the Ark with weathercocks on the towered fore- and aft-castles of the vessel; and Rouen, Bibliothèque

Harley 603 also show three swellings on the vertical rods carrying the weathercocks. These have been minutely analysed by Martin Carver (1986) to isolate those elements which appear to be illustrations of contemporary Anglo-Saxon artefacts, of which the weathercocks on ff. 3ᵛ and 4 (by Hand A, one of a disputed number of artists contributing to the manuscript; see Gameson 1990) are one example. Drawings of weathercocks by later hands in the same manuscript are presumed to be derived from those by Hand A and to have no independent value as evidence (Carver 1986: Figures 9, 11, 12, 16; cf. Tables 3 and 4).

Wulfstan's lyrical description of the weathercock itself occupies twenty lines (193–212), of which only six are crucial (193–194):

> [l. 193] *Additur ad specimen stat ei quod uertice gallus,*
> *aureus ornatu, grandis et intuitu*

> There is an added embellishment in that a cock stands on the summit, adorned in gold, awe-inspiring to behold.

Four subsequent lines emphasise the character of the cock (197–200):

> [l. 197] *Imperii sceptrum pedibus tenet ille superbis,*
> *stat super et cunctum Wintoniae populum.*
> *Imperat et cunctis euectus in aera gallis*
> *et regit occiduum nobilis imperium.*

> It holds the sceptre of rule in its proud talons and stands above the entire populace of Winchester. Thus raised aloft this noble bird commands all other fowl and rules the western domain.

The sceptre which the cock is holding in its talons (line 197) is to be equated with the rod (*uirga*) on which the bird stands (lines 187, 193) - despite the poetic licence involved in both holding and standing on the same object. The equation is cogent because *uirga* means a rod or wand of office, as in the inscription + *uirga recta est / uirga regni tui*, 'The rod of thy kingdom is a right rod', identifying the sceptre held by a majestic figure of Christ on the first folio of the manuscript known as 'St. Dunstan's Classbook', drawn and inscribed by a hand other than Dunstan's, but signed and retouched by him, perhaps while abbot of Glastonbury (943–957).[6] The equation is made visually concrete by the similarity between the Winchester *uirga* with its knops and royal sceptres with knopped shafts seen on Late Anglo-Saxon coins (Backhouse et al. 1984: cat. nos. 215, 218, 221-3, 225, 227-30, 232, 234-5, 237, 239-42, ranging in date from *c.*1039-5 to 1066-*c.*1068).[7] The significance of the golden rod with its knops becomes clear in the next two lines where the noble bird holding the sceptre commands all other fowl and rules the *occiduum … imperium*, not the west end of Old Minster (as has sometimes been suggested) but the Western Kingdom, Wessex itself. As Wulfstan next makes clear (line 202), this royal bird is indeed a weathercock, turning to offer its face to the winds (*seque rotando suam prebet eis faciem*). Visible from afar, it helps the weary traveller on the last stage of his journey to the city (lines 207–210). Wulfstan ends his description by praising Ælfheah:

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municipale, MS. A.27 (368) f.2ᵛ (the Lanalet Pontifical, second quarter of 11th century, Wessex; Temple 1976: no. 90), f. 2, showing the consecration of a church, on one of the towers of which there is a weathercock on a tall rod which passes up through the body of the bird to terminate some distance above. Both pictures are reproduced in Talbot Rice (1992: Pls 69b, 70a, and the latter at large size in Rodwell (2001: Figure 106), where the author suggests (pp. 112-14) that the picture represents the Anglo-Saxon cathedral at Wells.
[6] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F.4.32, f. 1 (Temple 1976, no. 11, Ill. 41). The phrase comes from Psalm xliv. 7 in the Roman Psalter (xlv. 6 in the Authorised version, from which the translation quoted here is taken). For detailed description and analysis, see Budny (1992: 116–118, 127–135; 141–142). I am grateful to Dr David Howlett for drawing my attention to this directly relevant example of the use of *uirga*.
[7] For enlarged photographs of coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II showing sceptres with knops, see Dolley (1964: Plate XVI, nos 47–48). Similar sceptres held by Edward the Confessor and Harold II appear on the Bayeux Tapestry (Wilson 1986: Pls 2, 31).

[l. 211]   *Plura quid his addam? Tota uirtute laboras*
             ut decores totum undique coenobium!

             Why should I add more to these remarks? You do all these things with great skill in order
             to embellish the entire minster in every respect!

The picture of Old Minster in The *Benedictional of St Æthelwold*

Wulfstan's description of the tower erected by Bishop Ælfheah between 984 and 994 is closely matched by the drawing of the tower on f. 118v of the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold,* now in the British Library (Figure 4). Together, the archaeological evidence for the plan of the minster provided by excavation, Wulfstan's description, and the drawing in the *Benedictional* provide the evidence which made possible the drawn reconstruction of the overall form of Old Minster at its full development first published in 1993 (Figure 3).

There is, however, a difficulty, for there is general agreement that the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold* was written and completed no later than the death of Bishop Æthelwold in 984, or more precisely 'probably towards the beginning' of the period 971–984, or as early as 973 (British Library nd.a; Desham 1995: 261; Prescott 2002: 4). None of these views considers the evidence of the drawing on f.118v, which on this dating must be *either* an addition to the manuscript *or* an idea of what would have been completed had Æthelwold lived to see the building of the new east end completed.

First, can we be sure that the tower shown on f. 118v is based on the tower as actually built rather than a drawing or more likely a model of the tower *to be built*? Since we know little or nothing of how buildings of this complexity were designed, their construction agreed, or their building carried through before the later Middle Ages, this question cannot be answered. But their geometric sophistication, shared by the arrangement of painted pages in manuscripts, cannot be doubted.

Second, the drawing has details which suggest reality rather than an image of an unbuilt tower or a model: the bells in the tower with their clappers, the bell rope which descends to the floor, and especially the hole in the roof down through which the bell rope passes. The secular figures in the gallery also have an air of reality, not least in the centre the only two who are full face, a man with a woman on his left. We do not know who they are, but it seems likely they were intended to be recognisable.

Third, what is the relationship of the drawing to the leaf on which it is drawn? A close examination of the manuscript by the late Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle and myself in 2001 suggested that the red rod rising from the tower had been drawn over the letter *m* of word *cum* (Figure 5) and that the whole drawing had therefore been made after the writing of the last two lines of the *Benediction for Many Virgins* which begins on f. 118r. Images produced by David French using the Library's then just acquired Visual Spectral Comparator confirmed that the red line was indeed over the black ink of the letter *m*, as did subsequent examination by Dr Michelle Brown using a binocular microscope.

It must however also be significant that in the second line of text on f. 118v (Figure 4, compare Figure 5) there is an usually wide space between the words *thalamum* and *ualeatis,* suggesting, perhaps, that the writer of the *Benediction for Many Virgins*, which begins on f. 118r, was allowing for the subsequent insertion of the red line for the vertical rod supporting the cockerel. The last line of this benediction also omits the *Amen* which in red throughout the *Benedictional* invariably precedes the final *Quod ipse,* except here and before the *Quod ipse* of the following and final benediction in the volume, that for the Dedication of a Church which ends on f. 119v.

These points are critical, for they suggest that the last part of the Benedictional may have still been being written after the death of Bishop Ælthelwold in 980 and perhaps not until the dedication of the tower in 994, or at least its virtual completion. There is perhaps also the question of whether the handwriting is so consistent throughout the *Benedictional* that it can only have been written throughout by the same person. This is perhaps a question which only a palaeographer long acquainted with the handwriting of this period might be able to address.

Figure 4: A bishop reading a blessing, assisted by monks and watched by a congregation in a raised gallery inside a building surmounted by a staged tower. From *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold,* painted at Winchester, 971–984: London BL, Add. MS. 49598, f. 118ᵛ. Courtesy of the British Library. © The British Library Board.

Figure 5: The staged timber tower of Old Minster: enlarged detail from *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold,* painted 971–984 (cf. Fig. 4): London BL, Add. MS. 49598, f. 118ᵛ. Courtesy of the British Library. © The British Library Board.

The Old Minster tower and the Tomb of Christ

The drawing of the Old Minster tower on f. 118v of the *Benedictional of St Æthelwold* shows the highest stage of the tower covered by a low dome (Figure 5; cf. Figure 4). The two lines forming the base of the dome are curved upwards showing that the top stage was round, as the dome of course implies. Neither Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle nor I had noticed this, as our 1993 drawing shows (here Figure 3) before we began to prepare our joint contribution to the Harlaxton conference in honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig in 1998 (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1998). By that time we were nearing the end of our work on recording the present state of the so-called Edicule covering the traditional site of the Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and were becoming aware of the vast range of images of the Tomb, factual, semi-factual, and imaginary which existed in many different media, both two- and three-dimensional (Biddle 1999: 81–88, Figure 66).

An image of the Tomb with the Angel seated on the empty burial couch appears on f. 51v of the Benedictional. The three Holy Women approach, and four soldiers, three with their spears, are asleep behind. The Tomb itself is rather large and splendid but wholly imaginary. Another Winchester painting of the Tomb appears in the so-called 'Tiberius Psalter', probably also written and illuminated at Old Minster, half a century or more later.[8] This shows the Angel seated at the Tomb and approached by the

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8   British Library, Cotton MS, Tiberius C VI, f. 13v., known as the 'Tiberius Psalter. British Library nd.b.

Figure 6: The Angel seated at the empty Tomb of Christ appears to the Three Holy Women. From 'The Tiberius Psalter', written and illuminated probably at Old Minster, in the third quarter of the 11th century: London BL, Cotton MS, Tiberius C VI, f. 13ᵛ. Courtesy of the British Library. © The British Library Board.

Figure 7: The probable form of Constantine's 'edicule' enclosing the remains of the rock-cut Tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, dedicated in 335, and destroyed at the order of Caliph Hakim of Egypt in 1009. Drawn by Steven Ashley. © Martin Biddle.

three Holy Women (Figure 6).[9] The soldiers are not there, but the Tomb is much more complex, set on three steps and surmounted by a columned structure roofed with what can only be shingles. This in turn supports a smaller structure with windows. This structure is apparently circular as the shingles of its roof lie in upwardly curving rows.

The actual form of the 'Edicule', the structure covering the Tomb of Christ at the centre of the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, as it was from about 335 until severely damaged in 1009, is now quite well known: an essentially a circular structure covered by a multi-faceted 'pyramidal' roof (Figure 7) (Biddle 1999: 65–73). It is this which seems ultimately to be reflected in the uppermost element of the tomb-like structure on f. 13v of the Tiberius Psalter.

This form of the Tomb is more clearly reflected in a series of ivory plaques of the Ascension, of which only two are illustrated here. The earlier, dating from about 400 and now in Bavarian National Museum (Inventory No. MA 157; Figure 8), shows the three Holy Women being addressed by the Angel who is seated in front of the Tomb. Two soldiers flank the Tomb, one holding his spear, the other sleeping. To the right Christ ascends into Heaven, helped by the Hand of God.

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[9] Remarkably, the Angel's feet rest on an iron-bound wooden chest of the kind used as coffins in the cemetery of Old Minster (Biddle 2018: 22).

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Figure 8: The original tomb as imagined at Rome *c*.400, showing the seated Angel greeting the Three Holy Women, the soldiers asleep on the tomb, and the Ascension of Christ into Heaven. Ivory plaque, Munich, Bayerishes Nationalmuseum, Inv.-Nr. MA 157. © Bayerisches Nationmuseum.

Figure 9: The form of the original tomb as imagined in Carolingian France, *c*.870–880, showing the Angel, the Three Holy Women, and the soldiers asleep beside the now multi-storied tomb, with the Crucifixion above. The Walters Art Gallery, No. 71–142. © The Walters Art Gallery Baltimore.

There are several other plaques of this general type, the uppermost element of the tomb becoming ever more exaggerated, until by the later 9th century on an ivory plaque, now in the Walters Art Gallery Baltimore (No. 71–142), the Holy Women are shown greeted by the Angel seated at the foot of a Tomb, flanked by the sleeping soldiers with their spears, but now crowned by as many as three receding stages, the uppermost retaining the same general form of a circular structure crowned by a dome, here surmounted by a cross (Figure 9).

The left-hand image on a sheet of drawings from the monastery of Fleury at Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (Loiret), now in the Vatican Library (Figure 10), shows a multi-staged tower rising above a substantial ground story. This is particularly relevant here for relations between Fleury and Winchester have been close for over a thousand years and remain so today. The top stage of the drawing is covered by a dome flanked by two sleeping soldiers with their shields and is labelled in capitals ROTUND', for *rotundus*, 'round, circular'. This would seem to confirm that the top stage of the Winchester tower as drawn on f. 118v of the *Benedictional* is indeed round and was intended to represent the Tomb of Christ.

Figure 10: Fleury, Saint-Benôit-sur-Loire, ?designs for towers *c.*1000. The upper stages of the tower on the left are identified as the Tomb of Christ by the sleeping soldiers with their shields. The top storey is annotated ROTVND' (*rotundus*). Rome, The Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 597, f. 27. Photo Vatican Museums' Images and Rights Department. © *Governorato S.C.V. – Direzione dei Musei.*

The reality of the roundness of the upper stage (or stages) of such timber towers is shown by the engraving of a lost drawing of the abbey of Saint-Riquier, Somme, in its 11th century state (Figure 11). The identification of the round upper stage of the Old Minster tower with the Tomb of Christ is shown by repeated association over the centuries with the iconography of the Angel at the Empty Tomb, the Holy Women, and the sleeping soldiers. This is shown in Figure 12, a three-dimensional reconstruction of Old Minster at Winchester in its final form as dedicated by Bishop Æfheah in 994.
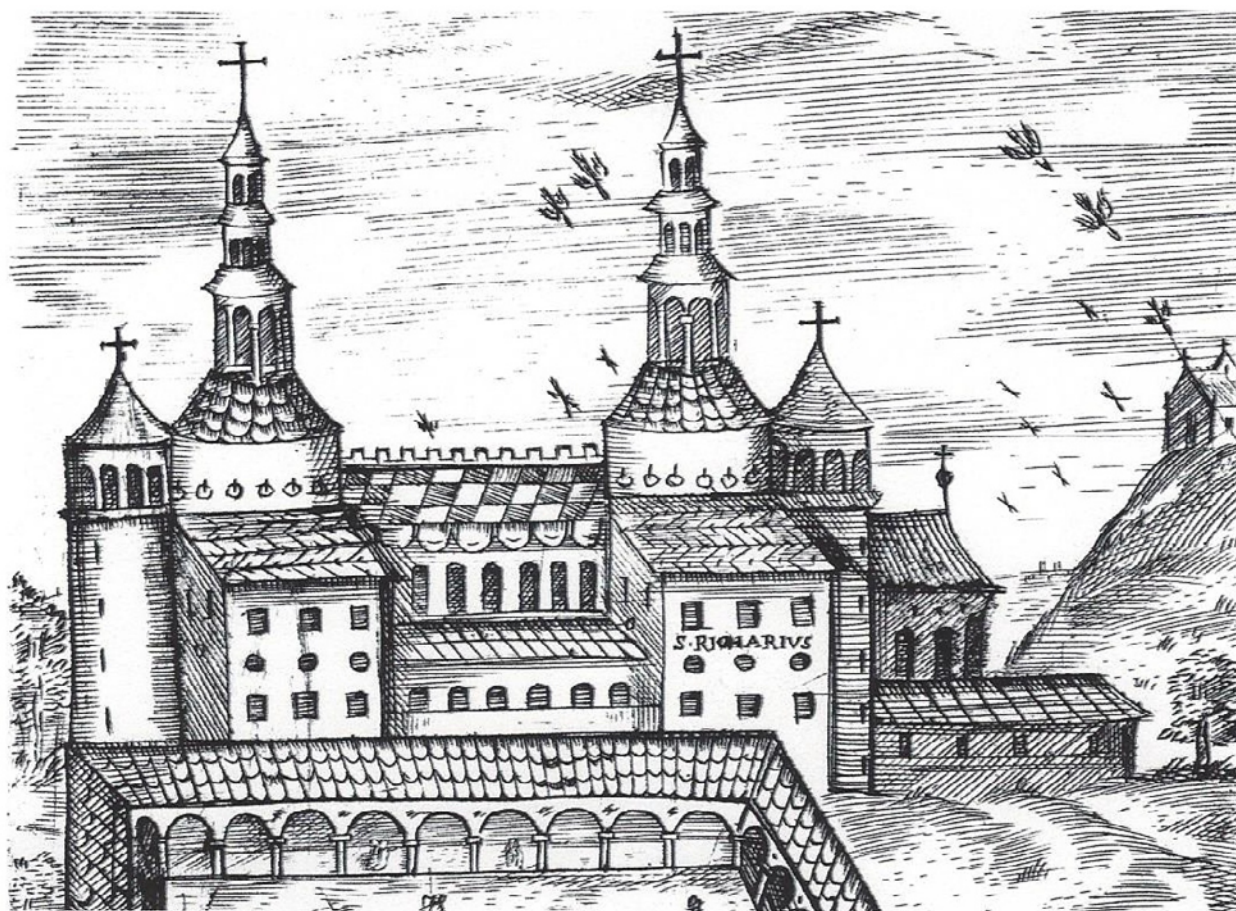
Figure 11: Saint-Riquier, Somme, the abbey from the south in its 11th century state, showing its staged towers. Copy of a lost drawing engraved 1612 and published as the frontispiece of Paul Petau, *De Nithardo Caroli magni nepote* ... (4°edition, Paris, 1613). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Num. supra 19 (3). © The Bodleian Library.

Figure 12: Winchester, Old Minster, the uppermost element of its staged tower as completed 992–994 in the form of the Tomb of Christ. Reconstruction study looking north-west, after Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle. Drawn by Simon Hayfield. © Winchester Excavations Committee.

Here then, the tower crowned with its representation of the Tomb of Christ, the place of Resurrection, stands directly over the high altar of Old Minster where the bread and the wine were daily consecrated as the body and blood of Christ.

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Of Pots and Pins:
The Households of Late Anglo-Saxon Faccombe Netherton

Katherine Weikert

Summary

This chapter examines some aspects of the working and enslaved households at Faccombe Netherton, Hampshire, in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Using historical and material evidence, the paper explores the enslaved community as a group with their own roles, duties, specialisations and agency, and also the 'riding household' of rædmen and the culture or business of horse-breeding that may have taken place here, or at another estate belonging to the owner Wynflæd. Overall, using interdisciplinary and microhistorical approaches, the chapter seeks to restore aspects of agency and lived experiences to the working and enslaved communities at elite Anglo-Saxon estates in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Keywords: Faccombe Netherton, Wynflæd, Slavery, Riding Men, Microhistory, Manor

In the mid 10th century, the widow Wynflæd left a detailed will for her belongings (Sawyer 1968: no. 1539; Whitelock 1930: 10–15). It had a level of detail typical for high-status women's wills in the period. Wynflæd outlined material goods, properties, livestock, and slaves that were to be distributed among her heirs. One property, Faccombe Netherton in north-west Hampshire, was to pass between her son, daughter, and ultimately grandson. Although Wynflæd's exact identity is likely to remain unknown (for discussions, see Owen-Crocker 1979; Williams 2017; Weikert 2015; Yorke 2006), Wynflæd was certainly a woman of wealth and high status.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the site of Faccombe Netherton was excavated by a volunteer group from the City of London Archaeological Society, ultimately under the direction of Jon Fairbrother (Figure 1). This excavation report was eventually supervised by David Hinton for Fairbrother's MPhil from Southampton, a piece of work that Hinton called a 'superbly recorded excavation and finds analysis which...will be possible to use to investigate a variety of different hypotheses.' (Fairbrother 1990: xiv; Hinton n.d.). Indeed, it certainly has been, and continues to be. The site was published in the British Museum Occasional Papers in 1990, and nearly thirty years later it still serves as one of England's most comprehensive excavations of a nearly-continuously occupied medieval manorial site from the early into the later Middle Ages.

Because of this wonderful combination of the will and the excavation, Faccombe Netherton provides some of the most comprehensive evidence of life at an Anglo-Saxon estate. In combining the two and taking a microhistorical approach, Faccombe Netherton gives us an opportunity to look at the working life, and lives, of a household in late Anglo-Saxon England. This allows us not just to speak about the owners and elites, but also the slaves and the riding men, which would echo so many other late Anglo-Saxon estates, alongside indications of the place as a riding household and one with an owner breeding horses, perhaps more specialist than many other places. This evidence is, as always, uneven. In a sense, this makes the picture unbalanced too: the experience of Anglo-Saxon slavery is not comparable to the experience of serving a household as a retainer, or one working with valuable stock. But in a way, this imbalanced look is a step towards a larger picture of the Anglo-Saxon household, filling in what we can whilst trying to get to a bigger picture. The household itself can serve as a microcosm for the hierarchical Anglo-Saxon society: slaves at the lowest level; retainers, free working men and women, kin and minor family members above; and the small number of the elites at the top of the pyramid. A focus on the top of the society is not reflective of a society, in any time or place, and here we have an opportunity to dwell with those dwelling from the more mundane, everyday working experience to those enslaved. Our evidence is not non-existent, and with a careful eye to what we have, much more can be said about a working household.
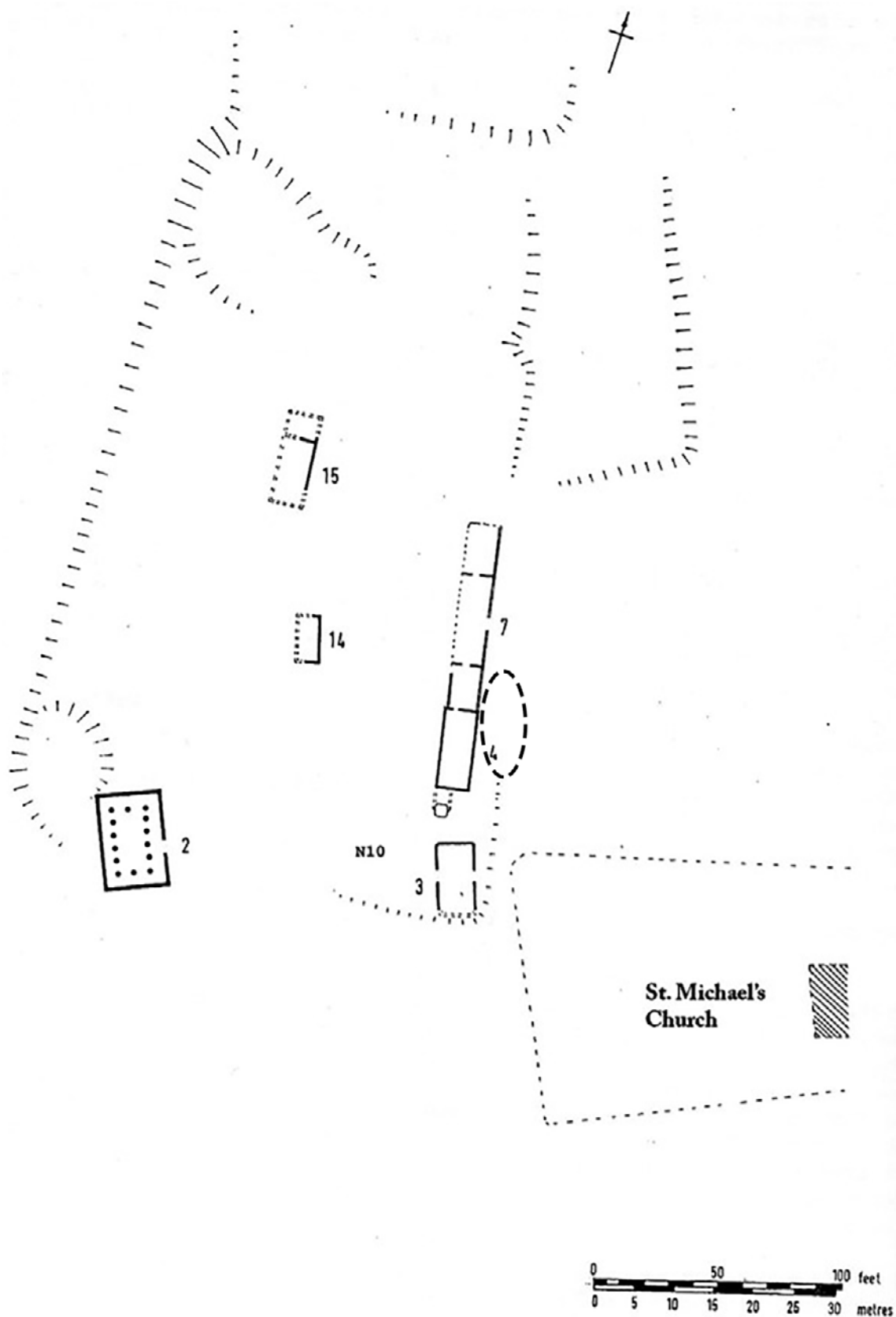
Figure 1: Faccombe Netherton, c. 920–c. 960. Buildings 7/4 constitutes the domestic long range; 3/N10 a kitchen and metalworking/ craft space. Buildings 14 and 15 were only partially excavated and considered further working or craft space. Building 2 is a problematic building to date and may have at some points been an aisled hall (see Blair 2015; Fairbrother 1990; Weikert 2015. Postholes in Building 2 are indicative of number and location and not to scale. The circled area to the east of buildings 4/7 indicates the approximate area where pins were found. (Plan after Fairbrother 1990: 60, Figure 3.3).

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With a very appreciative nod to Hinton's *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (2005), the small finds at Faccombe Netherton alongside the historical record allow us that opportunity, and this chapter will seek to do just that. What I hope to offer here, in honour of Hinton's influential work, is somewhat an exploration of some aspects of the working estate of the Anglo-Saxon household through an interdisciplinary, microhistorical approach to Faccombe Netherton, seeing the slaves, riding men, and horse stud associated with Wynflæd, and more specifically at times with this estate. In this, I hope to provide an example that might be extrapolated out more widely in rendering interpretation across the social classes at our manorial sites. These men and women existed, had names and lives and families and work, and were no less valuable than their owners and lords, and in recognizing them in the historical and archaeological record we recognise a perhaps truer picture of the Anglo-Saxon household as a microcosm for its own society.

Slaves

Anglo-Saxon slavery is not a topic that has gone understudied, but it also does not tend to be at the forefront of writing about major manorial sites in the later Anglo-Saxon period such as at Cheddar or Goltho (Beresford 1987; Rahtz 1979). There is no need to rehash a historiography very ably covered by David Wyatt (2001; 2009: 1–60), but it is worth pointing out that much of the foundational scholarship on Anglo-Saxon England from the 18th and 19th centuries were steeped in a world-view that is no longer acceptable, and one that sought to disconnect Anglo-Saxon slavery from the slavery of their times: E. A. Freeman, for example, rather horrifically expounded on the topic in a note titled *The difference between black and white slavery* (Freeman 1875: vi, 481). These foundational works have had an impact. Whether or not the Anglo-Saxon *economy* was built on slavery is a discussion for another place, but one that is needed when slaves may have been as much as 30% of the entire population of Anglo-Saxon England at 1066 (Wyatt 2009: 31, note 134). Anglo-Saxon society was a slave *society*, and should be approached as such, as slavery aids in the creation and maintenance of hierarchical social structures in addition to providing labour (Wyatt 2009: 52)

Slavery was a state of being that roused notoriety and pity within the medieval world. The slave markets at Bristol and London, for example, perhaps 'in 1050 were notorious much in the same way Liverpool was to become in 1750' (Loyn 1975: 4). William of Malmesbury commented with some sympathy and horror on the Bristol slave market, with its 'rows of wretches bound together with ropes…daily exposed to prostitution, daily offered for sale' (trans. Swanton 1984: 126). Ælfric's dual-language *Colloquy* has the unfree ploughman stating with some sorrow that he goes about his work even in the bitter winter out of fear of his lord.[1] Slavery would have been very much a part of daily life, and not one restrained to the elite, with known examples of manumitted slaves being given, in turn, their own slaves (Whitelock 1968). Slavery was deeply entrenched in Anglo-Saxon society.

Scholarly discussions of Anglo-Saxon slavery, when they take place, are frequently disassociated from place and lived experience. Works sometimes assume a bird's eye view of slavery as a status that is socially or legally dead, a role that is a 'pre-eminent source of sorrow' because of the slave's lack of freedom (Dutchak 2001-2003: 31, 38), removing any agency, society or a sense of a lived experience from the slave. Typically, the archaeological and documentary record for Anglo-Saxon slaves can be sparse, or patchy at best. Unlike with Roman freedmen burials, it is extraordinarily difficult to assign Anglo-Saxon burials as those of slaves, rendering one key area of archaeological evidence difficult to use (Peterson 2003, Mouritsen 2005, for but two assessments of freedmen burials in Rome; Reynolds 2009, 49, 57 for possible examples of Anglo-Saxon slave burials). In excavation, we might assume that slaves or servants worked and lived in the service or craft buildings at manorial sites, for example, without having clear evidence other than the logic of those who worked there, would be there. Some of the small finds, too, we might assume to be in the hands of those who worked. Documentary records of slaves tend to fall into the categories of law codes and punishments, hierarchical according to a hierarchical society, and

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[1] 'for ege hlafordes mines'/'prae timore domine' (ed. Thorpe 1834: 102)

manumission documents, wills which manumit slaves, and, at the end of the period, *Domesday Book* (see Fruscione 2014: 39; Moore 1989 *passim*, Nelson 1966, reprinted 2012: 44–51; Pelteret 1995 *passim*; Runciman 1984: 11–12; Tollerton 2011: 183–186, amongst others). Some of these, such as the manumission documents and wills, have listings of names, but very little detail; the slaves are, as William Aird eloquently put it, 'names without biographies' (2012: 6).

The varying and somewhat confusing status of free and unfree in late Anglo-Saxon England has been magnificently considered in other works (most crucially, Pelteret 1995; Rio 2017; Wyatt 2009). Slaves could, and were, acquired through war or judiciary punishment, or a person or family could sell themselves into slavery to attempt to escape poverty though this method needs to be read with great caution (Rio 2017: 29–34; Runciman 1984: 11–12, though see Rio 2012 and 2017: 67–70 on self-sales and Wyatt 2001 and Wyatt 2009: 29–32 on the danger of the Christian lens through which this has been read). The status of slavery was also hereditary (Pelteret 1995: 103–105, 114-15; Wyatt 2001: 340–341), and by the later Anglo-Saxon period this may have been the primary way that the slave population was perpetuated rather than through self-sales in particular. As David Pelteret points out, in the later Anglo-Saxon period, there was an increasing amount of complication of these statuses, both legal and social, as some of the lowest levels of free people were, in an economic and social sense, becoming tied to the land they held rather than tied to a person who owned them (1995: 130).

As members of an aristocratic household, though ones who were not free and who were subjugated to this social hierarchy, there are demonstrable roles that the slaves performed such as cooking, weaving and livestock care (Whitelock 1930: 10–15; 1968). To this we should add any number of domestic duties, agricultural duties, and even religious ones as demonstrated by the manumission of a priest and a group of women who were to sing psalters for a testatrix's soul (Pelteret 1995: 115; Whitelock 1968: 32). The slave population at any given elite estate would have likely greatly outnumbered the elite family members there.

Wynflæd's will is not unique in that many slaves are named in it, though there are only a small number of Anglo-Saxon wills which are this precise. Æthelgifu's will, for example, is another instance of a will exacting very precise control over the testatrix's property, human and otherwise (Whitelock 1968). Wyatt and Rio have pointed out that the owners may have felt a 'relatively strong personal link' to their slaves, as demonstrated by their uses of personal names (Wyatt 2009: 32, quote from Rio 2017: 168), though this needs to be remembered within the framework of hierarchy, the subjugators feeling a personal connection to their subjugated and all of the inherent structural oppression and inequality inherent in this possibly one-sided feeling of personal connection. At times it is difficult to separate who precisely are the slaves in Wynflæd's will; slaves are more obvious only in their manumission, bequest to a new master, or as anonymous 'men' are bequeathed with estates, though these are likely either slaves or possibly *geburas*, technically free but owing services from or to the land (Pelteret 1995: 122, 127–128). The list of manumissions, though, is extensive. Some manumitted slaves are listed without geographic location and may have moved with Wynflæd's household, such as Wulfwaru, ...thryth,[2] Gerberg, Miscin, and Hi.... These might be considered people who were bound to Wynflæd rather than to a land, though not *freotmenn* (Pelteret 1995: 128). Other slaves were named at their estate, indicating their servitude at a specific place: at Chinnock, Eadwold, Ceolstan, Eadstan's son, Æffa's son, Burhwyn, Martin, and Hisfig were bequeathed to Eadwold. The other slaves there were given to her granddaughter Ealfgifu. Also at Chinnock, the daughter of Burhulf as well as possibly Ceolstan's wife and Ælfsige and his wife and elder daughter were freed. At Charlton, Pifus, Eadwyn and ...æ's wife were freed. At Coleshill, Æthelgyth, Bica's wife, Æffa, Beda, Gurhann's wife, Wulfwaru's sister, Brihtsige's wife, ...the wright, and Wulfgyth, Ælfswith's daughter were freed. At Faccombe Netherton, Wynflæd freed Eadhelm, Man, Johanna (or

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[2] Material losses in the physical document are indicated thus in this chapter.

John),[3] Sprow and his wife, En…, Gersand and Snel.[4] In addition to all of this, Wynflæd freed those penally enslaved men *other* than those that *she herself* enslaved.[5] In this particular line, Wynflæd notes herself as someone enacting and justice and authority in her own right, over her own estates and jurisdiction as a person with considerable power at the time. The implications for this 'private jurisdiction' (Pelteret 1995: 127 n. 97, 177) are significant, and, though outside the realm of this chapter, needs at least this passing mention.

Wynflæd also bequeathed specific slaves to specific people, demonstrating the importance of these slaves in terms of their roles. To her granddaughter Eadgifu she bequeathed Eadgifu the weaver; Æthelgifu the seamstress; Ælfsige the cook; Ælfwaru, Burga's daughter; Herestan and his wife; Ecghelm and his wife and child; Cynestan; Wynsige; Brihtric's son; Eadwyn; Brunele's son; and Ælfhere's daughter. To Æthelflæd, the daughter of Ealhhelm, she gave Ælfhere's younger daughter. Note here the two daughters of Ælfhere: slaves both, one is given to Eadgifu, and the other to Æthelflæd. As this Æthelflæd is pointedly *not* Wynflæd's daughter, Eadgifu's aunt, here we have a slave family, possibly one who was 'less favoured' than the others, being destabilised and broken up (Wyatt 2009: 151). No ages are indicated for Ælfhere's two daughters.

This brings up the aspect of acquiring slaves. Wynflæd's will demonstrates a few different methods. As mentioned above, she held slaves which she had herself enslaved as punishment, as well as slaves who had been enslaved by someone else. In all cases their crimes are unknown, though examples exist in various laws of this taking place for Sunday labour, various types of theft, incest, and as an alternative to death if the condemned person could claim sanctuary (Pelteret 1995: 247–248). *Witeþeow*, roughly 'one who has become a slave for punishment', provides the linguistic difference between this and *þeowboren* and *þeowbyrd*, 'born a slave' (Pelteret 1995: 42). The status of slavery was hereditary, as *þeowboren* indicates; in Wynflæd's will, mentions of specific slaves' children nods to them being born into slavery under her ownership. It is unclear how Wynflæd came to own the slaves which she herself had not enslaved or had been born to her slaves. As the will demonstrates, it was possible to bequeath slaves and this was one method by which she undoubtedly received some of her slaves. The slave trade is a known feature of the late North Sea worlds and slave sales are known in Winchester, Lewes, Bristol and London, to name a few in the south and west of Anglo-Saxon England (Pelteret 1995: 76–77). Wynflæd certainly may have purchased some of these men and women named in her will. Alice Rio also notes that rather than reading her manumissions as a pious act, the number of manumitted slaves suggests that Wynflæd would have acquired some of her penally-enslaved people as a 'third party' and that her will indicates that she might have been 'rather proud' of her role in enslaving (and thus manumitting) these men and women (2017: 68). We must temper our historical narrative of Wynflæd as an example of an influential, high-status woman with concepts of her buying, selling and controlling other people as chattel. Indeed all slave owners in Anglo-Saxon England need to be remembered thus too.

More can be said about the late Anglo-Saxon slave household in looking at some of the roles assigned to these slaves, both manumitted and bequeathed. Many do not have specific roles assigned to them, but may have fulfilled several duties and tasks. Those who are mentioned by role, though, can be assumed to have specialised in these skills, and some may have been relatively highly skilled. Four slaves have occupations named to them: a wright, whose name is unfortunately missing due to a loss in the document and specific skill or role is not assigned (PASE Anonymous 1042); Eadgifu the weaver (PASE Eadgifu 6); Æthelgifu the seamstress (PASE Æthelgifu 5); and Ælfsige the cook (PASE Ælfsige 24).[6] The wright was noted as at Coleshill, Berkshire, and would have been responsible for his work there. He might have

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[3] The OE is 'Johannan', possibly a Latin accusative singular for John though Whitelock (1930) translates this as 'Johanna.' BL Cotton Charters viii. 38.
[4] The notation '7 *Snel*' in the will is a superscript above the beginning of the list of manumissions at Coleshill. As 'snel' means quick or quickly, this may be either an instruction to manumit the previously listed slaves quickly, or an example of a nickname for a slave becoming his or her only known name – a loss of his or her own personal identity. BL Cotton Charters viii. 38.
[5] 'gif þær hwylc witeþeow 'man' sy butan þyson þe hio geþeowede hio gelyf'ð' to hyre bearnon þæt hi ‹h›ine willon lyhtan for hyre saulle'
[6] 'ane crencestran 7 ane sem[estra]ne', 'ene coc', 'wyrhtan'.

been tied to the place or at the very least resident at the place, but his products of his work would have certainly been transported to Wynflæd's other estates. He might have been the only one plying his particular craft at Wynflæd's properties, and so his work would have been crucial to all the estates.

Ælfsige the cook played a very specific role for Wynflæd and her family; in a feasting society, the role of a cook or chef would have been one that, had 'cuisine' in a sense existed, played a crucial role in setting the scene of the feast, where social relationships and hierarchies were both confirmed and maintained: 'horizontal and vertical dimensions of power structures – that is, feelings of community and hierarchy – were at the same time established, consolidated and expressed' (Gautier 2017: 269). In fact, naming Ælfsige specifically as a cook indicates the increasing importance of food in the social relationships that a manorial household had to maintain in a hierarchical society. There are a limited number of cooks mentioned in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters (Birch and Birch 1883: 13–18; Conway Davies 1957: 35-38; Sawyer 1968: nos. 189, 1036, 153; Whitelock 1930: 10-15; 9), and their positioning in the record leads Alban Gautier to conclude that these were 'menial servants' (2017: 276). Ælfsige, a slave, was certainly not a man of rank. Cooks were, however, responsible for the elite household to fulfil one of their primary displays of rank, the feast, and Ælfsige was the man who facilitated this at Wynflæd's estates. He was not listed with a particular estate, and so may have travelled with Wynflæd between her manors as she required him. Ælfsige was bequeathed to Eadgifu, Wynflæd's granddaughter, keeping this valuable slave within the family rather than freeing him. Finally, Ælfsige's role was valuable enough that he was mentioned by name and by duty in the bequest: he was not an anonymous cook, nor a man without a role: he was Ælfsige the cook, though a slave, established in a specific place within the household of Wynflæd and her family.

