



# EXCAVATIONS AT GREAT LINFORD, 1974-80

## THE VILLAGE

by

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## THE CHURCH

by

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with contributions by

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## FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Great Linford was the first of the existing villages within Milton Keynes to be absorbed within new development. The old village contained numerous village earthworks, some of which were scheduled as an Ancient Monument. Permission was granted for the development to proceed, provided that selected areas of the village earthworks were excavated. Most of the earthworks were dealt with over several seasons, and in addition the medieval windmill and the manor house were located and excavated. When the opportunity arose, re-ordering within the church was also the subject of a watching brief and limited excavation. This volume presents the results of those excavations and the resultant study of the history of the village and parish.

The majority of the work on Great Linford was funded by Milton Keynes Development Corporation, and without this support the project would not have taken place. Grants were received from English Heritage towards both excavation and post excavation work. Particular thanks are due to John Hurst of the former Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments for supporting this project.

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Documentary research into Great Linford was initially carried out by Elizabeth Baines, who produced draft texts on the village history. Further research into the parish history was undertaken by Dennis Mynard and the published texts, whilst in part based on those mentioned above, largely represent his interpretation of the information. We are also grateful to Elisabeth Blackmore, formerly history lecturer at Bletchley Teacher Training College, for permission to use her study of the enclosure of the parish.

Assistance with several early documents was given by Hugh Hanley and David Hall, on a sixteenth-century rental by Edward Legge, and advice on place-names by Margaret Gelling. During the excavation of the manor house and the church the interpretation of the structures was discussed with Brian Giggins of the Development Corporation's Building Conservation Section.

The authors of specialist reports and others that helped with the identification of finds are acknowledged in the introduction to the finds report (p. 137), and those involved with the pottery analysis in the introduction to the pottery report (p. 245). A commentary on the structural evidence from the village and manor sites was provided by J. T. Smith. As a general rule, individual authors are acknowledged at the start of their contribution(s). The finds were all drawn by June Burbidge, and the maps and plans by Bob Zeepvat and Iain Charles.

Typing of the report was undertaken principally by Heather Gatt, assisted by Gwyn Green, Kelly Jackson, and Emma Jones.

## INTRODUCTION

Great Linford village (SP 856419) is situated at a height of about 90m. OD., overlooking the valley of the River Ouzel to the east, whilst to the north lies the floodplain of the River Ouse (Fig. 1). The underlying geology is largely Oxford and Boulder clay, with an outcrop of Cornbrash limestone at the northern end of the parish, particularly in the area of the church.

The pre-city village (Fig. 2) contained a series of dwellings lining a single street, now the High Street, with the manor, rectory and parish church at its northern end. At the south end of the High Street a triangular green was all that survived of the much larger medieval and post medieval green.

The Rectory, dating from the fifteenth century, is the oldest building in the village, with the exception of the parish church. The manor house was originally to the south of the church; the present manor house, pavilions, schoolhouse and almshouses were built in the late seventeenth century, creating one of the most important and attractive groups of buildings in Milton Keynes. The older village houses are built of stone, but there are brick buildings dating from the eighteenth century onwards.

Prior to development, extensive medieval village earthworks survived on the south and east sides of the village green, and on the east side of the High Street. These earthworks were first identified in the 1960's by the Milton Keynes Research Committee, and in 1968 the best preserved were scheduled as an Ancient Monument by the then Ministry of Public Buildings and Works.

Great Linford was one of the first areas of Milton

Keynes to be developed, and the plans for this included the building of houses on the scheduled area. In 1972, the Development Corporation obtained permission from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works for the development to proceed, subject to archaeological investigation by the Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit. The extensive development proposed at Great Linford presented an opportunity to study the village in some detail. Excavation of the village took place during the summer seasons of 1974-77.

In 1980 a plan to re-order the interior of the parish church, and the conversion of the manor house and grounds into an Arts Centre, provided opportunities for further excavation and archaeological observation. A number of chance discoveries were also made during construction work close to the village, and the laying out of a sports field 400m. to the east of the High Street provided the opportunity to examine an early medieval post mill, the site of which was shown on an Estate map of the village, dated 1641 (Fig. 6).

Though not strictly a part of the Linford village excavation project, a number of sites in the parish have provided additional information on earlier periods of occupation. Two of these, an Iron Age/Saxon site at Pennyland and a Roman villa at Stantonbury, have been the scene of detailed excavations (Overlay 2).

This volume presents the results of extensive excavation and research into the parish and village of Great Linford. For the benefit of the reader, many plans have been produced as overlays and some of the figures have been duplicated in this format. This allows comparison of the village and field plans of different periods.

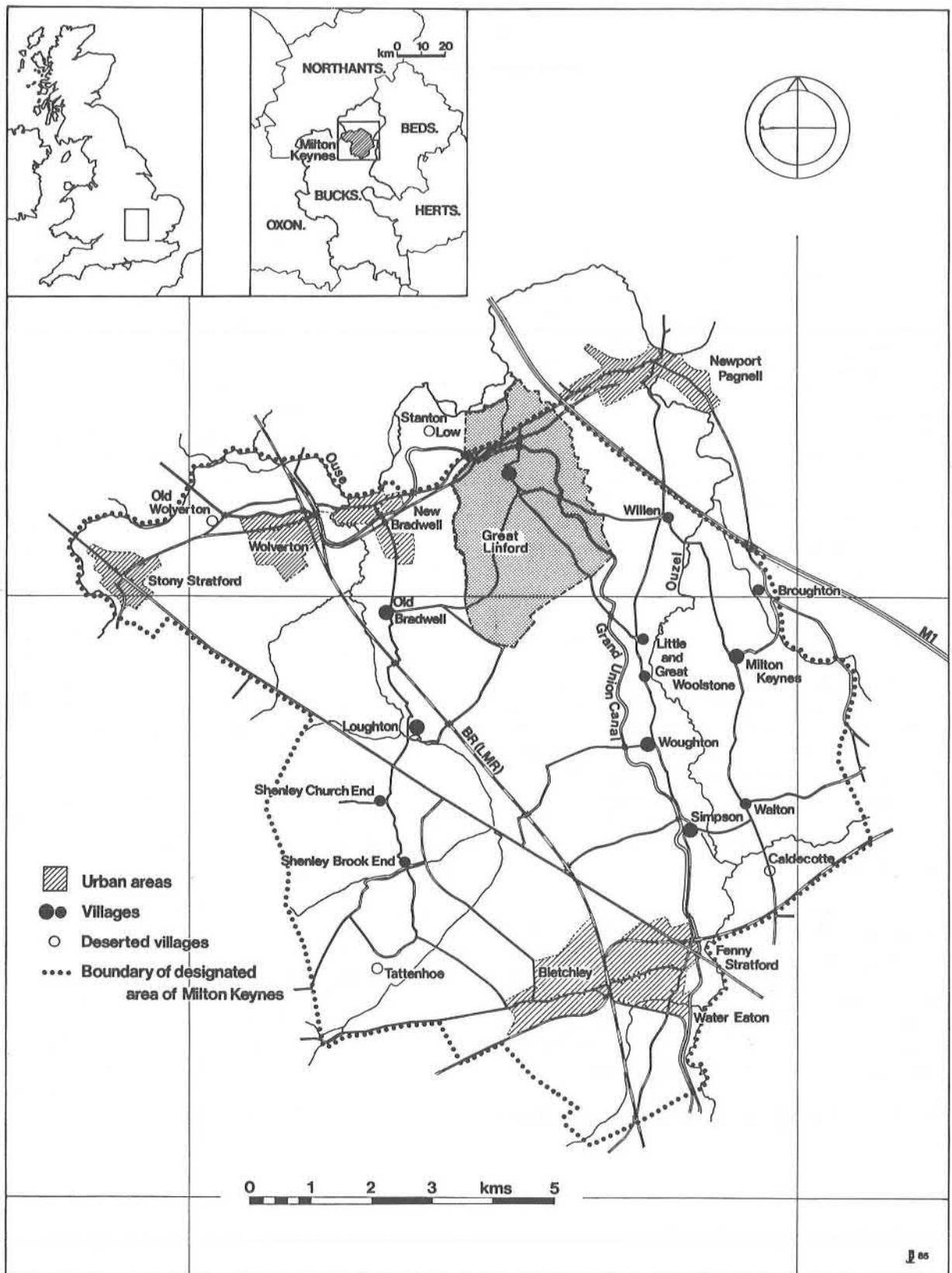
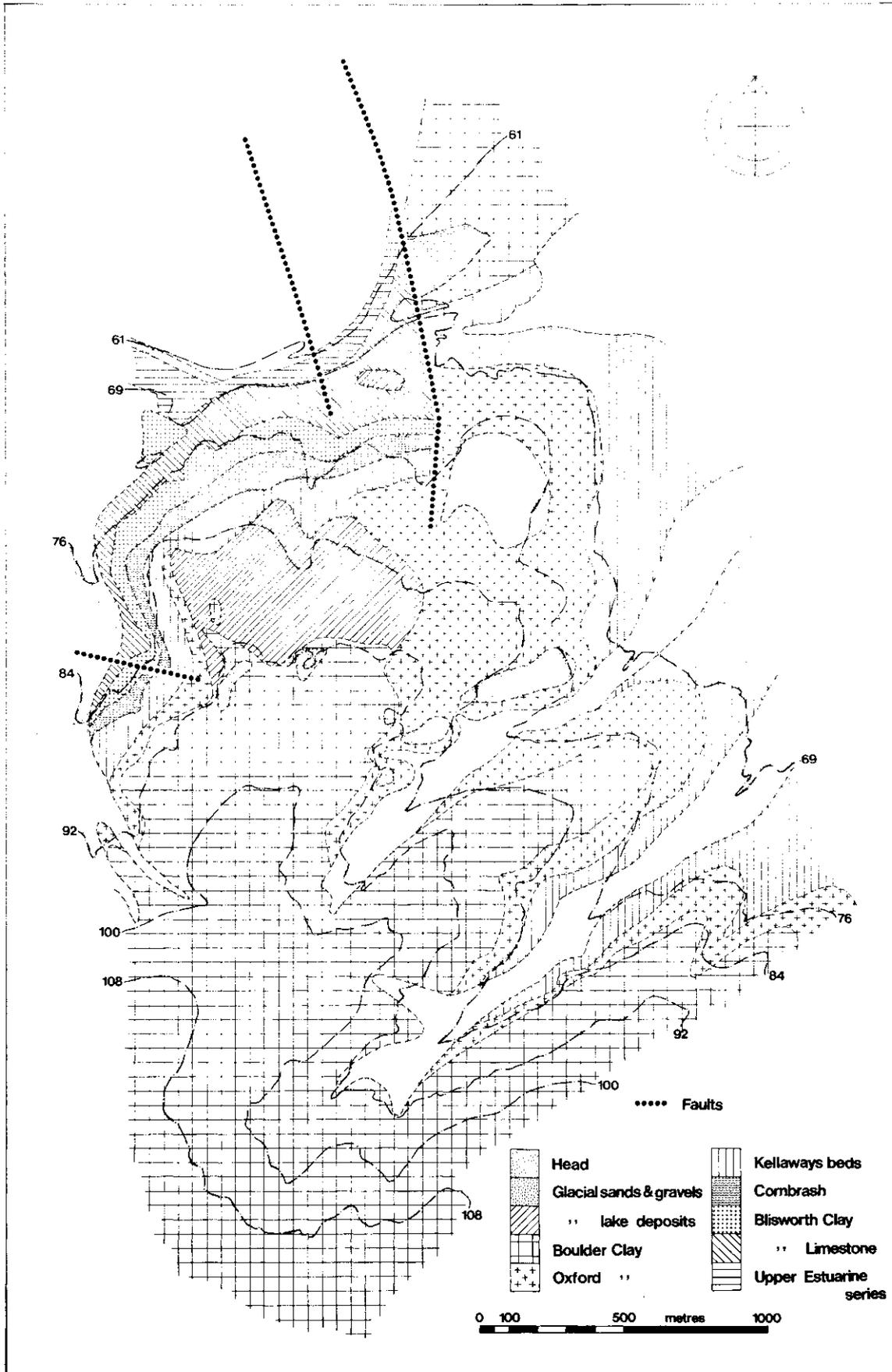
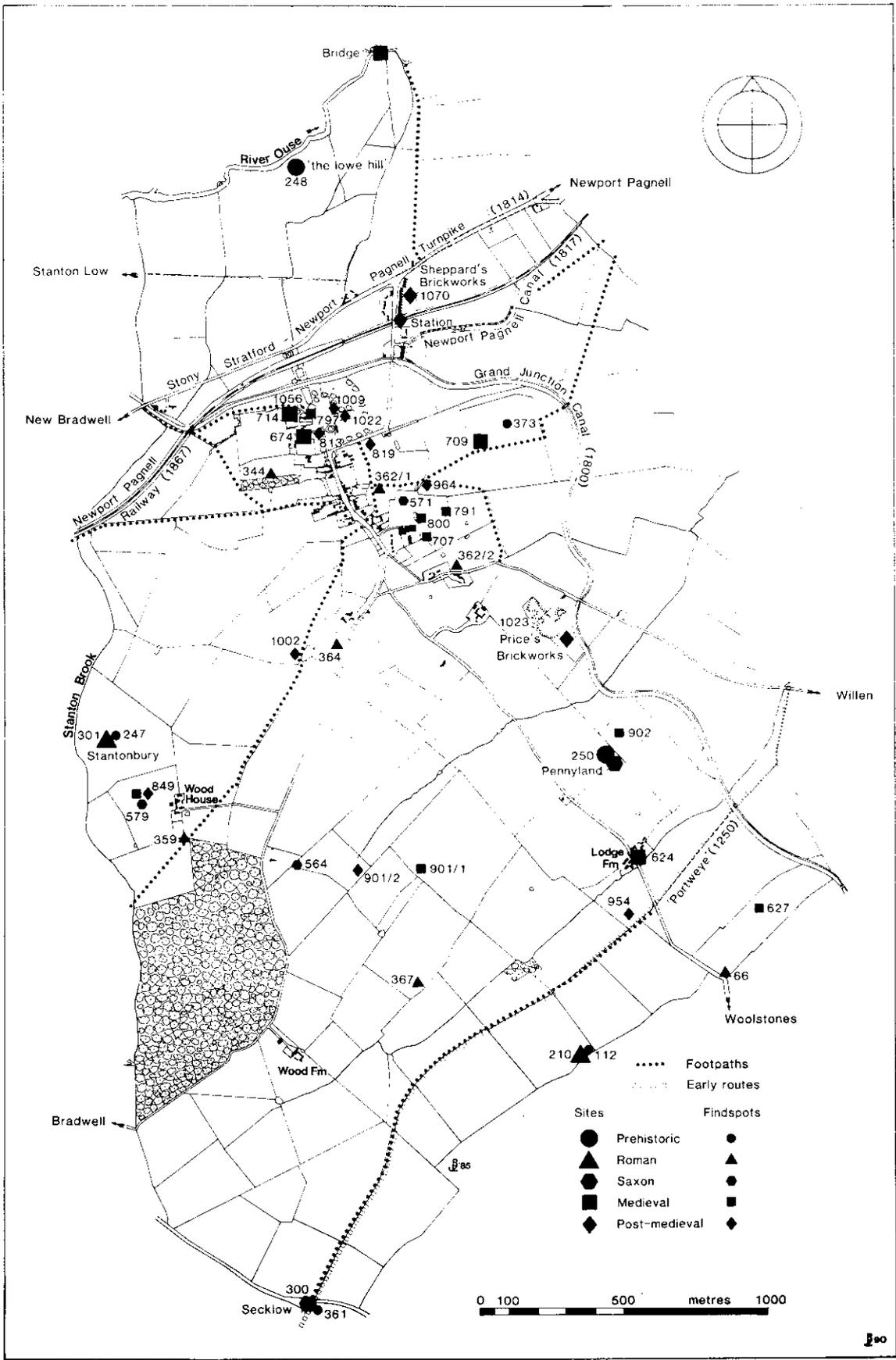


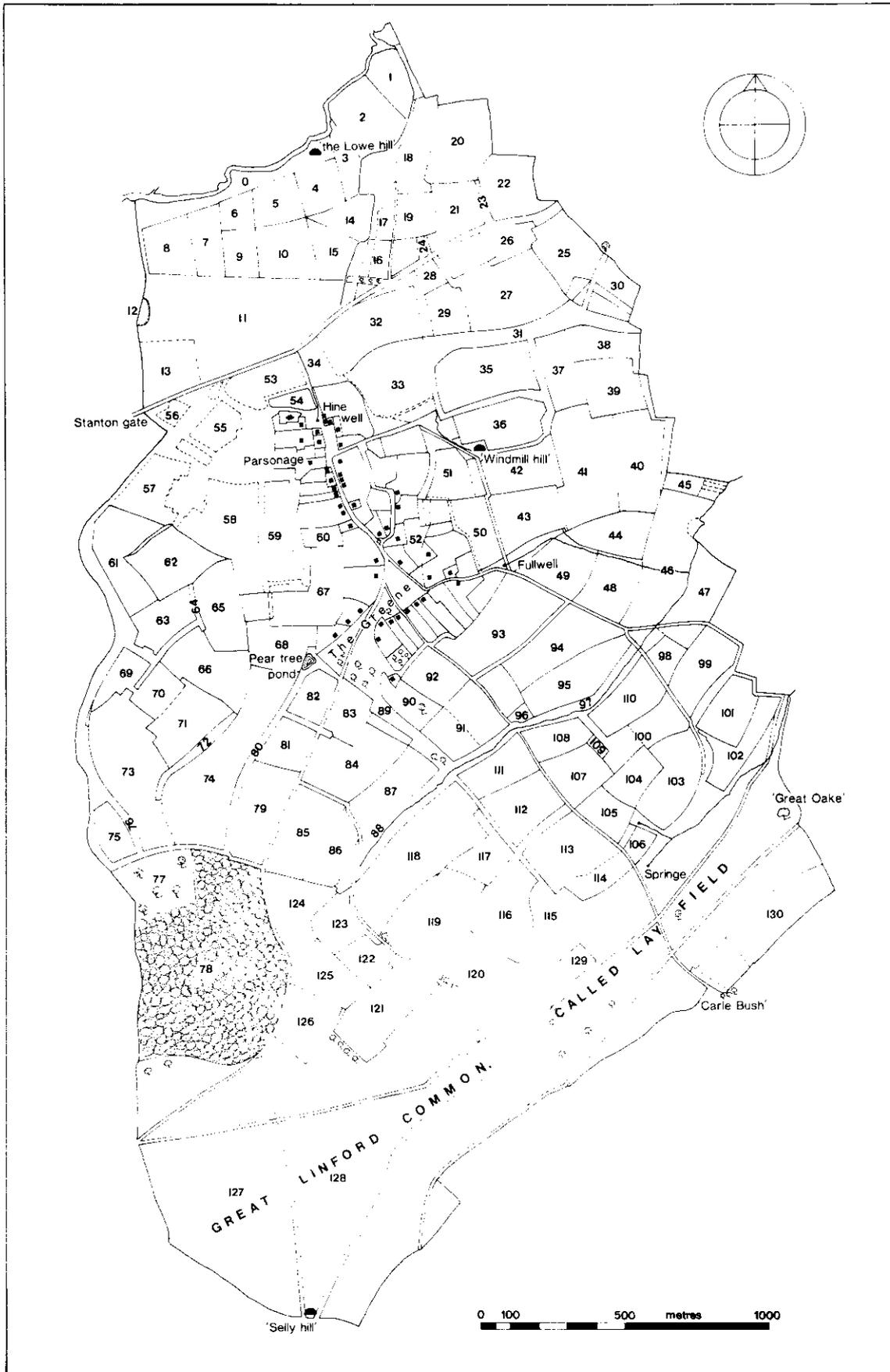
Figure 1: Location map showing settlement in Milton Keynes area before development.



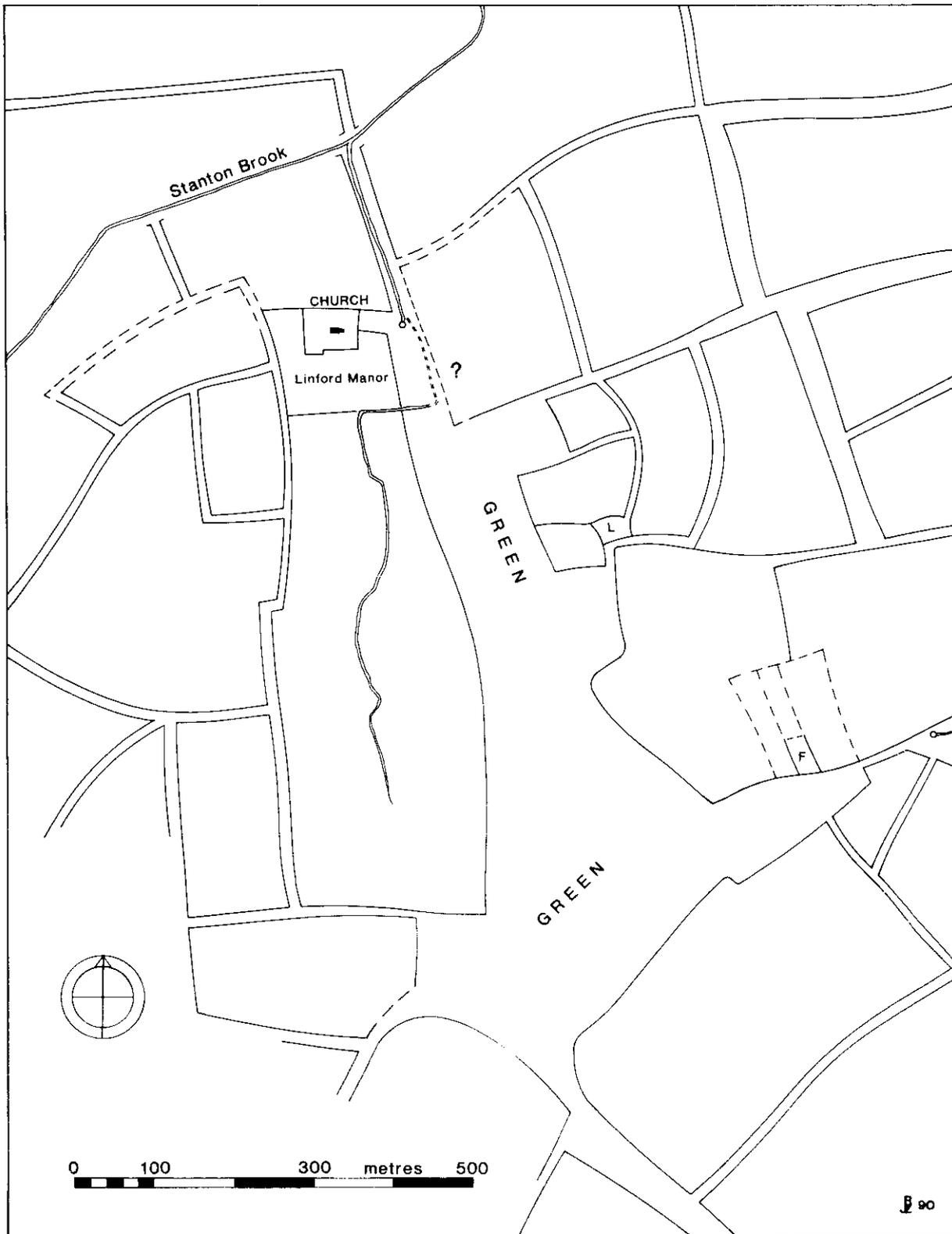
Overlay 1: The geology (solid and drift) of Great Linford parish.



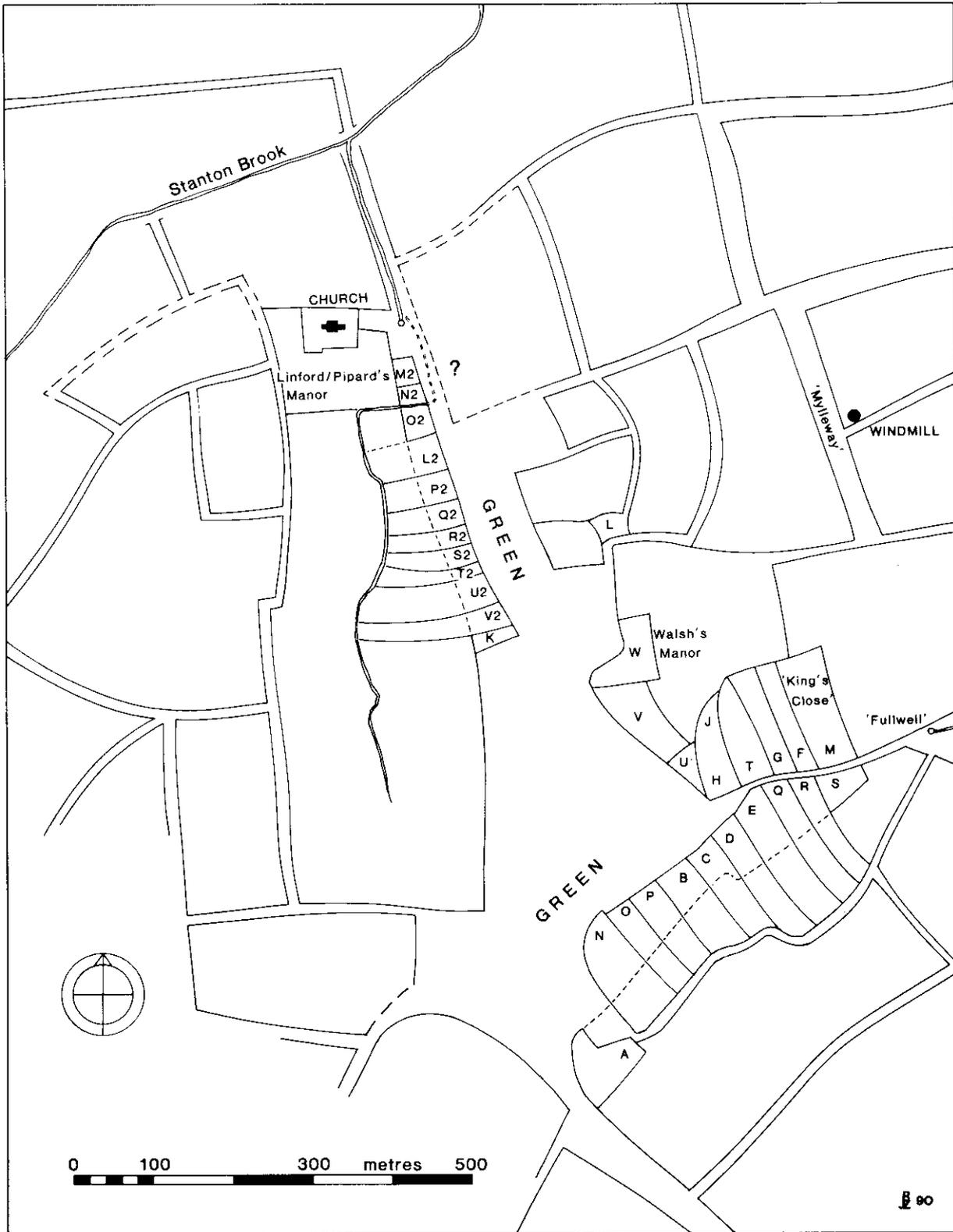
Overlay 2: Archaeological sites and early roads.



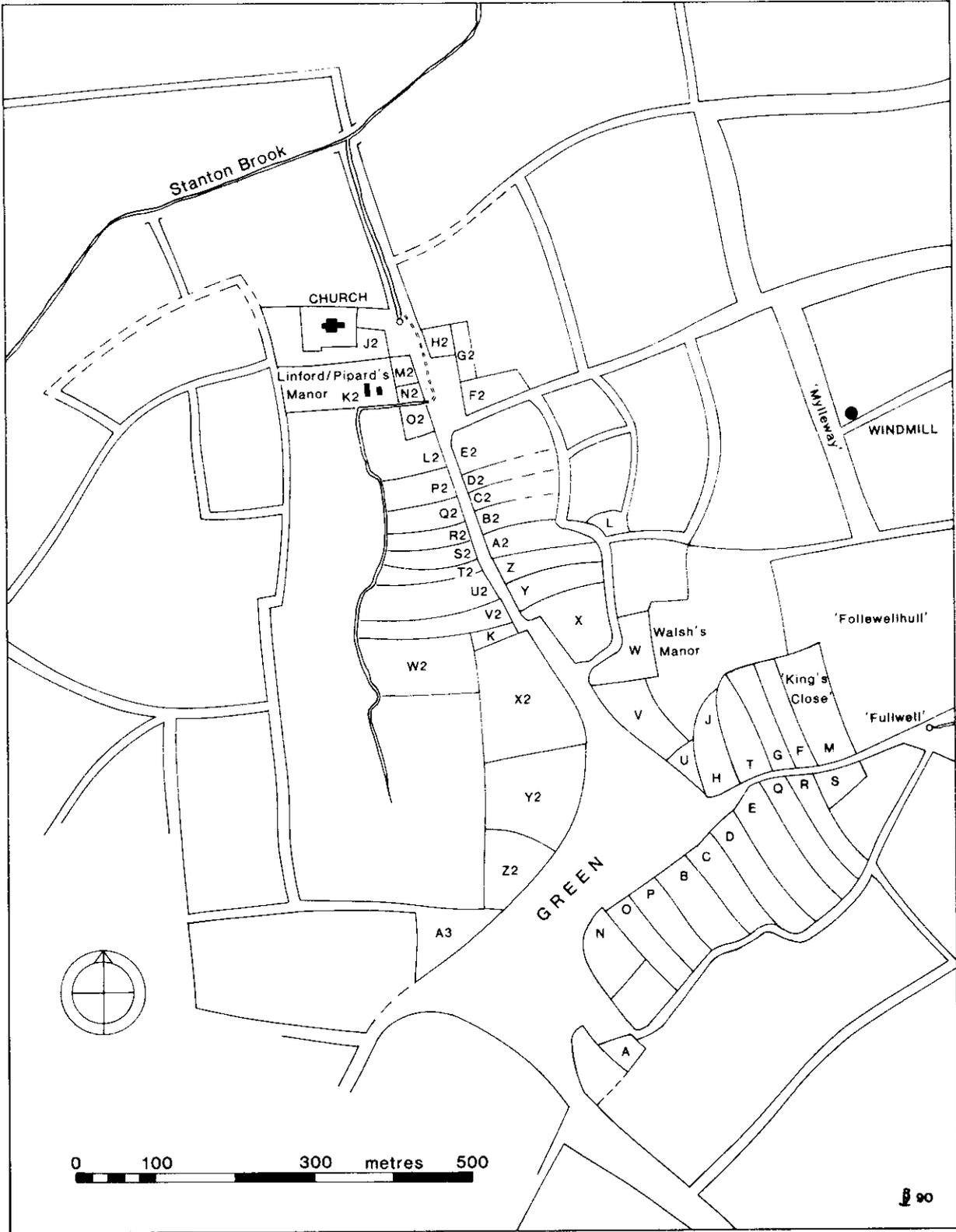
Overlay 3: The parish in 1641, based on Estate map.



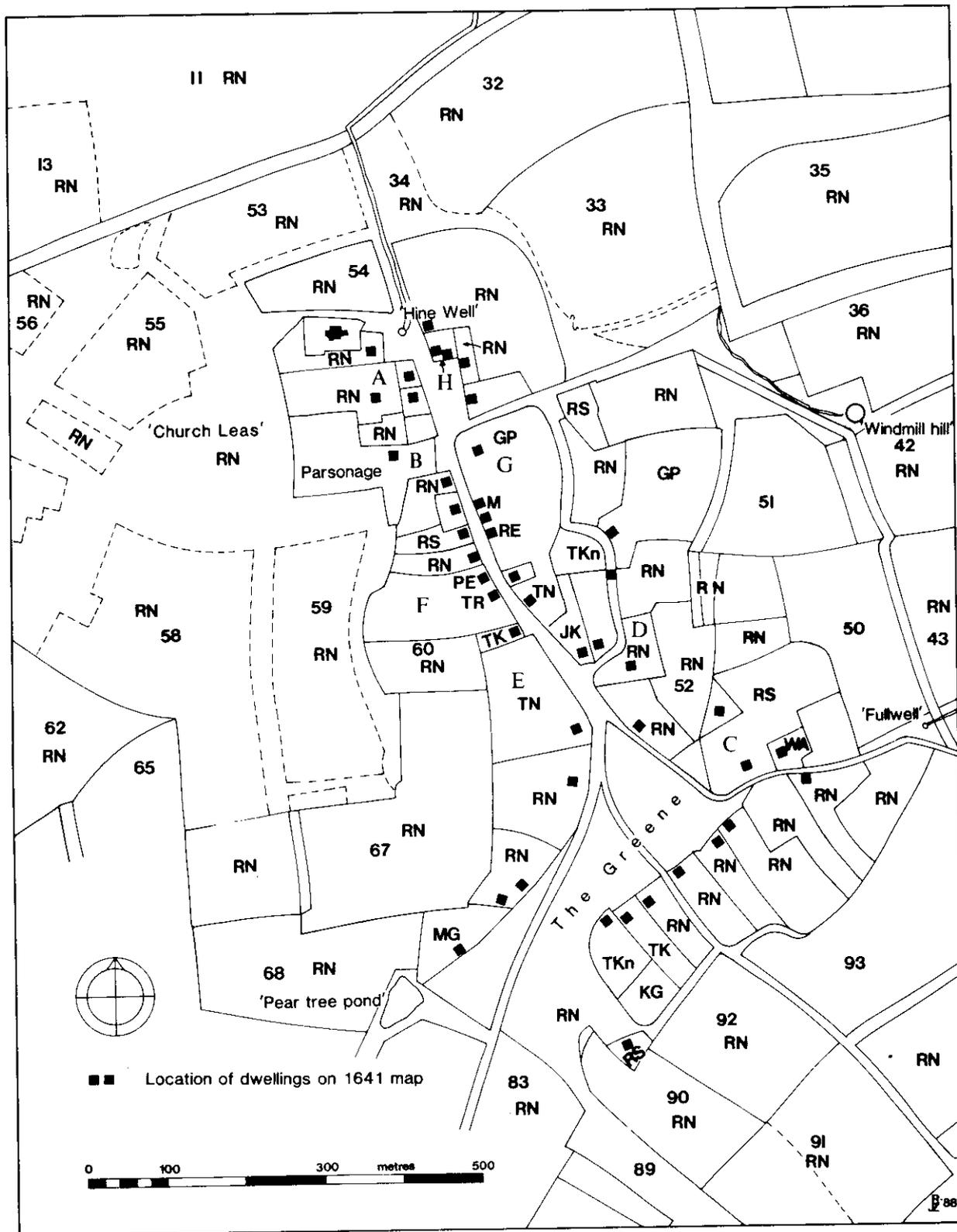
Overlay 4: The village in the tenth to mid-twelfth centuries.



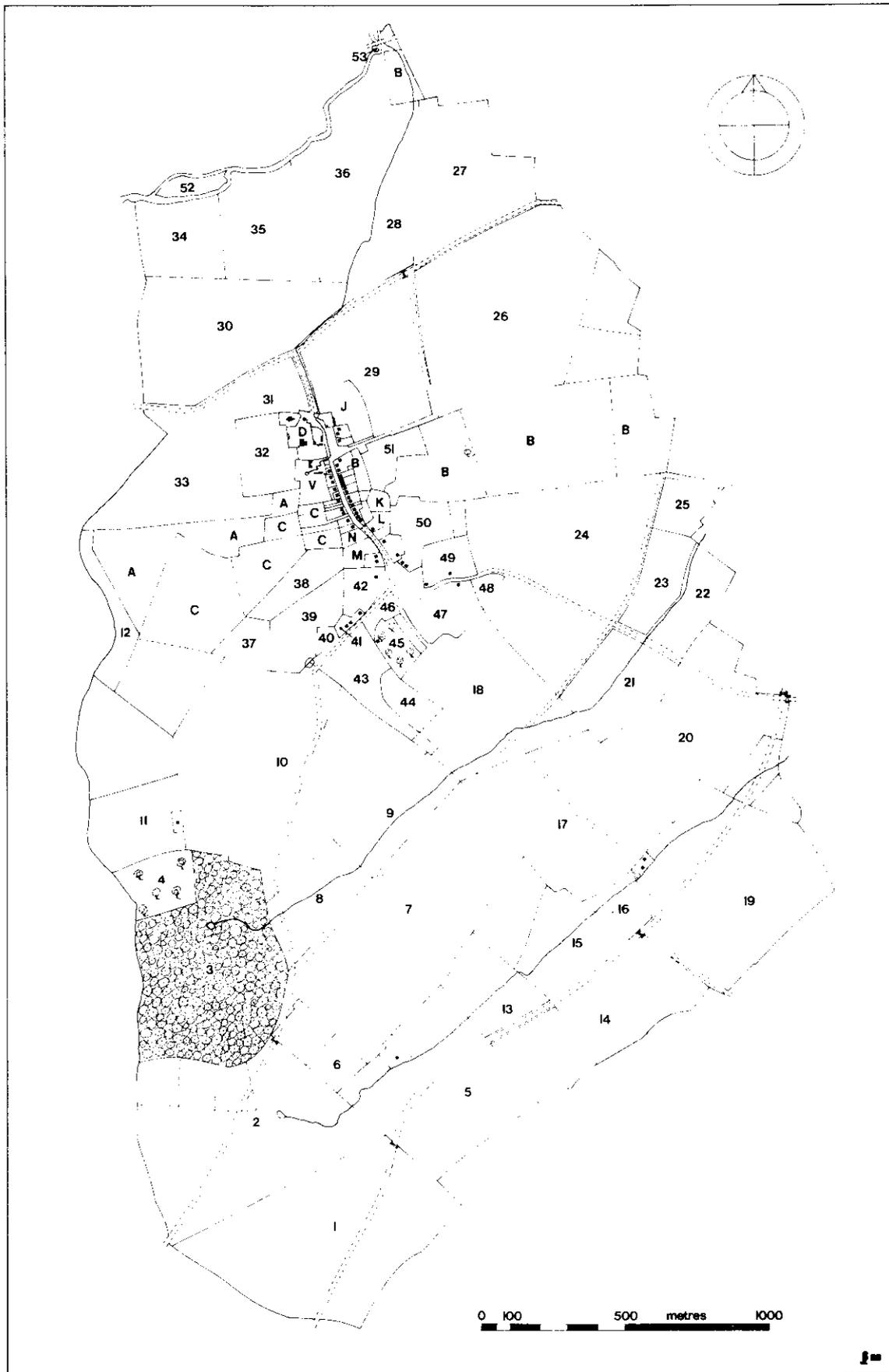
Overlay 5: The village in the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries.



Overlay 6: Probable extent of the village by the early fourteenth century.

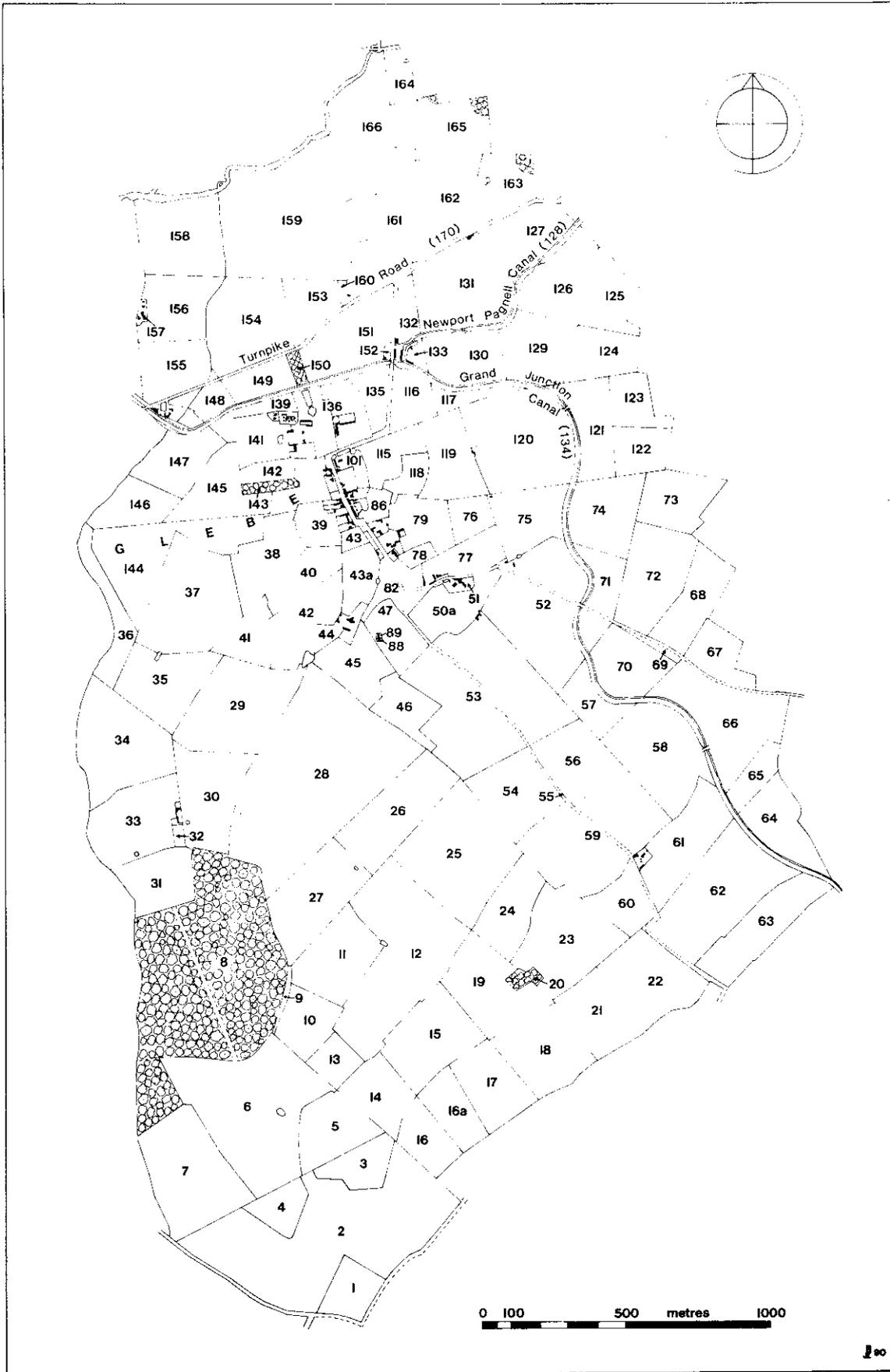


Overlay 7: The village in 1641, based on Estate map.

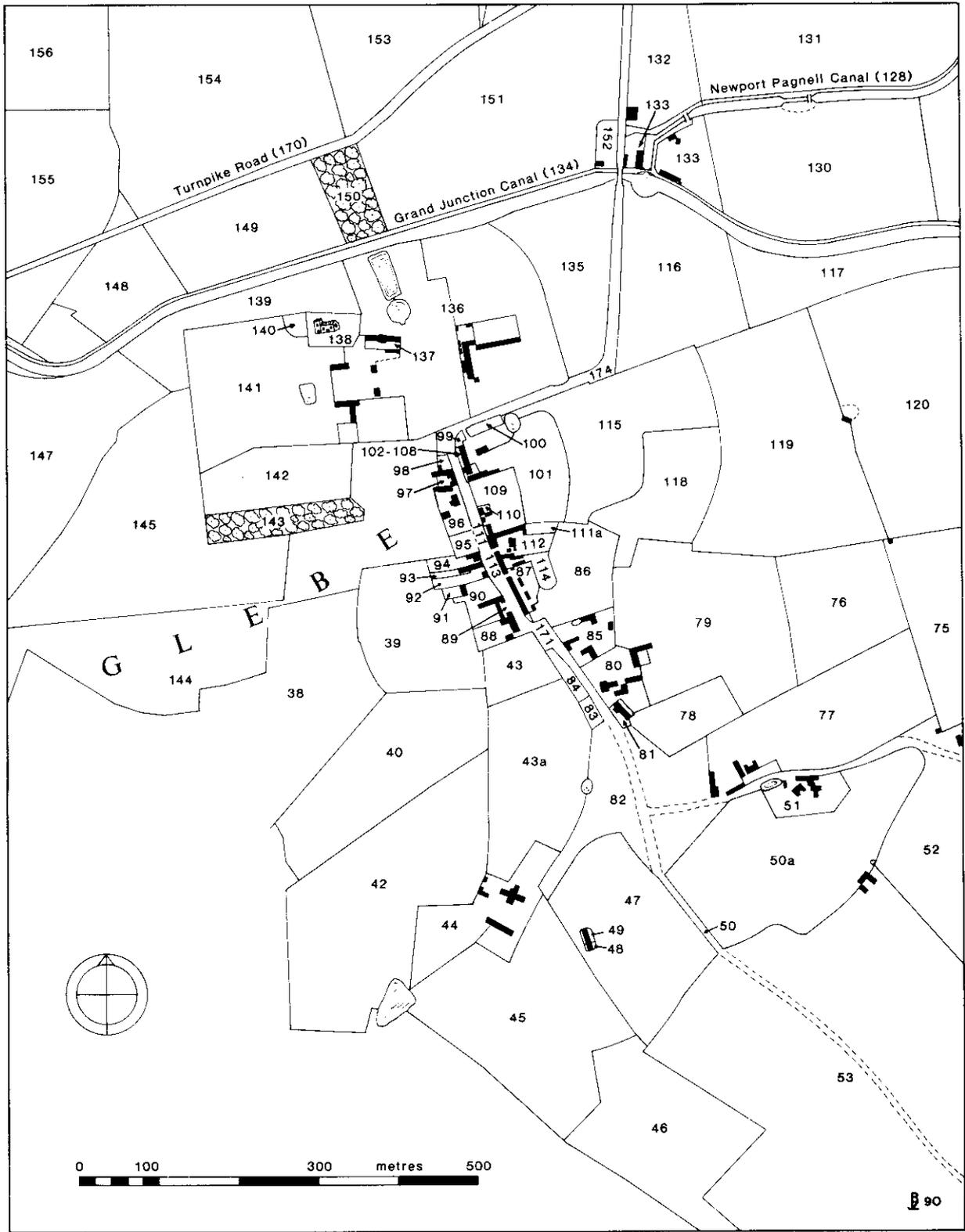


Overlay 8: The parish in 1678, based on Estate map.

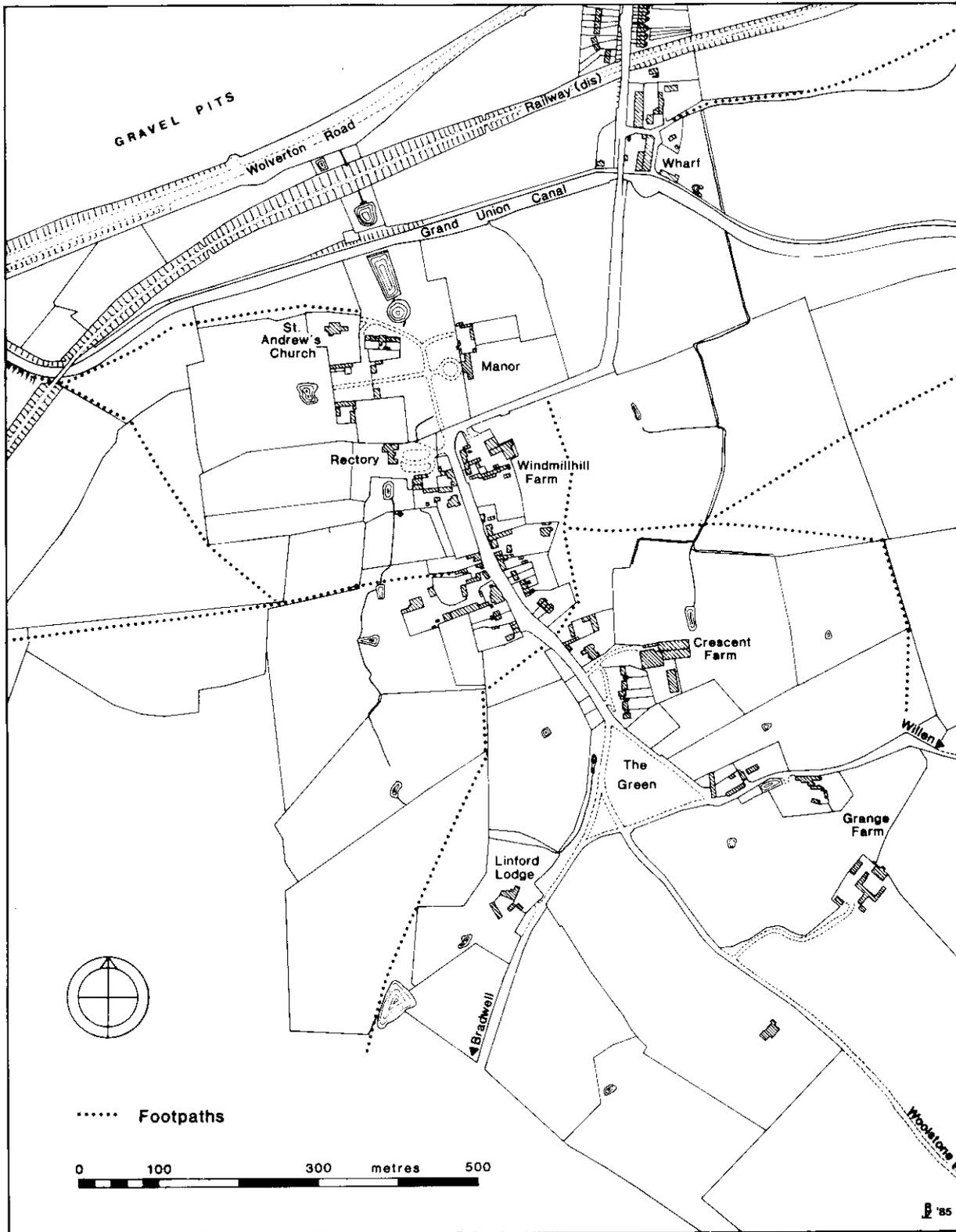




Overlay 10: The parish in 1841, based on Tithe map.



Overlay 11: The village in 1841, based on Tithe map.



Overlay 12: The village just before its development as part of Milton Keynes.

## THE PARISH

### GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Both the geology and topography of the parish of Great Linford (Overlay 1) are greatly influenced by its situation in the 'angle' between the converging valleys of the rivers Ouzel and Great Ouse. Much of the south-west part of the parish is formed by Boulder Clay uplands, rising to a height of about 110m. OD, drained by streams running north or north-east down steeply cut valleys to the major rivers. One of these streams, Stanton Brook, forms the western boundary of the parish. On the east side of the parish, the slopes leading down to the floodplain of the Ouzel are composed largely of Oxford Clay overlying outcrops of Kellaways sands and clay, all of which is covered in the valley bottoms by extensive head deposits.

To the north, on the slopes overlooking the flood plain of the Ouse, the picture is very different. Moving northwards from the extensive deposits of glacial lake material to the west of the village one finds in quick succession outcrops of Kellaways beds, Cornbrash limestone, and Blisworth clay and limestone. This latter outcrop, which was quarried extensively in the area north of the church, provided abundant supplies of building stone for the village (Horton, Shepherd-Thorn and Thurrell, 1974). Gravel has recently been extracted in the parish from the extensive deposits of terrace gravels in the flood plain of the Ouse, and clay for brickmaking from the Oxford Clay beds to the south-east of the village.

The landscape produced by the geological structure detailed above is a 'rolling' one, with soils very suitable for either cultivation or pasture. Prior to the development of Milton Keynes most of the parish was pasture, but as will be seen later (p. 6ff, below) almost all the parish had been ploughed in the medieval period. Despite the apparently adequate drainage, the Boulder Clay soils at the southern tip of the parish have a tendency to retain water, though this may be due to human exploitation over the last two millennia rather than to pedological deficiencies.

The parish covered an area of 1835 acres in 1881, approximately 9% of the Milton Keynes city area. It is roughly rectangular in shape with the northern end bounded by the river Great Ouse. The

western boundary with Stantonbury is also a natural one following Stanton Brook, which runs northwards towards the Ouze. The southern boundary borders with Willen and Little Woolstone, and follows the line of a ridge, running from the Secklow mound, (the Hundred meeting place, at the southern end of the parish) north eastward towards Willen village for a length of 3km. The eastern boundary runs in dog-leg fashion to meet the River Ouze. This type of boundary followed established furlong boundaries after the common fields were laid out, and although woodland in the parish is not mentioned in the Domesday survey, it is most likely that the present Linford Wood is of considerable antiquity. There are references to a Deer Park in the parish in the late thirteenth century (Cal. Pat. 1281-92, 103) and it has been suggested that this was on the site of the present Linford Wood. The absence of ridge and furrow within Linford Wood, apart from a late extension at the south end, planted after 1678, confirms that the area it occupies was not cultivated during the medieval period.

### EARLY SETTLEMENT IN THE PARISH.

Within the parish of Great Linford, several archaeological sites have been located, confirming settlement from the Iron Age to the Saxon period. In addition, a number of flint scatters of Mesolithic to Bronze Age date have been recorded, though no definite evidence of occupation sites of those periods has been found. All of these finds are detailed in the gazetteer (p. 131 below), and shown on Overlay 2.

Apart from archaeological investigations detailed elsewhere in this volume, major excavations have taken place on two other sites in the parish; Stantonbury Roman villa (MK301), and the Iron Age and Saxon settlements at Pennyland (MK250). The results of the former have been published (Zeevat 1987), while the latter is currently being prepared for publication (Williams, forthcoming).

At Pennyland, excavations directed for the Unit by R. J. Williams between 1979-81 revealed an extensive mid to late Iron Age settlement con-

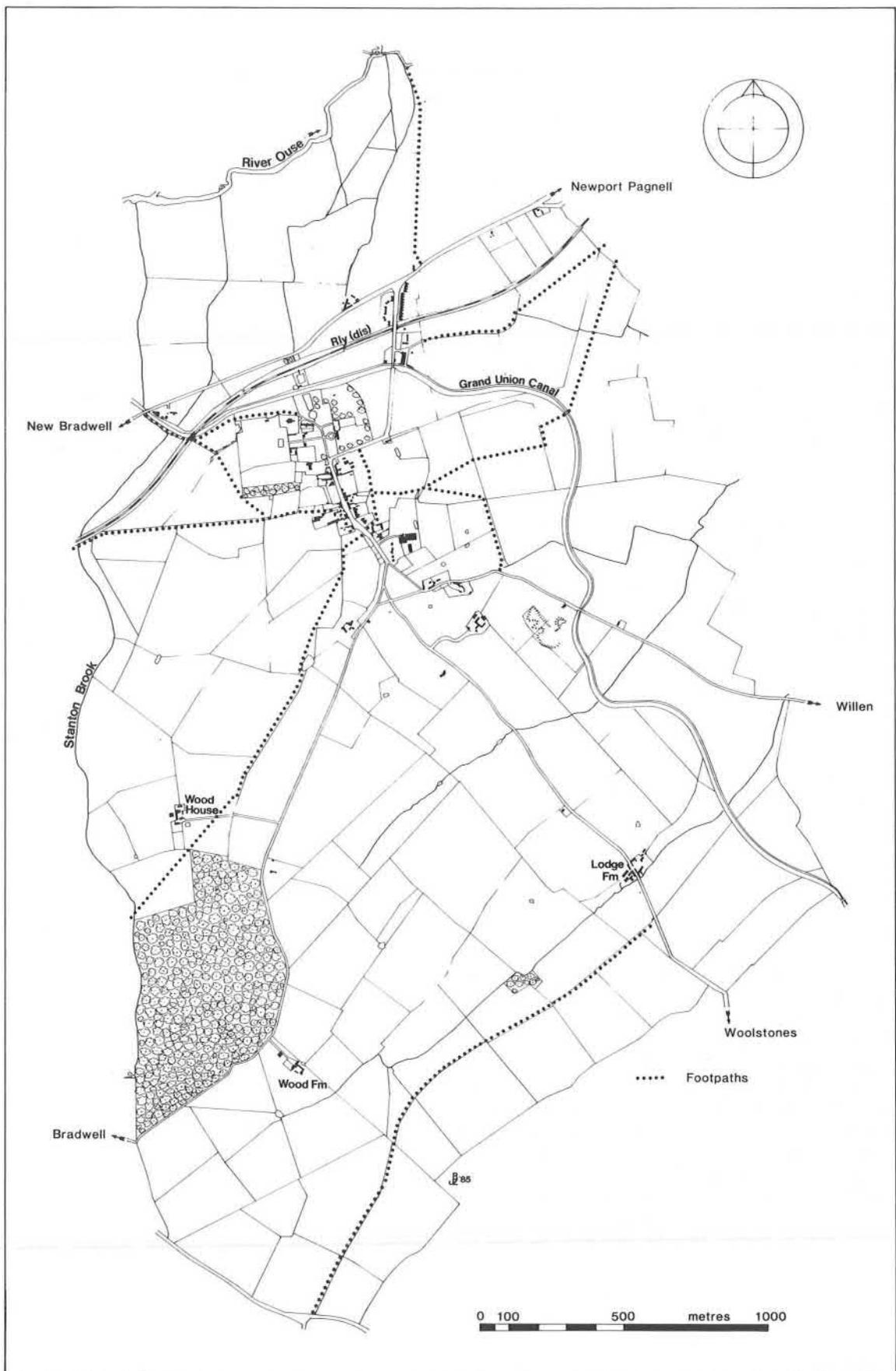


Figure 2: Great Linford parish before development.

sisting of up to four ditched enclosures and at least eleven penannular house drainage gullies. The site was located on a gravel spur overlooking the Ouzel valley, and environmental evidence from the site clearly demonstrated that its inhabitants were cultivating the surrounding heavy clay soils.

In 1975, a possible Roman villa site was located during the construction of sports facilities at Stantonbury Campus, and excavations were undertaken on the site between 1980–82, directed by R. J. Zeepvat for the Unit, assisted by students from the Campus. A number of outbuildings were located, including a tower granary and a small bath suite, forming part of a walled farmyard complex. A geophysical survey carried out by Bradford University located the villa farmhouse beneath the adjacent football pitch, preventing (unfortunately!) further examination. Occupation of the site was dated to the early second to mid fourth centuries.

Although excavations in Great Linford village revealed small quantities of Roman pottery and at least one coin, no features of that period were identified. Whilst this could be taken to suggest the existence of a Roman site in the region of the village, neither fieldwork nor construction work have revealed any further evidence along those lines.

Returning to Pennyland, excavations revealed a dispersed group of Saxon structures of sixth to early eighth century date, overlying the Iron Age settlement described above. These included eleven 'sunken featured buildings', two timber halls, three unusual 'four-post' structures and a timber-lined well, along with associated boundary ditches. The presence of a settlement in this area was suggested by the field names *Long Dunstead*, *Short Dunsted* and *Dunstead butts* on the 1641 estate map (Fig. 4, 104–106).

In contrast, Linford village has produced very little evidence of occupation earlier than the twelfth century, probably because the presence of the village has restricted opportunities for archaeological work. However, during re-ordering of St Andrew's Church in 1980, a quantity of pottery sherds of seventh to eighth-century date were found in an old ploughsoil layer sealed beneath the church, suggesting the possibility of occupation in that part of the village at that time. The reasons for the demise of the Pennyland settlement and the growth and continuity of Great Linford village as yet remain unclear.

The earliest archaeological date for the settlement of the village area comes from Croft F, on which occupation commenced in the late tenth to early eleventh century. By the late twelfth century the village was expanding south, for this is the date of the first occupation of Crofts A-D (Fig. 12).

## ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Two early east-west routes crossed the parish (Overlay 2). The first, partly the modern A422, crossing the northern end of the parish, was a principal route between Cambridge and Oxford, passing through Bedford, Newport Pagnell and Buckingham, and is presumably of late Saxon origin. The second road crossed the southern end of the parish, and was considered by Charles Green (Viatores 1974, 336 and map 443), to be a Roman road, no. 175a, running from Little Horwood to Willen, where it joined another road running northwards to the Roman town at Irchester, Northants. This road is referred to in several medieval documents for the adjoining parish of Loughton, where it is called *Portweie* before 1225 (Jenkins 1952, Ch. 68), and *Portweye* c. 1250 (*ibid*, Ch. 92). The names of many of the medieval furlongs in the parish are recorded in early documents, and of these *Belowe the Street* in the early thirteenth century (BuCRO D/U/1/65) could be taken as evidence of the Roman origin of this road. It survived as a substantial agger, respected by the ridge and furrow as a boundary on its route through the parish. The meeting mound (MK300) of the Saxon Secklow Hundred (Adkins and Petchey 1984) was situated on the edge of the parish adjacent to this road.

In the medieval period, a route led eastwards from the north end of the village to Newport Pagnell, to the south of the present A422. At the southern end of the village, minor roads or routes running from the green to Linford Wood, Willen and Woolstone are shown on the 1641 map (Fig. 4), and these must have existed in some form during the medieval period.

At the north end of the parish a bridge over the River Ouse existed by the early fourteenth century, when an indulgence was granted for its construction and repair (VCH Bucks IV, 392). The way to this bridge may have run around the edges of the furlongs on the line of the stream, as shown on the 1641 map (Fig. 4).

Medieval documents listing land in the parish also refer to the paths and ways into the fields. The earliest, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century (BuCRO D/U/1/66/1), refers to the street mentioned above. A document of similar date (BuCRO D/U/1/66/2), lists *Kingsstret*, which may be the same road. A document of 1449 (BuCRO D/U/1/76), refers to the main street of the village as the *Highway*, and to the *Lanezend*, which is believed to have been the end of the back lane on the east of the main street. This document also lists *Hacketweye* and *Whystone Path*, the latter being situated to the north of Linford Wood (Fig. 5). *Hacketweye* was a furlong name in 1449, but by 1477 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1) there was "a way called

*Hachetway*” beside land called *Lynffordes* and land called *Welsch*, both of which were names of manors in the parish. A document of 1649 (BuCRO D/U/1/2), refers to *Hatchett Pitts* but gives no location, and the name does not occur on the 1641 map.

A terrier of lands acquired by Richard Prentys in 1477 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1), lists *Highway*, *Mylleway*, *Beyond the Way*, *Beyond Waye End*, *Hacketlane*, *Hacketway*, *Worseway*, *Lywaye* and *Nether Ruggewaye*. Several of these have been dealt with above. The location of the others is not absolutely certain but may be as follows:

*Mylleway*: a route leading to the mill on the east side of the village.

*Beyond the Way* and *Beyond Way End*: may refer to land in the west of the parish approached by the *Lywaye*, which is presumably the *Ley Way* shown on the 1641 map.

*Worseway*: may be an early name for the *Drove*, a way shown on the 1641 map and located to the north-east of two furlongs called *Higher Worse Way* and *Lower Worse Way* respectively.

*Lywaye*: see above.

*Nether Ryggeway*: this is the main way from the village running parallel to *Ley Way*, leading to Linford Wood and eventually to Bradwell. This route on the 1641 map is shown adjacent to the furlong called *Under Ridge Way*. Further evidence comes from a terrier of 1515 (BuCRO D/U/1/82/5), which refers to land “between the ways called *Le Whay* and *Ryg’ Whay*”.

A rental of Walshes Manor, dated 1505–06 (BuCRO D/U/2/11), refers to the *Lane Close*, the *Common Street* (presumably the High Street) and the “Common Street called *Fullwellend*” which must be the road leading to the Fullwell from the green, more recently known as the Willen Lane.

The prenuptial settlement between John Nicolles and Helen Robins (BuCRO D/U/1/82/5), which dates from 1515, mentions the following ways in its terrier; *Long Path*, *Over the Whay*, *Hachet Whay*, *Harlettes Hege Whay*, *Whyston Path*, *Le Whay* and *Ryg’ Whay*. Most of these names have occurred previously, apart from *Long Path*, a furlong name, the location of which is unknown.

*Over the Whay*: this may be the same as *Over Path Furlong*, shown on the 1641 map (No. 35).

*Harlettes Hege Whay*: there is no other reference to this way and *Harlette* does not appear as a personal name in Great Linford.

The 1641 map indicates by evidence of furlong names the precise or approximate location of most of the ways discussed above. The map also shows that the main road from Newport Pagnell to Stony Stratford, which runs across the north end of the parish, had been partly rerouted by 1641, so that instead of running along the north side of the *Morro Leas* it ran along the southern side cutting across ridge and furrow.

A lane leading from the green, at the south end of the village to Little Woolstone is also shown, marked as *Woolson Way*. The route shown also cuts ridge and furrow, as does the lane leading from the village green to Willen.

The early ways to the nearby villages must have run along headlands and around the ploughed furlongs, their routes probably being varied according to the crops. Later perhaps when more land was turned over to pasture, more direct routes running across the ridge and furrow came into use and continued until the coming of Milton Keynes.

#### THE MEDIEVAL FIELD SYSTEM

The strips and furlong boundaries of the Great Linford fields were recorded by fieldwork in 1972, prior to their subsequent destruction by development. The original plan is preserved within the Unit’s archive. In 1988, the evidence was checked against the 1946 R. A. F. vertical photographs, enabling amendments to be made and gaps filled. The final plan (Fig. 3) shows the full extent of the field system, which may not all be contemporary. To allow reduction for publication only alternate strips are shown.

The date of the establishment of the field system within the parish is uncertain, but it is most likely that its origins are contemporary with those of the village. When the furlongs were first laid out, they respected only two roads, both of which were east-west routes probably of Roman origin, although the northern route running along the Ouse Valley may be earlier. The village was not sited on either of these routes, but in a more favourable location, overlooking the Ouse Valley and adjacent to a source of limestone for buildings.

An indication of the date of the establishment of the furlongs, or at least those in that area of the parish, comes from Pennyland, where the Saxon settlement of sixth to seventh century date lay totally sealed beneath ridge and furrow.

The village probably had its origins in the tenth or eleventh centuries, and it is most likely that the field system was established at that time. The Domesday evidence suggests that in the late eleventh century a proportion of the parish was not cultivated, this waste land gradually coming

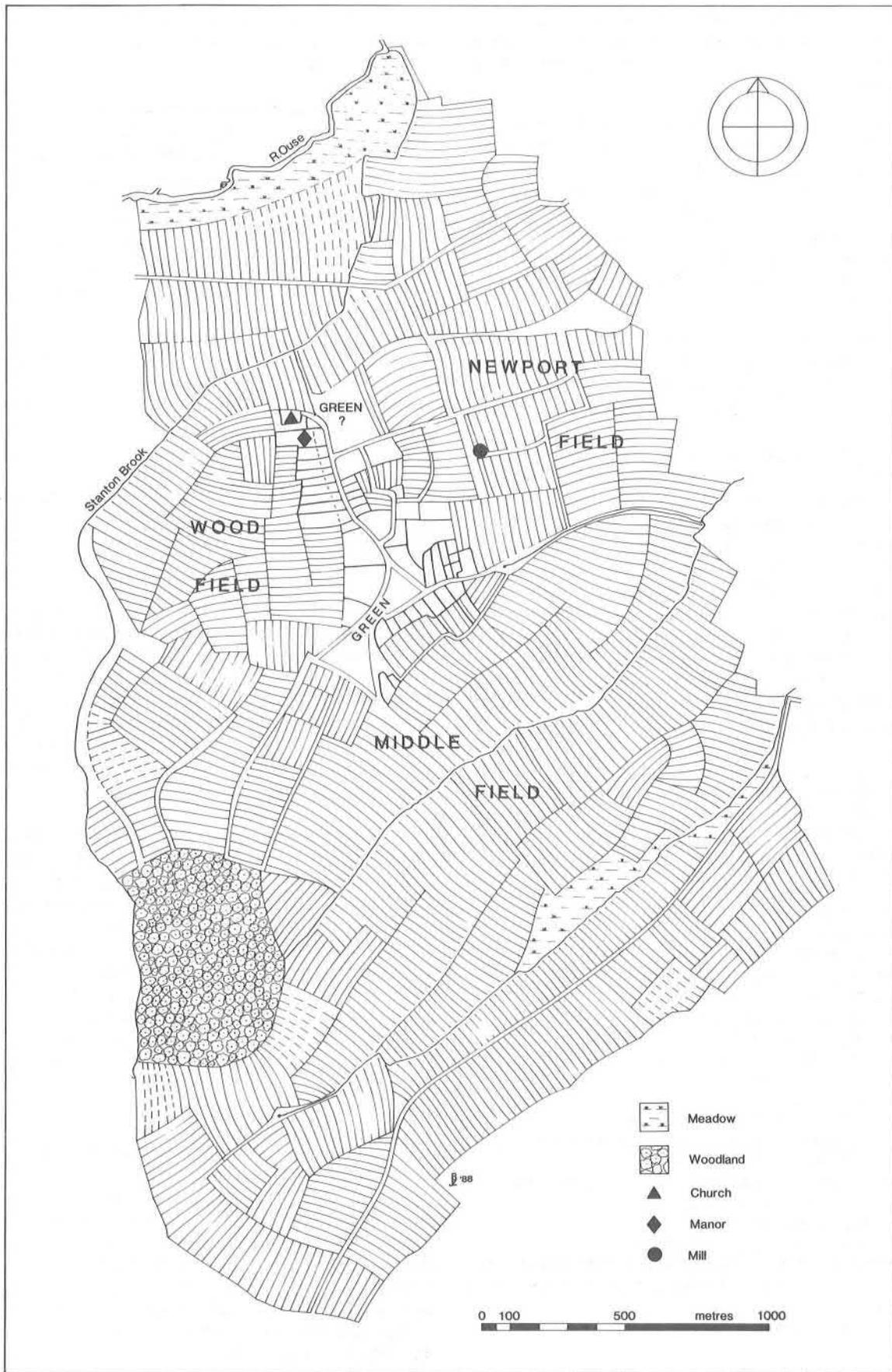


Figure 3: The medieval field system of Great Linford.

into use as the expanding population of the village required it. Possibly all of the land in the parish was under the plough by the mid to late twelfth century.

In the medieval period the arable land was allocated to individual holders in strips, which survive as the raised strips or lands, as they are often called, visible in ridge and furrow. The undulating ridge and furrow of the local fields was a product of the way the land was ploughed. The strips were grouped together to form furlongs, which were defined by banks and headlands rather than by hedges.

Generally villagers were not allowed to work adjoining strips, so their land was spread around the fields of the village. The furlongs were located within two or three large fields, the Great Fields, the use of which was rotated seasonally by varying the crops and allowing some land to lay fallow. The 1641 map (Fig. 4 and Overlay 3) shows the field system and all of the furlongs with their names, as they existed at that time. It is fortunate that a number of early documents dating from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards survive for the parish. These documents are interesting, because they give the names of local landowners and of the individual furlongs in which their land was situated. The furlong names are fairly descriptive, and often provide evidence of archaeological sites. The thirteenth century furlong names and their likely interpretations are:

*Le Smeye*: possibly misread for *Smepe* (OE *þ* = th), and this is 'smooth place' or perhaps more likely 'smithy'.

*Rowelowe*: possibly the site of a burial mound, 'rough tumulus'.

*Below the Streete*: the Street referred to here was a Roman road.

*Eldefeld*: Old field or elder field.

*Westhul*: West hill.

*Le He Ditch*: *He* might be 'high' or 'enclosure'; 'the head of the ditch' is a later rationalisation.

*Le Forde*: 'the ford'.

*Follewellehull*: Fullwell Hill.

*Foxhole*: Land occupied by foxes.

*Tun Stude*: Site of a deserted settlement, OE *tunstede* means 'settlement-site.'

*Banland*: Beanland.

*Heldhul*: Most likely 'sloping hill' from OE *held*.

*Upon Kingstret*: On King Street, possibly the same street referred to in 'Below the Streete'.

*Corndich*: Might be Heron Ditch, OE *cran* = 'heron'.

*Stantonbroc*: Stanton Brook.

*Goseland*: Gooseland.

*Springewelle*: The name of a spring.

*Nerhombroc*: *hom* in field-names is OE *hamm* 'river meadow'. There was probably a meadow called 'Near Ham'.

*Segeloveslade*: Secklow Slade.

Many of these names survived with only minor changes until they were again recorded on the

1641 estate map, suggesting that the layout of the furlongs remained much the same for over three hundred years.

The parish was originally farmed on the two field system, for in 1449 the earliest located documentary reference to the names of the great fields (BuCRO D/U/1/76) mentions only two, *Segelowfeld* and *Le Dounefeld*. *Segelowfeld* is Secklow Field, which took its name from the Secklow Mound, the meeting place of the Saxon Secklow Hundred, situated at the southern end of the parish (Adkins and Petchey 1984). *Dounefeld* probably means the lower field.

Later in the medieval period the parish operated a three field system, but it is not until the early seventeenth century that documents have been found which refer to furlongs within these fields. The names of the three great fields were Wood Field, Middle Field and Newport Field, although the latter is sometimes called Newport Side Field, and was referred to as the North Field in 1608 (BuCRO D/U/1/103/1) and 1626 (BuCRO D/U/1/104/3).

Areas of the fields which had previously been ploughed must have become permanent pasture at quite an early date. For example, at the south end of the parish, the large area shown on the 1641 map as "Great Linford Common called Layfield" which was approached from the village by the lanes called *Ley Way* and *Ryge-way*, was found during the survey to be completely covered by ridge and furrow.

The Leyfield was already established in 1477 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1) when Richard Prentys purchased lands within it from Robert Malyns. It may still have been arable land at that time but by 1525 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/3), when Richard Prentys sold these lands to Harry Logge, a grazier from Stantonbury, it was probably pasture. On the 1641 map the western end of the Leyfield was divided into two fields called *Connie Burrough Hill* and *Pigs Hill*. These names suggest an area of grazing for pigs which also supported a large rabbit population.

In 1649, the prenuptial settlement of Sir Richard Napier and Mary Kynaston (BuCRO D/U/1/2), lists the extent of the manors of Great Linford and Walshes. This document lists the rights of common held by each manor, the total of which came to grazing for 460 sheep, 38 cows, 14 dry beasts and 8 horses. In addition, the manors were entitled to 1900 furze faggots yearly "to be taken off the common called Layfield", which suggests that the common must have been extensively covered in scrub in order to supply such a large number of faggots. The 1641 map shows several trees on the Leyfield. One in particular is identified as *Great Oak*, which

may suggest that the area had been partly overgrown and not ploughed for some considerable time.

Much of the low lying land adjacent to the River Ouse in the north of the parish was originally ploughed (Fig. 3), but must have been pasture when a large part of it called *Morrowe Leaze* was subject to grazing regulations at a Court Baron, held in 1567 (BuCRO D/U/2/2). These regulations forbade the grazing of sheep in the field from the harvest to St Edward's Day.

The actual management of the meadow land can be hinted at from documents which show that it was divided up into lots called *doles* and *swathes* (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1), and that grazing was strictly controlled (BuCRO D/U/2/2,5 and 6). A post-enclosure document of 1663 (BuCRO D/U/1/11), refers to a forecrop or share of meadow land, which might suggest that two crops of hay were obtained from some of the meadows.

#### KEY TO FIGS 4 AND 6.

##### LANDOWNERS

SRN	Sir Richard Napier	MC	Matthew Cardwell	KG	Kent's Grove
GP	George Person	RE	Richard Evens?	PG	Parratt & Gaddesden
TK	Thomas Kent	TN	Thomas Nicholls	TKn.	Thomas Knight
M	Malyns	WA	William Adkins	TR	Thomas Roughead
RS	Richard Smith			JoK.	John Kent

##### FIELD NAMES

0	Midsomer Homes	41	Bean Hill furlong
1	Furlong next Linford Bridge	42	Furlong on Upper Side Windmill hades
2	Furlong with Great Doles	43	Butts to Fulwell hades
3	Furlong between the Ditch and the River	44	Seven acres
4	Furlong shooting on Lo Hill	45	Tongwell
5	Furlong on east side the Meadow	46	Wet side caldecud Brook severall Swarde
6	Tithe Meadow	47	Sevrall sward drie side the Brook
7	Roody Doles	48	Furlong shooting on the brooke
8	Furlong shooting on Twenty Lands	49	Fulwell hill furlong
9	First furlong shooting on Morro Leas	50	France furlong
10	Second furlong shooting on Morro Leas	51	Furlong against the grove
11	Morro Leas	52	Farm close
12	Salt Marsh Gogg	53	Ash Leas pees
13	Salt Marsh Pees	54	Ash Leas
14	First Dirty Doles	55	Stoney Pees
15	Second Dirty Doles	56	Butts
16	Short ends	57	Pees against Stanton hedge
17	Pits	58	Long and part of short woollan
18	Long ends furlong	59	Linford pees
19	Furlong shooting to ould Pits	60	Linford close
20	Mare furlong	61	Stone pits furlong
21	Furlong above Whetstone hades	62	Head ditch furlong
22	Furlong beneath Whetstone hades	63	Furlong under West Hill
23	Whetstone Hades	64	West Hill hades
24	Doggeds Furlong	65	West Hill furlong
25	Furlong to Newport Headland	66	Garland furlong
26	Furlong shooting to Newport Willows	67	Furlong at Mallens Gate
27	Furlong on the other side Marsh	68	Pear Tree Furlong.
28	Mortar Pits	69	Furlong under Whitsons path
29	Butts from Marsh to Mortar Pits	70	Furlong above Whitsons path
30	Butts at Newport Bush	71	Furlong under Netherley Way
31	The Common Sward of Marsh	72	Nether Way hades
32	Stratford peas	73	Rowlo Furlong
33	Farland peas	74	Furlong between the Ley wayes
34	Dove house Leas	75	North Hill Furlong
35	Over Path Furlong	76	Gutter slade
36	Furlong between Windmill Hades	77	Wood close
37	Long Marsh	78	Linford Wood
38	Green Grove furlong	79	Furlong between Ridge Way and Ley way
39	Willow stub furlong	80	Overley Way
40	Blakeland	81	Furlong above greene end

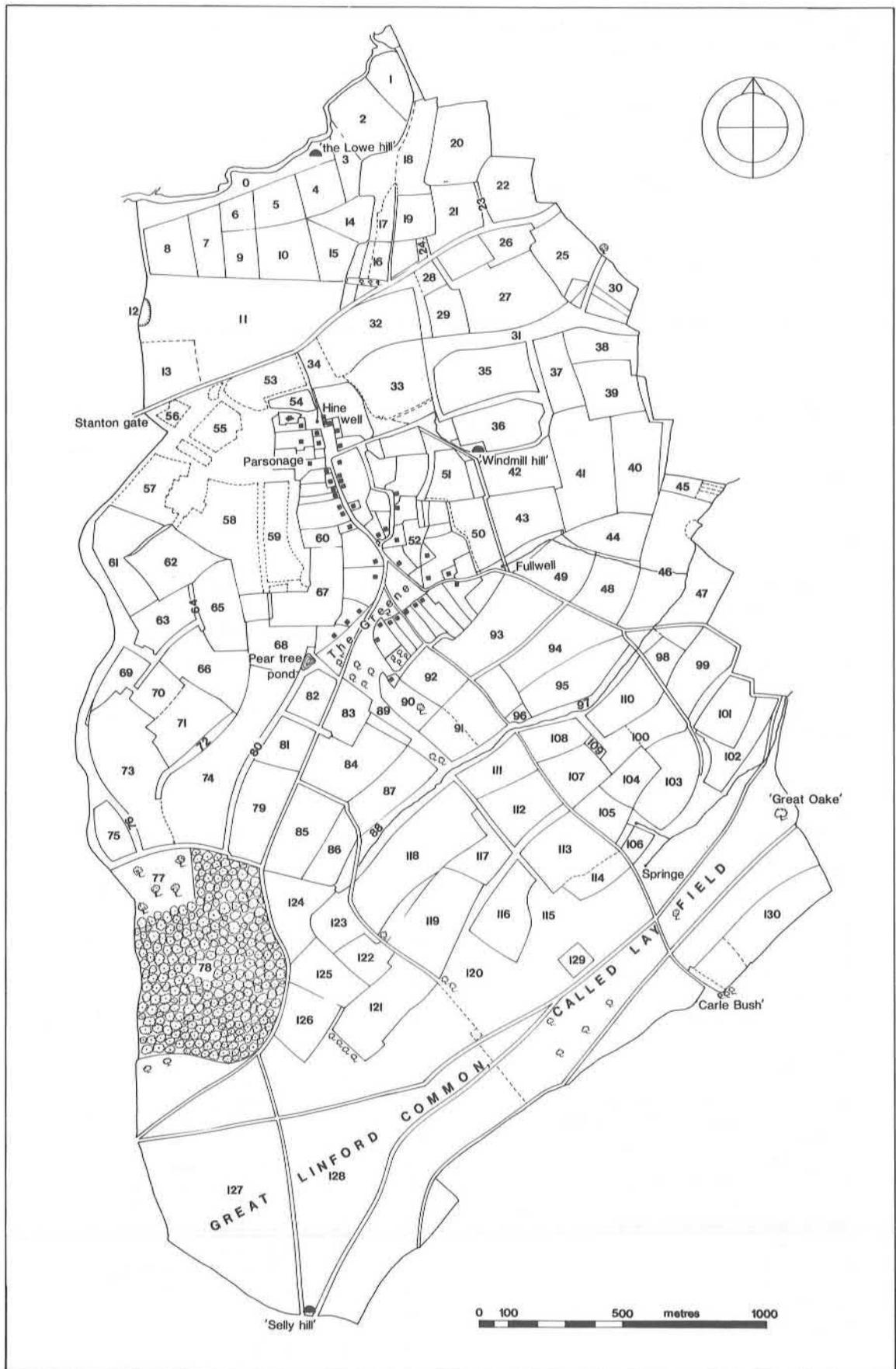


Figure 4: The parish in 1641, based on Estate map.

82	Greens end furlong fallow field	107	Elder stub furlong
83	Greens end furlong pease field	108	Radge Croft
84	Higher worse way furlong	109	Moor
85/86	The furlong under ridge way	110	Furlong pease
87	Lower worse way furlong	111	Buts on the other side the Brooke
88	Brook sward	112	Furlong shooting to Under street hades
89	Drove	113	Under street furlong
90	Great Picknuts	114	Under street butts
91	Under Picknuts	115	Malzmead
92	Granes end furlong	116	Malzmead furlong
93	Furlong at Weatherheads backside	117	Short well
94	The belowe hill	118	Long Neath hill
95	Furlongs stone hades	119	Long Lewell
96	Ducks headland	120	Long layes
97	Springe hill	121	Brier hedge
98	Furlongs	122	Balland Furlongs
99	Hither Penniland	123	Neath hill fallow field
100	Penniland Field	124	Garebroad butts
101	Penniland furlong barley field	125	Balland Furlongs
102	Further field	126	Wood furlong
103	Langage furlong	127	Connie Burrough Hill
104	Long Dunstead	128	Pigs Hill
105	Short Dunsted	129	Cow Pen
106	Dunstead butts	130	Down head furlong

## THE VILLAGE

### THE MEDIEVAL VILLAGE AND ITS EARTHWORKS

D. C. Mynard

The medieval village (Overlay 6) contained houses and crofts around an almost rectangular green, aligned north-east to south-west. From the north end of this a wide hollow-way, the main village street ran north to Pipard's Manor, the church and Rectory. The street was some six hundred metres in length and further houses, crofts and closes lay on either side of it. To the south of the present manor house, the road turned to the east, serving as an access to the fields in the north-east of the parish before eventually leading to Newport Pagnell. A sunken back lane which joined the main street at the north end of the green ran northwards leading to Croft L, creating a roughly triangular area of crofts and closes between itself and the main street.

South of this back lane and on the north-east side of the green was Walshes Manor, later called Walshes Place, and beyond this several crofts fronted onto Fullwell Lane (see below). The windmill, located on a high spot within the fields approximately four hundred metres east of the village, was approached by *Mylleway*, which ran south along a headland linking Fullwell Lane with the road to Newport Pagnell.

The principal water supply for the village presumably came from two springs, since no wells were located on any of the excavated crofts. One spring at the north end of the village near the church was called the *Hine Well* in 1641 (Fig. 6), but no earlier references to this spring have been found. The other, *Fullwell*, situated to the east of the green on the north side of the lane leading to Willen, became a well known village landmark, giving its name to land nearby as early as the thirteenth century (BuCRO D/U/1/66/1), when an adjacent furlong was called *Follewellshul*, which became *Fullwellehyll* by 1477 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1). In 1505-6 a rental of Walshes Manor (BuCRO D/U/2/11) refers to "the common street called *Fullwellend*", which became *Fullwell Lane* by 1524 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/3), in more modern times was known as Willen Lane, and now Harper's Lane. The 1881 edition of the Ordnance Survey map shows several wells in gardens behind houses on the east side of the High Street. These wells may

have existed in the medieval period, but all of the relevant crofts are still occupied and were not available for excavation.

The village earthworks (Fig. 5) were best preserved to the south and east of the green in Hern's Close and Newman's Close, fields which became and remained pasture after the abandonment of the houses within them. To the south-west of the green the earthworks had been the subject of considerable ploughing, and were much reduced. On the east and west sides of the main street the earthworks were more fragmentary; only traces of croft boundaries surviving. All of the earthworks were surveyed and recorded in 1974 and 1975, during the first two seasons of excavation.

Experience has shown that interpretation based only on the physical survey of the earthworks can often be misleading. At Great Linford, the results of the excavations and the study of two estate maps, one dated 1641, which records the parish before the enclosure of 1658, and the other 1678, have allowed a better understanding of the other surviving earthworks in Milton Keynes.

The excavated crofts were identified by letters (Fig. 12) and this system was continued for the rest of the village (Overlay 6), commencing with Croft A in the south-west corner of the green, to Croft M on the north side of Willen Lane, and this system was continued for all the unexcavated crofts both identified and suspected. Since there were more crofts than letters of the alphabet, the twenty-seventh became A2 and so on to A3, which was situated on the north side of the green.

The following description of the earthworks commences in the south-west corner of the village green. At this point a route defined by a ditch on either side, called 'Drove' in 1641 (Fig. 4), may have led across the fields to Woolstone. To the north-east of this land, and along the southern edge of the green, were a series of house sites and crofts. The first, Croft A (Overlay 6), of which only traces of the ditches survived, was shown on the 1641 map as a small croft located in the corner of a close called *Great Picknuts*, which is referred to as early as 1321 (BAS Mss 347/44). Running north-eastwards from Croft A, the 1641 map showed eight larger crofts fronting onto the south-

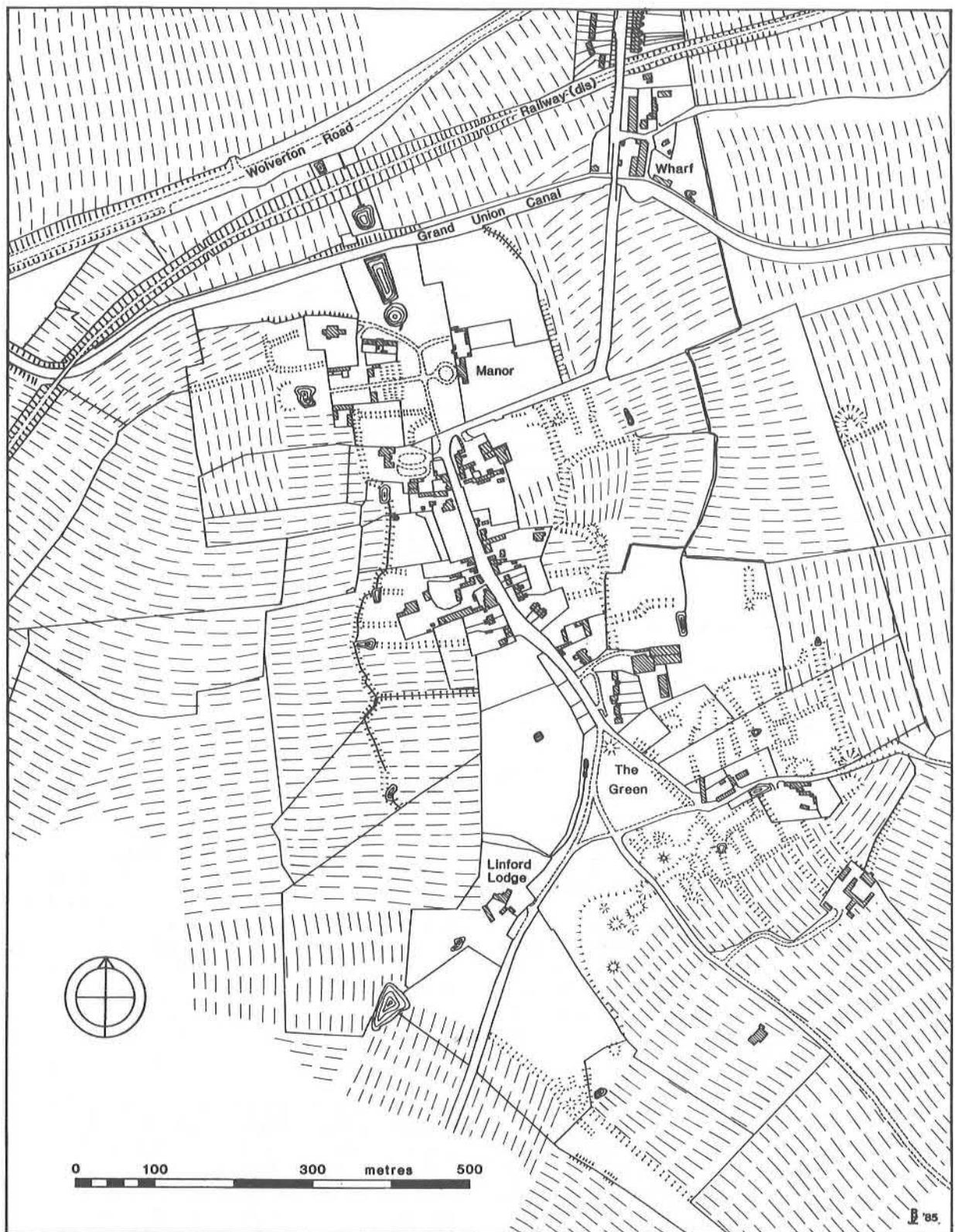


Figure 5: The village earthworks.

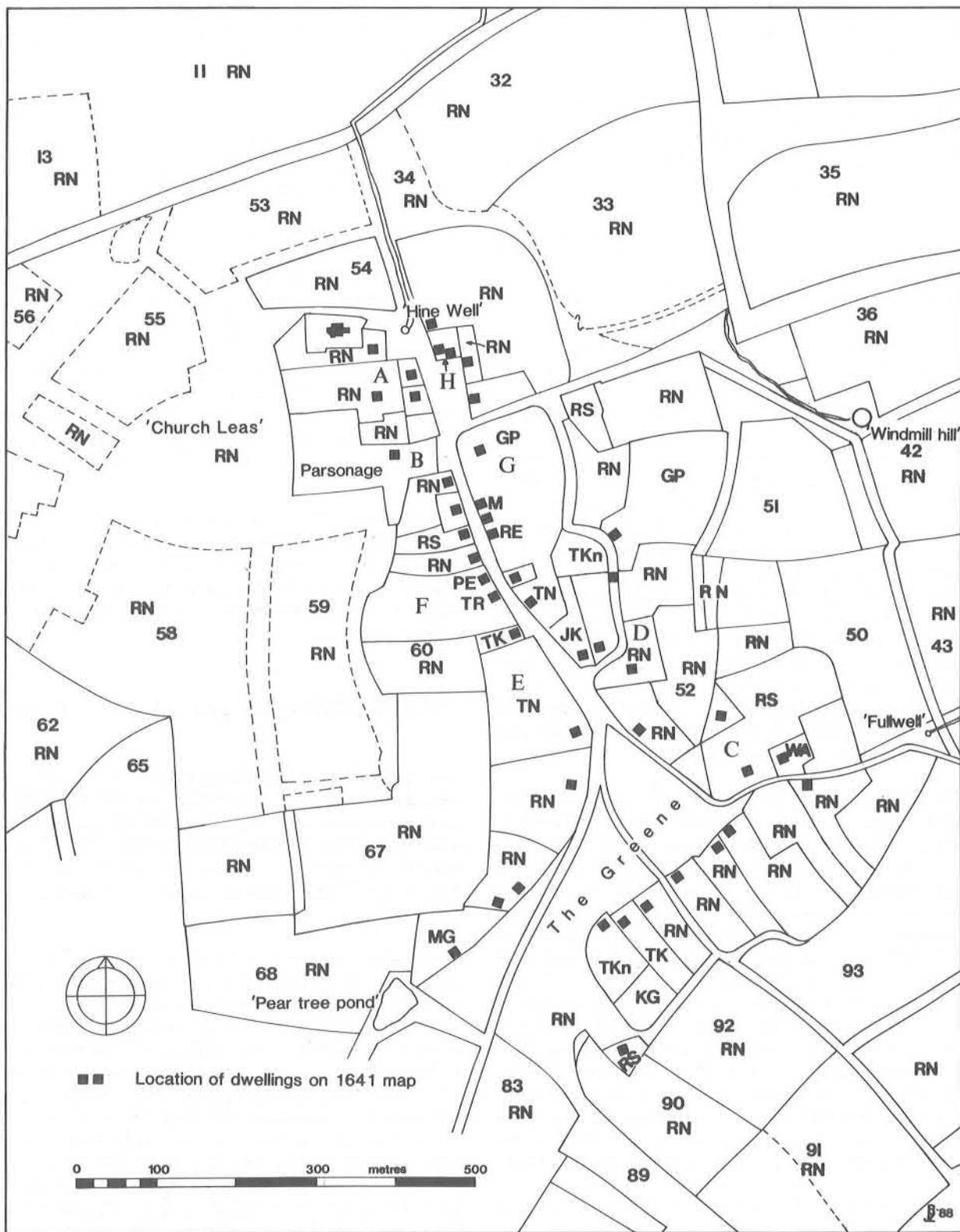


Figure 6: The village in 1641, based on Estate map.

ern side of the green. The boundaries of these crofts were fairly well preserved, apart from those of Crofts N, O and P, between Croft A and Croft B, which had been levelled by ploughing. When excavated, Crofts B to E produced evidence of several phases of building (see below). Crofts Q and R on the east side of Croft E are still occupied and were not available for excavation.

The development of the crofts on the southern side of the green is interesting. The house sites appear to have been inserted along the southern edge of the early sub-rectangular green. The small closes behind them were taken from the field, enclosing strips that were formerly part of Greens End Furlong. The houses on Crofts B, C and D date from the late twelfth century; whether the closes attached to them were taken from the open field at that time or later is uncertain. Excavation of the boundaries of the closes produced no dating evidence to confirm their origin. This encroachment on the green in the late twelfth century suggests that this was a period of expansion for the village. On the green itself a number of fragmentary, irregular hollows and mounds were at first thought to represent possible house sites. However, excavation in 1974 of the earthworks to the north of Crofts B and C revealed no evidence of structures, and in 1975 and 1979, when areas of the green were stripped in advance of drainage works nothing was found, suggesting that the earthworks probably represented random clay pits or other post-medieval disturbance.

To the east of the green on the north side of Fullwell Lane, five medieval crofts were identified, only one of which, Croft F, was totally available for excavation. Of the others, Croft H/J contained farmbuildings under conversion to a dwelling house. The southern end of Croft T contained an occupied cottage, "The Mead", and the remains of Croft G were largely within the garden of that cottage. Excavation revealed that Croft F was occupied from the late tenth century, Croft G from the late twelfth century and Croft H/J from the mid thirteenth. On the east side of Croft F, a close identified as Croft M, which may be the King's Close referred to in a rental of Walshes Manor (BuCRO D/U/2/11), contained one possible house platform, but trial excavation there revealed no evidence of occupation or structures.

The pattern on the east side of the main street is less clear since few earthworks survived. The rental of Walshes Manor in 1505-6 (BuCRO D/U/2/11) lists five properties, two crofts and finally a capital messuage running north from the "comon street called Fullwellend", and these must have been on the east side of the main street. The 1641 map (Fig. 6) shows cottages on the east side of the street but no croft boundaries, presumably because they had become redundant by that time.

The layout of the northern end of the medieval village is unclear due to the building of the Rectory in the mid sixteenth century, the building and enlargement of the manor house in the mid seventeenth century by Sir Richard Napier, and finally the demolition of that house and the building of the new manor house in about 1679 by Sir William Pritchard. Excavation confirmed that the medieval manor house lay on the south side of the church, to the west of and under the two pavilions of the eighteenth-century manor house. This house, with its pavilions, almshouses and school house is within a landscaped setting that removed virtually all traces of this end of the medieval village. It is most likely (Overlays 4 and 5) that the green extended to the north end of the village. A document of 1460 (BuCRO D/U/1/77/1) relates to two messuages, and mentions the highway leading to the church, which abutts against the church on one side and "lee comyn greene on the other."

On the west side of the main street, particularly at the north end, fragments of croft boundaries survived in the gardens behind the village houses. These, coupled with evidence from the 1641 map, suggest that medieval crofts fronted much of the village street.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE VILLAGE PLAN

The evidence for the development of the villages obtained from the excavations is rather limited since only parts of it were available for excavation. The main areas excavated were crofts on the south side of the green and on the east side of the Main Street, the Pipard manor house, the church, and the windmill.

The earliest evidence of occupation came from a truncated ploughsoil found sealed beneath the church (p.109, below), which contained pottery of sixth to seventh-century date. Whether or not this material is from a Saxon settlement which went on to become the principal manor of Great Linford is uncertain. Other pottery from service trenches dug through the churchyard in 1980 (p. 118, below) dated from the ninth to the eleventh century, and may confirm continuous activity in this area. The work within the church in 1980 suggested that the first church was built in the tenth or eleventh century, and that the surviving twelfth-century tower was added to this structure.

Excavation of the site of Pipards Manor to the south of the church confirmed that the earliest building there dated from the late fourteenth century, although the presence of some twelfth and thirteenth-century pottery suggested earlier activity nearby.

Crofts F and L, on the east side of the village close to Walshes Manor, produced evidence of occupation commencing in the late tenth to early eleventh century (Overlay 4). Croft L was situated to the east of the main green, and appeared to be contemporary with the ridge and furrow around it. The way to Croft L and the adjacent fields was later extended northwards over ridge and furrow to join the road leading from the village to Newport Pagnell. This extension created the back lane to the east side of the main street, and probably took place at the time that the crofts on the east side of the main street were established.

By the late twelfth century (Overlay 5) the village was expanding, and houses had been built along the southern edge of the green. The crofts associated with these houses extended to the south taking in part of the ploughed field behind them. All these crofts were of a similar size, averaging 39m. wide and 135m. deep. The same pattern can be seen in the crofts on the west side of the main street, where Crofts P2 to V2 were also established on the edge of the green extending back into previously ploughed furlongs. Whether the crofts and the back lane on the east side of the main street were also established at this time is uncertain.

The windmill is first mentioned in 1302–3 (VCH 1927, 389), when it was held by William le Waleys and Celia his wife. However, the radiocarbon dates for the cross timbers of the mill suggest that it could have been constructed as early as the late twelfth century, a date which would accord with the expansion of the village at this time.

By the late thirteenth to fourteenth century the village plan with regularly laid out crofts must have been fully developed (Overlay 6). During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the changes that resulted in the plan recorded by the 1641 map began. Many of the properties referred to in fifteenth-century documents can actually be located on the 1641 map. Most of the excavated crofts appear to have been continuously occupied until the mid to late seventeenth century, although Crofts C, E, F and possibly X2 were abandoned in the early to mid fifteenth century.

## THE POST-MEDIEVAL VILLAGE

The earliest surviving map of the parish (Figs 4, 6 and Overlays 3, 7) is dated 1641, and was drawn up for Sir Richard Napier. This map, which predates the enclosure of the parish by seventeen years, presents a picture of the village and its fields much as they were during the late medieval period. A second estate map (Figs 7, 8 and Overlays 8, 9), drawn up in 1678 for Sir William Prit-

chard on his purchase of the Great Linford estate, records the parish after enclosure.

By comparing the 1641 map with the earthwork survey (Fig. 5), the changes that took place over the years can be identified. In particular, several croft boundaries had been removed, creating larger plots of land around houses. On the north side of Fullwell Lane a small cottage occupied a plot at the south end of Croft G, while the other crofts had been combined to form the close associated with Moulsoe's Farm house, which occupied the south end of the former Croft H. Many of the new closes around the village enclosed areas of ridge and furrow which were formerly part of the arable lands of the village.

The 1641 map illustrates forty six properties in the village, consisting of the church, the parsonage, seven large houses and thirty seven smaller village houses and cottages. It is interesting that neither the manor houses nor any of the principal farms were identified by name. However, several properties have been identified by linking the initials of the owners, shown on the map, with the names of contemporary village people obtained from local property deeds and other documents. Some larger properties, identified by the letters A to H (Fig. 6), have been identified by various means as explained below:

### A. Great Linford Manor House (Croft K2)

This property located between the Church and the Rectory belonged to Sir Richard Napier in 1641. The site is that of the principal manor house built when the two Domesday manors held by Hugh de Bolbec were combined (see p. 23, below). This manor, held by the Pipard family from the late twelfth until the early fourteenth century passed to the Butlers, Earls of Ormonde, who retained it until the early sixteenth century. The Butlers were probably never resident in the village, and the occupants of the manor house were the de Linford family.

In 1460 two messuages in Croft J2, called *Isabella Mason* and *Potens*, which were situated immediately to the south of the churchyard, were said to be on the north side of a tenement "late of Thomas Lynford" (BuCRO D/U/1/77/1), which in 1485 was described as "a tenement of the Lord of Linford" (BuCRO D/U/1/77/2). A glebe terrier of 1607 (BuCRO D/A/GT, box 6), describes the parsonage as "lying betweene the strete on the east side, the field called the wood field on the west, the close of Henry Cowley on the south and a farmhouse belonging to the Lord of Great Linford on the north". This farmhouse must be the building excavated in 1980 (p. 93ff, below). Excavation showed that this house was considerably enlarged in the early seventeenth century, at which time it was occupied by Sir Richard Napier.

### B. *The Parsonage (Croft L2)*

This building is clearly identified on the 1641 map. The present Rectory which occupies the same site dates from the seventeenth century, and incorporates parts of an earlier building.

### C. *Moulsoe's Farmhouse*

The location of this property is confirmed by the fact that it is the largest of the three properties owned by Richard Smith and is marked with his initials on the 1641 map. Richard Smith obtained these properties from his father, on his marriage in 1626 (BuCRO D/U/1/44). Moulsoe's Farm took its name from the Mulso (Mulsho) family who held land in Great Linford from at least 1449 (BuCRO D/U/1/76). William Mulso was a tenant of Walshes Manor in 1491, and earlier in 1480 (BuCRO D/U/1/33/6) he and a William Bruse had been given power of attorney to deliver seisin of the manor when it was acquired by Robert Gillibrond. On the death of William Mulso in 1557, Moulsoe's Farm was purchased by Christopher Troughton and later passed to his son of the same name, who retained it until 1595. It was then purchased by John Blundell, and subsequently sold by him to John Smith of Little Linford in 1610, who settled it on his son Richard in 1626 (BuCRO D/U/1/44).

### D. *Walshes Manor House (Croft W)*

The capital messuage of Walshes Manor is probably referred to as early as the late thirteenth century (BuCRO D/U/1/70). At that time the estate which became Walshes Manor was held by William le Waleys, and his house was described as "a messuage with curtilage, hedges, buildings and ditches". In 1505/6 the tenant of the capital messuage was John Malyns (BuCRO D/U/2/11), and in 1510 (BuCRO D/U/1/33/8) the property was referred to as "Walshes' Place". Whilst no documents survive to give the precise location of Walshes Manor House, others confirm that it, and most of the property belonging to this manor, was situated on the east side of the main village street.

In 1638 (BuCRO D/U/1/33) Sir Richard Napier purchased "the Manor of Great Linford *alias* Lindford Manor and the capital messuage called Walshes Place *alias* the Manor of Walshes". In the more detailed description of the property the manor is called "The Manor of Great Linford *alias* Lyndford Manor *alias* Walshes Manor or Walshes Land or Tyingham Manor." The principal residence of the manor is described as the "capital messuage, farm and demesne of which Sir Thomas Tyingham was in his lifetime seized."

The main manor of Great Linford was purchased by Sir Richard Napier in 1640 from Sir John Thompson (BuCRO D/U/1/34), and no capital

messuage or manor house is mentioned in that transaction. This leads one to suspect that at that time Walshes Manor House was the principal residence in the village, and that the original manor house was no longer in use as such.

Documentary and excavation evidence has shown that the house of the main Great Linford Manor (see A above, and p. 93ff, below) was nothing more than a substantial farm house. The excavation confirmed that the house was extensively rebuilt and enlarged in the mid seventeenth century. This work must have been carried out by Sir Richard Napier soon after his purchase of that manor in 1640. Having acquired both manors he combined them as one and planned a new manor house on the prime site adjacent to the church. Whilst this all took place he must have had a residence for his use when in the village, and this would have been Walshes Place, since it was the principal house there at that time. Turning to the 1641 map (Fig. 6) there is only one other large house owned by Sir Richard and this is the only property which is likely to have been Walshes Place. This house occupied Croft W (Overlays 5 and 6) and was not in an area available for excavation. Later in the seventeenth century Walshes Place became a farm house, and was the subject of a lease in 1666 and various mortgages (BuCRO D/U/1/11).

From this time on, Walshes Place became less important, and by 1881 the site was occupied by an imposing eighteenth-century building, called "Great Linford House" (6" O. S. Map, 1st edition), which was demolished without record c. 1961.

### E. *Mungeys (Croft X2)*

This property is identified by the owners initials T. N., which are those of Thomas Nichols the younger. The Nichols family acquired several free tenements in 1559 (BuCRO D/U/1/42) from William Fysher. Most of the property was mortgaged in 1646, and at that time Mungeys was described as "a messuage wherein Thomas Nichols the younger dwells, called Mungey's House", with a close of pasture of four acres, at the side of the house. The property was acquired by Sir Richard Napier in 1652 (BuCRO D/U/1/42, Bundle B). The name Mungeys may have been derived from the surname of Robert de Mongeye, who witnessed a mid thirteenth-century deed relating to land in the parish (BuCRO D/U/1/66/1).

### F. *Michells (Crofts V2 and U2)*

A messuage called Michells was held by the Malyns family from at least 1519 until 1623, when it was conveyed (BuCRO D/U/1/39/2) to William Gaddesden and Richard Parratt. The 1641 map

shows two properties on the same plot, one (Michells) is marked P. G. for Parratt and Gaddesden, the other T. R. for Thomas Roughead, all of whom were owners at that time. In 1642 both properties were acquired by Sir Thomas Middleton and Richard Wright, who sold them to Sir Richard Napier in 1644. The site is now occupied by Church Farm, a seventeenth-century house probably built after enclosure of the parish in 1658.

#### G. *Harringeys* (Croft E2)

A substantial house with the name 'George Person' (Pierson) written against it on the 1641 map. George Pierson of Kempston had acquired this property in 1635–6 from Thomas Stafford of Tattenhoe on a 999 year lease (BuCRO D/U/1/52). The rental of Walshes Manor in 1491 (BuCRO D/U/2/11) lists a messuage called Haringeys, with lands which Thomas Stafford held for a rent of 2s 4d per annum. There is a later marginal note "This land came to Hopkins and so to Mr Stafford of Tattenhoe and so to George Pierson". Haringeys was part of the property which Sir Thomas Stafford, who died in 1607, left for the endowment of almshouses at Shenley Church End, which were built by his son, also Sir Thomas Stafford, in 1615. This house was the original Windmill Hill Farm house which was demolished c. 1930 to 1940 (Pers. comm. Mrs Elsie Tompkins).

#### H. *Knight's Farm House* (Croft G2)

This property was purchased in 1683 (BuCRO D/U/1/60) by Sir William Pritchard, who required the site for the erection of his new manor house. Sir William purchased from Henry Knight and his wife Mary, descendants of Thomas Knight, who lived there in 1635 when it was described as "a messuage with orchard and yards etc adjoining" (BuCRO D/U/1/60). The 1641 map shows the property much as it was described in 1635, but by 1678 (Fig. 8) a large barn had been built at the rear of the property, and part of the house may have been demolished. At that time, the key to the map described the property as "the house barn etc over against ye manor and the garden altogether".

Unless already purchased by Sir Richard Napier, in which case they have the initials S. R. N., most

other properties in the village bear the initials of their owner, and can be identified from the reconstructed key accompanying Fig. 6.

The 1641 village plan was much the same as that which had developed by the fourteenth century (Overlay 6). The main differences were in the croft boundaries, which in some cases had become redundant when adjoining crofts were combined under one ownership. Sometimes parts of one or more adjacent crofts had been combined, where one owner had purchased the land at the rear of his neighbour's house, and this also led to the alteration of croft boundaries.

On the east side of the village the windmill had gone, but its site was marked 'Windmill Hill', and the road leading to it and Newport Field was still open. The main street ran northwards to the church, the manor house, a farm, several cottages and the Hine Well, at which point it ended and did not continue down into the meadows beyond. Before entering the Church and manor house area, the road turned to the right, opposite the Rectory, and led to Newport Field, Newport Pagnell and Little Linford.

The ownership of virtually all of the village and parish by Sir Richard Napier and the enclosure of the parish in 1658 resulted in considerable changes in the village. Many of these are recorded on the estate map drawn up in 1678 (Figs 7 and 8). Comparison of this with the earlier map shows that many of the village houses, particularly at the south end, had been demolished, and that the back lane to the east of the main street had gone out of use. At the north end of the village, the cottages (Crofts N2 and O2) had been replaced by barns and their site added to the manor complex.

The manor house, rebuilt and enlarged by Sir Richard Napier, now sat within much larger grounds which included an area formerly part of the Rectory garden. The Rectory had also acquired a much larger curtilage, the garden being extended to the south and taking in land formerly the rear of Crofts P2, Q2 and R2. The 1678 map recorded the village and parish as it was when the estate was purchased by Sir William Pritchard. Whilst Sir William never spent much time at Linford, he developed it as his principal country seat and totally remodelled the manor complex, creating a beautiful country house within landscaped grounds, which included pavilions, a school house and almshouses.

KEY TO FIGS 7 AND 8.

FIELD NAMES

1	Sickley Hill	29	Soames Feild
2	Kents Ground	30	Morral Lees
3	Lynford Wood	31	Ashe Lees
4	Wood Close	32	Church Lees
5	Horse Ground	33	Church Lees
6	Neath Hill Close	34	Turnees Meadow
7	Neath Hill	35	Townes End Meadow
8	Upper Meadow	36	Lower Meadow
9	Lower Meadow	37	Kents Ground
10	Greate Ground	38	Kents Ground
11	Stanton Slade	39	Newground Pastor
12	Little Stanton Slade	40	Upper Green Close
13	Long Lees	41	Upper Green Close adjoining
14	Charles Bush Ground	42	Hulls Close
15	Greater Cowpen Meade	43	Upper Green
16	Little Cowpen Meade	44	Pegnuts
17	Long Ground	45	The Grove into 2 parcils
18	Hetther Long Ground	46	Lower Greene
19	Oake Ground	47	Herns Close
20	Pennyland Field	48	The Close adjoining
21	Nicholas Meade	49	Newmans Close
22	Drieside Brooke	50	Taylor's Close
23	Cockel Brooke Meade	51	Hicks Shepherd
24	Fullwell Ground	52	Turners Meade totherside River
25	Tongwell Meade	53	The Island
26	Marsh Ground		
27	Mare Furlong		
28	Shorte End		

LANDOWNERS

A	Glebe Land
B	Hospital Land
C	W. Kent
D	Manor
E	Parsonage
F	J. Ruffhead's Land

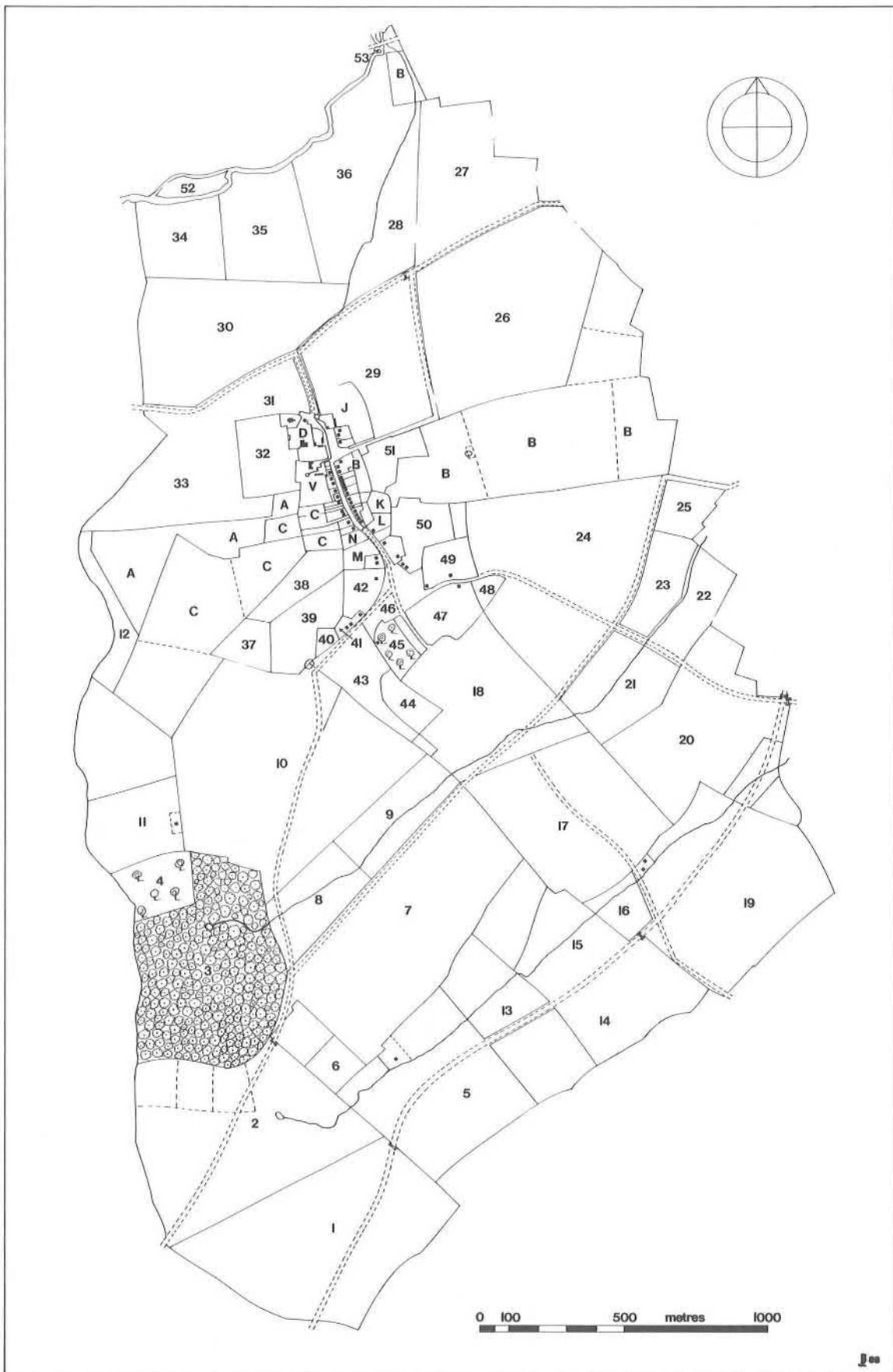


Figure 7: The parish in 1678, based on Estate map.

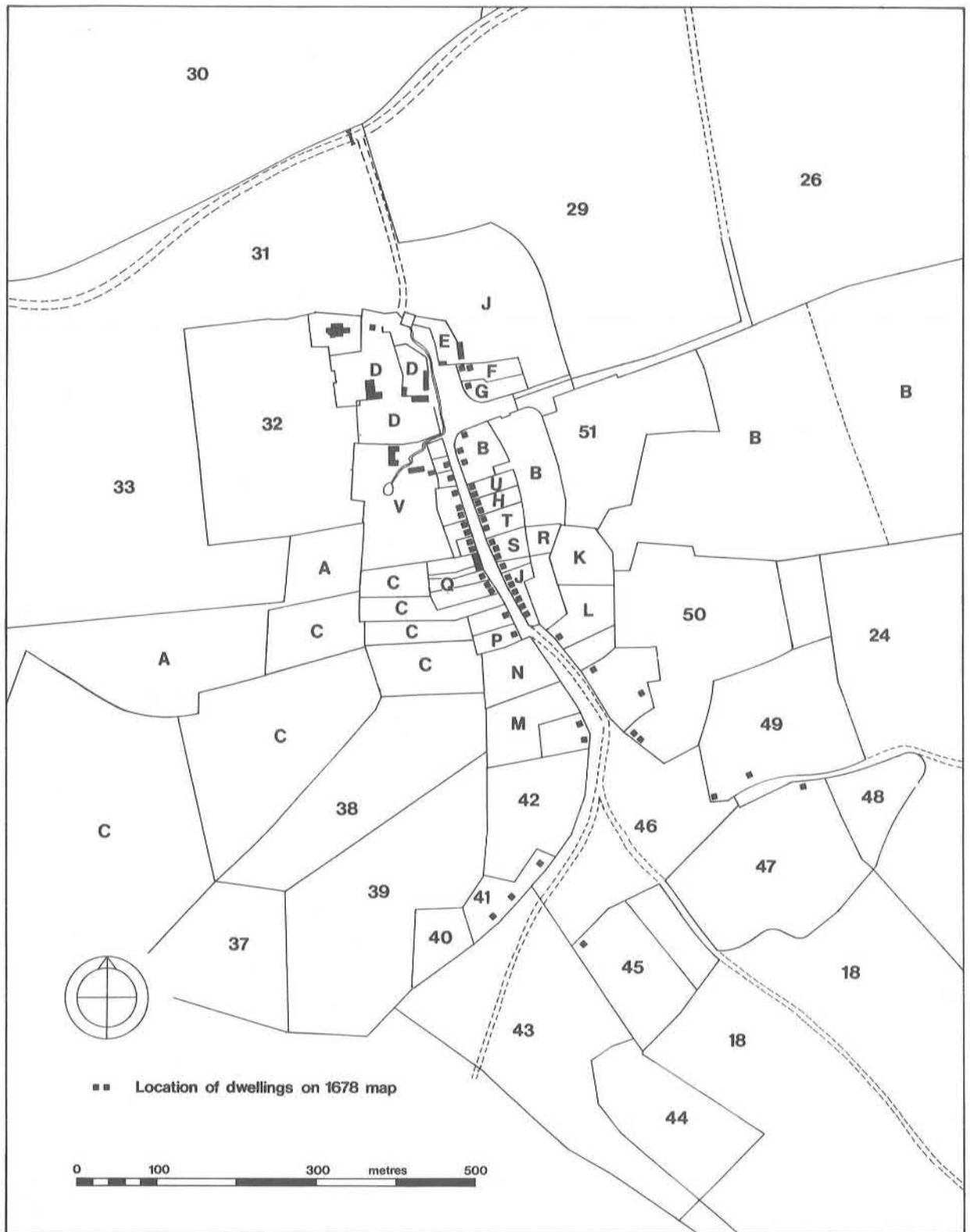


Figure 8: The village in 1678, based on Estate map.

## THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

### INTRODUCTION

The account of the parish given in the Victoria County History for Buckinghamshire (VCH IV, 387–392) inaccurately quotes a Saxon charter dated 944 (Birch 1887, Charter 798), and relates it to Linford. Research by Elizabeth Baines located an earlier charter dated 928 (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus* V, 1101), and a later one dated 1032 (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus* IV, 746). All three charters quoted similar boundary landmarks and names which were not found in any later medieval documents for Great Linford. Further research confirmed that these charters related to land in Oxfordshire, which became part of the land held by Abingdon Abbey.

### THE DOMESDAY INFORMATION

The earliest reference to Linford is therefore in the Domesday Book, where the name is spelt *Linforde*. This probably derives from the name of the crossing point, perhaps a causeway or a ford over the Ouse, adjacent to which were some lime trees. (Gelling, forthcoming).

The name Linford was given to an area of land lying on both sides of the River Ouse. By the time of the Domesday Survey, Linford had been divided by the fact that the land to the north of the Ouse fell within the *Bonestou* (Bunsty) hundred, and that to the south within the *Sigelai* (Secklow) hundred. By the thirteenth century, the two settlements were separately identified by the prefixes Little and Great.

Domesday Book is a unique source of information about land and ownership and the economic status of each village. Its primary objective was to assess land ownership and the value of each village and its manors for taxation purposes. It was compiled at the command of King William in 1086, just twenty years after his conquest of this country.

The survey not only sought information about owners and values in 1086, but also those of c. 1066, giving us a glimpse of each village as it was in late Saxon times. The survey entries for Linforde in the Secklow Hundred (Great Linford) refer to four separate land holdings, two of which were called manors and the two others merely land hol-

dings. The four entries are as follows:

1) *Land of Hugh Bolebec* In *Linforde*, Hugh holds 2 hides and 1 and a half virgates as one manor. Land for 2 ploughs: in lordship 1. 5 Villeins with 2 bordars have 1 plough. Meadow there for 1 plough. The value is and was 20 shillings; before 1066, 40 shillings. Three thanes held this manor; they could grant and sell.

2) *Land of Walter Giffard* In *Linforde*, Hugh holds 2 hides and 1 and a half virgates from Walter as one manor. Land for 5 ploughs; in lordship 1. 16 villeins with 2 bordars have 4 ploughs; 4 slaves; meadow for 4 ploughs. Value 3 pounds: when acquired 40 shillings; before 1066 4 pounds. Alric son of Golding held this manor; he could sell.

3) *Land of the Count of Mortain* In *Linforde*, Ranulf holds 2 hides from the Count. Land for 2 ploughs; they are there, with 4 villeins, 3 bordars and 1 serf. Meadow for 2 ploughs. The value is and always was 40 shillings. Two of Alric's (son of Golding) men held this land: they could sell.

4) *Land of William son of Ansculf* In *Linforde*, Robert holds 1 virgate from William. Land for two oxen. 1 villein. The value is and always was 2 shillings. Grimbald, Bisi's man, held this land; he could sell.

From the local history point of view the main value of the Domesday Survey is that it gives the names of the Saxon and Norman landowners, which act as a starting point from which to attempt to work out the descent of each manor or landholding.

Much has been written on the possible interpretation of the various statistics given in Domesday (Elvey 1960). In particular, it is tempting to estimate the size of the Domesday parish and compare it with more recent information. The most useful local study is of Sherington (Chibnall 1965), a parish only four miles north of Great Linford.

At Sherington, Chibnall attempted to assess the acreages of the Domesday statistics, and arrived at the following conclusions. A teamland, the amount of land that a team of oxen would plough in one season, would have been approximately 120 acres. The amount of meadow required for each ox would be 2 acres (Chibnall 1965, 115, Table

13), which is 16 acres per team of eight oxen. Finally he estimated (Chibnall 1965, 115), that the amount of woodland required for grazing by each individual pig was probably 1.62 acres.

The following table shows these figures applied to the four Domesday holding in Great Linford:

Landowner	Teamlands	Meadow	Wood	Total Acreage
1 Hugh de Bolbec	240	16	—	256
2 Hugh de Bolebec	600	64	—	664
3 Count de Mortain	240	32	—	272
4 Wm. Son of Ansculf	30	—	—	30

1222

The pre-city parish covered 1835 acres (VCH IV, 387), some 613 more than the Domesday estimate. When disparities of this nature are identified, historians normally claim that land was either unallocated, waste, woodland or common (Vinogradoff 1908, 165–7). In the case of Great Linford it could be that much of the land shown as common on the 1641 map (Fig. 4) may have been waste at the time of Domesday. However, if not under the plough in 1086, it certainly was later, since the ridge and furrow survey (Fig. 3) shows that all of this area was ploughed at some time during the medieval period.

Apart from obvious meadowland, the only other area of the parish which was not ploughed in the medieval period (Fig. 5) was Linford Wood. The area occupied by this wood may well have been waste at the time of Domesday. The origin of Linford Wood is uncertain, but it probably occupies the site of the Deer Park, held by Ralph Pipard in 1283 (Cal. Pat. 1281–92, 103), which was probably established during the twelfth century. The boundary of Linford Wood particularly on the south east side has slight traces of a ditch and bank, presumably the medieval park boundary.

Perhaps most of the land unaccounted for is on the first holding, the manor of two hides and one and a half virgates, which Hugh de Bolebec held directly from the King. This manor is assessed as the same hidage as the second holding, that which Hugh held from Walter Giffard, but has land for only two ploughs as against five on the Giffard land.

If we turn to the numbers of people mentioned in the survey, it is tempting to estimate the possible population of Linford at this time. The survey lists thirty-eight men excluding the lords, who are assumed to be absent. However, this may not account for all the adult men; for example, the priest or any landless staff of the lord are not listed. However, one can attempt a rough estimate of the Domesday population by multiplying those listed by a factor of five, which produces a figure of one hundred and ninety persons. The men listed

in the survey are classified as Villeins, Bordars and Serfs. The villeins held some land, but in return had to perform services and pay fines to the lord of the manor. The bordars were slightly lower in the social scale, holding only a small amount of land and obliged to work for the lord. Generally speaking bordars probably represented about half of the labouring population at the time of Domesday, and this is certainly reflected in the Linford figures. Serfs may have held no land at all and worked entirely for the lord. At Linford there were five such people, all on the Giffard manor.

Nothing at all is known about any of these people, or about the manorial officers. We do have information about the Saxon and Norman overlords, since they were figures of regional or national importance. It is unlikely that any of them stayed on their estates in Linford for any length of time, if indeed they came here at all: most had their major estates elsewhere in the country but did hold several manors in north Buckinghamshire.

Of the Saxon holders of land, the major landowner was Aelfric, the son of Goding, who appears to have been an influential *thegn* in Buckinghamshire, holding eleven manors within the county, and that of Woburn in Bedfordshire. He is mentioned throughout the Buckinghamshire Domesday Survey as being lord to several men holding land under him; two unnamed ones being in Linford itself. Although his own lands passed *en bloc* to Walter Giffard after the Conquest, those held by his men went to various other Normans; for example the two in Linford relinquished their two hides to Robert Count of Mortain. This diversity is not seen in the later years of the Norman administration: when an overlordship changed hands the subfiefs were integral with the main demesne, and all the land remained together (VCH I, 218–219). Of the other holders of land before the Conquest, three thegns are unnamed; but land which later passed to William, son of Ansculf, was held by Grimbauld, a “man” of Bisi. Nothing is known of this man, but Lord Bisi was a thegn of Edward the Confessor, and held in his own right the manors of Stanton (Stantonbury) and Calverton (VCH I, 263 and 265).

Much more is known about the Norman successors. The lands of Walter Giffard constituted the most important holding in the county, occupying between a sixth and seventh of the land area. Throughout England, his total fief spread over ten counties, although his most important holding was at Long Crendon in Buckinghamshire. Walter Giffard’s father, also Walter, from Longueville-sur-Scie in Normandy, came to England with the Conqueror. He was one of the Domesday Commissioners, and was created earl of Buckinghamshire within a few years of the completion of the Survey (VCH I, 212).

## THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

The founder of the house of Giffard was Osbern de Bolebec, and Hugh de Bolebec, both a tenant-in-chief of the King and a sub-tenant of Walter Giffard, may well have been a relative of his (VCH I, 213). He was certainly Walter's most important vassal. It was usual for most of the tenants-in-chief to sub-infeudate other minor landholders by granting out a high proportion of their manors. This reduced the amount of demesne administration which the overlord had to maintain, and ensured that a proportion of the services and rents due to the king were farmed out to the sub-tenants. For example, Walter Giffard granted fifty-one of his seventy-one manors to sub-tenants, thereby retaining a smaller demesne for himself. In Linford it can be seen that whilst Hugh de Bolebec appeared to hold both his own and Walter Giffard's land to himself, the Count of Mortain had Ranulf as a sub-tenant, and William son of Ansculf had Robert.

Hugh de Bolebec held a number of manors in the county, his main establishment being at Whitchurch. His lands here became the principal manor of Great Linford, farmed by a bailiff or reeve.

The third Domesday holding was that of Robert, Count of Mortain. Born in about 1031, he was the younger half-brother to King William, on his mother's side. His full brother was Odo, later Bishop of Bayeux. He was one of the largest landowners in eleventh century England, having been granted over eight hundred manors. His lands lay mainly in the Southwestern counties, although he had extensive holdings in Yorkshire as well. The Count of Mortain's land at Linford passed to the Earls of Cornwall, and was held of the honour of Berkhamstead. Eventually, by the early fifteenth century, it too became part of the principal manor of Great Linford.

The fourth and smallest holding in Linford was that of William son of Ansculf, an important baron who held eighty-one 'Lordships' throughout the country. His main holding was at Dudley in Worcestershire, which was the head of his barony, where he had a castle. Locally, his main estate in Buckinghamshire was at Newport Pagnell, an important holding which became head of the Honour of Newport, and contained fourteen knight's fees in 1210-12. For a detailed discussion of the Honour of Newport, see Chibnall (1979, 38-48). William's land at Linford passed to Fulk Paganell, and was part of the lands with which Fulk endowed the Priory of Tickford, which he founded c. 1130.

In the early medieval period, little record survives of the ordinary village people and their everyday life. Most available records refer to the ownership of the manor and to families that probably rarely visited the village, and whose activities have little to do with its history. In this volume only a brief outline of the overlordship of the manor needs to be given.

The two manors which Hugh de Bolebec held passed to his eldest son Hugh, who incidentally founded Woburn Abbey. This second Hugh died in 1164 leaving a young daughter Isabel, who was placed under the wardship of his brother Walter. Walter probably died soon afterwards, since Isobel, then only nine years old, became a ward of Alberic de Vere, earl of Oxford, and was married to his son in 1190-91. By this means Linford manor came under the overlordship of the earl of Oxford and remained so until the seventeenth century (Lipscomb 1847, 221).

In the late twelfth century the manor is thought to have been held by the Pipard family (BL Add. Mss 5839, f236). Ralph Pipard, alias Fitz Nichols, was a steward of Henry III, and accompanied the King on his invasion of France in 1230 (Powicke 1953, 95).

The Victoria County History (VCH IV, 388) states that the branch of the Pipard family which held Linford ended in a female heir, Alice, whose husband Galfridus de Marisco (Geoffrey Marsh) held the manor and a knight's fee in Linford, of the honour of Giffard in 1234 (Book of Fees 1, 1198-1242, 461 & 558). Galfridus was outlawed for homicide and his lands escheated to the Crown. However, in 1242 they were returned to Ralf, the son of Ralf, son of Nicholas and his wife Alice, who was the niece and heir of Alice, the wife of Galfridus (Cal. Close Hen. III, 12-12, 513).

Whilst the manor was held by the King, he entrusted the demesne land to be farmed by Richard of London, the parson of Linford, in return for half of the crops. This arrangement was obviously contested by Ralf Fitz Nicholas and his wife, for in 1243 (Cal. Close Hen. III 12-12, 116) the King issued written instructions compelling them to allow Richard to harvest his part of the lands that he had caused to be sown, or else to compensate him. In 1244, the King completely restored the manor to Ralf and his wife. It then passed to their son Robert, and on his death to his nephew Ralph Pipard, who held the manor until the early years of the fourteenth century.

The first recorded tenant of the manor was Radulphus Gibbewine, who was included in the

return that Walter Bolebec made to the royal enquiry of 1165 (Lipscomb 1847, 221). His holding is said to be of the 'old feoffment' and thus to date from as early as the reign of Henry I. The family of Gibbewine are the first to be recorded as holding the advowson, the right of presentation to the church, and they presented Galfridus de Gibbewine, the first recorded rector, in 1215 (Bodleian, Willis Mss 99, f106). Galfridus presented his clerk Richard to succeed him in 1220.

Richard was the son of William de Linford (BuCRO D/U/1/66/2), whose family were resident in the village from the late twelfth to at least the middle of the fifteenth century. The earliest de Linford of whom we have any record is Achelard, whose son William de Linford is mentioned in 1227 (BRS 1945, 662), when he and Nicholas de Haversham were pledges for Peter Barre, suggesting that by this time the de Linfords were an established local family. The de Linfords took their name from the village and were almost certainly tenants of the manor, looked upon by the villagers as the local lord. Little has previously been published about this family, apart from details of one son who held a manor in nearby Sherington (Chibnall 1965).

Richard de Linford can be identified with some certainty as Richard of London (see above). Two interesting documents survive relating to Richard, dating from c. 1230–50. In one (BuCRO D/U/1/65), Richard the clerk grants land to Amicia, presumably his niece, the daughter of William de Linford. In the event of her death, the land was to pass to her brothers and sisters. In a second document of the same date, Richard the clerk grants further land (BuCRO D/U/1/66/2) to Alice, the daughter of William de Linford, the land passing to her brothers and sisters in the event of her death. This Alice was perhaps a relation of John, William, Matilda and Anne, all children of Christiana, a widow of Great Linford, daughter of John le Fevre (the smith), of Newport Pagnell. It is possible that Christiana may have been the widow of William de Linford, Richard's brother.

In addition to the de Linford family, these early documents give the names of other landowners in the village throughout the thirteenth century, and of people that were witnesses to the various transactions involved. Several, for example Simon de Woolstone, William de Stachedene (Stagsden, Beds.) and John de Lovan (?Le Vant), may not have been resident.

Martin the reeve, mentioned in about the middle of the century (BuCRO D/U/1/66/1&2), was perhaps the head man of the Pipard family's land in the parish. Martin had two sons, Richard and Philip, who both held land in the open fields. A William Reeve who had property in Linford in 1332

(Chibnall 1966, 92) may have been his grandson.

Hugh Paket, a tenant of Walshes Manor, was a witness to several mid-thirteenth-century documents, and his children, John, William, Margery and Alice, held several properties in the village (BuCRO D/U/1/68&69). Samuel, the son of Alice Paket, had died by 1307 when a property is described as "the tenement that was Samuel Pakets" (BuCRO D/U/1/71). Robert Paket held land in 1332 (Chibnall 1966, 91), and the family must have continued in the village for another generation or so, since they are referred to in the fifteenth century (see below).

Another person known to us only as a witness of documents is Robert de Mongeye. He may have lived in a house at the south end of the High Street, Croft Z0, (Overlay 6), which was called "Mungeys House" in 1646 (BuCRO D/U/1/42). Similarly, several other people of whom we know little have names which became linked to their property. For example, John le Vant and John le Gardyner were both landowners in 1332 (BRS 1966, 92), and there is a "Vants Close" in 1491 (BuCRO D/U/2/11), and a messuage called "Gardeners" with a close adjoining called "Gardeners Close" in 1524 (BuCRO D/U/1/89/1).

John Harang, perhaps of the family that held the manor of Thornton in the mid thirteenth century (VCH IV, 247), held land in the village (BuCRO D/U/1/66,1 and 2), as did Simon Harang, probably his son. The family name may have changed to Heryng, which occurs throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is likely that the name of the farmhouse called Harringeys in 1491 (BuCRO D/U/2/11) derives from this family name.

Not all the villagers were law-abiding citizens, for in 1283 Ralph Pipard complained (Cal. Pat. 1281–92, 103) that thieves had entered his park at Linford and hunted and carried away his deer. This park, as previously mentioned in the Domesday section above, may have occupied the site of the present Linford Wood. In the next year a royal charter was granted (Cal. Chart. Vol. 2, 27 Dec., 13. Edw I), probably a confirmatory one, giving Ralph and his heirs free warren (the right to hunt) in their demesne lands at Linford. Ralph was apparently a faithful servant of the crown, distinguishing himself in the wars fought by Edward I against the Scots and the Welsh. Letters patent in 1290 particularly allowed him to appoint attorneys to manage his affairs during his absence in Scotland, (Cal. Pat. 1307–13, 135). In consideration of his service, he was created a baron, and summoned to attend parliament between 1299 and 1302.

The de Linford family were still the principal tenants of the manor, and Laurence, the son of Peter de Linford, became a page and later chamberlain

to Sir Ralph, who gave him the manor of East Harnham, Wiltshire, and various lands in Derbyshire (Chibnall 1965, 121). Another member of the family became the local priest when John de Linford was presented to the living by Ralph Pipard in 1277.

It is likely that the two Bolebec manors were not always managed as one unit, or that an amount of land was hived off to create another large holding or manor. In the late thirteenth century John de Champeneys of Great Linford, a person of whom we know very little, granted to William le Waleys, for a rent of one peppercorn per year, (Bodleian, Ms. Misc. Charters, Bucks 896), all the homage and service owed to him by his tenants in Linford.

In 1277, (BAS Mss 345/44) Ralph Pipard gave William le Waleys and Cecily his wife and their heirs "pasture and common for four horses and eight oxen and cows with my horses, oxen and cows in my fields meadows and pastures in the village of Great Lynford". At about the same time (BAS Mss 344/44) he also granted William and Cecily a plot 24 paces by 24 paces in area to build a kitchen and a kitchen oven. The plot was described as lying between the house of William le Waleys and William le Someter, and the annual rent was a rose, due on St John the Baptist's day.

Shortly afterwards William le Waleys and Cecilia his wife purchased a messuage (BuCRO D/U/1/70) with curtilage, hedges, buildings and ditches, and one and a half acres of land, for four marks, from Joan, the daughter of William del Ho of Linford, and her husband Richard, the son of Stephen of Olney. The document confirming the transaction is undated, but one of the witnesses, Sir John de Keynes, died in c. 1285 (VCH IV, 389). The house they bought stood between the houses of William de Ho and that of Hugh the Chaplain, and probably went on to become Walshes Manor House (p. 16, above).

After the death of Ralph Pipard in 1308-9, his son John confirmed to William's son and heir John le Waleys all the tenements and lands in Great Linford which his father had granted to William le Waleys (BAS Mss 346/44). These documents suggest the existence of a second estate of possible manorial status which may be that which became known as Walshes Manor, and remained separate from the main Great Linford manor until the seventeenth century.

#### THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

After his death Sir Ralph Pipard's lands were taken temporarily into the King's custody (Cal. Pat. 1307-13, 135). His son John succeeded to the

estate the following year, having paid homage to Edward II as a tenant-in-chief (Cal. Fine. 1307). However, neither John nor his descendants ever appear to have claimed the title of baron or attended Parliament. John had no male heir, and his daughter married Edmund le Boteler, to whom John conveyed the manor whilst reserving a life interest. By 1328 the manor had become the property of James Butler, Earl of Ormonde, the son and heir of Edmund (Cal. Inq. P. M. Edw. II, vi, 215). The manor was held by the Earls of Ormonde throughout the fourteenth century and well into the fifteenth. They were a family that held considerable estates in both England and Ireland, and it is unlikely that they ever spent much time in Linford.

Fewer fourteenth-century documents survive to inform us about the local people. However, in 1332 there was a taxation on personal property, and the list of taxpayers in Linford published by Chibnall (Chibnall 1966, 92), is detailed below:

John le Waleys	7. 2	John le Gardyner	2. 0
William de Linford	4. 0	William Reeve	2. 0
John de Dutton	3. 4	John Chous	2. 0
John le Vant	3. 0	Richard le Someter	1. 4
Gilbert Cole	2. 4	Robert Paket	1. 4
Thomas Nicole	2. 4	Gilbert de Claydon	1. 1
Gilbert le Duke	2. 0	Ralph de Stacheden	1. 0

£1. 17. 11

The highest taxpayer, and presumably therefore the largest landowner in the parish, was John le Waleys, son of William and Cecilia Waleys. The Waleys had in 1301 (Bodleian, Willis Mss 99, f103) granted messuages and land in the village to their son John, who had granted it back to his parents for life. By this means they avoided paying 'relief' on the property when they died. Two years later in 1303 (VCH IV, 389) they granted a messuage, a mill and one hundred and twenty acres of land in the parish to John. William must have died soon after this, since Cecilia was a widow in 1307 when she granted a house and three selions (strips) of arable land in the village to another son Robert in exchange for a house, which had been granted to her and her son John by John de Stacheden (Stagsden). In 1316 Robert Walsh (Waleys) and Maud his wife held lands in Linford (VCH IV, 389). This Robert was dead by 1321 when his widow Matilda (Maud) quitclaimed her rights in her croft in Great Linford to John le Waleys (BAS Mss 347/44). The croft held by Matilda is of particular interest since it was called *Pekenoter* which must be the same as the croft called Pyknotts in 1477 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1) and later Pignuts (Croft A, below).

Later in 1357 (BAS Mss 348/44) John Syward, the chaplain of Great Linford confirmed to Ralph Welshe (Walsh) and Isabella his wife the lands

and tenements in the parish which he had formerly held by the gift of Ralph, apart from the messuage and half an acre of land held by John Alemayn and Cecily his wife and formerly held by Robert Baroun.

Towards the end of the century, John Walshe of Great Linford held half of Wolverton manor (Cal. Pat. 1391-96, 224) and also the manors of Weldon, Rockingham and Weston on Welland (Cal. Pat. 1339-1401, 325). In Linford he held Walshes Manor, which probably derived from the original holdings of the le Waleys family, the name Waleys having developed to Walsh.

The second largest landowner in 1332 was William de Linford, whose assessment at four shillings was just over half that of John le Waleys. If le Waleys lived in what later became Walshes Manor house, then the de Linfords would have lived in the manor house to the south of the church, where they certainly were in the early fifteenth century (p. 17, above).

John le Vant and John de Dutton were the next two landowners of substance, but there is no evidence as to where either of them lived. It is possible that John le Vant lived on the north side of Fullwell Lane, on Croft G (Fig. 12), for in 1491 this close was called Vants (BuCRO D/U/2/11), and by 1563 it had become a tenement called Fance (BuCRO D/U/1/95). There were also strips in the open fields called "Fants" in 1477 and 1599 and "Fans" in 1608, which may have originally been lands held by John le Vant. The other taxpayers were mostly village people about whom very little is known.

The activities of the church at this time are interesting. As lords of the manor, the Butlers, Earls of Ormonde, held the right of presentation to the church at Linford. On Edmund Butlers' death this right passed into the hands of trustees led by his attorney Nicholas de Marreys. In 1317 they presented Thomas de Haslewood to St Andrew's church, where he remained for only a short time. However, a certain Hugh de Hatford, scheming to defraud Thomas, suggested to Edward II that the benefice was vacant, and that the presentation lay in the king's hands, as Edmund's young heir was a royal ward. Hugh was given letters of presentation from the crown and obtained a writ against any claims that Nicholas de Marreys might make. The attorney appears to have been suitably intimidated, and readily denied his rights in the matter. The Bishop of Lincoln, who had already admitted Thomas de Haslewood to the church, may well have been inclined to confirm his place, but Hugh arranged by letter patent that the unfortunate rector be thrown into jail along with his adherents. Following this, Hugh himself was apparently placed in the church. In spite of harsh

treatment and intimidation, Thomas appealed directly to Edward II, before whom the entire story was uncovered. Thomas was returned to Gt Linford at the end of November 1324, but was dead within a year, probably as a result of his years of imprisonment. Unfortunately the fate of Hugh de Hatford is not recorded (Cal. Close 1323-7, 23-24 Nov. 1324).

Little is known about most of the incumbents of the parish church during the medieval period, except the dates of their presentation to the church and their death or resignation, and even these are missing for the earliest rectors (Lipscomb 1847, 224-226).

Probably the most notable, Thomas Haxay, is the man who also spent the shortest amount of time as rector of Linford. His clerical life began at St Nicholas Cole Abbey in London, where he was instituted rector in 1384. However, he stayed only a short time in each of his livings before exchanging it for a more lucrative or influential position. This was in spite of legislation by Archbishop Courtenay against the rapid exchange of benefices or "choppechurches" as he referred to this practice. In addition to being a rector, Haxay was a prebendary of several places in the north of England. Ann, Countess of Ormonde, presented him to the rectory of Great Linford in November 1390, though six months later he had moved on.

By the fourteenth century a few benefices had become very lucrative, and were regarded as sinecures for absentee incumbents. Prebends and archdeaconries in particular were sought after and held in plurality by royal officials, for whom these posts were the main source of income. However, many livings derived from parish churches did not provide a great amount, some hardly paying enough for a priest to survive on. Thus plurality at the level of the parish need not necessarily indicate laxity: many vicars and rectors held two or three places which might bring in a comfortable, though not large, income. Research on the plurality of benefices does not indicate that the rectors of Great Linford were in this category, although this is not conclusive. Absentee or not, some of the Linford rectors had clerks or chaplains working for them from at least the late thirteenth century onwards.

The following names have been identified:

Benedict, clerk	} late 13th century
Hugh the chaplain	
William the chaplain	} before 1285
Nicolas le Frankeleyn, clerk	
Robert, chaplain	c. 1285
William Aabel, clerk	1307
Richard Bailyf, chaplain	1378
John Cody, clerk	1454

Knowledge of these men comes from their having witnessed local documents (BuCRO D/U/1/33/1 and D/U/1/66-73) and hardly anything else can be said of them. However, in the case of Richard Bailyf, a man of the same name coming originally from Wolverton was instituted as a subdeacon of the priory of St Mary at Bradwell in 1373, being made deacon a year later. The clerical return made in 1379-80 recorded the income of St Andrews at ten pounds per annum, which placed the church in the wealthier half of the Newport deanery, and showed it able to afford an inexpensive clerk.

The effect of the Black Death on the population as a whole is difficult to assess, although it is now generally assumed that perhaps a third of the population died. Being of the bubonic kind, infection occurred in localised districts rather than affecting widespread areas, and this part of north Buckinghamshire proved susceptible to the plague. In 1380 the Black Death was at its most virulent, north of the Thames, from May to September, coinciding with the hot summer months. Amongst the dead was William de Bromley, who had been rector of St Andrews for eight years. It is very likely that most of the parishes around Newport, including Great Linford, were particularly badly hit by plague, and that the population here was greatly reduced.

The reduction in the overall population throughout the county brought about a glut of work for the survivors. This was as true of benefices as of lay occupations. It could be imagined that there was a more rapid turnover of incumbents in the latter part of the century as each registered for a better position. However, at Linford (Lipscomb 1847, 224) this does not appear to be the case:

Incumbents:	c. 1300-49	1349-93
Died	4	-
Resigned	3	3
Exchanged	1	6
No data	2	-
Total	10	9

Although the number of rectors who exchanged their benefice increased sharply in the latter half, the actual number of incumbents was very similar: moreover, of the three rectors immediately following William de Bromley, two remained in Linford for eighteen and twenty-one years respectively. In fact, the greater contrast is not within the thirteenth century, but between this era, with nineteen rectors, and the next century, with only four, all of whom presumably died in office.

The Butler family held the manor of Linford until 1461, when all the lands of James Butler, the fifth earl of Ormonde, were confiscated on the accession of Edward IV. The new king granted Great

Linford in 1462 and 1465 (Cal. Pat. 1461-7, 143 and 460) to Richard Middleton and Matilda, his wife. At this time the King also granted them Walshes Manor, which had been confiscated on the attainder of Sir John Fortescue. This led to a dispute over ownership many years later in 1571, when Sir Thomas Tyringham claimed that Sir John Fortescue never owned Walshes Manor (BuCRO D/U/1/33).

Richard Middleton still held the advowson in 1469 when he presented Henry Middleton (Lipscomb 1842, 224), probably a kinsman, to the church of St Andrews. The manor itself had been re-granted (Cal. Pat. 1467-77, 44) to the king's daughter, Elizabeth of York, two years earlier. Although this gift had been for life, she sold it in 1474 to a London merchant, Gerard Caniziani, and his wife Elizabeth (Cal. Pat. 1467-77, 466). Gerard Caniziani was a merchant from Florence, who acquired many estates at this time. The manor of Linford, which he purchased was described as, "The Manor of Great Linford, Buckinghamshire, with the advowson of the parish church, a messuage, 3 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of pasture called Lynforthes." However, any intention Gerard had of enjoying the Linford estate was shortlived, for with the success of Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field and his accession to the throne as Henry VIII, the manor was granted back to the Butlers in 1485.

The size of Walshes Manor can be seen in 1455 (BuCRO D/U/1/33/2) when the lands of Edward Walsh, son of the late Richard Walsh, were sold to William Sonde, William Broun, John Gogh and John Nycoll. Although not called Walshes Manor, the property in Great Linford was described as consisting of 6 houses, 160 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 40 acres of wood and 20 shillings of rent in Great Linford. However, it must be stated that in late documents of this type the figures given for amounts of land are often only notional. Later in the century this estate had passed to a Robert Gillebronde, and in 1510 when it was sold to Thomas Tyringham by Robert's son Edmund (BuCRO D/D/1/33/8) there is reference to Edmund's 'hedde place' or teneement in Great Linford called Walshes Place.

#### THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

A rental of 1505/6 (BuCRO D/U/2/11) for the Farm or Manor called Walshes survives, and from this it appears that most of the property within it lay alongside Fullwell (Willen) Lane and on the east side of the main street. At that time the estate comprised one capital messuage, four other messuages, four crofts, arable land, woodland and a horse mill. By 1510 the estate had come into the hands of Thomas Tyringham, and his is an alternative name for the manor.

Thomas Butler who held Linford Manor died in 1515, leaving two daughters Anne and Margaret. Anne, who inherited the manor, married Sir James St Leger. It appears that she leased it out to the Annesley family of Newport Pagnell, and her grandson John, succeeding her in 1533, confirmed this lease. However, John was forced by Henry VIII to exchange Great Linford manor and other of his properties for recently dissolved monastic estates (BuCRO D/U/2/19). On the King's death, the lands in Linford were granted by his son Edward VI (Cal. Pat.4 Ed. VI, Vol 3, 238 +241) to the Princess Elizabeth under the terms of Henry VIII's will. They remained hers until after she ascended the throne, being granted in 1560 with other estates to Richard Campion and John Thompson. Campion soon gave his share of Linford to Thompson in an exchange of property. John Thompson was one of the auditors of the Exchequer, and his main seat was at Husborne Crawley in Bedfordshire. Whilst Thompson held the manor, a dispute arose over the ownership of Walshes Manor (BuCRO D/U/1/19/2). John died aged 76 in 1597, leaving all his properties to his widow Dorothy.

Two documents of the early years of the century reveal the relative wealth of families within the village. These are Certificates of Muster (Chibnall 1973, 332) which assessed the value in lands and holdings or in goods of those who had an interest in Linford in 1522, whilst the Subsidy Roll of 1524 (Chibnall 1950, 78) gives the value of goods or income from land or wages, whichever was the highest. The muster certificates show that the then Lady of the manor, Anne St Leger, was the greatest landowner, closely followed by the rector, Brian Darley. Anne's goods in Linford cannot be divorced from those she held elsewhere, so there is no indication of the importance which she attached to her estate in the village. The rector had goods to the value of £50, and also paid a chaplain and a clerk, Richard Warteley and Richard Padfielde, neither of whom held any property, to be his assistants.

Both Anne St Leger and Darley, along with several others, are classed as free tenants outside the village, presumably having their main place of abode elsewhere. The King and the Earl of Shropshire are also recorded as having interests within the parish. Of the actual inhabitants, the wealthiest were:

	land	goods
Thomas Malyns, gent	£1	£20
John Prentis	£2	£20
John Glover	—	£20

The remainder, nineteen men, owned little land and few possessions. The subsidy assessment also confirms the pre-eminence of these three men:

	goods
Thomas Malyns	£10
John Prentis	£20
John Glover	£12

In addition to those above were Richard Blundell, assessed in goods at £10; Henry Looze at £8. 3s. 4d.; Stephen Roberts at £8; Richard Robyns at £7; and John Malyns at £5. Some of the Linford families can be traced through their wills, which are preserved in the County Record Office. Prominent among these was the extensive Malyns family. The earliest generation known is that of Robert Malyns, who is mentioned in several land deeds between 1477 and 1501, occasionally being referred to as a gentleman. With two Newport Pagnell men, he was a recipient of lands and houses formerly belonging to Roger Hunt, though these later passed out of the family's hands. In 1501 he enfeoffed his son, also Robert, with a messuage and dovecote called "Hoggekyns" (BuCRO D/U/1/83), situated to the east of the Green. Hoggekynns is a derivative of Hogge or Hodge which is a by-form of Roger, suggesting that this property once belonged to someone called Roger. However research into the known surviving documents has not cast any further light on this person. The elder Robert had two other sons, John and Thomas, and each of these left a will. John, who died in 1525, (BuCRO D/A/We/2/58) had had land valued at 13s. 4d. in 1522, as well as £4 worth of goods. He was probably the same John Malyns who rented the capital messuage of the Walshes estate in 1505-6 for £3. 13. 8. (BuCRO D/U/2/11). He made a settlement of his messuage called Gardeners and his lands on his son William the year before his death (BuCRO D/U/1/89/1). The property was later sold by Thomas Malyns of Newport Pagnell, who may have been William's son, or the son of the younger Robert (BuCRO D/U/1/89/2). John Malyns bequeathed a considerable amount of brass and pewter ware as well as farming equipment to his son William, confirming the assessment made of his wealth in 1522.

John's brother Thomas, "the elder", who appears to have been by far the most important member of the family was styled as "gent" in 1522, and was one of the wealthiest men in the parish. Under his will in 1533 (BuCRO D/A/We/3/120) he left about £6 in cash bequests, several sheep and some miscellaneous goods, but the majority of his possessions can be seen in the will of his widow Elizabeth nine years later. This very detailed document (BuCRO D/U/WF/1/112) shows a vast number of moveable goods but little money. Their wealth and status can be judged by their being buried in the north aisle of St Andrew's church "before the pyckture of our blessed lady", under an inscribed brass. This "pyckture" could have been either a banner or a painting hung in the north aisle, or a wall painting; on the western wall of this aisle

traces of a wall painting of the figure of death were revealed in 1977 during work in the church (p. 218, below). The Malyns brass once depicted a son and a daughter, but the evidence of their wills is that none survived Thomas and Elizabeth, the main beneficiaries being nephews and cousins.

In 1541 the third of the brothers, Robert, left his farm animals and house "Hoggekyns" to the immediate members of his family, and seems to have had very little in hard cash or moveable goods. His eldest son, Bartholomew, was an inheritor of Elizabeth Malyns' property, particularly a house called Michells, which later passed to his son Thomas. It is interesting to find that whereas Elizabeth had bequeathed a large brass cauldron to the township of Linford for charitable uses, and had entrusted its safekeeping to Bartholomew, no provision is made for it under his own will, and moreover, no brass ware is mentioned at all.

The Napier family produced two men who are notable in the history of Great Linford: Richard Napier alias Sandy, and his nephew Sir Richard Napier. To avoid confusion, the former will be referred to by his alternative surname. The Napiers originated from Scotland, several members of the family being lairds of Merchiston. Alexander, provost of Edinburgh in 1437, was a wool merchant who became a creditor of James I of Scotland. His son Sir Alexander was one of the household of James' widow, and received titles and land as a reward for his part in her rescue when she was abducted in 1439.

About the year 1540, his great grandson, Alexander Napier moved to Exeter. He may well have been a merchant in the family tradition, and his settling in Devon could be the furtherance of this trade. Little is known about his life in Exeter; his surname 'Sandy' may have been bestowed on him by his fellow citizens, and it certainly descended on his third son Richard, who was born on 4th May 1559. Nothing is known of Richard's childhood, but he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford in 1577 to study theology.

Richard Sandy went on to be elected a Fellow of the College in 1580 in place of a certain Raymond Westlake, and gained his bachelor's degree three and a half years later (Barse 1879, 48). In 1586 he was allowed to incept, and on 30th June 1590 he resigned his Fellowship, having been presented to the rectory of St Andrew's Great Linford (Lipscomb 1847, 255). He gave to the College Library two of his books: Jewel's *Apology* and *Hieroglyphica Pierii*. Later, in 1624 at the age of 65, he donated £20 to the College (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 1730, f. 148-9).

When Richard Sandy came to Great Linford he was 30 years old, and he remained until his death

44 years later. A portrait of him aged about 70 years is in the Ashmolean Museum and a copy of it is reproduced here (Plate 1). As well as being a conscientious rector for the parish, Sandy was greatly interested in medicine and astrology, sciences which were complementary in his day. He received a licence to practise medicine in 1604 but he may have been treating patients earlier than this; certainly he was consulted on matters both medical and astrological by people of every estate throughout the county (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 1293).

Sandy appears to have come into contact with the notorious astrologer and doctor Simon Forman about the year 1597, from which time he became his pupil and his friend (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 226 f. 180). On an astrological level they discussed each other's cases and exchanged advice on many problems; to further Sandy's medical practice, Forman often sent parcels of drugs northwards by carrier (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 1488). In return, Sandy despatched foodstuffs and literature. Forman appears to have been quite familiar with Sandy's household at Linford; and the rector himself was consulted by Forman's sister Jane as to the suitability of a former Oxford colleague to be her husband (Rowse 1950, 155). He often referred to Sandy as a 'dunce', though without malice, as he frequently derided those not as adept in astrology as himself. A measure of his regard for the rector can be seen in his bequest to Sandy of virtually all his books and manuscripts at his death in 1611. These, together with the papers of both Sandy and Napier, were given to Elias Ashmole by Thomas Napier, the son of Sir Richard Napier (Lilley 1822, 44) and are now in the Bodleian Library.

Sandy's notebooks show the variety of clients who consulted him for advice, and for whom the rector cast astrological figures. Many of the entries for the years immediately following 1597 relate to the birthdates of local people and their progeny who asked for horoscopes. In noting down their names (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 175, 182) Sandy often included incidental information: Jean, the daughter of Thomas Blea the younger, was born deaf and dumb in 1594; Agnes, wife of Edward Ashburner, died in childbirth in 1590. Other queries to be answered are more intriguing: was Gregory Reynolds' servant's child his or another's? One horoscope was cast for Robert, son of old Thomas Malyns, who poisoned himself because he could not marry the one he loved.

Sandy's stipend as a rector was supplemented, and most likely surpassed, by his income from practising astrology and medicine. Certainly the patients whom he treated medically were of respectable status and included, for example, Sir Edward Tyrrel of Thornborough during 1605. His most notable client must have been Lord Scrope,

Earl of Sunderland and President of the Council of the North. During the period from October 1627 to June 1630, the Earl stayed at Great Linford for 26 intermittent weeks, being treated by Sandy for an unknown lingering complaint, and for the months until August 1628 the Earl paid him £140. However, a memorandum (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 421, f. 162-4) made after the treatment had ended shows that the remainder of his bill was unpaid, and that he had not reimbursed Sandy for out-of-pocket expenses.

Although such large sums of money (when Sandy received them), must have been abnormal, the steady income from clients made the rector a wealthy man. He retained a respectably-sized household, and bought land in the parish equivalent to a small estate. The antiquarian Lilley (1822, 78) recounts that on one occasion Sandy "miscarried in the pulpit and thereafter all his life kept in his house some excellent scholar or other to officiate for him with allowance of good salary."

It can be assumed that the house in which Sandy lived and practised is that now called the Old Rectory, outside the present manor gates. In the late sixteenth century it was separated from the church by the original manor house with its out-buildings, and on the 1641 estate map, it is labelled "The Parsonage". Although altered and restored since then it must have been a reasonable size in Sandy's time, and a fitting place to accommodate clients. Amongst other appointments, the house contained an extensive library, and Sandy apparently lent out his books on astrology and theology to instruct other ministers. Lilley, who was a young man when Sandy died, claims (Lilley 1822, 79) that the parson occasionally conversed with the archangel Michael, and invoked other angels in his prayers. Whether this is Lilley's fancy, or the belief of an old man remembering earlier catholicism, cannot be shown.

Richard Sandy's elder brother was Sir Robert Napier, a merchant trading with the Sublime Porte at Constantinople. His residence was not far from Linford, he having bought the estate at Luton Hoo in Bedfordshire, and he was both well-connected by marriage and a personal friend of James I and VI. One of Robert's sons, Richard, was a particular favourite of the rector, who virtually adopted him as a youth and made him his heir.

Richard Napier was born in London in 1607, and nothing is known about his youth or when his friendship with his uncle developed. In 1622, he entered Grays Inn as a student, but two years later he was at Wadham College Oxford. Already he was corresponding with Sandy about study in general and advice on personal matters. In a letter of about 1625, he tells how he has persuaded the second keeper in Duke Humphrey's Library to let

him work in there when it is officially closed, so that he may study astrology more thoroughly. He also gives a portrait of himself which is not too attractive:

"I cannot yett purchase my freedome from my old disease in my cheeke, yett I thank god it is not so bad with me as it was. Sometymes a corrupt droppe or 2 will distill from it. I feare those rotten teeth are the cause of my grieffe and if they were removed I hope that malady would suddenly surcease".

He also complains (Bodleian, Ashmole Ms. 1760, 168) of catarrh each morning and asks his uncle to send him a cure, to cast a horoscope to determine when he should "boldy venture to draw these rotten Teeth", and to pray for him in his plight. Napier and Sandy, like the majority of their contemporaries, firmly and sincerely believed in the complimentary powers of medicine, astrology and Christianity, and saw no contradiction in invoking all three.

Napier graduated from Wadham on 4th December 1626, and just over a year later was created a Master of Arts, "by virtue of the chancellor's letters which say that he is a kinsman of the Duchess of Richmond and a person well deserving in all that is necessary in a gentle man and a scholar", (Bliss 1813, 437). He was 20 years old and on the road to success. He continued to acquire scholarly distinctions throughout his life: in 1630 he was made a batchelor of Civil Law from All Souls Oxford; in 1642 he became a Doctor of Physic, having obtained his licence to practise medicine nine years earlier; in 1649 he was a Doctor of Divinity. He incorporated his MD at Cambridge in 1663 and was invited to become an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians the next year. The gossip John Aubrey commented (Aubrey 1784, 170), that his contemporary Richard Napier was "one of the first members of the Royal Society" (though this was not true), "a great pretender to virtue and astrology, made a great noise in the world, yet did nothing towards the public".

Richard Napier married three times (BuCRO D/U/1, 2 and 3) in 1631 to Ann, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Tyringham, a local landowner, in 1645 to Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Vyner, who became Lord Mayor of London in 1653, and in 1649 to Mary Kynaston, widow. Napier took great care in the selection of his first wife, consulting other astrologers for their advice. By his first marriage, Richard had five children, three of whom died in childhood.

Richard Sandy had made a settlement on his nephew in 1632 of all his property in Great Linford. Now aged 73, Sandy must have realised that

he did not have long to live. The income he had gained from his various practises, he had invested in land within the parish, and whereas during the fifteenth century, rectors had lived in cottages rented from the manor (BuCRO D/U/2/11), Sandy owned the rectory and had very likely had the original house on that site enlarged and renovated. Shortly before he died, according to Lilley, he had his nephew draw up an astrological figure to determine the date of his death. "‘Well,’ he said, ‘the old man will live this winter but in the spring he will die’". Richard Sandy was buried on the 15th April 1634, and the entry of the church wardens in the parish register referred to him as "the most renowned Phisitian for body and soul". Any monument which might have been erected at the time has long since disappeared, and the position of his grave is lost.

Richard Napier inherited his uncle's property in the village, and he also owned the advowson and patronage of the living, which his father had bought in 1606 and given to him in 1624 (BuCRO D/U/1/32). He now began to purchase property and land with the intention of becoming the largest landowner in the village. This he did successfully, and was the prime instigator of the enclosure of the parish in 1658.

#### THE ENCLOSURE

Elizabeth Blackmore

The village of Great Linford was enclosed by agreement in 1658. Within a few years it was transformed from an open field village with very little enclosed land to an entirely enclosed parish. This process was closely connected with a concentration of the land into the hands of Sir Richard Napier. This enclosure affected the pattern of farming in the parish, leading to a much higher proportion of pasture, and also appears to have led to a decline in the population. After the death of Sir Richard Napier in 1675, his son sold Great Linford to a London merchant, Sir William Pritchard. Sir William was an absentee landowner, but seems to have been anxious to make a good profit out of the estate.

#### *Population*

There are various problems associated with enumerating the population in the seventeenth century. The normal deficiencies of parish registers of this period (Cox 1910) are increased by the loss of the registers before 1750, so that estimates have to be based upon the Archdeaconry Transcripts (BuCRO D/A/T/123). These are missing for occasional years before 1649, then are totally absent until 1659, when there is a five-year sequence followed by a gap until 1676, apart from 1671. From 1676 to 1687 there is a complete series, then

only the entries for 1696 until 1700, after which date they are complete and very carefully compiled. Any attempt at aggregation is, therefore, not continuous, and family reconstruction is extremely difficult. The problems over the latter are increased in the earlier part of the century because there are several branches of the main families of the village, and also due to high population mobility, with roughly one-third of the names disappearing in twenty to thirty years. There are two important trends. The first is a change from a surplus of baptisms over burials in the first half of the century, particularly noticeable in the first decades, to a much more even balance from the 1670's. The second trend is the marked decline in the number of both baptisms and burials, possibly from c. 1659, certainly from 1676. The later transcripts are so much more conscientious that it does not seem to be due to poor recording. From 1700, births of children not baptised are recorded, and marriages of inhabitants of the parish which take place elsewhere.

There are two relevant estimates of the total population of Great Linford:

1. Based upon the 1563 church census, (BL. Harleian Mss. 618) This gives 31 families in Great Linford. Julian Cornwall multiplied this number by 4.75 to give 147 inhabitants (Cornwall 1959). The Subsidy roll of 1623/5 lists 30 taxpayers (Chibnall 1950, 78).
2. Based on Archdeacon Sheldon's 1676 religious census of members of the Church of England, Catholics and Nonconformists over the age of 16. Great Linford had 111 Church of England and 13 Nonconformists. From this the Rev. W. H. Summers calculated that there might have been a total of 248 in the village. This may well be rather high (Summers 1899, 146-152).

From the evidence of the Archdeaconry Transcripts and the records of land transactions, I calculate that there were between 50 and 60 families in the village by the 1650's. Multiplied by 4.75, this would give a population of 230-290, which represents an increase of 60%-80% over that of 1563. This corresponds to calculations of the increase of population in the country as a whole, which tentatively suggests an increase of 40% between 1500 and 1600, and a further rise in the early seventeenth century. I have used the same multiplier as Julian Cornwall (Cornwall 1959) to try to preserve the comparison. I have ignored all persons who do not appear to be part of a family group in counting the base number.

#### *Social structure and farming practice before 1658*

The land in Great Linford was owned by a relatively small number of people before Sir Richard

Napier began to consolidate it into one large estate from 1637. The two main estates were owned by absentee landowners. From 1560 the main manor belonged to the Thompson family of Husborne Crawley, Bedfordshire and was rented in three large farms and a number of smaller parcels. Its full extent is uncertain, as there is no accurate description of it, but it was at least 700 acres, with extensive commons and meadows, plus the manor house, several farmhouses and numerous cottages. The second estate belonged to the Tyringham family of Tyringham, Bucks., who had obtained it before 1571, when they were the plaintiffs in a Chancery case over the land, (BuCRO D/U/1/33/16-18). This estate, known as Walshe's manor, consisted of the capital messuage, one other messuage, three cottages, some 138 acres of land plus commons and meadows. It was rented in one large and three small holdings. Together these two estates must have accounted for some 50-55% of the total acreage of the parish, probably more.

Other important landholders c. 1640 were:-

Trustees of Shenley Hospital (Almshouses in the parish of Shenley built and endowed by Thomas Stafford in 1615)	75 acres
Thomas Longeville of Bradwell Linford Wood	- 60 acres*
Thomas Nicholls	Farm, cottage, 89 acres
Ralph Smith	Farm, 3 cottages, 120 acres
Richard Wethered	Farm, 80 acres
The Ruffhead (or Roughead) family	2 holdings of 40 acres or more
Kent Family	1 holding of 50 acres, 1 holding 30-35 acres
William Gaddesden	Farm, cottage 1 yardland (30 acres approx.)
Matthew Cardwell (also a major tenant holder)	Farm, cottage 1 yardland

\*The acreage of the wood is uncertain. It is described as 60, 70 or 80 acres in different documents. (Today it is nearly 90 acres).

Smaller landowners and cottages:-

Town of Linford (charities)	Several cottages + 4-5 acres
Rector	17 acres of glebe land
Chowne family	Farm, 15½ acres
John Turner of Chesham	Cottage, barn, 5½ acres
Ann Hall	2½ acres
Nicholas Ruffhead	2½ acres
Nicholas Ruffhead	1 acre
Nicholas Kent	Cottage and garden
Elizabeth and Mary Tyms	Cottage
Thomas Barker	Arable slades
John Uvedale (gentleman) (large tenant farmer)	2 acres
John Knight (large tenant farmer)	Cottage and close

Tenants of farms over 100 acres:-

Ann Soames and son Thomas  
John Uvedale  
John Knight  
Richard Sharpe

The Kent, Knight, Nicholls, Ruffhead and Smith families were all long established in the village, having several branches, not all of equal wealth or status.

There are twenty or more other families in the village who do not appear to have owned land, but some of whom may have owned their cottages. There are only three people described as labourers in the records, but undoubtedly many of the cottagers worked for the larger farmers, as well as keeping animals on the common fields and meadows. Certainly at least half of the families were without land in the sense of open field arable, and it may well have been two-thirds of the total.

Until 1658, Great Linford had three open arable fields, Woodfield, Middle field and Newport field, (also called Port or Marsh field). There were extensive commons and meadows, while there were a number of small closes in the centre of the village. The holdings of the village farmers were spread very evenly across the fields; surviving terriers and descriptions in conveyances show lands in all three fields, and seldom more than one land in a furlong. The strips or lands were usually half an acre, although there were also 'selions' of one acre, and some were only one rood (quarter acre).

One field was left fallow each year, and in the others were grown barley, wheat, rye, maslin, pease and beans (BuCRO D/U/2/17). In Sherington, another village in the area, at the same period there were also three fields and the crops grown in them were: 55.4% wheat and barley (barley occupying twice the area of the wheat), 37% beans and peas, 7.6% oats (Chibnall 1965, 225). Sherington is the same size as Great Linford and has similar soil.

There was plenty of meadow and common, although in an economy which kept large numbers of animals it may not have seemed enough. The meadow appears to have been allotted each year to those who had land in the open fields, with a few small pieces that had permanent owners among the smaller farmers, and some larger pieces that were part of the major estates. Thomas Kent in 1652 (BuCRO D/U/1/43/1), had

"seven half yards of meadow in the meadows of Great Linford as they arise yearly by lot, one swath of meadow every other year out of the meadows of Sir Richard Napier in the tenure of Roger Kinge, and One pole of meadow every other year out of the meadow ground late George Pierson".

Another document (BuCRO D/U/1/11) has a reference to a "forecrop or share of meadow".

The main common was the Ley Field at the south end of the parish, while there were also slades and sweetfields within the open fields, and, once the hay had been cut and the crops harvested, there was the whole extent of the fields and meadows for grazing. The Court Rolls (BuCRO D/U/2/3–6 and D/U/2/17) laid down strict regulations governing the use of the common land and other grazing. A Court Roll of 1630 (BuCRO D/U/2/6) gave conditions for the owners of the large farms within the manor. These are not repeated in the very full set of orders for 1647, and the evidence of the marriage settlement of that year suggests that Napier was farming them directly.

Those who owned one yardland were allowed two horses on the commons, four great cattle on the slades and sweetfields, four in Ley Field, with a reduction or increase in numbers for more or less land. Those who had land in the fields were allowed to common two beasts and one breeder (under a year old). In 1630, the Orders at the court Baron included some about the numbers of sheep;

“No inhabitant, except the 2 great farms, shall, after Nov. 11th, keep above 36 sheep for one yardland and so after that rate for more or less land, and (that) any lamb bred in the fields be accounted for a sheep at Martinmas”.

This regulation was not repeated in later Court orders, but a marriage settlement for Napier's second wife in 1647 gives details for commons for sheep, which were governed by the rules above (BuCRO D/U/1/2). The sheep were mainly kept upon Ley Field, although they were also grazed upon the peasefield, the meadow and the Morrow Leas, while the cattle seem to have been kept in the fields. This gave rise to numerous regulations for their control; they had to be tethered while there were still crops there, and their owners also had to appoint keepers or guardians. Breach of all rules carried a penalty of 3s. 4d. or 6s. 8d. per animal. The swine and geese were also subject to regulation, and the amount of furzes from the Ley field allowed to each person. The economy of Great Linford seems in fact to correspond very closely to that generally regarded as “typical” of a Midland open field village (Thirsk 1967, 90–93; Hoskins 1965, 185–215).

Unfortunately, there is too little evidence to draw any firm conclusions about policies on leases, as there are only scattered references to these. There is no mention of copyhold in the documents, but the court rolls refer to free tenure as if it were distinct from other existing forms. There are no rentals from the seventeenth century, but one remains from 1714, which records a level of payments that seem to be quitrents (BuCRO D/U/2/17). The holders of the properties had a virtual

freehold, but paid a few pence to the manor. Otherwise the leases which do exist show economic rents, well in line with those being paid elsewhere (Campbell 1942, 84), and there is little evidence of entry fines. In 1608 (BuCRO D/U/1/50/1) Anthony Shefford had a 21 year lease of a house and close, 3 acres of arable, common of pasture for 2 kine, 1 cow and 10 sheep, at £5 per annum. In 1647 (BuCRO D/U/1/2) Richard Sharpe was paying £50 a year for a messuage, 105 acres of arable, 10 acres of meadow, 3 acres pasture and extensive common rights, while William Adkins paid £3. 13. 6d. a year for a messuage and close. In 1657 (BuCRO D/U/1/47) Napier leased 15 acres at £5 a year for 60 years. Rents had undoubtedly risen in Great Linford over the preceding 100 years, and there is direct evidence of the rise in the sale price of land. At the end of the sixteenth century it cost some £2 an acre; by 1641 (BuCRO D/U/1/31–63), it was fetching an average of £10 an acre. There were wide variations due to difference in quality but Napier certainly paid this amount (Table 1).

When Sir Richard Napier became the main landowner in Great Linford, he owned land that was already rented at the values of the day, and with little copyhold land to obstruct him, there were only a few freehold farmers with whom he had to make an agreement to enclose.

#### *The Enclosure, 1658*

The enclosure was largely the work of Napier, who purchased lands until most of the village was in his hands. It was an enclosure by agreement, and the views of dissentients are not recorded. However, Napier became heavily indebted, mainly to Londoners, and when he died the estate had to be sold, so that he did not establish a line of Napiers in Great Linford.

Napier's uncle (p. 32, above) was rector of Great Linford from 1589 to 1634. He seems to have had an interest in farming, for in 1598 (BuCRO D/U/1/31) he purchased a messuage, a cottage, a close of 3 roods and 12 acres of arable lands in the fields of the parish from John Uvedale.

Sir Richard Napier inherited his uncle's modest land purchase in 1634, and he also owned the advowson and patronage of the living which his father had bought in 1606 and given to him in 1624 (BuCRO D/U/1/32). From 1637 he steadily purchased land, starting with the two main estates, and continuing with the smaller parcels owned by the local yeomen and husbandmen (Table 2). The total amount of his purchases is hard to estimate as the acreage is not always stated; in particular there were no details on the conveyances of the Thompson lands, but it must have been all the parish except for some 300 or so acres. The prices

Date	Price £	Seller	Tofts/buildings	Land	Acres	Rods	Poles
1638	1600	John Tyringham	1 Walshes Place (Capital Messuage) 1 Messuage 3 Cottages	Arable Commons for 160 sheep and other commons Ley Ground Meadow Closes	105½ 7 10 15½	— 0 0 0	— 0 0 0
1640	5250	Sir John Thompson	Manor of Great Linford		700	(possibly)	
1640	1000	Thomas Longville of Bradwell Abbey		Linford Wood and freeboard	60	0	0
1641	20	Nicholas Ruffhead		Arable	2	0	0
1641	380	Edmund Ruffhead & Amy his wife	Messuage Cottage	Arable Meadow Pasture	32 4 1	0 0 0	0 0 0
1641	3	William Gaddesden		Arable	1½	0	0
1642	320	William Gaddesden	Dwelling House and use of ancient well Cottage	Meadow) Arable) Leys & Commons)	30	0	0
1645	62	John Turner	Cowley's Cottage, yard, orchard, garden and barn	Close Arable	1 4	0 0	0 0
1648/9	200	Matthew Cardwell	Messuage Cottage	Arable, pasture, leys, meadow. Meadow in Haversham	30 1	0 0	0 0
1652	730	Thomas Kent	Messuage, Cottage	Close Arable and ley Meadow	3 48½ 7	0 0 0	0 0 0
1653	1400	Ralph Smith	Messuage, 3 cottages		120	0	0
1653	950	Thomas Nicholls	Nether Farm Mungeys Cottage	Arable, etc.80 Meadow (2a. in Bradwell)	0 9	0 0	0 0
1657	84	Heirs of Wethered		Arable	15	0	0
1659	—	William Ruffhead		Arable	1	0	0
1659	30	Elizabeth & Mary Tyms	Cottage	Commons			
1659	n.s.	John Knight	Toft	Land half a meadow in Haversham	4	0	0
1659/60	248	Anne Hall		Land in Great Linford	26 2½	0 —	0 —
1660	40	Thomas Barker		Arable slades	n. s.		
1660	25	John Uvedale		Arable and commons	c. 2	0	0
1663	360	Chowne	Messuage	Close Land	½ 15	— 0	— 0
1675	255	John Kent	Messuage	Close and pightle Parsons Close Nicholls Close pasture, arable ley, meadow, enclosed land	n. s. n. s. n. s. 15 14		0 0 0 0 12
TOTALS: 11157*			9 Messuages, 13 cottages and toft				664012‡

\* + possible 30-40 for two sales with no purchase price.

‡ + commons and not stated acreages

TABLE 1: Sir Richard Napier's purchases (to 1675).

paid for the land vary, but would average at just over £7 an acre, with the meadow land and also some of the arable costing £10. Great Linford Wood, at over £12. 10. 0d. an acre (on the assumption that it was 80 acres and not 60), was the most expensive purchase, but it seems to have always been regarded as a valuable property. Longville had paid £950 for it in 1637, and the same price had been paid in 1619 (BuCRO D/U/1/35). The value of woodland had been enhanced since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and some landlords were making a large income from their woodlands (Bowden 1967, 678–9).

When Sir Richard married Mrs Mary Kynaston, widow, a detailed marriage settlement (BuCRO D/U/1/2/) was drawn up, describing all his lands. By that date (1649) he owned eleven messuages or cottages, possibly some other cottages as well, some 1,000 acres of land, and commons for 1220 sheep and 220 beasts (carefully distinguished as milch beasts, dry beasts or horses). This land, which does not include wood, was said to be worth £500 a year, and was divided into fourteen parcels. The two main farms, one the former Tyingham estate, the other a large part of the Thompson manor, were valued at £240 together and no tenant mentioned for either of them, so presumably they were in Napier's own hand. This may have been as a prelude to enclosure, but he also appears to have farmed much of the land directly after 1658.

### *The Enclosure*

By the mid sixteenth century, enclosure had become a much less controversial subject than it had been in the previous century. It was no longer seen as inevitably causing depopulation and disturbance. In 1621, in a Commons Debate (Thirsk and Cooper 1972, 121–2), it was stated that:

“The owners and purchasers of lands improved by decay of tillage are by this means free from informers, and great penalty of 20s. an acre yearly due thereby, who if they should be compelled to plough it up by rigour of the law, would ruin the estates of many of them”.

It was further remarked that there was “no want of cornland at this time”. The fines for enclosure imposed by Charles I's government ended with the Civil War, and from then onwards enclosing landlords and farmers were left alone by the government. In 1656 (Thirsk and Cooper 1972, 144–7) an anonymous pamphlet gave a list of objections to open fields; that they caused inefficient farming, that they were “seedplots of contention”, and that they were nurseries of beggary. Despite a few protests, like the reply to the pamphlet, which stated that enclosures in the inland counties robbed

people of their occupations in areas where there were few substitutes, the former viewpoint prevailed.

In Great Linford, the Enclosure Agreement (BuCRO D/U1/48/1) was drawn up in September 1658, and the land re-allotted in the following year. The parties to the enclosure were Sir Richard Napier, Richard Worrall (tenant of the Hospital lands), Richard Kent, Thomas Kent (son of Richard), John Roughead, Francis Roughead, John Kent and John Knight, described as “freeholders, leaseholders or landholders” in Great Linford, and the agreement was signed by them, also by the rector, Theodoricus Gravius, Thomas Barber, William Lewis (clerk), and Elizabeth Tyms, who all had an interest in the enclosure. The main landholdings in the fields which were not in Napier's ownership were:

Shenley Hospital	75 acres
John Roughead	50 acres
John Kent	30 acres
Chowne lands	15½ acres
Glebe	17 acres

There were also some common rights in existence attached to various properties.

The reason for the enclosure were explained in the following paragraph:

“Whereas by reason that a great part of the land, meadows and pasture in the parish, liberties and perimeters of Great Linford now held open and unenclosed and commonable some part thereof all times of the year, and other parts thereof yearlie after harvest is inned and consisting much of tillage, and many spoils, trespasses and destructions have daily happened by escapes of cattle into the corn and grass, there growing, whereby many actions, suits and troubles have been raised by and between neighbour and neighbour, and more and more are like daily to occur and arise between them if the fields and lands there should still be so kept open and continued in common as heretofore they have been, for prevention whereof in time to come and for divers other good causes and considerations thereunto moving it is mutually covenanted and agreed . . .”

The land was to be surveyed by a Mr. John Hearne, and four referees (Thomas Tyrrell, Thomas Stafford, Francis Dodsworth Esq., and Anthony Carpenter, gentleman), were to divide the lands so that:

“each person may be dealt with and have his and their parts and proportions layd forth for him and them as near adjoining unto their dwelling as with convenience may be with due respect to the quality quantity and value of their several and respective proportions of land and common in the said field called Ley field and all other the commonable land within the said parish. . .”

They were also to:

“appoint what land in severalty without any interruption or intercommoning by or with any other, each person shall have allowed unto him, as where and how to be laid and placed and how and by whom to be mounded and fenced, and how and by whom such fences for the future to be maintained with consideration herein likewise to be had for and concerning such satisfaction to each person for his tilth, now prepared to be sown, in case any part thereof shall be allotted from him to any other . . .”

One clause appears to show the predominance of Napier, and to foreshadow the effects of the Settlement laws that came into effect within the next few years:

“None of the parties to erect in or upon any part of the premises any cottage, tenement, or any other house for habitation of any person or persons whatsoever or convert any of their old buildings into any cottages or receive any inhabitants, without the goodwill and liking of all the other parties in writing, save that for the lord of the manor for the time being it shall be lawful to erect in and upon any part of his own ground any such house at his will and pleasure”.

Some difficulties arose over the enclosure. Lands were exchanged between Sir Richard and the Kents and Rougheads (BuCRO D/U/1/53 and 54), and he covenanted to pay £6 a year to the poor, charged upon Great Cowpen Mead (BuCRO D/U/1/51), in place of the properties left to the town by benefactors in the past. Some difficulties did arise, as there was an action in Chancery against him in 1662, brought by the trustees of Shenley Hospital, who alleged that he had failed to ratify the agreement made in the enclosure. This complaint gives more information about the enclosure. The rector and hospital had received “very beneficial recompense” for their lands, the rector gaining 28 acres of land, pasture and meadow adjoining to the parsonage house, in lieu of the church land and common, while the Hospital received one allotment of 84 acres 2 roods and a parcel of meadow (3 acres). Sir Richard had obtained the whole of the Ley Field, discharged of common rights, and also “all the other lands, leys, and meadows in Great Linford which were either all or at any time of the year used as common” (BuCRO D/U/1/48/3).

After the enclosure, much of the land appears to have remained in Sir Richard’s hand, and to have been almost entirely pasture. The mortgages of the next fifteen years mention every one of the newly created fields at some point, and they are all described as pasture. This may have been due to the dislocation caused by the enclosure, with all the tenants and owners of the land turning to grazing until they had finished reorganising their new holdings, or it may reflect Sir Richard’s preoccupation with other matters, as these are the

years in which his debts mounted higher and higher.

#### *Sir Richard Napier’s debts*

By his purchases and the enclosure, Napier had created a convenient and potentially profitable estate, but in so doing he seems to have over-extended his resources. He was a younger son and although his father had helped him, the latter had other children to provide for. He had spent a fortune on building a fine new mansion at Luton Hoo, and as a Royalist, his lands were sequestrated as a result of the Civil War (Godber 1969, 276 and 286). Sir Richard’s difficulties became so great that they must have been partly the result of an extravagant life. He mixed with important people, which could well have led to far higher expenditure than his comparatively small estate and medical earnings could support. When he died in 1676 he owed £21,927, most of it on outstanding mortgages. The total debt on mortgages amounted to £19,097, but some of the creditors abated their demands, so that £17,947 was due. There was also £3,980 due on bonds. Nearly all the mortgages had been due years before, and it seems doubtful that the holders had received all their interest. The whole Linford estate was mortgaged, some parcels more than once, and there seem to have been three mortgages on the wood, if not four. The mortgages were nearly all London citizens, a few country gentlemen and one person of high social status, Sir John Wendon, secretary to the Duke of York (Table 2).

Study of the list of mortgages shows that the amounts raised increased in frequency and size, also that while some of the earlier ones, those from 1653–69, were apparently discharged, the later ones were all outstanding at his death. The mortgagees seem to have been ready to renew them, or others to take them over, although Sir Richard must have been a notoriously bad debtor. Only in two cases was there any sign of impatience before his death. However, in 1676 his death was the signal for foreclosure, law suits, seizure and other actions. His son Thomas had only one remedy, to sell Great Linford to pay the debts. Sir William Pritchard bought the estate for £18,700, and the money went to the creditors, although some remained, for in 1680 (BuCRO D/U/5/4) there was a Chancery action by Pritchard against Napier, complaining that he had concealed encumbrances on the estate.