Eadgifu and Æthelgifu, the weaver and seamstress, are again some of the few named textile workers in the Anglo-Saxon record, and slaves. Textiles would have been a part of everyday life, a constant need in late Anglo-Saxon England, particularly those that experienced regular wear and tear such as clothing (Hyer and Owen-Crocker 2011: 159). Fine embroidery is more often associated with the social elite. Eadgifu and Æthelgifu might have been involved the creation of fine items such as the bed-curtains and linens, the gowns, cloaks and tunics, seat-covers and wall-hangings all seen in Wynflæd's will, but they would have certainly been involved in their maintenance and repairs as needed, as well as creating the everyday items needed by all members of the estate, not just the fancy clothes and wall-hangings (Owen 1979; for the production of embroidery and its industries in Anglo-Saxon England, see Makin 2017). Their economic and social worth here too is relative, such as with Ælfsige. They were still certainly slaves, bequeathed as they were to Wynflæd's granddaughter, and slaves that were not associated with an estate, so likely moving with the household as needed. They, as Ælfsige, were probably not highly-trained but skilled in their duties, proficient, and probably very good. But they likely were not creating the high-end embroideries that we see in cases such as the vestments famously embroidered '*Ælfflæd fieri precepit*', made on the orders of Ælfflæd, second wife of Edward the Elder, and given by Bishop Frithestan to Winchester Cathedral and, subsequently re-gifted by Ælfflæd's step son King Æthelstan to the shrine of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street; or the likes of the embroidered cross-cloth commissioned by Cuthbert himself and his predecessor at Hereford (Budny 1991: 267; Hinton 2005: 133; Lapidge 1975: 812; Smith *et al.* 2001: 593–594). These two women also probably represented only a small part of the workforce creating the textiles for Wynflæd's households: one weaver and one seamstress for six estates is low, and these two might then represent those textile workers who were the most skilled at these particular crafts. We should imagine a larger number of men and women involved in the creation of household textiles, from the spinning of wool to the sewing of garments. Indeed, it has been suggested that the nature of the drop-spindle means that many people could go about other activities whilst spinning wool into yarn (Petty 2014).

As these are only the slaves mentioned by name as either bequeathed or freed, what stands out is the outstanding *number* of them, both tied to place but also overall. We should realign our thinking of high status Anglo-Saxon manorial sites and places to include a broader sense of the entire population there, a household not just of the elite but of the slaves too. At Faccombe Netherton, there were eight known

slaves freed, listed above; by the time of the Norman Conquest there were still at least four slaves at the estate (Morris 1982: Hampshire 1.46). These are only the *known* slaves at Faccombe Netherton, and as they were listed as a part of the estate, probably tied there, living at the manorial site or in the village more largely. But their duties would be at the manor or its appurtenances, and they would have been a presence at the site. The amount of social visibility they had, of course, was negligible; the fruit of their labour was a part of the elite construction at the estate, but they themselves were not (Weikert forthcoming). The functions they performed for the estate, or for Wynflæd more personally, were the visible portion of their social presence.

It is more difficult to express what their lived experiences were, and how these slaves and other workers would have experienced everyday life. One glimpse comes from the location of needles outside the long range, buildings 7 and 4 combined, to the east of the building (Fairbrother, pers comm) (Figure 1). Jon Fairbrother envisioned people sewing there in the morning, catching the better light in the early day, facing the east (Fairbrother, pers comm; see also Makin 2017: 152). Indeed, in cooler months, this could equally be a way to catch what warmth was available from the sun, with backs against a wall that was catching and holding the light and heat, and possibly blocking the wind. This may not have been, strictly speaking, slaves or servants doing this morning sewing; anyone with anything to sew could have been there, or brought their things there for the sewers to fix, patch or repair. We might want to think of Eadgifu the weaver and Æthelgifu the seamstress there, plying their specific duties and skills. This small space, specific to place, time, and the people there, could have created a space of a small gathering, a chance to talk and connect. There would have been social constraints if the group consisted of not only the slaves but those of free status, or even the elite of the estate; it could have equally been a crucial but informal gathering space for slaves to foster communication and community (an idea adapted from Battle-Baptiste 2011, particularly 99–100). The east side of the building also faced the village; this was a visible place to gather not just to those at the manor but those who might pass by. This is a surprising amount of literal, bodily visibility for slaves or workers at the manor at a time when the slaves' and servants' work was the socially visible aspect of their lives, not their actual selves (Weikert forthcoming). Interestingly, though, is the temporal boundary inherent in this possibility. If this were a gathering in the mornings, then this was a disruption of the elite view of the place in a temporally specific setting; at a specific time, a potential gathering of the men and women around sewing and other activities formed a small community of socially visible slaves at the estate, an act of both community and resistance.

Riding Men and Horses

The riding man appears late in the pre-Conquest period as a household member who was utilised in the circumstances of military, escorting, guarding, hunting or messaging services (Gillingham 1995: 139–141). The riding men of the Anglo-Saxon estate is an infrequently-discussed, and difficult to pin down, part of the household. He has been long understood as an aspect of Anglo-Saxon military service and society, though there are questions whether this was a feudal or proto-feudal relationship (see Brooks 2011; Nelson 1966, reprinted 2012: 47-8 for an overview of earlier works by Maitland and Round). It seems unlikely that the riding men fulfilled only one role at the expense of the others, and Gillingham's assessment of the riding men fulfilling a range of responsibilities is more likely.

The riding men were free, could have possessions of some significance and meaning, and served the late Anglo-Saxon elite households in a variety of capacities. They also had the potential ability to rise from their rank into a higher one. The presence of these men would have been practically axiomatic at any estate of a certain social level, regardless of their exact social status whether 'servile' and 'grubby' (Crouch 1992: 130) and an 'unheralded serving retainer' (Harvey 1970: 4) whose work resembled the services of a *geneat*, a 'peasant with some characteristics of a mounted retainer' (Stenton 1971: 473), or if they were men more closely resembling a later knight, quite simply: 'not peasants' (Gillingham 1995: 142), on the upper ranks of freedmen. Their documentary records tend to be in the discussion of fees with particularly good sets of evidence coming out of Canterbury (Brooks 2011), and of course the records of Domesday with their *milites*. They are also seen in Domesday Book as *radmanni* and *radchenistri* (Nelson

1966, reprinted 2012: 44). The *geneat*, a similar tenant noted by Douglas and Greenaway (1982: 875, note 3) as a 'riding servant...of some standing', and his responsibilities also feature heavily in the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum,* including responsibilities pertaining to providing horses and going on errands. Archaeologically, again, evidence is more difficult to pin directly to riding men: evidence of horses, or horse-trappings, might be associated here, although obviously not universally applicable to these men in all instances.

The role of the riding man within the late Anglo-Saxon household was one that encompassed far more than military service into escorting, messaging, hunting, and other tasks. Outside of what constituted the 'military' services and those discussions, which dominate the secondary literature, it may seem a rather mundane role and one closely tied to an estate or household. However, as Ryan Lavelle has pointed out, some of the more prosaic-seeming duties of a riding man could be dangerous in the doing: consider the messenger attacked and killed by wild dogs seen in Ælfric's sermon, and a West Francian example of a messenger captured in Flodoard's annals for 948 (Lavelle 2010: 280; *Ælfric*: 280-281; *Flodoard* 2004: 51). Acting as an escort or messenger could be more than a rote task.

The riding men worked for a lord or lady; he was above those in servant positions but not a thegn; he was a man whose work implied some amount of trust from, and closeness to, the lord or lady of the manor, but not quite one whose rank allowed them the ability to establish themselves on their own manor. The possibility was there, though: in gaining reward from their lord or lady, that in goods or (more importantly) land, they might be able to rise into thegnly class. Indeed, contra to Sally Harvey's assessment of the poor knights in Conquest-era England, records to the riding men in the border counties with Wales included men with a not-insignificant amount of land (Harvey 1970; Nelson 1966, reprinted 2012: 45; see also Brown 1984). There is no known explicit instance of a man rising from this rank into thegn-hood, though the advancement laws made it clear that this was a possibility (Whitelock 1979, 468–469; Williams 1992). Perhaps some of the lower-ranking thegns seen in *Domesday Book*, for example, might be instances of these riding men rising into a different social class, though it would be impossible to do more than point at particular men in *Domesday* whilst considering their land-holding circumstances at 1066. Additionally, the specific nomenclature of riding men and its variants are not particularly strong in *Domesday*, with the majority appearing in the counties of the Welsh border; Hampshire, for example, had only six riding men in Domesday, both at estates held directly by William I in lordship (Morris 1982: Hampshire 1.8, 1.28, for Mapledurham (2) and Christchurch (4) respectively). Lynn H. Nelson maintained that the riding men were specifically a 'product of a frontier environment' of the 10th century environment between Mercia and the Welsh kingdoms, but *Domesday* numbers do not allow for the role to be more widely filled in the 10th century, and particularly for a role or rank that Nelson notes may have already been an 'anachronism' by the 11th century (1966, reprinted 2012: 51). But we need to think outside the term *radmen* and its Latin variants, as the position (rather than the term) was probably more widely applicable than *Domesday* suggests. Faccombe Netherton allows this opportunity, as well as the opportunity to consider a little more closely some of the elements of a riding household in the 10th century.

Evocatively, there is possibly a riding man seen in Wynflæd's will, though not specifically named as such. Ælfwold received a gift of two buffalo horns, a horse and a red tent (Whitelock 1930: 13).[7] Ælfwold's relationship to Wynflæd is unclear; he is at best listed as man 'known to' Wynflæd (PASE *Ælfwald* 18). He was unlikely to have been an immediate member of her family, as her other relatives are acknowledged as such and were in fact limited to her son, daughter, and two grandchildren. Some sort of fictive kinship, such as a foster relationship, may be possible, and Ann Williams allows for the possibility of him being kin to Wynflæd as the rest of the section of the will in which he appears deals with Wynflæd's family (Williams, pers comm). Ælfwold was certainly a member of her household on some level, though with an unclear role. The gifts, though, might indicate this. The drinking vessels are not 'best' for the immediate family, as the ones given to her son, daughter and grandson have descriptions of being metal or decorated with metal, so these given to Ælfwald were probably second-best and not needed by the family to set

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[7] 'Aelwolde hyre twengen wesendhornas 7 an hors 7 hyre re'a'de ge[t]eld' (Whitelock 1930: 12)

the scene in their hall culture. These horns might be practical, but also a reward; something on the way to Ælfwold setting up his own household, where the horns could be used in his (future) hall. The horse and tent, however, could be used in a role of riding or travelling. Ælfwold may have been a riding man, or perhaps even a higher status. As his position, even his personage, is unclear, it also remains unclear what happened to him after Wynflæd's death. If he were indeed a riding man, this might indicate his role as something of a 'free agent' such as the riding men at Chalton who, Domesday noted, could withdraw elsewhere (Morris 1982: Hampshire 1.8). Perhaps at Wynflæd's death Ælfwold was able to offer his services to another household, if he had not yet received enough reward in land or money to be able to start to establish his own household or small farm.

The presence of horses at Faccombe Netherton also adds to the image of these households as working ones, populated by those working with a horse stud as well as the riding men. Indeed, horse riding would have been a main mode of transportation for those who could afford to have a horse, or horses. Riding men, by default, either owned a horse, or were able to use one of their lord or lady, though there may be a preference for thinking of the riding men as possessing their own horse as a barrier to entering that particular role. Horses were also not cheap; the early 10th century *Dunsæte* values a horse at 30 shillings, and the *VI Æthelstan*, at a half-pound (Lavelle 2010: 96, note 242): those in possession of a horse were in possession of a valuable creature. Horses could also be used for carting, though they were more generally used for riding (Keefer 1996: 119). The presence of horse accoutrement is not necessarily evidence solely of riding men but it could indicate this, and it certainly is evidence of the presence of men and women who rode.

Wynflæd's will certainly indicates a household actively involved in horse culture. Her will bequeaths an indeterminate number of horses, though at least five if counting for at least two in every instance of the gift of 'horses' – plural. However, the wording of the bequests suggests a greater number than that, and indicates that Wynflæd's estates were breeding and training horses. Horse breeding and training in Anglo-Saxon England surely took place at the manorial level; this too is indicated in several other wills (Napier and Stevenson 1895: 126; Whitelock 1930: 30–35, 46—51, 56–63; Sawyer 1968: nos. 1492, 1487, 1503, 1536 respectively). This has not gone unnoticed (Keefer 1996: 126, for example), but can be further pushed to think about the members of the household who were a part of this activity. The recipients of Wynflæd's horses include Ælfwold, receiving one horse and who was discussed in detail above; Cynelufu; Eadwold, Wynflæd's grandson; and Eadwold's sister Eadgifu. Eadwold and Eadgifu received tame horses, and Cynelufu, untamed ones. Eadwold was to also receive Faccombe Netherton after the death of his father and aunt, Wynflæd's children, and as such he is one of her three main heirs. Cynelufu, a woman of unknown relationship to Wynflæd, received a share of the untamed horses, which were pastured with Eadmær's, indicating that Eadmær too had an interest in the horse stud (Whitelock 1930: 15).[8]

There is rather a lot to unpack in these short bequests. First, the implications of untamed horses. Although '*wildera*' is used here in the Old English, 'wild' may give an implication of 'free', which is unlikely. These were untamed horses, not broken for the saddle, probably kept in some manner that would allow their collection and movement by those working with them. These were not the mustangs of the chalk. They would have been enclosed, not running free. Additionally, there is nothing a person can do with a wild horse, in any sense of agriculture, breeding, riding, or any other domesticated purposes. Untamed horses may, of course, breed on their own, creating further stock, and this may have happened with Wynflæd's untamed stock. However, this is an inefficient use of a very valuable resource, and broader indications of horse breeding in late Anglo-Saxon England indicate more strategic and selective breeding (Davis 1987: 69–71; Keefer 1996). It seems unlikely that a horse stud and training outfit of a sort would leave their valuable resources with nothing better to get from them than further, uncontrolled, and unselected stock, when this can be done with trained horses who are of much further benefit and value, socially and economically, to an estate.

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[8] 'hio becwið Cynelufe hyre dæl þera wildera horsa þe mid Eadmære's' synt' (Whitelock 1930: 14)

Second, the persons involved in these bequests: Eadwold and his sister received tame horses. The will elsewhere indicates that Eadwold is not yet an adult at the time of this will, and we might assume the same of Eadgifu. Tame horses here might be simply valuable property which will be useful as the two grow up. No further investment in time or training is needed; they are ready-to-use horses. The untamed horses, though, again provide a lot of needed commentary. Wynflæd notes that her untamed horses are with Eadmær's. Eadmær, then, also had an interest in horse-breeding and training. Cynelufu, a woman about whom we know nothing about other than this snippet in the will in which she received the untamed horses (PASE *Cynelufu* 1), presumably also had an interest in horse breeding and taming: someone who owned horses and was a part of a horse stud. Whether or not her role was as an active one, or more 'managerial', will remain unknown, but a few further inferences can be drawn out. Cynelufu is not mentioned in relation to any husband or kin; we cannot assume that these untamed horses would have gone into the stock of another man's or family's other than her own. Additionally, there is no indication that Cynelufu, as Ælfwold, was meant to remain a member of the family's household, if she was one to begin with. Who she was will remain unclear, but we can say with some certainty that she was a free woman, probably without husband, who, if she were a member of Wynflæd's household, received a very valuable gift and the ability to use it to her benefit without remaining a member of Wynflæd's children's households.

Archaeologically, as well as in Wynflæd's will, Faccombe Netherton presents evidence that suggests riding men, and an owner who dealt in horse breeding. Late Anglo-Saxon spurs and other horse accoutrement were found in excavation at Faccombe Netherton. A fragment of a bridle bit was found in a context of ca. 920–960 (Fairbrother 1990: 421; Weikert 2015: 256–261 for sequencing); a spur fragment from the late Anglo-Saxon period was also found (Ellis 1990: 421). Horse bones were not heavily represented at any period, but the ages of them and the wear indicated both that horses might have been bred onsite, and that they were used for carting or riding (Sadler 1990, 484).

Spurs, as found in the excavation, also seem to be the exclusive domain of male riders: an illustration of the allegorical Superbia in the *Psychomachia* shows the woman riding astride without spurs, though admittedly without shoes either. Although Owen-Crocker (2004: 212–213) warns that it is difficult to take this illustration 'as evidence for Anglo-Saxon dress and customs' since the *Psychomachia* was based on a document of 5th century continental origin (citing Woodruff 1930), she does note that this illustration of Superbia does contain many elements of 10th and 11th century Anglo-Saxon women's dress. Generally, not many men utilised spurs in Anglo-Saxon England, and there may have been little visible difference in the social classes between the elite and the riding men (Hinton 2005: 155–157). These spurs might also be seen as those of the men of the household, including the riding men. However, even with the gendered association of spurs, horse riding and even riding astride was not an exclusively masculine pursuit. The recent examination of the osteology of Wessex-born Queen Eadgyth, consort of Otto I of the East Franks (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz 2010; University of Bristol 2010), has led to the diagnosis of a Poirier's facet on one femur, indicating not only a lifetime of riding but also a rider who rode astride (Alt, pers comm; Owsley *et al.* 2006: 94). Indeed, riding was not a solely masculine pursuit at all, as the bequest of horses from Wynflæd and indeed other women such as Æthelgifu demonstrate alongside the osteological evidence of Eadgyth. Another account of a woman rider comes from Lantfred's 10th century telling of the miracles of St Swithun, describing a woman decking out a horse with trappings and riding with her husband to a wedding (Lapidge 2002: 293). Spurs may have been masculine, but riding was for both sexes.

Beyond that, Wynflæd, Eadmær, and Cynelufu were clearly involved with the business of horse breeding and training; whether it was at Faccombe Netherton or at another of Wynflæd's estates is unknown, but it would have taking place her properties and Cynelufu's elsewhere beyond that. Ælfwold, as some part of Wynflæd's household, also participated in the horse culture of the estate, possibly as a riding man. If the gifts contained in the will were known in advance of Wynflæd's death, the gifts to both Ælfwold and Cynelufu would have strengthened the bond of loyalty, whatever its base, between Wynflæd, Ælfwold and Cynelufu (Lavelle 2010: 121).

Horses were, of course, a valuable asset not only commercially but socially and symbolically. Wynflæd's will and Faccombe Netherton itself gives an opportunity to look more widely at the larger estate: the excavated portion is simply the manorial portion. Obviously, if there were horse breeding and management at this estate, we must look to the greater landscapes for the location of this and doubly so as the separation of stallions and mares for breeding takes some distance (Davis 1987: 70): in this case, as with others, we should think of these studs as covering a good deal of territory and possibly, if not probably, spread out amongst an owner's estates. A horse stud is just one example where we can think more widely in attaching the manorial site to the much-larger landscape to gain a more comprehensive idea of all the activities at manorial sites, and linking the people linked to those activities too.

This combination of historical and archaeological evidence points to Faccombe Netherton as a 'riding household' with a semi-regular population at the estate probably representing these riding men, with a clear indication of a horse culture surrounding Wynflæd. Interestingly, the riding men, whether Ælfwold or anonymous men not present in her will, also represented a specific construct of masculinity, with a particular role narrowed and assigned to one sex. These riding men had specific duties to the head of the household whilst his physical proximity to the head of the household was crucial for the riding man's own social advancement (Gillingham 1995: 139–142). However, at Faccombe Netherton in particular, until possibly as late as *c.* 990, this was the household of a woman (Weikert 2015: 265–267). Here, the importance of the riding man's physical proximity to the lord of the estate was at this time and at this estate a matter of proximity to the lady of the estate. Later in the Anglo-Saxon period at Faccombe Netherton, male owners were present, such as Wynflæd's own son and grandson, and the later, pre-Conquest Lanc de Lere (Weikert 2015: 267–271). Then, this proximity of the riding man would have been to male owners, so a close alignment of a particular type of masculinity with a figure of authority, either a man or a woman. These figures of Anglo-Saxon masculinities and Anglo-Saxon horse culture present interesting facets of the social ranks and relations within the household.

Some summarising thoughts

The Anglo-Saxon manorial household is more than the elite experience there, and in fact it may be more apt to speak of households rather than one singular household at one estate. This separation of household is largely down to social experience: a slave household is a different lived experience than those of the slaves' owners. This has long been recognised, but work needs to further explore what we can of the social history and archaeology, the lived experience, of the wider communities there: we need to remember that a place can hold many experiences, and tell the stories of as many as we can. 'History from below', a cry from the earliest days of postmodernism and post-processualism, still bears repeating. We see this now, and in more contexts, than even two decades ago: sites such as Flixborough look at a wider community and settlement (Dobney *et al.* 2007; Loveluck and Atkinson 2007; Loveluck and Evans 2007; Loveluck 2007); there are displays such as the ones remembering the 18th century black prisoners-of-war at Portchester Castle (Coppins n.d.); important works such as Wyatt's (2001, 2009) deconstruct the historiography of Anglo-Saxon slavery: all of these go towards raising a greater interest in a wider society and all of its experiences rather than the elite's alone. This is promising. The aristocracy of late Anglo-Saxon England was not the only, and certainly not the majority, of England's pre-Conquest past.

The greater Anglo-Saxon household, or giving multiple and varying views of what constituted the Anglo-Saxon households, is one area where we can try to push our research further into seeing a larger part of its society. In these days where shiny, special finds such as the Staffordshire Hoard, or nearly anything to do with iconic sites such as Stonehenge, will receive the media attention (and the research money), it can be difficult to forge forth with new large-scale excavation projects. New, large-scale excavations would undoubtedly be a wonderful thing, but for the moment perhaps we can work with what we have, the large-scale excavations from previous decades that might have overlooked these parts of Anglo-Saxon society. Indeed, this chapter hopes to redress the balance from my own gaps in interpretation in previous work on the site (Weikert 2015).

Faccombe Netherton, so fruitful in so many ways to so many researchers thanks to the meticulousness of Jon Fairbrother's excavation and the thoughtfulness of David Hinton's supervision, is one place where the archaeological and historical evidence can allow interpretations about the late Anglo-Saxon working and enslaved households. It is my hope that an interdisciplinary, microhistorical approach to the slaves and riding men, and the possibility of a horse stud if not here then within Wynflæd's properties, can prove to be an instance from which we can extrapolate a wider experience, if very different experiences from even each other. If a space is a lived experience, an intersection between physical place, people, and time (de Certeau 2011: 117), this allows for multiple experiences in the same place and space: not just elite but working and slave experiences coexisted in the same places. We must not prioritise one narrative over another, but instead look to create a whole picture of multiple experiences.

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Cuckoo Lane Revisited

Duncan H. Brown

Summary

Colin Platt's 1966 excavations at Cuckoo Lane, Southampton recovered an astonishing group of finds from a waterlogged cess pit in the medieval town. Dozens of wooden objects, fragments of textile and basketry, whole pewter objects and almost complete medieval pots were recovered. Two seals relate this material to either Richard of Southwick or Bernard de Vire, allowing the introduction of personalities into the interpretation of this fabulous deposit. The 1975 publication of Platt's excavations (Platt and Coleman-Smith, 1975) presented the finds in a largely descriptive fashion, albeit in a way that could be considered ground-breaking for the 1970s. This paper re-examines this group, reviewing all the finds and attempting to establish how it was formed and what it represents. The contents and condition of the project archive are also considered. One aim is to demonstrate the rewards that re-analysis and reflection can bring, the other is to revive interest in this amazing discovery.

Keywords: Medieval, Southampton, Pottery, Treen, Ampullae, Seal, Artefacts

In 1966 Colin Platt, representing the Southampton Excavation Committee (SEC), began excavations at a site identified as Cuckoo Lane. There were five different interventions, known at the time as SEC sites 1, 3, 4, 8 and 12 but published as Cuckoo Lane A, B, C, D and E (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a: 285). These revealed the remains of three substantial buildings, of which Houses 1 and 2 were built in stone. Attached to House 1 was a stone-lined cesspit, Pit 14, which produced an astonishing assemblage of medieval artefacts, animal bone and plant remains that provide a vivid insight into the way of life of a Southampton burgess in the late 13th century. The recovery of a seal matrix has made it possible to name one person who may have lived at Cuckoo Lane, lending a rare glint of humanity to the archaeological evidence. It could be argued that the original publication of the group, amidst evidence from 36 other excavations, does not do justice to the extraordinary quality of the finds from Pit 14 and it is the intention here to present a more detailed analysis combined with a re-interpretation of what it may signify. It was hoped that comparison with similar groups would allow a more expansive study but none could be found. Even Professor David Hinton himself, responding to the author's veiled enquiry, could not offer any published references worth pursuing. This will undoubtedly change and it may even be that such groups have been recovered already. It is hoped therefore that this offering in honour of a great scholar of the medieval past will inform future studies, as well as reviving knowledge of the Cuckoo Lane excavation for any comparative studies.

The excavation and the finds

The area excavated as Cuckoo Lane was situated in the south-western corner of the medieval walled town of Southampton. Figure 1 shows the location in relation to other points, Arundel Tower, Bargate, Polymond Tower and God's House Tower, that mark the extent of the town. The south-western part is known as the merchant's quarter of Southampton, with the south-east occupied by the friary, the north-east the 'artisans' quarter and the north-west by the royal castle. Southampton may be characterised as the premier port on the south coast of medieval England, and the houses at Cuckoo Lane were perfectly located for access to the quays at which the business of the port was executed (see Platt 1973 for a more detailed examination of the medieval port). The group excavated from Pit 14 emphasises the quality of life attained by wealthy merchants in the town. That wealth was expressed primarily by the construction of stone houses, some examples of which still survive in Southampton. Building 1 at Cuckoo Lane was a similar dwelling, so it was perhaps no surprise to recover evidence for a high standard of living; nevertheless, the quality of the finds must have been beyond all expectations. The foundations of House

Figure 1: Aerial view of Southampton in the 1960s, showing the location of the Cuckoo Lane site 'C'. The outline of the medieval town is denoted by various points, including A Arundel Tower, B the Bargate, P Polymond Tower on the northern boundary and G God's House Gate in the south-east corner; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

1 were located at the northern end of the site, exposed in Trenches A and B, to the west of the gravel cliff that ran down to the waterfront. At right-angles to the water, the western end would later be partially incorporated into the defensive town wall. The stone-lined cesspit, feature 14, was attached to the south-east corner of House 1. It is described as having a close-packed fill

'…which was sufficient to support the sagging floor joists and overlying building debris, [which] suggests that the pit was full and ready for emptying at the time it was abandoned. Complete, or nearly complete, pots were found throughout its depth, together with fragments of woollen cloth, baskets and objects of wood and of leather, preserved in the waterlogged fill below floor level. The top third of the pit, above the floor, held building rubble, much of it showing signs of burning. From amongst the rubble, just above floor level, a fine sword was recovered. The floor, which was damaged but substantially intact, was supported on four rough-hewn joists, lodged at either end in holes left for that purpose in the side walls of the pit. There were no traces of floor at the base of the pit' (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a: 302).

The pit was around 3.5 metres deep and about 2.25 metres square internally (Figure 2). It is presumed that the feature was wholly emptied and one must also accept that 100% of the objects present were recovered, although that may not be the case, given the excavation methods of the mid-1960s, as well as the difficulties of excavating waterlogged deposits.

The documentary archive for this excavation consists of some drawings, a few photographic transparencies, some monochrome prints and, in place of record books, a set of index cards. These cards give 'accession numbers' to individual finds from the whole series of Southampton Excavation Committee sites and are ordered according to the time they were recorded. Accession numbers are therefore not necessarily in sequence for each site, so that the Cuckoo Lane numbers include 1914, then 1934, 1947, 1948, 1963, 1980, 2020 and so on. As shown in Figure 3, each card records contextual and finds information, largely in

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Figure 2: Pit 14 before excavation, from the south-east, with the remnants of the south wall of House 1 extending away from the upright figure; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

an unstructured, descriptive format. In order to locate all the material recovered from Pit 14 (known during the excavation as the 'Deep Room') every record card related to Site 1 was examined and ordered, resulting in a list of 104 entries that are now recorded in a spreadsheet that has been sent to Southampton Museum Service. These cards do scant justice to the quality of the finds recovered, with entries such as '1949; wood; bowls and plates' bearing little witness to the astonishing survival of treen, as shown in the excavation report, where twelve wooden vessels are illustrated on a single page (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975b: 230; Figure 228). Some academic dispassion is perhaps to be expected but it is a pity that there is no indication of the number of wooden bowls and plates recorded as Accession Number 1949. It has been possible, nevertheless, to identify and locate some sherds of pottery that were not published and thus were not included in Platt's presentation of the cesspit and its contents.

It is not easy to use *Excavations in Medieval Southampton* to assemble anything more than a list of the contents of Pit 14 in combination with the stratigraphic sequence. Selected artefacts are described in the illustrated catalogue that comprises much of Volume 2 but there is no meaningful quantification, nor interpretation. Volume 1 includes reports on the animal bones, parasite eggs and plant remains from various deposits across many excavations, including Pit 14, which are accompanied by quantified analyses but little effort is made to incorporate these findings into any interpretative discussion. That is concentrated in around 570 words at the end of the description of what was identified as Period 2 at Cuckoo Lane. The artefactual and environmental evidence is brought together in a portrait of a wealthy Southampton merchant and burgess, who had a rich and varied diet, fine pottery and a large stone dwelling. The discovery in Pit 14 of the seal matrix of Richard of Southwick (Figure 4), who is mentioned in surviving documentary records, leads to the conclusion that he was the occupier of the house at Cuckoo Lane, probably in the period before his death in around 1290. A second seal matrix, belonging to one Bernard de Vire was also found and he was identified as a 'visiting Norman merchant to whom he [Richard] would have been acting as host' (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a: 294).

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Figure 3: A record card from the Southampton Excavation Committee series; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

Figure 4: A 1960s photograph of Richard of Southwick's seal; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

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Despite the scattered nature of the information, it has been possible to compile a catalogue of the finds from Pit 14, with the purpose of initiating a more interpretative analysis. Table 1 shows the number of record cards given to each type of find present in Pit 14, alongside the numbers of items published in the excavation report and those of individual specialists. Much of the environmental evidence was recovered from soil samples, which were not noted on record cards. Included here are the animal bones, which are helpfully quantified by individuals as well as bone types. Cattle, sheep, pig, goat, rabbit and deer were all presumably eaten, while other reasons explain the remains of dogs, cats, a ferret, rats and a frog. Bird bones include those of domestic goose, mallard, wild duck, teal, other 'fowl' (perhaps chicken?), lapwing, curlew, woodcock and sparrow hawk. There are also fish, including conger eel, plaice, cod and red gurnard, alongside oyster and mussel. There is also the skull of a Barbary ape, interpreted as Richard of Southwick's exotic pet. The seed remains give a similarly varied picture, with fig, plum, cherry, grape, raspberry, mountain ash and hazel all present, together with over 6,500 seeds of wild strawberry. This evidence certainly points to a wealthy household, while the sparrow hawk might indicate the pursuit of falconry.

The list of artefacts supports this picture of wealth and privilege. Glass was a highly desirable and expensive commodity in the late 13th century and there are pieces from five individual vessels here, alongside a complete pewter dish or saucer. The pottery was cited as evidence of wealth and trading connections (Platt 1973: 103), and the group is certainly exotic, for it includes an astonishing 22 Saintonge jugs, including eight with painted polychrome decoration and one with a sgraffito design. Three Andalucian lustred pots are also represented, providing an even more exotic note to an already exceptional group. The pottery is considered in further detail below. Less eye-catching perhaps, but just as noteworthy, is the preservation of leather and wooden objects that testify to how little of medieval material culture routinely survives in the archaeological record. Twelve shoes are represented, together with a belt studded with pewter, and an embossed sheath. There are also leather scraps, with pieces of straps and garments. As well as leather there were fragments of silk and fine woven wool, as well as silk braids, rope and string, possibly made from palm fibres. Parts of two baskets, one made of willow, one of rush or palm, were also found. Eleven turned wooden bowls were recovered, together with one staved bowl or bucket, an oak box, a probable churn cover, two birch-wood whistle mouthpieces, small turned containers, a comb in box-wood, tally-sticks, planks, barrel tops and a maple-wood hinge. A box-wood gaming piece with a knob shaped like a horse's hoof was a notable find (Figure 5). The wooden bowls are perhaps among the most evocative, if least photogenic, objects here. In contrast to how the pottery has been viewed, these may be seen as humble vessels, but they were present in almost every medieval household, regardless of status. Easily made, cheaply acquired, resistant to breakage and naturally waterproof, unlike the few ceramic bowls made at this period, treen must generally have been used for carrying, serving and eating foodstuffs. The quantity of wooden vessels recovered from Pit 14 is indicative of their place in medieval domestic life.

Material type	Number of records	Number of published items
Animal bone	3	386
Basket	1	2
Brick and tile	8	3
Coal	1	0
Copper-alloy	6	6
Glass	2	5
Horn	1	0
Iron	4	4
Lead	3	3
Leather	5	27
Mortar	1	0
Pewter	2	3
Pottery	30	46
Rope / string		4
Seeds	0	6919
Shell	1	564
Slag	1	0
Slate	3	0
Stone	7	3
Textile	0	14
Wood	22	71
Worked bone	3	3
Total	**104**	**8063**

Table 1: An approximate count of items in various material types based on the numbers recorded in the card index and the quantities discernible from the published reports.

Figure 5: A 1960s photograph of the box wood gaming piece; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

Six metal objects stand out among the Pit 14 group. One is the pewter dish or saucer, a very early example and an unusual find in a domestic context. Also in pewter are two ampullae (Figure 6) from Canterbury, bearing images of St Thomas and originally containing a tincture of the saint's blood. The contents were supposed to have healing properties and it is tempting to think of these being brought to the home of the dying Richard of Southwick in 1290, although Colin Platt interpreted them as souvenirs of a trip to the Canterbury shrine (Platt 1973: 105). An iron sword is another rare find in a domestic cesspit. The Cuckoo Lane example is about 1.07 metres in length and has a copper-alloy pommel with ten facets. It was found in association with a copper-alloy buckle and fragments of a leather strap, while the sword blade exhibits evidence of a wooden scabbard. It seems that the whole set was discarded at one moment. There are, finally, the two copper-alloy seals. Richard of Southwick is a documented individual of some status in Southampton and it may be natural, therefore, to identify him as the occupant of the stone house at Cuckoo Lane. Bernard de Vire remains more mysterious and the presence of his seal is less easy to explain. Indeed, the cesspit and this astonishing group have not really been subject to any serious analysis beyond presenting it as typifying the household of a wealthy Southampton burgess with international connections. A closer look at the ceramic evidence and a consideration of the stratigraphy might enhance that somewhat sketchy interpretation.

The pottery

Table 2 lists all the pottery items excavated from Pit 14 that can now be located in the project archive, grouped chronologically and ordered by area of origin. All of them appear in the illustrated catalogue. Some unpublished pieces for which there are record cards now seem to be missing and these are listed in Table 3. Among those are some 12th century coarseware, Saintonge ware and, presumably local, glazed sandy ware (Accession Number 1784). If they are late 13th century, the 'Rouen' sherds (1783) are likely to be Developed Rouen-type Ware (Brown 2002: 24). Where they occurred in the stratigraphy of Pit 14 is unclear; each of these record cards are ascribed to 'House Destruction (Deep Room)', signifying perhaps that these deposits were related to the upper fills of Pit 14, overlying the timber floor. There are further pottery finds, from deposits around the stone courses of Pit 14 that are not considered here, for this discussion is focussed on the contents of the cesspit. Table 2 shows the range of wares recovered.

An instantly noteworthy feature of this group is the almost complete absence of locally made glazed wares. Almost all the jugs present are Saintonge types, including standard green-glazed, bright green-glazed, sgraffito and polychrome (see Brown 2002). No other group from any site in medieval Southampton shows such a predominance of imported pottery. It is not easy to find comparable single-pit groups, but the finds from a set of contemporary backyard pits at Bull Hall (Southampton Site SOU 25; Brown 1997a; 2002: 142 and 102), produced 2067 sherds of late 13th/14th century (high medieval) pottery, weighing 49,378 grams. Bull Hall was a capital tenement close to the town's Westgate (Platt 1973: 267). Owned by Thomas le Halveknight, there is an argument that the house was leased to a French merchant at the end of the 13th century (Brown 2002: 164), which may account for the range of French pottery present, including vessels from the Saintonge, the Seine Valley and Brittany. Even in this group, considered remarkable for the quality of the imported material, English, mainly local coarse and glazed ware represented 69%

Accession number	Catalogue number	Ware name	Vessel type	Description
2051	489	Scratch-marked coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
2061	494	Anglo-Norman Dorset type	Jug	Handle sherd
1784	476	Anglo-Norman Dorset type	Jar	Rim sherd
1920	477	Southampton coarseware	Divided dish	Complete
1780	479	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
1784	482	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	4 sherds, rim and body
	483	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
601	484	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	15 sherds
2027	485	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
2028	486	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
2033	487	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
1780	488	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
2053	491	Southampton coarseware	Curfew	4 sherds, rim and body
	493	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	15 sherds, vessel profile
	495	Southampton coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	2 body sherds
2052	490	Southampton sandy coarseware	Jar / cooking pot	Base sherd
1781	478	Southampton sandy ware	Jug	Thumbed base sherd
1998	416	West Sussex sandy ware	Jug	Complete
	1007	Sandy ware	Jug	Copy of Saintonge jug
1784	480	North French sandy ware	Jar / cooking pot	Rim sherd
	1004	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Green-glazed, applied strips
	1005	Saintonge whiteware	Pitcher	Unglazed single-handled pitcher
	1006	Saintonge whiteware	Pitcher	Unglazed single-handled pitcher
	1008	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Green glaze
	1009	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Green-glazed, applied strips
	1010	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Splashed green glaze
	1011	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Green glaze
	1012	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Green glaze
	1013	Saintonge whiteware	Jug	Green-glazed, applied strips
	1014	Saintonge whiteware	Pitcher	Three-handled pegau
	1015	Saintonge whiteware	Lid	3 rim sherds, 2 vessels
1936	1003	Saintonge bright green	Jug	
	1020	Saintonge sgraffito	Jug	Cockerel motif
	1017	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Body sherds, heraldic motif
	1018	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Base sherd, vine motif
	1019	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Body sherds, vine motif
	1021	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Bird and shield motif
	1022	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Bird and shield motif
	1023	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Fleur-de-lys motif
	1024	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Bird and shield motif
	1025	Saintonge polychrome	Jug	Heraldic motif
1999	473	Iberian red micaceous ware	Jar	Collared rim sherd
1964	1274	Andalucian lustreware	Jug	Blackened
1964	1275	Andalucian lustreware	Bowl	Blackened
1964	1277	Andalucian lustreware	Bowl	Blackened
	1368	Alkaline-glazed ware	Jar	Rim and body

Table 2: A concordance of the pottery finds from Pit 14, where possible matching record card accession numbers with illustrated catalogue numbers, together with ware type, vessel type and description.

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Accession number	Description
1780	Gritty ware, rims and sherds, 12C
1781	Gritty buff/white rim and sherd
1782	Base, spout, rim and sherds, Saintonge or derivatives
1783	Rouen, featured sherds
1784	Handle, base and sherds, rim, green on red (and kindred wares) 13-14C

Table 3: Pottery recorded in the card index but no longer present in the project archive. Each record is related to 'House Destruction (Deep Room)', signifying that these deposits are perhaps related to the upper fills of Pit 14.

and 73% of the high medieval material by weight and sherd count respectively (Brown 2002: 101). In stark contrast to the group from Cuckoo Lane, local glazed sandy pottery at Bull Hall comprises 57% (by weight) and 53% (by sherd count) of all the English material. All that seems to be present in Pit 14 is a fragment of jug base in Southampton sandy ware (Fabric 1150; Brown 2002: 14). There are two other English jugs. One is a rather poor copy of a Saintonge jug (1007), in an unidentified sandy ware and the other is a complete West Sussex-type sandy ware jug (416) with its characteristic smear of white slip around the inside of the rim (see Barton 1979: 93–98). The former is an unprepossessing thing, lumpen and poorly made in comparison with the genuine Saintonge article. The West Sussex-type jug is more attractive but it too is heavier and coarser than the finely thrown products of South-Western France. It is impossible to comprehend what that meant in a high medieval household but it seems clear that the Cuckoo Lane cesspit contained an unusually high quantity of Saintonge pottery, virtually to the exclusion of any other glazed wares. The Andalucian Lustreware vessels might be viewed as true exotics in this group, so too the alkaline glazed jar that is likely to have come from Syria, but since identified as Valencian (Gutiérrez 2000: 248) probably as a container for some perishable commodity. Although it is placed among the English wares, catalogue number 473 is described as 'possibly an import' (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975b: 86) and it can be confirmed here as the rim of a jar in Iberian Red Micaceous ware, formerly known as Merida-type but now considered to be from the Alentejo region of Portugal (Fabric 1371, Brown 2002: 38). This is a rare, but not unknown presence at such a date. These finds may be related to the silk, figs and palm basketry noted above, indicating trade beyond the wineries of Gascony, with which Saintonge pottery is associated. The cooking pots, on the other hand, were almost all made locally, in Southampton Coarseware (Fabric 1123, Brown 2002: 12). Given that this product is dominant in every high medieval assemblage in the town (e.g. 12,315 grams and 556 sherds in the Bull Hall group) this is to be expected, although there are relatively few vessels present in Pit 14. The curfew, 491, originally catalogued as a cooking pot or bowl, is paralleled at Bull Hall, among other Southampton houses, and would have been used to contain a hearth overnight. Number 480, catalogued with the English wares, is actually the rim of a North French, probably Seine Valley, jar or cooking pot, which may not be that remarkable, given the high quantities of French pottery overall.

Discussion

The nature of the deposit requires consideration here. On the record cards two phases of fills are indicated, separated by a timber floor that originally covered the cesspit. Above the floor lay building rubble, including scorched stones that suggest the east end of House 1 burned down, apparently right at the end of the 13th century, leading to the construction of House 3 in the first quarter of the 14th. Within this rubble were the sword, three wooden bowls, the studded leather belt, some leather shoes and various architectural fragments. The survival of organic material indicates that this deposit was probably waterlogged, and as Figure 2 shows, water levels were certainly high when the structure was originally revealed in 1966. All the other finds came from below the timber floor, leading Platt to surmise that 'the pit was full and ready for emptying at the time it was abandoned' (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a: 302). Stone-lined pits were used across the town to manage waste, but an alternative interpretation is that the feature had been deliberately back-filled in order to close it off, perhaps to allow remodelling of the house. This may be supported by the presence of so many domestic objects, including a perfectly complete pewter saucer, not to mention two personal seals, which one might not expect to be casually discarded or accidentally lost into a functioning cesspit. It seems probable that both seals were kept

together in the same container, which could have been what went into the pit. How quickly does a cesspit fill up? The uniform nature of the most common artefacts, wooden bowls and Saintonge pottery, suggest that these may have been dumped collectively, which perhaps does not accord with the notion that the cesspit had filled up over time and was ready for emptying. Nor, it should be said, does it preclude the possibility of mass breakage of groups of vessels and their subsequent disposal together. What is lacking, however, is a sense that the fills of Pit 14 were built up through a series of temporally distinct events. Either way, the mixed nature of the finds suggests that the fill was primarily waste from within the house, but it is surely possible that some of it was mercantile stock. If the cesspit was deliberately closed off then this group represents what was available for that purpose.

One remarkable facet of the pottery is the high quantity of Saintonge ware, almost to the exclusion of local glazed products, while some of those pots are remarkably complete. Saintonge pottery is finely thrown and easily fractured, but the presence of a complete West Sussex-type jug, marred only by a crack in the neck that could easily have occurred during deposition, shows that some vessels may have been usable when they were dumped. The Saintonge pots could therefore have gone in as a basketful, along with other clearance items. One problem with that, typical of all archaeological deposits, is that most of the pottery types occur as one or two sherds. A 100% recovery rate during excavation is rarely guaranteed but if a load of pots had been emptied into the cesspit then every vessel would have been whole at the time. Fragmentary pots indicate a secondary deposition process, which may indicate that the fill was derived from a midden, or that not all household waste was emptied into Pit 14. We are denied knowledge of how House 1 was arranged above ground, so it is not known how the cesspit was accessed. The report describes a wooden floor supported by joists built into the stone lining (shown in Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a: Plate 62), although whether or not this was a trapdoor or a more substantial cover is not considered. It seems likely that access was gained from outside the house, which means that waste was brought out of the house but only some of it ended up in the cesspit. One method for managing rubbish, aside from the use of surface middens, was to use a pit primarily for human and food waste, then fill it with 'hard' material such as pottery and treen immediately prior to being emptied. That, as Platt surmised, may have been the situation when a house fire caused the masonry collapse that sealed the timber floor. So, having taken a circuitous route back to our starting point, what might the conclusion be? As ever, it would be foolish to look for a single, simple explanation for how Pit 14 was filled. It undoubtedly contained human excrement, as evidenced by digested seeds and parasite eggs. Mixed with this was more substantial food waste, in the form of fish, bird and mammal bones and shell that would probably have been thrown into the cesspit directly after consumption. The coarseware cooking pots surely also derived from the kitchen and because they survive only as a few fragments, they may represent survivors from previous pit cleaning events, or they may have come from a surface midden of harder rubbish. The Saintonge pots have the appearance of a single group, while the two English jugs also survive substantially, if not completely, intact, as do the Andalucian vessels. Many of these seem too large to be allowed to fill a cesspit that does not yet require emptying and give rise to the suspicion that a deliberately rapid filling process is in evidence. This is enhanced by the presence of large quantities of treen and leather shoes, the embossed sheath, a complete pewter dish, a wooden box, two ampullae and two seals. As objects that rarely survive in the archaeological record, the wooden bowls are of great interest, and merit consideration in relation to the pottery. Robin Wood has shown that hundreds, if not thousands of wooden vessels were acquired annually in medieval households, while ceramics seem to have been bought in numbers of one or two at a time (Wood 2005: 19). The presence of so many pots in comparison with treen may therefore also indicate a clearance event. Wood had a secondary use as a fuel, and in archaeological terms therefore, much of the evidence will have been destroyed, so the occurrence in Pit 14 of so many wooden objects may again indicate a deliberate clearance and deposition process, rather than a gradual accumulation. Whether or not the cesspit was destined to be emptied, or was being closed off, will remain unknown but it seems probable that Pit 14 was filled with material from a clearance event. If not, and these finds were the typical accumulated contents of a cesspit ready for emptying, then they bear astounding testimony to the high rates of consumption in a medieval merchant house, as well as being a spectacular reminder of the range of materials that frequently elude archaeological recovery.

Figure 6: A transparency of one of the pewter ampullae; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

The upper fills of the pit may also reward further examination. Platt suggested that the burned masonry resulted from a fire that led to the demolition of the east wall of House 1 and the terminal covering of Pit 14. The survival in these clearance fills of unburned wooden and leather items indicates that this sealing deposit was also derived from other areas of the house. As they were found above the wooden floor, it has to be assumed that these objects were dumped when the cesspit was closed off. The sword is therefore a surprising find, for that must have had some value and if this burning and dumping phase pre-dates the French raid of 1338, which according to Platt resulted in the destruction of House 3 (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975a: 294) then it presumably came from within the house rather than somebody who was carrying it at the time. The possibility remains that house clearance was already under way, and Pit 14 was decommissioned, at the time of the fire, which Platt puts at around 1300.

On the evidence of the seal, Platt related the contents of the Cuckoo Lane cesspit to Richard of Southwick, but others were less convinced. Martin Biddle, in his review of *Medieval Southampton* (Platt 1973) considered that 'when archaeological evidence is used to illuminate the merchant class, it is simplistic to a degree, as in the, to my mind, unwarranted use made of Richard of Southwick's seal' (Biddle 1974: 248). David Hinton also wondered about using the seal to relate Pit 14 to Richard; 'can a rubbish-pit in such circumstances be ascribed to the household refuse of a single individual?' (Hinton, 1977: 228). That critique may have originated in the analytical, processual archaeology that prevailed in 1974, but the seals must have come from House 1, to which the cesspit was attached, and it seems likely that at least one of them belonged to an occupant. Given the presence of his seal and the knowledge that Richard of Southwick died at the end of the 13th century, it is seems plausible that he was the householder whose possessions were dumped into Pit 14. That does not explain the presence of a second seal. Nothing is known of Bernard de Vire, who is, described, or perhaps dismissed, as a Norman merchant who was an associate or guest of Richard. This is conjecture, which does little to explain the mechanics of two different seals ending up in the same deposit, even if it is correct to characterise the event as a house clearance. Both clearly were in circulation together and also went out of it at the same time and a business partnership is indicated. Even with all the provisos rehearsed above, there remains little reason not to conclude that Richard of Southwick lived at Cuckoo Lane and that was probably where he passed away, while his death may have been what led to the filling of Pit 14.

The pottery evidence suggests strong French influence, and Platt considers this to signify that Richard of Southwick had no liking for local products:

'Richard was not, certainly, the wealthiest burgess of his generation, but he lived extraordinarily well. In addition to pewter and fine imported glass, his habitual tablewares included some of the costliest ceramics of Spain and south-west France. A selection of Spanish lustres, among the earliest to be recognized in England, accompanied the boldly-painted claret-jugs of Saintonge. They had spoilt his taste for local wares, for he imported, in large part, even the plainer vessels daily in service in his household, and where he did possess a fine product of the Sussex kilns, it was painted with a white slip on the inside of the rim, in clear imitation of the lighter products of the south... A divided condiment dish, or saucer, was

among the vessels recovered from the pit. It is of a local ware: a minor concession to the pottery industry of the region. A Southampton burgess of Richard's generation could well afford the luxuries of his own international trade... Seldom were commercial openings so plentiful, or extravagant tastes so easy to indulge' (Platt 1973: 103–105).

That statement requires some analysis. In the first instance it should no longer be accepted that in the high medieval period pottery jugs represented 'tableware'. They were designed for serving rather than drinking, used for carrying liquids from the pantry to the hall. In this context, wine is the most likely drink but water, for the washing of hands, may also have been carried (see Brown 2005). Earthenware, however fine in appearance, was not highly valued and metalware or glass, both of which were found in Pit 14, would have been of far greater worth and thus deserving of a position on the table. That must have been important in a society where wealth had to be made visible. There is no reason to suppose that Saintonge jugs were considered as luxuries. They occur in almost every high medieval deposit in Southampton but are rare beyond the town, including in Winchester, the principle regional market for Southampton merchants. If they had commercial value they would have been traded further afield, but that is not the case (see Brown 1997b). It is therefore unlikely that the person living at Cuckoo Lane had lost his taste for local wares, because pottery may not have featured very prominently in his thoughts. Indeed, Richard probably did not acquire the West Sussex-type jug in a direct transaction himself, for household utensils were most likely bought by whoever kept house, and in any case it is not certain that a wipe of white slip around the inside of the rim was an attempt to emulate Saintonge pottery; it seems to be a characteristic of much Sussex ware. Beyond that it is surely not the case that this group represents all the pottery used at Cuckoo Lane, and other household items, including locally made pottery, may have been disposed of elsewhere, or carted away. In any case, local coarsewares are represented in a quantity that signifies more than the 'minor concession to the pottery industry of the region' that Platt ascribes to the divided dish. If the Saintonge pottery was a consignment, then these vessels would not have been used in the house and should therefore not be related to the tastes or possessions of the householder. Unlike the seeds and animal bones, which must be the product of on-site consumption, there need be no direct relationship between the commercial and private activities evidenced in the artefacts. Here, anything imported was either a commodity or a chattel and in the archaeological examination of a merchant's house, it is not easy to distinguish one from the other. Gascon wine would have been Richard's principle concern and Saintonge pottery may be viewed as a by-product of that vital trade, and not at all uncommon. It may not have been marketed much beyond Southampton but Saintonge ware was certainly circulating within the town and merchants would undoubtedly have had cases of the stuff in store, even if the profit margins were insubstantial. The Andalusian Lustreware, by contrast, might have been considered an exotic rarity that could have featured at table but surely not to the extent of excluding local pottery from use elsewhere in the dwelling. Overall, however, this is a fascinating group that will surely repay further study and comparison with finds elsewhere.

Conclusion

It seems rather as if this analysis has followed a somewhat circuitous path, but that might be as much a reflection on the quality of the available evidence as it is on the acuity of the author. It is concluded that the material recovered from Pit 14 at Cuckoo Lane probably derived from the household of Richard of Southwick, who died in Southampton at the end of the 13th century. He lived and probably died in House 1 at the site, a well-appointed stone building with a stone-lined pit attached. There is no suggestion that this was a garderobe, accessed from within the property, and it most likely served as a cesspit for containing human and kitchen waste. The house was at least partially destroyed in a house fire at around the same time, although according to Platt, probably after Richard's death. The objects that came from the fills of the cesspit may therefore have been dumped as part of a house clearance following Richard's demise but prior to the fire, because burned rubble sealed the pit and lay over the wooden floor that seems to have covered it when it was in use. The quality of the finds, especially the evidence for a rich diet but also the glass, pewter and at least the Andalucian pottery, all point to Richard's wealth and status as a merchant and burgess. His seal confirms his association with the house and also with one Bernard de

Vire, who is presumed to be a business partner. Although it is the Saintonge pottery that many observers have found remarkable, and it is certainly present in an unusually high quantity, this may not be a full reflection of the way ceramics were acquired or used within the household. It may even be a distraction, for other 'everyday' items, such as the leather sheath, shoes, straps and belts, together with the wooden box, the gaming piece, the hinge and the bowls, planks, barrel-tops and tally sticks all illuminate much more deeply our understanding of the ways people lived their lives in the medieval period and the things that surrounded them. It is hoped that this study will revive interest in this astounding discovery. Such a mixed group of organic material with more durable objects remains an exceedingly rare occurrence for the high medieval period and it should not be forgotten. Of course, having written those words, it is inevitable that parallels will instantly come to light, or be newly discovered, but that is the point, for studies such as these are intended to stimulate. It is also a tribute of course, to a medieval scholar par excellence and it is to be hoped that both ambitions for this humble offering have been achieved.

Author's afterthought on the archive

In my role as a former curator of the archaeology collection as Southampton, not to mention my present involvement in archaeological archive work, it is perhaps worth reviewing the state and contents of the excavation archive. This not only reveals something of the prevailing methodology but may also guide anyone else who wishes to re-analyse this group in the future. As described, the majority of original finds and stratigraphic records take the form of a card index (Figure 2). This is a limited resource, providing little indication of the structural sequence. For that, we have to rely on Platt's published descriptions, for better or worse. The rest of the archive consists of photographs, including monochrome prints and colour transparencies, of the site and some objects. Figures 1, 4 and 5 are scanned from the former, while Figure 2 is from a colour slide. It provides context, I think, to reproduce contemporary photographs, because they often resonate with the values of the time. Consider, for instance, in Figure 1, the open spaces in the southern end of the medieval town, now all developed, that gave the Southampton Excavation Committee the opportunities for excavation that will rarely arise now. Witness the decidedly 1970s hessian on which the gaming piece sits in Figure 5, while the high contrast quality of Figures 4 and 5 is equally evocative. Archaeological archives are replete with redolence, as well as, for some of us, reminiscence. A few other documents survive, including two pieces of correspondence concerning particular finds. One letter from the London Museum returns fulsome comments on the ampullae or pilgrim badges, with a hand-written post script that suggests 'You might like to make up the enclosed transparencies into slides – one is of the cleaned ampulla'. Figure 6 is a scan of a transparency that may be the one referred to here. It is certainly dusty enough. The other letter concerns the leather shoes. In 1966, it seems, opportunities for the conservation and analysis of leather were no more plentiful than they are now and John Pallister, Curator at Southampton Museums Department, resorted to consulting a local shoe supplier for advice. W. J. French and Sons still have their shop in Bedford Place, Southampton but few of us would consider going there now for advice on the condition and preservation of leather objects. In 1966, however, this proved to be an astute move because their letter of the 15th September displays an eminently sensible approach. A scan of both pages of the letter is shown here as Figure 7 and it is interesting to read the quality of the advice as well as to see how assiduously Mr French pursued his mission. Apart from the question of how a medieval shoe specialist became attached to a technical college, the image of a bin full of shoes from York and London is graphic, although one trusts that it was set up to keep the leather from drying out. Overall, however, it is difficult in these supposedly more professional times, to envisage a curator entrusting medieval leather to a shoe-seller, who then took it to both Northampton museum and technical college, wrote a summary of the advice they received and returned everything with commendable promptness. This, I think, gives a rare insight into the seat-of-the-pants nature of the archaeological endeavours Platt and his colleagues were pursuing. Indeed, in a 1963 headline, the Daily Echo praised 'Heroic Archaeologists in the 'goon-like world' south of the Bargate', who braved the dangers of 'bulldozers and mechanical shovels' to maximise the scant opportunities for exploring Southampton's past. The piece goes on to explain that 'the work is slow because it is geared to hand-methods and machinery unfortunately is quite inappropriate'. The point of it all is made clear; 'It is unlikely that sensational finds will be made but

SOU 163

W. J. FRENCH & SON, Ltd.

40 BEDFORD PLACE   ::   SOUTHAMPTON

Telephone 26542

OurRef: RWF/GC.

15th September, 1966.

J. Pallister, Esq.,
Southampton Museums Dept.,
God's House Tower,
SOUTHAMPTON.

Dear Mr. Pallister,

We decided in view of the condition of the leather articles found in the deep layer near the West Gate, to take them ourselves to Northampton. This we did on Tuesday, taking them first to the Museum and then to Mr. Thornton of the Technical College (an expert in mediaeval shoes) because we were particularly concerned at the apparent dryness of the leather belt fragments.

During our visit we were shown a bin containing very many similar shoes to yours, recovered from York and London and the following facts emerged.

(a) The leather could be allowed to dry after washing in normal tap water using a tooth brush. This might enable it to regain it's colour.

(b) The leather (not metal fitted objects) could be treated whilst wet with Turkey Red Oil - this will make them dark. There is a wax made and being used by the British Museum which is suggested as a better alternative.

(c) Mr. Thornton was particularly interested in the belt number with it's (possibly) silver buckle and ornaments and mentioned Mr. Norman Cooke F.S.A. The Curator of the Guildhall Museum, who is considered an expert. In this case the Turkey Red Oil containing acid might corrode the metal and this article could be washed, waxed and mounted.

(d) The Ladies Insole/Sole Box Number 3 would have been dated as 15th Century, were it not for the level in which it was found and this also applies to the Man's Turn shoe Number 001901.

(e) Leather of this type can apparently be allowed to dry and later, when wetted, will regain it's shape.

(f) The shoe thought to be a sandal is actually a normal Ladies Turn Shoe with pieces of upper.

In view of the large number of specimens awaiting examination, it was clear that a time lag of anything from 5 to 10 years would elapse before any report could be anticipated, we have brought them back with us and are returning them to you with this letter.

Yours sincerely,

R W French

Figure 7: A scan of both pages of a letter written to the curator at Southampton Museum Department in 1966; courtesy of Southampton City Council.

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humble pieces of broken pottery are amazingly informative about periods of occupation, and even about the town's trade. Now that modern methods enable experts to pronounce for certain where a certain fragment was made, we can turn a flood of light on commerce and domestic life in remote ages'. Three years later a sensational find was made and that flood of light became brighter still. How thrilling and wonderful that must have been.

Acknowledgements

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Producers and Patrons: Late Medieval Decorative Paving Tiles in the South-West Chiltern Hills

Maureen Mellor

`County boundaries were never a barrier to trade'* (Farley and Hurman 2015: 162).

Summary

This paper arises from a design similarity between an *ex-situ* medieval paving tile in the Allestree Library at Christ Church, Oxford, and products of a production site in the parish of Fingest, Buckinghamshire. The production site was investigated ahead of construction of the M40 motorway, in which David Hinton was deeply involved in fieldwork on the Oxfordshire side of the county boundary. The Oxfordshire sites were published in 1974, and the ceramics from the Fingest site at Cadmore End in 2004.

This paper addresses a previously unrecognised distribution of Cadmore End tiles, evidenced from archaeological excavations and parish churches in two counties (Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire). This places an additional industry at the interface of two well-known and dynamic ceramic industries; that centred on Tylers Green and Penn to the east, and the overlapping south Oxfordshire Chilterns hilltop industry at Crocker End, Nettlebed, in the south-west of the Chiltern hills.

Keywords: `Burghersh' lion, ceramics, chapel, Chaucer, church, county boundary, floor tiles, printed design, paving tiles, pottery, production, Stabbed Wessex.

Introduction – the formative years at The Ashmolean, Oxford.

David Hinton read History at Oxford University and then worked at Clarks Shoe factory, Somerset for a few years. He replied to an advertisement for Departmental Assistant in the Department of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and took up his duties on 15th December 1966. His first task was to re-arrange, catalogue and re-label the medieval collection. The British and European Dark Age material at that time was curated by the Assistant Keeper, P.D.C. (David) Brown, later to become the entrepreneur behind Oxbow Books Ltd., and who remembers Hinton being passionate about medieval decorative tiles (pers. comm.).

From the accessions book in the Ashmolean we learn that one of Hinton's first tasks was to register and re-register medieval paving tiles that had been collected in the 19th/early 20th centuries. Part of this early rationalisation included an armorial tile from All Souls College, with the arms of Archbishop Chichele. In the right hand margin in Hinton's hand was a note to the effect 'this was delivered by Venge' (Ashmolean Museum (hereafter AM) Accessions Register: AN1967.674). The Building Records of All Souls are remarkable in that they are complete, Richard Venge is recorded as having delivered medieval paving tiles to All Souls from Crocker End, a hamlet close to Nettlebed in south Oxfordshire Chilterns, during the period of 1442–47 (Walker 2010: 258).

On occasions, the opportunity for purchasing acquisitions arose, one of the earliest purchases by Hinton were 15th to 16th century stoneware jugs and 17th to 18th century tin-glaze drug jars from a private collection. The Oxford Colleges and individuals also sometimes presented medieval objects. It was a stimulating period within the Department, with many scholars from abroad visiting and working for shorter or longer periods. In June 1968 HRH Prince Charles visited the Department. The number of visitors to The Ashmolean was calculated as 131,876 per annum, 50 years on the number of visitors in 2017 reached 938,568.

Once the Medieval Gallery was complete and pride of place had been awarded to the Alfred and Minster Lovell jewels, Hinton began to attend conferences, such as those of The Society for Medieval Archaeology and to develop, in his own time, outreach at weekends with lectures to local societies and for the Delegacy of Extra-Mural studies, at Bristol and Oxford. He gave informal courses on the medieval pottery collection and on the late Saxon collections at the Ashmolean to members of the Oxford University Archaeological Society. These expanded later to more formal lectures for the Faculty of Modern History.

The late 60s and early 1970s was a period of change in the City of Oxford, with massive redevelopment plans underway and the Department was anxious that rescue excavations were supervised by an archaeologist who could also oversee the publication of results. Hinton began to develop his skills as an excavator, but this work was, again, always undertaken in his own time. He investigated Bicester Priory, in north-east Oxfordshire, in advance of development (Hinton 1970: 21–28; Hinton 1975: 99–100) and he assisted at excavations at Framlingham castle (Suffolk), and on Romano-British and medieval sites in Oxfordshire.

Outside his museum duties, Hinton was appointed Hon. Treasurer to the M40 Archaeological Research Group, founded in November 1970, where field-walking surveys by volunteer groups along the planned route were underway. He assisted in excavations on the rising ground approaching the western scarp of the Chilterns at Church Piece, Tetsworth, where late Saxon pottery was recovered; at the Anglo-Saxon burials at Postcombe, Lewknor and the medieval farmstead at Sadler's Wood. Here a new medieval coarseware was irreverently christened: `M40' ware, a name still retained in the archaeological literature (Hinton 1974 Appendix: 2:181–183). This style of decorative design is now recognised as having a much wider distribution over the south-west Chilterns and the Thames valley, crossing the boundaries of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire (Blackmore and Pearce 2010: 118; Blinkhorn 2013: 164; Chambers and Mellor 1979: Figure 6, 104–105; Farley and Leach 1988: Figure 18 1–3, 5 and 6, 73, 78; Whittingham 2005: 141–142). Here archaeology began to tease out the hidden character of the Chilterns through its rural craft industries – pottery, roof tile, paving tiles and bricks.

On 1 August 1971 Hinton was awarded the title of Assistant Keeper of the Department of Antiquities. His publications became more prolific and now extended beyond the clay industries to include Oxford buildings, late Saxon swords and the Alfred and Minster Lovell jewels. His joint publication with Alison Dickson (Dickson and Hinton 1973: 192–196) included a more complete catalogue of medieval decorative floor tiles (Hinton 1973: 196--199). Two years later on 31 August 1973, Hinton resigned from the Ashmolean to take up an appointment at Southampton University (Ashmolean Museum, Report of the Visitors, 1974).

During his early career at the Ashmolean, he also found time to become Hon. Treasurer to the Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society, a role he fulfilled on more than one occasion, suggesting that he had a head for numbers! He then combined the two roles of Hon. Treasurer and Acting Editor of *Oxoniensia* (1971–1972), the Society's journal. After his departure from Oxford he continued to edit the journal for a further five years, while teaching at the University of Southampton. Many of us remember our dismay on receiving back our well-honed articles, or so we thought, to find every paragraph marked in red ink! However, it was a good apprenticeship in archaeological writing.

Scope, methodology, theory and peopling

The scope of this paper builds on aspects of late medieval rural industries that Christopher Hohler had recognised as `printed' tiles, probably from Chiltern factories (Hohler 1941; 1942), and that David Hinton had highlighted in his early career. In the 15th century Richard Venge of Crocker End worked in the hill-top village of Nettlebed, remote from the well organised commercial industry on the southern edge of Wycombe Heath, at Tylers Green and Penn, south Buckinghamshire. Penn had supplied great quantities to Windsor Castle (Berkshire) and many high status sites in London, either by river or overland, and lay only three km from the London to Oxford road. That road would have climbed the eastern dip slope of the Chilterns (see Figure 1), passing close to the site where late medieval pottery and tile wasters have
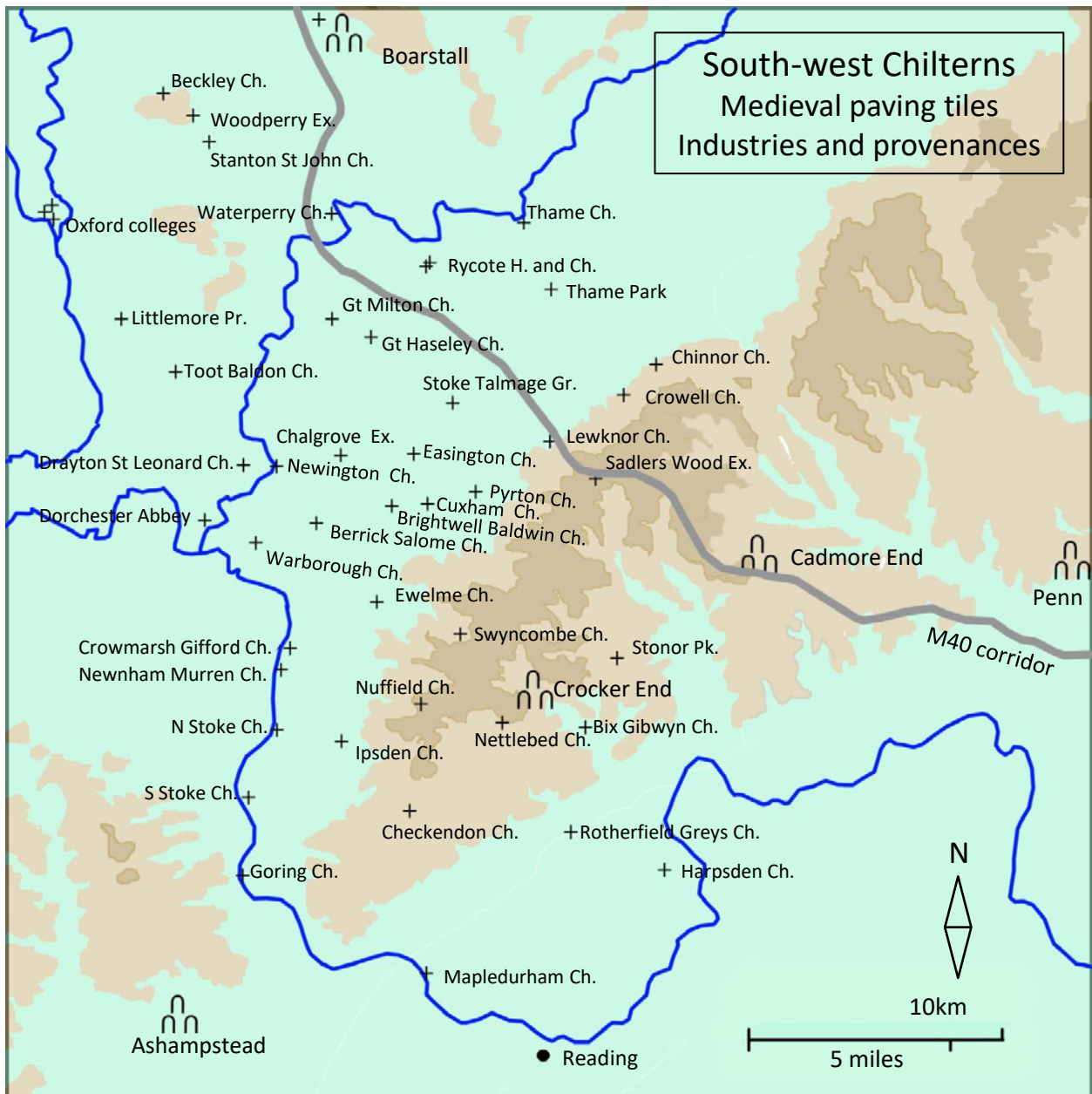
Figure 1. Map of south-west Chilterns, showing topography and context of recent survey.© Brian Durham

been recovered, at Cadmore End Common in the parish of Fingest, Buckinghamshire (Hurman 2004: 21–29). Did these rural industries compete or collaborate to meet the demands of their customers, largely ecclesiastical or royal patrons? And what of the makers of decorated floor-tiles at Boarstall, central Buckinghamshire, did they supply sites in rural Oxfordshire (Farley with Hurman 2017: 115–169)?

Focusing on medieval two-colour decorative earthenware paving tiles, the scope of this survey starts in the south of the county of Oxfordshire, where the Chiltern Hills to the west of Henley-on-Thames rise up from the River Thames (See Figure 1 for Harpsden and Mapledurham). Here, several parishes took in both the high ground and extended west to the meadows of the River Thames. It then follows the hills in a north-easterly direction towards Chinnor, along the ancient Icknield way, embracing largely flint churches and chapels (Hepple and Doggett 1992: 6). The survey area then extends north-west, into the foothills of the Chilterns and the clay vale, to the River Thame, where it meets the River Thames at Dorchester-on-Thames. To the north of Dorchester-on-Thames and north-east of the river Thame, the survey extends along the M40 corridor towards Tetsworth, where David Hinton played a pivotal part

in the excavations. Finally, churches and chapels closer to central Buckinghamshire are investigated. Within the City of Oxford, ceramic material from two Oxford colleges: the muniment tower at New College and All Souls College, provide firm documentary and dating evidence. Medieval paving tiles from the Allestree Library, Christ Church add some further supporting evidence (Ashmolean Museum 2014; Keevill *et al.* 2014: Table 3, 43).

Examination of medieval paving tiles in local churches and chapels can typically establish the decorative technique (`inlaid ' or `printed'), but the identification of fabric (clay matrix and inclusions) is more challenging; the geology is similar across the south-west Chilterns, and both major industries sometimes employed clay with both red and white firing lenses, white quartz and grog (fired clay) as a tempering agent (Cotter 2006: 296 - Oxford Fabric IIIC). Another tradition, with a more silty matrix (Oxford Fabric IVA), is also similar to paving tiles in London attributed to the tileries at Penn (Douglas 2015: 59). Caution is therefore needed in the attribution of ceramic production centres (John Cotter, Oxford Archaeology enabled access to the regional fabric type series). Many tiles have been reset in the chancel, sanctuary or the porch of their churches, meaning that the fabric of the tile was only accessible for macroscopic examination where the glaze had worn away or chipped at the edges. *Ex situ* tiles from excavations were examined more thoroughly, and the thickness of the tile recorded too.

For excavated tiles, ceramic building material (CBM) collections have been examined in the archives held by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and The Oxfordshire Museum Resource Centre at Standlake, near Witney. In both museums this material is stored off-site. The data has been supplemented with information from The Society of Antiquaries of London, which holds a small collection of medieval decorative tiles, and by a visit to the Buckinghamshire Museum store at Halton, to examine ceramic waste material from the parish of Fingest. The recording of all this material was entered in an Excel spreadsheet including: parish, location and context within the parish, fabric type code, decorative techniques (inlaid or printed). Where the tile was still present in 2017/2018, the record includes: length, thickness, width in millimetres and accession number provided by local museums. Several columns of comments listed overall number of tiles, number of tiles with a recognisable design type, and any evidence of sand used in the wooden former or forming table, the latter only visible where excavated tiles had no mortar still adhering.

Clay industries and their products relevant to the south-west Chilterns

The tiler specialising in two-colour medieval paving tiles needed access to different clays – red and white-firing. An abundant supply of water and sand to open up the clay matrix were also a prerequisite, and often a coarser sand to use on the forming table. A plentiful supply of brushwood or underwood to fire the leather-hard tiles in slow burning kilns was also essential.

The clay and sand on common land was often free, but the wood had a cost implication.

The methods of making of medieval paving tiles have been adequately described elsewhere, (Haberly 1937; Lewis 1999: 3-6), but this survey suggests that the sand used in an open ended wooden former or forming table has potential as a diagnostic indicator as to the production workshop.

The Oxford Region has benefited from a number of published works. As early as the mid-19th century some medieval paving tiles were illustrated (Church 1845; Napier 1858). Church published these tiles as `inlaid', but since Haberly's work the majority would be described as printed. Early in the 20th century, Percy Manning, an antiquarian and friend of the Parker family, made available his collection of medieval paving tile illustrations to Irene Hore, granddaughter of J.H. Parker (Mellor 2017: 111–121). Hohler had regarded Manning's manuscript as a more reliable guide to the Ashmolean's collections than the museum's own registers (Hohler 1941: 20; Bodl MS Top. Oxon. d.194). Hinton used the published resources of two antiquarians, Haberly (1937) and Hohler (1941; 1942), in his re-registering of medieval tiles. At national level, Elizabeth Eames developed a corpus of medieval tiles (Eames 1980).

Shortly after Hinton had left the Ashmolean Museum, a small collection of drawings in watercolour and ink, pencil tracings, made by Mrs F.M. Parker and Mrs Irene Hore were deposited in the Department of Antiquities (Ashmolean Museum Report of the Visitors 1975-1976). This collection was to form the beginning of the online resource, now curated by the museum (Ashmolean Museum 2004 (hereafter TileWeb); Bridges and Mellor 2000:142–155).

These publications and the online resource were to play an important role in the current survey, in helping to establish design motifs on worn tiles or where the medieval tiles are now absent. This survey has also extended Haberly's 15 mile survey radius (1937: 2–6), south and south-east of Oxford using *Buildings of England Oxfordshire* (Sherwood and Pevsner 1974) and the *Tile Gazetteer* (Pearson 2005*)* to locate relevant tiles in local chapels and churches.

South-west Chilterns clay workers: historical evidence and archaeological evidence

The recent publication of fourteen parishes in the Ewelme Hundred, embracing both the Chiltern uplands and their dispersed settlements and parishes in the clay vale, now allows us to view the potential for late medieval rural ceramic industries in a wider context, centred on the parishes of Nettlebed, its hinterland, Fingest, and the better known Penn tileries in south Buckinghamshire. Historically there was much interaction between the peoples of the wood pastures of this part of the south-west Chilterns and the vale dwellers, in both Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire (Townley 2016). Family dynasties played a part in the south-west Chilterns. Edmund Rede of Boarstall, Buckinghamshire, bought a grove called `Egham' in the parish of Nettlebed, presumably the workplace of the earlier Thomas Egham, a tiler accused in 1398 of poor workmanship. Rede died in 1489, but the family continued to have links with the area (Brightwell Baldwin) during the 16th century (Townley 2016: 292).

Nettlebed tile industry, with associated hamlets of Crocker End and Soundess

Dr Robert Plot in his *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677) drew attention to the 'white sand' of Nettlebed in the south-west Chilterns. Recent work has revealed that this white sand was to play an increasingly important part in the work of tilers and brick-makers continuing into the modern period, as can still be seen in the buildings of the market town of Watlington. The clay workers of Nettlebed also benefitted from access to both red and white firing clays.

In the early 14th century the abbeys of Dorchester and Rewley, Oxford, acquired additional land in the parish of Nettlebed which, in 1306, was one of the poorest in Ewelme Hundred (Townley 2016: 13). Following the Black Death, the Black Prince ordered that tiles on abandoned houses, presumably locally made, were to be recycled. Two years later, in 1365, some 36,000 tiles were delivered from Nettlebed to refurbish Wallingford castle (Bond *et al.* 1980: 3–5; Townley 2016: 285). After the death of the Black Prince (d 1376), material from Wallingford Castle was re-used at Windsor Castle (Hepple and Doggett 1992: 107). Further consignments of 1000, 3000 and 8000 tiles were dispatched from Nettlebed for building works at Abingdon abbey in 1422–1423,1428–1429 and 1436–1437, a distance of 27 km, and clearly these tilers were working on an industrial scale by the first quarter of the 15th century (Kirk 1892: 96–97, 107 and 114; Bond *et al.* 1980: 3–5).

Clay workers sometimes shared premises or the use of a kiln, and some craftsmen may have combined making pottery vessels and tiles, depending on demand. One such worker may be the potter John Lawrence, who took a seven year lease of the Nettlebed 'tile house' in 1480 for an annual rent of 12s and a day's service at harvest (Townley 2016: 286). Other tilers or brickmakers (*tegulatores*) paid 20s for permission to dig clay and sand at Nettlebed Common in 1485–1486. Not all were successful, Thomas Egham (see above) was accused of inferior workmanship, whilst another, Richard Newmer, was unable to pay all of his rent for digging clay and sand on Nettlebed common in 1485–1486. In the adjoining parish of Nuffield a fieldname `Great Tylers' still exists; here a toft is first recorded as 'Tyleres' in 1433 (Townley 2016: Figure 96, 343, 351) and may repay some fieldwork.