#### *Sir William Pritchard and Great Linford, 1678–1704*

Sir William Pritchard (or Prichard) was born c. 1632, second son of Francis Pritchard of Southwark. He became a “merchant tailor” and

RECEIVED		FINAL REPAYMENT		CREDITOR
Date	Amount £	Date	Amount £	
July 1647	1100	July 1650 (probably repaid after 1678)	1166	Thomas Vyner
May 1653	500	May 1656 (renewed in 1656)	590	Benjamin Barron
1653	600	August 1655	618	Edmund Hoskins 1654 transferred to Hugh Audley)
1655	600	1656	660	John Pye
1658	1000)	February 1666	896	(Anthony Standlake
Feb. 1664	800)			(Anthony Standlake
	(renewal?)			
Feb. 1663	700	May 1667 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	868	Bridgett Read
1661	1000	(Repaid by Pritchard in 1678)		Thomas Langston
Nov. 1663	2000	Nov. 1666 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	2360	Henry Murray
May 1664	400	April 1669 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	520	John Prestwich
Dec 1664	800	Dec. 1667 (repaid by Pritchard)	944	David Urry
May 1667	2000	May 1670; extended 1674 repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	2300	George Arnold
1668	1000	Feb. 1671 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	1180	Sir Richard Hutton (transferred to Jenour)
1668	1000	Oct. 1669 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	1090	Sir John Thoroughgood; transferred to Anthony Samuel, then to Elizabeth Hart)
Feb. 1670	800	Feb. 1671 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	848	George Fowler and James Hunt
Oct. 1673	1200	Dec. 1674 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	1272	Robert Stephens & Thomas Moffett
May 1674	1600	Nov. 1674 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	1648	Sir John Wenden
July 1673	2000	Aug. 1679 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	2720	Susanna Ricard
1674	2500	Oct. 1675 (repaid by Pritchard in 1678)	2675	John Maynard

NOTE: The total debt in 1678, £19,097, is more than the capital lent to him, so that there was considerable interest owing as well.

TABLE 2: Sir Richard Napier's mortgages.

alderman of Broad Street. From 1672 he was closely involved with the affairs of the City Government. In that year he was a sheriff of London, and in 1685 he was elected Lord Mayor as a court candidate. The election may well have been rigged, but it was greeted as a great victory for the court party. Pritchard was involved in controversy in 1684, when he was arrested by the sheriffs' officers for trying to set aside the recently elected Whig sheriffs. He won his action for malicious arrest, not very surprisingly, as the case was heard before Jeffreys. However, by 1687 he had fallen from court favour because he opposed some of James II's policies, and he remained influential in the City after the 1688/9 Revolution. He was a city Member of Parliament in 1685, 1690 and 1702 (LCC 1936, 13).

It is obvious from this brief biography that Sir William would have had little time to spend at Great Linford, and indeed he seems to have usually come on a short annual visit each summer, probably for no more than a few days. He lived in the Minories, Aldgate, where he owned property, and Linford was managed by a steward. However, when he died in 1704, his body was brought to Linford and buried in the church. An interesting account of his funeral is recorded in a Funeral Certificate dated 17th August 1705, taken by Samuel Stebbing, Esq., Somerset Herald and Robert Dale, Blanch Lyon for John Vanbrugh, Clarenceux King of Arms (Guildhall Library Tracts). He would have probably regarded the estate as his principal residence, adding to his status by becoming a country gentleman. The estate seems to have been worth about £1,000 a year by the 1690's, which would put Pritchard in the middle range of gentry in G. E. Mingay's analysis of the structure of the landed classes in 1690 (Mingay 1964, 25-26). There would have been a further unknown income from the London property and his business interests.

The second estate map was made in 1678 (Figs 11 and 12) when Sir William took over the property, and it therefore does not show any changes which he made, but these can be partly deduced from the Great Linford estate account books (BuCRO D/U/4/1-26) which remain from this time. There are full accounts for April 1678 to January 1680, and for July 1687 to December 1698, and also partial accounts of animals bought and sold, crop accounts and wood sales for the period 1678-87. The accounts for the first two years were kept by an unnamed person (possibly Francis Cooke) who received the substantial salary of £50 a year. The later accounts were kept by John Postage, who received only £20 a year. Table 3 shows the receipts and expenditure for the years 1687-8 and 1687-98. There is an interesting change in pattern. The first two years show that money was put into the estate by Sir William from his other resources,

while in the later accounts the estate receipts are sufficient to cover expenditure in Great Linford, including a significant amount of building, and to send money to London.

The estate was partly farmed directly and partly rented to farmers. The receipts from rents varied from year to year, since they were paid in unequal instalments and were frequently in arrears, but they were about £350 on average by the late 1680's. There were nineteen tenants, five paying very low rents of 6s. to 15s., five paying £10 and under, while the remainder paid up to £50 a year. There is little information about rents in this region at the end of the seventeenth century and those for other areas may well be misleading, but using the few references to local practice, this figure of £350 suggests that some 700 acres may have been rented. Among the tenants there are several references to partners: Thomas Coney and partners, Will Harbart and partner, while a few lived outside the village.

Sir William added to his land with two small purchases, a cow common and five sheep commons for which he paid £28, and a cottage, orchard and pightle at £22. The cottage was on the site of the new manor, and it appears that both these purchases were in preparation for clearing the site. The house was being built by 1688 to replace the old manor house, and there are frequent references in the accounts to the work. They are almost certainly incomplete, as they only total £100, which would not have been enough. Unfortunately, the house was largely rebuilt in the eighteenth century, so that it is difficult to estimate its size, but for some idea of the cost of building it is possible to look at the bills for the six almshouses and schoolhouse, built beside the church in 1696-7, which cost some £150. The work in both cases was carried out by local men; George Kemp the mason lived in the village, the carpenter may have also have done so, and the bricks, tiles and stone were all local.

The land directly farmed by the steward of the estate may have been largely grazing in 1678, but from then onwards mixed farming was practised. It seems possible that there was convertible husbandry, which was a form of progressive farming found in the Midland clay areas. Certainly grass lands were converted to arable, including some of the former commons and meadows. In June 1679, John Roughead spent five days breaking up Long Leas for barley and some further ten days sowing barley there, and in Cowpen meadow and Mare furlong. By 1680 wheat was sown in Charlybush, while Long Leas and Cowpen were planted with pease. It is difficult to calculate the relative amounts of wheat, barley and oats grown in the estate, but it seems probable that there was more barley. Oats are not mentioned until 1684, but in

RECEIPTS				EXPENDITURE								
Date	Total			Paid in from outside			Total			Paid to Sir William		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
April 1678– March 1679	1163	16	1	705	0	0	1173	4	10	–	–	–
April 1679– Jan. 1679/80	1698	17	11	555	0	0	1639	8	1	–	–	–
1688	546	19	8	–	–	–	731	15	8	–	–	–
1689	736	14	7	–	–	–	665	9	2	–	–	–
1690	939	9	0	–	–	–	983	19	4	266	0	0
1691	758	9	9	–	–	–	973	14	8	140	0	0
1692	902	12	3	–	–	–	881	11	7	430	0	0
1693	1100	3	3	–	–	–	1194	2	11	525	0	0
1694	906	8	3	–	–	–	935	10	8	245	0	0
1695	1234	5	11	–	–	–	1221	3	7	482	0	0
1696	804	7	9	–	–	–	873	17	9	201	10	0
1697	1092	1	9	–	–	–	1083	8	1	576	0	0
1698	1139	5	2	–	–	–	1104	12	1	–	–	–

TABLE 3: Great Linford Estate, receipts and expenditure 1678–98.

that year the sales equalled those of the other two crops.

Wheat	£117. 9s. 5d., at 40s. a quarter
Barley	£110. 9s. 8d., at 24s. a quarter
Oats	£116. 9s. 8d., at 9s. a quarter

This seems to have been an exceptionally low price for the oats. The relative figures for 1698 are more typical:

Wheat	52s. a quarter
Barley	27s. a quarter
Oats	11s. a quarter

Barley was not only sold to other farmers, but also malted in Great Linford and sent to Sir William in London. Oats were also sent to London, presumably to feed the horses. The main markets where the cereals were sold, and seed bought on occasion, were St. Albans and Woburn, although there were local transactions as well. The amount of seed for cereal purchased outside declined from 1678 onwards, and the sales rose, reflecting a higher production on the estate.

There were other crops in the fields. Beans and peas were grown, mainly for use on the estate; only occasional sales are recorded and then they are small, while beans were purchased in most years for planting. Sainfoin was purchased in 1691 and 1694 (fifteen quarters at 24s. a quarter on each occasion), and a small quantity of ryegrass in 1692, to improve the supply of fodder crops and further diversify the pattern of farming. The purchases of lime may also have been to improve the fields. The clay soils are seriously deficient in lime, but it is unwise to assume this as it may have been for the building work.

Animals remained important in the estate economy, although there may have been a reduction in the number of sheep. The high receipts in 1679 (Table 3), seem to have come from sheep sales, perhaps in preparation for more arable farming, or possibly because more land was to be let than in Napier's time. In May 1680 there were 871 sheep, kept on Townes End Ground, Oake Ground, Morrow Leas, Stanton Slade and Neathill. On Shear day 1685 there were 509, and in June

1686 there were 44. From 1679–1688 sheep sales realised £3,387, while purchases seem to have been lower. One puzzling feature of the accounts is the absence of any reference to wool sales, apart from £15 in 1679.

The number of cattle seems to have grown slightly. In 1679 they were worth £250. 15s., and the figures for transactions over the period 1678–87 are:

Purchases	1018 beasts	£5140
Sales	915 beasts	£4819. 17s 5d.

Prices were £4 to £7 for runts; £2. 10s to £3 for cows and heifers, and £2 to £3 for bulls. They were bought and sold over a wide area, at Leicester, Nuneaton, Ashby-de-la-Zouche, Derby, Abbot's Bromley, Leeke, London and Eltham, as well as at more local markets at Woburn, Stony Stratford, Leighton Buzzard and Hanslope Fair.

The wood continued to be a valuable part of the estate, with sales amounting to £786. 1s. 3d. from 1680–87. These were mainly from faggots of wood and furze, although some spirewood (young timber) was also sold. When large timber was needed for the estate it normally came from Salcey Forest in Northamptonshire. Bark was sold to the tanner in Newport Pagnell. The sales of faggots from the wood were sometimes in small quantities for household use, but there were also sales of several thousand at a time to the brick and tile maker. The making of furze faggots provided winter work for the labourers on the estate.

There are frequent entries in the accounts to the wages of the work people, which unfortunately are usually a lump sum with no individuals or tasks described. The details which do exist suggest that men were paid 1s. a day, sometimes less if the task was very unskilled or undemanding. For example, Robert Muxley received only 6d. a day for "looking after the peace". Women were paid 8d. a day on average. Total bills for the workpeople came to:-

1689	£139. 4s. 4d
1691	£164. 14s. 5d.
1692	£159. 12s. 11d.

The heaviest expenditure was predictably in the summer months June and August. Not all the labourers were employed as individuals; there were entries referring to one person and "his company" or "his men". For example, in 1687 Edward Harris and his company mowed 30 acres, and "mowed, cocked (stooked) and raised 60 acres of beans and barley", at a cost of £10. This seems to almost foreshadow the later systems of gang labour, especially since some of these entries refer to men from outside the parish.

The village seems to have had few real poor at the

end of the century, the Overseers' accounts record a very low level of expenditure, from £20 – £30 a year, including the £8 from the Town Charity, and there seem to have been only three people in receipt of regular relief in any one year. The years of high expenditure were years of poor harvests, when prices were high. This low figure for the poor was probably the result of the decline in the population. There was probably also a supplement to the labourers' wages in lacemaking by the women of the village. In the 1690's one lace-buyer lived in the village, and there were others in Newport Pagnell. Mary Orton was paid in 1691 for making lace for Lady Pritchard. There were also payments of £4 a year to Goody Kent for teaching fifteen scholars, which could mean a dame school, but could also be a lace school.

### *Conclusion*

The enclosure of the parish in 1658 changed not only the system of farming, but also the structure of the community. The large estate that was created in the seventeenth century remained until the present day, with eight to nine tenant farmers and a larger group of labourers, dependent upon wage labour. Unlike the open-field villages which escaped the earlier depopulating enclosures, Great Linford had a declining population, probably controlled at the level of potential employment by the main estate owner. The decline in the number of houses prevented extra people coming to live in the village, and indeed there is evidence that part of the labour requirements were met by day labourers from outside. By 1700, Great Linford must have appeared a very modern estate by the prevailing standards of the area; totally enclosed, with a varied and up to date pattern of farming.

### THE POST-ENCLOSURE VILLAGE

A detailed study of the more recent history of the village and its buildings is beyond the scope of this report. The following is a brief summary of the more extensive information held within the Unit's archive.

The original house built for Sir William Pritchard was much altered during the first half of the eighteenth century, most probably after the death of Sir William in 1705. By his will, Sir William left most of his estate in trust for his wife during her lifetime. When she died in 1718, the estate passed to Sir William's nephews and executors, Richard Uthwatt and Daniel King. Daniel apparently sold his interest in Great Linford to his cousin Richard, and the estate remained in the ownership of the Uthwatt family until it was purchased by Milton Keynes Development Corporation.

The present manor house, which incorporates parts of Pritchard's building, may be largely att-

ributed to Thomas Uthwatt, who inherited from his father Richard in 1719, and died at Great Linford in 1757.

The accounts for the Great Linford estate survive for the period 1678 to 1888 (BuCRO D/U/4/1-20). These accounts are fairly extensive for the early part of this period, recording the building of the manor house, school and almshouses, repairs to the church, and landscaping of the grounds. However, the alterations to the house, which were probably carried out shortly after 1720, are not recorded, as for the most part the eighteenth century accounts deal with farming activities.

Whilst the village itself changed very little, many of the houses were rebuilt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some infilling took place. Most of the existing farmhouses are said to date from the late seventeenth or eighteenth century (Woodfield 1986, 45-57), but may

occasionally include fragments of earlier buildings. The last surviving cottages on the south side of the green were demolished c. 1930; Plate 2 shows these buildings c. 1900.

During the nineteenth century, Great Linford parish was not immune to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. The Grand Junction Canal, opened in 1800, passed through the parish from its easternmost point, skirting the village to the north and cutting through the manor grounds. As much of its route followed the contours there was little major engineering required, except for an embankment crossing Stanton Brook by the 'Black Horse' inn, which was built at about the same time. A wharf (Plate 3 and Fig. 9) serving the village was opened where the canal crossed the road leading north from the village, and a second public house, the 'Old Wharf Inn', was established there.

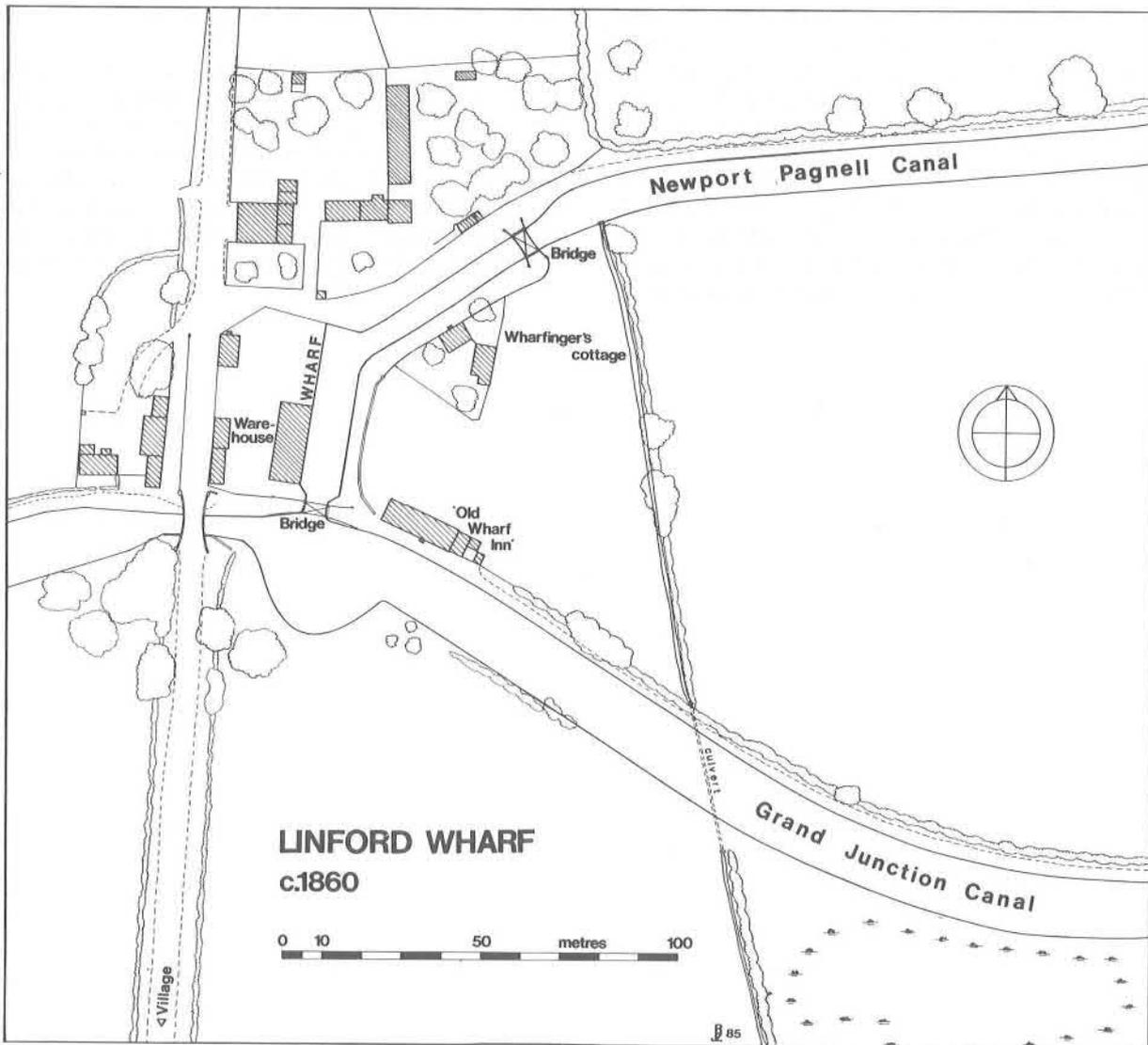


Figure 9: Great Linford wharf c. 1860, based on Tithe award and Ordnance Survey maps.

In 1817 a branch was opened from the wharf to Newport Pagnell, falling by seven locks over 2.4 kms to a wharf on the west side of the town. Both the Grand Junction (now the 'Grand Union') and Newport Pagnell canals are comprehensively detailed elsewhere (Faulkner, 1972).

In 1814, the northern east-west route through the parish became part of the Stony Stratford to Newport Pagnell Turnpike, which operated until 1878. In 1865 a branch railway to Newport Pagnell from Wolverton was opened, using for its route part of the Newport Pagnell canal, which had been sold to the Newport Pagnell Railway Company in 1864. The village was served by a station adjacent to the canal wharf, and the branch line, which had been taken over by the London and North Western Railway in 1875, remained in operation to 1964. Much of its route is now (1991) a pedestrian/cycle way, the 'Railway Walk'.

The development of Wolverton and New Bradwell, and the consequent demand for building materials, led to the establishment of two brickworks in Great Linford during the nineteenth century. The first of these, Sheppard's, began operating in about 1840 to the north of Linford wharf, to the east of the road leading from the village. Traces of the clay pits can be seen in Rowsham Dell, Giffard Park. A second brickworks was established in about 1880 by George Price adjacent to the Grand Junction Canal, south of the Willen road. The kilns here survive as listed

structures, the only remaining examples of bottle kilns in Buckinghamshire. Probably also connected with this demand for building materials were the lime kilns and quarry adjacent to the canal, west of the church.

In addition to building materials, the development of the railway works at Wolverton and, more recently, Salmon's coachworks at Newport Pagnell, created a demand for labour and for housing on the surrounding villages. The effects of this, and the other developments described above, can be seen in the census returns for Great Linford. In 1801 the population of the parish was 313, which rapidly rose to 479 in 1851, reaching a peak of 577 in 1911 before dropping to 422 in 1931. The housing demand brought about by these Victorian 'commuters' was in part met by the construction of 'Station Terrace', on the site of Sheppard's brickworks, adjacent to the railway station. However, throughout this period Great Linford remained very much an agricultural village, with the majority of its inhabitants working on the land.

The passing of Squire Uthwatt, and the subsequent sale of the contents of the manor house in 1963, marked the end of an era. In 1964 the proposals for a new town in north Buckinghamshire were first mooted, and within ten years the absorption of Great Linford into the new development had commenced. Now the parish is totally developed, and the village has been engulfed by modern development (Fig. 10).

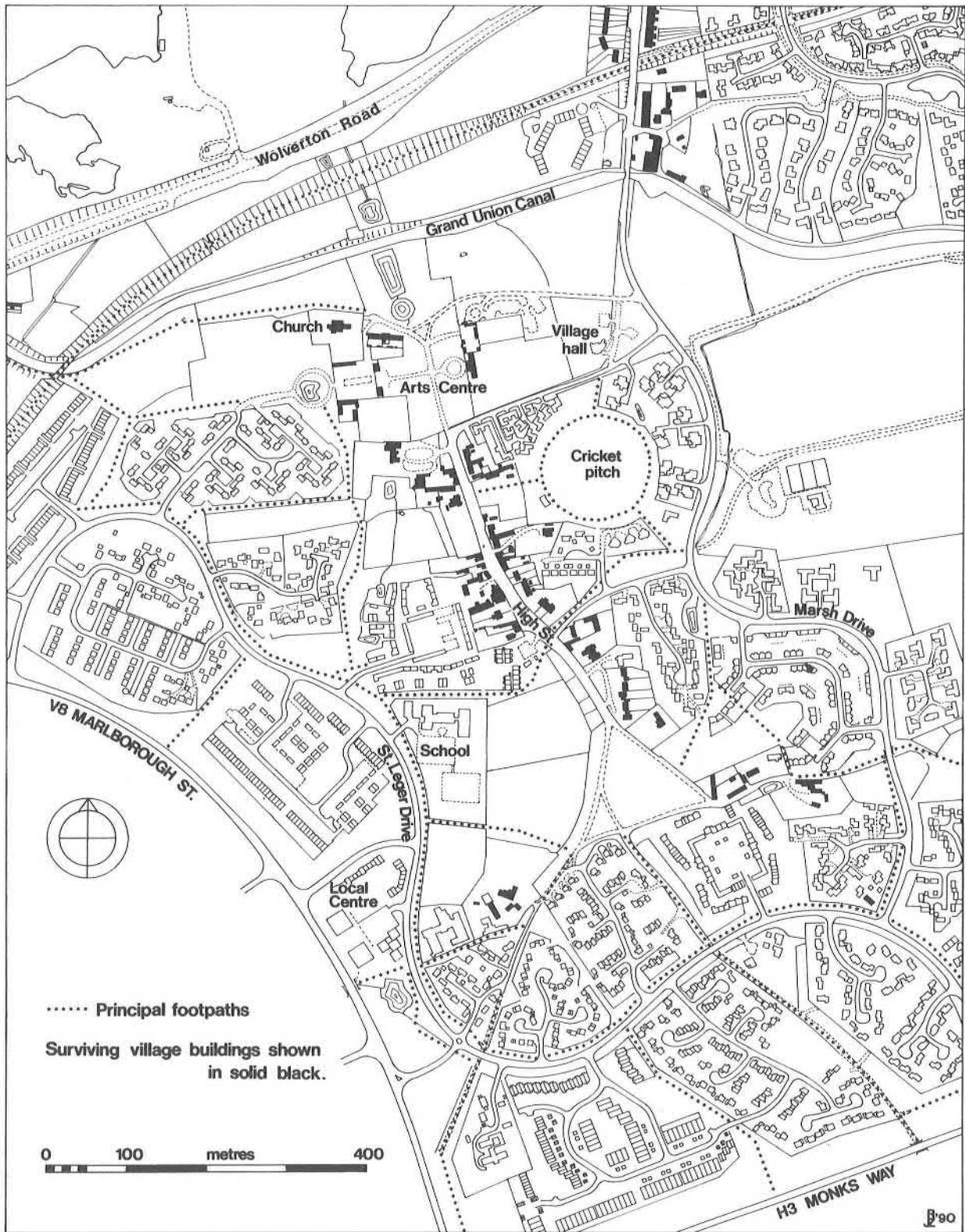


Figure 10: The modern village.

## THE EXCAVATIONS

### INTRODUCTION

The earliest excavations at Great Linford took place in 1972, shortly after the establishment of the Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit. This work, directed by Dennis Mynard, which consisted of limited trial trenching on the site of what is now the Vicarage, at the north end of the green, was supervised by Alison Taylor. No signs of occupation were noted.

Large-scale excavation was begun in 1974 in the field to the south of the green ('Herns Close') and on the earthworks to the south-east of Linford Lodge (Croft A - 'Pignuts'), directed by Dennis Mynard and supervised by Robin Cain. Excavations continued on these sites in 1975, the former area being extended to examine the entire north side of Herns Close, a total of some 4600 sq. m., in addition to a large amount of trial trenching in the rest of the field. This and subsequent seasons of excavation in the village were directed jointly by Dennis Mynard and Bob Zeepvat. During 1975 the construction of an old people's home opposite Crescent Farm (Pritchard Court), revealed the partial remains of a medieval building, on which salvage excavations were undertaken by Charmian Woodfield. A brief excavation was also carried out inside one of the almshouses.

In 1976 attention was focused on the area to the east of the village green (Newman's and Taylor's Close). An area of some 16.6ha. was first extensively trial trenched by machine, after which four areas totalling about 4100 sq. m. were stripped where occupation evidence was greatest. In the following year the team moved to a site east of the village, where house platforms had been recorded alongside the back lane ('Pearson's Close'). Here an area of about 10ha. was trial trenched, of which 2200 sq. m. was totally excavated. During the 1977 season the opportunity was also taken to examine the isolated earthwork to the east of the village (MK709). This marked the final season of excavation on the village earthworks.

In 1978 excavations were planned on the possible site of the predecessor to the present manor house, thought to lie beneath the manor's stable yard. However, the discovery of an extensive Iron Age and Saxon settlement site at Pennyland caused this to be postponed after initial trenching of the area had commenced, and it was not until

1980 that this excavation was resumed. Trial trenching of the stable yard was completed, as well as areas to the east of the stables, and an area of 1200-1300 sq. m. was stripped. Later, additional areas were opened to the east of the stables, as well as inside the south stable building. While this excavation was in progress, re-ordering work inside the church provided the opportunity for limited excavation there, as well as observation of contractor's trenches in the churchyard. This work was undertaken by Bob Williams. At the same time a detailed study of the fabric of the church was carried out by Brian Giggins of the MKDC Buildings Conservation section, aided by Mr Williams. The latter has also been largely responsible for recording the many small discoveries of archaeological interest that have been made during construction work in and around the village in recent years.

### METHODS OF EXCAVATION

As most of the areas in which excavation took place (Fig. 11) were known to have been under pasture since the dwellings on them were abandoned, it was decided that trial trenching, followed by stripping promising areas by hand, would be the method of excavation employed at Linford. This approach was used in the first season of excavation, but in the dry summers of 1975 and 1976 it became apparent that the use of excavating plant, in this case a Massey Ferguson M50B, would prove more efficient in terms of speed and cost as the turf, normally about 200-400mm. in depth, peeled off cleanly, revealing undisturbed yard surfaces and destruction rubble overlying and protecting buildings. This method was used to great effect in 1976 and 1977 to trial trench the areas available for excavation, and to strip promising areas therein. Soil was removed in dumper trucks (normally 40-50 cwt capacity) and tipped in an area which had been proved negative by trial trenching.

The excavation of the manor site (MK674) was carried out in a similar fashion, though with the added complications of a stable yard and surfaced drive, and standing buildings over part of the site. This latter problem in particular tended to dictate the direction taken by the excavation, areas being opened initially around the structure by machine and subsequently inside by hand, most of the interior floor being removed and the interior wall

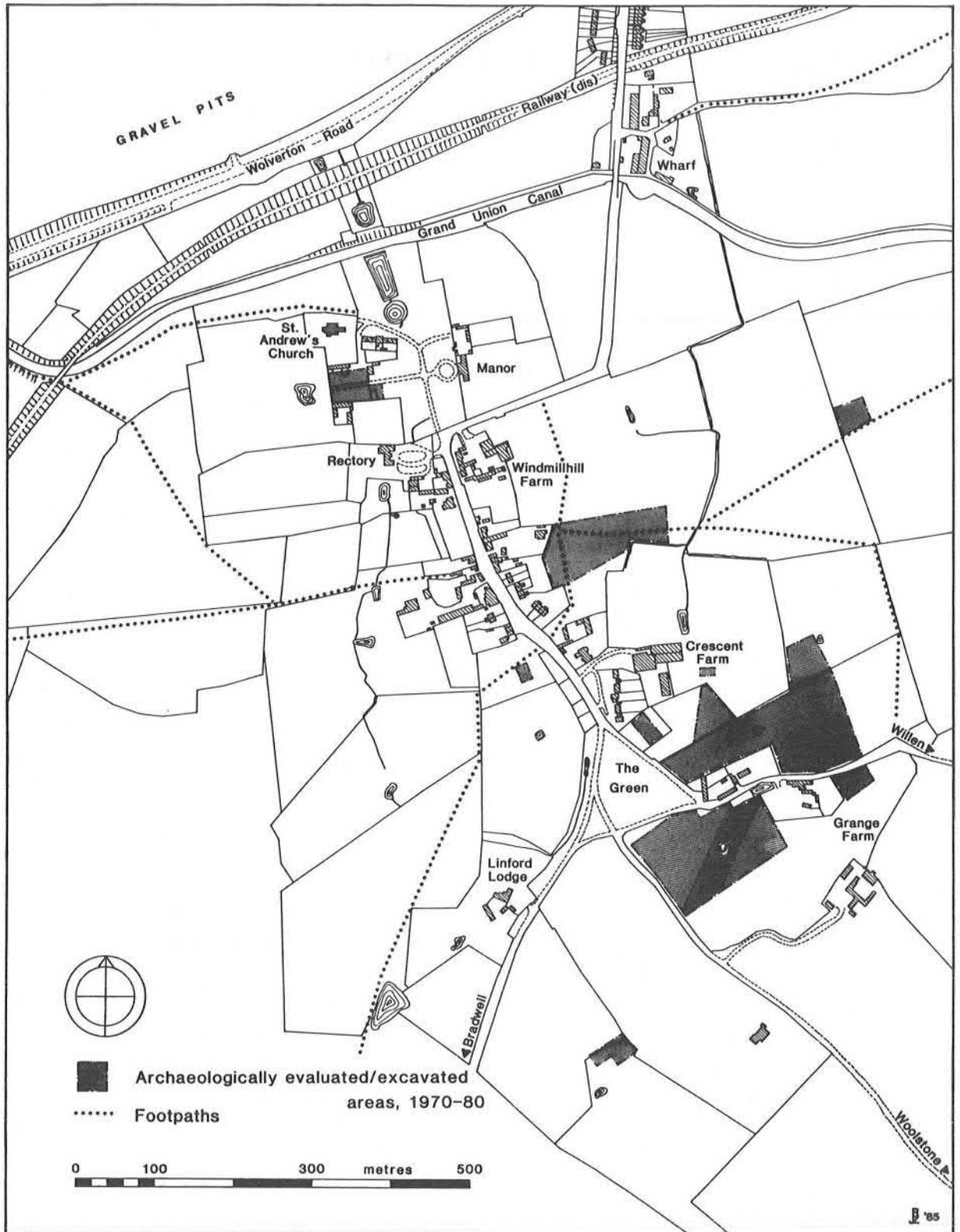


Figure 11: Great Linford village: excavated areas.

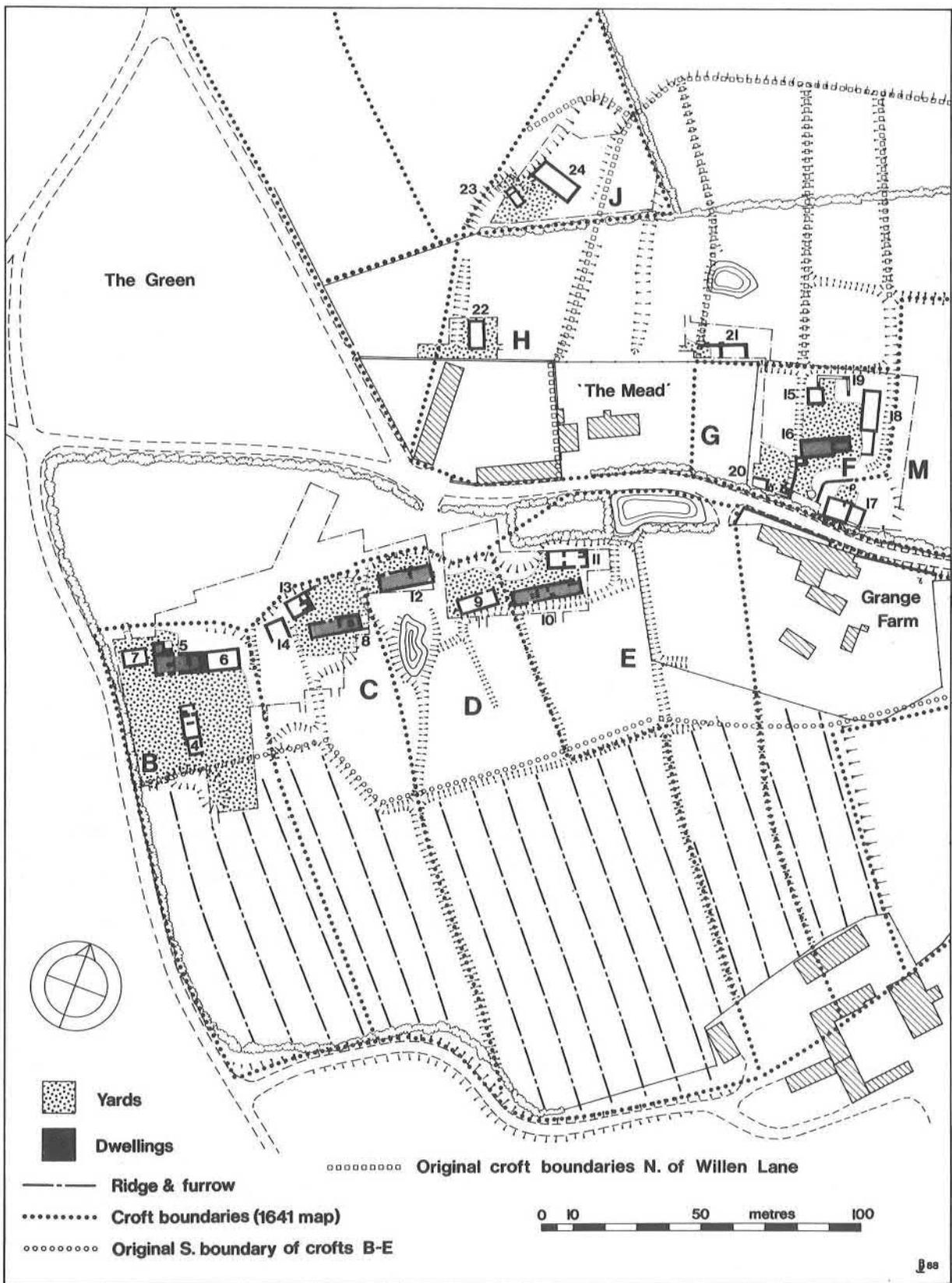


Figure 12: Overall excavation plan, Crofts B to J.

cladding and fittings being stripped out. This latter part of the operation made possible detailed study of the fabric of the stable building, the results of which are detailed below.

As with other medieval village sites in Milton Keynes, a single site number is given to the village earthworks at Great Linford (MK626), as distinct from the more specialised sites, such as the mill earthwork (MK709). Following the earthworks survey, an attempt was made to identify individual crofts from surviving platforms, and these were numbered, eg. MK626/13. These numbers were used during excavation to denote individual areas, though it became apparent at an early stage that platforms did not always correspond to buildings. Only on completion of the village excavations was it possible to identify the individual excavated crofts, identified by letter and to provide a coherent numbering system for the buildings, which is used in this report. For obvious reasons the excavations at the manor (MK674), mill (MK709) and church (MK714) are treated as individual sites. Finds resulting from archaeological fieldwork are also described in order of their own MK numbers.

#### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Excavations were carried out on the village earthworks between 1974 and 1976. The areas examined were principally to the south and east of the village green (Crofts B-J), with isolated sites to the south-west (Croft A) and the north (Croft L). The crofts are identified by letter on Fig. 12. The intervening areas were all under cultivation, and therefore left untouched, as experience has shown that modern ploughing rapidly destroys the evidence of occupation on sites such as this. In addition to the aforementioned house platforms, some earthworks in the north-west corner of Hens Close, to the north of Crofts B and C, an area which had once formed part of the village green, were also examined.

Before moving on to the description of individual crofts and structures, some general comments on the nature of the buildings and yards excavated at Great Linford are offered. This is primarily intended to reduce repetition in the descriptive section. A copy of the excavation report was submitted to J. T. Smith for comment, and his useful observations are reported below (p. 108ff).

##### *Houses and other structures*

All the village structures excavated at Great Linford, whether of twelfth or seventeenth century date, show a marked similarity in construction. The external walls, with few exceptions, were each about 500mm. wide, built of unmortared

limestone rubble. From the amount of rubble spread over the buildings and the immediate vicinity it appears likely that they stood to a height of about 600mm., forming a base for a timber-framed wattle-and-daub structure. Because of the solidity of the clay subsoil on which the buildings were constructed, these dwarf stone walls were not usually given foundations. At most, a single course of stonework was laid below ground level.

Internal floors were prepared by levelling that area of the old ground surface or, in most cases, the clay subsoil which was contained within the structure. Only one house, Building 3 Croft A, had a medieval tiled floor. In Buildings 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 23, areas of floor undergoing heavy use were reinforced with a layer of crushed fossiliferous limestone, probably obtained locally from a fossil band in the Blisworth limestone outcrop. Stone cobbling, pitching or flagging was also used for this purpose, as in Buildings 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 21. Buildings 4, 5 and 9 differ from other structures examined by being constructed on a made-up platform of grey-brown clay, laid on the clay subsoil. Partition walls within buildings appear to have been constructed similarly to the external walls, some with stone footings, which were generally narrower and less substantial than those for the external walls, and others resting directly on the internal floors. Only in Building 5 were timber slots found representing partitions. Otherwise, the presence of all timber partition walls was indicated only by a change in the floor type, as in Building 6.

By the mid sixteenth century, Buildings 1, 4, 5, 22, 26, 27, the manor, and possibly Buildings 20, 21 and 23, had glazed windows. The medieval buildings must have had thatched roofs, although by the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century many were roofed in tile. In addition, stone slates came from several of the buildings. Quantities of broken tile and stone rubble were found in the destruction levels over most buildings, but the absence of good quality stone and whole tiles suggests that the buildings were subsequently stripped and demolished in the mid to late seventeenth century.

One notable feature in all the structures excavated was the lack of occupation material found on internal floor surfaces. This may be due to the use of rushes as a floor covering, which would necessitate periodic cleaning out. Some uniformity in the overall dimension of most of the structures was also noted. Most buildings were 5 to 5.5m. in width, and had lengths in multiples of about 4m. (13 feet 2 inches) which equates with four paces, as taken by an average height man. Such a unit of length is roughly equivalent to the term 'bay' used in documentary sources to indicate the length of a building (e.g. 'a house of four bays', which might be about 16m. in length, as in Building 8).

Most of the excavated structures at Linford were associated with external cobbled surfaces of limestone rubble or flint pebbles. With the buildings in Hern's Close, most of the cobbled areas lay on the north sides of the crofts, facing the green. These yards, which in most cases covered small areas adjacent to buildings, seem to have been laid solely to reinforce areas undergoing heavy traffic, as with that between Buildings 8 and 13, and 10 and 11. Two crofts at Linford, Crofts B and F, had larger cobbled areas which appear to have had a specific agricultural function. Both are discussed in detail below; that in Croft B appears to have been a cattle yard, whilst the yard in Croft F was the focal point of a small farm complex. Few of the yards show any sign of planned overall relaying, other than in Croft C. It appears that small-scale repairs were made to potholes and ruts as necessary, often with crushed flint pebbles, patches of which were found in surfaces composed principally of limestone rubble.

#### The green

Machine stripping at the north end of Herns Close uncovered a well-built stone wall about 800mm. wide, running roughly parallel with the south side of the green along the north sides of Crofts B, C and D. This marked the former southern boundary of the green, and appears from local information to have remained standing until about 1920, when the southern part of the green was encroached upon by Hern's Close, the green not being officially registered as common land until 1967. The present village green has been ploughed since the 1939-45 war, and therefore appears flat and featureless. However, in that area of Hern's Close formerly part of the green, a number of earthworks were still extant and some of these were excavated. No structures were found, but in the area north of Crofts C and D, several patches of rough gravel surface with stake holes (for hurdles?) were noted, and could be interpreted as stock enclosures.

To the north of the wall bounding the green was a broad ditch, up to 3m. wide, which appeared to have taken surface water from the ditches surrounding the crofts, discharging it into a pond, still extant, by Grange Farm to the east of Croft E. This system appears to have functioned until the construction of the pond in Hern's Close, sometime in the nineteenth century, into which field drainage was diverted.

This croft, referred to in documents as early as 1321, when it was called *Pekenoter* (BAS Mss. 34. 7/44), was situated in Pignuts Field, some 340m. south of the last surviving, triangular, area of the village green. The name 'Pignuts' was explained by a villager who said that it came from the tuber or root of a plant growing in the field, which was traditionally dug up and eaten by village children. The plant, *Conopodium Majus*, a member of the *Umbelliferae* family, was still growing in the field prior to development. In the medieval period the green was much larger (p. 13, above) and Croft A was situated on the south side of the west end of the green, called 'Green's End' and the 'Upper Green' on the 1641 and 1678 maps respectively. The area covered by the croft was approximately 40m. square.

In May 1974 the northern side of the croft was cut into by heavy machinery clearing the route of St Leger Drive. When the topsoil was removed traces of stone work were uncovered, and pottery of thirteenth- to seventeenth-century date was collected. The contractors co-operated by working around the features for a few days whilst a rescue operation was mounted to record them. After cleaning it was clear that the earthmoving machinery had largely removed the remains of a medieval building (north of Building 2) and cut through a stone-surfaced track running from the croft across the former green in a northerly direction.

Traces of another medieval building, (Building 3) and of a post-medieval building (Building 1) were evident on the southern side of St Leger Drive, and in June the roadside verge was hurriedly excavated, prior to the excavation of a large services trench. This work produced more evidence of the two further buildings (Fig. 13). The first, Building 3, was a single rectangular structure of thirteenth-century date, and the second, Building 1, apparently a more substantial structure of seventeenth-century date. It was decided that further work should take place, but due to commitments elsewhere the excavation team were unable to return to this site until November 1974. At this time it was decided to strip an area on the south side of St Leger Drive in order to examine Building 1. Approximately two hundred square metres were stripped of topsoil and partially cleaned. However, work had to be abandoned after a few weeks due to the excessively wet weather and waterlogged nature of the site.

Excavation was recommenced in 1975, when it was found that the remains had been substantially robbed away, and that the results obtainable would not justify extensive work. Since the area was needed for housing construction, and as better

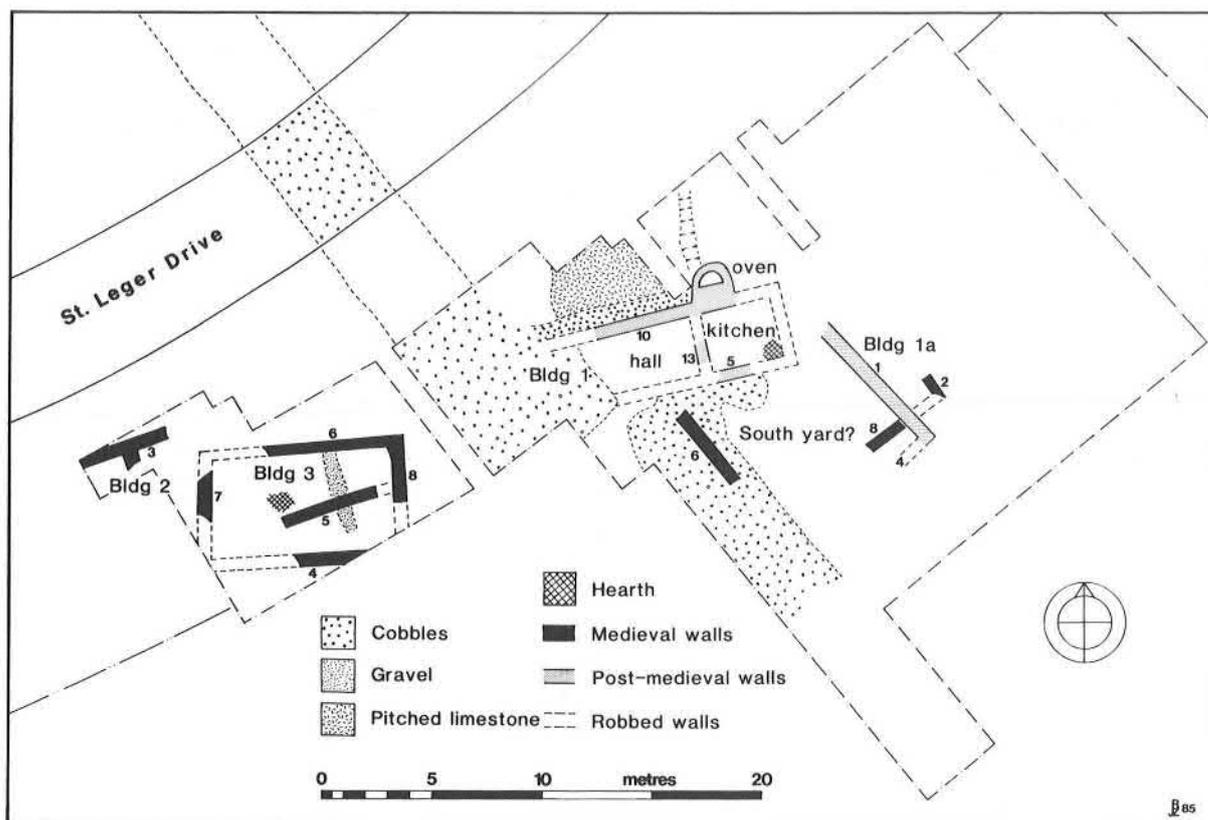


Figure 13: Croft A: excavated buildings and features.

preserved remains were threatened in the scheduled area of the village, the site was quickly recorded and the limited resources available were withdrawn from the site and work concentrated on Croft B in Hern's Close.

#### *Building 3: thirteenth century*

This was a simple rectangular structure, 7.8m. × 4.6m., aligned east-west. The walls (Walls 4, 6, 7 and 8) were unmortared and averaged from 450mm. to 800mm. in thickness. They survived to a height of two or three courses only. The floor was of packed clay, and traces of a hearth midway between the north and south walls survived towards the west end. An area of the floor may have been tiled, since a quantity of unglazed stabbed floor tiles were found in the destruction levels over the building. The north-west and south-west corners of the building were robbed away, and the excavation did not extend far enough to locate the south-east corner. On the floor inside the building was a layer of rubble (Context 8) interpreted as the destruction level of the building. This sealed the hearth, and was itself sealed by Wall 5 (Building 2).

#### *Dating Evidence*

The building was dated by pottery (Group 1, Fig. 148) from the floor level inside the building and

from the destruction level over the floor and around the building, Contexts 8 – 13.

#### *Building 2: thirteenth to fourteenth century*

This was represented by Wall 5, which overlay Building 3, and possibly also by Wall 3, which was situated 3m. to the north-west of Building 3. If these walls were related they may represent the north and south walls of Building 2, which would have been aligned east-west, at least 12m. in length and almost 6m. wide. The north wall, (Wall 3) measured 3.6m. in length, and 350mm. thick. A further length of wall 500mm. thick ran from it to the south. The south wall (Wall 5) was 550mm. in width and survived for a length of 5.2m. Both walls were constructed without mortar. Traces of other walls to the north of Wall 2, probably part of this building, were destroyed during the construction of St Leger Drive.

Wall 3 was not closely datable, sherds of medieval and post-medieval pottery being found in the destruction rubble around it. Wall 5 (Context 14) clearly post-dates Building 3, and contained one sherd of sandy pottery (MS3) of thirteenth to fourteenth-century date in its construction.

#### *Building 1a*

On the south side of Building 1, underlying its

southern yard and boundary wall (Walls 1 and 4) three fragments of wall (Walls 2, 6 and 8) represented the east, west and south walls of a medieval building. The east wall (Wall 2) survived for a length of 650mm. from its junction with the south wall (Wall 8), of which only 3.8m. survived. To the south of the building an area of stone rubble, which included some large stones, was initially thought to be a wall, but most probably represented a dispersed yard surface. The cleaning and removal of this surface produced a few sherds of fourteenth-century pottery.

Underneath Building 1 fragments of three walls, (Walls 7, 11 and 12 – not on plan) represented at least two phases of a medieval building. The remains were badly disturbed, but a quantity of pottery (Group 2, Fig. 150) found amongst stone rubble between the walls (Contexts 43, 44, 45) probably dated the destruction of these buildings to the late fourteenth century.

#### *Building 1: seventeenth century*

The complete plan of this phase was not recovered, owing to extensive stone robbing. The building was aligned east-west; the north wall (Wall 10) survived for a length of 7.3m., with a semi-circular oven base (Plate 4) projecting northwards from its east end. Wall 13, running south from Wall 10, appeared to be a partition wall, and a fragment of the south wall 1.8m. in length (Wall 5) remained. The building was 3m. wide internally and at least 10m. in length. The walls were unmortared and of varying thickness, the north wall being 650mm., the partition wall 430mm. and the south wall 400mm. The east wall was totally robbed away, but the position of the south-east corner was defined by remnants of a pitched stone hearth base, and the line of the east end by the edge of an external cobbled yard surface. The west end of the building was covered by a yard surface. When this was removed it was found that stonerobbing had removed all evidence of the west wall.

The building, which had a tiled roof and glazed windows, probably consisted of two rooms; a kitchen at the east end, and a larger room or hall on the west side. The kitchen was 3.2m. square, with a hearth base of pitched stone set in the floor in the south east corner, and an oven built into and projecting out from the north wall. The west room was 3.2m. wide and at least 6m. in length. There were no remaining internal features. The floor level did not survive, and the seventeenth-century destruction level, containing pottery, metal work and other finds of mid to late seventeenth-century date, as well as roof tiles, window lead and glass, lay directly above a layer of stone rubble and clay 300mm. thick, which was the destruction level of the underlying medieval

building (Building 1a). The two pilgrim badges (406 & 407) found here must come from this earlier phase.

Alongside the north wall on the outside of the building ran a substantial cobbled path 800mm. wide, set within a border of pitched limestone. This path led to a cobbled area at the west end of the building, from which the stone-surfaced track ran northwards across the green towards the village, and southwards towards the fields. This track was uncovered for 11m. to the north, and could be seen as a slight agger running right across Pignuts Field to Wood Lane. To the south of Building 1 the track was uncovered for a distance of 22m. The cobbled yard extended on the south side of the building and clearly continued in use after the building, since it overlay its west end. Destruction material from the house, similar to that found inside it, was evident all over the yard surface.

On the south side of the building a 7m. square area was interpreted as a rear yard, enclosed by Walls 1, 4 and 14. However, the latter had been reduced to ground level and covered by the metal surface of the track running south from the building. This presumably happened towards the end of the life of the building or shortly afterwards, since on the track were finds of mid seventeenth-century date.

#### *Dating*

The destruction levels in, over and around Building 1 and the yard surfaces were all dated by pottery (Group 3) and associated finds to the mid to late seventeenth century. These finds included a wool bale seal (96) dated 1664–5 and two spurs (269 and 270) of Civil War date. Other spurs (272 and 277) from the topsoil over Building 1 were of similar date. It seems likely that for a short period after the building ceased to be a house it was used with its associated yard as an agricultural building of some sort. This would explain the disturbed nature of its floor levels and the fact that stone thrown down over its west end became part of the yard surface. The site certainly attracted rubbish in the form of pottery and a lace bobbin (98) as late as the early eighteenth century.

That rubbish was being deposited on the sites of several of the former village houses is confirmed by the discovery of joining sherds of the same Staffordshire slipware dish (Fig. 183, 293) in the destruction level (Context 3) over Building 1 and in a ditch (Context 19) immediately north of Building 20 on Croft G. This was noticed due to the rarity of this pottery fabric in the material excavated at Great Linford. It is likely that many other such relationships exist unnoticed amongst the coarser wares.

## CROFT B

This croft was situated in the north-west corner of Heron's Close, on the south side of the village green and on the east side of Woolstone Way (Fig. 12). The medieval croft was originally 43m. wide and 45m. deep, but sometime before 1641 had been extended southwards to a length of 140m., including part of the former ploughed furlong. Possibly this was a result of early enclosure by private agreement. The eastern boundary was a ditch (Gully 1) which was still visible on the field surface. Access from the green was by a narrow trackway, 2.6m. wide, between Buildings 5 and 7. This track was heavily rutted, and appears to have been the original point of access on to the croft, though the proximity of Woolstone Way might suggest another entrance on the west side directly into the yard. The occupation of this croft ran from the early thirteenth century through to the third quarter of the seventeenth.

The medieval buildings on the croft commenced with a simple two bay cottage, Building 6, which was replaced to the west by what was interpreted as a longhouse, Building 5, with a large outbuilding, Building 4, possibly a kitchen, in the yard to the south. At some time in the early seventeenth century an extension with an upper storey was added to the north west corner of Building 5. To the west of the house a new detached barn, Building 7, was built, and Building 4 was extended to the north by the addition of a possible brew-house, which had a chimney and tiled roof. The yards around these buildings were constructed of large glacial pebbles and limestone fragments, with neat cobble paths edged with pitched limestone. To the south of Building 4, a large kidney-shaped pond was set into the yard, the surface of which continued into the pond as a lining.

The occupation of this croft can be divided into four phases (Fig. 14):

### *Phase 1; First half thirteenth century.*

The earliest stone building was Building 6, a rectangular structure measuring 9 × 4.2m. internally, aligned east-west, situated in the north-east corner of the croft. The walls were of limestone rubble and were on average 400mm. thick. There was no surviving evidence for the position of the entrance. Building 6 was constructed over a grey-brown clay soil, on which was a darker soil accumulation (Context 51) representing rubbish deposits and the floors of an earlier timber building. Pottery from this was of early to mid thirteenth-century date (Group 4, not illustrated). These same soil and rubbish deposits continued to the west under Building 5. Externally, the old ground surface had been largely eroded away by the constant use and

cleaning of the yard, and replaced by well worn and patched limestone and cobbled yards.

The removal of the old soil level north of Building 6 revealed Pit 1 (Context 54), which contained pottery of similar date to that in the soil from the early floors within the building, and a number of possible post holes. These produced no dating evidence, and were considered to have been produced during the construction of the building, rather than to represent an earlier structure.

### *Phase 2; Mid thirteenth to early fourteenth century.*

The earth floor of Building 6 was sealed by a later floor, at which time the building was divided centrally into two rooms, each 4.2m. square. The western half had a floor of dark grey-brown clay (Context 50), whilst the eastern half had a floor of crushed fossiliferous limestone (Context 49). The division between the two rooms was clearly defined by the change in floor make up, but there was no evidence of an internal partition. Pottery from the make up of these floors (Group 5, not illustrated) included less shelly ware and a larger proportion of Potterspury ware (MS6) than Group 4, suggesting a date range of mid to late thirteenth century.

To the south of Building 6, more or less in the centre of the yard and the croft, stood Building 4, which was of mid to late thirteenth-century date. This may have begun life as a dwelling and later became a detached kitchen. The main body of the building, comprising Rooms 1 and 2, was medieval in origin. Room 1 appears to have been built as a separate structure, and shortly afterwards Room 2 was added on the south end. The earliest levels associated with this building, including Context 14, the lowest floor in both rooms, consisted of grey-brown clay with charcoal flecks, and contained pottery (group 7, Fig. 149, 1-23) of mid thirteenth to late fourteenth-century date and a small amount of occupation material.

Room 1 was a rectangular structure roughly 6m. in length, and 4.3m. wide at its southern end, increasing to 4.6m. at the northern end. The east, west and south walls averaged 300mm. in thickness, though the north wall was more substantial, being almost 1.0m. thick, with a foundation about 200mm. deep, cut into the clay subsoil. This solid construction was probably required to support the internal floor, which had been levelled up owing to the slope on which the building stood. The earliest floor level (Context 14) was therefore only 100mm. in thickness at the southern end, but increased to 450mm. at the north end. There were slight traces of burning on the floor in Room 1, and a central burnt patch suggested a hearth, but there were no other indications of any internal arrangements.

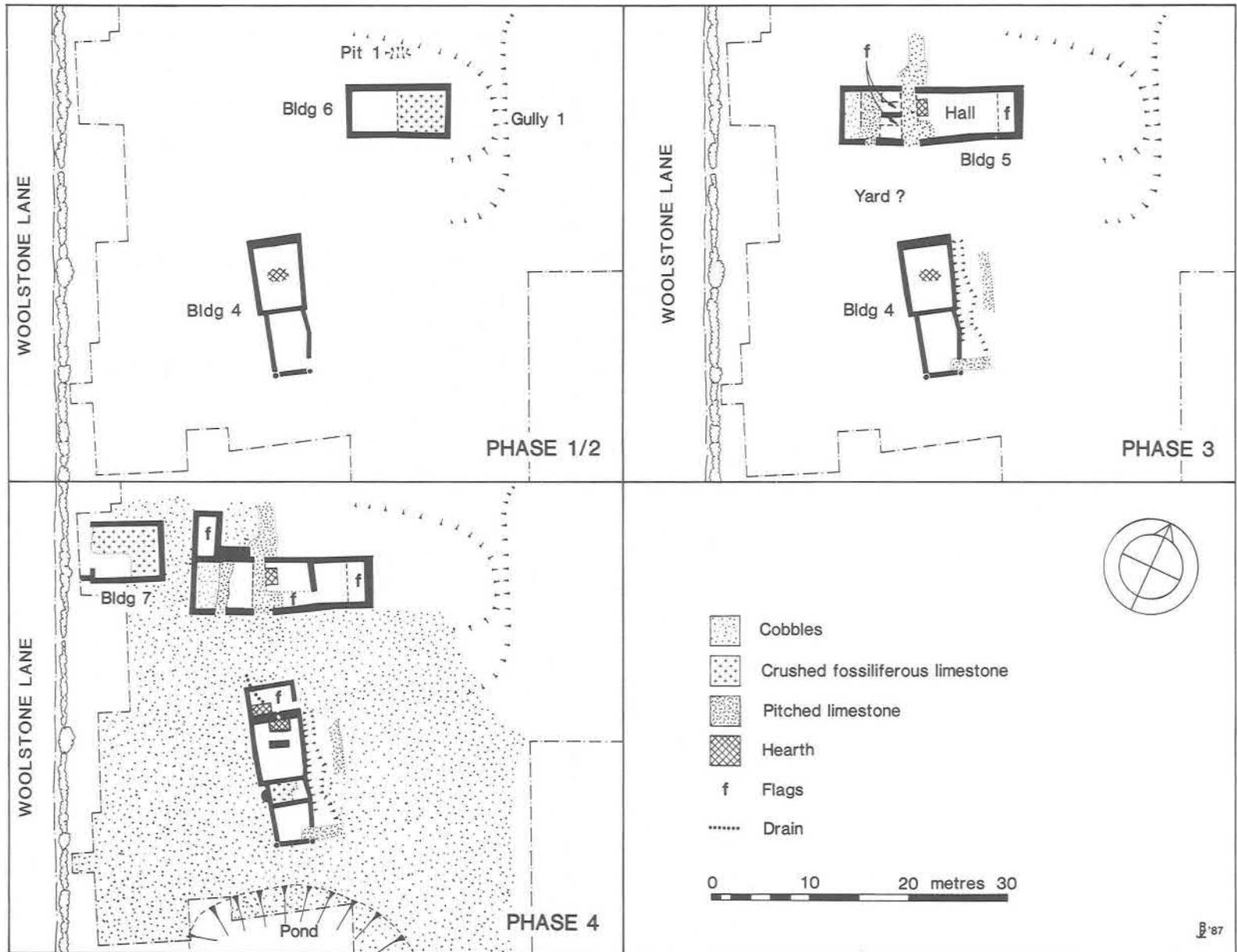


Figure 14: Croft B: development of the buildings on the croft, Phases 1 – 4.

Room 2, a rectangular structure 6.2m. in length and 3.8m. wide, was added to the southern end of Room 1, creating a building 12.5m. in length. The walls were of similar thickness (300mm). to those in Room 1, and had been largely robbed away on the west and south sides. Access was at the south east corner, where the threshold was constructed of pitched limestone, and traces of a path remained outside. The earliest floor level was again Context 14, and as in Room 1, no evidence of internal arrangements survived.

At the south-east corner, almost outside the wall, was a depression (F11) 450mm. square, which was matched by another, (F12) 400mm. square, at the south-west corner. These features were at first thought to be post holes, but on excavation were seen to be shallow depressions, possibly created by the removal of pad stones for cruck blades.

#### *Phase 3; Fourteenth to early seventeenth century*

Building 6 was replaced by Building 5, a longhouse 18.8m. in overall length. This structure (Fig. 15) was erected along the front of the croft, in line with and to the west of Building 6, partly overlying its west end. However, Building 6 may have continued in use, since both medieval and post-medieval pottery was found on its floor. Building 4 remained in use, probably as a detached kitchen or service building.

Building 5 was a substantial structure with stone walls averaging from 600mm. to 800mm. in width. It was of typical longhouse type with a hall and service rooms at one end and a byre at the other. The floor (42) was of dark soil up to 200mm. thick at the east end, where the footings of the old west wall of Building 6 had been left above floor level. Between these footings and the east wall the floor was of dark clay with traces of flagging remaining. The pottery from the floor and occupation levels of the building (Group 11/12, not illustrated) dated from the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.

In the south-west corner, an area of cobbles and limestone flagstones paved the entrance from the cross-passage. Traces remained of a stone-based hearth, 3 × 1.4m., running north from this entrance and backing on to a cross-passage, from which it was possibly separated by a clay reredos (pers. comm. J. T. Smith).

The cross-passage was 1.4m. wide, and was originally surfaced with pitched limestone, which survived mainly at the south end, although traces of its mortar bedding continued to the north. The cross-passage had an external door at either end, and on the north side of the house a limestone path ran towards the village green. The position of the southern doorway was marked by a post hole, presumably for the western door post.

At the west end of the building beyond the cross-passage were a buttery, pantry and a byre with cobbled and limestone floors. These service rooms were 2.2m. in length and had a total width of almost 5m., the building having increased in width at this end. A central doorway in the south wall opened into the byre, which measured 4.8 × 5m. Its floor, divided by a drain, survived better on the east side where it was initially interpreted as a passage (F8).

Pottery sealed beneath the early floor levels is combined as Group 10 (not illustrated), and dates from the mid thirteenth to the early fourteenth century.

#### *Phase 4; Seventeenth century*

Building 5 continued in use until the third quarter of the seventeenth century, although there are virtually no finds from it dateable to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. In its final phase (Fig. 15) the building retained its medieval plan, but the hall had been subdivided, and further rooms had been added at the north west corner. The house now had a brick hearth, a tiled roof, plastered walls and glazed windows.

The hall was now divided by the insertion of a partition wall, 600mm. in thickness, into two rooms; a central living room 5 × 4.2m., and an inner room 4.8 × 4.2m. The rooms had a floor of yellow clay up to 30mm. in thickness. Across the southern end of the living room, traces of a mortar bed and several flat stones remained, suggesting a flagged passage leading to the inner room from the cross-passage, which also remained in use. The eastern half of the service rooms now had a floor of compact yellow clay overlying rubble which filled the features. The central cobbled path remained in use, though the function of the eastern section is uncertain.

On the west end of the north wall a new room measuring 4.4 × 3m. was added. Its stone walls were substantial, 600mm. in thickness, and may well have supported an upper storey. Running eastwards from this room for a distance of 3m. along the north wall of the byre was a stone base, probably for a flight of steps leading to an upper room, possibly a storeroom. Within this extension the floor was of sandy clay (Context 30) and may have been flagged, since three large flat stones survived in the south-east corner. Removal of this floor revealed orange gravel in the southern half and iron-stained cobbles in the northern half of the room, both remains of the earlier yard surface sealed when this extension was built. One notable structural feature was a recess in the north-west corner, which held the base of a wooden post 200 × 100mm. This probably located the timber framework of the building to the footing wall. The

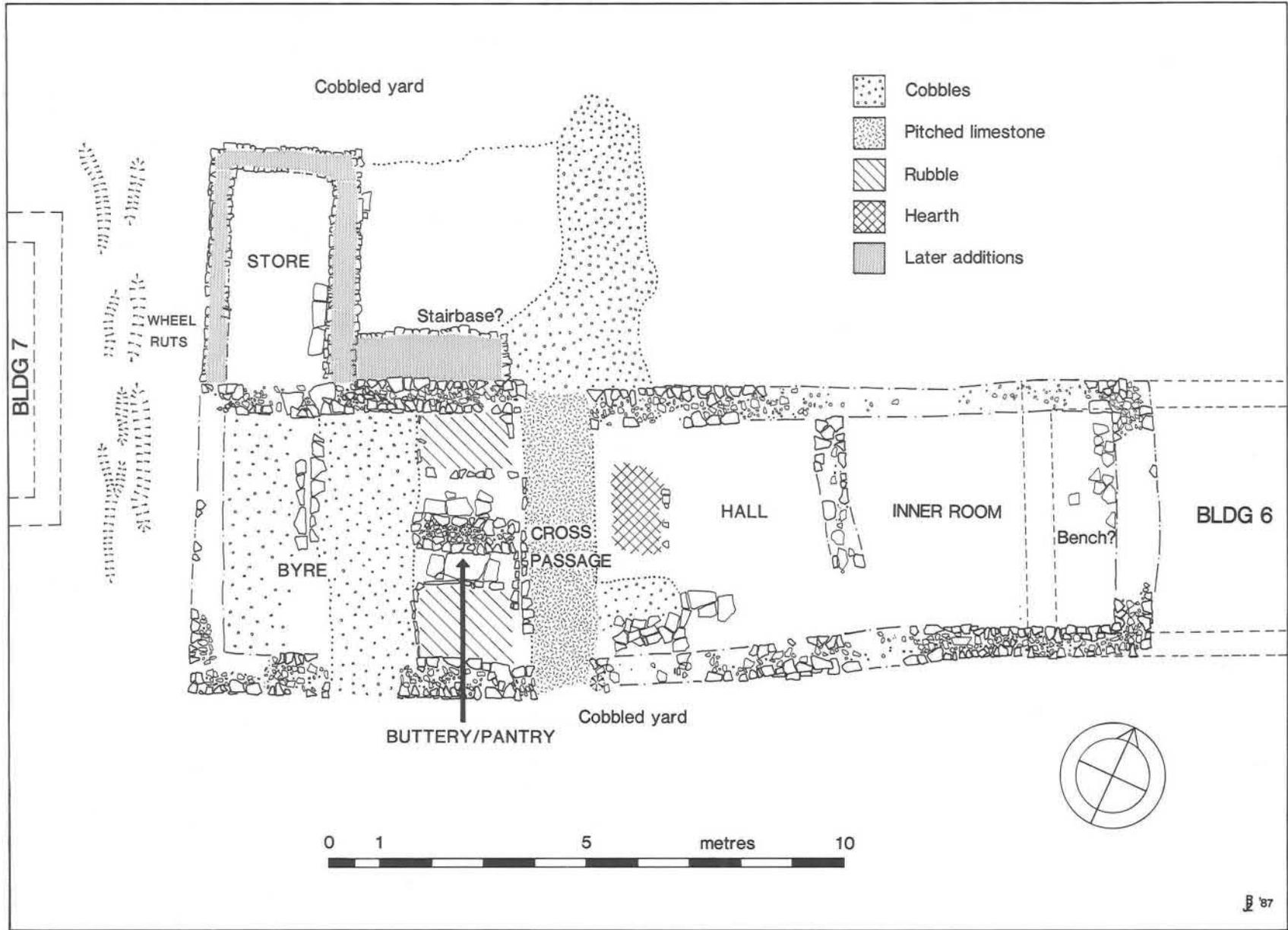


Figure 15: Croft B: Building 5, Phases 3 and 4.

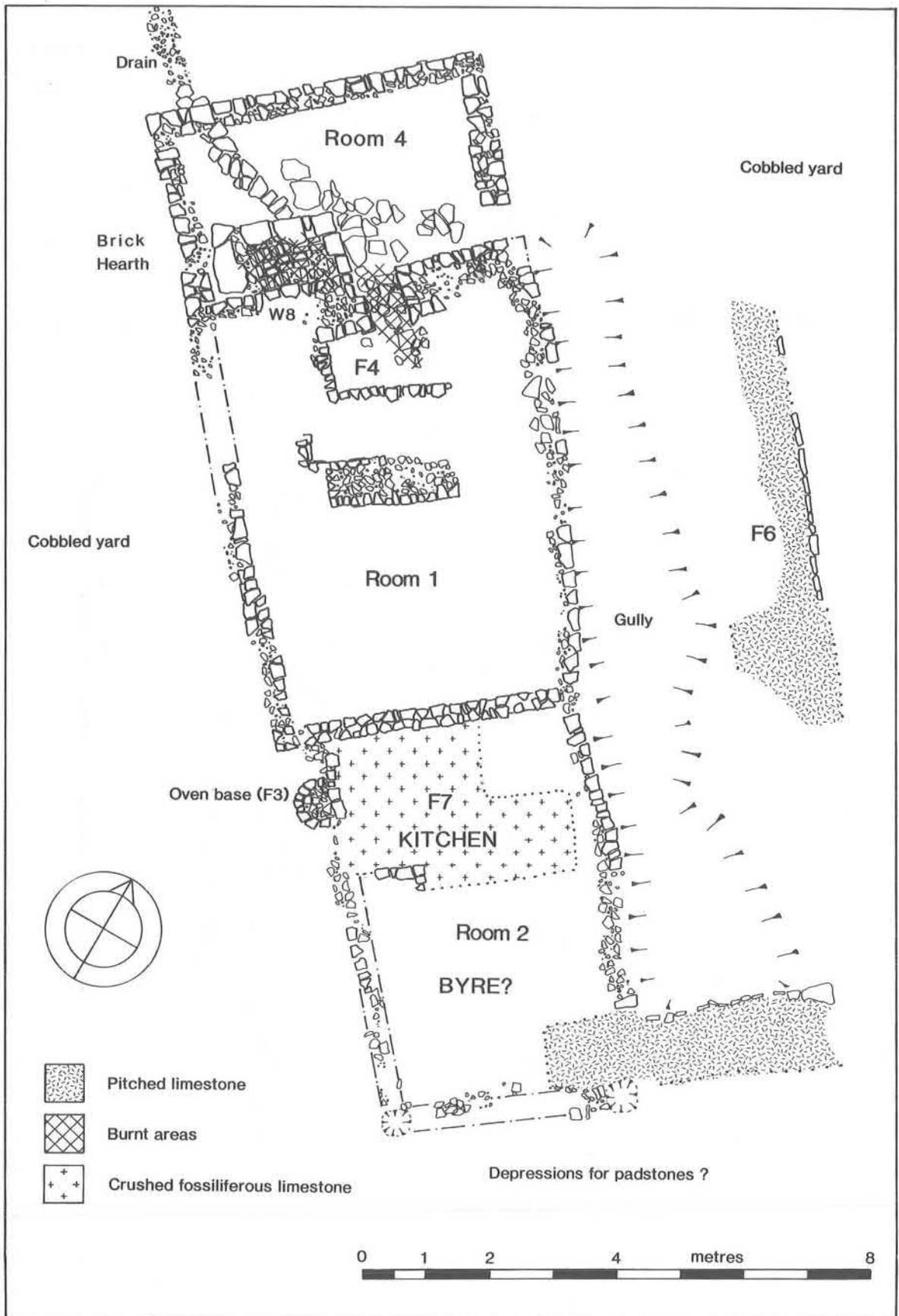


Figure 16: Croft B: Building 4 in its final phase.

late floor levels and the destruction levels of the building contained pottery (Group 13) of late seventeenth-century date.

At sometime early in the seventeenth century an extension was added to the north end of Building 4 (Fig. 16). This was of the same width as Room 1, and extended the structure for a further 2.6m. The walls averaged 400mm. wide, and the new room (Room 4) was entered by a doorway in the south-east corner. In the south-west corner, built up to the north wall of Room 2 (Wall 8), was a substantial hearth base, 1.1 × 2.1m., built of limestone with a central bed of bricks, which had been subjected to heavy burning. A brick chimney stack must have been built up against Wall 8, and the extension had a tiled roof, for large amounts of brick and tile were found on the yard surfaces to the north and west of Room 4.

Most of the floor of Room 4 around the hearth was composed of limestone flags laid directly on the clay subsoil, but the hearth on removal was found to overlie a sump filled with dark silt, from which a stone-lined drain ran to the north under the flagged floor and walls of the extension, petering out in the surrounding yard. This feature may have served as drainage from the building, along with the unconnected gully to the east of Building 4.

In the centre of Wall 8 an opening 600mm. wide, the edges of which showed repeated burning, led to a stone-lined feature (F4), 2.0 × 0.9 × 0.15m. deep, cut into the clay floor of Room 1. The nature of this feature is uncertain; on the south side, it backed onto an area of sandy clay 2.8 × 1.1m., which may have been a base for flagging. This ended against a rectangular stone hearth base 2.0 × 0.8m., with a return on the west side of which only 500mm. survived running north towards Wall 8.

F4 was built, and the sandy clay layer was laid, onto Context 12, the latest medieval floor within the building.

The post-medieval floor in Rooms 1 and 2 (Context 11) consisted of very dark soil only 30mm. in thickness, apart from the north end of Room 2, where an 'L' shaped area of hard-packed sandstone fragments and fossilized shell, possibly the base for a flagged floor, was laid. This floor suggested a sub-division of the room, for it was bounded on the south side by several stones, possibly the remains of a partition wall which divided a kitchen on the north from perhaps a byre on the south. Within the west wall of the kitchen was built an oven, the base of which survived outside the building as a semi-circular patch of limestone and cobbles (F3). No evidence of burning or ash was found within the kitchen but if the room had a

flagged floor which was removed when the building was demolished, little evidence would have survived. In its final phase the building had glazed windows, and was almost certainly used for baking and brewing. Coins (Nos 18 and 51) date the destruction of this building to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The floor (Context 11), contained both medieval (Group 7) and some post-medieval material which was included with Group 8b. The pottery from the destruction levels over Building 4 (Group 9b) confirmed its last use in the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Building 4 stood in the centre of an extensive cobbled yard, and was approached on the east side by a well laid cobbled path (F6) retained by pitched stones. Between this path and the building, a gully 1.8m. wide and 300mm. deep ran northwards down the slope, ensuring that the path and the area in front of the house remained dry.

One further building, probably a barn, was added to the complex at this time. This was Building 7, which was erected to the west of Building 5, completing the line of the frontage on to the green. A gap 2.6m. wide was left between the two buildings, allowing access from the green into the yard. The west end of Building 7 and virtually all of its walls had been robbed away. A few stones marked the line of the south wall and the southern end of the west wall, and the line of the north and east walls was defined by a shallow rob trench. The walls were approximately 500mm. in thickness, and the building, which had a tiled roof, measured 7.3 × 5.9m. overall. From the south-west corner a wall ran to the west, presumably linking up to the croft boundary. The west end of the building had been totally robbed away, possibly because of its proximity to Woolstone Lane. The floor of the building was of crushed fossiliferous limestone, apart from the south-eastern quarter, which was of packed clay.

The occupation of the buildings on Croft B ceased in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Seven coins (Nos 5, 9, 16, 17, 18, 25 and 51), six of which were considered to have been lost around the middle of the seventeenth century and one *c.* 1700, were recovered from the destruction levels of the buildings on this croft. The bulk of the pottery (Groups 13, 14, and 17) from the yard surfaces and destruction levels over the buildings was of mid to late seventeenth-century date. A thimble (134) dated 1620–50 came from the destruction level over Building 5. Of the six spurs (274, 275, 276, 278, 281, 283) from these yards, five date from the early to late seventeenth century, and the sixth is of early eighteenth-century date. A few late eighteenth and nineteenth-century sherds found in topsoil (Groups 15 and 18b) were probably the result of random rubbish tipping. The buildings and yards were covered by a

general spread of stone rubble, but there were heaps of stone along the south side of the building. It looks very much as though the southern wall collapsed outwards, except in the centre of the building, where it fell into the main living area.

### CROFT C

This croft (Fig. 17) lay to the east of Croft B, with a frontage about 38m. wide onto the green. Its east and west boundaries were both marked by ditches. Croft C was originally 'L' shaped; on its west side it was of the same depth (45m.) as Croft B, but the eastern side extended 25m. further to the south, giving a total depth of 70m. Like Croft B, this croft had been extended southwards.

The buildings and yard occupied only the northern end of the croft. There were three buildings (8, 13 and 14); the main house, Building 8, was situated roughly at the centre of a yard, while to the north west was a detached kitchen, Building 13, which fronted onto the green. The western side of the croft was slightly raised, creating a long narrow platform 10m. wide running back from the green for a distance of 32m., on which Building 14, a barn, was situated.

#### *Building 8*

This structure was situated about 15m. south of the green, on the east side of the croft, almost in the centre of the yard. It was constructed in the mid to late fourteenth century and continued in use until the seventeenth (Pottery Group 20a, Fig. 156, 1-13, and 20b which is combined within Group 50). It measured at least 17m. in length and 6m. wide, and had been badly damaged by stone robbing at its western end, to the extent that its position was only identified by the edges of the surrounding yards. The eastern end had been destroyed by the construction of a later pond, but this action probably resulted in the better preservation of the hearth and south wall, which were sealed under spoil excavated from it. The building had a tiled roof.

Internal floors were formed by levelling the natural clay subsoil around the building to a depth of 80-100mm., creating a platform slightly higher than the surrounding yards. The building was divided into four rooms, the largest of which was 9 × 4.5m., occupying the western half of the structure. The floor of this room was of clay (Context 10), apart from a section 3 × 1m., constructed of fossiliferous limestone (Context 7), which ran into the room from the north wall, suggesting the position of the entrance into the building. The east end of this room was marked by a stone-footed partition wall 120mm. wide, of which only a fragment remained.

To the east of this partition wall was a cobbled area, forming the floor of a room 3 × 4.5m., which ended at a line of stones, the remains of a further partition wall, running northwards from a stone-based hearth. Beyond this partition the hearth, approximately 1.2m. square, stood in the centre of the west side of a third room, also measuring 3 × 4.5m., which was bounded to the east by a substantial stone wall 500mm. thick. A fourth room to the east of this wall was of uncertain length, as the end wall of the building had been destroyed by the construction of the pond. Within the east room four stone-lined post holes forming a rectangle 2.9 × 1.4m. must represent some internal feature. The south wall of the building was on average 700mm. thick, and well preserved at this point.

The cobbled yard to the south of the building was cut by a stone lined gully (F3) running south-west from a point near the south wall, to end in a circular pit (F4) 1m. in diameter and 400mm. deep. A second, less well-defined gully entered this pit, which appears to have been a soakaway, on its western side.

#### *Building 13*

This was a rectangular structure measuring 8 × 5m. (Plate 6 and Fig. 18), situated on the north side of Croft C, close to the green boundary. This building was sealed by a seventeenth century yard surface and was therefore very well preserved, with walls standing to a height of 500mm. Though there was no sign of an entrance, this would have been on the south side of the building, facing Building 8. Internally, the floor of the building was of clay, made by levelling the clay subsoil. This was cut by a stone-lined drain running north, parallel with and 2.4m. from the west wall. A pronounced subsidence in the north wall marked the course of the drain beneath it.

Occupying the north-east corner of the building was a large sub-circular oven or copper base measuring about 2.2 × 1.7m., consisting of a wall 600-800mm. wide, faced only on its outer edge, the space behind it being filled with clay and limestone rubble. At the point where this wall butted onto the north wall of the building, a section was set back, forming a depression 400mm. square, which was partly filled with ash and showed signs of repeated burning.

Adjacent to the south side of the oven base was a rectangular malting kiln measuring 1.4 × 1.0m. (Plate 7), partly cut into the floor of the building. This was stone lined, with the walls sloping outwards. The lining extended above floor level, and the space between it and the oven and external walls was filled with clay and rubble. The floor of the oven base was of clay, though its west-facing stoke hole was flagged. Both the flagging and the

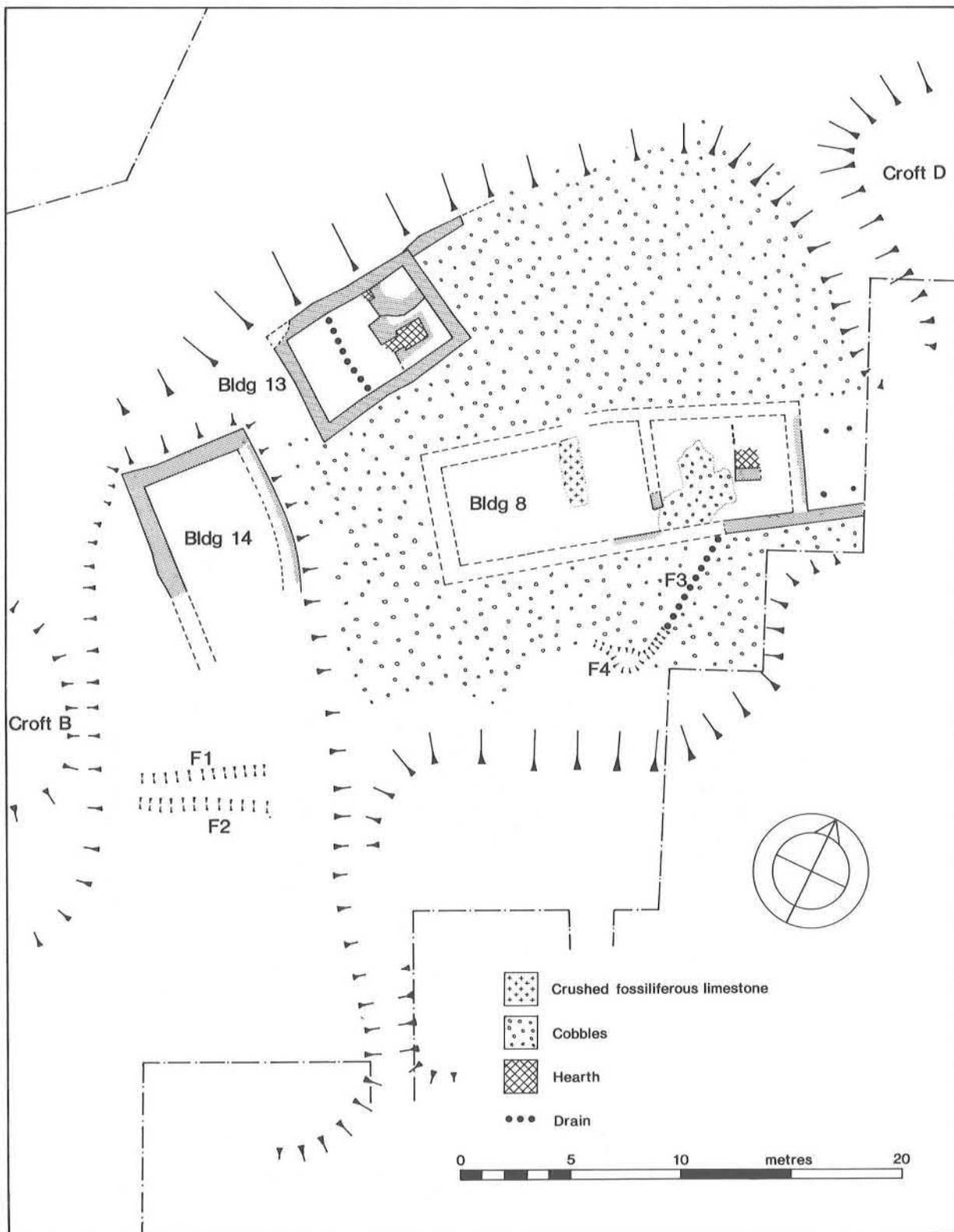


Figure 17: Croft C: overall plan.

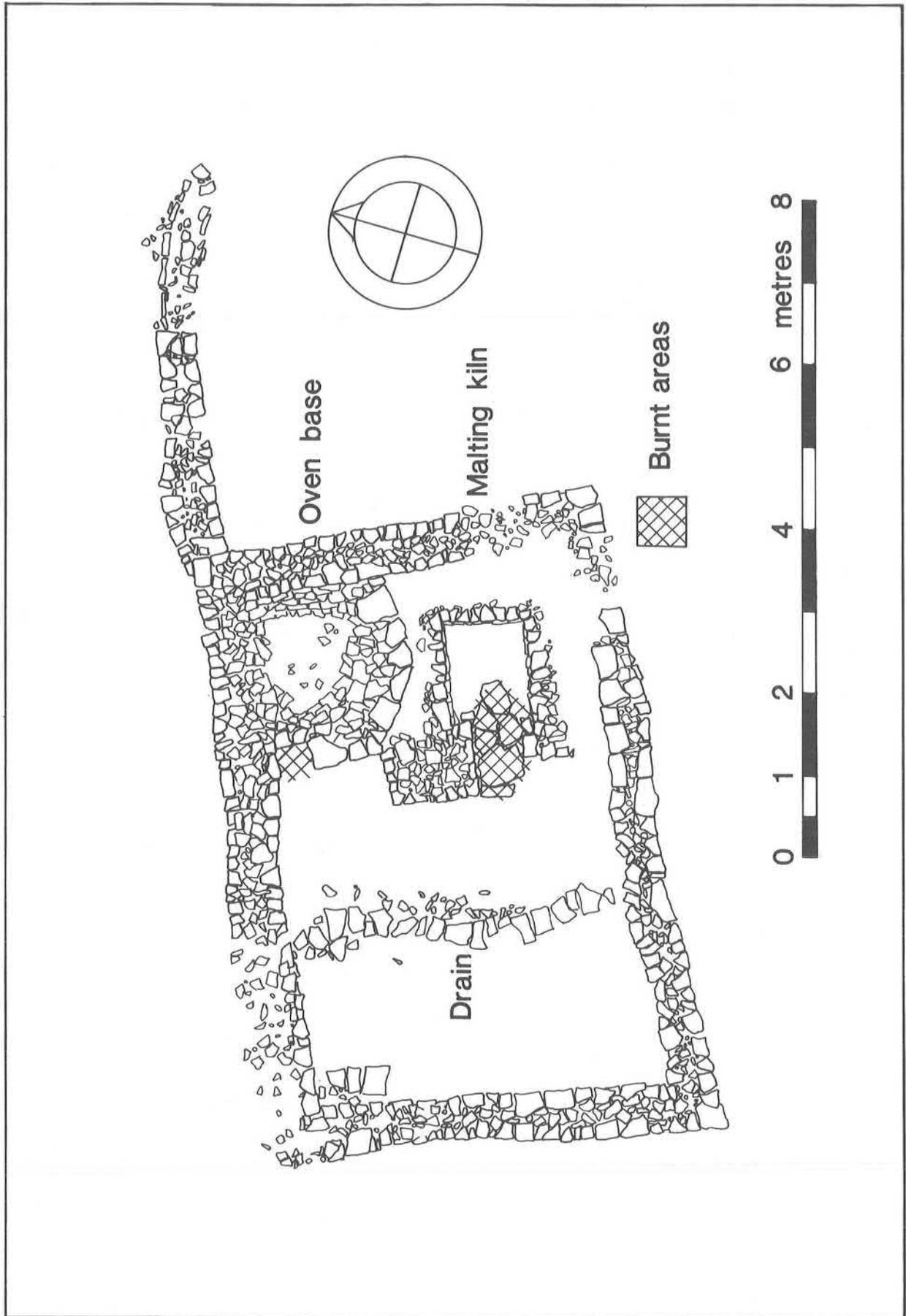


Figure 18: Croft C: Building 13.

clay floor showed signs of repeated burning. This malt kiln was similar to examples found at Brixworth (Woods 1972) and on sites in Rutland (Corder 1961). The kiln was inserted after the oven, as part of its front face was butted onto the oven wall, and the fill behind it covers part of that wall.

Building 13 can therefore be identified as a kitchen or brewhouse, connected with Building 8. Butted onto the north-east corner of the building was a wall, 2.8m. in length, continuing the line of the north wall. Its function was uncertain. It may have supported a lean-to attached to the east end of the building.

Pottery from the occupation and destruction levels of Building 13 was divided into Group 19a, (Fig. 155, 1–11) of mid fourteenth- to mid fifteenth-century date and Group 19b of mid to late seventeenth-century date, which is combined within Group 50.

#### *Building 14*

This structure, probably a thatched barn, was situated 6m. west of Building 8. It had been badly damaged, presumably by stone robbing as the north end of the building had been completely removed. It measured 6.5m. in width by at least 8m. long, and was aligned north-south, at right angles to Buildings 8 and 13. The internal floor (Context 4) was packed clay, levelled on the clay subsoil, and no internal features were noted. Pottery of mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth-century date came from the floor (Group 19a, not illustrated), but other finds from inside the structure were few. There were no external yards, and the building was not connected to the yard surrounding Building 8. To the south of Building 14 ran two parallel 'V' section ditches, (F1 and F2) which were of late twelfth-century date, and contained sherds of the Stamford ware pitcher (Fig. 138, 231). A few sherds of the same vessel came from the rubble overlying the south end of Building 14, where they must have been redeposited.

The only pottery associated with Building 14 is of mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth-century date, which having been found on the floor (Context 4) may indicate its main period of use. Building 13 is dated by pottery from its floor (Context 17), and in the oven and malt kiln (Contexts 18 and 19), from the mid to late fourteenth through to the seventeenth century. Evidence from the floors of Building 8 (Contexts 7, 10 and 10a), suggests that its main period of use was from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. Most of the pottery (Group 21a, not illustrated) from the yard surfaces was also of this date, apart from some twelfth to thirteenth-century material from the area south of

Building 8. The latest yard on the north side of Building 8 had been laid, in the seventeenth century, over the remains of Building 13. Building 8 remained in use into the seventeenth century. A thick soil level over its yard surfaces, suggesting perhaps that they had become gardens, contained a considerable amount of mid to late seventeenth-century pottery (Groups 21b and 21d, included in Group 50) as also did the fill of gully F4. A coin and two reckoning counters (Nos 15, 46 and 57) from the destruction levels and topsoil were lost in the middle of the seventeenth century.

#### CROFT D

Situated to the east of Croft C, this croft was originally 40m. wide, and extended to the south of the green for a depth of 70m., later being extended to a depth of 180m. (Fig. 12). Two buildings, 9 and 12, were situated at the northern end of the croft (Fig. 19). These dated probably from the late twelfth century, and Building 12 continued in use into the seventeenth century, being depicted on the 1641 estate map (Fig. 6). The other, Building 9, survived into the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.

Interestingly, there appears to have been some interchange of land between Croft D and E. When originally laid out, both crofts were of similar dimensions, D being slightly wider than E (Fig. 12). By 1641, Croft D is shown as having not only been extended to the south, as were the adjoining crofts in Hens Close, but also to include what would have been the southern extension of Croft E. In turn, Croft E is shown as including the former Croft Q, on its east side, which had also been extended to the south. The exact sequence and dating for these events is unclear. Subsequently, probably in the nineteenth century, a large part of the north end of Croft D was disturbed by the excavation of a large field pond immediately to the south of Building 12, which was cut by an outlet channel leading from the pond, while further disturbance was caused by the cutting of ditches linking the pond to the existing drainage system in Hens Close.

#### *Building 12*

This was a two-roomed structure measuring 16 × 6m., the remains of which had been cut through by the aforementioned ditch. The floors (Contexts 14 and 15) were of clay, and the surviving fragments of the walls were noticeably rougher in construction than those of the other buildings in Hens Close. The west room measured 10 × 6m., and was entered through a doorway near the centre of the north wall, at which point a threshold of cobbles and pitched limestone survived. The east room measured 6 × 6m., and also had a clay floor into which was set, in the south-east corner of the

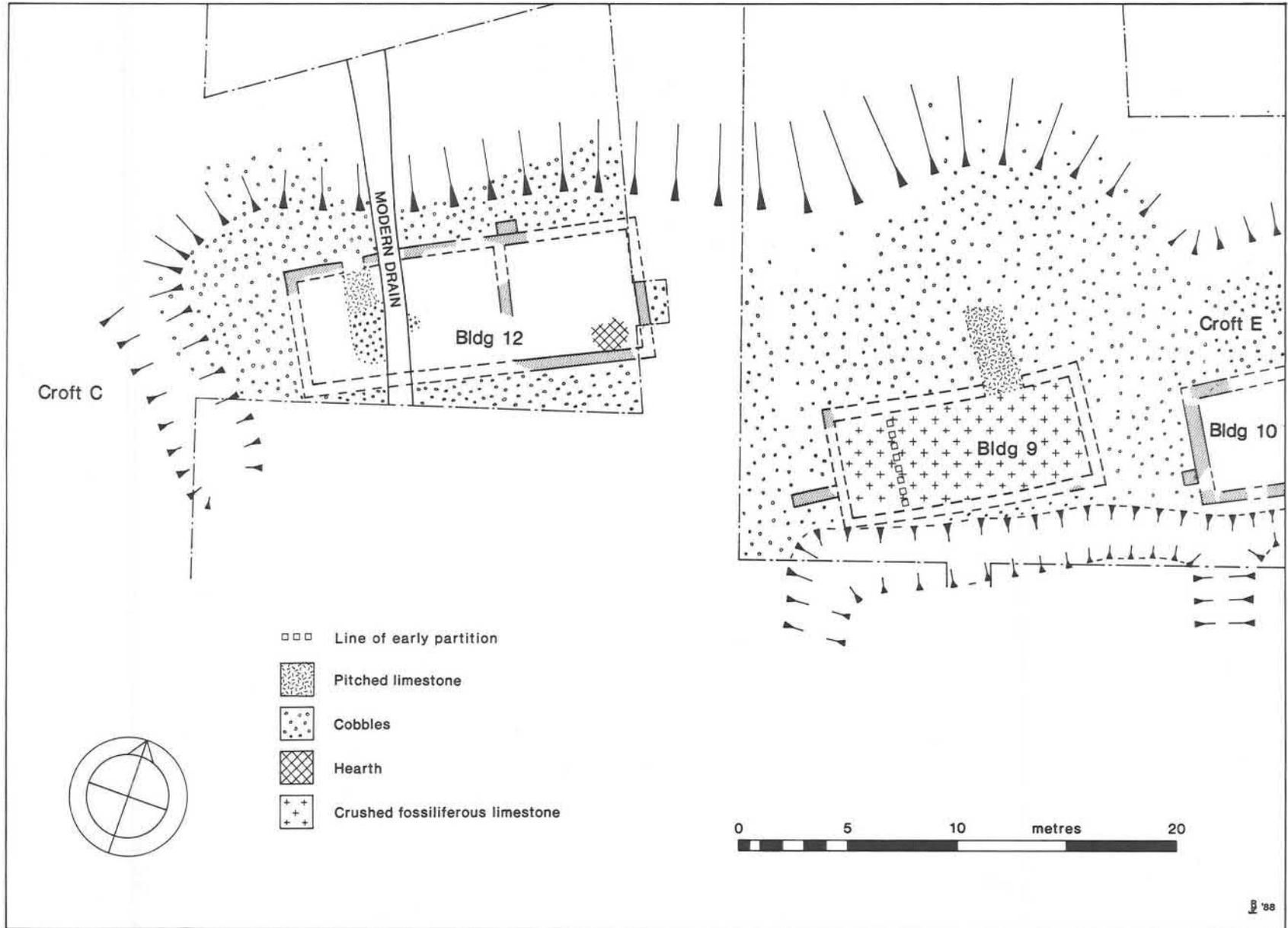


Figure 19: Croft D: excavated buildings.

room, the remains of a circular hearth (Context 16) constructed of pitched stone. Around this hearth the floor contained considerable quantities of charcoal. The amount of tile fragments found in the destruction levels over the west end of this building suggest that it had a tiled roof.

#### *Building 9*

This structure, aligned south-west to north-east, measured  $12.5 \times 5.5$ m. All traces of the external walls had been removed, the positions of the walls being marked by the edges of the internal floor surface (Context 2), which was of crushed fossiliferous limestone laid on the old ground surface. No internal features were noted in this floor surface, though a strip of dark earth 300mm. wide, cut into the surface below the crushed limestone may indicate an early partition removed prior to the laying of the later floor. Externally, a section of pitched stone path 1.2m. wide, leading to a point on the north wall, marked a probable entrance. Building 9 appears therefore to have been an outbuilding, possibly a barn with a tiled roof.

#### *Dating*

Buildings 9 and 12 were probably constructed in the thirteenth century. Pottery (Group 22, not illustrated) from the occupation and destruction levels was predominantly of thirteenth to late fourteenth-century date. The group also contained some residual late twelfth to early thirteenth-century pottery and some probably of early fifteenth-century date. A spur (264) dated to *c.* 1400 came from the destruction level of Building 12. A late sixteenth-century German reckoning counter was found in the floor of Building 12 and a sixteenth-century French reckoning counter came from the floor of Building 9 (Nos 57 and 45). The destruction levels of both buildings contained mid to late seventeenth-century pottery (Group 24, included with Group 50), but by 1641 only Building 12 remained. Pottery from the topsoil over this croft (Group 25) contained a higher proportion of Staffordshire wares than Group 24 suggesting some activity, perhaps only the tipping of rubbish, into the early eighteenth century.

#### CROFT E

This was the easternmost of the crofts excavated in Hern's Close (Fig. 12). The medieval croft was 48m. wide and 66m. deep; later it was probably extended to the south, giving a total length of 180m. By 1641 this extension had become part of Croft D, while Croft Q had been amalgamated with the north part of Croft E. Both are shown on the 1641 map as unoccupied.

Croft E originally contained two buildings, 10 and 11, which were situated at its northern end (Fig.

20). Building 10, aligned east-west, was a substantial house with a stone yard on its north side, beyond which lay Building 11, a detached kitchen. On the south side of Building 10 a drainage ditch divided it from the rest of the medieval croft. Both buildings appear to have been constructed in the fourteenth century and abandoned in the early to mid sixteenth.

#### *Building 10*

This was the largest building (Plate 8) excavated in Linford village, measuring  $22.2 \times 5.6$ m. The roof was tiled and the walls, on average 625mm. in thickness, survived at either end of the building and partially on the south side, but the north wall was largely robbed away. The building consisted of four rooms. At the west end was a hall, divided from the kitchen by a central and fairly wide cross-passage, and beyond the kitchen was a pantry/dairy or byre. The floors were of clay apart from that of the pantry/dairy, which was of pitched limestone.

The hall was 7.2m. in length and 4.4m. wide. Towards the east end, a stone based hearth (Plate 9) measuring  $1.4 \times 1.1$ m. occupied a central position. Pottery from the hearth (Group 29, Fig. 159, 1-10) included fragments of two bunghole pitchers. The external entrance into the hall was on the south side, towards the east end, and was 800mm. wide. The wall between the hall and the cross-passage was more substantial than the outer walls of the building, being 880mm. thick. This wall only remained at the centre of the building, suggesting that there were two doorways through to the cross-passage at either side of the hall.

The cross-passage was unusually wide at 2.4m. and its floor was of clay. The partition wall between the cross-passage and the kitchen was represented by traces of a stone footing which suggested that the wall was no more than 400mm. thick.

The kitchen was  $5.8 \times 4.4$ m., with a circular oven in the south-west corner. The oven (Context 7) was 900mm. in diameter, enclosed by a circular stone wall averaging 400mm. thick. The base of the oven was let into the floor, and contained layers of ash and charcoal in which were sherds of pottery of mid fifteenth-century date, including a Potterspury jug (Group 29, Fig. 159, 5). On the north side of the oven a shallow depression filled with ash had been created by the regular cleaning out of the oven. There appeared to be no external entrance into the kitchen.

The eastern room in the building was  $4 \times 4$ m., and was interpreted as a pantry or dairy because of its limestone floor. A narrow passage 700mm. wide ran along the north side of the room through to the kitchen. The floor of this passage was of small

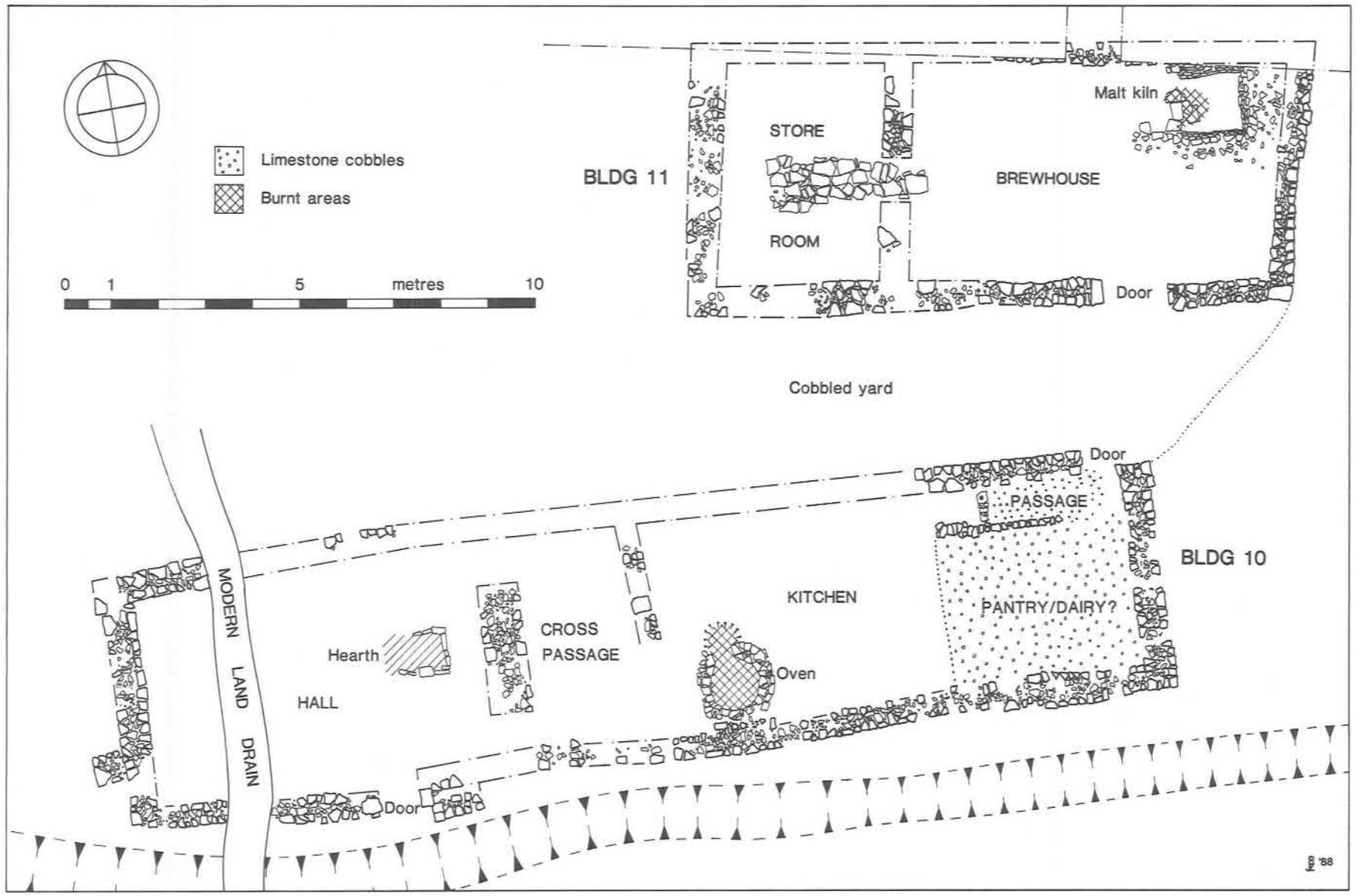


Figure 20: Croft E: excavated buildings.

limestone chips set in clay, and a pivot stone set in the floor suggested a door at the kitchen end.

There was a general spread of twelfth to fifteenth-century pottery (Group 27a, not illustrated) over the floors throughout the building, confirming its main period of use. In the cross-passage an almost complete cooking pot had been buried in the floor in a position close to the wall dividing the passage from the hall. The rim, which probably protruded above the floor level, had been broken away, and the vessel was broken by pieces of limestone which had fallen or been pushed into it. A pair of shears (106) of fifteenth-century date were found in the destruction level over the building.

### *Yards*

To the north of Building 10 the limestone cobbled yard which separated it from Building 11 showed signs of heavy wear. On the south side of the building, a ditch (Context 4) 1.1m. wide ran parallel with the south wall, and separated the buildings and yard from the rest of the croft. Finds from this ditch included pottery (Group 28, Figs. 157 and 158) which dated from the first half of the fifteenth century and a buckle (48) of mid fourteenth-century date.

### *Building 11*

This was situated 3m. to the north of Building 10, on the northern edge of Croft E. The existence of the roadside hedge made it impossible to fully excavate the north side of the building, but the position of the north wall was identified by means of a small trial trench. The building, which probably had a thatched roof, measured 11.5 × 4.4m. internally, and the walls varied from 400mm. to 650mm. thick. The entrance was on the south side, through a doorway 1.3m. wide which was situated exactly opposite the door leading into Building 10.

At the west end of this building a room measuring 3.3 × 4.5m. was probably used for storage. The stone wall dividing this from the rest of the building was 600mm. thick, and a doorway 800mm. wide, almost in the centre of the wall, led into this room, within which a paved strip, 800mm. wide, ran almost to the west wall. This may have been a passageway dividing the room into two separate storage areas.

The rest of Building 11 consisted of one large room 7.6 × 4.4m., with a stone-lined malt-drying kiln (Context 11) in the north-east corner. The base of the kiln was a rectangular stone-lined pit set into the floor of the room to a depth of 80mm. below floor level. The internal floor area of the bottom of the kiln was 1.4 × 1.1m., and the sides, which were stone lined, were battered outwards to create a larger floor area for the drying oven

above. The base of the pit was paved with several limestone slabs at its west end, which was heavily burnt from constant use. A quantity of ash and charcoal was recovered from the base of the pit, whilst the rest of the fill was limestone rubble and earth. Three sherds of thirteenth to fourteenth-century pottery were recovered from the fill. The kiln was similar to that in Building 13. A small amount of mid to late seventeenth and some eighteenth-century pottery from the topsoil and destruction levels of Buildings 10 and 11 and from the associated yard surfaces (Groups 26b and 27b) was the result of the deposition of rubbish from adjacent crofts.

### CROFT F

This croft was situated to the north of Willen Lane, to the east of the green, directly opposite Grange Farm (Fig. 12). Originally 25–30m. wide and 130m. in length, it had been reduced to 30 × 50m., and contained five buildings, four of which (Buildings 15, 16, 18 and 19) formed a small farm complex, grouped around a cobbled yard about 20m. square in the centre of the croft (Fig. 22). The northern end of the croft had by 1641 been combined with parts of adjacent crofts to form the large close adjacent to Moulsoe's Farmhouse.

The yard was linked to Willen Lane, the medieval Fullwell Lane, by a track which ran around the east and south sides of Building 16. In the south-west corner of the croft an area some 20m. square, separated from the rest of the croft by a stone wall, contained a single structure, Building 17, with a cobbled yard on its north side. Croft F was bounded to the east, west and north by ditches, though a stone wall had been constructed in the eastern ditch between the house (Building 16) and the lane.

Occupation on Croft F began in the late tenth to eleventh century, continuing to the end of the fourteenth and possibly into the early fifteenth century. By 1641 the estate map shows that the southern ends of Crofts F and G had been amalgamated, with a single house on the latter, belonging to 'WA' (probably William Adkins). The corner of Croft F occupied by Building 17 is shown vacant, but forming part of the large croft (Croft M) to the east of Croft F. By 1678 all three crofts had been apparently incorporated into the field known as 'Newman's Close'. Some pottery of sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth-century date (Groups 31b and 32b) from destruction levels over Buildings 16 and 18 suggests robbing and/or rubbish tipping at that time. In addition, pottery from the topsoil over the croft (Group 33b) shows that these practices continued into the late eighteenth century.

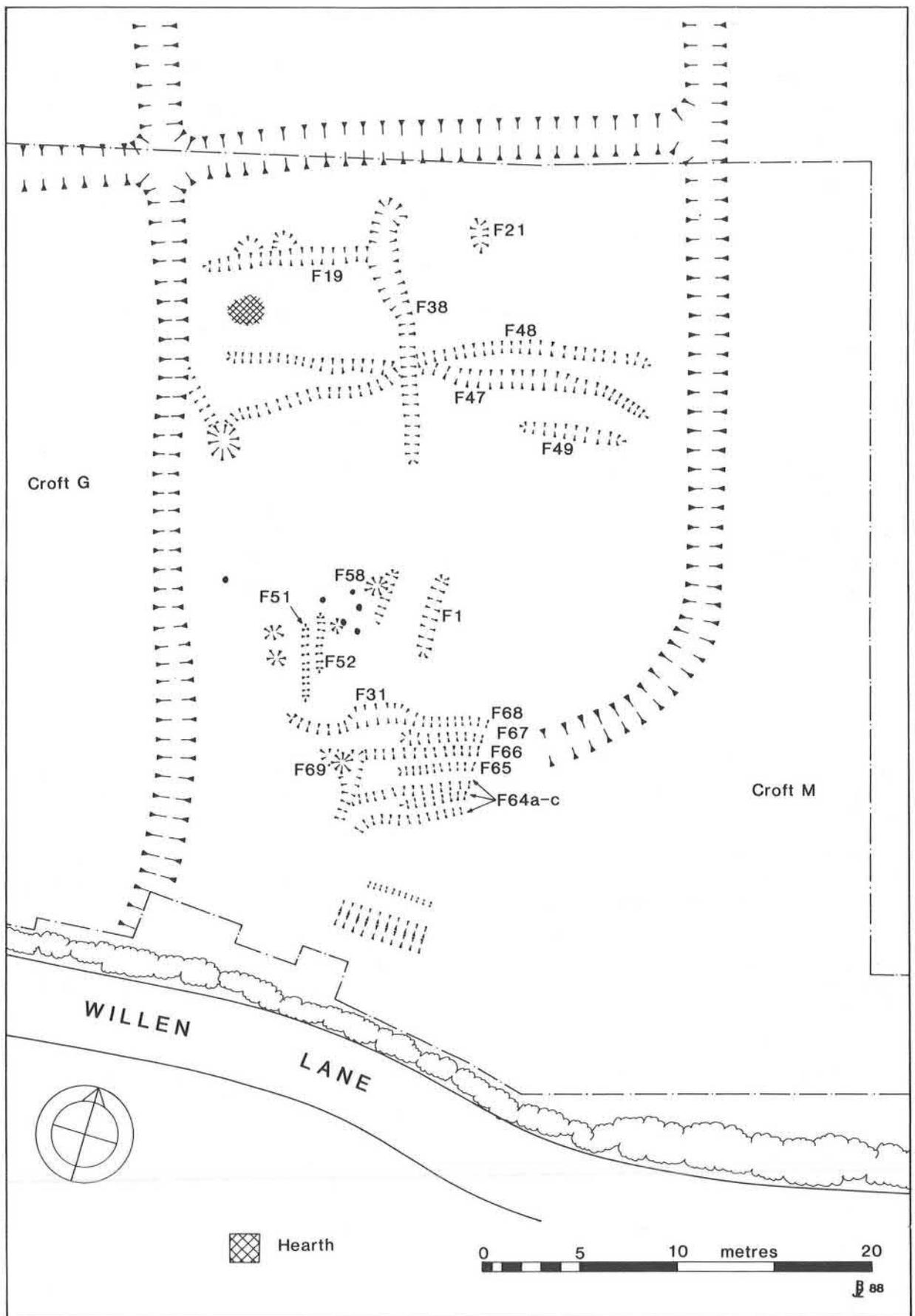


Figure 21: Croft F: Phase 1.

The occupation of Croft F can be divided into two phases:

*Phase 1; mid tenth to twelfth century.*

This phase was represented mainly by a number of features cut into the subsoil towards the northern end of the croft (Fig. 21). A number of Iron Age and Roman sherds were found on Croft F, mainly in the old topsoil layers buried by later yards and structures, though as no features of this date were found these finds must indicate the presence of occupation nearby.

The features representing Phase 1 consisted for the most part of a number of shallow gullies, measuring approximately 300–400mm. in width, and up to 200mm. in depth (F19, F38, F47, F48). Part of this complex of gullies enclosed a rectangular area measuring 4 × 7m., adjacent to the west boundary of the croft. Towards the west end of this area was a patch of burnt clay and ash lying on the clay subsoil. It is possible that this area may have been covered by a timber structure on sleeper beams resting on the subsoil. Similar structures were noted by Beresford at Goltho (Beresford, 1975).

*Dating*

The earliest dated features belonging to this phase were gullies F19 (Context 126), F49 (Context 140) the western part of F47 (Context 137), and the small oval pit F21 (Context 150) which all produced pottery, (Group 30a, Fig. 141, 1–10), of late tenth to early twelfth-century date. Also dating from this period was gully F1 (Context 114), a shallow feature 600mm. wide, filled with a mix of grey clay and charcoal flecks, aligned north-south beneath Building 16.

The main group of features at the north end of the croft was slightly later in date, containing eleventh to twelfth-century pottery, (Group 30b, Fig. 142, 1–8) as well as some earlier residual material.

The next major group of features belonging to Phase I were located in the southern half of Croft F, dated from the twelfth century (Group 30c, Fig. 147, 1–8). These consisted of:

F51 (Context 152) and F52 (Context 153). Possible beam slots, 250mm. wide × 100mm. deep, were aligned north-south, beneath the west end of Building 16.

F64a–c (178), F65–68. A group of seven parallel gullies, none more than 300mm. wide or 15mm. deep, were aligned west-east in the area between Buildings 16 and 17.

The northernmost of these gullies (F65–68) lay beneath the trackway and yard to the north of Wall 23, which separated the farm complex from

Building 17, whilst the southernmost (F64a–c) were covered by Wall 23. F66, F67 and F68 contained twelfth-century pottery (Group 30c).

The other gullies (F64a–c) contained pottery mainly of late fourteenth-century date (Group 30d, Fig. 152, 1–8). This later material may have been introduced into the gullies when Wall 23 was constructed or subsequently. The function of such a closely-spaced group of gullies remains uncertain; several interpretations have been offered, but the most convincing seems to be that they were perhaps dug in the course of gardening activity.

Also connected with this group of gullies were two other features, F31 (Context 185) and F69 (Context 183), both dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. F31 was on the same alignment as F68 (Context 182), also covered by the yard surface, while F69 was aligned north-south, linking the western ends of F64c and F66.

Overlying the areas in which the Phase I features were located were deposits of a dark grey loamy soil containing tenth to thirteenth-century pottery, as well as residual sherds of Iron Age and Roman date. From their content, these deposits evidently consisted of; a) the original topsoil, b) the build up of occupation debris from Phase I, later sealed by stone yards and buildings.

*Phase 2; mid – late thirteenth to late fourteenth – early fifteenth centuries*

This phase (Fig.22) covers the construction and occupation of the stone buildings, yard and trackway. A coin of Edward I (No.2) which was probably lost c.1300 was found in the yard make-up (Context 30), and a spur (262) of mid thirteenth to mid fourteenth-century date came from the topsoil over the yard.

As described above, during this period Croft F was occupied by a substantial farmhouse with a rear yard about 20m. square, around which were grouped its farm buildings. Structurally the yard consisted of a mixture of limestone rubble and pink/brown crushed flint. It had been lightly constructed, having a rubble make up embedded in the underlying clay subsoil, over which a single surface had been laid. The entrance to the yard was in its south-east corner, from which ran a cobbled trackway approximately 3m. wide, leading south, then turning west along the south side of Building 16, then swinging south again to follow the west boundary of the croft to Willen Lane. This last section of trackway was cut below the general level of the croft to bring it to the same level as Willen Lane, which is a pronounced sunken lane at this point. In contrast to the yard, the material comprising the surface of the

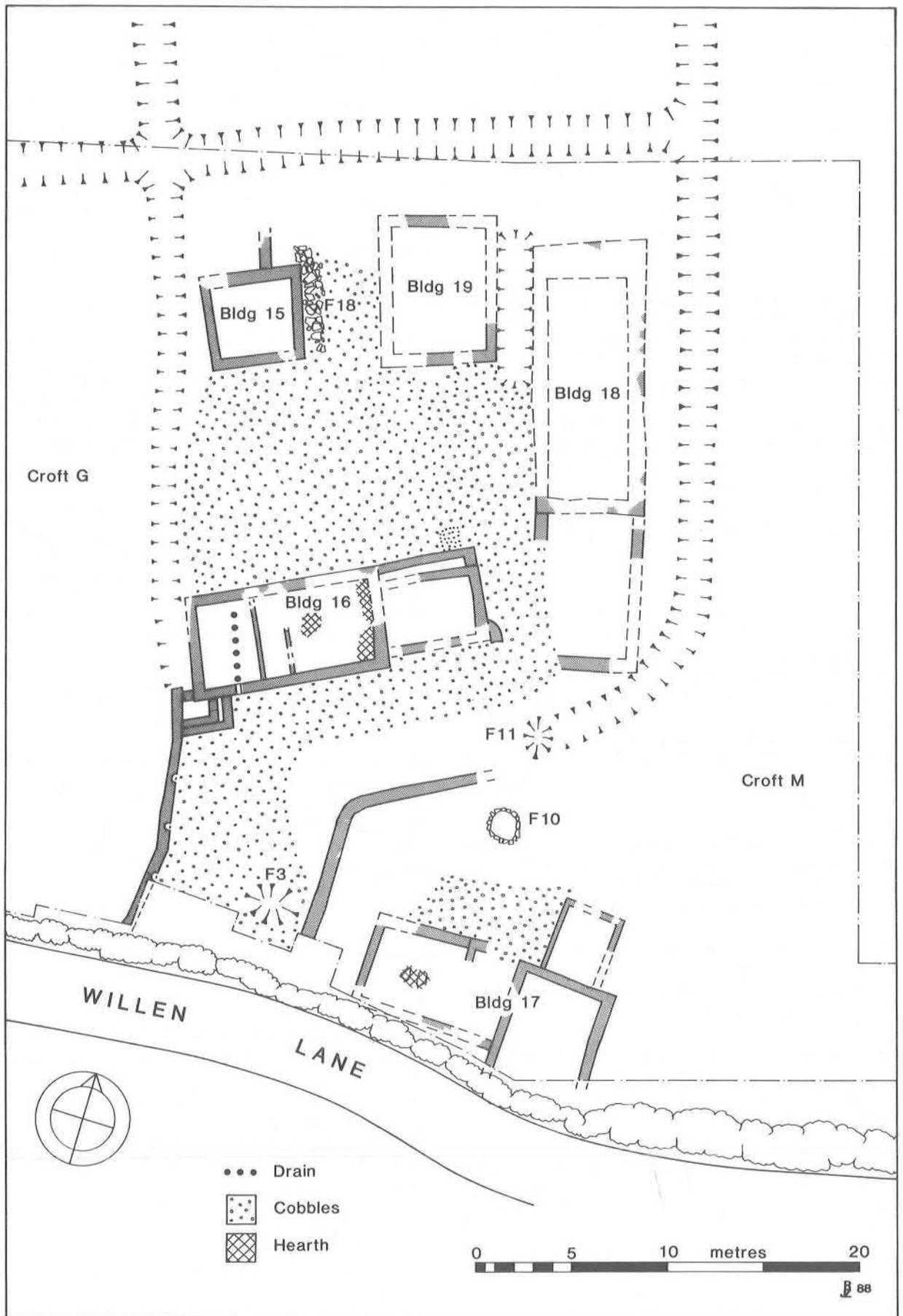


Figure 22: Croft F: Phase 2.

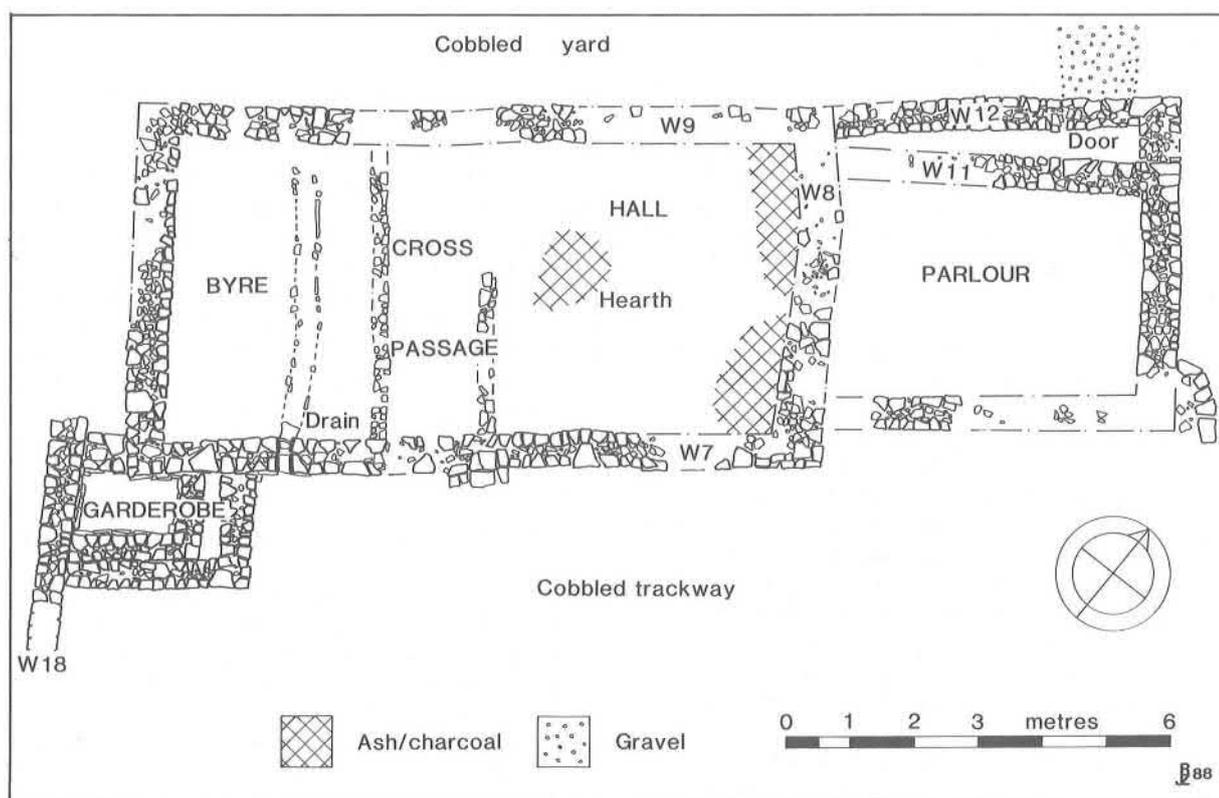


Figure 23: Croft F: Building 16.

trackway was thicker and more densely packed, being laid almost completely with limestone.

On the east side of the trackway, close to its junction with Willen Lane, a large pit, F3 (Contexts 16, 34, 41, 47, 48 and 49) was found. This was roughly oval in shape, measuring  $3 \times 2\text{m.}$ , cut to a depth of 1.5m. below the surface of the trackway. It appeared to have been deliberately filled with a mixture of clay and rubble, but a deposit of dark grey silty clay containing organic material, including a piece of oak  $400 \times 200 \times 30\text{mm.}$ , covering the floor, suggested that the pit had originally contained water for a time. It is possible therefore that it was used as a supply of water for livestock. The domestic water supply for Croft F, and probably the other crofts to the south and east of the green, would have come from the spring 150m. to the east, which is shown on the 1641 estate map as 'Fulwell', and was reached via Willen Lane, then known as 'Fulwell Lane'.

#### *Building 16*

From its internal layout and position in the farm complex, this building (Fig. 23, Plate 10) was clearly the farmhouse. The original structure was a two-bay building with tiled roof measuring  $11 \times 5.5\text{m.}$ , situated on the south side of the yard on an east-west alignment. The internal layout consisted of a cross-passage just west of centre, 1.3m. in

width, with one bay of  $3 \times 4.8\text{m.}$  to the west and a larger bay, apparently the hall, measuring  $4.5 \times 4.8\text{m.}$ , to the east. The floor of the west bay was cut by a drain 400mm. wide, partly stone-lined, running through a slot in the south wall (W7) onto the trackway. The presence of the drain suggests that this bay was a byre (p. 121, below) or perhaps a dairy. The east bay contained a hearth, set in the centre of its west end, against the partition separating it from the cross-passage. There were also patches of burning on the floor of the east bay, adjacent to its east wall (W8), which possibly post-date the occupation of the building.

The first alteration to Building 16 was the addition to its east end of an extra room,  $5 \times 3.8\text{m.}$ , butted onto Wall 8. This in turn was subsequently enlarged by the demolition of its original north wall (W11), which was replaced by a new wall (W12) on the same alignment as the main north wall of the building (W9), giving a final size for the room of  $5 \times 4.9\text{m.}$  With the addition of this room, the northern half of Wall 8 was removed to link the extension to the house, and a door into the yard was constructed in the east end of Wall 12, part of the by now defunct Wall 11 being retained to form a threshold.

Against the south-west corner of Building 16, in the angle formed by the south wall (W7) and the west boundary wall of the croft (W18), was con-

structed a small rectangular structure, (Plate 13) measuring  $1.8 \times 2.4\text{m}$ . At some point this structure was rebuilt, the new walls being set inside the original structure, giving reduced dimensions of  $1.3 \times 1.8\text{m}$ . This structure was almost certainly a garderobe, though its lack of characteristic black organic fill and its shallow internal depth, about 300mm. below the surrounding yard surface, might suggest a different function.

As mentioned in the description of Phase 1, the croft was originally bounded on three sides by ditches. With the construction of the Phase 2 stone structures, the western boundary ditch of the croft between Building 16 and Willen Lane was superseded by a stone wall (W18), built into the ditch. This wall, which still survived to a height of about 1m., was a fine example of dry-stone construction, 600mm. in width. Into its east face were cut three semi-circular recesses, the first approximately 2.3m. south of the garderobe, the others at roughly 2.5m. intervals. The first two were 350mm. in diameter, and extended to the base of the wall. The southern recess was larger, 450mm. in diameter, and was only cut to a point 200mm. above the surface of the trackway. On either side of this latter feature the face of the wall had been discoloured by burning, though this did not extend inside the feature. These recesses were probably 'bee-boles', made to shelter straw 'skeps', or hives (Foster 1988). From the topsoil over this cobbled area came a medieval jet gaming piece (212) and a pilgrims' bottle (403) from Walsingham, both objects of status.

#### *Building 18*

This building, located on the east side of the farmyard, had been almost completely destroyed by stone-robbing. It had a thatched roof, and measured  $13 \times 6\text{m}$ ., aligned north-south. The internal floor was of grey-brown clayey soil, levelled on the original ground surface. From its size, location, and lack of internal features, excepting a possible partition about 4m. from the south end, it has been identified as a barn. Fragments of walling to the south of Building 18 probably represent a southward extension of this building, measuring  $8 \times 4\text{m}$ .

#### *Building 19*

This structure, even less well preserved than Building 18, was situated between the latter and Building 15, on the north side of the yard. Only fragments of its south and north walls (W39 and W41) remained, but its size could be determined from the limits of the cobbled yard as approximately  $6 \times 7.5\text{m}$ . No internal features were visible. Several stone roof slates were found in the destruction levels over this building.

#### *Building 15*

Situated by the north-west corner of the farmyard, with its south side fronting the yard, this building measured  $5 \times 5.5\text{m}$ . Its internal floor was of packed earth, and there were no internal features other than a possible entrance at the east end of the south wall (W4). Externally, a wall (W1) running northwards from the north wall (W2) of the building perhaps supported a lean-to or similar structure to the north. Alongside the east wall of Building 15 (W5) ran a path about 1m wide, composed of large limestone slabs (F18). The function of this building was uncertain.

#### *Building 17*

This building (Fig.24 and Plate 12) has been described out of sequence because it has become evident that, though identified on excavation as part of Croft F, it does in fact belong with the next croft to the east, Croft M. This was one of the largest crofts identified in Great Linford, covering an area of  $60 \times 80\text{m}$ ., in addition to the plot on which Building 17 stood, which measured  $18 \times 18\text{m}$ ., and may have originally been part of Croft F. This area was bounded by a stone wall (W23) on its west and north sides, built over part of the Phase 1 group of gullies described above. Two phases of construction were noted in Building 17. The original house was a single-bay building, aligned north-south, probably measuring  $8 \times 5.5\text{m}$ . (the south side fell beyond the limits of the excavation), with a later, less well-built extension approximately 7m. square added to its western side. The foundations of the original structure were unusually deep, being cut to a depth of 250mm. below the internal floor, which had been formed by levelling the clay subsoil in that part of the building. This depth of footing may have been necessary to counter subsidence of the building into Willen Lane, which is at this point about 2m. below the level of the croft. As with Building 16, it was not possible to date the additions to the structure. The date range of pottery from Building 17 was similar to that of the other Phase 2 structures (Group 31a). The destruction level over the building contained quantities of late fourteenth to early fifteenth-century pottery (Group 32a) and a thimble (130) of early sixteenth-century date.

Whilst no internal features were noted in the earliest part of Building 17, the later extension contained a hearth (Context 88) made of two large limestone slabs, while a doorway 1m. in width in its north wall led into the yard. Crossing the east end of the extension was a narrow wall, 400mm. wide, probably intended as a screen wall forming a cross-passage 2.4m. wide between the old and new parts of the building. The clay comprising the floor of the extension was found to contain sherds of

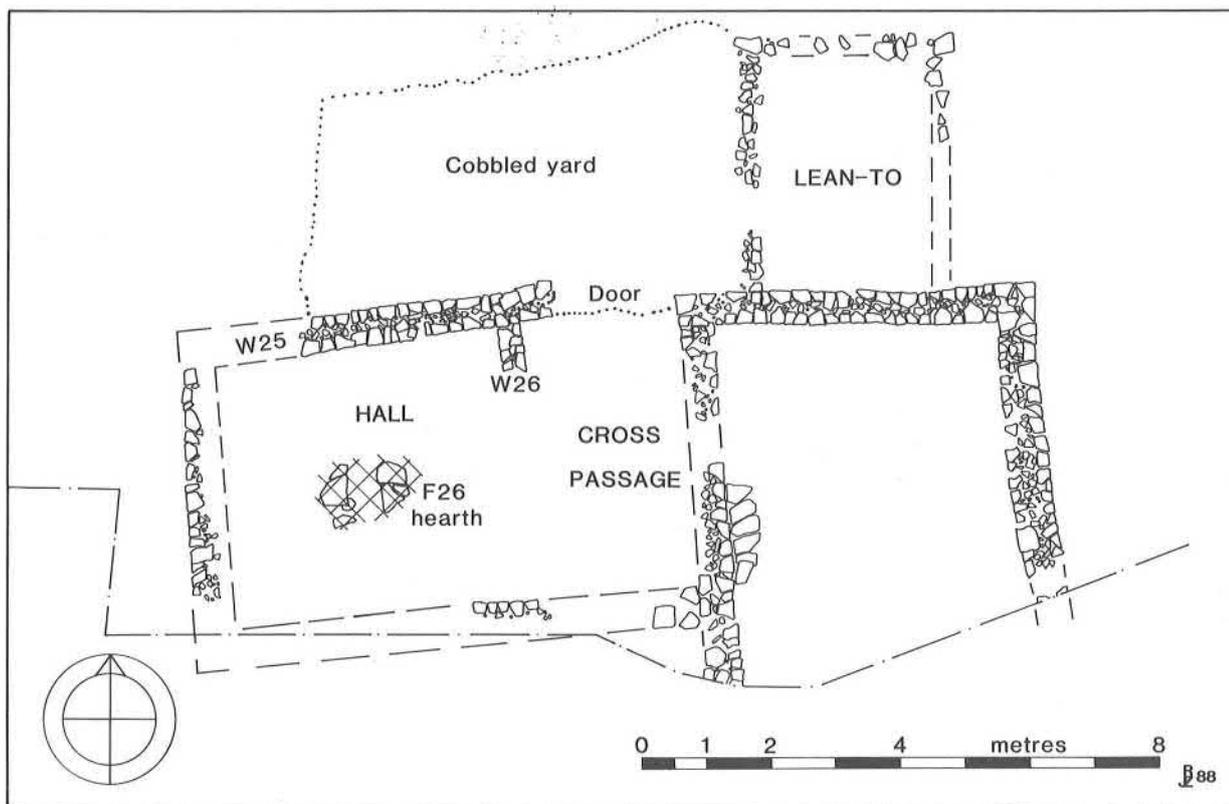


Figure 24: Croft F: Building 17.

Roman pottery, indicating that, unlike the floor of the original structure, it had been made up.

To the north of the building was a small yard area, measuring approximately  $4 \times 8\text{m.}$ , laid partly with pitched limestone, partly with cobbles. At the east end of the yard, butted onto the north wall of the original structure (W28), were the footings, crudely constructed with large limestone blocks, of a further extension, probably a lean-to or shed, measuring  $3 \times 3.8\text{m.}$  To the north of the yard was found a circular pit (F10, Plate 13), 1.3m. in diameter at ground level, tapering slightly inwards to the base, 750mm. below. The floor was laid with limestone flags, and the lining, 250mm. thick, was of coursed limestone walling mortared with clay. This feature has been interpreted as a cold-store for food.

### CROFT G

Croft G lay on the north side of Willen Lane, on the west side of Croft F. Like the latter, it originally measured approximately  $25 \times 130\text{m.}$ , but had been reduced in length to 45m. Only the eastern and northern sides were available for excavation, most of the croft being covered by the garden of an adjacent house, the 'Mead' (Fig.12). Two buildings, 20 and 21, were found on this croft; the former near its south-east corner, the latter at the north end. A group of hearths and

ovens occupied the south-east corner, adjacent to the boundary wall with Croft F. The area along the east side of the croft between the two buildings was closely examined, but contained no evidence of further structures.

The earliest evidence of occupation found on Croft G dated from the twelfth century, continuing through to the seventeenth century. On the 1641 map the southern ends of Crofts F and G are shown as having been amalgamated (p. 64, above). This house also appears on the 1678 map, though its croft boundaries are not shown, the house and its neighbour to the west, presumably the 'Mead', being located on the south side of a field called 'Newman's Close'. By the drawing up of the tithe map for Great Linford in 1841 the house had disappeared, and the area in which it stood had been incorporated into the plot of land belonging to the 'Mead'.

The pottery from Croft G was divided into two groups, Group 34a (medieval) and Group 34b (post-medieval). The earliest pottery recovered was found in a dark grey-brown soil (Context 45) to the north of Building 20 and underlying the adjacent cobbled path (F184). This material dated from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and apparently represented the earliest occupation of the croft. However, bearing in mind the small part of the croft that was available for excavation, and the evidence of occupation some two hundred

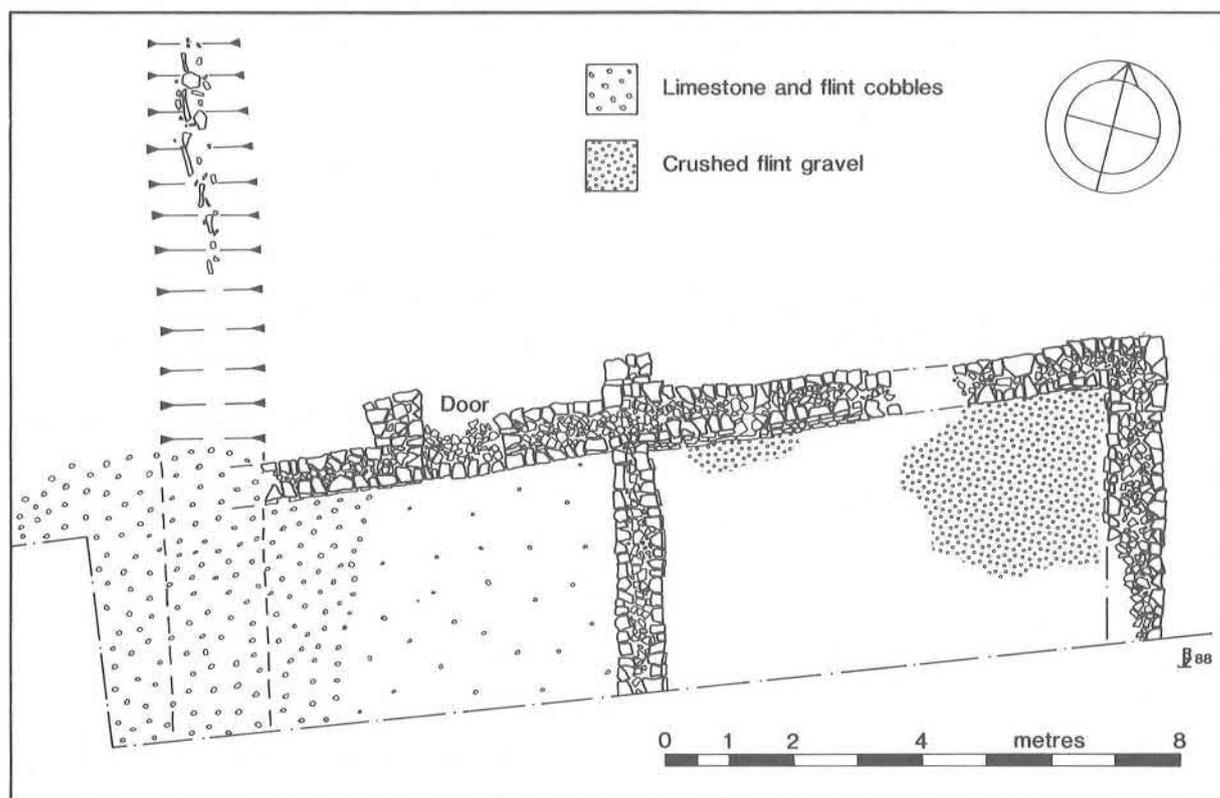


Figure 25: Croft G: Building 21.

years earlier on Croft F, it is possible that evidence for an earlier phase of use of Croft G may lie beneath the garden of the 'Mead'.

Building 21 dated from the thirteenth century. This building (Fig.25) was only examined in part, owing to its proximity to the neighbouring garden. That part of the structure revealed by excavation consisted of the northern part of a building measuring at least  $14 \times 6\text{m}$ , which consisted of two bays: the eastern, measuring  $7 \times 5\frac{1}{2}\text{m}$ ., and the western, which was at least  $5\text{m}$ . in length, all trace of its west wall having disappeared. Building 21 was noticeably more heavily built than other contemporary structures in Linford, with walls averaging  $1.1\text{m}$ . in thickness. All the walls appeared to be of one build. The north wall was pierced by a doorway  $1.1\text{m}$ . wide in the west bay, and was buttressed in two places; alongside the door, and opposite its junction with the wall separating the two bays. Although, as mentioned above, no trace was found of the west end of the structure, it is possible that it coincided with the western boundary ditch of Croft G, giving Building 21 a total length of  $15\text{m}$ . Internally, no definite floor surfaces were found, though two large patches of compacted flint in the east bay (Contexts 7 and 8), containing mid to late thirteenth-century pottery, probably represented the remains of a floor. In the west bay a compacted layer of stone (Context 9) containing thirteenth to fourteenth-century pottery was probably the surviving medieval floor. Post-

medieval pottery found on the floors and in the destruction levels of this building suggests that it continued in use into the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing features of Croft G also dating from the thirteenth to early fifteenth century was the group of hearths and ovens situated in the southeast corner of the croft. These features (Fig.26) consisted of a malt kiln (F43), a copper or oven base (F44) with a sunken stoking area serving them (F45), and a separate circular hearth or copper base (F71). F43 and F44 were built up against the boundary wall with Croft F (W18), and therefore could not be dated earlier than the late thirteenth century; indeed, they are almost identical to the malt kiln and oven base found in Building 13, Croft C, dated to the mid fourteenth century.

The malt kiln (F43) measured  $800 \times 1200\text{mm}$ . internally, and its flue, which faced west, showed signs of extensive use. It had been constructed against the north side of oven base F44, which was itself built against the west side of Wall 18. F44 was a roughly square stone structure, measuring about  $2\text{m}$ . square, with a central void  $1.4\text{m}$ . in diameter, filled with a mixture of soil and rubble containing late fourteenth-century pottery. In the west face of the structure, close to the north-west corner, was a depression  $500 \times 400\text{mm}$ . which, from the quantity of ash on its clay floor, and the

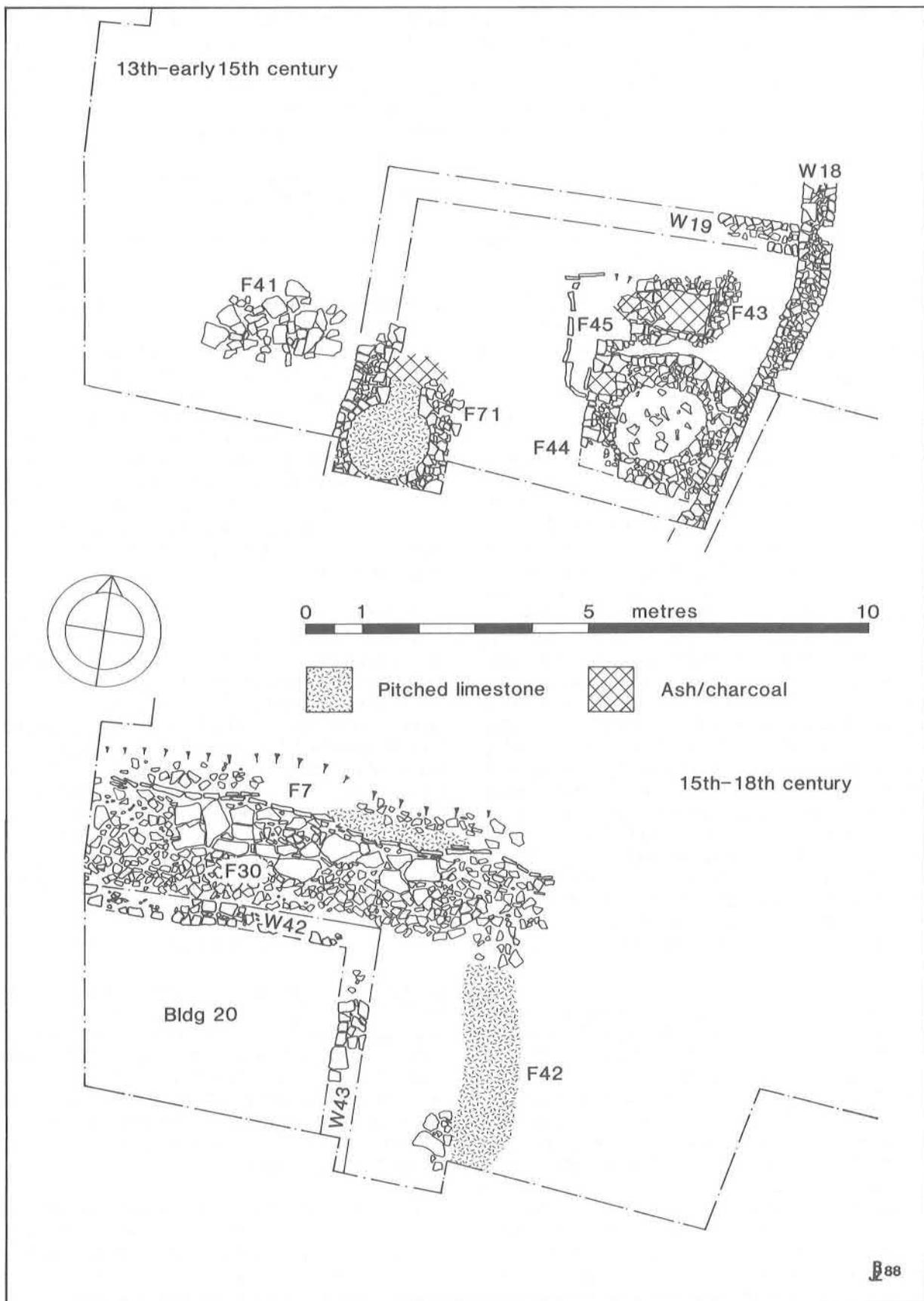


Figure 26: Croft G: possible bakehouse complex and Building 20.

discolouration of its walls, had seen extensive use as a stokehole. Between this stokehole and that belonging to F43 was a rectangular sunken area, lined with large vertically set limestone slabs, and measuring 2m. in length (F45). This was evidently the stoking area for the two features described above.

Some two metres to the west of this group of features was situated a substantial circular stone-built hearth or copper base (F71) with an internal diameter of 1.2m. Its stokehole, 300mm. wide, faced north. The floors of both the stokehole and the central heating area were constructed of pitched limestone, which was discoloured by repeated use, as were the interior walls of the structure.

This group of features, malt kiln, oven and copper base, is of particular interest in that it is the only instance on a village croft in Great Linford where a complete bakehouse/brewhouse 'set' of hearths and ovens was identified. The only other occasion where such a group was identified was in the excavation of the manor (p. 99, below), where the scale of the features was much greater, as one might expect. Two other crofts had buildings each containing a malt kiln and/or bread oven (Building 13, Croft C; Building 11, Croft E) while a circular hearth was located in Building 10, Croft E, suggesting that the occurrence of such structures was not uncommon, but that the main elements were the malt kiln and oven. One unusual feature of the Croft G group is the apparent absence of a surrounding structure, as it is difficult to see how these functions could be carried out in the open. However, the presence of a structure may be inferred, with Wall 18 as its east side, Wall 19 to the north, its west side corresponding to the substantial west side of F71, and its south wall close to or on the southern boundary of the croft, to the south of F44 and F71. This would suggest a building measuring at least 7 × 6m., similar in size to Building 13.

The contexts representing the destruction and backfilling of these features contained for the most part pottery of late fourteenth to fifteenth-century date, suggesting that they had gone out of use by the fifteenth century, though seventeenth-century material from the upper fill of F43 (Context 138) suggests that this corner of Croft G was used as a rubbish tip until much later. The fifteenth-century date for the demise of the kitchen/brewhouse is similar to that given for Building 13, and the kitchen at the manor. It is also interesting to note that this date is the same as that suggested for the end of occupation on Croft F, and therefore could be the point at which Crofts F and G were amalgamated.

Moving on to the sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

turies, two structures were identified as belonging to this period. Building 21 continued in use into this period, though a cobbled surface laid in its west bay and containing seventeenth-century sherds and a coin of Charles II (No.24), overlay part of its north wall, as well as the suggested line of its west end. In the east bay a floor surface of packed limestone rubble contained pottery and a German reckoning counter (No.50) Though there is no clear dating evidence, it may be at this time that the doorway in the west bay was blocked up.

The other structure dating from this period was Building 20, which can be identified as the house of William Adkins shown on the 1641 map. This house was located in the south-east corner of Croft G, to the west of F43 and F44, partly overlying F71. This rather ephemeral structure (Fig.26) was represented by two walls (W42 and W43), both rather crudely constructed and only 450–500mm. in width, forming its north and east sides. Traces of a wall visible in the hedge to the south of the excavated area may have marked the south wall of this structure, giving an overall width of about 5m. There was no identifiable interior floor, and no internal features.

Running along the north side of Building 20 was a well-laid flagged stone path 1.6m. wide, (F30) bordered on its north side by pitched stone edging and a shallow ditch, partly lined with pitched stone (F7). This connected, 1.5m. beyond the north-west corner of Building 20, with a pitched limestone path 1.2m. wide (F42), running towards the southern boundary of the croft. This path overlay F71, and like F30 and F7 produced finds of late sixteenth to early eighteenth-century date. An unusual find from ditch F7, consisted of sherds of a Staffordshire slipware dish (Fig.183, 293), which actually joined sherds of the same vessel found on Croft A, in the destruction level under Building 1.

#### CROFT H

Originally measuring 40 × 120m., this was the westernmost of the crofts on the north side of Fullwell (Willen) Lane. Excavation was carried out on the central part of the croft, where a small building (Building 22) was examined, and at the north end, the latter being described below as Croft J. The southern end of the croft was not available for excavation, being occupied by a house recently converted from a barn.

On the 1641 estate map this area forms part of a large parcel of land, some 42 hectares (178 acres), belonging to 'RS', Richard Smith. This holding extended north-eastwards from the south-east corner of the green, and included the adjacent Croft S, and the rear parts of Crofts F, G and M, fronting the west end of Willen Lane on its north side. Close to the lane at the southern end of Croft H was a large

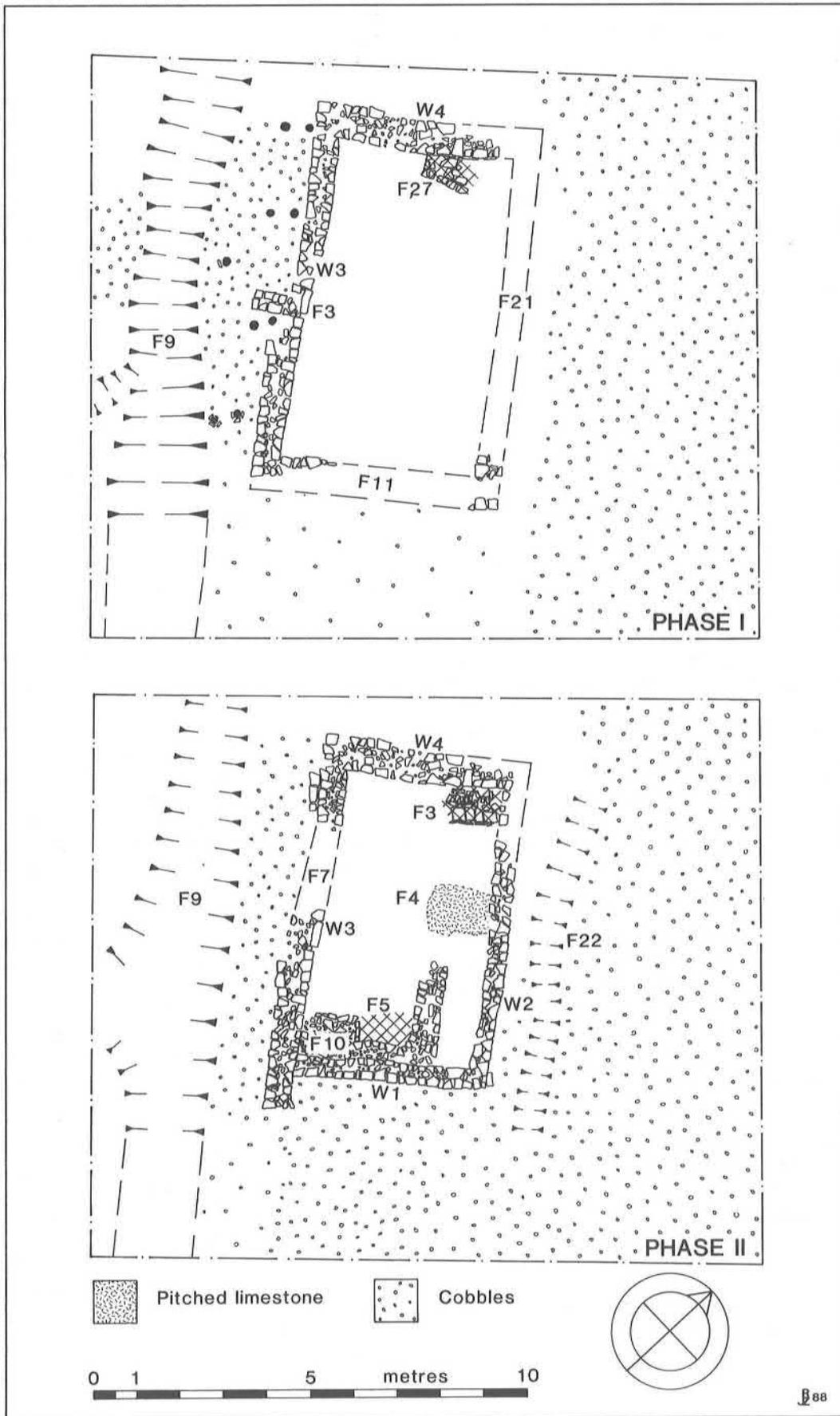


Figure 27: Croft H: Building 22, Phase 1 and 2.

house, identifiable as 'Moulsoe's Farm' p. 16, above).

### *Building 22*

This was the only structure located in the central part of, and adjacent to the original western boundary of Croft H. It appeared to have been constructed in the fifteenth century, and remained in use until the mid to late seventeenth, though it was not shown on the 1641 map. Its occupation could be divided into two distinct phases (Fig.27):

#### *Phase 1: mid to late fifteenth century*

The earliest phase of Building 22 was a small rectangular thatched structure measuring 9.2 × 5.5m., aligned north-south. Its walls (W3, W4, F11, F21) were of typical dry limestone construction, 600–800mm. in width. Wall 3 was constructed in two sections, meeting at a buttress (F3) at the midpoint of the west side of the building. There was no evidence for a doorway, which may have been in either the south or east walls, which had been very thoroughly robbed out. Along the east and west sides of the building were cobbled surfaces, with only a sparsely cobbled area to the south. Set into the cobbling on the west side of the building was a row of four pairs of postholes, each 200mm. in diameter, with depths from 200–300mm. The function of these postholes remains uncertain; they may have supported a lean-to or an extension to the roof, though why any activity should take place in the narrow area between Building 22 and the adjacent boundary ditch remains a mystery. A spur (263) of c.1340–90 came from a low level in the east yard.

The earliest internal floor surface in Building 22 consisted of a yellow-brown sandy clay (Context 43), with mortar and charcoal flecks, containing pottery of thirteenth to fourteenth-century date. On the floor (Context 35) were sherds of mid to late fifteenth-century date (part of Group 35). Only one internal feature was found, a limestone hearth (F27), set against the north wall and butted by the Phase 1 floor.

As described above, Building 22 was situated close to the western boundary of Croft H. This was marked by a ditch (F9) 1.5m. wide, aligned north-south. It became evident that this feature predated Building 22, as the south end of W3 was built over it, and it had been frequently recut and reduced in size moving westwards, continuing in use as a drain long after it ceased to be of significance as a boundary feature.

#### *Phase 2; early sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century*

At some point in the early part of the sixteenth

century, Building 22 underwent a major rebuild. The east and south walls were completely demolished, and replaced by new walls of a lighter construction, no more than 500mm. wide, on new alignments, reducing the size of the building to 8.5m. (W1, W2). The remains of the earlier walls were buried beneath a remetalling of the exterior cobbled surface, which was now extended round the south end of the building. From the amount of glass recovered, it is likely that there were windows in the north and west walls. A gully (F22) cut into F21, the robber trench of the east wall of the Phase I building, ran parallel with the east wall and was probably used for drainage.

In Wall 3, a gap towards the north-west corner of the building may have been a doorway, while the presence of a door in the east wall was suggested by an area of pitched limestone against the inside face of the wall (F4). At this time the interior floor was relaid in yellow-brown clay, similar to that used in Phase I. Apart from F4, two internal features were found to date from this phase. The first of these was a brick hearth, faced with limestone blocks, set into the north-east corner of the building (F3), virtually overlying the Phase I hearth (F27). It is worth noting that F3 resembled closely the brick hearth constructed in the north extension to Building 4, Croft B, which was dated to the seventeenth century (p. 56, above). The second addition to the interior was a more massive structure, built of limestone with a rubble core, extending across most of the south end of the building (F10). In the centre of this structure, the presence of a circular patch of ash (F5) indicated that F10 was the base of a large hearth or chimney breast. Pottery of fifteenth to sixteenth-century date was found in the structure of this feature, whilst the ash patch (F5) contained pottery of fifteenth to seventeenth-century date. This feature too can be paralleled in the final phase of Building 4. A pit or post hole (F20), 200 × 300 × 100mm. deep, cut into the floor close to the east wall contained nine copper alloy pins, a lace end and fragments of tile and window glass associated with the destruction of the building. Pottery from Phase 2 contexts comprises Group 36/37, which is part of Group 50.

At this stage it is probably worth considering the possible function of Building 22. At the time of excavation, the presence of hearths and the lack of industrial or agricultural artefacts led to the suggestion that it was a domestic building, probably a kitchen, as it was far smaller than the other houses excavated at Linford. This suggestion is further reinforced by its similarity to the latest phase of Building 4, Croft B, which has also been identified as a detached kitchen, and is of similar date. It is interesting to note the differences between these two buildings and the fourteenth century bakehouse/brewhouse structures on Crofts C

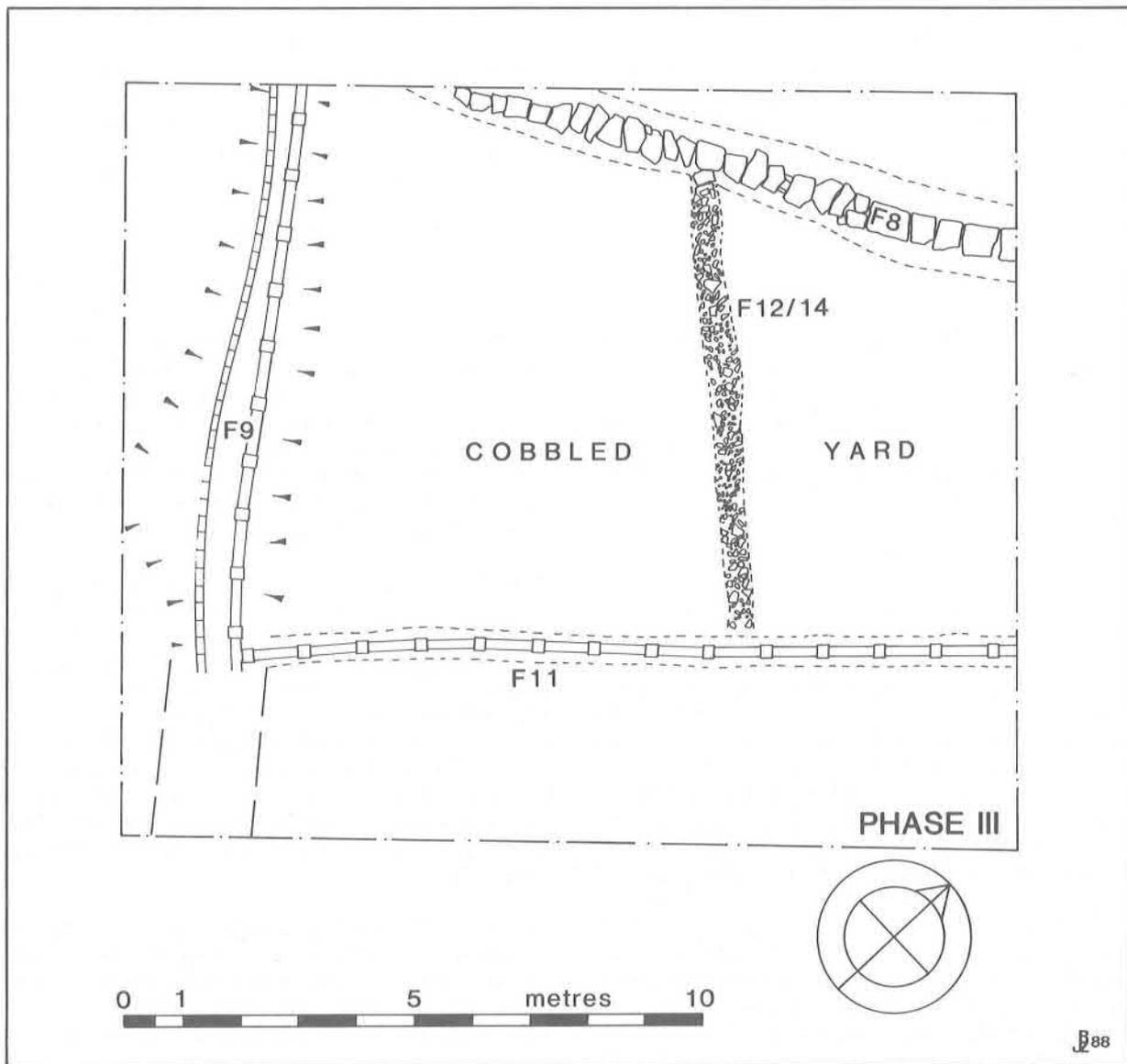


Figure 28: Croft H: Phase 3.

(Building 13), E (Building 11), G, and at the manor (p. 99, below). With reference to the latter structure, it is also worth noting that, as with Building 22, a rebuild was carried out, following a fire, by demolishing two of the outer walls and reducing the dimensions of the building.

*Phase 3: post-destruction. Mid seventeenth century onwards*

Following the demise of Building 22, its walls were removed to ground level and cobbling was laid over much of its interior, the area then presumably becoming an extension of the farmyard to the south, which was connected with Richard Smith's house. One coin (No.34) and three reckoning counters, (Nos.47, 52 and 56) were found on the yard surfaces and in the cobbling over the building; all had been lost in the mid seventeenth century. Pottery from Phase 3 contexts was like that

from Phase 2, apart from intrusive mid to late eighteenth-century wares similar to those from the nearby Croft F. One problem that appears to have persisted in this area until the time of excavation was bad drainage, as evidenced by the large number of drains cut at various times in the region of Building 22 (Fig.28).

The former boundary ditch, F9, remained in use as a drain, though less care was taken to clean it out, and it had silted up by the nineteenth century. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries its course was used to lay several ceramic land drains of different types, and other drains were routed into it. One of these, F8, was a well-constructed stone drain, with an internal cross-section of 300mm. square, joining F9 to the north-west of Building 22 and aligned north-east to south-west, passing close to Wall 4. Into F8 ran a smaller stone drain, F12/14, which fell northwards from the

farmyard to join F8, cutting through the north-east corner of the building. To the south of Building 22, a glazed ceramic drain pipe had been laid on an east-west alignment, following in part the line of the south wall of the Phase I structure (F11).

### CROFT J

For the purpose of excavation recording, a small triangular enclosure, covering an area of approximately 1700 sq. m., being in fact the north end of the medieval Croft H (Fig.12) was defined as Croft J. On the 1641 estate map, this area is shown as containing a single small building, presumably Building 23. Excavation on Croft J revealed two buildings, 23 and 24, dating from the mid to late seventeenth and mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth century respectively, both of which were identified as agricultural buildings (Fig.29).

#### *Building 24*

This rather fragmentary structure, situated near the centre of the excavated area, was probably a thatched barn measuring approximately 14.5 × 6.8m. overall, and was aligned east-west. Only fragments of its north, west and south walls survived, built of limestone laid without mortar, to widths of 600–700mm. The south wall was butted to the west wall, which continued some 1.5m. beyond the south-west corner. The extent of the building to the east was marked by the limits of the surrounding cobbled yard. This also suggested the location of a southern entrance at least 2m. wide, just east of centre. Although several features were located inside the building, all appeared to post-date it, and the most convincing interpretation of its function appears to be as a barn. By the pottery (Group 38, Figs 153 and 154) recovered from its internal clay floor surface (Context 10), and from the relatively undisturbed yard surfaces to the north, Building 24 was probably first occupied in the mid fourteenth century, remaining in use into the mid fifteenth century. The topsoil sealing the destruction levels of this building contained two coins (Nos 11 and 22) and a reckoning counter (No.62) of the mid to late seventeenth century.

#### *Building 23*

Following an apparent gap of over two centuries, the next period of human activity on this area is represented by the construction of Building 23 (Fig.30) in the mid to late seventeenth century. Located some 7m. south of Building 24, this was a small structure measuring 4.7 × 3.6m., aligned north-west to south-east, with an extension 3.6 × 1.7m. at its western end. The walls were unusually constructed of a single row of large limestone blocks, evidently intended to support the sill-beams of a timber-framed structure. Inside the

main part of the structure the north half of the floor was of crushed fossiliferous limestone, while the remaining floor surfaces were cobbled. A gap in the south wall 1.6m. in width marked the entrance. In this entrance, and covering an area of about 2.5 sq. m. outside the building, was a pitched limestone surface (F6, Plate 14) which appears to have been a resurfacing of the entrance area in the late seventeenth century (Pottery Group 39). A thimble (136) of late seventeenth-century date also came from F6. The building itself was dated to the mid seventeenth century by its association with the surrounding yards and F6, probably continuing in use until the late seventeenth century. Once again, the function of the building was not positively identified, though from its size it was certainly not a dwelling. Its relatively flimsy construction and differing internal floor surfaces suggest agricultural use, perhaps as a pigsty or store-shed.

About 1.5m. to the south of Building 23, partly covered by F6, was F7. This measured 3.6 × 3.2m., and consisted of an area partly covered by large limestone flags, and partly by pitched limestone, a stone-lined gully 400mm. wide separating the two areas. Although F7 obviously predated F6, it was not possible to determine its relationship to Building 23, as no finds were recovered from it. However, it is worth noting that it was not aligned with the building, and therefore could predate it. The function of F7 remains uncertain.

In the area between Buildings 23 and 24, a shallow depression, possibly a pond, was dug in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. This measured 6.5 × 3m., widening towards its north-west end, which was also its lowest point (F5).

#### *The Drains*

From the pottery evidence, Building 23 appears to have fallen out of use after the early eighteenth century. However, as with Croft H, activity on the site continued in the form of drainage works. In the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century a substantial stone-built drain was constructed to the west of both buildings, aligned roughly north-south (F2). This drain, with a cross-section 300mm. square, was identical in construction to F8, Croft H, and may have been a continuation of it. The presence of Victorian pottery in it suggests that the drain was opened for cleaning during the nineteenth century.

Running into F2, roughly parallel to the north wall of Building 23, was a second, smaller stone drain (F3), with a cross-section 150mm. square. Though this produced sherds of seventeenth-century pottery, its association with F2 suggests these sherds to be residual.

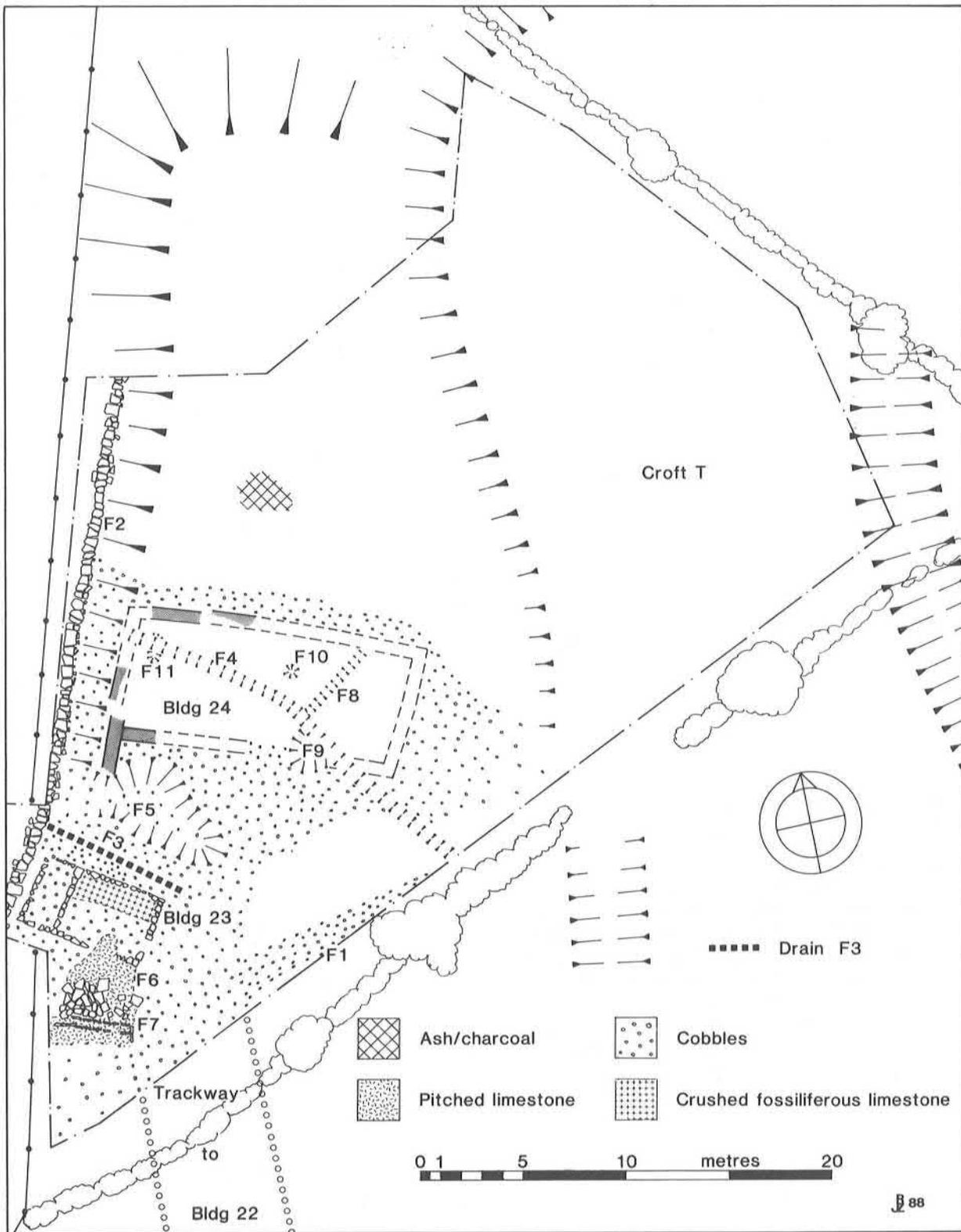


Figure 29: Croft J: overall plan, with Croft T to east.

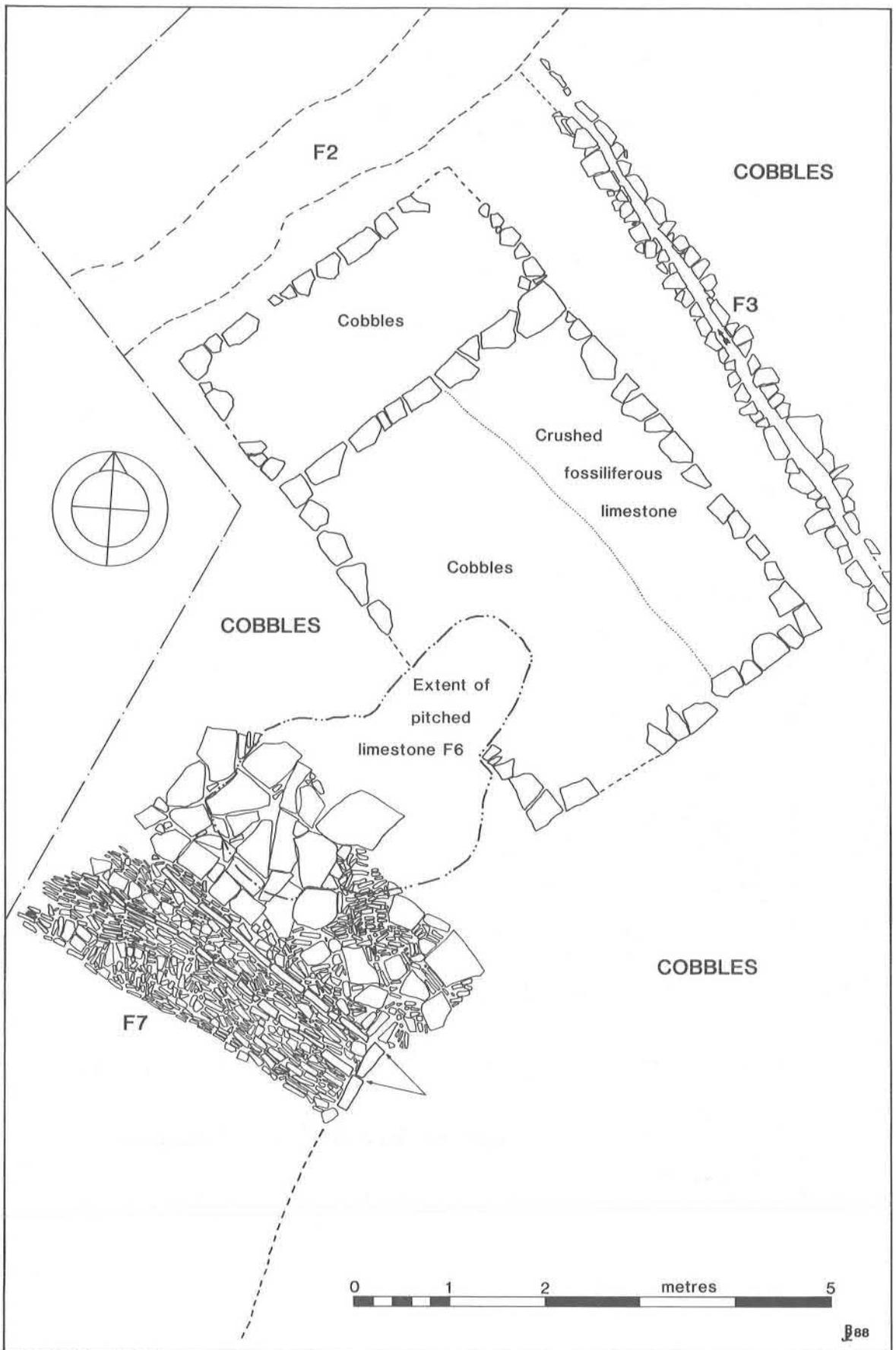


Figure 30: Croft J: Building 23.

Probably related to an earlier phase of drainage attempts were two gullies, F4 and F8, cutting across the site of Building 24. F4, approximately 400mm. wide, ran diagonally across the structure, cutting the line of the south and west walls, and dated from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries. Running north-eastwards from F4, close to the entrance to Building 24, was F8, a gully 400mm. in width. This contained thirteenth to fourteenth-century sherds, which had presumably come from the floor deposits in the building through which it was cut. One other feature associated with F4, a large pit close to the entrance of Building 24 (F9), produced no dating evidence, but, as it cut the line of the south wall and the entrance to Building 24, was evidently later in date.

#### CROFT X2

During the construction of Pritchard's Court, a development of old people's flats on the west side of the village High Street, about 100m. north of the green, topsoil stripping revealed a structure which became the subject of limited excavation (Building 25). Although identified as Croft K at the time of the excavation, the building was actually situated at the north end of the close shown on the 1641 map (Fig. 6) as belonging to 'T. N.', Thomas Nicholls. This close is identified as Croft X2 on the reconstructed village plan (Overlay 6).

Croft X2 covered about 1.5 ha., extending 125m. northwards from the Green to a pronounced 'dog-leg' in the High Street, and is shown on the 1641 map as having a house, identified as 'Mungy's' (p. 16, above) in its south-east corner. By 1678 the estate map (Fig. 8) showed that the holding had been subdivided, the northern part, containing Building 25, becoming 'Kents Close' and the southern half 'Smiths Close'. At this later period no dwellings are shown in either close.

Building 25 (Fig. 31) was six metres in width, aligned north-west to south-east. Only the north wall and parts of the east and west walls were excavated, the north end of the building having already been destroyed by service trenches cut in the early stages of construction. The building survived to at least 7m. in length, and observation of the aforementioned trenches suggested a three-bay structure, with a length of about 12m. The walls, of the familiar dry limestone construction, were 500mm. wide. The internal floor was of packed clay. Pottery from within the building suggested a fourteenth to fifteenth-century date for the structure.

#### CROFT L

This isolated croft was situated some 200m. east of the High Street, and was approached by the lane

running north from the green on the east side of the High Street (Plate 15). It was similar in size to Croft F, measuring 35 × 45m. approximately, with its long axis parallel to the lane on its west side. This lane is shown on the 1641 estate map as a back-lane, running northwards from the north end of the green to a dog-leg on which Croft L was situated, eventually joining the way to Newport Pagnell some 130m. east of the High Street. Occupation on Croft L began in the late tenth to eleventh century, continuing until the seventeenth century, when the site was abandoned and the buildings demolished. It is tempting to identify this croft as the site of Walshes manor house, but this cannot be proven in any way. However, the range of buildings, the presence of glazed ridge tiles, and the quality of the finds suggests considerable status.

The occupation of Croft L can be divided into two phases:

##### *Phase 1; tenth to thirteenth century.*

This was represented by a complex of features (Fig. 32), largely beneath Buildings 30 and 31 and the adjacent yard. These were possibly connected with timber buildings, but although a number of postholes were present, no definite structures could be discerned. Pottery from this phase is combined as Group 41 (Figs. 143–146, 1–76).

For the most part, the features dating from this period consisted of a number of 'U' section gullies, between 0.6m. – 1.0m. in width and 100–350mm. in depth. Most of these were aligned north to south, though four (F24, F28, F50, F91) ran east-west.

In addition to the above features, an extensive silt spread (Contexts 81, 88, 90, 153) also dating from this period covered much of the area later occupied by Building 31, while a smaller spread (Contexts 100, 178) lay beneath Building 26.

The earliest dated features belonging to this phase were gullies F22, 23, 25, 26, 27, and 91, which contained mainly tenth to eleventh-century sherds, with small amounts of intrusive twelfth-century material. Contemporary with these features were silt spreads, Contexts 81, 88, 90, 137 and 153, which were all below Building 31. Also dated to this phase was pit F95, most of which had been destroyed by the later ditch F36.

Interlaced with the above features was a further sequence of shallow gullies, F20, 24, 36, 47, 50 and 72, containing sherds of twelfth-century date. Of similar date was pit F64, 4m. wide and 700mm. deep, located on the east side of the croft.

In addition, a number of other features can be assigned to this phase on stratigraphic evidence

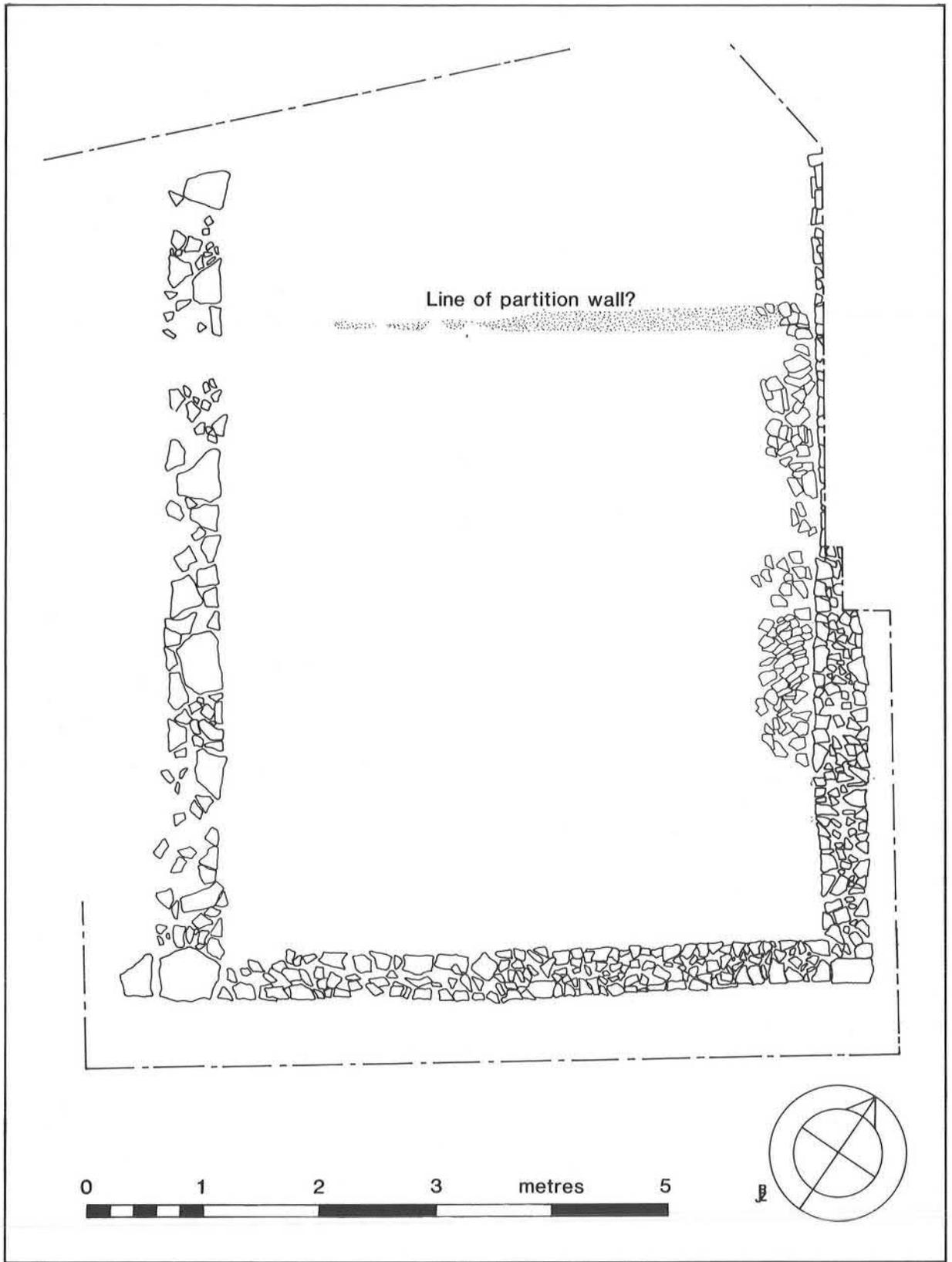


Figure 31: Croft X2: Building 25.

only. On the west side of the croft, ditch F98, 1.2m. wide and 350mm. deep, appeared to have been the original west boundary of the croft prior to the construction of the lane, the surface of which sealed the feature. In addition, F98 was joined by F36, one of the second group of features described above. The line of F98 was followed by the west walls of Buildings 26 and 27, described below in Phase 2, accounting for the presence of finds from this period in the ditch.

Ditch F28, below Building 32 and the south end of Building 31, can also be seen to date from Phase 1, despite a lack of ceramic evidence, by its relationship with the above buildings, and with F85, which cuts it.

#### *Phase 2; fourteenth to seventeenth century.*

This phase (Fig.33), covers the construction, occupation and demolition of the stone buildings (26 to 32) and yards on the croft, and the adjacent cobbled lane. The earliest date obtained was for Building 27, which was dated by pottery from floor level (Context 159) to the late fourteenth to fifteenth century, (Pottery Group 42), while none of the other structures produced dateable finds earlier than the fifteenth century. Some alterations appear to have taken place during the sixteenth century, with the demolition of Buildings 31 and 32, the backfilling of pond F5 and drain F14, and the laying of a rough cobbled surface, (Context 98) and the yard surface, (Context 35), over the site of the buildings, though final abandonment of the croft did not take place until the mid to late seventeenth century, (Pottery Group 43b). Numerous coins and reckoning counters were found in the destruction levels over the yards and building. Most were of mid to late seventeenth-century date, but several coins dated from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

#### *Structures and yards*

The layout of structures on Croft L appeared far more complex than the other excavated crofts at Linford. Seven, possibly eight buildings were identified, grouped around two cobbled yards. The larger of these, the southern one, was triangular in shape, with a large central circular pond (F5).

Two buildings fronted onto the lane: Building 26, an extensive house, and Building 27, a substantial kitchen/bakehouse. To the east of Building 26 was a range consisting of Buildings 28 and 29, which lay between the north and south yards. Added to the south-east corner of Building 29 was a small rectangular structure, Building 30. This range of buildings were of domestic or agricultural use.

On the south-east side of the south yard was a second range of buildings: Building 31, a large

thatched barn, with Building 32, a structure similar in size to Building 30, added to its south-west corner, and Building 33, which was only partly excavated, built onto its south end. On the west side of the south yard, separating it from the lane, was a strip of open ground some 6m. wide, with a few isolated fragments of stone walling on it. It is possible that this represents the floor of an ephemeral building such as an open hovel for the storage of carts etc. Access to Croft L from the lane may have been into the south yard; no obvious track was noticed in the yard surface. The actual entrance may have been beyond the limits of the excavation.

#### *Building 26*

Whilst this building had been largely destroyed by demolition and removal of materials, the finds from its destruction levels and from the surface of the lane on its west side suggest that it was a dwelling house. It had a tiled roof, with glazed ridge tiles, glazed windows and probably a decorated tile pavement in one of its rooms. The building (Fig. 34) was 6m. wide and at least 14m. in length, butted at its north end to Building 27. The west wall, built on the line of the filled in ditch F98, consisted of two sections on slightly different alignments, the northern 3.6m. appearing almost to be a link between an earlier phase of Building 26 and Building 27. The east and south walls of the building were largely robbed away, even the footings being removed. The floor (Context 94) was principally of brown clay, except in the area east of the hearth F7, where the building overlay ditch F36, and in the north east corner of the building where there was a patch of cobbling measuring approximately 1 × 1.5m. From the make-up of the floor came an early fifteenth-century belt end (10).

The internal layout of the building was uncertain. It was probably divided into three rooms, of which the north and central rooms had unusual curving walls on the east side, which suggest fireplaces, although there was no evidence of burning.

The only hearth was in the south west corner of the northern room and would, if the northern room were formed out of a link between Buildings 26 and 27, post-date that event. It must be observed that the plan of Building 27 does not conform with that which one would expect as the residence of a substantial farmer of the late medieval period.

#### *Building 27*

Building 27 stood alongside the lane, on the north side of the croft (Fig. 34). It measured 10.4 × 7.5m., aligned east-west, and was divided internally into a large east room, 5 × 5.5m. internally, and two smaller rooms, each measuring 2.5m.

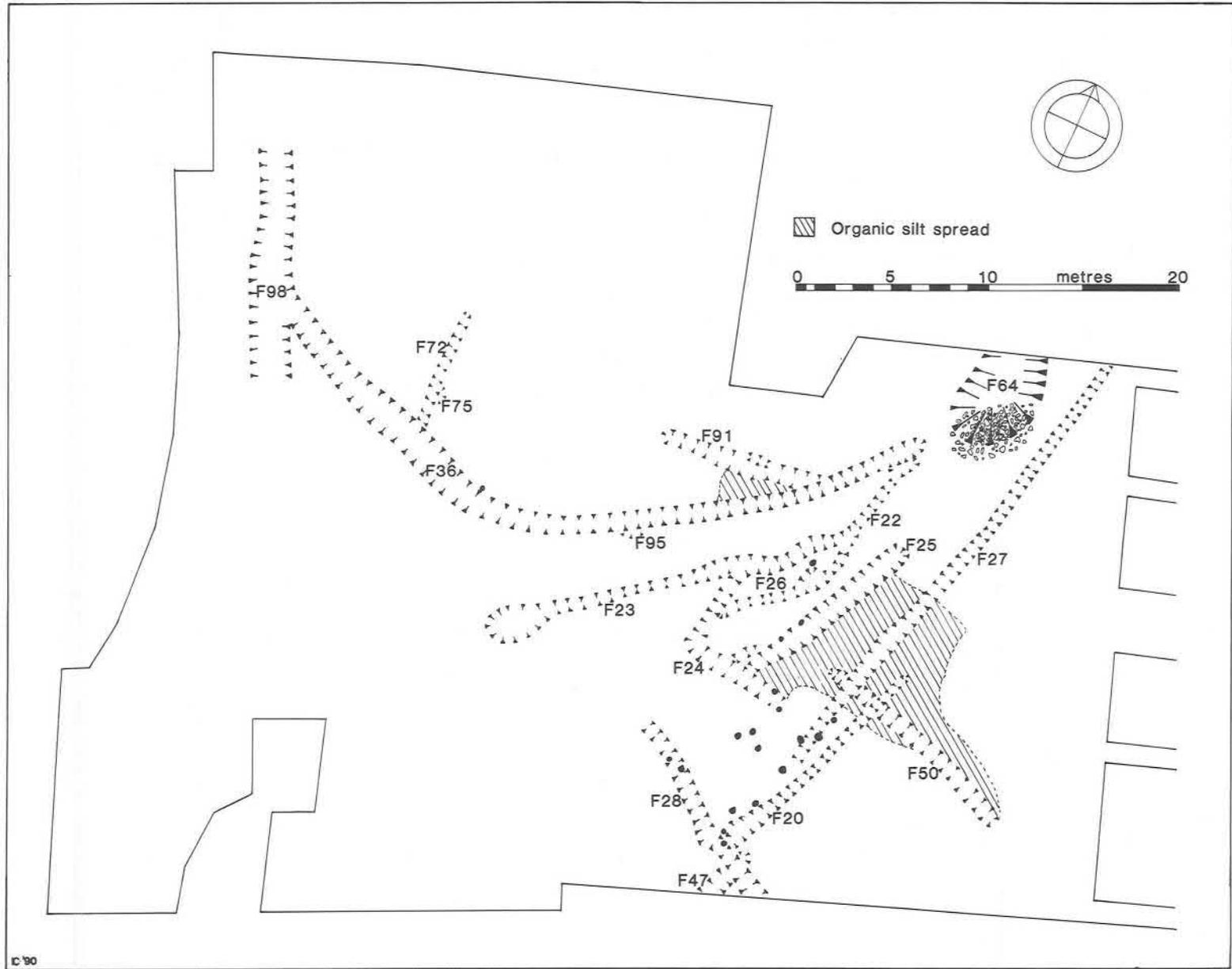


Figure 32: Croft L: Phase 1.

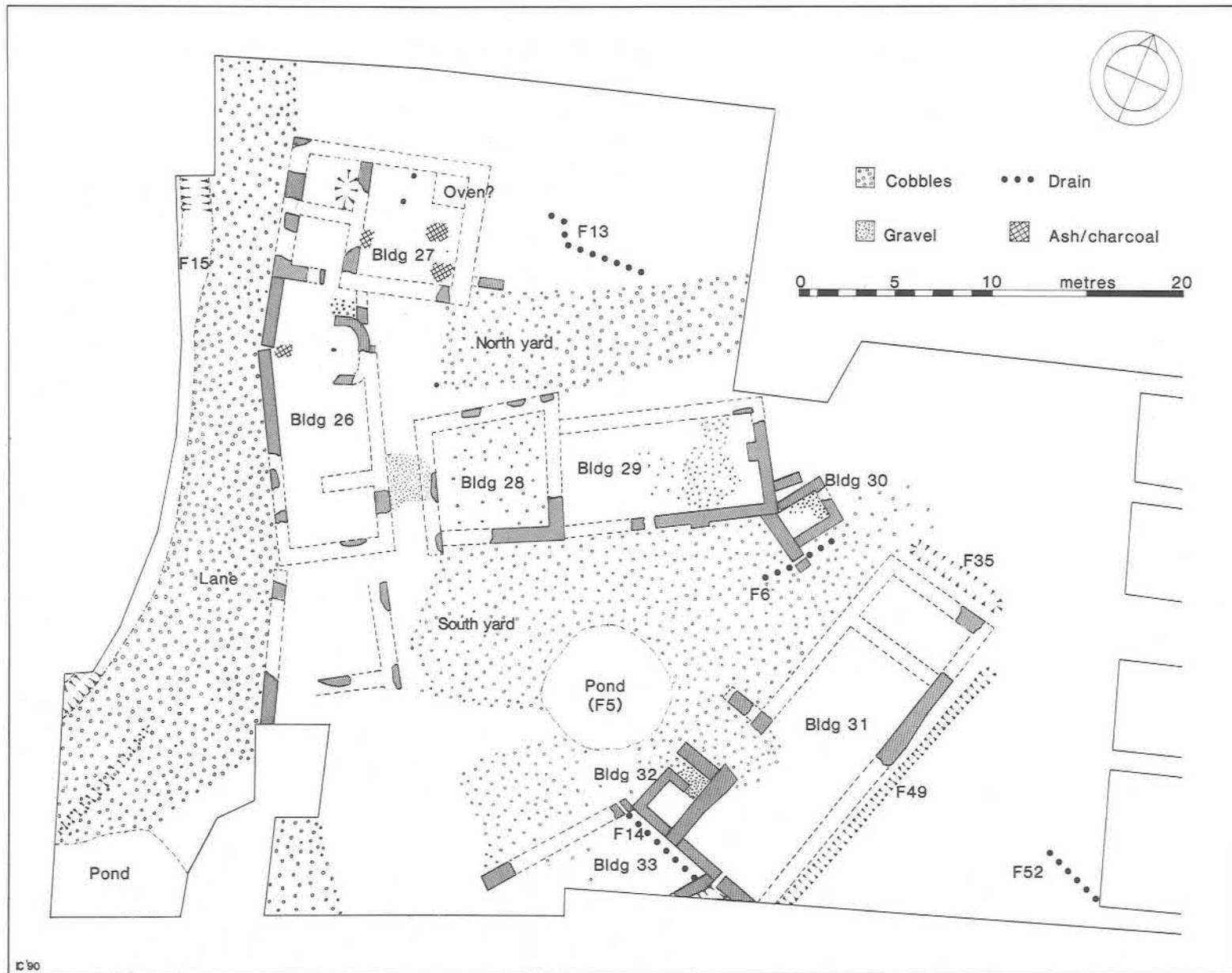


Figure 33: Croft L: Phase 2.

square, at its west end. The building was very substantially constructed, with walls 900mm. wide, set in footing trenches 200mm. deep, suggesting the possibility of there having been an upper storey.

The earliest floor of the east room of Building 27 (Context 183) was of brown/grey packed clay, covered by a layer of ash and charcoal (Context 159), containing sherds (Pottery Group 42, not illustrated) of a late fourteenth to fifteenth-century date. Into this floor were set three hearths (F10, F71 & F92). F10, in the south-east corner of the room, was laid in pitched limestone and measured 1.0 × 0.5m. F71, against the west wall of the room measured 1.1 × 0.5m., and was laid in limestone slabs. To the north of F10, but standing clear of the east wall, was a second pitched limestone hearth, F92, approximately one metre in diameter. In the north-east corner of the room was a rectangular depression measuring 1.5 × 1.8m., which marked the site of a possible oven. All the hearths were heavily burnt and covered with a layer of ash, suggesting frequent use.

Two stone-packed postholes (F96 and F97) found in the north half of the room may have supported a screen separating the various activities being carried out there. Unfortunately, neither feature produced any dateable finds. Above ash layer 159 was a spread of yellow/grey sandy clay (Context 157). Both of these layers contained late fourteenth to fifteenth-century pottery, suggesting a relaying of the floor of the room, as they respected the three hearths and the two postholes. Some seventeenth-century pottery from 157 may represent the last use of the building.

Turning to the two smaller west rooms of Building 27, both had floors of brown clay. In the floor of the northern room was cut an elliptical pit, measuring 1.0 × 1.8. m, and 350mm. deep (F93), filled with limestone rubble. In the south wall of the southern room, a doorway 800mm. wide led into Building 26.

Building 27 was a substantial kitchen/bakehouse, apparently of better construction than the other buildings on this croft. It had a tiled roof and glazed windows, and had been constructed in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. The building appears to have remained in use as a kitchen with little change until the seventeenth century, when hearth F10 was rebuilt with limestone slabs bedded on sand (Context 110) with a pitched limestone edging. This must have seen little use, as later in the same century the building was demolished.

#### *Buildings 28 and 29*

This range of buildings with a total length of some

18m. separated the north and south yards (Fig. 35). Between Buildings 26 and 28 was a passageway 2m. wide, surfaced with gravel, linking the two yards. Buildings 28 and 29 are identified as farm buildings, primarily because of their lack of internal features.

Building 28 measured 7.5m. × 6m., aligned north-south. Few structural remains survived, with the exception of the south-east corner, which had been built on the line of F36, and therefore had more substantial footings than the rest of the structure. It is interesting to note that the south wall of Building 29 also followed F36, suggesting that the ditch marked some property boundary that was still respected when the buildings were constructed. Internally, the building was floored with a rough layer of cobbles. There were no internal features. Two rowel spurs (252 and 254) were found one below and one in the cobble floor, and a horseshoe fragment was also found below the floor, suggesting that Building 28 may have been a stable.

Building 29, butted to the east end of Building 28, measured 11 × 6m. on an east-west alignment. The south wall of the building was buttressed externally 3.5m. from its east end, while a larger buttress had been added internally to the midpoint of the east wall. The north wall had been almost totally robbed away, but two stone-lined beam slots 2m. apart and adjacent to the line of the wall suggested the location of a door leading to the north yard. Internally, the east end of the building was surfaced with cobbles and pitched limestone, while the floor in the west half was of packed clay. Both floors contained some residual twelfth to thirteenth-century pottery and also sixteenth and seventeenth-century sherds. Two rowel spurs of seventeenth-century date (280 and 282) were found in the destruction level over the floor of Building 28. As in Building 28, there were no other internal features.

Both buildings had tiled roofs, but do not appear to have had glazed windows. The lack of internal features, the absence of hearths, the wide doorway from Building 29 to the north yard and the cobbled floors suggest strongly that these buildings were for agricultural rather than domestic use.

Running in a south-westerly direction from the south-east corner of Building 29 was a substantial wall (W1), 700mm. in width and 3.4m. long, marking the east end of the south yard. Between the end of this wall and Building 31 a roughly cobbled track led to the back of the croft. Beneath W1 ran a stone-lined drain (F6), 4.6m. in length, which served to drain the east end of the south yard.

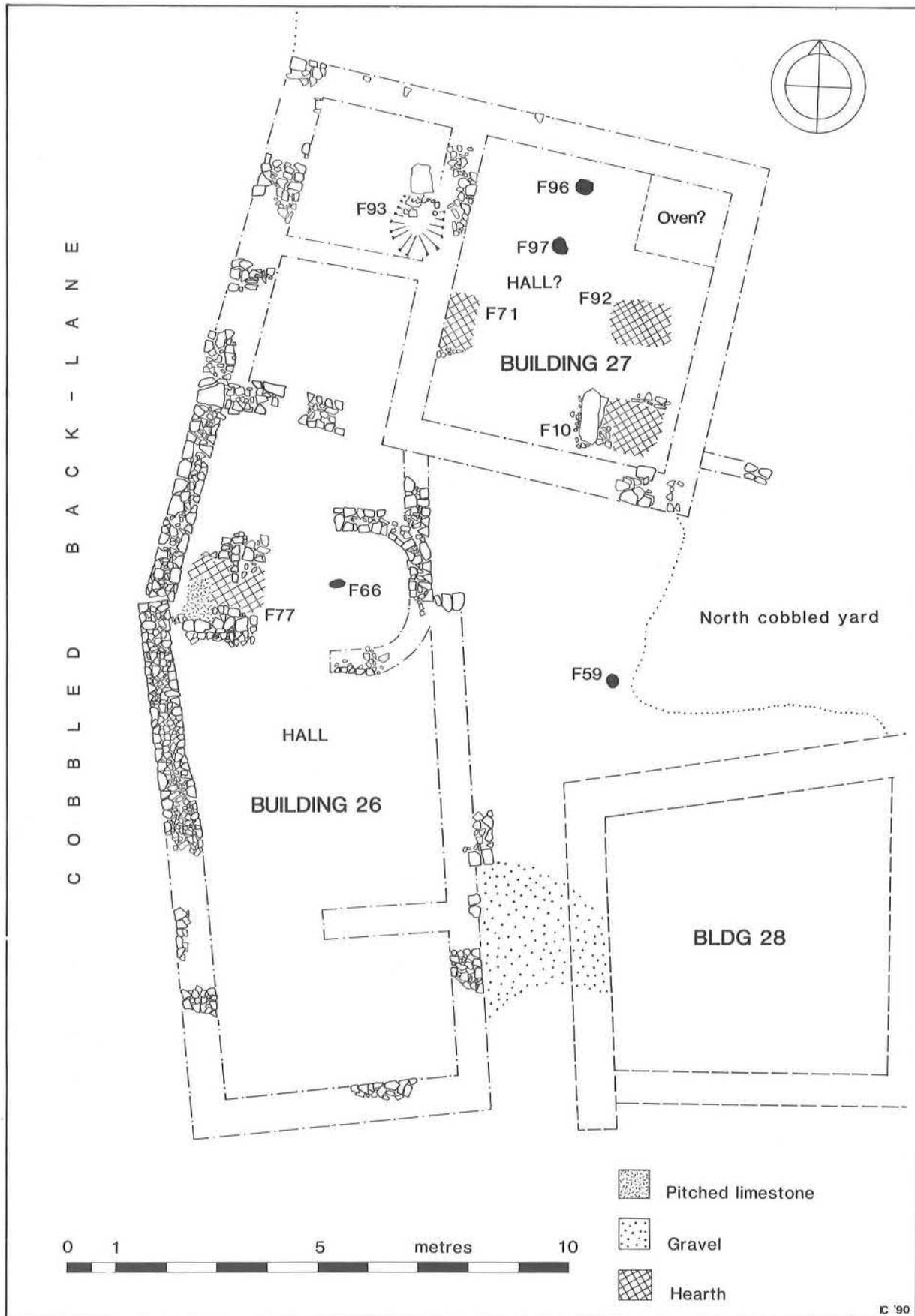


Figure 34: Croft L: Buildings 26 and 27.

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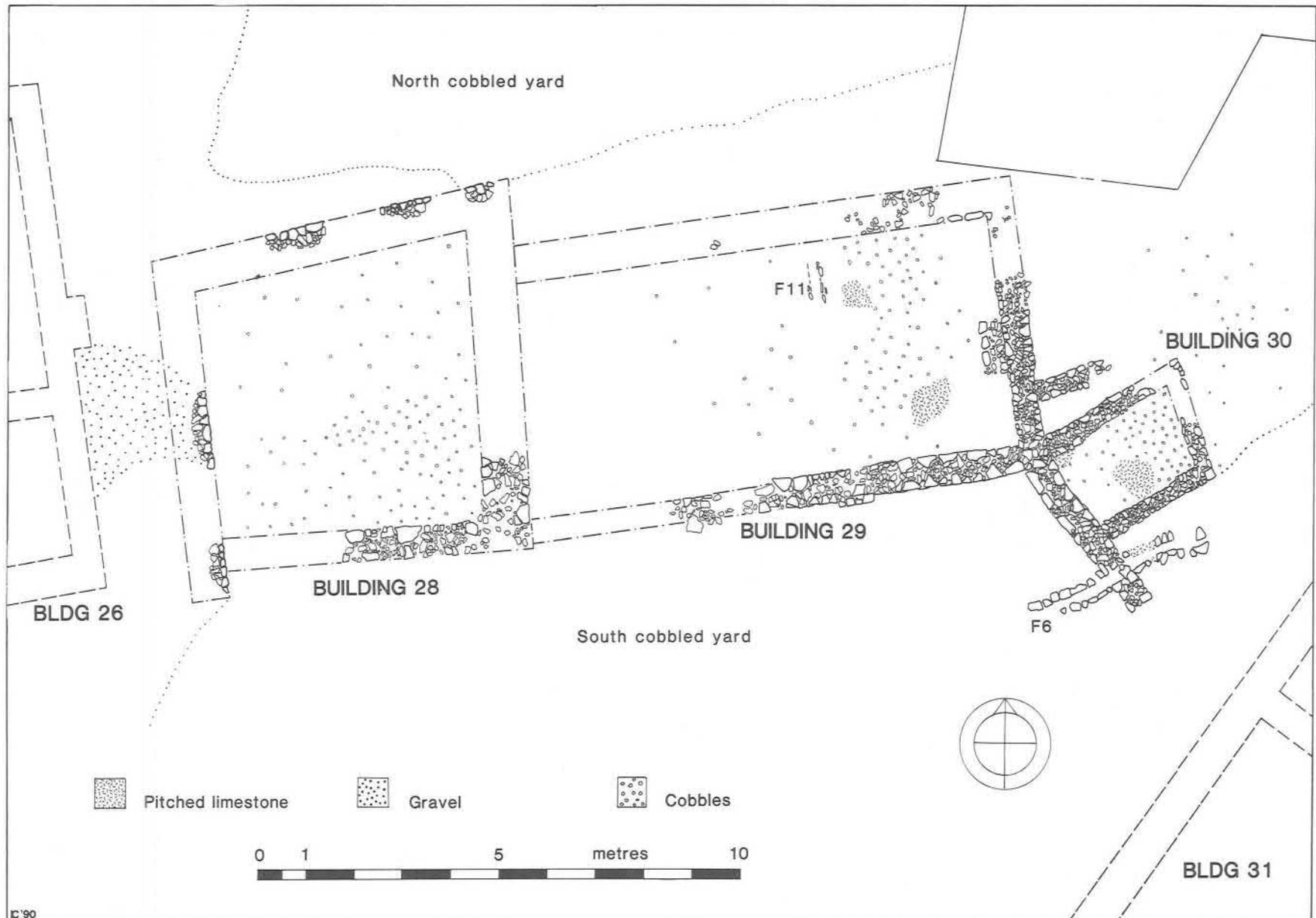


Figure 35: Croft L: Buildings 28, 29 and 30.

### *Building 30*

This small structure, measuring  $2.2 \times 1.5\text{m}$ . internally, was butted onto the east side of W1 and the south-east corner of Building 29. Although structurally a later addition, the finds from Building 30 suggest that it was of similar date to Building 29. Internally, its floor was cobbled, with two small areas of pitched stone. The function of this building remains uncertain; one interestingly absent feature was a gap in the walls for a doorway.

### *Building 31*

This building, aligned north-south and measuring  $19.5 \times 6.5\text{m}$ ., lay on the south-east side of the south yard, opposite Building 29 (Fig. 36). The main entrance to the building was from the yard, 5m. from the south-west corner, and the presence of wing walls either side of the entrance, which was 2.4m. wide, suggested the existence of a porch. Alongside the north and east sides of the building ran eaves-drip gullies (F35 and F49). No tile was associated with this building, so the roof must have been thatched. Internally, the floor was of beaten earth, sealing the Phase 1 silts and features beneath, and there was a partition wall 3m. from the north end of the building. From its size, and the absence of internal features, it seems reasonable to conclude that Building 31 was a barn.

As already mentioned above, this structure and the adjacent Buildings 32 and 33 appear to have fallen out of use in the sixteenth century, maybe a hundred years before the croft was finally abandoned. Following its demise, the area occupied by Building 31 was covered by an extension of the yard, though Building 32 remained visible in the yard surface.

### *Building 32*

This structure was built in the corner formed by the west wall and the south side of the porch of Building 31, occupying an area  $3.7 \times 2.4\text{m}$ . overall. It had two 'rooms'; a central room 1.75m. square, connected to an entrance passage, 800mm. in width, by a doorway 700mm. wide in its north-east corner. The floor of the passage was surfaced with closely packed limestone rubble fragments, though this ended abruptly on reaching the interior room, which had a clay floor. Like Building 30, the function of this structure remains uncertain.

### *Building 33*

The presence of this structure, on the south-east side of the south yard, was suggested by two walls butted to the south end of Buildings 31 and 32,

enclosing an area 4.8m. wide and at least 10m. in length. Because of its proximity to the edge of the excavation, only the north end of this structure was excavated. The internal floor was of clay, and the only feature identified inside the building was a stone-built drain (F14), 200mm. square in section, parallel to the north wall of the building at a distance of 500mm. The drain was built into the east and west walls of the structure, and stone capped where it passed beneath the floor. It appears to have drained the south yard, much the same as F6, flowing into ditch F47, to the east of Building 33. Pottery from the construction trench of F14 suggests it to be of fifteenth-century date. The ephemeral nature of the remaining evidence for this building suggests that it was a barn or open hovel largely of timber construction.

### *The yards*

The north yard, the smaller of the two cobbled yards on Croft L, covered an area measuring 5m. by at least 16m. to the north of Buildings 28 and 29. Its surface, like that of the larger south yard, was laid in packed limestone rubble.

The south yard, triangular in shape, covered an area of some 280 sq. m., bounded to the north-west by Buildings 28 and 29, and to the south-east by Buildings 31 to 33. Its south-west side, partly edged in pitched limestone slabs, opened onto the strip of land fronting the lane. In the centre of the yard was a saucer-shaped pond (F5) approximately 6.5m. in diameter and 200mm. deep.

Dating evidence from the excavation showed the south yard to have been laid, and the pond to have been dug, in the fifteenth century. Resurfacing took place in the early to mid seventeenth century (Pottery Group 43a) when the pond and the south-east range of buildings went out of use, this later surface extending over these features.

### *The lane*

A 40m. section of the lane to the west of Croft L was uncovered, varying in width from 3.3m. (opposite Building 26) to 8m. Its surface was laid in well-packed limestone cobbling in a brown clay matrix (Context 147), averaging 100mm. in thickness. The west side of the lane was marked by a ditch F15, 600mm. wide and 200mm. deep. Finds from the ditch and the rubble makeup of the lane date interestingly from the seventeenth century, suggesting that the lane was not surfaced until shortly before the abandonment of Croft L. This historical evidence for, and development of, the back lane are discussed elsewhere (p. 16ff, above).

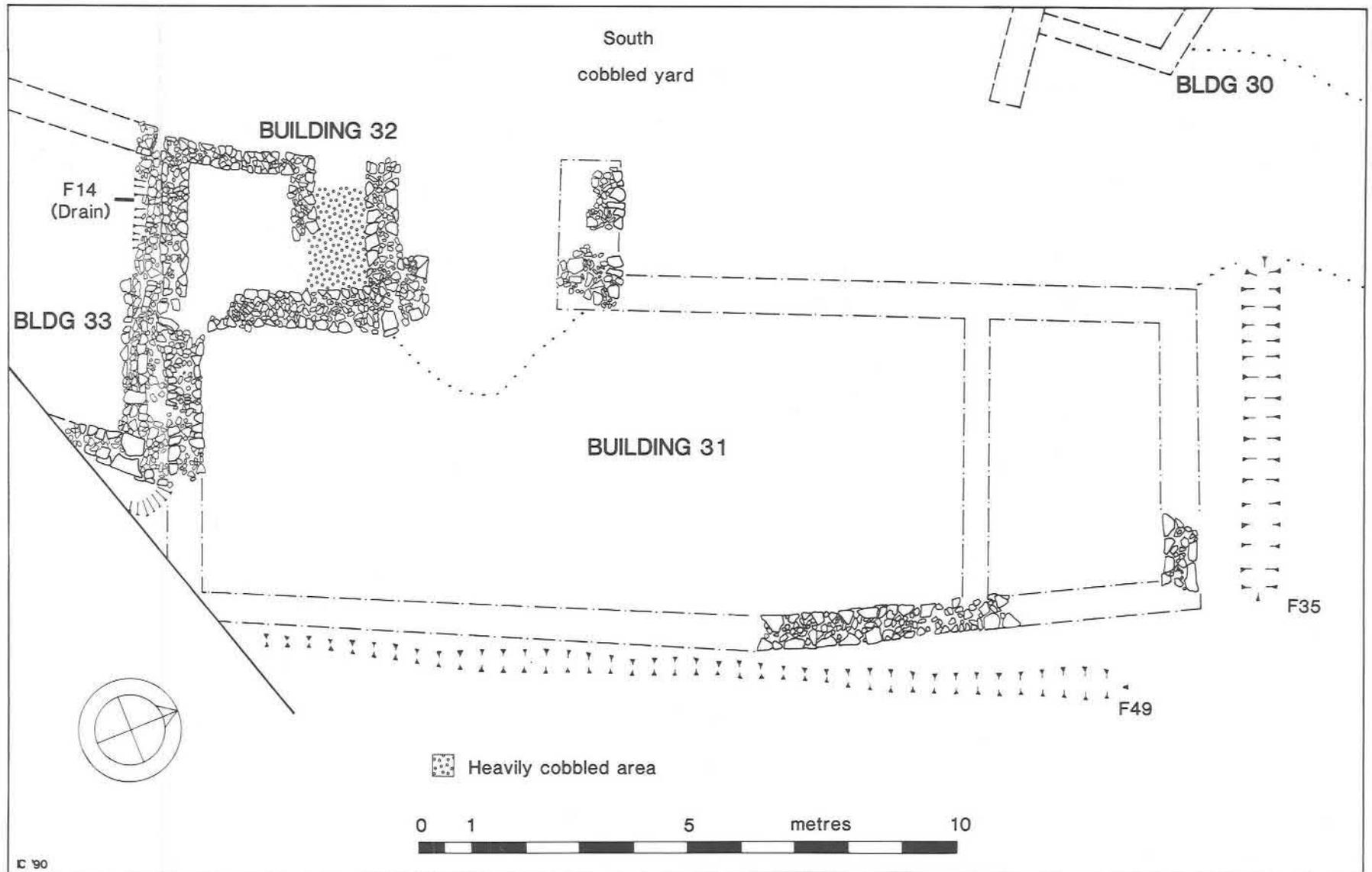


Figure 36: Croft L: Buildings 31 and 32.

*Introduction*

Following limited trial trenching undertaken by the writer in 1978, large-scale excavation began in March 1980 on the probable site of the medieval manor house, to the south of the church, in the stable yard of the present manor (Fig. 37 and Plates 16 and 17). This area was scheduled to become a car park for the proposed Great Linford Arts Centre, to be based at the manor. In addition to the construction of the car park, installation of main drainage and other services, as well as the conversion of the buildings surrounding the yard into craft workshops gave ample opportunity both for archaeological investigation of the site and examination of the standing buildings. However, it did also impose a number of constraints on the areas available for excavation, and therefore the evidence from the site is not as complete as one might have wished.

The present house and grounds at Great Linford, along with the almshouses adjacent to the church, were constructed in the late seventeenth century for Sir William Pritchard, who purchased the estate in 1678, following the death of Sir Richard Napier, the previous owner. Some idea of the layout of the north end of the village prior to these alterations can be gained from the 1641 and 1678 estate maps (Figs 6 and 8). The main street continued northwards from the point at which it now bends by the gates of the manor, running alongside a small stream which rises in the grounds of the Parsonage, and turning to the west close to the church. Beside this turn was a well, the 'Hine Well', which supplied water to the houses flanking this part of the street. On the 1641 plan, set back from the street behind two houses and midway between the Parsonage and the church, was a large house in just over two acres of grounds. By 1678 some changes had evidently taken place, the two houses had been replaced by barns, to the west of which was a large 'L' shaped building identified as the manor house, completing a new layout more in keeping with the manor of Sir Richard Napier, who farmed much of the parish directly.

Further documentary evidence relating to the manor and several of its owners exists in the papers of the Uthwatt family. Unfortunately, most of these documents refer to the last years of the manor's existence, but the establishment and early history of the house can be traced if only sketchily (p. 17, above). However, the date of its demolition, March 1679, is certain (BuCRO D/DU/4/1).

*Excavation: methods and constraints*

Initially, areas were stripped by machine to the

west, north and east of the southern stable building, though these were later extended, including an area inside the stable, to give a final area of about 1250 sq. m. (Fig. 38). Additional evidence was provided by sewer trenches cut immediately to the south of the north stable building and to the east of the southern stable, the latter trench cutting diagonally across Building 2. The constraints are also worth recording. Two ornamental trees limited examination of Wall 133, particularly its junction with Building 1, while access had to be maintained to the south stable, thus preventing linking up the excavation of the interior of the stable with the structures to the east. An area of brick flooring overlying concrete prevented excavation to the south of the stable, while the area opened around Building 2 was limited by the problems of damage to and reinstatement of the lawns covering that area. Access also had to be maintained between the stable buildings.

As can be seen from the plan (Fig. 38) the structure uncovered was a substantial one, consisting of 800mm.-thick walls of limestone laid in a sandy yellow mortar. Most of these walls survived only as foundations, a testament to the thoroughness of the demolition of the house, providing a bewildering sequence of phases of construction and alteration stretching from the thirteenth to the late seventeenth century. There were few surviving floor surfaces, but some dating evidence for the various phases (Fig. 39) was uncovered. The following interpretation is based principally on the structural evidence, the finds recovered, and the information provided by the two estate maps.

*Summary of phases*

## Phase 1; late fourteenth to mid sixteenth century

This period covers the establishment of the house, (Building 1) and bakehouse/brewhouse, (Building 2). The former consisted of a hall, separated by a cross-passage from a service room, at the end of which was a garderobe. Additional rooms may have existed to the south. During this phase Building 2 underwent an extensive rebuild following a fire, and was finally demolished during the late fifteenth century. Several changes also took place within Building 1, particularly in Room II. All Phase I pottery has been combined as Group 46 (Figs 162 and 163).

## Phase 2; mid sixteenth to late seventeenth century

This period is marked by extensive alterations to the house, notably the addition of a north wing, the rebuilding of the east side of the original house and the refurbishment of Rooms IV and II. It included the construction of barns related to the house on the site of earlier cottages to the east in the mid seventeenth century, and ends with the

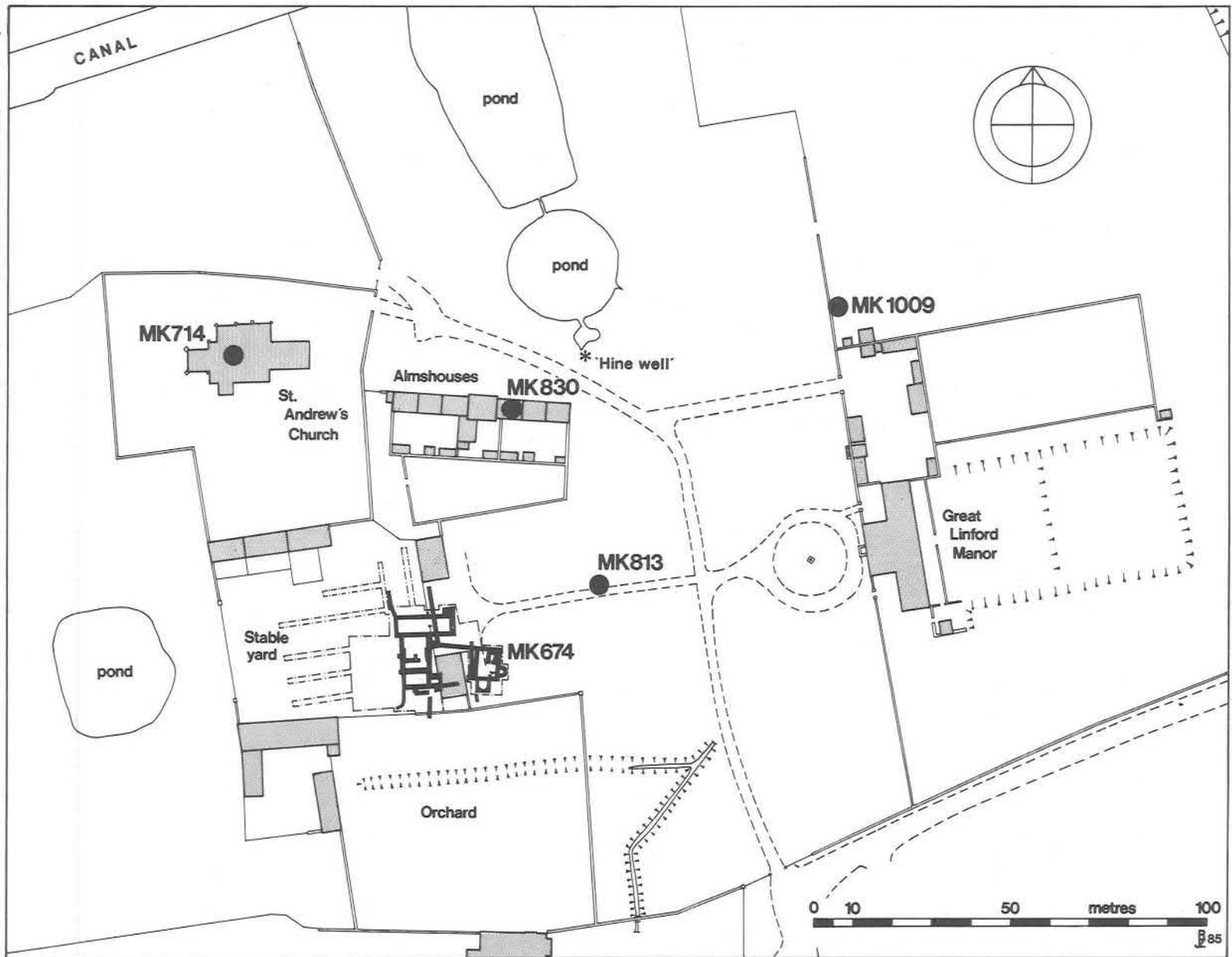


Figure 37: Great Linford manor and church: location plan.



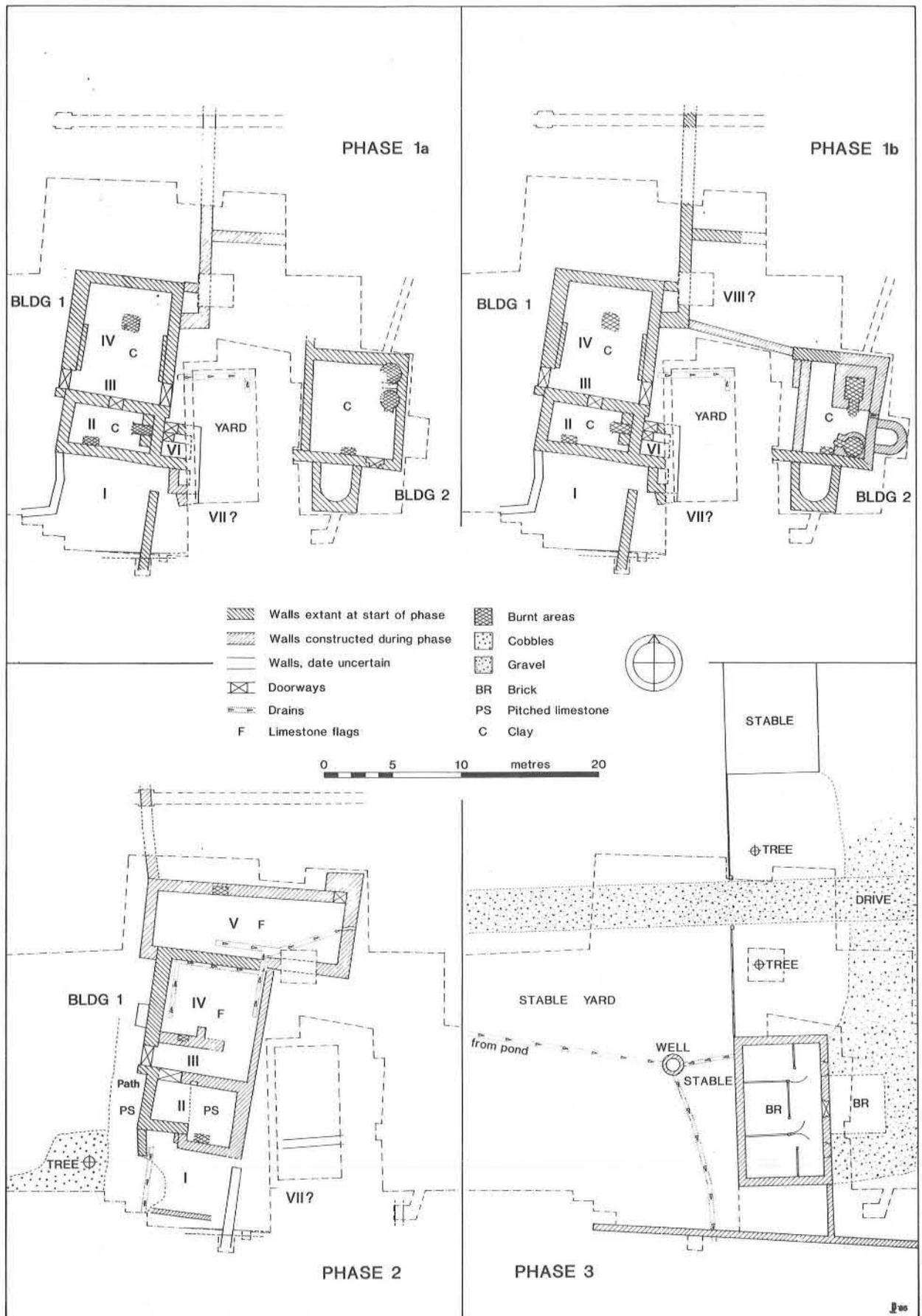


Figure 39: Great Linford manor: phase plan.

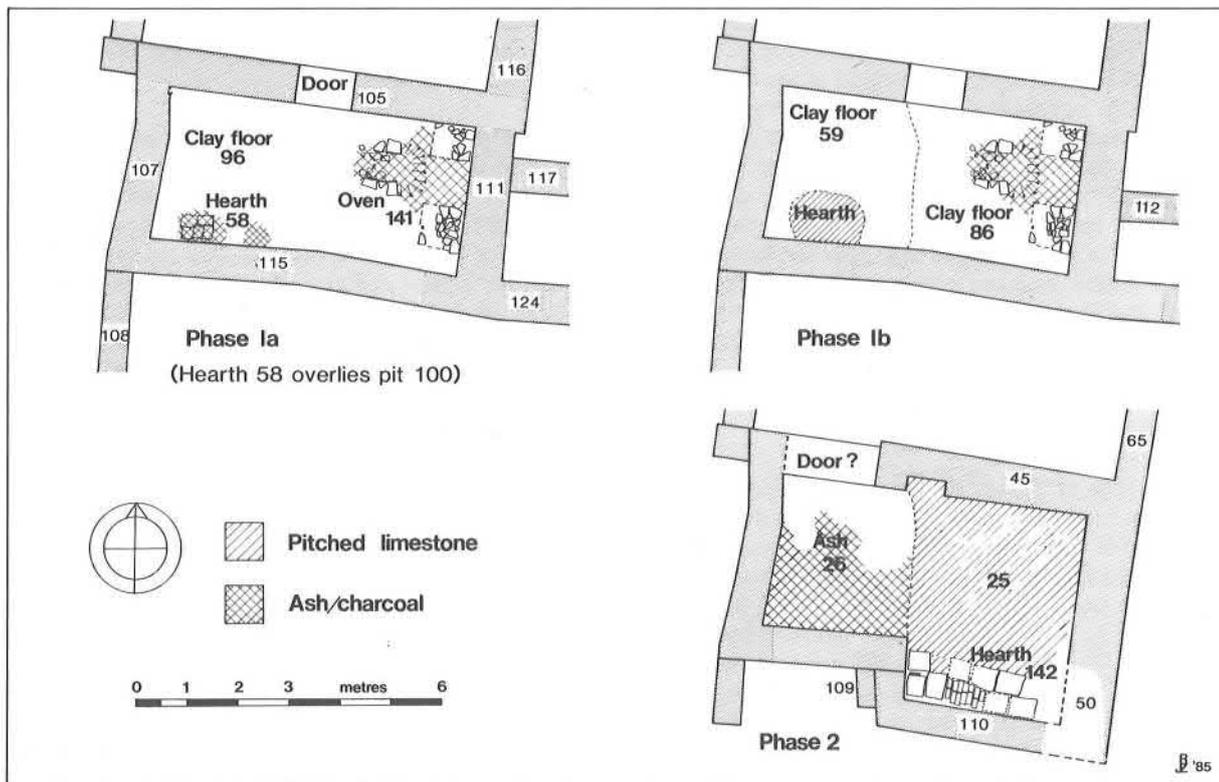


Figure 40: Great Linford manor: Room 2, phase plan.

demolition of the house in 1679. All Phase 2 pottery has been combined as Group 47 (Fig. 164).

Phase 3; eighteenth century onwards

By the start of the eighteenth century much of the landscaping of the new manor grounds would have been completed, including the construction of the two ornate stable buildings on the east side of the stable yard, flanking the central drive leading westwards from the house. A well in the stable yard provided water for the animals kept there. The internal layout of the south stable was altered sometime in the nineteenth century. The end of this phase (1980) is marked by the commencement of the Great Linford Arts Centre project. Phase 3 pottery has been combined as Group 48 (not illustrated).

*Phase 1; late fourteenth to mid sixteenth century*

#### *Building 1*

This structure was situated in the stable yard, to the west of the south stable, underlying also the drive and the stable itself (Fig. 38). It measured about 20m. in length and 9m. in width, with one, possibly two, projections to the east. It is not certain whether the building faced east or west. Only four rooms can be attributed with any degree of certainty to this phase (Rooms II, III, IV, and VI). These rooms represent a typical medieval hall

house, with a hall (Room IV), cross-passage (Room III) and service room (Room II). It is possible that the building also extended to the south of Room II at this period.

Of the surviving evidence for this phase, most is contained within Room II (Fig. 40). This measured 6 × 3m. internally, and was situated on the south side of the cross-passage, from which it was entered by a door 1.05m. wide in the centre of Wall 105. The earliest floor in Room II was of orange clay (Context 96). This contained pottery of fifteenth and sixteenth-century date, and had been laid directly on the clay subsoil, levelled up in places with limestone rubble fragments. Cut through this floor in the south-west corner of the room was a shallow kidney-shaped pit (Context 100) which contained the sherds of an almost complete late fourteenth-century Brill jug (Fig. 163, 20). On the floor against the south wall, was a hearth (Context 58), originally built with roof tiles, but subsequently relaid in pitched limestone. Both phases showed evidence of frequent and heavy use.

Against the east wall, towards the north-east corner, was the remains of an oven base (Context 141). This consisted of two stone piers, each about 800mm. square, separated by an area of ash and charcoal, which filled a shallow rectangular depression with traces of a stone lining and slab flooring, all heavily burnt.

Later in this phase the floor of Room II was relaid, again in clay, but this time a yellow clay (Context 59/86), laid on a layer of pitched stone (Context 74), which contained sherds of fifteenth and sixteenth-century date that joined with examples from both the underlying floor (Context 96), and the late floor (Context 59). What is most interesting is that from this time onwards, the room appears to have been split into two virtually equal parts at a line running southwards from the west side of the doorway. This division persisted into Phase II (see below), despite extensive structural alterations to the room, though it is marked only by an abrupt change in floor type, with no post-holes or beam slots to mark a partition.

To the north of Room II were Rooms III and IV, which can best be dealt with during this phase as a single room, measuring 8 × 6.5m. The southern part (Room III) was the cross-passage, about 1.5m. wide, with doorways at each end leading from the building. The west doorway was marked by a narrowing of Wall 93 (Context 135), which met the north-west corner of Room II as a projecting buttress (Context 136). The position of the east doorway was indicated by a 'step' in the south end of Wall 116. Both doorways were approximately 1.4m. in width. The make-up (Context 32) for the floor of the cross-passage consisted of sand with small limestone fragments, and contained only sherds of fourteenth-century date, and a metal vessel leg (193).

The north part of this room, the hall (Room IV) was 6.5m. square. There was no sign of a physical partition between this and the cross-passage, although in similar buildings elsewhere some sort of screen, often wood, is usually found. Narrow stone piers (Contexts 104 and 118) 3.4m. in length built against the east and west walls may have served to support benches on either side of the room. Just to the north of the centre of the room, a patch of clay subsoil, discoloured by burning, marked the position of an early hearth (Context 52), which contained one sherd of fifteenth-century pottery. This hearth was sealed by a layer of loamy sand (Context 24) with limestone and tile fragments which contained sherds of twelfth to seventeenth-century date, some of which joined those from the destruction levels (Contexts 19 and 17) above. This layer was the base for a flagged floor, presumably removed at the final demolition of the building.

To the east of Room II was Room VI. This measured 1.7m. in width and probably 2m. in length, although the east end was lost under the walls of the stable building. Its south wall (Context 124) was of one build with the south-east corner of Room II, whilst its north wall (Context 117) butted Wall 111. A doorway 0.95m. wide in the north wall gave access out to the yard on the east

of the house. Room VI was probably a garderobe, being similar in size to the garderobe attached to Building 16, Croft F.

At some point in its life, Room VI was reduced in size. The original north wall was dismantled and a new north wall (Context 112) constructed against the south face of the former, also with a doorway at its west end. The dating of and reason for this alteration is not certain; if Room VI was a garderobe, its holding capacity was reduced by about 40%, with a reduction in width to 1.05m., and the only layer in the room related to this wall, a grey loamy deposit containing charcoal flecks (Context 53) produced no pottery. However, this alteration must have occurred sometime in the latter part of Phase I, as Room VI was demolished by the time Phase II alterations were undertaken.

To the south of Room VI was an even smaller rectangular structure, butted onto Wall 124. This also was partly lost under the stable, and only its length, 1.3m., was recorded. Its south wall had butted onto it a buttress-like piece of masonry (Context 129) set on a different alignment to the rest of the building. This, too, disappeared under the stable wall, and was not picked up in excavation inside the latter.

To the south of Room II, a number of structural features were found which, though not connected, suggested the possibility of a southward continuation (Room 1) of the house. At a distance of 1.8m. from Wall 115, in approximate alignment with the east side of the house was found the end of a wall aligned north-south (Context 114). This was traced for a distance of nearly 6m. southwards, finally petering out in the paddock adjacent to the stable yard. The first 4.9m. from the northern end was very well constructed of neatly squared ashlar, of a much higher quality than any other walling on the site. This wall was set in a footing trench c.1.4m. deep, the fill of which (Context 99) produced mainly thirteenth and fourteenth-century sherds, suggesting a possible construction date for the wall.

At the point where Wall 114 began to peter out, it formed a 'T' junction with two other walls (Contexts 138 and 139) running to the west and east respectively. As both these walls lay beneath the later boundary wall to the stable yard, differing in alignment by only a few degrees, it was not possible to examine this junction in detail, or to trace these walls to their limits.

To the west of Wall 114, at a distance of 6.4m., was found a less well-constructed wall (Context 108). This butted onto the south-west corner of Room II, and ran southwards on a slightly erratic course for 6.4m. before turning westwards (Context 143). This alignment was followed for about

3m. to the edge of the site.

The area enclosed by these walls was about 6.5m. square and could have been a room, though there was no trace of a floor, and precise dating evidence for the surrounding walls was lacking. The only feature within this area was a drain (Context 81) constructed in stone, running in a southerly direction alongside Wall 108. The fill of this contained fourteenth to seventeenth-century pottery.

There were also indications of additional structures connected to the north-east corner of Building 1 at this period. Butted onto Wall 116, close to the north-east corner of Room IV, was a small rectangular structure measuring 2.3 × 3.5m. overall, on a slightly different alignment to the house (Walls 120, 121, and 134). The interior of this structure was filled with rubble. From the north-east corner of the structure a well-constructed wall (Context 133) ran northwards, being traced for a distance of about 10.5m. north of Building 1. Only one other wall (Context 132) was seen to join it. This was butted to the east side of Wall 133, 3m. north of Building 1, and was traced for 3.5m., to a point where it was cut by Wall 126. Walls 132 and 133 formed the north and west sides of Room VIII, within which the lowest floor make up (Context 72), was of grey clay containing pottery of fourteenth to sixteenth-century date and a fifteenth century coin (No.43). Above this was a layer (Context 69) of sandy loam and limestone fragments which contained sherds of similar pottery, in one instance of the same vessel. Above this a similar layer (Context 62) contained pottery of fourteenth to seventeenth-century date, and a fragment of a metal vessel rim (191).

Room VIII must represent part of a range of buildings along the north side of the yard, erected in the late sixteenth century, or probably earlier. Unfortunately, the exact relationship of Walls 121, 133 and 134 could not be determined, as the junction lay beneath an ornamental tree that the Arts Centre architect wished to retain. Two months after the excavation the tree was destroyed by a contractor's lorry.

### *Building 2*

This was situated 9.5m. east of Building 1, separated from it by a yard area. Building 2 (Fig. 41 and Plate 19) was contemporary with Building 1, but had one major rebuild during Phase 1b (Fig. 39), apparently after a fire. The pottery found within the structure dated from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the destruction levels included sixteenth-century material, suggesting that its period of use fell entirely within Phase I. It is worth noting that similar though smaller structures excavated in the village, for example

Building 13, Croft C (Fig. 18), were apparently demolished in the fifteenth century.

In its earliest phase Building 2 was a rectangular structure aligned north-south, measuring about 6 × 7m. The interior floor was of clay, and there was a door, 1.1m. wide on the inside and narrowing to 0.65m. externally, in the south wall (Context 188), close to the south-east corner. In the north-east corner of the building were found traces of two successive circular oven/kiln bases. Kiln 1 (Context 214), set into the corner, had a diameter of 1.6m., showed evidence of frequent heavy usage, and on becoming disused, had been apparently covered by another structure, of which Wall 219 was the sole remains. To the south lay Kiln 2 (Context 213), which was 1.4m. in diameter, and had also been heavily used.

From the south-west of the building projected a structure (Context 226) about 3.5m. square, butted onto Wall 188. Internally this structure measured 2.2 × 2.6m., the corners being rounded, giving an apse-like appearance. This structure was filled with packed rubble. It is possible that it may have been the base of a large oven: a stone slab on the floor of Building 2, set against Wall 188 and covered with compacted ash layers, probably marked the point below the oven onto which the ashes were raked out (Context 183).

The floor of Building 2 was of clay on which was a deposit of ash (Context 206) which was partly sealed by a loamy clay with limestone fragments (Context 192) which contained pottery of fifteenth-century date.

From the quantity of ash embedded in the floor surface, and the evidence of extensive burning in the doorway and on the face of Wall 185 behind the later rectangular kiln (Context 205) it seems certain that Building 2 was badly damaged by fire. Only the south wall and the western half of the north wall survived to form part of the rebuild. The east part of Wall 185 was rebuilt on a more southerly alignment, overlying Kiln 1, while the east wall (Context 187) was rebuilt slightly to the west of the original (Context 201), overlying both kilns. A new west wall (Context 184) was constructed parallel to and 0.5m. from the old wall (Context 209) reducing the internal width of the building to 4.5m. The continuation of Wall 209 north of Building 2 was also demolished at this time. The doorway in the south wall was carefully sealed, the only means of access to the building then being via a doorway in the west wall, probably at its north end, where a thickening of the wall on its west side (Context 190) may represent a threshold. Pottery from ash layers (Context 223) sealed below the masonry blocking of the south door suggested a fifteenth to sixteenth-century date for the fire.

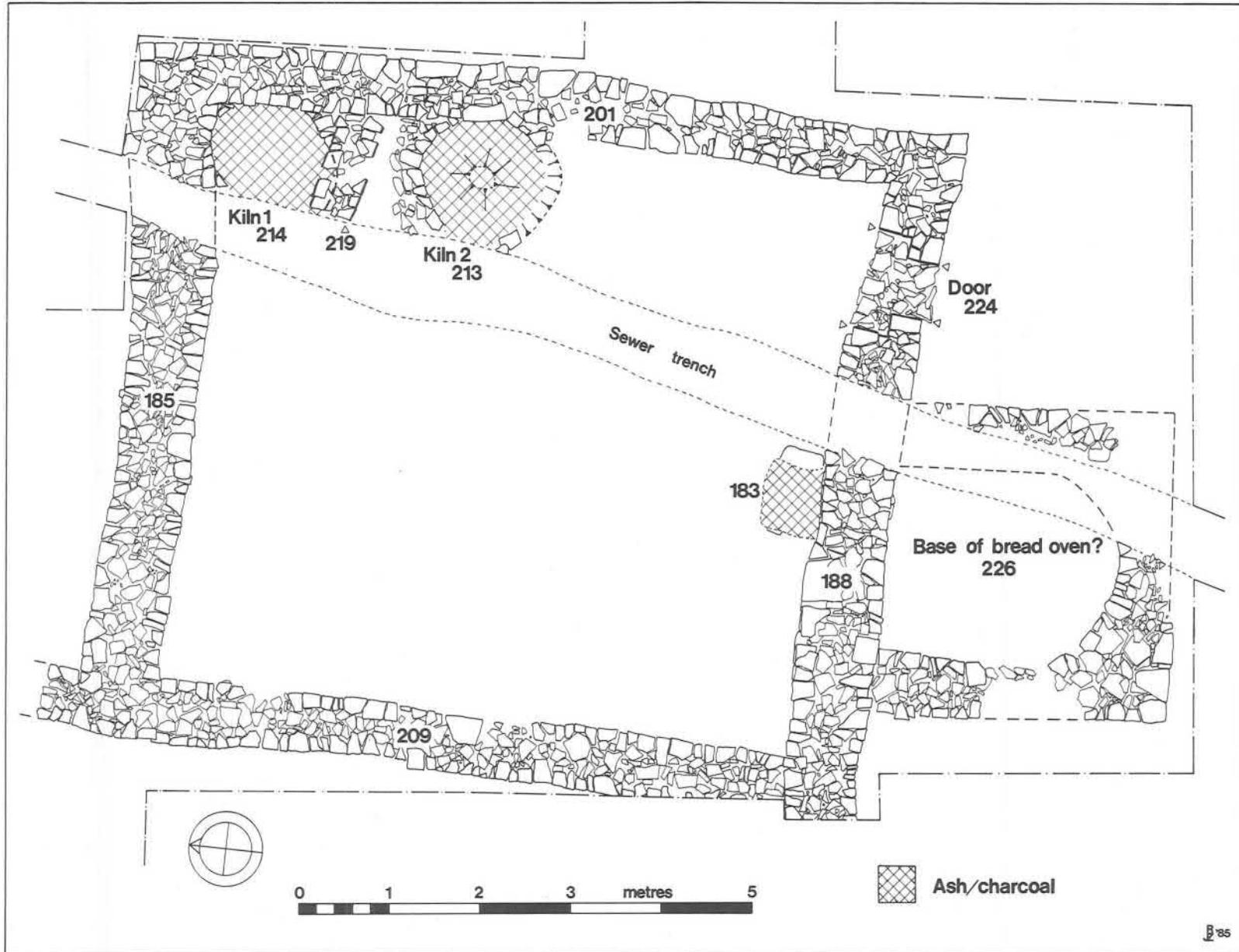


Figure 41: Great Linford manor: Building 2, Phase 1a.

In the north-east corner of the rebuilt structure was constructed a large rectangular malting kiln (Context 205), similar to but larger than examples already noted in the village. It measured 2.7 × 3.2m. externally, with a heating chamber 1.1 × 1.7m., with characteristic battered walls.

Opposite the malt kiln, in the south-east corner, was constructed a circular kiln/oven (Context 180). This measured 1.4m. in diameter internally, its stokehole facing north-west, and had been built against the infilled doorway in Wall 188. Slightly north of Feature 180 on the opposite side of Wall 187 (Context 203) was an apsidal structure 2.4m. wide, projecting 2.2m. from the east side of Building 2. The interior of the structure was filled with rubble, and it is possible that it may have been the base for a water tank connected with brewing processes being carried on in the building (Plate 20).

Between this apsidal structure and the malt kiln was found a drain (Context 211), passing through Wall 187 at floor level. This had no physical connection with any of the internal features described above and its purpose remains uncertain, though with large quantities of liquid involved in brewing, it may have been constructed to facilitate removal of spillage from the floor. Its fill contained pottery of fifteenth and sixteenth-century date.

#### *The yard*

The area between Buildings 1 and 2 seems to have been a yard during this phase, roughly surfaced with limestone rubble. Its width between the buildings was about 10m., though its south boundary was not indentified, and it may have extended northwards as far as Wall 132. Following the rebuild of Building 2, the north side of the yard was enclosed by the construction of a wall (Context 119) between the north-west corner of Building 2 and end of Wall 120. Only one feature was noted in yard area, a stone-lined drain (Context 178) running eastwards from the east doorway of Building 1, perhaps carrying rainwater from the roof. The line of this drain to the east, and its relationship to Building 2, was not determined.

#### *Phase 2; mid sixteenth to late seventeenth century*

This phase (Fig. 39) commences with a number of additions and alterations to Building 1, and ends with the demolition of the house in March 1679. Unfortunately, the start of this period cannot be as precisely dated as the finish, but the works were either carried out by the Blundell family or Sir Richard Napier; the latter seems the most likely person to have enlarged and rebuilt the manor complex. The alterations were certainly extensive, involving the total reconstruction of the house, by the addition of a new north range, substantial up-

grading to the core of the earlier house and the enlargement of the kitchen.

Room II (Fig. 40) seems to have retained its identity as a service room or kitchen into this later phase, and indeed may have been improved to replace Building 2. The oven and pitched limestone hearth were removed, and the eastern half of the room surfaced with pitched limestone (Context 25), which was found to be very well worn. This surface which produced sixteenth to seventeenth-century pottery and a copper alloy chafing dish handle (194), overlay a compact gravelly floor (Context 60), which contained pottery dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and a lower clay floor (Context 86) also of seventeenth century date. All Phase 2 pottery has been combined as Group 47. A large chimney stack was inserted into the south wall (Context 115), consisting of Walls 91 and 110 and Buttress 109, and enclosing a hearth area of 1.2 × 3.3m., the hearth itself being constructed in brick with a limestone flag surround. The east wall of the room (Context 111) was apparently also rebuilt at this time, in line with the rebuilt east wall of Rooms III and IV. This was marked by a line of pitched stones (Context 50) against the outer face of Wall 111, overlying the junction of the latter with Walls 112 and 117, suggesting that Room VI was also demolished as part of these alterations. The north wall of Room II was also rebuilt, the original doorway being blocked and a new one constructed in the north-west corner of the room. In contrast with the very solid floor surface in the eastern part, only an ash layer (Context 26) 100mm. thick, containing sixteenth-century sherds, was found in the western half of the room.

Rooms III and IV, the cross-passage and the hall, similarly underwent structural changes at this time. The major alteration was the dismantling of the east wall of both rooms (Context 116) and its replacement on a slightly different alignment. The new wall (Context 65) was narrower than its predecessor, measuring only 0.5m. in width, sitting partly on the remains of Wall 116, and partly on a pitched limestone footing (Context 80) similar to that already noted in alterations to Room II. The original doorway at the east end of the cross-passage was blocked by the new wall, which itself shows no evidence of a new doorway, though this may have been obliterated during demolition. Indeed, on the 1678 estate map the house appears to face east, so a door must have existed in this side of the house. The rebuilding of the east wall increased the width of both rooms to about 7m. The two piers, (Contexts 104 and 118), were also removed at this time.

The floor of Rooms III and IV also received some attention at this time. Along the west, east and north sides of the hall, close to the walls, were laid

stone-lined drains (Context 76). These measured only 50mm. square in section, and contained little or no silt. The eastern drain was laid on the truncated remains of Wall 116 (Plate 18). The two lines of drain came together in the north-west corner of the hall, passing through Wall 88 into Room V, and thence eastwards, exiting the building through Wall 126. A further branch of the drain ran into this system along the north side of Wall 88. These drains, as well as the surrounding areas of clay subsoil (original floors?) and the remains of dismantled Phase I structures were covered with a 200mm.-thick layer of yellow-brown sandy soil, Context 28 in the hall and Context 32 in the cross-passage. This sandy base contained sherds of fourteenth to seventeenth-century date, and a metal vessel leg in the form of a booted and spurred leg (193), and was put down as a base for a floor of rectangular limestone flagstones, a few of which survived around the newly inserted chimney base, described below. The absence of all but a few fragments suggested that this floor had been lifted for re-use at demolition. Taking into account the type of floor overlying these drains, the most likely explanation for their presence is that they served to combat rising damp, which must have been a problem in this part of the house prior to the rebuilding.

The other main alteration to Rooms III and IV at this period was the relocation of the hearth. In the south-west corner of the hall was constructed the base of a second chimney stack (Context 41), set directly on the early clay floor (Context 42), and butted onto Wall 93. Below the level of the later flagstones the walls of the stack were unfaced, and the lowest course of facing slightly overlay the flagstones. A brick hearth was set into the wall of the stack on its north side, projecting into the hall on the floor surface. The hearth created a more permanent division between the hall and the cross-passage.

A major addition to Building 1 at this time was Room V. This was added to the north end of the hall, and consisted of a substantial rectangular room measuring 13.5 × 4m. internally, aligned east-west, forming a projecting wing to the north-east of the existing building and overlying Room VIII. There was a doorway, 0.9m. wide in the north wall (Context 128) close to the north-east corner, and a substantial stone platform measuring 2.5 × 1.2m., immediately outside this door, may have been the base for a porch. Inside the room, a thick layer of yellow-brown sandy soil (Context 63) similar to that in the hall, formed the bedding for a flag floor, which had again been lifted at demolition. This bedding layer was of the same materials and date as the bedding in the hall and cross-passage; in fact, pottery sherds from it actually joined some from Context 28. Room V was heated by a small fireplace (Context 89) set

into Wall 128. There was no sign of a stack, suggesting that the flue was carried up in the thickness of the wall, perhaps being corbelled out to an exterior stack at a higher level.

No internal partitions were noted in this room. As has already been noted, a drain ran under the floor adjacent to Wall 88, and the outflow from the system passed through Wall 126, the final part of the drain being constructed in tile. It was interesting to note that in the mouth of the drain where it came out of the wall was found a large iron key (Fig. 100, 354). Could this have been the spare front door key?

A considerable amount of window glass and fragments of lead came recovered from the destruction levels over the floors confirmed that Rooms IV and V had windows by the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. Some glass also came from Room II, suggesting that it too had glazed windows. The location of the glass within and immediately outside the building suggested that the windows were in the west and north walls.

As in the earlier phase, the area to the south of Room II remains an enigma. The south part of Wall 108, as well as Wall 143, were demolished and covered by Context 30, the pitched limestone path which was laid along the west side of the house during the early to mid seventeenth century. The addition of a large chimney stack to the south of Room II also made a major intrusion into the space tentatively designated as Room I. The scatter of dark loamy soil and rubble covering this area (Context 17) and the similar layer (Context 82) beneath it were found to contain pottery covering much of the lifespan of the building, suggesting perhaps that this had always been an external area.

It is perhaps instructive at this point to look at the evidence provided by the estate maps on the layout of the house in the seventeenth century. The 1641 map only records dwellings, not outbuildings, as rather childlike elevation sketches (front cover), which at first glance do not appear very informative. However, the excavation of structures in Hens Close have shown that these illustrations are fairly accurate sketches of the fronts of houses at the time of the survey. This is perhaps better illustrated by the drawing of the Parsonage, which shows a house with two projecting wings and large chimney stacks at either end of the main roof; much as it still exists. Turning to the manor, the house is shown slightly smaller than the Parsonage, as 'L' shaped with two wings and a central chimney stack, on the 1641 plan. The two wings may represent the Phase 2 building with Room V representing one wing and Rooms II - IV the other.

In contrast, the 1678 map is apparently more accurate, showing all the buildings associated with the manor in plan, all other houses being shown in the style of the earlier map. On this occasion the house is shown as a north-south range with one wing projecting to the south-east, the dimensions of the house being about 28 × 12m., the wing measuring 12 × 7m. If this is an accurate representation of the manor house as it was in 1678, the most likely interpretation is that the house was largely rebuilt and that Room V had a very short life, the main core of the old house survived, and the south-east wing of the 1678 house was rebuilt to the east of Room I. Much of this area (Room VIII) remained unexcavated, for reasons described above. The area measured approximately 11 × 7m., to the east of Wall 114, bounded by Walls 139, 175 and 225, the latter having been located in a sewer trench cut to the south of Building 2. It has not been possible to date any of these walls, though 175 appeared to butt onto the end of Wall 124, and 139 butted onto 114. A structure based on these walls would conform closely to that shown on the 1678 map.

Several external features belonging to this phase remain to be described, mainly to the west of Building 1. The largest of these was the pitched limestone path mentioned above. This was about 2.5m. wide, very neatly laid in small limestone fragments. As excavated, the path petered out by the west door of Room III, though it probably originally continued for the full length of the house, perhaps leading to the church. From the west side of the path, opposite Room I, extended a further surfaced area (Context 145), this time of cobbling laid with flint pebbles. This area extended south-westwards from the path, its southern limits being beyond the edge of the excavation. In the centre of this area, a large pit (Context 144) probably marked the site of a tree removed during the laying out of the stable yard.

Moving northwards, the buttress added to the outside face of Wall 93 produced no dating evidence, though structurally it was later than the wall, and may have been added to counter additional loads placed on the wall by the construction of the central chimney stack.

To the north of Room V, several features were noted in a sewer trench cut close to the south wall of the north stable building. Almost 3m. east of Wall 133 and parallel to it was a ditch, 'V' sectioned, 2.4m. wide and about 1m. deep, filled with grey clayey soil and rubble. It produced no dateable finds, though from its alignment it was probably related to the earlier phase of the manor house. Nearly 10m. west of Wall 133 was found a well-constructed wall 0.8m. thick, running approximately north-south, aligned with the north-west corner of Room V. The only trace of a wall in the

excavation at this point was a line of stones, faced on the west side, running northwards at a slight angle from the corner of Room V. Against the wall in the sewer trench, at a depth of 1.0m. below ground level, was a surface of large limestone slabs beneath a layer of stiff blue-grey clay and charcoal.

### *Phase 3; late seventeenth century onwards*

Following the very thorough demolition of the manor house, the site was levelled and covered with soil, probably as part of the landscaping of the manor grounds. The central drive leading westwards from the front of the new manor house passed over the remains of Room V, covering this part of the site with a tightly packed layer of limestone rubble 200mm. in depth. Flanking the drive, 20m. apart, on the brow of the hill opposite the new house, were constructed two stable buildings. These each measured 6.8 × 10.9m., and were built to resemble small houses, complementing the style of the new manor house. To the west of the stables was a walled, unsurfaced stable yard bisected by the drive, with outbuildings on its north and south sides. Beyond the yard was a circular pond, and behind this a large conical grass-covered mound, which formed the focus for the drive. The southern stable building was constructed in the area of the yard separating Buildings 1 and 2, its west wall overlying the east end of Room VI. Where the stable walls overlay walls of the earlier building, these were incorporated into the new structure rather than being removed. The depth of footings for the south stable was about 0.5m. below ground level.

The interior layouts of the stables are not identical (1980). The north stable is partitioned into two looseboxes and a tackroom, the boxes being cobbled and the tackroom having a raised boarded floor over cobbles. The walls are covered with vertical boarding to a height of about 1.8m., and an enclosed staircase leads up against the north wall to an upper storey. The south stable is partitioned into three looseboxes, the centre one being the largest. Each box is provided with a cast iron water container and a manger fastened to the walls, which are panelled like those in the north stable. The floor is of cream-coloured brick, with gullies leading from each box to drains in the east wall, on either side of the door. Access to the upper floor is gained through a trapdoor, the upstairs room being provided with storage bins for feed.

On close examination of the south stable, prior to dismantling the interior partitions to permit excavation, it became apparent that the internal layout of the building had at some time been altered. Clearly visible on the south wall was the outline of a staircase leading upwards from the

south-east corner of the building, a mirror image of the layout in the north stable. There was no trace in the upper floor of an opening for this feature, suggesting that the floor was at least partly relaid after the stair was removed.

The ground floor of the south stable was floored in a hard, cream-coloured brick, with a smooth finish, and two moulded semicircular section grooves in its upper face. Below the brick was a layer of hard buff-coloured concrete 150mm. thick, covering the interior of the stable and sealing the archaeological layers in the former yard area. From the type of brick used it was apparent that this floor was nineteenth or twentieth century in date, and therefore not original.

To the south of the stable, the area between the south stable wall and the wall forming the boundary of the manor grounds had at some time been floored with brick on a concrete bedding, and covered by a lean-to roof, traces of which were visible on the stable wall. From the fittings remaining on the walls it was apparent that this had been a tackroom.

Before the advent of piped water supplies, water for the stables was supplied by a well in the stable yard, close to the south stable, cut through the remains of Building 1, Room III. This was 0.8m. in diameter, lined with unmortared limestone blocks and sunk to a depth of 2.25m., where it met the underlying limestone strata. The supply from this well was at a later date augmented by the laying of a 100mm. diameter glazed earthenware pipe to the well from the pond to the west of the yard. This was fed by a spring, and the overflow was thus used to 'top-up' the well. A drain constructed of red earthenware land-drain pipe, acted as overflow from the well, leading southwards across the stable yard to the stream crossing the paddock south of the yard. A second drain pipe led into the well from the north-west corner of the stable.

To summarise this phase, the stable buildings were constructed in the years following the demolition of the early manor house. The exact date is not known; the manor accounts, while detailed, seldom record the structure on which work has been done, though they record the type of work and the craftsman responsible. While the layout of the interior of the north stable seems to be unaltered, the original arrangement in the south stable has been obliterated. However, it seems reasonable to assume from the evidence that it was similar to that in the north stable, probably a mirror image. From the materials used in the alterations, and the type of pipe used in the alterations to the water supply, this work was all carried out in the nineteenth or twentieth century, and

was occasioned by an increase in the number of horses being kept at the stables.

## MK709 THE POST MILL

During 1977, an isolated earthwork standing on high ground (78m. OD) some 400m. east of the village (Fig. 5) became available for excavation, the site being intended for the construction of a sports field. This earthwork (Fig. 42) consisted of a 'C' shaped ditch about 30m. in diameter, encompassing a mound which stood no higher than the surrounding field, and was situated close by the medieval track from Great Linford to Newport Pagnell, now a public footpath. The earthwork appeared to post-date the ridge-and-furrow in the field.

Turning to the documentary sources, it was clear that this earthwork was the windmill mound shown on the 1641 estate map (Fig. 4), which clearly identifies the site as 'Windmill Hill', although no mill structure is shown on it. Two adjacent fields also have associated names; *Furlong between Windmill Hades* and *Furlong on Upper Side Windmill Hades*. In addition the name *Mylleway*, clearly a route leading to the windmill, is recorded as early as 1477 (BuCRO D/U/1/46/1).

A mill, presumably this windmill, is mentioned in 1303 (VCH Bucks. IV, 389), when William le Waleys and Cecilia his wife settled land in Linford, consisting of a messuage, a mill and 120 acres of land, on their son John. The le Waleys had bought an estate in Linford (which later became Walshes Manor) before 1285 (BuCRO D/U/1/70), at which time there was no mention of a mill in the transaction. Later documents giving details of land and property in Walshes Manor and dating from 1454 (BuCRO D/U/1/33/1) and 1465 (BuCRO D/U/1/19/2) do not mention the mill. A rental of the manor dated 1505-6 (BuCRO D/U/2/11) lists a horse mill, evidently a different structure.

For the purpose of excavation the site was divided into four quadrants. Topsoil was removed by machine from those to the north and south, an area totalling about 450 sq. m. covering large areas of the ditch. A further area of about 80 sq. m. was later stripped by hand to allow excavation of the top of the mound. The ditch surrounding the mound was about 9-12m. wide, with shallow sloping sides. To the west, it was cut to a depth of 1.6m. below the top of the mound, becoming shallower to the east. The fill contexts (Contexts 3 and 4), were very varied, consisting of mixed layers of silty material and both clay and gravel soils. This diversity of fill, coupled with the presence of Victorian, Medieval, Saxon and Roman pottery, suggests that the ditch was used for dumping soil from the nineteenth-century gravel

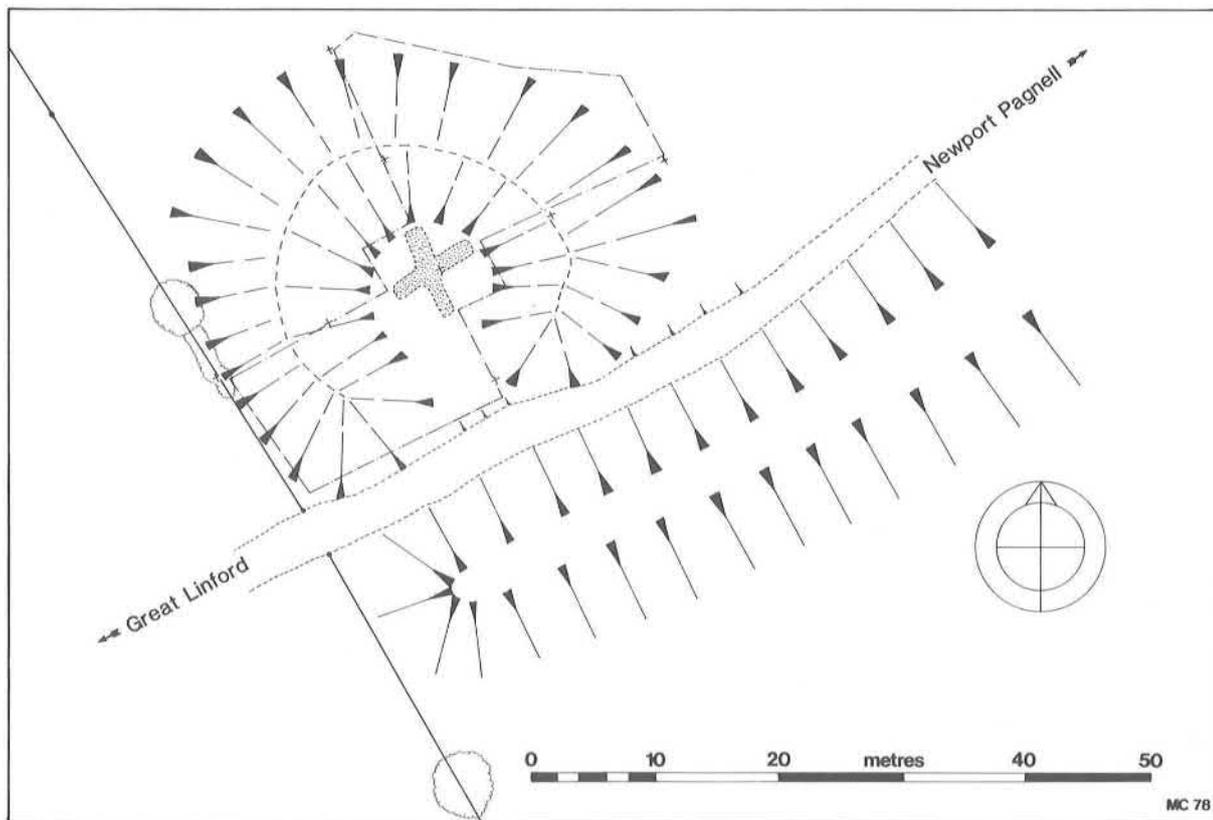


Figure 42: Great Linford post mill: earthworks and excavated area.

extraction marked by mounds and hollows in the adjacent field to the east. It was apparent that the mound, which consisted of undisturbed gravel subsoil, had not been deliberately built up, but was created by the excavation of the surrounding ditch.

Removal of topsoil from the mound revealed a cross-shaped feature with arms (Contexts 7 and 8) about 4m. in length, cut into the gravel subsoil (Fig. 43). These arms (Plate 21) proved to be trenches about 1.0m. deep and 1.4m. wide, filled with a densely packed mixture of clay and gravel containing fourteenth-century pottery. Below this were the remains of once substantial timbers encased in limestone packing. The east-west beam was 4.9m. in length, with an estimated original section some 300mm. square, while the north-south beam appeared to have been in two parts, upper and lower, each about 300 × 100mm. in section, separated by large limestone slabs and mortised into the larger east-west beam. The wood used for these timbers was mature oak (*Quercus sp.*).

Samples of timber from both beams were submitted for radiocarbon dating to the AERE at Harwell, via the DoE Ancient Monuments Laboratory. The date range given for the upper half of the north-south timber was AD1200 ± 70

(HAR 3121), whilst the east-west timber was dated to AD1220 ± 80 (HAR 3122). The pottery from the cross trenches was mainly of the fourteenth century, with a few sherds probably of late fourteenth to early fifteenth-century date.

From the archaeological and documentary evidence, it seems that the site was certainly that of a timber post mill, constructed during the latter part of the thirteenth or very early in the fourteenth century. An artist's reconstruction is shown in Fig. 44. The mill was probably erected by William le Waleys shortly after his acquisition of the land in Linford, about 1285. The archaeological evidence suggests that there was little activity on the site after the early fifteenth century, and this is confirmed by the absence of references to the mill in the mid sixteenth-century documents relating to Walshes Manor. The precise date of demolition of the mill is uncertain but it is evident that it was dismantled; excavation revealed no evidence of any upright timbers, either main post or quarter bars, resting on the cross-trees, suggesting that they had been pulled up rather than broken off at ground level.

On the evidence currently available the Great Linford post mill is probably the earliest site of its type so far excavated in Britain (Zeevat 1980).

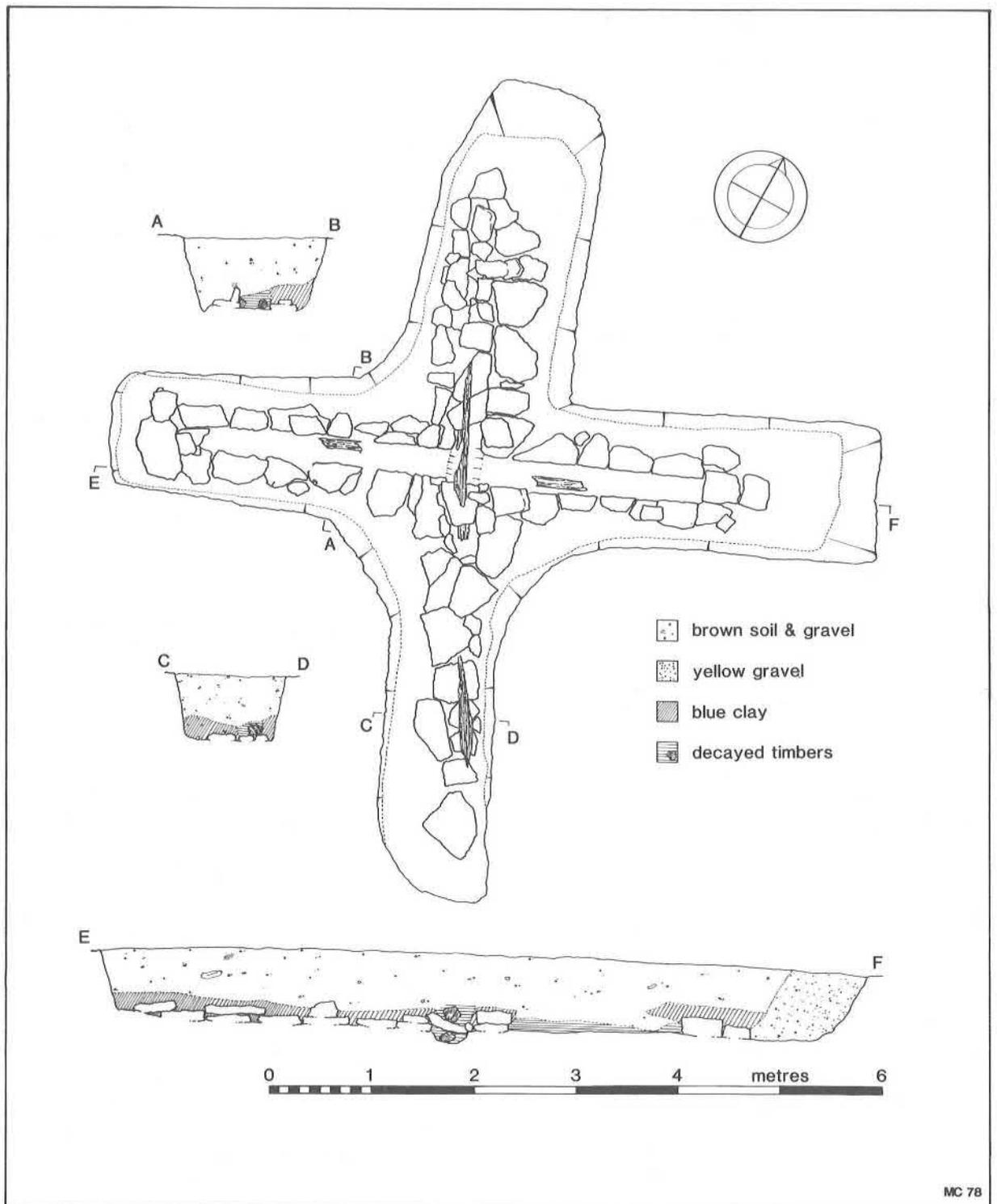


Figure 43: Great Linford post mill: plans and sections of cross-trenches.

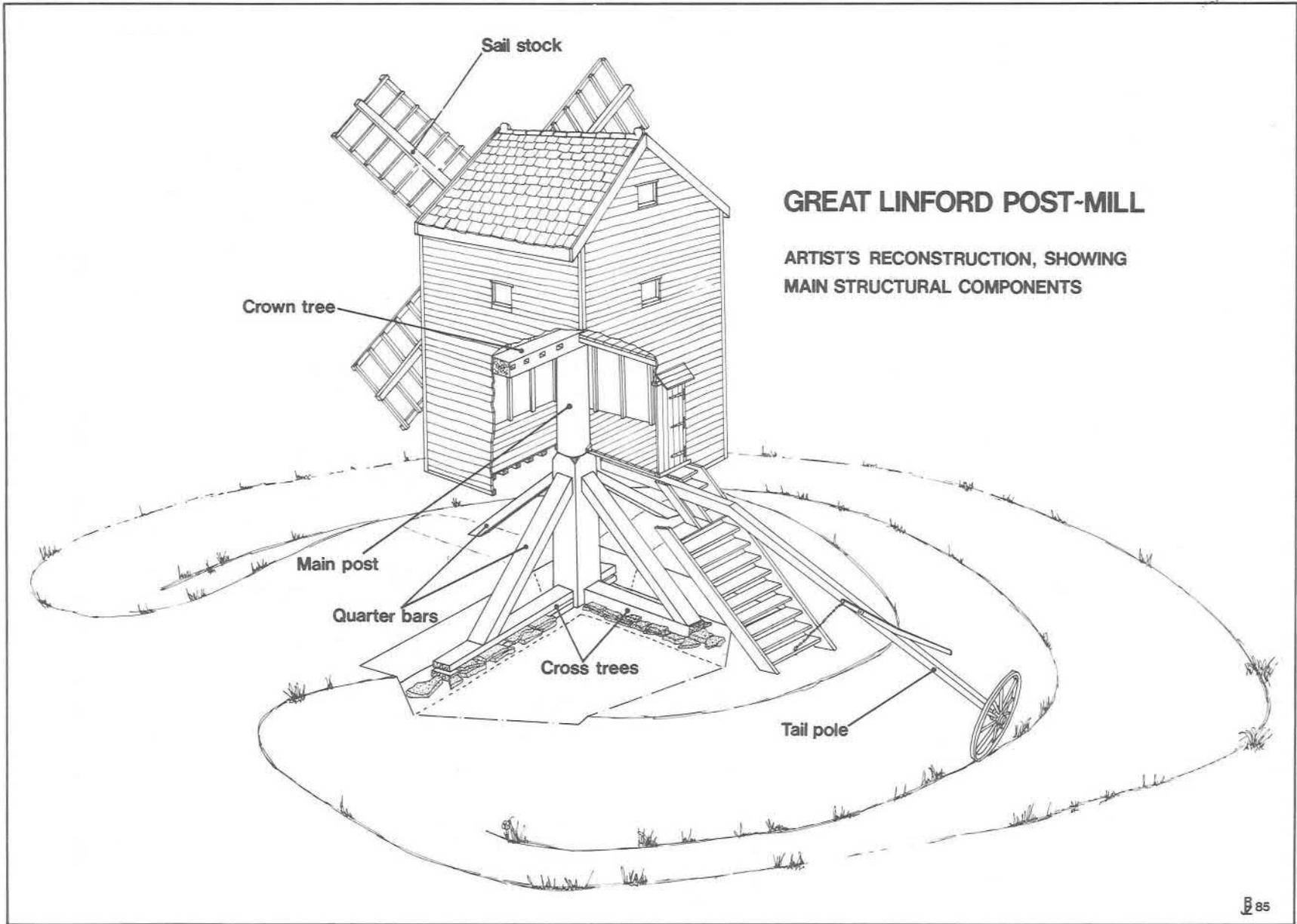


Figure 44: Great Linford post mill: reconstruction.

# MK714 THE CHURCH

R. J. Williams

## Introduction

A watching brief and limited excavations during the 1980 re-ordering, together with a more detailed analysis of the existing structure, and documentary research, established a succession of building phases (Fig. 45) from a previously unknown late Saxon stone double-celled structure to the present day. Traces of early and middle Saxon occupation were found in a buried soil beneath the medieval floors. Evidence for re-ordering in the late fifteenth century, including re-roofing, furnishing and re-flooring was found. In particular, part of a Little Brickhill decorated tiled pavement was uncovered in the nave. A fine previously unrecorded medieval timber roof, and a painted coat of arms of Charles II (Plate 30) were examined above the nave. Two important thirteenth-century burials

were excavated in the churchyard; one of a priest accompanied by a pewter chalice and paten (Plate 23), the other marked by a large gravemarker and decorative carved headstone (Plate 24).

Great Linford church is dedicated to St Andrew, and forms an integral part of the manor grounds, landscaped in the early eighteenth century (Fig. 37). The grounds also contain the manor house, almshouses and school house, pavilions, barns and otterhound kennels.

## Extent of re-ordering

Pipe laying in the manor grounds in 1979 brought to light several finds of medieval Brickhill-type floor tiles (MK797) and a builder's test trench in the churchyard adjacent to the north-east buttress of the north aisle in the same year produced a rim sherd of developed St Neots ware. No other finds

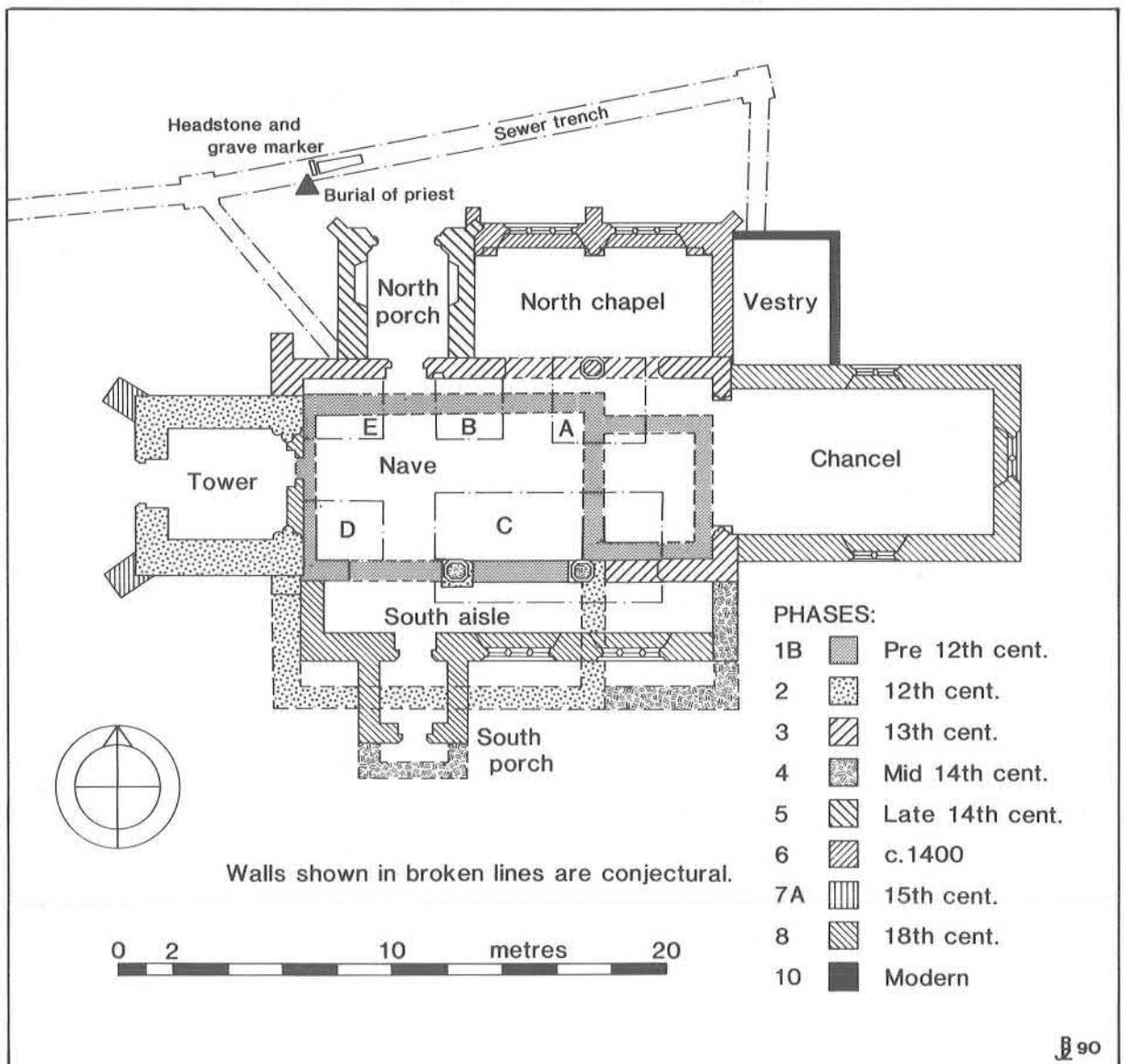


Figure 45: Great Linford church: phase plan

are known from the immediate vicinity of the church, and no excavations had ever taken place within the church prior to 1980. The church was last re-ordered in 1884–5, and had remained almost totally unaltered since. Because of an expanding congregation, and the delapidated condition of the interior and its fittings, a major restoration and redecoration project was carried out in 1980.

The nave roof was repaired and reroofed in 1986, and extensive stonework repairs were carried out. The interior restoration consisted of the removal of all the existing seating including pews and choir stalls, and the oak board-and-joist floor. Loose material below the timber floors in the nave had to be removed until a solid base was encountered on which to lay a firm foundation for a new flagstone floor, flush with that remaining elsewhere in the church. The Victorian underfloor heating system of brick-built ducts leading from a boiler room was adapted and extended diagonally across the south part of the nave from the central aisle, necessitating the excavation of a deep trench across the nave.

The introduction of toilet and washing facilities to the vestry, north porch/kitchen and parvise necessitated excavation of a service trench across the churchyard. The water pipe entered near the east gate and followed the footpath to the new vestry. The sewer pipe cut across the north part of the graveyard and linked up with a nearby spur of the Linford main drainage system outside the west boundary wall.

Preparations for redecorating and rewiring necessitated the lifting of several flagstones in the chancel and north chapel, the removal of several early eighteenth century wall panels at the west end and the unblocking of a window in the tower, to gain access to the nave roof. Very little machinery could be usefully employed on site, owing to lack of space and limited access, and most of the work was undertaken by a small team of three to four builders.

#### *Excavation and architectural survey*

The nature and circumstances of the building work precluded any large scale planned excavations. However, permission was obtained from the church authorities and the rector, Christopher Drummond, for a watching brief to be kept by the writer, and for limited archaeological excavations to take place where necessary. Initially this work took the form of removing the loose early eighteenth century rubble beneath the oak boarded floor although, as work progressed, delays with the building work allowed more detailed examination and excavation of five areas in the nave (Areas A – E, Figs. 46 and 47, Plates 22 and

27). Work in the graveyard was limited to watching the excavation of the trenches and rapidly excavating and recording the stone gravemarker and burial with chalice and paten, both of which were discovered by the builders.

Most of the work was carried out by the writer over a period of about four months from February to June 1980, as areas became available for excavation. In all, approximately sixty square metres of the nave were excavated. Sieving of the rubble was employed in Areas A and B, and although considered a success the technique was not used in the other areas owing to a lack of time. During the period of re-ordering Brian Giggins examined and recorded the architectural details of the church fabric, and much of his work has aided the recognition and dating of individual phases.

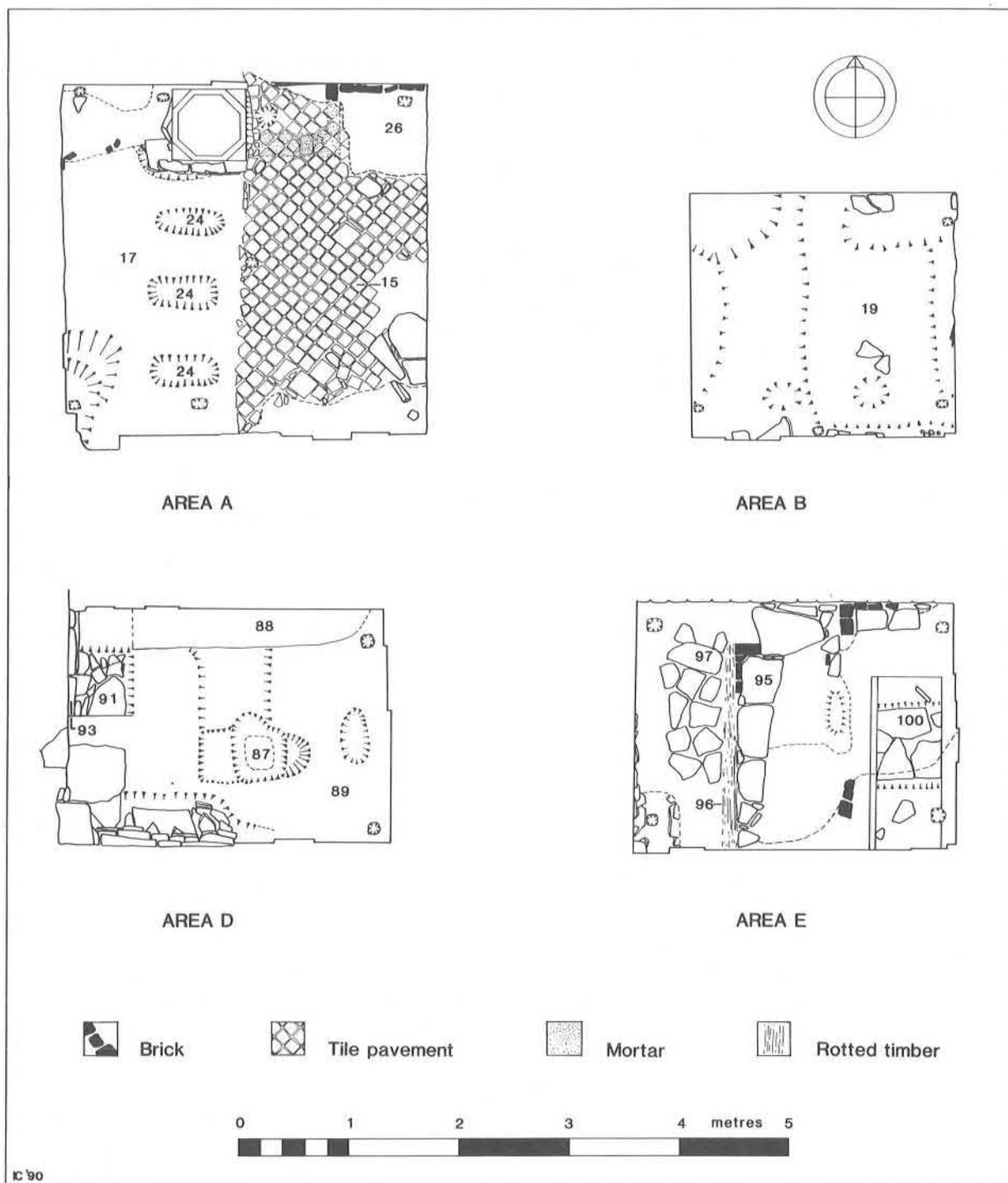
The medieval tiled floor discovered in the nave (Fig. 113) has been consolidated, and a brick retaining wall and removable oak floor constructed for ease of access and viewing.

In the following outline description of the major phases of development of the church an attempt has been made to correlate the archaeological discoveries with the architectural details, and where possible with any documentary evidence. The limitations of the archaeological work are very apparent, since little exploratory work, other than uncovering visible structural elements, could be carried out.

#### *Phase 1A; Saxon, pre-church occupation*

The extension of the underfloor warm air gas-fired heating system from a point just inside the south porch necessitated, after the removal of the loose sub floor deposits, the excavation of a new heating duct trench (Fig. 47). This trench, approximately 6m. long and 300mm. wide by 300mm. deep, was excavated by the writer for the contractors. Apart from cutting through the remains of several medieval floors, most of the material removed was a dark grey buried soil (Context 55) which had been truncated at the time of building of the first church. The soil structure analysis (p. 229ff, below) suggests that this deposit had remained undisturbed for some time. It was excavated in three 100mm. spits (Contexts 56, 57 and 58). At the south-west end the trench was deepened to a depth of 450mm. below the surface of the soil, at which point limestone bedrock was encountered.

The buried soil contained fifty sherds of early to middle Saxon pottery and a single late Saxon sherd, as well as numerous fragmented animal bones which showed the same distribution pattern as the pottery, and several fragments of iron, including a chain link. At no other point in the



46: Great Linford church: areas A, B, D and E.

church was the buried soil examined, although it was encountered in the sides of the Phase 8 scaffold pits, where it averaged 400–500mm. deep, and also in the sides of robbed out wall construction trenches. The compacted top of the buried soil was noted in Areas B and C, where wear of the later mortar floors had reduced the levels.

A buried soil was also recorded in the sewer trench to the north of the church, where it was

related closely to the decorated part of the early medieval headstone. The levels of the buried soil within the church did correspond physically to that outside to within several centimetres. Under the circumstances it was not possible to relate any finds to this buried soil, although seventeen early to middle Saxon sherds were found in the spoil from the trench, including one decorated sherd and a single late Saxon sherd.

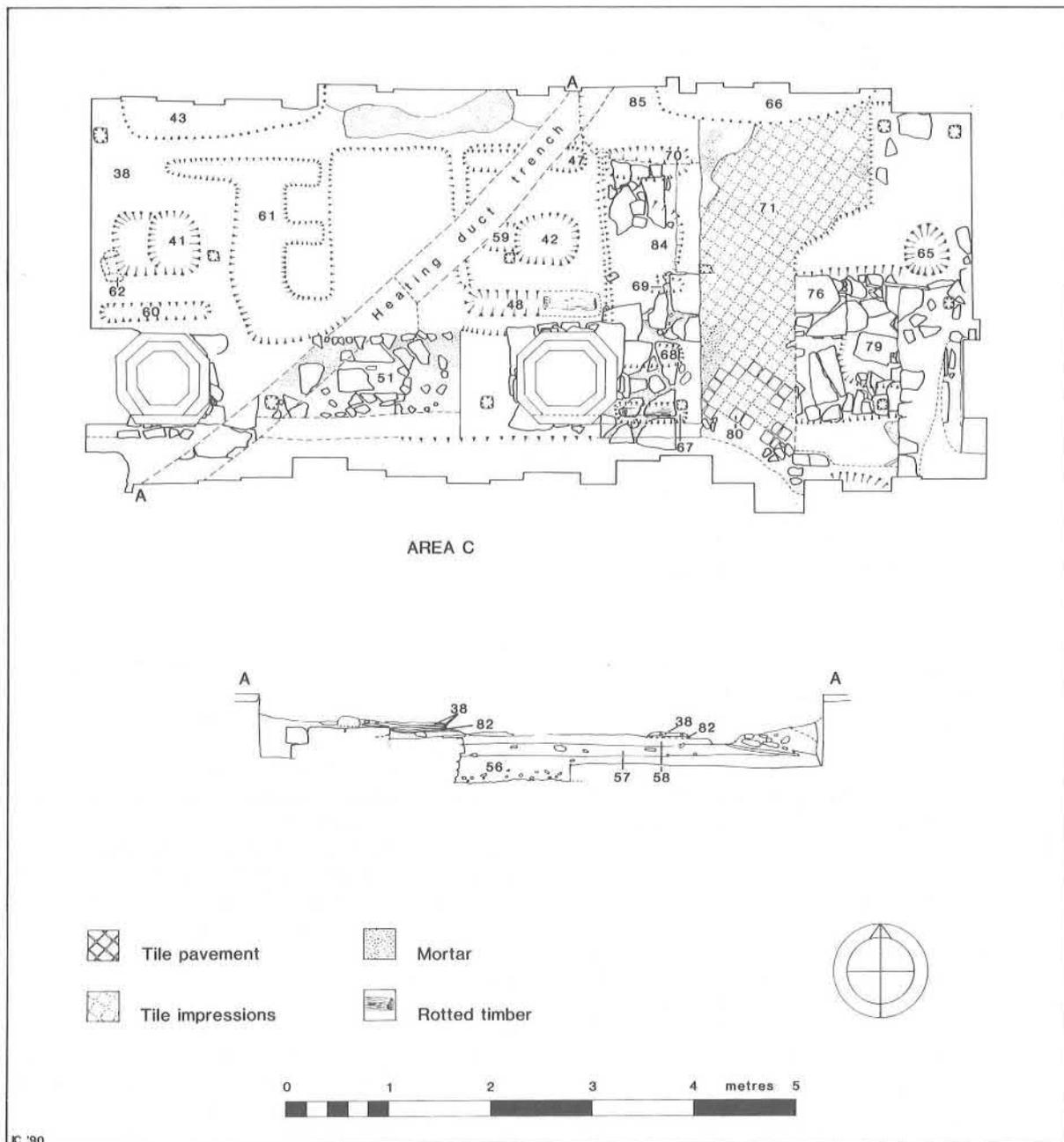


Figure 47: Great Linford church: area C.

Context 55 appears to have represented the earliest phase of human activity in the area of the church, as no Roman or prehistoric evidence was found, with the exception of a small flint waste flake and a residual sherd of Roman grey ware, both from this context.

The volume of early to middle Saxon pottery from such a limited area within the church is considerably greater than could be expected from an arable soil. In fact, the quantity of pottery per excavated soil volume compares favourably with the excavated fill of sunken-featured buildings at Pennyland (Williams, forthcoming).

The detailed analysis of the stratified sherds from the buried soil indicates that the assemblage contains both early and middle Saxon elements dating from c.450–850. Whether this represents continuous activity or reflects two separate phases is uncertain from the limited evidence available. It is quite clear from both the volume and condition of the sherds of this period that it does represent pre-church occupation, almost certainly contemporary with the more extensive settlement at Pennyland (Overlay 2). This suggestion is reinforced by the discovery of seventeen further sherds of this period from the sewer trench in the churchyard, and thirteen residual sherds deposited

in the medieval and later layers. However, it is worth noting that no early to middle Saxon sherds were found during the excavations of the medieval manor house, 90m. to the south of the church, indicating that any such settlement must have been of limited extent compared to that at Pennyland.

A stone feature (Context 62) cut by scaffold pit 41 at the extreme west end of Area C was sealed beneath all the early compacted mortar floors and had cut buried soil 55. Three large rectangular stones had been rammed into a narrow pit, (the fourth had been removed by pit 41) forming the sides of an approximately square void 200mm. across, tapering downwards to a maximum of 400mm. deep. Interpretation and dating must remain tentative as this was the only feature of this type found, although others may have remained beneath the later floors, which were for the most part undisturbed. This post packing is certainly one of the earliest features on site, and may be evidence for a timber building, possibly a late Saxon church.

Only two late Saxon sherds were found during the work, one from the base of the truncated buried soil layer (Context 58) and one from a disturbed layer (Context 64) in Area C. Both were of shell-tempered Maxey type ware, attributed to the earlier stages of its development in the later ninth and tenth centuries. Whether these sherds relate to pre-church occupation or to Phase 2 is uncertain.

#### *Phase 1B; Late Saxon to early Norman*

The first recognisable stone church on the site consisted of a simple rectangular nave 6.3 × 10.3m., with a chancel approximately 5m. wide and of unknown length (Fig. 45). Evidence for this building was located at six points within the nave of the present church.

In Area E (Fig. 46) a narrow trench revealed a wall 650mm. wide (Context 100), running east-west constructed of large ashlar limestone blocks laid in a dry gravel matrix. In the south-west corner of Area E, a trench dug in haste before backfilling by the builders confirmed that this wall turned to the south, with its western side overlain by the tower. This wall (Context 91), presumed to be the western end of the early nave, was again located in Area D overlain by the tower, and was constructed of limestone blocks in an orange sandy gravel matrix. Unfortunately by the time this phase had been noted, Areas A and B had been backfilled, removing any opportunity of locating the north side of the early nave or chancel.

Area C (Fig. 47 and Plate 22) provided the best evidence for this phase of the building. Excavation for the heating duct and clearing of the floors re-

vealed the footings of a wall running east-west between the columns of the south aisle. The wall (Context 51) averaged 800mm. wide, with the upper two courses set in a gingery brown mortar, and the lower levels made of random or loose rubble packed into a construction trench which had been dug through the Saxon soil and rested on the limestone bedrock.

Slightly to the east of the easternmost south aisle column was a narrow wall (Context 84), 700mm. deep, running north-south. For the most part this wall had been robbed out, and only a few ashlar slabs set in a loose gravelly matrix were found in the base of the trench. At its southern end, the wall turned at a right angle to the east to form Wall 76, made up of large irregular ashlar blocks set in a fine gravel with a carefully packed rubble core. This wall was only 610mm. wide, and much better preserved than Wall 84. Unfortunately, at the junction of Walls 51, 84 and 76, a later wall thought to be the east end of the earliest south aisle had destroyed any visible relationships.

The available evidence suggests the existence of an early double-celled building. The similarity of the dimensions and nature of Walls 100, 91, 84 and 76 indicates that the two structures are contemporary, although it is equally possible to suggest that the building may have started as a single cell before being extended, probably in a westerly direction. Although Wall 51 is thought to be on the line of the southern wall of the original nave, its different character can be accounted for by the fact that it was rebuilt when the nave was enlarged in the thirteenth century (Phase 3).

#### *Phase 2; twelfth century*

In the twelfth century, a low square tower of simple design was added to the earlier nave and chancel. Although no archaeological evidence was forthcoming for its date, and it has undergone many later alterations, the pairs of monolithic round headed windows on all four sides of the second stage are attributable to the twelfth century. Evidence from the western edges of Areas D and E indicated that the western wall of the earlier nave was demolished, and the tower built centrally to the nave. Traces of the roof line of the original narrow nave may be seen surviving in the stonework of the eastern side of the tower.

It is also possible that a south aisle was also added to the nave at this period. In the south-east external corner of the tower, an apparent buttress may be the remains of the west wall of the early south aisle. Traces of the eastern wall of this period were found beneath the eastern column base of the existing south aisle. The remains of what may have been a contemporary column base of this aisle were found as an offset masonry base,

south-east of the western column of the existing south aisle. From this limited evidence, the twelfth-century south aisle would have been approximately twelve metres long, and of unknown width.

### *Phase 3; thirteenth century*

In the thirteenth century the first major alterations were made to what, until then, had been a typically enlarged late Saxon and Norman structure. The nave was widened to its present width of 8.3m. by demolishing the north wall of the earlier nave, and the complete demolition of the earlier chancel enabled the nave to be lengthened towards the east.

The dating for this phase of work is entirely based upon the architectural details of the north wall of the nave. After the demolition of the earlier chancel the south wall of the nave was extended to the east, and turned to the north to form a chancel arch at the same location as the present one (Fig. 47). The remains of this wall extension (Context 79) consist of a stone footing 800mm. wide, of large drystone blocks laid in a construction trench, located in the south-east corner of Area C. The apparent variation in construction technique of this wall to Wall 51, further to the west, suggests a different and almost certainly later period of construction.

Although no evidence survives, it is also probable that a new chancel was constructed at this period, of similar dimensions to the existing one, which was rebuilt in the early eighteenth century (Phase 8). This view is further reinforced by the discovery of the traces of a wide chancel arch, exposed in the north-east and south-east corners of the present nave when the eighteenth-century panelling was removed. Unfortunately, no detailed record of this could be made before replastering took place. It is also probable that the pointed tower arch was inserted at this period, although later blocking has obscured much of the architectural detail. Fortunately, part of a thirteenth-century painted red scroll has survived beneath the later limewash on the upper part of the tower arch. With no evidence to suggest otherwise, it is likely that the earlier south aisle was retained during the rebuilding of the nave.

The extensive rebuilding work of this period cannot be ascribed to any one person in particular, although it may have been carried out by the Gibbewine or the de Linford families (p. 26, above).

### *Phases 4 and 5; mid to late fourteenth century*

After the major reconstruction work of the thirteenth century only smaller additions were made during the next century. No archaeological discoveries pertaining to this phase of works were

made, hence the briefness of the following account.

Towards the middle of the century the south aisle was extended towards the east, and an arcade of three bays springing from octagonal columns was inserted. A south porch was added to the enlarged south aisle, although with the exception of several architectural details reused in the later rebuild, no trace of this porch has survived. The chancel arch was rebuilt in its present form, slightly narrower than its predecessor, springing from responds composed of three clustered shafts with richly moulded capitals.

Both of these alterations were affected by rebuilding work in the early eighteenth century. Whereas the chancel arch remained intact, the extended south aisle was demolished and rebuilt much narrower, although its east end retains traces of the fourteenth century work.

Towards the later part of the fourteenth century the north porch was added to the nave. Its slightly ogival, richly moulded external arch, fine sex-partite vaulted ceiling with parvise above, and chamfered ribs springing from carved heads and meeting at a foliate boss in the centre, make it one of the most competent architectural elements of the church's medieval workmanship. The later fourteenth century must have been a time of relative prosperity for the lord of the manor after the upheavals of the Black Death. A clerical return made in 1378-80 of fifteen marks places St Andrew's in the wealthier part of the Newport Deanery (PRO,E.179.35.12).

### *Phase 6; c.1400*

As with Phases 4/5, Phase 6 was recognised solely through architectural analysis. In about 1400, soon after the north porch had been constructed, the east window of the porch was blocked and a north chapel added to the north side of the nave. The north wall of this chapel retains the original wall arcade of two arches pierced by two large pointed windows. The internal arcade inserted in the north wall of the nave has a single octagonal pillar with fine five-leaf moulding around the capital, and ball flower ornament on the east corbel of the respond.

The wills of Thomas Malyn, 1532 (BuCRO D/A/We/3/120) and Elizabeth Malyn, 1542 (BuCRO D/A/Wf/1/112) refer to a painting of 'our blessed lady' in the chapel, and from the late seventeenth century onwards it became the private resting place of the lords of the manor and his family. The construction of such a chapel in c.1400 and perhaps even the north porch slightly earlier attests a degree of wealth presumably related to the lord of the manor or his tenant.

The excavation of the earliest recognised manor house 90m. to the south-east of the church showed its establishment to date to the late fourteenth century. Whilst an earlier manor undoubtedly existed nearby, the building of one so close to the church and the subsequent construction of a highly decorative north porch and north chapel would perhaps indicate a new and wealthier tenant. It is quite conceivable that the north chapel was a private chapel for the manor house.

#### *Phase 7A; fifteenth century*

By the fifteenth century the church had reached its optimum development in terms of size and plan. Work on the church in this period was confined to improvements and minor alterations to the existing structure and in particular to modernisation of the internal decor.

The main improvements were made to the tower and nave. The two-light windows were inserted in the west wall of the tower, and the large diagonal buttresses add to its lower stages. The upper part of the nave was considerably altered, with the addition of four clerestory windows along each side and the construction of an embattled parapet to conceal the roof line. Considerable use was made at this period of contrasting brown sandstone, as opposed to the lighter local limestones used during other periods.

The assumption that the upper part of the nave was substantially altered at this period was proven beyond doubt during the building work of 1980. Until this period no part of the nave roof had been visible in living memory, having been obscured by the insertion of the early eighteenth-century lath and plaster coved ceiling. When access to the roof space was made for the purposes of running electricity cables, the eighteenth-century ceiling was found to conceal a fine late fifteenth century oak roof. This roof was of low pitch king-post type supported on moulded tie beams with finely carved central bosses. With the exception of the most easterly truss, set into the wall over the chancel arch, the bosses are of foliate and floral designs, and still retain traces of their original painting and gilding. The most easterly boss carved into the western side of the tie beam differs in that it is a facial representation of a 'green man' (Plate 29), the popular medieval woodland deity, with foliage issuing from the sides of his face.

On removing the oak floorboards laid during the 1707 restoration, particularly in the north part of the nave, a number of the joists laid on rubble were found to be reused timbers with complex mouldings, rebates and mortices. In addition, wooden piles driven through the earlier floor levels to help support the joists were also found to have been reused timbers. A detailed examination

(p. 220, below) has shown these timbers to be sections of late fifteenth-century pews, and at least one screen. The piles were mainly the bases of carved ornamental stiles and muntins from the pews, with the exception of one larger moulded piece retaining vivid red and white pigment, thought to be the side of a screen. The existence of a screen in the sixteenth century is attested by the wills of Robert Fysher of 1541, (BuCRO D/A/We/4/37) in which fourpence was left to the rood loft, and John Flundell of 1546, (BuCRO D/A/Wf/1/269) who left '2 Bushells of Barlie' to the rood loft. The reused floor joists consisted of moulded hand rails and sills from the pews, and the moulded top rail of a screen with traces of pigment also surviving.

Further evidence for the refurbishment of the nave in the late fifteenth century came from the discovery of a substantial section of a Little Brickhill tile pavement at the eastern end of the nave in Areas A and C (Plate 27). The tiles had been laid at a forty-five degree axis to the line of the nave. Only the western limit of the pavement was revealed, aligned north-south, corresponding to the eastern side of the north aisle column. Here, triangular tiles had been used to leave a clearly defined edge to the floor. Assuming the tiles extended east to the chancel arch, the pavement would have been at least 4m. in length. The extent of the floor in a north-south direction could not be ascertained. The insertion of a brick built late seventeenth-century vault in the north chapel immediately north of Area A had destroyed any chance to establish whether the floor extended into the north chapel. The remaining tiles at the south edge of Area C indicated that the floor had originally extended into the south aisle, but again later disturbance made clarification difficult. The centre of the nave was not excavated, but it is probable that the pavement had extended between Areas A and C. Whilst the overall width of the pavement could not be ascertained, assuming a minimum width of 8.3m. and a length of 4m. the floor would have contained approximately 2,500 tiles.

The pavement (Context 15) in Area A was well preserved and approximately 225 tiles or partial tiles survived (p. 211, below). Whilst the design was principally of Mynard's Type 10, (Mynard 1975) a smaller number of Types 20, 21 and 22 and several plain tiles had been inserted, presumably as repairs at a later date (Plate 28). The southern edge of the floor had been damaged with the insertion of the Victorian heating duct, although patching in this area indicated even earlier disturbance near the centre, perhaps representing the insertion of burials as noted along the north edge of Area C. A rectangular depression (Context 26) 700 × 800mm. had been dug in the north east corner of Area A, disturbing the tiles but leaving

the mortar bedding in situ. Whilst the surviving area of tiles was small, it was noticeable that the western edge of the pavement in Area A was less worn than elsewhere.

The pavement (Context 80) at the east end of Area C (Plate 22) had been substantially disturbed, and only the mortar bedding (Context 71) survived. Of the remaining fifteen and a half tiles surviving at the southern edge of this part of the floor, all but one were of Type 22, the exception being a triangular edging tile of Type 21. The mortar bedding survived intact for over half the available area in Area C. After careful cleaning, tile impressions were visible in the mortar, indicating that tiles had been removed only just prior to the area having been covered with rubble during the 1707 work. Had the mortar been used as a floor no trace of tile impressions would have survived. A Bishop's visitation of 1637 (BuCRO D/A/U/15) does however note ". . . pavement in decay on the south side", indicating that for an unknown reason the south part of the nave saw more wear than the north part.

From the available evidence it would appear that the north side of the nave had been paved in tiles of Type 10 and the south side with Type 22. The useage of tiles of Types 20 and 21 together with the discovery of unstratified examples of Types 7, 29 and both plain black and cream may indicate the existence elsewhere in the church of a floor of a different design. Small exploratory trenches in the north chapel and chancel, the most likely places for such pavements, only located the tops of eighteenth-century brick-built barrel vaults.

The most important aspect of the discovery of what at the time was only the second surviving Little Brickhill tile pavement in position is its relationship to a nearby monumental brass. This brass, dedicated to Roger Hunt who died in 1473, and his wife Joan, is now located in the centre aisle between the pavements in Areas A and C. Although raised during subsequent church restorations and reflooring, its location central to the floor suggests it is unlikely to have ever been moved far from its original position. Part of the inscription of the brass reads:

"Here lieth I downen under this stone Roger Hunt  
and Johane his wiffe. Of whose propre costes alone  
This Chirche was paved soon aft' ye liffe".

That the Brickhill pavement is that paid for by Roger Hunt in or soon after 1473 seems beyond doubt. Such a date provides the earliest and only firm date for the production of floor tiles at Little Brickhill, an industry previously thought to have been predominantly of early sixteenth century date, and confirms the earlier dating suggested by Mynard (1975, 74). A silver penny (No.42) of Edward IV (1461-1484) found on the mortar floor

(Context 17) adjacent to the tiles supports the relationship of the pavement and inscription.

The survival of this fine quality floor at the east end of the nave makes the absence of durable floors over the rest of the nave more noticeable. For the most part in Areas A, B, C, D and E, apart from later disturbance, the buried soil of Phase 1A was sealed beneath very fine lenses of compacted dust (Context 82), usually grey in colour with fine bands of creamy coloured mortar no more than 2mm. thick, and a more substantial layer of varying thickness of lime mortar (Contexts 17, 19, 38 and 89). This cream coloured mortar averaged 60mm. deep, and contained occasional small pebbles and thin stones. In the better preserved areas the mortar and surface stones exhibited a smooth worn surface.

The total absence of any related artefactual dating evidence makes it impossible to date these floors accurately. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the tile pavement (Context 80) and mortar bedding (Context 71) sealing Context 38 at the west end of Area C. A *terminus post quem* is provided by the mortar floor having sealed Walls 51, 84, 76 and 79, which range in date from pre-twelfth to thirteenth century. The thin dusty levels must be of thirteenth-century date and later, whilst the mortar floor is likely to have been laid in the fourteenth century, perhaps contemporary with the construction of the north porch and chapel. With occasional patching, as was evident in all the exposed areas, it would have provided a durable and utilitarian floor until and probably beyond the laying of the tile pavement.

In Areas A and C a series of parallel and inter-linking hollows were noted in the mortar floor. In Area A (Fig. 46) the hollows (Context 24) were sub-rectangular in shape, 650 × 300mm. and 100mm. deep. In Area C (Fig. 47) hollows 67, 68, 69 and 70 were identical, and continued the alignment across the nave. To the immediate west of these were three further larger rectangular hollows (Contexts 47, 48, 59), 1.2 × 0.28m., separated from a large rectangular depression 1.8 × 1.2m. by a narrow ridge 150mm. wide. To the west of this, a similar pattern of three hollows continued, inter-connected by a depression (Context 61) aligned north-south. Areas B and D were too disturbed for the impressions to have survived, and in Area E a fragment of seventeenth century-floor (Context 95/97) overlay the earlier mortar floor.

Slots 48 and 67 retained traces of wood, with that in the latter recorded as 120mm. wide, suggesting they were either the bases of wooden pews, or joists supporting a timber floor. The latter hypothesis is unlikely, taking into account their size and spacing. The discovery of fragments of late fifteenth-century pews reused as joists in

1707 (p. 114, above) suggests the slots were sockets left by the wooden sills of pews set into what may have been an earlier floor.

The tile floor laid around 1473 was paid for by Roger Hunt, but it is uncertain who funded the work on the upper part of the nave, including the fine oak roof. The construction of the pews and a rood screen was also probably contemporary with this work. All these improvements suggest a wealthy patron(s) of the church in Great Linford in the late fifteenth century, although no documentation or other evidence has survived.

#### *Phase 7B; sixteenth to seventeenth century*

Architecturally, little if anything is known to have happened during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rebuilding and enlargement of the church up to the late fourteenth century together with the interior refurbishments of the late fifteenth century stood the church in good stead for nearly two centuries.

A Bishop's visitation of 1519 (Hamilton Thompson 1940, 51) found "Church in good order and Rector non-resident". By the earlier part of the seventeenth century maintenance seemed to have declined. A church inspection of 1637 (BuCRO D/A/V/15) records

"... pavement in decay on the south side. The Crosse and steeple wanting. The Church and the Steeple Wants pargettinge; Some windows of the Chancell partly boarded up".

A further visitation of 1678 (BuCRO D/A/V/15) stating "the Church and Chancel want plastering" seems to imply that little had been done in the previous forty years. Two fragments of the same stone window mullion, removed in 1707 and buried beneath the floor, are covered with graffiti, including an initial 'N' or 'R' and '1640' together with a knife sharpening socket, again indicating little respect for the church and its fittings during this period.

The medieval mortar and tile floors survived and were in everyday use during the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century. The reference to the tile floor in the Bishop's visitation of 1637 illustrates this, as did the discovery of two bronze reckoning counters, one (No.61) of Hans Krauwinkel (1580–1610), the other (No.65) an illegible late sixteenth-century Nuremberg example, lying in the dust above the medieval mortar floor (Context 38) in Area C, below the 1707 floor make up (Context 37).

In Area E in the north west corner of the nave were the remains of a poor quality stone and brick floor (Context 95/97) laid on a bed of sandy mortar

(Context 98) overlying the medieval mortar floor (Context 89). The style and size of the bricks, 200 × 105 × 60mm., indicated a seventeenth-century date, and they were later sealed beneath the 1707 floor. A single rotted timber (Context 96) 1.9m. long and at least 100mm. wide around which the floor had been laid was further evidence for the sills of earlier benches both let into the earlier floor and left in situ during later reflooring.

The floor of the north chapel was substantially disturbed in the late seventeenth century by the construction of a large brick burial vault for Sir William Pritchard and his family, later used by the Uthwatt family. The side retaining wall of this vault, the wooden floor of which collapsed in 1865 and again in 1962, was located on the north edge of Area A.

The only other known addition to the church in the late seventeenth century was a fine painting of a large coat of arms of Charles II (1660–85) above the chancel arch, spanning the entire width of the nave (Plate 30). The painting, damaged when the coved ceiling was inserted in 1707, is still brilliantly coloured, and consists of the Royal coat of arms supported by the lion and unicorn, enclosed within mock drapes and flanked by the thistle and rose. Only the numerals '16' have survived, but the coat of arms is most likely to date to 1678 or soon after, when Sir William Pritchard set about rebuilding the manor and landscaping the grounds. His attentions were mainly focused on the construction of the present manor house as illustrated by the payments recorded in the Linford manor accounts of 1681–98 (BuCRO D/U/4/3). However, occasional references are made to work in the church or to materials for the church, indicating there was some degree of refurbishment carried out in the late seventeenth century.

#### *Phase 8; eighteenth century*

By the early eighteenth century even after the repairs carried out by Sir William Pritchard the church must have been in a poor state of repair, reflecting badly on the new lords of the manor. Accordingly, in 1708 an agreement (BuCRO PR/131/2/10) was drawn up between Richard Uthwatt and Daniel King (Sir William Pritchard's nephews) and the Rector, John Coles, for the rebuilding of the chancel. Lipscomb (1847, 223) writing in 1847, states that the entire work cost £1200. Unfortunately, no church building accounts survive for this period. Browne Willis, writing in 1709 (Bodleian, Willis Ms. 68, 102) further refers to the south aisle also having been rebuilt and the wooden fittings in the church renewed with 'deal and panel'.

All these references accord very well with the architectural analysis, which clearly shows the chancel,

south aisle and porch to have been rebuilt in the early eighteenth century, reusing much of the earlier masonry. Since no archaeological work was carried out in these parts of the church, no further information is available. However, excavation in the nave did show that the work was far more extensive than was actually recorded. Four large pits (Contexts 41, 42, 65 and 87) were found in the nave in Areas D (Fig. 46) and C (Fig. 47), in a line 3.5m. apart and 1m. out from the south wall. The pits were oval in shape, up to 800 × 600mm. across and up to 850mm. deep below the top of the medieval mortar floor (Context 38). Several of the pits dug through the buried soil (Context 55) had been cut into the limestone bedrock, and still displayed pick and spade marks. Pit 42 retained a post pipe void 150mm. in diameter. Such pits would have held the upright poles for the timber scaffolding used during the renovation of the nave and the insertion of the coved lath and plaster ceiling immediately beneath the fifteenth-century oak roof. The tracery and glazing of the clerestory windows was also replaced.

The tower did not escape restoration, as the upper crenellated stage was rebuilt and the steeple mentioned in earlier references removed. The west doorway was inserted and the tower arch, cracking and suffering from subsidence of the foundations, was blocked with rough-faced limestone. The footings for this blocking (Context 93) overlying Wall 91 of Phase 1B in Area D (Fig. 46) were found to contain fragments of earlier inscribed stone monuments. Too little of these were visible to attempt any reconstructions.

Another significant alteration to the internal arrangements during the 1707 work was the raising and relaying of the floors. The tile pavements and seventeenth century floor were taken up, or covered by 300mm. of loose rubble, over which were laid either Yorkstone flags or oak boards laid on timber joists set into the loose rubble, supported at either end by timber piles. The areas of boarded floor correspond to Areas A, B, C, D and E, and each area of the nave had new pine pews with mock oak graining affixed to them.

During the reordering, many tons of this rubble (Contexts 1, 2, 12, 34, 36, 37, 103, 104) were removed from the church. Of this, a substantial portion was rapidly seived. The bulk of the material originated from the rebuilding work and replastering, and consisted of stone (including moulded fragments), roof tile (stone and ceramic), plaster and mortar, fragments of disturbed decorated floor tile etc. In addition, a number of artefacts including contemporary pottery, clay pipes and vessel glass were found discarded in the rubble. A single unworn halfpenny dated 1700 of William III (No.27) confirms the date of the deposit. Mention has been made of the reglazing of

parts of the church at this period. Many fragments of painted medieval window glass and sixteenth and seventeenth century plain quarries were also found (p. 217, below).

During the laying of new sewers through the manor grounds in August 1980 a deposit of plain and decorated window glass (MK813) was found lying on a buried soil beneath one metre of eighteenth-century rubble and soil, in front of the eighteenth-century pavilions. Previously, in June 1979, building rubble including a fragment of decorated Little Brickhill floor tile was found in a sewer trench in front of the almshouses. These finds clearly represent the disposal of rubble from the church during the 1707 reordering, and perhaps even the demolition of the medieval manor house (p. 103, above). In the case of the glass, the deposit had been used to fill a hollow in the slope during landscaping works. In addition to contemporary early eighteenth-century finds, a significant amount of the clay pipes and pottery were of mid to late seventeenth-century date. Whilst the quantity of earlier glass is explained by the removal of earlier windows, the earlier 'refuse' is more problematic. Finds of this date are unlikely to have been deposited in the church, and may have been mixed with rubble brought into the church for levelling purposes. The origin of the flagstone floor laid in 1707 is unknown, but may consist of slabs removed from the demolished medieval manor house. The seating plan of this period was carefully recorded in 1883 before it was changed during the 1883–84 restoration, and the walls of the nave, chancel and south aisle were also lined with matching wooden panelling to a height of 1.8m.

The reason for raising the floor level at this period was probably a combination of the need for a more resilient surface, and rising damp resulting from the gradual rise of the churchyard level, as illustrated by the disappearance of the thirteenth century headstone.

#### *Phase 9; Victorian restoration*

The passage of time and changing fashions meant that the excellent workmanship of the early eighteenth century was once again becoming delapidated and antiquated in the eyes of the Victorian congregation. A public appeal was launched to pay for redecoration and reordering, which was carried out between 1883–1884. The detailed architect's brief and accounts of the work have survived and have been deposited at Buckinghamshire Record Office (BuCRO PR/131/3/8).

No major structural alterations were made, with the exception of the construction of an underground boiler room on the east end of the north chapel, and the insertion of heating ducts in the

nave and chancel. Most of the interior works consisted of minor repairs and redecoration. The seating plan inserted during the 1707 reordering was slightly changed, and the pews altered to accord with contemporary design and taste.

#### *Phase 10; modern reordering*

Any restoration work has a limited life, and by the late 1970s it was realised that to fulfill the changing needs of the community the church was in need of redecoration and reordering to accommodate an increasing congregation and to act as a community resource. The major part of this work was funded by a grant from Milton Keynes Development Corporation. Apart from interior decoration, the only major structural alterations were the addition of a much needed vestry above the boiler room, and the replacement of the pews with chairs, necessitating the replacement of the raised oak boarded floors with matching flagstones.

In accordance with modern practice the church was provided with gas, water and sewage services, necessitating the excavation of a single common trench up to 1.4m. deep across the churchyard on the north side of the church.

#### *Burials*

During the course of work within the nave, four graves (Contexts 43, 66, 85 and 88) were located in Areas C (Fig. 47) and D, (Fig. 46) aligned east-west and slightly south of the central paved aisle. Graves 43 and 66 were 2.0m. and 2.15m. long respectively. Their full width was not revealed. Grave 66 had been dug through the Brickhill tile pavement, and must date between 1473 and 1706. Grave 43 is likely to be of the same period. Grave 88 in Area D was in a similar position, but at over 2.6m. long it may represent more than one period of burial. Grave 85 had been sealed beneath the mortar floor 38 and later cut by Grave 66, but had itself cut Wall 84, indicating a date of burial of thirteenth to fourteenth century.

The upper part of the large Pritchard vault in the north chapel was only revealed in side elevation in Area A, and a small exploratory hole in the south east corner of the chapel. Two small holes dug in the chancel by the builders for purposes of running cables revealed the tops of one or more brick barrel vaults.

On the north side of the church a sewer trench averaging 650mm. wide was dug by hand for a distance of 43m. across the graveyard. Connections were also dug from this trench to the new vestry and north porch. The trench was machine dug from the churchyard wall westwards to link up with an existing manhole. At the east end the trench was 800mm. deep, sloping to a depth of

1.5m. at the wall. Shortage of resources and time prevented any detailed examination of the trench or analysis of all the burials encountered. No burials were found to the west of the church wall, indicating the churchyard had never been reduced in size. A minimum of twenty burials were noted in the trench, but many others may have been missed.

Only within a 6m. length of trench to the north west of the north porch were the burials recorded in any detail. Traces of eight skeletons and one other, presumed buried beneath the stone gravemarker, were noted. Most of these burials had been buried into a layer of clay between the soil and limestone bedrock at a depth of between 1.1–1.25m. below the modern ground level. The recognition of a buried medieval soil at a depth of 500–600mm. below existing churchyard levels indicates these supposed medieval graves were only originally up to 600mm. deep, owing to the problems of digging into the underlying limestone bedrock. At the western end of this sample area several irregular flat limestone slabs up to 600mm. long had been laid over at least two burials. At the eastern end of this area of trench, 3.5m. to the immediate north-west of the north porch door, a large tapered block of limestone (Fig. 48, 4) 1.65m. long and 480mm. wide at the west end, narrowing to 325mm. wide at the east end was found, buried with the upper surface 400mm. below existing churchyard level. The block also tapered in thickness from 260mm. at the west end to 200mm. at the east end. All sides of this gravemarker were well finished, with the exception of the underside which had rough tooling marks, and the upper face, which was rough and irregular and had been defaced in antiquity. This large stone had tipped slightly to the south, and several small stones had been pushed underneath this side to act as props.

Standing vertically against the west end of this stone (Plate 24) was a complete decorated thirteenth-century headstone (Fig. 48, 2) held in place by an irregular wedgestone (Fig. 48, 3) This headstone, 540 × 390mm. and 95 mm. thick, had a well preserved floriate cross carved on its west face, and showed signs of setting out and compass marks below the decorated part. The lower level of the decoration and a slight shoulder corresponded closely with a change in layers noted in the side of the excavated trench. Below this level was a very dark grey almost stoneless clayey soil sealed beneath a 500mm. thick layer of very stony brown clay, above which was a 100mm. layer of black humic topsoil overlain by turf. The level of this buried soil corresponded very closely to that found within the church (Context 55), and is considered to be the remains of the late Saxon truncated soil sealed beneath the earliest church floors. A number of early to late Saxon sherds

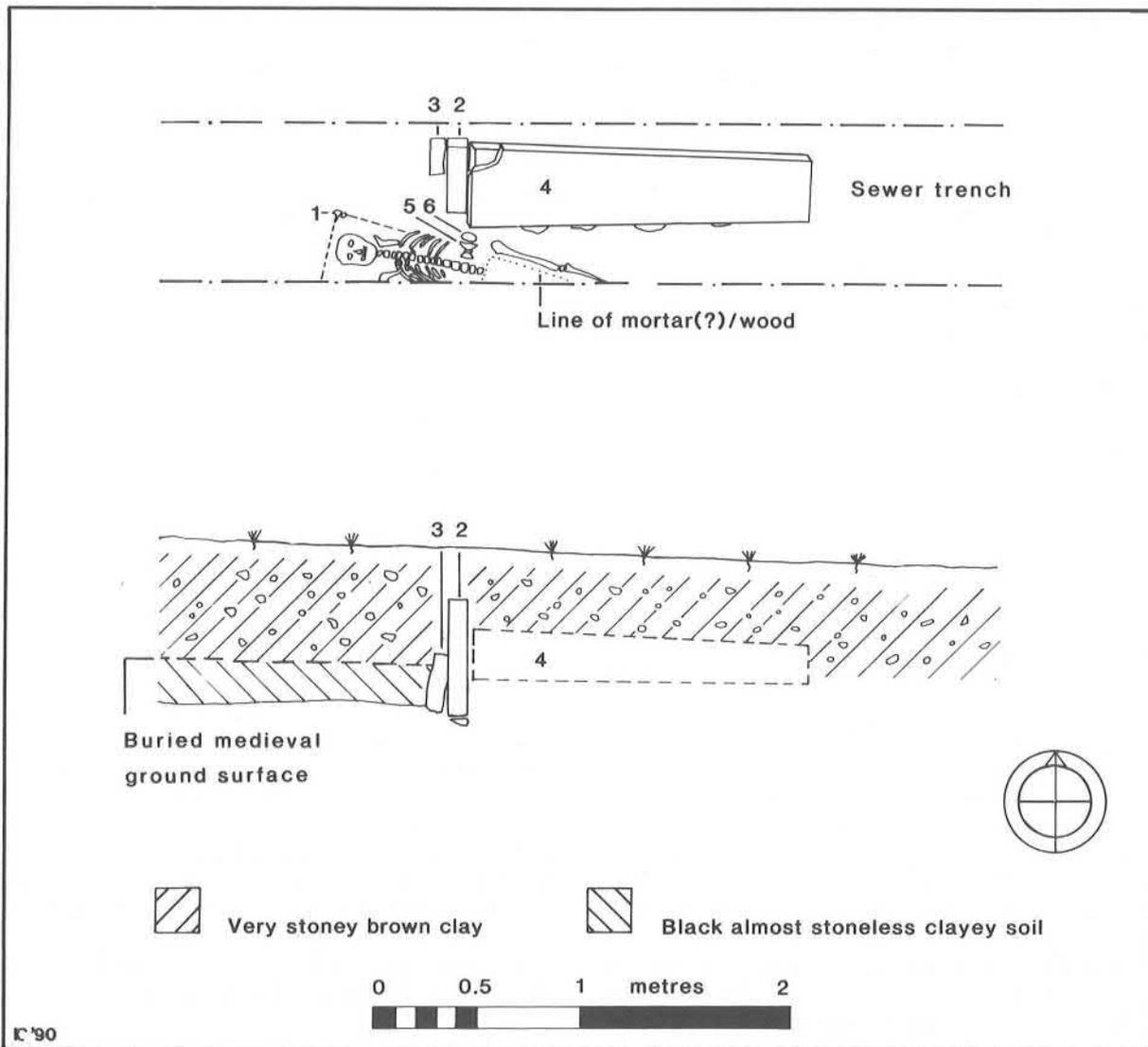


Figure 48: Great Linford church: plan and section of the two thirteenth century burials.

together with a quantity of early medieval wares were recovered from the soil dug out of the trench by the builders. The base of the tapering stone gravemarker was set 80mm. into the buried medieval soil, probably because of subsidence into the grave below. The gravemarker and headstone were removed, but the trench was not deepened sufficiently to expose the burial.

All the available evidence indicates that the gravemarker and headstone had never been moved, but that the churchyard levels had risen around the monument and gradually sealed it from view. The date and reason for defacement of the gravemarker, which is likely to have had at least a simple cross carved on the upper visible side, could not be ascertained.

To the immediate south of the headstone a fragment of pewter was found, which proved to be a pewter chalice and paten (Fig. 48, 5 and 6). These

were just below the left ribcage of a skeleton lying at an acute angle to the line of the trench (Plate 23). Only the skull, left side of the torso and part of the left leg could be exposed and examined. The skeleton, lying in a supine position with the hands on the chest in an attitude of prayer, was identified as that of a slightly built young man in his early twenties. Traces of a wooden coffin were found, in the form of two iron nails 50mm. long with rounded heads, in what would have been the north west corner of the coffin (Fig. 48, 1). One nail was still in a vertical position, having held the base of the coffin to the sides. Running along the projected north side of the coffin was a thick vertical layer of decomposed wood mixed with what appeared at the time to be mortar, but which may have been the remains of a paint pigment. Beneath the skeleton was a thin intermittent layer of what at the time was described as charcoal, perhaps equating the burial with the practice of charcoal burials usually found in early medi-

eval monastic cemeteries (Rodwell 1981, 150). Stylistically, the pewter chalice and paten are unlikely to be later than fourteenth century, suggesting that the burial was one of the early rector's of the church, or perhaps one of his religious associates, since it was more common at this period for the resident priest to be buried within the body of the church.

This burial was found at a level of 1.15m. below existing ground level, corresponding closely to the others recorded to the west in the same trench. Whilst the skeleton itself had not been disturbed, the levels immediately above had been, with a single femur redeposited 150mm. above the level of the body, and a further skeleton approximately 400mm. above.

### *Discussion*

The almost total absence of Saxon pottery or other artefacts from the rest of the village, compared with the amount discovered beneath the church is particularly significant. The evidence is insufficient to prove continuous activity on site from the early Saxon period onwards. In particular, there is a lack of later Saxon evidence, perhaps obliterated during site clearance for the earliest church. Whatever the nature of the middle to late Saxon evidence the earlier Saxon occupation is contemporary with the larger settlement at Pennyland, indicating a dual focus of early settlement within the emerging parish of Great Linford. Whilst the Pennyland settlement was abandoned by the eighth century, it would seem that the settlement in the area of the church flourished, becoming the nucleus of the village for which a church was constructed. Whilst evidence for a timber building in the form of one large stone-packed post hole is tenuous, the existence of a tenth or eleventh-century stone church has been illustrated. The existence of later Saxon churches beneath many medieval churches has been widely recognised for

some time, although St Andrew's is the only church within Milton Keynes to have provided definite evidence of a late Saxon establishment.

Whilst the analysis of the church helps to throw light on the development of contemporary village communities, it is most closely allied to the fortunes of the manor. At Great Linford there is a close correlation between the church and the manor phases, in particular that of the establishment of the nearby manor in the late fourteenth century and the construction of the elegant north porch and north chapel soon after.

The discovery of the Little Brickhill tile pavement (at the time of writing only the second known one in situ) was itself important, but to illustrate its relationship to Roger Hunt's bequest of 1473, and thereby give a fixed and much earlier date for their manufacture than had been originally accepted, was particularly significant.

Whilst the excavation of the churchyard was extremely limited, the discovery of the coffin burial of a priest with a pewter chalice and paten, one nearly complete, and part of another two thirteenth-century gravestones is remarkable. Such trenches and works in other nearby churches have failed to reveal anything more than the occasional post-medieval brick tomb. The quality of the thirteenth-century gravemarkers, the later fifteenth century floor and roof and even the Charles II coat of arms, considered by Rouse to be the finest on plaster in Buckinghamshire, illustrates the continued wealth of Great Linford throughout the medieval and later periods.

Of all the church excavations in Milton Keynes, Great Linford has been the most productive both in terms of artefacts and information, albeit often difficult to interpret. Further excavations, should the opportunity ever arise, would both enhance many of the details recorded during the 1980 work and produce a wealth of new information.

## THE BUILDINGS: A COMMENTARY

J. T. Smith

### THE MANOR HOUSE

It is hardly surprising that the most complicated and informative building of all those discovered is the manor house. Its particular interest stems from the unusual way, by comparison with most standing buildings, in which the fairly orthodox form of its final phase developed; and this confirms the idea now emerging from vernacular architecture studies, that the plan types elucidated over the past thirty years are frequently, and perhaps normally, the product of piecemeal development. This point has been brought out particularly clearly in a study of the houses of Yetminster (Dorset), which is as important for its wider implications as for the evidence adduced (Machin 1978).

Prior to its destruction in March 1679 the manor house comprised a hall range flanked by a cross-wing at the upper end and a slightly lower block in series at the lower end. It began, though, without the cross-wing and probably without anything at the lower end either, because the service room to south shows what can only be a break of joint at the east end where the wall sets back slightly, as it does more markedly on the west side. Hence on the archaeological evidence the hall may originally have stood alone, a point which raises questions about its function. Manor Farm, Wasperton, Warwickshire, was like this and it has been suggested that, where there was no resident lord, no more was needed than a hall and a room or chamber for a steward when he visited to hold the manorial court (Jones and Smith 1958, 19–28; Mercer 1975, 20). That is at least a possibility at Great Linford manor house, yet it must be stated clearly that the evidence at the lower end of the hall was extremely confused and that on purely archaeological grounds, untrammelled by architectural analogy, the service room and hall could arguably be coeval.

The *hall*, Room IV, conformed to a common and probably normal proportion in medieval domestic halls; it comprises an approximately square living space with the addition of the space required for a cross-passage, Room III. Its internal arrangements are unusually clear. Although no details of the upper end were discovered it can be assumed that a bench was fixed to the north wall, like those at Llangatwg and Llanfihangel Cwm Du in Breconshire, this being usually the only evidence of seating found in standing buildings (Jones and Smith 1966/7, 36–39, 51–53, Pl. VIB). The open hearth was not exactly in the middle where the open and

probably decorative roof truss stood but was a little to the north, as was not infrequently the case. In the lower half or bay were benches along the side walls for the inferior members of the household. No trace of a screen between hall and passage was found; the most that is likely to have existed is a spere truss but no bases, for any internal posts were discovered.

Structurally the only point of interest is the greater thickness of the west or front wall compared to the others. This is a feature observable in many brick-built houses, mainly at vernacular level, and seems not to be connected with the stability of the building so much as to provide for a decorative treatment. If that consideration is relevant here it implies that the windows and doorway at the front of the hall were of two orders rather than simple openings such as those at the rear presumably were. Since no worked stone came to light the windows and doorway are likely to have been of timber. It is just possible, as has been suggested, that the systematic dismantling of the building removed every scrap of worked stone, yet some chips might be expected to be left after even the most careful work of that kind.

*Room II* adjoining the hall on the south was certainly a service room in Phase 1; the difficulty is to know how it relates functionally to the much larger service building 2 to east. The evidence of standing buildings suggests that at manorial level kitchens were invariably detached structures until the end of the fifteenth century so that by analogy Building 2, though perhaps rather large, fulfilled that function. But before that question can be decided the low level of setting-out as compared with the hall deserves comment. The east wall (111) is straight and quite well built whereas the west and south walls (107, 115) are crooked, the kind of deformation that is often associated, in buildings otherwise of good quality, with alteration rather than primary work. No archaeological evidence was found either to confirm alteration or to explain the irregularity and, since poor setting-out is equally observable in the chimney stack added in Phase 2, I assume the room to be a secondary feature created within Room I.

To return to the purpose of this room it had in Phase 1 both an open hearth built near a corner and a freestanding oven not far from the opposite corner. Evidently the two halves of the room were functionally divided in Phase 1a as in 1b and 2; it must be a small kitchen.

*Room I* is difficult to define. Its east wall (114) is aligned approximately with those of II and the hall although there is a marked change of construction, it being better built than any other wall on the site and unique in having deep footings; nevertheless the latest pottery in the footings was not significantly different from that in other parts of the Phase 1 building and so it seems best to treat 114 as part of that phase. Parallel to this wall on the west is the somewhat inferior wall 108 which turns quite inexplicably to west and, just inside it and continuing farther to the south, a drain (81).

On the archaeological evidence alone the function of this room is beyond conjecture; by analogy with later buildings I hazard the guess that it was a byre. In such counties as Dorset and Breconshire derivative forms of long-house (or byre-house) display encroachment on the byre (RCHME 1970; Arne (3), Bere Regis (9), Broadmayne (36), Dorchester (144); also Jones and Smith 1963, 1964 and 1965) and also, to anticipate something of Phase 2, the kind of transformation of the hall that appears here. In those counties the modernization of medieval open halls entailed, usually, the building of a chimney-stack backing on to the cross-passage, leaving the latter as an access to both hall and byre even where the cattle were provided with a separate doorway. This mode of development produces the proportions found at Great Linford, where the living space was reduced to less than the original square. In contrast, in such counties as Essex and Suffolk, where the long-house is unknown at any period, the customary location for the new stack was in the cross-passage, so preserving the square living space. It may be noted, too, that in the western counties end halls, that is to say those without any other room at the upper end, are not uncommon; and also that in Herefordshire, for example, where long-houses and their derivative forms are frequent, they appear in the smaller manor houses or their equivalents, for example houses with the name Court Farm (Rewell and Smith 1991, forthcoming). These points have yet to be researched in detail, but they may serve to stimulate discussion about the interpretation of sites like this one where the archaeological evidence is inadequate.

If it be accepted that Great Linford manor house was a long-house in origin, and that the kitchen (II) represents a later alteration, it appears that this kind of development by encroachment, which it would be difficult to document from surviving buildings at manorial level before c.1500 and perhaps before c.1550, in fact began earlier, perhaps considerably earlier. Possibly, as in so many manor houses, cooking was originally done in a detached structure and was subsequently brought inside; alternatively, it was originally done in the hall as in a peasant long-house and was soon transferred to a separate room as more suitable to the

social status of even a minor manor house.

### *Building 2*

Behind (east of) the manor house was an ancillary building as large as the hall itself. Its less rectilinear setting-out and the varying width of the footings even within the same wall (209, 188) indicate levels of building construction inferior to those of the manor house in Phase 1 and correspond to some inferior function. It was probably a brewhouse. In the north-east corner are two kilns or ovens, the precise function of which could not be defined, and projecting to the south is a much larger and equally indeterminate oven. No trace was found in the east wall (201) of the drains needed for a process requiring a lot of water because it was removed to below floor level after the fire in Phase 1a/1b, whereas in Phase 2 its successor (187) did have a drain. The building is perhaps rather large for the needs of a modest manorial establishment but this may be decided by analogy.

### *Phase 2*

The principal changes in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century are those affecting the house itself.

A *cross wing* (V) was added at the north end of the hall. It was probably of two storeys, each having two rooms. The larger ground floor room was certainly a parlour and was heated by a wall fireplace in the middle of one wall; the fireplace itself as revealed by excavation is improbably small for that date and must represent only the actual flue. Although no trace of the partition dividing off the smaller room was found – it was probably of timber – one certainly existed, as the position of the fireplace shows. No evidence of a staircase was found but a wing of c.1600 is most unlikely to have been single-storeyed. The upper floor was, by analogy, occupied principally by the important room referred to in probate inventories as the chamber over the parlour; the absence of an external stack implies that it had no fireplace. How the smaller rooms were used is uncertain but they may have been minor bedrooms. On general grounds the staircase is likely to have adjoined the west side of the partition and terminated in a lobby formed of panelling, from which the two rooms could be entered to left and right. The small space enclosed by walls 120 and 121 is where the stair is likely to have risen from.

When the wing was added the *hall* was transformed. Some rebuilding took place, including the replacement of the east wall. The new one (65) is only 0.5m. wide and is too narrow to have supported a stone wall unless, as seems unlikely, it were of ashlar or the finest squared rubble throughout. If stone is precluded it must have

been of timber; and that in turn suggests that the earlier wall was also timber framed, because it is most unlikely that timber replaced stone. At the same time a chimney stack was built backing on to the passage. It was not placed in the best position to heat the hall, in the middle of the new south wall, but at the west end of it. Presumably the purpose was to leave room east of the stack for a staircase winding up over the entrance from the passage. That an upper floor was put into the hall at this time appears likely from the need that was felt for a large buttress at about the point where the open truss of the hall would have been; and the mutilation so often undergone by such a truss, and the consequent need for remedial measures, provides parallels of various kinds, although buttresses are rare. Indeed, the clumsiness of this solution, if correctly surmised, argues that it was provided as a drastic remedial measure some time after the floor went in.

In Phase 2 Room I was probably demolished and Room II was provided with the kind of wide and comparatively shallow fireplace used in kitchens.

### THE VILLAGE HOUSES

Most of the houses require discussion and interpretation before their resemblances and, still more, the significance of their relation to one another, become apparent. They will first be considered separately, then as part of a settlement pattern.

#### *Building 5, Croft B*

This house, though the best-preserved of its kind at Great Linford, presents, like the other four, considerable problems of interpretation. It is clearest in Phase 3 when, at the upper end, it comprised a squarish hall – for the wall of Phase 4 is likely to have replaced a slighter predecessor – and an elongated inner room which, to judge by its proportions, must always have been subdivided in some way, whether structurally or merely functionally.

On the lower or west side of the passage was a partition of vertical boards – no larger holes for posts exist – in which a gap at the south end and another near the north end are for doorways. The two rooms thus approached present a problem of interpretation. They are separated by what looks like a stone wall abutting the partition; how they were closed off from the room to the west is less clear but presumably by a similar partition. That both rooms were functionally subdivided appears from the difference of flooring, rubble for the most part with a strip of limestone paving adjoining the dividing wall. They were buttery and pantry. A somewhat different interpretation emerged in the course of excavation: the areas of rubble in each room were thought to be for raised storage benches

or shelves, a function which may preclude doorways in the positions suggested. How far benches or shelves were used for storage at this period is doubtful, chests being the usual provision of this kind so far as the evidence of documents, paintings and artefacts shows. Possibly the two views can be reconciled by assuming that the rubble floor provided a suitable base on which chests could stand, and that the suggested points of access can remain as suggested.

Another squarish room to the west has a doorway in the south wall rather wider than those to the cross-passage and a cobbled floor in which is a drain running transversely; it can only be a byre with no direct access from the hall. Building 5 has, in this interpretation, a strong family resemblance to the manor house and like it has a complicated development, some of which is inferred rather than proved archaeologically.

One striking feature of Building 5 is the way its north wall prolongs the line of its predecessor 6. The explanation probably lies in the continuing use of both buildings, something which is suggested by the pottery found in 6 (p. 57, above); and the co-existence of two farmhouses in line is attested by standing buildings, a practice found at least as late as the end of the seventeenth century. Arnside, Yorks., provides the most remarkable example of this; instead of a conventional farmhouse it had, until after World War I, two identical semi-detached houses of good quality (Ambler 1913). In Hertfordshire a comparable arrangement has been recorded, examples being Walnut Tree Farm, Pirton, and New Hall Farm, Ware (Smith 1991), although there the houses are not of identical size.

The relation between the footings of the two buildings is hard to understand in detail. In a standing structure the breaks of alignment in the south wall; the smaller but still perceptible break in the north wall between hall and service/byre; and the possible difference in wall thicknesses between hall and inner room, both on the north side, where the evidence is not strong, and on the south side where it is clearer: all these differences would suggest differences of build. The point is reinforced by the perfectly good alignments of some earlier buildings which demonstrate that the capacity to lay out buildings accurately was not lacking at Great Linford. Consequently the large assumption is made here that the archaeological evidence which, in theory, should have demonstrated such changes of build as the footings suggest, is incomplete through the removal of traces of earlier buildings or the inability of present techniques to recover them. How slight such remains could be appears in Croft F, Phase 1 where, near the north-east corner, is a hearth which appears to be the only evidence of a house, bounded by a ditch and

three gullies, that formerly stood there.

*Building 16, Croft F*

On this basis it is assumed that Building 5 began with what was to become its inner room which, at that time, was an appendage to 6 of uncertain purpose. This was followed by an extension forming the hall of a new house 5 for which the north wall alignment of 6 was retained but the south wall diverged slightly to south, presumably because a rather wider hall was desired at minimal cost. Beyond the hall was a byre, another assumption for which there is no firm evidence, yet the notion of a house entered through a gable wall is most unlikely and, from an original end cross-passage, absurd. However, that assumption would make intelligible the form the lower end finally achieved: it represents the process of encroachment of living-space on the byre which is well established in the surviving derivative forms of long-house and here is supported both by the difference of wall thickness in the lower end and, particularly in the north wall, a slight break of alignment.

The corollary of this argument is that Building 6 was first enlarged from a two-room to a three-room house and that the proportions of the addition, extending to where the hall wall diverges to south, suggest an inner room. That makes the room east of the hall and the one beyond that, which is too large for the conventional service rooms, a work-room of some kind. At some point, perhaps when the lower end of 5 was rebuilt, 6 was demolished except for its narrow inner room which was incorporated into 5 as an innermost room. Until then two houses stood end to end, one of them a long-house, the other with either a byre or some other form of work-room at the lower end.

Finally, the widths of these buildings are significant, width being an indication of the relative importance of a medieval open-hall house. The earlier Building 6 is not quite as wide as its successor 5 and that in turn is narrower than the manor house. Hertfordshire offers a comparison. There an increase in the width of peasant houses in the late middle ages is observable but they do not reach the size of the small manor houses and purported manor houses (Smith 1991 forthcoming, Ch.3). This piling of one assumption on another is admittedly an unsatisfactory proceeding, especially, perhaps, in the context of an excavation report, and is offered only in default of an archaeologically-founded explanation of features which otherwise can only be accounted for by the reasoning adopted for standing structures. If it serves to prompt discussion of the limits of inference and the present limitations of archaeological evidence, so much the better.

This, like the manor house and 6, began as an end-hall house, with no inner room, a typological sequence observable in the houses of, for example, Breconshire (Jones and Smith 1963, 28–29; 1968/69, 60–61). Here again the hall is a square living-space from which the cross-passage is separated by a timber partition, a feature which may suggest a date in the fifteenth century rather than earlier. Presumably the burnt patches at the upper end of the hall were caused by panelling or a bench there catching fire. Doorways were generally not defined clearly so it is not possible to be sure where the one opening into the lower end room was; most likely at the north end of the partition. A drain denotes the function of that room; it was a byre, probably entered from the opposite side of the house to the principal domestic entrance into the hall. Adjoining the south doorway is a slight projection which may be an original feature, as its west side, of smaller stones, suggests. Its purpose is obscure, but may have something to do with an open roof truss at this point. Whether the partition towards the hall and that cutting off the byre are original features of the house seems to have been indeterminable; if they are, the idea of an open truss falls.

Like so many vernacular end-halls this one was enlarged at the upper end. Here the addition was more than the narrow end room serving for storage; it has more the proportions of a parlour. The first addition, Phase 2, has the slight tapering, so characteristic of additions to the long-houses, which appears to result from their being commonly dug into a slope. That factor is not present here and no reason can be offered for this feature. Whatever the explanation, the new room was soon found unsatisfactory and the tapering wall was replaced by one aligned with that of the hall. An interesting feature of both phases is the provision of independent access, something unusual in parlours which are normally approached as an inner room. A possible analogy can be found in houses in Lancashire and elsewhere which have either, at the front, a doorway opening directly into the parlour, or at the rear, one opening into a lobby within the parlour wing (Watson 1975, 28–30). This phenomenon is explained as the result of dual occupation, something which in its architectural manifestations is commonly referred to as the unit system, whereby two houses or two households under one roof are found instead of the one that might conventionally be expected. The existence of two houses in one farmyard has been widely recognised in south Wales (Fox and Raglan 1953, 75–77; 1954, 76; Jones and Smith 1966/7, 53–56; RCAHM 1988, 438–51) and England (RCHME 1987, 44, 88–9). The comparable phenomenon at a higher social level has been recognised both in Wales and England.

### *Buildings 26 and 27, Croft L*

It may be possible to interpret 26, fragmentary though it is, in the light of 5 and 16.

One clue to its dispositions – from which, for the moment, the room connecting it to 27 can be excluded – may be the block of masonry projecting from the east wall, which is comparable to the similar projections in Buildings 10 and 16. All three appear to stand in some significant relation to the hall and probably to the open roof truss which formed its most striking feature. The closest parallel is provided by 16, where the projection stands in line with the presumed truss which itself marks off the hall living-space from the cross-passage. Probably 26 was similar, with, as in 16, a partition marking the division, although no archaeological basis for the latter was found. That would give a square hall, a cross-passage and another room at the lower end.

How did this house terminate to the north? The plan (Fig. 34) shows clearly that the west wall makes a carefully finished butt joint and there is a strong suggestion that the east wall did the same. This appears to imply that 26 was built, perhaps as an end-hall, against a pre-existing structure of slighter construction and unknown purpose; yet in the course of total excavation no evidence was found to support this notion.

Building 27 is said, correctly, not to conform to general preconceptions of a late-medieval farmer's house (p. 88, above). Its interpretation as kitchen/bakehouse is questionable in view of the size and especially its width which, at 5.5m, is greater than that of any other building except the manor house. Moreover, it was better built, relative to the houses, than might be expected for a bakehouse, with deeper footings than appear elsewhere. It had hearths and not chimneys, and so must have been open to the roof; that, coupled with the stronger foundation, points to its having had an open, outward-thrusting roof with the ridge running east-west. Despite appearances its size and construction point to its having been a house, yet if that were the case the three hearths require explanation.

The house comprised a hall of rather surprising proportions, less than square, and two subsidiary rooms, one of which, with a south doorway, was virtually a lobby to the block joining 27 to 26. Although the building requires a cross-passage and another room to the east for it to conform to known plan forms of fifteenth-century farmhouses, the remains discovered do not of themselves permit interpretation. Two of the three hearths are near the east wall; they leave space for an entrance in the north half of the east wall. An entrance in the south wall is less likely because it

would have to clear the hearths (F10, F71) and would thus be awkwardly placed in relation to the connecting block; and for the resulting position off-centre to the room parallels are unknown. The only serious alternative is a doorway in the north wall which, on the slender archaeological evidence, cannot be precluded. On general grounds, though, the house may once have extended to the east and had a byre, the entrance being at the point where the fragmentary remains of a wall were discovered, and thence into the hall either on the site of the alleged oven or between it and the nearer hearth (F10).

That leaves the two small rooms at the west end, which would be separated conventionally by a timber partition and would be a parlour (at the front) and a pantry/buttery. The corresponding rooms in sixteenth and seventeenth-century houses are invariably entered by doorways at the north and south ends of the wall towards the hall, and in 27 those are the only possible positions. Although the south room perhaps began as a parlour it may have lost that function when it became a passage room to 26; possibly it acquired some storage function. Whatever use it was put to is not likely to have been domestic. This room can only have received direct light from a window in the west wall. If the conjectured existence of a byre is correct it is unlikely, on the analogy of recorded houses, that both rooms were service rooms, for although the latter case is universal where such a pair are at the lower end of the hall – as is argued for 5 – it never happens at the upper end.

The connecting block replaces something else which can only have been of timber. Had that been a cross-wing its replacement by something altogether humbler would imply a decline in the status of 26; but a cross-wing in a late medieval peasant house is unlikely. The more probable alternative is a short timber bay for a narrow inner room, something which, once again, implies the piecemeal rebuilding that was probably the rule in peasant and other houses. So, on the architectural evidence, the sequence goes thus:

- Phase 1: 26 in timber;
- Phase 2: hall and lower end of 26 rebuilt in stone;
- Phase 3: 27 built – perhaps replacing something earlier?
- Phase 4: inner room of 26 demolished; connecting block built.

What was the function of the connecting block? Its most puzzling features are the two curving walls on the east side and the space enclosed by them. They are certainly not fireplaces, and look as if they marked out one end of a space heated by the disproportionately large fireplace to the west (F77). It is difficult to understand why the only access from 27 to 26 should have passed between the hearth and

the curving walls since this appears to have created a second passage room.

An alternative sequence may be suggested to interpret the many problems of 26 and 27; it goes beyond the inevitably imprecise dating based on the scanty pottery and other finds, and critics may say that it sets the archaeological evidence at naught. On this view, as the previous one, the first building on the croft of which anything can be inferred is 26, built of timber; now it is assumed to have been a long-house. Near it was built a considerably superior house, 27, also possibly a long-house, but this is by no means necessarily the case. Whether 26 and 27 are contemporaneous or nearly so cannot be known in the absence of stratigraphic evidence although, being on the same croft, 26 is likely to have accommodated part – probably a superior part – of the same kin-group as 27. Subsequently most of 26 was rebuilt in stone, leaving, inexplicably, the upper end in timber, a weakness in the explanation that needs exploring. Then the old end of 26 was demolished to be replaced by a connecting block which provided a kitchen; but possibly 26 continued to be inhabited by a separate family of somewhat lower status than that in 27. At some stage, perhaps when the connecting block was built, 27 lost its byre, if it ever had one; the cattle may have been transferred to 26. So:

- Phase 1: 26, a timber long-house;  
also 27, a long-house?
- Phase 2: 26 rebuilt in stone except for  
upper end.
- Phase 3: upper end of 26 replaced by  
connecting block.
- Phase 3/4: 27 loses its byre.

#### *Buildings 10 and 11, Croft E*

In a general way house 10 resembles those already analysed, but with considerable differences of detail. Certain elements are recognisable, notably the hearth and the buttress-like external projection to south of it. The hearth is too far from the west end of the building for the whole of that part to have formed a single room; it comprised a hall and inner room. A land drain removed all trace of the partition between them, yet if the hall be assumed, as in previous cases, to have been squarish, the thick transverse wall marks its east end. Why an internal wall should be so thick is baffling. It has been suggested that this might have supported a hearth, or even back-to-back hearths, yet against this is the well-attested hearth a little to the west. A further peculiarity in this wall, which separates hall from passage, is its having a doorway at both ends. Customarily the only doorway is at the end farthest from the front entrance in order, presumably, to ensure that strangers could not easily walk uninvited into the hall. Perhaps, in view of the rather poor state of preservation, one of the end gaps may be fortuitous, the

result of destruction. Beyond the wall was a cross-passage of a width (c.2.4m.) normally associated with long-houses, where common entrance for the family and cattle necessitated something wider than a purely domestic passage. It is clear from many houses in the adjoining counties of Breconshire, Monmouthshire and Herefordshire that a passage of this width implies the former existence of a byre (Smith 1963, 389–414), and in this case the encroachment postulated for the manor house is confirmed by this diagnostic feature.

Beyond the passage is what appears to be a kitchen, located in the same relation to the passage as the one at the manor house. Why it should be so large is not easy to understand. Later kitchens, those of the seventeenth century, are usually fairly narrow rooms with a fireplace on a long wall, and on purely functional grounds it is difficult to see how all the more or less square space, which extends as far as the cobbled floor marking the end room, could have been used. It may be suggested very tentatively that the room had another function as a living room, almost a second hall. Cooking was done there, no doubt, yet a heated room of any kind in a house of this size could have been utilised for more than that specialised purpose.

Nor is the function of the east room much clearer. It would be very surprising to find a pantry so distant from the hall, whilst dairies as a class of room have not been identified in houses prior to the late sixteenth century. That is not to deny confidently that they existed, merely to say that they have neither been recognised in buildings nor noticed in documents, and consequently such a function cannot safely be assumed here. Indeed, a dairy can be confused with a buttery (Barley 1963, under *Buttery, Dairy, Milkhouse*). As in 5 the end room has an external doorway and also, in the middle of the east wall, what looks like a drain; two features suggesting a byre, although the second may be illusory, there being no external evidence for a drain. Only the narrow room partitioned off on the north side remains problematic. It was in two compartments, one reached from the enigmatic room to the west and closed by a door, the other from the supposed byre, open ended and possibly a bull- or calf-pen.

Its poor state of preservation makes the detection of changes of build almost impossible. All that can be said is that the south wall of the inner room is thinner than the hall wall; that the south wall of the kitchen appears to make a straight joint with the thinner wall to east; and that there is a marked change of thickness in the south wall of the putative byre. These differences denote structural alterations, but in the absence of any evidence from the north wall their significance cannot be known. Certainly Building 10 was the product of a complicated development.

Building 11 shows no sign of domestic use. It is of two builds, the junction between the two being marked by a slight break of alignment in the south wall and another of as much as 0.40m. in the north wall. At the west end is a storeroom divided into two parts – perhaps, as suggested above (p. 64), a functional division – by a strip of paving, creating a spurious resemblance to the buttery/pantry division found in 5. It is not unreasonably interpreted as a brewhouse, although the archaeological evidence was only of a malting kiln, and some doubt is aroused by the absence of the drains that would surely have been necessary for a process involving quantities of water. Furthermore its size, and especially its width, are remarkable; it is surprising that a service building, however important its function in the domestic or even village economy, should be wider than the house in which the tenant lived. This consideration, coupled with the evident rebuilding of the east end, may indicate a change from domestic to service use.

#### *Building 4*

This house, despite its general resemblance to the manor house and the presence of certain features found in some of other peasant houses, is extremely difficult to interpret.

The oldest part, Room I, presents in Phases 1–3 some problems of interpretation. It certainly includes the hall which, from the position of the fireplace, must be at the north end. If the notion that the living-space was normally square is correct, that leaves space at the south end for a cross-passage, yet, strangely, no doorways appear there. Nevertheless Room 2, which is comparable to the corresponding part of Building 10, may support that interpretation; it comprises in Phase 4 (Fig. 14) a kitchen, the only evidence of which is an oven, and what may have been a byre because it has a wide doorway at the south-east corner. It may be relevant that the south gable wall is the only one to hint at timber construction, two depressions being plausibly interpreted as the sites of padstones for cruck blades (p. 53, above); and since the remains of the wall itself are more exiguous than any other wall of the building this may be deliberate, an instance of the practice of pulling down the end of the house in order to clean out the byre (Kissling 1944, 134–40). Encroachment of living-space on the byre may also have occurred here. Not only is the oven secondary, the byre may have been lengthened: for its sides are markedly bowed and the bowing finishes its approximately symmetrical course very near the approach path, as if the southernmost two metres represent an enlargement when the encroachment took place at the other end.

To return to Room I, its interpretation in 4 is even more problematic. That the building as a whole

retained a domestic purpose is apparent from the oven, yet the internal arrangement of the hall was altered in an unusual way. Approximately on the site of the hearth a 'rectangular stone footing' (p. 59, above) was built, resembling the one in a not very different position in Building 10 and, like it, not extending as far as either of the long walls. What had been one room and a passage was thereby converted into two rooms; the problem is to see how either was then heated, for no traces of hearths were recorded. This is surprising because the division of a hall into two rooms by the building on the site of the open hearth of a chimney stack, often with two back-to-back fireplaces, is a widely recognised phenomenon, one usually accompanied by the creation of a lobby entrance flanking the stack.

A development something like this is suggested here by the short and lightly built return on the north side of the footing, which would have been perfectly adequate to support the timber jambs and hood that were usual in early and wide vernacular chimney-stacks (Smith 1991, forthcoming). Not even this fragmentary evidence was found on the south side of the footing, yet, assuming that in 4 the passage was absorbed into a living-room, it is hard to imagine that the slightly larger of the two new rooms had no fireplace. Perhaps the assumption is unjustifiable; the alternative is that the passage continued in use and had a small unheated room between it and the stack. The difficulty with this is that it creates a very awkward approach, necessitating a longitudinal passage, to the room north of the stack which, by virtue of possessing a fireplace, was the more important of the two. Both alternatives lack positive evidence to support them, and in either case the function of the north room, which would, in orthodox terms be the parlour, is rendered doubtful by the problematic 'stone lined feature'.

Room IV was added in the early seventeenth century. On the east side Room I has all the appearance of terminating in a quoin, as is to be expected, whereas on the west no clear straight joint exists between 1 and 2. Perhaps this was one of several instances at Great Linford where a wall continues beyond its proper termination to form an apparently useless stub for which it is hard to find an explanation. Building 2 at the manor house shows two instances in Phase 1a; 22 has a stub at one corner; and 25 has a hint of such a thing. Nor is this phenomenon confined to Great Linford; in Shrewsbury a mid thirteenth-century stone building of the highest quality displays it (Baker 1991, forthcoming) and other instances can be found.

4 appears to have had two phases. In the first it had an external doorway and 'a sump filled with

dark silt' (p. 59, above) from which ran to the north a stone-lined drain. How this could have 'served as drainage around the building' is not explained; it is easier to envisage an internal drain; but for what? In default of any archaeological evidence for some process connected with agriculture which required a considerable quantity of water one possibility is a byre, although the sump is less obviously necessary and a filling of silt appears to preclude it.

In the second phase the sump was covered by a large hearth surmounted by a brick chimney stack and the drain was buried under a flagged floor. It may have been used for brewing if the apparent lack of drainage does not tell against such a use.

Next to the fireplace jamb is a doorway into Room 1, leading to the enigmatic depression F4; the way through the wall and a little beyond showed traces of burning, so whatever activity was conducted in 4 extended into 1, confirming that the north part of 1 was not a parlour. Even so, it is improbable that the whole building ceased to be domestic, because it had glazed windows, something not to be expected in a purely utilitarian structure.

Structurally little need be said about 4. The gable wall of Room 1 is much thicker than any of the others, perhaps because the roof construction, whatever form it took, was imperfectly triangulated and consequently had a tendency to rack towards one end of the building. A curious feature of Room 2 is the apparently imperfect south-east corner where the south wall stops short of the line of the east wall. That this corresponds to some particular structural solution and is not a fortuitous outcome of survival appears from the better preserved north-east corner of Building 10. How the buildings were roofed at these points is a mystery; even more so, why it was done in that way.

#### *Building 31*

All that need be said about this fragmentary structure is that the break in alignment in the east wall suggests a change of build and an addition, more particularly because the eaves-drip gully continues in a straight line. The size of the putative first build would approximate to that of some other buildings such as 16 or 5.

#### *Building 17*

The west range has every appearance of an end-hall with a central open hearth. On the north side is a short footing for a screen; possibly it was once matched on the south side, the two forming a spere-truss, i.e., one incorporating, in a more or less decorative way, screens to shield the body of the hall from the draughts of the cross-passage.

Here the passage is wide, that is, wider than the 1.9m. or a little less which is normal in the late-medieval hall houses of south-east England. Extra width is associated with long-houses (Smith 1963, 393-95). The superior foundations of the east room are not at all surprising in a later cross-wing, as this is, which replaces a putative byre.

#### *Building 1*

This fragmentary structure is too narrow (c.2.75m.) to be a house in itself and its proportions are wrong. It is a cross-wing to a hall to south, of which no definite trace was found. Probably, like the other cross-wings at Great Linford, it was an addition, something which its seventeenth century date tends to confirm; and if the manor house is the correct analogy it was added at the upper end with the east room, the kitchen, projecting beyond the hall. Such a wing would be of two storeys at that period; only the existence of what may have been an open hearth in the south-east corner runs contrary to that idea and, if correct, demonstrates that the kitchen at least was open from ground to roof. Whether the hearth was set in a corner fireplace, the jambs of which had been damaged or removed, the conditions of the excavation perhaps did not permit the archaeologists to discover. But this may be special pleading for, after all, single-storey kitchens persisted in use for a long time.

### THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN

If the interpretations offered above are correct, they reveal two important characteristics of the village of Great Linford; that the predominant house type was the long-house, and that for the most part the tofts were in dual occupation.

Research elsewhere has established the existence of settlements composed largely of long-houses. Such were the three small market towns of North Yorkshire, Helmsley, Kirkbymoorside and Pickering (RCHME 1987, 138-44) and in the last of these a large number of former long-houses, all of them altered in a great variety of ways, can still be recognised. It is less easy to point to a village so dominated by this house type although some smaller settlements or hamlets in Wales are composed exclusively of long-houses or their derived forms. A striking example is Tredomen in the parish of Llanfilo, Breconshire (Jones and Smith 1964, 134-36; 1965, 84-86), where three farm-houses stand close together, all exemplifying the varied development of the type. Moreover it appears likely that the nearby equivalent of a manor house, Cwrt Tredomen (Tredomen Court), was also built as a long-house, so that here is a parallel for the social range of the type as found at Great Linford. Perhaps the only surprising thing about Great Linford is its location in the southern

Midlands of England rather than in south Wales, and it is quite likely that examination of the vernacular houses of Buckinghamshire would reveal surviving long-house derivatives.

Dual occupation of a farm is being recognised more frequently as resistance to the notion begins to break down. Archaeological and architectural evidence is important in complementing the historical record which, it seems, is often deficient on this subject. The unit system, as it has been called, is defined as the presence of two (or more) more or less contemporary houses of landowning people in the same complex, which may be a manor or a farm (Fox and Raglan 1953, 75–77). It was found first, and the name coined, in North Wales; and it is indicative of the resistance of learned men to new ideas that an eminent Welsh scholar found it incredible that the unit system could be found to exist in the Anglicised parts of South Wales and Herefordshire. Next, Lancashire and Cheshire were thought to show dual occupation at gentry level (Smith 1970, 156–81), then instances were produced from Dorset and Essex (Machin 1975, 187–94; Sandall 1975, 195–201). North Yorkshire has both gentry and peasant unit systems (RCHME 1987, 88–89). More recently selective work in Hertfordshire has revealed several examples (Smith 1991, forthcoming). Evidently co-proprietorship in one form or another was known in many parts of England, whether the two families lived in separate houses, in two houses end-to-end or just touching, or under one roof. It would be interesting to know the distribution of land among the close group of long-houses at Tredomen; did they begin as a unit-system?

A new element is introduced to this pattern by the discovery that most of the tofts-and-crofts at Great Linford had two or more houses. It projects the unit system back to a much earlier period than had been established by architectural evidence, and demonstrates the point, hinted at by Tredomen, that long-houses may form a major house type in the system. It will be a task for research to plot the distribution of both long-houses and co-proprietorship, which do not coincide. Possibly there were even more joint holdings at Great Linford than have here been claimed. That point is raised particularly in Croft E, where Building 11 is so wide as to suggest it served a domestic purpose originally. An observation arising from work in Brittany, a region full of the most diverse long-houses, may be relevant here:

“It is unclear whether the practice of converting houses into byres is a recent phenomenon, or whether it has long been practised. . . . Alternatively, there may have been periods when houses, having been used as byres, were reconverted to dwellings as population increase demanded”.

(Meirion-Jones 1982, 364)

Despite the tentative nature of those remarks they seem applicable to the somewhat different conditions of late-medieval Buckinghamshire, and when allowance is made for the exiguity of the archaeological evidence it may be that some of the buildings served both domestic and non-domestic purposes at various times.

The process is illustrated in one of the hamlets of Myddle, Shropshire, in the seventeenth century: “This William Tyler built a new house in Balderton, and converted his old house into a bakehouse”; and although the topographical relation between the two is not stated, a bakehouse is not likely to have been far from the house it served. “This William Tyler gave his tenement in Balderton to his son Richard” and went off to live in various places not far away. He “lived to a very great age; and when hee had wasted most of his Estate, hee came back to Balderton, and lived in the old house, which was then (i.e., at that time) made use of for a bakehouse” (Gough 1981, 176, 179). Clearly, any building which had a hearth or an oven could readily be adapted for purely domestic use, and not necessarily at the low level implied in William Tyler’s case.

A second example to the same purpose occurs at Gelli, Glyncoirwg, Glamorgan. The house itself is a long-house, and only its own width away is the bakehouse. In 1727 Jenkin Thomas stated in his will that his wife Alice “should live in the mansion house” with his son Thomas Jenkin, but if she was not so disposed, “she should live the remainder of her time in the house commonly called the bakehouse, just adjoining the mansion house” (Gough 1981, 176, 179). Archaeologists ought to be wary of projecting back in time the functional specialisation of buildings normal in industrial societies.

## BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

Little will be said about the structural aspects of the Great Linford buildings except in general terms. On roof construction in particular, a matter of the first importance, it is difficult to say anything positive because no obvious traces of it are discernible in the low wall levels or footings which were all that remained to the archaeologists.

The most important point to be made relates to the regularity or otherwise with which the footings are set out, because this consideration governs the strength of the superstructure. By way of illustration the relation between the form of a wall and the roof it supports may be considered. If the wall is not set out in a straight line the possibilities of roof construction are thereby limited, as, for example, in Building 13, chosen here for its completeness. Neither long wall is straight and that on the south side, being thinner, reveals better the

problem its deviations create. If the roof be supposed to have had wall-plates, it is possible to envisage them running straight from end to end and so providing a seating for a strong prefabricated roof of one of several late-medieval types. But, if that were the case, the plates had to be housed in the top of the walls to prevent the thrust of the roof weight from pushing them outwards; and in a straight wall this is perfectly easy and the mason provides a channel or a wide ledge on the outer face in or against which the thrust can be contained. If the wall is not straight, as in the south wall of 13, the distance of the plate from the outer face of the wall varies and in some places would have been quite thin. Given sufficiently close co-operation between mason and carpenter this might be feasible but would be a clumsy and time-consuming mode of working, and hardly conforms to the simple and direct methods characteristic of vernacular building. In fact the development of building construction reveals a steady improvement over many years towards precise setting-out, and it is reasonable to assume that the degree of precision well above ground reflects closely that of the footings. Indeed, it would be unreasonable to suppose otherwise.

The buildings at Great Linford varied a good deal in their setting-out, but the incompleteness of several make it difficult to trace improvements in building construction over the lifetime of the settlement, and their permeation throughout the social scale. As is to be expected, the manor house is in its principal parts superior to the general level. The hall (Room IV) is rectilinear, with walls of uniform width; so is the added cross-wing, not surprisingly in a seventeenth-century building. It is interesting that the inferior part of the house at the lower end displays poorer alignments in its west and south walls; presumably it was deliberately less well built on account of its inferior function, whether it was part of the first build or a later addition. In Phase 2 the east wall of the hall was rebuilt (65); it is remarkably narrow, no more than about 500mm., and must have been of different construction from the wider walls. The width is somewhat too narrow for stone unless it were

wholly ashlar, which is unlikely. Presumably, therefore, the wall was timber-framed, and although the use of timber at the rear of an otherwise stone building is unusual, the combination of materials in different walls is not so unusual as to cause surprise, even though it is commoner in urban than in rural houses.

Walls almost equally narrow occur throughout Building 4 but their setting-out is markedly inferior. It is scarcely possible that a timber structure built on such irregular footings was fully framed, that is, completely prefabricated, since that would imply a deliberately irregular setting-out rather than one which happened because precision was unnecessary. More likely is some combination of upright timbers and clay infilling, akin perhaps to the mud-and-stud of Lincolnshire. Not much wider, so far as they were traceable, are the walls of Building 10, whereas its neighbour 11 is decidedly superior in its setting-out and may have been better built.

Some buildings are set out in rectilinear fashion except for a single wall, as 16, in which only the somewhat thicker east gable wall is noticeably out of true. This is inexplicable in view of its greater thickness; evidently it was more important than the lateral walls. Similarly in 22, where the walls vary considerably in width, the north west gable wall is thicker than the others. This greater solidity may have been intended to provide stability for forms of roof construction lacking lengthwise stiffening such as angle braces to purlins.

The gradual improvement in the regularity of footings and setting-out is exemplified by the differences between 17, which is not very rectilinear but with footings of fairly uniform width; 21, with slight variations of footings width but the walls set out apparently parallel but not perfectly rectilinear; and 22, where the scantier evidence suggests yet greater precision. It is not suggested that these or any other of the buildings mentioned form exactly the sequence suggested because it is impossible to date them closely, but they illustrate the general direction in which building construction developed.

# GAZETTEER: SITES AND FINDSPOTS

R. J. Williams

## INTRODUCTION

The information presented in this gazetteer has been compiled from the Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit Sites and Monuments Record, which was begun in 1974, at which time earlier discoveries were renumbered and integrated into the new system. The numbering is compatible with the Buckinghamshire S. M. R. system, by adding 3000 for MK sites 1 – 999 (e.g. MK626 becomes Bucks 3626) and 6000 for those over 1000. Where possible, site locations have been plotted to the nearest ten metres using an eight-figure National Grid reference. Where only a six-figure reference is given, this either indicates an extensive site, or that insufficient data is available for accurate plotting. All grid references are prefixed by the letters SP.

The site and find descriptions have been checked against published sources, and in the case of unpublished sites against the Level III archive (DOE 1975), or alternatively taken from the Sites and Monuments cards. The descriptions are brief summaries of the known evidence, and have where necessary been expanded in the body of this

report (see published sources for page numbers).

The circumstances and date of discovery have again been made as succinct as possible, and are in most cases self-explanatory. For the major entries, more detailed information may again be found in the text of the expanded report. As a matter of Unit policy, the names of individual finders of sites and objects are not included, although they are of course recorded on the original SMR entries. All major published sources have been checked, although reference has not been made to every minor mention, particularly in the annual notes of 'Records of Buckinghamshire' and 'CBA Group 9 Newsletter/South Midlands Archaeology', which add little more information than will be found in the descriptive column of the gazetteer. All Roman sites have been previously published in 'Roman Milton Keynes' (Mynard 1987), which is abbreviated below to RMK.

All finds are stored either at Buckinghamshire County Museum (BCM), or with Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit (MKAU), or have been retained by the original finders.

## SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN GREAT LINFORD PARISH.

Site no.	NGR	Description	Date	Circumstances and date of discovery	Published Sources	Location of finds
66	8660 4035	Two abraded Roman sherds	4th cent.	Fieldwalking, 1968	RMK, 26	BCM 243.68
112	860 400	Flint flake, broken flint blade	Neolithic?	Housing construction, 1978	–	MKAU
210	860 400	Roman features and occupation levels recorded in road cutting	Late 1st – 2nd cent.	Housing construction, (watching brief) 1978	RMK, 22	MKAU
247/264	8444 4213	Scatter of mesolithic and neolithic flints found during excavation of the Stantonbury Roman site (MK301)	Mesolithic/ Neolithic	Found during major excavation, 1975	–	MKAU
248	851 432	Mound marked as 'the Lowe Hill' on 1641 estate map. Thought to be a tumulus, destroyed in c. 1958 during gravel extraction. Two skeletons were reported to have been found beneath the mound.	Bronze age?	Estate map, 1641 Gravel extraction, 1958	WDASJ 2, (1957), 4 WDASJ 3, (1958), 5.	–

SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN GREAT LINFORD PARISH. *Continued*

Site no.	NGR	Description	Date	Circumstances and date of discovery	Published Sources	Location of finds
250	862 411	Group of 56 worked flints spread across excavated area includes several microliths and a complete Mesolithic flint tranchet axe. Bronze age urn of undefinable type (badly decomposed) located during excavation of Iron age features. Extensive Iron age settlement consisting of up to four ditched enclosures and at least eleven penannular house drainage ditches. Late Roman field boundary ditch and miscellaneous pottery sherds and domestic items found in fills of Saxon sunken featured buildings. Dispersed group of early Saxon buildings, consisting of eleven 'sunken featured buildings', and at least two timber halls, together with a timber lined well and associated boundary ditches.	Mesolithic – Bronze age Bronze age Mid-late Iron age 3rd/4th cent. 6th –early 8th cent.	Major excavation, 1979–81 Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto	BAS Mono. 4, (forthcoming) Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto	MKAU Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto
300	8513 3918	Late Saxon hundred meeting mound at the intersection of the parishes of Bradwell, Great Linford and Little Woolstone.	10th cent?	Excavation, 1977/78	Archaeol.J 141, (1984), 243–51	MKAU
301	8444 4123	Roman stone farm building with attached bath suite, associated with walled farmyard and three circular stone buildings. Site of villa farmhouse suggested by geophysical survey.	early 2nd–late 4th cent.	Major excavation, 1975 & 1980–82	RMK, 97–104	MKAU
327	(As MK626)	Six flint tools and eleven flakes found during the excavation of medieval features in the village.	Mesolithic – Bronze age	Major excavation, 1974–77	Specialist report (p. 227)	MKAU
344	850 421	Roman copper alloy coin, <i>foliis</i> of Licinius I (308–24), and large iron nail.	4th cent. garden, 1980.	Dug up in back	–	With finder
359	8470 4083	Nine Roman sherds	2nd cent.	Cleaning hedge ditch, 1982.	RMK, 29	MKAU
361	8513 3918	Neolithic pottery and flint work found in pit beneath the Saxon meeting mound MK 300	Late Neolithic	Excavation, 1977/78	Rec.Bucks., (forthcoming)	MKAU
362/1	8544 4206	Roman copper alloy coin, barbarous radiate	late 3rd cent.	Excavation of Croft L, 1977.	Coin report, p. 225, no. 1	MKAU
362/2	8566 4178	Eight Roman sherds	4th cent.	Excavation of Croft F, 1976		MKAU
364	8525 4150	Small iron spearhead, socket and tip damaged, surviving length 80mm.	Roman?	Dug up in back garden, 1983.	–	MKAU

SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN GREAT LINFORD PARISH. *Continued*

Site no.	NGR	Description	Date	Circumstances and date of discovery	Published Sources	Location of finds
367	8533 4030	Patches of cobbles and several curving ditches, associated with early Roman pottery sherds.	1st – 2nd cent.	Construction of factory unit, 1983.	–	MKAU
373	858 425	Roughly flaked flint axe, length 110mm, max. width 69mm, max.th. 40mm, partially polished. All edges heavily abraded and cutting edge very blunt. Made from poor quality grey flint.	Neolithic 1987.	Topsoil spreading,		With finder
397	8580 4215	Roman copper alloy fibula, found beneath a group of stones, to the east of the village.	Roman	Metal detector find, during construction of playing field, c.1980.	Specialist report, p. 239	MKAU
564	8509 4072	Silver penny of Edward the Confessor. Hammer cross type, Obv: +EADWARDREX Rev: BRID ON HEASTI (Hastings)	1042–66	Found in loose topsoil, 1981	–	MKAU
569	8506 4232 (see MK714)	Early to late Saxon pottery and animal bone, found in truncated buried soil beneath church.	6th – 10th cent.	Excavation of church, 1980	Specialist report, p. 241	MKAU
571	8546 4202	Late Saxon copper alloy strap-end.	9th – 10th cent.	Metal detector find on building site in village, 1980.	specialist report, p. 138, no.7	MKAU
579	8455 4950	Early Saxon copper alloy penannular brooch	5th – 6th cent.	Metal detector find on building site, 1988.	Specialist report, p. 148, no.70	MKAU
626	–	Medieval and post-medieval house sites around green and to east of High St.	11th – 17th cent.	Major excavation, 1974–77.	This volume, p. 47, ff.	MKAU
627	867 406	Several medieval sherds	13th – 14th cent.	Fieldwalking, 1967	–	BCM?
674	8508 4225	Medieval manor house, replaced by present manor c.1680	late 14th–late 17th	Major excavation, 1980	This volume, p. 93, ff.	MKAU
707	8553 4189	Medieval pottery, millstone grit quern and misc. ironwork/nails	?	Fieldwalking, 1972	–	
709	8571 4220	Mound shown on 1641 estate map contained the remains of medieval timber post mill.	13th – 14th cent.	Excavation, 1977	Current Archaeol. 71 (1980), 375–77 This volume, p. 104, ff.	MKAU
714	8506 4232	St. Andrew's parish church	Founded late Saxon period	Watching brief and excavation, 1980	This volume, p. 108, ff.	MKAU

SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN GREAT LINFORD PARISH. *Continued*

Site no.	NGR	Description	Date	Circumstances and date of discovery	Published Sources	Location of finds																
791	8561 4198	Large quantity of rubble noted in both sides of a road cutting, no walls visible. Shown as a slight mound on the earthwork survey. Finds included a quantity of pierced limestone slates, green-glazed Potterspurty roof and crested ridge tile, one MS3 sherd, and one large iron nail. Possibly site of late medieval yard surface.	14th – 15th cent.	Field visit, 1979	–	MKAU																
797	8515 4232	Thirteen fragments of Little Brickhill stamped floor tiles, found in spoil from excavation of sewer trench across front of almshouses, to the east of the church. Floor tile types as follows: <table data-bbox="459 817 734 929"> <thead> <tr> <th>Type</th> <th>No.</th> <th>Type</th> <th>No.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>10b</td> <td>1</td> <td>22</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>11</td> <td>3</td> <td>22a</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>21</td> <td>2</td> <td>?</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Type	No.	Type	No.	10b	1	22	4	11	3	22a	1	21	2	?	2	Late 15th cent.	Watching brief during excavation of sewer trench, 1979.	–	MKAU
Type	No.	Type	No.																			
10b	1	22	4																			
11	3	22a	1																			
21	2	?	2																			
800	8553 4195	Scatter of limestone noted in side of house footings. No walls or structures visible, but conditions were poor. Five sherds of 14th – 15th cent. date and one post-medieval sherd were recovered. Impossible to identify as site of building or yard surface.	?	Watching brief, 1979	–	MKAU																
813	8515 4226	Quantity of broken window glass, including painted and plain medieval glass and post-medieval plain glass, found on the surface of a buried soil, at a depth of one metre, in a sewer trench. The deposit had been covered by a layer of builder's rubble during early eighteenth century landscaping of the manor grounds. The painted glass is identical to that found in the church, and is most likely to have originated from the 1707 refurbishment, when most of the windows were replaced.	14th – 17th cent.	Watching brief, 1980	Specialist report, p. 231	MKAU																

SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN GREAT LINFORD PARISH. *Continued*

Site no.	NGR	Description	Date	Circumstances and date of discovery	Published Sources	Location of finds
819/1015	8535 4223	A section of the village 'back lane', 2.6m. wide, aligned N-S, made of packed stone with a slight camber was located during topsoil stripping for house construction to the east of Windmill Hill Farm. On either side of the lane was noted a scatter of twelfth century sherds. 40m. west of the lane was found a deposit of late 18th and early 19th century glass and ceramic refuse. A thorough metal detector search of the site produced only post-medieval finds, including: 14 musket balls, 8 18th/19th cent. copper alloy coins, a gold signet ring inscribed ECL/CEL (hallmarked Chester 1885), and two copper alloy shoe buckles.	-	Watching brief and metal detector survey, 1982.	Specialist report, p. 142 Object nos. 35 & 36 buckles 122 thimble	MKAU
849	8455 4950	Finds included a large group of 19th century metal items, consisting mainly of dress items (eg buckles, buttons), copper alloy coins, and lead weights. Several fragments of copper alloy domestic vessels were recorded, including a triangular sectioned cauldron foot. Four crotals and two enamelled heraldic harness pendants were also recovered, together with a small damaged lead vesica-shaped seal matrix. The now demolished Wood House Farm stood nearby, and may account for the concentration of so many domestic items.	Medieval - 19th cent.	Metal detector search of stripped area for new school, 1988.	Specialist reports, p. 142, ff., Object nos. 32 buckle 194 seal matrix 217 harness 218 pendants	MKAU
901/1	856 407	Small group of fifteenth and sixteenth century sherds picked up from ploughsoil.	15th - 16th cent.	Fieldwalking 1964	Rec.Bucks 17, (1964), 303	BCM
901/2	853 407	Small group of mainly post-medieval metalwork collected during survey of housing site. Finds included an iron patten and a small white metal swivel ring.	Post-medieval	Metal detector survey, 1989	Specialist report, p. 182 object no.266	MKAU
902	8625 4152	Pottery pipkin handle	15th-16th cent.	Fieldwalking, 1967	WDASJ 1 (1968), 11	BCM
954	8627 4058	Two fragments of peg roof tile and several eighteenth century sherds found on stripped surface to south of Lodge Farm.	18th cent.	Watching brief, housing construction, 1978	-	MKAU
964	8544 4205	Base sherds of Potterspurly marbled slipware plate and glazed chafing dish found near excavated area at Pearson's Close.	17th cent.	Found by member of the public during housing construction, 1979.	-	MKAU

## SITES AND FINDSPOTS IN GREAT LINFORD PARISH.

Site no.	NGR	Description	Date	Circumstances and date of discovery	Published Sources	Location of finds
1002	851 415	Iron cannonball, dia. 50mm. found in spoil from roadside cable trench.	Post-medieval	Found by member of the public, 1980	—	MKAU
1009	8523 4234	Stratified midden deposit including large quantity of ceramics and glass ware thrown up against back of stone garden wall to the north of the manor house, outside one of the main garden gates. A large sample of the deposit was removed for analysis. The deposit is assumed to have derived from the manor house.	Late 17th – 19th cent.	Watching brief, footpath construction, 1980.	Specialist reports, p. 358	MKAU
1022	8526 4227	Three clay pipe bowls, two with fluted design and one with oak leaf design at front and back of cent. bowl. No makers' marks.	early – mid 19th	Picked up from garden of the manor house, 1982.	—	MKAU
1023	860 415	Site of brickworks beside the Grand Junction canal. Originated in the nineteenth century and went out of use in the early twentieth century. Three circular kilns of the multi-flue down-draught type and several clay pits survive, scheduled as Bucks Ancient Monument no. 148.	19th cent.	Site extant. Pigot & Co. Directory of Bucks.	—	—
1056	8513 4230	Almshouses built by Sir William Pritchard. Easternmost almshouse excavated; medieval yard surface found beneath brick floor.	1696	Limited excavation, 1975.	—	MKAU
1070	8545 4270	Site of Sheppards brickworks, now destroyed by Railway Terrace.	19th cent.	Recorded in Pigot & Co. Directory of Bucks, 1842.	This volume, p. 43, overlay 2.	—
?	854 436	Site of medieval bridge across river Ouse.	Medieval	—	VCH 4, 392	—

# THE FINDS

## INTRODUCTION

R. J. Zeepvat

Excavations at Linford produced a wealth of objects relating to all facets of life in the village, such that the reports which follow contain only a selection of the whole assemblage, representative in both the type of object and the date, where known. A full report dealing with all the artefacts recovered is contained in the site archives.

On site, objects were catalogued using a small-finds numbering system which separated finds according to material (ie. ironwork, glass, etc.), and the preparation of this report was undertaken according to those categories, in the traditional fashion. However, it became apparent that several types of finds could not be easily defined in this way, as they were made from more than one material, and because similar objects were frequently made in a variety of materials. Therefore, the decision was taken to group most objects in the final report according to their function, with further type or material subdivisions where necessary. The categories used are based on those adopted in the excellent finds publications produced by the Colchester Archaeological Trust (Crummy, 1983 and 1988). The pottery, animal bone, building materials, coins, and clay pipes have been dealt with separately, as are the wine bottles from the midden in the manor grounds (MK1009) and a solitary Roman fibula (MK397) which were only included in this volume at a late stage in its production.

The majority of finds included in the artefacts section were described and researched by Ros Tyrrell and Bob Zeepvat, who was also responsible for bringing together and editing the various contributions. In addition, certain objects were reported on by other individuals, whose work is credited in the text. The following list details these authors and their contributions:

Douglas P. Burnett: Animal bone, Great Linford village.  
P Busby: Carbonised and mineralised contents of the buried soil in Great Linford church.  
Lawrence Butler: Stone grave markers.  
Joe Cribb and R. J. Zeepvat: Coins and Tokens.  
Blanche Ellis: Spurs.  
C. A. I. French: Buried soil in Great Linford church.  
John Leveson Gower: Jet chess piece.  
Dr J. M. Holmes: Animal bone, Great Linford church.  
D. F. Mackreth: Roman fibula.  
Richard Marks: Stained and painted window glass.  
Robert Moore: Clay pipes (village).

Dennis C. Mynard: Building materials, bricks, roof tiles and stone slates, plain floor tiles, Little Brickhill decorated tile pavement, vessel glass and plain window glass.

F. V. H. Powell: The priest burial.

E. Clive Rouse: Wall paintings, Great Linford church.

Brian Spencer: The lead ampulla.

R. J. Williams: Chalice and paten, worked flints, re-used medieval timbers, early Saxon penannular brooch, clay pipes (church), wine bottles (MK1009).

In addition, Drs John Watson, Richard Thorpe and Olwen Williams-Thorpe assisted in the petrological examination of the stone objects, and Geoff Egan identified the wool bale seal.

Following the description of each object are details of its site catalogue number and provenance. These are necessarily abbreviated, and can be translated as follows:

L/WB35/42; fill of ditch 1.

Croft L/worked bone 35/context 42; fill of ditch 1.

In the case of chance finds from fieldwork and metal detecting, this coding begins with the site number, the details and location of which can be found in the gazetteer (p. 131, above) and on Overlay 2.

All illustrated artefacts are numbered in a single sequence: objects prefixed 'NI' are not illustrated. The following abbreviations are used in the text:

dia.	diameter	ext.	exterior
g.	grammes	int.	interior
th.	thickness	max.	maximum

## THE ARTEFACTS

### 1. *Objects of personal adornment or dress*

#### *Beads* (Fig. 49)

- 1 White glass bead, possibly a lace bobbin bead. Dia. 17mm.  
F/WS74/+; topsoil.
- 2 Black glass bead, Dia. 9mm.  
F/VG73/+; topsoil.
- 3 Light blue glass bead, damaged, possibly a lace bobbin bead. Dia. 10mm.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.
- 4 Light green glass bead, with a pronounced swirl to it. Dia. 21mm.  
F/VG83/22; clay bank against east wall, Building 16.

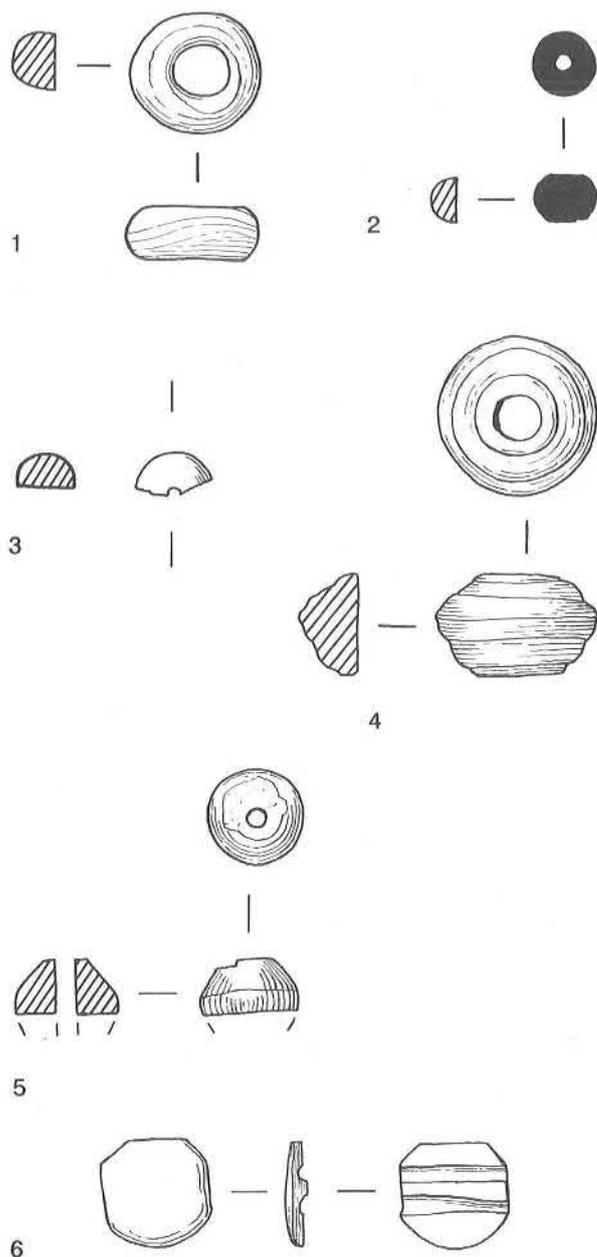


Figure 49: Glass and jet beads, 1-6, scale 1:1.

5 Jet bead, damaged. Dia. 13mm.  
E/WS70/+; topsoil.

6 Jet bead, damaged. A flattened sphere, with two holes. Possibly Roman; similar to an example found in a mid third century context in St Albans (Frere 1974, 165, no.1040). A two-hole bead of a different shape was recovered from a late third century context at Gorhambury (Neal *et al* 1990, 76-77, no.299). Dia. 14mm.  
A/WS38/31; destruction, wall 5, Building 1.

NI Jet bead, Dia. 11mm.  
B/WS9/19; destruction, Building 5.

### Belt end plates (Fig. 50)

Of particular note among the belt end plates is a ninth-century example (7), an unstratified metal detector find from Croft L, which predates other finds from this croft, and is nearly contemporary with the pottery recovered from the dark soil layer, Context 55, beneath the church (p. 109, above). The other dateable examples are all fourteenth to fifteenth century, and most of the remainder are also probably medieval. All the examples described below are of copper alloy.

7 Belt end, split at the butt end to accept the strap, which would have been attached by two rivets. The other end of the fitting terminates in an animal snout, above which is a horizontal line, and above that, a pair of 'eyebrows'. The decoration, in silver/niello, is badly worn, and is consequently difficult to describe. Dated to the ninth century (pers. comm. J. Graham Campbell). Similar to an early ninth-century example found at Wharram Percy (Hurst 1979, fig. 55, 12). Length 36mm., width 8mm.

L(MK571)/unstrat: metal detector find.

8 Two slightly tapering plates, one of which is decorated with incised zig zags and 'walked scorper' design. The plates are soldered onto a forked frame which terminates in a decorative knob. Two rivets attach it to the fabric of the textile belt, traces of which remain. A small groove 7mm. long is cut by a decorative hole which perforates both plates. A similar example was found, dated to about the fifteenth century, in Canterbury (Blockley 1988, 117-8, fig. 17, 35). Length 85mm., width 22mm.  
E/AE73B/+; topsoil.

9 Belt end plate, decorated with 'walked scorper' design. The back has two rivets and there are traces of solder at the edges. A groove 7mm. long is cut in the end which fitted to the belt, and a hole perforated through it and the back plate. Similar to a fourteenth to fifteenth-century example found in Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, 277-8, fig. 173, 1354). Length 60mm., width 18mm.  
E/AE73C/+; topsoil.

10 Belt end plate with a decorative hole and incised line, similar to one found at Austin Friars, Leicester, in a context with a *terminus post quem* of the early fifteenth century. (Mellor and Pearce 1981, 133-5, fig. 48, 29). Length 41mm., width 18mm.  
L/AE143/94; clay floor, south half of Building 26.

11 Decorated belt end, consisting of one inner and two outer rectangular plates, fixed to the belt by a single rivet. A similar example thought to be fourteenth century was found in Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, fig. 173, 1358). Length 35mm., width 13mm.  
E/AE73D/+; topsoil.

12 Belt end, with decorative terminal in a trefoil shape. Similar to an example found in an unstratified context at Seacourt (Biddle 1961, 70-201). Length 33mm., width 10mm.  
F/AE88/3; destruction, north side Building 16.

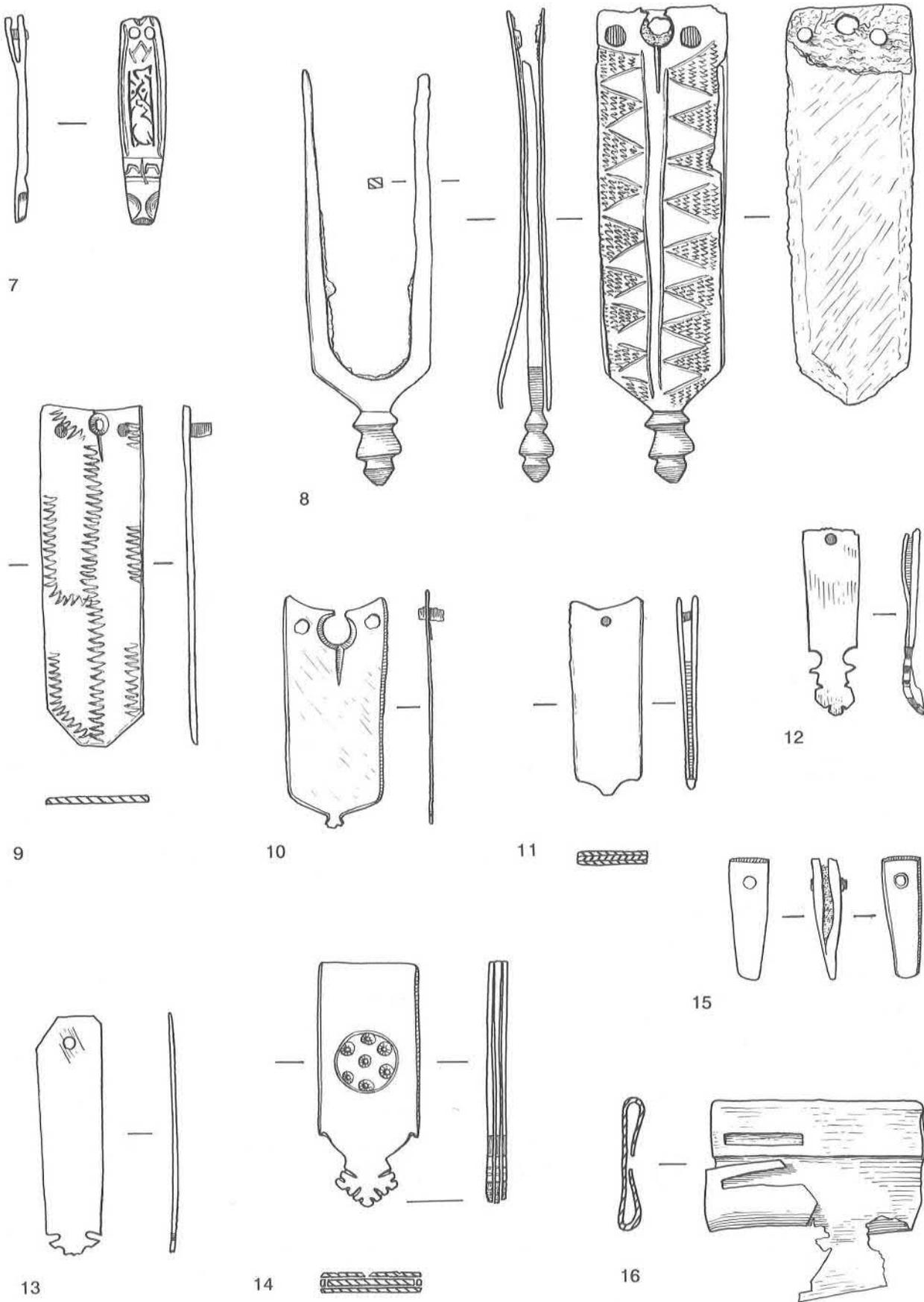


Figure 50: Belt end plates, 7-16, scale 1:1.

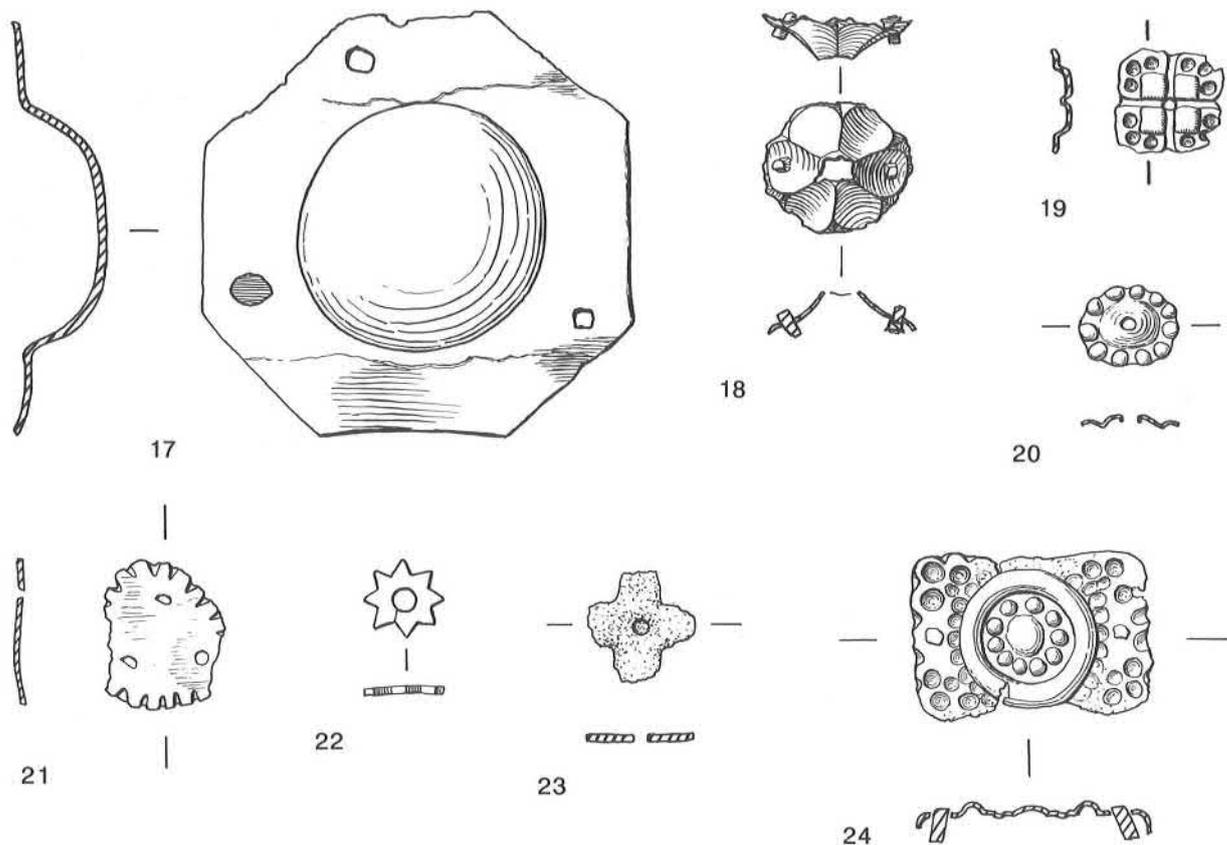


Figure 51: Bosses, 17-24, scale 1:1.

- 13 Belt end plate with a decorative terminal which has broken off at the tip. Length 43mm., width 12mm.  
H/AE112E/11; upper fill, ditch F9.
- 14 Belt end with a decorative terminal, and an incised line enclosing seven drilled dots. Length 43mm., width 17mm.  
H/AE119B/32; surface of west yard.
- 15 Undecorated gilded belt end with traces of textile caught between the two leaves and the rivet. Length 22mm., width 7mm.  
Manor/88/72; clay floor makeup, Room 10.
- 16 Strap stiffener, made from sheet folded sides to middle, and with 14mm slots in two of the corners. Length 38mm., width 23mm.  
H/AE115/18; upper surface of south yard.
- 17 Hexagonal boss, flat but for a central dome. The flat flange is pierced by three rivet/stitching holes. A similar boss was found in a mid seventeenth to nineteenth-century context at Denny Abbey (Christie and Coad 1980, fig. 52, 35). Width 55mm.  
B/AE60A/52; destruction, Building 4.
- 18 Domed boss in the form of a six-petaled flower with two rivets. A similar fitting was found in a fourteenth to sixteenth-century context in Northampton (Oakley and Webster 1979, fig. 109, 38). Dia. 20mm.  
J/AE102C/1.
- 19 A rectangular boss, stamped with a cross and dots and perforated through the centre. A number of similar bosses were found at Whitefriars Grammar School, Coventry, in contexts dated between 1545 and 1558 (Woodfield 1981, 95-97, fig. 6).  
F/AE92C/25; on floor of south extension, Building 18.
- 20 Domed boss, decorated with a circle of repoussé dots and perforated through the centre. Dia. 13mm.  
F/AE96E/37; yard north of Building 17.
- 21 Decorative disc, perforated by three holes. The edge has been cut to give a serrated effect. Width 20mm.  
B/AE146/1; destruction, Building 4.
- 22 Star, eight pointed, perforated. 10mm. across, hole dia. 3mm.  
F/AE90B/10; destruction over south yard.
- 23 Cross shape, stamped from sheet and perforated in the centre. 15mm. across.  
F/AE97/33; clay layer beneath Building 18.
- 24 Rectangular fitting decorated with repoussé dots and a circle. Length 31mm., width 22mm.  
F/AE84B/+; topsoil.

### Bosses (Fig. 51)

The largest group of decorative clothing/leather bosses came from Croft F. Dateable parallels could be found for only two medieval (18, 19) and one post-medieval example (17). All examples described below are of copper alloy.

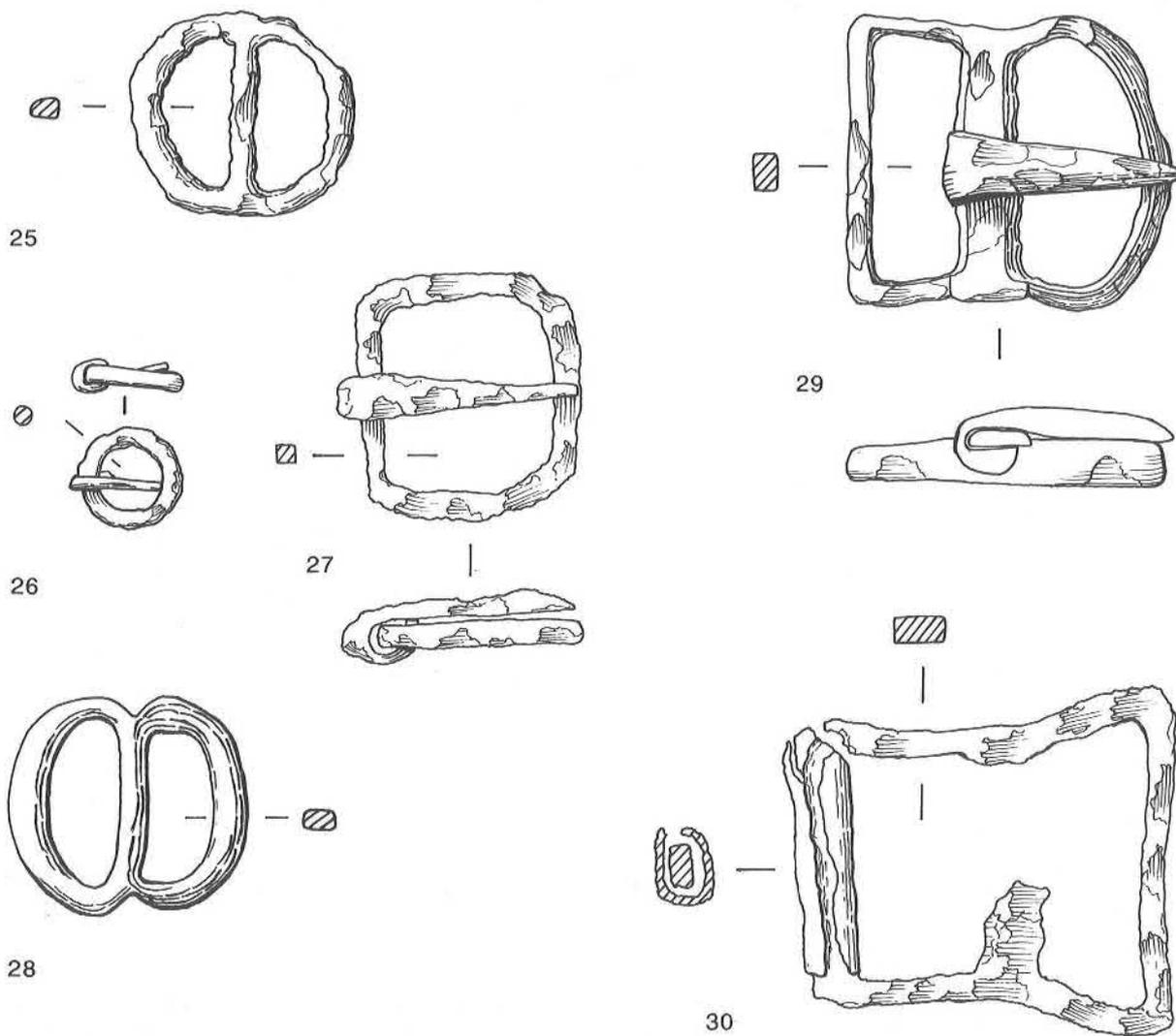


Figure 52: Buckles, 25-30, scale 1:1.

- NI Domed boss with a small hole through the centre. Dia. 50mm.  
B/AE43/4; surface of yard south of Building 5.
- NI Rectangular moulded decorative fitting with two rivet holes. Length 30mm.  
C/AE71D/6; fill of gully in south yard.
- NI Disc, flat, with a hole perforated through the centre and three iron rivets. Traces of white metal coating are visible. Dia. 21mm., hole Dia. 5mm.  
C/AE67/4; occupation level, Building 14.
- NI Thin flat disc, fragment, Dia. 48mm.  
D/AE62B/12; destruction, Building 12.
- NI Two hexagonal washer shaped objects, perforated by rectangular holes. Complete example is 18mm. long and 12mm. wide.  
G/AE105C/45; soil spread north of Building 20.
- NI Rectangular fitting, perforated with three holes and with a white metal coating on one side. Length 20mm., width 10mm.  
J/AE102D/1.2; topsoil.

*Buckles Figs 52-55*

Buckles are the most common personal items recovered from the Linford excavations. The majority, particularly the iron types, are plain functional clothing buckles, with the exception of a few shoe buckles, and a sword belt slide fitting (52). While four buckles can be dated typologically to the medieval period (31, 32, 33, 48), most are of sixteenth to eighteenth-century date.

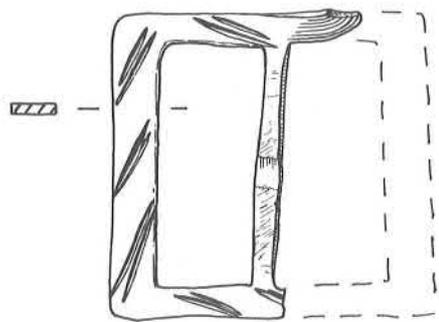
The iron buckles described in this section are a representative selection of the smaller and more elaborate iron buckles from the site, which numbered twenty in all, and comprised a third of all the iron buckles found. The larger examples, all thought to be connected with harness, are dealt with under Category 8.

**A. Iron**

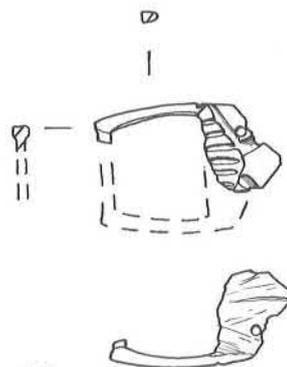
Circular; six examples found.

- 25 With central cross-bar. Dia. 28mm.  
B/IW90E/+; topsoil.

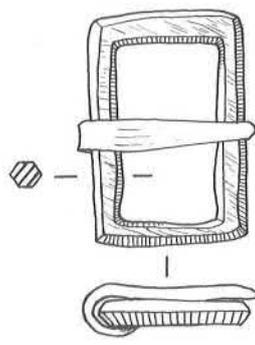
- 26 Dia. 14mm., parallel sided pin.  
F/IW271B/30; yard north of Building 17.
- 'D' shaped; three examples found.
- 27 Measures 30 × 33mm. overall. Tapered pin.  
L/IW395W/+; topsoil.
- Double 'D'; three examples found.
- 28 Two buckles (one illustrated). Pins missing.  
B/IW36C/2; surface, yard north of Building 5.
- Keyhole; Five examples found.
- 29 Length 43mm. Tapered pin.  
F/IW245C/+; topsoil.
- Figure of eight; three examples found.
- 30 Flat centre bar and revolving cylinder on short side.  
Length 48 mm.  
L/IW421B/33; destruction, Building 28.
- ### B. Copper alloy
- 31 Rectangular buckle, fragment, decorated with pairs of incised oblique lines, similar to one found at Chelmsford in a context dated to 1250–90 (Cunningham & Drury, 1985, fig. 26, 10). Width 40mm. across the bar.  
B/AE41/2; yard surface south of Building 7.
- 32 Part of a rectangular buckle with an incised crown-like design. A similar but undecorated example, dated between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, was found at Exeter (Allen 1984, 339, no.69).  
MK849/4/+; metal detector find.
- 33 Rectangular buckle with chamfered edges, very similar to a late fourteenth to early-fifteenth century one found in Northampton (Williams 1978, fig. 22, 10). Length 31mm., width 20mm.  
Manor/56/113; soil over floor of Room 5.
- 34 Plain rectangular buckle, similar to a sixteenth to seventeenth-century example found on the St Mary's excavations in Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, fig. 174, 1364). Length 29mm., width 20mm.  
A/AE49/38; destruction, Building 1.
- 35 A double trapezoidal buckle, similar in shape to a decorated example found in a late seventeenth-century context in Exeter (Allen 1984, 339, no.86). Length 36mm., width 20mm.  
MK1015/10A/+; metal detector find.
- 36 A rectangular buckle with moulded decoration, similar to a more elaborate example, dated to the late seventeenth century, found at Ardingley fulling mill (Bedwin 1976, 64, no.52). Length 30mm., width 20mm.  
MK1015/15/+; metal detector find.
- 37 Rectangular buckle, fragment, decorated with simple incised lines. The buckle has broken across the pin hole for the crossbar, which is missing. Length 30mm.  
B/AE46/6; destruction, Building 4.
- 38 Buckle, roughly made, in the shape of a sinuous square. The bar is enfolded by a belt end of copper alloy sheet with two rivets, which has a cutaway portion surrounding the tang. Width 36mm. across the bar.  
B/AE52B/6; destruction, Building 4.
- 39 Double oval buckle with four decorative knobs. Marshall dates a very similar one to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century (Marshall 1986, fig. 7, 47). Length 38mm., width 24mm.  
C/AE82/17; destruction Building 13.
- 40 Double oval buckle, fragment, with cast foliate decoration, very similar to an example found in a late sixteenth to early seventeenth-century context in Exeter (Allen 1984, 339–40, fig. 190, 81).  
C/AE71B/6; fill of gully, south yard.
- 41 Double oval buckle similar to one found in Southampton in a seventeenth-century context (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 265–66, fig. 244, 1858).  
D/AE62/12; destruction, Building 12.
- 42 Double oval buckle decorated with incised diagonal lines and large dots. Length 41mm., width across the bar 37mm.  
C/AE71A/6; fill of gully, south yard.
- 43 Circular buckle fragment decorated with a rope design. Width 35mm.  
D/AE66/1; destruction, Building 9.
- 44 Buckle, 'D' shaped, with a groove cut to take the tip of the now missing pin. Length 35mm., width 22mm.  
J/AE102/+; topsoil.
- 45 Buckle, strap-end type, belt fitting and tang missing. A similar buckle was found in Portsmouth in a late seventeenth to eighteenth-century context (Fox and Barton 1986, fig. 152, 10). Length 21mm., width 16mm.  
B/AE55/14; destruction, Building 5.
- 46 Asymmetric buckle, badly distorted, similar to one on a boot of 1670–1712 in Northampton Museum, though this example is a somewhat simpler shape. Length 40mm., width across the bar 30mm.  
C/AE51/2; destruction, Building 8.
- 47 Long narrow buckle with a moulded bar, and the belt plate decorated with 'walked scoper' design. Three small rivets join the belt plate to the belt (Ward Perkins 1967, pl. LXXVI, 1 & 2, are similar but curved).  
E/AE73E/+; topsoil.
- 48 Pointed buckle with white metal coating on the forked part. The two belt plates soldered to the frame are copper alloy, as is the rivet which attached it to the belt. Similar to a larger mid fourteenth-century buckle from Austin Friars, Leicester (Mellor & Pearce 1981, 133–5, fig. 48, 26). Length 49mm.  
E/AE81/4; ditch south of Building 10.



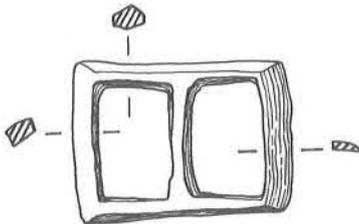
31



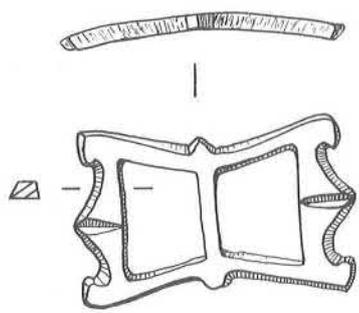
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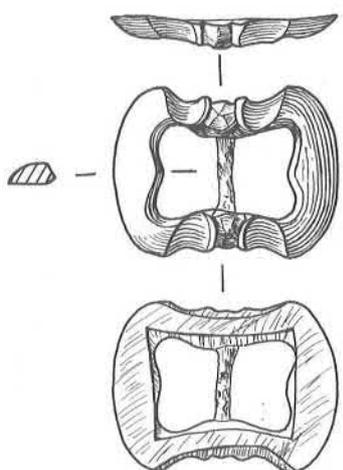
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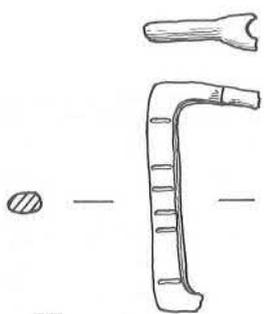
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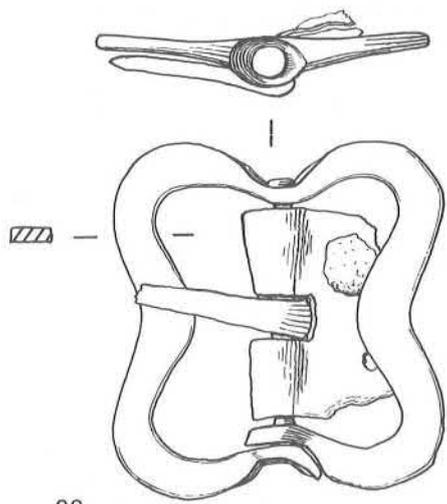
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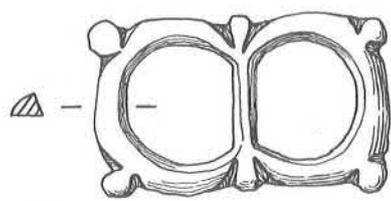
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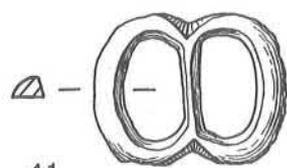
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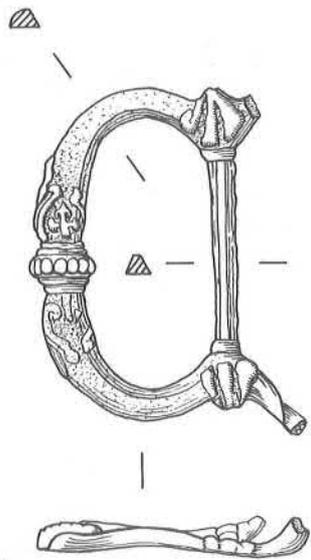
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41



40

Figure 53: Buckles, 31-41, scale 1:1.

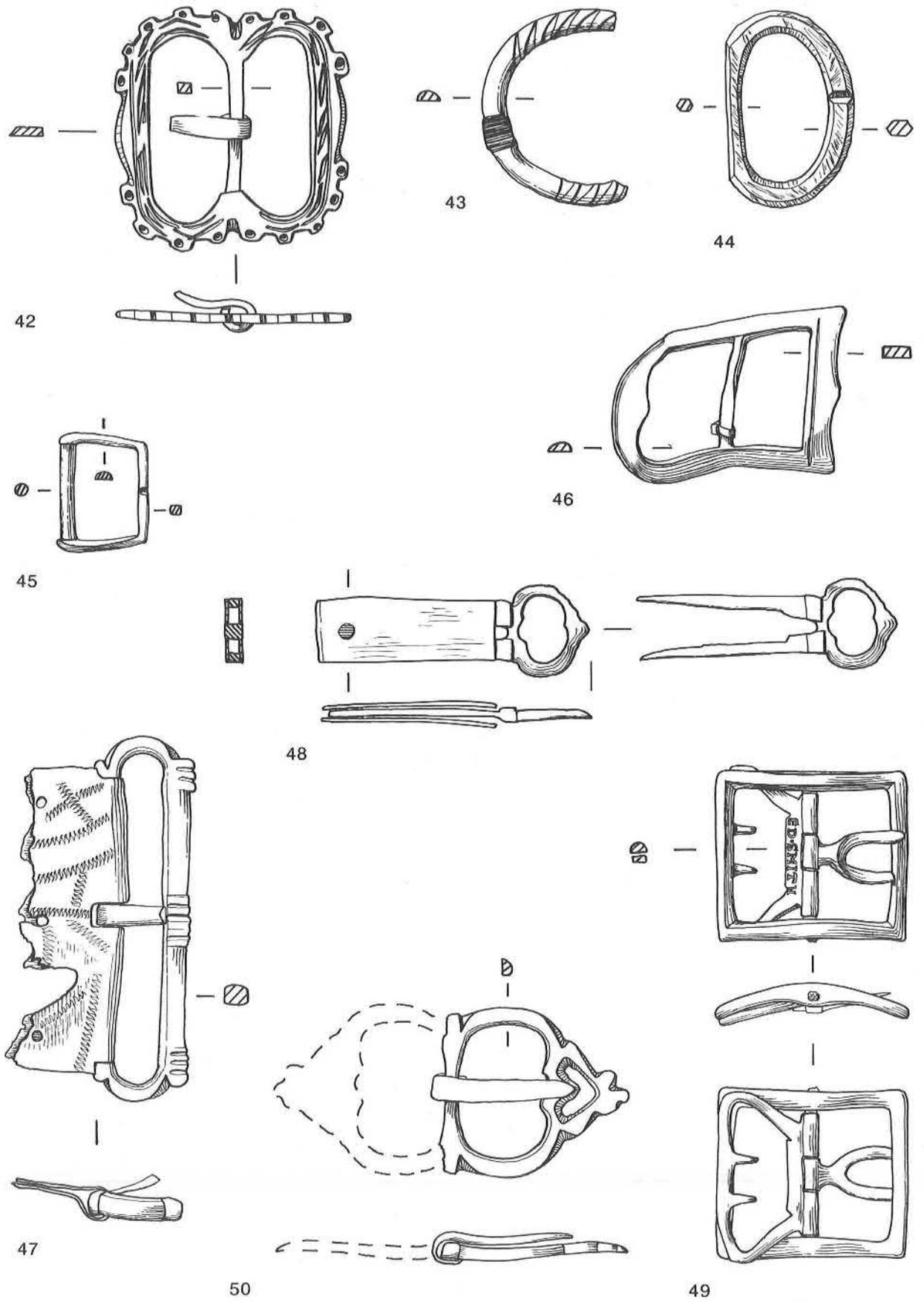


Figure 54: Buckles, 42-50, scale 1:1.

- 49 Shoe buckle with "ED SMITH" stamped on the chape. A typical style of c.1720-90. Length 33mm., width 30mm.  
L/AE127J/+; topsoil.
- 50 Buckle fragment with the tang present. surviving length 33mm. from point to crossbar.  
B/AE39A/25; destruction, Building 5.
- 51 Buckle, decorated with incised lines. Width across the bar 22mm., length 32mm.  
B/AE39B/25; destruction, Building 5.
- 52 Belt slide, fragment, with a loop attachment for a sword belt via a hook fastener (Marshall 1986, Type IVF).  
B/AE52A/6; destruction, Building 4.
- NI Rectangular buckle with an iron tang, similar to one found in Portsmouth in an eighteenth-century context (Fox and Barton 1986, 239-40, fig. 152, 17). Length 24mm., width across the bar 18mm.  
C/AE54F/+; topsoil.
- NI Rectangular buckle fragment, length 28mm., width across the bar 15mm.  
D/AE53/+; topsoil.
- NI Square buckle with an iron tang. 60mm. across.  
H/AE86/+; topsoil.
- NI Double oval buckle fragment. Width across the bar 22mm.  
H/AE109/1; cobbles over Building 22.
- NI Plain 'D' shaped buckle, width 37mm.  
F/AE85B/+; topsoil.
- NI Buckle, possibly for harness, missing its bar and tang. Length 34mm., width 30mm.  
L/AE127K/+; topsoil.
- NI Buckle fragment? Scrap of copper alloy, folded. width 10mm.  
B/AE39C/25; destruction, Building 5.
- NI Buckle or brooch fragment, moulded. Length 29mm.  
E/AE72E/3; destruction, Building 10.
- NI Buckle plate, dimensions 22 × 55mm.  
B/AE30/2; yard surface south of Building 7.
- NI Buckle plate, with two rivet holes and an oblong hole for the buckle tang. Length 40mm.  
C/AE71C/6; fill of gully, south yard.
- NI Buckle plate. Length 20mm., width 16mm.  
J/AE101C/+; topsoil.

### C. White metal

- 53 Oval buckle with decorative points, one of which has a groove cut in it. Similar to one found in an early seventeenth-century context at Banbury Castle (Rodwell 1976, fig. 17, 4). Length 52mm.  
B/PEW4A/8; rubble makeup, yard south of Building 5.

### Buttons Fig. 55

#### A. Copper alloy

Of the twenty copper alloy buttons from Great Linford, thirteen are from topsoil contexts. The rest are from Crofts A, B, H/J and L, and all are of very late medieval or post-medieval date. Gilded buttons were found on Croft B and Croft L, both in topsoil deposits.

- 54 Plain buttons, diam 26 mm.  
B/AE21/+; topsoil.

Croft	Finds no.	Cont.	Dia.(mm)	Shank height (mm)
A	E6	5	16	8
B	AE14	19	17	9
B	AE18	+	27	(white metal coating)
B	AE21	+	26	(illustrated-54)
B	AE21	+	26	
B	AE37	+	35	(gilded)
F	AE83	+	14	7
L	AE127M	+	21	8 (gilded)
L	AE127N	+	13	
L	AE127O	+	29	

- 55 Button, decorated with repoussé crosses on a gilded background. The concave back of the button fits over a bone core, through which the shank is fitted. Dia. 30mm.  
B/AE19/19; destruction, Building 5.
- 56 Domed button, iron covered with copper alloy. Dia. 10mm., height of shank 8mm.  
B/AE26/4; surface of yard south of Building 5.
- NI Decorated button, embossed basket weave pattern, fragmentary.  
L/AE131A/1; destruction over back lane.
- NI Button with a white metal coating on the front. "HT. . . D" is stamped around the iron shank. Dia. 12mm.  
B/AE25/+; topsoil.
- NI Flat button with white metal coating and traces of an iron shank. Dia. 29mm.  
L/AE127O/+; topsoil.
- NI Flat button, top only, with the word "LONDON. . ." just visible around the damaged edge. Dia. 23mm., th. 0.5mm.  
Manor/125/1; topsoil.
- NI Domed button, copper alloy shank. Dia. 11mm., height of shank 6mm.  
H/AE104/9; destruction, Building 22.
- NI Domed button, copper alloy shell over a core of an unidentified material, and a copper alloy shank. Dia. 14mm.  
J/AE107/6; fill, construction trench, drain F2.
- NI Hollow button, made from two domed halves soldered together. Shank missing. Dia. 14mm.  
L/AE127P/+; topsoil.

NI Domed faceted button with a white metal coating. Dia. 12mm., height 13mm. L/AE127Q/+; topsoil.

NI Back disc and shank of button, Dia. 15mm., height of shank 5mm. L/AE127U/+; topsoil.

#### B. White metal

NI Plain button, shank missing. Dia. 22mm. B/PEW2/4; from surface of yard south of Building 5.

NI Flat white metal button. Dia. 22mm. Modern? B/AE34/+; topsoil.

NI Plain flat white metal button, copper alloy shank. Dia. 27mm., height of shank 12mm. Manor/120/1; topsoil.

NI Plain flat white metal button, copper alloy shank. Dia. 25mm., height of shank 9mm. Manor/105/84; on pitched stone path.

NI Button with an incised line around the edge and a circular design in the centre. H/PEW6/18; south yard surface.

NI Four-hole button, stamped with the words 'NE PLUS SULTRA' and a decorative curlique. Dia. 16mm. Manor/126/1; topsoil.

#### C. Bone

##### 57 & 58 Single hole

A single hole button similar to those listed below, found during excavations in Southampton, was given a probable seventeenth-century date (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 249, 1948).

Croft	Finds no.	Cont.	Dia.	Th. (mm)	Hole dia. (mm)
B	WB7	+	26	1.5	2.5
H	WB26	11	12	1.5	2.0
H	WB23	+	12	1.5	2.0 (illustrated-57)
J	WB25A	+	18	1.5	1.0 (illustrated-58)
J	WB25B	+	16	1.0	1.5

##### 59 Four holes

Croft	Finds no.	Cont.	Dia.	Th. (mm)
L	WB30H	+	17	2
L	WB31D	6	18	3
L	WB32	17	16	2 (illustrated-59)
Manor	8	2	19	3

All four buttons are slightly concave, and have an incised line around the holes.

#### C. Glass

60 A spherical button, made of black or dark blue glass decorated with a trail of white glass. The iron shank is broken off. Dia. 8mm. C/VG55/3; North yard, latest surface.

#### Clothing fasteners Fig. 55

61 Hook fastener, iron, length 45mm. Twenty-four examples of this type of fastener were found at Linford, varying in length from 26mm. to 45mm. It is possible that they were used both for clothing and footwear fastenings. All were recovered from contexts of seventeenth-century or later date. B/IW15P/19; destruction, Building 5.

62 Cloak fastener, copper alloy, springing from a loop, with curlicues bound to either side of it with fine wire. Length 30mm., width 17mm. A similar fastener, dated to the mid seventeenth century, is noted by Noel-Hume from America (Noel-Hume 1978, fig. 20, 8). E/AE73/+; topsoil.

63 Hose hook, copper alloy, decorated with a rosette design and six holes. A similar hook excavated at the Free Grammar School, Coventry, has been dated to the sixteenth century (Woodfield 1981, 96), while another from Chelmsford was found in a context dated to 1700-1730 (Cunningham and Drury 1985, fig. 27, 25). Manor/2/15; post hole in Room 1.

NI Hook fasteners, copper alloy. Two of these were found, similar in shape to 61, and measuring 26mm. and 25mm. in length respectively. C/AE59A/+; topsoil. E/AE114A/11; destruction, Building 11.

#### Lace ends Fig. 55

Croft	Finds no.	Cont.	Length (mm)
B	AE58	52	29
B	AE39D	25	34 (illustrated-64)
B	AE32	4	23
C	AE71E	6	29
D	AE75	5	18
H	AE122J	37	25
H	AE119A	32	23 (illustrated-65)
L	AE127V	+	21
L	AE139A	49	29
L	AE139B	49	(frag)
L	AE141A	70	21
L	AE141B	70	21

64 & 65 These are made from a sheet of copper alloy rolled into a tube, with the two long edges tucked towards the centre. The Northampton lace ends were classified into two types (Oakley and Webster 1979, figs. 113 and 114); the Great Linford examples are all Oakley's Type 2, which are dated to the mid sixteenth to seventeenth century. All are plain, except for 65, which is ribbed.

#### Rings with twists Fig. 55

66 These objects are made from a length of fine wire bent into a neat circle closed with two twists. Similar examples have been found in Southampton in contexts of 1550-1650 (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 244, 1818 & 1820).

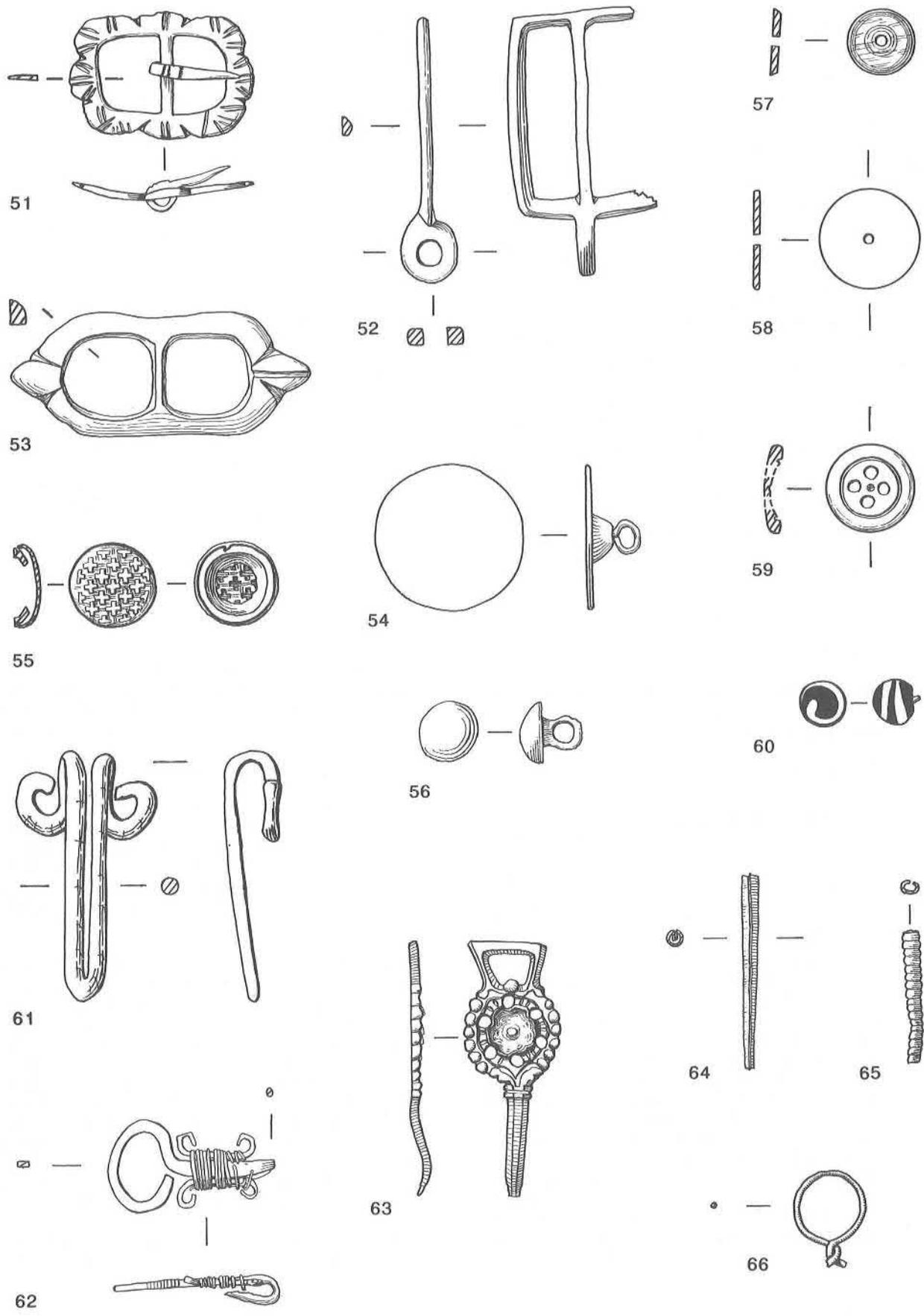


Figure 55: Buckles, 51–53; Buttons, 54–60; Dress fasteners, 61–63; Lace ends, 64–65; Rings with twists, 66, scale 1:1.

Croft	Finds no.	Context	Dia. (mm)
A	AE50	+	12.5 (illustrated-66)
B	AE63	8	11
H	AE117	23	11

### Heel protectors Fig. 56

Iron heel protectors begin to appear after the advent of footwear with built-up leather soles and heels, sometime in the seventeenth century, remaining in use until the widespread adoption in recent years of the composite rubber sole. Of the twenty-eight examples found at Great Linford, most are fragmentary, and appear from their size to have come from mens' working boots. In some cases, it has been difficult to distinguish between these and small horse or pony shoes, though heel protectors seem generally to have widths of 75mm. or less, and web widths of less than 20mm. All the Great Linford crofts produced heel protectors except Croft E, which ceased to be occupied in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

- 67 Fullered, three nail holes, upturned calkins. Width 48mm., web width 10mm., length 40mm.  
A/IW1AE/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 68 Square tips, five nail holes. Length 75mm., web width 18-22mm.  
B/IW75A/12; destruction, Building 5.
- 69 Fullered, four nail holes. Width c.80mm., web width 15mm., length c.64mm.  
B/IW95B/42; clay floor, central bay, Building 5.

### Jewellery Fig. 57

#### Early Saxon Pennanular Brooch

R. J. Williams

- 70 Cast copper alloy hoop, round in cross-section, with fine decorative ribbing on the upper side. The small flat terminals each have a plain pointed oval, with small protrusions on the outside and more decorative raised diagonal projections at the apex of the pointed oval. The undersides of the terminals are also flat, with simple incised decoration, consisting of groups of three, two and three transverse grooves, separated by an oblique groove. The terminals clearly represent a simplified, stylised animal snout with ears and eyes, its mouth swallowing the hoop. The pinhead is of a deeply barrel-moulded form, wrapped around the hoop, with pairs of three transverse grooves, separated by an oblique line just below the joint on the upper side, and a possible incised 'V' at the intersection of the shank and barrel. A 'V' has also been incised on the underside of the barrel. The hoop has been slightly distorted in both planes, forming an oval, slightly 'spring-like', with one terminal above the other. The pin has been slightly damaged and bent downwards towards its point, but its otherwise dished appearance is likely to have been either by design or to have resulted through wear. External dia. of hoop (est.) 69-72mm., pin length 79mm.

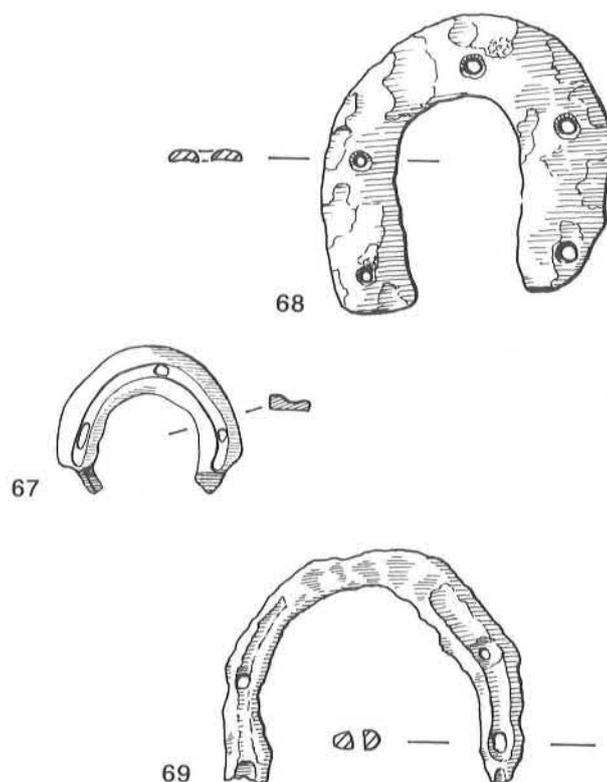


Figure 56: Heel protectors. 67-69, scale 1:2.

This brooch is of the familiar penannular type with clearly defined zoomorphic terminals, usually referred to as Fowler's Type F (Fowler 1980). Fowler suggested that the prototype for Type F was the smaller Type E, none of which can be dated to earlier than the fourth century. At the other end of the time scale, this type of brooch is ancestral to the slightly later extremely ornate larger forms widely distributed in Ireland. It is interesting to note that the curvature of the pin is found on a number of similar brooches, and may be deliberate. The short length of the pin, together with the proportionally large diameter of the thin hoop, are widely accepted as early features.

The Type F brooch has been further subdivided into Types F1 and F2. In the former group, the terminals are elaborated with enamel, while in the latter they have a more developed 'ultimate La Tène' type decoration. Whilst Type F2 is almost entirely found in Ireland, Type F1 is so rare that so far no meaningful pattern of distribution has emerged, and the simple Type F (Langley 1975, 9) has been found in Wales, northern Britain, and the west of England. Although there may have been several manufacturing centres, it has been suggested that this style of brooch may have been made in the west Midlands (Youngs 1989).

The dating of such brooches is still a problem, but they are thought generally to be of fifth to sixth-century date. Unfortunately the isolated discovery of this important addition to the *corpus* of Type F penannular brooches will not help clarify the date range of such types.

MK579/1+; metal detector find.

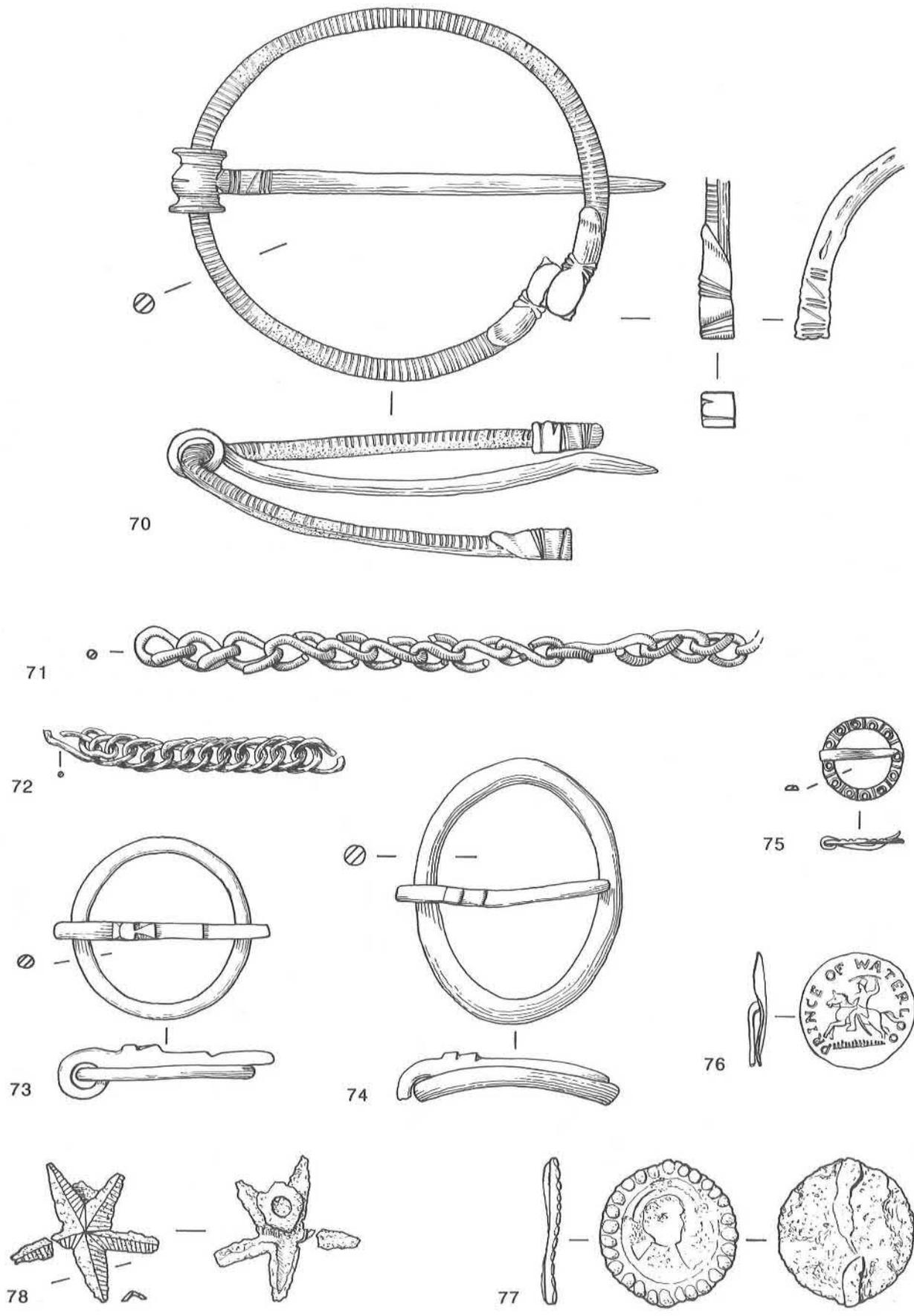


Figure 57: Jewellery, 70-78, scale 1:1.

- 71 A 686mm. length of copper alloy chain of twisted 'S' shaped links. 70mm. from one end of the chain is a smaller link followed by a longer one, possibly to allow for a pendant or bead.  
H/AE121/35; clay floor, Building 22.
- 72 A 53 mm. length of copper alloy chain made of links designed to lie flat.  
MK1015/11/+; metal detector find.
- 73 Annular brooch, copper alloy, with two decorative notches on the pin. This is very similar to one found in Bedford and dated to the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century (Baker *et al* 1979, 278-9). Dia. 33mm.  
Manor/109/92: under pitched stone path.
- 74 Distorted annular brooch, copper alloy, dia.36mm. Similar to an example found in Bedford in a late thirteenth to late fourteenth-century context (Baker *et al* 1979, fig. 104, 1369).  
C/AE54D/+; topsoil.
- 75 Circular copper alloy brooch or buckle, decorated with raised lines and circles, perhaps in imitation of an inscription. A similar, though slightly larger example was found in a thirteenth-century context in Winchester (Biddle 1990, 642-3, no.2023). Dia. 15mm.  
B/AE60B/50; Building 6, phase 2.
- 76 Copper alloy disc, stamped with an equestrian figure waving a curved sword above his head, surrounded by the legend "PRINCE OF WATERLOO". The reverse has a clip for attach-

ment to a hat or lapel, and was presumably worn by a supporter of the Duke of Wellington, post 1815. Dia. 21mm.  
Manor/140/215; destruction, Building 2.

- 77 Livery badge. White metal disc, with a beaded edge around a crude head. There are traces of a pin fixture on the reverse. Dia. 25mm.  
H/L38/+; topsoil.

- 78 Retainer's badge? Five-pointed star, white metal, dia.27mm. On the reverse is a small ring for attaching it to clothing. A star in a crescent was a favoured royalist retainer's badge around 1400 (Michener 1986, 195).  
C/L23/6; fill of gully in south yard.

### *Pattens* Fig. 58

Pattens were worn as an overshoe in wet and muddy conditions, and consisted of a wooden sole beneath which projected wood 'stilts' or an iron framework. Although principally an overshoe, there is evidence from London to suggest that, from the early fifteenth century onwards, they were worn over the hose as a form of open sandal (Grew and de Neergard 1988, 91).

Four complete iron patten fittings were found at Linford, as well as fragments of two others. Interestingly, most came from Croft A, from destruction contexts related to Building 1, while one

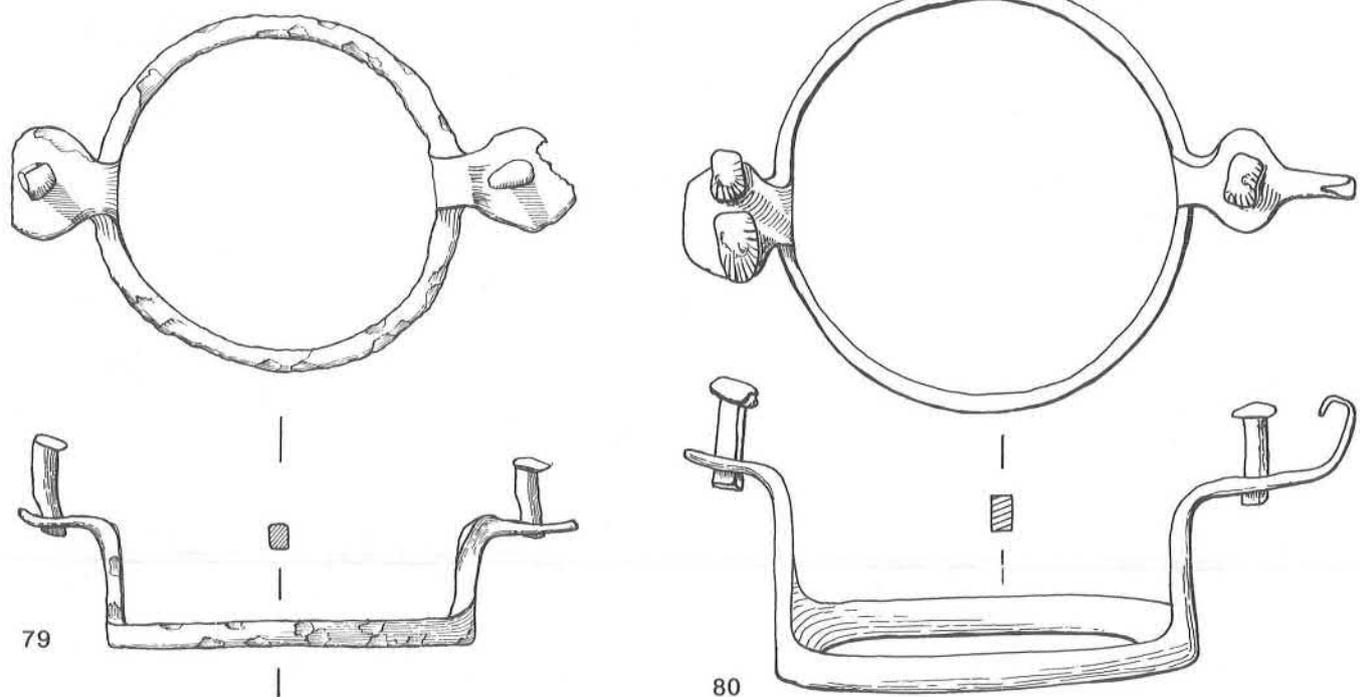


Figure 58: Pattens, 79-80, scale 1:2.

complete fitting and one fragment were found on Croft B; a comment, perhaps, on the conditions underfoot in that part of the village!

All the patten fittings were of the same type; a ring, between 90mm. and 115mm. in diameter, linked to the wooden sole by two brackets, each ending in a flat plate held by one or two rivets. Similar fittings have been found on excavations at the deserted village of Westbury, Milton Keynes (pers. comm. R. J. Ivens), while one was recorded from Eggington, Beds. (Baker *et al* 1979, fig. 176, 1437). This type of fitting has been dated to the seventeenth century by Northampton Museum.

79 Dia. 95mm., height 28mm. Single rivet fastenings for 15–20mm. thick sole.

A/TW1J/3; destruction, Building 1.

80 Dia. 114mm., height 42mm. One single and one double rivet fastening, the former with added tab curling round edge of sole 18mm. thick.

B/IW116A/18; destruction, Building 5.

## 2. Toilet, surgical or pharmaceutical instruments

### Tweezers Fig. 59

81 Tweezers made from a narrow copper alloy strip, folded in half and twisted together for part of its length. The open ends widen slightly. A similar example was found in medieval levels at Lyveden, Northants (Steane and Bryant 1975, 130). Length 52mm.

A/AE77/35; destruction, Building 1.

### Combs

82 Bone comb, simple double sided, with a 17mm. solid zone. The coarse teeth measure 2mm. across at the base and 19mm. in length. The fine teeth are 1mm. wide at the base and 19mm. long. The whole comb measures 55 × 25mm. There are traces of guidelines for the sawing of the teeth. Similar combs from contexts dated 1590–1630 and 1630–1670 were found at Moulsham Street, Chelmsford (Cunningham & Drury 1985, fig. 36, 1 & 2).

A/WB1/3; destruction, Building 1.

NI Bone comb, simple double-sided, fragment, with a 12mm. solid zone. The coarse teeth measure 1.5mm. wide at the base and are 21mm. in length. The fine teeth are 1mm. wide at the base, 3mm. thick, and 22mm. long. The whole fragment measures 43 × 13mm.

C/WB14/6; fill of gully in south yard.

NI Bone comb, fragment, simple double-sided with coarse teeth, which measure 1.5mm. in width and 20mm. in length. The fine teeth are missing. Width across teeth and solid zone 16mm.

L/WB31E/6; destruction, general.

NI Comb tooth of very white bone, or possibly ivory. 29mm. long, section 3 × 2mm.

L/WB42/160; wall 17.

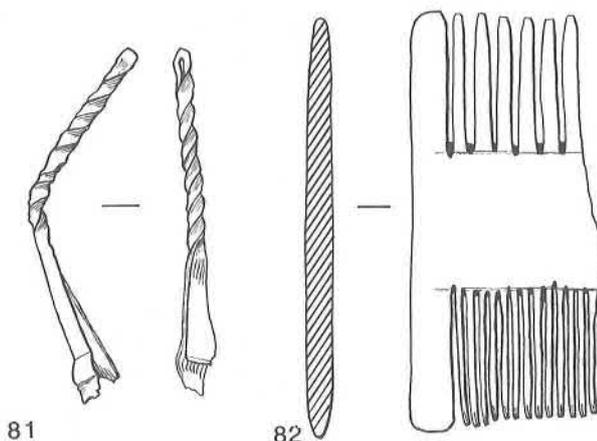


Figure 59: Tweezers, 81; Comb, 82, scale 1:1.

## 3. Objects used in textile manufacture or working

### Cloth bale seals Fig. 60

83 Cloth bale seal, white metal, of the four disc type. One face has 'SOMERSET PW' in relief, struck slightly off-centre, while the other has two rampant lions and the number '65'. Parts of an almost illegible inscription can be seen on the rivet section, probably 'PW' and '64'. Geoff Egan (pers. comm.) dates this to 1664–65.

A/L3/3; destruction, Building 1.

84 Cloth bale seal, white metal, fragment, perforated by two holes, with a crown and lion just distinguishable. The reverse has the impression of an evenly woven textile. Geoff Egan (pers. comm.) felt that this was possibly a French seal, but because of its worn condition could not date it more securely than to the sixteenth to seventeenth century. Width 16mm., holes 4mm. across.

L/L43A/6; destruction, general.

### Lace bobbins Fig. 60

85 Lace bobbin, bone, midlands type, decorated with the name "THOMAS" in drilled dots which may have been filled with red and/or blue colour. The bobbin is badly worn and incomplete, having lost the head and neck which held the thread, and being broken across the hole drilled to take the spangle. Length 75mm.

This bobbin is probably locally made, though confirmation is difficult as the ends, which can often be attributed to particular craftsmen, are missing. Many inscribed bobbins are still in use today, and family names and events are common subjects. Bobbins of this type are usually dated to the mid nineteenth century or later. However, as nothing from this context is later than the early eighteenth century, it may be that such bobbins could be earlier than previously thought.

A/WB2/3; destruction, Building 1.

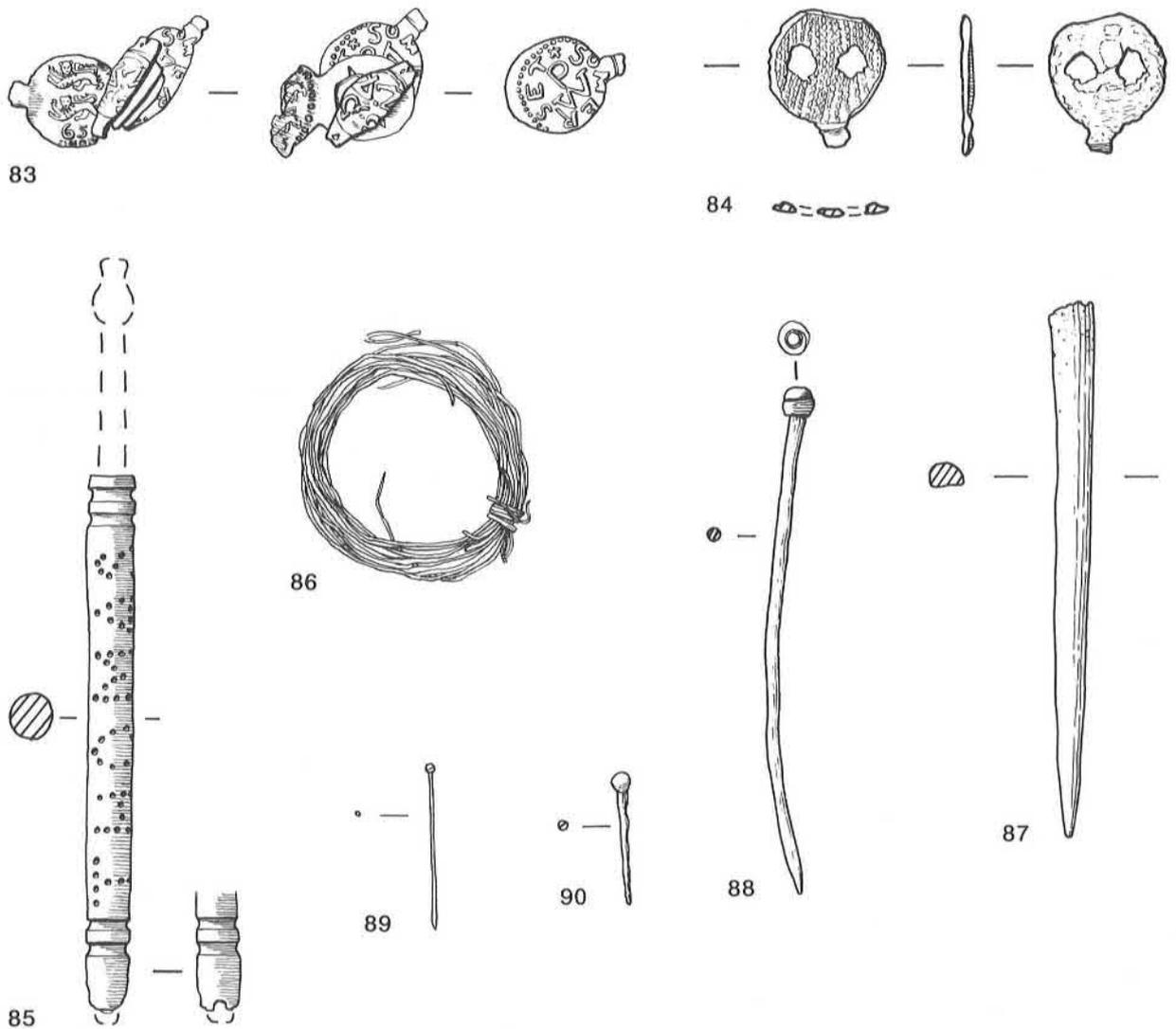


Figure 60: Objects used in textile manufacturing or working, 83-90, scale 1:1.

- 86 A bundle of copper alloy wire, neatly coiled and secured with a twist of the same. Wire of this type was used to decorate and attach the beads to midlands lace bobbins. 35mm. across.  
F/AE100/31; topsoil over west boundary ditch.

*Needles and awls Fig. 60*

- 87 Bone needle, fragment, broken just below the eye. Length 75mm., max. dia. 7mm.  
F/WB29/103; fill, ditch F28.
- NI Bone awl?, length 130mm.  
F/WB20/4; destruction, Building 15.
- NI Bone needle or bodkin, fragment, both ends missing. Length 48mm., dia. 7mm.  
A/WB3/10; occupation levels, Building 3.

*Pins Fig. 60*

The sixty-two copper alloy pins found at Great Linford are with one exception (90) made with

heads of two twists of wire, added to the shaft. It is possible that in an area famous for its lacemaking these pins were used in this work, though other domestic use cannot be ruled out. They vary in length from 19-71mm., with an average length of 36mm., and in thickness from 0.25-2.0mm. The variety of sizes is not inconsistent with their use in lacemaking. Fine pins were used for more complex work and larger ones, known as 'dividers', held back the spare bobbins from the work. Three pins are illustrated:

- 88 Pin, length 71mm., dia. 2mm.  
A/AE56/25; destruction, Building 1.
- 89 Pin, length 24mm., dia. 0.5mm.  
B/AE20A/+; topsoil.
- 90 Pin, globular head. Length 19mm., dia. 1mm.  
L/AE140B/23; fill of pond, F5.

Both the shears and scissors from Linford appear to fall into two distinct groups, related to their size. The smaller scissors and the two very small shears (93, 94) were probably used for needlework or lacemaking (similar shears can still be purchased nowadays for this purpose), while the larger scissors are of the general domestic type, for kitchen use, cutting cloth, etc. Whilst the larger shears may have served similar functions, it is possible that some (eg. 91) may have been used for sheep shearing. It has been suggested (Cowgill, de Neergard and Griffiths 1987, 60) that shears, being more readily available and easier to manufacture, were used for domestic purposes, while the more durable and expensive scissors were preferred by tradesmen such as hatters, tailors and barbers, whose livelihood depended on more precise cutting. All the shears and scissors found were iron.

a). Shears.

- 91 Blade, arm and part of bow. Broad triangular blade, length 130mm. 'D' section arm, length 90mm., broad rectangular section bow. C/IW180A/6; fill of gully F3.
- 92 Bow and arms only. Bow dia. 39mm. Both the bow and arms are rectangular in section, the former being slightly broader. Fifteenth century? E/IW195A/1; destruction, Building 10.
- 93 Arm and part of blade and bow. Flat section bow, est. int. dia. 30mm. Tapered rectangular section arm, length 50mm. Blade width at base 17mm. L/IW395B/+; topsoil.
- 94 Triangular blades, length 45mm. Square section arms, length 33mm. Rectangular section spring, int. dia. 18mm. approx. L/IW398A/6; destruction, general.

b). Scissors.

- 95 Length 105mm. 'D' section blades with squarish tips. Rectangular offset loops (one missing). A/IW83A/15; destruction, Building 1.
- 96 Loops offset, missing. Square ended tapered blades, length 31mm. (Drawn from X-Ray) C/IW107D/+; topsoil.
- 97 Tapered 'D' section blades, length 40mm. Arms rounded section, length 23mm. Loops offset, missing. F/IW245F/+; topsoil.
- 98 Tapered 'D' section blades, length 70mm., max. width 12mm. Round loops, one missing. Square section arms, length 45mm. Sixteenth century. G/IW256A/1; upper floor level, east bay, Building 21.
- 99 Broad, parallel sided blades, length 60mm., width 13mm. Circular section arms, length 45mm. Loops offset, broken. H/IW296C/9; destruction, Building 22.
- 100 Blades broken, rounded triangular section, parallel sided, width 13mm. Arms of 6mm. square section, length 40mm., with stop. Circular loops, 24mm. int. dia. L/IW395S/+; topsoil.
- 101 Blades 'D' section, both sides curving to central point. Max. width 15mm. Square section arms, length 53mm., cranked outwards at end to join circular loops, int. dia. 21mm. L/396F/1; destruction rubble over back lane.

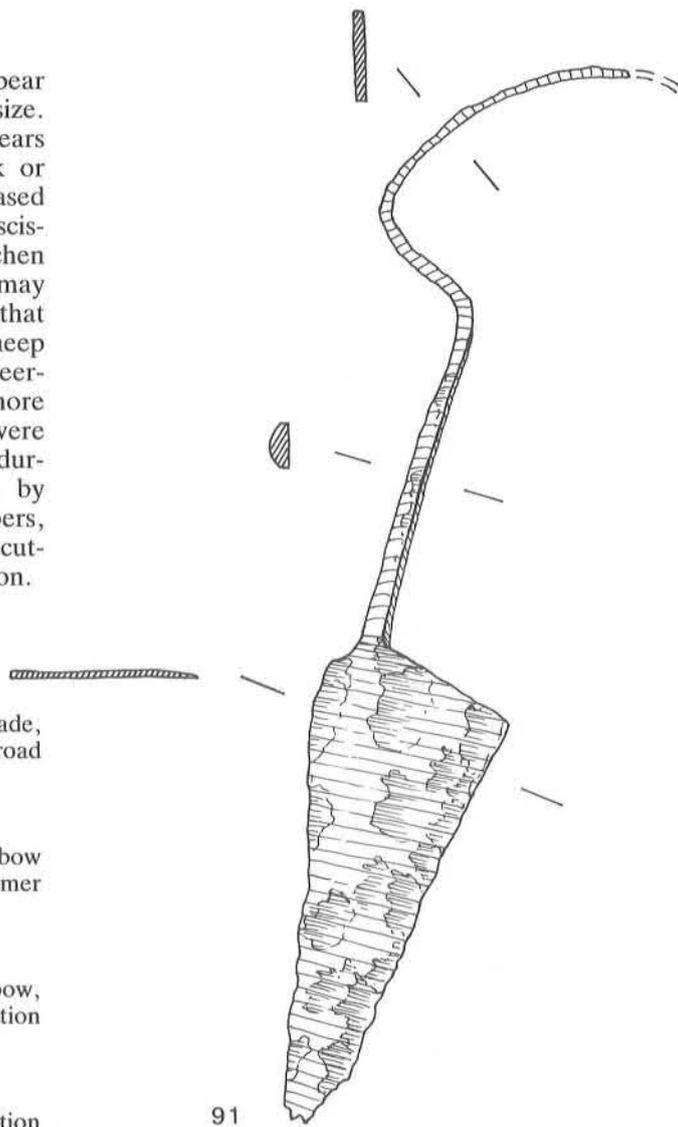


Figure 61: Shears, 91, scale 1:2.

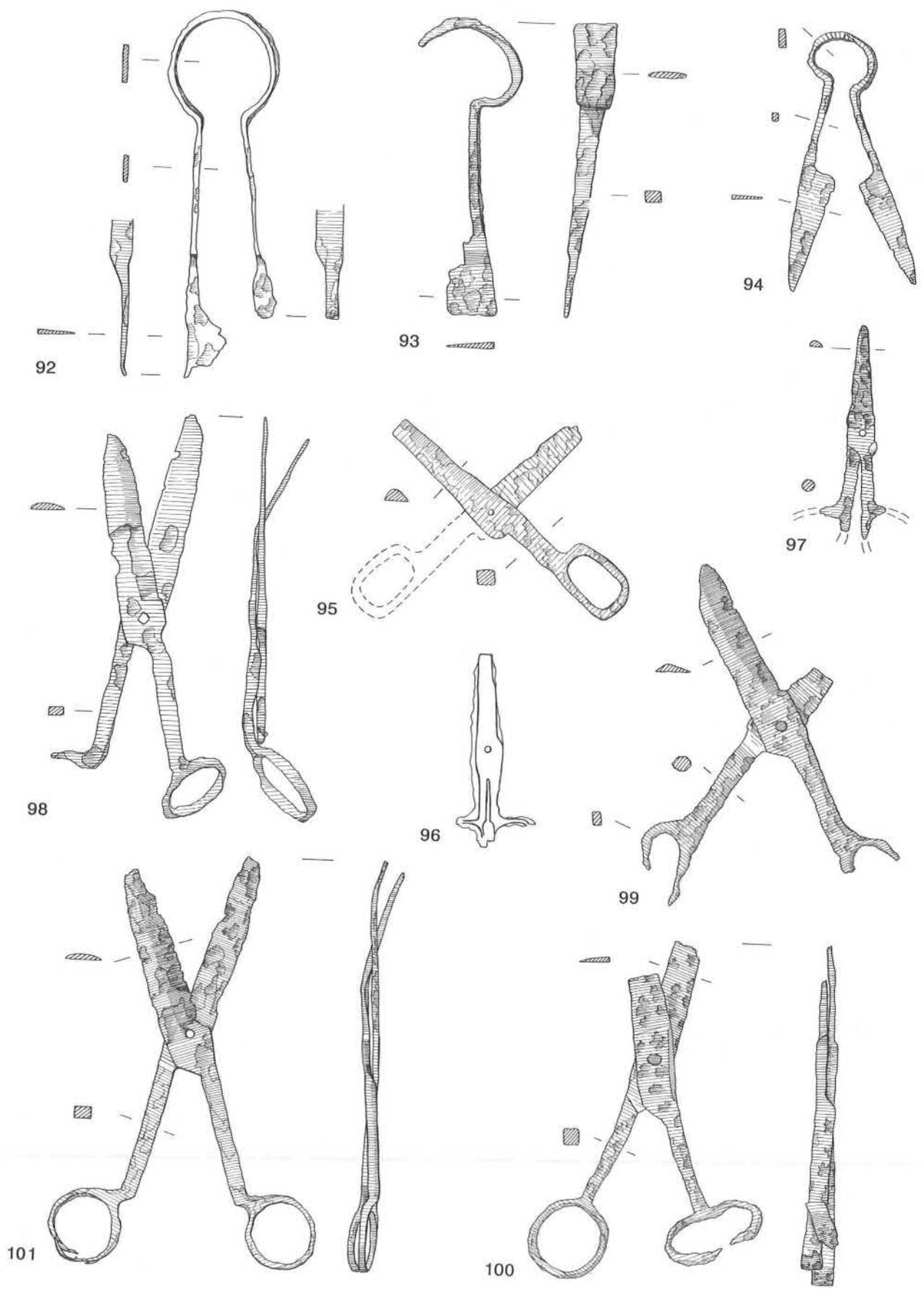


Figure 62: Shears and scissors, 92-101, scale 1:2.

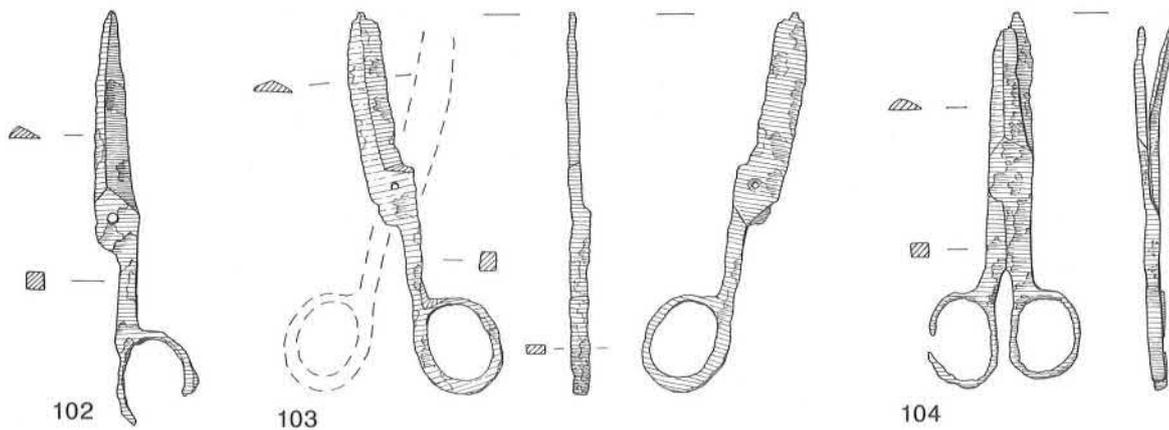


Figure 63: Scissors, 102–104, scale 1:2.

102 One arm only, length 110mm. Tapered triangular section blade, square section arm, offset circular loop. Fifteenth century?

L/IW419A/30; cobbled floor, Building 28.

103 One arm only. Parallel sided triangular section blade, width 10mm. Square section arm, length 25mm., with stop. Offset circular finger loop, int. dia. 20mm.

L/IW431C/49; destruction, general.

104 Tapered triangular section blades, broad rectangular? section arms, length 25mm. Offset oval finger loops, int. dia. 15–19mm.

L/IW451D/106; destruction, Building 27.

108 Spindle whorl, limestone, bun-shaped. Dia. 30mm., height 19mm., hole dia. 10mm., weight 30g. L/WS121/51; topsoil.

109 Spindle whorl, white metal, dome-shaped. Dia. 30mm., height 20mm., hole 9mm. dia. Weight 105g. G/L32/+; topsoil.

*Spindle whorls* Fig. 64

Eleven spindle whorls, seven of white metal, one made from a pot sherd, one of fired clay and two of stone were found at Linford. Of these, the pottery one (105) is the earliest dateable example, coming from contexts dated to the late tenth to early thirteenth century. The white metal examples appear in three forms, domed, bun shaped and disc, all of which appear to have been in contemporary use. Weights range from 20–105g: only 20–30g. is necessary for spinning wool, suggesting that the heavier examples may have been used for spinning flax, or that they were weights rather than spindle whorls.

105 Pottery spindle whorl, made from a sherd of MC1, with a central hole 10mm. in diameter. Weight 25g. L/P649/88; silt below Building 31.

106 Bun-shaped spindle whorl of fired clay. Dia. 43mm., height 20mm., hole dia. 10mm., weight 20g. D/FC30/+; topsoil.

107 Dome-shaped spindle whorl of siltstone. Dia. 40mm., height 23mm., hole dia. 13mm., weight 57g. H/WS130/22; silt fill, ditch F9.

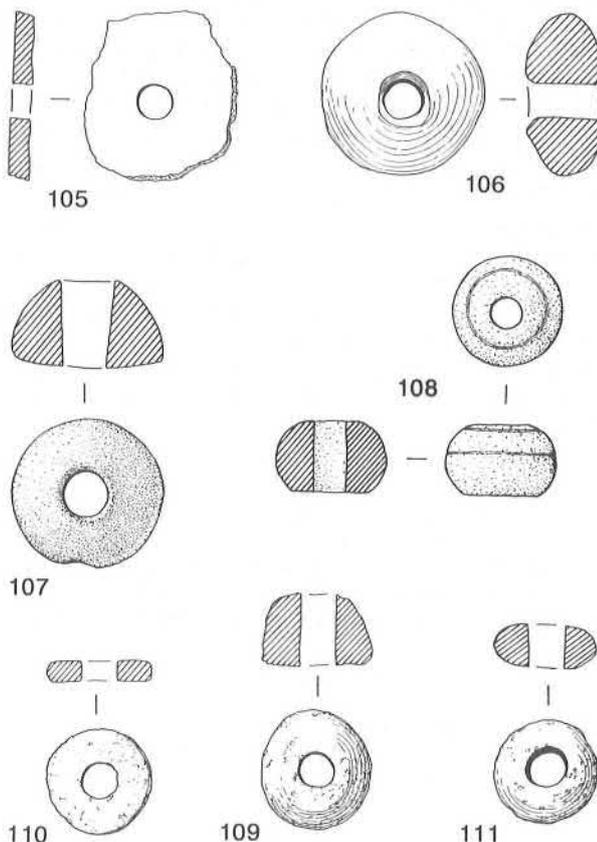


Figure 64: Spindle whorls, 105–111, scale 1:2.

- 110 Spindle whorl, white metal, disc-shaped. Dia. 27mm., height 5mm., hole 9mm dia. Weight 35g. H/L36/6; destruction, Building 22.
- 111 Spindle whorl, white metal, bun-shaped. Dia. 27mm., height 11mm., hole 10mm. dia. Weight 50g. L/L45/34; clay floor, west bay, Building 29.
- NI Spindle whorl, white metal, roughly domed. Dia. 28mm., height 17mm., hole 9mm. dia. Weight 75g. B/L21/8; rubble makeup, yard south of Building 5.
- NI Spindle whorl, white metal, dome-shaped. Dia. 29mm., height 12mm., hole 10mm. dia. Weight 45g. C/L26/10; clay floor, Building 8.
- NI Spindle whorl, white metal, disc-shaped. Dia. 35mm., height 8mm., hole 11mm. dia. Weight 85g. C/L107B/+; topsoil.
- NI Spindle whorl, white metal, disc-shaped. Dia. 21mm., height 8mm., hole 9mm. dia. Weight 20g. L/L40C/+; topsoil.
- 114 Thimble with horizontally-punched pits, and stamped with an 'R' slightly askew on the plain band. The pits run horizontally round the sides of the thimble, and in concentric circles on the top. Height 21mm., dia. 16mm. F/AE84C/+; topsoil.
- 115 Thimble with the pits stamped horizontally around the sides, and in a waffle pattern on the top. Height 17mm. F/AE85C/+; topsoil.
- 116 Heavy duty thimble. Machine knurled, with the pits stamped in a 'waffle' pattern on the top and running diagonally around the sides. Height 19mm. L/AE127D/+; topsoil.
- 117 Machine knurled, made in two parts. The pits run diagonally on the sides, and in a waffle pattern on the top. Height 25mm. Possibly a Dutch type, dated c.1620-50. B/AE57/27; destruction, Building 5.
- 118 Machine knurled, with a plain band just below the crown and a wider band around the open edge. The pits on the top are in a waffle pattern, and diagonally around the sides. Height 25mm. J/AE114B/11; surface of F6.

### Thimbles Fig. 65

The Linford thimbles, which are all of copper alloy, fall into two main types; those with hand-stamped and those with machine-stamped pits. Machine-made thimbles first appeared in the 1620's in the Netherlands, and were imported from there until John Lofting patented his knurling machine in 1693. There are five hand-stamped thimbles, one of which is an earlier (*i.e.* fourteenth to seventeenth century) type with a smooth top. One example has a maker's mark, 'R', stamped on its rim, and another late seventeenth-century example has a decorative border. A further five are machine knurled; one of these is probably Netherlands Type I (Holmes 1988, 3), made in two sections and dated to about 1620-90. The other four are similar, and may be English versions. The final example (122) is of a type made in Birmingham from the late eighteenth century, by the deep drawing method. It has a rolled-over rim.

- 112 Thimble with the pits running in a spiral round the sides. There are no pits on the dome of the thimble, and the sides have been perforated in places. Height 20mm. Thimbles with bare tops usually date from the fourteenth century to about 1650 (Holmes 1988, 3). L/AE128C/16; destruction, Building 26.
- 113 Thimble made from two thicknesses of copper alloy, the outer one having been worn through in places. The pits are shallow and irregularly indented and run vertically on the side of the thimble. On the top the pits are in concentric circles. The band around the lower edge is bordered by two roughly incised lines. Height 20mm. Early sixteenth century. F/AE95A/30; yard north of Building 17.
- 120 Machine knurled, with the pits running diagonally around the sides and in a lattice pattern on the top. The crown of the thimble is edged with a plain band, as is the open end. Height 25mm. G/AE118/123; destruction, Building 20.
- 121 Thimble, flattened fragments, machine knurled, with the pits running horizontally round the side, and the edge of the open end rolled outwards to form a rim. A wavy line with leaves decorates the margin between the rim and the pits. Height 15mm., width. 27mm. A type made in Birmingham after the end of the eighteenth century. J/AE101B/+; topsoil.
- 122 A modern machine-stamped thimble, Dia. 16mm., height 18mm. MK1015/10B/+; metal detector find.
- NI Machine knurled, made in two parts. The pits on the sides run diagonally, and on top are in a 'waffle' pattern. Height 21mm. L/AE134/33; destruction, Building 28.
- NI Fragmentary, too flattened to measure. L/AE129/16; destruction, Building 26.

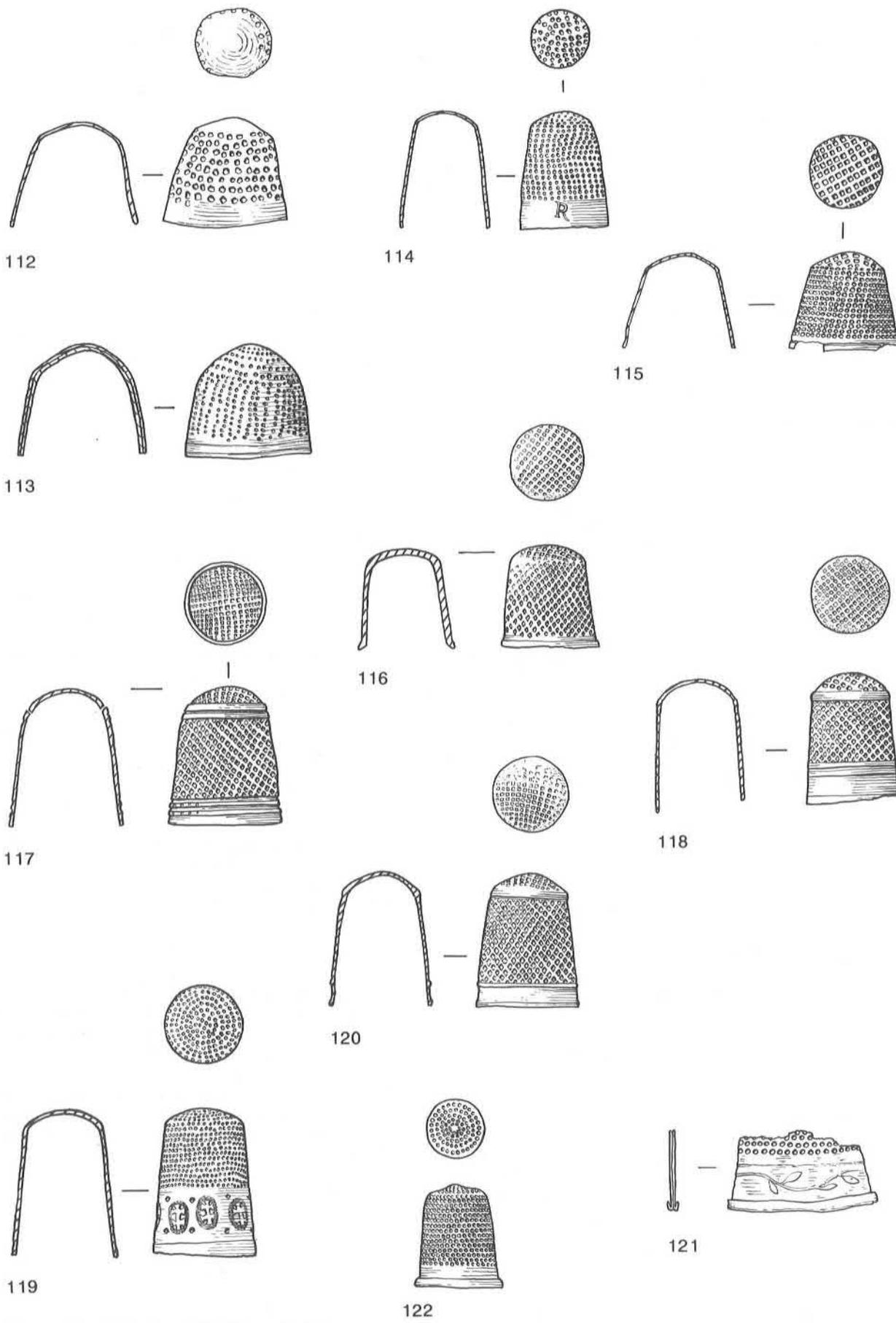


Figure 65: Thimbles, 112-122, scale 1:1.

#### 4. Household utensils and furniture

##### Furniture fittings Fig. 66

- 123 Chest or drawer handle of iron with copper alloy coating. Length 75mm.  
B/AE16/+; topsoil.
- 124 Iron hinge plate and eye, probably from a cupboard door or shutter. Length 60mm., eye dia. 8mm. Similar but larger versions, probably from house doors, are described in Category 10.  
C/IW107AG/+; topsoil.
- 125 Domed copper alloy? stud, dia. 11mm., with a rectangular-section rivet 3mm. high.  
Manor/10/3; topsoil.
- 126 Part of a fitting, copper alloy, for a metal vessel or furniture. Similar to an eighteenth-century example found in Exeter (Allen 1984, 345, fig. 192, 163). Length 19mm.  
B/AE23B/2; yard surface south of Building 7.
- 127 Thin rectangular bone plaque, perhaps for inlay. One side has a circle 30mm. dia. faintly incised in the centre, framed by a similarly incised border 4–5mm. in from the edge. Dimensions 40 × 50mm.  
F/WB22/37; surface of yard north of Building 17.

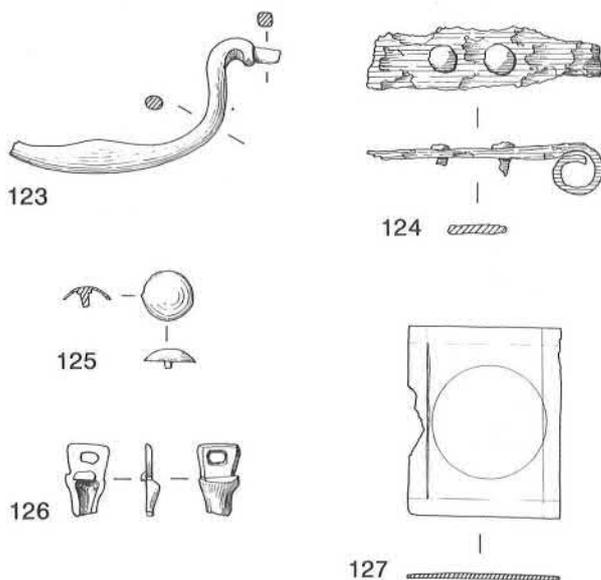


Figure 66: Furniture fittings, 123–127, scale 1:2.

##### Miscellaneous objects Fig. 67

- 128 Pot hanger or window stay. Square-section iron rod, flattened at one end and pierced. Below this, the shaft is twisted for some 70mm., then tapers and is bent to form a hook. Length 145mm.  
B/IW26A/1; topsoil.
- 129 Pot hanger or window stay. Square-section iron rod, tapered, twisted, hook at one end and flattened for eye at the other. Length 142mm.  
Green/IW45A/+; topsoil.

- 130 Escutcheon for bucket handle. Iron strip, rounded at one end, square at the other. Three perforations, at each end and the centre; that at the rounded end is larger. Length 71mm., width 25mm.  
B/IW159C/6; destruction, Building 4.
- 131 Firesteel. 'L' shaped iron strip, 45 × 6mm., bent into a loop at one end.  
F/IW245H/+; topsoil.
- 132 Candlestick socket, copper alloy, damaged. Repaired with lead but damaged again. Decorated with incised lines. Height 47mm., Dia. 24mm.  
H/AE112A/11; upper fill, ditch F9.
- 133 Apple corer, bone, undecorated except for an incised line above the scoop. A similar object was found in excavations at Portsmouth in a late sixteenth to seventeenth-century context (Fox and Barton 1986, fig. 153, 12).  
D/WB10C/+; topsoil.

##### Mortars Fig. 68

- 134 Mortar, sandy limestone, with a curved rib, roughly pecked externally and slightly worn internally. Height 134mm., ext. dia. 195mm.  
L/WS118/34; clay floor, west bay, Building 29.
- 135 Broken shell limestone mortar fragment, possibly from Swanage, Dorset, with a smooth rib which ends in a diamond shape. The body of the mortar is pecked externally and worn smooth inside. Height 110mm.  
D/WS61/5; destruction, Building 9.
- 136 Mortar fragment of Jurassic shelly limestone, with a curved rib. The body of the mortar has vertical chisel tooling externally and is very worn internally. Height 110mm.  
H/WS110/33; east yard, Building 22.
- 137 Spout fragment of a shelly limestone mortar. External vertical chisel tooling, and some wear internally. Height 50mm.  
J/WS97/2; surface, path F1.

##### Querns Figs 68–69

All but two of the querns are made of a fine grained grey lava from the Mayen area, Germany. The remaining two are of Millstone Grit and sandstone, and their sources are not identifiable.

- 138 Drum-shaped lava rotary quern, fragment. This is an upper stone, with the central hopper and handle hole visible. The grinding surface is well worn. Dia. 245mm., height 65mm.  
L/WS126/+; topsoil.
- 139 Upper stone of a lava rotary quern, fragment. Convex top, with two handle holes. Dia. 260mm., height 85mm.  
B/WS18/16; destruction, Buildings 5 & 6.
- 140 Lava pot quern, fragment of the lower stone. Roughly tooled on the outside and very worn inter-

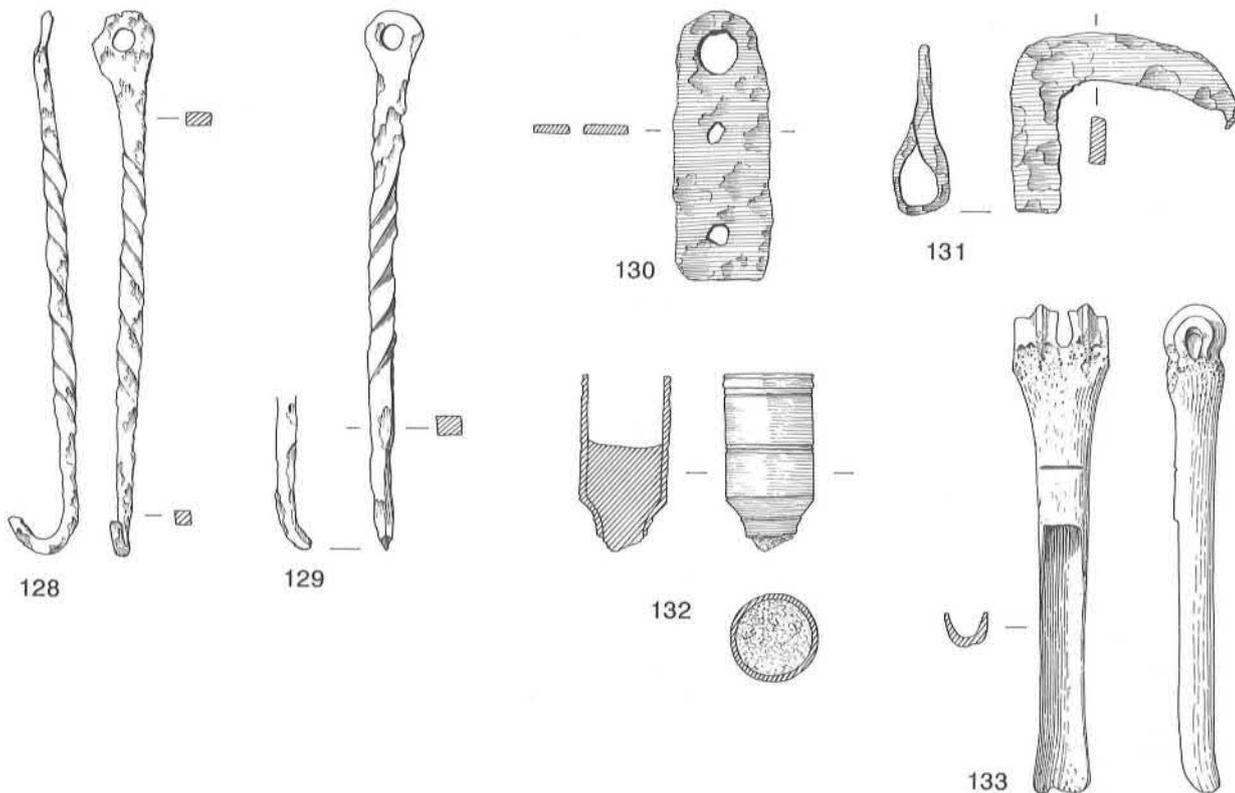


Figure 67: Miscellaneous objects, 128–133, scale 1:2.

- nally. David King (1986, 99) suggests that this type was introduced in the thirteenth century. Dia. 504mm., height 155mm.  
L/WS124/145; rob of wall 32, Building 31.
- 141 Millstone grit rotary quern fragment. Roughly convex top, a trace of the central hole and a worn grinding surface. Dia. 320mm., height 90mm.  
B/WSx/+; topsoil.
- 142 Convex upper stone fragment of a rotary quern of pinkish medium grained sandstone. The grinding surface is concave, and there are traces of the central and handle holes. Dia. 300mm., height 50mm.  
G/WS92/2; destruction, Building 21.
- NI Lava quern fragment with a well-worn grinding surface. Length 135mm., height 45mm.  
B/WS19/2; on yard surface south of Building 6.
- NI Similar to the previous example, but less worn. Length 136mm., height 40mm.  
B/WS36/6; on yard surface south of Building 6.
- 143 Spoon bowl, asymmetric, damaged but with a trace of the handle at the edge of the break. A maker's stamp can be seen on the concave surface below the handle scar. Dimensions 46 × 45mm.  
A/AE5/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 144 Spoon bowl, fragment, with a makers stamp 'IW' or 'JW' just below where the handle has broken off. Width 42mm.  
L/AE127H/+; topsoil.
- NI Spoon bowl, fragment. Slightly larger than a modern teaspoon, but with no distinguishing features. Dimensions 37 × 25mm.  
Manor/124/1; topsoil.
- 145 Spoon handle? Shell shaped knop, springing from a hexagonal rod. Length 21mm. (Ward Perkins 1967, fig. 41).  
C/AE59B/+; topsoil.
- NI Spoon bowl, teaspoon sized, with traces of a white metal coating. Length 40mm., width 24mm.  
J/AE108/3; soil level sealing Building 24.
- B. White metal**
- 146 Spoon bowl with 10mm. of hexagonal-section handle, and traces of a touch mark on the concave surface of the spoon. Overall length 75mm.  
B/PEW3/8; rubble makeup, yard south of Building 5.
- NI Spoon handle. Length 32mm., width 10mm., tapering to 5mm.  
B/PEW1/15; destruction, Building 5.
- NI Spoon handle?, hexagonal section, twisted. Approximately 80mm. long.  
L/L49/56; fill, F23.

*Spoons* Fig. 70

**A. Copper alloy**

- 143 Spoon bowl, asymmetric, damaged but with a trace of the handle at the edge of the break. A maker's stamp can be seen on the concave surface below the handle scar. Dimensions 46 × 45mm.  
A/AE5/3; destruction, Building 1.

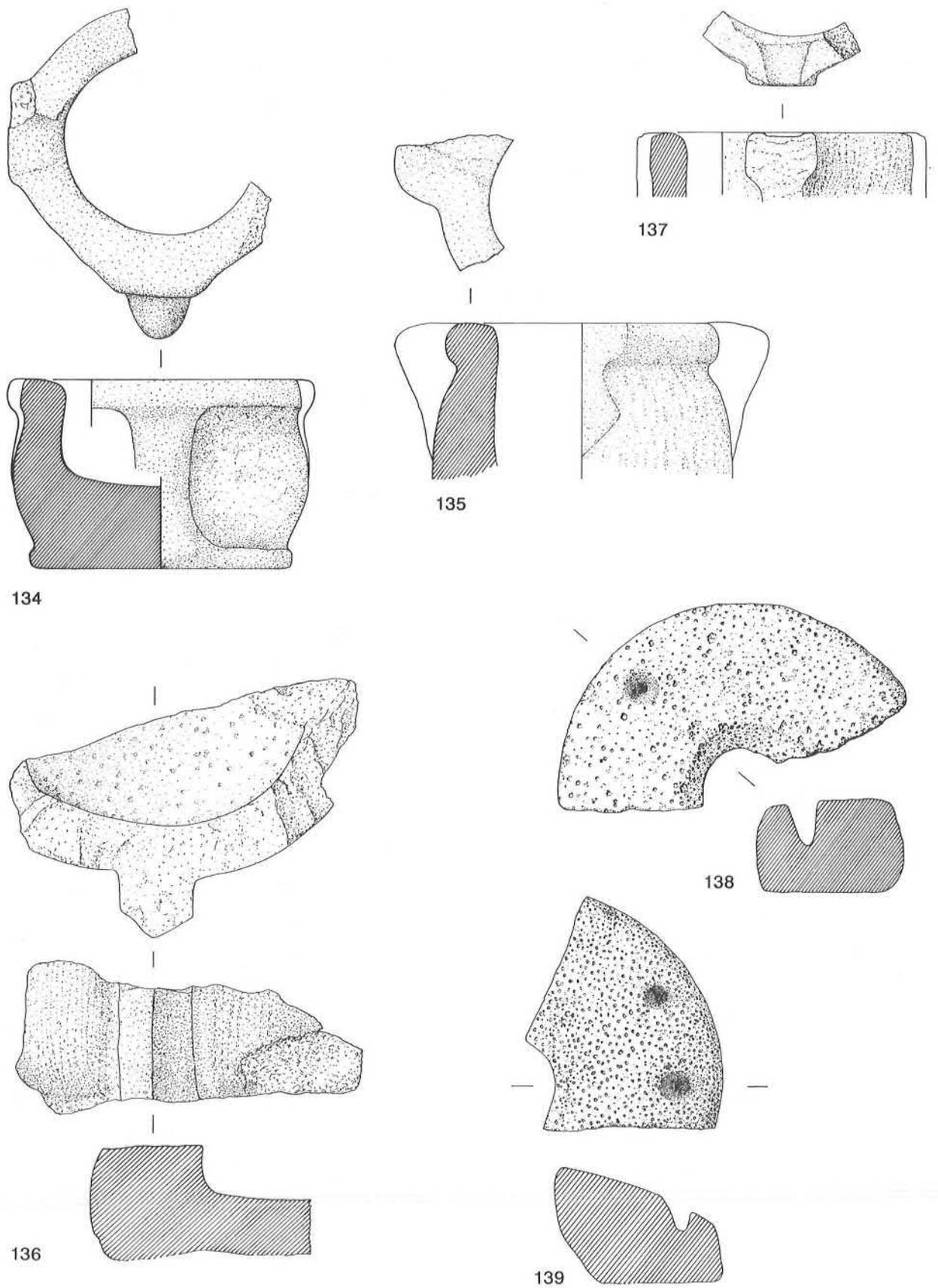


Figure 68: Mortars, 134–139, scale 1:4.

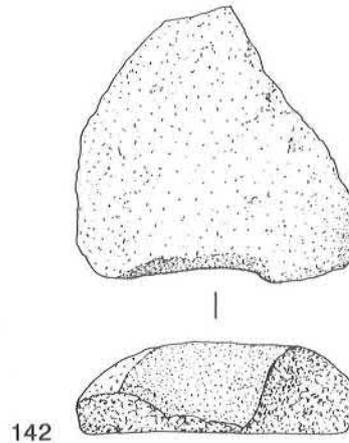
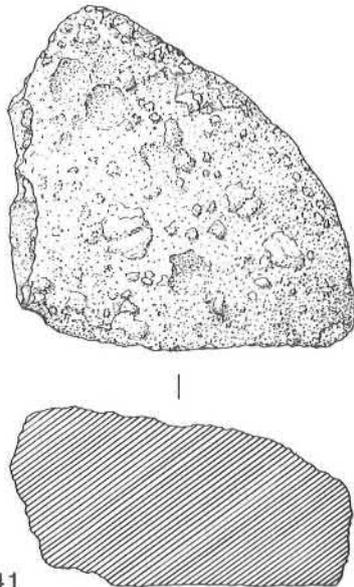
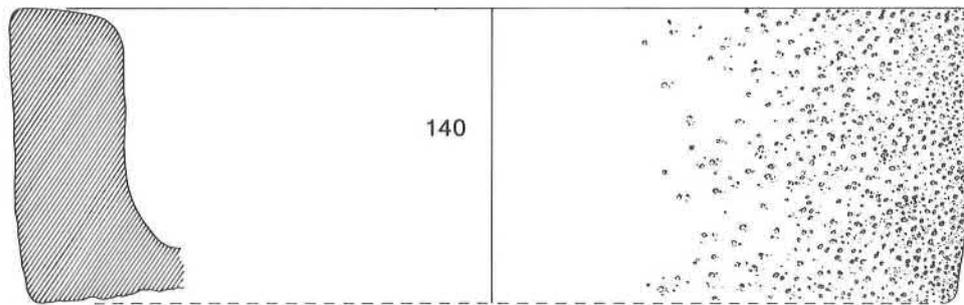


Figure 69: Mortars, 140–142, scale 1:4.

NI Spoon handle, fragment, hexagonal in section and tapering slightly. Length 37mm., th. 7mm.  
L/L43/6; destruction, general.

C. Bone

147 Scoop or crude spoon made from a small scapula, slightly hollowed to form the bowl. Length 107mm.  
B/WB6/+; topsoil.

Glass vessels Fig. 71

Dennis C. Mynard

The majority of the vessel glass recovered was from wine bottles and other vessels of seventeenth and early eighteenth-century date, and came from the destruction levels and topsoil over the excavated buildings. A few wine bottles were found on all crofts apart from Croft G, but the largest quantities came from the manor (fifteen bottles), Croft L (fourteen) and Croft F (six). Interestingly, most wine glasses (three examples) came from Croft A, two were found on Croft B, and there was only one example each from Croft L and the manor. Two glass beakers were found, one from the manor and

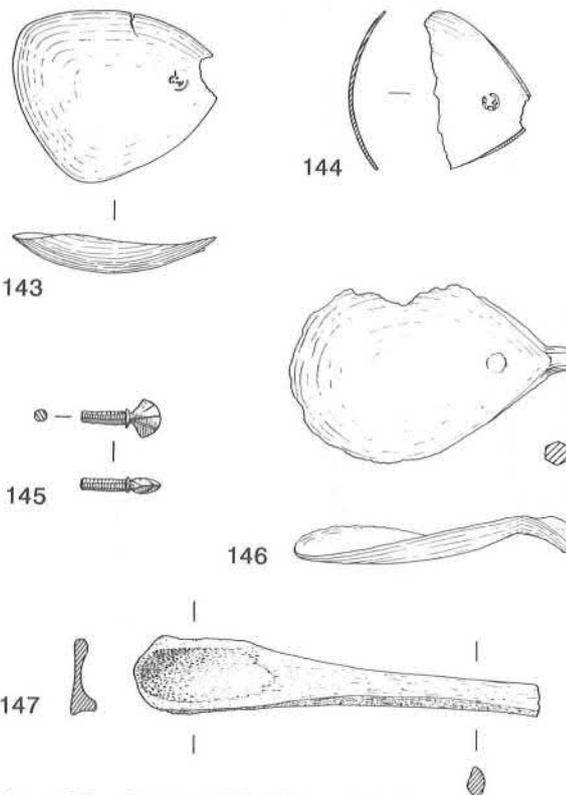


Figure 70: Spoons, 143–147, scale 1:2.

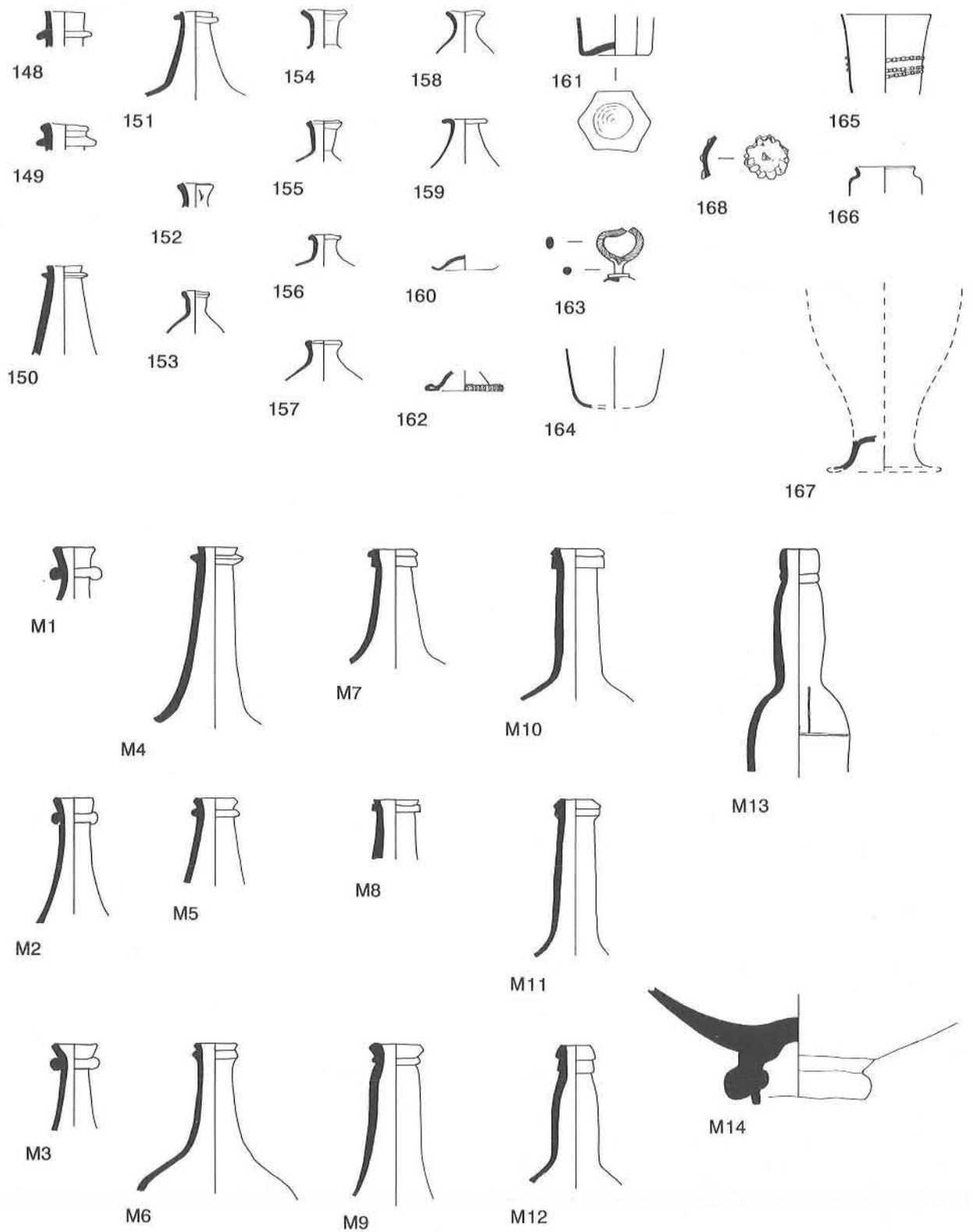


Figure 71: Glass vessels, 148-168 and M1-M14, scale 1:4.

one from Croft D. Small bottles of various types were more common on all crofts except C, where none were found. Sherds of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century bottles were recovered from the rubble layers deposited in the church during the restoration of 1707. In addition, a large accumulation of broken pottery and glass vessels was found in a midden deposit (MK 1009) of late seventeenth to early nineteenth-century date, discovered in the garden of the manor house. This material is published separately (p. 358, below).

Most of the wine bottles from the village date from the latter part of the seventeenth century, the earliest example (148) dating from c.1650–1660 (Leeds 1941, fig. 11). The only complete bottle profiles recovered were nineteenth-century examples from topsoil. The small bottles may have had cylindrical or square bodies, and most were in pale olive green or blue green glass. Few body sherds or bases were found. The general date range commences early in the seventeenth century and continues to the late eighteenth. The hexagonal bottle (161) may be of seventeenth-century date.

#### Wine bottles

- 148 Rim, completely opaque, mid seventeenth century.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.
- 149 Rim, dark green, c. 1670–80.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.
- 150 Rim and neck, medium green, late seventeenth century.  
A/VG44/15; destruction, Building 1.
- 151 Rim and neck, pale green, late seventeenth century.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.

#### Small bottles

- 152 Rim, dark green, slightly distorted to enable pouring?  
A/VG56/16; Building 1a.
- 153 Rim and shoulder, light olive green.  
A/VG1/1+; topsoil.
- 154 Flared rim, light blue green.  
B/VG40/2+; topsoil.
- 155 Rim, light olive green.  
B/VG20/1; from yard surface assoc. Building 6.
- 156 Rim and shoulder, light blue green bubbly metal.  
L/VG135/150; fill, gully F49.
- 157 Rim and shoulder, light olive green.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.
- 158 Rim and shoulder, light blue green.  
A/VG1/1; destruction, Building 1.
- 159 Rim and shoulder, light blue green bubbly metal.  
B/VG18/11; destruction, Building 5.

- 160 Base of cylindrical vessel, shallow kick, pale blue green, eroded surface.  
L/VG135/150; fill, gully F49.
- 161 Base of hexagonal bottle, pale olive green.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.

#### Wine glasses

- 162 Base with notched decoration, clear glass.  
A/VG1/1; destruction, Building 1.
- 163 Twisted stem from wine glass?, almost clear.  
L/VG113/5; fill, gully F2.
- 164 Bowl from wine glass?, pale green.  
Manor/1/+; topsoil.
- 165 Bowl from wine glass, with applied strip with notched decoration, smoky grey metal.  
D/VG72/16; pitched stone hearth, Building 12.

#### Other forms

- 166 Small wide-mouthed jar, pale olive green.  
L/VG109/+; topsoil.
- 167 Foot from beaker, pale green with very weathered surfaces.  
L/VG128/51; topsoil.
- 168 Applied circular boss with frilly edge, and part of vessel, pale green with very weathered surfaces.  
B/VG29/2; from yard surface associated with Building 6.

#### *Metal vessels* Figs 72 – 73

- 169 Cooking pot, cast iron, th. 3mm. Small beaded rim, dia. 161mm. Three fragments.  
Green/IW3B/+; topsoil.
- 170 Possible vessel rim. Curved strip of copper alloy, folded under on the outside of the curve and decorated with an incised rocker pattern on the inside edge. Width 26mm., length 50mm. on the inside edge.  
G/AE126/194; fill of croft boundary ditch, east of F71.
- 171 Bowl, copper alloy, with a decoration of hammered ovals giving the appearance of stitching round the rim. Dia. c.195mm.  
H/AE112B/11; upper fill of ditch F9.
- 172 Vessel rim fragment, copper alloy, dia. 198mm.  
H/AE112C/11; upper fill of ditch F9.
- 173 Vessel rim fragment, copper alloy?, Dia. 280mm.  
Manor/95/62; sandy rubble in Room 7.
- 174 Vessel leg, copper alloy?, in the form of an animal's paw, similar to one found in Southampton in a probable sixteenth-century context (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 242, 1782). Length 60mm., 30mm. across the base of the paw.  
Manor/143/223; fill of hole below blocking in doorway 224.

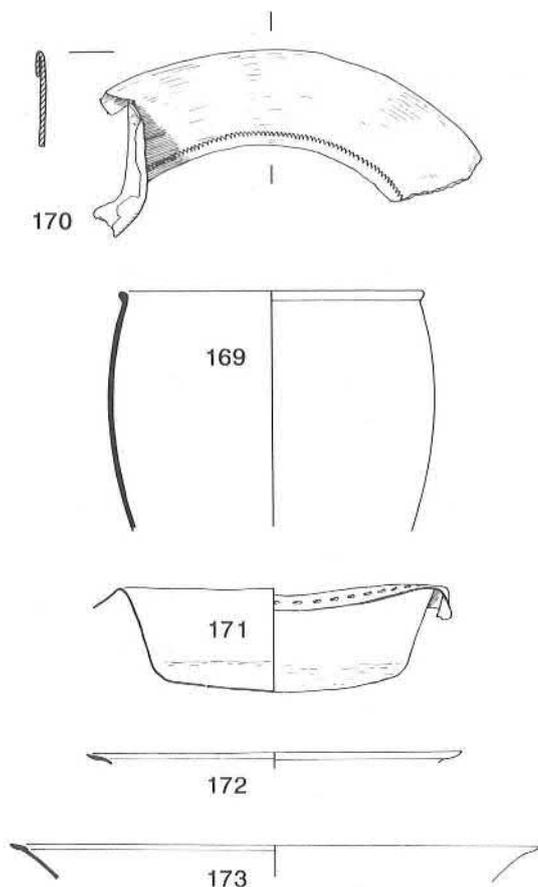


Figure 72: Metal vessels, 169, 171-73, scale 1:4; 170, scale 1:2.

- 175 Vessel leg, copper alloy, in the shape of a booted and spurred leg. Length 78mm.  
Manor/67/32; floor make up, Room 3.
- 176 Chafing dish handle and loop, copper alloy, which was riveted to the dish. These handles are usually heart-shaped, but this example is rectangular ended. Width 60mm., length 45mm., excluding the fitting.  
Manor/53/25; floor make up, Room 2.
- 177 Chafing dish handle fragment, heart shaped, copper alloy. Similar to a late sixteenth-century example from Portsmouth (Fox and Barton 1986, fig. 145, 4). Width 56mm.  
Manor/5/2; topsoil.
- 178 White metal lid of a mug or tankard, width 62mm. Similar to one found at Wintringham, Hunts, dated to the fourteenth century (Beresford 1977, fig. 249, 2).  
B/PEW9/9; surface of east yard, Building 5.

*Stone vessels Fig. 74*

- 179 Fragment of a roughly cut limestone basin or trough. Int. height 97mm., length 235mm., width 197mm.  
B/WS46/36; destruction, Building 5.

*Vessel patches Fig. 75*

- 180 Paperclip rivet. A thin diamond-shaped piece of copper alloy sheet with the ends folded to the centre and back. Used for riveting sheet metal patches. Similar to an example from Wintringham, Hunts, which was dated to the mid thirteenth to early fourteenth century (Beresford 1977, fig. 49, 33).  
B/AE24/2; yard surface south of Building 7.
- 181 Paperclip rivet, copper alloy. Length 28mm., width 14mm., tapering to 8mm.  
G/AE105A/45; soil spread north of Building 20.
- NI Paperclip rivet, 22 × 10mm.  
F/AE96A/37; surface of yard north of Building 17.
- NI Paperclip rivet, copper alloy. 27mm. long and 14mm. wide.  
J/AE101A/+; topsoil.
- 182 Six irregular fragments of copper alloy sheet with small tubular rivets, of the type used to patch metal vessels (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, fig. 243, 1810). Largest fragment 41 × 41mm.  
A/AE74/51; destruction, Building 1.

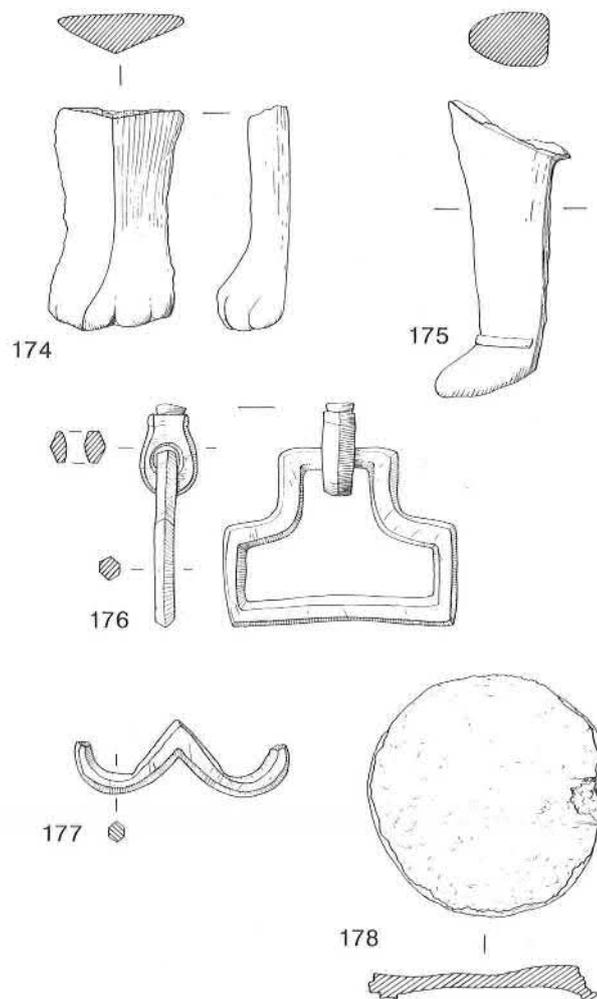
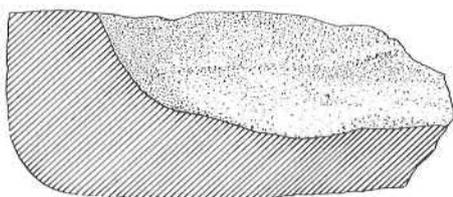
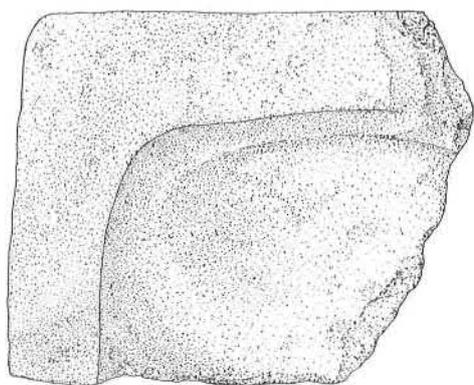


Figure 73: Metal vessels, 174-178, scale 1:2.



179

Figure 74: Stone vessels, 179, scale 1:4.

183 Narrow 'D' shaped patch from a metal or wooden vessel with fine tubular rivets still in place. Length 105mm., max. width 33mm.  
B/AE17/4; surface of yard south of Building 5.

184 Rectangle of copper alloy with rivet holes in three corners and a tubular rivet in situ in the fourth. Dimensions 51 x 54mm., rivet holes 6mm. dia.  
B/AE54C/+; topsoil.

NI Scrap of copper alloy sheet with two iron rivets. Width 12mm., length 63mm.  
F/AE103/44; surface of yard north of Building 17.

185 Copper alloy strip with two iron rivets. Width 12mm., length 63mm.

F/AE113/107; destruction over farmyard.

186 Rectangle of copper alloy sheet with four rivet holes, and two paperclip rivets in situ. Dimensions 50 x 35mm.

L/AE130/21; topsoil.

### 5. Objects used for recreational purposes

187 Whistle, bone, decorated with incised bands of diagonal lines. The lower end is trimmed, to fit into an extension? Length 59mm., dia. 10mm. As it only produces one note, it was presumably used as a call rather than an instrument.

C/WB18/17; destruction.

188 Bell fragments, copper alloy, possibly a hawk bell or a dress decoration. Dia. 17mm.

Manor/57/1; topsoil.

### Jews harps Fig. 76

Four Jews harps were found at Linford; three of iron, and one of copper alloy. The iron harps are remarkably similar, with square section bow and arms, measuring 55mm. in length and with a bow diameter (ext.) of 30mm. The copper alloy example (189) is smaller, measuring 50mm. and c.25mm. respectively. All are from post-medieval contexts on Crofts A, B, J and L. The iron Jews harp illustrated below (190) is the best preserved.

189 Jews harp, copper alloy, reed missing. Length 50mm.

J/AE102/+; topsoil.

190 Jews harp, iron, reed missing. Length 55mm.

B/IW36F/2; surface, yard north of Building 5.

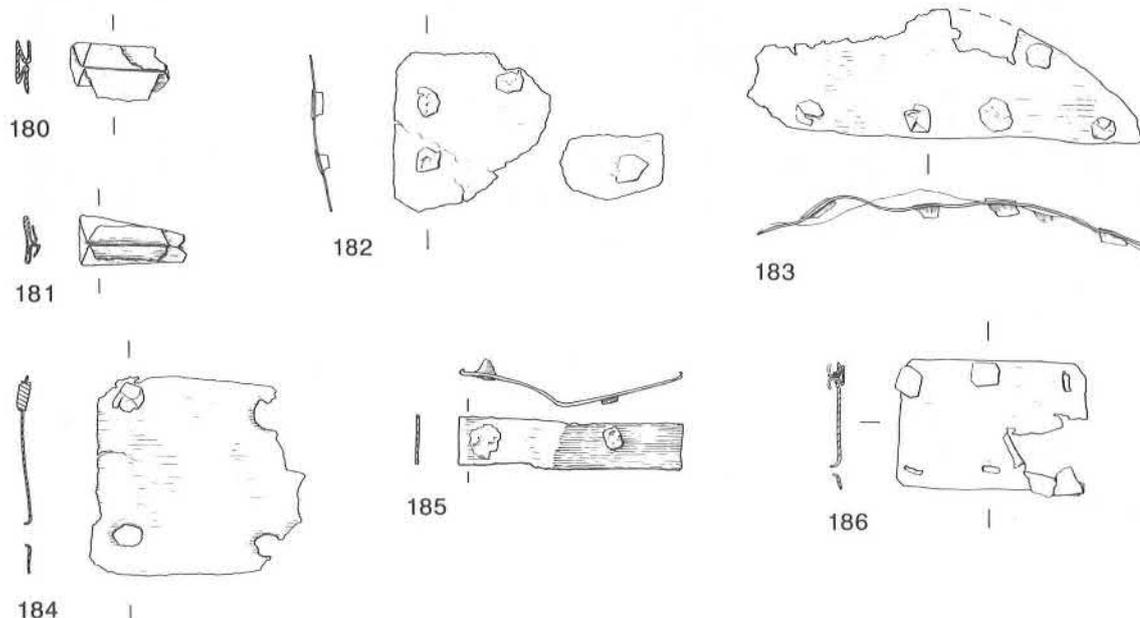


Figure 75: Vessel patches, 180-186, scale 1:2.

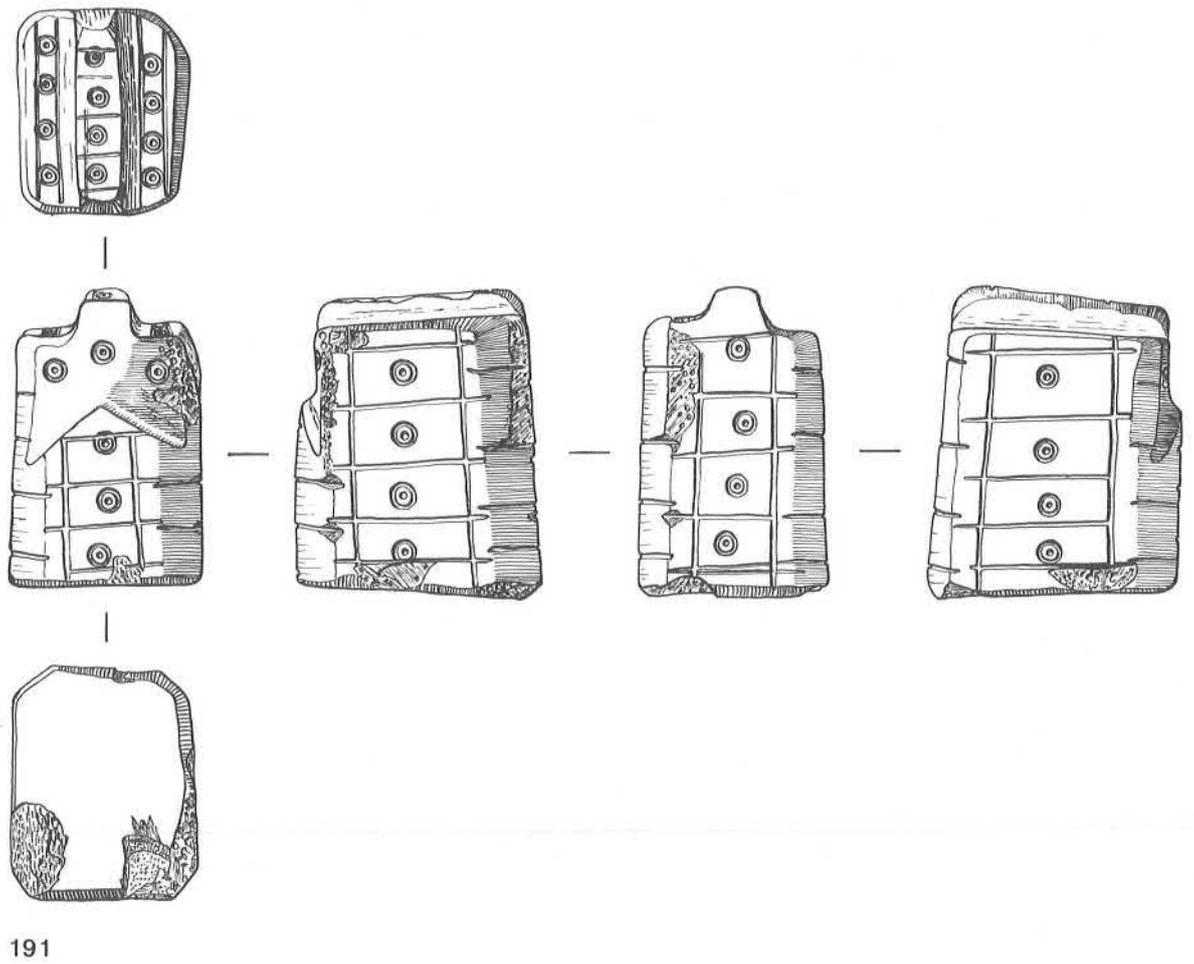
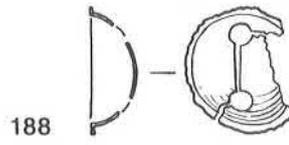
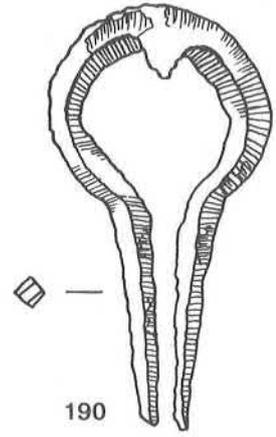
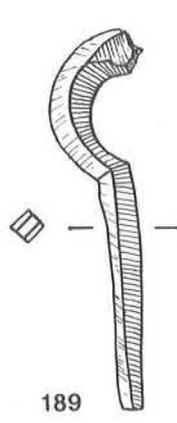
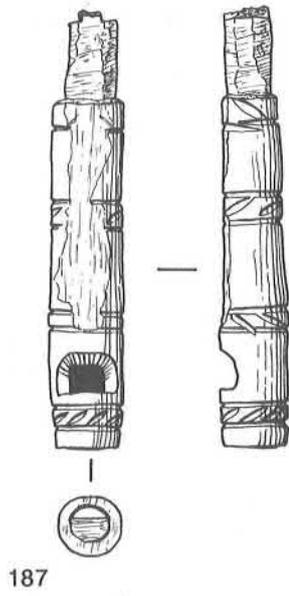


Figure 76: Objects used for recreational purposes, 187–191, scale 1:1.

- 191 Gaming piece, identified as a chessman, probably a bishop, of good quality jet. Height 40mm., sloping to 36mm. at the back. Width 25mm., depth 30mm. Along the top, running from front to back, is a ridge, while on the back is a stepped chevron.

Decoration consists of ring-and-dot motifs, with those on the front, back and sides being encased in regular lattices. Those on the top on either side of the ridge are bounded by two parallel lines, whilst those on the ridge are separated from each other by horizontal lines at right angles to those parallel lines encasing the other ring-and-dot motifs. Three ring-and-dot motifs are present on the stepped chevron. The piece is identified as a bishop primarily on the presence of the ridge on top of the piece and the raised chevron on the back. This latter feature is thought to represent the lappets at the back of the bishop's mitre.

Ring-and-dot motifs are one of the commonest means of decorating bone, ivory and jet, presumably with an implement of the centre-bit type or a punch. All the jet chessmen and other gaming pieces mentioned below, with the exception of the pawn and *hunn* have this ring-and-dot decoration. This type of decoration is widely known on Roman jet objects, notably on bangles, and on post Roman jet pendants, crosses etc. The incised matrix of lines is unusual, and cannot be paralleled on any other jet gaming piece, although often the ring-and-dot motifs are joined by incised lines.

The decoration is crudely executed, with the lattice lines in several instances cut over the ring-and-dot motifs, suggesting that the lattices and other inscribed lines were added as secondary features. In several areas there are small dish shaped depressions termed *spalls*, which are characteristic of jet (but not shale) that has been cut with a knife. This phenomenon, often observed on Roman jet beads and other objects, was first observed and correctly identified by A. D. Hooley (pers. comm.). Its significance on this piece is unclear, and would suggest that knife paring of the chessman had taken place some time after its decoration.

Chess probably reached Britain some time in the eleventh century, although there is some evidence that it may have arrived earlier. The history of its development from its beginnings in India, through Islamic culture to Europe, has been well documented (Murray 1913; Wichmann and Wichmann 1964). Two different forms of chessmen are known; schematised such as the piece discussed here, and naturalistic, as exemplified by the Lewis Chessmen (Taylor 1978). All the known jet chessmen are of the schematised form. The schematised forms were adopted by the Arabs when the game came from India; this change away from naturalistic forms is thought to be on religious grounds.

Medieval chessmen occur commonly in bone and ivory (MacGregor 1985), and less commonly in

other materials including jet. Cetacean chessmen, consisting of a white bishop, two white knights, and several fragments of pieces purposely blackened by the action of fire to distinguish them from those of natural bone colour were found at Witchampton Manor in Dorset (Dalton 1927). A walrus tusk king of naturalistic form is known from Salisbury (Stevens 1933a), and a probable king (of schematised form) of elephant tusk or hippopotamus tooth was found at Old Sarum in Wiltshire (Stevens 1933b).

The only other jet chessman identified as a bishop is that from Thelton in Norfolk (Manning 1866), which has a conical projection and what appears to be a stepped chevron with four ring-and-dot motifs (a fifth was originally present), the lower four being joined to the edges of the chevron by incised diagonal lines (this is the side shown in the published illustration; the projection and the top were also decorated with ring-and-dot motifs). Jet castles or rooks are known from Rievaulx Abbey (Dunning 1965), Nessgate in York (Waterman 1959) and Grimes Graves, Weeton in Norfolk (information from Dr Sue Margeson, Norfolk Museums Services). The piece from Rievaulx Abbey has a bifurcated top, and the faces are decorated with eight ring-and-dot motifs, with two groups of five motifs on the top; that from the Coach and Horses Inn site at Nessgate in York has a bifurcated top, but in addition has two lateral projections. Both faces bear six ring-and-dot motifs, and there are also these motifs on the top (five on one side of the cleft and three on the other). The Grimes Graves piece, again of bifurcate form, has six ring-and-dot motifs on the face, but these are linked by incised lines (there is evidence of white metal inlay). A jet knight, decorated with ring-and-dot motifs and incised lines, is reported from Mote Hill, Warrington (Kendrick 1853), but is more likely to be a *hnefi* or king used in the Scandinavian board game *hnefatafl* (Bu'lock 1972). A probable king or queen has been recently acquired by the British Museum (no provenance is known, pers. comm. Mr Neil Stratford); it is of cuboidal form, decorated with ring-and-dot motifs and incised lines, with a small cylindrical projection. The plain cylindrical jet pawn found at Mote Hill, although described as a pawn, is more likely to be a *hunn* used in *hnefatafl* (Bu'lock 1972). A pyramidal plain piece that in all probability is a pawn is known from Fuller's Hill, Great Yarmouth (Rogerson 1976). The jet piece from Bawdsey in Suffolk (Wilson 1970), probably of tenth-century date, may not be a chessman, but a 'man' from another board game, possibly *hnefatafl*. Another jet gaming piece with ring-and-dot motifs is known from Redcliffe in Bristol (Jones 1986). Interestingly, the motifs were inlaid with a brownish-white substance, possibly *orpiment* (arsenic trisulphide). Other jet gaming pieces include those from Union Terrace and 1-2 Tower Street, York, both probably of thirteenth-century date.

Jet was probably favoured as an opposing colour to the chessmen of bone and ivory. Alternatives might include dyed or burnt bone. The jet was in all probability from Whitby or the surrounding area, and it is interesting to note that Whitby was a whaling port, and thus a source of suitable material for light

coloured chessmen as well. Where the Great Linford chessman was actually made is open to speculation; certainly jet objects were being manufactured in York and Lincoln in post Roman periods, and no doubt in most urban settlements. It is certainly of interest to speculate on how the obviously valuable piece came to be on Croft F.

Although extensively used in the Roman period for bangles, beads, finger rings, pins, medallions, etc., jet had a restricted use in the post-Roman periods until the Victorian boom (Muller 1987). It was predominantly confined to objects of religious significance such as crosses, rings and rosary beads, as well as to secular objects such as seals and gaming pieces. It was always highly valued both because of its scarcity and its supposed magical powers. Objects made from it were always in the luxury class, and although the decoration on the Great Linford piece is of inferior quality, this bishop must have been part of a chess set of considerable value.

F/WB27/110; destruction over south yard.

## 6. OBJECTS EMPLOYED IN WEIGHING AND MEASURING

Fig. 77

192 Weight, lead, conical, pinched flat at the apex and perforated, possibly a plumb bob. Base dia. 22mm. Weight 70g.

E/L25/3; destruction, south of Building 10.

NI Rough disc, possibly a weight. Dia. 55mm., th. 12mm. Weight 260g.

L/L50/154; destruction, Building 27.

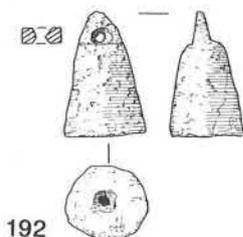


Figure 77: Lead weight, 192, scale 1:2.

## 7. OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH WRITTEN COMMUNICATION

Fig. 78

193

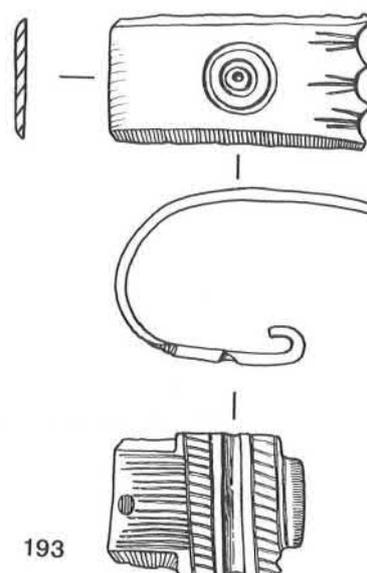
Book clasp, copper alloy, hooked at one end and decorated with incised lines and concentric circles round one of the two rivet holes. Length 70mm., width 17mm. L/AE131/1; destruction over back lane.

194 Matrix, with incomplete inscription . . 'S' GI:L. . . "D'L'WOD", lead, damaged. Only part of the rear suspension tab survives. Width 23mm., length (incomplete) 28mm.

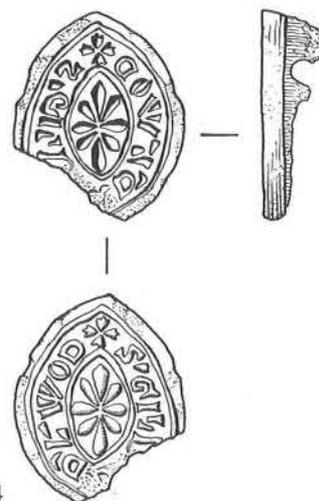
MK849/1/+; metal detector find.

NI Slate pencil, fragment. Length 47mm., dia. 5mm. A/WS2/+; topsoil.

NI Slate pencil, fragment. Length 52mm., dia. 5mm. B/WS27/1; destruction, Building 7.



193



194

Figure 78: Book clasp, 193; seal matrix, 194, scale 1:1.

## 8. OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH TRANSPORT

*Bridle bits* Fig. 79

Horse harness bits fall into two types; curb and snaffle bits. The former have a one-piece mouthpiece, while on the latter the mouthpiece consists of two pieces, linked centrally. Snaffle bits can further be divided into two types; one with solid mouthpiece parts, the other with mouthpiece links made up out of hollow conical sections. With the exception of the latter type, curb and snaffle bits remain in use today virtually unchanged, save that they are no longer made of iron, as are all the examples found at Great Linford.

Unfortunately, most of the bits from Great Linford were found in topsoil, and therefore cannot be closely dated. In all, two curb bits and seven snaffle bits were recognised.

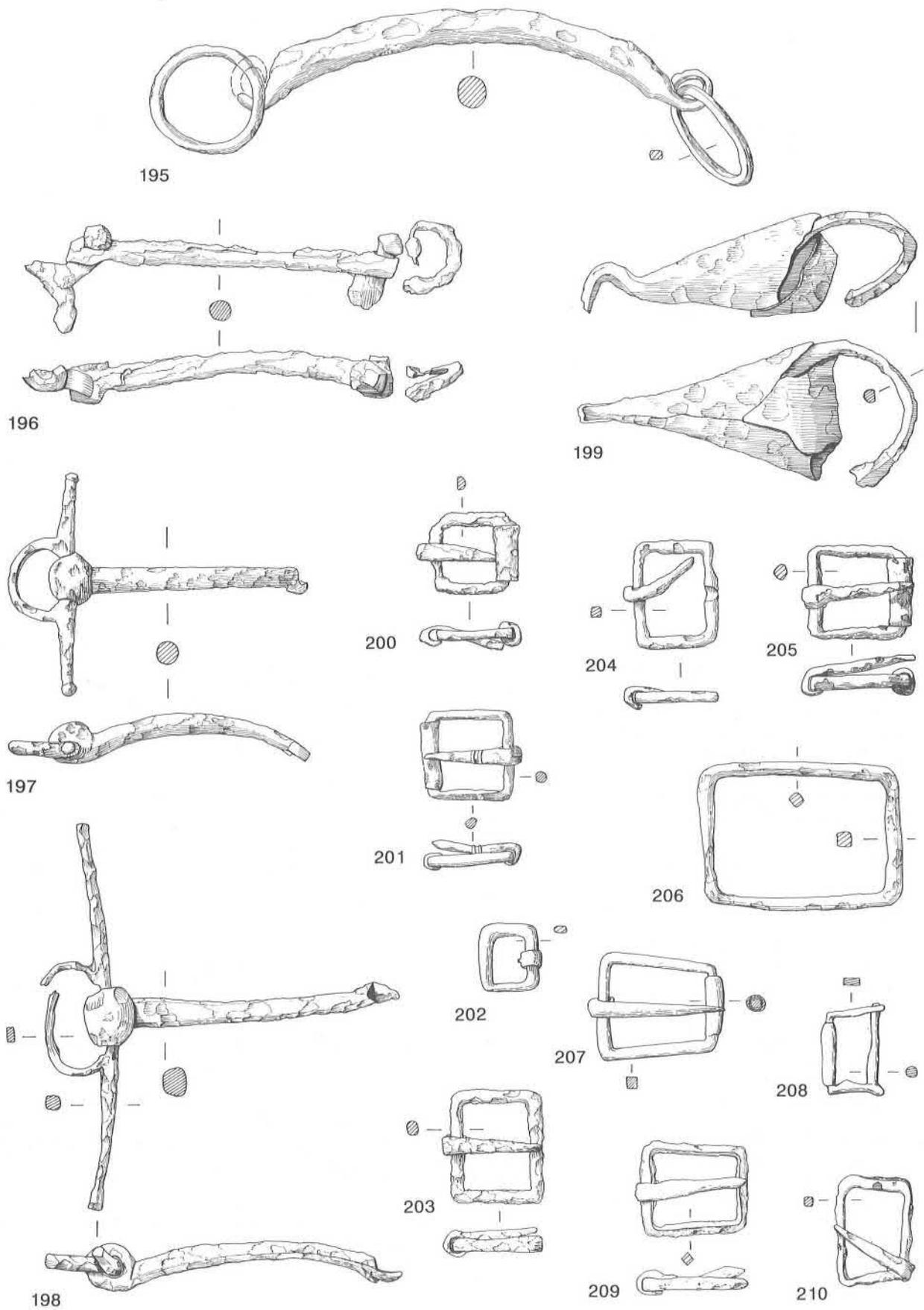


Figure 79: Bridle bits, 195–210, scale 1:2.

- 195 Curb bit. Mouthpiece of slightly curved tapered rod, hooked at each end, with cheek rings, dia. 40mm.  
C/IW107AN/+; topsoil.
- 196 Curb bit. Slightly curved mouthpiece, length 113mm., with swivels at each end for cheekpieces.  
C/IW193A/5; surface of south yard.
- 197 Snaffle bit, solid type. Half of mouthpiece and cheekpiece only.  
B/IW26B/+; topsoil.
- 198 Snaffle bit, solid type. Half of mouthpiece, with cheekpiece.  
C/IW112A/+; topsoil.
- 199 Snaffle bit, conical type. Half of mouthpiece with loop for cheekpiece.  
D/IW241A/14; clay floor, west end of Building 12.

### Buckles Fig. 79

Iron buckles, particularly those that are simpler and larger than copper alloy examples, probably came from harness straps, rather than from belts or footwear. It is therefore on this basis that we have attempted to define the assemblage more closely. The smaller and more elaborate iron buckles can therefore be found in Category 1 (p. 137, above).

Excavations at Great Linford produced some forty complete large iron buckles and fragments. These fall readily into three groups, based on shape; square, rectangular and trapezoidal, intended for straps varying in width from 12–37mm. These factors apart, all are remarkably similar, most being made of square or rectangular section bar, and many having a rolling cylinder of thin sheet iron on the arm opposite the tongue. As with bridle bits, these buckle forms are still in use on harness, and typological dating is not feasible.

- 200 Square buckle, 28 × 28mm., arms of 'D' section rod. Tapered tongue and rolling cylinder. Strap width 18mm.  
J/IW332A/11; surface F6.
- 201 Square buckle, 31 × 31mm., arms of round rod. Rolling cylinder, and tapered tongue with moulded decoration consisting of two transverse ridges. Strap width 25mm.  
A/IW131A/39; destruction, Building 1.
- 202 Rectangular buckle, 20 × 25mm. Arms of rectangular-section rod, with rounded edges. Tongue broken. Strap width 12mm. A second, identical buckle was also found in this context.  
Green/IW7B/+; topsoil.
- 203 Rectangular buckle, 32 × 40mm. Arms of rounded rectangular section rod. Tapered tongue. Strap width 25mm.  
J/IW289B/+; topsoil.
- 204 Rectangular buckle, 30 × 38mm. Arms of square-

section rod. Parallel-sided tongue. Notch for locating tongue in opposite arm. Strap width 25mm.  
J/IW294A/2; surface, path F1.

- 205 Rectangular buckle, 36 × 34mm. Arms of roughly round rod. Tapered tongue, rolling cylinder. Strap width 23mm.  
B/IW107P/+; topsoil.
- 206 Rectangular buckle, 70 × 52mm. Arms of square-section rod. Tongue missing. Strap width 37mm.  
L/IW451E/106; destruction, Building 27.
- 207 Trapezoidal buckle, 45 × 39–31mm. Arms of square-section rod. Rolling cylinder on short side, tapered tongue. Strap width 20mm.  
B/IW28K/4; surface, yard south of Building 5.
- 208 Trapezoidal buckle, 21 × 33–29mm. Short arms and end formed from rectangular-section strip, width 7mm. Long arm consists of 4mm. dia. rod, riveted to the strip. Rolling cylinder on short arm; tongue missing. Strap width 20mm.  
B/IW167B/8; makeup, yard south of Building 5.
- 209 Trapezoidal buckle, 38 × 35–30mm. Arms of square section rod. Tapered tongue, cranked close to pivot. Found with two identical buckles (not illustrated). Strap width 20mm.  
L/IW398C/6; destruction, general.
- 210 Trapezoidal buckle, 27 × 40–36mm. Flat tapered tongue, which appears to have been pivoted on the short arm of the buckle. Strap width 25mm.  
A/IW135A/38; surface, pitched stone path.

### Crotals Fig. 80

All are of copper alloy.

- 211 Crotal, badly corroded, undecorated. Complete with its iron pellet, similar to a post-medieval example found in Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, 280, fig. 174). Dia. 30mm.  
B/AE29/4; from surface of yard south of Building 5.
- 212 Crotal, badly worn, with the iron pellet still present. Palmate design on both halves. Dia. 26mm.  
B/AE43B/4; from surface of yard south of Building 5.
- NI Crotal, with iron pellet still present, and palmate design on both halves. Dia. 30mm.  
D/AE70/+; topsoil.
- 213 Crotal with the iron pellet still present. Its lower half is decorated with an incised shield shape and a palmate design. Dia. at girth 31mm.  
L/AE127A/+; topsoil.
- 214 Crotal, with iron pellet still present. Palmate design on upper half, and pine-cone pattern on the lower half. Dia. 30mm.  
J/AE98A/+; topsoil.
- 215 Crotal fragment, with the initial 'T' visible on the lower quarter. Dia. 33mm.  
C/AE68/3; destruction, Building 14.

- NI Crotal fragment, length 15mm.  
B/AE28/9; yards surface around Building 6.
- NI Crotal, damaged, the upper and lower halves of which are decorated with a palmate design. Dia. at girth 25mm.  
A/AE38/34; destruction, Building 1.
- NI Crotal very similar to AE38 but smaller, with a girth dia. of 30mm.  
L/AE127B/+; topsoil.
- NI Crotal, similar to AE38 and AE127B. Dia. 30mm.  
L/AE127E/+; topsoil.
- NI Crotal fragment with pine-cone pattern on the lower half and traces of white metal coating. Dia. 25mm.  
H/AE111/19; north yard, Building 22.

*Harness fittings* Figs 80 – 81

- 216 Bell, copper alloy, with a slight ridge around the lip and a perforated rectangular tab for suspension. Traces of the iron clapper fittings survive. A slightly smaller example from Aldgate High Street, London, is dated to 1670–1700 (Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984, fig. 57, 93). Another example can be seen as part of a 'hame box', on a horse collar (Jennings 1989, 27).  
G/AE125/170; cobbled surface adjacent to Building 20.
- 217 Harness mount, copper alloy. Shield shaped, with traces of heraldic design (Griffiths 1989, fig. 3). Width 15mm., length 19mm., length of stud 7mm.  
MK849/2/+; metal detector find.
- 218 Horse pendant, copper alloy. Shield shaped, with a lion or leopard on a red enamel background. Overall length 31mm., width 19mm.  
MK849/3/+; metal detector find.

*Harness rings* Fig. 81

- 219, 220 Two rings, iron, dia. 40mm. Similar corroded lumps on each ring suggest that both were cheek rings on a snaffle bit.
- 219 B/IW15T/19; destruction, Building 5.
- NI Harness ring, copper alloy, 29mm. ext. dia.  
Manor/127/173; destruction below stable.
- NI Harness ring, copper alloy, 34mm ext. dia.  
Manor/6/2; topsoil.
- NI Harness ring fragment, copper alloy, ext. dia. 51mm. approx.  
Manor/32/18; destruction west of building 1.
- 221 Swivel ring, copper alloy, decorated with groups of three incised lines. Int. dia. 9mm.  
MK901:2/1/+; metal detector find.

*Horseshoes* Figs 82 – 84

In all, the excavations at Great Linford produced 105 horseshoes, complete and fragmentary. Of

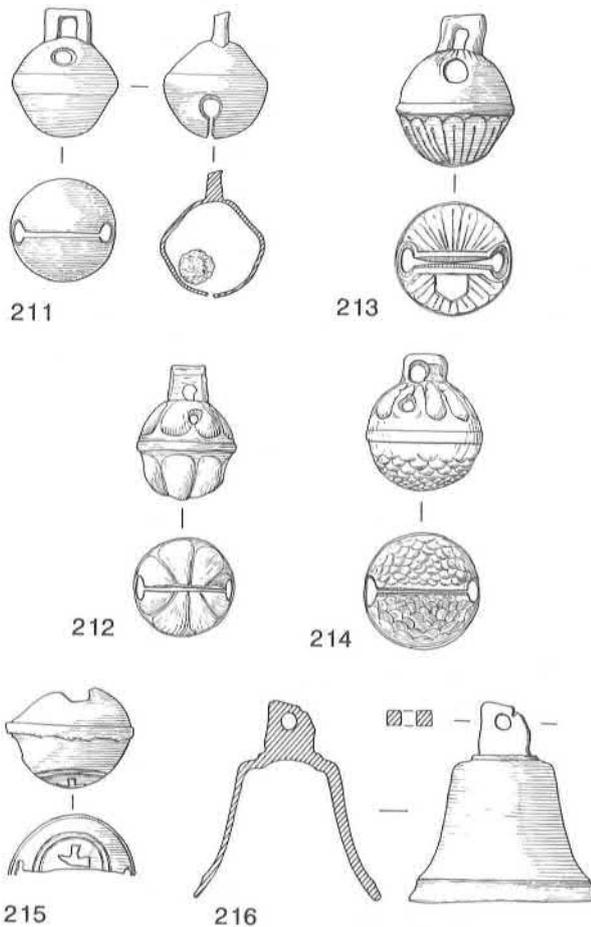


Figure 80: Harness bells, 211–216, scale 1:2.

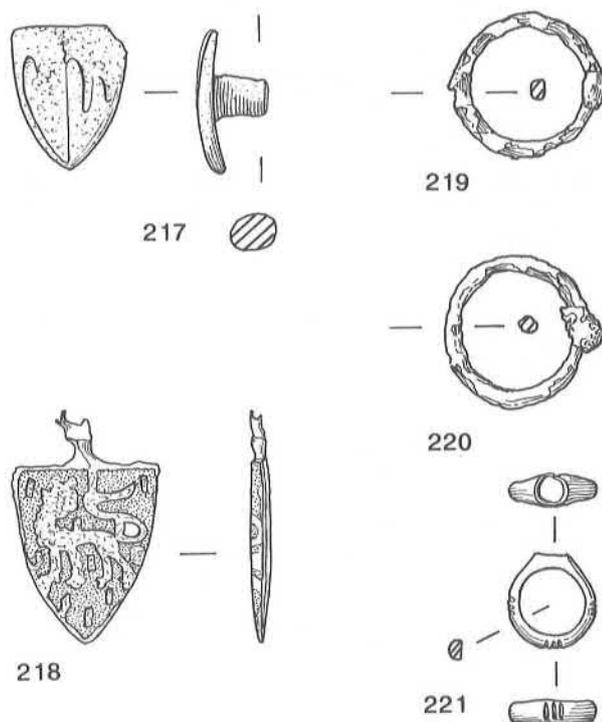


Figure 81: Harness fittings, 217–218, scale 1:4; Harness rings, 219–220, scale 1:2 and 221, scale 1:4.

these, Crofts B and L each produced 20% of the total, while 16% were recovered from Croft F, and 11% from Croft C.

The assemblage was identified and dated, where possible, according to Ivan Sparkes' brief but detailed study (Sparkes 1976), and the terminology used is taken from that publication. As many of the horseshoes were found in insecurely dated contexts, dating has been typological rather than stratigraphical, and the examples published are a selection of different types showing the development of the horseshoe from medieval to modern times.

Measurements given are all width  $\times$  length.

- 222 Early Guildhall type; narrow arched frog, eight nailholes, calkins on both branches. 110  $\times$  120mm. Fourteenth century?  
Green/IW7D/+; topsoil.
- 223 Guildhall, arched frog, six nailholes. 114  $\times$  120mm. Late fourteenth or fifteenth century?  
F/IW285A/31; topsoil over west boundary ditch.
- 224 Guildhall, seven nailholes, 125  $\times$  120mm. Sixteenth century.  
Green/IW13A/+; topsoil.
- 225 Guildhall, saddle shoe. Six nailholes, and downturned calkin on one branch. 115  $\times$  116mm. Sixteenth century?  
L/IW396A/1; destruction over back lane.
- 226 Late Guildhall type, seven nailholes, 112  $\times$  114mm. Sixteenth or seventeenth century.  
Green/IW46C/+; topsoil.
- 227 Keyhole type (draught horse size). Fullered, ten nailholes, one calkin. 150  $\times$  160mm.  
Green/IW46E/+; topsoil.
- 228 Tongue shoe. Toeclip, seven nailholes, some nails still in position. 123  $\times$  120mm. Early nineteenth century?  
L/IW395H/+; topsoil.
- 229 Toeclip shoe. Seven nailholes. 145  $\times$  147mm. Mid nineteenth century?  
C/IW90A/+; topsoil.
- 230 Horseshoe. Hand fullered, eight nailholes, heavy calkins. 116  $\times$  118mm. Nineteenth century.  
C/IW107K/+; topsoil.
- 231 Draught or shire horse shoe. Toeclip, eight nailholes, 186  $\times$  180mm. Nineteenth century.  
C/I07AL/+; topsoil.
- 232 Pony shoe. Toe clip and six stamped countersunk nailholes. 90  $\times$  102mm. Modern.  
B/IW26C/+; topsoil.
- 233 Hand fullered shoe, toeclip, eight nailholes. 138  $\times$  133mm. Modern.  
B/IW235C/+; topsoil.

### Horseshoe nails

A total of 483 horseshoe nails were recovered from the village excavations at Linford, most from Crofts L (32. 1%), B (18. 8%) and F (15. 3%), these being the most completely excavated crofts. Almost all the nails identified were of the plain, square-headed type, similar to those in use today, the bulk of the nails being recovered from topsoil and destruction contexts.

*Spurs* Figs 85 – 88  
Blanche M. A. Ellis

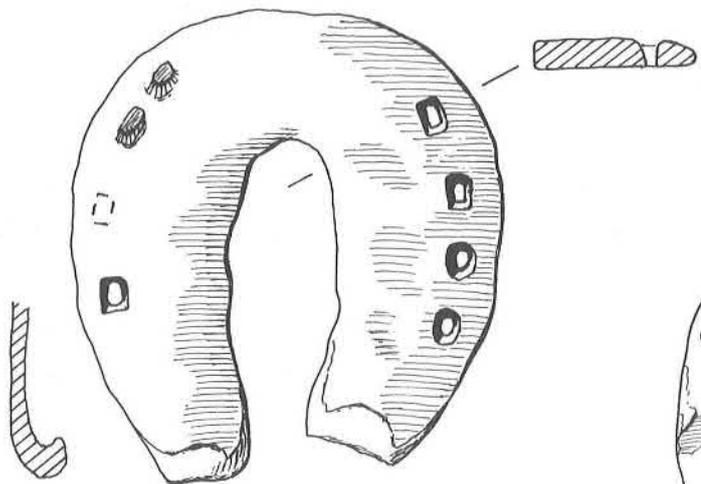
The medieval spurs from Great Linford (234–38) form a small series of typical examples of the development of the rowel spur through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Spurs with down-curved necks appeared in the sixteenth century, but most of the post-medieval spurs from this site are comparable with others from sites of known Civil War activity. All the iron spurs have suffered bad corrosion, so that only a few have traces of non-ferrous plating, although iron spurs were frequently thinly plated with tin (Jope 1956, 35–42).

The copper alloy spur (250) is interesting in showing signs of continued use after its goad had broken off. The latest spur (257), with rectangular terminals, is typical of the eighteenth century.

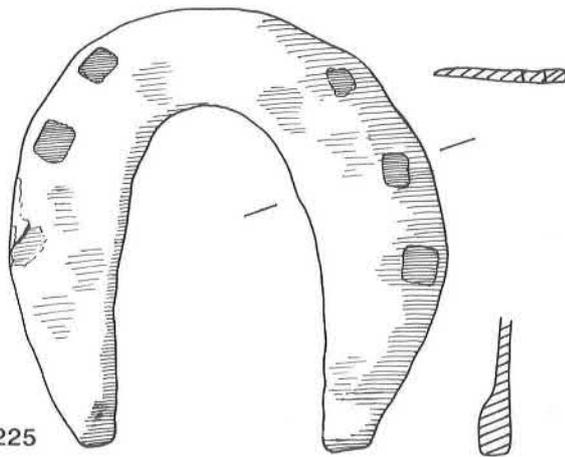
The spurs are described as they were worn, with the terminals in the front and the rowel at the back. The overall length measurement is that of the spur body without moving parts, taken along the neck to a point midway between the terminals. They are in the order of their typological dates.

234 Rowel spur, iron, with its surfaces deeply pitted by rust. It is of very slender proportions. The 'D' section sides curve under the wearer's ankle; the front end of one is now detached and both terminals are missing, although the extremity of the most complete side may be part of a slot terminal of a type common on early rowel spurs (Ward Perkins 1967, 104, fig. 32, 6, 7 & 8). Both sides and neck taper from the thickest part at their junction, from where the straight neck projects slightly downwards. The rowel box with 'D' section sides divides most of the neck. One rowel boss has rusted badly; the other is disc shaped. The star rowel has eight points, four with damaged tips. Overall length 118mm., length of neck 27mm., rowel dia. *c.* 30mm. An early rowel spur of a type worn from the mid thirteenth to the mid fourteenth century; probably first half of the fourteenth century.  
F/IW245P/+; topsoil.

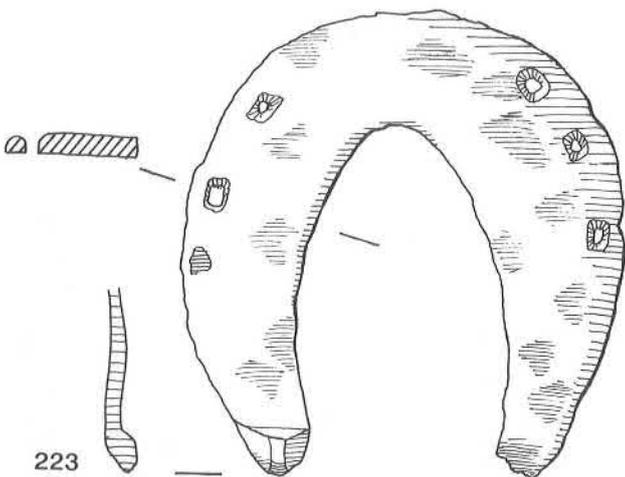
235 Rowel spur, iron, its surfaces damaged by rust. The triangular-section sides plunge, then bend strongly under the wearer's ankle so that their front ends turn up, but their terminals have rusted away. Where the sides join, their upper part rises into a pointed crest. The straight neck projects from



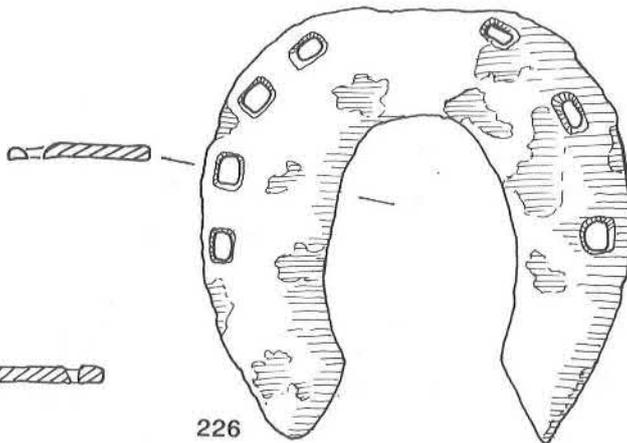
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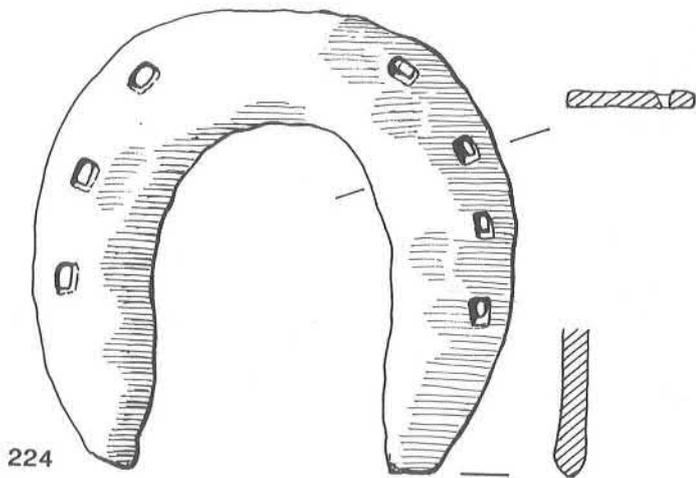
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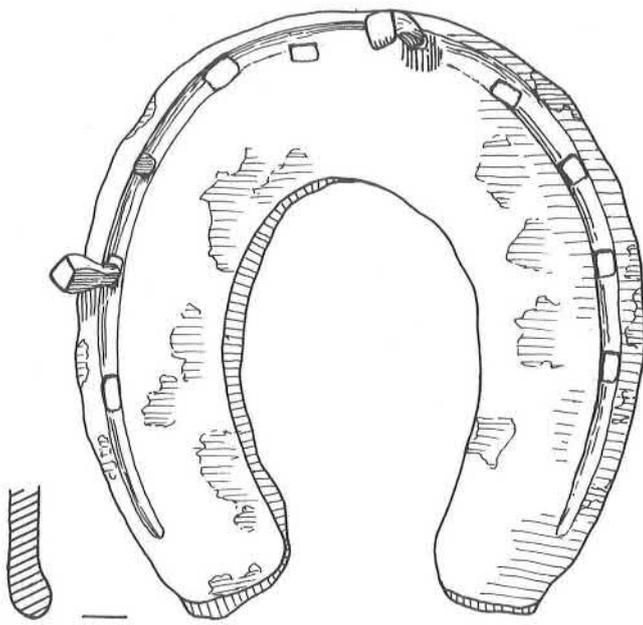


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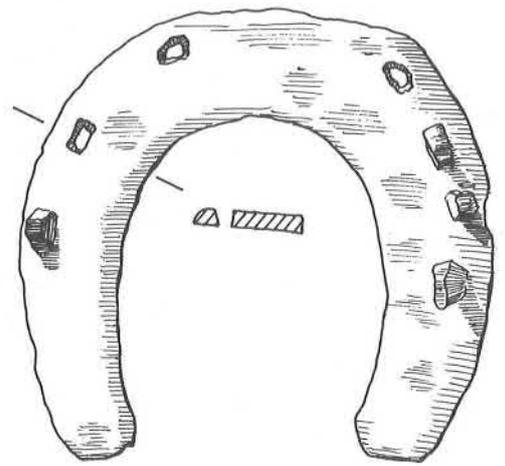


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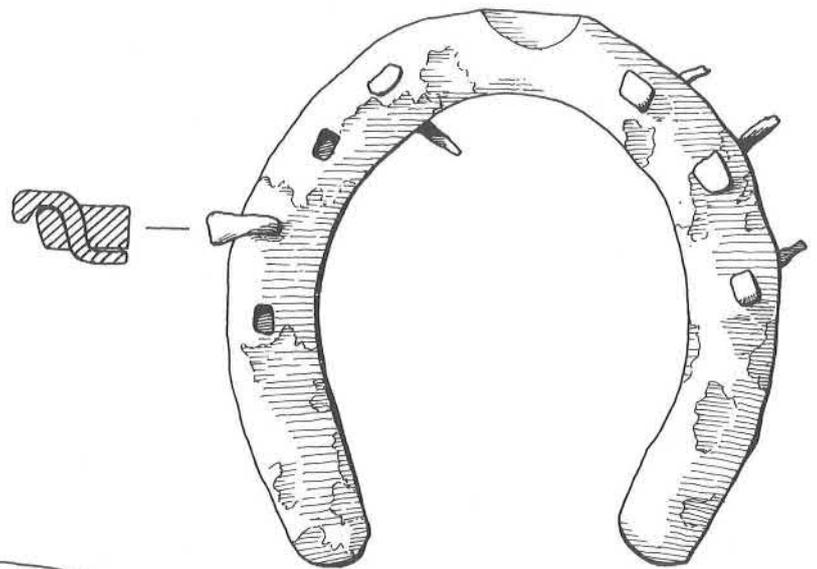
Figure 82: Horseshoes, 222-226, scale 1:2.



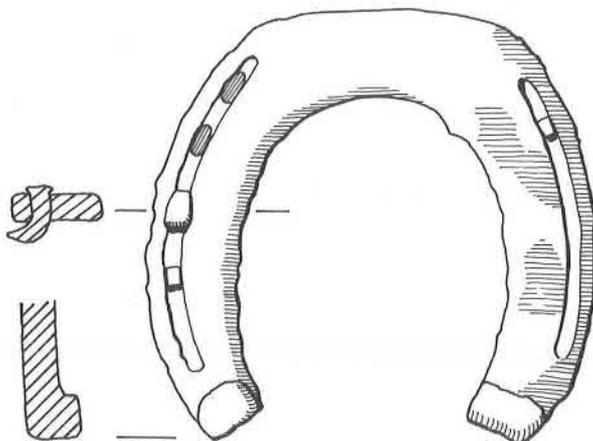
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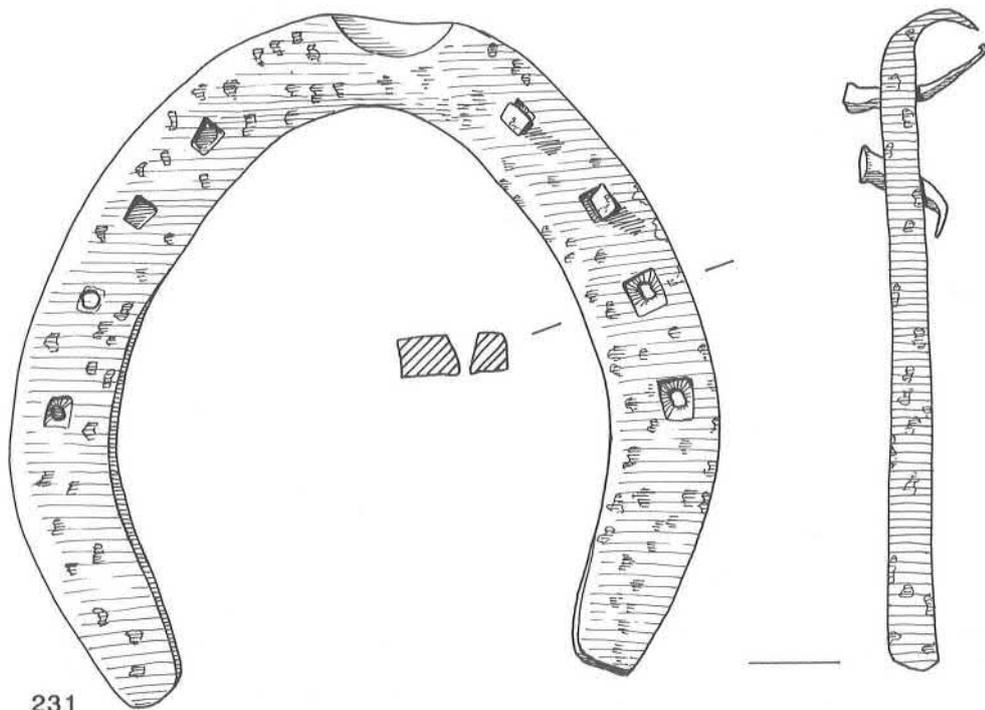


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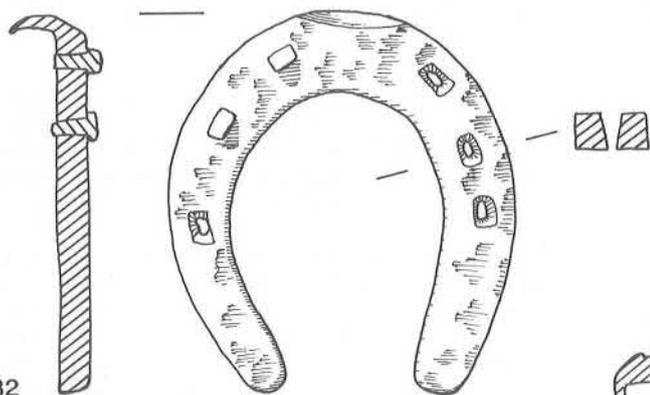


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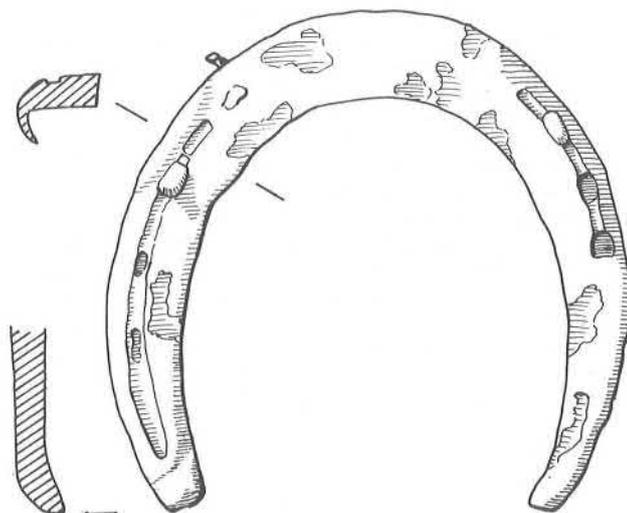
Figure 83: Horseshoes, 227-230, scale 1:2.