Crocker End was probably the industrial quarter of Nettlebed. The place-name translates as 'a house where pots made' (Mellor 2010: 64–65) and 'croc' or 'crok' names are common in the parishes of the south-west Chilterns (Newns 1994: 194, 205). The first record of a brick industry at Crocker End concerns Stonor Park to the east, that took delivery of 200,000 bricks in 1416–1417 (Bond *et al.* 1980: 3–5). A new technology, using a clay matrix with white quartz visually similar to that in use at Nettlebed, was also adopted by the brick makers of the almshouse at Ewelme, dated to 1437 (Townley 2016: 198), and it was from Crocker End that the delivery of paving tiles to All Souls College, Oxford was recorded: 'Roberto Venge de Crocker End 'pro pavyngstyle'', a distance of some 30 km.

A neighbouring centre was at 'Crock' Hill to the west (Mellor 2010: 65). The records of Goring charters introduce us to a tiler from South Stoke, John Martin, working in Goring Heath in 1487–1488, who, as part of his rent, provided 1000 tiles annually to the chapel at Woodcote. South Stoke manor was owned by Eynsham abbey and had its own wharfage on the River Thames, from where tiles could have been conveyed to Eynsham in the 15th century, a distance of some 32 km by road, and further by water (Bond 1980: 2; Draper 2018: 23; Preece 1990: 67).

Cadmore End tile industry, Fingest, Buckinghamshire on the line of the old London road

Farley (with Hurman 2017: 143–144) argues that 'there is a good case made for a (production) centre at Cadmore End, Lane End and Boulter End in the parish of Fingest, Buckinghamshire (SU793 926; BCM:CAS0887), where an impressed tile with leaf-shaped design was found in circumstances suggesting a kiln'.

This single tile (Hurman 2004, Figure 3, 24–26) is similar to two tiles from Christ Church, Oxford (TileWeb catalogue no. 0018; Haberly 1937: 201 LHCLV[1]), but the corners of the tile in the Allestree Library are not decorated (Figure 2). A similar tile design is held by the City Museum, Stoke on Trent (Staffordshire), but again the corners differ from that from Cadmore End. Eames also recognised similar designs at Hulton abbey, now a suburb of Stoke-on-Trent (Eames 1980: design 435 catalogue nos 1000-1003; 2818; 2821, 2822) and others at Lilleshall abbey, Shropshire (Eames 1980: design 433 catalogue no. 999), dated to the 15th century.

Figure 2. Tile from Allestree Library, Christ Church, Oxford, mimicking the late medieval impressed tile from Cadmore End, Buckinghamshire © Brian Durham

Hurman (2004: 21–29) cites building accounts of Thame church, Oxfordshire, with several entries for 'Kadmerend' or 'Cadmerende' in the mid-15th century: expenses for lime paid to Thomas Tyler, and for delivery of '200 tyle, 4 crests, 13 gutter tyles and 4 bushels of lime'; again in 1448–1449 when 'le tylemaker de cadmerend' sold 400 tiles for the church house. Tile expenses occur again in 1540 for *c.*1000 'tyle' from Lane End, adjacent to Cadmore End. The churchwardens account for 1551 records a load of 'pavynge tile from Mr Dormer's' (Haberly 1937: 270), that may have included decorative tiles. The Dormer family, wealthy wool merchants, also had property at Stoke Talmage, a grange that had belonged to the Cistercian Thame Abbey. Haberly (1937: 76) cites an association with Orchard Field, Stoke Grange Farm, where 'deep clay pits and scattered tile indicate an important tile works there'.

There is, however, also earlier historical evidence for tile production at Kadmer (Cadmore), where we gain an insight into the work force in the

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[1] Roman numerals refer to examples in Haberly's (1937) corpus.

years 1358–1359. One of the best documented small manors in England, particularly for the period 1271–1359, is at Cuxham, a parish at the foot of the Chilterns (Harvey 1976: 593). In 1271 the manor was bought for Walter de Merton's new foundation, later Merton College, Oxford. The bailiff, originally from Hambledon (Buckinghamshire), records how 2000 tiles and four bushels of chalk/lime (presumably for mortar), were purchased by Thomas Sclatter at Kademer (Cadmore) and brought back to the manor, some 19 km over the summit of the Chiltern Hills by two carts. The axles of both carts were in need of repair, either before or after their journey. One-thousand 'tilepins', presumably wood, to secure the peg tiles to the timber battens was also purchased for Thomas. A tiler was hired for the day at a cost of 5d, to work on tiling the barn, aided by two women who prepared the 'straw', at 6d. (see Appendix I). The weight of an individual tile locally is often in the region of 0.5kg, so the transport of a load of these heavy tiles, usually recorded in batches of 1000 tiles, was a major undertaking (Green 2005: 131).

The earlier accounts for Cuxham manor in 1312–1313 show very considerable expenditure on agricultural buildings, with an emphasis on an upgrade to ceramic roofing material, replacing thatch (Townley 2016: 164), perhaps designed to reduce the risk of fire and discourage vermin in the eaves.

The size of the orders indicates that the production of this building material was already well established in the early 14th century in this part of the south-west Chilterns. The manor house at Great Milton, close to the line of the M40 route, employed a carpenter in 1474–1475 to remove the roof of an earlier tiled building and new tiles were bought from a tilery; the source could not have been far away because the carriage of the five carts cost only 20d. Bond 1980: 2), but Great Milton is equidistant from both Nettlebed and Cadmore End.

Tile industries in central and south Buckinghamshire: Boarstall and Tylers Green, Penn

An outstanding pottery industry in the 13th and 14th centuries was centred on the hilltop village of Brill and neighbouring Boarstall. Wasters of inlaid decorative medieval paving tiles were recovered close to Boarstall Tower, largely through field walking. Here the medieval potters and tilers appear to be part of the same industrial community in the late 13th century and the first two decades of the 14th century (Farley with Hurman 2017: 121). Elsewhere commercial tileries were centred on Tylers Green, Penn. Well documented royal orders supplied Windsor Castle with roofing furniture and medieval paving tiles in the mid-14th century (Keen 2002: 219–237). Numerous excavations in London during the past 30 years at ecclesiastical establishments, palaces and parish churches show this style of decorative paving tile to have been in much demand. The dating of the industry to c.1350–1390 has not been refined, because so many tiles are recycled (Betts 1994: 133–140; Betts 2002: 97–99; Crowley 1992: Table 45 198).

This survey: Audit of decorative paving tiles – the earlier inlaid and keyed Stabbed Wessex decorative paving tiles

Of the paving tiles in the survey area, the earlier type of the second half of the 13th to early 14th centuries is better understood (Emden 1970: Figure 10, 30-32). This audit therefore deals separately with the 16 sites identified with Stabbed Wessex tiles (Table 1). Eames coined this term to distinguish between two methods of keying on the reverse of the tile, the `Wessex' type with a single scoop, and `Stabbed Wessex' with multiple 'stabs' (Eames 1980: 203–206, 731). Only one upland site with a single keyed tile has been identified, Sadler's Wood, Lewknor, where the tile was recovered from excavation (Chambers 1974:158). The lack of such tiles in this part of the Chiltern Hills may indicate that the technique was no longer in fashion at the time when the upland churches paved their earth floors with something more decorative and hard wearing, or when there was refurbishment in the mid- late 14th century. Stabbed Wessex tiles may still await discovery beneath the present floors.

In the western foothills of the Chilterns, some 90 tiles are still visible in the vestry of St Thomas' Goring, most belong to the Stabbed Wessex tradition (Table 1), matching several designs formerly at Eynsham Abbey, upstream. Just north of Goring, the medieval paving tiles in St Mary's church, North Stoke, were no longer visible, but seven designs were recorded as watercolours by the vicar's children, before the

Haberly and TileWeb types	Brightwell Baldwin	Crowell	Crowmarsh Gifford	Dorchester Abbey	Ewelme	Goring	Gt Haseley	Gt Milton	Littlemore Ex	Newington House	North Stoke	Oxford All Souls College	Pyrton	Thame	Waterperry	Woodperry
I	X			X		*								*		
II			X	V		V										*
III				X					*							
V											*					
XII												X				
XIV							X									
XVI	X															
XVII	X					*					*					
XX				X			X		*							
XXII				V			X									
XXIVa									*?			X				
XXV	V			X		*	X		*?			X	X		X	*
XXVI	X	*		X												*
XXVII									*							
XXVIII									*							
XXIX				X					*							
XXX									*							
XXXI	X			X		*				X		X				*
XXXVI									*						X	
XXXVII									*							
XXXVIII									*							
XXXIX								X								
XLII				X		*			*	X						
XLIII				X												
XLIV				X			X		*?							*
XLV							X		*?							
XLVI						*	X				*					V
XLVII	X															
XLIX							X									
L	V			X		*	X		*?							
LI				X					*?							
LII																
LIII									*							*
LIV				X		*						X	*			
LV									*							
LVI				X							*	X				
LVII				X			X									
LVIII	X															*
LIX	X								*							
LXI																*
LXII						*	X									
LXIII	X															
LXIV							X						X			
LXV												X				V
LXVI						*							*			
LXX						*										
LXXIII						*	X									
TW O037									*							

X	Current survey	*	Reported by others/no longer visible	V	Variant

Table 1. Occurrence of paving tiles: Stabbed Wessex decorative designs.

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second World War, two were too worn, but four designs belong to the Stabbed Wessex tradition (Table 1; see TileWeb entries for 'North Stoke' and 'Northstoke'). At Crowmarsh Gifford one worn tile (LHII 150x145 mm) may be a replacement.

An intriguing, but very small, assemblage recovered from field walking and excavation at Newington House, Newington in the clay vale, where the prior's manor and dovecot (*c*.1479) may lie nearby (Townley 2016: 312). Five inlaid keyed tiles, one with deep inlay (LHXXXI Oxfordshire County Museum (Hereafter OCMS): 2002.142), were not produced in the familiar clay for Stabbed Wessex tiles (Fabric IIIB) described below. This was also paralleled at the abbey church at Dorchester-on-Thames, here a few tiles had very deep inlay (Izzard and Underwood 2003: 344–345), where two plain and four inlaid, keyed tiles were in the local fabrics (LHXXXI; LHXLIII; LHLI; OXCMS: 2001.26.T1 and T3), and shared a design in common with the keyed tiles from Newington House (LHXXXI). Could this be tentative evidence of a transition from one technique Stabbed Wessex to another: the printed tradition within the same workshop or production centre? It may indicate also that these workshops were operational by the second quarter of 14th century.

The nave of the church at Brightwell Baldwin was rebuilt early in the 14th century; in the 1930s some 22 designs were recorded by Haberly, only 11 designs were identified in 2017, where they are relaid near the font, each measuring *c*.140x140 mm. St Peter's, Great Haseley, displays some 12 designs on the west end wall of the south aisle, both single-tile and four-tile designs, measuring *c*.150x150 mm, are present. Those from excavations at Littlemore priory included 20 different designs with several matches with Dorchester Abbey.

Other parish churches had very few Stabbed Wessex tiles: these include Crowell, Great Milton, Ewelme and Thame. They have also been recovered from excavations at Waterperry. At Pyrton, a few inlaid tiles (140x140 mm) are now installed in the porch of the church including (LHXXV), a four-tiled design popular throughout the survey area, which formed an early pavement beneath All Souls College, Oxford. Excavation for two static water-tanks in the Cloister quadrangle at the College revealed a substantial early pavement, pre-dating the foundation of the college in the early 15th century (Jope 1941: 89-90), that may be associated with a wealthy secular property, perhaps a bookbinder, fronting onto Catte street (Salter 1960: 86-7, Map: NEIII). The earlier paving tiles included rose windows (LHXII var) and were slightly smaller than those at Littlemore priory (*c*.130x130 mm); the thickness of the tile was certainly much thinner (*c*.15–18 mm). A few tiles had deep inlay as at Dorchester abbey (see earlier). The glossy glaze on many tiles suggested little wear. Woodperry, a deserted medieval settlement in the parish of Stanton St John (see Figure 1), abandoned in the 15th century, was excavated in 1838 by Rev. J. Wilson. Both Mrs F. M. Parker and Haberly recorded a number of tiles, some were clearly inlaid and keyed examples (see Table 1). (Wilson 1846: plate following 128).

Locating a Berkshire production centre for Stabbed Wessex tiles

The majority of these inlaid, keyed Stabbed Wessex type paving tiles in the current survey area, appear to have a very homogenous clay matrix: rich in iron, abundantly tempered with sub-rounded quartz, measuring 0.1–0.2 mm, which has been sorted, with little evidence of grog (Fabric IIIB). This tradition has long been recognised in the Oxford area (Robinson 1980: 196. Fiche 2: D9). The source is probably south of Oxford on the Berkshire side of the river Thames. Pottery wasters using London Clay and kilns have been found at Ashampstead, south-west of the Streatley-Goring river crossing and 18 km northeast of Newbury (Heaton and Mepham, 1995: 33–4), a commercial tilery in that location would not be unexpected.

A Buckinghamshire tile industry – earlier inlaid and keyed Stabbed Wessex decorative tiles

The production centre in central Buckinghamshire at Boarstall is known to have experimented with the earlier Stabbed Wessex tiles, defined by Hohler as 'Late Wessex' and fabric type (IIIA) has been recognised in Oxford (Robinson 1980: 196, Fiche 2 DO9), but only as a minor ceramic building material, which also

Haberly; Hohler; Eames; TileWeb Types	LXXIV	LXXVI	LXXVII	LXXVIII	LXXIX	LXXX	LXXXI	LXXXIII	LXXXVII	LXXXVIII	LXXXIX	XCI	XCIV	XCVI	XCVII	XCVIII	IC	C	CII	CIII	CVII	CVIII	CIX	CX	CXI	CXII	CXVI	CXVIII	CXIX	CXXI	CXXIV	CXXV	CXXVI
Waterperry Museum													>																				
Waterperry Ch Ex																																	
Toot Baldon																						>											
Thame Park													×												×						×	×	×
Thame												*		>			>								*								
Swyncombe																																	
Stonor Park					>																												
Stoke Talmage Gr																									×								
Stanton St John																																	
South Stoke																																	
Rycote House																					×												
Rycote Chapel																															×		
Rotherfield Greys																												×					
Pyrton																																	
Oxford New College	×	×			×		×																										
Oxford Ch Ch Allstree																																	
Oxford All Souls Ex																													×				
Nuffield	×		×		×	×															×												
North Stoke																																	
Newnham Murren																																	
Newington Ex																					×												
Newington																				×	×												
Nettlebed																			×														
Mapledurham		*			>																												
Littlemore Priory Ex																																	
Lewknor																																	
Ipsden																																	
Harpsden									×	×	×	*									*					*							
Great Milton																					>						*	*					
Great Haseley																																	
Goring						*																		>									
Ewelme						*												*															
Easington																																	
Drayton St Leonard																×																	
Dorchester Abbey Ex			*												*																		
Cuxham																																	
Crowell																		*															
Crowmarsh Gifford																																	
Chinnor												*	>					×					×	×		*							
Checkendon															×				×	×													
Chalgrove Ex			×		×														×		×		×			×							
Cadmore End																																	
Brightwell Baldwin						*									>																		
Bix Gibwyn Ex																																	
Berrick Salome																																	
Beckley																																	

Table 2. Occurrence of paving tiles: Printed decorative designs.

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Haberly; Hohler; Eames; TileWeb Types	CXXVII	CXXVIII	CXXIX	CXXX	CXXXI	CXXXII	CXXXIII	CXXXIV	CXXXV	CXXXVI	CXXXVII	CXXXVIII	CXXXIX	CXL	CXLI	CXLII	CXLIII	CXLIV	CXLV	CXLVI	CXLVII	CLV	CLVI	CLIX	CLX	CLXI	CLXII	CLXIV	CLXVIII	CLXXI	CLXXII	CLXXV	CLXXVA	CLXXVB	CLXXVIII
Beckley																																			
Berrick Salome																																			
Bix Gibwyn Ex																																			
Brightwell Baldwin																						*	*	*	*	*									
Cadmore End																						X													
Chalgrove Ex																																			
Checkendon																														X					
Chinnor									*						*																	V	*	*	*
Crowmarsh Gifford																			X	X															
Crowell																			>	>															
Cuxham																																			
Dorchester Abbey Ex																																			
Drayton St Leonard																													X						
Easington																																			
Ewelme																																			
Goring																																			
Great Haseley																																			
Great Milton																																			
Harpsden																															X				
Ipsden																												x							
Lewknor																																			
Littlemore Priory Ex														*					V?	V?															
Mapledurham																																			
Nettlebed																																			
Newington																																			
Newington Ex																																			
Newnham Murren																																			
North Stoke																																			
Nuffield																											X								
Oxford All Souls Ex																													X						
Oxford Ch Ch Allstree																						X													
Oxford New College																																			
Pyrton																																			
Rotherfield Greys																																			
Rycote Chapel																																			
Rycote House													X		X				X	X	X														
South Stoke																																			
Stanton St John																																			
Stoke Talmage Gr															*																				
Stonor Park																																			
Swyncombe																																			
Thame																																			
Thame Park	X	*	*	X	>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	*	*	*	X	X	X	X														
Toot Baldon																*																			
Waterperry Ch Ex																													X						
Waterperry Museum																																			

Table 2 continued. Occurrence of paving tiles: Printed decorative designs.

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Haberly; Hohler; Eames; TileWeb Types	CLXXXI	CLXXXII	CLXXXVII	CLXXXVIII	CLXXXIX	CXCV	CXCVII	CCIII	CCIV	CCV	CCVI	CCVII	CCVIII	CCX	CCXI	CCXII	CCXIII	CCXVIII	CCXIX	CCXXI	CCXXIII	CCXXVI	CCXXXI	CCXXXII	CCXXXIV	CCXXXVIII	CCXL	CCXLV	CCXLVI	CCXLVIII	CCL	CCLI	CCLII	CCLIV	CCLV
Waterperry Museum															×				×																
Waterperry Ch Ex																			×	×															
Toot Baldon																	*										*								
Thame Park																																			
Thame					*																			*											
Swyncombe			×							>																			×						
Stonor Park																																			
Stoke Talmage Gr																																			
Stanton St John															*																			*	
South Stoke																									*										
Rycote House																		×														×			
Rycote Chapel																																			
Rotherfield Greys																																			
Pyrton		*														*																		*	
Oxford New College																																			
Oxford Ch Ch Allstree																																			
Oxford All Souls Ex																			×										×						
Nuffield																																			
North Stoke									*																										
Newnham Murren										>																									
Newington Ex																																			
Newington														×																					×
Nettlebed																																			
Mapledurham		*			*												*																		
Littlemore Priory Ex				*																								*?	>						
Lewknor		*																			*														
Ipsden																						×													
Harpsden				*																															
Great Milton										>																									
Great Haseley										>				×																					
Goring							>																												
Ewelme						*			×	×	*																								
Easington			×																									×							
Drayton St Leonard																			×																
Dorchester Abbey Ex																										*								>	
Cuxham			×		*																														
Crowell													*																						
Crowmarsh Gifford				×													*												×						
Chinnor																															*				
Checkendon																																			
Chalgrove Ex	×																																	×	
Cadmore End																																			
Brightwell Baldwin		*																						*											
Bix Gibwyn Ex																																			
Berrick Salome																×																			
Beckley															*																				

Table 2 continued. Occurrence of paving tiles: Printed decorative designs.

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Table 2 continued. Occurrence of paving tiles: Printed decorative designs.

Legend: ☒ (green) Current survey · ✱ (orange) Reported by others/no longer visible · ☑ (white) Variant (V)

Site (Haberly; Hohler; Eames; TileWeb Types)	CCLVII	CCLVIII	CCLIX	Haberly S	Eames 1451	Hohler P63	Hohler P93	Hohler P109-116	Heraldic	Chalgrove A	Chalgrove B	Chalgrove C	TW O310	TW O356	No match	unknown
Beckley																
Berrick Salome																
Bix Gibwyn Ex																X
Brightwell Baldwin																
Cadmore End																
Chalgrove Ex										X	X	X				
Checkendon					X											
Chinnor																
Crowell																
Crowmarsh Gifford																
Cuxham																
Dorchester Abbey Ex																
Drayton St Leonard																
Easington																X
Ewelme																
Goring								*					*			
Great Haseley																
Great Milton																
Harpsden					X											
Ipsden																
Lewknor																
Littlemore Priory Ex		*?														
Mapledurham														*		
Nettlebed																X
Newington																
Newington Ex															X	
Newnham Murren																
North Stoke																
Nuffield				X		X										
Oxford All Souls Ex			X													X
Oxford Ch Ch Allstree																
Oxford New College							X									
Pyrton																
Rotherfield Greys																
Rycote Chapel							X									X
Rycote House	X															
South Stoke																
Stanton St John																
Stoke Talmage Gr																
Stonor Park																
Swyncombe																
Thame																
Thame Park																
Toot Baldon																
Waterperry Ch Ex																
Waterperry Museum																

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supplied crested tiles to the city (Douglas 2015: 60). Limited evidence from the parishes of Beckley, Stanton St John and Waterperry were all later printed tiles, but `the antiquities' from the deserted medieval village of Woodperry, now held by the Ashmolean, would repay further work to establish if they are from a Buckinghamshire or Berkshire source. There is no evidence as yet that Cadmore End made keyed inlaid paving tiles, but there is limited evidence that Penn tilers made keyed plain paving tiles, suggesting active paving tilers in the first half of the 14th century (Green 2005: 150).

Audit of printed decorative paving tiles by areas

The parishes of the Chiltern Hills

The survey now considers printed tiles, including nine churches and one excavated site on the crest and dip slope of the Chilterns. The two closest to the River Thames are Harpsden and Mapledurham, where Penn single-tiled designs (Table 2) under Eames' chronology would belong in the first phase of the Penn tileries (1330–1350s) (Green 2005: 135). Here water-borne transport via an entrepot at Henley-on-Thames may have been instrumental to the arrival of these tiles at the tip of the south-west Chilterns, as at the Reading Greyfriars (Berkshire) (Wight 1975: Plate II, 134).

Higher in the Chilterns at Rotherfield Greys (42 decorative tiles), Checkendon (79 decorative tiles) and Nuffield (*c*.300 decorative tiles) we meet designs based on circular bands in the Penn style, and also a nine-tiled design at Checkendon (Table 2: LHCII Hohler P171; LHCIII P171A Eames 2871). The latter matches tiles in the Chapter house of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor, where the pavement is believed to be that laid on 24 September 1352 (Green 2005: Figure 12c, 124).

The variety of designs at Holy Trinity, Nuffield is surprising, including arms of William of Wykeham, the Bishop of Winchester (Table 3), while others match with designs at Mapledurham. The church had been given to the nuns of Goring priory in 1215 to provide for their clothing, and the bishop ordained a perpetual vicarage. In 1362 the priory gave the advowson to the Trinitarian friars from Oxford, who may already have been resident in the parish, and this may explain the changed dedication from St Peter to Holy Trinity (Townley 2016: 361–363).

Haberly, who cycled around Oxfordshire, had not visited the church, nor had the designs been captured by the earlier watercolourists, but Hohler, presumably driving a car, recorded a visit (Hohler 1942: 122–125). The bulk of the decorative tiles have been cleaned and re-set in the chancel (Figure 3), evidently between 1966–1976 (thanks to Mrs Erbetta, who contacted the previous rector), but some remain in the nave, including an armorial tile near the west door, part of a four-tiled design identified by Hohler (1942: 122) bearing the armorial device of William of Wykeham and New College, Oxford (Figure 4: LHS). Currently eight different designs are visible, including single tiled designs bearing the armorial device of William of Wykeham and New College, Oxford (Figure 5: LHLXXIV Eames 1565, but unrecognised by her as Wykeman's device). Some types recorded by Hohler are no longer visible (NC/4, NC/6, NC10, NC/12 and NC/14 (Hohler 1942: 122-5).

Haberly	Hohler	Eames	Date	Comments
LXXIV	NC/2	1563		Single-tile Penn design William of Wykeham arms
S	NC/1	-		4-tile Penn design William of Wykeham arms
LXXVII	NC/16	-	*c*.1380s	4-tile Penn design Muniment Tower New College Oxford
LXXIX	NC/3	-	*c*.1380s	4-tile Penn design; paralleled in Muniment Tower New College Oxford
LXXX	NC/20	-		4-tile Penn design New College Oxford
CVII		2029		Single-tile Penn design Gyronny design
CLXII	NC/9	-		Single-tile Penn design
-	NC/7; P63	2390		4-tile Penn design

Table 3. Printed decorative designs in Holy Trinity, Nuffield.

Figure 3. The chancel at Holy Trinity, Nuffield with relaid medieval paving tiles. © David Clark.

Figure 4. William of Wykeham's armorial device – a four-tiled design, identified by Hohler (LHS), Holy Trinity, Nuffield. © Brian Durham.

Figure 5.William of Wykeham's armorial device as a single-tile design, Holy Trinity, Nuffield (LHLXXIV). © Brian Durham.

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There is no direct historical link between Nuffield Church and New College, Oxford, to explain the Wykeham tiles. The Oxford Trinitarians had rented some land which was taken over for New College, but given the eight designs at Nuffield compared with the four at New College it seems unlikely that they represent a deal between the Trinitarians and the College. An alternative arises from Hohler's suggestion that some Penn tilers had dispersed at some time around the 1380s, taking their own stamps with them, and we should look at the picture from neighbouring parishes (Hohler 1942: 13–14).

Nettlebed and Swyncombe are also upland parishes and share boundaries with Nuffield, but the paving tiles are from a different clay source. By 1330 one of the Nettlebed manors, which included a chapel, was sold to Dorchester abbey, which held St Bartholomew until the Dissolution. From the base of the present tower, two *in situ* medieval paving tiles were excavated (Fabric IIIC). They had been laid on a bed of white sand, either in a former or on a forming table. They show a white slip design of a hare, which copies a similar motif on a smaller Penn tile from the ruined chantry at Harpsden church, and similar to an example from Reading Abbey, curated by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Eames 1980: P26; see Harpsden earlier; Reading abbey V&A Museum no. 1330-1892).

On the boundary of Swyncombe and Nettlebed, a pottery kiln with wasters made in both white and red firing clays, has been excavated (Mellor 1994: 146–147; Start 1981: 96–98; Townley 2016: 290–291). The tiny Swyncombe chapel retains some four-tile designs in the chancel (Table 2), and until recently a two-tailed `Burghersh' lion, the heraldic device of the Chaucer family (LHCCVI var), post-dating 1436 (Wight 1975: 39, 128). These designs and the fabric (TileWeb o379 LHCCXLVI; o380 LHCLXXXVIII Eames 2729; Church 1845: plate13; Napier 1855: 224) are now believed to be local and associated with the Nettlebed industry (Figure 6a and 6b). Nettlebed has the parish of Bix to the east, with the lost church of Bix Gibwyn (OCMS: 2011.25.CBM). Economically and socially it faced towards Buckinghamshire, Henley-on-Thames and London, but the single paving tile fragment from excavations at Keeper's cottage, Bix Gibwyn was of local fabric (Mileson and Nicholls 2011: Figure 15, 30–31).

Finally in this Chilterns group, to the north of Bix lay Stonor Park, where printed decorative tiles are now displayed in the house. The one sample examined, presumed to be from the private chapel (consecrated 1349), is from a Penn tilery, but the low quality of its manufacture and the design suggests a post Black Death date (Figure 7).
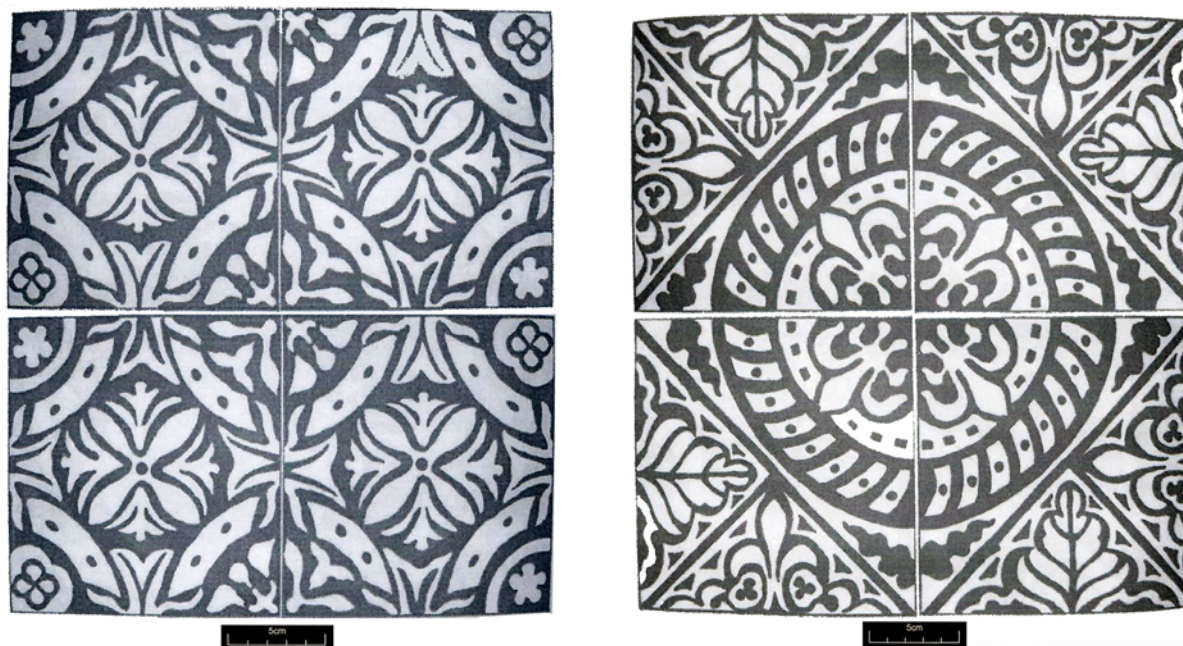
Figure 6a and 6b. Two designs associated with local production in south-east Oxfordshire (LHCCXLVI, LHCLXXXVIII).
© Brian Durham.

Parishes on the western foothills of the Chiltern hills

Seven churches in the survey have parishes with Thames boundaries to the west, two others being land-locked. Starting from the south, recent excavations at the church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Goring (OCMS:2001.39.M1) revealed two fragments of undecorated paving tiles, one measuring 36 mm thick on a bed of `white sand', the other measured 27 mm. A few later tiles in the Vestry, with single and four-tiled designs are in the Penn style (see Table: 2). Set back from the river at Goring Heath, where John Martin was working as a tiler (see Scope, methodology, theory and peopling, above), a pipeline excavation identified two sites with pottery tempered with white sand, as yet no medieval paving tiles have been recognised.

Moving north, the church of St Andrew at South Stoke no longer has medieval tiles visible, although Church (1845: plate 2) had recorded one four-tile decorative design. This is a variant of a Penn style, which was also captured in

Figure 7. Printed tile from Stonor Park. Stonor looked towards Penn, despite being 7 km from Crocker End, Nettlebed. © Brian Durham

watercolour (TileWeb o378 LHCCXXXIV). North Stoke (see Stabbed Wessex, above), recorded only one later tile (LHCCIV), not matched in the recent survey, but with parallels in old Berkshire to the west of the River Thames.

Ipsden, a land-locked parish, has some 16 very worn tiles in St Mary the Virgin's church that appear to be of local manufacture match two tiles with a six-petalled central rosette discovered amongst Manning's antiquarian collection from the General Post Office site, Oxford (LHCCXXVI AN1970-1170) measuring 140x140 mm (Clark 2017: Figure 4.10, 92) and another recorded in watercolour (TileWeb o346 LHCLXIV) with decayed fleur de lys in the corners of the tile, a trait also noted at the General Post Office site, Oxford (Mellor 2017, 118). These designs have not been recognised elsewhere in the current survey, but again find parallels to the west in old Berkshire. The lay subsidies of 1327 for Stoke Bassett, now Stoke Row and Ipsden, record a 'de Willelmo Croke', a Walter Crok and a 'de Rogero Crok', who may have been clay workers (Newns 1994: 201).

Moving north again to Newnham Murren, according to Church (1845: plate 20) the badge of Thomas Chaucer was on a tile (LHCCVI var) at one time in St Mary's. Next, behind the altar at St Mary Magdalene, Crowmarsh Gifford, 40 complete tiles and ten half tiles have been relaid (Table 2). Two recorded designs are not visible now (Church 1845: Plate 14, TileWeb o279 LHCCXIII; LHCCXLVI, the latter matching a design found at Swyncombe). Those still in the church all measure c.150x150 mm. Some tiles lacked the white slip infill (Church 1845: Plate 13, TileWeb o280 LHCLXXXVIII Eames 2729), something noted at Dorchester Abbey; this may be intentional (Blanchett 1996: 21–22). Eames believed this design to be from the `Newbury' area, and is dated by her to the late 16th century (Eames 1980: 332).

Ewelme is overlooked by the church of St Mary the Virgin, re-built by William de la Pole, Chancellor of England, and his wife, Alice nee Chaucer (Townley 2016: 232). Here the south-east chapel, added in the late 1430s, houses a pavement of tiles with heraldic devices of a Roet wheel (TileWeb o302 LHCCV) and a two-tailed lion rampant, the armorial device of Thomas Chaucer (TileWeb o303 LH CCVI), measuring 150x150 mm. The fabric of the heraldic tiles is visually similar to the early bricks in the almshouse at Ewelme, and to paving tiles in the uplands at Nettlebed, Swyncombe and parishes in the western foothills.

With the exception of Ewelme, the survival of medieval paving tiles in these riverward parishes is poor by comparison to the upland region of the Chilterns crest and dip slope, but tilers in this area were clearly at work in the 15th century at least.

South of the River Thame and old London Road – the clay vale

Eleven parish churches were visited within this agriculturally fertile vale. St Mary le Virgin, Pyrton (mentioned previously) has a few later paving tiles, types matching with designs at Great Haseley and Stanton St John (Table 2). Cuxham no longer has tiles visible in the church of the Holy Rood (see Scope, methodology, theory and peopling, above); two designs were recorded in the 19th and early 20th centuries, one an 'annunciation' tile (TileWeb o281 LHCLXXXIX), the other a leaf design (TileWeb o282 LHCLXXXVII) with parallels recorded at Lewknor and Pyrton. In the church of St Bartholomew, Brightwell Baldwin (Table 2), nine printed designs were recorded in the 1930s, of which eight appear to have been in the style and size of Penn tiles. Of these, six Penn-style designs had no matches within the current survey area (LHCLVI, TileWeb o212 LHCLIX; o206 LHCLX; o207 LHCLXI; o205 LHCLXXXII; o209 LHCCXXXI). Others paralleled a design at Nuffield parish church (TileWeb o210 LHCLXII), Checkendon church, Dorchester Abbey (LHXCVII) and the muniment tower, New College, Oxford (TileWeb o215 LHLXXXIII). The manor house of Brightwell Park, some 300 m north of the parish church, has been the focus of archaeological investigations by the local archaeological and historical community group (Clarke 2012: 68–70) who located a possible chapel (built *c.*1394) (Townley 2016: 107) and from the manor house some fragments of later decorative paving tiles (not recorded on Table 2). These appear to be of local manufacture, designs including fleur-de-lys, a face of a small lion and an octagonal shaped tile with a lion's face within a frame. Octagonal mosaics have been recognised in Berkshire at Reading and Shotesbrooke (TileWeb Reading B542, with several at Shotesbrooke, specifically B566) and at Penn (Green 2005: 155), but this example is unique as yet in Oxfordshire.

Berrick Salome, on gently rising ground, lies on gault clay and upper greensand. Here 15 four-tiled printed designs (measuring 125x125 mm) and four half tiles had been reset probably in the 1890s (Townley 2016: 86). The design parallels those at nearby Drayton St Leonard (LHCCXXI, Table 2). Medieval tiles from Warborough, are cited by Keen (2002: 234) as Penn types, but are no longer visible in the parish church (Townley 2016: 419–420). Newington, close to the River Thame, belonged to the monks of Canterbury Cathedral priory. The parish church was remodelled *c.*1300 AD (Townley 2016: 338) and a tomb recess in the south wall was surrounded by 25 decorated tiles. Nearby excavations in the 1980s and again in the latter parts of 2000s (OCMS: 2001.26.T3), revealed extensive occupation and medieval decorated paving tiles (Selway-Richards 2005). One tile had a design in common with that in its parish church (LHCVII), while another fragment appeared to be a new design to the Haberly repertoire (Williams 2013: Figure 89 no 7, 113–114). In the parish of Chalgrove, set in a landscape of flat clays and gravel between the Thame valley and the Chilterns scarp, there are no medieval paving tiles surviving in the church of St Mary the Virgin. However, excavations nearby at Barentin's manor, Chalgrove, revealed some 256 fragments of printed paving tiles in 11 different designs (Robinson 2005: 113–116). Some were associated with a possible pentice structure (A13) and with the main domestic buildings, while a second assemblage came from a probable stone chapel (A11) built *c.*1370. Here three new designs were identified, including one with a monk's head within a central circle (Robinson 2005: Figure. 4.1 c, 114). One tile was part of a nine-tile design with parallels in the parish church at Checkendon (LHCII) and the chapter house at Windsor. Eames believed this design to be rare and to pre-date the Black Death (Green 2005: 135). Two designs match tiles in the muniment tower at New College, Oxford (LHLXXIX LHLXXVIII), the former also matches tiles in the parish church Nuffield, Stonor Park and Dorchester abbey. Other tiles parallel Penn-style tiles at Chinnor (LHCIX, LHCXVI) and one four-tile design had no parallels in the current survey area (LHCLXXXI E2837 var.). The tiler appears to be copying Penn designs and also the stamp size (115x115 mm). The majority of the tiles from Barentin's manor suggest a similar area of local production for both (Fabric IIIC and Fabric IVA) with a more silty matrix, noted in the final phase (Robinson 2005: 115).

The tiny parish of Easington, with over 200 medieval paving tiles (Fabric IIIC), each measuring *c*.150x150 mm, displays just two four-tiled designs (LHCLXXXVIII, LHCCXLVI), matching with designs at upland Swyncombe, a third being too worn to establish the design. In the church of St Margaret's, Lewknor, medieval paving tiles were recorded near the vestry by Sherwood and Pevsner (1974: 683), but are no longer visible. Watercolour illustrations exist of two 150 mm designs, each described by Haberly (TileWeb 0347 var LH CCXXIII; 0348 LHCLXXXVI). The nearby excavated upland farmstead at Sadler's Wood, Lewknor, on the line of the M40 motorway, had unkeyed fragments of plain floor tiles, the thickness measuring 28–31 mm (OXCMS:1976.266). Some tiles were on a bed of water washed sand similar to that found in coarseware pottery from Cadmore End. Many of the peg tiles, ridge tiles and hip tiles were on a similar bed of sand. Other roof tiles found on the rising ground of the western scarp at Church Piece, Tetsworth (OCMS: 1976.238.T) and at Cuxham are probably from the same source. Fine sandy roof tiles and M40 ware were also present (Chambers 1974: 158).

At Stoke Talmage the Victoria County History (Lobel 1964: 198–210) states that there are medieval tiles from the grange site in the house, which is 19th century. This assemblage includes one with 'a crowned head between two hands raised' (LHCLXXVII), a printed design known from Chinnor parish church and the early 14th century chapel at Thame Park (both missing 2018). The single Stoke Talmage example located in The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (LHCX AN 1927.2122) has a single tile motif of an eight petalled flower that can only be paralleled within the current survey at the parish church at Chinnor and in Berkshire at the Aerary, Windsor, in the latter case documented as dating to 1355. Keen attributed the Ashmolean example to Penn (Keen 2002: Appendix 2: 233–234); it is certainly in the Penn style, but the inclusions in the clay matrix (fabric) and firing are similar to a pottery fabric from Cadmore End, Fingest (BCM: 1965.100, Box 178), differing from the Penn tiles found to the south of the current survey area. A visit to Stoke Grange farm may help clarify the origin and date of these tiles (see historical evidence above).