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233

Figure 84: Horseshoes, 231–233, scale 1:2.

- below this crest. The neck is of broad rectangular section, and is divided for most of its length by the rowel box. The flat disc-shaped rowel bosses flank a large star rowel of eight round-section points. Overall length 126mm., length of neck 50mm., rowel dia. 52mm. The span of the sides has been compressed during burial. Typological date: 1340–90. At this period, spurs had strongly curved sides, and often crests and large rowels, such as those on the effigy of Edward the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, who died in 1376. Spurs of similar basic form, but with the high fashion, larger multi-point rowels, are worn by Sir John Harsick, 1384, on his monumental brass in Southacre Church, Norfolk (Byrne 1959, 109 and pl. XXXA).  
H/IW359A/34; surface, east yard.
- 236 Rowel spur, iron, very severely rusted and splitting. The sides, which were probably of 'D' section, each form a strong even curve under the wearer's ankle. Both terminals are missing. At their junction, the top edges of the sides are drawn up into a pronounced crest which curls slightly over the neck, but has lost its tip. The straight neck swells from where it joins the sides but is heavily rusted, splitting and broken across the rowel box. Overall length (now incomplete) 115mm.
- Despite its poor condition, this spur is recognisable as a type popular in Britain about 1400. It is depicted on a number of monumental brasses of the period, including that of Sir Nicholas Dagworth (died 1401) in Blickling Church, Norfolk, which is illustrated with two similar spurs from the excavations at the deserted medieval village of Goltho, Lincolnshire (Beresford 1975, 90, fig. 42).  
Croft D/IW170P/12; destruction, Building 12.
- 237 Fragment of long spur, iron with rust-damaged surfaces, consisting of one side and the neck of a spur. The side, which is of flattened 'D' section, descends into a bend under the wearer's ankle, then rises to its missing terminal. Its top edge extends into a simple pointed crest behind the foot, from below which the long round neck projects. The end of the neck is broken, possibly at the commencement of the rowel box division. Overall length 164mm. Typological date: 1400–60.  
C/IW107W/+; topsoil.
- 238 Rowel spur, of the type contemporarily called a long spur. Iron, with small traces of non-ferrous plating, probably tin. The 'D' section sides are formed to slope only slightly downwards on either side of the wearer's heel, with only their front ends rising in a strong curve towards single ring terminals. The long round neck has just a suggestion of a downward curve along its length. The end of the rowel box is broken off so that the rowel bosses, pin and rowel are missing. The span of the arc of the sides around the heel is narrower than usual (about 48mm.); the front end of one side has become twisted outwards. Overall length 160mm., length of (incomplete) neck 62mm. Spurs with long necks were fashionable from about 1400–1530, and the shallow curve of the sides of this spur probably indicates a date in the second half of the fifteenth century.  
Manor/34/18; destruction rubble west of path.
- 239 Spur rowel, iron, heavily rusted with fragments of its broken rowel box attached to it. This is a star rowel, originally of eight round-section points, all of which have lost their pointed tips. Original dia. about 35–40mm. It is rarely possible to date a detached spur rowel, and this can only be placed in the period 1300–1700.  
B/IW176A/50; floor section, Building 6.
- 240 Rowel spur, iron. The 'D' section straight sides form a deep arc around the back of the heel, tapering to extremely slender front ends. Only part of the top ring of an evenly set figure-8 terminal survives with a small fragment of an attachment for the leather rusted to it; the other terminal is missing. The slender round neck projects horizontally, but with its rowel box bent at a downward angle. Only the middle of its small rowel survives. Overall length 106mm. Length of neck 35mm. Typological date: 1625–60. Spurs with their necks bent at an angle appeared during the sixteenth century, and became a popular feature of the seventeenth century. Spurs with evenly set figure-8 terminals, *i.e.* with their rings projecting equally above and below the end of the spur side, do not seem to have been used before the end of the sixteenth century, but had become common by the time of the Civil War, when they were often associated with strongly tapered spur sides. A similar example was recovered from the Civil War period excavations at Sandal Castle, Yorkshire (Mayes & Butler 1983, 255, fig. 11, no. 11, & 256). A similar spur to 240 came from the Civil War period at Beeston Castle, Cheshire, (Ellis, P. (ed.) forthcoming, spur no. 14).  
C/IW107AM/+; topsoil.
- 241 & 242 Two spurs, probably a pair of rowel spurs, iron with traces of non-ferrous plating, probably tin. Both spurs have straight, 'D' section sides tapered from their deepest part behind the wearer's heel. Both have lost their terminals, and one spur, of which the sides are now compressed, has lost all but a stump of its neck. The other has a round neck which is straight but tapered towards a small drooping rowel box, with only the middle of its rowel rusted into it. The overall length of the more complete spur is 78mm., and the length of its neck is 22mm. The overall length of the second spur is 70mm. Typological date: 1630–70. Several spurs with tapered sides and small drooping rowel boxes were excavated at Beeston Castle (*ibid.*) and probably came from the period of Civil War activity there.  
A/IW1A and 1B/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 243 Rowel spur, iron with traces of non ferrous plating. The straight, 'D' section sides are deep behind the heel and taper to become very slender at the front. Both terminals are missing, although the indentations of the holes of one show that the side is almost complete. The short round neck commences as horizontally straight, but tapers into a small drooped rowel box which is badly rusted, and the rowel has gone. Overall length 92mm., length of neck 19mm. Typological date: 1630–70. Of the same type as 269 and 270.  
C/IW124B/2; destruction, Building 8.
- 244 Rowel spur, iron with traces of non-ferrous plating.

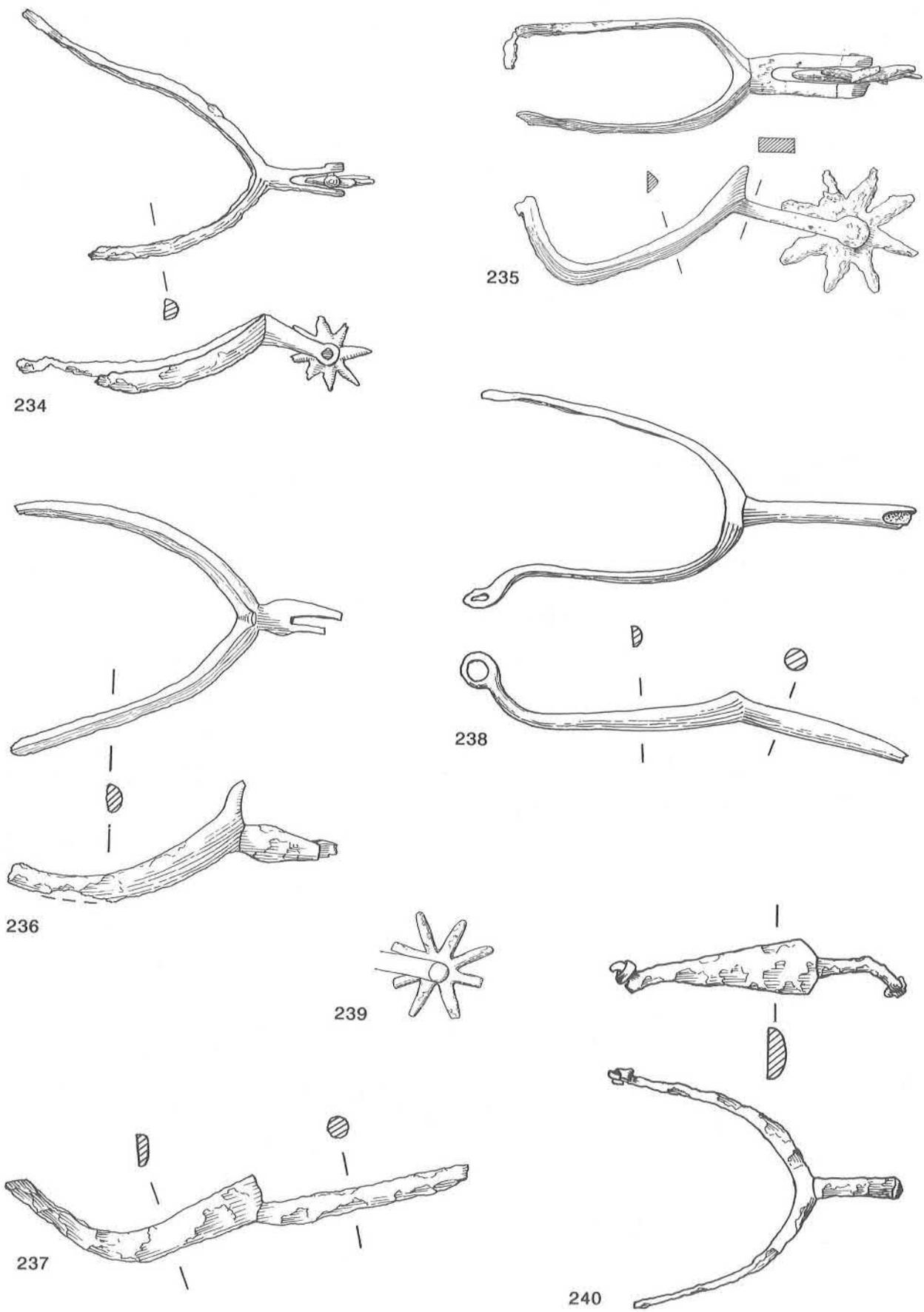


Figure 85: Rowel spurs, 234–240, scale 1:2.

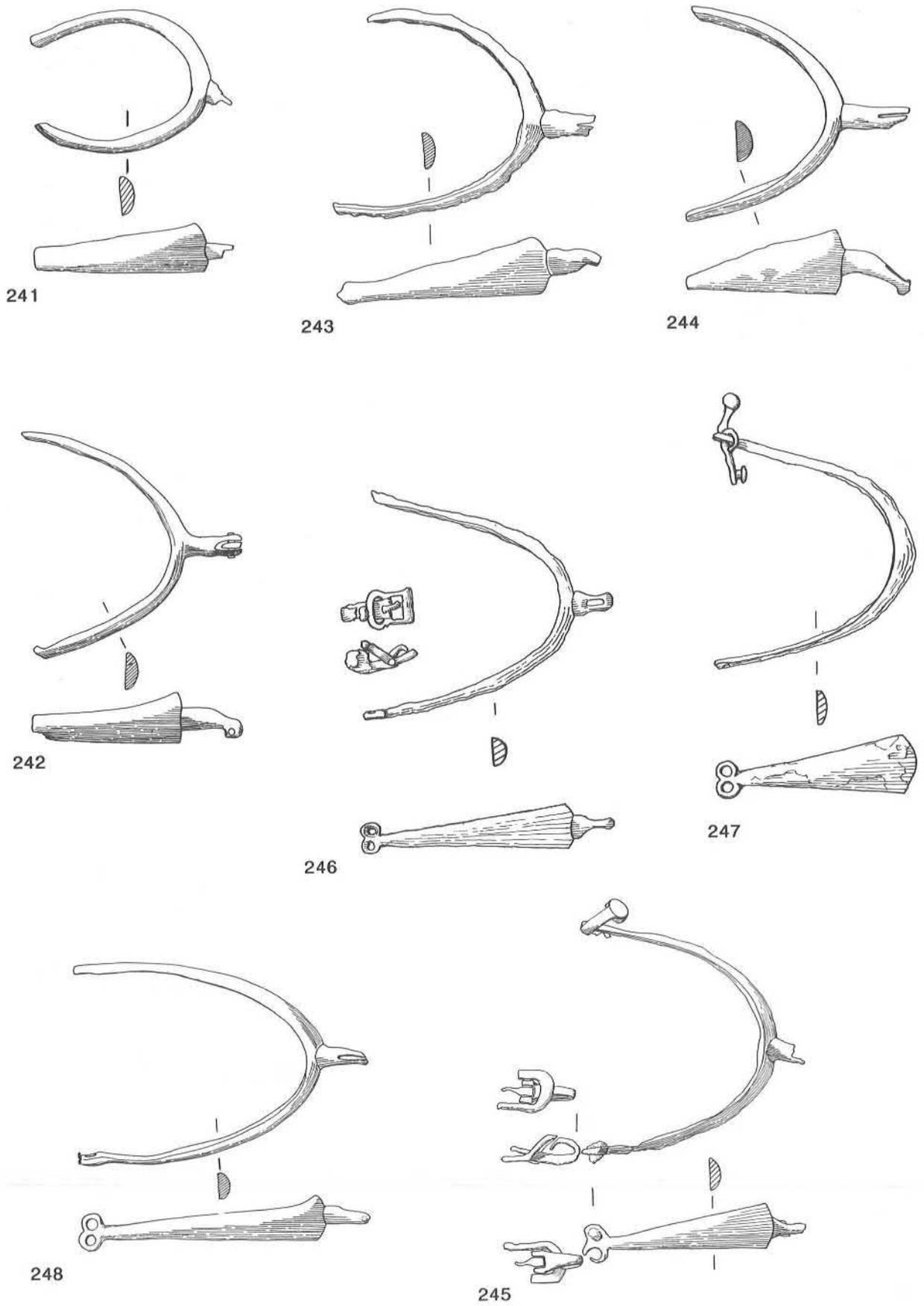
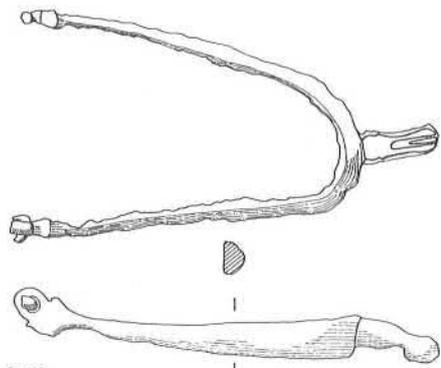
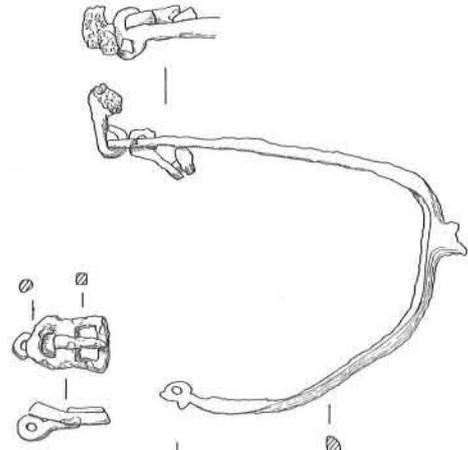


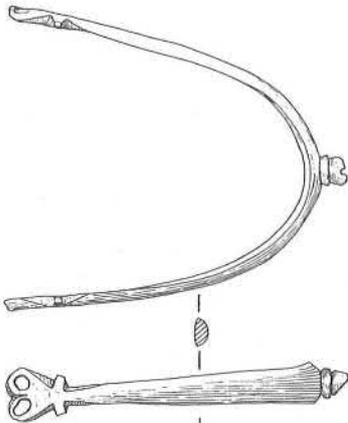
Figure 86: Rowel spurs, 241–248, scale 1:2.



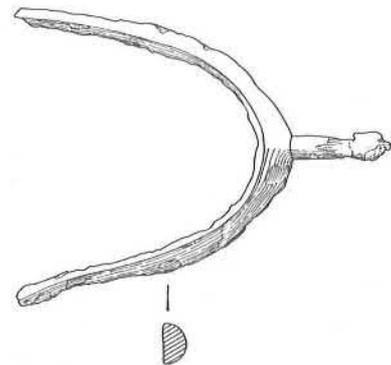
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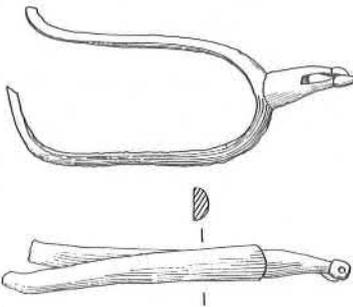
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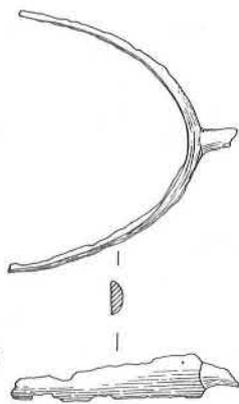
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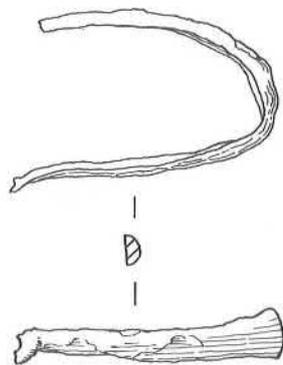
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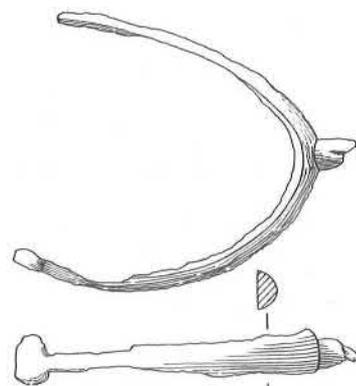
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Figure 87: Rowel spurs, 249–256, scale 1:2.

- Similar to 243. Its sides taper from 22mm. deep at their junction to about 5mm. at their front ends from which both terminals are lost. The small round neck also tapers to an extremely slender drooping rowel box, from which the rowel is missing. Overall length 78mm., length of neck 24mm. Typological date: 1630–60. A/IW83C/15; topsoil.
- 245 Rowel spur, iron, of the same type as 243, with straight, 'D' section sides tapering from 16mm deep behind the wearer's heel to 5mm next to the evenly set figure-8 terminals. One stud attachment and small fragments of two others are rusted into the terminals. The buckle has a slightly angled frame, with a square top (now partly missing) and rounded lower edge. The buckle and stud attachment are of small proportions. The slender neck has rusted away to a fragment marked by the commencement of the rowel box division. Overall length 60mm., span of sides 76mm., length of attachment 21mm. Typological date: 1630–60. L/IW398D/6; destruction, general.
- 246 Rowel spur, iron, of small proportions with 'D' section tapered sides. Both rings of one terminal have rusted away, the other is an extremely small, evenly set, figure 8. The neck is very short and round, most of it being taken up by the waisted rowel box. The rowel is missing. A little buckle of equally dainty proportions accompanies the spur. The buckle frame is angled at its central bar, with a square top, and with a round lower part which, in spite of heavy rust accretions, does appear to be finished with a small decorative knob in the middle of its outer edge. Overall length 90mm., length of neck 15mm., length of rowel box 11mm., span of sides 77mm. Typologically 1620–1660. B/IW28N/4; surface of yard south of Building 5.
- 247 Sides of a spur, iron. From the same context as 246, but not its pair. The 'D' section straight sides are thick and 21mm. deep where they join, tapering 4mm. deep next to very small, evenly set figure 8 terminals. Two narrow, waisted, stud attachments for the leathers survive. The entire spur neck has rusted away. Overall length of sides 70mm., span of sides 76mm. Typological date: mid seventeenth century. B/IW28M/4; Surface of yard south of building 5.
- 248 Rowel spur, iron, with considerable remains of non-ferrous plating, probably tin. Of the same type as 246 with long, straight, tapering sides of 'D' section, small evenly set figure 8 terminals, one with a damaged ring, and a short thin, round neck. The rowel is missing. Overall length 102mm., length of neck 18mm., span of sides 63mm. Typological date: 1600–60. This form of spur was worn by Sir Thomas Southwell for his portrait painted about 1630, which shows him dressed for hunting (Coll: Hon. John Southwell Russell, reproduced in Blackmore 1971, 227, fig. 91). B/IW114A/32; destruction, Building 5.
- 249 Rowel spur, iron, with slight traces of non-ferrous plating. Of slender proportions, but of the same basic type as 247 and 248. One terminal has rusted away. The front end of the other side spreads into a small vertical bar next to the terminal, which is damaged by rust but appears to be of similar form to the terminal of 250. A very small fragment of an attachment for the leather is rusted into this terminal. The X-ray reveals two small mouldings on the neck before it divides into the rowel box. Most of the rowel has gone, but one point is rusted into the drooping rowel box. The sides have been compressed during burial, which has reduced their span. Overall length 110mm., length of neck 22mm. The length of the surviving rowel point is about 6mm., therefore the rowel diameter was originally approximately 12mm. Typological date: 1620–1670. A/IW140D/25; topsoil.
- 250 Rowel spur, copper alloy. A slender spur with straight, 'D' section, slightly tapered sides. The front ends of the sides each spread into a small vertical bar projecting above and below the side, marking the commencement of an evenly set two-ring terminal, which is heart shaped. The rings of these terminals show a great deal of wear; one has worn through, indicating that the spur had considerable use. The small round neck is surrounded by a raised moulding between its junction with the sides of the spur and the division into the rowel box, and at the latter point it has been broken. The broken surface is worn smooth towards one side, suggesting that the owner continued to use it as a mild goad even after the break had occurred. Overall length (with incomplete neck) 90mm., span of the sides 72mm. Typological date: second half of the seventeenth century. It is not unusual to find seventeenth-century copper alloy spurs with broken necks and occasionally with the metal at the break worn smooth by continued use after the goad had broken off. An identical spur found in a garden at Earsham, Norfolk in 1974 had a similarly broken neck worn down in the same way. Another copper alloy spur of the same form, but incised with a decorative pattern, came from the early eighteenth century final destruction deposit east of the gatehouse at Beeston Castle, Cheshire (Ellis, *ibid*, no. 24). B/AE36/2; surface of yard north of Building 5.
- 251 Rowel spur, iron. The straight 'D' section sides taper from 18mm. deep at their junction to about 4mm. at their front ends, from which the terminals have rusted away. The round neck is also very slender and tapered. This is straight, but with a slightly drooped rowel box containing the remains of a small rowel. Overall length 95mm., length of neck 25mm. Typological date: 1600–60. Green/IW24/+; topsoil.
- 252 Rowel spur, iron. The straight 'D' section sides are very narrow but nevertheless taper towards their very small, evenly set figure-8 terminals. The sides are now distorted, and one terminal has lost most of one ring. All that remains of the spur neck is an oval-section stump, broken where it divides for the rowel box, almost immediately next to where it joins the spur sides. Two stud attachments for the leathers remain. The small, complete spur buckle is

now detached from the broken terminal ring. Its very slightly angled frame has a square top and round lower edge. Overall length 95mm., length of attachments 20mm., length of buckle frame 22mm. Typological date: 1640–1700.

L/IW419C/30; cobbled floor, Building 28.

253 Rowel spur, copper alloy. The sides and neck have been compressed and distorted. The straight, narrow, 'D' section sides are of similar proportions to those of 252, and taper towards missing terminals. The oval section neck is mainly straight, its taper emphasising the slight droop of its rowel box. Rounded rowel bosses, the rowel and its pin are missing. Overall length (as now distorted) 92mm. Its original length, including terminals, is estimated to have been about 110mm. Length of neck 24mm., length of rowel box 12mm. Typological date; 1660–1700.

B/PEW4B/8; rubble makeup of south yard.

254 Rowel spur, iron. The straight, 'D' section sides taper towards their front ends. One terminal has rusted away, the other is of evenly set figure-8 type. The oval section neck has mostly rusted away, but still shows that it divided for its rowel box only about 6mm. away from its junction with the spur sides. Overall length 91mm. Typological date 1630–1700.

L/IW454/108; below floor of Building 28.

255 Spur fragment, iron. The 'D' section sides, which have become compressed, are short and straight, tapering slightly towards their front ends, where a small part of one terminal remains. The other terminal has rusted away, and the surface rusting is so severe that no trace of the spur neck is visible. Overall length 71mm. Typological date; probably seventeenth century.

B/IW28C/4 South yard of Buildings 5 and 6.

256 Spur, iron, of small proportions. The straight 'D' section tapered sides have lost their terminals, and only a rounded stump remains of a small, slender neck. Overall length 60mm. Typological date: despite its extremities having rusted away, the form is that of a rowel spur of 1640–1700.

L/IW397A/+; topsoil.

257 Rowel spur, iron. The horizontally straight 'D' section sides, which taper slightly along their length, have become compressed. One terminal has almost completely rusted away, as have most of the outer edges of the other, although this can still be identified as of rectangular form, with two horizontal slots, one above the other, separated by a central bar which remains. The straight neck is slender, and of round section. It tapers slightly towards a very small star rowel, originally of about six sharp points, only one of which is still complete. Overall length 123mm (longer than originally because of the compressed sides). Length of neck 26mm., length of rowel box 13mm. Rowel dia. originally c. 10mm. An almost identical spur, retaining stud attachments for its leathers, was found with eighteenth-century pottery during excavations in a builder's yard at St. Cross, Oxford, by Oxford Archaeological Unit. (unpublished: Oxfordshire

Department of Museum Services, Primary Record no. 6648).

L/IW395AC/+; topsoil.

*Spur buckles* Fig. 88

In addition to the buckles which remained attached to spurs, six similar iron buckles found separately at Linford were identified as spur buckles. All were of the centre-bar type, of varying shapes, with a metal fixing tab and tongue, sometimes combined, pivoted on the centre-bar. Three of these are illustrated below.

258 Rectangular buckle, 33 × 23mm., with rounded corners. Central bar passing through tongue and waisted strap end, allowing free movement of both. Strap width 15mm.

B/IW17A/22; hearth, Building 5.

259 Rectangular buckle, 20 × 18mm. Combined tongue and strap end, pivoted on centre-bar. Strap width 10mm.

C/IW107A/+; topsoil.

260 Oval buckle, dia. 27–32mm., with central pivot on long axis. Remains of separate narrow waisted link fastening and tapered tongue. Strap width 15mm.

B/IW130A/6; cobbled surface, yard south of Building 5.

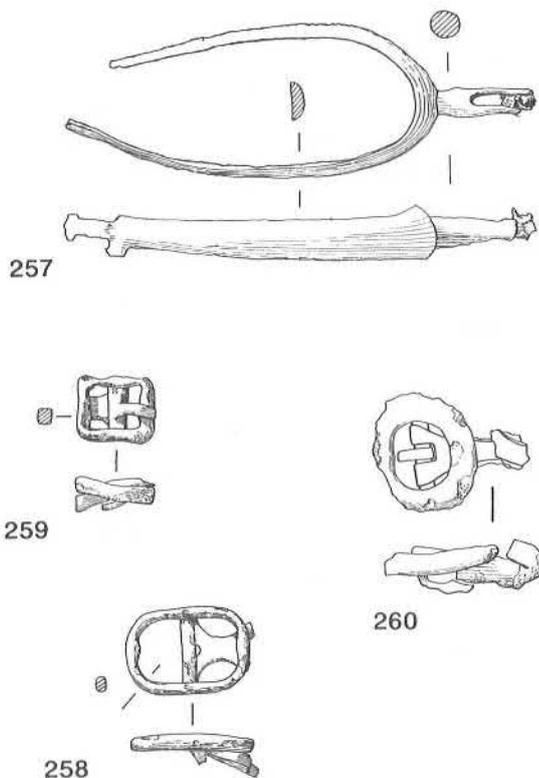


Figure 88: Rowel spur, 257; Spur buckles, 258–260, scale 1:2.

## 9. TOOLS

### *Craft tools* Figs 89 – 90

- 261 Wedge. Pointed bar with evidence of repeated hammering on broad end. Length 65mm., width 17mm.  
B/IW15V/19; destruction, Building 5.
- 262 Wedge or cold chisel. Length 142mm., section of broad end 38 × 20mm.  
B/IW235H/+; topsoil.
- 263 Wedge, length 133mm., width 35mm.  
L/IW395AA/+; topsoil.
- 264 Wedge, length 78mm., width 20mm.  
L/IW423F/35; surface, main yard.
- 265 Chisel. Tapered square-section shaft, joining tapered square tang at pronounced shoulder. Length 140mm.  
B/IW101A/18; destruction, Building 5.
- 266 Gouge. Whittle tang, blade width 20mm. Length overall 240mm. Seventeenth century?  
A/IW1M/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 267 Implement? Bar 14 × 6mm., tapering and curving to chisel point. Broad end shows signs of hammer blows. Length 93mm.  
B/IW15N/19; destruction, Building 4.
- 268 File. Tapered blade, length 130mm. (tip missing), th. 4mm., terminating in a splayed circular end perforated for hanging. Late twelfth to early fourteenth century.  
B/IW75B/12; destruction, Building 5.
- 269 File. Bar, rectangular section (max. 23 × 5mm.), tapering slightly to both ends. One end has traces of wooden handgrips, and two rivets for fastening them. Length 164mm. Medieval?  
Manor/98/95; ash layer, Room II.
- 270 Trowel. Triangular blade, broken tip. Cranked tapered tang. Max. blade width 40mm., est. length 85mm.  
B/IW33A/+; topsoil.
- 271 Tang for trowel or similar tool. Length 64mm., broadening to oval terminal with two rivets for fastening blade.  
Manor/38C/18; destruction rubble west of path.
- 272 Auger bit. Rod, length 115mm., flattened at one end, with traces of helix for auger at the other.  
Green/IW46A/+; topsoil.
- 273 Head of claw hammer. Central hole for shaft 17mm. square. Length of head 98mm.  
L/IW437E/70; destruction, general.

### *Hone stones* Fig. 91

Fragments of ninety-seven hones were found in the village excavations and five at the manor, though the latter were all recovered from topsoil contexts.

Two types of stone were favoured; a grey or pinkish micaceous sandstone, and a fine-grained, well-laminated schist or ragstone, probably from Eidsborg, Norway. There were also two fragments made of hornfels, from the Charnwood forest area of Leicestershire, and one of a purple phyllite.

The sandstone hones can be divided into two shapes and two sizes. The majority are square-sectioned, with five large examples averaging 46mm. in thickness, and forty-six averaging 31mm. in thickness. The remaining thirteen sandstone hones were of cylindrical section, with an average maximum diameter of 32mm., tapered towards each end. The only complete example of this type (274) measured 33mm. in diameter and 230mm. in length.

Because of the softer nature of the stone, the twenty-nine Norwegian Ragstone hones have worn into more irregular shapes, but they average 28mm. in diameter. Only two complete examples of this type were found. Evidence for suspension was noted on two hones; one of the complete examples (276) had a hole drilled for a suspension cord, whilst another fragment (277) had grooves cut to locate a cord tied around it close to one end. It is evident from their smaller size, and the presence of suspension cords, that hones of this type were used for sharpening smaller blades, most probably those of personal knives of the types described below, and were carried as accessories to such knives.

The smallest hone present (275), made of a fine grained purple phyllite and perforated, falls into the same category of 'personal hones'. There are also two fragments of square-sectioned dark grey hornfels hones.

Most of the hones present are worn by transverse sharpening, though one of the Norwegian Ragstone hones (277) shows signs of point sharpening. For a discussion of wear patterns on hones, see Moore and Oakley's report on material from St Peter's, Northampton (Williams 1979, 280–84).

While the phyllite hone (275) was found in a sealed middle to late twelfth-century context on Croft B, few of the other hones are securely dateable. Those examples (15% of the total) found in medieval contexts are not demonstrably different from those from post-medieval contexts.

274 A complete grey micaceous sandstone hone. It is square sectioned and evenly worn. Length 230mm., breadth 31mm., width 33mm.  
B/WS26/2; destruction over Building 4 and surrounding yards.

275 A complete hone of purple phyllite or quartz-mica siltstone from an unlocated source. It is square-sectioned, slightly worn and perforated for suspension. A similar example was found in Northampton (Moore and Oakley 1979, fig. 123, H26).

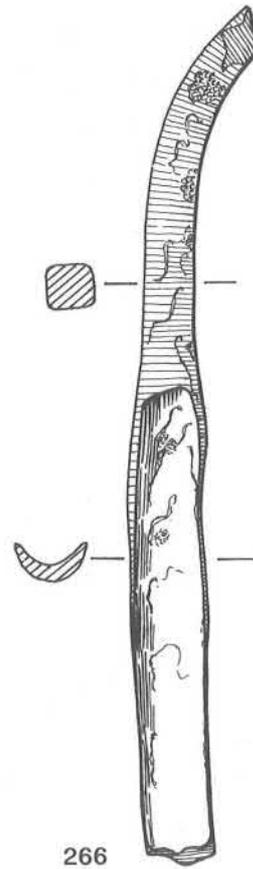
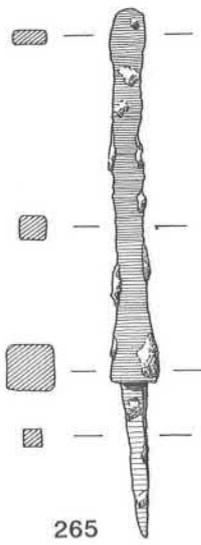
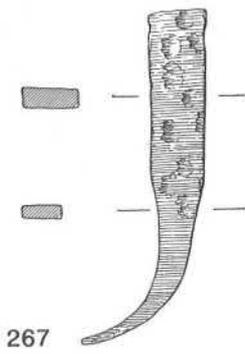
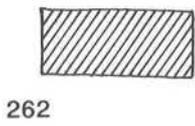
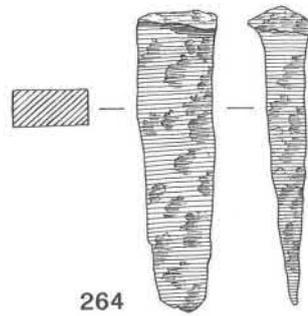
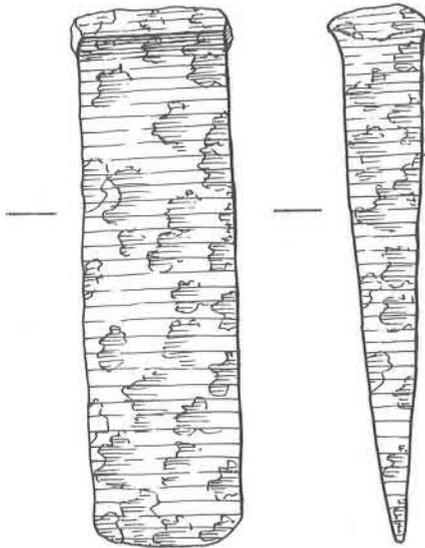
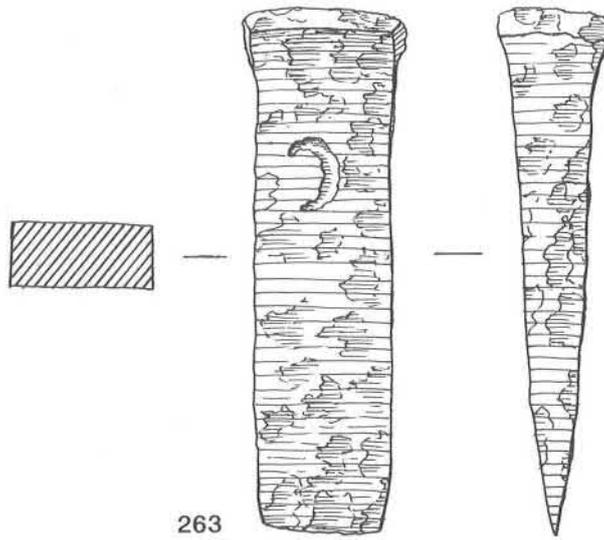
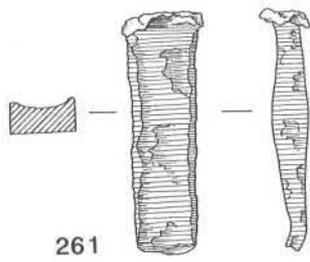


Figure 89: Craft tools, 261-267, scale 1:2.

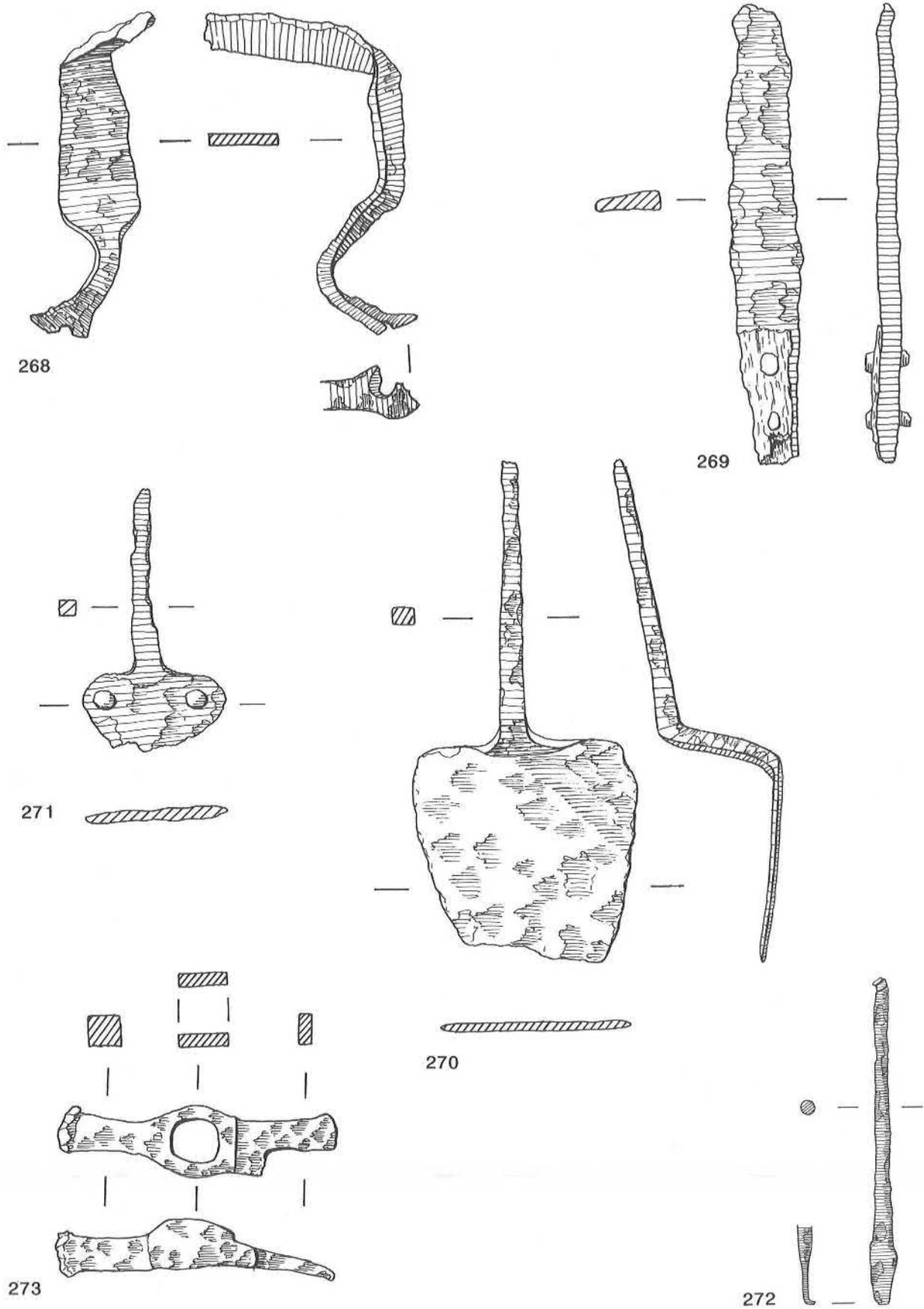


Figure 90: Craft tools, 268-273, scale 1:2.

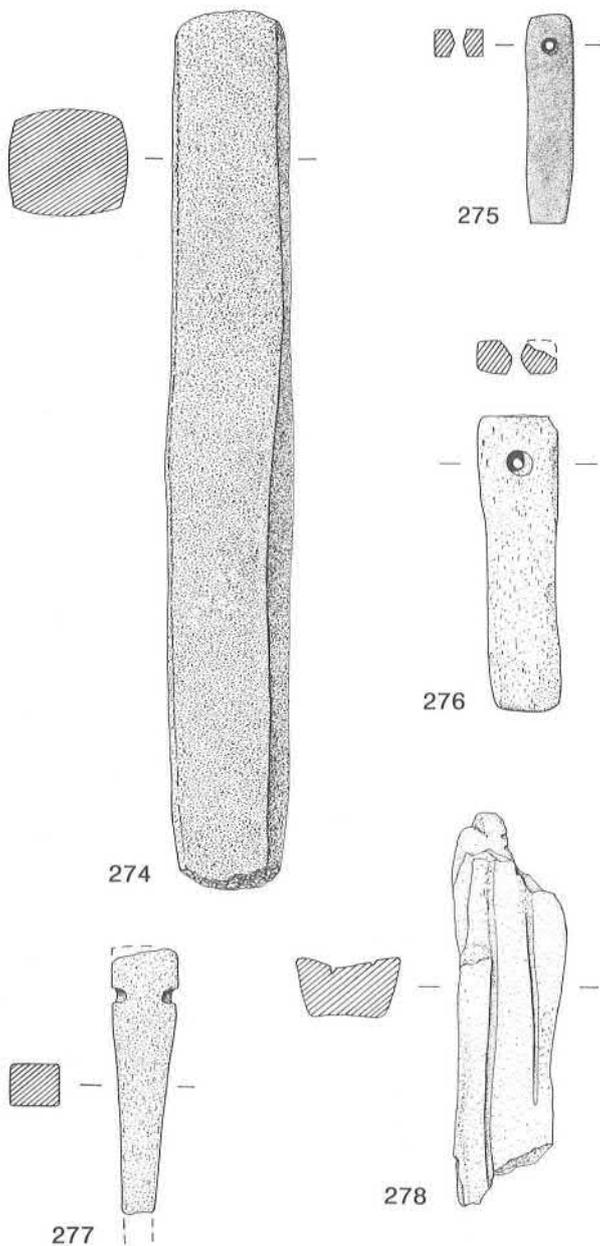


Figure 91: Hone stones, 274–278, scale 1:2.

Length 55mm., breadth 13mm., width 8mm.  
B/WS52/51; dark earth layer below floors, Building 6.

276 A complete hone of Norwegian Ragstone, with a hole for suspension and slight signs of wear. Length 79mm., breadth 21mm., width 9mm.  
A/WS62/50; Buildings 1 and 1A.

277 Fragment of Norwegian Ragstone hone with a groove cut to allow a cord to be tied around it for suspension. It is worn thinner towards the broken end. Length 70mm., breadth 17mm., width 12mm.  
E/WS65/3; destruction south of Building 10.

278 Fragment of Norwegian Ragstone hone. Irregularly worn, with point-sharpening grooves. Length 104mm., breadth 28mm.  
A/WS4/3; topsoil and destruction, Building 1.

NI Fragment of a hornfels hone, possibly from the Charnwood Forest area. It is square-sectioned and has signs of wear. Length 60mm., breadth 8mm., width 12mm.  
E/WS60/1; destruction, Building 10.

### Knives Figs. 92 – 97

Excavations at Linford produced over 130 iron knife blades or fragments, as well as five folding knives, a possible pruning knife, and a number of bone and antler knife handles. Most of these were general purpose knives, used for eating as well as other functions. The selection of knives and handles described here, some 30% of the total assemblage, have been chosen as a representative sample.

The knives illustrated below have been separated initially into two groups according to their tang type, whittle or scale, and then further subdivided according to other characteristics, notably the size or lack of a collar or bolster, and the shape of the blade. Folding knives are described separately.

### I. Whittle tang

This was by far the most common knife type found at Linford, comprising some 75% of the identifiable part of the assemblage. Most had single edged blades varying in width from 12 to 23mm., with a slightly curved cutting edge and a straight back, and could only be further differentiated by the length of the bolster separating blade and tang, effectively forming an extension to the handle. In use, the bolster would have been gripped by the user's fingers when cutting, thus taking much of the downward pressure that would have been exerted on the handle, which was normally loosely fitted on the tang, and held in place with glue or wooden wedges. To counter this problem, some cutlers enlarged the bolster to equal the length of the handle (289, 291), whilst others have taken development further, producing the developed whittle tang (see below), which is in effect a one-piece, all-iron knife.

A. Bolsters up to 15mm. in length. Twelve examples identified.

279 Knife, fragment. Tang length 41mm., bolster 15mm. long, dia. 11mm. Blade width 16mm. Mid to late seventeenth century.  
A/IW1R/3; destruction, Building 1.

280 Knife, blade width 14mm., bolster 11mm. long and 9mm. dia. Plain bone handle, tapering slightly to bolster, bulbous at top, with carved bone insert to cover end of tang. Eighteenth century.  
D/IW235A/+; topsoil.

281 Knife, blade width 18mm. Tapered bolster, length 8mm. Undecorated bone handle, dia. 19mm., length 79mm., with slightly bulbous end inset around tang, which protrudes 3mm. from the end of the handle. A similar example was recorded at

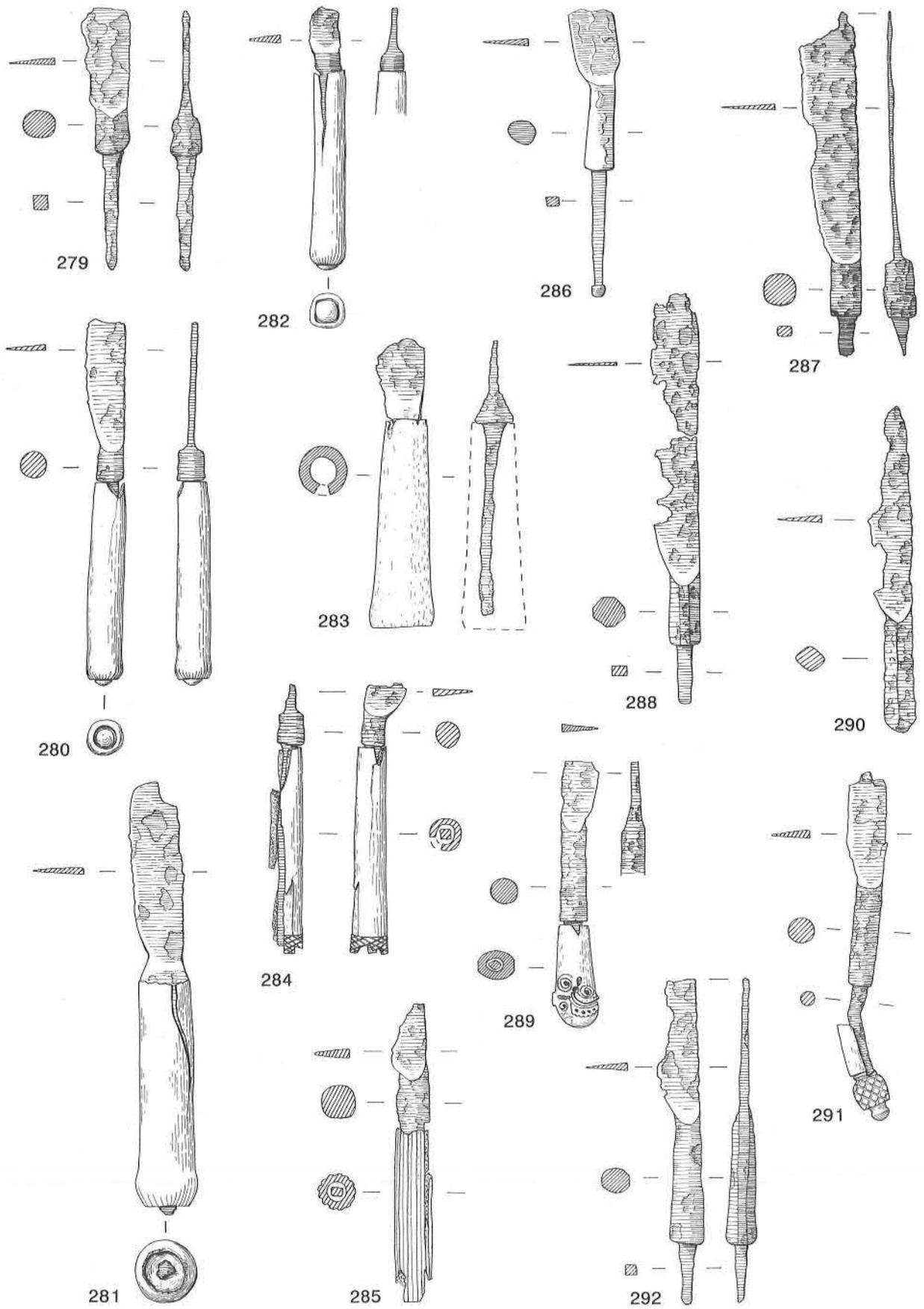


Figure 92: Knives, 279–292, scale 1:2.

- Sandal Castle (Mayes and Butler 1983, 242, fig. 6), dated to about 1645.  
L/IW451A/106; destruction, Building 27.
- 282 Knife, handle and bolster. Blade width 11mm., bolster 8mm dia. and length. The tapered bone handle, length 70mm., dia. 13–11mm., is undecorated, with a plugged end. A similar example found at Aldgate, London was dated to 1700–1720 (Thompson 1984, fig. 51).  
D/WB10A/+; topsoil.
- 283 Knife, handle and bolster. The bolster, length 11mm., tapers to the blade from the plain tapered bone handle, which has a slightly bulbous, flattened end, from which the end plug is missing. Handle length 74mm., width 22–16mm. Fifteenth to seventeenth century.  
L/WB30C/+; topsoil.
- 284 Knife, handle and bolster. Blade width at least 14mm. Bolster 12mm. long and 8mm. dia. The plain bone handle, ext. dia. 11mm., length 73mm., has a band of incised lattice work around the end, which is broken.  
L/WB31A/6; destruction, general.
- B. Bolsters 15–35mm. in length. Eleven examples identified.**
- 285 Knife, handle and bolster. Blade width 13mm., bolster 18mm. long and 12mm. dia. Bone handle., dia. 13mm., with grooves cut along its length giving a fluted appearance. The end cap is missing. Post-medieval.  
B/IW28E/4; from surface of yard south of Building 5.
- 286 Knife, tang and bolster. Tang 45mm. in length, with end hammered over to hold handle about 42mm. in length, now missing. Bolster tapered, 10–9mm. dia., length 31mm.  
D/IW170B/12; destruction, Building 12.
- 287 Knife, bolster and part of blade, width 19mm. Bolster 19mm. long and 12mm. dia.  
L/IW423D/35; south yard surface.
- 288 Knife, bolster and part of blade, width 17mm. Bolster faceted, 23mm. long and 11mm. dia.  
L/IW451C/106; destruction, Building 27.
- 289 Knife, bolster and handle. Blade width 13mm., bolster, 31mm. long and 9mm. dia., is only slightly shorter than the bone handle. The latter, 37mm in length and tapering from 15–11mm. dia., has a curved slot ending in a drilled dot, with a design of incised leaves and curlicues around it. The style of decoration is similar to objects 299 and 300, and to an example found in Exeter in a context dated c. 1690–1720 (Allen 1984, 350–351 fig. 195, 34).  
L/WB40/70; destruction, general.
- C. Bolsters 35–50mm. in length. Eleven examples identified.**
- 290 Knife, bolster and blade. Narrow, leaf shaped single-edged blade, width 15mm. Square-section bolster, length 40mm., 10mm. square cross section.  
B/IW47B/3; destruction, Building 4.
- 291 Knife, handle, tang, and part of blade. Blade width 14mm., bolster 35mm. in length and 9mm. dia. Plain bone handle, ending in incised groove around circumference, above which is pommel carved in 'pine-cone' lattice fashion, surmounted by a knob. Length of handle 53mm., dia. of pommel 12mm.  
B/IW66A/1; topsoil.
- 292 Knife. Bolster and part of blade, width 15mm. Tapered bolster, 43mm. long and 12 to 19mm. dia. Back of blade continues as noticeable flattened 'spine' along length of bolster.  
L/IW437B/70; destruction, general.
- D. This group is characterised by parallel-sided, single-edged blades 11 to 23mm. wide, with the cutting edge stepped out from a short collar up to 10mm. in length. In many respects they resemble the modern table knife, and may in effect be a post-medieval development from the multi-function personal knife of the medieval period, represented by the previous groups. Sixteen examples identified.**
- 293 Knife; tang, collar and part of blade, width 18mm. Collar 12mm. dia. Mid to late seventeenth century.  
A/IW1U/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 294 Knife; collar and part of blade. Collar 7mm. long × 12mm. dia., blade width 23mm.  
B/IW17B/22; hearth, Building 5.
- 295 Knife, tang, collar, and part of blade. The tang, length 35mm., is parallel-sided. The collar, 2.5mm. thick. is 12mm. in dia. The blade, width 18mm., curves sharply from the back to the cutting edge, and thus appears to have been cut down from a larger knife. Blade length 55mm.  
A/IW140A/25; topsoil.
- E. The final group of whittle-tang knives is characterised by the lack of a bolster or collar separating blade and tang. Blade types vary, though all those found were single edged, widths varying from 13–33mm. Nine examples identified.**
- 296 Knife. Tapered blade, max. width 22mm. Tang slightly offset from centre line of blade. Surviving length 144mm.  
B/IW98A/21; destruction, Building 4.
- 297 Knife. Gradually tapered blade, max. width 18mm. Tang closer to back of blade. Surviving length 128mm.  
C/IW154C/+; topsoil.
- 298 Knife. Broad parallel-sided, single-edged blade, width 33mm. Offset tang. Surviving length 183mm.  
F/IW258A/10; destruction over south yard.
- In addition to the above groups, a number of bone whittle-tang knife handles and two pommels, one of bone and one of iron, were found at Linford.

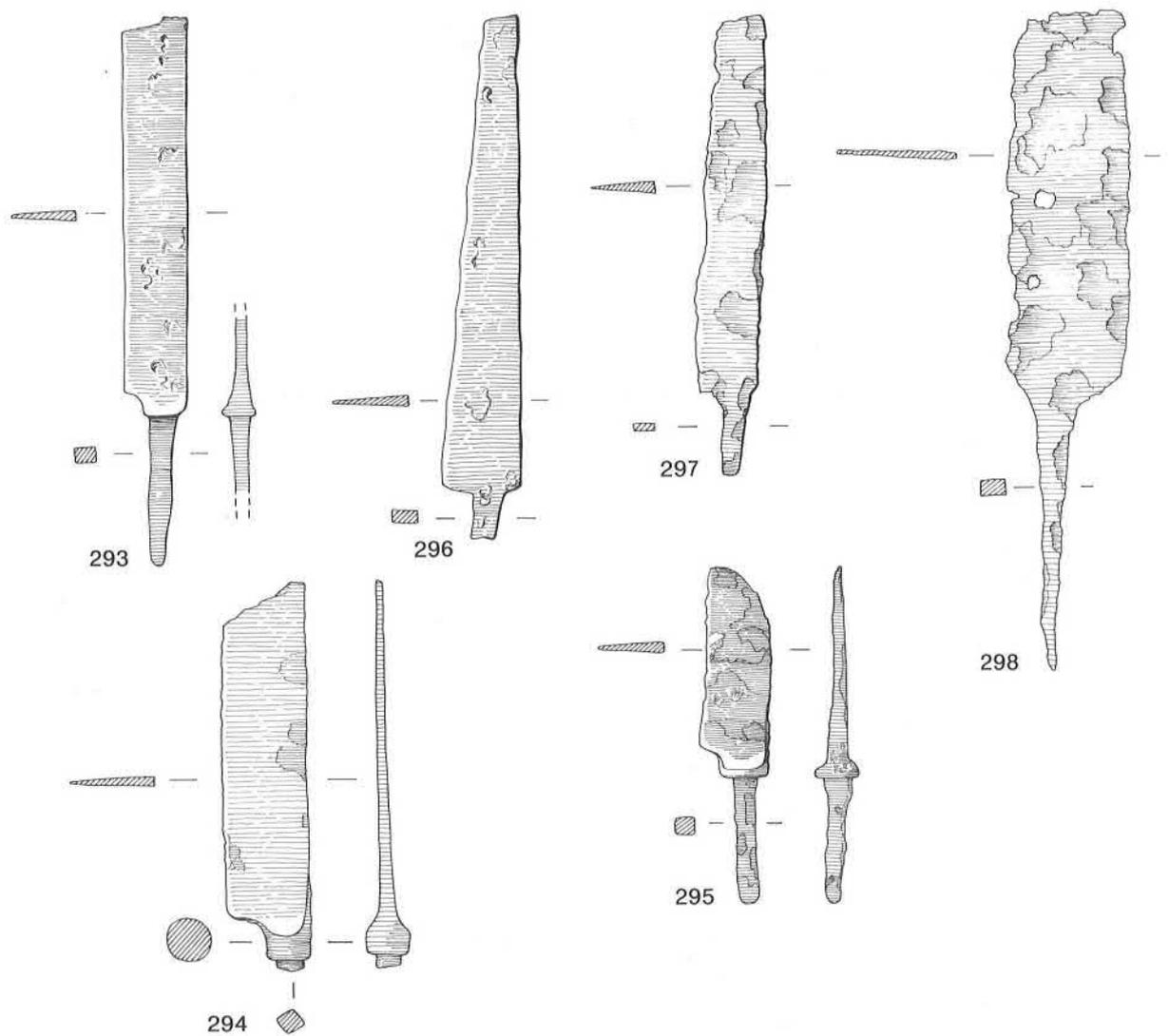


Figure 93: Knives, 293-298, scale 1:2.

Although none could be classified into the above groups, most from their size and decoration belong to the type of personal multi-purpose knives covered by groups A, B and C.

- 299 Handle. The octagonal shaft is perforated by two drilled holes, and decorated with incised leaves and curlicues. The handle ends in a pierced decorative finial, similar to one found in Moulsham St., Chelmsford (Cunningham and Drury 1985, fig. 36, 5), in a context dated 1630-1670. A more complete example, dated to the seventeenth century, was recorded at Denny Abbey (Christie and Coad 1980, fig. 56, 1). Length overall 75mm., shaft dia. 14-10mm.  
C/WB12A/+; topsoil.
- 300 Handle, fragment, with part of the tang still present. The handle is pierced by three holes each side, with a design of incised rows of curlicues and lattices. The style of decoration is similar to that used on 299.  
A/WB16/51; destruction, Building 1.

- 301 Handle, decorated with a design of incised and chip carved lines in a spiral. The end of the handle is finished with a bone end cap 8mm. in dia., decorated with a knob. Length 75mm., width 12-10mm.  
A/WB13/18; destruction, Building 5.
- 302 Handle, fragment. Rectangular in section, decorated with incised lines and ring and dot designs. Surviving length 38mm., cross-section at end 17 x 8mm.  
L/WB30D/+; topsoil.
- 303 Handle fragment. Elliptical in section, with facets cut into the shaft. The handle ends in a knob decorated with incised lines. Surviving length 35mm., max. dia. 15mm.  
L/WB31B/6; destruction, general.
- 304 Handle. Undecorated except for an incised circle around the handle close to the rounded end, giving the appearance that it had been plugged. At the

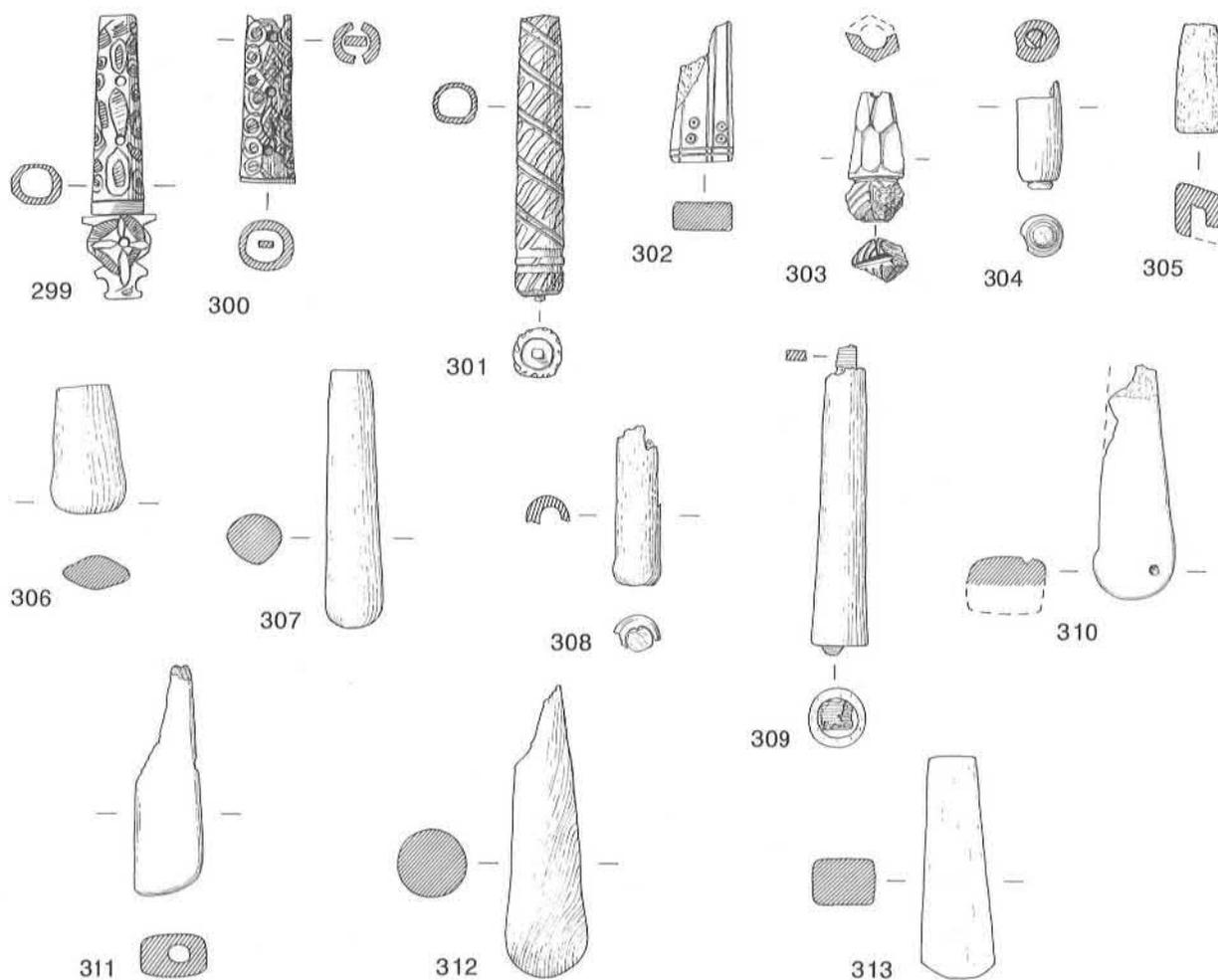


Figure 94: Knives, 299-313, scale 1:2.

opposite end, a small 'V' shaped tag appears to have been cut to fit into the bolster. Length 28mm., dia. 11mm.

F/WB21/31; topsoil over west boundary ditch.

305 Handle, fragment. Diamond section, similar to an example found in Moulsham St., Chelmsford (Cunningham and Drury 1985, fig. 36, 10), which was dated to 1700-1730. Surviving length 30mm., th. 13mm.

C/WB12D/+; topsoil.

306 Handle. Undecorated, tapered, diamond-shaped section, with a flat end. Length 35mm., width 20-15mm.

L/WB37/43; destruction, general.

307 Handle. Undecorated, tapered, with a rounded end. Similar to one found at Chelmsford (Cunningham and Drury 1985, fig. 36, 9), dated to the late sixteenth to early eighteenth century. Length 70mm., dia. 11-16mm.

L/WB30A/+; topsoil.

308 Handle, fragment. Undecorated, cylindrical in shape, and swelling a little at the end, which is plugged. Similar to a larger knife handle found at Aldgate, London, in a context dated 1700-20

(Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984, fig. 51, 38). Dia. 12mm., length 42mm.

C/WB17/+; topsoil.

309 Handle, undecorated, with the tang present. Length 72mm., width 16-12mm.

J/WB28/11; cobbles overlying Building 3.

310 Handle, fragment. Pistol-grip shape, with one flat side. Decoration consists of a drilled dot. Length 62mm., width 20-15mm.

L/WB33/30; cobbled floor, Building 28.

311 Handle fragment. Undecorated, with rounded end. Similar to one found at Aldgate, London (Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984, fig. 51, 39). Length 62mm., dia. 17mm.

C/WB12B/+; topsoil.

312 Handle, fragment. Undecorated, tapered, with rounded end. Length 77mm., dia. 22-12mm.

L/WB35/42; fill of ditch F1.

313 Handle. Undecorated, tapered, rectangular in section, with a rounded end. Length 59mm., width 19-14mm.

L/WB38/49; destruction, general.

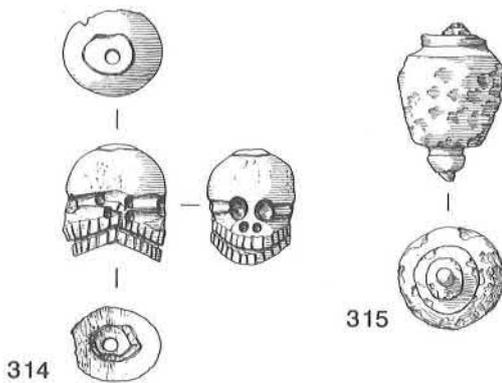


Figure 95: Knife pommels, 314-315, scale 1:2.

314 Pommel, in the form of a double-faced skull. The centre of the bone has been roughly plugged, and a 4mm. dia. hole drilled through it from the top of the cranium to the point where the lower jaws meet. Height 30mm. from the top of the cranium to the point of the jaw.  
L/WB30G/+; topsoil.

315 Pommel, iron. Shaft, dia. 17mm., terminating in rounded truncated cone, height 24mm., topped by small knob.  
H/IW313A/6; destruction, Building 22.

## II. Developed whittle tang.

As has been mentioned above, a development of the whittle-tang knife was the increase in size of the integral bolster, possibly as a result of the insecure fitting of whittle-tang handles. That this feature was taken to its logical extreme is evidenced by one knife found at Great Linford. On this example, the bolster has replaced the bone handle entirely, the knife thus being formed from a single piece of iron.

316 Knife, narrow parallel-sided single-edged blade, width 8mm. One-piece bolster/handle, plain tapered grip, length 60mm., surmounted by spherical pommel beneath a cylindrical crown split by a single groove.  
D/IW212A/1; destruction, Building 9.

## III Scale tang.

As only fifteen examples of this type of knife were positively identified at Linford, it has been more difficult to produce meaningful grouping of the variations in shape and construction. Once again, the main diagnostic feature has been the size or lack of a bolster.

A. Bolster up to 10mm. in length. Three examples identified.

317 Knife handle and bolster. Blade width 18mm. Pistol grip handle, length 78mm., max. width 22mm., with bone sideplates held by four white metal rivets, alternating with decorative copper alloy pins. Length of bolster 9mm. approx.  
B/IW36A/2; yard surface south of Building 6.

318 Knife; handle, bolster and part of blade. Blade width 15mm. Handle slightly tapered, with 'axe-head' end, and plain bone grips, held by seven small rivets. Short bolster, length 4mm. Handle length 67mm., max. width 20mm.  
B/IW62A/3; destruction, Building 4.

319 Knife; handle, bolster and part of blade. Blade width 16mm. Slightly tapered tang with two large iron rivets in situ. Slight angle between line of blade and tang. Length of tang 65mm., max. width 15mm.  
D/IW170F/12; destruction, Building 12.

B. Bolster 10-20mm. in length. Four examples identified.

320 Knife. Blade width 15mm. Bolster 12mm. in length, rounded 9mm. square section. Heavy tang, length 63mm., th. 5mm., with plain bone grips held by three large iron rivets. End of tang flat, thickened to form oval section pommel.  
C/IW90D/+; topsoil.

321 Knife handle and bolster. Handgrips plain, bulbous end, decorated with a row of alternate copper alloy and white metal pins. Length of handle 84mm., width 22 to 14mm. Bolster 11mm. in length, roughly square section 10mm. across.  
L/WB30E/+; topsoil.

C. Bolster over 20mm. in length. Two examples identified.

322 Knife, bolster and parts of blade and handle. Blade width 15mm. Tang broadens from square-section bolster, length 26mm., width 12mm.  
B/IW167C/8; rubble makeup, yard south of Building 5.

D. No bolster.

323 Knife, parts of blade and tang. Tapered single-edged blade, max. width 16mm. Parallel-sided tang, width 12mm., with single rivet hole.  
B/IW156A/52; destruction, Building 4.

324 Knife. Parallel-sided tang, width 11mm., with two rivet holes. Blade width 13mm.  
D/IW161A/1; destruction, Building 9.

In addition, two scale-tang knives were found which did not fit with the above categories.

325 Knife. Curved tapered single-edged blade, length 110mm., max. width 20mm. Brief bolster, short parallel-sided tang, width 14mm., with single large rivet hole. Seventeenth century.  
G/IW284A/2; destruction, Building 21.

326 Knife; tang, bolster, and part of blade. Tapered tang, width 8 to 12mm., with narrow tongue projecting from end. Three tapered rivet holes. Blade, width 11mm., and tapered bolster at right angles to line of tang.  
L/IW395P/+; topsoil.

A single fragment of a scale-tang handgrip was

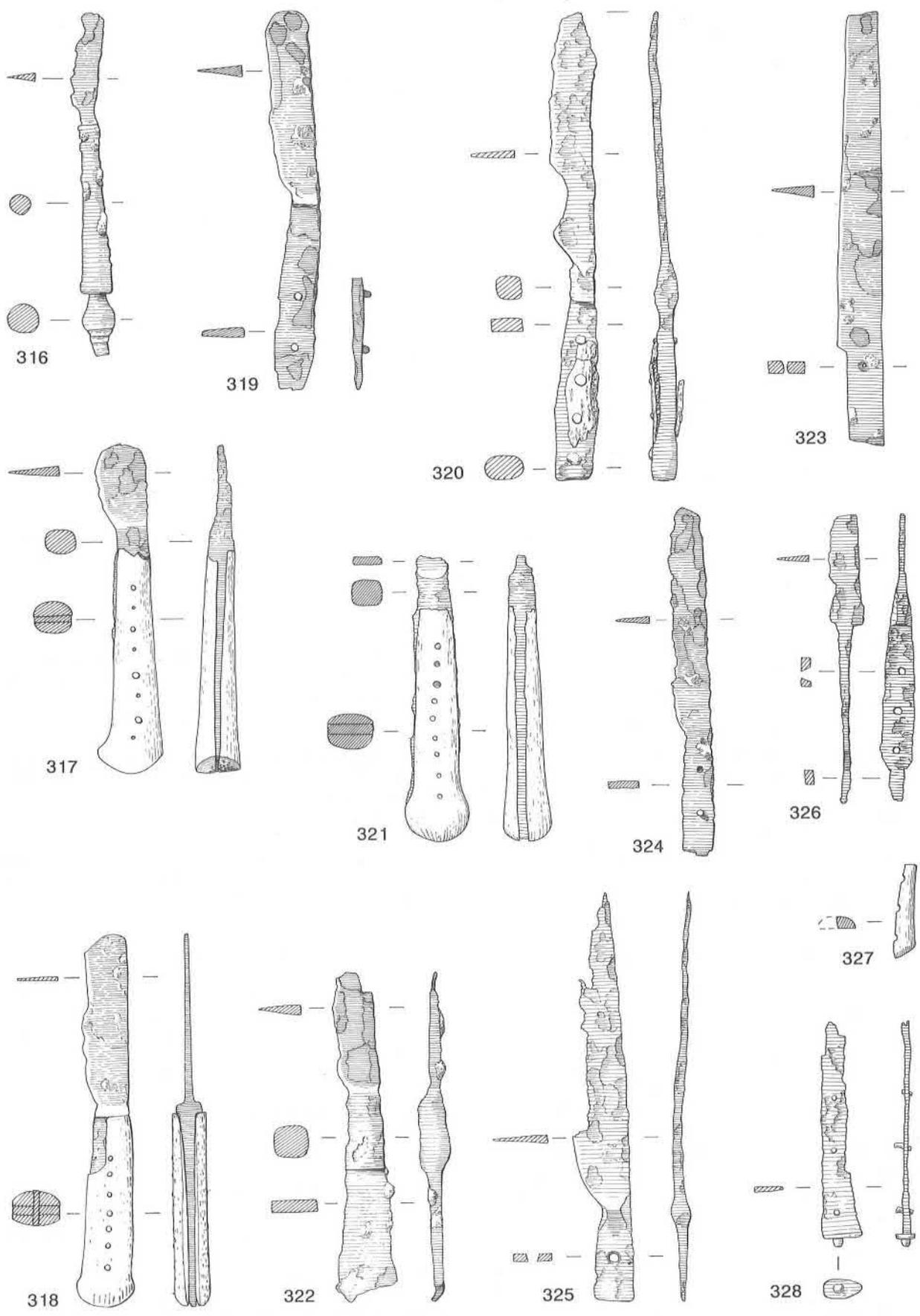


Figure 96: Knives, 316–328, scale 1:2.

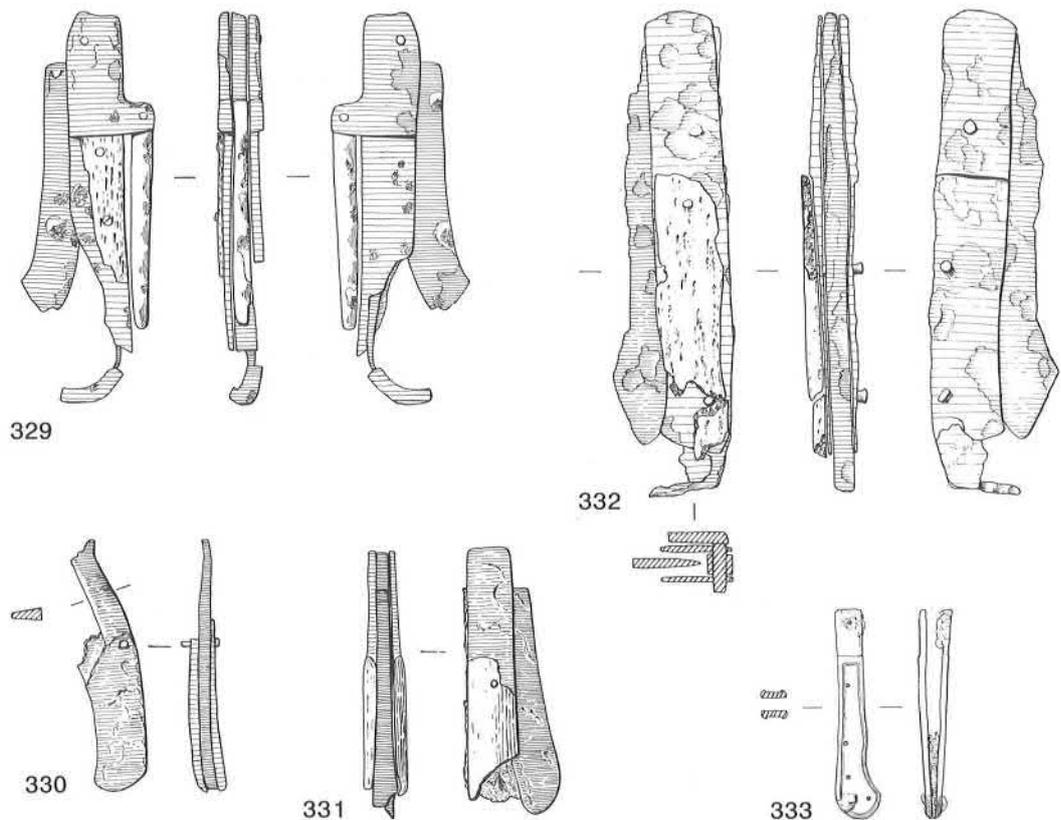


Figure 97: Knives, 329–333, scale 1:2.

found, insufficient remaining to link it with any of the above groups.

327 Handgrip, fragment. Undecorated, tapered, with angled end and three rivet holes. Estimated width 13mm., surviving length 34mm.  
H/WB24/10; destruction, Building 22.

Similarly, one complete scale tang was recovered which was not attributable to any of the above groups, but which retained its pommel.

328 Tang and pommel. Tang parallel-sided, width 11mm., length 75mm., with three rivets in situ. Flat pommel with central knob, 4mm. dia.  
F/IW285C/31; topsoil over west boundary ditch.

#### IV. Folding knives.

Five knives of this type were found at Linford. Whilst four are simple single-blade knives, albeit of greatly differing sizes, one example also has a marlin spike. The smallest knife (333) is of a noticeably better quality, with copper alloy sidepieces with leather or horn inserts, and was probably a valued personal possession, used for nail cleaning or sharpening quills, rather than as an agricultural worker's multi-purpose tool.

329 Folding knife. Iron casing with bone? grips. Single curved blade, tip missing. Projection from rear of casing carries pivot for marlin spike. Length 104mm. Modern?  
A/IW2C/5; destruction, Building 3.

330 Folding knife. Spine, hinge point missing, with sheet iron sides and surviving rivets for fastening grips. Length 66mm.  
A/IW5B/6; over yard surface, north of Building 1.

331 Folding knife. Worn single slightly curved blade, rounded tip, length 60mm. Plain grips of bone, held by iron rivets.  
B/IW11A/48; occupation level, Building 6.

332 Folding knife, curved blade, iron sideplates with inset plain bone grips, each held by two rivets. Length 126mm., width 18mm.  
Green/IW46D/+; topsoil.

333 Folding knife. Pistol-grip shaped copper alloy sideplates with central leather or horn inlay, concealing four iron rivets linking sides and central iron spine. Remains of two larger rivets at ends, one as pivot for blade, which is missing, the other probably the remains of a suspension loop.  
F/AE95B/30; surface of yard north of Building 17.

#### 10. LOCKS, KEYS AND HINGES

##### Locks Fig. 98

Of the thirty identifiable locks and lock fragments found at Linford, the vast majority were from iron barrel padlocks, although a fragment of copper alloy padlock casing (339) was found on Croft B. A selection of complete barrel padlocks, bolts and hasps are illustrated below, along with a small globular padlock, probably eighteenth century in date, found at the manor.

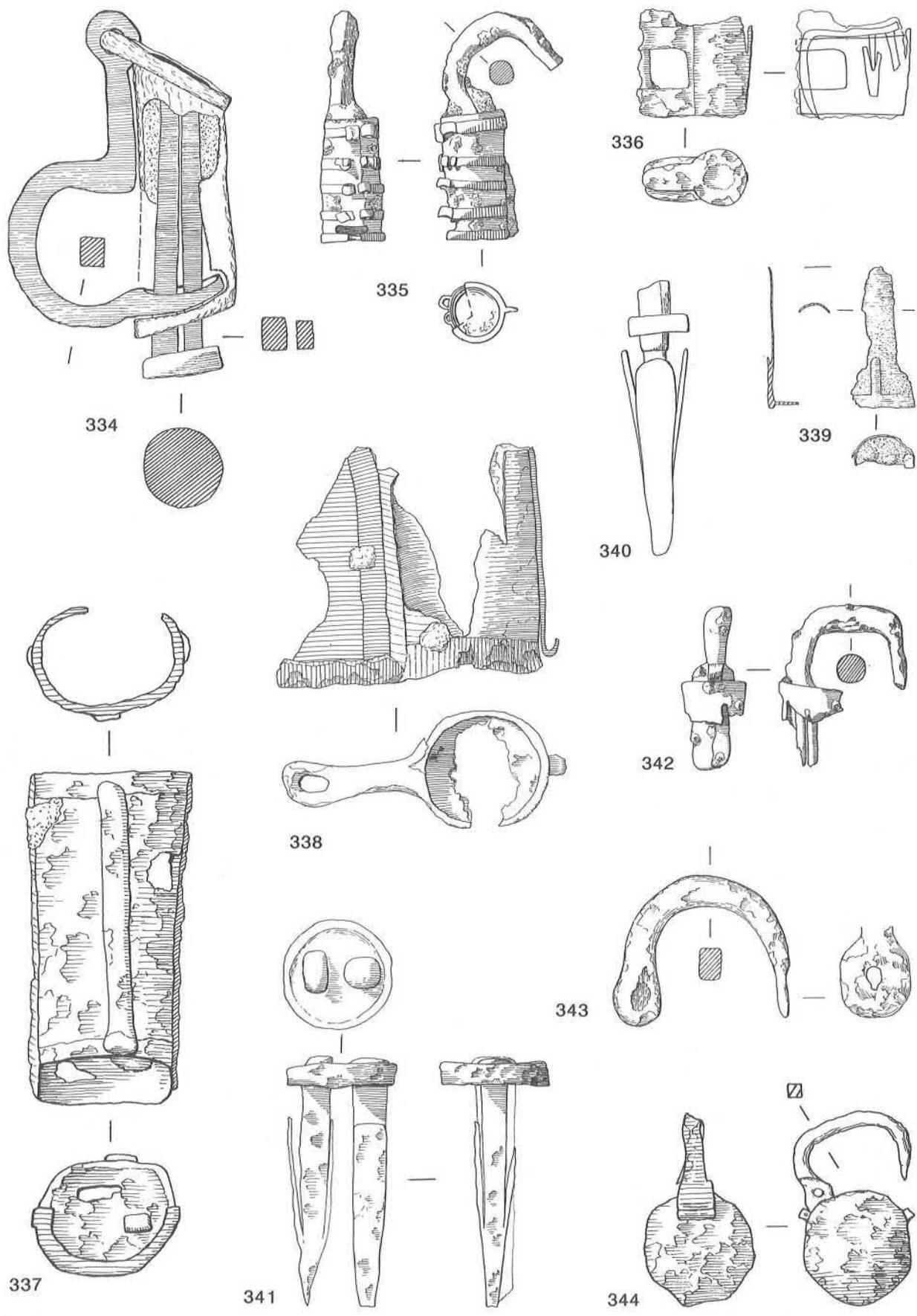


Figure 98: Locks, 334-344, scale 1:2.

- 334 Barrel padlock, complete with bolt and hasp. X-rays show that the bolt has two spines. The hasp is '?' shaped, pivoted, its free end locating in the body of the lock. Length 130mm.  
A/IW1D/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 335 Barrel padlock, complete with bolt. The lock barrel is cylindrical, dia. 21mm., with four binding strips, each with scrolled ends, equidistantly placed around its circumference. A longitudinal rib on the barrel formed the point of attachment for the hasp, now missing. The end of the barrel opposite the bolt is blanked off, the key being inserted through a 'T' shaped hole at one end, radially opposite the hasp rib. The bolt, which is '?' shaped, appears on X-rays to have had two spines. Length of barrel 45mm.  
A/IW171A/18; destruction, Building 5.
- 336 Barrel padlock. Barrel length 31mm., dia. 20mm., with extensions, length 20mm., to one side, carrying hasp. X-rays show bolt to have two spines.  
H/IW328A/23; upper surface, east yard.
- 337 Padlock casing, oval section, length 100mm. Made from sheet with welded seam along lowest part of body, and ends formed and welded in.  
B/IW36E/2; surface of south yard, Building 1.
- 338 Barrel padlock casing fragment, dia. 41mm. From the endplate projects an arm, length 45mm., with an eye for locating the shaft of the bolt (Pitt-Rivers 1883, plate V, 30c), which would have been similar to, though longer than, 342 below).  
B/IW219A/+; topsoil.
- 339 Part of a barrel padlock casing, copper alloy. The one remaining end is ribbed for strength. Length 50mm. Mid to late thirteenth century.  
B/AE145/49; occupation levels, Building 6.
- All of the padlock bolts found, with the exception of 342 were of a similar type, having a circular endplate with one, two or three spines, each with two or more leaf springs, and were intended for use with locks similar to 334. It is apparent from one of the keys found 348 that four-spine locks were also in use.
- 340 Padlock bolt. Single spine, four leaf springs. Endplate dia. 22mm., length 78mm.  
B/IW44A/9; surface of east yard, Building 5.
- 341 Padlock bolt. Two spines set at right angles, each with two leaf springs. Endplate dia. 38mm., length 78mm.  
F/IW273A/11; destruction overlying south yard.
- 342 Padlock bolt and hasp, two spines, both broken. Similar to one from St Peter's St, Northampton, which was dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (Goodall *et al* 1979, fig. 116, 4).  
A/IW136A/41; floor of cross passage, Building 5.
- 343 Padlock hasp. 'U' shaped bar, perforated terminals at each end. This also would have been used on a lock similar to 334, probably with a single-spine bolt. Distance between centres of terminals is 52mm.  
D/IW170E/12; destruction, Building 12.

- 344 Padlock, lever type. Hinged semicircular hasp, flattened globular body, dia. 38mm. Despite several attempts to X-ray this object, the internal arrangement of levers remains unclear.  
Manor/37/18; destruction rubble west of path.

#### Keys Figs. 99 – 100

Of the thirty complete and fragmentary keys found at Linford, over two thirds were of the tumbler lock variety, with only six barrel padlock keys and one latch lifter. This contrasts noticeably with the type of locks found, where barrel padlocks were in the majority, suggesting perhaps that many of the tumbler lock keys were more recent losses. Indeed, most of the keys came from topsoil or destruction contexts. All keys, with one exception, were of iron.

- 345 Latch lifter. Circular bow, curved tapered shaft. Length 160mm.  
F/IW248D/+; topsoil.
- 346 Barrel padlock key. Length 150mm., width 16mm., looped end. Bit to fit a bolt with two spines set at right angles.  
C/IW107AK/+; topsoil.
- 347 Barrel padlock key. Length 162mm., width 16mm., looped end. Bit to fit a three-spine bolt.  
F/IW248A/+; topsoil.
- 348 Identical dimensions to 347, with which it was found. Bit to fit a four-spine bolt.  
F/IW248B/+; topsoil.

The tumbler lock keys from Linford can be grouped into three categories, according to the shape of the bow and type of shank. These are as follows:

A. Circular bow, solid shank. These are dated typologically to the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries (Ward Perkins 1967, 138, Type IV). Three examples found, one of copper alloy.

- 349 Tapered shank, dia. 7mm, possibly projecting beyond the bit, which is missing. Length 90mm.  
F/IW286A/39; floor level, Building 17.
- 350 Copper alloy, crudely made, with a plain bit and a solid oval-section shank, bored out slightly at end. Length 36mm.; probably for a casket lock.  
J/AE98C/+; topsoil.

B. Heart-shaped bow, solid shank. These are dated typologically to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries (Ward Perkins 1967, 138, Type VIIB). Two examples found.

- 351 Square-section shank 7 × 7mm., waisted at mid-point of bit, and projecting beyond it. Very crudely made. Length 136mm.  
L/IW444A/94; clay floor, south half of Building 26.
- 352 Square-section shank 7 × 7mm., projecting slightly beyond bit. Length 95mm. Shaft bent. Post medieval.  
A/IW1F/3; destruction, Building 1.

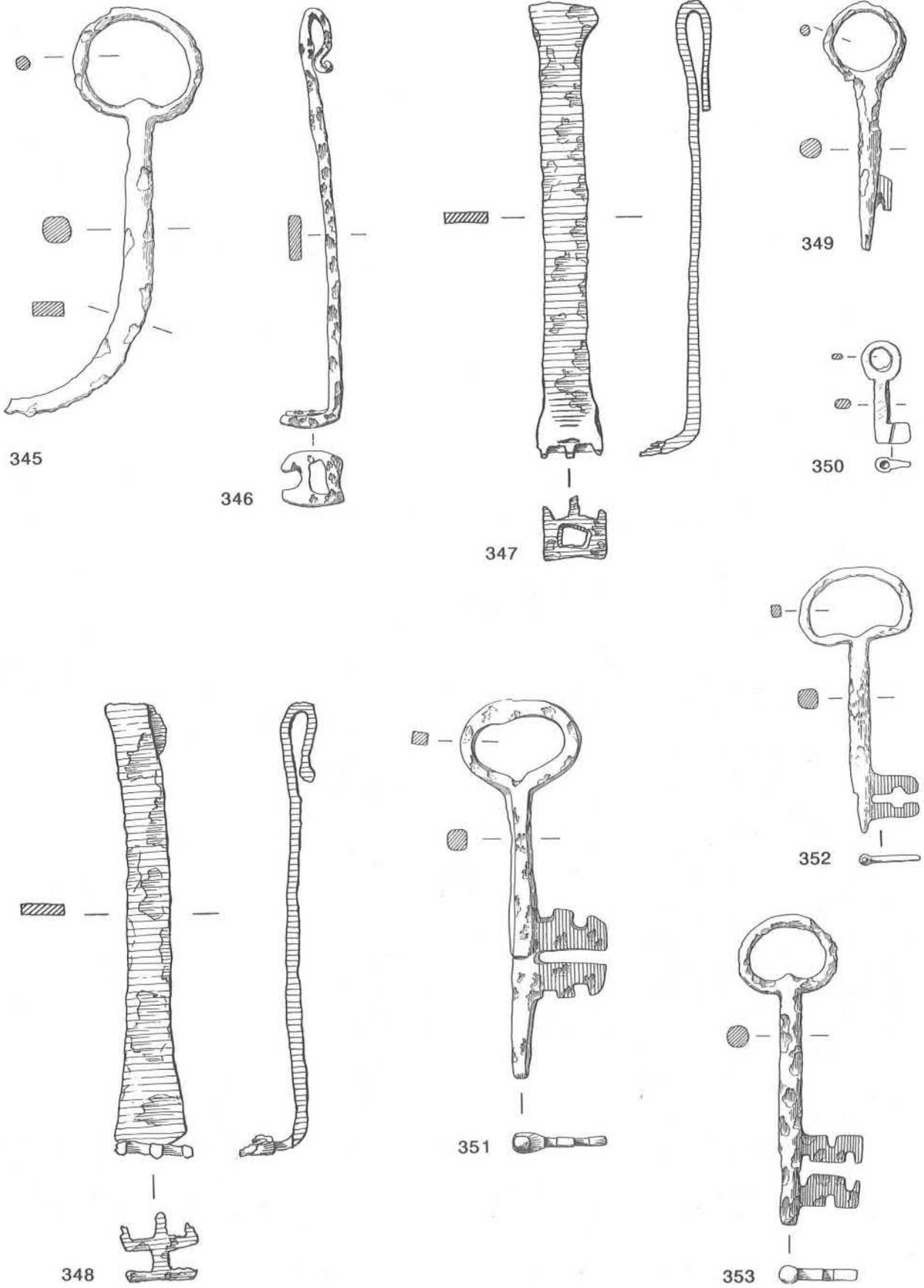


Figure 99: Keys, 345–353, scale 1:2.

C. Kidney-shaped bow, shank solid (six examples) or hollow (three examples). Those from Great Linford are all from mid seventeenth-century contexts or topsoil.

353 Circular-section solid shank, dia. 8mm., stepped down in diameter at bit, beyond which it projects. Length 112mm.  
B/IW235G/+; topsoil.

354 Circular-section solid shank, dia. 8 to 10mm., ending flush with the bit, which is large and square, with an intricate central slot. Length 130mm.  
Manor/69/64; fill of underfloor drains, Room V.

355 Bow has decorative disc on end opposite the circular-section shank, which is hollow, ext. dia. 12mm. 'E' shaped bit. Length 94mm.  
B/IW15L/19; destruction, Building 5.

D. Mushroom-shaped bow, shank solid (five examples) or hollow (two examples). A development of the kidney bow, where the projection into the bow from the end of the shank is cut by a slot along its axis. As with the previous type, these are all from seventeenth-century or later contexts.

On both the illustrated examples, the bow appears to have been made separately, being fastened to the shank by a collar.

356 Delicately made bow. Collar length 14mm., dia. 8mm. Circular-section solid shank, dia. 6mm., projecting slightly beyond bit, which is missing. Length 72mm.  
L/IW437A/70; destruction, general.

357 Hollow shank, dia. 15mm. Collar dia. 21mm., length 16mm. Narrow slot through bow above collar. Length 133mm.  
A/IW1E/3; destruction, Building 1.

#### Hinges Fig. 101

From the few examples recovered, iron door hinges at Linford seem to have consisted of a vertical pin, dia. 10mm. approx., on a tapered shaft, which was either embedded in stonework surrounding the doorway, or in a wooden doorframe, and a hinge plate bolted to the door, with an eye formed at its end.

358 Hinge pivot, dia. 12mm., tip and fixing spike broken.  
A/IW1P/3; destruction, Building 1.

359 Eye of hinge plate. Part of the same hinge as (358). Int. dia. 14mm., hinge plate th. 5mm. approx.  
A/IW1Q/1; destruction, Building 1.

360 Hinge pivot, dia. 12mm. Spike length 77mm.  
L/IW411A/18; destruction, Building 26.

361 Hinge plate, terminal. Strip, width 24mm., th.

3mm. approx., tapering towards, then widening around, its end fixing hole.  
B/IW235B/+; topsoil.

#### Other fittings

362 Lock ward. Tapered strip, perforated at narrow end.  
B/IW28G/4; destruction material overlying yards around Building 6.

363 Catchplate for Suffolk latch. Spike, length 138mm., with large triangular head.  
L/IW395C/+; topsoil.

364 Hasp. Elongated waisted oval loop, length 113mm.  
L/IW403A/8; destruction, Building 30.

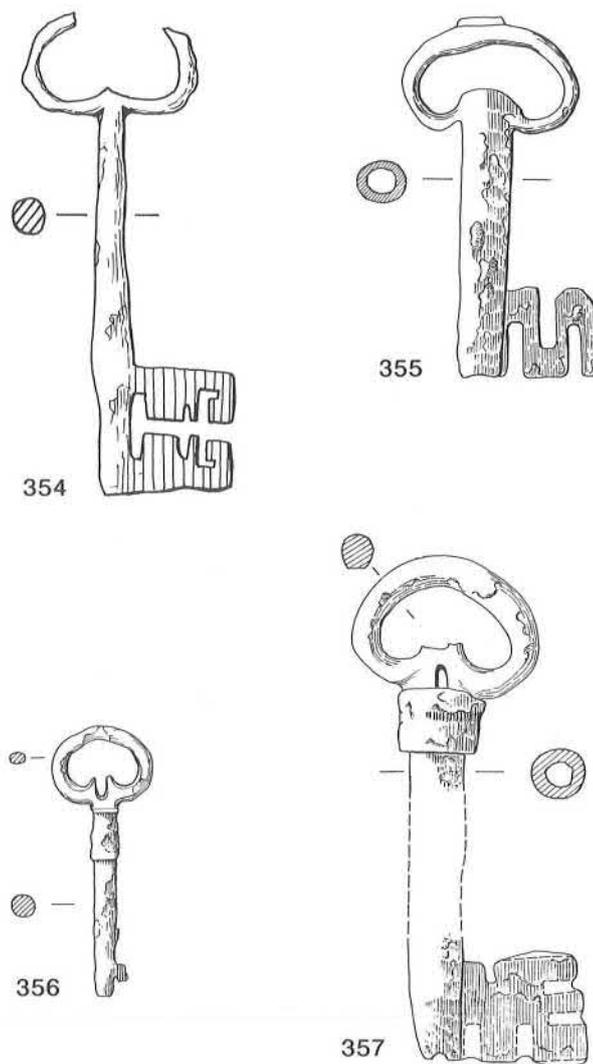


Figure 100: Keys, 354-357, scale 1:2.

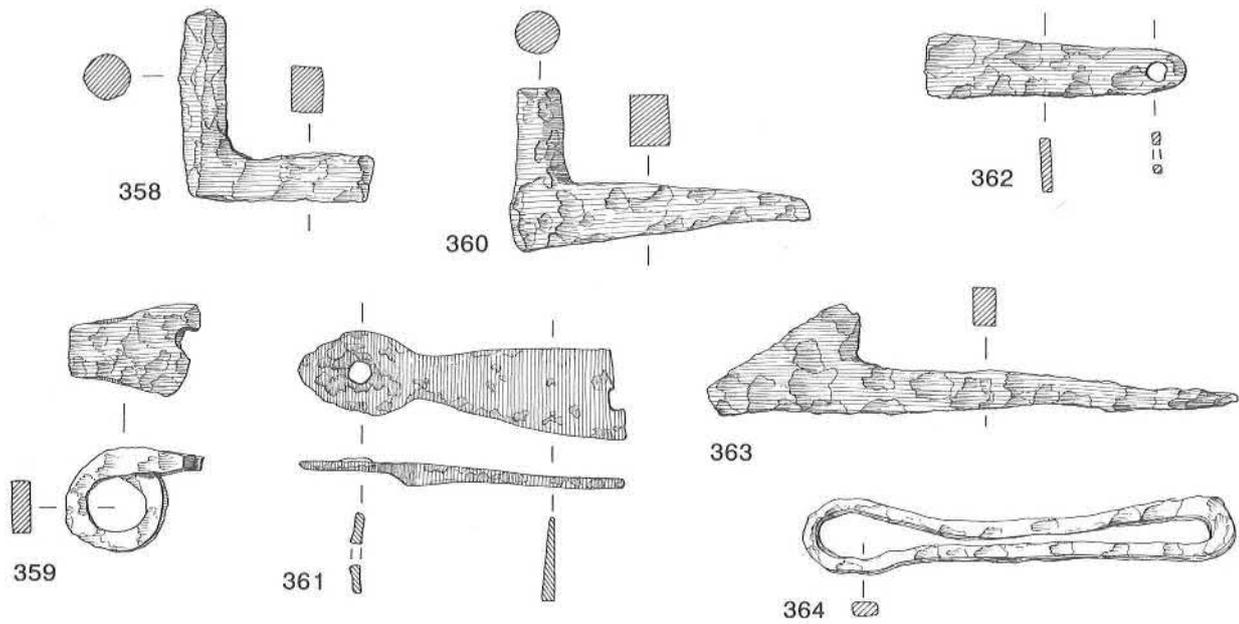


Figure 101: Hinges and other fittings, 358–364, scale 1:2.

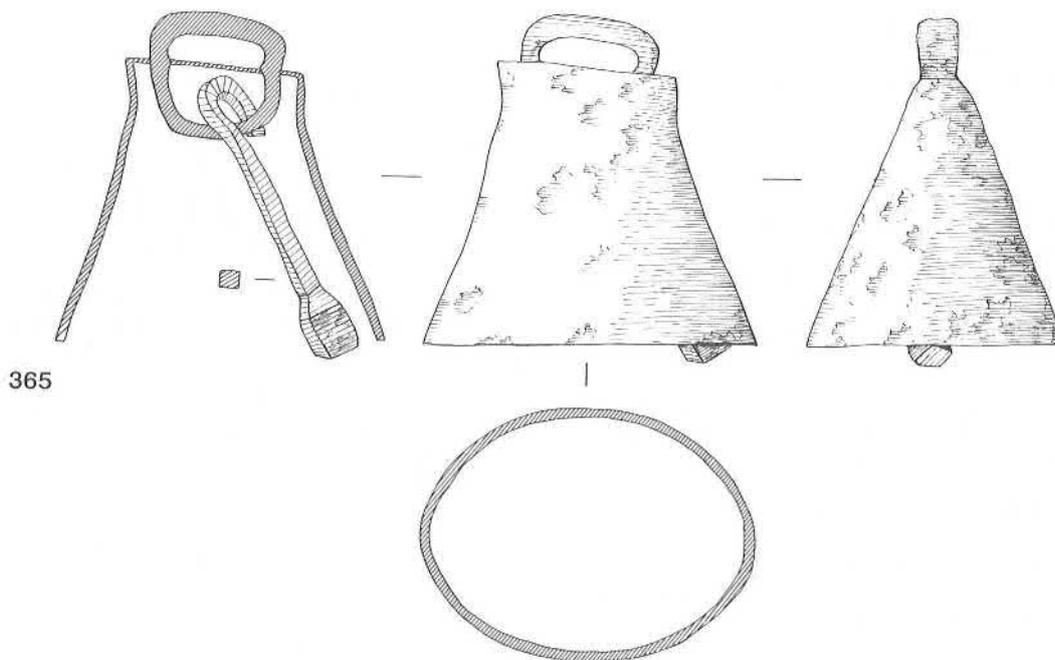


Figure 102: Cow bell, 365, scale 1:2.

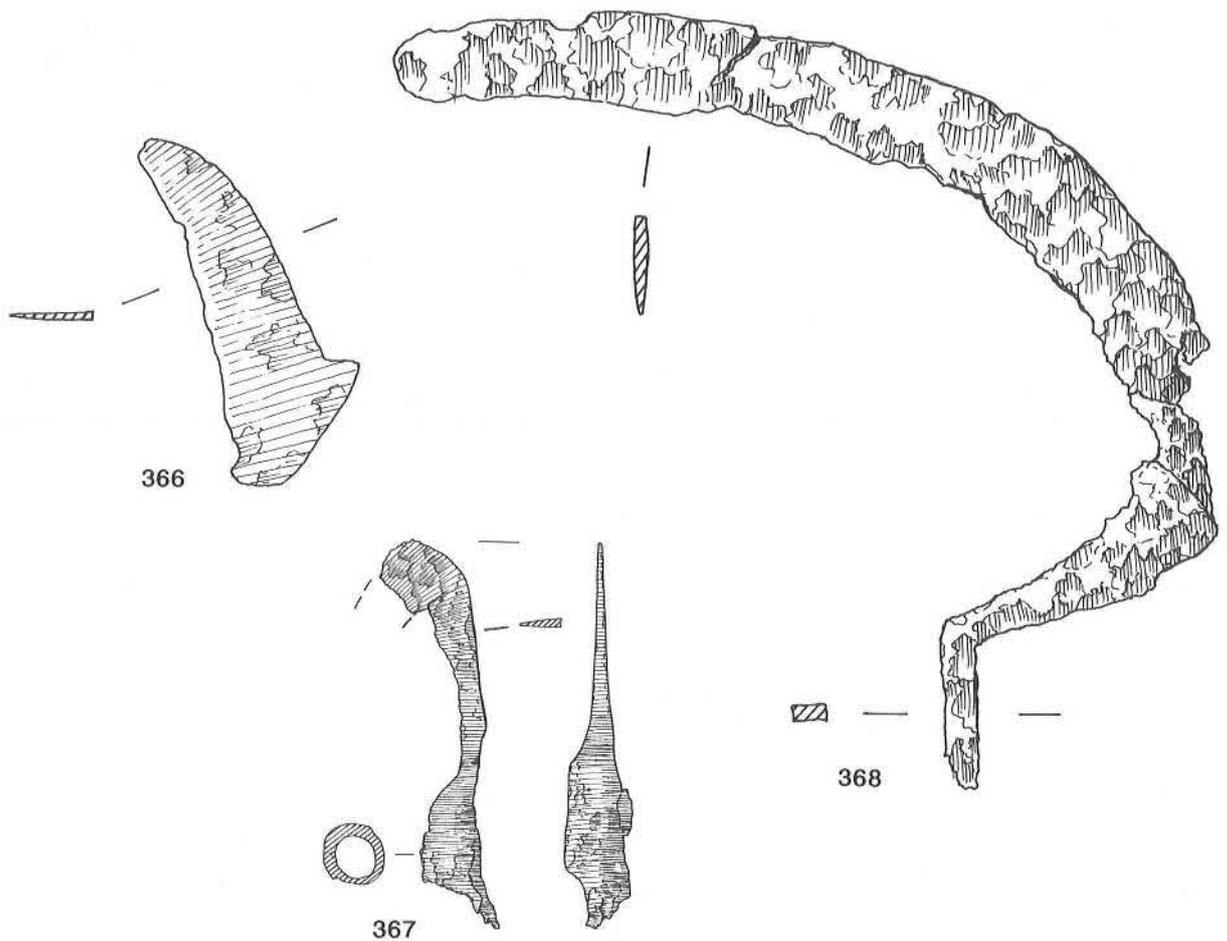


Figure 103: Pruning hooks, 366–377; Sickle, 368, scale 1:2.

## 11. OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH AGRICULTURE

### Figs 102 – 104

365 Cowbell, iron. Conical, oval-section, with a flat suspension loop. The square-section iron clapper projects slightly below the rim. Height 87mm., base dimensions 87 × 68mm. Drawn from X-ray. B/IW167A/8; makeup, yard south of Building 5.

366 Pruning knife. Iron blade, sickle shaped, length 95mm., cutting edge on inner face. 'Spur' on outer edge at widest point suggests a missing tang (Crosley 1975, fig. 29, 14). Mid to late seventeenth century. A/IW1AF/3; destruction, Building 1.

367 Pruning hook, iron. Tapered socket, int. dia. 10mm., with shaft extending from it to curved blade, width 15mm approx., with cutting edge on inner face. J/IW292B/1; destruction, Building 24.

368 Sickle, iron. Parallel-sided blade, width 30mm., with rounded end. Blade curves sharply and then

tapers, joining whittle tang almost at right angles. B/IW67A/2; destruction, Building 5.

369 Sickle, iron. Tapered blade, max. width 28mm., gently curving from handle. End ferrule from handle, ext. dia. 32mm., still present. B/IW67B/2; destruction, Building 5.

370 Sickle blade, iron. Parallel-sided curved strip, sharpened edge on inner side, width 25mm. D/IW102A/+; topsoil.

371 Implement, iron. Tapered socket, ending in a 90° hook. Length 102mm. C/IW234A/19; destruction, Building 13.

## 12. WEAPONS

### Edged weapons Fig. 105

372 Arrowhead, iron, barbed and socketed. Length 74mm. E/IW166A/1; destruction, Building 10.

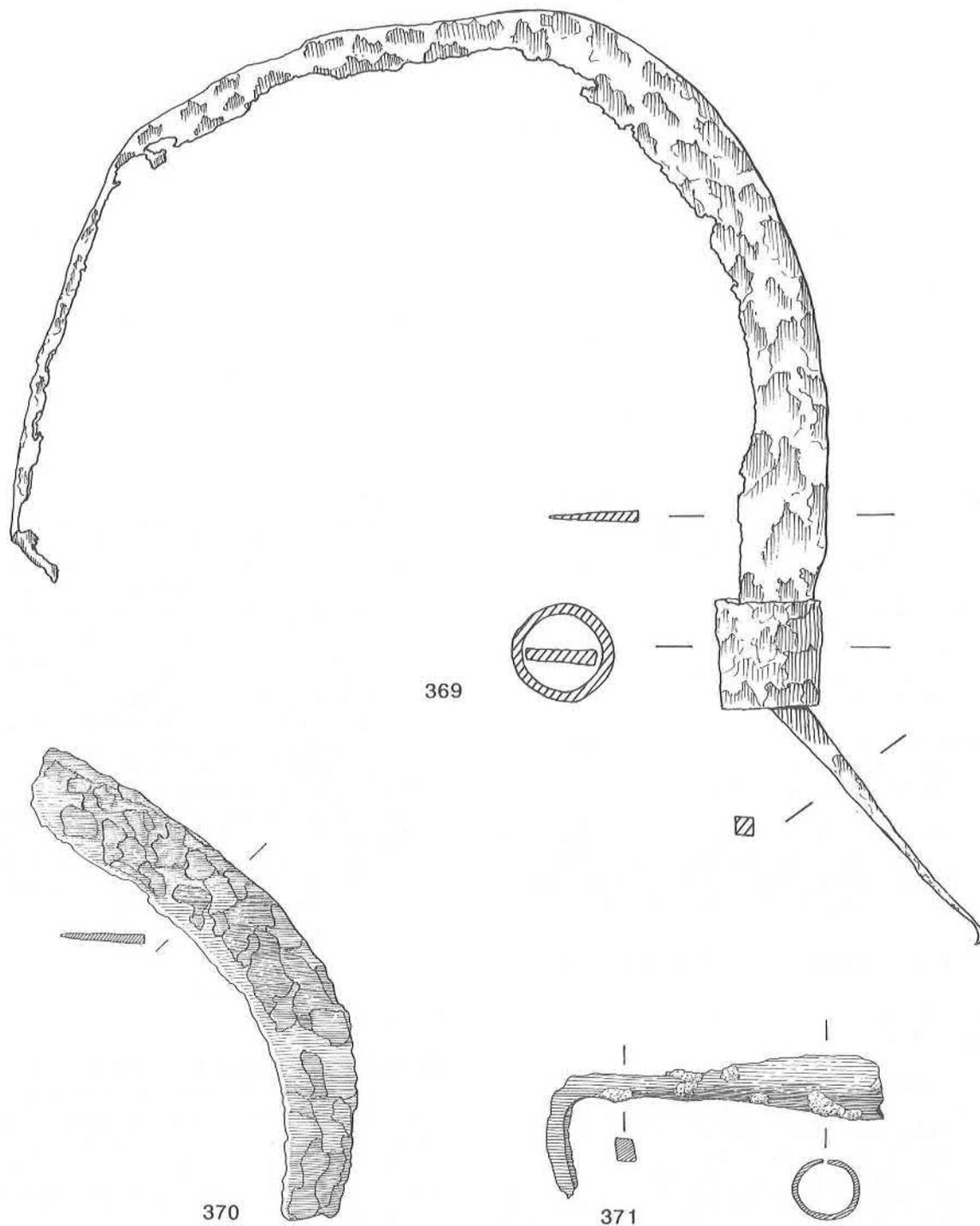


Figure 104: Sickles and iron implement, 369-371, scale 1:2.

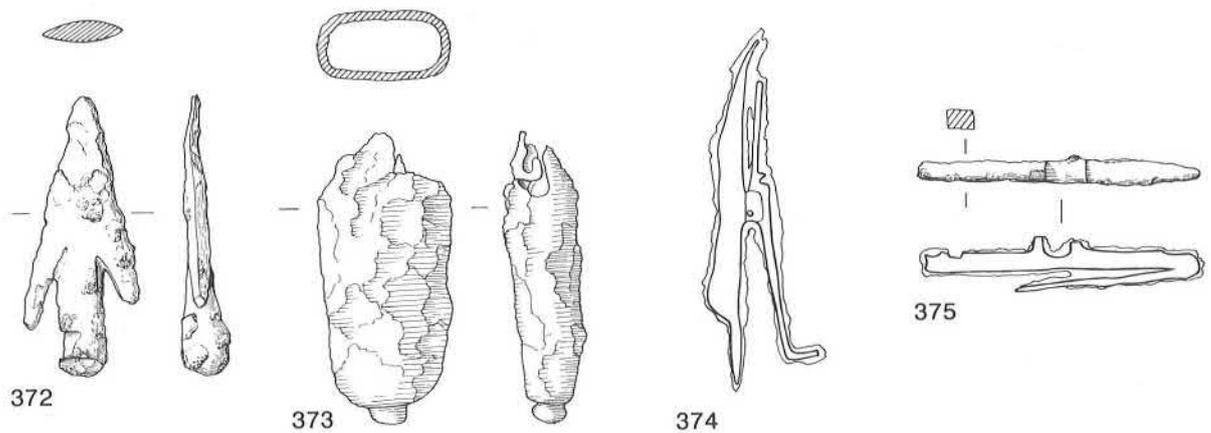


Figure 105: Weapons, 372-375, scale 1:2.

- 373 Chape, iron, from sword or dagger scabbard. Measures 77 × 30-35mm., rounded top and bottom, with a flattened knob on the latter end.  
L/IW437F/70; destruction, general.

*Firearms Fig. 105*

- 374 Measure mechanism, iron, from powder horn. Length 93mm. Drawn from X-ray.  
A/IW1G/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 375 Spring, iron, from flintlock firearm. Length 75mm. Drawn from X-ray.  
A/IW1H/3; destruction, Building 1.

Two musket balls were found during the excavation of Croft B, in the destruction rubble overlying Building 4. One of these (L8) had been fired, and was distorted by impact with a hard surface.

13. OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGION

*Ampulla Fig. 106*  
Brian Spencer

- 376 Ampulla, white metal. Made as a pilgrim souvenir, this would originally have contained a dose of healing water, and would have been slung from a chain or cord around the pilgrim's neck, or stitched by the handles to his hat. The front is decorated with a scallop-shell, surmounted by the letter 'W', the back with a crown in a roundel. The neck and body of the flask are decorated by a hatched horizontal band on both sides. Two other ampullae from the same two-piece mould have been found at Ipswich (Ipswich Museum) and Dunwich, Suffolk (Southwold Museum). Many others, presenting somewhat different combinations of the same features (scallop, crown, 'W' and division into two zones), have recently been found at London, Portchester (Cunliffe 1977, pl. XLIIIc), Devizes, Cobham, Kent and Walsingham, Norfolk (King's Lynn Museum). These recent additions do not alter a pattern of distribution established from earlier finds, in which the great

majority of ampullae of this type have been found in East Anglia and the east Midlands (Spencer 1971, 64-66). Though primarily known for its connection with the pilgrimage to St James of Compostella, the scallop-shell was occasionally also incorporated into the designs of souvenirs at other pilgrim resorts, including Canterbury and Walsingham, the two most important centres in medieval England. The Great Linford ampulla is likely to have originated from Walsingham Priory where, aside from the famous statue of Our Lady of Walsingham, there were a number of additional attractions. These included a well, the water from which was thought to have miraculous healing properties. The reasons for this attribution have been discussed elsewhere (Spencer 1971 and 1980, 16-17) but briefly, the scallop is thought to signify the act of pilgrimage, while the 'W' is believed to stand for Walsingham, and the crown for the Virgin, Queen of Heaven.  
F/L31/+; topsoil.

*Chalice and paten Fig. 106*  
R. J. Williams

The chalice was found with the priest burial (p. 228, below) lying on its side with the paten partially within the bowl, as if it had originally been used as a cover (Plate 23). The paten had been damaged by a builders' fork, and the underside of the chalice had badly decomposed. Both objects are illustrated as reconstructed.

- 377 The chalice stands 106mm. high, and has a broad shallow bowl 94mm. in diameter, with a well preserved lip. The tapering hollow stem has a discoidal knot, with a horizontal central bead slightly above the middle. The circular foot, dia. 93mm., has a pronounced footing 8mm. high, with a slight horizontal bead.
- 378 The paten is 112mm. in diameter, completely flat, with a slight depression on the extreme edge forming a lip, and a single concentric groove

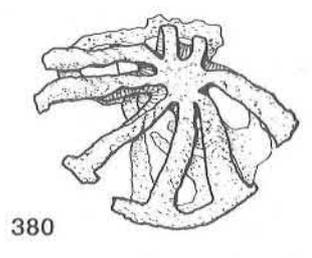
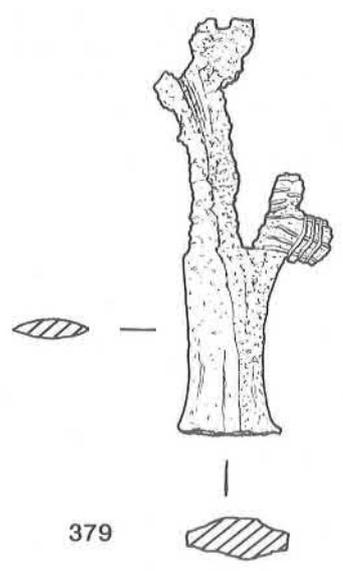
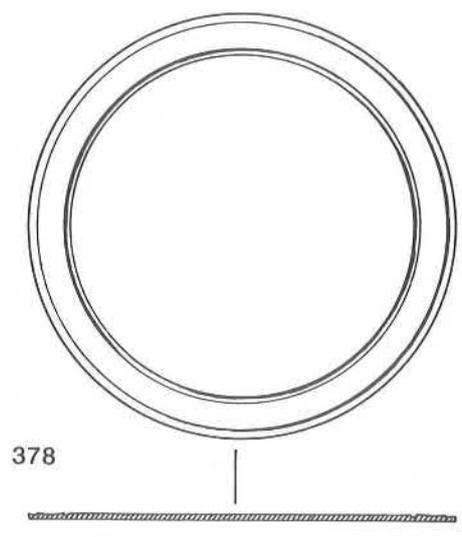
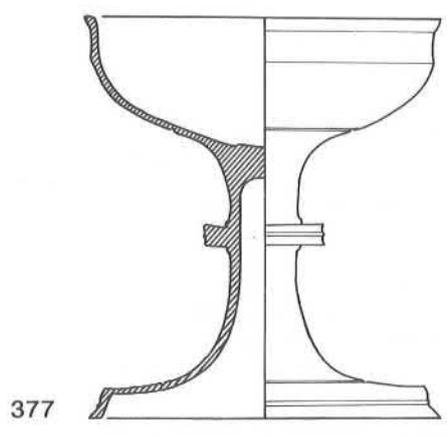
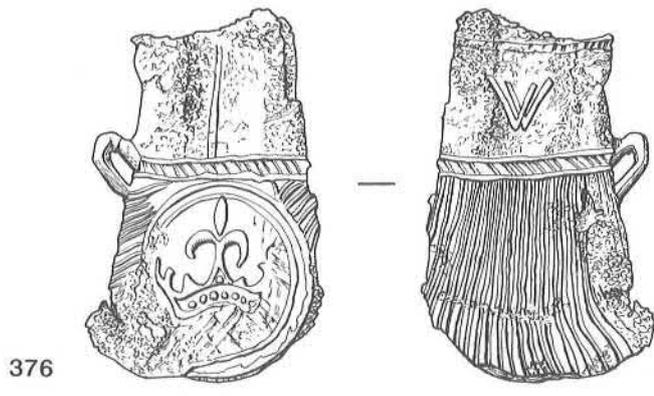


Figure 106: Objects associated with religion: 376, 379 and 380, scale 1:1; 377 and 378, scale 1:2.

accentuating the lip. Whilst neither the chalice or paten were subjected to analysis, they are made from a heavily leaded pewter. The practice of burying a chalice and paten with a priest is well known from both documentary and archaeological evidence. Hatcher and Barker (1974, 24–7) refer to the example of William de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who in 1229 stated that two chalices were to be provided for every church, one silver for Mass, and one ‘unconsecrated and fashioned from tin’, to be placed with the accompanying paten in the coffin of the priest. Whilst the practice of burying a base metal chalice and paten with a priest is commonly found, the discovery of the burial outside the church is more unusual. Recent discoveries of similar burials, such as those at Little Oakley, Essex (Corbishley 1984), and at Barton Bendish, Norfolk (Rogerson 1982), are within the body of the church, a practice which was only ended by legislation in the mid nineteenth century. Certainly until the seventeenth century, burial inside the church was the norm for the clergy and gentry. The dating of chalices on stylistic grounds has been attempted by Oman, in which he divided pre-Reformation examples into ten groups (Oman 1957). The Great Linford example, with a broad shallow bowl and relatively plain circular foot falls into Group 3, dated 1180–1280. The Little Oakley chalice, which is of similar style, though without the footing, is dated on stratigraphical and stylistic grounds to *c.* 1200. Since no independent dating is available for the Great Linford chalice and paten, a broader date sometime in the thirteenth century must be assumed.

Church/5(chalice), 6(paten)/23; priest burial (p. 228, below).

#### *Pilgrim souvenirs* Fig. 106

379 Badge, white metal, fragment, depicting a tree. A badge showing the martyrdom of St Alban framed by two trees was found in Angel Passage, London and is dated from the thirteenth century onwards (Mitchener 1986, 108).

A/L16/42; destruction, Building 1.

380 Shell container, white metal, of the undecorated eight-arm variety. 33mm. across. Mitchener dates these to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Mitchener 1986, 153).

A/L22/36; destruction, Building 1.

#### *Stone gravemarkers* Figs 107 – 108

Lawrence Butler

381 Complete gravemarker; an interesting and unusual piece of high quality sculpture. Normally, gravemarkers have a fully circular head above a well-marked straight or hollowed shoulder. This marker is more rectangular in that the shoulder inset is slight, but the head is clasped by full-relief lobed foliage (broken on right). The foliate head is placed within a delicate circular band decorated with continuous chevron ornament, which is incomplete at the base. Within this circle, the head is divided into four quarters by further chevron-ornamented strips, which meet at a central square panel (an unfinished flower?). In each quarter there is a leaf shoot

springing from a bud sheath, and flanked by curling inturned leaves of the same character as those in full relief outside the circular design. The back of the slab is plain, and was placed against a defaced tapering horizontal stone gravemarker. There are a number of interesting features in this slab. The first is the shape of the head stone. Only rarely, as at Geddington (Northants.), does one find headstones treated as three-dimensional sculpture. The second is the unfinished state of the stone. The lower part of the panel design, including chevron ornamented band and the relief-cutting outside are represented solely by the mason’s marking-out line. The incised guide lines lower down the headstone would have been hidden in the ground or concealed by a coffin-lid (if this were to be used as a headstone, and not as the footstone it was found to be). It is likely that the central panel was also unfinished, since the hole where the mason rested his dividers when scribing the circle has not been chiselled away. Floral designs occur on grave slabs of this date at Markyate on a white limestone, and at Preston (Herts) on a Totternhoe ragstone; they also occur on *piscinae* to emphasise the drain hole. The final feature to comment upon is the high quality of the decorative carving, more often found on capitals or on fonts, though there is accomplished work on memorial slabs at Elstow, Podington and Pavenham (Beds.), all on local stone. For this grave marker a date in the mid to late thirteenth century is likely.

Church/2/21; priest burial (p. 228, below).

382 Fragment of decorated stone which may belong to another gravemarker, but of earlier round-leaf terminals (late twelfth century).

Church/13/22; churchyard, unstratified.

#### 14. MISCELLANEOUS OR UNCERTAIN OBJECTS

Almost all the objects described below have been included in this category for one of two reasons: either they have more than one potential function, and cannot be comfortably placed in a more precise category, or their function is unknown. Thus ferrules, chain and associated metalwork fall into the former group, while most of the ferrous and non-ferrous ‘fittings’, fall into the latter.

#### *Chain* Fig. 109

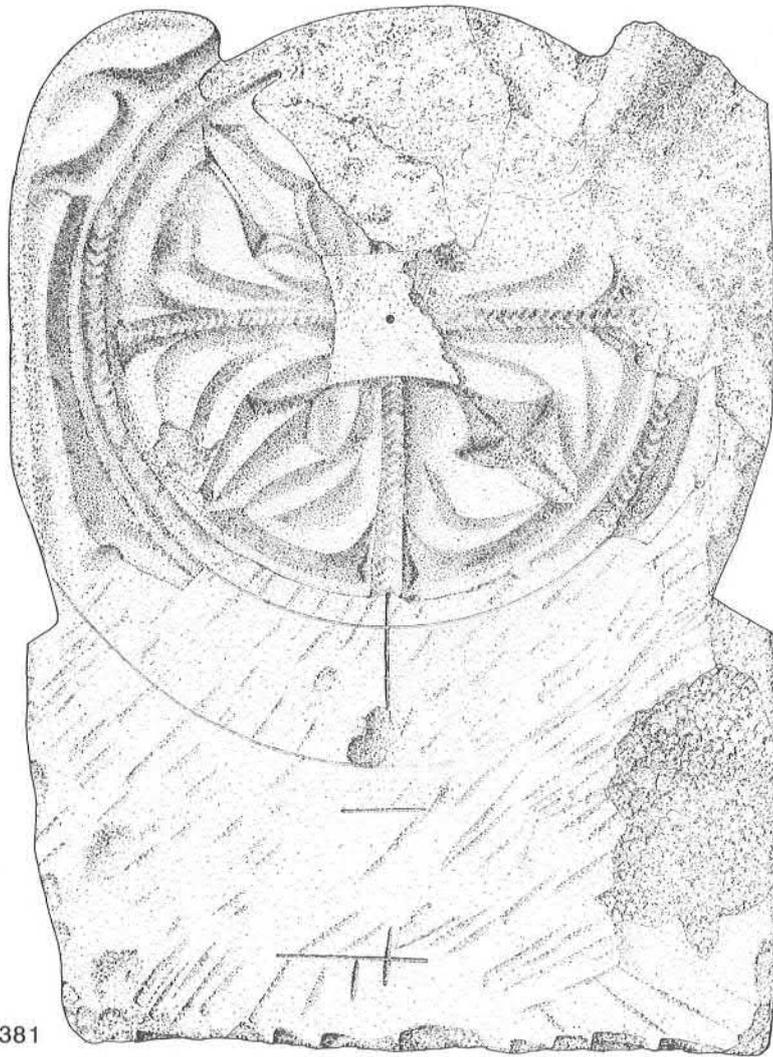
As might be expected, many fragments of iron chain, from single links to a length of nineteen links with large end-rings, were found at Great Linford, most coming from topsoil and therefore being undateable. The four examples illustrated below are the only ones recovered from sealed contexts.

383 Chain. Four twisted figure-of-eight links, each 27mm. in length.

B/IW42A/3; destruction, Building 5.

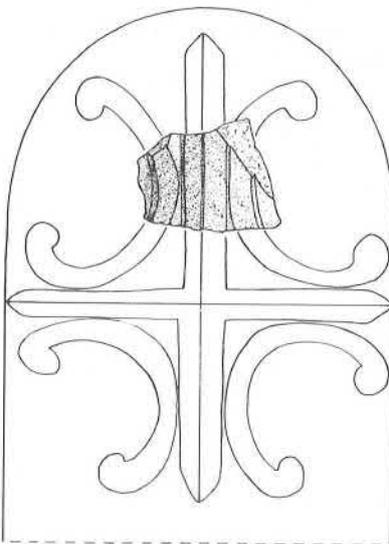
384 Chain. Two links; one circular, dia. 32mm., the other an elongated figure-of-eight, length 60mm.

C/IW172A/2; destruction, Building 8.



381

Figure 107: Grave marker, 381, scale 1:4.



382

Figure 108: Grave marker, 382, scale 1:4.

385 Chain. Four twisted figure-of-eight links, each crudely formed from  $2 \times 4$ mm. bar. Each link is 33mm. in length. One end terminates in an oval link and a ring.

J/IW332D/11; surface F6.

386 Chain. Very crude assemblage of elongated oval links, one ring and an elongated hook with an eye at its further end. Overall length 300mm. approx. (part only illustrated).

J/IW332E/11; surface F6.

#### *Ferrules Fig. 109*

Ferrules, both of iron and of copper alloy, are ubiquitous finds on excavations from the Roman period onwards. As with most other finds in this category, a selection of stratified ferrules is illustrated below:

387 Ferrule, iron, tapered. Max. int. dia. 12mm, length 28mm.

Manor/16/7; destruction, Room IV.

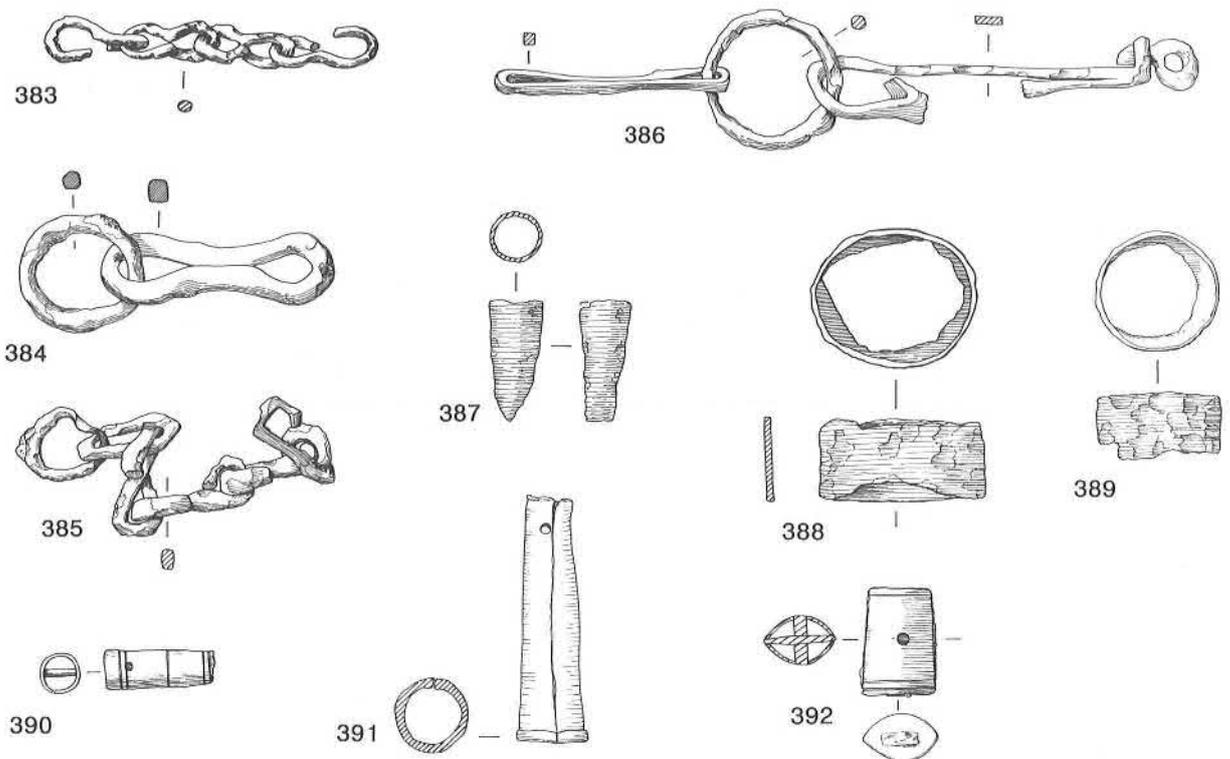


Figure 109: Chains and ferrules, 383-392, scale 1:2.

388 Ferrule, iron. Length 20mm., int. dia. 38mm.  
F/IW282A/37; yard north of Building 17.

389 Ferrule, iron. Length 17mm., int. dia. 30mm.  
L/IW424A/41; destruction over south yard.

390 Ferrule, made from copper alloy sheet rolled round to form a cylinder and decorated with incised lines. Fragments of wood were found inside. These had been held in place by a rivet. Length 29mm., dia. 11mm.  
A/AE4/3; destruction, Building 1.

391 Ferrule, made from copper alloy sheet roughly soldered into a cylinder. It has a rolled-over rim at the wider end and a rivet hole at the narrow end. Length 65mm., dia. 20mm., tapering to 11mm.  
L/AE140/23; fill of pond, F5.

392 An unidentified object consisting of two curved plates of copper alloy riveted to a central plate of iron to almost form a cylinder. One end is closed off by an elliptical plate held in place by a rectangular rivet. The object is decorated with incised lines.  
H/AE124/16; floor F7, Building 22.

#### Fittings Figs 110 - 111

As has been mentioned in the introduction to this category, the following objects are grouped together because their function is uncertain.

#### A. Iron

393 Cart fitting? Tapered strip, two fixing holes 64mm.

apart. The narrow end is squared off, while the broad end terminates in a curving taper to a tang/hook. Length 124mm., width 23-33mm.  
Manor/38A/18; destruction layer west of path.

394 Fitting. 'U' shaped bar, its ends flattened into strips, which are perforated for fastening to wooden framework. Length 170mm.  
A/IW123A/34; destruction, Building 1.

395 Decorative finial? Cruciform object; longest arm consists of a circular-section tapered tang below a short bolster. Above this, transverse arms curve upwards to form semicircle, and are joined at the ends by a thin strip of metal forming a chord of the circle. Height 190mm.  
Manor/135/179; topsoil over Building 2.

396 Fitting. Strip, 65 x 15mm., rounded ends. Four holes, with 'S' shaped hook mounted in one end.  
E/IW202A/3; destruction, Building 10.

397 Handle? Central socket, dia. 8mm., with arms extending on opposite sides for 30mm., ending in knobs. Very crudely shaped. Length 80mm.  
L/IW395A/+; topsoil.

398 Rod, length 50mm., dia. 10mm., slotted at one end. The other end is joined to a length of strip, width 11mm., its ends perforated and rounded off, bent into a semicircle. Into the centre of this projects a spike from the shaft ending. Function unknown.  
L/IW395Z/+; topsoil.

399 Sphere, hollow, slightly flattened, wall thickness 3mm., with slots 18 x 4mm. and 8 x 3mm. in ends.  
L/IW437C/70; destruction, general.

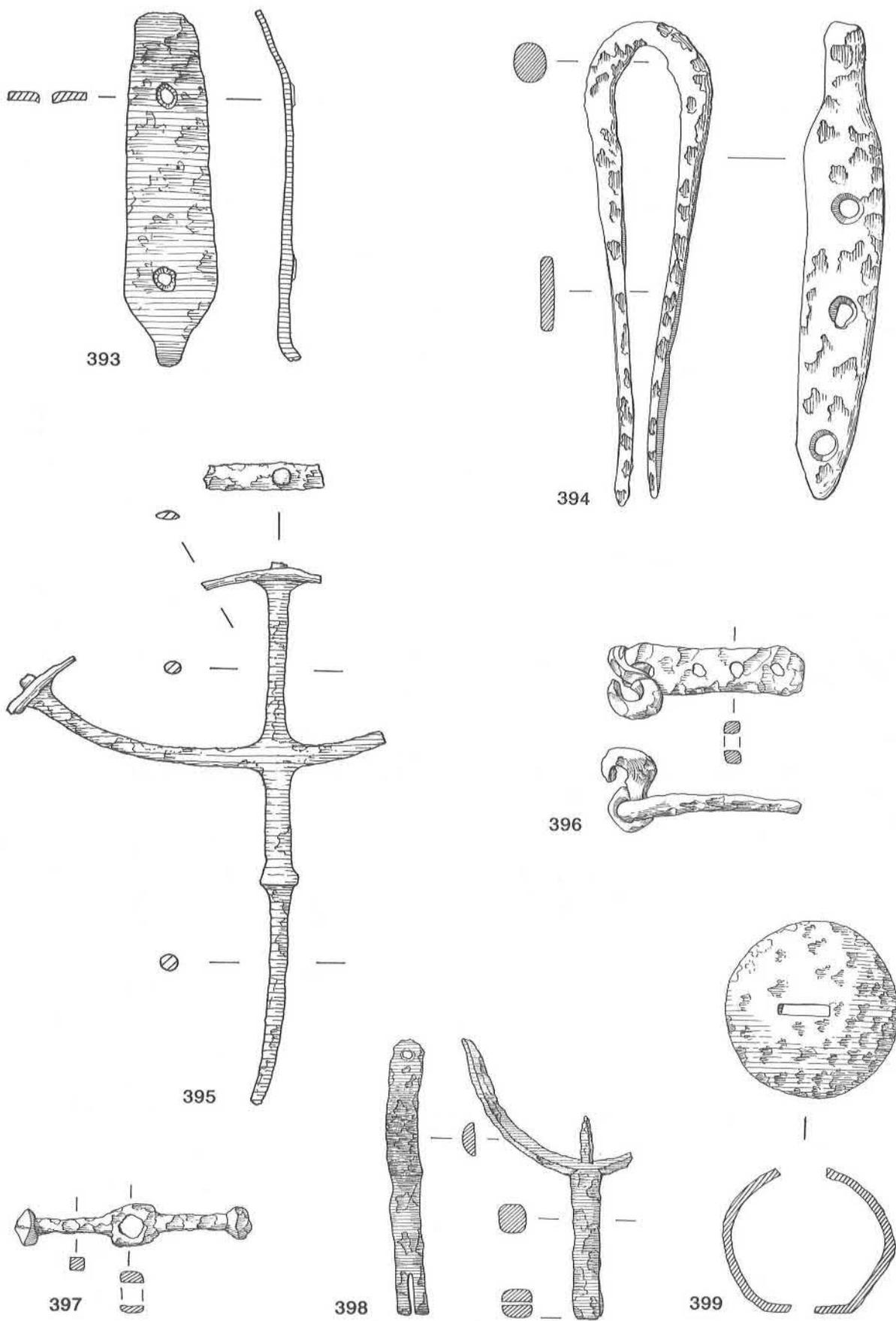


Figure 110: Miscellaneous fittings, 393–399, scale 1:2.

## B. Copper Alloy

- 400 An unidentified object consisting of a shaft, hexagonal in section and flattened at one end, with a rounded tip. The shaft has a plain flat head and a decorative collar with a rope design. 92mm. long. Dia. of head 12mm.  
Manor/1/5; destruction, Room 2.
- 401 Sheet fragment, rectangular, decorated with curved incised lines. The sheet is perforated roughly, once from the back and once from the front. Dimensions 45 × 32mm.  
F/AE94/11; destruction over south yard.

## C. White metal

- 402 Three fragments of a stamped trefoil-shaped object with the letters MT in the centre, possibly a seventeenth century porringer handle. 60mm. across. The only known seventeenth-century resident of Great Linford with the initials 'MT' is Mary Tyms, who owned a cottage and some land in 1659 (BUCRO DU/1/48/2).  
B/L28/2; destruction, Building 4.

In addition, a large number of pieces of iron, copper alloy and lead fragments were found, in the form of either rod, strip sheet or lumps, these either being fragments of unidentifiable objects, or scrap material. Whilst all are listed in detail in the excavation archive, they provide little additional information and have therefore been excluded from this publication.

## Hooks Fig. 111

Like chain and swivel links, iron hooks can serve a number of functions, and a number of hooks were

recovered, again mainly from topsoil contexts on the Linford crofts. As with the aforementioned object types, only stratified examples are illustrated.

- 403 Hook, length 65mm., tip and eye broken. A similar but larger hook was found in topsoil on Croft F (IW395F).  
A/IW6A/10; occupation levels, Building 3.
- 404 Hook, heavy 'S' shape, with opposing hooks at right angles to each other. Large hook tapers to a pronounced spade terminal. Length 124mm.  
E/IW166E/1; destruction, Building 10.

## Rings

Thirty-six iron and seven copper alloy rings were found at Linford, all probably coming from various types of harness. The iron rings varied in size from 10 to 68mm., most being about 30 to 35mm., while the copper alloy rings ranged from 15 to 45mm. The iron rings were found on all crofts except F, while four of the copper alloy rings came from Croft L, and one each from Crofts A, G and J.

## Swivel links Fig. 111

Much the same comment as for chain applies to iron swivel links.

- 405 Swivel link, length 36mm. Both halves form closed loops.  
F/IW255A/6; destruction, Building 16.
- 406 Swivel link. Pear-shaped eye, length 85mm., formed from tapered square-section bar.  
F/IW361A/145; fill, west boundary ditch.

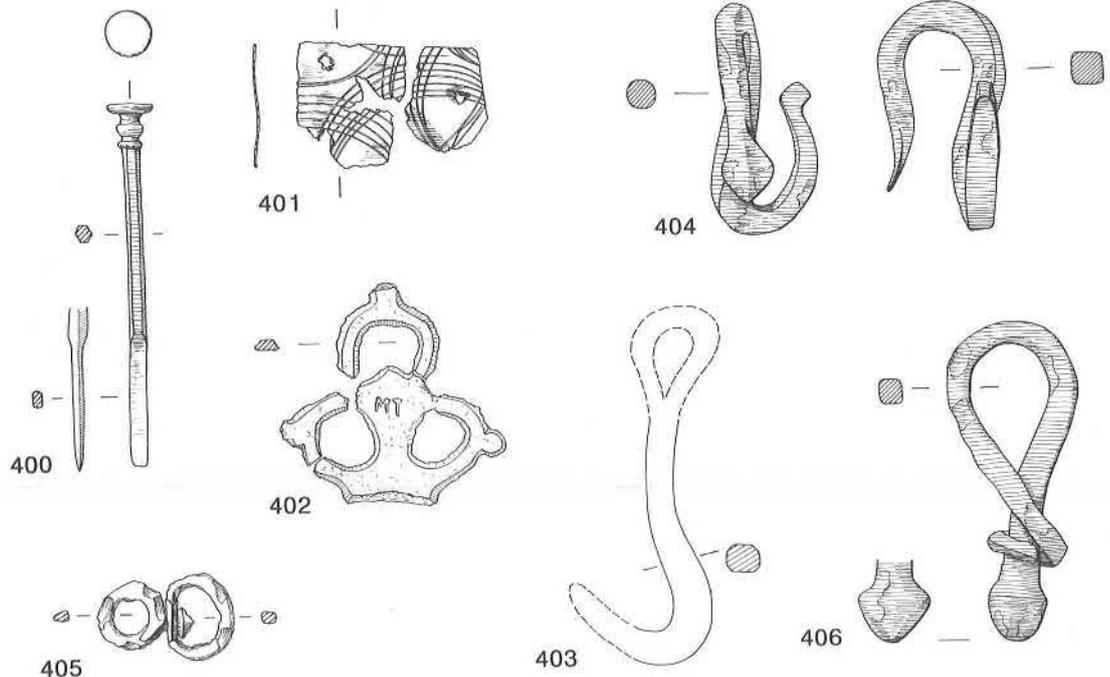


Figure 111: Miscellaneous objects, 400-03, 405 and 406, scale 1:2; 404, scale 1:4.

## THE BUILDING MATERIALS

### BRICKS

Dennis C. Mynard

The bricks were all hand-made in moulds, and did not have frogs. The size varied from thin 38mm. paving bricks to thicker 64mm. examples. The fabric was normally sandy, with surfaces ranging from coarse to very smooth. A small proportion were tempered with flint and/or grog, whilst others probably were made from a clay with a calcite content, which had burnt or weathered out leaving a vesicular body. The clay had been prepared to a workable consistency, and then pushed into the moulds, as folds in the body were commonly noticed. Some moulds were dusted out with fine white crushed flint to avoid sticking, and this was particularly noticeable on the surface of many of the bricks. Excess clay had been trimmed from the mould, leaving longitudinal scoring along one face of the brick. A few examples bore finger marks. Generally the bricks were not overfired, but a few very hard examples with vitrified surfaces were noted. One brick from Croft F was blown, and was either a second or a waster. Only the later buildings produced bricks, and the small amount recovered suggests that they were mainly used in the construction of hearths and the chimneys above them. Brick hearths were found in Buildings 4, 5, 22, the manor and possibly Buildings 26 and 27. Only Building 4 and the manor had brick chimney stacks. There is evidence of kilns for the manufacture of bricks within the parish in 1679 (BuCRO D/U/4/2), and the eighteenth century, *Brickkiln Close* being recorded in 1714 (BuCRO D/U/2/7). Two nineteenth-century bottle kilns and the site of a nineteenth-century brickyard have been scheduled as ancient monuments. The kilns were restored by the Development Corporation, and are now preserved within an area of public open space.

#### Fabrics

The excavated bricks were of the following fabrics:

- Fabric 1: Sandy with grog and/or flint.
- Fabric 2: Coarse sandy.
- Fabric 3: Fine sandy.
- Fabric 4: Very fine sandy, with smooth surfaces.
- Fabric 5: Very fine sandy, with vesicular body.

#### Sizes (Dimensions in millimetres [inches])

Type 1	38 [1.5]	×	108 [4.25]	×	—
Type 2	45 [1.75]	×	115 [4.5]	×	223 [8.75]
Type 3	50 [2.0]	×	102 [4.0]	×	216 [8.5]
Type 4	50 [2.0]	×	115 [4.5]	×	216 [8.5]
Type 5	64 [2.5]	×	102 [4.0]	×	230 [9.0]

The following is a summary of the bricks found; a comprehensive list is retained in the Unit's archive.

#### Types 1 and 2

Mostly from Croft B, possibly from a hearth in Building 5, Phase 4 (seventeenth century). Others found on Crofts C and D were perhaps deposited as rubble from Croft B. Several bricks were recovered from destruction levels in Croft L, and may have come from a hearth in Building 26 or the kitchen, Building 27. These are dated to the early to mid seventeenth century.

#### Type 3

Most examples came from a hearth in Building 22, Croft H, dating from Phase 2, which spanned the early sixteenth to the late seventeenth century. The hearth, which was of brick with limestone edging, probably dates from the latter part of Phase 2. A few examples of the same size brick were found in destruction levels on Crofts A, G, J, and L.

#### Type 4

Most examples came from Croft B, from a hearth in Building 4, which was in an extension to the building added in the early seventeenth century. Bricks of this type were also found in destruction levels on Crofts C and D, where they were probably dumped as rubbish (see above, Types 1 and 2). A hearth constructed in these bricks was also found at the manor house. This hearth dated from the early seventeenth century, and was part of the improvements to the house carried out by the Blundell family or Sir Richard Napier. Other examples of the same brick were found at the manor in the rubble make up for new floors in Rooms IV and V, also part of the same works.

#### Type 5

Only nine fragments of this size brick were found, coming from destruction levels at the manor, and Crofts A, F, G and L.

#### ROOF TILES AND STONE SLATES Fig. 112 Dennis C. Mynard

The presence of Roman tile on Crofts E, F, G, J and L, and a single hypocaust tile from Croft G, suggest the site of a Roman building in the vicinity. This is further strengthened by the discovery of small amounts of Roman pottery on most of the excavated crofts. The excavations confirmed that the earliest village houses had thatched roofs, a form of roofing which continued in use on some buildings through to the late seventeenth century. Stone slates were found only in small quantities, but it is likely that the manor house, Buildings 1, 5, 19 and possibly those on Croft L had roofs partly covered with stone slates. Both the manor house and the complex of buildings on Croft L had tiled roofs from the late fourteenth century onwards. Buildings 8, 9, 10, 15,

20 and 22 were tiled from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The remainder (Buildings 1, 4, 5, 7 and 12) may not have been tiled until the seventeenth century. The only roofing materials recovered from the church were red sandy peg tiles and a few stone slates. They came from the scaffold pits and rubble levels associated with the restoration of c. 1708.

The earliest tiles, both peg tiles and glazed ridge tiles, were made at Potterspurty in Northamptonshire, only nine kilometres from Great Linford, whilst the later peg tiles were probably of more local manufacture.

The tiles were of three types:

- 1 Glazed ridge tiles of Potterspurty type.
- 2 Peg tiles of Potterspurty type, with an off-white to buff surface.
- 3 Peg tiles of a red sandy fabric.

1. The Potterspurty ridge tiles were of a similar body and glaze to the characteristic jugs and other vessels also produced there. The body was dark grey with light buff to orange-red surfaces, and the glaze was a mottled olive-green. Numerous fragments of these ridge tiles came from the manor house and Croft L, whilst only a few fragments were found on Crofts F, G and H. No complete or reconstructable examples were recovered. All had decorated knife-cut crests of simple 'cockscomb' type, (Fig. 112, 407). Five items of roof furniture also of Potterspurty manufacture were also found (see below).

2. The Potterspurty peg tiles were of the same fabric as the ridge tiles, but the surfaces were normally off-white to buff. These tiles were used on Building 5 (Croft B), and possibly at the manor and on Croft L. Three examples came from Croft G, and single examples were found on Crofts C, D, F, H, and J.

3. The red sandy peg tiles came from all the buildings that had had tiled roofs, and are similar to tiles still in use in the village today. No complete examples of either type of peg tile survived, but both varied in width from 140mm. to 172mm. The fixing holes were either round or square, and between 50mm. to 80mm. apart. The stone slates were of local limestone, generally 15mm. to 25mm. in thickness, although one example from Croft H was unusually (35mm.) thick.

- 407 Part of ridge tile with knife cut crest.  
Manor/214; fill of kiln 1, Building 2.

#### ROOF FURNITURE Fig. 112 Dennis C. Mynard

Part of a louvre (408) and sherds of another came from the manor house. Sherds possibly from a louvre or chimney pot came from Building 16 (Croft F).

Two ridge tiles or finials, one with zoöomorphic decoration, also came from the manor house.

#### Catalogue

- 408 Sherd from a louvre with ovoid apertures and stabbed decoration. Reconstructed from an example found in Southampton (Dunning 1975, 187 and fig. 215, 1413)  
Manor/83; soil and rubble, Room VI.
- 409 Part of zoöomorphic ridge tile finial, with scar and knife slashing where the legs of an animal standing on top of the tile have been broken away.  
Manor/92; soil layer below pitched stone path.
- 410 Four joining sherds from a ridge tile decorated with knife slashing, possibly part of a finial.  
Manor/83; soil and rubble, Room VI.
- 411 Sherd of ventilator or finial, the fabric, glaze and finish of which is identical to Potterspurty ridge tiles. One edge was secured to another part of the object and the joint smoothed over internally, and masked by thumbing and knife slashing externally.  
Manor/83; soil and rubble, Room VI.

#### PLAIN FLOOR TILE Fig. 112 Dennis C. Mynard

Unglazed floor or hearth tiles in Potterspurty fabric came from Building 3, Croft A, in sufficient quantity to suggest that they were used in the building. One fragment of similar tile came from the destruction level of Building 12, Croft D, but this probably represents the movement of rubbish from one croft to another. An important pavement of Little Brickhill decorated floor tiles was found within the church, and several tiles possibly from it were found in the destruction level over the back lane adjacent to Croft L.

#### Croft A

The plain floor tile from Croft A was of characteristic Potterspurty fabric, with a dark grey core and thin creamy-buff to pink buff surfaces. The body was sandy, 30mm. thick, and was stabbed with holes 5mm. in diameter pierced at an angle. The edges were chamfered. The worn surfaces suggested that the tiles were floor rather than hearth tiles. No complete examples were found.

- 412 Fragment.  
A/T5/7; destruction, Building 3.
- 413 Fragment.  
A/T1/3; yard surface between Buildings 1 and 3.

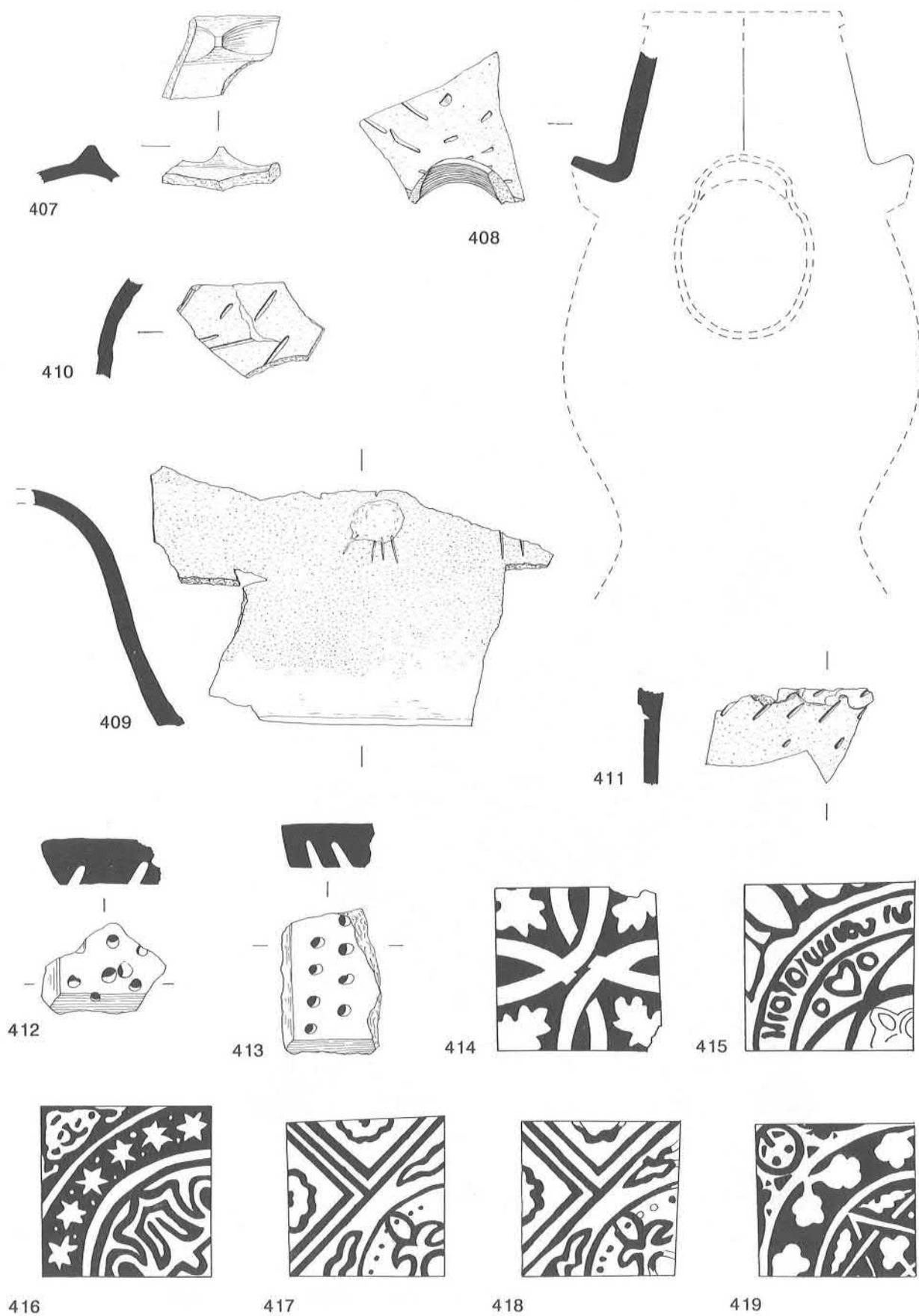


Figure 112: Roof tile, roof furniture and floor tiles, 407–419, scale 1:4.

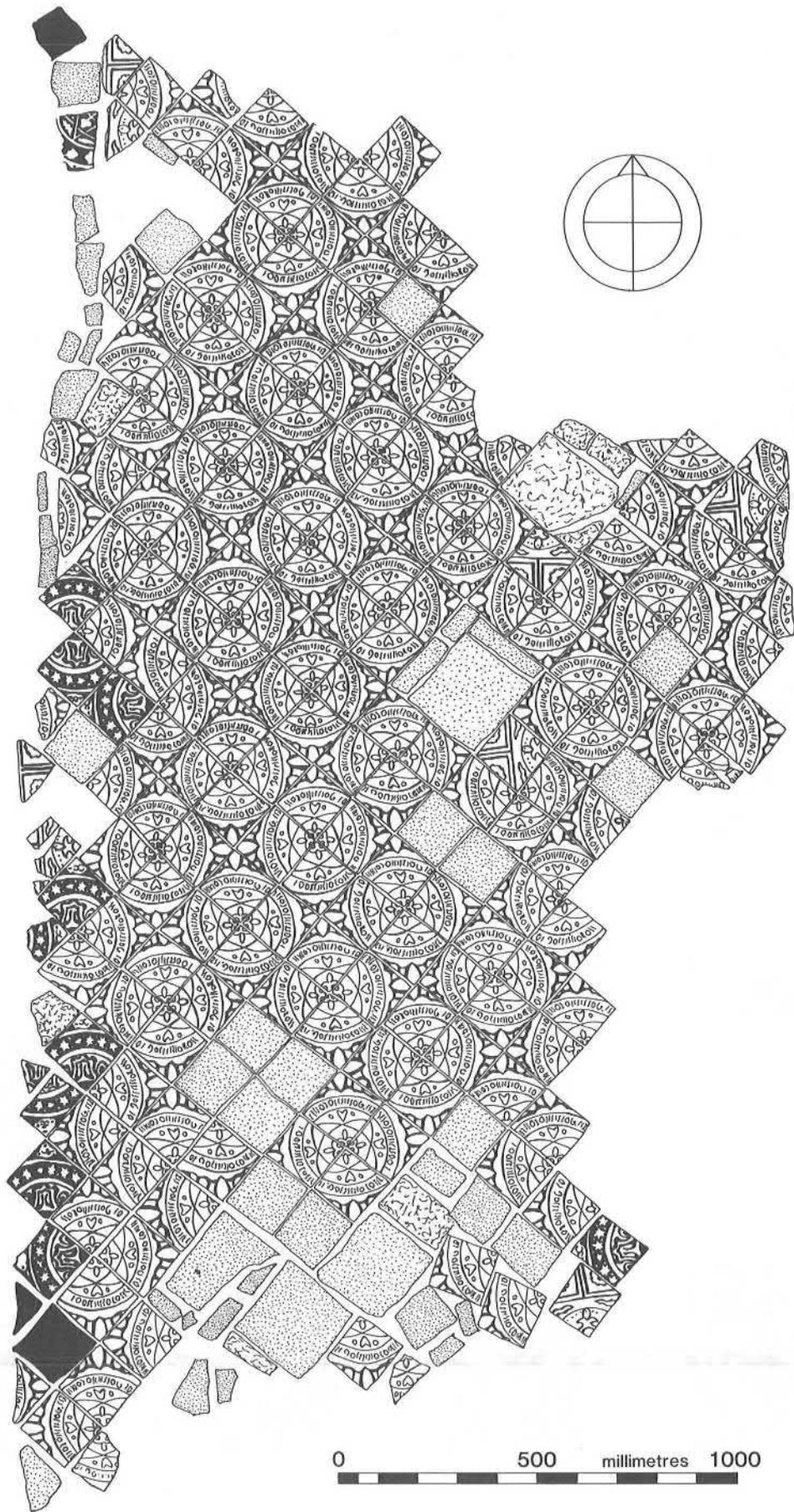


Figure 113: The Little Brickhill tile pavement.

## THE LITTLE BRICKHILL TILE PAVEMENTS

Dennis C. Mynard

Figs 112 – 113

Remains of two pavements of Little Brickhill tile were found in the north and south aisles of the nave of the church. In the north aisle survived a substantial area of pavement (Fig. 113, Plate 27), approximately  $2.5 \times 1.5$ m., consisting of two hundred and ten tiles, mostly *in situ*. In the south aisle, the mortar bed for a similar pavement was found, but only sixteen tiles remained in position. At a visitation in 1637 (BuCRo D/A/U/15) it was recorded that the pavement on the south side was in decay. At the time of discovery, this was only the second pavement of Little Brickhill floor tiles known to survive *in situ*. The kilns and their products have been published (Mynard 1975), and the design numbers then established are used in this report. The pavement in the north aisle consisted mainly of Design 10, but had been repaired in antiquity with tiles of Design 22a. These probably came from the pavement in the south aisle, in which only tile of this design remained. Fragments of two hundred and nine other tiles, of Designs 7, 21, 22 and 29, were found. There were also forty-eight tiles that were too worn for identification. These pavements are particularly important, since together with an associated memorial brass (p. 115, above) they confirm the earliest firm dating evidence for the production of Little Brickhill tiles. The brass, in memory of Roger Hunt, who died in 1473, and Joan his wife, records that the church was paved shortly after their death, presumably as part of a bequest for restoration work. This evidence confirms that the Little Brickhill tile industry was established by the late fifteenth century. The north pavement (Fig. 113) is the only surviving example constructed of tiles of Design 10 known to exist. It is also the largest surviving pavement of Little Brickhill tiles yet discovered.

The tiles from the church are described below:

- 414 Design 7,  $115 \times 114$ mm., continuous design of interlaced circles with trefoils. Context 36/37; rubble over pavement in north aisle.
- 415 Design 10,  $116 \times 120$ mm., reconstructed from several tiles from pavement in north aisle.
- 416 Design 21a,  $115 \times 120$ mm., from pavement in south aisle.
- 417 Design 22,  $110 \times 110$ mm., from pavement in north aisle.
- 418 Design 22a,  $110 \times 110$ mm., from pavement in north aisle.
- 419 Design 29,  $110 \times 110$ mm. Context 36/37; rubble over pavement in north aisle.

Fragments of undecorated tiles were also found. These consisted of:

- a. Black glazed; fragments of seven tiles ranging in size from  $110 \times 110 \times 23$ mm., to  $180 \times 180 \times 28$ mm. The latter had been scored to break into four squares, and each square scored diagonally to break into two triangles.
- b. Yellow slip covered with lead glaze; fragments of three tiles  $120 \times 115 \times 30$ mm. One was scored diagonally. Several tiles were found in the churchyard, in the manor grounds and on the road surface of the back lane adjacent to Croft L. The tiles from the manor grounds came from a sewer trench (MK797), which was dug on the north side of the almshouses, east of the church. Fragments of thirteen tiles were found; one of Design 10b, three of Design 11, two of Design 21, four of Design 22, one of Design 22a and two which were unrecognisable because of excessive wear. All of these types were found in the church, except for Design 11. A fragment of a tile of Design 10 was found in the field immediately to the west of the church. The tiles from the back lane adjacent to Croft L consisted of one badly damaged example of Design 10, and fragments of three plain unglazed tiles, 21mm. thick and with chamfered edges. These plain tiles were also of Little Brickhill manufacture.

## STRUCTURAL METALWORK

R. J. Zeepvat

Excavations at Great Linford, in common with many other medieval and Roman sites, produced quantities of nails, studs and staples, and pieces of perforated iron strip, as well as fragments of more complex fittings that could be associated with structural aspects of buildings, both domestic and agricultural. Indeed, much of this material, particularly the fragments of perforated strip, could have come from farm vehicles or equipment, or even furniture. Because of the ubiquitous nature of the material and its uncertain attribution, this report is selective, concentrating on those objects the use of which can be better defined, and those of particular interest.

*Studs* Fig. 114

Large nails, generally exceeding 75mm. in length, with pronounced decorative heads. Used particularly on doors, both structurally and decoratively, and for fastening fittings such as hinge plates.

- 420 Stud. Large rectangular domed head,  $37 \times 48$ mm. Length 85mm. A/IW1AB/3; destruction, Building 1.
- 421 Stud. Square domed head, 32mm. across, splayed tip. Length 87mm. B/IW15D/19; destruction, Building 5.

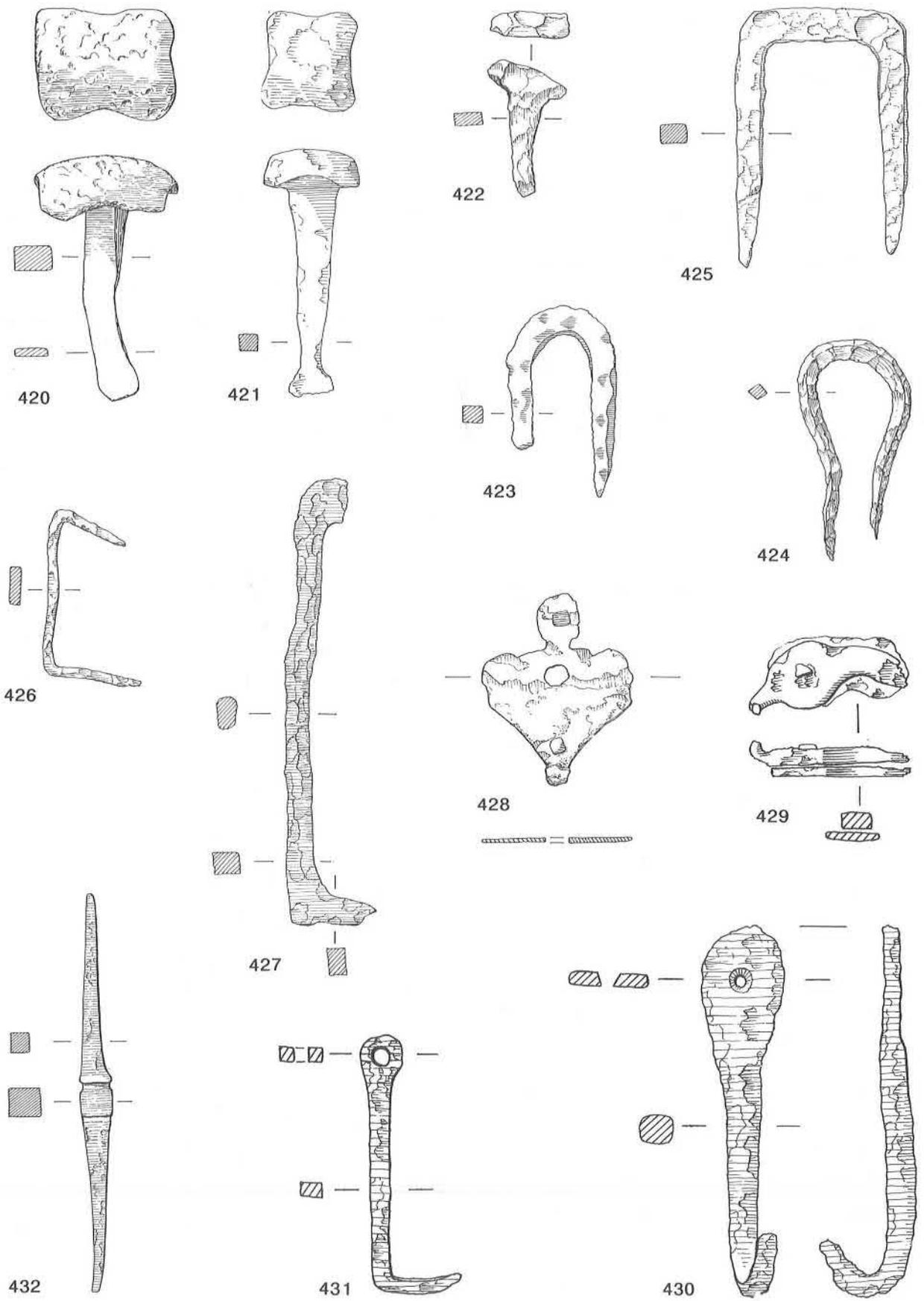


Figure 114: Structural metalwork, 420-432, scale 1:2.

### Staples Fig. 114

Includes 'T' and 'U' staples, and joiners' dogs or cleats.

- 422 'T' staple, shaft broken.  
D/IW200A/4; dark brown clay below floor, Building 9.
- 423 'U' staple, length 70mm.  
F/IW273B/11; destruction over south yard.
- 424 'U' staple, length 75mm.  
L/IW410C/15; destruction, general.
- 425 'U' staple, angular, length 90mm.  
B/IW92A/10; destruction, Building 5.
- 426 Joiners' dog or cleat, for fastening two pieces of wood.  
Strip, width 13mm., length 57mm., bent at right angles at each end and then tapered.  
G/IW389A/9; early floor, west bay, Building 21.
- 427 Joiners' dog. Square-section bar, length 160mm., bent at right angles at both ends.  
A/IW210A/49; fossiliferous limestone floor, Building 6.

### Fittings Fig. 114

- 428 Decorative fitting. Heart-shaped, with added lobes at the base and upper centre. Below the latter is a hole, dia. 8mm. Traces of rivets can also be seen in the upper lobe and above the lower one.  
B/IW22A/4; surface of yard south of Building 5.
- 429 Window catch? Kidney-shaped plate with a pin projecting from one lobe. On this is mounted a curved handle and catch.  
B/IW28D/4; surface of yard south of Building 5.
- 430 Hook. Tapered bar, flattened out to form pierced oval terminal at broad end. Length 133mm.  
Manor/65/27; floor make-up, Room II.
- 431 Hook. Rectangular-section bar formed into eye at one end, with a right-angled pointed hook at the other. Length 90mm.  
L/IW431E/49; destruction, general.
- 432 Terminal or finial. Square-section spike, separated by moulding from shaft, which is also square in section (Moorhouse 1971, 54, no. 10).  
A/IW85A/24; destruction, Building 1.

### Nails

Nearly 5500 nails were recovered from the village crofts excavated at Linford. Of these, 43% were sufficiently well-preserved to be classified into groups, subdivided further by length in 25mm. increments. The detailed statistics resulting from this exercise were deposited with the excavation archive; what follows is a summary of the results.

Four types were found to be present;

- 1 Flared nails, the head formed by a flared shank.

- 2 Flat, figure-8 shaped head.

- 3 Nails with a small rounded head (up to twice the maximum shank cross-section).

- 4 As 3, but with a head greater than twice the shank cross-section.

Of these, by far the most common were Group 3 nails, accounting for 61.4% of the identifiable assemblage, most of those measuring 25 to 75mm., the other three groups being present in about equal quantities. There was no discernable preference for the use of certain nail types in particular periods of occupation. In any case, most of the nails were recovered from topsoil or destruction contexts.

Generally speaking, there were only slight differences in the relative percentages of nails found on each croft. The largest nail assemblages recovered came from Crofts L, B and F, representing 31.1%, 22.5% and 13.8% of the total respectively. This is not surprising, in view of the fact that these were the most completely excavated of the village crofts.

### THE STAINED AND PAINTED WINDOW GLASS

Richard Marks  
Figs 115 – 117

Just over one hundred and fifty fragments of medieval window glass with painted decoration were found, together with pieces of unpainted glass. They were discovered in a rubble layer inside the church, laid down in 1707, and in a sewer trench approximately one hundred metres distant from the church (MK 813). Similar designs were found in both locations, confirming that the glass all came from windows in the church.

Only a few fragments of glass, comprising two fleur-de-lis border pieces and architectural details from canopies, now survive in the easternmost window of the nave north aisle (nIII, using the international *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* numbering system). None is *in situ*; they can, however, be dated by design details to c. 1340-80. Four shields of arms are recorded in the church windows in c. 1587, including the arms of the Bohun and Tolthorpe families (BL, MS Add. 5836, fol. 158V), but they do not provide any firm indication of the date of the excavated window glass. There is also no evidence from inscriptions or wills recording the gift of windows by donors. The sole basis for analysing and dating the painted fragments is by stylistic comparison. From this it can be established that they all date from between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

#### *The fourteenth-century fragments*

No figural remains occur amongst the identifiable

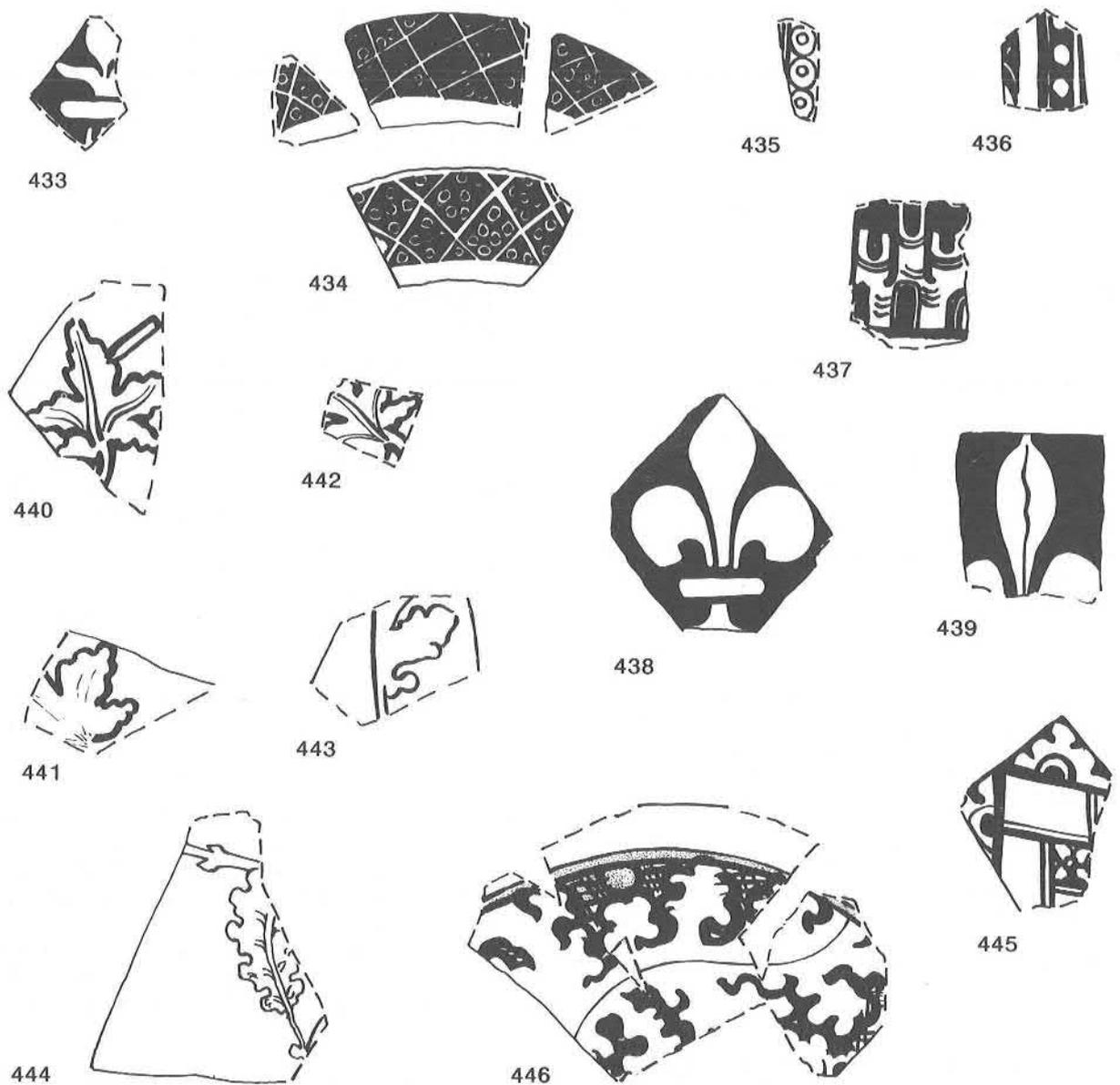


Figure 115: The stained and painted window glass, 433–446, scale 1:2.

finds of fourteenth-century glass, which were mainly discovered in the rubble layer in the church. One canopy fragment (433) comprising a finial suggests, however, that the fourteenth-century glazing did include religious imagery, as it was customary in this period to place single figures or scenes within architectural framework. The other identifiable fragments consist of edging patterns, border designs and *grisaille* painted with naturalistic foliage.

#### 1. Canopy designs

A fragment (433) with the finial and upper section of a pinnacle from a canopy.

#### 2. Edging patterns

Several fragments exhibit a variety of edging designs, including a repeated pattern of circles (434) and trelliswork picked out against an opaque matt ground, and a repeated pattern of circles within circles enclosed by vertical straight lines (435). This latter pattern can be seen enclosing the late fourteenth-century figure of St Peter in the tracery of the east window at Weston Underwood in Buckinghamshire. The Great Linford piece may, however, be of fifteenth-century date, as the same design recurs in association with another St Peter from this period at Lower Winchendon, also in Buckinghamshire (window sV). The remaining edging design (436) is of repeated beads within vertical lines picked out on an opaque matt ground. This is unmistakably of fourteenth-century date.

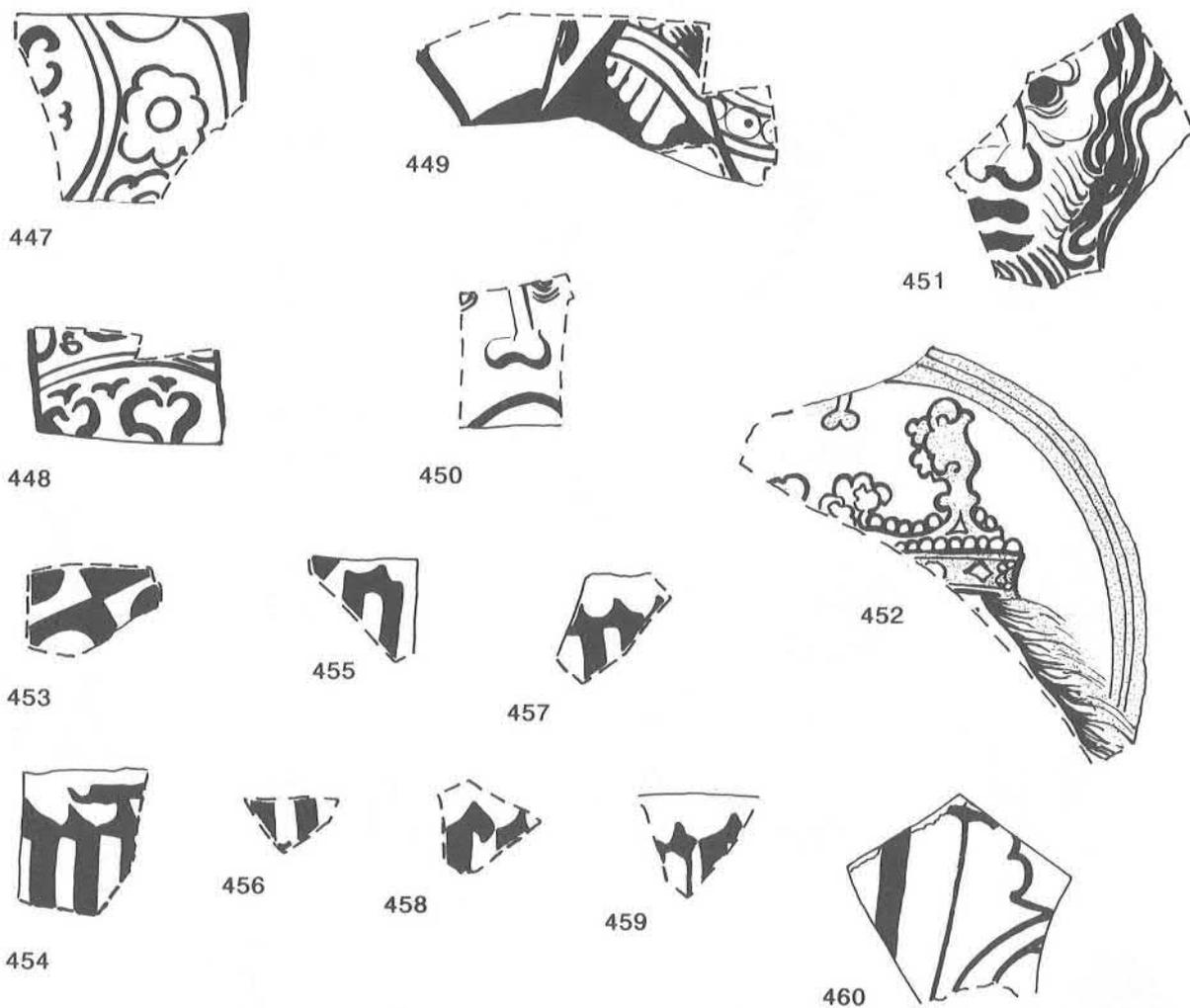


Figure 116: The stained and painted window glass, 447–460, scale 1:2.

and may be compared, for example, with the edging to a shield of arms of c. 1330-50 in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, (RAA 1987, no. 229).

### 3. Borders

Three border designs are recognisable. The first (437) comprises a stylised castle with triple turrets. Comparable examples can be seen in window nII at Whitchurch in Buckinghamshire, and in a more complete state in Merton College Chapel, Oxford. The other two fragments (438 & 439) both consist of a fleur-de-lis on a matt ground, but are of slightly different design. The former is on a piece of glass cut to a diamond shape, and belongs to the same series as the fleurs-de-lis in window nIII at Great Linford. The latter is on a rectangular piece of glass. Fleur-de-lis border designs are even more common than castles in English fourteenth-century borders; both usually either alternate with or are set against pieces of unpainted ruby (red) or blue-coloured glass. Merton College Chapel provides good examples of complete borders.

### 4. Grisaille with naturalistic foliage

At least five fragments (440–44) have painted designs of naturalistic leaves and stems. Naturalistic foliage on *grisaille* (white glass) was introduced into English window design towards the end of the thirteenth century, and remained popular into the second half of the following century. Remains of *grisaille* with naturalistic foliage can be seen elsewhere in north Buckinghamshire, including Hardmead, Whitchurch and Wing. More-or-less complete windows with naturalistic foliage *grisaille* can be seen in Merton College Chapel, the nave and chapter house of York Minster (interspersed with bands of religious imagery in coloured glass), Norbury in Derbyshire and Chartham, Kent.

#### *The fifteenth-century fragments*

Window glass dating from the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries was found in greater quantities than pre-1400 glazing, and is also more rewarding in terms of interpretation. The fragments show that

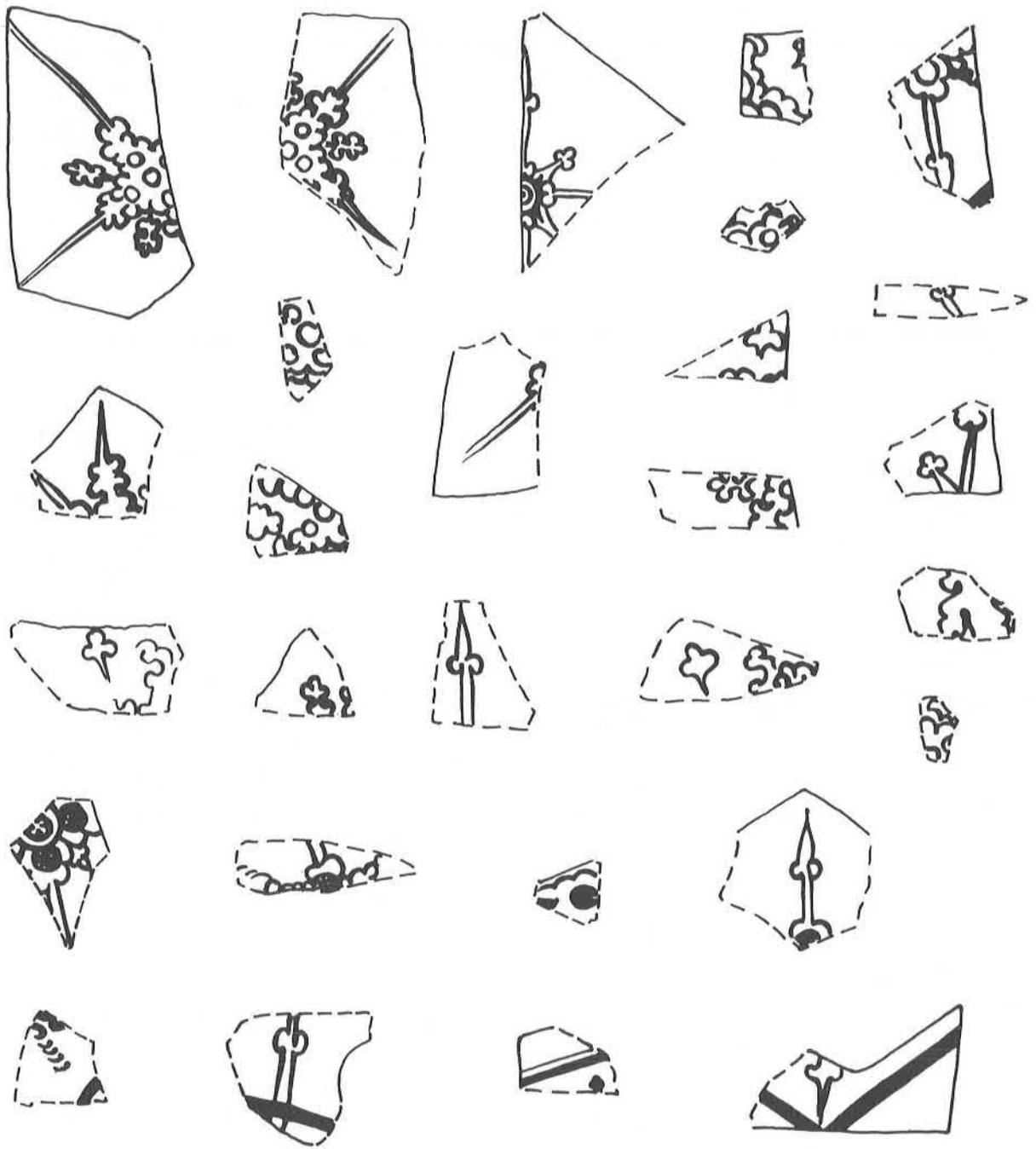


Figure 117: Fifteenth century window quarry designs, scale 1:2.

the Great Linford windows of this period included inscriptions and religious imagery and were executed at different dates. The majority of the identifiable pieces came from the rubble layer in the church.

### 1. Quarry Designs

At least thirty-four fragments of diamond-shaped clear glass quarries bearing formal painted designs enlivened with yellow stain were excavated from

the rubble layer and the sewer trench. A selection are illustrated (Fig. 117). All are variations on the theme of a central boss with long tapering spikes springing from the angles, separated from each other by shorter stems. Such quarry designs are widespread in English fifteenth-century glass, and can be seen elsewhere in Buckinghamshire, for example Chearsley, Stoke Hammond and Twyford; for similar quarries in a neighbouring county see the designs in P. A. Newton, (1979, especially nos. 13-16).

## 2. Border and edging patterns

Two pieces of fifteenth-century borders and edgings are identifiable. 445 is a formal border design with yellow stain touches. The second (446) has a large serrated leaf on a cross-hatched ground; these leaf or seaweed patterns are a characteristic feature of English early fifteenth-century glass, and comparable examples can be seen in window nIII at Newton Bromswold, near Rushden in Northamptonshire.

## 3. Figural fragments

Six fragments from figures were found in the rubble layer. Two (447 & 448) appear to be parts of patterned haloes, which probably date from the second half of the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. Another fragment (449) has a bare foot and part of a hem. The other three all belong to human heads. One (450) has the nose and part of the eyes of a head facing three-quarters right. The second (451) depicts the right side of a bearded head with wavy hair facing fully frontal, while the third fragment (452) comprises the halo (with a yellow-stained edging pattern) and part of the crown and yellow-stained hair of a saint. Not enough remains of the first and third pieces to define their date more precisely, but the delineation of the facial features of the bearded head indicates that it must have been executed during the first half of the fifteenth century, in the so-called International Gothic style. A number of churches in the area contain figural glass in similar manner, including Maids Moreton and Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire, Odell, Bedfordshire, and Newton Bromswold in Northamptonshire.

## 4. Tiled floor fragment

Figures of saints like those described above often stand on tiled floors in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century glass and one fragment of such a floor with a chequerboard pattern and countercharged roundels was excavated at Great Linford (453). The apostles in the east window of Drayton Beauchamp church stand on comparable tiled floors.

## 5. Inscriptions

Six pieces of lettering in opaque paint on clear ground (454–59) were found in the rubble layer. The letters are in the 'black-letter' style adopted by glass painters in the 1340's and which remained in use until the Reformation. The Great Linford fragments could date from any time within this period, although it is doubtful if any were executed before the late fourteenth century at the earliest. The letters come from inscriptions identifying the image depicted in the glass, or recording the name of the donor of the windows.

## PLAIN WINDOW GLASS Fig. 116

Dennis. C. Mynard

Sherds of window glass and fragments of lead came were recovered from many of the excavated buildings. A few fragments of medieval window glass came from crofts A, F and L, the latter producing a painted sherd with foliate decoration (460). The medieval glass was darkened and opaque, with grozed edges. The sherds from Croft A were 2.5mm. to 3mm. thick, whilst those from Crofts F and L were 3.5mm. to 4mm. in thickness. The glass may have come from medieval buildings on the crofts, or could have been deposited as rubbish. The rest of the glass was mostly of seventeenth-century date, although some may date from the late sixteenth century.

In general, the glass came from destruction levels over the buildings, but in several instances it came from floor or yard surfaces, perhaps suggesting the position of the windows within the buildings.

The glass was mostly very fragmented, but where large sherds survived it could be seen that they came from diamond shaped quarries. Most of the glass was 1mm. to 1.5mm. in thickness, although some, particularly Type PG5, was 2mm. thick. The late glass was sorted into seven types based on its colour.

Details of the types and the amounts of glass recovered from each croft are given in Table 4. Fragments of lead came were frequently found in association with the glass. These came were all of 'H' section, 7–8mm. wide and 3mm. in thickness. The following is a summary of the glass from the manor and each croft.

### *Croft A*

Two sherds of oxidised medieval glass were found in the destruction levels over Building 1, and may have come from the underlying medieval building (Building 1a), of which only traces were found. The medieval glass has grozed edges, measured 2.5–3mm. in thickness, and came from rectangular quarries possibly 35 × 50mm. in size.

The rest of the glass was post-medieval, and came from the destruction levels over Building 1 and its south yard, suggesting that any glazed windows were in the south side of the building. The glass found was both dark olive green (DG1) and pale green (PG1) in colour, the former being most plentiful.

A quantity of window lead was also found, one larger piece coming from a window with diamond-shaped quarries.

Croft/Site No.	Building	MED	PG1	PG2	PG3	PG4	PG5	DG1
A	1	25	107					205
B	4		73	6				
B	5		171	1				
B	6		170	40				
C	8		6					
D	12?		15					
E	10?		28		2			
F	17?	5						
F	16		3			2		
G	21		1.5	0.5	2		0.5	
G	20		1					
H	22		17	5		5		
H	Drain (22?)					10		
J	23?		5	1		3		
L	26		14.5					
L	31		0.5					
L	28		0.5					
L	Back lane (27?)	110	10					
L	S. yard (26?)	20	5					
L	27		71				1	
L	Gen. dest. (27?)	0.5	205.5	1		1		
MK674	Manor		269.5			30		21
MK714	Church	610	660	15	635	225	410	140
MK813	Sewer trench	1640			115	120	90	

**TABLE 4:** Amounts of plain window glass (in grammes).

### *Croft B*

In their latest phases, Buildings 4 and 5 had glass windows. The glass was mostly pale olive green (DG1), but about ten per cent was of a pale blue green (PG2). The glass from Building 5 came from the central bay (living room) and the west bay (service rooms). A quantity was found lying on the surface of the yard against the south wall of the living room, suggesting that it had fallen from a window above. The glass from Building 4 came from Room 4, which was added in the early seventeenth century.

### *Croft C*

The small quantity of window glass and lead found on this croft was thought to have originated from Croft B.

### *Croft D*

A very small amount of glass was found in the topsoil on this croft. No window lead was found.

### *Croft E*

The glass from this croft was mostly of pale olive green (PG4), and came from topsoil, apart from a few scraps in the destruction levels of Building 10. No window lead was found.

### *Croft F*

A sherd of medieval glass was found on the yard surface north of Building 17. The buildings on this croft appear to have gone out of use by the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth, although the yards accumulated a small amount of rubbish through to the early eighteenth century. The small amount of glass and lead from this croft is unlikely to have come from the buildings on it.

### *Croft G*

A very small amount of glass and lead came from the destruction levels over Buildings 20 and 21, which were both occupied as late as the seventeenth century.

### *Croft H*

All of the glass found on this croft came from Building 22, which continued in use until the middle of the seventeenth century. The glass came from the north and west sides of the building, suggesting a north window of pale olive green glass (PG4) and a west window of pale blue green glass. No window lead was found on this croft.

### *Croft J*

The glass found on this croft came from the destruction levels of Building 23, which was in use from the mid seventeenth to the early eighteenth century. Only small quantities were recovered, but the glass was of a variety of colours. No window lead was found.

### *Croft X2*

Only one scrap of glass was found in the topsoil.

### *Croft L*

This croft produced more glass than the manor house, suggesting that it was one of the major farmhouses in the village. The glass came from Building 26, a domestic range and Building 27, the kitchen. The glass was virtually all pale green (PG1) and much of it came from the west side of the buildings, suggesting windows on that side.

Almost complete diamond shaped quarries from Building 27 were 110mm. in total length, with the sides of the diamond being 65mm. long. Other quarries from the south yard were even larger.

The lead from this croft was in quite good condition, with almost complete diamond shapes being found.

### *The manor*

Most of the glass was pale green (PG1), and came from windows in Rooms II, IV, and V, from contexts dated to the early to mid seventeenth century. The windows were presumably in the north and west walls.

### *The church*

Plain medieval and post-medieval glass came from contexts related to the restoration of the church in 1707.

### *MK813*

The sewer trench dug through the manor grounds in 1980 cut through a layer of building materials almost certainly deposited at the time of the church restoration of 1707. This deposit contained plain medieval and post-medieval glass in addition to the painted medieval glass reported on above.

### *Type Series* (dimensions shown are thicknesses)

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Med | Medieval darkened: Croft A. 2. 5 to 3mm.; Croft L. 3. 5 to 4mm. |
| PG1 | Pale green/clear but darkened, oxidised surface 1mm. and less.  |
| PG2 | Pale blue green 1mm.  |
| PG3 | Olive green, 1.5mm.   |

PG4 Pale olive green, 1 to 1.5mm.

PG5 Green-blue, 2mm.

DG1 Dark olive green, 1mm.

## WALLPAINTINGS

### E. Clive Rouse

In the course of building works in Great Linford church, evidence of a number of wall painting schemes came to light. These are, briefly:

1. On the west wall of the North chapel there are traces of two medieval periods of painting, the upper part entirely destroyed by the large wall monument to Sir William Pritchard and his wife, who died in 1704 and 1718. The principal feature is a series of vertical objects in red and yellow, strongly suggesting skeletons, or near-skeletal legs. If this is correct, the subject was probably the Three Living and the Three Dead, a picture allegory warning of the emptiness of earthly rank and riches. Probable date; fifteenth century.

2. On an area of walling in the Nave, just east of the North door, is a fragment of painted plaster showing evidence of at least three superimposed periods of decoration. There is what seems to be a horizontal red border in the earliest level. Above it is the curved end of an inscribed scroll, clearly associated with a large subject.

3. On the chamfered order of the early (blocked) tower arch are fragments of a good thirteenth-century scroll in deep red. This has been known for many years, and is still partly beneath limewash.

4. On the east wall of the nave above the chancel arch, and now obscured by the eighteenth-century coved plaster ceiling is a very large and fine representation of the royal arms of Charles II, with traces of medieval painting beneath, where the upper painting has flaked off. The subject of this earlier work is probably the usual Doom or Last Judgement. The coat of arms is the finest representation of the royal arms painted on plaster in Buckinghamshire (Plate 30).

In addition, many smaller fragments of painted plaster were recovered from the rubble used in 1707 to raise the floor level. These fragments include several with up to five superimposed layers of paint, but are all too small to be worthy of comment. Their discovery in the rubble associated with the 1707 restorations suggests that substantial areas of the church walls needed to have plaster removed before replastering could take place.

## REUSED MEDIEVAL TIMBER Fig. 118

R. J. Williams

During the 1707 restoration, part of the church was paved with York stone, and the seating areas in the nave were floored with oak boards, being further extended during the Victorian restoration. The boarding was raised 150mm. above the level of the flagstones, and fixed to timber joists laid directly on the rubble layer. Whilst most of the joists were new timber, a number were found to be reused timbers, utilising furnishings that were no longer required in the church. Eleven such timbers were removed and carefully examined. Four categories of reused timber were present, representing different elements of bench seats, and at least one screen.

### *Handrails*

Five lengths of handrail with lozenge-shaped cross sections were recovered. Four had a triple-beaded moulding on the upper edge of which two, (461) and (462) are illustrated, and one a single bead, with another single bead projecting from one side (463). Although in cross-section the rails differ, the overall effect would not have been obvious to the human eye. The underside of all the rails had been adzed by the early eighteenth-century joiner to form a flat surface for the boards. All five handrails have traces of a longitudinal groove on the underside, averaging 18mm. wide and up to 15mm. deep, set off-centre. In all instances the groove had been made by joining up a sequence of holes drilled with a shell bit, using a chisel or, in one instance, a gouge. On two fragments a single mortise socket measuring 90 × 34mm. across and 55mm. deep, and a pair of sockets 125 × 34mm. across and 80mm. deep, survived. Unfortunately, too few were recorded to formulate any pattern of spacing to allow reconstruction of the method of construction of the benches. In all three instances, slight traces of peg holes, dia. 20mm., were noted across the centre line of the mortise. Whilst the groove was in each case to one side of the rail, all three mortises were centred. All the ends of the handrails had been cut to fit into the floor-joist pattern. The shallowness of the grooves and the use of pegged tenons suggest that in each case a substantial part of the underside of the rails had been removed. Although the timbers had rotted badly, where the surface of the timbers survived it was clear that they had been well executed with a moulding plane, indicated by their regularity and surface finish.

### *Stiles*

Two short lengths of bench stiles, only one of which is illustrated (464) were found reused as piles supporting the joists. Both are approximately 120 × 65mm. in section, with projecting buttresses

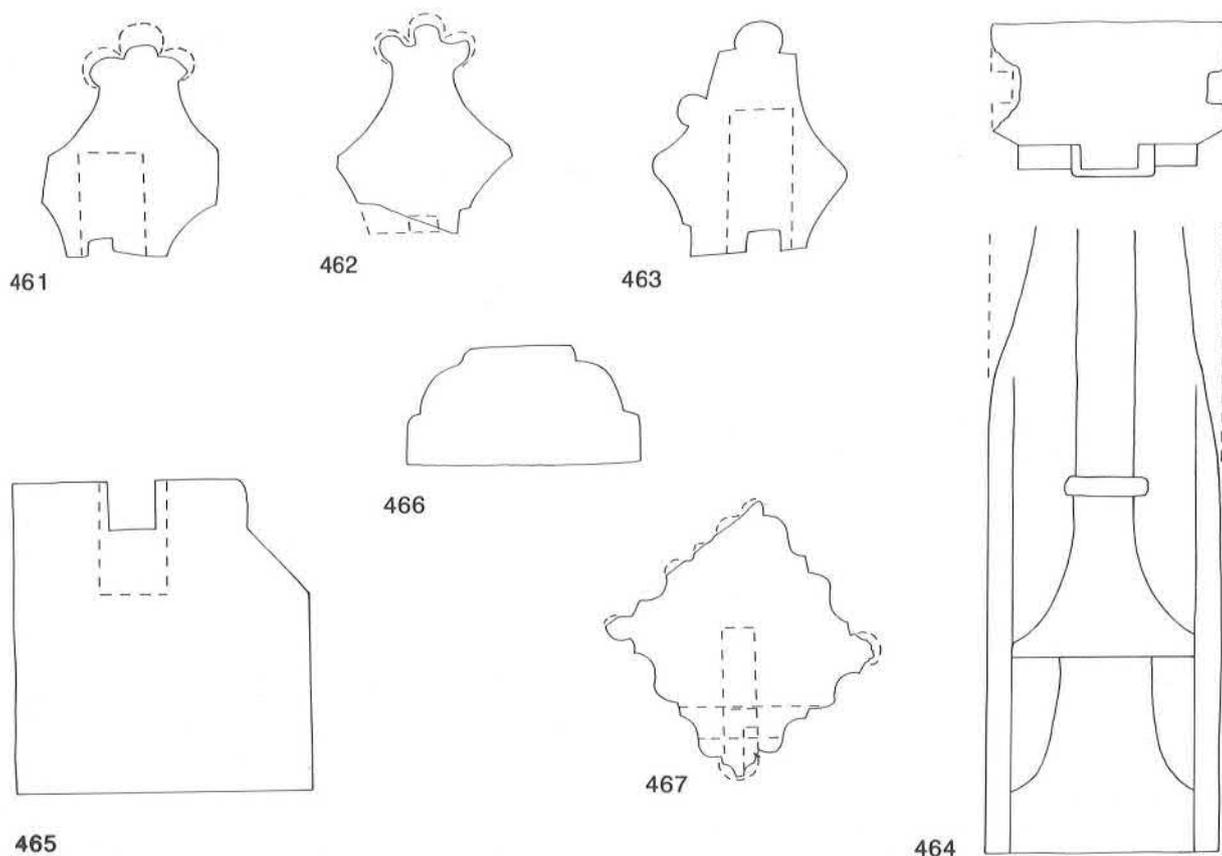


Figure 118: Reused medieval timbers, 461-467, scale 1:4.

with simple collars carved on one side, and chamfered corners. Each has a single rebate 18mm. wide and up to 15mm. deep on one side.

#### *Sills and bases*

Two timbers have been identified as sills (465 & 466). The largest (465) is 2.8m. long and averages 155mm. square in section. On one corner is a stepped chamfer, and down the centre of the upper side is a groove, the same size and constructed in the same manner as that on the underside of the handrails. A single mortise 110 × 35mm. across and 60mm. deep survives just off-centre on the grooved side, and traces of another mortise at one end indicates that originally the timber was much larger. As with the handrails, there is the remains of a peg hole, which was presumably removed when the upper side was adzed.

The other timber (466) tentatively identified as a sill is much less substantial, measuring 1.38m. in length, with a broad flat underside 130mm. across, with an ovolo moulding to either side and a flat upper side 55mm. across. Three peg holes, dia. 17mm., are irregularly spaced along both its length and breadth. Only two of the holes are visible on the upper flat side, suggesting that they may have been used to attach this timber to a member beneath.

#### *Screen*

Two probable elements of a screen (or screens) were recovered. One, a badly preserved length of moulded timber (not illustrated) approximately 160 × 130mm. across, had been used as a pile. One side retained a longitudinal groove, 20mm. wide and 30mm. deep, with traces of an ogee moulding to either side. On one face, at a right angle to the moulded surface, a broad fillet 50mm. wide projected 10mm. above the surface. Traces of a reddish-pink and white paint adhered to the moulding. The size of this timber and the groove suggest that this may have been the lower part of the side of the rood screen referred to in the sixteenth-century wills (p. 114, above).

The other, a substantial length of timber (467) 1.52m. long with a 110mm. square cross-section, had well-executed mouldings on all four faces. The form of the moulding was a double ogee with fillet, with a bead on each corner. As with the handrails, the timber had been adzed and sawn to length to fit the floor-joist pattern. Two faces at right angles retained traces of red and green paint. In the centre of the timber, a mortise 110 × 15mm. across and 70mm. deep, with a peg-hole 16mm. in diameter, had been cut on the diagonal from one angle. A shallower mortise, 200 × 15mm. across and 20mm. deep, and a narrow groove 6mm. wide and 15mm. deep extended to one end of the tim-

ber. This timber has been interpreted as an element of the screen.

### Discussion

Unfortunately, too little of the benches has survived to attempt a detailed reconstruction. The surviving fragments indicate a simple design, with paired decorative vertical stiles at either end, framing a single panel. The spacing of the mortises in the underside of the handrails suggests that there were few vertical elements along the length of the benches. The same is true of the substantial sill, and the depth and size of the grooves indicates that the panels were substantial, semi-structural elements rather than simply infill between the frames. The construction technique is consistent with a medieval date, utilising carefully drilled joints with pegs. The quality of the mouldings is high, indicating the use of large moulding planes, which are known at this period (Goodman 1964).

Far too little survives of the screen to require any more than a few cursory comments. The style of moulding on the two timbers is similar, and their scantling indicates a heavy construction. The paint colours are identical to those surviving on the moulded beams of the roof, suggesting either a contemporary date of construction or redecoration in the late fifteenth century. The benches are equally difficult to date, but it is widely recognised that timber benches were not introduced into English churches until the later medieval period, and those that are known were fixed into sleeper beams set into the ground (Rodwell 1981, 121). A late fifteenth-century date, contemporary with the reroofing and reflooring of the church is most likely. The paucity of published parallels makes closer dating impossible, though benches of a similar mode of construction and with identical handrails of supposed fourteenth-century date survive at Wolfhampcote, Warks. (Cave 1980).

### CLAY PIPES Fig. 119

Robert Moore and R. J. Williams

#### 1. THE VILLAGE

Robert Moore

This is the largest assemblage of clay pipes so far recovered from an excavation in Milton Keynes. The collection consists of ninety-four bowls (with fragments) and 797 stem fragments. Several makers' marks are present. Analysis shows that whereas two thirds of the classified bowls were deposited during the period c. 1640–80, pipe losses continued through the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, though at a much reduced and decreasing rate, and represented more often by plain stem fragments than bowls.

#### Stems

The 795 undecorated stem fragments were widely

dispersed on the site, and no one group appeared suitable for stem-bore dating by statistical means. However, a broad indication of date is given by individual stem bores: wide bores (8/64", 7/64") are predominantly seventeenth century, medium bore (6/64") mainly c. 1650–1750, and narrow bores (5/64", 4/64") are predominantly eighteenth to nineteenth century. The Great Linford stems divide into:

wide bores	295 pieces	37%
medium bores	243 pieces	31%
narrow bores	257 pieces	32%

A detailed list is retained within the Unit's archive.

In addition to the above, there are two fragments of decorated stems of nineteenth century-date (C/CP57/+; L/CP132/41.)

#### Bowls

The forty-one bowls that are sufficiently complete are classified below using Oswald's general typology (Oswald 1975, 37–41), and the typology established for Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, 244–5). It can be seen from Table 5 that two thirds of the bowls date from the period c. 1640–80. One bowl (468), a Type G6 dating from c. 1660–80, is illustrated.

#### Makers' marks

- 469 Small, circular, impressed stamp, initials WP in relief, with dots above and below, on a thick stem. Date c. 1700–40. Distribution: North Bucks – Stoke Goldington/Olney (c. 6 examples, Kitchener colln.), Walton (two examples) and Great Linford (1979). Similar mark from Stoke Goldington illustrated (Oswald 1975, 80–1, A). Maker uncertain. Three examples: J/CP98/+; L/CP116/+ (illus.); L/CP117/+; topsoil.
- 470 Small stamp on a thin stem, initials R. L. in relief. Distribution: Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, 241, no 14); Stoke Goldington/Olney (c. 8 examples in the Kitchener collection. L/CP116/+; topsoil.
- 471 Initials W/B twice in relief on the sides of a medium stem. Probably a re-cut mould; initials nearer the bowl are more clearly defined. Bowl type Bedford M (Baker *et al* 1979, 244–5). An unusual position for an initials mark. Maker perhaps William Brown (1), died 1720, or William Brown (2), 1717–48, of Bedford (unpub.). L/CP118/3; fill, ditch F1.
- 472 Initials W/W in relief on the sides of a large heel. Medium/thick stem. Date c. 1700–50. B/CP40/1; destruction, Building 7.
- 473 Initials R/R in relief on the sides of the heel. Medium stem. Date c. 1730–80. B/CP33/+; topsoil.

Date	Type	Quantity	Context
c. 1620-50	G4/5	1	L/CP141/70
c. 1640-60	G5	3	A/CP1/1; H/CP109/17; H/CP111/38
c. 1640-70	G17	14	A/CP1/1 (6 examples), A/CP60/34 (2 examples), G/CP87/+; L/CP116/+ (two examples), L/CP123/18; L/CP127/22; Green/CP2/+;
c. 1660-80	G6	4	A/CP1/1 (two examples), L/CP116/+; C/CP57/+ (illus).
c. 1660-80	G7	1	B/CP19/1.
c. 1660-80	G18	5	B/CP11/19; B/CP18/+; B/CP13/+; B/CP83/+; G/CP87/+;
c. 1670-1700	G6/9	1	F/CP85/+;
c. 1680-1710	G8/9	3	B/CP14/3; B/CP77/+; D/CP74/3.
c. 1690-1710	G19	3	B/CP21/4; B/CP42/2; F/CP91/30.
c. 1700-30	Bed M	1	L/CP118/3 (see makers' marks below, 502)
c. 1700-40	G21	1	Green/CP9/+;
c. 1730-80	G12	3	D/CP55/+; D//CP76/+; F/CP86/+;
c. 1780-1820	G13	1	B/CP13/+ (see makers' marks below, 506).

The smaller fragments are not included in the above table.

TABLE 5: Pipe bowls from the village.

474 Initials I/F in relief on a square spur. Date c. 1780–1820. Northamptonshire type 18, attributed to John Fennell (1), died 1824, of Wellingborough (Moore 1980, 11).  
B/CP13/+; topsoil.

475 Initials W/B in relief on a square spur. Bowl had rib and dot decoration. Date c. 1780–1820. Distribution: similar examples, W/B on a large spur, of the period c. 1780–1840, frequent in north Bucks – Stoke Goldington/Olney (c. 15 examples, Kitchener colln.), Stony Stratford and district (16 examples, Oak-Rhind colln.). Few in south and central Northants. (Moore 1980, 29–30). Maker possibly William Brown (3), 1776–1810, of Bedford (unpub).  
B/CP13/+; topsoil.

476, 477 Initials T/W in relief on a square spur with WOOD incuse in a decorative frame on the back of the bowl. Date: c. 1780–1820. Distribution: the bowl mark occurs in slightly different forms, combined with the spur initials, in London (Atkinson and Oswald 1969, 182), Norwich (*Soc. for Clay Pipes Res. Newsletter* 12, 1986, 34–6), Northampton (Moore 1976, and Angel Hotel, unpub), and at Stoke Goldington/Olney (3 examples, Kitchener colln.)

Maker probably Thomas Wood, c. 1763–1800, of Whitecross Street, London.

Three examples: 476: B/CP37/+; topsoil (spur); 477: B/CP4/+; topsoil (spur and bowl).

NI: B/CP25/1; yard surface, Building 6 (bowl).

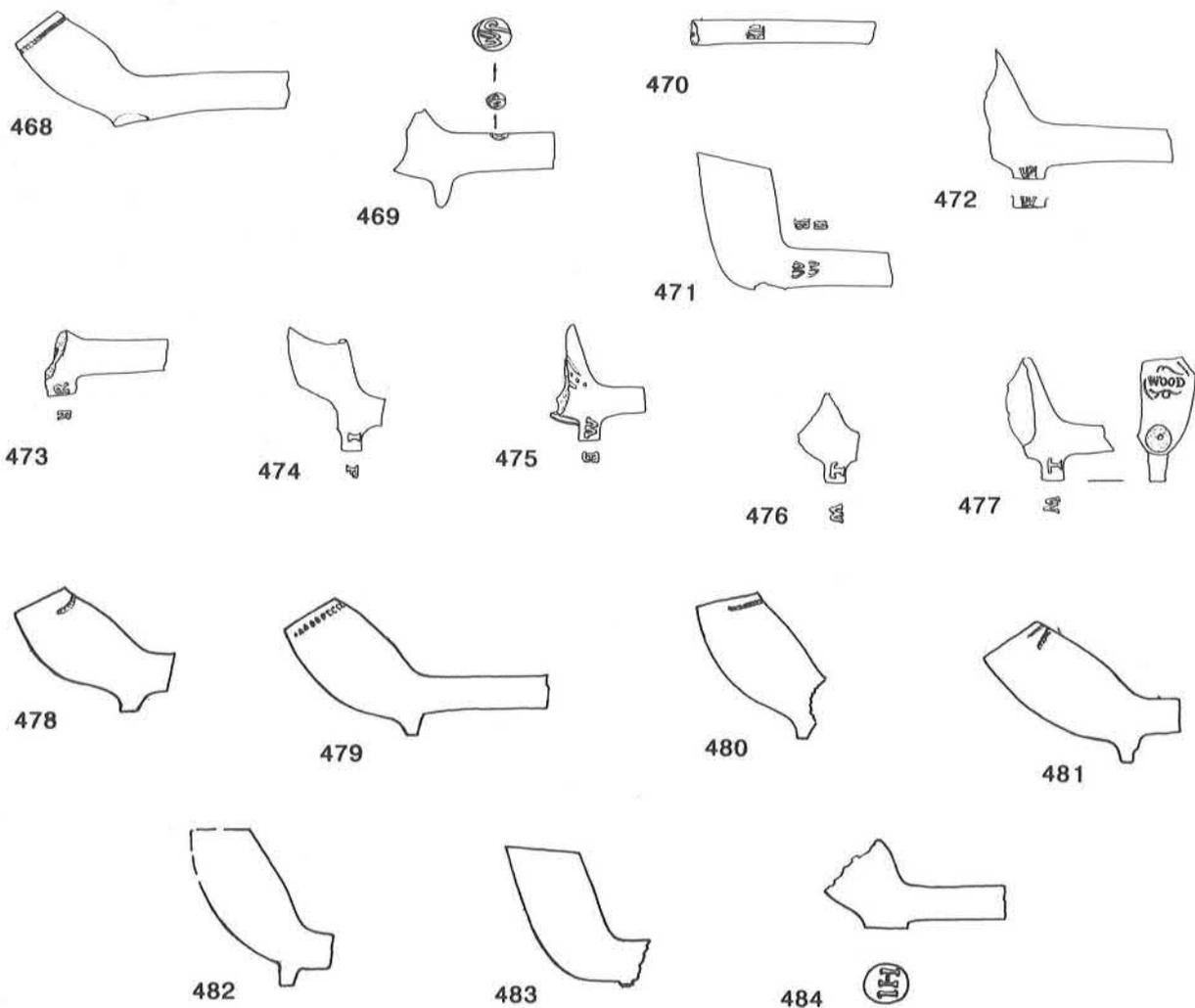


Figure 119: Clay pipes, 468-484, scale 1:2.

2. THE CHURCH  
R. J. Williams

This assemblage of clay pipes derived from either the rubble fill beneath the 1706 floor, or from the infill of the scaffold pits contemporary with the rubble fill.

*Stems*

A total of one hundred and thirteen stem fragments were collected by a combination of sieving and rapid sorting through the rubble as it was removed by the builders. In addition, two stems with spurs, three with flat bases, twelve fragments of unidentifiable bowl, and seven complete/semicomplete bowls were also recovered. A stem-bore analysis of the 116 measurable pieces using the guidelines set by Davey (1981) gave the following results:

stem bores (64ths inch)	8	7	6	5
quantity	2	53	59	2

The calculated central date for this group is 1684 (Binford formula) or 1682 (Hanson formula 3) (Oswald 1975, 92-3)

*Bowls*

The seven complete bowls are classified (Table 6) using the Oswald typology (Oswald 1975, 37-41) and the typology established by Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, 243-4)

*Makers marks*

Only one damaged bowl (484) is stamped with an incuse IH on the underside of the flat foot. No similar examples are known.

Date	Type	Quantity	Illus. no.
c. 1640-70	G17	1	478
c. 1660-80	G18	1	479
c. 1670-1700	G18/19	1	480
c. 1690-1710	G19	1	481
c. 1690-1730	G20	1	482
c. 1700-30	BedM	1	483
c. 1660-80	G6	1	484 (stamped foot)

**TABLE 6:** Pipe bowls from the church.

If the pipe is of local origin, then John Hams of Banbury, who died in 1684, is the most likely maker, as the only other recorded maker with these initials; John Hannay of Buckingham in 1704, is too recent. The stem bore diameter of 8/64" seems to confirm this hypothesis.

#### Conclusion

The minimum date range for the pipes is c. 1670–1700. The latest dated piece, a bowl (483) with the spur set well back and the lip rising slightly towards the front is a local style, and could have been deposited soon after 1700. There is no reason to doubt therefore that the whole group was sealed by the floor in 1706–7. The small number of pipes dating to a generation before 1706, together with the calculated central date in the early 1680's is interesting to note. However, analysis of the pottery has shown the presence of a number of seventeenth-century vessels, indicating that some of the deposit at least was imported into the church from an alternative source and contained earlier refuse.

#### COINS AND TOKENS

Joe Cribb and Bob Zeepvat

Sixty-six coins and tokens were recovered from excavations in Great Linford, fifty-eight from village crofts and four each from the manor and church. These range from a third-century Roman barbarous radiate to a Victorian halfpenny of 1885, though the bulk of the collection is of late sixteenth to mid seventeenth-century date. A summary catalogue of these coins is given below, while a detailed catalogue is held in the Unit's archive. The coins were identified by Joe Cribb, while the following report was written by Bob Zeepvat. In addition to identifying the assemblage, Mr Cribb has attempted to indicate the estimated date of loss of the coins, by placing them in one of the following categories:

- A. No observable signs of wear.
- B. All details clear, but with signs of wear.
- C. All designs visible, but details lost through wear.
- D. Parts of design obscured by wear.
- E. Only traces of design still visible.

As might be expected, the estimated date of loss is very approximate. In any particular case there is no clear indication, as the rate of coin wear is not a strictly measurable phenomenon. The figures given are intended to express the most likely period in which the loss took place. In this context, 'contemporary' means within a decade of the issue date. No account has been taken of corrosion subsequent to loss.

In general, only three or four coins were found on each croft, with the exception of B, which produced eight, and L, from which were recovered twenty coins, 30% of the total village assemblage. Although it might be argued that Crofts B and L were more fully examined than the others, Croft F, which was also completely excavated, only produced two coins.

Although the small number of coins from the village crofts makes any detailed statistical analysis meaningless, there are some observations that can be made about the assemblage as a whole. The first of these is the small number of coins and tokens predating 1600, representing in total only 14% of the collection. Set against this is the much larger number of coins, tokens and counters minted between 1600–1660, comprising 56.3% of the total. One possible explanation for this is that both yard surfaces and interior floors in the village were kept consistently clean, reducing the loss of coinage prior to the seventeenth century, whereas most of the larger group of coins come from the period immediately before, during and after enclosure and the abandonment of the crofts, when standards of cleanliness were less well maintained.

Regarding the coins postdating 1660 (29.7%), a glance at the summary catalogue will show that almost all were recovered from topsoil contexts, and were therefore casual losses postdating the occupation of the crofts. Of particular interest is the large number of brass reckoning counters,

mainly of German origin, that were in circulation in the seventeenth century. These were used not only in the calculation of accounts, but were also employed as unofficial small change, in the absence of official coins of lower denominations.

#### SUMMARY CATALOGUE

Croft	Cont.	Cat.no.	Date	Denomination	Issuer	Cond.	Loss date
A	3	20	1649-60	Ae farthing token	John Eborne	A	contemporary
A	36	49	1550-74	Ae counter, German	Hans Schultes	B	16th-17th cent.
A	37	54	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
B	4	5	1623-24	Ar halfgroat	James I	B	c.1630
B	6	9	1625-34	Ae farthing token	Charles I	D	c.1645
B	6	17	1636-44	Ae farthing	Charles I	B	contemporary
B	19	18	1636-44	Ae farthing	Charles I	A	contemporary
B	+	23	1672/3/5	Ae halfpenny	Charles II	E	c.1760
B	7	25	1679	Ae halfpenny	Charles II	B	c.1700
B	31(+)	29	1719-24	Ae halfpenny	George I	E	c.1790
B	W12	51	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
C	+	15	1636-44	Ae farthing	Charles I	A	contemporary
C	+	46	15th-16th	Ae counter, German	Anon.	B	16th-17th cent.
C	+	66	MISSING	-	unknown		
D	+	26	1695-1701	Ae halfpenny	William III	E	c.1790
D	2	45	16th cent.	Ae counter, French	Anon.	B	16th-17th cent.
D	14	57	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
E	2	14	1636-44	Ae farthing	Charles I	B	contemporary
E	+	38	1860-69	Ae penny	Victoria	E	c.1950
E	10	60	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
F	37	2	1280-81	Ar halfpenny	Edward I	B	c.1300
F	30	58	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
G	3	24	1674	Ae farthing	Charles II	D	c.1730
G	1	50	1550-74	Ae counter, German	Hans Schultes	C	17th cent.
G	170	53	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
G	170	55	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
H	16	16	1636-44	Ae farthing	Charles I	B	contemporary
H	3	47	16th cent.	Ae counter, German	Anon.	B	16th-17th cent.
H	23	52	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	B	17th cent.
H	6	56	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	C	17th cent.
J	1(+)	11	1625-34	Ae farthing token	Charles I (imit)	B	c.1645
J	1(+)	22	1673	Ae halfpenny	Charles II	B	c.1690
J	+	37	1662-1775	Ae halfpenny	illegible	E	c.1790
J	+	40	1885	Ae halfpenny	Victoria	C	c.1920
J	1(+)	62	1618-60	Ae counter, German	Wolf Laufer	B	c.1700
L	+	1	3rd cent.	Ae barb. radiate	illegible	B	contemporary
L	18	6	1614-25	Ae farthing token	James I	B	c.1630

SUMMARY CATALOGUE *Continued*

Croft	Cont.	Cat.no.	Date	Denomination	Issuer	Cond.	Loss date
L	6	7	1625-34	Ae farthing token	Charles I	B	c.1645
L	49	8	1625-34	Ae farthing token	Charles I	A	contemporary
L	+	10	1625-34	Ae farthing token	Charles I	B	c.1645
L	47	12	1634-36	Ae farthing	Charles I	A	contemporary
L	6	13	1634-36	Ae farthing	Charles I	C	c.1645
L	12	19	1636-44	Ae farthing	Charles I	A	contemporary
L	157	21	1652	Ae farthing token	The Bell Brewhouse	B	contemporary
L	+	30	1735	Ae halfpenny	George II	B	c.1760 loss
L	+	31	1745	Ae halfpenny	George II (imit)	C	c.1790
L	+	32	1729-54	Ae halfpenny	George II	E	c.1820
L	+	34	1806/7	Ae penny	George III	D	c.1840
L	+	35	1806/7	Ae penny	George III	C	c.1830
L	15	36	1771-75	Ae farthing	George III (imit)	D	c.1820
L	70	44	14th-15th	Ae counter, French	Anon.	D	16th-17th cent.
L	35	48	1550-74	Ae counter, German	Hans Schultes	A	16th-17th cent.
L	42	59	1580-1610	Ae counter, German	Hans Krauwinkel	A	17th cent.
L	6	63	1618-60	Ae counter, German	Wolf Laufer	C	c.1700
L	+	64	1618-25	Ae counter, German	Matheus Laufer	B	17th cent.
Green	+	28	1717	Ae halfpenny	George I	B	c.1740
Green	+	39	1882	Ae halfpenny	Victoria	B	c.1900
Green	+	41	1199-1216	Ar penny	John	B	1240
Manor	20	3	1434-35	Ar half penny	Henry VI	A	contemporary
Manor	22	4	1560-61	Ar penny	Elizabeth I	B	c.1580
Manor	20	20	1753	Ae halfpenny	George II	A	contemporary
Manor	72	43	14th-15th	Ae counter, English	Anon.	B	15th cent.
Church	37	27	1700	Ae halfpenny	William III	C	c.1750
Church	12	42	1461-83	Ar penny	Edward IV	C?	c.1500
Church	52	61	1580-1610	Ae counter	Hans Krauwinkel	?	?
Church	52	65	late 16th	Ae counter	illegible	?	?

**WORKED FLINTS** Fig. 120  
R. J. Williams

During the excavation of the various sites at Linford only twenty worked flints were found, consisting of sixteen flakes/blades and four tools. Considering the area involved, this either suggests a very low rate of recovery, or that prehistoric occupation was virtually non-existent in the area, the latter explanation being the most likely. With such a small assemblage, any analysis of the flint must be cursory, since any conclusions based on statistics would be virtually meaningless.

The waste material found is equally split into eight flakes and eight blades, using the accepted length/breadth ratio. Of these, only four show any signs of utilisation, and five retained traces of cortex. The low percentage of cortical waste may perhaps indicate that little direct activity in the form of tool production was taking place in the area of the later village.

The types of flint represented in this small assemblage were diverse, ranging from honey coloured, through light grey to good quality black flint, again indicating that this small group does not represent any homogeneous collection.

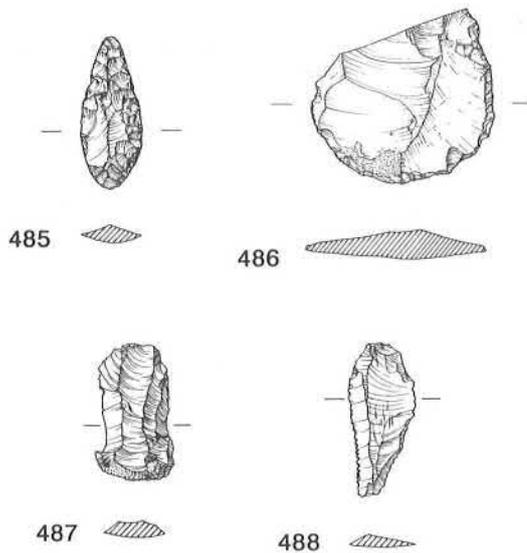


Figure 120: Worked flint, 485-488, scale 1:2.

*Tools*

- 485 Leaf-shaped arrowhead made from light grey coloured flint. The arrowhead has been well made, with shallow pressure flaking over the entire ventral face. The dorsal face has also been pressure flaked, but retains the trace of a central facet. Length 40mm., width 16mm., th. 4mm.  
B/WS21/1; destruction over south yard.
- 486 Large convex endscraper made in a high quality dark brown flint on a large flake with a broken proximal end. The steep retouching (70 degrees) is relatively regular, and carries up the sides but not across the fractured end. Length 40mm., width 50mm., th. 8mm.  
B/WS53/24; floor level, Building 5, phase I.
- 487 Endscraper made on the slightly expanded distal end of a punch-struck blade in brown flint, with a triple-faceted dorsal face. Both sides show slight signs of utilisation, and the end has been slightly retouched to form an almost square scraping edge. Length 36mm., width 17mm., th. 4mm.  
G/WS99/45; soil spread north of Building 20.
- 488 Serrated blade of punch-struck leaf shaped form in a dark brown/honey coloured flint. One side has been delicately notched to form a serrated edge; the other shows slight evidence of steep retouching and utilisation. Length 41mm., width 17mm., th. 3mm.  
A/WS3/7; destruction, Building 3.

Whilst the waste material is too small a group and too diverse to form any conclusions, the four tools do appear to form a coherent pattern. The leaf-shaped arrowhead is one of the most distinctive British Neolithic artefacts, along with the polished axe. The broad 'horseshoe' scraper is characteristi-

cally a late Neolithic type, although the poor quality endscraper is not closely dateable. The serrated blade is also a common Neolithic tool type, although its actual function is unclear.

It is most unlikely, with this group of artefacts coming from such a large area, that they can represent anything other than casual losses, and although leaf-shaped arrowheads appear as prestige items in burial contexts, in this instance it must be considered a hunting loss.

**THE PRIEST BURIAL**

F. V. H. Powell

The skeletal remains of one individual were presented for analysis. The remains are fragmentary and in a relatively poor condition, though it is possible to say that they probably represent a male, aged between 17 and 25 years. The criteria for establishing the sex of the individual are based on characteristics of the skull and left innominate, both of which survived in a moderately good condition. The age of the individual was estimated by the degree of molar attrition observed on the surviving molars.

The only surviving elements of the skeleton are the skull, both clavicles, fragments of the manubrium and the body of the sternum, the left innominate, the majority of the vertebral column except the sacrum, and both hands. Of the above mentioned elements, only the clavicles were complete. A comparison of their maximum lengths shows that the left clavicle is 11mm. shorter than the right (L = 160mm., R = 171mm.), though the mid-shaft diameters are the same (10mm.). This asymmetry, though slight, is relatively unusual, compared with other skeletal material from this period. Its cause is unknown, and it is probably just a morphological variation.

The impression is of a relatively slight individual, with evidence for strong muscle attachment being absent. No evidence for any pathology was found. The alveolar resorption of both maxilla and mandible due to periodontal disease is moderate, as is calculus build-up on the teeth themselves. The dental formula is:

[8] 7 6 5 4 3 2 [1]	[1] 2 [3][4][5] - - - -
[8][7] - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -

(Brothwell 1972).

**ANIMAL BONE,  
GREAT LINFORD CHURCH**

Dr. J. M. Holmes

The animal bone excavated from Great Linford church included the skeleton of a bird from eighteenth-century rubble (Context 37), and a total of one hundred and twenty-five other fragments, weighing 650g., from the Saxon buried soil (Contexts 56 – 58).

The skeleton in Context 37 is that of a pigeon. Almost all the larger elements of the skeleton were found, including the synsacrum, sternum, furculum, fused thoracic vertebrae, both humeri, radii, ulnae, carpo-metacarpi, scapulae, coracoidei, femora, and tibio-tarsi with one rib and one tarso-metatarsus. Most of the bones are intact, and the skeleton is most likely to be that of a bird that died *in situ*. No head or foot bones were found, apart from the one tarso-metatarsus, so it is not impossible that the bird had been prepared for eating, but there are no signs of butchery or knife marks, and it seems unlikely that the bones would be so unbroken and unmarked if the bird had been part of a meal.

Of the one hundred and twenty-five fragments found elsewhere on the site, forty-two were identified. The remaining eighty-three unidentified fragments weighed 258g., 39.7% of the total. Of the forty-two identified bones, thirteen were from cattle, fifteen from sheep/goats, ten from pigs, one from a dog, one from a chicken, and two from geese. As can be seen from the following list (Table 7, most of the finds of major domestic species were of teeth, though most parts of the skeleton were represented. In detail the finds were as follows:

*Ox*

Three incisor teeth, four cheek teeth or fragments thereof (one of these, a permanent premolar, was heavily worn so came from an old animal, and another, an upper molar, was barely worn at all, so from a young beast), a piece of the palatine bone, a fragment of seventh cervical vertebra, the distal end of a scapula (with fused epiphysis and deep chop marks on the medial side), two carpal bones, and a piece of fibular tarsal.

*Sheep/goat*

One incisor tooth and five cheek teeth (four from the upper jaw), an intact mandible (temporary premolars, M2 emerging, so a young animal), the tip of the horn of a sheep, part of a lumbar vertebra, part of the shaft of a scapula (in four fragments), two pieces of ischium, a tibial shaft (in two fragments), a carpal bone, and part of the unfused distal epiphysis of a metacarpal bone.

*Pig*

A canine tooth and a cheek tooth, part of the back of the skull with the foramen magnum, a fragment of orbit, a piece of lumbar vertebra, a piece of the distal epiphysis of a femur, a piece of the tibial shaft, a fibular tarsal (with missing epiphysis), and a much battered piece of another, and a first phalanx (proximal epiphysis missing). The pig remains are, therefore, mostly from a young animal or animals.

	Ox	Sheep/goat	Pig
Teeth	7	6	2
Head skeleton	1	2	2
Axial skeleton	1	1	1
Upper forelimb	1	1	0
Upper hindlimb	0	3	2
Lower limb	3	2	3

TABLE 7: Anatomical location of bone finds from the church.

*Dog*

The proximal end of a metacarpal bone.

*Chicken*

A piece of radius.

*Goose*

A fragment of furculum, and the proximal end of a humerus.

As well as the chop marks noted on the ox scapula fragment, several unidentified bones showed evidence of chopping, one had knife marks, and another clear signs of gnawing by dogs. Very few bones showed evidence of new breakage, so the fragmentation was largely due to ancient chopping or breakage. No burnt bones were noted.

The remains are those of farmyard animals, and are not unusual for finds of Saxon date.

**THE BURIED SOIL  
IN GREAT LINFORD CHURCH**

**STRUCTURE**

C. A. I. French

The buried soil (Context 55) was subjected to the following soil/sediment analyses:

1. Particle-size analysis (Table 8), using the hydrometer and dry-sieving methods (Shackley 1975).

Sample	% Clay	% Silt	% Sand	% Gravel (limestone pebbles)
1	18.75	37.50	43.75	2.0
2	18.75	37.50	43.75	1.5
3	17.50	35.00	47.50	33.4
4	21.25	31.25	47.50	32.7

TABLE 8: Buried soil

2. Soil reaction or pH; All samples produced a pH value of 8.0.

Sample	O.D. (absorbency)	Parts Per Million
1	0.38	5.7
2	0.37	5.5
3	0.23	3.4
4	0.24	3.6

TABLE 9: Alkali-soluble humus content.

3. Determination of the alkali-soluble humus content (Table 9), using colorimetric methods (Avery and Bascomb 1974).

All results were processed using an Apple II micro-computer at the Peterborough headquarters of the Welland Valley Project. Four samples were taken at approximately 100mm. intervals from the 'soil', which was sealed beneath thirteenth-century flooring, and contained Saxon pottery, possibly of the eighth century. This 'soil' lies on a frost-shattered limestone bedrock, and is a well-developed loam (10YR 4/3) with a blocky ped structure. This suggests that the 'soil' remained undisturbed for some period of time. The loam has the appearance of being worm-sorted, although the upper part of the 'soil' has probably been truncated and the turf line removed, presumably prior to the construction of the church. Thus this loam soil may be termed a 'buried soil'.

### CARBONISED AND MINERALISED CONTENTS

P. Busby

A two-litre sample of the 'buried soil' (Context 55) was floated, and the residue wet-sieved through 1mm. and 0.5mm. screens. Both were then scanned with the aid of a binocular microscope, and all the floral and faunal remains were recovered, identified and listed (Table 10).

Taxa	Flot 1mm.	0.5mm.	Residue	Total
a) Cereal seeds				
<i>Triticum</i> sp (wheat)	1	—	—	1
<i>Hordeum</i> sp cf (barley)	1	—	—	1
Cereals indet., frags.	10	29	—	39
b) Other fragments				
<i>Triticum aestivo compactum</i> cf (bread wheat) spikelet fork	1	—	—	1
<i>Secale</i> sp (rye) Rachis fr. 1	—	—	—	1
c) Other taxa seeds				
Small pulse	1	—	—	1
<i>Rumex</i> sp (dock/sorrel)	1	1	—	2
Indeterminate	1	4	—	5
(a-c are carbonised)				
d) Mineralised seeds				
Indeterminate	—	—	3	3
e) Modern seeds				
<i>Agrastemma githago</i> , <i>Urticadioica</i> , <i>Sambucus nigra</i> , <i>Papaver</i> , <i>Hyoscyamus niger</i> , <i>Luzula</i> .	6	32	—	38
f) Bone fragments				
Animal and fish	98	56*	48*	162

\* not all retrieved from sample fraction.

TABLE 10: Buried soil, carbonised and mineralised content.

The material retrieved falls into three groups:

1. Carbonised plant material. The assemblage present is of limited value, both because of its abraded nature and limited size (the result of an extremely small sample). This only allows us to say that some carbonised cereals, chaff, associated weeds and other associated taxa were present in the buried soil horizon.

2. The mineralised seeds and bone fragments (animal and fish). These remains are much more interesting because mineralised seeds are relatively rare, and are usually associated with high mineral environments, e.g. human cess pits and dog faeces. There was no evidence for any cess pits on the site, and it is therefore possible that these mineralised seeds may have been derived from dog faeces. This hypothesis is strengthened by the extremely high concentration of small and often abraded fragments of animal and fish bone. Unfortunately there is no other evidence, i.e. coprolites, to corroborate this hypothesis.

3. Modern seed material. As there is no possibility of waterlogged preservation in this soil, this element of the assemblage must be regarded as modern contamination of the sample. This may have occurred during or after the excavation, or possibly at an earlier stage through wild flowers and fruit being used to decorate the church.

In conclusion, it is possible to infer the historic presence of dog faeces from the three mineralised seeds, and the large quantity of small and abraded animal and fish bone. In addition to these, there is a large uncarbonised modern component which must indicate that there has been modern contamination of the context at least on a microscopic level. While it is not possible to date this contamination, it is quite possibly caused by wild flowers and fruit being used to decorate the church in very recent times.

#### **ANIMAL BONE, GREAT LINFORD VILLAGE**

Douglas P. Burnett

A total of 6577 fragments of bone was examined from the excavations in Great Linford village, this being composed of mammalian, avian and amphibian material. Bone was recovered from all crofts except X2. Given that some crofts produced only small amounts of bone, it was decided that for detailed analysis and presentation the material from the various crofts should be combined together. This approach has been further justified by the discovery that the crofts were very similar in terms of faunal representation and characteristics. Where significant variations did arise, these have been noted in the text. Because of the considerable

dating ambiguities of some of the destruction levels of the various crofts, material from these contexts, some 3000 fragments, has not been subjected to detailed analysis.

Three major phases were defined, these being:

1. Phase A, tenth to late thirteenth century.
2. Phase B, early fourteenth to late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.
3. Phase C, early sixteenth to late seventeenth century.

Given the nature of the stratigraphy involved in this phasing, there is a certain degree of overlap involved between these phases. This should be borne in mind when interpreting the data.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

Identification of bone type and species was made using a comparative collection and Schmid's (1972) *'Atlas of Animal Bones'*. Ribs and vertebrae were identified to bone-element level only. This material, along with the unidentifiable fragments, was divided into 'large' (e.g. horse/cattle) and 'small' (e.g. pig/sheep).

In assessing species representation, both the fragment count and minimum numbers methods have been used. For the calculation of minimum numbers (MNI), all fragments were divided into left and right groups; if they could not be allocated to either of these categories, they were classed in a third group, which was then disregarded. Ageing evidence (*ie.* fusion and tooth eruption) was taken into account when calculating MNI.

Given that species representation can be directly affected by taphonomic processes (as can other aspects of bone assemblage), various taphonomic measures have been used. Pre-depositional measures include the incidence of gnawing, weathering, burning and butchery. Post-depositional fragmentation has been assessed by the incidence of loose teeth.

Assessment of the age-structure of the animals represented in the assemblage was carried out through the use of both epiphyseal fusion and tooth eruption. The ages for these stages were taken from Silver (1969). Tooth wear was assessed using the method devised by Grant (1975).

A range of bone elements was used for metrical analysis, the method used for both the animal and bird material being based on the measurements suggested by von den Dreisch (1976). A detailed catalogue of these measurements is held in the Unit's archive.

SPECIES	Phase A		Phase B		Phase C	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Cattle	243	18.2	349	16.6	519	16.5
Sheep/goat	243	18.2	418	19.8	814	25.9
Pig	91	7.0	178	8.4	242	7.7
Horse	27	2.0	36	1.7	43	1.3
Dog	12	0.9	12	0.6	15	0.5
Cat	0	0	5	0.2	5	0.2
Fallow deer	0	0	0	0	4	0.1
Roe deer	0	0	0	0	1	0.03
Rabbit	1	0.1	3	0.1	4	0.1
Hare	0	0	0	0	1	0.03
Mole	1	0.1	0	0	0	0
Brown rat	0	0	0	0	2	0.06
Large vertebrae	25	1.9	61	3.0	95	3.0
Large ribs	35	2.6	79	3.8	118	3.8
Small vertebrae	10	0.7	31	1.5	50	1.5
Small ribs	50	3.7	30	1.4	126	4.0
<i>Total identified mammalian fragments</i>	738	55.2	1202	57.2	2039	65.0
<i>Unidentified mammalian fragments:</i>						
Large	134	10.0	274	13.0	243	7.7
Small	450	33.7	598	28.4	781	24.9
<i>Total mammalian fragments:</i>	1322	98.9	2074	98.7	3063	97.6
Domestic fowl	9	0.7	25	11.9	66	2.1
Goose	5	0.3	3	0.1	0	0
Duck sp.	0	0	0	0	4	0.1
Unidentified	1	0.1	0	0	3	0.1
<i>Total avian fragments:</i>	15	1.1	28	12.0	73	2.3
Frog	0	0	0	0	2	0.06
<i>Total fragments:</i>	337		2102		3138	
Total fragments in assemblage:	6577					

TABLE 11: Number of fragments.

#### PHASE A – Early tenth to late thirteenth century.

##### *The bone material*

A total of 1337 fragments was found in the various Phase A contexts. Of the above listed crofts, only A, B, F and L produced Phase A material, the contexts yielding this bone being typically floors and yard surfaces, though the material from Croft L came from a number of ditch, gully and pit contexts. However, the latter group of contexts did

not produce any greater abundance of material than the floors and yard surfaces of the other crofts. No significant accumulation of material could be identified from any one context, the bone material being typically thinly spread.

Of the fragments recovered, 753 (56.3%) were identified to bone-element level, and 633 (47.3%) to species level. The incidence of pre-depositional attrition was low. Of the cattle, sheep/goat and pig material, only twenty-nine fragments, 5% of the

SPECIES	Phase A		Phase B		Phase C	
	MNI	%	MNI	%	MNI	%
Cattle	78	32.9	71	27.4	78	24.0
Sheep/goat	79	33.3	85	32.8	124	38.2
Pig	44	18.6	57	22.0	61	18.8
Horse	17	7.2	17	6.6	17	5.2
Dog	11	4.6	9	3.5	12	3.6
Cat	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.3
Fallow deer	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
Roe deer	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
Rabbit	1	0.4	1	0.4	4	1.2
Hare	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
Mole	1	0.4	0	0	0	0
Brown rat	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
<i>Total mammalian MNI:</i>	231	97.5	241	93.1	301	92.6
Domestic fowl	5	2.0	15	5.8	20	6.2
Goose	1	0.4	3	1.2	0	0
Duck sp.	0	0	0	0	3	0.9
<i>Total avian MNI:</i>	6	2.4	18	7.0	23	7.1
Frog	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
<i>TOTAL MNI:</i>	237		259		325	

TABLE 12: Minimum number of individuals (MNI)

main domesticates material, were found to show signs of gnawing, weathering or burning. Most of this material derived from sheep/goat. Loose teeth formed a relatively high percentage, 28%, of the main domesticates material. This would seem to indicate a significant degree of fragmentation within the archaeological record. No significant variation was noted between the fragmentation of cattle and sheep/goat. The former involved 29% loose teeth, while the latter involved 31%. Pig produced 26% loose teeth.

#### *Species representation and exploitation*

The fragment count for the Phase A material is given in Table 11, while the minimum numbers are given in Table 12. Both methods were consistent in terms of the species representation that they suggested. Given that there was no variation in terms of taphonomy, these abundances might be suggested as 'real' rather than artificial. Some variation of species representation was noted between the crofts, though nothing that could be said to be significant. In general then, it can be said that cattle and sheep/goats are represented in more or less equal abundance. Pig and horse are also represented in relatively high abundance. Dogs were represented by single bones in a number of con-

texts. Rabbit and mole were each represented by a single bone. The possibility exists that both of the latter species are intrusive, rather than being original to Phase A contexts. Most certainly this may be the case with rabbit, which was only introduced into Britain during the Norman period.

None of the bird bones (domestic fowl, nine fragments; goose, five fragments) were noted to include any medullary bone. The ageing evidence for cattle (Tables 13a and b) and sheep/goat (Tables 14a and b) indicates dominance by mature animals.

Though some immature animals are in evidence, they form a definite minority, whilst there is no evidence of really old animals. Only a single cattle mandible exhibited much tooth wear, the third molar being worn to Grant's (1975) stage 'K'.

Thus both cattle and sheep/goats may have been slaughtered for meat, though milk and wool production may account for the presence of so many mature animals. Only a single horn core was available for sheep/goat differentiation, being identified as sheep. As is typical of pig, which is largely valued for its skin and meat, there was a greater abundance of immature animals (Tables 15a and b). Pig sexing, based on the canine teeth, indicated the presence of five males and one female.

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-5 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	5-18 months	0
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	18-24 months	0
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	24-30 months	5
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	1

**TABLE 13a:** Cattle dentition data, Phase A (after Grant, 1975).

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-4 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	4-7 months	0
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	7-17 months	0
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	17-22 months	4
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

**TABLE 15a:** Pig dentition data, Phase A (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	7-18 months	24-36 months	36-42 months	42-48 months
Unfused	2	4	1	8
Fused	45	12	1	13
% unfused	4.3	25	50	38

**TABLE 13b:** Cattle epiphyseal fusion data, Phase A.

Fusion stages	12 months	24 months	24-30 months	36-42 months
Unfused	4	4	4	4
Fused	1	2	2	2
% unfused	80	66.7	66.7	66.7

**TABLE 15b:** Pig epiphyseal fusion data, Phase A.

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-3 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	4-8 months	0
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	9-18 months	3
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	18-24 months	6
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

**TABLE 14a:** Sheep/goat dentition data, Phase A (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	6-10 months	13-28 months	30-36 months	36-42 months
Unfused	1	6	1	4
Fused	21	9	3	4
% unfused	4.5	40	25	50

**TABLE 14b:** Sheep/goat epiphyseal fusion data, Phase A.

Evidence for butchery was very limited. Only seventeen fragments (3%) of cattle, sheep/goat and pig could be said to exhibit definite butchery marks. Though bone fragmentation frequently confirmed what might be expected as the result of butchery (*ie.* mid-shaft chopping), it could not be definitely identified as butchery as opposed to natural breakage. The butchery that was positively identified could be seen as typically related to meat extraction. Two bones that might be noted in particular are:

- a. A cattle humerus which had been split longitudinally, possibly for marrow.
- b. A cattle tibia which had definite 'shave' marks, which are related to filleting activities.

Three bones exhibited pathology. A single cattle mandible, though having full adult dentition, had no second premolar.

This can be identified as a genetic abnormality. A domestic fowl coracoid exhibited a form of exostoses (*ie.* new bone formation), while a domestic fowl ulna had a fracture which had healed during life.

PHASE B: Early fourteenth to late fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

*The bone material*

A total of 2102 fragments was found in the various Phase B contexts. As with Phase A, not all crofts produced material relating to Phase B. In this case, material was derived from crofts B, E, G, H, J and L. The abundance of bones in these crofts was generally low. Only Croft F produced any significant amount of bone, with 1185 fragments. In general, the contexts which yielded bone included occupation contexts such as floors and yards. As with Phase A, no significant accumulation of bone could be identified, the bone material being typically thinly spread.

Of the 2102 fragments recovered, 1230 (58.5%) were identified to the bone element level, and 1029 (48.9%) to species level.

In relation to pre-depositional attrition cattle, sheep/goat and pig fragments which exhibited gnawing numbered 41 fragments (4.3%). Again, most gnawing was associated with sheep/goat. Only three sheep/goat and three cattle fragments showed signs of weathering or burning, whilst there was no evidence of these phenomena on pig bones. As with Phase A, for Phase B the degree of post-depositional fragmentation seems to have been substantial, as indicated by the abundance of loose teeth, formed 33.7% of the main domesticates material.

Sheep/goat was significantly more fragmented (50.7% loose teeth) than cattle (23.8% loose teeth) or pig (32% loose teeth).

*Species representation and exploitation*

The fragment count for the Phase B material is given in Table 11, and minimum numbers in Table 12. Both methods suggested a slight dominance of

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-5 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	5-18 months	0
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	18-24 months	0
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	24-30 months	4
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

TABLE 16a: Cattle dentition data, Phase B (after Grant, 1975).

sheep/goat over cattle. How 'real' this is is difficult to ascertain, given the differential role of taphonomic attrition that has already been identified.

Sheep/goat has been subject to greater fragmentation than cattle, therefore part of the dominance of sheep/goat in the fragments count must be related to that. However, the minimum numbers methodology tends to negate many of the problems associated with fragmentation. Given that for Phase B, sheep/goat produced an MNI fourteen greater than that for cattle, it is possible that the predominance of sheep/goat is real. Within the individual crofts there is a general pattern which supports this but which suggests that the dominance is only slight:

	Sheep/Goat		Cattle	
	Fragments	MNI	Fragments	MNI
Croft F	238	38	196	34
Croft L	41	10	22	5

This will be pursued further in the concluding section of the report.

Species representation for Phase B is otherwise very similar to that for Phase A. Pig, horse and dog occur in the same ordinal sequence. Several fragments of cat, in a number of contexts, also occurred in Phase B. Sheep/goat differentiation, on the basis of one metatarsal and three metacarpals, using Boessneck's (1969) index, indicated sheep in every instance. Pig sexing, on the basis of the canines, indicated eight males and five females.

Of the bird bones, which include domestic fowl and goose, a single tarsometatarsus was available for sexing analysis.

Lacking any spur, it indicated a female. It did not contain any medullary bone.

In common with Phase A, the Phase B ageing evidence suggested that cattle (Tables 13 and 16) and sheep/goat (Table 14 and Table 17) were mostly mature animals, though with some younger animals. Pig (Tables 15 and 18) included many more immature animals.

Fusion stages	7-18 months	24-36 months	36-42 months	42-48 months
Unfused	1	3	0	4
Fused	51	18	1	6
% unfused	1.9	14.2	0	40

TABLE 16b: Cattle epiphyseal fusion data, Phase B.

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-3 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	4-8 months	1
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	9-18 months	4
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	18-24 months	16
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

TABLE 17a: Sheep/goat dentition data, Phase B (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	6-10 months	13-28 months	30-36 months	36-42 months
Unfused	0	1	0	2
Fused	33	24	6	4
% unfused	0	4	0	33.3

TABLE 17b: Sheep/goat epiphyseal fusion data, Phase B.

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-4 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	4-7 months	0
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	7-17 months	0
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	17-22 months	4
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

TABLE 18a: Pig dentition data, Phase B (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	12 months	24 months	24-30 months	36-42 months
Unfused	0	8	0	3
Fused	3	1	0	1
% unfused	0	88.9	0	75

TABLE 18b: Pig epiphyseal fusion data, Phase B.

The incidence of butchery among the main domesticates material was very low, totalling ten fragments (1.1%). Of note, however, is that three of the four butchered cattle elements had evidently been sawn, as opposed to the more common dismemberment method of chopping.

In terms of pathology, two sheep/goat mandibles involved the genetic absence of the second premolar (10% of all Phase B sheep/goat mandibles), and two cattle first phalanges exhibited exotoses.

PHASE C—Early sixteenth to eighteenth century.

#### *The bone material*

Phase C produced the greatest abundance of bone material, 3138 fragments being recovered. All crofts produced material relating to this phase, though not all produced significant amounts of material. Croft J, for example, produced only thirteen fragments. Contexts included occupation features such as yards and floors, though a large amount of material also derived from abandonment and destruction contexts. A number of bone accumulations were noted, but most were recovered from destruction contexts, and could not be related to particular activities. An exception to this was Context 37 (B304), which relates to the yard of Building 17, Croft F, and is dealt with in detail below.

Of the 3138 fragments recovered, 2114 (67.4%) were identified to bone-element level, and 1723 (55%) to species level. This indicates a relatively high degree of preservation, as compared to Phase A and B material. For the main domesticates (cattle, sheep/goat and pig) gnawed fragments totalled only twenty-seven (1.7%). Gnawing of sheep/goat fragments was slightly greater than that of cattle and pig bones, but not significantly so. Burnt and weathered bone for the main domesticates amounted to only nine fragments (0.6%); with such a small total there is obviously no significant variation between the species. Post-depositional fragmentation again played a greater role in faunal attrition. Loose teeth numbered 495 (31.4%) of the main domesticates material. Again, sheep/goat appear to have been more fragmented. Loose teeth: sheep/goat 281 (35%); cattle 152 (29%); pig 62 (26%).

Sheep/goat also produced less in the way of epiphyseal fusion than cattle or pig.

#### *Species representation and exploitation*

The fragment count for the Phase C material is given in Table 11, and the MNI estimates in Table 12. Both methods suggest a dominance of sheep/goat over cattle. Though there is some variation in taphonomic attrition between the two species, it

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-5 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	5-18 months	1
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	18-24 months	0
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	24-30 months	5
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

TABLE 19a: Cattle dentition data, Phase C (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	7-18 months	24-36 months	36-42 months	42-48 months
Unfused	7	8	2	8
Fused	66	10	1	14
% unfused	10.6	44.4	66.7	57.2

TABLE 19b: Cattle epiphyseal fusion data, Phase C.

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-3 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	4-8 months	2
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	9-18 months	3
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	18-24 months	35
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

TABLE 20a: Sheep/goat dentition data, Phase C (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	6-10 months	13-28 months	30-36 months	36-42 months
Unfused	2	11	1	10
Fused	53	28	7	6
% unfused	3.8	28.2	12.5	62.5

TABLE 20b: Sheep/goat epiphyseal fusion data, Phase C.

cannot be regarded as sufficient to create such a dominance.

This dominance of sheep/goat over cattle was maintained throughout the various crofts, with the exception of Croft F and Croft B.

The abundances calculated for Croft F suggested a slight dominance of cattle over sheep/goat, or at least equal numbers of cattle and sheep/goat. In noting this difference, chi-squared tests were carried out comparing fragment counts and minimum numbers for cattle and sheep/goat between Croft F, for which the figures are as follows:

	<i>Sheep/Goat</i>		<i>Cattle</i>	
	<i>Fragments</i>	<i>MNI</i>	<i>Fragments</i>	<i>MNI</i>
Croft B	162	14	72	7
Croft F	119	11	94	8

For the chi-square test using the fragment counts the result was found to be significant at the level of 0.001. This is very significant. However, the chi-square test is affected by the size of the samples involved, so this result may be due to the considerable numbers of fragments involved. For the chi-square using minimum numbers, the difference between Crofts B and F was found to be significant only at the 0.15 level, which is not truly significant.

Stage	Approx. age	No. of mandibles
D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	0-4 months	0
M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	4-7 months	0
M <sub>2</sub> , M <sub>1</sub> , D <sub>4</sub> -D <sub>2</sub>	7-17 months	2
M <sub>3</sub> -M <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>4</sub> -P <sub>2</sub>	17-22 months	1
M <sub>3</sub> heavily worn	fully adult	0

TABLE 21a: Pig dentition data, Phase C (after Grant, 1975).

Fusion stages	12 months	24 months	24-30 months	36-42 months
Unfused	9	16	12	9
Fused	9	5	4	1
% unfused	50	76.2	75	90

TABLE 21b: Pig epiphyseal fusion data, Phase C.

Barker (1978) argues that in quantifying the representation of species the fragment count and MNI represent maximum and minimum extremes respectively, and that the actual representation lies somewhere between the two. Therefore, the possibility remains that the different species representation in Croft F is significant. The greater abundance of cattle on Croft F might indicate the greater wealth of this croft. Even though it might not relate to economic variation, it might well indicate dietary variation.

Apart from this, species representation had much in common between crofts, and with earlier phases of occupation. Pig formed the third most common species, followed by horse, dog and cat. Wild species were represented by fallow and roe deer, rabbit, hare and brown rat. However, all of these occurred in very low abundances. None of the crofts could be said to produce a greater abundance of wild species.

Also in common with earlier phases, domestic fowl formed the most common avian species, with sixty-six fragments. This included some twelve fragments from a partial skeleton recovered from Croft G.

The ageing evidence for the main domesticates is given in Tables 19, 20 and 21. Once again, the cattle and sheep/goat material showed a greater abundance of mature animals. However, there was also for both species a considerable abundance of unfused bones, indicating a number of immature animals. Sheep/goat differentiation was carried out using a single horn-core and three metacarpals. For the latter, Boessneck's (1969) index was calculated, identifying sheep in all three instances. Pig was again dominated by immature animals. Pig sexing, on the basis of canines, indicated two males and five females. A number of very large pig bones constituting a partial skeleton were found in material from Croft B. Such was the size of these bones that they might derive from boar. One of these bones, a tibia, had been sawn through.

Butchery incidence was much the same among the Phase C material as in the earlier phases. For the main domesticates, forty-seven fragments (3%) were found to exhibit butchery. A slightly higher incidence of butchery was noted for cattle, but this is unlikely to be significant. Of note, a single cattle radius bore evidence of filleting marks, while a cattle mandible and astragalus had been sawn. Likewise, a single sheep/goat pelvis and a single pig astragalus appeared to have been sawn. A single dog radius and a single domestic fowl tibiotarsus exhibited knife marks.

In terms of pathology, two sheep/goat mandibles, out of a total of some thirty-nine items with ageable dentition, were noted to have no second pre-

molar. This can be related to genetic factors.

#### Context 37 (B304), Croft F

This context produced one of the few significant accumulations of bone, if not the only accumulation, in which a definite pattern of bone element distribution could be discerned. The cattle material especially illustrates a particular distribution, and is given in Table 22. For the

	% of bone present
Skull fragments, maxilla	16
Mandible	26
Loose teeth	17
Scapula	2
Humerus	3
Radius and ulna	2
Pelvis	1
Femur	1
Tibia	1
Carpal/tarsal	2
Metapodials	2
Phalanges	3
Vertebrae	7
Ribs	17

TABLE 22: Distribution of cattle bones from Context 37, Croft F (Phase C).

purposes of analysis, large vertebrae and ribs have been included with cattle material. This assumption is valid, given that horse has only a low abundance of material. As can be seen in Table 22, the cattle material is dominated by elements associated with the skull. Detailed analysis of the mandibular material indicated regular breakage of the mandible around the area of the hinge. So regular and frequent was this breakage that it might relate to some form of butchery practice. The abundance of skull material may suggest primary butchery prior to the preparation of carcasses for meat. However, if it were such primary butchery, it is surprising that there is not a greater abundance of metapodials and phalanges, these also being regarded as 'waste' elements. Context 37 formed part of the yard to the rear of Building 17, Croft F. It is possible, therefore that this was a slaughter area.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The Great Linford village bone assemblage illustrates a number of characteristics which are common to rural sites. As opposed to urban sites, rural sites tend to yield relatively little in the way of bone. Hence, as has already been pointed out, many of the Great Linford contexts tend to yield

only small amounts of bone which does not relate to any specialised forms of depositional or behavioural activity. The only exception to this is Context 37, Croft F, which may be associated with some form of primary slaughtering.

The more usual thin spread of bone in contexts is typically the result of occasional disposal, rather than intentional deposition in contexts such as actual refuse pits. Much refuse from rural sites might have been spread on the fields instead of being buried in pits. As might be expected of contexts subject to occasional and incidental deposition, the various floor and yard contexts provided a wide distribution of bone elements. There was no concentration of a particular type of bone element, such as meat-bearing limb bones, ribs or vertebrae. As has been noted above, gnawing by dogs was in evidence, but always in very low percentages. This suggests that either the numbers of dogs present on the site were relatively low, and/or that incorporation of the bone material into the soil happened relatively quickly, thus preventing gnawing. Certainly, the latter suggestion is supported by the lack of weathering effects amongst the vast majority of bone fragments. Further fragmentation of the bone appears to have happened within the archaeological record, possibly obliterating much evidence of butchery practice. Similar preservational problems obtained throughout the site.

In common with the above-mentioned regularities of bone distribution patterns and preservation, the species abundances also demonstrated considerable regularities between the various crofts. This strongly argues for the validity of these abundances as relating to the form of animal husbandry practised in Great Linford. It also suggests that the observed differences in the abundances of the various species represented in the various phases are 'real', rather than the product of taphonomic processes. Development and change in economy is particularly evidenced in the variation between cattle and sheep/goat. Phase A suggests that cattle and sheep/goat occur in more-or-less equal abundances. The Phase B material suggests something of a dominance of sheep/goat over cattle. However, a chi-squared test on the basis of MNI (using a significance level of 0.05) indicated that this difference between Phases A and B was not significant. Certainly, the abundances from the individual crofts support this hypothesis.

Comparing the sheep/goat and cattle MNI for Phases A and C suggested a significant difference at the significance level of 0.05. Comparing Phases B and C on the same basis was not found to be significant. However, further investigation on the basis of the fragment count, and variation within the individual crofts, suggested that there was a significant shift in husbandry towards sheep/goat in

the post-medieval period. In several Phase C contexts cattle was not much more common than pig. However, as has been noted throughout, the main variation was in the use made of sheep/goat and cattle.

The very low representation of wild species indicate that these crofts were very much associated with farming rather than hunting. In this, and also with regard to species representation in general, the Great Linford material has much in common with other medieval sites in the Milton Keynes area.

#### THE ROMAN FIBULA Fig. 121

D. F. Mackreth

The pin is hinged. Each wing has three ridges, the outer two divided by a flute at its end. The end of each wing has four punch-marks in it. The bow has a flat back and a step along each side of the boldly rounded front. Down the centre are two sunken ridges distorted by using a punch to form two opposed wavy lines. The catch-plate has a small circular hole.

This brooch does not belong to a well-defined group. The moulded decoration on the wings is most commonly found on the type of Colchester Derivative using a rearward-facing hook behind the bow and a blob of solder behind the left-hand wing to secure the spring. These were made mainly in Norfolk and come to an abrupt end c. 60-65 AD (Mackreth, forthcoming)

The same decorative feature occurs on hinged-pin brooches as well, as here, and examples with it are commonest along the western side of the Fens, running up into Lincolnshire, as well as in East Anglia. The ornament down the bow is found on a small class of Colchester brooch and, again, is found on the derivative type with rear hooks. It does not occur on second-century brooches. The bow section also recalls the early eastern type, and the conclusion is that this specimen is almost certainly earlier than c. 75

MK397/-/+ : metal detector find.

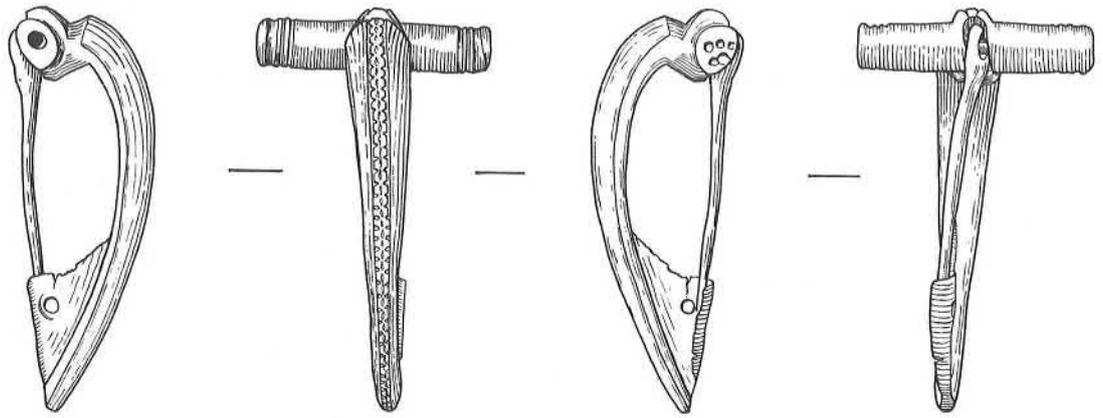


Figure 121: Roman fibula, scale 1:1.

## SAXON POTTERY

Terry Pearson

The Saxon pottery from Great Linford comprises a small assemblage of ninety-five sherds, of which eighty-two derived from the site of Great Linford church. Eighty-seven sherds could be attributed to the early to middle Saxon Anglian traditions, and six to the middle Saxon shell-tempered wares, similar to the Maxey type. Late Saxon pottery from the church has been shown because of its relevance

to the interpretation. The assemblage has been divided into three groups; contexts undisturbed by the construction of the church and pre-dating it, residual sherds from layers developed during the building and subsequent modification of the church, and lastly residual sherds from other sites in the village. The pre-church contexts 56, 57 and 58 contained pottery of early, middle and late

<i>The Church:</i>										
Context	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	B1	C1	Total
56	—	1	4	—	2	1	1	4	—	13
57	—	—	2	3	1	—	5	1	—	12
58	2	—	3	1	5	1	12	—	1	25
22	1	1	2	4	2	—	7	1	—	18
36/37	—	—	—	2	1	—	2	—	—	5
4/12	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	5
103	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
42	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
<i>Total</i>	3	2	11	13	14	2	29	6	2	82
<i>The Village:</i>										
Provenance	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	B1	C1	Total
CROFT E Yards	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
CROFT F (177)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
CROFT J Topsoil	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	3
POST MILL (8)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
(5)	—	—	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	6
(2)	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
<i>Total</i>	3	7	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	13
The sherds from the undisturbed pre-church layers comprised 61% of all the Saxon pottery.										

TABLE 23: Great Linford church and village; the number of sherds of each fabric group from each context.

Fabric Groups	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	B1	Total
<i>Primary techniques:</i>									
Coiling	3	—	11	12	14	2	29	5	76
Convex mould	—	—	—	—	3	—	8	—	11
Concave mould	—	—	4	1	1	—	—	3	9
Pressed/pinched	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Dragged	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Slab	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
<i>Secondary techniques:</i>									
i) External surfaces									
Smoothing	3	1	10	10	12	2	20	3	61
Wiping	3	2	4	4	9	1	25	3	51
Self-slip	3	1	10	12	14	2	23	5	70
Clean profile	1	—	—	1	6	—	—	—	8
Fingered profile	1	—	5	4	1	1	17	3	32
Rough surface	—	—	—	1	5	—	11	—	17
Tooled surface	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Burnished	—	—	2	2	5	1	3	—	13
Decorated	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
ii) Internal surfaces									
Smoothed	—	—	1	—	2	1	5	3	12
Wiped	3	2	9	12	13	1	29	1	70
Self-slip	3	2	3	5	2	2	8	2	27
Clean profile	1	—	2	1	2	1	8	3	18
Fingered profile	—	—	3	6	4	1	12	—	26
Tooled surface	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
<i>Total sherds</i>	3	2	11	13	14	2	29	6	80

TABLE 24: The number of observations of different manufacturing techniques, surface treatments and characteristics visible.

The definition and characteristics of each technique are described by Rye (1981), and are more fully described in archive in relation to the sherds from Great Linford. The techniques shown in the table only include those identified in the assemblage.

Fabric group:	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	B1	Total
Globular or rounded-based jars	1	1	6	5	13	—	18	4	46
Bi-conical jars	2	—	2	2	—	1	—	—	7
Flat based jars	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Narrow necked jars	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Shouldered jars	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	3
Large jars	—	—	—	2	—	—	10	1	13
Small jars	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
Straight sided jars	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Unidentifiable	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	4
<i>Maximum number of vessels</i> 3	2	11	13	13	2	29	6	77	—
<i>Total sherds</i>	3	2	11	13	14	2	29	6	80

TABLE 25: The maximum number of vessels by form.

Saxon date, and in view of their significance have been presented separately from the residual material (Table 23). Only thirteen sherds were recovered from other sites in the village, and these were clearly residual. This pottery serves to show possible activities within Great Linford that could have been contemporary with that from the church.

The Saxon pottery from the church forms the basis of the analysis presented here. The remaining sherds from the village have been shown in the quantification (Table 23), but have not otherwise been discussed. These sherds lack diagnostic dating features, and could represent activities of early or middle Saxon date.

The pottery is significant in that it provides a date for activities on the site prior to the construction of the church, and a *terminus ante quem* for this event. The pre-church layers comprised a buried soil lying on a frost-shattered bedrock, the structure of the soil suggesting that it had been cultivated at some time. The absence of any features in or below this soil suggests that the Saxon pottery could be considered residual to any contemporary occupation. That the pottery indicates domestic occupation in the vicinity is suggested by its condition, which shows little wear, the recovery of some fitting sherds, and the identification of sherds from the same vessels. The narrow dispersal of sherds and their lack of wear also indicates that cultivation was probably for only a short duration. The latest pottery in these contexts was a sherd of late Saxon St Neots type ware from Context 58 (the lowest soil level). This type can be dated to the period c. 850–1100, although the sherd can probably be attributed to the earlier stages of its development in the later ninth and tenth centuries.

#### METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The pottery was examined by eye and sorted into separate pottery types, defined initially by fabric and inclusions. The sherds of different types were then inspected, using a  $\times 20$  magnifying glass to check their consistency, and described. The sixteen pottery types were then grouped according to the dominant inclusions for the early to middle Saxon material (A1–A7), middle Saxon (B1), and late Saxon (C1). The full description of the pottery types has been placed in archive.

#### THE FABRIC GROUPS

A1: Early to middle Saxon angular calcite-tempered  
A2: Early to middle Saxon ironstone-tempered  
A3: Early to middle Saxon quartz-tempered  
A4: Early to middle Saxon calcite, limestone & quartz-tempered

A5: Early to middle Saxon granite-tempered  
A6: Early to middle Saxon organic?chaff-tempered  
A7: Early to middle Saxon Sandstone-tempered  
B1: Middle Saxon shell-tempered  
C1: Late Saxon St Neots type ware

#### 1. *The early to middle Saxon pottery*

This was the dominant group of material recovered, amounting to 90% of all the Saxon pottery (Groups A1–A7). While the seventy-four sherds were on the whole fragmentary, some fitting sherds and sherds from the same vessel were identified, although no partial or full vessel profiles could be reconstructed. This assemblage is small, especially in view of the type-variety, and does not permit the individual groups to be discussed in any detail, so the following discussion deals with the assemblage as a whole. With the completion of the work on the larger assemblage from Pennyland (Pearson, forthcoming) it will be possible to look in more detail at the significance of the separate fabric groups.

#### The Fabrics

Apart from the granite-tempered fabrics (A5) all could have a local origin within a radius of twelve miles from the site. The only possible exception is the ironstone-tempered fabric, which is similar to material from Brigstock, Northants., and probably derives from the Northampton Ironstones. It has been noted that deposits of iron ore occur naturally at Pennyland, and this has been suggested for the small quantity of similarly tempered pottery from this site. The small quantity recovered at Pennyland and Great Linford church suggests that local deposits were not exploited unless on an extremely casual basis.

The granite-tempered fabrics account for 17% of the assemblage, which is well above the average frequency on sites in Northamptonshire, and well above the overall proportion from Pennyland. This type represents traded pottery, as there is no known source for this inclusion in the Milton Keynes area or Northamptonshire. The nearest granite source to the site is the Mountsorrel formation in the Charnwood district of Leicestershire. The wide distribution of granite-tempered types in Northamptonshire (Gryspeerdts 1981 & 1981a) and Lincolnshire (Walker 1978, 224–229) give an indication of the scale of the trade of this type. Its recovery from Great Linford and Pennyland further extends the distribution area into north Buckinghamshire. The overall similarity of some pottery types to material recovered from sites in Northamptonshire might suggest that a larger

proportion was in fact traded, but this will have to be investigated at a later date.

### Manufacturing techniques

The pottery was examined, and the evidence for manufacturing techniques recorded. This has been summarised in Table 24. Due to the small quantities of pottery attributed to the different pottery types, it is difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from this at this stage.

The primary techniques of vessel construction were used in combination, with bases made over convex or concave moulds or pinched out while the upper body of the vessel was coiled. In some cases the parts made using moulds employed coils of clay which were fitted against the mould. In practice, the combination of techniques confuses the ready association of rim, body and base sherds from the same vessel. For example, bases and the lower body made over a mould have a much thicker section than the coiled upper body and rim (Foard and Pearson 1985, 12–13), the two parts of the vessel made by different processes often breaking at the junction.

Burnishing, the compaction of the surface while the vessel was in a leather-hard state, was observed in thirteen cases (16%). Only one sherd was decorated; this is described below.

### Vessel forms

The absence of large or reconstructable sherds indicating the profile of vessels makes the identification of form difficult. However, Table 25 attributes the maximum number of vessels in the assemblage to vessel forms based on the characteristics of the shape. It is eminently possible that there is considerable overlap and variation between these.

The maximum number of vessels has been calculated from the sherds remaining after the fitting sherds have been taken into account, and excluding the sherd groups which visually appear to belong to the same vessel.

### The decorated sherd

This sherd is from the upper body of a vessel, extending from the neck downwards. The shape of the sherd and the conical profile suggests that it derives from a biconical vessel. The decoration consists of at least three horizontal incised lines round the neck of the vessel, and parallel diagonal lines below. The diagonal lines probably form part of a chevron scheme composed of unjoined 'V' motifs. This form of simple incised linear decoration is thought to belong to the early stages of the Anglian series (later fifth to early sixth centuries),

probably predating the introduction of impressed stamp decoration (Myres 1977). The execution of the decoration is of particular interest as it had been incised while the clay was still wet. Subsequent burnishing had taken place when the vessel was leather-hard, and had partly obscured the decoration in places.

### *2. Middle Saxon pottery*

This shell-tempered type (Group B1) is similar to Maxey type ware (Addyman 1964; Addyman and Whitwell 1970), although the globular jar form is not present in the Maxey material, neither is the technique of construction of building a vessel over a mould. An identical type was found at Yardley Hastings manor with evidence for the manufacture of the vessel over a mould. Shell-tempered pottery of middle Saxon date was also recovered from Grendon, where vessels with a straight inward angled rim form (conical) were recovered. A related fabric has also been recovered from Northampton (McCarthy 1979, type S14).

The forms are distinctly different from the early St Neots type wares, as is the manufacturing technique, demonstrating that these sherds belong to a separate tradition. Maxey type wares have been dated to the eighth and ninth centuries through thermoluminescence (Addyman and Whitwell 1970), and have been shown to supersede the early to middle Saxon fabrics, although there was a slight overlap (Addyman 1964, Table 1). The succession of the shell-tempered wares can also be seen at Grendon. The sherds recovered from contexts below the construction levels of Great Linford church again suggests that they pre-date the late Saxon period. The available evidence indicates that this type belongs to the middle Saxon period, although further dating evidence is needed.

The technique of construction using a mould around which the vessel was coiled is informative, as the same method was used in the production of early to middle Saxon types (Foard and Pearson 1985). This suggests that there was some continuity between the production of the two types.

### Manufacturing techniques

External surfaces seem to have been more extensively wiped and smoothed, as indicated by the traces of finger-marks dragging clay across in the first instance to smooth out joins between coils. In four cases a self-slip was apparent from the obscuring of the shell grits in the fabric with a thin layer of clay. This would have developed from the wiping process carried out when the clay was wet. Internal surfaces of base and lower body sherds have a clean profile with shell grits exposed on the surface. The shell grits are oriented parallel to the surface and not angled, as in the fabric. These

characteristics suggest that the vessels were coiled over a concave mould. In two cases traces of a thin clay layer remains on the external surface, indicating a self-slip. This could have occurred in the mould, especially if it was made of a porous material (clay, wood or plaster), or could be the remains of the parting agent used to remove the vessel from the mould. The absence of finger or drag marks on the internal surface suggests that it was not extensively wiped. The actual method of coiling over the mould is not clear, particularly with respect to the creation of the base-rim. The sherd shape suggests that the technique of ring-coiling may have been used, which would lend itself to the formation of the external profile of the base.

## DISCUSSION

The Saxon assemblage from Great Linford church is of interesting composition in that it contains both early and middle Saxon elements. Whether it represents a continuity of activity throughout the period (c. 450–850) is unclear. The overall impression is that it reflects two phases which may not have been continuous. The earlier group, probably dating to the later fifth and early sixth centuries, embodies the decorated sherd and several of the manufacturing techniques; the pinched-out flat-based vessels and those produced in a convex mould would be consistent with this. The later group consists of the shell-tempered Maxey-type wares (Group B1), which demonstrate the same manufacturing technique as the globular based early to middle Saxon vessels produced over a concave mould. This technique would appear to be a later technical development, possibly dating from the seventh and eighth centuries.

The general lack of absolute dating-evidence for the Anglo-Saxon periods makes it difficult to date pottery except within very wide boundaries (eg. c. 450–850). Myres (1977) has shown that the Anglo-Saxon ceramic traditions had an evolutionary development, making it possible to look at early and late elements of pottery design and manufacture methods. Although the assemblage from Great Linford church is small, with few diagnostic features, it is possible to suggest that it represents activities in both the early and middle Saxon periods.

## THE MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

Dennis C. Mynard

### INTRODUCTION

The pottery recovered from excavations at Linford is one of the largest excavated assemblages of medieval and later pottery from the immediate area. It has provided the basic material for a useful

study of the local and regional potteries and their products.

In total 49,627 sherds, representing at least 14,657 vessels, were examined. The method of analysis was simple but fairly comprehensive. On site, all sherds were marked with their location number and the individual find number relative to the context in which they were found. The sherds from each context were then sorted into fabrics, and the total number of sherds, their weight and the minimum number of individual vessels represented was recorded.

This analysis was initially carried out context by context and the results amalgamated, but since this was a fairly time-consuming process the pottery was subsequently dealt with by combining the material from related contexts to form groups of pottery. This led to a more rapid assessment, particularly in the recognition of sherds from the same vessels.

Once the vessels had been sorted into types an analysis of the forms took place. This was based on a type series covering the body shape, rim form, handle type, decoration and any other relevant features. All information was entered manually onto recording sheets and the totals carried forward to produce total numbers for each group. Once the totals for each group were established, statistical analysis was undertaken. This consisted of establishing the relative amounts of the various types, and was easily carried out using a pocket calculator.

Although the study of medieval pottery has gradually come to employ modern technology, detailed computer-based analysis is not always necessary to answer the questions required from the material. Only with large amounts of material from a complex site are the advantages offered by computer analysis probably worthwhile.

As dating evidence the pottery has been useful, providing a basic chronology for the village and its houses. However, there were very few instances where the excavations provided really secure dating evidence for the pottery. Therefore, the pottery dating was initially based on existing knowledge.

Our work at Great Linford has shown that due to their simple nature and lack of stratigraphy, medieval village house sites are unlikely to produce much securely dated stratigraphic evidence. We suggest, therefore, that it is only on the more complex rural sites (granges, manors, monastic houses) and on urban sites with more numerous and complex deposits that more useful dating evidence for ceramic assemblages will be recovered.

The types of vessels from eachcroft should, if one were more common than another, indicate particular activities that took place there. For example, a lot of large shallow bowls might indicate a dairy, or a quantity of cisterns might indicate brewing. However, although the numbers of types of vessels from each room within each building were studied, none were unusually high.

The author would like to acknowledge the help of June Burbidge, who assisted with the initial sorting of the pottery and carried out most of the subsequent sorting and recording, as well as drawing the material. He is also indebted to Maureen Powell, who sorted and catalogued most of the post-medieval pottery (Groups 50 and 51) and who, under the author's guidance, carried out the statistical analysis of all of the pottery.

#### THE FORM AND DECORATION TYPE SERIES

A type series of all the medieval and post-medieval forms and types of decoration found in Milton Keynes is held within the Unit's archive. The type series is based on vessel type, body form, rim form and decoration. The main vessel types are identified alphabetically. Only the forms and decoration found at Great Linford are listed here. The medieval and late medieval rim type series is illustrated in Fig. 122. These abbreviations are used throughout the catalogues.

- A Cooking pot/jar
- B Bowl/dish/pan
- C Jug/bunghole pitcher/spouted pitcher/bellamine
- D Cup/mug/tyg
- E Costrel/flask
- F Chamber pot
- G Chafing dish
- H Colander/strainer/fuming pot
- I Pipkin
- J Plate
- K Skillet
- L Posset pot
- M Albarello
- N Butter pot
- P Lid
- R Tea, chocolate or coffee pot
- S Ladle
- T Press (for cheese, meats etc)
- U Curfew
- V Bottle
- W Cruet
- Y Aquamanile
- Z Lamp

#### A. Cooking pots and jars

The cooking pots and jars are further sub-divided by rim forms as follows:

- A1 Curved neck
- A2 Angular neck
- A3 Upright neck
- A4 With little or no neck
- A5 Bifid
- A6 Hammerhead
- A9 Inward sloping with slight shoulder
- A17 Inward sloping with pronounced shoulder or lid seat

Several rim types were further subdivided according to variations in the rim profile (Fig. 122). All rims were drawn before classification, it being easier to identify the rim form from an illustration than from a sherd. This system, although fairly subjective, formed the basis for the analysis of the rim forms. However, the principal objective was not to define endless rim variations, but to identify the type of vessel to which each rim type related, and thus to establish the numbers of each type of cooking pot or jar.

#### B. Bowls and dishes

Six types were identified. These, in chronological order were:

- B6 Inturned rim bowls
- B5 Hammerheaded rim bowls
- B1 Bowls with simple upright rims and a carinated body profile
- B2 Bowls with slightly thickened rims
- B3 Bowls with flanged rims
- B30 Shallow dish or dripping pan

#### C. Jugs

Few complete profiles were found, and only two body types were identified. These were:

- P1 Baluster
- P3 Plain

The jug rims were all fairly plain, and were classified by the type of neck as below:

- C1 Bevelled neck
- C2 Plain neck

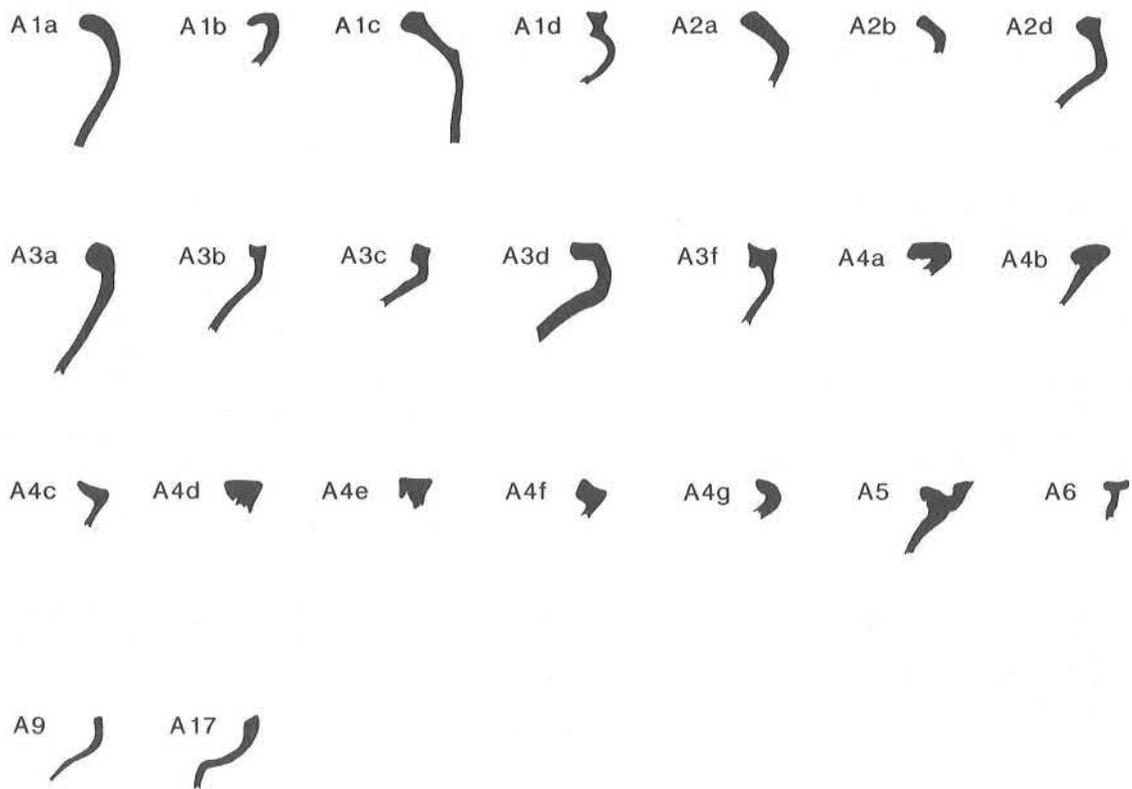
Jug handles and those of other vessels were of the following types:

- CH1 Plain strap
- CH2 Strap with single groove
- CH3 Strap with double groove
- CH4 Rod

Some handles received pre-firing treatment (or decoration) of the following types:

- (a) Stabbing with a pointed instrument
- (b) Thumb or fingertip impressions

A. Cooking pots and jars:



B. Bowls and dishes:



C. Jugs:

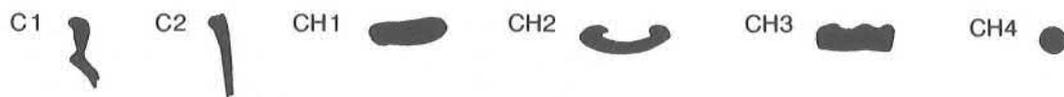


Figure 122: The medieval and late medieval rim type series.

- (c) Stabbing and/or slashing with a knife
- (d) Incised lines, possibly circles

Therefore, a strap handle with double groove and stabbed decoration is referred to as CH3a.

### *C12. Cisterns*

Several bungholes from large pitchers or cisterns were found; these had either stabbed (C12a) or thumbed (C12b) decoration.

### *Decoration*

Body decoration was rare, occurring on only two per cent of the medieval and transitional late medieval vessels found. Thirteen types of decoration based on six methods of application were found:

1. Finger or thumb impressions
  - 2 Around top edge of rim
  - 3 On an applied strip
  - 7 Around the shoulder of the vessel
  - 11 Around the base
2. Incised
  - 4 Wavy horizontal lines
  - 5 Oblique slashes
  - 6 Vertical lines or slashes around outer face of rim
3. Rouletted
  - 1 Continuous horizontal bands
  - 8 Intermittent horizontal bands
  - 9 On an applied strip
4. Applied
  - 3 See above
  - 9 Strips, sometimes rouletted
  - 10 Pellets with grid stamp
  - 13 Plain pellets
5. Stamped
  - 10 Grid stamp—see above
  - 12 Cross stamp

In the following catalogues of illustrated vessels, the form and decoration codes relate to the type series and Fig. 122. All diameters are in millimetres. In the group column, TT = Trial Trench, and a dash indicates that the vessel did not belong to a group. In the context column, '+' indicates that the vessel came from topsoil or an unstratified context. Other abbreviations used are: dec. (decoration), dia. (diameter).

## THE FABRICS

The pottery has been classified according to the Milton Keynes post-Roman pottery type series, which has been developed over the last twenty years. The type series was based on that created for Stantonbury in 1967 (Mynard 1971), which was also used by the writer in 1970 as the basis for the Northampton type series. This in turn was expanded and published (McCarthy 1979).

Initially, the pottery was sorted visually to define individual fabrics by their basic mineral constituents, and wherever possible by their attribution to a known kiln source. Subsequently, the fabrics were studied in greater detail with the aid of a  $\times 20$  binocular microscope. More recently, samples of the fabrics were submitted to Anne Woods of Leicester University for thin-section analysis. Miss Woods' report is preserved within the Unit's archive.

The fabrics are identified by a type code consisting of abbreviations of the approximate date range and basic fabric types.

These are:

### *Date*

SN Late Saxon to early medieval  
M medieval

TLM Transitional late medieval to post-medieval

PM post-medieval

### *Fabric*

C Calcitic  
S Sandy  
SC Sandy and calcitic

The following introduction to the thin-section reports by Anne Woods supports the initial sorting of the fabrics. It also suggests that precise kiln sources are unlikely to be identified by detailed fabric analysis:

"The pottery assemblage submitted for examination in thin-section represents a triumph for the workers who have been responsible for the preliminary sorting of the wares into fabric groups. Many of the fabrics are variations on a theme and although appearing basically similar (for example, in having an optically active, micaceous matrix and quartz and polycrystalline quartz inclusions), have sufficient differences to prevent them being grouped together. For this reason, although similarities between fabrics are noted, each sherd is described separately in the thin-section report.

Unfortunately, the inclusions present in the fabrics are commonplace and do not provide any evidence for origin of the wares. Apart from the ever-present quartz, the relatively few other rocks and minerals that are recorded (eg., occasional feldspars, tourmaline, amphibole, pyroxene) are so small and infrequent as to be of no use; nor is flint of use in attempting to find a source for the sherds. This is, of course, consistent with the nature of the pottery; most is wheel-thrown and therefore of a fine nature, so any large rock or mineral fragments originally present in the clay will have been removed prior to manufacture of the vessels."

The fabrics were first studied by Dennis Mynard and Gordon Osborn, a local geologist. Later, Maureen Mellor prepared a report on medieval and post-medieval pottery from Walton, Milton Keynes, and at that time was responsible for some revision to the type series. The published fabric descriptions are based largely on the thin-section analysis of the type series by Anne Woods.

The descriptions and other details are given in the following order; Type code, common name if known, source if known, fabric description, fabric amount, fabric date range as found at Great Linford, and the range of vessel types in it. The amounts of the medieval fabrics are shown as a percentage of the minimum numbers of vessels of this period (7612) in the dated medieval to late medieval groups. The amount of the transitional late medieval fabrics is shown as a percentage of the minimum number of vessels in these fabrics in all the groups. The amount of the post-medieval fabrics of late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth-century date is shown as a percentage of the minimum number of vessels (3014) of these fabrics in Groups 50 and 51, whilst the amounts of very late seventeenth to mid nineteenth-century fabrics are shown as a percentage of the minimum number of vessels (539) in those fabrics in Group 51.

The date range quoted for each fabric is normally that of its period of use at Great Linford.

## MEDIEVAL WARES

### SNC1 *St Neots type ware*

Source: The local source of manufacture is as yet unknown, but was probably located in the upper Ouse Valley area. The characteristic features of this fabric are the smooth 'soapy' surfaces and the speckled 'shelly' appearance. The core is dark grey with numerous white inclusions, which are fossil limestone fragments including shell (bivalve and brachiopod), echinoid plates and spines etc. There are also occasional quartz grains. The inclusions constitute 50% of the fabric. The surfaces range in colour from buff-brown, through reddish-brown to a dark grey-brown.

Amount: 688 vessels, 10%  
Date: Tenth to late twelfth century  
Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls, jugs.

St Neots type ware is very similar in appearance to MC1 Medieval Shelly ware, which can lead to confusion when sorting the fabrics. At Northampton (McCarthy 1979, 156) St Neots type ware (Northampton T1) was identified mainly by vessel form and the fact that it contained fossil shell, particularly bryozoa. Because of the difficulty experienced at Northampton in distinguishing the products of one kiln from another, the later shelly wares (Northampton T2) included Milton Keynes MC1 and MC3 and the products of both Harrold (Beds.) and Lyveden (Northants.).

Later in the same report it was suggested (Hunter 1979, 232) that all of these calcite gritted wares should be called St Neots type, with a date range of c. 850 – 1400. This has, I believe, misled many people, and I suggest that the term St Neots type ware should only be applied to the types of vessels, and any others of similar date, in this fabric, published by Hurst (Dunning *et al* 1959) and revised by him in 1976 (Hurst 1976). In view of the fact that the ware was first called St Neots ware, that no kiln source has yet been identified, and the likelihood that it was produced at several centres, the name 'St Neots type' is preferable.

Analysis of the later shelly wares (MC1 and MC3) from Great Linford has shown that both contain fossil Bryozoa, so this should not, as suggested by Hunter (1979, 240), be seriously considered as a deciding factor in the identification of St Neot's type ware.

In the earliest stratified groups of pottery SNC1 was found in the following proportions:

Group 30a	Eleventh century	48%
Group 30b	Mid eleventh to twelfth century	43%
Group 41	Late twelfth or early thirteenth century	42%
Group 30c	Twelfth to thirteenth century	25%

By the mid thirteenth century, SNC1 was totally absent from Groups, 6, 8a, 10, 2 and 7.

Group	Cooking pot	Bowl	Jug	Date
30c	85	10	5	12th – 13th
41	73	26	1	late 12th – early 13th
30b	75	25	–	mid 11th – mid 12th
30a	73	27	–	11th

TABLE 26: Fabric SNC1, percentages of vessel types.

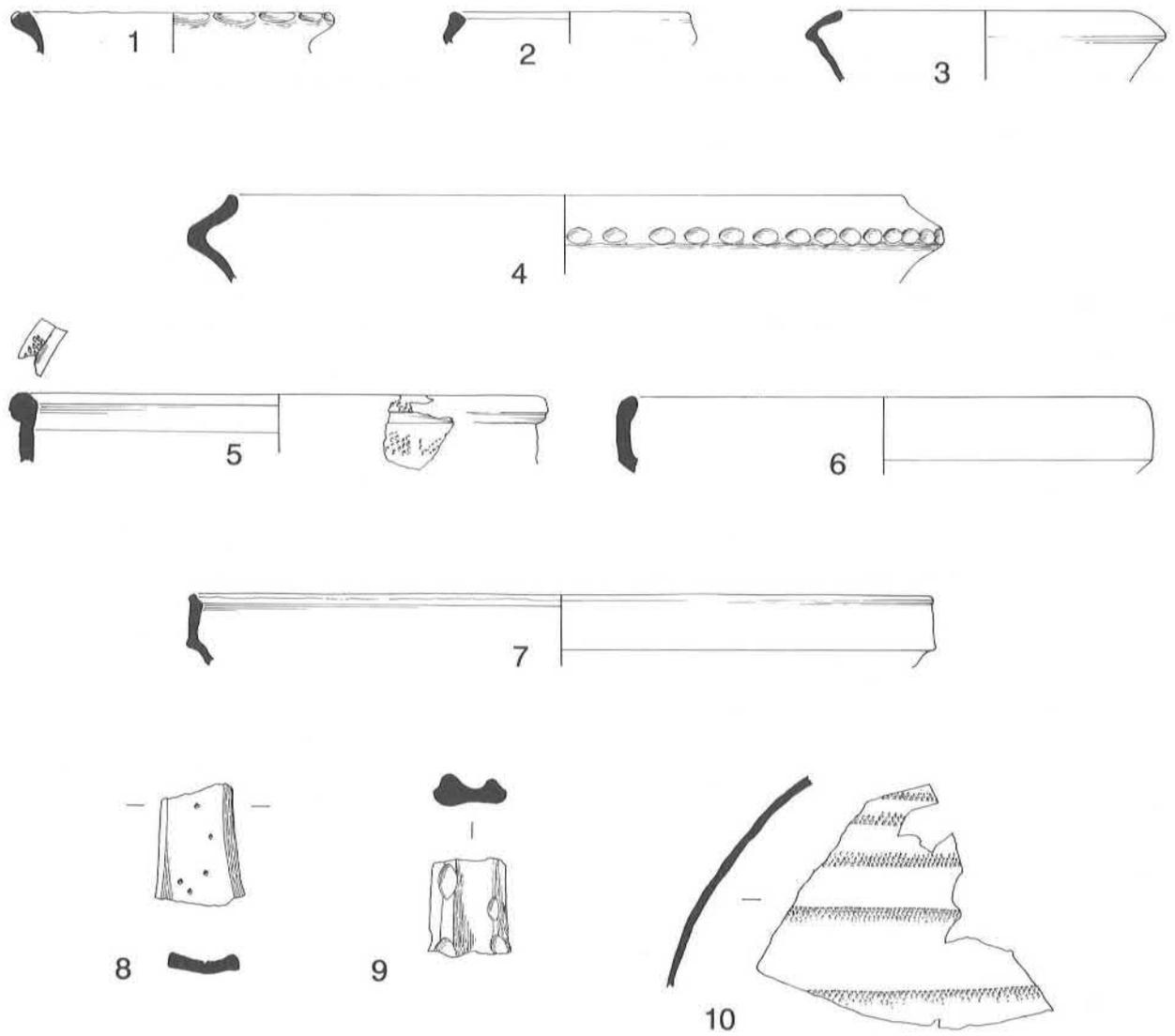


Figure 123: SNC1 St Neots type ware, Nos 1-10, scale 1:4

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
1	A1a	2	180	F	31a	42
2	B6	-	142	F	31a	33
3	B6	-	200	F	31a	141
4	B6	2	422	F	33a	+
5	B2	1	352	B	11/12	19
6	B1	-	298	F	32a	107
7	B1	-	408	E	26a	+
8	C	Ch1a	-	F	31a	172
9	C	Ch2b	-	E	28	-
10	C	1	-	E	28	-

TABLE 27: Fabric SNC1, catalogue (Fig. 123, 1-10).

Cooking pots were the most common vessels in this fabric, bowls less common and jugs comparatively rare.

Most cooking pots had simple everted rims and ranged in size from 140mm. to 220mm. in diameter, the smaller examples being most common. Most cooking pots were plain vessels, decoration being limited to three examples of thumb or finger-tip decoration around the rim (Fig. 123, 1: Group 41, Fig. 143, 16 and 17: Group 30c, Fig. 147, 5) and one from Group 41 (Fig. 144, 31) with slashing around the neck.

Bowls with inturned rim Type B6 (2, 3 and 4) represented 70% of those found, simple upright rim Type B1 (6 and 7) 20%, and hammer-headed rims only 10%. No complete jug profiles were found, and only two jugs had rouletted decoration on the body like No. 10. The inturned rim bowls occasionally had thumb or finger-tip impressions around the shoulder or external angle of the rim (4, and one from Group 41, Fig. 145, 49), whilst another from the same group (Fig. 145, 50) perhaps a unique example, also had an applied cross-stamp decoration. One other decorated bowl (5) had a simple thickened rim with rouletted diamond decoration on rim and body. The SNC1 jug handles were simple strap handles, sometimes with a single groove running down them and occasionally with stabbed or thumbed decoration (8 and 9). One jug (not illustrated) had thumb impressions around the rim.

#### MC1 Medieval shelly ware

Source: As with SNC1, the location of the kilns producing this ware is unknown, but is probably in the Ouse valley. This fabric is similar to SNC1 but with coarser surfaces, and contains c. 30% calcareous inclusions with only a small amount of quartz. Shell and fossil limestone, much of which is micritic, are the most common inclusions, and occur up to 1.25mm. in length. Many of the bivalve fragments have ragged edges, suggesting they might be deliberate additions; algal material and echinoid plates are also present, presumably also derived from the limestone. The fabric is not unlike later fabrics produced at Olney Hyde (Mynard 1984, 56-85) and Harrold (Hall 1972).

Amount: 677 vessels, 8%.  
Date: Eleventh to late thirteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls, jugs and a bottle.

Group	Cooking pot	Bowl	Jug	Date
30c	96	-	4	12th - 13th
41	87	6	7	late 12th - early 13th
30b	97	3	-	mid 11th - mid 12th
30a	83	17	-	11th

TABLE 28: Fabric MC1, percentages of vessel types.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
11	A1a	-	140	F	32a	11
12	A1a	-	202	G	34	45
13	A1a	-	262	B	4	51
14	A2a	-	172	E	27a	1
15	A2a	-	262	F	33a	+
16	A3b	-	180	G	34	170
17	A4f	-	220	E	27a	1
18	B6	-	301	TT	NC	+
19	B6	-	324	B	16	2
20	B2	-	342	B	4	51
21	B2	-	520	F	33a	+
22	B2	-	418	F	32a	110
23	B3?	-	220	L	42	178
24	B5	-	320	Green	NC	-
25	C1	-	120	G	34	2
26	C1	-	140	G	34	45
27	C	Ch1b	-	E	26a	+
28	C	Ch2b	-	G	34	142
29	C	Ch2b	-	E	26a	+
30	C	1	-	E	27a	1
31	C	1	-	F	32a	108
32	C20	-	240	E	27a	1

TABLE 29: Fabric MC1, catalogue (Fig. 124, 11-32).

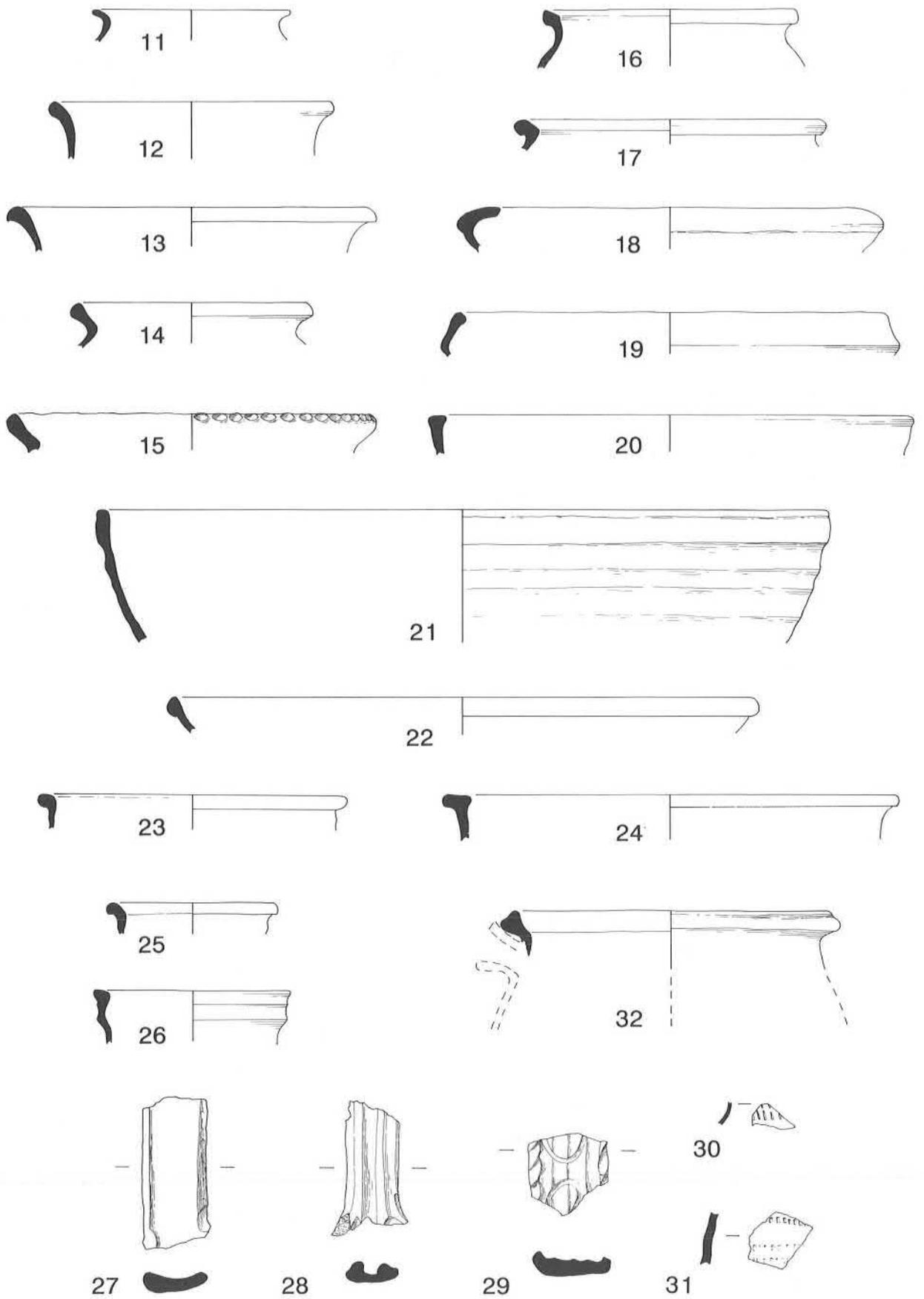


Figure 124: MC1 Medieval shelly ware, Nos 11-32, scale 1:4.

This fabric was very common by the tenth to eleventh century, representing 39% of the pottery in Group 30a. The proportion found at Great Linford remained much the same throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but was considerably reduced by the thirteenth (Group 2), by which time the later shelly ware MC3 and sandy wares MS3 and MS6 had become the dominant fabrics in the area.

Cooking pots were actually more common in this fabric than in SNC1, and the rim forms were more varied. Most common (79%) were the simple everted rims (11–13). More complete vessels can be seen in Group 30c (Fig. 147, 1 and 2) the latter being of the type commonly called 'top hat'. 8% were angular (14 and 15), and 13% more developed types, (16 and 17). The St Neots type inturned bowls (18 and 19) accounted for 40% of the bowls, whilst 50% were plain or slightly thickened rim types B1 and B2, (20–22 and Group 2, Fig. 150, 15) and the remaining 10% were flanged (23 and 24).

Jugs were no more common in this fabric than in SNC1, the most common rim forms being as 25 and 26. The decoration on the jug handles, which were either plain strap or had a single groove, consisted of thumb or finger-tip impressions rather than stabbing, and one example also had incised circles or ovals (27–29). Five jugs had zones of rouletted decoration on the body (30 and 31). A reconstructed jug form can be seen in Group 41 (Fig. 144, 41). The spouted vessel, Form C20 (32), is a rare form in this fabric. It is derived from the Saxo-Norman spouted pitcher, and is likely to be of eleventh to twelfth-century date.

The only decoration noticed on cooking pots was on four vessels which had thumb impressions around the rim (15), and one vessel (not illustrated) which had an applied thumb-decorated strip on the body. All bowls found in this fabric were plain.

#### MC3 Olney Hyde 'A' ware

Source: A local product from the Olney Hyde kilns (Mynard 1984). A 'shelly' fabric with buff brown to pink surfaces and grey core, occasionally completely reduced (grey) throughout. The inclusions are similar to and occur in the same frequency as those in MC1, creating problems in the sorting of these wares.

Amount: 988 vessels, 12%.  
Date: Early thirteenth to early fifteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs, bottles and lamps.

MC3 was introduced in the mid to late twelfth

Group	Cooking-pot	Bowl	Jug	Date
41	87	3	11	late 12th – early 13th
6	92	6	2	mid – late 13th
8a	93	3	4	mid 13th – late 14th
10	91	3	6	mid 13th – late 14th
2	70	20	10	late 13th – late 14th
7	89	10	1	mid 13th – mid 14th
19a	87	12	–	mid 14th – mid 15th
28	67	33	–	late 14th – 15th
38	73	15	12	mid 14th – mid 15th
20a	91	9	–	late 14th – mid 15th

TABLE 30: Fabric MC3, percentages of vessel types.

century and represented only 8% of the pottery in Group 41 of late twelfth to early thirteenth-century date. By the mid to late thirteenth century (Group 6) it represented 35%, and was most common in Group 10, which dated from the mid thirteenth to early fourteenth century, where it comprised 46% of the total. Later fourteenth to fifteenth-century groups contained much less of this ware, which production probably ceased by the mid fifteenth century.

Like MC1, the most common form in this fabric was the cooking pot. Most had simple everted rims Type A1a, (Group 7, Fig. 149, 1–3). Some were rounded (33–36), and others hollow internally (37–39). There were also angular, everted rims (40–42) and several of these had thumb decoration (eg. 41 and 42). One example in Group 1 (Fig. 148, 2) had an applied thumb strip running around the neck under the rim. The smaller everted rim Type A2b (43 and 44; Group 2, Fig. 150, 2 and 3) first occurs in this fabric. Another new form is A3a, (45 and 46), in which the everted rim has been rolled over internally, creating an internal groove. Other vessels had a simple upright neck with rounded (47 and 48) or square (49) rims, or flanged rims sloping internally either plain or decorated with thumb impressions (50 and 51). A few examples had flat-topped rims, Type A4d (52). In some of the later groups, cooking pots in this fabric were copies of contemporary forms in MS6 (eg. Group 30d, Fig. 152, 1; Group 28, Fig. 157, 1).

Whilst bowls were more common than jugs in MC1, the reverse is true for MC3. Most MC3 bowls had simple upright rims, with a carinated profile, Type B1 (53). The simple thickened rims, Type B2, were normally plain (eg. 54), but several had thumb or finger tip decoration around the rim (55). Simple rounded beads appear on several of the Type B2 rims (56 and 57), and again a small proportion were decorated with thumb or finger-tip impressions (58; Group 20a, Fig. 156, 6). A few flanged bowls, Type B2, occur in this fabric and one example in Group 19a (Fig. 155, 5) also had

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
33	A1a	-	120	B	16	6
34	A1a	-	160	E	TT	+
35	A1a	-	238	B	11/12 19	
36	A1a	-	220	B	16	4
37	A1a	-	140	D	23	3
38	A1a	-	160	B	11/12	17b
39	A1a	-	237	Manor	45	92
40	A2a	-	179	D	23	1
41	A2a	2	200	B	18a	+
42	A2a	-	199	B	11/12	44
43	A2b	-	140	B	11/12	26
44	A2b	-	170	E	TT	+
45	A3a	-	180	B	16	2
46	A3a	-	240	B	16	8
47	A3a	-	162	E	TT	+
48	A3a	-	300	B	16	2
49	A3b	-	282	B	11/12	26
50	A3d	-	200	B	16	2
51	A2a	-	160	B	16	2
52	A4d	-	260	D	23	3
53	B1	-	462	C	21c	+
54	B2	-	560	B	11/12	21
55	B2	2	400	-	TT	US
56	B2	-	262	Manor	45	92
57	B2	-	480	D	23	5
58	B2	2	300	B	18a	+
59	C2	Ch2	102	F	32a	130
60	C1	-	120	F	33a	+
61	C	Ch2	-	B	16	2
62	C	1	-	F	31a	31
63	C?	1	-	C	21c	+
64	C	1	-	D	23	+
65	C?	5	-	C	21c	+
66	V2	-	70	F	32a	105
67	Z	-	-	C	21a	5

TABLE 31: Fabric MC3, catalogue (Fig. 126, 33-67).

thumb or finger-tip impressions around the inner edge of the rim.

The MC3 jugs were similar to those in MC1, having either a plain or bevelled neck (59 and 60). Jug handles were of plain strap type or had a single groove decoration with either thumb or stabbed decoration (Group 7, Fig. 149, 18, Type Ch2b; Group 38, Fig. 154, 37, Type Ch2ab). In most instances the thumb impressions were at the base of the handle (61), and were the result of securing the handle to the body rather than being purely a decorative feature.

Body decoration consisted of rouletted shapes, either diamonds or squares (62 and 63) or notches and grooves (64 and 65). Generally the rouletting

ran around the body, but it was also found in vertical lines (63 and 64). Two bottles (eg. 66) and one lamp (67) were also found in this fabric.

#### MSC1 *Sandy and shelly ware*

Source: Unknown. A hard sandy fabric with plentiful fine white grits; the body is normally completely reduced to a dark grey, but occasionally the surfaces are reddish-brown. Mixed calcareous and silicate inclusions make up 40-45% of this fabric, the former being more common. The fragments appear to be fossil in origin and include micritized limestone, shell and echinoid fragments; some iron staining is present and there is almost no sparry material. The quartz inclusions are predominantly subrounded; some flint and very occasional

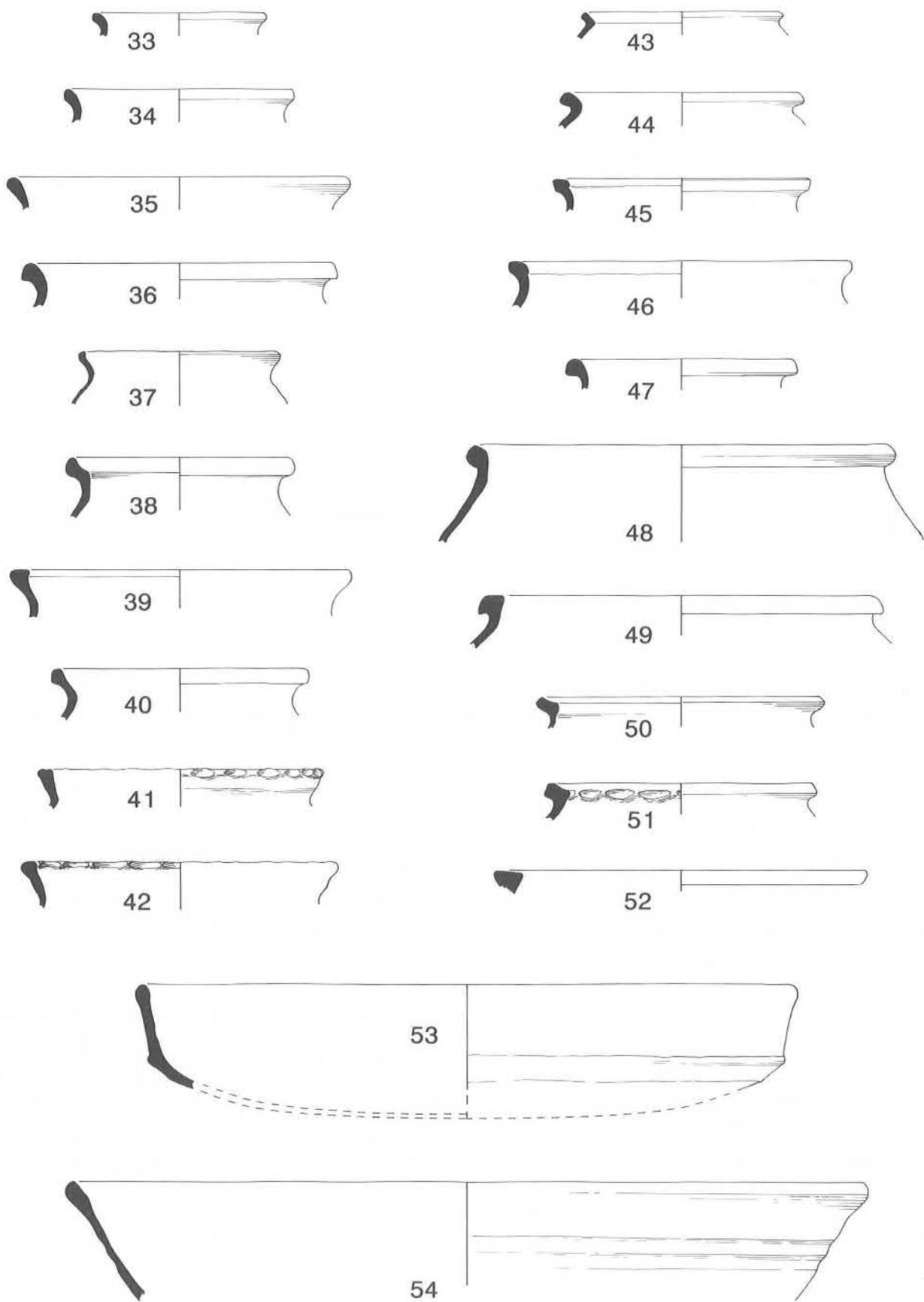


Figure 125: MC3 Olney Hyde 'A' ware, Nos 33-54, scale 1:4.

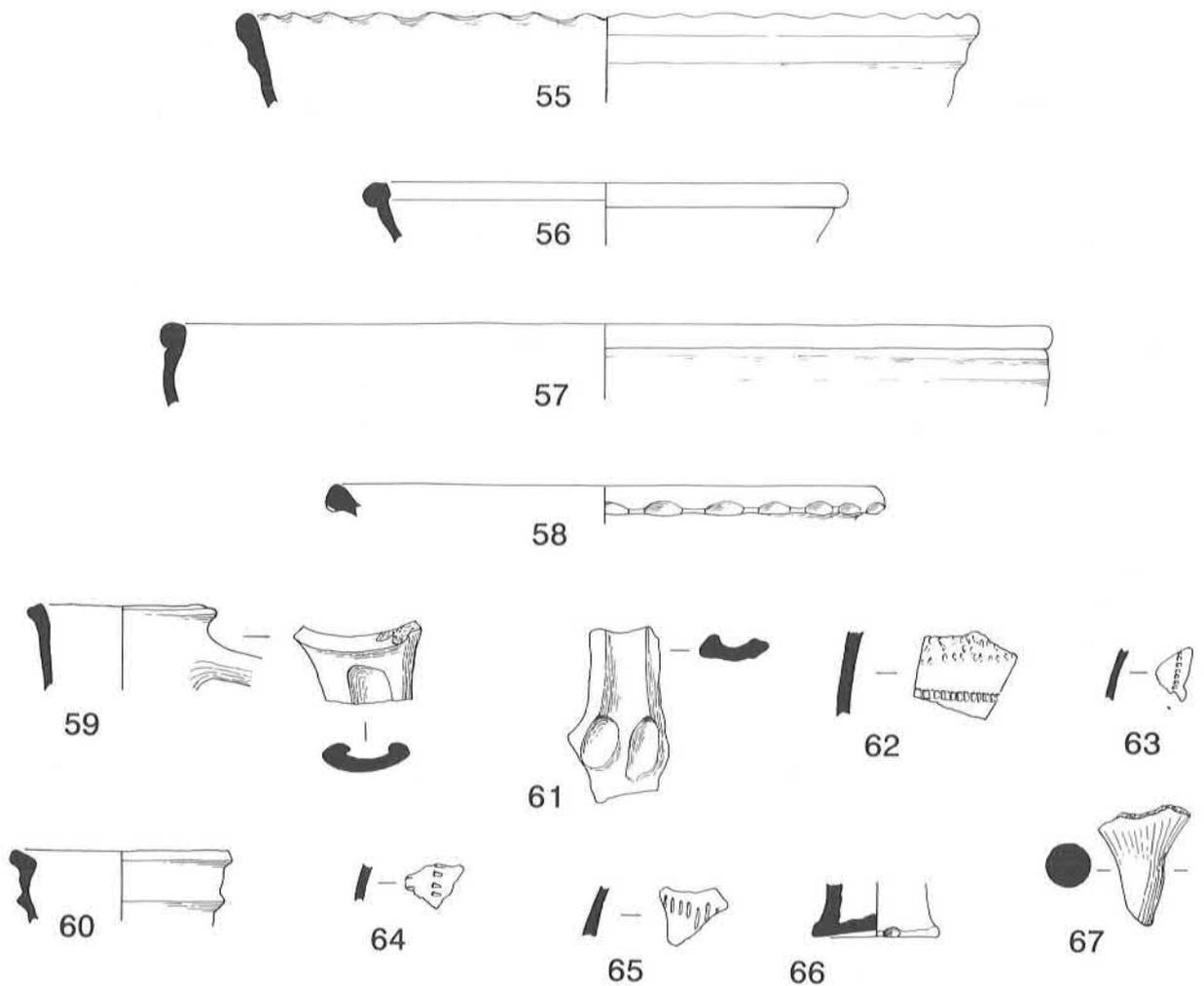


Figure 126: MC3 Olney Hyde 'A' ware, Nos 55-67. scale 1:4.

feldspars are also present. Many of these inclusions are within the range 0.3 and 0.6mm., all are between 0.1 and 1.25 mm. Some of the bivalve fragments are larger, up to 2mm.

Amount: 94 vessels, 1%  
 Date: Late eleventh to mid thirteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls and jug.

This was a rare fabric at Great Linford, occurring in small amounts in groups of late eleventh to thirteenth-century date and continuing as a minute residual element in fourteenth-century groups. Only cooking pots and bowls occurred in this fabric, the former being the most common, representing 89% of the vessels found. The cooking pots had angular everted rims, Type A2d, sometimes with thumb or finger-tip decoration (68 and 69), or had small everted rims Type A2b (70), or were squared and undercut, Type A3b (72).

Bowls had simple flat topped rims (Group 30a, Fig. 141, 10) or were slightly thickened. The bowl

illustrated, Type B5 (71), is similar to Group 41, 67, and to an example in MC1 (Fig. 124, 24). Another bowl of Type B2 in Group 41 (Fig. 145, 68) had thumb decoration externally.

MSC2 *No common name*

Source: Unknown. A finer version of MSC1, but with fewer, (c. 35%) inclusions. The quartz inclusions are predominantly subangular and subrounded, and occur up to 0.6mm. A few fragments of flint, very occasional feldspars and some black opaques are also present. The calcareous inclusions are similar in size and include ooliths, shell fragments, echinoid plates and limestone fragments, many of which are micritic.

Amount: 18 vessels only, rare.  
 Date: Late thirteenth to late fourteenth century.  
 Forms: Only cooking pots found.

A rare fabric, which appears to be of late thirteenth to late fourteenth-century date. Eighteen vessels

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
68	A2d	-	220	Manor	45	92
69	A2d	2	220	G	34	45
70	C2	-	98	E	27a	1
71	B5	-	199	B	5	49
72	A3b	-	260	D	23	5

TABLE 32: Fabric MSC1, catalogue (Fig. 127, 68-72).

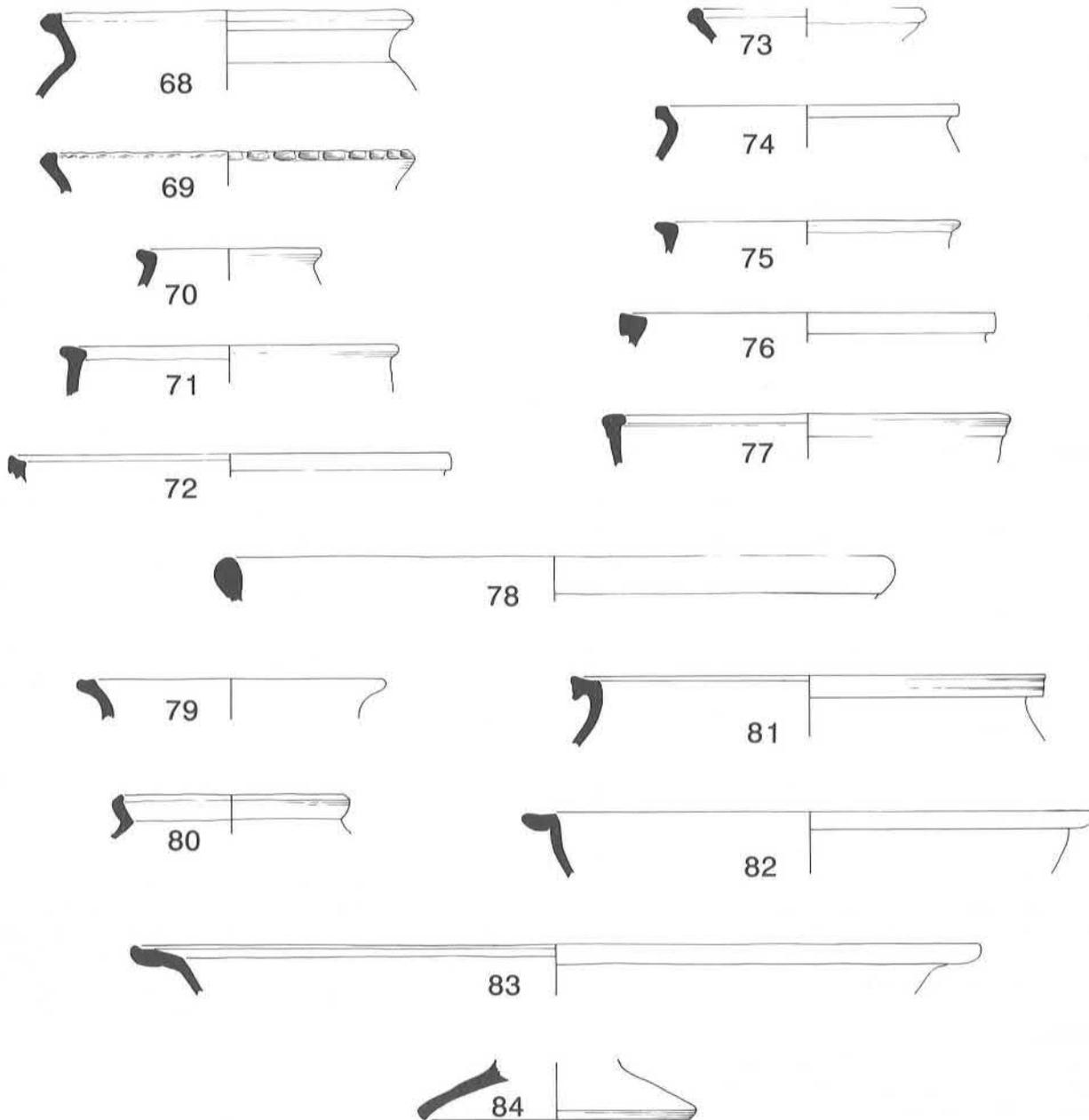


Figure 127: MCS1 Sandy and shelly ware, Nos 68-72; MSC2, No. 73, MSC3, Nos 74-78; MSC6 Olney Hyde 'B' ware, Nos 79-84. 128: MS2 Medieval coarse sandy ware, Nos 85-91, scale 1:4.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
73	A2a	–	140	B	5	50

TABLE 33: Fabric MSC2, catalogue (Fig. 127, 73).

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
74	A2a	–	180	B	5	50
75	A3a–c	–	180	E	27a	1
76	A4e	–	220	F	32a	109
77	B2	–	240	B	5	50
78	B2	–	400	D	23	3

TABLE 34: Fabric MSC3, catalogue (Fig. 127, 74–78).

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
79	A1a	–	182	E	27a	1
80	A2d	–	140	G	34	+
81	A3f	–	280	F	31a	32
82	B3	–	340	B	16	7
83	B3	–	500	G	34	1
84	P1	–	–	C	21a	6

TABLE 35: Fabric MSC6, catalogue (Fig. 127, 79–84).

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
85	A3d	–	237	E	TT	+
86	A4c	–	200	B	9a	+
87	B3	–	300	F	32a	3
88	B3	–	480	F	31a	+
89	C2	Ch1	100	F	32a	11
90	C2	–	121	E	27a	1
91	C	Ch2a	–	E	27a	1

TABLE 36: Fabric MS2, catalogue (Fig. 128, 85–91).

were found, all were cooking pots. Only two cooking pots survived (73; Group 30d, Fig. 152, 2), both of which had angular rims.

#### MSC3 *No common name*

Source: Possibly produced at Potterspur, Northants. A pink-buff sandy fabric with dark grey core and buff margins, which may be an earlier and coarser version of MS6 Potterspur ware. There are mixed siliceous and calcareous inclusions, but they are less numerous than in MSC2 and the matrix is different, containing more small quartz. The calcareous inclusions (5% of the fabric) include micritized limestone fragments with some

shell, and are fossil in origin; echinoid spines are also present. Quartz and polycrystalline quartz occur up to about 1mm. in size, making up 10% of the fabric, and are rounded to subangular. The fabric is bimodal and the larger inclusions, both siliceous and calcareous, may have been added.

Amount: 44 vessels, 1%  
 Date: Twelfth to thirteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls and jugs.

Only forty-four vessels were found in this fabric, of which thirty-seven were cooking-pots, four were bowls and three were jugs.

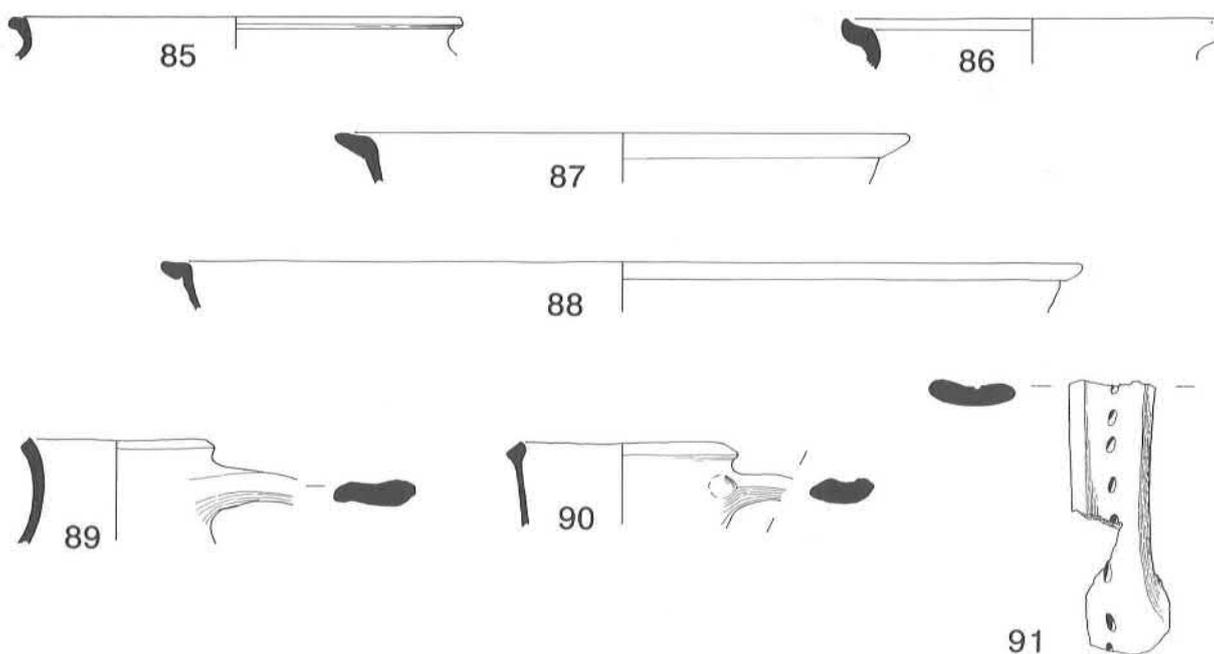


Figure 128: MS2 Medieval coarse sandy ware, Nos 85-91, scale 1:4.

Some cooking pots had simple everted rims (74) but the majority had developed rims with short necks (75 and 76; Group 38, Fig. 153, 4). The bowls had simple or slightly thickened rims (77 and 78). The jug sherds were not large enough to indicate the form of the vessels.

#### MSC4 Lyveden ware

Source: Lyveden or Stanion, Northants. (Steane and Bryant 1975). The few sherds found have a grey core with orange-buff surfaces and an olive-green external glaze. The characteristic feature of this ware is the presence of fine white grits and a vesicular inner surface. The body is calcareous containing rounded and elliptical ooliths, echinoid plates and shell fragments up to 1.25mm. in length in an optically active matrix containing abundant small angular quartz and mica laths.

Amount: 3 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Twelfth to thirteenth century.  
Forms: Jugs only.

Only three vessels, all jugs, were found in this fabric. Two had the characteristic trailed white slip decoration and one had an applied pellet of white clay with a grid-stamp impression.

#### MSC6 Olney Hyde 'B' ware

Source: A local product from Olney Hyde, Bucks. (Mynard 1984). The fabric is coarse and sandy to the touch, the core is normally grey with thin red-brown surfaces. Under microscopic examination it appears as an optically active matrix containing

abundant small (>0.05mm.) quartz. It is a bimodal fabric and the larger quartz and flint complement may have been added; these grains are predominantly subangular and subrounded, occur from 0.2 to 0.8mm. in size and constitute about 10% of the fabric. Many of the quartz grains are polycrystalline, and most show undulose extinction. A few opaques and some small micritic inclusions are also present, and there is a fairly high proportion of voids, many of which are elongated as a result of manufacturing processes.

Amount: 20 vessels, 1%  
Date: Mid fourteenth to late fifteenth century.

Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs and lids. Only fifteen vessels were found in this fabric, thirteen cooking pots, five bowls, one jug and one lid. The cooking pot rims were mostly simple everted types (79), but several were more angular (eg. 80), and one was a well developed undercut Type A3f(81). Two bowls had flanged rims (82 and 83). The single jug (not illustrated) had a strap handle with a double groove running down it. Part of a lid with a simple rim (84) is also illustrated.

#### MS2 Medieval coarse sandy ware

Source: Unknown. The characteristic feature of its fabric is the presence of large quartz grits which are visible on the surfaces, giving them a coarse feel. The body can be light grey, buff-brown or orange-red throughout. The inclusions are mica laths and small (0.05 to 0.1mm.) angular quartz and a larger, more rounded quartz component. Quartz in the 0.2

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
92	A1b	–	160	B	11/12	25
93	A1a	–	200	Manor	45	92
94	A1a	2	280	G	34	45
95	A1a	2	283	B	16	2
96	A1a	–	240	G	34	45
97	A2a	–	208	G	34	45
98	A2a	–	238	B	11/12	44
99	A2a	2	282	L	42	106
100	A2a/P3	–	238	C	21a	5+6
101	A2a/P3	–	260×272×276	F	31a	146
102	A2a	–	222	B	18a	1
103	A2d	–	200	F	31a	143
104	A3b	–	221	B	9a	24
105	A4c/P3	–	280	F	31a	38
106	A4c	–	300	F	33a	+
107	A3c	–	140	E	27a	1
108	A3c	–	220	E	TT	+
109	A3d/P3	–	220	E	27a	9
110	A3f	–	180	G	34	45
111	A3f	–	280	F	33a	+
112	B2	–	442	F	TT	+
113	B2	–	281	F	33a	+
114	B2	–	320	F	32a	3
115	B3	–	380	G	34a	10
116	B3	–	440	F	31a	32

TABLE 37: Fabric MS3, catalogue (Fig. 129, 92–111 and Fig. 130, 112–116).

to 0.7mm. range accounts for some 7% of the fabric, while a further 7% consists of grains ranging from 1.0 to 1.75mm., many of which are well rounded.

Amount: 36 vessels, rare.  
Date: Late thirteenth to early fifteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls and jugs.

Thirty-six vessels were found, twenty-three cooking pots, ten jugs and three bowls. The similarity of forms in this fabric to those in MS3 suggests that the two fabrics are closely related. It is likely that MS2 is no more than a coarser version of MS3.

#### MS3 Medieval grey sandy ware

Source: Many sherds of this ware are similar to TLMS3, the late medieval reduced ware produced at Great Brickhill, Bucks., which suggests that this ware may also have been made there.

A hard-fired medium to coarse-surfaced sandy ware. The body is light grey with surfaces ranging from buff-brown to orange-brown, often with light grey patches externally. The fabric is slightly micaceous, containing small (0.05mm.) angular quartz, common rounded glauconite grains and

larger quartz, some of which is polycrystalline. These larger inclusions range from 0.3 to 0.8mm., and are predominantly subangular and subrounded; some are polycrystalline and most show undulose extinction. Also present are flint, rare feldspars and one grog fragment. The non-clay inclusions constitute c. 35% of the fabric.

Amount: 1351 vessels, 16%.  
Date: Mid to late eleventh to early fifteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls, jugs and lids.

This fabric first appears in Group 30a, which is of eleventh-century date, where it represents 5% of the pottery in the group. By the twelfth century (Group 30c) it is more common, representing 35%, and is at its peak in the thirteenth century in Group 1, where 45% of the pottery is of this fabric. By the late fourteenth to fifteenth century it is less common, and is gradually replaced by the late medieval reduced sandy ware TLMS3 (p. 275, below). Cooking pots were the principal product (90%) in this fabric, with bowls comprising only 7% and jugs 3%. Most cooking pots had simple everted rims either rounded, Type A1 (92–96) or angular, Type A2 (97–103). Thumbled decoration occurs occasionally on the neck or the rim (eg. 94, 95, 98, 99; Group 41, Fig. 144, 43).

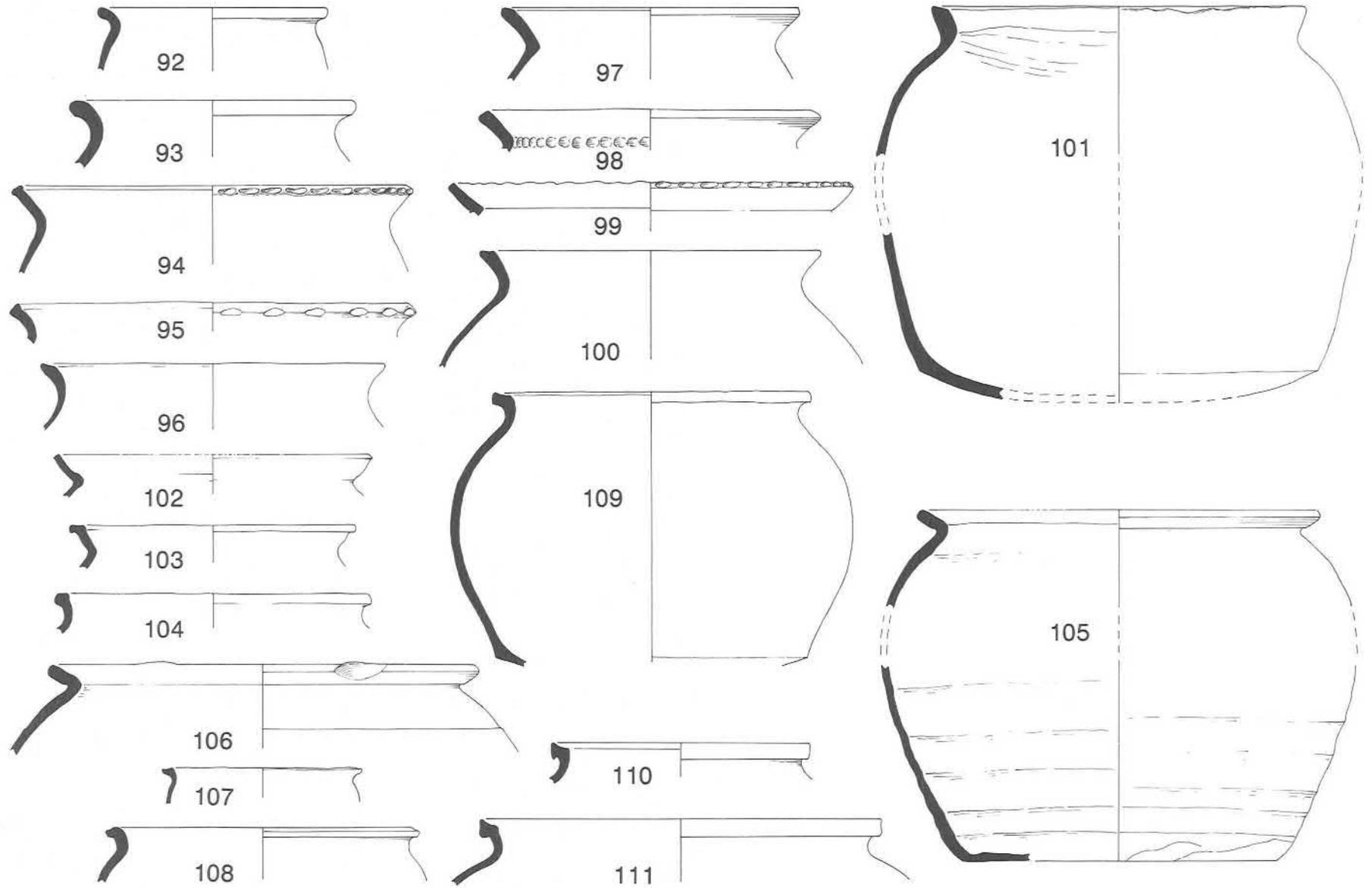


Figure 129: MS3 Medieval grey sandy ware, Nos 92-111, scale 1:4.

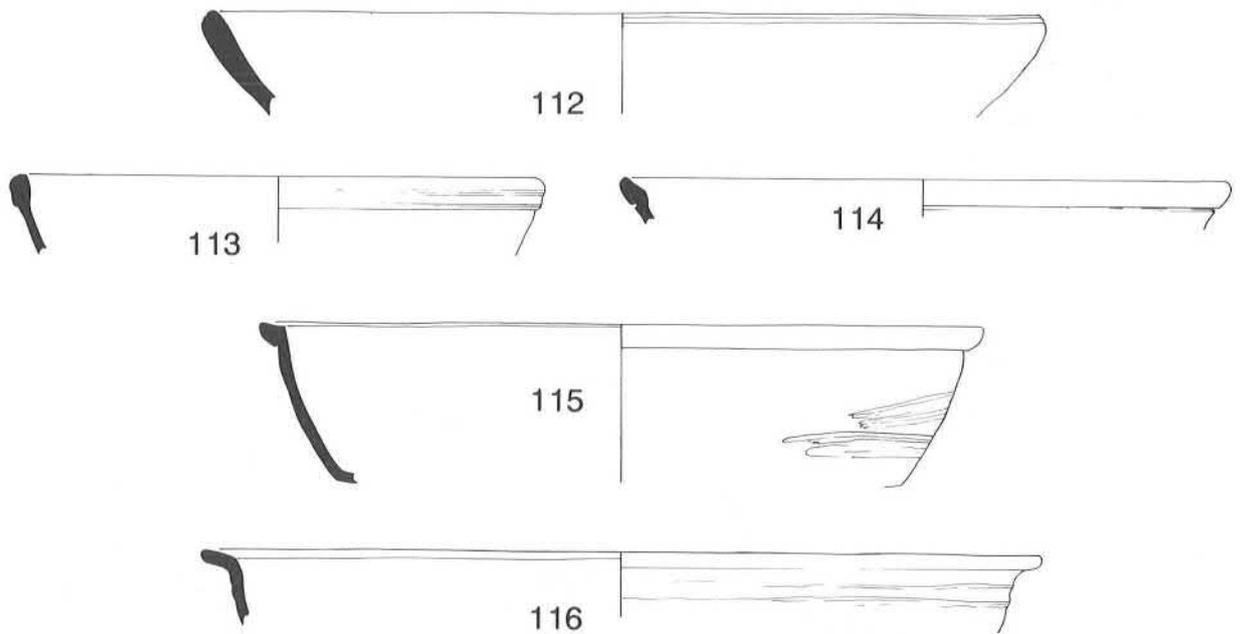


Figure 130: MS3 Medieval grey sandy ware, Nos 112–116, scale 1:4.

The next most common form was rim Type A3, with a short upright neck (104 and 107–111). Several rims, Type A4c (105 and 106) were sharply everted, and are the precursors of later examples in the TLMS3 fabric (Fig. 138, 242–47). Several body profiles were recovered (101, 105 and 109), all having rounded bodies, with sagging bases rather than flat. Body decoration on the cooking pots consisted of thumb or finger-tip impressions around the rim, or applied strips. Bowls were either simple (112–114), or had well-developed flanges (115 and 116), and were undecorated apart from one example in Group 2 (Fig. 151, 21) which had an applied thumb-decorated strip running down the body.

The jugs were also quite plain with upright rims, apart from one example (not illustrated) which had incised wavy line decoration. The jug handles were of strap type, and had a single groove running down them. Handles were simply pushed on to the body with the junction secured by squeezing between the finger and thumb, the impressions often remaining. One lid in this fabric came from Group 23.

The cooking pot (109) which is complete apart from a large hole in the base was found buried upright in the floor of Building 10. It is possible that this vessel was used for some sort of distillation or fermentation process. The use of vessels in this way has been discussed by Stephen Moorhouse (1981, 116 and fig. 90).

#### MS6/TLMS6 *Potterspurry ware*

Source: Potterspurry, Northants. (Mynard 1970). A fine sand-tempered ware with a thick grey core (generally dark grey), and reddish-pink and buff or buff-brown surfaces. The glaze is olive-green or clear. The fabric contains abundant quartz, polycrystalline quartz and some flint, calcite or limestone, a few black opaques and a few tourmalines; the inclusions range in size from 0.01 to 1mm., but the mean is around 0.3mm. Most are subangular, but the few larger ones are more rounded. The inclusions make up 25–30% of the fabric, and are likely to be naturally occurring.

Amount: 3568 vessels, 42%  
 Date: Early to mid thirteenth century, common in fourteenth, with the height of production during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.  
 Forms: Cooking-pots, bowls, jugs, mugs, pipkins, skillets, lids, curfews, bottles, aquamaniles and lamps.

MS6 was the most common fabric at Great Linford, being produced only eleven kilometres distant at Potterspurry, Northants. This fabric was introduced during the early years of the thirteenth century. In Group 41, of late tenth to early thirteenth-century date, it represents only 6% of the total, but by the mid to late thirteenth century (Group 6) it represented 19%. That production at Potterspurry increased during the thirteenth century

Group	Date	% of MS6 and TLMS6	C/pot	% of vessel types in Group		
				Jug	Bowl	Others
41	late 10th–early 13th	7	62	34	3	–
6	mid–late 13th	19	70	30	–	–
8a	mid 13th–late 14th	36	44	42	14	–
10	mid 13th–early 14th	24	59	35	6	–
2	late 13th–late 14th	27	22	74	2	2
7	mid 13th–late 14th	34	54	28	18	–
19a	mid 14th–mid 15th	54	58	25	18	–
20a	late 14th–mid 15th	58	45	20	33	2
30d	late 14th	49	62	29	9	–
38	mid 14th–early 15th	71	61	28	11	–
28	1st half 15th	56	25	52	22	1
29	mid 15th	53	31	69	–	–
35	mid–late 15th	69	35	45	17	3
46	late 14th–late 15th	71	38	47	10	5
47	late 16th–late 17th	0	61	33	6	–

TABLE 38: MS6/TLMS6, percentages of ware and vessel types in published groups, late tenth to late seventeenth centuries.

is confirmed by the addition of the prefix 'Potters' to the name of the village, formerly 'Eastperie' in 1287 (Le Patourel 1968, 124). The popularity of Potterspury ware increased so much that by the late fourteenth century and through to the early sixteenth century it represented half of the pottery in use at Great Linford.

From the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century new forms were introduced, the ware became finer, was harder fired and had redder surfaces. Initially we called the late version of this ware TLMS6, but since the change was subtle it was not always possible to differentiate between the two fabrics.

The table above (Table 38) shows the percentage of MS6/TLMS6 and the percentage of principal vessel types in these fabrics in the published groups covering the period from the late thirteenth century through to the early sixteenth.

These figures reveal no very striking changes in the relative amounts of vessel types. The only trends are that there are fewer cooking pots from the late fourteenth century onwards, that jugs are more abundant in the thirteenth century and that bowls became more common from the mid to late fourteenth.

The simple everted cooking pot rims (117 and 118) were common up to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The squared and bevel rims, Type A1d (119 and 120), were from vessels with a lip for pouring. The angular rims, Type A2a (121, 122 and 123), only occur in Group 2 of thirteenth to fourteenth-century date. Type A3 rims (124–134) occur as a small proportion of several groups; sev-

eral were lipped vessels (127 and 129). Most cooking pots had throwing grooves visible around the body (129 and 130), or very distinct rilling (128). Decoration on these vessels consisted of applied thumb strips (133, 136 and 139) or incised wavy line decoration (125 and 132). Type A4 rims were common from the mid thirteenth to the late fourteenth, whilst the A3 forms became more popular during the mid fourteenth century and continue to the late fifteenth.

The late medieval A4 type rims consisted of A4b (1% – 140), A4c (7% – 141–144), A4e (7% – 145–149), A4f (1% – 150). Bifid rims, Type A5 (151) represented only 7% of the cooking pots found. Another late medieval form, the simple everted rim vessel (Type A9) was probably a pipkin, which had a lip for pouring (152 and 153; 209 and 211).

Cooking pots/jars from the post-medieval destruction levels (Group 50) had rims of Types A1a, A3a, b, c and f, A4b and c, A5 and A17. Most were considered to be residual but several (Fig. 165, 3–6), were worth illustration, since they are certainly of sixteenth and likely to be of seventeenth century date.

The MS6/TLMS6 bowls and pans had simple thickened rims (154–160) undercut rims (161–163) and flanged rims, Type B3 (165–72). These vessels varied in size from 220 to 480mm.

The fluted bowl, Type B8 (173) is uncommon in this fabric, and may be copying a tin-glazed vessel.

Bowls from the post-medieval levels were mostly of Type B2, but three examples (Fig. 165, 7, 8 and 11)

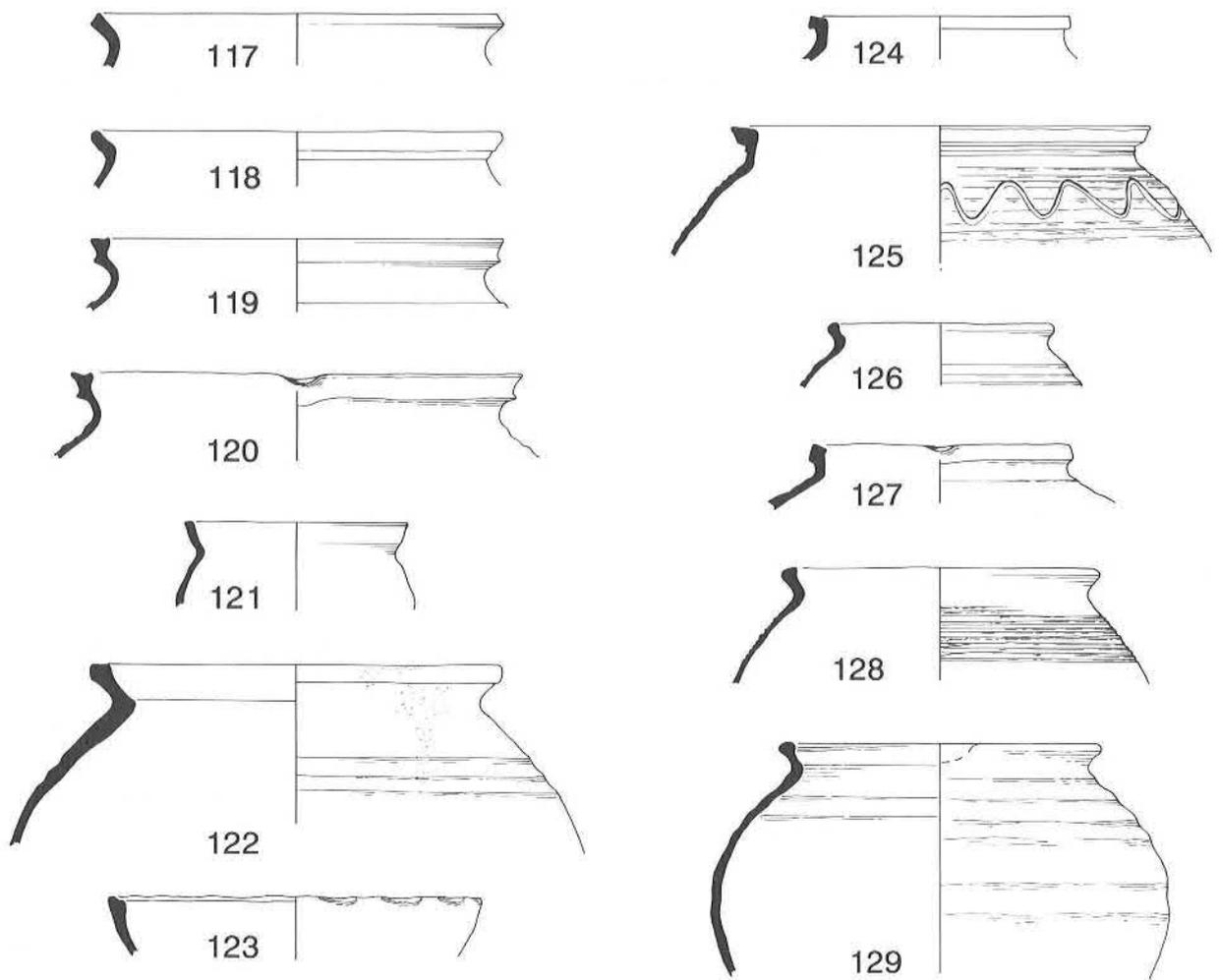


Figure 131: MS6 Potterspury ware, Nos 117-129, scale 1:4.

are of seventeenth-century date. The small handled bowl (11) is similar to examples in fabric PM8.

All Potterspury vessels were wheel-turned and heavily knife-trimmed towards the base. Jugs were glazed on the upper part of the body and all bowls were glazed internally. Several of the later cooking pots were also glazed.

Decoration on Potterspury vessels was more common on jugs, but not unknown on cooking pots and bowls. On bowls the main type of decoration was incised wavy lines either around the rim or the body externally, although some rims had thumb or finger-tip impressions. Cooking pots were often decorated by the application of applied strips of body clay which had thumb or finger-tip impressions, or with incised wavy line decoration (eg. 125).

No complete jug profiles were found, but the almost complete examples show that the bodies were either pear-shaped (176) or rounded (177). The bases were heavily knife-trimmed and either plain (176) or with finger-tip or thumb impressions

(192-95). One thumbed base (194) was probably a copy of contemporary stoneware. Decoration on the jug bodies consisted of throwing grooves (177) incised wavy lines (176 and 179) horizontal notching (190) and wavy lines (Group 29, Fig. 159, 6 and 7) and rouletted squares (188) or diamonds (189). One sherd from a highly decorated jug (191) had applied strips and pads decorated with small linear incisions. This may have come from a jug with either zoöomorphic or anthropomorphic decoration.

It is likely that baluster-shaped jugs were also made at Potterspury; the rim (187) and the bases (194 and 195; Fig. 165, 9) may have come from this type of vessel.

Most (97%) of the jug handles were of strap type with only a few of rod type, all the latter being plain and undecorated. The strap handles were of the following types and amounts:

- |     |                              |
|-----|------------------------------|
| Ch1 | Simple strap 9%              |
| Ch2 | Strap with single groove 86% |

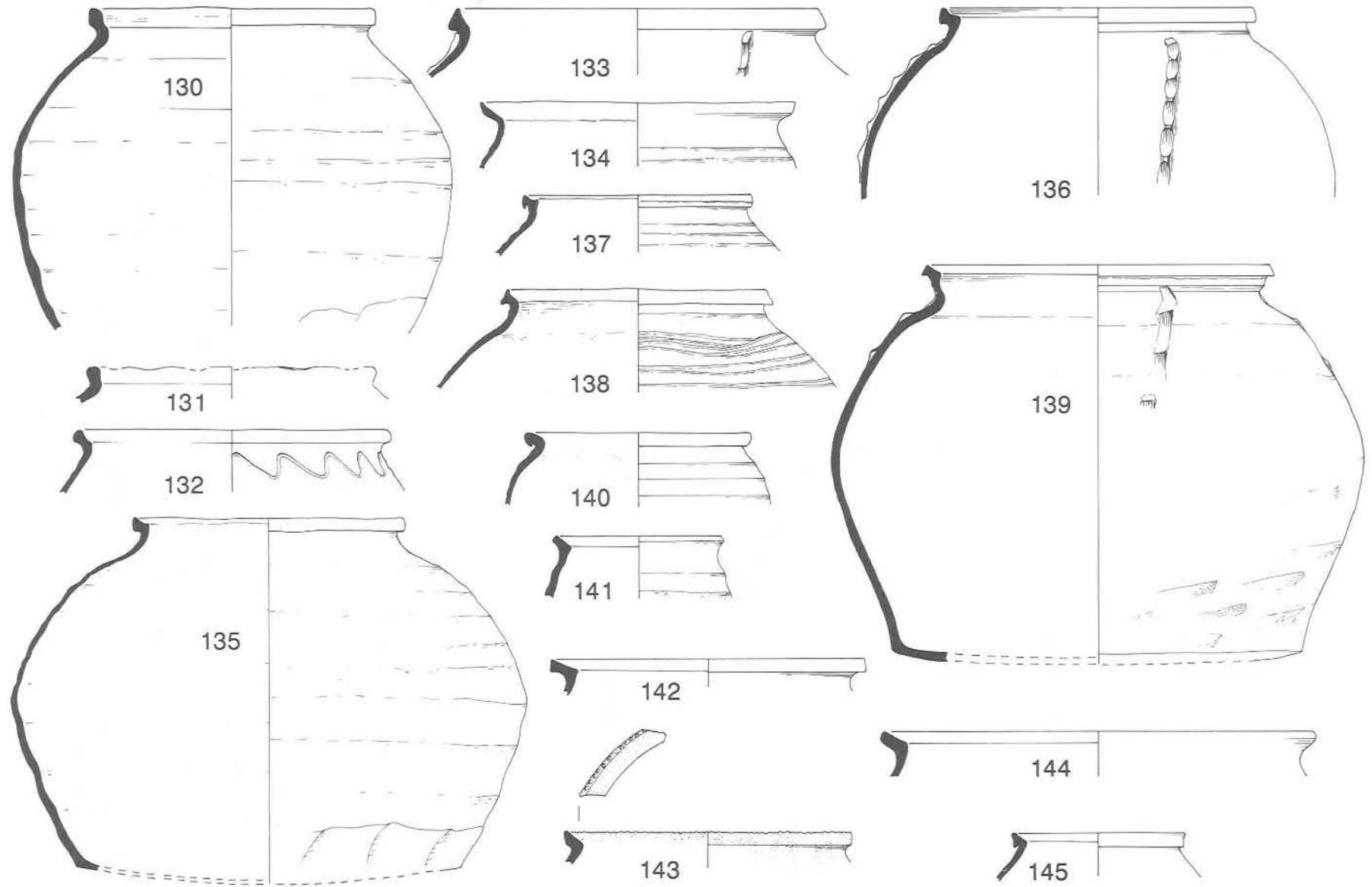


Figure 132: MS6 Pottersbury ware, Nos 130–145, scale 1:4.

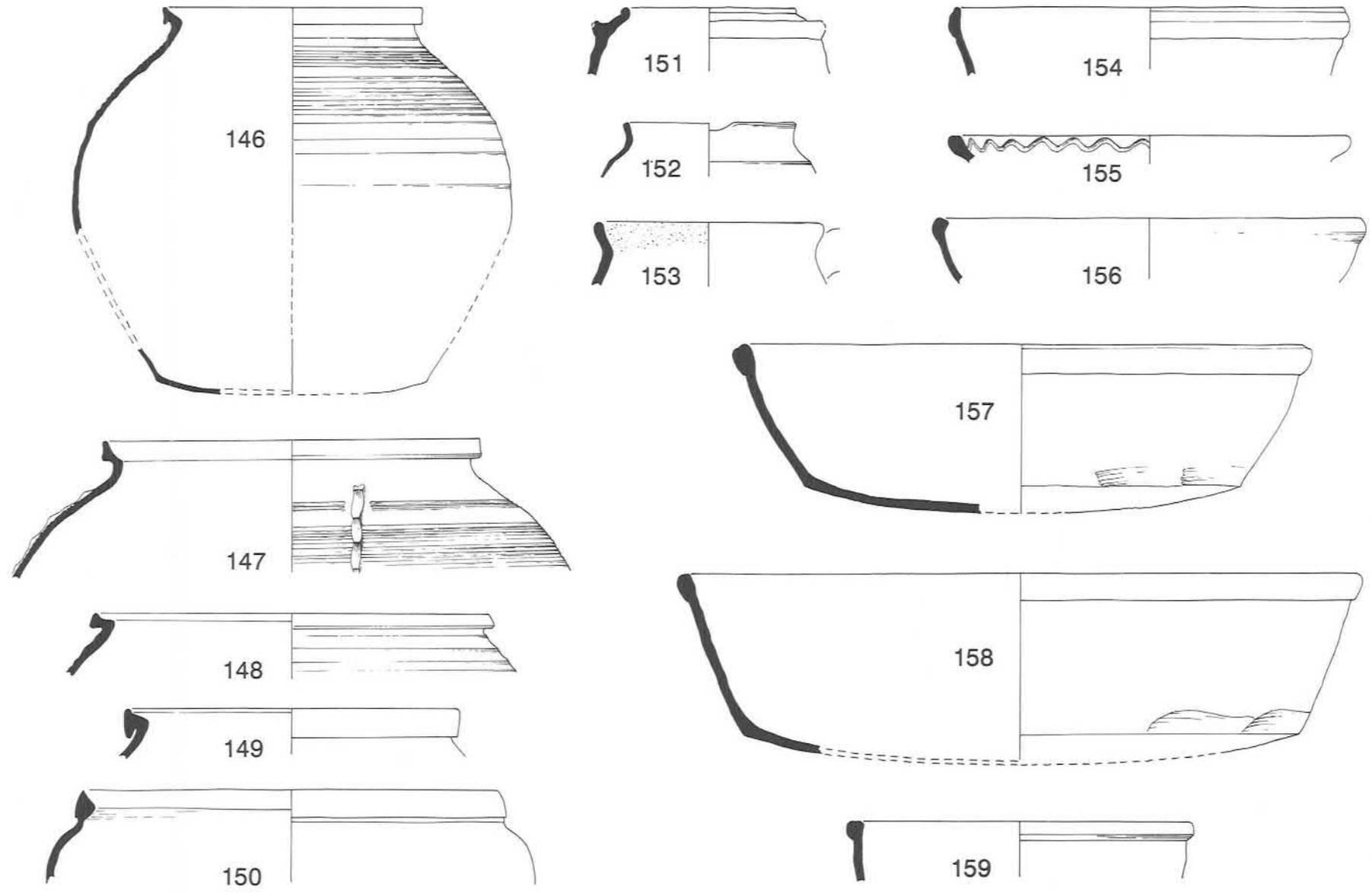


Figure 133: MS6 Potterspury ware, Nos 146-159, scale 1:4.

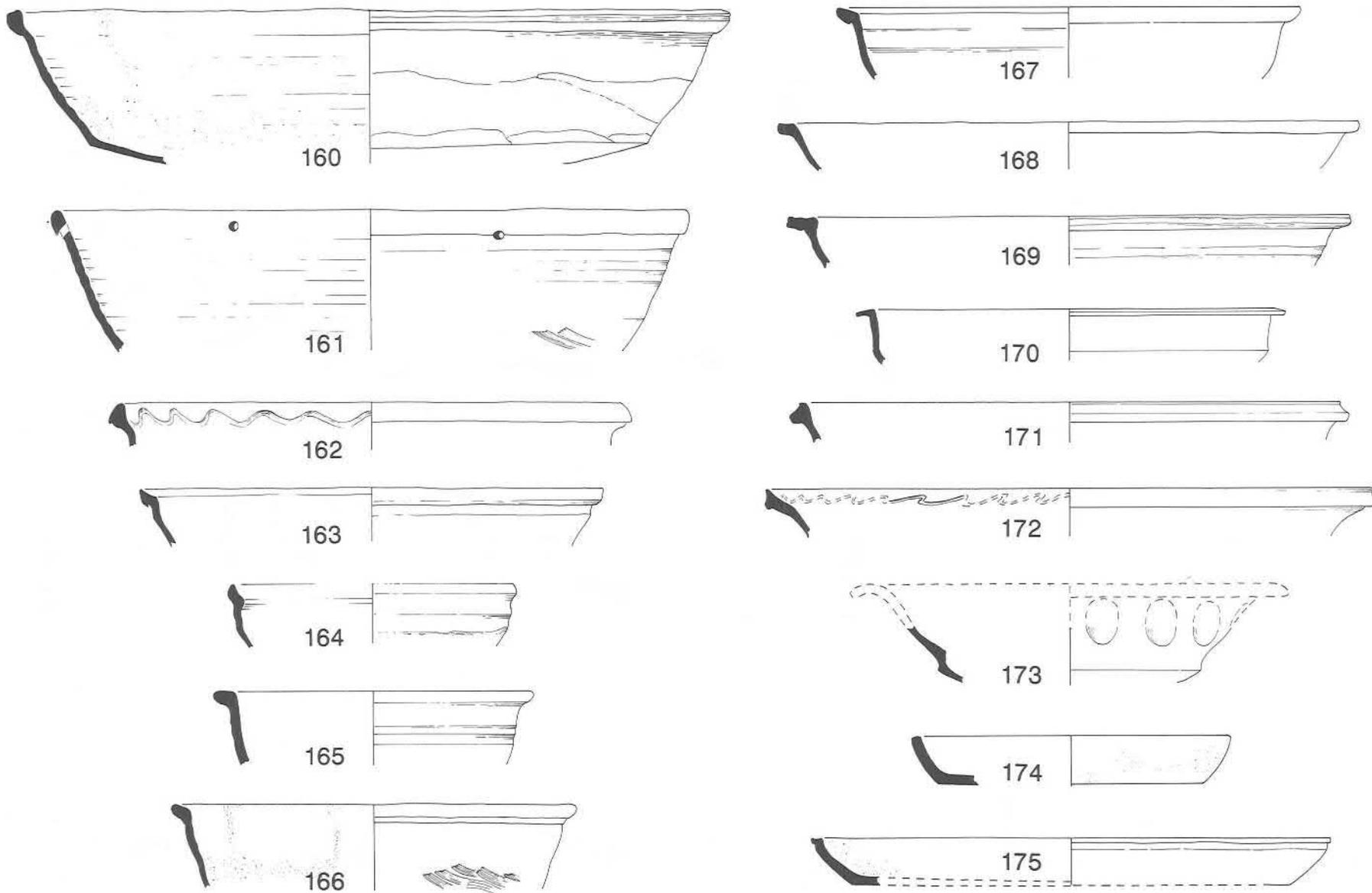


Figure 134: MS6 Potterspury ware, Nos 160-175, scale 1:4.

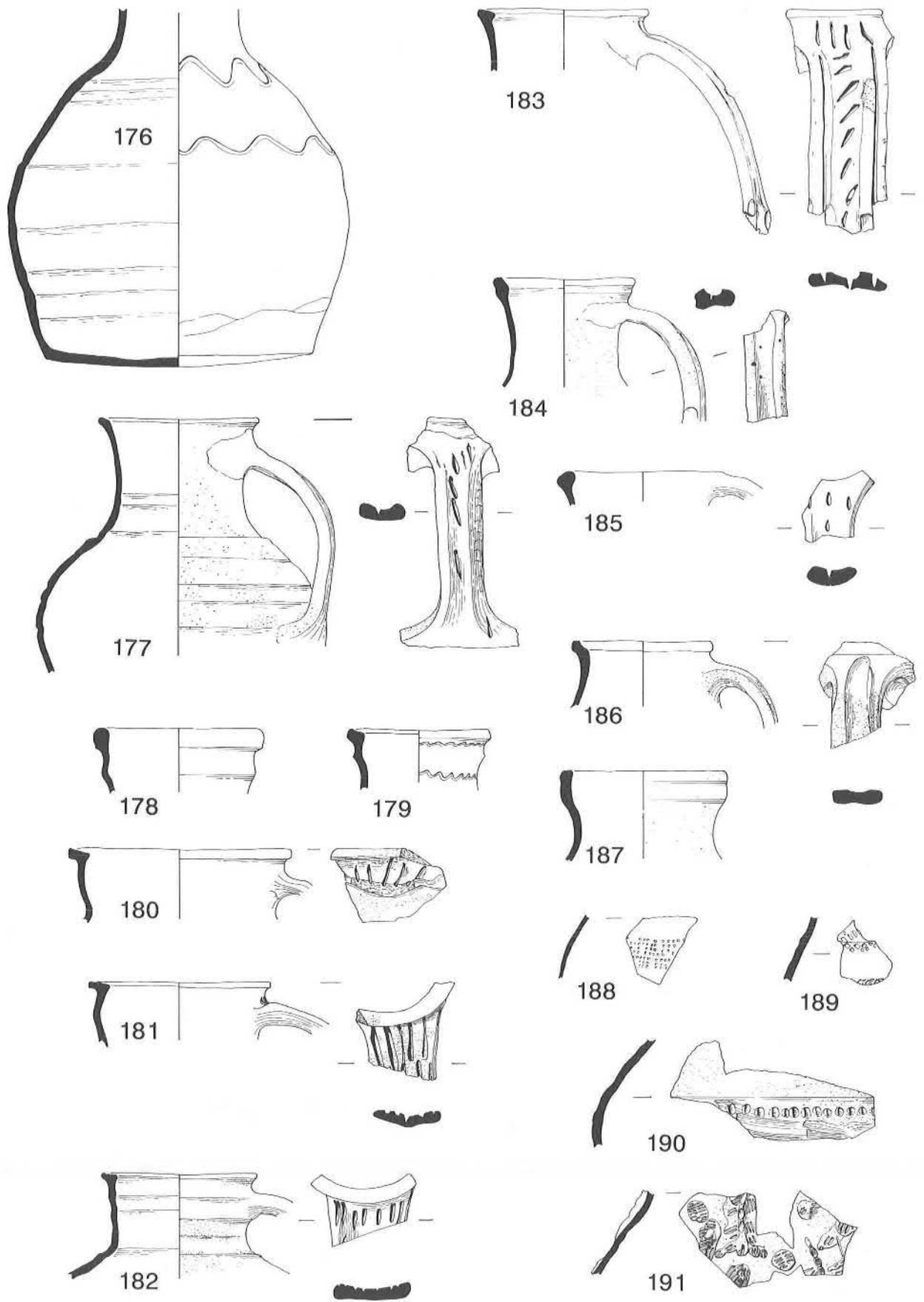


Figure 135: MS6 Potterspury ware, Nos 176-191, scale 1:4.

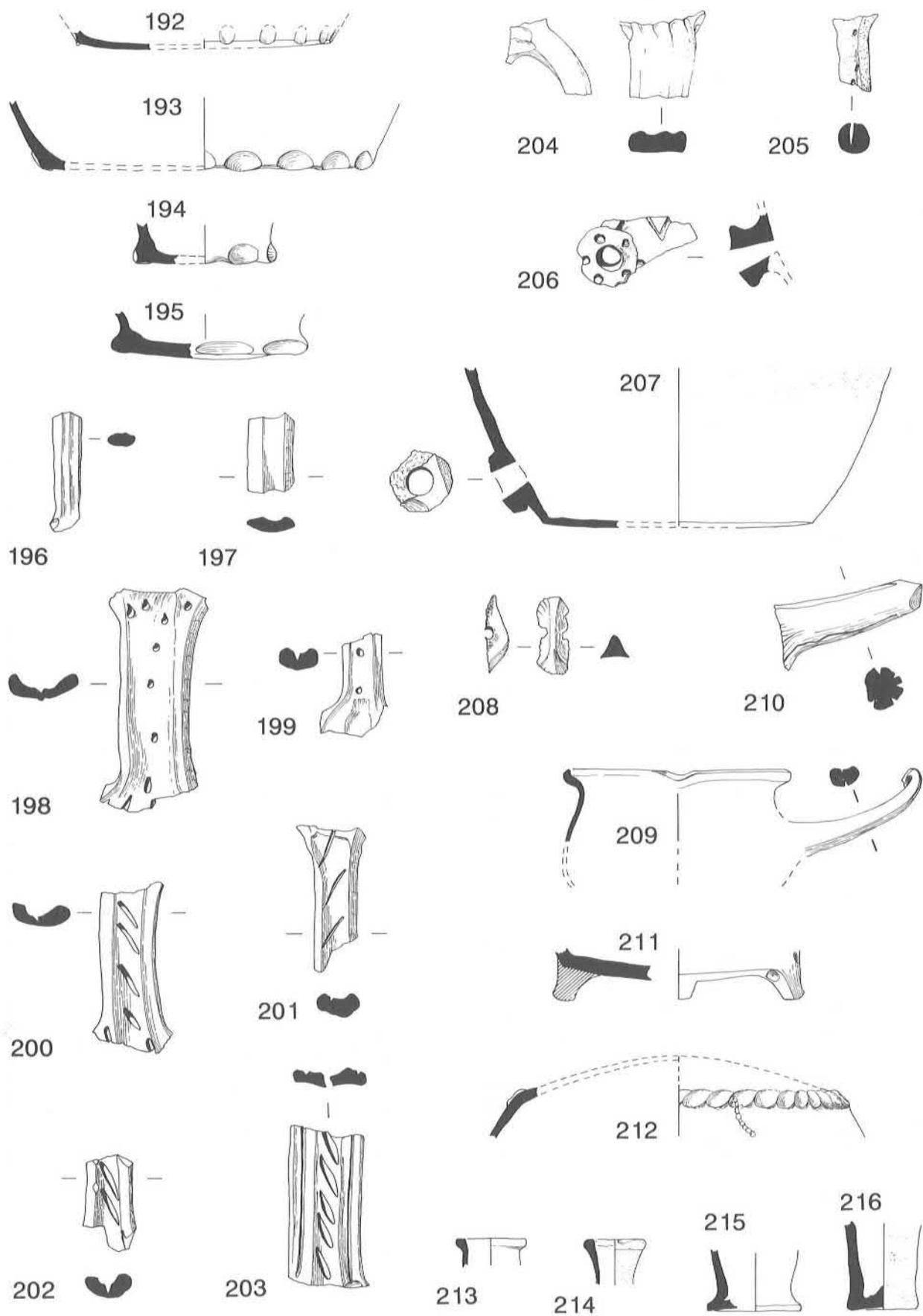


Figure 136: MS6 Potterspurgy ware, Nos 192–216, scale 1:4.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
117	A1a	-	221	E	26a	+
118	A1a	-	220	E	26a	+
119	A1d	-	220	F	32a	109
120	A1d	-	240	F	33a	+
121	A2a	-	120	E	26a	+
122	A2a/P3	-	220	D	23	+
123	A2a	2	200	C	21c	+
124	A3b	-	140	B	16	2
125	A3b	4	222	F	31a	80
126	A3c	-	120	E	26a	+
127	A3c	-	145	E	26a	+
128	A3c	-	170	F	31a	84
129	A3c/P3	-	170	F	31a	171
130	A3c/P3	-	200	F	31a	80
131	A3c	2	202	F	233a	+
132	A3c	4	221	E	27a	1
133	A3c	3	260	B	18a	+
134	A3c	-	219	E	26a	+
135	A3d/P3	-	190×250×266	D	23	5
136	A3d/P3	3	220	F	31a	80
137	A3f	-	160	E	26a	+
138	A3f/P3	-	190	F	31a	80
139	A3f/P3	3	245×275×285	F	31a	84
140	A4b	-	158	E	26a	+
141	A4c	-	120	E	27a	1
142	A4c	-	220	F	33a	+
143	A4c	2	200	F	31a	31
144	A4c	-	300	G	34	45
145	A4e	-	120	F	31a	44
146	A4e/P3	-	180	F	32a	108
147	A4e/P3	3	265	F	32a	109
148	A4e	-	280	F	32a	11
149	A4e	-	233	F	31a	146
150	A4f	-	300	F	32a	13
151	A5	-	163	L	42	35
152	A9	-	120	E	26a	+
153	A9	-	160	D	23	12
154	B2	-	278	C	21a	5
155	B2	4	280	B	16	2
156	B2	-	300	C	?	+
157	B2	-	402×117×300	B	11/12	21
158	B2	-	480	B	16	1
159	B2	-	240	B	9c	+
160	B2	-	500	F	31a	80,84
161	B2	-	440	E	27a	1
162	B2	4	360	G	34	9
163	B2	-	320	F	32a	108
164	B2	-	200	C	21a	4
165	B3	-	222	L	42	70
166	B3/P1	-	280	F	31a	96

TABLE 39: MS6/TLMS6, catalogue (Figs. 131–136, 117–216).

Table 39 continued.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
167	B3	-	320	F	32a	131
168	B3	-	400	E	27a	2
169	B3	-	390	B	16	7
170	B3	-	296	D	23	12
171	B3	-	385	L	42	35
172	B3	4	420	F	32a	108
173	B8	-	224	L	42	70
174	B30	-	220	L	42	58
175	B30	-	358	E	27a	1
176	C2/P2	4	190	L	42	146
177	C2/P2	Ch2c	114	E	27a	7
178	C1	-	121	C	21a	5
179	C1	4	102	L	42	70
180	C1	Ch2c	160	F	33a	+
181	C1	Ch2c	128	F	31a	145
182	C2	Ch2c	110	F	31a	43
183	C2	Ch2a	120	G	34	147
184	C2	Ch2a	100	F	31a	80,84+172
185	C2	Ch2a	115	F	33a	+
186	C2	Ch2	100	F	33a	+
187	C2	-	119	B	16	6
188	C	1	-	L	42	146
189	C	1	-	E	26a	+
190	C	8	-	F	31a	100
191	C	3	-	E	27a	10
192	C	11	180	F	31a	43
193	C	11	235	L	42	70
194	C	11	100	C	21a	3
195	C	11	138	F	31a	43
196	C	Ch1	-	B	16	6
197	C	Ch2	-	G	34	170
198	C	Ch2a	-	F	32a	11
199	C	Ch2a	-	D	23	+
200	C	Ch2c	-	F	32a	129
201	C	Ch2c	-	F	31a	172
202	C	Ch2b+c	-	E	27a	1
203	C	Ch2c	-	F	33a	+
204	C?	Ch3	-	G	42	9
205	C	Ch4a	-	Manor	45	92
206	C12	a	-	L	42	70
207	C12	-	190	F	31a	27
208	E1	-	-	Green	-	1
209	I1	Ih2c	160	F	31a+32a	13+80
210	I	Ih4c	-	F	32a	11
211	I	-	164	L	42	103
212	U1	-	?	E	27a	1
213	V2	-	50	F	31a	113
214	V2	-	44	F	32a	111
215	V2	-	66	G	34	7
216	V2	-	50	F	32a	110

TABLE 39: (Cont.) MS6/TLMS6, catalogue (Figs. 131-136, 117-216).