St Peter's church, Great Haseley has only two printed tiles, one with the Chaucer family device (Church 1845: plate 20 LHCCVI var). The second design (TileWeb 0332 LHCCXII), matches another from Pyrton (see above). Great Milton still had five designs visible in the 1930s, three almost certainly Penn types (LHCVII var; LHCXVIII; LHCXIX) on account of their size (110x110 mm).

The clay vale north of the old London Road

St Mary's church Crowell on the Icknield Way, at the foot of the Chiltern scarp, has four sets of four-tiled designs, measuring 105x105 mm (see Table 2), which differ in corner detail from Hohler's design (1941: P122 and without the dots in the cusps) and thus from a different tiler's stamp. They were probably made in the vicinity of Penn but the fabric with sub-rounded grey, white, clear with occasional orange quartz, differs from Penn types found elsewhere within the current survey area. The designs match those at Rycote Park and Thame Park. Other recorded designs are no longer visible (LHC; LHCCVIII).

The nearby parish of Chinnor, on the border with Buckinghamshire, still holds 28 decorative tiles reset in St Andrews church, but only four designs were identifiable out of the reported 13 (see Table 2). These survivors are in the style of Penn; one (TileWeb 0274, LHCLXXV var) matches a tile dated *c*.1350-1370 attributed to Penn (V&A Museum no.1063-1892; Bloxham 2017: 17–18) while another (TileWeb 0275 LHXCIV) parallels a design in Thame Park chapel. Amongst the missing tiles is the heraldic device of the Romayn family (0270 LHCLXXVB).

The now private Thame Park chapel dates to the early 14th century (Sherwood and Pevsner 1974: 812), its tiled pavement in the chancel being the largest assemblage examined in the current survey, with over 500 tiles. The paviour had set out the reused tiles within a central square frame, laid diagonally to the chancel walls, the four corners largely made up of plain tiles or heavily worn decorative tiles. Some triangular tiles (scored at production) are aligned along the edges of the pavement. The tiles are all in the Penn style, measuring between 110 mm^2 up to 115 mm^2. Twenty-five designs (Table 4) were recorded by Haberly (1937) and Hohler (1941-2).

Haberly	Hohler	Eames	Date	Comments
XCIV	P152 var	1845		4-tile design: parallels Governor's House, Windsor; Rose Cottage kiln, Penn
CXI var	P164	2114		4-tile design: parallels Rose cottage kiln, Penn
CXXIV	P107	2460		Single-tile design: parallels Rycote chapel
CXXV	P160	-		4-tile design
CXXVI	P41 var			Single- tile design: parallels Westminster,St Anne's chapel
CXXVII	P66	2322		Single-tile design
CXXVIII	P75	2336		Single-tile design
CXXIX	P166	-		4-tile design
CXXX	P71	2199		Single-tile design
CXXXI var	P68 var	2337 var	V&A: c.1350–1360	Mus no 1066-1892: Single-tile design;parallels Rose Cottage kiln, Penn
CXXXII	P49	2229		4-tile design
CXXXIII	P52	2230		4-tile design
CXXXIV	P40	2184		Single-tile design
CXXXV	P98	2064		4-tile design
CXXXVI	P22	1953		Single-tile design
CXXXVIII	P1	1404	V&A: c.1330–1350	Mus no. 1071-1892: Single-tile design
CXXXIX	P2	1407		Single-tile design `Signum sce Crucis' `the sign of the Holy cross'
CXL	P80	2283		Single-tile design parallels Rose cottage kiln, Penn
CXLI	P18	-		Single-tiled design `crowned head'
CXLII	P76	2396		4-tile design; parallels St John's Clerkenwell; Bloody Tower of London
CXLIII	P109 var	1833		4-tile design
CXLIV	P168	-		4-tile design
CXLV	P119	-		4-tile design
CXLVI	P122	-		4-tile design
CXLVIII	P54	2231	V&A: c.1350–1370	Mus no 1060c-1892: 4-tile design; parallels St John's Clerkenwell, London; Rycote Park House

Table 4 Printed decorative designs in the chapel of St Mary's at Thame Park.

The tiles are assumed to have been salvaged at the dissolution of the Cistercian abbey of Thame 150m to the south-east. Seven recorded designs are no longer identifiable: of the survivors, several single-tiled motifs include designs with inscriptions ('*Ricard me fecit*' translates as `Richard made me' (LHCXXXVIII) and another '*Signum sce Crucis*' 'the sign of the Holy cross' (LHCXXXIX); rather more worn are the bird designs (LHCXXXIV; LHCXXXVI). One design formerly believed to be an earlier St Albans 'Hertfordshire' style is now recognised as a Penn product from the kiln at Rose cottage, Penn (LHCXL Eames 1980: 2283; Zeepvat 2009: 209). Another matches a design at the Augustinian nunnery of St Mary's Clerkenwell, London (Betts 2012: 214 T1; LHCXXXI Eames 2337). Some of these single-tiled designs were suggested by Eames to be early in the Penn series (c.1330–1350).

Fourteen designs do not match any within the current survey area; 13 are four-tiled designs (see Table 5); and three matched designs associated with Rose cottage kiln, Penn, including another formerly assigned to `Hertfordshire' (LHCXI Eames 2114) and tiles formerly in parish churches of Thame and Chinnor. Several designs match those in London institutions (Sloane and Malcolm 2004: 330). As to origins, more than one fabric type was present: all have in common grey and white quartz, and while many also have grog, the density varies from sparse to abundant. The sand grain size too can be variable, occasionally coarse to very coarse, while the iron may occur as specks of purple to coarser lumps of grog. Similar purplish specks are present in the chapel tiles at nearby Rycote Park, but are not visible in other Penn types found to the south of the survey area. It is speculated that the production source was distributing these tiles overland; if this was the Penn industry the route would be along the line of the old London-Oxford road, the products perhaps differing from those presumably transported by water via Henley-on-Thames?

Sherwood and Pevsner (1974: 812) have suggested that the Thame Park tiles date to the 15th century, but all three of Eames' chronological periods appear to be present, single-tile designs pre-dating the Black Death; those paralleled from the major refurbishment of Windsor castle (1350–1370); and harder fired tiles dating to the 1380s or later. Such a range is perhaps not surprising if the tiles were salvaged from a large wealthy Cistercian abbey that had undergone successive re-floorings.

West of Thame Park, St Michael's chapel, Rycote Park, was built *c*.1449 and remains structurally unaltered (Townley 2016: 271). Here nine medieval decorated tiles lie within the box pews: a few are too worn to decipher the design, but two designs had not been previously reported on from the chapel (LHCXXIV, P107 Eames 2460; Hohler P93 Eames 2072), nor do they match designs in the nearby house. A five-petalled flower matches a similar tile in Thame Park chapel, while a design based on Solomon's seal was not recorded by Haberly for Oxfordshire, but parallels a tile from Westminster Abbey now held by the Society of Antiquaries, London (Society of Antiquaries, London C51.158d).

The fabric of these tiles includes a sparse, coarse white quartz, with specks of iron/grog, and very hard fired. The fabric and firing differ from other potential Penn types in the current survey (muniment tower, New College, Oxford and Nuffield) and may belong to the last documented phase of the Penn industry (Eames 1992: 56-7; Green 2005: 135). The medieval tiles are surrounded by large plain white-slipped glazed tiles, probably Flemish, dating to the 16th or 17th centuries, and can be paralleled at Rotherfield Greys, Thame Park and Allestree Library, Christ Church.

Immediately north of the chapel, Rycote Park house was created by royal licence in 1539, of bricks that may have been manufactured on site with local clay and varying degrees of grog. Displayed within the house are many Penn tiles that should pre-date the chapel by several generations, assumed therefore to be from a previous building on the site. Nine Penn designs are recognisable (see Table 5 below), several of which parallel designs found in the Cistercian abbey of St Mary Graces, London, founded *c*.1350 (Eames 2011: 130–133). A few 16th century additions are also present, perhaps dating to the time of John, Baron Williams of Thame, who purchased the then Rycote house in 1542.

In Thame itself, the parish church of St Mary the Virgin no longer has any visible medieval paving tiles. The Rev Lee (1883:170) recorded six designs (TileWeb o383a-f), and these printed designs clearly survived to the 1930s, almost certainly Penn tiles (TileWeb o382 LHXCI; O383b LHXCVI; o383d LHIC; P163 LHCXII; o383f LHCXCV; o383c LHCCXXXII). Excavations at the church have recovered two fragments of floor tiles in the printed tradition (OXCMS1989.124.MI). They are too fragmentary to discern the design, but the fabric, with glassy quartz (glauconite) known from the dip slope of the Chilterns, was similar to an inlaid tile with a petalled flower and deep brown glaze excavated in Thame Park Water Feature (OCMS:2001.2.CBM). Another fragment of a triangular black glazed floor tile was on a bed of very coarse water-washed sand with some glassy quartz grains. Roof tiles from St Mary's, included one with a mixture

Haberly	Hohler	Eames	Date	Comments
CVII	-	2029	16th century	Single-tile design
CXXXIX	P2	1409		Single tiled design: `Signum Sce Crucis'
CXLII	P76	2396	Founded *c.* 1350	4-tile design St Mary Graces T36
CXLV	P119	-		4-tiled design Parallels St Mary's Crowell; Thame Park chapel
CXLVI	P122	-		4-tiled design Parallels St Mary's Crowell; Thame Park chapel
CXLVIII	P54	2231	Founded *c.*1350 V&A *c.*1350–1370	4-tile design parallels St Mary Graces T24; (V&A Mus no 1060c-1892)
CCXVIII	P149			4-tiled design: 1 tile only
CCLI			16th century	4-tiled design: 1 tile only
CCLVII			16th century	4 tile design: 1 tile only

Table 5. Printed decorative designs at Rycote Park house.

of red and white clay, very coarse grog, again on a bed of very coarse sand, while another had been laid on a bed of orange sand that was again paralleled at Thame Park Water Feature. These tiles belong to a new tradition, different from that supplying the south-west Chilterns, but one that may have more in common with ceramics from Cadmore End, Buckinghamshire (see above).

North-west of the River Thame

This section considers four parishes, and again the survival or use of later printed tile pavements was poorer than the uplands.

The abbey church at Dorchester-on-Thames (see Stabbed Wessex, above) also had a few later printed tiles. Two types, one, a single tile design (TileWeb 0284 LHLXXIX) and a four-part design (TileWeb 0296 LHCCLIV) are known locally at Barentin's manor, but a third design is unique to the survey area. It had previously been recorded by James Parker as a Dorchester find in the Society of Antiquaries of London (TileWeb 0300 LHCCXXXVIII), but Haberly noted its absence by the 1930s (1937: 276). To the north, the parish church of St Leonard and St Catherine, Drayton St Leonard, lies on flat, once marshy land, with a jumble of some 32 medieval tiles reset in the chancel. Four-tile designs (Table 2), measuring *c*.130x130 mm, are in a pale iron-depleted clay. Some 16th-17th century tiles with white slip, formerly glazed, measuring 300x300 mm, are similar to those at Rotherfield Greys around the Knollys tomb, and the Allestree Library pavement, Christ Church, Oxford (Keevill *et al.* 2014: 36).

St Lawrence's parish church, Toot Baldon, no longer has medieval paving tiles visible, but three probable Penn designs were recorded in 1930s (Table 2). The priory at Littlemore, originally in the parish of Sandford-on-Thames (Poole 2016: Tables 21 and 22, 92–103), adjoins Toot Baldon and has been the subject of recent excavations. The majority of the tiles are of the Stabbed Wessex tradition (see earlier), but five are later printed designs, including 4-tile designs of probable local origin (LHCLXXXVIII; LHCCXLVI), are also present at Crowmarsh Gifford, Easington and Swyncombe.

Parishes to the east and north-east of Oxford towards central Buckinghamshire

Excavation at Waterperry on the River Thame (Hassall 1973: 245) yielded two four-tiled designs, now on display in the church of St Mary the Virgin (LHCLXVIII; LHCCXIX), measuring 127x127 mm, thickness 27 mm. The two in-hand specimens are both from the same production workshop, where red and white clays have been mixed. Another fragment from the Waterperry excavation is held in the Museum Resource Centre, Standlake (LHCCXXIII, OCMS: 1976.325.P1), a four-tiled design paralleled at Lewknor, and described by Haberly (1937: 262) as 'a late Lewknor church tile apparently copied from LHXXXIV'. In the museum at Waterperry, a tile (LHCCXIX) is on bed of grey-white sand; other designs include (LHCCXI), measuring 130x135 mm, thickness 27mm, while a Penn style four-tiled design (LHXCIV), measuring 105x105 mm, thickness 20 mm, matches a design from Thame Park. At Beckley the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary previously held a four-tiled design, matching a design at Waterperry (TileWeb 0221, LHCCXIX). In the 19th century Mrs Parker had copied this design from Bishop Compton's paper archive held by the Society of Antiquaries of London. Nearby is Stanton St John and its parish church St John the Baptist, where Haberly recorded two four-tiled designs (LHCCXI; LHCCLII). Wight (1975: 164) describes them as 'batches of fourteenth century inlaid tiles with two repeating fleur-de-lys designs', but they belong to the printed tradition. The former has no *in situ* parallels in the current survey area, but again an example is in the museum at Waterperry, and matches a design formerly at Pyrton.

In Oxford the fabric types recognised in the south-west Chilterns were first recognised in the 1980s (Robinson 1980: 196, Fiche 2 DO9). Oxford had been an important consumer of inlaid tiles, where the ecclesiastical institutions adopted them arguably as early as *c*.1250 (Lambrick and Mellor 1986:185). Many archaeological investigations have reported such tiles, but the current survey concentrates on contrasting assemblages from two colleges: the four-storied muniment tower at New College which has two original pavements in remarkable condition still *in situ*; and All Souls College, which has tiles of three periods in an archaeological sequence.

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New College was founded in the 1380s by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. The tiles from the ground floor of the muniment tower are said to have been removed some 20 years ago and are now stored elsewhere in the college, which allowed close study of the clay-matrix and the thickness of the tile. The decorative pattern on the second floor ('middle room') survives complete, made up of just four Penn designs, three being four-tiled patterns (TileWeb o057 LHLXXVII; o058 LHLXXXIII; o060 LHLXXIX) and one a single-tile design (o059 LHLXXVI). This seems a very limited repertoire amongst *c.*11,000 tiles, in comparison with the small parish church of Holy Trinity, Nuffield where at least eight designs survive. The first floor pavement was relaid *c.*2005 because the brick base had begun to disintegrate (Cochrane, 1994: 16; Pearson 2005: 285). The third floor is evidently original, with just three design types (TileWeb o057 LHLXXVII; o059 LHLXXVI; o060 LXXIX).

The some 170 tiles held *ex-situ* elsewhere within the College are glazed, but mainly undecorated apart from two design types (TileWeb o057; o060) and two other very worn tiles with a design type not recognised in Oxfordshire but known from the Penn production centre (Hohler 1941 P109-P110). Tiles representing the arms of New College and its founder are illustrated successively by Haberly, by Hohler and mentioned by Pearson as from the muniment tower, but were not seen in this survey. The single-tile design may survive on the ground floor, which is now used for college archives and has not been viewed in this survey (LHLXXIV), but the four-tiled design of Wykeham's device has not been housed in the tower since the late 1930s at least (Hohler 1942: 122).

Turning to All Souls College, the mid-15th century record of tiles delivered by Richard Venge of Crocker End near Nettlebed offers a chance to isolate the characteristics of this Oxfordshire industry, and two archaeological interventions give insight into that consignment. In 1941 the digging of war time static water-tanks in the Great Quadrangle (described by Jope (1941) as the 'Cloister quadrangle') yielded building debris with part of a substantial pavement of Stabbed Wessex tiles (see above). Overlying this material Jope describes 'a large number of printed and glazed paving-tiles... they are probably those made for the chapel by Richard Venge, 1442–1447 and will be described in detail elsewhere' (Jope 1941: 89–90). This detailed description appears never to have materialised, but David Hinton catalogued fragments and near complete examples of large tiles depicting arms of the college and its co-founder Archbishop Chichele, and noted that they were probably 'made by Richard Venge 1442-7' (Figure 8: LHCXXI AN1967.674; AN1971.165, a, and b). The tiles measure *c.*162x162 mm, thickness 28 mm, and the armorial devices match tiles still in the College chapel (consecrated 1442). Assuming, therefore, that these are from the Venge delivery, the silty clay matrix of these armorial tiles is tempered with coarse grog inclusions, similar to Oxford Fabric IV. The clay fabric is very variable and suggests the production workshop did not pay much attention to the quantities of the temper added to the silty matrix. Not found amongst the excavation debris of the two interventions was a tile decorated with `Burghersh' lion with double tail, still visible in the college chapel (LHCXXIII), and cited by Green (Green

Figure 8. Crest of All Soul's College, excavated in the Great Quadrangle, All Souls College, Oxford. Identified by Hinton as delivered c. 1442 AD by Richard Venge from Crocker End, Nettlebed. (LHCXXI, AN1967.674). © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

1989: Figure 47, 108-9) around the grave of Dr Fell (d.1686), in Christ Church cathedral. A third design from the 1941 intervention is possibly new to All Souls (LHCCXLVI, AN1971.167), measuring 150x150 mm, thickness 18 mm, matching a similar design at Swyncombe high in the Chilterns, adjoining the parish of Nettlebed and possible production centre.

A possibly different production centre is indicated by more frequent fragments at All Souls of two four-tiled printed designs (LHCCXIX and LHCLXVIII), measuring c.130x130 mm, thickness c.24 mm and c.127x127 mm, thickness 21-24 mm, respectively, suggesting a late 14th century decorative pavement pre-dating the foundation of the college (AN1971.164; AN1971.166; AN1971.166e-f). The designs match those at St Mary the Virgin, Waterperry and fragments from Oseney Abbey and Rewley Abbey (TileWeb o149; o172). Oseney Abbey had land at Waterperry (Lobel 1957: 295–309). The clay matrix of these well-executed tiles is fairly clean, with some evidence of the mixing of red and white firing clays and the addition of variable amounts of grog: they may represent a new production centre, alternatively better preparation of what was the dominant ceramic paving tile tradition at Barentin's manor (Fabric IIIC). No classic smaller Penn tiles were noted.

The recent archaeological survey included three controlled excavations, and Trench 2 on the west side of the Great Quadrangle revealed more printed tiles of the types found in the static tank excavation (LHCCXIX; LHCLXVIII; OXCMS: 2006.44.BM3). These designs show the same range of fabrics as those from the earlier excavation, and two fragments (Trench 2, context 106, LHCCXIX), possibly from the same tile, sit on a bed of white sand. The variability of the fabric and of the bed of sand may mean that more than one workshop was involved in supplying All Souls requirements.

Amongst the fragments were four with a design depicting a rebus of the name Robert Langton (d 1524), benefactor to the neighbouring Queen's College (LHCCLIX Eames 1461). According to Haberly, fragments of this design had previously been found on the site of the early chapel of Queen's College, dating to the first quarter of the 16th century and post-dating the foundation of All Souls by possibly as much as three generations. Eames (1980: 263–264) put a date of c.1519 on the manufacture of the Langton design based on an entry in the College rolls recording payment of 21s 4d for tiles for the chapel (Eames 1980: 263–264). The five fragments from All Souls were all laid on a bed of sand including clear sand that differs from south-west Chilterns examples and may suggest production towards Buckinghamshire, as do two tiles without decorative motifs (Trench 2, contexts 112 and 123) on a bed of very coarse grey and white sand, one with flecks of chalk.

Both Jope and Hinton assumed that because Richard Venge is recorded as delivering tiles that he was also the maker and possibly also the paviour. Either way it seems likely that the armorial tiles reflecting the foundation of the college came from Crocker End in the first half of the 15th century, and that the late 14th to 15th-century decorative pavements, fragments of which were found in significant quantity in both of the archaeological interventions in the Great Quadrangle, pre-date the college. The tiles may therefore indirectly support Colvin's correction of Salter's Map – if All Soul's chapel was built on St Thomas' Hall (Salter NE 125), that tenement must have extended much closer to the High Street than shown on the Map, and the property may be not only 'fine' and valuable but large, with its northern edge being the source of secular tiled floors of which the remains were found by both Jope in 1941 and Oxford Archaeological Unit in 1991–1992 (Salter 1960: 86–87, Map: NEIII).

Conclusion

It is 50 years since Hinton re-catalogued the Ashmolean's collection of medieval paving tiles, and this audit has delivered some significant advances. It has shown that the *in situ* paving tiles are a diminishing resource and the antiquarian records therefore still preserve crucial information. Several long-lived late medieval rural industries were operating on marginal land of the wooded south-west Chilterns during the later 14th–16th centuries. Three out of the four of these industries (Hohler's `Printed' Chiltern factories) also made roof furniture and domestic ceramics, the exception being the more silty fabric

(IVA), used exclusively for paving and roof tiles. There is considerable overlap between the marketing networks of these workshops. Given the weight and batch size, transport patterns for roof furniture and paving tile differs from domestic ceramics, resulting in a different economic footprint. Penn tilers made a bigger impact on south Oxfordshire Chilterns than Hohler had envisaged. There is tentative evidence that local south Oxfordshire Chilterns production sites had started to make paving tiles in the mid-14th century. The limited evidence at Cadmore End suggests that paving tiles were not supplied to the rural communities, but that these tiles may have supplemented building contracts in market towns such as Thame and the City of Oxford. It did however supply roof furniture and domestic ceramics along the south-west Chiltern crest, to the rural communities of both Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, where it would have been in competition with Oxfordshire Chilterns industries.

Richard Venge of Crocker End was commissioned to supply paving tiles for the chapel at All Souls, decorated with an armorial device of Archbishop Chichele and possibly also the `Burghersh' lion. His place of work centred on Crocker End, Nettlebed, adjoining the parish of Swyncombe which was part of the Chaucer family estate with Ewelme. Here a substantial pavement in the south-east chapel of the church, complete by 1438 (Townley 2016: 232), was decorated with the family devices of the `Burghersh' lion and the Roet, pre-dating All Souls by just four years. There was some 16th century revival of medieval paving tile designs, as seen at Rycote Park house.

Future work

There is scope for more fieldwork, following up documentary references. A programme of thin-sectioning and chemical (ICPS) analysis, to compare with Museum of London Research archive and fabric types identified at Rose Cottage, Tylers Green (Zeepvat 2009, 205-209), building on Cauvain's chemical analysis of medieval ceramics from south Buckinghamshire (Cauvain 1995: 145-152), to include material from the south Oxfordshire Chilterns, would assist with understanding the provenance of, and trade in, tiles. A bigger sample of ceramics is needed from Thame and its immediate hinterland to distinguish Penn and Cadmore End ceramic production and compare with domestic ceramics from Ashampstead, Berkshire. Eames's chronological phasing to the west of Penn tileries should also be re-assessed.

Appendix 1

Translation of *Manorial Records of Cuxham*, ed. P.D.A. Harvey, p. 593 (the Cuxham account bailiff's account for 1358-9) [\ / goes around an insertion in the main text hand; * * around deletions] (Translated by Professor. Chris Woolgar, University of Southampton.

Costs of buildings

The same [i.e. Roger Poynaunt of Hameldone [Hambleden], the bailiff of the manor] accounts for 8d. paid for expenses with regard to 2000 tiles and four bushels of chalk/lime bought by Thomas Sclatter' sought at Kademer'. And for renewing the axles of two carts for the same and [also] on another occasion in harvest 11d. together with the axles bought for the same. And in 1000 tilepins bought for Thomas Sclattere 3d. In three keys for locks of the granary, chamber and stable 8d. \ And in one man for one day tiling the barn for one day 5d. And for two women assisting him and preparing [the word 'dirigentibus' literally means 'directing']the straw for the same for one day 6d. And *in 2 keys for the barn and the granary 6d.* And *for mending of one lock and key 1½d. and they remain at Milton'.*/. translation).

Abbreviations

AM Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; b Berkshire; BCM Buckinghamshire county Museum; LH Loyd Haberly; Hohler Christopher Hohler; Eames Eames 1980; o Oxfordshire; OCMS Oxfordshire County Museum Service; V variant.

Acknowledgements

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Primary Source
Bodleian MS Top. Oxon. d.194 (Coll. PM).

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How Pious? How Wealthy? The Status of Eynsham and St Albans Abbeys Between the 8th to the 12th Centuries Re-examined in the Light of their Food Consumption

Dale Serjeantson and Pam Crabtree

with Jacqui Mulville, Kathy Ayres[†], Claire Ingrem and Alison Locker

This paper is dedicated to Kathy Ayres who died in 2017. She analysed the mammal bones from Eynsham.

Summary

The link between food consumption and status and power has long been recognised and foodstuffs are a guide to household status where documentary history is lacking or sparse. The remains of the game, domestic animals and fish eaten in the abbeys of Eynsham in Wessex and St Albans in Mercia reveal how the status of these two abbeys fluctuated between the 7th and 12th centuries as they attempted to follow Benedictine food ordinances and also meet their obligations of hospitality.

Keywords: Food, Faunal Remains, Early Medieval, St Albans Abbey, Eynsham Abbey, Piety, Benedictine Rule

Introduction

The link between food consumption and the society within which it takes place has been recognised for many years. The relationship has been discussed by archaeologists since it became a respectable subject for study from the 1980s onwards (e.g. Crabtree 1990a; Serjeantson 2017). Foodstuffs reveal the wealth and status of an establishment and are also a marker of cultural distinctions between groups. Naomi Sykes (2007) and others have identified some of the specific changes in food consumption in England between the Saxon and Norman periods (see Jervis *et al.* 2017 for an overview) and general changes in dietary habits during the later medieval period have been examined by many historians as well as archaeologists over the past 20 years (e.g. Woolgar *et al.* 2006). As well as tracking wider societal changes, foodstuffs also reveal the extent to which establishments followed particular religious food practices, for example, as discussed here, the Benedictine Rule. Environment, as well as culture, played a part in food consumption: the local environment from which food was drawn also had an influence on the animals that were eaten in different areas.

In this contribution we analyse the foods of animal origin eaten at the abbeys of Eynsham (Oxfordshire) and St Albans (Hertfordshire) between the 7th and the 12th centuries. Excavations at these abbeys exposed some deposits with large, well preserved assemblages of animal bones that present a sequence from the mid-Saxon to the Norman period (Table 1). For the Saxon period in particular, there is little documentary evidence for the status of the two establishments so the foodstuffs consumed are a guide to their wealth and ecclesiastical status. When the animal bone assemblages from the two abbeys were first analysed there were few assemblages with which to compare them, but surveys carried out since then allow us to put them in context and compare these abbeys with other religious houses and with general trends in meat consumption. At both sites deposits were excavated from earlier and later centuries that are not discussed here.

Each of the authors of this paper contributed to the identification and analysis of the material: their various contributions are shown in Table 1. All worked at Southampton at different times and each of us while there benefited from discussions with David Hinton on the economic life and material culture of Anglo-Saxon England.

Abbey	Phase	Analysts	Date	Status
Eynsham	EA 2b	JAM/AL	Late 7th - early 8th	Pre-minster occupation (including Pit 394)
Eynsham	EA 2c	JAM/AL	Mid 8th - end of 9th	Minster: buildings and pits
St Albans	SAA 3	PJC	Late 7th - 9th	Abbey/minster: lower ditch fill
St Albans	SAA 4	PJC	8th - 9th	Abbey/minster: lower ditch fill
Eynsham	EA 2d	JAM/AL	10th	Minster: timber building, pits
Eynsham	EA 2e	JAM/AL	Very early 11th	Minster: structures, cess pit
Eynsham	EA 2f	KA/AL/DS	1005-1066	Aelfrician abbey
Eynsham	EA 3a	KA/AL/DS	Late 11th	Uncertain: kitchen structure and floor
St Albans	SAA 13	DS/CYI	11th - 12th	Rebuilt abbey: midden material
Eynsham	EA 3b	KA/AL/DS	12th	Reformed abbey: structures, pits

Table 1. Date and status of deposits from each phase discussed; initials of analyst are also shown.

Early history of the abbeys

Eynsham lies on the floodplain of the River Thames near its confluence with the Windrush. The site is located in a wide area of fertile agricultural and grazing land. It is thought to have been an important centre from the early Saxon period onwards. During the occupation phase dated to the late 7th/early 8th century (EA 2b) the absence of structures led to the conclusion that it was a secular household, though the find of a stylus 'raises the question of an ecclesiastical presence' (Hardy *et al.* 2003: 472). If it was not yet minster at this time, it was so by the mid-8th century (Phase EA 2c) and remained a minster into late Saxon times (EA 2d and EA 2e). In 1005 the minster was reformed and the clergy were replaced by monks following the Benedictine rule (EA 2f). The first abbot was Aelfric (*c.*955–*c.*1010), one of the most influential scholars and teachers of the time, whose homilies urged the church in England to follow the teachings of St Benedict of Nursia, Gregory the Great and other continental Christian fathers. After 1066, Eynsham ceased to be an independent abbey; during this occupation phase (EA 3a) it was either a secular household or, more likely, a dependent house of the abbey of Stow in Lincolnshire. The abbey was refounded (again) as an independent Benedictine abbey in 1109 (phase EA 3b) (Hardy and Blair 2003: 10–11).

St Albans is situated on the much smaller River Ver in Hertfordshire. The surroundings are chalk downland covered with mixed soils and the area was more heavily wooded (Marshall 1968; Hunn 1994: Figure 71) St Albans was known to early Christians as the place where St Alban was martyred and there is archaeological evidence for occupation on the site from late Roman times onwards. The abbey was reputed to have been founded by Offa in 793 but the details are 'notoriously obscure' (Biddle 1977; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1984). Most minsters in Wessex and Mercia were founded in the late 8th century (Hardy and Blair 2003: 7; Blair 2005) so St Albans, like Eynsham, was probably also a minster by the late 7th century. It was refounded as a Benedictine abbey in 1077 when Paul of Caen, a nephew of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury and friend of William the Conqueror, was appointed as abbot.

Both abbeys would have been endowed with local manors and others at a distance from which they drew most of their foodstuffs. Eynsham initially had a large endowment of land extending as far east as the Cherwell and as far north as Woodstock, but its lands diminished over the next three centuries (Hardy 2003: 9). In 1086 it had a forest for pannage with a value of 5 shillings as well as manors as far afield as Droitwich and Sussex. At the time of Domesday the abbey had fishing rights in the Thames (Hardy 2003: 509). The endowments and lands of Saxon St Albans are poorly known. At the time of Domesday it had several local manors. Those at Cashio and Rickmansworth had *piscaria* (fishery rights) and the abbey had its own *vivarium* (fishpond) (Morris 1976). In mid-Saxon times it is likely that most food was obtained locally but the amount purchased increased with the development of markets. Some game was no doubt obtained locally: the abbots, as members of the thegnly class, may themselves have hunted as Matthew Paris, the abbeys 12th century chronicler, alleges. After the 11th century more food, especially marine fish, would have been purchased.

Excavations

The excavations at Eynsham were carried out by Oxford Archaeology between 1989 and 1992. The account of the excavations (Hardy *et al.* 2003) includes detailed reports on the animal bones (Ayres *et al.* 2003; Mulville 2003). The earliest assemblage discussed here includes the bones from a pit (Pit 394, phase EA 2b) that was dated to the first quarter of the 8th century. The pit held rich deposits of bones and it was sampled and sieved using 2mm and 4mm meshes. The bone remains were interpreted as including both table and kitchen waste. The following phase (EA 2c) is ascribed to the first minster as there is evidence for the first time for the formal arrangement of space on the site. The small bone assemblage is from pits. The 10th century occupation (EA 2d) was marked with structures that may include a guest hall. Finds such as wall plaster and metalworking debris suggest it was a wealthy establishment. The next phase (EA 2e) was a short-lived structural phase for the newly built abbey dating from the very early years of the 11th century. The small assemblage of bones is mostly waste from consumption. The excavations of the reformed Benedictine abbey of Aelfric and his successors (Phase EA 2f) exposed new stone buildings, and there were associated deposits containing animal bones and other material (Dodd and Hardy 2003).

Substantial structures were found in the post-Conquest phase (EA 3a) including a large, square kitchen. The animal bone assemblage from this period is from two large rubbish pits, further pits and the kitchen. A hearth deposit within the kitchen survived to a thickness of 0.25m, and a 1 m² block of the sediment, rich in small bones, was retrieved and sampled. In 1109 Eynsham was refounded for a second time and rebuilt. The excavations of this phase (EA 3b) exposed the cloister, a lavatorium and the refectory. There were substantial rubbish deposits with a large bone assemblage from from pits and ditches but no kitchen floor were associated with this phase.

St Albans Abbey was excavated by Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle in two campaigns: the area of the former Chapter House in 1978 and part of the former Cloister area in the 1980s (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1980; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1984). The bones from the Chapter House were recorded in 1983; the report written was later revised (Crabtree nd.). The Anglo-Saxon bone assemblage is from the lower and upper fills of a ditch running N-S at right angles to the axis of the Norman church (SAA Final Phases 3 and 4). All material was recovered by hand. The remains are mostly waste from the consumption of meals.

A later assemblage dates from the time of the first Norman abbot, Paul of Caen. He embarked on rebuilding the abbey at the end of the 11th century. The western cloister range of Paul of Caen was demolished by his successor and the south part of the range was filled with what looked like midden material from the time of the building works of Paul of Caen (SAA Final Phase 13). This deposit contained pottery of late 10th, 11th and early 12th century date as well as shell, metal working residue, fragments of stone and animal bones. During excavation the midden deposit was noted to be densely packed with fish and bird as well as mammal bones and a substantial whole earth bulk sample was taken. All bones from the sample were carefully picked from trays by volunteers. The fish remains were initially examined by Dale Serjeantson and later re-analysed by Claire Ingrem who, in addition to re-identifying some of the assemblage, sieved a subsample of two litres of sediment from the deposit using 2mm and 1mm mesh sieves. A popular account of food at St Albans Abbey has been published (Serjeantson 1991) and a full report on the animal remains has been submitted (Serjeantson and Ingrem nd.). This deposit was very clearly remains of food preparation and consumption: there are no bones of animals such as cats and dogs.

Recording methods were mostly consistent between the different assemblages and analysts – the individual reports give details. The only significant exception was the recording of tooth eruption and wear where different methods were used. For this reason bone fusion has been used here for estimating the age at which the main domestic animals were killed. The elements included in the analyses of bone fusion differ slightly between analysts but this does not significantly bias the results. Analysts separated a restricted set of elements between sheep and goats. In the tables goat remains are shown separately but otherwise the figures for sheep include bones identified as sheep or goat. The original reports show

hand retrieved bones separately from those from samples but here bones recovered by both methods have been combined in the tables and graphs. With these caveats we can examine how the food remains from the abbeys contribute to questions about food regulations and wealth.

Ecclesiastical food rules

The earliest explicit attempt by the Roman church to make distinctions in food consumption between Christians and others was by St Benedict of Nursia in the 6th century (Harvey 1993). He set out regulations for the conduct of the Roman church including many that relate to food. In the 7th century Pope Gregory the Great expressly prohibited the eating of horse flesh because of its association with pagan Saxon religious practices (Poole 2013). While pagan Saxon culture celebrated feasting to excess, St Benedict enjoined Christians to 'abstain from eating the flesh of four-footed animals', so fish, birds, eggs and dairy foods were permissible as well as vegetable foods, but flesh meat was – in theory – forbidden (Harvey 1993: 38–41; Albala 2000). The weak and sick were exempt from the Rule. In the 8th century the *Rule of Chrodegang*, a reworking of the Rule of St Benedict by the Bishop of Metz, a novice monk, when questioned, says that he eats 'vegetables and eggs, fish and cheese, butter and beans' and, because he is still under tutelage, 'I still eat flesh-meat' (Hagen 1992). The *Rule of Chrodegang* is one of the first to set out how food and fasting rules were modified of suit environmental conditions in northern Europe. Over the course of the Middle Ages, these regulations were constantly debated and re-interpreted (Harvey 1996).

The early Saxon minsters in England were established by the kings and their relatives. They did not necessarily follow St Benedict or any other central authority for guidance on diet, but followed the custom of the individual who founded the house (Blair 2005). As abbots and bishops were drawn from ruling families, their food regimes mirrored that of elite secular households of the time. However Anglo-Saxon law codes make it clear that fast days were followed from the 7th century onwards (Hagen 1992). When King William and the later Norman kings took control of the major institutions in England, they distanced themselves from their predecessors by professing abstemiousness, described by Sykes (2007: 86) as a kind of 'dietary piety'. Once reformed as Benedictine abbeys, establishments such as Eynsham and St Albans would have aimed to follow the Rule so far as food was concerned. The church calendar included many feast days. Those held on important days were as important as the fasts that preceded them so there were many occasions when flesh meat might be eaten. Excavated contexts on archaeological excavations only very rarely provide evidence for single occasions, so the food remains tend to amalgamate the evidence for feasts as well as fasts.

We might expect to see greater consumption of flesh meat in the Saxon houses and an increased emphasis on fish and birds as the Norman abbeys as increasingly followed church teachings on diet as on other matters. However, minsters and abbeys were not solely devoted to religious observance; they also had a secular role in their obligation of hospitality to the rich and poor and charity to the latter. For instance, it is on record that both abbeys played host to the king and his entourage in the 12th century.

Results: the animal foods eaten at Eynsham and St Albans

In considering how pious and how wealthy the abbeys were, we will discuss first those foods that suggest observance or otherwise of food regulations. Secondly, we will consider the foods that suggest the wealth and status of the two abbeys or the converse. Food remains recovered from archaeological sites do not lend themselves happily to estimates of absolute quantities of flesh meat or other foodstuffs but they can be a guide to relative quantities. Here we first make a crude comparison of the number of identified bones (NISP) of mammals, birds and fish (Figure 1), but the discussions take into account that different types of deposit were excavated in different periods.

Following the Rule?