Ch3 Strap with double groove 3%  
Ch4 Rod 3%

Only the Ch1 and Ch2 handles were decorated as below:

Ch1 Plain 5  
Ch1c Stabbed and/or slashed 4  
Ch2 Plain 14  
Ch2a Stabbed 17  
Ch2bc Thumbed and stabbed and/or slashed 1  
Ch2c Stabbed and/or slashed 58  
Ch3 Plain 3  
Ch4 Plain 3

One of the type Ch2c (203) had a groove running down the edge of the handle on either side of the slashes. This is a common form of decoration on jug handles from Brill (Fig. 137, 229) but is rare at Potterspurpy.

The Ch3 handle (204) was fitted under an everted rim, the impression of the underside being visible on the top edge of the handle. This type of rim is unlikely to be that of a jug, and it is more likely that this is a handle from a vessel like 144, the cooking-pot with an A4c rim.

Several cisterns were identified by their bungholes (206 and 207; Fig. 159, 9; Fig. 161, 31). An unusual cistern had rouletted decoration around the lower part of the vessel (Fig. 165, 10); this came from the post-medieval Group 50. A pulled-out lug from a costrel (208) is the only evidence of this form in MS6 from Great Linford.

Several pipkin handles and only one rim were found; the reconstructed drawing (209) is based on the example in Northampton Museum (Mynard 1970, Fig. 2, 45). The other pipkin handles were also turned over at the end, apart from one (210) which was trimmed off with a knife. A large pipkin is probably represented by the tripod base (211).

Sherds of four curfews were found; the only example large enough to illustrate (212) had an applied strip decorated with thumb impressions around the shoulder angle, and an unusual small strip added over this at an angle with miniature thumb-type impressions, probably effected with a small tool.

Bottles were also made at Potterspurpy, eight examples being found at Great Linford, but no complete or reconstructable examples were found. 213-216 are typical bottle bases.

The range of vessels present in the mid to late seventeenth century destruction levels (Group 50) is shown in Fig. 165, 3-11.

#### MS8 *No common name*

Source: Probably Bedfordshire. MS8 is a coarse sandy fabric with grey core and dull orange-brown surfaces. The inclusions are quartz, polycrystalline quartz, very occasional plagioclase and microcline feldspars, flint, black opaques and some iron-stained calcareous fragments, many of which appear to have been wholly or partially dissolved out during burial to leave a number of voids (5% of the fabric). The rock and mineral inclusions constitute a further 25 to 30% of the fabric, occur up to 2mm. in size and are generally subangular to rounded. This fabric is similar to MSC2 and may be an oxidised version of it.

Amount: 3 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Late thirteenth to fourteenth century.  
Forms: Only jugs found.

The three jugs found, two from Group 2, which is of mid thirteenth to late fourteenth-century date and one from Group 38 of mid fourteenth to early fifteenth-century date, were represented by small sherds not large enough to illustrate.

#### MS9 *Brill/Boarstall wares*

Source: Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. (Farley 1982; Ivens 1982). Nine fine sand-tempered fabrics, all slightly different in appearance, have been identified (pers. comm. Barbara Hurman) as products of the Brill/Boarstall industry, all producing somewhat similar vessels. The principal inclusions were quartz, with occasional ferruginous streaks and concretions. Three of the samples were micaceous and one had sparse flint fragments.

Amount: 194 vessels, 2%.  
Date: Mid to late thirteenth to fifteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs and costrels.

As would be expected with plentiful supplies of local Potterspurpy ware available, only a small amount of Brill/Boarstall products were found at Great Linford. However, the fabric was present in most groups ranging from the late thirteenth to early fifteenth century. The largest amounts were residual in groups 18a and 46 each having 6%.

Jugs were the most common vessel type, cooking pots and bowls less so, and the single costrel quite rare. Two cooking pots are illustrated, 217 of fourteenth-century date, and 218, which probably dates from the fifteenth century. Most bowls found were flanged or outturned Type B3 (219) and one shallow bowl or fish dish, Type B30, had internal olive-green glaze.

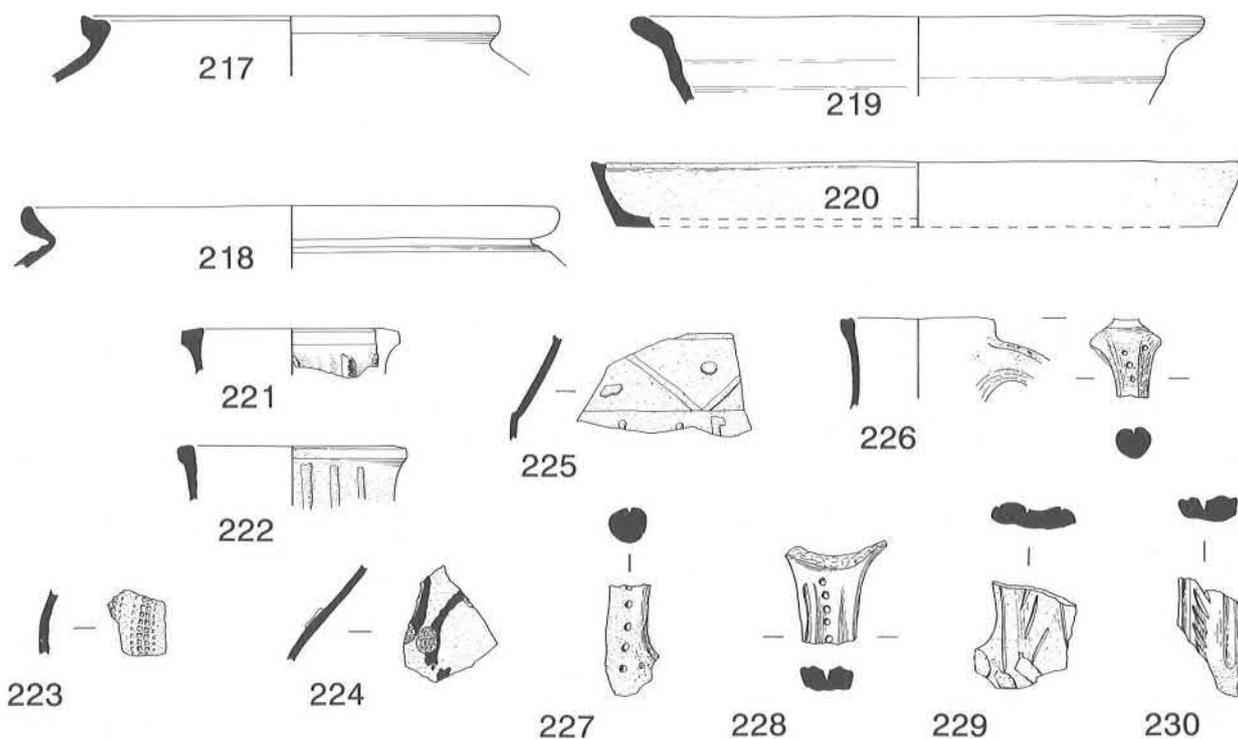


Figure 137: MS9 Brill/Boarstall ware, Nos 217–230, scale 1:4.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
217	A4d	–	218	F	31a	22
218	A4c	–	280	G	34	3
219	B3	–	302	B	11/12	37
220	B30	–	340	E	26a	+
221	C	–	115	?	–	+
222	C2	9	120	B	16	2
223	C	1	–	D	23	+
224	C	10	–	G	34	5
225	C	9+13	–	L	42	146 + 149
226	C2	–	80	G	34	102
227	C	Ch4a	–	F	32	108
228	C	Ch2a	–	B	18a	+
229	C	Ch2c	–	F	33a	+
230	C	Ch2c	–	Manor	45	82

TABLE 40: Fabric MS9, catalogue (Fig. 137, 217–230).

Several sherds from jugs (221–223) were decorated with well-known Brill/Boarstall techniques, such as applied vertical strips of alternate body clay and red iron-rich clay. Such strips were generally rouletted or notched (221 and 223). Applied pellets, both plain and with grid-stamp impressions, were sometimes placed at the intersections of the applied strips (224). One other jug sherd (225) had applied strips and pellets of body clay which were

not decorated.

Most jug handles were of rod section, Type Ch4 (226–227), and several were stabbed Ch4a. Strap handles were less common and were either stabbed Ch2a (228) or had oblique slashing contained within vertical grooves running down the handle, Type Ch2c (229). One example (230) had fairly wide grooves.

MS15 Surrey whiteware

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
231	C20/P2	–	140	C	–	1
232	A	–	160	B	16	2

TABLE 41: Fabric MS19, catalogue (Fig. 138, 231–32).

Source: Various sites in the Surrey and Hampshire border area (Pearce and Vince 1988). It has a fine sandy fabric, with an off-white or creamy-pink body and mottled green glaze. Inclusions present are frequent subangular and subrounded quartz and polycrystalline quartz in a non-ferruginous, optically active matrix which contains abundant small (<0.05mm.) quartz. Very occasional feldspars are also present. The larger inclusions are reasonably well sorted, ranging between 0.2 and 0.6mm.

Amount: 32 vessels, rare  
 Date: Fourteenth to fifteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking pots, bowls and jugs.

Only thirty-two vessels were found in this fabric, with a date range of fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Jugs and cooking pots together each represented 78% of the vessels, with bowls amounting to 9% and uncertain forms the remaining 13%. All jug handles found were of rod type (Ch4).

MS19 Stamford ware

Source: This well-known ware was produced at Stamford, Lincolnshire (Kilmurry 1980). The examples from Great Linford were all in a characteristic fine sandy fabric, ranging from off-white to a pinkish-white, occasionally reduced to a light or medium grey. Inclusions consist of abundant subrounded or rounded quartz, ranging from <0.05mm. to around 0.5mm. A few ferruginous concretions, some incorporating quartz grains, some clay pellets with a high quartz content and one large limestone fragment are also present.

Amount: 18 vessels, rare.  
 Date: Eleventh to thirteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking pots and jugs.

Stamford ware is uncommon in North Bucks. Of the eighteen vessels found at Great Linford, fourteen were jugs or spouted pitchers and the remainder cooking pots. Most sherds were small, but a cooking pot rim (232) was from a vessel of Stamford Type B5, (Mahany *et al* 1982, Fig. 33) and a large sherd of a spouted pitcher (231) was of Stamford Type B1 (*ibid*, Fig. 33).

MS26 Hard buff-brown sandy ware

Source: Unknown. It has a hard sandy fabric with light grey core and thin orange-brown to buff surfaces. Only one sherd from the lower part of a jug has evidence of glazing, which is dull olive-green in colour. The matrix is optically active and slightly micaceous, containing small (>0.05 mm) quartz. Quartz grains, ranging from angular to rounded, are the main inclusions, and constitute *c.* 5% of the fabric. They range from 0.2 to 1mm. in size, averaging around 0.5mm. Rounded ferruginous clay pellets and concretions are common; a little flint is also present. Much of the quartz is polycrystalline, and exhibits undulose extinction.

Amount: 11 vessels only, rare.  
 Date: Fourteenth to fifteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking pots, bowls and jugs.

Only eleven vessels, five cooking pots, four jugs and two bowls were found, of which only body sherds were recovered.

MS27 Nottingham ware

Source: Nottingham. It consists of a fine sand-tempered fabric with a grey core, orange internal surfaces and an olive-green glaze externally. This is typical of Nottingham orange sandy ware (Coppack, 1980).

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare.  
 Date: Mid fourteenth to late fifteenth century.  
 Forms: Jug.

Only one sherd, from a decorated jug, was found. It came from Group 19a, of mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth-century date. The decoration consisted of incised wavy lines on the body and an applied strip of self clay decorated with thumb or finger-tip impressions.

MS29 Flint-gritted wares

Source: Unknown. A group of miscellaneous sandy fabrics with visible flint inclusions and coarse surfaces.

Amount: 6 vessels only, rare.

Date: ?Twelfth to thirteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots only.

Only six body sherds all from cooking pots were found. None were glazed or decorated.

#### MS33 *Coventry ware*

Source: Probably manufactured in Coventry (pers. comm. Bob Thompson and Terry Pearson). A pink-buff sandy fabric with plentiful grey, red and colourless quartz grits, and a mottled dark green glaze externally.

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare.  
Date: Thirteenth to fourteenth century.  
Forms: Jug.

#### TLMS3 *Late medieval reduced ware*

Source: Great Brickhill, Bucks. It has a dark grey reduced sandy fabric with occasional red-brown oxidised surfaces or margins. The fabric is slightly micaceous with abundant quartz and some small flint inclusions, ranging from 0.05 to 0.9mm., though most are around 0.3mm., they are predominantly subangular and subrounded. The inclusions make up c. 25% of the fabric.

Amount: 701 vessels, 54%.  
Date: Probably first produced in late fourteenth century, but most common in the fifteenth and early to mid sixteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs, cisterns and lids.

The successor to the medieval sandy ware MS3, this is one of a series of fabrics which were first identified as 'East Midlands late medieval ware' (Moorhouse 1974) and are now more commonly known as 'Late medieval reduced wares'. Quantities of sherds including wasters have been collected since 1957 (Mynard 1971, 40, note 16) from a site at Great Brickhill, which is certainly one of the sources for this material. Another kiln site producing very similar vessels has been identified at Flitwick, Beds., some eleven kilometres to the east of Great Brickhill (Mynard *et al* 1983).

Late medieval reduced ware was also produced at Higham Ferrers, Northants. (Hall 1974b), but whilst the fabric and forms of the vessels produced there are similar to those from Brickhill and Flitwick, there is less decoration and no knife stabbing or slashing on them.

TLMS3 appears alongside MS3 in groups of mid to late fourteenth-century date. At first it is a rare fabric, for example in Group 7, where it comprised only 1% compared with 24% of MS3, but by the later fourteenth to early fifteenth century (Group 20a) the amount of TLMS3 had increased to 17% and MS3 was reduced to 5%. By the early to mid fifteenth century TLMS3 had virtually superseded MS3 with 33%, compared with only 8% of the latter. These figures are based on the minimum numbers of vessels represented. Difficulty has been experienced in sorting the two fabrics since plain body sherds are remarkably similar. The most reliable method employed has been to sort by form, since the later medieval forms are quite distinctive.

The vessels produced in TLMS3 included cooking pots (60%), bowls (26%), jugs including cisterns (14%) and lids (<1%). In the earliest groups (22, 27 and 28) there were no jugs, and cooking pots were twice as common as bowls. By the mid to late fifteenth century (Group 35) the bowl was the most common vessel (41%), with cooking pots amounting to 31% and jugs only 28%.

Most (62%) of the cooking pots had wide flat-topped, Type A4 rims (238–250), and one example (240) had thumb-impressed decoration on the rim. Of the bowls, almost all (78%), had heavy flanged rims, Type B3 (255–265), or were slightly thickened, Type B2 (251–254).

No complete jug profiles were recovered, and the only decoration noted on jug sherds was occasional incised horizontal grooves. Some jug bases were pinched out to create a 'frilly' base, copying contemporary stoneware forms. From the evidence of surviving bung holes decorated with finger or thumb impressions, several cisterns were also present. The jug/cistern handles were mostly (96%) of strap type, the remainder being rod handles. Many of the strap handles were undecorated, but one third had either stabbed, slashed or thumbed decoration. The handles were generally fixed to the body by being riveted, that is actually pushed through the wall of the vessel.

A small amount of TLMS3 was present in the post-medieval destruction levels (Group 50) and this was considered to represent a residual element rather than to suggest that TLMS3 continued to be produced into the seventeenth century. Apart from the cooking pot and the jug handle (Fig. 165, 1 and 2) all vessels in the post-medieval groups were of types similar to those illustrated (233–287).

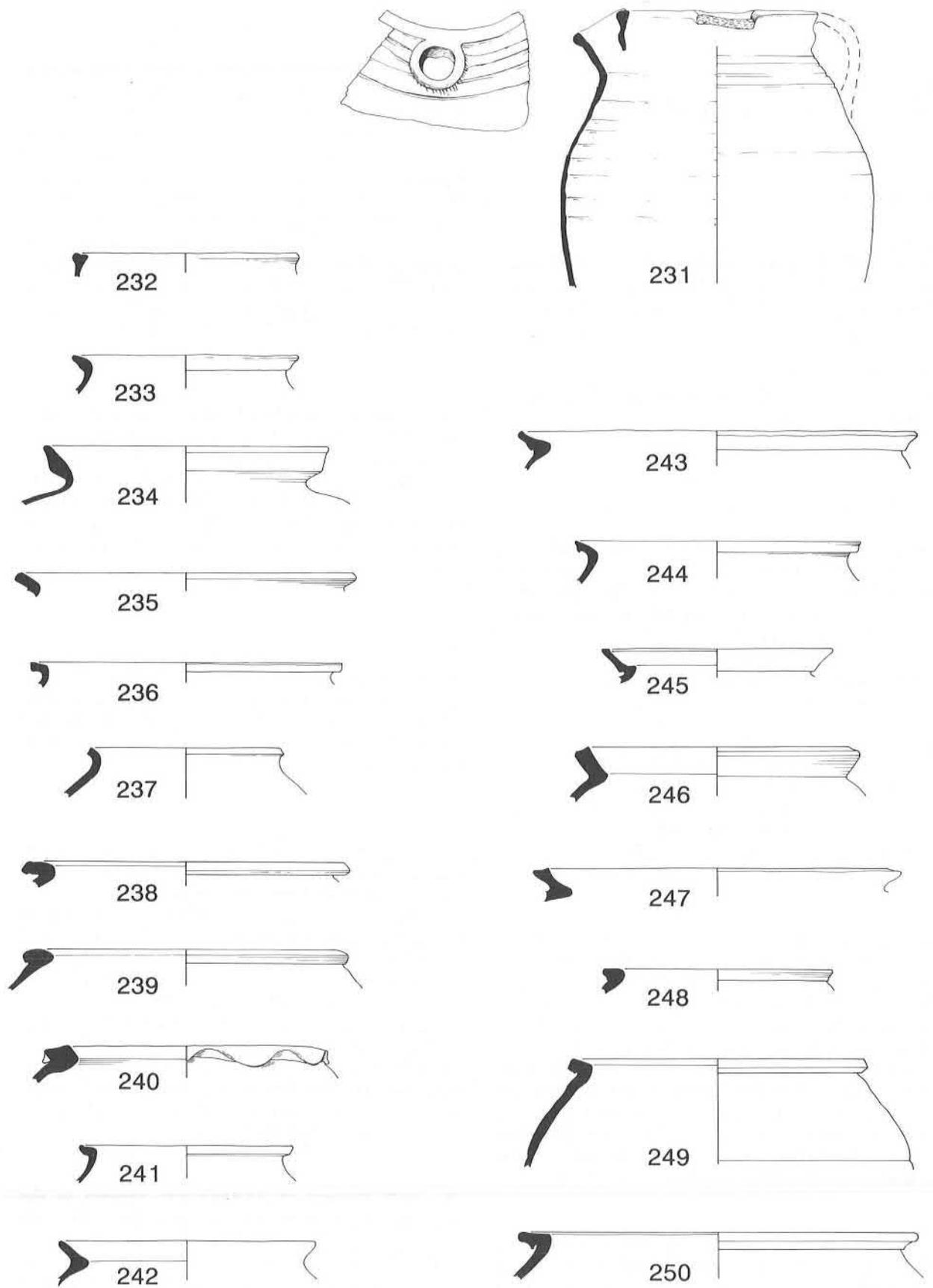


Figure 138: MS19, Nos 231–232; TLMS3 late Medieval reduced ware, Nos 233–250, scale 1:4.

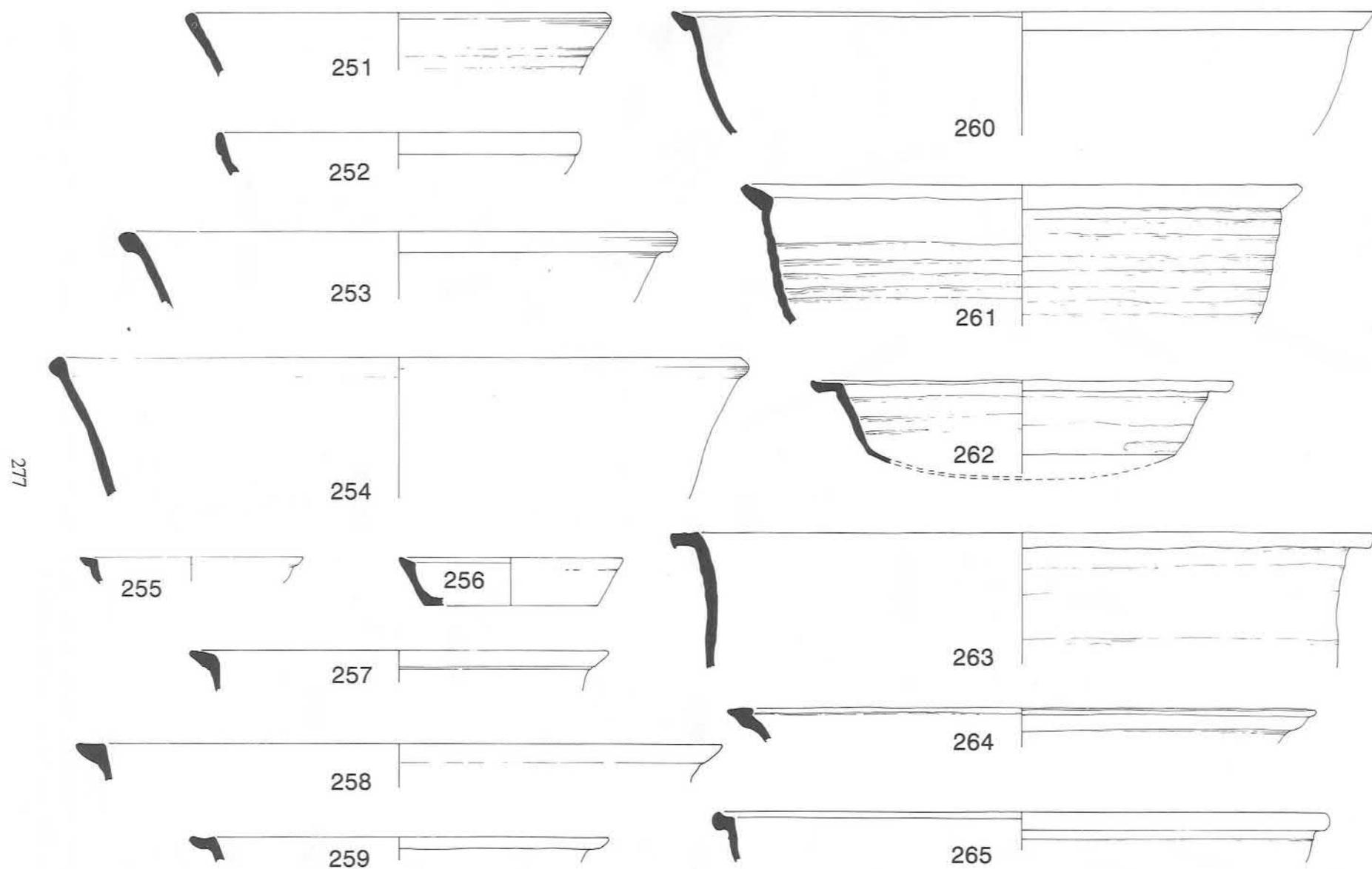


Figure 139: TLMS3 late Medieval reduced ware, Nos 251–265, scale 1:4.

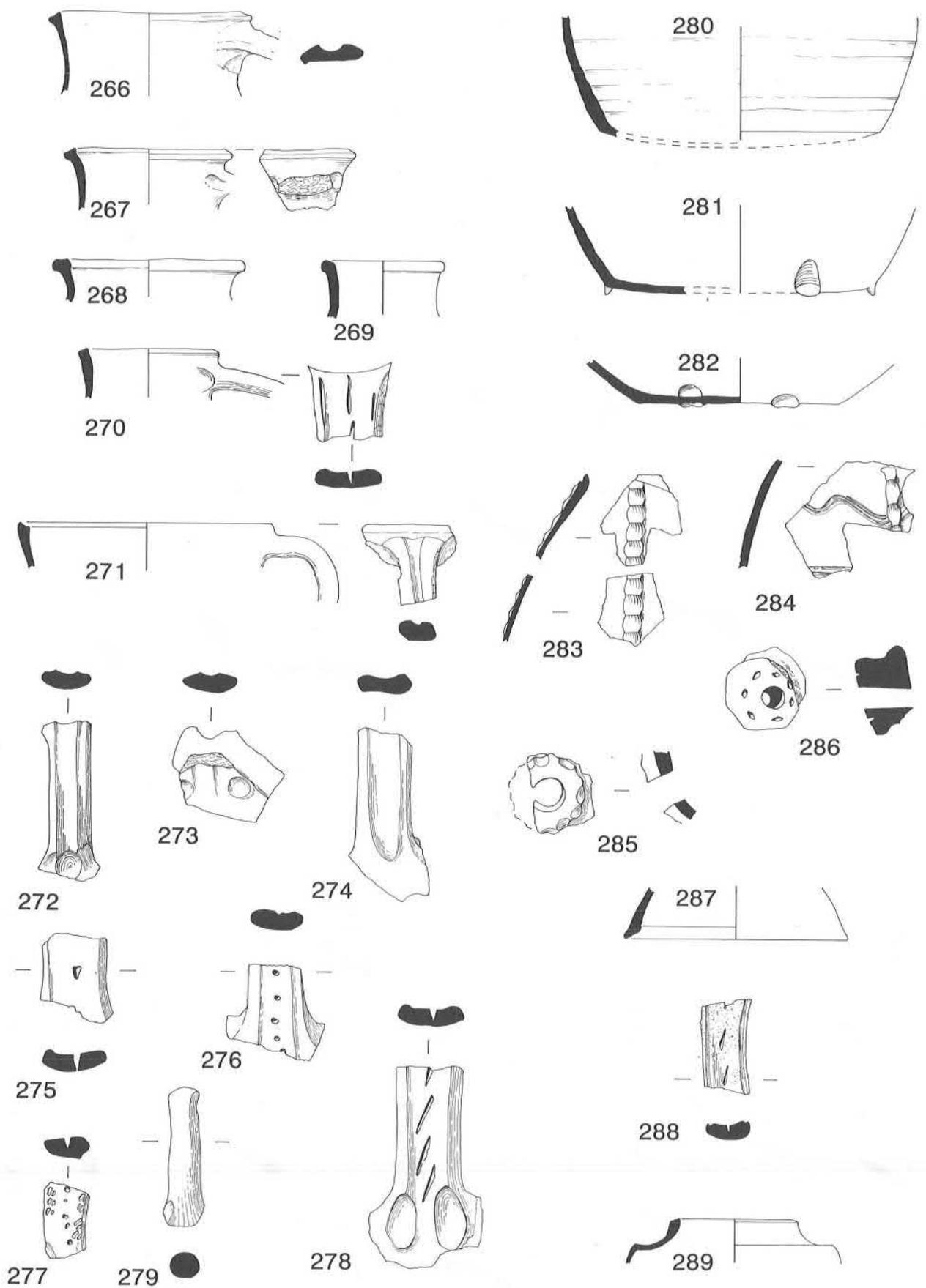


Figure 140: TLMS3 late Medieval reduced ware, Nos 266–287; TLM12 Red earthenware, No 288; TLMS13 fine late Medieval reduced ware, No 289, scale 1:4.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
233	A2a	-	160	F	33a	+
234	A2a	-	200	F	31a	44
235	A2a	-	240	C	21c	+
236	A3d	-	219	C	21a	4
237	A3d	-	140	F	33a	+
238	A4a	-	231	C	21a	4
239	A4b	-	228	C	21c	+
240	A4b	2	200	B	16	2
241	A4c	-	150	E	27a	7
242	A4c	-	180	F	31a	30
243	A4c	-	280	E	27a	1
244	A4c	-	200	F	31a	44
245	A4c	-	162	F	32a	14
246	A4c	-	200	F	31a	37
247	A4c	-	260	E	26a	+
248	A4d	-	160	E	27a	2
249	A4e/P3	-	210	F	32a	11
250	A4e	-	280	B	11/12	?
251	B2	-	304	F	32a	10
252	B2	-	260	C	21c	+
253	B2	-	399	E	27a	10
254	B2	-	500	F	32a	10
255	B3	-	160	F	31a	135
256	B3	-	160×34×124	L	42	71
257	B3	-	300	F	33a	+
258	B3	-	460	F	31a	87
259	B3	-	300	E	27a	1
260	B3/P3	-	500	F	31a	132
261	B3/P3	-	400	F	31a	39
262	B3/P3	-	300	F	31a	171
263	B3	-	500	C	21c	+
264	B3	-	420	L	42	+
265	B3	-	440	E	26a	+
266	C	Ch2	146	F	33a	+
267	C2	-	120	F	31a	31
268	C2	-	138	D	23	1
269	C	-	90	B	9a	1
270	C2	Ch1a	100	F	33a	+
271	C2	Ch2	183	C	21a	3
272	C	Ch2	-	C	21a	3
273	C	Ch2	-	F	33a	+
274	C	Ch2	-	C	21a	3
275	C	Ch1a	-	F	31a	44
276	C	Ch2a	-	D	23	12
277	C	Ch4a+13	-	F	31a	39
278	C	Ch2cb	-	F	31a	146
279	C	Ch4	-	E	26a	+
280	C	-	200	F	31a	30
281	C	-	190	F	31a	37

TABLE 42: Fabric TLMS3, catalogue (Figs. 138–140, 233–287).

Table 42 continued.

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
282	C	-	?	E	27a	2
283	A	3	-	B	11/12	26
284	A	3+4	-	B	11/12	44
285	C12	B	-	F	31	37
286	C12	A	-	L	42	+
287	Lid	-	160	C	21c	+

TABLE 42: (cont.) Fabric TLMS3, catalogue (Figs. 138–140, 233–287).

#### TLMS6 *Late medieval Potterspurgy ware*

Source: Potterspurgy and Yardley Gobion, Northants. The fabric is similar to MS6 but with redder surfaces. Glazes are olive-green. About 30% of the inclusions consist of subrounded to subangular quartz, ranging in size from c. 0.1mm. to 0.5mm., and ferruginous streaks and rounded concretions up to 1.5mm. The matrix is optically active and micaceous. All the inclusions are likely to be naturally occurring.

Amount: 306 vessels, 24%  
Date: Fifteenth to sixteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bottles, bowls, jugs, pipkins and skillets.

Since this fabric is merely a progression of MS6, discussion of it has been included with that ware, (p. 262, above).

#### TLMS7 *Late medieval Brill/Boarstall ware*

Source: Like MS9, this was manufactured at Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. It has a fine sandy fabric, creamy orange in colour, with pale orange-brown wash on surfaces. Glaze is shiny pale olive-green with darker speckles or almost clear. This fabric is similar to that produced in the kiln excavated at Brill in 1983 (Hurman 1988).

The fabric is micaceous and contains occasional ferruginous concretions, clay pellets and abundant quartz ranging from 0.01 to 0.4mm., but with most grains below 0.2mm. in size. The non-clay inclusions constitute 25–30% of the fabric.

Amount: 202 vessels, 14%  
Date: Fifteenth to seventeenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs, mugs, costrels, bottles, aquamaniles, plates and chamber pots.

Two hundred and two vessels were found in this fabric, the most common being jugs (31%), bowls (26%), cups (22%) and cooking pots (16%).

The illustrated vessels are all from Group 50 (Figs 165–66, 12–31). The cooking pots/jars may all have been handled vessels. One (13) can be paralleled

by products from a mid seventeenth-century kiln at Brill (Farley 1979, fig. 11). The simple rims (15 and 16) and the pipkin (17) may be of sixteenth-century date. The bowls can also be paralleled at Brill (Farley 1979, fig. 10). The incised spiral decoration on the inner face of the rim of 23 is not paralleled at Brill. The jug rim (24) may have come from a 'pear' shaped vessel similar to examples from Brill (Farley 1979, 20 and 21).

Several cups or mugs were also found in this fabric (26 – 30). The reconstruction of 28 is based on a seventeenth-century example from Potterspurgy (Mayes 1968, fig. 28, 5) and may be the base of a tall vessel copying a metal tankard. Other vessels included a rim from a small bowl or cup with a simple lip (29), the rim of a bottle (31), and a foot from a pipkin (not illustrated).

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

Source: Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. (pers. comm. Barbara Hurman). A hard-fired smooth-surfaced red earthenware which occasionally has a thin grey core. The glaze is clear, with brown speckles. The fabric is very fine, with few inclusions. The optically active, highly oxidized matrix contains small quartz, muscovite mica and rounded ferruginous blotches and concentrations. A very few larger quartz grains (>1%) are present.

Amount: 13 vessels, 1%.  
Date: Fifteenth to sixteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs and pipkins.

Only thirteen vessels were found in this fabric; three bowls, three cooking pots, six jugs and one pipkin.

#### TLMS10 *Red earthenware*

Source: Probably produced at Potterspurgy, Northants. It is a fine red earthenware, with a grey core and a clear to olive-green glaze.

Amount: 28 vessels, 2%.  
Date: Sixteenth to seventeenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs, bottles.

This fabric is tentatively attributed to Potterspurly because of its similarity to the later lead-glazed earthenware products (PM8) from that source. It is a poorly sorted fabric containing abundant small quartz, muscovite mica, flint etc. inclusions in an optically active matrix. A very few calcareous and glauconitic inclusions are also present. Although occurring up to 0.6mm. in length, the inclusions average around 0.2mm. and are naturally occurring. Twenty-eight vessels were found; nine cooking pots/jars, eight bowls, eight jugs and three bottles.

The illustrated examples are all from Group 50 (Fig. 166, 32–34). The chamber-pot (32) is a common seventeenth-century form. The jug handle (33) with its finger impressed decoration is not typical of Potterspurly, nor is 34, which appears to be a copy of an albarello.

TLMS 12 *Red earthenware*

Source: Probably produced at Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. (pers. comm. Barbara Hurman). It is a hard-fired fine red earthenware, with pale grey core and orange-red surfaces and a pale olive green to clear glaze.

Amount: 35 vessels, 2%.  
 Date: Sixteenth to seventeenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs and chafing dishes.

Thirty-five vessels were found; thirteen bowls, nine cooking pots, twelve jugs and a chafing dish. The jug handle (28) is characteristic of earlier Brill/Boarstall products, suggesting that this fabric came from those sources.

The seventeenth-century group (Group 50, Fig. 166, 35–38) contained two bowls, a jug and a chafing dish.

TLMS 13 *Fine late medieval reduced ware*

Source: Unknown. It has a hard fine sandy fabric, light grey with brown-buff core. This is a poorly

sorted fabric, similar to MSC6 but with smaller, more angular quartz inclusions which are probably naturally occurring.

Amount: 4 vessels only, rare.  
 Date: Sixteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking pots and jugs.

Two cooking pot rims, a jug handle and a wall sherd probably also from a jug were found. Both cooking pots were unglazed, and the jug handle, which was from a medium sized vessel, had traces of a run of dark olive-green to brown glaze.

TLMS 14 *No common name*

Source: Unknown. It has a hard sand-tempered fabric, light grey core with thin pale orange-brown surfaces and a pale olive-green external glaze. A characteristic feature is the presence of sparse black grits visible in fracture. Thin-section analysis showed that this ware has an optically active, 'fibrous' micaceous matrix containing small (c. 0.1mm.) quartz and ferruginous concretions and occasional small flint fragments. A larger (average 0.5mm.), predominantly subrounded quartz and polycrystalline quartz component constitutes c. 12% of the fabric and may have been added.

Amount: 28 vessels, 1%.  
 Date: Fifteenth to sixteenth century.  
 Forms: Cooking pots, bowls, jugs and lids.

Twenty-eight vessels were found; twenty-one cooking pots, two bowls, two pipkins, two jugs (Fig. 166, 39 and 40) and one lid. The cooking pots were all simple forms, apart from one Type A18. Both bowls had simple thickened rims. One jug was of Type C1 and the other a cistern with a simple bunghole, was c. 250mm. in diameter, with no external decoration.

TLMS 15 *No common name*

Source: Probably Brill or Boarstall, Bucks. (pers. comm. Barbara Hurman). A very fine sand

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
288	C	Ch2c	–	F	32a	110

TABLE 43: Fabric TLMS12, catalogue (Fig. 140, 288).

No.	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Croft	Group	Context
289	A17	–	92	F	33a	36

TABLE 44: Fabric TLMS13, catalogue (Fig. 140, 289).

tempered fabric, orange-buff internally and light grey externally, with a very smooth and shiny olive-green glaze externally. Alternatively, some sherds have a slightly pitted surface, and the glaze is darkened over the indentations. The fabric has an optically active, micaceous matrix containing predominantly subangular small (<0.05mm.) quartz inclusions, ferruginous concretions, flint, rare plagioclase grains and one small amphibole fragment. Larger quartz and polycrystalline quartz grains, ranging between 0.1 and 0.5mm. make up about 20% of the fabric. It is likely that all inclusions are naturally occurring.

Amount: 1 vessel only, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Butter pot.

TLMS16 *No common name*

Source: Unknown. A hard-fired smooth-surfaced fabric with a thin grey core, thick orange-brown margins and very distinctive grey and orange-brown streaky surface. The fabric is slightly micaceous, with occasional small (<0.05mm.) quartz and ferruginous concretions and streaks, and rounded red and yellow opaques. About 7% of the fabric is occupied by quartz inclusions up to 0.8mm. in size, ranging from angular to rounded, but being predominantly subrounded. A very few small feldspars are also present.

Amount: 10 vessels, rare  
Date: Probably fifteenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots and bowls.

Nine cooking pots and one bowl were found.

TLMS 17 *Tudor green type*

Source: Produced in the Hants. and Surrey border area (Pearce and Vince 1988). The fabric is off-white and smooth to the touch, with a rich apple-green to dark green glaze.

Amount: 9 vessels, rare  
Date: Fifteenth to early seventeenth century.  
Forms: Cups, costrels and jugs.

Nine vessels were represented by eighteen small sherds. The forms have been identified, as far as possible, from the type series published by Holling (1977, Fig. 1). None were large enough to illustrate. There were three lobed cups, three pedestal cups, one corrugated cup, a costrel, and a round-bodied jug.

#### POST-MEDIEVAL WARES

Since these wares are better known they are presented by area of manufacture. Detailed fabric

descriptions are unnecessary for many of the fabrics. Most of the coarse wares were submitted for thin-section analysis, and reports on this work are held within the Unit's archive.

Most of the post-medieval pottery came from groups associated with the desertion or abandonment of certain village houses as a result of the enclosure in 1658. Much of this pottery has been combined as Group 50, and is presented in fabric order (pp.323-58 and Figs. 167-185).

#### A. LOCAL WARES

These are mostly products of the South Northants. industry (SNI) which was centred on the villages of Paulerspury (Hall 1974a), Potterspury (Mayes 1968), and Yardley Gobion (Hurst 1969). Where a fabric may not have been produced at all three centres, only those at which it was produced are listed.

##### PM8 *Lead-glazed earthenwares*

Source: SNI. This fabric comprises six lead-glazed earthenwares (PM8, 9a, 9b, 10, 11, 71) which were initially separated because of slight variations in body or glaze. The fabrics vary in colour from orange-red to a dark or purple-red, and the glazes from clear through pale green, pale brown-orange to a dark olive green, sometimes with brown tones. Since thin-section analysis confirmed their basic similarity, these fabrics have been combined for statistical analysis.

Amount: 1571 vessels, 39%  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, costrels, chamber pots, chafing dishes, dishes, strainers, fuming pots, skillets, pipkins, butterpots, lids, bottles.

##### PM5 *Trailed slip-ware*

Source: SNI. Fabric and glazes as the earthenwares above, but with trailed slip decoration. The standard ware has a clear orangey glaze and a creamy-yellow trailed slip. The next most common has the surfaces reduced so that the glaze is a dark olive-green in colour.

Amount: 169 vessels, 4%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, chafing dishes, lids?

##### PM37 *Marbled slip-ware*

Source: SNI. Fabric and glaze as PM8, but with marbled slip decoration in imitation of Dutch and Italian marbled wares. On jars alternate trails of

cream and brown slip are run down the inside of the vessel, which is then tilted and swirled to create a marbled effect in the base. On bowls the brown and/or cream slip is applied internally, and brushed to create a marbled effect. Speckles of green (copper) in the glaze create additional colour.

Amount: 106 vessels, 3%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, jugs, chafing dishes, strainers, fuming pots.

#### PM20 *White-slipped ware*

Source: SNI. Fabric as PM8, but with a white slip under a yellow or green glaze. This ware is an imitation of the yellow-glazed and green-glazed white-bodied fabrics (PM18 and PM38) which were also produced by the Northants. potters.

Amount: 3 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls.

#### PM41 *Mottled brown-glazed ware*

Source: SNI. The body is a pale buff brown with orange tones, the glaze is a medium brown with darker brown speckles, giving a mottled effect as on the Staffordshire earthenwares (PM2, 3, 4 and 56). This is a local copy of the Staffordshire ware PM56 (p. 284, below).

Amount: 8 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, jugs, chamber pots.

#### PM39 *Brown-glazed ware*

Source: Probably Potterspurty, Northants. A coarser earthenware, generally brick-red in colour but occasionally grey internally. The glaze is a dark olive-green to brown.

Amount: 7 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Sixteenth to seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jars, jugs, mugs, butter pots.

#### PM13 *Black-glazed, slip decorated fineware*

Source: Potterspurty and Yardley Gobion, Northants. A fine hard red earthenware with smooth shiny dark brown to black glaze and yellow slip decoration.

Amount: 37 vessels, 1%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs and posset-pots.

#### PM16 *Black-glazed coarse wares*

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

Thin-section analysis revealed that the fabric was an optically active micaceous (both muscovite and biotite) matrix densely packed (c. 35%) with abundant small (0.05mm.) angular to rounded quartz grains. Very occasional larger (max. 0.6mm.) rounded quartz grains, ferruginous concretions and clay pellets are also present, as is some glauconite.

Amount: 373 vessels, 9%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs/cups, chamberpots, posset pots, butter pots, lids.

#### PM15 *Cistercian-type ware*

Source: Potterspurty and Yardley Gobion. The fabric is like PM13 but very hard fired, giving a purple-red body and lustrous black glaze. Some vessels are plain, but decoration occurs on others in the form of yellow slip, which occasionally has applied black pellets on it.

Amount: 31 vessels, 1%.  
Date: Late fifteenth to seventeenth century.  
Forms: Mugs, bottles, jugs?

#### PM18 *Green-glazed white ware*

Source: SNI. A smooth off-white fabric, with an occasional light grey core, pinkish tones and a medium to dark green glaze. 35–40% of this fabric consists of predominantly subangular quartz grains, 0.1–0.3mm. in size, occurring in an optically active matrix. Very occasional larger (0.5mm.) more rounded grains are also present.

Amount: 127 vessels, 3%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, chafing dishes, strainers, fuming pots, pipkins, plates.

#### PM38 *Yellow-glazed white ware*

Source: SNI. The fabric is more of a cream colour than PM18, and the glaze is yellow with occasional greenish or brown tones. Thin-section analysis

showed that this fabric consists of very occasional sandstone clasts in a densely packed matrix containing abundant small (0.05mm.) quartz and mica. There are scattered larger subangular and angular quartz grains (c. 0.2mm.) which are similar in size and shape to those composing the sandstone clasts. Most of the latter measure less than 2mm., but one huge inclusion, presumably a mistake, measures 7.5mm.

Amount: 70 vessels, 2%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, chafing dishes, pipkins, plates, skillets, candlesticks and albarello.

## B. STAFFORDSHIRE COARSE WARES

### PM2 *Buff-bodied slipware*

Source: Staffordshire. The fabric is smooth textured and creamy-buff in colour. Various slipware techniques were employed to create a wide variety of colourful effects, the most common of which was achieved by covering the body with a dark brown slip and trailing a white slip over it. The white slip could then be combed, marbled or feathered to create the desired finish.

Amount: 118 vessels, 3%.  
Date: Late seventeenth and eighteenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, plates, posset pots, lids.

### PM42 *Pink-bodied slipware*

Source: Staffordshire. A fine buff to pink fabric with a dark chestnut-brown glaze and yellow trailed slip decoration.

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowl.

### PM56 *Mottled brown-glazed whiteware*

Source: Staffordshire. An off-white to buff slightly sandy fabric with a grey to brown glaze with darker brown flecks, probably attempting to imitate the appearance of stoneware.

Amount: 13 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls and jugs.

### PM1 *Black-glazed ware*

Source: Staffordshire. There are probably several fabrics included under this heading, ranging from a pale buff-pink to red body with a shiny dark brown

to black glaze, to a very hard-fired purplish-red body with similar glaze. The harder fired body appears lustrous where not glazed, and some vessels have a red ferruginous quartz-rich slip under the glaze. The so-called 'Midland Purple' ware is included with this fabric.

Amount: 190 vessels, 6%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Cooking pots, jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, butter pots.

### PM43 *Variegated ware*

Source: Staffordshire. Marbled red and brown fabric with clear glaze, giving a brown and dark brown streaky effect.

Amount: 7 vessels only, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jugs and mugs.

## C. OTHER ENGLISH WARES

### PM21 *English tin-glazed earthenware*

Source: Probably Lambeth, London.

Amount: 109 vessels, 3%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, dishes, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, plates and albarellos.

### PM22 *White salt-glazed stoneware*

Source: Various. Salt-glazed stoneware is off-white in colour and was made principally at Burslem in Staffordshire from about 1730. At Oxford it first appeared in early to mid eighteenth-century deposits, and the peak of its use appeared to be the mid to late eighteenth century (Hassal 1984, microfiche II E 1).

Amount: 114 vessels, 3%.  
Date: Mid to late eighteenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, plates, butter dishes and tea pots.

### PM30 *Scratch blue*

Scratch blue is the name given to white salt-glazed stoneware which has incised decoration picked out by having a cobalt blue-stained clay slip rubbed into it.

Amount: 1 vessel only, rare.  
Date: c. 1740-1780.  
Forms: Tea bowl or cups.

#### PM23 Creamware

Source: Various. Creamware was first produced in Staffordshire about 1740, but not in any quantity until it was perfected by Wedgwood in 1760. This became known as 'Queen's ware' after the gift of a caudle and breakfast set to Queen Charlotte by Josiah Wedgwood. At Oxford it was not found in any considerable quantity in archaeological deposits until after c. 1760 (Hassal *et al* 1984, microfiche II, G1).

Amount: 143 vessels, 4%.  
Date: Mid to late eighteenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, dishes, jugs, cups, chamber pots, plates, coffee pots.

#### PM24 Pearlware

Source: Various. Pearlware was introduced about 1780, and produced at the same centres as creamware. The body is off-white in colour and the lead glaze contains cobalt, giving a bluish tone.

Amount: 69 vessels, 2%.  
Date: Late eighteenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, jugs, mugs, chafing dishes, plates, lids and a ladle.

#### PM25 White earthenware

Source: Various. Numerous white-bodied earthenwares were produced from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Amount: 68 vessels, 2%.  
Date: Late eighteenth into nineteenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, plates, and lids.

#### PM27 English porcelains

Source: Various. Porcelain was produced in this country from the mid eighteenth century.

Amount: 21 vessels, 1%.  
Date: Eighteenth and nineteenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, mugs, plates, and cruet.

#### PM28 English brown salt-glazed earthenwares

Source: London, Staffordshire and Nottingham. Stoneware was first produced in England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In 1671 John Dwight of Fulham was granted a patent to produce stoneware (Mountford 1971, 3). The stoneware found at Great Linford was probably produced at Fulham and also in Staffordshire, while a small proportion came from Nottingham.

Amount: 5 vessels only in Group 50, but 33 vessels (87%) in Group 51.  
Date: Seventeenth to eighteenth century.  
Forms: Jars, bowls, jugs, mugs, chamber pots, bottles.

#### PM34 Black basalt

Source: Staffordshire. This fine black stoneware was introduced by Josiah Wedgwood in 1766 (Hughes 1968, 15), and similar wares were soon produced by many of his competitors.

Amount: 1 vessel only, rare.  
Date: Late eighteenth century.  
Forms: One teapot found.

#### PM45 No common name

Source: Unknown. Buff earthenware with pinkish tones, clear lead glaze internally and characteristic incised decoration

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, only one found.

#### PM52 Tin-glazed earthenware

Source: Unknown, but possibly London (pers. comm. Bob Thompson). Pink-buff earthenware with dull tin glaze, crazed externally, and decoration of applied encrusted patches of quartz chips.

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare.  
Date: Seventeenth to eighteenth century.  
Forms: Jar.

#### PM58 Red stoneware (Elers ware)

Source: Staffordshire. The Elers brothers produced red stonewares from about 1693 to the early years of the eighteenth century (Hughes 1968, 70). Other potters copied the ware, and the name Elers ware is used for all unglazed red stoneware of the early eighteenth century.

Amount: 3 vessels only, very rare.  
Date: Late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.  
Forms: Teapots.

#### PM59 Whieldon-type ware

Source: Staffordshire. Thomas Whieldon, at one time a partner of Josiah Wedgwood, produced pottery from c. 1740 to 80. He made a variety of wares, the most common of which were marbled and tortoiseshell wares. The fabric is a buff earthenware, with mottled cream and brown slip decoration under the glaze.

Amount: 1 vessel only, rare.  
Date: Mid to late eighteenth century.  
Forms: Bowl.

#### D. IMPORTED WARES

##### PM7 Werra slipware

Source: Germany. Several centres in the Werra river area near Kassel (Jennings 1981, 78). Buff to creamy-brown fine earthenware, with white slip internally and painted light chestnut-brown decoration with green splashes, all under a lead glaze.

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare.  
Date: Late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowls only, with slip decoration and glaze internally.

##### PM29 Miscellaneous Rhenish stonewares

Source: Germany. Various production centres in the Rhineland.

Amount: 72 vessels, 2%.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jugs and bottles (bellamines).

##### PM32 Westerwald stoneware

Source: Germany. The industry was centred on the towns of Grenzau, Höhr and Grenzhausen in the Westerwald area, on the east bank of the Rhine between the River Sieg and the River Lahn (Hurst *et al* 1986, 221).

Amount: 2 vessels, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Jugs.

##### PM44 Martincamp flasks

Source: France. Martincamp, between Dieppe and Beauvais (Hurst *et al* 1986, 102). Hard-fired smooth red earthenware, buff red in colour but sometimes reduced to a brownish grey and red.

Amount: 14 vessels, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Flasks.

##### PM48 Tin-glazed earthenware

Source: North and South Netherlands.

Amount: 7 vessels, rare.  
Date: Seventeenth century.  
Forms: Bowl, albarello.

##### PM72 Dutch lead-glazed earthenware

Source: Most likely to have been produced in North Holland.

Amount: 1 vessel only, very rare  
Date: Seventeenth century  
Forms: Bowl.

#### E. EASTERN WARES

##### PM50 Chinese porcelain

Source: China.

Amount: 53 vessels, 1%.  
Date: seventeenth to nineteenth century.  
Forms: Bowls, plates, tea pots and bottles.

#### THE GROUPS

At Great Linford, as on all the medieval village excavations undertaken in the Milton Keynes area, the archaeological levels rarely exceeded 300mm. in thickness and were often shallower. Once the topsoil was removed, rubble destruction levels over the buildings were seldom more than 150mm. thick and floor levels rarely exceeded 100mm. Yard surfaces normally consisted of a single layer of limestone rubble and pebbles up to 150mm. in thickness. On some crofts, evidence of a primary timber phase consisting of gullies and pits with a dark silt spread no more than 150mm. in thickness was found. This evidence generally survived under floor levels, where it had been protected, rather than under yard surfaces where continuous use had largely destroyed it.

Under these conditions, with little undisturbed stratigraphy and no rubbish pits, closely dated groups of pottery were uncommon. However, as the stratigraphic and other information from each croft was analyzed, related contexts representing phases of activity were grouped together. The pottery from each of these groups was then studied individually.

Sixty-four groups of pottery were thus identified; some were too disturbed for detailed analysis to be worthwhile. However statistical analysis of most groups was undertaken, and whilst only selected results are published here all are held within the Unit's archive. The following list of the groups, giving brief details, is arranged by croft, and is not in chronological order.

1. Croft A, Building 3 occupation and destruction levels, mid to late thirteenth century.
2. Croft A, Building 1a, disturbed occupation and destruction levels, plus residual material from Group 3, late thirteenth to late fourteenth century.

3. Croft A, Building 1, occupation and destruction levels, plus the intrusive material from Group 2, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
4. Croft B, contexts sealed? by Building 6, early to mid thirteenth century. Intrusive post-medieval pottery removed to Group 17.
5. Croft B, Building 6, occupation levels, mid to late thirteenth century. Intrusive post-medieval pottery removed to Group 17.
6. Croft B, Building 6, residual medieval material from later (Phase 2) occupation, mid to late thirteenth century.
7. Croft B, Building 4, earliest occupation, mid thirteenth to late fourteenth century.
- 8a. Croft B, Building 4, occupation and destruction levels, mid thirteenth to late fourteenth century.
- 8b. Croft B, provenance as Group 8a, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
10. Croft B, Pre-building 5, mid thirteenth to early fourteenth century.
- 11/12. Croft B, Building 5, occupation levels plus residual medieval pottery from Group 13, thirteenth to early fourteenth century.
13. Croft B, Building 5, occupation and destruction levels, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
14. Croft B, Building 7, occupation and destruction levels, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
15. Croft B, topsoil, eighteenth to nineteenth century.
16. Croft B, yards around Buildings 5 and 6, residual medieval material, mid thirteenth to late fifteenth century.
17. Croft B, provenance as Group 16, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 18a. Croft B, topsoil over Buildings 5 and 6, thirteenth and fourteenth century.
- 18b. Croft B, provenance as Group 18a, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 19a. Croft C, Buildings 13 and 14, occupation and destruction levels, mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth century.
- 19b. Croft C, provenance as Group 19a, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 20a. Croft C, Building 8, occupation levels, late fourteenth to mid fifteenth century.
- 20b. Croft C, provenance as Group 20a, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 21a. Croft C, yards and topsoil, thirteenth to fifteenth century.
- 21b. Croft C, yards, late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 21d. Croft C, topsoil, late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
22. Croft D, Buildings 9 and 12, occupation and destruction levels, mid twelfth to mid to late fourteenth century. A small amount of seventeenth century pottery added to Group 24.
23. Croft D, yards and topsoil, residual medieval material, thirteenth to fifteenth century.
24. Croft D, yards, mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
25. Croft D, topsoil, late seventeenth to late eighteenth century.
- 26a. Croft E, topsoil, residual medieval material, fourteenth to sixteenth century.
- 26b. Croft E, topsoil, mid to late seventeenth to late eighteenth century.
- 27a. Croft E, destruction levels, twelfth to fifteenth century.
- 27b. Croft E, provenance as Group 27a, late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
28. Croft E, Ditch 4, south of Building 10, first half of the fifteenth century.
29. Croft E, in Hearth 5, Building 10, mid fifteenth century.
- 30a. Croft F, Phase 1, late tenth to early twelfth century.
- 30b. Croft F, Phase 1, mid eleventh to mid twelfth century.
- 30c. Croft F, Phase 1, twelfth century.
- 30d. Croft F, Phase 2, late fourteenth century.
- 31a. Croft F, Buildings 15, 16, 17 and 18, occupation levels, includes Phase 1 residual material, mid tenth to fifteenth century.
- 31b. Croft F, provenance as Group 31a, late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 32a. Croft F, Buildings 16 and 18 destruction levels, residual medieval material, twelfth to fifteenth century.
- 32b. Croft F, provenance as Group 32a, late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century. Included in group 50.
- 33a. Croft F, topsoil, twelfth to early sixteenth century.

- 33b. Croft F, provenance as Group 33a, late sixteenth to early eighteenth century, plus late eighteenth century rubbish deposits. Included in Group 50.
34. Croft G, all contexts, twelfth to seventeenth century, contexts too disturbed for useful analysis of pottery.
35. Croft H, Building 22 and yard Phase 1, occupation, mid to late fifteenth century.
36. Croft H, Building 22 and yard, Phase 2 occupation and destruction levels, late fifteenth to mid to late seventeenth century, plus late eighteenth century rubbish deposits. Included in Group 50.
38. Croft J, Building 24 occupation and destruction levels, includes residual pottery from Group 40, mid fourteenth to early fifteenth century.
39. Croft J, Building 23, yard surface (11) mid to late seventeenth century.
40. Croft J, topsoil, late sixteenth to late eighteenth century.
41. Croft L, Phase 1, pre-stone buildings, late tenth to early thirteenth century.
42. Croft L, residual material from Groups 43 and 44, thirteenth to early sixteenth century.
- 43a. Croft L, lower destruction level over south yard, infill of pond (F5), and drain (F14), late fifteenth to mid seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 43b. Croft L, Buildings 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 33, occupation levels late fifteenth to early to mid seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
- 43c. Croft L, destruction level over Group 43a in the south yard, late fifteenth to late seventeenth century. Included in Group 50.
44. Croft L, Buildings 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33 and associated yards, destruction levels, mid to late seventeenth century.
45. Manor, pre-manor residual material from later contexts, small amount only, not used for statistical analysis, twelfth to fourteenth century.
46. Manor, Phase 1, late fourteenth to late fifteenth century.
47. Manor, Phase 2, late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century.
48. Manor, Phase 3 (destruction levels) late seventeenth century, not used for statistical analysis.
49. Manor, topsoil, sixteenth to nineteenth century, not used for statistical analysis.
50. The seventeenth-century pottery from the last period of use and the destruction levels of most of the village houses. The date can be narrowed to the

third quarter of the seventeenth century. This group has been formed by combining the following of the above Groups; 3, 8b, 13, 14, 17, 18b, 19b, 20b, 21b, 21d, 24, 27b, 31b, 32b, 33b, 36, 39, 43a, 43b, 43c, 47.

51. The midden group from the present manor house, late seventeenth to late eighteenth century.

Many of these groups had a wide date range, coming from contexts such as yard surfaces that had been open and in use for long periods, and which contained pottery and finds representing the total span of occupation on the croft. In these circumstances, pottery from such contexts was divided into medieval and post-medieval, and the group divided, with the suffix 'a' or 'b'.

Those medieval and later groups that had a shorter date range and were relatively undisturbed (2, 7, 19a, 30d, 35, 38 and 41) and others that were probably completely undisturbed (1, 20a, 28, 29, 30a, 30b, 30c, 46, and 47) have been chosen for illustration (Figs 141–64). The remaining pottery has been used to illustrate additional forms and decoration techniques in each fabric, (Figs 123–140). The post-medieval groups were mostly of late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth-century date. Most seem to end in the third quarter of the seventeenth century after the enclosure of the parish in 1658, and have been combined to form Group 50 (Figs 165–85).

All of the groups, apart from 15, 25, 26b, 34, 45, 48 and 49 have been used for a statistical analysis of the pottery, the principal objectives of the analysis being to ascertain:

- A. The relative proportions of individual fabrics in each group.
- B. The relative proportions of vessel types in each group.
- C. The minimum number of and percentage of vessels in each fabric.
- D. The number of vessels in any fabric shown as a percentage of the total number of that type of vessel.
- E. The relative proportions of each rim form within each vessel type.

A selection of this information is contained within this published report; the complete analysis is held within the Unit's Archive.

*Group 30a: late tenth to early twelfth century*

This group from Croft F consists of the pottery from gullies and a pit (Contexts 114, 126, 140, 144 and 150) sealed by Buildings 15 and 16.

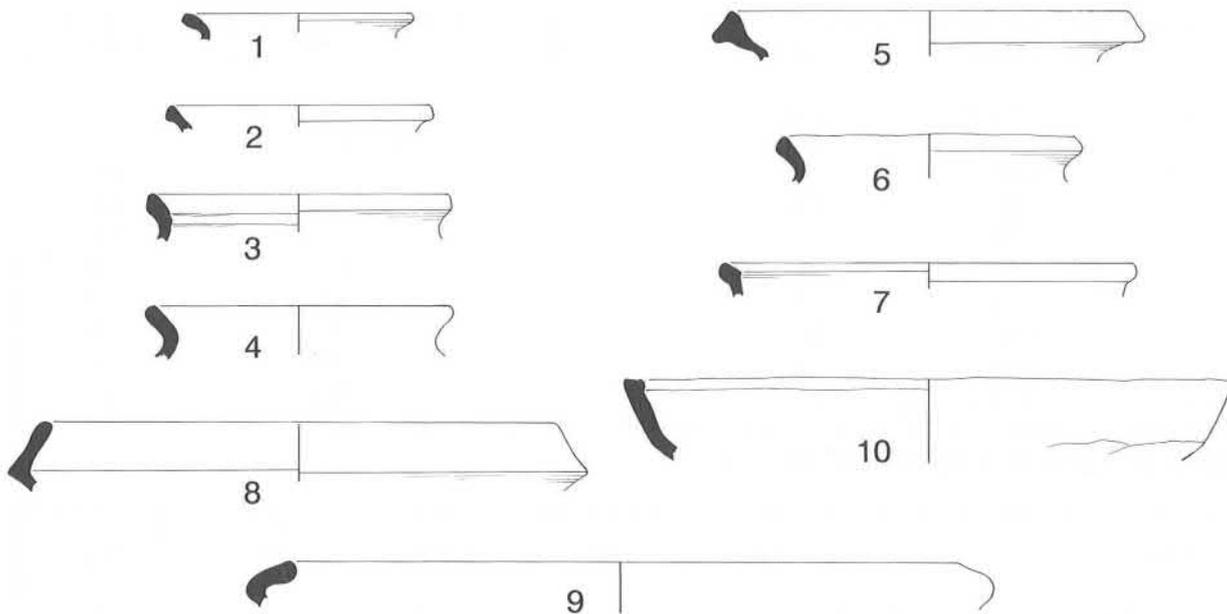


Figure 141: Pottery Group 30a; late tenth to early twelfth century, scale 1:4.

Fabric	SNC1	MC1	MC3	MSC1	MS3	MS19	Total
Cooking pot	22	20	1	2	2	1	48
Bowl	8	4	–	1	1	–	14
TOTAL							62

TABLE 45: Group 30a, number of vessels in each fabric.

Fabrics in the group:

SNC1 48%  
 MC1 39%  
 MSC1 5%  
 MS3 5%  
 MS19 2%  
 MC3 2%

Minimum number of vessels: 62

Cooking pots: 77%

Bowls: 23%

Whilst the predominance of St Neots type ware SNC1 suggests a date in the late tenth to eleventh century, the amount of the slightly later shelly ware MC1 suggests an eleventh or even twelfth-century date. A few sherds tentatively identified as Olney Hyde 'A' ware MC3 may in fact be MC1. The Stamford ware MS19 sherd is an import to the area, and the other minority fabrics MS3 and MSC1 were presumably just coming into use. The absence of jugs suggests an early date.

Of the SNC1 vessels, the cooking pots were all

typically small vessels with simple Type A1a everted rims. 60% of the bowls had Type B6 in-turned rims, the remainder having simple upright rims, Type B1, like the example from Group 41 (Fig. 145, 62).

Only two cooking pot rims were found in MC1, an everted rim (6) and one from a 'top hat' type vessel (5), a form which is certainly of eleventh-century date and was probably found as early as the late tenth century at Raunds, Northants. (pers. comm. Terry Pearson). For a reconstructed profile see Group 30b (Fig. 142, 6). The sandy MS3 bowl (7) is similar to a mid to late eleventh-century example from Oxford (Mellor 1989, Fig. 45, 11).

*Group 30b: mid eleventh to mid twelfth century.*

This small group, also from Croft F, comes from gullies and other features (Contexts 125, 127, 128, 137, 148 and 159) which predate Buildings 16 and 18.

Fabrics in the group:

SNC1 43%

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	SNC1	A1a	—	121	150
2	SNC1	A1a	—	140	150
3	SNC1	A1a	—	160	150
4	SNC1	A1a	—	160	114
5	SNC1	A1c	—	225	126
6	MC1	A1a	—	160	126
7	MS3	B2	—	220	126
8	SNC1	B6	—	305	150
9	SNC1	B6	—	390	114
10	MSC1	B2	—	320	126

TABLE 46: Group 30a, catalogue (Fig. 141).

Fabric	SNC1	MC1	MC3	MSC1	MS3	Total
Cooking pot	30	30	1	6	14	81
Bowl	10	1	—	—	—	11
TOTAL						92

TABLE 47: Group 30b, number of vessels in each fabric.

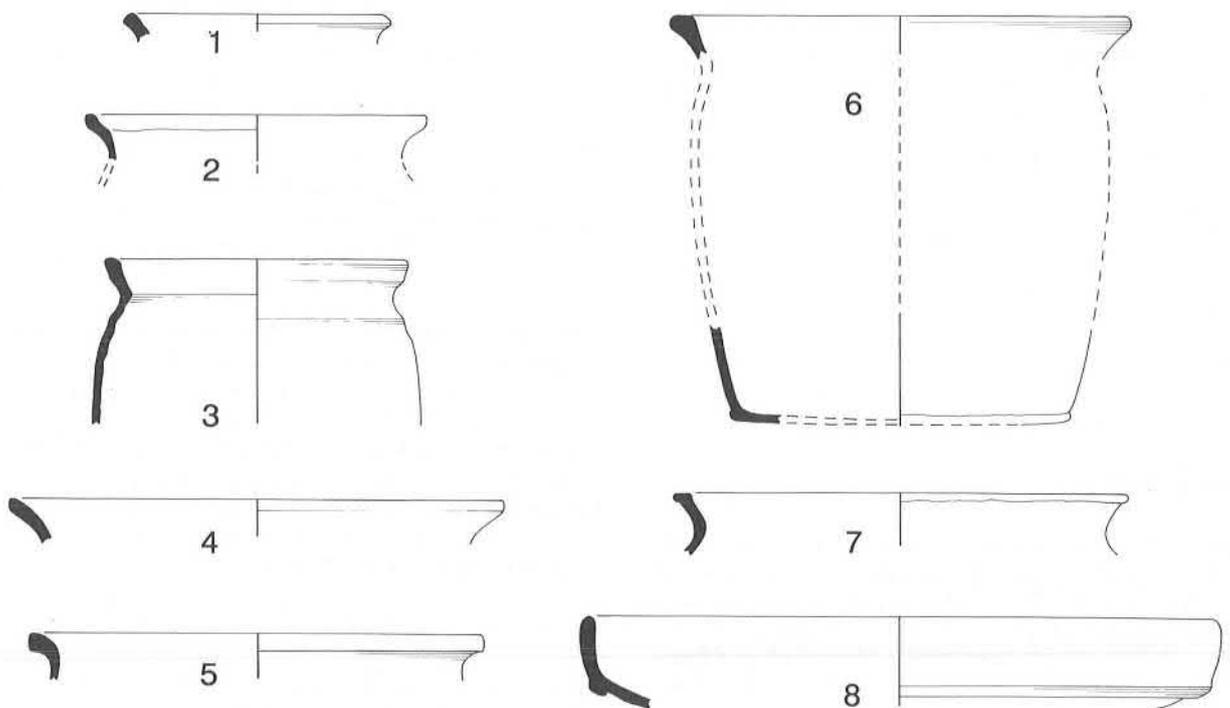


Figure 142: Pottery Group 30b; mid eleventh to mid twelfth century, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	SNC1	A1a	–	141	127
2	SNC1	A1a	–	180	137
3	SNC1	A1aP1	–	160	159
4	MC1	A1a	–	260	126 (F19a)
5	MC1	A1a	–	240	137
6	MC1	A1cP1	–	242	137
			(reconstructed form)		
7	MS3	A2a	–	240	126 (F19a)
8	SNC1	B1	–	337	159

TABLE 48: Group 30b, catalogue (Fig. 142).

Fabric	SNC1	MC1	MC3	MSC1	MS3	MS6	MS9	MS19	MS29	LMS3	Total
Cooking pot	121	116	27	5	20	18	–	–	4	1	312
Bowl	44	8	1	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	56
Jug	1	9	3	–	3	10	1	1	–	–	29
TOTAL											397

TABLE 49: Group 41, numbers of vessels in each fabric.

MC1 34%  
MS3 15%  
MSC1 7%  
MC3 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 92  
Cooking pots: 88%  
Bowls: 12%

The amounts of SNC1 and MC1 have diminished compared with Group 30a, and the sandy wares MS3 and MSC1 have become more common. Small amounts of Potterspurry ware MS6 and Brill/Boarstall ware MS9 were found, but were considered to be intrusive.

All of the SNC1 vessels were similar to those in Group 30a. The cooking pots were all of Type A1a, and the identified bowl types had inturned rims, Type B6 (60%) and simple upright rims Type B1 (40%).

MC1 cooking pots now show more variety, with the 'top hat' form A1c comprising 50% of those present. The reconstructed example (6) is based on vessels from Northampton (McCarthy 1979, fig. 5, 130 and 131). There was only one sandy MS3 cooking pot (7), which had a simple everted rim, a common eleventh to twelfth-century form (Mellor 1989, figs. 44–47).

*Group 41: late tenth to early thirteenth century*

This group comprises all of the pottery from the ditches, gullies, pits, postholes and associated dark

silt levels representing Phase 1 on Croft L. Also included is the residual material from later contexts on the croft. The date range of this group spans the late tenth to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Fabrics in the group:

SNC1 42%  
MC1 34%  
MC3 8%  
MS6 7%  
MS3 6%  
MSC1 2%  
MS29 1%  
MS19 >1%  
MS9 >1%  
TLMS3 >1%  
TLMS17 >1%

Minimum number of vessels: 397  
Cooking pots: 79%  
Bowls: 14%  
Jugs: 7%

The slight decrease in the amounts of SNC1 and MC1 and the increase in MC3 suggest a late twelfth-century date for this group. The higher proportion of Potterspurry ware MS6 is significant, and supports the belief that its production commenced during the first half of the thirteenth century. The small amounts of the later wares MS9, MS29 and TMS3 and TLMS17 are probably intrusive.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	SNC1	A1a	-	121	106
2	SNC1	A1a	-	141	173
3	SNC1	A1a	-	153	87
4	SNC1	A1a	-	163	16
5	SNC1	A1a	-	169	51
6	SNC1	A1a	-	180	32
7	SNC1	A1a	-	219	84
8	SNC1	A1a	-	141	106
9	SNC1	A1a	-	160	53
10	SNC1	A1a	-	222	59
11	SNC1	A1a	-	158	67
12	SNC1	A1a	-	140	+
13	SNC1	A1c	-	217	73
14	SNC1	A1c	-	222	59
15	SNC1	A1c/P1	-	280	32
16	SNC1	A2d	2	193	88
17	SNC1	A2d	-	220	32
18	SNC1	A3b	-	180	32
19	SNC1	A3b	-	240	30
20	SNC1	A3c	-	160	84
21	MC1	A1a	-	80	87
22	MC1	A1a	-	121	56
23	MC1	A1a?	-	140	35
24	MC1	A1a	-	182	87
25	MC1	A1a	-	220	173
26	MC1	A1a	-	280	53
27	MC1	A1a	-	280	143
28	MC1	A1a	-	138	98
29	MC1	A1a	-	170	84
30	MC1	A1b	-	240	32
31	MC1	A1c	5	220	35
32	MC1	A1c	-	238	53
33	MC1	A1c	-	360	157
34	MC1	A2a	-	240	87
35	MC1	A2d	-	200	178
36	MC1	A3a	-	280	6
37	MC1	A3b	-	222	32
38	MC1	A3c	-	200	32
39	MC1	A3c	-	225	84
40	MC3	A2a	-	260	59
41	MC3	A3a	-	240	178
42	MSC1	A2d	-	183	168
43	MS3	A1a	2 & 6	282	32
44	MS3	A2d	-	182	87
45	TLMS3	A2a?	-	140	57
46	MS6	A3f	-	180	88
47	MS29	A2d	-	210	56
48	SNC1	B6	-	204	143
49	SNC1	B6	7	230	106
50	SNC1	B6	7 & 12	255	35
51	SNC1	B6	-	274	106
52	SNC1	B6	-	255	35

TABLE 50: Group 41, catalogue (Figs. 143–146).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
53	SNC1	B6	–	287	59, 54 & 35a
54	SNC1	B6	–	315	81
55	SNC1	B6/P1	–	360	178 & 16
56	SNC1	B6	–	318	47
57	SNC1	B6	–	358	88
58	SNC1	B6	–	402	88
59	SNC1	B5	–	240	35
60	SNC1	B5	–	260	51
61	SNC1	B2	–	220	30
62	SNC1	B1	–	425	53
63	MC1	B6	–	180	87
64	MC1	B2	–	282	106
65	MC1	B2	–	420	178
66	MC1	B3	–	300	183
67	MSC1	B5	–	183	+
68	MSC1	B2	2	260	133
69	MC1	C2	–	120	88
70	MC1	C2	–	140	173
71	MC1	C	1	–	88
72	MC1	C	Ch2a	–	120
73	MC1	C	Ch2	–	51
74	MC3	C	1	–	59
75	MS3	C	4	–	56
76	MS3	C	Ch1b	–	84

TABLE 50: (cont.) Group 41, catalogue (Figs. 143–146).

The SNC1 cooking pots were mostly small vessels with simple everted rims. The larger 'top-hat' type (13–15) and the more developed rims (18–20) are all in a fabric which retains the characteristic features of SNC1, but is probably a transitional stage towards medieval shelly ware MC1. The two angular rims (16, 17) decorated with thumb impressions are sharply everted rims more characteristic of early medieval sandy ware MS3 than shelly ware.

In MC1 42% of the cooking pot rims were simple everted types. 21–29 are mostly small vessels like the SNC1 cooking pots, but there is a tendency towards larger vessels (e.g. 25–27), more characteristic of the twelfth to thirteenth century.

The remaining MC1 cooking pots range from 'top-hat' forms (22%), with a few (8%) sharply everted examples (34 and 35), and those with more upright necks and developed rims (36 to 39, 18%).

A few cooking pots (40–47) occurred in other fabrics. These were mostly of twelfth to thirteenth-century date, apart from one in Potterspurly ware MS6 (46), which represents the earliest (probably early thirteenth century) vessel in that fabric from Great Linford. The unusual form (45) is in a hard-fired fine grey sandy ware not unlike MS3. How-

ever, it has been suggested that this may be a *Cucurbit*, the lower vessel in a distilling apparatus on which an *Alembic* (condenser) was placed (pers. comm. Terry Pearson).

A much wider range of bowls is present in this group. Most were in SNC1 (79%), with 14% in MC1, 4% in MSC1, and 2% each in MC3 and MS6. Most (73%) of the SNC1 bowls were of the inturned rim (B6) variety (48–58), a few others (11%) had hammerheaded rims (59–60), whilst plain or thickened rims represented 15%.

Little decoration was present on the SNC1 bowls, apart from the single finger impression on 49, and the finger-impressed and stamped decoration on 50. Finger-tip decoration was present on several St. Neots type ware vessels at Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, fabric B1, figs. 104–107) and an example of a similar cross stamp was also found there (*ibid.* fig. 107, 220). However, no exact parallel has been found for the decorated bowl (50). Of the eight MC1 bowls, four had slightly thickened rims Type B2 (64 and 65), three were of the inturned Type B6, and one example was a flanged bowl, Type B3. A bowl (67) in the sandy and shelly fabric MSC1 was of Type B5, similar in form to the SNC1 examples 59 and 60. Two other bowls in MSC1 were flanged Type B3; the illustrated example (68) has

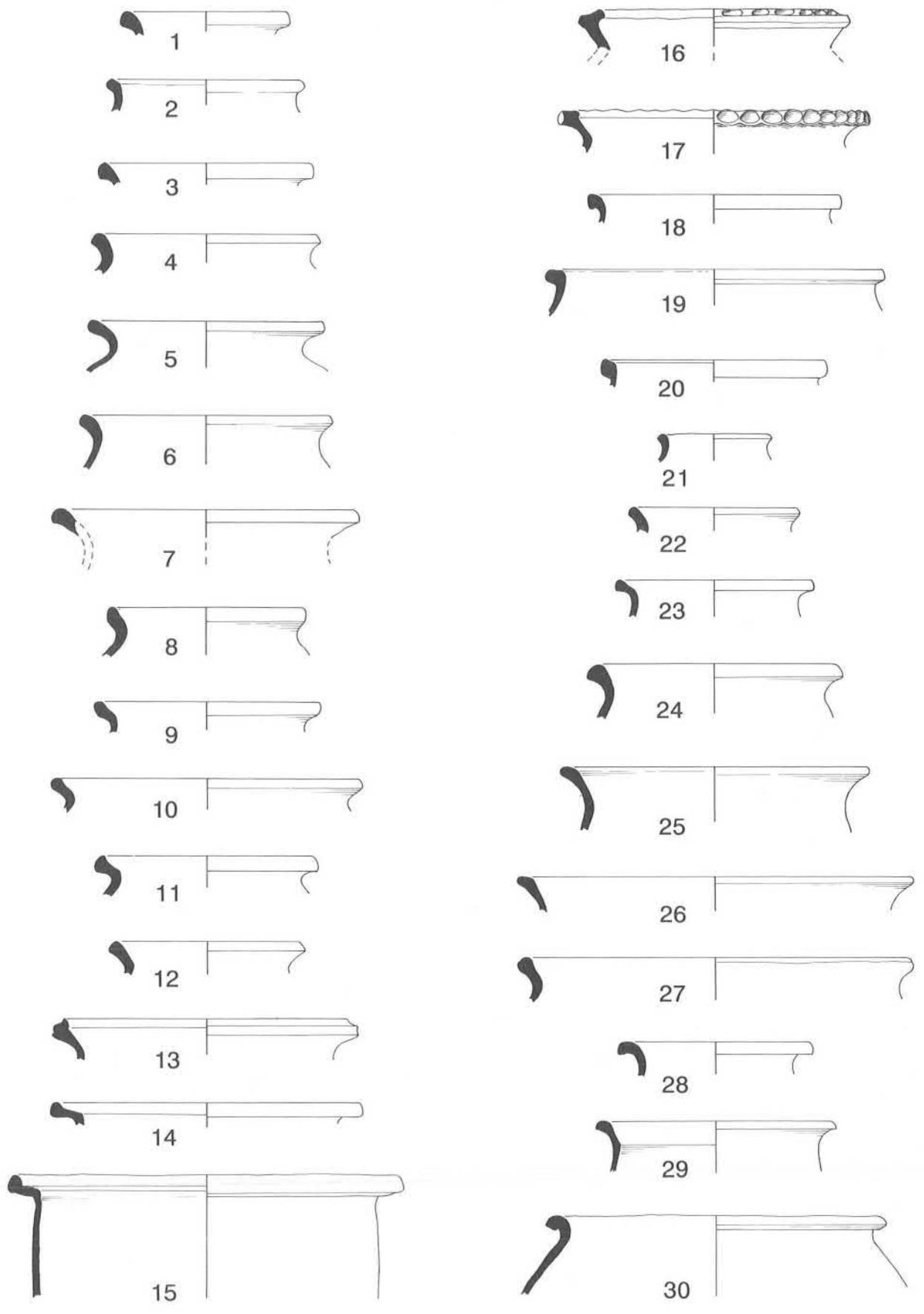


Figure 143: Pottery Group 41; late tenth to early thirteenth century, Nos 1-30, scale 1:4.

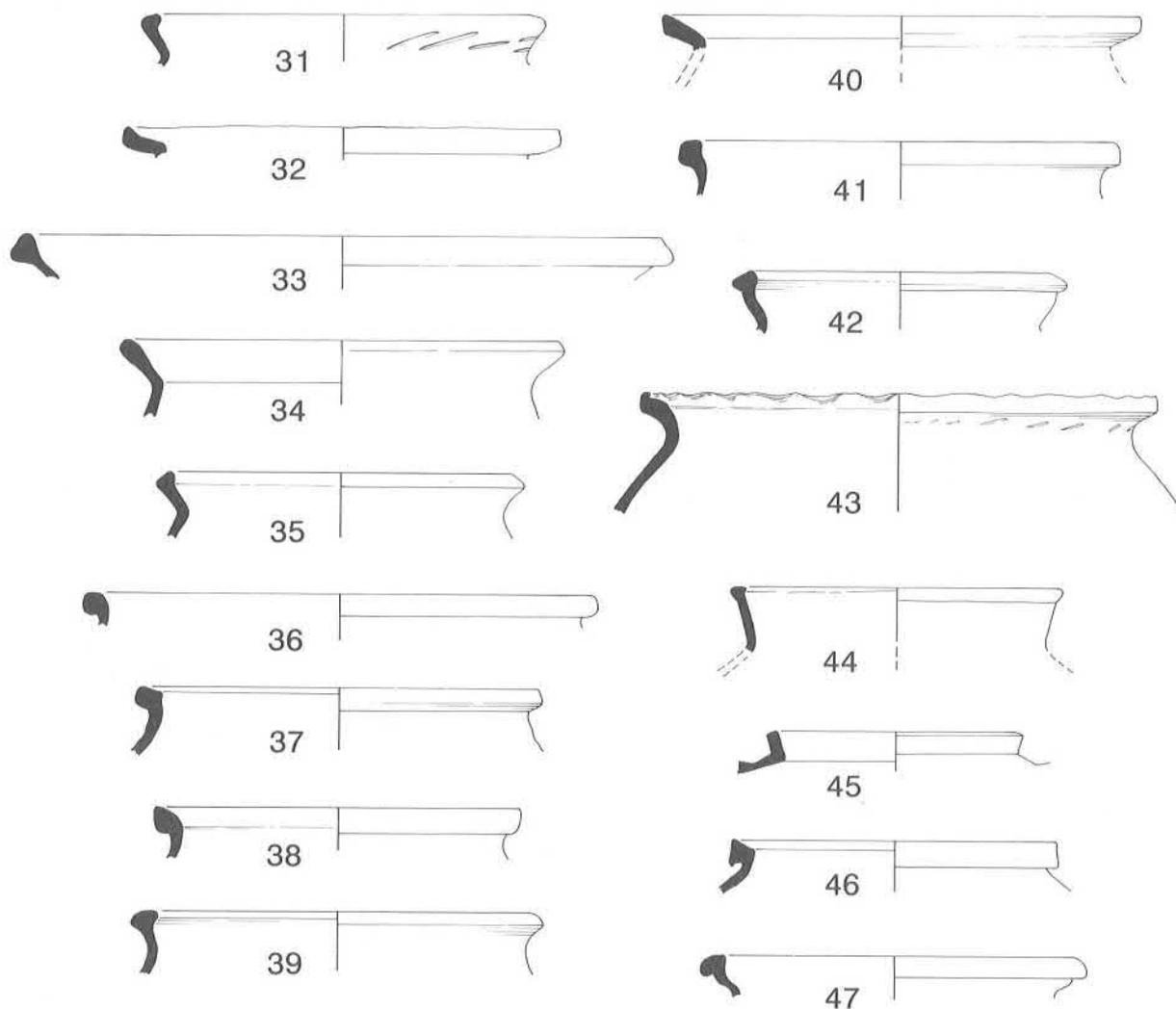


Figure 144: Pottery Group 41; late tenth to early thirteenth century, Nos 31-47, scale 1:4.

finger-tip decoration around the flange.

Jugs represented only 7% of this group, suggesting a *terminus post quem* for it soon after their introduction in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The jugs occurred in most fabrics present, but were more common in MC1, MC3 and MS6. The MC1 examples illustrated (72 and 73) had handles of simple strap type, either plain or with occasional stabbed decoration. One body sherd (73) and another in MC3 (74) has horizontal bands of rouletted decoration which are not uncommon on St Neots type and subsequent shelly ware vessels. The sandy ware MS3 jug sherds included one (75) with incised wavy line decoration and a strap handle (76) with a row of fingertip impressions down each side. These types of decoration are found on sandy wares at Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, fabric C5, fig. 119, 533 and 539) but were not common at Northampton (McCarthy 1979).

#### Group 30c: twelfth century

This group came from Croft F, from features sealed by the south yard and entrance track (Contexts 120, 180-183 and 185), from features which predated Building 16 (Contexts 152-154 and 162), and from features north of Building 15 (Contexts 126, 167 and 168).

Fabrics in the group:

MC1 35%  
MS3 35%  
SNC1 25%  
MSC1 3%  
MSC4 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 79

Cooking pots: 92%  
Bowls: 3%  
Jugs: 5%

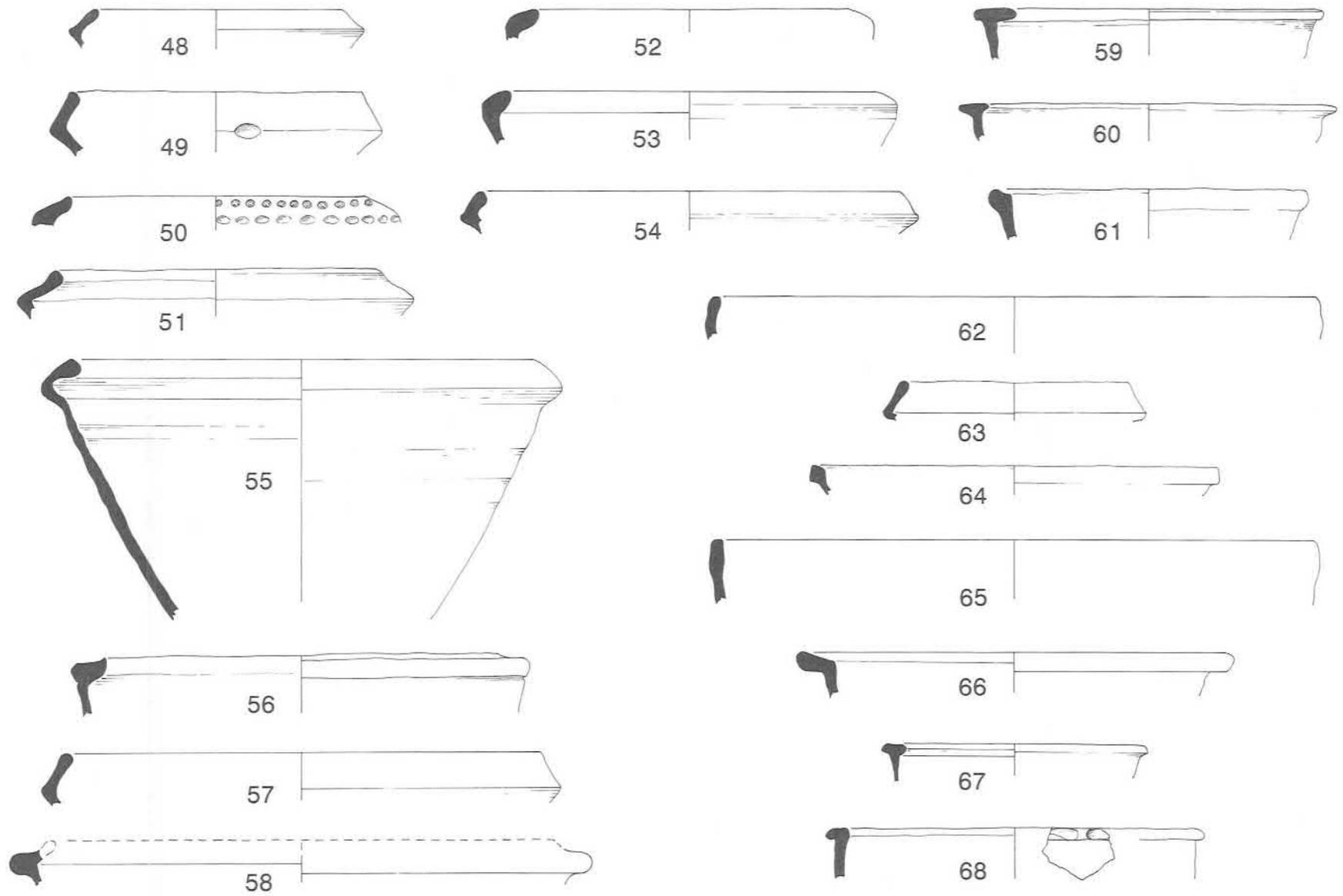


Figure 145: Pottery Group 41; late tenth to early thirteenth century, Nos 48-68, scale 1:4.

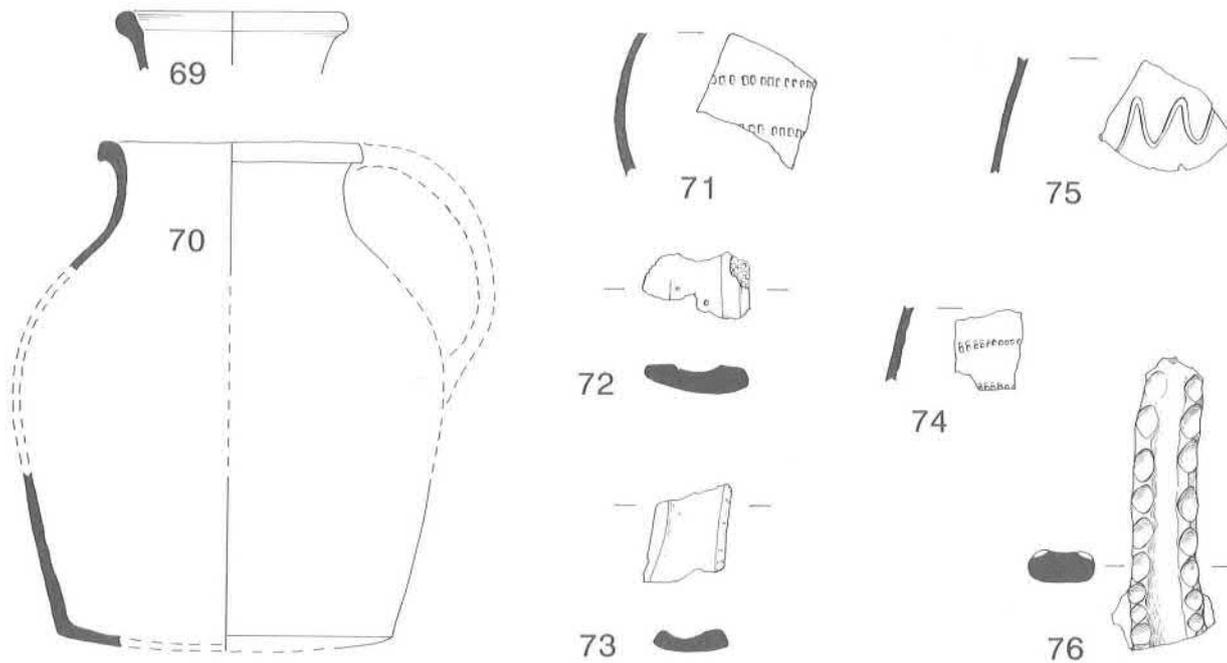


Figure 146: Pottery Group 41; late tenth to early thirteenth century, Nos 69–76, scale 1:4.

The larger amounts of MC1 and MS3 and the decline in SNC1 suggest a date in the mid to late twelfth century. A very small amount of MS6 was also found and considered to be intrusive, although its presence might suggest that this group continued into the early thirteenth century. Cooking pots were still the most common vessel, and those in MC1 (1–4) are, apart perhaps from 1, which has a more rounded rim profile, of the 'top-hat' variety, Type A1c. The MS3 vessel (6) is typical of the eleventh or twelfth century and the body profile (7) is probably that of a cooking pot. The only illustrated bowl is 8, an inturned rim vessel in SNC1. It is noticeable that this example has a more rounded profile than those of similar types in the earlier groups.

*Group 1: mid to late thirteenth century.*

This group consists of the pottery associated with the occupation of Building 3, Croft A, Contexts 8 to 13.

Fabrics in the group:

- MC3 49%
- MS3 45%
- MS9 4%
- MSC4 2%

Minimum number of vessels: 47

- Cooking pots: 89%
- Bowls: 4%
- Jugs: 6%

There are almost equal amounts of the local shelly MC3 and sandy MS3 fabrics, which in total account for 94% of the group. The MC3 cooking pot (2) is the only example from Great Linford with an applied thumb-decorated strip under the rim, yet this form of decoration was quite common on shelly ware at Bedford (Baker *et al* 1979, figs. 105 and 109). The sandy MS3 cooking pots are a bit of a mixture. 3 has a simple rim, Type A1a, more usually found on shelly vessels; 4 is an everted twelfth-century form, whilst 5 and 6, Type A3d, are of mid to late thirteenth-century date. The MC3 bowl (7) is plain-sided and totally removed from the earlier SNC1 and MC1 forms. The jug (8) is a Brill/Boarstall product, probably of similar date to 5 and 6. The absence of Potterspury ware MS6 is unusual, but the group is small and probably not fully representative. A date in the mid to late thirteenth century is suggested.

*Group 7: mid thirteenth to late fourteenth century.*

This group comes from contexts related to the earliest occupation of Building 4, Croft B, Phase 2.

Fabrics in the group:

- MS6 34%
- MC3 33%
- MS3 24%
- MS9 3%
- MSC1 1%
- MSC2 1%
- MS15 1%
- TLMS3 1%

Fabric	SNC1	MC1	MSC1	MSC4	MS3	Total
Cooking pot	17	27	2	—	27	73
Bowl	2	—	—	—	—	2
Jug	1	1	—	1	1	4
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>79</b>

TABLE 51: Group 30c, number of vessels in each fabric.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC1	A1a/P2	—	230	120
2	MC1	A1c/P1	—	220 × 220	152
3	MC1	A1c	—	210	120
4	MC1	A1c	—	240	180
5	MC1	A4f	2	220	185
6	MS3	A2a	—	203	152
7	MS3	?/P3	—	—	152
8	SNC1	B6	—	362	181

TABLE 52: Group 30c, catalogue (Fig. 147).

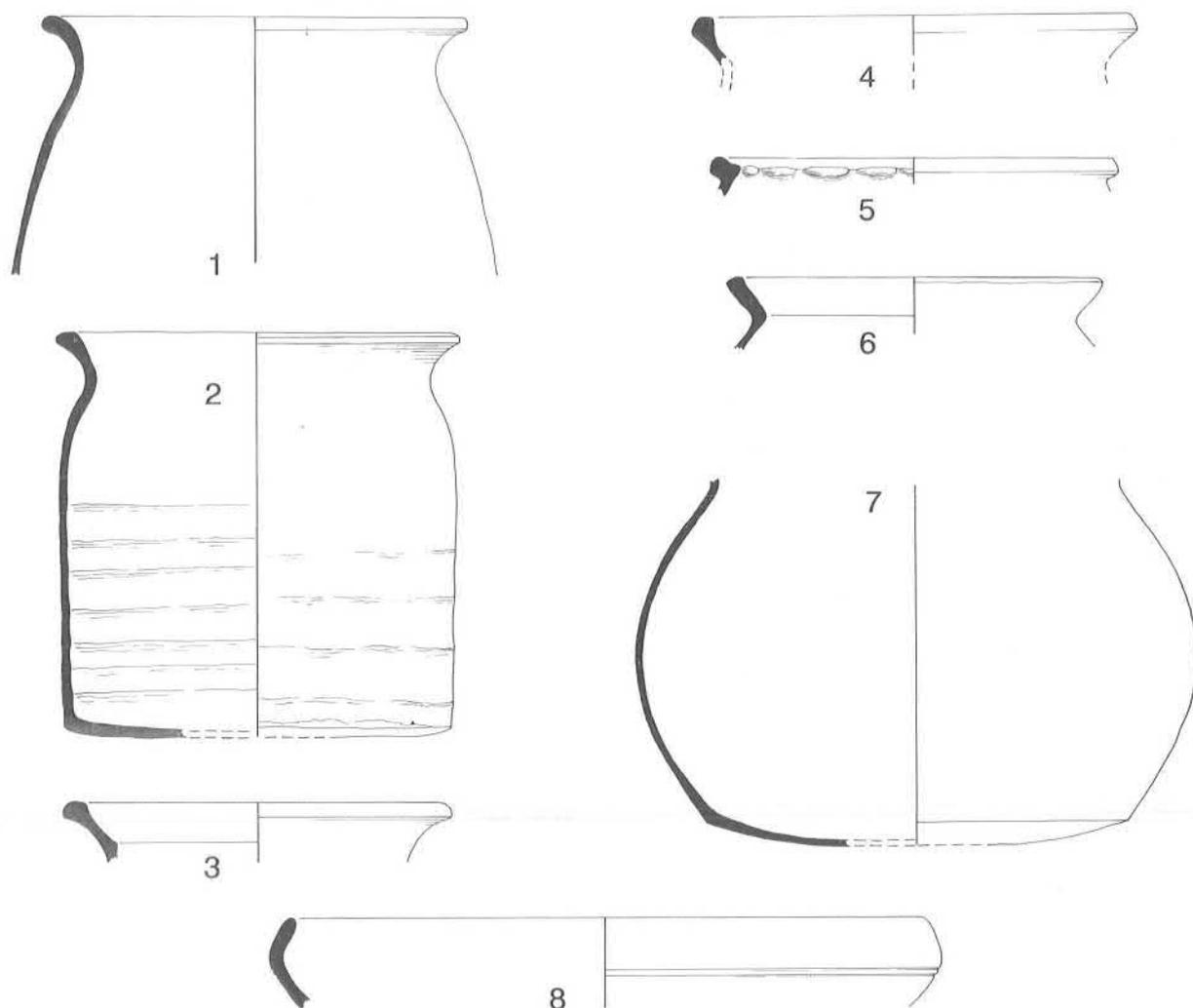


Figure 147: Pottery Group 30c; mid to late twelfth century, scale 1:4.

Fabric	MC3	MSC4	MS3	MS9	Total
Cooking pot	21	–	21	–	42
Bowl	2	–	–	–	2
Jug	–	1	–	2	3
TOTAL					47

TABLE 53: Group 1, numbers of vessels in each fabric.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC3	A1a	–	158	9
2	MC3	A1a	3	260	9
3	MS3	A1a	–	220	12
4	MS3	A2a	–	140	11 & 12
5	MS3	A3d	–	170	12
6	MS3	A3d	–	208	12
7	MC3	B2	–	440	12
8	MS9	C1	–	110	7 & 13

TABLE 54: Group 1, catalogue (Fig. 148).

Fabrics	MC3	MSC1	MSC2	MS2	MS3	MS6	MS9	MS15	TLMS3	Total
Cooking pot	62	2	3	–	47	39	–	–	2	155
Bowl	7	1	–	1	2	13	1	–	–	25
Jug	1	–	–	–	2	20	5	2	–	30
TOTAL										210

TABLE 55: Group 7, number of vessels in each fabric.

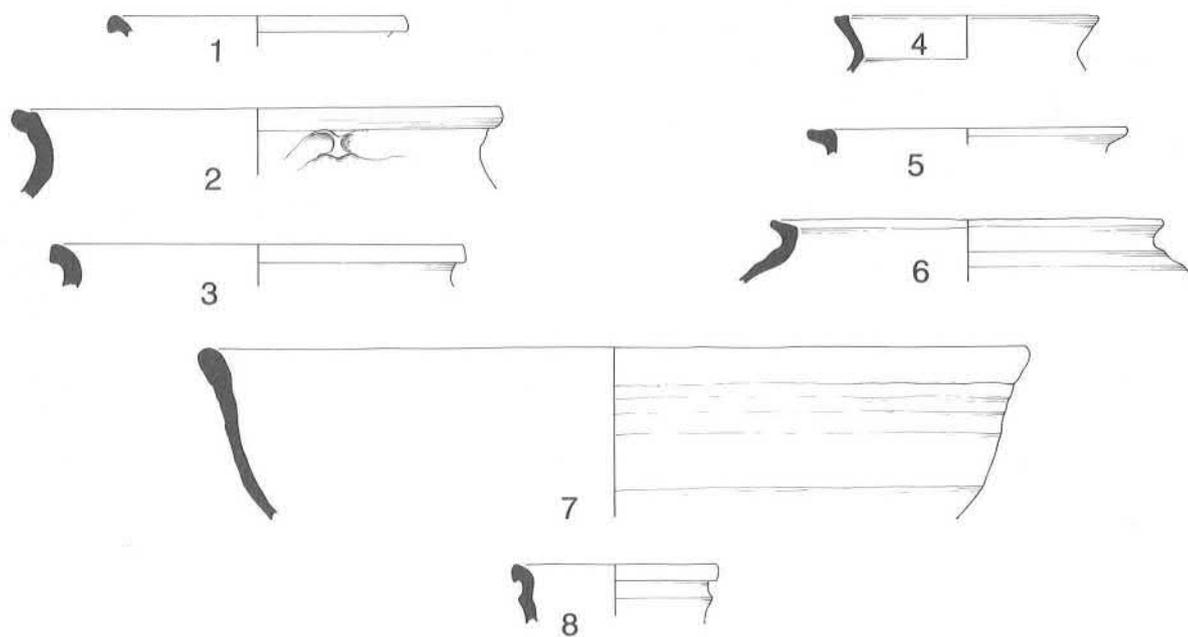


Figure 148: Pottery Group 1; mid to late thirteenth century, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC3	A1a	–	110	22
2	MC3	A1a	–	180	13/14
3	MC3	A1a	–	180	13/14
4	MC3	A3c	–	180	16
5	MS3	A1a	–	240	13/1
6	MS3	A2a	–	239	13/14
7	LMS3	A3a	–	220	13/14
8	LMS3	A4c	–	200	13/14
9	MS6	A3f	–	180	11
10	MS6	A3f	–	240	13/14
11	MS6	A4c	–	180	13/14
12	MC3	B2	–	440	13/14
13	MC3	B3	–	220	28
14	MSC1	B2	–	420	13/14
15	MS3	B2	–	380	22
16	MS3	B3	–	320	13/14
17	MS6	B3	–	320	13/14
18	MC3	C	Ch2	–	29
19	MS3	C2	–	110	13/14
20	MS3	C	Ch2	–	13/14
21	MS6	C2	Ch2c	80	7
22	MS6	C2	Ch2c	120	16
23	MS9	C2	–	120	12

TABLE 56: Group 7, catalogue (Fig. 149).

Minimum number of vessels: 210

Cooking pots: 73%

Bowls: 12%

Jugs: 15%

The date range of this group covers the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Some vessels, the cooking pots (1–3, 5 and 6), bowls (12 and 13) and the jug handle (18) are of twelfth to thirteenth-century date. The other vessels are types which were in use in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the cooking pots (7–11) could be of late fourteenth or even early fifteenth-century date.

The large amount of Potterspurty ware MS6 suggests a date well into the thirteenth century, which is confirmed by the total absence of SNC1 and MC1. The only shelly ware present (MC3) was found in almost the same proportion as MS6.

*Group 2: late thirteenth to late fourteenth century*

Group 2 consists of material from the medieval occupation contexts related to Buildings 1 and 1a, Croft A, and also includes residual medieval pottery removed from the post-medieval occupation contexts of Building 1.

Fabrics in the group:

MC3 29%

MS3 29%

MS6 27%

MC1 8%

TLMS3 3%

MSC1 2%

MSC2 1%

MS8 1%

MS9 1%

TLMS7 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 184

Cooking pots: 60%

Bowls: 15%

Jugs: 24%

Bottles: 1%

Three fabrics, MC3, MS3 and MS6, dominate this group in more or less equal proportions, suggesting a date range from the end of the thirteenth century to the late fourteenth century. The short everted rims of cooking pots 2–4, and the short-necked, flanged, Type A3d examples (7–10) are characteristic of the fourteenth century. Those in TLMS3 (11–13) are perhaps of late fourteenth-century date. The shelly bowls (15–18) have simple thickened rims, whilst those in the sandy fabrics (19–22) are flanged. The jugs in shelly ware MC3 (23–26) probably represent the end of the shelly tradition in the fourteenth century. The jug base (27) in shelly fabric MC1 is unusual owing to the decoration of small knife slashes around the base, which is not paralleled in other contemporary assemblages from Milton Keynes.

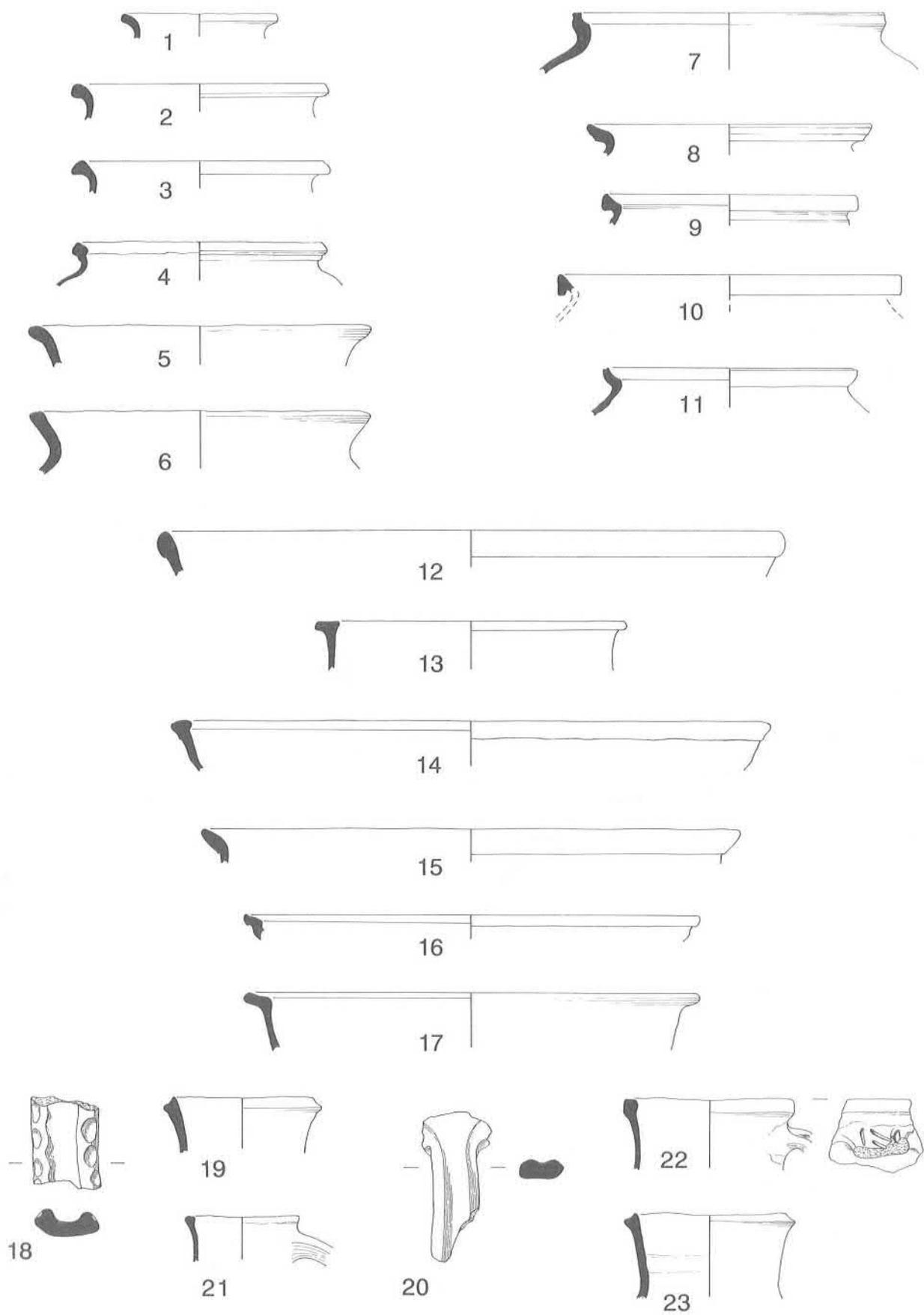


Figure 149: Pottery Group 7; mid thirteenth to late fourteenth century, scale 1:4.

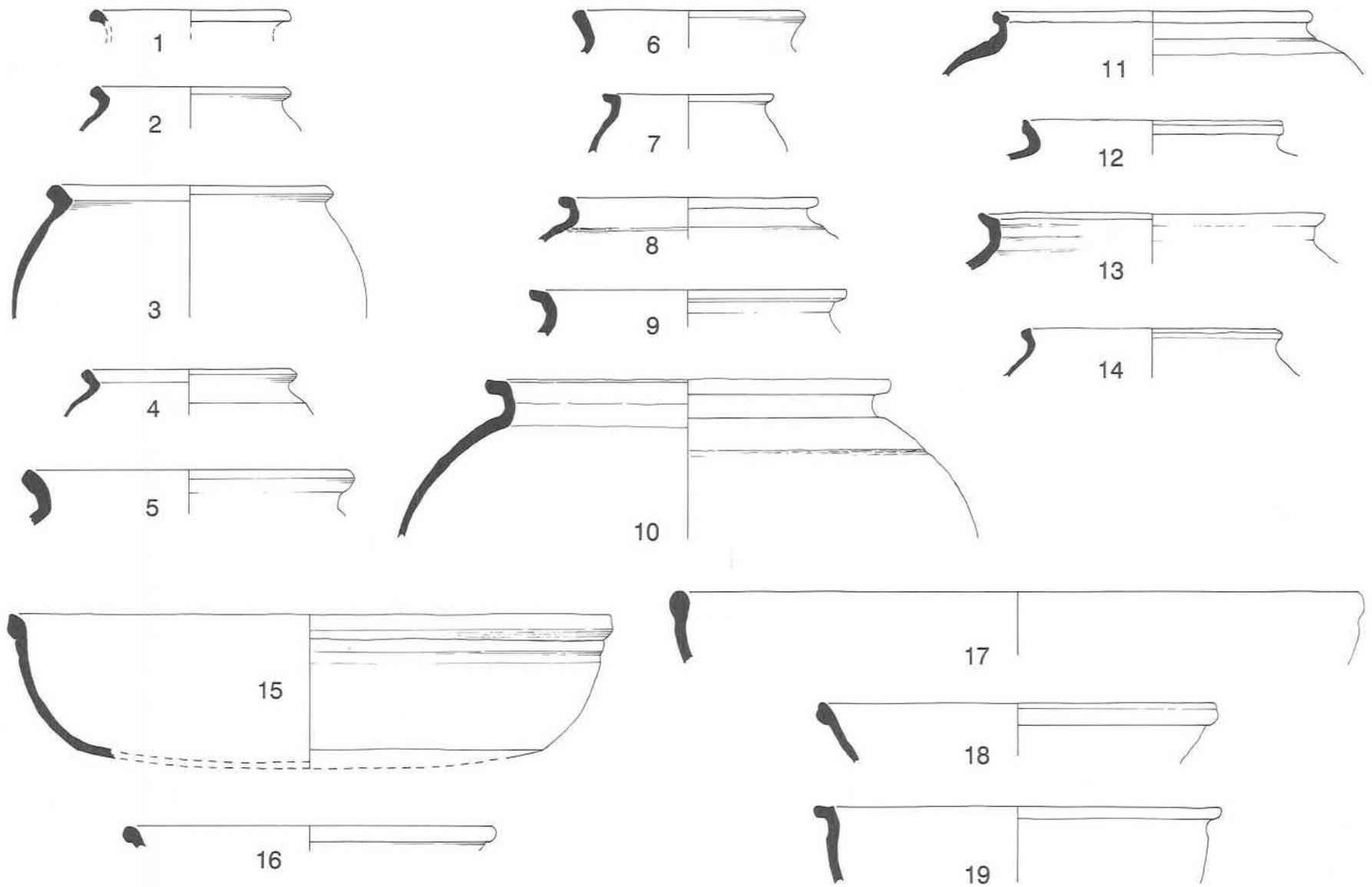


Figure 150: Pottery Group 2; late thirteenth to late fourteenth century, Nos 1-19, scale 1:4.

Fabrics	MC1	MC3	MSC1	MSC2	MS3	MS6	MS8	MS9	TLMS3	TLMS7	Total
Cooking pot	3	38	3	1	50	11	–	–	5	–	111
Bowl	11	11	–	–	3	1	–	–	–	1	27
Jug	–	5	–	–	–	7	2	1	–	–	45
Bottle	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
<b>TOTAL</b>											<b>184</b>

TABLE 57: Group 2, number of vessels in the group.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC1	A1a	–	140	16
2	MC3	A2b	–	140	39
3	MC3	A2b/P3	–	199	16
4	MSC1	A2b	–	150	22
5	MS3	A1a	–	230	28
6	MS3	A2a	–	160	51
7	MS3	A3d	–	120	19
8	MS3	A3d	–	180	19
9	MS3	A3d	–	220	16
10	MS3	A3d/P3	–	280	44
11	TLMS3	A3a	–	220	44
12	TLMS3	A3c	–	180	51
13	TLMS3	A3d	–	240	44
14	MS6	A3c	–	180	17
15	MC1	B2	–	420	44
16	MC3	B2	–	259	41
17	MC3	B2	–	480	3
18	MC3	B2	–	278	16
19	MS3	B3.P3	–	280	19
20	MS3	B3.P3	–	320	16
21	MS3	B3.P3	3	360	18
22	MS6	B3	4	440	19
23	MC3	C1	–	120	39
24	MC3	C	Ch1	–	41
25	MC3	C	Ch1a	–	41
26	MC3	C	Ch1ab	–	48
27	MC1	A	5	140	22
28	MS6	C2	–	104	33
29	MS6	C	Ch2c	–	51
30	MS8	C	Ch1a	–	41
31	MS6	V	–	38	5

TABLE 58: Group 2, catalogue (Figs. 150 and 151).

The jug handle (30) is in MS8, a coarse sandy fabric in which only three vessels were found at Great Linford. The source of this fabric is unknown, but the strap handle and the all-over stabbed decoration suggest that it may be of Bedfordshire origin, since somewhat similar handles occur at Bedford in shelly fabrics (Baker *et al* 1979, figs. 118 and 119).

*Group 30d: late fourteenth century.*

This is a relatively small group from a gully and a ditch (Contexts 178 and 176), Croft F.

Fabrics in the group:  
MS6 49%

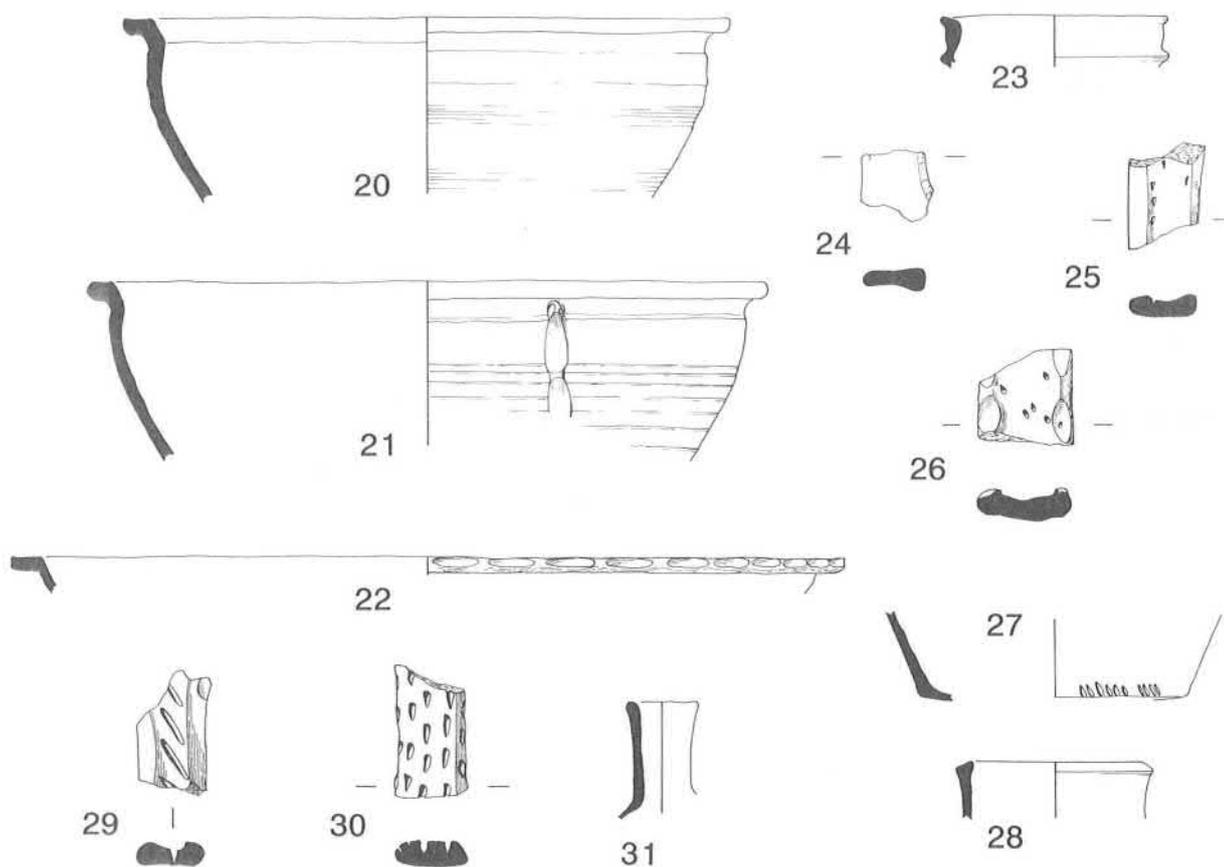


Figure 151: Pottery Group 2; late thirteenth to late fourteenth century, Nos 20-31, scale 1:4.

Fabric	SNC1	MC1	MC3	MSC1	MSC2	MSC3	MS3	MS6	MS19LMS3	Total	
Cooking pot	12	3	3	1	1	1	7	21	-	3	52
Bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	7
Jug	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	1	-	11
<b>TOTAL</b>											<b>70</b>

TABLE 59: Group 30d, numbers of vessels in each fabric.

SNC1 17%  
 MS3 16%  
 MC1 4%  
 MC3 4%  
 TLMS3 4%  
 MSC1 1%  
 MSC2 1%  
 MSC3 1%  
 MS19 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 70  
 Cooking pots: 74%  
 Bowls: 10%  
 Jugs: 16%

The large amount of MS6 suggests a date well into the fourteenth century, as does the presence of TLMS3. The SNC1 sherds almost certainly represent a residual element in the gully, although the excavation records did not note this; otherwise the vessels present are consistent with a late fourteenth-century date. Of particular interest is the Olney Hyde shelly MC3 cooking pot (1), an exact copy of 2 and 4 in MSC2 and MS6 respectively, showing that towards the end of the production of MC3 the Olney Hyde potters were copying fashionable contemporary forms in an effort to compete in a probably failing market for their products.

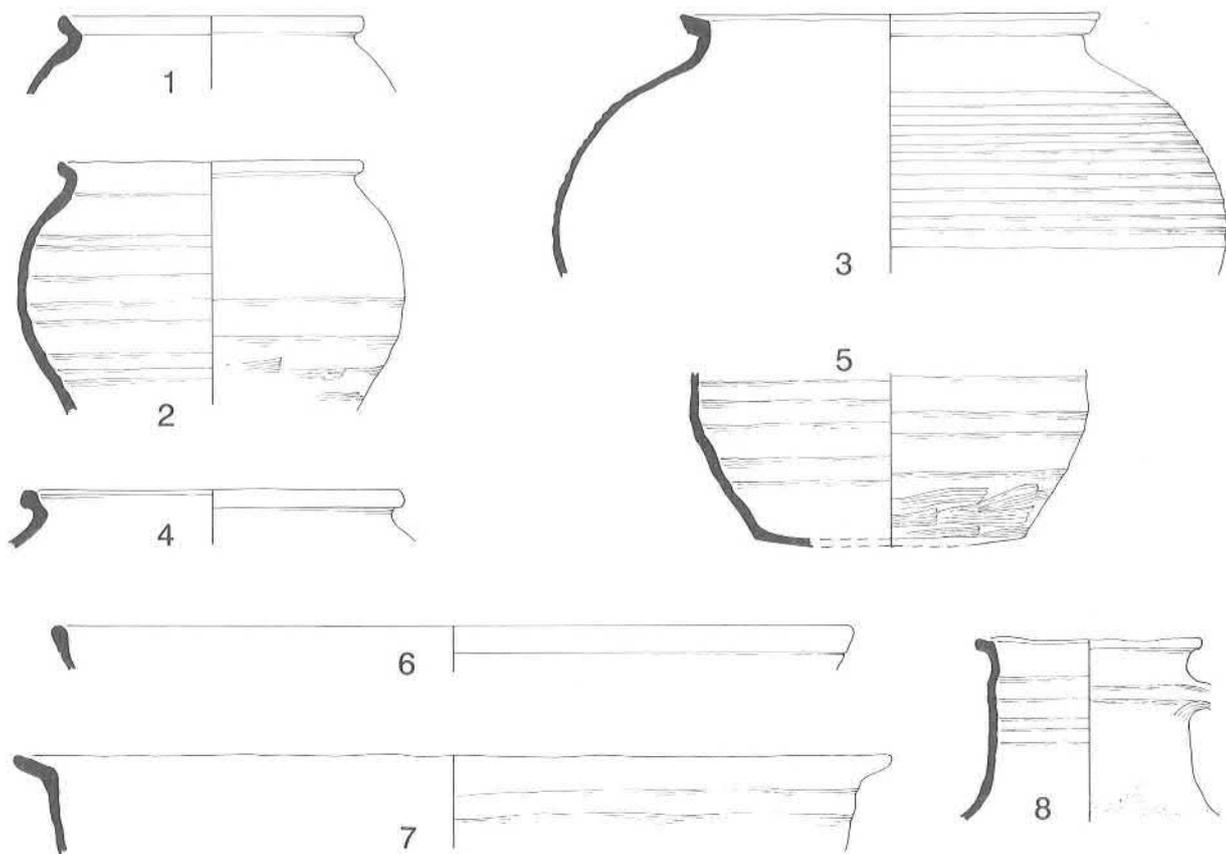


Figure 152: Pottery group 30d; late fourteenth century, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC3	A2b	—	160	178
2	MSC2	A2b/P3	—	160	178
3	TLMS3	A3c/P3	—	220	176
4	MS6	A3c	—	200	178
5	MS6	A?/P3	—	140	178
6	MS6	B2	—	420	178
7	MS6	B3	—	460	176
8	MS6	C1	—	120	176

TABLE 60: Group 30d, catalogue (Fig. 152).

*Group 38: mid fourteenth to early fifteenth century.*

This group consists of all the medieval pottery related to Building 24, Croft J. It comes from the topsoil and Context 1 over the building and the yard north of it, from the yard surface (Context 9) and from the drain F8 (Contexts 10 and 16) within the building.

The topsoil and Context 1 also contained post-medieval pottery, which was removed to Group 40.

Fabrics in the group:  
MS6 71%

MS3 10%  
MC3 7%  
TLMS3 7%  
TLMS12 2%  
MS9 1%  
MS8 >1%  
TLMS13 >1%

Minimum of vessels: 442  
Cooking pots: 65%  
Bowls: 11%  
Jugs: 23%

Even though this group contains residual material

Fabric	MC3	MS3	MS6	MS8	MS9	TLMS3	TLMS12	TLMS13	Total
Cooking pot	24	45	192	–	1	19	7	1	289
Bowl	5	–	35	–	2	8	–	–	50
Jug	4	–	89	1	2	6	–	1	103
TOTAL									442

TABLE 61: Group 38, number of vessels in each fabric.

from topsoil, it is a fairly consistent assemblage of mid fourteenth to early fifteenth-century date. The large amount of Potterspurry ware MS6 and the presence of TLMS3, TLMS12 and TLMS13 confirm the date.

The presence of MC3 may represent conservatism in design, or they may be earlier and residual, but the bowls (23 and 24) and the jug handles (36 and 37) are consistent with similar forms in the late medieval reduced fabric, TLMS3.

The MS6 cooking pots (10–17) represent the forms most common in that ware from the mid fourteenth century, namely the simple everted and rounded rim, Type A3c, and the squarer version, Type A3f. These two types together account for 78% of the MS6 cooking pots in this group.

*Group 19a: mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth century.*

Buildings 13 and 14 on Croft F both date from the mid fourteenth century through to the seventeenth. Pottery from their occupation and destruction levels covered this period, and was divided into Groups 19a (medieval to late medieval) and 19b (post-medieval).

Fabrics in the group:

MS6 54%  
MC3 22%  
LMS3 15%  
MS3 4%  
MSC1 1%  
MS9 1%  
MS27 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 73

Cooking pots: 63%  
Bowls: 16%  
Jugs: 19%  
Lid: 1%

This small group of pottery goes together well, apart from the only MSC1 cooking pot (2) which must be an earlier (probably twelfth century) residual item. The higher proportion of late medieval reduced ware TLMS3 suggests a date for this group towards the first half of the fifteenth century.

*Group 20a: late fourteenth to mid fifteenth century.*

On Croft C, Building 8, like Buildings 13 and 14, dated from the mid fourteenth century through to the seventeenth. The pottery from their occupation and destruction levels covered all of this period, and was therefore divided into Groups 20a (medieval to late medieval) and 20b (post-medieval).

Fabrics in the group:

MS6 58%  
LMS3 17%  
MC3 13%  
MS3 5%  
MSC3 3%  
MS9 3%  
MS26 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 88

Cooking pots: 56%  
Bowls: 26%  
Jugs: 17%  
Curfews: 1%

Apart from the two shelly MC3 vessels (1 and 6) material in this group is consistent with a late fourteenth to fifteenth-century date. Like Group 19a, this date is supported by the higher proportion of TLMS3 present.

*Group 28: first half of the fifteenth century.*

This pottery, from the ditch (Context 4) on the south side of Building 10, Croft E, is the only group from such a provenance at Great Linford.

Fabrics in the group:

MS6 56%  
LMS3 19%  
MS3 11%  
MC3 6%  
MS9 3%  
MS2 3%  
MSC3 1%  
MS15 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 145

Cooking pots: 46%

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC3	A2b	—	160	1
2	MC3	A3c	—	280	1
3	MC3	A3d	—	243	1
4	MSC3	A3f	—	220	+A
5	MS2A	4c	—	160	1
6	LMS3	A3c	—	242	1
7	LMS3	A4c	—	200	1
8	LMS3	A4c	—	178	+B
9	LMS3	A6	—	120	1
10	MS6	A3c	—	158	+A
11	MS6	A3c	—	200	1
12	MS6	A3c	—	140	1
13	MS6	A3c	—	180	1
14	MS6	A3c	—	220	+B
15	MS6	A4c	—	203	1
16	MS6	A3f	—	130	+1
17	MS6	A3f	—	180	9
18	MS6	A4c	—	180	+B
19	MS6	A3f	—	100	1
20	MS6	A4g?	—	172	1
21	MS6	A4g	—	180	1
22	MS9	A3c	—	120	1
23	MC3	B2	—	200	+A
24	MC3	B2	—	400	+A
25	LMS3	B2	—	340	+A
26	LMS3	B3	—	300	+B
27	MS6	B2	—	280	+A
28	MS6	B2	—	320	1
29	MS6	B2	—	338	+B
30	MS6	B3	—	300	+A
31	MS6	B3	—	380	+B
32	MS6	B3	—	320	10
33	MS6	B3	—	260	+B
34	MS9	B3	—	322	+B
35	MS26	B2	—	380	9
36	MC3	C	Ch2	—	+A
37	MC3	C	Ch2ab	—	+A
38	TLMS6	C1	—	110	+A
39	MS6	C2	—	100	+B
40	MS6	C2	—	140	10
41	MS6	C?	3	—	+A
42	MS9	C2	—	115	+B
43	LMS13	C	Ch4	—	1
44	LMS3	C2	—	123	+B

TABLE 62: Group 38, catalogue (Figs 153 and 154).

Jugs: 34%  
Bowls: 20%  
Pipkins: 1%

The relative proportions of the fabrics are similar to the previous group, apart from the decrease in shelly ware MC3. All of the vessels are consistent with a date in the first half of the fifteenth century, except the residual MS3 cooking pot (2) which is of

twelfth to thirteenth century date. The broad flanged rims (Type 4) of both cooking pots and bowls are now common in TLMS3; in fact, 67% of cooking pots in this group had this rim type.

The pierced vessel (7) in Potterspury ware MS6 is extremely unusual as the hole, presumably for suspension, was pierced before firing, and is not a rivet hole for repair. The jug has by now become a

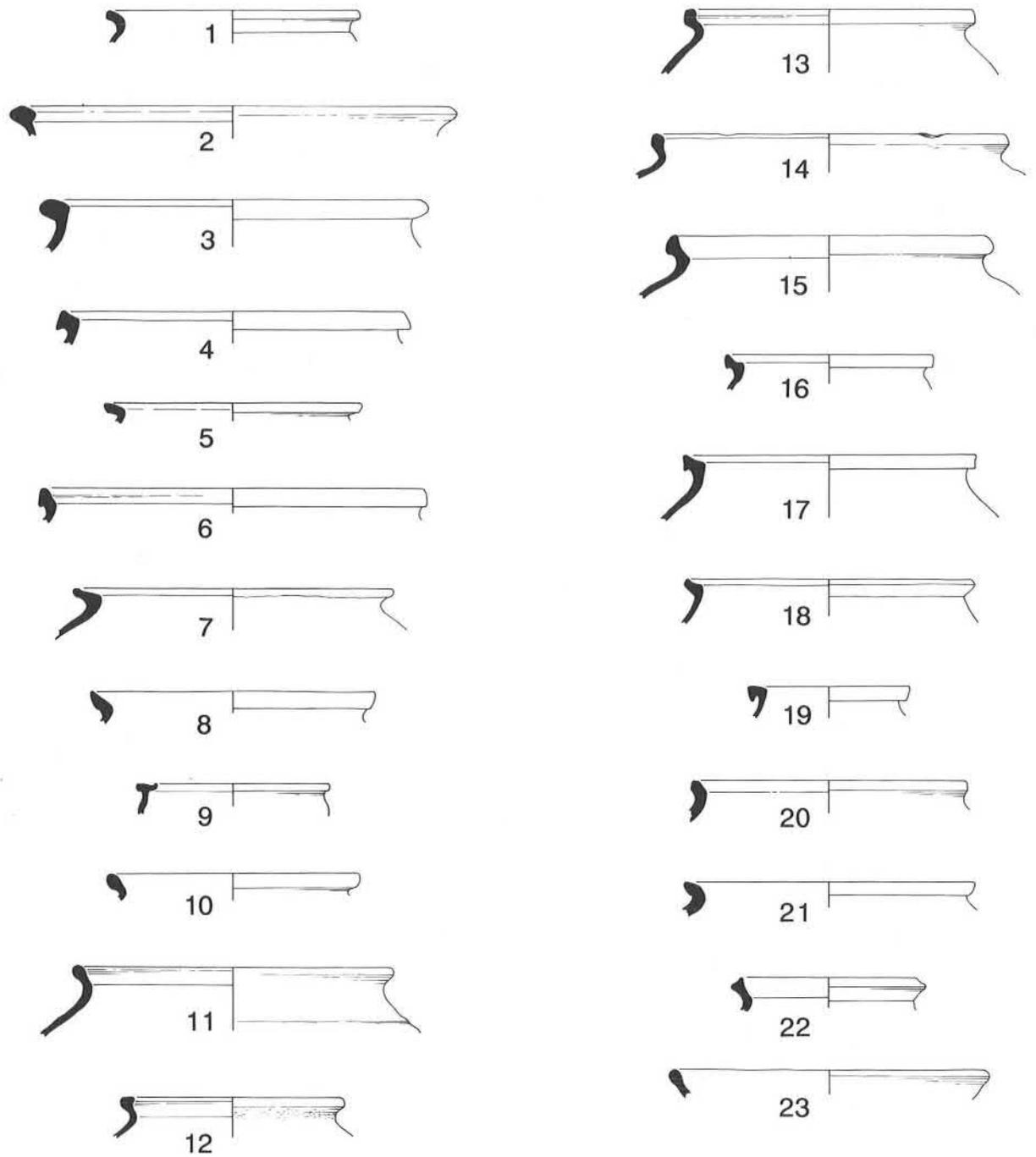


Figure 153: Pottery Group' 38; mid fourteenth to early fifteenth century, Nos 1-23, scale 1:4.

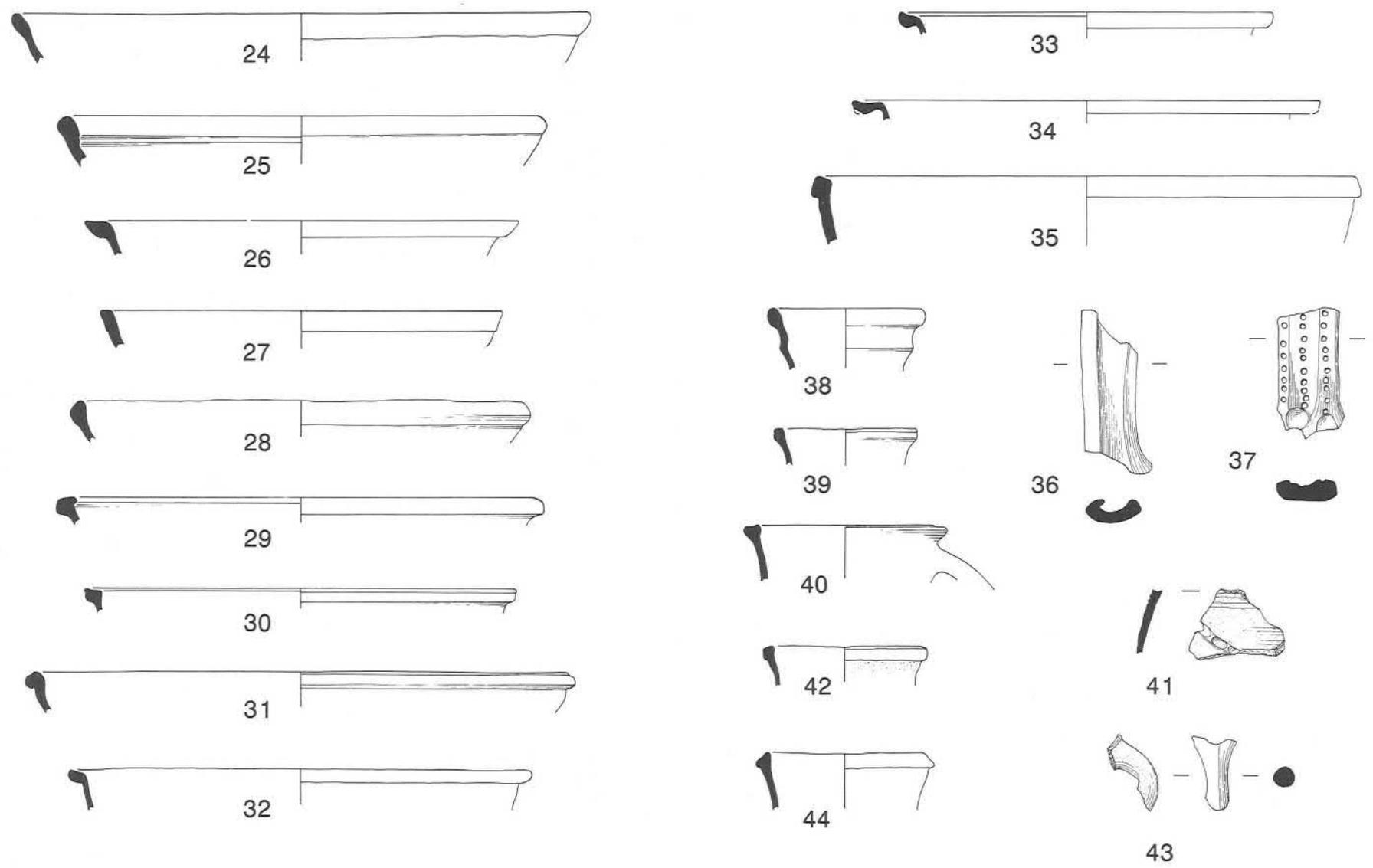


Figure 154: Pottery Group 38; mid fourteenth to early fifteenth century, Nos 24-44, scale 1:4.

Fabric	MC3	MSC1	MS3	MS6	MS9	MS27	TLMS3	Total
Cooking pot	14	1	3	23	–	–	5	46
Bowl	2	–	–	7	–	–	3	12
Jug	–	–	–	10	1	1	2	14
Lid	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>								<b>73</b>

**TABLE 63:** Group 19a, number of vessels in each fabric.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
NI	MC3	A1a	–	280	4
1	MC3	A2b	–	200	1
2	MSC1	A2d	–	315	4
3	MS6	A3f	–	220	17
4	MC3	B3	–	300	1
5	MC3	B3	2	380	4
6	MS6	B2	–	340	17
7	MS6	B2	–	420	1
8	MS6	B3	–	480	17
9	TLMS3	B2	–	160	17
10	TLMS3	B3	–	440	17
NI	TLMS3	C	Ch2	–	4
11	TLMS3	Lid?	–	120	17

**TABLE 64:** Group 19a, catalogue (Fig. 155).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC3	A1a	–	223	2
2	LMS3	A4b	–	200	2
3	MS6	A3c	–	140	2
4	MS6	A4c	–	200	10a
5	MS6	A1a	–	240	2
6	MC3	B2	2	280	2
7	MS6	B3	–	320	10
8	MS6	B2	–	343	10a
9	MS6	B3	–	340	2
10	LMS3	B3	–	340	2
11	LMS3	C2	–	140	2
12	LMS3	C	Ch2a	–	10a
13	MS6	C	Ch2c	–	2

**TABLE 65:** Group 20a, catalogue (Fig. 156).

more popular vessel than in previous groups, and the knife slashing on the MS6 handle (23) is more aggressive than on earlier Potterspurty products.

*Group 29: mid fifteenth century.*

This group consists of the pottery found on the

hearth (F1, Context 5) in the hall in Building 10, Croft E.

Fabrics in the group:

MS6 53%

TLMS3 43%

MC3 3%

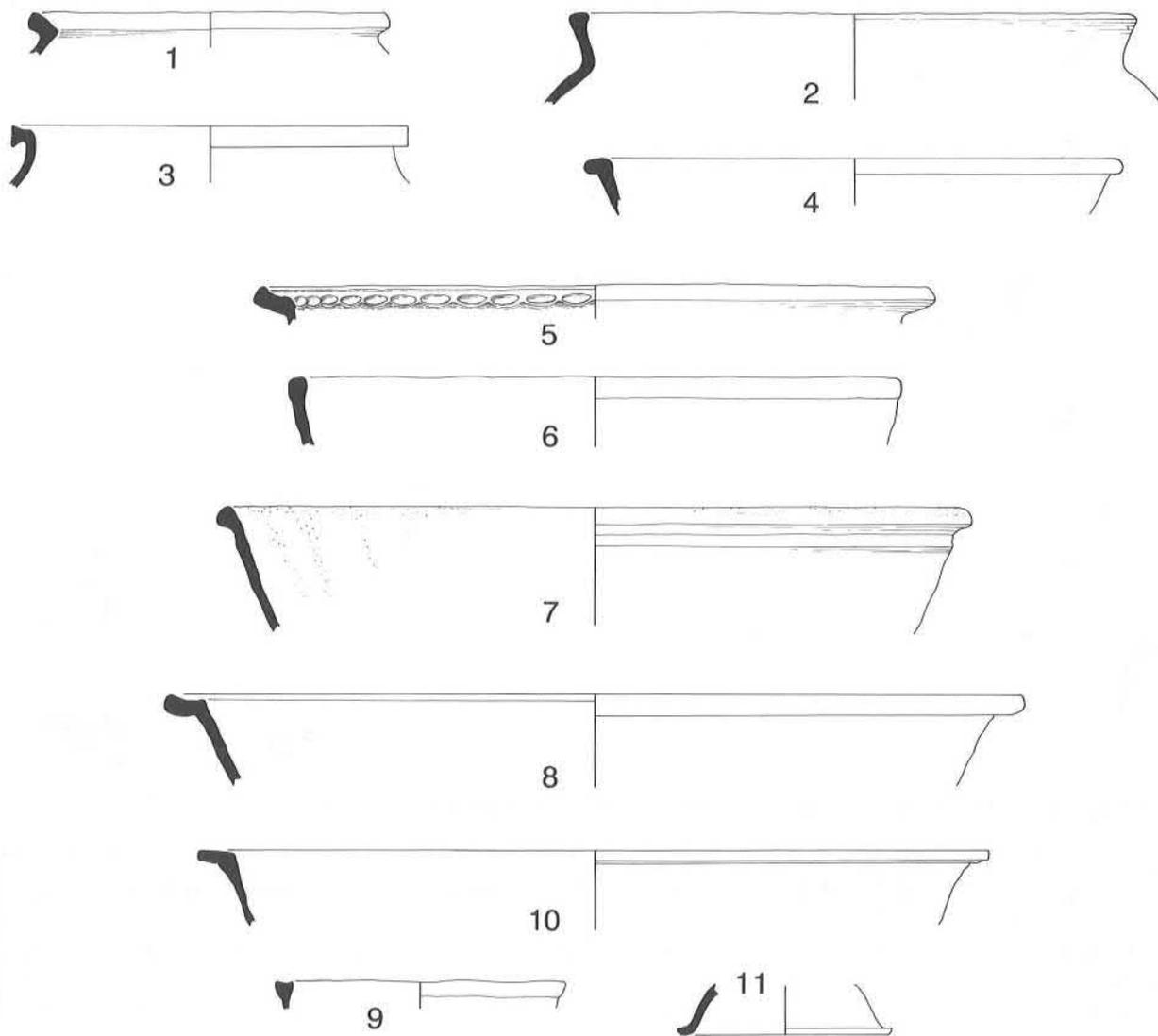


Figure 155: Pottery Group 19a; mid fourteenth to mid fifteenth century, scale 1:4.

Minimum number of vessels: 30  
 Cooking pots: 47%  
 Jugs/cisterns: 40%  
 Bowls: 13%

The single MC3 sherd is almost certainly residual. The presence of the cisterns (9 and 10) and the larger amount of decoration on the vessels than noted in previous groups indicates at least a mid fifteenth-century date.

*Group 35: mid to late fifteenth century.*

This group consists of the pottery from the floor of Building 22, Croft H, and contexts of similar (Phase 1) date from the yards around the building.

Fabrics in the group:  
 MS6 69%  
 TLMS3 21%  
 MS9 3%

MC3 3%  
 MS3 1%  
 MS26 1%  
 MSC1 1%  
 MSC6 1%  
 TLMS12 1%  
 TLMS16 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 154  
 Cooking pots: 37%  
 Bowls: 23%  
 Jugs: 38%  
 Pipkins: 1%  
 Lids: 1%

Most of the cooking pots in this group were in its two major fabrics, MS6 (65%) and TLMS3 (18%). The MS6 examples were similar to those in the previous groups, with the rounder profiles of rims Type A3c (1-2) accounting for 66%, against only 22% of the sharper undercut type A3f (4). The

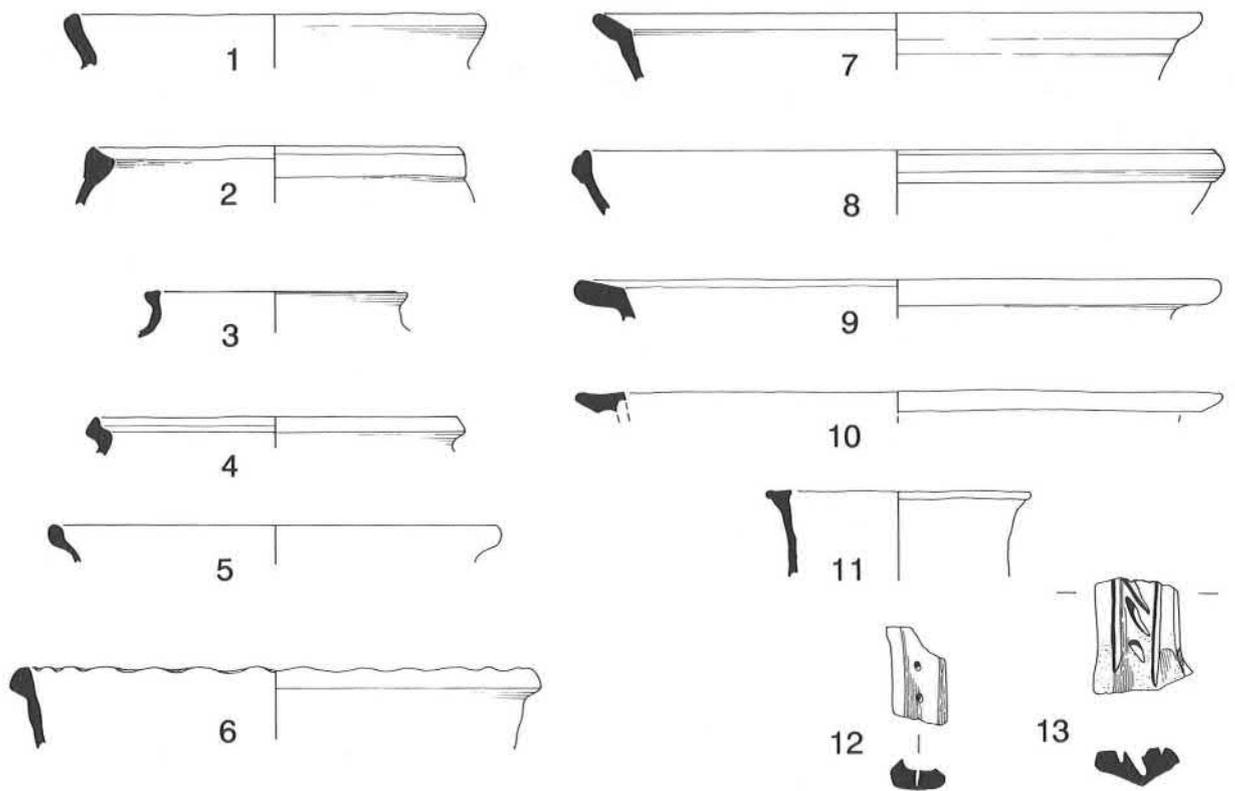


Figure 156: Pottery Group 20a; late fourteenth to mid fifteenth century, scale 1:4.

Fabric	MC3	MSC3	MS2	MS3	MS6	MS9	MS15	TLMS3	Total
Cooking pot	6	1	4	10	20	4	2	19	66
Jug	3	—	1	3	42	—	—	—	49
Bowl	—	—	—	3	18	—	—	8	29
Pipkin	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
<b>TOTAL</b>									<b>145</b>

TABLE 66: Group 28, number of vessels in each fabric.

TLMS3 vessels presented a variety of rim forms, the most common being a simple everted rim, Type A1a (5) and the inward sloping Type A17 (9 and 10) (30%) both designed to take a lid like 12, and each accounting for 30% of the assemblage.

The bowls also were mainly in MS6 (51%) and TLMS3 (37%). The MS6 bowls were mostly of simple thickened rim type, Type B2 (72%, 13–16), with flanged Type B3 (17–19) representing only 23%. The TLMS3 bowls presented a reverse picture, with B2, (not illustrated) examples accounting for 23% and B3 (20–24) for 77%. The shelly MC3 bowl (11) is paralleled in Group 38 in Fabrics MS6 (33) and MS9 (34) respectively. One vessel, a bowl (19), was in MS26, a rare fabric in which only eleven vessels were found at Great Linford.

The jugs in this group were mostly (81%) in MS6,

and included a cistern, the bung-hole from which (31) was stabbed. The date suggested for this group is mid to late fifteenth century.

*Group 46: late fourteenth to late fifteenth century.*

This group comes from the Phase 1 occupation levels of the manor house.

Fabrics in the group:

MS6/TLMS6 71%  
 MS3/TLMS3 19%  
 MS9 6%  
 MS15 2%  
 TLMS7 1%  
 TLMS10 1%

Minimum number of vessels: 181

Cooking pots: 44%

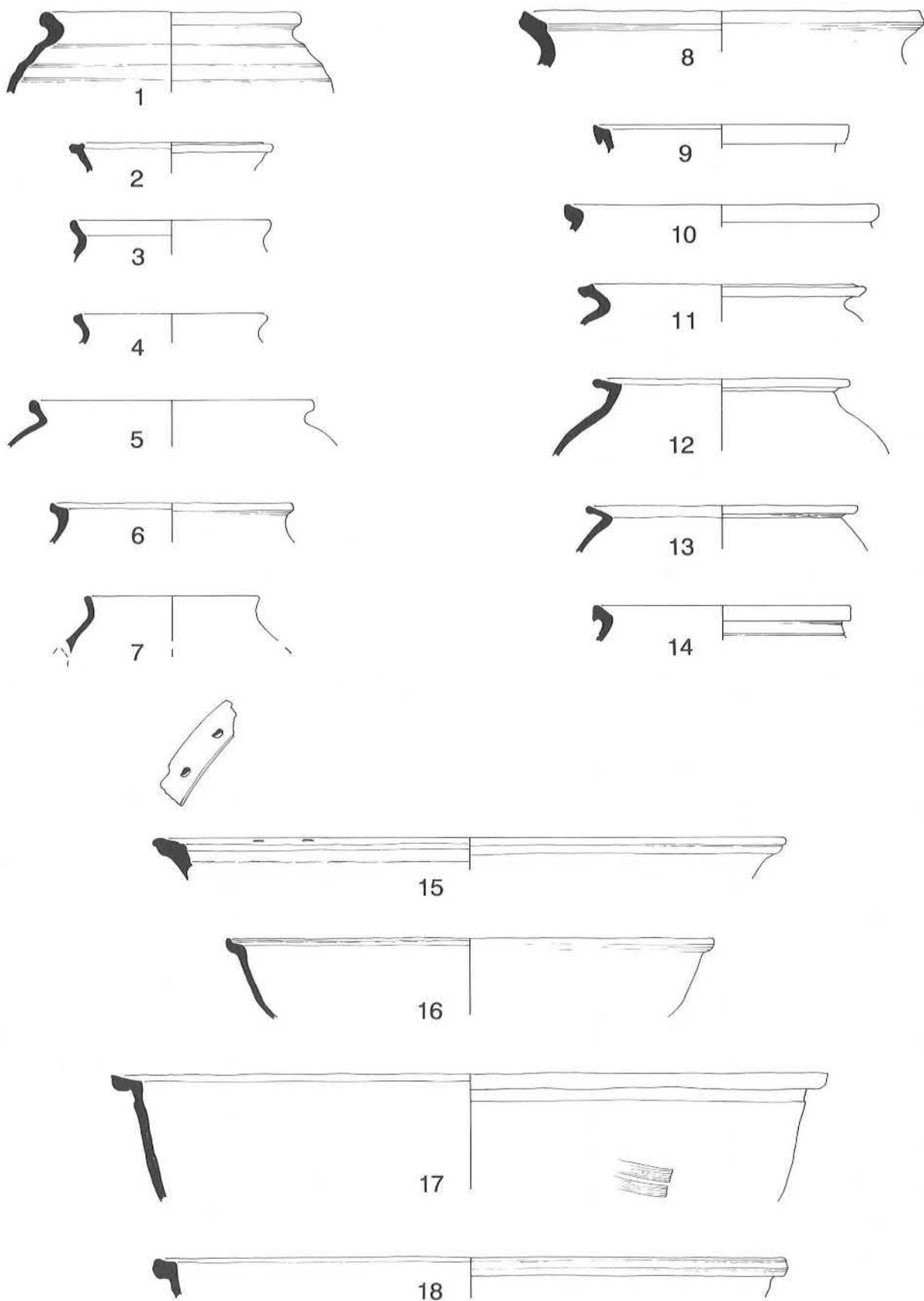


Figure 157: Pottery Group 28; first half of the fifteenth century, Nos 1-18, scale 1:4.

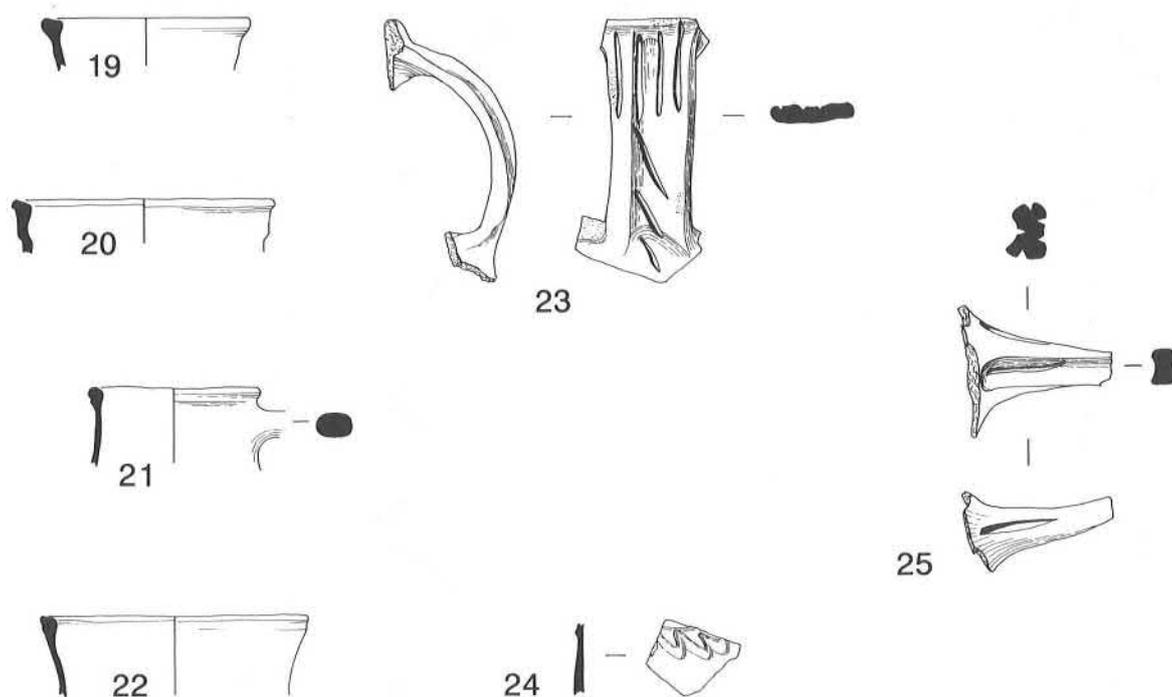


Figure 158: Pottery Group 28; first half of the fifteenth century, Nos 19-25, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MC3	A2b	-	182	4
2	MS3	A2a	-	140	4
3	MS6	A3c	-	140	4
4	MS6	A3c	-	135	4
5	MS6	A3c	-	198	4
6	MS6	A4c	-	170	4
7	MS6	A9	-	122	4
8	?	A1a	-	284	4
9	MS9	A3f	-	180	4
10	MS9	A4f	-	220	4
11	TLMS3	A4c	-	220	4
12	TLMS3	A4c	-	180	4
13	TLMS3	A4c	-	190	4
14	TLMS3	A4e	-	180	4
15	MS3	B3	-	440	4
16	MS6	B3	-	340	4
17	MS6	B3	-	500	4
18	TLMS3	B3	-	442	4
19	MS3	C2	-	110	4
20	MS6	C1	-	140	4
21	MS6	C2	Ch4	90	4
22	MS6	C2	-	140	4
23	MS6	C	Ch2a	-	4
24	MS6	C4	4	-	4
25	MS6	I1?	A	-	4

TABLE 67: Group 28, catalogue (Figs 157 and 158).

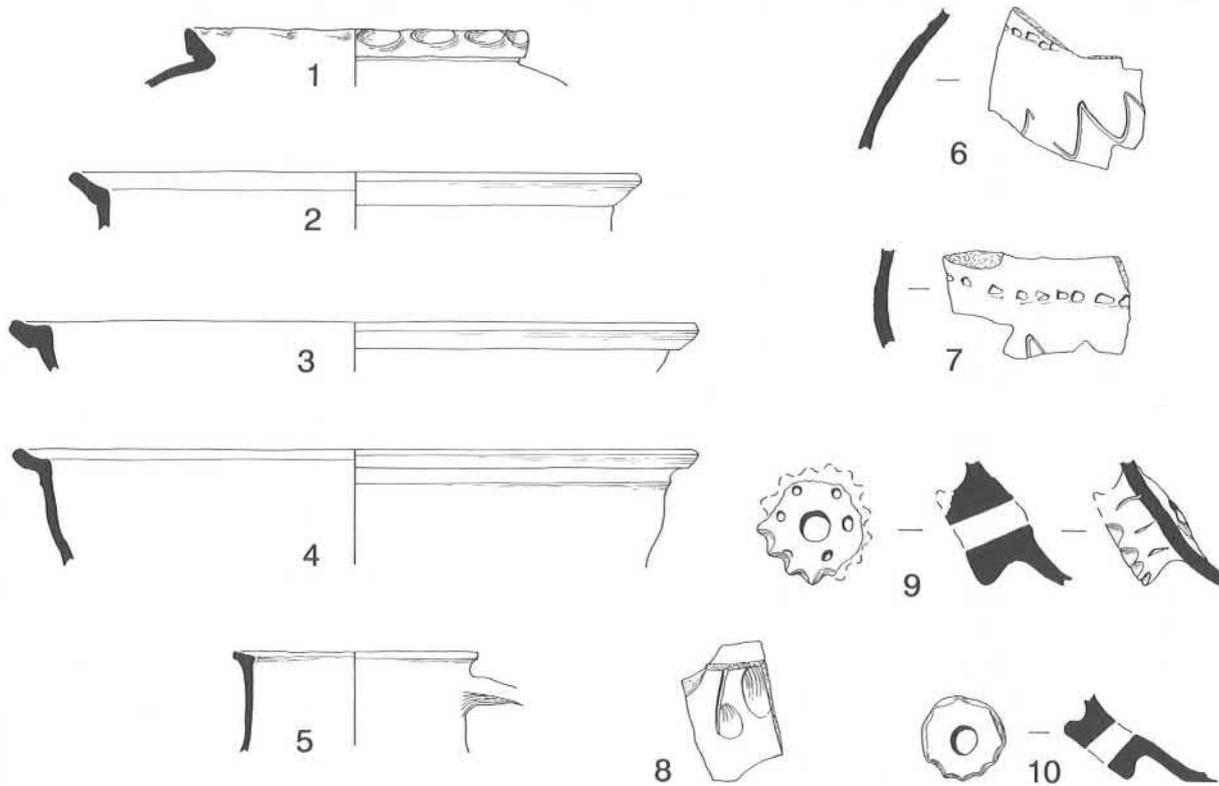


Figure 159: Pottery Group 29; mid fifteenth century, scale 1:4.

Fabric	MC3	MS6	TLMS3	Total
Cooking pot	1	5	8	14
Bowl	–	–	4	4
Jug/cistern	–	11	1	12
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>30</b>

TABLE 68: Group 29, numbers of vessels in each fabric.

Bowls: 10%  
 Jugs: 42%  
 Curfews: 2%  
 Aquamaniles: 1%  
 Bottles: 1%  
 Costrels: 1%  
 Skillets: 1%

Most (75%) of the MS6/TLMS6 cooking pots had everted, Type A4c rims (3 and 4), the remainder being of Types A3b (1) and A3f (2). The TLMS3 cooking pots were of Type A4c (5) and A3d (not illustrated).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	TLMS3	A4c	2	180	5
2	TLMS3	B3	–	300	5
3	TLMS3	B3	–	360	5
4	TLMS3	B3	–	360	5
5	MS6	C2	–	130	5
6	MS6	C	1 & 4	–	5
7	MS6	C	1 & 4	–	5
8	MS6	C	Ch bc	–	5
9	MS6	C12	–	–	5
10	TLMS3	C12	–	–	5

TABLE 69: Group 29, catalogue (Fig. 159).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MS6	A3c	–	135	42
2	MS6	A3c	–	262	34
3	MS6	A3d	–	200	33
4	MS6	A3f	–	160	32
5	TLMS3	A1a	–	200	42
6	TLMS3	A4c	–	180	33
7	TLMS3	A3d	–	260	32
8	TLMS3	A4c	–	300	34
9	TLMS3	A17	–	140	34
10	TLMS3	A17	–	160	13
11	MC3	B3	–	280	36
12	TLMS3	P	–	180	32
13	MS6	B2	–	263	33
14	MS6	B2	–	400	33
15	MS6	B2	–	400	13
16	MS6	B2	–	415	13
17	MS6	B3	–	380	13
18	MS6	B3	–	440	32
19	MS26	B3	–	280	35
20	TLMS3	B3	–	247	36
21	TLMS3	B3	–	500	34
22	TLMS3	B3	–	440	33
23	TLMS3	B3	–	340	34
24	TLMS3	B3	–	340	33
25	MS6	C1	–	140	32
26	MS6	C1	–	170	32
27	MS6	C2	–	122	13
28	MS6	C?	–	72	33
29	MS6	C	Ch2c	–	32
30	MS6	C	Ch4	–	33
31	MS6	C12	A	–	32
32	TLMS3	C2	–	100	33
33	TLMS3	C2	–	140	32
34	TLMS3	C2	Ch2	120	34
35	TLMS3	C2	–	120	33
36	TLMS3	C	Ch2	–	32
37	MS6	I1	Ihc	–	13

TABLE 70: Group 35, catalogue (Figs 160 and 161).

Fabric	MS6/TLMS6	MS3/TLMS3	MS9	Total
Cooking pot	49	28	–	77
Bowl	13	4	–	17
Jug	61	3	9	73
Costrel	–	–	1	1
Skillet	1	–	–	1
Curfew	3	–	–	3
Aquamanile	1	–	–	1
Bottle	1	–	–	1
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>174</b>

TABLE 71: Group 46, numbers of vessels in the principal fabrics.

The bowls in MS6/TLMS6 mostly had simple flanged rims (7) or well developed flanges (8). Simple rims like 6 may be from fish dishes, dripping pans or shallow bowls. The TLMS3 bowls were of similar types; simple rims like 9 represent 40% of those found, and flanged bowls (10 and 11) 60%.

Jugs produced at Potterspur, Fabric MS6/TLMS6 (13–19), were most common in this group. The MS9 Brill/Boarstall jug (20) is the finest and most complete vessel from Great Linford. The MS15 Surrey whiteware vessels are rare in this area, and the presence of three jugs in this group probably reflects the status of the manor house.

A variety of other vessels, a pipkin handle (24),

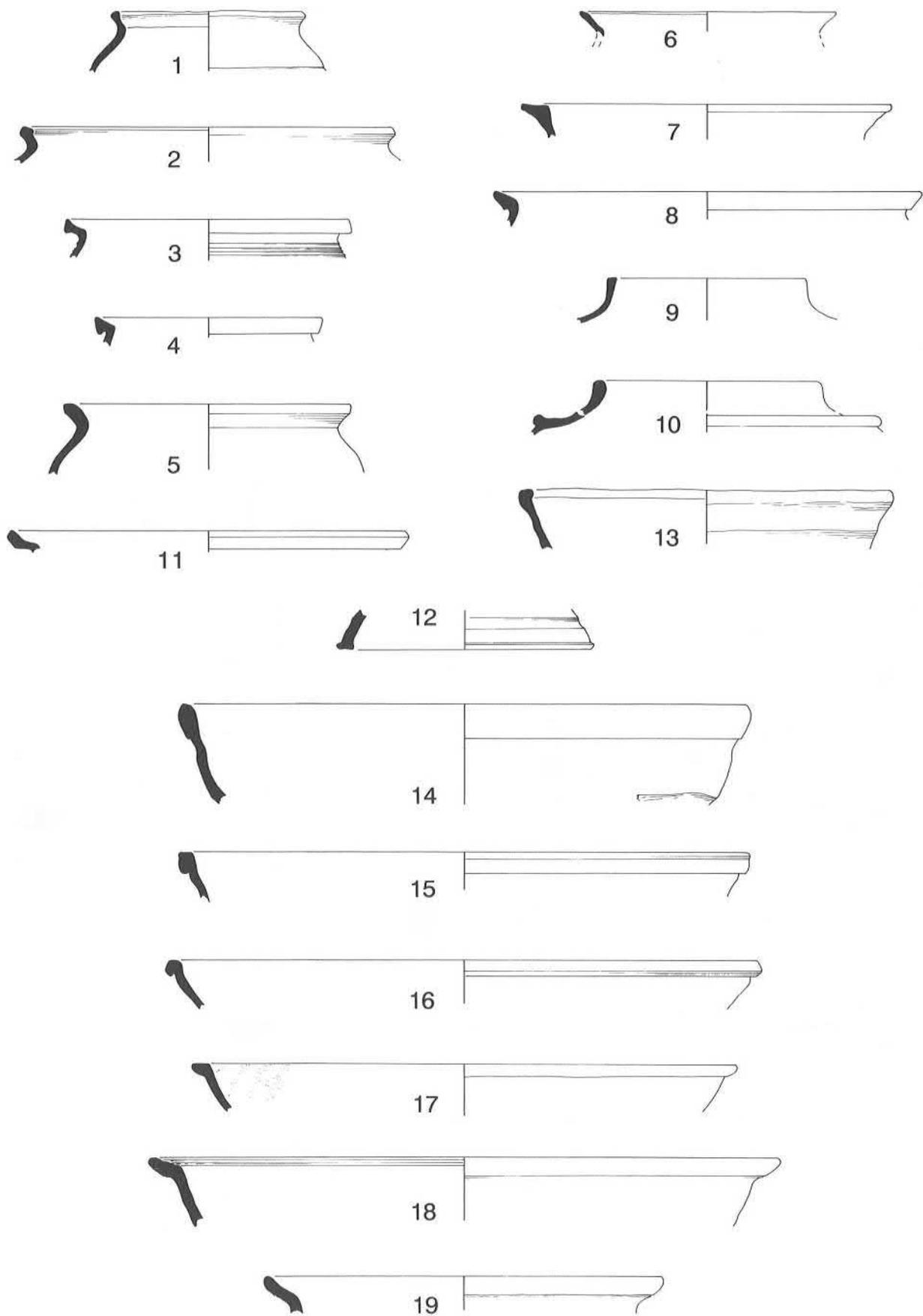


Figure 160: Pottery Group 35; mid to late fifteenth century, Nos 1-19, scale 1:4.

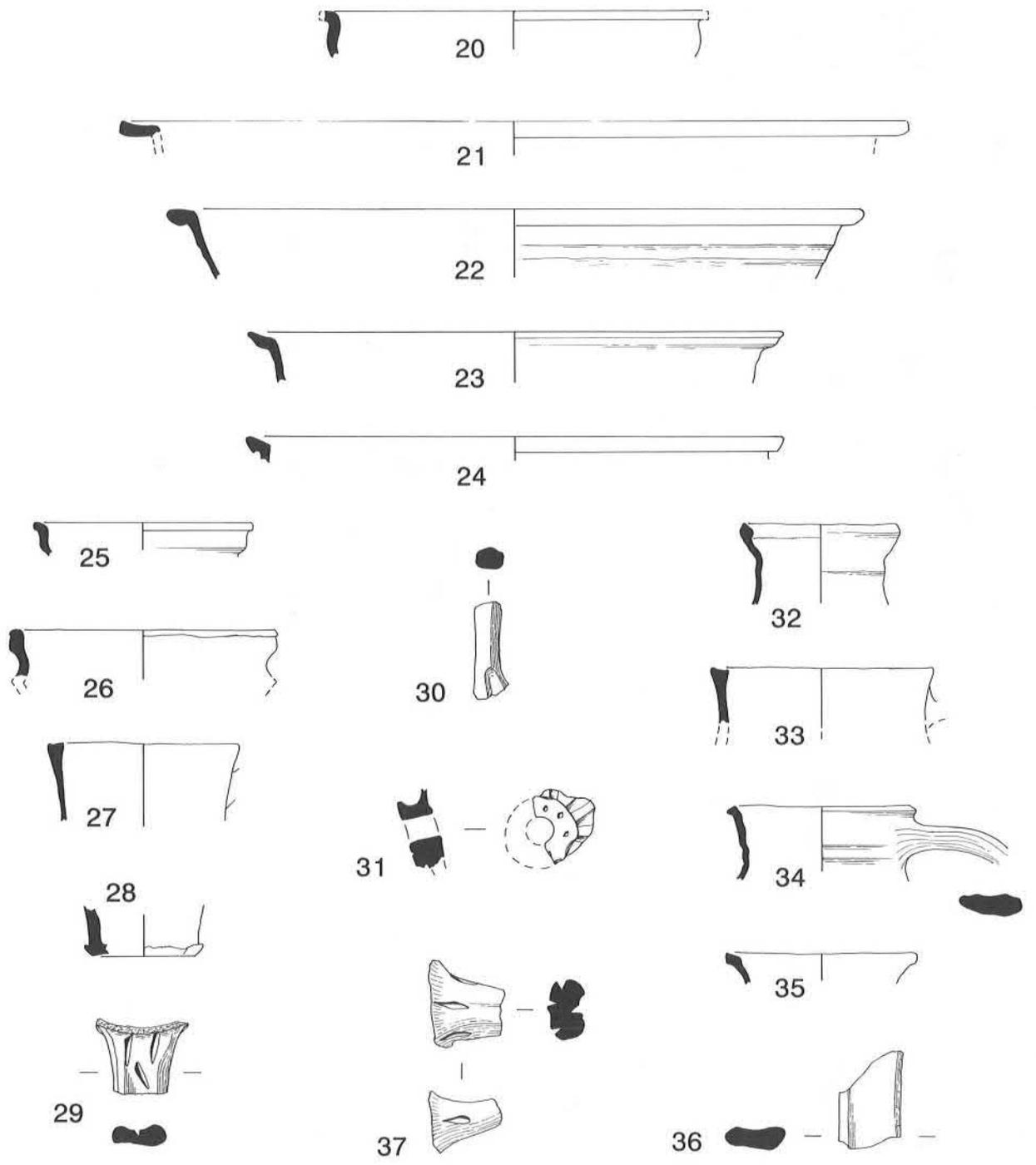


Figure 161: Pottery Group 35; mid to late fifteenth century, Nos 20- 37, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	MS6	A3b	–	180	69
2	MS6	A3f	–	222	179
3	MS6	A4c	–	182	173
4	MS6	A4c	–	222	102
5	MS6	A4c	–	160	62
6	MS6	B2 (B30?)	–	278	199
7	MS6	B2	–	480	37
8	MS6	B3	–	420	212
9	TLMS3	B2	–	320	63
10	TLMS3	B3	–	280	96
11	TLMS3	B3	–	420	179
12	MS3	C	Ch2	–	63
13	MS6	C1	–	108	35
14	MS6	C2	Ch2c	110	177
15	MS6	C2	Ch2c	104	177
16	MS6	C2	Ch2	82	179
17	MS6	C	Ch1c	–	83 and 177
18	MS6	C	4	–	83+38,52,62,71
19	MS6	C	3	–	96
20	MS9	C2	9,Ch2c	103×416×148	100
21	MS15	C1	–	100	62
22	MS15	C2	Ch4	124	72 (Rod handle)
23	MS15	C	Ch4	–	33
24	MS6	K	–	–	177
25	MS6	U1	3/7	?332	69
26	MS6	U1	3/7	?300	221
27	MS6	V2	–	53	177
28	MS15	E3	–	28	19 (Joins 24)

TABLE 72: Group 46, catalogue (Figs. 162 and 163).

two curfews (25 and 26), and the bottle base (27) were all in Potterspurry ware. Another uncommon form at Great Linford was the costrel from Brill/Boarstall (28).

*Group 47: late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century.*

This group is from the Phase 2 occupation levels at the manor house.

Fabrics in the group:

PM8 35%  
 TLMS6 30%  
 PM16 12%  
 PM21 7%  
 TLMS3 7%  
 TLMS10 3%  
 PM18 2%  
 PM38 2%  
 Intrusive 18th cent. pottery 2%

Minimum number of vessels: 58

Cooking pots/jars: 50%  
 Bowls: 17%  
 Jugs: 18%  
 Cups/mugs: 9%  
 Albarellos: 5%

This pottery represents the last phase of occupation of the manor house prior to its demolition in 1679. The relatively small amounts of late medieval Potterspurry ware TLMS6 and other TLMS fabrics suggests a date in the seventeenth century, which is confirmed by the dominance of post-medieval wares. Prominent is PM8, the lead-glazed earthenware produced at Potterspurry, the successor to TLMS6.

Many of the jars (e.g. 2 and 3) had handles and lips for pouring, and some also had tripod feet (Fig. 186, 5). The delft bowl or basin (6) is of mid to late seventeenth-century date. The small globular jug (8) is in fabric TLMS6. The German stoneware base (9) is from a small jug of sixteenth to seventeenth-century date.

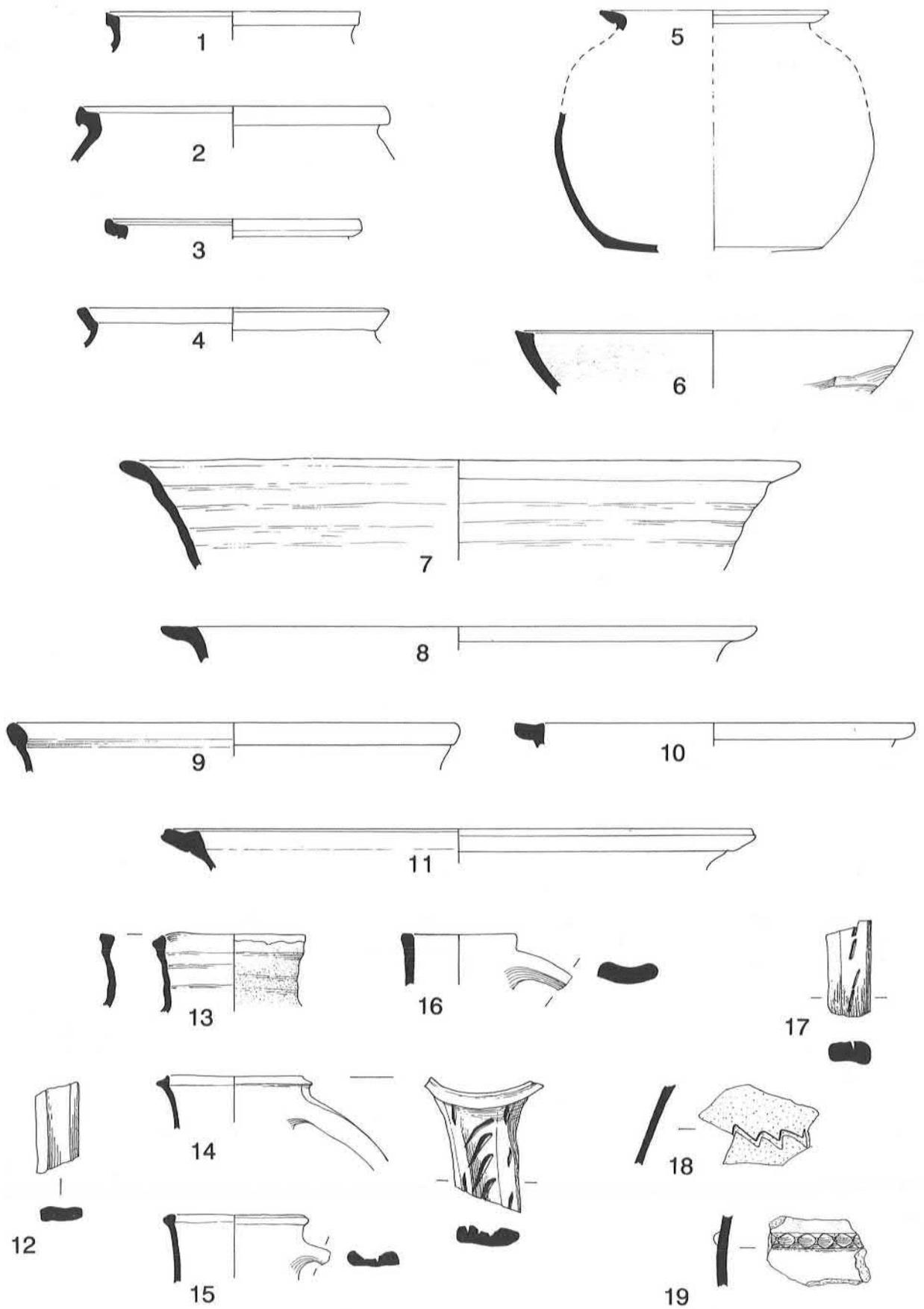


Figure 162: Pottery Group 46; late fourteenth to late fifteenth century, Nos 1-19, scale 1:4.



Figure 163: Pottery Group 46; late fourteenth to late fifteenth century, Nos 20-28, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Context
1	TLMS6	A	Ch4	140	27 and 5
2	PM8	A1	-	162	60, Joins 82, 86 and same pot in 4 and 90
3	PM8	A1	-	204	60 and 61
14	TLMS6	B3	-	362	25
5	PM8	B3	-	498	60
6	PM21	B21	-	240	1 and 2
7	TLMS6	C1	-	102	25
8	TLMS6	C	-	-	31
9	PM29	C6	-	118 (base)	61
10	PM16	D?	-	102	84
11	PM16	D3	-	70	25
12	PM21	M1	-	102 (base)	84

TABLE 73: Group 47, catalogue (Fig. 164).

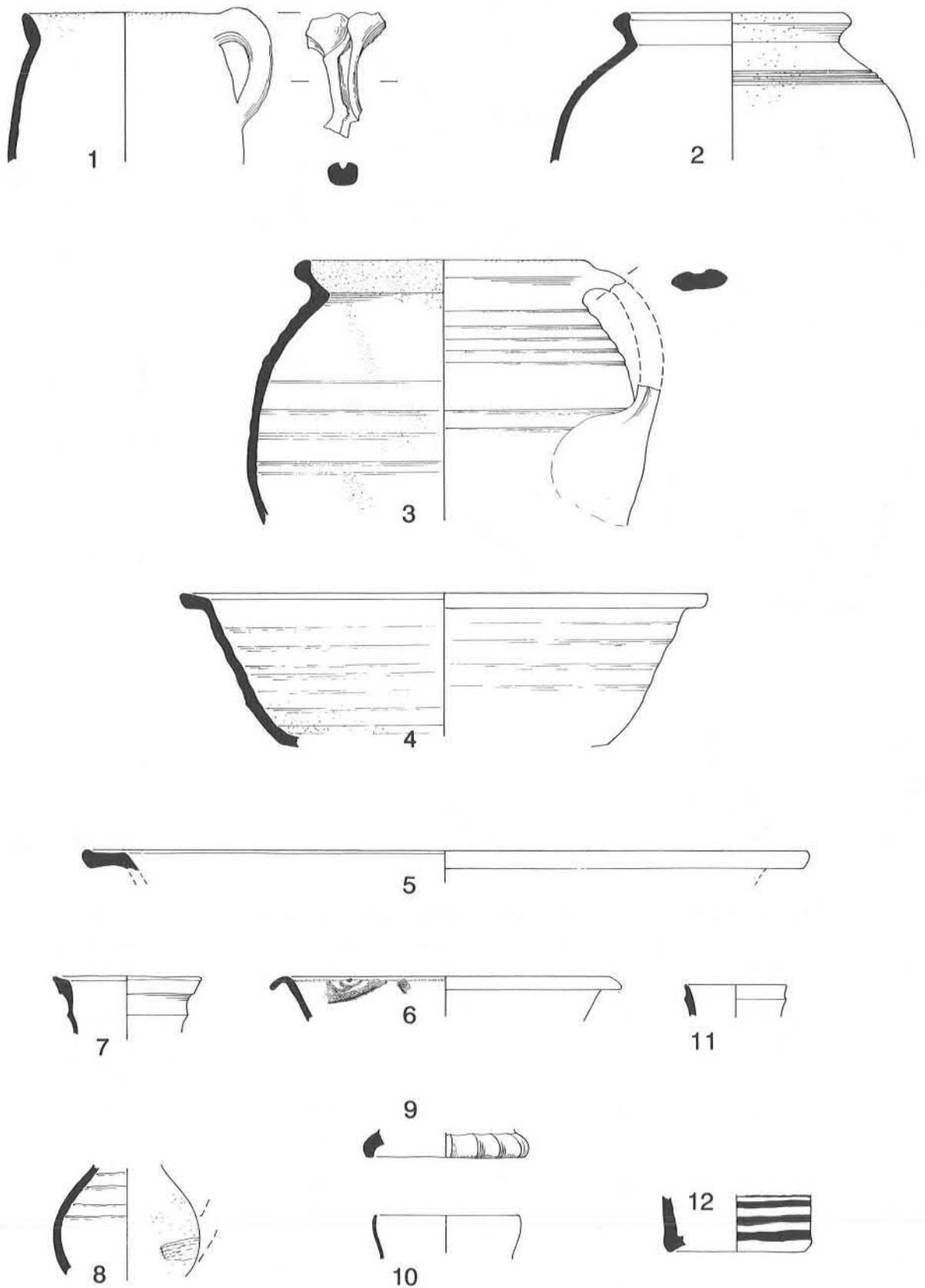


Figure 164: Pottery Group 47; late sixteenth to mid to late seventeenth century, scale 1:4.

*Group 50: third quarter of the seventeenth century.*

This group came from last phases of occupation, the destruction levels and the topsoil over the yards and buildings of the excavated crofts and the early manor house. The majority was of mid to late seventeenth-century date, but there was also some earlier residual material and a small amount of later intrusive material which was largely of eighteenth-century date, deriving from rubbish tipping on Crofts B, C, E, F, H, J, L and the early manor house.

The enclosure of the village in 1658 and the acquisition of properties and land by Sir Richard Napier were the principal reasons for the abandonment of many of the village houses. The two estate maps of 1641 and 1658 (Figs. 4 and 7) show quite clearly that most disappeared during this period and other houses would have become unoccupied shortly afterwards as elderly tenants, who may have been allowed to remain, finally died or were moved away.

These events suggest that the desertion of the excavated crofts at Great Linford took place over a period of ten to twenty years in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Therefore, most of the pottery in this group should not be any later in date than *c.* 1670–1680. Analysis of the fabrics present tends to confirm this. Table 74 shows the relative proportions of locally produced wares compared with those from Staffordshire, which were not common in this area until the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Similarly, English stoneware (PM28), which was not introduced until the 1670s, was only found in Groups 17, Croft B, and 21d, Croft C, confirming that most crofts were unoccupied by the time that it came into use.

Throughout the catalogues for Groups 50 and 51, the vessel forms are identified by the letters allocated in the type series at the beginning of this report. Further subdivisions, by numbers following the letters, refer to the full type-series held within the Unit's archive.

The pottery from Group 50 is presented by fabric type as follows:

I. The transitional late medieval sandy wares (Figs 165 and 166, 1–40).

In total these wares represented only fifteen per cent of the vessels in the group. To a certain extent they are a residual fifteenth to sixteenth-century element, but several of them, particularly TLMS 6, 7 and 10 develop or merge into the seventeenth-century lead-glazed earthenwares.

The most common of these fabrics, TLMS 6 (36%) was made at Potterspurty. The other two major TLMS fabrics were: TLMS 7 (32%), made at Brill/Boarstall, and TLMS 3 (17%), made at Great Brickhill.

The TLMS 6 bowls (7, 8 and 11) are seventeenth-century forms, as are 17, and 20–31 in TLMS 7. One vessel (34) in fabric TLMS 10, which is similar to the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Potterspurty lead-glazed earthenware PM8, is interesting since it appears to be a copy of an albarello.

The most common vessels in the TLMS fabrics were:

Jars 38%  
Bowls 22%  
Jugs 26%  
Cups/mugs 10%

Other forms found were; chafing dishes, chamber pots, costrels, pipkins, plates, skillets, butter pots, lids and bottles. These each represented less than one per cent of the total TLMS vessels in the group.

II. The Northamptonshire post-medieval wares

The local products of the Northamptonshire pottery industry based at Potterspurty and Yardley Gobion amounted to 74% of the pottery in this group.

The most common fabric (63%) was the plain lead-glazed earthenware PM8. The black-glazed wares were the next most common fabric, followed by slip-decorated wares, and the green and yellow-glazed white wares. The minimum number of vessels in each fabric and the amount of that fabric as a percentage of the local ware is shown in Table 76.

A. PM8 Lead-glazed earthenware (Figs 167–174, 1–132).

This was the most common fabric in this group, representing 46% of the total. The most common vessels were:

Jars 48%  
Bowls 31%  
Jugs 14%  
Cups/mugs 2%

A wide range of jars (1–52) were found, most of which would have been used for storage. Several (*e. g.* 31) are shallow enough to be a bowl or chamber pot, and others (*e. g.* 27, 29 and 30) have rims like the chamber pots 53–55. Often only a small rim sherd with no evidence of a handle survived, making precise identification impossible.

Fabrics	Date	Jars	Bowls Dishes Pans	Jugs Bellar- mines	Mugs Cups Tygs	Costrels Flasks	Cham- ber pots	Chafing dish	Colanders Strainers Fuming pots
<i>Imports</i>									
PM48 Dutch tin-glazed earthenware	17th?	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
PM44 French hard red earthenware	17th	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-
PM32 Westerwald stoneware	17th	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
PM29 Misc. Rhenish stonewares		-	-	71	1	-	-	-	-
PM7 Werra slipware	1 16th-e 18th	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Staffordshire</i>									
PM43 Varigated ware	17th	-	-	4	3	-	-	-	-
PM1 Glazed black ware	17th	28	35	-	2	-	-	-	-
PM56 Mottled brown-glazed whiteware	17th	-	4	9	-	-	-	-	-
PM42 Pink-bodied slipware	late 17th	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
PM2 Buff-bodied slipware	1 17th-18th	-	22	6	24	-	1	-	-
<i>Miscellaneous English</i>									
PM52 Tin glazed, flint encrusted earthenware	17th-18th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PM28 Brown salt-glazed stonewares	17th-18th	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-
PM21 Tin-glazed earthenware	17th	-	6	1	10	-	1	-	-
<i>Local wares</i>									
PM38 Yellow-glazed white ware	17th	-	48	7	5	-	1	1	-
PM18 Green-glazed white ware	17th	7	96	15	4	-	1	1	1
PM15 Cistercian-type ware	15th-17th	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
PM16 Black-glazed coarse ware	17th	34	18	116	164	-	-	-	-
PM13 Black-glazed slip-decorated fineware	17th	2	2	3	20	-	-	-	-
PM39 Brown-glazed ware	16th-17th	1	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
PM41 Mottled brown-glazed ware	17th	-	5	1	-	-	2	-	-
PM20 White slipped ware	17th	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
PM37 Marbled slip ware	17th	-	94	10	-	-	-	1	1
PM5 Trailed slip ware	17th	1	120	14	9	-	1	2	-
PM8 Lead-glazed earthenwares	17th	730	460	205	35	4	4	13	12
<i>Late medieval</i>									
TLMS17 Tudor green type	15th-e 17th	-	-	1	7	1	-	-	-
TLMS15 -	17th	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TLMS14 -	15th-16th	9	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
TLMS12 Red earthenware	16th-17th	1	7	3	-	-	-	1	-
TLMS10 Red earthenware	16th-17th	7	7	9	-	-	-	-	-
TLMS9 Brill/Boarstall ware	15th-16th	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-
TLMS7 Brill/Boarstall ware	15th-16th	23	41	46	41	1	2	-	-
TLMS6 Potterspurys ware	15th-16th	78	36	58	-	-	-	-	-
TLMS3 Reduced ware	15th-e/m 16th	64	14	5	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>		987	1028	596	360	20	13	19	14
<i>% vessel types present</i>		31	32	19	11	1	<1	1	<1

Table 74: Group 50; fabric and vessels present.