Several features of the assemblages from both abbeys indicate the extent to which the fasting regulations of the church were followed: here we discuss the consumption of fish and birds, the avoidance of horse flesh and consumption of tongue and eggs.
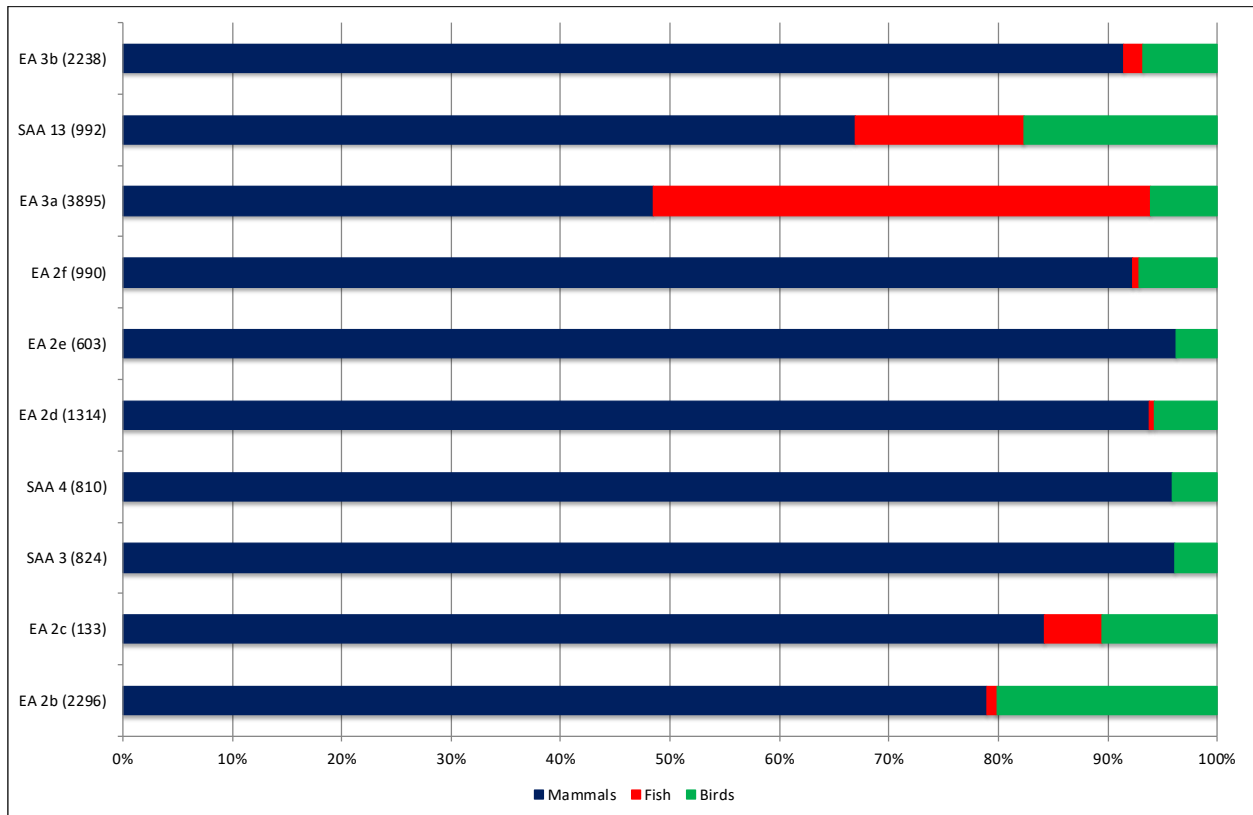
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Figure 1. Identified mammal, fish and bird bones, per cent NISP: sample size in brackets.

Fish

Fish is the strongest marker for the observance of the Rule of St Benedict. It was recognised as part of a fasting diet from the time of St Wilfrid in the 7th century, who brought back the practice from Rome. Late Saxon illustrations show that the Anglo-Saxon noble and religious communities sought out fish to eat at feasts (Hagen 1992). The fish most often referred to in Saxon charters is the eel; they were caught in traps and weirs in the rivers and sometimes formed part of food rents. Whilst archaeological evidence increases our knowledge of the other fish species that were caught and eaten, estimating quantities is open to greater biases than mammals and even bird remains as retrieving fish bones depends on encountering the types of deposit such as pits and kitchen floors in which fish bones are likely to survive and also on the recovery of their remains via sampling and sieving.

At both abbeys there is a contrast between the Saxon and Norman periods (Figure 1). In mid- and late Saxon Eynsham few fish bones were recovered (Table 2). Pit 394 (EA 2b), of which a large volume was sieved, contained more than 600 bird bones (including some of small thrushes) but only 19 fish bones. If more fish had been present their remains would have been recovered so we have to conclude that the establishment at the time ate little fish. Later in the Saxon period there is equally scant evidence for fish eating. Even in the Aelfrician deposits of the refounded abbey (EA 2f) few fish bones were recovered. This may, of course, be partly because the excavated deposits did not contain dense, well preserved, dumps of food remains. Eels are the most frequent species, as records suggest, and as they are in most sites of the period (Holmes 2014; Reynolds 2015; Serjeantson and Woolgar 2006: Table 8.1). Nearly all the other fish species eaten in the mid- and late Saxon period were freshwater fish that would have been obtained locally from the Thames, such as the pike and perch. No fish bones were recovered from the Saxon deposits at St Albans (SAA 3 and SAA 4). This suggests that little or no fish was eaten there, since a few bones would have been expected even in unsieved deposits.

The apparent failure to adopt fish eating at Eynsham and St Albans at this time contrasts with some other Saxon ecclesiastical and secular sites (Reynolds 2015). In addition to the sites listed in the survey

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Common name	Scientific name	EA 2b H+S	EA 2c H	EA 2d H	EA 2f	EA 3a H+S	SAA 13 H+S	EA 3b	Total
Ray	Raja spp.	1				8	1		10
Herring	Clupea harengus					1087	15	3	1105
Sprat	Sprattus sprattus						1		1
Herring family	cf. clupeid						2		2
Salmon	Salmo salar						1		1
Salmon/trout	Salmonid spp					8	2		10
Pike	Esox lucius	8		2	2	145	13	12	182
Tench	Tinca tinca				1		2		3
Roach	Rutilus rutilus					4	1		5
Cyprinid	Cyprinid					39	3		42
Dace	Leuciscus leuciscus					25			25
Chub	Leuciscus ceohalus					2		1	3
Bullrout	Myoxocephalus scorpius	2							2
Eel	Anguilla anguilla	8		4		243	9	3	267
Conger eel	Conger conger					7	1	3	11
Sturgeon	Accipenser sturio					1		1	2
Cod	Gadus morhua		1			10	37	9	57
Haddock	Melanogrammus aeglefinus						1	4	5
Ling	Molva molva					2	1		3
Whiting	Merlangius merlangius					8			8
Large gadid	Large gadid					4	22	1	27
Small gadid	Small gadid				2		1		3
Rockling	Gaidropsaurus sp.					7			7
Stickleback*	Gasterosteus aculeatus					128			128
Bass	Dicentrarchus labrax					3			3
Perch	Perca fluviatilis	1			1	11		1	14
Sea bream	Sparidae					7			7
Wrasse	Labridae					2			2
Gurnard	Triglidae							1	1
Mackerel	Scomber scombrus					5	1		6
Turbot	Scopthalmus maximus						1		1
Plaice	Pleuronectes platessa						2		2
Flounder	Platichthys flesus						11		11
Flatfish nfi	Flatfish nfi					14	25	2	41
Total identifiable		**19**	**1**	**6**	**6**	**1770**	**153**	**41**	**1997**

Table 2. Identified fish bones (NISP). The floors of the late 11th century kitchen at Eynsham (EA 3a) also included 109 stickleback scales. As sampling was inconsistent between assemblages, hand retrieved and samples are counted together: NFI Not further identified; H hand; S sieve/sample.

of Serjeantson and Woolgar (2006: Table 8.1), many fish bones were recovered from 8th to 9th century deposits at Christchurch Canterbury (Kent). Most of the more than 9000 bones were of eels but others were of flatfish and other marine fish (Nicholson 2017). In the very large bone assemblage from Saxon Flixborough (Lincolnshire) more than 900 identified fish bones were recovered by hand and more than 5000 from the sieved samples (Dobney *et al.* 2007). Of these, over half were eels and, as at Eynsham, pike and perch were the main freshwater fish. These assemblages have exceptional quantities of fish. One reason why neither Eynsham nor St Albans had adopted the practice of fish eating will reflect the fact that both are inland sites while those with large quantities of fish that are on estuaries or otherwise near the sea but it may also show the lesser influence of the Benedictine Rule.

In Norman times fish eating increased at both abbeys. The hearth floors of the 11th century kitchen at Eynsham (EA 3a) contained a large quantity of fish bones, of which herring made up much the greatest proportion overall. Eels are the second most frequent fish (Figure 2). There were few fish bones recovered

from deposits associated with the refounded 12th century abbey (EA 3b), which must partly be because no floor deposits were associated with this phase.

The Norman midden material at St Albans also contained many fish bones. As well as the identified fraction there were many unidentified fragments in the 2mm and 1mm samples. The proportion of fish bones from the everyday – as opposed to feasting – food, herrings and eels, is less than at Eynsham and the range of species is greater, as discussed later. The cod trade started at the beginning of the 11th century (Barrett *et al.* 2004; Orton *et al.* 2016) and this is evident at St Albans where there is a relatively large number of bones of cod and the cod family. Most of the cod would have been salted or dried.

This evidence for consumption of fish in quantity at both abbeys shows that by the 11th century the Benedictine Rule had been fully adopted so far as it concerns fish. Fish eating was of course greatly facilitated by the development of the trade in cheap herring (Barrett 2016). Hagen's (1992: 80) claim that dried cod was widely available in Saxon times, is now known not to be the case. The trade in preserved herring, cod and other marine fish certainly facilitated the increase in the consumption of fish, with its connotations of piety; conversely the observance of dietary rules triggered the development of the fish trade.

Birds

Fishes were not the only animals that were permissible. The aim of avoiding the consumption of flesh meat and thereby showing adherence to the Rule was also met by the consumption of birds. The importance of birds at different times, shown as a percentage relative to mammals and fish in Figure 1, can be seen more clearly using the alternative calculation (Figure 3) of the relative number of bird to mammal bones, as in the survey by (Sykes 2004a) because, as discussed, numbers of fish bone vary according to type of deposit and recovery.

The earliest assemblage discussed from Eynsham, from the pre-minster occupation (EA 2b), has an exceptionally high percentage of bird bones for the period: they make up 20 per cent of all identified bones. This is high compared with the other Saxon assemblages discussed here and also compared with other sites of the period (Sykes 2007: Figure 28). It is, for instance, higher than at contemporary Wicken Bonhunt (Crabtree 2012), another high status site, with 15 per cent bird bones. In late Saxon times at both Eynsham and St Albans birds make up a more modest percentage.

Most remains are of domestic chickens, as would be expected (Table 3). At Eynsham the percentage of goose bones is relatively high in the mid- and late Saxon period (Figure 4), which is typical for the time. The percentage of ducks is also high in the Saxon period at both abbeys compared with other sites
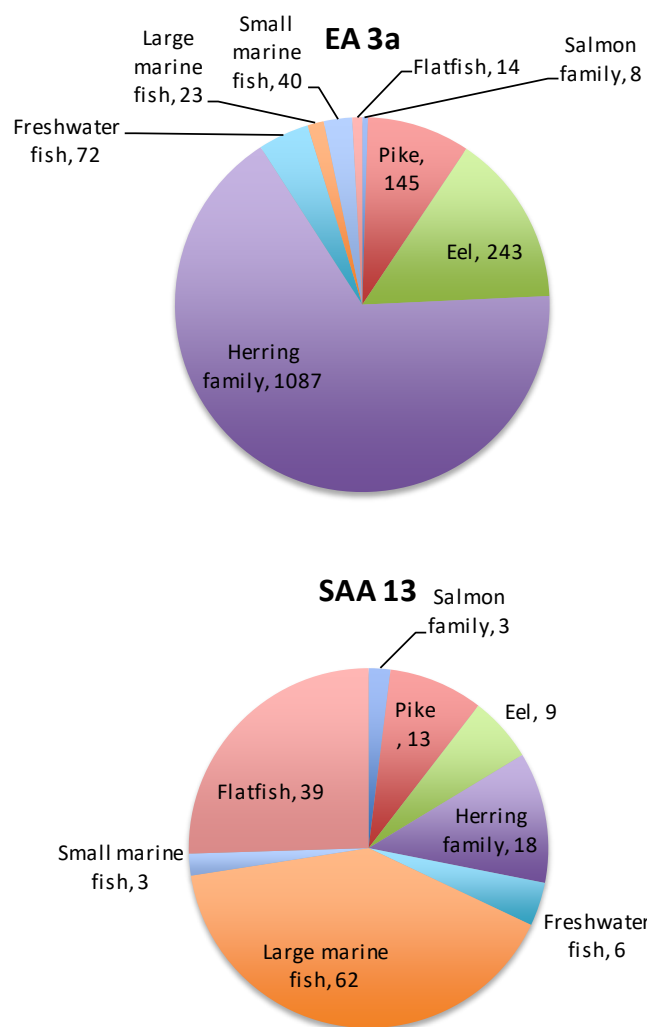

Figure 2. Types of fish species in 11th to 12th century St Albans (SAA 13) and late 11th century Eynsham (EA 3a).
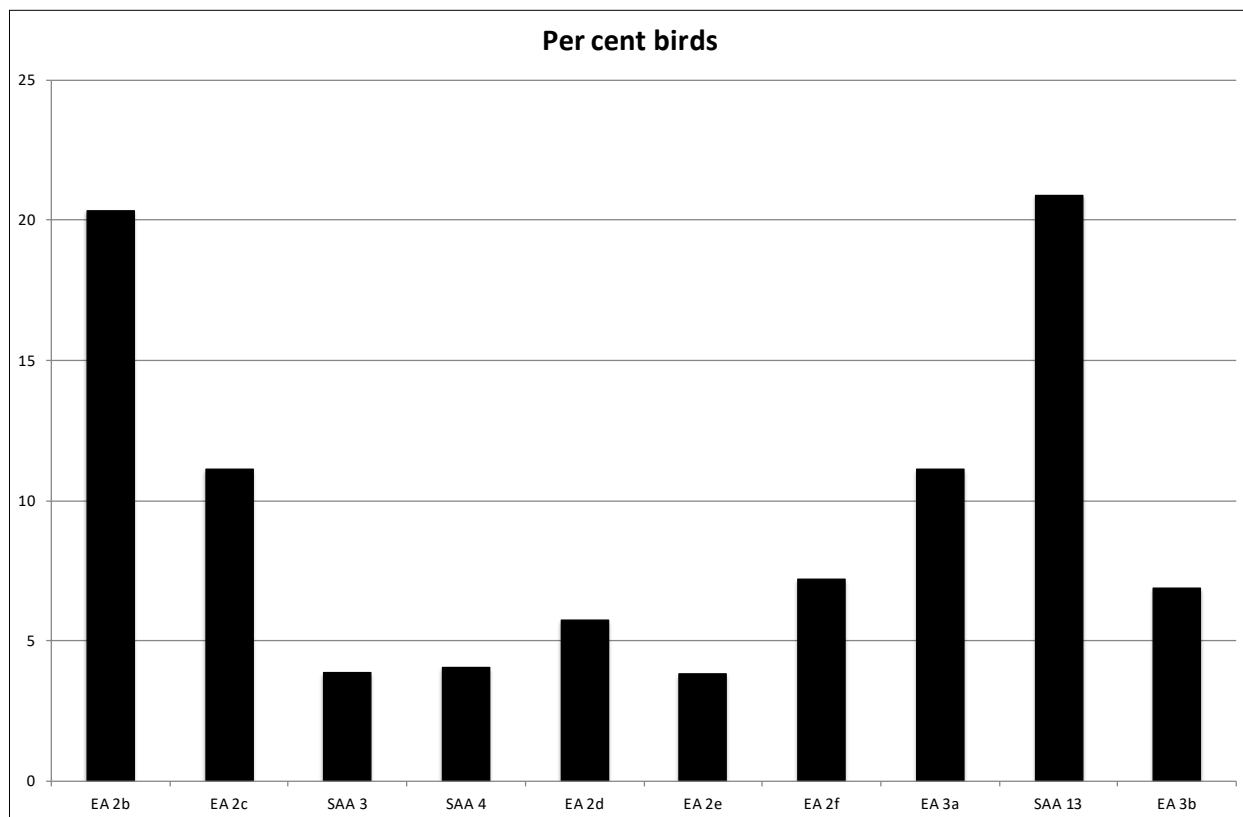
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Per cent birds

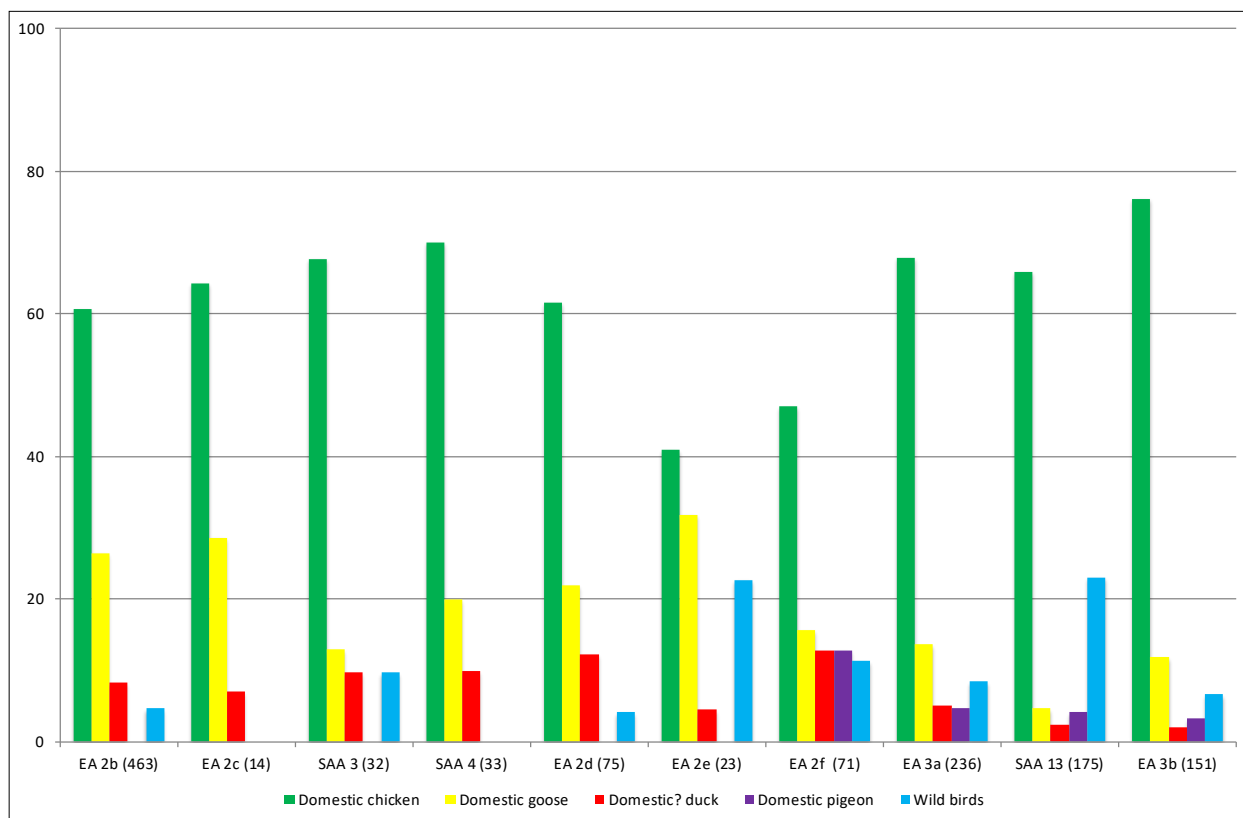Figure 3. Per cent birds of mammals and birds.

Figure 4. Domestic chicken, domestic goose, domestic (?) duck, domestic (?) pigeon and wild birds: per cent (NISP): Sample size in brackets. All mallard-size duck bones included with domestic ducks; all rock pigeon-size pigeon bones included with domestic pigeons.

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(Albarella 2005: Figure 3) though numbers may be over-estimated as we have taken all mallard-size ducks to be domestic. More ducks were eaten at Eynsham than at St Albans, a contrast no doubt reflecting the different environments of the two abbeys. Remains of the domestic pigeon (or its ancestor, the rock dove, *Columba livia*) are absent from Saxon period deposits at both abbeys, confirming the impression that domestic pigeon were rare or unknown before the 11th century. Where their bones have been found in this period, as at Flixborough (Dobney *et al.* 2007), the birds were probably wild.

At Norman St Albans (SAA 13) the percentage of birds is particularly high (20 per cent). The great majority were chickens, of which all parts of the body were found (Table 4). Unusually, few geese and other domestic birds were eaten. At Eynsham at this time the relative number of birds (ten per cent) is

	EA 2b	EA 2c	SAA 3	SAA 4	EA 2d	EA 2e	EA 2f	EA 3a	SAA 13	EA 3b	Total
Domestic fowl *Gallus gallus*	271	9	21	21	45	9	33	159	112	115	795
Domestic goose *Anser anser*	118	4	4	6	16	7	11	32	8	18	224
Domestic? mallard *Anas platyrhynchos*	37	1	3	3	9	1	9	12	4	3	82
Domestic? pigeon *Columba livia*							9	11	7	5	32
Goose, wild *Anser sp.*								1	1		2
Wild duck NFI *Anas sp.*								3	3		6
Teal *Anas crecca*								1	2	1	4
Grey partridge *Perdix perdix*	1										1
Quail *Coturnix coturnix*									1		1
Grey heron *Ardea cinerea*									1		1
Kite/sparrowhawk *Milvus/Accipiter*					1						1
Goshawk? *Accipiter/Falco*									1		1
Buzzard *Buteo buteo*	1										1
Water rail *Rallus aquaticus*	1										1
Common crane *Grus grus*	5		1	1		2		1	1	1	12
Plover ?golden *Pluvialis sp.*			2					4		1	7
Lapwing *Vanellus vanellus*	3						1				4
Snipe *Gallinago gallinago*							1	5		1	7
Woodcock *Scolopax rusticola*				2	3	3	5	2	4	5	24
Curlew? *Numenius arquata*?							1				1
Wood pigeon *Columba palumbus*	1								6		7
Tawny owl *Strix aluco*									1		1
Jackdaw *Corvus monedula*								2	1		3
Rook/Crow *Corvus frugilegus/corone*	14		1		1	1	1	1	1		20
Raven *Corvus corax*									3		3
Thrush family *Turdus sp.*	10								19	1	30
Starling *Sturnus vulgaris*	1										1
Small passerine									1		1
	463	14	32	33	75	23	71	236	175	151	1273
Goose size	60	1	6	1			9			6	
Chicken-size	99	1	2				15			20	
Unidentified bird	2		9	7			10		37	36	
Total	**1087**	**30**	**81**	**74**	**150**	**46**	**176**		**387**	**364**	
Per cent unidentified	14.8	6.7	21.0	10.8	0	0	19.3		9.6	17.0	
NFI not further identified											
2f hand and sieve have been combined.											
3a floor sampled rich deposits											

Table 3. Identified bird bones (NISP). All mallard-size duck and all rock dove-size elements are regarded as probably domestic. Bones of the thrush family were not identified to species.

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	chicken	goose	duck	pigeon	wild duck	woodcock	thrushes
Scapula	4		1				
Humerus	11		1	1	1	1	
Radius	8	1		3			
Ulna	6			3		2	5
Coracoid	6	1					1
Furcula	4	1					
Pelvis	2						
Femur	6	1					
Tibiotarsus	13	3			1	1	
Fibula	1						
Carpometacarpus	7		2	1	1		2
Tarsometatarsus	18	1		1			8
Mandible	2						2
Phalanx	3				1		
Thoracic vert	1						
Synsacrum	5						
Skull	3						
Rib	9						
Sternum	3						1
Total	**112**	**8**	**4**	**9**	**4**	**4**	**19**

Table 4. St Albans Abbey: 11th–12th century (SAA 13): parts of the skeleton of birds with four or more elements present: 'duck' and 'pigeon' as Table 3.

Site	Site status	Date	Cattle	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse
St Albans Abbey, SAA 3 (749)	Abbey/Minster	8th-9th	18.4	10.9	70.5	0.1
St Albans Abbey, SAA 4 (732)	Abbey/Minster	8th-9th	14.3	13.7	72.0	0
Wicken Bonhunt (30113)	Rural settlement	8th-9th	17.1	12.8	69.6	0.5
West Stow West (3206)	Rural settlement	Early	43.5	50.0	5.2	1.3
Brandon (47916)	Rural settlement	Mid	28.1	54.1	19.0	1.5
Ipswich (9680)	Emporium (wic)	Mid	44.2	22.8	32.3	0.6

Table 5. Species ratios for the large domestic mammals from Saxon St Albans (SAA 3 and SAA 4) compared with Early and Mid Anglo-Saxon sites in eastern England (sample size in brackets).

	EA 2b	EA 2c	SAA 3	SAA 4	EA 2d	EA 2e	EA 2f	EA 3a	SAA 13	EA 3b
Cattle	350	33	138	105	294	118	260	665	50	767
Sheep/goat	1011	43	82	100	670	299	322	460	191	437
Goat	4				3		4	3	3	11
Pig	407	32	528	527	226	133	261	675	304	650
Red deer	7		2	2	1	4	4	8	13	23
Roe deer	8	4	41	36	22	15	47	41	63	43
Fallow deer										6
Hare	1					1	8	20	40	13
Rabbit								1		
Horse	16		1		12	9	6	12		18
Cat	3			4	2		1	2		6
Dog	3			3	3	1		2		72
Badger	4									
Total	**1814**	**112**	**792**	**777**	**1233**	**580**	**913**	**1889**	**664**	**2046**

Table 6. Identified mammal bones (NISP).

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greater than in earlier centuries and more typical. In the reformed 12th century abbey at Eynsham a particularly high percentage of bird remains are of chicken. At this time numbers of the chickens increased generally (Loog *et al.* 2017).

Remains of the rock dove, regarded as domestic pigeons, were found at both abbeys in the eleventh- and 12th century deposits. The most frequent wild bird at both abbeys is the woodcock (Table 3). The woodcock, unlike other game birds, was characteristically not caught by falconers but by trapping on its regular paths in the woods so was not necessarily a prestigious bird. It was eaten more often in ecclesiastical than in high status secular households (Sykes 2004a).

By the criterion of eating birds, both abbeys were conforming to the Rule from mid-Saxon times onwards. However, as discussed later, eating certain domestic birds as well as wild birds can also be a sign of wealth and status.

Horse

	Pig	Cattle	Sheep/Goat	Roe deer
Skull	75	14	8	3
Horn core		1	1	
Antler				2
Maxilla	38	0	8	1
Mandible	79	5	9	8
Hyoid		2	1	
Atlas	3	1	1	1
Axis	1	1	2	
Sacrum		2		
Vertebrae	14	3		
Ribs	6			
Innominate	18	12	2	3
Femur	11	9	2	
Tibia	20	18	12	2
Fibula	18			
Scapula	43	11	4	2
Humerus	17	10	2	1
Radius	7	11	12	2
Ulna	14	9	1	1
Astragalus	2	4		
Calcaneus	6	7		
Carpals		1		
Metatarsus	16	3	7	5
Metacarpus	6	1	5	3
Metapodium	9	1		
1st phalanx	10	2		
2nd phalanx	1			
3rd phalanx		5		
Tooth fragments	5			
Loose teeth	109	5	5	7
Total	**528**	**138**	**82**	**41**

Table 7. St Albans Abbey: Late 7th-8th century (SAA 3): parts of the body of pig, cattle, sheep and roe deer

As noted, the avoidance of horse flesh became one of the marks of a Christian from the 7th century onwards. St Gregory's letter setting out the prohibition on horse flesh was a response to the fact that the pagan Saxons in Germany sacrificed and ate horses. The custom of hippophagy spread to Britain with the Anglo-Saxons (Fern 2010). One survey found that 15 per cent of mid-Saxon sites have butchered horse bones (Poole 2013: Figure 2.30) and in the earliest Saxon occupation phase at Eynsham (EA 2a, not otherwise discussed here), some of the horse bones had butchery marks suggesting consumption (Mulville 2003: 353). The early and mid-Saxon sites of West Stow, Brandon and Wicken Bonhunt in East Anglia all have a higher percentages of horse bones (Table 5), and some evidence for butchery was found on these (Crabtree 1990b; Crabtree 2012). Horseflesh came to be avoided throughout Britain only after the 9th century (Fern 2010; Poole 2013). Eynsham and St Albans conform to this. Some horse bones were found at Eynsham in the mid-Saxon phases (Table 6): the skull of a young horse found in Pit 394 (EA 2b) which had cuts on the condyles where it had been severed from the neck, but this is evidence for decapitation, not consumption. In the later phases there is no evidence for consumption of horse flesh. Horse remains are also absent from both Saxon and Norman occupation at St Albans. By this criterion too, the establishments at both abbeys were following Christian practice by the 8th century.

Adherence to the avoidance of flesh meat at St Albans Abbey in the 11th–12th century is confirmed by finds of the hyoid bone of cattle. The tongue, where the hyoid bone is found, was not regarded as muscle meat and almost as many of these flimsy elements were found as limb bones (Tables 7 and 8).

Eggs

The many chicken bones remind us that eggs were no doubt eaten in quantity at both abbeys but the consumption of eggs is hard to demonstrate in the absence of surviving eggshell. It can be inferred from the proportion of hen femurs with medullary tissue in the bone, which is found in hens in lay. Few femurs in this condition were found at Saxon Eynsham but by the 12th century (EA 3b) two-thirds of the chicken femurs have medullary bone. Eggshell survived in the floor of the Norman kitchen at Eynsham (EA 3a). There, it made up more than 50 per cent of the material from some of the samples (Ayres *et al.*: Table 10.40). This fits with recent research that has shown that chickens underwent a genetic between the 9th and the 12th centuries which led to the hens laying eggs for longer periods each year (Loog *et al.* 2017).

Wealth and status

The evidence for observance of food regulations cannot always be separated from that for wealth and status. In this section we look at the evidence for the consumption of game, pork, marine fish and wild birds with the aim of establishing how they reflect changes in the status and wealth of the two abbeys over time and how each compares with other sites.

Game

It is a truism that the consumption of game reflects the wealth and social connections of a community. In Saxon times any man might hunt, relying on a legal principal of Justinian (533) that states that 'wild beasts, fowl and fish … as soon as someone captures them, by natural law they immediately belong to him (Marvin 2006: 22). After the Norman Conquest hunting was restricted with only the king and the nobles permitted to hunt (Sykes 2006). Venison was regarded as an appropriate food to serve at feasts throughout the Middle Ages (Birrell 2006). Though abbots themselves sometimes hunted, a minster or abbey would usually procure venison from professional huntsmen on their own estates or via gifts from patrons and others wishing to obtain spiritual or material favour. The numbers of game animals in each period is shown in Figures 5 and 6 in relation to the numbers of mammal bones. Most deposits also had a few bones of species other than the food mammals (Table 6). They have been omitted from the calculations in Figures 5 and 6.

	Pig	Cattle	Sheep/Goat	Roe Deer
Skull	56	1	8	2
Horn core			1	
Maxilla	29			
Mandible	70	5	11	4
Hyoid				
Atlas	1		1	1
Axis	2	1	1	1
Sacrum	2	1		
Vertebrae	14	3		
Ribs	13			
Innominate	9	13	1	3
Femur	17	10	3	4
Patella			1	
Tibia	15	9	15	3
Fibula	10			
Scapula	38	12	4	1
Humerus	24	10	7	3
Radius	8	9	7	3
Ulna	23	9		2
Astragalus	3	3	2	1
Calcaneus	7	5	1	1
Carpals	3	1		
Metatarsus	18	2	4	
Metacarpus	17			2
Metapodium	29			3
1st phalanx	13	3		
2nd phalanx	6			
3rd phalanx	5	2		
Tooth fragments	5	1		
Loose teeth	90	5	33	2
Total	**527**	**105**	**100**	**36**

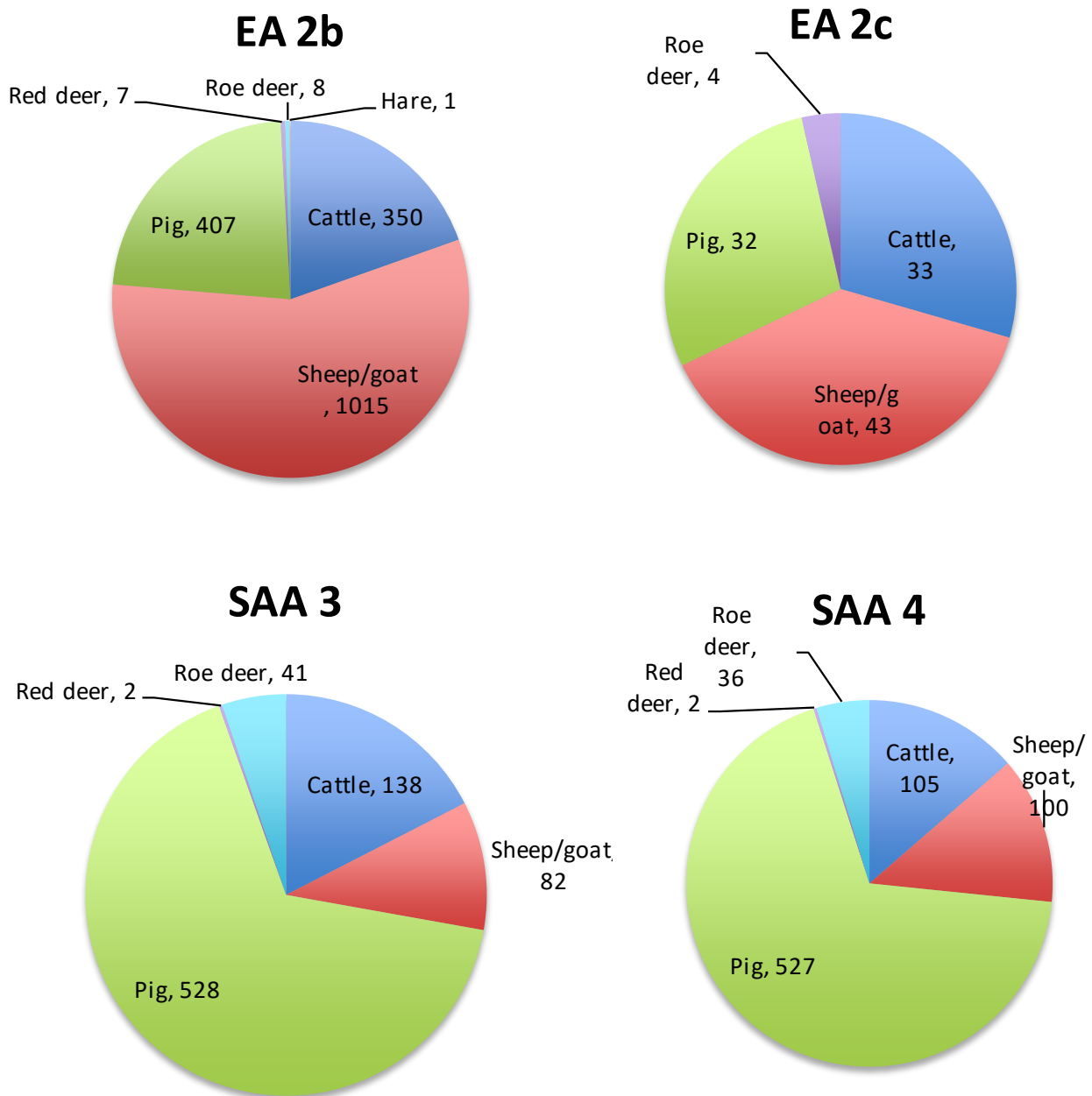Table 8. St Albans Abbey: 8th–9th century (SAA 4): parts of the body, as Table 7

Figure 5. Relative numbers of food mammals, 7th-9th century (EA 2b, EA 2c, SAA 3, SAA 4)

In general, game made little contribution to early and mid-Saxon diet. Before the Conquest, game (red deer, roe deer, hare and rabbit) make up less than three per cent of the mammals present at religious houses, and even in high status households this figure is below five per cent (Sykes 2006: Figure 11.1). In the pre-minster occupation at Eynsham the quantity of game is small, but it increases slightly in the first minster deposits. At the same time at St Albans game was about five per cent of mammals (SAA 3 and SAA 4). In the Aelfrician abbey the percentage was higher (six per cent), a reflection of what must have been its elevated status during the early 11th century.

At Eynsham in the immediate post-Conquest period (EA 3a) game makes up about three per cent of mammals, while the percentage is higher (five per cent) in the reformed abbey (EA 3b). In 11th-12th century St Albans (SAA 13), by contrast, the percentage of all game animals is exceptionally high (17 per cent).

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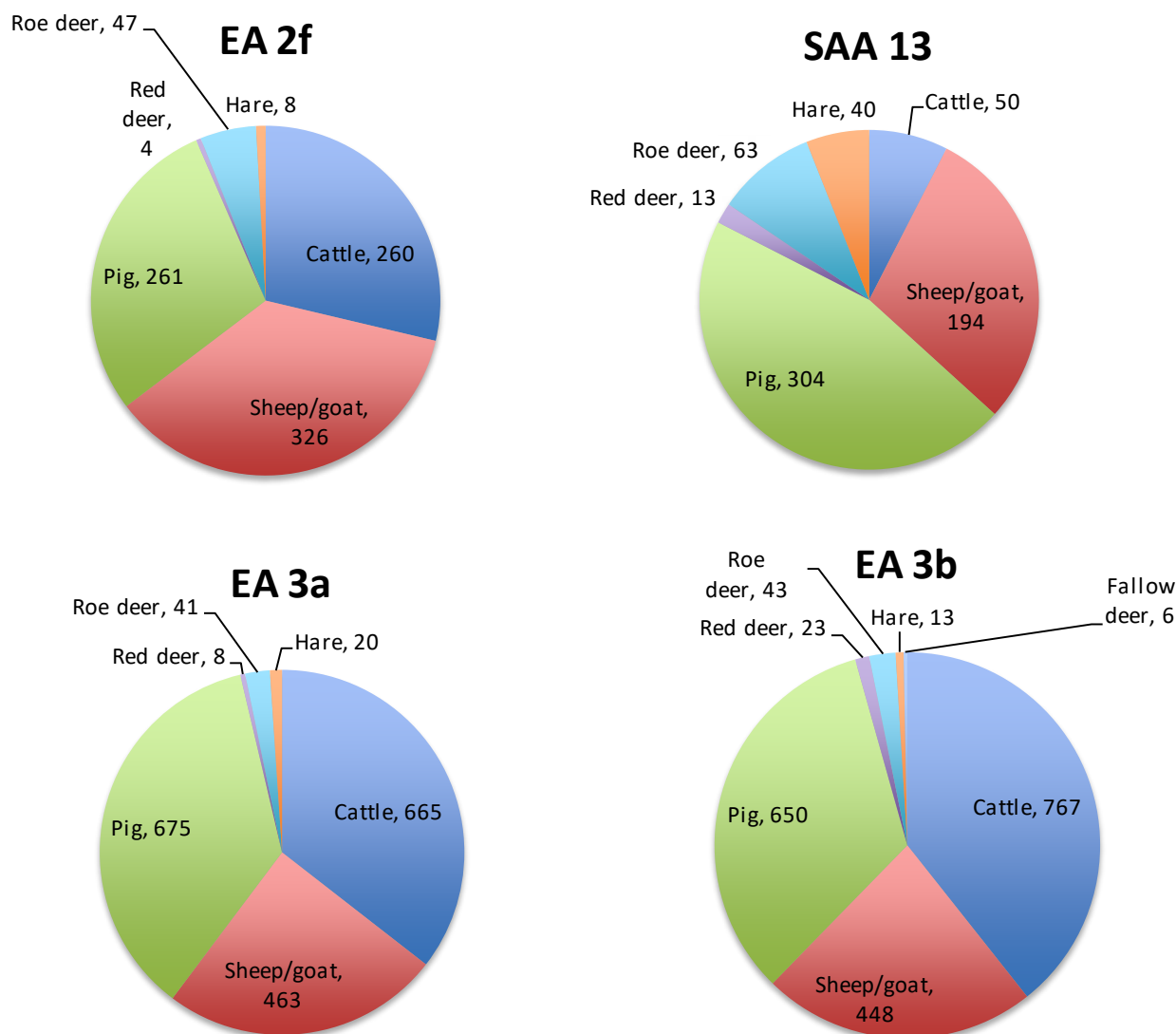
Figure 6. Relative numbers of food mammals, 10th-12th century (EA 2f, SAA 13, EA 3a, EA 3b).