Pipkins	Plates Platters Chargers	Skillets	Posset pot	Alba- rello	Butter- pot	Lids	Bottles	Misc.	Total	%
-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	7	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	<1
-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	74	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	19	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	73	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	<1
-	2	-	-	59	-	-	-	-	79	2
3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	2*	70	2
1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	127	4
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	31	1
-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	335	11
-	-	-	9	-	1	-	-	-	37	1
-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	106	3
-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	148	5
4	-	1	-	-	3	3	1	-	1475	46
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	<1
-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	<1
2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	14	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	25	1
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	<1
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	155	5
-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	175	6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83	3
11	24	3	10	61	16	7	6	2	3177	
<1	1	<1	<1	2	1	<1	<1	<1		

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
1	TLMS3	A17	—	142	36	23
2	TLMS3	C	Chla	—	43a	192
3	TLMS6	A4c	—	180	36	+
4	TLMS6	A5	—	180	43a	23
5	TLMS6	A5	—	221	48	3
6	TLMS6	A17	—	200	43c	35
7	TLMS6	B2	4	400	37	11
8	TLMS6	B1	—	384	33b	+
9	TLMS6	C	—	193	37	11
10	TLMS6	C	1	135	43a	192
11	TLMS6	B28	—	150×79×100	21d	+
12	TLMS7	A1	—	180	31b	38
13	TLMS7	A1	—	149	21b	+
14	TLMS7	A	—	158	43c	35
15	TLMS7	A9	—	145	20b	10a
16	TLMS7	A9	—	135	21d	+
17	TLMS7	I2	—	140	40	1
18	TLMS7	B1	—	240	21d	+
19	TLMS7	B1	—	243	21d	+
20	TLMS7	B1	—	170	3	3
21	TLMS7	B1	—	140	3	3
22	TLMS7	B1	—	420	3	+
23	TLMS7	B2	4	320	44	+
24	TLMS7	C1	—	117	33b	36
25	TLMS7	C1	—	118	21d	+
26	TLMS7	D3	—	95	39	11
27	TLMS7	D1	—	100	21b	6
28	TLMS7	D19	—	122	39	11
29	TLMS7	D	—	110	39	11
30	TLMS7	D1	—	75	21d	+
31	TLMS7	V2	—	60	40	+
32	TLMS10	F	—	180	21d	+
33	TLMS10	C	Chb	—	21d	+
34	TLMS10	M?	—	68	21d	+
35	TLMS12	B1	—	380	43a	192
36	TLMS12	B3	—	378	43a	98
37	TLMS12	C?	—	100	43a	98
38	TLMS12	G2	—	200	43a	192
39	TLMS14	C1	—	120	36	23
40	TLMS14	C12	—	180×148	43a	98

TABLE 75: Northamptonshire post-medieval wares; catalogue (Figs 165 and 166).

The chamber pots and bowls are typical seventeenth-century forms. The bowls ranged in diameter from 180–500mm., from small vessels to large pancheons. The only handled bowl (75) had a lug handle on either side. The two reconstructable jugs (107 and 109) suggest fairly plain vessels typical of the period.

The tankard (114) is a copy of a metal vessel. Sherds of three similar vessels were found. Other forms present were pipkins (117 and 118), fuming pots (128 and 129), bottles (130 and 131), chafing dishes (119–125), strainers or colanders (126 and

127) and an unusual vessel with a stabbed base (132).

#### B. PM5 Trailed decorated slipware (Figs. 175–177, 133–167).

This was the most common of the slipwares produced at Potterpurys, and was also produced locally at Paulerspury (Hall 1974a) and Yardley Gobion (Hurst 1969).

Slip-trailed decoration was introduced into this country from the Netherlands during the late

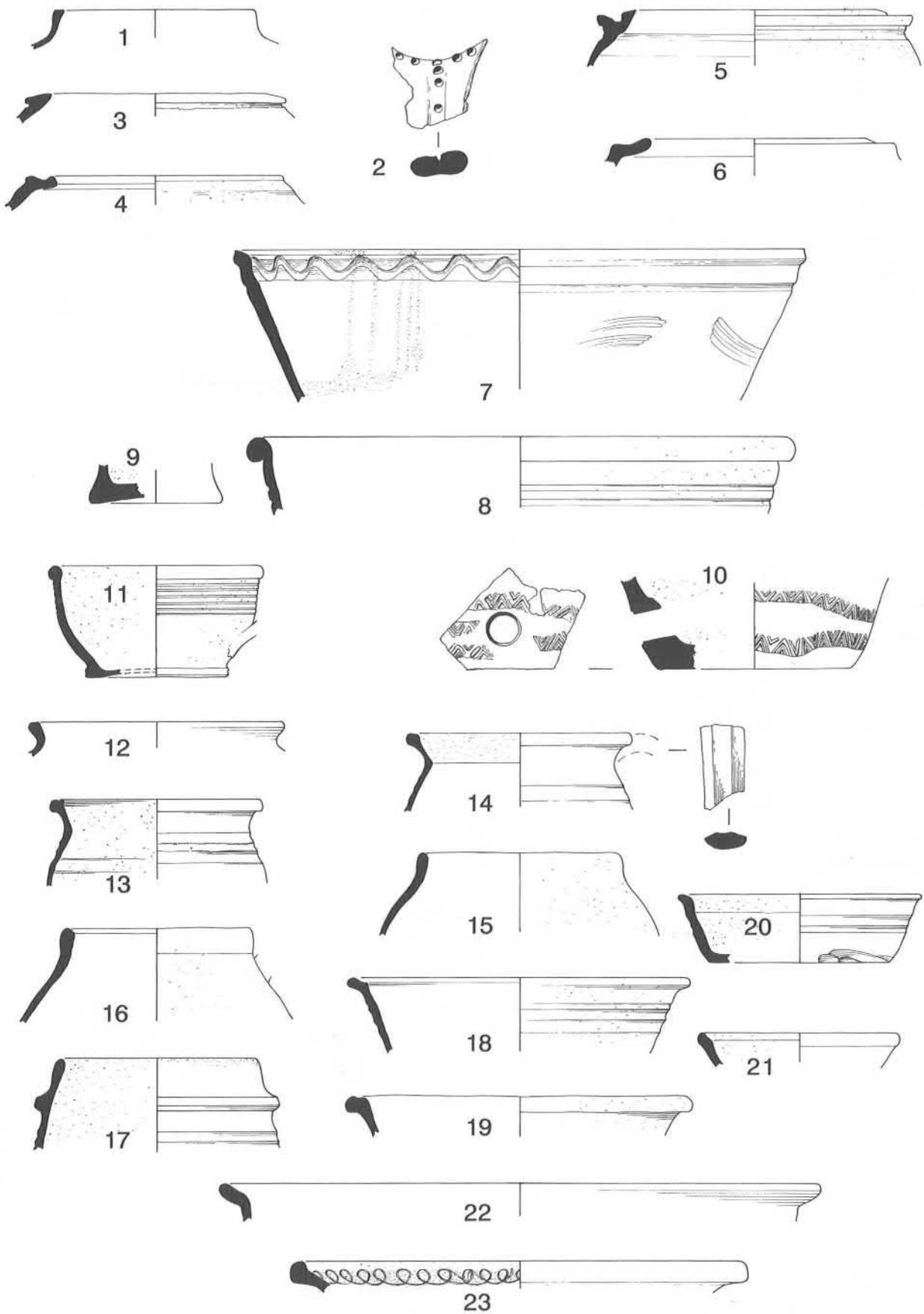


Figure 165: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. TLMS3, Nos 1–2; TLMS6, Nos 3–11; TLMS7, Nos 12–23, scale 1:4.

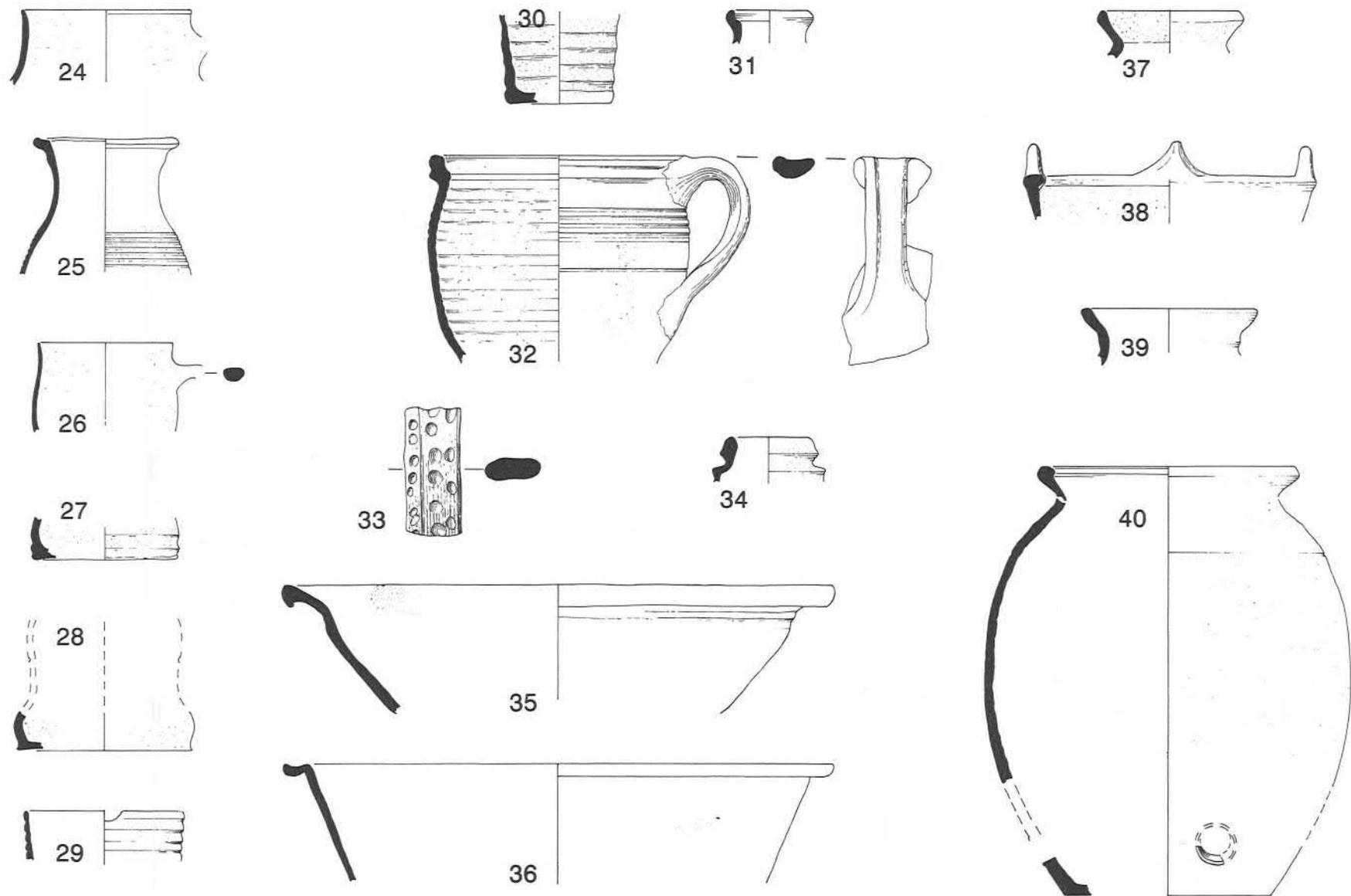


Figure 166: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. TLMS7, Nos 24– 31; TLMS10, Nos 32–34; TLMS12, Nos 35–38; TLMS14, Nos 39– 40, scale 1:4.

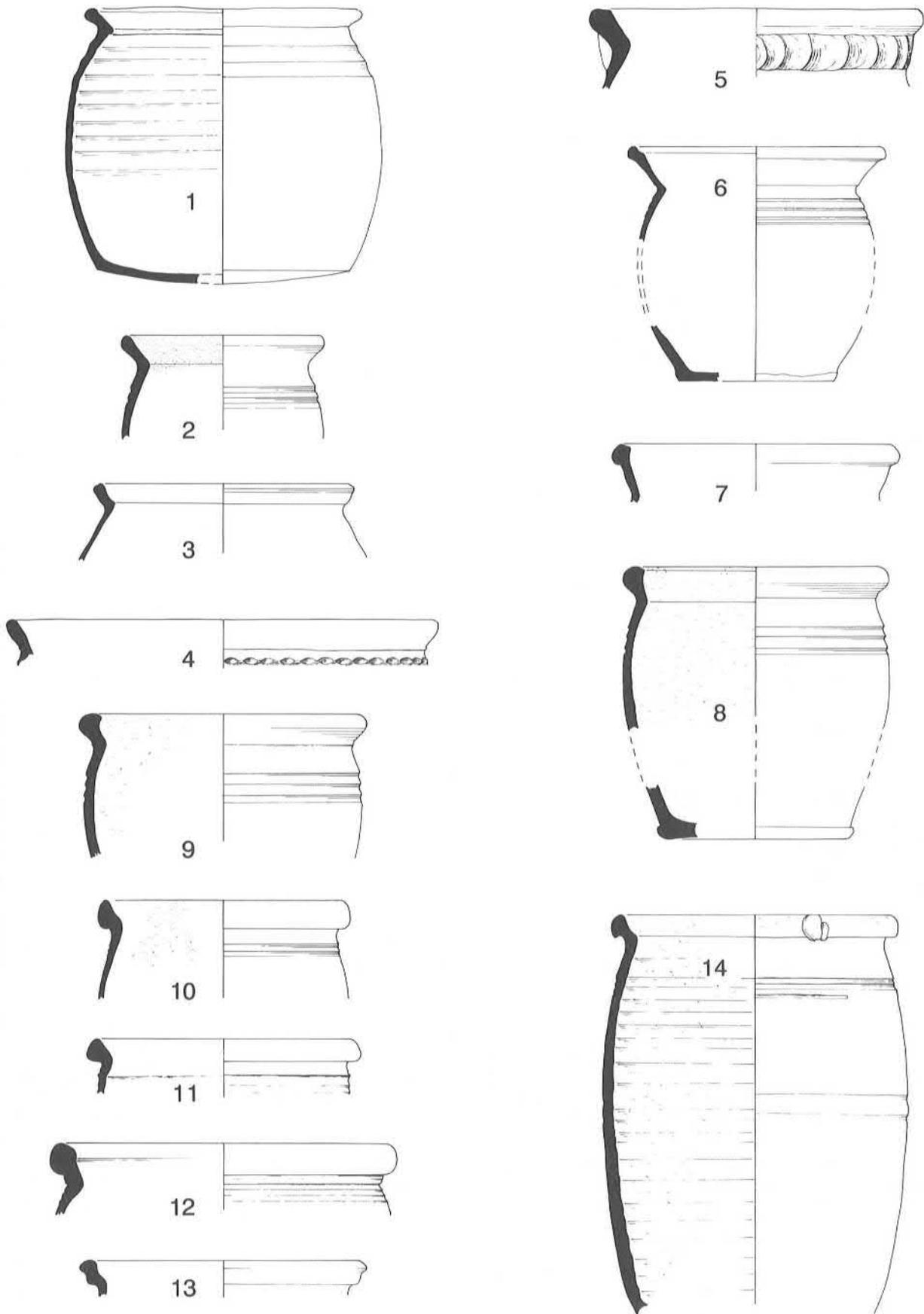


Figure 167: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware. Nos 1-14. scale 1:4.

Fabric		Min. no. of vessels	% of local fabrics
PM8	Lead-glazed earthenware	1475	63
PM5	Trailed decorated slipware	148	6
PM37	Marbled slipware	106	5
PM20	White slipped ware	3	<1
PM41	Mottled brown-glazed ware	8	<1
PM39	Brown-glazed ware	7	<1
PM13	Black-glazed slip-decorated fineware	37	2
PM16	Black-glazed coarseware	335	14
PM15	Cistercian-type ware	31	1
PM18	Green-glazed white ware	127	5
PM38	Yellow-glazed white ware	70	3

TABLE 76: Northamptonshire post-medieval wares; minimum numbers of vessels and percentages present in Group 50.

Form	Fabric	PM8	PM5	PM37	PM20	PM41	PM39	PM13	PM16	PM15	PM18	PM38
A:	Jar	730	1	–	–	–	1	2	34	–	7	–
B:	Bowl	460	120	94	3	5	–	2	18	–	96	48
C:	Jug	205	14	10	–	1	1	3	116	–	15	7
D:	Cup/mug/tyg	35	9	–	–	–	4	20	164	30	4	5
E:	Costrel/flask	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F:	Chamber pot	4	1	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	1	1
G:	Chafing dish	13	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
H:	Colander/strainer	12	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
I:	Pipkin	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3
J:	Plate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
K:	Skillet	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
L:	Posset pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	1	–	–	–
M:	Albarello	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
N:	Butter pot	3	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–
P:	Lid	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
V:	Bottle	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2
	<i>Total vessels</i>	1475	148	106	3	8	7	37	335	31	127	70

TABLE 77: Northamptonshire post-medieval wares; vessels and fabrics present in Group 50.

sixteenth and early seventeenth century (Brears 1971, 119) and was made at most major pottery centres during the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth centuries. In Oxford, Mellor (1984, 216) considered that the local slipwares did not become popular until the late seventeenth century. However, the evidence from Great Linford confirms that it was being produced at Potterspurby by at least the mid seventeenth century.

The most common vessels were bowls and pancheons, which represented 81% of the vessels in this fabric. These vessels were decorated internally, and a characteristic feature was the border decoration around the rim. These borders, to-

gether with other designs on vessels made at Paulerspury and Yardley Gobion, have been classified (Mynard, in preparation) and the proposed design numbers are used in this report. The smaller bowls ranged from 215 to 245mm. in diameter, whilst the larger pancheons measured between 300–440mm. 157 was a small deep bowl with fairly upright sides and a simple narrow flanged rim.

Jugs accounted for only 9% of the vessels in this fabric, and no complete profiles were found. The example (161) with horizontal trailed lines of alternate yellow and dark brown slip externally and a yellow overall slip internally is the only vessel

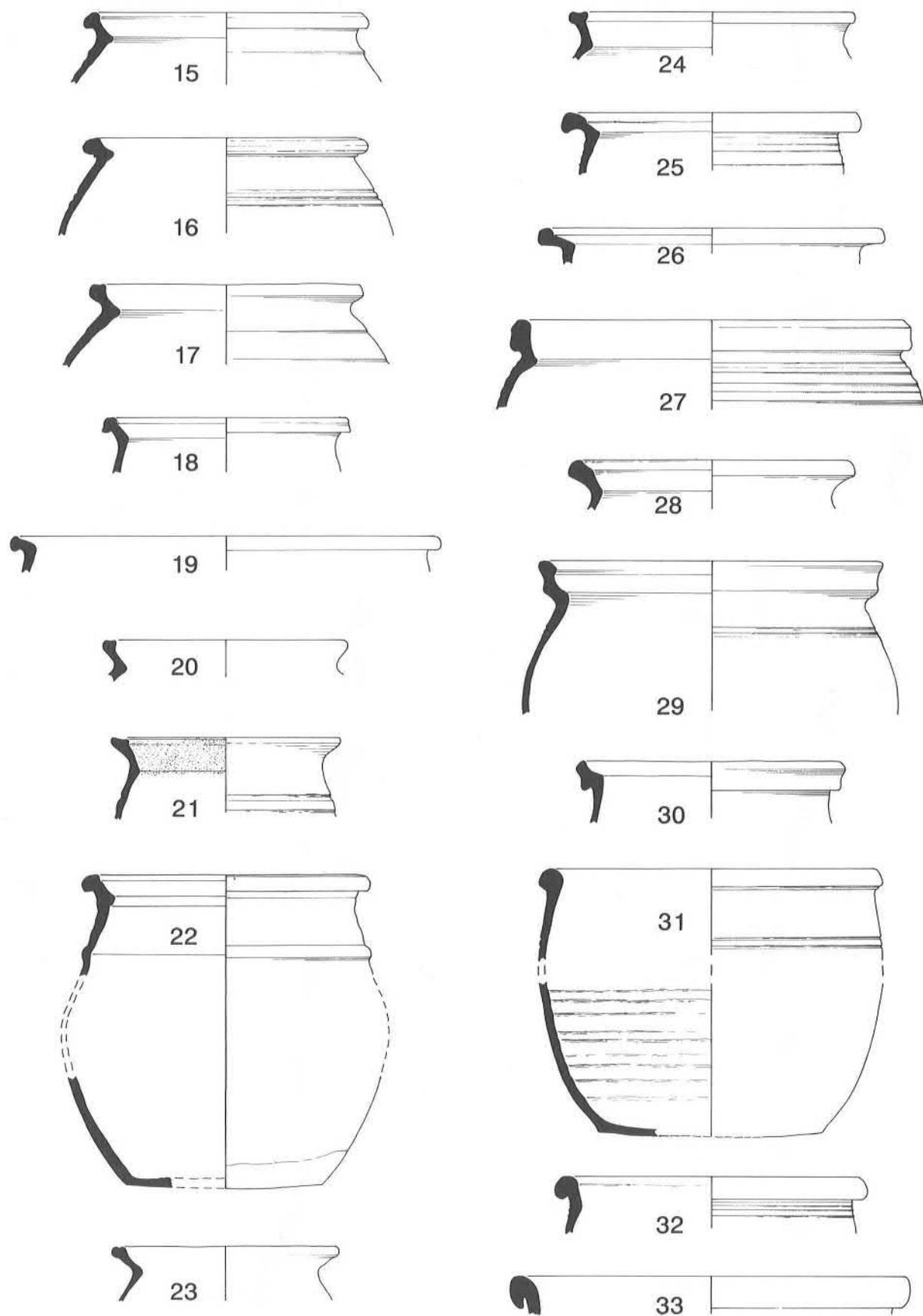


Figure 168: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware, Nos 15-33, scale 1:4.

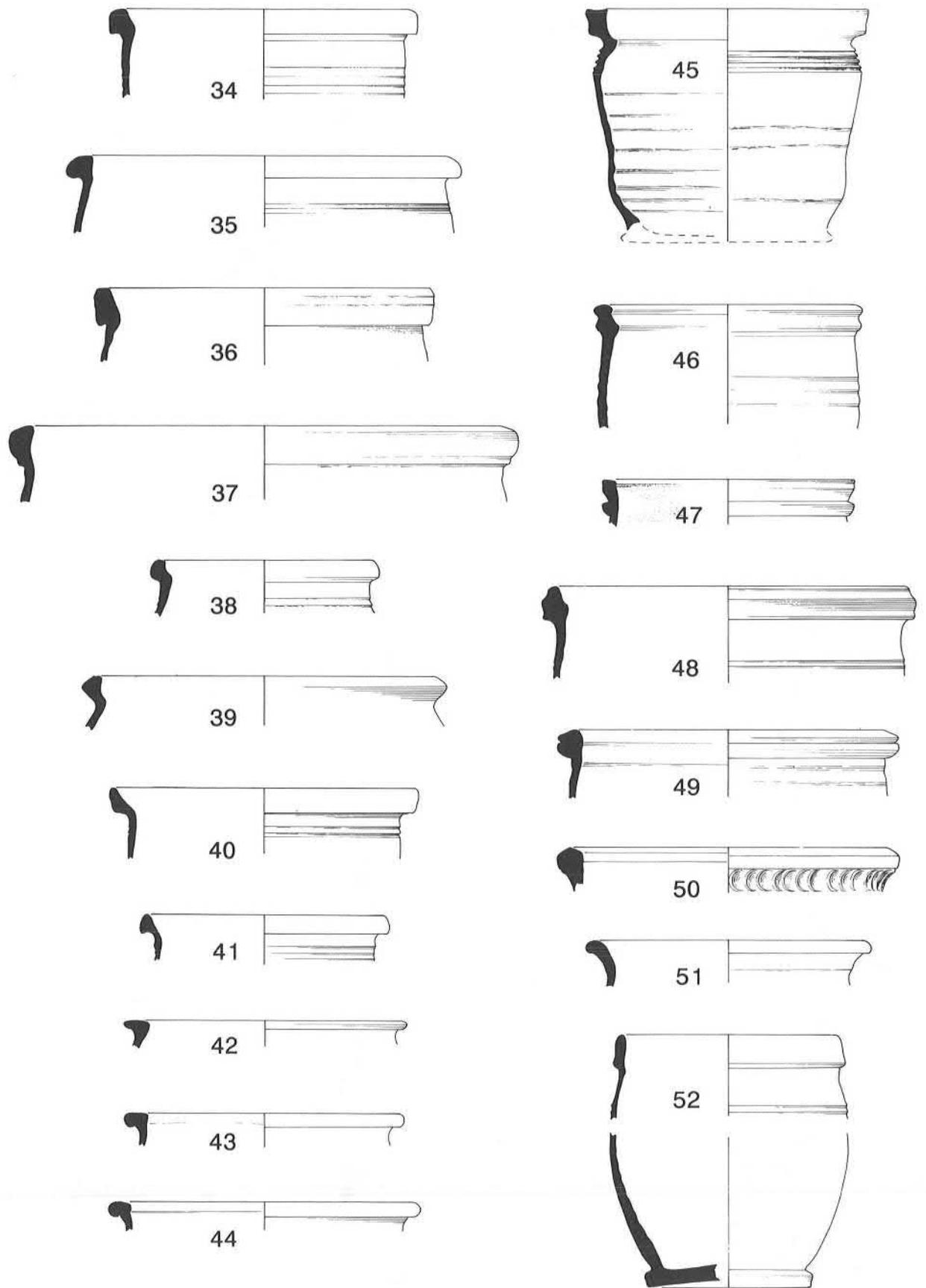


Figure 169: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware, Nos 34-52, scale 1:4.

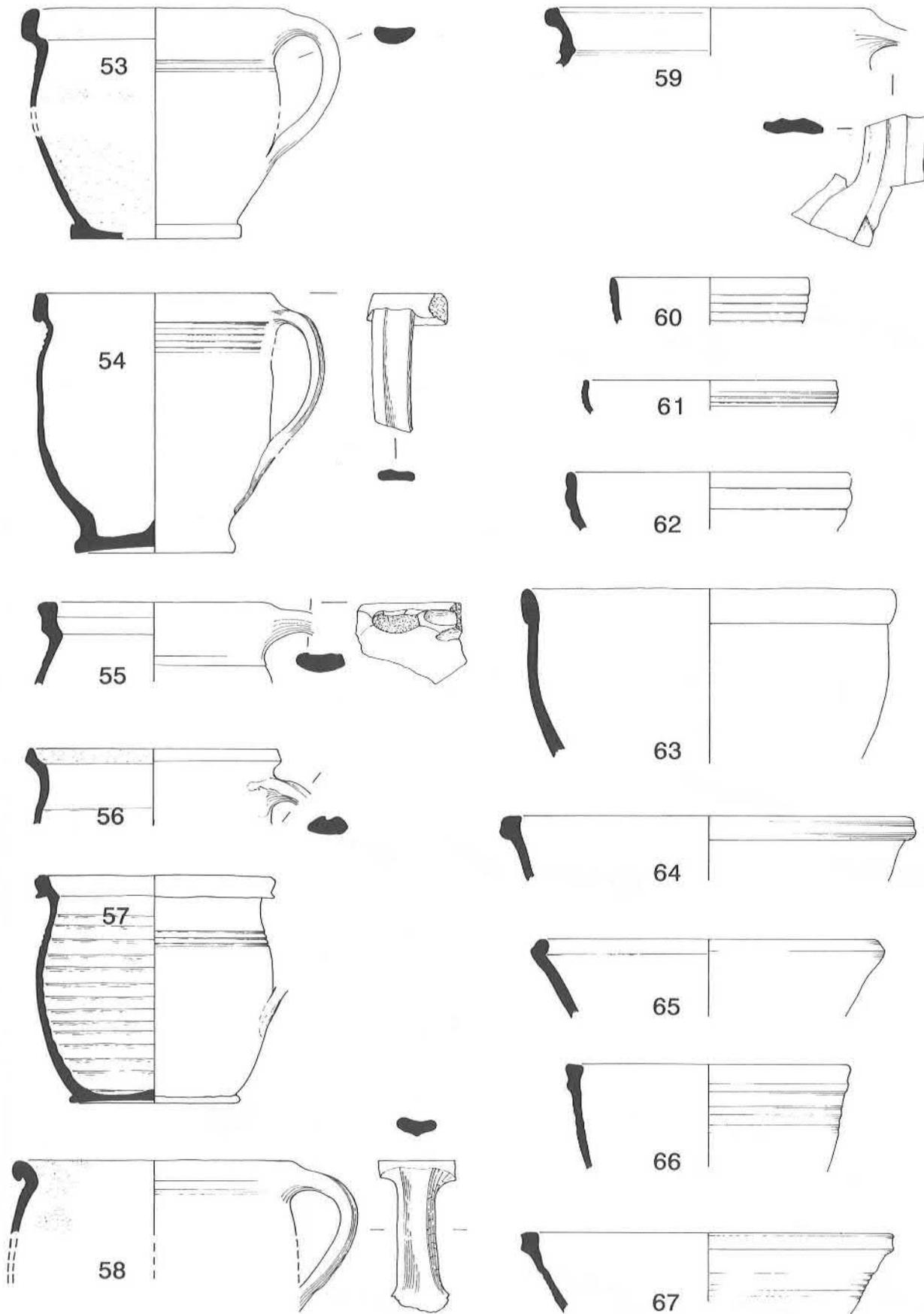
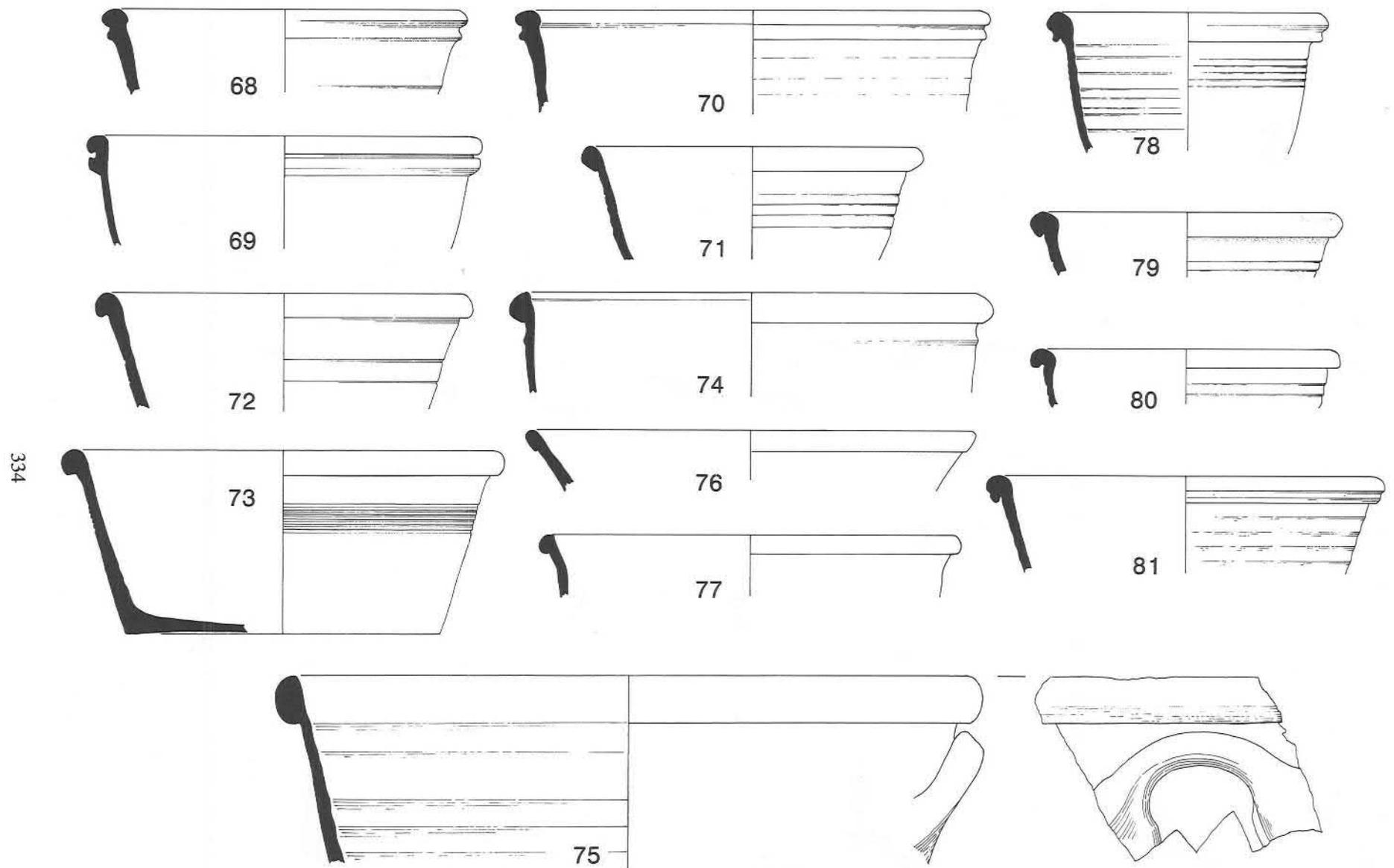


Figure 170: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware. Nos 53–67, scale 1:4.



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Figure 171: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware, Nos 68–81, scale 1:4.

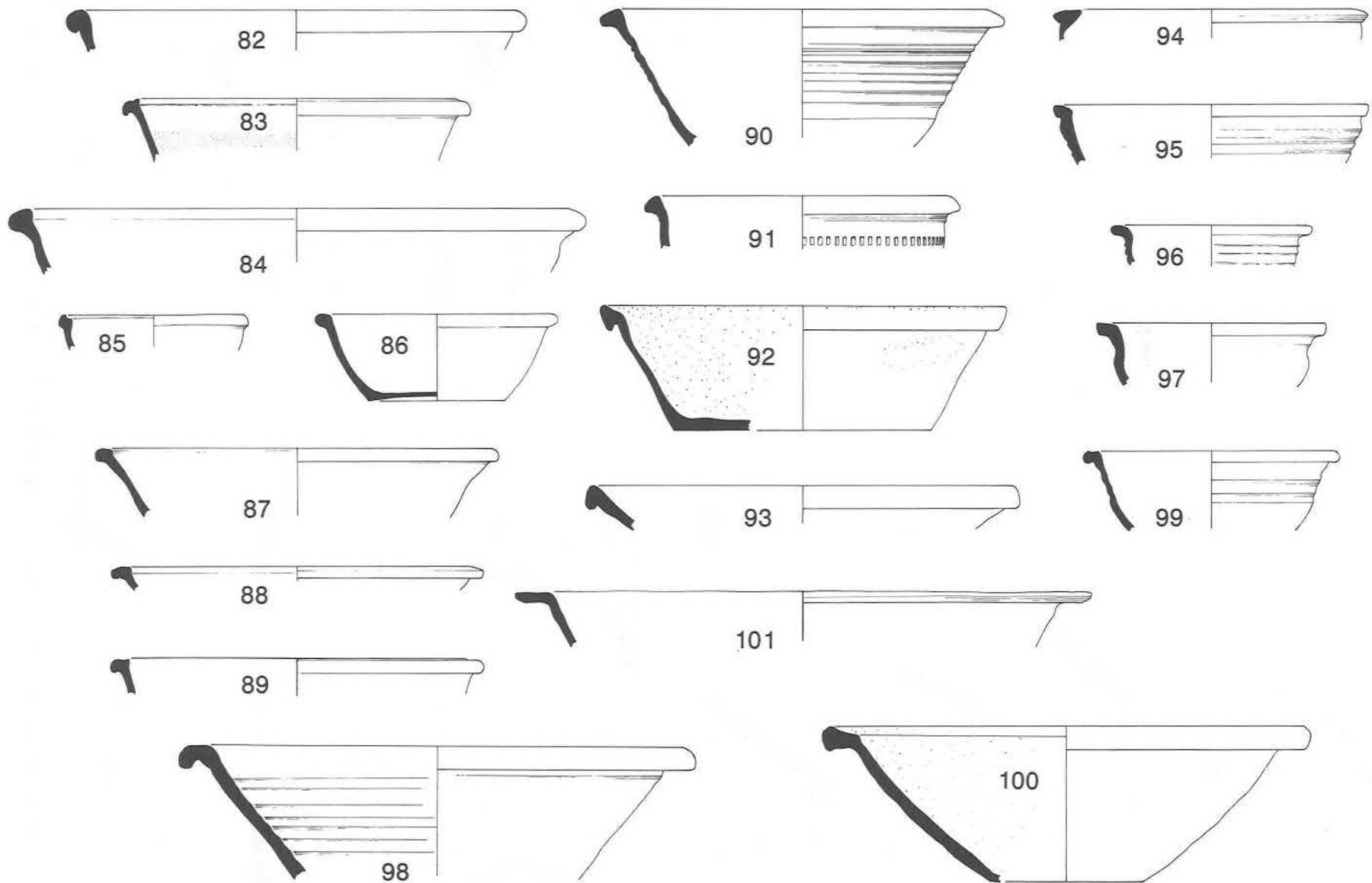


Figure 172: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware, Nos 82-101, scale 1:4.

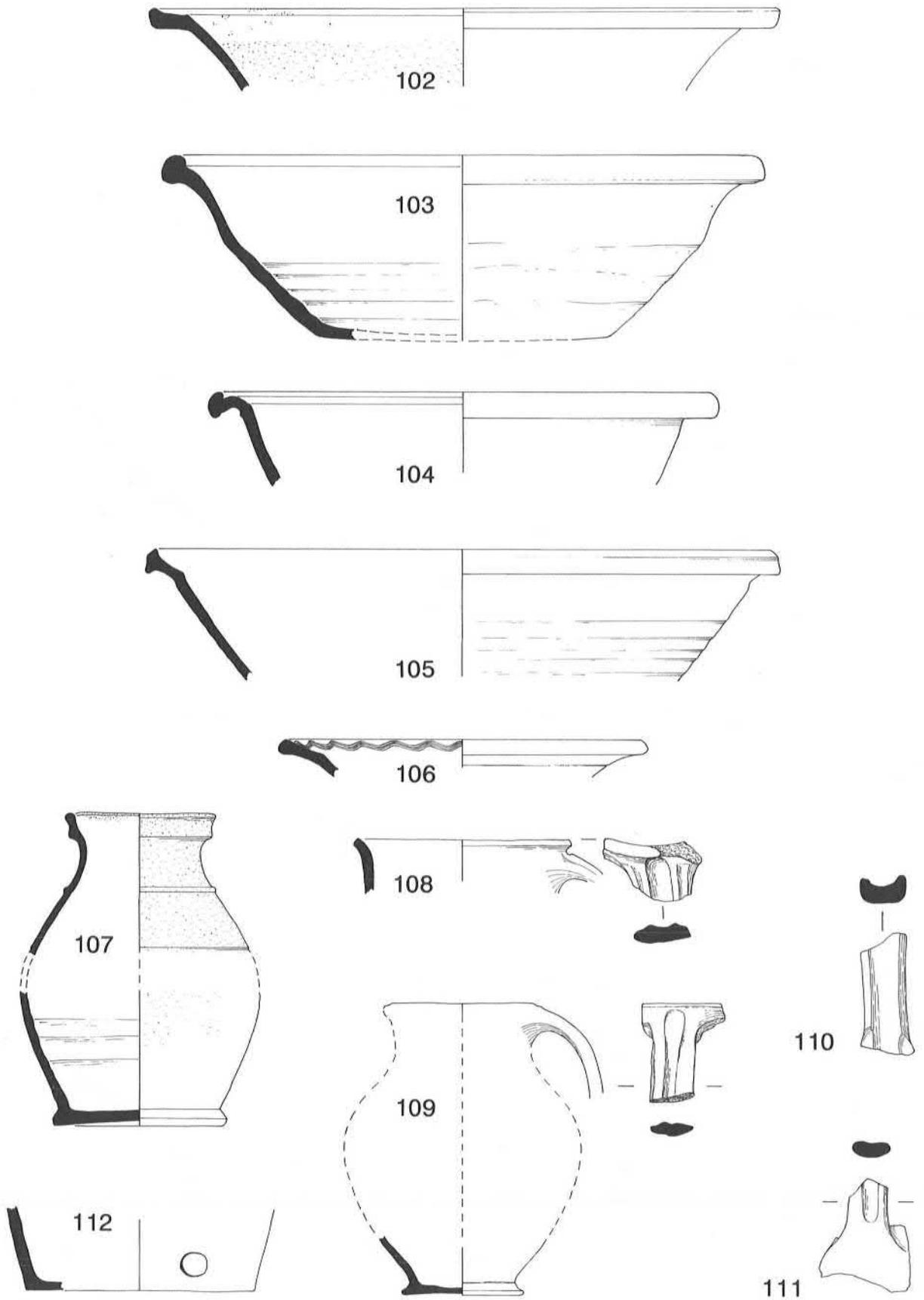


Figure 173: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware, Nos 102–112, scale 1:4.

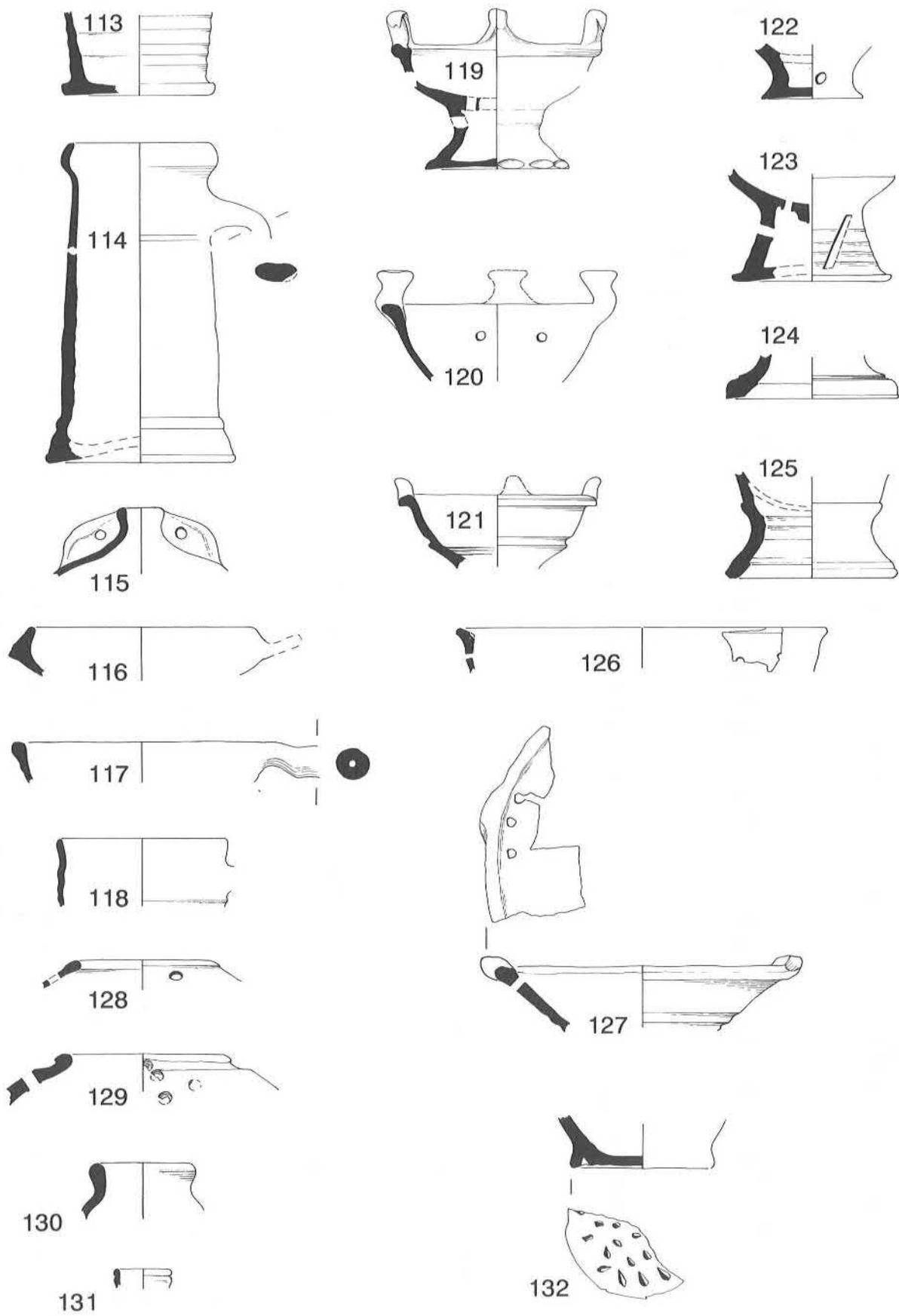


Figure 174: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead glazed earthenware, Nos 113–132, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
1	PM8	A1	—	193×194×175	8b	17
2	PM8	A1	—	142	43c	35
3	PM8	A1	—	180	48	—
4	PM8	A1	7	300	3	55
5	PM8	A1	3	230	44	6
6	PM8	A1	—	180×160×108	44	+
7	PM8	A1	—	200	44	+ & 6
8	PM8	A1	—	185×191×137	44	6
9	PM8	A1	—	200	44	6
10	PM8	A1	—	175	43b	34
11	PM8	A1	—	190	21b	6
12	PM8	A1	—	242	44	6
13	PM8	A1	—	200	17	4
14	PM8	N1	—	200	8b	17
15	PM8	A1	—	198	9b	1
16	PM8	A1	—	198	21d	+
17	PM8	A1	—	190	21d	+
18	PM8	A1	—	172	—	P284
19	PM8	A1	—	300	24	12
20	PM8	A1	—	170	24	12
21	PM8	A1	—	160	43a	98
22	PM8	A1	—	200×137	43a	98, joins +
23	PM8	A1	—	160	3	15
24	PM8	A1	—	200	21d	+
25	PM8	A1	—	210	3	24
26	PM8	A1	—	240	40	+B
27	PM8	A1	—	280	21d	+
28	PM8	A1	—	200	43a	162
29	PM8	A1	—	240	39	11
30	PM8	A1	—	188	3	3
31	PM8	A1	—	240	21b	6
32	PM8	A1	—	219	3	3
33	PM8	A1	—	280	3	3
34	PM8	A1	—	219	13	19
35	PM8	A1	—	280	9b	1
36	PM8	A1	—	240	17	4
37	PM8	A1	—	360	36	30
38	PM8	A1	—	162	36	6
39	PM8	A1	—	260	3	3
40	PM8	A1	—	220	3	3
41	PM8	A1	—	177	3	3
42	PM8	A1	—	190	24	12
43	PM8	A2	—	200	186	+
44	PM8	A2	—	220	18b	+
45	PM8	A1	—	200	9b	2
46	PM8	A1	—	190	6	4
47	PM8	A1	—	178	31b	16
48	PM8	A1	—	263	3	3
49	PM8	A1	—	240	17	+
50	PM8	A1	thumbing around neck	240	36	19

TABLE 78: Group 50; PM8 lead-glazed earthenware, catalogue (Figs. 167–174). (Table continues)

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
51	PM8	A1	-	200	36	6
52	PM8	A1	-	170×113×183	39	11
53	PM8	F	-	185×162?×120	44	+
54	PM8	F	-	170×182×112	39	11
55	PM8	F	-	162	21d	+
56	PM8	F	-	178	3	3
57	PM8	F	-	168×160×120	44	25
58	PM8	F	-	196	44	6
59	PM8	F	-	230	25	+
60	PM8	B5	-	140	44	+
61	PM8	B5	-	180	3	+
62	PM8	B5	-	200	3	53
63	PM8	B1	-	262	44	1&2
64	PM8	B1	-	290	3	3
65	PM8	B1	-	245	24	12
66	PM8	B1	-	200	44	106
67	PM8	B1	-	260	44	+
68	PM8	B1	-	260	17	4
69	PM8	B1	-	280	3b	+
70	PM8	B1	-	338	9	2
71	PM8	B1	-	244	44	39
72	PM8	B1	-	268	21b	+
73	PM8	B1	-	315	44	+
74	PM8	B1	-	345	36	11
75	PM8	B29	-	504	44	+
76	PM8	B1	-	320	44	+
77	PM8	B1	-	300	36	6
78	PM8	B1	-	200	24	12
79	PM8	B1	-	222	36	19
80	PM8	B1	-	220	24	12
81	PM8	B1	-	283	32b	7
82	PM8	B1	-	320	36	6
83	PM8	B1	-	242	21b	4
84	PM8	B1	-	400	37	11
85	PM8	B1	-	136	40	1
86	PM8	B1	-	168	44	37&+
87	PM8	B1	-	280	40	+B
88	PM8	B1	-	260	3	15
89	PM8	B1	-	260	24	12
90	PM8	B1	-	280	17	1
91	PM8	B1	rouletted	220	40	+B
92	PM8	B1	-	282	48	+
93	PM8	B1	-	302	33b	+
94	PM8	B1	-	220	3	5
95	PM8	B1	-	219	21b	3
96	PM8	B5	-	140	3	3
97	PM8	B7	-	160	31b	10
98	PM8	B1	-	360	24	12
99	PM8	B1	-	178	44	6
100	PM8	B2	-	336	25	+

TABLE 78: Group 50; PM8 lead-glazed earthenware, catalogue (Figs. 167-174). (Table continues)

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
101	PM8	B2	-	400	37	11
102	PM8	B3	-	444	48	27
103	PM8	B2	-	420	39	11
104	PM8	B2	-	357	39	9
105	PM8	B2	-	442	25	+
106	PM8	B2	-	260	17	8
107	PM8	C1	-	105×?220×123	44	+
108	PM8	C1	Ch2	150	35	360
109	PM8	C1	Ch2	-	3	3
110	PM8	C1	Ch2	-	37	11
111	PM8	C1	Ch2	-	36	+
112	PM8	C1	-	160	33b	+
113	PM8	D1	-	106	39	11
114	PM8	D11	-	105×225×130	44	+
115	PM8	E2	-	-	3	3
116	PM8	?Porringer	-	158	40	+B
117	PM8	?Skillet	-	180	3	+
118	PM8	?	-	120	17	2
119	PM8	G	-	145×110×100	43a	98
120	PM8	G	-	160	9b	2
121	PM8	G	-	138	21d	+
122	PM8	G	-	70	3	15
123	PM8	G	-	110	17	4
124	PM8	G	-	120	3	3
125	PM8	G	-	120	43b	34
126	PM8	H5	-	258	9b	15
127	PM8	H5	-	225	44	+
128	PM8	H1	-	110	40	150
129	PM8	H1	-	123	44	+
130	PM8	A13	-	75	17	2
131	PM8	?	-	40	8b	18
132	PM8	?	-	100	31b	10

**TABLE 78:** Group 50; PM8 lead-glazed earthenware, catalogue (Figs. 167–174).

with this type of decoration from north Buckinghamshire, and may not be a Potterspurty product. The mug (164) is better made than any of the other vessels in this fabric, and may be a Staffordshire or even a Wrotham (Kent) product. The other mugs (165 and 166) are certainly Potterspurty products, as is the chafing dish (167).

C. PM37 Marbled slipware  
(Fig. 178, 168–189).

After PM5 this was the next most common local fabric in Group 50. Marbled slipware derives from Dutch and Italian slipwares, which were imported into this country during the seventeenth century.

The marbled finish on these vessels was produced in three ways. The most common, which was also the most attractive, was effected by giving the area of the vessel to be decorated a white slip, on to which an iron-rich red slip was brushed and swirled around to create the marbled finish, which was also

enhanced by the additional sprinkling of copper to create green speckles. This type of finish was mostly applied to the inside of bowls (e.g. 174, 177–179, 186 and 189), but was also noted on the outside of jugs on which it was too eroded for illustration.

The second method, only found on the inside of bowls (e.g. 180, 181 and 185), was for the vessel to be glazed with a lead glaze which was copper rich, resulting in a green colour on to which a white slip was applied and brushed and feathered, creating a creamy yellow and green decoration.

The third method (e.g. 187) was for the vessel to be lead-glazed internally as above, or with a clear glaze, resulting in an orange-brown finish. Over this down the sides of the vessel were run alternate lines of white and red slip, swirled together in the base. This method was uncommon on material from Great Linford and was rarely produced at Potterspurty, there being only a few examples in the

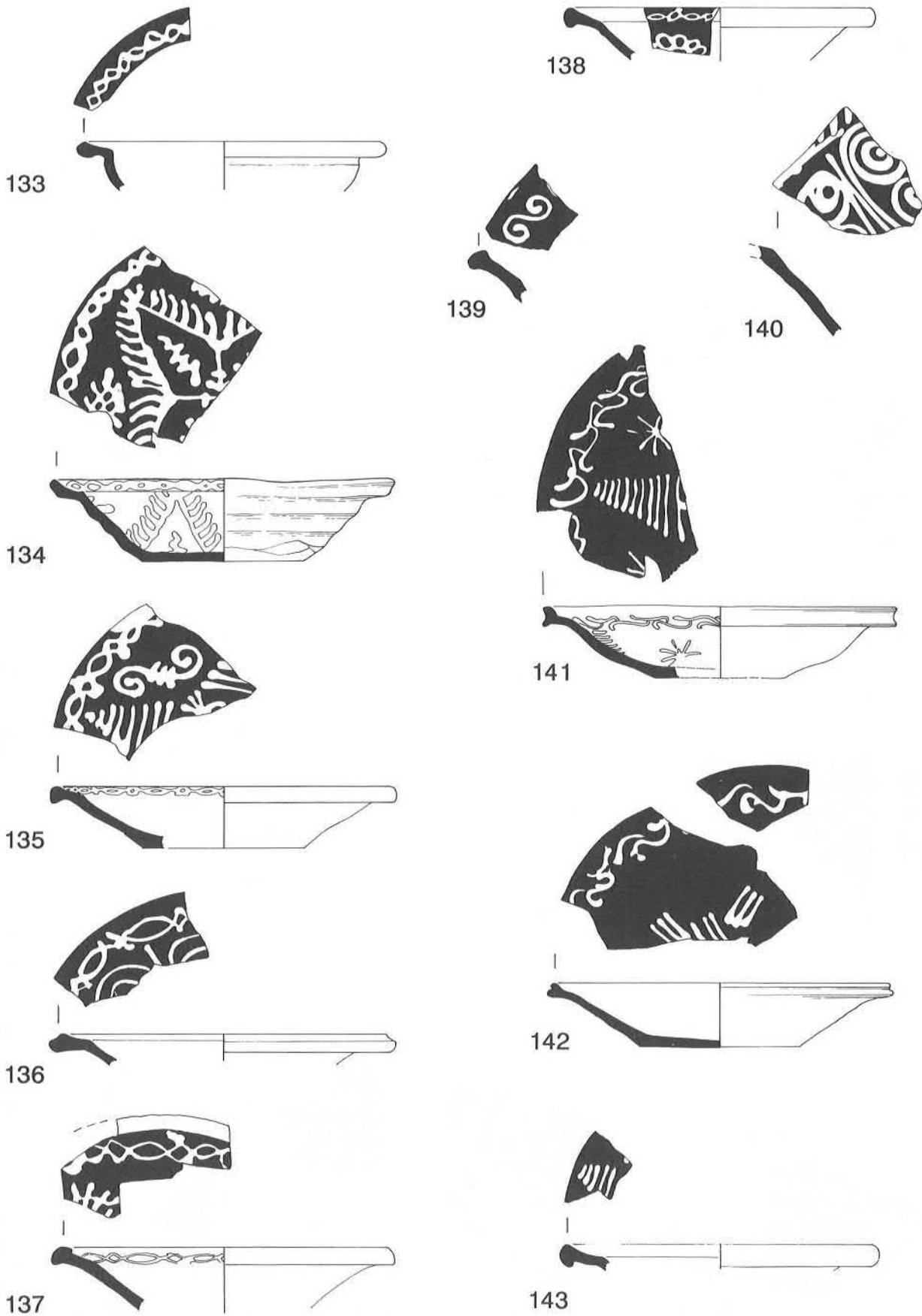


Figure 175: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM5 Northamptonshire trailed decorated slipware, Nos 133-143, scale 1:4.

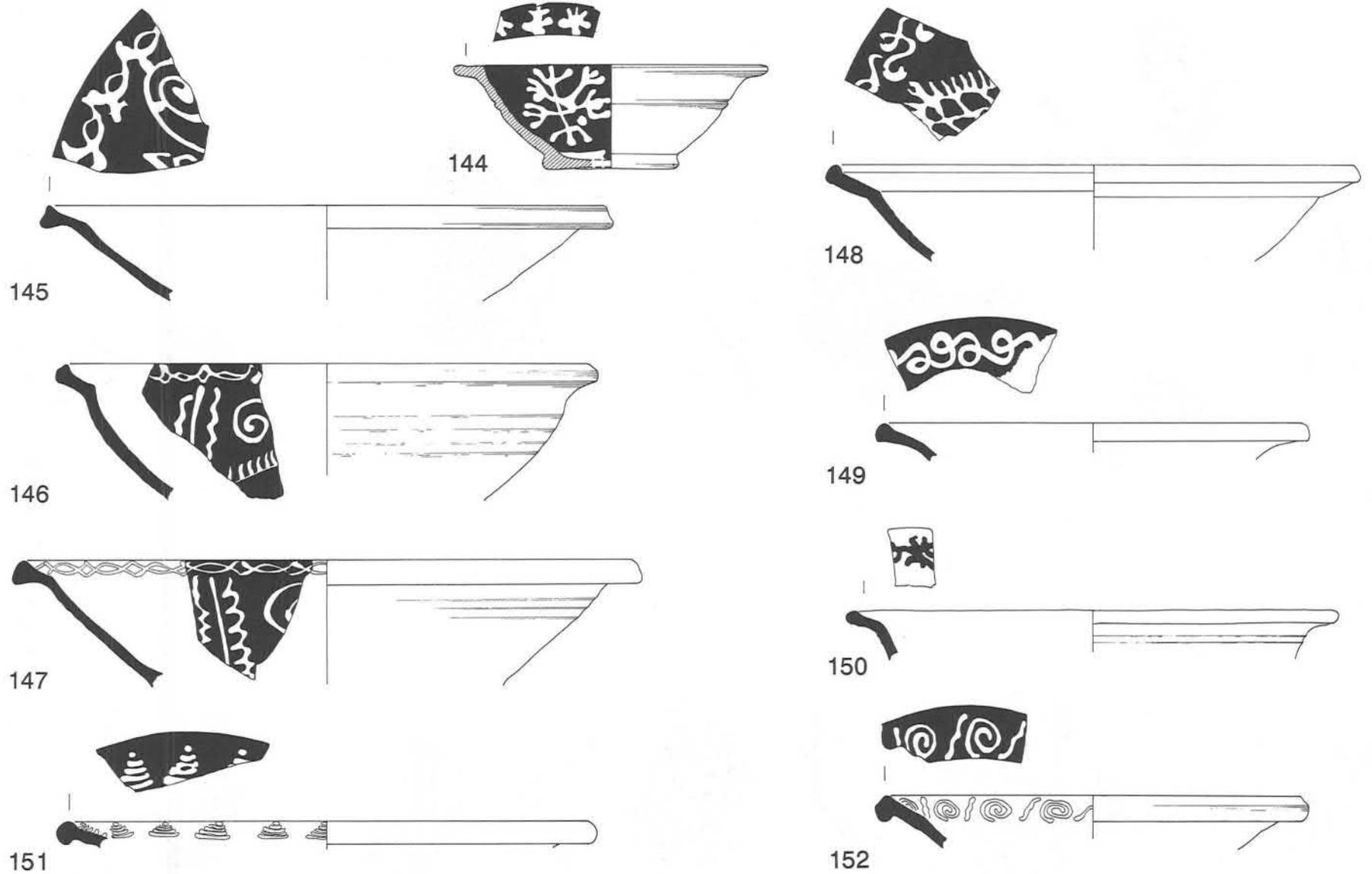


Figure 176: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM5 Northamptonshire trailed decorated slipware, Nos 144-152, scale 1:4.

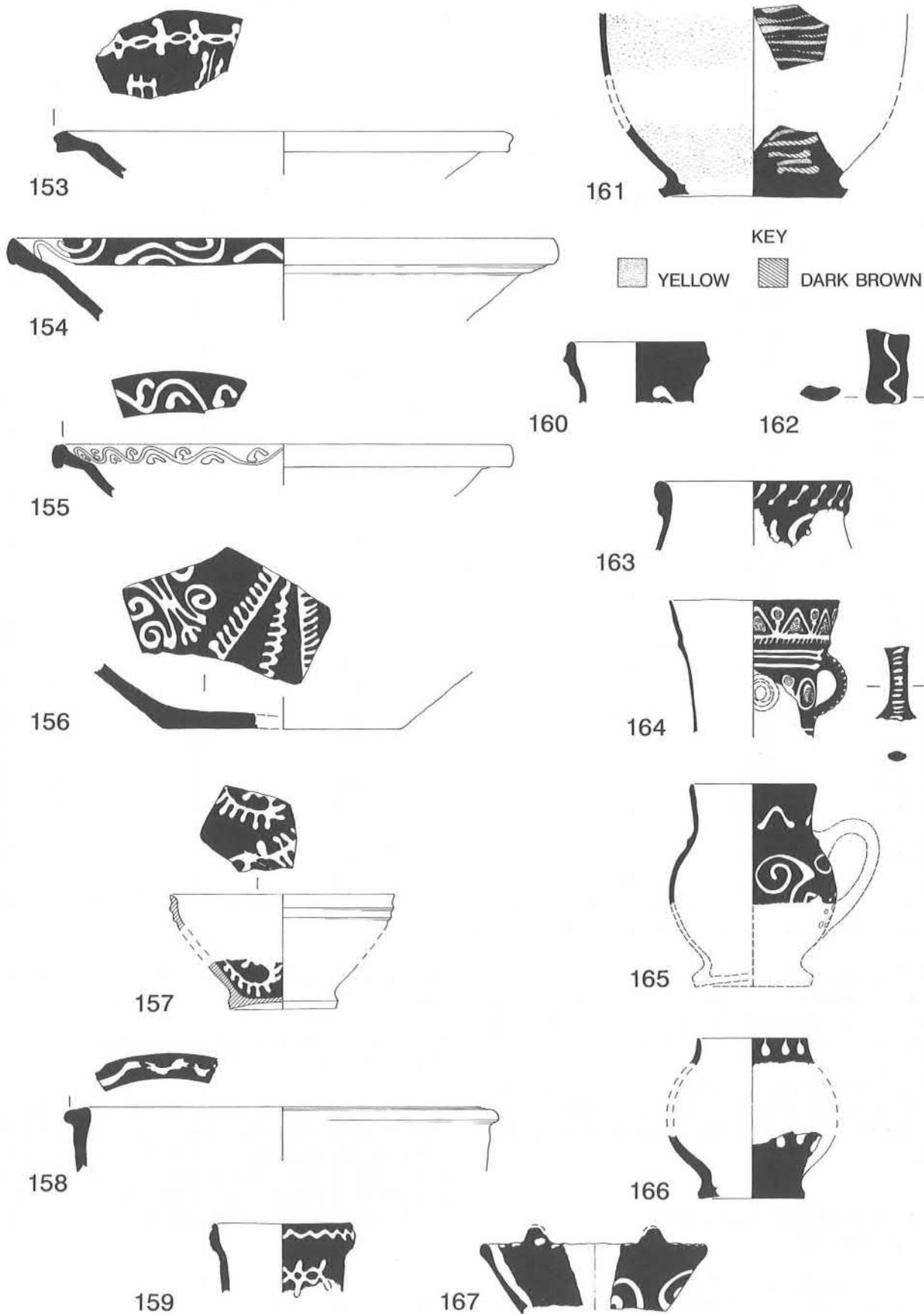


Figure 177: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM5 Northamptonshire trailed decorated slipware, Nos 153-167, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Border	Dia.	Group	Context
133	PM5	B3	3	215	3	3
134	PM5	B3	3	240	3	16
135	PM5	B3	4	240	3	3
136	PM5	B3	4	242	44	6
137	PM5	B3	4	240	44	7 & +
138	PM5	B3	4	219	20b	2
139	PM5	B3	5	—	21b	6
140	PM5	B3	1	—	3	3
141	PM5	B3	6a	245	3	18
142	PM5	B3	6a	240	39	11
143	PM5	B3	13	223	43b	30
144	PM5	B3	21	220	44	6
145	PM5	B3	4	400	17	1
146	PM5	B3	4	380	36	16
147	PM5	B3	4	440	17	+
148	PM5	B3	6a	370	9	+
149	PM5	B3	6b	300	3	38
150	PM5	B3	?7	344	21b	6
151	PM5	B3	13	377	3	3
152	PM5	B3	17	304	3	3
153	PM5	B3	18	320	31	+
154	PM5	B3	19	385	39	11
155	PM5	B3	20	320	44	70
156	PM5	B3	—	—	21d	+
157	PM5	B5	—	155	33	+
158	PM5	B?	—	300	33	+
159	PM5	C	—	102	43b	108
160	PM5	C	—	103	44	+
161	PM5	C	—	130 (base)	33b	+
162	PM5	C	—	—	44	6
163	PM5	?	—	139	43b	30
164	PM5	D4	—	115	13	19
165	PM5	D3	—	88	21d	+
166	PM5	D3	—	78×110?×75	39	11
167	PM5	G	—	160	3	3

TABLE 79: Group 50; PM5 trailed decorated slipware, catalogue (Figs 175–177).

Northampton Museum collection, but was a common feature of the Brill industry, there being numerous (unpublished) examples in the Buckinghamshire County Museum collection.

The examples illustrated (168–173, 175, 176, 182–184 and 188) were not plain as shown, as they originally had decoration which has been eroded away.

D. PM20 White slipped ware (Fig. 179, 190).

Vessels in this ware had an overall white slip coating under a lead glaze, producing a yellow finish, or a copper-rich glaze giving a green finish. This fabric was clearly a copy of the yellow and

green-glazed white wares, PM18 and PM38 below). Only three bowls were found in this group.

E. PM41 Mottled brown-glazed ware (Fig. 179, 191)

This is another rare fabric, which is basically a lead-glazed earthenware with iron added to the glaze, producing dark brown flecks in a brown-red glaze. The finished product was an attempt to copy the salt glaze on the stonewares of the period. Five bowls, two chamber pots and a jug (191) were found in this fabric.

F. PM18 Green-glazed white ware (Fig. 179, 192–213)

This fabric is similar to that of the yellow-glazed

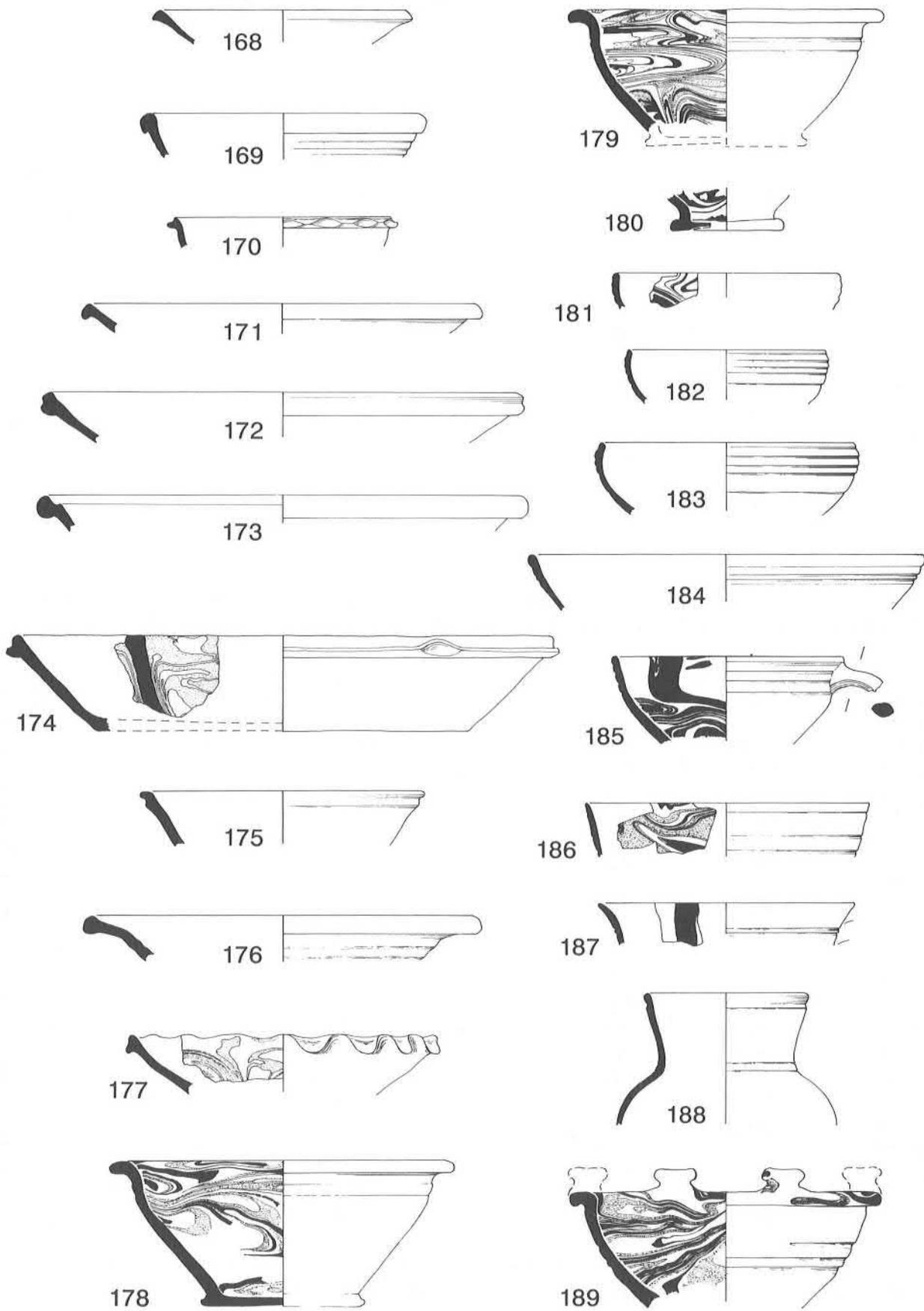


Figure 178: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM37 Northamptonshire marbled slipware, Nos 168-189. scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
68	PM37	B1	-	182	39	+
169	PM37	B1	-	200	39	+
170	PM37	B1	-	162	33	+
171	PM37	B?	-	280	3	3
172	PM37	B2	-	343	33	+
173	PM37	B2	-	343	33	+
174	PM37	B2	-	386	44	1
175	PM37	B1	-	200	3	3
176	PM37	B3	-	280	3	3
177	PM37	B8	-	220	3	+
178	PM37	B7	-	240	3	3
179	PM37	B7	-	220	3	18
180	PM37	B	-	80 (base)	39	11
181	PM37	B5	-	162	39	11
182	PM37	B5	-	144	3	32
183	PM37	B5	-	180	3	3
184	PM37	B5	-	280	39	11
185	PM37	B5	-	165	39	11
186	PM37	B5	-	200	44	6
187	PM37	B5	-	180	39	11
188	PM37	C1	-	116	3	3
189	PM37	C2	-	220	39	11

TABLE 80: Group 50; PM37 Marbled slipware, catalogue (Fig.178).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
192	PM18	B5	-	142×73×81	44	+
193	PM18	B5	-	120	3	3
194	PM18	B5	-	160	8b	18
195	PM18	B15	-	140	24	12
196	PM18	B5	-	120	21d	+
197	PM18	B25?	-	140	31b	13
198	PM18	B1	-	220	3	15
199	PM18	B1	-	240	33b	+
200	PM18	B1	-	280×70×21	48	81
201	PM18	B1	-	259	13	17a
202	PM18	B1	-	300	21d	+
203	PM18	B1	-	180	3	3
204	PM18	B26	-	130	3	51
205	PM18	B26	-	260	18b	+
206	PM18	B26	-	260	21d	+
207	PM18	B2	-	380	21d	+
208	PM18	I1	-	142	21d	+
209	PM18	C	-	113	3	+
210	PM18	C	-	-	21d	+
211	PM18	D3	-	95	36	9
212	PM18	H5	-	160	39	11
213	PM18	W2	-	-	44	70

TABLE 81: Group 50; PM18 Green-glazed white ware, catalogue (Fig. 179)

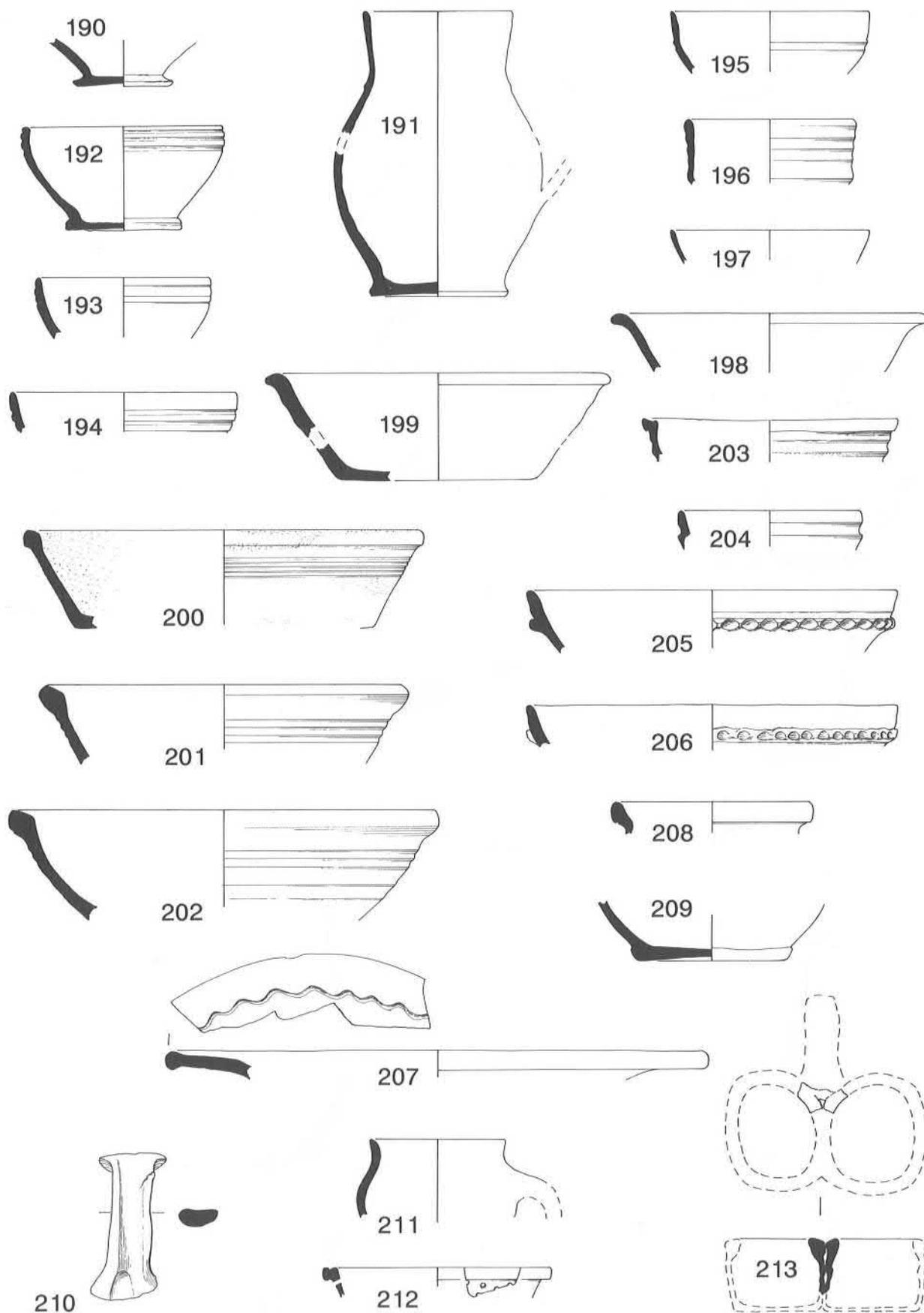


Figure 179: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. Northamptonshire wares; PM20 white slipware, No 190; PM41 mottled brown-glazed ware, No 191; PM18 green-glazed white ware, Nos 192-213, scale 1:4.

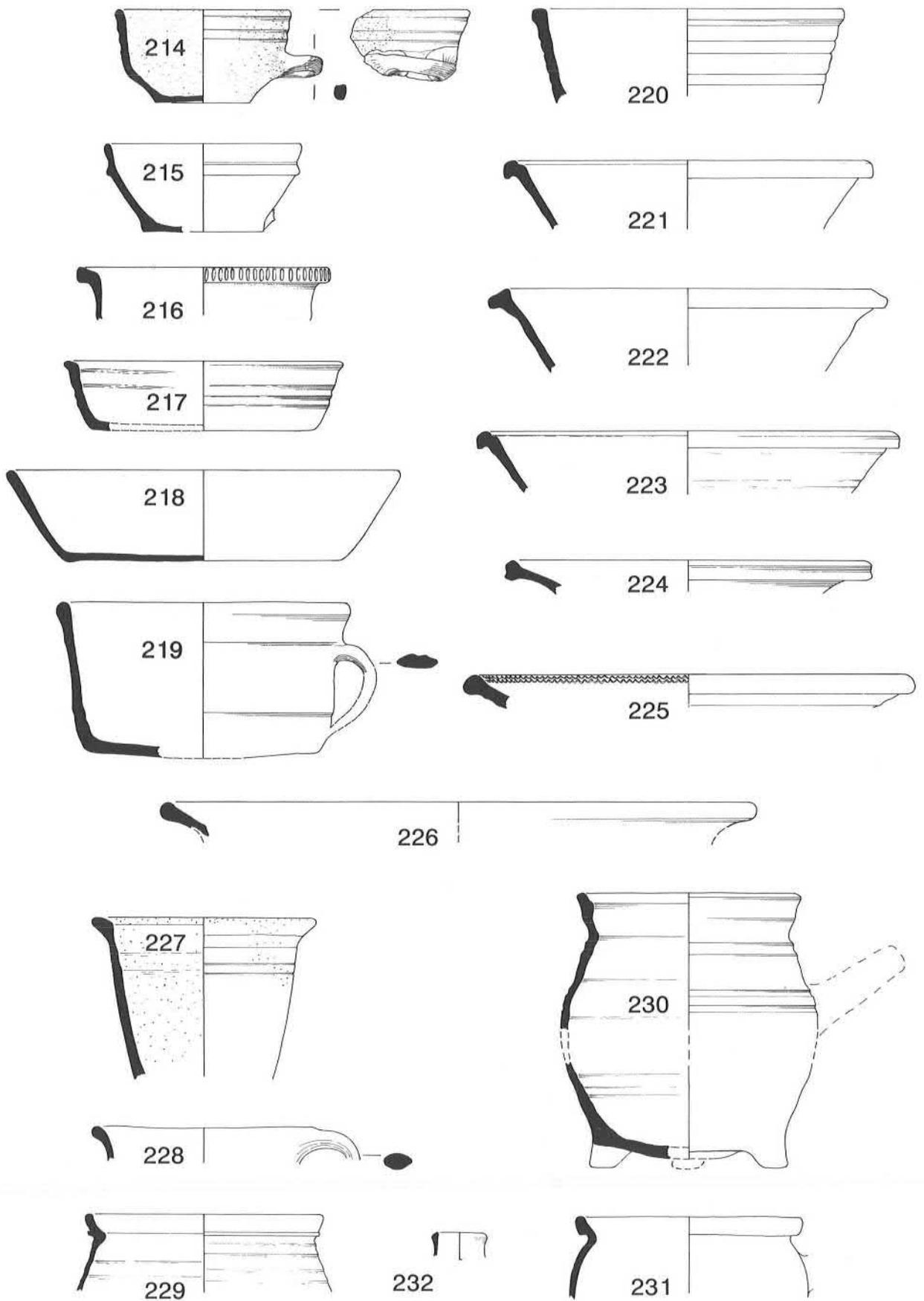


Figure 180: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM38 Northamptonshire yellow-glazed white ware, Nos 214–232, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
214	PM38	B15	–	125×65×68	21d	+
215	PM38	B15	–	140	21d	+
216	PM38	B1	–	180	3	3
217	PM38	B1	–	200	3	3
218	PM38	B1	–	280×62×20	33b	36
219	PM38	B19	–	210×110×170	3	38
220	PM38	B19	–	220	44	6&+
221	PM38	B1	–	260	13	19
222	PM38	B1	–	280	24	12
223	PM38	B1	–	300	17	+
224	PM38	J3	–	260	3	3
225	PM38	B2	–	319	33b	+
226	PM38	B2	–	423	44	6
227	PM38	B1	–	160	44	+
228	PM38	I1	–	160	44	6
229	PM38	I1	–	168	43c	35
230	PM38	I1	–	158×198×138	21d	+
231	PM38	I1	–	160	44	49
232	PM38	Candlestick	–	40	31	b37

TABLE 82: Group 50; PM38 Yellow-glazed white ware, catalogue (Fig. 180)

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
233	PM16	B1	–	121	21d	+
234	PM16	B19	–	240	39	11
235	PM16	B2	–	360	33b	+
236	PM16	B2	–	180	40	+B
237	PM16	C1	–	111	9b	15
238	PM16	C1	–	72 (base)	39	11
239	PM16	C1	–	82 (base)	3	25
240	PM16	C1	–	60 (base)	21b	+
241	PM16	C1	–	120 (base)	33b	+
242	PM16	D2	–	100	24	12
243	PM16	D2	–	100	21b	+
244	PM16	D2	–	71	3	3
245	PM15	D1	–	75	39	11
246	PM16	D1	–	90×115×91	3	51
247	PM16	D1	–	90	24	12
248	PM16	D1	–	72 (base)	18b	+
249	PM16	D1	–	95 (base)	20b	2
250	PM15	D2	–	70 (base)	17	8
251	PM16	D2	–	60 (base)	37	11
252	PM16	D1	–	67	44	6 & +
253	PM16	D3	–	108×110×85	3	3
254	PM16	F3	–	194×138×108	44	+
255	PM16	A1?	–	280	31b	30
256	PM16	A1	–	245	48	20
257	PM15	A4	–	99	21b	+
258	PM15	A	–	100	40	+B

TABLE 83: Group 50; PM15 and PM16 Black-glazed wares, catalogue (Fig. 181, 233–58).

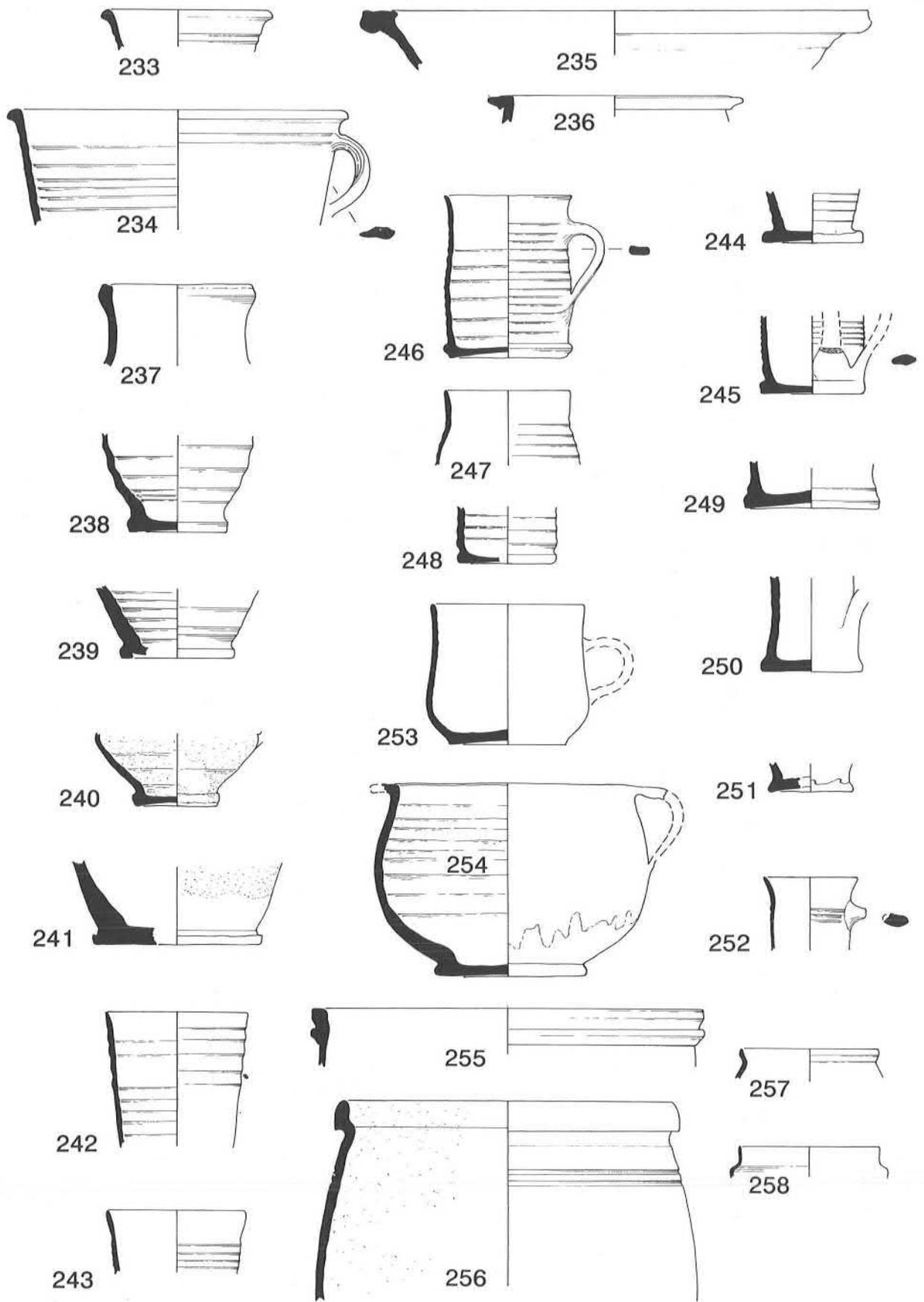


Figure 181: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM16 and PM15 Northamptonshire black-glazed wares, Nos 233-258, scale 1:4.

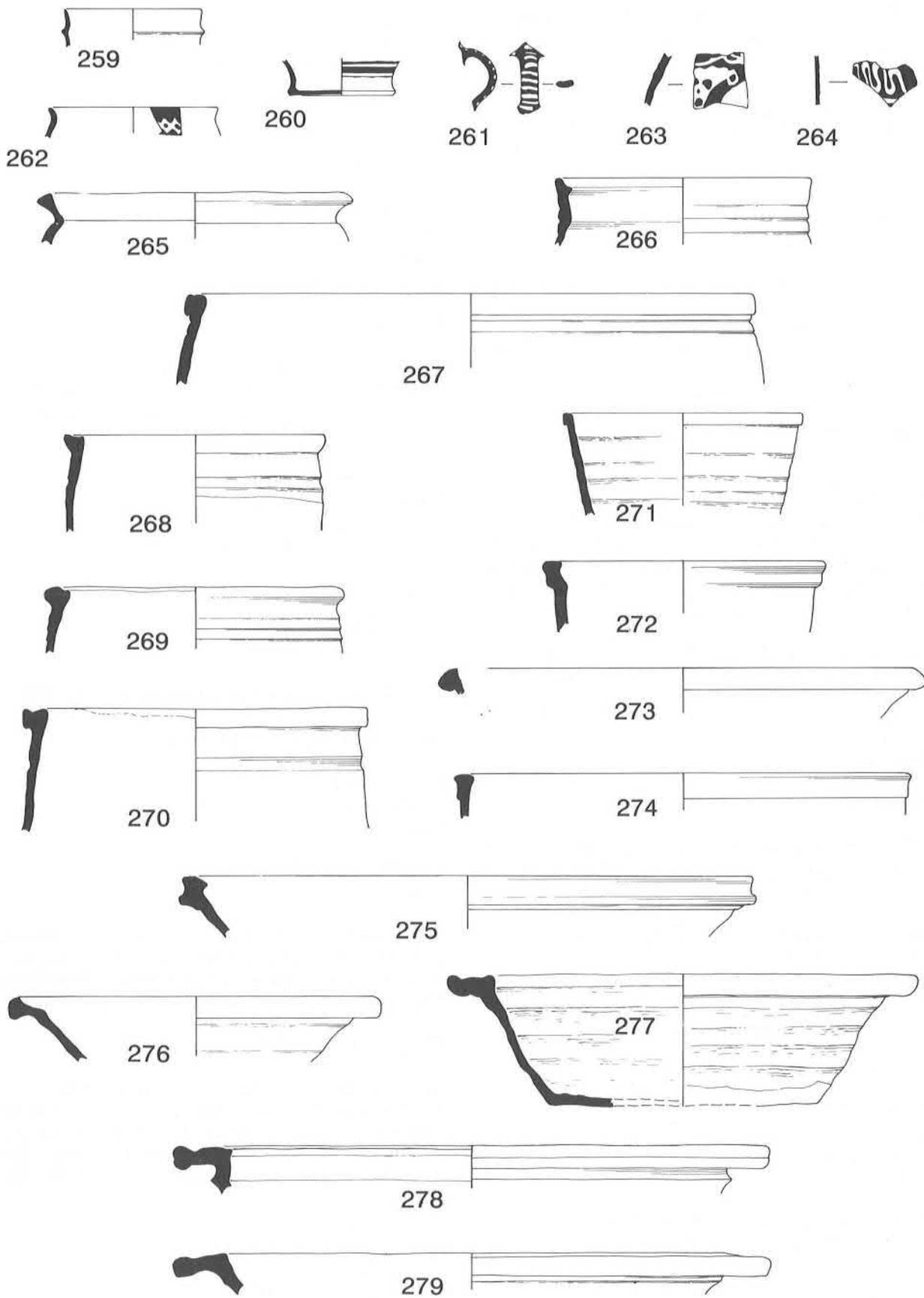


Figure 182: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM13 Northamptonshire black-glazed slip decorated fineware, Nos 259–264; PM1 Staffordshire black-glazed ware, Nos 256–279, scale 1:4.

whiteware PM38, but whiter and often with a light grey core. The glaze is a rich apple-green in colour, and a few vessels have traces of yellow glaze, suggesting that the two fabrics may have been fired in the same kiln. Vessels in this ware represented five per cent of the local fabrics in the group.

The most popular vessels in this fabric were:

Bowls 75%  
Jugs 12%  
Jars 1%  
Cups/mugs <1%

Other forms each represented by only one vessel were; chamber pot, chafing dish, colander, jar, pipkin and a plate. Two sherds from an unidentified form had applied quartz encrustations.

#### G. PM38 Yellow-glazed white ware (Fig. 180, 214–232)

The fabric of the yellow-glazed ware was of a creamier colour than the green-glazed. The colour was consistent through the body, and a grey core was never noted. The glaze varied from a bright to a dull yellow, and occasionally copper had been added (e.g. 219), giving greenish tones.

This ware represented only three per cent of the local fabrics in this group. The most common vessels were:

Bowls 69%  
Jugs 10%  
Cups/mugs 7%  
Pipkins 4%

Other forms represented by only one example were; albarello, chafing dish, chamber pot, plate and skillet. There were also two candlesticks.

#### H. PM16 and PM15 Black-glazed wares (Fig. 181, 233–258)

The black-glazed wares represented fifteen per cent of the local wares in this group.

The most common forms were:

Cups/mugs 53%  
Jugs 31%  
Jars 9%  
Bowls 5%

There was also one example each of the following forms; butter pot, posset pot and lid.

#### J. PM13 Black-glazed slip-decorated fineware (Fig. 182, 259–264)

Examples of this very fine ware were found

amongst wasters from a kiln site at Yardley Gobion (Hurst 1969). Only thirty-four vessels, representing no more than one per cent of the local vessels in this group, were found at Linford.

The most common vessels were:

Cups/mugs 54%  
Posset pots 24%  
Jugs 8%  
Jars 5%  
Bowls 5%  
Butter pots 3%

### III. Staffordshire wares

Staffordshire products represented only five per cent of Group 50. Table 85 gives the minimum number of vessels in each fabric and the percentage of each fabric in the group:

#### A. PM1 Black-glazed ware (Figs. 182 and 183, 256–280)

The types of vessels found were:

Bowls 47%  
Jars 38%  
Butter pots 12%  
Cups/mugs 3%

#### B. PM2 Buff-bodied slipware (Fig. 183, 281–292)

The types of vessels found were:

Cups/mugs 33%  
Bowls 30%  
Plates 26%  
Jugs 8%  
Chamber pots 1%  
Lids 1%

Most forms are well known and need no comment, but one sherd (289) is from a Toft-type dish with lion decoration, similar to an example from Bate Green, Sheffield (Cooper 1968, 112 and fig. 268).

#### PM42 Pink-bodied slipware (Fig. 183, 293)

Only one vessel, a bowl, was found in this fabric. Interestingly, sherds of this vessel were found on both Croft A and Croft G. This bowl has similar decoration to one of seventeenth-century date from Burslem, Stoke-on-Trent (Greaves 1976, fig. 15, 133).

### IV. Other English wares.

#### A. PM21 Tin-glazed earthenware (Fig. 184, 294–313)

This ware comprises only 3% of the group.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
259	PM13	D3	–	100	3	3
260	PM13	D3	–	75	3	3
261	PM13	D4	–	–	3	3
262	PM13	L	–	118	3	3
263	PM13	L	–	–	3	27
264	PM13	L	–	–	3	3

**TABLE 84** Group 50; PM13 Black-glazed slip-decorated fineware, catalogue (Fig. 182)

		Min. no. of vessels	% of Staffordshire fabrics
PM2	Buff-bodied slipware	73	43
PM42	Pink-bodied slipware	1	1
PM56	Mottled brown-glazed white ware	13	7
PM1	Black-glazed ware	74	44
PM43	Variegated ware	7	4

**TABLE 85:** Staffordshire wares; minimum number of vessels and percentages present in Group 50.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
265	PM1	A1	–	220	36	6
266	PM1	A1	–	180	44	+
267	PM1	A1	–	399	33b	+
268	PM1	N1	–	180	44	106
269	PM1	N1	–	210	21d	+
270	PM1	N1	–	240	44	6
271	PM1	B1	–	169	33b	+
272	PM1	B1	–	200	3	3
273	PM1	B2	–	342	33b	+
274	PM1	B2	–	320	33b	+
275	PM1	B2	–	404	33b	+
276	PM1	B2	–	260	13	26
277	PM1	B2	–	330×90×190	39	11
278	PM1	B2	–	417	17	1&4
279	PM1	B2	–	420	3	3
280	PM1	II?	–	100	40	+B

**TABLE 86:** Group 50; PM1 Black-glazed ware, catalogue (Figs 182 and 183, 256–80).

The types of vessels found were:

Albarellos 74%  
Cups/mugs 12%  
Bowls 9%  
Plates 2%  
Jugs 1%  
Chamber pots 1%

All the examples found were common mid seventeenth-century forms. The bowl (297) had a hole pierced through the footring, presumably to enable the vessel to be hung for display.

**B. PM45 Name unknown (Fig. 184, 314)**

One sherd from a bowl was all that was found of this unusual fabric. The vessel was lead-glazed, and had an incised decoration. A West Country origin for this vessel has been suggested (pers. comm. Terry Pearson).

**C. PM52 Tin-glazed earthenware (Fig. 184, 315)**

Again, only one vessel was found in this unusual tin-glazed ware. The fabric is a pinkish-buff in colour, with a dull and clear tin glaze. The encrustations

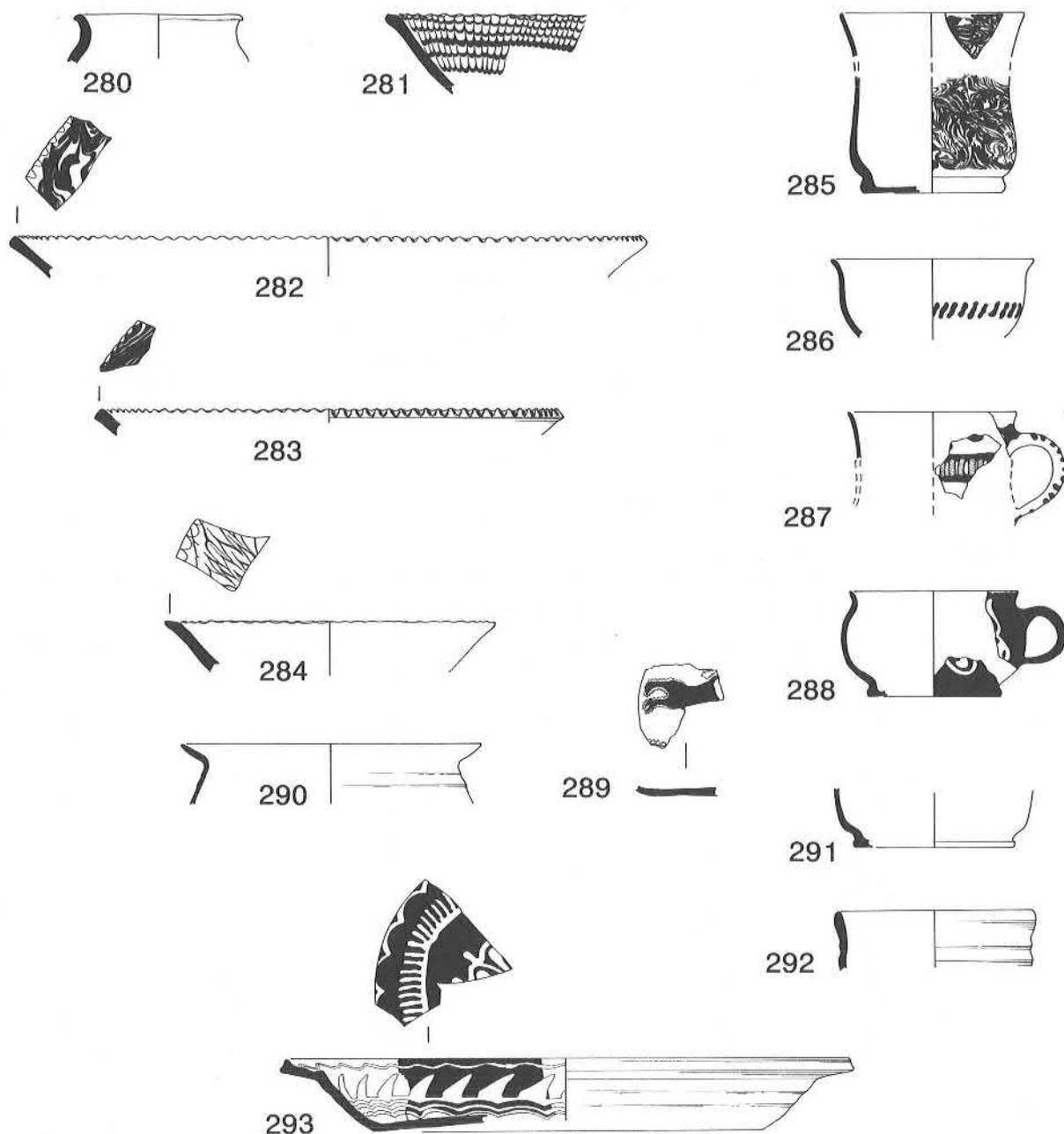


Figure 183: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM1 Staffordshire black-glazed ware, No. 280; PM2 buff-bodied slipware, Nos 281–292; pink-bodied slipware, No. 293, scale 1:4.

are quartz. A London origin has been suggested (pers. comm. Bob Thompson).

#### V. Imported wares (Fig. 185, 316–330)

The imports represented only 3% of the vessels in Group 50. The amounts of each type are shown below.

Sherds of seventy-one Rhenish stoneware jugs made this the most common imported ware at Great Linford. The earliest vessels were sixteenth-century Raaren, Frechen and Cologne types from

Groups 3, 17, 33b, 43a, 36 and 44. These early stonewares represented only ten per cent of the Rhenish stoneware, the remainder consisting of seventeenth-century Bellamine jugs. Of the early vessels three are illustrated; 316, which is a Frechen type vessel; 318, which is probably a Raaren vessel; and 321, which is of Cologne/Frechen type. Of the later Bellamine jugs, 319, 320, and 322–325 were variously decorated.

The French Martincamp flasks (PM44) were the next most common import. Fourteen vessels were found; surprisingly they were distributed evenly around the village. 327 is a typical example.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
281	PM2	J4	—	?	26b	+
282	PM2	J4	—	380	33b	+
283	PM2	J4	—	280	8b	3
284	PM2	J4	—	195	3	+
285	PM2	D5	—	110×110×86	39	11
286	PM2	B20	—	120	3	38
287	PM2	D4	—	100	44	+
288	PM2	D8	—	100×65×80	44	106 & 3
289	PM2	J11	—	—	44	1
290	PM2	F4	—	180	33b	+
291	PM2	D5	—	100 (base)	33b	+
292	PM	B5	—	120	21d	+
293	PM	B3	—	342	3	8
				342	34	19

TABLE 87: Group 50; Fabrics PM2 and PM42, buff- and pink-bodied slipwares, catalogue (Fig. 183).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
294	PM21	J5	—	240	3	3
295	PM21	J5	—	240	31b	16
296	PM21	B21	—	260	44	6
297	PM21	B21	—	160×68×72	44	6
298	PM21	B21	—	170	3	3
299	PM21	B21	—	80 (base)	25	+
300	PM21	Porringer	—	105×48×96	17	+
301	PM21	M1	—	40	3	27
302	PM21	M1	—	1 (base)	3	15
303	PM21	M1	—	50	3	3
304	PM21	M1	—	40 (base)	44	+
305	PM21	M1	—	58×90×60	44	+
306	PM21	M1	—	74	21b	6
307	PM21	M1	—	90	3	15
308	PM21	M1	—	100 (base)	3	34
309	PM21	M1	—	108 (base)	3	3
310	PM21	D8	—	90	33b	+
311	PM21	D8	—	65 (base)	3	3
312	PM21	F3	—	80 (base)	39	11
313	PM21	F	—	—	21b	3
314	PM45	B30?	—	—	3	51
315	PM52	C1	—	—	21d	+

TABLE 88: Group 50; Other English wares, PM21, PM45 and PM52, catalogue (Fig. 184)

		No. of vessels	% of imports
PM7	Werra slipware	1	1
PM29	Rhenish stoneware	72	75
PM32	Westerwald stoneware	2	2
PM44	French hard red earthenware	14	15
PM48	Dutch tin-glazed earthenware	7	7
<i>Total vessels</i>		96	

TABLE 89: Imported wares; minimum number of vessels and percentages present in Group 50.

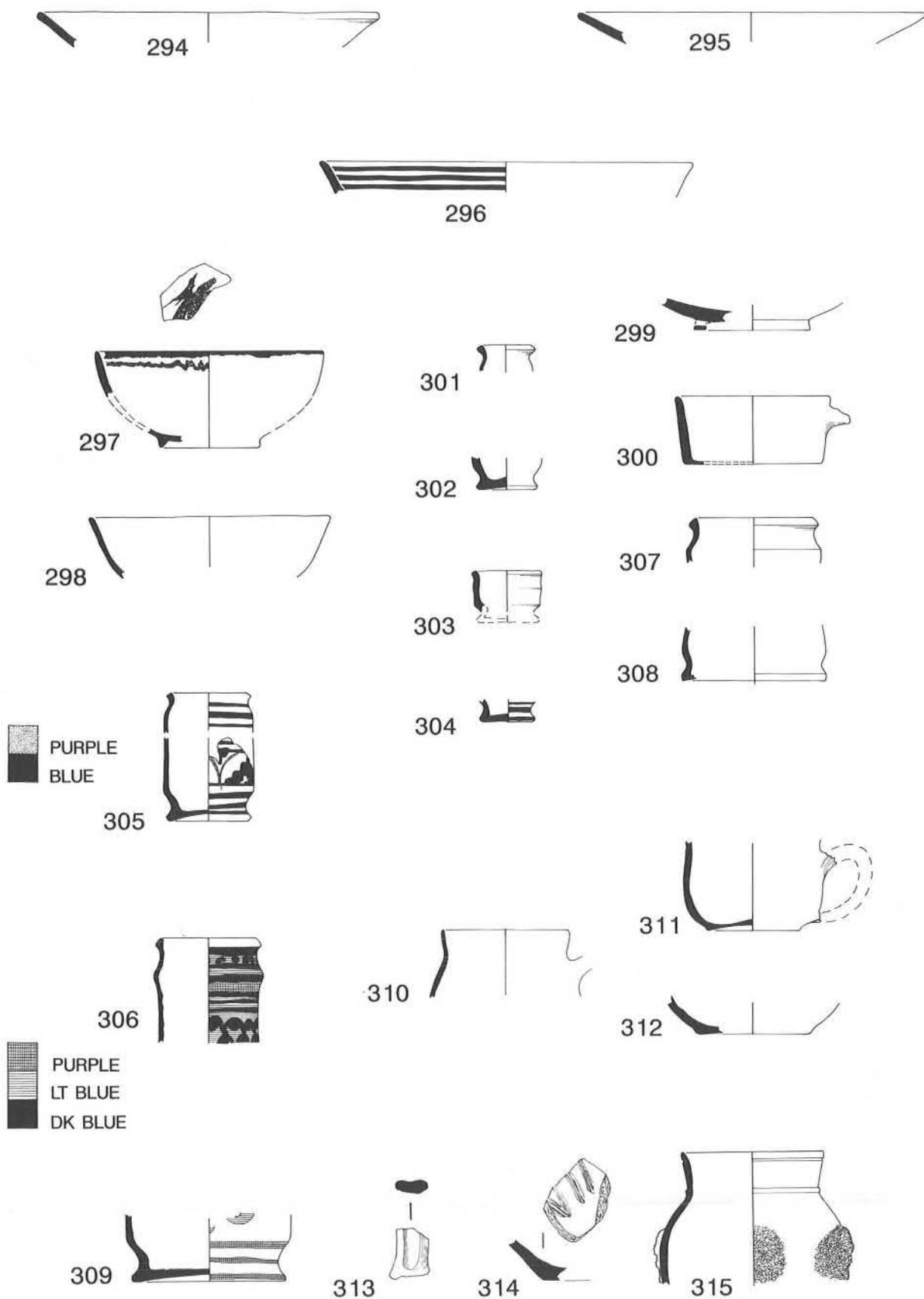


Figure 184: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. PM21 English tin-glazed earthenware, Nos 294-313; PM45 lead-glazed ware, No 314; PM52 tin-glazed ware, No. 315, scale 1:4.

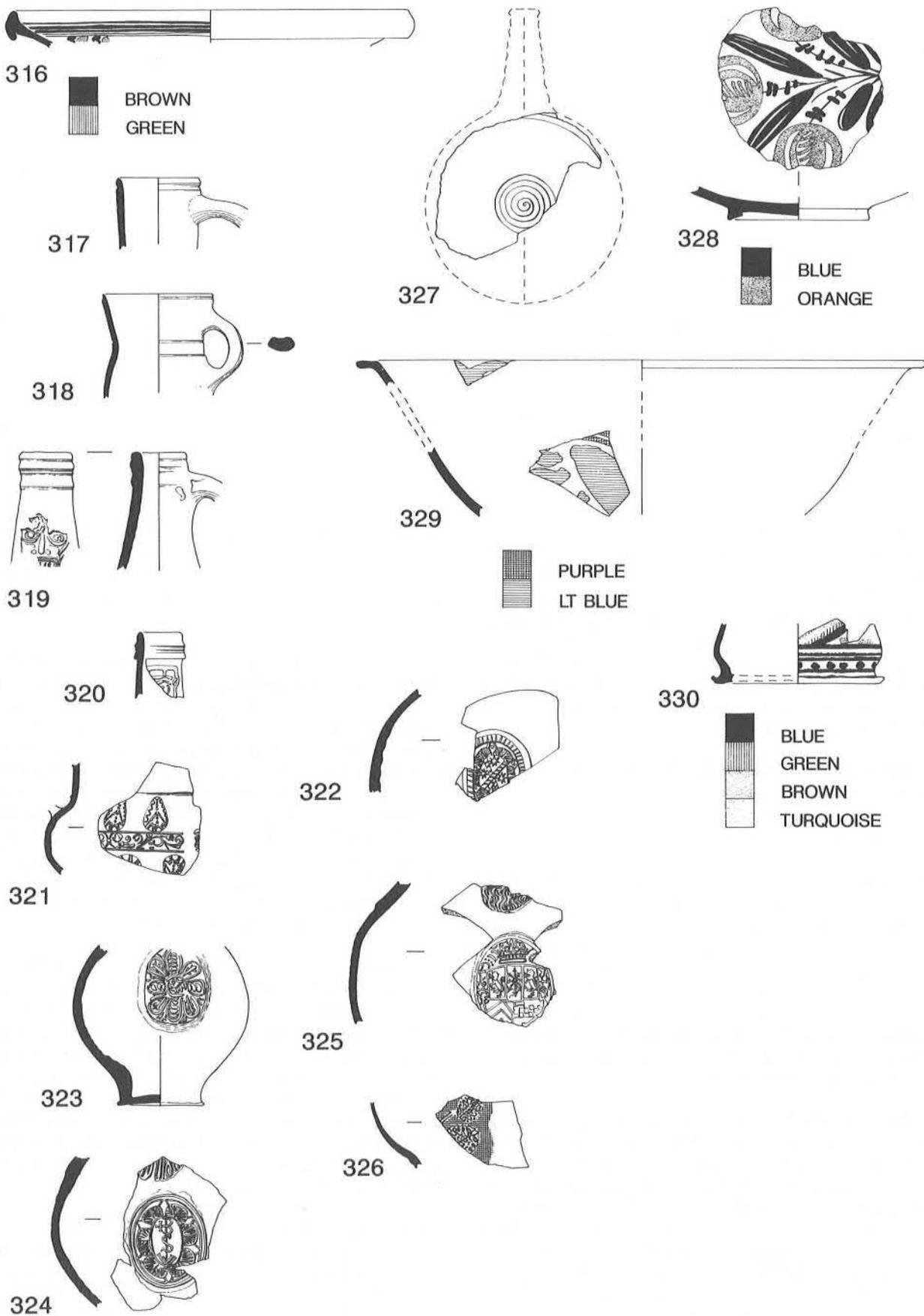


Figure 185: Pottery Group 50; mid seventeenth century. Imported wares, Nos 316-330, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.	Group	Context
316	PM7	B1	–	285	43a	98
317	PM29	C5	–	60	21d	+
318	PM29	C6	–	78	43a	36
319	PM29	C5	–	39	49	+
320	PM29	C5	–	31	3	3
321	PM29	C6	–	–	3	42
322	PM29	C6	–	–	39	11
323	PM29	C6	–	–	39	11
324	PM29	C6	–	–	43b	38
325	PM29	C6	–	–	44	6, 30 & 130
326	PM32	C6	–	–	33b	+
327	PM44	E7	–	–	3	3
328	PM48	B21	–	–	3	47
329	PM48	B21	–	398	33b	+
330	PM48	M1	–	121	43c	35

TABLE 90: Group 50; Imported wares, catalogue (Fig. 185).

Dutch tin-glazed earthenwares were represented by six bowls and one albarello. One of the bowls (328) is a South Netherlands majolica pomegranate charger, similar to an example from Norwich dated to c. 1640 (Jennings 1981, fig. 84, 1377). The bowl (316) in Werra slipware is the only example of this ware from the Milton Keynes area. The Westerwald sherd, 326 has manganese (purple) decoration and is not any earlier in date than the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

*Group 51: The midden (MK1009), late seventeenth to late eighteenth century.*

#### Introduction

In October 1980 the construction of a footpath linking the new car park to the north of the manor gardens with the landscaped grounds to the west necessitated the removal of a short length of dry-stone wall. As a result of this a mass of broken pottery and glass was noted to the east side of the wall. On excavation, it was realised that the difference 1.5m. in the height of the ground levels to either side of the wall had resulted from a localised build up of a domestic midden.

One side of the machine section was rapidly cleaned by hand, revealing a stratified build-up, 600mm. in depth, of mainly ceramic and glass refuse of late seventeenth to eighteenth-century date immediately adjacent to the wall, falling away to nothing at a distance of 2.5m. to the east. This layer had been subsequently sealed by a deposit of gravel and builders' rubble before finally being covered by a thick layer of Victorian ash and cinders, containing occasional bottles and other domestic refuse. Although not properly excavated, the main midden deposit appeared to overly a layer

of stone rubble in a mortary matrix. Since the lowest layer of the midden was no earlier than c. 1680, this layer was probably builders' debris associated with the construction of later manor house.

After cleaning of the section and assessment of the deposit, an area approximately 2 × 1m. across of the ash/rubble overburden was removed by contractors' plant to reveal the top of the midden deposit. In the short time available, this layer was rapidly removed and bagged for later washing and sorting. 117.5kg. of mainly pottery and glass was removed from the main layer, together with 32.7kg. picked up from the contractor's spoil tip. At the time it was decided to retain the majority of the pottery sherds together with the diagnostic glass fragments including necks, rims and bases, and only a smaller sample of body fragments.

Although the deposit consisted mainly of sherds of both local coarse wares and finer Staffordshire and imported table wares and a large number of broken wine bottles, a quantity of oyster shell, animal bones, tiles and bricks were noted but only small samples were retained. Several small fragments of iron and pieces of lead sheet were also recovered, as were a few small clear glass vessels and fragments of window glass. Most surprising was the comparative absence of clay pipes, as only a few plain stems of eighteenth century-type were noted.

Examination of the assemblage shows it to be a domestic refuse deposit from the manor house, begun immediately after the house was constructed in the 1680's and continuing in regular use until the late eighteenth century. The make up of the main deposit and the lack of ash and clay pipes suggests that it originated largely from the kitchens. The most

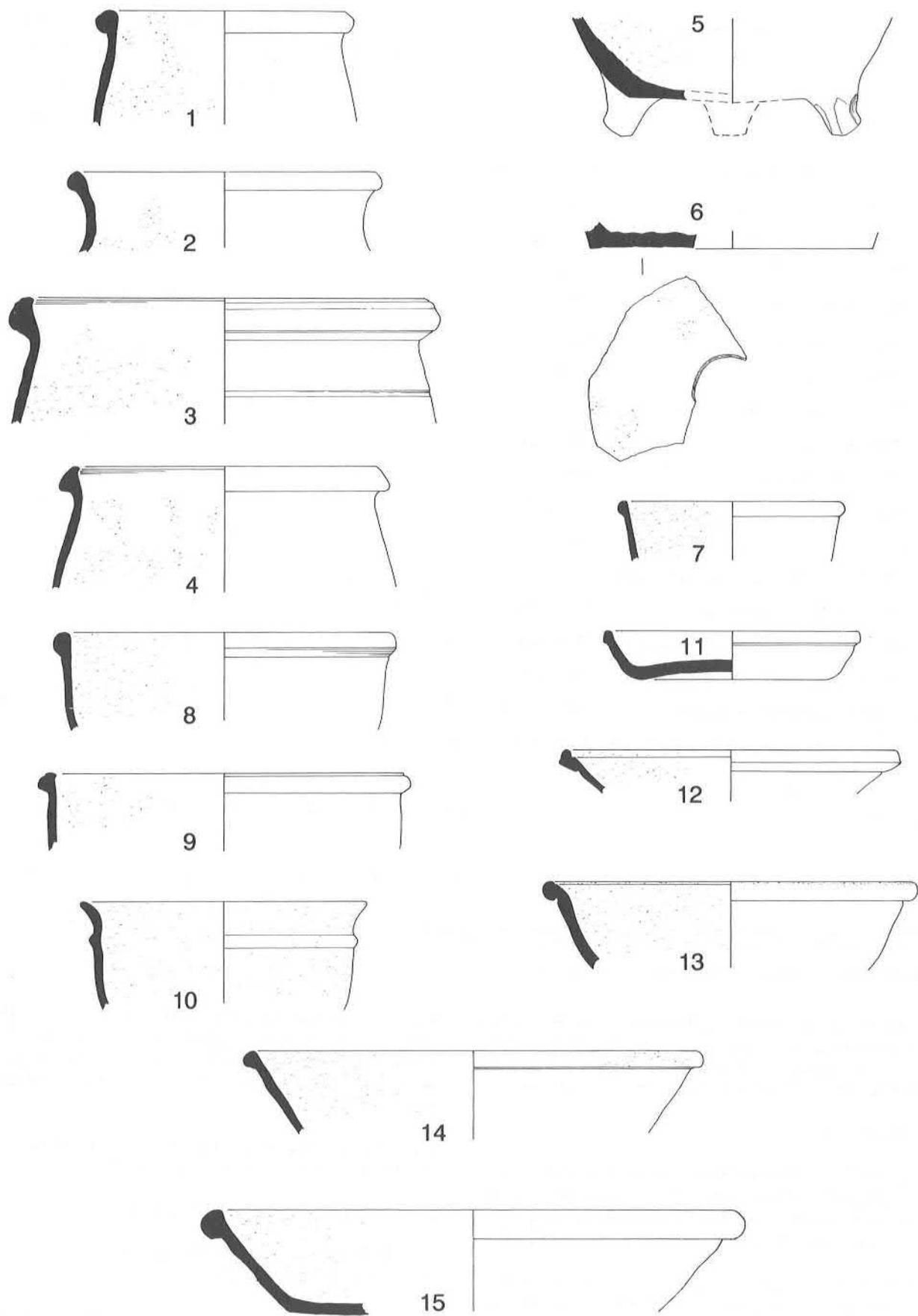


Figure 186: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead-glazed earthenware, Nos 1-15, scale 1:4.

Fabric	Date	Jars	Bowls Pans	Jugs and Bellar- mines	Mugs Cups Tygs	Cham- ber pots	Chafing dishes	Colan- ders Strainers Fuming pots
PM24 Black basalt ware	late 18th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PM59 Whieldon ware	1740–80	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
PM25 White earthenware	late 18th	5	12	3	14	4	—	—
PM24 Pearlware	late 18th	—	13	3	14	—	1	—
PM23 Creamware	1760 on.	2	30	3	6	12	—	—
PM27 English Porcelain	mid 18–19th	—	8	—	7	—	—	—
PM30 Scratch blue	1740–80	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
PM22 White salt-glazed stoneware	e–m 18th	4	32	8	12	16	—	—
PM58 Elers ware	early 18th	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PM50 Chinese porcelain	18th	—	12	—	—	—	—	—
PM28 English stoneware	1671 on.	1	2	3	—	3	—	—
PM21 Tin-glazed earthenware	18th	—	8	—	19	14	—	—
PM72 Dutch lead-glazed earthenware	17th	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
PM1 Staffordshire black-glazed	17th–18th	51	64	—	—	—	—	—
PM2 Staffs. buff-bodied slipware	17th–18th	4	27	—	6	—	—	—
PM16 Local black-glazed slipware	17th–18th	14	12	—	—	12	—	—
PM8 Local trailed slipware	l 17th–e 18th	—	21	—	—	—	—	—
PM8 Local lead-glazed earthenware	17th–18th	49	45	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Total</i>		130	289	20	78	61	1	1
<i>% vessel types present</i>		15	34	2	9	7	<1	<1

<sup>1</sup> cheese dish    <sup>2</sup> cruet    <sup>3</sup> potting pot, tureen    <sup>4</sup> posset pots

**TABLE 91:** Group 51; fabrics and vessels present.

significant aspect of the deposit is its clear association with the manor house. The amount of wine bottles and the quantity of the finer ceramics certainly reflects the high social status of the occupants.

### The Pottery

A total of 854 vessels of late seventeenth to late eighteenth-century date were identified in the midden assemblage. The nineteenth-century material from the overlying layers was not collected.

The fabrics present (Table 91) were largely of eighteenth century date, but the local coarse wares PM8, PM5 and PM16 and the Staffordshire coarse wares PM1 and PM2 reflected their seventeenth-century origins. The percentage of local coarse

wares (18%) was identical to that of the Staffordshire coarse wares, suggesting that the Northamptonshire industry had not yet succumbed to the pressures of competition from Staffordshire potters.

The eighteenth-century finer wares (including 6% imports) account for some 64% of the group.

#### I. Northamptonshire coarsewares.

##### A. PM8 Lead-glazed earthenware (Figs. 186 and 187, 1–17)

A total of ninety-six vessels were found, and apart from the pipkin (5) and the shallow dish (11) all were jars or bowls. Most jars had simple everted

Pipkins	Saucers Plates Platters Chargers	Alba- rellos	Butter Pots	Lids	Tea- pots Coffee pot	Ladles	Press	Bottles	Misc.	Mini- mum no. vessels Total	% TOTAL
-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	26	-	-	3	-	-	-	?1	-	68	8
-	36	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	69	8
-	88	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1 <sup>1</sup>	143	17
-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>2</sup>	21	2
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	26	-	1	-	13	-	-	-	2 <sup>3</sup>	114	13
-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	<1
-	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	53	6
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	33	4
-	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	4
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	116	14
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 <sup>4</sup>	45	5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	4
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	2
-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	96	11
<hr/>											
	224	4	1	4	17	1	1	8	12	853	
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<1	26	<1	<1	<1	2	<1	<1	1	1		

rims like those illustrated, but two had out-turned rims and three were almost upright, sloping slightly inwards. Forty-five bowls were found, mostly pancheons with everted flanged rims. Five had beaded rims and one was fluted.

#### B. PM5 Trailed decorated slipware (Figs 187 and 188, 18–23)

All of the vessels were shallow bowls or pancheons (sixteen examples) apart from some deeper bowls (five examples) with rounded sides (e.g. 18). Unlike the pancheons, these had an internal copper-rich green lead glaze. These slipware pancheons are probably of eighteenth rather than seventeenth-century date, since the border decorations are different than those in Group 50 (Figs 175 to 177). The shallow bowl (23) with wavy line decoration is eighteenth century in date.

#### C. PM16 Black-glazed ware (Fig. 188, 24–30)

Jars, bowls and chamber pots in almost equal quantities were found in this ware. The jars and bowls illustrated are representative of those found, the chamber pots all had broad flanged rims like 25.

#### II. Staffordshire wares.

##### A. PM1 Black-glazed ware (Figs 188 and 189, 31–39).

A wider variety of jars and storage vessels, together with bowls and a cheese press, were found. There were sixty-four bowls, of which 72% were pancheons (e.g. 37 and 38), 26% were smaller bowls with rounded rims (31, 35 and 36) and one example (34) had lug handles. The bread bin (33) is like the local example (Fig. 188, 29) and 32 is a large butter-pot.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.
1	PM8	Jar	180
2	PM8	Jar	217
3	PM8	Jar	300
4	PM8	Jar	230
5	PM8	Pipkin	175 (base)
6	PM8	Garden pot	200 (base)
7	PM8	Deep bowl	160
8	PM8	Deep bowl	240
9	PM8	Deep bowl	280
10	PM8	Deep bowl	200
11	PM8	Shallow dish	182×35×150
12	PM8	Bowl	240
13	PM8	Bowl	265
14	PM8	Bowl	320
15	PM8	Bowl	380
16	PM8	Bowl	480
17	PM8	Storage vessel	310×230×220

TABLE 92: Group 51; PM8 Lead-glazed earthenware, catalogue (Figs. 186 and 187).

B. PM2 Buff-bodied slipware (Fig. 190, 40–45)

The Staffordshire buff-bodied slipware consisted of press-moulded flatware dishes, (44–45) and manganese mottled brown-finished vessels (not illustrated). One cup (45) with yellow glaze and brown spots is similar to an early eighteenth-century example from Hanley (Kelly and Greaves 1974, fig. 18, 151).

The mottled brown vessels consisted of four jars, eight posset pots, four cups and one tankard. All of these vessel types were produced from the late seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century.

III. Other English wares

A. PM22 Salt-glazed stoneware (Fig. 190, 46–56)

Salt-glazed stoneware was produced from *c.* 1730, and was most popular in the mid to late eighteenth century. A good range of vessels was found at Great Linford; the list below shows the number and percentage of each type.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.	Dec.
18	PM5	Deep bowl	240×120×115	—
19	PM5	Pancheon	420	Border 22
20	PM5	Pancheon	415	Border 24
21	PM5	Pancheon	415	Border 25
22	PM5	Pancheon	335	Border uncertain
23	PM5	Shallow bowl	335	—

TABLE 93: Group 51; PM5 trailed decorated slipware, catalogue (Figs. 187 and 188).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.
24	PM16	Bowl/jar	160
25	PM16	Chamber pot	200
26	PM16	Jar	180
27	PM16	Jar	186
28	PM16	Jar	219
29	PM16	Storage vessel	360
30	PM16	Bowl	400

TABLE 94: Group 51; PM16 Black-glazed ware, catalogue (Fig. 188).

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.
31	PM1	Bowl/jar	320
32	PM1	Butter pot?	279
33	PM1	Bread bin	426
34	PM1	Bread bin	500
35	PM1	Bowl	200
36	PM1	Bowl	240
37	PM1	Pancheon	420
38	PM1	Pancheon	480
39	PM1	Cheese press	200

TABLE 95: Group 51; PM1 Black-glazed ware, catalogue (Figs 188 and 189).

The range of vessels is interesting, particularly the high percentage of teapots and chamber pots. Only bases of the jars survived, but they were almost certainly vertical-sided vessels. There were twenty-five bowls of small to medium size with rounded profiles (e.g. 47–49), while another five bowls had slightly curved sides (e.g. 46, 50 and 51).

Two small sherds were from decorative leaf-shaped dishes with moulded decoration, similar to an example of *c.* 1740 (Mountford 1971, plate 86).

Sherds of eight milk jugs, *c.* 1750, with fluted handles and angular spouts, were found. The teapots were mostly plain examples with fluted spouts, like those of *c.* 1740–50 from Norwich (Jennings 1981, fig. 102, 1605 and 1609), but two had the moulded pecten shell design similar to the example shown by Mountford (1971, plate 95) of *c.* 1750, and one had a moulded floral decoration.

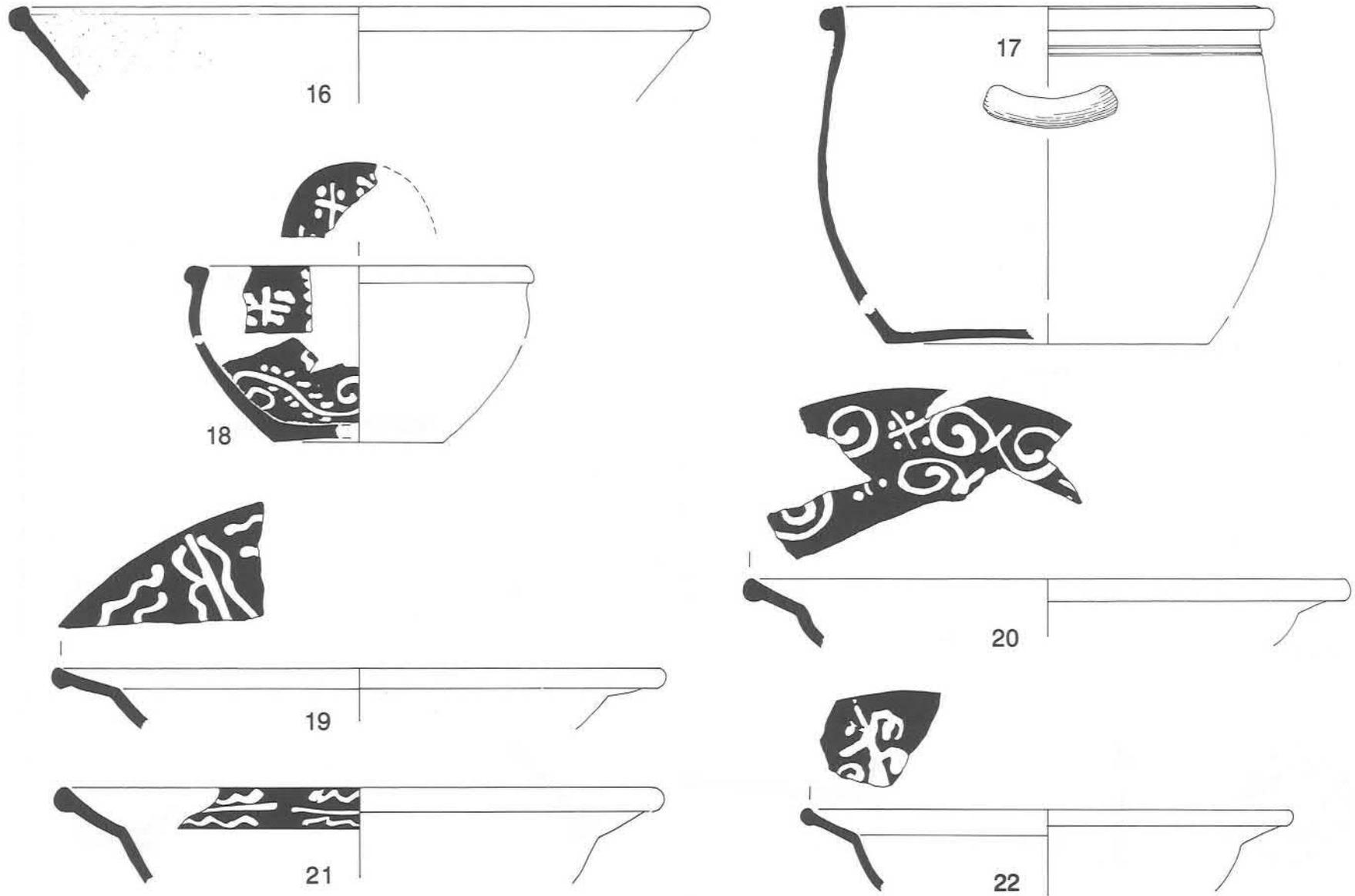


Figure 187: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM8 Northamptonshire lead-glazed earthenware, Nos 16-17; PM5 Northamptonshire lead glazed trailed slip decorated ware, Nos 18-22, scale 1:4.

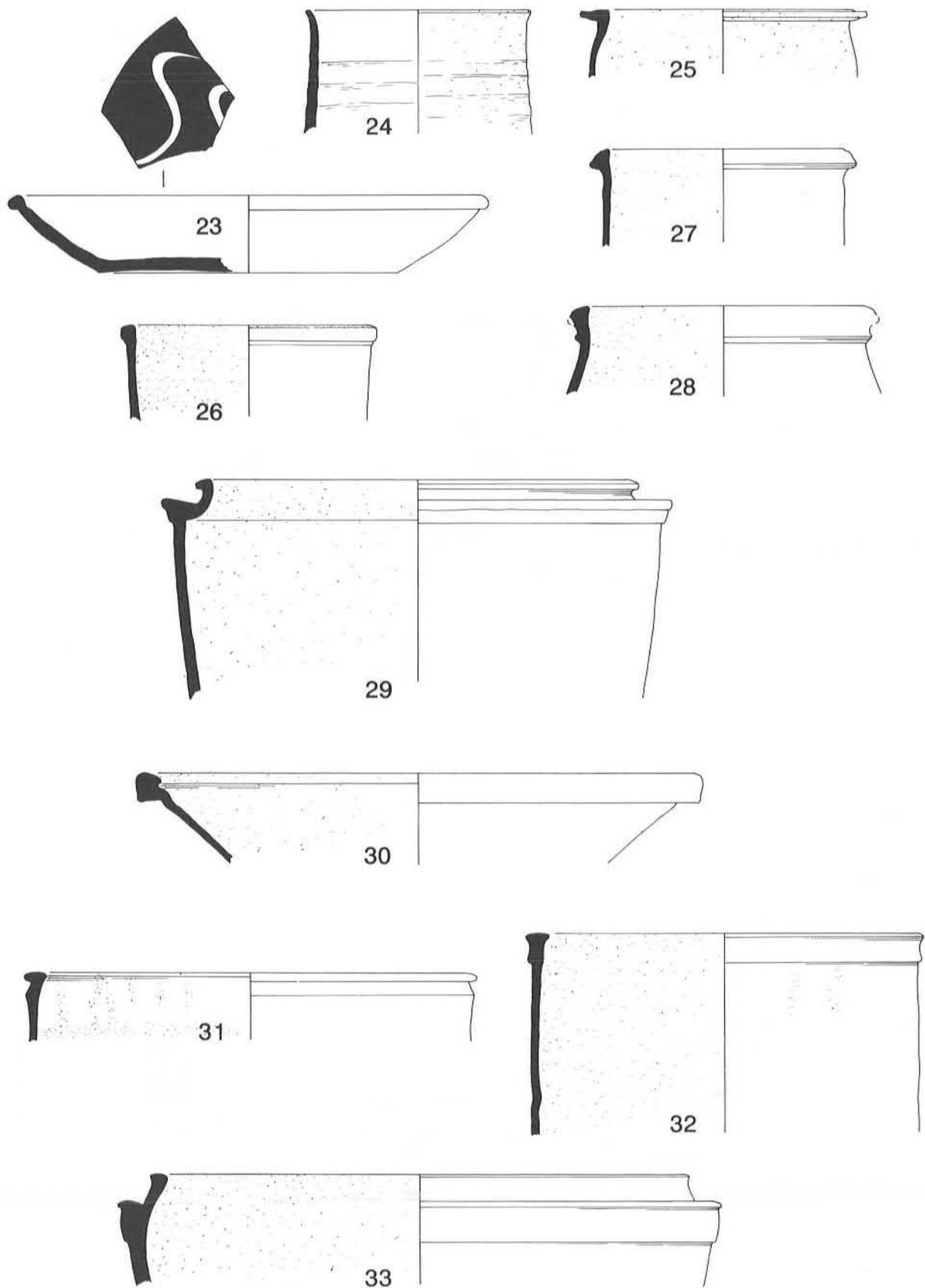


Figure 188: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM5 lead-glazed trailed slip-decorated ware, Nos 23–33.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dec.	Dia.
40	PM2	Dish	Slip-trailed	300
41	PM2	Dish	Slip-trailed	240
42	PM2	Dish	Slip-trailed and feathered	320
43	PM2	Dish	Slip-trailed and feathered	280
44	PM2	Dish	Slip-trailed and marbled	283
45	PM2	Cup	Slip decorated	120

TABLE 96: Group 51; PM2 Buff-bodied slipware, catalogue (Fig. 190).

	No.	%
Jars	4	4
Bowls	30	26
Leaf dishes	2	8
Jugs	8	7
Mugs	9	8
Tea bowls	3	3
Chamber pots	16	14
Plates	22	19
Meat dishes	4	4
Butter tubs	1	1
Tea pots	14	12
Tureens	1	1
Potting pots	1	1
<i>Total vessels</i>	114	

TABLE 97: PM22 Salt-glazed stoneware; the range of vessels present in Group 51.

The mugs were of similar design to examples from Burslem (Mountford 1971, plate 75). Only three small tea bowls (e.g. 54) were found. The chamber pot (55) is typical of those recovered.

The meat dishes and plates came from three dinner services. One (53) had dot, diaper and basket design on the rim; one (52) had bead and reel design; and one (not illustrated) had a plain rim. A single tureen with moulded floral decoration did not match any of the dinner services.

The potting pot with cherub mask (56) is an unusual vessel. Vessels of similar form but with lion masks are recorded by Mountford (1971, plate 83).

#### B. PM21 English tin-glazed earthenware (Fig. 191, 57–65)

The English 'Delft' wares comprised only 4% of Group 51. The range of vessels found was: chamber pots 47%, bowls and dishes 27%, albarellos 13%, plates 10% and one strainer 3%.

The chamber pots were all similar to the illustrated example (64). The bowls and dishes included two forms (59 and 65) identical to those produced at

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.
46	PM22	Bowl	130
47	PM22	Bowl	180
48	PM22	Bowl	160
49	PM22	Bowl	110 (base)
50	PM22	Dish	280
51	PM22	Dish	200
52	PM22	Large plate	320
53	PM22	Moulded plate	–
54	PM22	Tea bowl	55×35
55	PM22	Chamber pot	181
56	PM22	Potting pot	158

TABLE 98: Group 51; PM22 Salt-glazed stoneware, catalogue (Fig. 190).

Lambeth from c. 1680–1737 (Bloice 1971, fig. 53, 42, 49 and 50). The small bowl (58) was dark blue internally. The decorated bowls had floral decoration copying contemporary Chinese imports. There were sherds of a dish similar to those made at Lambeth (Bloice 1971, fig. 54, 53A.) and a mug handle decorated with blue dashes. An unusual item was a pierced sherd (not illustrated) which was unglazed and may have come from a strainer.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.
57	PM21	Dish	–
58	PM21	Bowl	120
59	PM21	Bowl	240
60	PM21	Dish	240
61	PM21	Albarello	–
62	PM21	Albarello	–
63	PM21	Albarello	–
64	PM21	Chamber pot	180
65	PM21	Bowl	60

TABLE 99: Group 51; PM21 English tin-glazed earthenware, catalogue (Fig. 191).

#### C. PM30 Scratch blue.

One sherd from a small tea bowl (not illustrated) was found.

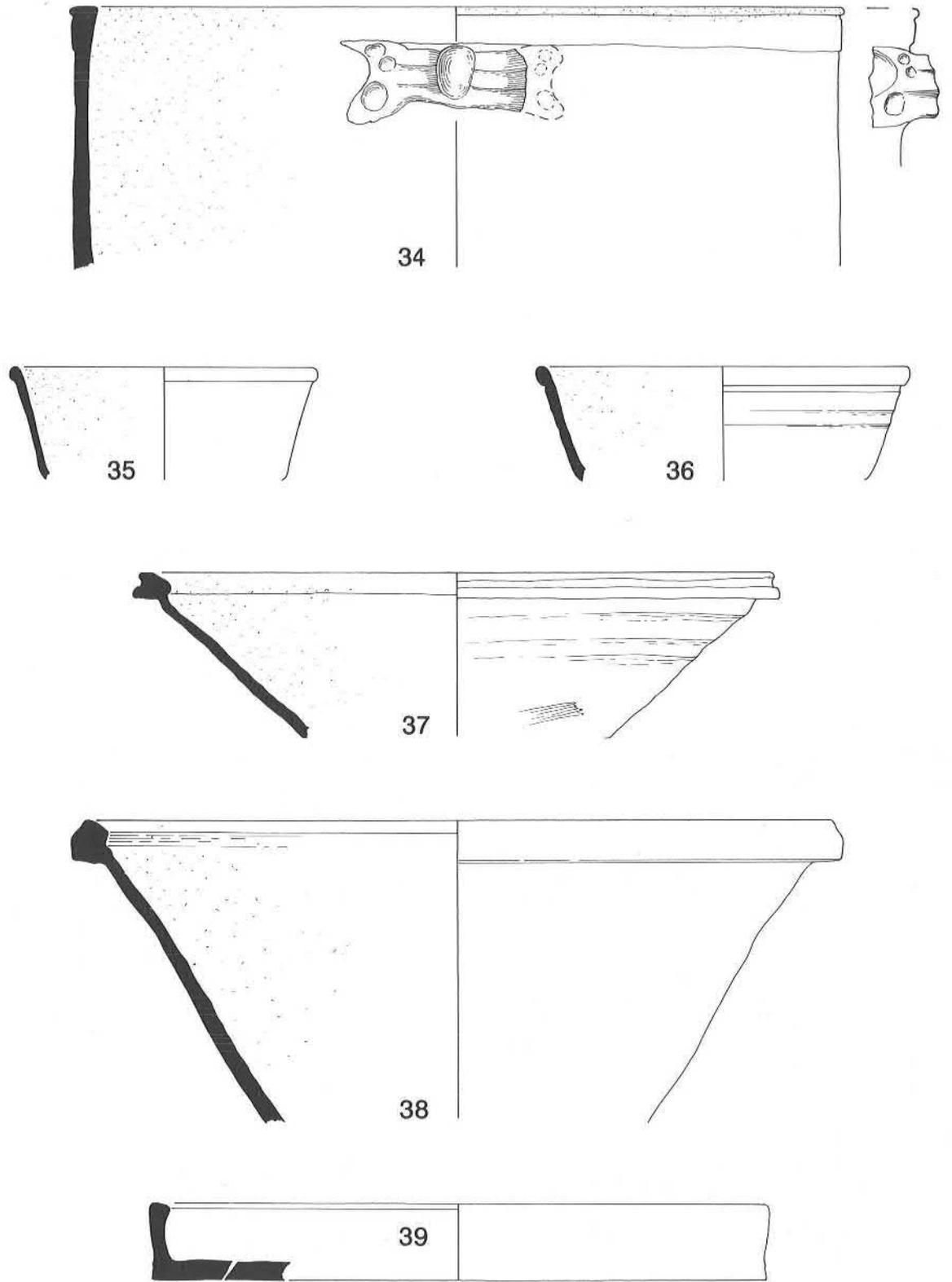


Figure 189: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM1 Staffordshire black-glazed ware, Nos 34-39, scale 1:4.

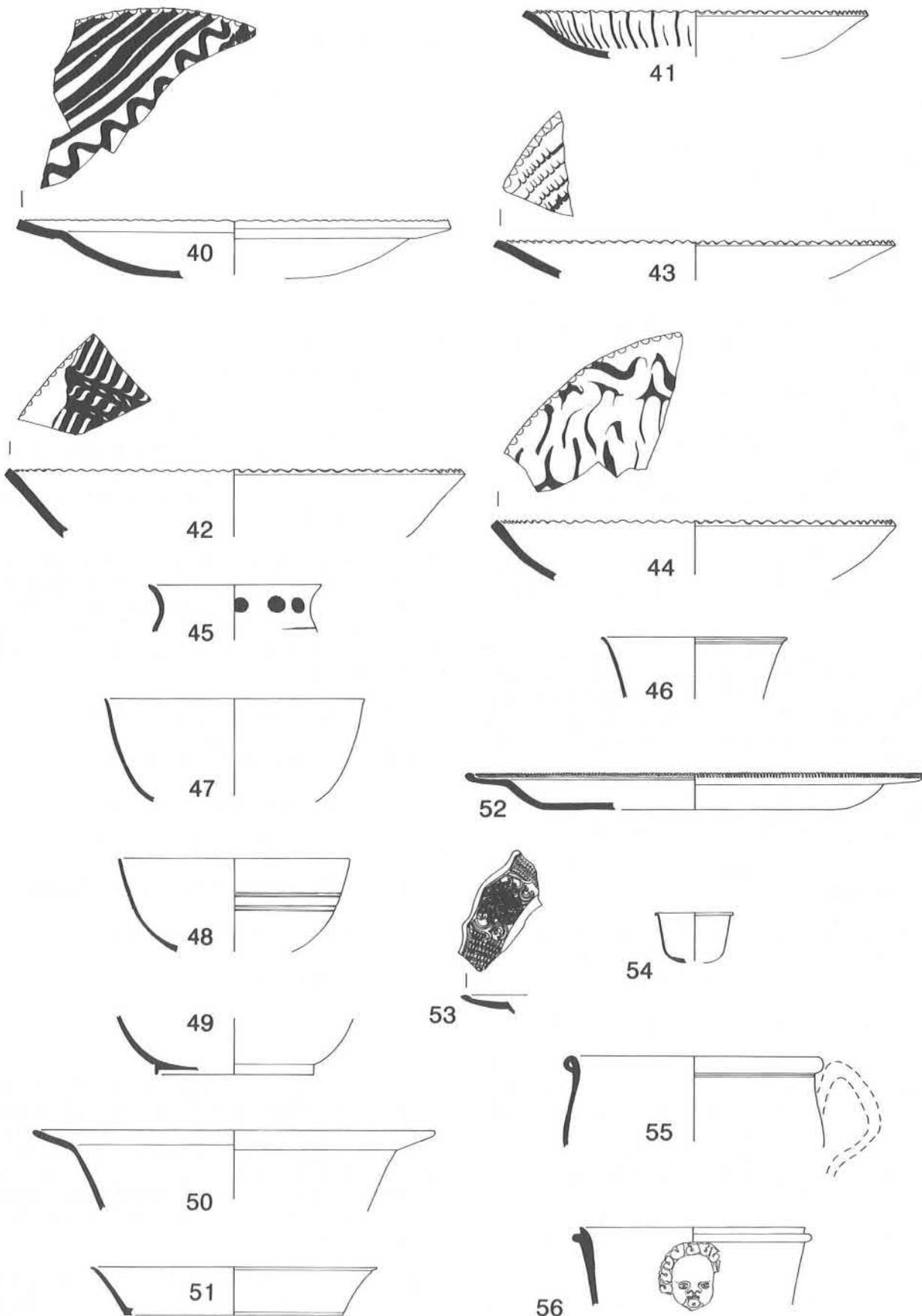


Figure 190: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM2 Staffordshire buff-bodied slipware, Nos 40-45; PM22 white salt-glazed stoneware, Nos 46-56, scale 1:4.

#### D. PM23 Creamware.

This was the most common fabric found in the midden, with 143 vessels comprising 17% of the group. Most of this material consisted of sherds of plates and meat dishes, representing at least eight dinner services. Each individual service was identified by the borders of the vessels, which ranged from plain through simple bead and ribbed to feathered examples.

Two plates bore 'WEDGWOOD' marks of the type used after 1780, (Chaffers 1965, vol. 2, 41). At least twenty bowls were found, mostly small to medium examples (dia. 100–150mm.), with plain or beaded rims and rounded profiles. Of these, one had dark blue painted decoration, copying contemporary Chinese porcelain, and another had runs of dark apple-green glaze. Several larger bowls (up to 300mm. dia.) had flanged rims. One rectangular bowl with round and fluted sides may have been an asparagus dish, similar to an example of c. 1780 in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Acc. no. C. 4 & A-1945).

The only cups found were straight-sided examples, one of which had two horizontal zones with beaded decoration.

There were apparently no teapots in this ware, but sherds of one coffee pot and three jugs were found. Two of the latter had fluted bodies, the other a rim with beaded decoration. The coffee pot had a pedestal base and horizontal ribbing around the body.

There were twelve chamber pots, nine with rolled rims and three with broad flanged rims.

#### E. PM24 Pearlware and PM25 White earthenware.

Approximately seventy vessels in each of these fabrics were found (none illustrated). The amounts of each type of vessel are given in Table 89.

#### F. PM27 English porcelains (Fig. 191, 66).

A variety of porcelains were found, mostly of early nineteenth-century date. The only noteworthy items were the Worcester bowl (66) which bears the crescent mark for the First period (1751–1783), but which was used until 1793 (Chaffers 1965, vol. 2, 155) and a New Hall bowl (not illustrated) which has the design mark 241.

#### G. PM28 English brown salt-glazed stoneware (Not illustrated)

Most vessels were probably of Nottingham/Derbyshire origin, apart from bottles of London manufacture. No examples are illustrated, since all

are of well-known forms. The range of forms found and their relative occurrence in Group 51 is shown in Table 100, below.

	No.	%
Bowls	2	6
Bottles	5	15
Chamber pots	3	9
Jugs	3	9
Mugs, Cups	19	58
Jars	1	3
<i>Total vessels</i>	33	

TABLE 100: PM28 English brown salt-glazed stoneware; types and percentages of vessels present in Group 51.

The bowls were largely of Nottingham type with incised border and body decoration of Types 32 and 41 which date from the late eighteenth century (Oswald *et al* 1982, fig. 8). Another, probably a loving cup, had a border of Oswald's Type 6, dated 1717–69 (*ibid.* fig. 8).

The bottles were all of 'London' type (Oswald *et al* 1982, fig. 1) with the handles curved from the neck not the rim. Two of the jugs, probably of Nottingham ware, had tall necks with rilled decoration and pulled-out lips. The chamber pots all had rolled-over rims.

#### H. PM34 Black basalt (Not illustrated)

Two sherds from a teapot were found.

#### J. PM58 Elers ware (Not illustrated)

Four sherds of two teapots were found.

#### K. PM59 Wheildon Type Ware (Not illustrated)

Four sherds from a bowl or dish were found.

#### VI. Imported wares.

##### A. PM50 Chinese porcelain (Figs 192 and 193, 67–75).

This was a popular fabric, constituting 6% of the group. Plates, dishes and shallow bowls were the only vessels found, apart from two bottles. Most sherds were very small, and only a representative selection of vessels has been illustrated. The date is largely eighteenth century, although there were a few seventeenth-century and some nineteenth-century vessels.

The bowl (74) is particularly interesting, since Chinese characters representing the words *dancing*, *sound*, *flower*, *to have*, and *countryside* are cut through the blue decoration.

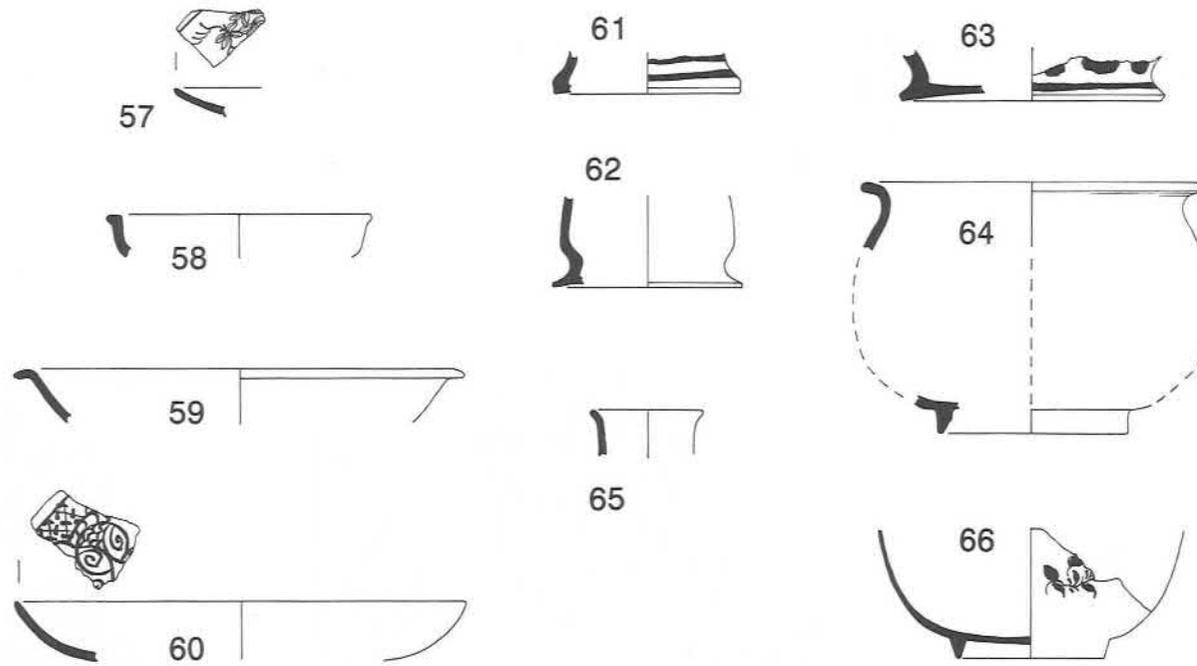


Figure 191: Pottery group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM21 English tin-glazed earthenware, Nos 57–65; PM27 English porcelain, No. 66, scale 1:4.

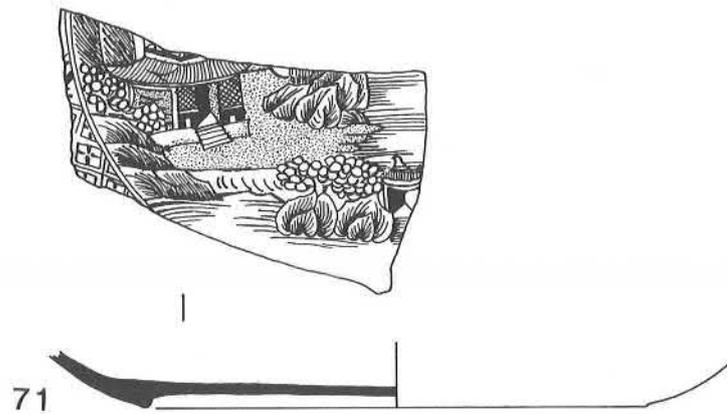
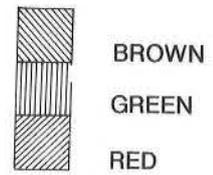
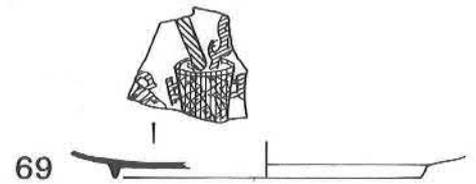
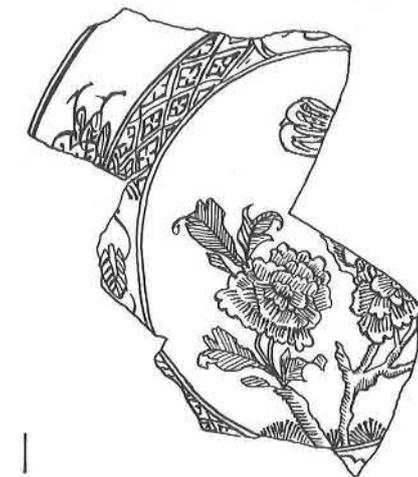
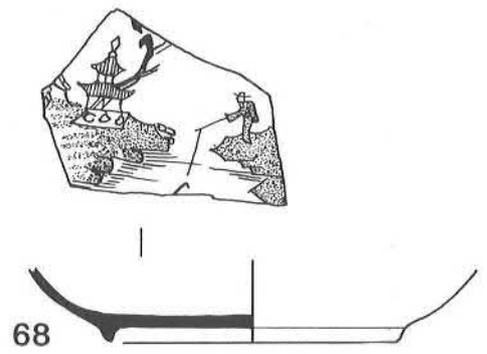
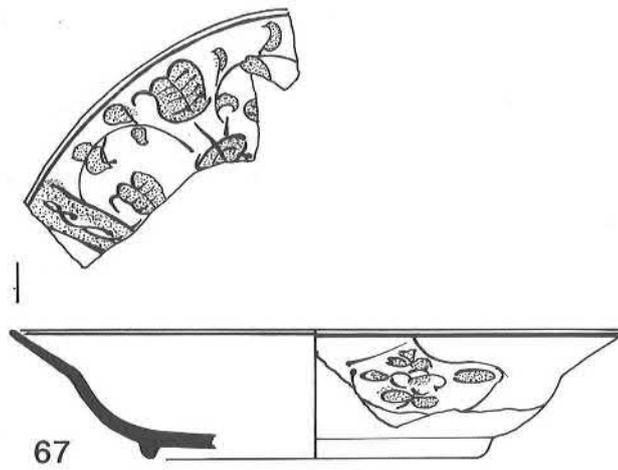


Figure 192: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM50 Chinese porcelain, Nos 67–71, scale 1:4.

371

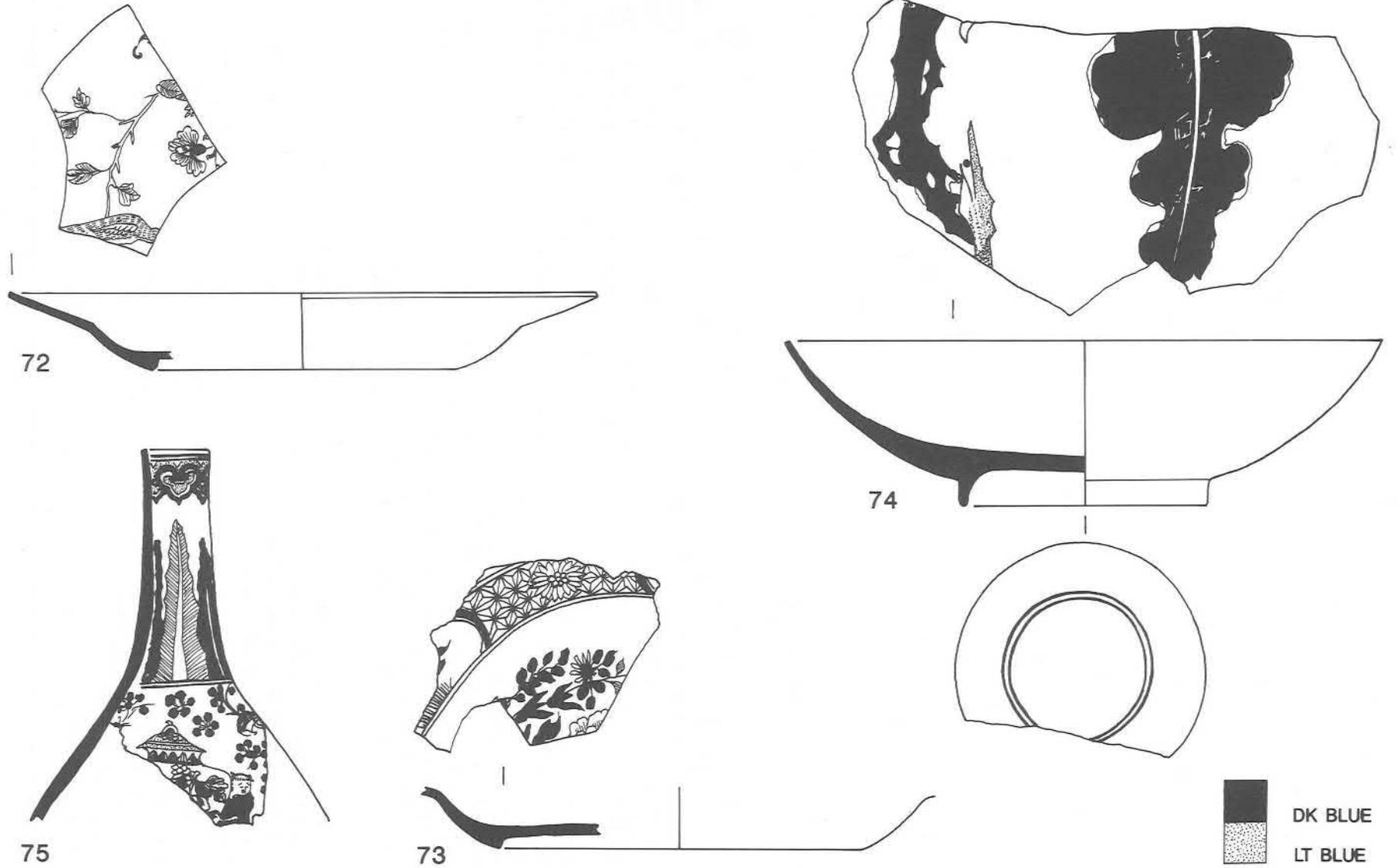


Figure 193: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM50 Chinese porcelain, Nos 72–75, scale 1:4.

No.	Fabric	Form	Dia.
67	PM50	Dish	320
68	PM50	Bowl	—
69	PM50	Dish	—
70	PM50	Bowl	360
71	PM50	Bowl	—
72	PM50	Dish	400
73	PM50	Dish	—
74	PM50	Bowl	412
75	PM50	Bottle	—

**TABLE 101:** Group 51; PM50 Chinese porcelain, catalogue (Figs 192 and 193).

B. PM72 Dutch lead-glazed earthenware (Fig. 194, 76).

Only one Dutch vessel was found, a faceted bowl of late seventeenth-century date. The glaze was orange-brown in colour, the diameter of the vessel 170mm.

#### WINE BOTTLES FROM THE MIDDEN

R. J. Williams

Since the wine bottles recovered from the midden are additional dating evidence for the deposit, they have been published here rather than in the finds section of this report. This section also includes the report on a fragment of a seventeenth century-glass house (M14, below).

A total weight of 39.8kg. of wine bottle fragments was recovered from the midden deposit, together with a smaller number of unstratified fragments from the contractor's spoil tip. Seventy-one individual bases and ninety-eight necks/rims were recognisable. Although no complete bottles or seals were recovered, making close dating difficult, an attempt was made to classify them using accepted general typologies (Dumbrell, 1983 and Hume 1961) (Table 100).

The bases were difficult to classify. They ranged in diameter from 81 to 128mm., and the kick-ups varied from conical through rounded to squared, typical of a range in date from late seventeenth to early nineteenth century.

The metal of the bottles varied considerably, but it was very noticeable that the pre-1680 bottles were of a lighter apple-green tone with no corrosion. The bottles dating to the period 1680–1725 were of a darker tone and were heavily corroded, apart from a group of twelve amber-coloured bottles which were completely uncorroded and clearly made from a very different metal. Several of the very late bottles exhibited traces of the three-piece blow-

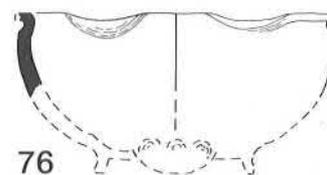


Figure 194: Pottery Group 51; late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. PM72 Dutch lead-glazed earthenware, No. 76, scale 1:4.

moulded technique of production which was gradually introduced after c. 1800.

The number of bottles represented in each period reflects the time over which the midden built up, commencing in c. 1680 with a comparatively steady disposal rate until c. 1780–1800, when the deposit was probably sealed. The majority of the post-1800 bottles were recovered from the contractor's spoil and may have derived from the overlying ashy deposit. The presence of several bottles probably of pre-1680 date is not entirely surprising, since bottles of the period were not generally discarded,

No.	Date range	No. of necks/rims
M1	1660	1
M2	1670	3
M3	1670–80	3
M4	1680–90	5
M5	1690–1710	10
M6	1710–1725	(amber) 21
M7	1710–1725	(green) 10
M8	1725–1745	10
M9	1745–1765	12
M10	1765–1780	17
M11	1780–1800	4
M12	1800–1810	6
M13	1810–1820	8

**TABLE 102:** The midden (MK1009); numbers of dateable wine bottle necks/rims (Fig. 71).

but were refilled many times from wooden butts for use at the table. Consequently, bottles of an earlier period may have survived in use for several decades before breakage and eventual disposal occurred.

GLASS HOUSE (Fig. 71)

R. J. Charleston

M14 Fragment of very thick olive green glass. Surface weathered and damaged. The fragment is the top

part of a garden bell used for covering delicate plants or forcing early plants. The bell was free blown, not moulded. The heavy knob was made when the pontil was pushed in, towards the body, and pulled out again to make a thinner wall which could then be broken away from the body. The glass is typical of English glass houses of the late seventeenth century. Later examples, such as those from Oatlands Palace (Charleston, R. J. unpublished) are of finer, thinner, glass and date from the eighteenth century.

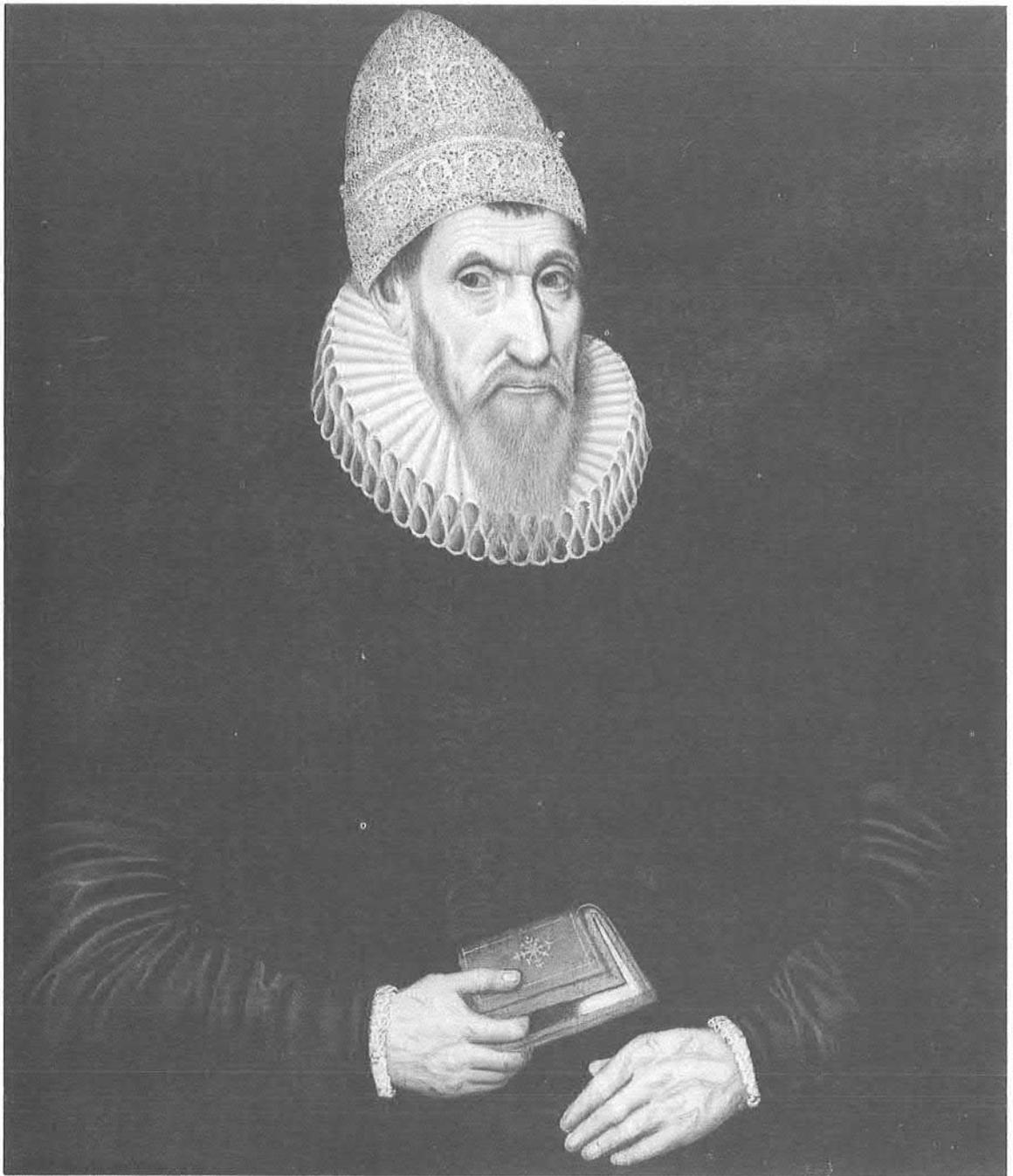


Plate 1: Richard (Sandy) Napier. (Ashmolean Museum)



Plate 2: Cottages at Green (Granes) End c.1900, *photo*: by Bartholomew, Great Linford.



Plate 3: Canal basin and wharf, c.1880. (Mansell collection)



Plate 4: Croft A, Building 1, detail of semi-circular oven base. (photo: MKAU)



Plate 5: Croft B, Buildings 5 & 6, general view from north-west. (photo: MKAU)



Plate 6: Croft C, Building 13, showing oven and kiln base, from north-east. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 7: Croft C, Building 13, detail of malt kiln. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 8: Croft E, Building 10, from east. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 9: Croft E, Building 10, detail of hearth. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 10: Croft F, Building 16 from east. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 11: Croft F, Building 16, showing garderobe, F5 and croft boundary wall. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 12: Croft F, Building 17 from north-west, showing yard, boundary wall and stone-lined pit F10. (photo: MKAU)

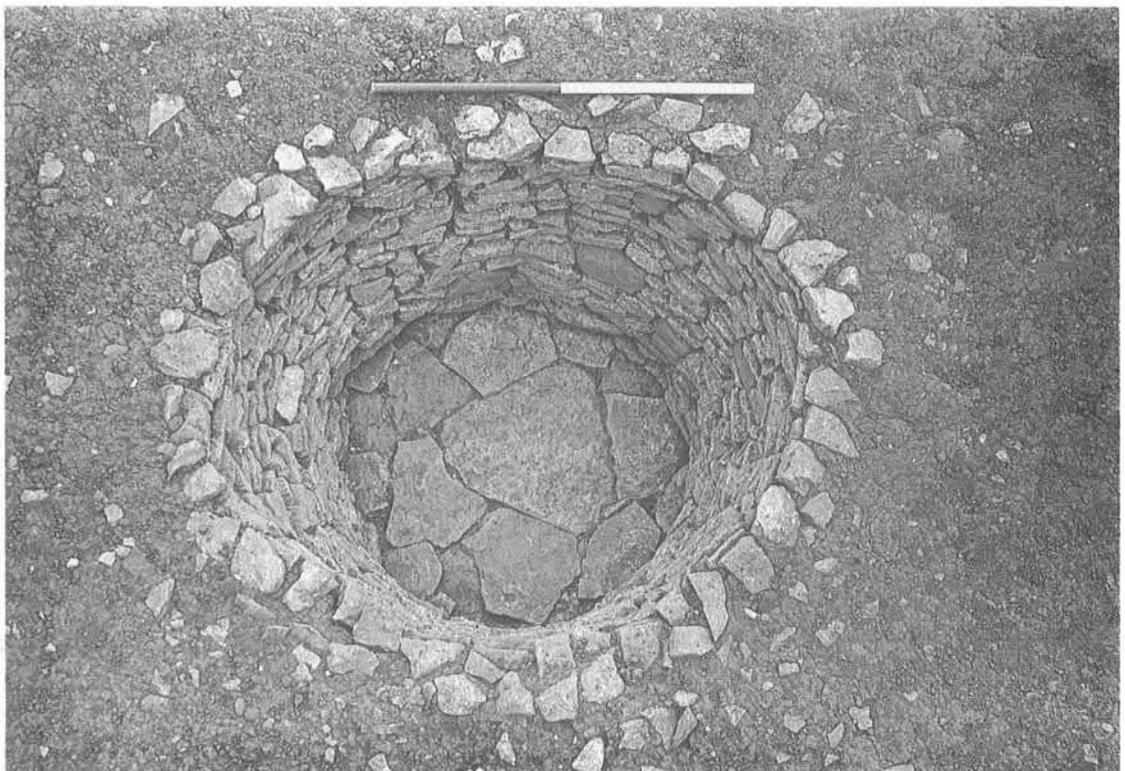


Plate 13: Croft F, detail of stone-lined pit F10. (photo: MKAU)



Plate 14: Croft J, detail of cobbled and flagged yard to south of Building 23. (*photo*: MKAU)



Plate 15: Back lane from the south, with Croft L to the right. (*photo*: MKAU)

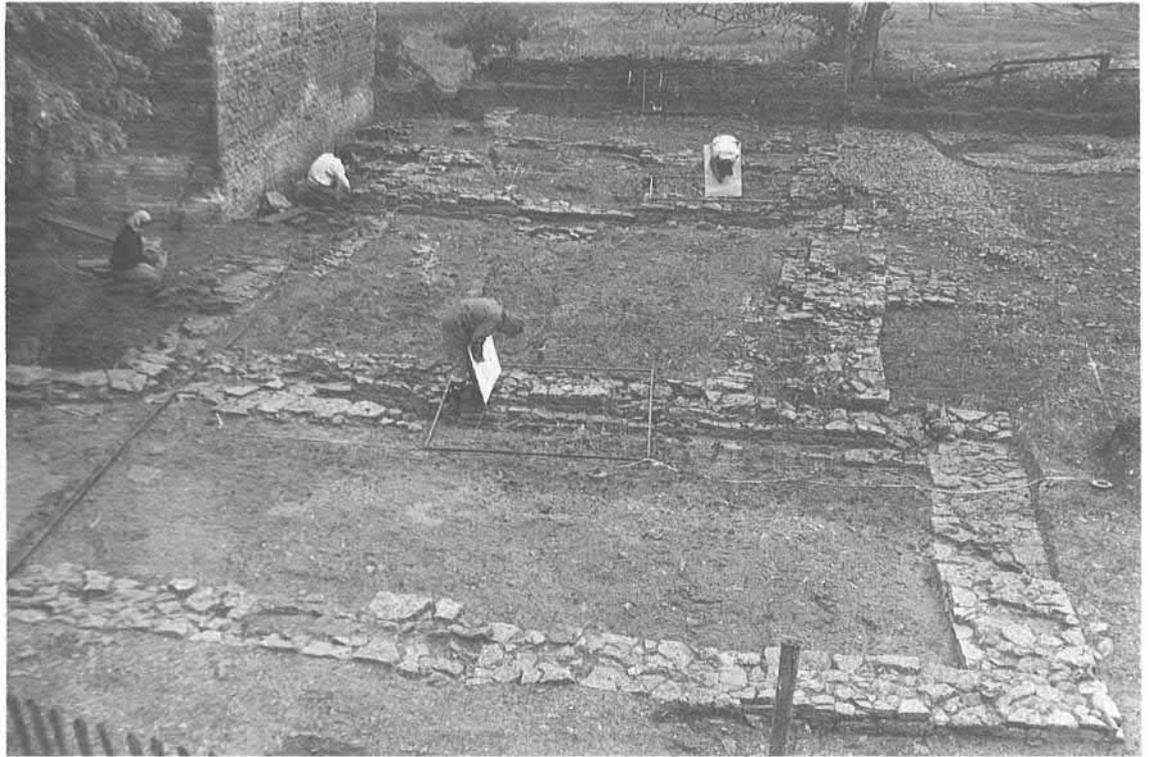


Plate 16: The manor. Building 1 under excavation, with southern pavilion on left. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 17: The manor. Building 1, north wing, final phase. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 18: The manor. Building 1, Room IV, east side, showing Phase 2 underfloor drain overlying Phase 1 wall (116).  
(photo: MKAU)

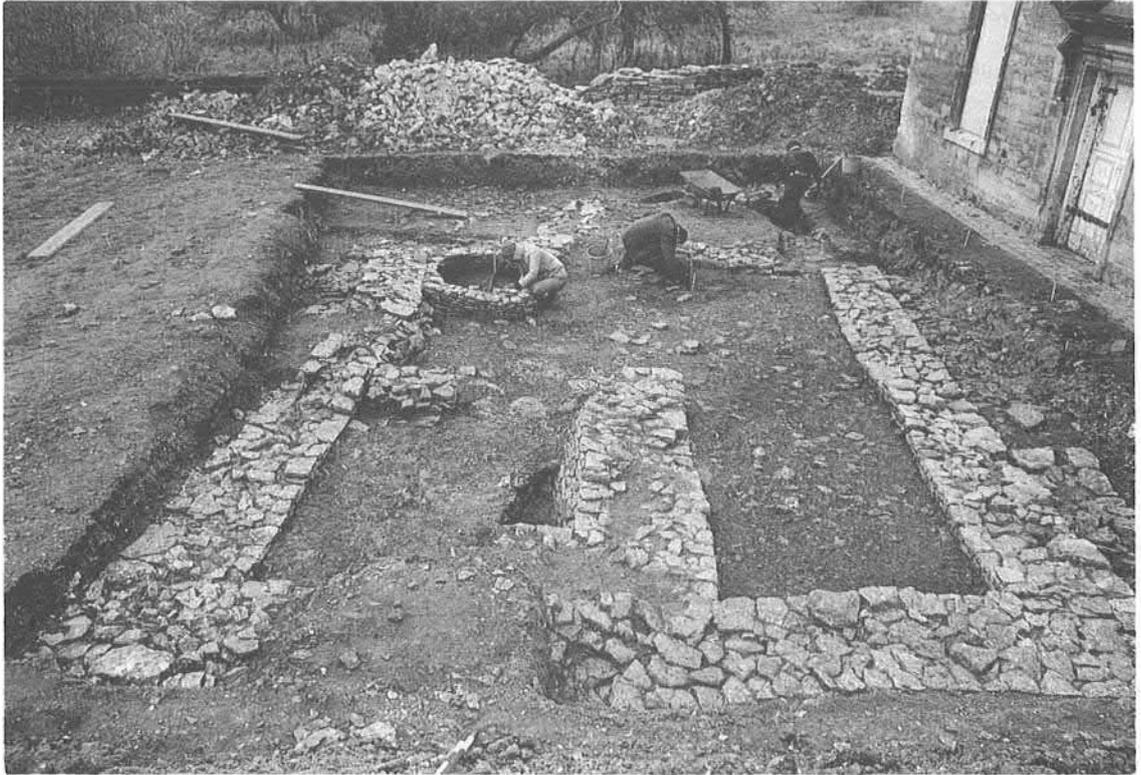


Plate 19: The manor. Building 2, Phase 1b, under excavation. (*photo*: MKAU)

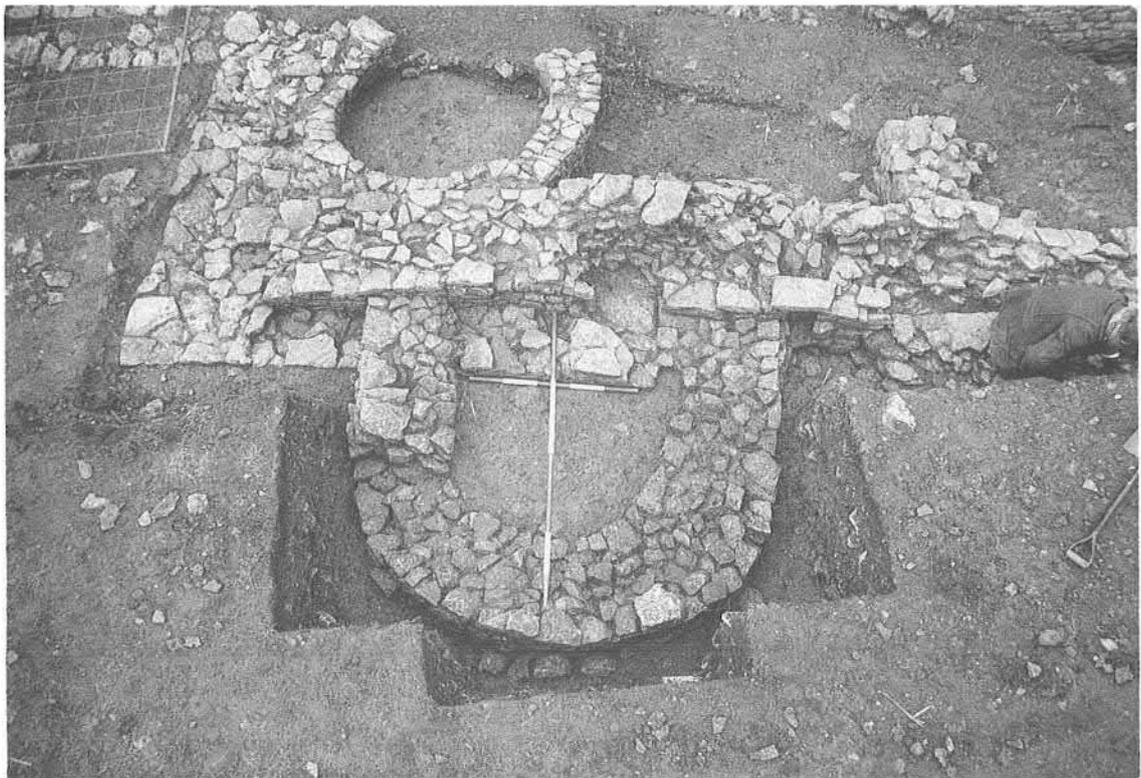


Plate 20: The manor. Building 2, detail of Phase 1b features in south-east corner. (*photo*: MKAU)



Plate 21: The post mill. General view of excavated cross-trenches. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 22: The church. General view of Area C, in north-east part of nave. (*photo:* MKAU)

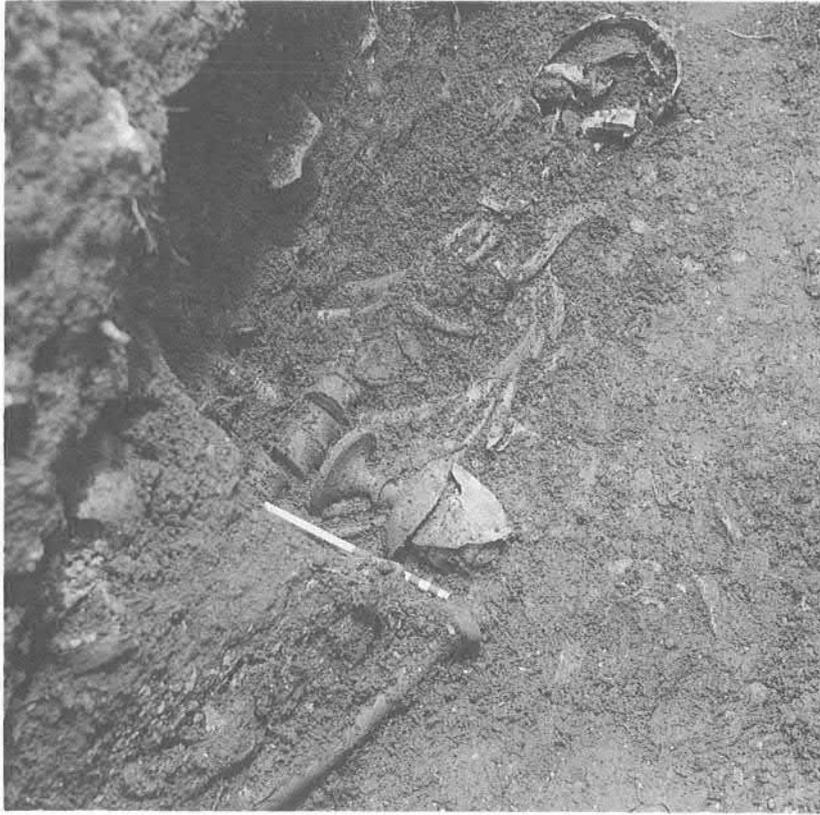


Plate 23: Remains of thirteenth-century priest burial with base metal chalice and paten. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 24: Thirteenth-century gravestone and gravemarker, as found in sewer trench. (*photo:* MKAU)

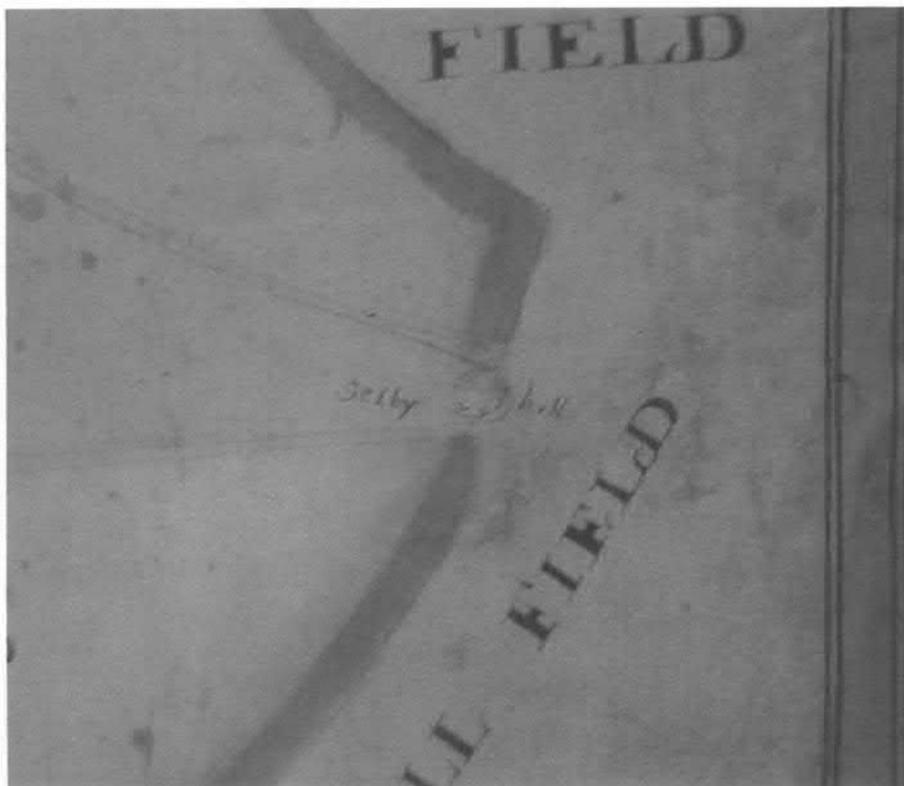


Plate 25: The Secklow mound (Selly hill). Detail from 1641 map. (photo: MKAU)



Plate 26: Croft F, aerial view from south. (photo: MKAU)



Plate 27: The Church. Little Brickhill tile pavement in Area A. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 28: The six principal tile types found in the pavement. (*photo:* MKAU)



Plate 29: The 'Green Man' carved on the tie beam above the chancel arch. (J. Ross, MK Mirror)



Plate 30: Coat of arms of Charles II (1660–85) painted above the chancel arch and concealed by early eighteenth century ceiling. (J. Ross, MK Mirror)

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BL Cole MSS	British Library, Cole manuscripts.
BL Add. MSS	British Library, Additional manuscripts.
BL Harleian MSS	British Library, Harleian manuscripts.
BAS MSS	Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society manuscripts.
BuCRO	Buckinghamshire County Records Office.
Cal. Chart.	Calendars of Charter Rolls, HMSO 1908-16.
Cal. Close	Calendars of Close Rolls, HMSO 1892-1927.
Cal. Fine	Calendars of Fine Rolls, HMSO 1920-31.
Cal. Pat.	Calendars of Patent Rolls, HMSO 1894-1916.
LRS	Lincoln Record Society.

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# MILTON KEYNES ARCHAEOLOGY UNIT

The last and the largest of Britain's post-war new towns, the city of Milton Keynes was designated in 1967, covering an area of 82 square kilometres in north Buckinghamshire. Between 1971 and 1991, archaeological excavation and fieldwork was carried out in advance of the development within the city by the Milton Keynes Archaeology Unit, which was set up and funded by Milton Keynes Development Corporation. The scale of development in the area during the time has provided an unprecedented opportunity for the study of historic landscape of the area, and sites of all periods have been examined in detail.

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