The main game animal in both abbeys and in all periods was roe deer. This is typical for Saxon sites, as the characteristic hunting method of the time favoured roe deer over red deer (Sykes 2006). The predominance of roe over red deer persisted into the 11th–12th century at St Albans (SAA 13) where they form an exceptionally high nine per cent of all mammals. The occasional bone of a hare was found at both abbeys but at St Albans at this time their remains are an unusually high five per cent of mammals. This is no doubt a direct reflection of the taste of the Norman abbot Paul: hare remains are frequent on ecclesiastical sites in France (Sykes 2007). Red deer remains are few at all times, which is untypical, since in general after the Conquest red deer overtook roe (Sykes 2017). Fallow deer were introduced to England by the Normans (Sykes 2004b), but their remains are absent from St Albans and found only from the in the 12th century at Eynsham (EA 3b). No wild boar was identified at either abbey.

The source of the roe deer eaten at St Albans was no doubt the deer park that the abbey owned. According to Matthew Paris, writing two centuries later, Wulsig, one of the Anglo-Saxon abbots, 'loved hunting better than prayer' (Vaughan 1984). While the Saxon abbots may themselves have hunted, Paris implies that the Norman abbots did not, so the deer eaten in the Norman period will have been mostly caught by professional huntsmen.

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The relatively high consumption of game suggests that St Albans in the 8th and 9th century and Eynsham in the 11th were both of high status. Sykes (2007) found that in general the percentage of game was higher on sites after the Conquest than in earlier centuries. This was the case at St Albans, but not at Eynsham. The remains of game suggest that St Albans was much wealthier in the 11th–12th century, as might be expected under a well-connected Norman abbot, while the relative paucity of game at Eynsham suggests its status diminished.

Pork and boar's head

Of the three main domestic food animals, only pigs do not provide secondary products so the eating of pork was a luxury and another marker of the wealth and status of an establishment.

In the Saxon period at Eynsham, fewer pigs than sheep were eaten in each phase (Figure 5). Even in the pre-minster occupation (EA 2b), pigs make up less than one quarter of all mammal bones. At St Albans at this time over two-thirds of all mammal bones are from pigs. The percentage at Eynsham is typical for

	Pig	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Sheep/goat	Roe deer	Red deer	Hare
Skull fragment	27	3			4			
Horn core/antler	-	1	3	1		1		-
Maxilla with teeth	14							1
Maxillary teeth	10	2			4			1
Mandible	17	1			13	1		
Lower tooth	38	5			6			
Hyoid		3			1			
Atlas	2				2			
Axis	2				1			
Scapula	15	5			11	4	3	1
Humerus	8	4			4			1
Radius	5	3			13	5	1	6
Ulna	4	1			9	2	1	11
Pelvis	13	4			19	2	1	1
Femur	7	3		1	10	1		1
Tibia	7	2	2	1	12	2	3	4
Fibula	18							
Sacrum		1			2			
Carpals	1							
Astragalus	10	4			5	5	1	
Calcaneus	6				16	10	1	1
Tarsals	3	1			2			
Lateral metapodial	3					3		1
Metacarpal	21				8	12		4
Metatarsal	29				2	14		4
Phalanx 1	5	2			2			1
Phalanx 2	4				2			
Phalanx 3	4							
Cervical vert	3				4	1		
Thoracic vert	6	1			11			
Lumbar vert	8				10		1	
Caudal vert		1			2			
Rib	14	3			11		1	2
Total	**304**	**50**	**5**	**3**	**186**	**63**	**13**	**40**

Table 9. St Albans Abbey: 11th–12th century (SAA 13): mammals: parts of the body.

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the period (Albarella 2006, tab. 6.1) but that at St Albans is exceptionally high. Only one other site of the period, Wicken Bonhunt in East Anglia, has a similarly high percentage (Table 5). However, the body parts differ between St Albans and Wicken Bonhunt. Teeth and skull bones outnumbered post-cranial bones by ten to one at Wicken Bonhunt, showing that meaty elements had been exported, possibly as barrelled pork which was traded to other settlements. At St Albans in the 8th–9th century (SAA 3 and 4) there are only about twice as many pig mandibles as limb elements (Tables 7 and 8), which reflects preservational factors and is what would be expected if all the animal was consumed at the abbey. The large number of head bones of pig are a vivid reminder that boar's head was served as a delicacy.

In the Norman period at Eynsham (EA 3a and EA 3b) the percentage of pigs is higher than earlier: they make up one third of mammal bones. At contemporary St Albans the percentage (46%) is yet higher. As in the 8th-9th century, all parts of the body are present (Table 9). Though the percentage of pigs is lower than in the Saxon period, it is nevertheless very high, indeed higher than in any of the the sites included in the surveys by Albarella (2006) and Serjeantson (2009: Figure 7.4). In England only Carisbrooke Castle and Launceston Castle have comparable numbers (Albarella and Davis 2000; Smith 2000). The percentage is similar to that found in high status 11th- and 12th-century assemblages in France (Sykes 2007: Figure 6). The English sites with large numbers of pigs seem to be those where Norman influence was most direct. As pigs were fattened in woodland throughout the Middle Ages, the greater amount of pannage available, the more pigs could be raised. Domesday book records that the six parishes immediately around St Albans had pannage for 3700 pigs and that the abbey itself owned forests that provided pannage for 7000 pigs (Hunn 1994; Toms 1962: 20). These will have no doubt fattened the many pigs consumed at the abbey in both Saxon and Norman times. The very high percentage of pig remains at St Albans confirms the evidence of the game that the establishment was a wealthy one in the 8th and 9th centuries and also in the 11th–12th century. The pigs suggest less wealth at Eynsham.

Wild birds

The consumption of wild birds, like the consumption of game, pork and young animals, was a sign of social status (Serjeantson 2006). This was partly because they were often hunted with hawks, itself a highly prestigious activity. After the Conquest, access to wild birds was restricted which further enhanced their prestige. Like game, wild birds were appropriate to serve at feasts.

The percentage of wild birds compared with domestic is surprisingly low (five per cent) in the pre-minster levels at Eynsham (EA 2b), though their presence confirms that hawking took place. The other Saxon assemblages have just a handful of bones of wild birds. (The apparently high percentage in the early 11th century (EA 2e) should be regarded with reserve as the sample size is small.) After crow or rook, the most frequent wild bird is crane. Bones of this large bird were found in both abbeys and in seven of the ten assemblages. Crane remains have also been found on many other Anglo-Saxon sites, including West Stow, Brandon and Wicken Bonhunt and it was particularly common on ecclesiastical sites dating from before the 12th century. It may have been favoured by the religious for the symbolism which linked its annual return in spring to the Resurrection (Sykes 2004a). The crane could be hunted by the largest hawks and was also trapped and netted. Remains of thrushes, also caught by falconers and eaten just as were larger game birds, were only recovered from the pre-minster pit at Eynsham and from the Norman deposits at St Albans. Like herring, they are mostly found when careful sampling takes place (Serjeantson 2001).

The wild birds at Eynsham in the late 7th/early 8th century (EA 2b) were regarded as possible evidence for falconry. Recently Wallis (2017) has demonstrated that falconry was known from early Anglo-Saxon times. Hawking is therefore the most likely source of the wild birds other than woodcock from both abbeys. A few raptor bones from falconers' birds were found at Eynsham: a possible sparrowhawk in the Aelfrician deposits (EA 2d) and a large hawk, possibly a goshawk, in the late 11th century (EA 3a). At St Albans the skeleton of a hawk was found in the mid-Saxon ditch; it was too heavily concreted to be identified to species.

In the Norman period at St Albans nearly a quarter of bird remains were from wild birds (Figure 4). This is many more than at Eynsham with only nine and seven per cent respectively of wild birds in the Norman occupation phases (EA 3a and EA 3b). The finds from both abbeys are from a range of waterfowl, game birds and thrushes. The diversity of species is confirmation that most were caught by hawking.

Remains of corvids - jackdaw, raven, crow and/or rook - were also quite common at both abbeys. The corvids were regarded as unclean and so were avoided as food. Like the horse, ravens and crows were associated with the pagan European gods (Green 1992). However, they were caught by hawking, as they were regarded as good sport. The fact that corvid bones are found with domestic rubbish was once thought to be because they were killed as unwelcome scavengers (Serjeantson 2006) but it is equally likely that they were present because they had been caught by hawking.

The wild birds are evidence of the wealth and status of the two abbeys. While some wild birds were eaten at both abbeys, Norman St Albans stands out as having more than most other sites.

Marine and high status fish

As well as being a mark of piety, the consumption of marine fish, especially fresh marine fish such as flatfish, was the mark of a wealthy establishment (Serjeantson and Woolgar 2006).

The only luxury fish eaten at mid- and late Saxon Eynsham was the pike already referred to. It is the second most numerous fish after eels. Pike would have been served at feasts. In the Aelfrician abbey of the 11th century (EA 2f), just two bones of marine fish were recovered, all of the cod family, showing the abbey's participation in the fish trade.

After the Conquest, there is a strong contrast between Eynsham and St Albans in the species eaten (Figure 2). At Eynsham the range of fish increased but less than the numbers suggest, as it is likely that species

	Anguilla anguilla	Clupea harengus	Esox lucius	Gadus morhua	Pleuronectidae
Vomer	2				
Parasphenoid				1	
Articular					2
Dentary	2	1	4	3	2
Ectopterygoid				1	
Maxilla		1		3	1
Premaxilla				2	
Quadrate			1		
Ceratohyal		1			1
Epihyal		1			
Hyomandibular					4
Interopercular					2
Opercular				1	
Preopercular					2
Urohyal			1		1
Lower pharyngeal			1		
Cleithra			3	3	2
Anterior abdominal vert				5	
Posterior abdominal vert		1		10	1
Caudal vert	5			8	6
Anal pterygoid					4
Scale		10	1		
Total	**9**	**5**	**10**	**37**	**28**

Table 10. St Albans Abbey, 11th–12th century (SAA 13): parts of the body of eel, herring, pike, cod and flatfish.

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such as the stickleback were not eaten but were gut contents of the pike that the cook disposed of on the kitchen floor. Pike, the third most frequent fish after herring and eel, was again the main luxury fish; there was also evidence for sturgeon. A dump of shells from nearly 900 oysters was recovered from deposits associated with the reformed 12th century abbey (EA 3b). Like the marine fish, they show an increase in purchased food (Light 2003).

At the same time at St Albans most of the fish consumed were from the sea. Cod was most frequent. Though most would have been preserved, the presence of some head bones (Table 10) show that some were eaten fresh. Flatfish, including turbot, were also eaten in quantity. East coast ports such as Great Yarmouth, where in later centuries St Albans had a fish house, probably supplied the marine fish. While the variety and apparent quantity of the larger fish eaten reflects wealth, it also no doubt reflects the taste of the abbot Paul who, having lived in from Caen, would be accustomed to eating marine fish.

Sucking pig, veal, lamb, capons and pullets

The age at which the domestic animals were slaughtered to provision the abbeys provides further clues to their status. Consumption of pigs below the age of a year, before that at which they were normally killed for bacon was a luxury, as was the consumption of veal and lamb, since cattle were also needed for milk and traction and sheep for wool and milk. Eating pullets rather than hens is also a luxury. Even the sex of the animals is telling: the selections of boars rather than sows and of capons (cocks fattened for the pot) rather than hens suggest wealth.

The age at death of pigs, sheep and cattle at Eynsham and St Albans is shown in Figure 7. The pigs from both abbeys seem to have been killed at similar ages, which are broadly similar to the trend for the period (Albarella 2006, Sykes 2007, fig. 35). At Eynsham a few pigs below one year were eaten in the Saxon period. However, young pigs make up as many as a third of those eaten at the reformed abbey (EA 2f). At St Albans, for both Saxon phases combined (SAA 3 + SAA 4), the data suggest just over 10 per cent of pigs were slaughtered during the first year of life, while about 70 per cent were slaughtered by two and a half years. Only about ten per cent of the pigs eaten were of breeding age (Table 11).

Few young pigs were eaten in the Norman abbeys at St Albans (Table 12) but contemporary Eynsham (EA 3a) has a high percentage of pigs killed in the first year. As the other features of the occupation do not denote wealth at the time, this is counter to what might be expected. The first abbey phase (EA 3b) has fewer young pigs.

It is in quantity rather than age that cattle contrast between the two abbeys. Fewer cattle were eaten at St Albans than at Eynsham, especially in the Norman period: at Eynsham cattle are 35–40 per cent, but at St Albans a paltry eight per cent of the mammal bones. While boars' heads were a luxury, the heads of cattle and sheep were poor men's food. It is notable that few teeth and skull fragments of either were present among the food remains from St Albans in either the Saxon and Norman periods (Tables 7, 8 and 9). At Eynsham too there were many more teeth and head fragments of pigs than of cattle and sheep.

The age at death of the cattle suggests that at both abbeys in the Saxon period most meat was eaten as beef rather than veal (Figure 7). The ages of slaughter are a little younger in later centuries than earlier. This is against the overall trend, which is for cattle to be culled at an older age after the Conquest (Sykes 2007: Figure 37). However, as many as one-fifth of cattle bones are from veal calves at St Albans in the 11th–12th century, further evidence that it was a wealthy abbey.

The age at which the sheep were killed (Figure 7) is also similar between sites and phases except that again 11th-12th century St Albans (SAA 13) is an exception. There, a high percentage of the sheep were eaten as lamb rather than as mutton. These are further sign of the luxurious eating at the table of the Norman abbots.

Pig: Age at Death
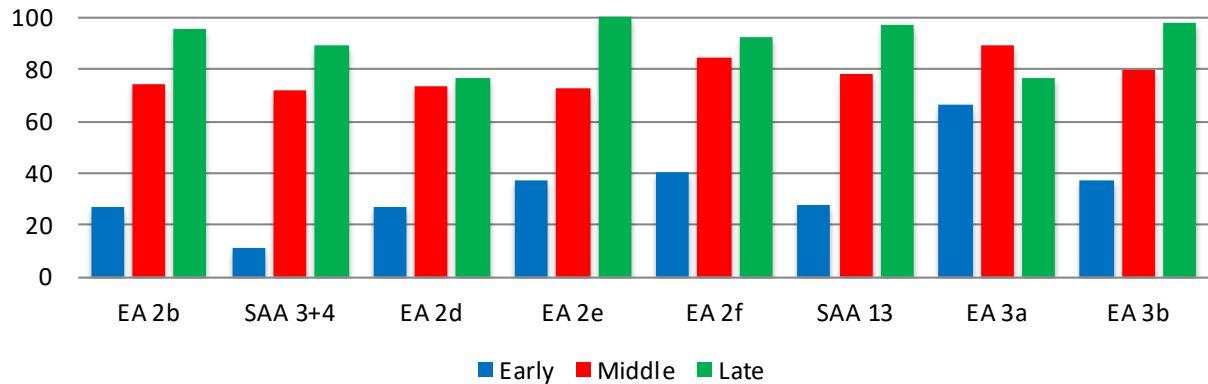
Cattle: Age at Death
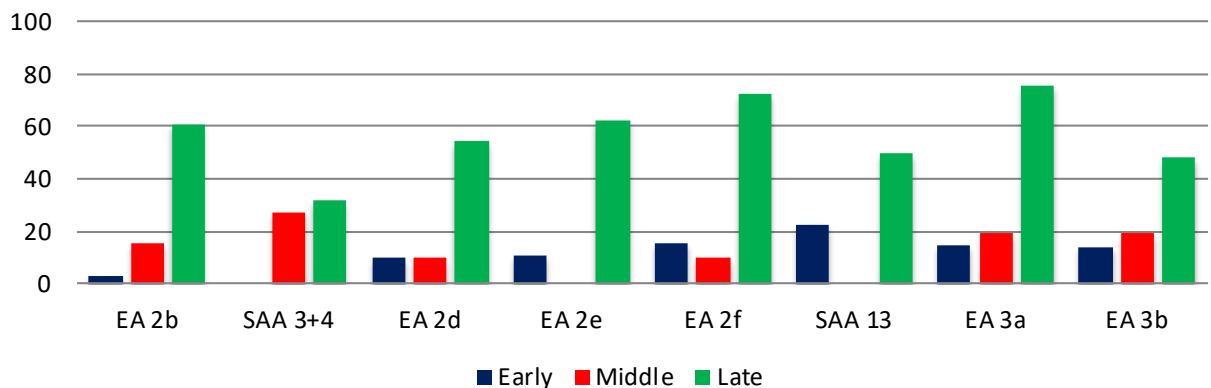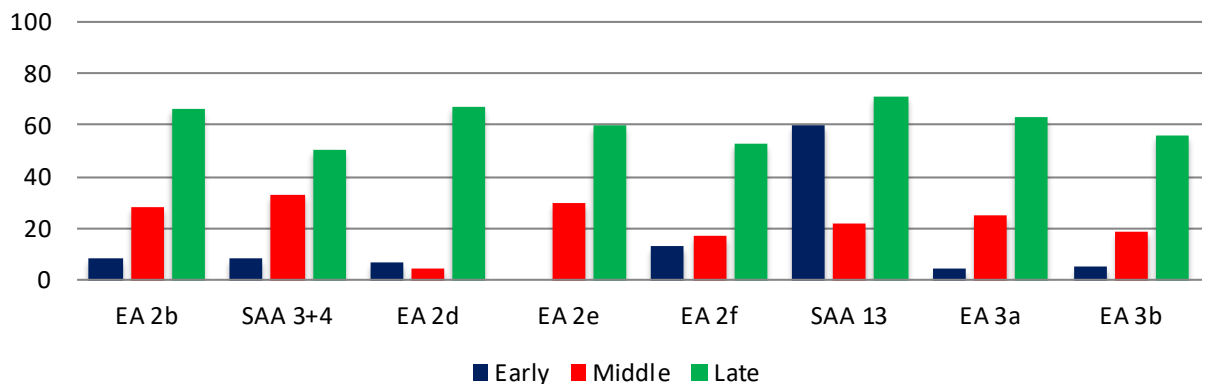

Sheep: Age at Death

Figure 7. Age at death of pig, cattle and sheep, based on epiphyseal fusion (per cent). Data from Mulville (2003, tab. 10.3, 10.4 and 10.5), Ayres, Locker et al. (2003, 10.28, 10.31 and 10.34), tables 11 and 12. Eynsham phase EA 2e is omitted as sample size is very small.

The proportion of pullets (evidenced by immature bones) increased at Eynsham from ten per cent in the mid-Saxon deposits to 30 per cent in the late Saxon. In Norman St Albans nearly about half of all chickens killed were immature (Table 13). Some immature bones show that young 'green' geese were eaten there.

At mid-Saxon St Albans, the ratio of boars to sows, calculated from the canine teeth and alveoli, show that two to three times as many boars were eaten. At Eynsham the ratio was more equal between male and

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PIG	Fused	Unfused	Age of Fusion
Humerus distal	6	0	1 yr.
Radius proximal	11	3	1 yr.
Phalanx 2 Proximal	7	0	1 yr.
Total Early Fusing	24	3	
Phalanx 1 proximal	12	7	2 yrs.
Metacarpus distal	3	15	2 yrs.
Tibia distal	8	8	2 yrs.
Metatarsus distal	7	23	2.5 yrs.
Metapodium distal	6	29	2-2.5 yrs.
Calcaneus tuber	1	8	2-2.5 yrs.
Fibula distal	0	5	2.5 yrs.
Total Middle Fusing	37	95	
Ulna proximal	1	9	3-3.5 yrs.
Ulna distal	1	5	3-3.5 yrs.
Humerus proximal	0	5	3.5 yrs.
Radius distal	0	1	3.5 yrs.
Femur proximal	1	10	3.5 yrs.
Femur distal	1	3	3.5 yrs.
Tibia proximal	1	6	3.5 yrs.
Fibula proximal		1	3.5 yrs.
Total Late Fusing	5	40	
CATTLE	Fused	Unfused	Age of Fusion
Humerus distal	5	1	10 mo.
Radius proximal	7	0	10 mo.
Total Early Fusing	12	1	
Tibia distal	8	4	1.5-2 yrs.
Total Middle Fusing	8	4	
Calcaneus tuber	1	0	2.5-3 yrs.
Radius distal	0	1	3 yrs.
Humerus proximal	1	0	3-3.5 yrs.
Femur distal	1	3	3-3.5 yrs.
Tibia proximal	1	0	3-3.5 yrs.
Total Late Fusing	4	4	
SHEEP/GOAT	Fused	Unfused	Age of Fusion
Humerus distal	7	0	1-1.5 yrs.
Radius proximal	15	0	1-1.5 yrs.
First Phalanx proximal	3	0	1.5 yrs
Total Early Fusing	25	0	
Tibia distal	7	1	2-2.5 yrs.
Metatarsus distal	1	1	2.5-3 yrs.
Metapodium distal	0	1	2-3 yrs.
Total Middle Fusing	8	3	
Femur proximal	4	4	3.5 yrs.
Humerus proximal	2	0	3.5-4 yrs.
Radius distal	3	0	3.5-4 yrs.
Ulna proximal	1	0	3.5-4 yrs.
Ulna distal	1	0	3.5-4 yrs.
Femur distal	0	1	3.5-4 yrs.
Tibia proximal	2	1	3.5-4 yrs.
Total Late Fusing	13	6	

Table 11. St Albans Abbey, late 7th–9th century (SAA 3 + 4): fusion of pig, cattle and sheep/goat bones.

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PIG	Fused	Fusing	Unfused	Very juvenile
Scapula	2		2	1
Humerus D			2	1
Radius P	2		2	
Tibia D			2	
MC III	1		6	
Humerus P	1		1	
Radius D	2		1	
Ulna P			1	
Femur P		1	2	
Femur D				
Tibia P			2	
Fibula D	1		6	
Total	9	1	27	2
CATTLE	Fused	Fusing	Unfused	Very juvenile
Pelvis	1			
Scapula	5			
Humerus D		1		
Radius P			1	
Phalanx 1	1			
Tibia D			1	
MP D			1	
Humerus P	1		1	
Ulna P	1			
Femur P		1		
Femur D	1		1	
Total	10	2	5	
SHEEP/GOAT	Fused	Fusing	Unfused	Very juvenile
Scapula	2		2	1
Humerus D	3	1		
Radius P	7			
Tibia D	5	4	3	
Metacarpal D	3		2	
Metatarsal D				
Humerus P		1	1	
Radius D	1		2	
Ulna P			3	
Femur P	3		2	1
Femur D	1		3	1
Tibia P			3	
Calcaneus	6		10	
Total	31	6	31	3

Table 12. St Albans Abbey, 11th–12th century (SAA 13): fusion of pig, cattle and sheep/goat bones.

	Fused	Fusing	Unfused	Total	% immature
EA 2b		2	3	5	100.0
EA 3a	12	1	23	36	67.6
SAA 13	6		7	13	53.8
EA 3b	6	1	15	22	73.9

Table 13. Pre-minster phase at Eynsham (EA 2b), post-Conquest phase at Eynsham (EA 3a), Norman St Albans (SAA 13) and the refounded Norman abbey at Eynsham (EA 3b): age at death of domestic chickens, based on the tarsometatarsus.

female pigs in earlier phases but more boars were eaten was in the Aelfrician period (Mulville 2003: Table 10.7).

Capons, which were sought after for banquets, can be identified from the tarsometatarsus, which

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shows a spur in mature cocks and a spur scar in young ones. Of the adult birds at Saxon Eynsham, two of four tarsometatarsi are spurred. At St Albans in the Norman period, four of nine tarsometatarsi are from capons, while at Eynsham in the Norman period only two of 13 tarsometatarsi are spurred in the immediate post-Conquest occupation (EA 3a) but two of five in the reformed abbey (EA 3b) (Ayres *et al.* 2003: Table 10.37). Even the chickens distinguish the wealth of St Albans when compared to Eynsham.

The various markers of wealth vary at both abbeys at different times, and they are though sometimes contradictory. St Albans in Norman times stands out as having most of the marks of wealth discussed here.

Discussion and conclusions

It is clear from the various aspects of food consumption discussed that the individual assemblages from Eynsham and St Albans do not reveal a consistent transition from the Saxon to the Norman period. While some features such as increased consumption of fish and birds, especially chickens, and the first evidence for fallow deer are typical of the changes following the Conquest, other features are untypical. Rather, each occupation phase has its own characteristics, reflecting the wealth, piety and also the environment.

The interpretation of the 'pre-minster' settlement at Eynsham (EA 2b) as wealthy was based to a large degree on the animal bones, especially the deer and the birds. This re-analysis suggests that it might already have been a minster because of the absence of evidence for the consumption of horse flesh and the unusually large number of chickens eaten. It is tempting to see the birds as marking a move by the inhabitants away from the meat feasts beloved of the Anglo-Saxons and an early adoption of the church's dietary rules.

The animal foods consumed at the minster at Eynsham throughout the Saxon period show a degree of wealth, based on the deer and also the remains of crane. The predominance of roe over red deer characterizes it as an ecclesiastical household but the absence of fish and the moderate quantities of chickens and other birds suggest the Benedictine observance seen in some other abbeys had not yet been fully adopted. The influence of the local environment is seen in the freshwater fish and waterfowl that would have been common at this riverine site.

Though the buildings of the 8th to 9th century at St Albans are unknown, the animal bone assemblage from the ditch suggests that the establishment there was wealthy and substantial, probably more so than Eynsham. It has signs of being wealthier than some other contemporary religious houses, as might be expected if it was founded by the Mercian king. The percentages of pigs and roe deer are uniquely high – even taking into account that the abundance of animals that lived in or fed in woodlands must have been due partly to the large woodland holdings of the abbey and its local manors. The visitors to the site – or perhaps the abbot – engaged in falconry. However, as at Eynsham, the evidence for dietary piety is not strong with only a modest percentage of birds, and no evidence for fish.

The early 11th century Aelfrician abbey at Eynsham (EA 2f) shows some changes from the earlier minster that denote wealth: as well as an increase in the quantity of game, the cook was selecting boars rather than sows and capons rather than old hens. Piety – together with a requirement for their wing feathers as quills – may account for the relatively large numbers of geese, but as far as we can tell, it did not extend to eating fish in quantity. Rather, the diet reflects the abbey's high status during its brief 11th century flowering.

In the Norman period the contrast between the two abbeys is much greater. The bone remains from Eynsham in the late 11th century help to resolve the contradictory documentary records. The establishment seems to have been observant, to judge by the quantities of fish and eggs consumed, confirming that it probably had an ecclesiastical function. The diet in the refounded 12th century

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abbey was typical monastic fare for the time. The fish included preserved cod and herring, a lot of chickens and eggs, and moderate quantities of game, showing both observance and relative wealth.

By contrast the food remains from Norman St Albans reveal a household that was clearly very wealthy. Exceptional quantities of game, pigs and freshwater fish consumed, and with more than a fifth of all birds eaten being those caught in the wild. The continuity from the 8th–9th to the 11th century at St Albans in the consumption of roe deer and pigs suggests that the wooded character of Hertfordshire continued to influence diet. Particularly intriguing is the fact that the food regime mirrors contemporary French wealthy households. The large numbers of pig remains and the relatively large quantity of hare can be seen as Abbot Paul stamping his influence on the foods served, following the habits of his young life as a monk at Caen under Lanfranc (Biddle 1977). He was also meeting his obligation of hospitality to visitors, which, in view of his contacts, are likely to have included the king and the archbishop. The fish – and the large percentage of birds overall – mark St Albans out as an observant as well as a wealthy household at the time.

Despite the pious intention of St Benedict of Nursia, ecclesiastical establishments in England in the Middle Ages always included flesh meat in the diet. It may have been fed more regularly to visitors and to the the young and the sick than to the religious members of the household and it may have been avoided on fast days but the animal remains from all medieval religious houses show that flesh meat was eaten regularly and apparently not in lesser quantity than in secular households.

Food remains have often been analysed with the aim of interpreting food production but here we have been examining households where food was consumed rather than produced. The minsters and abbeys could select from the animal raised and caught on their estates and could purchase food in the market. The assemblages from each abbey at different times showed different influences on their food choices and different capacities to obtain luxury foods by which they could exhibit their piety or wealth.

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Kathy Ayres (Dagless) had a BA in Archaeology from Reading and an MA from Leicester University. Her first post in the 1990s was with the Faunal Remains Unit at Southampton University. She was then employed by Surrey County Council Archaeology Unit as their finds specialist. Later, she moved into heritage fundraising, working for the Institute of Historical Research and Winchester Cathedral. From 2011 she worked for the Maritime Archaeology Trust in Southampton for whom she secured nearly £2m in funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund.

The Versatility of *Triticum turgidum* (rivet wheat) as a Crop in Medieval England

Mark Robinson

Summary

This chapter presents the results of a cultivation experiment undertaken to investigate the versatility of *Triticum turgidum* (rivet wheat) and to better understand the cultivation strategies of medieval farmers. The historical and archaeological background to the study is reviewed. The results of the experiment demonstrate that rivet wheat would have had the potential to have been a more versatile crop in late Anglo-Saxon and medieval England than has been generally assumed by archaeobotanists although the degree to which this versatility was exploited is uncertain.

Keywords: Wheat, Medieval England, Experimental archaeology, Grain

David Hinton was an early influence on how I became both an excavator and an environmental archaeologist. I first came to know him in 1971 at Oxford, when I was a biology undergraduate with a strong interest in archaeology, and he was an Assistant Keeper of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum, who was helping co-ordinate recue archaeology on the route of the M40. He had the task of looking after a group of over-enthusiastic members of the Oxford University Archaeological Society excavating part of a medieval village at Tetsworth. In what was very much a pioneering aspect of the excavation, soil samples were sieved and some carbonised cereal grain discovered. I identified them with reference to some ears of modern cereals which he had originally gathered to enliven a museum display (Robinson 1973: 108–110). In the light of what follows below, it was fortunate that no attempt was made to name the wheat further than *Triticum* sp., although it can now be added that the grain was from a free-threshing variety (where the grain can readily be extracted from the ears when ripe rather than, as in spelt wheat, tightly clasped by the glumes).

Bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), a free-threshing hexaploid wheat, was long regarded as the only wheat grown in medieval Britain. Indeed, when the estate records of the Bishopric of Winchester were studied in relation to medieval agriculture, *frumentum* was simply translated as 'wheat' (Titow 1972). Wheat is presented as a single category of grain in Hallam *et al.* (1988) when the cereals cultivated in medieval England and Wales were considered. With the onset of flotation as a means of recovery of carbonised crop remains from excavations in the mid-1970s, this assumption appeared to be confirmed: the wheat grains retrieved were free-threshing and resembled bread wheat (Figure 1). However, following the development by G. Hillman (1983) of criteria for the identification of free-threshing wheat rachises, a free-threshing variety of tetraploid wheat was identified on some medieval sites alongside *T. aestivum* even though their grains were indistinguishable (Moffett 1991). It was thought likely to be *Triticum turgidum* (rivet wheat), which was known from early post-medieval documentary evidence and continued as a minor crop in Britain until the mid-20th century, rather than *Triticum durum* (macaroni wheat), for which there is no evidence of its ever being a crop in the British Isles. Moffett initially recorded carbonised *T. turgidum*-type rachis from 16 medieval sites (Moffett 1991: 240). Subsequently she and other archaeobotanists have made many finds (Figure 2). It appears to have been a less common crop than bread wheat but has been found mainly south of a line roughly from Chester to Ipswich throughout the medieval period (Moffett 2006: 49). The analysis of surviving late medieval to early post-medieval soot encrusted thatch has both provided further sites with tetraploid free-threshing wheat and enabled the identity of the wheat to be confirmed as *T. turgidum* rather than *T. durum* (Letts 1999: 35–38). Radiocarbon dating of carbonised grain from Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire) has shown that this wheat was also being cultivated in England prior to the Norman Conquest (Moffett 2011: 350).
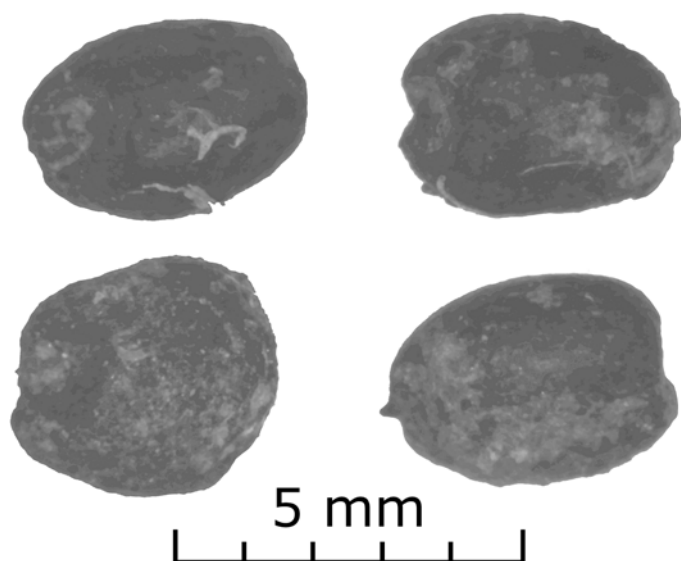
Figure 1: Carbonised grain of free-threshing *Triticum sp.* (wheat). West Cotton, Saxon or early medieval.

Figure 2: Carbonised rachises of *Triticum turgidum* (rivet wheat) (left) and *Triticum aestivum* (bread wheat) (right). West Cotton, Saxon or early medieval.

Anglo-Saxon and medieval assemblages of carbonised wheat tend to be very grain-rich, with few rachis fragments. This is because both bread and rivet wheat are free-threshing, so the rachis remains attached to the straw at the first stage of threshing when the grain is removed from the ear (unlike, for example, spelt wheat, which is a hulled wheat). Medieval cereal remains tend to become carbonised as a result of the accidental burning of threshed crops, accidents when grain is being dried to harden it so it can be ground and the disposal of waste from the later stages of grain cleaning. Even when rachis material is present in quantity, as for example in the late Saxon contexts at West Cotton (Northamptonshire), much of it cannot be differentiated (Campbell 1994: 73–74). It is therefore difficult to establish the relative importance of the two wheat species when remains of both are found on a site. All the finds of charred *T. turgidum* and of *T. turgidum* straw in thatch so far have been in company with *T. aestivum* (Letts 1999: 52–59; Moffett 2011: 351). While most assemblages were probably the result of the threshing of more than a single crop, it raises the possibility that the two wheats were sometimes grown together as a mixed crop (a maslin in the broad sense).

The general archaeobotanical opinions about *T. turgidum* cultivation in medieval Britain (e.g. Moffett 2006: 47–9) are that is has the virtues of a high yield, tall strong straw, long awns which discourage bird damage to the ears and a good resistance to fungal diseases such as smuts. However, it suffers from the drawbacks that its flour is 'weak' so is not so good as that of *T. aestivum* for bread making, it requires to be autumn sown (i.e. it is a winter wheat), needs a long growing season and only ripens well in warm summers. These views seem largely to have been derived from the monograph 'The Wheat Plant' by John Percival (1921). He states that to ensure the greatest success with *T. turgidum* in England, it should be sown no later than the middle of October on warm, well-drained soils; when sown in spring it ripens very late and the grain at harvest is often poorly filled (Percival 1934: 89). Lupton (1954) states that the only possible application of *T. turgidum* to British agriculture is as a winter wheat.

However, what Percival was doing was attempting to bring together as many different varieties of wheat as possible so he could describe them and, in some cases, test their agricultural potential. Many of the varieties were landraces, crops from particular localities which had been selected over many generations by farmers because they grew well under the conditions which prevailed in their locality. By the time Percival was collecting, only one or two varieties of rivet wheat were to be found on British farms and their cultivation was restricted (Percival 1921: 241–242), the majority of the varieties he obtained had not been selected to grow under British conditions.

The cultivation experiment

The author already had experience of cultivating old varieties of wheat including 'Rampton', the last variety of *T. turgidum* to be grown commercially in Britain (Bell 1948: 66–67) and 'April Bearded', a spring variety of *T. aestivum* descended from an old Welsh landrace (Scholten *et al.* 2011: 61). They were grown on a calcareous sandy clay soil over Oxford Clay at Farmoor, Oxford. The Rampton wheat displayed the virtues described for rivet wheat but it also had the properties of a winter cereal, spring plantings resulted in its coming into ear very late and a failure to yield grain.

In 1997, the author was given a few grains of a French variety of *T. turgidum* under the variety name of 'Poulard' (although this is an alternative name to rivet) with the comment that it was a tough versatile form. They were planted in the autumn of 1997, experienced no problems with winter cold and yielded a sufficient harvest in 1998 for a larger-scale experiment. The variety showed branching of the ear, a feature of some forms of rivet wheat.

It was necessary to plant a plot of wheat in the spring of 1999 to provide material as a back-up for a student project. It was decided that this provided the opportunity to investigate the versatility of the newly acquired rivet wheat.

The first aim was to establish whether this wheat could be grown successfully from a spring sowing in England. One of the varieties of *T. turgidum* sent to Percival from Spain, 'Trigo Santa Salamanca' was described as a spring form (Percival 1921: 248). The spring rivet variety 'Alaska' was grown as a very minor crop in the United States in the early 20th century as a feed for stock (Clarke and Bayles 1935, 136-7). However, in both these examples, it was being grown under much warmer summer conditions than in England.[1]

Figure 3: Rows of wheat on trial plot.

Figure 4: Wheats coming into ear on trial plot.

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[1] The name 'Alaska' was given to the variety to imply spring cold hardiness, it was not grown in the US state of Alaska.

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The second aim was to show whether it was possible to grow *T. turgidum* as a mixed crop with *T. aestivum*. Mixed cereal crops were popular in medieval England, the Winchester Pipe Roll refers to both maslin (wheat and rye) and mancorn (wheat and barley) (Page 1996: 6, 165). However, this is not simply a matter of showing that they can be grown together without one outcompeting the other. They both have to ripen at the same time after being sown together and they need to have similar length straw to facilitate harvesting and threshing.

	Triticum turgidum		*Triticum aestivum*
No. of Grains Planted	100		100
Date Planted	11/04/99		11/04/99
Emerged	23/04/99		23/04/99
No. of Plants		196	
No. of Plants to Reach Maturity	88		83
In Ear	02/07/99		29/06/99
Flowering	07/07/99		04/07/99
Ripe	15/08/99		12/08/99
Harvested	15/09/99		15/08/99
Average Height	1.01m		0.945m
No Ears	115		196
Average No. Grains / Ear	83.6		40.0
Total Grains Harvested	9614		7840
Total Yield	384gm		278gm

Table 1: Details of Wheat Cultivation Trial

Figure 5: Ripe ears of Triticum turgidum (rivet wheat) (front two) and Triticum aestivum (bread wheat) 'April Bearded' (others).

The variety of *T. aestivum* chosen to grow with the *T. turgidum* was 'April Bearded'. Unlike most modern cultivars of *T. aestivum*, it is tall-growing and, as its name implies, performs well from a spring sowing. A rectangular plot of 2m² was prepared at the start of April to give a fine tilth. 100 grains of each species were mixed and sown evenly in five rows (Figures 3–5). Dates for stages in their growth and the results are given in Table 1. Germination was particularly good. Some plants failed to reach maturity. The crop was weeded regularly to ensure that the wheat plants were not overwhelmed by weeds but weeds were never entirely eradicated. In comparison to field cultivation, small experimental plots experience considerable stronger edge effects. In this case, the vegetation surrounding the plot was kept low, which would probably have had the effect of enhancing the productivity of the crop. Small plots of tall wheat are also vulnerable to lodging so strings were placed along the rows for support. Five ripening ears were lost to rodents and a further five to birds. Once bird damage was observed, the crop was protected by netting on 25 July 1999 because it was feared they would consume the entire crop. When the wheat was harvested, it had the appearance of a dense well-grown crop.

Discussion

Experimental archaeology only ever shows what was possible rather than what actually happened. The results do, however, show that there is a modern variety of *Triticum turgidum* which both gives a useful yield and ripens at an appropriate time for harvest from a spring sowing. The experiment also showed that there is an extant variety of *Triticum aestivum* which can be grown as a mixed crop with the *T. turgidum* variety from a single sowing, neither variety outgrowing the other, both growing to a relatively similar height with sufficiently close ripening dates that they can be harvested together.

There remain the questions as to why medieval farmers should even have wished to grow rivet wheat as spring sown crop or as a mixed crop with bread wheat. The advantages and disadvantages of rivet wheat in relation to bread wheat have already been presented. There are probably two main benefits

from sowing some wheat in the spring as well as in the autumn even though yields are likely to be lower (Percival 1934: 878) and these benefits are equally applicable to bread wheat. Firstly, it allows for labour to be spread, not all the ploughing needs to be done in the autumn, spring-sown wheat ripens slightly later than autumn-sown wheat so the harvest period is extended. Secondly, it enables risk to be spread. A winter that is harsh to an autumn-sown crop may be followed by a spring favourable to April-sown wheat: the former crop performs badly but the latter crop performs well. Under extreme conditions, an autumn crop which fails can be ploughed up and the land planted again in the spring. Obviously, there will also be occasions when an autumn-sown crop grows well and a spring-sown crop does badly, for example due to a spring drought.

Reducing the risk of crop failure is also a reason for growing mixed cereal crops (Jones and Halstead 1995: 111). The bread and rivet wheat will have slightly different ecological requirements such that in some years conditions will favour one species and in other years the second species. *Triticum durum* (macaroni wheat) and *T. aestivum* are grown as a mixed crop on the Greek island of Amorgos, the macaroni wheat being the more drought-resistant of the two (Jones and Halstead 1995: 105–109).

The mixed product of a mixed crop would obviously have to have been usable in that state, for example dredge (barley and oats) was malted for beer production (Galloway 1998: 98). Rivet wheat could have been substituted for many of the uses of bread wheat but, as noted, its 'weak' flour (flour with a low gluten content) means that it is not so good for bread making. In late 19th century or early 20th century Britain rivet wheat was sometimes mixed with 'strong' Canadian bread wheat to give flour of the appropriate 'strength' for baking (Percival 1921: 241). Such a mixture of grain could also have been achieved by growing a mixed crop.

Conclusions

The cultivation experiment demonstrated that rivet wheat would have had the potential to have been a more versatile crop in late Anglo-Saxon and medieval England than has been generally assumed by archaeobotanists although the degree to which this versatility was exploited is uncertain. The archaeological evidence of rivet wheat remains always being found in company with bread wheat raised the suggestion that it was grown as a mixture with bread wheat, This has been confirmed as possible. In medieval England, wheat was primarily grown as a winter cereal (Moffett 2006: 48). There has not been sufficient work on weed seed assemblages associated with rivet wheat remains to provide evidence as to whether it was ever grown as a spring crop but it has been shown that this would also have been possible.

One more general point emerges from the results. Some ancient crops which are now only represented by a few surviving cultivars very probably had a much greater range of tolerance and capabilities than are summed up by their extant cultivars. The varieties of rivet wheat known to Percival (1921) did not include the one investigated here and it had been assumed from his review of the species that it was not a viable spring crop in Britain.

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Approaching Bodiam and Scotney: A Comparison

Matthew Johnson

Summary

This paper offers some thoughts on the routes and approaches that connected Bodiam and Scotney with the surrounding landscape in the later Middle Ages. These two sites in the Weald of southeastern England were studied as part of a recent project whose team members David Hinton has generously encouraged and supported over many years. My paper builds on fieldwork on the immediate landscape context of these sites, in particular the reassessment of routes of access to Bodiam from the northwest rather than the extensively discussed hypothetical route from the south. It argues that approaches to these two places share more similarities than previously recognized – moving from points above the site looking down, running alongside water features, and incorporating elements of the working landscape in the setting. Of course, recognition of 'designed landscapes' in the Middle Ages is nothing new, but the formal similarities between Bodiam and Scotney in particular have not been explored before, and offer new insight into what makes these places so distinctive.

Keywords: Bodiam, Scotney, Ightham, Designed landscape, Medieval

Introduction

This paper discusses the form, interpretation and lived experience of the routes of approach to two late medieval buildings, the castles of Bodiam (East Sussex) and Scotney (Kent); brief reference is also made to the house of Ightham Mote (Kent) (Figure 1). All three sites lie within or on the edges of the Weald, the name given to a distinctive landscape type of south-east England. Bodiam is the best known and most discussed of these sites, but Scotney and Ightham offer observations and insights that are just as engaging to the scholar, and when taken together, an understanding of these places offers a fresh contribution to the long-standing discussions of 'designed landscapes' in the later Middle Ages. In what follows, I draw parallels between the immediate landscape context of these places and ask what these parallels mean.
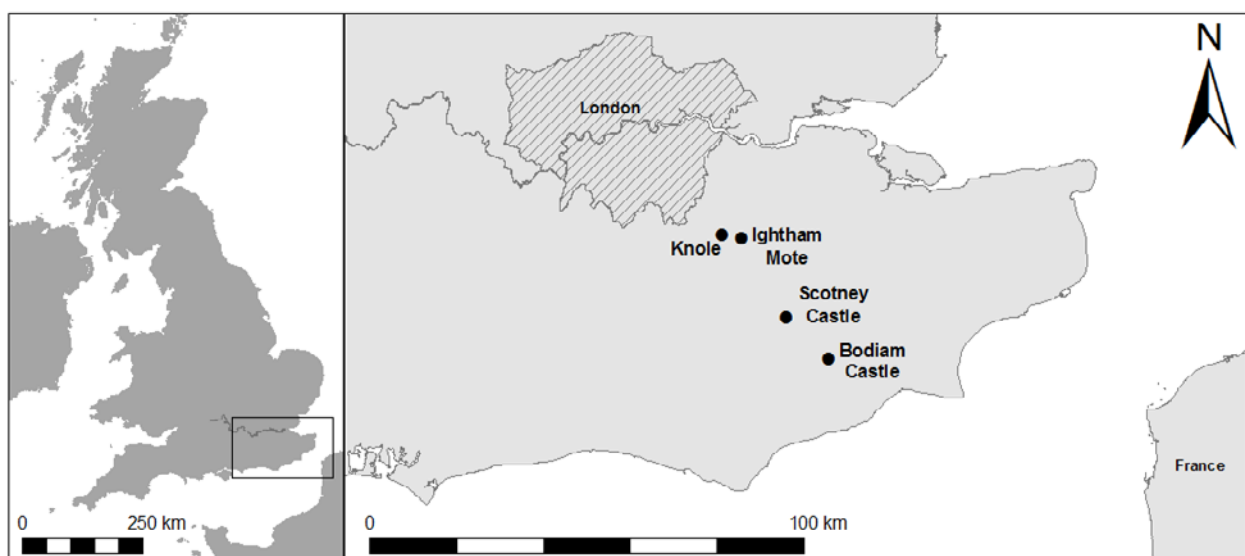
Figure 1: Location of sites mentioned in text. Drawing by Penny Copeland.

In doing so, I draw on extensive survey work carried out by a University of Southampton-Northwestern University team, in partnership with the National Trust, since 2009, recently published (M. Johnson ed. 2017a). The reader will find in that published volume more detailed presentation and discussion of the evidence drawn upon here (see especially Chapters Two, Four, Six and Eight: James *et al.* 2017, Barker *et al.* 2017, E. Johnson *et al.* 2017, M. Johnson *et al.* 2017). I also draw on the findings of the team led by Paul Drury set out in the 2016 Conservation Management Plan (CMP) commissioned by the National Trust (Drury and Copeman 2016). Electronic versions of both the volume and the CMP can be found at the project website, http://sites.northwestern.edu/medieval-buildings/.

The general proposition that the routes of approach to medieval elite buildings were carefully considered and composed is a very familiar one. Several decades of work have established the idea of 'designed landscapes' (Creighton 2009; Liddiard 2005). The term 'designed landscapes' has been a controversial one (Liddiard and Williamson 2009) and in our 2017 publication we reassessed the concept with reference to theoretical ideas of lived experience (Gillings 2012; Hamilton *et al.* 2006; Ingold 2000; 2010; Johnson 2012; 2013; Tilley 1994; 2004; 2008 comprise a small sample of a vast literature). Here, I first present the evidence from the two sites before discussing what it might all mean.

Approaching Bodiam

Bodiam is the most discussed late medieval castle in England and probably Europe; its interpretation has become a central case-study in the now classic, and I would argue somwewhat stale and misconceived, 'defence versus status' debate over the purpose and function of medieval castle design (Creighton and Liddiard 2008; Coulson 1992; Johnson 2002; Platt 2007). The near-symmetrical courtyard castle was constructed in the 1380s by Sir Edward Dallingridge. It has long been accepted that, along with the masonry of the castle itself, elements of a carefully composed, designed landscape were laid out. The castle sits within a large artificial moat, held back on its south and east sides by an earthen bank; beyond this immediate context, elements of the Bodiam landscape included a mill and mill pond fed by an artificial leat taken off the River Rother some distance upstream. Other water features included a string of ponds created by artificial dams referred to as the Cascade, and a wharf or 'flote' next to the diverted course of the River Rother (Figure 2).

It is important to note that Dallingridge did not create his castle and the landscape on a *tabula rasa*. The river crossing and main north-south route through the village are of Roman origin; there was a bridge at the crossing point of the River Rother from at least the 13th century onwards; and the post-medieval buildings at Court Lodge to the north of the castle mark the site of the earlier medieval manor site. Further, Drury and Copeman (2016) identified that the area around the manor site, and subsequently the setting for the northern approach to the 1380s castle, 'may well have had something of a park-like character, that is to say, predominantly pasture with some standard trees' (Drury and Copeman 2016: 44). The building campaign and landscape modifications of the 1380s, then, were inserted into the frame of a much earlier landscape (Barker *et al.* 2017: 60–67; James *et al.* 2017: 14–16).

The famous Royal Commission interpretation of the site (Everson 1996; Taylor *et al.* 1990) proposed that the castle itself sat within a carefully composed landscape that they termed 'ornamental'. In particular, the Royal Commission proposed a circuitous approach route to the castle from the south and west, via causeways flanked by sheets of water including the mill pond, the castle moat itself, and a series of other water features. In our monograph, we queried some elements of this interpretation on evidential grounds (James *et al.* 2017: 16–19). Our conclusion was that while it would have been perfectly possible to approach the castle from the south, a northern or north-western approach may instead have been the more frequently used route. More broadly, and in line with the project's stress on lived experience, we proposed a variety of routes and associated everyday experiences afforded by movement around the landscape by different classes, genders and other groups.
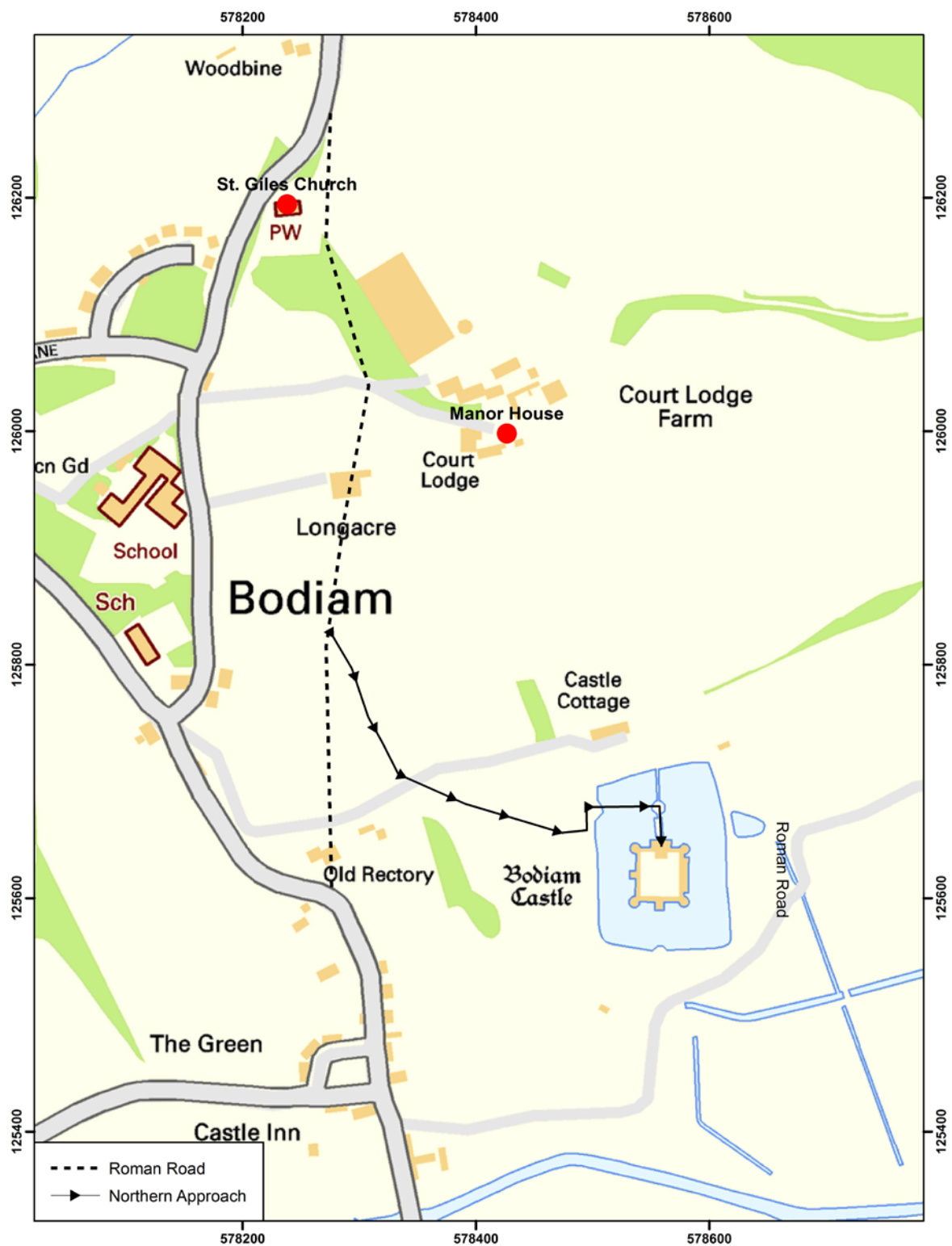
Figure 2: Main elements of the Bodiam landscape. Drawing by Eric Johnson

What, then, was the precise route of approach from the north and northwest, and what experience(s) of the Bodiam landscape did that route afford? A visitor to Bodiam in the 1380s or later, coming from the heart of the Weald, may have arrived from the west, along an east-west road that follows the geological grain of the Wealden landscape as it rises and falls along a series of east-west ridges. This route arrives

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Figure 3: View of Bodiam castle from the 'viewing platform' (also known as the 'Gun Garden'). Photo by Matthew Johnson.

directly at Court Lodge, as stated above the site of the earlier medieval manor. It is clear that the earlier manorial site remained in use through the later medieval period. The absence of stables and other service functions in the inner courtyard of Bodiam suggests that this earlier manorial site may, then, have continued as a kind of service court. The Royal Commission famously interpreted the substantial scarp to the south of Court Lodge as a 'viewing platform', part of Bodiam's designed landscape; it is certainly the case that the scarp affords an outstanding view over the castle, its immediate landscape and the river valley beyond (Figure 3). Our geophysical survey of the area, and earlier excavations, produced results that are difficult to interpret; it may well be that the scarp was a 1380s remodeling of earlier features associated with the manor site (Barker *et al.* 2017: 63–65; Drury and Copeman 2016: 109). Directly adjacent to the west of the manor site was the Fair Field, the probable site of the market for which Dallingridge had obtained a licence in 1383.

Our geophysical survey identified the line of a route running from the Fair Field Manor area southwards through the area known as Dokes Field (Figure 4). The major geophysical signature is that of the Roman road; the line, seen most clearly in the magnetometry due to the Roman practice of using iron slag for metaling, can be seen to head towards the village street and river crossing. A second, less strongly indicated route seems to branch off from this line and head more directly south. It is this southern 'offshoot' that we identify as the 1380s approach to the castle. Our geophysical survey ended at the southern limit of Dokes Field, but this route appears to be heading straight for the upper, western end of the Cascade.

If this is the case, the approach route would, upon reaching the Cascade, then turn left and east along the side of the series of ponds. Most probably the route ran immediately to the south of the ponds, and this is what is indicated in Figure 5; though a route immediately to the north of the ponds is also possible (a northern route was the preferred interpretation of some members of our survey team, and is also the route indicated in the 2017 National Trust guidebook by Jonathan Foyle: Foyle 2017:
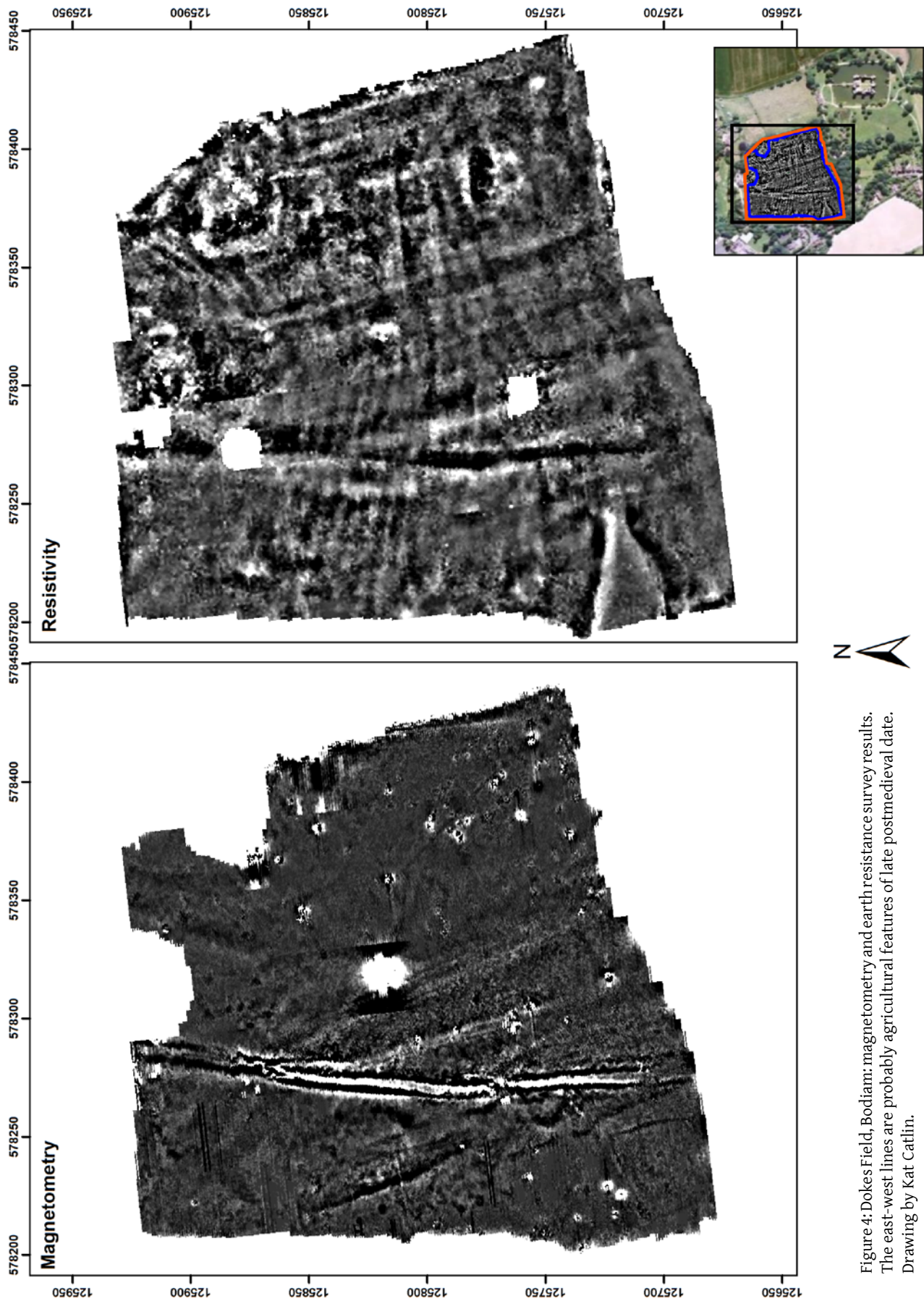
Figure 4: Dokes Field, Bodiam: magnetometry and earth resistance survey results. The east-west lines are probably agricultural features of late postmedieval date. Drawing by Kat Catlin.
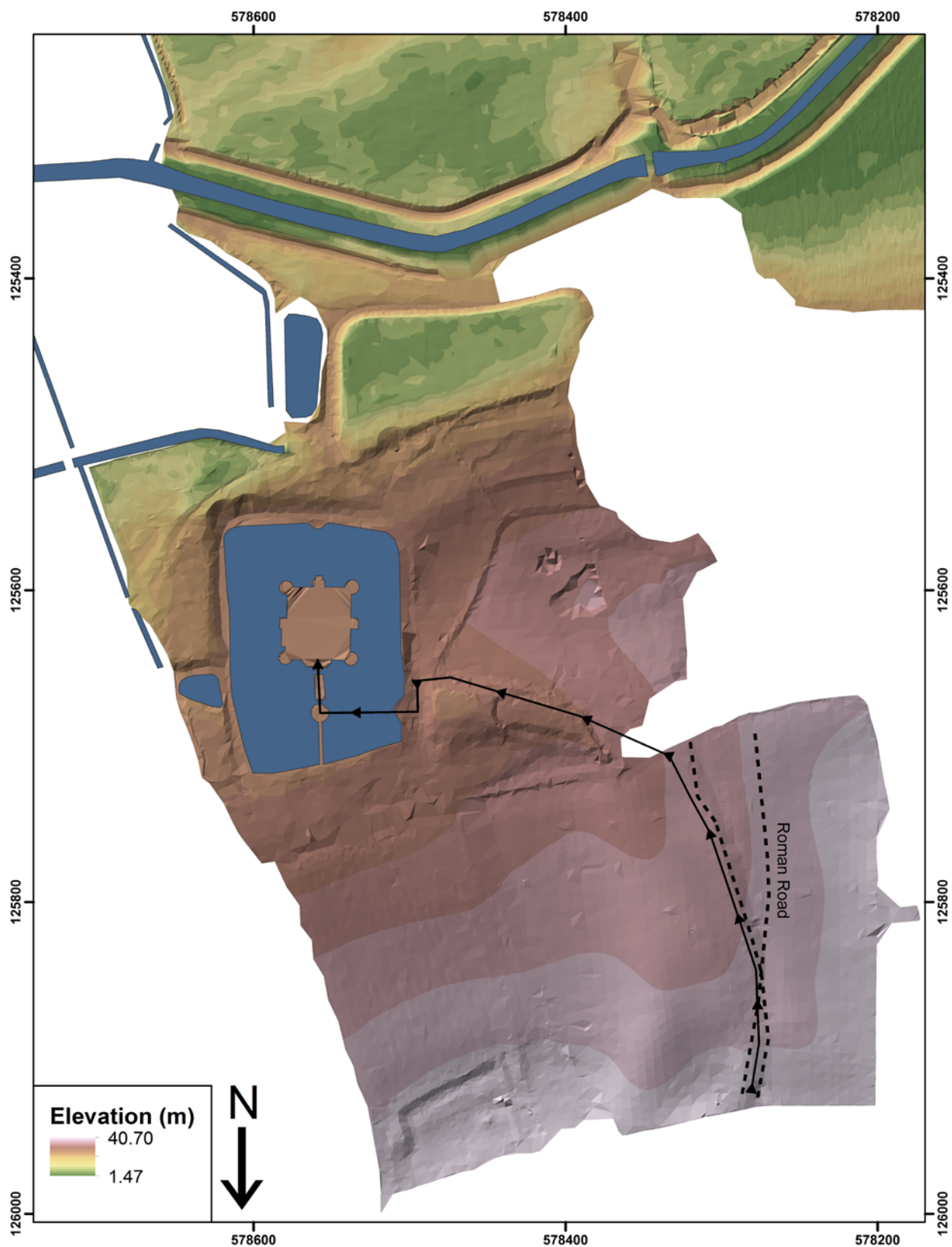
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Figure 5: Northern approach to Bodiam, oriented 'upside down' to enable comparison to Figure 8. Drawing by Eric Johnson.

Figure 20). The southern route would then dogleg left and then right at the foot of the Cascade before crossing a drawbridge and then timber bridge across the moat. A further 90° turn on an octagonal platform preceded entry through a barbican, before entering through the main northern gatehouse.

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The arrangements for this last element of the approach are well known through David Martin's re-excavation of the timber bridge footings and area between barbican and gatehouse in 1970 while the moat was drained (Martin 1973).

Our geophysical survey also suggested the possibility of a second, more direct route south from Court Lodge, a little to the east of the better defined route discussed above. There was evidence of some kind of structure at the northern end of this route, though the date of the structure is quite uncertain in the absence of excavation (Figure 4).

Approaching Scotney

The standing remains of Scotney Castle, 18km northwest of Bodiam, are generally dated to the 1370s, though it is clear that both the site and its surrounding landscape had been occupied for some centuries before that point and the central range of domestic buildings was reconstructed after the Middle Ages. The 1370s build is associated with the name of Roger Ashburnham, who was an associate and colleague of Dallingridge (E. Johnson *et al.* 2017: 104). The standing remains have been thoroughly surveyed and analysed (Martin *et al.* 2011; 2012). There is a probable earlier structure on the site consisting of an east-west service-hall-solar block, itself largely rebuilt in the 1600s. The 1370s extension and rebuild consisted of an irregular rhomboidal enclosure enclosing this block, furnished with corner towers and a gatehouse. Overall, the masonry remains are much more fragmentary than those at Bodiam; only one of these corner towers still survives (Figure 6). The rhomboidal enclosure forms an inner court; this is accessed via an outer court, the two courts forming two of three islands within an artificial moat. There is no evidence for medieval occupation on the third island. The moat is held back by an earthen bank to the east.

Figure 6: View of the inner courtyard of Scotney Castle, from the south. Phot by Matthew Johnson.

Figure 7: Sunken approach to Scotney, as viewed from the north-east looking up towards the higher ground.
Photo by Matthew Johnson.

Topographical survey of the landscape to the west and south of these courts revealed elements of a landscape comparable to that of Bodiam. Two rivers run from south-west to north-east: the River Sweetbourne feeds the moat and runs into the River Bewl, while the Bewl runs immediately to the west and north of the retaining bank for the moat. The higher ground between these two bodies of water is bisected by a distinct hollow way or sunken approach (Figures 7 and 8). This approach runs southwest to northeast for some distance. To the left and north of the sunken approach, there are indistinct earthwork traces suggesting that the northern stream was dammed successively into a series of ponds. This northern stream also marks the probable location of a watermill. Presence of a mill and ponds is also suggested by field names recorded in a 1757 map (E. Johnson *et al.* 2017, 102). Limited geophysical survey was carried out in two places; the northern area of geophysical survey represented an unsuccessful attempt to locate the site of this watermill.

The south-western starting point of this approach route is not clear, in part because the general area was re-landscaped during the construction of the modern A21 road. It is also not clear how, once this route had descended the hill, it then proceeded towards the castle. Most probably, it continued to the north-east, crossing the Sweetbourne and other water features before turning south-west and right to enter the lower court. One further left turn would then give access to the inner court.

The interpretation of the Scotney landscape is necessarily more tentative than that at Bodiam. Not only are the standing remains of the castle more fragmentary and ruinous; difference in interpretation is also due to the thorough and extensive re-landscaping of the area around the castle as a landscape park in the 1800s, including the creation of patches of woodland, carriage drives, bridges and other features.

Figure 8: South-western approach to Scotney. The position of the watermill is not certain, but would have been a little to the left and west of the sunken approach, just north of the area of geophysical survey. Drawing by Eric Johnson.

However, we can suggest with some confidence that a visitor would approach down the sunken way from the south-west; that before descending the hill, the landscape may have afforded views of the castle from a distance; that the visitor would travel alongside and/or cross a number of water features; and that the final approach to the castle involved sharp turns first via a bridge onto an outer court and then via another bridge into the inner court.

Discussion

The parallels, then, between the routes of approach to Bodiam and to Scotney are quite clear. They are particularly apparent when the routes are considered in three dimensions, and the visual representation of the route is oriented appropriately (Figures 9 and 10). The visitor to Bodiam, approaching from the area of Fair Field, gains an initial view of the castle within its watery setting from above and slightly to the right. The visitor then heads downhill for some distance before turning left along the side of the Cascade. Further sharp turns to left and right follow before the drawbridge and timber causeway are crossed. The visitor then turns right on the octagon before passing through the barbican. At Scotney, the visitor looks down initially on the castle in its watery setting before heading downhill for some distance, along a route which takes them past the watermill, a series of ponds, and other water features. They then cross a stream before turning sharply right and then left through the outer court.

At a wider scale, both Bodiam and Scotney have deerparks at some distance from the castle. That at Bodiam was some distance to the west, beyond the village and at the edge of the parish. Eric Johnson was able to locate the position of 'Scotney Parke' by georeferencing a 1619 map (E. Johnson *et al.* 2017: 101); it lay some distance to the north-west of the castle, though there may well have been parkland in other areas around the castle as well.

These parallels between the two sites are not immediately apparent to the casual observer due to several factors. First, and most obviously, both Bodiam and Scotney were extensively re-landscaped in subsequent centuries. At Scotney, Edward Hussey III created a landscape park. Bodiam was bought by 'Mad Jack' Fuller; the Fuller family's wealth came from their manufacture of guns and their Jamaica estates, Fuller himself owning over 250 slaves (M. Johnson 2017b: 200). Neither site now affords the distant view of the
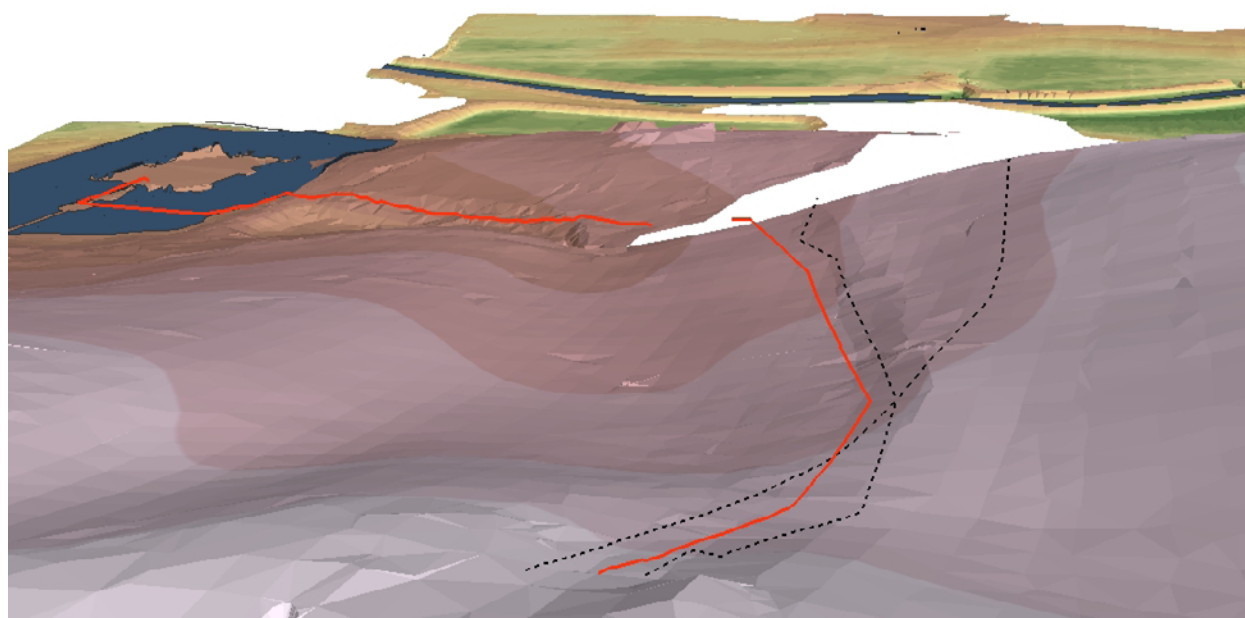

Figure 9: Three-dimensional reconstruction of approach to Bodiam, facing roughly south-east. Drawing by Eric Johnson.
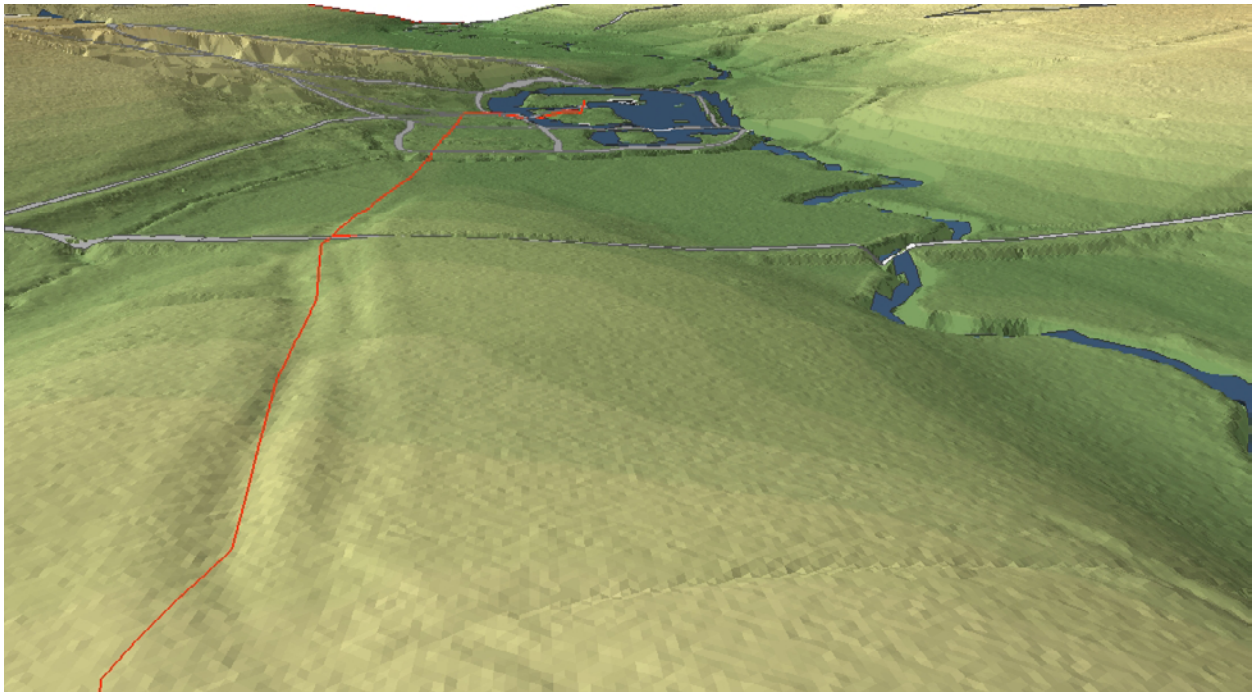
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Figure 10: Three-dimensional reconstruction of approach to Scotney, facing roughy north-west. Drawing by Eric Johnson.

castle, looking down and slightly to one side, that may well have been so striking for medieval visitors, due to modern screens of trees and hedges. Second, the approach to Bodiam is from the north, whereas that to Scotney is from the south-west; in Figures 9 and 10, the routes have been reoriented to make the similarity more clear.

There are some important reservations and qualifications to be made. At Bodiam, we have already noted the possibility that the stables at Bodiam were located at Court Lodge. It may have been the case that many visitors would have dismounted here, and proceeded to the castle on foot. Traveling on foot is a very different experience to that of riding on horseback. Second, the location of the sites in relation to manorial boundaries is different: Bodiam sits at the centre of the manor, whereas Scotney is at the junction of the boundaries of several different manors.

The Bodiam route could be regarded as segregated: a 'prestige' access from the north, with more functional activities grouped around bridge, wharf and mill. There would be an irony in this given that it was precisely this southern route that was identified by the Royal Commission as a prestigious or status-related approach; our work suggests that elements of the everyday, working landscape such as the wharf, the watermill and also a possible cattle pen are to be found to the south of Bodiam castle. It is probably more accurate to suggest that elements of a working landscape and of composed approaches are in fact combined at both sites: the Scotney approach passes the watermill while both northern and southern approaches at Bodiam involve views of the working landscape. Indeed, the whole opposition between a 'polite'/ornamental landscape on the one hand, and a working or everyday landscape on the other, is a concept that is de-centered through an emphasis on the diversity of lived experience.

Conclusion

The recognition of so-called designed landscapes in the Middle Ages is nothing new. What I have tried to highlight here is something more specific. The builders of Bodiam and Scotney, Sir Edward Dallingridge and Roger Ashburnham, were colleagues and associates through the 1370s and 1380s. Not only were they both individuals from upwardly mobile gentry families; they came to possess castles and landscapes of strikingly similar design.

This analysis could be extended to other sites in southeast England in the later 14th century. Our team also surveyed the immediate landscape of Ightham Mote, on the junction of the Weald and the North Downs. Ightham again features views from above and different routes of approach past complex water features, as well as a watermill and pond. It also, again, raises issues of different approaches within an earlier site and landscape (M. Johnson *et al.* 2017), and may, like Bodiam, have had different approaches segregated by social status. However, the landscape context at Ightham is very difficult to date, in part, again, due to extensive post-medieval alteration. Beyond the sites that we surveyed, other late 14th century landscapes include Cooling (Kent) and Westenhanger (Kent). Charles Coulson (1992) pointed out in his seminal article that Bodiam was not exceptional, but rather representative of a larger group of buildings and landscapes, many of which have been completely or partially destroyed. Bodiam and Scotney should also be seen as larger examples of the general class of moated site so common in the Wealden landscape (e.g. E. Johnson 2017).

I have not considered in this paper the complex theoretical questions of how these landscapes were understood by people in the past, and how they should be understood by scholars in the present, beyond reference to ideas of lived experience and a diversity of views, both literal and metaphorical, that these landscapes may have afforded. Our project emphasised the lived experience of a variety of social groups, genders, and other identities who would have used these landscapes and in the process of working and dwelling within them, renegotiated their meanings. These theoretical issues, of course, are not concerns that David Hinton has placed at the forefront of his considerable achievements: indeed, he once commented rhetorically, in not untypical style: 'Has archaeology, having ceased to be the handmaiden of history, become the lickspittle of literary criticism?' (Hinton 1993: 509). I beg his indulgence on this particular occasion, and humbly request that he forbear to judge too harshly any interpretive excesses that he may find in our work.

Acknowledgments

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